UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

VOLUME 114—PART 19

JULY 31, 1968, TO SEPTEMBER 4, 1968
(PAGES 24367 TO 25746)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON, 1968

United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Wednesday, July 31, 1968*

The House met at 11 a.m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.—2 Corinthians 13: 11.

O God, who art the source of light and life and the spring from which comes all noble endeavors, direct with Thy wise and gracious spirit the work of this day.

Give to these Representatives of our people insight into the needs of our Nation, inspiration to do something about it, and insistence that it be done and done for the good of all.

Guide, we beseech Thee, our President, our Speaker, all Members of Congress, and those who work so untiringly with them. Grant unto them wisdom of mind, strength of spirit, and vigor of body that supporting what is true and following what is good they may fulfill Thy purpose for mankind.

We commend to Thy loving care the men and women in the Armed Forces of our country. Defend them with Thy grace, strengthen them when tempted, give them courage to face danger's hour unafraid, and protect them wheresoe'er they go. Thus, evermore, shall rise to Thee glad hymns of praise from land and sea. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendments a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 3136. An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to make a study to determine the advantages and disadvantages of increased use of the metric system in the United States.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 16729. An act to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs; and

H.R. 18706. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 18706) entitled "An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. SPONG, Mr. HRUSKA, and Mr. JAVITS to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15387) entitled "An act to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 698. An act to achieve the fullest cooperation and coordination of activities among the levels of government in order to improve the operation of our federal system in an increasingly complex society, to improve the administration of grants-in-aid to the States, to provide for periodic congressional review of Federal grants-in-aid, to permit provision of reimbursable technical services to State and local government, to establish coordinated intergovernmental policy and administration of development assistance programs, to provide for the acquisition, use, and disposition of land within urban areas by Federal agencies in conformity with local government programs, to establish a uniform relocation assistance policy, to establish a uniform land acquisition policy for Federal and federally aided programs, and for other purposes.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATION, COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Investigation of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON FISHERIES AND WILDLIFE, COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries may sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

HANDICAPPED CHILDREN'S EARLY EDUCATION ASSISTANCE ACT

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 18763) to authorize preschool and early education programs for handicapped children.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, this is a bill which may be completely worthy in basic and/or all purposes. I have had an opportunity to review both the bill and the report. I think it is placing some of the benefits that the agencies and the Congress have learned from observation of preschool care and preschool education, in proper channels. For that portion it is timely and noteworthy. But, it does not comply with any of the objectors' criteria for action by unanimous consent, because it does involve an expenditure of $1 million this year, $10 million the next year, and $12 million the year after, for a total of $23 million.

This is not the kind of legislation, which would establish 75 to 100 model demonstration areas throughout the country, that should be brought up under suspension of the rules, for which request was first made; nor certainly, Mr. Speaker, is it the kind of request that should be granted in this time of economy and a time of increased taxation and a time of cutback on the expenditure budget by unanimous consent. This needs colloquy, debate, and perfection.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. Yes; I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. Let me say to the distinguished gentleman there are no funds in this bill for research. All the money would go directly to pilot programs, to preschool, early education programs for handicapped children.

The bill was reported out of committee unanimously. We provide only $1 million the first year. It is true, in 1970 we do provide $10 million a year and 1971 $12 million. We need these programs, and I am hopeful that we can pass the bill.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I renew my statement with thanks to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. I know his committee oversight, surveillance, and review is good, and, as I have said, I think this puts these programs in the proper department. I know his committee's observation would be keen. But it is not emergency legislation.

There are existing programs, the Headstart program, and many others, which accomplish this. There are funds unlimited. And in the waning days of the Congress, without adequate hearings, and whether there is unanimous consent or not, we cannot waive away the right of the individually elected legislator, and grant unanimous consent to bills of such magnitude.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I yield to the distinguished ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. AYRES. I think it should be made clear—and I do not argue the prerogative of the gentleman from Missouri to exercise what he feels should be done—but I think it should be made clear the difference between this and other programs. This is aimed directly at and for the handicapped.

Mr. HALL. Yes; I understand that. My past record and experience in vocational rehabilitation and work with handicapped and crippled children, directly as contraposed to an ideological sense, makes me know how deserving these people are and perhaps even how effective such a program would be.

But there will be adequate time after the recess to consider this under due process. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I do object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES MUST EXERCISE MORE RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to read to the Members of the House a letter which I received:

> Several mornings ago, while driving to the office, I was quite surprised to hear over my car radio the following announcement:
>
> "In many stores in the slums, prices are hiked the day welfare checks arrive. That's one of the penalties the poor man faces. Help him fight back. Become a Vista Volunteer. Write VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America, Box 4, Washington, D.C."
>
> An investigation produced the fact that the announcement was a tape sent out by the Office of Economic Opportunity from Washington and was carried by the station as a public service feature.
>
> Such insidious propaganda might be expected from Radio Peking or Radio Hanoi.

Mr. Speaker, using our tax money for such a purpose is totally unwarranted. We in this country have been plagued with riots for some time. The rioters oftentimes justify their actions because a statement such as this was made by our public officials. Here we have a governmental agency in effect giving the people reason to riot—and I say the reason is not true, that prices are not hiked by the major chainstores on the day welfare checks are received by the poor. But radio tapes such as this paid for with tax money lend substance to the lie and can be cited as one of the causes of riots.

However, Mr. Speaker, we in this country are going to have to wake up to the fact that all of our public officials in our public agencies are going to have to exercise more responsibility than they have, and that goes for the Office of Economic Opportunity. The honest taxpayer will not long stand for such a misuse of his money.

ELECTION TO COMMITTEES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 1278) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 1278

Resolved That the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Friedel be, and he is hereby elected a member of the Joint Committee on Printing, and a member of the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 297]

Anderson, Tenn.
Baring
Battin
Blackburn
Blanton
Bolton
Burke, Fla.
Corman
Cramer
Davis, Wis.
Diggs
Dole
Esch
Evins, Tenn.
Flood
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gardner
Garmatz
Goodell
Gubser
Hansen, Idaho
Hawkins
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Herlong
Holland
Jarman
Karsten
Kirwan
Kyros
Lipscomb
Lukens
Miller, Calif.
Morse, Mass.
Rarick
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Schweiker
Selden
Waggonner
Watson

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 386 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

EXTENDING AND MODIFYING HIGHER EDUCATION STUDENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 16729), an act to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"EXTENSION OF STUDENT LOAN INSURANCE PROGRAMS

"Section 1. (a)(1) Section 424(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended (A) in the first sentence by striking out 'fiscal year ending June 30, 1968' and inserting in lieu thereof 'period thereafter ending October 31, 1968' and (B) in the second sentence by striking out 'June 30, 1972' and inserting 'October 31, 1968'.

"(2) Section 428(a)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out 'June 30, 1968' and all that follows down through the period and inserting in lieu thereof 'October 31, 1968.'

"(b)(1) Section 5(a) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 is amended (A) in the first sentence by striking out 'and in each of the two succeeding fiscal years' and inserting in lieu thereof 'in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and in the period thereafter ending October 31, 1968', and (B) in the second sentence by striking out 'June 30, 1972' and inserting in lieu thereof 'October 31, 1968'.

"(2) Section 9(a)(4) of such Act is amended by striking out 'June 30, 1968' and all that follows down through the period and inserting in lieu thereof 'October 31, 1968.'

"(3) Section 10(b) of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: 'No loan may be made under this section after October 31, 1968.'

"INCREASE OF MAXIMUM INTEREST RATE UNDER STUDENT LOAN INSURANCE PROGRAMS; ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS

"Sec. 2. (a)(1) Section 427(b) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out '6 per centum' and all that follows and inserting in lieu thereof '7 per centum per annum on the unpaid principal balance of the loan.'

"(2) Section 428(b)(1)(E) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out '6 per centum' and inserting in lieu thereof '7 per centum'.

"(b)(1) Paragraph (2) of section 428(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by inserting '(A)' after '(2)' and by adding at the end of that subparagraph the following new subparagraph:

"'(B) When, due to State laws which do not permit an interest rate of 7 per centum per annum, and when the Commissioner determines that such statutory limitations threaten to impede the carrying out of the purposes of this part, he may authorize an administrative cost allowance, not to exceed 1 per centum per annum of the unpaid principal balance, for the term of any loan insured by the Commissioner under this part or under a State or private nonprofit student loan insurance program covered by an agreement under subsection (b). Such an administrative cost allowance may be paid on loans made during the period beginning on the date of enactment of this subparagraph and ending on October 31, 1968.'

"(2)(A) Section 428(a)(1) of such Act is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following new sentence: 'In addition, the Commissioner shall pay an administrative cost allowance in the amount established by paragraph (2)(B) of this subsection with respect to loans to any such student but without regard to the student's adjusted family income.'

"(B) Section 428(a)(2)(A) (as so designated by this section) is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following: 'For purposes of the preceding sentence, the term "interest" includes any administrative cost allowance paid pursuant to subparagraph (B).'

"(C) The second sentence of section 428(a)(2)(A) of such Act is amended by inserting 'and the administrative cost allowance payable under this subsection' after 'determined'.

"(D) Section 428(a)(3) of such Act is amended by inserting 'or of administrative cost allowances' after 'interest'.

"(3) Section 421(b)(2) of such Act is amended by inserting 'and administrative cost allowances' after 'interest'.

"(c)(1) Section 8(b) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 is amended by striking out '6 per centum' and all that follows and inserting in lieu thereof '7 per centum per annum on the unpaid principal balance of the loan.'

"(2) Section 9(b)(1)(E) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 is amended by striking out '6 per centum' and inserting in lieu thereof '7 per centum'.

"(d)(1) Paragraph (2) of section 9(a) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 is amended by inserting '(A)' after '(2)' and by adding at the end of that subparagraph the following new subparagraph:

"'(B) When, due to State laws which do not permit an interest rate of 7 per centum per annum, and when the Commissioner determines that such statutory limitations threaten to impede the carrying out of the purposes of this Act, he may authorize an administrative cost allowance, not to exceed 1 per centum per annum of the unpaid principal balance, for the term of any loan insured by the Commissioner under this part or under a State or private nonprofit student loan insurance program covered by an agreement under subsection (b). Such an administrative cost allowance may be paid on loans made during the period beginning on the date of enactment of this subparagraph and ending on October 31, 1968.'

"(2)(A) Section 9(a)(1) of such Act is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following new sentence: 'In addition, the Commissioner shall pay an administrative cost allowance in the amount established by paragraph (2)(B) of this subsection with respect to loans to any such student but without regard to the student's adjusted family income.'

"(B) Section 9(a)(2)(A) of such Act (as so designated by this section) is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following: 'For purposes of the preceding sentence, the term "interest" includes any administrative cost allowance paid pursuant to subparagraph (B).'

"(C) The second sentence of section 9(a)(2)(A) of such Act is amended by inserting 'and the administrative cost allowance payable under this subsection' after 'determined.'

"(D) Section 9(a)(3) of such Act is amended by inserting 'or of administrative cost allowance' after 'interest.'

"(3) Section 2(b)(2) of such Act is amended by inserting 'and administrative cost allowances' after 'interest.'

"FEDERAL GUARANTY OF STUDENT LOANS INSURED UNDER NON-FEDERAL PROGRAMS

"SEC. 3. (a) Section 421(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out 'and' before '(3)', and by inserting before the period at the end of that subsection the following: ', and (4) to guarantee a portion of each loan insured under a program of a State or of a nonprofit private institution or organization which meets the requirements of section 428(a)(1)(C)'.

"(b) Section 428 of such Act is amended by adding after subsection (b) the following new subsection:

"'(c)(1) The Commissioner may enter into a guaranty agreement with any State or any nonprofit private institution or organization with which he has an agreement pursuant to subsection (b), whereby the Commissioner shall undertake to reimburse it, under such terms and conditions as he may establish, in an amount equal to 80 per centum of the amount expended by it in discharge of its insurance obligation, incurred under its loan insurance program, with respect to losses (resulting from the default, death, or permanent and total disability of the student borrower) on the unpaid balance of the principal (other than interest added to principal) of any insured loan with respect to which a portion of the interest (A) is payable by the Commissioner under subsection (a), or (B) would be payable under such subsection but for the adjusted family income of the borrower.

"'(2) The guaranty agreement—

"'(A) shall set forth such administrative and fiscal procedures as may be necessary to protect the United States from the risk of unreasonable loss thereunder, to insure proper and efficient administration of the loan insurance program, and to assure that the diligence will be exercised in the collection of loans insured under the program;

"'(B) shall provide for making such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Commissioner may reasonably require to carry out his functions under this subsection, and for keeping such records and for affording such access thereto as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports;

"'(C) shall set forth adequate assurance that, with respect to so much of any loan insured under the loan insurance program as may be guaranteed by the Commissioner pursuant to this subsection, the undertaking of the Commissioner under the guaranty agreement is acceptable in full satisfaction of State law or regulation requiring the maintenance of a reserve;

"'(D) shall provide that if, after the Commissioner has made, payment under the guaranty agreement pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection with respect to any loan, any payments are made in discharge of the obligation incurred by the borrower with respect to such loan (including any payments of interest accruing on such loan after such payment by the Commissioner), there shall be paid over to the Commissioner (for deposit in the fund established by section 431) such proportion of the amounts of such payments as is determined (in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Commissioner) to represent his equitable share thereof, but shall not otherwise provide for subrogation of the United States to the rights of any insurance beneficiary: *Provided*, That, except as the Commissioner may otherwise by or pursuant to regulation provide, amounts so paid by a borrower on such a loan shall be first applied in reduction of principal owning on such loan; and

"'(E) may include such other provisions as may be necessary to promote the purposes of this part.

"'(3) To the extent provided in regulations of the Commissioner, a guaranty agreement under this subsection may contain provisions which permit such forbearance for the benefit of the student borrower as may be agreed upon by the parties to an insured loan and approved by the insurer. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to require collection of the amount of any loan by the insurance beneficiary or its insurer from the estate of a deceased borrower or from a borrower found by the insurance beneficiary or its insurer to have become permanently and totally disabled.

"'(4) For purposes of this subsection—

"'(A) the terms "insurance beneficiary" and "default" shall have the meanings assigned to them by section 430(e), and

"'(B) permanent and total disability shall be determined in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner.

"'(5) In the case of any guaranty agreement entered into prior to October 31, 1968, with a State or nonprofit private institution or organization with which the Commissioner has in effect on that date an agreement pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, or section 9(b) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, made prior to the date of enactment of this subsection, the Commissioner may, in accordance with the terms of this subsection, undertake to guarantee loans described in paragraph (1) which are insured by such State, institution, or organization and are outstanding on the date of execution of the guaranty agreement, but only with respect to defaults occurring after the execution of such guaranty agreement or, if later, after its effective date.'

"(c) Section 431 of such Act is amended (A) by inserting in the first sentence of subsection (a) ', or in connection with payments under a guaranty agreement under section 428(c),' after 'insured by him under this part'; (B) by inserting in the third sentence of subsection (a) ', or in connection with such guaranty agreements,' after 'insured by the Commissioner under this part'; and (C) by inserting in the first sentence of subsection (b) ', or in connection with any guaranty agreement made under section 428(c)' after 'insured by the Commissioner under this part'.

"(d) Section 432(a)(5) of such Act is amended by inserting 'or any guaranty agreement under section 428(c)' after 'such insurance'."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—I wonder if the distinguished chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Kentucky, will explain the reason why we are bringing this up under this procedure.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, in reply to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, we are bringing it up in this manner because of an emergency. In order to continue the guaranteed student loan program for students attending college this fall this action is necessary.

Both the House and Senate passed higher education bills to provide for an increase in the interest ceiling from 6 to 7 percent. Under these circumstances, banks just will not make the loans, and there are more than $300 million in applications now pending which banks throughout the country will not touch. It is estimated between now and November 1, more than 450,000 applications of college students, who want to attend college this fall, will be denied unless the banks are permitted to loan money at 7 percent.

We were unable to complete the higher education conference yesterday. We tried in good faith to do so, but were not able to and will be unable to do so before the scheduled recess this week. Already many of our conference members will not be available, because of convention responsibilities and it was agreed that when we come back in early September, the first priority will be to complete our conference on higher education.

Of course, when we bring in the conference report, that will supersede this action. This action in effect maintains the status quo for the guaranteed loan program, except for increasing the interest rate to 7 percent until November 1 or until the House and Senate conferees take final action on the higher education amendments. That is the reason for bringing this interim measure to the floor at this time.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I submit for inclusion in the Record a section-by-section analysis of the Senate amendment to the bill:

Section-by-Section Analysis of H.R. 16729 as Amended by the Senate

SECTION 1. EXTENSION OF STUDENT LOAN INSURANCE PROGRAMS

Subsection (a)(1) of this section extends the authority of the Commissioner of Education to insure loans to students in institutions of higher education under the Higher Education Act of 1965, but provides that no insurance may be issued on a loan made (or installment paid) after October 31, 1968. Paragraph (2) of Subsection (a) amends section 428(a)(4) to extend the authority of the Commissioner to make payments to reduce interest costs on loans to such students under the Higher Education Act of 1965, but provides that no such payment may be made on a loan contracted for and paid to a student after October 31, 1968.

Subsection (b)(1) of this section extends the authority of the Commissioner to insure loans to students in vocational schools under the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, but provides that no insurance may be issued on a loan made (or installment paid) after October 31, 1968. Paragraph (2) of subsection (b) extends the authority of the Commissioner to make payments to reduce interest costs on loans to such students under the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, but provides that no payment may be made on a loan contracted for and paid to a student after October 31, 1968. Paragraph (3) of this subsection terminates the authority of the Commissioner to make direct loans to such students on October 31, 1968.

SECTION 2. INCREASE OF MAXIMUM INTEREST RATE UNDER STUDENT LOAN INSURANCE PROGRAMS; ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS

Under section 427 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 and Section 8 of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, the Commissioner may insure a student loan only if it does not bear interest at a rate in excess of a rate set by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The rate set by the Secretary may not exceed 6 percent, except that under circumstances which impede the carrying out of the purposes of the program, he may set the rate as high as 7 percent. Sections 2(a)(1) and 2(c)(1) of the bill would permit the Secretary to set the maximum rate of interest on loans insurable by the Commissioner at 7 percent under any circumstances.

Subsections (a)(2) and (c)(2) would amend section 428(b) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 and Section 9(b) of the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, which presently provide that the Commissioner may make payments to reduce student interest costs on loans which are insured by non-Federal student loan insurance programs and which bear interest at a rate not in excess of 6 percent. The amendments would permit payments to reduce student interest costs on insured loans which bear interest at a rate not in excess of 7 percent.

Subsection (b) and (d) amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 and the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 to provide that if State law (including a law establishing a state student loan insurance program) does not permit an interest rate of 7 percent and if the Commissioner determines that the State law will impede carrying out the purposes of these insured loan programs, he may pay (without regard to the adjusted family income of the borrower) an administrative cost allowance to the lender in an amount not exceeding 1 percent per annum over the term of the loan. The administrative cost allowance would be paid only on loans insured prior to November 1, 1968. The allowance would be treated like a payment of the interest subsidy insofar as the contractual rights of the lender are concerned. The allowance would be included with the interest subsidy for purposes of the 3 percent limitation on the interest subsidy during the repayment period.

SECTION 3. FEDERAL GUARANTEE OF STUDENT LOANS INSURED UNDER NON-FEDERAL PROGRAMS

This section would amend section 428 of the Higher Education Act of 1965, and related sections, so as to authorize the Commissioner to enter into a guarantee agreement with any State or nonprofit private insurer, which has an agreement with the Commissioner with respect to payments to reduce student interest costs. Under such an agreement the Commissioner would be authorized to reimburse the insurer in an amount equal to 80 percent of the amount expended by it in discharge of its insurance obligation, incurred under its loan insurance program, with respect to losses (resulting from the default, death, or permanent and total disability of the student borrower) on the unpaid balance of the principal (other than interest added to principal) of any insured loan with respect to which a portion of the interest is payable by the Commissioner (or would be payable if the borrower's adjusted family income did not exceed $15,000). The guarantee agreement would set forth administrative and fiscal procedures necessary (among other things) to assure that due diligence would be exercised in the collection of loans insured under the program, would provide for making reports and keeping records, and an equitable share (determined under regulations) of any collections on defaulted loans with respect to which the Commissioner has made payment under the guarantee agreement would be paid to the Commissioner. No guarantee premium would be charged.

To the extent provided by regulations, a guarantee agreement could contain provisions permitting any forbearance for the benefit of the student borrower mutually upon by borrower, lender, and insurer. A lender or insurer would not be required to collect any loan from the estate of a deceased borrower or from a permanently and totally disabled borrower.

The guarantee would also extend to insured loans under the Higher Education Act of 1965, or under the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, outstanding upon enactment of the bill, but only with respect to defaults occurring on or after the execution of the guarantee agreement (or, if later, after its effective date). Losses under the guarantee would be made payable from the student loan insurance fund under section 431 of the Higher Education Act of 1965. The guarantee would not be available to those insurers which are precluded by State statute or regulation from using the Federal guarantee in lieu of a portion of its reserve fund.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the chairman of the Education and Labor Committee a question concerning the position of the House on the amendment which I offered, which was passed overwhelmingly, restricting Federal funds to students participating in illegal activities.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, let me say to my distinguished friend from Iowa, I well realize the great interest in this Chamber in the amendment offered by the gentleman. That amendment is a part of the higher education bill now in conference, and no doubt we will take much time over it. It will be fairly considered.

So far as I am concerned, I have always defended the position of the House. That would be my position on the gentleman's amendment. I do not know what will be the final outcome.

Mr. SCHERLE. I appreciate the statement by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. I certainly hope that he will confer with the conferees, and that they also will sustain the position of the House. Support received from throughout this country indicates the public's sentiment. They want a strong law.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman's yielding.

I appreciate the statement by the distinguished chairman. For the benefit of all Members as well as my own information, do I correctly understand that by this legislative action, for which the gentleman asks unanimous consent at this time; we are in essence just passing a continuing action to make in order the guaranteed loans for those who must have these loans to continue their higher education under the act as it is now, with the possible exception of increasing the rate of interest?

Mr. PERKINS. Truthfully it is just a little more than that, I would think, because under the continuing resolution we can go along at the present level. The real purpose here is to increase the interest rate to 7 percent, so that the banks will make loans. We do not have that 7-percent provision in the existing law. We have 6 percent as the maximum rate.

Mr. HALL. If the gentleman will yield further, I believe the distinguished chairman made that perfectly clear, and was forthright in his initial statement. What I am really getting at is this: by accepting this portion of the Senate amendments, there is nothing else in the legislative action requested at this time, which would further prejudice the managers on the part of the House in the conference.

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct. Any action by the conferees when the conference report is adopted will supersede everything we are doing.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, as I understand this, it is timely, erstwhile, and noteworthy, and I commend the committee.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would certainly agree with the distinguished chairman of our committee as to the need for this legislation. There are about a half million young people in this country who rely on these guaranteed loans. If this bill is not approved today and we recess and do not come back until after Labor Day there would be total chaos in the loan application program, keeping in mind the fact that many of these youngsters start their college programs as early as the middle of August. I certainly urge the House to approve this action today without delay.

I do want to ask the chairman a question. We have in this House passed a vocational education bill unanimously, without a dissenting vote, and the other body passed a similar bill without a dissenting vote. We have not gone to conference on the vocational education bill simply because we have been waiting to get the higher education bill out of the way first.

May I have assurance from the distinguished chairman that the first order of business, immediately upon clearing up the higher education program, is going to be a conference on the vocational education bill, so that we can move the vocational education bill as quickly as possible after the recess.

Mr. PERKINS. Let me say to the gentleman from Illinois, it will be my purpose to get the conference report on higher education out of the way at the earliest possible moment. Not until we get the higher education conference out of the way will we go to conference on vocational education. But we will use a high degree of diligence and will go to conference soon thereafter and in ample time to get the vocational education bill through.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to have this assurance from the father of the whole new concept of vocational education in this country, the gentleman from Kentucky. I do hope we will approve his measure today.

Mr. PERKINS. I thank the gentleman from Illinois. I know he would not think for a moment I would let an important bill of that nature die.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. DORN. I thank the gentleman from Ohio for yielding.

I should like to propound a couple of short questions to the distinguished chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS].

Is my understanding correct, Mr. Speaker, that there was no possibility of the conference reaching agreement before recess?

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct. We tried in good faith, and it was just impossible.

Mr. DORN. The action proposed by the distinguished chairman this morning would permit the banks to go ahead and make loans?

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct.

Mr. DORN. Prior to our return from the recess?

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct.

Mr. DORN. And this action will make it possible for students who never attended an institution of higher learning before, where such institution convenes in August, to go ahead and have these loans made available to them?

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct. I hope they will start tomorrow.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do so to ask the chairman of the committee one question. The action we are taking here today would have no effect whatsoever on the action the House took the other day in eliminating from this bill some things that some of us thought were objectionable; will it? For instance, the hiring of people without limitation on salary. What we do here today will not affect that amendment at all?

Mr. PERKINS. The gentleman is 100 percent correct.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I just wanted to be sure.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING DIRECT ASSISTANCE TO AND SPECIAL SERVICES FOR INAUGURAL COMMITTEE

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 18040) to amend the Federal Property Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize the rendering of direct assistance to and performance of special services for the Inaugural Committee.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 18040

Be it enacted in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection 210(a) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 490(a)) is further amended by inserting immediately after paragraph (14) thereof the following new paragraph:

"(15) to render direct assistance to and perform special services for the Inaugural Committee (as defined in the Act of August 6, 1956, 70 Stat. 1049) during an inaugural period in connection with Presidential inaugural operations and functions, including employment of personal services without regard to the civil service and classification laws; provide Government-owned and leased space for personnel and parking; pay overtime to guard and custodial forces; erect and remove stands and platforms; provide and operate first-aid stations; provide furniture and equipment; and provide other incidental services in the discretion of the Administrator."

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 5, after the word "by" insert the following: "striking the word 'and' at the end of paragraph (13), striking the period at the end of paragraph (14) and inserting in lieu thereof '; and', and".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of a similar Senate bill (S. 3416) to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize the rendering of direct assistance to and performance of special services for the Inaugural Committee.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 3416

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection 210(a) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 490(a)) is further amended by inserting immediately after paragraph (14) thereof the following new paragraph:

"(15) to render direct assistance to and perform special services for the Inaugural Committee (as defined in the Act of August 6, 1956, 70 Stat. 1049) during an inaugural period in connection with Presidential inaugural operations and functions, including employment of personal services without regard to the civil service and classification laws; provide Government owned and leased space for personnel and parking; pay overtime to guard and custodial forces; erect and remove stands and platforms; provide and operate first-aid stations; provide furniture and equipment; and provide other incidental services in the discretion of the Administrator."

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BROOKS

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BROOKS: Strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 3416 and insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 18040 as passed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 18040) was laid on the table.

EXTENDING PERIOD OF AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS FOR ALLOCATIONS AND GRANTS FOR COLLECTION AND PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTARY SOURCE MATERIAL OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 2060) to amend section 503(f) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to extend for a period of 5 years the authorization to make appropriations for allocations and grants for the collection and publication of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, would the gentleman explain why it is necessary to continue this $500,000 annual expenditure for this "publication and collection of documentary material"? I understand that it is now a going concern and that it will lapse if such action is not taken. In the past few years has the money been appropriated and expended and, if not, why do we continue in this amount, and what is the ultimate purpose of this over and above the Library of Congress or regular functions of the National Archives?

Mr. BROOKS. I am delighted to answer the question which has been propounded by the gentleman from Missouri. I wish to point out two or three things to my distinguished friend from Missouri. One of them is the fact that this bill is the extension of the historical document preservation program of the National Historical Publications Commission in conjunction with the National Archives of the United States.

The essential and critical point is that more than one-half of the money used for the preservation of these documents which have to do with the history of this Nation is made up of contributions of private funds. We use the Federal money to both help pay for the work and to assure that the programs' financial support will be coordinated and continuous.

Mr. Speaker, this bill would extend that authorization only for a 5-year period.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress has never funded the full $500,000 authorization. I want to make that clear to my distinguished colleague. The maximum funded since 1964 has been $350,000 a year—or a total of $1,400,000. During this same period the commission has applied a total of $4,805,064 in donated funds to the preservation of historical documents.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I thank him. Do I understand that if the money is authorized and appropriated and is not needed in view of private contributions, that it would not be used and returned to the Treasury?

Mr. BROOKS. That is correct.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 2060

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 503(f) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, 63 Stat. 377, as amended (44 U.S.C. 393), is amended by substituting the word "nine" for the word "four" in the phrase "for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and each of the four succeeding fiscal years".

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FISHERMEN'S PROTECTIVE ACT OF 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 2269) to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I assume the gentleman will take a brief time to explain this bill.

Mr. DINGELL. The gentleman has the right to reserve the right to object and if the gentleman will yield to me I shall be most happy to undertake to provide a brief explanation of this measure.

Mr. Speaker, as my good friend will recall, recently the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported to this body a substantially similar bill, H.R. 4451, which provided for two things: it would establish a fund to be partly financed through contributions by commercial fishermen for insurance against seizures and the damages stemming from seizures. Approximately one-third of this fund is made up through those contributions. It is anticipated that it will be financed through contributions of the fishermen themselves and the balance would come from the Government for those whose vessels are seized.

This is for fishermen who have their vessels seized while fishing on the high seas outside the 12-mile limit of foreign nations such as for instance while fishing off the coast of some of the South American nations. They assert a 200-mile fisheries limit. Second, the legislation did not provide for the withholding of foreign assistance, either in whole or in part, as provided under S. 2269. Subsequently, the Senate considered and passed the bill, S. 2269, which is somewhat similar to H.R. 4451. It established a fund similar to this and would provide for the withholding of foreign aid to those countries that seized American vessels.

The only thing the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries did was to amend the legislation to provide for withholding of some of the foreign assistance to the seizing nation in the amount of the fines placed against the operator of these vessels and the fishermen whose vessels are seized. These are the facts of the matter and this is what the bill proposes to do.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the gentleman will agree with me that this seizure of fishing vessels on the high seas, for instance, 200 miles off the coast of Ecuador—does not the gentleman agree with me that this is piracy?

Mr. DINGELL. I thoroughly agree with the gentleman. It is highly improper.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman have any idea when this Government is going to put a stop to such business?

Mr. DINGELL. I am not able to comment upon that question at the moment. I would be most pleased to give my friend, the gentleman from Iowa, an answer to that question but I am not a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. We on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries are simply doing the best we can on the committee to see that our vessels are able to fish on the high seas in the manner in which they have been accustomed and to preserve our historical right to fish on the high seas in these areas.

Mr. GROSS. The great need is to put some starch into the backbone of the State Department. To that end it certainly needs to be reorganized. We need officials there who are interested in what happens to the citizens of the United States.

I am not going to oppose this bill, but I believe it is wrong in some respects. I have never supported foreign aid, as the gentleman well knows, not that I would not have given a minimal amount of foreign aid to certain countries, but I believe it is absolutely wrong to put money in the hands of a government and then, when it commits an act of piracy on the high seas, turn around and in effect take from the pockets of the taxpayers of this country through the medium of foreign aid, the money to pay the fine, indemnification, or ransom. I just believe that procedure is wrong.

I believe that, if necessary, this Government ought to stage naval maneuvers off the coasts of countries which are in the habit of seizing American fishing vessels, and then if they accost and seize American fishing vessels on the high seas, take forceful action—blow them out of the water if that is what we have to do—in order to stop them from confiscating such vessels, and imprisoning their crews.

We are getting down to the end of the road in this business of piracy. I thought we had had a stomach full over in North Korea, but apparently not. Now we come along, and propose to subsidize insurance and subsidize payments to these governments for acts of piracy on the high seas.

I do not like it, but I do not know of any other remedy until somehow or other we can clean out the State Department and get some people over there who are interested in protecting Americans in their legitimate use of the high seas.

Mr. DINGELL. If the gentleman will yield further, I am well aware that the gentleman is a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and I believe this bill will afford the gentleman a tool so he can get at the bottom of this matter.

I hope very sincerely that he will review this matter with great care with the State Department, and determine how these funds will have to be administered. I believe the State Department will utilize the whole provisions in this bill and the gentleman will have an opportunity to see what the State Department is doing with regard to protecting these fishermen. And I believe this would be a very valuable service. As I say, I believe this bill affords the gentleman the tool with which to accomplish his purpose.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman has mentioned the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and I am a member of it. The committee spends most of its time devising ways of getting rid of the taxpayers' money through the giveaway programs around the world. The Committee on Foreign Affairs ought to be holding hearings and investigating a dozen matters of importance to the American people that I can almost give you out of mind right now. This we ought to be doing, and are not doing, I regret to say.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DINGELL. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman from Ohio, but I do not have control of the time.

Mr. GROSS. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make inquiry as to whether or not this bill in essence does not provide money which is going to be used to pay the ransom for the return of these ships.

Mr. GROSS. I would suggest that the gentleman address his question to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DINGELL. Of course the answer to the question asked by the gentleman from Ohio is No, it does not. This simply compensates the American fishermen in part under the insurance program for his loss, and also there are certain specified amounts set out in the bill, including the cost of fines, seizures, loss of gear, and other losses that are reimbursable. The whole question is as to whether we are going to protect our commercial fishing industry—and I might add that I do not have any in my district. The bill is quite important.

Mr. FEIGHAN. If the gentleman will yield further, are we not providing the wherewithal by which these people may in essence ransom the ship?

Mr. DINGELL. No, what we are actually doing is authorizing a method to handle these matters that I have mentioned, covered by this bill, so that these costs will be recouped in foreign aid to the nations concerned.

My good friend, the gentleman from Iowa, has expressed quite some concern about some of these programs in foreign aid, and he will have a chance to discuss them when the foreign aid bill comes up.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object since that is the order of the day around here.

I have heard the gentleman from Iowa make certain statements that the Committee on Foreign Affairs ought to be holding hearings right now on things that he says are wrong with the State Department.

As chairman of the State Department Subcommittee, I will invite the gentleman to come over any time he wants to and testify. But he had better have his facts because I am going to ask a few questions.

I am a little tired of people making statements around here about how rotten the State Department is and how many things are wrong with it. I am sure there are things wrong with it and I am sure there always will be because it cannot be perfect. But if the gentleman knows anything of any national import or even of any importance at all wrong with it, you come in and I will set up a hearing for you tomorrow.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. For an opener let us have a hearing as to why the Secretary of State refuses to extradite a labor goon to Canada who was convicted in that country for a criminal act and sentenced to 5 years.

Mr. HAYS. I do not know that that is a very overriding matter. You only want to substitute your judgment for that of the Secretary. But you are talking about so many things that are wrong with the State Department.

Mr. GROSS. Oh, you want to pick and choose?

Mr. HAYS. Why do you not get to be Secretary of State? You are just questioning his judgment and that is not anything that is wrong with the State Department.

If the Republicans win the election, I hope they pick you for Secretary of State.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I object.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 1093) to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes, with an amendment of the Senate thereto, and consider the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 4, after line 7, insert:

"SEC. 2. Section 3551 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by striking out ', to be restored to the position held when ordered to duty.' and by substituting in lieu thereof the following: 'within the time limits specified in section 9(g) of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (50 U.S.C. App. 459(g)), to be restored to the position held by him when ordered to duty. However, a Reserve or member of the National Guard who leaves a position for which the salary is disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives is entitled on release from active duty to be restored only under the provisions of section 459(g) of title 50, appendix, United States Code.'"

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. PRICE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. PRICE of Illinois moves to concur in the amendment of the Senate with an amendment as follows: On page 4, line 18, delete "459(g)" and substitute "459".

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AGAINST TEAGUE AMENDMENT TO FOOD STAMP BILL

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, because of the limitation on debate on the Teague amendment to the food stamp bill (H.R. 18249), I was not able to speak against it, though I was on my feet at the time of limitation of debate. I voted against it, but there was no way to get a separate vote on this very repressive amendment since it became merged with the Sullivan substitute, which I supported.

I cannot, however, let my opposition to this amendment remain unspoken. The amendment establishes governmental policy to starve a child to make his father cross a picket line. It also, unjustly and discriminatorily, creates an express discrimination against unionists on strike and students. All persons should be treated alike under the Federal guidelines and State administration, which together, afford adequate machinery to prevent abuse.

The amendment was a gratuitous slap at the working man and the student.

EXTENSION OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ACT OF 1965

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 17126) to amend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H.R. 17126, with Mr. NATCHER in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **CHAIRMAN.** When the Committee rose on yesterday, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] had 15 minutes remaining and the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER] had 15 minutes remaining.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY].

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 17126, a bill to extend for 1 year the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

I was a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry when this original legislation, the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, was enacted by the 89th Congress. It was our effort at that time to write a basic farm bill which would correct many of the problems which had plagued the farm program over the years, and to bring some measure of security and stability to farm programs that had been subjected to legislative revision every year or two.

We did not succeed perfectly. No committee succeeds in such an effort with absolute perfection. But I do think that it can be said that in the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, the extension of which we consider today, has met with greater acceptance in areas of agriculture as diverse as feed grains, dairy, wheat, cotton, and rice, than any previous legislation in our history.

Any Member in this Chamber who has any doubt about the fact that the American agricultural community supports this basic legislation could consult any farm organization in this country, save one. Farmers support these programs through their organizations and by their participation which, in my State, approaches 98 percent in wheat, for example.

I have heard Members stand in the well and state that there are 100,000 farmers leaving the farms and going to the cities each year, or that the prices of farm commodities have dropped in some instances, or that parity has not been achieved in other instances. The fact is that agriculture does have its problems, but not because of this legislation. Indeed, without it, the problems of agriculture would be vastly greater, as everyone familiar with the agricultural and rural scene knows very well.

Some of my friends may be concerned that this program does not serve the interests of those in urban areas. What we contend is that these programs support consumers fully as much as they support the agricultural economy. Without these programs, without some control over the tremendous capacity of the United States to produce agriculture products, we would see an immediate and quick depression in agricultural areas all over the United States. Such a result would inevitably be the death of many existing farm operations, and the development of larger and larger corporate farms.

It is just inevitable that this process, which exists to some extent today, would be immensely accelerated by the failure of this legislation. The ultimate consequence of increased prices would force the consumer to pay more, not less, in the marketplace than he pays today.

The cost of wheat that goes into a loaf of bread is so fractional that I could say with certainty that if we gave away wheat, it would not substantially reduce the price of the bread to the consumer. But we do have it in our power, by defeating this legislation, to encourage, if not to precipitate, an agricultural depression, which would have dangerous impact on the national economy as a whole.

So it is in the interest of the entire economy—rural, industrial, and urban—of the country to support this measure. I want also to say something about the proposals that undoubtedly will be made to limit payments. I have the greatest respect for the capacity and ability of some of the Members who have offered the limitation measures before. I think they know very much what they are about. Many of them are enemies of the program, and its present character. They know once these limitations are enacted, the program will be killed. They know that we cannot hope to limit production if we have payment limitations which drive the larger producers out of the program.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Washington has expired.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Washington 2 additional minutes.

Mr. FOLEY. So, Mr. Chairman, I especially urge those of my colleagues who come from the urban areas not to be deceived by the suggestions that payment limitations are reasonable and proper. They have no relevance to anything but slow death of this legislation. A payment limitation of $10,000 or $15,000 or $20,000 would inevitably kill the program as it exists. They would be better advised to vote against the bill than to vote for a payment limitation.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Chairman, I want my colleague from Washington to know that he has to say it better than he is saying it in order to satisfy the people in my district. When some people are getting $100,000 and $250,000, I cannot tell my people what the gentleman just said in order to solve their problem.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, it is always interesting to me that Members complain about $100,000 payments and then urge a limitation of $10,000 or $15,000.

The other body proposed a limitation of $75,000—which I personally would oppose as against the philosophy and theory of the program—but it makes more sense—than the proposals to go from a $100,000 or a $200,000 payment down to a limitation of $10,000 or $20,000.

These payments represent a contract payment for taking land out of production. When we condemn land for public purposes or we condemn land for Government construction, we do not say that no single owner of property will be paid more than $10,000 or $20,000. Government contracts with industry do not limit the payments any one corporation or business may receive.

The fact of the matter is that this program is designed to limit production by paying the producers who voluntarily accept limitations on production. If we exclude the producers who produce more than a certain amount of production, we are not going to keep the program in operation.

If it fails those who will suffer are small farmers those connected directly with the agricultural economy and paradoxically the urban consumer.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Washington has expired.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Will the gentleman please explain to me how he figures the consumers will benefit as a result of this scheme?

Mr. FOLEY. The consumers benefit because, unfortunately, the price of American farm products is below a parity level which would give farmers a reasonable return on their investment. To some extent the slack is taken up by this program.

At the same time the consumer in this country pays the lowest proportion of his income for food of any consumer in the Western World.

If this program fails, we are going to have a massive depression in the farm area, which will result temporarily in a very sharp drop of farm prices. But this will not be passed on to the consumer. The reorganization of farm agriculture to a larger corporate basis will be quick and brutal, resulting in a far more easily administered market. Increased prices in the marketplace will be inevitable. The consumer will pay more to a larger, more centralized, and far better organized corporate agriculture. To me that is not an attractive prospect.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Chairman, I associate myself with the remarks made by the gentleman in the well and commend the gentleman for his outstanding statement on this difficult problem.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation was developed as a result of trial and error over the years, starting with the original farm action programs during the dark depression days of the early thirties, and extending through drought, war, and peace, and numerous other emergencies. Each new program took into account the experiences gained under previous programs, and so this 1965 law had an outstanding advantage: It provided a 4-year program for planning by farmers instead of an authorization which had to be renewed and revised every 1 or 2 years.

Largely because of this 4-year authorization, the law has offered some measure of security, price stability, and flexibility, while at the same time affording freedom of decision by the individual family farmer. It has enabled many of such farmers to remain on the land.

The job which our farmers carry out with such casual excellence that we sometimes take the results for granted has provided for abundant production of food and fiber for our own people at the lowest cost to them in the world. It has insured ample supplies of farm products for world export, including donations to needy and underdeveloped countries.

No one has been able to charge that this country lacks food in any amount that we could possibly require.

But, if farmers are to continue providing abundantly for all the Nation's needs, we on our part must insure that they are able to plan and operate their production plants with at least a small amount of assurance.

That is why I urge the extension of this legislation now.

I need only remind you of past experience. The act of 1965 was developed after long and extensive hearings, and it was not actually enacted into law until November 3 of that year.

The legislation as now in effect covers the crops through 1969, but the planting of next year's wheat crop starts in some sections as early as July. So the major part of the 1969 wheat crop will be planted during the fall of 1968—this year. And the 1970 wheat crop will go into the ground during the summer and fall of 1969.

If extension of the 1965 act were delayed until the next session of Congress, time would be short in which to pass such legislation and for farmers to adjust their cropping plans. A 4-year extension is needed to provide adequate planning. It is the same length of time we afford other necessary programs. Most farmers need financing and most of it cannot be done on a 1-year basis. Do not penalize our most productive minority. Agriculture is the Nation's basic industry. And farm programs are the basic foundation on which to build a sound farm economy.

Let us meet our responsibility by providing effective assistance to farmers in working toward a stable and prosperous agriculture and Nation. And let us do it now.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count.

Fifty-five Members are present, not a quorum. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 298]

Baring
Battin
Blackburn
Blanton
Bolton
Burke, Fla.
Cramer
Davis, Wis.
Dole
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Flood
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gardner
Garmatz
Goodell
Hansen, Idaho
Hawkins
Hébert
Herlong
Holland
Irwin
Jarman
Karsten
Kirwan
Lipscomb
Lukens
Miller, Calif.
Morse, Mass.
Pike
Rarick
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Schweiker
Springer
Teague, Calif.
Waggonner
Watson
Wright

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. NATCHER, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H.R. 17126, and finding itself without a quorum, he had directed the roll to be called, when 391 Members responded to their names, a quorum, and he submitted herewith the names of the absentees to be spread upon the Journal.

The Committee resumed its sitting.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER].

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I find myself in a rather peculiar situation today. The President of the United States is against my position. The Secretary of Agriculture is against my position. The chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture is against my position. The majority leadership is against my position. And the minority leadership is against my position.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Under those conditions, would the gentleman insist on making his speech?

Mr. BELCHER. I just want to make my position clear. I supported the 1-year extension. At the beginning of this year the chairman and I had several conversations concerning the fact of whether or not there would be any farm legislation this year. I tried to convince the chairman and I tried to convince the Secretary of Agriculture that, in view of the fact that this was an election year, it would be a poor time to try to do anything about a farm bill.

Later on the chairman decided that we had to do something. The chairman favors making the present program permanent. I was against the program in its inception and I am still against the present program. However, I discussed the subject with the chairman and suggested to him that it might be possible to get an agreement on a 1-year extension on the present bill. I would favor a 1-year extension of the present bill because I think it would give a little running room before we have to bring out a new bill.

So we proceeded on that idea. The other body passed a 4-year extension. I have been assured by the other body that they will accept nothing less than a 4-year extension. I am not going to support and pass out a 1-year bill here knowing that a bill much longer than that will come back to the House from the conference. I know that the chairman has stated, and I know honestly that he will try to maintain the position of the House. But the chairman is going to be under the pressure of the majority leadership, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the President of the United States.

I have loved, cherished, and respected my chairman for 18 years. I have enjoyed working with him. I have enjoyed working with him in the past 2 years. He is a man of his word.

But the thing that surprised me was before we went to the Rules Committee with the food stamp plan, the Speaker assured the chairman that the farm bill would come up first. With that assurrance, the chairman of the committee decided we could go to the Rules Committe and get a rule on the food stamp plan. We did that. But the food stamp plan came up first. I do not know where the signals got crossed.

What surprised me more than ever, the chairman introduced a bill suggested by the Secretary of Agriculture which provided $20 million additional authorization for this coming year.

The Secretary of Agriculture then appeared before the committee, without any notice whatsoever to the chairman of the committee, and advocated the Sullivan bill. That almost knocked the chairman off his chair. He got rather irked about it, and he was not happy about it, so he proceeded to get the Committee on Agriculture to disregard the Sullivan bill and pass out the chairman's bill, which came out almost unanimously. The chairman then came to the floor with the food stamp plan and did not raise a little finger and never opened his mouth to defend the Poage bill against the Sullivan bill.

I have known Texans all my life. Texans do not surrender. Ever since the day of the Alamo, one of the characteristics of the Texan is that he will fight all over the lot but never surrender. So when the chairman, the gentleman from Texas, surrendered, I know he had tremendous pressure. I know he is going to have the same pressure when he gets into conference with this 1-year bill. I do not know whether he will surrender this time, but I am not going to take a chance on it. I am not going to throw away the only weapon I have to prevent fastening on the farmers for 4 or 5 more years this present farm program.

Do Members know that in the last 8 years the Department of Agriculture has spent $63.5 billion, and do Members know that is more money than has been spent from the time when Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock to the day when Secretary Freeman was sworn in? That is almost $8 billion a year, and for that much money a year I think we ought to get more than $1.15 per bushel for wheat.

When the chairman says to me, "I would like to see this program continued forever, permanently," I just cannot understand why a program that costs $8 billion should be continued when the farmer, according to his own statement, is in the worst shape he has been in in 20 long years. Yet the chairman says he would like to just to continue to give the farmer the very same thing.

I do not know whether I will be chairman of the committee next year, or whether the present chairman will continue, and I do not particularly care. I would just as soon work with the gentleman from Texas as chairman and me as ranking minority member or vice versa, because the gentleman from Texas is the type of man I like to work with.

I am trying to protect the gentleman from being put on that kind of spot in conference. He cannot protect himself but I am going to try to protect him.

I insisted that the Secretary of Agriculture should apologize publicly to the chairman for changing signals, and the Secretary of Agriculture did apologize to the chairman publicly.

If the farmers are leaving the farms—as they are—at the rate of 5 million farmers in the last 8 years, and they are being starved out at the rate of 600,000 or 700,000 a year under this particular farm program, then I think it is fine that we passed the food stamp program yesterday, because the gentlewoman from Missouri in the future is going to have many more farmers to feed if we keep this farm bill.

We have spent $63.5 billion, and the farmer is in the worst condition he has been in during the past 20 years. Wheat is selling at $1.15 a bushel. If that is all the future we can offer the farmer, we destroy the last hope he has.

I believe that hope to a man lots of times is worth as much as money. When a man has no hope for the future, what incentive is there for a farmer to struggle on?

I do not know, if I become chairman of the committee, whether we can get any better program than this. I do not believe we will get a worse one, because I do not believe this Congress will give us more than $8 billion a year continuously. I just do not believe that wheat will get much lower than $1.15 a bushel, which is the price this morning in my congressional district.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has consumed 10 minutes.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

I have said many times that I do not accept the responsibilty for any single Member's vote. I am just trying to give the facts. I believe the Members are entitled to the facts.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] said the other day in the Rules Committee, "I did not know that those farm bills were going to cost so much money."

I know these farm programs are the most complicated things in the world. There are very few Members of this House who really understand the farm bills. They are completely complicated.

I know the gentlemen on the other side merely walk into the Chamber and they vote for the Secretary of Agriculture. Well, I want to give them the facts this time, because in the coming campaign there may be some "eager beaver" in their districts who will give their constituents the facts, and I believe the Members ought to know those facts before their constituents find them out.

I am terribly sorry that the gentleman from Indiana got so badly trapped on these figures.

I want to say that this will not hurt me, regardless of whether a 1-year bill or a 5-year bill is passed. Members should understand that whatever it is extended, it will be 1 more year than what it is extended. If we pass a 4-year bill, that will mean 5 years from December 31 before the Committee on Agriculture has to do anything about it. That will run through about three congressional elections and two presidential elections, and I will not have to face those headaches that we are bound to have to face.

So, personally, it would probably be a great favor, and I probably would live longer, if this bill were passed to take the monkey right out of my lap.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I heard the gentleman a minute ago mention the possibility that he might be chairman of the committee come January. Would he not have an opportunity at that time to change anything that this Congress had done?

Mr. BELCHER. The gentleman has served 20 years on this Committee on Agriculture and he has never seen a farm bill changed yet before the expiration of it.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I disagree with the gentleman.

Mr. BELCHER. We cannot even pass a farm bill 30 minutes before the expiration of a farm act.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. BELCHER. Yes; but do not ask me those foolish questions.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I will try to keep from asking embarrassing questions. I will try to do that.

Mr. BELCHER. I do not care how embarrassing it is; just make it sensible.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. All right. Does the gentleman recall on the day that this bill was reported from the Committee on Agriculture whether or not there was an agreement entered into that some of us thought was binding, and which I thought the gentleman from Oklahoma was a party to?

Mr. BELCHER. Yes, sir; we had an agreement that we would extend the agricultural program for 1 year, but absolutely knowing that there is no possible chance to do that, I am not going now to throw away the only weapon on earth and let the majority go over there and bring back whatever type of bill they want.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Did you not have the same information that day that you have now?

Mr. BELCHER. No, sir. At that time the information from the other body was that they would not even pass a farm bill this year. Since then they have passed a 4-year bill and since then I have been assured by the other body that they will not concede a single minute of that 4 years. Now, I am not just that foolish that I am going to surrender the only weapon I have. If you want a 1-year bill, the best way on earth to get it is to stop this bill here today and then we will negotiate with the Senate. We cannot negotiate with the Senate if we send this bill over there and it goes to conference.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ARENDS. From what the chairman said I was under the impression that if the House passed a 1-year bill he would let the conferees emphatically know this is exactly what the House wanted, but apparently from what you say an agreement has already been made that the conferees will accept a 3- or 4-year bill.

Mr. BELCHER. No, sir. I do not say that.

Mr. ARENDS. Let me ask you this question: Have our conferees made a statement to the effect that they will rigorously support the House position of 1-year extension and no more if such extension is voted.

Mr. BELCHER. The conferees, as far as I know, have said that they will try to maintain the House version. I have gone to conference for years when we tried to maintain the House version, and not one time have we been able to do it. I also know that I consider the chairman of this committee, one of the greatest authorities in the entire Congress on agricultural legislation. I think the chairman is one of the finest experts in the country.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the remainder of the time.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. In yesterday's statement the gentleman from Texas said—and I really appreciate his clarifying his position:

> The other body has indeed passed a 4-year bill. Actually, an amendment to reduce this time limit lost by a tie vote and a proposal to write a 1-year limitation in the bill would have carried in that body by a change of only seven votes. I think it is clear that there is considerable sentiment in that body for the 1-year provision which is contained in the House bill and that we could rather confidently expect an acceptance of this term in conference.

Is it the gentleman's position that his position is for a 1-year bill when he goes to conference?

Mr. POAGE. The chairman is saying that he is going to carry out the will of this House in whatever it votes. I am going to stand with that position clear to the end. If this House will vote 1 year, as I think they will, then I am going to vote for 1 year. I am going to support 1 year right on through.

Of course, if this House votes otherwise, I will follow the wishes of the House.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BELCHER. I would say to the chairman that if he would fail to come back with a bill—unless he can come back with a 1-year bill I think then that possibly we can get a 1-year bill, but my understanding is——

Mr. POAGE. I think I have said enough on this. I frankly feel that when my veracity is challenged, as it seems it has been today, I think I have said all that I care to say to the gentleman from Illinois. My intention is to do the best I can and to honestly represent the will of this House. I doubt that my reaction is very different from that of most Members whose integrity has been questioned. It is indeed rather disconcerting to have one's friend of many years ask you to take warm blood and write out a pledge here on the floor. I think I have made my position as plain as could be expected of an honest man. If you think I am dishonest, I want you to vote against me, because I do not want you to vote for it if you think I am dishonest.

Mr. BELCHER. I do not say that the chairman is dishonest. I just want to know how long you are going to stay put, but you do not say that you will stay put if it means killing the bill.

Mr. POAGE. I said I was going to continue to represent the expressed will of the House all the way through. Now, that is as far as I am going. I believe that

that is all my friend would want when he thinks this through. Now, I could get on my knees right here, and cross my heart, but I do not believe my friend from Oklahoma would really want me to do that.

Mr. Chairman, I do not yield any further.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I will yield to the gentleman in just a moment, but I do think there are some other things which ought to be said.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I want to say this, because at the time we made the agreement in the committee all of us who voted for that bill to come out said we would support a 1-year bill without any amendments, and the gentleman from Oklahoma was a party to that agreement. But since he has made the statement which he has made here today that he does not intend to abide by the statement he made that day, I consider myself released from my commitment to stand by a 1-year bill and I am going as far as I can in my effort to extend the bill as long as I can. I was prepared to vote for a 1-year bill, but since the statement has been made by the gentleman from Oklahoma, I do not know that I will do that.

Mr. POAGE. I was a party to that agreement and I am standing by the agreement I made regardless of how many others might feel they are justified in changing their position.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. ABERNETHY. The gentleman has just expressed my sentiments. I made the same agreement and I am standing by it.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I, too, am going to stand by my commitment.

Mr. POAGE. I am standing by it, and I think the Committee will stand by it. I hope we will not all have to testify to that fact.

Mr. Chairman, I believe it is entirely clear that this Committee is going to stand by what we agreed upon. I think this Committee is going to stand by it all the way through. I think the majority of the House is going to vote for a 1-year program. I think we will come up with a 1-year bill.

However, Mr. Chairman, the important thing is do we want a bill at all and why do we want a bill?

I think it is much more important than arguing about who is going to stand by something. It is my opinion that all of us are honorable ladies and gentlemen. I am not questioning the veracity of anyone. I am simply suggesting that we need a farm bill very desperately. Why do we need it? Because the farmers are the poorest paid group in our economy. They are the only substantial group which has received no increase—and I said no increase—in their selling prices and wages.

Mr. Chairman, farm prices today are lower on all of the major commodities of this land than they were a generation ago. This includes wheat, cotton, and corn. All are selling for less than they did a generation ago. Farmers are having to buy in an administered market where they have to pay more for everything used in their operations and receive less for their wages and profits. I am not criticizing anyone, but if you are going to buy in an administered or protected market, you must have an opportunity to sell in such a market.

It is clear that at this moment farmers must sell in a protective market where he must buy the necessities with which to operate.

Mr. Chairman, the farmer must have the opportunity to sell in the same kind of market in which you sell your wages and your production of your manufactured products.

Mr. Chairman, the farmer must have the same opportunity. If he were given an opportunity to buy in a completely free market, then I would say he should not have any kind of Government assistance or subsidy.

Mr. Chairman, about 6 percent of our population lives on the farms today. Yet 40 percent of the poverty of America is in the rural areas—40 percent of the total number of these people are earning less than $3,000 a year and are located in the rural areas, and yet they constitute only 6 percent of our population. Does not this indicate to the members of the Committee that there is something desperately wrong? The gentleman from Oklahoma, the ranking member on the committee, has just gotten through saying that the program has not made the farmers rich, and it certainly has not. But, Mr. Chairman, the hospitals of America are full of sick people, are they not?

Should we burn down our hospitals? Everybody in them is sick, we want the people to be well. Why maintain these institutions which have by this standard failed so completely?

But the farm program has helped. It has not made all farmers well, but it has made them a whole lot better off than they were. And if we start today to cut off the blood transfusions that farmers are receiving under the present program we are jeopardizing the whole lifestream of agriculture.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the measure before us today that proposes to extend the Agriculture Act of 1965 even though the program is not due to expire until the end of next year, almost a year and a half away.

I take the position I do because of my deep and abiding concern for the future of farming operations not only in my own congressional district but throughout our entire Nation as well.

My mail from the farming community in the 16th Congressional District of Illinois reflects a keen disappointment with the present farm program.

By all of the yardsticks by which one would measure the success of a program, the present Johnson administration-bred farm program has been a failure. Parity is the lowest it has been in three decades. Real farm income is down while farm costs are up. The cost-price squeeze is severe. In my own State of Illinois, net realized income per farm reflecting today's farm price levels dropped by about 20 percent last year. This is a fantastic setback when one considers how important one year's operations are to the next. I find that many current prices lend little encouragement to farmers that this situation is likely to improve in the near future. Just this afternoon I conferred with one of the farmers in my district who discribed his discouragement over the lowest corn and wheat prices in many, many years.

Our Nation's farmers have been treated like second-class citizens for too long by the present administration whose record over the years has clearly shown it being involved in actions repeatedly unfavorable or outright detrimental to the farmer. This administration, with the assent of the President and the sitting Secretary of Agriculture, has deliberately engaged in price depressing actions. The Secretary, I think, has rightfully been accused of engaging in dumping CCC stocks at crucial times which adversely affected farm prices. The administration, from the President on down, has engaged in trade manipulations that heaped insult on top of injury insofar as our farmers are concerned and many a family farm operator had his back pushed unfairly to the wall as a result.

So I cannot help now but wonder about this gratuitous response on the part of this administration to commit so prematurely the farm economy to more of the same kind of program so full of farm failures and shortcomings. I cannot help but wonder about the sincerity of this administration's Johnny-come-lately concern for the welfare of our farmers.

Indeed, I question the motivation of this administration in the light of its sad farm record.

I consider what this administration ploy of extending the present disastrous farm program is nothing more than another attempt to keep farmers locked up in economic stagnation while other sectors of our national economy advance by leaps and bounds. Therefore, I think it would be ill advised to pass this extension at this time. I look upon the proposal as an affront not only to our Nation's farmers but as an affront as well to the new administration and the new Congress that will be elected in November.

I think a new Congress and a new administration that will be elected in November and which will be given a public mandate, should have the opportunity to apply new and fresh insights in writing a farm program to achieve the end result that our farmers will begin to share to a better and greater extent in our national rate of economic growth.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Chairman, several days ago, I received a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture labeling the legislation we seek to extend today as "landmark" legislation. There is not any question, Mr. Chairman, that it will stand out as a monument to remind the American farmer that because of it and the manner in which it has been administered parity prices are lower than they have been since the depth of the depression in 1933 that the farm debt now is 17.3 percent of the farm assets. The farm price for wheat in 1968 was $1.24 per bushel—down 25 cents from a year ago. The economic plight of the small farmer has been so desperate that many cry out that we abandon the whole program. I can understand their reasoning—I cannot agree with their conclusion.

The past 5 years will go down as the worst 5 years in the history of agriculture. While the economy of this country has flourished—the earnings of labor increased and manufacturers profits have skyrocketed, the farmer has gone deeper into debt, received less for his products and a smaller percentage of the consumer dollar. Small farmers are earning $3 and $4 a day yet we pass a minimum wage law requiring that they pay at least $1.50 per hour. While the farmers receive less for their wheat than they received 30 years ago, the machinery they buy has skyrocketed in price. If the recent wage increase for steel workers is an indication, they will pay more next year and the year to follow.

Mr. Chairman, we cannot have a healthy economy without a healthy and prosperous agriculture. Take away the purchasing price of agriculture and you also endanger the wages of the city worker who produces what agriculture buys and agriculture now spends upwards of $35 billion annually.

Mr. Chairman, I have been one of the group who has been critical of this administration, its agricultural policies and the manner in which it has administered the farm program. I have looked forward to the day when we could develop a farm program that would give agriculture a fair price for its product—that would return to the farmer his control over his own operations. I do not think, however, that it would be wise to let this program expire. Neither do I think that it makes sense to continue it for another 4 years and then give this body an opportunity to duck its responsibilities for 4 more years.

In my opinion a 1-year extension of the act is justified. In November, the people of this country will elect a new President and a new Congress. However, the new Congress will not convene until January 1969. We all know that it will take until the middle of March for it to really get down to business.

In wheat particularly we need a 1-year extension. The 1969 winter wheat crop will be planted very shortly. The 1970 crop will be planted a year from now. If the act is not extended now, wheat farmers will not be able to plan on the nature of the program that will affect them in 1970.

Existing law requires a referendum to be held on the 1970 crop by the summer of 1969. It seems unlikely to me that the new Congress and the new administration will be able to organize and propose improved farm legislation by early summer of next year. I therefore urge that a 1-year bill be approved.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 17126, which would extend through 1970 the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

I was greatly impressed yesterday with the lucid and forthright statement on this legislation made by the Agriculture Committee's distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Texas [**Mr. POAGE**], with whom I had the privilege of working on that committee during the 88th and 89th Congresses.

It is clear that we are called upon at this time, not to judge the merits or demerits of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, but merely to provide the Nation's farmers a 1-year extension of the present program. The measure on the floor is definitely not designed in any way to preempt the task of forging an improved farm program. That task is left to a future administration and to a future Congress.

Whether we are for or against this legislation, it can be said that we are all seeking a common goal—a stable and productive farm economy that brings to our farmers a fair share of the farm income. Today, we are not being asked to find the pathways which lead to that goal. We are merely being asked not to prejudice a future opportunity for the Nation's farmers to reach that goal.

It is a matter of common knowledge that farm operations require careful planning. Months before the first shoots of a new crop appear, the soil must be carefully prepared for planting. Months before the crop is harvested, the farmer is concerned with marketing problems. The proposal espoused by some that we ought to let the present farm program expire in 1969 so as not to step on the toes of a future Congress, is a neat sidestep of the underlying issue. There is no doubt that a future Congress will undertake, as it must, the task of improving upon our farm program. But what are we, in this Congress, going to do about our responsibility of providing the Nation's farmers the assurance of relatively stable prices for their products until that future Congress can act?

The 1-year extension provided in H.R. 17126 would give needed stability to our farm economy during the interim period. It would also provide sufficient time for that oft referred to future Congress to present a carefully considered program instead of a proposal hastily conceived because of the exigencies of the situation.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge a favorable vote for H.R. 17126.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, we need a 4-year extension of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. And we need it now. The current act expires with the 1969 crops.

Long-range planning is as vital to success in agriculture as it is in any other business.

Farmers need to know just as soon as possible what kind of programs they will have for their 1970 crops, and thereafter.

Opponents of farm programs would have us believe that it is unfair to incoming Congressmen for this session to act now on the extension of the 1965 Farm Act. I say it would be grossly unfair to the farmers of our Nation, and equally unfair to our friends in the cities, if we delay this important decision.

Opponents of farm programs will not be any more in favor of an extension after next January 20 than they are today. They have already testified that they want to do away with the grain programs—and after that they say they will look at other farm programs.

I say, let us look at the facts, now, in 1968.

The facts are that a study made by Iowa State University for the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber concluded that in the absence of farm programs, net farm income would drop between 20 and 40 percent in the first 5 years, and that the same low prices would persist for at least another 5 to 10 years.

The facts are that recent farm programs have enabled us to work off the burdensom surpluses of a decade ago and to achieve a reasonable balance between supply and demand.

The facts are that farm programs have brought farm income up and kept it up. In 1966 they brought American farmers the second highest net farm income on record. Last year they kept farm income from dropping as much as it could have with the worldwide overproduction of grains in 1967.

The facts are that farm programs make it possible for farmers to subsidize the consumers of America with high quality, low cost foods. Last year American consumers spent only 18 percent of their disposable income on food—the lowest of any nation in the world, and the lowest it has ever been in this country.

The facts are that the 1965 Food and Agriculture Act authorizes basic programs for cotton, wheat, feed grains, and wool. It also provides a program to allow milk producers in a Federal milk marketing order area to establish bases and maintain them without having to overproduce; and a standby diversion program for rice if it is needed. The act also authorizes the cropland adjustment program which allows the long-term retirement of cropland not needed currently for the production of crops likely to be in surplus.

The facts are that farmers in many areas will be planning and budgeting in January, long before the new Congress is seated and organized. They will be arranging for the purchases of land, machinery, fertilizers, and other production inputs required for planting and harvesting the 1970 crops. What the farmers plan to do will depend on their price and income prospects. Without a program, income prospects will not be good.

The facts are that failure to act now could have serious repercussions in other segments of our economy. Farmers provide raw materials for an estimated 10 million workers who process, transport, manufacture, or sell farm products. It is estimated that three out of every 10 jobs in America are related to agriculture. Farmers themselves represent about a $40 billion customer for goods and services from our cities and factories.

These are the facts. Extension of the Farm Act is in the public interest. Let us face the facts and act now.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Chairman, this bill before us, H.R. 17126, provides for a 1-year extension of the 1965 Agriculture Act. I support this legislation because it is based on the sound premise that farmers are entitled to know now what their programs will be so that they can make knowledgeable decisions for a reasonable time into the future.

Our action now in extending this farm legislation for 1 year would give a new administration and a new Congress time enough to write a farm bill before the existing programs would expire.

The present law expires on December 31, 1969, but some farm management decisions would have to be made early in 1969 by farmers in my district. For example, farmers are entitled to know what kind of program they will be operating under, before making costly commitments for machinery, fertilizer, feed, and land. That is why it is so important to get a 1-year extension of the program now.

The 1-year extension gives farmers time to make their plans for 1970 crops in an orderly and reasonable manner. It also gives the next administration and Congress time to legislate in an orderly and reasonable manner.

Mr. Chairman, I want to emphasize that my support of this legislation does not constitute a blanket stamp of approval on the current farm programs. There is a desperate need for improvement of agricultural prices and income. There is a need for better management within the Department of Agriculture of our farm programs.

A 1-year extension gives the necessary leadtime to all concerned with the eventual strengthening and improvement of American agriculture.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Chairman, I strongly oppose any extension of the time of authorization under the Agriculture Act of 1965. I opposed the extension of the act in 1965 and I oppose it today.

I am opposed to this act on its merits in any event but even if it were to pass I am opposed to any long extension as has been proposed by some Members.

Who can say what events may take place in the 3- or 4-year periods which have been suggested. At the pace that life moves today many basic changes can take place which would alter our attitude toward this legislation and toward the farm problem generally.

It is clear that this problem requires constant review. Every day brings about mechanical and scientific advances in agricultural practice which modify the whole farm situation. In addition, the population pattern of the country continues to change rapidly. As in every other nation in the world, the farm population, especially farm labor, is moving to the urban areas. This, too, brings changes in the complexion of the problem.

With all these variables, therefore, we are shirking our responsibility if we surrender for any substantial period of time the supervisory responsibilitty over Federal programs that is imposed upon Members of Congress by law. Nor is this any moderate amount that we are discussing. Although it is not readily apparent from an examination of the report, the fact is that this bill carries a price tag of some $3 billion for a 1-year extension. That we should scrutinize with care such an authorization in any year goes without saying, but it is quite obvious that a quizzical examination is particularly called for in a year when we are slashing other Government programs and reducing Government expenditures. I have long felt that the farm program was a prime target for economizers and I feel so with particular keenness today.

My basic objection to this farm legislation lies in the fact that it is a bag of contradictions. It is a conglomeration of conflicting ideas that have been accumulated over the years. It seeks varying and sometimes contradictory objectives. It fails to do many of the jobs which it purports to do.

It encompasses the wealthy, powerful, and corporate entities which hardly can be called farmers but are industries in themselves. It covers the middle class individual enterpreneur and it encompasses the marginal and even parttime dweller on the land who is either a candidate for the poverty program because of his limited resources or, is in fact, primarily an industrial worker. Other fields have a farmer part time.

Yesterday, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING] gave certain statistics about the disparity between the amounts received by farmers in Pennsylvania under Federal farm programs, and those received by certain large corporate enterprises. It is educational to make a similar comparison with respect to Connecticut farmers.

In 1966, payments to the three Connecticut payees that received more than $5,000 each totaled only $21,045 and in 1967, four such payees received only $27,631. By contrast, a single payee, the Salyer Land Co. in Kings County, Calif., collected $1,014,860 in 1966 and in 1967, another single payee, South Lake Farms in the same county got $1.3 million.

Under this program, the rich are getting richer, the corporations are getting bigger, and the payments to them are becoming astronomical. Gaining affluence is not bad in itself, but how any one can justify sandbagging the Federal taxpayer to support some of these corporate giants exceeds the limits of my understanding.

These entities rely on intensive cultivation and broad mechanization and they really need no Federal programs except that of the income tax collector.

The middle group is relatively prosperous and can subsist without Federal subsidy. The third group should not be considered to be farmers at all and where distressed should be included in poverty or welfare programs or vocational and educational programs directed toward the underprivileged in the community.

My objection, therefore, is that this program is not doing its job, that it is abnormally expensive, that it gives benefits to elements of our society who do not need them, that this is done at the expense of the overburdened taxpayer, and that the whole rationale of the program which was appropriate to other times, and other economic periods, is no longer relevant to the economy of today.

In view of these factors, therefore, I intend to vote against this bill in the hope that a defeat would bring about a more reasonable and less expensive legislative solution of our farm problem.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Chairman, the Government has been lashed by various newspaper writers and by representatives of the Poor People's March for allegedly subsidizing big well-to-do farmers instead of the poor and for holding down farm production while people are hungry. Laced through these charges are allegations that the Government and plantation owners are teamed up to drive the tenant off the land and otherwise to deny him his rights.

Unfortunately, many who should know better have given credence and circulation to some of these irrational appeals.

Without going into detail, let me examine a few facts that should help clear away the fog and permit us to consider the farm program legislation factually.

First, the point about hunger. There are hungry people in America, as we all know, but there is no shortage of food. There is abundance, and in relation to consumer income, it is the cheapest it has ever been. Surplus production has never helped feed poor people, and it will not help now. Deny farmers the farm program, and you sentence them to poverty, but you do not thereby relieve the poverty that now exists. We must not, in the name of charity, make our agriculture weak and unable to meet our future needs.

Second, what about the farm people who are being driven off the land? One would think—to judge by much that has recently appeared in print—that we should try to preserve the old plantation system with sharecroppers working for their "furnish" with 20 acres and a mule.

The truth is that farm population has been going down for decades. Productivity per man and per hour continues to go up. This is true not only among commodities to which the farm program applies but also among nonprogram commodities such as chickens and beef cattle. This is a good thing—not bad—when the people who leave farming do so because of better opportunities elsewhere. This is the way of civilization—first, people developing agriculture to free themselves from the necessity of hunting, then improving their agriculture to free more people from the need to produce food and fiber, free to devote their time to other pursuits.

The farm program has moderated the movement of people out of agriculture by helping maintain and increase farm income—preventing depression, which not only drives people out of farming but piles them up in rural slums and cuts down both jobs and wages. Not only does the farm program give people a better chance and a longer time to choose whether they want to stay on the land—it prohibits by force of law the reduction in number of tenants on participating farms. The landowner can change tenants but he cannot reduce the number in order to gain farm program benefits for himself. Obviously, this regulation would not work perfectly under the best of circumstances, but there is a record of enforcement in cases that have been appealed above the county level, and I am satisfied that the Department of Agriculture is making a strong effort to protect the rights of tenants as the law provides.

A third charge—although it could be classed as part of the one I was just discussing—goes like this: When you take land out of production, you drive people off the land. There is less need for tenants and wage hands, so they have to leave.

That is, the farm program hurts poor farm people by taking land out of production.

This is like blaming aspirin for your headache. Let us not blame the medicine—blame the disorder.

Should we keep on piling surplus upon surplus in order to make work for unemployed and underemployed people? I think not.

It would be more sensible and it would be less expensive to create jobs in other sectors of our economy that would help meet some of our country's real needs.

The fact is that farm program payments to landowners and tenants help them maintain their income while they are holdling some of their land out of production and spending money to keep this land in soil-conserving uses. The production adjustment which payments help finance aids market prices, which are as important to small farmers as well as to those better off. Furthermore, some of the payment money is directly for soil conservation practices—not for taking land out of production—and this does not increase the farmer's income; it merely pays back part of the farmer's cost of doing conservation work in the public interest.

One additional charge is frequently heard. In various forms, it boils down to this: You are giving relief to the wrong people. You are subsidizing the rich and neglecting the poor.

This is like saying that social security is relief and should go only to the poor. It is like saying that interest on Government bonds is relief and should be cut off until the poor are no longer poor.

The fact is that farm program payments are not relief. They are not welfare payments. They are not based on the farmer's individual need.

We say to the farmer: Surplus production is against the national interest; we want you to help prevent surplus. Give up the use of some of your cotton land and some of your grainland. Keep that diverted land under soil-conserving cover crops and do not harvest anything from that land. Keep the weeds down. Do these things, and we the public will pay you for these services. If enough farmers join together to do these things, you will probably get better prices in addition to the payments, but in any case you will have the payments and therefore can afford to take the chance on smaller production.

That is our compact with the farmer. Without the payment or other major incentive such as a high price-support loan, farmers cannot afford to do what the Nation wants them to do. Some farmers feel they cannot afford it even with the payments, and do not participate in the program. No farmer considers his payment to be relief or "something for nothing."

How, in the name of commonsense, can payments of the kind I have described be classed as relief, or dole, or welfare?

As I have indicated, there are other farm program payments. One is the kind which helps the farmer bear the out-of-pocket costs of conservation practices. Generally these cover about 50 percent of the cost.

And there are incentive payments to help meet the objectives of the Sugar Act and the Wool Act. Some of the largest payments are made under the Sugar Act. Without these payments or some equal incentive, we could not have a domestic sugar industry. Other countries can deliver sugar here cheaper than we can produce it. But our national policy is not to depend on other countries for all of our sugar but rather to divide up our domestic market among foreign producers and among U.S. producers. As to wool, we do not explicitly divide up the market, but we do, as a matter of policy, offer incentives to keep U.S. producers in business supplying a share of our needs.

You cannot fairly class the sugar and wool payments as relief, any more than you can reasonably categorize conservation or acreage diversion payments as relief.

So much for the irrational charges that the farm program is antipoor people.

Mr. Chairman, I would prefer that we did not have Government props under agriculture; that a free market could prevail. However, that utopian condition is impossible in view of Government assistance given to labor, commerce, and industry. Economic complexities in our changing society, low foreign production costs, and the need for agricultural stability make it necessary to have a farm program. Certainly, I am not happy with the present program but, considering the alternatives, I feel a modest extension is in the public interest.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, the bill before us today is indeed a strange one.

It is all the more strange to me, personally, because I voted for the grandfather of the legislation we now are considering.

And that grandfather, as we all know, was the Agriculture Act of 1965 which, according to law now on the books, is scheduled to run through the calendar year 1969.

But, here we are, just about at the midway mark of 1968—a full 18 months before the 1965 law is due to expire—being asked for a very premature extension.

There are additional elements of strangeness.

When I voted for this grandfather in 1965, I and others of the Members in this Chamber were told that it would save money for the Government, that it would assure farm prosperity, and that it would help keep down food costs.

Two and a half years later, the record is very clear.

First, the Government is spending at this very moment from $3 to $3.5 billion a year to carry out the provisions of that grandfather bill. I find this all the more incredible in the light of the fact that only recently we voted to cut the Government budget by $6 billion, and to impose a 10 percent surtax on our citizens. Yet, here we find that we are spending more than half the imposed budget cut on a farm program most farmers do not want.

I suppose the grandfather bill might even be worth considering seriously if we had achieved the second point—farm prosperity.

But, we have not done that, either.

Instead, we find that despite this expenditure of vast sums of money, the farm parity index is at 73, which on an annual basis is at the same low point that index was in 1933—in the depth of the depression.

And, on the subject of food costs, I will defer further comment. I see no point in belaboring the obvious.

All of which leads me to the conclusion that I cannot possibly support legislation which would continue a process that obviously is not working. In 1965, I and many others in this Chamber took the word of proponents at their face value.

Today, the record is so clear that we must rely upon it, rather than upon words.

In all of this, I bear in mind strongly that 60 percent of all agriculture—and this includes the very able farmers of my own district—do not benefit from provisions of this 1965 act.

And, I must bear in mind, too, that expenditures of from $3 to $3.5 billion a year inevitably must promote inefficiency on those farms favored with Government payments.

The widespread public protest against these payments, Mr. Chairman, has been demonstrated by the many telegrams I have received urging defeat of the bill we are now considering. Here is a sample of these telegrams:

CHICOPEE FALLS, MASS.,
July 22, 1968.

Congressman EDWARD BOLAND,
Washington, D.C.:

Please vote against extension of Food and Agricultural Act of 1965.

ALFRED MCKINSTRY.

WILBRAHAM, MASS.,
July 23, 1968.

Congressman EDWARD P. BOLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

DEAR ED: Urge your support against extension of the Agricultural Act of 1965.

JESSE L. RICE.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.,
July 23, 1968.

Congressman EDWARD P. BOLAND,
Washington, D.C.:

Please vote against H.R. 17126 extension of agriculture act of 1965.

Miss LYLE CORTIS.

CHICOPEE, MASS.,
July 23, 1968.

Congressman EDWARD BOLAND,
Washington, D.C.:

Urge that you vote against H.R. 17126.

LUCY THIBAULT.

I would like to point out, Mr. Chairman, that my colleague from Massachusetts, SILVIO O. CONTE, will propose an amendment to limit to a maximum of $20,000 the subsidy payments granted to individual farmers and to individual farm operations. I support his proposal and will vote for the Conte amendment.

In the event the bill now before us is passed—an eventuality I feel would be most unfortunate—Mr. CONTE's amendment would at least clear away one of the most startling misuses of public funds under the farm subsidy program.

Initially developed in the depression years to help small farmers in their effort to wrest a living from the soil, the farm subsidy program now lavishes money on giant farm operations that are quite capable of surviving—indeed, of flourishing—without subsidies. Studies carried out over the past few years make this fact amply clear. One study, for example, showed that fully 20 percent of all farm subsidy funds go to the 2 percent of American farmers who gross more than $100,000 annually. Another study—this one just as alarming—pointed out that 6,579 individual farm operations received payments averaging $50,000 and totaling $333 million during fiscal 1967 alone. Even a cursory examination of the farm subsidy rolls reveals astonishingly high payments to single farms: one $4 million payment, five $1 million payments, 11 $500.000 payments.

This profligate misuse of the taxpayers' money verges on a national scandal.

If the Congress can financially emasculate Government programs of the first priority, certainly it can amend a farm program to save the hundreds of millions of dollars that would otherwise be wasted.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, I oppose the extension of this act for more than a 12-month period.

When the driver of a car approaches an intersection at the moment the traffic light begins to change from green to red, he is given a few seconds warning in the form of a yellow caution light During these few, but precious seconds, approaching drivers are given a chance to slow and stop their vehicles gradually. If the light were to turn immediately from green to red, approaching drivers would be forced to either make a panic stop, or risk continuing on through the intersection against the stop signal. Thus, the absence of this brief caution period, could cause a serious breakdown in our whole traffic flow and control system, as well as lead to a great deal of injury and damage-producing collisions.

The same simple but vital principle of the caution light can be applied to our vote today on H.R. 17126. For more than a decade, farmers in America have grown accustomed to the subsidy and price support provisions of the Food and Agriculture Act. They have treated this law as a fact, good or bad, of our agricultural marketing system, and this has led them to take the provisions and programs of the act into consideration in planning their businesses. In effect, Mr. Chairman, whether or not the "intersection" of American agriculture has existed under ideal conditions, and I think it has not, the fact of this law has acted as a kind of green light signal to farmers in this country.

There is no question in my mind that many colleagues join me in the belief that this law has not done the job it was intended to do. It has not amply or ably regulated the American agricultural market. It has not encouraged or accomplished the growth of farm income at a rate that is even close to wage and salary increases in other sectors of the economy. It has not brought about the most efficient use of America's rich and vast farmlands.

Because of these plain facts, many of us hope that the new administration will bring to light better, more applicable and more successful ways of working toward the improvement of American agriculture. With the help of a new Congress, it is my hope that these ideas, which might include a full or partial return to freer market conditions for farm products, can be put into effect within a reasonable time for planning and considering new proposals.

I, for one, will welcome the day when a new farm bill, which gives more credit to the ability of the American farmer as a businessman and entrepreneur to make his way in a free enterprise economy, will be placed into the legislative hopper.

Of course, Mr. Chairman, in order to usher in the fresh ideas which are enacted by the next Congress, we will have to do away with the generally unsuccessful programs of the Food and Agriculture Act. We are already taking a major step toward reducing and phasing out this program by strictly limiting the amount of subsidy payment in any one year to a particular producer. No longer will the tax dollars of our people be dished out in lavish portions to large corporate farms which have learned to take advantage of the subsidy and price-support programs. For, far from being in keeping with our goal to help the little farmer, these payments to a single farm of hundreds of thousands and even millions of dollars serve only to hasten the day when family farms and individually operated farms of small and medium size will be a thing of the past.

This step, Mr. Chairman, should serve as a caution light to the agricultural sector of our economy. It should serve notice that the concept of agricultural dependency on the Government which is fostered in part by this legislation is on its way out in its present form. Combining this strict payment limitation with a bill which strictly limits any present extension of the Food and Agriculture Act to a single year, that is until December 31, 1970, we will have extinguished the green light that has dominated agricultural market planning since the midfifties.

But we cannot responsibly refuse to extend the program for 1 year. It is highly likely, Mr. Chairman, that the planting and other farm management decisions which must be made in the winter of 1969–70, will be made with no certain knowledge of what the new Federal farm program will be. If we allow this program to expire in December of next year, leaving a vacuum in its wake, it would be like switching in an instant from a green to a red signal with no interim caution light. This could, as in the case of traffic control, send large segments of U.S. agriculture into a tailspin, bringing some of our progress to a panic stop, and leading some farmers along in the false belief that there will be no new Federal agriculture effort to replace this outworn law.

We need a change in the Federal farm program, but we need an orderly change. We need a "caution light" period of one growing season and one planning season under the new administration and the new Congress, in order to foster progress and not chaos on the farm.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I support the efforts of many colleagues to prescribe a limitation on the subsidy payments that can be made under this bill, and I support the extension of the Food and Agriculture Act for a single year as fair and necessary breathing space for us to devise new approaches to the farm problem.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I rise to speak in opposition to any extension of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

Although the measure before us today would merely prolong our existing agricultural programs, I believe it is appropriate that we give careful consideration now to the purpose of these programs and the results which have been achieved under them.

Our aims have been to insure an adequate and steady flow of agricultural products for home and industry at prices which are reasonable to the consumer and assure the farmer a fair return on his investment and a share in our ever rising standard of living. These goals are inseparable and any measure adopted by this body must be designed to achieve each of them.

In considering any extension of this act we must therefore determine whether it has proven to be a successful tool in implementing our agricultural goals.

At the time of passage of this act the farm parity ratio stood at 81. Since then it has steadily declined until today, when we are only halfway through the third year of the program, parity stands at 73. The parity ratio as a yardstick of the farmer's economic well-being indicates that he has not been able to keep pace with our rising cost of living. Indeed, the purchasing power of his product has steadily declined in relation to the goods and services he must purchase to operate. The realized net farm income in 1967 was down nearly $2 billion—a 10-percent cut in pay for our farmers.

What has been the effect of this decline on our farm population? The number of small- and moderate-sized farms have continued to decrease. The family farm is passing into history to be replaced by the corporate giants. In terms of percentages the number of family farms has declined 20 percent in the last 7 years and the trend is continuing at an ever-increasing rate. How have our small farmers managed to survive during this vicious price-cost squeeze? Those who have survived have done so by seeking part-time nonfarm employment and by relying to an ever greater extent upon their small share of direct Government payments.

Farms with gross sales of more than $10,000 account for seven-eighths of total farm output. Yet they represent only one-third of all farms. As we might expect, while the small farmer is disappearing in ever-increasing numbers, the farms with sales in excess of $10,000 have been increasing at a rapid rate—from less than 600,000 in 1954 to over 1 million in 1966. The number of farms in the $20.000 and over category has increased even more sharply—from 325,000 in 1959 to 527,000 in 1966. These larger farm units have become the dominant factor in agricultural marketing. It should be noted that these larger, and presumably more economical, farm operators nevertheless receive over half of the total Government payments.

Mr. Chairman, I must frankly admit that I do not understand how the proponents of this agricultural policy can argue in favor of its extension. We continue to pay lipservice to the small farmer as the backbone of rural America while at the same time we perpetuate a program which has proven to have little value to him. It has in fact been only a windfall for those who need help the least.

Turning to the specific commodity programs included in the Agriculture Act of 1965 we must determine how successful they have been in reducing Government stocks and the cost thereof to the Government and in improving farm income.

The feed grain program initiated in 1961 authorized direct payments to farmers for acreage diverted to soil-conserving uses or noncrop production. Price support payments followed in 1963. This program has cost $5 billion or about $700 million per year. At the same time the Commodity Credit Corporation has suffered losses of over $2 billion on its inventory operations and another billion on food-for-peace disposals of feed grains. Thus this entire program has cost the Government more than $10 billion since 1961.

Has this program achieved the desired results? The answer is an emphatic "No." While millions of acres have been taken out of production, yields per acre under cultivation have increased 42 percent; enough to increase total output by 11 million tons per year during 1961-67 compared to the previous 5-year period. Although Government stocks declined during this period it was increased consumption and our foreign aid program rather than the acreage controls which brought about this result. What benefit then have we received from the expenditure of $10 billion? Large farms became larger and pocketed a fortune while small farm operators received only 14 percent of the feed grain payments.

This same picture holds true, Mr. Chairman, for the wheat program where we have spent $11 billion since 1960. Only 34 percent of all wheat farmers received Government payments under this program while the remaining 66 percent, mostly small farmers, again received nothing.

Coming to the cotton program we find that we failed to stimulate consumption in the past and our Government stocks increased from 1.5 million to 12.3 million bales between 1961 and 1965. This resulted in adoption of our present program under which stocks fortunately have again declined. Consumption has not risen however, and the reduction in stocks may be attributed to poor growing seasons and the tremendous volume of money pumped into the cotton industry to induce acreage reductions. Including foreign aid shipments we have thus spent $2.7 billion during 1966 and 1967. Cotton farmers are completely dependent upon this subsidy.

Mr. Chairman, the same expensive picture of greater productivity from less land, more and more direct subsidies to large farmers, and great losses on Government-owned stocks applies to virtually every aspect of our misguided farm program.

The answer is clearly not the continuation of these same wasteful practices. Congress has adequate time to study the farm program before expiration of the current legislation. To extend this act for another year is to simply sweep the problem under the rug again. No benefit will come from such action.

Mr. Chairman, we must begin the process of returning our farm economy to the free enterprise system. We must stop programs which benefit only the few who need assistance the least. The farmer—all farmers—have a right to share in the growing wealth of our Nation. None, however, have a vested right to a perpetual system of Government handouts. Indeed, I am certain the vast majority of our farmers—self-reliant and independent as they are—prefer to return to a system whereby they and not the Government, determine how they will run their business.

Certainly agriculture has been a field in which the gearing of production to demand and the preservation of reasonable prices for the producer has proven extremely difficult. I am not an expert in this field; however, I do believe it is clear that our current policies are not the answer. I urge those who do profess greater knowledge to begin now and not evade the problem any longer. I will therefore cast my vote against extension of this act.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the extension of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1968, and in opposition particularly to the proposal to limit payments under the voluntary feed grains program.

Anyone who has worked with the program recognizes that there are problems, and that it needs changes. But I do not think there can be any question among people who understand agriculture and its problems as to the vital importance of continuing a farm program—and to date, this is the best one we have.

In my own district, more than 13,000 farmers are participating in the feed grains program this year, diverting 343,650 acres of cropland which would otherwise be in production.

The record of the program—though not without fault—points to the role which the program has played in terms of stabilizing our agricultural economy.

Without question, farm prices today are at a critical low point and in my district, when corn falls to a dollar a bushel or less, as it has, then our entire interdependent economy suffers. The seriousness of the present situation is demonstrated by the fact that, in unprecedented numbers, farm wives and farmers themselves are taking jobs in town and in factories in order to supplement income from the farm enough just to break even and keep going.

But that price situation has not come about because of the farm program, and in fact, it would be much worse if there were no program at all—we would still be burdened with the costly, price-depressing surpluses of the 1950's; and according to the Economic Research Service, net income farmers received would have been 36 percent lower than it is. Feed grain production alone would have been up 17 percent, and prices down 34 percent.

In eastern Iowa, those figures are critical, not just for feed grains producers, but for livestock feeders as well, because a drop in prices in the former results in parallel price declines for the latter. For example, if feed grains prices drop 10 percent, livestock production increases by 1.5 percent as a result of heavier feeding, and livestock prices decline by 5 to 6 percent.

But if the figures on prices without a farm program in the past are disturbing, the projections for the future are even more alarming. University economists have projected that, if the Congress fails to extend the program beyond 1969, farm income will drop 30 percent, and we will suffer the most serious recession in the farm economy since the 1930's—with equally crucial repercussions in every sector of our national economy.

EXTENSION ESSENTIAL THIS YEAR

Some opponents of the measure before us argue that, since the farm program does not expire until December 1969, there is no need for Congress to act this year. I cannot accept those arguments, for two reasons.

In the first place, farmers deserve and require assurance of the continuity of the program with enough leadtime to plan their own production. Farm management decisions for the 1970 crop—which would be covered only with the extension of the program—must be made early in 1969, and many producers will be unable to do so unless they know whether or not they are going to have a farm program to take into consideration.

And second, we are going to have a new administration and a new Congress next year. In my opinion, their focus then must be on an indepth evaluation and reform of the existing program. That cannot be done if Congress is being pressured to make a quick decision on the fundamental question of whether or not the farm program will exist—which it would be required to do if the extension is not granted this year.

If we extend the present program through 1970 now, then the new Congress can undertake the most thorough and critical review of the entire program, with enough leeway to insure that any revisions, reforms, or perhaps even substitute programs, would be acted upon in sufficient time to offer farmers the continuity and advance notice they deserve.

As long as Congress acts on a last-minute, year-to-year basis—whether it be on agriculture, education, foreign aid, or any other area of national priority concern—then it conducts little more than a holding operation. Longer range authorizations by no means binds the Congress or the Nation to a fixed program over a period of years. On the contrary, it insures that we have the opportunity to examine it in a much more thorough manner and make improvements in both the economy and the efficiency of their operations.

LIMITATIONS ON PAYMENTS OF $10,000 HARMFUL TO SMALL FARMER

Finally, I would like to comment on the amendments which are being offered to place a dollar limitation on the size of feed grains payments. That objective has great surface appeal, and I am certain that those who offer such amendments do so in the opinion that limitations would assist the smaller farmer and the taxpayer.

But a more careful examination of the implications of those amendments, and a realization of the fundamental purposes of the feed grains program, demonstrate that such limitations would provide no assistance to the small farmer and might adversely affect him, that they would result in a more costly farm program, and that in the long run they would lead to higher consumer food prices.

Advocacy of limited feed grains payments is based on a misconception of the basic objectives of the program. Contrary to widely held opinion, the farm program is not designed as a subsidy to farmers—large or small. Its objective is, in the most simple terms, to balance supply and demand for agricultural products in order to avoid the boom-bust swings in farm prices which are disastrous to farmers, consumers, and our entire economy.

American farmers today have the capacity to produce about 12 percent more than we can effectively use in the market place and in commodity distribution programs both in this country and in the developing nations. Historically, farmers have not been able to avoid overproduction without farm programs.

The voluntary commodity programs—including the feed grains program—are designed to provide assistance in controlling production within the free enterprise system. A farmer is reimbursed for the income he forgoes if he diverts his cropland from production, and the size of his payment will directly depend upon the amount of acreage he diverts.

It has been suggested in the course of this debate that some operators put land in the commodity programs on which they would never produce anyway. That is clearly an abuse of the program, and in direct contradiction to its objectives. If in fact such situations do exist, then those payments should be stopped. But an arbitrary limitation of all payments is not the way to do it.

If we impose a $10,000 limit on payments, it would affect all farms with a corn base larger than 390 acres, diverted at the maximum of 50 percent—or 32,398 producers.

The result of that action would be to put 1.5 million acres back into production, and add 3 million tons of feed grains to the market. And the large wealthy farmer is not the one who is going to suffer most from the consequent glutted market and further depressed prices. It is going to be the smaller farmer who is only barely keeping his head above water with the present price levels.

The taxpayer is going to suffer, because it will cost more to divert 10 acres each on 100 hundred-acre farms, than it would be to divert 1,000 acres on one large farm.

And ultimately, it will be the consumer who suffers from a program which forces the smaller farmer off the land and concentrates production in the hands of large corporate farms.

Mr. Chairman, I am deeply concerned about the future of the family farm, which is the backbone of our economic and social structure. It is for this reason that I have introduced legislation to put an end to tax loopholes which encourage wealthy nonfarmers to enter loss agricultural operations. If a $10,000 limitation of payments would benefit the family farmer, then I might be encouraged to vote for it. But the evidence is clear that it would not, as indicated in the editorial from the Des Moines Register, which I ask permission to include at this point in the RECORD:

CEILING ON FARM PAYMENTS?

Senator John J. Williams (Rep., Del.) has renewed his standing recommendation that Congress place a ceiling on payments to farmers under the crop acreage adjustment and price support programs. He suggests a limit of $10,000 on the amount that could be paid to a farmer.

This idea has considerable political appeal. Large payments to big farm owners and operators have been severely criticized by both opponents and supporters of the farm programs. When many small farmers are living in desperate poverty and average farmers have been suffering losses in income, it seems outrageous for the government to pay subsidies totaling $100,000 or more to one farmer. Senator James Eastland (Dem., Miss.), for example, received $157,930 in payments on his cotton plantation in 1967.

For programs designed to reduce production of certain crops in order to raise prices, however, it is logical to offer payments that will attract the big farmers. The voluntary adjustment programs would be less successful if the large producers did not co-operate.

The adjustment programs are not aimed at redistributing income among farmers—they are intended only to help farmers co-operate in holding output in line with demand.

Senator Williams thinks a lot of money could be saved by limiting the payments. However, if a ceiling on payments reduced voluntary participation by the big operators, acreage on small farms would have to be reduced still further by means of greater payments in order to get the same supply reduction. So the cost to the government would not be reduced.

Only if the payments were entirely income supplements, rather than incentives for participation, would a ceiling on payments reduce government costs.

From a strictly economic viewpoint, therefore, placing a ceiling on farm program payments would not be good business. However, it obviously would be good politics, and perhaps some compromise could be devised which would cut off the biggest payments but would still accomplish program objectives.

A ceiling of $10,000, as proposed by Senator Williams, would greatly reduce the incentive for participation for the very biggest farm operators, such as Senator Eastland. But there are not enough of such operators to make much difference. Many farmers who would be unable to "earn" the full payment for participation would still find it advantageous to limit their acreages. They would have to participate to be eligible for price-support loans and other benefits. Also, they have a strong interest in seeing that the programs "work" to keep market prices at a reasonable level.

Congress ought to call upon the Department of Agriculture to make a study of the effects of cutoffs in payments at various points for feed grains, wheat and cotton. This might provide the basis for reasonable ceilings that would preserve the supply adjustment machinery and eliminate the whopping payments to a few rich farmers.

I urge the defeat of this amendment and passage of the extension of the Food and Agriculture Act in the interests of the American farmer, the consumer, and a healthy and stable national economy.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, I support H.R. 17126, the bill to amend and extend the Agriculture Act of 1965. I strongly favor the passage of this extension for several reasons. Foremost is my conviction that we must continue the farm program as an effort to prevent more persons from leaving our farms. If they continue to go to the cities this can only result in an intensification of urban problems.

The American farmer has accomplished a miracle of production. The word "subsidy" has been batted around with considerable carelessness. One of the really and truly great subsidies of our time has been the American farmer subsidizing the American consumer. Less than 10 short years ago, the consumer spent 25 percent of his disposable income on food. Today, 10 years later, he spends only 17 percent of his disposable income on food. Yet even with this great achievement, the 1967 farm income was down over the preceding year by $10 billion, due in part to the vicious cost-price squeeze in which the farmer finds himself.

There are many reasons the farm program should be extended, not just for 1 year but for 4 years, at this time. Farmers must plan just as business or industry must plan, if we expect to keep our country the best fed at the lowest cost of any country in the world. I think we must remember that agriculture is our largest industry. If it does not fare well or prosper, there will be repercussions in other areas of our economy. Those who would compartmentalize or cast into hard-and-fast categories our population, are shortsighted.

Let us never forget the urban areas are economically dependent upon the countryside because it is the farmers who buy the products made in our big cities. The truth is, we are interdependent upon each other because were it not for the farmer and his ability to produce, great populations could not continue to survive in our great cities. Ninety-four percent of our population seem to prefer to live in urban areas where they can enjoy what seems to be the excitement and attraction of big city life. But they must be fed from the farms.

When we support a farm program, we are not paying back anyone for anything. We do not pass the farm program to reward anyone, but are only doing what is necessary to maintain a balanced economy. If the consumer expects to continue to receive the bargain he has enjoyed in the past in terms of bountiful foods produced by our farmers, then we must all see each other's needs and problems and most of all, understand that we are interdependent upon one another.

A lot has been accomplished over the last 8 years in solving the farmer's problem. It was not too long ago we were paying out huge amounts for storage of surplus commodities. We were also paying out billions of dollars to give away these surpluses overseas. Today these surplus quantities have been dramatically reduced.

Let us never forget the farm program is not a welfare program. It is an effort to solve a problem. It is a matter involving the entire national interest, not just the agricultural interest.

Yesterday, in the Committee of the Whole, I opposed the effort to limit payments because payments are not subsidies as such. If we impose limits on payments, we change the nature of the program and the nature of the program may become unworkable. If there are any who assume money will be saved by limiting payments, they are following false logic. The reason is that if one large farmer who has been forgoing production on 1,000 acres pulls out of the program, that means 100 small farmers will have to forgo production of 10 more acres each to maintain supply and demand stability. Maybe this would not cost more in Federal dollars, but it would cost further curtailment of opportunity for a lot of smaller farmers.

One of the most disturbing aspects of the recent poor people's campaign was the charge that the present agriculture programs are not doing enough about rural poverty. They further charged that all we had been doing by our present agriculture program was to further enrich the affluent farmer who did not need or deserve any help. That charge was not only unjust but untrue. I hope every Member will have an opportunity to read Marion Clawson's new book, "Policy Directions for U.S. Agriculture."

He points out in this book the fact many farmers have a bad ratio of expenses to gross income and many operate at a loss. He shows that about one-half of all farms have an annual income below the $3,000 poverty line. His conclusion seems correct when he points out all available data reveals the extent of large numbers of low-income farmers, more moderate numbers of fair-income farmers and only a relatively few farmers with good income. Even those who do seem to have a good income, he points out, are rewarded much less than their talents and capital deserve. Mr. Clawson makes a most interesting and certainly needed conclusion when he argues a great urban country should never become so complacent about what seems to be an inexhaustible food supply that it becomes indifferent to the farmer and rewards him less than their talents and capital deserve.

We must extend the agriculture program. We should extend it for 4 years. The farmers of our Nation have the capacity to produce more than our markets will absorb. The farmer has to sell at the world price. He must buy at the domestic level of prices, which includes all the built-in costs produced by such things as minimum wage laws and the inflationary spiral. In the field of industry and manufacturing, the producers there regulate production to prevent price disasters. Farmers, historically, have not been able to do this without a farm program. Our farm commodity programs today, which everyone should know are voluntary programs, permit our farmers to cooperate by diverting acreage from surplus crop production into soil conservation. To their credit, many of these farmers follow such a course at a financial sacrifice only because they understand that balanced supplies are in the interest of all.

Since 1960 we have come a long way to reduce the inventories of the commodity credit corporations from their peak of over $6 billion in value in October 1960, down to much less than $1 billion as of the end of May of this year.

When considering the farm bill, there are only a few alternatives available. One is to go back to huge surplus inventories of a few years ago with higher Federal costs. Another is to flood the market, producing an economic impact by overproduction which can only result in far wider woe for our farmers. The only sensible remaining alternative is to continue the commodity programs which allow for ample production to feed our population at a reasonable cost to the consumer and which hope to achieve a reasonable return for the farmer.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to indicate my firm opposition to H.R. 17126. The original purpose of this legislation, was to protect the small farmer against downward pressures in the prices he received for his produce. Today, however, this legislation works in just the opposite manner and has become a subsidy primarily for the benefit of the large producers. Last year, for example, the 2 percent of America's farmers who grossed over $100,000 received some 20 percent of all farm subsidies. Under the existing Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 the taxpayers are spending millions to protect the large and wealthy and under the existing legislation, large farmers are virtually encouraged to become larger so as to receive even larger subsidies. This is unexcusable and cannot be allowed to continue.

Only if this legislation can be so redesigned as to once again reflect its original purposes of protecting the small farmer will I be able to support it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired. All time has expired.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 is extended—

(1) by striking out "through 1969" wherever it appears and substituting "through 1970";

(2) by striking out "1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969" wherever it appears and substituting "1966 through 1970";

(3) by striking out "1969" in sections 103 and 201 and substituting "1970";

(4) by striking out "1967, 1968, and 1969" in section 402(b) and substituting "1967 through 1970";

(5) by striking out "1970" in section 404 and substituting "1971";

(6) by striking out "1966 through the 1969" in section 516 and substituting "1966 through the 1970";

(7) by striking out "1968" and "1969" wherever they appear in section 602(k) and substituting "1969" and "1970", respectively; and

(8) by striking out "or 1969" in section 801 and substituting "1969, or 1970".

SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF IOWA

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Iowa in the nature of a substitute: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"That the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 is extended—

"(1) by striking out 'through 1969' wherever it appears and substituting 'through 1973';

"(2) by striking out '1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969' wherever it appears and substituting '1966 through 1973';

"(3) by striking out '1969' in sections 103 and 201 and substituting '1973';

"(4) by striking out '1967, 1968, and 1969' in section 402(b) and substituting '1967 through 1973';

"(5) by striking out '1970' in section 404 and substituting '1974';

"(6) by striking out '1966 through the 1969' in section 516 and substituting '1966 through the 1973';

"(7) by striking out '1968' and '1969' wherever they appear in section 602(k) and substituting '1969' and '1973', respectively; and

"(8) by striking out 'or 1969' in section 801 and substituting 'and subsequent years through 1973'."

Mr. SMITH of Iowa (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the amendment be dispensed with, and that it be printed in the RECORD, with the explanation that each date is changed to make it 4 years instead of 1 year.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. SMITH of Iowa was allowed to proceed for 4 additional minutes.)

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, there is no one in this House whom I like better, really, than my friend from Oklahoma. He said that a 4-year bill would help him to live longer, and there is nothing I would rather do than to help him live longer, so I am glad to offer a 4-year amendment. And so when you vote for this amendment, you are voting for PAGE the Sage from Oklahoma to live longer.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. BELCHER. I want to say that I do not believe there is any Member of the House whom I respect and like better than the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH] and I appreciate his concern for my health. I also appreciate the fact that the gentleman is bringing the conferees' report right before the House at this time, and we will see how it progresses.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, you know, I heard the last day or so a lot of ridiculing this farm program. It amazed me that the same ones who point to 73 percent of parity price as a measure of farm income ignoring completely that part of his income comes from these payments, at the same time, they say "look at those payments, they are unearned income." Either he is getting them, or he is not.

What they do is to pick out everything bad and blame that onto the farm program and give no credit for anything that is good.

At the present time, our agricultural plant has the capacity to produce about 12 percent more of the basic commodities than can be sold at anything like a fair price.

While the percentage of over capacity may vary during the next 4 years, it can be adjusted annually under the law and it is obvious that there will be an over capacity for several years.

This capacity to produce more than is immediately needed is called farm problem but it is really a great national asset that other countries would like to have and which we want to keep flexible to assure plentiful supplies of food.

However, it should be handled in such a way that it does not deny producers a reasonable share of the national income.

The debate is really over how to handle the capacity to produce more than can be sold at a fair price.

Obviously, we should store food and fiber above the ground to be immediately available to avoid a shortage, but this program continues to emphasize storing the rest of the reserve in the ground.

It costs much less to store it in the ground.

Under the old Benson program, inventories were carried above the ground at Government expense.

By 1961, the inventories carried it in the ground.

Under the program, those inventories have been reduced to under $1 billion.

I am not saying that no more improvements can be made in this program, but surely the basic program is needed for several more years.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] can confirm this, but the fact of the matter is that of this $8 billion a year for the Agriculture Department that is talked about, two-thirds of it, as a matter of fact, is not for the financial benefit of farmers at all. One should blame the farm program for the cost of operating the national forests which makes a profit or for consumer protection and research.

Mr. Chairman, I think this amendment providing for a 4-year bill instead of a 1-year bill certainly does not go beyond known need because we know we will have more than enough capacity to produce what is needed and to sell for several years.

Most other programs are not authorized on an annual basis—and why should farmers be singled out to be limited to a 1-year program and for constant harassment and indecision.

The Federal-aid highway program, H.R. 17134 from the Public Works Committee is a 4-year program.

The Federal-aid waste treatment law for the Interior Department is a 4-year program.

The Federal-aid program for hospital construction, H.R. 16154 from the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee is a 4-year program.

The Export-Import Banks set up under Public Law 90-267 from the Banking and Currency Committee is a 5-year program.

Federal aid for vocational education, H.R. 18366 from the Education and Labor Committee is a 5-year program.

Federal aid for medical students and nurses students, S. 3095 is a 4-year program.

Public Law 90-198 from the Judiciary Committee extended the Civil Rights Commission for 5 years.

Federal aid to elementary and secondary education and for college students and many others are long-term programs and we just passed a 4-year authorization for the food stamp program.

We approved a 4-year authorization for the food stamp program yesterday.

I was for that 4-year authorization for the food stamp program yesterday because local governments and farmers both need to be able to plan for more than 1 year at a time.

I notice in the news this morning that a settlement was made for the steel industry. It was not just a 1-year extension and settlement. It was a 3-year settlement. The Gary steelworkers got that and an 18-percent increase. Further, when their services are not needed temporarily, they get unemployment compensation while not working. I am for that program and it is a good program but it is inconsistent for some to support unemployment compensation for those whose services are not fully needed and to then oppose paying farmers for the part of his services that are not needed.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. And the steel manufacturers are going to get cost of production plus a profit for their products?

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Not only that, but we have tariffs and quotas to protect manufactured products. No matter how you look at it, they are a subsidy.

With high capital investments in agriculture, farmers have to operate very largely on borrowed money.

If a farmer could pay cash for everything, he could live off the interest income instead of working.

They have to depend upon bank loans to a large extent and banks do not finance on a 1-year basis except for those who do not need it.

For example, it costs less to put on the phosphate and potassium for 3 years at one time, instead of each year a farmer can save two-thirds of the application cost and about 20 percent of the total cost that way.

Also in a very real sense, this is not just a farm bill, but others should be interested in the need to plan for more than 1 year.

Farmers last year bought $3½ billion in farm machinery and equipment including several hundred million dollars in electrical equipment and northeastern United States is a heavy producer of that kind of equipment.

Farmers spent $1.3 billion for cars and trucks used in farm business.

They spent $2.2 billion for fertilizer and lime.

They spent $700 million for chemicals.

They spent $1.6 billion for gas and oil.

They paid out $2.8 billion for interest on the money they used.

Over $15 billion of the money a farmer receives is spent for goods produced in the city.

Since the program is so important to both farmers and the people who produce equipment and this is really a minimum program anyway, why have to vote on the basic program annually?

Some say it needs to be improved next year but if we extend the program for 4 years, then the committee can work in a better atmosphere toward some improvements next year without being required to center all of their attention on getting the votes to pass the basic bill.

To work improvements into an extension has been difficult because some segments threaten to defeat the whole thing if they do not like some provision and the committee must constantly worry about votes to extend it instead of concentrating on improvements.

The Senate voted a 4-year extension and if we would agree, it would remove those pressures and permit a better opportunity to work on good improvements next year.

I do not think farmers should be singled out to have to operate under a program that is extended for only 1 year at a time and whether one is for the bill on final passage or not, it seems to me one should be able to see the merit and fairness of having this basic farm program operate on a 4-year basis.

I urge support of this 4-year amendment.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

First, I would like to take note of the fact that several stalwart members of the Committee on Agriculture, in a sense, are having their swan song here with the consideration of this bill. E. C. GATHINGS and PAUL JONES on the other side of the aisle from me were on the committee all through the years that I served on this distinguished committee. On the Republican side, BOB DOLE was with me all through those years; he and GEORGE HANSEN are heading for greener pastures next year. I want to express my best wishes to each of these fine men and to compliment them for their great service to their country.

The gentleman from Iowa has just spoken in behalf of a 4-year program. I for one would like to see us have a 4-year program for the American farmer so he could plan with some assurance and know what lies ahead.

But is it wise to extend for 4 years a program that has put the farmer in his worst plight since the depression 1930's? When I was on the Agriculture Committee and this wheat program was first presented, it was explained to us at that time that this would mean wheat at about $1.25 a bushel. The farmer would then expect to get 75 cents a bushel in payment—in other words, $2 wheat. But the market price was expected to be down at about $1.25. With corn they talked about $1 corn. The Secretary of Agriculture frankly admitted to us during those years when I was on the committee that the whole thrust and purpose of the program was to use the feed grains stockpiles in a way to keep the price down at the right time to get compliance with the program, to make the farmer dependent on the price support payment, which at about 25 cents a bushel supposedly would bring him up to the right level. But is he in the right position economically today? The act the leadership today wants extended has certainly worked beautifully—at least insofar as driving down market prices are concerned.

The gentleman from Iowa mentioned the fact that the parity ratio figure of 73—which was just announced yesterday again continuing 73—does not include the payments. That is true, but even if we lump in the payments, it is still under 80—it is 79.

What has happened to the great promises of yesterday, about 90 percent of parity, and 100 percent of parity? We have had exactly what the majority party wanted in the way of legislation, and yet the position of the farmer today is the worst since the depression thirties. Why inflict more of the same on the farmers?

There is a question of cost to the taxpayer that we can hardly close our eyes to. The cost last year was about $2.5 million in payments under the programs. This year it is over $3 million. The way the progression is, will it be $4 million next year and $5 million next year and $6 million the next year?

This is open-end legislation with no spending ceiling whatsoever. It is all through the back door of the Treasury. There is no congressional restraint whatsoever on the spending authorized by this bill. Is it wise for us to give a 4-year lease of life on that type of backdoor financing project, the expense of which no one can foretell and which, based on the progression of the last few years, might reach $6 billion or $7 billion a year?

I believe the gentleman from Iowa stated that the agriculture budget had gone down. This is certainly surprising to me. I was under the impression—and I will be glad to have it corrected by those on the Appropriations Committee—that the funding has is up, and now exceeds $8 billion a year, an all-time high. Am I incorrect on that?

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MICHEL. In 1960 expenditures for the Department of Agriculture totaled $5.2 billion; in 1961 it was $5.6 billion; 1962 $6.4 billion; 1963 $7.4 billion; 1964 $7.5 billion; 1965 $6.9 billion; 1966 $5.5 billion; 1967 $4.9 billion; and estimated for 1968 $6.209 billion but this does not take into account the unreimbursed net realized losses of the CCC budgeted in fiscal year 1968 at $3.465 billion.

We should bear in mind that were we to fully fund the losses of the Commodity Credit Corporation, then we would surely be up to the figure the gentleman mentioned and more.

Mr. FINDLEY. Is there any other fair way to estimate the budget of the Department of Agriculture except on a CCC full funding assumption?

Mr. MICHEL. No, sir. I do not believe so.

Mr. FINDLEY. The direct payment cost in this bill is considerably higher than for the year before. Is that correct?

Mr. MICHEL. Yes. In direct payments particularly for they have grown from a total of $693 million in 1960 to over $3 billion this past year.

Mr. FINDLEY. That is about $3.5 billion and despite that price tag the farmer finds himself in a worse and worse plight each year. To me it is just pure nonsense for us to give a 4-year length of life to a program that put the farmer in this fix.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, it bothers me, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, that our committee actually has no control over spending for farm subsidies. Whenever I question whether it might be possible to cut appropriations for farm subsidies, I am told: "No, we cannot touch it, because in effect it is a contract with the farmer, and if we cut the appropriation, he can recover in the Court of Claims." So the thing really just orbits, and there is no way for the Appropriations Committee to control it. We can cut spending for model cities, antipoverty and even defense, but spending for farm subsidies is evidently untouched.

Mr. FINDLEY. The Congress could and should bring this spending under control.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. ABERNETHY was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the Members of the House for acceding to my request for an additional 5 minutes. I do not think I will take the time, but if I should need it, I would like to have it available.

Mr. Chairman, I have not spoken on the bill, I do want to address myself to several points and the pending amendment.

I would like to confirm to the Members of the House that which our chairman and other Members have made known, that is, that 28 members of our committee made a down-the-line forthright and solemn commitment to report and support without amendment a 1-year extension. I am a party to that commitment. I am going to stand by it.

I do not make that statement in any criticism of my friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER]. I have the highest regard for the gentleman, and the remark which I made when he yielded to me was only in jest and he so understood it. We are the very best of friends.

I should like to say to those who have addressed themselves time and again to the amount of the payments, that I happen to be one of those who opposed the bill 3 years ago. I did so because I was concerned about the problem which the payments would create for the efficient farmer—I might say the "big", farmer, and I have no quarrel with people becoming big—the efficient farmer of this country. I might also say that to limit payments and force the big farmer to plant his entire acreage would create a huge surplus and thereby destroy the small farmer.

I stated to the House then, and I state now, that eventually limitations on payments might be invoked. I say that not because I believe the limitation amendment would be right but because it is so difficult to sell to the average listener the error in limitations. They look at the figure. They throw up their hands. They will not stand still and listen to the discussion, to the facts. They are just simply too long and too complicated. I can understand their viewpoint. But they are wrong.

So I say now, my friends, what I said 3 years ago. This payment program is going to make trouble for us eventually. It was for that reason I opposed the bill in 1965.

I did not support the bill, I should like to say to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] who did support it. I do not offer any criticism of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] but he supported the bill and I did not. He has discovered something worse which upsets and concerns him. And I can understand that, I know such would eventually come. I discovered it 3 years ago, and so expressed myself to this House.

I do not agree with my friend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY], who was once a valuable member of the committee, that this is the worst program we have ever had. Nor do I agree with him that it has cost the most money.

I cannot recall when the annual budgets for any of the Departments has gone down, and this is my 26th year in the House. They have consistently gone up, and up, and up. This is true for all Departments of Government—Labor, Treasury, Post Office, Commerce, Agriculture, and all of them—year after year, and this has been true, Members of this body, regardless of who controlled the Government, regardless of who was President, regardless of who was the chairman of the various committees, and regardless of who was chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, whether they come from the right or the left side of the aisle.

This is not the worst program we have ever had. I will not say it is the best. And I certainly do not agree that it of itself has produced the largest budget. All of the budget of the Department of Agriculture is by no means limited to this program. This program is only a small part of the budget of the Department of Agriculture.

There are all kinds of programs—some for consumers, some for rural people, some for city people—that fall into the budget of the Department of Agriculture, and they have consistently been on the rise. There are programs for meat inspection, 4-H club work, rural electrification, school lunch, conservation, extension work, and so many programs we can think of which are in the budget; and they have consistently been on the rise.

So please do not, in the consideration of this bill, assume this is the root of the problem we now have budgetary wise in the Department of Agriculture.

May I call your attention to the fact that the program is invoked by farmer-referendum. It is one of those one-man one-vote programs. Let me speak of cotton, because I live in the cotton country. On the west side of my district there is probably as high a production of cotton as there is in the world. They have a very fine efficient agriculture there.

The people on the eastern end of my district are 4-, 5-, 10-, and 20-acre cotton farmers, a few are larger. The small farmer has just as much right to vote in the referendum and his vote counts just as much as does that of the farmer with 2,000 acres. They vote on this program every fall for the following year. It takes two-thirds vote to put the program into effect. You do not have to go very far among the farmers acreage-wise to come up with a two-thirds vote. So the small farmers can easily invoke the payment program. If they do and limitations on payments are invoked, the large farmers would be wrecked. Every man who produces cotton must—and now listen to me—he must comply with this program. He must plant his acreage within the limitations of the program. He must set aside that quantity of acreage which the law says he must set aide. He receives a payment therefor. That is true. But, if he did not set that acreage aside or if he failed to cooperate or if he refused to cooperate, if he planted only one-tenth of one acre over his allotment, he is not in compliance. Now, what does that do to him? The nature of the program is such that it would break a large farmer not in compliance. Let us say he produces 1,000 bales of cotton and is not in compliance. He must market that cotton in the market at a penalty of 50 percent of parity; 50 percent of parity is more than he would receive for the cotton itself in the marketplace under this program.

Now, what else can he do except comply. I ask the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] with all deference, what would the gentleman do if he had a 1,000-acre cotton allotment and had been voted into such a program? Would you refuse to comply with that program? If you did you could not even sell your crop for a price equivalent to the marketing penalty. You would be forced to market it at a penalty which would be the equivalent of more than the crop would bring in the marketplace. So that is the situation in which these farmers find themselves. This illustrates the danger of placing a limitation upon him. You either wreck him with the limitation or the marketing penalty.

If you place a limitation upon them, then the farmer loses at that end. If he plants outside of the program, he losses at the other end. So, they are compelled to cooperate.

Mr. Chairman, let us look at the limitations from another viewpoint. It costs twice as much to pay taxes on 2 acres as it does to pay taxes on 1 acre. It costs twice as much to provide the machinery for 2 acres as it does for 1 acre. It costs twice as much to finance the credit for 2 acres as it does for 1 acre. It costs twice as much to finance the credit for 1,000 acres as it does for 500 acres. It costs 10 times as much to finance the credit for 1,000 acres as it does for 100 acres. And if payments are to be made, I say to my friends, what is wrong with treating everyone in like manner? Why is it wrong? Why is it wrong to say that here is a man with an operation where it costs 10 times as much to run his farm as it does to run this one over here—why is it wrong to make the payments in amounts proportionate to the two operations? You believe in being fair, do you not? You believe in treating everyone alike, do you not? You believe in doing by one just as you do by the other one, do you not? And, whether you like the program or not, I would say it is almost——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 4 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I would say that you are just duty bound to treat them all alike, and I hope you will do it.

Let me now refer to the 4-year amendment.

I am going to stand by what I agreed to in the committee.

And, why did we make that agreement? I had some amendments which I wanted to offer to the program. Another Member had other amendments. This Member over here wanted other amendments, and so on down the line, scores and scores of amendments.

Then also, Mr. Chairman, this is an election year. We knew and you know that if the Republicans take over this fall, they will want to write the program next year. It is only natural that the Republican Members were somewhat reluctant to go along with a bill this year of any kind.

Mr. Chairman, I know a little something about politics. I could understand their feeling. I do not criticize for that. This is just a natural fact of political life. Therefore, such was the feeling of many of my Republican colleagues, and all of them are my good friends. One does not get mad with them over such a position. They were reluctant to go along with a 4-year bill, of course they were. And who would criticize them?

So, there, we of the committee found ourselves mired down, deadlocked.

Mr. Chairman, if it had not been for the agreement which we made—and we went around the table and polled each member—I can tell you now there would not be a bill on this floor of the House of Representatives today. I want to inform my farmers in Mississippi that there would not be a bill on this floor were it not for our agreement. I have some farmers who want a 4-year bill. I have some who want a 44-year bill. But the facts of life are we would have no bill at all here but for our agreement.

I am saying to them and to you as sensible understanding people, if we had not agreed as we did, which in my opinion was in the interest of everyone and which in my opinion recognized the political situation and which in my further opinion recognized the simple facts of life and of politics, we would not even have a bill on this floor of the House today for consideration.

Personally, Mr. Chairman, I know the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH] is absolutely sincere about his proposal. I know he feels this is a good thing. I am not saying it is not. He is a great Congressman and friend of agriculture. I am just saying that I hope the House will stay with what we propose as the safe and appropriate course to take. Many of my farmers want a longer term bill. But the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], Mr. Chairman, committed himself to stay with this bill just as it is. So did 28 of us. I am going to stay with them. One may know, I could do nothing else. I know my people will all understand.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. QUIE

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this an amendment to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH]?

Mr. QUIE. The gentleman from Iowa has an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the pending bill, and the bill as I understand it, has been read.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. QUIE. My amendment is an amendment to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. QUIE: On page 2, line 10, insert the following:

"SEC. 2. Title VII of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

" 'SEC. 710. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, effective with the 1970 crops, the total amount of price support payments, wheat certificates, and diversion payments made available to any person pursuant to the provisions of titles II through V of this Act (relating to wool, feed grains, cotton, and wheat, respectively) shall not exceed an amount determined as follows:

" 'If total amount of such payments are:	By multiplying by:	The maximum payment shall be:
$10,000 or less	100 per centum	$10,000.
More than $10,000 to $15,000	75 per centum	$13,750.
More than $15,000 to $20,000	50 per centum	$16,250.
More than $20,000 to $25,000	25 per centum	$17,500.
More than $25,000	25 per centum	$17,500 plus 25 per centum of any amount in excess of $25,000.'

"SEC. 3. Section 402 of such Act is further amended by repealing, effective with the 1970 crop and upland cotton, section 103(d) (12) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended."

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, first, before I explain my amendment, I want to tell the Members that I support a 1-year extension of the act as the committee proposes. And because I believe the act ought to be extended, I shall vote for the extension, whatever the House works its will on the length of the extension.

Now, in order for this program to function properly I believe that we need a limitation on payments. I believe it is unacceptable for the biggest farm operations to receive over $1 million. In fact, there are five farms in this country who last year in 1967 received payments totaling $10,889,000. No program is going to stand very long if the size of payments are being made where five total more than $10 million.

Mr. Chairman, what my amendment does is to permit every farmer, every cooperator who receives up to $10,000 a year to receive the full amount of the payment. However, if he receives more than $10,000 and less than $15,000, then on that amount above $10,000 he will receive 75 percent of the payment. If he should receive an amount between $15,000 and $20,000, he will get the full amount of his $10,000, 75 percent of that next $5,000, and 50 percent of the amount between $15,000 and $20,000.

And if he should receive an amount greater than $20,000, then he will receive the full amount on the $10,000, 75 percent of the next $5,000, and 50 percent of the next $5,000, and 25 percent of the amount over $20,000.

For such a person, this would be $17,500, plus 25 percent of anything over the amount of $20,000.

There is precedent for doing this. The precedent is in the Sugar Act. The Sugar Act is not amended by this bill, but it is the precedent, and I read from the Government brochure, "History and Operation of the U.S. Sugar Program," dated May 14, 1962. It points out that the basic payment upon 100 pounds of sugar is 80 cents, and the rate can be progressively reduced to a minimum of 30 cents per 100 pounds on all sugar produced in excess of 30,000 short tons.

The 80 cents is on the first 350 short tons of commercially recoverable sugar, and payment can be reduced to 30 cents a hundred pounds on all sugar produced in excess of 30,000 short tons.

So, Mr. Chairman, I have drafted my amendment on the limitation of the payments based on the precedent previous Congresses have already set.

We have seen the large guaranteed payments to the large operators as being a great inducement for increasing the size of the farm holdings. And I believe that same principle of graduated sugar payments ought to apply to feedgrains, wool, the cotton and the wheat programs. This amendment does.

The limitation on payments suggested with a cutoff of $10,000, $15,000, or $20,000, runs into the problem of some of the large operators causing the program some difficulty, according to some observers. If my amendment prevails, I believe we should remove the penalty on cotton production by those not in the program.

I believe the program will still work with the fixed cutoff amendments, but we will be more sure that the program will function as intended if my graduated payment is adopted. In this way, all farmers receive a payment no matter how large their operation.

I include in my amendment the repealing of the cotton snapback. You do not go back to the old two-priced cotton with my amendment but you retain the one-priced cotton as it is in the present law. Every farmer who participates in the program will receive a payment, but it will be graduated like the sugar program.

What it means is that the farmer or the cooperator who received $4 million would only get about $1 million.

The ones who got $1 million would be down to around $250,000. A person with a $20,000 payment would be getting $17,500.

And one with $15,000 would go to $13,750.

Then below $10,000 they would receive the full amount.

I believe this is the most sensible limitation on payments yet devised.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state the parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the Chair advise us as to the status of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE]?

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] is a perfecting amendment to the bill now pending before the Committee.

Mr. FINDLEY. May I inquire as to the status of the Smith of Iowa amendment, providing for the 4-year term?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will inform the gentleman from Illinois that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH] is in the nature of a substitute for the bill.

Mr. FINDLEY. I thank the Chairman.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. The distribution of benefits under the commodity programs is not relief or welfare grants. The participant earns what he receives by the value of what he puts into the program. A farmer who diverts 100 acres from surplus production is entitled to receive more than the person who diverts 10 acres on his farm. To make the program work it is essential that sizable acreage must be taken out of crop production as our farm plant is entirely too big to meet the needs of our domestic consumption and exports sales.

When a farmer diverts 100 acres or any given acreage from production he should be compensated for the income he would lose and the expenses he would incur in idling this acreage. He was asked by his Government to reduce surplus stocks and not grow more crops than can be used. To attain results in a program of this kind all size operations need to trim their plantings, not just the small- and middle-sized operator since 75 percent to 80 percent of the total farm production is derived from 25 percent of the farmers—the larger ones.

The hearings on this bill reveals that the investment per worker in agriculture averages $41,300, while in industry it is $21,900 per worker. These costs have been increasing consistently.

It has been argued that to place a limitation on the size of payments to farmers would save money. I do not agree that it will. Under date of July 19, 1968, I received a letter from Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman who had this to say about the contention that limitations on farm benefits would save money, and I quote from his letter:

> And to those who assume that money will be saved by limiting payments, I say that this is simply not true if the same result of supply management is to be achieved. If one large farmer who has been foregoing production on 1,000 acres doesn't cooperate in these programs, that means 100 small farmers will have to forego production on 10 more acres each to maintain supply and demand stability—and I believe that this would cost more, not only in Federal funds, but in further curtailment of opportunity for smaller farmers.

For quite a long time the Government has subsidized various segments of the economy including airlines, the railroads, and steamship lines. As to whether these aids are justified is not apropos here. These benefits are not made available on the basis of the size of the concern participating, its capitalization or whether a jet, piston-driven motor, steam or electric locomotive is involved, the subsidy is applied uniformly when the criteria for such payment has been fulfilled.

Similarly there should be no discrimination practiced against a farmer because he has through diligent effort, skill, and determination to get ahead acquired a large farm. He should not be condemned because he is a success. He is responsible for making the program effective. Because of him, largely, the consumer pays less for farm commodities, as his operation is efficient.

Many large farmers share their payments with their tenants, who receive the checks in their own right. The large farm under such arrangement is an aggregation of several small farms. The tenants could not, however, participate in the farm program unless the landowner found it beneficial for him to enter the program. A limitation invoked upon the large operator could be detrimental to the small tenant who works on his land.

This amendment is wrong in principle because it penalizes a person who has done his job well. The amendment would stifle the initiative of the individual by discouraging him to get ahead. We have taught our youth that by hard work and the proper application of his or her talents, wit, zeal, intuition there is no limit to attainments in this country. This amendment changes that completely by saying that if you are a large farmer you are blacklisted—your rightful earnings are reduced.

Self reliance, the opportunity to acquire property to expand your holdings is the true American system in operation. Let us keep it that way

Abraham Lincoln had this to say about property:

> Prosperity is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus, by example, assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas, a member of the committee.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to these amendments for the same reasons my good friend from Arkansas quoted in his remarks. As I said yesterday, to penalize a man in America for initiative, for having the intestinal fortitude to take a risk and expand his operations in this country—since when is this a bad trait? Anyone who is experienced in this field knows that with that expansion comes the risk of investment, the chance to expand and to try to accomplish something, and to add to his holdings. Since when should we penalize a man for that?

If we are going to have a farm program, we should have a farm program. And if we are not going to have a farm program that our American farmer can make a living out of, then we should start phasing it out and doing it now.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the extension of this 1-year bill. The 1-year extension will provide farmers with the lead time needed to make essential plans for producing and marketing crops upon which their livelihood depends. At the same time it would provide the necessary interval in which the next Congress and the next administration could formulate an effective farm program, a program which would improve the economic status of American agriculture, reverse the trend from costly Government programs, and assure an adequate food supply at reasonable prices.

Today, according to some information I have 500,000 to 800,000 men, women and children are leaving the farms a year. Where are they going? They are going to the large cities and contributing to the problems that we are having in the large cities; 100,000 of these men are farmowners, landowners, people who are going broke. Today parity is at 74 percent according to the new formulation. Every time it gets low, they come up with a new formula.

This program under this administration and the one preceding—that, since 1961—has resulted in a net increase in farm debt of $23.7 billion while production costs have during the same period gone up by 31 percent.

The American farmer is subsidizing the American consumer. This is where I think the politics come in. The American farmer is subsidizing the American consumer. Ten years ago the consumer was spending 25 percent of his disposable income for food; today he is spending 17 percent of his disposable income for food.

This certainly does not mean that I believe the present farm program now in its third year has done what it was intended to do in achieving a parity position for our farmers with our citizens in industry and commerce.

The parity ratio, which averaged 85 during the 8 years of the Eisenhower administration, averaged only 74 for 1967 as a whole and is now down to 73. Even the adjusted parity ratio, which includes direct payments to farmers is down eight points, and on both an adjusted and unadjusted basis, the parity ratio is the lowest it has been since the depression year of 1934.

Quite frankly, I think we must tell the American farmer and agriculture in this country that until we get politics and politicians out of agriculture, it is not going to change one iota.

The realized net farm income in 1967 was down nearly $2 billion from the year before—a 10-percent cut in pay for farmers, while practically all other segments of industry were enjoying sizable pay increases to compensate for higher costs and prices. But the farmer is trapped by a vicious cost-price squeeze brought on by the inflationary fiscal policies of the past 8 years—a $25.4 billion deficit for the 1968 fiscal year alone. What other industry or business can take such a reduction?

U.S. News & World Report graphically illustrated the sad state of American agriculture recently. Their report shows that agriculture is the largest of the 12 biggest U.S. industries. Agriculture leads in assets, spending for equipment, and machinery, and in number of workers.

If farmers had been adequately paid for their production, agriculture would be first in income and second in sales—but it is not. The article reports that agriculture sales are less than 17 percent of assets while the next 11 largest industries have sales which average 108 percent of their assets per year. Most people do not realize how or how much the farm economy of this Nation has been affected during the last 8 years. Perhaps the most eloquent illustration of the nature and dimensions of the farm problem can be found in the fact that more than one-fourth of the Nation's farms have disappeared since 1960. From 4 million farm units then, there are now only 3 million.

The movement of people from country to city has been called by Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, "the most massive migration the world has ever known."

Today seven out of 10 citizens live on less than 2 percent of the Nation's land, and most of the rest seem destined to join them. This trend was never seriously questioned by previous generations. The reason: Those who went to the city found a better life. But now, while a half-million rural migrants, many of them nonwhite, continue to make the trek to urban areas each year, they are not finding a better life. Just read and listen to the news of riots in the cities. But the cities' problems cannot be solved simply by improving living conditions and job opportunities in them. That only encourages more poor and unskilled to come off the farms in search of work, thus creating a treadmill effect. So the real solution lies in the revitalization of rural America and the farm economy to stop this senseless migration and the continued overcrowding of our already problem-ridden cities. And especially when there are so many advantages now in our age of modern communications and transportation to living in smaller communities.

And regardless of the success or failure of the present program or the inefficiency of its administration, its very purpose is threatened by proposals to limit payments to producers. The operation of the program depends on production control and any limitation of payments will result in dire consequences to both large and small producers.

Either production costs will soar because large producers, forced out of the program because of inadequate incentives, will plant in excess of program limits or the smaller farmer will be required to produce less and less to insure that total production will not add to surpluses or the Government will be forced to buy up the surplus to stabilize prices. And increased supplies will force prices down for both large and small operators.

Why should the farmer who operates an efficient farm and has been willing to assume the debt and risks of a larger operation be penalized for trying to expand and better himself? Net income even to large farm operators is certainly far below the average returns for most other business and industry. Although the average American does not realize the real seriousness of the farm problem, the farmers do. Listen to what one farmer in my district wrote—and this is from Mr. F. D. Clayton, Box 382, Earth, Tex. He had a title for it, too—"The Depression of the Sixties":

> Please read about the depression of the middle sixties. For the farmers of West Texas this is as bad as the depression of the thirties. I farmed through the depression of the early thirties, and I also farm in the depression of the middle sixties, the same place and the same land that I farmed in the thirties. To prove my point I offer these figures:
>
> In 1932 a plow point cost $2.00; in 1967 the same point costs $8.00. In 1932 all cotton, without taking samples, brought 4½ cents a pound; in 1967 cotton in this part of the country is worth 14 cents a pound. That is the same kind of cotton we sold for 4½ cents in 1932. Cotton is about three times as high now as it was in 1932, and a plow point is four times as high.
>
> Some say, Raise better cotton. We would if we could. We raise the very best cotton possible for this country. Our average grade of cotton is S.L.M. Lt. Sp. 31/32, and that is worth $15.95 in the loan. However, by the time they get through taking off for low micronaire, it is worth 14 cents. Note that this is the same cotton that was worth 4½ cents in 1932.
>
> In 1932 you could get all the labor you needed for $1.25 a day. Now labor costs $12.00 to $15.00 a day. Labor is twelve times higher now, and cotton is three times higher. I do not mind paying high labor if I could add it on to my product. Farming, however, is the only business in the world that cannot do this. The more crop a farmer has the more money he loses.
>
> A piece of machinery that a farmer purchased six years ago and which is still in good condition will bring half of the purchase price. If he wanted to replace it today, he would have to pay the same price in addition to giving the dealer the old piece of machinery as a trade-in. That is how much a farmer's cost has gone up in the last six years. The farmers are going broke as fast as they can, leaving the farms, and going

to the cities. The farm workers are doing the same thing. That seems to be the way the government wants it so that we can have more slums.

Tractors are four to five times as high as they were even in 1941. The same holds true with everything else that the farmers use in order to produce.

It is not the farmer's business to keep a year's supply of food for the nation. That is the business of everyone. Therefore, it should be handled as such.

The last money farmers made was back in 1962 or 1963. In my opinion the Administration is using the farmer in such a way as to cause more trouble at home than we could ever stop overseas. When a farmer has $300,000 to $400,000 invested in farm business and can't make a good living for his family, there is something wrong with the way things are being handled. I do not believe there is a farmer in this part of the country that is worth as much money as he was two years ago. I have talked with lending agencies, and they agree with me. Unless something is done this nation is going to be hungry in a few years. This nation was built on family-size business; and when we lose that, we have lost the strength of our nation and our freedom as well.

Every business in the world that I know anything about has the right to add the cost of production on to the price of their product except farmers; they have to take what they can get. The cost of food at the farm level does not have much to do with the cost of food to the consumer. This year I had a friend who farmed three miles from town who had onions that went to waste in the field because he could not get enough for them to pay the harvesting expense. At this same time the stores were selling onions at two pounds for 29 cents. I know that we farmers get a government check, and I also know that we have to plant a crop that loses money in order to get this check. As a result, we come out broke.

Labor may think this is good for them; but they had better reconsider because when farming gets in the hands of a few, they can make you pay the prices for food that they want you to pay. Also the farmer buys products. Labor produces steel, fertilizer, tractors, trucks, combines, and so many other things that one does not think of. The farmer cannot buy them without the money, and this is going to have its effect on labor.

The farmer in America is rapidly becoming the "forgotten man" of this generation. He is not going to remedy this situation by spreading too thin the resources he does have at his disposal. This is 1968—not 1920. Back in 1920, the farmer's interests were protected by a majority of the Members of Congress. In that year, 251 seats in the House of Representatives were occupied by Members who represented farm districts—those with 20 percent or more of rural farm population. Those 251 seats amounted to 57 percent or a clear majority of the 435 Members of Congress. Those were "the good old days" when you could afford to dilute your strength from time to time and go separate ways. Those days have long since passed into history.

By 1960, 51 Congressmen—only 12 percent of the total—were farm district Representatives.

The 1970 census will certainly show a further erosion of farmers' strength in Congress. According to tentative estimates of the Census Bureau we will have 39 district Representatives or slightly less than 9 percent after the 1970 census.

Now, the crucial question that faces today's farmer is: How best can I use the strength and the resources I do have to advance my own economic well-being and that of my fellow farmers?

The answer as I see it is that the farmer must learn what all minority groups sooner or later must learn: pool your resources and speak with one voice.

So, although I do support a 1-year extension to the present farm program, the next Congress must face up to the task and the dire necessity of overhauling this program and giving the farmer, the forgotten man of this generation, a fair shake and a fair share of the proceeds of the abundance of our economy. He has done more and done it better for the American consumer and hungry millions in other countries and realized less for his efforts than any other citizen. He deserves better and I believe there are enough Members of this body and the Agriculture Committee who realize that this country cannot continue to prosper and solve the problems of its cities without first solving the problems of agriculture and revitalizing the agricultural economy of America.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DE LA GARZA. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Chairman, I urge the Committee to defeat the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], and support the substitute offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. Chairman, we have been discussing amounts of payments, and that is a cause of consternation, I am sure, to all of us. However, I wonder how many can recall and how many were here and how many voted for the $20 million tax break for American Motors Corp.? I remember. It happened here. How about the $10 million rent supplement program? That is all we could spare for that program. We did vote it. But when we come to payments to farmers and they are large, we do not want to forget that we did vote for one company a $20 million tax break.

When we talk about a limit of $10,000 or $20,000, that sounds like a lot, but I do not know how many Members of Congress may have bought a tractor or a combine. Do you know what a self-propelled combine sells for? Some are $20,000.

We are talking about other programs, and I know our urban friends are concerned, as we all are, about the people in the cities who do not have enough money for housing and food, and perhaps support payments for an unwed mother with two or three children and with no husband. But here we are paying to limit production in the farm programs. If we could limit production in that ADC field, the investment might be good also. Many of us have supported programs to meet urban needs and will continue to do so, and I urge Members to support the farm program, so the farmers can plan and keep this country the best fed country at the lowest portion of its income of any country anywhere in the world.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN].

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, some harsh comments were made to me in the hearings of the Committee on Agriculture on the food stamp legislation last month because I spoke of the necessity for making an arrangement on the farm and food stamp bills, in order to get both bills before the House and through the House. Some of the members of the committee were shocked and horrified at the idea of making deals on legislation.

The arrangement I was referring to has been made. It is not an underhanded and reprehensible sellout of principle by one side or the other to support something bad in order to get something good. What I pleaded with the committee to recognize and to understand was the necessity for rural area Members of this House to see the need—the vital need—for legislation which is essential for our cities if they expect those of us from urban areas to continue to vote for legislation vitally important to the farmer.

I intend to vote for the bill and for a 4-year extension of the 1965 Farm Act because I believe the farmers need such a bill in order to farm profitably. Our economy—and particularly the part of it which provides jobs for those I represent in the city of St. Louis—needs farmers as buyers of the goods we make and sell. We are economically interdependent; as legislators for the whole country—not just spokesmen for narrow geographical or economic interests—we have to work together, and learn about the problems confronting other segments of the population, and be willing to vote for what the whole country needs even if, as in the case of city people viewing much of the farm legislation or rural people viewing some of the programs to aid our cities, our constituents are not always enthusiastic about such votes, and may in fact criticize them.

Some farm associations, such as the National Farmers Union, the Grange and the National Farmers Organization, recognize the interdependence, and have worked hard to help us pass good legislation to aid the cities, and the consumer. They certainly helped me on the Consumer Credit Protection Act, and they helped also on the food stamp bill. The food stamp bill, I might add, has received enthusiastic assistance also from wheat growers, the cotton growers, the corn growers, and other agricultural commodity groups, and I appreciate that help.

I shall vote for the Neal Smith amendment for a 4-year farm bill, not in order to "pay them back" for the help of farm groups on all these bills, but rather in recognition, first, of the merits of the legislation, and then, with the knowledge that in voting to help the farmer—giving help I know is needed—I am not rewarding a group which refuses to accord similar help to people in the city. We must see each other's problems and needs. My quarrel with the Committee on Agriculture was that it refused to widen its viewpoint in order to see what the food stamp program accomplishes, not only for city people, but for thousands of low-income rural families, too. I do not want to be similarly shortsighted on farm bills, and, as a result of what happened earlier today, I do not have to be narrowly shortsighted or politically vengeful.

We passed a 4-year food stamp bill here yesterday in order to assure the stability and continued expansion of the program, to remove the uncertainties about its future. The farmer and the Department of Agriculture need the same kind of assured continuity on the farm program. If Congress wants to amend or kill the farm program next year, it can still do so—but only by taking affirmative action. A 1-year bill, on the other hand, for either the farm program or the food stamp program, would permit the demise of either program next year merely by the inaction of the Committee on Agriculture.

I feel the committee should review these programs constantly and recommend improvements where indicated, but we have had to fight too long and too hard to get these programs instituted to run the annual gauntlet of having them die or jeopardized by mere inaction of the committee handling them.

To my colleagues on the Democratic side who represent urban areas, and who always vote with the consumer and for good domestic programs for all Americans, I would like to say that the present farm law has been instrumental in saving billions of dollars in the cost of transporting and storing surplus commodities, and in the cost of dumping or giving away surplus foods overseas for currency we can never spend. A few years ago, we were spending a billion dollars a year just to store the surpluses Mr. Benson's farm policies had piled up, and $1½ billion a year to give them away overseas. The surplus problem has been dramatically reduced. At the same time we have the capacity, through this program, to expand production of food very quickly in case the need should arise.

Three years ago, this legislation was attacked by our Republican colleagues as a "bread tax." Remember? It was no such thing, but they tried their best to beat us on that one in the 1966 elections. Let us get a little political, too, once in a while, and get behind a Democratic program which was bitterly opposed by the opposition, but which has proved itself workable in 3 years of operation. Secretary Freeman has done a good job—an outstanding job. He deserves our support. Let us back him up. I urge the Members to vote for the Neal Smith amendment.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure that all of you have heard the comments and questions on two sides of the particular debate that has taken place on the subject of the limitation of payments. I take this time to ask the gentleman from Minnesota, who generally has been recognized as a Member who has been in favor of farm programs per se, whether or not he believes that this payment limitation question would kill or strengthen future farm programs. If he would do this briefly, I would appreciate it, because I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois the same question.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would say it would strengthen farm programs for the future and make them function better. One of my reasons for saying that is the fact that the National Farmers Union supports my amendment, and they have a long record of support for legislation of this type. I doubt they would be supporting my amendment if it would not be something that would strengthen the legislation rather than hurt it.

Mr. KLEPPE. I thank the gentleman for those observations.

Now, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] has stated to the House that he does not think the extension of this program is necessary. I wonder if the gentleman would make some comments along this same line as to whether he thinks a limitation of the payments will strengthen or kill future farm programs.

Mr. FINDLEY. Definitely a limitation of the payments will be a step forward and be an improvement in the program that we have, but I do not want to leave you with the impression that I think then, under those circumstances, we would have the best possible world for the American farmer. I am sure we can do a lot better than that, and I intend to work to that end in the future.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KLEPPE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MIZE. The gentleman may be unhappy with the existing program as many are and some may be very much in favor of it, but if you place a payment limitation, regardless of how much, some of the very large operators will withdraw from the program and pull out, and you may have the greatest surplus of grain that you have ever seen. In the long run it could damage the small operator much more severely than the large efficient operator.

Mr. KLEPPE. I thank the gentleman for those observations.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KLEPPE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FINDLEY. I appreciate the gentleman's courtesy very much, and I want to respond to that comment.

I stated that these programs are not the only way land can be taken out of production. This Congress has authorized the cropland adjustment program, which is very similar to the soil bank program that we had years ago. The experience of the cropland adjustment program shows the cost to the taxpayers of retiring acres is about one-half compared with retiring land under these commodity programs.

Mr. KLEPPE. I thank the gentleman. I just wish to make one further observation here. I further wish to add a little bit to this confusion.

The National Farmers Union has taken a position that is somewhat contrary and different from the position of the Farmers Union in my State. They can reasonably wonder why there may be a good deal of confusion among some Members of Congress, including myself. That is the reason why I was interested in having this particular question commented on by two Members of Congress who have generally taken two separate positions insofar as our farm legislation is concerned. I happen to be a proponent of the farm program. I have been a critic of its administration.

In my remarks yesterday, I indicated I intended to support this bill and I was supported by the Republican policy committee.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAYNE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, I think that we can clarify the basic issue here by understanding one basic fact which was mentioned by the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas. This farm program is not a welfare program. It is a problem-solving device. Under this program Uncle Sam says that he wants certain cooperation which he needs in the national interest, not in the interest of agriculture exclusively—it is in the national interest.

If the farmer complies, he is compensated for his participation and his return depends upon the amount of his participation. The payments which he receives are not subsidies, but they will be subsidies if we adopt a limitation on payments because we change the whole nature of the bill by limiting the payments.

Mr. Chairman, because of the nature of the law, which is not being amended here, limitation of payments on cotton is absolutely impossible and limitations on the grain program are completely unworkable and will make the whole program meaningless.

Mr. Chairman, this Congress could get at some of the big farm operators who are carrying on tax loss operations or so-called hobby farmers through another approach, but as long as we seek to control production, we cannot limit payments.

Apparently some of the members of the committee feel that there is a moral question involved in these large payments. At the very least, such payments are hard to explain to someone who does not understand the program. And, it does offer a fertile field for demagoguery. For instance, we had some who are for payment limitation and yet these same persons come here each year with proposals to increase the Government employees' salaries by a percentage basis. Five percent of a $20,000 salary is considerably more than 5 percent of a $6,000 salary.

Mr. Chairman, there are others who complain about the size of the Department of Agriculture budget. That budget includes among other things, food-for-the-needy programs, food-for-peace, programs, for clean meat, for disease control, national forests, wilderness areas, and so on and on.

Mr. Chairman, this is not special interest legislation nor is it regional legislation. I introduced legislation earlier this year which was designed to extend this program and would improve it by amendments. It needs improvement, and especially in administration.

Mr. Chairman, the farmer deserves better treatment and more effective answers than he is getting today under this program. For that reason I do not want to lock the farmer into a depressed position for 4 additional years.

And, as long as we use the present law to control production limiting payments, would defeat the very purpose of that law.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I am at some disadvantage, being a junior member of the Committee on Agriculture, I get to speak just before the janitor comes in to sweep.

However, let me say it is my understanding that the intent of this bill is to control supply, and actually cut down production, production of the farmer, to bring farm supply closer to demand.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MYERS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I would say there is more to it than that. The direct payments as Federal funds to improved farmer income.

Mr. MYERS. If the gentleman from Minnesota will come over here, I would like to ask him a question.

I do not completely understand the thrust of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota. It sounds real good, because any time you start limiting the amount of payments that any one farmer can receive, that sounds inviting. I think many Members of the House are faced with the same problem. The gentleman from Arkansas, a member of the committee, a short while ago said the amendment would not work.

Does the gentleman from Minnesota have any figures, or have any notion of the number of farmers that would not comply if we should adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. QUIE. If the gentleman will yield for an answer——

Mr. MYERS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. We never know what farmers will comply with it; that is a decision they make themselves each year.

All farmers do not comply. But the question comes of say, for instance, a farmer that received $1,020,000 in payments this last year, under my amendment he would be cut down to $267,500. Now, would that farmer forfeit $267,000 to go out and sell on the market without any price protection, or would he want the price support loan protection and be willing to stay in for the $267,000? I imagine he would stay in.

Mr. MYERS. Has the gentleman talked to any of these people that are in that category, or has the gentleman checked this with the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. QUIE. I have talked to some of the people in that category, they are not very happy with my amendment. Nobody wants to have their money cut back. I would say to the gentleman if the sugar program had been 80 cents per 100 pounds to all of the sugar farmers, they would not have accepted the graduated payment program as it now is, where it is scaled from 80 cents down to 30 cents. That is where I took the idea from, the precedent in the sugar program of the reduced payment to those who have larger operations.

One of the purposes of the Farm Act is to help the small farm family and increase their income. It never was stated that it was to be an inducement to large farmers to become larger and making guarantees to farmers to become larger and larger operators.

For that reason I believe my amendment will keep the farm program on its original course.

Mr. MYERS. I would like to yield further to the gentleman for one more question: Does the gentleman know what the savings would be to the Treasury in 1 year if his amendment should be adopted?

Mr. QUIE. Yes, the savings to the Treasury in my amendment would be just a little bit over $200 million. And I believe that that $200 million could be much more wisely spent in other areas of our endeavor than to pay it to the larger farm operators in the country.

Mr. MYERS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield so I could ask a question of the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. MYERS. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I would ask the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Quie] whether he would approve a limitation that would not allow his son, in this free country of ours to become just as large and just as big as his talents and qualifications would permit?

Mr. QUIE. I believe everybody ought to be free to be able to grow to be as big as they want to, but I do not want the Federal Government to give them the inducement through a subsidy to become that large. I believe they ought to do it on their own out in the market through their own business. Anybody who chooses to become that big ought to be able to do this on the market, and make that income on the market.

Mr. ABERNETHY. He has got to take a cut in his operations if he does that.

Mr. QUIE. I do not believe it is necessary to make those large payments in order for a farmer to comply in the program.

Mr. MYERS. In closing, Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I cannot see adopting the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Smith]. If you do this you are simply compounding the problem in this country of 73 percent of parity for the farmer. It has not worked up to now. How is it going to work for another 4 years, because it is a fact that everyone in this Chamber knows that this committee is not going to look at this program for 4 years if we adopt this amendment.

I believe every member of the Committee on Agriculture is willing to come back and look at it next year, regardless of which party controls the Congress, or who is the President, or who is the Secretary of Agriculture. The program has not been satisfactory. And to ask for a 4-year continuation of the program is not going to help those farmers out there who are constantly going under. The figures have been given this afternoon on the number who fail because they are not making enough profit. This is what the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Smith] is going to do. Continue the same trend and probably the same results for 4 more years.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I think the devil ought to have his due. While I do not often agree with anything I read in the Washington Post, they had an editorial this morning supporting or justifying payments to large farmers. For those who did not read the editorial, I want to point out just one or two little points and you can read it later.

They are talking about a book by Marion Clawson called "Policy Directions for U.S. Agriculture" in which he points out that in 1960 there were slightly more than 100,000 really large farms, each with more than $300,000 of assets, an average gross income of $100,000 and a net income of more than $17,000.

The editorial reads further as he points out:

> These farmers had a bad ratio of expenses to gross income and some operated at a loss.

Then the editorial goes on further down and says:

> All available data point to the existence of large numbers of very low-income farmers, along with a more moderate number of fair-income ones, and a few relatively good incomes—but even these latter may be rewarded less than their talents and capital deserve.

Mr. Chairman, today I have had a number of people, principally from metropolitan areas, ask me how I can justify voting against the Quie amendment.

Frankly, the best explanation of that was made in a letter written by the Secretary of Agriculture which I think went generally to the membership of the House. I have asked many of those fellows—Did you read the Secretary's letter explaining that it is his opinion on the limitation of payments, as he says in his letter:

> I'm against it because I believe it is against the national interest.

Not the individual interest, but the national interest.

So many Members have not read this letter. This letter has been published in the Record one time and if you want to read it, it is still available in the Record of July 19, on page S9037 which is where it is published in the proceedings of the other body.

As most of you know, I do not like to put things in the Record that are already in there once. But I think it was one of the Members on this side who in his comments quoted something about the fact that commodity programs are not welfare grants.

Well, that was taken from the letter of the Secretary of Agriculture.

To be effective in balancing production, they must fit into the free enterprise concept that a man is rewarded in terms of the value of his contribution.

Program payments reimburse farmers for income that they forgo and expenses that they incur when they divert land from crop production to carry out farm policy.

I think this has been repeated so many times here on the floor today and various examples have been given—but I think you should keep this in mind—that there is a matter of equity involved in this.

While I am on the floor speaking mainly against this limitation, I think we would make a mistake to adopt the Quie amendment.

I am going to support the Smith amendment for 4 years because I have been released from any commitment I had at the time I agreed in our committee to support that. Because my commitment was made along with others, including the ranking minority member, who has stated he does not now support even a 1-year extension, I feel I have been released from any commitment.

Frankly, I would like to see a continuing farm program—in other words, to keep the Committee on Agriculture alert and to keep the public alert and to make any improvements as often as it becomes necessary. If we have a 4-year program—do not kid yourselves—if the gentleman from Oklahoma becomes the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture next January, I am sure he would have a bill in making some changes in the farm program.

But the surprising thing has been that during the time this program has been in effect, no one has been wanting to repeal it. We have had two or three bills in saying, "Let us do away with the farm program," but when we talk to those people, then they say, "Not right now—let us do it gradually."

We do not have those kinds of bills before the committee. I think most of the people in this Chamber, particularly those who have any association with agriculture at all must admit that while this program is far from being perfect, it is the best we have. It has not been the cause of low prices. The low prices have come about in spite of that.

I herewith include the Washington Post editorial heretofore referred to, setting forth reasons why limitation of payments should not be adopted:

FARM INCOMES

During the Poor People's Campaign there were many justified criticisms of the failure of the agricultural programs of the Government to do enough about rural poverty. But there were also some unjustified suggestions that the Department of Agriculture has been engaged mainly in a process of enriching very affluent farmers who do not deserve or need any help.

In a new book entitled "Policy Directions for U.S. Agriculture," Marion Clawson also disagrees with current farm policies in many ways. But his summary of income among the Nation's farmers eloquently discloses the injustice of the charge that the Government has been mainly engaged in subsidizing a rural Cadillac set.

He points out that in 1960 there were slightly more than 100,000 really large farms, each with more than $300,000 of assets, an average gross income of $100,000 and a net income of more than $17,000. These farmers had a bad ratio of expenses to gross income and some operated at a loss. There were 228,000 farms which had an investment of $69,000 each and gained an income of $400 a month. Clawson shows that about half of all commercial farms had net incomes below the $300 poverty line. Relatively few farmers made as much as $10,000 a year and a much larger number between $6,000 and $10,000. Clawson concludes his farm income summary with this sentence:

"All available data point to the existence of large numbers of very low-income farmers, along with a more moderate number of fair-income ones, and a few relatively good incomes—but even these latter may be rewarded less than their talents and capital deserve."

American farmers, generously and effectively assisted by the Government, have performed such miracles of production that Americans now have more food for a smaller percentage of income than ever before. But a great urban country should not become so complacent about what seems to be an inexhaustible food supply that it becomes indifferent to the fact that farmers are "rewarded less than their talents and capital deserve." And the failure of agricultural programs of the Federal Government to solve all the problems of rural poverty, exemplified in the plight of the poor people's march, should not be made the basis of a negative attack on our agricultural industry.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. NELSEN. I have an amendment at the desk to the bill. There is another amendment to be offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] as an amendment to the Quie amendment. If I should yield my position, would I forego the opportunity of offering my amendment to the bill at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to inform the gentleman from Minnesota that under the rules of the House he is unable to yield for that purpose. Is the gentleman's amendment an amendment to the Quie amendment?

Mr. NELSEN. Mine is an amendment to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. If the amendment is an amendment to the bill, it is not in order at this time. The Chair will recognize the gentleman at the proper time.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. CONTE TO THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. QUIE

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CONTE to the amendment offered by Mr. QUIE: On page 1, line 3, immediately after "That" insert "(a)".

On page 2, immediately after line 10, insert:

"(b) Such Act is further amended by adding at the end of title VII thereof the following:

" 'SEC. 710. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, beginning with the 1970 crop years, payments aggregating more than $20,000 under all programs which are provided for or extended under the provisions of Titles II through V of this Act may not be made to any producer. For the purposes of this section, payments include wool incentive payments, wheat marketing certificates, price support and diversion payments, and the dollar value (as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture) of any payments-in-kind made to a producer, but do not include the amount of any price support loan made to a producer.'

" 'SEC. 3. Section 402 of such Act is further amended by repealing, effective with the 1970 crop of upland cotton, section 103(d)(12) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended.' "

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts in support of his amendment.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is clear—it places a $20,000 limitation on the total amount of all payments combined which can be made to any one indivdual or any one farming operation covered under the pending legislation.

At the outset let me say that we are considering here the renewal of an agricultural program which is not working today, which has not worked in the past, and which still has 1 more year to run.

Under the present administration the parity ratio stands today at the very low level of 73 percent.

We have recently enacted legislation which requires a reduction in Federal spending for fiscal 1969 of some $6 billion.

Nevertheless it is proposed that we approve a 1-year extension of a program which costs over $3 billion per year where there is no present need to provide an extension at this time and when potential alternative programs have not been fully considered.

This latter point is all the more significant in light of the fact that no matter who wins the Presidency in November, we are going to have a new administration which certainly should have the opportunity to formulate and propose its own farm programs. Yet, if this extension is passed today the bill will run through 1970 and deprive the new administration of this right.

Our agriculture policy was developed in the 1930's as an emergency program to provide assistance to the small farmer. Today it operates in almost the opposite manner providing substantial benefits to the larger farmers. The 2 percent of farmers in America who gross more than $100,000 a year receive some 20 percent of farm subsidies under our present program.

I do not believe that our inadequate and unsuccessful agriculture program should be extended by Congress for another year.

In the event that such action is taken, however, I believe that the adoption of my amendment will eliminate the most glaring inequities which exist in our present subsidy programs.

There is simply no justification for this country paying out tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars in subsidy payments to individual farmers and farms.

There is simply no justification for 1967 payments under our ASCS programs, excluding price-support loans, to have included payments of $25,000 or more to some 6,579 individual farm operations for a total of some $333,127,693. This represents an average payment to those 6,579 individual operations of some $50,000 per operation.

There is simply no justification for the taxpayers of this country paying hundreds of millions of dollars to subsidize large and wealthy farmers.

Under our present structure one farm operator receives a payment in the incredible amount of some $4 million. Five farmers receive over $1 million each for a total of $10,889,000 while another 11 farmers receive over $500,000 each.

1967 PAYMENTS OF $25,000 AND OVER UNDER ASCS PROGRAMS BY STATES (EXCLUDING PRICE SUPPORT LOANS)

State	Total payees	Total payments
Alabama	186	$7, 262, 524
Arizona	495	32, 632, 601
Arkansas	617	28, 270, 128
California	810	61, 310, 642
Colorado	75	2, 935, 565
Florida	49	4, 943, 043
Georgia	130	4, 797, 677
Hawaii	26	9, 808, 390
Idaho	49	1, 766, 205
Illinois	13	463, 829
Indiana	9	379, 443
Iowa	9	459, 645
Kansas	109	3, 804, 974
Kentucky	3	84, 644
Louisiana	263	11, 266, 492
Michigan	2	67, 863
Minnesota	5	150, 891
Mississippi	1, 112	55, 890, 830
Missouri	85	3, 295, 160
Montana	45	2, 101, 731
Nebraska	23	739, 913
Nevada	6	291, 448
New Mexico	101	3, 857, 277
North Carolina	48	2, 103, 774
North Dakota	21	726, 807
Ohio	3	132, 065
Oklahoma	58	1, 987, 838
Oregon	44	1, 486, 281
Pennsylvania	1	28, 710
Puerto Rico	55	3, 553, 220
South Carolina	157	6, 117, 524
South Dakota	12	406, 439
Tennessee	73	2, 821, 483
Texas	1, 762	72, 646, 201
Utah	6	207, 679
Virginia	2	62, 486
Washington	106	3, 966, 469
Wisconsin	2	66, 176
Wyoming	7	233, 626
Total	6, 579	333, 127, 693

One payee happens to be the Louisiana State Penitentiary which received $89,697 for land owned by the penitentiary.

Another is a corporate farm operation in Mississippi owned by British interests which received $653,252.

The State of Montana received $553,358 not to farm on land that it owned.

There is simply no justification for these or any other large payments—there is no justification for hundreds of millions of our dollars being spent in this manner.

As all of us know, we face an extremely difficult financial picture, a situation which has required us to place expenditure and appropriation limitations on our fiscal 1969 budget.

We are supposedly looking for ways in which to reduce proposed Federal spending in fiscal 1969 by some $6 billion.

Recently this body voted to substantially cut funds from vitally important programs designed to assist schools in ghetto and poor rural areas on the stated basis of the need for economy in government.

Well here in the amendment I have proposed we have the means of saving up to $300 million a year and at the same time correcting an inequitable and unjustifiable Federal program.

Some have expressed the opinion that the kind of amendment I have proposed would be detrimental to the small farmer. But our small farmers are not going to be affected by this amendment which limits payments of over $20,000. Small farmers just don't receive those kind of payments.

I urge all members of this body to support my amendment and to vote for a $20,000 maximum limitation on payments to individual farm operations.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, we now have two confusing amendments which nobody understands and nobody is going to understand, except that they propose to cut down the amount of money that can be paid to anyone for the use of his land. They amount to the same thing. There is no difference in these two amendments as far as principle is concerned. They can offer any combination of figures they want to, but it does not change the principle at all. But this amendment—whether we call it the Quie amendment, or whether we call it the Conte amendment, or whether we call it the Madden amendment—is most appealing, but yet I fear it is one of the most dangerous changes which has been suggested.

In my general discussion of the bill, I pointed out that I am sure that the proponents of this amendment offer it in all good faith and with every intention of being fair to everyone concerned. In my judgment, however, they present this amendment because of a fundamental misconception of the nature of the farm bill—and indeed of the whole farm problem.

Let it be remembered that our farm program is basically an effort to bring supply into rough balance with reasonable demand for farm products. Our farm program has never sought to establish an exact balance; we have always felt it was better to err on the side of overproduction and I am sure that this will always be our policy. But we do recognize that a relatively small overproduction ofttimes results in disastrous breaks in price for our producers. Typically, a 1-percent overproduction will often result in a 5-percent break in price.

Some countries have felt that it was sound for the Government to set all prices. Of course, when you fix prices you have to fix wages and you have to fix margins of profit. We in the United States have generally felt that if possible we should avoid the complications of complete price and wage controls. I concur in that view, but if we are to ask the farmer to continue to produce for sale in an uncontrolled market while he is buying the products of labor and industry at completely administered prices, he must have the help of some device which will at least reduce unneeded production.

Our present land retirement program pays the owner of the land for retiring certain unneeded acres from production. It is much cheaper to retire these acres before any of the expenses of making a crop are incurred than it is to purchase and retire the unneeded crop after it is produced. The average payment for retirement of an acre of corn is $40 while the value of the average production at parity prices is $106.60. When a farmer retires acres from production, he, of course, reduces his income just as does the tenement owner who sells his housing units to the housing authority and just as does the landowner who conveys his land to the city or State for highway purposes.

You would all readily recognize the impracticability of limiting payments for land needed for slum clearance or for highways to a figure of $5,000, $10,000, or even $50,000 per owner. Why, then, cannot we see the impracticability of limiting the amount of land use or retirement rental which can be purchased from any one landowner for achieving the needed production balance in agriculture? I see no difference other than that in the first case we are speaking of the purchase of fee simple title to land, in the second case we are speaking of purchasing the right to use the land for a limited period of time. In each case, payments must be made if the program is to be effective not on the basis of need of the landowner but on the basis of the value of the rights transferred to public use.

It is certainly impossible in the case of most commodities to achieve any effective balance simply by the removal of small holdings from production, and the very effort to confine the bulk of this removal to small holdings would be destructive of those very small farmers we would all like to protect. Suppose we want to remove 1,000 acres of wheat, cotton, or corn from production. Is the farmer who is planting only 10 acres of the commodity better served when we take the entire 1,000 acres from one larger farmer or when we take the entire holdings of 100 10-acre farmers? And yet, that is what is required if we are to maintain the effectiveness of the program, and if we are going to deny payments to the larger operators. The only possible alternative is to reduce the effectiveness of the program or to take a cruel and destructive percentage of land from the small operator. The program just will not work if you eliminate the participation on the part of the large operators.

Nor is the existing program the bonanza for large owners which the advocates of the amendment evidently suppose it to be. This misconception of this situation grows out of the assumption that everything that the large operator gets in the way of payment for his retired acres is profit. If this were true, I think that it is clear that every large operator would seek to put the maximum number of acres in the retirement program, but this is not the case. Most of these operators place no more in the program than they are required to in order to participate. Remember that in our grain programs especially, the landowner must often retire as much land with no payment as he can retire with payment. I know of no stronger evidence that these payments are not the bonanza that so many unthinking critics have assumed, and surely if we make it impossible for the large operators to participate in the program and receive the same kind of payments that all others receive for the retirement of their land, they will stay out of the programs and thus destroy by the overabundance of their production the value of the production of the so-called small farmer. The proposal is not only ill advised but it is self-defeating; it is counterproductive. It breaks down the very thing which the basic program seeks to establish—that is, a reasonable degree of balance between supply and demand.

An outline of the case against limiting farm program payments follows:

THE CASE AGAINST LIMITING FARM PROGRAM PAYMENTS

I. Payment limitation conflicts with production adjustment (unless limit is only a token).

A. Failure of production adjustment means total failure of program.

1. Production adjustment is major means of (a) strengthening farm prices, (b) limiting government costs, (c) preventing waste of resources in surplus production.

2. Production adjustment is vital because agriculture has capacity to produce about 12 percent more than markets will take without disastrous price reductions.

(a) Manufacturers hold about 12 percent of capacity out of production, but farmers historically have been unable to do so without a program—partly because they are so many, partly because most farmers are their own labor supply and cannot fire themselves from job, partly because their investments and commitments and climate allow few choices.

B. Success of program depends upon attracting into program those who produce most of the market supply.

1. In a voluntary program, a farmer takes part only if he is paid fairly for what it costs him to participate.

(a) He gives up income from diverted acres. Farmer diverting 100 acres gives up twice as much as farmer diverting 50 acres.

(b) He spends money to devote diverted acres to conserving uses (twice as much for 100 acres as for 50).

(c) He believes in free-enterprise concept that a man is paid fair value for his goods and services. As Secretary Freeman has pointed out to members of this body, when we take a man's land for urban renewal or a highway, we pay him fairly. Farm program should follow same principle.

II. Payment limitation conflicts with market development.

A. Payments are not an end in themselves but rather a means to an end—a program method. Alternative is price-support loan at higher levels than we now have. But higher loans tend to reduce export opportunities and could even interfere with domestic market development.

1. Exports in fiscal year 1967 totaled $6.8 billion, compared with $4.5 billion in 1960. And dollar sales were up 62 percent—from $3.2 billion to $5.2 billion. For 1968 fiscal, preliminary estimates indicate total agricultural exports of $6.4 billion of which nearly $5 billion are commercial sales—despite very strong world competition.

2. Agricultural exports exceed imports, help meet balance-of-payments problem.

3. Farmers depend on exports as market for more than one-half of wheat production, two-thirds of milled rice, a third or more of the grain sorghum, soybeans, cotton and tobacco they produce; more than a fourth of the flaxseed; nearly a fourth of the corn.

III. Payment limitation conflicts with surplus reduction.

A. Surplus reduction is a function of both production adjustment and market development. Each has had a part in reducing CCC inventory from $6,148,000,000 in October of 1960 to $896,000,000 as of May 31, 1968.

B. Surplus is still great danger because of capacity for overproduction and tendency to use it. Same program we had in the 1950's would accumulate surpluses as before. Program we have now will enable us to continue to deal successfully with surplus problem.

IV. Payment limitation conflicts with sugar, wool, and conservation policy.

A. Many of the larger payments are for purpose of carrying out sugar policy—to help maintain a domestic sugar industry and assure U.S. of continuous adequate supplies at reasonable prices.

B. Payments also help maintain domestic wool industry.

C. Conservation cost-sharing payments are included in the totals about which there has been so much publicity.

1. Nobody makes a profit from conservation cost-share payments. Public pays about half of what it costs the land owner to carry out conservation measures which are primarily for the long-term benefit of the public.

V. Payment limitation would hurt the small farmer as well as larger farmer.

A. Farm program is based on policy of encouraging family-type farming in this country—to keep the means of production widely owned—to keep the land primarily in the hands of the operators.

1. Policy is succeeding. Family-type farming is the dominant part of American agriculture and growing stronger in relation to other types. Big payments are only the phenomenon resulting from treating all farmers alike (except for certain higher rates of payment for small farms).

B. Exclusion of big producers from program would throw burden of production adjustment on family-type and smaller farms.

1. Exclude a farm which should divert 1,000 acres, and you have to get 100 small farmers to divert an additional 10 acres each. This is not good for those producing too little to keep busy. It would cost government more.

C. Family-type and smaller farms take part in farm program because they need the same results as do larger farmers—better prices, better markets.

1. Last year a sixth of all participants received payments of less than $100 and half received less than $500. They do participate.

D. Some small farmers need program help in addition to the commodity programs.

1. We should not try to correct all the ills of agriculture through this one program. Take care of poverty and training needs, and special credit needs, etc. through other means rather than by discriminating among farmers in payments, which are merely program machinery, not welfare.

VI. Payment limitation would not help the Poor People.

A. Food aid from federal government is at record level.

B. Food is plentiful and cheap for those who have jobs.

1. Takes less than 18 percent of take-home pay—20 years ago it was 25 percent. One hour of factory labor buys nearly twice as much bread as in 1929; over twice as much round steak.

2. Production of more food by farmers, at heavy cost to themselves, would not help Poor People.

C. Opponents of farm program do not appear to be proposing that the farm program payments and price-support loan funds be converted to doles for the poor. Some appear to be using the plight of the poor as another convenient weapon with which to bludgeon the farm program.

D. Farm program does not displace tenants.

1. Production per man-hour has gone up in non-program commodities just as in program commodities. It is technological revolution and surplus production and low farm prices that cause workers to be displaced—not the program. Blame the disease, not the medicine.

2. Law requires rights of tenants to be protected. USDA does this to best of its ability.

VII. Payment limitation conflicts with economic welfare of Nation.

A. Successful farm program is essential to U.S. prosperity.

1. Agriculture is basic industry. Supplier of raw materials. Buyer of what others produce. Three out of 10 jobs in industry depend on farm prosperity.

B. Successful program is essential to American future.

1. Strong, prosperous, productive agriculture is our guarantee of food and fiber to meet our growing needs and help us maintain world conditions in which peace can flourish. Weak, impoverished American agriculture would be extremely dangerous to us and our descendants.

C. Payment is important means of making program successful. Do not prevent its effective use.

1. Surplus is down. Food is plentiful. Farm income is up—24 percent higher, net, in 1967 than in 1960, while net per farm was up nearly 50 percent. Many problems remain. Farm net income not yet at parity with incomes of other groups. But under present law, we are making progress. Let's not turn back.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for an additional 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I shall not object, but many of us would like to have some time. I tried to get my colleague to yield. I am not going to object at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas.

There was no objection.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. BELCHER. Our hearts always go out to the little fellow, and we would like to help the little fellow. A lot of people have had the idea that the big man was getting rich on these farm programs and the little man was the one who was getting hurt. In my opinion, if we limit the payments and drive the big producers out of the program onto the general market, we will cut the allotments of those small farmers still left in the program to the point that the small farmers will be hurt worse by the limitation on payments than the big farmers will be.

Mr. POAGE. The gentleman from Oklahoma is exactly correct.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MINISH. I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding.

I would like the distinguished chairman to explain how the farmer loses money, if he gets $40 an acre, when he retires the land, without investing anything.

Mr. POAGE. He is only paid the $40 an acre if he retires his land.

Mr. MINISH. As I understand it this is about 40 percent of what he would get if he farmed the land. I fail to see how he would lose money under this system of payments.

Mr. POAGE. When you have $500-an-acre land, what is the interest on that land in the first place? What are the taxes on that land? What is the cost of going over that land three or four times to kill weeds? You have to keep the land clear under this program.

Mr. MINISH. I do not know what the taxes would be because I do not have any farm land.

Mr. POAGE. You cannot let your land lie out and get retirement payments. You cannot quit paying interest and taxes just because you put your land in the reserve. You have to pay interest and taxes on it, and you have an interest charge alone of $35 per acre on $500 per acre at 7 percent. You have a net cost far in excess of your payments even though you do not grow a thing.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Quie amendment. The only thing that I find about the Quie amendment that seems to fit into the agriculture bill is that it is just complicated and confused enough to be appropriate. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. KYL], mentioned that that cotton program under either the Quie amendment or the Conte substitute is impossible. I would like to talk particularly to some Members on my side and discuss in some detail some of the actual facts and figures of the cotton program.

Under the program that was begun in 1961, after the Benson program had gotten rid of just about all the surplus cotton there was in this country, by 1966 a 14-million bale surplus of cotton had been accumulated. It costs $6.50 to store a bale of cotton for 1 year. However, under the present program in the last 2 years, this surplus has been reduced to 700,000 bales.

Mr. Chairman, either the Quie amendment, or the Conte amendment, would do one of two things, both of which would be damaging. First, if these amendments were cleaned up to the point that they would allow the farmer to produce freely, there would be one problem; if this happened, immediately we would have two-price cotton and would bring back up a tremendous storage surplus which has been built up over the years.

If the Quie or the Conte amendment is not cleaned up and is passed as they intend it to be passed, commonsense indicates very plainly and simply that this support price in the case of cotton would be roughly 30 cents a pound. About 9 to 10 cents of this price is support. However, this 9 cents is not all profit to the farmer. It is 6 cents overhead and 3 cents profit to the small farmer and in the case of the larger farmers as much of it as one-half might be profit. So, therefore, no matter what, they would have to divert this land into soybeans or something else and would then endanger the entire operation of the cotton market which some of us would not want to see happen.

Mr. Chairman, the second largest export item of this Nation today is cotton, second only to jet airplanes, and it was only second in the last 2 or 3 years that it became second, it used to be first.

Mr. Chairman, let us talk about the balance-of-payments problem. The amount of cotton that would be diverted into soybeans or something else by the Quie amendment would amount to just about what our exports of cotton would amount to in any 1 year and would reflect a serious impact in our balance of payments.

The second largest item in our balance of payments in America would be greatly affected.

If you want this bill and this entire farm program overhauled, if you want a sensible long-range approach to it, even if you want to phase out some of these programs over a 5-year period then let us pass the 1-year extension—a sensible approach to a very important problem. So please let us not get into this false economy which the adoption of the Quie or the Conte amendment would bring about.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KUYKENDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, as one who represents a State which does not grow any cotton but one which does produce a substantial amount of dairy products from the figures set forth in the report accompanying this bill, it would appear that the cotton producer of America is getting a support price for their middling 1-inch crop of 20.25.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. About 21.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. And in 1967 cotton producers are getting a support price of 11.5 cents and get a required diversion payment of 11.53 cents which totals 42.5 cents while the parity for cotton is about 43 cents. Is that overall figure correct?

Mr. KUYKENDALL. I refuse to yield any further, but my answer to the question—and I would like to ask for 1 additional minute and the gentleman from Wisconsin may want to ask for that additional time for me.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired.

(By unanimous consent (at the request of Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin) Mr. KUYKENDALL was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. KUYKENDALL. The gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the committee, explained about the diversion payments and this additional amount of about 10 cents per pound which the gentleman from Wisconsin mentioned is by diversion and is not paid on the acre of land or the pound of cotton that is actually used or produced. That is paid in addition as a diversion. In other words, an acre of land must be diverted and not used for anything to earn the additional payment.

No farmer can afford to refrain from raising soybeans, no farmer can afford to refrain from raising feed in exchange for that small payment for an acre of $500 land, so the diversion payment is diverting very little cotton land because the farmer is better off putting the land in soybeans, and if we do not watch out on this program under the Quie amendment we will have 100,000 additional acres put in soybeans. And instead of being in trouble with cotton, we will be in trouble on soybeans.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. If the gentleman will yield further, the producer payments for cotton in 1967 were $935,000,000. The farm value of production for cotton in 1967 equaled $925,000,000. Now, it would appear to me that no matter how you cut that cake the cotton producer is receiving subsidy payments from the Federal Government in excess of the farm value of production on crops. If I were to take this into the dairy industry we would be paying the dairy producers a subsidy of $5 billion to equal the farm value of crops produced. This is a further reason why I believe the Quie amendment would correct the deficiencies of the present program and why I oppose the Smith amendment.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. For the cotton produced on an acre of land he gets about 30 cents a pound.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, we consider an extension of the present Farm Act. As the membership will recall, I had many grave doubts about this act when it passed. However, then and now I recognize that we must have price supports for farm production as long as we have minimum wage laws and the right of labor to organize and to strike in order to bargain, and with the right of industry to place its prices on top of costs for they will thereby take a larger, and larger share of the dollar.

Prior to this act the Congress recognized this need to keep agriculture balanced with industry and labor and met it by a system of price supports on agricultural commodities tied to the cost of what the farmer had to buy. With regard to perishable commodities, the program called for using section 32 funds—30 percent of import duties—to buy up surpluses to strengthen prices. And with regard to storable commodities, frequently called "basics," the price supports were provided by loans, with the rate tied to parity, that is, to a composite of the costs of things agricultural producers had to buy. Under this system, if the cost of what the farmer had to buy went up the prices he received for his commodities somewhat kept pace.

I know it is said that system failed. I tell you it was not the system which failed, but the trouble come because our Government refused to keep U.S. production on world markets at competitive prices as authorized by law so to do. This meant that the U.S. Government held huge supplies while U.S. and other interests produced under our price umbrella in Mexico, Central America, and around the world. Through this refusal to sell, which came from faulty governmental policy, we promoted expanded production abroad, cost ourselves lots of money in storage by not selling for cash our commodities, surplus to domestic needs but never to world needs.

Pressures built up and the present law was passed which provides, against my advice, that the American farm producer sell by-and-large at the world price and be dependent upon appropriation of the Congress for the difference between a price comparing favorably with the prices he had to pay, U.S. prices, and the price he received, world prices, perhaps 30 percent lower.

Efforts here to limit the payment per farmer would be to break faith on the basis with which the law was passed, would result in a serious decline in farm purchasing power, and could well lead to a recession; for now with the farmer obtaining only the world price, if he does not obtain these payments which were assured to him, not only will he go under but he likely will drag the rest of the economy with him.

I am sorry indeed, that many of our friends on the left who are from urban areas are not here; but it is high time that we in Congress began to realize that agriculture is not something apart.

When Members talk about farmers you are talking of agricultural producers, you are talking about the biggest market that industry and labor have, some $60 billion to $75 billion of product bought each year.

When you talk about agriculture you are talking about the most economical supplier that the consumer has. In our country we pay an average of about 18 percent of our income for farm products, food and clothing. In Russia they pay about 50 percent.

When we talk about agriculture, we are talking about not only the biggest market, but we are talking about the key to our standard of living. Who is it that makes it possible for 94 percent of our people to live in the cities, and produce television sets? It is the 6 percent that are engaged in agricultural production.

Now back to cost, far more than half the cost of operating the Department of Agriculture each year is for meat inspection, school lunch, school milk, to save our land for the future, for research, protection from insects and diseases, loans for rural electrification and all that.

Counting all those things it is peanuts as compared to the cost of many other things. This year we listed some of these costs. I quote:

Federal programs for—	
Mail subsidies	11,479
Subsidies to maritime organizations	6,251
Subsidies to airlines	1,322
Business reconversion payments (including tax amortization)	47,698

Some months ago I asked the U.S. Library to give me a report or estimate as to the total amount of the retail price passed on to the consumer which came as a result of minimum wages and the right of labor to organize and thereby increase wage rates; and I am not striking at that—but it is a fact of life.

I got a nine-page report but the answer was in the second sentence. I quote:

> We are sorry we do not even know how to go about estimating that.

So everything that you have reflects what is built into the cost by laws passed by the Congress and under power exercised under such law.

But here in agriculture—and I said then it was a mistake, we have the farmer selling on the world market but buying in a U.S. market and his Government promising to make up the difference. Under the pending amendment you would renege on that agreement; and further, you would, in the long run, drag down your economy; industry and labor would have less market; taxes collected would be less—and employment would drop—and here comes the depression. Why do I say that—study each recession or depression—all were led off by a break in farm income.

It is mighty hard for an urban society to stand. The people tend to forget that wealth comes from the soil, that purchase of the output of industry and labor starts with the producer of raw material.

Urban people begin to want food and fiber beneath the cost of production. This they can receive for a time; but after the land is drained, after the producer is broke, then urban people find they have followed the farm producer down the drain. But here it is worse than that. You said: Mr. Farmer, sell at the world price instead of at a price comparable with the cost of what you buy, then we will make up to you the extra which industry and labor get under various laws. We will pay you the difference.

I warned then that you probably would refuse to pay the amounts due; but in your own interest, believe me, in the long run you will wish you had.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I know that all Members want to get away this evening and I wonder if we could agree on a limitation of time, let us say 30 minutes, on this amendment and all amendments thereto. I ask unanimous consent.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas that debate on the Quie amendment and all amendments thereto close in 30 minutes?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has noted the names of Members seeking recognition under the limitation of time.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. REIFEL].

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Chairman, I come from a State where we regard ourselves as the second most agricultural State in the Nation.

I have, except for the first year that I was here and served on the distinguished Committee on Agriculture, supported every farm bill that has come to the floor of this House for consideration except the first one which was a mandatory control on practically everything that farmers were to raise—which of course did not survive this House.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Quie amendment. I am concerned, as every Member of this House is, that somehow or another we get the farmer on his way up from where now he finds himself which is on the bottom rung of the economic ladder.

I do want to see the agricultural program extended, and I do not know how much support we are going to get for that today unless there is some limitation on payments for taking land out of production. I want to save the farm program. If what the gentleman from Indiana said yesterday is an expression of the temper of this committee, a limitation in terms of the Quie amendment would keep the program in effect. I think the gentleman from Indiana does express a feeling in this House on the part of a great number who are concerned about these large payments to large producers. The Quie amendment tends to provide a way in which we can dampen the top payments down so that the program can be acceptable to them, I hope. I hope the Quie amendment is adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STEIGER].

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE]. I am willing to accept a 1-year extension of the 1965 Food and Agriculture Act, but I am willing to do so only if a limitation on payments is imposed.

It seems to me the Quie amendment would make it possible for us on a rational, realistic basis to stop the expansion of the corporate farm at the expense of the family farm in America. It may be of interest to note the fact that in the Sixth District of Wisconsin, which is an agriculture-oriented district, I have discussed this subject with members of all the farm organizations and individuals, many of whom do not belong to any organization, and I have found great support for the idea of a limitation on payments. The range of support for this proposal goes from Farm Bureau to NFO. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], has already brought out the support of the Farmers' Union.

In fact, in my questionnaire this year a question I asked was, "Would you favor limiting agriculture subsidy payments to a maximum of $10,000 per farm?" 74 percent said, "Yes." Fourteen percent said "No" and 12 percent did not respond. Almost 10,000 citizens of the Sixth District responded to this annual questionnaire and the overwhelming response in support of payment limitations is significant.

With parity standing at the lowest levels in many years it must be clear that the 1965 act is not working equitably. I shall strongly oppose the Smith amendment to extend this act for 4 years. I cannot accept the idea of burdening the American farmer with less income for 4 more years.

Changes in our agriculture program must be made. The 1965 act does not expire until the end of 1969—almost 18 months from now. Unless this act can be amended here I cannot support an extension.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

(By unanimous consent, Mr. GROSS yielded his time to Mr. SCHERLE.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHERLE].

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, as a livestock and grain farmer from Iowa, I support the 1-year extension, but do not support the restrictions on payment limitations. Because of research and technology in America today, we, as farmers, have become "slaves to our own efficiency." The big problem that we face today in agriculture is the tremendous surplus and our ability to produce. To the consumer this is a great asset. It is also a millstone around the neck of the average American farmer.

Our problem is that we produce more than the market demands, and the large producer is a contributing factor to our increased surplus. This is normal in any operation. The larger the unit, the greater the production. I feel that without a monetary incentive to the large operator, which would automatically drive him out of the program, it would be devastating as far as the small family-type operation is concerned.

Iowa is a good example. Last year we had the largest surplus on record in the history of our State. When we have an excess in production, it is felt at the marketplace by the small operator. The average man on 240 or 320 acres usually feeds all the grain that he produces. But you take a large farm operation that is a cash grain operation. That grain ends up at the marketplace, and usually at the sacrifice of the small operator.

Another point that has not been brought out this afternoon is that with a limitation on payments, the first thing we will create is a situation where the large operation will divide itself into smaller units.

These will be new owners and they will find a method and a means to become eligible for the total payment allowed under law.

A monetary incentive must be available to the large operator.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

(By unanimous consent, Mr. GATHINGS and Mr. DE LA GARZA yielded their time to Mr. MAHON.)

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, we have reached a very crucial period in the discussion and the consideration of the farm bill. If the limitation of payment amendments are adopted, it is the beginning of the end, in my judgment, of farm programs. We cannot tolerate limitations on payments.

I was pleased to see that the men who should be the most expert in this House on the matter said it should not be done, and the amendment should be opposed. I am referring to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] and to the gentleman from Oklahoma, [Mr. BELCHER], the chairman and ranking minority members of the House Committee on Agriculture.

They have not served on that committee and listened to the thousands of hours of testimony for nothing. They know, as I think people who are fully familiar with farm practices know, that the limitation of payments is unsound and will mean the destruction—it will mean the beginning of the destruction—of the farm program.

We want to improve the farm program, but we do not want to destroy the farm program, and we do not want to destroy the basis for the farm program.

Much has been said about cotton. A farmer cannot afford to overplant his cotton because he will be penalized so heavily. But what will the cotton grower do if he is discriminated against and is denied equal treatment with other citizens in the business? He will have to produce something else. As I believe the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHERLE] said, the people in the livestock and feedgrain business will be getting a lot of additional competition, which will lead to further dislocation and injury to agriculture.

It seems to me the thing to do at this critical period, as we face an election and perhaps a change in policy by the new administration—Democratic or Republican—the thing to do is not to make a drastic change in the farm program, but to continue it for 1 year, or to continue it for 2 or 3 or 4 years, but to continue it basically as it is.

It seems to me under those conditions we can live with it. It seems to me that if we vote down these amendments, we will be doing something constructive for agriculture. If we support them, we will be doing something that will be destructive for agriculture. So I earnestly hope these amendments will be voted down and that the program can apply on the basis of equality to all citizens in agriculture. This destructive proposal must not be injected into the farm program.

The next Congress will have more time to consider farm legislation and if it desires, can change the program, whether we now adopt a 1-year or a 4-year program. But let us not, as we say on the farm, throw a monkey wrench into the machinery by adopting these destructive amendments.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I know the gentleman from Minnesota has a plan worked out. He has been working on it for years. He has not been able to sell it to the top Republican on the committee [Mr. BELCHER] and he has not been able to sell it to the top Democrat on the committee [Mr. POAGE] and he has not been able to sell it to the farmers I represent.

Most of them would not be affected directly and immediately by the gentleman's proposal. However, the gentleman has had ample time to present his ideas, and his ideas are not sound. His plan would give different treatment to farmers living in the same community. The amendment should be overwhelmingly rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN].

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, I intend to support the 1-year extension, I intend to support the Quie amendment. However, I want to advise the Members here that I do have an amendment which shall we say provides a middle-of-the-road approach as to the graduated scale of payments.

Under the provisions of my amendment, actually $51 million reduction will occur in the larger payments, and a $49 million increase would occur in payments in the smaller ones, and there would be a $3 million saving in the total program. However, on the larger producers, my amendments would be much more practical, in my judgment. I intend to offer this amendment as soon as action has been taken on the present amendment. If the Quie amendment is adopted, of course, I will back away.

If it is defeated, I will offer my amendment to the bill at a later time.

The purpose in taking this time is to advise this body of the fact that I shall be offering an amendment. I intend to offer an amendment which will more nearly meet the opposition we have heard, since there are those who feel that by a very drastic reduction in payments the larger producers will drop out or the program. I believe my amendment will correct that situation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL].

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I have somewhat mixed emotions here today because when the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture was being considered I opposed the limitation and made the point that that was no time to rewrite the farm bill and the time for doing it was when farm legislation was being authorized. What we are considering today is authorizing farm legislation for 1, 2, 3, or 4 or more years, whatever is desired. So now is the time to make that decision as to whether we do or do not want limitations on payments.

But I will tell the Members that we are in a control program. Now, some want this same control program for 4 more years. The biggest factor in a control program is the biggest producer. Unless we can control the biggest producer we have not controlled anything.

I happen to be opposed to a controlled kind of agriculture, but that is what was voted. That is what we have, and the biggest factor is the big producer.

I am inclined to believe, with the gentleman from Mississippi, since we are being so outvoted in the rural areas by the urban centers, we have to be thinking seriously of some kind of limitation in the future. What form it will take the Members will decide today if we go on and extend the program.

Personally I would like to see the sliding scale limitation proposed by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] if we cannot get a reasonable straight line limitation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN].

(By unanimous consent, Mr. LANGEN yielded his time to Mr. QUIE.)

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, there seems to be a concern over the fact that graduated scale payments would hurt the program. I repeat what I said earlier, especially to my friend the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON]. Under the sugar program, which both the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], and the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER], have supported in the past, there were graduated payments, where the largest operators received lesser payments than the smaller operators. We must bear in mind that the main purpose of a farm program is to help farm income. The farmer being hurt the most is the small farmer. Anyone who wants to be a large operator, receiving more than $100,000 or $500,000 or $1 million, certainly ought to be able to operate on supply and demand out in the market.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. I appreciate that, because I rise to oppose the Quie amendment.

Mr. Chairman, a limitation on payments to farmers in compliance with present Federal farm programs would, in my opinion, be highly detrimental to U.S. agriculture, and our national economy as a whole.

The arguments which are being presented as justification for limiting Federal farm payments are, unfortunately, based on a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the basic purpose of the farm programs. They are not designed to be welfare programs. Payments under the program are not made for doing nothing. Program payments represent remuneration to farmers for bringing their crop production into line with national production objectives, and payments are made not on the basis of need, but on the basis of the income farmers have had to forego in order to comply with production goals of the programs.

Mr. Chairman, I often find myself in disagreement with Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, but on this issue we have much the same point of view. At this point I should like to quote several pertinent paragraphs from a July 19 letter from the Secretary to me:

> As the vote nears on the farm program, I want to make it clear that my opinion on the limitation of payments hasn't changed—I'm against it because I believe it is against the national interest.

The Secretary goes on to say:

> All who cooperate (in the farm programs) earn, and are entitled to, reasonable compensation for this acreage diversion. Nowhere have I heard of a limitation on payments when a city takes real estate for urban renewal, or when a state takes land for a highway.
>
> The farmer who is asked to divert 100 acres from surplus production expects to be paid about twice as much as what his next door neighbor, with comparable land, earns for 50 acres of diversion. And why not? His investment is twice as great, his taxes are twice as great, and his risk is twice as great.
>
> Commodity programs are not welfare grants. To be effective in balancing production they must fit into the free-enterprise concept that a man is rewarded in terms of the value of his contributions. Programs payments reimburse farmers for income they forgo and expenses they incur when they divert land from crop production to carry out farm policy.
>
> And to those who assume that money will be saved by limiting payments, I say that this is simply not true if the same result of supply management is to be achieved. If one large farmer who has been forgoing production on 1,000 acres doesn't cooperate in these programs, that means 100 small farmers will have to forgo production on 10 more acres each to maintain supply and demand stability—and I believe that this would cost more, not only in federal funds, but in further curtailment of opportunity for smaller farmers.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly oppose any limitation on payments under the Federal farm programs, and I would hope my colleagues hold the same view. Let us simply extend the program for 1 more year at this time, and go into this question of payments early next year when there will be more time to explore it in depth, and when the Agriculture Committee will be considering the many other amendments and changes which have been recommended but were not acted on this year.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, I believe that it is necessary to reevaluate the whole farm program. Certainly the debate this afternoon has left many questions in my mind. Since the present program will continue until December 31, 1969, in any event, I do not believe it should be extended by this Congress. To extend it for 4 years would mean that, as a practical matter, there would be no thorough review in the next Congress.

I support the Conte amendment to the Quie amendment in the hope that the small farmer, for whom the program was theoretically intended, will benefit. In addition, I will support the $10,000 subsidy limitation amendment to be offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY].

I recall that last spring some 70 Republican Members of the House advocated a so-called human renewal fund to be financed through certain budget cuts. Four hundred and ten million dollars was to be obtained by reducing agriculture subsidies through the imposition of a $10,000 subsidy limit. Let us see if those who joined in that proposal will put their words into votes today.

Mr. Chairman, the concept of a guaranteed annual income for the poor has been roundly attacked by the very Members who are the first to support an unlimited guaranteed annual income for the corporate farmer.

I believe it was Charles Abrams of Columbia University who suggested that in America we have socialism for the rich, while the poor are left with free enterprise. Indeed, the major subsidy programs benefit mainly those who have the capital and know-how to take advantage of them. Initially opposed as socialistic, they soon become the pet programs of the special interests whom they benefit.

Urban renewal has been a boon to real estate developers. Only this year, in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, did the Congress finally get around to requiring that a majority of the housing built on urban renewal land be for low- and moderate-income persons.

The highway program is a massive public works venture which benefits construction, trucking, oil, and automotive interests. As a result, railroads, which once provided economical, pleasant public transportation, have been permitted to decay.

The space and defense budgets, among others, amount to gigantic subsidies for the aerospace, electronics, and armament industries.

And ad infinitum, through most large Federal programs.

The farm program is quite similar. Where payments are based on acreage, the small marginal farmer, who may be in debt and subsisting on $1,000 or $2,000 a year, does not receive much benefit from the subsidies, because he does not have much acreage to take out of production. The large plantation owner, who may receive $157,000 a year in subsidies, as did a Member of the other body, is under no obligation to pass on some of the largesse to his impoverished tenants.

The defenders of the present farm program—those rock-ribbed "Socialists" from our Southern and Midwestern States—protest that this is not a relief or a welfare program—but a crop adjustment program designed to keep production within proper balance by paying farmers to take land out of production. They argue that the American consumer has the cheapest food in the world, that the farmer labors from dawn to dusk, and that the prices he receives for his crops are already too low.

Let me reply. It is not the gentleman farmer from the other body who labors from dawn to dusk in his fields, because we know that he spends most of his time in Washington. Yet he received some $157,000 under this program, while his sharecroppers who do work from dawn to dusk receive little benefit.

It is not the farmer with sufficient holdings to receive these large payments who is being shortchanged in the marketplace. He is probably quite well off, and the subsidy only makes him richer.

The small or medium farmer, with a few hundred acres, who fits the traditional image of the family farm, will not be hurt by this amendment, because he does not receive $20,000 per year—nor $10,000 for that matter.

The present program is of little help to poor farm families, but it does make the rich richer at taxpayers' expense. I am not concerned that its intent has nothing to do with the rich or the poor, or that it is a crop adjustment program and not a welfare program. I am concerned about its effect, and that is plainly its effect.

It has been claimed that the result of this amendment will be massive overproduction with an adverse effect upon the agricultural economy. I am not an expert in this area of legislation, so I say to those who are:

"You have constructed a program which pays subsidies to the rich in exact proportion to how rich they already are—a progressive income tax turned inside out. This, while millions of rural Americans are starving. There must be other ways of regulating production. Between now and December 31, 1969, there will be ample time to reevaluate the farm program and develop a more sensible approach."

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MYERS].

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment by Mr. SMITH of Iowa.

I wonder if the members of this committee truly realize how long this is going to be extended if the Smith of Iowa amendment should be adopted.

This will go on until December 1973 and carry the program through three congressional elections and through one more presidential election after this. This will tie the hands of the next Secretary of Agriculture, the next Committee on Agriculture and two succeeding Congresses from making any changes. Now, let us be practical. We know that Congress will not make any substantial changes unless we have to do it. It seems that 1 more year will give all of next year for the Committee on Agriculture and for this Congress to come up with a new program. The Committee on Agriculture can come back next year and it will be a new committee, but it will take 2 months before we get to work to consider this farm problem. To accommodate the wheat growers in the West means that we will have to come up with a new program in the next 2 months after we get organized. Everyone recognizes that we will need more than 2 months of hearings and of study to come up with a good bill. Our farmers are certainly deserving of a better program than they have now.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley].

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, a number of the Members of this body have received memos from me in regard to a limitation of payments at the $10,000 level. I just want to assure you, especially those of you who have taken surveys in your home districts on the basis of the $10,000 limitation, that at the proper time during the consideration of this bill you will have an opportunity to vote for the Findley amendment to establish a limitation at the $10,000 figure.

I might remind some of my friends on the Republican side of the aisle that earlier this year they cosponsored with me the human Renewal Act. One of the features of this act was to bring about a savings of half a billion dollars under the farm program, which savings were to be spent elsewhere. This saving was to be brought about by imposing a limitation at the $10,000 level.

So, Mr. Chairman, I hope that the 70 Members or so who sponsored this measure with me will be on hand and will support their convictions as expressed earlier on this limitation concept.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Smith].

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me at this time?

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Chairman, the legislation now before us, as I understand it, seeks to continue for 1 year—1970—the provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1965.

I understand further that the 1965 act does not expire until December of 1969.

The mere dates force me to wonder why we are considering this act at this moment. Is there an implication here that we do not trust the next Congress?

Some would argue, I suppose, that by extending the act now, we are giving farmers more time to plan. I cannot accept an argument that gives a segment of our populace more time to plan to accept Government money—as a matter of fact, three to three and a half billion dollars annually of Government money.

I have watched closely the development of the 1965 act, and I am satisfied in my own mind that it is not a good law—that it does not deserve continuation. I feel strongly it has not helped consumers.

I am certain that continuation of an ill-conceived program surely will not help set the stage for any logical solutions to the farm problem in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I represent a constituency that is largely urban, but which also includes many good farmers. Some of the production records of the farmers in my district equal those anywhere in the world.

It is significant to me that the farmers of my district do not receive—in fact, do not want—Government handouts.

I am compelled to inquire why farmers of my district can get along reasonably well without all this Government money.

Is it that farmers of my district are more expert—which certainly is a possibility—or is it, rather, that they long ago have made the decision that they are the best managers of their own land and that Government, no matter how beneficent, cannot possibly do it better?

I know, too, that whenever Government pours billions of dollars into some segments of the farm economy, this makes food production less efficient because the mere payment of "free" money to farmers tends to combat efficiency, makes some people lazy. And, why not? A fat Government check is a fairly good cushion upon which to rest.

We are at a juncture in this country at which we must decide to mobilize our resources to solve the great urban ills. I find it impossible to vote to spend three to three and a half billion dollars annually on farm programs most farmers do not want at a time when that money should be diverted to much more fruitful purposes.

The farmers of my district do not need this legislation. I know that because they have told me so. The consumers of my district do not want this legislation because it only will serve to make their food more expensive.

Mr. Chairman, I stand opposed to this measure.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, diversion payments are what have been primarily discussed here, but I want to remind you that they are not the only payments involved in the across-the-board amendment. Over 1 million acres of private land has been rented for playgrounds, picnic areas, and outdoor recreation areas and wildlife reserves. We rented this land for 5 or 10 years and after having rented it and turned it over to these outdoor recreation purposes, can we then say, "I am sorry, but we cannot pay you for it"? In addition to that, the greenspan program is involved; 137 urban areas in this country have already received the money that could have been paid to farmers if they had continued to have the land used for the purposes of recreational use.

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BRASCO. In connection with the amendment limiting payments to farmer's, if the limitation is imposed and the larger farm units drop out of the program and go on to produce as much as they would like to, would that not in effect injure the small farmers who would not be able to compete with the large farmers.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. The gentleman is exactly correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Eckhardt].

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, I rise against the Quie amendment for two reasons.

In the first place, payments are not bonuses which may be graduated with respect to size but, rather, are inducements for limiting production. Therefore, if they are reduced to too small a figure you will not limit production on the large farms. Second, there is no definition of "person" contained in the bill. Therefore, the effect of the provision may easily be escaped by simply dividing the farm unit into several smaller units which would produce at the maximum rate.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Meeds].

(By unanimous consent, Mr. Meeds yielded his time to Mr. Purcell.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Purcell].

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, today we have heard every aspect of this limitation payments problem discussed. I would hope that those of you who come from consumer areas of the country and who do not deal directly with the producer areas could really draw from this discussion the absolute fact that the farm program has made for your consumer as well as all of our consumers food cheaper in ratio than any other commodity we are buying.

Mr. Chairman, in a recent survey in New York City it was shown that food had increased 25 percent in a given period of time, while clothing had increased 250 percent, and transportation had increased 300 percent. This is what the American farmer is doing for you and for all of us. This is partially due at least because of the programs which we have in operation.

I think the subsidies, so-called, are passed right along to the consumer. This should be considered insofar as the limitation of payments are concerned.

Other aspects are involved which cannot in my judgment be based upon fairness; that is, if you are going to discriminate against the one making the biggest contribution, the biggest sacrifice and using up more of their land to produce, then we should not ask him to not participate in the same manner as anyone else can participate. I say this because primarily some of the Members from the consumer areas are not present here on the floor at this time. I wish they were. This program has done more for the consumers of America than any other aspect of our society in which we live, in my judgment. And its continuation without limitation will continue to provide to the consumers in the city the best supplies and the best quality of food at the cheapest rate than mankind has ever known.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion that would justify voting down the Quie amendment or any other limiting amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RANDALL].

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Quie amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it is my conclusion which has been amply demonstrated here by preceding speakers that if we are as concerned about the small farmer as we say we are, and are going to try to help him in his efforts to survive then we will support the committee bill and oppose amendments which limit or cripple the objectives of supply control.

Mr. Chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH] a moment ago raised some points that might be of interest to those who do not represent farm areas. He referred specifically to the "Green Span" program as well as to some other programs. At this time I will yield to the distinguished gentleman and ask him to take a moment to explain how the Quie limitations would work against these programs he mentioned.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I thank the gentleman for yielding to me. All I can do is to reiterate that when cities need some open spaces for park land, they can buy a farm and then they can receive the payments for 10 years that the farmer had gotten if he had put it into the program. This is why so many communities use it for the purpose of park land instead of farm land.

Mr. RANDALL. Would the gentleman say that the Quie proposal would limit payments presently being made on wildlife preserves at this time? Would the suggested limitation means perhaps, the Government would have to say to the holders of these preserves we just do not want the land anymore.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. It would affect a total of about 1 million acres of that land.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, it may be difficult for some Members to speak out against a proposal which would limit the total any one farm or farmer could receive as diversion payments. It is true, there may have been some abuses in the past. It is equally true today there are a few who receive large payments. There are probably some Members who believe in the effectiveness and the workability of the farm program but who will be afraid to oppose the present effort of limitation of payments, because an opponent in this year's election, in total disregard of the facts, may come forward as a demagog waving his arms and making all kinds of unfounded statements intended to be flamatory.

Anticipating such a potential effort by a demagog opponent, I wish to make crystal clear the reasons I am against the Quie effort to limit payments or any other effort to limit payments. Stripping away all surplusage, and going to the heart of the matter, there has to be a provision for the larger payments or there will be little or no supply control.

We have subsidized the airlines, the merchant marine, and the railroads. In all of these instances, subsidies have been applied uniformly. Why is it that the farmer should be condemned because he is a success and say, because you are a large farmer you will be penalized? Why should we punish a man for being a success? It has not been too many years ago that this Congress voted a $20 million tax break for the motor car manufacturer. There was no outcry then about large payments.

The entire thrust of the farm program is to limit production. If we are going to limit production it must be limited by the large farmer as well as the small farmers. If we limit payments to some of the big farmers they will pull out of the program and leave the greatest surplus of grains this country has ever seen.

I suppose there is not a Member in the House that does not feel there should be measures taken to reach those wealthy persons who are the so-called tax deduction farmers or the so-called hobby farmers. But they should be reached by other means or other laws because if we intend to control production we cannot eliminate them by limit of payments.

To recapitulate, the entire farm program is an effort to adjust supply to demand. If there must be error it is better that we err upon the side of over-production because, while such might result in price fluctuations, we will nonetheless have the assurance that we will have an ample food reserve. The hearts of all of us go out to the little farmer. We devote a lot of lip service to his plight. But if we limit payments to the big farmers we will be hurting the small farmer much more because we will wreck the entire farm program.

One of the best arguments is by the illustration to take the example of a farmer asked to divert 100 acres from production. He should expect to be paid about twice as much as his neighbor with comparable land who is asked to divert only 50 acres. The reason is his taxes are twice as great, his investment is twice as great, and his risk is twice as great.

As Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, pointed out recently, has anyone ever heard of a limitation on payments when the city takes property for urban renewal or the State takes lands for highways? No, Mr. Chairman, our farmers have the capacity to produce between 10 percent and 15 percent more than our markets can absorb without price-smashing effects. If the farm program is going to work then it will be effective because of supply control. If there is a limitation of payments the big farmers will not participate in the program and all of our efforts go down the drain. I urge all of my colleagues to vote against the Quie amendment and any other amendment which imposes unrealistic limitation of payments.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. ABERNETHY].

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to call attention to the fact that we are dealing with a tremendously important segment of the economy of this country, one that provides us the basic food necessities of our daily life. We must be sure and we must be careful.

Mr. Chairman, there is confusion compounded here. We got into this identical situation in the committee soon after we first started considering a bill. We so remained for days and days. Some wanted this amendment. Others wanted another amendment and so on and on. As a result there was tremendous confusion. Now, this Congress placed our farmers into this situation 3 years ago.

It did so without my vote. I voted against the bill. I was concerned about it. I was afraid it would bring about a limitation of payments.

Let us not penalize these farm people all of a sudden. All we of the committee are asking this House to do is to just give our committee a reasonable amount of time to try to work this thing out. That is the reason we ask for 1 year only.

We are also faced with a political situation this year. We have an election in November. I stated earlier that the Republicans were reluctant to go along with a long-term bill. I can understand their feelings. Had I been on their side of the aisle I would have felt just as they did.

So, Mr. Chairman, I would urge the Members to vote down all amendments. Give us of the committee a reasonable length of time to work this out. We can do a better job when not working in the shadow of a presidential election.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] to close the debate.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman yielding. I rise in opposition to this amendment which would work to destroy the farm program.

Let us get on with the job and pass this bill as the committee proposes.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from California has said practically all that I have to say. The gentleman from Oklahoma has pointed out the reasons, that this amendment will not help anybody in the United States. It will not reduce expenditures, it will simply take away the effectiveness of the program.

It will not help the little farmers, it will not help the taxpayers, it will not help the consumers. It is just a good piece of demagoguery. It sounds good and that is about as much as anybody can say about it. All that the gentleman from Minnesota has done is to complicate it so that there are not three people in this House who understand what its sponsors are talking about.

If you want to vote for something you do not understand, and which does not even offer any advantages to anyone, then vote for the amendment.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I join the gentleman in urging a vote against the Quie amendment.

Mr. Chairman, there is no easy or quick answer to the farm question. As long as it is a controlled or semicontrolled program we must abide by the regulations of the Department of Agriculture, and by the programs which the farmers themselves vote. We have been looking for a perfect solution to the farm question for years, and no one seems to come up with a program that suits everybody. The present program does suit the majority of farmers in my district, I am convinced. Perhaps we can find better answers next year, but unless we extend the program for 1 additional year now, the Congress next year will actually have only a few months—perhaps no more than 2 months for such early crops as wheat—to decide on any kind of program. That could be a calamity. If we extend for 1 year, then the Congress will have the full year to decide whether to extend the present program—or to change the basic structure of the farm program.

Whatever we do, we should remember that the best bargain Americans get today is food. Our farmers are the best producers in the world, and we ought to be finding ways to help them—not put them out of business.

Perhaps the greatest need in the farm picture—and in fact the one which creates the need for Government programs—is the balance of production and demand, with the resulting strength in farm prices. As history has harshly taught us, overproduction can have devastating results, particularly on the small, family farmer. For this reason, Government programs are designed to keep excess capacity from being turned into excess supply by an uncontrolled every-man-for-himself race.

By keeping supply in proper perspective, we are able not only to meet our own food needs, but also to serve as the emergency cupboard for other parts of the world. Since 1960, total farm exports have risen from $4.5 billion to $6.8 billion last year.

Of course, there is some criticism about the amount of Government spending on agriculture, but I can think of no other aid program more important to this country. Feeding ourselves is basic.

One of the main issues pending is a proposal to place a ceiling on the amount of diversion payments a single person could receive. Diversion payments are made to individuals owning land which historically has produced a certain crop.

Since a crop history means added value to a piece of land, it would be unfair to present landowners to place a lid on diversion. The farmer who is asked to divert 100 acres from surplus production expects to be paid about twice as much as what his next door neighbor earns for 50 acres of diversion. And why not? His investment is twice as great, his taxes are twice as great. In truth, just about every farmer, large or small, has some amount of diversion.

The diversion program assures, with as much certainty as weather and yield allow, that the acreage planted nationally will have a close correlation to projected demand. When these factors work out properly, farm prices will not be unduly depressed as a result of overproduction.

The 1965 program has produced results. By 1966, per capita income of farmers was up 27 percent over 1960—$1,717 instead of $1,108. But the conclusion that more is needed is revealed by the fact that farm income in 1966 was only 65.1 percent of nonfarm income.

These figures show improvement, but they also show the real problem the farmer faces—low prices and increasing equipment costs. To continue efforts, we must have programs to keep the farmer in business. Any bona fide farmer must make investments of thousands of dollars for land, equipment, fertilizers, and seed.

Continuation of the 1965 program will not be easy because the farmers are divided among themselves, and this is most unfortunate. But I feel that the existing program has worked reasonably well—certainly better than what we had before. It has given us needed improvement in farm income and we should extend it in order to give the farmer the leadtime required of today's farm operations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlman from Texas has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the amenement offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Conte] to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Quie].

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Quie].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Quie), there were—ayes 49, noes 104.

So the amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY TO THE SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF IOWA

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Findley to the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. Smith of Iowa: At the end of the substitute, add the following:

"Sec. 2. Such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

" 'Sec. 710. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, effective with the 1970 crop, annual payments made pursuant to provisions of Titles II, III, IV and V shall not exceed in the aggregate $10,000 to any single recipient.' "

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, several of you on both sides of the aisle have told me of surveys that you have taken in your home district raising the question as to whether your constituents would like to see payments to individual recipients in farm programs limited to $10,000 a year.

Well, that is precisely what this amendment would do. It is a much simpler amendment than the ones that have just been considered and I feel it does not meet the valid complaint and problems raised by the two gentlemen from Mississippi about the cotton program. As they know, the existing law has in it what is called the snapback provision, and should any limitation be effected by means of my amendment for example, this provision would take effect. Under it the 1958 cotton program would be reinstated.

As has been noted by other speakers here today, in 1960 the cotton program was headed in the right direction and nearly out of trouble. That was under the 1958 act, and that is precisely the act which would be reinstated by the effect of my amendment.

It is true, unfortunately, that Agriculture Secretary Freeman, starting in 1961, jacked up price supports way out of reason under the 1958 act and got cotton in surplus and in storage and got it in trouble.

But there was nothing wrong with the 1958 act, as it applied to cotton, assuming prudent administration.

The effect of my amendment, aside from placing an aggregate limitation of $10,000 on the total amount any recipient could receive in payments under these various programs, would be to reinvoke the 1958 Cotton Act. I have also circulated to you a listing taken from the Senate hearings on the agriculture appropriation bill of last year and 2 years ago, showing the tremendous scope of individual payments authorized under these programs. Several of my friends object to the word "welfare" being used in respect to payments under farm programs. But I do not see how we can justify taking tax money and giving it to individuals, whether they be farmers or otherwise, except in terms of income support. A short term for "income support" is welfare. I do not see anything wrong with providing welfare to those who need it. As help to those in need, this program is exactly backwards, the greater the need, the smaller the payment. My amendment, I believe, would get things around in the right manner and would provide a payment at what should be considered quite a reasonable guaranteed income level of $10,000. It would mean that the so-called "fat cats," the ones that have tremendous resources, those who really do not need the help of the taxpayer, would henceforth have to rely on market income instead of income out of the U.S. Treasury, at least for income beyond $10,000 a year.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, the question I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois is whether he desires to go back to the 1958 act, or go back to the two-price system for cotton, which I am sure, as the gentleman knows, got us into tremendous trouble.

Mr. FINDLEY. No; Secretary Freeman got us into the trouble by his unwise administration of a very good act.

Mr. SISK. That is a possibility, but it was under the 1958 act that we got in trouble.

Mr. FINDLEY. However, 1960 cotton was nearly out of trouble. It was headed in the right direction.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. If the gentleman's amendment is adopted, would it include wheat certificates to wheat farmers?

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes, indeed.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. I would like to ask the gentleman this question, because we have a number of wheat farmers in the eastern part of Colorado who receive payments of all kinds in excess of $10,000, who are barely hanging on by their teeth, and who are actually going ahead with next year's crop by virtue of their ability to borrow on the increased value of their land. I ask the gentleman whether he can tell me what I should tell my wheat farmers when they are limited to $10,000 in payments of all kinds?

Mr. FINDLEY. The Secretary does have the option in operating the wheat program of adjusting the level of support. By wise administration on the Secretary's part, the farmers can get more income from the marketplace, and be less dependent on Government payments. If the Secretary of Agriculture would simply use good sense in applying the laws that now exist, farm prices would increase, turning off the pipeline from the U.S. Treasury at the $10,000 level therefore, does not necessarily mean a substantial cut in income.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois is simply rehashing the same old threadbare arguments we have heard. We limited time on this discussion a while ago. I hope the committee has heard enough of this headline grabbing. I hope we will vote on this and strike down all of these limiting amendments. The committee brought in a good bill. The committee is opposed to any amendments thereto, and I hope that all Members here will vote this down as it deserves right now.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I support the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois limiting yearly rural payments under $10,000. I just wonder if the Members realize that there are approximately 3,500,000 farmers in the Nation. Only 185,000 farmers get over $5,000 a year. Under this annual subsidy too many are filed in the six-figure bracket—$100,000 and up. Six corporation farms are in the $1 million-and-up bracket. One farm operation gets over $4 million per year.

I have received hundreds of letters in the last month from people, especially in the areas where there are some farmers drawing down $800,000 and $700,000 and $500,000 and $600,000, and up. When the neighbors of some of these high-relief recipients write—and today I had three letters from Arizona come to me, they complain about the big relief checks to farmers who they say are not complying with the requirements and regulations. They name the people and neighbors who have acreage adjacent to the city, who are getting $70,000, $80,000, and some of them $700,000.

When Congressmen go back to their districts, they will get many complaints that this program has been extended into 1970. We are about to adjourn. When the new Congress convenes next January we could take this legislation up for debate. Our Members will hear from their neighbors back home who are going to protest the high figure payments for rural relief, $50,000 payments.

I got a long-distance call the other day from Georgia. A farmer down there said his neighbor has planted nothing. His wife inherited one thousand and some additional acres, and all they have done is receive a check for $70,000 per year for enjoying life on Government payments. He said, "If they plant anything, I do not know what it is." There is a great deal of that going on all over the country.

I asked in the Rules Committee some of the Agriculture Committee members if there had been any investigations of people who received some of these annual income payments, but received no information.

A gentleman from southern Indiana visited my office this week and said, after he looked over the list, that, "I see so-and-so is getting $21,000 a year. He is a cattleman, and he has not made any pretense of raising very much farm produce, but he gets $21,000 a year."

I am for limiting this to $10,000 or $15,000, and let us take care of the small farmer.

Do Members know that since this program went into effect—no, I will say for the last 4 years—almost 500,000 farmers a year have moved into our urban area. Approximately 500,000 have come into the cities looking for jobs, mostly on account of tenants being driven off the land, where the rich and wealthy corporate farmer buys up more land and gets more tractors and machinery with the money he gets from the Government.

I have had a letter from one of the great farm organizations, dated June 25, from George B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau.

I hereby wish to submit the letter as part of my remarks:

AMERICAN FARMER BUREAU FEDERATION,
Washington, D.C., June 25, 1968.

Hon. RAY J. MADDEN,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MADDEN: The House of Representatives will soon consider H.R. 17126, a bill to extend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 for one year—to December 31, 1970.

Passage of this bill would be unnecessary and unwise.

It is unnecessary to act in 1968. The present legislation does not expire until December 31, 1969. Rejection of this bill would permit Congress to develop an alternative program next year.

It is unwise to act because the Act of 1965 is a failure. It is failed:

To stabilize the food costs of consumers.

To expand farmers' export and domestic markets.

To improve—or even maintain—the incomes of farm families.

The farm parity ratio stood at 81 when the Act of 1965 became effective. Now when we are less than half-way through the third year of the program, it stands at 73. Farmers want something better than to be locked into the present low-price situation. And, while farmers have suffered a drop in their prices, the federal government's costs for wheat, feed grain, and cotton programs have steadily increased and now total over $3 billion annually.

With Congress having passed a 10-percent tax increase and a requirement that the President reduce budgeted expenditures $6 billion in the next fiscal year, it is incredible that Congress would even consider extending legislation which has proved to be so costly and ineffective.

We respectfully urge you to vote against H.R. 17126.

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES B. SHUMAN,
President.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment, and all amendments thereto, close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, surely the discussion here this afternoon has been of great interest to anyone who has any interest in the agricultural scene. I believe it has done primarily two things.

First, it has pointed out the wisdom of the Agriculture Committee in the first instance, when the committee recommended to this House a 1-year extension without amendments.

Second, it has pointed out the complexity of the entire farm program.

Now we have been put in the position of attempting to rewrite a farm program on the floor of the House. If the amendments that have been already presented, and those that are before us now, are to be considered, then there are 50 or more additional amendments which ought also to be considered. This would be necessary if we are going to rewrite a program which everybody knows is completely inadequate. This program does not serve the best interests of the farm people, and has been the cause of the continuous price drops, which today is ruining rural America. If we are to correct this, then we have a lot of amending to do.

In view of that, it occurs to me this House ought to follow the sound recommendation of the Committee on Agriculture in the first place, and adopt their bill of a 1-year extension without amendments, and then let the farmers know we have not been able to come up with anything better at this point, but that we hope to do so in the future. It would be sheer folly to subject American agriculture to 4 more years of this price-depressing program. Every segment of the Nation's populace would suffer.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PRICE].

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I want to make a comment to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] in regard to the erroneous information, in my opinion, that was discussed yesterday regarding these payments.

I still say that if a man wants to take the risk, to expand his farm operations, and has the intestinal fortitude to take on that additional burden himself, of a 40-year loan at the high interest rates available, why should he be penalized, if we are to have a farm program? If we are not going to have a farm program, then we ought to do away with the whole thing. Merely because a man wants to expand. This is one of the foundations upon which this country was built, merely because a man wants to better himself, we should not penalize him. I believe we should vote down the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] to close debate.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time and ask that the Committee vote.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] to limit Federal payments to farms for not growing crops. The proposed ceiling of $10,000 per recipient is a reasonable sum—especially when considered that the recipient would have little or no expenditures for labor, equipment, or other costs associated with production of a marketable crop. Under the law, the overburdened taxpayer is footing the bill so that a person need not be productive. All the gentleman farmer—opportunist—need do is buy a farm, place it in a nonproductive status, and watch the annual Federal checks arrive without lifting a finger.

In my opinion, the system has produced a monstrosity which operates in the exact opposite manner from its original purpose. As I understand the program, the primary thrust was to help the small family farm, yet today the great bulk of the taxpayers' money is going to the large corporation farm.

In 1967, Federal payments in excess of $25,000 under the ASCS program for not growing crops were made to 6,579 so-called farmers. These 6,579 farmers literally milked $333,127,693 from the American taxpayer—an average of $50,635 for each of these farms—a Federal check for doing absolutely nothing.

If the total amount of Federal subsidy payments per farm was limited to $10,000 per year, it is estimated that an annual savings to the taxpayer from this program would amount to about $600 million. Certainly at a time when we have already instituted a $6 billion cut in Federal expenditures, and have imposed an onerous temporary 10-percent surtax on each taxpayer, the proposed amendment is more than reasonable.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the Findley amendment be adopted. This action is especially appropriate since it would coincide with the almost identical period as the President's 10-percent surtax is in effect.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY], to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FINDLEY) there were—ayes 71, noes 115.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers, Mr. FINDLEY and Mr. POAGE.

The Committee again divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 72, noes 122.

So the amendment to the substitute amendment was rejected.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we could get some agreement to close debate on the Smith of Iowa amendment at this time? I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the Smith of Iowa amendment close at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. NELSEN. I have an amendment to the bill. Will this unanimous-consent request, if agreed to, foreclose the consideration of my amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman's proposal, the proposal of the gentleman from Texas, were adopted, the Smith of Iowa amendment would be up for a vote at this time, under the proposal that has been made by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. NELSEN. And following that, my amendment would be in order, would it not?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is correct.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is heard.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MEEDS

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MEEDS: On page 2, immediately after line 10, insert:

"SEC. 2. (a) The Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, is further amended by striking in subparagraph (B) of subsection 8c(5) all that part of said subparagraph (B) which follows the comma at the end of clause (c) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"'(d) a further adjustment, equitably to apportion the total value of the milk purchased by any handler, or by all handlers, among producers and associations of producers, on the basis of their marketings of milk during a representative period of time, which need not be limited to one year, and further adjustments to provide for the accumulation and disbursement of a fund to encourage seasonal adjustments in the production of milk and (e) a further adjustment, equitably to apportion the total value of the milk purchased by any handler, or by all handlers, among producers and associations of producers, on the basis of their marketings of milk during a representative period of time, which need not be limited to one year and which may be either a fixed period of one or more years, or a moving average of one or more years, as provided in the order, and which basis may be adjusted, and readjusted from time to time, to reflect the utilization of producer milk by any handler or by all handlers in any use classification or classifications. In the event a producer holding a base allocated under this clause (e) shall reduce his marketings, such reduction shall not adversely affect his history of production and marketing for the determination of future bases, or future adjustments of bases, except that an order may provide that, if a producer reduces his marketings below his base allocation in any one or more use classifications designated in the order, the amount of any such reduction shall be taken into account in determining future bases or future adjustments of bases. Bases allocated to producers under this clause (e) may be transferable under an order on such terms and conditions as may be prescribed in the order if the Secretary of Agriculture determines, in connection with such order, that transferability will be in the best interest of the public, existing producers, and prospective new producers. Provision shall be made in the order for the allocation of bases under this clause (e) to new producers and for the alleviation of hardship and inequity among producers, and prescribing terms and conditions under which new producers may earn bases. Producers holding bases so allocated or earned shall thereafter participate pro rata in the market in the same manner as other producers. In the case of any producer who during any accounting period delivers a portion of his milk to persons not fully regulated by the order, provision may be made for reducing the allocation of, or payments to be received by, any such producer under this clause (e) to compensate for any marketings of milk to such other persons for such period or periods as necessary to insure equitable participation in marketings among all producers. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 8c(12) and the last sentence of section 8c(19) of this Act, order provisions under this clause (e) shall not be effective in any marketing order unless separately approved by producers in a referendum in which each individual producer shall have one vote and may be terminated separately whenever the Secretary makes a determination with respect to such provisions as is provided for the termination of an order in subparagraph 8c(16)(B). Disapproval or termination of such order provisions shall not be considered disapproval of the order or of other terms of the order.'

"(b) Such Act is further amended (1) by adding to subsection 8c(5) the following new paragraph:

"'(H) Marketing orders applicable to milk and its products may be limited in application to milk used for manufacturing.';
and (2) by amending subsection 8c(18) by adding after the words 'marketing area' wherever they occur the words 'or, in the case of orders applying only to manufacturing milk, the production area'."

Mr. MEEDS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with and that it be printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, it is my honor and pleasure to offer an amendment which will help the dairy farmer as well as save money.

The class I base plan authorized by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 has been put into effect in only one of the 75 Federal milk marketing areas. Experience with the plan in the Puget Sound milk marketing area has demonstrated that the legislation is essentially useful and worthwhile.

The class I base plan allows producers to determine as individuals whether or not to produce milk in excess of their market's fluid requirements at the manufacturing price. Their response has been to reduce their marketings of milk beyond fluid requirements.

During the first 6 months of 1968, milk pooled under the other Federal milk orders has increased, despite the fact that national milk production has declined. Yet, milk pooled under the Puget Sound Federal order has declined even more than the national production, and this occurs in an area where economic activity and population growth are expanding rapidly.

Extension of the class I base plan to other Federal order areas could be expected to have similar effects on surplus milk production and could reduce the pressure on—and the cost of the Government of—the price-support program for dairy products.

The class I base plan presents no new or costly administrative problems. On the contrary, the cost of administering the base plan in the Puget Sound order has declined as compared to the administrative cost of the seasonal plan which it replaced.

Although results under the plan have been beneficial, experience illustrates that there are some changes which would make it more effective as well as more acceptable to local producers.

We have to keep in mind, of course, that the class I base plan is entirely "permissive" legislation. It can be put into effect only if two-thirds of the producers in the market vote by referendum to accept it. Should the producers wish to get rid of the plan, they can do so at any time with a simple majority vote.

Why have not more markets adopted this plan?

In the first place, the Department of Agriculture has clung to a very inflexible interpretation of the "representative period" during which producers establish their "history of production." If they were not producing during the period selected, then they are forever doomed to the status of "new producers." The amendment I am offering would permit the Department to compute bases on a more flexible pattern. For example, individual marketing histories and market conditions would have more of a reign in determining a base. The amendment, then, would "unfreeze" the base.

Under present law, new producers acquire a base by transfer or, as is more common, only if there are new sales in the market. And even then they are treated as new producers only on a month-to-month basis. This provision is positively frightening, for a decline in market sales could wipe out the new producers. My amendment would permit new producers to earn a base.

Because increased sales must go first to new producers, the old producers have no share in market growth. And since the excess milk is frequently marketed at a higher price, the existing producers are therefore treated unfairly. Dissatisfaction with this feature of the 1965 act has caused some dairymen to lose sight of the principle of self-determination which the plan has offered them, compared to the evils of blend pricing. My amendment will allow existing producers to share in market growth and thereby retain producer incentive.

The current law specifically eliminates the obligation of base holders to supply the market. Yet, the base plan itself is almost a contractual relationship, for having a base implies an obligation to deliver. In the Puget Sound market, there is a tendency to hoard the base until prices rise, then cash in big. This creates instability. My amendment would drop the portion of the current act which allows base holders to be unresponsive to the requirements of the market. Under unusual circumstances, of course, the local hardship committee could give relief to a producer amiss in his deliveries.

The class I base plan superseded that portion of the Agricultural Marketing and Adjustment Act of 1937 under which simple seasonal 1-year base plans were included in marketing orders. If the law is permitted to expire, then there would be no authority for even the simplest plans. The amendment which I offer reinstitutes authority for the simplest of plans as well as for variation of producer prices as a seasonal production-leveling device.

As I mentioned before, Mr. Chairman, this amendment will help the dairy farmer and help to save money. Approval by the House will be a meaningful step in assisting our family dairies.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEDS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. LAIRD. There is some misunderstanding as to whether the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington is to the Smith of Iowa 4-year substitute, or to the 1-year bill as reported from committee.

I believe it should be made clear that this amendment is to the bill, and not to the substitute.

Mr. MEEDS. The gentleman is entirely correct. This is an amendment to the bill, and the timing of this amendment will be timed precisely with the timing of the bill.

Mr. LAIRD. If the gentleman will yield further, but if the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH] is adopted, then the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington would be wiped out. It is most important that the Members understand this, because this amendment deserves consideration and support. If the Smith substitute is adopted the pending amendment which is needed to make certain corrections in milk marketing orders would be completely wiped out. I support the gentleman from Washington and urge that his amendment be adopted.

Mr. MEEDS. The gentleman is correct; that is the parliamentary situation.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEDS. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to tell my colleague from the State of Washington [Mr. MEEDS], that I have had confirmed to me the statements which he has just made, and I want to associate myself with them, and to assure the gentleman that I am supporting his amendment.

Mr. MEEDS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEDS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I rise in support of the gentleman's amendment. I am glad the gentleman brought it up at this time because the very amendment that the gentleman is speaking about is what we intended when the class I base plan was enacted in the present law. We intended that the new producers would be taken care of as well as hardship cases, but we did not want to prevent the old producers from getting an increase. Also with a longer period of time than 1 year for establishing production base averages, the program will function better as we intended.

I believe this amendment should be adopted if the class I base plan which the Congress has adopted is really going to function properly.

Mr. MEEDS. The gentleman from Minnesota is right. Some of the things we are asking for in this amendment we thought we had included when we passed the class I base plan in 1965.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEDS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman yielding.

In testimony before the committee, the National Milk Producers Federation raised the points which this amendment is intended to correct, and I want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Washington in support of the amendment. It would be most unfortunate if the efforts of the gentleman from Washington were to go for naught because of the committee's refusal to adopt any amendment. I hope this amendment is adopted. It will improve the 1965 act.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, in conclusion I would like to say that this amendment has the support of all people knowledgeable in the dairy field. It has the support on the merits of the majority side, and it has the support on the merits of the ranking minority Member on the minority side. I have heard no opposition to the amendment. I urge that the amendment be adopted.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this bill. I believe that as we consider the extension of this program we have got to consider it at two levels: First, not what the program has done for the farming community, the agricultural industry of America, but what it has done to the agricultural industry of America; and second, the effect on the country at large.

Before we consider extending this program let us look at the status of the agricultural community after this program has been in effect for several years.

Take the situation with wheat. We have a forecast for 1968 of a record-size wheat crop.

So we have not reduced or limited production.

We have a wheat price lower than any price for wheat for years. We have a wheat parity ratio of 54 percent, as of January of this year. The cost of producing a wheat crop this year is going to equal last year's record high cost.

Let us look at corn. Production will be 15 percent above the average this year, so the controls are not having any appreciable effect.

The price will again be at a new low for all recent years.

The parity ratio for corn as of January is only 65 percent. The cost of producing this year's crop will be up to the record high of $1,400,000,000, thereby increasing the cost-price squeeze on the average farmer.

Mr. Chairman, these are basic commodity figures which reflect on whether or not this program is a success or a failure. They are factual and totally objective and they indicate the program has been a failure. We certainly ought not to extend a failure.

Let us look at the effect of the program on the operation of the Commodity Credit Corporation. In the first 30 years of the Commodity Credit Corporation's existence in the years 1933 to 1963, total Government expenditure of $10,624,000,000 was made for wheat, feed grains, and cotton. However, during the last 4 years, the years 1963 through 1967, the cost for these purposes has been $9,906,000,000, practically doubling the total expenditure of the operation.

We see today, after 35 years of subsidy and control and the expenditure of $20 billion of tax money, that parity in 1968 stands at only 73 percent, the lowest raw or unadjusted figure in years.

Now let us look at the effect on the country at large. We are talking today about a further commitment of expenditures of $3 billion. Yet we have been told that we have to watch what happens to the dollar and especially what we do to the dollar. We have been told about the enormous expenses that face the country and the need for restraint and responsibility in fiscal matters. Not only do we face vast expense before we end the war in Vietnam, but in solving the problems that exist at home both in rural areas and in the cities. Educational investment of unprecedented size is ahead of us, and the whole spectrum of proper national concerns requires that we establish rational priorities.

I raise a very serious question as to whether we can invest $3 billion more in a program that has been demonstrated on the record to have failed and ask whether we should take $3 billion from the national economy and commit it as far ahead as we are asked to do here; particularly in a national election year when we are going to choose a new President who will have a new farm program—I think it is complete and total folly.

If we do not recognize the term "fiscal responsibility" in this case, it has very little meaning.

Rather than to extend this program, we ought to be looking for some means to terminate it and for a positive, constructive and meaningful farm program which will do the job that needs to be done.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I would hope that the Committee would direct its attention to the amendment.

We have debated the question of the merits of the bill several times and I feel at this late hour of the day, it is better to consider the amendment that is before us rather than the fundamentals of the bill, with which I hope the membership is familiar.

The specific amendment before us is one for which I would expect to vote if it were simply a bill coming before our committee or coming before the House, But, frankly, I believe this is a good example of the futility of coming in here with all kinds of legislation and simply trying to hook it on to a train that is passing and get a free ride. That is all that is happening here and I do not think I would be particularly disturbed if I thought this was the only boxcar that you were going to hook on.

But I know and you know that if this amendment is placed on this bill, there will be a dozen meritorious amendments that will be brought out here, all with no relation to the basic purpose of this bill, but will be intended to correct some kind of specific evil.

I said in my comments the day before yesterday that, of course, this bill is not perfect. The present program has its weaknesses. It has many of them. I can point out just as many of them as can the distinguished gentleman from Washington. But you cannot correct them all here on the floor. Most of those things should be considered in committee. I do not know why this was not brought before the committee. I suppose it simply occurred to some of those who are now interested in this that when this bill came along that here was a way to get this through without taking the time to have committee hearings on it. Frankly, that is a bad way to legislate.

I think the gentleman has a good idea. We had that kind of milk program for a long time. I was in the dairy business myself for 11 years. I think this is a good idea. But I do not think that this is the place nor the way nor the time to bring such an amendment before us.

I hope that the Members of this Committee of the Whole House will join the Committee on Agriculture and vote for this bill without amendments. This bill was a rather well thought out bill. If we go to putting all kinds of amendments on it, no matter how good they are, they will upset the balance that we have obtained. I think it has been worth while to obtain the balance that we have, and I hope we keep that.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. MEEDS. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I am sure the gentleman is aware there are no marketing orders in Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, Oregon, and Michigan, which are awaiting the results of this bill before they start.

Mr. Chairman, you know very well that if they do not get started, if it takes them as long as it took the Puget Sound area, almost a year and a half, to get this marketing order set up, by the time this legislation expires they will not have this.

Mr. POAGE. I full well recognize that the gentleman has a case that he feels needs attention, and I do not question but what it does need attention. However, I recognize there are many other cases that need attention. We think we need reforms in the cotton program. There are those who think we need reforms in the wheat program and every other program.

I think they need reforms in those programs and need them now. But we do have a bill with a pretty good balance here that does not do anything except extend and give us an opportunity to work out the details of programs next year. On that, it seems to me, we can all agree. Maybe we could all agree upon the proposal of the gentleman from Washington. But there will be other amendments proposed on which we cannot agree.

And if we are going to let this be the vehicle to which all kinds of legislation will be attached, it merely means the destruction of this bill. I think this bill is far too important to weight it down, kill it with a batch of amendments that should be considered on their own merits in separate legislation.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I rise in support of the amendment. I wonder if I may have the attention of the gentleman from Washington. It occurs to me that, to many of us in the large cities, many of these issues that come before us involving farm programs continue to be extremely complex. It is true that we do leave to the Agriculture Committee a great deal of judgment, as we do on many other subjects to other committees. But recently Mr. Richard Orr, a very distinguished writer for the Chicago Tribune, wrote an excellent series on American farming.

He pointed out that despite all of the efforts to save the farmer, farms in America are getting bigger, and there are less and less farmers remaining on the farms.

He did point out one significant thing, and that is why I have been listening to this debate very carefully. Mr. Orr pointed out that farming continues to be the biggest, the largest, single industry in this country. In light of this, obviously we in the cities have a deep interest in this subject.

It occurs to me though that if we have these grain-support programs—and we have had them for all these years because most of these programs came in during the time of the depression—then we ought to try to make them work.

I need not remind my colleagues here that the great depression of the thirties started on the American farm and worked its way into the cities. That is why we in the cities have a keen interest in this farming legislation. But it seems to me there has been no significant and meaningful change in these programs in the last 30 years. Certainly there has not been in the 10 years I have been here.

I hear the very same people who today argue very tenaciously in support of this legislation, say that we ought to rewrite the whole welfare program of America, because it does not fit the needs of today.

I agree with them. The welfare program was written when this country had 14 million unemployed. Today we have a manpower shortage.

So I agree that the welfare program ought to be rewritten to meet the needs of the times. But I also agree that this farm program ought to be rewritten to meet the needs of the times. Both the welfare program and the farm program are a hangover from the depression days three decades ago and need a complete overhauling.

So here is the gentleman who, as I understand it—if I understand his amendment—is trying to bring this bill up to meet the needs of the times. I am inclined to support the gentleman, because if the amendment does what he says it will do, then we are certainly moving forward to make this bill more acceptable to many of us in the cities.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman will be happy to know that in the first 6 months under this Puget Sound marketing order, the surplus in that area, which prior to adoption of the action had been the heaviest surplus area outside the gentleman's own area and generally in the United States—the surplus in that area has come down three times as compared to other no-marketing areas and twice that of some others.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I can only repeat what I said earlier, that if indeed, as Mr. Orr said in the Chicago Tribune, farming continues to be the largest single industry in this country, then all of us have a keen interest in it. I want to be able to support these bills, but I must tell the Members that when I see the same formulas brought here year after year, and I see so many people moving to our cities and creating huge social problems in our cities, because the farm program is not helping them, I must continue to have serious reservations about this bill.

Many of our colleagues plead for support of this bill and then close their eyes to the problems of the big cities. When I hear Mr. Orr tell me farms have grown from 230 acres to 370 acres—which means bigger and bigger corporations are taking over the farms, and the little farmers we intend to help with this legislation are not being helped—then, my colleagues, I have no alternative but to vote against this legislation. Until this committee does bring meaningful legislation to the House, I shall continue opposing it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I do not always agree with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI], but I do with most of what he has just said about the farm program.

Through the years we have simply tried to make something out of almost nothing. This farm program must be changed. I am going to vote for a 1-year extension, and it will be in hope that next year the committee will give serious consideration for the first time since the late 1920's to a cost-of-production program for farmers. It is too detailed to go into at length in the limited time I have, but I am sure the veteran members of the committee will remember back in the late twenties when Congress twice passed the McNary-Haugen bill, with its formula of cost of production plus a reasonable profit to farmers for the food necessary for domestic consumption, together with a provision that only the world price would be paid for surpluses.

In those days when there was intense rivalry among farm organizations, but every farm organization in this country, without a single exception, came before Congress and stood shoulder to shoulder in behalf of the McNary-Haugen bill. I regret that although it was twice passed by both Houses of Congress, it was also twice vetoed by a Republican President.

Let us start early next year to do that which is necessary to be done. Let us see to it that the farmer obtains a cost-of-production price for feeding the people of this country and if he is foolish enough to raise a huge surplus, let him take the world price and the risk of being able to sell in world markets. With such a program we could abolish the army of bureaucrats now running around telling the farmers how to operate.

With respect to corporation farming, it is time State legislatures awakened to what is happening and enacted graduated land taxes. The effective way to meet the corporate farming problem as opposed to family-size farms, is with graduated land taxes enacted by the various States.

Yes, let us have a farm program that will do something effective for the farmer. Let us stop this business of forcing the farmer to sell at world prices and buy on American prices. In other words, sell on an open market and buy on a closed market.

The farmer today has little idea, when he loads a truck or railroad car with livestock and ships it to the stockyards what, specifically, he is going to get for the livestock. But the railroad or the trucking company knows to the dollar what it will get for transporting the livestock.

So it goes for the farmer, all up and down the line.

The farmer is told exactly what he must pay when he buys a tractor or combine, but he does not know what he is going to get for his products which provide the income to buy the tractor. He knows that the Gary steel mills are going to get cost of production plus a profit for the steel they sell that goes into the tractor. And the laboring man working in those steel mills knows what he will be paid for the work which goes into the steel which in turn goes into the tractor.

Now let us do something for the farmer. For the first time since the late 1920's, let us give him what he ought to have—the kind of program that will give him his fair share of the national income of this country. He is not getting it under this program.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I have an engagement which I made in January, which I cannot break. If I were here when the vote is taken I would vote against this bill.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, we could not hear what the gentleman is saying.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I find that I cannot stay until the vote is taken because I have an engagement I made in January, and these people have gone to a great deal of expense for the affair tonight, and I promised to be their speaker. It might be their loss, but I have to go anyway.

If I were present when the vote is taken, I would vote against this bill, for obvious reasons.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. Why do we not get to the vote pretty quickly, then?

Mr. DENT. I would be happy to go along with that.

If the gentleman would allow it, and if the Chair would go along with it, I would move the previous question so that I could vote.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I rise in support of the Meeds amendment. I do so because it is my conviction it will give my dairy farmers who are fluid milk producers an opportunity to develop through the public hearing process a class I base plan which could give them more flexibility in managing their production output, and a more reasonable opportunity to obtain a better blend price without increasing the class I price to the consumer.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MEEDS].

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. NELSEN

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. NELSEN: On page 1, line 3, immediately after "That" insert "(a)".

On page 2, immediately after line 10, insert:

"(b) Such Act is further amended by adding at the end of title VII thereof the following:

" 'SEC. 710. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any producer who for any calendar year after 1969 is eligible for payments aggregating less than $1,000 under all programs which are provided for or extended under the provisions of this Act other than this section shall be paid with respect to that year a supplemental payment which is equal to the lesser of the following:

" '(1) 5 per centum of the aggregate amount of such payments.

" '(2) the difference between $1,000 and the aggregate amount of such payments.

" '(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of any producer entitled to payments for any calendar year after 1969 exceeding in the aggregate the amount of $10,000 under all programs provided for or extended under the provisions of this Act other than this section, the amount of such payments with respect to that year to which the producer would otherwise be entitled shall be reduced in accordance with this subsection. If the aggregate amount of the payments is—

" '(1) over $10,000 but not over $50,000, the reduction is 10% of the excess over $10,000.

" '(2) over $50,000 but not over $100,000.

the reduction is $4,000 plus 20% of the excess over $50,000.

"'(3) over $100,000 but not over $500,000, the reduction is $14,000 plus 30% of the excess over $100,000.

"'(4) over $500,000 but not over $1,000,000 the reduction is $134,000 plus 40% of the excess over $500,000.

"'(5) over $1,000,000, the reduction is $334,000 plus 50% of the excess over $1,000,000.

"'(c) For the purposes of this section, payments include the dollar value (as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture) of any payments-in-kind made to a producer but do not include the amount of any price support loan made to a producer.'"

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, the Department of Agriculture in the 1967 calendar year paid a little under $3 billion to 2.5 million farmers in producer payments under the various ASCS programs.

A major purpose of the program is to protect commodity prices so that farmers may receive an income closer to parity.

Under the present program, the great bulk of the money goes to the wealthy commercial and corporate farmers. In 1967 less than 1.3 percent of the participating farmers received almost 25 percent of the total amount spent by the ASCS. Over $700 million was paid to the top 31,000 farms. I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point a distribution table of the ASCS payments for 1967.

Some Members of this body have proposed that we eliminate all payments over $10,000. I would support this proposal except that the aim of the program to reduce production would be thwarted, and the farms that would normally receive payments over $10,000 would place all their excess land into production. This would tend to create an oversupply and drive prices down.

I am proposing an amendment to the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 aimed at reducing the amount of payments the large corporation farms receive. My proposal is to have a sliding scale to trim payments over $10,000. If a payment would be between $10,000 and $50,000, this amendment would allow a payment of $10,000 plus 90 percent of the amount over $10,000. If a payment would normally be between $50,000 and $100,000, this amendment would allow a payment of $46,000 plus 80 percent of the amount over $50,000. If a payment would normally be between $100,000 and $500,000, this amendment would allow a payment of $86,000 plus 70 percent of the amount over $100,000. If a payment would normally be between $500,000 and $1,000,000, this amendment would allow a payment of $366,000 plus 60 percent of the amount over $500,000. If a payment would normally be over $1,000,000, this amendment would allow a payment of $666,000 plus 50 percent of the amount over $1,000,000.

My scale of payments has its precedent in the Sugar Act. Under the program set forth in that act, sugar producers are given a supplemental payment for the sugar beets they produce. These payments are based on a sliding scale so that the largest producers receive the smallest per hundredweight bonus.

I would emphasize that my plan to slim down the highest payments is not a "payment ceiling," no more than the graduated income tax puts a ceiling on income.

On the contrary, my proposal is geared at giving the smaller farmer a more proportionate share of the national farm income.

It is interesting to note that while 525 of the largest farms and farm corporations in America receive $95 million, the entire State of Minnesota with its 114,000 farms receives $95,250,735.

The second part of my amendment would provide that farmers who receive payments less than $1,000 receive a supplemental payment of 5 percent, or the difference between the payment they would otherwise receive and 1,000, whichever is less.

This facet of my amendment would help redistribute farm payments to farms in need. It would bring assistance to 1,805,000 small farmers participating in ASCS programs.

The total effect of both parts of my amendment would result in savings of several millions of dollars, while preserving the effectiveness of farm programs.

NATIONAL TOTALS

Range of total payments	Number of producers	Percent distribution	Total amount	Percent distribution
Less than $100	393,592	15.81	$16,770,939	0.56
$100 to $199.99	273.715	11.00	40,616,530	1.37
$200 to $499.99	589,032	23.67	198,429,778	6.68
$500 to $699.99	261,209	10.50	155,206,576	5.23
$700 to $999.99	268,134	10.77	225,031,276	7.58
$1,000 to $1,999.99	385,181	15.48	533,706,030	17.97
$2,000 to $2,999.99	127,215	5.11	309,357,690	10.41
$3,000 to $3,999.99	62,350	2.51	215,145,947	7.24
$4,000 to $4,999.99	36,259	1.46	161,984,736	5.45
$5,000 to $7,499.99	41,798	1.68	252,629,409	8.50
$7,500 to $9,999.99	18,244	.73	157,163,180	5.29
$10,000 to $14,999.99	15,415	.62	186,318,214	6.27
$15,000 to $24,999.99	9,894	.40	186,931,864	6.29
$25,000 to $49,999.99	4,843	.19	161,642,642	5.44
$50,000 to $99,999.99	1,285	.05	84,603,708	2.85
$100,000 to $499,999.99	388	.02	64,883,041	2.18
$500,000 to $999,999.99	15	(1)	9,556,372	.32
$1,000,000 and over	5	(1)	10,889,036	.37
Subtotal	2,488,574	100.00	2,970,866,968	100.00
Undistributed funds			111,102,657	
Total	2,488,574		3,081,969,625	

[1] 0.005 percent or less.

I realize that this has been debated and I also must call attention to the fact that my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LANGEN] made a very good point when he suggested that rewriting a bill on the floor is not an easy matter.

I would like to also say to the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] that he has presented his case very well and I realize the problems with which he has been faced out here on the floor. However, it is my further belief that a little dialog is advantageous regardless of whether amendments are adopted or not.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

would otherwise receive and $1,000,

Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman from Minnesota so very well stated, this matter has been discussed and talked about not only once, but twice, three times: this afternoon, yesterday, and the day before. It has been discussed for 3 long days. I realize that the gentleman has brought us some new calculations. I recognize he is seeking an answer to a most serious problem. I may be too conscious of the actions of the committee but I feel that the determination of this sort of thing can best be made in the committee and not on the floor under these circumstances, particularly at this hour.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I would ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment do now close.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. LATTA

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LATTA: On page 2, line 10, insert the following:

"SEC. 2. Section 301 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"'Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the level of price support made available to wheat and feed grain cooperators shall not be less than 100 per centum of the parity price thereof.'"

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Chairman, may I say at the outset of my remarks that 4.6 million people have left the farms of our Nation in the last 7 years. They have migrated to the cities. I do not have to tell my city friends that we have a problem in our cities because of this migration. We have seen a change in the administration's thinking on this problem and instead of urging the citizens of the rural communities to go to the cities, they are now urging the rural people to stay on the farms. I ask, How can they stay on the farms at today's farm prices?

We belatedly have passed some programs to keep our farmers on the farms and out of the cities, but there must be a reason why these farmers have migrated to the cities, and the reason is that our farmers are getting only 73 percent of parity for their products as the result of these Democrat programs. This is the lowest parity has been in 30 years, and this period goes back to depression days.

My amendment will bring farm income up to where I believe it should be. These programs have forced a reduction in their production to the point where many farmers are forced to retire from farming. If my colleagues have been home recently and have taken the time to talk with their farmers, they know that they are dissatisfied with today's prices.

I called a farm elevator operator in my district today for the current price of corn—it was 93 cents a bushel. At this price it takes 2 bushels of corn to get a $2 haircut. Four bushels of oats are required to get a haircut, or 2 bushels of wheat. These farm prices are clearly out of line. Our farmers deserve better prices than they are receiving.

Here is what my amendment would do. It would pay farmers $2.61 for their wheat, this is 100 percent of parity. It would pay them $1.62 for corn, this is 100 percent of parity. It would pay them 89 cents a bushel for their oats, this is 100 percent of parity.

The House has already passed—without my vote—a foreign aid bill carrying a $2 billion price tag to aid countries around the world. I say now is the time to do something for the farmers of our Nation. These are American tax dollars being used and we have a real problem in rural America.

The administration spends billions of dollars on city programs. Why? Because its programs have forced farmers off their farms and into the cities. If we want to keep the farmers on the farms, then let us do something pricewise for them. The opportunity is before us and now is the time—not next year, or the following year, or 5 years hence—the problem is with us today. It will be with us tomorrow unless action is taken today.

I say that this House should do something about it today—not tomorrow.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LATTA. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Is the gentleman's pricing fixed to production necessary to supply domestic consumption?

Mr. LATTA. No. It is not. It is fixed to 100 percent of parity.

As I have indicated previously, the figures are $2.61 for wheat, $1.62 for corn, and 89 cents for oats. I believe these supports are justified. I need not tell the Members of this House how much inflation we have in this country. I need not tell the Members of this House how much the farmer has to pay for everything he buys as the result of this inflation. I need not tell the Members of this House how much the price of a tractor, or a combine, or a plow, or a farm truck has increased in price as the result of this inflation and at the same time his prices have been going down.

I say it is high time Congress does something for the farmers instead of doing something to them.

I urge the approval of my amendment.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LATTA. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, yesterday I tried to get a little dialog going relative to the conduct of Commodity Credit. Back 2 years ago Commodity Credit dumped 47 million bushels of corn in 2 days, and obviously the express purpose was to hold the price down, and was so stated by the party that has the President. And we find Commodity Credit is being used so as to depress the price, which I am sure we do not want to happen.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTA].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. LATTA) there were—ayes 31, noes 72.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the bill and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, is this on all amendments to the bill?

Mr. POAGE. Yes, on all amendments to the bill.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Chair has noted the Members standing and seeking recognition under the limitation of time.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE].

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, I surely am not going to take the time of the House to explain or to go into detail in regard to the motion to recommit that I am going to offer.

I am going to offer a motion to recommit and it is exactly the same as the amendment I offered here today, placing a $20,000 limitation on the total amount of all payments combined which can be made to any one individual or to any one farm operation covered under the pending legislation.

I hope my colleagues will support the motion to recommit and bring this farm bill in order.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that my time be allotted to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE].

The **CHAIRMAN.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONTE. I am glad to yield to my colleague.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to urge support for the recommittal motion that is almost identical to the one I offered earlier except as to the amount—and the figure is, as I understand it, $20,000 which is the limitation as to the aggregate sum to any single recipient under these programs.

Mr. CONTE. That is exactly true and I have worked very closely with the gentleman from Illinois in preparing this motion to recommit, and I certainly appreciate his support.

The **CHAIRMAN.** The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HICKS].

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HICKS TO THE SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF IOWA

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HICKS to the substitute amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Iowa: On page 2, immediately after line 10, insert:

"SEC. 2. (a) The Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, is further amended by striking in subparagraph (B) of subsection 8c(5) all that part of said subparagraph (B) which follows the comma at the end of clause (c) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"'(d) a further adjustment, equitably to apportion the total value of the milk purchased by any handler, or by all handlers, among producers and associations of producers, on the basis of their marketings of milk during a representative period of time, which need not be limited to one year, and further adjustments to provide for the accumulation and disbursement of a fund to encourage seasonal adjustments in the production of milk, and (e) a further adjustment, equitably to apportion the total value of the milk purchased by any handler, or by all handlers, among producers and associations of producers, on the basis of their marketings of milk during a representative period of time, which need not be limited to one year and which may be either a fixed period of one or more years, or a moving average of one or more years, as provided in the order, and which basis may be adjusted, and readjusted from time to time, to reflect the utilization of producer milk by any handler or by all handlers in any use classification or classifications. In the event a producer holding a base allocated under this clause (e) shall reduce his marketings, such reduction shall not adversely affect his history of production and marketing for the determination of future bases, or future adjustments of bases, except that an order may provide that, if a producer reduces his marketings below his base allocation in any one or more use classifications designated in the order, the amount of any such reduction shall be taken into account in determining future bases or future adjustments of bases. Bases allocated to producers under this clause (e) may be transferable under an order on such terms and conditions as may be prescribed in the order if the Secretary of Agriculture determines, in connection with such order, that transferability will be in the best interest of the public, existing producers, and prospective new producers. Provision shall be made in the order for the allocation of bases under this clause (e) to new producers and for the alleviation of hardship and inequity among producers, and prescribing terms and conditions under which new producers may earn bases. Producers holding bases so allocated or earned shall thereafter participate pro rata in the market in the same manner as other producers. In the case of any producer who during any accounting period delivers a portion of his milk to persons not fully regulated by the order, provision may be made for reducing the allocation of, or payments to be received by, any such producer under this clause (e) to compensate for any marketings of milk to such other persons for such period or periods as necessary to insure equitable participation in marketings among all producers. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 8c(12) and the last sentence of section 8c(19) of this Act, order provisions under this clause (e) shall not be effective in any marketing order unless separately approved by producers in a referendum in which each individual producer shall have one vote and may be terminated separately whenever the Secretary makes a determination with respect to such provisions as is provided for the termination of an order in subparagraph 8c(16) (B). Disapproval or termination of such order provisions shall not be considered disapproval of the order or of other terms of the order.'

"(b) Such Act is further amended (1) by adding to subsection 8c(5) the following new paragraph:

" '(H) Marketing orders applicable to milk and its products may be limited in application to milk used for manufacturing.';
and (2) by amending subsection 8c(18) by adding after the words 'marketing area' wherever they occur the words 'or, in the case of orders applying only to manufacturing milk, the production area'."

Mr. HICKS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. HICKS. Ladies and gentlemen of the House, this amendment is merely the Meeds amendment, the amendment of my colleague from the State of Washington, added to the Smith substitute so that in the event the Smith substitute prevails, the Meeds amendment is added to that. Everyone was in agreement, or virtually everyone was in agreement that it was a good amendment. It was accepted on both sides.

The chairman of the Agriculture Committee said it was a good amendment. He resisted it on the ground that he did not want any amendment. But it was adopted. If it is good enough to put on the bill, it should be good enough to be added to the Smith substitute. It is merely a protective measure so that, in the event the Smith substitute is enacted, the Meeds amendment will be on there. I urge the Committee to accept the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other Members who desire to speak on the Meeds amendment?

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Chairman, I believe this entire milk program should be looked over very carefully by the next Congress. I hope that a new dairy stabilization program similar to the one I have purposed will be enacted. My colleagues on both sides of the aisle were urged by me to support this milk amendment as a part of the 1-year bill. It has been adopted. We should now go forward and pass this original bill with its 1-year extension if we want a complete and proper review of our entire milk program during the next 4 years. I hope the amendment is defeated as a part of the 4-year extension substitute because the 4-year extension is going to be defeated decisively in the next hour. The base-surplus milk amendment is a part of the 1-year bill, let us keep it that way. I hope my colleagues will support my position today.

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HICKS] is absolutely correct. I also agree with the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD]. I do not mind having this review. But the fact is that unless this amendment carries, and then the Smith substitute carries, we will have no dairy bill. That is the problem that this is set up to correct. I hope the Meeds amendment will be adopted to the substitute as well as to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there Members who desire to discuss the amendment of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HICKS]? If not, the question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HICKS].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. HICKS) there were—ayes 33, noes 78.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were refused.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ARENDS].

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH] if I may have his attention for a moment, or his views with respect to the proposed extension of the present program for 4 years. May I ask you, are your farmers in Iowa happy with the present program?

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. They are a lot happier than they were under Benson.

Mr. ARENDS. I did not ask my friend for a smart answer. I asked a simple honest question, and had hoped for a respectful answer. I am not interested in a partisan answer. Furthermore, I know farmers were better off under Benson, than they are today under Freeman.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. That is not a smart answer. That is a straight answer. You talk to the farmers and you will find out. I did not assume your question was for the purpose of supporting my amendment.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, let me say to the gentleman that we are today getting as a price for corn in the country elevators—about 95 cents per bushel on a 41-cent dollar. You know what that means in real price to the farm operator. Figure it out and it will not be hard to understand what has happened to the farmer where he finds himself in a terrific price squeeze.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. One does not have to be very smart to know this is a better price than they would get if there were no farm program and is more than it was in 1960.

Mr. ARENDS. I wanted to ask the gentleman if he honestly feels farmers are happy with the present farm bill?

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. I tell the gentleman they are not happy, but they are happier than they would be if they did not have a feed grains program.

Mr. ARENDS. Maybe, but not a 4-year extension. Even as we go down the road, everybody should seek for a change in the program which has not been successful.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I happen to know the farmers in the country are worse off today than they have been ever in my time since I have been here, which is 34 years, with corn at $1 a bushel in Indiana, having regard to increased cost of the farmer and inflation generally.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD].

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, as we near the close of this debate, I want it crystal clear that I am going to vote for a 1-year extension. I think this is the best solution to a bad problem. The farmers in Michigan and in 49 other States are not happy, and they are unhappy for a very good reason. The prices they are getting are insufficient, and the payments they make for what they use are far too high. The cost price squeeze under the Johnson-Humphrey administration is badly hurting the American farmer.

But, in order to give a new administration an opportunity to find a solution in the early days of the next Congress, I intend to vote for a 1-year extension.

In summary, I want to make it crystal clear that any extension in a conference report that is 1 day longer than 1 year, I will vigorously, totally and unequivocally oppose and will do anything and everything I can to defeat anything beyond a 1-year extension.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, the argument has been advanced that if we have the 4-year amendment, then we cannot change the bill next year. I want to remind the Members that the Benson program was permanent—not 1 year or 4 years, but permanent—and a new Congress and administration changed that in 1961. The new administration can change this bill if they can come up with some meritorious improvement.

I also want to ask this question. We have debated this bill for 2 days. I want to know how many Members think they are a lot wiser about farm problems and farm policies after this 2 days of discussion. Do the Members want to go through with this every year? If you do not want to, then vote for the 4-year extension.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY].

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I hope that the Committee will support a 4-year program, and, failing that, a 1-year program, but I hope that in either event, some of my colleagues who seem to have discovered solutions to the problems of agriculture and our rural areas will do us all a favor next January, when the Committee on Agriculture reconvenes by coming forward to give us the benefit of their advice then—not in the last weeks of the session and a few weeks before an election.

I hope too that they will be ready with specific suggestions and recommendations so lacking today.

I want to say a few words concerning the motion to recommit. I hope everyone will realize that it is a gun pointed straight at this program, and it is useless to extend the program for a year if we are going to kill it with a $20,000 payment limitation. A vote for the motion to recommit is usually a vote against the bill. That is certainly true in this instance.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. William D. Ford].

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I am persuaded by the gentleman from Michigan, the minority leader, that the farmers of Michigan do not like this program. I think that if the present policies directed by this legislation were carried to their logical conclusion, we ought to pay the Ford Motor Co. a subsidy for not producing Edsels.

The farm programs now carried on in this country bear no relation to their predecessors designed to meet the pressing problems of the family farmer. Furthermore, it is indefensible for the House to be considering a nearly $5 billion subsidy program which benefits the large corporate farm landowners with a few days of its action to slash programs in education, health, and job training while increasing personal income taxes.

The present law gives ample authority to continue existing farm programs through the next year and a hasty extension of this law is not needed in these closing days of the Congress. I believe that the American people find it difficult to understand a program which expends over $3 billion per year to farmers receiving more than $5,000 each while only a fraction of the funds go to the true family farm receiving smaller subsidy amounts.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot defend a program which permitted a single land owning farm corporation to receive $4,091,818 last year. One which paid several others more than a million dollars each and has made cumulative payments to a single farmer of as much as $22,000,000. I call your attention to the chart on page 24411 of the Congressional Record of July 18, 1968, placed there by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Madden].

Mr. Chairman, I oppose passage of this gigantic giveaway program at this time. I hope we will adopt some reasonable limitation on the amount of annual subsidy payable to any single landowner or corporation.

I oppose the passage of this extension of the present farm subsidy programs but I do not do so unmindful of the pressing needs of our American family farmer.

Many of us recognize that the problems of the great population centers are worsened each day by the tremendous migration of people from the farms to the cities. I believe we must use the resources of the Federal Government to strengthen and protect the legitimate economic interests of the Americans who live and work in agriculture. However, I do not believe the present programs are doing this. The present programs are, as a matter of fact, driving the families from the farms and replacing them with absentee corporate land holders who provide neither employment nor farm products in return for the expenditure of billions of dollars in Federal funds.

I hope that this proposed extension of the presently incomprehensible and indefensible farm programs for yet another year beyond 1969 will be defeated. I hope further to return, in the next Congress to work with our friends on the Agriculture Committee at the task of reshaping these programs. The agricultural policies of the Federal Government must be rewritten to more nearly meet and protect the legitimate interests of all of our citizens—those who pay the taxes to support them as well as those directly benefited.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Belcher].

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield back my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Poage], to close debate on this amendment.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that the basic question is at issue. There are two issues, however. One is the question of whether we extend this for 4 years. I hope you will not. I hope you will keep it to 1 year. I believe we can pass and enforce a 1-year bill.

The other is the question of whether you are going to put some un-understandable limitations upon this bill. If you do, as the gentleman from Washington said, you pretty well kill the bill.

If you are serious about wanting a bill and wanting an extension you will not put these kinds of limitations on it.

I would suggest to every Member who understands these limitations and knows exactly what he is voting on, he might well vote for the motion to recommit, but I would ask all who do not understand them and do not know what they are doing and never will know what they are doing or what the motion to recommit actually does, to vote for us, and we will pass the bill as it came out of the committee.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Smith]. To have the agriculture program extended for a 4-year period would be very wholesome for the farmers who must plan their program and it would be wholesome for the Congress because they would not have to be legislating under the terrible pressures of a deadline.

However, I feel from what I note here today that there are not enough votes to sustain such an amendment. In the interest of time I will direct my attention to the bill for the 1-year extension and recommend that however you vote that you vote for the bill whether it be a 4-year extension or a 1-year extension.

The most important point I wish to address the House to is the question of limitations on payments. It is very apparent to me that if you limit the amount of payments that a farmer can receive, then you are denying him his property without paying him. And so, of course, he would not retire his acreage. He will quit the program and he will grow more crops. If that is done on a nationwide scale, we will face terrible surpluses and we will have to cut those who remain in the program a very great deal more. Thus the small farmer will be hurt by a greatly reduced acreage. I am talking about the small farmer who would be under the $20,000 limitation. He is the one who would really be hurt.

All of the farmers, large and small, would rather have as many acres in production as possible than to take the Federal payments. The reason is obvious. The average payment for retirement of an acre of corn is $40 while the value of the average product at parity price is $106.60. So, when a farmer retires acres from production he, of course, reduces his income just as a city person owning an apartment reduces his income when he sells his housing units to the housing authority and just as does the landowner who conveys his land to the city or State for highway purposes. Everyone here can see the impracticality of limiting payments for land deeded for slum clearance or for highways to a figure of $10,000 or even $50,000 per owner. Then you should see the impracticality of limiting the amount of land use or retirement rental which can be purchased from any one landowner for achieving the needed production balance in agriculture.

We need production balanced with consumption and this bill is the only way that we can achieve it, or at least it is the best way we have found yet. We want to balance production because we want to help the farmer have a livable income. Too great a production gluts markets and depresses prices.

Now then some countries have felt it was sound for the Government to set all prices but, of course, if you fix prices you have to fix wages and you have to fix margins of profit. We in the United States have generally felt that if possible we should avoid the complications of complete price and wage controls. I concur in that view but if we are to ask the farmer to continue to produce for sale in an uncontrolled market while he is buying the products of labor and industry at completely administered prices he must have the help of some device which will at least reduce unneeded production. The existing program is not a bonanza for large owners. This misconception grows out of the assumption that the money that the large operator gets in the way of payments for his retired acres is profit. If that were true, it is clear that every operator would seek to put the maximum number of acres in the retirement program. But that is not the case. Much expense such as weed control are necessary to qualify. Farmers resist retirement programs and put no more into the program than they are required in order to participate. An amendment such as limitations on the payment for retirement of crops will only drive the large operators out of the program and into the free market, thus into surplus and depressed prices and injury to the small farmer. I urge all to reject these amendments except the Smith substitute of 4 years and pass the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

The question is on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Smith].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Smith of Iowa) there were—ayes 39, noes 120.

So the substitute amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Natcher, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 17126) to amend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, pursuant to House Resolution 1218, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I am.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Conte moves to recommit the bill H.R. 17126 to the Committee on Agriculture with instructions to report the same back forthwith the following amendment: On page 2, immediately after line 10, insert:

"(b) Such Act is further amended by adding at the end of title VII thereof the following:

" 'Sec. 710. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, beginning with the 1970 crop years, payments aggregating more than $20,000 under all programs which are provided for or extended under the provisions of titles II through V of this Act may not be made to any producer. For the purposes of this section, payments include wool incentive payments, wheat marketing certificates, price support and diversion payments, and the dollar value (as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture) of any payments-in-kind made to a producer, but do not include the amount of any price support loan made to a producer.'

"Sec. 3. Section 402 of such Act is further amended by repealing, effective with the 1970 crop of upland cotton, section 103(d) (12) of the Agriculture Act of 1949, as amended."

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 230, nays 160, not voting 42, as follows:

[Roll No. 299]

YEAS—230

Abbitt
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashley
Ayres
Bates
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Boland
Bow
Brademas
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Utah
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Cahill
Carey
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Cohelan
Collier
Conable
Conte
Conyers
Corbett
Cowger
Cunningham
Curtis
Daniels
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Downing
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Farbstein
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Gallagher
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Griffiths
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hanley
Hanna
Harsha
Harvey
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Hicks
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Pa.
Karth
Keith
Kelly
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lloyd
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mailliard
Marsh
Mathias, Md.
Meskill
Michel
Minish
Minshall
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Mosher
Murphy, Ill.
Nedzi
Nelsen
O'Hara, Ill.
Ottinger
Patten
Pelly
Pettis
Philbin
Pike
Pirnie
Poff
Pollock
Price, Ill.
Pucinski
Quie
Railsback
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Riegle
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Wis.
Stratton
Taft
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Waldie
Watkins
Whalen
Whalley
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Zablocki
Zion

NAYS—160

Abernethy
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Annunzio
Ashmore
Aspinall
Belcher
Bevill
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolling
Brasco
Brinkley
Brooks
Broyhill, N.C.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Carter
Casey
Colmer
Corman
Culver
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
de la Garza
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Fascell
Fisher
Flynt
Foley
Fountain
Fraser
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Gonzalez
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Hagan
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harrison
Hathaway
Henderson
Holifield
Hull
Hungate
Jarman
Johnson, Calif.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Lennon
Long, La.
McClure
McFall
McMillan
Mahon
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Mink
Mize
Montgomery
Morton
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Patman
Pepper
Perkins
Pickle
Poage
Podell
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Purcell
Randall
Rivers
Roberts
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rostenkowski
St. Onge
Scherle
Selden
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, Okla.
Staggers
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Stephens
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, N.J.
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Vigorito
Walker
Wampler
Watts
White
Whitener
Whitten
Willis
Winn
Wright
Young
Zwach

NOT VOTING—42

Baring
Barrett
Battin
Blanton
Bolton
Burke, Fla.
Cramer
Daddario
Davis, Wis.
Dent
Dole
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Flood
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gardner
Goodell
Gude
Hansen, Idaho
Hawkins
Hébert
Herlong
Holland
Karsten
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Lipscomb
Lukens
McDade
Miller, Calif.
Moore
Morse, Mass.
Quillen
Rarick
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Schweiker
Stuckey
Waggonner
Watson

So the motion to recommit was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Hébert with Mr. Goodell.
Mr. Kirwan with Mrs. Bolton.
Mr. Fallon with Mr. Gude.
Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Watson.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Battin.
Mr. Dent with Mr. Morse of Massachusetts.
Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Davis of Wisconsin.
Mr. Daddario with Mr. Quillen.
Mr. Barrett with Mr. Frelinghuysen.
Mr. Flood with Mr. Cramer.
Mr. Karsten with Mr. McDade.
Mr. Baring with Mr. Burke of Florida.
Mr. Rarick with Mr. Dole.
Mr. Blanton with Mr. Lukens.
Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Hansen of Idaho.
Mr. King of California with Mr. Rhodes of Arizona.
Mr. Rhodes of Pennsylvania with Mr. Schweiker.
Mr. Herlong with Mr. Lipscomb.
Mr. Stuckey with Mr. Gardner.
Mr. Holland with Mr. Moore.
Mr. Hawkins with Mr. Resnick.

Mr. CELLER, Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, Mr. DANIELS, and Mr. REINECKE changed their votes from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. O'KONSKI changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the instructions of the House in the motion to recommit, I report back the bill H.R. 17126 with an amendment.

The **SPEAKER**. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, immediately after line 10, insert:

"(b) Such Act is further amended by adding at the end of title VII thereof the following:

" 'Sec. 710. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, beginning with the 1970 crop years, payments aggregating more than $20,000 under all programs which are provided for or extended under the provisions of titles II through V of this Act may not be made to any producer. For the purposes of this section, payments include wool incentive payments, wheat marketing certificates, price support and diversion payments, and the dollar value (as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture) of any payments-in-kind made to a producer, but do not include the amount of any price support loan made to a producer.'

"Sec. 3. Section 402 of such Act is further amended by repealing, effective with the 1970 crop of upland cotton, section 103(d)(12) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended."

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. **GERALD R. FORD**. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 213, nays 176, not voting 43, as follows:

[Roll No. 300]

YEAS—213

Abbitt
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Bingham
Blackburn
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Carter
Casey
Celler
Conable
Conte
Culver
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
de la Garza
Dellenback
Denney
Dickinson
Dingell
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Esch
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Fascell
Fisher
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Fraser
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Gonzalez
Green, Pa.
Gross
Hagan
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harrison
Hathaway
Henderson
Holifield
Horton
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jarman
Johnson, Calif.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Long, La.
McClure
McCulloch
McFall
McMillan
MacGregor
Madden
Mahon
Mathias, Calif.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Mink
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nelsen
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Pickle
Poage
Podell
Pollock
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Purcell
Quie
Randall
Reifel
Reuss
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schwengel
Selden
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Vigorito
Walker
Watts
White
Whitener
Widnall
Willis
Winn
Wright
Wylie
Young
Zablocki
Zwach

NAYS—176

Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Anderson, Ill.
Arends
Ashbrook
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Biester
Boland
Bow
Bray
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burton, Utah
Carey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Cohelan
Collier
Colmer
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cowger
Daniels
Delaney
Derwinski
Diggs
Donohue
Dwyer
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Farbstein
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Ford, William D.
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Gallagher
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Griffin
Griffiths
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hanley
Hanna
Harsha
Harvey
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Hicks
Hosmer
Howard
Hunt
Hutchinson
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Pa.
Karth
Keith
Kelly
King, N.Y.
Kupferman
Lloyd
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Md.
Meskill
Michel
Minish
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Morris, N. Mex.
Morton
Mosher
Nedzi
Ottinger
Pelly
Pettis
Philbin
Pike
Pirnie
Poff
Price, Ill.
Pucinski
Railsback
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Rodino
Rogers, Fla.
Rosenthal
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Scott
Shipley
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Stafford
Staggers
Stratton
Taft
Talcott
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Tiernan
Tuck
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Waldie
Wampler
Watkins
Whalen
Whalley
Whitten
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wyatt
Wydler
Wyman
Yates
Zion

NOT VOTING—43

Baring
Barrett
Battin
Blanton
Bolton
Burke, Fla.
Cahill
Cramer
Daddario
Davis, Wis.
Dent
Devine
Dole
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Flood
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gardner
Goodell
Gude
Hansen, Idaho
Hawkins
Hébert
Herlong
Holland
Karsten
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Lipscomb
Lukens
McDade
Miller, Calif.
Moore
Morse, Mass.
Quillen
Rarick
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Schweiker
Waggonner
Watson

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Hébert for, with Mr. Dent against.

Mr. Waggonner for, with Mr. Holland against.

Mr. Kirwan for, with Mr. Barrett against.

Mr. Miller of California for, with Mr. Hawkins against.

Mr. Watson for, with Mr. Hansen of Idaho against.

Mr. Dole for, with Mr. Morse of Massachusetts against.

Mr. Quillen for, with Mr. McDade against.

Mr. Davis of Wisconsin for, with Mr. Lipscomb against.

Mr. Rhodes of Arizona for, with Mr. Devine against.

Mr. Burke of Florida for, with Mr. Gude against.

Mr. Blanton for, with Mrs. Bolton against.

Mr. Fulton of Tennessee for, with Mr. Batten against.

Mr. Rarick for, with Mr. Cramer against.

Mr. Karsten for, with Mr. Daddario against.

Mr. Herlong for, with Mr. Cahill against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Moore.

Mr. Fallon with Mr. Goodell.

Mr. Baring with Mr. Lukens.

Mr. Flood with Mr. Schweiker.

Mr. King of California with Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. Rhodes of Pennsylvania with Mr. Gardner.

Mr. **ST GERMAIN**, Mr. **HECHLER** of West Virginia, Mr. **ARENDS**, and Mr. **ASHBROOK** changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. **POAGE**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 3590) to extend and improve legislation for maintaining farm income, stabilizing prices, and assuring adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, strike all after the enacting clause in the Senate bill and insert in lieu thereof the provisions contained in H.R. 17126 as just passed by the House.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. **FINDLEY**. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The **SPEAKER**. Objection is heard.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. **POAGE**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORTS ON H.R. 10864, EXTRA-LONG STAPLE COTTON—DIERKS FOREST; H.R. 15794, U.S. GRAIN STANDARDS ACT; AND S. 3638, DAIRY INDEMNITY PAYMENTS

Mr. **POAGE**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers on the part of the House may have until midnight tonight to file conference reports on the following three bills: H.R. 10864, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forests, Inc., and for other purposes; H.R. 15794, to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes; and S. 3638, to extend for 3 years the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers for milk required to be withheld from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1969—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. ROONEY of New York, pursuant to previous order, submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 17522) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES TO SIT TOMORROW DURING GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House Armed Services Committee may have permission to sit during general debate tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 18188, DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers on the part of the House may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on H.R. 18188, making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

PROVIDING ADDITIONAL REVENUE FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. McMILLAN submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 16361) to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION APPROPRIATIONS—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. BOLAND submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 18188) making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 15758, TO AMEND THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 15758) to amend the Public Health Service Act so as to extend and improve the provisions relating to regional medical programs, to extend the authorization of grants for health of migratory agricultural workers, to provide for specialized facilities for alcoholics and narcotic addicts, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and request a conference with the Senate thereon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. STAGGERS, JARMAN, ROGERS of Florida, SATTERFIELD, KYROS, SPRINGER, NELSEN, CARTER, and SKUBITZ.

FISHERMEN'S PROTECTIVE ACT OF 1967

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 2269) to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 2269

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of August 27, 1954 (68 Stat. 883; 22 U.S.C. 1971–1976), is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. (a) The Secretary, upon receipt of an application filed with him at any time after the effective date of this section by the owner of any vessel of the United States which is documented or certified as a commercial fishing vessel, shall enter into an agreement with such owner subject to the provisions of this section and such other terms and conditions as the Secretary deems appropriate. Such agreement shall provide that, if said vessel is seized by a foreign country and detained under the conditions of section 2 of this Act, the Secretary shall guarantee—

"(1) the owner of such vessel for all actual costs, except those covered by section 3 of this Act, incurred by the owner during the seizure and detention period and as a direct result thereof, as determined by the Secretary, resulting from (A) any damage to, or destruction of, such vessel, or its fishing gear or other equipment, (B) from the loss or confiscation of such vessel, gear, or equipment, or (C) from dockage fees or utilities;

"(2) the owner of such vessel and its crew for the market value of fish caught before seizure of such vessel and confiscated or spoiled during the period of detention; and

"(3) the owner of such vessel and its crew for not to exceed 50 per centum of the gross income lost as a direct result of such seizure and detention, as determined by the Secretary of the Interior, based on the value of the average catch per day's fishing during the three most recent calendar years immediately preceding such seizure and detention of the vessel seized, or, if such experience is not available, then of all commercial fishing vessels of the United States engaged in the same fishery as that of the type and size of the seized vessel.

"(b) Payments made by the Secretary under paragraphs (2) and (3) of subsection (a) of this section shall be distributed by the Secretary in accordance with the usual practices and procedures of the particular segment of the United States commercial fishing industry to which the seized vessel belongs relative to the sale of fish caught and the distribution of the proceeds of such sale.

"(c) The Secretary shall from time to time establish by regulation fees which shall be paid by the owners of vessels entering into agreements under this section. Such fees shall be adequate (1) to recover the costs of administering this section, and (2) to cover a reasonable portion of any payments made by the Secretary under this section. The amount fixed by the Secretary shall be predicated upon at least 33⅓ per centum of the contribution by the Government. All fees collected by the Secretary shall be credited to a separate account established in the Treasury of the United States which shall remain available without fiscal year limitation to carry out the provisions of this section. All payments under this section shall be made first out of such fees so long as they are available, and thereafter out of funds which are hereby authorized to be appropriated to such account to carry out the provisions of this section in an amount not to exceed $150,000 annually.

"(d) All determinations made under this section shall be final. No payment under this section shall be made with respect to any losses covered by any policy of insurance or other provision of law.

"(e) The provisions of this section shall be effective for forty-eight consecutive months beginning one hundred and eighty days after the enactment of this section. The Secretary shall issue such regulations and take such other measures as he deems appropriate to implement the provisions of this section prior to such effective date.

"(f) For the purposes of this section—

"(1) the term 'Secretary' means the Secretary of the Interior.

"(2) the term 'owner' includes any charterer of a commercial fishing vessel."

SEC. 2. Section 3 of the Act of August 27, 1954 (68 Stat. 883; 22 U.S.C. 1973), is amended by inserting a comma after the word "fine" wherever it appears and the words "license fee, registration fee, or any other direct charge".

SEC. 3. Section 5 of the Act of August 27, 1954 (68 Stat. 883; 22 U.S.C. 1975), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 5. (a) The Secretary of State shall take such action as he may deem appropriate to make and collect on claims against a foreign country for amounts expended by the United States under the provisions of this chapter (including payments made pursuant to section 7) because of the seizure of a United States vessel by such country. If, within one hundred and twenty days after receiving notice of any such claim of the United States, a country fails or refuses to make payment in full, the Secretary of State shall promptly report such failure or refusal to the President. The President shall thereupon suspend all assistance provided under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.), to the government of such country; and such suspension shall continue until the Secretary of State certifies to the President that such claim has been paid in full by such country.

"(b) From any funds programed for the current fiscal year for assistance to the government of a country to which assistance is suspended (as shown in materials concerning such fiscal year presented to the Congress in connection with its consideration of amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act), the Secretary of State shall withhold an amount equal to the total of all such unpaid claims of the United States, which amount shall be transferred to the separate account established in the Treasury of the United States pursuant to section 7(c) for the payment of vessel owners. The Secretary of State shall transmit to the Congress, at least once each fiscal year, a report of all suspensions of assistance and of amounts transferred pursuant to this subsection.

"(c) No provision of law shall be construed to authorize the President to waive the provisions of this section."

Sec. 4. The Act of August 27, 1954 (68 Stat. 883; 22 U.S.C. 1971–1976), as amended by this Act, may be cited as the "Fishermen's Protective Act of 1967".

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 9, delete the word "certified" and insert in lieu thereof the word "certificated".

Page 2, line 10, delete "from (A)" and insert in lieu thereof "(A) from".

Page 4, line 1, insert a period after the word section and delete the words "in an amount not to".

Page 4, line 2, delete the words "exceed $150,000 annually.".

Page 4, delete line 25.

Page 5, delete lines 1 through 24.

Page 6, delete lines 1 through 6, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 5. The Secretary of State shall take such action as he may deem appropriate to make and collect claims against a foreign country for amounts expended by the United States under the provisions of this Act (including payments made pursuant to section 7) because of the seizure of a vessel of the United States by such country. If such country fails or refuses to make payment in full within one hundred and twenty days after receiving notice of any such claim of the United States, the Secretary of State shall withhold, pending such payment, an amount equal to such unpaid claim from any funds programed for the current fiscal year for assistance to the government of such country (as shown in materials concerning such fiscal year presented to the Congress in connection with its consideration of amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961). Amounts withheld under this section shall not constitute satisfaction of any such claim of the United States against such foreign country."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, during the past 8 years, 121 U.S.-flag fishing vessels have been illegally seized in international waters by Latin American countries. Ecuador and Peru alone have unlawfully seized 57 U.S.-flag fishing vessels.

In 1967 alone, these same Latin American countries illegally seized 27 tuna and shrimp vessels on the high seas. And, thus far in 1968, eight such vessels have been wrongfully seized by naval forces of Latin America.

These are the facts, Mr. Speaker, which led to the necessity of the provisions contained in S. 2269, the Fishermen's Protective Act, to extend the reimbursement coverage to owners of U.S. fishing vessels to include, in addition to the fine which is reimbursable under present law, other losses and costs incurred as a result of illegal seizures of such vessels by foreign countries.

Historically, coastal nations have claimed sovereignty over a territorial sea extending out from its shore three nautical miles. In recent years, there has been a trend to extend jurisdiction to 12 miles. Indeed, no nation in Europe or North America has claimed jurisdiction over waters extending beyond 12 miles from its shores.

However, in South and Central America and in the Caribbean, eight countries claim jurisdiction beyond 12 miles, and six of these; Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama and Peru, claim out to 200 miles. Such extraordinary claims have not been recognized under international law. Two of these countries, Ecuador and Peru, have used force in the seizure of American fishing vessels; firing upon such vessels and sometimes using American naval vessels on loan to them in such illegal seizures on the high seas.

Instead of resorting to force to meet this force under questionable color of law, the United States enacted the Fishermen's Protective Act of 1954. This act directs the Secretary of State to attend to the welfare of the crew of any such vessel seized, secure the release of the vessel and crew, and if the vessel owner is fined by the offending foreign nation in order to secure the release of the vessel, then the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to reimburse the owner in an amount that represents the fine and in turn to file a claim for reimbursement against the foreign country.

And, Mr. Speaker, these fines have amounted to a considerable amount. from 1961 through June 1967, license fees were added to the amounts charged for the release of vessels, and S. 2269 seeks to provide relief in this area.

It should be clearly understood that the provisions of S. 2269 only would apply where an American fishing vessel is illegally seized beyond the 12-mile limit.

This bill would not place a burden on the Federal Government. The principal thrust of S. 2269 is to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to enter into cost-sharing agreements with fishing vessel owners covering economic losses including: First, reimbursement for all actual costs incurred as a result of an illegal seizure such as damage to vessel and equipment; second, the market value of fish caught before seizure of the vessel and confiscated or spoiled during the vessel's detention; and, third, not to exceed 50 percent of the gross income lost as a direct result of such seizure and detention.

A second and most significant change in existing law is that the Secretary of State is directed to collect on claims against foreign countries for the amount of fines imposed on American fishing vessels. To date, these claims have been consistently ignored. The provision of S. 2269 is that where a seizing country fails to reimburse the United States for all amounts expended under the act within 120 days after receiving notice of such a demand, then the Secretary of State is required to withhold the amounts so claimed from any funds programed for that country under the Foreign Assistance Act.

The purpose of S. 2269, therefore, is to deter further illegal seizures of American fishing vessels and to do equity to American fishermen peacefully engaged in their gainful employment.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is both meritorious and needed, and I urge my colleagues' support of S. 2269.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, our fishermen have waited a long time for this day. For more years than I care to recall they have been pawns in the political games played by the rulers of certain of our alleged good neighbors to the south. They have been fired upon, seized, and otherwise harassed on the high seas under the orders of leaders determined to prove to their own people that they can tweak Uncle Sam's beard and get away with it.

Now, at last, we are about to vote a measure of significant relief for these hard-pressed fishermen. The bill before us, S. 2269, would accomplish two major objectives: it would significantly broaden the compensation for boat operators illegally penalized, and it would, for the first time, compel a reduction of U.S. aid to the offending nations.

Over the years, there has been a great deal of talk about the wisdom of using the threat of mandatory foreign aid cutbacks as a lever to force these countries to respect the rights of fishing boats to operate outside the 12-mile territorial water limit recognized by practically all the nations of the world. As one who in nearly 6 years of service in this body has never voted against a bill to authorize or appropriate foreign aid, I was initially opposed to this approach. However, it has now become clear to me that conventional diplomatic methods for maintaining the integrity of international waters have failed miserably.

During the past 8 years, while our statesmen have been earnestly talking, more than 120 U.S.-flag fishing vessels have been illegally seized on the high seas off Latin America—57 of them by just two countries, Peru and Ecuador. Eight of our ships have been captured so far this year. More than half of the vessels in the U.S. tuna fleet have been chased, seized, harassed, or shot at since 1961.

Because of this sorry record, which so amply demonstrates the need to give our fishermen some real protection, I strongly support section 5 of the legislation now under consideration.

This provision is clear and to the point. It would give guilty governments 120 days to reimburse the United States for illicit fines and penalties; if claims were not honored within that period, an equivalent amount of aid would be withheld.

Our tuna fishermen today are under the gun, both literally and figuratively. For the past few months, they have been taking yellowfin in the relatively safe waters off California and Mexico. But now the yellowfin quota has been reached, and the fleet must, if it is to stay in business, go after skipjack tuna, which are found in abundance only off Ecuador and Peru. These two nations, which insist that their sovereignity extends 200 miles out to sea, are counting on the failure of Congress to complete action on S. 2269. Now that we have come as far as we have with this legislation, such a failure would be tantamount to telling these countries that they could attack our boats with impunity; for they would infer that Congress was indifferent to the plight of the fishermen.

For the sake of our Nation's honor, I urge unanimous approval of S. 2269.

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the American's right to fish on the high seas is as basic as his right to earn a living.

Yet, for more than 15 years, our Government has sat idly by and watched certain Latin American countries illegally seize, harass, and shoot at our tuna and shrimp vessels operating on the high seas.

Finally, today, we have before us a bill that will go a long way toward providing these fishermen with the protection they so desperately need. It will also strengthen our Nation's traditional support of the freedom of the seas.

During the past 8 years, 121 U.S.-fishing vessels have been illegally seized in international waters by Latin American countries, claiming up to 200 miles offshore fishing limits.

What we have here are nations who willingly accept our foreign aid with one hand and yank our fishermen off the high seas with the other. It is time for Congress to demonstrate that our Government will no longer be held up for tribute to fish in waters that belong to the world community.

One of the significant features of S. 2269 is a provision for withholding foreign aid from countries that refuse to reimburse our Government for fines and other penalties illegally levied against our fishermen. Under this provision, an amount of aid equal to the unpaid claim against the offending foreign nation would be withheld until the claim is paid.

There is no question that the Latin countries involved view their seizure of our vessels as a handsome source of revenue. Since 1955, our tuna industry has paid more than a half million dollars in fines to these countries. This is in addition to license and registration fees which have totaled $61,500 since 1961. These costs do not include the economic losses incurred by our fishermen because of lost fishing time while their boats were detained. This loss has been estimated at $550,000. Thus, these Latin countries have extracted more than $1 million from our tuna industry. But today, we have an opportunity to correct this problem. With this legislation, these offending countries will either reimburse these losses suffered by our fishermen or these amounts will be deducted from their foreign aid.

Many of the tuna vessels that have been seized are homeported in my home district of San Diego. I know these fishermen and boatowners well, and cringe when I hear the way they are treated by the Latin American boarding parties. At this point I would like to read an excerpt from a letter I received recently from one of these fishermen:

> I have been aboard 20 tuna vessels under seizure at one time in 1963 in Salinas, Ecuador, and they rotated the armed guards—as many as 21 in a 24-hour period—aboard a vessel. These armed guards ate all of the fishermen's food, smoked all of their cigarettes, stole the crew's personal belongings, wrist watches, cameras, etc., even the sextants and some navigational equipment from the tuna vessel's bridge. They destroyed the power skiffs which they commandeered for shore vessel transportation and service, chopped up anchor chains and cables and even damaged the tuna nets and gear so that when the vessel or vessels were finally released after paying an exorbitant illegal seizure fine, they found out on the high seas that some of their gear had been sabotaged.

It is unjust to continue asking American tuna fishermen to risk life and property in the pursuit of their livelihood just because our Government has been too timid to protect their right to work on the high seas off South America.

I am proud to be associated with this bill and urge its passage so that our Latin American neighbors will know that the United States is solidly behind our fishermen. Then, perhaps these countries will see the wisdom of seeking a negotiated settlement of this issue, which we all realize is the way for a permanent end to these seizures.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the bill we now consider, S. 2269, to provide protection for American fishermen seized on the high seas by foreign powers is, though limited in scope, one of the most highly important to come before us this session.

Through providing protection and relief for American vessels seized in international waters we can reassert as a Nation our position that American fishing vessels have the right to peacefully pursue their trade in ocean waters beyond 12 miles from foreign shores.

Our tuna and shrimp fishermen have been continually harassed by foreign nations, including some Latin American nations that have seized our vessels for operating as much as 200 miles from their shores. Within the past year and a half 35 U.S. fishing vessels have been seized illegally on the high seas by these Latin American naval forces.

Diplomatic remedies have been sought for the past 14 years. They have failed to aid our fishermen or reach any mutually satisfactory agreement. The cost of Government participation in this program for relief of our fishermen whose boats and catch are seized is not money down the drain. This bill provides that costs incurred for such relief are mandatorily withheld from foreign aid funds previously allocated to the nation whose navy effects the seizure.

Not only may this legislation aid our own fishermen in their battle against unreasonable and illegal seizure on the high seas, but the punitive measures against the nations involved may well finally bring about meaningful arbitration toward the establishment of reasonable territorial jurisdictions for these nations' offshore boundaries.

I strongly urge immediate passage of this legislation.

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my distinguished colleagues on our Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in urging passage by the House of the bill, S. 2269, with committee amendments.

Under date of July 9, the chief clerk of the California Legislature submitted to the Speaker of the House, California Assembly, Joint Resolution No. 27 relative to the seizure of American fishing boats off South America. Since I believe that this Assembly Joint Resolution No. 27 is pertinent to the current consideration of the bill, S. 2269, I wish to note the following contained therein:

> *Resolved* by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact "legislation" relative to the unlawful seizure of United States vessels by foreign countries; and be it further
>
> *Resolved*, That the President of the United States take whatever action he may deem proper to ensure that further seizures of this nature will not occur; * * *.

The bill, S. 2269, represents the "legislation" relative to the unlawful seizure of U.S. vessels by foreign countries referred to in California Assembly Joint Resolution No. 27, and I do hereby urge my colleagues in the House to act favorably upon S. 2269.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, as one who comes from the Island State and who appreciates fully the role of the American fisherman in our national life, I rise in support of S. 2269, a bill to restore the rights of the American fisherman to operate in international waters.

It is nothing short of appalling to review the record of harassment that our fishermen have been subjected to by our supposed good neighbors of Latin America. This harassment, more often than not, has taken the form of actual seizure and detention of American fishing vessels while conducting fishing operations on the high seas. It is reported that in 1967 alone, 27 tuna and shrimp vessels were illegally seized on the high seas. If we were to expand the scope of our review, we would find that 121 American vessels have been illegally seized in international waters by Latin American countries during the past 8 years.

These seizures have been effected by the countries involved under an arbitrary claim, in complete disregard of the principle of the freedom of the high seas, that their fishing zone extends out to a distance as much as 200 miles from their shores. Heaping insult upon injury, these seizing countries invariably exact fines from the seized American fishing vessels before they are released. Frequently, the gear and catch on board these vessels are confiscated, resulting in the loss of property as well as potential income.

Mr. Speaker, American fishermen are entitled to the protection that S. 2269 would provide. The legislation we are considering would broaden the scope of the act of August 27, 1954, which presently provides for reimbursement by the Secretary of the Treasury of any fine paid by a U.S. vessel to the seizing country. S. 2269, as reported by our Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, under the leadership of its distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GARMATZ], would authorize reimbursement of the license fee, registration fee, or any other direct charge connected with securing the prompt release of the vessel and crew; authorize a 4-year voluntary insurance program whereby the Secretary of the Interior would guarantee reimbursement to the vessel owner for all costs incurred as a direct result of such seizure, except with respect to loss of potential income while the vessel is detained, which would be limited to a reimbursement of not more than 50 percent; provide for the joint financing of such insurance program by American-flag fishing vessels and the Government; and direct the Secretary of State to withhold, pending payment, an amount equal to the unpaid claim from any funds programed to the seizing country under the Foreign Assistance Act.

Mr. Speaker, the enactment of S. 2269 would show the world, and especially our erring Latin American neighbors, that we intend to protect the rights of our country's fishermen. I therefore urge a unanimous vote in favor of the bill.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in enthusiastic support of the Fishermen's Protective Act of 1967, S. 2269, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries. At long last, with passage of this bill, our hard-working crew members of U.S. fishing vessels are going to receive the type protection they so richly deserve.

It is worthwhile noting that this legislation has received the vigorous support of the various fishermen's organizations, trade associations, and both national and international unions.

The provisions of this bill have been designed to alleviate the damage suffered by the innocent victims of wrongs perpetrated by a few countries against our nationals because of an international situation still to be remedied.

Our fishing vessels are being seized on the high seas by certain Latin American countries. Six of these countries—Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru—claim fishing limits out to 200 miles. Yet, no nation in Europe or North American claims limits beyond 12 miles, and it was only in 1966 that we extended our limits from 3 to 12 miles.

It is shocking to note and I am distressed to report that no less than 50 percent of our tuna fleet has been harassed, shot at or seized. These excessive claims to greater distances and these attacks on our fishing fleets are not only intolerable and insufferable from our point of view, but they are also encroachments on the age-old principle of international law: the freedom of the seas. The International Law Commission of the United Nations has concluded that the 12-mile limit should be the maximum territorial claim for all purposes. Yet, we have these countries that refuse to adhere to this principle.

Until such time as an agreement can be reached with these aggressively obdurate countries, it is going to be necessary for the United States to provide some just measure of compensation for the unfortunate owners and crewmen of our fishing fleets who are being victimized at an ever-increasing rate by an impossible situation over which they have no control.

Within the past several years more than 100 of our fishing vessels have been seized, shot at or otherwise harassed while fishing in waters generally considered to be the "high seas." By all the various international conventions on the law of the sea, such seas are declared to be open to the fishermen of all countries.

Since 1954 we have provided some relief for these victims, but it has been nowhere nearly enough. Nor has it been funded in the manner provided for in this bill. S. 2269 will afford relief for losses not covered by previous legislation. I am particularly pleased to see three important items covered. Reimbursement will be provided the owner for all actual costs incurred as a result of the seizure including damage to or loss of the vessel and/or its gear and equipment, the market value of any seized fish and to the owner and his crew up to 50 percent of gross income lost as a result of the seizure.

These reimbursements will be made out of a well-conceived fund, which will be partially financed through the contributions of commercial fishermen for insurance against seizures and the damages stemming therefrom. Thus, the financing will be partly by the fishermen themselves, partly by the Government, an arrangement that appears economically sound to me. Another feature that I particularly endorse is the one which provides that in cases where reimbursement has not been received from the aggressor nation within 120 days, the Secretary of State shall withhold an equal amount from any funds scheduled for that nation under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

However, Mr. Speaker, the fundamental importance of this bill lies in the fact that at long last the United States is going to provide adequate protection for its commercial fishing industry, and let us hope that the tool given the Secretary of State to collect the reimbursements will ultimately be a contributory factor toward getting these offending nations to ratify and observe the various international agreements governing the use of the high seas.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 4451) and House Resolution 1242 were laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have permission to extend their remarks prior to passage of S. 2269.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 3710, RIVERS AND HARBORS FLOOD CONTROL ACT OF 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 3710) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 1819)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3710) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

"TITLE I—RIVERS AND HARBORS

"SEC. 101. That the following works of improvement of rivers and harbors and other waterways for navigation, flood control, and other purposes are hereby adopted and authorized to be prosecuted under the direction of the Secretary of the Army and supervision of the Chief of Engineers, in accordance with the plans and subject to the conditions recommended by the Chief of Engineers in the respective reports hereinafter designated. The provisions of section 1 of the River and Harbor Act approved March 2, 1945 (Public Law Numbered 14, Seventy-ninth Congress, first session), shall govern with respect to projects authorized in this title; and the procedures therein set forth with respect to plans, proposals, or reports for works of improvement for navigation or flood control and for irrigation and purposes incidental thereto, shall apply as if herein set forth in full.

"NAVIGATION

"Ipswich River, Massachusetts: House Document Numbered 265, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $616,000;

"Fall River Harbor, Massachusetts and Rhode Island: House Document Numbered 175, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $8,762,000;

"Bristol Harbor, Rhode Island: House Document Numbered 174, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $373,000;

"Port Jefferson Harbor, New York: House Document Numbered 277, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $2,455,000;

"Hempstead Harbor, New York: House Document Numbered 101, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $703,000;

"Cooper River, Charleston Harbor, South Carolina: Senate Document Numbered 88, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $35,381,000;

"Miami Harbor, Florida: Senate Document Numbered 93, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $6,476,000;

"Gulf Intracoastal Waterway, St. Marks to Tampa Bay, Florida: Chief of Engineers' Report dated June 6, 1968, except that (1) not to exceed $40,000,000 is authorized for initiation of such project, and (2) construction of this project shall not be initiated until such plan is approved by the Secretary of the Army and the President;

"Atchafalaya River and Bayous Chene, Boeuf, and Black, Louisiana: House Document Numbered 155, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $8,645,000;

"Red River Waterway, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma: House Document Numbered 304, Ninetieth Congress, except that not to exceed $50,000,000 is authorized for initiation of such project;

"Mississippi River-Gulf Outlet, Michoud Canal, Louisiana: Senate Document Numbered 97, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $1,300,000;

"Mississippi River Outlets, Venice, Louisiana: House Document Numbered 361, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $4,520,000;

"Yazoo River, Mississippi: House Document Numbered 342, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $52,147,000;

"Corpus Christi Ship Canal, Texas: Senate Document Numbered 99, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $19,042,000;

"Mouth of the Colorado River, Texas: Senate Document Numbered 102, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $8,000,000;

"Wilson Harbor, New York: House Document Numbered 112, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $198,000;

"Cattaraugus Creek Harbor, New York: House Document Numbered 97, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $1,315,000;

"Hamlin Beach State Park, New York: House Document Numbered 358, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $500,000;

"Forestville Harbor, Michigan: House Document Numbered 183, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $538,000;

"Tawas Bay Harbor, Michigan: House Document Numbered 189, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $466,000;

"Detroit River, Trenton Channel, Michigan House Document Numbered 338, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $31,300,000;

"Snohomish River (Everett Harbor), Washington: House Document Numbered 357, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $1,108,000;

"Humboldt Harbor and Bay, California: House Document Numbered 330, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $2,430,000;

"Port Hueneme, California: House Document Numbered 362, at an estimated cost of $1,000,000;

"Ventura Marina, California: House Document Numbered 356, at an estimated cost of $1,540,000;

"San Diego Harbor, California: House Document Numbered 365, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $5,360,000;

"Kake Harbor, Alaska: Senate Document Numbered 70, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $1,760,000;

"King Cove Harbor, Alaska: Senate Document Numbered 13, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $522,000;

"Sergius and Whitestone Narrows, Alaska: Senate Document Numbered 95, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $3,030,000;

"Coasts of Hawaiian Islands, Harbors for Light Draft Vessels: House Document Numbered 353, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $1,256,000.

"BEACH EROSION

"Brevard County, Florida: House Document Numbered 352, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $680,000.

"SEC. 102. The project for beach erosion control, Fort Pierce, Florida, authorized by the River and Harbor Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 1089, 1092) in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 84, Eighty-ninth Congress, is hereby modified to provide for construction of the project and periodic nourishment for ten years by the Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers. In addition to applicable requirements of local cooperation set forth in the aforementioned report of the Chief of Engineers, local interests shall, prior to construction, give assurances satisfactory to the Secretary of the Army that they will—

"(1) contribute in cash, either in a lump sum prior to initiation of construction or in installments prior to the start of pertinent work items in accordance with construction or nourishment schedules, as determined by the Chief of Engineers, all costs of initial construction and periodic nourishment for ten years exclusive of costs assigned to the Federal Government in the aforementioned recommendations of the Chief of Engineers; and

"(2) hold and save the United States free from damages due to the construction works.

"SEC. 103. (a) That section 2 of the Act entitled 'An Act authorizing the Secretary of War to sell and convey to the town of Marmet, West Virginia, two tracts of land to be used for municipal purposes', approved July 8, 1942 (56 Stat. 651) is hereby amended by deleting the period after the words 'related municipal purposes' and inserting thereafter the phrase 'including firefighting facilities and structures'.

"(b) The Secretary of the Army is authorized and directed to issue to the town of Marmet, West Virginia, without monetary consideration therefor, such written instruments as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

"SEC. 104. (a) That notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of the Army or his designee, is authorized and directed to convey to the State of West Virginia, subject to the terms and conditions hereinafter stated, and to such other terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Army, or his designee, shall deem to be in the public interest, all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to certain real property, together with improvements thereon, located at Ohio River locks and dams numbered 16, 19, 20, and 21 in West Virginia as described in subsection (b) of this section. No property shall be conveyed under authority of this section until these locks and dams have been determined by the Secretary to be in excess to the requirements of the Department of the Army and suitable replacement facilities are in operation under the Ohio River navigation modernization program. The Secretary may make such prior disposition of such facilities and improvements on such lands as he deems to be in the best interest of the United States.

"(b) The real property authorized for conveyance by subsection (a) of this section comprise all or portions of such lands and improvements as may be determined excess of four lock and dam projects on the Ohio River in the State of West Virginia and designated as, number 16 (Willow Island Pool) in Tyler County, numbers 19 and 20 (Belleville Pool) in Wood County, and number 21 (Racine Pool) in Jackson County. The exact descriptions and acreage to be determined by the Secretary by accurate surveys, the cost of which is to be borne by the State of West Virginia.

"(c) The conveyance authorized herein shall provide that said property shall be used only for public park and recreation purposes and such other uses directly related to programs of the West Virginia Department of Natural Resources, and if it ever ceases to be used for such purposes, title to said property shall immediately revert to the United States. Any deed of conveyance shall also be subject to and include the following additional terms and conditions:

"(1) The State of West Virginia shall pay the United States as consideration for the conveyance 50 per centum of the current fair market value of the property as determined by the Secretary of the Army.

"(2) There shall be reserved to the United States such flowage easements and rights-of-way for roads and utility lines as the Secretary determines may be required for other navigation projects.

"(3) Such other restrictions, terms, and conditions as the Secretary deems necessary to protect the interests of the United States

"(d) Any moneys paid for the conveyances referred to herein shall be covered into the United States Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"SEC. 105. (a) That the Secretary of the Army shall convey, without monetary consideration, to the city of Buffalo, New York, all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to certain real property underlying Lake Erie containing approximately 46.01 acres and more particularly described in subsection (b) of this section, on condition that such real property be used for public park and recreational development purposes and if such property shall ever cease to be used for such purposes, title thereto shall revert to the United States.

"(b) The real property referred to in this section is more particularly described as follows:

"(1) PARCEL E.—Beginning at the point of intersection of the south line of outer lot 39 prolonged and the shoreline of Lake Erie as established in 1846, which point bears south feet, more or less, from United States Monument numbered 7, which monument is the southeasterly corner of the said outer lot 39;

"thence southwesterly at right angles with the established harbor line 1,140 feet, more or less, to the said harbor line;

"thence northwesterly along said harbor line, 1,310 feet, more or less, to the point of intersection of said harbor line and a line at right angles thereto passing through the point of intersection of the shoreline of Lake Erie in 1846 and a line 330 feet northerly at right angles from and parallel with the south line of outer lot 36;

"thence northeasterly at right angles with said harbor line 1,115 feet, more or less, to the shoreline of Lake Erie in 1846;

"thence southeasterly along said shoreline of Lake Erie 1,320 feet, more or less, to the point of beginning containing 34.04 acres, more or less.

"(2) PARCEL C–B.—Beginning at the point of intersection of the shoreline of Lake Erie with the northerly line of land deeded to the United States Government, October 21, 1846, said line also extending in a due east and west direction and passing through the northwest corner of outer lot 36 (United States Monument No. 2), said point of beginning being also 480 feet, more or less, west of the said northwest corner of outer lot 36;

"thence southeasterly along said shoreline of Lake Erie in 1846 a distance of 470 feet, more or less, to the intersection with a line 330 feet northerly at right angles from and parallel with the south line of lot 36, said line being also the north line of lands deeded to the United States Government, September 25, 1847;

"thence southwesterly at right angles to establish harbor line 1,115 feet, more or less, to the established harbor line;

"thence northwesterly along said harbor line 465 feet, more or less, to the point of intersection of said harbor line and a line at right angles thereto passing through the point of intersection of the shoreline of Lake Erie in 1846 and the line extending in a due east and west direction and passing through the northwest corner of outer lot 36;

"thence easterly at right angles to established harbor line 1,115 feet, more or less, to the shoreline of Lake Erie in 1846, which is the above referenced point of beginning, containing 11.97 acres, more or less.

"(c) Any deed of conveyance made pursuant to this section shall reserve to the United States, for a period not to exceed seven years, the right to use such lands for a spoil disposal area for materials dredged from the Buffalo Harbor Project, including the right to place structures thereon and to perform all other actions incident to such use, together with the rights of ingress and egress thereto. Such deed shall contain such additional terms and conditions as may be determined by the Secretary of the Army to be necessary to protect the interest of the United States.

"SEC. 106. (a) The Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, under the direction of the Secretary of the Army, shall make an appraisal investigation and study, including a review of any previous relevant studies and reports, of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts of the United States, the coasts of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and the shorelines of the Great Lakes, including estuaries and bays thereof, for the purpose of (1) determining areas along such coasts and shorelines where significant erosion occurs; (2) identifying those areas where erosion presents a serious problem because the rate of erosion, considered in conjunction with economic, industrial, recreational, agricultural, navigational, demographic, ecological, and other relevant factors, indicates that action to halt such erosion may be justified; (3) describing generally the most suitable type of remedial action for those areas that have a serious erosion problem; (4) providing preliminary cost estimates for such remedial action; (5) recommending priorities among the serious problem areas for action to stop erosion; (6) providing State and local authorities with information and recommendations to assist the creation and implementation of State and local coast and shoreline erosion programs; (7) developing recommended guidelines for land use regulation in coastal areas taking into consideration all relevant factors; and (8) identifying coastal areas where title uncertainty exists. The Secretary of the Army shall submit to the Congress as soon as practicable, but not later than three years after the date of enactment of this Act, the results of such appraisal investigation and study, together with his recommendations. The views of concerned local, State, and Federal authorities and interests will be taken into account in making such appraisal investigation and study.

"(b) There are authorized to be appropriated such amounts, not to exceed $1,000,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

"SEC. 107. That the projects for the Illinois Waterway and Grand Calumet River, Illinois and Indiana (Calumet-Sag navigation project), authorized by the River and Harbor Act of July 24, 1946, are hereby modified substantially in accordnace with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 45, Eighty-fifth Congress, insofar as such recommendations apply to existing highway bridges in Part II: Grand Calumet River and Indiana Harbor Canal, at an estimated cost of $33,265,000.

"SEC. 108. (a) Steel Bayou, in Warren, Issaquena, Sharkey, and Washington Counties, Mississippi, Washington Bayou, in Issaquena and Washington Counties, Mississippi, and Lake Washington, in Washington County, Mississippi, are hereby declared to be nonnavigable within the meaning of the laws of the United States.

(b) The project for navigation on Steele Bayou, Washington Bayou, and Lake Washington, authorized by the Rivers and Harbors Acts of July 5, 1884, August 5, 1886, and June 25, 1910, is hereby deauthorized.

"SEC. 109. Section 313 of the Act approved October 27, 1965 (79 Stat. 1073), is amended by deleting the date "June 30, 1968" and substituting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1969".

"SEC. 110. The Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, is authorized and directed to review the requirements of local cooperation for the Ouachita and Black Rivers navigation projects, authorized by the River and Harbor Act of 1950, as amended, with particular reference to Federal and non-Federal cost sharing, and he shall report the findings of such review to Congress within one year after the date of enactment of this Act.

"SEC. 111. The Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, is authorized to investigate, study, and construct projects for the prevention or mitigation of shore damages attributable to Federal navigation works. The cost of installing, operating, and maintaining such projects shall be borne entirely by the United States. No such project shall be constructed without specific authorization by Congress if the estimated first cost exceeds $1,000,000.

"SEC. 112. Section 111 of the River and Harbor Act of 1966 (80 Stat. 1417) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"'(g) The Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a study of those areas in the vicinity of the Washington Channel in the District of Columbia suitable for public visitor parking facilities. Such study shall, among others, consider existing and future visitation, multiple and alternative areas, methods for providing such facilities, and estimated costs and revenues to be derived therefrom. Not later than one hundred and eighty days after the date funds are appropriated to carry out such study, the Secretary shall submit to the President and Congress a report thereon together with his recommendations, including necessary legislation, if any. There is authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $100,000 to carry out this subsection.'

"SEC. 113. Those portions of the East and Hudson Rivers in New York County, State of New York, lying shoreward of a line within the United States Pierhead Line as it exists on the date of enactment of this Act, and bounded on the north by the north side of Spring Street extended westerly and the south side of Robert F. Wagner, Senior Place extended eastwardly, are hereby declared to be nonnavigable waters of the United States within the meaning of the laws of the United States. This declaration shall apply only to portions of the above-described area which are bulkheaded and filled. Plans for bulkheading and filling shall be approved by the Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, on the basis of engineering studies to determine the location and structural stability of the bulkheading and filling in order to preserve and maintain the remaining navigable waterway. Local interests shall reimburse the Federal Government for any engineering costs incurred under this section.

"SEC. 114. That portion of the Northern Embarcadero area, beginning at the intersection of the northwesterly line of Bryant Street with the Southwesterly line of Spear Street, which intersection lies on the line of jurisdiction of the San Francisco Port Authority; following thence westerly and northerly along said line of jurisdiction as described in the State of California Harbor and Navigation Code Section 1770, as amended in 1961, to its intersection with the easterly line of Van Ness Avenue produced northerly; thence northerly along said easterly line of Van Ness Avenue produced to its intersection with the United States Government pierhead line; thence following said pierhead line easterly and southerly to its intersection with the northwesterly line of Bryant Street produced northeasterly; thence southwesterly along said northwesterly line of Bryant Street produced to the point of beginning, is hereby declared to be nonnavigable waters within the meaning of the laws of the United States, and the consent of Congress is hereby given for the filling in of all or any part of the described area. This declaration shall apply only to portions of the above-described area which are bulkheaded and filled or are occupied by permanent pile-supported structures. Plans for bulkheading and filling and permanent pile-supported structures shall be approved by the Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, on the basis of engineering studies to determine the location and structural stability of the bulkheading and filling and permanent pile-supported structures in order to preserve and maintain the remaining navigable waterway. Local interests shall reimburse the Federal Government for any engineering costs incurred under this section.

"SEC. 115. That portion of the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River located generally south of Pratt Street, east of Light Street, north of Key Highway, in the city of Baltimore, State of Maryland, and being more particularly described as all of that portion of the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River lying west of a series of lines beginning at the point formed by the intersection of the south side of Pratt Street, as now laid out, and the west side of Pier 3 and running thence binding on the west side of Pier 3, south 04 degrees 19 minutes 47 seconds east 726.59 feet to the southwest corner of Pier 3; thence crossing the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River, south 23 degrees 01 minutes 15 seconds west 855.36 feet to the point formed by the intersection of the existing pierhead and bulkhead line and the east side of Battery Avenue, last said point of intersection being the end of the first line of the fourth parcel of land conveyed by J. and F. Realty, Incorporated by Allegheny Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company by deed dated December 22, 1965, and recorded among the Land Record of Baltimore City in Liber J. F. C. numbered 2006 folio 345, the location of said pierhead and bulkhead line is based upon the Corps of Engineers, Baltimore District, Baltimore, Maryland, coordinate value for station LIV of said pierhead and bulkhead line, the coordinate value as referred to the Lambert grid plane coordinate system for the State of Maryland of said station LIV being east 2,111,161.40, north 527,709.27 and thence binding on the east side of Battery Avenue, south 03 degrees 09 minutes 07 seconds east 568 feet, more or less, to intersect the north side of Key Highway as now laid out and located is hereby declared to be not a navigable stream of the United States within the meaning of the laws of the United States, and the consent of Congress is hereby given for the filling in of all or any part of the described area.

"SEC. 116. (a) The Secretary of the Army is authorized and directed to remove from the Potomac River and to destroy the abandoned ships, ships' hulls, and pilings, located in Mallow's Bay, between Sandy Point and Liverpool Point, Charles County, Maryland, and at Wide Water, south of Quantico, Virginia, and any other abandoned ships formerly among those in Mallow's Bay or at Wide Water which have drifted from those locations. Local interests shall contribute 50 percent of the cost of such work.

"(b) There is authorized to carry out this section, not to exceed $175,000.

"SEC. 117. The Chief of Engineers, under the direction of the Secretary of the Army, is hereby authorized to maintain authorized river and harbor projects in excess of authorized project depths where such excess depths have been provided by the United States for defense purposes and whenever the Chief of Engineers determines that such waterways also serve essential needs of general commerce.

"SEC. 118. (a) Section 5 of the Act entitled 'An Act creating the City of Clinton Bridge Commission and authorizing said commission and its successors to acquire by purchase or condemnation and to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at or near Clinton, Iowa, at or near Fulton, Illinois', approved December 21, 1944, as revised, amended, and reenacted, is hereby amended by inserting '(a)' immediately after 'SEC. 5.' and by adding at the end of such section the following new subsection:

"'(b) In addition to the method of payment provided in subsection (a) of this section, the commission and its successors and assigns are hereby authorized to provide for the payment of the cost of dismantling one bridge and of constructing as a replacement therefor a new bridge (including necessary approaches and approach highways) either entirely from a construction fund created in accordance with section 6 of this Act or from both such construction fund and from bonds issued and sold in accordance with subsection (a) of this section. The cost of any bridge constructed under this subsection (together with approaches and approach highways) shall include all costs and expenses included in the case of a bridge constructed under authority of subsection (a) of this section (including its approaches and approach highways).'

"(b) The first sentence of section 6 of such Act of December 21, 1944, is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a comma and the following: 'and, if the Commission determines it advisable to do so, to provide a construction fund specifically to pay the cost of dismantling one bridge and constructing a new bridge to replace it as authorized by subsection (b) of section 5 of this Act.'

"(c) Section 6 of such Act of December 21, 1944, is further amended by adding immediately following the third sentence of such section the following new sentence: 'If no bonds or notes are outstanding or if a sinking fund specifically for payment of all outstanding bonds and notes shall have been provided, the remainder of such tolls may, if the Commission determines it advisable to do so, be placed in a construction fund for use in accordance with subsection (b) of section 5 of this Act.'

"(d) The first sentence of subsection (a) of section 8 of such Act of December 21, 1944, is amended by inserting immediately after 'solely for that purpose,' the following: 'and after any bridge constructed under authority of section 5(b) of this Act shall have been paid for, or sufficient funds are available in the construction fund authorized by section 6 to pay for such bridge,'.

"(e) The amendments made by this section shall be inapplicable insofar as they authorize the construction of a bridge or bridges unless actual construction thereof is commenced within five years from the date of enactment of this section and such construction is completed by January 1, 1980.

"SEC. 119. The Secretary of the Army is hereby authorized and directed to cause surveys to be made at the following locations and subject to all applicable provisions of section 110 of the River and Harbor Act of 1950:

"Back River, Maryland, from Chesapeake Bay to the city of Baltimore's waste water treatment plants.

"Savannah and Tennessee Rivers, with a view to determining the advisability of providing a waterway connecting the rivers by canals and appurtenant facilities and a waterway connecting Charleston and Port Royal, South Carolina, with the lower Savannah River.

"Lake Superior, with a view to determining the advisability of a waterway connecting the lake and the Mississippi River.

"SEC. 120. (a) The Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, is authorized and directed to make studies of:

"(1) The nature and scope of the damages which result from streambank erosion throughout the United States, with a view toward determining the need for, and the feasibility of, a coordinated program of streambank protection in the interests of reducing damages from the deposition of sediment in reservoirs and waterways, the destruction of channels and adjacent lands, and other adverse effects of streambank erosion.

"(2) The need for and the feasibility of a program for the removal and disposal of drift and other debris, including abandoned vessels, from public harbors and associated channels under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Army.

"(b) The Secretary shall report to Congress, not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act, the results of such studies together with his recommendations in connection therewith, including an appropriate division of responsibility between Federal and non-Federal interests.

"SEC. 121. Title I of this Act may be cited as the 'River and Harbor Act of 1968'.

"TITLE II—FLOOD CONTROL

"SEC. 201. Section 3 of the Act approved June 22, 1936 (Public Law Numbered 738, Seventy-fourth Congress), as amended by section 2 of the Act approved June 28, 1938 (Public Law Numbered 761, Seventy-fifth Congress), shall apply to all works authorized in this title except that for any channel improvement or channel rectification project, provisions (a), (b), and (c) of section 3 of said Act of June 22, 1936, shall apply thereto, except as otherwise provided by law. The authorization for any flood control project herein authorized by this Act requiring local cooperation shall expire five years from the date on which local interests are notified in writing by the Secretary of the Army or his designee of the requirements of local cooperation, unless said interests shall within said time furnish assurances satisfactory to the Secretary of the Army that the required cooperation will be furnished.

"SEC. 202. The provisions of section 1 of the Act of December 22, 1944 (Public Law Numbered 534, Seventy-eighth Congress, second session), shall govern with respect to projects authorized in this Act, and the procedures therein set forth with respect to plans, proposals, or reports for works of improvement for navigation or flood control and for irrigation and purposes incidental thereto shall apply as if herein set forth in full.

"SEC. 203. The following works of improvement for the benefit of navigation and the control of destructive floodwaters and other purposes are hereby adopted and authorized to be prosecuted under the direction of the Secretary of the Army and supervision of the Chief of Engineers in accordance with the plans in the respective reports hereinafter designated and subject to the conditions set forth therein. The necessary plans, specifications, and preliminary work may be prosecuted on any project authorized in this title with funds from appropriations hereafter made for flood control so as to be ready for rapid inauguration of a construction program. The projects authorized in this title shall be initiated as expeditiously and prosecuted as vigorously as may be consistent with budgetary requirements. Penstocks and other similar facilities adapted to possible future use in the development of hydroelectric power shall be installed in any dam authorized in this Act for construction by the Department of the Army when approved by the Secretary of the Army on the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers and the Federal Power Commission.

"LOWER CHARLES RIVER, MASSACHUSETTS

"The project for flood control on the Lower Charles River, Massachusetts, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 370, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $18,620,000.

"CONNECTICUT RIVER BASIN

"The project for the Beaver Brook Dam and Reservoir, Beaver Brook, New Hampshire, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 68, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $1,185,000.

"The project for flood protection on Park River, Connecticut, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 43, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $30,300,000.

"LONG ISLAND SOUND

"The project for flood protection on Norwalk River, Connecticut and New York, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 51, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $2,700,000.

"DELAWARE-ATLANTIC COASTAL AREA

"The project for hurricane-flood protection and beach erosion control along the Delaware Coast from Cape Henlopen to Fenwick Island, at the Delaware-Maryland State Line is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers, in Senate Document Numbered 90, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $5,584,000.

"RAPPAHANNOCK RIVER BASIN

"The project for the Salem Church Dam and Reservoir, Rappahannock River, Virginia, is hereby modified substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 37, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $79,500,000.

"CAPE FEAR RIVER BASIN

"The project for the Randleman Dam and Reservoir, Deep River, North Carolina, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 343, Ninetieth Congress at an estimated cost of $19,463,000.

"The project for the Howards Mill Dam and Reservoir, Deep River, North Carolina, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 343, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $12,460,000.

"SOUTH ATLANTIC COASTAL AREA

"The project for beach erosion control and hurricane flood protection of Dade County, Florida, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 335, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $11,805,000.

"HILLSBOROUGH BAY, FLORIDA

"The project for hurricane-flood control protection on Hillsborough Bay, Florida, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 313, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $9,909,000, except that construction of the barrier across Hillsborough Bay shall not be undertaken until the Chief of Engineers completes further detailed studies covering related water resource problems, including a comprehensive model study of the entire Tampa Bay area, and until sixty days after the date of submission of a report on such studies to the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives.

"CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN FLORIDA

"The project for Central and Southern Florida, authorized by the Flood Control Act of June 30, 1948, is further modified in accordance with the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 101, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $8,072,000, and in accordance with House Document Numbered 369, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $58,182,000.

"PASCAGOULA RIVER BASIN

"The project for the Tallahala Creek Dam and Reservoir, Tallahala Creek, Mississippi, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered

143, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $16,360,000.

"LOWER MISSISSIPPI RIVER BASIN

"The project for flood control and improvement of the lower Mississippi River, adopted by the Act of May 15, 1928 (45 Stat. 534), as amended and modified, is hereby further modified and expanded to include the following items:

"(1) The project for the St. Francis River Basin, Arkansas and Missouri, authorized by the Flood Control Act approved June 15, 1936 (Public Law 74-678), as modified by subsequent Acts of Congress, including the Flood Control Act of 1965. Public Law 89-298 is hereby further modified to provide that the requirements of local cooperation for the improvements authorized in the Flood Control Act of 1965, shall conform to those requirements for local cooperation in the Saint Francis River Basin authorized in previous Acts of Congress, substantially as recommended by the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 11, Ninetieth Congress.

"(2) Improvements in the Boeuf and Tensas Rivers and Bayou Macon Basin to divert flows that would otherwise enter Lake Chicot, Arkansas, substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 168, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $15,240,000, except that prior to initiation of construction of the project, local interests shall agree that no fees shall be charged for admission to Lake Chicot and to public recreation areas adjoining Lake Chicot and that user fees at such lake and areas shall be devoted to recreation purposes.

"(3) Improvements in the Belle Fountain ditch and tributaries, Missouri, and Drainage District Number 17, Arkansas, substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 339, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $4,638,000.

"WHITE RIVER BASIN

"The project for flood protection on Crooked Creek and in the vicinity of Harrison, Arkansas, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 28, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $2,840,000.

"BRAZOS RIVER BASIN

"The project for the Aquilla Dam and Reservoir, Aquilla Creek, Texas, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 52, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $23,612,000.

"NAVASOTA RIVER BASIN

"The project for the Navasota River, Texas, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 341, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $119,707,000.

"CLEAR CREEK, TEXAS

"The project for flood protection on Clear Creek, Texas, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 351, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $12,600,000.

"PECAN BAYOU, TEXAS

"The project for flood protection on Pecan Bayou, Texas, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 350, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $24,861,000.

"GULF OF MEXICO

"The project for hurricane-flood control at Texas City and vicinity, Texas, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 187, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $10,990,000.

"UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER BASIN

"The project for flood protection on the Mississippi River from Cassville, Wisconsin, to mile 300, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 348, Ninetieth Congress at an estimated cost of $21,300,000.

"The project for flood protection of State Road and Ebner Coulees, city of La Crosse and Shelby Township, Wisconsin, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 360, Ninetieth Congress at an estimated cost of $6,849,000.

"RED RIVER OF THE NORTH

"The project for flood protection on the South Branch of the Wild Rice River and Felton Ditch, Minnesota, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 98, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $1,230,000.

"OHIO RIVER BASIN

"The project for flood protection on the Ohio River in Southwestern Jefferson County, Kentucky, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 340, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $19,800,000.

"The project for the Utica Dam and Reservoir and flood protection at Newark, Licking River Basin, Ohio, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 337, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $32,953,000.

"WABASH RIVER BASIN

"The project for flood control and related purposes in the Wabash River Basin, Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 96, Ninetieth Congress, and the Big Walnut Dam and Reservoir is authorized substantially in accordance with the plan for such project set forth in the report of the Chief of Engineers in said document. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $50,000,000, for initiation and partial accomplishment of the project, except that construction of the Big Walnut Dam and Reservoir shall not be initiated until approved by the President.

"MISSOURI RIVER BASIN

"The project for the Bear Creek Dam and Reservoir, South Platte River, Colorado, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 87, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $32,314,000.

"The project for flood protection on the Big Sioux River at and in the vicinity of Sioux City, Iowa and South Dakota, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 94, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $2,750,000. With respect to that portion of the project above Sioux City, Iowa, approved in accordance with House Document Numbered 199, Eighty-eighth Congress, in the Flood Control Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-298), there shall be mutual agreement between the States of Iowa and South Dakota on a flood control plan and a plan for mitigation of fish and wildlife losses with respect to said portion within six months following completion of the reservoir study for the upper basin of the Big Sioux River and the Rock River now underway and receipt of copies of said report by the Governors of the States of Iowa and South Dakota. If said mutual agreement is not reached within said time, approval of said flood control plan and plan for mitigation of fish and wildlife losses shall be made by a committee consisting of one representative each appointed by the Chief of Engineers, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture.

"The project for flood protection and other purposes in the Papillion Creek Basin, Nebraska, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 349, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $26,800,000.

"The project for the Davids Creek Dam and Reservoir, Nishnabotna River, Iowa, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 142, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $2,040,000.

"The project for flood control and other purposes on the Little Blue River in the vicinity of Kansas City, Missouri, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 169, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $38,492,000.

"The second paragraph under the heading 'Missouri River Basin' of the Act entitled 'An Act authorizing additional appropriations for the prosecution of comprehensive plans for certain river basins', approved December 30, 1963 (77 Stat. 840), is hereby amended to read as follows:

" 'The comprehensive plan for flood control and other purposes in the Missouri River Basin, authorized by the Flood Control Act of June 28, 1938, as amended and supplemented, is further modified to include such bank protection or rectification works at or below the Garrison Reservoir as in the discretion of the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of the Army may be found necessary, at an estimated cost of $7,040,000.'

"JORDAN RIVER BASIN

"The project for the Little Dell Dam and Reservoir, Salt Lake City Streams, Utah, is hereby modified substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 53, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $22,664,000.

"SACRAMENTO RIVER BASIN

"The project for flood protection on the Feather River at Chester, California, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 314, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $940,000.

"SANTA ANA RIVER BASIN

"The project for flood protection, and other purposes on Cucamonga Creek, California, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 323, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $26,300,000.

"SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

"The project for flood control on Alhambra Creek, California, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 336, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $8,000,000.

"MAD RIVER, CALIFORNIA

"The project for flood control on the Mad River, California, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 359, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $38,600,000.

"SWEETWATER RIVER BASIN

"The project for flood control on the Sweetwater River, California, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 148, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $4,900,000.

"TANANA RIVER BASIN

"The project for flood control in the Tanana River Basin in the vicinity of Fairbanks, Alaska, is hereby modified substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 89, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $111,700,000.

"IAO STREAM, HAWAII

"The project for flood protection and other purposes on Iao Stream, Hawaii, is hereby authorized substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document Numbered 151, Ninetieth Congress, at an estimated cost of $1,660,000.

"SEC. 204. The Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, is authorized to provide such school facilities as he may deem necessary for the education of dependents of persons engaged in the construction of the Dworshak Dam and Reservoir project, Idaho, and to pay for the same from any funds available for such project. When he determines it to be in the public interest, the Secretary, acting through the Chief of Engineers, may enter into cooperative arrangements with local and Federal agencies for the operation of such Government facilities, for the expansion of local facilities at Federal expense, and for contributions by the Federal Government to cover the increased cost to local agencies of providing the educational services required by the Government.

"SEC. 205. The project for flood protection at Ironton, Ohio, authorized by the Flood Control Act of August 28, 1937, is hereby modified so as to provide for the installation by the Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, of aluminum closure structures at gates numbered 10, 17, and 18, located at Second and Orchard Streets, Second Street west of Storms Creek, and Second and Ellison Streets, respectively, at an estimated cost of $58,000.

"SEC. 206. That, notwithstanding the first proviso in section 201 of the Act entitled 'An Act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes', approved July 3, 1958 (72 Sat. 305), the authorization in section 203 of such Act of projects for local protection on the Weber River, Utah shall expire on April 16, 1972, unless local interests shall before such date furnish assurances satisfactory to the Secretary of the Army that the required local cooperation in such project will be furnished.

"SEC. 207. That, notwithstanding the first proviso in section 201 of the Act entitled 'An Act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes', approved July 3, 1958 (72 Sat. 305), the authorization in section 203 of such Act of projects for local protection on the Pecos River at Carlsbad, New Mexico, shall expire on May 19, 1972, unless local interests shall before such date furnish assurances satisfactory to the Secretary of the Army that the required local cooperation in such project will be furnished.

"SEC. 208. The project for flood protection on the Gila River below Painted Rock Reservoir, Arizona, authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1962 (76 Stat. 1180, 1190), substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document Numbered 116, Eighty-seventh Congress, is hereby modified to provide that local cooperation shall consist of the requirements that, prior to construction, local interests give assurances satisfactory to the Secretary of the Army that they will: (1) make a cash contribution of $700,000, to be paid either in a lump sum prior to initiation of construction or in installments prior to the start of pertinent work items in accordance with construction schedules, as determined by the Chief of Engineers, except that the reasonable value, as determined by the Chief of Engineers, of any lands, easements, rights-of-way, and relocations, furnished by the local interests shall be deducted from the required cash contribution; (2) hold and save the United States free from damages due to the construction works; (3) maintain and operate all works after completion in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Army.

SEC. 209. (a) Whenever any State, or any agency or instrumentality of a State or local government, or any nonprofit incorporated body organized or chartered under the law of the State in which it is located, or any nonprofit association or combination of such bodies, agencies or instrumentalities, shall undertake to secure any lands or interests therein as a site for the resettlement of families, individuals, and business concerns displaced by a river and harbor improvement, flood control or other water resource project duly authorized by Congress, and when it has been determined by the Secretary of the Army that the State is unable to acquire necessary lands or interests in lands or is unable to acquire such lands or interests in lands with sufficient promptness, the Secretary, upon the request of the Governor of the State in which such site is located, and after consultation with appropriate Federal, State, interstate, regional, and local departments and agencies, is authorized, in the name of the United States and prior to the approval of title by the Attorney General, to acquire, enter upon, and take possession of such lands or interests in lands by purchase, donation, condemnation or otherwise in accordance with the laws of the United States (including the Act of February 26, 1931 (46 Stat. 1421)). All expenses of said acquisition and any award that may be made under a condemnation proceeding, including costs of examination and abstract of title, certificate of title, appraisal, advertising, and any fees incident to acquisition, shall be paid by such State or body, agency, or instrumentality. The State, agency, instrumentality, or nonprofit body may repay such amounts from any funds made available to it for such purposes by any Federal department, agency, or instrumentality (other than the Department of the Army) having authority to make funds available for such a purpose. Pending such payment, the Secretary may expend from any funds hereafter appropriated for the project occasioning such acquisition such sums as may be necessary to carry out this section. To secure payment, the Secretary may require any such State or agency, body, or instrumentality to execute a proper bond in such amount as he may deem necessary before acquisition is commenced. Any sums paid to the Secretary by any such State or agency, body or instrumentality shall be deposited in the Treasury to the credit of the appropriation for such project.

"(b) No acquisition shall be undertaken under the authority of this section unless the Secretary has determined, after consultation with appropriate Federal, State, and local governmental agencies that (1) the development of a site is necessary in order to alleviate hardships to displaced persons; (2) the location of the site is suitable for development in relation to present or potential sources of employment; and (3) a plan for development of the site has been approved by appropriate local governmental authorities in the area or community in which such site is located.

"(c) The Secretary is further authorized and directed by proper deed, executed in the name of the United States, to convey any lands or interests in land acquired in any State under the provisions of this section, to the State, or such public or private nonprofit body, agency, or institution in the State as the Governor may prescribe, upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon by the Secretary, the Governor, and the agency to which the conveyance is to be made.

"SEC. 210. No entrance or admission fees shall be collected after March 31, 1970, by any officer or employee of the United States at public recreation areas located at lakes and reservoirs under the jurisdiction of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army. User fees at these lakes and reservoirs shall be collected by officers and employees of the United States only from users of highly developed facilities requiring continuous presence of personnel for maintenance and supervision of the facilities, and shall not be collected for access to or use of water areas, undeveloped or lightly developed shoreland, picnic grounds, overlook sites, scenic drives, or boat launching ramps where no mechanical or hydraulic equipment is provided.

"SEC. 211. The Mason J. Niblack levee feature of the project for flood control in the Wabash River Basin, Illinois and Indiana, authorized by the Flood Control Act approved July 24, 1946, is hereby modified to provide for the installation by the Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, and operation and maintenance by local interests, of pumping facilities to remove ponded interior drainage from the area protected by the levee, at an estimated cost of $500,000.

"SEC. 212. The Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, is authorized to amend Contract Numbered DA-45-108-CIVENG-66-68, between the United States and the Montana State Highway Commission for the relocation of Montana State Highway 37 in connection with the construction of the Libby Dam project, so as to provide that the design standards for the relocation shall be those adopted by the State of Montana pursuant to the provisions of the Highway Safety Act of 1966 (80 Stat. 731).

"SEC. 213. The project for flood control and improvement of the Lower Mississippi River, adopted by the Act of May 15, 1928 (45 Stat. 534) as amended and modified, is further modified to provide pumping plants and other drainage facilities in Cairo, Illinois, and vicinity, to the extent found economically justified by the Chief of Engineers, subject to the conditions that local interests (1) provide without cost to the United States all lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for the construction of the work; (2) hold and save the United States free from damages due to the construction work; and (3) maintain and operate all works after completion.

"SEC. 214. The project for the Sanders Creek Red River Basin, Texas, is hereby modified to provide for the acquisition of additional privately owned lands aggregating approximately seven hundred and fifty acres located within the boundaries of former Camp Maxey, Lamar County, Texas, for the purpose of consolidating Federal ownership of areas as may be needed for wildlife purposes in connection with the Pat Mayse Dam and Reservoir project, and to facilitate the establishment of a wildlife refuge or wildlife management area. The lands so acquired will be made available to the Secretary of the Interior or to the State of Texas in accordance with established administrative procedures pursuant to the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act (16 U.S.C. 661 et seq.). The acquisition of such lands may be deferred until such time as assurances are given, satisfactory to the Chief of Engineers, that a wildlife refuge or wildlife management area will be established.

"Sec. 215. (a) The Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, may, when he determines it to be in the public interest, enter into agreements providing for reimbursement to States or political subdivisions thereof for work to be performed by such non-Federal public bodies at water resources development projects authorized for construction under the Secretary of the Army and the supervision of the Chief of Engineers. Such agreements may provide for reimbursement of installation costs incurred by such entities or an equivalent reduction in the contributions they would otherwise be required to make, or in appropriate cases, for a combination thereof. The amount of Federal reimbursement, including reductions in contributions, for a single project shall not exceed $1,000,000.

"(b) Agreements entered into pursuant to this section shall (1) fully describe the work to be accomplished by the non-Federal public body, and be accompanied by an engineering plan if necessary therefor; (2) specify the manner in which such work shall be carried out; (3) provide for necessary review of design and plans, and inspection of the work by the Chief of Engineers or his designee; (4) state the basis on which the amount of reimbursement shall be determined; (5) state that such reimbursement shall be dependent upon the appropriation of funds applicable thereto or funds available therefor, and shall not take precedence over other pending projects of higher priority for improvements; and (6) specify that reimbursement or credit for non-Federal installation expenditures shall apply only to work undertaken on Federal projects after project authorization and execution of the agreement, and does not apply retroactively to past non-Federal work. Each such agreement shall expire three years after the date on which it is executed if the work to be undertaken by the non-Federal public body has not commenced before the expiration of that period. The time allowed for completion of the work will be determined by the Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, and stated in the agreement.

"(c) No reimbursement shall be made, and no expenditure shall be credited, pursuant to this section, unless and until the Chief of Engineers or his designee, has certified that the work for which reimbursement or credit is requested has been performed in accordance with the agreement.

"(d) Reimbursement for work commenced by non-Federal public bodies no later than one year after enactment of this section, to carry out or assist in carrying out projects for beach erosion control, may be made in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the Act of August 13, 1946, as amended (33 U.S.C. 426f). Reimbursement for such work may, as an alternative, be made in accordance with the provisions of this section, provided that agreement required herein shall have been executed prior to commencement of the work. Expenditures for projects for beach erosion control commenced by non-Federal public bodies subsequent to one year after enactment of this section may be reimbursed by the Secretary of the Army, acting through the Chief of Engineers, only in accordance with the provisions of this section.

"(e) This section shall not be construed (1) as authorizing the United States to assume any responsibilities placed upon a non-Federal body by the conditions of project authorization, or (2) as committing the United States to reimburse non-Federal interests if the Federal project is not undertaken or is modified so as to make the work performed by the non-Federal Public body no longer applicable.

"(f) The Secretary of the Army is authorized to allot from any appropriations hereafter made for civil works, not to exceed $10,000,000 for any one fiscal year to carry out the provisions of this section. This limitation does not include specific project authorizations providing for reimbursement.

"Sec. 216. (a) The Secretary of the Army shall, without monetary consideration, extend until October 1, 1964, the rights described in this section which were reserved until July 1, 1964, to any former owner (including his heirs, administrators, executors, successors, and assigns) of the subsurface estate of any real property acquired by the United States in connection with the construction of the Carlyle Reservoir project on the Kaskaskia River, Illinois. The reserved rights referred to in this section are more particularly described as the reservation of all oil, gas, and other minerals of like fugacious character, together with rights necessary for the purpose of exploration, development, production, and removal thereof within the Boulder Oil Field and restricted to section 2, township 2 north, range 2 west, and sections 34, 35, and 36 in township 3 north, range 2 west, Clinton County, Illinois.

"(b) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to such persons designated by the Secretary of the Army, whose rights are authorized to be extended by subsection (a) of this section, the amount of money determined by the Secretary of the Army to represent their respective interests in royalty payments received by the United States for the authorized three-month extended period. The total payments so made shall not exceed the sum of $6,401.16.

"Sec. 217. (a) No provision of laws heretofore or hereafter enacted which limits the number of persons who may be appointed as full-time civilian employees, or temporary and part-time employees, in the executive branch of the Government shall apply to employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority engaged in its power program and paid exclusively from other than appropriated funds. In applying any such provision of law to other departments and agencies in the executive branch, the number of such employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority shall not be taken into account.

"(b) No provision of law that seeks to limit expenditures and net lending during the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1969, under the Budget of the United States Government shall apply to expenditures by the Tennessee Valley Authority out of the proceeds from its power operations, from the sale of any power program assets, or from power revenue bonds, notes, or other evidences of indebtedness.

Sec. 218. The Chief of Engineers is directed to review the project for the Devils Jumps Dam and Reservoir, Big South Fork of the Cumberland River, Kentucky and Tennessee, and report to the Congress not later than December 31, 1969, on the feasibility of such project for the purposes of House Document Numbered 175, Eighty-seventh Congress. The Chief of Engineers, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall review and prepare such alternative plans as they may determine feasible and appropriate for the use of the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River and its tributaries in Kentucky and Tennessee and necessary contiguous areas for recreational, conservation, or preservation uses of such area and report to the Congress not later than December 31, 1969. The construction of such project or any alternative project shall not be initiated until such reports have been made to and approved by the Congress. Such funds as may be necessary to carry out this section are hereby authorized.

"Sec. 219. The Secretary of the Army is hereby authorized and directed to cause surveys for flood control and allied purposes, including channel and major drainage improvements, and floods aggravated by or due to wind or tidal effects, to be made under the direction of the Chief of Engineers, in drainage areas of the United States and its territorial possessions, which include the localities specifically named in this section. After the regular or formal reports made on any survey authorized by this section are submitted to Congress, no supplemental or additional report or estimate shall be made unless authorized by law except that the Secretary of the Army may cause a review of any examination or survey to be made and a report thereon submitted to Congress, if such review is required by the national defense or by changed physical or economic conditions.

"Burnett, Crystal, and Scotts Bays and vicinity, Baytown, Texas, in the interest of flood control, drainage, and related water and land resources, including specifically the problems of general subsidence of the area and flood problems created thereby.

"Linville Creek, Caney Creek and Tres Palacious, Texas, in the interest of flood control and related purposes.

"Oso Creek, Texas, in the interest of flood control and related purposes.

"Maddaket, Smith's Point and Broad Creek, Massachusetts, in the interest of flood control, hurricane protection, navigation and related purposes.

"Streams at and in the vicinity of the Spring Mountain Youth Camp, Spring Mountain Range, Nevada, in the interest of flood control, bank erosion control, and allied purposes.

"Virgin River, at and in the vicinity of Bunkerville, Mesquite, and Riverside, Nevada, in the interest of flood control, bank erosion control, and allied purposes.

"Cuyahoga River from Upper Kent to Portage Trail in Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, in the interest of flood control, pollution abatement, low flow regulation, and other allied water purposes.

"Kalihi Stream, Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaii.

"Sec. 220. Title II of this Act may be cited as the 'Flood Control Act of 1968'.

"TITLE III—RIVER BASIN MONETARY AUTHORIZATIONS

"Sec. 301. That (a) in addition to previous authorizations, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the prosecution of the comprehensive plan of development of each river basin under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Army referred to in the first column below, which was basically authorized by the Act referred to by date of enactment in the second column below, an amount not to exceed that shown opposite such river basin in the third column below:

"Basin	Act of Congress	Amount
Alabama-Coosa River	Mar. 2, 1945	$29, 000, 000
Arkansas River	June 28, 1938	108, 000, 000
Brazos River	Sept. 3, 1954	2, 000, 000
Central and southern Florida	June 30, 1948	15, 000, 000
Columbia River	June 28, 1938	193, 000, 000
Missouri River	June 28, 1938	38, 000, 000
Ohio River	June 22, 1936	35, 000, 000
Ouachita River	May 17, 1950	10, 000, 000
San Joaquin River	Dec. 22, 1944	17, 000, 000
South Platte River	May 17, 1950	12, 000, 000
Upper Mississippi River	June 28, 1938	5, 000, 000
White River	June 28, 1938	2, 000, 000 "

"(b) The total amount authorized to be appropriated by this section shall not exceed $466,000,000.

"Sec. 302. In addition to the previous authorization, the completion of the system of flood control reservoirs on the West Branch Susquehanna River, Pennsylvania, authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1954, is hereby authorized at an estimated cost of $3,000,000.

"Sec. 303. Title III of this Act may be cited as the 'River Basin Monetary Authorization Act of 1968'."

And the House agree to the same.

JOHN A. BLATNIK,
ROBERT E. JONES,
JIM WRIGHT,
ED EDMONDSON,
HAROLD JOHNSON,
WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
WILLIAM H. HARSHA,
DON CLAUSEN,
Managers on the Part of the House.
JENNINGS RANDOLPH,
STEPHEN M. YOUNG,
EDMUND S. MUSKIE,
ERNEST GRUENING,
B. EVERETT JORDAN,
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER,
HIRAM L. FONG,
GEORGE L. MURPHY,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3710) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The differences between the House amendment to the text of the Senate bill and the substitute agreed to in conference are noted below, except for clerical corrections, incidental changes made necessary by reason of agreements reached by the conferees, and minor drafting and clarifying changes.

NAVIGATION

Port Jefferson Harbor

The Senate bill authorized the project at Port Jefferson Harbor, N.Y., House Document No. 277, 90th Congress, at an estimated cost of $2,455,000.

The House amendment did not authorize this project.

The conference substitute is the same as the Senate bill.

Gulf Intracoastal Waterway

The House amendment contained the project for the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway, St. Marks to Tampa Bay, Fla., with a limitation of not to exceed $40,000,000.

The Senate bill did not contain this project.

The conference substitute is the same as the House amendment except that a further limitation has been added that construction of the project is not to be initiated until the plan for it is approved by the Secretary of the Army and the President.

Red River Waterway

The proposed conference substitute is the same as the House amendment. However, the conferees expect that prior to expenditure of funds for construction of the bank stabilization work extending from Index, Ark., to Denison Dam, Tex., the Chief of Engineers will submit to Congress the report with respect to the Federal responsibility for such work, in accordance with section 120 of the conference substitute.

Northern Embarcadero

Section 114 of the House amendment declared a portion of the Northern Embarcadero, San Francisco, California, as nonnavigable. This declaration, however, would apply only to so much of the area as is bulkheaded and filled.

The Senate bill contained no comparable provision.

The conference substitute is the same as the House amendment with the exception that the declaration of nonnavigable is to apply only to that portion of the area bulkheaded and filled or occupied by permanent pile-supported structures.

Drift and debris removal and beach erosion

The Senate bill in section 111 established a general policy on drift removal from federally authorized navigation projects.

Section 112 of the Senate bill authorized a general survey of the nature and scope of problems resulting from stream bank erosion throughout the United States.

The House amendment contained no comparable provisions.

The conference substitute authorizes the Secretary of the Army to make studies of the nature and scope of damages resulting from stream bank erosion throughout the United States with a view for determining the needs for and feasibility of coordinated programs of stream bank protection as well as a study of the need for and feasibility of a program for the removal and disposal of drift and other debris, including abandoned vessels from public harbors and channels under the jurisdicton of the Department of the Army. This report is to be made to Congress no later than a year after the date of enactment of this act with recommendations.

FLOOD CONTROL

Navasota River Basin

The Senate bill authorized the project for the Navasota River, Texas, at an estimated cost of $119,707,000 with a proviso however that Navasota No. 2 Reservoir not be initiated until the President has approved a report prepared by the Secretary of the Army reexamining the basis on which the project was formulated.

The House amendment authorized that project for flood protection with the requirement, however, in lieu of the Senate proviso, that Navasota No. 2 Reservoir shall be constructed first and authorized $55,487,000 for construction of that reservoir.

The conference substitute authorizes the project on the Navasota River substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in House Document No. 341, 90th Congress, at an estimated cost of $119,707,000, thus, eliminating the exceptions and limitations placed on the project by both bodies.

Wabash River Basin

The Senate bill authorized the project on the Wabash River Basin substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers at an estimated cost of $115,740,000.

The House amendment authorized that project with the exception that Big Walnut Reservoir was specifically authorized at not more than $37,100,000 for the construction of that reservoir.

The conference substitute authorized the project on the Wabash River Basin substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document No. 96, 90th Congress and also authorized the Big Walnut Dam and Reservoir as the plan for such project is set forth in the report of the Chief of Engineers contained in that Senate document.

The conference substitute further authorizes an appropriation of $50,000,000 for initiation of partial accomplishment of the project with the exception that the construction of the Big Walnut Dam and Reservoir is not to begin until the President shall have approved the beginning of construction.

Missouri River Basin

Both the Senate bill and the House amendment authorized the project for flood protection on the Big Sioux River at and in the vicinity of Sioux City, Iowa, with a requirement that there be mutual agreement between the States involved on a flood control plan and a plan for mitigation of fish and wildlife losses. The Senate bill required this agreement to be reached in 3 months following the completion of the reservoir study, and the House amendment extended that time limit to one year and three months. The conference substitute requires agreement to be reached in six months following completion of such study.

Land Acquisition

Both the Senate bill and House amendment authorized the Secretary of the Army to acquire land on the request of States for resettlement of families, individuals, and businesses displaced by water resources projects. The State has to repay to the Federal Government the cost of such land acquisition and resettlement.

The conference substitute is the same as both the Senate bill and House amendment with the exception of a technical amendment to assure that a State may repay these expenses with funds made available to it by any other Federal department, agency, or instrumentality having authority to make these funds available for this purpose.

Big South Fork, Cumberland River

The Senate bill authorized the project for the Devils Jumps Dam and Reservoir, Big South Fork of the Cumberland River, in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers at an estimated cost of $151,000,000.

The House amendment did not contain this project.

The conference substitute directs the Chief of Engineers to review this project and report to Congress by December 31, 1969, on the feasibility of the project for the purposes of House Document No. 175, 87th Congress.

The Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture are to review and prepare such alternative plans as they determine feasible and appropriate for the use of the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River and its tributaries, Kentucky and Tennessee, and necessary contiguous areas for recreational, conservation, or preservation uses of such area and report to Congress no later than December 31, 1969. The construction of the project and any alternate thereto is not to be initiated until these reports are made and these projects are approved by Congress.

JOHN A. BLATNIK,
ROBERT E. JONES,
JIM WRIGHT,
ED EDMONDSON,
HAROLD JOHNSON,
WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
WILLIAM H. HARSHA,
DON CLAUSEN,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. EDMONDSON (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement of the managers on the part of the House be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the bill which is now before us is the result of a conference which I believe represented a substantial victory for the House on most of the points which were in contention with the other body.

The overall figure for the bill as it was passed by the other body was at the level of $2,139,334,000. When the House originally handled the bill, it passed at a level of $1,590,319,000.

The conference brought out a bill which resulted in a final figure of $1,669,894,000, which is very close to the figure which the House provided.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the conference report which is before the House at the present time is on a bill which the Subcommittees on Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control of the Committee on Public Works have worked for several months.

The conferees on the part of the House have met with the conferees from the other body on two occasions, and I think we have brought out one of the finest Omnibus River and Harbor and Flood Control Acts that we have ever been able to present.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the conferees on the minority side, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARSHA], and the gentleman from California [Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN], as well as the gentlemen of our side of the aisle, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK], the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JONES], the gentleman from California [Mr. JOHNSON], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WRIGHT], and the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON].

This is a fine conference report. This is good legislation, and I recommend its adoption by the House.

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the conference report which is before the House at the present time is on S. 3710, the Omnibus River and Harbor and Flood Control Act of 1968. The bill as agreed to by the conferees is a sound measure which would continue the vitally important water resources development program of the Corps of Engineers.

The Subcommittees on Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control held 3 weeks of hearings on this bill. Complete testimony was received from the Corps of Engineers on the technical details of the project, the estimated costs, and the economic justifications. The committee also heard testimony on a number of projects or items which it felt should be considered in connection with the bill. On these projects which were considered of a controversial nature, testimony was received from Members of Congress, Federal and State officials, representatives of local organizations, and from interested citizens.

The conferees from the House and the Senate met on two occasions to work out the differences in the two versions of the bill. In most cases, the views of the House prevailed. One item, which we reluctantly agreed to at the insistence of the Senate conferees, was the addition of a navigation project at Port Jefferson Harbor, N.Y., at an estimated cost of $2,455,000. The committee had previously considered this project and had omitted it from the House bill, not because it failed of economic justification—as a matter of fact, the benefit-cost ratio is 6 to 1—but because it was opposed by the gentleman from New York who represents the district encompassing the project area. I wish to point out for the RECORD that the Senate conferees were adamant on the inclusion of this project.

Mr. Speaker, S. 3710 as it originally passed the House authorized expenditures in the amount of $1,590,319,000. The amount agreed upon by the conferees is $1,669,894,000 or an increase of $79,575,000. I want to stress, however, that this is still $500 million less than the original bill passed by the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend the conferees, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JONES], the gentleman from California [Mr. JOHNSON], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WRIGHT], the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARSHA], and the gentleman from California [Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN], all of whom spent considerable time and effort in working out what I consider to be an excellent bill.

Mr. Speaker, I support S. 3710 and urge that my colleagues approve the conference report.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include for the benefit of the Members the monetary summary of the bill and list of projects by States:

	Amount
TITLE I	
Navigation projects (31)	$324,508,000
Beach erosion project (1)	680,000
Total, title I (32)	325,188,000
TITLE II	
Flood control, hurricane, and multiple-purpose projects (41)	875,706,000
Total projects (titles I and 2) (73)	1,200,894,000
TITLE III	
Basin monetary authorizations (13 basins)	469,000,000
Grand total (73 projects and 13 basins)	1,669,894,000

List of projects by States

[Estimated Federal cost]

	Amount
Alabama	None
Alaska:	
Navigation:	
Kake Harbor	1,760,000
King Cove Harbor	522,000
Sergius and Whitestone Narrows	3,030,000
Total, navigation	5,312,000
Flood control: Tanana River at Fairbanks	111,700,000
Total, Alaska	117,012,000
Arizona	None
Arkansas:	
Navigation: Red River Waterway. (See Louisiana.)	
Flood control:	
Belle Fountain D. & D. District No. 17, St. Francis River	4,638,000
Crooked Creek at Harrison	2,840,000
Lake Chicot	15,240,000
St. Francis River Basin	0
Total, Arkansas	22,718,000
California:	
Navigation:	
Humboldt Harbor and Bay	2,430,000
San Diego Harbor	5,360,000
Ventura Marina	1,540,000
Port Hueneme	1,000,000
Total, navigation	10,330,000
California—Continued	
Flood control:	
Alhambra Creek	$8,000,000
Cucamonga Creek	26,300,000
Feather River, vicinity of Chester	940,000
Mad River	38,600,000
Sweetwater River	4,900,000
Total, flood control	78,740,000
Total, California	89,070,000
Colorado: Flood control: Bear Creek, South Platte River	32,314,000
Connecticut:	
Flood control:	
Norwalk River	2,700,000
Park River	30,300,000
Total, Connecticut	33,000,000
Delaware: Flood control: Delaware coast	5,584,000
District of Columbia	None
Florida:	
Navigation:	
Brevard County (beach erosion)	680,000
Gulf Intracoastal Waterway, St. Marks to Tampa Bay	40,000,000
Miami Harbor	6,476,000
Total, navigation	47,156,000
Flood control:	
Dade County	11,805,000
Hillsborough Bay	9,909,000
Martin County	(8,072,000)
Water resources, C. & S. Florida	(58,182,000)
Total, flood control	21,714,000
Total, Florida	68,870,000
Georgia	None
Hawaii:	
Navigation: Harbors of refuge	1,256,000
Flood control: Iao Stream	1,660,000
Total, Hawaii	2,916,000
Idaho	None
Illinois:	
Navigation: Cal-Sag bridges, pt. II (See Indiana.)	
Flood control:	
Mississippi River, Cassville, Wis., to mile 300	21,300,000
Wabash River. (See Indiana.)	
Total, Illinois	21,300,000
Indiana:	
Navigation: Cal-Sag bridges, pt. II	33,265,000
Flood control: Wabash River	50,000,000
Total, Indiana	83,265,000
Iowa:	
Flood control:	
Big Sioux, vicinity of Sioux City	2,750,000
Mississippi River, Cassville, Wis., to Mile 300. (See Illinois.)	----------
Nishnabotna River at Exira	2,040,000
Total, Iowa	4,790,000
Kansas	None

List of projects by States—Continued

[Estimated Federal]

	Amount
Kentucky: Flood control:	
Southwest Jefferson County	$19,800,000
Total, Kentucky	19,800,000
Louisiana:	
Navigation:	
Atchafalaya River & Bayous Chene, Boeuf and Black	8,645,000
Mississippi River—Gulf Outlet and Michoud Canal	1,300,000
Mississippi River, vicinity of Venice	4,520,000
Red River Waterway	50,000,000
Total, Louisiana	64,465,000
Maine	None
Maryland	None
Massachusetts:	
Navigation:	
Fall River Harbor	8,762,000
Ipswich River	616,000
Total, Navigation	9,378,000
Flood control: Charles River	18,620,000
Total, Massachusetts	27,998,000
Michigan:	
Navigation:	
Detroit River, Trenton Channel	31,300,000
Forestville Harbor	538,000
Tawas Bay Harbor	466,000
Total, Michigan	32,304,000
Minnesota: Flood control: South Branch Wild Rice River and Felton Ditch	1,230,000
Total, Minnesota	1,230,000
Mississippi:	
Navigation: Yazoo River	52,147,000
Flood control: Pascagoula River-Tallahala Creek	16,360,000
Total, Mississippi	68,507,000
Missouri:	
Flood control:	
Belle Fountain Ditch and Drainage District No. 17, St. Francis River. (*See* Arkansas.)	
Little Blue River, vicinity of Kansas City	38,492,000
St. Francis River Basin. (See Arkansas.)	
Montana	None
Nebraska: Flood control: Papillion Creek and tributaries	26,800,000
Nevada	None
New Hampshire: Flood control: Beaver Dam, Connecticut River	1,185,000
New Jersey	None
New Mexico	None
New York:	
Navigation:	
Cattaraugus Creek Harbor	1,315,000
Hamlin Beach State Park	500,000
Hempstead Harbor	703,000
Port Jefferson	2,455,000
Wilson Harbor	198,000
Total, New York	5,171,000
North Carolina:	
Flood control:	
Cape Fear River:	
Randleman	$19,463,000
Howards Mill	12,460,000
Total, North Carolina	31,923,000
North Dakota: Flood control: Missouri River Bank Stabilization	4,040,000
Ohio:	
Flood control:	
Licking River	32,953,000
Wabash River. (See Indiana.)	
Oklahoma: Navigation: Red River Waterway. (See Louisiana.)	
Oregon	None
Pennsylvania	None
Rhode Island:	
Navigation:	
Bristol Harbor	873,000
Fall River Harbor. (*See* Massachusetts.)	
South Carolina: Navigation: Cooper River-Charleston Harbor	35,381,000
South Dakota: Flood control: Big Sioux River. (*See* Iowa.)	
Tennessee	None
Texas:	
Navigation:	
Mouth of the Colorado River	8,000,000
Red River Waterway. (*See* Louisiana.)	
Corpus Christi Waterway	19,042,000
Total, navigation	27,042,000
Flood control:	
Aquilla Creek watershed	23,612,000
Clear Creek	12,600,000
Navasota River	119,707,000
Pecan Bayou	24,861,000
Texas City and vicinity	10,990,000
Total, flood control	191,770,000
Total, Texas	218,812,000
Utah: Flood control: Little Dell Reservoir	22,664,000
Vermont	None
Virginia: Flood control: Rappahannock River (Salem Church Reservoir)	79,500,000
Washington: Navigation: Snohomish River	1,108,000
West Virginia	None
Wisconsin:	
Flood control:	
Mississippi River-Cassville, Wis., to mile 300, Illinois. (*See* Illinois.)	
State Road and Ebner Coulees	6,849,000
Wyoming	None

Mr. Speaker, at this point I yield to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Flood Control, the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JONES].

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I shall not report on all of the details of the conference agreement since the full text of the conference report and the statement of the managers on the part of the House appears in House Report No. 1819 and in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 31 beginning on page 24417.

There were several differences in the Senate and House versions of S. 3710 as that bill passed the two Houses which had to be resolved in conference. In almost all cases, the Senate conferees accepted the House amendments to the original bill. However, the House conferees had to accept certain items where the Senate conferees were adamant.

Essentially, the Senate insisted on three additions to the House version of S. 3710. They were:

First. The addition of a navigation project at Port Jefferson Harbor, N.Y., at an estimated cost of $2,455,000. The project has a good benefit-cost ratio but was omitted from the House bill at the request of the gentleman from New York who represents the district which encompasses the project area.

Second. The Senate insisted on the authorization of the Navasota River Basin, Tex., project in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers. This would mean that the project for the Millican Dam and Reservoir would be constructed first and that some time in or around the year 2010 Navasota No. 2 Dam and Reservoir would be constructed. This resulted in an increase in the House bill of $64,220,000.

Third. The Senate insisted that the initiation of construction of Big Walnut Reservoir be subject to the approval of the President. The Senate further insisted on an additional $12 million authorization for appropriation for the entire Wabash River Basin project, which includes, in addition to Big Walnut, five other segments.

I am pleased to report that the conference report was unanimously agreed to and signed by the conferees of both bodies.

S. 3710, as originally passed the Senate, authorized expenditures in the amount of $2,139,334,000. The House amendments lowered this total authorization to $1,590,319,000. The conference report would raise this authorization to $1,669,894,000, or an increase of $79,575,000 over the House version. However, this amount is almost $500,000,000 less than the original Senate version.

The bill authorizes a total of 32 navigation and beach-erosion projects and 41 flood control projects. Also, additional monetary authorization is provided for the continual preservation of 13 river basin plans for flood control and related purposes.

S. 3710 is a comprehensive measure to authorize the Corps of Engineers to carry forward vital programs for the development and improvement of waterways and harbors as an essential element of the Nation's transportation system, for the protection of lives and property of our citizens against the ravages of floodwaters, for the protection of our valuable coastal resources from erosion, for the generation of low-cost hydroelectric power, for the development of water supplies of suitable quantity and quality to serve our Nation's cities and industries, for the conservation and enhancement of fish and wildlife resources, for providing increased opportunities for our citizenry to enjoy healthful outdoor recreation opportunities, and, in general, for inducing economic development as a means of enhancing the general welfare.

This legislation would continue and strengthen the civil works program of the Corps of Engineers; a program which had its beginning in 1824 when Congress first assigned responsibility to the Corps of Engineers for the development of our rivers and harbors for navigation. In 1936, the program was broadened to encompass a nationwide flood control program. From time to time, the various navigation and flood control acts have been amended to broaden their scope and provide needed related work and improvements. Today, therefore, the civil works program includes virtually all aspects of water and related land resources development. The need for comprehensive development of the Nation's river basins has long been established, dating back to the conservation crusade led by President Theodore Roosevelt, and has had the support of many commissions and other similar bodies in the ensuing years.

Planning efforts for water resources development must consider not only the mushrooming needs of an expanding population and economy for water resources development, but also the more intangible needs of preserving and enhancing the environment in which we live. The program we have before us today is an important step forward in that endeavor. I am convinced that the projects and studies which would be authorized by the proposed legislation are essential to the continuing economic development of the United States.

The projects that would be authorized by this legislation produce many important values in addition to the large monetary benefits that have been evaluated to justify Federal expenditures. The opportunities that the program provides for industrial development along navigable waterways, changes in land uses, relief of unemployment, saving of lives, improvement in health conditions, and the economic and social security of urban communities and farm areas, further enhance its value to the American people. I am convinced that continued and accelerated progress is necessary in the interest of the national economy and of the welfare and well-being of its people.

One section of the bill which I would like to discuss in some detail at this point is section 210, which would prohibit the collection of entrance or admission fees at recreation areas of the Corps of Engineers after March 31, 1970. This provision is consistent with Public Law 90–401, which amended the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 by repealing the provisions thereof which require payment for the use of Federal recreation areas. Although section 210 would prohibit the charging of entrance or admission fees, it would permit the collection of user charges for those facilities requiring the presence of additional personnel and for special services.

Government personnel administering fee programs at these reservoirs are expected to take note of the provisions of section 210 regarding user fees in general at these lakes and reservoirs, and should move without delay to eliminate all fees in conflict with the provisions stated therein. No fees of any kind should be imposed for access to, or use of, water areas. Fees should not be imposed for access to, or use of, undeveloped or lightly developed shore land, picnic grounds, overlook sites, scenic drives, or boat-launching ramps where no mechanical or hydraulic equipment is provided.

Fees should be collected, when practicable, only at highly developed facilities on public recreation land areas that require continous presence of personnel for maintenance and supervision of such facilities. Camping areas where attendants and utilities are provided and public beaches where lifeguards and dressing-rooms are provided are examples of such highly developed facilities. These provisions should prevail in determining places subject to fee charges at Army Engineer reservoir public recreation areas in the future.

At the hearings held by the Public Works Committee in both the 89th and present Congresses, evidence was presented which made it abundantly clear that the policy of collecting entrance fees at corps recreation areas should be abandoned, and the committee has included section 210 in the bill to clarify the intent of Congress as to fee collection at these areas.

Among the excellent reasons for asking the Congress to enact section 210 are the following:

First. Enactment will enable the Corps of Engineers to escape from a dilemma which was forced upon it when the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act required it to collect fees, but at the same time stated that there could be no charge for the use of waters. This created a problem because the collection of an entrance fee from persons passing through a corps recreation area to reach the water is tantamount to charging for the use of the water.

Second. Enactment will save the taxpayers money, for the cost of collection entrance fees at such Federal recreation areas is so great that the net revenue is insignificant. The Government can save money by using other means of collecting needed revenues.

Third. Enactment will increase the use of corps recreation areas and thus produce real benefits greatly in excess of the revenues which the Government now collects; for the real benefits to the Nation stem from the improvement in the physical and mental health of the citizens who participate in outdoor recreation. The Nation should encourage—not discourage—its people to use such recreation areas.

Fourth. In any event, experience has demonstrated that the revenues produced by collecting entrance fees at such recreation areas are insignificant compared to the expenditures required to achieve the goals of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act. It was for this reason that Congress found it necessary to enact Public Law 90–401 only a few days ago.

The enactment of section 210 will also preclude the collection of annual charges for the privilege of installing private floating facilities upon the surface of corps reservoirs. It is not intended, however, to prevent the one-time collection of a fee to cover the cost of issuing a permit to a private party wishing to install a dock or other floating facility. Such a fee, however, must be based on the reasonable charge for administrative costs involved in permit issuance and necessary supervision, and not on any concept of land use cost.

Finally, I would like to clarify one additional point.

Section 210 would not preclude States, or other non-Federal public entities, from charging for access to recreation areas which they may operate and maintain on lands adjacent to reservoirs of the Corps of Engineers.

In conclusion, I recommend the acceptance of the conference report and urge its adoption.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARSHA].

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

It is with great pleasure that I rise in support of the conference report on the Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Act of 1968, S. 3710. It is a particular delight to have been associated with the preparation of this bill and the conference report itself, because in so doing I had the great privilege of working with some of the most skilled statesmen of both bodies.

This was a particularly difficult bill because of its scope and complexity.

We owe a great debt to the skill, the patience, and ability of the chairmen of the two subcommittees, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK], and the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JONES]; also to the gentleman from California, [Mr. CLAUSEN], who served so diligently as ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Flood Control. In addition, I should like to invite the attention of the Members to the magnificent leadership provided by the gentleman from Florida, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Public Works [Mr. CRAMER], and the chairman of that committee [Mr. FALLON], and to the able assistance of Mr. EDMUNDSON. In fact, all the members of the Committee on Public Works are to be complimented on the diligence and dedication to service that they displayed during the preparation of this bill. Moreover, I feel it my privilege to compliment the high-minded attitude and the spirit of cooperation with which the members of the other body agreed with this conference report.

In essence, there are but a few differences between the bill as agreed to in the conference and the bill as passed by the House. One addition to the House passed bill is a navigation project at Port Jefferson Harbor, N.Y., at an estimated cost of $2,455,000.

A major recession by the other body concerned the project for Devil's Jumps Dam and Reservoir, Big South Fork of the Cumberland River. The Senate bill authorized the project at an estimated cost of $151,000,000. The conference substitute directs that a study be made by the Chief of Engineers as to the feasibility of the project. The Chief of Engineers and the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture are to review and prepare such alternative plans as they determine feasible. The report of their findings is to be submitted to Congress not later than December 31, 1969.

No construction of either the presently reported project or any alternate thereto is to be initiated until reports are made and the projects are approved by Congress.

The House-passed bill authorized the Wabash River Basin project but specifically authorized only $37,100,000 for construction of the Big Walnut Reservoir. The Senate bill authorized the entire project, except the Big Walnut Reservoir, at an estimated cost of $115,740,000. The conference substitute authorized the entire project, including the Big Walnut Reservoir, but it provides that the Big Walnut Reservoir will not be constructed until the President shall have approved the beginning of construction. The conference substitute authorizes an appropriation of $50,000,000 for initiation of partial accomplishment of the project.

The other major concession was the change in the Navasota River Basin project. This change added some $64 million to the total cost of the project; however $60 million of this authorization will not be utilized until the year 2000 A.D. It was authorized in the conference agreement substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers.

Mr. Speaker, there were some 44 differences between the House version and that passed by the other body. The other body receded on some 34 of these, the House on one, and eight or nine were compromised with amendments. I feel the House conferees can reliably say we bring you a conference report that represents about 95 percent of the original House version of this legislation.

As the gentleman from Oklahoma has pointed out, the conference substitute authorizes some $1,669,894,000 in expenditures; however, it is $469,440,000 less than the Senate-passed bill. So we bring to you a bill with considerable savings in it, none of which will affect this year's budget. Also, I might add that not one project was deleted from the original House version.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend the passage of this conference report.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members desiring to do so may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the conference report just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

RESIGNATIONS FROM COMMITTEES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation from a committee:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 31, 1968.
Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Please accept my resignation from the Committee on Ways and Means, effective July 31, 1968.

With kind regards, I remain
Sincerely yours,
CECIL R. KING,
Member of Congress.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation from a committee:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 31, 1968.
The SPEAKER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I hereby submit my resignation as a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, to take effect immediately.

GEORGE M. RHODES.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, due to an urgent matter arising in my office, I was delayed in getting to the floor of the House and was unable to qualify on the vote on the rule providing for the consideration of H.R. 17126, the extension of the Food and Agricultural Act of 1965.

Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on rollcall No. 296.

HOUR OF MEETING TOMORROW

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF ADDITIONAL LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to advise the House that tomorrow the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARDY] will seek to bring up under unanimous-consent request the bill (S. 3865) to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes, and also to advise the House that the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS], chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, may seek to bring up under unanimous-consent request the bill (H.R. 18985) to amend the Revenue Expenditure and Control Act of 1968 to provide approval of 14,000 additional appointments.

THE FATE OF THE U.S.S. "PUEBLO"

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, last week I had the exceptional privilege of meeting the wife of the captain of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, Mrs. Lloyd M. Bucher, here in Washington along with 60 other Members of the House and Senate.

In conferring with Mrs. Bucher, I found her to be a very sincere and dedicated lady who is doing everything possible to give comfort and encouragement to the families of other *Pueblo* crewmembers, and to draw national attention to the human aspects of this humiliating affair.

Certainly, this great and courageous wife and mother is doing her part to bolster the morale of all families concerned, and I commend her highly for her spirit and determination to keep faith with her husband and the members of the crew of the *Pueblo*.

Several of the crewmen who were hijacked and are now held captive in North Korea are from my congressional district in California. When the members of the *Pueblo* crew were identified, I made contact with their families and attempted to advise them of what was happening after conferring with officials in the State Department.

After 6 months of negotiations, however, and following the 19th meeting between United States and North Korean negotiators, we are advised that no progress has been made so far toward gaining release of the men. As inaction apparently contributed to the capture of the *Pueblo*, so, it seems, ineptness and indecision have marked the administration's efforts to negotiate effectively with North Korea.

Today, 82 members of the U.S. Navy languish in Communist captivity in North Korea and one is listed as dead. North Korea's military attaché in Moscow warns that unless Washington apologizes for their crimes and the crimes of the *Pueblo* crew and promises never to do it again—the crew will never be returned.

Because of administration miscalculation, mishandling, and misinformation regarding the *Pueblo*, we now learn that even Cambodia has captured a U.S. Navy landing craft and its crew and is considering putting them on trial or bartering them for tractors and machinery.

There can be little doubt, Mr. Speaker, that these "skyjackings" and hijackings are part of Moscow's continuing efforts to embarrass the United States.

In addition, we must be alert to Moscow's past attempts to meddle in America's domestic politics, as was demonstrated in the case of the U-2 incident and the subsequent release of pilot Gary

Powers coincidental with our presidential election here at home in 1960.

Is this another case where Moscow and her Communist puppets are meddling in U.S. politics? Frankly, the American people, like myself, are sick and tired of these "comrades" getting away with these election-year propaganda piracy practices.

What bothers me and most Americans, however, is the way in which this country reacts to these overt and flagrant acts of aggression. I believe the seizure of the *Pueblo* is unacceptable and intolerable, and I am determined to remain a "bur in this administration's saddle blanket" and not let this matter rest unless and until it is resolved. While I represent just one voice in the Congress, and realize that only executive action can prevent another *Pueblo* incident, I seriously question if this is the way a country keeps faith with those who risk their lives to serve in the Armed Forces.

The American people and those crewmen now being held captive under the threat of death have waited for 6 long months. Our patience is growing thin and America's prestige at home and abroad is at a new low. In my judgment, it is pure folly to accept this prostitution of American sovereignty by a fifth-rate Communist puppet. The contest for the leadership of the world community is a test of strength and history proves there is no strength in appeasement.

If, in the final analysis, this administration is waiting for a politically opportune time to extend an abject apology to North Korea to gain release of the 82 crewmen, then I submit that the cry "Remember the *Pueblo*" will long be remembered as one of the most shameful and humiliating episodes in American history.

I hope and pray this is not the case.

MESSAGE FROM DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE OF ISRAEL

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the Director of the President's Office of the State of Israel:

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL,
Jerusalem, July 26, 1968.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCCORMACK: President Shazar has asked me to convey to you, and through you to the members of the House of Representatives of the Ninetieth Congress, his very great appreciation of the congratulatory Resolution adopted by the House on May 2, 1968, the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel.

For himself and for the people of Israel, the President wishes to reiterate grateful awareness of the understanding and support so consistently shown to Israel by the House and not least by yourself. He joins you, indeed, in "the hope that the nations of the Near East may soon meet, as neighbors, in negotiations which will lead to peace, economic and cultural cooperation, and which will bring stability and progress to the Near East to the benefit of all the peoples of the region".

Sincerely,

GIDEON SHOMRON,
Director of the President's Office.

CONGRESSMAN WHALEN ASKS THE PRESIDENT TO DIRECT THE NLRB TO GIVE THE NATIONAL CASH REGISTER CO. UNION REPRESENTATION CASE TOP PRIORITY

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday, I outlined how the National Labor Relations Board has shown incredible ineptness and unbelievable bungling in its handling of a union representation case concerning National Cash Register Co. employees in my district.

I wish to inform the Members of the House that I now have taken a further step. I have asked the President to direct the NLRB and its trial examiner to give this case top priority over all others. I include below a copy of that letter to the President.

I also insert in the RECORD an editorial from the Dayton, Ohio, Journal Herald, which appeared in the Monday, July 29, 1968, edition. The editorial is entitled "National Molasses" and provides an astute analysis of this situation which continues to inflict economic hardship on 14,000 Dayton area families because of the foot-dragging of the NLRB.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 25, 1968.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The enclosed remarks, which appeared in the July 24, 1968, issue of the Congressional Record, delineate the incredible bungling of the National Labor Relations Board in connection with its conduct of the January 19, 1968, collective bargaining election for National Cash Register Company employees.

Inasmuch as the National Labor Relations Board comes within the province of the Executive Branch, I urge you, Mr. President, to direct the Board and its Trial Examiner to give the National Cash Register case top priority over all others now pending before that body. Since the facts indicate that the Board, and not the Company and the three competing unions, is responsible for the long delays which have occurred in the processing of this election, the Board, in my opinion, has an obligation to the Dayton community to expedite its consideration of the National Cash Register case.

Sincerely,

CHARLES W. WHALEN, Jr.,
Member of Congress.

NATIONAL MOLASSES

The National Labor Relations Board's (NLRB) involvement in the dispute over which union will represent the National Cash Register's 14,000 production and maintenance employes has almost been more trouble than its worth. It illustrates the need for NLRB reform.

First the board announced the results of an election it held to decide which of the four unions would represent the employes. That was Jan. 19. On Jan. 26, the regional NLRB office said the count was wrong and changed it.

On March 11, the regional director reported to the national office on the election and recommended a new election. One month later the national board called for a hearing to decide if a new election were needed. That was April 10. One month later, a two-week hearing was started.

A month after the hearing ended, interested parties filed briefs with the NLRB. An NLRB examiner is now poring over the briefs and testimony to prepare a recommendation for the national board. He hopes it will be ready by early August.

No one knows when the board decision will come or how long prospective appeals will take.

For bungling and delay this case surely wins first prize.

In so serious a matter as the election of a President of the United States rulings on the validity of a ballot can be made by a county elections board. Such boards also can produce clerks capable of adding up the totals correctly. It is absurd—maybe required by law but still absurd—that a decision on so simple a matter as the NCR vote should go to Washington at all. It is worse that decision drags on and on. Maybe NLRB needs a general overhaul.

ADM. JACK DORSEY CLOSES DISTINGUISHED NAVAL CAREER

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished naval career comes to a close this month with the retirement of Rear Adm. Jack Sidney Dorsey, the commandant of the Sixth Naval District, who has had his headquarters in Charleston, S.C.

Since 1965, Admiral Dorsey has worn two hats, also serving as commander, Charleston Naval Base.

Admiral Dorsey's retirement brings to an end an outstanding career that actually began 45 years ago.

Jack Dorsey joined the U.S. Navy as an enlisted man in July 1923, attended electricians school at Hampton Roads, Va., then served 2 years at sea aboard the destroyer *Reuben James*.

Students of naval history will remember that *Reuben James* was the ship which was sunk by German U-boats before the start of World War II and is the subject of a well-known folk song which begins:

What were their names? What were their names?
Did you have a friend on the good *Reuben James*?

The young sailor, Jack Dorsey, was discharged in 1926 and received a Presidential appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy. He was commissioned an ensign in June of 1930.

He served at sea as an officer aboard the battleship *Colorado* and then received flight training in Pensacola, Fla., being designated a naval aviator in 1932. Prewar seaduty assignments took him to the old U.S.S. *Langley* and the carrier *Ranger* and to the U.S.S. *McCormack* where he served as first lieutenant and torpedo officer.

From 1938 to 1940, he served as a

communication officer for Cruiser Division 6 in Hawaii, and in the early days of World War II had duty aboard the U.S.S. *Pruitt* in the Pacific. He was aboard the ship at Pearl Harbor in December 1941. During the war he commanded the U.S.S. *Chandler* and Mine Division 5 operating in the Aleutians. As the war came to a close, he was serving on the joint staff in Okinawa.

It was on the orders of Gen. Douglas MacArthur that he was awarded the Bronze Star Medal for meritorious service in the Okinawa assignment.

His postwar service took him to a variety of duties, principally in communications assignments, and his sea commands included Destroyer Division 142, the U.S.S. *Marquette,* and Destroyer Squadron 36. In 1958, he became the Deputy Director of the Joint Staff, Joint Chiefs of Staff, for communications and electronics. It was in 1958 that he was elevated to the rank of rear admiral.

Admiral Dorsey first got acquainted with Charleston in 1960 when he took command of the Destroyer Flotilla 6, with additional duties as commander, Destroyer Force Atlantic. It was love at first sight on both his part and Charleston's.

In 1962, he was made commander, Naval Base, Newport, R.I., and a year later became Deputy Director for Communications, Satellite Project Office, Defense Communications Agency. He later served as Chief of Staff of the Agency before returning to Charleston in 1965 as commandant of the 6th Naval District.

I am sure I speak for all of Charleston when I say we wish Jack Dorsey and his lovely wife, Marie, happiness and contentment as they enter retirement and a very well-earned rest. We are proud of Jack Dorsey in Charleston, and his country should be proud of him too.

INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO CHANGE THE TITLE OF THE OFFICE OF "ARCHITECT OF THE CAPITOL" TO "SUPERINTENDENT OF THE CAPITOL BUILDING AND GROUNDS"

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill to change the title of the "Architect of the Capitol" to "Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds." This action should have been taken long ago. The title "Architect of the Capitol" is misleading and erroneous.

The person presently occupying this office, Mr. J. George Stewart, is not an architect, nor has he had professional training as such. This situation should be corrected by changing the title to the properly descriptive "Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds."

The first Architect of the Capitol was appointed in 1793 by President George Washington. Originally, the duties of the Architect of the Capitol were to plan and construct the Capitol Building, and later, to supervise its care and maintenance. Permanent authority for the care and maintenance of the Capitol Building in the Office of Architect of the Capitol is provided by the act of August 15, 1876 (19 Stat. 147; 40 U.S.C. 162–163).

Acting as an agent of Congress, the Architect of the Capitol traditionally has been, and now is, responsible for the structural and mechanical care of the U.S. Capitol Building; care, maintenance, and improvement of the Capitol Grounds; structural and mechanical care of the Library of Congress buildings and the U.S. Supreme Court Building; and the operation of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives restaurants.

In addition to these activities, the Capitol Architect has the following duties and responsibilities: Structural, mechanical, and domestic care and maintenance of the House office buildings; care, maintenance, and operation of the Capitol powerplant, under the direction and approval of the House Office Building Commission; structural, mechanical, and domestic care and maintenance of the Senate office buildings, subject to the approval of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration; jurisdiction and control of the garages of the House and the Senate, subject to the joint action of the Vice President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. (U.S. Government Organizational Manual, Architect of the Capitol, pp. 31–32 (1966–67)).

The Capitol Architect also is responsible for planning and construction of additional buildings and improvements committed to his care by Congress. Current projects include extension, reconstruction, alteration, and improvement of the U.S. Capitol, construction and equipment of an additional office building for the House of Representatives, preliminary plans for the construction of the Library of Congress, James Madison Memorial Building, and expansion of the facilities of the Capitol powerplant.

Use of the title "Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds" is not without precedent. This was the title in use from February 14, 1902, to March 3, 1921. The original title, Architect of the Capitol, was changed to conform the title of the office to its duties. Unfortunately, on March 3, 1921, the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Act (ch. 124, § 1, 41 Stat. 1291, 40 U.S.C. 1) contained a provision for changing the title back to "Architect of the Capitol." This was so, even though the duties of the office continued to be consistent with those of the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds. While the Congress had no business changing the title back to its original form, there is, at the present time, good reason to return to the use of the 1902 title, "Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds." For one thing, it describes this job accurately. Thus, the false impression that the present "Architect" is indeed a professionally trained architect will be cleared up. The fact that Mr. Stewart is not an architect is no secret.

During the recent controversy over the proposed plan to extend the west front of the Capitol Building, it became evident that the public was confused by the fact that Mr. Stewart, although not an architect, bore the title—see New York Times, July 11, 1966, page 15.

On June 26, 1966, in an editorial entitled "Farewell to the Capitol," the New York Times called for overdue correction in the form of legislative action, "including reorganization of the Office of the Architect of the Capitol and a requirement that buildings be submitted to the Fine Arts Commission, like all other public buildings."

Criticism of the Capitol Architect has come from many sources over a long period of time. Most recently, the proposed extension of the west front has brought outraged cries from the Federal Fine Arts Commission, the American Institute of Architects, the National Landmarks Committee, and others—New York Times, July 11, 1966. Among other things, Mr. Stewart has been criticized for failing to consult with other architects and planners, and for not accepting architectural bids on projects.

Mr. George Lardner, Jr., wrote in an article which appeared in the Washington Post, July 13, 1966, that—

> Stewart, a former Delaware Congressman with no training in architecture, just keeps on building—with practically the same Congressional authorization Rayburn (late Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn) armed him with 11 years ago, and with practically the same set of hired architects.

Mr. Lardner went on to say:

> Appointed by President Eisenhower in 1954, Stewart and the architects working for him have supervised the spending of more than $200 million. They're still going strong with a $100 million plus more Capitol Hill projects in the works. . . . The Madison Memorial Library, authorized last year—despite bitter complaints about architectural trends on the Hill—would cost another $75 million . . . Stewart bypassed a Congressional directive to consult with a committee headed by the American Institute of Architects on the Madison Library when he picked DeWitt, Hardison, Poor, Swanke, Shelton and Almond (firm of architects selected for the remodeling of the old Senate and Supreme Court Chambers, and for the west front extension and Madison Memorial Library. . . . He was approached by some 20 architectural firms who wanted to bid on the Madison Library job. A major factor in choosing the same group was their "highly satisfactory service on the east front extension" Stewart said.

Mr. Lardner reports that to his critics Mr. Stewart replied that the classical architecture wanted for Capitol Hill is going out of style.

> That kind of architecture is not being taught today—

Stewart said:

> We have got to get men who have had experience.

Mr. William Walton, Chairman of the Fine Arts Commission, and others have raised some questions concerning the artistic merit of some of the work of the architects presently employed by Mr. Stewart. Mr. Walton has said:

> The quality of their design is well known. It's shown in the Rayburn Building. Inside (the west front) it will be another Rayburn Building. Modern Mausoleum architecture. The same brass fixtures.

It is not my purpose here to consider the merits of the controversy over the west end extension of the Capitol, although I am opposed to the extension. Actually, criticism regarding Mr. Stewart's decisions in this regard are not relevant to the point of whether he should be called Architect of the Capitol.

On the other hand, so long as the impression exists that Mr. Stewart is an architect, when he makes decisions as to current architectural thought and style, he should have the benefit of the training and expertise of an architect.

The New York Times, in its editorial of Friday, July 19, which I append thereto, supports Senate Joint Resolution 74, now before the House Public Works Committee, which "would require preparation and periodic review of a comprehensive plan for the Capitol grounds by an outside firm in consultation with the National Capitol Planning Commission, and the selection of architects by a committee including representatives of Congress, the Planning Commission, the Fine Arts Commission and the architecture profession."

Without regard to other suggestions, remedial legislation is needed to remove the ambiguity which exists because of the title "Office of Architect of the Capitol." Confusion and misunderstanding concerning the nature and scope of the work of this office should be cleared up. We should start by restoring to the office the former title "Superintendent of Capitol Building and Grounds."

[From the New York Times, July 19, 1968]

THE EMPEROR OF CAPITOL HILL

If all goes according to schedule, the current Senate-passed resolution before the House Public Works Committee that would authorize proper selection of architects for construction on Capitol Hill will never see the light of day. Since every previous effort to reform or modify the procedures of the office of the Architect of the Capitol have met a similar fate, this is no great surprise. If the bill quietly dies, it will be the way a lot of people on Capitol Hill want it, for the obvious reason that they like things exactly as they are.

There are a number of members of Congress who like the fact that they can build whatever they want for themselves on one of the national capital's great public sites without any required review or publication of designs or plans. There are others who like what they have built, notably the elephantine $100 million-plus Rayburn Office Building, unmatched for size, cost, banality and desecration of the urban scene since the Victor Emmanuel monument was erected in Rome. They will probably also like the next item on the Architect of the Capitol's agenda, a $75 million monumental outrage in the same genre, the Madison Library, not to mention the proposed further mutilation of the Capitol itself.

There are people who like the construction and supply contracts for anything from millions of tons of mis-applied marble to a few dozen office refrigerators—all with neat distribution possibilities according to political geography. There are a few architects who like the equally parochial distribution of jobs.

According to a recent statement by the American Institute of Architects, a group traditionally loath to step on one anothers' toes or jobs, the way these immense commissions are handed out is "not in the national interest." This includes the appointment and reappointment of a small clique of palace favorites, without public notification of projects to encourage consideration of other qualified firms. It is a somnolent, closed club. The man who likes it most of all is J. George Stewart, the 78-year old Architect of the Capitol, who gives out the contracts, runs the show, is not and never was an architect.

The bill that the House Public Works Committee is not going to vote on would require preparation and periodic review of a comprehensive plan for the Capitol grounds by an outside firm in consultation with the National Capitol Planning Commission, and the selection of architects by a committee including representatives of Congress, the Planning Commission, the Fine Arts Commission and the architecture profession.

As it stands now, Mr. Stewart doesn't even have to say Good Morning to any of them. No one can blame him for not wanting to give up his kingdom. Louis XVI didn't want a revolution. But absolutism has never been proven to be in the public interest and neither is what has been constructed on Capitol Hill.

ACTION AGAINST RURAL POVERTY

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. **FINDLEY**. Mr. Speaker, rural poverty is one of the major problems of the American countryside today. The 1960 census indicated that 17.4 million rural people were living in poverty. This means they had incomes of less than $3,000 a year. About 12 million were white and over 4 million Negro. Many are chronically poor. This poverty can be attributed to unemployment and underemployment. Rural unemployment, for example, is sometimes as high as 18 percent of the rural work force. Moving to the cities will not automatically provide jobs for these people, because many of them simply do not have the skills necessary to find and hold employment in the urban areas.

Incidence of poverty decreases as the level of education for each family head increases. This is demonstrated by the fact that of all U.S. families, only 8 percent of the family heads who had completed 12 years of school or more represent families with net cash incomes under $3,000. Contrast this with the fact that 35 percent of families whose head had completed 8 years or less of schooling had net cash incomes of less than $3,000. In depressed rural areas, the educational level of the family head and members of his family is almost always low.

One out of every four farmowners live in a substandard house compared with one in every 12 urban homeowners. In 1960, two out of every five farm homes and more than one out of four other nonfarm rural houses had no access to either a public sewerage system or a septic tank. Thousands of rural communities lack a central water supply.

"Preliminary Estimates of the Farm Population of the United States, 1967," a joint release by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, under date of April 2, 1968, recently caught my attention. It indicated as a preliminary estimate that there were 10,817,000 persons on farms in the United States as an average for the 12-month period centering on April 1967. The total was some 778,000 lower than a year earlier. This was an enormous mass movement, an exodus without precedent. It represents a flow to urban metropolitan areas and to the more rural cities that is rapidly changing our Nation in fundamental ways.

To look at it another way, about 5.5 percent of our total population was still living on farms, or one person in 18. Since 1960, whereas the total population is estimated to have increased by 18.1 million persons, the farm population is estimated to have declined by 4.8 million persons, an annual average decline of about 5.3 percent. The nonwhite farm population, which was estimated as 12 percent of the 1967 total, continued to decline at a much faster rate than the white. For the 7-year period of 1960 to 1967, the white and nonwhite portions of the farm population had an annual average decline of about 4.5 and 10 percent, respectively.

The end of this mass migration is not yet in sight. Clearly, there are hundreds of thousands more who may flee the countryside and almost certainly will do so if more adequate opportunities do not become available there. We hear that 70 percent of the population is now living in cities, involving about 1 percent of the total area of our country. Some estimate that the number of farms may drop to about 1,000,000 from the present 3,000,000. John Fischer, in the January 1968 issue of Harpers magazine, says:

> What is happening, essentially, is one of the great migrations of history. It is comparable to the invasion of the Roman empire by the Goths; and the results are, in some ways, quite similar. During the last fifteen years, roughly ten million people have moved from rural areas into the big cities.
>
> The woes of the cities almost certainly are insoluble, therefore, so long as they continue to import poverty on an unlimited basis. Their only apparent hope of salvation is, first of all, to halt the stream of migration and then, eventually, to reverse the flow.

There is more than a suggestion that the continuing inflow of rural migrants, ill prepared for living and working in urban areas, contributes to the problems of those areas, perhaps actually prevents the attempted solutions ever catching up with the growing problems. More of us now think that remedial attention to urban problems, if it is ever to be successful, must involve the rural-root areas as well as the urban-climax areas. Not without some justification, some observers have considered that recent city riots have focused new attention on rural problems and have made it imperative to develop new rural opportunities which will slow the migration, or actually reverse it.

A few have even suggested that the only real solution to the problems of the big-city ghetto is its destruction by dispersal into new, smaller, model living and working cities. Whereas antimigration restrictions probably at best could have only a limited effect on present explosive conditions in northern ghettos, it does appear that rural industrial development could make a big and rather prompt contribution to alleviating the problems of the rural areas and of the big cities as well. It is estimated that some 600,000 new jobs a year in rural areas would be required to reverse the flow of people from the countryside.

It must not be thought that the provision of greater opportunity in farm and rural communities has been thought of and attempted in some degree only now. As long ago as the early 1940's, the National Resources Planning Board, as part of its study of industrial location and national policy, summarized what was then known about the degree and effects of ruralization of industry and suggested an experimental program involving moderate financing. The Farmers Home Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the private utilities, and the Rural Electrification Administration, made the point over the years, not only of encouragaing the development of industries and job opportunities in the areas they serviced, but of providing associated amenities including the satisfactions of farmownership, of available electric power for residential and industrial use, and recreational opportunities which make the farm, rural and village areas a more pleasant place in which to live, rear children, et cetera. Later, the Office of Area Development over a period of years worked with other Federal agencies, as well as with State and local organizations in counties with substantial unemployment, to create job opportunities and secure expansion of industrialization. In some degree this work has continued under the Economic Development Administration. I would have you note that these area activities and actions have not introduced a rural bias, rather they have alleviated to some slight degree an urban bias, largely unintended, which has been allowed to develop in our economy. President Eisenhower, in his special message on agriculture of January 11, 1954, had much to say about it. In 1956, a Republican administration launched the rural development program, the first coordinated assault on this program.

The present administration has been largely unsuccessful in alleviating rural poverty so as to discourage migration to the urban center. At the outset it should be recognized that the percentage of rural Americans living in poverty conditions is significantly greater than the percentage of rural citizens in the population as a whole. While rural residents account for 29.1 percent of the total population, they represent 43 percent of the poor population.

The present war on poverty is failing to make any appreciable impact on the problems of rural poverty. When it began, the large urban areas with their experience in seeking Government funds were able to organize and move quickly, and thus these programs used up a lion's share of available funds. Three years after, we find almost every rural county with "concentrated poverty" covered by a community action agency, and ready, willing, and asking for funds for their programs. A glance at the record shows that in fiscal 1966 only 15 percent of all poverty funds went to the rural areas. In fiscal 1967, Mr. Shriver testified that 33 percent of their funds went to the rural areas. OEO's proposals would have allotted only 35 percent of the fiscal 1968 appropriation for rural use, based upon the request for $2,060,000 which they did not get. With the funding maintained at the 1967 level and the Presidential reallocation in funds to adult work training programs for the urban slums, it is highly unlikely that the rural areas retained even as high a percentage as in 1967. Of 680,000 youngsters in Headstart classes last summer, only 169,000 lived in rural areas. To date, OEO job programs have trained 243,000, but only 49,000 were from rural communities. Its legal assistance program has reached 225,000 poor clients, but only 41,000 were rural. A study into funding of various States and cities reveals that Chicago and surrounding Cook County, Ill., with a poor population of 513,328 received total community action funds for fiscal year 1967 of $988,000, almost the same amount—$31,366,000—by the combined States of Indiana, Arkansas, Maine, Kansas, Nebraska, and North Dakota with a combined poor population of 2,444,300, almost five times greater than Cook County. Republican efforts in committee and on the floor of the House to earmark a percentage of community action programs funds for rural programs was rejected by the Democratic majority.

My bill has as its purpose the attraction of new job-producing industrial and commercial establishments to rural areas so as more fully and effectively to utilize the human and natural resources of rural America, slow the migration from rural areas due to lack of economic opportunity and thereby reduce population pressures in urban centers resulting from such forced migration.

To qualify for the incentives, the industry must be located in a county which does not have a city with a population in excess of 50,000. At least 15 percent of the families in the county must have incomes of under $3,000 or employment must have declined at an annual rate of more than 5 percent during the last 5-year period. The enterprise must create at least 10 new jobs at the beginning of the operation and show a reasonable ratio between capital invested and jobs created. At least 50 percent of the original work force must consist of heads of families with family income of less than $3,000 per year, or single individuals having income of less than $1,800 per year. There is special consideration for persons who have completed more than 1 year active duty in the armed services or in the Job Corps within the preceding 2 years.

Several tax incentives for industries meeting the eligibility requirements are available for a 10-year period from the date of enactment. The normal investment credit on machinery would be doubled from 7 to 14 percent. A 7-percent investment credit in the cost of the building in which the business is located would be allowed. Accelerated depreciation on machinery and equipment would be increased. A deduction of 125 percent for salaries and wages paid to low-income persons hired would be permitted for a period of 3 years. There are carryback, carry forward, and carryover tax provisions which will attract would-be industrialists.

The larger urban centers in the United States—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles—have grown almost beyond human organizing capacity. It never occurred to us, as former Ambassador George Kennan said recently at Williamsburg, Va., that there could be a limit to how many people we could crowd into the great cities.

One wonders whether this urban migration is irreversible, whether it may be possible to create economic opportunities in small towns and cities where there are space and land and fresh air, where building costs are moderate, and people can still live in some harmony with natural surroundings.

The technology of modern agriculture inevitably will continue to reduce farm employment. However, we have scarcely begun to consider the possibilities of industrial decentralization which would make it possible for people to earn a living in the still human environments of smalltown America. Through the bill I have introduced, the Federal Government can help to provide the incentive for the needed decentralization of industry.

Its immediate cost in terms of tax deductions will, I predict, soon be more than offset by reduced welfare cost and expanded economic growth.

Rural poverty is a matter of high, even crucial, importance. We have thought about it, researched it, and talked about it long enough. It is time for positive action.

HUNGER IN AMERICA?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ], is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, on May 21 and several dates thereafter the CBS television network broadcast a program titled "Hunger in America." This program purported to reveal the extent of hunger in this country and went on to deplore the lack of action to combat the problems portrayed. Since that time the network has editorially repeated its charges. Yet the evidence is that the documentary was more dramatic than it was factual, and close examination shows that the San Antonio segment was distorted, inaccurate, and in important instances, not truthful. I do not say that CBS has deliberately broadcast falsehoods, but it has broadcast a program that is far from responsible and far from accurate.

"Hunger in America" opened with what surely must be one of the most shocking scenes ever presented on television. The picture is on an incredibly tiny infant filmed in the Robert B. Green Hospital in San Antonio, Tex. The reporter says:

> Hunger is easy to recognize when it looks like this. This baby is dying of starvation. He was an American. Now he is dead.

Millions who saw this scene were shocked and horrified. But the fact is that the baby was not so tiny because it was starved, but because it was very premature, and it died not because it was hungry, nor because its mother was hungry, but because it was premature. CBS claims that the child was a Mexican-American, that it died of malnutrition and that it probably died on October 27. The fact is that CBS does not even know for certain when the baby on its program died, and cannot say for a fact that it died of hunger.

CBS tells me that its film crews visited the hospital on October 25, 26, and 27, 1967. It does not say that it knows the name of the child it filmed, and while the network claims that "medical personnel" told the reporters that the child died of starvation, it does not say that it reviewed medical records to verify this fact, or talked to the attending physician, or that it interviewed the parents to find out their story.

Three recently born infants are the possible infants that were seen on "Hunger in America" in the opening segment. None of these died on the 27th, as CBS believes; none of them died because of malnutrition; and surely one of them is the one portrayed on the show.

One baby at the hospital on the days CBS film crews were present died on the night of the 26th. But the baby on the show could not have weighed much more than 3 pounds—medical authorities think that the infant was no more than 2 pounds 8 ounces. The baby who died on the 26th weighed 7 pounds 11 ounces and was normal in all appearances. He had four living and normal brothers and sisters, and his parents have no record of malnutrition. This baby would not have been in the premature section of the nursery where CBS did its filming, and in any case would not look anything like the baby on the show. Its death was the result of infection, either neonatal or incurred during or shortly after delivery.

Another baby in the hospital on the days in question was a girl, born prematurely and weighing 4 pounds 6 ounces at birth. Its mother had received prenatal care at the hospital. There is no suggestion in the medical records that this child suffered from malnutrition; it was also considerably larger than the one shown on the television program.

The only other possible child was not Mexican-American, as CBS claims, but Negro; did not die of starvation but other causes; was not a full-term baby but was perhaps 14 weeks premature; and its parents and the attending physicians believe that it was the one on the program. It died on the 29th, not on the 27th, as CBS thinks.

The child seen on CBS was being treated with a respirator device. The tiny premature baby I am speaking of had a series of respiratory and cardiac arrests which would have been treated with such a device, and the baby did receive such a treatment on the morning of the 26th, which was a date that the film crew was in the hospital. The chairman of the department of pathology at the University of Texas-South Texas Medical School in San Antonio states that this infant is of about the same size as the one on the program, that it very likely is one and the same child and that its death was certainly not attributable to malnutrition.

There is a considerable difference between showing a 2-pound baby and showing a baby that is one dying of starvation. Certainly in this case there is every reason to believe that CBS showed a baby that was 14 weeks premature and in any case could not have been bigger than it was. Such a premature infant does look pitiful but there is nothing in the records that would suggest that CBS was correct in claiming that this child was the victim of malnutrition. There is nothing offered by CBS to substantiate its claim. They say that they talked to "medical personnel" at the hospital but this does not mean that they talked to doctors. They say that they know the facts, but they do not know even the date that their subject died and as far as I know did not so much as bother to get a release from the grieving parents to photograph the child and use its picture. There is nothing to suggest that they so much as checked the medical records of either the child or the parents.

CBS produced a minute of shocking, awful film, but as a documentary it has little to commend it; and the impression it conveys is far from the truth as best as I can ascertain it. All of this is based on research performed by Mr. Kemper Diehl, a reporter from the San Antonio Express. He is a man of considerable ability and unquestioned integrity and I have no doubt that his conclusions are correct.

In addition to the dying child, CBS portrayed San Antonio as a community composed of 50 percent Mexican Americans, and claims flatly that a hundred thousand Mexican Americans in the city "are hungry all the time." The sole basis of this startling claim is the statement of a local county commissioner that half the city's population is Mexican American, another half of that group earns less than $3,000 a year and presto: Half that number are hungry, "hungry all the time" to use their phrase. For population figures, CBS could have relied on the census, which shows that the Spanish-surnamed population of San Antonio is not 50 percent but 41½ percent, and less than that for the county as a whole. The median income for the group in 1960 was not $3,000 but $3,446, and that was for 1959. No one can say that CBS went to much trouble to get accurate data, let alone verify the extravagant claims that it makes.

If CBS had known that the commissioner it relied on was at the time engaged in a political contest and desperate for an audience, it might have suspected that his statements would have been dramatized for their benefit. But alas, they failed to make allowances for this possibility, failed even to check out for themselves such basic data as census figures. Worse than that they have not gone to the bother of explaining how they deduced the number of hungry people in San Antonio, or how they define hunger. They just take figures tossed into the air, divide by half and then half it again, and claim that this represents fact.

Again, CBS interviewed another county commissioner and found that this highly conservative man made a good villain. So they carefully edited his remarks, and he emerged looking like a 20th century Simon Legree who did not care at all about the poor or the hungry. Nor did CBS say anything about what local government has done to alleviate poverty and hunger in San Antonio. They merely left the impression that local government, personified by an old and wicked man—a man admittedly older than most of us, but known not for his wickedness—did not care about the poor.

In fact, San Antonio has long had programs to help the poor. The city and county voted long before the CBS broadcast to change from a food commodity distribution program to a food stamp program, which started on July 1. San Antonio has a large community action program, a sizable concentrated employment program, is a model city, and is one of the President's test cities. The local government appears to do about as much as it can to bring about progress, within its limitations. But of all these programs and actions, CBS says nothing.

In fact, the man they think cares so much for the poor is the same man that I had to prod repeatedly to get him to help start the food stamp program.

One local physician who was interviewed by CBS told me that the newsmen wanted him to make dramatic statements, and he refused. CBS tells me that the reporters merely "suggested" to the doctor that his statement was too "technical" and they wanted him to use simpler language. The doctor, who should know what he was told, says that he was asked to make general statements that he could not honestly make. There is a difference between "suggestions" and coaching, and I think that the latter more accurately describes what happened. In any case the television producers could have translated the doctor's technical terms into lay language. CBS has done a wonderful job of explaining space flight, which is a marvelously complex thing, and even has a series on technology that they call the 21st Century, and which is dedicated to bringing home to the lay individual the meaning of supersophisticated technology. It hardly makes sense that this same network could not translate a doctor's language into readily understood terms. In any event, the physician failed to deliver those dramatic lines expected, and his interview was not shown on the program.

Mr. Speaker, I do not say that this great network has deliberately told falsehoods. I do say that they have delivered a program on hunger that is inaccurate and which distorts the truth. As far as the segments I have discussed are concerned, CBS has approached the outer limits of heedless and reckless disregard for accuracy.

I do not believe that the true picture of conditions in San Antonio is anything like CBS claims; I know for a certainty that their statistical deductions are based on a county commissioner's inaccurate statements, and it is ridiculous in any case to say that a guess on the number of poor people in a city is an accurate estimate of the number of hungry people there.

I do not believe that the dramatic picture of a dying baby is indisputably that of a baby dying of starvation, but instead is almost certainly a picture of a premature infant undergoing a cardiac arrest or respiratory arrest. I do not believe that CBS knows the medical facts it purports to know.

I believe that CBS deliberately coached or tried to coach people it interviewed, and that its interviews distorted the truth.

I know for a fact that many of the people interviewed, including some of the poor people, believe that CBS took unfair advantage of them. They are distressed and dismayed. So am I.

The networks are powerful influences in this country. They can make stories and they can break stories. They have an immense responsibility to the people of this land. "Hunger in America" is not an example of good journalism and falls far short of being the kind of reporting that the responsibility of this great network demands.

CBS has not fed one hungry child as a result of its program, and has not forwarded the cause of justice by 1 inch, a cause that I and many of my friends here in this body and elsewhere have worked so hard to advance. Indeed those efforts have probably been set back. What the country needs is truth, and that is what this program failed to deliver.

Some material pertinent to the above follows:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD,
July 22, 1968]

HUNGER IN AMERICA?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, on May 21, and several dates thereafter, CBS television network ran a program called "Hunger in America." That program examined conditions in several places, including my home city of San Antonio, Tex. It concluded that there are millions of hungry people in America, and that in San Antonio, "100,000 people are hungry all the time."

The opening scene of that broadcast was photographed in the county hospital in San Antonio, and it showed a baby dying, and the broadcaster stated: "This baby is dying of starvation. He is an American. Now he is dead."

The program did not venture to say how it concluded that a hundred thousand people in San Antonio are hungry all the time, did not define what was meant by hunger, and did not offer much in the way of supporting evidence.

No one knows who that dying baby was, and CBS did not interview the physicians, or show its medical record. So no one knows what the actual cause of that baby's death was, and CBS is not saying. However, since then the man who claims to be the baby's father says that the child was born prematurely, and that he weighed only 2 pounds and 12 ounces at birth. According to the father, the cause of death was respiratory disease, and the medical record says that it was "septicemia due to meningitis and peritonitis due to prematurity."

Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of difference between a baby dying because of premature birth and one dying of malnutrition. If, in fact, the child shown by CBS died of malnutrition, there is no proof of it; none was offered on the program and none has been offered since. Under the circumstances, I am inclined to believe that CBS was aiming for drama rather than accuracy.

I do not deny that there are people in this country who do not have enough to eat, or the right kind of food. But at the same time I believe that journalists have a responsibility to portray conditions for what they are, not to exaggerate, not to generalize, not to make facile conclusions based on less than tiny shreds of evidence.

I know from a fact that one doctor who was interviewed by CBS refused to make dramatic statements; he was urged to do so, but he said that he would tell the truth as he knew it. His statements were not included on the program

Mr. Speaker, I believe that CBS could have done a more complete task, and certainly a more responsible one.

I believe that my colleagues will be interested in the results of one newspaper's investigation into this matter:

"FATHER DISPUTES TV HUNGER CHARGE

"(By Kemper Diehl)

"A San Antonio Negro college student who has identified himself as the father of a dying baby shown on the controversial CBS TV special on Hunger in America denies the network's suggestion that the child died of malnutrition.

"The baby actually was premature and weighed only 2 pounds and 12 ounces at birth.

"The young parents strenuously deny any implications of malnutrition in the loss of their first child. Official records bear them out.

"Although the TV show used the child to illustrate what it claimed were hunger conditions in San Antonio, official records show the child was born during what was gauged as the 26th or 28th week of pregnancy.

"DEATH CAUSE

"The infant died five days after birth and the immediate cause of death was listed as septicemia due to meningitis and peritonitis due to prematurity.

"The youthful parents agreed to talk to the Express and the News only if their identity was withheld from the public.

"They said theirs was the infant whose helpless physical condition tugged the heartstrings of people all over the world when the controversial TV show was seen on national television.

"So widespread was interest in the case that foreign newsmen have searched the local couple out for interviews. A news team which the mother described as Swiss took films of her at the baby's grave at Eastview cemetery last month.

"(Officials at Green Hospital where CBS filmed scenes in the premature baby nursery reported she was evidently referring to Swedish newsmen who followed up on the story here.)

"MOTHER FELL

"The 18-year-old mother, who was a student at Brackenridge High School until her marriage last year, reported that the birth occurred prematurely after she suffered a fall.

"She related that she had no problem in obtaining an adequate diet during her pregnancy and had made one visit to the prenatal clinic at nearby Lincoln Courts before her trouble.

" 'She was eating at three houses,' said her husband, noting that, in addition to eating at home, she had also snacked at her mother's house and with his family.

"The mother reported that the day after her fall she began to experience signs of trouble and went to the outpatient clinic at the Green. She said she was told to go to the emergency room, but found 'it was so crowded that I didn't go in.'

"LABOR PAINS

"That night she began experiencing labor pains and her husband took her to the Green. The baby was born early the next morning.

" 'What disturbs me is they (the TV show) say the baby died of malnutrition,' said the father. 'All I know is the nurse told me he died of a respiratory disease.'

"The young mother related that when the child was two days old she had been at the premature nursery and saw films being made of the child.

" 'He was in an incubator and they were holding him up,' she explained, 'I stood there until I got tired of looking. If I hadn't gone down there I guess I wouldn't have known that they took them.'

"SAW SHOWS

"Her husband related that he happened to be watching the family TV set the night the CBS hunger program was shown for the first time. When he learned the show was to be repeated he viewed it again.

"The mother said that she had not watched either show.

" 'Since the baby died and we wanted it so badly, I really didn't want to look at it,' she said.

"The home in which the young couple lives and their personal appearance serve to dispel questions of malnutrition in the case.

"LIVE WITH RELATIVE

"At present they are living with the maternal grandmother of the dead infant, and the young mother's sister. The grandmother is employed at a major San Antonio store, while the sister is taking a commercial course.

"The home is small but well furnished and is equipped with TV, radio and other appliances.

"The 20-year-old father was an outstanding athlete in high school and is presently attending college while continuing his athletic career. He hopes to go into a coaching career.

"Officials at the hospital district have indicated they are not prepared to make an iron-clad identification of the young black couple as parents of the child, but make it clear that hospital records reflect this to be the case."

CBS NEWS,
New York, N.Y., July 25, 1969.

Hon. HENRY B. GONZALEZ,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GONZALEZ: We have read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 22738 and 22739, your remarks of July 22, 1968, concerning the CBS News broadcast "Hunger in America."

We would like to take this opportunity to correct and explain three points which you have made. We do so because what is at issue here is the journalistic accuracy of CBS News. We take great pride in the standards of our broadcast journalism; we believe that "Hunger in America" performed a considerable public service; and we believe that you, as a fair-minded person, will want to have the facts from us.

1. As to our statement that in San Antonio "100,000 people are hungry all the time."

Our source on this was Albert A. Pena, Jr., County Commissioner for Precinct No. 1, Bexar County, San Antonio. This is Commissioner Pena's statement as recorded by us:

"In Bexar County and in San Antonio, the population in round figures is about eight hundred thousand people. About fifty per cent are of Mexican descent. About four hundred thousand, I would say that of that four hundred thousand, at least fifty per cent are earning less than three thousand dollars a year and are in the poverty level. I would say *a hundred thousand people are going hungry here in San Antonio.*" (Emphasis supplied)

2. As to the death of the baby and Kemper Diehl's report in the San Antonio *Express/News* of July 14th. We already have replied to the paper by telegram and I quote that reply in full:

"The article on Page 15A of Express/News July 14 by Kemper Diehl and the editorial based thereon of the same date have just come to my attention. In substance, it is charged that the newborn baby which we showed on 'Hunger in America' broadcast and which we stated died as a result of malnutrition of the mother in fact died as a result of being born prematurely owing to a fall by the mother during pregnancy. The article stated that a San Antonio Negro student identified himself as the father of the dying baby and that he and his wife ascribe the death of the baby to the mother's fall. It seems clear that inadvertent misinformation as to the identity of the child and hence of the parents was supplied to you. The fact is that the child shown on 'Hunger in America' was not the child of the parents referred to by Mr. Diehl. We filmed in the wards in question at the Green Hospital on October 25, 26 and 27. The baby we filmed died on one of those three days; probably on the 27th. The baby identified by you, however, died on October 29. Further, the baby we filmed and identified as having died was a Mexican-American, not a Negro. Still further, medical personnel at the Green Hospital told us that the baby we filmed died because of maternal malnutrition and that there were no symptoms that indicated pre-natal injury. Would deeply appreciate your correcting the inadvertent error which reflects so adversely and erroneously on jourialistic accuracy of CBS News."

3. As to the doctor who "was interviewed by CBS, refused to make dramatic statements, etc. . ."

The producer of the broadcast, Martin Carr, assumes you are referring to Dr. Ramiro Estrada. It is true that Dr. Estrada was photographed for the broadcast. It is true that he was not used. This also applies to many other people, for it is common in these reports to shoot much more film than is used. The shooting ratio is never 1 to 1.

Mr. Carr reports that Dr. Estrada was filmed examining the children of a Mrs. Antu. According to the producer, the doctor was hardly undramatic. As a matter of fact, he was terribly moved by the plight of this woman.

The problem, in the producer's judgment, is that the doctor's remarks were too technical for a general audience. He did *not* ask him to make them dramatic (which no CBS News producer would be permitted to do), but to try to make them less technical. The doctor said he could not do this and we then photographed him exactly as he wished to be photographed and without interference. Mr. Carr's suggestion had nothing to do with drama but with clarity.

Upon viewing the film for this section, the producer concluded that his judgment on the location was right—that the material was too technical and it was not used. It had nothing to do with dramatics but with editorial content which is our responsibility.

Respectfully yours,

BURTON BENJAMIN,
Senior Executive Producer.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 30, 1968.

Mr. BURTON BENJAMIN,
CBS News,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. BENJAMIN: I have read your letter and agree with you that indeed the matter at issue is the journalistic accuracy of CBS News. A high standard of journalism is vital to a free and democratic society and with that in mind I repeat my judgment that CBS News presented an inaccurate, biased and misleading picture of conditions in San Antonio in its program "Hunger in America."

Journalistic accuracy means more to me than simple ability to quote a source verbatim; it also means that the source itself must be accurate. Yet you note that CBS relied on the statement of a local county commissioner to describe the population and economic conditions of San Antonio. Had CBS bothered to call the Census Bureau it would have found that his statements of fact were so wildly inaccurate that his subjective opinion was nearly worthless. For example, the man said that the Mexican American, or Spanish surnamed population of San Antonio was about fifty per cent when in fact it is 41.5%. The same man says that half this number earn less than three thousand dollars a year, a claim that is demonstrably untrue. If your source cannot be relied on to accurate statements of known facts, then how can you accept uncritically his assessment of facts that are not known? You do not make any allowance for the fact that your source might not be reliable, and fail to so much as check readily available data. The news team was looking for drama more than it was for facts.

When it comes to a test of whether Kemper Diehl of the San Antonio *Express* can be relied on for accuracy as against CBS News I will accept Mr. Diehl's judgment. He is a reporter who so far as I know has never been questioned or challenged as to his accuracy. He is accountable locally for what he says and writes. CBS News on the other hand has not demonstrated that it cares to obtain even common facts before leaping to conclusions, and its accountability is only to faceless and nameless executives in the network. As a matter of interest, Mr. Diehl has done further study of the infant whose death you recorded for viewing, and on the cause of its death. He is correct, and you are probably wrong. In claiming that the child died of hunger, CBS did not bother to give medical record, did not bother so far as I know to interview the attending physician and probably did not bother to so much as obtain a release from the aggrieved parents, let alone study their background and story.

The identification CBS offers of the baby who is said to have died of malnutrition is so sketchy that positive identification is difficult. However, a check of medical records at the Robert B. Green Hospital shows that only one recently-born baby died on October 26, and none of the days mentioned in your letter. The child who died on the 26th weighed 7 pounds 11 ounces at birth, and appeared healthy in all respects. The cause of death is listed as neonatal infection or infection that developed shortly after birth. This could not have been the tiny baby shown after birth. This could not have been the tiny baby shown on your program and certainly did not die of malnutrition. The infant most likely to have been shown was one born on October 24, and which died on the 29th. This child was born between the 26th and 28th weeks of pregnancy and weighed only 2 pounds 12 ounces at birth—not a low weight for a baby so premature. The parents were both in good health and show no effects of having been ill nourished. The treatment shown of the child on television corresponds to treatment this baby was given for cardiac and respiratory arrest on the morning of the 26th. One other baby who died on October 29 was five weeks premature, and the cause of death is listed as respiratory failure, peritonitis and stress and spontaneous gastric perforation. Of all these babies it is most likely that the one CBS filmed was the first—premature, and not malnourished, Negro and not Mexican American, and died on the 29th, not the 24th, 25th, or 26th. The Chairman of the Department of Pathology, University of Texas South Texas Medical School, believes that this is the child filmed and described on the program, based on available information. Given these records and observations I believe that the reasonable conclusion is that Mr. Diehl is right, not CBS News.

The physician your newsmen coached, and who refused to make the kind of statements sought by your newsmen was sufficiently upset by the experience to call me and relate the story. You state that your men merely "suggested" what the doctor should say. There is a fine line between "suggestions" and coaching. It is one thing to suggest that a man make statements readily understood by laymen and quite another to ask him to make sweeping generalizations based on a single case. CBS could and often has translated technical language into lay terms, and it could have in this case. The plain fact is that the doctor's statements did not suit the purposes of your producer.

CBS relied on grossly erroneous statements in putting this program together. How you can say that accuracy results from inaccuracy is a feat of logic that escapes my mind. I have no desire to engage in statistical games, but do wish to say that your presentation of hunger in San Antonio is grossly and demonstrably inaccurate. A great many of the people interviewed by your news team have talked to me about the program, including some of those who are poor. By far the great majority are greatly distressed by your program and feel that it is unfair to them and that CBS News took advantage of their trust.

The program doubtlessly quotes accurately, but the picture is distorted. One county commissioner who was at the time in a political contest and desperately seeking an audience is relied on to give data, and the newsmen do not consider that the data are suspect. Another is quoted, and his statements carefully edited so that he appears to be a twentieth century Simon Legree; moreover his views are represented as the general community opinion. In fact, the commissioner who was so "concerned" about poverty had to be reminded repeatedly by me that his help was needed to get the food stamp program adopted in San Antonio, and has himself never done anything that actually would help alleviate poverty in the county. And whereas local government is presented as unconcerned about hunger and malnutrition, the city and county started a food stamp program on July 1—and had decided to do so months before the CBS program was filmed.

CBS News in its program "Hunger in America" at least insofar as San Antonio is concerned, approaches the outer limits of heedless and reckless disregard for accuracy. I believe that you have a responsibility before the public to make the truth known.

Your show has not fed one hungry person, as you indicate in a subsequent editorial; it has not helped those of us who have been in the field for years working among the poor to alleviate the situation for you to sacrifice accuracy and truth for bombast. For you to pontificate from your awesome and almost omniscient perch will not suffice to remedy the lot of the poor. You must also be truthful and balanced. The American people are no fools, and this includes San Antonio, and they know the truth. They also know who and what really helps and who and what doesn't.

Sincerely,

HENRY B. GONZALEZ,
Member of Congress.

THE RURAL REVITALIZATION BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RANDALL] for 15 minutes.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I decided to ask for this time tonight, because for the last 2 days—yesterday and today—we in the House have been considering the farm program. Speaker after speaker has come into the well here to emphasize the interdependence of the countryside or, rural America with the urban areas. They have pointed out that without the farmer as a consumer of the products of the cities, there would be idle factories and idle plants. On the other hand, it is the American farmer who has given the city consumer the best food bargains of any country in the world.

Over the past 10 years, the percentage of disposable income that a consumer must spend for food has gone down from 25 percent first to 20 percent then to 18 percent and now down to about 17 percent of that disposable income.

Mr. Speaker, I thought this would be a most appropriate day, since we have today considered farm legislation, to drop into the hopper, what I prefer to call the rural revitalization bill.

I have no illusions that hearings on this bill will be either commenced or completed or that there will be much hope for action to during the remainder of this session. I do hope the introduction of the bill will call attention to, and may emphasize some, of the things we hope to achieve by this bill or a similar bill that may hopefully be enacted in the next Congress.

It is encouraging to know there have been hearings on similar measures over in the other body of the Congress.

The main thrust of my bill is to attempt to stop this out-migration from the rural areas to the great cities, or our urban areas.

I will not take time tonight to fully discuss all aspects of rural-urban imbalance, except to point out that less than one-third of our Nation's population lives on 99 percent of that land that constitutes rural America. This imbalance has been, and is becoming, greater each year.

If that trend is to be reversed, and if the present problems of the cities are not to become more unmanageable, something must be done. I believe we must take note of the fact there is a point of diminishing returns in terms of the management of large cities. We have reached the point that we no longer have cities, but rather megalopolises, where one can hardly determine where the city limits of one end, and the next city commences.

All of our urban problems are aggravated by the constant migration from the rural areas, or the countryside, to the cities.

The gist, or the heart of my measure, is to offer another investment incentive, over and above other investment incentives we have heretofore enacted in this body, to provide for an additional 7-percent incentive to attract industry to the rural areas or to the smaller towns of America.

A while back we passed a housing measure which, for the first time, had some provisions that were of real benefit to the rural areas. Remember, if we can get the needed housing, and if we can get better educational facilities, and if we can get good recreational facilities in the rural areas this will enable plant management to be willing to come to the countryside to live. Adding the 7 percent tax investment incentive I believe we can be on the way to attracting industry to the rural areas and arresting this migration from the rural areas to the cities, or even reversing this trend.

Mr. Speaker, I suggest that what we are really doing here is making an effort to solve the problems of the cities in the countryside. I am firmly convinced there is just not enough money in the world, even if we started all the printing presses, to solve the problems of the ghettos so long as this migration from the rural areas to the cities continues. The reason is that even if we clean up one ghetto there will be a new one added by the increased population coming from the rural areas. The only sensible alternative is to solve the problem of the cities in the countryside and in America by inducing the population of our farms and small towns to remain in rural America.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANDALL. I am happy to yield to my friend from Iowa.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with avid interest to the remarks made by the gentleman from Missouri. I am a neighbor of his. I attended school in Missouri, and I have a great feeling for that State.

Mr. RANDALL. I might add, the gentleman came back to Missouri not long ago to deliver a commencement address in my home city of Independence. It was well received. The gentleman was well accepted.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. I thank the gentleman. I enjoyed being there. I had the pleasure of meeting many of the gentleman's friends, and to speak well of him and the work he is doing.

I am especially interested in this subject for two reasons. I, too, am a farm boy, from the farm country, a neighbor to the north. I know that we on the farms have lived with a very severe problem through the years. We have seen the migration to the cities.

I recall going back to my hometown in Sheffield, Iowa. That town once was a town of a little more than 2,000 and now is a town of around 1,200.

The farm population has dwindled there because of the improvement of technology and the brillance of the farmers in taking advantage of technology so that they can produce this food the gentleman referred to, which is given to the American people, in such volume.

I think the gentleman did not mention quality. The quality of food which we produce now surpasses that of any nation in the world. Yet somehow this farm population has never had its share of our national income. So I share the gentleman's concern. I am thrilled with his announcement of this new idea or new bill which has for its purpose holding those people in those communities.

There are all kinds of industries, as you and I know, which could be operated in communities like my hometown of Sheffield or any of the hundreds of towns you could name in Missouri which could not only add to the prosperity of those farmers but in a very real sense stabilize our economy, because in many instances they can produce a product cheaper and better than it can be in many of the larger cities.

So, Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the gentleman both for his interest and his positive contributions to a real solution to the farm problem. I join him and hope the Congress will give serious consideration to some of the observations he is now making.

Mr. RANDALL. I thank the gentleman from Iowa. I appreciate what he has said. I know that he speaks with all the sincerity in his heart. Missouri and Iowa are neighbors. Except for highway signs, one would not know whether he was in north Missouri or southern Iowa. Both States have rich farmlands.

I have studied the problems of our declining rural sections. In the course of my studies I have found 10 major Federal statutes under which assistance is available for preserving or rebuilding rural America and equipping its people for making their ways in new kinds of endeavors but within the healthy, uncrowded environments to which they are accustomed. In addition, there are scores of other Government programs under which help can be had for improvements in narrow, specific areas. But before any of these programs can be brought into service of any consequence, the communities they would help must first have the benefit of one or more solid sources of general support for the area, such as the industrial and commercial facilities my bill would encourage. Once this support is established, these communities can move on to projects to improve their housing, install water and sewer systems, upgrade their educational facilities, convert their lands to non-agricultural purposes, and many other pursuits for making the transition from unprofitable farming to prosperous communities of other kinds.

We must find some way to stop a further decline of the economies of our good rural sections where agricultural endeavor no longer offers a profitable way of life. We must stop this further waste of our human and natural resources because of the changes that have been taking place in rural America. We must find some way to stop the outflow of the rural population to these crowded urban areas. I think we must find some way to supply new hope and prosperity all across the countryside of this great country of ours. I am hopeful my own rural revitalization bill and others like it will provide that hope and the relief for rural America which it needs so very much. While helping rural America it will alleviate the problems of urban America by encouraging many city dwellers to reverse the trend of migration and to return to the land from which they fled.

U.S. STOCKPILE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on July 11 at page 20780 of this RECORD I placed the text of a letter dated July 1 I had written to the Secretary of Defense expressing some concerns relative to the U.S. stockpile of tactical nuclear weapons. Today I have obtained permission that the Secretary's reply to me under date of July 11 and my response to his reply dated July 29 also appear as a matter of record. The two letters are reproduced below.

It seems to me that a meaningful dialog on this general subject is in the defense interests of the United States and I invite comment on this series of letters both from my colleagues and the public.

The Secretary of Defense,
Washington, D.C., July 11, 1968.
Hon. Craig Hosmer,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hosmer: Thank you for your letter of July 1, 1968, expressing your concern about our tactical nuclear weapon capability.

As you know, the AEC and DoD continually exchange information on weapon requirements and laboratory weapon research and development. On a formal annual basis, we furnish the AEC our Nuclear Weapon Development Guidance and receive from the AEC their Weapon Development Status Report. Informally, we are in continuing touch with the AEC to receive information on the latest laboratory progress and to inform them of changes in our weapon needs. When it appears that development of new nuclear warhead systems may be desirable, we study the possibilities jointly with the AEC. In fact, such studies in the tactical nuclear weapon area are almost always in progress. Thus we feel that we are well informed of AEC developments as they occur and that the AEC is well aware of our requirements.

The decision as to whether a particular new system should be produced or not is a complex matter, involving such considerations as capabilities of existing systems, projected effectiveness of the new system, cost of the new system, expected threat, available production facilities, and whether there is a role for the new system in our defense posture. We believe that we have balanced these various considerations properly over the past few years to build a flexible tactical nuclear force. Our present force covers a wide range of warhead yields and delivery capabilities, and we believe that it is adequate now to fulfill its missions. Of course, as I pointed out above, our requirements and development possibilities are under continual review, and we stand ready to improve our force as the need arises.

In short, I am unable to identify any new weapon possibilities which we have erroneously rejected. Your letter is not very specific on this point, perhaps because of security considerations. If this is the case, a classified exchange on specifics might assist in allaying your doubts about our tactical nuclear capability.

I assure you that I share your view that we should have an effective, flexible, tactical nuclear weapon capability. I believe that our present force provides that capability.

Sincerely,

Clark Clifford.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., July 29, 1968.
Hon. Clark M. Clifford,
Secretary of Defense,
Department of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: Thank you for your July 11th response to my July 1st letter concerning tactical nuclear weapons development. I am pleased that you share my view that the United States should have an effective, flexible tactical nuclear capability.

However, the generalities of your response do not ease my concern that we are failing to take advantage of our technological capabilities in this particular weapons area.

Your letter stressed the completeness of systems analyses efforts for yielding answers on the basis of cost-effectiveness comparisons. And, while I recognize that there are regular formal and informal exchanges of development guidance between DoD and the AEC, and that there are frequent joint feasibility studies on weapons possibilities, the payoff is in the decision to produce, not the decision to study or analyze.

As pointed out in my letter, grave doubts can be expressed regarding the political credibility of our current tactical stockpile. There is not a single weapon in it for which a decision to produce was made after 1960. I am also not aware of any weapon system in the tactical nuclear area which has a possibility of being turned over to the military forces before 1972. Because of this it is easy to understand why the average yield of our tactical stockpile has taken on the horrendous proportions described by Mr. McNamara and why DoD studies on tactical nuclear war in Western Europe show such terrible devastation possibilities to the people and lands of our NATO allies.

Since I am aware of what the AEC weapons laboratories have a potentiality to develop in the area of smaller, cleaner and more discriminate tactical nuclear systems to alleviate such devastation, and am aware of the daily increasing obsolescence of our present capability, I can only assume that the absence of an effective force modernization is a matter of conscious and deliberate decision within your office based on outputs of your systems analysts' cost-effective formulas.

It is obvious that the principal costs with which such studies were concerned must have been dollar expenditures. What seems to have been neglected are the enormous costs in lives and properties of our allies which employment of an obsolescent stockpile would involve. Of course, costs of this nature cannot be avoided cheaply, but surely avoiding them must, in the end, be far less costly than risking them. The narrow base of the studies you refer to seem to have excluded many non-dollar costs and considerations. It would seem that they fail to consider or to assign a value to the political cost of losing the confidence and goodwill of our NATO and Asian allies consequent from our reluctance to update our tactical nuclear posture.

I have the uneasy feeling that the studies also fail to consider or assign a value to the stockpile degradation factor. Certainly the threat for which the tactical stockpile first was conceived is not diminishing, but our existing systems cannot help but degrade in relation to it with the passage of time. The dollar cost of providing new systems to allay this degradation must, of course, be reckoned with in such studies. But the non-dollar cost and ineffectiveness of not providing them also must be reckoned with.

I recognize the complex nature of the decision process at the DoD Secretariat level and the validity of the many inputs you described. It seems, however, that in some cases its outputs still are inadequate. I have in mind such things as the case of the TFX, the question surrounding our advanced nuclear submarine program, the turn-around of the nuclear powered aircraft carrier decision, and our persistent inability in Vietnam to bomb small targets with precision. What I fear is that the output in the tactical nuclear weapons case may be similar, despite your statement that you are "unable to identify any new weapon possibilities which we erroneously rejected." The statement concedes that new developments of possible high promise which the AEC laboratories have offered over the last half-dozen years have, in fact, been rejected and I seriously question whether or not the rejections consistently were made without error.

What I find most interesting is that if the past DoD policy of refusing to modernize the tactical nuclear capability continues for only a few years more, the United States will have returned by evolutionary stages to essentially the doctrine of massive retaliation, but without the will and resolve which made that doctrine successful in earlier days of our nuclear history.

In an age when our potential enemies have an impressive and growing tactical nuclear capability we need a simillar force which realistically meshes with the requirement, both military and political, to fight a tactical nuclear war, which capability also goes far toward deterring such a war. Conversely, the lack thereof may encourage it. And should it come, our inability to respond in a manner less than strategic, i.e., by way of massive retaliation, seems like national suicide.

I find it reassuring that you state we now have a flexible tactical nuclear force with a wide range of warhead and delivery capabilities. But what of the future? I ask only that you look ahead to five years from now and see whether the same will hold true then. For more than five years the Soviets have had to test underground because of the Limited Test Ban Treaty. As a consequence there is no possible way to monitor the nature of their progress toward refining their tactical nuclear stockpile. So one must be most leery of an assertion that the expected threat is well understood. If you will look ahead objectively, in light of the cold hard fact that almost no new United States capabilities are forthcoming, you may become apprehensive about the matter as I have.

If, indeed the Soviets have been busy perfecting a family of clean, discriminate tactical nuclear weapons and the time should ever come when they decide to use them against us and our allies, a time will come when the devastation and contamination from tactical nuclear war will come from our stockpile. Or, a time will come when, because of the inevitability of such devastation and contamination, the Soviet appetite for Free World territory will have to be appeased. Moreover, even the possibility of such asymmetry in capabilities is unlikely to keep an already infirm NATO alliance from further weakening.

Also, of course, as we look toward the future, there are changes to be anticipated and new threats to be faced from other aggressors and in other parts of the world, particularly should the Nonproliferation Treaty fail in whole or in part and there is no real assurance that it will not do so. Forward thinking and analysis of our future tactical nuclear weapons stockpile cannot neglect these considerations, either.

As a Member of Congress who must stand for re-election each two years, I am fully aware of the political pitfalls of openly discussing matters concerning nuclear weapons. Certainly the introduction of this subject into the 1964 Presidential campaign brought out this political peril most clearly. It may well be that in today's political climate the subject is equally perilous.

However, there is another element of today's climate which was not present in 1964 and which makes such discussion timely even at personal political risk. It is that the United States' capability to honor its many commitments through the employment of conventional force alone is far less optimistically assessable than it was in 1964.

The realistic test to which these forces have been put in Vietnam during the interim since 1964 has had quite disappointing results. Even though we far outnumber the enemy and have huge technological superiority, including a virtual mastery of the air over Vietnam, and even though we have run up an enormous cost in lives, money and resources to carry on operations there, an increasing number of high level comment is heard that military victory is not achievable.

As a result it is becoming evident that there is a developing opinion in the nation that a major reshaping of United States policy on defense commitments may be in order, in the nature of a drastic pullback. This, if it comes, will involve unilateral abrogation of many longstanding commitments to many Free World nations who will be turned loose to fend for themselves. Its consequence to the United States position and power in the world would be difficult to define in cheerful terms.

I would be most troubled, and I know you also would be, if a drastic shift of this nature took place without public scrutiny and judgment on the feasibility of less radical alternatives, which to my mind include at least a look at bolstering what now appears to be an inadequate United States conventional capability via the truly discriminate tactical nuclear route. In this sense I would feel much better if a healthy public appraisal of our tactical nuclear weapons posture and potentialities were to be made.

This is particularly true since many, including myself, have an uneasy feeling that nowhere in the complex DoD structure is there an office, agency or person who is *primarily* concerned not just with study, but also with initiatives regarding the overall tactical nuclear problem.

You were very kind to offer to conduct a classified exchange with me on various specifics of this general subject and I appreciate it. However, I believe this is something that should be discussed not just with me, but with the membership of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy which, by law, has certain responsibilities in the matter. For this reason I am sending a copy of this letter to the Committee with the recommendation that suitable hearings be scheduled either with you this year or early next year with your successor.

I think it would be valuable for the Committee in a general way to go into the various questions raised in our correspondence to date and specifically, of course, into such questions as:

(1) What tactical nuclear weapons have been approved for development?

(2) The status of the development progress of those weapons.

(3) What tactical nuclear weapons are now in the joint feasibility study phase?

(4) Which of these DoD considers have a role in our defense posture and have, thus, a high probability of approval for production?

(5) What tactical nuclear weapons which have been in the feasibility study phase or development since 1964 were disapproved for production and the reasons for such disapproval.

I feel that such a hearing could be quite helpful toward an understanding of the manner in which your office intends to continue having an effective, flexible, tactical nuclear weapons capability.

Sincerely,

CRAIG HOSMER,
Member of Congress.

AS THE IRON HORSE HEADS FOR PASTURE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROBISON] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, Life magazine this week is running a pictorial salute to the fast-disappearing passenger train and, on its editorial page, carried the following comment about this one more in our bulging portfolio of national problems—but one that may well have solved itself before Congress gets around to thinking about doing anything about it:

> AS THE IRON HORSE HEADS FOR PASTURE
>
> At the rate the great long-distance trains are disappearing, scenes such as those on pp. 36D–50 may soon qualify as nostalgic memorabilia of a vanished age—like stereopticon views of horse-drawn trolleys. In the past 10 years, 858 intercity trains have disappeared, among them such reverberating names as the 20th Century Limited, the Lark and the Chief.
>
> Oddly enough, the people now most eager to do away with the great trains are the railroad operators themselves. They say that they are losing a half billion dollars a year carrying passengers in a country where everybody wants to fly or drive his own car. Some experts argue that the loss is nowhere near that great, but everybody agrees that the railroads lose money on passengers. This being a free-enterprise country, the railroads say that if the demand is not capable of supporting the expense, they should be free to eliminate the service.
>
> That may be simple marketplace economics, but there is nothing simple about the economics of transportation. The money that the consumer spends on tickets or tolls is only part of it. Think of the billions spent on superhighways and interchanges and those gasoline taxes that—unlike most taxes—can only be spent on roads. Think of the millions that must now be spent (and not just by air travelers) to improve airports to relieve the crowded air. The railroads, too, in the early days especially, had a preferred position at the public trough. But now they are less eager to be subsidized, because they don't want to incur the public obligations that go with it. They want to be free to make money on freight alone. Commuter trains, perhaps with public funds, they might accept—but long-distance trains, no. It may be that the real interest of the country would dictate that some form of railroad passenger business coast to coast should be supported at the expense of a few interchanges or airport runways. We'll never know as long as we have no national transport policy.
>
> Optimists thought we might get one with the creation of the new Department of Transportation, but its powers were seriously constricted in the very legislation that gave it birth. Now a cry for national transport priorities has come from a most unlikely source. The normally somnolent Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates the railroads, has petitioned Congress to study the future of railroad passengers.
>
> Usually one more elaborate study of a problem is just what we don't need. But a study of the country's everyday transportation needs might just make good sense. The ICC has also asked Congress, at least for the duration of its own study, to give it power to deny the urge of the railroads to derail the last of their great trains. That makes sense, too. By the time we find we need those trains, there may be none left to save.

Mr. Speaker, the reason why this problem may—a I said a moment ago—have solved itself before we get around to trying to do so, is set forth in the final sentence of Life's editorial:

> By the time we find we need (these) trains, there may be none left to save.

For the sad truth of the matter is that railroad passenger service in this highly advanced Nation of ours is in danger of extinction.

The Interstate Commerce Commission—the Federal agency that, willy-nilly, has presided over the recently accelerating rate of passenger train disappearance—had this to say about this problem back in 1958, well before matters had reached their present stage of urgency:

> For more than a century, the railroad passenger coach has occupied an interesting and useful place in American life, but at the present time the inescapable fact—and certainly to many people an unpleasant one—seems to be that in a decade or so this time-honored vehicle may take its place in the transportation museums along with the stage and the steam locomotive.

The ICC's prediction of a decade ago was more than accurate. I am informed that as of the first of this year only 38 railroads, out of a total of about 760 both large and small lines, still operate passenger service—and those that do, as many of us know to our regret, are doing their best to rid themselves of even that vestige of what I believe must still, somehow, be preserved as an integral part of our national system of transportation.

I do not intend, Mr. Speaker, in these remarks to point the finger of blame at anyone—for, truth to tell the would-be passenger is just as much to blame as is railroad management for such facts as that, in 1967, for class I railroads, only 20 passenger train cars were purchased while the same roads were buying new freight cars, or rebuilding old ones, to a total number of about 99,000 and, in addition, bought or reconditioned some 1,100 diesel electric locomotives.

But what are we going to do about it?

Here we are, at the present moment, fussing along with our constituents who have been writing in to us to complain about it, over the current massive aerial traffic jam that is so bad, and threatens to get so worse, that neither the Federal Aviation Administration nor, so far as I can discover, anyone in Congress has any real idea what to do about it.

Well, look at it this way: Although the normal flight time between New York and Washington is something under an hour, air travelers still have to figure on about 2 hours to get from center city to center city, and when—as is now happening—we get aircraft after aircraft stacked up over airports or waiting for runway clearance, then the elapsed travel time for the harried and impatient traveler begins to approach the time that the faster trains between these two cities used to take—back when there were such trains.

Surely, Mr. Speaker, we can do better than this—as a Congress and as a nation—and I, for one, find it more than passing strange that the cry for national transport priorities that has finally come arrived, as Life notes, from a "most unlikely source"—the Interstate Commerce Commission, itself.

It was an "unlikely source" precisely because—as those of us well know who have done what we could to try to save railway passenger service through our districts—the ICC has not, in the past, protected the overriding public interest in the continuance of at least a base railway passenger service as zealously as it might have.

However, when the ICC proposed, in its recent report to Congress, that a Federal study of national transportation requirements should be made to determine what, if any, passenger train service was needed to meet future demand and of methods for developing a modern rail network, if such a system was desirable, it took a constructive—if overdue—attitude to which this Congress should make a like response.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend

the ICC and its present Chairman, Mr. Paul J. Tierney, for its new attitude in this respect. I was especially impressed with these two sentences in the ICC report:

> "We do not believe," states the Commission, "that any significant action will be taken until a consensus is developed on whether a national intercity rail system is needed."

And:

> The national ambivalence toward the problem not only fosters inaction and inconsistency in governmental policy, but it encourages railroads to continue the present trends.

As of course it does, Mr. Speaker, which is why I would express the urgent hope that this Congress, in whatever may yet remain of this session, will take up and consider a bill similar to that as introduced on June 27, 1968, by the distinguished chairman of our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Staggers], and known as H.R. 18212, which would among other things direct the Secretary of Transportation, acting in cooperation with the ICC, to conduct the kind of background study needed into the future transportation needs of this Nation and the part rail passenger service could and should play therein.

It may very well be, as Life notes in its aforementioned editorial:

> One more elaborate study of a problem is just what we don't need.

But I heartily agree with Life in its subsequent thought that this particular study makes good sense.

It makes good sense because, until we can develop a consensus as to what the future need and priorities ought to be concerning the economics of transportation and the role the Federal Government should play therein we can never hope to have a balanced transportation system—let alone policy—for this Nation. And the need for each long ago became self-evident in my opinion.

If we now go forward in the direction that has been pointed out for us—as I hope and trust we shall—the unsung hero in getting us here in this Chamber to take a new look at an old crisis may well turn out to be a fellow named John S. Messer, Mr. Speaker, the ICC examiner in the ICC case involving the Southern Pacific's desire to end service on its former crack train, "The Sunset," the last direct passenger train between New Orleans and Los Angeles. For it was Mr. Messer who broke with tradition and said—and one cannot help but wonder what has happened to him since:

> The time has come when the Commission can no longer act like a county coroner, (for) the urgent need is for preventive medicine.

I presume that particular case may still be pending, so I would not wish to say anything here that might in any way prejudice the ultimate determination, but I do wish to applaud Mr. Messer's independent attitude for his tentative finding echoes some of the points I, myself, tried to get across this past February at a comparable ICC hearing at Binghamton, N.Y., involving the Erie-Lackawanna's desire to drop two more of its passenger trains serving the southern tier section of New York that I, in part, am honored to represent in this body. And that being so, Mr. Speaker, I ask consent to close these remarks by now setting forth the full text of my statement to Mr. Messer's counterpart on that occasion:

Statement of Representative Howard W. Robison to Examiner Henry Whitehouse at Hearing Ordered by the Interstate Commerce Commission, Binghamton, N.Y., February 28, 1968

Mr. Examiner:

If most of us in this room have that strange feeling that we have "been here before"—it's because we *have*!

And, indeed, for the people of far too many communities like this all across the face of our Nation this has become an unhappy scene that appears and reappears with an alarming frequency as they continue to witness the seemingly inevitable decline and disappearance of railway passenger service.

Mr. Examiner, I know you are here, today, to take evidence concerning the so-called "public convenience and necessity" involved in the question of the continuance or discontinuance of trains numbered 10 and 15, as presently operated by the Eric-Lackawanna Railroad Company between Hoboken, New Jersey, and—through the several communities of this immediate area—Buffalo, New York.

From your viewpoint—and from the requirements of your official duties—this is more or less of a *local* problem with, though there may be some technical question about this, the burden of proof more or less resting on the shoulders of those public "protestants" from whom you may bear, in these Chambers, today.

And, undoubtedly, in that light this *is* a localized problem but—if you would bear with me—I would submit that it has long since also become a *national* problem, and one of serious magnitude.

It is to that *national* problem that I would like to address myself, if you would permit, even though I know that in doing so I am raising questions of policy that, as you may say, would be outside your province to consider.

At the same time, the questions I raise—and I have no other way of doing so in a pertinent fashion than to make them a part of this particular record—are, I believe, appropriately within the broader province of consideration of this matter by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and it is in that sense that they are now offered.

This proceeding is brought under the authority of section 13(a) of the Interstate Commerce Act.

That section of the basic Act was written into law in 1958 in order—and I doubt if there can be much question about this—to provide the railroads with some measure of "emergency" economic relief at a time when they could not obtain it from or through existing State agencies having jurisdiction over this particular question. There was undoubtedly then some justification for the establishment of this procedure—and, as a matter of fact, I voted for the bill establishing it when it passed the House of Representatives—*but* I am positive that Congress *never* intended that section 13(a) would be used as a device to *eliminate* railway passenger service!

Yet a look at the interstate Commerce Commission's own records would indicate that this is precisely what has been happening for, since its enactment, something more than 800 trains have been dropped, or over 90 a year, so that whatever "emergency" existed on the side of the hard-pressed railroad industry back in 1958 has now been *shifted over to the side of the American public*.

I would submit that it is high time that the Interstate Commerce Commission "put on the brakes", as best it can within its authority, or that the advantage allowed the railroads under 13(a) be withdrawn.

In pursuit of that need to redress the balance, I testified last year before the Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, of the U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, in support of proposed legislation that would have imposed a *moratorium* on further passenger-train discontinuance—as well as on the concomitant problem of withdrawal of railway *postal* revenues which is, again, a factor in the case before you just as it has been in so many other recent discontinuance cases.

To my regret, that legislation has not yet emerged from the Senate Commerce Committee, nor has it yet become the subject of hearings before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce though I have been urging the Chairman thereof to give it early consideration and the overall problem has attracted the lively attention of many of my colleagues.

No one—least of all I—could now predict what action, if any, this Congress, or its successor, may take on this question but, at the same time, no one could question the fact that Congress *is* deeply concerned and disturbed over the pattern and practice that has developed, since 1958, in proceedings such as this, that now forecasts the ultimate and early elimination of virtually *all* railway passenger service.

In my testimony, last year, before the Senate Subcommittee, I quoted President Johnson—from a then fairly-recent statement of his—to the effect that:

"In a nation that spans a continent, transportation is a web of union."

As I said then—and as I repeat now—that was a good statement, and one that I endorse, but I wish he had added to it the thought that railway passenger service must, somehow, be *preserved as a part of that "web"*.

For, in my judgment, this is *absolutely essential* as we Americans attempt to plan, *now*, for that even more-complex and ever more-crowded *future* that presses in upon us!

No one would or should seek to downgrade the problems that the rapid advancements made in air and highway transportation—and largely *with Federal subsidies*, it must be noted!—have posed to our railroads in their attempt to compete for passenger traffic.

And no one would or should expect any railroad to attempt to continue to operate unprofitable passenger-trains at the expense of—or through an indirect subsidy from—freight-shippers to such an extent that the same becomes, truly, a burden on interstate commerce.

But yet, on the other hand, at a time when we may be on the brink of some *dramatic technological break-throughs*—and this time with Federal subsidies in favor of the railroads!—that may, once again, make high-speed, inter-city rail passenger service both attractive and competitive, and when, at long last, we have a Federal Department of Transportation that, though with painful slowness, is beginning the urgently-needed preliminary studies necessary to the development of a truly integrated *national* plan for air and surface transportation designed to meet the needs of the America-of-tomorrow, should we continue to permit the *erosion*, at the current rate, of what now remains of a once vital and viable railway passenger service?

My answer—which is a carefully considered one, taken in full understanding of and sympathy with the difficult problems faced by those who manage our nation's railroads in behalf of those of our fellow citizens who share in their ownership—is *"No"* for, after all, if America's passenger trains are to be *only a memory* once that last-mentioned study is completed there is little purpose in even *making* it!

We may think we have weighty transportation problems today—and we do—but we will have still larger ones tomorrow.

We are a nation of 200 million souls, today—and reaching towards 300 million.

Perhaps the automobile, and the bus, and the airplane, have been the genesis of the passenger train's troubles up to now but, just like everything else in life, the pendulum keeps on swinging, and I personally doubt that we can concrete over enough additional miles of high-speed highways nor, as the "transportation explosion" continues to parallel that of our population, find enough airspace or methods to control the safe use thereof, without finding ourselves forced back by the very bottle-necks of our own making to safe, convenient and *modern* railway passenger service.

I believe that day is nearer than most of us realize—and undoubtedly nearer than present railway-management realizes else they might more actively be preparing for it than they have been.

But, Mr. Examiner, I intrude upon your time and that of the other witnesses including, most-importantly, my fellow "protestants". What they will have to say to you will probably not be as impressive as the case we attempted to make, together, when the question of the discontinuance of the "Phoebe Snow" was under consideration in in these same Chambers. Obviously, that train was far more-popular and more widely-used, locally, then these trains ever could be. But the two cases are related, one to the other; and that pattern and practice for the continued erosion of *all* railway passenger service of which I earlier spoke is just as apparent here, with its *national* implications, as it was in that earlier case which, we hope, has not yet been finally adjudicated.

As I understand the present policy of the Commission, it is to preserve essential and needed passenger-train service, except in those cases where the trains in question incur a financial burden on the carrier which is out of proportion to the public's *use* or *need* for such service.

I could—and perhaps should—have put quotation marks around the restatement of Commission policy I have just made, for it is taken from the remarks of William H. Tucker, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, as made by him to the same Senate Subcommittee on the same occasion to which I previously referred.

The question then becomes one—as I see it—of defining, or *redefining* in the light of today's circumstances, what is meant by the ". . . public's *use* or *need* for such service."

As I suggested a moment ago, the public *use* of these trains will undoubtedly prove to be less than that in the "Phoebe Snow" case—and for some obvious reasons relating to the quality of service, the inconvenience of schedules, and so forth.

And, so, our case, here, may seem at first glance to be a weaker one even than the one on which local "protestants" failed to prevail a year or so ago.

But there remains that question of public *need!*

As I have said, I firmly believe it would indeed be unwise to allow present railroad management to divest themselves of all—or practically all—passenger service, thus destroying the psychological as well as the physical *base* upon which an *again-viable* passenger service for this nation can, as it ultimately must, be *rebuilt*.

As Mr. Tucker, himself—again at those same hearings—has said, what we need is an *in-depth national transportation study,* and it is evidence of the worst sort of national planning, or lack thereof, that we do not now have even the beginnings of such a study and are required to speculate, through this kind of a train-by-train procedure, on what the *true present and future "public need" may be!*

For this sorry state of affairs, the Congress of the United States along with the more-recent national administrations must bear a large share of the blame.

However, with the evident interest that is finally being expressed about the need to revitalize railway passenger train service—and despite the Post Office Department's continued disregard of the fact that it, too, has a responsibility, here—*one* avenue for saving the skeletal framework for the *national rail passenger system* . we will ultimately build, still remains.

And that avenue—which is the only good one the public has to rely upon until the necessary basic research has been completed and Congress can finally be induced to act—*is* the Interstate Commerce Commission; a Federal agency which will, I hope, from now on in this and similar proceedings begin to consider the *overall* or *national* public need in a more enlightened manner that it has, heretofore, through its train-by-train approach.

In other words, I submit that what the Commission should be considering in this and similar cases, now, is not so much the need for these *particular* trains at the moment as it is the need of these communities, and the people who inhabit them, to have a *future share* in railway passenger service, not as it was these past 20 or 30 years, but as it *should* be and, ultimately, *will* be!

This will require a more difficult and delicate balancing of that public interest against the interests of management than we have seen in the past, but I believe the Commission has it within its authority to do this, and I would strongly urge that it be on *this* basis that the decision in this case is eventually made.

I thank you for the opportunity to present these remarks, and for your kindness in permitting me to make them a part of this record.

Mr. Speaker, by way of footnote to all this, I am happy to state that in the ICC case at which the above statement of mine was made a part of the record, the Commission did defer the discontinuance of trains in question for 1 year—and there the matter rests.

The next move, it seems obvious, is up to us.

PROBLEMS CONCERNING TRUCK TRANSPORTATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Schwengel] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, again I want to say I am glad to join the gentleman from Missouri in his statement about the problems of agriculture and to present us with a good, sound, solid idea that ought to be considered and which I think would be a very fine approach at least to a solution of a serious problem on the farms.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I continue with the discussion of the problem of the truck bill that I have talked about for several days and for some time and in which I have a great interest.

I also share concern with many people who are interested in maintaining and building roads in America.

Mr. Speaker, since there seems to be some question as to the position of the National Safety Council on the bill, S. 2658, which would increase truck size and weights, I feel an obligation to set the record straight. I am placing in the Record two letters I have received from John J. Flaherty, assistant manager of the Motor Transportation Department of the National Safety Council.

In both letters it is made clear that the National Safety Council has not taken a position on the legislation. Mr. Speaker, a major transportation publication has misleadingly characterized the council's position as being favorable to the bill S. 2658. It is my conviction that publication should review the facts and correct the obvious mistake and misleading inference.

It is my hope that the Motor Transportation Conference of the National Safety Council will soon complete its review of S. 2658 and add its voice to the many who feel the passage of the bill would add to highway safety problems.

Under unanimous consent I place the letters I have received in the Record at this point:

National Safety Council,
Chicago, Ill., July 12, 1968.

Hon. Fred Schwengel,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Schwengel: In fulfilling your request, our Motor Transportation Department prepared the attached factual commentary from a safety standpoint on various questions that might be raised with respect to H.R. 14474. We do not present this commentary as an official position of the National Safety Council but, rather as an objective and analytical summary of the elements that might have a relationship to safety on our roads. We offer this for your consideration and guidance.

Yours very truly,
John J. Flaherty,
Assistant Manager,
Motor Transportation Department.

National Safety Council,
Chicago, Ill., July 29, 1968.

Hon. Fred Schwengel,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Schwengel: I so very much appreciated your letter and I sincerely hope that the information sent to you was of use.

Your question regarding the position of the National Safety Council is a perfectly valid and justifiable one. However, when the Council takes an official position it is usually after considerable research, discussions with experts, weighing of evidence, etc. The tentative position is then placed before the Conference involved, which in our case would be the Motor Transportation Conference made up of over 100 members and, after they have thoroughly reviewed it, it is voted upon and the position statement then becomes official.

Safety matters are handled pretty much the same way that you handle pending bills in Congress. We try to hear out all interested parties and evaluate all possible factors that may bear on the question before we arrive at an official position. As you can well appreciate, this usually takes some time. However, where lives are concerned we cannot rush in and give "top of the head" opinions.

What I furnished in the way of commentary was meant to be no more than a collection of factual material that might be of assistance to you or any other legislators considering the bill. Interpretation on our part at this time would be premature since there would be so much more for us to consider before we could take a stand either for or against. If we can be of any further as-

> sistance to you in the future, please be assured that we will do all that we can to help.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> JOHN J. FLAHERTY,
> *Assistant Manager, Motor Transportation Department.*

Mr. Speaker, in addition I have written today to the Honorable GEORGE FALLON, chairman of the Committee on Public Works, asking that he request the withdrawal of S. 2658. Because of the nature of the controversy which has been generated by this legislation and because of the demonstrated lack of research and study on the effect of this legislation, I believe the bill should be returned to the Public Works Committee.

I insert a copy of my letter to Chairman FALLON at this point in the RECORD:

> JULY 31, 1968.
>
> Hon. GEORGE FALLON,
> *Chairman, Committee on Public Works, Washington, D.C.*
>
> DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As you know a good deal of controversy has arisen over S. 2658, the bill to increase the size and weights of trucks.
>
> Because of the controversy and because of the demonstrated need for more research and study on the legislation, I request that the bill be withdrawn and returned to the committee.
>
> Should this occur the Public Works Committee could more adequately consider this legislation. There are groups from which we have not heard. A number of county engineers from Iowa have been in Washington to see me. They are emphatic in their opposition to the bill.
>
> Therefore, I urge that you request for the bill's return to our committee.
>
> With warmest regards,
> Sincerely yours,
>
> FRED SCHWENGEL,
> *Member of Congress.*

Mr. Speaker, on several occasions during the last 2 weeks I have taken the floor to urge all Members of Congress to oppose S. 2658 which has been considered all too hastily in the Public Works Committee and by the Senate. In doing so, I have introduced for the consideration of the Members of the House several studies pointing out the need for careful research into the problem of motor vehicle weights and sizes.

In particular, I would like to call your attention to an extremely thorough and well-documented study of the truck problem recently completed by Dr. John W. Fuller III. This study takes the form of his doctoral dissertation "Current Issues in the Regulation of Motor Vehicle Sizes." Dr. Fuller spent the summers of 1966 and 1967 working with the Western Highway Institute, an organ of the American Trucking Association in the West for whom he published two studies. His qualification as a transport economist and his objectivity can hardly be open to question.

Before S. 2658 comes before the House, I strongly urge all Members of the House to acquaint themselves with Dr. Fuller's study. It is rare that we are privileged to have readily available such a scholarly and yet eminently readable treatment of so critical a problem as truck weights and sizes.

On July 24, I had chapter 5 of his dissertation, "The Effects of Increased Size and Weight Standards on the Private Costs of Motor Carriage," reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It can be found on page 23159. One day later, July 25, I had chapter 6, "The Effects of Increased Size and Weight Standards on the Public and Social Costs of Motor Carriage," introduced. It is to be located on page 23438.

These two chapters detail the vast social costs of higher noise, air pollution, and greater safety hazards which such legislation will produce as well as the greater costs which will be created in road maintenance, construction, and resurfacing. Even more important, I introduced Dr. Fuller's concluding chapter on July 29. Entitled "Conclusions and Recommendations With Respect to the Current Proposals for Revision of Motor Vehicle Size and Weight Standards," it should be must reading for all those who wish to weigh the meaning and impact of their votes. His conclusions, found at page 23962 of the RECORD, again point up the inadequacy of the testimony we heard before the Public Works Committees of the House and the Senate. Dr. Fuller states:

> There can be little doubt that the estimated annual public and social costs, or either one separately, exceeded the estimated annual carrier benefits by a wide margin.

In addition, he concludes:

> The very great excess of public and social costs over the private benefits discovered by this thesis suggests that any general motor vehicle size and weight increase at this time would be a grave mistake in public economic policy.

We have already made a grave mistake by not considering this bill more thoroughly in the Public Works Committee. I hope we will not commit an even graver mistake by passing this bill without first looking into the vast problems it will generate. I hope you will all read these well-documented chapters and not hastily move to consider passage of this bill.

In addition, many of you may want to look at the first four chapters of Dr. Fuller's dissertation. Chapter 1 can be found in the RECORD for July 18 at page 22172, chapter 2 in the RECORD of July 24 at page 23178, chapter 3 on the 27th at page 23878, and chapter 4 on the 23d at page 22963.

Finally, many of you might want to examine a study done by Prof. John J. O'Mara of the State University of Iowa on the safety aspects of truck length.

Yesterday, July 30, I have Professor O'Mara's conclusions reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. They can be found at page 24295. Dr. O'Mara has been active in highway safety work and research for more than 25 years, has written numerous articles, testified before committees of the Congress, and has long been a member of such professional societies as the Highway Research Board and the National Society of Engineers.

Dr. O'Mara's study has prompted me to speak to you today about the potential safety hazards this legislation will create. I will try to center my remarks around three general topics.

TRUCK LENGTH

S. 2658 sets no limit whatsoever on the length of trucks. With no length limitation, we could easily have double- and triple-bottom combinations emerging on the Nation's highways. Triple trailer trucks run well past 100 feet in length. Although the Interstate Highway System has been built to the highest standards, it "is likely," says Dr. O'Mara, "that some parts of the system cannot safely accommodate trucks longer than 50 to 55 feet. These lengths are the design lengths recommended by the American Association of State Highway Official and used for the design of most of the system."

If this bill becomes law, triple-bottom trucks will turn our Interstate highways into truckways with highway freight trains making travel so uncomfortable and so hazardous that cars will be forced to undergo serious safety risks if they want to use the roads.

These trucks will no doubt have difficulty negotiating some of the ramps as well as the access roads which feed the Interstate System. Going around curves, it will become impossible to operate long trucks without the rear of the unit encroaching on the opposite lane or coming dangerously close. If this should be true, Dr. O'Mara warns, "it could be disastrous to the unwarned, unspecting drivers and passengers of vehicles in the opposite lane."

This fear is not mere fantasy. Just recently the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority granted the request of the trucking industry to allow triple trailers. Warning of the dangers of this move, Massachusetts Registrar of Motor Vehicles Richard E. McLaughlin warned that allowing triple trailer trucks on the Massachusetts Turnpike would for all practical purposes convert the turnpike into a high speed truckway. He went on to say:

> If such combinations would operate at . . . authorized speed limits on the Turnpike—or anywhere near it—no motorist could safety pass without having at least a half mile of clear sight distance. Or in fact, no vehicle could pass these monsters during periods of darkness or inclement weather.

And Massachusetts would not be the only State to face the prospects of long truck trains if we pass this law. Idaho already allows them. The Western Gillette Co., has operated such triple-bottom rigs on an unscheduled basis for the past 4 years and a company executive predicts that they will be in regular use by 1970 or 1972 at the latest. New York has been petitioned to allow their use and other States may expect to be similarly approached by the truckers if we pass this bill.

TRUCK WEIGHT

A corollary problem to that of unregulated length is that the bill not only permits greater axle weights but provides for no gross weight limit at all. It also sets no minimum weight-to-horsepower ratio contrary to the recommendation of the American Association of State Highway Officials. The result is twofold.

First, this bill will probably result in the introduction of trucks with gross weights well over 100,000 pounds. These large trucking combinations cannot stop anywhere near as quickly as lighter rigs. And when trucks cannot stop as quickly, the probability of accidents rises. We should always remember, as Registrar McLaughlin graphically points out:

> When trucks are involved in collisions with other vehicles, for every truck driver losing his life, 38 others die.

Second, the absence of a provision for a minimum weight-to-horsepower ratio to assure the safe performance capabilities of heavier trucks creates a danger that cost-conscious truckers will outfit heavier trucks with lower performance characteristics. Their acceleration power will diminish and we are likely to find trucks, "with no more get-away or hill-climbing ability than you might expect to find in a Cadillac powered by a Volkswagen engine," clogging our highways and creating safety hazards. So warned Registrar McLaughlin.

Perhaps more important is the problem that this excess weight would create for our bridges and State primary road system. Although the bill applies only to the Interstate Highway System, it would obviously affect State highway systems as well. As Floyd L. Link, director of public relations and safety for the American Automobile Association observes:

> If the Senate bill becomes law, the federal government is putting its stamp of approval on the increased sizes and weights. This means that states will then follow suit, using the federal standards as a guide; and the heavier vehicles will then be permitted on roads of all types, because it is impossible to get on and off the Interstate system without traveling state and local roads and streets.

Most of our State highway system and bridges were not designed to accommodate these weights, and yet, if we take this action, we will be forcing the States to accept them. The dangers this creates for our many old bridges cannot be stressed too strongly. As Chairman Randolph has stated:

> We are, as you know, in our Subcommittee on Roads planning hearings on this entire subject of bridges. It is partially occasioned by the tragedy (the bridge failure) near Point Pleasant, West Virginia, crossing the Ohio River to near Gallipolis, Ohio. This disaster, as you know, was a major one with 46 or 47 persons losing their lives. Our preliminary check indicates there are approximately 1,100 highway bridges that are on major river crossings which are more than 40 years of age. This is a problem as you have indicated, and we are going to go into that matter very thoroughly. We think it should be done at this particular time.

Yet, in the face of this disaster and circumstances which might breed similar disasters, we are pushing through the House a bill which might lead to other Point Pleasants by increasing the gross weight of trucks using our bridges. We should not consider this legislation until the effect of these increased weights on our Nation's bridges has been more thoroughly explored. As Howard S. Ives, Connecticut State highway commissioner, told the Senate:

> It is our opinion that such legislation should await the results of the investigation of the Point Pleasant disaster and further await the results of studies under way by the various bridge and structure people throughout the country.

Mr. Ives' advice should be heeded in view of the testimony of several other highway experts. Mr. Frank C. Turner, Director of the Bureau of Public Roads, warned that an increase to a 34,000-pound tandem axle would overstress interstate bridges by 32 to 36 percent. And this says nothing of the effect on the majority of bridges throughout our primary and secondary road system which would be subjected to the same stress when the new heavier trucks move off the interstate and over them on the way to their destination.

Mr. Turner reported that the majority of bridges on our primary and secondary system are less than H–15 design used on the interstates—this is a bridge to carry a 15-ton load. Overstress on these bridges would be even greater, substantially reducing the safety margin and increasing the risk of bridge disasters. Mr. Virden H. Staff, chief highway engineer of the State of Illinois, underscored this warning when he stated:

> S. 2658 will permit vehicles on less than H–15 bridges to produce stresses that can be expected to result in failure.

When we remember that a recent study based on reports from the highway departments of 38 States and the District of Columbia revealed that more than two-thirds of all these bridges are inadequate for today's heavy truck traffic and nearly half are seriously inadequate, we should not greatly increase the gross and axle weight of trucks without first studying the problem in depth.

To begin with, there is no practical way to reinforce a bridge to enable it to support heavier weights than that for which it was built. There is no maintenance procedure that can be applied to a bridge to offset overstressing and fatigue of principal bridge members caused by age and excess weight. For these reasons, we should study the matter further before we allow heavier trucks on our Nation's highways and bridges. To the engineer who examined the Point Pleasant Bridge disaster, it was hard to understand how the Public Works Committee could move so fast without examining the potential for future bridge mishaps this bill might create. Frank Masters, consulting engineer for Modeski & Masters, who examined the Point Pleasant disaster had this to say:

> I understand that legislation now before Congress proposes a new standard of axle weights that will, in effect, permit 76,000 lbs. and larger vehicles. This is so difficult to comprehend when you consider the fact that almost half the bridges and even fewer highways in the Federal-aid Primary and Secondary Systems are designed for vehicles of 15 tons.

Like Frank Masters, find this open ended increase in gross weight, this absence of a weight-to-horsepower ratio, and this increase in axle weight "hard to comprehend." The safety problems it might create are enormous.

TRUCK WIDTHS

Advocates of the truck bill would have us believe that the proposed width increase is a small matter of 6 inches, from a maximum of 96 to 102 inches. The situation is not, however, as simple as it seems. This 102-inch maximum excludes certain accessory considerations, such as tire bulge, mud flaps, tire chains, flexible fenders, and, oddly enough, the rather obvious matter of mirrors. They are the most solid and tangible of the above elements, but they are by no means the only consideration. According to the figures of the trucking industry itself, tire bulge means an additional 4 inches, while chains would mean 2 inches more. This would be the same as the 6-inch projection of the smallest legal sized mirror. In other words, we are talking about a minimum total of 108 inches allowable under the new bill, a full foot larger than the present maximum of 96 inches.

Under the present limit, two trucks passing on an average two-lane road, with 12-foot lanes, would have 4 feet of clearance, if they are in the middle of their lanes. Under the new limits, this safety gap would be reduced to a paltry 2 feet. Now, if you are a truck driver going down such a road at 60 miles per hour, and another supertruck comes along the other way, you are simply not going to leave a mere 2 feet between the passing trucks. But allowing a 4-foot safety gap puts the trucks virtually on the shoulder of the road, and if they swerve out any farther, they will be on the shoulder for sure. Not only is this a very dangerous practice, considering the state of most shoulders, but it will also cause severe damage to the road edge and shoulders.

Is this an unrealistically negative picture to draw? On the contrary, I think that it is rather an optimistic one. This bill purports to refer only to the Interstate Highways, but we all know this is nonsense. Access roads must come into play. One might argue that an extra trailer can be dropped for use of access roads, but once a rig is built to a certain width, there is no changing it. Despite our high hopes for the Interstate System, we must face the fact that the bulk of our travel, including trucks, is now, and will continue to be, over two-lane roads; for two-lane roads constitute some 88 percent of all State primary roads.

I think I was also optimistic when I used an example with 12-foot lane widths, considering that 60 percent of all State primary road mileage in 1966 had lane widths under 12 feet; in addition, 16 percent of the roads were under 10 feet. It takes very little imagination to picture what will happen when two supertrucks pass on such a road: a 4-foot clearance would push each truck a foot off the road surface.

Our primary concern in this legislation must be safety, above all economic considerations. I do not think I am unduly dramatic in saying that no amount of commercial gain is worth a single human life. There is some question in my mind whether we have not already ignored this dictum. Perhaps we need a complete reevaluation of the role of trucking on our highways. Testimony of the American Trucking Associations itself shows that supertrucks traveled 5.33 percent of the mileage in 1965, but were involved in 11.6 percent of the fatalities. But the most dramatic figure of all comes from the Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety's 1967 study, which showed that for every truckdriver who died in accidents involving trucks, 38 others were killed. Obviously, whether the stone hits the pitcher, or the pitcher hits the stone, it is going to go hard on the pitcher.

For the reasons I have detailed here again today, I believe the bill should be returned to the Public Works Committee. It simply has not had enough study on the safety factors alone.

A LOOK AHEAD IN AIR TRANSPORTATION

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, just the other day the Parks College of Aeronautical Technology, an adjunct of St. Louis University, held its commencement exercises with Mr. Najeeb E. Halaby, president of Pan American World Airways, as the guest speaker.

We all remember "Jeeb" Halaby as Federal Aviation Administrator from 1961 to 1965.

Parks Air College for a quarter of a century has led the way in the training of pilots for both the military and the Nation's air lines. Founded by a pioneer in aviation, Mr. Oliver Parks, it is an important source of trained personnel. I take pride in the fact Parks is located in Illinois, in the 24th Congressional District.

I have had an opportunity, Mr. Speaker, to read Mr. Halaby's speech, "The Look Ahead," and I found it to be most interesting and knowledgeable. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I make Mr. Halaby's remarks a part of the RECORD at this point:

THE LOOK AHEAD

(By Najeeb E. Halaby)

I am delighted to be here this morning, to greet you personally and also as a representative of Pan Am's 44,000 employees. This is a particularly appropriate greeting, it seems to me, for Parks and Pan Am are contemporaries. Your school was founded in August, 1927 and Pan Am initiated its first commercial flights, between Key West and Havana just two months later.

We have something else in common, too. For during these past four decades both the school and the airline have been identified with the world's fastest growing industry—air transportation. We have each contributed a share and played a role in what promises to be this century's most socially significant technological achievement, the developing Mobility Revolution.

In most fields, such a shared association with so important a development would probably call for a little reminiscence, a nostalgic backward glance at the tests and triumphs that brought us where we are today. This is not, however, the way of air transportation. There is rarely time for the backward look in the aerospace industry. The race is too swift, the competition too keen and the course ahead too challenging to permit the luxury of retrospection. There are no rear-view mirrors in the air transportation business. Like our pilots, we're always looking out beyond the nose and planning to cope with what lies just over the horizon.

Today I am going to look ahead. I'm not a certificated prophet and I haven't had my prescience checked out recently, so there is no guarantee that what I see will be the actual future and the whole future. And you will surely temper whatever I say with your own point of view and expectations.

With these qualifications, let us look ahead at what, from this day on, will be *our* future. And to keep our extrapolations within practicable limits, let us set our sights on 1980.

If there is one word which characterizes the future of air transportation it is MORE. There will be more of everything in the years that lie ahead—more passengers and mail and cargo, more speed, more aircraft, more comfort, more schedules, more routes, more safety, more jobs, more money invested, both public and private and, for those of us in the industry, more problems.

These challenges will be generated by various sets of circumstances.

Some will be mere numbers problems. We expect air passenger revenue miles to triple by 1980 and cargo ton-miles to grow sevenfold. Increases of this order in the course of twelve years would tax the planning and investment capacity of any industry. This is one problem we welcome.

Another set of challenges will be technological and will be shared by the manufacturers, the airlines and the government agencies responsible for air traffic control. This is the hardware business—the job of designing and building and operating the planes and the supporting equipment which are the tools of the mobility revolution.

For many of the larger airlines this new equipment will also mean an enormously complex program for adapting their personnel and operating procedures to three or four new types of vehicles within the space of a decade. I speak of the airbus, the superjet, the several versions of the supersonic and perhaps even V/STOL aircraft.

The third challenge we will face in years immediately ahead is the system problem. The mobility revolution must embrace all forms of transportation and the interfaces between these various modes. We must think in terms of total transportation, of door-to-door travel. Without this total trip concept, the traveler will find that the speed advantage he gains from the jet age is fractionalized.

This inter-modal disparity already afflicts us. Even with today's subsonic jets the New York to London traveler spends about one-third of his total trip time covering the less than 1% of his journey represented by surface transportation to and from the airports. The ratio of surface travel speeds to aircraft speeds can be as much as 60 to 1, depending upon traffic conditions.

For a trip from St. Louis to New York the traveler will spend about the same amount of time in the ground transportation phase, covering the 30 miles between the city centers and the airports, as he will in the aircraft flying almost 900 miles.

This disproportion between the speeds of aircraft travel on the one hand and the approach to the aircraft on the other, between the long haul and the short haul modes of travel, is presently unacceptable. Within the next few years, faster planes and increasing surface congestion will make it insupportable.

A final area of challenge in these exciting years ahead is defined by the three C's—Competition, Constraints and Controls.

Competition in the air transportation industry will continue to take various forms. Some of it will consist of the normal intercompany struggles for enlarged shares of the growing market. Some of it will be induced competition generated by governmental realignment of established routes.

There will also probably be some competition from outside the industry. If high-speed rail travel is developed to its full potential within the next decade it may exert some pressure on air service on routes of 300 miles or less. There is, of course, the added possibility that the development of advanced V/STOL technology during that period may forestall that competitive threat. The megalopolis may well be knit together by vertical lift Metroplanes which carry a hundred or more passengers between city centers at twice the speed and at the same cost as the fastest surface transportation.

Constraints also take various forms—trade and travel restrictions, inflationary pressures on both equipment costs and wage levels and, most important of all, the lag in our public decision-making processes which fail to provide adequate airports and the vital transportation links between the jet aircraft and our ever-growing urban areas.

Controls are exercised by a patchwork of agencies on the federal, state and local levels, by international agreements and by trade organizations set up by the airlines themselves. Operating practices, the licensing and certification of personnel, safety measures, fares and frequencies and even noise abatement procedures are all a part of the great network of controls and regulations which affect both the day-to-day operations and the progressive evolution of air transportation.

I have listed these challenges to air transportation's development and the disciplines under which it must operate for several reasons. First, I think it most important that you who are to enter the aerospace industry realize that while we have a great deal going for us, we also face many unsolved problems.

The other reason for my realism is that these problems and challenges can be your opportunities, whether you join the industry as operating personnel, as maintenance staff, as management or as engineers. For these problems must be solved and these challenges met if we are to forge a mobility revolution.

Parks has equipped you with the skills and the educational background to play your part in this period of development and change which faces us. But there is something else you can offer as an individual. This is the innovative spirit, the open mind, the urge to question accepted practices and attitudes.

For air transportation, like any other enterprise, has either inherited or acquired its share of stereotyped thinking on the way up. And we have, as I suggested in my discussion of the challenges which face us, generated some problems which are new to both the industry and the society it serves. Since new problems often fail to yield to conventional approaches, the mobility revolution will depend upon minds trained and ready to challenge the obvious, the apparently proven and the improbable.

Let me suggest a few likely areas for the innovator. In the technological field there is the question of the nature of the beast. Why must an airplane look like a bird? And, why wheels? The wheel is an ingenious device, but its use on a 500-ton vehicle dropping out of the sky at several hundred miles an hour is surely not the ideal answer to the landing problem. In short, I am sure that wingless wheel-less lifting bodies will be evolved for routine flight in the coming years.

As for size, we may find the capacity of our aircraft limited only by the availability of passenger pool over a given route at a given time. Economics, rather than engineering, will size our airplanes.

In the operational category, some inquiring mind will wonder why travelers should be incommunicado during flight. We are devising the world's most sophisticated communications system to control our planes in flight—why can't we use this to allow our passengers to keep in touch with the world they are traversing?

And then we have the ticket, that inheritance from surface travel when a man in a green eyeshade wrote endlessly on a small slip of paper while you shifted from foot to foot. Why can't we declare ourselves passengers by pushing a button?

The role of the pilot in an increasingly automated operational environment will need fresh study and perhaps some original solutions in the near future. Pan Am's 747's will carry Inertial Guidance navigation systems. Data Link automatic reporting communications, radar identification equipment, some form of pictorial display navigation equipment and automatic landing facilities. Each of these sophisticated devices must be man-monitored and in each case there must be boundary area where the pilot assumes the decision-making process. This man-machine relationship will demand continued research.

We must also work out new ways to train flight crews. The armed forces, the traditional source of commercial pilots, are training fewer pilots and working harder to retain those they do train. The airlines, with a substantial increase in their fleets in prospect over the next decade, must face the fact that half of their present pilots are now 45 years old or older.

Perhaps the greatest opportunity for the innovative mind in the field of air transportation lies in its relationship with its social environment. For it is in this area that we must solve the problems of airport congestion, airport access facilities, noise and air pollution control and of establishing short haul transportation systems which will enable us to offer all the benefits of the jet age to everyone who travels or who ships his goods by air.

This will demand not only imagination and public education but also conviction and commitment.

Let me give you a small example. For years, artists' sketches of the city of the future have shown vertical flight vehicles soaring off from the rooftops of our urban centers. But when Juan T. Trippe and Harold Gray and the Pan Am staff decided to make a reality of this dream and established a helicopter service between the Pan Am building in New York and Kennedy International airport, the reactions outside the industry ranged from skepticism to outright obstructionism.

They persevered, however, and the service became an operational success and a feature of New York urban travel, cutting the access time between the city center and the airport from an hour or more to ten minutes. Furthermore, with advanced helicopters now on the drawing boards, this Pan Am-subsidized short haul service could become a profitable operation.

It is this sort of innovation, of commitment and resolve which will solve the problems of the coming mobility revolution. The young person who can combine these qualities with imagination, the courage to question and an open mind will hold our transportation future in his hands.

MUTUAL FUND REFORM

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, the Senate enacted legislation designed to regulate the mutual fund industry. This legislation, which I have been vigorously advocating, is clearly in the best interests of the public. In an editorial which follows, the Washington Post has pointed out:

> Some 4 million American investors . . . have put their money into shares of mutual funds.

These people, many of them unsophisticated investors, are entitled to protection of their interests. The House Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance, which I chair, has pending before it H.R. 14472, which I authored and which is a companion measure to S. 3724. The hearings on that measure have been completed and the subcommittee will promptly initiate its executive deliberation.

Notwithstanding the concerns which I share with my colleagues, the Honorable HARLEY O. STAGGERS, chairman of the parent committee, and the Honorable HASTINGS KEITH, the ranking minority member of my subcommittee, for early enactment of this legislation, the fact remains that it is impossible for the subcommittee to report a measure to the full committee before the Congress recesses for the political conventions. I can assure my colleagues that immediately upon the reconvening of the Congress in September, every effort will be made to see that this legislation will reach the floor of the House for consideration. With that fact in mind, I sincerely request that my colleagues read and give serious consideration to the points raised in the Washington Post editorial which follows:

MUTUAL FUNDS REFORM

Some four million American investors, by recent count, have put their money into shares of mutual funds and thereby expanded this segment of the security industry explosively; total assets have swelled from $450 million in 1940 to $43 billion today. But the economies that have accompanied this great increase in volume, according to the Securities and Exchange Commission, have not been passed on to the customers, many of whom are small investors with little way of knowing what is a reasonable sales commission or a fair management fee. To curb what SEC has held to be "excessive" charges of both kinds, a bill has been passed by the Senate and is now stuck fast in a House Commerce subcommittee headed by Rep. Moss.

Unless it is dislodged before the preconvention recess, either by the efforts of Mr. Moss or by a timely nudge from the chairman of the full committee, Rep. Staggers, chances of passage by this Congress are not good. If the bill can at least be moved along to the full committee before the recess, however, there is hope it could be reported out for floor action when the Congress reconvenes.

Busy as the gentlemen of the House may be in the closing rush, this is not too much to ask for the sake of trying to safeguard the interests of a great number of investors who, a lot of people seem to agree, are paying more than they ought to for what they're getting. The bill is scarcely punitive; it would set limits of a sort on management fees and sales commissions, and would also seek to control the initial commission cost to the buyer under a type of fund known as the "front end load." But the measure would only establish standards which would then be subject to enforcement, and appeal, in the courts. The bill is not as stringent a measure as had been originally proposed; its effect might well be relatively modest. But even modest government influence over the operations of the mutual funds, it seems clear, is far preferable to none at all.

THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM: EARLY ADJOURNMENT—II

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I commented on the problems and probabilities of a lengthy second session of this 90th Congress. These remarks appear on pages 74305 and 74306 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Since many of my colleagues have evinced an interest in those remarks, and the reasons behind them, I would like to call to their attention a thought I expressed to my constituents nearly a year ago, as the first session of the 90th Congress went into its 11th, although unfortunately, not last, month.

In my biweekly Washington report, issued November 9, 1967, I explained:

ARE LONG SESSIONS GOOD SESSIONS?

Based on my experience of twelve years in the New Hampshire State Senate and almost five years now as a U.S. Representative, I can state without equivocation that legislative sessions unlimited in length are usually bad business. They permit slipshod scheduling, waste of the legislator's time and the taxpayer's money, and even worse, poor legislation. They also limit the amount of time I can spend on post-adjournment office hours and visitations in my District. Over the years, these have been helpful in acquainting me with problems of constituents and communities on a first-hand basis. Because I am a representative as well as a legislator, an important aspect of my job is obviously, personal contact at the grass-roots level. One reason why so much power has become centralized in Washington may be that with Congress now meeting on an almost year-round basis, Washington is virtually "home" for many Members.

TESTIMONY CONFIRMS ADMINISTRATION POLICY SHIFT ON VIETNAM

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, as part of a continuing search for relevant information on the Vietnam war, I have prepared a summary of the most significant testimony given by administration officials on the subject of Vietnam before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee in May of this year. It is my belief that this new testimony, taken as a whole, provides us with new evidence to suggest that the administration is abandoning the idea of a military solution in Vietnam and is recognizing that our main hope in Vietnam rests in shifting the burden of the war effort to the South Vietnamese. I am inserting this information in the Record at this time so that it might be incorporated into the public dialog:

TESTIMONY CONFIRMS ADMINISTRATION POLICY SHIFT ON VIETNAM

(Public statement by Congressman Donald W. Riegle, Jr., July 22, 1968)

As part of his continuing 2-year search for relevant information on the Vietnam War, Congressman Riegle today discussed the highlights of the 1968 testimony by the expert witnesses on Vietnam appearing before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee.

Riegle, with the approval of Chairman Otto Passman (D-La) cross-examined the Vietnam witnesses, William Bundy, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Department of State; James Grant, Assistant Administrator, Bureau of Vietnam, Agency for International Development; and Rear Admiral William F. Lemos, U.S. Navy, Director, East Asia and Pacific Region, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA), for some 5 hours.

Riegle expressed the view that the testimony, taken as a whole, provides strong indication and evidence that the Administration has abandoned the idea of a military solution in Vietnam, has concluded that further U.S. escalation is counter-productive, and that the main hope in Vietnam rests with shifting the war burden back to the South Vietnamese.

Riegle cited several admissions in the record (attached in abstract form to this statement), including:

1. A formal repudiation of the "Domino Theory" by Mr. Bundy.

2. A formal statement by Bundy that latest policy reviews indicate that further increases in the U.S. commitment in Vietnam could not be expected to improve the situation there. Bundy clearly states that the burden of the war effort must be shifted to the South Vietnamese.

3. A formal admission by Admiral Lemos that there does not exist—past or present—a 10-square acre of land in South Vietnam that is secure from the enemy. A second admission concerns the fact that of the total "enemy force" in South Vietnam—past or present—the South Vietnamese component has always exceeded 50%.

4. A formal admission by Bundy that the South Vietnamese Government has not increased its popular support within the last year.

5. A series of admissions by Mr. Grant and others, that there continues to be an inadequate South Vietnamese commitment to the war effort—and that serious indigenous "nation-building" is not yet taking place.

6. Results of a GAO audit of the $220 million (FY 69) U.S. financed Commodity Import Program (CIP) in South Vietnam—showing inept management and failure to meet objectives. It includes such things as examples of pledging of U.S. financed CIP commodities to finance the importation into Vietnam of such luxury goods as Mercedes-Benz automobiles and scotch whisky.

While being careful not to comment on the Vietnam War in any way that might hinder the American negotiators at the Paris Peace talks—Riegle said this latest confirmed information from top Administration officials offered fresh insight into the shifting position of the Administration on the war and thus should be incorporated in the public dialogue.

Abstracts from the committee testimony follow:

I. MAJOR POLICY ADMISSIONS ABOUT U.S. COMMITMENT IN VIETNAM—ABANDONMENT OF DOMINO THEORY AND FURTHER U.S. ESCALATION IS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE

Repudiation of the domino theory

Mr. Riegle. Are there any Chinese fighting in Thailand today?

Mr. Bundy. We do not think there are. There are men trained in China who are fighting. We are not talking about a domino theory that involves only North Vietnam. I do not use that term myself, I just say it is an irreversible trend.

Mr. Riegle. Who uses that term "domino theory"? I have seen it used.

Mr. Bundy. I do not think you would find any exponent of the domino theory in these terms in the State Department. The last top official to endorse the theory, which was originated in Mr. Eisenhower's Administration, was President Kennedy in 1963 but we have not used it because it is an over simplification. (P. 1253.)

Further U.S. escalation is counterproductive

Mr. Riegle. Let me raise one point here, too. The question I have in mind is the product of an awful lot of thought and worry. It concerns the seriousness of the threat in Vietnam in terms of the degree to which we ought to commit our resources of men and dollars to deal with it. As you know, over a period of time it became, in my judgment, a strategic commitment in terms of its absolute size, requiring $30 billion a year and over half a million men out there, and so forth—I am not sure that at the outset, 2 or 3 years ago, that we anticipated that this would become a strategic commitment in that sense.

Mr. Bundy. No we didn't.

Mr. Riegle. I think we proceeded on the basis of the expectation we would somehow be able to resolve the thing enroute and it would never mushroom to that point. It has. In effect, it is not clear yet whether it has leveled off. I am not sure we will know if it has for some time. The thought that is in my mind, as I try to do my job on this subcommittee, is to try to weigh this national commitment versus all the rest of our national commitments around the world and here at home. I say to myself: Beyond what point, in terms of physical commitment, does it not make sense to go and, in light of what is at stake in this paricular problem area? Let me put it in terms of one of the real tough tradeoff items that comes to my mind, it concerns the civil unrest we had in Chicago a matter of weeks ago. As you know, the decision was finally made to move Federal troops in there. We had to send them from Colorado and Texas which is not a very efficient way to have to meet that kind of problem. It is unfortunate that you have that kind of problem to solve anyway. But we do. It begins to highlight the tradeoff. Do you want to station people in Chicago, Saigon, or where? I am just wondering, in your own judgment, as you assess this part of the world as our top policy person in respect this problem, how much further is it realistic to think about going in terms of physical commitment either in terms of absolute dollars, manpower, percent of Federal budget, or what you, as you see it?

Mr. Bundy. I think it has been our general conclusion, particularly in this policy review, that we would not get under present circumstances, and unless the whole shape of North Vietnamese action changes, a significant increment of gain by a very major increase in U.S. forces. We needed to press harder on the Vietnamese to do more and limit our own reenforcements. In a sense we have tried to level off. Whether we will succeed or not depends much more on the North Vietnamese than it does on us. If they are going to continue this high rate of infiltration and launch a series of offensive actions, the scale of the fighting will continue upwards. The costs regrettably will tend to follow. They go together.

Mr. Riegle. Is that not to say that we are really hooked on the basis of their initiative?

Mr. Bundy. It is to say that the scale of our own military actions depends to a degree on the scale of the offensive action of the other side. I don't see how you can get away from that. I hope that we are going to see a reduction. I think they are to some extent shooting off an awful lot in both men and ammunition they won't likely be able to replace. When you see what you rightfully call a mini-Tet offensive, which is on a fraction of the scale that took place in late January and February, you begin to see at least some evidence that their capability to do this kind of thing is diminishing.

When we relieved Khesanh and got into Ashau Valley, you could see something that could turn into a significant basic change in the military situation. This is not to say they don't have the position for other major attacks because they have. Coming back to your basic point, Congressman, I would say if we can get this thing scaled down it will be all to the good. I equally say our seeing it through seems to me a matter not merely of the 15–17 million people in South Vietnam, but of the continued security and chance for progress of the rest of the area. I wouldn't suppose, quite frankly, that 4 years ago we would have foreseen our being in the situation to this extent. The justification for our being in to this extent goes beyond Vietnam. It has to go beyond Vietnam.

Mr. Riegle. You see, there is an element of contradiction in what we have established here in that sense. On the one hand, I think we would both agree that beyond a point when one commitment becomes so overriding in terms of its call on resources, men and dollars, both at home and abroad, is just so substantial that overall you suffer a reversal that you just can't afford. You have to sort of bank your fires in the one commitment area in terms of not being able to increase it by virtue of the fact that you cannot subtract those scarce resources from other objectives. If we buy that concept, that that is a real problem and we may be very close to that point today, I don't know if you would buy that or not.

Mr. Bundy. I think we are on a practical basis. I think we are doing the right thing to thrust the effort and the burden more and more on the South Vietnamese as they could not have taken on a year or two ago. It is not that we haven't thought along these lines right along. It is on account of the fact that they are in considerably better shape as a government with an Assembly and a certain increase in morale. There is some chance of their being able to assume the burden as it is turned over to them now.

Mr. Riegle. If we take this point, if we both agree on that, given the nature of all our commitments, domestic and international, you really can't have one unlimited commitment which would just automatically say, if necessary, we will stop everything in every other area to invest it in one commitment?

Mr. Bundy. I don't suppose there is ever that kind of case.

Mr. Riegle. If we can say that, on the one hand, and go to the other and say we come back to the proviso that you inserted a minute ago of the United States response if North Vietnam continues to maintain the pressure with the Chinese too in some way increasing their participation along with the Russians. Your feeling was that we would have to respond and we would have to meet it. There is really no choice in that?

Mr. Bundy. We should do nothing to increase the chances of that.

Mr. Grant. The way we would meet a Chinese entry into the war would not, shall we say, be confined to the Vietnamese area.

Mr. Riegle. Why isn't it likely that someone over on the other side, some strategist might not say, "You know, we have finally gotten the United States in just the sort of resource equation that we hoped to get them in for a long time; namely, if we continue to up the ante, they will continue to respond because they have to," by virtue of the rationale that you just supplied. "We can finally raise the ante in our backyard in Southeast Asia where we are operating in a way that is not very cost effective for the United States from the resource point of view because of the 10-to-1 ratio and the fact we are on the Asian mainland and you have the terrain and health problems and everything else." You cannot find the enemy and you cannot tell the good guys and all the rest of it. Might the enemy not say to themselves, "As long as we continue to up the ante and if the Americans are willing to escalate their commitment to meet our escalating commitment, we can literally bring them down?" Might they not say, "They will end up collapsing in their other goal area across the world or at home, so we will have won. We will have won by definition."

Mr. Bundy. Take it in two bites. I think one has to say that we have fought the whole war in about a one-quarter mobilization status, if you want to use a very rough figure of speech. We fought the Korean war on a half mobilization basis. There is a tremendous stretch that we could go to if we were convinced that this was the only way to get to our goal. There is an awful lot of stretch. That is not to down grade in the slightest the vital domestic needs we have.

Mr. Riegle. Let us also put in the record, then, there have been no Administration calls for those sort of things?

Mr. Bundy. I understand. The fact is, Congressman, you can find very interesting and authoritative statements by North Vietnamese that appear to be very much along these lines. I remember one by Le Duan, which said the "Americans can't hold the secure areas and deal with us without putting in a million men. They cannot do it, or they won't do it." They talk along these lines. I think that this is one case you cannot say will never arise. But the fact is we see that at the level we are now, and the kind of South Vietnamese effort that now appears to be coming up, we can deal with it. (P. 1255–57.)

Over half the enemy force—past and present—is comprised of South Vietnamese

Mr. Riegle. Another thing I would like to get on the record from the military men. Has there ever been a time in this war, from its beginning to the present date, where less than half of the enemy force has been South Vietnamese, as you count in terms of the official DOD numbers? I am talking about total enemy population, cadre, the whole works.

Admiral Lemos. Not in those terms; but I think I must say for the record that of the combat units presently operating in South Vietnam, something over two-thirds are North Vietnamese at this time.

Mr. Riegle. Let me then ask this question. The thing Mr. Grant is most worried about right now is the impact the Tet offensive has had on the overall operations in South Vietnam. As I understand the situation, the cadre and irregulars and so forth played a major role, if not the major role, in the Tet offensive; is this correct?

Admiral Lemos. A major role.

Mr. Riegle. Doesn't that demonstrate, when we talk about combat troops, that various categories of enemy forces can almost change their combat effectiveness from day to day. The guy can be out hoeing in the field one day and blowing up the embassy the next day; and might not under your classification be listed in the combat category?

Admiral Lemos. That is quite right. (P. 1344.)

No 10-acre area—past or present—is secure from the enemy

Mr. Passman. Have we cleaned up a spot as big as 10 acres anywhere in that country that they do not breakout anew? You would think with the half a million troops we have there and the billions of dollars we poured in, at least they could not come in and tear up and burn up portions of Saigon. This is a sincere question. I think it is quite obvious that a majority of Vietnamese do not want us in there and I think it is demonstrated almost every time that something happens over there; and you know very well that this thing is worse than the local press carries it.

(Off the record.)

Mr. Riegle. I would like to get two further things into the record. One is, does anybody know of a 10-square acre area for a period of a year, or even six months, that has not had at least one or more enemy incidents of some kind? I assume the answer basically is "No." The military men here, would they venture a guess if there is such an area free of enemy effort, or is it pretty clear there is probably no such area in Vietnam.

Admiral Lemos. There are probably some pretty vacant areas.

Mr. Riegle. How about populated areas?

Admiral Lemos. There is no area of that size they cannot go into if they choose. (P. 1343–44.)

Failure of South Vietnamese Government to win greater popular support

Mr. Riegle. How are we doing in terms of the basically uncommitted part of the South Vietnamese population, the fellow sort of caught in the middle and who does not really understand the issues very well, and maybe in an area that at one time we control and then the battle situation is fluid and maybe the Vietcong takes control? But in terms of the average citizen out in the countryside who holds the balance of political power in the final analysis, what seems to be his state of mind today and how is that different from what it was say a year ago as we can pin it down?

Mr. Bundy. This is, as you know, a matter of the most tentative judgment, Mr. Congressman, but I would say to compare it to a year ago that there is considerably greater hostility to the Vietcong than there was, but there has not been a commensurate gain in positive feelings towards the Government . . . The Vietcong has been much more blamed for the violence they instigated, including the Tet offensive. In short, I would say there is a significant increase in negative feelings about the Vietcong not yet reflected in an equally positive feeling toward the Government. (P. 1246.)

Failure to win support from other countries

Mr. Riegle. In terms of winning a meaningful commitment from other countries around the world to assist us in this program we have undertaken in Vietnam, I mean the whole ball of wax, not just the economic nation-building aspect but also the military side, how have we done in the past year since we last met, in winning any substantial meaningful measurable increment in support from other countries, either adjacent to the problem area or elsewhere around the world?

Mr. Bundy. We have not added any countries in the military supporting role, Mr. Congressman, not for lack of poking at them but because I think there are different cases and different policy reasons for other nations not coming through——

Mr. Riegle. The essence of your answer was there has not been a measurable increase in the support we have had from our allies in direct participation in Vietnam?

Mr. Bundy. Not in military participation, Mr. Riegle.

Mr. Riegle. And in economic help you have had no increase?

Mr. Bundy. That has not changed appreciably over a year ago. (P. 1249–50.)

II. MAJOR UNSOLVED IN-COUNTRY PROBLEMS

Inadequate price controls

Mr. Riegle. Now let us go to price controls. Do we have price controls in Vietnam?

Mr. Grant. There are price controls on a limited number of commodities where they can be enforced—on petroleum, gasoline and oil. But for other commodities, things like vegetables and the like, there are no effective price controls because it is administratively impossible for Government to administer them. (P. 1228.)

Inadequate wage controls

Mr. Riegle. What about wage controls? Do we have any wage controls in South Vietnam?

Mr. Grant. Not across the board. There are efforts to keep wages down, but this is complicated by the inflation problem. (P. 1228.)

Inadequate crack-down on the black market

Mr. Riegle. But the black market is still a major establishment in South Vietnam?

Mr. Grant. Yes. (P. 1228.)

Inadequate initiative against South Vietnamese Government corruption

Mr. Riegle. What about corruption in government? Is that as bad a problem as a year or two ago?

Mr. Grant. It is still a very serious problem. (P. 1228.)

Inadequacy of South Vietnamese response

Mr. Riegle. One of the problems we encountered a year ago was there were not just enough Vietnamese people in their Government allocated to economic development as such, or nation building, that were competent and on the job with some degree of continuity to carry out their share of joint projects in any sort of efficient or effective way. Does that problem still exist today?

Mr. Grant. Yes; it does. We have tried to meet it in several ways, but in one way in particular; that is, to limit the number of things we do, to concentrate on the most important things and in turn to encourage them to focus their limited manpower on the same things. They and we must make better use of limited personnel. (P. 1289.)

Taxes in Vietnam

Mr. Riegle. Let me now ask this question. Let's take the first one; higher taxes. Are you satisfied with the progress that has been made in that area in terms of raising taxes to the level desirable in South Vietnam, or do we still have some distance to go in that respect?

Mr. Grant. No, I am not fully satisfied. We have made some very substantial progress and more is due to come but I think it is very clear we would like to see still further progress.

Mr. Riegle. Would that same conclusion essentially be true in all of these other areas, a drive against corruption and efforts to try to control prices, etc?

Mr. Grant. It is certainly true in most of them, with one exception, which is in an area where we agree in principle, and that is this whole question of the strict discipline of national resources. We have approached this issue through a different path than through price controls and rationing. We believe, given a very weak administrative structure in Vietnam, that to follow that particular path might encourage corruption and would not be very effective. (P. 1224.)

Status of refugee population

Mr. Riegel. Mr. Bundy, what seems to be the situation vis-a-vis the refugee problem at this time? Do you have a good feeling we are on top of that problem or not?

Mr. Bundy. I would not go as far as to say we are on top of it. In broad figures, roughly 810,000 new refugees were generated during the Tet offensive all over the country. And that was reduced by the refugees returning to their own homes, by some new construction, by relocation and so forth to about 510,000 as of 2 weeks ago. The best first judgment we have is that this new mini-offensive—as you have described it, and it is a good description—may have generated at least temporarily another hundred thousand refugees. The answer is that a lot has been done, but that an awful lot remains to be done.

Mr. Riegel. Are they being adequately fed, adequately housed, adequately cared for in terms of medical attention? I do not mean in the general sense. Do we have hard evidence to the effect that we have serious problems in this area that we have difficulty correcting?

Mr. Bundy. We undoubtedly have serious problems in this area. These are the figures of those generated this year. In round numbers, you have a million—Mr. Grant will correct that precise figure—carried technically in this status, who are in camps labeled "refugee camps". We had actually managed, toward the end of 1967, to effect a net reduction for the year of those in that status and a considerable improvement in their treatment. But that was only to say that we made some headway, it was not to say we did not have major problems, and the problem is significantly greater now. A great deal needs to be done and I would ask Mr. Grant to supply the details, but that certainly is an accurate description of the broad picture. (P. 1249.)

Losses in refugee commodities

Mr. Riegel. Are there any critical areas where that is still not the case as you run across the board from education through medicine and these various other categories? Are there still areas where we are increasing Americanization?

Mr. Grant. We still have modest increases in the refugee program and the medical program. In both of these areas, as you know, the load has been much greater in 1968 than in 1967.

Mr. Riegel. I am glad you raised the point. Do we have any guarantee that the refugees are in fact getting the food allotted to them, the food we help pay for and import? Do we have certain proof, an absolute guarantee?

Mr. Grant. We do not have a guarantee that the refugees are getting the kind of help we would like to see them get. There is a substantial short fall between what they ought to be getting and what they are getting. (P. 1272.)

Inadequate land reform program

Mrs. Reid. We discussed yesterday the report which was issued by the House Government Operations Committee: a report on land reform by the Vietnamese Government. In that report they stated that the Vietcong were gaining much support by redistributing confiscated land to the peasants. I understand that the National Land Reform Congress met in South Vietnam earlier this year. What progress was made?

Mr. Grant. At the Congress in January, President Thieu made it very clear that he considered the progress made in the past 4 or 5 years in implementation of the existing laws on the books had been poor and inadequate. In fact, I think the word he used was "shameful."

Mr. Riegel. Did you agree with that?

Mr. Grant. I agree it was clearly inadequate. I agree with him in general. (P. 1209.)

III. GAO AUDIT REVEALS DEFICIENCIES IN THE COMMODITY IMPORT PROOGRAM

Summary of GAO audit

Mr. Riegel. I want to hit some of the highlights in the GAO audit in summary form. Start with the one we are on now. CIP-financed commodities. Pledging of these. The quote on page 3 from the GAO report reads as follows:

"We found also that over $25 million in CIP-financed commodities were pledged by importers with banks for periods ranging from 2 to 38 months. There was also evidence suggesting that in some cases, the pledging of CIP-financed goods created the means to finance the import of such luxury items as Mercedes-Benz passenger cars and Scotch Whiskey.

"We believe that USAID's commodity analysts were only partially fulfilling their potential role since they were not attempting to independently evaluate requests for commercial import program financing in relation to need. We believe that this may have stemmed from an overreaction to a fear of commodity shortages in Vietnam as well as from a general attitude that individual importers are in the best position to judge commodity needs."

In terms of quality and quantity checks, they say on page 3 and on page 17 there was no effective accountability over the receipt, storage, and movement to first destination of these goods."

"U.S. agencies have not been able to maintain effective accountability control over the hundreds of millions of dollars worth of economic assistance program commodities arriving in Vietnam since the start of the massive buildup in late 1965."

Mr. Grant. What page?

Mr. Riegel. Page 3 and page 17. Then we go from there to page 25.

"There was no basis for determining with any reasonable degree of accuracy the losses that have occurred, the stage at which they have occurred, or the reasons to which such losses are attributable."

We go to commodity inventory levels, page 4:

"Actual and proposed commodity levels for the pacification program were excessive to needs in practically every case we examined.

"Case-by-case inquiries by our staff did disclose significant instances of commodities not being used for extended periods of time."

They say on page 34:

"We attribute the foregoing excess stocks to not cancelling orders known to be excessive, not recomputing requirements on a timely basis and a reluctance on the part of USAID advisors to exercise supply discipline because of a fear that shortages might result."

Under "Theft, pilferage and shrinkage controls" on page 4:

"There were indication of an increasing security consciousness on the part of USAID and GVN officials, however, security measures needed for the protection of United States-financed economic assistance commodities had not been fully implemented. As in the case of the difficulties encountered in exercising accountability controls discussed on pages 7 to 26, we mainly attribute these conditions to a fragmentation of responsibility among agencies in Vietnam and to the essentially advisory role played by U.S. personnel."

On page 39, in relation to that point they say:

". . . we mainly attribute these conditions to the fragmentation of responsibility among agencies in Vietnam and to the essentially advisory role played by U.S. personnel."

"Commodity End Use," page 5; they state in their conclusion that significant cases of nonutilization of commodities were noted. They say on page 56:

"The resources control checkpoint system is the program intended to deny material resources to the enemy. This program seemed to be considered relatively unimportant by responsible GVN and United States agencies at the time of our examination."

If you would take these several basic conclusions by GAO and go into all the supporting evidence that I am going to insert in the record at this point, under each one of these areas the GAO people provided, that is a damning indictment. I have had a chance to review this only in a very quick way, but if their assertions are even 25 percent accurate, this is a serious indictment, I think, of our management system," pp. 1295–1297.

(Note.—Complete GAO Audit of the Commodity Import Program in South Vietnam contained on pages 767–824 of Part II of the Hearings before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations.)

GEN. FRANK S. BESSON, JR.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] may extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on August 1, the U.S. Army Materiel Command, Washington, D.C., will celebrate its sixth anniversary, this organization is headed by an outstanding leader, a great soldier, a dedicated citizen, a man whom I know is respected by all who have had the privilege of knowing him. Gen. Frank S. Besson, Jr., is a public servant of the highest order.

In my personal dealings with General Besson I have developed the highest admiration and greatest respect for this great military leader and sincerely humane man. His only desire is to serve his country and to sustain and protect and provide for our soldiers wherever they are stationed.

Six years ago when the Army Materiel Command was formed, it was charged with the responsibility for research, development, production, procurement, testing, evaluation, maintenance, storage, and issuance of military equipment and materiel. It was an awesome undertaking. Because of the magnitude of the task, General Besson, who had already achieved an outstanding reputation for performing the near impossible as Chief of the U.S. Army Transportation Corps, was selected to head this mammoth organization. Those who knew of his ability were sure he would prove successful despite handicaps or obstacles presented to this great manager.

General Besson had an outstanding record earned over the years since his graduation from the U.S. Military Academy in 1932 and the graduate school of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1935.

General Besson was presented a test. Our Nation committed troops in Vietnam in support of our Southeast Asia commitments. A buildup of our industrial might with efficiency and dispatch was necessary. More importantly, the finished military product had to be de-

livered to our soldiers and marines in Vietnam at a time when there were few docks, roads, or transportation facilities in this small struggling nation.

General Besson personally went to Vietnam to confer with General Westmoreland and through a cooperative effort this team delivered the best equipment to the finest troops in the world, the young men of the U.S. Army.

General Besson has performed an outstanding feat. He has streamlined the command so that its efficiency is established and well known. Industrial cooperation and relations with AMC under his leadership have been excellent. Over the 6-year period he has delivered billions of dollars of materiel to our troops over the longest distances and in the shortest possible time ever known in the history of our Nation. He has been a dedicated assistant to the Commander in Chief. His outstanding efforts and work have earned for him the respect, confidence, and support of the Members of Congress. He has performed the task in an unobtrusive manner. His only desire is to meet the needs of our soldiers for whom he has a deep personal interest, and to ensure their safe return to their loved ones.

It is my personal privilege, and I am sure the privilege of my colleagues, to salute Gen. Frank S. Besson, Jr., and his associates at the U.S. Materiel Command on this their sixth birthday. Personally, and for the sake of our Nation, I wish General Besson a long and continually successful life.

At this time I would like to insert in the Record a summary of the important programs of his command during the past year:

ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND SHARPENS LOGISTICAL SUPPORT OF COMBAT FORCES

Increasingly effective logistical support of combat forces in the field characterized the past year's operations of the U.S. Army Materiel Command (AMC), which observes its sixth anniversary on 1 August.

Primary emphasis throughout AMC's huge network of more than 190 arsenals, depots, laboratories, proving grounds, procurement offices and other facilities has been placed upon providing the finest possible weapons, equipment and other supplies to front line troops in Southeast Asia—enough and on time.

This heightened support of the war effort in Vietnam has been achieved through development of improved weapons and equipment, expedited production and procurement, and streamlining of both the organization and procedures of the Army's largest logistics field command.

Commenting upon the performance of AMC over the past 12 months, General William C. Westmoreland, newly-appointed Chief of Staff of the Army, said:

"It is a pleasure to extend the heartiest congratulations and best wishes to the members of the Army Materiel Command as you celebrate the 6th anniversary of your service to the nation."

General Westmoreland, who recently completed four years as commander of the U.S. Army in Vietnam, added:

"The success of our fighting forces in Vietnam is a direct reflection on the Army Materiel Command's ability to keep the fighting men supplied with the best and most advanced materiel. Each member of the command can take pride in its fine record of achievement.

"I join with all the men and women of the United States Army in saluting your accomplishments and in expressing confidence that you will continue in the same tradition of excellence which you have established."

Major organizational change in the AMC structure involved the establishment in April of a U.S. Army Sentinel Logistics Command, giving AMC a total of nine major subcommands. The new subcommand, to be located eventually in Huntsville, Alabama, will provide logistical support to the Sentinel System, the Communist Chinese-oriented antiballistic missile system approved for deployment last year.

Also established early this year was a U.S. Army Advanced Materiel Concepts Agency as another step in assuring closer coordination between AMC and the Army Combat Developments Command in evolving new materiel concepts and systems for the Army of the future.

Announcement was also made of the testing of a new concept in worldwide logistics management, aimed at further improving supply service to troops in the field and at reducing equipment deadlines. Under the new concept, AMC will assume responsibility and accountability at depot level for selected "high dollar value" secondary items on a worldwide basis. In the past each overseas theater has been responsible and accountable for all supply items physically located in the theater. Secondary items as involved in this new concept are components and repair parts used in the assembly and maintenance of major end items such as tanks, aircraft or weapons systems.

AMC has stepped up its program to secure civilian employee volunteers for extended overseas assignments in support of the Vietnam effort. In addition, approximately 350 highly qualified civilians served as members of AMC quick reaction teams on temporary duty in Southeast Asia. These teams provide assistance in meeting unforeseen short-term requirements in connection with the supply and maintenance of equipment.

Frank S. Besson, Jr., Commanding General of AMC, announced in May the establishment of an AMC award to provide recognition to all AMC civilian employees who have completed three months or more of service in a combat area. Recognition devices will be the USAMC Certificate of Recognition and a lapel emblem awarded in bronze for three months of service, silver for six months, and gold for nine months.

In a personal message on the occasion of AMC's anniversary, General Besson told AMC's more than 175,000 military and civilian personnel that they "may well be proud of AMC's increasingly responsive logistical support of our Modern Army."

"Without question," General Besson pointed out, "we have substantially extended the soldier's essential ability to 'move, shoot, see and communicate'."

Improved items of clothing and equipment which AMC is supplying in quantity to combat forces in Southeast Asia include poplin uniforms, nylon reconnaissance boats, and waterproof wrist compasses. A new, lightweight collapsible intrenching tool is also being provided.

Procurement of the M–16 rifle has been stepped up with selection of two additional production sources. Additionally, the previous single supplier will expand production from 30,000 to 50,000 rifles per month.

Among specific items developed recently by AMC agencies with direct application to field requirements are:

A new variable body armor being procured for use in Vietnam. Ceramic armor plate is inserted into front and back vest pockets to provide protection against shell fragments.

Improved Aircrew armor for protection of pilots and aircrewmen against small arms fire makes use of ceramic tiles curved to fit the chest and/or back.

A collapsible, fabric 55-gallon capacity water drum to resupply potable water to platoon-size combat units in Vietnam. The cylindrical container can be transported by vehicle, boat, or aircraft. A valve arrangement permits filling of canteens and other containers.

In its sixth year of operations, AMC provided more than one billion pounds of high explosives in support of combat operations in Southeast Asia.

A contract was awarded for development, production and follow-on support of the Tactical Fire Direction System (TACFIRE) with the first system scheduled for fielding in the 1970s. TACFIRE will be employed at battalion, division and corps artillery levels, and provides an automated capability for processing of field artillery technical and tactical data.

Advances in implementing Project ARMS (Army Master Data File Reader Microfilm System), involving transmittal of supply management data via microfilm to the Army in the field. This concept, after initial feasibility testing in 1967, has grown to a current distribution of 400 sets of microfilm data being produced and distributed by the AMC Catalog Data Office. It is anticipated that projected users of microfilmed data will total approximately 2,500 by July 1970.

Procurement and logistical support of Army aircraft also has been expanded by AMC. In 1962, the Army aviation inventory stood at 5,692 aircraft, of which 49% were rotary wing aircraft. As of now, the inventory comprises more than 11,000 aircraft, including 79% of the rotary wing type. Army aircraft flew 1.6 million hours in FY 1962, while in FY 1968 the total flying hours reached 6.7 million, with more than one-third of the aircraft inventory operating under combat conditions.

Production and procurement of 375 of the Army's newest combat helicopter, the Cheyenne (AH–56A), was authorized early in January. Designed as a stable weapons platform, able to take off and land vertically, it will fly at speeds up to 220 knots. First engineering test flight of the Cheyenne was completed in September 1967.

Newest version of the Chinook helicopter, the CH–47C, was accepted for the Army in March. Improvements over earlier models include increased speed and payload and longer ferry range.

A production contract was awarded in March for the OH–58A light observation helicopter. It will have performance characteristics comparable to those of the Cayuse (OH–6A).

The Army also formally accepted and deployed the AH–1G Huey Cobra, a high-speed helicopter gun ship. In Vietnam, it has proved its capability to perform search and target acquisition, reconnaissance by fire, multiple weapons fire support, and troop helicopter support. As of May of this year, 838 AH–1G helicopters had been placed under contract.

Additional heavy-lift helicopter support has been provided for combat forces in Southeast Asia. Twenty-one CH–54A "Flying Crane" helicopters have been airlifted to Vietnam. In addition to performing normal combat heavy lift support duties, the aircraft has been credited with retrieving more than 300 downed aircraft since September 1965.

Testing of the Army combat version of an Air Cushion Vehicle (ACV) is underway. AMC, acting under expedited procurement procedures, modified a commercial ACV into a military configuration, fabricated three vehicles, trained the crews, and delivered the equipment to Vietnam in 11 months. The ACV will travel at speeds up to 70 mph and is capable of engaging the enemy with .50 caliber heavy machine guns, 7.62 machine guns, and other weapons. Vital components and personnel are protected against enemy fire up to and including .50 caliber armor-piercing rounds.

The Armored Reconnaissance-Scout Vehicle (XM800) reached concept formulation stage in FY 1968. This is to be a small, lightweight, lightly-armored, highly-mobile vehicle for use in the scouting and reconnaissance missions of the armored cavalry and scout platoons. It will replace the M114A1 in the Army inventory.

Publicly exhibited during the past year were first prototypes of the jointly-developed U.S.-Federal Republic of Germany Main Battle Tank and Heavy Equipment Transporter. The tank, capable of firing guided missiles as well as conventional ammunition, features the latest state-of-the-art advances in fire control, suspension, armor protection and crew comfort.

Additional uses were worked out during the past year for the M113 armored personnel carrier. Bulldozer kits were developed and tested and have been sent to Vietnam for evaluation. Kits, to facilitate recovery of disabled vehicles and repair in the field, are also under development.

First production models of the new M60A1E2 combat tank were accepted in March and are now under test. This sophisticated weapon system, an improved version of the currently operational M–60, fires either missiles or conventional ammunition.

Fielding of the newest addition to the Army's fleet of general purpose vehicles—the M715 series, 1¼ ton, 4x4 trucks—began in January of this year. This new vehicle has four-wheel drive, a top speed of 60 mph, and a capacity to negotiate 60% grades.

Production of the M561 Gama Goat 1¼ ton cargo truck was ordered in June of this year, with the first vehicle expected off the production line in August 1969. The six-wheeled, two-unit vehicle has demonstrated a considerable improvement in off-road mobility. The two units are connected by an articulated joint which permits them to pitch and roll and still maintain ground contact and traction with all six powered wheels.

The Mobile Floating Assault Bridge/Ferry developed by AMC's Mobility Equipment Research & Development Center has been delivered to the Army. This versatile amphibious vehicle, primarily designed as a ferry for transporting essential elements across water obstacles, can link up with like vehicles to form a heavy duty bridge for river crossings by combat units.

Redeye, the Army's smallest air defense guided missile system, was deployed during FY 1968. It has an infrared homing guidance system which tracks the heat exhaust of low-flying enemy aircraft and guides the missile to its target. The hand held missile and launcher combined weigh little more than 29 pounds.

Successful development tests were conducted with components of another lightweight weapon, the Dragon anti-tank missile system which weighs about 27 pounds. Designed for high accuracy against both moving and stationary targets, it will be far superior in range, accuracy, and lethality to the antitank weapon it will replace, the 90mm recoilless rifle.

Production of new ground support equipment for the Pershing 1–A missile system was contracted for during FY 1968. Pershing 1–A involves a shift from tracked to wheeled carriers for all components, including the erector-launcher. The change was prompted by the Army's continuing quest for faster rate of fire, increased reliability, less maintenance, and lower over-all costs.

A new class of solid propellant additives has been developed. The new class of additives increases the burning rate of solid rocket propellants to at least three times the present rates and permits the development of rocket motors with shorter burning times and with higher thrust.

Prototypes of the Forward Area Alerting Radar (FAAR), a highly mobile, lightweight, high resolution radar capable of detecting aerial targets at extremely low altitudes, have been completed and tested. The FAAR is a component of the CHAPARRAL/VULCAN Air Defense System being developed to defend against low-altitude aerial attacks in the forward battle zone. In addition to the FAAR, the system includes the Chaparral surface-to-air guided missile system and the Vulcan 20mm gun, self-propelled and towed. First production units of the Chaparral and Vulcan systems were completed and delivered in FY 1968 to the Army for testing.

A new fully automatic mortar locating radar, the AN/TPQ–28, is nearing production. It is designed to provide the operator with an accurate first-round location of hostile mortar sites.

AMC achieved a significant improvement in multichannel radio relay communications in FY 1968. The medium capacity (12/24 channels) subsystem, featuring pulse code modulation, was delivered to the first users in Vietnam. An improved version of the AN/PRC–25 manpack radio, the AN/PRC–77, was initially fielded in Southeast Asia during the year.

First shipment of Army standard tactical single sideband communications equipment to Military Assistance Program grant aid recipients was completed in FY 1968. A total of 128 systems for Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Peru comprised this project.

The United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia are participants in the MALLARD project, established during the past year as a cooperative international program for development and production of a major tactical trunking and distribution communications system for field armies and elements of other services. The MALLARD system is intended to be fielded in the 1975–77 time period. It will provide secure, digital, automatically switched communications.

Announcement was made in May of the Army's latest night vision devices. Thousands of the devices have been supplied to field units, and many are in use now in South Vietnam. They include the Individual Weapons Sight, the Crew-Served Weapons Sight, and the Night Observation Device, all of which employ "image intensification" technology. This new system amplifies the dim glow of the moon, stars, or even faint skyglow and intensifies it within the target area of the scope. A supplementary light source is not required, and therefore, the user does not risk detection by an enemy using a near infrared viewer.

In its third year, the AMC Zero Defects Program, established to motivate all personnel to be more quality conscious, continued to produce tangible results. AMC employees, as of late FY 1968, had submitted more than 4,200 Error Cause Removal (ECR) actions, and management had approved and applied more than 3,300 of these suggestions.

AMC won the Department of the Army FY 1967 Award of Honor for Safety in worldwide competition with 13 other major commands. It was the second consecutive year and the third time in the last five years that AMC had won this top award. During FY 1967, rates of accidents, injuries and cost were improved 24% despite an approximate 25% increase in personnel.

In the aircraft safety field, efforts by AMC and industry to solve the post-crash fire problem have resulted in design of a fuel tank of superior strength to prevent rupture during crashes in which the crew would survive. Stronger tanks and other safety items recently were incorporated into a UH–1 helicopter, which has flown and intentionally crashed in a demonstration. Both engine and transmission were torn from their mountings, but no tanks were ruptured.

In open competition with films entered by the nation's foremost industrial firms, AMC films won important awards from the Industrial Management Society during FY 1968.

U.S. Army Missile Command won first place for its film, "The Standardization Concept," in the management techniques category; the U.S. Army Test and Evaluation Command also took first place for "Quick Change Artistry", in the methods improvement category; and Headquarters AMC won third place in the management motivation category for "Cost Reduction is a Money $plendid Thing."

Film producers were Redstone Arsenal Pictorial Division, the Aberdeen Proving Ground Photographic Laboratory, and the Army Pictorial Center.

The new Tandem Van de Graaff accelerator at the Nuclear Defense Laboratory, Edgewood Arsenal, Md., is scheduled to begin operation in the fall of this year. This unique research tool will provide the Army with the capability to obtain precise information from basic research in nuclear effects for incorporation into Army materiel designs.

A Smoke Generating Subsystem, Helicopter: XM52 was developed and is currently in limited production. Atomized fog oil is projected into the exhaust of the UH–1D helicopter turbine engine to generate airborne smoke screens. A number of the subsystems have been put into use in Vietnam.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. HOSMER (at the request of Mr. TAFT), for 5 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. ROBISON (at the request of Mr. TAFT), for 20 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. RANDALL, for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. GROSS and to include an editorial.

Mr. FALLON, Mr. BLATNIK, and Mr. JONES of Alabama (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) to extend their remarks and include extraneous matter on the conference report on S. 3710, today.

Mr. POLLOCK to revise and extend his remarks prior to the Findley amendment on H.R. 17126.

Mr. OLSEN to extend his remarks prior to the vote on the Smith amendment to the Food and Agriculture Act Amendments of 1965.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. TAFT) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ZWACH in two instances.
Mr. ESCH.
Mr. CURTIS.
Mr. SCHERLE in two instances.
Mr. HALL.
Mr. SCHADEBERG.
Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma.
Mr. GOODLING.
Mr. KUYKENDALL.
Mr. WYMAN in two instances.
Mr. STAFFORD.
Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota.

Mr. SHRIVER.
Mr. BROWN of Ohio.
Mr. HARRISON in two instances.
Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN.
Mr. BOB WILSON.
Mr. ASHBROOK in two instances.
Mr. MILLER of Ohio.
Mr. DERWINSKI in four instances.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. JONES of North Carolina) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. RYAN in four instances.
Mr. PATTEN in two instances.
Mr. DENT in four instances.
Mr. DOW.
Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON.
Mr. CORMAN.
Mr. LONG of Maryland in four instances.
Mr. OTTINGER in two instances.
Mr. WALDIE.
Mr. TIERNAN.
Mr. LEGGETT in two instances.
Mr. BINGHAM.
Mr. TENZER in five instances.
Mr. FRASER in two instances.
Mr. WOLFF in two instances.
Mr. PEPPER.
Mr. CULVER.
Mr. BLATNIK in five instances.
Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.
Mr. PATMAN in three instances.
Mr. MOSS.
Mr. SCHEUER in two instances.
Mr. HAGAN in two instances.
Mr. CAREY.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 698. An act to achieve the fullest cooperation and coordination of activities among the levels of government in order to improve the operation of our federal system in an increasingly complex society, to improve the administration of grants-in-aid to the States, to provide for periodic congressional review of Federal grants-in-aid, to permit provision of reimbursable technical services to State and local government, to establish coordinated intergovernmental policy and administration of development assistance programs, to provide for the acquisition, use, and disposition of land within urban areas by Federal agencies in conformity with local government programs, to establish a uniform relocation assistance policy, to establish a uniform land acquisition policy for Federal and federally aided programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 3136. An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to make a study to determine the advantages and disadvantages of increased use of the metric system in the United States.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 3418. An act to authorize appropriations for the fiscal years 1970 and 1971 for the construction of certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code, and for other purposes; and

S. 3679. An act to amend the act of June 19, 1968 (Public Law 351, 90th Cong.).

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 9 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, August 1, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2098. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting a report on Department of Defense procurement from small and other business firms for July 1967–May 1968, pursuant to the provisions of section 10(d) of the Small Business Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

2099. A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting the 17th annual report of the Commissioner of Education on the administration of Public Laws 874 and 815, 81st Congress, as amended, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, pursuant to the provisions of subsection 301 (c) of Public Law 874 and subsection 12(c) of Public Law 815; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

2100. A letter from the Director, Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior, transmitting copies of the report of negotiated sales contracts made under Public Law 87–689 for disposal of materials during the period January 1 through June 30, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of 76 Stat. 588; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2101. A letter from the Executive Director, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting a copy of the report on backlog of pending applications and hearing cases in the Commission as of June 30, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of section 5(e) of the Communications Act as amended July 16, 1952, by Public Law 554; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HÉBERT: Committee on Armed Services. S. 3865. An act to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1823). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. HOLLAND: Committee on Education and Labor. H.R. 2567. A bill to promote health and safety in the building trades and construction industry in all Federal and federally financed or federally assisted constructed projects; with amendment (Rept. No. 1824). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 15003. A bill to amend item 802.30, tariff schedules of the United States, so as to prevent payment of multiple customs duties by U.S. owners of racehorses purchased outside of the United States; with amendment (Rept. No. 1825). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. POAGE: Committee of conference. H.R. 15794. An act to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1827). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. POAGE: Committee of conference. S. 3638. An act to extend for 3 years the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers for milk required to be withheld from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government (Rept. No. 1828). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee of conference. H.R. 16361. An act, to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1829). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. ROONEY of New York: Committee of conference. H.R. 17522. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1830). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. WATTS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 16552. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the tariff classification of invert or hightest molasses, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1831). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 18985. A bill to amend the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968, to provide a pool of 14,000 additional appointments which may be made without regard to the employee ceilings of section 201 of that act (Rept. No. 1832). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BOLAND: Committee of conference. H.R. 18188. An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1833). Ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. POAGE: Committee of Conference. H.R. 10864. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forests, Inc., and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1826). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BUCHANAN:

H.R. 19104. A bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of Agriculture to quitclaim retain rights in a certain tract of land to the Board of Education of Jefferson County, Ala.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DENT:

H.R. 19105. A bill to establish the quantity of unprocessed timber from certain Federal lands which may be sold for export during the calendar years 1968 through 1972; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FEIGHAN:

H.R. 19106. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to restore the provisions permitting the deduction, without regard to the 3-percent and 1-percent floors, of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals 65 years of age and over; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GERALD R. FORD:

H.R. 19107. A bill to prohibit officers and employees of the United States from dumping or permitting the dumping of dredgings and other refuse materials into any navigable water; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 19108. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to prohibit the assignment of a member of an armed force to combat area duty if any of certain relatives of such member dies, is captured, is missing in action, or it totally disabled as a result of service in the Armed Forces in Vietnam; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. HAMILTON:

H.R. 19109. A bill to amend the Uniform Time Act in order to allow an option in the adoption of advanced time in certain cases; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 19110. A bill to amend the Uniform Time Act of 1966 in order to restrain the enforcement of certain provisions of such act in States situated in more than one standard time zone; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland:

H.R. 19111. A bill to set forth a congressional statement on a national educational policy and to direct the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to initiate a comprehensive study on the formulation of a plan to implement such policy; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 19112. A bill to require a special report to the Congress by the President on the current status of research and application techniques in the field of weather modification, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PICKLE:

H.R. 19113. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to prohibit the assignment of a member of an armed force to combat area duty if any of certain relatives of such member dies, is captured, is missing in action, or is totally disabled as a result of service in the Armed Forces in Vietnam; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 19114. A bill to amend section 592 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C.A. 1592), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHERLE:

H.R. 19115. A bill to establish the Commission for the Improvement of Government Management and Organization; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. SISK:

H.R. 19116. A bill to prohibit the imposition by the States of unreasonable restraints upon interstate or foreign commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALDIE:

H.R. 19117. A bill to provide that Federal savings and loan associations shall give notice in writing to shareholders of their annual meetings, and to facilitate the solicitation of proxies by shareholders of such associations; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 19118. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Eugene O'Neill National Historic Site; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.R. 19119. A bill to provide for a study of the need for increased expenditures for public works in smaller urban areas as a means of reversing the migratory trend toward large metropolitan areas; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 19120. A bill to strengthen and clarify the law prohibiting the introduction, or manufacture for introduction, of switchblade knives into interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 19121. A bill to amend title XIX of the Social Security Act to make it clear that a person is qualified to provide services under the medical assistance program if he is licensed by the State where the services are performed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DOW:

H.R. 19122. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to prohibit the assignment of a member of an armed force to combat area duty if certain relatives of such member died while serving in the Armed Forces in Vietnam; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. EDMONDSON (for himself, Mr. Steed, Mr. Belcher, Mr. Kastenmeier, and Mr. Matsunaga):

H.R. 19123. A bill to exempt from the antitrust laws certain joint newspaper operating arrangements; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINDLEY:

H.R. 19124. A bill to provide incentives for the establishment of new or expanded job-producing industrial and commercial establishments in rural areas; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GOODLING:

H.R. 19125. A bill for the relief of certain civilian personnel employed by the Navy Department, for expenses incurred incident to temporary duty performed at the Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa., in 1942; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JACOBS:

H.R. 19126. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 so as to permit individuals retiring thereunder to receive their annuities while serving as an elected public official; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.R. 19127. A bill to provide that the title of the office of Architect of the Capitol shall be changed to "Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds"; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. KYROS:

H.R. 19128. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize reduced rate transportation for certain additional persons on a space-available basis; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. McMILLAN:

H.R. 19129. A bill to establish the quantity of unprocessed timber from certain Federal lands which may be sold for export during the calendar years 1968 through 1972; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. RANDALL:

H.R. 19130. A bill to encourage and aid the revitalization of rural America, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 19131. A bill to establish the quantity of unprocessed timber from certain Federal lands which may be sold for export during the calendar years 1968 through 1972; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 19132. A bill to create a catalog of Federal assistance programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 19133. A bill to establish the Commission for the Improvement of Government Management and Organization; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H.R. 19134. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to prohibit the assignment of a member of an armed force to combat area duty if any of certain relatives of such member dies, is captured, is missing in action, or is totally disabled as a result of service in the Armed Forces in Vietnam; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 19135. A bill to assure to every American a full opportunity to have adequate employment, housing, and education, free from any discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. UDALL (for himself, Mr. Dulski, Mr. Hanley, Mr. Waldie, Mr. William D. Ford, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Corbett, Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania, Mr. Button, and Mr. Ruppe):

H.R. 19136. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide for the payment of overtime and standby pay to certain personnel employed in the Department of Transportation; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BELL:

H.J. Res. 1431. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim annually the week including August 15 as National Allegiance Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIEGLE:

H.J. Res. 1432. Joint resolution directing the Secretary of Labor to make recommendations to Congress to increase employment opportunity for young people and the handicapped; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 19137. A bill for the relief of Rafeal J. Lamarca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 19138. A bill for the relief of Quan Woon Chee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19139. A bill for the relief of King Tai Cheng (also known as Yie Cheng); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19140. A bill for the relief of Marie Paz Gomez (also known as Tita Gomez); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19141. A bill for the relief of Yung Kuo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19142. A bill for the relief of Antonino Lococo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19143. A bill for the relief of Norma M. Lucas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19144. A bill for the relief of Francisco A. Magno (also known as Frank Magno); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19145. A bill for the relief of Edmond Sae Nee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19146. A bill for the relief of Maria Isaura Russo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19147. A bill for the relief of Ali Mohammad Tabatabaian-Kashani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 19148. A bill for the relief of Hanne Moussa Alwan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19149. A bill for the relief of Stanislaw Lipka; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOW:

H.R. 19150. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Calogera D'Anna, and her children, Luciano and Luciana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 19151. A bill for the relief of Ionie I. Lino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19152. A bill for the relief of Alfred Shaloo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 19153. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Francesca Como and daughter Sebastiana

Como; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19154. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Marciante; to the Committee on the Judicary.

H.R. 19155. A bill for the relief of Calogero Orlando; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19156. A bill for the relief of Joa Mendes Robalo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19157. A bill for the relief of Savino Tota; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 19158. A bill for the relief of Giuseppi Florica; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19159. A bill for the relief of Maria and Anna Gueli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19160. A bill for the relief of Antonios Togias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. IRWIN:

H.R. 19161. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Ilona A. Galambos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.R. 19162. A bill for the relief of Reto Badrutt; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19163. A bill for the relief of Julia DeBierre; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19164. A bill for the relief of Maria Lellany Fernandes Leite; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19165. A bill for the relief of Estrella Ting; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H.R. 19166. A bill for the relief of Giuseppina Gennaro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 19167. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Pasqualina T. Colavita and her two minor children, Anna Assunta Colavita and Donato Antonio Colavita; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19168. A bill for the relief of Angelo Luongo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOORE:

H.R. 19169. A bill for the relief of Aurora Fernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 19170. A bill for the relief of Michele Derosa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 19171. A bill for the relief of Mamigon M. Garabedian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19172. A bill for the relief of Maria Carasao de Jesus Nogueira; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19173. A bill for the relief of Jesus Cabrera Yap; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POLANCO-ABREU:

H.R. 19174. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alberto Cura Marbes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REINECKE:

H.R. 19175. A bill for the relief of Maximo Gonzales-Solana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROONEY of New York:

H.R. 19176. A bill for the relief of Mr. Rafael Pappa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 19177. A bill for the relief of Giuseppa Dugo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 19178. A bill for the relief of Kook Myung; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 19179. A bill for the relief of Robert W. Barrie and Marguerite J. Barrie; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VANIK:

H.R. 19180. A bill for the relief of Milagros C. Flores; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALDIE:

H.R. 19181. A bill for the relief of Michelle Marie Dethurens; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE—*Wednesday, July 31, 1968*

The Senate met at 10 a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Father of our spirits, Thou hast ordained that, not in cushioned seats of safety, but in danger and stern conflict, shall we find our strength and our triumph. Away from Thee, life is vain. Forbid that fronting a day such as this, freighted with sobering and solemn significance for the long years that stretch ahead, we should meet titanic issues with tiny conceptions and petty patterns.

In this dear land of our love and prayer, may we close our national ranks in a new unity, as powers without pity or conscience seek to destroy in all the earth the birthright of our liberty of worship and speech and the sanctity of the individual.

In their ministry of public affairs, send forth Thy servants here to their work today and in the crucial days ahead, saying of Thee, as Thy servants have said across all the changing centuries, "He restoreth my soul."

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, July 30, 1968, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there morning business?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LAUSCHE in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

MODIFICATION OF UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, because of a technicality which has arisen, that nongermane amendments be included in the unanimous-consent request granted on yesterday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. KUCHEL. No objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE DISGRACEFUL TRIAL AND CONVICTION OF TRUONG DINH DZU

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, last September, during the course of the procedure employed for selecting the President of South Vietnam, a lawyer seeking that office, Truong Dinh Dzu, advocated talking peace "with some of the nationalists in the National Liberation Front."

It is sad indeed to find that the Government the United States continues to support in South Vietnam has now seen fit to stage a 1 hour and 25 minute court martial of Dzu.

Apparently, the crime of this man, who received the second highest number of votes in the election we first advertised—in effect, then supervised—and later broadcast as proof of the basic democracy of the Saigon government, was that he, Dzu, was not sufficiently anti-Communist.

This was "proven" by his expressing the belief that his Government should talk peace with the nationalist members of the National Liberation Front.

Within hours of this court martial, Dzu began his sentence of 5 years at hard labor, apparently not even allowed the right to appeal.

Punishment by any government of an individual for expressing his thoughts and belief is the very antithesis of the democratic concept. Parenthetically, I might also note that the views Mr. Dzu expressed are shared by a great many South Vietnamese and a great many Americans. Fortunately, over here nobody has been jailed for expressing them.

Based on this incredible development, one now has the right to ask, "What kind of Saigon government is the Government of the United States sending out 600,000 young Americans to fight and die for?'

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I am delighted that this matter has again been discussed on the floor of the Senate.

I point out that in addition to the 5-year sentence meted out to Truong Dinh Dzu, at the same time, Nguyen Truong Con, a student editor, was given the same kind of sentence for expressing the same kind of views.

I would point out, further, that some days ago 10 other South Vietnamese were tried in absentia and sentenced to death because they advocated somewhat the same views.

I wonder what would happen here in this country if candidates were tried in that manner for expressing views which they brought before the people and on which the people expressed an opinion.

I believe it is well to point out that Truong Dinh Dzu was the second candidate last September in South Vietnam, so far as the vote was concerned. He polled a total of approximately 800,000 votes, which indicates that a sizable element of the population of South Vietnam allowed to vote was in accord with the views expressed by him at that time.

Some Members of this body have made proposals similar to those of Truong Dinh Dzu with respect to the possibility of Saigon and the NLF, the political arm of the Vietcong, getting together. After all, they all are South Vietnamese. If there is going to be a settlement of this barbaric and brutal war in which we are engaged, it would be my very strong belief that, in addition to the talks—not negotiations, because they have not reached that stage—now going on between the United States and North Vietnam, in Paris, there may have to be, along parallel lines, in my opinion, talks between a broadened Saigon government and the NLF, the political arm of the Vietcong.

In reference to the 800,000 votes received by Truong Dinh Dzu in last September's election and the many more votes received by the present President of South Vietnam, President Thieu, in that election, the Neutralists, as the French refer to them, were not given the opportunity to vote because evidently they had expressed a preference for neither side.

So I would hope, on the basis of the statements made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Symington] the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young], the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], and others, that this would not be the end of the matter. If there is to be a viable and strengthened South Vietnamese Government this is the wrong way to operate, this is the wrong way to keep the process of democracy, and this is one way in which to insure that opposition, to a greater and more drastic degree, will be initiated against the Government of South Vietnam.

I commend the Senator for having called this matter to the attention of the Senate.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I thank the able majority leader. It seemed a sorry development when I first read of it and my interest was further stimulated by the remarks which he, as well as the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young], made the other day.

It seems to me this is just one more reason for the people of the United States, who are now spending $2.5 billion a month in this Vietnam operation, to give full consideration as to just what it is we are trying to do out there. If this development is characteristic of the South Vietnam Government we are holding up, what can be a definition of victory? What do we win if we win?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Ohio.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I commend and congratulate the Senator from Missouri for his fine statement. In that connection, I call attention to the fact that, as the Senator said, notwithstanding that the right to vote in that September election was refused to thousands of Buddhists, and refused also to so-called neutralists, those in the White House repeatedly spoke of one man, one vote in regard to that election. The facts are that in that September election in South Vietnam last year, the soldiers of the so-called friendly forces of South Vietnam, who do very little fighting, voted in their units at their bases under the supervision of their officers, and, in addition, they voted in their hamlets and villages. So, they cast two votes.

Notwithstanding that, Mr. Dzu, who is a leading lawyer in Saigon and has never been suspected of having been a Communist, received the second largest vote cast. As the distinguished majority leader said, 800,000 South Vietnamese voted for him. Yet, this leader who earned a fine reputation, and who has a wife and children, was summarily taken from his family and thrown into jail by a kangaroo court on a trumped-up charge. He is now in prison. Unfortunately, we in America are supporting that sort of dictatorial police regime in Saigon.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I thank the Senator for his constructive contribution again this morning.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "For Favoring Peace, 5 Years" that appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of July 29, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

For Favoring Peace, 5 Years

American officials in Saigon have been putting out the comforting word that the Thieu government has been greatly improved by recent personnel changes, and is now the "most representative" regime in South Vietnam's history. It is, of course, one of the primary functions of American officials in Saigon to view the political landscape through rose-tinted glasses, and to report what they see with glad cries and chirping forecasts of better things to come. This has been done so consistently through all the years of the American presence, and has proved so consistently mistaken from one year to the next, that it is impossible to take the current assessments seriously.

Skepticism is doubly warranted when one realizes that what the Thieu government is claimed to be representative of is the so-called "middle class." The optimistic American officials concede that it has no standing with the peasants and the working class, and exhibits little real interest in land reform or other social changes that might give it such standing. But support of the masses of the people is what the game is all about. A government which proudly claims at long last to be "representative" of a narrow segment of the population with a vested interest in continuation of the war is not, of course, representative at all.

The point is emphasized by the recent trial and sentencing of Truong Dinh Dzu, who ran second to President Thieu in last year's election. A military court threw Dzu into prison for five years—for what crime? For advocating, in interviews with reporters, peace talks with the National Liberation Front looking toward a coalition government. There was no allegation that Dzu had overtly conspired to overthrow the Thieu government; he had merely advocated an end of the war through a political settlement involving reconciliation with the Communists and the acceptance of neutrality for South Vietnam.

A government which dares not tolerate discussion of a possible political settlement of the war is not, we would say, representative of the South Vietnamese people. And so long as American power props that government up, we cannot expect progress toward a real and lasting peace.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules and Administration and the Committee on Foreign Relations be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3068) to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1371) to provide that it be the sense of Congress that a White House Conference on Aging be called by the President of the United States in 1971, to be planned and conducted by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and for related purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the following concurrent resolutions, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 805. Concurrent resolution providing for adjournment of the House from Friday, August 2, 1968, until 12 o'clock meridian, Wednesday, September 4, 1968; and

H. Con. Res. 806. Concurrent resolution granting authority for the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate to sign enrolled bills and joint resolutions notwithstanding any adjournment of the two Houses until September 4, 1968.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills:

S. 3418. An act to authorize appropriations for the fiscal years 1970 and 1971 for the construction of certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code, and for other purposes; and

S. 3679. An act to amend the act of June 19, 1969 (Public Law 351, 90th Cong.).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT ON DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PROCUREMENT FROM SMALL AND OTHER BUSINESS FIRMS

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Installations and Logistics, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Department of Defense procurement from small and other business firms for the period July 1967–May 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT OF BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

A letter from the Assistant Director, Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of negotiated sales contracts for disposal of materials during the period January 1 through June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following reports of a committee were submitted:

By Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, without amendment:

S.J. Res. 191. Joint resolution authorizing the erection of a statue of Benito Pablo Juarez on public grounds in the District of Columbia (Rept. No. 1488);

S. Res. 321. Resolution to increase the amount of funds available for the investigation of matters pertaining to antitrust and monopoly (Rept. No. 1489);

S. Res. 322. Resolution to increase the amount of funds available for the investigation of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments (Rept. No. 1490);

S. Res. 381. Resolution authorizing the printing of the report entitled "Safety for Motor Vehicles in Use" as a Senate document (Rept. No. 1491);

H. Con. Res. 213. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing as a House document of the letters of Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover relating to the distinguished Americans in whose honor the U.S. Navy Polaris nuclear submarines were named (Rept. No. 1494); and

H. Con. Res. 781. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing as a House document the publication "The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement," and providing for the printing of additional copies (Rept. No. 1493).

By Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment:

S. Res. 306. Resolution to continue the Special Committee on the Organization of the Congress for an additional period during the 90th Congress (Rept. No. 1492).

AUTHORIZATION FOR COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE TO FILE VARIOUS PAPERS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Commerce be allowed to file various reports on various and sundry bills that are passed out of committee during the recess of the Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR REPORTING H.R. 10790

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, on Wednesday, July 24, I asked for and secured unanimous consent that the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare be instructed to report H.R. 10790, the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968, to the Senate before the close of business on August 1, 1968.

Our good friend, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], who is very much interested in the bill, is not able to be with us on account of illness.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to amend that order to provide for the reporting of the bill to the Senate before the close of business September 20, 1968.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. MAGNUSON, from the Committee on Commerce:

John H. Crooker, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board;

Joseph W. Bartlett, of Massachusetts, to be Under Secretary of Commerce;

Kenneth H. Tuggle, of Kentucky, to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner;

Wallace R. Burke, of Connecticut, to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner; and

Frederick Simpich, of the District of Columbia, to be General Counsel of the Department of Commerce.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I also report favorably sundry nominations in the Environmental Science Services Administration and the Coast Guard which have previously appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and ask unanimous consent, in order to save the expense of printing them on the Executive Calendar, that they lie on the secretary's desk for the information of any Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to lie on the desk, are as follows:

Robert J. Bardy, and sundry other persons, for appointment in the Environmental Science Services Administration;

Alan F. Miller, and sundry other Reserve officers, for assignment in the Coast Guard;

Thomas D. Combs, to be a permanent commissioned officer of the Coast Guard Academy, as an assistant professor;

John N. Malsom, Jr., and sundry other temporary officers, to be permanent commissioned officers of the Coast Guard; and

Francis N. Harrell, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Coast Guard.

By Mr. SPARKMAN, from the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Barbara M. Watson, of New York, to be Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State;

Charles W. Adair, Jr., of Virginia, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Foreign Service;

Edson O. Sessions, of Illinois, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ecuador; and

Raul H. Castro, of Arizona, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Bolivia.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, I also report favorably sundry nominations in the diplomatic and Foreign Service which have previously appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and, to save the expense of printing them on the Executive Calendar, ask unanimous consent that they may lie on the secretary's desk for the information of any Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to lie on the desk, are as follows:

James W. Spain, of the District of Columbia, and sundry other persons, for appointment and promotion in the Foreign Service.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JAVITS:

S. 3948. A bill for the relief of Otilia Rodriguez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COTTON:

S. 3949. A bill to amend part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act to include prescribed drugs among the items and services covered under the supplementary medical insurance program for the aged; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. MONTOYA:

S. 3950. A bill to authorize the payment of a pension to veterans of the Cuban pacification campaign and to the widows and children of such veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself and Mr. YARBOROUGH):

S. 3951. A bill to establish a National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Laws to undertake a comprehensive study and evaluation of State workmen's compensation laws, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MONTOYA:

S. 3952. A bill to amend section 6101 of title 5, United States Code, relating to workweeks and workdays of Federal and District of Columbia employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(See the remarks of Mr. MONTOYA when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BENNETT:

S. 3953. A bill for the relief of Martin Urrutia Carrica; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MANSFIELD:

S. 3954. A bill for the relief of Ebony Herza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONTOYA (for himself and Mr. YARBOROUGH):

S.J. Res. 196. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim annually the week including September 15 and 16 as "National Hispanic Heritage Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. MONTOYA when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

S. 3951—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO FEDERAL COMMISSION ON WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] and myself, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide for a study and evaluation of State workmen's compensation laws in this country.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

Mr. **JAVITS.** While I first proposed this measure as an amendment to the occupational health and safety bill, I reintroduce it today as a separate measure at the suggestion of Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz and Senator YARBOROUGH, the chairman of the Senate Labor Subcommittee, who is the principal sponsor of the occupational health and safety bill.

While there is a relationship between workmen's compensation and occupational health and safety, the two being the opposite sides of a single coin, there is enough of a distinction in the issues presented to warrant treating them independently. I shall, accordingly, not press the proposal as an amendment to the occupational health and safety bill. However, I do intend to press for its early consideration and adoption as a separate bill.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter to me from Willard Wirtz, the Secretary of Labor, dated July 9, 1968, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JULY 9, 1968.

DEAR SENATOR JAVITS: This is in further reply to your request for my comments on your recently introduced amendment to S. 2864, the occupational safety and health bill, to establish a National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Laws.

A commission of the type you propose could perform a useful function. I believe, however, that any proposal for a study commission should be independent of the safety and health bill. As you state, there is a relation between safety and health programs to prevent occupational disability and workmen's compensation programs when disability does occur. But they are inherently separate programs with separate aims. Further, they are usually authorized by different laws and administered by different agencies in the States.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that there is no objection to the submission of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor.

Mr. **JAVITS.** I further ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill, together with a detailed explanation which I made in the Senate on May 16, 1965, be printed in the RECORD.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and explanation will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3951) to establish a National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Laws to undertake a comprehensive study and evaluation of State workmen's compensation laws, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. JAVITS (for himself and Mr. YARBOROUGH), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3951

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That—

(a) Congress hereby finds and declares that the vast majority of American workers, and their families, are dependent on workmen's compensation for their basic economic security in the event they suffer disabling injury or death in the course of their employment; and that the full protection of American workers from job-related injury or death requires an adequate, prompt and equitable system of workmen's compensation as well as an effective program of occupational health and safety regulation.

(b) In recent years serious questions have been raised concerning the fairness and adequacy of present workmen's compensation laws in the light of the growth of the economy, the changing nature of the labor force, increases in medical knowledge, changes in the hazards associated with various types of employment, new technology creating new risks to health and safety, and increases in the general level of wages and the cost of living.

(c) The purpose of this Act is to authorize an effective study and objective evaluation of State workmen's compensation laws in order to determine if such laws provide an adequate, prompt, and equitable system of compensation for injury or death arising out of or in the course of employment.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION

SEC. 2. There is hereby established a National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Laws (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of fifteen members to be appointed by the President from among members of State workmen's compensation boards, representatives of insurance carriers, business, labor, educators having special expertise in the field of workmen's compensation, and representatives of the general public. The Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall be ex officio members of the Commission.

(b) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers.

(c) The President shall designate one of the members to serve as Chairman and one to serve as Vice Chairman of the Commission.

(d) Eight members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) The Commission shall undertake a comprehensive study and evaluation of State workmen's compensation laws in order to determine if such laws provide an adequate, prompt, and equitable system of compensation. Such study and evaluation shall include, without being limited to, the following subjects: (1) the amount and duration of permanent and temporary disability benefits and the criteria for determining the maximum limitations thereon, (2) the amount and duration of medical benefits and provisions insuring adequate medical care and free choice of physician, (3) the extent of coverage of workers, including exemptions based on numbers or type of employment, (4) standards for determining which injuries or diseases should be deemed compensable, (5) rehabilitation, (6) coverage under second or subsequent injury funds, (7) time limits on filing claims, (8) waiting periods, (9) compulsory or elective coverage, (10) administration, (11) legal expenses, (12) the feasibility and desirability of a uniform system of reporting information concerning job-related injuries and diseases and the operation of workman's compensation laws, (13) the resolution of conflict of laws, extraterritoriality and similar problems arising from claims with multistate aspects, (14) the extent to which private insurance carriers are excluded from supplying workmen's compensation coverage and the desirability of such exclusionary practices, to the extent they are found to exist, (15) the relationship between workmen's compensation on the one hand, and old-age, disability, and survivors insurance and other types of insurance, public or private, on the other hand; (16) methods of implementing the recommendations of the Commission.

(b) The Commission shall transmit to the President and to the Congress not later than one year after the first meeting of the Commission a final report containing a detailed statement of the findings and conclusions of the Commission, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee or members thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this title, hold such hearings, take such testimony, and sit and act at such times and places as the Commission deems advisable. Any member authorized by the Commission may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Commission or any subcommittee or members thereof.

(b) Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government, including independent agencies, is authorized and directed to furnish to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman, such information as the Commission deems necessary to carry out its functions under this title.

(c) Subject to such rules and regulations as may be adopted by the Commission, the Chairman shall have the power to—

(1) appoint and fix the compensation of an executive director, and such additional staff personnel as he deems necessary, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, but at rates not in excess of the maximum rate for GS-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of such title, and

(2) procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed $50 a day for individuals.

(d) The Commission is authorized to enter into contracts with Federal or State agencies, private firms, institutions, and individuals for the conduct of research or surveys, the preparation of reports, and other activities necessary to the discharge of its duties.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS

SEC. 6. Members of the Commission shall receive compensation at the rate of $ per day for each day they are engaged in the performance of their duties as members of the Commission and shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of the Commission.

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 7. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary, not to exceed a total of $ to carry out the provisions of this title.

TERMINATION

SEC. 8. On the ninetieth day after the date of submission of its final report to the President, the Commission shall cease to exist.

The explanation, presented by Mr. JAVITS, is as follows:

Mr. JAVITS. The Commission I propose would be composed of 15 members, to be appointed by the President from a broad spectrum of interests, including State workmen's compensation boards, representatives of insurance carriers, business, labor, and educators having special expertise in the field of workmen's compensation, as well as representatives of the general public. The Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare would be ex officio members. The Commission would have 1 year to file its report.

The Commission would be charged with the duty of undertaking a comprehensive study and evaluation of State workmen's compensation laws in order to determine if they provide an adequate, prompt, and equitable system of compensation. Its attention would be specifically directed to a number of subjects, among the more important of which would be the amount and duration of medical and disability benefits, provisions insuring adequate medical care and free choice of physicians, coverage, standards for determining compensability, rehabilitation, the advisability of a uniform reporting system, extraterritoriality problems, and the relationship between workmen's compensation and OASDI or other public or private insurance. Finally, the Commission would be directed to consider the possible methods of implementing its own recommendations.

Mr. President, the need for the type of comprehensive review and evaluation which the Commission would undertake should be apparent to anyone with even a cursory knowledge of workmen's compensation today. The fact is that although a few States like my own State of New York do have adequate workmen's compensation laws, in most States workmen's compensation is, in at least some respects, shockingly inadequate.

Workmen's compensation laws were devised to assure that benefits would be paid to workers injured on the job and that they would be paid promptly, with a minimum of legal formality, and without the necessity of fixing the blame for the injury. The fundamental premise of workmen's compensation laws is that the cost of work-related injuries is to be considered part of the cost of production. Workmen's compensation laws were and are a modern industrial democracy's answer to the obstacles, such as the fellow servant and assumption of risk rules, established by the common law to bar recovery by injured workers from their employers. In return for the elimination of the doubtful, but potentially unlimited, liability of an employer under the common law, workmen's compensation laws substituted the limited, but sure, remedy of compensation in the form of medical and disability benefits.

The original intent of workmen's compensation laws was to strike a fair balance between the legitimate claims of injured employees and the potential liability of employers. There is, however, grave doubt that this balance is being struck fairly today. Workmen's compensation laws simply have not kept pace with the development of the economy. The system, as it is operating today, simply does not meet contemporary needs, and it is high time that a careful review and analysis be made of the way the current system is operating, and of possible methods of improving it.

I recognize that the charge I have made today is a most serious one. However, my doubts as to the adequacy of the present workman's compensation system are based on objective yardsticks. These are available in the form of the standards for workmen's compensation laws which have been developed in recent years by the Department of Labor, the Council of State Governments, and the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions. The minimum standards developed by these highly respected agencies are in many respects quite similar.

An analysis of Bulletin No. 212 issued by the Department of Labor, as revised up to 1967, which compares the major provisions of State workmen's compensation with the standards recommend by the Federal Bureau of Labor Standards, shows a compliance ratio of only about 45 percent. I ask unanimous consent that a table showing the precise extent of compliance with the Labor Department's recommended standards be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"EXTENT OF PROTECTION UNDER WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS

"[X=Law meets the recommended standard. --=Law does not meet standard]

	Compulsory law	No numerical exemption	Farm employment covered	Full coverage of occupational diseases	Rehabilitation division within workmen's compensation agency	Maintenance benefits during rehabilitation	Full medical care for accidental injuries	Full medical care for occupational diseases	Workmen's compensation agency has authority to supervise medical aid	Initial choice of physician by the injured worker	Broad subsequent injury fund	Adequate time for filing occupational disease claims	Waiting period for not more than 3 days with retroactive benefits after 2 weeks	Death benefits to widow until her death or remarriage	Compensation for permanent total disability for life or period of disability	Compensation for temporary total disability not less than 66⅔ percent of average wages	Total standards met
"Alabama	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Alaska	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X	--	13
Arizona	X	--	--	--	--	X	X	--	X	X	X	--	--	X	X	X	9
Arkansas	X	--	--	X	--	X	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4
California	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X	X	--	X	X	--	--	X	--	1
Colorado	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	X	--	11
Connecticut	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X[1]	X	--	X	X	X	X	15
Delaware	X	--	--	X	--	--	X	X	--	X	X	--	X	--	X	--	8
District of Columbia	X	X	--	X	X	X	X	X	--	X[1]	X	--	--	X	X	--	11
Florida	--	--	--	X	X	--	X	X	X	--	X	--	--	--	X	--	7
Georgia	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Hawaii	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X	15
Idaho	X	X	--	--	--	--	X	X	X	--	--	--	--	--	X	--	6
Illinois	X	X	--	X	--	--	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	X	--	5
Indiana	--	X	--	X	--	--	X	X	--	--	--	X	--	--	X	--	6
Iowa	--	X	--	--	--	--	X	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3
Kansas	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Kentucky	--	--	--	X	--	--	X	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3
Louisiana	--	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Maine	--	--	--	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	--	--	--	X	X	X	9
Maryland	X	X	--	X	X	--	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	--	--	10
Massachusetts	X	--	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	--	--	--	--	X	X	10
Michigan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	X	--	--	X	--	11
Minnesota	X	X	--	X	--	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	--	X	--	10
Mississippi	X	--	--	--	--	X	X	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4
Missouri	--	--	--	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	X	X	--	--	X	--	8
Montana	--	X	--	--	--	X	--	--	--	X	--	X	--	--	--	--	4
Nebraska	--	X	--	X	--	--	X	X	--	--	--	X	--	--	X	--	6
Nevada	X	--	--	X	--	--	X	--	X	X	--	--	--	X	X	--	7
New Hampshire	X	X	X	X	--	--	X	X	--	X	--	X	--	--	--	--	8
New Jersey	--	X	X	X	X	--	X	X	--	--	--	--	--	X	X	X	9
New Mexico	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
New York	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X[1]	X	X	--	X	X	--	14
North Carolina	--	--	--	--	--	--	X	--	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2
North Dakota	X	X	--	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	--	X	X	--	11
Ohio	X	--	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	--	--	--	X	--	10
Oklahoma	X	--	--	--	--	--	X	X	X	--	--	X	--	--	--	--	5
Oregon	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X	X	--	14
Pennsylvania	--	X	--	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	X	--	3
Puerto Rico	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X	X	--	X	X	X	X	X	--	13
Rhode Island	X	--	--	X	X	--	X	X	--	X	--	X	X	--	X	--	9
South Carolina	--	--	--	X	--	--	X	X	X	--	--	X	--	--	--	--	5
South Dakota	--	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Tennessee	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	X[1]	--	X	--	--	--	--	2
Texas	--	--	--	--	X	--	X	--	X	--	--	X	--	--	--	--	4
Utah	X	X	--	X	--	X	X	--	X	--	X	X	--	--	X	--	9

See footnote at end of table.

''EXTENT OF PROTECTION UNDER WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS—Continued

''[X=Law meets the recommended standard. ..=Law does not meet standard]

	Compulsory law	No numerical exemption	Farm employment covered	Full coverage of occupational diseases	Rehabilitation division within workmen's compensation agency	Maintenance benefits during rehabilitation	Full medical care for accidental injuries	Full medical care for occupational diseases	Workmen's compensation agency has authority to supervise medical aid	Initial choice of physician by the injured worker	Broad subsequent injury fund	Adequate time for filing occupational disease claims	Waiting period for not more than 3 days with retroactive benefits after 2 weeks	Death benefits to widow until her death or remarriage	Compensation for permanent total disability for life or period of disability	Compensation for temporary total disability not less than 66+ percent of average wages	Total standards met
Vermont	--	--	X	--	--	--	X	--	--	--	--	--	--	X	--	--	3
Virginia	X	--	--	X	--	--	--	--	X	--	--	X	--	--	--	--	4
Washington	X	X	--	X	X	--	X	X	X	X	X	X	--	X	X	--	12
West Virginia	--	X	--	X	X	X	X	--	X	X	X	--	--	X	X	--	10
Wisconsin	X	--	X	X	--	X	X	X	X	X[1]	X	X	X	--	X	--	13
Wyoming	X	X	--	--	--	--	X	X	--	X	--	X	X	--	--	--	7
Number of States meeting standards	29	28	14	34	21	20	41	32	26	23	18	22	8	13	31	6	11

[1] Choice from panel.''

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a compliance ratio as low as 45 percent is indeed shocking, but it is even more shocking to realize that if the comparison were made with the model workmen's compensation law recently published by the Council of State Governments, the percentage would be even lower.

A brief analysis of the subjects which the Commission would be directed to study under my proposal, many of which are keyed to the minimum standards developed by the Department of Labor, the Council of State Governments, and the IAIABC, will indicate the critical nature of the problem, as it exists today.

First. The amount and duration of permanent and temporary disability benefits. Together with medical benefits, the disability benefits payable under workmen's compensation are, of course, the heart of the system. Yet, in all but a few States the disability benefits payable to an injured worker are grossly inadequate. Furthermore, here in contrast to other areas in which slow, but more or less steady, progress toward recommended standards has been made, we have actually been losing ground. To take just one example, the shocking fact is that, although the absolute amount of disability benefits has increased between 1940 and 1966, the ratio of maximum weekly temporary total disability benefits to average weekly wages has, by and large, fallen drastically in that period. That ratio has actually decreased in no less than 44 States. If the comparison is made between 1958 and 1966, the results are likewise unsatisfactory. In that period, in only half the States did this percentage increase; in the other half it continued to decrease. The sorry tale is told completely in a table, which I ask be included in my remarks at this point.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

'RATIO OF MAXIMUM WEEKLY BENEFIT FOR TEMPORARY TOTAL DISABILITY TO AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES, BY STATE (1940, 1958, AND 1966)

''[In percent]

''State	Ratio of maximum temporary total disability benefit for worker, wife, and 2 dependent children to average weekly wage[1]		
	1940	1958	1966
Alabama	94.9	43.7	39.1
Alaska		75.2	56.7
Arizona		182.6	137.2
Arkansas	122.2	58.8	47.3
California	80.2	51.3	54.1
Colorado	54.7	42.3	45.0
Connecticut	85.9	49.5	53.5
Delaware	50.6	36.6	40.2
District of Columbia	93.7	63.4	60.3
Florida	89.5	47.0	41.9
Georgia	112.0	44.5	38.5
Hawaii	116.2	108.4	106.8
Idaho	79.4	52.8	46.4
Illinois	67.5	43.6	54.8
Indiana	60.1	39.8	37.7
Iowa	63.2	40.3	45.5
Kansas	78.0	41.8	40.4
Kentucky	68.2	41.9	43.8
Louisiana	94.3	44.8	32.9
Maine	85.8	49.8	64.2
Maryland	81.0	50.2	52.1
Massachusetts	68.2	58.2	69.3
Michigan	55.1	43.9	58.2
Minnesota	77.4	53.9	40.8
Mississippi		57.1	41.0
Missouri	78.4	44.8	46.0
Montana	79.8	47.0	46.2
Nebraska	63.1	45.1	42.8
Nevada	84.7	55.9	59.2
New Hampshire	83.8	51.8	51.4
New Jersey	67.9	42.9	36.3
New Mexico	86.5	36.9	40.4
New York	80.9	47.7	47.7
North Carolina	100.1	55.4	42.3
North Dakota	89.6	50.5	59.4
Ohio	63.8	42.9	44.7
Oklahoma	71.2	43.6	38.9
Oregon	87.5	56.1	51.5
Pennsylvania	69.0	44.8	47.0
Puerto Rico		86.4	58.0
Rhode Island	83.7	43.1	56.0
South Carolina	153.4	57.3	57.0
South Dakota	66.4	41.9	47.3
Tennessee	78.2	45.0	40.3
Texas	84.0	43.7	33.6
Utah	72.0	49.8	52.1
Vermont	62.3	47.4	46.0
Virginia	74.9	46.9	47.0
Washington	51.1	53.4	53.0
West Virginia	62.1	39.0	37.4
Wisconsin	73.5	55.8	58.9
Wyoming	88.4	53.6	57.6

''[1] The percentages in these columns are found by dividing the maximum weekly benefit for a worker, his wife, and 2 dependent children by the average weekly wage as reported under the State unemployment insurance acts.''

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in the area of permanent disability, the figures tell an equally disquieting story. In four States the maximum permanent disability benefit is less than $40 a week. In 13 States the maximum permanent disability benefit is between $40 and $50 per week. Furthermore, absolute limitations on the amount of permanent disability benefits—almost a contradiction in terms—are still common; 19 States have such limitations, with most of them below $20,000 and some as low as $12,500. Only six States meet the Department of Labor's recommendation of an actual, rather than merely theoretical maximum of 66⅔ percent of average wages for temporary total disability. A chart prepared by the chamber of commerce and included in its most recent Analysis of Workmen's Compensation Laws reveals the picture at a glance, and I ask that it be included in my remarks at this point.

There being no objection, the chart was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

''INCOME BENEFITS FOR PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY TOTAL DISABILITIES, JAN. 1, 1968

''Jurisdiction	Limitations on permanent total					Limitations on temporary total					Notations
	Maximum percent of wages	Maximum weekly payment	Minimum weekly payment	Time limit	Amount limit	Maximum percent of wages[1]	Maximum weekly payment	Minimum weekly payment	Time limit	Amount limit	
Alabama	[2] 65	$44.00	$15.00	550 weeks	$17,600	65	$44.00	[3] $15.00	300 weeks	$13,200	
Alaska	65	65.00	25.00	Life		65.00	100.00	[3] 25.00	Disability		Disfigurement maximum, $3,500.
Arizona	65	[4] 150.00	32.50	do		65	[4] 150.00	32.50	433 weeks	65,000	
Arkansas	65	38.50	10.00	450 weeks	14,500	65	38.50	10.00	450 weeks	14,500	
California	65	52.50	20.00	Life [1]		61¾	70.00	25.00	240 weeks [5]		60 percent maximum after 400 weeks.
Colorado [6]	66⅔	[7] 54.25	13.00	do [1]	16,926	66⅔	54.25	13.00	Disability	16,926	50 percent increase in compensation where employer has failed to comply with insurance provisions. 50 percent decrease in compensation where injury results from failure to obey safety regulations or from intoxication.

See footnotes at end of table.

"INCOME BENEFITS FOR PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY TOTAL DISABILITIES, JAN. 1, 1968—Continued

"Jurisdiction	Limitations on permanent total					Limitations on temporary total					Notations
	Maximum percent of wages	Maximum weekly payment	Minimum weekly payment	Time limit	Amount limit	Maximum percent of wages [1]	Maximum weekly payment	Minimum weekly payment	Time limit	Amount limit	
Connecticut	66⅔	[8] $74.00	$20.00	do	([9])	66⅔	[8] $74.00	$20.00	do		
Delaware	66⅔	50.00	[3] 25.00	do		66⅔	50.00	[3] 25.00	do		
District of Columbia	66⅔	70.00	[3] 18.00	do		66⅔	70.00	[3] 18.00	do	[10] $24,000	
Florida	60	49.00	[3] 8.00	do		60	49.00	[3] 8.00			
Georgia	60	37.00	12.00	400 weeks	$12,500	60	37.00	12.00	400 weeks	12,500	
Guam	66⅔	35.00	[3] 12.00	Life	10,000	66⅔	35.00	[3] 12.00	Disability	10,000	
Hawaii	66⅔	[1] 112.50	[1] 18.00	do	[1] 35,100	66⅔	112.50	[3] 18.00	do	[13] 35,100	Director may order payment of $150 per month for attendant, paid from special fund.
Idaho	60	[1] 43.00	[1] 15.00	do [13]		60	[1] 43.00	[1] 15.00	do [13]		Maximum $43 with dependent spouse. Add $5 each child. Maximum $63.
Illinois	([1])	68.00	31.50	do	([1])	([1])	76.00	31.50	8 years		Limited to amount if death had resulted. Pension thereafter.
Indiana	60	51.00	[3] 21.00	500 weeks [1]	25,000	60	51.00	[3] 21.00	500 weeks	25,000	Additional benefits from 2d injury fund.
Iowa	66⅔	47.50	[3] 18.00	do	23,750	66⅔	56.00	[3] 18.00	300 weeks		Weekly compensation for temporary total disability is $40, $4 additional for each dependent child.
Kansas	60	49.00	7.00	416 weeks	20,384	60	49.00	7.00	415 weeks	20,335	
Kentucky [14]	66⅔	47.00	21.00	425 weeks	19,975	66⅔	47.00	21.00	425 weeks	19,975	Disfigurement benefits.
Louisiana	65	35.00	[3] 10.00	400 weeks	14,000	65	35.00	10.00	300 weeks	10,500	
Maine [15]	66⅔	62.14				66⅔	62.14				Disfigurement benefits, $1,500 maximum.
Maryland	66⅔	55.00	[3] 18.00		30,000	66⅔	55.00	[3] 18.00	208 weeks		If permanent disability exceed 50 percent of the body as a whole, employee is entitled to additional compensation for the full disability from the "Subsequent injury fund" after completion of payments by the employer.
Massachusetts [16]	66⅔	[1] 62.00	[17] 20.00	Life		66⅔	[17] 62.00	[17] 20.00	Disability	16,000	$6 additional each wholly dependent but not to exceed weekly wage. Combined total compensation for total and partial disability not to exceed $18,000.
Michigan [18]	66⅔	[1] 64.00	27.00	Disability [19]	([19])	66⅔	[1] 64.00	27.00	do		$6 additional for each dependent up to 5, maximum $93.
Minnesota	66⅔	60.00	17.50	Life	([21])	66⅔	60.00	17.50	350 weeks	15,750	Additional $5,000 allowable in certain cases. Disfigurement benefits.
Mississippi	66⅔	35.00	[1] 10.00	450 weeks [20]	[20] 14,500	66⅔	35.00	[1] 10.00	450 weeks [20]	[20] 14,500	Less in partially dependent cases. $2,000 disfigurement maximums.
Missouri	66⅔	52.00	16.00	300 weeks [3]		66⅔	57.00	[3] 16.00	400 weeks	22,800	$2,000 disfigurement maximum.
Montana	66⅔	[1] 60.00	34.50	500 weeks	30,000	66⅔	[1] 60.00	34.50	300 weeks	18,000	Reducing schedule if less than 5 children.
Nebraska	[1] 66⅔	[1] 45.00	[3] 30.00	Life [22]		[1] 66⅔	45.00	[3] 30.00	300 weeks [22]	13,500	45 percent after 300 weeks, maximum $36, minimum $26 (or actual wages if less).
Nevada	90	[23] 56.00		do		[23] 90	67.50		100 months	29,250	Additional allowance for constant attendant if necessary, $50 a month.
New Hampshire	66⅔	8.00	[3] 15.00	([1])		66⅔	58.00	[3] 15.00	([1])		After 6 successive years of payment, additional payments may be made only on order of the commissioner upon application by the employee and to the employer. If employer objects, medical panel provided for.
New Jersey	([24])	[1] 83.00	10.00	450 weeks [1]		([24])	83.00	10.00	300 weeks		After 450 weeks at reduced rate, if employed; at full rate if not rehabilitable.
New Mexico [1]	60	45.00	[3] 24.00	500 weeks	22,500	60	45.00	[3] 24.00	500 weeks	22,500	10 percent additional compensation payable by employer for failure to provide safety devices.
New York	66⅔	60.00	[3] 20.00	Life		66⅔	60.00	[3] 20.00	Disability		Additional compensation for vocational rehabilitation.
North Carolina	60	42.00	10.00	400 weeks [1]	[1] 15,000	60	42.00	10.00	400 weeks	15,000	In cases of paralysis from a brain or spinal injury, payments may be extended for the life of the claimant and the total may exceed $15,000.
North Dakota	80	[1] 75.00	15.00	Life		80	[1] 75.00	15.00	Disability		$50 plus $5 for each child under 18. Maximum $75 per week.[3]
Ohio	66⅔	56.00	[3] [25] 45.50	do		66⅔	56.00	[3] 25.00	do	10,750	During 1st 12 weeks of temporary total disability, maximum compensation is $63.
Oklahoma	66⅔	40.00	[3] 15.00	500 weeks	20,000	66⅔	40.00	[3] 15.00	300 weeks	12,000	
Oregon	90	70.38	35.75	Life		90	[1] 73.85	39.23	Disability		Reducing schedule if less than 6 children
Pennsylvania	66⅔	60.00	[26] 35.00			66⅔	60.00	35.00			
Puerto Rico [27]	66⅔	20.76	9.23	Life		66⅔	35.00	8.00	312 weeks		Additional benefits in specific cases such as for vocational rehabilitation or constant companion at not more than $30 a month.
Rhode Island [28]	66⅔	50.00	25.00	1,000 weeks	16,000	60	45.00	25.00	1,000 weeks	16,000	Additional benefits from 2d injury fund. Compensation includes $3 per week each dependent child in addition to that for total incapacity, maximum $12.
South Carolina	60	50.00	5.00	500 weeks	12,500	60	50.00	5.00	500 weeks	12,500	
South Dakota	55	42.00	[3] 22.00	Life [1]	16,000	55	42.00	[3] 22.00	312 weeks	13,108	After 300 weeks, maximum $15 per week. Minimum $12.
Tennessee	65	42.00	[28] 15.00	550 weeks	16,000	65	42.00	[28a] 15.00		16,000	After 400 weeks $15 per week, or actual wage if less but not less than $12. Disfigurement benefits.
Texas	60	35.00	9.00	401 weeks	14,035	60	35.00	9.00	401 weeks	14,035	Special provisions for occupational disease.
Utah	[1] 60	[29] 44.00	[3] 25.00	Life [1]	[30] 19,344	60	[29] 44.00	[3] 25.00	312 weeks	19,344	After 260 weeks 45 percent plus $3.60 for a dependent wife and $3.60 for each dependent minor under 18 up to 4 such children. Disfigurement benefits.
Vermont [31]	66⅔	[32] 52.00	[3] 26.00	330 weeks	17,160	66⅔	[32] 52.00	[3] 26.00	330 weeks	17,160	
Virginia	60	45.00	14.00	500 weeks	18,000	60	45.00	14.00	500 weeks	18,000	Disfigurement benefits.
Washington		[1] 81.23	42.69	Life			[1] 81.23	42.69	Disability		Additional allowance for constant attendant, if necessary $115 per month. Reducing schedule if less than 5 children.
West Virginia	66⅔	47.00	24.00	do		66⅔	47.00	24.00	208 weeks	9,976	
Wisconsin	70	68.00	14.00	do		70	68.00	8.75	Disability		Additional compensation for vocational rehabilitation.[33]
Wyoming		[1] 34.61	28.80	do	27,500	66⅔	63.46	33.46	do	12,000	Permanent—$34.61 plus $6.92 for each child (no limit).[34] Aggregate sum for children $10,000.
Federal Employees' Compensation Act.	[35] 75	[1] 345.00	59.00	do		75	[1] 345.00	[3] 59.00	do		Additional allowance of $300 per month for constant attendant if necessary.
Longshoremen and Harbor Workers' Act.	66⅔	70.00	[3] 18.00	do		66⅔	70.00	[3] 18.00	do	[36] 24,000	
Alberta	75	80.77	[3] 35.00	do		75	80.77	[3] 35.00	do		75 percent of maximum earnings of $5,600 per year.

See footnotes at **end of table.**

"INCOME BENEFITS FOR PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY TOTAL DISABILITIES, JAN. 1, 1968—Continued

"Jurisdiction	Limitations on permanent total					Limitations on temporary total					Notations
	Maximum percent of wages	Maximum weekly payment	Minimum weekly payment	Time limit	Amount limit	Maximum percent of wages[1]	Maximum weekly payment	Minimum weekly payment	Time limit	Amount limit	
British Columbia	75	$95.20	[3] $34.72	do.		75	$95.20	[1] $30.00	do.		75 percent of maximum earnings of $6,600 per year.[15]
Manitoba	75	86.54	[3] [37] 35.00	do.		75	86.54	[3] 35.00	do.		Do.
New Brunswick	75	72.11	[3] 25.00	do.		75	72.11	[3] 25.00	do.		75 percent of maximum earnings of $5,000 per year.
Newfoundland	75	72.11	[3] 28.84	do.		75	72.11	[3] 25.00	do.		Do.
Nova Scotia	75	72.11	[3] 28.00	do.		75	60.58	[3] 30.00	do.		Do.
Ontario	75	86.54	32.50	do.		75	86.54	30.00	do.		75 percent of maximum earnings of $6,000 per year.
Prince Edward Island	75	72.11	[3] 20.00	do.		75	72.11	[3] 20.00	do.		75 percent of maximum earnings of $5.000 per year.
Quebec [38]	75	72.11	25.00	do.		75	72.11	35.00	do.		75 percent of maximum earnings of $6,000 per year.
Saskatchewan	75	86.54	[39] 32.50	do.		75	86.54	[3] 32.50	do.		Do.
Canadian Merchant Seamen Compensation Act.	75	64.90	12.50	do.		75	64.90	12.50	do.		75 percent of maximum earnings of $4,500 per year.

---

[1] See Notations column.

[2] Percentage increased 5 percent each, for dependent wife and children. Maximum 65 percent, wife and children.

[3] Actual wage if less.

[4] No actual limit in computing average monthly wage. All wages in excess of $1,000 per month excluded.

[5] Within period of 5 years from date of injury.

[6] Disfigurement maximum $1,000.

[7] If employee is receiving social security benefits for disability, compensation may be reduced by 50 percent of such payments.

[8] 60 percent of average production wage. To be determined annually by Labor Commissioner. Determined to be $74 as of Oct. 1, 1967.

[9] Additional allowance of $5 per dependent child but not to exceed 50 percent of benefit or 75 percent of average weekly wage but may exceed 60 percent of annual average production wage. Retroactive benefit increases provided for cases prior to 1953 and 1967, and prospectively for cases after 1967.

[10] Does not include rehabilitation allowance.

[11] Old age and survivors insurance benefits credited on compensation after $25,000 has been paid.

[12] Same rate of compensation thereafter from special fund. Disfigurement maximum $10,000.

[13] 400 weeks at maximum disability, reduced thereafter to $25 per week.

[14] Maximum shall not exceed 55 percent of 85 percent of average weekly State wage; minimum shall be 25 percent of 85 percent of same, promulgated annually by Workmen's Compensation Board as of Jan. 1, 1968.

[15] Maximum not to exceed 66⅔ percent of State average weekly wage fixed by Maine Employment Security Commission, as of June 1, 1967.

[16] Maximum weekly benefit $62 effective Nov. 12, 1967; will increase to $65 effective Oct. 13, 1968.

[17] Actual wage if less, but not under $10 for workweek of 15 hours or over.

[18] Add $3 for each dependent up to 5 to weekly minimum. All benefits increased according to a scale annually until 1967, thereafter will be adjusted to average State wage.

[19] Persons receiving less than benefits provided after 1955 receive difference in amounts from 2d injury fund.

[20] Plus rehabilitation allowance, maximum $160 for 104 weeks.

[21] 40 percent thereafter but not less than $18 or more than $30 for life.

[22] Reduced amounts after 300 weeks.

[23] 65 percent of average monthly wage not in excess of $325 per month plus an additional 15 percent for each dependent not to exceed 90 percent.

[24] Maximum not to exceed 66⅔ percent of average industrial wage determined annually (as of Jan. 1, 1968).

[25] Actual wage if less, but not under $10 for workweek of 15 hours or over.

[26] Actual wage if less but in no case less than $22.

[27] Compensation doubled if disability due to employer's violation of safety or health law or regulation.

[28] Disability extending beyond period compensation from 2d injury fund.

[28a] Actual wage if less but with a minimum of $12.

[29] $3.60 additional for dependent wife and $3.60 for each dependent child under 18, up to 4 such children.

[30] Employees tentatively found permanently and totally disabled referred to rehabilitation program. If employee has cooperated, cannot be rehabilitated and has exhausted benefits, then maximum of $44 per week is paid by special fund upon termination of payments by employer and carrier.

[31] Maximum benefit shall equal 50 percent of annual State average weekly wage. On July 1, 1968, benefits increased to $54 maximum weekly and $27 minimum—maximum total $17,820.

[32] Additional amount of $3.50 per week for each dependent child under 21.

[33] Compensation reduced 15 percent for employee's failure to use safety devices.

[34] Court will supervise disbursement of fund for children.

[35] Maximum is based upon grade 15 of General Schedule Classification Act ($23,921), minimum upon grade 2 ($4,108). Benefits to be increased annually by 3 percent increase in Consumer Price Index after 1967.

[36] Plus rehabilitation allowance.

[37] Minimum benefits of $150 per month increased retroactively to Aug. 5, 1959

[38] Beginning Sept. 30, 1965, benefit increases varying from 1.1-40 percent for awards made from eSpt. 1, 1931, and Jan. 1, 1965, will be paid existing cases.

[39] Minimum benefits increased retroactively as of July 1, 1965.

[40] Board has discretion to choose the 12 months in the preceding 3 year period most advantageous to workmen for computation of his earnings."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, one of the important tasks of the Commission would be to develop adequate criteria for determining the maximum amount and duration of permanent and total disability benefits. Over the years something like a consensus seems to have developed around a figure expressed as a percentage, usually 66⅔ percent of average weekly wages, in the State. By and large, the States are not meeting even that limited criteria, but the Commission should answer the question whether that standard discriminates unfairly against workers whose incomes exceed the average in the State.

Second. The amount and duration of medical benefits and provisions insuring adequate medical care and free choice of physician: Though the quality of medical care and workman's compensation has improved over the years, many workers still have to bear a part of the medical cost of their injury or disease. A number of States still restrict full medical care by setting limits on the monetary amounts or limitations on the time during which a worker may receive medical benefits. This problem has been considerably aggravated by the rising costs of medical care in recent years, and the fact that private medical and hospitalization insurance generally exclude workmen's compensation cases from coverage.

Satisfactory medical care is, of course, as important as adequate benefits. One way in which this problem has been dealt with is to provide that the workmen's compensation agency may supervise medical care. In most States, however, the workmen's compensation agency does not have this authority.

Another aspect of this problem is that almost three-quarters of all workers covered under workman's compensation have their doctors chosen for them by their employer or by the insurance company on behalf of the employer. While this practice does not necessarily imply that injured workers will receive unsatisfactory medical care, it raises other serious questions because it is the physician upon whose testimony and diagnosis the amount of a compensation award may depend. One way in which this difficulty is overcome is to allow any insured worker at least some real freedom of choice in the selection of a physician, but only 23 States meet the Department of Labor's recommended standards in this regard.

Third. Coverage of workers, including exemptions based on numbers and type of employment: The effectiveness of workmen's compensation laws is limited in many States by numerical exemptions under which small employers are not covered by the law. The numerical exemptions range from two to 15 employees. Other types of exemptions are based on the type of employment, rather than the number of employees.

One of the most glaring defects in many State compensation laws is the failure to cover agricultural employees to the same extent as other types of employees; notwithstanding the fact that agriculture has become one of the Nation's most dangerous occupations.

Other types of employees frequently exempted from the law are casual and domestic employees and employees of charitable or religious institutions. All of these exemptions taken together serve to exclude approximately 20 percent of the entire labor force from the benefits of workmen's compensation. Despite a few improvements in some laws toward fuller coverage, this percentage has not changed perceptibly in recent years.

Fourth. Standards for determining which injuries or diseases should be deemed compensable: One of the areas in which the development of workmen's compensation law in the United States has been most marked, but at the same time most uneven, is in the determination of which injuries or diseases are deemed compensable. In many States the law, or the court's interpretation of it is moved far away from the initial "accident" theory of compensable injury to include almost any injury or disease which is work-related. In other States, however, there has been little or no movement at all. Some States specifically exclude from coverage most occupational diseases, and at least 16 States fail to provide full protection for occupational disease. In one particular area, that of radiation disease, the problem has already occasioned a congressional inquiry by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Pending before the Senate now are proposals to provide compensation for workers who have had the misfortune to suffer lung cancer as a result of their exposure to radiation and uranium mines. Such bills, of course, would be unnecessary had these unfortunate workers been entitled to collect workmen's compensation under existing State laws.

Fifth. Rehabilitation: In the years since the original Workmen's Compensation Acts were passed, the science of rehabilitation has made great strides. At the present time there exists a considerable store of knowledge and technique in medical and vocational restoration of an injured workman. Yet only a handful of States have adjusted either their substantive provisions or their administrative mechanisms under the workmen's compensation laws to take advantage of this opportunity. Clearly this is a subject which deserves the most careful study by the Commission.

Sixth. Coverage under second or subsequent injury funds: These funds are designed to facilitate reemployment of disabled workers. Their purpose is to assure full benefits to an employee who suffers a second disabling injury while at the same time allowing his subsequent employer to pay only that share of the benefits specifically attributable to the subsequent injury. Most States have established these funds but their operation and financing vary widely. Some second injury funds are supported by employer contributions under certain circumstances, other funds are supported entirely by governmental appropriations. Moreover, most States limit the coverage of second injury funds to loss or loss of use of a member of the body. In only a minority of the States do the second injury funds provide for coverage of any type of disability.

Seventh. Time limits on filing claims: The time limits on filing claims under most State laws appear to have been drawn to take into account only the "accidental" type of injury. These time limitations have serious drawbacks when they must be applied to occupational disease cases. For even though a law may provide coverage for occupational diseases its effectiveness will be seriously curtailed if there is an inadequate period of time for the worker to file for benefits. A worker may not know that he has contracted an occupational disease until a substantial period of time has passed after the date of his last exposure or a substantial period of time has passed before the condition is diagnosed as a disease that has occurred as a result of his employment. Both of these conditions exist, for example, in the case of uranium mine workers who have contracted lung cancer. Clearly the need for flexible time limit provisions is a subject which will merit serious consideration by the Commission.

Eighth. Waiting periods: Waiting periods or arbitrary periods of time during which employee may not receive compensation unless they are disabled for a fairly long period of time, specified in the law. The Department of Labor has recommended that the maximum waiting period should be 3 days and that benefits should be retroactive after 2 weeks. However, only about eight States currently meet this standard.

Ninth. Compulsory or elective coverage: Compulsory workmen's compensation laws require covered employers to comply with the law. An elective law permits the employer the option of whether to accept coverage of the workmen's compensation law; if he rejects coverage, he loses the common law defenses of assumption of risk, fellow servant negligence, and contributory negligence, in a suit filed by the worker. About one-half of the State workmen's compensation laws are compulsory, while the remainder are elective. Elective laws were at one time the rule rather than the exception. The trend has, however, definitely been toward compulsory coverage and although compulsory coverage has been recommended by the Department of Labor, the Council of State Governments, and the IAIABC almost half the States still have elective laws.

Tenth. Administration: Improved administration is one area in which tremendous strides have been made by some States but little, if any, progress has been made in others. Clearly, with the advent of new data processing techniques and the work which has been done by the Department of Labor, the Council of State Governments, and the IAIABC there is much that can and should be done to improve the administration of workmen's compensation laws in many States.

Eleventh. Legal expenses: Who should bear the burden of an injured workman's legal expenses has been a troublesome question for students of workmen's compensation. Most States require the claimant, whether or not he prevails in the proceeding, to bear his own legal expenses, contenting themselves with regulating the amount of the fees and preventing unethical practices by lawyers handling compensation cases. Some States take a different view, requiring employers to pay the legal expenses of the successful claimant.

The issue has been drawn clearly, and well merits the attention of the Commission.

Twelfth. The feasibility and desirability of a uniform system of reporting information concerning job-related injuries and diseases and the operation of workmen's compensation laws: One of the perennial difficulties which has served to plague students of workmen's compensation has been the lack of information concerning the system as a whole. The Commission could make use of its greatest contributions by analyzing the feasibility of some sort of uniform reporting system, designed to obtain the meaningful information concerning the operation of workmen's compensation laws necessary to permit continuing critical evaluation of the system.

Thirteenth. Resolution of conflict laws extraterritoriality and similar problems arising from claims with multistate aspects: Here is another area where the new Commission could make a tremendous contribution. The Council of State Governments, has commented that no portion of its model act is more urgently in need of coordinated state action than the extraterritoriality provision. The Council referred to the present law in this area as in "a state of chaos." Dr. Larson, one of the foremost authorities on workmen's compensation in the United States, has been even less charitable, characterizing the conflict of laws in this area as "a mad house of confusion."

Fourteenth. The extent to which private insurance carriers are excluded from supplying workmen's compensation coverage and the desirability of such exclusionary practices, to the extent they exist: In most States employers may provide compensation coverage through private insurance carriers. Some States, however, have established what are known as "exclusive State funds" with which all employers must deal. Various arguments can be made for and against these exclusive State funds. Under exclusive State funds, it is claimed, compensation insurance can usually be obtained more cheaply than from private carriers. Others argue, with equal force, that that is hardly a reason for prohibiting private carriers from competing for the employer's dollar. Another argument which the Commission will undoubtedly have to consider carefully is the tremendous contribution private insurance carriers have made toward improving occupational safety.

Fifteenth. The relationship between workmen's compensation on the one hand and old age, disability and survivors insurance and other types of insurance, public and private on the other hand: With the advent of other types of insurance, both public and private, covering disability or death, the problem of overlap arises. There are two aspects of the problem; first, to guard against an injured worker receiving double compensation; second, the decision as to which type of insurance should bear the burden when an overlap exists. The problem is particularly acute in total disability cases where both workmen's compensation and social security are applicable to the same worker and in partial disability cases where unemployment compensation is also sought. Consideration of this problem by the Commission would be especially desirable because of its Federal overtones.

Sixteenth. Possible methods of implementing the recommendations of the Commission: The best method of implementing its own recommendations will probably be the most controversial topic for the Commission to consider. It will also be the most important.

I recognize that workmen's compensation has historically been treated as a function of State government, and that the States themselves deserve full credit for initiating the whole system. There is, however, ample justification for the Federal Government to solicit the views and recommendations of interested and informed parties as to what should be done to achieve necessary workmen's compensation reform. This should not mean or imply any effort to federalize workmen's compensation or to begin such a process. Indeed, my present inclination would be to oppose any attempt to federalize workmen's compensation as much too drastic. There is a wide range of alternatives available which the Commission could consider, and after the Commission has made its recommendations it will still be up to Congress to act or not, as it sees fit. The point of my proposal is that it is only through the informed consideration of the issues by a broadly based Commission that the Congress will have before it the information necessary to enable it to make an intelligent judgment on this issue, which affects all American working men and women.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, workmen's compensation in this country is most uneven, and in many States most unfair. In the desire to bring about some rational ordering of what remains to be done, Senator YARBOROUGH and I are joining in seeking to bring about this high level, orderly report to Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] may speak to this matter, and that his remarks may follow mine.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I am happy to join with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] in sponsoring a Presidential study of the system of State workman's compensation laws. While a number of years ago the Council of State Governments undertook a study of this area of the law and came up with a comprehensive draft act, their work has had little impact on improving State workman's compensation laws.

When the senior Senator from New York proposed this bill as an amendment to my occupational safety and health bill, S. 2864, I felt at that time that such a study should be made, but that it represented a different problem and should not be considered as part of the safety bill. Since that time, Senator JAVITS expressed his willingness to introduce a separate bill to deal with the setting up of this type of commission, and this I agreed to and believe in. I believe that a Presidential commission to make a comprehensive study and evaluation of our workman's compensation laws is long overdue. This year the Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare held hearings on amendments to the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. We learned that weekly benefits payable under State workmen's compensation laws vary depending upon the State from $35 a week to $150 a week, most being based upon an ostensible desire to pay a worker two-thirds of his average weekly wage. But weekly payments usually are too obsolete to have any real meaningful relationship to the actual wages earned before injury to the disabled worker. A Presidential study should focus the facts so that the entire country can be aware of the problem that is presented to a family when its breadwinner is injured on the job.

S. 3952—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO WORKWEEKS AND WORKDAYS OF FEDERAL AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA EMPLOYEES

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, the Federal Government needs to take another look at its relationship with its civil service and wage board employees. For years our Federal Government led the way in promoting and establishing fair employment practices, however, in recent years the initiative has been lost.

The Government is now a follower of employer practices rather than a leader. One practice of the Federal Government about which I have received many complaints is an abomination in this day and age. This is the practice, permitted by the present law and condoned by the heads of several of the executive departments, which allows an agency director to prolong the workweek beyond 5 days without paying overtime for the services performed, and also permits him to schedule as many as 10 consecutive days of work without a day off. Within industry, our society no longer accepts such work schedules as being reasonable without benefit of overtime compensation. I believe that we should now recognize that the Federal Government has the same responsibility to its employees as has been acknowledge by industry.

Therefore, I introduce a bill proposing that we amend the United States Code, title 5, section 6101, relating to workweeks and workdays of the Federal and District of Columbia employees. I propose that except during a declared national emergency that the head of each executive agency, military department, and the head of the government of the District of Columbia shall in addition to recognizing the required basic administrative workweek of 40 hours for each full-time employee in his organization; first, require that the hours of work within that workweek be performed on 5 consecutive days; and second, establish a basic nonovertime workday not to exceed 8 hours.

In the event of a declared national emergency, when it could be established that a Federal agency would be seriously handicapped in carrying out its functions, or that the costs would be substantially increased, the director of the agency, with the concurrence of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget could appropriately alter the work schedules.

Mr. President, I believe that the time is long overdue to give favorable consideration to the proposed amendment. The Federal Government owes its employees this consideration.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the text of my bill printed at this point in the Record.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** This bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 3952) to amend section 6101 of title 5, United States Code, relating to workweeks and workdays of Federal and District of Columbia employees, introduced by Mr. Montoya, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 3952

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 6101(a) of title 5, United States Code, are amended to read as follows:

"(2) The head of each executive agency, military department, and of the government of the District of Columbia shall—

"(A) establish a basic administrative workweek of 40 hours for each full-time employee in his organization;

"(B) require that the hours of work within that workweek be performed on five consecutive days; and

"(C) establish a basic nonovertime workday not to exceed eight hours.

"(3) Except during a declared national emergency and when the head of an Executive agency, a military department, or the government of the District of Columbia determines, with the concurrence of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, that his organization would be seriously handicapped in carrying out its functions or that costs would be substantially increased, he shall provide, with respect to each employee in his organization, that—

"(A) assignments to tour of duty are scheduled in advance over periods of not less than one week;

"(B) the basic forty-hour workweek is scheduled Monday through Friday when possible;

"(C) the two days outside the basic workweek are consecutive and scheduled on the same two calendar days of every calendar week;

"(D) the working hours in each day in the basic workweek are the same;

"(E) the occurrence of holidays may not affect the designation of the basic workweek; and

"(F) breaks in working hours of more than one hour may not be scheduled in a basic workday.".

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 196—INTRODUCTION OF JOINT RESOLUTION TO DESIGNATE NATIONAL HISPANIC HERITAGE WEEK

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, I introduce, for myself and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Yarborough], a joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim annually the week including September 15 and 16 as "National Hispanic Heritage Week."

It is in the tradition of our country to recognize, cherish, and conserve the many cultural contributions of the people who have helped achieve the greatness of our Nation. Our country is constantly searching for ways to assist the development of our neighbor nations, and, through positive approaches, attain mutual understanding, respect, and appreciation of our cultures, heritage, and arts.

Mr. President, seven of our States—Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Nevada, New Mexico, and Texas—the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and many of our cities and towns proudly bear Hispanic names. In addition, a large segment of our population bear Spanish surnames. Many of our cities, towns, and regions were initially developed by citizens of Hispanic origin. It is of great significance that the Spanish-surnamed population has contributed the highest proportion of Medal of Honor winners through acts of bravery and determination in the defense of our land.

Mr. President, the Mexican Independence Days, and the independence days of some of our sister Latin Republics, are celebrated on September 15 and 16. It is, therefore, only fitting that Congress should approve this resolution as a tribute to Spanish surnamed citizens.

The House has already approved a similar joint resolution. I recognize that because of the Congresses' desire to recess on Friday of this week, that it will be impossible for the Senate Judiciary Committee to consider this joint resolution and report it out for our consideration on the floor prior to adjournment. However, because of the urgency of this legislation—considering the dates involved—I am calling upon the Judiciary Committee to give it priority attention when Congress reconvenes after the national conventions.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record, the text of the joint resolution.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the joint resolution will be printed in the Record.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 196) authorizing the President to proclaim annually the week including September 15 and 16 as "National Hispanic Heritage Week," introduced by Mr. Montoya (for himself and Mr. Yarborough), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S.J. Res. 196

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is hereby authorized and requested to issue annually a proclamation designating the week including September 15 and 16 as "National Hispanic Heritage Week" and calling upon the people of the United States, especially the educational community, to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF RESOLUTION

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, on July 29, 1968, I introduced Senate Resolution 383.

I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] be added as a cosponsor of the resolution (S. Res. 383) expressing the sense of the Senate relating to an agreement with the Government of Israel for the sale of Phantom jet fighters.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** announced that on today, July 31, 1968, the Vice

President signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 222. An act to insure that certain buildings financed with Federal funds are so designed and constructed as to be accessible to the physically handicapped;

S. 3497. An act to assist in the provision of housing for low and moderate income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development;

S. 3679. An act to amend the Act of June 19, 1968 (Public Law 351, 90th Cong.);

H.R. 2281. An act for the relief of Dwayne C. Cox and William D. Martin;

H.R. 6195. An act for the relief of Peter Balinas and Lee Balinas;

H.R. 6655. An act for the relief of Mary Jane Orloski;

H.R. 8391. An act for the relief of Adel Lessert Bellmard, Clement Lessert, Josephine Gonvil Pappan, Julie Gonvil Pappan, Pelagie Gonvil Franceour de Aubri, Victore Gonvil Pappan, Marie Gonvil, Lafleche Gonvil, Louis Laventure, Elizabeth Carvonau Vertifelle, Pierre Carbonau, Louis Joncas, Basil Joncas, James Joncas, Elizabeth Datcherute, Joseph Butler, William Rodger, Joseph Cote, four children of Cicili Compare and Joseph James or the heirs of any who may be deceased;

H.R. 9098. An act to revise the boundaries of the Badlands National Monument in the State of South Dakota, to authorize exchanges of land mutually beneficial to the Oglala Sioux Tribe and the United States, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9391. An act to amend section 376(a) of title 28, United States Code;

H.R. 9606. An act to exempt from taxation certain property of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 10213. An act to amend the Life Insurance Act of the District of Columbia, approved June 19, 1934 (48 Stat. 1125);

H.R. 10321. An act for the relief of Mrs. Claudette C. Donahue;

H.R. 10327. An act for the relief of Louis J. Falardeau, Irva G. Franger, Betty Klemcke, Wineta L. Welburn, and Emma L. McNeil, all individuals employed by the Department of the Army at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.;

H.R. 10915. An act to amend section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1956;

H.R. 11026. An act to amend the act of September 15, 1960, for the purpose of developing and enhancing recreational opportunities and improving the fish and wildlife programs at reservations covered by said act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11381. An act for the relief of E. L. Townley, Otis T. Hawkins, and Leo T. Matous;

H.R. 12119. An act for the relief of Joseph M. Hepworth;

H.R. 14167. An act for the relief of Lydia M. Parsley;

H.R. 15189. An act to authorize appropriations for certain maritime programs of the Department of Commerce;

H.R. 15864. An act to provide for the operation of the William Langer Jewel Bearing Plant at Rolla, N. Dak., and for other purposes;

H.R. 16913. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17903. An act making appropriations for public works for water and power resources development, including certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, the Delaware River Basin Commission, Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Water Resources Council, and the Atomic Energy Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 1420. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1969, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, July 31, 1968, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 222. An act to insure that certain buildings financed with Federal funds are so designed and constructed as to be accessible to the physically handicapped;

S. 3497. An act to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development; and

S. 3679. An act to amend the act of June 1968 (Public Law 351, 90th Cong.).

NOTICE OF MOTION TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENT TO DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969

AMENDMENT NO. 925

Mr. MAGNUSON submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 18037) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and for the fiscal related agencies year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: Page —, after line —, insert the following:

"SEC. 208. Appropriations in this title available for any of the health functions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare shall be available for the expenses of a fifteen-member President's Commission on Preventive Medicine the findings and recommendations of which are to be reported to the President by August 1, 1969, and the members of which are to be compensated while on business of the Commission, including traveltime at rates not in excess of the rate specified at the time the service is performed for grade GS–18 in 5 U.S.C. § 5332."

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] I submit an amendment intended to be proposed by us, jointly, to H.R. 18037, the Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill, to make funds available for the expenses of a 15-member Presidential Commission on Preventive Medicine.

Such a commission would undertake four major tasks. First, after a study of existing knowledge, it would make a series of recommendations for immediate programs of preventive medicine. The Commission would investigate and recommend ways to increase the understanding, support, and implementation of preventive medical techniques by the health profession and the public. It would plan long-range programs for the prevention of disease and illness. Finally, a Commission on Preventive Medicine would spearhead a national effort to stimulate and support the field of preventive medicine.

The proposal for the Commission, which was presented to the President last Thursday, was developed and put forward by a group of medical and business leaders with whom we have been most privileged to work. I am delighted to advise my colleagues that the President saw great merit in the proposal.

Supporters of this proposal are convinced that improving the quality of life in America requires that we, as a nation, devote more of our energy and resources to the prevention of accidents, disease, and premature deaths.

We can no longer accept a situation which finds that in the field of medicine, as in so many other areas, prevention has not received the emphasis or the support which has long sustained the search for after-the-fact medical cures. This lack of support for preventive medicine is not only costly in terms of lives, but the failure to put into practice present knowledge of prevention techniques to prevent the incapacitation of persons by chronic diseases is costing America billions of dollars each year.

History should make the case for preventive medicine clear and convincing. It was not so long ago that such diseases as smallpox, polio, diphtheria, and measles were dreaded by thousands. Today, preventive medicine has virtually wiped out those threats to our health and well-being. It offers an even greater promise of service for the future.

It is doubtful that prevention can even begin to fulfill this promise when two-thirds of our medical schools do not have departments of preventive medicine. It is not likely that the average citizen will give the necessary support to preventive medicine when, as today, it is a field largely neglected in primary and secondary education.

Medical cures, such as the recent heart transplants, excite great interest and publicity. But preventive medicine lacks the excitement and dramatic quality of a miraculous operation. This fact has been recognized by those who have worked hard to articulate the need for greater emphasis on prevention, and who have thus formulated the proposal for a Presidential commission.

Mr. President, I offer this amendment because I believe that the Commission on Preventive Medicine will play a key role in developing the kind of national commitment to prevention which this most promising and important approach to disease and health hazards must have.

The basic needs and purposes which lie behind the proposed Commission are set forth in the letter and accompanying memorandum, the latter entitled "An Ounce of Prevention," which were presented to the President last week. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter and memorandum be printed in the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that an article from the July 29 Washington Post, outlining the need for a Commission on Preventive Medicine, be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and will lie on the table; and, without objection, the letter, memorandum, and article will be printed in the RECORD.

The letter, memorandum, and article, presented by Mr. MAGNUSON, are as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 29, 1968]

LBJ URGED TO ENDORSE HEALTH PLAN

(By Morton Mintz)

President Johnson has been asked to endorse an unprecedented effort to improve "the quality of life in this country" through prevention of avoidable diseases, accidents and premature deaths, The Washington Post learned yesterday.

The plan was proposed Thursday night at the White House by Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.), chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, and Mathilde Galland Krim, a biologist and a member of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation. The President "reacted with great enthusiasm," Magnuson said. The President ordered a study of the plan.

The Senator and Mrs. Krim delivered to Mr. Johnson a letter proposing creation of a Commission on Disease Prevention and Health Protection.

The letter expresses "the strong conviction that if more attention was paid to preventive medicine and health protection, thousands of lives would be saved and untold suffering avoided.

"Millions of dollars would no longer be wasted in economic loss and medical costs, and an unjustifiable wastage of medical manpower would not occur," the letter adds.

The proposal is supported by a large group of distinguished physicians, medical educators and public and industrial health specialists, Secretary Wilbur J. Cohen and other top officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and three key Senators—Magnuson; Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D-N.J.), chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, and Lister Hill (D-Ala.), chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Health Committee.

This week, the Senators will introduce a measure to fund the proposed commission, as the first step in winning Congressional support.

Attached to the letter to the President was a position paper entitled, "An Ounce of Prevention . . ." Making the case for a commission, the paper says it could bring "greater national productivity, less dependency due to illness, and reduced environmental pollution."

"To continue the present national emphasis upon treatment and after-the-fact remedies, as opposed to prevention, must be regarded as a failure of the health professions to adequately protect the population," the paper declares.

The paper recalls that because an effective polio vaccine was developed in 1955, the Nation last year had only 51 cases of the paralytic disease. The medical costs of these cases totaled $50,000. Had there been no vaccine, there might have been almost 39,000 new polio cases in 1967, with medical costs of $40 million, or 800 times as much.

Today, the paper says, 14,000 women a year die of cervical cancer. But with early detection through simple "Pap" smears from all women over 20, "at least 9000" of the victims could be saved.

Support for the plan was organized at a meeting in New York last February at the home of Mrs. Krim. She is the wife of Arthur B. Krim, president of United Artists Corp. and chairman of the President's Club of New York. Among those attending were Surgeon General William H. Stewart of the Public Health Service; then Commissioner James L. Goddard of the Food and Drug Administration; medical directors of six bluechip industrial corporations, including American Telephone and Telegraph and General Motors, and officials of the American Cancer Society and the AFL-CIO.

The proposed commission would complement the National Commission on Product Safety, which is now being organized to deal with problems such as that of power mowers, which alone kill or injure more than 100,000 persons a year.

Here are high points of the "Ounce of Prevention" paper:

The Nation has failed to recognize how great are the loss of income and other indirect costs of chronic disease. In 1963, these costs were estimated at $15.1 billion. But the major programs aimed at trying to cure chronic diseases—for example, heart disease, cancer, mental illness, arthritis and emphysema—are not matched by comparable programs aimed at prevention.

With current knowledge and tools, many currently prevalent diseases "can be prevented entirely. Others can be detected and cured in the early stages."

For example, period tests and appropriate treatment could prevent the total blindness suffered annually by 3000 of the 3500 victims of glaucoma.

The "most preventable form of chronic disease today is dental decay." Two children out of three do not receive the protection of fluoridation of the water supply, which "is entirely a matter of legislation."

Because such developments as organ transplants "are inevitably more newsworthy than routine preventive efforts," it is essential to create "a national will to undertake preventive programs."

Almost two-thirds of all medical schools do not have departments of preventive medicine, an "appalling" lack. Neither do primary and secondary schools pay sufficient attention to health education.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The undersigned group, concerned with the Nation's health and well-being, holds the strong conviction that if more attention was paid to preventive medicine and health protection, thousands of lives would be saved and untold suffering avoided. Millions of dollars would no longer be wasted in economic loss and medical costs, and an unjustifiable wastage of medical manpower would not occur. We, therefore, submit for your consideration a proposal for the establishment of a Commission on Disease Prevention and Health Protection.

The thoughts expressed in this proposal arose from a meeting with Surgeon General William Stewart, and other officers in the Public Health Service, as well as leaders in the field of medicine, management, and labor, at which the current status of preventive medicine in the United States was reviewed. A list of those who attended the meeting is attached.

We believe that preventive medicine, which has already freed humanity from some of the great infectious scourages of earlier centuries, could now attack and conquer many of the new health hazards confronting modern society. Similarly, programs of health protection and environmental control could eliminate many of the dangers threatening man's well-being. But such new and innovative programs will need to be understood, recognized and supported by society itself.

We have now thoroughly to explore the present status and potential of such broad programs of health protection. We must also examine plans for research on the prevention of diseases and injuries as well as plans for the broader application of existing knowledge. This will require an interdisciplinary group of the highest quality, invested with the prestige appropriate to its task. We feel that these necessary goals can best be achieved by a Commission on Disease Prevention and Health Protection appointed by the President.

To this end, Mr. President, we have prepared, and herewith submit to you, the attached issue paper characterizing the problem and pointing to means for its solutions, utilizing a Commission designed to encourage action now with existing technologies, as well as exploring additional methods.

Being aware of your deep concern for the health of this nation, we have brought this matter to your attention in the hope that it will receive your sympathtic consideration.

Very respectfully yours,

Eric Cassell, M.D.; Herman E. Hilleboe, M.D.; George James, M.D.; Mathilde Krim, Ph. D.; Senator Warren G. Magnuson; Leonard Schuman, M.D.; Milton Terris, M.D.; Ernest L. Wynder, M.D.

AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION

It is the nature of man that the case for prevention will never be as compelling as the case for cure. But it is in the nature of biology that the most effective control of disease will always be prevention.

Improving the quality of life in this country requires that far greater national effort be devoted to reducing the incidence of preventable diseases, accidents and premature death. This effort will not only save lives: it will reduce the costs of medical care, and increase health manpower and facilities. It will also lead to greater national productivity, less dependency due to illness, and reduced environmental pollution.

To continue the present national emphasis upon treatment and after-the-fact remedies, as opposed to prevention, must be regarded as a failure of the health professions to adequately protect the population.

WHAT HAS BEEN PREVENTED?

Incontrovertible evidence of the value of preventive medicine is offered by the virtual eradication of the dreaded scourages of past centuries, such as plague and smallpox, and more recently by remarkable progress against infectious diseases such as diptheria, poliomyelitis, and measles. In all of these instances of progress, the consequences of disability or death were intolerable to the public. These health programs were *demanded*.

They not only save lives and avoid untold suffering: they cost less than the ravages of the diseases they control. For example, it is far less expensive to prevent polio than to care for the victims of the disease. The average annual number of polio cases reported in the five years immediately preceding the 1955 introduction of an effective vaccine was 38,727. If this number of cases had occurred in 1967—a distinct possibility if there had been no vaccine—the medical costs would be approximately $40,000,000. This does not count the costs of care—sometimes lifetime care—for paralyzed victims, for crippled children, or for the disruption of families. Owing to the widespread use of polio vaccine, however, only 51 cases of polio occurred in 1967. The medical cost was only about $50,000 rather than $40,000,000. The saving, not only financial and emotional, but in scarce hospital beds and medical manpower, is impressive. It is far easier, cheaper, and less painful to *prevent* than to cure.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

The leading killers today are no longer the diseases caused by known infectious agents. Infectious diseases still play their part, but our major problems are now those of chronic conditions, such as heart and vascular disease, cancer, mental illness, arthritis and emphysema, that not only kill prematurely but bring untold suffering and years of disability to those affected.

We have not, however, adequately recognized the "costs" of these current health problems. It has been estimated that the indirect costs of chronic disease in the United States amounted to $15.1 billion in 1963. This includes factors such as income loss (a total of 244 million days were lost from work in 1963 due to chronic conditions), institutional costs, and loss in taxes.

The economic cost of mortality caused by chronic disease was estimated at more than $30 billion. We must add to this the cost in terms of medical manpower, use of facilities, and the drain on other health resources.

We have significant control measures capable of minimizing the ravages of a large number of these diseases. Where we lack final proof of the value of a specific preventive measure, or have no effective measure at all, we know from past experience that highly concentrated research and development is likely to give us effective weapons.

The United States has major programs that attempt to *cure* chronic diseases. There is no such equal effort to *prevent* them, while the history of man's conquest of disease shows that such an effort is essential if we are to truly solve today's major health problems.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

With the preventive knowledge and tools we already have today, we could change the health statistics of the entire nation.

Many of the diseases currently prevalent can be prevented entirely. Others can be detected and cured in the early stages. In some cases, it is simply a question of instilling awareness, recognizing symptoms or the importance of diet, and exercise. Technical personnel and automated laboratory and computerized recording procedures can utilize known techniques to operate comprehensive screening programs. These prevention and early detection programs can save money and conserve scarce physician time. People can be educated to expect health rather than to tolerate illness, to demand prevention rather than to admire belated treatment.

A striking example of a success achieved by early detection is exemplified by the cure of cancer of the cervix. When discovered in situ by "Pap" smears, the maligant tissue can be removed before it spreads to other tissues. A simple test carried out regularly can prevent death through this terrible disease. And yet, today 14,000 women still die each year from cervical cancer. At least 9,000 of them could be saved if all women over 20 years of age had an annual "Pap" smear and appropriate follow-up treatment.

Similarly, 3,500 persons suffer total blindness every year as a result of glaucoma. 3,000 of these cases would be prevented if all persons over 40 years old had periodic tests for glaucoma and appropriate treatment.

The most prevalent form of chronic disease today is dental decay, which is not only extremely expensive for the individual, but is often associated with more other serious disorders, such as malnutrition. Over a quarter of a century has passed since the tremendous effectiveness and safety of fluoridation of water supplies has been proved, yet two-thirds of the children in the United States still do not receive such protection. In this case, prevention is entirely a matter of legislation.

We now know that what we eat is extremely important in regard to disease and disability. The nation still suffers from serious illnesses resulting from inadequate nutrition. Sadly, this is often a matter of ignorance rather than poverty. Increasingly, diseases caused by over-eating are becoming important. Obesity and high blood levels of cholesterol are related to eating habits on one hand and to certain cardiovascular diseases on the other.

Our increasing affluence not only leads us to overeat but to take less exercise. The prevalence of heart disease in the United States seems related to the increasingly sedentary habits of our population.

High blood pressure, which is a forerunner of stroke, coronary heart disease, and hypertensive heart disease, can be controlled. Individuals who have high serum cholesterol also have a high risk for coronary heart disease, hypertension and their aftermaths. Discovery of high risk individuals allows effective preventive programs to be instituted.

Reducing the various hazards to which people are exposed can significantly reduce disease and severity of illness. For example, control of air pollution and certain occupational exposures, as well as reduction of cigarette smoking would profoundly affect chronic respiratory diseases and the incidence of lung cancer. Strict control of the use of inflammable products would bring about a reduction in burn injuries and so would dramatically reduce illness, mortality, and drains on health resources.

WHAT IS HOLDING US BACK?

The principal constraint appears to be the lack of a national goal, or a national will, to undertake preventive programs. So we must create a public demand for better health.

Organ transplants, the life-saving efforts of medical teams, dramatic attacks on symptom-laden diseases, are inevitably more newsworthy than routine preventive efforts. It is essential, however, to impress the public—and equally the health professions—with the more effective, but long-term and subtle, ways of protecting health.

Despite the convincing case for prevention, *about two-thirds of all medical schools do not have departments of preventive medicine*. This lack is appalling. We should at once encourage the establishment, or strengthening, of these departments in all medical schools, and emphasize a more realistic training program for the physicians of tomorrow.

Primary and secondary schools do not pay sufficient attention to health education. A vital subject like this should not be taught on a hit-or-miss basis; it should be part of the total curriculum of every school. Health education should help the individual to make choices based on knowledge and a set of values derived from education, experience and observation. Teaching people how to live with, cope with, and improve their environment could be an important key to preventing dependence on assistance services and eliminating some of the underlying causes of today's social disturbances. This is one of the most neglected areas of our present public health and educational systems.

Finally, not enough research is done on new techniques of prevention and on methods of applying them. We must also experiment with systems of delivery for preventive measures. Many of these are outside the usual medical care scheme, and many are aimed at eliminating the environmental causes of ill health.

WHAT WE CAN DO NOW

Because of the present inadequate use of preventive medicine and since curative medicine is costly and overburdened, it would now be timely for our national leadership to make a major effort toward reducing the incidence and severity of many of the most serious diseases of today.

Benefits can be derived through *legislation*. Others will accrue through *public* and *professional* education. Still further benefits would come from financial support for special professional and nonprofessional *training* in the practice of preventive medicine. The following are just a few examples of things that can be done now. For example, we now have the authority to clean the polluted air over most of the major urban areas of this country. We need similar legislation that requires rather than permits fluoridation of all public water supplies. We have legislated pasteurization. We have legislated chlorination. There is no excuse for delaying fluoridation.

Other approaches include new methods of paying for and organizing health services. We at present invest huge sums in medical care, through public and private support. The same means of coverage, however, such as Title XVIII, do not provide for "health protection": there is no payment for periodic health appraisal on an out-of-hospital basis, with provision for follow-up care. This should include individual and group counselling services necessary for health maintenance, given by a physician or other health professional.

These issues require study and discussion at the highest level. We therefore urge the establishment of a *Presidential Commission on Disease Prevention and Health Protection*. The functions of this Commission would include:

1. Reviewing existing knowledge, establishing national goals and recommending immediately applicable programs and procedures for early and wide application of preventive techniques.
2. Developing recommendations to provide for increasing understanding, support and utilization of preventive techniques by the professions and the public. Developing an informed public demand for better health.
3. Planning a long-range program of research and development aimed at alleviating, reducing or eliminating many health problems by preventing their occurrence rather than attempting to solve them after the fact.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TAX REFORM

Mr. YOUNG of OHIO. Mr. President, instead of that 10-percent surtax increase, Congress should have closed all tax loopholes, including the 27½ percent depletion allowance for oil and gas producing companies. In addition, we should have completely revised present internal revenue laws and achieved real tax reform.

The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey is one of the most powerful and richest oil producing companies. Last year this company and other great companies, such as Atlantic Refining Corp., made fabulous profits. From profits of $5 billion the net tax paid to our good Uncle Sam by such corporations was under 9 percent of their net profits. This, at a time when an individual American with modest earnings is shelling out at least one-fourth of his net earnings in income taxes. A few years back, the Marathon Oil Co., one of the great and successful oil corporations with annual net profits of many millions of dollars, not only paid no income taxes whatever to the Federal Government but actually received a tax credit of $2,200,000. Unfortunately, working men and women and those of us who regard ourselves as middle-class Americans have been carrying the burdens of our Nation on our backs by bearing the heavy burden of extremely high income tax payments.

What we in the Congress should be talking about is imposing fair taxes, not just more taxes, not just surtaxes on top of present taxes. A most important duty awaiting the 91st Congress, which will convene next January, is reform of our income tax laws.

RECENT PENTAGON POLICY CHANGE FOR VIETNAM SERVICE

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, earlier this month officials of the Department of the Army announced that beginning August 1, 1968, enlisted personnel returning to the United States from Vietnam may be discharged to civilian life up to 5 months before fulfillment of their service obligation.

Last year I offered an amendment during the debate on the selective service bill to limit the term of duty for draftees to 18 months. This year I introduced legislation, S. 3437, for this same purpose. The fact is that draftees are not sent to South Vietnam without at least 4 months training. Allowing for an additional 2 months of specialized training, they could serve the 1-year tour in South Vietnam and still be released from active duty within 18 months. I am glad that Pentagon officials will shorten the tours of duty at least for those hundreds of thousands of draftees who have been sent to Vietnam and completed their tours of duty there.

It is unfair to continue to draft young American boys for a 2-year period when our allies, Great Britain and Canada, have no conscription whatever. Our other allies, New Zealand provides conscription for 12 months; France for 16 months; West Germany and the Netherlands for 18 months; Belgium for 12 to 15 months; Italy for 15 months; and Norway for 12 months.

An 18-month period of service for draftees is all the West German Government requires. The West German Government has not sent one soldier to help us in Vietnam. Incidentally, when we finally, by negotiation, persuaded West German Government officials to agree to permit 35,000 of our men, most of whom have been living like squawmen in West Germany with their wives and families, to return home, our President agreed in return to add about $1.5 billion in trade concessions to the West German Government.

Mr. President, the recent Pentagon decision is an important and needed action. Although it requires a draftee to serve an additional 2 months beyond the normal tour of duty in combat in the miserable civil war raging in South Vietnam, he will only have to serve for a total period of 19 months. If it is necessary to compel millions of our young men to serve this Nation, in its Armed Forces at a period when the United States is not engaged in fighting a "declared war," then we should at least do our utmost to spread that responsibility among all young Americans.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. I want the Senate to know that from now on, because of the difficulty which arose last week, it will be my intention to move—not to ask unanimous consent—that general appropriation bills be taken up. I do that because I think that a rectification of the ambiguous situation, in a sense, which now exists, should be corrected—and I hope will be shortly—but until that is done, the 3-day rule will be observed.

If any Member at any time objects, and if they do not object, I will not ask unanimous consent, but I will move that this be done so that the Senate as a whole can make the decision.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CLOSE-UP

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a TV conversation I had with Joseph McCaffrey on "Close-Up," on WMAL, an ABC outlet, be inserted at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the conversation was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Close-Up: Senator Mike Mansfield

Joseph McCaffrey. I'm Joseph McCaffrey. Welcome to Close-Up, and my guest, the Majority Leader of the United States Senate, Mike Mansfield. This is probably one of the easiest introductions I've ever done because everyone knows and respects the Senator from Montana. He's probably one of the best examples of a dropout who made good by going back to school. He left school at the age of 14 to enter the Navy during World War I, he served in the Army, and then the Marine Corps, and today he is still a Marine at heart.

He returned to Montana but found there was only work at the bottom of a mine shaft when you didn't have an education. Not having gone to high school, he had to take special entrance examinations to get into college. He took it, passed it, went on to win his degree from the University of Montana, and by the time he was elected to Congress in 1942 he was Professor of Latin American and Far Eastern History at the University.

Much is made today of youth power. Actually in 1942 it was student power which helped put Mike Mansfield into Congress. His students and former students fanned out all over the district to give him a powerful unbeaten organization. Ten years later, even though he was bucking an Eisenhower Republican tide, he unseated a sitting Republican Senator. In 1957 he was picked as Assistant Majority Leader, and since 1961 he has been Majority Leader.

A member of the important Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Mansfield has visited many times the key areas of the world and has long been concerned over the seemingly never ending war in Vietnam. In one minute we'll meet the Majority Leader.

McCaffrey. Senator Mansfield, I often wonder when I chat with you in your office there off the Senate floor how much easier your job would be if you were just a Senator, the senior Senator from the State of Montana.

Senator Mansfield. A good deal easier, a good deal easier.

McCaffrey. Does being the Majority Leader also mean more problems involving the mail? How do you handle mail from all over the country, because you get it probably because you are the Majority Leader?

Mansfield. Well, I give first attention to the mail from Montana because after all I am first and foremost a Senator from the State of Montana. Some of the outside mail I answer; a lot of it I don't answer because I just haven't got the time or the staff and I feel I have to concentrate on Montana as far as mail and matters affecting the State are concerned because so much of my time is taken on the floor looking after the affairs of the Senate and the nation as a whole.

McCaffrey. Senator, I had great hopes that something would happen in Hawaii at the meeting between President Johnson and Thieu. I thought that perhaps that meeting might change the course of the war. Were you disappointed in that meeting?

Mansfield. Well, frankly, yes. I haven't seen the President since he's returned, but on the basis of newspaper reports and statements made by President Thieu since he's returned to Saigon, it appears to me that we're locked in, and that we haven't got the give, the flexibility, which should be ours. After all, we are carrying the major share in this barbaric war, and I don't think that on the basis of the Honolulu meeting that the cause of peace was advanced.

McCaffrey. Do you think that peace can be achieved with the present government in Saigon in power?

Mansfield. I think it is possible, but I would think that if this is going to be done, that that government should be broadened, and I have hopes that it will be, that the Cao Dai, the Hoa Hao, the Montagnards, the other Buddhists and the Catholics who are not in the combination should be brought in, and then I think while we are carrying on talks—not negotiations as yet, but just talks—with the North Vietnamese in Paris, that Saigon and the NLF, the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Viet Cong, ought to get together, because then it would be possible for these people in the south, all southerners, to maybe bring about the creation of a situation which would further the cause of peace there, rather than leaving the burden in that respect on Hanoi and Washington.

McCaffrey. Do you think at this point that the Paris talks are hopeless?

Mansfield. No, nothing is hopeless as long as they are talking, but I must say that while I was ready to accept a certain amount of dilly-dallying, in my opinion there has been too much of it; nothing in the way of tangibility has come out of it, and nothing seems to be in—in that particular manner—in the open at the present time.

McCaffrey. Wouldn't a bombing halt be worth the gamble?

Mansfield. Oh, yes. I don't think we should have bombed the north in the first place. I think once we stopped bombing we should have stopped permanently, and I think the only answer will be a cessation of the bombing of North Viet Nam. North Viet Nam has made that very plain in Paris as a condition to getting down to bedrock and discussing things which should be discussed to bring this brutal war to a close.

McCaffrey. How long do you think the United States, that is, the home front, will sustain this war?

Mansfield. Well, I would say that while Viet Nam has been overshadowed in recent weeks and months because of conditions here at home and other factors, that it is the underlying difficulty which confronts this nation today. We're spending something on the order of 30 billion dollars a year in Viet Nam. If we could spend only a part of that in looking after our problems at home, I think we would be in far better shape and wouldn't look forward, as we have to, to this unrest which is now occurring in the spring, the summer and the fall, and may well in the future become an all-year around affair.

Furthermore, we've lost a lot of our friends, we've created disunity in this country, and the divisiveness is bad for us. It doesn't help the future of the Republic, and until this war is settled in an honorable way, I think we'll have nothing but trouble here at home, and I think the basic cause overall is Viet Nam.

McCaffrey. I notice, though, that you hold out a hope there; we're spending 30 billion dollars a year in Viet Nam, and we could do something else with that, more constructive here at home, but yet I notice so many of the Administration spokesmen are saying even if the war were to end, we'd still have to be spending all this money militarily. It seems to me that we're trapped in this military complex, even if the war ends.

Mansfield. Well, as far as Viet Nam is concerned, we're trapped in so many different ways, it would take a long time to enumerate them all. I think you're referring to the statement made by Under Secretary of the Treasury Barr in California a few weeks ago. I don't agree with Secretary Barr, who is a very fine man, a good Under Secretary—because I cannot see us spending that amount of money when the war is over in Viet Nam.

I would point out that the President said at Manila a year or so ago that if this war could be brought to an honorable conclusion, we would withdraw within a six-month period. I doubt that that could be done, but certainly we ought to withdraw as quickly as possible once an honorable peace is achieved. We ought to give up our bases because we have no vital interests in Southeast Asia, and I would hope that we would leave that area entirely and participate in the economic redevelopment of all of Indochina and perhaps parts of Thailand, that we would do what we could to bring about a rehabilitation of so much which has been destroyed, and in some small way at least try to bring hope and renewal to the peoples of the countries involved.

McCaffrey. You mention the word hope; Senator Mansfield, do you see any hope that we're going to be able to do this? Do you see anything that's optimistic in this war?

Mansfield. No, not at the moment, although I would recall the President's Johns Hopkins proposal to assist to a very sizeable extent in the rehabilitation of the Mekong areas——

McCaffrey. But we have to end the war first.

Mansfield. Yes, this would be after the war. We are spending money now on reconstruction, but I think the hamlet program has been a failure; I have had first hand knowledge of at least seven pacification programs covering hamlets. We get rosy reports, but they just do not pan out. We are at the present time losing land to the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese in South Viet Nam. We are losing hamlets; I think we're on the defensive, I think we're in a box, and I think we're in a very difficult position.

McCaffrey. What would you like to see done?

Mansfield. Well, I would—well, I can't say what I'd do. I'm not the President; I'm not in charge of foreign policy, but what I've said before——

I'd like to see negotiations get off dead center and I'd like to see the bombing halted in the north; it's a risk, of course, but it's a risk for peace, it's a risk in the right direction, and I would point out that as far as the bombing is concerned, we are bombing more heavily below the 19th parallel than we did throughout all of North Viet Nam before the line was drawn back. The number of sorties has increased tremendously but by the same token the number of infiltrators has increased tremendously as well.

McCaffrey. Senator Mansfield you are the Majority, the Democratic Party Leader in the Senate and the President of the United States is a member of the Democratic Party. Do you and the President . . . you are on opposite ends of the pole on the war. Has this in any way caused you embarrassment or has it strained your relationship with the President of the United States?

Mansfield. Not in the least. When the President has asked me I have given him my opinion as I saw it. I am certain that he gave every suggestion I made the most earnest look-see. I think he's a . . . given me every consideration possible and as far as our personal relationship is concerned, it is excellent.

McCaffrey. For a long time now you have recommended that we start reducing our troop strength in NATO in Europe. Do you think that this would help alleviate the tensions involving Czechoslovakia?

Mansfield. I don't think it would do any harm. Every time you raise the question about a troop withdrawal or anything affecting Germany, somebody gets up and says it is the wrong time. But it's been two decades since we established two divisions and finally six divisions in Western Europe, most of them in Germany. At the present time we have a total of 600,000 military personnel and dependents 20 years after the War is over, 23 years after the War is over. There are some who want us to stay there forever; they don't seem to realize that after all the primary responsibility for the defense of Western Europe should lie with the Western European countries themselves.

They don't seem to understand that the only country in the NATO group which has met its commitments year in and year out fully and completely has been the United States. These countries have now recovered. There was a need for additional divisions in 1951 when Europe was prostrate, when there was a need to rehabilitate, when there was a real and definite threat from the east. But now I think with the Europeans extending their cultural, economic and trade contact with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and even China, with all of them in a fairly prosperous condition, many of them in better condition than we are really, that conditions have changed and we ought to do away, as some have suggested . . . not only because of the money drain, because I understand it costs us about $2.7 billion a year . . . I don't advocate that these troops go to Vietnam. I think they ought to be pulled back here. I have advocated this as a matter of principle for more than a decade and I cannot see why it will not or should not be done.

McCaffrey. You have been joined too in the last several years by an outstanding exponent of defense policy in Senator Symington of Missouri.

Mansfield. Yes.

McCaffrey. . . . and yet you, the two of you, and many more in the Senate have never been able to make a dent in this policy. Why are we so stubborn about maintaining our troop strength in Europe?

Mansfield. Well I think too many of us become wedded to vested interests, interests and ideas and policies which were good a decade or two decades ago. And we think that today because it was good 20 years ago it is still good. We don't keep up with the changing world. And that's why I'm glad to see these youngsters participating in the political campaigns because they are entitled to a voice in the affairs of this nation. They can see things with open minds and wide-open eyes. They are not susceptible to old ideas, they are open to new ones. I think they are making a real contribution by and large. I do not speak for the minority which causes trouble, which advocates nihilism and anarchism, but I am talking I believe for the great majority.

McCaffrey. You're talking about the generation gap?

Mansfield. There is a generation gap and I think it should be bridged and I hope it will be bridged. I'd like to see younger people come into politics and bring about the necessary reforms in the two old parties.

McCaffrey. Much of the generation gap, it seems to me . . . talking now in the political area . . . is because our political system is outdated in many ways and of course I think the four point program you have offered in the Senate, which includes the most important of all perhaps, a direct presidential primary, might be what . . . one of the best steps to modernize and bring our system up to date. I'd like your comment on the fact, Senator, that the public opinion polls, whether they are good or bad, show two men leading in the preference of the people for president, Rockefeller and McCarthy, two men who by all odds will never get the nomination of their party.

Mansfield. Well, they are trying to appeal to the people whereas under the present it's the delegates, not the people, who nominate the president and the vice president. One way that could be overcome would be to have a national primary system. I think it would be less expensive than is the case now; it would be less wearing and tearing. And then I think we ought to do away with the electoral college which long ago outlived its usefulness, and I think we ought to scrap the convention system because it is nothing but an extravaganza and give the people a chance to make their choice and be guided accordingly.

McCaffrey. How is it in your own party that Senator McCarthy has great appeal out with the people and yet has had almost no appeal to the professional politicians? He has very few . . . only about 20 House members have endorsed him and I think two Senators. . .

Mansfield. Well, he hasn't been working among the delegates. He has been working among the people and the people are making themselves felt as far as the McCarthy candidacy is concerned. Now whether that's true in the case of Rockefeller remains to be seen. I think he started too late, I think he tried to fill the void left by Bobby Kennedy. He may or may not succeed, I have my doubts.

McCaffrey. I noticed that in the last ten days there have been what I would call crude attempts to force Senator Edward Kennedy into the political arena at the Chicago convention, and just the other day you issued a statement deploring this. Do you think that these efforts should cease?

Mansfield. I think so. I think that Kennedy should make up his own mind. Ted Kennedy is a first class, a first rate, an excellent Senator. He has a great future in the Senate and he will go far. He has a long life ahead of him. I do not like to see him being pressured. I do not like to see him being used just because his name happens to be Kennedy. I think that the best thing that we could do for Ted Kennedy would be to let him live in quiet and peace insofar as he can and give him a chance to overcome the tragedies which have afflicted his family and give him the opportunity to resume his career as a Senator. However, what Ted Kennedy wants to do is up to Ted Kennedy, but it should be his decision and no one else's.

McCaffrey. Senator Mansfield, you know when I asked you to appear on this program it was about a month ago and I was very confident at that time that we'd be wrapping up Congress and we could do a complete resume of what's happened. Instead you are going to come back here for September and the other day you said we will probably be here for a couple of months. Why are there so many loose ends to wrap up in the Senate?

Mansfield. Well, I think it's partly our fault. We don't pay enough attention as we should, and I apply that to myself as well as other members, to the duties and responsibilities which we were sent back here to undertake. And then I think there are other factors which bring about delaying actions now and again and which create situations which are not foreseen. For example there is the question of the Fortas nomination. That has been dragged out in the Judiciary Committee. It evidently will be dragged out still more. It will have to be faced up some way. The President is not a lame duck. He has the right to nominate. He is President until noon, January 20, 1969. I get a little bit tired of the label "lame duck." If you carried it to its logical extreme, a President entering upon his second term would on the first day become a "lame duck." And furthermore we have seven senators, five of them . . . six who have announced their retirement, two who have been defeated in primaries. Perhaps they should be considered lame ducks too, and if the President doesn't have the right to exercise his responsibility under the Constitution, then I would say that logically speaking the same question could be raised about those senators.

McCaffrey. Do you expect the Senate Judiciary to bring out, report out, the Fortas and Thornberry nominations?

Mansfield. I do.

McCaffrey. Do you expect that you will be able to crack a fillibuster, and undoubtedly one will be mounted, when you come back here in September?

Mansfield. I wouldn't bet on it because it seems to me that the opposition to Fortas is increasing. It's awfully hard to invoke cloture and thereby break a filibuster, it's done only rarely. We'll do our best to achieve that objective but my fingers are crossed.

McCaffrey. Do you endorse both the Fortas nomination to the Chief Justice and Homer Thornberry to be a Justice?

Mansfield. I do, and I think they should be judged on their merits. I think that Thornberry would be a good middle of the road Associate Justice. Mr. Fortas is on the bench now as an Associate Justice, I think he has conducted himself quite well. The only fault I could find as of now on the basis of what konwledge I have . . . and that's carried in the press . . . is that I think he should not have called that businessman in Hot Springs to tell him he was wrong in his views on the cost of the Vietnamese war. I do think that perhaps out of this will come a better disassociation between the executive and judicial branches. I think it is almost mandatory that that be so. But if Mr. Fortas is not nominated, is not confirmed, he stays on the bench as an Associate Justice. That means that Mr. Thornberry will not be able to fill any opening that might occur by the elevation of Mr. Fortas. It also means that Earl Warren will remain on the Court as the Chief Justice.

McCaffrey. What kind of a record, and probably I'm a little premature with this question, seeing as how you may have two more months in session, but what kind of a record would you say the 90th Congress has made as you look at it from your Senate spot?

Mansfield. A respectable record. I would say that every year since I can remember the record has been respectable, sometimes better than usual, sometimes not quite so good, but overall pretty good.

McCaffrey. Do you think that the Senate is hampered perhaps by the House, which seems to be at this particular point a lot more conservative? You run into great differences in your bills and the fights turn up in conference committees.

Mansfield. No, I don't think so. I think that the House being closer to the people probably represents the closer view at any given time, whereas the Senate with its six-year term does bring about a withdrawal in part at least to a more considered view in looking at matters which come before us for consideration. I'm not disturbed by the fact that there is a difference in the House and the Senate. The people have expressed themselves, that's the way it should be. Whether we like it or not is immaterial.

McCaffrey. We've talked here on this program about the war and we've talked a little about the political situation this coming November. Isn't it rather ironic and a strange commentary on our system, Senator Mansfield, that the millions of Americans who are so deeply concerned about the war, as you are, will probably be shut out in making a choice on the war when the election comes if the ticket is Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon?

Mansfield. Well, that's the way it appears at the moment, but we'll have to wait for the conventions to decide who the nominees will be before you can answer a question of that nature.

McCaffrey. What chance has your direct primary, your presidential primary bill got, do you think?

Mansfield. This year no chance at all, and it will never have a chance unless the people get behind the idea, push it, make their positions known and get their representatives and senators to go to work on a Constitutional amendment seeking to do this. It could of course be done by the states themselves, but never will be.

McCaffrey. Do you think that we are undergoing a revolution in this country, Senator?

Mansfield. No, I think we're undergoing an evolution rather than a revolution, though there are sparks within it which if kindled could really cause a fire of serious proportions. But it's serious . . . it's a period of change, not only for this country but throughout the world. I think we have to recognize this change, and go against the old French proverb to the effect the more things change the more they remain the same. Things do not remain the same and it's because of this change that the young people, the younger generations, not only in this country but elsewhere, are making their feelings known and in some instances even operating in a fashion which I think should cause them pause.

McCaffrey. Now of course undoubtedly the issues may change between now and the latter part of October, but looking at it from the Senate point of view, what do you think are the issues that will divide the Democratic and Republican parties in this campaign?

Mansfield. It's hard to say until we know for sure who the actual nominees are. But Vietnam will be the underlying issue. The unrest in the cities and the urban areas will be a significant factor, a very significant factor. Crime, safety in the streets is going to get more and more attention and deservedly so. Those I think are the most important factors and then there is always the possibility that we may allow the economy to get out of hand, allow inflation to grow too fast. We have also to anticipate the possibility of a recession. I am reassured that the President's proposal for a surcharge passed because it also calls for a $10 billion reduction below his budget request, and a $6 billion cut in expenditures. Since that bill passed I think the dollar has stabilized internationally. Events in France have helped to some degree, and we are in better shape economically now than we were two months ago.

McCaffrey. What do you think the candidacy of George Wallace will mean overall in this campaign?

Mansfield. I think he is a man you cannot and must not underrate. I believe in the south he will take votes away from the Republican candidate. I believe in the big cities in the north, the industrial states, and perhaps on the Pacific coast in California, he will take votes away from the Democrats. And he may be a more decisive factor than anybody seems to give him credit for at the moment.

McCaffrey. We discussed the possible candidacy of Edward Kennedy before. If he should be willing to be the candidate on the ticket, do you think he would have a great impact in this election?

Mansfield. I think so. I think so, if he ran for the presidency or the vice presidency. But again I would hope that the decision is left to him, that he is not pressured for political purpose or for political gain to take a step which I think he ought to approach extremely carefully.

McCaffrey. How do you manage to get along, Senator Mansfield? For instance McCarthy and Humphrey you know very well, and yet you maintain everyone's friendship on both sides of the aisle. You have your own opinions and you speak them, and yet you never made any enemies that I know of. How do you do this?

Mansfield. Well, I don't know whether I do it, as you say, but I operate on the basis of the Golden Rule, to do unto others as I would have them do unto me. And I must say that the Senate, Republicans and Democrats alike, have shown a great deal of tolerance and understanding, cooperation and friendship to me and I deeply appreciate it.

LAND BRIDGE FROM EAST TO WEST COAST PORTS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a most interesting new concept—the development of a "land-bridge" from east to west coast ports of the United States for the movement of cargo between Europe and the Far East—was presented this week by the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss].

The land-bridge would shorten by 2,000 miles the supply lines between Europe and the Far East, and cut transit time from 45 to 25 or 30 days. This would reduce shipping costs and give an enormous boost to both the rail and ship segments of the American transportation industry.

Development of the concept would require the creation of a national corporation, along the lines of the Communication Satellite Corporation, with both Federal and private funds involved.

Senator Moss made his forward-looking suggestions before the AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Department seminar in Washington on July 24, and it has evoked a lively discussion in both the maritime and railroad industries, as well as in the Nation's press. I ask unanimous consent that the speech by Senator Moss be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Land-Bridge: New Vistas for Transportation

(Remarks of Senator Frank E. Moss, Democrat of Utah, before the AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Department seminar, Washington, D.C., July 24, 1968)

I am delighted to have this opportunity to participate in today's Maritime Trades Department seminar on the land-bridge concept and its long-range impact on this Nation's transportation network.

The concept exemplifies our dynamic industrial climate in America today—whenever someone says something can't be done he is interrupted by someone else who is doing it.

I am particularly pleased that you have brought together such a diversified panel of speakers to discuss this concept—a panel representative of both labor and management, who are involved in both the railroad industry and the maritime industry.

In the past you—management and labor and railroads and ships—have not always seen eye to eye on everything—in fact, there are still many areas today, where, shall we say, you are in honest dissent. Or to put it another way, there are some issues on which you are just about as belligerent as Nixon and Rockefeller some scant two weeks before the Republican National Convention, or to be completely non-partisan, as Hubert Humphrey and Gene McCarthy in this last month before the Democratic National Convention. Besides, out there somewhere there is a fellow named George Wallace who agrees with no one but Wallace.

But in this case, since the interests of both the railroad industry and the maritime industry converge on this land-bridge concept, you are better attuned than some of our political hopefuls. You have such a wide area of agreement that you can fuse the ticket. And if you will reinforce and support each other's role, your ticket cannot lose, and the future of both the rail and maritime industries will be much brighter.

The idea of the land-bridge is very simple. The United States lies athwart the supply lines stretching between Europe and the far east. As things stand now, goods are shipped between those two continents (Asia and Europe) either by way of the Panama Canal—a journey of roughly 13,000 miles—or the Suez Canal, a distance of 13,500 miles.

Under the land-bridge concept, instead of going *around* the United States, goods would move *across* this nation. They would be transported by water to one coast, by train for the transcontinental trek, and then by water again for the final leg of their journey. The distance would be only 11,300 miles—2,000 miles shorter. Today, it takes roughly 45 days to move these goods entirely by water; utilizing the land-bridge would cut the time to 25 or 30 days.

The substantial saving in time and distance obviously would work to the advantage of both the buyer and the seller—because it's a fact of life that if goods can move faster, they can move more cheaply. Thus the land-bridge concept has to be instantly appealing to far eastern and European interests, alike.

And it has to be even more appealing to this country's transportation industry. At the present time, traffic between Europe and the far east involves the ships of other countries almost exclusively—American-flag carriers get little or none of the business. And, of course, American railroads have not yet been involved in this two-way movement of goods. So both American ships and American railroads stand to benefit if the land-bridge can be made to work.

The amount of business that would be involved is staggering. In 1967, Japanese exports to Europe totalled $1.5 billion, and her imports from that same area were above the $1.3 billion mark. That totals up to nearly $3 billion in value of traffic—and that's only *one* far eastern nation.

Just adding in Hong Kong's import-export traffic last year, increases the total by another three-quarters of a billion dollars. What's more, 1968's figures are certain to be substantially above 1967 levels, because trade between Asia and Europe, like trade between all parts of the world, is growing at a steady pace.

Of course, not all of the trade between these two continents could be adapted to movement via the land-bridge. The great quantities of cargo that move in bulk—oil, coal, grains and the like—would still have to make the entire trip by sea, because it wouldn't be economically feasible to transfer these kinds of cargo from ship to train to ship again.

But well over half of the goods that move between Europe and the Far East could utilize the land-bridge, because these are the goods that could be containerized—and containerization is the key to the success of this method of transportation, because only through the use of containers can you handle the transfer of goods speedily at each coastal terminal of the land-bridge.

But even getting just half of the growing volume of inter-continental trade will be an enormous boost for the rail and ship segments of this Nation's transportation industry. It can mean more jobs for American seamen, more employment for American dock workers, more jobs for American railroaders. The demand for more, newer and faster trains and ships will mean more jobs for iron miners, steel workers, electrical workers, shipyard workers, and the like. And the transportation of this cargo in the holds of American ships and aboard American trains will help materially to improve this country's balance of payments position.

So we have much at stake. And we should keep all of the benefits in mind in the years which lie immediately ahead, because bringing the land-bridge into full operation will not be without its problems—and if we lose sight of the potential, we might let the project fade away.

In order for the land-bridge to work, there must be a compatibility between ocean carriers and rail carriers. To some extent, this already exists in the container service. But as the so-called unitized trains are developed to speed cargo non-stop across the continent, there will be radically new developments that will emerge—and both the water and land segments of the industry will have to work closely together so that the technological advancements of one phase will not run ahead of the other.

Along with these technological improvements it will be necessary to modernize port facilities to handle the great upward surge of cargo that will result from America's involvement in the movement of goods between Europe and the Far East. We already have two containerized ports developed in this country—at Norfolk, Virginia and Newark, New Jersey—but we will need to give more attention to this phase of the operation for, in the last analysis, the land-bridge will be no stronger than the terminals on which it will rest.

I recognize that containerization—like any other technological innovation—poses problems that are not easily solved, because men's jobs are at stake. Given the nature of the problem, I think we have already made considerable strides in adjusting to this new development. I submit, however, that we must make more progress—and I believe that the logical time to move forward with this change in technology would be when positive assurances can be given that both the immediate and long-range results will be more, not less, jobs on the docks. Obviously, if we are to be the great land-sea bridge between Europe and the Far East, the increase in cargo to be handled would more than offset the economies that would be affected in terms of the man-hours involved in the handling of a given amount of cargo. The end result would be an increase in dockside employment—and in that kind of atmosphere, I am convinced, there would be far less reluctance on the part of the workers to accept the new technology.

For the railroad segment of the transportation industry, implementation of the land-bridge concept will mean the development of new working alliances so that the utilized trains can be moved with dispatch from the tracks of one system to those of another. It could bring about new corporate mergers similar to some which have been effected in recent years.

At the same time, the sharp increase in rail business that would result from this new transportation arrangement might tempt some of the Nation's rail carriers to accelerate the tempo of their plans to abandon what they consider to be less economical service. This would be a mistake, in my judgment, because it would tend to reduce the economic benefits flowing from the land-bridge; would curtail employment on the rails, with corresponding economic losses in communities across the country; and would reduce services on which the public relies. If this should happen, we conceivably could lose more than we gain.

For the maritime segment of the transportation industry, the land-bridge idea would open up new opportunities—long denied our merchant marine—to get back on its feet. The land-bridge should be built with the thought in mind that American flagships, rather than foreign ships, are as important to the project as are American railroads.

Again, the close working relationships that develop between the railroad and maritime industries might lead to the ultimate development of integrated "transportation companies"—a development to which I understand you have given some attention in recent months. Such corporate giantism need not be viewed with alarm provided the entities which emerge operate not to restrain trade, but to encourage it.

In the development of the merchant marine segment of the land-bridge, we have to make certain that one segment of our American flag fleet does not gain undue advantage, while another segment is ignored. We already are reaping the harvest of our neglect of a major part of our American flag fleet; we should not, under any circumstances, further aggregate this condition by subsidizing one segment of he fleet and failing to help the rest of this industry to develop. There is room, in servicing the land-bridge, for both subsidized and unsubsidized ships; for scheduled and nonscheduled cargo vessels. We must make sure that both participate, to the maximum degree, in this program.

I would point out that whether or not this program works depends almost entirely upon its American components. It is often said that whenever American industry comes up with something new, the Russians invent it a week later and the Japanese make it cheaper. In this instance, we can't blame anyone else if we don't succeed.

Development of the land-bridge will call for imaginative, forthright action by both U.S. industry and government. It may be that Federal funds will have to be committed to get this project from the drawing boards to the actual working stage. But we should not draw back from the program just because it might call for using public funds to get it started, because the long-range advantages—in terms of our domestic economy and our international balance of payments—would more than offset the investment.

Let me offer a suggestion as to how we might proceed:

A few years ago, Congress approved legislation creating the Communications Satellite Corporation. This program combines both federal and private investment—the federal funds are the "seed money" to get the project going. The private capital gives it the long-range capacity to grow and serve the nation.

If, as we explore the land-bridge concept, it develops that the creation of a similar public-private corporation is in order, we should give serious consideration to such action. This would demonstrate our national determination to tap the great potential that this new transportation plan contains, and would make the maximum use of our public and private resources in its implementation.

For we do have the resources in this country—we have the land, the sea and the people. Let us utilize these resources so that, in the years ahead, the land-bridge can become a reality, making this continent the "gateway to the world."

THE NEED FOR NURSES AND NURSING EDUCATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, one of the greatest manpower needs in health is apparent in the dire shortage of nurses. In New York City, for example, some hospitals are able to fill only half of all nursing posts. Nurses are a vital factor in the health manpower team, and the availability and quality of nursing care is most important if our people are to receive high-quality health services.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "More or Better Nursing Education?" published in the Washington Evening Star of July 19. The article refers to this need and to the means to meet the challenge posed by it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE OR BETTER NURSING EDUCATION?

(By Judith Randal)

With the nation an estimated 300,000 registered nurses short of its needs, Congress is having difficulty deciding what to do about federal assistance to nursing education.

The Senate has passed a bill that would permit grants to schools meeting the accreditation standards of the National League of Nursing, a group devoted to raising the standards of nursing service and training.

A House bill would ignore the league and authorize aid to schools meeting state standards.

There are 1,252 schools of nursing offering 1,269 training programs—some at junior colleges, some at colleges and universities and some merely at hospitals. Although these schools meet the standards of the state in which they are located, only 770 meet league standards.

Though the House approach probably would put more nurses at the bedside more quickly and has the backing of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, it might or might not be the best plan in the end.

It is not just that some state agencies might sacrifice educational quality for quantity—a move of dubious wisdom when one considers that nurses are increasingly called on to do tasks once performed by physicians and that complicated equipment and techniques are now the norm in most hospitals. The reasons are far more complex.

There is, for example, increasing talk of a new class of medical care givers to be called "physicians' assistants." Indeed, some are already being trained. Not surprisingly, nurses are ambivalent toward this development, seeing in it the threat that this new subprofession could be used to keep them in their places—particularly if the standards of their own training were to be lowered.

The accreditation dilemma can also be traced in part to nursing itself, an occupation that is militantly struggling to become a true profession. In the process, like many labor unions, it has sought to set up barriers to entry.

Thus, diploma school graduates (nurses trained at a hospital whose teaching program is unconnected with a college or university) who wish to climb the career ladder which requires a degree, often find they must enroll at a college or university and start all over again.

The question is, therefore, whether ambitious students seeking lasting job satisfaction and higher salaries will be content to settle for some of the schools that a state agency might approve.

A generation or so ago, when nursing was one of the few careers to which a respectable young girl might aspire, it might not have mattered.

Now nursing must compete with a host of other jobs which are not only better paid, but more attractive as well. College has become a part of the American way of life and diploma nursing schools often just don't fill the bill.

At the same time, such schools are having difficulties of their own. Where once student nurses did much of the menial work in the wards and sandwiched classes in between, today's educational standards require that they spend most of their day at lectures and in laboratories. These must be paid for, and the cost is one reason daily hospital charges keep rising. Facing mounting expenses any way, many hospital schools are so financially overwhelmed they are simply shutting down.

A lowering of standards, it is true might be expected to relieve some of these pressures and enable hospital-based schools to have their students devote less time to the classroom and more to patient care.

But would this really make sense?

Teachers of nurses as well as bedside nurses are in short supply and nursing educators argue with some justification that diploma schools often represent a waste of scarce resources. In their view, a junior college that trains nurses for the entire community or a university-based program is closer to the ideal.

At recent Senate hearings, for instance, Dr. Evelyn Cohelan of the American Nurses' Association said that university or college programs enable four or five classes of students at once to profit from the faculty and facilities, whereas other nursing schools have only two or three classes of students in attendance at a time. This is especially relevant, she said, because tuition covers only a fraction of the educational cost at many schools of nursing.

This is one side of the argument. The other is the inescapable fact that the nation is clamoring for nurses and that setting standards too high and emphasizing programs that require four or five years in school instead of two or three limits the immediately available supply of nurses as well as the kind of people who will be able to enroll. Just as the police force was the route by which many Irish immigrants entered the middle class, so hospitals are becoming that upward ladder for Puerto Ricans and Negroes from inner city slums.

In finally shaping nursing education, Congress will need to weigh carefully the disparate needs of quality versus quantity and educational opportunity. If the decisions are to be made in the broadest public interest, it will not be an easy task.

REACTION OF MALAYSIAN STUDENTS TO ASSASSINATION AND OTHER VIOLENCE IN AMERICA

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, Miss DeCourcy, the daughter of a very good friend of mine, Mr. Edward DeCourcy, editor of the Newport, N.H., Argus Champion, has written to me about the reaction of students in Malaysia to the assassination of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy and the violence plaguing our Nation today.

Miss DeCourcy is a Peace Corps volunteer teaching science in a school in west Malaysia.

With her fine letter to me, Miss DeCourcy included a tribute to the late Senator Kennedy written by students at the school.

The students asked their teacher to send their tribute to the Congress of the United States.

The reaction of these Malaysian students to what is going on in the United States is movingly and touchingly described in their tribute to the Senator. Miss DeCourcy's letter explains very well the problem which our Peace Corps volunteers have in explaining the United States to the people of other nations.

I sincerely hope that all our Peace Corps volunteers are as good ambassadors for our country as Jane DeCourcy. I ask unanimous consent that both her fine letter and the Malaysian students' moving tribute to our late colleague be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IBRAHIM SECONDARY SCHOOL,
Sungei Patani Kedah, Malaysia, July 7, 1968.

Senator THOMAS J. MCINTYRE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MCINTYRE: Enclosed is a letter some sixth form students in my school wrote and gave to me to send to Congress. I am a Peace Corps Volunteer teaching science in a secondary school here in West Malaysia. I had nothing to do with the writing of this letter, but I promised the students I would send it to you. I think it gives some idea of how the assassinations and violence in America today are impressing people in this country.

Speaking for myself, I find it depressing that we can spend two years working hard teaching, farming, making friends, trying to work for peace, if you will, and yet have a letter like this appear, which indicates that the violence at home makes more of an impression on people here than any ideal for which we volunteers are working. People will say, "But you volunteers are specially picked and aren't typical Americans." This isn't true, but the reasoning is understandable.

Therefore, I'll end this letter with a request for votes from you in support of the poverty program and very strong gun control laws.

Sincerely yours,

JANE DECOURCY.

NEWPORT, N.H.

A TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

LOWER VI SCIENCE A, IBRAHIM
SECONDARY SCHOOL,
Sungei Patani, Kedah, Malaysia,
June 19, 1968.

The Congress of America,
Washington, U.S.A.

DEAR SIRS: The assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy shocked the world. Many political leaders of other nations expressed regret, sorrow and sadness in one form or the other. Even The United Nations presented a special tribute to the recently assassinated political leader of the United States. But these did not make things better.

Exactly 5 years ago, his brother, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Texas. This time it was him. The life of a famous and respected leader was taken away by the pulling of the trigger of a .22 automatic. The world mourned for his death and the historical page of the United States was again painted black.

All these assassinations draw to a conclusion—the people who pulled the triggers are ruthless and lawless. The lawlessness in the country has taken away many great politicians' lives—President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King and Senator Robert F. Kennedy. How much more have the U.S. political leaders to pay for the lawlessness in the country?

After the unnecessary killing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy President LBJ requested that the presidential-election candidates be protected by the law-men. What does it matter now after a dear price—the life of a beloved man, whose strength is absorbed from the American people?

Why must two great brothers end up in the same fate? The Americans loved them and yet took their lives away, one after the other. Should a man so loved by his countrymen die such a cruel death? The Malaysians would surely oppose it but some Maniac thought that by pumping bullets into the genius-head of THE MAN, they could have a better America.

America will suffer after losing another great man of the century, and suffer it will!

Let us pray: "May he rest in Peace".

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. Sara Koshy,
Form Teacher.

A GIANT OIL FIND

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett] is necessarily absent from the Senate today. On his behalf, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement he has prepared relating to the vast petroleum discovery in Alaska, and an article entitled "1968 Sourdoughs Find Bonanza in Alaskan Oil," written by William D. Smith, and published in the New York Times of Sunday, July 28, 1968.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Statement by Senator Bartlett

For many years I have spoken about the vast untapped resources in the State of Alaska. The returns are continuing to accrue to the citizens of the United States from the $7.2 million purchase erroneously called Seward's Folly 101 years ago.

The latest significant discovery relates to petroleum near Prudhoe Bay on the Arctic slope of Northern Alaska. I am informed that this oil field may contain between 5 to 10 billion barrels of recoverable oil. This would constitute an oil reserve equal to 20 percent of the entire oil and gas reserves of the North American continent.

Sourdoughs of 1968 Find Alaskan Oil

(By William D. Smith)

In oil—like boxing—it only takes one good shot to change a lot of things.

One of the biggest hits in the history of oil on the North American continent has apparently been scored on the bitterly freezing Arctic Slope of Northern Alaska, where the Atlantic Richfield Company and the Humble Oil and Refining Company have identified a field described as "one of the largest petroleum accumulations known to the world today."

This description was made by DeGolyer & MacNaughton, the internationally known oil-consulting concern. The concern places recoverable reserves of the field, which is located near Prudhoe Bay, about 390 miles north of Fairbanks and 150 miles southeast of Point Barrow, at between 5 to 10 billion barrels of oil.

With the proven oil and natural gas liquid reserves of North America equal at present to about 49.5 billion barrels, this field could be equal to from one tenth to one fifth of the oil reserves of the entire continent, if preliminary estimates prove accurate.

It should be added that the consultants, DeGolyer & MacNaughton, have a reputation of being conservative.

"Although it is too early to completely assess, this is the most exciting development in the domestic oil industry in my memory or that of most other analysts on the street," Edward F. Carroll, the petroleum authority for E. F. Hutton, commented last week.

Don Randell, Harris, Upham's oil expert, who is also a geologist, commented: "Analysts generally and some major oil companies have persistently refused to grasp the geological significance of the Arctic regions as a potential source of both liquid and metallic minerals, despite the tangible evidence long at hand. This discovery has brought the point home, and will open the door to a vast and fabulous play stretching from Alaska across the Canadian Arctic."

Atlantic, as would be expected, has been very close-mouthed about the field aside from the information released in original announcements. Students of the industry, however, have begun to form their own opinions beyond the material released by the company.

Norman R. Harvey, vice president of Auerbach, Pollak & Richardson, Inc., commented: "The characteristics of the oil discovered to date are indicative of a very desirable crude. It has low sulphur content, gravity ranges between 26 degrees and 31 degrees and its pour point is such that it may be possible to put the oil through an unheated pipeline."

In the oil business, it is often said that "it is a long way from the well-head to the gas pump," and this industry adage is particularly true in this case because of climatic and transportation problems.

Nonetheless, the Prudhoe Bay field and others that may develop hold the potential to affect the United States' balance of payments and foreign policy, not to mention "simple" oil affairs.

The field has not yet been completely proven, and as Robert O. Anderson, chairman of Atlantic has explained, "Commercial development of the field will require a minimum of three to four years." Yet petroleum circles from Calgary to Beirut and many Government officials in between are reacting to the force of the area's potential.

Reaching the potential is a problem of large proportions, one that is probably as great as any that has ever faced the industry.

E. M. Benson Jr., vice president in charge of exploration and production for Atlantic Richfield's North American Petroleum Division, described the area:

"In the winter the temperature falls to 65 degrees below zero, but we have had to work then because during the summer, the perma-frost layer thaws and every piece of equipment sinks into the quagmire.

"There are no roads north of the Brooks Range 150 miles south and no lumber north of Fairbanks. When you put a rig up, you dig a hole in the ground, put in your pilings and pour water. When the water freezes, which is pretty soon, you have your foundations.

"The Arctic Ocean is only open two to eight weeks each year, and planes can only land during the winter months, when the water is frozen.

The men who are now pursuing the riches of oil are facing conditions as severe as any met by the sourdoughs who went to Alaska in search of gold at the turn of the century.

Pulling pipe from a well is difficult even under the best of conditions, but in subzero weather, when the workers are bound in protective clothing, it is a near-miracle that the work is accomplished.

Mr. Benson said that guidelines connect the well with living quarters and all other buildings to prevent the men from being blown off course in the 100-foot walk from wellhead to bunkhouse.

COMPANY EXPECTED

Despite the hardships, Atlantic and Humble, which is Standard Oil Company's (New Jersey) principal domestic affiliate, will not want for company when winter comes sometime in October.

Now that the rush is on, drilling will likely be on a year-round basis with gravel or similar substances being used for installation during the summer months.

Phillips Petroleum and the Mobil Oil Corporation, which hold joint acreage in the area, are moving a drilling rig down the Mackenzie River to the Beaufort Sea. The British Petroleum Corporation which has 96,000 acres on wholly owned blocks in the area, is reported to be planning to fly in a rig from Southern Alaska.

Sinclair Oil Co.; Shell Oil Company; Texaco, Inc.; Standard Oil (Indiana); Union Oil of California and the Gulf Oil Company are among the companies with holdings in the area.

If the play is extended to the Canadian Arctic, numerous other concerns, including smaller independents hold acreage. Panarctic Oils, Ltd., a joint venture of industry and the Canadian Government, is reported to have some choice geological sites.

Although the task of finding and developing the oil reserves along the coast of the Arctic Ocean will be one of the most demanding in the history of the petroleum industry, the job of getting the oil out to markets may be even tougher.

There are three basic ways to move the oil to market. Each presents its own peculiar and formidable problems.

The first is by tanker shipments to West-Coast markets during the two-to-eight-week season when Arctic navigation is open. New icebreaking devices, such as the Alexbow, may lengthen the season. Substantial developmental work on tankers would be necessary to make the operation feasible.

The second method is by pipeline to a year-round open water on the Pacific Coast, 600 miles across Alaska's forbidding Brooks Mountain Range.

The third is by a pipeline, swinging 1,700 miles from Prudhoe Bay east along the Arctic coastal plain to the Mackenzie River, up the Mackenzie Valley across the Northwest Territories and Northern Alberta to Edmonton. At Edmonton, the line could connect with the Interprovincial system stretching another 1,560 miles across the United States Great Lakes to oil-hungry markets.

This 3,260-mile oil line would be the longest in the free world; yet it is no more ambitious than the pipeline projects that Russia is using to develop its Arctic-oil potential.

SEVERAL YEARS AWAY

None of the transportation methods are likely to be considered in serious detail until several years of exploration have been completed to better define the potential of the whole Arctic coastal region, encompassing some 150,000 square miles.

One of the most immediate effects of the strike is expected to be a flow of oil capital to the Arctic Slope region at the expense of other areas of the world, according to John Winger, petroleum analyst for the Chase Manhattan Bank.

"Although oil earnings are gigantic, they are not so in relation to capital-investment needs. Management must be very selective, and the play in the Arctic could effect spending in the Middle East, Africa, the North Sea, as well as other domestic areas," he said.

THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF PUBLIC TELEVISION

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, millions of Americans are now benefiting by the action of Congress which created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Public television has already played a tremendous role in educating the public on such vital issues as the urgent need for reforming our antiquated meat inspection system.

Despite its early contributions, public broadcasting stands in jeopardy at this moment not because of widespread public disinterest in its further development, but because of congressional inaction on its budgetary needs.

I was delighted with an editorial published recently in the Minneapolis Star which succinctly states my own views on this matter. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "Public TV in Jeopardy," be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Star, July 19, 1968]

Public TV in Jeopardy

With dramatic suddenness last year the mission of noncommercial television changed from instructional education to public television.

Forces set in motion earlier by the more flexible and farsighted leaders in noncommercial TV, by the Carnegie Commission report which put the term "public TV" into popular use, and by the expanded National Educational Television network schedules, notably the incisive Sunday night PBL, all contributed to the transition.

President Johnson also urged action. Congress, with support from commercial television leaders, responded by creating a Corporation for Public Broadcasting. But in the eight months since it has failed to pass the very modest "get started" $9 million budget for the corporation and $12.5 for public broadcasting facilities generally.

Congress has broad-gauge appreciation of the constructive role public broadcasting can play. It would be a serious setback for progress in all forms of broadcasting and public education if the Corporation for Public Broadcasting was allowed to wither for lack of a tiny budget.

THE 6-DAY WAR AND THE UNITED STATES-SOVIET CONFRONTATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in an overall sense, vital U.S. interests in the Middle East are in greater jeopardy than they have been at any time since World War II. The dangers of the situation there, as well as our willingness to act effectively, were thrust upon the world's attention last May and June. Fortunately, Israel's smashing victory in the 6-day war has gained us a respite in time, but the political influence and the military power of the Soviet Union in the Middle East continue to grow.

The lead article in the current issue of the Reader's Digest makes known to the general public for the first time some of the dramatic details regarding United States-Soviet confrontation at the time of the 6-day war in the Middle East last year. The article, which is today still timely, merits reading. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Week the Hot Line Burned

(By Lester Velie)

For Lyndon B. Johnson, June 6, 1967, was "the most awesomely difficult day in my life." It was the second day of the Arab-Israeli Six-Day War; and while the world was engrossed in that drama, a more momentous struggle unfolded in secret between the United States and the Soviet Union. For the first time the Russians used the "hot line" between Moscow and Washington in anger. In this confrontation—and again four days later—Premier Alexei Kosygin and President Johnson waged a war of nerves and wills. As one Presidential adviser put it, "we moved very close to the precipice."

The "most difficult day," a Tuesday, began at 5:50 a.m. when the white telephone at the President's bedside jangled him awake. It was Walt Rostow, special assistant for national security. The previous day, Rostow had awakened the President at 4:30 a.m. to inform him that Israel and Egypt were at war. Now the news was equally foreboding. The Kremlin had signaled that Premier Kosygin would be sending a message within 20 minutes. The President dressed hurriedly, gulped some coffee and headed for the Situation Room in the White House basement. This consists of a conference area and an adjoining small communications center crowded with news teleprinters and "security telephones" that link the White House with Washington's intelligence community and with the Pentagon.

The hot line is a by-product of the Cuban missile confrontation. After that brush with nuclear disaster, President John F. Kennedy and Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev had agreed that ordinary channels of communications were too cumbersome to deal with crises in an age of nuclear ICBMs. A direct wire was set up, with teleprinters in Moscow and in the National Military Command Center at the Pentagon. The Russians transmit in Russian, the Americans in English. At the Pentagon a translator stands ready to relay any Kremlin message to the White House Situation Room.

COOLHEADED MEN

For three years and nine months the line had remained blessedly quiet, carrying only test messages and New Year's Day greetings. Then, Monday morning, June 5, came the electrifying news that Moscow had activated it seriously for the first time. But the message was a reassuring one: The Soviet Union would keep hands off the Middle East War, provided the United States did the same. In a cautiously worded reply, Johnson agreed.

Now, on Tuesday, as President Johnson entered to receive the new hot-line message, the Situation Room was crowded with men whose combined appearance at 6:40 a.m. spelled "crisis." Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara were there. The President had also called in additional intellectual muscle—coolheaded men, tested in other crises: Dean Acheson, President Truman's Secretary of State; Clark Clifford, Truman's legal adviser; McGeorge Bundy, who had coordinated security information for President Kennedy as well as for Johnson; Llewellyn Thompson, ex-ambassador to the U.S.S.R.

Eyes heavy-lidded from two sleepless nights, Walt Rostow handed the President a rough translation of the new message. Its contents were ominous. Kosygin had dropped his "let's keep hands off" line. Now he insisted that the United States persuade the Israelis to halt their advance in the Sinai and withdraw to their borders. With this demand came a thinly veiled threat: in effect, get them out of there or *we* will!

The President and his advisers were dealing with shocked and angry men. The Russians had made a vast miscalculation. They had overestimated their protégé, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and underestimated the Israelis. For three weeks, while Nasser moved 80,000 troops to Israel's southern borders and boasted that "our basic aim is the destruction of Israel," the Russians had blocked every move in the United Nations to defuse the crisis. When war came, the Russians, confident that Nasser would win, stalled U.N. efforts to achieve a swift cease-fire. For the same reason, Kosygin had suggested that both powers stand aside. Johnson had agreed. He believed the Israelis would win. The CIA, the Pentagon and the State Department, in separate appraisals, had told him so.

It took just 24 hours for the Russians to learn the full measure of their miscalculation. They were, a participant later said, "in shock." Nasser's vaunted air force of Russian MIG's was a charred ruin; his Russian-equipped armies were a fleeing rabble. The Russians had invested two billion dollars' worth of arms in the dream that Nasser would one day head a pro-Soviet Arab empire. Now the arms were going up in fire and smoke.

TWO SEARCHING HOURS

At the mahogany conference table, the President read Kosygin's message to the somber men around him. They plunged into discussion of possible courses of action, and consequences.

If Johnson did pressure the Israelis to withdraw, he would be doing what another U.S. President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, had done in roughly similar circumstances in 1957. Then, too, Nasser had massed troops and armor on Israel's southern borders, and the Israelis chased them from the Sinai in 100 hours. Then Nikita Khrushchev rattled his nuclear rockets and demanded that the Israelis withdraw, or else. The United States joined with the Soviet Union to insist in the U.N. (and privately) that the Israelis pull out—despite Israel's arguments that a withdrawal, without a prior lasting settlement with Egypt, would only set the stage for another Arab attempt to destroy Israel. One the eve of the 1967 war, Eisenhower privately confessed a doubt that the U.S. action against Israel in 1957 had been correct.

President Johnson was determined not to repeat the pressure against Israel to pull back. Negotiations and settlement must come first.

But if Johnson said "no" to Kosygin, and the U.S.S.R. then intervened, could the U.S. stand aside while the Soviets helped the Arabs annihilate two million Jewish victims? Morally, it was inconceivable. Practically, too, it was inconceivable. Israel is one of the few democracies in all Asia and the Middle East. Since the world regards the U.S. as Israel's protector, whether the U.S. wishes to be or not, Israel's destruction, with Soviet help, while the U.S. stood idly by would send tremors of fear throughout the non-communist world. Further, if Israel went down, no other pro-Western nation in the Middle East would be safe from Nasser and the Russians. Thus, Soviet intervention would almost certainly bring U.S. intervention, and could mean war between the two superpowers.

Two hours sped by in searching discussion. With Rusk, McNamara and Rostow, the President framed a reply to Kosygin. The import: The United States would not act unilaterally. The place to seek an end to the Arab-Israeli War was at the United Nations; the method, a U.N. cease-fire resolution. (In New York, the President had already ordered U.N. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg to stand firm against any Russian pressure inside the Security Council for a forced Israeli withdrawal.)

This reply, coupled with the firm U.S. stand at the U.N., crowded Kosygin and company into an uncomfortable corner. Would the Russians come out of their corner fighting? Even while the hot-line message was going out, two Sixth Fleet aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean were ordered to move toward the theater of war. On Monday, these two carriers had ostentatiously abandoned jet-fighter exercises to reassure the watchful Russians that the United States was sitting out the war. Now, just as ostentatiously, the USS *America*, the USS *Saratoga* and their destroyer escorts steamed east from Crete at 20 knots under a state of alert. A Soviet destroyer which had been shadowing the *America* for days would undoubtedly inform Moscow at once.

KOSYGIN CALLING

The President plodded through his day, keeping as many of his regular appointments as possible in order to maintain secrecy. As the hours dragged, tension built. What would the Russian reaction be? Would they send bombers to the Sinai? Would their Mediterranean rocketships bombard Israel's coastal cities? Preparing for such a contingency, the Israeli defense ministry preempted hospitals in Tel Aviv, and consecrated land in public parks to accommodate some 20,000 graves.

Toward evening, in Washington, the hot line signaled the second message of the day from Kosygin. At 6:20 p.m. the President hurried once more to the Situation Room.

Kosygin, by now having learned that he faced certain defeat in the U.N., repeated his demand that Johnson force the Israelis to halt and pull back. Otherwise the Soviets would have to make perilous decisions. The Kremlin was assessing steps with dire consequences. It was clear, said a participant in the confrontation, the Russians were coming as close as they could to saying that they were prepared to risk nuclear war.

As the President studied Kosygin's ominous message, news came that the U.N. had adopted the expected cease-fire resolution asking the belligerents to hold their fire but making no demands on Israel to quit the Sinai. It was a humiliating defeat for the Russians. Johnson went before TV cameras waiting in the White House theater. "The vote of the Security Council," he said in an optimistic, 107-word Presidential statement to the nation, "opens a very hopeful path away from danger in the Middle East."

None of the millions listening could suspect from his words that the United States and the Soviet Union were at that moment on a collision course that could lead to war.

Back in the Situation Room at 8:30 p.m., the President found a cluster of haggard men. His advisers, in and out of the room during the long 14 hours since morning, were all bone-weary. But now Johnson bent to the task of framing a second reply to Kosygin. It yielded no more ground than did the first.

It was now 9 p.m. in Washington, 4 a.m. in Moscow. Kosygin and his colleagues, as weary as their American counterparts, probably would want to sleep on their next move.

The President returned to his living quarters, slumped heavily before a television set to watch Israel's foreign minister, Abba Eban, state Israel's case before the U.N. After ten it suddenly occurred to him that he had had no dinner. Ravenous, he ate a Texas-style dinner of pot roast, black-eyed peas and greens. At 1:30 a.m., he went to bed.

Thus ended a day of which an aide later said: "Had we waffled on Tuesday, there is no doubt the Russians would have moved—and we could have been at war."

ON TO SYRIA

As the President dozed off, it was 7:30 a.m. Wednesday in Tel Aviv. The war was roaring into its third day. Among top Israeli policy-makers, a crucial debate was raging whose outcome would set the U.S. on a new collision course with the U.S.S.R. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol had formed a special four-man "advisory cabinet": the new defense minister, Gen. Moshe Dayan; the ex-chief of staff, Prof. Yigael Yadin; labor minister and 1948 war hero, Yigal Allon; and Abba Eban. As the third day's fighting revealed that the war against Egypt was already won, these men turned their thoughts to Israel's most implacable Arab foe, Syria.

For years, from their Golan Heights, the Syrians had rained artillery fire and terror on Jewish settlements in the Huleh Valley below. It was Syria that provided the spark that set off the war: the fabrication, supported by the Russians, that the Israelis were massing troops on Syria's borders. And now, as Syrian tanks attacked border settlements, Radio Damascus clamored for blood: "This is a campaign of annihilation. Strike at the nests of aggression! Crush the Zionist gang!"

All but one of Eshkol's advisers supported a full-dress assault on Syria. But the dissenting voice was a formidable one—that of General Dayan. Syria was the Soviet Union's most cherished protégé, he argued. Israel had already achieved its war aims: the defeat of Nasser, destruction of the Egyptian army and the reopening of the Tiran Straits. Why bait the Russian Bear beyond endurance? Dayan convinced his colleagues. The decision on Syria was put aside.

Yet as the war entered its fourth day, the pressure to do something about the shelling from the Syrian Heights—and about the Syrians—became overwhelming. By Thursday, Dayan had bowed to that pressure. The Syrian Heights would be attacked as soon as troops arrived from the Sinai and Jordanian fronts. Thus the stage was set for the second hot-line cliff-hanger of the week, with nuclear war again at stake.

UP THE IMPOSSIBLE GRADE

Let's follow the Israeli assault on the Syrian Heights as it builds into a global crisis. At 11:30 a.m. Friday (5:30 a.m. Washington time), Israeli tanks and infantry crossed the border into Syria. The 27-hour conquest that followed was one of the most bizarre military operations in the annals of warfare.

Looking down from their redoubts—a sheer 1500 feet above the valley—the Syrians saw 35-ton bulldozers inching their way up the steep slopes to clean mammoth boulders from the path of closely following tanks. In some places the grade was so precipitous that tanks had to be winched up. The Israelis had chosen to scale the heights along a route so difficult that the Syrians had built relatively light defenses on the ridges above it. Once the tanks reached and overran these positions, they could assault the more heavily fortified areas from the rear.

Speed was essential. At any moment the U.N. might intervene with a cease-fire order. Or the Russians might intervene with missiles or MIGs.

By 9 p.m. (3 p.m. Washington time), the Israelis had done it. They had scrambled up the Golan Heights, and punched a hole through one sector of the 40-mile-long line of bunkers and trenches. But time was running short. The U.N. Security Council had been meeting for more than two hours, and a cease-fire was coming. In a change of plan, the Israeli forces fanned out north and south behind the Syrian positions.

In the White House, State Department and Pentagon, concern mounted steadily. What would the Russians do? Assurances came from the Israeli embassy that Israel did not intend to take Damascus. But the situation was growing critical. At the U.N., the Syrians had charged, falsely, that the Israelis were bombing Damascus in preparation for seizing it—as earlier in the week Nasser had charged that U.S. planes were bombing Cairo. Their purpose: to draw the Russians into the war.

"WAR PAINT ON"

Throughout early Saturday, as the Security Council met in predawn emergency session, the Syrians kept up their accusations. Then, at 8 a.m., a signal flashed in the Pentagon: a new Kremlin message was on its way over the hot line. In this message Kosygin demanded that the United States halt the Israelis forthwith. His tone was even tougher than it had been on Tuesday. It was immediately clear that this crisis was much more serious than the earlier one.

Discussion boiled in the Situation Room. The Russians, having stood by as the Israelis crushed Nasser's armies, could not remain idle while the Israelis toppled the Damascus regime. They were in an embarrassing spot with the Arabs and might take desperate measures to get off it. Those in the Situation Room who had gone through the Cuban missile crisis knew that the present confrontation held more danger. Kennedy had dealt only with Khrushchev; what Fidel Castro did or said was irrelevant. But in the Six-Day War, Johnson and Kosygin were not the masters of events. The Israelis had assured Washington that they would not attack Damascus. But they had not accepted a cease-fire, either, and even now their forces were plunging eastward into Syria.

Over the hot line, the President pointed out that the United States could no more control the Israelis than Kosygin could control the Egyptians or Syrians. He also noted that if the Russians had cooperated with the U.S. in mid-May, there would have been no war in June.

Two more messages whipped in from Kosygin, each tougher than its predecessor. Some in the Situation Room began to fear that the Soviets might intervene not only to halt the Israelis in Syria, but to recoup all the Arabs' shattered fortunes in the war.

At this point the President made a fateful decision: on his orders, three task groups of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean headed toward the Syrian coast, 600 miles away. Two consisted of the carriers *Saratoga* and *America* with their destroyer escorts, and 100 fighter-bombers each. The other was an amphibious ready force carrying a battalion of Marines. "They had war paint on their cheeks, packs on their backs and were ready to go," a Navy man said.

THE BELL RINGS

As the President served this notice on the Russians to keep hands off, he also took steps to end the fighting in Syria. Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, acting on the President's orders, called Israel's Ambassador Avraham Harman to the State Department, where he asked him "in the strongest possible terms" to accept a cease-fire. He pointed to the grave possibility that the Soviets might intervene to dislodge Israel from all Arab territory.

In fact, the end was near. The Israeli tanks and troops had reached their goal: the town of Quneitra, 40 miles short of Damascus. Dayan at that very moment was working out a cease-fire with the Syrians through Lt. Gen. Odd Bull, chief of staff of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization forces in Jerusalem.

So, as the United States and the Soviet Union stood toe-to-toe, trading "thought for thought" over the hot line, both were saved by the bell. At 12:30 p.m., Saturday, June 10, a U.N. cease-fire, accepted by Israel and Syria, went into effect. In the Situation Room, the President and his advisers knew that the worst was over. No fourth hot-line message from Kosygin was expected; none came.

The Arab-Israeli conflict was a crucial battle in the cold war. It was hard proof that communist expansion aims are being pushed as vigorously today as they were under Khrushchev and Stalin. More depended on this war than the fate of one small nation; it also held the fate of a strategic area stretching from the Atlantic on the west to the Persian Gulf on the east—and north into Europe itself. Thus, for a brief moment the fate of the world hung on a thin hot line.

USDA KEEPS ITS PLEDGE

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, much comment and criticism has been voiced in recent months concerning the food assistance programs administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture with the several States. There has been a great deal of progress in these programs.

Needy families in all of the Nation's 1,000 lowest income-per-capita counties are now or soon will be enjoying better diets through the food stamp or commodity distribution programs.

As of mid-July the final 194 low-income counties were scheduled to be reached according to this timetable: In the rest of July and August, 79 low-income counties will start distributing USDA food to needy persons. Also, in the rest of July and August, 96 counties will inaugurate food stamp programs. One county has requested food stamps, but has not yet been designated. In the remaining 18 low-income counties, the USDA is planning to act alone, unless local authorities agree to undertake the administration. As of July 12, USDA was distributing food directly in 30 low-income counties located in seven States.

This achievement climaxes a 1-year campaign and fulfills a pledge made by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

About a year ago, the Department assured counties having inadequate tax resources that financial assistance to launch a food program would be available. By July 12, some 64 of the 1,000 lowest income counties were operating food programs with USDA financial help.

I strongly believe that these important programs to ease the hunger of needy Americans should be a partnership between Federal, State, and local governments and hope that these 18 low-income counties will decide immediately to participate in operating either a food stamp program or a commodity distribution program.

IDAHO GIRLS ELECTED PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF GIRLS NATION

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, this week the 22d Girls Nation is being held in Washington, D.C. The participants in this program come from all over the Nation and exemplify the highest ideals of American youth. The American Legion is to be commended for giving our young people such a wonderful opportunity to learn firsthand about their Government.

I am especially proud of this year's Girls Nation because for the first time two Idaho girls have been elected president and vice president, respectively, for the coming year. They are Miss Anne Solomon, of Coeur d'Alene, as president, and Miss Molly Holyoak, of Burley, as vice president. This is a great honor both for the girls and for Idaho, and I offer my heartiest congratulations and praise.

I am certain that both Anne and Molly will profit from this broadening experience in leadership. For in these positions of responsibility they will have an invaluable opportunity to gain insight into the principles of democracy and the processes of government.

LEWIS G. ODOM, JR., LEAVES COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY TO ENTER PRIVATE LAW PRACTICE

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, Lewis G. Odom, Jr., has announced that he is leaving his position as staff director and general counsel of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency to enter private law practice in Montgomery, Ala.

I regret to see Lewis Odom leave the staff of the Banking and Currency Committee. He is an outstanding lawyer and has a firm grasp on the many subjects which lie under the jurisdiction of the committee. The range of these subjects is remarkable. They include banks, small business, mutual funds, savings and loan associations, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Export-Import Bank. There is hardly any segment of our Nation's economy that is not touched by the subjects in which he has been working since he became head of the staff of the Banking and Currency Committee.

Mr. Odom came to the Banking and Currency Committee after serving for 6 years as staff director and general counsel of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business. He was also Administrative Assistant to the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] for a number of years.

Mr. Odom has many friends in the Senate and in the Washington area who hate to see him leave, but all of us wish him well in his return to law practice in Alabama. We hope that he will return to Washington from time to time to see us.

THE RETURNING NEGRO VIETNAM VETERANS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article published in the New York Times of July 29, 1968. It is a most eloquent discussion of the returning Negro Vietnam veterans and was written by Thomas A. Johnson.

I have been deeply interested for some time in the returning Vietnam veteran. I believe it absolutely essential that these Americans have the opportunity for a full and meaningful life after their return to civilian society. Those veterans who are returning to disadvantaged areas present American society with unique problems and challenges; and they also offer to America a great opportunity for leadership and service. Regrettably, too often, this opportunity has not been realized and hope has turned into bitterness. To paraphrase one of the veterans Mr. Johnson interviewed, many black Americans who fought in Vietnam, hoping that America would change—would change because of their own commitment and willingness to bear the burdens of military service—are finding no change at all. The resulting disillusionment is not only a great danger to our society; much more important, it is an indictment of it. In concluding his article, Mr. Johnson writes:

> More than 100,000 Negroes are back from Vietnam era service. But they are still black, and this, in America today, still seems to be the major factor in determining what will happen to them.

We can not permit this situation to continue. I commend this provocative article to the attention of Senators and the American people. It does not make for happy reading. However, it will perhaps stimulate that massive program of public and of private action which will lead to the establishment of a society in which all veterans—no matter their race—will have the chance to live in full freedom and opportunity, and to utilize their talents and skills to the fullest extent possible.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEGRO VETERAN IS CONFUSED AND BITTER UPON RETURN TO MANY OF THE OLD DIFFICULTIES

(By Thomas A. Johnson)

Casper Smith is 23 years old and a Negro. He has an honorable discharge from the United States Army and a shaken faith in the nation that sent him "10,000 miles away to help those people."

He also has a fractured left pelvis and memories of the moments just before he was wounded of "green and white tracers coming at the helicopter, and you couldn't run or duck or hide."

There was nothing for him to do in rural South Carolina after he left the hospital.

"So I came here to the city where my Government's located," he said, "but most of the people in Washington act like they wish we had stayed in Vietnam.

He has a part-time job selling insurance.

Mr. Smith's wounds, memories and job difficulties are not necessarily typical of the 40,000 new Negro veterans yearly. But his bitterness and disappointment in America is typical of scores of Negro veterans interviewed by The New York Times in a month-long cross-country survey.

Generally, Negro veterans had the feeling that the dramatic racial changes in military service, especially in Vietnam, would be reflected in civilian life.

"You don't think about it in Vietnam," said a former marine, "you just expect it."

Richard Whitehurst, an Army veteran who is now a bartender and part owner of the Celebrity Club in San Francisco, explained:

"The brothers thought that because they fought and saw their buddies die, it would make a difference. But they come back to SOS—the same old stuff. It's business as usual in America, and business as usual means black people are going to catch hell."

Like white veterans of the war in Vietnam, Negroes can be made to fit certain statistical molds. They are counted within the 80 per cent of the Vietnam era veterans—post 1964—who will get some kind of educational training through the G.I. Bill.

After the Korean War about 50 per cent of the veterans returned to school, compared with 35 per cent after World War II.

Negro and white veterans of the Vietnam war are also moving back onto the civilian scene in a much quieter manner than earlier veterans. Unlike their predecessors, who wore old Eisenhower and field jackets until well into the early nineteen-fifties the new ex-servicemen blend quickly into whatever styles their peers wear.

There are obvious differences between the Negro and White veterans, however. Most Negro veterans return to a Negro community, where the unemployment rate is at least three times that of the national average; where the employment rate for Negroes of the veteran's age—20 to 25—is more likely to be eight or nine times that of the national average.

UNDEREMPLOYMENT SYSTEM

The Negro veteran returns to a community where underemployment often holds about half the workforce. Underemployment is the system that keeps fully employed persons in jobs at which they earn no more than they would receive on public assistance, jobs without any chance of upward movement or self-improvement.

The Negro veteran comes back to a revolution within the diversified Negro community.

He finds that some Negroes are making unusual progress while most are still locked in poverty. He finds that a strong black consciousness pervades much of the thinking of that community, especially of Negroes his age.

He finds among the Negro activists a convincing argument about Vietnam and the Negro.

"The black veteran quickly gets to feeling that he has been 'seduced and abandoned' by the man," said a former infantry officer now working for the Federal Government. "This is why you won't find many black vets as hawkish at home as they were in the Nam."

A BIG MISTAKE

Most Negro veterans of Vietnam interviewed by The Times said that they were now opposed to the war. Many said that they would never fight again for the United States.

A former paratrooper, Carl Mack, 27, said:

"We're not fighting for the freedom of the Vietnamese but rather to oppress them. The Vietnamese are fighting for self-determination the same as black people here. We made a big mistake in Vietnam."

Mr. Mack is an honor student at the University of California, Berkeley, and a former head of the Afro-American Students Association on campus.

"I wouldn't tell one of these kids around here that they should go into the service," said a former Air Force staff sergeant, Charles B. Howell Jr., of Cedartown, Ga., who recently retired after 22 years in the service.

"The way they treat you when you come back—you never get higher than a broom as far as they're concerned. I think I'd shoot one of my kids before I let him fight for this country."

For many Negro veterans it hardly matters what skills they brought home with them.

A JOB IN FINANCE

John Wallace, 26, had been responsible for a $250,000 monthly payroll as a disbursing chief in Germany. Coming home to Charlotte, N.C., the only job in "finance" he could find was weighing bags of coins and stacking them on a wagon.

"Race is still the major factor when you look for a job," said Arthur Carree, 27, of Spartanburg, S.C., a senior at Tuskeegee Institute in Alabama.

He was a radar specialist on the aircraft carrier Intrepid off the coast of Vietnam. A former petty officer, Mr. Carree studied electronics at three service schools.

"I went to several electronics plants back home," he said, "and they tried to stick a broom in my hand."

A former Army sergeant first class who had advised the South Vietnamese on military intelligence concepts was given a broom in Shelby, N.C.

In Los Angeles, a former Air Force cryptographic communications specialist with 13 years of experience in guided missiles could get a job only as an electronics equipment repairman.

"The rights we fought for somebody else just don't exist for us," said Mr. Carree.

A former grunt, or front-line soldier, disabled by a Vietcong sniper, stated:

"I find myself hating this [white] man so much that [Uncle] Sam couldn't kill me, melt me and your me back into the Army or back into the Nam."

Dr. Joseph Mitchell of Tuskeegee, Ala., an interne in Honolulu, who served as a captain at a field hospital near Nhatrang, South Vietnam, said that Negro veterans had been especially hard hit "by the white man's duplicity."

"He is so good at it he could poison his mother and convince her that it's all in her own best interests," Dr. Mitchell said.

The duplicity, he said lets America use Negro troops in Vietnam to a far greater extent in terms of population percentages and then maintain " a strictly racist society back home."

Pentagon figures show that Negroes make up 9.8 per cent of the servicemen in Vietnam, 20 per cent of the combat troops, upward of 25 per cent of the elite Army units such as paratroopers and 25 per cent of the enlisted front-line supervisors. They account for about 14.1 per cent of those killed in action.

Richard West, a World War II naval officer who handles the veterans' program for the Los Angeles Urban League, said:

"Every Negro veteran I talk to is either mad as hell, or crazy or white."

GOVERNMENT PREDICTIONS

However, there apparently is some truth to predictions being made about Negro veterans of the Vietnam war. Government spokesmen say that the Negro veteran, with a more positive opinion of himself, along with greater discipline and sense of responsibility, will become a leader in seeking improvements, by peaceful means, in his community.

Some Negro militants say that the anger of Negro veterans at a racist America will make them become highly effective cadre in leading youths in a racial civil war.

A strong argument could be made either way.

Fancy English, 25, would tend to prove the Government's point.

He quickly became an assistant manager of a low-income housing development in Charlotte, N.C., after a year behind a machine gun on an Air Force helicopter in Vietnam.

Asked why he had not followed the lead of other Negro veterans by moving to big cities in the North, he replied:

"I can help my people more here."

"Many veterans are hostile to society and feel that the world owes them something," said Elwin Lewis, 25, of Chicago. "They don't want to hustle for what they want. There is discrimination if you're a Negro, but even this can be overcome if you work hard. You shouldn't let it hold you back."

A tall, handsome, articulate youth, Mr. Lewis is an assistant superintendent for F. H. Noble & Co. in Chicago, a manufacturer of trophies and medals. He spent 52 months in the Navy as a quartermaster third class.

Jimmy Rush, 33, of Takoma Park, Md., says:

"It's still a beautiful world. Live and let live, that's what I say. It's a beautiful world."

Mr. Rush is a former Army sergeant first class who led an air cavalry platoon on attacks against the Vietcong in the fall of 1966. A mortar attack on the base camp at Phuloi cost him his right arm.

He found a job last spring through Leaford Williams of the Washington Urban League working with the District of Columbia licensing bureau.

A 14-year veteran, Mr. Rush acknowledged having been more "frightened about civilian life than bitter."

"I didn't know what to expect," he said.

He was asked how he felt about the war in Vietnam.

"I'm not much on that political jazz," Mr. Rush said. "I was just doing my duty. I was a pro and a damn good one."

Then, while his 3-year-old daughter Rozalind played at his feet, he said with a smile:

"I was lucky, you see. I got hit after being in Vietnam only three months. It would have been awful if I had been there a full year and got hit."

M. S. Gaines, a 6-foot-2-inch, 250-pound police recruit who had trained South Vietnamese Rangers near Phutu, had taken a cut in salary as a fiber industry worker to join the police department of Charlotte, N.C.

"My people feel that the policeman is an enemy and this is not the right way to feel," he said.

Mr. Gaines said that a greater understanding and a mutual respect between the police and the Negro community were vital.

"I can bring my own understanding of both my people and police work to help with this problem," he said.

With 750,000 men a year coming out of an integrated military service, some results have been observed in the nation.

"You can see it in the attitudes of some of the young guys coming to sign up for the force," said one Southern white police official. "The whites don't have the attitude that Negroes shouldn't have the same job and the Negroes are looking you straight in the eye these days."

Another white official in the South said that he had found no new white recruits refusing to work with Negroes.

However, a disabled Negro veteran said: "Sure, we were buddy-buddy in the Nam. There were a couple of guys I was wounded with, crawled around in the mud together, ate out of the same can of beans and drank the same water. But when we got to the stateside hospital they didn't want to know me at all."

Throughout the nation, Negro veterans can be found who have joined society with a minimum of difficulty and who feel that society is worth joining.

Many more, though, can be found who have not joined, including those who would not join on society's current terms.

An Army veteran was arrested two months ago in New York City on charges of plotting to kill policemen. However, the first Negro policeman killed in the line of duty in Los Angeles two months ago was a Marine veteran.

A former Regular Army sergeant, Fred Ahmed Evans, has been accused of leading the armed Negro group that killed three white policemen in Cleveland last week. One of the alleged snipers who was killed had served with the Marines. Veterans were also among the Negro policemen who fought against the snipers.

A Negro marine in civilian clothes was killed several blocks from the shootout in Cleveland by a white mob on the same night. The Negro folk singer, Tedd Browne, murdered two nights later in Cleveland while he drove through a white neighborhood had served with the United States Navy.

When hundreds of poor Negroes recently threaded out of the massive sweltering low-income housing project Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis for a rally at City Hall, they were guarded by scores of unsmiling Negro youths wearing black tee-shirts embossed with yellow shields and spears and the words Zulu 1200s.

"Hey, y'all, come out of them houses," Clarence Guthrie, 23, said with the aid of a loud speaker, "Come on out, we gotta get ourselves together before the man starts shooting at us."

Mr. Guthrie is a muscular, bull-necked youth who joined the Army at 17 and fought to keep petroleum supplies from the Vietcong around Camranh Bay. He is convinced that whites intend to massacre Negroes.

"And we don't intend to be on our knees praying when they come," he said. "We're gonna die fighting, on our feet, and taking a whole lot of them with us.

"We don't agree with the Poor People's Campaign, always asking and asking the man for what they need. But they're brothers and sisters trying to do something for black people so we support them.

"But for us, we're going to start taking what's rightfully ours. We fought for the honkie and now we're going to fight for ourselves."

About a third of the Zulu 1200s are veterans. Mr. Guthrie said, although he declined to tell how many members were there.

The Invaders, a similar para-military group of young Negroes in Memphis, has a smaller percentage of veterans.

"And we make sure most of our young brothers don't go in the service and become veterans," said the Invader leader, Lance (Sweet Willie Wine) Watson, 29, a former paratrooper.

"We shouldn't fight for this country until it's worth fighting for," he said.

"Black people have died in this country's wars for as long as there was a country. Up to now we always took the great white fathers' word for it—thought it was all right to be half a man. But now it's time to question. We're questioning everything now."

The Invaders, who helped provide security for Resurrection City in Washington during the Poor People's Campaign, were accused of starting a riot when the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. attempted to lead a march in Memphis in support of striking garbage collectors.

Bobby Seale, the leader of the Black Panther party in Oakland, Calif., said that Negro veterans had been steadily joining the organization in recent months.

"They're angry because they fought for the man and black people are still being messed over," he said.

One recently discharged Navy veteran active with the Panther group is awaiting trial in a shooting clash with the Oakland police.

FOUGHT THE VIETCONG

"The only time a black man should fight is to defend black people," said "Weusi," 22, whose occupation, he said, "is an advocate of the US organization" in south central Los Angeles.

US is a black nationalist group that was founded after the Watts riots of 1965 by Ron Karanga.

As George Armstrong, an Army specialist fourth class, Weusi fought the Vietcong at Dongbe near the South China Sea.

"I'm ashamed of what I did in Vietnam," he said. "We did to yellow people what whites do to us. We were tricked by whites. Negroes, before they find themselves as black people, are mentally dead, with no point and no direction, just a set of reactions controlled by whites."

He said that his own life had been directionless until he joined US, in which he teaches calisthenics, discipline and karate to youthful "Simba" members.

The armed forces re-enlistment rate of Negroes is consistently two or three times higher than that of whites.

Negroes still in service explain that the attractions are status, money and careers and that while the integration practices are not perfect, they have outstripped civilian moves toward racial corporation.

The military, however, is particularly inept at dealing with an aroused black consciousness in Negroes, veterans said.

"It got so bad that whenever we used the word black instead of Negro, white people thought we were conspiring on some anti-white project or something," said a former Army staff sergeant, Samuel Bates, now a medical supply supervisor at the Los Angeles Children's Hospital.

"What they did not know is that we were just finding ourselves and one another," he said.

There have been charges of hasty convenience discharges of Negroes. Pentagon officials say they have no knowledge of such a policy but have promised to look into the allegations.

Gail Franks, 22, is stranded in Los Angeles with an undesirable discharge from the Navy "and a heart full of hate for that man."

He says his troubles stem from the Navy's reaction to his newly found black pride while he served on a destroyer off the coast of Vietnam.

His troubles, he said, included the harassment by white superiors whom he had previously regarded as friendly, a court-martial for disobedience, a young wife who tried to commit suicide because of his difficulties and the removal by the court of his two young children from his wife's custody.

"One thing led to another once I stood up as a black man," Mr. Franks said.

"I was in and out of trouble. I couldn't get leave when my wife was sick. I couldn't get money to her from Naval Relief. I took off, went A.W.O.L. Later, they told me that if I admitted buying two marijuana cigarettes that I could get a discharge. I wanted out and I would have admitted anything.''

VISIONS OF YOUTH

"I had visions of serving my country," said Mr. Franks, who joined the Navy at 19 from his hometown of Chicago. "Now I want to serve my people. It's too bad so many of our people are fighting for this man."

Mr. Franks was in Barracks No. 38, the disciplinary quarters of the Long Beach Naval Base near Los Angeles, when Dr. King was assassinated in Memphis April 4. He said that he and others had planned a riot on the base "if Watts had rebelled again." This would have been "for my people," he said.

The discharge granted Emmett Doe, 26, of Manhattan, who now lives in Atlanta, was "under honorable conditions" and came after a court-martial that received nationwide press coverage. "I guess that means it's only 'slightly tainted,' " Mr. Doe remarked.

Mr. Doe, a former staff sergeant and combat medic, was wounded by shrapnel in his legs and arms "for moving too slow" near Qhuinhon.

Acquitted of charges earlier this year of having been disrespectful to an officer, Mr. Doe was soon separated from the service.

He is currently a field representative for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization in Atlanta. Mr. Doe said that the charges had been made against him after he added "black history" to his normal presentation as a noncommissioned recruiting officer.

"Whenever blacks seem to unite, whites panic," he said "I often saw black brothers fighting one another and mostly I wanted to instill some pride in themselves and a feeling of love for one another. This is what upset the man so much."

Negro veterans of the war in Vietnam, while numbering about 120,000 at present, will be a force to be reckoned with, most people agree.

Walter (Preacher) Jones, 81, a disabled veteran of World War I, stood on a hot street corner in Oklahoma City recently and told why he thought so.

"These young men know what they want and they know what's going on in this country," Mr. Jones said.

"When I was in the war I believed everything they told us. I had no education, I didn't know. They told us to 'go catch the Kaiser and everything'll be all right.' We went over there and fought and the first thing I heard when I got back to Waco, Tex.. was a white man telling me to move out of the train station.

"He said, 'Nigger, you ain't in France no more, you're in America.' He didn't even give me time to take off the uniform.

"The trouble is the white man just wants to use you, then give you just enough to pacify you and not change things. The young people are onto him now, though. Yes, they're onto him."

Another World War I veteran, who shines shoes in the Times Square area, said:

"They must think we're goddamn fools. Year after year and they think people ain't gonna wake up. They think we're goddamn fools, but we ain't. We're waking up, you hear me, the young people are waking us up."

ANOTHER OPINION

A World War II veteran, who shines shoes on San Francisco's Market Street, remarked:

"Yeah, the man's gonna have to come up straight this time.

No more of that off-the-wall stuff, about it takes time. It didn't take time to get a whole lot of colored boys killed in Vietnam, did it?"

The Defense Department is aware of the disaffection of many Negro veterans, and several official efforts are aimed at putting them into the mainstream of American society.

"We do what we can," one Washington official said. "We need Congressional approval to do anything meaningful for most Negroes. But we can act on our own as far as veterans are concerned."

All these programs are relatively new, so no real assessment can be made yet. Each, however, is a departure in concept, from previous programs.

The Veterans Administration, for instance, through its 20 new Veterans Assistance Centers across the nation, is soliciting applications for assistance for the first time in its 40-year history.

Their concentration is primarily on the "disadvantaged" veteran. In addition, the V.A. has set up permanent information stations at major military bases in Vietnam.

A center employment interviewer in St. Louis, Raymond J. Hines told of the national center policy.

"We send a letter first, then make a phone call, and if the veteran does not come in we make a home visit to make sure they know what's available to them," he said.

However, Alphonso C. Ballous, 21, of New York City who wanted advice on how to get a loan for his rock 'n roll recording studio, complained:

"Nobody could help me down at the V.A. or the V.A.C. They pay some fat cats $10,000 a year to mess up my head when all I wanted was some advice."

While many other ex-servicemen praised the new center policies, red tape and confusion still pose major problems.

Frank Steele, a former Army major who works with the Urban League, said:

"Who knows what rights are available to veterans? I don't. And if I'm confused, what about the veteran?"

Project Transition is a new Government program designed to provide marketable skills for some servicemen soon to be discharged.

Operating at 238 military bases across the country, the project has trained 14,000 servicemen in a variety of civilian skills, besides giving job counseling, some basic education courses, and job placement and follow-up counseling.

Two classes are conducted in a rehabilitated wing of an old hospital on the sprawling infantry training post of Fort Jackson, S.C., for men interested in learning post office work and the operation of service stations.

"And we would start courses in basket weaving if there were enough men interested and there were jobs available," said Phil H. Sawyer, the educaiton officer at Fort Jackson.

Although most of the trainees are in their early 20's, two enrollees in the service station course, conducted by the Humble Oil Company, are retiring after 20 years' service, their last year of which was spent in Vietnam.

The course filled a need for Sgt. 1st Cl. Michael Lyons of Scranton, Pa., who is white, because he recently bought a service station near Columbia, S.C. A Negro staff sergeant, James Dwyer, Jr., who ran a consolidated mess hall, plans to lease a service station in his hometown of Sumter, S.C., through the Humble Company.

Not all the 750,000 servicemen discharged annually need or want the training offered by Project Transition, its director, Frank M. McKernan, said.

Negro servicemen, many of whom end up as front-line soldiers because they are less educated and because they have volunteered for combat at a greater rate than whites, are particularly in need of additional training for civilian life. One of four transition enrollees is Negro.

"We are talking to officials from seven major unions, including the building trades, in an effort to have Negro veterans brought into these unions," Mr. McKernan said.

He said that he was setting up a program at Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., in cooperation with Webster College, to train Negro veterans as school teachers.

But the majority of the transition courses train returning servicemen as data processors, heavy equipment operators, mechanics, appliance repairmen, machinists, electronics technicians and law enforcement officers.

Robert Tindal, the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Detroit, said, "We are especially interested in any program that will bring black law enforcement officers into Detroit."

He reflected the views of many big-city civil rights activists.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, has introduced a bill that would operate with other Federal efforts to get veterans into jobs.

Called the Veterans Employment and Relocation Assistance Act of 1968, it proposes to match veterans seeking jobs with job openings on a nationwide basis and pay travel costs if relocation is necessary. Special emphasis would be placed on helping disadvantaged veterans before they returned to high unemployment areas in the nation's major slums.

The bill is also sponsored by Representative Thomas G. Curtis, Republican of Missouri, in the House.

"An area like San Diego points up the need for such a bill," said Richard West of the Los Angeles Urban League. "This is a chronically high unemployment area that is also very popular as a retirement spot with Navy people.

WELFARE SUPPLEMENTS

"You have a lot of retired Navy men—black and white—getting welfare to supplement their retirement pay in San Diego."

The situation of the Negro veteran cannot be separated from the situation of the Negro community. The veteran does not seem to be leading this community either to a more integral and integrated part of the American mainstream or to its disintegration. He walked back into a buzzsaw of wide-ranging, do-it-yourself revolution and, if anything, he is a man playing catch-up.

He is playing catch-up to the young Negro college graduate, currently the darling of American industry, or as Negroes put it, "Every industry wants at least one by the door."

He is also playing catch-up to the articulate youth who quotes Malcolm X, Frantz Lorenon and Che Guevara with the same fervor his father quoted St. Paul the Apostle.

This is frequently the youth who cries, "Hell no, we won't go" and does not, and whose rhetoric reflects the greatest alienation from the centuries-old Negro pattern of pursuing the American dream.

The Negro veteran is generally more disciplined, more self-assured and better trained than the average Negro his age. He also possesses a special kind of bitterness.

"The brother in Vietnam closed his eyes to the prejudice he knew existed and hoped against hope that America would change, would change because he fought for her," said Ahmed Lorenc, 21, of Brooklyn. "But it didn't make a bit of difference."

A former marine, Mr. Lorenc was in Khesanh until March of 1968. He now heads a veterans' organization in the Harlem Unemployment Center that is outspokenly against the war they fought.

More than 100,000 Negroes are back from Vietnam era service. But they are still black, and this, in America today, still seems to be the major factor in determining what will happen to them.

PROBABLE IMPACT ON SMALLER STATES OF THE PROPOSED DIRECT POPULAR ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, a number of leading scholars have pointed out in recent years the weaknesses and dangers inherent in the present indirect method of selecting the President and Vice President of the United States by means of State-chosen presidential electors. As a possible replacement for this historic but undemocratic and faulty process, more and more interest has centered on the values which might be gained by allowing the people to make their choice by direct popular ballot.

Some opponents of the direct election system, however, have contended that it would tend to lessen the influence which smaller States might now have in presidential elections. During hearings held before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments evidence was submitted by competent witnesses which challenged the accuracy of this prediction and demonstrated rather conclusively that the reverse might generally be true.

One of the organizations which has strongly supported abolishing the electoral college and adopting election of the President by direct vote of the people is the Amercian Bar Association. I am pleased to note that Mr. William T. Gossett, president-elect of the American Bar Association, has testified before the platform committee of the Republican National Convention advocating the adoption of a constitutional amendment to achieve this purpose. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Gossett, who has previously served on the Commission on Electoral College Reform of the American Bar Association, examined the purely practical reasons which led the framers of the Constitution to agree on the present system and pointed out that those reasons no longer exist today. Stressing that the faults inherent in the electoral college system "have been intensified rather than alleviated by the passage of time," he listed nine major defects which should be remedied.

Mr. Gossett meets head-on the charge that a nationwide popular election would diminish the influence exerted by smaller States in the choice of the President and the Vice President. To the contrary, he concludes that the effect would be to "considerably strengthen their participation in elections" because under the present system the candidates "have tended to ignore the small States." As proof he cites the fact a relatively low percentage of the small States have been on the side of the winning candidates, whereas the largest States generally have cast their electoral votes for the victorious party.

It is my understanding that Mr. Gossett, who is slated to become president of the American Bar Association at its annual meeting on August 8, or one of his associates, also plans to testify before the Democratic platform committee later next month in Chicago. I join Mr. Gossett, the Commission on Electoral College Reform of the American Bar Association, and many others in hoping that the two major parties will adopt planks in their platforms subscribing to the principle that it is time now to revise the present electoral system of choosing the President and the Vice President and provide for direct election by the qualified electorate. Because Mr. Gossett's statement so clearly and concisely analyzes the need for presidential election reform and refutes some of the contentions made against change, it should be very helpful to those who are trying to evaluate intelligently the various aspects of this significant national issue.

I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM T. GOSSETT, ESQ., PRESIDENT-ELECT, AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

(Statement before the Subcommittee on National, State and Local Relations of the Republican Platform Committee July 29, 1968, Miami, Fla.)

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee on National, State and Local Relations of the Republican Platform Committee: My name is William T. Gossett. I am president-elect of the American Bar Association.

It is an honor to appear before you today to discuss the recommendations of the American Bar Association in regard to the method of electing the President and Vice President of the United States.

I had the privilege of serving on the ABA Commission on Electoral College Reform which, after extensive study, recommended a constitutional amendment providing for the election of the President and Vice President by direct popular vote. In selecting the Commission, the ABA endeavored to have represented different walks of life, professions, and parts of the United States. A list of the Commission members is attached.

One of the first provisions discussed at what was to become known as the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was the manner of electing the chief executive of the United States. The first proposal was made by James Wilson, one of the great lawyers of his age, a chief architect of the Supreme Court and one of Washington's initial appointments as Associate Justice. Wilson's proposal was that the President be named by direct "election by the people". The proceedings of the convention were secret, but according to Madison's *Journal*, at least six delegates, including Madison himself, "the master-builder of the Constitution", and four other lawyers, endorsed Wilson's suggestion. No less than eight other methods of electing the President—among them the electoral college system—were proposed. Some of them were first adopted and then reconsidered and rejected.

Not until the final weeks of the convention was the electoral college method adopted. It was not an ideal way or even the best way of choosing a President; rather, it was a compromise device that nobody expected to work and that would invariably result in throwing the election of the President and Vice President into the House of Representatives.[1]

The electoral system, therefore, was never intended by the drafters of the Constitution to be primarily a "states' rights" device to give the states rather than the people the power and the responsibility of choosing the President.

What really moved the delegates to accept the electoral system, with little enthusiam and no unanimity of conviction, were certain practical considerations, dictated not by political ideals but by the social realities of the time—realities that no longer exist. These were centered largely in the limited communications and relatively low literacy of the period, which made it virtually impossible for the people to know the candidates, rendered them subject to deception and would have inclined them to vote only for someone from their own state. This made it likely that the largest state, having the largest vote, usually would elect its candidate. On the other hand, the delegates assumed that the electors, to whom the people would delegate their franchise, would be the wise men of the community, with their disinterested role protected by the requirement that they not be officeholders or candidates.

Historically, the electoral system did not and could not adhere long to such a pure and detached concept. First, political cabals and later political parties appeared; the electors' role became a mechanical one. As they became partisan functionaries, their names and reputations became far less known to the citizens than those of the candidates.

It must be remembered that the electoral system was not intended to be a reflection of the popular vote but a delegation of the full power of that vote to electors.

In an age of speedy transportation, instantaneous communication and high literacy, this delegation of a basic civic right and duty from the many to a few is both anachronistic and abhorrent.

Most of the faults inherent in the electoral college system have been intensified rather than alleviated by the passage of time. Briefly, the major defects are:

1. The popular will of the majority of the people of the nation can be—and has been—defeated by mathematical flukes.
2. The choice can be—and has been—thrown into the House of Representatives, where each state has but a single vote.
3. A vote can be—and has been—cast by an elector for a candidate other than that for whom the voter expected him to vote.
4. Strong partisan cabals can influence—and have influenced—results of elections by influencing the choice of electors and appropriating party labels.
5. The disputed electoral vote of one state can negate—and has negated—the will of the rest of the nation.
6. Candidates with a clear plurality of the votes of the American people can be—and have been—defeated by candidates with a lesser vote.
7. The electoral vote of a state can—and does—nullify ballots of all voters not supporting the winner in that state.
8. The electoral votes of a state with a small percentage of its voters casting their ballots can—and do—have as fixed a numerical strength as a state with a large turnout.
9. The margins of victory and of defeat can be—and are—grossly exaggerated by electoral votes, thus creating dangerous distortions of the real balances in our political system.

The recommendations of the ABA to convert or eradicate these defects are direct and to the point: that the President and Vice President be elected by a direct, nationwide popular vote; that unless the leading candidate receives at least 40 per cent of the vote, there be a runoff election between the two top candidates; that while the place and manner of holding presidential elections remain the primary responsibility of the states, the Congress have the power to make or alter election regulations, particularly "where the state attempts to exclude the name of a major candidate from the ballot"; and that the qualifications for voting for President be the same as those for voting for members of Congress, but that "Congress be given the reserve power to adopt uniform age and residence requirements."

The directness and justice of these recommendations prompted an exceptionally uniform favorable reaction throughout the press of the nation, as editorialists and columnists for the most part endorsed the Commission's proposals. A Gallup poll revealed that *58 percent* of the people favored direct popular election of the President, with only *22 percent* opposed. This parallels closely a poll of state legislators in which more than 59% of the 2200 responding favored direct popular election.

Despite the prompt and affirmative response to the American Bar Association's proposals, objections to the proposed reforms in presidential elections have arisen. Any suggestion to change old ways of doing things, of course, always invites vigorous objections—a healthy enough tendency in matters calling for constitutional amendment, which was purposefully made a difficult process by the Constitution-makers, in order to provide time for the airing and answering of objections.

In the case of the proposal for direct, nationwide popular vote for the President and Vice President, the objections seem to center in the age-old fear that the influence of the small or sparsely settled states would be diminished somehow, especially in view of the requirement that a candidate receive at least 40 percent of the vote to achieve election, and in the provision for runoff elections when no candidate receives the required minimal percentage.

With regard to the effect of popular, nationwide elections on the influence of small or sparsely settled states, far from diminishing it, the proposed reforms would in fact considerably strengthen their participation in elections. While there is belief that the electoral system, because the ratio of electors to population favors small states (Alaska has one elector for each 75,380 inhabitants and Nevada one for 95,093, while California and Pennsylvania have one for every 392,930 and 390,323, respectively), the practical operation of the electoral system has led the parties to concentrate disproportionately on their candidate or platform appealing to the majorities in the large industrial states, twelve of which have a clear majority of the total electoral vote. Thus, the candidates can and have tended to ignore the small states. That this strategy has worked to the detriment of the influence of small states is clearly apparent in a review of the states as barometers of election outcomes—that is, the number of times a state has cast its vote for the winner.

Omitting Alaska and Hawaii from consideration (because they have cast votes in only two elections), of the twenty-eight states having less than ten electoral votes each, only four—14 per cent—have been with the winner in as many as four of five elections. But all five of the states heading the list in electoral votes, with more than twenty-five each, have been with the winner in four of five elections.

In view of these and related figures, it is difficult to see what real influence of the small states is being diminished. In a direct election, *all* of the votes within a state would be reflected in the national total. And so if the electoral system were abolished, fundamental inequities would vanish.

Today there is grave concern over the possible impact of Mr. George Wallace's candidacy. His candidacy focuses the spotlight on three aspects of the present system:

1. The risk of a minority President;
2. The independence of the Electoral College; and
3. The runoff in the House of Representatives.

Representatives Charles Goodell and Morris Udall are seeking pledges, I am informed, from the members of Congress that, should the election be thrown into the Congress, they would vote for the candidate who received the most popular votes. This makeshift device to prevent the possibility of a deadlocked election or the election of a minority President points up the necessity for a permanent solution—a constitutional amendment such as S.J. Res. 2 by Senator Everett Dirksen to provide for direct popular election.

The present unit rule system of throwing unresolved elections into the House of Representatives, with each state having a single vote without regard to its size and with each state's House delegation empowered to ignore the state's vote in the election, is clearly a political monstrosity, fully distorting the most elementary principles of self-government and opening up possibilities of political wheeling and dealing wholly repugnant to a free people. Under it the choice of the people of the twenty-six least populated states, representing 16 percent of the nation's total population, could prevail over that of the twenty-four most populated states, representing 84 percent of the people.

It was the Commission's conclusion that the direct national election would effectively meet all the evils of the present system. As Professor James C. Kirby, Jr., a member of the Commission, has pointed out:

"District and proportional plans each fell short in more than one respect, but the following corrections . . . were projected to flow from direct election:

"First, all votes cast within a state would be reflected in the national totals.

"Second, by necessity there would no longer be a possibility of a 'minority President', in the sense of one elected with fewer votes than an opponent.

"Third, there would cease to be any 'pivotal states' as such because no state's votes would be cast in a unit.

"Fourth, the so-called 'sure state' would disappear because candidates' efforts would be directed at people, regardless of location, and no Republican or Democratic minority in a state would be ignored because they were outnumbered there.

"For similar reasons the fifth evil disappears. The so-called 'swing vote' within a state would lose its special attractiveness with its power to tip a state's entire electoral vote one way or the other. The votes of a 200,000 voting bloc in a particular state would be only 200,000 votes toward a necessary national total of 30 or 40 million votes. These 200,000 votes would take on the same appearance to a candidate as any other 200,000 in the same state or anywhere else in the nation.

"Finally, fraud or accident affecting a particular voting place or locality would affect

---

[1] Apparently the House was chosen instead of the Senate, even though each state was to have but a single vote, to avoid giving the Senate too much leverage and to obviate excessive bargaining between Senators and the leading aspirants to the office of President with regard to appointments after the election. Pritchett, The American Constitution 26 (1959); Rossiter, The Grand Convention 220 (1966).

only the votes involved and could not cause an entire state's vote to be miscalculated."[2]

In our opinion, direct election is an idea whose time has arrived. It was not until 1860 that the people of every state were given the right to vote for the presidential electors; and not until 1913 that the people were given the right to vote for their senators. We believe the time has come for the people to elect their President directly.

We respectfully urge the Republican Party to support this proposal.

MEMBERS OF AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION COMMISSION ON ELECTORIAL COLLEGE REFORM, 1966–67

Robert G. Storey, Chairman, Texas; Dean Emeritus, Southwestern Legal Center; former President of the American Bar Association (1952–1953).

Henry Bellmon, the Governor of Oklahoma.

Paul Freund, Professor of Constitutional Law, Harvard Law School.

E. Smythe Gambrell, Georgia attorney and former President of the American Bar Association (1955–1956).

Ed Gossett, Texas attorney and former member of Congress from Texas (1939–1951).

William T. Gossett, Michigan attorney, former President of the American Bar Foundation, and former General Counsel to the Ford Motor Company.

William J. Jameson, United States District Court Judge for Montana and former President of the American Bar Association (1953–1954).

Kenneth B. Keating, Associate Judge of the New York Court of Appeals, former United States Representative (1947–1959), and United States Senator from New York (1959–1965).

Otto E. Kerner, the Governor of Illinois.

James C. Kirby, Jr., Professor of Constitutional Law, Northwestern University Law School, and former Chief Counsel to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

James M. Nabrit, Jr., Deputy United States Representative to the United Nations and President of Howard University (on leave of absence).

Herman Phleger, California attorney and former Legal Advisor to the United States Department of State (1953–1957).

C. Herman Pritchett, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, on leave of absence at the University of California at Santa Barbara, and former President of the American Political Science Association.

Walter P. Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers Union and Vice President of the AFL–CIO.

Whitney North Seymour, New York attorney and former President of the American Bar Association (1960–1961).

John D. Feerick, New York attorney and Advisor to the Commission.

A TRIBUTE THAT WAS HEARD BY SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, there is one among us who must take satisfaction in the fact that Senator Robert F. Kennedy heard this eloquent tribute while he still lived.

It was an eloquent tribute by our distinguished colleague from South Dakota. I refer to the introduction by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN] of Senator Kennedy to audiences at Sioux Falls and Rapid City, S. Dak., on April 16, 1968, when Senator Kennedy made a campaign visit to that State.

No collection of tribute to our deceased colleague would be complete which does not include it. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the introduction of Senator Robert F. Kennedy delivered on the occasions I have mentioned by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN].

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTRODUCTION OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY BY SENATOR GEORGE McGOVERN, SIOUX FALLS AND RAPID CITY, S. DAK., APRIL 16, 1968

For reasons that most of you understand, I have seen fit not to take sides in the current Presidential contest for the Democratic nomination. I feel that my fellow South Dakotans should make their own decision.

All three men now being considered as candidates—Senators Kennedy and McCarthy and Vice President Humphrey—are close and treasured friends of mine. Each of them would serve our Nation well. Each of them would have my cooperation as President. Each of them knows that situations might develop where I would disagree with him.

And may I add that President Johnson has taken on new stature and dignity by the magnanimous manner in which he placed his view of the Vietnam issue above his desires for re-election.

But I do want to say to my fellow South Dakotans in the presence of our distinguished guest that if he is elected President of the United States, he will, in my judgment, become one of the three or four greatest Presidents in our national history.

I have heard the talk about his ruthlessness and his long hair. But he isn't as ruthless as was the great Theodore Roosevelt, and his hair isn't half as long as Thomas Jefferson's, and unlike Abraham Lincoln, he has no beard at all.

What he does have is the absolute personal honesty of a Woodrow Wilson, the stirring passion for leadership of Andrew Jackson, and the profound acquaintance with personal tragedy of Lincoln.

Recently, one of our Nation's most eloquent preachers was slain at Memphis. In one of his finest sermons, he took for his text the words of the Great Teacher: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

"We must," said Dr. King, "combine the toughness of the serpent and the softness of the dove, a tough mind and a tender heart."

One of the reasons, I suspect, that some people are puzzled by Senator Kennedy is that he is a tough-minded man with a tender heart.

He is, to borrow Dr. King's fitting description of the good life, "a creative synthesis of opposites."

The Presidency is a sobering office that calls forth the seeds of greatness. Many a man whose talents were undetected or misinterpreted took on new stature in the White House. I think that was true of the late John F. Kennedy who became a greater man with each passing month he lived in the Presidential office.

You people know the affection and the esteem I held for President Kennedy, but it is my carefully measured conviction that Senator Robert Kennedy, even more than our late beloved President, would now bring to the Presidency a deeper measure of experience and a more profound capacity to lead our troubled land into the light of a new day.

So while I decline to endorse any Presidential candidate prior to the national convention, I do speak from the heart about a gallant friend and colleague whom I now present with pride to you—Senator Robert Kennedy.

SENATOR BIRCH BAYH FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, this has been a year of political surprises and political tragedies. In such a year, it is not unnatural for the people of our Nation to take a keen interest in and become deeply concerned with the choices of our two major parties for President and Vice President.

It is not unusual, of course, to see widespread speculation over the presidential sweepstakes. But it seems to me there has been an unusual amount of attention paid not only to the man the parties will nominate for President, but also for Vice President.

This is as it should be. It is clearer in these days than ever before that the Vice President of the United States, whomever he may be, must possess the qualities and capabilities necessary to perform the functions of the Presidency.

As has been said many times before, the Vice President is literally only one heartbeat away from the most responsible and the most powerful elective office in the world. In our own lifetime and throughout our Nation's history, we have witnessed tragedy and near-tragedy befall our Presidents. In these perilous times, we can no longer afford the political luxury of a Vice President chosen to "balance" a ticket from the standpoint of geography, religion, or intraparty factionalism. No, our Vice President must be chosen with one question in mind: Should he be called upon to do so, could he successfully perform the duties and exercise the powers of President of the United States?

It is with this in mind, Mr. President, that I submit today to the people of the United States and to the prospective delegates to the Democratic National Convention the name of a man whom I would support for the Democratic nomination for Vice President of the United States: our distinguished colleague from Indiana, the Honorable BIRCH BAYH.

I am transmitting this suggestion to all prospective nominees of the Democratic Party for President of the United States.

I am doing so for the following reasons:

First, Senator BIRCH BAYH has proved himself an unusually capable and experienced legislator. He will have served, by the end of this year, the people of his State and his Nation for 14 years as a U.S. Senator and as a State representative.

It is an intriguing coincidence that John Fitzgerald Kennedy had precisely 14 years of legislative experience at the time he sought and won the Presidency.

In his 6 years in the U.S. Senate, Senator BAYH has compiled a record that is the envy of many of his colleagues who are much his senior. As we all know, he conceived and guided to passage the 25th amendment to the Constitution of the United States—an achievement which few believed possible when he began his effort and which most of us still marvel at.

He introduced and guided to passage the Nation's first comprehensive disaster relief program. He was the first among us to disclose publicly the waste and corruption that riddled our aid program to Vietnam and to take steps to begin cleaning it up. He has been a leader in our historic efforts to provide equal justice and equal opportunity for all Americans regardless of race.

---

[2] **Statement of James C. Kirby, Jr., professor of law at Northwestern University School of Law, before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Judiciary Committee, May 17, 1967.**

In service to this cause, he very nearly gave his life. It was on June 19, 1964. The Senate was about to enact the first major civil rights bill since Reconstruction. The vote was delayed, and Senator BAYH had plans to accompany Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY to the Massachusetts State Democratic Convention. He was informed that the bill would carry without his vote, and that if he stayed and missed his plane, he might run into bad weather. He decided, with his close friend, Senator TED KENNEDY, to stay and to participate in the historic climax to the work that both these young men had performed on this bill as members of the Senate Judiciary Committee. They took a later plane, and, in the fog and wind over Massachusetts that night, the plane crashed. The crash snuffed out two lives, and we know how Senator BAYH, himself in pain, managed to remove Senator KENNEDY from the wreckage before it could catch fire.

There is much more that I can recount about Senator BAYH's record in national and international affairs: His perceptive understanding of the difficult and tragic conflict in Vietnam; his leadership in the Nation's fight against crime and against the root causes of crime; his work in the cause of cleaning our precious air and water; his personal courage, his impeccable integrity, and his unusual ability in matters affecting Indiana and the Nation to bring together men of diverse points of view and, from diversity, to develop creative compromise so that action replaces mere hope.

Suffice it to say, however, that in Senator BIRCH BAYH we are blessed with a man of vigorous youth, mature wisdom, and unbending devotion to the people he serves and the Nation in which they live.

It is in the interest of the Democratic Party and the people of America, of whatever political persuasion, to have Senator BIRCH BAYH share his talents with the Nation.

I therefore urge all who will hear or read my remarks today to consider carefully the nomination of BIRCH EVANS BAYH, JR., for the Democratic nomination for Vice President of the United States.

SCHOOL ASSISTANCE IN FEDERALLY IMPACTED AREAS

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, 5 days ago, I wrote to the President and the Director of the Budget urging immediate action of some kind on the supplemental funds for schools assistance in federally impacted areas. I pointed out then that the deadline for obligating these funds, under the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, is midnight of July 31—tonight. I am sure I was not the only Member of Congress to direct attention to this situation.

However, as the deadline approaches, there has to my knowledge been no action taken by the executive branch. It begins to appear that the administration is playing ring-around-the-rosie with these important funds, and that the deadline will be allowed to pass. This, in turn, will nullify the apropriation and deprive thousands of school districts across the Nation of this badly needed—and promised—assistance.

Involved in this problem is an associated one regarding the new fiscal year limitations on expenditures which Congress imposed in Public Law 90–364, and whether those limitations should apply to the supplemental funds which were actually signed into law on July 9.

I would not attempt to take up this problem or to advise the administration on a decision at this juncture. What I do ask is that a decision be reached, regardless of which way it goes, so that the funds can be obligated before the deadline that is now only a few hours away.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my letter of July 26 to the President be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JULY 26, 1968.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It has come to my attention that the Bureau of the Budget has not yet released $90.9 million for school assistance in federally affected areas approved by the Congress in its consideration of the Second Supplemental Appropriation for fiscal year 1968. As you know, this act was signed into law July 9.

I am advised that these funds are being withheld pending an executive decision as to the applicability of the provisions of Public Law 90–364 to their expenditure.

The thing which concerns me is that the Supplemental Appropriation Act makes this Public Law 874 money available for obligation only through July 31, 1968. Regardless of whether the limitation on fiscal year 1969 expenditures applies, a decision must be made before the end of this month. Otherwise, the school districts involved will be left in an intolerable position.

Both the Senate and the House have affirmed their policy of fully funding entitlements under existing impacted areas legislation, and the congressional mandate should not be ignored. The school districts have been forced too many times to agonize as a result of attempts by the Federal Government to sidestep its obligations under the law, and I personally feel that after the administrators of our local school districts have had their budgetary hopes raised by approval of these additional funds, it would be a terrible and undeserved blow to deny them by inaction.

I strongly urge you to do what is necessary to release these funds before July 31.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Cordially,

ALAN BIBLE.

WITHHELD EDUCATION AID FUNDS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the second supplemental appropriations bill, signed into law on July 9, provided $90.9 million in impacted education aid funds—Public Law 874—"to remain available until July 31, 1968," today's date. Of this money, $4,983,809 would have been available for the State of New York. However, the administration has seen fit not to release this money for eligible school districts in my State and throughout the Nation.

School districts have relied on these Public Law 874 funds since enactment of the legislation 18 years ago, and deprivation of these moneys result in a serious hardship on them due to the difficulties experienced in replacing the funds through local and State tax revenues. Difficulty is also experienced because other Federal education aid programs are being cut back, some by as much as half from the previous year's appropriation. Thus, the burden upon the local school district becomes even more difficult to bear.

It now appears that these funds will not be released by the Budget Bureau. I trust, therefore, that the Budget Bureau will not see fit to hold back other moneys appropriated by the Congress for the purpose of aiding elementary and secondary education so as not to seriously impair the progress of education in the communities and in the States. To do so would be really false economy.

GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, national clamor continues for Congress to enact effective gun control legislation. Decisive evidence is presented to us daily in newspapers throughout the Nation. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD editorials received in my office.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 30, 1968]

THE GUNFIGHTERS

It is now evident that neither the House of Representatives nor the Senate is going to adopt legislation requiring the registration of guns or the licensing of gun owners—at least prior to the impending recess. Thus, for the time being, the fight for effective gun control has been lost—save for a partial and cynically weakened ban on mail order gun peddling.

We think this outcome is tragic and foolish—a rejection of reason and a defiance of democracy. The cost of leaving the gun traffic unregulated is 20,000 human lives a year. The people of America have petitioned Congress to abate this slaughter by a flood of letters without parallel in legislative history. Repeated polls of public opinion have demonstrated an overwhelming popular desire for effective firearms control. Yet Congress heeds only a selfish and reckless gun peddlers' lobby. In this, as in other recent actions, there is manifest in Congress a spirit of blind bigotry and destructiveness.

The fight for effective gun control is going to continue, nevertheless. And it is going to be won. You can lay it down as an unassailable axiom that the American people are not going to go on sustaining casualties at the rate of 200,000 a year to suit the convenience of a handful of hunters, gun collectors and pseudo-frontiersmen who find a synthetic brand of bravery in the possession of a pistol. This country is simply not going to continue letting itself be terrorized by criminals, punks, hoodlums, maniacs, drunkards and assorted misanthropes armed indiscriminately with lethal weapons.

The shooting of Americans can be dramatically diminished by restricting gun ownership to persons certified, or licensed, as law-abiding and responsible and by requiring that every firearm be registered. Licensing is the obvious and necessary device for screening gun owners and gun buyers. It is a significant coincidence that the same day's news pages that reported the rejection of gun registration and licensing by the House of Representatives and the Senate Judiciary Committee also reported discovery of the bullet-torn bodies of a Detroit magazine publisher, his wife and four children at a summer home on Lake Michigan and the fatal shooting of 10 persons in Cleveland after a police-sniper gun battle. Licensing can help to keep guns out of such dangerous hands.

For the past six weeks, this newspaper has sought, in daily editorials, to focus public attention on the gun problem and to present arguments in favor of gun control legislation. Because public attention will now certainly shift from legislative action to political activities at the great national party conventions, we shall, for the present, discontinue this daily editorial pleading for common sense about guns. But we shall certainly return to the subject. And the country will certainly return to its demand that Congress act to protect the public safety. We hail all those who shared in the fight for gun control and we exhort them to renewed determination when Congress reconvenes. The senseless slaughter of Americans by gunfire must be curbed.

[From the Chicago Daily News, July 27, 1968]

Whee: Guns for Everybody

After gravely listening to the most massive popular outcry of recent times, the House of Representatives turned its back and passed a bill preserving the right of any thug or crackpot to buy the gun of his choice.

Along the way it managed to do some proselyting for its favorite lobby, the National Rifle Assn., by enabling any who want to evade the few paltry restrictions imposed on gun traffic to do so by paying the NRA's $5 membership fee.

But it isn't necessary to join the NRA to duck the restrictions. Under the House bill anyone with $10 can buy a license as a "collector," and lay away an arsenal of second-hand rifles, pistols, or submachineguns.

And even these dodges are needless for anyone who merely wants to buy a gun to shoot somebody. He can still walk into a store in any state authorizing gun sales and buy one over the counter, ulness he has the bad fortune not to live in that state or one contiguous to it. In that case he may have to wait until he goes home.

The House, in its guns-for-everybody mood, even rejected a mild amendment by Illinois' Robert McClory that would have provided a federal spur to states to enact owner-licensing laws like the one in Illinois. One hundred and seventy-nine sterling representatives voted that down as too restrictive.

So a bill was passed that the gun people can "live with." Rep. Charles S. Joelson of New Jersey suggested that "tens of thousands of Americans can also die with it," but perhaps that's what it will take to persuade Congress that there will be no safety on the streets until it screws up the courage to say no to the NRA.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, July 27, 1968]

Investigate the NRA

Lobbying by the National Rifle association (RNA) and its loyal followers has helped riddle the house passed gun control bill with crippling amendments. This prompted Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.), chairman of the house judiciary committee and manager of the original bill, to threaten a full scale house investigation of the association and its doings.

Consider the NRA:

Here is an organization that has never registered as a lobby, yet spent a reported $131,000 last year for activities related to legislation, including mailings to members, plus about $146,000 for public relations.

Here is a group that says its mission is basically educational, not legislative, yet boasts that an NRA appeal on a particular piece of national legislation can generate a cloudburst of half a million letters to legislators.

Here is an outright lobby that has consistently fought meaningful firearms control legislation at every level, sometimes with outright distortions of fact. A thorough congressional inspection of its activities, past and present, is grievously overdue.

[From the Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune, July 26, 1968]

Gun Control Opponents Win Again

Barring a minor miracle—or perhaps another major tragedy involving firearms—Congress is not going to pass an adequate gun control law this session. Once more, it appears, lawmakers have given in to highly vocal and well organized opponents of meaningful legislation.

A bill to curb interstate mail order sales of long guns and some ammunition has cleared the House and a similar bill has been reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee. But both House and Senate balked at President Johnson's request for federal registration of all guns and state licensing of gun owners.

Not satisfied with defeat of Mr. Johnson's proposals, pro-gun forces riddled the bill with almost 100 proposed amendments, many of which provided loopholes that would dilute the already weak bill's effectiveness.

In view of the loud and emotional opposition from what we believe to be a minority of the population, the country is probably fortunate to get as much as it has in the way of increased firearms controls.

We are convinced that someday the United States, like England, Japan, France and a number of other civilized nations, will get a gun law that will keep firearms out of the hands of people who have no reasonable need of them. It is a sad commentary on the social conscience of Congress that it probably will require a few more assassinations of famous people or another series of pitched battles between police and snipers to bring about a climate in which individual lawmakers can find the nerve to vote what most of them certainly must feel right now.

Representative Charles A. Vanik (D-Ohio) hinted at this during House debate on the gun bill. "Like everyone else" he said, "I call for law and order. But I am just sick and tired of hearing some of my colleagues deplore violence and call for law and order when I have seen them go through nonrecord votes time and again and vote for amendments which would strike down adequate gun control laws."

It's the old story of deploring a bad condition but not having the fortitude to really do anything about it.

[From Newsday, July 26, 1968]

The Gun Control Bill

The House of Representatives, after a long legislative struggle, has passed a gun control bill that is a far cry from the strong measure needed in America today. But, on balance, the bill represents, at least, one more step toward sanity in the domestic arms race.

The House action shows how effective an aroused public opinion can be in influencing the Congress. A year ago, this admittedly weak bill would not have passed. For years, any measure involving federal curbs on firearms has been the target of vigorous and successful opposition from sportsmen and members of the National Rifle Association.

This year, it was only the public outcry that arose after the assassinations of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Sen. Robert Kennedy that pressed the Congress into action. The new House bill includes a ban on the interstate mail-order sale of rifles and shotguns. A similar bill has been approved in the Senate Judiciary Committee. When the Senate returns from its recess for the national political conventions, it should lose no time in approving the bill.

To their credit, Long Island's five congressmen voted for the House bill. They also voted against the amendment that exempts long-gun ammunition from the mail-order ban and in favor of amendments to strengthen the bill.

Two important gun control regulations were not included in the House bill. These called for federal registration of all firearms and federal rules making state licensing of gun owners mandatory. Effective gun control will not become a reality in the U.S. until the Congress passes a bill containing these provisions.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-Brooklyn), floor leader for the House bill, has not given up the fight. He plans to hold hearings in his House Judiciary Committee on these two provisions in September. The public pressure for effective gun control should not be relaxed until these measures are written into federal law. Even this modest bill would not have been possible had the Congress not been flooded in recent weeks with more than 1,000,000 pieces of mail demanding stricter gun laws.

While the prohibition of mail-order sales of long-guns is the strongest part of the bill passed by the House, there are other worthwhile portions that will help curb the abuse of firearms. The bill requires mandatory prison terms for those convicted of committing federal felonies while using a gun. It prohibits the sale of guns to fugitives, felons, persons under indictment, narcotics users and mental defectives, and it requires the licensing of dealers in firearms and ammunition.

This House action is encouraging. Joint action by the Senate will be one more step toward stricter controls over guns. Tougher legislation should be forthcoming. We hope no new instances or murder or assassination will be needed to prod Congress into action.

[From the Ithaca (N.Y.) Journal, July 26, 1968]

A Case for Gun Controls

If someone really wants to do you in, he will, whether or not he can lay his hands on a gun.

This statement, frequently expressed these days because of the debate over gun control laws, is plausible enough. If someone really wants to do you in, he'll find a way.

A look at actual homicide statistics, however, indicates that a substantial percentage of homicides result from attacks that were not made with the single-minded intent to kill.

Franklin E. Zimring, assistant professor of law at the University of Chicago, studied more than 1,400 homicides and 22,000 assaults recorded during 1965, 1966, and 1967 by the Chicago Police Department. His findings show that:

No less than 78 percent of all killings, as classified by the police, resulted from quarrels based on domestic problems, liquor, sex, etc.

The gun and the knife were interchangeable weapons for persons who resorted to violence to settle personal arguments.

Some 70 per cent of all gun homicides resulted from a single wound, although a "single-minded intent to kill" should prompt the attacker to insure his result by multiple wounding.

Knife attacks resulted in more multiple woundings than gun attacks, yet there were five times as many killings by gun as by knife.

Prof. Zimring thus concludes that the elimination of guns would reduce the number of homicides.

Perhaps we can never solve the problem of interpersonal violence. But perhaps we can make it a little less deadly?

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, July 26, 1968]

CONGRESS DEAF TO GUN CONTROL CLAMOR

At times Congress reminds us of the old man who seemed to be conveniently deaf to all unpleasant conversations but never failed to hear an invitation to have a drink, even if uttered in a whisper at a distance of 30 feet.

Assassinations, growing rates of other armed crimes and a rising din of gunfire in racially troubled areas have built up an unprecedented demand throughout the country for effective curbs on firearms and ammunition.

Indicative of that demand was a Harris Poll of a month ago which showed 81 per cent of the American people favor a law which would require the registration of all guns.

This being an election year in which congressmen are supposed to have their ears to the ground, one might expect that popular sentiment as strong as that might find its way into appropriate legislation.

Instead, both the House and the Senate have now shown they probably won't pass anything but a watered-down weapons control bill at this session. Yet, the House, while unmoved by public opinion, was quick to hear and respond to the desire of the National Rifle Association, the chief lobbyist against gun registration, for the continued use of free government guns and ammunition for its target practice clubs.

Numerically the NRA is but a whisper as compared with the millions of citizens who desire adequate gun regulations yet its influence is so great on Capitol Hill that Rep. Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, believes it should be investigated as an "insidious" force.

We believe he may have something there.

About all the country is likely to get in the form of firearms control this year is a ban on the mail-order sale of guns and a ban on mail-order sale of ammunition for handguns. It would be a delusion to hope that such a mild enactment would really accomplish much.

Gun ownership in this country is increasing at a frightening rate. Last year more than 4½ million guns were sold, an increase of 132 percent over the number sold as recently as 1963.

Every day in this country more than 50 persons die of gunshots. In 1967 there were 7,700 gun homicides, 11,000 gunshot suicides and 2,800 accidental gunshot deaths.

In addition to those who were killed, 100,000 persons were injured with guns.

Victims of armed robberies and aggravated assaults with firearms totaled 126,000 last year.

Since 1900, 800,000 Americans have lost their lives through homicides, suicides and accidents and that is more lives than have been expended in all the wars in our history.

The statistics will grow even more appalling under the proposals Congress now appears to favor. As a minimum a gun registration law should be enacted. Until it is, firearms control must be considered a major item in the nation's unfinished business.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch,
July 26, 1968]

A WEAK GUN BILL

The firearms control bill approved by the House represents only the slightest advance toward a civilized concept of the proper uses and regulations for guns.

A month and a half ago, after the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, Congress was nearly swamped by spontaneous appeals for serious gun controls. Since then the well-organized National Rifle Association has counterattacked so successfully that it seems to have recaptured the House.

Thus the House added rifles and shotguns to the handguns whose mail order sales were prohibited a month ago. This is progress of a sort, in view of the historic vacuum of any kind of general gun regulations. But it is not a serious effort to restrict the widespread availability of weapons, or to discourage their misuse by making guns traceable through registration and licensing of their owners.

In fact, the House voted overwhelmingly against any such thing. It went further. It happily swallowed a proposal by an NRA member to exclude from its bill the National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice, a civilian-military group allied with the NRA. Representative Celler of New York observed that this would exempt the NRA from the mail-order ban, and he correctly termed the amendment "dreadful."

The House acted just after an eruption of violence in Cleveland that left 10 dead, illustrating again how easy it is for individuals to collect semi-automatic weapons and to build private armories, without even identification. Registration and licensing are required to permit such identification, and we think the Senate should adopt these measures, as President Johnson has urged.

It makes no sense to contend, as the NRA does, that registration would not reduce the firearms toll. Americans are dying from gunfire at the rate of one every half-hour, the Justice Department says. No other Western nation comes close to that tragic record, and it is hardly coincidental that no other Western nation is so lacking in gun controls.

Evidently the House bought the myth that guns are nearly sacred to Americans. Even those who prize weapons so much ought to be willing to register their ownership. But the record of gunfire in this country has become more and more profane. How much more will it take to persuade Congress to do something meaningful about it?

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
July 24, 1968]

DEATH MARCHES ON

The United States Senate, sometimes referred to as the world's greatest deliberative body, has been deliberating for quite some time now on legislative proposals designed to reduce the slaughter of Americans by gunfire. The original Dodd bill which sought no more than to end the mail order traffic in firearms was introduced not long after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy about four and a half years ago; but the Senate has not yet made up its mind whether to forbid shipment in interstate traffic of carbines like the one used in that assassination. The Tydings bill aimed at the registration of guns and the licensing of gun owners was introduced about six weeks ago not long after the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. And the Administration bill, similar in purpose, was introduced about a month ago. But the Senate has not yet made up its mind about either of them.

It is not as though a cease-fire had been arranged during all this deliberation. The killing goes right on while the Senate deliberates. According to figures recently released by the Department of Justice, it goes on at the rate of one death by gunfire—here in the United States—every half hour.

After a while, it adds up, you know. We calculate that since the introduction of the Tydings bill about 2100 Americans have lost their lives—by homicide, by suicide, by accident—because guns were put in criminal or irresponsible hands. Congress can do something about this; it can cut down the loss of life. We don't want the Senate to act hastily, of course—or in any sort of emotion or panic or hysteria. But we do think some sense of emergency might be in order.

[From the Nashville Tennessean, July 26, 1968]

A FALTERING STEP ON GUNS

Congress has finally begun to move toward enactment of a bill to curb somewhat a national traffic in firearms that continues to produce tragedy and shock almost daily.

While the bill was being debated in the House of Representatives, and opposed by some of those crying loudest for law and order, black militants in Cleveland were able to open fire on police with military rifles, carbines and a machinegun.

In Tennessee, federal authorities have been able to turn up only three of 100 "Spitfire" .45 caliber rifles sold here by mail. The weapons can be turned into submachine guns with a little tinkering. The public can only hope the other 97 are controlled by sane minds.

The gun control bill passed by the House may end some of this traffic, but enough loopholes have been punched in the legislation to make it questionable.

By overwhelming votes, the House rejected President Johnson's proposals for registration of guns or the licensing of gun owners. The key provision left prohibits mail order sales of rifles, shotguns and handgun ammunition. An earlier bill outlawed mail sales of handguns.

One of the exemptions provides, apparently, that anyone who styles himself a collector of relics and curios can continue to order guns through the mail. In addition, anyone can continue to order shotgun and rifle ammunition by mail.

A Senate committee has cleared a similar bill, which is now headed for a vote on the floor. The Senate seems somewhat more in favor of stronger controls and may be able to kill some of the House amendments. But the National Rifle Association again has its followers in full cry, and the bill may end up simply prohibiting some people from ordering guns through the post office. Or it could end up in a cubbyhole.

There is clearly room for state action in the field. But the nation's governors, meeting in Cincinnati, left little hope of that as they passed a noncommittal resolution on the subject. And one problem in a good many states, including Tennessee, is that existing laws are not enforced.

While congressional action may be a faltering step forward, the reality remains that the deranged and the criminal still have wide avenues open to the gun market.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register,
July 25, 1968]

FIREARMS AND VIOLENT CRIME

Considerable off-target criticism is being fired at the firearms control law now pending in Congress. Critics assert that of 3,243,370 serious crimes committed in the United States in 1966, only 3.4 per cent involved firearms. However, most of these crimes were burglaries, larcenies and auto thefts. Firearms were used in 59.3 per cent of the 10,920 homicides, 18.8 per cent of the 231,000 aggravated assaults and 38.9 per cent of the 153,420 robberies.

Criticism also is peppered at a comparison made by Senator Joseph Tydings (Dem., Md.) between states with strong and weak gun control laws. The states with strong laws had lower homicide rates committed by guns and lower overall murder rates. The critics say other states could be chosen to blur this conclusion.

We believe a comparison of state gun laws and state crime rates supports the Tydings conclusion. The FBI statistical summary for 1966 shows the South had 8.9 homicides per 100,000 population, compared with a U.S. figure of 5.6, a rate for the Northeast of 3.6, North Central, 4.4; and West, 4.3. The Southern States generally have weak gun laws which are casually enforced.

There are states, such as Iowa, with relatively weak firearms laws which still have low homicide rates. Iowa's rate, for instance, is 1.6 per 100,000—one of the lowest in the nation. But this merely shows that gun laws aren't the sole determiner of a state's homicide rate.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, interpreting these data, said: "The easy accessibility of firearms and the lethal nature of the gun are clearly apparent in these murder figures." He explained one of the reasons for this: "When assaults by type of weapon are examined, a gun proves seven times more deadly than all other weapons combined."

No one argues that firm gun controls will eliminate all gun crimes. Other factors are involved—poverty, population density, the level of law enforcement and public attitudes.

What we do argue is that *one* important factor in the level of gun violence is the laws which affect the ease with which criminals and unstable persons can obtain guns.

In addition, gun registration and control give law enforcement officers a valuable additional weapon against crime. Former New York Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy has pointed "to the simple fact that we are able to make arrests for the illegal possession of pistols and revolvers before the possessor has had the opportunity to commit a crime of violence. . . . We have been able to prevent many crimes of violence by such arrests."

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, July 13, 1968]

Gun Speaks Anew for Its Control

Vicious wholesale killers with guns continue to make monkeys out of the National Rifle Association and its agitated lobby against sane gun-control laws.

The latest incident occurred in the Bronx borough of New York City where a man with a completely automated gun senselessly killed three persons and wounded a fourth.

This wanton slaying took place just a week after another maniacal gunman in New York City's Central Park killed a young woman and injured three men. It was that burst of gunfire which led President Lyndon B. Johnson to renew his plea to Congress to pass a bill requiring the registration of all guns and the licensing of all gun owners.

As the President said many deaths ago: "What in the name of conscience will it take to obtain proper gun controls?"

The NRA may say now that no law could have averted this latest tragedy in New York. That has been its answer to almost every gun murder.

But why in heaven's name does the NRA object to allowing the nation to find out if proper gun-control laws will not have some value in checking crime? This gun-flooded country repeatedly finds its citizenry killed by mad killers and the NRA constantly assumes the absurd position that making it more difficult for criminals and the sick to obtain guns would have no effect in checking this slaughter.

Over and over again the NRA and its dupes have parrotted the contention gun control will lead to the confiscation of all guns. This is one of the NRA's most inane arguments.

Has regulation of business led to confiscation of business? Palpably not. The capitalist system has been given a new security by regulation. Nor has licensing of dogs led to their confiscation. Nor has licensing of marriage led to the establishment of a huge concubinage.

It is way past time to reject the arguments of the NRA and bring gun-control laws abreast of the twentieth century.

[From the New York Times, July 19, 1968]

Drop Those Guns

Congress would make a major contribution to the health and sanity of the American people in this tense, troubled season by enacting a *comprehensive* gun control law. The threat of violence hangs like a heavy pall over the nation. The next outbreak could come anywhere and at any time from a political terrorist, a suddenly angered crowd on a street corner, or the quiet man next door gone berserk.

The threat is real and terrifying because in the United States the ruthless, the angry, and the mentally sick find it so easy to get their hands on guns. No other advanced industrial society in the rest of the world permits such easy access to deadly weapons. Americans suffer the consequences of their laxness. As former Justice Arthur Goldberg pointed out yesterday in announcing the formation of the New York State Emergency Committee for Gun Control, an American is killed or wounded by gunfire an average of every two minutes of every day.

Congress can cut down this carnage. The House of Representatives is scheduled to vote today on a bill to ban the interstate mail order sale or rifles and shotguns, a companion measure to the ban enacted earlier on the interstate sale of pistols and revolvers. This measure is all right so far as it goes, but it does not go nearly far enough.

It is imperative that Congress approve the bipartisan amendments sponsored by Representatives McClory of Illinois and Bingham of New York to require the registration of every gun and the licensing of every gun owner with the police. The prattle about "hardships" for sportsmen is silly. Gun registration would be no more of a hardship than it is walking to the post office to buy stamps or applying to the State Department for a passport.

Let no Congressman think that he will have done his duty by voting for a mail order ban on rifles and shotguns. This issue is not going to go away until registration and licensing are required by law.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, July 16, 1968]

Facts on Gun Control

Opponents of gun control legislation continue to repeat by vote the assertion that licensing and registration of firearms would not lessen violence. To our knowledge, they have presented no evidence supporting this view.

The opposite conclusion—that gun controls would limit violence—does have ample supporting documentation. Senator Joseph Tydings (Dem., Md.), the sponsor, of a stiff firearms control bill, cites some of this evidence in the Congressional Record.

He compares the percentage of murders committed with guns and the homicide rates of states with relatively strong gun laws and those with weak laws or none. The study covers the four years, 1962–66.

STRONG LAWS

	Percent of murders with guns	Homicide rate per 100,000
Pennsylvania	43.2	3.2
New Jersey	38.6	3.5
New York	31.8	4.8
Massachusetts	35.3	2.4
Rhode Island	24.0	1.4

WEAK LAWS

	Percent of murders with guns	Homicide rate per 100,000
Florida	66.0	(1)
Arizona	66.4	6.1
Nevada	66.9	10.6
Texas	68.7	9.1
Mississippi	70.9	9.7
Louisiana	62.0	9.9

[1] Not available.

Since 1960, firearms have been the weapons used in 322 (96 per cent) of 335 murders of police officers. Some 53 officers were killed in the northeastern states, 60 in western states, 71 in north central states and 151 in southern states. The northeast has the most stringent gun control laws. The weakest laws are in southern states.

During the three years, 1964–1966, assaults with a gun increased 36 per cent. Guns were used in 11.7 per cent of the aggravated assaults committed in northeastern states, 18.5 per cent in western states, 19.2 per cent in north central states, and 23.5 per cent in southern states.

The evidence is even more overwhelming when the U.S. experience is compared with that of other industrialized countries.

Britain has rigid gun controls, including the requiring of a certificate from local police before a long gun can be purchased. In a recent three-year period in England and Wales, 400,000 criminals were arrested and only 150 were carrying guns. Guns are used in only 10 per cent of the homicides in England; 60 per cent in the U.S. The annual gun homicide rate in the U.S. is 2.7 per 100,000; in England it is 0.05.

The gun murder rate in the United States is five times the rate of Australia, 10 times the rate of Belgium, five times the rate of Canada, 20 times the rate of Denmark, 54 times the rate of Great Britain, 23 times the rate of the German Federal Republic, 67 times the rate of Japan and 90 times the rate of the Netherlands. All these nations have firearms control laws.

Those who say there is no evidence that gun control legislation would lessen violence are unwilling to look at the evidence. Their minds are made up. They don't want to be confused by the facts.

Izaak Walton League

The Izaak Walton League, an organization of sportsmen with more than 10,000 Iowa members, the largest membership of any state, in its annual convention in Denver last week, passed a resolution repeating its stubborn opposition to "any effort to require the general registration of firearms."

The League said it would support efforts to prevent gun possession by felons and mentally incompetent persons, and it advocated state laws establishing penalties for use of firearms in commission of a crime. But registration, most police authorities agree, is essential to such purposes.

Wildlife protective organizations receive a share of federal excise taxes on guns and ammunition and state hunting license fees for their conservation work. This may influence the League in its anti-gun-control posture, but it should not. Even the noble cause of conservation, in support of which we take a backseat to nobody, does not justify promoting the unlimited sale of guns and ammunition. Besides, earmarked taxes and license fees are not the only or the best way to finance conservation.

The main argument of the League, however, has been to parrot the mischievous claim of the National Rifle Association which misinterprets the constitutional "right to bear arms."

We have often expressed our admiration for the conservation activities of the Izaak Walton League. But we find its blind resistance to gun control contrary to the public interest. It is also contrary to the special interest of sportsmen, who have the most to gain from the responsible regulation of firearms and the most to lose from public anger at groups which resist the overwhelming public demand for firearms control.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Sunday Bulletin, July 28, 1968]

Shot Full of Holes

When Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, threw in the towel early this month on gun registration in order to preserve the ban on mail order guns, the assumption was that at least this provision would come through strong.

It is a doleful commentary on Congress that this expectation now seems unlikely to be realized. And the nation's governors, meeting in Cincinnati, contributed little in the way of support by passing a resolution calling only for "appropriate legislation within each state."

The primary responsibility, however, rests with Congress and the House and the Senate Judiciary Committee have now approved bills dealing with mail order rifles, shotguns and ammunition but with major weaknesses in them.

Both bills, for instance, have been amended to allow anyone registering as a collector, through purchase of a $10 license, to buy and sell guns by mail across state lines. The Senate committee bill grants the same privilege at the same price for "dealers" to buy guns by the lot.

Both bills also make an exception in their bans on interstate sales of ammunition for shotgun and rifle ammunition. And the House bill even adds a loophole for .22 caliber rimfire pistol bullets—the kind that killed Sen. Robert Kennedy.

It is little wonder that the gun lobby feels it "can live" with the bills. But it makes all the more telling the comment of Rep. Vanik of Ohio who said:

"I am sick and tired of hearing some of my colleagues deplore violence and call for law and order when I have seen them go through teller (nonrecord) votes time and again and vote for amendments which would strike down adequate gun control laws."

The mail-order sale of handguns—pistols and revolvers—was restricted in an omnibus crimes act enacted earlier by Congress and signed by President Johnson. Thus, there has been congressional action to halt the open and easy flow of weapons.

But surveys show that the American people wanted more than such restrictions. New Jersey's Senator Case reported that he alone received 80,000 communications, most of them demanding far stiffer controls.

Final action on the legislation has been put off by the Senate until September. It may be that the Senate will be more responsive to the pleas of the general public. But, as Attorney General Clark said, those against stronger gun controls have been the more vocal.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, July 25, 1968]

A Hoodlum's Gun

Eighteen-year-old James O. Severe went to work this summer at a Baltimore County service station in order to earn money for his tuition at Loyola College next September.

Now young Severe is dead. He died at Johns Hopkins Hospital, never regaining consciousness after receiving a holdup man's bullet in the head.

So a promising youngster has been cut down by a hoodlum's gun once again—a tragic, wasteful loss of life.

We wonder how many such killings we must endure before our political leaders at the state and national level are impelled to take simple, elementary precautions against this type of gunplay and institute stringent controls on the sale and possession of firearms.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, July 25, 1968]

As Shots Rang Out in Cleveland

The new outbreak of racial disorder in Cleveland, which began with a group of Negroes armed with carbines and automatic weapons opening fire on a police cruiser, conveys on its face a sinister impression of planned violence.

This is heightened by the statement of Mayor Carl B. Stokes that "a definable group" is involved and by statements police attributed to a black nationalist leader arrested.

If planned, this outbreak would further stress the irreconcilable nature, the destructive and anarchistic bent of extremist elements, as hostile to Negroes in positions of political authority as to whites. It was not a white mayor, but the first Negro to be elected mayor of a major U.S. city, who reluctantly was forced to agree that the early presence of National Guardsmen, later withdrawn, was required in the violence-torn area.

And it was as a responsible official that Mayor Stokes addressed the citizens of Cleveland, sought their cooperation "to bring this terrible night to an end," and declared firmly that he did not intend to permit "this kind of lawlessness and violence to go unchecked in this community."

Responsible and determined official action at all levels of government in America is needed to cope with the violence that blights our society, whoever is involved in it, and especially when it is made more deadly by the use of firearms in fanatic, criminal, and irresponsible hands.

But as gunfire rang out on Cleveland's streets, the U.S. House of Representatives, responsive to the gun lobby, was shooting down efforts at tough control legislation.

[From the Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune, July 22, 1968]

House Gun "Control" Is No Solution

Congress is still toying with effective gun control legislation. The House, in its latest floor action on the subject, sliced registration away from a pending bill, then threw out a crumb in the form of mandatory jail terms for federal crimes committed with firearms. This indifference to nationwide support of more gun control should not be allowed to prevail.

While public opinion polls and prominent spokesmen for long established humanitarian causes unanimously favor strong laws to curb promiscuous gun-handling, congressional reaction has been argumentative and half-hearted.

Until the latest control efforts, aroused by the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Congress this year did no more than ban mail order sales of guns, far less than requested by the Johnson Administration.

But while the murder of another public leader focused new attention on widespread misuse of firearms in the United States and prompted reintroduction of control proposals, results so far have been inadequate.

Federal gun registration would have standardized countrywide procedures for obtaining and keeping dangerous weapons. It would have replaced the varying and often nonexistent state laws and increased law officers' ability to keep guns away from people who should not own them. It would not eliminate crimes committed with guns, but it would be a big stride in the right direction.

By defeating registration, the House has again turned a deaf ear on the message of rising violence. Making federal felonies committed while armed punishable by a mandatory prison sentence is not an advance. It is a hollow grandstand play. Federal felonies are relatively few and the number perpetrated with guns annually is only a few thousand. State felonies involving guns total about one million cases a year.

The basic issue is keeping firearms away from unstable, immature, unreliable or untrained persons. A better screening device is necessary. The House has unwisely ruled against federal registration as part of the screening procedure. And it did so by such a margin as to discourage Senate action to restore registration.

Still before the House are provisions for banning rifle, shotgun and ammunition sales by mail order. These restrictions have even more public support than registration, and only an attitude bordering on arrogant defiance would lead congressmen to vote no once again.

If senseless gunshot killings and property destruction caused daily by deranged and irresponsible people is to be curtailed, elected leaders must respond with the kind of protective legislation that is obviously needed.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 22, 1968]

Gun Registration

Registration of firearms is the indispensable device for imposing responsibility on the possessors of these lethal weapons. Since the House of Representatives on Friday rejected this device, there is now no more than a faint hope the Senate will adopt it before the close of the 90th Congress and make its wisdom prevail when the gun control bill goes to conference. Yet the case for registration is a compelling one and, as the Gallup poll has demonstrated in repeated samplings of the American public, four out of five citizens see it as a protection of their safety, not as a limitation of their liberty.

Registration would impose a hardship only on persons with a record of criminal conviction, of mental illness, of drug addiction or of alcoholism. It would mean that such persons would find it very difficult—in a violation of law subject to severe penalty—to purchase or possess firearms. Is that bad? It would mean that no one could lawfully sell or give a firearm to such persons. Does that seem unreasonable?

A system of compulsory Federal registration of all firearms would mean, as Attorney General Clark told a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee not long ago, that "authorities in every part of the country would be able to trace the ownership of a registered gun in a matter of seconds." Thus, it would serve as an effective means of tracing criminals who used guns for the commission of their crimes. Moreover, no one could legally purchase ammunition for a gun that was not registered. This would interfere very seriously with the use of guns for criminal purposes. But it would not interfere in any way with the use of guns for hunting or target shooting by responsible, law-abiding citizens who registered them in the same simple, straightforward way they register their automobiles or their dogs.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, who comes from the wide open spaces of Montana where hunting is an almost universal pastime, felt impelled some time ago in his own reflective, conscientious, way to express support for a national firearms registration law. A tragic incident led Sen. Mansfield to this decision, unpopular no doubt with many of his constituents—the fatal shooting here in the District of Columbia of a young Marine from Montana. Sen. Mansfield's preference for the Tydings bill over the Administration bill is a principled one. The Tydings bill would impose Federal registration only after the states themselves were afforded an opportunity to require firearms registration. For our own part, we have a preference for the direct Federal control as more likely to prove effective. But by one route or the other, control over firearms must be achieved—for the public safety and in conformity with the popular will.

PEOPLE ARE INDIVIDUALS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], who is necessarily absent today, I ask unanimous consent that a statement by him and a speech delivered by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield] to the American Advertising Federation be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Statement by Senator Hansen

Oregon's distinguished junior Senator, Mark O. Hatfield, presented an important address recently to the American Advertising Federation meeting in Portland, Oreg.

His speech spelled out the opportunity and challenge that is ours to help people as individuals—and to recognize people's needs as fellow human beings—rather than always to view them as part of some impersonal group.

The observations Senator HATFIELD made in the speech carry the ring of truth and make a strong case for reaching out to others as interested individuals in the monumental effort which will be ours in the coming decade that he refers to as the "social reconstruction of our country." If this cannot be accomplished, we will reap a bitter harvest for our disinterest and lack of courage.

Senator HATFIELD's thoughts make a great deal of sense; I commend the speech to Senators and to others who are concerned about the needs and the identity of our people:

"ADDRESS BY SENATOR MARK O. HATFIELD AT THE AMERICAN ADVERTISING FEDERATION, PORTLAND, OREG., JULY 8, 1986

"Several weeks ago, L. W. 'Bill' Lane wrote me a letter outlining what he hoped I would talk about today. He suggested that I address myself to 'the opportunities and inspirational challenges in the years ahead for responsible businesses and their leaders.'

"I have decided to narrow my topic somewhat. I have decided not to talk to you as businessmen and leaders. These are labels that only identify you as a group, that describe your professional circumstances. Instead, I want to go beyond the labels and talk to you as people, as men and women of unusual talent.

"This business of labels is frankly dangerous. The moment you apply one to another human being and regard him as merely belonging to a larger group you have depersonalized him. You no longer address yourself to his characteristics and needs as an individual but to the very broad characteristics and needs of the *group* you have placed him in. Communication and empathy are often choked off in the process and, as they are, suspicion and hostility are heightened.

"We have seen this cycle in operation in several areas of our national life. The more we have underscored the differences between poor and rich, between black and white, between those over thirty and under thirty; and the more we have polarized Americans into opposing groups the more difficult it has become to communicate with each other. Each side addresses the other on the basis of its own illusory stereotypes. The inevitable misunderstandings breed greater tension and hostility.

"If we are to ease the disparity between rich and poor, if we are to unite black and white Americans, if we are to reconcile the young and old we are going to have to discard these labels. We are going to have to start helping people as individuals with individual problems rather than as identical members of some sociological group.

"The poor, black, and young have been trying to tell us this. A very popular button among students today is one that reads: 'I am a person. Please do not fold, staple, or multilate.' During the garbage strike demonstrations in Memphis earlier this year, hundreds of black workers carried placards reading simply: 'I am a man.' Negroes are *people* first and black second. The economically deprived are *people* first and poor second. Students are *individuals* first and young second. If we want to help these currently alienated people we must remember this. When our assistance to another person is motivated by our different colored skins or different level of affluence, we are patronizing him. We are acting out of pity for his *circumstances* rather than out of compassion for his needs as a fellow human being.

"Government programs very often fall short of their objectives because they are designed to meet the characteristics of groups rather than the needs of people. Government bureaucrats tend to think in terms of programs, and projects, and appropriations, and philosophies and policies, and not in terms in of people. Social programs are not geared to meet the needs of individuals but the demands of society as a whole. The current welfare system is a good example. Our hodgepodge of welfare programs were not designed to make the recipient independent and economically productive but were basically designed to *maintain* this person at the least expense to the taxpayers. Mitchell Ginsberg, Commissioner of New York City Social Services Department, has observed that the current welfare system 'is designed to save money rather than people and the tragedy is that it does neither.' Thus we have a system that perpetrates poverty rather than eliminating it; that fails to help the individual improve his circumstances but instead subsidizes his circumstances.

"At their best, the majority of government programs only affect the individual indirectly. There are, of course, ways in which federal money can be used to improve slum housing, public schools and job opportunities but just changing the environment is not the final answer. We need to reach people directly, to restore their self confidence and pride as well as their homes; we need to train them *how* to work as well as provide them with jobs. This requires personal interaction and a concern for people as individuals and not merely as members of some neighborhood project.

"I want to tell you about some young people who reached the conclusion that federal programs and institutional answers were not sufficient. A number of young college students work in my Senate office as interns, largely on a volunteer basis. They do everything from helping with the mail to running the mimeograph machine. These young people met informally every Wednesday evening after work with several of my regular staff members trying to come to grips with the urban crisis and problems of the poor. They hoped to develop a federal program that would help in resolving these problems. After many frustrating weeks they concluded that governmental action could not go far enough, that such programs were too impersonal and largely incapable of reaching the individual people caught in the vicious circle of poverty. The Wednesday night meetings quickly changed their focus as the interns decided that if they really wanted to do something to help they would have to become personally involved. It wasn't long before they had decided on a plan. They contacted a Vista worker they knew and asked him if he could round up a dozen young men who needed summer jobs from the slum area where he worked. Then the interns went out in teams to one of the wealthier suburban areas. They went from door to door asking homeowners if they would be willing to hire the negro youths to do yard work on a regular basis. After several evenings of canvassing, they had enough jobs lined up to keep the boys employed during most of the summer. But the boys are receiving much more from this program than spending money. Many of the homeowners have made a sincere effort to reach these ghetto youths and establish a personal rapport with them outside the employer-employee relationship. So far the program has worked extremely well. And while the project has only reached a few ghetto youths, it is hoped that next summer they will have the know-how and self confidence to set the program up for themselves and to help organize their friends.

"I must frankly admit that my contribution to this effort was solely in the form of advice and encouragement. The interns developed the idea and did all of the work and I am very, very proud of them.

"I think what they have done should be instructive to the rest of us. First, these young people had very little more to work with than their enthusiasm. They had no financial resources to offer, no specialized skills, no reservoir of acquaintances that they could contact for help. They had nothing going for them but their determination.

"Second, they recognized that limitations of governmental and institutional action. They realized that the poor are not a faceless mass that could be dealt with in the collective but many individual people that needed help on an individual basis.

"Unfortunately, this realization runs contrary to the trend of our society during the last thiry years. Since the days of the New Deal we have looked increasingly to government and in institutions to assure the welfare of our citizens. To a greater and greater extent we have believed that our responsibilities to society and our fellow man were met by paying taxes, supporting expanded social programs, and making a yearly contribution to the United Fund. We have done a very neat job of institutionalizing compassion.

"The extent of this trend has been vividly brought home to me. I recently learned of an instance where a permanently bedridden woman needed assistance for about one hour a day to enable her to bathe and change the bandages on her foot. Twenty-five of this woman's friends and neighbors wrote to their representative in Congress describing what a wonderful woman she was. They asked if there wasn't a Federal program available to help her pay for someone to come in that one hour a day. It isn't hard for me to remember back to a time when almost everyone in the community would have gladly spent an hour every few weeks to make their neighbors life a little easier. They would have been shocked at the suggestion that they turn to government to find someone to look after their friend.

"We must restore to our society a greater sense of *personal* responsibility for the well-being of others. 'I am my brother's keeper' is not just a rather passé religious dictum. This philosophy is the cement that binds individual men into a society—much as mortar holds bricks together to form a building.

"I want to take this opportunity to commend the advertising industry for two campaigns I am aware of that attempt to awaken the American people to their individual responsibility for the welfare of others. Many of you no doubt know of the campaign being conducted in New York City this summer. Young & Rubicam is the volunteer agency working with Mayor Lindsay's office in an effort to involve the affluent suburbs in the problems of the ghetto. The appeal will appear in all media. I was very impressed with the New York Times description of one hard-hitting t.v. spot. '(It) opens with a simple printed message. "Send your kid to a ghetto for the summer." Then Negro actor Lincoln Kilpatrick appears with Harlem youngsters playing in a Harlem gutter behind him. "There are all kinds of facilities here," he says as if he were a camp director making a pitch. The pools, he points out on his tour, are the gutters when the hydrants are open. The ball fields are the teeming streets. And field trips, picnics, and nature studies are held in trash-strewn lots. Even when the busy day is over, he says, the kid has plenty of company—three or four to a bed. "You don't want your kids to play here this summer?" he asks. "Then don't expect ours to," he adds stingingly. On the screen flashes, "Give jobs. Give money. Give a damn." '

" 'Give a damn' is the message broadcast to the New York City suburbs and the same theme is echoed in a national campaign conducted by the Advertising Council. This $25-million campaign also attempts to persuade Americans to involve themselves in urban and racial problems.

"These efforts are an excellent beginning and the focus on middle-class white Americans is appropriate. I have long felt that just as we send missionaries into the city's slums we must also send ambassadors into suburbia. The gap between the rich and poor, between black and white, is not just a matter of money and skin color. It is very much a gap in human understanding. Each side sees the other in terms of the stereotypes that have been applied to it. There is no real communication between the two, just growing suspicion and hostility. It is here that you can make a tremendous contribution in reconciling the black and white societies. You are experts in communication. Your prospects of survival in the business world very much depend on your ability to understand people and appeal to their many instincts and motives. We are only now beginning to think of using your talents in solving social problems and have just begun to recognize the promise of social advertising. I would hope that you in the advertising field will take greater pains to make politicians and public figures aware of this potential.

"I realize I have not outlined for you any specific courses of action. To have done so would be an exercise in futility, because there is no uniformity in your individual circumstances or in the conditions of the communities you are a part of. Likewise, I have not felt that it was necessary to detail for you the challenges of the years ahead. It is obvious to any aware American that our most pressing domestic problems in the coming decade will be the social reconstruction of our country. I have just a few final thoughts on the opportunities that I hope you, and all Americans, will seize in helping our nation to meet this challenge.

"I want to emphasize again, that there are very definite limitations on what government can do to eliminate poverty and ease racial tensions. Government can furnish financial resources and act as a stimulus to private action but it cannot provide the personal interaction and compassion that is vital to the solution of social problems. Private enterprise can undertake a larger role—particularly in finding more jobs for the unskilled and in being willing to give on-the-job training. But the greatest burdens will fall on each one of us as individuals. And here the opportunities to help are unlimited. We all have some spare time, some special talents that can be shared with others. If all our people are to have the privileges that are now largely enjoyed by the white and the affluent, it will require a sincere and lasting commitment by millions of Americans. We must train ourselves to reach out beyond the labels we apply to others. Our purpose should not be a patronizing effort to help *black* people or *poor* people but to help other *men* who share our needs and desires. If our relationship with those we are trying to help cannot be reduced to our common denominator as simple human beings, then we will never really reach each other. There will be no genuine understanding and only the illusion of communication. Our efforts will amount to no more than two shadows groping to touch each other as the lights go out."

HUMAN RIGHTS: THERE IS STILL TIME

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, in another 3 days Congress will adjourn for the presidential nominating conventions. Regrettably, no action has been taken this session on the human rights conventions, nor is any action likely before the upcoming adjournment on August 3.

But there still is time to act. As a result of the ongoing struggle over the Supreme Court nominations, Congress will reconvene after Labor Day for an indefinite period of time. We will still have an opportunity to ratify the conventions in the present session of Congress.

Mr. President, 1968 has not been a particularly happy or fruitful year for us. It has been a year which has seen two political assassinations—assassinations which have deprived the Nation of two of its most promising and outstanding young leaders. It has been a year which has seen another fearful outbreak of genocide—a systematic and methodical attempt to exterminate an entire people. We are presently witnessing such an attempt in Africa, where there is serious danger that by standing by much longer we may find it too late to do anything about it.

This year has also seen another round of race riots in our urban centers, a round in the ever-increasing spiral of violence for which there is no end in sight. Other problems continue to plague us: crime in the streets, Vietnam, a discontented student body—the list is seemingly endless.

Mr. President, it is time for us to turn the corner. It is incumbent upon us to end this session of Congress on an optimistic note. We can do so by reaffirming our faith in our Founding Fathers, by reaffirming that this is a nation dedicated to the proposition that—

> All men are created equal—endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights.

Mr. President, the human rights conventions are designed to insure that all peoples of the world, whatever their nationality, will not be deprived of these unalienable rights. I can think of no better way of ending this year on a note of optimism than to ratify these conventions. There still is time, Mr. President.

NEEDED: COMMONSENSE GUIDELINES

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], who is necessarily absent today, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement by him and an editorial entitled "Degraded Water," published in the Casper, Wyo., Star-Tribune of July 13, 1968.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HANSEN

The State of Wyoming and most of the other western states have been engaged in a long-standing and far-ranging discussion with the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration over guidelines regarding water pollution.

That agency, now a part of the Department of the Interior, has established rules and regulations in this field that we feel are totally unrealistic as they relate to our specific problems.

To that end, the Casper, Wyoming, Star-Tribune recently published a lead editorial dealing with the subject of "Degraded Water" which points up in clear terms how the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration's degradation guidelines are playing hob with our State's plans for industrial development and continued progress.

The editorial notes: "All of the major sources of pollution in Wyoming rivers have been eliminated."

[From the Casper (Wyo.) Star-Tribune, July 13, 1968]

DEGRADED WATER

It will come as a surprise to most Wyomingites to learn that the state law on stream pollution does not meet federal standards.

Wyoming is one of a dozen states which have not passed state laws which meet federal "guidelines" set forth by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall.

Yet this state is among those leading the nation in cleaning up its rivers and streams.

The North Platte is an example of cleaning up pollution and has been cited in national publications. Casper refineries spent around $2 million in the middle 1950's to keep waste out of the river. All of the major sources of pollution in Wyoming rivers have been eliminated.

Most of the rivers in Wyoming had little pollution to begin with, compared to overloaded, waste-clogged rivers of the middle west and other parts of the country.

The seeming paradox is found in an arbitrary guideline set up by the Federal Government, which forbids "any degradation" whatsoever of waters.

For example, the North Platte runs crystal clear at Saratoga. Yet if water was diverted here for irrigation and the runoff returned to the North Platte, it would be considered "degraded" to some extent because it might carry more mineral content from irrigated lands.

You can't use water for any purpose and return it to a stream without some degree of "degradation," it seems.

Senator Cliff Hansen and the governors of most of the western states have objected to the strict interpretation of the "degradation" guideline.

They realize that enforcement of such a rule might halt industry in its tracks in Wyoming.

The ruling might have some application in populous and heavy industrialized states where the cost of clearing up rivers and streams is staggering and will take years to realize.

But it makes no sense in a state like Wyoming which is far from realizing its industrial potential. There should be a more common sense guideline which measures stream pollution on a scientific basis, such as parts per million of foreign particles.

No river can be perfect in the matter of pollution, or we would all be drinking distilled water.

Even rain picks up dust from the atmosphere and is "degraded" as it falls to earth.

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB ADDRESS BY SENATOR GRIFFIN

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, on July 30, I was in attendance when the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN] addressed the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., concerning the two pending nominations to the Supreme Court.

In a prepared speech, and during the question-and-answer period, the Senator from Michigan clearly articulated the compelling reasons for opposing Senate confirmation of the nominations.

I believe that his outstanding presentation should be read by all Senators as they consider this all-important matter.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Senator GRIFFIN's remarks and the transcript of the question-and-answer session be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY U.S. SENATOR ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, JULY 30, 1968

President Cromley, distinguished guests, and members of the National Press Club, last night I had a crazy dream—I'm sure some would call it a nightmare:

Barry Goldwater was President—and he was serving out the last months of his Administration, after announcing that he would *not* be a candidate for reelection.

In my dream, Chief Justice Warren was a Republican. There was great concern in high places that the country might be swinging toward the Democrats—and that the people might elect Hubert Humphrey as the next President.

In order to make sure that Hubert would not have an opportunity to name the next Chief Justice, President Goldwater hit upon a very clever scheme—to *create* a "vacancy" on the Supreme Court—which would not really be a vacancy.

In my dream, Mr. Warren tendered his resignation—effective at the pleasure of the President. President Goldwater did *not* really accept it. He said: "I accept your *decision* to retire, effective *only if* the person I nominate is confirmed by the Senate."

Then President Goldwater proceeded to name his closest confidant and his constant legal adviser, Dean Burch, to the Supreme Court.

It doesn't seem possible, of course, but in my dream, Mr. Warren seemed to be threatening the Senate and the people by saying he would stay on indefinitely if President Goldwater didn't get his way.

Well, of course, the Democrats were hopping mad. They raged and fumed, and deplored such a cynical maneuver to deprive the people of a rightful voice in determining the future of the Supreme Court.

In this crazy, mixed-up dream the Democratic leader of the Senate seemed to be Lyndon Johnson. He was pointing his finger at the Republicans and shouting "Shame"—"Cronyism at its worst," and he was saying there would be filibuster if necessary to make sure the people had time to learn what was going on.

In my dream, Everett Dirksen seemed to be leading the Republicans.

And, in his inimitable fashion, he was pointing his finger—and saying: "Lyndon, I have never heard arguments so *frivolous, diaphanous* and *gossamer* . . ."

In my dream, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, of course, sided with the Republicans on this issue. After all, they wrote in their editorial: "The President *does* have power to appoint. 'Cronies' *have* been named before. And, besides, Dean Burch *does* have a law degree."

I woke up, so I can't tell you how *that* battle came out. But the nightmare lingers on—and that's why I'm here—grateful for the opportunity to appear in this justly-famous forum—and to discuss a great issue of historic importance and proportions.

There are some in the country who would brush the current controversy aside on the ground that it is just petty bickering and jockeying for partisan political advantage. Those who take such a view are shortsighted.

The issues involved in this struggle reach far beyond party lines to the very core of our system of government.

At the outset, let me re-emphasize that the junior Senator from Michigan has *not*—and does *not* now—challenge or question the Constitutional power of this President, or of any President, to make nominations to fill vacancies on the Supreme Court.

As some of the columnists and editorial writers have been saying, with a lot of ink, *any* President—even a President in the waning months of his final year in office—has the Constitutional power (perhaps even a responsibility, when there is *really* a vacancy) to make such nominations—and he continues to have that Constitutional power even through the last day of his Administration.

But, of course, that is *not* the point. Some have not understood, or will not recognize, that under our Constitution the power of this President—or of any President—to nominate, constitutes only *half* of the appointing process.

The *other* half of the appointing process lies within the jurisdiction of the Senate, which has not only the Constitutional power, but a solemn obligation, to determine whether to confirm such a nomination.

Some are suggesting that the Senate's role in this situation is merely to ascertain whether a Supreme Court nominee is "qualified," in the sense that he possesses some minimum measure of academic training or professional experience.

Any such limited view of the Senate's responsibility with respect to Supreme Court nominations is wrong, and does not square with the clear intent of those who conferred the "advice and consent" power upon the Senate.

In the Federalist papers, Alexander Hamilton wrote that the requirement of Senate approval in the appointing process would, in his words: ". . . be *an excellent check upon a spirit of favoritism of the President*, and would tend greatly to prevent the appointment of unfit characters from state prejudice, from family connection, from personal attachments, or from a view to popularity."

Admittedly, the Senate has moved a considerable distance away from Hamilton's ideal with respect to appointments in the Executive branch. But that is somewhat understandable. Cabinet members and other officers in the Executive branch serve at the pleasure of the President, and they are responsible to him.

The Senate has generally recognized that, unless the President is given wide latitude in selecting his Cabinet, he could not be held accountable for the Executive branch of government.

Throughout our history, only 8 nominations for Cabinet posts—8 out of 564—have failed to win Senate confirmation.

And the last such instance, of course, was the refusal in 1959 of a Senate majority, led by Senator Lyndon Johnson, to confirm the nomination of Lewis Strauss as Secretary of Commerce in President Eisenhower's cabinet.

Although it has been unusual over the years for the Senate to reject non-judicial appointments, interestingly enough, it was not so unusual for Senator Lyndon Johnson.

In 1949, President Harry Truman nominated Leland Olds—not for a lifetime position on the Supreme Court—but for a third term on the Federal Power Commission. Since Olds had already served on the Commission for 10 years, and had been confirmed by the Senate *twice* before, it was difficult for anyone to argue that he lacked qualifications.

But that did not deter the then junior Senator from Texas. Although Olds was supported by Senator Hubert Humphrey, Johnson played a key role in getting the Senate to reject the Olds nomination.

Afterwards, there was general comment in the press that the *real* issue had nothing to do with qualifications, but everything to do with government policy concerning the regulation of natural gas.

The recent Evans-Novak book, *Lyndon Johnson: The Exercise of Power*, adds this interesting footnote to the story (and I quote):

"There seems little doubt that Ickes, nursing his old grudge against Olds, was egging on his protege (Senator Lyndon) Johnson. *Abe Fortas*, who had been Ickes' Under Secretary . . . although now in private law practice, was the behind-the-scenes counsel for Johnson, supplying him with material and arguments against Olds."

Although there have been a *few* such notable exceptions, generally speaking, the Senate has been sparing with the exercise of its "advice and consent" power in connection with appointments in the Executive branch—to non-judicial posts.

But the reasons for a limited or nominal Senate role with respect to Executive branch appointments do *not* apply when it comes to nominations for *lifetime* positions on the Supreme Court—the highest tribunal in the *independent,* third branch of government.

A distinguished former colleague, Senator Paul Douglas, put it this way:

"The 'advice and consent' of the Senate required by the Constitution for such appointments (to the Judiciary) was intended to be *real*, and *not* nominal. A large proportion of the members of the (Constitutional) Convention were fearful that if judges owed their appointments solely to the President the Judiciary, even with life tenure, would then become dependent upon the executive and the powers of the latter would become overweening. By requiring *joint* action of the legislature and the executive, it was believed that the Judiciary would be made more independent."

Throughout our history, there have been 125 nominations submitted for the Supreme Court. Of that number, 21, or one-sixth, have failed to win Senate approval.

Incidentally, the question of qualifications or fitness was an issue in only 4 of those 21 instances.

When debating nominations for the Supreme Court, the Senate has never hesitated to look beyond mere qualifications to consider a nominee's philosophy, his writings, his views on issues, charges of cronyism or other matters.

There have been 16 nominations for the Supreme Court submitted by Presidents during the final year of their Administration.

History records that the Senate confirmed 7 of those (including Chief Justice Marshall). But the Senate refused to confirm the other *nine*—generally on the ground that the vacancy should be filled by the new President.

In almost every previous instance, when a President has had an opportunity during his last year in office to submit a Supreme Court nomination, the vacancy came about by the reason of the *death* of a sitting justice.

Never before has there been such obvious maneuvering to *create* a "vacancy" for a *political* purpose.

Coming at a time when the people are in a process of choosing a new government, such maneuvering not only demeans the Court but it is an affront to the electorate.

It suggests a shocking lack of faith in our system.

And it may also register an astonishing vote of no confidence in Hubert Horatio—and his chances in November.

I don't know *who* will be elected President in November. But I do know that this Nation is seething with unrest and is calling for change. A new generation wants to be heard and demands a voice in charting the future of America.

Particularly at this point in our history, the Senate would be unwise to put its stamp of approval on a cynical effort to thwart the orderly processes of change.

What is the reason for such haste in denying the people a voice in shaping the course of the Supreme Court for years to come?

Of course, there *is no* urgent reason. Indeed, there is not even a vacancy on the Supreme Court.

Incidentally, in considering the role of Chief Justice Warren in all this, I ran across an interesting commentary in *The New Republic*. It reads like this:

"Executive officers serve under the direction and at the pleasure of the President. It is unobjectionable, and often right, that they should make their resignation effective at his pleasure . . . But judicial officers are independent of the President . . .

"It is perhaps a small, symbolic point only, but the symbols of judicial independence are not trivial; they are an important source of judicial power and effectiveness.

"The point, moreover, goes beyond the symbolic, as Chief Justice Warren himself ingeniously emphasized at his press conference on July 5. He was still in office, said the Chief Justice, and would return to preside in the fall if the Senate fails to confirm Abe Fortas, of whom he thinks well.

"That may not have been intended as a form of pressure, but it looked like it. The pressure was in any event implicit in the manner of Chief Justice Warren's retirement . . . Retirements which are effective on a date that is certain and irrevocable, ensure that a replacement will be considered on his own merits, not as a choice between himself and his predecessor.

"The practice of retiring or resigning, as Chief Justice Warren did, effective upon the qualification of a successor, is unprecedented in the Supreme Court. It seems to have grown up among the lower federal judges. It has nothing to commend it."

Back at the beginning of this crusade, before Mr. Fortas and Mr. Thornberry were even named, I made it clear that I would vote against confirmation of any nominee by President Johnson to be Chief Justice—whether he named a Republican or Democrat; a liberal, conservative or a moderate.

I took the position, in view of the circumstances and political purposes surrounding the resignation, that it would be in the best interest of the Court and the Nation if the next Chief Justice were named by the new President after the people have an opportunity to vote in November.

To be quite candid, I suspect that I might have been a lonely figure standing there on principle if President Johnson had not been so accommodating by submitting the particular nominations that he did.

Now, I have several additional reasons to oppose the pending nominations.

One additional reason is that I am convinced Mr. Fortas and Mr. Thornberry were selected primarily because they are close personal friends of long-standing of President Johnson, and not because they are among the best qualified in the Nation to fill the particular positions.

The charge of "cronyism" is not new to Senate confirmation debates, but it is highly unusual for any President to subject himself to that charge with respect to a nomination for the Supreme Court of the United States. And never before in history has any President been so bold as to subject himself to the charge of "cronyism" with respect to *two* Supreme Court nominations at the same time.

Some say that if a "crony"—nominated because he is a "crony"—is "qualified," he should be approved. I reject this view because it diminishes public respect for the Supreme Court—at a time when there is a desperate need to rebuild and enhance confidence in the Court.

In the case of Mr. Thornberry, I am convinced, on the basis of the record and personal knowledge, that—while he is a good and a fine gentleman—he is just *not* (as Senator Norris Cotton put it) "Supreme Court material."

In the case of Mr. Fortas, while I am satisfied that he is a brilliant lawyer, I am not satisfied that he possesses an adequate sense of propriety and other qualities which are particularly appropriate and necessary to be Chief Justice of the United States.

When it comes to selecting the man in the United States best suited to be Chief Justice, I would prefer—and I believe most people would prefer—the type of lawyer who would not be asked to proposition newspaper publishers on behalf of a Baker or Jenkins; and who, if asked, would refuse.

Whatever our frailties as public servants, as lawyers, or as members of the press, I am sure most of us do not deserve the skepticism with which we are often regarded by the public. Nevertheless, we can never forget that our apparent motives, as well as our actual motives, play an important part in determining the degree of confidence which the public develops towards the institutions with which we are associated.

I am confident that the public does not approve of the admitted telephone call made by Mr. Justice Fortas to a business friend, criticizing a public statement that Vietnam war costs would run $5 billion higher than Administration estimates. Incidentally, the statement made at Hot Springs, and retracted after Mr. Fortas' phone call, turned out to be very accurate.

I am confident that the public does not condone the fact that Mr. Justice Fortas admittedly participated in the decision-making process of the Executive branch of government on such matters as the Vietnam war and the Detroit riots.

But more disturbing is the fact that Mr. Fortas stated to the Senate Judiciary Committee that he is proud of his extra-judicial activities, and that he "did not see anything wrong" with them.

Judges—particularly Justices of the Supreme Court—have no license to ignore the separation of powers principle which is at the core of our system of government.

In 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called upon Chief Justice Stone for assistance in arriving at executive decisions in connection with wartime rubber problems. In response to the President's request Chief Justice Stone replied as follows:

"I have your letter of the 17th. . . . Personal and patriotic considerations alike afford powerful incentives for my wish to comply with your request that I assist you in arriving at some solution of the pending rubber problem. But most anxious, not to say painful, reflection has led me to the conclusion that I cannot rightly yield to my desire to render for you a service which as a private citizen I should not only feel bound to do but one which I should undertake with zeal and enthusiasm. . .

"A judge, and especially the Chief Justice, cannot engage in political debate or make public defense of his acts. When his action is judicial he may always rely upon the support of the defined record upon which his action is based and of the opinion in which he and his associates unite as stating the ground of decision. But when he participates in the action of the executive or legislative departments of government he is without those supports. He exposes himself to attack and indeed invites it, which because of his peculiar situation inevitably impairs his value as a judge and the appropriate influence of his office.

"We must not forget that it is the judgment of history that two of my predecessors, Jay and Ellsworth, failed in the obligations of their office and impaired their legitimate influence by participation in executive action in the negotiation of treaties. True, they repaired their mistake in part by resigning their commissions before returning to their judicial duties, but it is not by mere chance that every Chief Justice since has confined his activities strictly to the performance of his judicial duties. . . ."

Today, with respect for law at a low ebb, with our ability to maintain order in our cities seriously in question for the first time in our history, and with sizable groups of Americans convinced that the basic institutions of our society are a sham and a fraud, the rewarding of an "old friend" with the Chief Justiceship is uniquely inappropriate.

If ever there was a time when a "Caesar's wife" appointment would be of great value to reinforce public confidence in the Supreme Court—this is such a time.

If there were ever a time when "cronyism" was a disservice to the Nation, this is the time.

Even before the current controversy erupted, public confidence in the Supreme Court had fallen to an all-time low in modern history. According to a Gallup survey in June, 60 per cent of the American people had an unfavorable opinion of the Supreme Court.

Undoubtedly, much of this disfavor can be attributed to widespread dissatisfaction with some of the more controversial rulings of the Court in various fields.

But the prestige of the Supreme Court does not hinge solely on the result it reaches in particular cases. I am convinced that there are other, perhaps more compelling, considerations which also influence the standing of the Court with the people.

For example, the same Gallup poll reported that 61% of the people favor a *change* in the method of selecting Supreme Court justices. This strongly suggests that the circumstances which surround an appointment of a justice profoundly affect the capacity of the Court to merit public confidence.

I deeply regret that President Johnson has seen fit in this campaign season to drag the Supreme Court into the political arena.

But in another sense, perhaps this debate can ultimately serve a higher and a nobler purpose. For it *can* serve to lift the Supreme Court, once again, *above* and *out* of politics.

If we prevail, there will be hope that future Presidents will select a Benjamin Cardozo for the Supreme Court, as Hoover did—not because of personal or political considerations—but because he was the most outstanding jurist available in the land.

In this battle, we are right. Because we are right, time is on our side.

And I'm confident that we are going to win.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOLLOWING U.S. SENATOR ROBERT P. GRIFFIN'S ADDRESS AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 30, 1968

Question: Some people charge that those who oppose Mr. Fortas' confirmation are motivated by religious bias. Would you comment on this.

Senator **GRIFFIN**. It was interesting to note that on the day these appointments were announced, my colleague in the Senate, Jack Javits, characterized the appointments as "old cronyism." It's true that Senator Javits has decided that he is going to vote to confirm, but he has been a great American whenever this particular issue has been suggested or raised in any way.

He says the charge of anti-Semitism should never be used as a crutch or a weapon. I'm sure that when Lewis Strauss was rejected in 1959, there was no indication then—and there is none now—that religious affiliation played any part in that decision. In my own case—as I have already indicated—I registered my objection before President Johnson even nominated the people now before the Senate.

Incidentally, before those nominations were announced but after my original statement, I had an opportunity to speak before the Michigan Press Association in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. I was asked the question: What would your reaction be if Arthur Goldberg were named to fill a vacancy? I said that he was the one exception I could think of. That I would have no objection to the naming of Arthur Goldberg to fill a vacancy because, in a sense, he has been on leave of absence serving the United States in the United Nations.

I was disappointed when President Johnson named Mr. Thornberry of Texas to fill the vacancy, for several reasons. Because Mr. Johnson, in doing so, was following a practice which I think in this day and age should be discredited. It's no secret that over a number of years there has been one Catholic seat on the Supreme Court, one Jewish seat, and one Texas seat. I don't know why—in this day and age—we haven't progressed to the point where we could have *two* Catholic Justices or *two* Jewish Justices . . . and why *must* we have one *Texas* Justice. [Laughter.]

There is a wonderful woman in my office who is of the Jewish faith. She handles all our mail, and she tells me we are receiving very few letters mentioning this issue and we have received none from Jewish Rabbis. I'm convinced that people in the Jewish community, by and large, recognize this for what it is—just a phony issue. [Applause.]

Question. Senator, were you not a lame duck appointee by your crony Governor Romney before he was re-elected? [Laughter.]

Senator GRIFFIN. Of course, the differences are very great here. Not only did I not know Governor Romney very well—but I had to run for re-election a very few months after the appointment was made by Governor Romney. I don't think there is any comparison whatsoever between the situations.

Question. Sir, what is your definition of a "crony"?

Senator GRIFFIN. Well, I don't know how far it stretches, but when a person has been a close confidant and constant legal advisor to a President—or to anybody—over the long period of time that Mr. Fortas has, I don't think there is much question that in the case of Mr. Fortas and Mr. Thornberry, if the term means anything, they fall within it.

Let me say that I don't criticize, and don't intend to leave any impression of criticism of, either Mr. Thornberry or Mr. Fortas because they are close friends of President Johnson. I don't criticize Mr. Fortas because he represented Mr. Johnson back in 1948 when Mr. Johnson ran for the Senate from Texas and won that contested landslide victory by 87 votes. That was after Mr. Fortas went to Justice Black and got an order setting aside an order of a federal district judge in Texas. I don't criticize Mr. Fortas because he has performed legal services for Mr. Johnson throughout his public career while the President and his family successfully accumulated a rather large fortune. I think that probably attests to the fact that Mr. Fortas is a good lawyer. I don't criticize Mr. Fortas because he represented Bobby Baker.

But I do raise the question whether he should be rewarded with the position of Chief Justice of the United States because he performed such personal services for Mr. Johnson. I think that's one of the issues which the Senate has to carefully examine. [Applause.]

Question. Sir, would you call off your anti-Fortas campaign if the Republican nominee asked you to?

Senator GRIFFIN. The answer is no. [Applause.]

Question. Would you comment on the report that your attempt to prevent Justice Fortas from becoming Chief Justice is an effort to launch your bid for the Republican Vice Presidential nomination? [Laughter.]

Senator GRIFFIN. It must have been one of my staff members who wrote that question. [Laughter.] Well, I'm glad I've got a couple of Senate colleagues here with me today. (Senators Murphy and Curtis) I'm sure they realize, as I do, that when this effort was launched, there weren't nearly the prospects of success that there are today. We had no way of knowing where we would end up with our effort. Of course, it isn't over yet. But we are greatly encouraged by what we have been able to accomplish so far.

The simple answer of why I'm in this is that I believe this issue is important to the country and because it is important to the discharge of my responsibilities as a United States Senator.

Having been a lawyer and having helped to frame some of the legislation that the Supreme Court interprets, I have some appreciation of the importance of life-time appointments to the Supreme Court. Five people—*five people*—determine the judicial policies of our country. Too often, it seems, people can only sit around and complain about the Supreme Court. This is the time when they can do something about it. This is a time when the Senate should draw a line and stand up and insist upon the highest standard for the selection of people to the Supreme Court of the United States. [Applause.]

Question. Senator, does the fact that Fortas was confirmed for Associate Justice preclude your probing now his past association with or support of various organizations?

Senator GRIFFIN. No, it doesn't, because as I indicated in my statement, the Senate really is not precluded from looking into any questions it wishes.

It has a co-equal responsibility in the appointing process. And it can base its decision on anything that the Senate considers in the public interest. I think the whole background and experience of Mr. Fortas is relevant to the question of whether or not he possesses those qualities and characteristics which are particularly appropriate and desirable in a Chief Justice of the United States. The Chief Justice is at the pinnacle of the judicial pyramid, responsible for enforcement of the canons of judicial ethics for all the others in the judiciary. So while I have been particularly interested in Mr. Fortas' activities since he went on the bench, I don't think the Senate is foreclosed in any way from looking at his entire record.

Question. Senator, would you support Mr. Fortas if Vice President Humphrey should be the next President and he should re-nominate Mr. Fortas as Chief Justice?

Senator GRIFFIN. The answer is no.

Question. Senator, you are a member of the American Bar Association. In the July 1968, issue of the American Bar News, which is circulated to the entire membership, there was a page-one story captioned: "Committee Unanimously Approves New Supreme Court Appointees As Being Highly Qualified." Please explain why did you not, in all fairness, insert into the Congressional Record their approval of Fortas and Thornberry.

Senator GRIFFIN. If it hasn't been put into the Record, I have no objection to putting it in. I'll see to it that it gets there. But it doesn't mean very much.

Never in history has the Committee on Judicial Qualifications of the American Bar Association found that *any* nominee for the Supreme Court by a President of the United States was unqualified. [Laughter.]

I'm particularly disappointed, frankly, in the American Bar Association, and I'll say so right here. I've heard over and over again—as a lawyer and as a law student—about the importance of getting politics out of the Judiciary and the importance of raising the standards of selection of people on the courts. How could there be a more obvious opportunity than this one for the Bar Association to show some backbone, to stand up on its hind legs and *help* in this situation.

If we *win*, the standards of selection for the judiciary will go up—but here they are—the ABA—I don't know why—going along, "rubberstamping" these appointments—when they should be on *our* side giving us some help. [APPLAUSE.]

Question. Senator, do you intend to press your case against the Supreme Court nomination with the Republican Platform Committee? There is a report that you will do this, thereby confronting Platform Chairman Dirksen. Do you expect the Platform to contain a plank embodying your views as outlined today?

Senator GRIFFIN. I'm on the Platform Committee, and I'm planning to fly down to Miami tomorrow to participate in the deliberations of the Committee. I'll just say that I'm confident that the Platform will recognize the importance of public confidence in the Judiciary and the importance of insisting upon the highest standards in making appointments to the Judiciary and the Supreme Court. I don't anticipate that a big fight is going to be necessary.

I think that we are going to find that this is a time when Republicans are going to want some unity and harmony. It certainly is going to be my purpose to try to see that we come out of the Convention stronger than ever; because not only is the Platform of some importance, but what happens after Labor Day here in the Senate is *very* important.

Question. What do you think of Senator Thurmond's harangue of Justice Fortas in the Judiciary Committee?

Senator GRIFFIN. Well, it is very difficult, and I don't think I should try to comment concerning another colleague in the Senate. I probably wouldn't have asked the questions in the same way he did, but he has his prerogatives; and I think it is for the people of South Carolina to judge.

Question. Do you have enough Senators to conduct an effective filibuster to prevent a vote on cloture? If so, how many are with you? Can you defeat a cloture motion? If you do, does that mean that the Fortas-Thornberry nominations will never be confirmed?

Senator GRIFFIN. I think a conservative estimate is that we now have 40 or more Senators who are ready to oppose any attempt to limit debate on this historic subject, and our forces are growing stronger every day.

I can tell you that all the facts haven't been presented yet; and when the Senate is called back in September, there will be a great deal more said about whether these nominees should be confirmed. When this issue has been thoroughly aired and when the people have all the facts, I'm confident that public opinion will be even stronger than it is now.

The mail is pouring into Capitol Hill—in my case, running between 10- and 20-to-1 for our position. So I am very confident that we are right, we are on the right track and that these two nominees will *not* be confirmed by the Senate.

Question. Senator, if you succeed in defeating the Fortas confirmation, will it help your bid for a Senate Minority leadership position? What are your ambitions in that respect?

Senator GRIFFIN. Well, I think we disposed of that question, generally, before. Everett Dirksen will be re-elected Senator from Illinois by an overwhelming margin; and Senator Everett Dirksen, without a doubt, will be the Minority Leader in January. Thank you. [Laughter.]

Question. Do you want to say that over again, Senator? [Laughter.]

Senator GRIFFIN. I don't imagine (Senator) George Murphy liked that very much. [Laughter.] Well, I hope that Senator Dirksen becomes the Majority Leader. I think—being a little more realistic—that we will win a majority in the House of Representatives and we will have a Republican Speaker of the House. I am also confident that we are going to make very significant, substantial gains in the Senate. If we can win a majority, that will be great; but I am not predicting it.

Question. Do you think Mrs. Abe Fortas should have retired from law practice upon the appointment of her husband to the Supreme Court?

Senator GRIFFIN. I don't know how to answer that. I think in the absence of any evidence of conflict of interest, it's not necessary to pass any kind of judgment on Mrs. Fortas. And unless such evidence came into the record, I don't think she should be a part of this consideration in any way. [Applause.]

Question. Senator, are you correlating your campaign against confirmation with Governor Wallace, the Liberty Lobby, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and other leaders who are making the same fight that you are making?

Senator GRIFFIN. The answer is no. Of course, in many battles your friends are sometimes worse problems than your enemies. Many people have asked how in the world can you get in bed with some of these kooky groups. In a battle like this—when you're right—you take support from wherever you can get it. On any issue, almost any great issue, you look on one side and you see the Birchers, you look on the other side and you see the Communists. And I have to vote one way or the other.

Those who raise the kind of an argument which says or suggests guilt by association and ignore the merits of the case are really doing a disservice to themselves and to the country. The real question should be decided on the merits, not on the basis of who is on one side or the other.

I am very frank to say that while I welcome the support of many of my Southern colleagues, I recognize we are on the same side for different reasons. This happens occasionally but we are just glad we have those votes.

Question. Do Senators have cronies for whom they seek appointments, including to the Supreme Court?

Senator GRIFFIN. Yes, how would a Republican know, as Carl Curtis just said over there. [Laughter, applause.]

Question. This is a quickie, Senator. Would you have voted for Dean Burch? [Laughter.]

Senator GRIFFIN. I think I would have to be consistent and oppose him, at least under the circumstances of my earlier remarks. But in this case, I think it is essential to look at all the circumstances.

Question. Senator, do you disapprove of Earl Warren having been Chairman of the Commission that investigated the Kennedy assassination?

Senator GRIFFIN. This is an interesting point. Incidentally, one of the people who suggested the Warren Commission to President Johnson was Abe Fortas, according to the book that the columnists, Evans and Novak, have written.

Another important point in that book is that Mr. Chief Justice Warren *protested* his appointment and was hesitant about accepting that position because of the fact that it involved extra-judicial duties. Apparently he was persuaded to do it, but I think he recognized that there might be a breach of the doctrine of separation of powers. Actually, I think it would have been better if he had *not* performed that function.

Question. Clark Clifford was with Fortas when they asked the (Washington) Star to suppress the Jenkins story. Did you oppose Clifford's confirmation as Secretary of Defense?

Senator GRIFFIN. No, I didn't. And I would not vote against confirmation of Abe Fortas to be Attorney General, if Mr. Johnson should want to send his name up and have him actually confirmed for the job he seems to be performing. [Laughter.]

This goes to the distinction, of course, that I tried to make very clear in my statement. There should be wide latitude for the President as far as appointments to his Cabinet. Guy Gillette, the former Senator from Iowa, once said that Harry Hopkins would be the last person that he would ever want in his Cabinet if he were President. But he said that if the President wanted Harry Hopkins, he was going to vote to confirm him because, after all, the President is responsible for the Executive Branch. These people only serve during the Administration of a President. That makes it an entirely different case.

If people—and some Senators—would recognize how much of a difference that is, we wouldn't have any trouble at all winning our case.

Question. Senator, would you forecast who will be the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees for both parties.

Senator GRIFFIN. Well, I'm going to Miami to place in nomination the name of the Governor of my State as the favorite son candidate from Michigan. In nominating him, of course, I'm going to give as strong a speech as I can with the hope that *he* will be the nominee.

I don't know who is going to come out on top. You've seen the polls and the surveys, and I have no crystal ball as to what the ultimate outcome will be.

NURSING HOME CARE FOR VETERANS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, if money were no object, Congress could conceive and support an almost infinite variety of laws that would provide essential assistance to deserving citizens in our Nation.

Because funds are a factor, however—a most important factor—we must try to accomplish that which will serve the greatest good or answer the greatest need.

On July 26, the President signed a bill—H.R. 16902—which meets the latter criterion, for it will provide a vitally needed increased payment by the Veterans' Administration to State homes offering veterans essential hospital, domiciliary, or nursing home care.

Specifically, this measure increases the maximum per diem of Federal payments from $2.50 to $3.50 a day for hospital or domiciliary care, and from $3.50 to $5 a day for nursing home care. It also extends for an additional 5 years—through fiscal year 1974—the $5 million annual matching grants to States to aid in the construction of nursing home facilities.

We would do well to remind ourselves periodically of the current scope and importance of programs that we know from experience are necessary and worthwhile.

For example, 20 States are now operating 2,667 VA-approved nursing care beds with an average daily census of 1,845 veterans. In fiscal year 1968, an estimated $2.5 million was paid to these States for treatment of about 3,340 veterans. In addition, the matching Federal program of assisting States in constructing nursing home care facilities in State homes has met with favorable acceptance.

In enacting H.R. 16902, Congress not only recognized the increased costs of operating State hospitals, domiciliaries and nursing homes for veterans. It was also expressing its appreciation of the essential role these institutions play in providing our ill and disabled veterans with the kind of care and treatment a grateful Nation wants them to have.

THE SUPERSONIC BOOM

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, it would be tragic irony for the Federal Government to impose on the public a new form of torment to match the air and water pollution with which our unbridled and mindless use of technology in the past has saddled us. But that is exactly what we are in the process of doing in developing, at taxpayer expense, a supersonic transport that will leave a bedlam of sonic booms in its path wherever it flies.

An excellent article written by Mr. Stephen Shepard and published in the most recent issue of the Atlantic Monthly explores this irony. Mr. Shepard's article makes it very clear that the aviation industry and the public interest are now on a collision course with respect to the sonic boom.

I commend this article to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SUPERSONIC BOOM

It was a painful decision for Boeing. The Seattle aircraft manufacturer announced recently it was delaying the first test flight of its supersonic transport by a year—to 1972—because of technical problems. With 3000 employees at work on the SST and orders on hand totaling $5 billion, Boeing was in no mood to delay the controversial plane any longer. Boeing also knew that the Administration, which has committed $653 million to the SST so far, was facing growing congressional pressure to cut further SST funds. A delay, the company feared, would aid critics who want to ground the plane altogether.

But Boeing had little choice. The plane on the drawing boards is 50,000 pounds overweight—far too heavy to fly profitably across the Atlantic—and needs substantial design changes. Technical problems are not surprising in a new plane, especially one designed to fly 1800 mph (one mile every two seconds) and whose tail is bigger than the wings of a 707 jet. What is surprising is that Boeing was able, once again, to say little about the SST's main technical problem: the loud thunderclap widely known as sonic boom.

"LE BANG" AND THE SST

Whether Boeing talks about it or not, however, the boom speaks for itself. If the SST flew from New York to Los Angeles, for instance, 10 million people in a 50-mile-wide path beneath the SST would hear the boom. Depending on atmospheric conditions, it would sound like dull thunder in the distance or a firecracker 25 feet away. There's no way known to eliminate it or even reduce it much. If fleets of SST's crisscross the continent day and night, warns Senator William Proxmire (D., Wisconsin), the most outspoken congressional critic of the SST, "we will all live out our lives in an immense drop forge foundry."

At best, sonic boom would be one more noisy nuisance, unnoticed by some startling to others. At worst, it could cause fright, accidents, or even heart failure. In France last summer three workers were killed when the sonic boom from a French fighter (the French call it "le bang") collapsed the roof of an old farmhouse. Sonic boom has also broken windows, cracked plaster, and knocked pictures off living room walls. The Air Force, which has been flying supersonic planes for nearly 20 years, has paid several million dollars in damages. In fiscal 1967 alone, the Air Force settled 3357 claims, totaling $440,000.

Hushing a problem of this stentorian magnitude is about as easy as hiding an elephant in a Volkswagen. Already a worldwide ban-the-boom movement is springing up. Canada and Sweden have outlawed boom-producing flights over their land, and Germany and Switzerland say they are prepared to do so. In the United States, Santa Barbara, California, and Dearborn, Michigan, have anti-boom laws, while similar legislation was recently introduced in New York City. Because the courts probably will invalidate such local laws on the grounds that they exceed a city's legal jurisdiction, the United States needs a national anti-boom law. Unfortunately, although Senator Clifford Case (R., New Jersey) introduced legislation in May to ban commercial SST flights over the United States, a federal law is unlikely in the foreseeable future; certainly the Administration doesn't want to handicap a project it has backed from the beginning and which is slated to get at least $1 billion in government money if and when full-scale production starts.

ANTIBOOM

Partly by default, the center for much of the ban-the-boom protest has not been Capitol Hill, but the Cambridge, Massachusetts, home of Dr. William Shurcliff, a fifty-nine-year-old Harvard physics researcher. A year or so ago, Shurcliff read several irate letters in the New York *Times* complaining about sonic boom. He wrote to nine of the letter writers expressing his concern and inquiring whether "I could contribute $10" to help fight the SST. Discovering that there was no private group against the boom, Shurcliff decided to form his own.

Today the Citizens League Against the Sonic Boom has over 2200 members, including many doctors, professors, engineers, physicists, and a "sprinkling of housewives in areas already badly boomed." The League acts as a clearinghouse for all SST information, disseminates anti-SST literature, runs newspaper ads, and sparks letter-writing campaigns. Shurcliff himself answers an average of 35 letters a day, practically all against the SST or sonic boom. He is on the phone frequently with Senator Proxmire ("we have a Bill and Bill relationship"), feeding him information.

Bearing the brunt of the Bill and Bill attack—indeed, all the SST criticism—is Major General Jewell Maxwell, who heads the SST program at the Federal Aviation Administration. The Mississippi-born Maxwell, who is on leave from the Air Force, travels around the country speaking on behalf of the SST in a forceful yet charming manner. He mixes folksy anecdotes about stagecoach days with slightly chauvinistic rhetoric about the need to maintain the country's commercial aviation leadership. Listening to Maxwell, one gets the impression that if we don't build the SST, the United States will be relegated to the status of underdeveloped country.

He cites our balance of payments deficit, noting we have to meet the challenge of the Concorde, the British-French SST that will be flying some three years before Boeing's. He reminds his audience that exporting a single Boeing SST "will pay for 20,000 Volkswagens, or 10 million Japanese transistor radios." What he doesn't say, however, is that the Institute for Defense Analyses, in a study commissioned by the FAA, found that the SST would not significantly improve U.S. balance of payments—and under certain conditions would worsen it.

When he comes to sonic boom, Maxwell admits "we have a problem." But, in fatherly tones, he assures his listeners that the SST will fly supersonically only over oceans, away from populated areas. At a glance, this concession seems to solve the boom problem, especially since Boeing and the airlines generally agree that if sonic boom is a public nuisance, the SST should not fly over populated lands.

SUNNY TALK, ECONOMIC FORCES

"We faced that decision two years ago," says H. W. Withington, Boeing's vice president in charge of the SST, and decided the SST is "worthwhile even if it never flies supersonically over land masses." From Trans World Airlines, the first airline to order the Boeing SST, comes an echo. "Even with boom restrictions, the SST makes economic sense," says Robert W. Rummel, TWA's vice president for planning and research.

Such sunny talk aside, economic forces could easily pressure SST backers into seeking flights over populated areas. Boeing estimates it will sell a minimum of 500 SST's by 1990 if the plane is banned over land, compared with 1200 if there is no ban. At $40 million per plane, Boeing will forfeit $28 billion—greater than its total sales for the last 15 years. Can we rely on corporate conscience to limit SST flights when the price is so high?

Such sales penalties are confirmed by the airlines. Says TWA's Rummel: "We expect to have 50 Boeing SST's by 1980 if there are no restrictions. If the plane is banned over land, my guess is, that we will have bought between 25 and 35." American Airlines, which has ordered six Concordes and six Boeing SST's even though it flies no ocean routes, would probably cancel its orders if supersonic flight is limited to over ocean routes. Eastern, United, and other airlines that fly mainly domestic routes are in similar straits. Even Pan American World Airways, whose flights are largely over water or sparsely populated land, says a ban could force it to fly 17 percent of its planned SST routes at subsonic speeds.

Moreover, a ban would probably mean a higher fare to help airlines recoup the higher cost of flying the SST at less efficient subsonic speeds. To the airlines, a higher fare is no more desirable than a foggy runway, for it would surely cut passenger demand, removing the profits from SST flights for certain airlines.

The economic pressures will also bear down on the government, which expects to recoup its money if Boeing sells 300 planes. If Boeing sells 500 planes—which the FAA confidently says it will—the government will earn about 6 percent on its investment. But in making this estimate, the FAA again rejected the forecast of its own consultant, the Institute for Defense Analyses, which says only 279 SST's will be sold if there are boom restrictions. Once more the FAA ignored the advice of its advisers, choosing only the information that fits the procrustean bed it and Boeing have carefully made for the SST.

MUFFLING

In short, a ban on SST flights over land could mean the difference between profit and loss—for Boeing, the airlines, and the government. With so much at stake, all three have tiptoed about trying to muffle the boom issue. One of their most frequent arguments is that people will accept booms once they get used to them, just as they have accepted many other noises—from jet engines, motorcycles, pneumatic hammers, and the like—so common these days. An FAA brochure, in fact, states that "individuals tend to accommodate themselves to an initially disturbing noise once it becomes a pattern of life." Boeing, more childishly effective at public relations, calls sonic boom "a twentieth-century sound."

Clearly, the SST's backers want to persuade the public to stop worrying and learn to live with the boom. As Senator Proxmire puts it, "The SST will start by flying the ocean routes. Soon the economic pressures of flying these high-cost planes on limited routes will force admission of the planes to a few scattered land routes. And ultimately they will be flying everywhere."

Proxmire's fear is not eased by the pronouncements of government officials. Alan Boyd, Secretary of Transportation, thinks the SST will be able to fly supersonically on portions of domestic flights. On a flight from Chicago to Los Angeles, he was quoted as saying in *Science*, the SST could fly subsonically to Denver, then supersonically from Denver to Los Angeles, where there are "lots of mountains, lots of desert, and very few people." And General Maxwell "suspects there are land areas we will be permitted to overfly." When pressed for details, Maxwell pleads ignorance. Asked by the House Appropriations Subcommittee last year whether the SST would fly over populated land, he replied, "We do not, at this moment, I feel, have sufficient understanding of what criteria we should employ to say an airplane would have acceptable sonic boom characteristics to be completely sure of this."

But there *is* sufficient understanding of sonic boom "characteristics," at least enough to predict its effect in most cases. To begin with, any airplane going through the atmosphere disturbs the air and creates pressure waves. These waves travel at the speed of sound, but fan out in all directions and are too weak to be heard. The only audible noise comes from the engine. When a plane travels supersonically, however, the waves of air molecules cannot get out of the way of the plane fast enough. They pile up and lag behind the plane, creating a shock wave that is heard on the ground as a sharp crack or thunderous roar, depending on the weather and other factors. Contrary to the popular notion, the boom does not occur only when the plane breaks the "sound barrier." Like the wake of a ship, the boom is continuous as long as the plane is flying supersonically.

BOOM AND SUPERBOOM

The boom's intensity is measured in pounds per square foot (psf) of "overpressure"— the pressure wave created by the plane in excess of normal atmospheric pressure. Tests have shown that an overpressure of about 6 psf will crack plaster and an overpressure of 10 psf will shatter glass. The FAA says the Boeing SST wil be under 2.5 psf, so will cause little or no property damage. But under certain atmospheric conditions, the Air Force has found that the boom produces a "focusing effect" that can amplify a 2.5 psf pressure to a glass-shattering 10 or 15 psf. Because no one seems to know exactly when this so-called superboom will occur, a pilot cannot fly around the atmospheric conditions that cause it.

Even without the focusing effect, the booms expected from the SST are bad enough. The same day that "le bang" killed three Frenchmen, the President's Office of Science and Technology released the results of the sonic boom tests carried out the previous year over Edwards Air Force Base in California. The report indicated that from 33 to 98 percent of the people in the test objected to booms in the 2.0 to 3.5 psf range.

If this isn't sufficient evidence for the FAA, it can restudy the now famous Oklahoma City tests. In 1964, the Air Force "boombarded" Oklahoma City some 1250 times over six months. Boeing was quick to point out that "the overwhelming majority feel that they could learn to live with the number and kind of booms experienced" in the Oklahoma tests. But even though Oklahoma City is heavily dependent on the aviation industry for the livelihood of many of its residents, a sizable number—24 percent—said they could not learn to accept sonic boom. The 24 percent figure looms even larger considering that the SST will serve less than 5 percent of the population. What's more, the tests were run during daylight hours only and were well publicized in advance. Many residents, in fact, used the 7 a.m. boom as an alarm clock.

ALL AT SEA

The evidence acumulated by Harvard's Shurcliff suggests that even if the SST is limited to over-ocean flying, a typical transatlantic flight would boom about 4000 people aboard fishing boats, tankers, pleasure boats, and big passenger ships. The Swedish American line has publicly protested sonic boom, adopting the position of Bo Lundberg, former director general of the Aeronautical Research Institute in Sweden. Lundberg, one of the most persistent critics of sonic boom, wants extensive boom tests at sea. No one is sure, for example, that the boom won't harm large schools of fish, but this is a consideration that Senator Warren Magnuson, from Boeing's home state, obviously considers trivial: "Nobody yet has produced any testimony to show that the fish will write their congressmen," he told the Senate last October.

Boeing has been studying sonic boom since 1958 and is now trying to reduce both the sonic boom wave and its duration. But Withington concedes that "changes in the level of sonic boom are coming very hard and slow." There's no breakthrough in sight, he says. "It's just a matter of chipping away."

A $4.5 BILLION BIRD

Chipping away at the boom is no easy task. For one thing, the technological task of building an SST is so great that Withington says Boeing could not take a one percent performance penalty even if it meant a lower sonic boom. "We do not make design changes just to reduce sonic boom," he says flatly.

The problem is compounded by airline requirements for a plane with a low operating cost per seat mile. Simply put, a long, thin light airplane will cause less boom than a heavy wide plane. But a long thin airplane is precisely what the airlines do not want. It is tougher to land and will carry fewer passengers, two solid anticommercial properties. Withington says the airlines, though concerned about the boom, "have not given us any trade factors"—things they would give up to reduce the boom. And TWA's Rummel concedes: "There's little room for trade-offs. The only way I know to get rid of the boom completely is to fly subsonically."

To fly subsonically, of course, the airlines don't need to spend $40 million for an SST. Along with Boeing and the FAA, the airlines can bide their time on the boom issue, knowing full well that once the SST is flying they will have a powerful foot in the door leading to unlimited flights. After all, who will then be able to clip the wings of a $4.5 billion bird nested by the government and carefully raised by one of the country's biggest industries?

—Stephen Shepard.

LASER BEAMS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement by Senator Bartlett concerning the need for including laser products under the provisions of the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968 be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Statement by Senator Bartlett

During the recent hearings on the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968, some witnesses questioned whether laser products should be included within the authority that Congress would give to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to set standards for radiation emission from electronic products.

The question is legitimate and is one that I have thought about at length, for there is little to be gained from regulation just for its own sake. The testimony and other information that we received is convincing evidence that laser products indeed can be and are dangerous, that laser radiation is a form of electromagnetic radiation, and that nationwide, federal standards to govern design and manufacture of these products should be established. The situation is not one, happily, of a fire department responding to the urgent imperatives of a major fire. Rather it is one of the prudent community and fire department which takes preventive measuers beforehand to limit and control a hazard to our people.

Today I would like to briefly talk with you about lasers: what they are; what they do; how they are used; what harm they can cause, and do we know enough about them to include them in the present legislation?

LASERS—WHAT ARE THEY?

Lasers are manufactured products. While many of them are still put together piece by piece within laboratories of scientists who need special features, many other lasers can now be purchased as complete, self-contained units, ready to operate at the push of a button.

These laser products are designed to emit a special kind of electromagnetic radiation, usually within the band of visible light. The unusual characteristic of laser radiation is that very large pulses of energy can be carried by the constituent rays of the laser beam, with each ray in essence marching in step with the others. The physicists call this "coherent" radiation. Other lasers can emit a continuing beam of light energy.

From the standpoint of legislation, the important thing about lasers is not the fascinating parts and components and circuits that are inside of the black box, but rather the knowledge that lasers emit radiation and that safey in use of laser equipment depends very much upon the care and quality of design and manufacture of the product that is sold in interstate commerce.

USES OF LASER PRODUCTS

Although it was only ten years ago that A. L. Schawlow and C. H. Townes outlined the theory and proposed a structure for the immediate predecessor of the laser, the laser industry has grown rapidly. For example, one survey of the market for lasers within government alone reported a $30 million market in 1967 and forecast $70 million by 1970. And government contracts are stimulating laser development and applications. During the period January 1, 1963, to April 30, 1966, the government spent nearly $46 million for laser development with 103 separate organizations, and 83 of these industrial contractors. I think we all know that one of the fastest ways to get a new scientific discovery into use is to introduce it into industry.

Two broad categories of application of lasers are now apparent. First, there are commercial, industrial, and medical uses, and second, lasers have become important new tools and instruments in laboratory experiments.

The first category concerns us most, for as lasers emerge from the laboratories and are bought and installed in factories, and are used by possibly untrained operators, there is the real danger of injury to them or to persons nearby.

Lasers are being used to drill tiny holes in very hard substances. For example, one company drills with them to make diamond dies used in the manufacture of very fine copper wire. The June 3 issue of Product Engineering magazine reports that a number of companies have begun to use lasers for practical production-line work, particularly drilling. Welding of very small wires is easily done with lasers. Professor Donald F. Nelson of the University of Southern California has written in the June issue of the Scientific American about the potential of the laser for long-distance communications and how a recent technical development brings this much closer to realization. One application in chemistry of great promise is to use laser energy to cause specific chemical reactions, such as those in the making of plastics. Raw plastic materials already have been changed into final product in this way. Another application is taking shape in Australia. The Department of Harbors and Marine of Queensland is trying a laser beam as a lighthouse beacon. A rotating reflector will direct the laser's beam through an arc that will cover the entire entrance to Moreton Bay. A particularly exciting possible use is for tunneling in hard rock. Experiments at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology have shown that laser beams can split blocks of granite and marble, and can weaken the exposed surfaces of hard rock so that it is easier to remove. While this application has yet to be proven feasible, it is an exciting example of what might happen.

Business Week of August 12, 1967, reports that one large manufacturer of lasers is setting up a laboratory to tailor the use of lasers to small manufacturers. This company will try out an experimental application and will furnish the customer with an engineering analysis, a suitability study of the process and an economic comparison with conventional methods.

The Department of Commerce has just announced a major breakthrough in surveying. Lasers are now being used by geodetic survey teams of the Environmental Science Services Administration for cross-country surveying. ESSA plans to extend their use to metropolitan areas. Lasers have enabled survey teams to expand by 20 to 50 percent the amount of terrain they cover, and to do so with increased accuracy. With lasers, the survey teams can achieve an accuracy in their measurements of approximately ½ inch in 10 miles.

Mr. James G. Terrill, Director of the National Center for Radiological Health, informed us of his estimates that there are 767 application areas for over 35 types of lasers. About 29 percent of these were developed during the three years 1965 to 1967. This indicates the rapid development and application of lasers. A national survey indicates there are approximately 2,500 places in the United States which use laser systems costing more than $300 per unit, and that there are approximately 8,500 laser systems at these sites.

BIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF LASERS

With the prospects of a growing laser industry, which means that more laser units will be made and sold for commercial and industrial and other uses, the question of biological effects of laser moves from the world of the research scientist to the world of the public health official.

The two principal effects are burning of the skin and eye injury. Of the two, eye injury is the most likely. Mr. Terrill was definite in his testimony that lasers can cause eye injury, and reported that already in medical literature that there are substantiated case reports of severe ocular damage resulting from accidental exposure to laser radiation.

Dr. William T. Ham of the Medical College of Virginia, one of the leading authorities in this field, testified that laser radiation could produce burns of the retina of the eye which are irreversible. He warned that special caution is required with the laser units that produce brief, intense pulses of coherent light. Here excessive power densities falling upon the retina can produce explosive effects, massive hemorrhage, and the possible loss of the entire eye. The record of the hearings contains a listing of Dr. Ham's many papers which describe these biological effects.

The Department of Defense experts, speaking from their extensive experience with lasers and from results of research sponsored by the departments, supported the fact that laser radiation can injure, that eye damage can occur with only one-millionth of the exposure that would burn the skin.

This testimony is like the tip of an Alaskan iceberg, and represents only a small part of many painstaking experiments to measure the biological effects of laser radiation on living creatures, including man. I, for one, am satisfied from the information supplied me, that laser radiation can indeed be dangerous to the persons who are exposed. And this danger is being compounded by the appearance of lasers which operate in the ultra violet and infra red regions, which makes them invisible to the human eye.

IS THERE A REAL HAZARD?

It is one thing to show in a laboratory that laser beams can blind experimental animals. It is another to say that beams from laser products constitute a hazard which needs to be controlled.

First of all, lasers have caused eye injury to persons. Mr. Terrill and the Defense Department each testified to this effect. Second, the growing use of lasers in industry means that they are moving out of the controlled environment of the laboratory where workers are used to dealing with sophisticated hazards. Third, initial surveys by the Public Health Service show that an unsatisfactory situation already exists for some laser installations in industry. A Public Health Service release of March 29, 1968, speaks of more than 10,000 industrial employees in the United States who may be exposed to laser radiation. Details of this survey appear in the record of the hearings.

Here are some of the results of the PHS survey.

In the opinion of the surveyor, 62 percent of all laser operations were adequate in overall control and occupational health procedures; the other 38 percent were considered inadequate or required a more detailed evaluation. However, in only 42 percent was the risk of hazard considered to be low.

Engineering controls varied from excellent in some installations to almost nonexistent in others. For example, 89 percent of laser areas visited did not have interlocked doors and 43 percent had no warning signs. Only about 25 percent of the plants required visual protection in laser areas. Most of the companies did not require goggles or face shields, and about 25 percent of the goggles that were provided were considered inadequate protection for the kind of laser in use.

So the hazard is real and present. Fortunately, it is not now great. But with the rapid expansion of the laser industry, the potential hazards soon can be multiplied. Moreover, as lasers become more powerful, the chances of injury increase still further.

DO WE KNOW ENOUGH TO REGULATE LASERS?

Next we come to the question of whether we know enough about laser effects at this time for the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to set initial or interim standards for laser products.

Dr. Ham thinks so. He testified that there is enough information on threshold energy densities that produce very mild lesions in the retina to establish tentative safety levels for the human eye. Then, too, government agencies and some industrial companies have found there is information enough for them to establish their own safety criteria for laser radiation.

For example, the Martin-Marietta Company has published a booklet on laser safety which sets a definite limit upon eye exposure to laser radiation. The American Conference of Governmental Industrial Hygienists issued this year a guide for laser installations. The Air Force in January 1967 issued its regulation No. 161–24 on laser/maser hazards which authorizes the Air Force Surgeon General to establish maximum levels of exposure to laser/maser radiation. Subsequently on March 20, 1967, his office issued specific instructions. For an earlier government interest, I note that in 1964 the British Ministry of Aviation issued its code of practice for laser installations, which includes detailed, numerical limits. Most recently, during January of this year, laser safety guidelines were fomulated at a Laser Safety Conference at the College of Medicine of the University of Cincinnati. These guidelines were published in the March 1968 issue of Laser Technology.

The fact that so many bodies are now engaged in the setting of guidelines and limits for laser exposure indicates that there is enough information and understanding of laser effects at hand to act effectively. By this I do not mean to imply that our present understanding is complete. Far from it. Indeed, an important complementary reason for including laser radiation within the scope of H.R. 10790—as reported by the Senate Committee on Commerce—is to specifically authorize the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to get on with the research that will be necessary later to refine interim standards.

SUMMARY

Let me sum up the case for including laser products under the provisions of H.R. 10790. Laser radiation can cause biological effects which are harmful to human beings. They pose a special risk to the eye. Laser products are being sold in an expanding market, one that everyone expects will expand even more as new uses of this new tool come to the fore. More powerful units also can be expected. The hazards of laser radiation are not those that common knowledge equips us to deal with. Moreover, that hazard can sometimes be invisible. Scientists have learned enough about laser effects to set initial exposure limits, and government agencies have done so.

In my mind, the testimony received before the Senate Committee on Commerce shows there is more than enough reason to authorize the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to include laser products among the electronic products for which he can set standards to govern the emission of electromagnetic radiation, and to move ahead into the research and the drafting of standards. This country stands to benefit greatly from the application of lasers in commerce and industry. It will benefit even more if those applications are carried on from the outset with products that are designed, manufactured and installed with safety in mind.

For these reasons I urge favorable action on H.R. 10790 so that the new and flourishing American laser industry and the users of its products can proceed with safety towards an exciting, expanding future.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY—IN MEMORIAM

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I regret that it was impossible for me to be in the Senate yesterday when eulogies were being offered to our late beloved colleague, Robert Kennedy, but I am pleased to add a few personal thoughts today to what has already been said so eloquently by other Senators.

At the Democratic convention in 1964, Senator Robert Kennedy recited these words from Romeo and Juliet in tribute to his brother, the President:

> And, when he shall die,
> Take him and cut him out in little stars,
> And he will make the face of heaven so fine,
> That all the world will be in love with night,
> And pay no worship to the garish sun.

Now Robert Kennedy, too, is dead, and as one reads on in this old Shakespearean play, he comes to the lines:

> Then, dreadful trumpet, sound the general doom!
> For who is living, if those two are gone?

There is a painful sense in which all of us have lost a part of our lives in the death of Robert Kennedy, and yet, we can also find in his death as in his life a deeper understanding of our own obligations to ourselves and our Nation.

He stood for the proposition that we could make a difference; that we would find our satisfaction not in coddling ourselves but in contributing to others.

Senator Kennedy had become the most passionate and talented political leader of his generation. His capacity for intellectual and moral growth was manifesting itself in dramatic fashion during the closing weeks of his life. He was a better and wiser man with each passing day. I felt that he was on an accelerating course that would have earned him a unique place in the life of our Nation, and, indeed, in the life of mankind. He was destined to inspire our own and future generations. Of all my associates in public life, no other gave me such a sense of being in the presence of true compassion, practical idealism, and greatness.

He frequently quoted the words of George Bernard Shaw:

> You see things and you say "Why?" but I dream things that never were and say "Why not?"

When we view the sudden termination of this eager young life, so filled with promise and compassion, we can only ask "Why?"

Perhaps the lyricist of "The Impossible Dream" has partially answered this question with his lines:

> And the world will be better for this
> That one man scorned and covered with scars
> Still strove with his last ounce of courage
> To reach the unreachable star.

I believe that the world will be better because Robert Kennedy dared to reach for the stars.

He told us about the hungry children of Mississippi, the plight of the American Indian, the difficulties of the American farmer. He told us about the dynamite in the great city ghettos. He warned us of the awful violence brewing in our society—warned us, in a way, of his own approaching death.

I believe that there were two powerful concerns that drove him in his final campaign—the first was a determination to put an end to the tragedy in Vietnam; the second was to lead the redemption of our own troubled land.

All of us have been enriched and ennobled by the breadth of his vision and the grace of his presence.

Perhaps from the meaning of his life and of his too great sacrifice we can take a new measure of conviction, a new courage, a new resolve that he shall not have died in vain; and that in a calm and implacable determination, we can yet serve the end that he so tenderly sought for us all—"to tame the savageness of man, and make gentle the life of the world."

SAMUEL LEONARD WILLIAMS

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, a most distinguished citizen of North Carolina, Samuel Leonard Williams, passed away last week. I wish to pay my respects to him and to offer my condolences to his wife Kay, and children, Patricia and Joseph.

Sam Williams was born on January 27, 1905, in Lenoir County, N.C. He received his LL.B. degree from Wake Forest in 1928 and in the same year was admitted to the North Carolina bar. He practiced law in Kinston, N.C., from 1928 until 1934, at which time he came to Washington as an attorney for the Federal Trade Commission.

In that year, Mr. Williams also married the former Kay Cloaninger, a union which produced two children, Patricia Ann and Joseph. Patricia was graduated from William and Mary and received a master's degree from the University of Virginia. She is teaching at Latrobe University in Melbourne, Australia. Joseph received his LL.B. degree from Mercer University.

From 1943 to 1945 Mr. Williams served

in the U.S. Navy from which he was honorably discharged as a lieutenant commander in 1945.

A glance at the record will show how Sam Williams excelled in his career with the Federal Trade Commission. On his return from the Armed Forces, he supervised legal investigational work in the Commission's Bureau of Investigations. In August 1948 Mr. Williams was appointed special legal assistant to the Commission and served as a special consultant in matters of policy and procedure.

From May 1950 to July 1955 Sam Williams served as assistant chief of the Bureau of Antimonopoly. From July 1955 to April 1958 he was the Commission's special legal adviser.

In April 1958 Mr. Williams was appointed chief project attorney and served in that capacity until he was appointed Director of the Bureau of Field Operations of the Federal Trade Commission in July 1961.

In that capacity, Mr. Williams was responsible for the competence, effectiveness and timeliness of the Commission's investigational work throughout the United States in matters involving trade regulation.

Mr. Williams' career has been that of a dedicated public servant. Throughout his career with the Federal Trade Commission, he rose to a position of great responsibility in the investigational work of the Federal Trade Commission. He not only participated in many of the leading cases developed by the Commission, but also a planned training program for young attorneys. He was a leader in his field and he had a far-reaching influence on the lives of many others. He was highly respected by the antitrust bar throughout the United States and he contributed to the cooperation which has developed between the Commission and the antitrust bar. The Federal Trade Commission's Bureau of Field Operations is a much finer organization because of the leadership, judgment and integrity exhibited by its Director. Sam Williams was a gentleman, an able lawyer, a fine public servant, and a citizen of North Carolina who made a real and great contribution to the Government and to the United States. His career stands not only as a monument to the man, but as a beacon to those young attorneys who would emulate his experience as a career Government servant.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I am pleased to see that the President has today signed the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968. I want to commend the administration for the leadership, energy and support it gave this legislation and to those of us who worked to get it through Congress.

I commend the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] for the superb job he did in guiding the bill through the Senate.

I also commend the other Senators and the Members of the House of Representatives who have helped to enact this legislation into law.

I have been deeply interested in the Juvenile Delinquency Act since I introduced it in the Senate more than a year ago.

I have supported it because it is among delinquent youth where we can strike the most telling blow against further crime.

And, I am pleased that it has become law because only by reaching as many young people as we can, as early as we can, will we save these young people from lives of crime and violence.

Only by reaching the young people in their formative years can we prevent many of them from growing into adult criminals. And any effort spent at this time is the best protection we can give our citizens against increasing crime, violence, civil disturbances, and riots in the future.

I have supported this bill because it will create alternatives to sending young people to training schools where today they often learn nothing more than how to commit more crime. And it will get the entire community involved in the difficult task of guiding young people on a constructive course, through new opportunities for legitimate achievement.

Senator CLARK knows that I have made every effort to assure that the bill will accomplish its purposes by introducing amendments both in the Subcommittee which processed the bill and on the floor of the Senate.

I am particularly pleased that both the Senate and the House of Representatives adopted my amendment to emphasize the role of the schools in delinquency prevention.

This is one community agency that must do far more than it has in the past to show young people the way to live within the law rather than outside it.

I think the schools should and can develop teaching techniques and course material that can impart to young children the insights and the understanding of the world around them which are necessary if they are to escape the dead-end streets of crime, drug addiction and violence.

I have said before that the modern world has become bewildering in its complexity and that no family, rich or poor, black or white, can alone adequately interpret it to the satisfaction or the needs of the young.

The school, however, can do this. It can mobilize the scientific knowledge we have about human behavior and teach children how to escape the pitfalls of delinquency, drug addiction and social disorganization. I believe the Nation's schools must assume this responsibility.

To accomplish this, I asked in my amendment that some of the funds authorized under this bill be allotted to the school systems throughout the States.

As signed by the President, I believe the bill contains those vital provisions that will ultimately spell the difference between the growing crime and delinquency rates of the past and the effective prevention of delinquency in the future.

This new law is another important step by Congress and by the administration toward a more crime-free society and toward a better America for our young people and for all of our citizens.

DAVID McCONNELL APPOINTED SPECIAL ADVISER TO UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, an outstanding North Carolinian, David Moffatt McConnell, has recently been appointed by the President as special adviser on the U.S. delegation to the 45th Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council meeting this year in Geneva, Switzerland.

Mr. McConnell has been appointed to serve with the rank of Ambassador of the United States and I am sure that his dedication and experience will be of great value to our country at this meeting. The United Nations Economic and Social Council is the top body of the United Nations on economic matters and Mr. McConnell will be senior adviser to this group.

Mr. McConnell was formerly special counsel to the U.S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue, a counsel to the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Reorganization, and an administrative assistant to U.S. Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, who was later Secretary of State. He has served for the past 2 years as a member of the North Carolina Tax Study Commission.

He has a broad background in international affairs. He served as provost marshal and protocol officer with the Nationalist Chinese Army under General Joseph W. Stilwell in China, Burma, and India. He was chairman of the international conference at Ramgarh, Bihar Province, India, in 1942, which conference prepared treaties of military command and criminal jurisdiction of forces for China, Burma, and India, for which he was awarded the U.S. Legion of Merit and awarded the Order of the Cloud and Banner by Chiang-Kai-shek.

He served as Acting Chief, Legislative Branch, War Department General Staff G–1 under Gen. George C. Marshall, and ended his war service as a colonel. He was General Staff Corps at the age of 32, starting as a lieutenant in the infantry. He was a codraftsman of the Declaration of Nuremberg and the postwar treaty with the Republic of the Philippines.

He assisted in the drafting of tax conventions with the Kingdom of Denmark and the Republic of Colombia.

Active in civic and political affairs, he served as chairman of the North Carolina State Board of Elections; served as a delegate to many Democratic National conventions and was a member of the nine-man executive committee which formulated the Democratic platform of 1964. He personally drafted the civil rights plank in this platform.

Mr. McConnell was a member of the State Department mission to West Germany to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Marshall plan and the Declaration of Nuremberg, 1964.

In 1944–46, he was liaison official for War Department General Staff with UNRRA and UNICEF.

He was awarded the Legion of Merit with Oak Leaf Cluster for outstanding service on the U.S. General Staff.

A member of the bar of North Carolina, South Carolina, District of Columbia, and the U.S. Supreme Court, the Tax Section, American Bar Association, he is active in corporate affairs as general counsel, Belk Stores, and a director of the Bank of Charlotte. He received his B.S. summa cum laude, Davidson College, N.C., and was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Kappa Alpha Order. He was Rumrill Award scholar at Harvard Graduate Business School; L.L.B., L.L.M. in Federal Taxation, Georgetown University, and has received his doctorate in law from Georgetown University.

Mr. President, as North Carolinians we can be indeed proud that this honor has gone to one of our fellow citizens. The President could have found no finer public servant to perform this important task with the United Nations.

CRITICISM OF FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, those in our country who fear that we are becoming the sole policeman for the free world, offer cogent criticism of the present administration's foreign policy.

Last Saturday, speaking at a World War I veterans convention in Rochester, N.Y., my friend and fellow legislator, Representative Frank Horton, took to task the administration's acceptance of this policeman's role.

He cited the need to give some consistency and direction to our present policy of reacting to foreign initiatives. He also noted the importance of rebuilding meaningful partnerships for the present order, which finds America carrying almost alone the burden of preserving order and freedom in the world.

I think Mr. Horton's remarks would be of interest to Senators who share this concern with current foreign policy. I ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Text of Speech by Congressman Frank Horton, New York State Convention, World War I Veterans, Rochester, N.Y., July 27, 1968

I am honored to be among some of the very men who helped forge American foreign policy as being one of interest, concern and participation in what is happening in the world. Before World War I, this free and Democratic Nation was far removed from the workings of international power politics and power diplomacy which now dominate the scene in Europe and in Asia. Your participation in the first global conflict in history helped to establish the idea that America *does* care, and that America *will* act in behalf of free human beings the world over.

The world has undergone considerable change since the doughboys entered combat in Beligum, France, and elsewhere in Europe. For one thing, our effort in World War I was very much a partnership, almost an equal partnership among allies to restore peace and order to the world, and to slap the wrists of aggressors whose ambition had cost the lives of thousands upon thousands of young men.

In World War II, also, the American effort was one of assistance to allies, many of whom were hard-pressed to provide the material and men necessary to defend their own soil.

But since World War II, America has no longer been looked upon as a nation to "shore up weak points" in the front line of freedom—we are instead looked to as almost the sole keeper of the free world's line of defense. Except for the United States, few western nations maintain troop encampments in the far-flung corners of the world. Except for the United States, the system of mandatory military service, accomplished by a draft system, is almost unknown, in the free world. Even some nations which are face to face with regimes that threaten freedom do not maintain their own armies to a degree proportionate with their rightful role in the defense of western culture and people.

Vietnam is only one example of this state of affairs. While that small nation is literally fighting for its life, its youth and some of its leaders have balked at making any all-out effort to mobilize, although they expect the United States and its people to undergo massive expenditures of men and money and equipment—in addition to sacrifices at home—in the interests of Vietnam's defense.

While it is true that the Vietnamese are now finally undergoing a full mobilization, and they are now attempting to relieve U.S. forces of some combat responsibility, the fact that they have in the past expected so much from us, and so little of themselves, serves as a good illustration of our situation in the world today.

By the process of elimination, we have been left with the role of world policeman.

Perhaps the best example of this is the defense structure which we built in Europe in the aftermath of World War II. NATO, for many years served as a powerful and effective deterrent to any Communist expansion or adventurism in Europe. The key to NATO's success was in the fact that it was a partnership of allies, joined together and functioning together for the same purpose.

Slowly, however, NATO grew to be more and more an American organization. As the British reduced the size of their forces, and their investment in defense, and as the French grew further and further away from the concept of unified western Europe, America was left to shore up a sagging defense institution. And I don't mean for a moment to place all the blame for the fate of NATO at the feet of our European allies. The United States, since Korea and especially since the start of the Vietnam war seven years ago, has been preoccupied with the affairs of Asia and the Pacific. We have, in effect, turned our back on Europe—we have offered no constructive leadership to NATO, we have taken no significant initiative toward the creation of an Atlantic community of nations, which would co-operate economically, politically and militarily.

What has happened since the U.S. turned its head away from the European shores which you gentlemen fought so hard to save?

In a few days, we will mark the seventh anniversary of the building of the Berlin wall, in violation of the four-power occupation agreement in Berlin. This bold Communist move effectively closed the last open doorway from the Iron Curtain countries to the West. It obviously was done in the confidence that the United States would do nothing to stop it, and in the confidence that no western European nation *would* or *could* do anything to stop it.

This confidence grew, no doubt, out of our failure in 1956 to come to the aid of bold freedom fighters in Hungary, who had taken hold of the reigns of government in that enslaved country for a few precious hours, bolstered by promises from Radio Free Europe and other sources that U.S. military support was forthcoming. The hope of success, and the fact of failure in Hungary, hinged on the American willingness to risk a major war. Although they were shocked by the Budapest massacre, other European nations never thought of themselves as potential saviors of Hungary.

Since we stopped exercising creative leadership in Europe, we have seen a complete turn-around in the foreign policies of France. Not only did De Gaulle throw NATO out of his country, he established relations with the Red Chinese and did his best to sabotage the foundation of the western economic system, the American dollar. You men, who watched buddies die and watched their burial on French soil, do not have to be told the significance of these new French attitudes. Today we are scorned on the very soil which holds the bodies and blood of over 100,000 Americans.

Now, again, we find ourselves unprepared, and our allies uninterested, in a new crisis facing Europe. With little or no encouragement from the United States, the bold leaders of Czechoslovakia have bolted the Communist system dictated by Moscow, and have made many liberalizing reforms in their system of government. Freedom of speech and press, although not a total reality today in Czechoslovakia, are far more advanced than in the closely censored information channels of Russia and other Warsaw Pact countries.

But what is now happening in Czechoslovakia? What appears to be happening is that the entire world, unfortunately including the United States, is waiting with baited breath to see what the U.S.S.R. will decide to do about its renegade satellite. Will Russia use military force to push out the new liberal Czech rulers? Will the upcoming conference settle differences by negotiation? Nowhere it seems, is anyone offering anything but propaganda encouragement to the Czechs. No one is actively planning any policy initiatives in this crisis. As usual we are waiting for the Communists to move first, thus giving them an advantage and forcing ourselves to have to react to policies they set. America already has its hands full in a war which Southeast Asian nations were not equal to handling. Are we to be looked to as the sole source of hope for the Czechs in the event of a crisis as we were in Hungary? Two sad facts dominate this situation, and answer this question.

One—We cannot afford to involve ourselves in a military confrontation with the Russians in central Europe, and the Russians know this. We can bring terrible propaganda pressure to bear on them by scorning their disregard for simple human rights, but they do not expect us to back up our commitment to these rights for the Czechs with American lives.

Two—The Czechs have nowhere else to turn. Western Europe has so abandoned any responsibility for the defense of its own freedom, let alone that of other peoples, that no one has even considered possible support or intervention on the part of Czechoslovakia's neighbors, West Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Italy, Turkey, England or the Scandanavian countries.

They will not be looked to for the salvation of the Czechs, and they will not be faulted for the demise of the Czechs, if the Reds desire to follow that course.

The Russians will be faulted as tyrants, and we in America, whose blood still spills in Southeast Asia will be faulted for an ineffectual policy of containing and counteracting communism.

I've already talked about how we got into this dilemma. We were big and strong, and we were the heroes of Europe and the Pacific after the war. Our allies, and the other nations of the free world applauded our defense of freedom, while they politely and slowly withdrew themselves from the power politics of the cold war. By a process of elimination of these allies, combined with our own power and our sincere desire to preserve human freedom, we are left holding the bag.

The question now is—where do we go from here? How do we return to a rightful partnership in the free world, without abandoning oppressed peoples to communism and without continuing to sacrifice our best young men in one brush-fire after another?

I would like to outline for you my thinking on what we must do to change our foreign policies.

As a member of both the House Foreign Operations and Military Operations Subcommittees, I have come to learn one basic fact about American foreign policy: we do not act, we *react*. Our whole foreign policy structure is geared to watching and waiting for the time, place and extent of the next Communist intrusion.

We maintain a huge military and intelligence establishment which covers the globe in the name of *readiness*.

For example, we have spent billions keeping idle troops in Europe for the last 23 years. The several opportunities where they may have been needed—like Hungary and Berlin—were passed up for political reasons—but still, we are *ready*. And our unused troops remain.

This happens because the U.S. today has *no standard* by which the world or even *we* can judge what kind of situations we will or will not react to.

We are committed militarily to almost every non-Communist nation in the world.

Does this mean, or has this meant, that we will jump into war to defend any one of them. Of course not.

But no one has been able to predict the strength of these commitments until they are put to the test one by one.

In Berlin we decided not to make firm our commitment to the terms of the four power agreement. In Korea, we decided to back up our promises with guns, when South Korea was threatened.

But when our own *Pueblo* was pirated, our non-policy of reaction chose not to back our own men.

In Cuba, although we had maintained a strong Marine base there for decades the most serious threat to the freedom of the Western Hemisphere in the history could not inspire us to react with any firmness. For Castro's purposes, Guantanamo is a little more than a decoration at the tip of his island—it poses no threat to his power, or even to his guerilla war activities in South America.

No wonder weak Communist nations are willing to risk seizing our ships, and firing on our troops. No wonder Russia had no compunction about building an 8 foot wall around West Berlin.

In Vietnam, we stretched an interpretation of our Southeast Asia Treaty commitment in order to save a small nation which was all but doomed to Communist guerilla takeover.

The participation of Asian nations has been promising—but far from adequate. The potential for buildup vastly stronger free Asian armies to contain Chinese and Communist expansionism is there. And we should not have to come from 12,000 miles away to supply the bulk of combat troops for this effort.

Since returning from Vietnam in January, I have suggested turning over the combat functions slowly to the A.R.V.N., the South Vietnamese Army. We should train, fully equip and advise the Asian allies in Vietnam, but they must take over the bulk of the war. Recent events and official statements by President Thieu and Defense Secretary Clifford give me hope that this is now beginning to take place.

We may see significant turnover in the fighting by next year.

What can we learn from Vietnam, from Berlin, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and from the *Pueblo* about our foreign policy?

We can learn that America cannot and should not intervene against aggression in an area of the world where those neighboring free countries who stand to lose the most, are not willing to do their full share to protect the victim nation.

When I say full share, I mean that proportional with (1) their population (2) their economies (3) the degree of their interest in the outcome these countries must be willing, with our help, to do *at least* as much, and to sacrifice at least as much, as they expect from us.

This does not mean that a smaller and poorer nation would be expected to equal in absolute numbers, our contributon of dollars and manpower. But it would be expected to contribute by an equal portion of its ability to do so.

It would mean that if American draftees are expected to serve and die—there must be universal conscription by allied nations as well.

It means that if American fighting troops are expected to engage the enemy 24 hours a day, no "daytime" allies, such as we have in Vietnam can be tolerated. It means that our participation in front line ground activity must be at least equally matched by those who stand to lose more than America from defeat.

Applying this standard to Czechoslovakia or Hungary or Berlin, this would mean that any American willingness to help the oppressed nation would hinge on at least proportional participation and commitment by all the free nations of Europe who are under the shadow of the Iron Curtain.

If they are made to understand the meaning of this guideline for American police action, these countries will not be so quick to blame us for failing to sacrifice what they themselves are unwilling to risk. And they will not be so quick to depend on the United States for the lion's share of their own defense in the cold war.

They will either be inspired to participate and to sacrifice equally for the future of freedom, or, they will have to be content to risk freedom unprotected in their own backyards.

We should offer every reasonable aid and encouragement to the nations of Europe, of Asia and of our own hemisphere who want to rejoin the real allied partnerships which kept freedom safe in 1945 and in 1918.

But we should offer little hope to vulnerable and happy-go-lucky friends, that America's blood and dollars will be willingly lost—in place of their own—when the going gets rough.

We, as leaders of the free world—must be just that—leaders. We can no longer ask our people to endure a foreign policy which must alone carry the burden and the blame for the free world's fate.

SENATOR PROUTY'S SURVEY OF INNER CITY ATTITUDES TOWARD RIOTS

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, on July 23, when I placed in the RECORD the questionnaire utilized in my survey of three areas in Washington, D.C., I stated that I hoped to soon release a complete report containing the findings of the study.

Since that time, the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has released additional studies. My findings so clearly substantiated those of the Commission, that I felt that I should make them public at this time.

In order that they might be made available quickly to all interested persons, I thought it might be useful to have the complete text of my preliminary report printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of a preliminary report concerning the attitudes of inner city Washington residents toward riots which I released yesterday.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPECIAL PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE PROUTY SURVEY—"INNER CITY ATTITUDES TOWARD RIOTS"—SELECTED PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF A RANDOM SURVEY IN THREE DESIGNATED POVERTY AREAS OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

(By Senator WINSTON PROUTY, Republican, of Vermont, July 1968)

A WORD OF CAUTION

I am releasing this section of the Prouty Survey Report at this time only because I believe it is of special interest in light of the Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders which were released July 28th. In September I shall release the complete Prouty Survey Report in accordance with my original plans.

This Special Preliminary Report covers but a limited number of facts and analysis from the Prouty Survey. Following is a list of the parts of the Prouty Survey Report scheduled for September release.

The complete Prouty Survey Report, scheduled for release in early September, will consist of the following parts: Part I, Reason for and Methodology Used in the Prouty Survey; part II, Simple Tabulation of Survey Results; part III, Demographic Findings for the Three Areas Surveyed; part IV, Comparison of Selected Life Chance Attitudes Between the Inner City Sample and a Sample Taken in a Small Vermont City; part V, the Attitudes of Inner City Residents; part VI, Problems of City Living Perceived by Inner City Residents; part VII, the Effectiveness of the War on Poverty in the Inner City.

SPECIAL NOTE CONCERNING THE AUTHOR

Senator Winston Prouty, a native of Newport, Vermont, first entered public service as mayor of that city in 1938 and was at that time the youngest mayor in the United States. In 1941, he was elected to the Vermont State Legislature and served as Speaker of the House for that body in 1947. In 1950, Senator Prouty waged a successful campaign for the sole Vermont seat in the U.S. House of Representatives where he served four terms. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1958 and was re-elected in 1964.

Senator Prouty presently is ranking Republican member of the Employment, Manpower and Poverty Subcommittee and the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and ranking Republican on the Senate District of Columbia Committee, and a member of the Commerce Committee.

He has been responsible throughout his terms in the Senate for bringing about increased social security benefits and coverage and is the author of a bill presently pending which will guarantee an annual income for all older Americans.

Although he comes from a rural State whose largest city has a population of only 37,000 and whose statewide Negro population is less than 600, Senator Prouty strongly believes that the burden of solving the urban crises in the United States must fall on all Americans alike—urban and rural.

BACKGROUND

Three things motivated me to undertake this survey:

(1) The general scarcity of accurate facts showing the nature, extent and effects of poverty in this country;

(2) The obvious breakdown of effective communications between citizens and community leaders;

(3) The conviction that it was possible to obtain accurate facts concerning problems felt by citizens in urban as well as rural communities.

The general scarcity of accurate facts concerning the poverty program was apparent to me as ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

The obvious breakdown of effective rational communication between citizens and community leaders was apparent to everyone following the massive civil disorders in major urban centers around the country. An investigation by my staff of a poverty program in Newark, New Jersey, during June and July 1967 reenforced my suspicion of ineffective communication between citizens and community leaders. This suspicion was doubly reenforced when I was in Detroit during the 1967 riot.

Finally, I was convinced that we could obtain better communication through a more accurate knowledge of community needs and attitudes by using the random sample survey technique in a more comprehensive and localized way.

The questionnaire utilized in the survey is divided into a series of questions concerning demographic data, problem information, attitudes and the effectiveness of the existing program. The questionnaire was pre-tested in the Near Northeast section of Washington, D.C. during August 1967.

The survey was conducted during February 1968 in three areas of Washington, D.C. designated as "poverty areas" by the United Planning Organization (the local Community Action Agency). The three areas—Upper Cardoza, Neighborhood Development Center #1 and South East—had a total population of over 100,000 as estimated by the Census Bureau in 1965. All were inner city areas having predominantly Negro populations.

The sample consisted of 426 individuals (142 in each area). It was randomly selected and stratified by sex and age.

Interviewers were young Negro residents of the areas and were trained by the staff of the Training Corporation of America, located in Falls Church, Virginia.

When I release the complete Survey Report in September, I shall describe in greater detail the survey methodology utilized.

This Special Preliminary Report is of particular interest at this time because of the studies released by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders last Sunday.

The report and tables presented herein represent only a small fraction of the data obtained and analyzed in my survey.

SPECIAL PRELIMINARY REPORT

The Prouty Survey Report was to have been released in its entirety early in September. Part IV of the Report was to have dealt with various perceptions of inner city Washington residents, including attitude toward violence and propensity to violence.

In the Draft of the Prouty Report, we note that "a majority of the respondents interviewed was not committed to a philosophy of violence, excluded violence as being necessary for change to come about, and generally condemned riots as being bad and as serving no purpose." At the same time, however, we were cognizant of the fact that a sizable minority of our population did not condemn, reject, or exclude riots or violence as a means to achieve change.

Our concern grew after the outbreak of the April riots, but we hesitated to release the results to the questions dealing with riots and violence without in-depth analysis of those results in the context of the Report as a totality. Events, however, have overtaken us. On Sunday, July 26th, the President's National Advisory Council on Civil Disorder released a preliminary report based on surveys undertaken in fifteen cities.

Since the results obtained in the Prouty Survey clearly substantiate the findings of the Advisory Council, we feel that it will be useful at this time to make selected data concerning these issues available to the public in a preliminary form.

We cannot emphasize too strongly that these results are only partial and will be dealt with at greater length and in more depth in subsequent Parts of the Prouty Survey Report.

It should be pointed out that our questionnaire was not exclusively designed for the purpose of measuring perceptions and attitudes of violence among residents of the District of Columbia.

We did, however, pose four questions at various points within the interview which approached the use of rioting from several directions.

Our first question, which focused on Negro leaders, required respondents to select one from among eight prominent Negro personalities listed as "the most effective leader and spokesman for Negroes".* Our purpose in posing this question was to measure the support of prominent Negro personalities among inner city residents of Washington, D.C., and we wished to determine the prevalence of more militant and separatist views.

The next two questions (posed at a later point in the interview) were directed toward ascertaining the degree to which residents in inner city areas of Washington, D.C., would advocate the use of rioting as a means of bringing about change. The first of these questions asked respondents to indicate whether or not they considered riots to be a "good", partially good or bad method to utilize in order to achieve change. The second question required a simple yes or no response about whether or not the individual personally felt that rioting was a necessary recourse in order to stimulate change. The first question required approval of disapproval of rioting as a means or method in the abstract while the second sought an indication of whether or not the respondent felt it necessary to actually apply the technique in his own city.

The final question connected with rioting was posed still later in the interview. The respondent was asked to agree or disagree with a statement which read, "Riots have brought about long delayed improvements in the cities where they have occurred." In other words, we hoped to learn whether or not the respondent who advocated violence did so because he perceived certain advantages accruing to those who had already rioted.

The results of these four questions were informative, especially when analyzed and correlated with various socioeconomic variables. Several interesting trends and patterns developed which will be discussed briefly below. These data also pointed up the inadequacy of our questions in some respects and for this reason cannot be viewed as being totally conclusive.

For example, it was evident from both coded and uncoded responses that many Negroes did not perceive of "riots" in the same terms as whites. One man objected to our second question by saying "the white man calls them riots." We were aware of the fact that the term "riot" itself had both positive as well as negative connotations for some of our respondents which undoubtedly influenced, if not biased, their responses. We could only note this peripherally, however, without measuring the actual degree of influence of the wording.

A simple tabulation of responses to the four riot-connected questions revealed that while a majority of inner city Washington residents condemned and rejected rioting, a substantial minority ranging from 11% to 23% not only approved of such violent means but advocated the use of rioting as a form of protest. Our interviewing took place in February, 1968 so that we had no means of knowing at that time whether or not those who advocated rioting were themselves potential rioters. The events of April, 1968 would seem to be an indication that some, if not all potential rioters become actual participants in riots.

In considering these findings, then, it is important to note that the numbers of potential rioters in inner city Washington are not minuscule either in percentage points or actual numbers. 11% of over 100,000 residents represents a substantial minority in real numbers. We must thus ask ourselves at what point a minority poses a threat to the stability of an entire community.

Tables 1–4 demonstrate the distribution of responses to the four riot related questions.

While 61% of the populations of the three areas surveyed expressed the opinion that Martin Luther King was the most effective leader and spokesman for the Negro people, over 11% of the respondents preferred a more militant leader. Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown were the two most commonly mentioned in that category.

Question asked: "Who do you feel is the most effective leader and spokesman for Negroes?" (Question 58 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 1.—TABLE SHOWING WHO RESPONDENTS FELT WAS THE MOST EFFECTIVE LEADER AND SPOKESMAN FOR NEGROES

	Number responding	Percent responding	Percent responding with no answer out
Whitney Young	8	1.88	2.37
Roy Wilkins	22	5.16	6.51
Martin Luther King	260	61.03	76.92
Stokely Carmichael	24	5.63	7.10
Floyd McKissick	2	0.47	0.59
Rap Brown	18	4.23	5.33
Dick Gregory	3	0.70	0.89
Mohammed Ali (Cassius Clay)	1	0.23	0.30
No answer	88	20.66	----------
Other	0	0.00	0.00
Total	426	99.99	100.01
		338 people	

The second question was structured so as to give respondents an opportunity to approve or condemn the riot as a protest form in part or in entirety. While only 8% of the respondents indicated complete approval of riots, an additional 16% believed that riots were more good than bad. While respondents in this second category admitted that there might be some "bad" things about riots and rioting, there was the clear implication that the good outweighed the bad. When 24% of a population condones such activity and feels that it can be useful, that represents a very substantial minority.

Question asked: "Are riots good, bad or what?" (Asked as the second part of Question 60 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 2.—TABLE SHOWING HOW RESPONDENTS FELT CONCERNING THE EFFECT OF RIOTS

	Number responding	Percent responding	Percent responding no answer out
Good, only way to get change	34	7.98	8.40
Some good, some bad	67	15.73	16.54
Some good, mostly bad	34	7.98	8.40
Bad, serve no purpose, should not be used	270	63.38	66.67
No response	21	4.93	----------
Total	426	100.00	100.01
		405 people	

---

*Note: This survey was conducted in February 1968 before Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King's tragic death.

When asked in the third question whether or not they felt actual rioting was necessary, 16% of the respondents replied that it was. This represents a decrease from the number of persons indicating approval of riots in the abstract in the previous questions. However, when 16% of a population is willing to state with no qualifications that it is necessary to employ violent means to achieve an end—namely change—that represents a distinct threat to stability. This is especially true when those 16% have tacit approval of an additional 8% of the population.

Question asked: Do you think in general it is necessary to riot in order that things be changed. (Question 60 on questionnaire but coded as Question 73)

TABLE 3.—TABLE SHOWING WHETHER RESPONDENTS THOUGHT IT NECESSARY TO RIOT IN ORDER THAT THINGS BE CHANGED

	Number responding	Percent responding	Percent responding no answer out
Yes	67	15.73	16.38
No	329	77.23	80.44
No answer	17	3.99	
Depends	13	3.05	3.18
Total	426	100.00	100.00
		409 people	

An extraordinary 48% of the persons interviewed expressed the conviction that riots have had beneficial results in other areas of the country. Only 4% of the respondents "strongly agreed" that riots had brought about improvements in places where they had occurred but 44% agreed with the statement.

Question asked: "Here are some statements about which people feel very differently. Would you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with them." The statement in Question 67 of the Prouty Survey Questionnaire was: "Riots have brought about long delayed improvements in the cities where they have occurred."

TABLE 4.—TABLE SHOWING RESPONDENTS' DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT: "RIOTS HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT LONG-DELAYED IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CITIES WHERE THEY HAVE OCCURRED"

	Number of respondents	Percent of respondents
Strongly agree	17	3.99
Agree	190	44.60
Neutral	61	14.32
Disagree	113	26.53
Strongly disagree	21	4.93
No answer	24	5.63
Total	426	100.00

These simple tabulations of raw data reveal only that a substantial minority of the sample population demonstrated a propensity to violent actions. They tell us nothing about who these individuals are or suggest factors which have influenced their attitudes.

While correlations between perceptions and attitudes about riots and various socio-economic variables present some interesting patterns and trends, no absolutely clear relationships emerge. An in-depth analysis reveals that a wide range of the other attitudes, experiences and perceptions are associated with the advocacy of violence. Here we will only treat the trends revealed in comparison of riot questions with several of the socio-economic (demographic) variables.

There are definite trends apparent when age is correlated with the riot-related questions although the relationship is rarely statistically significant. This suggests that a combination of variables are related to the attitudes rather than merely one. Tables 5–8 illustrate the relationship of age to each of the four riot questions.

There is a trend for young people to express a preference for more militant leaders and to indicate approval in the use of riots and to believe that riots are necessary for change in larger numbers than would be expected by chance prediction and in proportionately larger numbers than older respondents.

For example, as the age of the respondent increases, so does the probability that he favors a less militant leader than Martin Luther King. Respondents under 24 constituted the largest group (19.74%) favoring more militant leaders, and fewer supported Martin Luther King than was true for those in other age categories.

Question asked: Who do you feel is the most effective leader and spokesman for Negroes. (Question 58 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 5

	Age					
	16 to 24		25 to 44		45 plus	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Less militant	6	7.89	13	8.3	13	12.26
Martin Luther King	55	72.37	126	80.77	79	74.53
More militant	15	19.7	17	10.90	14	13.21
Total	76	100.00	156	100.00	106	100.00

Note: p=.30 to .50.

Nearly one half (47%) of the respondents aged 16 to 24 perceived riots as having some useful purpose. 10% believed that there was nothing whatsoever wrong with riots and rioting, 25% stated that the good outweighed the bad, and an additional 12% saw some good (but more bad) in the use of violence. These numbers are greater than chance would predict for each category. Only 53% of the youthful respondents totally condemned rioting as compared with 69% of those in the middle age ranges and 70% in the upper age categories.

Question asked: "Are riots good, bad or what?" (asked as the second part of Question 60 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 6.—TABLE SHOWING COMPARISON OF ANSWERS BY AGE TO QUESTION: "ARE RIOTS GOOD, BAD, OR WHAT?"

	Age 16–24		Age 25–44		Age 45 plus		Total
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	
Good	9	10.11	16	8.65	9	7.44	34
Some good, some bad	22	24.72	26	14.05	19	15.70	67
Some good, mostly bad	11	12.36	15	8.11	8	6.61	43
All bad	47	52.81	128	69.19	85	70.25	260
Total	89	100.00	185	100.00	121	100.00	395

Note: p=0.20.

When questioned about the necessity for actual rioting in order to bring about change, youth under 24 and older respondents over age 60 stated in largest numbers that such action was necessary. Over 20% of the respondents in both of these age categories were willing to state without qualification that rioting was necessary.

Question asked: "Do you think in general it is necessary to riot in order that things be changed?" (Question 60 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire but coded as Q. 73)

TABLE 7.—TABLE SHOWING COMPARISON OF RESPONSES BY AGE CONCERNING WHETHER IT IS NECESSARY TO RIOT IN ORDER THAT THINGS BE CHANGED

	Age 16 to 24		Age 25 to 44		Age 45 to 59		Age 60 and over	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Yes	18	21.69	27	15.70	13	13.68	9	23.68
No	65	78.31	153	85.00	82	86.32	29	76.32
Total	83	100.00	180	100.00	95	100.00	38	100.00

Note: p=.30.

There is what seems at first glance to be a strange reversal when age is correlated with responses to the question which asks about the effect riots have had in other cities. Here it is the youth (and older respondents) who disagree with the thought that riots have been effective in bringing about change.

Less young people than chance would predict agree that riots have resulted in improvements and more are neutral or disagree. Among respondents aged 25–44, many more than chance would predict agree that riots have been beneficial and less disagree. Of those over 45 exactly the reverse is true. This can probably be explained in several ways.

It is likely that the younger more militant respondents are not satisfied with the change which riots have precipitated in cities such as Newark where they have occurred. The change to them was probably too little and too late. Middle age respondents, on the other hand may feel that some beneficial changes have come about even though they may disapprove of riots in principle.

Question asked: Here are some statements about which people feel very differently. Would you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with them. The statement in Question 67 of the Prouty Survey Questionnaire was: "Riots have brought about long delayed improvements in the cities where they have occurred."

TABLE 8.—TABLE SHOWING RESPONDENTS' DEGREE OF AGREEMENT BY AGE WITH THE STATEMENT "RIOTS HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT LONG-DELAYED IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CITIES WHERE THEY HAVE TAKEN PLACE"

	Age					
	16 to 24		25 to 44		45 plus	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Strongly agree and agree	44	50.57	93	76.86	70	53.44
Neutral	19	21.84	11	9.09	18	13.74
Disagree and strongly disagree	24	27.59	17	14.05	43	32.82
Total	87	100.00	121	100.00	131	100.00

Note: p=.01.

Level of education attainment is apparently not significantly related to opinions about the value of rioting or the need for rioting in order to bring about change. There is an apparently strong trend, however, for the percentage of respondents favoring Martin Luther King as the most effective Negro leader to decrease as the level of educational attainment increases. 83% of the respondents with under eight years of education favored Dr. King, while only 64% of those with education beyond the high school level preferred Dr. King. Conversely, 20% of the most highly educated preferred more militant leaders while only 8% of the least educated did so.

Question asked: "Who do you feel is the most effective leader and spokesman for Negroes?" plus "How many years of school have you completed?" (Questions 58 and 14 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 9.—TABLE SHOWING WHO RESPONDENTS FELT WAS THE MOST EFFECTIVE LEADER AND SPOKESMAN FOR NEGROES BY EDUCATION

	Under 8		9 to 12		High school		Post-high school		Total
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	
Less militant	4	8.33	7	5.74	11	10.68	10	15.38	32
Martin Luther King	40	83.33	100	81.97	78	75.73	42	64.62	260
More militant	4	8.33	15	12.30	14	13.59	13	20.00	46
Total	48	99.99	122	100.01	103	100.00	65	100.00	338

Note: p=.10 to .20.

There was no significant difference between respondents on the basis of education when they were asked whether riots were good or necessary. However, when asked to agree or disagree with the statement that "Riots have brought about long delayed improvements . . .", there was a significant relationship between level of educational attainment and type of response. Less education seemed to go with the belief that riots have brought improvements. While 54.55% of those respondents with less than a high school education agreed or strongly agreed that riots had had worthwhile effects, only 39.29% of those who had an education beyond high school felt that way.

Question asked: "Here are some statements about which people feel very differently. Would you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with them." The statement in Question 67 of the Prouty Survey Questionnaire was: "Riots have brought about long delayed improvements in the cities where they have occurred."

TABLE 10.—TABLE SHOWING RESPONDENTS' DEGREE OF AGREEMENT BY EDUCATION WITH THE STATEMENT: "RIOTS HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT LONG DELAYED IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CITIES WHERE THEY HAVE OCCURRED"

	Education less than high school		Education high school		Education high school plus	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Strongly agree	11	5.56	5	4.24	1	1.19
Agree	97	48.99	60	50.85	32	38.10
Neutral	27	13.64	19	16.10	14	16.67
Disagree	57	28.79	25	21.19	31	36.90
Strongly disagree	6	3.03	9	7.63	6	7.14
Total	198	100.01	118	100.01	84	100.00

Note: p=—.025.

In order to measure the effects of poverty and low income upon the attitudes and perceptions of the poor, we isolated from the total sample 68 respondents who were definitely living in abject poverty. Tables 11–14 demonstrate the distribution of responses of these poor respondents to the four riot related questions.

The poor respondents do not appear to be much more militant in philosophy or inclined to favor violence as a means of bringing about change than the total sample population. Slightly fewer poor respondents favor Martin Luther King and slightly more indicate preference for the more militant leaders.

Question asked: "Who do you feel is the most effective leader and spokesman for Negroes?" (Question 58 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 11.—TABLE SHOWING THE PREFERENCE FOR NEGRO LEADERS AMONG THE POOR

	Number responding	Percent responding
Whitney Young	1	1.47
Roy Wilkins	4	5.88
Martin Luther King	37	54.41
Stokely Carmichael	4	5.88
Rap Brown	3	4.41
Dick Gregory	2	2.94
No answer	17	25.00
Total	68	99.99

This trend holds for the remaining questions with the exception of the last. Slightly fewer of the hard core poor feel that riots have resulted in actual improvements than is true for the sample as a whole.

Question asked: "Do you think in general it is necessary to riot in order that things be changed? (Question 60 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire but coded as Q. 73)

TABLE 12.—TABLE SHOWING THE RESPONSES OF THE POOR TO THE QUESTION "DO YOU THINK IN GENERAL IT IS NECESSARY TO RIOT IN ORDER THAT THINGS BE CHANGED?"

	Number responding	Percent responding
Yes	11	16.18
No	54	79.41
No answer	3	4.41
Depends	0	0.00
Total	68	100.00

Question asked: "Are riots good, bad or what?" (Asked as the second part of Question 60 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire.)

TABLE 13.—TABLE SHOWING HOW POOR RESPONDENTS FELT CONCERNING THE EFFECT OF RIOTS

	Number responding	Percent responding
Good	5	7.35
Some good	11	16.18
Some good, mostly bad	4	5.88
Bad	46	67.65
No response	2	2.94
Total	68	100.00

Question asked: "Here are some statements about which people feel very differently. Would you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with them." The statement in Question 67 of the Prouty Survey Questionnaire was: "Riots have brought about long delayed improvements in the cities where they have occurred."

TABLE 14.—TABLE SHOWING POOR RESPONDENTS' DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT: "RIOTS HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT LONG DELAYED IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CITIES WHERE THEY HAVE OCCURRED"

	Number responding	Percent responding
Strongly agree	4	5.88
Agree	28	41.18
Neutral	8	11.76
Disagree or strongly disagree	19	27.94
No answer	9	13.24
Total	68	100.00

Actual personal income level was also correlated with responses to the riot related questions.

There were no significant trends in comparisons made between income and opinions about whether riots were bad in principle or whether there had been changes for the better as a result of riots. However, there were notable differences between income groups concerning the question, "Is it necessary to riot in order to get change?"

When only those respondents who are working and who respond to the question in yes or no form are considered, there are the following significant variations from chance.

Those respondents with incomes under $3,000 were much more likely than chance would predict to answer negatively. There is a small reversal above the $6,000 income level with those making over $6,000 slightly more likely to say, "yes, riots are necessary."

Questions asked: "Do you think in general it is necessary to riot in order that things be changed?" plus "How much do you make on the average?" (Question 30 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 15.—TABLE SHOWING COMPARISON OF RESPONSES BY INCOME CONCERNING WHETHER IT IS NECESSARY TO RIOT IN ORDER THAT THINGS BE CHANGED

	Working but under $3,000		$3,000 to $4,500		$4,500 to $6,000		$6,000 plus	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Yes	14	29.17	9	15.79	3	4.62	12	20.00
No	34	70.83	48	84.21	62	95.38	48	80.00
Total	48	100.00	57	100.00	65	100.00	60	100.00

Note: p=+.005. 230 people.

At first glance it seems incorrect and unreasonable that lower income respondents would favor riots as a means of change. We saw previously that only 11% of the hard core poor favored the use of riots in order to bring about change.

In attempting to understand why those making under $3,000 and working tend to favor riots as a strategy for change it will perhaps be helpful to reiterate several previous findings. We noted that youths under age 24 were more likely than chance would dictate to be tolerant of riots. According to our demographic findings young people are more likely to earn less money than older respondents. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that many of the lower income respondents are either militant students or young people, earning small amounts of money.

The reversal of opinion which occurs above the income level of $6,000 is also understandable in the light of other findings of the of educational attainment and the present Prouty Survey. The correlation between level "riot" question under consideration was not printed because it was not significant statistically *in toto*. However, the same reversal of opinion occurs among those respondents who have attended college. A majority of highly educated respondents do not favor the use of riots. However, slightly more than would be predictable by chance agree that riots are necessary, while fewer respond negatively.

It is probably reasonable to assume that some of the respondents having higher incomes are among the better educated, more successful respondents who are "arm chair" militants.

The same pattern is apparent when responses to the question asking preference of Negro leader are correlated with income level. There is again a trend among lower income respondents to prefer more militant leaders.

Question asked: "Who do you feel is the most effective leader and spokesman for Negroes?" (Question 58 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 16.—TABLE SHOWING WHO RESPONDENTS (BY PERSONAL INCOME) FELT WAS THE MOST EFFECTIVE LEADER AND SPOKESMAN FOR NEGROES

	Under $4,500		Over $4,500	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Less militant	8	8.51	11	10.09
Martin Luther King	67	71.28	85	77.98
More militant	19	20.21	13	11.93
Total	94	100.00	109	100.00

Note: p=.20 to .30. 203 people.

Race is one other important variable to be considered. Several facts about composition of our sample should be noted, however, before the relationship of race to attitudes about riots is discussed.

First, we must bear in mind that in absolute numbers our sample of white respondents (59) is small compared to the number of Negroes interviewed (367).

Second, the white respondents are only representative of the whites living in the three areas of the inner city where the interviewing took place. They are not necessarily representative of the whites living throughout the greater Washington area or in the nation as a whole.

There are some differences between Negro and white respondents with regards to attitudes about perception of riots. Negroes in larger numbers than whites believe that riots are both good and necessary. They do not see changes in other cities as having resulted from riots to the extent that whites do.

Whites were considerably more reluctant than Negroes to express their preference of Negro leaders. 38% refused to answer. Of those who did, 63.9% expressed a preference for Martin Luther King with 19.44% (only 7 persons) feeling that a more militant leader was the best spokesman for Negroes. 78.5% of the Negroes responding to the question felt that Martin Luther King was the most effective Negro, while 14.6% (or 44 persons) preferred a more militant leader.

Question asked: Who do you feel is the most effective leader and spokesman for Negroes. (Question 58 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 17.—TABLE SHOWING THE PREFERENCE OF NEGRO LEADERS AMONG WHITE AND NEGROES

	White		Negro	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Whitney Young	2	3.39	6	1.63
Roy Wilkins	4	6.78	18	4.90
Martin Luther King	23	38.98	237	64.58
Stokely Carmichael	5	8.47	19	5.18
Floyd McKissick	0	.00	2	.54
Rap Brown	2	3.39	16	4.36
Dick Gregory	0	.00	3	.82
Cassius Clay	0	.00	1	.27
No answer	23	38.98	65	17.71
Totals	59	99.99	367	99.99

Approximately the same percentage of both groups (11%) favored more militant spokesmen.

Almost twice as many Negroes as whites believed that there was more good to be had in rioting than bad. 15% of the white respondents felt this way compared to 23% of the Negroes.

Question asked: "Are riots good, bad or what?" (asked as the second part of Question 60 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire).

TABLE 18.—COMPARISON OF NEGRO AND WHITE ANSWERS TO QUESTION, "ARE RIOTS GOOD, BAD, OR WHAT?"

	White		Negro	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Good, only way to get change	3	5.08	31	8.45
Some good, some bad	6	10.17	61	16.62
Some good, mostly bad	6	10.17	28	7.63
Bad	40	67.80	230	62.67
No response	4	6.78	17	4.63
Total	59	100.00	367	100.00

When asked whether or not it was actually necessary to riot, however, only 8% of the white respondents answered affirmatively while 17% of the Negro respondents did so.

Question asked: "Do you think in general it is necessary to riot in order that things be changed? (question 60 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire but coded as Q. 73)

TABLE 19.—COMPARISON OF RESPONSES FROM WHITES AND NEGROES CONCERNING WHETHER IT IS NECESSARY TO RIOT IN ORDER THAT THINGS BE CHANGED

	White		Negro	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Yes	5	8.47	62	16.89
No	47	79.66	282	76.84
No answer	0	0	17	4.63
Depends	7	11.87	6	1.63
Total	59	100.00	367	99.99

Note: p=between .10 and .20; df=2.

Finally, when asked to accept or reject the hypothesis that riots had brought about substantial change for the better in other cities, whites were much more likely to agree than Negroes. 85% of the whites thought that the riots had resulted in change while only 60% of the Negroes interviewed felt this way. In addition, a large (25%) number of the Negro respondents strongly rejected the idea that improvements had come about.

Question asked: "Here are some statements about which people feel very differently. Would you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with them." The statement in Question 67 of the Prouty Survey Questionnaire was: "Riots have brought about long delayed improvements in the cities where they have occurred."

TABLE 20.—TABLE SHOWING NEGRO AND WHITE DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE STATEMENT: "RIOTS HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT LONG-DELAYED IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CITIES WHERE THEY HAVE TAKEN PLACE"

	White		Negro	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Strongly agree	0	0	17	4.63
Agree or neutral	50	84.74	201	54.77
Disagree	6	10.17	107	29.16
Strongly disagree	0	0	21	5.72
No answer	3	5.08	21	5.72
Totals	59	99.99	367	100.00

When responses to the various riot questions are compared, some extremely interesting and significant relationships emerge.

The first comparison, between the two questions asking opinions about the riot as a means of violence and that which asks whether or not it is necessary to resort to the method, substantiates what we might suspect. Those who believe that there is more good than bad in the method of rioting are much more likely than chance would predict to recommend a resort to violence ($p=.001\tau=.23$) 78% of those respondents who believe that riots are "good" believe that they are necessary. There is a linear relationship between the two variables.

Question 60 of the Prouty Survey Questionnaire: "Do you think in general that it is necessary to riot in order that things be changed?"

Question 73 of the Prouty Survey Questionnaire: "Do you think it is necessary to riot in order that things be changed?"

TABLE 21.—COMPARISON OF RESPONSES TO 2 QUESTIONS ASKING WHETHER RIOTS ARE GOOD OR BAD AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE

	Riots are (good or bad)—									
	Good		Some good		Mostly bad		Bad		Total	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Are riots necessary to bring about change?										
Yes	25	78.12	27	45.76	4	12.90	9	3.43	65	16.92
No	7	21.87	32	54.23	27	87.09	253	965.6	319	83.07
Total	32	99.99	59	99.99	31	99.99	262	99.99	384	99.99

Note: $\rho=.001\tau=.23$.

The second finding revealed in these cross-correlations is that for a number of the most militantly oriented respondents, riots are not viewed as a means of implementing change or improving society, but as destroying it.

Table 22 compares the responses to the question which indicated preference of Negro leader with perception of the results of rioting. It is quite apparent that a number of those who disagree with the fact that riots have indeed been a catalytic agent of change in the cities where they have occurred are those who are more militant in their philosophical outlook. 52% of those respondents who favored leaders more militant than Martin Luther King believe that riots did not cause changes to occur. For these militants violence may be no longer visualized as a means for bringing about change, but only as a mechanism by which to destroy society in retribution for its abuses.

Question 58 of Prouty Survey Questionnaire: "Who do you feel is the most effective leader and spokesman for Negroes?"

Question 67 of Prouty Survey Questionnaire: "Riots have brought about long delayed improvements in the cities where they have occurred."

TABLE 22.—COMPARISON OF RESPONSES TO PREFERENCE FOR NEGRO LEADER AND THE STATEMENT, "RIOTS HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT LONG-DELAYED CHANGES IN PLACES WHERE THEY HAVE OCCURRED"

	Preferred Negro leader							
	Less militant		Martin Luther King		Militant		Total	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Riots have brought about long-delayed changes?								
Agree and strongly agree	14	46.66	135	53.78	16	38.09	165	52.08
Neutral	9	30.00	34	13.54	4	9.52	47	14.55
Disagree and strongly disagree	7	23.33	82	32.66	22	52.38	111	34.36
Total	30	99.99	251	99.98	42	99.99	323	99.99

Note: p=—.01.

In Table 23, which correlates leader preference with a question designed to measure the degree to which a person feels he can succeed through his own efforts, there is yet another indication that the most militant respondents have given up attempting to effect change and have probably opted instead to destroy. 27% of the more philosophically militant respondents did not believe that they could succeed in life through their own efforts.

Questions asked: "Who do you feel is the most effective leader and spokesman for Negroes?" and "Here are some statements about which people feel very differently. Would you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with them. Statement: You can get almost anything you want if you just try hard enough." (Questions 58 and 63 on Prouty Survey Questionnaire)

TABLE 23.—TABLE SHOWING COMPARISON OF RESPONSES TO PREFERENCE FOR NEGRO LEADER AND STATEMENT THAT "YOU CAN GET ALMOST ANYTHING YOU WANT"

You can get almost anything you want	Less militant		Martin Luther King		More militant		Total	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Strongly agree	1	3.12	26	10.11	9	20.45	36	10.81
Agree	26	81.25	190	73.92	23	52.27	239	71.77
Neutral, disagree, and strongly disagree	5	15.62	41	15.95	12	27.27	58	17.41
Total	32	99.99	257	99.98	44	99.99	333	99.99

Note: p=—.02.

Table 24 compares perception of the efficacy of riots with the question which asks whether riots should in fact be utilized. Here again there is evidence that a militant minority recommends the use of violence even though such action accomplishes nothing.

Question 67 of Prouty Survey Questionnaire: "Riots have brought about long delayed improvements in the cities where they have occurred."

Question 73 of Prouty Survey Questionnaire: "Do you think it is necessary to riot in order that things be changed?"

TABLE 24.—COMPARISON OF RESPONSES TO 2 QUESTIONS ASKING WHETHER RIOTS ARE NECESSARY FOR CHANGE AND WHETHER THEY HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT IMPROVEMENTS IN PLACE WHERE THEY HAVE OCCURRED

	Riots have brought about improvements									
	Strongly agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding	Number responding	Percent responding
Are riots necessary for change?										
Yes	4	23.53	25	14.37	9	15.25	20	18.69	6	33.33
No	13	76.47	149	85.63	50	84.75	87	81.31	12	66.67
Total	17	100.00	174	100.00	59	100.00	107	100.00	18	100.00

Note: p=.20 to .30.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the Chair lays before the Senate the foreign aid bill, which will be stated by the clerk.

The **BILL CLERK.** A bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **MILLER.** Mr. President, do I correctly understand that the Mondale amendment is the pending amendment?

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** That is correct.

Mr. **MILLER.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Mondale amendment may be temporarily laid aside so that my amendment may be considered.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **MILLER.** Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendments of the Senator from Iowa will be stated.

The **BILL CLERK.** It is proposed, on page 22, line 22, to strike out "jet aircract" and insert in lieu thereof "advanced jet aircraft" and on page 26, line 2, insert the word "advanced" before the word "jet".

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The agreement on the amendment limits the time of debate to 5 minutes a side.

Mr. **MILLER.** Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. President, the first part of the amendment is designed to do two things: First of all, to accomplish the purpose of the amendment; and, second, to take care of a printing error in the bill which has "aircraft" spelled "a-i-r-c-r-a-c-t".

The substance of my amendment is as follows: the language in the two parts of the bill which are sought to be amended refers to the furnishing of sophisticated weapons systems such as missile systems and jet aircraft. Mr. President, some jet aircraft are no longer sophisticated weapons systems, and the way to spell out the difference is to refer to advanced jet aircraft.

My amendment would make it clear that when we are talking about sophisticated weapons systems, we are talking about advanced jet aircraft, not of jet aircraft. For example, types of advanced jet aircraft would be the F–105, the F–104–G, the F–4, the F–100, the F–101, most of which are being used in Vietnam today.

Examples of those not regarded as advanced jet aircraft would be the F–102, F–5, F–86, and the OV–10.

There are certain reasons for calling these latter types not advanced jet aircraft. One of them is that certain capabilities for pilot training are not required. Some of the pilots graduating from flying schools can go directly into these jet types of aircraft. They cannot, without extensive transition training, fly the advanced types because of the greatly sophisticated equipment of the advanced types.

Another difference is in the maintenance. The sophisticated advanced types have extremely difficult and costly maintenance. The nonadvanced types do not

Further, I would point out that the OV–10, which is not an advanced type jet aircraft, has to do primarily with providing bases for counterinsurgency operations. Our policy is to assist Latin America in counterinsurgency operations, and if we do not make it clear that nonadvanced jet aircraft can be supplied, then it is going to hamper our military assistance program.

I have discussed my amendment with the distinguished Senator from Alabama, so that he understands what I am trying to do here. I believe it gears in with the policy the committee is trying to accomplish, and I hope he will see fit to take my amendment to conference.

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** Mr. President, as the Senator has said, I have discussed this amendment with him. I have told him I would be willing to take it to conference, but I wanted to do it with the very clear understanding that I am not certain here on the floor of the Senate just what all the implications may be of the terminology used. I think he understands that. I accept his explanation. If that is what it does, then it seems to me the amendment is all right. I am glad to accept it.

I yield back my time.

Mr. **MILLER.** Mr. President, I yield back my time.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** All time on the amendment has been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from Iowa.

The amendments were agreed to.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The business before the Senate now is the amendment of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE].

The Senator from Alabama is recognized.

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** Mr. President, I could make some remarks on that amendment, but I understood, when we adjourned last night, that there was a move afoot to change the amendment—in fact, to combine three amendments that were being offered. I do not know whether it is the plan of the proponents of those amendments to do so or not. Therefore, I do not feel that I should speak at the present time.

I was about to suggest the absence of a quorum, but I see the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss] is now here.

AMENDMENT NO. 914

Mr. **MOSS.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending amendment that was offered by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] be withdrawn. I want to make it clear that this is with his consent and understanding.

I wish to submit an amendment, on which he is going to join me, and have it considered at this time.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **MOSS.** Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 914, send to the desk a modified form of it, and ask that it be stated.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will state the modified amendment.

The bill clerk proceeded to read the modified amendment.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the amendment, because I expect to discuss it briefly and explain it.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered, and the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment is as follows:

> On page 17, lines 18 and 19, strike all of subsection (2), and insert the following in lieu thereof:
>
> "(2) After 'year 1968,' insert 'and $400,000,000 for the fiscal year 1969, of which $50,000,000 shall be expended solely for purchase by recipient countries of fertilizer, seed, pesticides, farm equipment and supplies, and other goods directly used in agricultural development. Priority shall be given to those recipient countries devoting substantial resources to agricultural self-help and development'."

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, this modified form is sponsored also by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], both of whom have attempted to restore cuts made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in fiscal 1969 budget requests for the foreign aid program.

My modified amendment reads as follows:

> On page 17, lines 18 and 19, strike all of subsection (2), and insert the following in lieu thereof:
>
> "(2) After 'year 1968,' insert 'and $400,000,000 for the fiscal year 1969, of which $50,000,000 shall be expended solely for purchase by recipient countries of fertilizer, seed, pesticides, farm equipment and supplies, and other goods directly used in agricultural development. Priority shall be given to those recipient countries devoting substantial resources to agricultural self-help and development'."

I believe the amendment is self-explanatory. Before making the case for this amendment, let me say that I have the greatest respect for the members of the Foreign Relations Committee. We are all grateful to them for the time and effort they put in each year listening to testimony on the complexities of our foreign aid program, and in studying the voluminous reports on it. I know that the choices they must make year after year, as to the level of authorizations, are hard ones—and that this year they are even tougher than usual.

But frankly, Mr. President, I feel that the bill the committee has sent to the floor this year is a bad bargain for the American people. The slashes recommended are far too deep, far too drastic. They are rash. They are imprudent. I cannot stand by and let them go without making myself heard.

I recognize all too well that the time has come when we in the United States must set some national priorities. Rich and powerful as we are as a nation, we simply cannot do at once all of the things which need to be done both at home and abroad without courting financial disaster.

It is to our own self-interest—and in our own defense, and for our own security that we must keep our foreign-aid program operating at the highest level we can possibly afford. The authorization request for the fiscal year of 1969 is the lowest in 20 years. It represents only two-thirds of 1 percent of our gross national product. I find it hard to believe that we cannot afford to devote a fraction of 1 percent of our GNP to making more stable and prosperous the world in which we must live.

For nearly two decades, under four successive Presidents, and with the agreement of 10 Congresses of both Republican and Democratic persuasion, we have been speeding U.S. aid around the world. It has varied from the development and use of new wheat and rice varieties to stave off hunger to building hydroelectric dams for power to run modern societies. We have made some mistakes. We have misspent some money. There have been some boondoggles. But the vast majority of the programs have been massively successful, and the world is a safer and more democratic place to live because of what we have done.

But even with the present level of aid, the rate of economic progress in most of the developing countries is proceeding at a much slower gait than progress in the developed world. The gap in living standards between the two worlds continues to widen. If we allow it to widen further we can expect frustration, disappointment and despair, and a precarious relationship between developing countries and the free world.

There are those who say: "But we have enough poverty here at home. We must take care of our own people first." Of course, we must take care of our own people. This is priority A-1. And we are making greater effort than we ever have before.

But we cannot ignore the needs of the world's poor while we take care of our own, because the world cannot coexist in peace with more than half of its citizens living at a poverty level. There is also a moral and humanitarian issue involved—and we have always been a moral and humanitarian Nation.

Also, if we spurn those who depend on us for help, where can they turn? If we do not help them to progress, others may be willing to do so. Communism is always probing for weak spots in the world.

Moreover, if we cut our aid, we set an example for other donor nations who look to us for leadership. It is a safe bet that for every dollar of U.S. aid which the Congress cuts a corresponding amount will probably be reduced from the budgets of other free world countries.

Despite our own serious financial problems, we are still by far the richest country in the world, and we are still the most powerful country in the world, and we are still the leader of the democratic world, and the future stability of this small globe on which we all must live will be sacrificed if the rich do not help the poor.

I honestly believe, Mr. President, that if we mutilate the foreign aid program to the extent the bill before us does, the American people will hold us accountable.

The Deseret News, published in Salt Lake City, has campaigned long and loud for economy in Government. It has questioned facets of the foreign aid program many times, and many of its editorials have been critical. Yet the News is appalled at the depth of the cuts inflicted on the program first by the House committee, and then by the House as a whole, and now by the Senate committee.

In a recent editorial the News admits that foreign aid is a legitimate target for congressional economizers, but says that even so, the economizing must be carried out "not with a meat ax, but a scalpel." The News says:

> Congress should cut foreign aid only as much as it takes to eliminate the fat—but not so deeply that the program bleeds to death.

I feel, Mr. President, that if the cuts recommended in this authorization bill are allowed to stand—the program is in real danger of "bleeding to death."

Mr. President, the amendment which I offer today would restore only a small part of the cuts which have been made, but the restoration would come in a very essential area—that of providing food for people stalked by famine.

As the Senator from Minnesota pointed out on this floor yesterday, we are seeing the beginnings of an agricultural revolution in Asia. This revolution extends from Turkey to the Philippines and involves a billion people.

Development loan funds have helped spark that revolution because they have financed imports from the United States of fertilizer, seed, pesticides and, needed farm equipment. We must keep these items coming in amounts sufficient to continue the momentum. This amendment would earmark the $50 million increase solely for the purchase of fertilizer, seed, pesticides, farm equipment, and supplies—and would help keep the revolution going.

I would point out also, that this is a good deal for the United States in dollars and cents. Every step we can take to help underdeveloped countries produce enough of their own food to feed their people will mean that we will not be called upon to come to their aid with our food for peace program.

We are a humanitarian country, and when we hear that people are hungry, we usually try to get food to them. I think we in America will always do this. But how much better it would be if we could provide these countries with what they need to raise enough food themselves.

It seems to me we are just borrowing trouble if we do not enact this amendment.

I should like to point out, Mr. President, that the amount authorized last year was $450 million. The committee has cut that amount, in the bill before us, to $300 million. My amendment would restore only half of the amount cut out; it would add $50 million to the committee amount, and would therefore still be $50 million below last year's level for the development loan fund.

I admit that this is very little, in a sense. I think it is far too low. But I think it also recognizes the realities of the fiscal pressures we are under, and the cuts that we must consequently make in this program and in all other appropriations before Congress at this time.

I believe this matter is so crucial, particularly in this area of food and the production of food, that it would be foolhardy not to restore the $50 million, as my amendment would do. I therefore submit the amendment, and urge that it be agreed to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I say to my good friend, the distinguished Senator from Utah, as well as to his cosponsors on this amendment, that I have a great deal of sympathy with it. As a matter of fact, I personally voted in the committee, or at least I would have, for a higher figure. I think the development loan program is one of the strongest programs that we have, and it ought to be supported.

However, the committee considered all these figures, particularly this figure, in the light of the bill that had passed the House of Representatives, and it was decided to go along with the House figure. I feel it is incumbent upon me to defend the action of the committee and, therefore, to resist the increase.

The Senator from Utah made reference to the fact that the foreign aid program was a dwindling one. It has been going down year after year over the last many years. I hope that before another foreign aid bill comes up, we can have a reevaluation of our foreign aid in its different aspects.

When we do this, I believe with respect to such things as the development loan program, technical assistance, and those programs that work for the development of the different activities of countries such as the Senator has mentioned, that it will be good to reemphasize those programs and to make funds available in sufficient amounts to carry them out. However, I feel that we ought not here, on the floor of the Senate, to raise the amounts provided in the pending bill.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, is it not true that the amount authorized in the pending bill is the smallest amount Congress has ever authorized in the field of foreign aid?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MOSS. And is it not true that with the independence that has now come to many underdeveloped countries, there has also grown this spirit of rising expectations and as a result, those countries are trying very desperately to provide their own food and fiber and to develop their economy to the point that an awareness of the availability and the need of capital continue to grow and accelerate?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I fully agree with the Senator on his statement. There are those who believe that the proper way to approach the question, particularly the question of fertilizer, is not to furnish the fertilizer, but to help them build their plants so that they can make their own commercial fertilizers year after year. I think some thought ought to be given to that approach.

Mr. MOSS. I would agree with that. I think that we have made the beginning in that approach in a number of countries. India is a notable example. They have built fertilizer-producing plants and are producing fertilizer.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They are stepping up their production.

Mr. MOSS. As rapidly as they can become fully self-sufficient in producing for their own needs, I think that is all to the good.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think that some Senator—and it may have been the Senator from Utah—mentioned on yesterday the great increase in the production of rice in the Philippines.

Mr. MOSS. Two very important developments in the field of grains have come about within the last 5 or 6 years. One was the development of the strain of rice that was made possible by the Rockefeller Institute, and it makes rice very much more prolific. It has a short stem that is more adaptable to better production. They are self-sufficient in rice in the Philippines for the first time since 1903. In fact, they will have a slight surplus and will be exporting rice this year.

The same breakthrough can be effectuated in other countries of the world.

On the other hand, some countries depend largely on wheat for their cereals. I refer to countries such as India and Pakistan. And the new Mexican strain of wheat that has been introduced has been creating the same kind of food revolution. With these people just now coming to the point where they are approaching self-sufficiency in their production of grains, it seems to me it would be disastrous to drop our program at this time and let them struggle ahead on their own. They would not reach their goals for many years. It will be very disappointing to them if we withdraw the hope we have been able to give them up to now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In that connection, I do not believe the withdrawal of help afforded previously to those countries will be as disastrous as the Senator pictures. I think those countries realize the prevailing situation. I think they would realize the need of reassessing our whole foreign aid program. That has to be done from time to time. There are changes, and we must recognize those changes.

Mr. MOSS. I believe the thing they would not understand is why a society as affluent as ours, with a gross national product that is almost $1 trillion a year—and it is continuing to increase every year by many billions of dollars—is continuing to decrease the exact amount of dollars we are contributing to foreign aid.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I am not sure that is the proper measure, because conditions are changing from time to time. I think that we have been most generous in the past. I think that, as a matter of fact, we are generous in the pending bill. That does not mean to say that I would not have been glad to see increases made in certain fields. I certainly would have been glad to see an increase in the field of technical assistance. I believe in that program probably more strongly than in any other part of the foreign aid program.

I remember when that program started as the old point 4 program. I know some of the things it has accomplished in various countries of the world and the things that it continues to accomplish.

I believe that under the prevailing conditions we must stick to the committee figures. After all, the Foreign Relations Committee spent a great deal of time in studying this matter and discussing all features of it. I believe we ought to stick to the committee figure.

Mr. MOSS. The Senator from Iowa pointed out in the debate on yesterday that we do appropriate and spend a large amount of money in the food for peace program. I support that program as long as there are hungry people. However, I was trying to point out the difference in the approach. In the food-for-peace program we are distributing food we have grown here and are sending it to these countries to help them, instead of consuming our own products here. However, the money from the Development Loan Fund is tailored to go into stimulated production in the underdeveloped countries so they can feed themselves and at the same time build a base for an economy in those lands.

That is the reason I think it is so important we restore at least the very modest amount suggested by my amendment.

I discussed the matter with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER]. We talked about the amount of restoration. The Senator from Minnesota had an amendment prepared in the amount of $200 million. I had an amendment prepared in the amount of $100 million. We decided that we, too, had to recognize the realities and the difficulties of our monetary situation. However, we felt that it was absolutely imperative that we restore at least $50 million, which is the amount contained in the amendment I now have pending.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 5 minutes?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I say to the Senator from Utah that I never like it when I find myself in disagreement with him because of the great regard I have for his opinions. However, I must oppose his amendment for the reasons that I now give.

I agree with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] that our development loan program is one of the best aspects of our foreign aid program, as is the technical assistance program. If I were to pick the two things most important to our foreign aid program, they would be the development loan program and the technical assistance program. However, I would have the Senator from Utah take into account that, as the Senator from Alabama has just said, we worked very hard on the bill. Many adjustments had to be made in the committee.

At one time we were pretty much bogged down. However, those of us in opposition to the bill at that time withdrew from our original position, which was that we would not even allow a unanimous-consent agreement to limit debate or allow the bill to go to a vote before the two political conventions.

The Committee on Foreign Relations made some adjustments in this bill, and we then withdrew our objections. We were trying to speed the bill through so we could get it passed before the conventions. This action represented the legislative process at its best at the committee level.

I spoke briefly yesterday about our stopping giving away products such as fertilizer and other equipment. What we should do is what we are doing in India, for example, which is one of the best aspects of our development loan program. We are building fertilizer plants there. The Indians are creating their own jobs and developing their own economy. This is better than continuing a grant program or even a loan program at the expense of the American taxpayers; because it is at our expense when one takes into account the shocking interest rates that the American taxpayers have to pay for when their Government borrows the money.

I believe we should face up to the fact that this will not cause ill will in these foreign countries. They know the plight we are in. They do not expect us to be upping foreign aid this year. They recognize that a considerable amount of it must be held in suspension until we get out of our own crises. We have two main crises. We have our foreign affairs crisis in Asia, and we have our fiscal crisis in this country. Therefore, this is not time for us to be increasing this bill.

The third point I wish to stress—I have four points—is that we must face up to the present situation in regard to development loans. We have at the present time an unexpended balance in development loans of $1,604,304,000. The important thing in regard to that, I want to say in all fairness, is the amount that is not obligated. Much of that $1 billion plus is obligated but not expended, which means that the programs are for the future. But out of that $1,604,304,000, $44,723,000 has not even been obligated. Programs for that $44 million have not even been developed.

The Senator from Utah asks us now to add $50 million over what we already have in this bill. This bill contains a substantial amount for development. I believe it would be a great mistake, in view of the two crises I have talked about and in view of the fourth point I am about to make, for us now to add $50 million to what we already have in this bill, when we already have $1,604,304,000 of development loan money not expended and $44,726,000 not even planned—by that I mean not even obligated.

The fourth point I wish to stress is the floor situation. If we start adding to this bill, we will be confronted with a large number of amendments to strike from the bill, because in the view of many Senators, many sections of this bill should be reduced. I believe the number of amendments for reduction will be minimal. I think an amendment will be offered to strike an amount that was added by the House, which got through the Senate committee by a seemingly narrow vote, to add $10 million for additional military aid in Latin America. If there is anything we do not need, it is $10 million more of bullets in Latin America to support dictators in totalitarian states that subjugate freedom in many parts of Latin America. There may be an amendment on that. But there could have been 25 or 30 amendments to strike, and there will be very few.

I believe the pending amendment would be a great mistake. The Senator will not agree with me, and we respect each other. I believe we have a well-balanced bill here. I believe the statistics I have given of unexpended funds and of unobligated funds, justify us in rejecting the Senator's amendment.

I join with Senator SPARKMAN in referring to a proposed reexamination of AID. I have been proposing this for 4 years. In 1965, the Morse-Fulbright amendment, which was adopted by the Senate, sought to accomplish the very thing to which Senator SPARKMAN has referred. It was defeated in Congress because the administration brought great pressure to bear. As a result of their beating it in the House, that proposal was dropped in conference. That was a great mistake in 1965, because we would have had foreign aid reforms by now.

What we pleaded for in the Morse-Fulbright amendment of 1965 was to bring to an end the type of foreign aid we have and to have an entirely new foreign aid program based upon an analysis of foreign aid in every country. We sought to reduce the number of countries into which we were pouring the largess of the American people—at the present time 93 countries—and reduce it to 50, because AID cannot be justified in more than 50 countries. We asked the administration to come forward with a new foreign aid program.

I say again, as I have said many times, that I would vote for $3 of economic and technical assistance and development loans for every dollar of military aid that we cut out of our foreign aid program; for, by and large, it is the military aid that has polluted the stream of foreign aid. It is the military aid that has created the negative image of the United States in many of the underdeveloped areas of the world. It is our military aid that, in my judgment, is the greatest cause of the spread of communism in the world, because it is playing right into the hands of the vicious propaganda of the Communists.

I am for a new foreign aid program, and I want to vote for foreign aid. However, I have voted against it for 4 years. I came to the Senate as an internationalist, and I am still an internationalist, but if one supports the kind of foreign aid we have been supporting, it does great injustice to the kind of international program we have adopted for it is not internationalism. Our bilateral aid has been a tool of American nationalism.

I hope the Senate will reject the pending amendment, so that we can get on with the passage of the bill. But if we are going to start adding to the bill, then we will start cutting it, or at least the Senate will be given the opportunity to cut the bill in many respects.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President (Mr. FANNIN in the chair), I appreciate the comments of the Senator from Oregon. I have known for a long time his position on foreign aid, and he certainly has stated his position very forcefully and eloquently, as he always does. I respect him as one who has given a great deal of thought and attention to this matter. I regret that we disagree on some of the points.

I agree with the Senator from Oregon on military aid, and he will recall that I have voted again and again, when the matter was before us, to cut military aid. So in that area we are in agreement.

However, his statement that we are now trying to up the bill contains the intimation that we are increasing foreign aid; whereas, if my amendment were adopted, it would still be $50 million below what we provided even last year, when supposedly we had the greatest cut in the foreign aid authorization that we have ever had.

I point out, as I did in my opening remarks, that we are talking about less than 1 percent of our gross national product. The standard that has been recommended by the United Nations and the countries of the world is that developed countries try to commit 1 percent of their gross national product in assistance to lesser-developed countries. We are not meeting that standard.

As to the money obligated, which we already have appropriated and is obligated, it is all obligated except some $44 million, as the Senator has pointed out.

As the Senator has pointed out, in this field of development loans, where a great deal of planning has to go into the type development we want to see done and where there is a period of construction and the money is not all expended immediately, there would be a time naturally when funds had not been obligated because planning had not been completed, and funds obligated but not expended because construction was going on. I would say $44 million is not a high figure but a rather low figure to show that this much is not yet obligated.

Mr. President, for the reasons I have stated, I feel that in the development loan field—and I also wish to pay my respect to the technical assistance, point 4, in this program, but we are talking about only development loans this morning—the amount of the bill is so low it cripples the program.

I think we should restore at least $50 million.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I have been highly impressed by the presentation made by the Senator from Utah. He points out that the Senate accepted the figure of the House, which was $350 million; that the allocation last year, I believe, was $450 million, and, therefore, he suggests dividing the difference and making the present sum $400 million.

I do feel there should be mention at this time that the U.S. taxpayer is contributing rather liberally to many organizations that are providing aid to different countries around the world.

There is the World Bank which has a

soft currency window. My recollection is that we put up 40 percent of the money that goes into that Bank. We have liberally given of our food services under Public Law 480 to the undeveloped countries of the world. At times we take in payment what is known as the soft currency which remains within the boundaries of the recipient country to be used by it primarily for the development of its infrastructure of public services.

There is the Export-Import Bank to which we are a subscriber in the amount of approximately 40 percent of the money that is put up. Out of that fact there flows rather liberally money of the taxpayers of the United States to help underdeveloped countries establish businesses on which their economy can be improved.

We are a member of the Inter-American Development Bank which deals primarily with the needs of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Our dollars flow liberally into that institution.

Mr. President, I wish to reassert whas has been said by the Senator has been said by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] with respect to the approach that members of the Committee on Foreign Relations made to this very important subject. I cannot speak for my associates on the committee. I do know, however, that I was confronted with the very, I would say, gruesome problem of imposing a 10-percent surtax upon the people of the United States, reducing expenditures within our own country by $6 billion and then being faced with the responsibility of not cutting the foreign aid program.

We wanted to give more but in a time of financial stringency within our own country, at a time when we are suffering with a $25.4 billion deficit for fiscal year 1968, it is rather hard to say to the taxpayers of the United States, "You have a $25.4 billion deficit. You are asking us to save and cut, and yet we do not cut in the foreign aid program."

There is $1,600,000,000 in the pipeline on foreign aid. In this program we are giving $350 million. I do not think we can in good conscience increase the amounts which have been set by the Committee on Foreign Relations and which are practically equal to the amounts set by the House of Representatives.

In my judgment, the committee went as far as it could possibly go in face of the fiscal problems confronting the people of the United States.

I regret very much I have to take this dissenting view from the views of the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] on this particular issue, but I see no other way out in face of the $25.4 billion deficit facing our Nation.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment of the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS].

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I am proud to join in support of the amendment of the Senator from Utah, which I think is a very modest but essential effort to continue the remarkable progress we have seen in the field of agriculture production in Asia and throughout the world.

This morning I received a telegram from Mr. Elmer R. Kiehl, chairman, Council of U.S. Universities for Rural Development in India, composed of the University of Illinois, Kansas State University, University of Missouri, Ohio State University, Pennsylvania State University, and the University of Tennessee.

The telegram states:

> The Council of United States Universities for Rural Development in India, composed of University of Illinois, Kansas State University, University of Missouri, Ohio State University, Pennsylvania State University, and University of Tennessee notes with concern the possibility that diminishing U.S. foreign assistance levels will reduce agricultural production in India.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for an emergency matter?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to temporarily lay aside the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXTENSION OF CERTAIN PROGRAMS PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO STUDENTS AT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have an emergency matter based on a request from the House of Representatives for a technical change in the student loan bill which we passed yesterday, that the House has to have immediately in order to get to work on it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 16729) to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized and directed in the engrossment of the amendment to the bill (H.R. 16729) to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs, to first, strike out "(1)" following "428(a)" in section 1(a)(2); and, second, add an amendment to the title to read as follows: "An act to extend and make certain modifications in the higher education and vocational student loan insurance programs."

Mr. President, I send the request to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the unanimous-consent request.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> That the Secretary of the Senate be authorized and directed in the engrossment of the amendment to the bill (H.R. 16729), to extend for two years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs, to (1) strike out "(1)" following "428(a)" in section 1(a)(2), and (2) add an amendment to the title to read as follows: "An Act to extend and make certain modifications in the higher education and vocational student loan insurance programs."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the request. Without objection, the request is agreed to.

Mr. MORSE subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the request previously made by me on H.R. 16729 be modified to eliminate the title change.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I continue to read this most important telegram:

> The six U.S. universities comprising this council have been working in India for over a decade assisting that country to develop the institutional base of trained people, local organization, and scientific research competence to achieve self-sustaining agricultural development. The new agricultural technology now being introduced into India, including the new varieties of food grains, adapted to local conditions through research, is resulting in rapid growth in food production.

I want to repeat that last phrase:

> Is resulting in rapid growth in food production.

I do not believe that Congress is fully aware of the agricultural revolution now under way in Asia and the significance of the failure to fund it properly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I yield 5 additional minutes to the Senator from Minnesota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I do not believe that Congress is adequately aware of the very serious nature of the cuts for agricultural development which are found in the bill as reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Now is the time to begin every reasonable support for this remarkable revolution in agricultural production in Asia, for our own interests as well as theirs—let alone what should be, in my opinion, the overriding moral responsibility that the decent people of this world should have toward feeding the undernourished.

The telegram continues:

> Unless adequate assistance is provided to permit India to purchase agricultural production inputs in the United States, especially fertilizer, the present breakthrough in food production, upon which India's future development ultimately rests, will suffer a serious setback.

Mr. President, those words are well chosen and I think make the adoption of the Moss amendment essential this morning.

The telegram concludes:

> Therefore, we urge adequate U.S. participation, through both direct U.S. bilateral programs and contributions to multilateral arrangements and international agencies, in providing the technical assistance, research, and financial support to encourage growth of food production now possible in India.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the entire telegram printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MANHATTAN, KANS., *July 26, 1968.*

Senator WALTER F. MONDALE,
Washington, D.C.:

The Council of United States Universities for Rural Development in India, composed of University of Illinois, Kansas State University, University of Missouri, Ohio State University, Pennsylvania State University, and University of Tennessee, notes with concern the possibility that diminishing U.S. foreign assistance levels will reduce agricultural production in India.

The six U.S. universities comprising this Council have been working in India for over a decade assisting that country to develop the institutional base of trained people, local organization, and scientific research competence to achieve self-sustaining agricultural development. The new agricultural technology now being introduced into India, including the new varieties of food grains, adapted to local conditions through research, is resulting in rapid growth in food production.

Unless adequate assistance is provided to permit India to purchase agricultural production inputs in the United States, especially fertilizer, the present breakthrough in food production, upon which India's future development ultimately rests, will suffer a serious setback.

Therefore, we urge adequate U.S. participation, through both direct U.S. bilateral programs and contributions to multilateral arrangements and international agencies, in providing the technical assistance, research, and financial support to encourage growth of food production now possible in India.

ELMER R. KIEHL,
Chairman.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I have also received a telegram today from a close friend of mine who, I think, is one of the most thoughtful and understanding men on food problems in the world; namely, Sherwood O. Berg, dean of the Institute of Agriculture, University of Minnesota.

The telegram reads:

> Urge your strong support. Aid technical assistance world food problem requires steady continuing effort as is being provided by University of Minnesota and other land grant universities, aboard Development Loan Funds also urgent next year for India, Pakistan and other countries where new technology is now available for major advances in food production.

Mr. President, the point of both these telegrams, representing as they do the enlightened position of leaders of American universities who have been dealing with the food problems in Asia, is that we now are, in fact, on the verge of witnessing a virtual revolution in agricultural production, a revolution of which we are not fully aware, a revolution which is very clearly spelled out in the remarkable article published in Foreign Affairs by Lester Brown, which I had printed in the Record yesterday.

Just at the point when we can benefit most in this world from that agricultural breakthrough, we are cutting back funds on the very efforts which have helped bring us to this point. I think it would have to go down as an ironic and disoriented act by this country to cut back on this effort just at the time when it offers the most opportunity to solve the problem of the food deficient countries of the world.

Mr. President, the expenditures for fertilizer and other imports which make this possible will be made in the United States.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a list of the fertilizer and pesticide concerns which would be supplying the fertilizer and pesticides that would go into the effort. They comprise several firms throughout the country, from practically every State in the Union, and show the involvement of American agribusiness in this agricultural revolution.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

JULY 31, 1968.

To: Files.
From: WOH/ARDS, John E. Osguthorpe.
Subject: Firms Exporting Agricultural Chemicals Including Fertilizers and Pesticides With A.I.D. Financing During FY 68 (July 1, 1967–June 30, 1968).

Bordon Chemical (Smith & Douglas Division).
International Mineral and Chemical Corporation.
American Plant Food.
Coastal Chemical.
Hooker Chemical.
Olin Mathieson.
Allied Chemical.
Rohm & Haas.
American Cyanamid.
Inland Steel.
Columbia Nitrogen.
Goodpasture Inc.
Hydrocarbon.
U.S. Steel.
W. R. Grace (Davidson Division).
Kaiser Aluminum (Valley Nitrogen Division).
Arkla.
Swift.
Monsanto.
Texas Gulf Sulphur.
Continental Oil.
Ammo Chemical Corp.
Nipak.
Shell Oil.
Red Barn.
Terra Chemical.
Phillips.
Southwest Potash.
Farmland.
Armour.
Agriculture and Industrial.
Chemoleum Corp.
Transammonia.
Woodward and Dickerson.
H. J. Baker.
Occidental Petroleum–Interore.
Mobil Oil.
Bethlehem Steel.
Chevron Chemical.
Wycon Chemical.
Cherokee.
Simplot.
Central Resources Corp.
International Commodity Export Corp.
Duval Corp.
Tennessee Corp.
McNeil Laboratory.
Dow Chemical.
Union Carbide.
Stauffer Chemical.
Merck.
Geigy.
E. I. duPont.
Penick.
Elanco Lilly.
Chemagro.
Diamond.
Hercules.
Velsicol.
Rennsalt.
Montrose Chemical.
U.S. Rubber.
Shipman Chemical.
Amchem.
Tavolek Laboratory (Johnson & Johnson).
Calumet and Hecla.
Hollywood Termite.
Sherwin Williams.
Niagara Corp.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I profoundly hope that the Senate will adopt the Moss amendment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Missouri.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I thank the able Senator from Alabama.

In the Committee on Foreign Relations, we studied all suggestions for providing additional money to help solve the problems of other countries.

There are several figures I would present this morning in opposition to this amendment.

Counting the interest rates, the total amount of money given by the American taxpayers to foreign countries since World War II is $171 billion, over half the national debt.

That national debt is now $43,819,000,000 more than the debt of all the other countries of the world combined.

Although I have deep sympathy with the problems of the people in other countries, including their agricultural problems, it is about time we began to face up to the problems of the people of this country, especially as a very large percentage of our citizens live below the poverty line.

If we could do both, I would be for both; but that is very doubtful, and time has come to look more closely at our own financial fiscal and monetary problems.

For example, last week, as I am sure my colleagues noticed, again we had another unfavorable balance in the private sector. Our imports exceeded our exports; and that trend is a very serious matter indeed. Only the tremendous excess of exports from this country has made it possible in the past for us to continue with this vast outlay of Government expenditures abroad.

Take India, where many people are rightly interested in its agricultural progress. But we have given India in foreign aid some $7 billion and I challenge anyone to prove that the position of India today is appreciably better than it was before the American taxpayers came up with that vast sum.

A figure came out yesterday which perhaps best illustrates the type and character of problem this country now faces, as the pound is devalued, and the franc also is in obvious trouble. If this continues, the dollar can only have its problems also.

Who would have predicted 12 months ago that the operating debt of the United States for this past fiscal year would run to $25.4 billion, the largest debt the United States ever had in its history except in times of all-out war.

It is easy in this body to vote the taxpayers' money for many desirable projects—and I am the first to say this one is desirable. But can we afford to continue this steady outlay of American dollars all over the world?

An amendment suggested would add $200 million to help foreign agriculture. There is a simpler way—use the counterpart funds we have in the various foreign countries. In one country our counterpart funds amount to over $1 billion. What are we ever going to do to utilize that money? Another way would be equally simple and effective. We could specify that, instead of putting more American dollars around the world we put around more food and fiber, substituting our surplus agricultural products for the dollars that are draining the core of the American economy.

Mr. President, it is time for this Congress and this administration to show more financial responsibility.

I believe the bill as it came out of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which I have the honor to be a member, represents the most we can possibly do at this time, and under prevailing conditions.

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** Mr. President, may I ask how much time I have on the amendment?

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** All of the Senator's time on the amendment has expired.

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes on the bill to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS].

THE GREAT TEXAS HYPOCRISY

Mr. **WILLIAMS** of Delaware. Mr. President, over the wires came the following, which I read:

> While Congress last month was talking about a rollback, the Government employee payroll was soaring to a post-World War II record high.

Mr. President, today, I call attention to the indefensible manner in which the Johnson administration deliberately padded the public payroll by adding over 95,000 extra employees in the 30-day period immediately prior to his signing the tax increase legislation, which also embraced a mandatory reduction in both expenditures and Federal civilian employment.

During the 30 days in June, while this bill was held in abeyance, the Johnson administration added 95,350 additional employees to the public payroll with practically every agency of the Government except the Treasury Department joining in the stampede.

This spectacular increase in employment for the month of June brings the total number of employees on the Federal payroll as of July 1 to 3,026,376, the highest since 1945.

From the very beginning the administration had been fighting the two sections of that bill which would have reduced expenditures.

The President violently opposed the $6 billion mandatory expenditure reduction for fiscal 1969, and the administration also resented section 201, which required a rollback in Federal civilian employment to the July 1, 1966, level.

This rollback would have been achieved without firing a single employee by merely limiting the ability to replace three out of every four normal resignations or retirements.

This opposition has developed into nothing short of blackmail threats to stop the mail services, curtail air safety, et cetera, despite the fact that the Director of the Budget, as the representative of the President, had agreed to both these sections in conference as a part of the tax increase bill. It was unanimously agreed by the conferees, with the Director of the Budget concurring, that there would be no exemptions for any agency from section 201 but that he, the Director of the Budget, would be delegated ample authority to reassign the vacancies or replacements in a manner which would least disrupt the public service.

How we find that during the 30-day interval after the conferees and the administration had agreed on the package but prior to its actual signing into law, the agencies were already circumventing the intent by adding a total of over 95,000 extra employees.

The Post Office Department was just last week threatening to curtail the most essential mail service, but it actually added 20,358 employees during the month of June above the number that were needed to handle the mail in the preceeding month. It is understood that during the rush of the Christmas holidays the Post Office Department needs additional temporary personnel; but during the month of June why would they need these extra 23,000 except that they were padding the payroll?

The following is a list of the additions in various other agencies of the Government:

The Agricultural Department added 8,842 employees in June. Health, Education, and Welfare added 7,107. The Interior Department added 5,309, and the Veterans' Administration added 3,604.

The Transportation Department, which includes the Federal Aviation Administration, added 2,959 employees during June. Just last week the Federal Aviation Administration was threatening to curtail air safety unless it was excused from this rollback on the basis that it was already short of employees. Yet we now find that it had padded its payroll by adding 3,000 more employees than it had during the month of May. Perhaps there are so many employees in the way that they cannot transact their business.

The State Department added 411 employees; yet during the same month the State Department sent to the Congress a bill asking for special legislation which in effect would have paid a bonus of approximately $10,000 per employee to a group of employees who had been brought back from overseas and not needed. Apparently for political reasons they did not want to dismiss these employees and were trying to get Congress to approve a bonus of $10,000 each to get them off the public payroll.

Just this week the Justice Department obtained from the Senate a special exemption in order that it could hire more law-enforcement officers with the threat that law enforcement would fail unless it too were exempted from expenditure and employee controls. Yet we now find that the Justice Department just ahead of the effective date of the rollback, had added 1,617 employees.

The Labor Department added 435 extra employees.

The Defense Department joined the parade with the Army adding 21,346 extra civilian employees, the Navy Department adding 12,081, the Air Force adding 1,945, and the Defense Supply Agency adding 3,583 extra employees.

The only sizable reduction by any major agency of the Government was a reduction of 1,695 employees by the Treasury Department.

The Treasury Department more than any other agency recognized just how serious the American dollar was jeopardized during those days of crises. It is encouraging to note that at least this agency cooperated in this expenditure reduction plan by reducing employment; however, I note that the Bureau of the Budget added 52 employees.

There can be no justification for this spectacular increase in Federal employment during a period when we were agreeing on economy, and I can think of but two explanations. First, and most likely, these agencies were padding their payrolls in advance of the effective date of the expenditure control legislation, or second, and an equally reprehensible excuse, the administration was deliberately padding the public payroll as the preliminary step to buying the 1968 election.

The Williams-Smathers tax increase along with its two sections dealing with expenditure controls and with controls over civilian employment in Government was approved by both branches of Congress.

The expenditure reduction and employment curtailment sections had been submitted to the Senate Appropriations Committee prior to final agreement by the conferees, and the Appropriations Committee unanimously agreed to the provisions as they were later embodied in the conference report.

That conference report was later sustained by the Senate with an overwhelming vote. But during the past couple of weeks, under the blackmail threats of the various agencies to curtail certain essential services, the Senate has been exempting one by one these agencies from any expenditures controls or any control over the employees.

The result is and will continue to be a padded public payroll.

These 95,000 employees that were put on the payroll during the 30-day period—using a figure of $8,000 per employee—will cost the taxpayers approximately $760 million a year, or over $60 million per month.

The American taxpayers, who are now being asked to pay an extra 10 percent income tax, have a right to be indignant over the manner in which the Johnson administration and the Congress have reneged on their promises to curtail Government expenditures.

As evidence that this planned and deliberate padding of the public payroll was not just the imagination of one critic, I read from an article by Mr. Jerry Kluttz which appeared in the Washington Post of June 26, 1968, entitled "Hire Now, Pay Later Job Plan Adopted To Meet Agency Cutbacks":

> Federal agencies have quietly launched a hire-now-and-pay-later plan.
>
> They have passed word quietly to hire new employees immediately up to their limits of both funds and manpower ceilings.
>
> Also, they are encouraging employees who plan to retire or resign to do so no later than as of June 30.
>
> Finally, they would like for President Johnson to delay until July 1 or thereafter the signing into law of the bill to raise taxes and to make sharp cuts in agency dollars and jobs. The White House, however, has indicated the signing will be this week.
>
> Agencies are taking these and other actions in anticipation of the job-cut provision in the legislation that threatens to eliminate upwards of 300,000 full-time regular jobs over the next year or so.
>
> The provision which will require agencies to abolish 25 per cent of their regular jobs that are vacated until the employment level of June, 1966, is reached, won't be effective until the beginning of the month after it becomes law.
>
> If the President signs the bill in any day in June the job-cut provision will be effective July 1. But if he waits until July 1, agencies would have another month to build up their staffs to maximum strength before starting cutbacks.
>
> As of April, agencies were about 30,000 jobs under their manpower and dollar ceilings. They had earmarked most of these jobs, however, for June high school and college graduates who had been promised the positions.
>
> In any event, agencies that hire up to their maximum strengths now will have a longer way to go later to rollback jobs to the June, 1966, level.

Mr. President, these increases could not have taken place without the full knowledge and approval of the President of the United States. I ask unanimous consent that my statement here today be entitled "The Great Texas Hypocrisy."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EACH DAY IN JUNE, 3,173 NEW EMPLOYEES ADDED TO FEDERAL PAYROLL

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, it has come to my attention that during June, 3,173 persons were added to the Federal payrolls for every single day of the month. This wild hiring spree is shocking at a time when our Nation's economy is still reeling from the $25-billion-plus deficit suffered during the fiscal year just concluded, and as our Nation faces the gloomy prospects of another deficit in fiscal 1969.

More than that, the hiring of 95,350 employees during June is an affront to every taxpayer asked to foot the bill for the fourth largest Federal employee total in U.S. history, topped only by 3 war years. We ended fiscal 1968 with a total of 3,026,376 Federal civilian employees, including the June figure.

The 95,350 jobs added in June represent hiring 132 persons every hour around the clock, or hiring more than two new employees every minute in the 30-day period.

I find this astonishing at a time when every Agency has been ordered by Congress to undergo belt-tightening and fiscal restraint in order to comply with the $6 billion spending cutback and the 10-percent surtax increase.

Interestingly enough, had the Johnson-Humphrey administration not hired a single new worker in June, the administration would have come very close to making the fiscal year 1968 Federal employee estimate figure of 2,932,000 contained in the President's budget message to Congress last January.

President Johnson himself is the one who bally-hooed a new control on Federal employment as early as December 2, 1965, when, speaking from Texas, he issued a statement approving a plan to eliminate 25,000 jobs. The plan, contained in a memorandum from the Budget Bureau, instructed the heads of departments to reduce their employment by 1 to 1.25 percent by the end of fiscal year 1966.

This announcement was hailed as a great budget-cutting device and a new, fine step toward economy. However, as it turned out on that date the Federal employment figure was 2,550,742. At the end of the fiscal year the President had actually added 190,124 to the payroll.

Unfortunately, this was not an isolated case. On September 20, 1966, the President issued an Executive order in which he directed the heads of all agencies to take steps to hold employment in full-time, permanent positions for the remainder of 1967 at or below the level which prevailed as of July 31, 1966. Agencies whose employment was higher than the July 1966 level were to reduce employment to the July 31 level as soon as possible by not filling vacancies.

So what happened? Between July 1966, and the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1967, a total 242,112 new employees were added to the Federal payrolls.

I realize we have a growing, expanding economy and an increasing population that requires additional assistance and additional Federal employees to cope with ever-growing problems. I also realize that at this rate of increase—3,167 new Federal employees a day—there can never be a tax cut, that there can never be a balanced budget, and that the American economy and dollar can never again regain their long-lost prestige and value.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 7 minutes remaining on the amendment.

Mr. MOSS. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, unfortunately, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], a cosponsor of the amendment, could not be with us today, but he has asked me to have included in the RECORD a very fine statement prepared by him, urging the adoption of the Moss amendment. I ask unanimous consent that his statement in support of this proposal be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement of Senator COOPER was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> Mr. COOPER. I urge the Senate to restore 50 million dollars to the Development Loan Fund, raising the amount available for development loans to 400 million dollars.
>
> A large proportion of the money used in the Development Loan Fund is used for agricultural development. The goal of these agricultural development programs is to enable underdeveloped countries to produce enough food to be self-sufficient. The ability to feed one's people is the first and vital building block in the building of a sound economy and a strong national identity. Were it not for our help in the past, many countries would be victims of famine and all the violent disorders and discontent that famine can breed.
>
> Our effort to help other nations to help themselves, particularly to help them produce more food to feed their hungry people, has been one of our most successful programs. Such programs financed by the Development Loan Fund have strengthened the nations we have sought to help. The Development Loan Fund has strengthened the internal stability of these less fortunate nations; and it has strengthened our security in the world.
>
> Economic assistance, and particularly such basic economic assistance as the Development Loan Fund provides, is a worthy investment and yields profits both to the United States and to the countries we choose to assist. It has encouraged trade. American fertilizer plants, American agricultural machinery and American agricultural technology are the tools being used. This is of direct benefit to our economy.
>
> We are spending over 70 billion dollars this year on our military security. Over 30 billion of that is devoted to waging a destructive and fruitless war in Vietnam—a war that has damaged our economy, brought us little security and has seriously eroded our position of leadership in the world.
>
> The Congress has already cut over a billion dollars from the modest request made by the Administration of a little over three billion dollars—less than one half of one percent of our gross national product. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has recommended an amount for foreign aid of under 2 billion dollars. When a comparison of what 2 billion dollars of economic aid can do to promote peace and better the lot of mankind is placed against the 70 billion dollars devoted to military hardware and war, the imbalance in our priorities is abundantly apparent. While relatively modest cuts have been made in our military budget, very severe cuts have been made in our economic programs. A strong economic aid program and a strong defense are both vital to our security.
>
> Any truth in our statements to the world that we believe in peaceful means of strengthening the peace has been undermined by the events of the past few years. Our involvement in the war in Vietnam has steadily increased, and at the same time, our involvement in peaceful programs of economic development has decreased. We are contributing far less of our national wealth to the development of international stability through peaceful means than we did twenty years ago, and this lessening of our peaceful

international efforts has had its adverse effects upon our worldwide relationships.

There is no question that there are many deficiencies in our aid program. The mistakes that have been made are for the most part mistakes inevitable in new and untried programs. The ability to transfer the knowledge, technology and capital of one nation to another is not a simple task—as we have found out. But it is a task that has proven its worth to the United States, as well as to the underdeveloped world. It has helped develop profitable trade between the developing nations and ourselves. Our aid program has not been a one-way proposition. On the whole our pioneering efforts to help economic development of poorer nations reflect the best in the American spirit. It is a chapter in our history of which we can be proud.

Senator Javits, Senator Kuchel, I and others are sponsoring an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act which would provide for a presidential commission to look into the question of aid—what might be done and report to the next president in July of next year. I have advocated this approach for many many years. There is much the Congress and particularly the Senate Foreign Relations Committee can do to strengthen the aid program. In addition, I believe constructive reforms could come out of such a commission and the next president's ability to use peaceful means of organizing the peace would be strengthened.

The modest increase in the Development Loan Fund that Senators Moss, Mondale and I have proposed would enable a positive and successful program to continue until the results of the commission were seen and considered by the next president.

In a time when the population is growing at such a rapid rate, outstripping the production increase of food, and in a time when the scientific knowledge, education and cultural changes necessary to control the population are only in a beginning stage, it is all the more imperative to continue successful programs of agricultural development that have begun to bear such promise.

It is to the honor and credit of the United States that our aid program over the years has significantly helped better the lot of people in friendly nations in desperate need. But most important, programs made possible by the Development Loan Fund have proven without question to be of benefit to American farmers, to American business—and these programs have strengthened our international security and prestige.

For these reasons, I urge the Senate to accept this amendment to increase the Development Loan Fund by 50 million dollars.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I shall be very brief, and will then be ready to yield back the remainder of my time, so that we can get on to a vote on this matter.

I was sorry that we got off the subject and on to political topics. I should like to get the focus back on the amendment before us.

During the debate on this amendment, some Senators have asked, "The objective is good, but can we afford it?"

I think that is a pertinent question to ask. That question arises, I guess, almost any time we talk about spending money. I know that in my own State, even when times are most prosperous, it is still fashionable to raise the cry, "This is a very fine thing to do, but can we afford it?" The question has become almost a slogan.

I think we do have a very serious financial problem, and the Senate has been trying to help meet it. I should like, however, to pose the question the other way: Can we afford not to continue to do what we have been doing in this field, spoken of so well by our colleague from Minnesota, where we are beginning to show results, where we are achieving a breakthrough in the area of food production, and where some of the countries aided have been able to forego further assistance entirely?

What we are talking about here is putting back, still not even last year's level, but putting back only about 50 percent of what the President requested in his budget: putting back $50 million and directing that $50 million, at least, of the development loan fund be expended in this agricultural field about which the Senator from Minnesota has spoken.

We will be called upon later to vote on appropriation bills for military expenditures and other items. The appropriation for military expenditures will come to perhaps $82 billion this year, or something in that area. We are talking here about only $50 million. I say "only $50 million" realizing that that is a vast amount of money; but, on a comparative basis, when we will sweep through appropriations for military purposes totaling billions and billions of dollars, I think we ought to come back and reflect on the objective and the purpose, and what could be accomplished here.

I think it is of great importance that this body make the move to restore at least this small part to the development loan fund request, which is still $50 million below what we authorized last year. I plead for this amendment.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, the Alliance for Progress was born nearly 7 years ago out of the urgent need for accelerated economic development and broader social justice for the peoples of Latin America. I can assure my fellow Members that there have been significant achievements in answering this need, all within a framework of personal dignity and political liberty.

The Charter of Punta del Este called for the improvement and a strengthening of democratic institutions. I can report that so far, the Alliance nations have not only scored impressive physical and economic gains, but they have also showed the pillars of democratic societies. The regular growth of political institutions and stability in recent years is indeed promising for the future of the area.

In like measure, a progressive, peaceful Latin America enhances our own security by insuring overall hemispheric security. A few pertinent facts will serve to demonstrate advances along these lines. In the 30 years before the Alliance came into being, there were over 100 unscheduled, unconstitutional changes of regime in Latin America. This constitutes an average three or more per year.

The rhythm of such changes slackened noticeably in the sixties, as the Alliance progressed and its influence began to be felt. Since the one coup of 1966, in Argentina, there have been none. Even in this case, the Argentinian Government has indicated interest in a return to democratic processes.

In my view, this remarkable stabilization definitely suggests that the political picture in Latin America has already undergone considerable modification.

We might ask ourselves the question: What would the political scene be in Latin America today if there had never been an Alliance for Progress to encourage stability? To be sure, there are obstacles to be overcome before the final goals of Latin American socio-economic development can be reached. But let us not give up faint-heartedly in the first few laps of the race.

As President Johnson remarked at last year's summit meeting of American chief executives, this is a race for long-distance runners, not sprinters.

Much has been accomplished during the last 7 years to reinforce the social and economic fabric of Latin American nations. The gains lend support to Alliance-oriented political platforms and help to ensure that instability and insecurity, fed by chronic inflation and unemployment, will not undermine the foundations of hemispheric solidarity.

Some of these accomplishments since the beginning of the Alliance deserve special mention. For example:

The number of children enrolled in primary schools rose from 24 to 36 million.

Food production has increased by 27 percent at an approximate rate of 4 percent per year.

Electric power production rose from 60 to over 100 billion kilowatt-hours.

The number of physicians grew by 26 percent and graduate nurses by 60 percent.

Total road mileage increased by about 16 percent.

The number of depositors in savings and loan associations climbed from 50,000 to 750,000, with deposits of nearly $300 million.

Tax revenues increased by about one-third in real terms.

These and other growth trends show a steady advance. However, we all know that much more must be done to satisfy the demands of a population which is growing at an annual rate of nearly 3 percent. At the present growth rate, Latin America's population will double in about 22 years.

Nearly half the population of Latin America is under 15 years of age. These millions of young citizens of tomorrow will need more homes, classrooms, clinics, and jobs. Their ultimate security and our own economic interests depend directly on our continued, undiminished aid.

So we must not falter in supporting programs which will strengthen the forces of democratic development in Latin America. We have seen that Latin politics today increasingly reflect the recurring themes of socio-economic development.

From our own experience, we in this country are well aware that this phenomenon is a sign of the times, and a sure indication that democracy is on the upswing. The rising expectations of people here and abroad call for governmental action to provide a better tomorrow.

There will be 14 major presidential and legislative elections in Latin America from now through 1970. In these contests involving the will of the people we will have the opportunity to see democracy in action.

I am confident these exercises in self-government will meet with success. Are we willing to confront the challenge of the Alliance which we helped to create? If we do, within our capability and in response to honest self-help efforts, we will reap the benefits along with our fellow Americans.

People who have worked to earn a personal stake in their country's future are less likely to be convinced by the specious arguments of violence-peddlers like Castro and Che Guevara. The dismal collapse of Guevara's attempt to stir up revolution in Bolivia bears eloquent testimony to the fact that human beings want to rule their own destinies.

Fidel Castro will doubtless continue his efforts to promote dissension in Latin America, in spite of failures and disagreements among local Communist factions. And as it seems that the focus of insurgency and subversion is shifting from the countryside to the cities, where overcrowding and unemployment are growing, the threat will remain: Either we do everything in our power to help Latin America maintain her equilibrium throughout this period of intense growing pains, or we will share the sure consequences of violent upheaval.

Latin America has gone through the crucial formative phase of mobilizing the machinery for development. This is not the time to let them down, to squander all the gains we have made. Let us instead substantiate with action the proposition that the forces of democratic moderation can work together to prevail against the demands of violent revolution.

Mr. MOSS. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Utah. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] are absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT] and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL]. If present and voting, the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay" and the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. PERCY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG] is detailed on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea," and the Senator from Illinois would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] is paired with the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG]. If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois would vote "yea," and the Senator from Hawaii would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 16, nays 61, as follows:

[No. 253 Leg.]

YEAS—16

Brooke
Case
Clark
Harris
Hart
Hayden
Inouye
Javits
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Moss
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough

NAYS—61

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Church
Cotton
Curtis
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McClellan
Miller
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—22

Bartlett
Brewster
Carlson
Cooper
Dirksen
Fong
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hruska
Kennedy
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
McGee
Morton
Pell
Percy
Scott
Smathers
Tower

So Mr. Moss' amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT NO. 920

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I call up my amendment (No. 920), and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTOYA in the chair). The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment is as follows:

At the end of the bill add the following:

"PART V—REAPPRAISAL OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

"DECLARATION OF POLICY

"SEC. 501. The Congress declares that, in view of changing world conditions and the continued need to make United States foreign assistance programs an effective implement of United States foreign policy, there should be a comprehensive review and reorganization of all United States foreign assistance programs, including economic development and technical assistance programs, military assistance and sales programs, and programs involving contributions and payments by the United States to international lending institutions and other international organizations concerned with the development of friendly foreign countries and areas.

"REAPPRAISAL BY PRESIDENT

"SEC. 502. In furtherance of the policy of this part, the President is requested to make a thorough and comprehensive reappraisal of United States foreign assistance programs, as described in section 501, and to submit to the Congress, on or before March 31, 1970, his recommendations for achieving such reforms in and reorganization of future foreign assistance programs as he determines to be necessary and appropriate in the national interest in the light of such reappraisal. The President is requested to submit to the Congress, on or before July 1, 1969, an interim report presenting any preliminary recommendations formulated by him pursuant to this section. In formulating his recommendations, the President shall take into consideration any advice and recommendations submitted to him by the National Foreign Assistance Review Committee pursuant to section 504.

"ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMITTEE

"SEC. 503. (a) There is hereby established a National Foreign Assistance Review Committee (hereinafter referred to as the 'Committee') which shall consist of sixteen members, to be selected as follows:

"(1) Four members to be appointed by the President from appropriate departments and agencies of the executive branch concerned with activities in the field of foreign assistance or international development;

"(2) Four members to be appointed by the President from among private citizens of the United States who are widely recognized for their broad knowledge of or for their profound interest in the field of foreign assistance or international development;

"(3) Four members of the United States Senate to be appointed by the President of the Senate, two of whom shall be members of the minority party appointed after consultation with the minority leader, and not more than two of whom shall be members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate; and

"(4) Four members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, two of whom shall be members of the minority party appointed after consultation with the minority leader, and not more than two of whom shall be members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

"(b) Members of each class described in clauses (1), (2), (3), and (4) shall serve at the pleasure of the authority empowered to appoint such members.

"(c) The Committee shall select a Chairman and Vice Chairman from among its members.

"(d) The Committee shall be organized and shall hold its first meeting as soon as possible after the date of enactment of this part.

"(e) Any vacancy in the Committee shall not affect its powers and shall be filled in the same manner, and be subject to the same limitations, as in making the original appointment.

"FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEE

"Sec. 504. (a) It shall be the function of the Committee to assist and advise the President in formulating the recommendations referred to in section 502.

"(b) In carrying out its function, the Committee shall make such studies, with respect to United States foreign assistance programs, as are necessary to enable it to develop and submit to the President recommendations with respect to any needed reforms in and reorganization of such programs. Such studies shall include, but not be limited to, an analysis and consideration of—

"(1) the objectives and nature of United States foreign assistance programs and the extent to which such programs are related to and harmonious with vital United States interests;

"(2) the relationship of and experience derived by the various departments, agencies, and other instrumentalities of the United States engaged in or concerned with such programs and any duplications and overlapping of jurisdiction with respect to such programs, and the relationship of such departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the United States to international agencies, banks, and other international organizations engaged in or concerned with development or relief programs;

"(3) the ways and means by which such programs might be improved, amended, or supplemented so as to provide for the most efficient, economical, and effective administration and operation of such programs;

"(4) the relationship of foreign trade to foreign assistance, and the extent to which private trade and private investment can and should complement or replace government-to-government assistance; and

"(5) the ways and means by which private enterprise and private sources, alone and in partnership with the Government, can participate in contributing to the flow of technology and capital to the less developed friendly countries and areas.

"(c)(1) The recommendations submitted to the President by the Committee shall include specific proposals concerning the establishment of a Government corporation or a federally chartered private corporation designed to mobilize and facilitate the use of United States private capital and skills in less developed friendly countries and areas.

"(2) In preparing such proposals the Committee shall consider whether such corporation should be authorized to—

"(A) utilize Government guarantees and funds as well as private funds;

"(B) seek, develop, promote, and underwrite new investment projects;

"(C) assist in transferring skills and technology to less developed friendly countries and areas; and

"(D) invest in the securities of development financing institutions and assist in the formation and expansion of local capital markets.

"(d) The Committee shall submit an interim report to the President on its recommendations not later than on June 1, 1969, and shall submit a final report to the President on its recommendations not later than on February 28, 1970. Upon the filing of its final report the Committee shall cease to exist.

"POWERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

"Sec. 505. (a) The Committee is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such secretarial, clerical, and other staff personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

"(b) The Committee may procure such temporary and intermittent services as are authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed $100 a day for individuals.

"(c) The Committee or, on the authorization of the Committee, any subcommittee or member thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this part, hold such hearings, administer such oaths, take such testimony, and sit and act at such times and places in the United States or abroad, as the Committee, subcommittee, or member deems advisable.

"(d) Upon request made by the Committee, each department and agency of the Federal Government, including independent agencies, is authorized and directed (1) to furnish to the Committee such information, suggestions, or estimates as the Committee may determine to be necessary or desirable for the performance of its functions, and (2) to the greatest extent practicable, and with or without reimbursement as may be determined by such department or agency, to make its services, personnel, and facilities available to the Committee in the performance of its functions.

"COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE

"Sec. 506. (a) Any member of the Committee who is appointed from any branch of the Federal Government shall serve without compensation in addition to that received in his regular employment, but shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by him in the performance of his duties as a member of the Committee.

"(c) Members of the Committee, other than those referred to in subsection (a), shall receive compensation at the rate of $100 per day for each day they are engaged in the performance of their duties as members of the Committee and shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of the Committee.

"EXPENSES OF THE COMMITTEE

"Sec. 507. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this part."

Mr. JAVITS. I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. President, the amendment I have proposed is, I believe, very important. I hope that Senators will agree. It seeks, at long last, to bring about a review and reappraisal of the foreign assistance programs of the United States and to provide by law for definitive recommendations to be made on the subject by the President, with a view toward formulating a totally new program and a totally new approach.

The President is requested to submit to Congress on or before June 30, 1969, an interim report, and approximately 1 year later, on or before March 31, 1970, a final report.

The amendment proposes the appointment of a National Foreign Assistance Review Committee to advise Congress and the President on this subject.

The committee is to be composed of 16 members, four from the executive branch, four from the Senate, four from the House, and four from the public domain, to be appointed by the President.

The purpose of this amendment is to recognize what is a situation, not a theory. It is well known that for many years—20 years now—including my service in the House of Representatives, I have been very favorable to the foreign aid program, and I believe it is indispensable to the public policy of the United States. Indeed, the committee says so in its report.

Also, we all know—we have been told many times, and there is no question about its truth—that the developing areas of the world are slipping behind instead of moving forward. They probably would have slipped behind much more had we not had some form of foreign aid. But the fact is that the gap between the rich and the poor nations is increasing, not decreasing, with tremendous danger that the world sweep of revolution is more likely to engulf them now than it otherwise would.

Notwithstanding these truths, the fact is that we now have such a severe cut in the foreign aid program—a billion dollars—as really to make Americans question whether it is meaningful at all in the form in which we actually pass it, and to dictate very strongly that there should be a complete review and an effort to come out with some kind of new plan.

Mr. President, members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate know that periodically the administration has promised to come in with a new plan for foreign aid. But always the pressure of events, the fact that the year's estimates almost come upon the heels—if they often do not anticipate—of the appropriations for the foreign assistance program, aborts the effort of the administration to come in with anything really new or different. So we have gone on from year to year very much like the elephants, locked tail and trunk together, without taking some stock of what we are doing and how we might do it better, and with a diversity of programs, including food aid, direct aid, technical assistance, the Alliance for Progress and military assistance, all lumped into one, and handled pretty much the same way and under the same heading.

Mr. President, it is time to stop and take notice, and review what we have done and plan something new for what we have to do in order to bring about a changed situation with respect to the foreign aid program.

This approach should be especially appealing to those who are for the program and who are deeply worried about seeing the program eroded to the point of ineffectiveness, and also to those who are in the middle of the road and who are willing to go along but not quite sure as to how to go about it. This is a way to provide a reassessment for foreign aid.

One of the major ideas in the foreign aid field has been the idea of a corporation to be organized by Government, essentially, but to operate with the flexibility of a corporation with the ability to seek, develop and underwrite view investment projects, utilizing Government guarantees and funds as well as private funds, to assist in the transferring of skills and technology to developing nations and possibly to invest in the securties of development financing institutions and to assist in the formation and expansion of local capital markets.

West Germany runs a part of its foreign aid program through such a corporation. If Senators will refer to the hearings held before the Committee on Foreign Relations, at page 385 they will find an analysis of the German plan. On page 387 of the same hearings Senators will find an analysis of the British plan. The German plan is called the German Corporation for Development Cooperation. The British corporation is called the Commonwealth Development Corporation. Both of these programs are new approaches along the lines of trying to bring about a partnership between Government and business for the purpose of pursuing the foreign aid program.

Mr. President, the amendment I have proposed also contains a provision calling for a report by the review committee on the question of whether a corporation should be organized by the United States to carry on certain basic elements of the foreign aid program. This particular section has been the subject of consideration with the officials of AID themselves and we have done our utmost to draft the provisions with respect to calling for recommendations on a Government corporation or a federally chartered private corporation to mobilize and facilitate use of U.S. private capital and skills in developing countries in a manner satisfactory to them and which they would be willing to support. To me that represents one of the most important aspects of this amendment.

We all love the Senator from Alabama because he is honest and fair with all of us. He has told me directly he is willing to take that part of this amendment which relates to review. He has some reservation about the question of whether or not a review committee should report on the corporation idea.

I feel that the review committee is fine. I am all for it and I am pleased that he is willing to take it. I hope he stays with it in conference.

However, to me the innovative part of the amendment relates to—and I do not commit the country to it—a specific report on this corporation idea. It is a new and enterprising idea and has been followed in both Germany and Great Britain.

I would say to the distinguished Senator from Alabama if he would just as soon do it this way I would be perfectly willing to have him take the amendment for a review committee, and to excise out of it the provision requiring a report on the corporation and let the Senate vote yea or nay on a rollcall vote on the corporation idea.

If the Senate thinks there is something in it, then the Senate will support it and there would then be a lot more chance of surviving in conference. If the Senate thinks there is nothing in it, the Senate will reject it and that will be the end of the matter for this session as far as I am concerned. I think these ideas are relatively separable to the extent I have gotten different cosponsors for the corporate idea than for the review committee idea.

I hope we might have the expression of opinion from the Senator from Alabama on this question.

To rephrase the matter so we can understand it, I think the idea of the review committee, which appeals to him is great. I hope very much he can take it and keep it in conference. As to the idea of a corporation, which is all this expresses, if the Senator does not feel the same way about that, I would be willing to excise it from the amendment he takes and submit it as a separate amendment, debate it for one-half hour or so, and vote on it, because I feel strongly that that is the innovative part of my proposal. The creativity of the corporate idea is something I worked on for years. I had it in separate bills with great specificity of what it should be and how it should be financed. I had about 12 cosponsors in the Senate. We have a report from the Foreign Affairs Committee in the other body by Representative FARBSTEIN of New York endorsing the idea of carrying on the foreign aid program of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, this is an idea which is of great importance and significance. I would not wish to feel that it is just being cursorily accepted and then dropped in conference and that would be the end of that. I would rather take my chances on a rollcall vote.

Now, I would like to have an expression of opinion from the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator from New York that I fully subscribe to the idea of the reassessment. We have had many studies of foreign aid over the years. However, I think everyone must realize that we are in a time of change, a time of change that is indicated by the action of the Committee on Foreign Relations on this particular bill.

I would welcome a new study of it made in light of the new conditions. I can easily subscribe to that. As far as I am concerned, I would be glad to recommend to the Senate that we accept that.

On the second part, regarding the corporation, that is something I have not had occasion to study or think through as I should. I have indicated to the Senator from New York that I would be glad to let that stay with the amendment and take the whole thing to conference.

In the meantime, I would hope to do some study into the proposal for the corporation. Of course, we know that we must reckon with the House conferees. I have no idea how the House conferees would take to it. However, if the Senator is willing to go on that condition, I will assure him that I would be glad to recommend it be taken.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I think that is very kind. On that basis, I think I should, as I was concerned that the Senator might have some more definite feeling about it than he expressed. But the expressions of the Senator reassure me, knowing his character as well as I do. I know the amendment will have a fair shake in conference.

Mr. President, both the House of Representatives and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have made clear by their overwhelming approval of major cuts in the foreign aid authorization bill that they have grave questions about this program.

Their action came as no surprise to those of us who have followed the annual authorization process in recent years. The severe budget deficit and balance-of-payments problems facing the country today and the heavy drain imposed on our resources by the war in Vietnam are largely responsible for this situation.

I have supported our foreign aid program as long as I have been a Member of Congress. I continue to favor U.S. aid to developing nations. I am prepared to face the fact, however, that, for a variety of reasons, support for foreign aid in its present form has been so reduced in the Congress and among the public that the foreign aid program in its present form can no longer be maintained so as to perform a useful service to the Nation. We must revise the program to reflect current world conditions and make it again an effective tool of U.S. diplomacy.

It is important to note that the opposition to foreign aid is directed against its effectiveness and the economical use of its means rather than against the specific uses of the program—aid for agricultural development, technical assistance, loans to developing banks, saving and loan associations, cooperatives, the investment guarantee program.

While we have domestic troubles of our own, we remain a world power, with all the responsibilities that these responsibilities imply. We cannot expect to live in peace while two-thirds of mankind lives in abject poverty and hunger. We will have to do our share to alleviate these conditions and as the leading democratic nation we must inspire our fellow democracies to do their share. I believe the American people recognize this and are willing to do their fair share. It is fair to conclude that their reluctance to support foreign aid is not directed against our basic responsibility but that they want to find a way to make it more effective with the means we can devote to it.

It is for these reasons that I propose a basic reappraisal of foreign aid by the President, with the advice of a review committee composed of representatives of the President, Congress, and the public so that it may reflect the cooperation of all three which is needed to develop a new foreign aid program that will have the renewed support of the American people.

But I assure the Senator that the corporate concept is the creative aspect of the amendment. It has had many refinements and much study. I am not pressing the specifics of the corporation idea, which I had originally sponsored and have for many years, and which is the development of the thinking of my brother, Benjamin Javits, and of Leon Keyserling, but I do think the concept of the corporation, is really the creative power of the amendment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I know something about the German trading corporation and the British Government's operations in this field. The Senator will recall that we had hearings in the Joint Economic Committee, in which these matters were discussed.

Mr. JAVITS. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. So I am not making an empty statement that I will be glad to take the amendment to conference. I mean to give it real consideration. I am not so prepared to go all out on the Senator's other amendment for the reform.

Mr. JAVITS. I understand. Whether we have a rollcall vote on it or not, it will still be up to the Senator from Alabama. I have had much experience with him in conferences. I am going to submit the whole amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from New York has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. I wish to spell out the cosponsors of the two amendments I introduced in this connection.

The amendment No. 919 which deals only with the corporation concept and calls for a report by the President on the corporation by June 30, 1969, is sponsored by Senators BROOKE, HARTKE, HATFIELD, MAGNUSON, MILLER, PELL, and PERCY. It has very important bipartisan sponsorship.

The amendment with relation to the review committee, but which also calls for a report on the corporation, has the sponsorship of Senators BROOKE, COOPER, HATFIELD, KUCHEL, and MUNDT. It is interesting to me that bipartisan sponsorhsip came—and we offered both to our colleagues—with the corporate idea which represented a matter of the greatest interest to me. I feel that we can turn to a new path in the foreign aid field. We are beginning to appreciate the enormous resources available in the private field, both from investors and from the business concerns which are available. It is well known that I am considered to be the father of something called the Adela Investment Co., which was one of the really great creative efforts of private enterprise of the great industrial countries of the world to do something with respect to private enterprise efforts in Latin America. It has been supremely successful; and the concept which is contained in this corporate idea follows very much along the lines of the Adela Investment Co.

Thus, I shall rest my case at this point, and greatly appreciate the attitude of the Senator from Alabama. He gives me great faith that both of these ideas, the one he is sufficiently acquainted with and the one toward which he does not feel entirely oriented in terms of knowledge, will have very just treatment at his hands.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I am pleased to be a cosponsor of the amendment being offered today by my colleague from New York [Mr. JAVITS]. His proposal to establish a bipartisan committee, composed of members of the executive branch, the legislature, and private citizens, to reappraise our entire foreign assistance program, is worthy of our full support.

Foreign aid can be, and should be, an effective instrument of foreign policy. Foreign aid should supplement our economic policy, not be a substitute for it, as has been the case in our relations with all too many of the developing nations of the world. Foreign aid should be an arm of our military policy, it should not make that policy by involving us in areas where we had not planned to establish a deep involvement. Foreign aid should support our political objectives, not subvert them by creating hard feelings when projects are delayed or when funds are suddenly cut back. Foreign aid, like foreign policy itself, must be long range and consistent. It must have a wide area of flexibility, and it must be adaptable to the particular needs of a wide variety of recipient states.

Mr. President, there are many doubts about the effectiveness of our foreign aid program. There are many complaints from recipient countries about the funds expended on surveys and administration, and the relatively small amount which is actually allocated to tangible development projects. There are many reports indicating maladministration and waste in a variety of foreign assistance programs. We are beginning to hear criticisms of our Public Law 480 program, on the grounds that it represents unfair competition with the commodity exports of developing countries. Increasingly, we hear countries asking for trade, not aid, for private investment rather than public loans. Yet the need for public assistance persists.

In the light of this discontent with the foreign aid effort, I would wholeheartedly agree with those who contend that our aid program should be reexamined and revised. Perhaps we have been wrong to expand rather haphazardly a program designed originally to supplement the efforts of our European allies. Perhaps we have overemphasized loans for construction of infrastructure, while overlooking the necessity for larger markets for the products which can thus be produced and transported. Perhaps we are simply not sufficiently aware of the needs of the new nations and our role in meeting them: Maybe we have expected too much progress in too short a time; maybe we have been unnecessarily disturbed when our efforts met with criticism and distrust.

As a government and as a nation, we need a clearer understanding of the goals each nation seeks to achieve. We need a deeper appreciation of our own interests and how they can be achieved. We need, in short, to re-examine our foreign aid objectives and to review carefully the accomplishments and failures of the program to date. Then, and only then, can we begin to offer the orderly, well-conceived and well-administered program required and expected of a great nation.

I hope that the amendment of the Senator from New York will be adopted.

THE PROPOSED FOREIGN ASSISTANCE REVIEW COMMISSION

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, for many years there has been growing concern about the course of our foreign assistance program. There are many who feel that in the priorities of our national budget it has a low claim on our national resources. Indeed, the pending legislation before the Senate is a strong reflection of the weight which that point of view is gaining in the public dialog. There are many, on the other hand, who recognize that poverty breeds conflict and hostility and that it requires substantial capital investment to eliminate it. That simple relationship is valid in the urban ghetto of Watts, and equally so in the slums of Calcutta or Istanbul. The question then is how much we allocate for the relief of poverty outside our own country.

I do not intend to dwell on the merits of a foreign aid program. Let me simply state my point of view, which rests on two premises. First, there will be no infusion of capital to alleviate poverty in other nations of the world unless the rich nations of the world, led by the United States, take up the cause. Secondly, as Gen. Lucius Clay concluded following his study of the program in 1963, foreign assistance is a necessary adjunct to the collective security of the free world and the defense of the United States.

But, Mr. President, I do not vow to debate the merits of the program, or even of the foreign aid idea. The amendment which I have joined the distinguished Senator of New York [Mr. JAVITS] in offering is aimed at resolving the questions surrounding the program in its present form—questions that all of us have in one form or another.

Let me point out that the proposal for a National Review Commission is not simply a question of studying the foreign aid program. As others in this body have pointed out, there have been many studies of the program. Some of these have been extremely complete and worthwhile. I cite particularly the work of the Special Committee on Foreign Aid under a series of distinguished chairmen, and whose chief consultant was our good friend, Mr. Frank Valeo, now the distinguished Secretary of the Senate. The issue is not whether we need a study. Of course we need information and recommendations. But more than that we need sound proposals that would not be ignored. That has been the problem too often in the past.

What we propose today is to create a special body bringing together the foremost representatives of the executive and the legislative branches of the Government to determine what the future of this program shall be. It is necessary to do this, not only because there are divergent points of view as between the Congress and the administration, but because both branches of the Government are closely involved with the problem. It is the hope of those of us who have put this proposition forward that the commission can reach a national conference which we can all accept. This commission may decide that there need not be more foreign aid. Or, it may decide that the program should be reviewed. The point is that whatever stand it takes will have the firm and united support of both Congress and the administration, and of both political parties.

Some may contend that this commission will tie the hands of a future President. This is indeed a grave constitutional problem. The author of this amendment in looking to the future recognizes that any new administration will immediately be seized with this problem. They also recognize that in the first 3 or 4 months of a new administration it will be extremely difficult to tie together all of the extraneous elements necessary to reach a full conclusion. They also recognize that it is quite possible that one political party may not control both the administration and the Congress—so that any effective programing will require a bipartisan approach.

Mr. President, I believe that this amendment is the most realistic way to deal with the continuing agony of the annual foreign aid bill and to resolve it in a manner most closely fitting the needs and desires of the American people.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield back the remainder of my time, Mr. President.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move adoption of the amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment was agreed to be reconsidered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 921

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 921 and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The bill clerk read as follows:

> On page 19 strike out lines 24 through 26 and insert in lieu thereof the following:
>
> "SEC. 104. Section 232 of title IV of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to authorization for surveys of investment opportunities, is amended as follows:
>
> "(a) Strike out '1968' and substitute '1969'.
>
> "(b) Strike out '$2,100,000' and substitute '$1,250,000'".

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the amendment seeks to restore the funds for the investment survey program which the Committee on Foreign Relations was frank to say it completely eliminated in the bill.

The amounts involved, even considering the tremendous cuts which have been made in the program, are very small—$1.25 million is what was allowed by the other body and $1.25 million is what we seek to restore.

I think the really important question is whether the program should continue. I have always regarded it as a program of great ingenuity and great intelligence with relation to the foreign assistance program of the United States.

It will be recalled that under the program where the Government agreed to join in a survey as to the validity of a prospective development in a developing country, if that investment was made, then the person who made the investment absorbed the whole cost of the survey; but if the investment was not made, then the Federal Government absorbed one-half the cost. Of course, the agreement was made in advance. Thus, it did not represent an open end proposition.

The committee report itself, it seems to me, is most eloquent upon this particular subject. I should like to read to the Senate what the committee itself said about this particular matter because I think it is so illuminating. In my judgment, the committee report itself is the best argument as to why the item should be restored rather than deleted, as the committee would have us do.

The statement appears on page 7 of the report which I read as follows:

> It is apparent that AID's authority to pay half the cost of investment surveys has inspired many surveys which would not otherwise have been made and that the program as a whole has resulted in unnecessary—

That is the opinion of the committee—

> (though admittedly small) costs to the Government.
>
> In addition, the committee has serious doubts as to whether the Government ought to be encouraging foreign investment in such a direct manner in view of its present fiscal position and balance-of-payments problem. The committee therefore decided that the investment survey program should be terminated. This will not affect surveys which are in progress, but it will prevent the initiation of new ones.

Mr. President, the real difficulty with that statement is the reference to the balance of payments. The fact is that under the balance-of-payments concept, we are getting more money right now in interest and dividends from private overseas investments than is represented by the aggregate investment before the freeze—that is, before the Government sought to put a halt on it—that we were making. So we were getting back something in the area of $4¼ billion a year and the outgo was generally estimated to be something like $3 to $3½ billion a year.

It is true that we are discouraging overseas private investments now for balance-of-payments reasons, but the administration knows very well, and it has frankly admitted, that this is taking advantage of a favorable situation for a very short period of time. It cannot continue it very long—a year or two at the most—before it will be losing on the deal rather than gaining; because if we dry up private investment, we begin to lose the surplus we are getting in interest and dividends from abroad, which worsens that situation.

Naturally, it will have to remove these restrictions because to leave it on any continuing basis would be completely counterproductive, so that the continuing, indeed, the expansion of overseas private investments by U.S. businessmen is critically important to any kind of reform of a foreign aid program which will take the burden off the back of the Government.

Mr. President, the figures are very illuminating on this score; $72 million are estimated to have been invested or committed as a result of this program. For every dollar disbursed by AID under it, $80 have been invested or committed.

The report of the committee itself admits that the committee doubts that the investments that have gone on would have gone on without this encouragement.

It seems to me that this is a very tiny sum, even in light of a very much cut program of outlay. Yet it is proposed to terminate just out of hand a program which is going well and very interestingly for reasons of the most temporary character. When this program is cut off, it is well known that a program is being cut off that works largely prospectively. It takes a year, and sometimes 2 years, to conduct a survey to put a program in shape. If it is cut off, an important outlet for American investors is being cut off which can be helpful to our balance-of-payments problem, to underdeveloped countries, and to the foreign aid program, whatever shape it may take. It seems to me this is really cutting with a meat ax, and not with a scalpel. It is ill advised. It has been badly received in the business community of the United States.

Since the whole program is cut out, I do not suppose that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] could take this amendment, but I believe he should, in the best interests of our country. In any event, I consider it my duty to endeavor to restore the program. I have seen it work. I know how it works. The committee, itself, its own words, makes the best argument why it is an ingenious and a good idea, and why it should not be aborted at the very moment when it can continue to do us a great deal of good, especially since we are reducing the foreign aid program in the orthodox outlays.

For those reasons, I hope the item will be restored.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from New York anticipated me, because I, too, was going to ask for the yeas and nays on this amendment, which I oppose.

I think the action of the Committee on Foreign Relations, based on the initiative of the distinguished senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], senior Republican in this body, was an excellent one. I think this was one of the efforts we could fashion to try to tighten up the program as well as to reduce the amount requested.

What the Senator from New York seeks to reinstate is title IV, which was repealed by the committee, and which relates to surveys of investment opportunities. I want to read in full from page

7 of the report what the distinguished Senator from New York read in part:

> Under this program, AID has had authority to pay up to 50 percent of the cost of making a survey of a private investment opportunity in an underdeveloped country. If the entrepreneur proceeded with the investment, AID paid nothing. If he did not proceed with the investment, AID paid half the cost and received the technical report resulting from the survey.
>
> Congress authorized $2.1 million for the program in fiscal 1968, and the administration requested $1.5 million for fiscal 1969. Through May 1968, 308 survey agreements had been entered into, 151 had been completed, and 35 had resulted in a decision to invest, thus relieving AID of its liability to pay half the cost.
>
> It is apparent that AID's authority to pay half the cost of investment surveys has inspired many surveys which would not otherwise have been made and that the program as a whole has resulted in unnecessary (though admittedly small) costs to the Government.
>
> In addition, the committee has serious doubts as to whether the Government ought to be encouraging foreign investment in such a direct manner in view of its present fiscal position and balance-of-payments problem. The committee therefore decided that the investment survey program should be terminated. This will not affect surveys which are in progress, but it will prevent the initiation of new ones.

Mr. President, I thoroughly approve of the action taken by the Foreign Relations Committee. I think the deletion of title IV has been long overdue. I hope the pending amendment will be defeated.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. I would like to add that I do not like to cut our foreign responsibilities any more than we have to. We have a $25 billion deficit, as was reported yesterday, for 1 year. There is no use saying that the foreign aid program is not getting into more disrepute, in part because of the stories of graft and inefficiency in foreign countries. But a major factor in the growing disrepute of the foreign aid program is the fact that so much of it now constitutes a subsidy to American investors and contractors. When we have committee meetings, they are not very far outside the door trying to find out what we are doing and to see how much they can get out of us. I could call some by name, but I am not going to.

This is one instance where we can cut out what was a direct subsidy to the American investment fraternity. Those people are making plenty of profits. They are perfectly capable of conducting their own investigations and studies looking for more places to invest their money outside the United States.

I realize that 20 or 30 percent interest is a lot better than 6 or 7 percent. Nevertheless, in view of the financial stringency we have in this country, I think we ought to save money wherever we can. Perhaps some day we can restore our foreign aid programs, if they are needed, to what would be more a satisfactory level to many people; but in the meantime I think this is one expenditure which is, you might say, a direct subsidy, an invitation to take money and jobs from the United States, that we could well dispense with.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, before the Senator does that——

Mr. MANSFIELD. I was just yielding my time back.

Mr. JAVITS. I meant that the Senator might wish to reply.

Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

I was not aware of the fact that it was the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN] who sponsored this move in the Foreign Relations Committee, and I would yield to no one in my affection for him. I think he bears some affection for me, and I know he would not bear it were he not sure that I always follow my conscience and would not be overweaned by the fact that someone whom I consider so highly—I was going to use a much stronger word, which might embarrass him—should have sponsored this particular move.

With all respect, I do not think I need yield on some knowledge of how the business community operates. This is a salient example of that point. When one says generically that American business concerns make enough money so that they can make their own investment surveys, that is not correct. A great many business concerns do, but a great many do not. Indeed, the foreign trade of the United States is handled by only 5 percent of American business concerns.

One of the great things the Department of Commerce has been trying to do is to broaden the base of foreign investors, to get more concerns and enterprises interested, not to confine it to the General Electrics, General Motors, and IBM's, who are growing bigger and bigger every day. I am not objecting to that, but I am pointing out a fact with respect to the business interests of this country.

The very appeal of this program is that it enables AID to get smaller enterprises, which are not in the field, into this area of private investment overseas, which always couples with it a great deal of gifted technical assistance. That is why the smaller firm is so desirable in this field.

The surveys in which AID has participated, which are partially assured under this program, have resulted in investments in fertilizer, bananas, hybrid seed corn, bricks, the production of dairy products, hand tools, and kraft paper, among other projects. I ask unanimous consent that a list of the projects in which these surveys have aided be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INVESTMENT SURVEYS SIGNED BY AID IN FISCAL YEAR 1968

[In thousands of dollars]

Region, country, and company	Type of project	Maximum AID liability	Date of agreement	Anticipated total capital investment
AFRICA				
Tanzania: Mansfield Tire & Rubber	Tire manufacturing plant	21.4	Dec. 22, 1967	4,000
Tunisia: Food Services Management	250–300-room hotel	3.2	Feb. 1, 1968	3,000
Uganda: Beatrice Foods Co	Production of evaporated milk	4.2	May 8, 1968	1,300
Zambia: American Metals Climax	Aluminum sheet metal	7.1	July 18, 1967	2,000
FAR EAST				
Indonesia:				
Allied Chemical Co	Fertilizer complex	74.1	Feb. 1, 1968	50,000
Kaiser Industries	Cement plant-storage plant	13.2	Mar. 23, 1968	1,000
Marine Colloids, Inc	Processing carrageenan-used in food and pharmaceuticals.	8.1	Nov. 3, 1967	200
Standard Fruit & SS Co	Production of bananas, export	30.9	Mar. 22, 1968	10,100
Interkiln Engineering, Inc	Ceramic plant	6.2	May 6, 1968	1,000
American Cement Co	Cement plant	19.0	May 16, 1968	12,000
C. Brewer & Co	Agribusiness	57.5	June 3, 1968	6,000
Korea: Dillingham Overseas Corp	Dry dock installation	19.2	Sept. 18, 1967	2,500
Philippines: Hayden-Stone, Inc	Production-sale of rice	22.2	Sept. 6, 1967	1,050
Southeast Asia: Thompson Aircraft Tire	Aircraft tires retreading	30.5	Feb. 7, 1968	1,200
Thailand:				
Hi-Protein International Food	Food processing plant	11.4	Feb. 12, 1968	75,000
Ross, Leonard	Glass fiber and reinforced/plastic products.	1.4	Mar. 7, 1968	20
C. Brewer & Co., Ltd	Agribusiness	8.1	do	7,000
LATIN AMERICA				
Bolivia: Agricultural Development Group	do	14.8	Mar. 29, 1968	10,000
Brazil:				
American Cement Co	Cement plant	12.2	Oct. 23, 1967	15,000
Albertson Nichols	Cattle feeding	9.2	Aug. 3, 1967	200
McNamara & Peepe Lumber Co	Sawmill operation	11.0	Jan. 15, 1968	1,000
British Honduras: American Forest Products.	Core-stock veneer plant	3.0	Mar. 29, 1968	1,000
Central America:				
Associated Investment Co	Hotels with retail stores	5.7	Aug. 21, 1967	1,600
United Fruit Co	Over-the-road trucking	7.7	Aug. 22, 1967	1,850
Equador: Sonia Messer Imports	Manufacturing artifacts and furniture	1.9	Apr. 30, 1968	50
Mexico: K. T. International	Swine feeding	2.3	Aug. 1, 1967	5,000
Nicaragua: Standard Fruit & SS Co	Production of bananas	15.9	Oct. 23, 1967	5,000
NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA				
India:				
Optics Technology	Classic optical instruments	12.2	Mar. 8, 1968	500
Oak/Electronetics	Electronic components	8.3	Nov. 20, 1967	1,000
International Tank Terminal	Phosphoric bulk storage (fertilizer)	8.1	May 6, 1967	1,000
Stange Co	Spice extraction	7.6	May 2, 1968	100
Israel: Tubeco, Inc	Pipe fabricating plant	17.2	July 31, 1967	395
Total (32 agreements)[1]		475.1		221,100

---

[1] In addition, 6 obligations have been made for agreements signed last year, but returned in fiscal year 1968. Total obligated in fiscal year 1968: $539,000,000.

Mr. JAVITS. The fact is, Mr. President, that what has resulted is $72 million in actual or planned investment in this very direct and intimate kind of involvement which I have described, which AID attributes exclusively to this program, and which, as I have read from the committee report, the committee itself believes represents an indispensable stimulus to the program.

So, in terms of the overall balance and the business system of the country, Mr. President, what will happen is that investments by a small firm in a type of enterprise which gets right down indigenously and closely to the people will not otherwise be made. I think these are very important elements in what we are trying to accomplish in many of these countries, and represent, when you compare the amount we spend to the amount invested, an 80-to-1 return—exactly the kind of thing that we want to phase our foreign aid program into, rather than the kind of thing we want to discourage.

I appreciate the demands of the economy, Mr. President, but often the greatest economy is to spend a little money to do something very useful, because it pays the investment back so manyfold as to represent true economy, and also gets the job done.

Personally, I do not think this is well advised at all. I repeat, the sum involved is $1.25 million. The program has worked. The ratio of return has been literally enormous, as I have described, and I think it would be most unfortunate, instead of playing them right through the line, like grants, loans, the development loan fund, and others, if one of these really gifted initiatives, the investment survey program, is discouraged, for then we really are making it difficult, by our own actions, to maintain the foreign aid program, because we are throwing overboard the very things which alleviate the burden, and which we should continue.

Senators should understand that once you cut a thing like this off, even if you wish to restore it later, there is a 1- to 3-year turnaround before it gets underway.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The committee feels that the additional things which need to be done, the adidtional surveys which need to be carried on, will not be accomplished without it.

So I believe, Mr. President, that this is not wise economy, that it runs athwart of the very things we would like to do or see done, and that therefore, this particular section should be put back in the bill.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I am pleased to cosponsor the amendment offered by the Senator from New York, and I fully support his efforts.

In the long run, it is only through effective coordination of public and private investment, through development of resources and job opportunities, and direct participation in the world economy, that the new nations of the world will achieve a reasonable level of economic viability. American investors have much to offer to these new nations. An investment of only a few thousand dollars may, in some cases, provide a country with a product it desperately needs to spur its own development. But American investors do not always know what the needs of these nations are, or where the opportunities exist.

For several years, AID has performed a vital service to potential investors by providing "insurance" to cover some of the costs of surveying investment opportunities. The program does not directly finance these surveys: rather, the potential investor bears all of the initial cost of the survey. If he then decides to invest in the particular program under study, the entire expense is borne by the investing company. If however, the opportunity does not materialize or the investment proves to be unworkable or undesirable, AID will reimburse the businessman for up to 50 percent of the actual costs incurred.

The record to date has been outstanding. For every $1 million disbursed by AID under the investment survey program, $80 million has been invested or committed by private American businessmen. This is testimony to the care with which AID selects those projects which it will insure, and to the vision of the potential investors.

In the course of my recent trip to Africa, I was particularly impressed with the number of opportunities which existed for small companies to invest in the future of these nations. For the most part, such companies are not aware of this potential, nor can they afford to undertake surveys in little-known parts of the world without the assurance of some Government support. But with official encouragement and insurance, these companies may begin to expand their horizons. And with their investments, countries which are now expending scarce capital to import hand tools or textiles may be able to produce their own goods. Countries which are now importing food may find that they can grow the crops they need once fertilizers, tools, and techniques have been provided. Countries which cannot now export their surplus fish or agricultural products may find that with the construction of a small processing plant, or a box or tin can factory, wide markets are open to them in neighboring countries.

The opportunities are there; the need is there. And I believe that the United States should continue to play a constructive role in this effort of the new states to become more self-sufficient and to utilize their resources to the fullest. I hope that the amendment of the Senator from New York, restoring the authorization for investment surveys, will be adopted.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 16 minutes remaining.

Mr. JAVITS. I wish to yield myself 3 minutes to take care of some pro forma matters I could not take care of during the morning hour.

PUTTING THE POOR IN THE MAINSTREAM OF CORPORATE AMERICA

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I would like to draw to the attention of my colleagues the development in Rochester, N.Y., of a new community-based manufacturing enterprise called FIGHTON. This project is particularly important because it represents the joint undertaking by a militant community organization, the FIGHT organization, and a major American company, the Xerox Corp.

FIGHTON will be owned and operated by inner-city people. FIGHT will be responsible for staffing and control of the enterprise. The Xerox Corp. will assist in training the management and production workers of FIGHTON, and it will provide technical and managerial support and counseling. In addition, Xerox Corp. will guarantee in excess of half a million dollars, in annual purchases, of metal stampings and electrical transformers to be produced by FIGHTON.

The project is being supported by a Federal grant under the JOBS program in excess of $400,000, which will be used to reimburse the new company for the costs of hiring and training disadvantaged persons. I am especially pleased that this particular manpower program is being funded in principle part under one of my own amendments to the antipoverty legislation.

I fully endorse this project and the formation of FIGHTON and congratulate Minister Franklin Florence, who is president of FIGHT, and Mr. C. Peter McColough, president of the Xerox Corp. They have shown that a grassroots organization and a part of the "establishment" can cooperate productively in an effort to create jobs and business ownership for the poor, and I hope that other companies in the Rochester area will follow the Xerox example in purchasing the products of FIGHT to make it a success. Already, several corporations are supporting this project through the established development corporation known as the Rochester Business Opportunities Corp., which will hold the lease of the building FIGHTON will occupy. This kind of program, unlike the usual antipoverty service-oriented effort, can put the poor in the mainstream of corporate America. For my part, I will support this program in every way and will be working hard to insert this idea of community-based business ownership into the Republican platform at Miami Beach, and I hope my colleagues will be able to profit from this example in New York State in stimulating similar efforts in their own States.

SALE OF SUPERSONIC PLANES TO ISRAEL

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to direct my remarks at this time to section 303 of the bill which expresses the sense of the Congress that—

> The President should take such steps as may be necessary, as soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this section, to negotiate an agreement with the Government of Israel providing for the sale by the

> United States of such number of supersonic planes as may be necessary to provide Israel with an adequate deterrent force capable of preventing future Arab aggression by offsetting sophisticated weapons received by the Arab States and to replace losses suffered by Israel in the 1967 conflict.

Israel, while the victor in the 6-day war of June of last year, suffered aircraft losses which, since needed aircraft have not been received as replacements, place her in a vulnerable position to attack by her recovered and better armed Arab neighbors.

The Soviet Union has replaced, on a crash basis, virtually the entire war losses of the Arab air forces. These replacements are more modern and more lethal than the aircraft which were lost—IL–28 bombers, Mig 21's, and Sukhoi–7 fighters now make up the Arab air fleets. Israel, on its part, has been unable to obtain the supersonic jets it had ordered from France and now finds itself with only subsonics available to it.

Such an arms imbalance is especially dangerous in view of the incendiarism of the radical Arab leadership who are threatening "another round" of war against Israel. If there is a weakness in Israel's Air Force, one of these Arab leaders may be tempted to venture a sneak air attack on Tel Aviv or Haifa. Such an attack would surely prove suicidal in the longer run, but it would have as its objective maximum damage to the civilian population of Israel. Such an attack would surely bring on war again and could be expected to trigger an all-out holocaust which could well involve the superpowers, especially in the light of recent Soviet pledges of solidarity given to Egyptian President Nasser in Moscow.

What is needed, therefore, is for the Israelis to have assurances that, beyond the current deliveries of subsonic aircraft from the United States, they can hope for deliveries at future dates. As Senator DIRKSEN pointed out earlier this month:

> The surest way to bring about another disruption of the all-too-slender truce which presently exists . . . is to permit an imbalance of power to develop. We should not only give assurance to Israel . . . but proceed to deliver the weaponry which she requires.

It must be kept in mind that there have been lapses of as much as 2 years between agreements and delivery. It is necessary to provide for the current situation; but, also, to enable Israel to survive and the peace to be maintained. Israel must continue to be assured of a supply of deterrent force weapons to match the threats facing her. It would be tragic indeed if Israel would find itself with no source of weapons for the future and be faced with being engulfed by Soviet arms in the hands of its implacable Arab neighbors.

The United States is selling 36 supersonic F–4 Phantom jets to Iran this year for $100 million and another $500 million of jets and other sophisticated arms over the next 5 years. We should be able to do the same for Israel.

For more than a decade Israel has depended upon France as its primary source of arms. It now seems clear that President de Gaulle is determined to disrupt this established pattern—despite prevailing sentiments to the contrary of his countrymen. Therefore, in addition to continuing our traditional role as a supplementary source, the United States in all likelihood will have to become the prime, reliable source of Israel's security needs. It would be a pure case of irresponsibility if we did not do so. The surest way to invite renewed warfare in the Middle East is to allow the illusion to grow in vengeful Arab minds that "another round" of war will achieve their objective of annihilating Israel. If gaps or imbalances in Israel's defense posture are allowed to remain because of the mystifying games which President de Gaulle is intent on playing, then the risk of war will be higher. Specifically, that risk could assume its ugliest form—a sneak air attack against the civilian population of Israel.

In conclusion, let me say that there is some evidence that even some among the Arabs are beginning to realize that their own future and their own welfare is in reaching an equitable modus vivendi with Israel. We must not jeopardize this ray of hope by allowing deficiencies to develop in Israel's military equipment which could tempt the Arabs back to the disastrous path of renewed total belligerency toward Israel. It is not only the security of Israel which is at stake—it is now the security of the whole world, because the Soviet Union is now in the Middle East in a big way.

Mr. President, this is a matter of very critical moment, and I am satisfied that the Senate committee has dealt with it, through expressing it as the sense of the Senate, in a very intelligent way, and I wish to identify myself with that particular explanation.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, concluding now the argument upon the matter upon which we shall be voting, I appeal to the Senate, upon the ground that without this very small investment, a gifted program, encouraging, on an 80-to-1 basis, private investment overseas of a very desirable character, and the most grassroots character, by American firms which would not otherwise be in the field; namely, small businesses that engage in a great deal of technical help to correlated businesses in parts of the world which we wish to help, this program will be extinguished.

This is most unwise, and I hope very much the Senate will restore the program.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session, to consider nominations reported earlier today by the Committee on Foreign Relations. This request has been cleared on both sides of the aisle. The nominations were reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will read the first nomination.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Barbara M. Watson, of New York, to be Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Charles W. Adair, Jr., of Virginia, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Foreign Service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Edson O. Sessions, of Illinois, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ecuador.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Raul H. Castro, of Arizona, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Bolivia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the diplomatic and Foreign Service which had been ordered to lie on the Secretary's desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, did that list include promotions of career ministers?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The motion was agreed to.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New York. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Arkansas

[Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] is absent on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maryland would vote "yea" and the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT]. If present and voting, the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "yea," and the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. PERCY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is absent because of illness.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 12, nays 65, as follows:

[No. 254 Leg.]

YEAS—12

Brooke
Case
Clark
Hart
Hatfield
Jackson
Javits
Kuchel
Mondale
Moss
Pastore
Williams, N.J.

NAYS—65

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Church
Cotton
Curtis
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hartke
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Inouye
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pearson
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tydings
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—22

Bartlett
Brewster
Carlson
Cooper
Dirksen
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hayden
Hruska
Kennedy
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
McClellan
Morton
Pell
Percy
Scott
Smathers
Tower

So Mr. JAVITS' amendment was rejected.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

> On page 21, line 7, strike out "$130,000,000" and substitute "$143,000,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. President, I have moved to restore the amount in the budget and requested by the administration for international organizations and programs primarily in the interest of the United Nations development program. They are the ones, apparently, who may be—I hope they are not—seriously hurt by this cut of $13 million.

This is a program to which in 1968 we contributed $75 million. It triggered contributions of $108 million from other countries, and it helped to bring $250 million in counterpart commitments from countries receiving assistance.

The administration thought very highly of this program and sought $5 million for it this year. It was going to budget the program for $80 million. Obviously, now it not only will not get the $80 million, but it may have last year's figure cut as well. I repeat, I hope very much that is not so.

The program is extremely desirable. In the first place, it is international and multilateral, with many countries contributing to it; and it is very gravely feared that if the United States reduces its pledge to the United Nations development program, other nations will reduce their pledges by even more, and a very grave loss will occur.

This United Nations development program goes along the lines of transferring the responsibility internationally which we carry in this country alone, and the achievements have been very important—indeed, magnificent. Surveys of national resources by the United Nations development program have directly or indirectly resulted in the private and public investment of over $2 billion, and the training institutions which it has helped to establish have already trained over 300,000 individuals and, in addition, have helped to establish a substantial number of applied research laboratories and demonstration schemes.

We must really have a sentimental interest in it, because Paul G. Hoffman, the first Administrator of the Marshall plan and of our foreign aid program and a very gifted and outstandingly talented and great American, is the Administrator of the United Nations development program. I have great confidence in Mr. Hoffman, and I really have made this motion in order to hold up his hands, because I believe he very richly deserves it, and I believe this kind of program is very much to be encouraged.

For those reasons, Mr. President, I would hope very much that the Senate would at least take this matter to conference. I point out that the other body has also passed the cut figure of $130 million. If we just go along, that is the end of it; it will not even be subject to discussion in conference.

So I urge the manager of the bill to at least take this particular item to conference, so that the subject may be opened, reviewed, and a considered decision made, in view of the very serious result which is anticipated to the United Nations development program.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

This matter was discussed not once but several times and on different occasions by the Committee on Foreign Relations. In view of the operations of the international organizations and programs which have been carried on, and with the continual increase in the amount of funds requested, the committee felt that in reducing the amount to $130 million, the funds were more than ample and satisfactory to carry out the organization's functions.

I would point out that on page 9 of the committee report it is stated:

> These contributions—which are to be distinguished from the U.S. assessments for the regular budgets of international organizations—help to fund 15 international programs, for most of which the U.S. contribution is between 33 and 40 percent of the total.

I raise a question as to why it should be considered necessary for this Government to carry one-third of the total costs of so many organizations. I believe that other countries, more prosperous than we, should be able to undertake more in the way of contributions for this type of program.

I would also point out that, apart from the reduction by the committee, the committee also authorizes a special appropriation of $1 million for the U.N. Children's Fund, in addition to the amount made available to the Children's Fund in the general authorization included in the $130 million. This is in recognition of the especially meritorious work of the Children's Fund in carrying out maternal and childhood welfare programs.

Mr. President, this is not too substantial a cut. The figure could well go below $130 million. I believe this is in the right direction.

I hope the distinguished Senator's amendment is rejected.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield myself 1 minute.

It is always a question, Mr. President, of the difference between the chicken and the egg—which comes first. Will foreign nations increase if we cut off, or will foreign nations cut off if we cut off? I rather think the latter is the case. The best opinion I have been able to get is that foreign nations will do less if we do less. The only way in which to get them to do more is by negotiating for more at the same time you sustain your part of it, and then what is done more is based upon what is already being done by us and by others.

The leverage which is inherent in a

United Nations effort as contrasted with a national effort on the part of the United States in many countries of the world, in my judgment, makes it very shortsighted for us to be regressive about this matter and not to try to push forward, thus forming a multilateral base for reducing other elements of our foreign aid program which can be reduced, if this organization can do the job it is doing and looks like it is capable of doing.

I respectfully submit that argument represents a regressive rather than a progressive position in terms of an economical foreign aid program. For that reason, the amendment should be agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I rise to support the majority leader in opposition to the amendment offered by the Senator from New York.

I participated in the extensive discussion of the amendment of the Senator from New York in committee. The overwhelming consensus in the committee was that it should be rejected. For all the reasons the Senator from Montana mentioned it should be rejected, and I would give this emphasis to those reasons, and one or two other reasons.

The attitude of the committee was that this was one place in which a cutback could be justified. If there are going to be increases in the foreign aid bill, and I do not think there should be any increases, but if there are going to be increases, they should deal with specific economic projects rather than the program under the International Organizations and Programs.

As the Senator from Montana said, the Children's Fund is adequately protected because the bill authorizes a special appropriation of $1 million for the Children's Fund in addition to the amount made available to the Children's Fund in the general authorization discussed in the bill.

One of the reasons we think it is not unreasonable to have $130 million in contrast to the administration request of $143 million, which is the exact figure the Senator from New York is requesting, is that we are paying 33⅓ percent to 40 percent of the costs of these international institutions. We are at a loss to understand why the United States should pay one-third, or 33⅓ percent to 40 percent, of the cost of all other countries of the world attending these meetings, many of them in a better fiscal condition than the United States. Why should we pick up that overburdened load of assessment with regard to these international meetings?

Furthermore, I point out our own fiscal condition, the two crises I talked about earlier this morning in my opposition to the Mondale-Moss amendment. We have the foreign policy crisis taking billions of dollars out of our economy each year, creating a serious financial emergency for our people; and we have our own fiscal problems at home. We just got through levying the 10-percent surtax. We will have cutbacks on appropriated funds.

Most people do not know that 40 to 60 percent of our funds for some domestic programs were impounded for 1968. Mr. President, I happen to be the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Education and answer the letters I have to answer to the school authorities of this country. They know the funds were appropriated. They say, "Why can't we get the money?" What do I have to say? The administration impounded the money because they consider this Nation to be in great fiscal difficulty.

I say this good naturedly. I do not think the administration impounds the money constitutionally. I do not know how they can constitutionally decrease the funds. I think they should come back to the Congress and ask the permission of Congress to impound. The Constitution makes it clear that it is the duty of Congress to raise money and appropriate money. The President can either veto the appropriation bills or spend the money against the subsequent consent of Congress not to spend the money. I cite this only to show the domestic financial crisis confronting us.

In this foreign aid bill, this particular area of international organizations is one of the most justifiable areas for the reduction which the Committee on Foreign Relations recommends—$130 million. We have to face it. We have to forgo many of these expenditures until we get out of the crisis we now face. The Senate will then find me more willing to go along with requests for increases in these programs.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New York. [Putting the question.]

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I understood the Senator from Colorado had some amendments.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. JAVITS. I ask unanimous consent that the time not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution of the Committee on Public Works be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 30, beginning with line 21, strike out all through line 6, on page 31, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 651. Halt in Middle East Arms Race—

"(a) It is the sense of the Congress that the United States, in accordance with the recent declarations of the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the world's arms race, should seek to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union concerning the supply of arms to Israel and the Arab states, and that the United States should continue to use its good offices to assist in securing a settlement of the issues between Israel and the Arab states.

"(b) It is further the sense of the Congress that, pending such agreements, the President may make available to the government of Israel such military equipment as may be necessary to provide Israel with an adequate deterrent force, taking into consideration the supply of military equipment to the Arab states by the Soviet Union and other countries."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, speaking in behalf of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], who is unable to be in the Chamber at this time, I wish to read the following statement on the amendment now pending:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR COOPER READ BY SENATOR MANSFIELD

Mr. COOPER. In the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, I proposed as a substitute for the language presented by the senior senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the following language:

1. "It is the sense of the Congress that the U.S. should use its best offices in accordance with the declaration of the United States and the USSR concerning the world's arms race—to halt the arms race between Israel and the Arab states and that it shall continue to use its good offices to assist in securing a settlement of the issues between Israel and the Arab states."

2. "It is further the sense of the Senate that pending such a settlement the U.S. may make available to Israel military equipment taking into consideration the supply of military equipment to the Arab states by the USSR and other countries."

My amendment was defeated, and the language proposed by Senator CHURCH appears in Section 651, page 30, beginning at line 21 of the bill before the Senate.

We are all aware of the difficult and complicated situation which exists in the Mid-East. Following the six-day war of last June 1967, the Soviet Union has been gradually replenishing the weapons lost by the United Arab Republic and other Arab states in that war. It is natural that the government of Israel would desire to secure adequate and necessary types of weapons to defend itself.

Nevertheless, the introduction of an amendment in a foreign aid bill, whether the amendment is mandatory, as was proposed by the House of Representatives, or whether it is discretionary, as is provided in the language in the Senate bill—an amendment which in effect suggests that the government of the United States should furnish supersonic aircraft to another State—is an unusual procedure.

I believe it is proper to assume that, when the government of the United States makes available arms to another state, whether by grant or sale, that its purpose is to enable such state to have the means to insure its internal security or to enable such state to deter an aggression from another state. The deterrence of aggression—the deterrence of war—is in the primary interest of the United States. Certainly in the Mid-East, the prevention of another war between Israel and the Arab states is a primary objective for the United States because it would be very difficult for the United States and the Soviet Union to avoid a confrontation with all of the dangers and the disastrous consequences which would flow from such a confrontation. I believe I am correct in assuming that it is certainly not the policy of the United States to furnish arms to any other state to enable such state to make war against another.

In keeping with my view of this situation, I offered this amendment to emphasize what I believe should be the position of our government. My first subparagraph 651(a) emphasizes the objective of the government of the United States to continue to communicate with the Soviet Union concerning the world's arms race and to reach some agreement with the Soviet Union, if possible, about the supply of arms in the Mid-East, the supply of arms which increases the tensions of that area. The first paragraph also emphasizes the stated policy of our government to assist in every way possible to secure a settlement of the issues between Israel and the Arab states. Unless this later aim is accomplished, tensions and the danger of war will remain.

I thought it very important that any section of the foreign aid bill speaking of the supply of arms to the Mid-East should emphasize what we have said to be our basic policy regarding the arms race and the settlement of issues in the Mid-East.

Sub-section (b) which I offered also differs from the language of the amendment offered by Senator Church. In some respects it may appear a contradiction to my first Sub-section (a) because ideally, it would be best to attempt to secure a settlement of the issues between the Arab states and Israel and an agreement with the Soviet Union about the limitation in the Mid-East. Realistically, we must recognize the fact that it is not likely that there will be a settlement of these issues in he immediate future, and in the meantime, an imbalance of arms might increase the danger of a premeditated or sudden decision to attack and to enter war. This being possible, it would seem in the best interest of the United States to provide a deterrent against such an eventuality. Therefore, my amendment provides that, pending such agreements noted in paragraph (a), the President may make available "to the government of Israel such military equipment as may be necessary to provide Israel with an adequate deterrent force, taking into consideration the supply of military equipment to the Arab states by the Soviet Union and other countries."

This language differs from the language which appears in the pending bill in an important respect. The language which I suggest does not attempt to dictate or to suggest the types of weapons which should be made available to Israel. It does not state whether they should be by sale, as the Church amendment provides, and it does provide that such equipment as the President might decide to supply to the Arab states should be made "taking into consideration the supply of military equipment to the Arab states by the Soviet Union and other countries." This language, I believe, would enable the provision to Israel of such deterrent as might be necessary which, after all, is the only sound reason for supplying arms. It is the only sound reason that will contribute to the security of Israel and to the security of the United States; I say the security of the United States because it is the deterrence of war which is important to our security in the Mid-East.

As I have argued, supply of arms to any country, even Israel, a democratic state and a treasured friend of the United States, should be in accord with our basic foreign policy and bear relationship to the security of the United States.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to the statement read by the Senator from Montana on behalf of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], and I see exactly what the Senator from Kentucky is driving at. What he wants to do is to couple the question of the supply of arms to Israel to correct the security imbalance, with the idea of promoting an arms limitation agreement for the Middle East between the United States and the Soviet Union.

That idea is entirely correct. We should couple the two.

It is very clear, however, that the Senator in charge of the bill intends to stick by the bill, as does the committee. The bill does have one advantage, I must say, and that is it is very specific on the question of supersonic planes, and considering the fact that this represents the reality of how to correct any arms imbalance which it is deeply felt exists. Naturally, the specific is always preferred to the general. However, it is fair to say that I should like to join my voice with that of the Senator from Kentucky—because this is, after all, within the province of the President and the State Department entirely—to urge that they seek an arms limitation for the Middle East with the Soviet Union. I have spoken on this before and shall continue to do so.

We believe that is entirely consistent with the other problem of the NATO presence in the Middle East, occasioned by the burgeoning Soviet naval power in the Mediterranean, which represents a real problem, which also has an effect upon the Arab-Israel security situation, as the Soviet fleet is actually based primarily in Egyptian and other Arab ports. I shall not use the word "threat," because that is too incendiary. But it is a real problem for Israel's own security and the peace of the area and the world.

I believe that the Senate is absolutely right in doing what is incorporated in the bill—that is, being specific about the need for arms balance, more specifically with supersonic planes. I believe that the idea of the Senator from Kentucky, which can be carried out by the President and the State Department, to seek an agreement for a limitation of armaments in that area of the world, is one of the major aspects which could make for a good detente between the Soviet Union and the United States. It could also tend to take out of the Middle East some of the venom which inheres in the radical Arab leaders threatening another war with Israel to get revenue for the Six Day War of 1967 and thus plunge the whole of the Middle East into the embroilment of conflict. There is the gravest danger of that, because that area is the real cockpit of the world. There the Russian fleet and the American fleet, both nuclear armed, face each other in the Mediterranean.

There is the grave danger, too, of some horrendous and awful nuclear confrontation.

I, therefore, have felt it my duty, considering the realities of the parliamentary situation, to express my views on this matter. I think that what the committee has done in specifying supersonic planes is right. I think that what the Senator from Kentucky urges, in the effort to seek an arms-limitation agreement for that area between the United States and the Soviet Union, is also a proper course.

Therefore, I urge that such a course be taken by the President, and the State Department.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I call up my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair wishes to inform the Senator from Colorado that all time has not been yielded back on the previous amendment. An amendment is pending.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I should like to have 10 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I may not use all 10 minutes, but I want to say that I strongly support the language of the Church amendment which we added to the bill. The Senator from Idaho was the author of the amendment, but several of us cosponsored it with him. I support that amendment on the floor of the Senate.

I agree with the comments the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] made in support of the objective of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], but I suggest to the Senator from New York that, as a conferee on the bill—and I expect to be one of the conferees on the bill—I shall urge that the objectives and the principles set forth in the comments made by the Senator from New York about the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper] be referred to in the report of the conferees, if we can have them included in the report. But the fine expression of objectives and intentions set forth in the Cooper amendment does not meet the practical problem that confronts Israel at present. That is what the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church] addressed himself to in the committee, in support of which we rallied behind him.

As the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman] knows, the Cooper amendment was rejected by an overwhelming vote in the Foreign Relations Committee, and the Church amendment was adopted by an overwhelming vote. The reason why I voted as I did—and I think all I was doing was sharing the viewpoint of many other members of the committee—is that Israel did buy supersonic planes from France and paid for them. Then certain diplomatic developments caused France not to deliver the planes. We know something about those developments. She apparently changed her diplomatic leanings somewhat, and did not deliver the planes.

The nations that are threatening to drive Israel into the sea, as soon as they are strong enough to do it, have purchased supersonic planes from Russia. With that superior power, let me say, the Cooper amendment will not be of very much help after the fact. If Israel is kept in a weakened position so that she cannot defend herself against the supersonic plane superiority of the Arab States that are threatening to make war against her as soon as they are strong enough to do it, she will be in nonexistence after that war, and therefore the fine, idealistic objectives of the Cooper amendment will be of no avail to a defeated and exterminated Israel.

Mr. President, this is a problem that has confronted us for a long, long time. I have been associated with the problem for a long, long time. In 1946, the then President of the United States sent me on a special mission into Palestine to make a study of the situation that existed there. In a confidential report to the President, I reported certain facts that I discovered, and they were verified. As we know, that led to the partition argument. It led to the rejection of the then British position in regard to Israel. Israel will forever be grateful for the fact that the great President Truman took a position in support of the establishment of the State of Israel as a sovereign state.

Ever since, the Arab States have refused to recognize the sovereignty of Israel, although Israel has been recognized by most of the nations of the world and occupies a seat in the United Nations.

During all of this period there has been a constant threat on the part of the Arab States to destroy Israel. They have made several attempts to do it, as we all know.

In December 1965, I was chairman of a Senate delegation that went to various places in the world, assigned to do so by the President. He asked us to stop in Israel on our way back home to make a survey of a particular problem that concerned the President, namely, the desalination program under an agreement between the United States and Israel.

In the course of our visit to Israel we were introduced to some of the very strong feelings of some of the leaders of the Israel Government concerning our supplying of military aid to some of the Arab countries. Our Israel host pointed out how, on one shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, 10 days before we arrived, a U.S. naval vessel unloaded on the docks of that Jordan town on the Arab side of the gulf a considerable number—as I recall, 20-some—of our largest Patton tanks.

The Israel host expressed great concern about that kind of aid going into the Arab countries. When we met with the great Golda Meir, she expressed her concern. When we pointed out that we had an understanding that the United States would come to Israel's defense if she were attacked, she replied that their concern was whether there would be an Israel left to come to the aid of, if they waited for our governmental procedures to operate by way of supplying Israel with military assistance. She said that the closest concentration of Arab airpower was only 17 minutes away, that the second was 13 minutes away, and that the largest was 22 minutes away in Cairo.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MORSE. May I have 2 additional minutes?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I give this as a background, because we must face the reality that confronts the State of Israel. All we are doing in the Church amendment is giving discretion to the President to supply what he finds is necessary in regard to aid to Israel. To do what? I read the language:

> The President should take such steps as may be necessary, as soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this section, to negotiate an agreement with the Government of Israel providing for the sale by the United States of such number of supersonic planes as may be necessary to provide Israel with an adequate deterrent force capable of preventing future Arab aggression by offsetting sophisticated weapons received by the Arab States and to replace losses suffered by Israel in the 1967 conflict.

It keeps them in a diplomatic stance. It makes it possible for us to do what the President finds is necessary to provide a deterrent force.

All we have to look at is one of the most recent statements of Nasser in the last few days, in which he stated his armed forces will not be ready for a year. That is the threat.

Therefore, I think we are wise to give this authority to the President. It does not in any way prevent, but in my judgment will enhance, the carrying out, at a diplomatic level, of attempts to reach an agreement between the Soviet Union, the United States, the Arab countries, and other countries on a disarmament program. That is why I think this is only a pound-of-prevention provision in the bill. I urge that the Church amendment be adopted and the Cooper amendment be rejected.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE].

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the Foreign Relations Committee had before it the language of the House which made mandatory upon the President the sale of supersonic planes.

The Committee on Foreign Relations changed the language from a mandate to a permission at the discretion of the President. The words "shall sell" were used in the House bill. The Senate changed that requirement to language indicating that it is the consensus of the Senate that the President "should" as distinguished from "shall" make the sale. The language as now written in the bill gives the President the discretionary power to make these sales if, in his opinion, it is necessary to offset the huge sales that have been made by the Soviet Union to the Arab nations.

I believe the change was a wise one, and that the language ought not to be changed again, so as to bring it back to what the House of Representatives proposed.

I believe the Cooper amendment, on the whole, is sound, but I do not think it is an improvement over what we have in the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

I think we are all very much in agreement with the sense of the Cooper proposal as far as policy is concerned; but, as has been pointed out, it is a policy that can be amended by the President and the Department of State, without the necessity of their being confronted with this particular provision.

The committee considered this matter, voted adversely, and brought forward the amendment which we have before us, which does change the House language, as the Senator from Ohio has stated.

Mr. President, I am informed that the Senator from Kentucky wanted this discussion in the RECORD, but that it is his wish that the amendment be withdrawn. I therefore ask unanimous consent, in behalf of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], to withdraw the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is withdrawn.

The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], proposes an amendment as follows:

> On page 20, line 8, strike out "$420,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$350,000,000".
>
> On page 20, lines 11 and 12, strike out "$90,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$70,000,000".

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may require.

It is the purpose of this amendment to reduce the authorization of Alliance for Progress funds by a figure of $70 million. That portion available for grants is reduced from $90 million to $70 million.

I do not enjoy reducing funds made available for development purposes in Latin America.

I offer the amendment because of the financial condition of this Nation which has run a deficit of over $25 billion this year.

I do so also because far too much of the assistance we are sending to Latin America is going into military and economic oligarchies, which are anathema to everything we stand for.

In due course, when we have gotten our own house in order, and when we have some more significant signs of self-help in Latin America, I will consider supporting new programs for Latin America. I cannot do so now.

This is a place where, temporarily, we can make some cuts.

I ask for no rollcall vote on the amendment, and I am ready to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I stated at the beginning that it was my purpose to defend the bill on the floor of the Senate. The bill was considered in a large number of meetings of the Committee on Foreign Relations, these figures were all gone over very carefully, and what is contained in the bill is what the Committee on Foreign Relations voted for.

We had a rollcall vote in the committee on sustaining the $420 million item, and it was approved by a vote of 10 to 7. A motion was made in the committee to increase that amount to $520 million, and that was rejected by a vote of 14 to 3. So it seems to me that that shows pretty well the sentiment of the committee. I hope that the Senate will sustain the position of the committee with respect to this item, just as I hope that it will sustain the position of the committee as to amendments seeking to increase appropriations—and in some instances I voted for increases; for example, in the area of technical assistance.

I believe that it is incumbent on me to stand by the committee, especially since we devoted the time and attention that we did in committee to these matters. I therefore hope the amendment will be rejected.

I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, arguments have been made in the Senate that this program has been cut beyond what it should be cut. As I listened to those arguments, I found myself a bit impacted by them.

Our committee, in studying the proposal of the President, cut deeply into what he requested. The House of Representatives cut deeply into what the President requested. To go a step further now and reduce the amount still more, in the two instances covered by the amendment of the Senator from Oregon, would, in my opinion, be going beyond justification.

The authorization request was for $625 million. The House of Representatives authorized $420 million, and the Senate adopted the same figure.

Thus the authorization is $205 million below what was requested in the President's budget.

This program is down very low, Mr. President. I have been wanting to reduce Federal expenditures in order to meet the fiscal problems confronting the Nation. It has been reported a number of times today that the deficit for 1968 is $25 billion. This program has been cut. In my opinion, we cannot cut it any further and still serve the security and the interests of our country. I should like to be able to vote with the Senator from Oregon, but I regret to say I cannot do so, in the face of the cuts that have already been made.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

I understand the position of the Senator from Ohio and the Senator from Alabama. There is no doubt that this proposal was turned down in committee. But I wish to stress what the proposal is. It would not cut anything but grant money. It is the grant money to which I am directing my attention. The other areas of Alliance for Progress funds would not be touched by my amendment. I am simply proposing that we reduce the grant money from $90,000,000 to $70,000,000.

The grant money is our giveaway money. Our grant money is the money we send down there for no repayment. Repeating the arguments I made earlier today, so long as we are confronted by these domestic crises, the two main ones of which I have mentioned—the war in Vietnam, which is taking dollars out of our country and resulting in great stringency, and the holding back of needed domestic developments—we ought to say to our friends abroad, "You have got to join with the American people in our economy drive in regard to the grant money. We can't give you what we have been giving you."

I am only proposing that out of a $90 million giveaway program, we cut back $20 million. That is not very much—cutting it from $90 million to $70 million. After all, we are not getting very much help in the variety of ways in which those countries could help without any substantial expenditures on their part in connection with assisting us in our foreign policy problems. In fact, we face them in the United Nations, and we do not get their help there time and time again.

Now is the time to make a $20 million savings in the grant aspects of the Alliance for Progress program.

The rest of it, I am all for.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the Senator from Oregon and I are not in agreement on what his amendment would do. The amendment says: "Strike out '$420,000,000' and insert in lieu thereof '$350,000,000'."

That would mean a cut of $70 million. But of the $70 million cut, $20 million is to be taken out of the grants and $50 million out of the loans.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is absolutely correct. The amendment as I have sent it to the desk has not worded as I instructed.

Mr. President, I would like to withdraw the amendment and offer it again with only the $20 million cut in grant aid. I think that is the best way to save time. I have already made my argument.

Mr. President, I modify my amendment so that it reduces only the grant money in the Alliance for Progress program by $20 million—to reduce the amount from $90 million to $70 million. That is all I seek to do in the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Oregon as modified.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if that is the case, why do we not order the yeas and nays and start on the vote now?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

ALLIANCE ROOTS CAREFULLY LAID AND NURTURED

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, our assistance to the countries of the Alliance for Progress takes many forms: Direct loans, grants, loans to multinational financial institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank, Public Law 480 food agreements, and others. With significant success, these contributions on our part have made significant beginnings toward stimulating the economic and social development of these countries, and the overall results have been to our credit.

Progress is being made toward the goals of the Alliance, and the Latin American countries are becoming increasingly aware of the requirements for their future economic development, the extent of their future potential, and the steps necessary to realize this potential. The Alliance for Progress is affecting all segments of society: The government, the private business sector, and the people.

However, it is the people, the grassroots, whom we ultimately wish to help most, by assisting them in developing better opportunities for a higher standard of living. Although we still have some distance to go to overcome the obstacles facing total realization of this goal, a small but growing private organization is making dramatic progress in helping to achieve these aims. The objectives of the organization are intertwined with those of the Alliance for Progress. The group is called the Partners of the Alliance, now in its fourth year of operation.

Coordinated by the National Association of the Partners of the Alliance, 35 of our States have formed committees whose purpose it is to implement the Alliance goals directly—on a people-to-people basis. Each State committee has developed a program of assistance and exchange with a particular Latin American country or area within a country—14 Latin American countries in all.

The partners projects can be as simple as sending tools to a local community to build a road or as sophisticated as sending experts to solve particular problems in the field of agriculture, education, or public health. Let me cite a few specific examples to demonstrate the range of complexity this program involves:

The Idaho Partners of the Alliance Committee provided four pedal-type sewing machines and a typewriter to an orphanage in Ecuador.

The Oregon committee has set up a program with Costa Rica in which Costa Rican public school administrators are given inservice training in Oregon in exchange for their contributions to Latin American social studies and Spanish language studies.

The Tennessee committee organized and funded a 1-month workshop for 15 Venezuelan women community leaders.

The Wyoming committee provided a diesel generator for an electric cooperative in the state of Goias, Brazil.

The Committee in my own State of Oklahoma has also begun excellent work in the state of Tlaxcala, Mexico.

The crucial importance of these programs is not their size, of course, but the grass roots involvement in the Alliance for Progress, both in the United States, and in their counterparts in Latin American countries.

However, the efforts of the partners will be nullified unless there is an overall, ongoing, general assistance program of an effective magnitude. In view of this truly basic interest being developed in the Alliance for Progress, it seems to me that now is hardly the time to cut back on our total involvement in Latin America. We are beginning to reap what can become not only a very successful harvest, but a bumper crop for the Alliance. It would be tragic to cut and flay the plant now, endangering the stalk and the roots so carefully laid and nurtured.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified, of the Senator from Oregon. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pell], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore] is absent on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pell]. If present and voting, the Senator from Alaska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett]. If present and voting, the Senator from North Dakota would vote "yea," and the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] would vote "nay."

Mr. **KUCHEL**. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen and Mr. Percy], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield] is detailed on official business.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper] is absent because of illness.

If present and voting, the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "nay," and the Senator from Oregon would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott]. If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois would vote "nay," and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Illinois would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 43, as follows:

[No. 255 Leg.]

YEAS—31

Allott
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Church
Cotton
Curtis
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Hollings
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Magnuson
McClellan
Morse
Mundt
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Williams, Del.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—43

Aiken
Anderson
Baker
Boggs
Brooke
Case
Clark
Dodd
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hickenlooper
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, La.
Mansfield
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Moss
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Prouty
Proxmire
Smith
Sparkman
Tydings
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—25

Bartlett
Brewster
Burdick
Carlson
Cooper
Dirksen
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hatfield
Hayden
Hill
Hruska
Kennedy
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Morton
Pell
Percy
Scott
Smathers
Tower
Williams, N.J.

So Mr. Morse's amendment, as modified, was rejected.

Mr. **MORSE**. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be read.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** (Mr. Hollings in the chair). The amendment will be stated.

The bill clerk read as follows:

> On page 23, line 6, strike out "(1)".
>
> On page 23, strike out lines 10 through 20, inclusive.

Mr. **MORSE**. I yield myself such time as I may need.

First, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. **MORSE**. Mr. President, the amendment I offer is intended to strike from the bill a House amendment adding $10 million to the funds to be made available in the form of military assistance to Latin America.

The amendment offered by Representative Fascell would give to certain Central and Latin American countries funds for the purpose of strengthening coastal patrol activities along the eastern coast of Central and Latin America.

There are three major reasons why I argue for striking the House amendment.

First, if the House amendment stands, the $10 million involved would exceed by that amount the military assistance for Latin America requested by the administration.

The administration did not ask for this money.

There has been some confusion as to whether the House amendment in question would breach the ceiling proposed by the administration. There is no reason for this uncertainty. In Representative Fascell's explanation of his amendment, he stated:

> My amendment *does* breach the $25 million limitation on military aid to Latin America, proposed in the bill. This limitation would *not* apply with respect to the $10 million involved in my amendment.
>
> In other words, if my amendment is adopted, the overall ceiling in military aid to Latin America in fiscal year 1969 would stand at $35 million. However, $10 million of $35 million could be used only for strengthening coastal patrol activities in Latin America.

What could be clearer as to legislative intent? To sustain the House amendment would be to breach what the administration itself has proposed for Latin American assistance. We all know the administration is not backward in pushing for every cent it can get in order to underwrite Latin American military establishments at the expense of the American taxpayer.

Second, there is absolutely no reason for the Latin American countries to have this additional $10 million in funds. After listening to the testimony, I am no more persuaded than the administration that there is a military justification for such an additional giveaway of funds.

Third, if the Fascell amendment is rejected, as it will be if my amendment is adopted, the result will not lower the overall amount of $365 million for military assistance voted by the committee; a sum I reluctantly support. This House amendment which I urge the Senate to reject would simply divert military assistance funds from another area to Latin America.

Mr. President, for all these reasons I strongly urge the adoption of this amendment which would strike the House proposal to divert a completely unnecessary amount of military assistance to Latin America, and thereby to breach the ceiling on military assistance to that area suggested by the administration itself.

Mr. President, furthermore I point out that we should go back to the Punta del Este Conference and the agreement reached at the Punta del Este Conference. I was one of the Senate delegates to the Punta del Este Conference, and it was at the Punta del Este Conference, do not forget, that the understanding was entered into in regard to patrolling these areas, for we were greatly concerned. At that Conference we took the action that eliminated Cuba, so long as she has her Communist form of government, from being a member of the Organization of American States.

Under the convention of Punta del Este it is the joint obligation of the members of Punta del Este to patrol the waters and prevent any infiltration by Cuba into Central American States and Latin American States. This is a joint activity.

I cannot speak for the administration, but I would assume that one of the reasons why it did not request additional money as provided in the Fascell amendment relates to the Punta del Este agreement itself.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on American Republic's Affairs, I am no longer as alone as I was some years ago on the Committee on Foreign Relations, because there has now been strong support for the position of some of us to cut back military aid. It is the economic aid and the aid to education in order to better the economy and the literacy that are needed, not an increase in military aid.

Furthermore, we are already providing Latin America with military aid. We have provided grant money totaling $26 million. This is grant money. This is an additional $10 million of grant money for military aid. The $26 million of grant money goes for military assistance such as vehicles, training, parts, ammunition, and various types of small aircraft. On top of that we have military sales projected of $45 million in credit—and please underline the word "credit." I am talking about military aid to Latin America. We have $16.5 million requiring cash payments, or a total of $61.5 million. We have a ceiling of $75 million but that does not include training money. It is really an additional $10 million of grant money.

Mr. President, you know my views and the views of many of us on the Committee on Foreign Relations who have been cutting back on military aid into Latin America for the past several years. We always cut back more than the House; the House "ups" it, and then we go into conference. We usually have to strike a middle course, just above the Senate figure, but somewhat below the House figure.

However, here an attempt is being made to freeze into the bill an additional $10 million, so that we will not be free in conference to do any bargaining at all.

Here is $10 million added by the House, not requested by the administration. It is $10 million of grant money. It ought to be taken out of the Senate bill, and we ought to go into conference and negotiate this matter there.

I urge the adoption of my amendment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, there are some things I would like to point out regarding this matter.

First, if this amendment were agreed to, it would not save a dime, because this is not additional money. It simply provides that the President may take as much as $10 million out of the overall fund and use it for the purpose of letting the Latin American countries build up necessary patrols for their shores against the supposed or possible infiltration by Castro forces and ideology. There is no directive to the President to use it. It provides that he may use it. It would not save a dime.

This is the House language, and if we strike out the language it will still be in conference between the two Houses.

Because of that, I am perfectly willing to accept the amendment and go to conference, where there can be a full and free discussion. In the meantime, we can ascertain what the administration may desire regarding it.

I wish to make it clear that I shall be governed largely in conference by the discussion that takes place, rather than taking this as a finding. This was voted on in the committee, and the idea of eliminating it was voted down by a vote of 10 to 5.

However, I do not think any damage would be done by accepting the Senator's amendment and leaving the matter for free and full discussion in open conference.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I would not want to leave the history of the amendment the way my friend from Alabama left it without my rebuttal.

As the Senator knows, there was discussion in committee as to what the amendment provides. We can wrangle that out in conference. However, I completely disagree with the Senator as to whether the amendment does or does not add $10 million. I think it does; he thinks it does not. Its author in the House described it as an addition to the ceiling.

If the language is stricken, we can consider it in conference. The important thing is to get my amendment adopted and then decide in conference what the result will be.

I understand that the acting chairman of the committee is willing to accept my amendment for the purpose of taking it to conference. If that is what he proposes to do, I am perfectly willing to ask unanimous consent that my request for a rollcall vote be withdrawn, and I will accept the Senator's statement to take the amendment to conference.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, before we close this discussion, the Senator from Oregon said he differs with me as to whether or not this $10 million constitutes additional funds.

I am willing to rest upon the language of the bill and I want to read it:

> Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this section, not to exceed $10 million of the funds made available for use under this part may be used to furnish assistance to the American Republics . . .

And so forth. I am willing to rest my contention on the language of the bill itself. I certainly have no objection to the unanimous-consent request proposed by the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. In rebuttal, the bill does not provide for $10 million for the patrolling of Central American waters. The amendment does. Wherever the Senator gets the $10 million, we are adding the $10 million to the usage, not provided for in the Senate bill, but which is provided for by the Fascell amendment in which he makes very clear what his intention is. He says it is a breach of the ceiling. We can thrash that out in conference. The important thing, of course, is that the Senator will accept my amendment, which pleases me very much. Under those circumstances, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the rollcall vote be withdrawn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 923

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 923 and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The BILL CLERK. At the end of the bill add the following new title:

> (a) The Secretary of the Treasury shall promptly after the date of enactment of this Act make demand on all countries which are more than ninety days in arrears in the payment of principal or interest on obligations owing to the United States (including obligations incurred during World War I or World War II) for the amount of any such arrearages.
>
> (b) During any period in which any foreign nation is in arrears, as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, in the payment of principal or interest on obligations owing to the United States (including obligations incurred during World War I or World War II), dollars held by such nation, or any instrumentality thereof, which are presented for redemption in gold to the United States, or any officer or agency thereof, shall, in lieu of such redemption, be credited against the amount by which such nation is in arrears in the payment of principal or interest on such obligations.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I yield myself 20 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, the amendment is printed and a copy lies on each Senator's desk. It is identical with the amendment which was voted on March 28, 1968, in connection with the proposal to limit expenditures and to raise taxes. At that time, it was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 48 yeas to 25 nays, but it was lost in conference.

It is my intention and hope to bring this amendment to a rollcall vote once again in order to exhibit to the House of Representatives and to the American people our determination on this matter.

The amendment is designed to assist us in a twofold manner.

First, we should try to collect some of the money which is overdue to us from other countries; some of which are friendly, others hostile. We have made little or no effort in this respect for a considerable period of time; namely, about 30 years.

Second, I think we should take some steps to try to protect our remaining gold reserves. We pay lip service to the economic truth that two things must be accomplished before we can extricate ourselves from our present balance-of-payments dilemma. First, the balance-of-payments deficit must be closed; second, the domestic deficit must be cut.

With regard to the domestic deficit, Congress has already passed, and the President has signed, the bill which reduces expenditures by $6 billion, requires a tax increase, and also requires, a rollback in Federal employment, as was discussed by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] earlier today.

I do not see how we can ask our constituents to tighten their belts and pay 10 percent more in taxes this year—to protect our monetary system, as we have said over and over again—and then turn around and let countries which are past due on their debts not only not pay them but also walk off with our gold supply while they are doing it.

It is for that reason that I urge the pending amendment be considered and acted upon this year.

I want to make it crystal clear I am not asking that the nations immediately pay all their debts. It is obviously going to be difficult, if not impossible, for all of them to do so. But there are certainly a number of them which could make prompt payments and begin to bring their arrearages up to date, so that they will at least be current in their installment payments.

Nor am I asking that they pay all their debts, matured or unmatured, before they get any of our gold. I am simply asking that the governments of these countries get up to date by paying their arrearages. Under my amendment if they have not paid that portion of their debt to us which is in arrears when they turn short-term dollar holdings in they can get credit on their past due debt, whether principal or interest; but they will not get our gold.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator has made an important point, to understand correctly in order the purpose of his amendment, about which I find a great deal of misunderstanding.

Do we not say, in effect, what the merchant says to the installment buyer who wants to buy an additional appliance: "Pay up, first, the interest on your payments on the refrigerator you bought last year."? Is that not, in effect, what the Senator is saying by that part of his amendment?

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is entirely correct. I am not saying that these countries must pay all their debts, but they have got to pay what is past due before they can get the gold. Otherwise, they can get credit on their debt, when they turn in their short-term dollar holdings. Once they are up to date, they can get gold in the future. All we are asking is that they bring their indebtedness up to a current status. It is not current, in many cases, at this moment.

Mr. President, when this amendment was debated before, one of the big objections raised to it was that we were injecting this problem at a time when the representatives of the United States were trying to work out a solution of our gold problems.

That meeting has taken place, a new system has been imposed, and we are now in the position of having withdrawn our support from the London gold market. We are supporting only the central banks at this point.

Nevertheless, Treasury Department figures illustrate this country, since March 28, 1968, has lost about $117 million worth of gold. In other words, nations which still owe us money, and on which the Secretary of the Treasury has made no demand, are still free to turn short-term dollar holdings in and ask for our gold.

Our gold reserves continue to decline. We have, as of July 25, $10,366,919,739.39, according to the Treasury Department. This does not include, so far as I can tell, the amount for contingent liability, whereby we would have to place additional gold in excess of $1 billion into the monetary fund upon demand.

It also does not take into consideration certain other obligations which we have and which are on the books of the Treasury Department. It simply reflects the amount we have on hand at present if these other obligations are not required.

As I have said, it represents a loss, in a period of 4 months, of $117 million worth of gold. This occurred even though a new system, designed to protect the gold reserves, went into effect.

Mr. President, despite the super-sales public relations job which has been done by the Treasury Department on what was accomplished at the meeting in March of the participating countries, only two concrete things really were achieved: first, our support of the gold pool was ended, and the two-price system for gold was issued.

Second, it was decided that any country selling gold privately could no longer exchange dollars for gold with the United States. In other words, we bought some time—and that is about all we did. Beyond that, we did not get much accomplished.

This will work as long as there is not too big a spread between our price of $35 an ounce and the private market price. But if a large price spread develops—and on occasion it has developed in the last 4 months—some country, through its central bank, will sell. It is as inevitable as the old law that bad money drives out good money. It is bound to happen.

My amendment does not require the collection of any debts. It does not say to the Secretary of the Treasury, "You have to do this, that, or anything else in the way of collecting these debts." It simply requires him to make demand, as any creditor always does, on debtors. The Secretary would have to make demand on all countries that are in arrears in the payment of principal or interest. This seems to me to be eminently fair. This proposal will give them notice, and give them a chance to bring their debts up to date.

Then they will be permitted, if they have short-term dollars, to turn them in and get gold. If they do not bring their debts up to date and keep payments current, they will be cut off from dipping into our gold reserves.

It is said that we have an obligation to redeem dollars for gold, and I would agree with that; but I would also say countries that are in debt to the United States also have an equal obligation, particularly during a financial crisis such as we have now, to pay their debts to us on time.

Over and over and over again, reports are made in newspapers around the country. People ask at meetings why we do not do something about collecting our debts. Every time we ask the Treasury, the officials say, "We have not written off these debts. We have not forgotten them." As a matter of fact, Congress has by resolution, specifically affirmed the continuing validity of these debts and opposition to their cancellation or reduction. This resolution is still law and a copy appears in my remarks during Senate debate on this amendment March 28, 1968. Nevertheless, no demand is made on other countries to pay the money they owe us.

What countries are, in fact, delinquent in their payments to us for World War II and subsequent debts?

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD at this point a table containing this information.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD WAR II AND SUBSEQUENT DEBTS

STATUS OF FOREIGN LOANS AND OTHER CREDITS FROM U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AS OF JUNE 30, 1967: PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST DUE AND UNPAID 90 DAYS OR MORE

[In dollars or dollar equivalents]

Country and credit program	Total due and unpaid 90 days or more			Principal[1]			Interest[1]		
	Total	Due in dollars	Due in foreign currencies	Total	Foreign government[2]	Private	Total	Foreign government	Private
Argentina under Export-Import Bank Act	5, 492, 600	5, 492, 600		4, 990, 300		4, 990, 300	502, 300		502, 300
Bolivia under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Country program loans	871, 806	46, 332	825, 474	536, 642		536, 642	335, 164		335, 164
Chile under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Long-term dollar sales	5	5		5	5				
China:									
Surplus property sales:									
Sales of overseas surplus	4, 648, 157	4, 648, 157		2, 585, 128	2, 585, 128		2, 063, 029	2, 063, 029	
Lend lease pipeline	50, 214, 159	50, 214, 159		30, 206, 981	30, 206, 981		20, 007, 178	2, 007, 178	
Colombia under Export-Import Bank Act	294, 400	294, 400		210, 400		210, 400	84, 000		84, 000

See footnotes at end of table.

WORLD WAR II AND SUBSEQUENT DEBTS—Continued

STATUS OF FOREIGN LOANS AND OTHER CREDITS FROM U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AS OF JUNE 30, 1967: PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST DUE AND UNPAID 90 DAYS OR MORE—Cont.

[In dollars or dollar equivalents]

Country and credit program	Total due and unpaid 90 days or more			Principal[1]			Interest[1]		
	Total	Due in dollars	Due in foreign currencies	Total	Foreign government[2]	Private	Total	Foreign government	Private
Costa Rica:									
Under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Country program loans	398,685	398,685		296,883		296,883	101,802		101,802
Under Export-Import Bank Act	118,100	118,100		100,000		100,000	18,100		18,100
Cuba, under Export-Import Bank Act	30,088,500	30,088,500		15,617,100		15,617,100	14,472,300		14,472,300
Czechoslovakia, surplus property sales: Sales of overseas surplus	4,660,025	4,660,025		2,921,921	2,921,921		1,738,104	1,738,104	
Dominican Republic, under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Long-term dollar sales	50,661	50,661		50,661	50,661				
El Salvador, under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Long-term dollar sales	122	122					122	122	
Greece, surplus property sales: Merchant ship sales	41,971	41,971		30,591		30,591	11,380		11,380
Guatemala, under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Financing of military sales	68,041	68,041		68,041	68,041				
Haiti:									
Under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Country program loans	28,821		28,821	21,933		21,933	6,888		6,888
Surplus property sales: Sales of domestic surplus	136,884	136,884		103,039	103,039		33,845	33,845	
Hungary. surplus property sales: Sales of overseas surplus	3,030,153	3,030,153		3,030,153	3,030,153				
India:									
Under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Country program loans	30,033	25,946	4,087				30,033	4,087	25,946
Under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Currency loans to private enterprise	1,834,404		1,834,404	1,172,415		1,172,415	661,986		661,986
Under Export-Import Bank Act	44,900	44,900		25,600		25,600	19,300		19,300
Surplus property sales: Sales of overseas surplus	1,866,680		1,866,680	1,866,680	1,866,680				
Indonesia:									
Under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: County program loans	6,313,121	5,297,249	1,015,872	4,992,898	4,571,747	421,151	1,320,223	1,198,075	122,148
Under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Currency loans to foreign governments	720,824		720,824	191,818	191,818		529,006	529,006	
Under Export-Import Bank Act	22,941,000	22,941,000		17,172,800	17,172,800		5,768,200	5,768,200	
Surplus Property Sales: Sales of overseas surplus	5,500,886	5,500,886		4,167,338	4,167,338		1,333,548	1,333,548	
Iran:									
Under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Currency loans to private enterprise	78,578		78,578	57,778		57,778	20,800		20,800
Surplus property sales: Sales of overseas surplus	32,162,913	32,261,913		23,388,181	23,388,181		8,873,733	8,873,733	
Lend lease pipeline	711,753	711,753		711,753	771,753				
Israel, under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Currency loans to private enterprise	859,333		859,333	859,138		859,138	195		195
Korea, surplus property sales: Sales of overseas surplus	6,468,318	6,468,318					6,468,318	6,468,318	
Liberia:									
Under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Country program loans	204,036	204,036		158,040		158,040	45,996		45,996
Under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Long-term dollar sales	60,140	60,140		41,116	41,116		19,024	19,024	
Pakistan, under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Currency loans to private enterprise	574,325		574,325	517,711		517,711	56,614		56,614
Paraguay:									
Under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts:									
Country program loans	35,017		35,017	27,466	27,466		7,551	7,551	
Financing military sales	230,484	230,484		217,438	217,438		13,046	13,046	
Under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act:									
Long-term dollar sales	405,374	405,374		374,491	374,491		30,882	30,882	
Currency loans to private enterprise	324,131		324,131	117,914		117,914	206,217		206,217
Philippines:									
Under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Country program loans	3,491,691	3,436,840	54,851	2,468,110	54,851	2,413,259	1,023,581		1,023,581
Under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act:									
Currency loans to foreign governments	55,117		55,117	55,117	55,117				
Currency loans to private enterprise	209,330		209,330				209,330		209,330
Somalia, under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Country program loans	32,369	32,369					32,369		32,369
Sudan, under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Currency loans to private enterprise	531,827		531,827	452,508		452,508	79,317		79,317
Syria, under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Country program loans	64,405	64,405		52,000		52,000	12,405		12,405
Tunisia, under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Financing military sales	458,100	458,100		440,481	440,481		17,619	17,619	
Turkey:									
Under Foreign Assistance (and related Acts): Country program loans	252,468		252,468	155,000		155,000	97,468		97,468
Under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Currency loans to private enterprise	7,209,558		7,209,558	6,217,486		6,217,486	992,072		992,072
United Arab Republic:									
Under Foreign Assistance (and related) Acts: Country program loans	2,299,208	2,299,208		1,971,417	1,971,417		327,791	327,791	
Under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act: Currency loans to foreign governments	248		248				248	248	
Under Export-Import Bank Act	2,752,700	2,752,700		1,812,500	1,812,500		940,200	940,200	
Soviet Union, lend lease pipeline	65,886,244	65,886,244		65,886,244	65,886,244				
Uraguay, under Export-Import Bank Act	40,500	40,500		24,800		24,800	14,100		14,100
Vietnam, under foreign assistance (and related) acts: Country program loans	1,586,773		1,586,773	615,639	615,639		971,134	971,134	
Venezuela, under Export-Import Bank Act	164,100	164,100		150,000	150,000		14,100	14,100	

---

[1] Does not include amounts charged off as uncollectable as of the date of this report. Does not include amounts rescheduled or deferred according to agreements. In several instances agencies have stopped reporting accruals of interest when credits have gone into default.

[2] Includes amounts where payment is owed or guaranteed by a foreign government or any agency of a foreign government such as a central bank.

Note: Collections under the above programs are generally the responsibility of the following agencies:

Under foreign assistance (and related) acts:	
Country program loans	Agency for International Development.
Financing of military sales	Department of Defense.
Under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act:	
Long-term dollar sales	Department of Agriculture.
Currency loans to foreign governments	Agency for International Development.
Currency loans to private enterprise	Do.
Under Export-Import Bank Act	Export-Import Bank.
Surplus property sales:	
Sales of oversea surplus	Treasury Department.
Sales of domestic surplus	The only outstanding credit (Haiti) in this program was turned over by the General Service Administration to the General Accounting office and the Department of State for collection.
Merchant ship sales	Department of Commerce.
Lend lease pipeline	Treasury Department.

Source: Treasury Department compilation of data submitted by the responsible agencies.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, the table refers to World War II debts. They are quite interesting.

As of June 30, 1967, the great country of Chile, for whom we are trying to do something by the Alliance for Progress and other areas in the foreign aid bill before us, had a really tremendous debt to us. Mr. President, Chile owed us $5—5 American dollars. It would almost be worthwhile to make up a kitty with 50 cents apiece from each Senator present in the Chamber, give it to the Chilian Ambassador, and say, "Pay us." It is really not going to be a strain on the Government of Chile to come up with a 5-dollar bill and say, "Now we are up to date on our debt."

The Dominican Republic, for example, owes us $50,000. It is overdue. For the life of me, I cannot see why we cannot ask the Dominican Republic for $50,000. Granted they are not in very good condition. Granted that they have economic problems. Surely they have, and so have we. We have been trying to make money available to them in terms of soft loans, agricultural development, grants, and otherwise for years. Certainly the Dominican Republic can scratch up $50,000 in order to pay its overdue debt to the United States.

Mr. President, I could go on, but there is no point in going into all of the items. I have placed them in the RECORD today, and did when this same amendment passed in March because I thought it worthwhile to call this matter to the attention of Senators once again.

Over $5 million is owed to us by Argentina.

Bolivia owes us over $871,000.

Chile owes us $5.

China owes us a great deal of money from surplus sales and other things.

Colombia owes us in excess of $294,000.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Does the Senator have any figures on Peru?

Mr. DOMINICK. Peru was not in arrears on any debts to us as of June 30, 1967.

If some of these countries are unable at the present moment to pay the full amount in which they are in arrears, it seems to me to be only sound fiscal sense to do what any businessman would do and say, "All right, here is the amount of debt. Let us refinance it and have you pay off the debt in smaller installments get on a sensible business basis, so that you will not be running in arrears; so that you can start making payments and get yourself in a fiscal position that will enable you to pay."

That would be done by virtue of the fact that the Secretary would be actively making demands for payment and seeking agreements for refinancing. I would like to see us act as a businessman for a change, instead of acting as if we were Santa Claus for the whole world.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I have been laboring with this problem and have come to an impasse as to what the situation is. The Senator mentioned Peru, the Dominican Republic, and some other nations; but I think France owes us $7 billion in principal and interest.

Mr. DOMINICK. France is in arrears on debts to us from World War I, not from World War II.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Is that provided for in the amendment of the Senator?

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I think Britain owes us $9 billion.

Mr. DOMINICK. Britain owes $9.7 billion from World War I; $7.3 billion is due and unpaid.

Mr. LAUSCHE. And Italy owes about $2 billion. How would we handle them? That is what has bothered me. France has said, "Yes, we owe you $7 billion, but if we are to pay you $7 billion from World War I, we will demand reparations from Germany for the damage which Germany caused us in World War I." How do we proceed to solve the problem without getting into what I would say would be inextricable complications?

Mr. DOMINICK. For the purpose of the RECORD, France is not overdue on any debts to us from World War II. France owes us a little over $6.8 billion from World War I, and a little over $5 billion is due and unpaid. And, as I said, Britain is overdue on a little over $1 billion of their $9.7 billion debt.

Mr. LAUSCHE. My figures are substantially correct.

Mr. DOMINICK. One way this could be handled would be to make demand and see if we could reach some agreement. If we could not reach an agreement on refinancing, we could say, "All right, leave it so. We hope, sooner or later, you will find some magnanimity in your soul to start paying us, but if you owe, you are not going to get any of our gold. That is your penalty."

If they take our dollars and turn them back, they will get some credit on their debt. They will not get any gold, but they will receive credit on their debt.

I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 20 minutes have expired.

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield myself an additional 10 minutes.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the reason I mentioned Peru was that she agreed that she is about to expropriate, or has expropriated, American oil properties, which of course would create a debt, or perhaps has, representing the money with which she is going to pay just compensation therefor. I wanted to take note of that fact.

Does the Senator have figures on how much Nationalist China owes us?

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes, I do, and this is one debt that creates a problem. Since World War II, Nationalist China owes us a total of approximately $55 million, which is due and unpaid.

Mr. MORSE. There does not appear to be any problem to me.

Mr. DOMINICK. I should think, considering the growth they are experiencing, they would be able to pay. I might say that Nationalist China has paid up all its dues, not only for itself, but for the entire Chinese mainland, to the United Nations, so it has been very good in that respect. But she still does owe us this amount, and is overdue.

I should think she might very well do it. The Chinese are good business people.

Mr. MORSE. I do not quarrel with the Senator's observation. I would simply point out that we ought to treat her exactly as we treat all others, because we have sent billions and billions of dollars to China, as the Senator knows, by way of foreign aid grant money, for which she is not accountable.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator from Oregon.

By way of reply to the Senator from Ohio, I would like to refer to a memorandum prepared for me by the Library of Congress, March 6, 1968. I placed it in the RECORD during the debate, March 28. It specifically points out that Congress has never agreed, nor has our Government ever agreed, to forget the World War I debts. As a matter of fact, we have said just the contrary.

Congress authorized a 1-year moratorium, and that was all. That congressional resolution, which I also placed in the RECORD, provided in section 5 as follows:

> It is hereby expressly declared to be against the policy of Congress that any of the indebtedness of foreign countries to the United States should be in any manner cancelled or reduced; and nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed as indicating a contrary policy, or as implying that favorable consideration will be given at any time to a change in the policy hereby declared:

That was approved December 23, 1931, and is still in effect.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I recognize that the Treasury Department has constantly carried on its books the principal owed, and each year has added the accumulation of unpaid interest. Neither the Treasury Department nor Congress has in any way indicated that we have forgiven France, Britain, Italy, and I think about 8 or 10 other nations, which were allied with us in World War I, their obligation to pay those debts. I concur with that.

The Senator has stated that the only way pressure would be brought concerning the debts from World War I would be to say to those nations, when they submit paper dollars to us and request gold for those paper dollars, "We will reduce your debt rather than give you the gold"; but otherwise the matter would remain in status quo. Is that correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a table showing the list of the debtor countries, the amounts of money that are due the United States, and the payments which are overdue from World War I indebtedness.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PART I.—INDEBTEDNESS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

INDEBTEDNESS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS TO THE UNITED STATES ARISING FROM WORLD WAR I AS OF JUNE 30, 1967

	Original indebtedness	Interest through June 30, 1967	Total	Cumulative payments		Total outstanding	Unmatured principal	Principal and interest due and unpaid
				Principal	Interest			
Armenia	$11,959,917.49	$28,587,070.35	$40,546,987.84	$17.49		$40,546,970.35		$40,546,970.35
Austria [1]	26,843,148.66	44,058.93	26,887,207.59	862,668.00		26,024,539.59	$882,626.31	25,141,913.28
Belgium	419,837,630.37	318,884,720.47	738,772,350.84	19,157,630.37	$33,033,642.87	686,531,077.60	197,580,000.00	488,951,077.60
Cuba	10,000,000.00	2,286,751.58	12,286,751.58	10,000,000.00	2,286,751.58			
Czechoslovakia	185,071,023.07	111,060,093.17	296,131,116.24	19,829,914.17	304,178.09	275,997,023.98	86,355,000.00	189,642,023.98

See footnotes at end of table.

PART I.—INDEBTEDNESS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS—Continued

INDEBTEDNESS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS TO THE UNITED STATES ARISING FROM WORLD WAR I AS OF JUNE 30, 1967—Continued

	Original indebtedness	Interest through June 30, 1967	Total	Cumulative payments		Total outstanding	Unmatured principal	Principal and interest due and unpaid
				Principal	Interest			
Estonia	$16,466,012.87	$21,869,780.01	$38,335,792.88		$1,248,432.07	$37,087,360.81	$9,007,000.00	$28,080,360.81
Finland	8,999,999.97	11,476,565.96	20,476,565.93	[2] $4,292,999.97	[2] 11,476,565.96	4,707,000.00	4,707,000.00	
France	4,089,689,588.18	3,246,978,853.39	7,336,668,441.57	226,039,588.18	260,036,302.82	6,850,592,550.57	1,772,868,667.43	5,077,723,883.14
Great Britain	4,802,181,641.56	6,980,131,958.11	11,782,313,599.67	434,181,641.56	1,590,672,656.18	9,757,459,301.93	2,433,000,000.00	7,324,459,301.93
Greece	[3] 34,319,843.67	3,230,509.84	37,550,353.51	983,922.67	3,143,133.34	33,423,297.50	21,205,921.00	12,217,376.50
Hungary [4]	1,982,555.50	2,775,445.76	4,758,001.26	73,995.50	482,924.26	4,201,081.50	1,095,545.00	3,105,536.50
Italy	2,042,364,319.28	339,839,470.22	2,382,203,789.50	37,464,319.28	63,365,560.88	2,281,373,909.34	1,168,900,000.00	1,112,473,909.34
Latvia	6,888,664.20	9,250,660.91	16,139,325.11	9,200.00	752,349.07	15,377,776.04	3,801,800.00	11,575,976.04
Liberia	26,000.00	10,471.56	36,471.56	26,000.00	10,471.56			
Lithuania	6,432,465.00	8,612,114.16	51,044,579.16	234,783.00	1,003,173.58	13,806,622.58	3,487,367.00	10,319,255.58
Nicaragua [5]	141,950.36	26,625.48	168,575.84	141,950.36	26,625.48			
Poland	207,344,297.37	279,443,464.38	486,787,761.75	[6] 1,287,297.37	21,359,000.18	464,141,464.20	115,807,000.00	348,334,464.20
Rumania	68,359,192.45	51,261,664.70	119,620,857.15	[7] 4,498,632.02	[7] 292,375.20	114,829,849.93	31,923,000.00	82,906,849.93
Russia	192,601,297.37	476,089,679.51	668,690,976.88		[8] 8,750,311.88	659,940.665.00		659,940.665.00
Yugoslavia	63,577,712.55	25,825,277.92	89,402,990.47	1,952,712.55	636,059.14	86,814,218.78	35,389,000.00	51,425,218.78
Total	12,195,087,259.92	11,917,685,236.41	24,112,772,496.33	761,037,272.49	1,998,880,514.14	21,352,854,709.70	5,886,009,926.74	15,466,844,782.96

[1] The Federal Republic of Germany has recognized liability for securities falling due between Mar. 12, 1938, and May 8, 1945.

[2] $6,360,250.26 has been made available for educational exchange programs with Finland pursuant to 20 U.S.C. 222-224.

[3] Includes $13,155,921 refunded by the agreement of May 28, 1964. The agreement was ratified by Congress Nov. 5, 1966.

[4] Interest payments from Dec. 15, 1932, to June 15, 1937, were paid in pengo equivalent.

[5] The indebtedness of Nicaragua was cancelled pursuant to the agreement of Apr. 14, 1938.

[6] Excludes claim allowance of $1,813,428.69 dated Dec. 15, 1929.

[7] Excludes payment of $100,000 on June 14, 1940, as a token of good faith.

[8] Principally proceeds from liquidation of Russian assets in the United States.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, this list includes the country of Armenia, which is no longer in existence. In addition, it includes Austria, Belgium, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia—which has been taken over by the U.S.S.R.—Liberia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Poland, Rumania, Russia—which is now the U.S.S.R.—and Yugoslavia.

As Senators can see, many of these countries are now under Communist governments. This provides an added incentive for us to try to press them a little bit, and to say, "You cannot retain all the money we have expended on you, get our gold besides, and not pay your debts."

It seems to me that from the point of view of simple equity, it is only fair that they should try to become up to date in their debt payments before they are eligible to exchange dollars for gold.

Speaking to this same point—and I am trying to do this as logically and carefully as I can—one of the countries which is totally current in her payments to us is Finland, a small country living under the shadow of the Soviet Union, which, having been at war with the U.S.S.R. in early World War II, and having received, frankly, very little aid from the United States as compared to many other countries, yet has a sense of moral obligation and integrity equal to that of any other country in the world. Finland has paid on a prompt basis every nickel it owes us. Finland still owes us a large amount of money, and is still continuing to make her payments. It is really an extraordinary job. The Finns have been able to put their little country together economically, keep it free from the Soviet Union, maintain at least a portion of their territorial integrity, and pay their obligations to the United States at the same time.

If Finland can do it, certainly the Soviet Union can do it, Czechoslovakia can do it, Italy can do it, as can others.

Mr. President, I wish to repeat that I do not think this amendment would create any massive problems for the Treasury Department. It would help to save our dwindling gold reserves which we are still losing at the rate of $117 million in the last 4 months; and it would cause the Treasury to begin saying, "Let us be a fiscal manager; let us see if we cannot collect some of the money that is owed to us." Thereby we would improve our balance of payments, reduce our deficit, and at least take, hopefully, some of the load off of the taxpayers of this country.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

This amendment is a misdirected effort to collect war debts and at the same time preserve U.S. gold stocks.

The amendment is not germane to the foreign aid bill, and if it had been introduced as separate legislation, it would not have been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The subject of the amendment is within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and that committee ought not to be bypassed on the floor of the Senate.

The amendment also has serious substantive defects. It would provide that when any nation which is in arrears in its debt payment to the United States seeks to buy gold from the United States with dollars, the United States shall refuse to sell the gold, but shall instead credit the dollars against the nation's indebtedness to us.

The United States can, if it so desires, stop selling gold to nations which owe it money. We do not need congressional authority to do that. The United States can, when it deems it wise, simply refuse to sell gold to any nation.

That would be quite a far-reaching step with worldwide ramifications which we cannot now entirely foresee in the international monetary system. If the United States is going to take such a step, it ought to do so on the basis of deliberate consideration by the Banking and Currency Committee and not on the basis of an hour's debate on the Senate floor. But if the United States does that, let no one be so naive as to suppose it would result in any better collection of ancient war debts.

The nations to whom we refuse to sell gold would not turn over their dollars to us to be applied to their debts. They would keep their dollars and do something else with them. For instance, they could sell their dollars to a country which is not in arrears on its debts to the United States, and that country could in turn buy gold. So the amendment does not necessarily protect the U.S. gold stock any more than it would enforce the collection of old war debts.

It is hard to see how in this process the value of the dollar would not depreciate in the foreign exchange markets. Furthermore, the amendment deals with only one side of the coin. If its objective is to collect war debts, it should logically apply to the U.S. purchases of gold as well as to sales of gold. In recent weeks, the United States has bought more gold, particularly from France, than it has sold.

The main objection to the amendment is that it would seriously upset the world's monetary system. Perhaps we ought to revise the international monetary policy. But we ought to do that after more consideration than we can now give to this seemingly complex matter on the floor of the Senate.

The Senator from Colorado mentioned the names of some of the countries that are 90 days or more in arrears. I have a list that, unfortunately, is not as up to date as his list. My list is really based on information that was presented to the Foreign Relations Committee on June 15, 1968, but was made up from figures as of December 31, 1966. So, it may be that some of them are out of date, but there are 32 countries that owe us arrearages of 90 days or more. Twelve of those countries are Latin American countries that trade with us regularly. Certainly, we would not want to impose a hardship upon these countries that happen to be 90 days behind in the payment of interest on their debts.

When we get to the World War I countries, 20 countries owe us money from World War I and are in arrears. France has been mentioned. Great Britain been mentioned.

The sums of money are contained in a study I have seen. I do not have it before me. However, as I recall, France owes approximately $5 billion, and Great Britain owes approximately $7 billion in arrearages.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The $7 billion for Britain and $5 billion for France are the amounts that those countries are in arrears. The amount they owe is in excess of those amounts.

Mr. SPARKMAN. No. That is principal and interest due. This would attach to the World War I debt just the same as to the World War II debts.

We would all like to see the World War I debts collected. As has been brought out by the Senator from Ohio, this is an old problem that hinges more or less upon the cessation of reparations from Germany following World War I. The matter is still under discussion. I do not know how active that discussion is. Nevertheless, it is still a matter of diplomatic consideration between the United States and each one of the countries involved.

Mr. President, if in these days of monetary difficulties in the world there is anything that is needed, it is the maintaining of the strength of the American dollar which is closely allied and associated with the English pound.

We do make gold available to England. At least, we are in a position to make gold available to England when she needs it to bolster the pound. The effect of the pending amendment would be to take away the ability to do that.

As I pointed out, it is not always a matter of our paying out gold. I suppose that every Senator has read in the newspapers within recent weeks of the millions of dollars of gold that we have bought. The country from which we have bought the largest amount was France, I believe.

I think there is a great deal of misunderstanding about France draining us of our gold. As a matter of fact, I do not have the figures before me, but I doubt that France has taken any gold from us in nearly 2 years.

I do not believe the pending amendment would do what its author sincerely believes it would do. I do not believe that it would collect that money, as much as we would all like to see it collected. Therefore, I ask that the amendment be rejected.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the list of the countries that are in arrears on their indebtedness to the United States, as well as a list of those countries in arrears in their debts to the United States from World War I.

There being no objection, the lists were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The following countries were 90 days or more in arrears in their payments of principal or interest due the United States as of December 31, 1966 (the list is out of date, but is the latest available from the Department of the Treasury and was furnished to the Foreign Relations Committee June 15, 1968. Many of these arrearages have undoubtedly been paid since 1966):

Argentina
Bolivia
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Hungary
India
Indonesia
Iran
Korea
Liberia
Mexico
Niger
Pakistan
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Somali Republic
Soviet Union
Sudan
Tunisia
Turkey
United Arab Republic
Uruguay

World War I debts were owed to the United States as of December 31, 1966 by the following countries:

Armenia
Austria
Belgium
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Estonia
Finland
France
Great Britain
Greece
Hungary
Liberia
Nicaragua
Italy
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Rumania
Russia
Yugoslavia

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I have great affection for the Senator from Alabama and know that he is desperately trying to protect the bill. I know that all people, including myself, are interested in the plight of the Central and South American nations. However, I believe it would be worthwhile to detail here what these nations owe us. These are all World War II and subsequent debts.

Argentina, as I said, owed us June 30, 1967, $5,492,600. I will round the figures out. I am sure that Argentina can pay us $5.5 million. They can do it practically overnight.

Bolivia owes us about $871,000—less than a million dollars.

Chile owes us $5.

Colombia owes us about $294,000.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does the Senator mean those countries owe us that money or are in arrears by that amount?

Mr. DOMINICK. I meant to say in arrears by these amounts.

Costa Rica is overdue by approximately a half million dollars.

Cuba is in arrears $30 million. I do not believe there is a chance of our getting any of this money out of Cuba as long as it is under Castro, but I see no harm in making demand. After all, Cuba has nationalized all of our property there. It has not paid us a nickel. To the extent it gets dollars through its funding out of the Communist countries in eastern Europe, under present law it can turn in the dollars and get gold. That does not make sense. As long as Cuba is overdue by $30 million, it should not be allowed to get our gold.

The Dominican Republic is overdue $50,661. It certainly can pay that.

El Salvador owes us $122. It will not hurt them very much to come up with $122.

Guatemala is behind $68,000.

Haiti is approximately $165,000 overdue in its payments.

Paraguay, in round figures, is $1 million overdue.

Uraguay is $40,500 overdue, and Venezuela is $164,000 overdue.

If we ask for these amounts and request that the countries make payment and bring them up to date before they are entitled to get our gold, it certainly will not cripple them economically.

I yield myself 3 minutes on the bill.

I shall not belabor this matter. We had a vote on it once before. The amendment was approved. I hope Senators will vote the same way they did then.

Before voting, I would like to read into the RECORD a portion of the explanation from the conference committee's print on the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968. The explanation reads:

FOREIGN NATIONS INDEBTED TO THE UNITED STATES (SEC. 19 OF THE SENATE BILL)

The Senate amendment contained a section which would have required the Secretary of the Treasury to demand payment, from all countries that are more than 90 days in arrears, of principal or interest on debts owed to the United States, including debts which arose from either World War I or World War II. The amendment would also have prohibited redemption in gold of dollars presented to the Treasury by a country that is in arrears by requiring that the dollars be credited against the debts owed to this country.

The conferees deleted this provision subject to an understanding that the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury would make a study of appropriate and practical terms and conditions for payment of the amounts of indebtedness of foreign countries to the United States which are past due and unpaid and report the results of this study to the Congress.

I believe this is a point that we need to emphasize. We are not getting any action from the Treasury with respect to making any demands or requests. It seems to me the U.S. Government considers itself a grab bag. These countries think they can come in and pull out plums, all at the taxpayers' expense, while we heap additional taxes on the taxpayers of our country to try to keep ourselves in balance.

This amendment would get the Treasury to take some action, and it would at the same time conserve our gold, without crippling any of the countries involved.

I hope the amendment is adopted.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], is absent on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] is paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Alaska would vote "yea" and the Senator from Maryland would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pell] would each vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen and Mr. Percy], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] would vote "yea."

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper] is absent because of illness.

On this vote, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper]. If present and voting the Senator from Illinois would vote "yea," and the Senator from Kentucky would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy]. If present and voting, the Senator from California would vote "yea," and the Senator from Illinois would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott]. If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "yea," and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 33, as follows:

[No. 256 Leg.]

YEAS—42

Allott
Baker
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Church
Cotton
Curtis
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hill
Hollings
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Long, La.
Magnuson
McClellan
Miller
Morse
Pearson
Prouty
Ribicoff
Russell
Smith
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—33

Aiken
Anderson
Brooke
Case
Clark
Dodd
Harris
Hart
Hayden
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Lausche
Mansfield
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Monroney
Montoya
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Proxmire
Randolph
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—24

Bartlett
Brewster
Carlson
Cooper
Dirksen
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hruska
Kennedy
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Mondale
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pell
Percy
Scott
Smathers
Tower
Tydings

So Mr. Dominick's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I would like to have the amendment read. I have just seen it for the first time. Looking at the amendment offhand, I should invoke a point of order against it.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I ask that the amendment be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 31, between lines 6 and 7, insert a new section as follows:
>
> "Sec. 304. Until such time as the Commissioner of Education has committed for payment the amount appropriated to the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, pursuant to the paragraph entitled 'School Assistance in Federally Affected Areas' in the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1968, no funds shall be available for obligation to carry out the provisions of part I (other than the provisions of title I and title VI of chapter 2 of such part) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, except funds appropriated for such purposes on or after June 30, 1968."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I reserve the right to make a point of order.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, the Senate will recall that after a long hard battle we were able to add $96,665,000 to the second supplemental appropriation for fiscal year 1968. We thought we had adequately funded this popular and needed program; however, the Bureau of the Budget and the administration apparently feel that it is not the Congress who is going to determine whether or not a program will be funded, but the executive branch. The second supplemental specifically provided that the funds were "to remain available until July 31, 1968." Thus, Mr. President, at midnight tonight the will of the Congress will be thwarted.

Mr. President, the administration has failed to carry out the clear intent of the Congress to fund the impacted aid program. Thus, if we are to permit the lapse of this important domestic education program it is my contention, and my amendment would so provide, that foreign economic assistance funds, excluding the Development Loan Fund and the Alliance for Progress loans should also be prevented from carrying over funds. According to information provided to me by AID and the House Appropriations Subcommittee dealing with foreign aid, there will be a carryover of unobilgated foreign economic assistance of $122 million. My amendment would prevent the carryover of these funds unless the administration funds the impacted aid program as specifically authorized by Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a table of the Public Law 874 funds be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SUMMARY OF ALLOCATION AND ESTIMATED NEED, PUBLIC LAW 874 AS AMENDED, FISCAL YEAR 1968

State or territory	1968 appropriation	1968 entitlement	Difference
Total	$395,390,000	$486,355,000	$90,965,000
Alabama	8,955,406	10,888,075	1,932,669
Alaska	9,762,046	12,172,490	2,410,444
Arizona	6,285,722	7,837,792	1,552,070
Arkansas	1,953,560	2,435,933	482,373
California	60,978,019	76,034,711	15,056,692
Colorado	10,290,723	12,831,708	2,540,985
Connecticut	2,616,498	3,262,564	646,066
Delaware	2,350,131	2,671,001	320,870
District of Columbia	4,618,402	5,758,437	1,140,035
Florida	12,953,787	16,030,492	3,076,705
Georgia	12,330,086	14,496,199	2,166,113
Hawaii	6,857,193	8,550,371	1,693,178
Idaho	2,418,106	3,015,185	597,079
Illinois	9,983,678	12,448,848	2,465,170
Indiana	3,039,259	3,789,713	750,454
Iowa	1,787,388	2,228,730	441,342
Kansas	6,196,140	7,726,091	1,529,951
Kentucky	6,040,371	6,413,502	373,131
Louisiana	3,001,338	3,713,288	711,950
Maine	2,661,479	3,318,651	657,172
Maryland	18,746,284	23,377,258	4,630,974
Massachusetts	10,412,223	12,812,595	2,400,372
Michigan	4,981,623	6,211,685	1,230,062
Minnesota	1,706,172	2,127,460	421,288
Mississippi	2,478,037	3,089,914	611,877
Missouri	5,221,005	6,510,176	1,289,171
Montana	3,228,800	4,026,055	797,255
Nebraska	3,802,700	4,741,663	938,963
Nevada	2,719,033	3,390,417	671,384
New Hampshire	1,859,828	2,319,057	459,229
New Jersey	7,904,435	9,856,198	1,951,763
New Mexico	7,912,906	9,866,761	1,953,855
New York	21,055,954	26,039,763	4,983,809
North Carolina	9,344,737	10,516,563	1,171,826
North Dakota	2,359,730	2,942,395	582,665
Ohio	9,660,120	12,045,397	2,385,277
Oklahoma	8,932,441	11,138,039	2,205,598
Oregon	1,945,923	2,419,913	473,990
Pennsylvania	7,313,773	9,018,024	1,704,251
Rhode Island	2,638,017	3,289,396	651,379
South Carolina	6,682,898	8,041,698	1,358,800
South Dakota	3,446,992	4,296,706	849,714
Tennessee	4,915,534	6,129,278	1,213,744
Texas	20,904,631	26,066,402	5,161,771
Utah	4,505,686	5,618,230	1,112,544
Vermont	122,508	152,758	30,250
Virginia	24,455,489	29,794,811	5,339,322
Washington	10,549,718	13,154,654	2,604,936
West Virginia	465,327	580,226	114,899
Wisconsin	1,669,789	2,082,093	412,304
Wyoming	1,304,017	1,626,005	321,988
Guam	1,307,307	1,630,107	322,800
Puerto Rico	5,429,002	5,465,710	36,708
Virgin Islands	104,419	130,202	25,783
Wake Island	223,610	223,610	....

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I hope that my amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I stated that I reserved the right to make a point of order. I overlooked at the time the fact that the germaneness provision had been withdrawn this morning and, therefore, the point of order will not lie.

I must say that I am rather puzzled by the amendment. I fail to see how it has any connection with the Foreign Assistance Act except just arbitrarily to take it as something upon which to hang a case.

Mr. FANNIN. I feel that this amendment should be considered at this time, since the appropriation expires at midnight tonight, that is the reason for the amendment being offered, at this time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Arizona, what funds will be affected?

Mr. FANNIN. All the economic assistance provided in the bill except the Alliance for Progress and the development loan funds.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Title I and title VI?

Mr. FANNIN. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of chapter 2. That is Alliance for Progress and development loan funds?

Mr. FANNIN. Yes. If the administration does what it is supposed to do, none need be affected.

Mr. SPARKMAN. May I ask the Senator from Arizona, would this tie up the funds which have been appropriated in the past?

Mr. FANNIN. Only if they have not been committed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The uncommitted funds in the past. Not new appropriations?

Mr. FANNIN. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Following the enactment of this bill.

Mr. FANNIN. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I want to see those funds paid in this country just as badly as does the Senator from Arizona, but I cannot subscribe to this method of legislating and bringing in things that are totally unrelated. I think if one thing goes on, why, any number of unrelated projects could go onto the bill. It seems to me to be irrational legislating. I say, in all deference to my good friend from Arizona, it is hard for me to subscribe to this method of legislating. I wish the Senator could find some way to get those funds released and not have to tie up a program which is entirely unrelated.

Mr. FANNIN. I have great respect for the distinguished Senator from Alabama, and I agree that if there were another way to do it, perhaps that would be in order; but we have only 8½ hours to go, and if it is not done, then the school districts all over this Nation will be suffering.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Eight and one-half hours?

Mr. FANNIN. Until midnight tonight; yes. That is when the appropriation in the second supplemental expires.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What expires?

Mr. FANNIN. On the second supplemental, the time given——

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is for the impacted aid program areas?

Mr. FANNIN. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The impacted area funds would expire?

Mr. FANNIN. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. CASE. I feel the way the chairman does about this matter. I also share the concern of the Senator from Arizona. But, this is not a good thing to do, insofar as techniques go. It is a very contagious thing.

In the other body, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the District of Columbia has refused to allow anything to go in for a rapid transit system, which Congress has authorized many times over, until not Congress approved the funds for roads but until the roads were being constructed. That is wrong, too. It is another example of the way in which Congress can, if it pursues its power to the last extremity, bring this Government to its knees and bring all Government activity in the United States to a standstill. I think it is unwise to proceed in this fashion.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I say to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey that I feel that way myself. I state again to my good friend from Arizona that I strongly advocate the payment of funds for the impacted aid program, as it is a program which we have had for many years. I suppose at no time has it benefited more, proportionately, than my own hometown. We could not possibly have operated our schools there, over the past 10 or 15 years, it being an impacted area, had it not been for Government support. All over my State we have benefited greatly, and I want to do anything that I reasonably can; but I cannot subscribe to this kind of legislating. I think it is defective legislating.

Mr. FANNIN. I do not like it either. I am doing this on behalf of the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] and myself, and I feel that this matter is an emergency. We all realize now that we have only 8½ hours in which to take some action. I feel that the intent of Congress has been thwarted by the executive branch and, consequently, I do not know of any better way to handle the matter. Certainly, it should have received prior consideration. I do not think that the distinguished Senator from Alabama would contend we should give greater consideration to economic assistance to foreign countries than we give to our own schools.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And I do not think we do. We have some wonderful school programs, and I feel certain the impacted area funds are going to be paid. It is a matter of deferment.

Mr. FANNIN. If the Senator could give us that assurance, we would not be worried about it tonight.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have no power to do that, but let me ask the Senator this question. He says we have 8½ hours to go. Of course, the pending bill will not reach the President in 8½ hours. If we finish it today, we will have to have a conference tomorrow and try to finish the conference tomorrow or perhaps Friday, and we will be lucky to get it to the President's desk by Friday or Saturday. So I do not see how this could possibly be effective.

Mr. FANNIN. I think it would reflect at least the Senate's view. The second supplemental bill specifically provided that the funds were to remain available until July 31, 1968. So at midnight tonight these funds will go by the wayside. If we take this action it will certainly indicate we are desirous of those funds being appropriated and handled as was provided originally by the Congress.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just let me say this, and I shall not take more time. While I am in the position of wanting just as badly as the Senator from Arizona having the impacted area funds made available to the school districts, I just cannot subscribe to this type of legislation. I believe it is bad. I believe it is bad for the Senate and it is bad for the Congress.

Mr. FANNIN. If we are going to let educational funds go by the wayside, then it is hard to justify not letting foreign assistance funds go by the wayside or be carried over. If one is fair, so is the other.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] offered for himself and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] are absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maryland would vote "yea," and the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL]. If present and voting, the Senator from Alaska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. PERCY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER]. If present and voting, the Senator from California would vote "yea," and the Senator from Kentucky would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 37, nays 36, as follows:

[No. 257 Leg.]

YEAS—37

Allott
Baker
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Cannon
Church
Cotton
Curtis
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Hartke
Hatfield
Hill
Hollings
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Long, La.
Magnuson
McClellan
Miller
Morse
Pearson
Russell
Spong
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—36

Aiken
Anderson
Bayh
Brooke
Case
Clark
Dodd
Harris
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Kuchel
Lausche
Mansfield
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Monroney
Montoya
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Smith
Sparkman
Symington
Williams, N.J.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—26

Bartlett
Brewster
Byrd, W. Va.
Carlson
Cooper
Dirksen
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hart
Hruska
Kennedy
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Mondale
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pell
Percy
Scott
Smathers
Tower
Tydings

So the Fannin-Murphy amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 922

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 922. I send to the desk a modification of that amendment, and ask that it be read in lieu of the original amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The modified amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 17, between lines 1 and 2, insert the following:
>
> "CHAPTER I—POLICY
>
> "SEC. 101. Section 102 of Chapter I of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to the statement of policy, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:
>
> " 'It is the sense of Congress that the President should promptly review and submit to Congress a program for establishment of partial or total trade embargoes with all or any of the Communist countries defined in section 620(f) of this Act in order to assist our efforts to obtain the release of the crew members of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* from the North Korean Peoples Republic.' "
>
> Redesignate the succeeding sections of part I of the bill accordingly.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I yield myself 20 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, before the Senator proceeds, I had promised the Senator from Wisconsin sometime ago that he might have 30 seconds to get something into the RECORD.

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield 30 seconds to the Senator from Wisconsin.

CHLOROMYCETIN AND APLASTIC ANEMIA

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, for the past year and a half, the Senate Small Business Committee's Monopoly Subcommittee has been conducting a study of the pharmaceutical industry. We have conducted extensive hearings on the pricing structure within this industry. The committee has also made some preliminary exploration of other aspects of industry practices which will be examined more extensively in subsequent hearings. One of these is the promotional and advertising practices of the industry in the sale of drugs. Last year it was called to our attention that the very potent drug Chloromycetin—chloramphenicol—had been extensively promoted through advertising as a broad spectrum antibiotic and that as a result it was being widely and improperly prescribed by physicians for nonindicated cases. It was, in fact, being used so indiscriminately on such a massive scale as to cause grave and genuine alarm among all the knowledgeable medical authorities on this drug.

The subcommittee, therefore, held 6 days of hearings on the drug Chloromycetin—chloramphenicol—in November of 1967 and February of this year. Among the eminent medical men we heard from on this subject were Dr. William R. Best, chief, Midwest Research Support Center, Veterans' Administration, Hines, Ill.; Dr. William Dameshek, professor, School of Medicine, Mount Sinai Hospital, New York; Dr. James L. Goddard, Commissioner, Food and Drug Administration; Dr. William C. Hewson, physician and lawyer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Paul Hoeprich, director, clinical microbiology and immunology, School of Medicine, University of California; Dr. Mark H. Lepper, vice president, professional and academic affairs, St. Luke's Hospital, Chicago, Ill.; and Dr. James T. Weston, State medical examiner, Utah State Division of Health.

According to a State of California study, in one out of every 24,000 users, Chloromycetin produces a—nearly always—fatal blood disorder—aplastic anemia—and it was recently established that Leukemia is yet another side effect connected with the use of the drug.

The 1967 issue of AMA's New Drug states:

> Because of the possibility serious and even fatal blood dyscrasias (aplastic anemia, hypoplastic anemia, thrombocytopenia, granulocytopenia) may occur after both short-term and prolonged therapy with chloramphenicol (Chloromycetin) the drug should be used only for serious infections caused by organisms that are susceptible to its antibacterial effects. Chloramphenicol should not be used when other less potentially dangerous agents will be effective; or in the treatment of trivial infections such as colds, influenza, or infections of the throat; or as a prophylactic agent to prevent bacterial infections of the respiratory tract.

Further, Goodman and Gilman's Pharmacological Basis of Therapeutics warns:

> The drug should not be used on an outpatient basis unless the physician and patient arrange and adhere to a definite follow-up schedule with visits at least every other day.

The overwhelming evidence, as presented in the testimony we heard, is that the use of Chloromycetin should be confined to typhoid fever and a very limited number of serious diseases which fail to respond to other treatment. Yet, these distinguished medical witnesses stated that the drug is being widely misprescribed for miscellaneous minor ailments. Dr. William Dameshek, the noted hematologist stated:

> Unfortunately, in most of the cases of severe aplastic anemia that I have seen, Chloromycetin had been given for such infections as acne, upper respiratory disorders, mild urinary infections, and in fact, indiscriminately . . . The drug should not have been used. It is as simple as all that because the indications for which the physician prescribed the drug were acne, upper respiratory infections and the like, in which he could either have used no drug or have used a drug that does not cause such severe reactions.

Mr. President, our eminent witnesses testified that at the very maximum, no more than 10 percent of the people getting the drug last year should have had it at all.

FDA Commissioner Goddard stated:

> But 4 million people are getting Chloromycetin who should not be getting it . . . I am at my wit's end as to what can be done.

Dr. Weston, Utah State medical examiner, said:

> There has never been any question in my mind but that it has been used indiscriminately . . . I think it is probably indicated in less than one percent of the people that receive it.

Dr. Lepper of St. Luke's Hospital in Chicago testified:

> If I were doing the ordering . . . I would use it in less than 10,000 people a year.

As a result of our hearings, the Food and Drug Administration directed that Parke, Davis revise and strengthen the warnings on the labels of every package insert of the drug. And, on May 9, FDA sent to every practicing physician in the country a "Dear Doctor" letter clearly emphasizing and defining the extremely limited conditions for which this drug might be prescribed and the extent of the dangers involved in its use.

We now have statistics which show a truly remarkable drop in the use of this drug.

All antibiotics must be certified by the FDA before they are put on the market. The amounts used are not immediately reflected by the amounts certified. There is a lag between the certification and use.

According to the FDA, the amount of chloramphenicol capsule grams certified for the first 6 months of 1967 was 23.1 million. For the same period in 1968, this had fallen to 4.9 million grams—this constitutes a decrease of over 18 million grams or 78.6 percent. For injectibles, which are used primarily in hospitals, the amount certified for the first 6 months of 1967 was 4.2 million, for the same period in 1968, it had dropped to 2.1 million—a decrease of 2.2 million or 52.7 percent.

On a month-by-month basis the examples are even more striking, as shown by the chart I have here:

Chloramphenicol

CAPSULE GRAMS

	1967	*1968*
January	4, 566, 323	1, 045, 900
February	4, 954, 775	2, 855, 325
March	5, 109, 650	256, 900
April	3, 938, 725	513, 475
May	2, 120, 100	259, 950
June	2, 371, 955	0
INJECTIBLES (HOSPITAL)		
January	796, 456	385, 635
February	651, 646	602, 619
March	562, 052	525, 680
April	894, 380	191, 116
May	620, 122	341, 655
June	748, 484	0

For example, in January of 1967 FDA certified 4,566,323 capsule grams, but in January of this year that had dropped to 1,045,900. In May of 1967, 2,120,100 capsule grams were certified, but in May of this year this had declined to only 259,950. And, while in June of 1967, 2,371,955 capsule grams were certified, this had dropped dramatically to zero for June of this year.

I was interested to read in the July 22, 1968, FDC reports that Dr. Austin Smith, president of Parke, Davis, in noting the drop in sales of Chloromycetin, attributed the decline to "the adverse impact of the Nelson hearings and the recent 'Dear Doctor' letter aimed at restricting the use of the potent antibiotic." I was, however, appalled to find that Dr. Smith believes "there would probably be a recovery after a reasonable period of time; that this has been the pattern when the drug has come under heavy criticism."

Mr. President, this is an incredible statement. Obviously, Dr. Smith assumes that, through its advertising and promotional activities and the work of their detail men, the Parke, Davis Co. will go back to pushing the drug again and that, with time, the medical profession and the general public will cease to be concerned about the widespread and indiscriminate use of the drug for miscellaneous minor ailments. It seems very clear to me that, if Chloromycetin is limited to the very, very few conditions for which it might be indicated, then the certification of the drug by FDA—and the sales by Parke, Davis—will decline much further, hopefully to the point where the actual amount certified for use by FDA accurately reflects the number of cases for which its use is properly warranted.

It is tremendously important that the FDA makes certain we do not go back to exposing millions of people to this drug for totally unnecessary reasons. It is incumbent upon the medical profession to insure that physicians are sufficiently well informed that they will not indiscriminately prescribe the drug for minor ailments.

Dr. William Hewson, testifying on this point, said:

> The marked overuse and misuse of the antibiotic drug, chloramphenicol (Chloromycetin), is now too well documented to be gainsaid . . . The reasons behind this overuse and misuse pose a complex problem. I believe the blame falls on both the physicians, and . . . Parke, Davis.

Dr. Paul Hoeprich of the University of California Medical School testified:

> I think something should be done . . . The sales for this drug certainly far exceed the indications for its use.

In fact, Dr. Lepper was asked for his opinion on what could be done to assure that this drug wouldn't continue to be overprescribed, and he said:

> The situation is so serious . . . I made recommendation to restrict it to hospitals.

The subcommittee heard testimony from people who had lost a loved-one as a result of Chloromycetin being prescribed for minor ailments. Our files are replete with heartrending letters. Aplastic anemia, and leukemia, bring on agonizing suffering and one of the most excruciatingly painful deaths known to man. Let me share with you a few excerpts from cases which were brought to our attention.

A young lady of 18 was given the drug for a sore throat. For 6 months she was in and out of hospitals and the mother wrote:

> This horrible nightmare continued until the 1st of December, when she died . . . An incision was made on top of her foot through which she was given all food, transfusions, medications, etc. She had lost her voice, all control of her bodily functions, bleeding from her bowels, and pure blood coming from her kidneys, and in such hideous pain she was kept sedated. She prayed that God wouldn't let her wake up to anymore of the terrible pain.

A baby only 1½ years old was given the drug for a minor cold. This mother wrote:

> For three months my son received blood transfusions and spinal taps, nothing could be done for him. I wish Parke, Davis could have seen my son's lips bleed for weeks and his whole body covered with black and blue marks, then see his little eyes swollen shut from crying because he hated the transfusions that kept him alive and then the next day lose a whole pint of blood through his kidneys and have to go through it again.

A man who lost his wife as a result of Chloromycetin being prescribed for bronchitis wrote:

> She developed aplastic anemia and died March 18, 1968, leaving four children and myself. She was in the hospital one month to the day . . . She was administered 15 pints of whole blood and 6 transfusions of platelets . . ."

We have a file full of letters such as these from all over the United States.

It is simply incomprehensible to me that we continued to tolerate this situation as long as we did. Here we have a case where it took the intervention of a congressional committee to reveal the true facts about a matter which should rightly have been handled by the medical profession, the pharmaceutical industry and the FDA.

A great American industry, knowingly or negligently, continued year after year to overpromote and overadvertise a drug for conditions for which it should never have been given—under any circumstances. A great medical profession, which ought to be policing itself, failed to see to it that its members were well enough informed to prevent the misuse and overuse of this dangerous drug. A Federal agency, fully aware that certification of this drug grossly exceeded the amount needed if it were being confined to the few conditions for which it might be indicated, was reluctant to take the initiative in remedying the situation.

This whole episode is a special and telling indictment of the American Medical Association and its leadership, who failed to adequately inform the profession of the alarming misuse of this drug while at the same time accepting for the AMA Journal misleading advertising from the company promoting the drug.

Mr. President, we can be encouraged by the dramatic drop in the certification and use of this drug. Further, I want to commend the FDA on the prompt and effective action it took as a result of our hearings. And I think it goes without saying that as a result of the combined efforts of the subcommittee and the FDA, the medical profession is beginning to confine the use of this drug to the limited diseases for which it is indicated.

As a direct consequence of our hearings, thousands of people have been saved untold agony and there is no way of knowing how many lives have been spared. Education regarding the use of this drug must continue until it is confined solely to the few conditions for which it might be indicated. The use of the drug for improper purposes must come to an end. We have gone a long way toward correcting this intolerable situation, but we still have far to go.

Personally, I feel that if the work of our subcommittee had resulted in nothing more than bringing to the attention of physicians and the public the widespread misuse of this drug, we would have performed a very real public service.

I ask unanimous consent that the FDA "Dear Doctor" letter, Parke, Davis' new box warnings package label insert, and copies of the letters from which I quoted be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the items requested were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., May 7, 1968.

DEAR DOCTOR: Serious and often fatal blood dyscrasias are known to occur following the administration of chloramphenicol. Prominent warning to this effect has been part of the approved labeling for this drug since 1952, and this information has been disseminated in the medical and lay press, including editorials in the Journal of the American Medical Association.

Because the amount of chloramphenicol distributed exceeds that to be expected if the drug were prescribed only for its valid indications, the Food and Drug Administration believes that chloramphenicol is often prescribed for conditions for which it is not indicated, including trivial conditions such as acne, the common cold, and simple infections. Fatal reactions have been associated with use in these conditions.

To enlist your aid in ending the over-prescribing of this drug, the Food and Drug Administration asks that you carefully study the following "warning" the substance of which has been and will continue to be part of the recently revised labeling of this drug:

"WARNING

"Serious and fatal blood dyscrasias (aplastic anemia, hypoplastic anemia, thrombocytopenia, and granulocytopenia) are known to occur after the administration of chloramphenicol. In addition, there have been reports of aplastic anemia attributed to chlorampenicol which later terminated in leukemia. Blood dyscrasias have occurred after both short term and prolonged therapy with this drug. Chloramphenicol must not be used when less potentially dangerous agents will be effective, as described in the 'Indications' section. *It must not be used in the treatment of trivial infections or where it is not indicated, as in colds, influenza, infections of the throat; or as a prophylactic agent to prevent bacterial infections.*

"Precautions: It is essential that adequate blood studies be made during treatment with the drug. While blood studies may detect early peripheral blood changes, such as leukopenia, reticulocytopenia, or granulocytopenia, before they become irreversible, such studies cannot be relied on to detect bone marrow depression prior to development of aplastic anemia. To facilitate appropriate studies and observation during therapy, it is desirable that patients be hospitalized."

To clarify further the status of this drug in the therapy of infectious disease, the indications for use have been stated in the recently revised labeling as follows:

"Indications: In accord with the concepts in the "warning box" and this indications section, chloramphenicol must be used only in those serious infections for which less potentially dangerous drugs are ineffective or contraindicated. However chloramphenicol may be chosen to initiate antibiotic therapy on the clinical impression that one of the conditions below is believed to be present; *in vitro* sensitivity tests should be performed concurrently so that the drug may be discontinued as soon as possible if less potentially dangerous agents are indicated by such tests. The decision to continue use of chloramphenicol rather than another antibiotic when both are suggested by *in vitro* studies to be effective against a specific pathogen should be based upon severity of the infection, susceptibility of the pathogen to the various antimicrobial drugs, efficacy of the various drugs in the infection, and the important additional concepts contained in the "warning box" above:

"1. Acute infections caused by susceptible strains of *Salmonella Typhi*

Chloramphenicol is a drug of choice.[1] It is not recommended for the routine treatment of the typhoid 'carrier state'.

"2. Serious infections caused by susceptible strains in accordance with the concepts expressed above:

"a. *Salmonella* species

"b. *H. influenzae,* specifically meningeal infections

"c. Rickettsia

"d. Lymphogranuloma-psittacosis group

"e. Various gram-negative bacteria causing bacteremia, meningitis, or other serious gram-negative infections

"f. Other susceptible organisms which have been demonstrated to be resistant to all other appropriate anti-microbial agents.

"3. Cystic fibrosis regimens."

The revised labeling suggests that patients being treated with chloramphenicol be hospitalized where indicated to facilitate observation during therapy. It also includes cautionary information regarding use in pregnancy and lactation, and the listing of leukemia as an additional adverse reaction. An estimate of the incidence of fatal aplastic anemia is included based on a report to the California State Assembly and Senate by the California Medical Association and State Department of Public Health, January 1, 1967:

The revision of the labeling of chloramphenicol was approved by a special committee of experts in hematology, infectious diseases and other medical fields convened by the Food and Drug Administration on February 26, 1968. A copy of the revised labeling is enclosed for your attention.

To assist us in further evaluation of this problem, the Food and Drug Administration requests that you report to us any adverse reactions associated with the use of chloramphenicol. A facsimile of our Drug Experience Report (FD 1639) is reproduced on the reverse side for your information. If you wish a supply, please write to the Food and Drug Administration, Bureau of Medicine, Washington, D.C. 20204.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES L. GODDARD, M.D.,
Commissioner of Food and Drugs.

DRUG EXPERIENCE REPORT

(Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Food and Drug Administration, Washington, D.C.)

[In confidence]

Date sent to FDA: (Mo., day, yr.).

1. Initial report. Follow up report.

2. Patient initials and identification number.

3. Accession No. (for FDA use only).

SECTION I. BASIC REACTION DATA

4. Sex: Male, female.

5. Height, weight.

6. Date of birth: Month, day, year.

7. Origin: Caucasian, Negro, Oriental, American Indian, other.

8. Date of reaction onset: Month, day, year.

9. Source of report (Mfg. Hospital, etc.) (Name of reporting physician is optional).

10. Address of source (Give Street, City, State and Zip Code.)

11. Describe suspected adverse reaction(s) and any possible association with the drug(s) involved.

12. Outcome of reaction to date: Alive with sequelae. Recovered. Still under treatment. Died (give date and cause).

13. List all therapy in order of suspicion (manufacturer: List NDA or IND No.): Name of drugs, trade (general); manufacturers, control No.; dosage form (tab., cap., etc.); total daily dose; route (po., im., iv., etc.); duration of therapy; dates of administration.

14. Disorder or reason for use of drug.

SECTION II. IMPORTANT MODIFYING DATA

15. Substantating laboratory studies (clinical laboratory, autopsy, X-ray, etc.):

Clinical lab: Done, attached, not done.

Biopsy/autopsy: Done, attached, not done.

16. Listed potentially noxious or environmental factors (including household products, industrial and agricultural chemicals).

17. Existing of prior disorders and past drug reaction or allergic history: Previous exposure to suspected drug or related compound: Yes; no.

18. (a) If female: Bravity, parity. (b) If pregnant: weeks of gestation.

19. May the source of this report be released to the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology: Yes; no.

FOR FDA USE ONLY

20. Reaction factors (check all applicable boxes): Decomposition of drug, interaction of two or more drugs, drug not used according to labeling, drug outdated, drug misused by patient, overdosage, drug mislabeled, contamination of drug, other drug misuse (specify).

For mfg. use only.

[From the Food and Drug Administration/ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., April 1968]

PACKAGE INSERT FOR CHLORAMPHENICOL

WARNING

Serious and fatal blood dyscrasias (aplastic anemia, hypoplastic anemia, thrombocytopenia, and granulocytopenia) are known to occur after the administration of chloramphenicol. In addition, there have been reports of aplastic anemia attributed to chloramphenicol which later terminated in leukemia. Blood dyscrasias have occurred after both short term and prolonged therapy with this drug. Chloramphenicol must not be used when less potentially dangerous agents will be effective, as described in the "Indications" section. *It must not be used in the treatment of trivial infections or where it is not indicated, as in colds, influenza, infections of the throat; or as a prophylactic agent to prevent bacterial infections.*

Precautions: It is essential that adequate blood studies be made during treatment with the drug. While blood studies may detect early peripheral blood changes, such as leukopenia, reticulocytopenia, or granulocytopenia, before they become irreversible, such studies cannot be relied on to detect bone marrow depression prior to development of aplastic anemia. To facilitate appropriate studies and observation during therapy, it is desirable that patients be hospitalized.

Descriptions: Chloramphenicol is an antibiotic that is clinically useful for, *and should be reserved for,* serious infections caused by organisms susceptible to its antimicrobial effects when less potentially hazardous therapeutic agents are ineffective or contraindicated. Sensitivity testing is essential to determine its indicated use, but may be performed concurrently with therapy initiated on clinical impression that one of the indicated conditions exists (see "Indications" section).

Actions and Pharmacology: In vitro chloramphenicol exerts mainly a bacteriostatic effect on a wide range of gram-negative and gram-positive bacteria and is active *in vitro* against rickettsias, the lymphogranuloma-psittacosis group and *Vibrio cholerae.* It is particularly active against Salmonella typhi and *Hemophilus influenzae.* The mode of action is through interference or inhibition of protein synthesis in intact cells and in cell-free systems.

Chloramphenicol administered orally is absorbed rapidly from the intestinal tract. In controlled studies in adult volunteers using the recommended dosage of 50 mg./kg./day, a dosage of 1 gm. every 6 hours for 8 doses was given. Using the microbiological assay method, the average peak serum level was 11.2 mcg./ml. one hour after the first dose. A cumulative effect gave a peak rise to 18.4 mcg./ml. after the fifth dose of 1 gm. Mean serum levels ranged from 8–14 mcg./ml. over the 48-hour period. Total urinary excretion of chloramphenicol in these studies ranged from a low of 68 percent to a high of 99 percent over a three-day period. From 8 to 12 percent of the antibiotic excreted is in the form of free chloramphenicol; the remainder consists of microbiologically inactive metabolites, principally the conjugate with glucuronic acid. Since the glucuronide is excreted rapidly, most chloramphenicol detected in the blood is in the microbiologically active free form. Despite the small proportion of unchanged drug excreted in the urine, the concentration of free chloramphenicol is relatively high, amounting to several hundred mcg./ml. in patients receiving divided doses of 50 mg./kg./day. Small amounts of active drug are found in bile and feces. Chloramphenicol diffuses rapidly, but its distribution is not uniform. Highest concentrations are found in liver and kidney, and lowest concentrations are found in brain and cerebrospinal fluid. Chloramphenicol enters cerebrospinal fluid even in the absence of meningeal inflammation, appearing in concentrations about half of those found in the blood. Measurable levels are also detected in pleural and in ascitic fluids, saliva, milk and in the aqueous and vitreous humors. Transport across the placental bar- tion in cord blood of newborn infants than rier occurs with somewhat lower concentra- in maternal blood.

---

[1] "In the treatment of typhoid fever some authorities recommend that chloramphenicol be administered at therapeutic levels for 8–10 days after the patient has become afebrile to lessen the possibility of relapse."

Indications: In accord with the concepts in the "warning box" and this indications section, chloramphenicol must be used only in those serious infections for which less potentially dangerous drugs are ineffective or contraindicated. However chloramphenicol may be chosen to initiate antibiotic therapy on the clinical impression that one of the conditions below is believed to be present: In vitro sensitivity tests should be performed concurrently so that the drug may be discontinued as soon as possible if less potentially dangerous agents are indicated by such tests. The decision to continue use of chloramphenicol rather than another antibiotic when both are suggested by in vitro studies to be effective against a specific pathogen should be based upon severity of the infection, susceptibility of the pathogen to the various antimicrobial drugs, efficacy of the various drugs in the infection, and the important additional concepts contained in the "warning box" above:

1. Acute infections caused by susceptible strains of *Salmonella Typhi*

Chloramphenicol is a drug of choice.* It is not recommended for the routine treatment of the typhoid "carrier state".

2. Serious infections caused by susceptible strains in accordance with the concepts expressed above:

a. *Salmonella* species

b. *H. influenzae,* specifically meningeal infections

c. Rickettsia

d. Lymphogranuloma-psittacosis group

e. Various gram-negative bacteria causing bacteremia, meningitis, or other serious gram-negative infections

f. Other susceptible organisms which have been demonstrated to be resistant to all other appropriate anti-microbial agents.

3. Cystic fibrosis regimens

Contraindications: Chloramphenicol is contraindicated in individuals with a history or previous hypersensitivity and/or toxic reaction to it. *It must not be used in the treatment of trivial infections, or where it is not indicated, as in colds, influenza, infections of the throat; or as a prophylactic agent to prevent bacterial infections.*

Precautions:

1. Baseline blood studies should be followed by periodic blood studies approximately every two days during therapy. The drug should be discontinued upon appearance of reticulocytopenia, leukopenia, thrombocytopenia, anemia, or any other blood study findings attributable to chloramphenicol. However, it should be noted that such studies do not exclude the possible later appearance of the irreversible type of bone marrow depression.

2. Repeated courses of the drug should be avoided if at all possible. Treatment should not be continued longer than required to produce a cure with little or no risk of relapse of the disease.

3. Concurrent therapy with other drugs that may cause bone marrow depression should be avoided.

4. Excessive blood levels may result from administration of the recommended dose to patients with impaired liver or kidney function, including that due to immature metabolic processes in the infant. The dosage should be adjusted accordingly or, preferably, the blood concentration should be determined at appropriate intervals.

5. There are no studies to establish the safety of this drug in pregnancy.

6. Since chloramphenicol readily crosses the placental barrier, caution in use of the drug is particularly important during pregnancy at term or during labor because of potential toxic effects on the fetus (gray syndrome).

7. Precaution should be used in therapy of premature and full-term infants to avoid "gray syndrome" toxicity. (See "Adverse Reactions.") Serum drug levels should be carefully followed during therapy of the newborn infant.

8. Precaution should be used in therapy during lactation because of the possibility of toxic effects on the nursing infant.

9. The use of this antibiotic, as with other antibiotics, may result in an overgrowth of nonsusceptible organisms, including fungi. If infections caused by nonsusceptible organisms appear during therapy, appropriate measures should be taken.

Adverse reactions:

1. Blood Dyscrasias:

The most serious adverse effect of chloramphenicol is bone marrow depression. Serious and fatal blood dyscrasias (aplastic anemia, hypoplastic anemia, thrombocytopenia, and granulocytopenia) are known to occur after the administration of chloramphenicol.

An irreversible type of marrow depression leading to aplastic anemia with a high rate of mortality is characterized by the appearance weeks or months after therapy of bone marrow aplasia or hypoplasia. Peripherally, pancytopenia is most often observed, but in a small number of cases only one or two of the three major cell types (erythrocytes, leukocytes, platelets) may be depressed. A reversible type of bone marrow depression, which is dose related, may occur. This type of marrow depression is characterized by vacuolization of the erythroid cells, reduction of reticulocytes and leukopenia, and responds promptly to the withdrawal of chloramphenicol.

An exact determination of the risk of serious and fatal blood dyscrasias is not possible because of lack of accurate information regarding 1) the size of the population at risk, 2) the total number of drug-associated dyscrasias, and 3) the total number of non-drug associated dyscracias.

In a report to the California State Assembly by the California Medical Association and the State Department of Public Health in January 1967, the risk of fatal aplastic anemia was estimated at 1:24,200 to 1:40,500 based on two dosage levels.

There are reports of aplastic anemia terminating in leukemia attributed to chloramphenicol.

Paraxysmal nocturnal hemoglobinuria has also been reported.

2. Gastrointestinal Reactions:

Nausea, vomitting, glossitis and stomatitis, diarrhea and enterocolitis may occur in low incidence.

3. Neurotoxic Reactions:

Headache, mild depression, mental confusion, and delirium have been described in patients receiving chloramphenicol. Optic and peripheral neuritis have been reported, usually following long-term therapy. If this occurs, the drug should be promptly withdrawn.

4. Hypersensitivity Reactions:

Fever, macular and vesicular rashes, angioedema, urticaria, and anaphylaxis may occur. Herxheimer reactions have occurred during therapy for typhoid fever.

5. "Gray Syndrome":

Toxic reactions including fatalities have occurred in the premature and newborn; the signs and symptoms associated with these reactions have been referred to as the "gray syndrome". One case of "gray syndrome" has been reported in an infant born to a mother having received chloramphenicol during labor. One case has been reported in a 3-month infant. The following summarizes the clinical and laboratory studies that have been made on these patients:

(1) In most cases therapy with chloramphenicol had been instituted within the first 48 hours of life.

(2) Symptoms first appeared after 3 to 4 days of continued treatment with high doses of chloramphenicol.

(3) The symptoms appeared in the following order:

(a) abdominal distension with or without emesis;

(b) progressive pallid cyanosis;

(c) vasomotor collapse, frequently accompanied by irregular respiration;

(d) death within a few hours of onset of these symptoms.

(4) The progression of symptoms from onset to exitus was accelerated with higher dose schedules.

(5) Preliminary blood serum level studies revealed unusually high concentrations of chloramphenicol (over 90 mcg./ml. after repeated doses).

(6) Termination of therapy upon early evidence of the associated symptomatology frequently reversed the process with complete recovery.

DOSAGE AND ADMINISTRATION—DOSAGE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ORAL CHLORAMPHENICOL PREPARATIONS

The majority of micro-organisms susceptible to chloramphenicol will respond to a concentration between 5 and 20 mcg./ml. The desired concentration of active drug in blood should fall within this range over most of the treatment period. Dosage of 50 mg./kg./day divided into 4 doses at intervals of 6 hours will usually achieve and sustain levels of this magnitude.

Except in certain circumstances (e.g., premature and newborn infants and individuals with impairment of hepatic or renal function) lower doses may not achieve these concentrations. Chloramphenicol, like other potent drugs, should be prescribed at recommended doses known to have therapeutic activity. Close observation of the patient should be maintained and in the event of any adverse reactions, dosage should be reduced or the drug discontinued, if other factors in the clinical situation permit.

Adults—Adults should receive 50 mg./kg./day (approximately one 250 mg. capsule per each 10 lbs. body weight) in divided doses at 6-hour intervals. In exceptional cases patients with infections due to moderately resistant organisms may require increased dosage up to 100 mg./kg./day to achieve blood levels inhibiting the pathogen, but these high doses should be decreased as soon as possible. Adults with impairment of hepatic or renal function or both may have reduced ability to metabolize and excrete the drug. In instances of impaired metabolic processes, dosages should be adjusted accordingly. (See discussion under "Newborn Infants.") Precise control of concentration of the drug in the blood should be carefully followed in patients with impaired metabolic processes by the available microtechniques (information available on request).

Children—Dosage of 50 mg./kg./day divided into 4 doses at 6-hour intervals yields blood levels in the range effective against most susceptible organisms. Severe infections (e.g., bacteremia or meningitis), especially when adequate cerebrospinal fluid concentrations are desired, may require dosage up to 100 mg./kg./day; however, it is recommended that dosage be reduced to 50 mg./kg./day as soon as possible. Children with impaired liver or kidney function may retain excessive amounts of the drug.

Newborn Infants—(See section titled "Gray Syndrome" under "Adverse Reactions.") A total of 25 mg./kg./day in 4 equal doses at 6-hour intervals usually produces and maintains concentrations in blood and tissues adequate to control most infections for which the drug is indicated. Increased dosage in these individuals, demanded by severe infections, should be given only to maintain the blood concentration within a therapeutically effective range. After the first two weeks of life, full-term infants ordinarily may receive up to a total of 50 mg./kg./day equally divided into 4 doses at 6-hour intervals. *These dosage recommendations are extremely important because blood concentration in all premature infants and full-term infants under two weeks of age differs from that of other infants.* This difference is due to variations in the maturity of the metabolic functions of the liver and the kidneys.

---

*In the treatment of typhoid fever some authorities recommend that chloramphenicol be administered at therapeutic levels for 8–10 days after the patient has become afebrile to lessen the possibility of relapse.

When these functions are immature, (or seriously impaired in adults), high concentrations of the drug are found which tend to increase with succeeding doses.

Infants and Children with Immature Metabolic Processes—In young infants and other children in whom immature metabolic functions are suspected, a dose of 25 mg./kg./day will usually produce therapeutic concentration of the drug in the blood. In this group particularly, the concentration of the drug in the blood should be carefully followed by microtechniques. (Information available on request.)

APRIL 5, 1968.

Hon. GAYLORD NELSON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C

MY DEAR SENATOR NELSON: I should have written this letter much earlier, but haven't been physically or mentally able to do so.

On June 27, 1967, just six monts after I had suffered a severe coronary, our daughter, then 18, was hospitalized with aplastic anemia. During this time I was hospitalized again with another near coronary, due to stress and over-physical exertion.

She had just finished her freshman year at Shawnee, a piano and voice major. While she was home on Christmas vaction, our doctor here gave her a prescription of Chloromycetin for a sore throat on 3 Jan., which she took back to school, and 13th Jan. had this prescription refilled at Shawnee. I don't know whether the druggist there checked with our doctor before refilling it. (The last of May 1966, she was quite ill at home with strep throat for a week, the doctor calling each day and giving Chloromycetin shots, also the summer before that, she was hospitalized with the same malady and given the same treatment.)

Shortly after finishing the 13th Jan. prescription, she became listless, constantly sleepy, and had severe headaches for the rest of the last semester. These things I attributed to the strenuous college activity—she was a member of the Bisonettes (girl's glee club), member of Shawnee Choral Society, private piano and voice, plus all her required subjects.

When she came home the 1st of June, she was in the same condition. One morning she got up with her mouth full of blood clots. I rusher her to our doctor who ran a complete blood count, which were all so low that they didn't understand how she was even still on her feet. Our doctor said she was quite sure it was aplastic anemia, and sent her at once to Tulsa to a well-known hematologist. She was immediately hospitalized, bone morrow tests (bone marrow was completely inactive) and he at once confirmed the diagnosis, saying it was caused from Chloromycetin.

She was so afraid she had lukemia and we were all relieved, not having ever heard of aplastic anemia nor of the deadly effects of Chloromycetin. Transfusions were begun, and she was put on 80 mil. of Prednisone per day. She was up and able to come home after 11 days. From that time on she was either in the hospital here or on an out-patient basis, with either or both whole blood and platelet transfusions every few days. She was also changed from Prednisone to Decadron. She also suffered every known side effect in the worst way from the steroids—swelling, acne, severe stomach ulcer, and diabetes for which she injected herself with insulin every morning when at home.

This horrible nightmare continued until the 1st of Dec., when she died! She was only in the hospital this last time one week, during which time an incision was made on top of her foot through which was given all food, transfusions, medications, etc.

She had lost her voice, all control of her bodily functions, bleeding from her bowels and pure blood coming from her kidneys, and in such hideous pain she was kept sedated. She prayed that God wouldn't let her wake up to anymore of the terrible pain.

We had to sit and watch her slowly die, not knowing us, when finally a massive brain hemorrhage took her. She was almost unrecognizable. Her whole body was a complete mass of bruises, looked as if she had been beaten to a pulp, and as if the blood were just ready to burst from her body. Three different times she lost 1½ pts of blood, twice from her nose, and once from an infected finger.

I was never told until afterwards that the disease is fatal (it was decided this was best because of my heart condition), but for the last 2 months of her life her dad had to live with this knowledge. I never let myself believe that I would lose her and I still haven't accepted the fact that she is gone. I have gone through a lot in my 48 years, but never anything like this unending misery and grief. She was one of the most beautiful of girls (everyone who saw her or knew her commented on this) and she was so sweet and precious and a wonderful christian who accepted death and was not afraid. She was *our only* daughter, the brightest, most wonderful thing in my life—we were always so close and had such a wonderful relationship. I sometimes wonder if I can keep on living with this emptiness.

We have only one other child, a son who is 12, and this was such a traumatic experience for him (his first experience with death and it had to be "his Sister") that we've had to take him to a doctor, he still isn't the same.

I still can't bring myself to blame our doctor, she loved her so much, and all during her illness was with her or on call, day and night.

As soon as I can find out how to go about it, having never been involved in any kind of law suit, we are going to bring suit against Parke-Davis. Our medical bills have been tremendous (still owe about $1,000.00) that we'll have to borrow money to instigate the suit, but I'm going to do everything in my power to see that Parke-Davis pays—at least for the financial hardships this has inflicted. All the money in the world could not possibly even so much as lessen our grief or loss. *BUT*, the money is minor (we'll manage somehow) and if we can in any way be instrumental in preventing this hideous thing happening to even *one* family, it will give me some relief, and to try to get this death-dealing drug off the market!

The hematologist who treated her first sent me a letter, the following is an excerpt: "It was my impression at the time she was discharged from St. John's that she had an unusual idiosyncrasy to Chloromycetin therapy and this continued to be my impression during the remainder of her illness."

She was never one to take medicine, could hardly get her to take an aspirin, and the Dr. said she would never have lived as long as she did except for the fact that she had such a wonderfully healthy body.

I pray that you can use this letter in some way, and perhaps even be able to advise us as to what we can do. Enclosed is a picture of our daughter, 19 in Aug. It isn't too good, since it is an inexpensive reprint.

Very respectfully yours,

——— ———.

MARCH 1, 1968.

DEAR SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON: I am writing this letter in hope that you will do all in your power to help restrict chloromycetin from the market.

My 1½ son died after receiving two bottles of the medicine for a minor cold. For three months my son received blood transfusions and spinal taps, nothing could be done for him. He was a healthy, fat, and happy baby as you can see before he took the medicine.

The doctor who gave my baby the medicine was old and didn't bother to check the new drug for any after effects, he took the word of Parke, Davis & Co.

My son died six years ago, but it takes the death of two physician's sons for anything to be done about it. I hope you will look into this matter and use all your power to keep this drug off the market.

I wish Parks, Davis could have seen my son's lips bleed for weeks and his whole body covered with black and blue marks, then see his little eyes swollen shut from crying because he hated the transfusions that kept him alive and then the next day lose a whole pint of blood through his kidneys and have to go through it again.

Please help keep other children and adults from going through this horrible and useless death. Thank you very much for your time and trouble.

Yours, Truly,

——— ———.

APRIL 24, 1968.

Mr. GAYLORD NELSON.

DEAR SENATOR: It is with great interest that I have read several articles in regard to your investigation into the use of "chloromycetin".

I recently lost my 39 yr. old wife from aplastic anemia, caused by the misuse of chloromycetin. The doctor that prescribed the drug for pneumonia, never checked her blood condition, while administering the drug and one month later prescribed the same drug for bronchitis.

She developed aplastic anemia and died March 18, 1968, leaving four children and myself. She was in the hospital one month to the day. When she started developing signs of the disease, she went back to the same doctor and he diagnosed the paceti as an allergy. When I got her to the hospital, the doctors attending her knew immediately what the disease was.

She was administered 15 pints of whole blood and 6 transfusions of platelets in the month she was in the hospital.

If I can be of any assistance to you with my wife's case history or the pathologist report from the autopsy, that was held after my wife's death, I will be very pleased to do so, maybe it would help save some other person's life.

I intend to file suit for her death and if there is anything you might be able to do in my favor would be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

——— ———.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the bill (S. 2060) to amend section 503(f) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to extend for a period of 5 years the authorization to make appropriations for allocations and grants for the collection and publication of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16729) to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama allow me a minute on the bill?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, there is a phrase used in the bill dealing with extended risk guarantees, a new feature, which contains the word "negligence" in conjunction with the words "fraud" and "misrepresentation," which are also contained in the bill.

Mr. President, lawyers will advise their clients against accepting a guarantee from which the United States could escape on the ground that the particular businessman whose investment is guaranteed is negligent of his business.

For example, suppose he comes in late in the morning, or leaves early at night, or plays golf 2 days a week; is he neglecting his business?

I do not think the committee had any such thing in mind. It did not wish to invalidate these guarantees. Therefore, rather than trying to deal with it here, which would probably be difficult, I ask the Senator from Alabama whether the committee would make an effort, as this new word does not appear in the committee report, to endeavor to establish in conference some criteria for the use of the word "negligence," which would enable a guarantee to have viability in terms of the people who would accept it, by whatever scheme the conferees might decide to work out.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I see nothing in the proposal of the Senator from New York that could not be complied with. Certainly, any time that a meaningful word is used, it becomes incumbent upon the agency or department concerned to issue regulations covering that particular word.

I do not know what criteria may be used. It might be that we could in the conference committee decide to write a more explicit definition of what we mean by that.

Mr. JAVITS. That would be fine.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly I would be glad to try to do that.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I join with the Senator from Alabama. And in the conference I shall cooperate in doing what I can to clarify the matter in conference.

The Senator from New York has been very cooperative. We can leave it the way it is and take it to conference and clarify the definition.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague.

Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, yesterday the Senate adopted the first of my two amendments regarding the *Pueblo*. That amendment dealt with foreign aid. The second amendment dealt with trade and requested the President to establish an embargo on trade between the United States and all Communist countries listed in the Foreign Assistance Act until the crew of the *Pueblo* is released by North Korea.

Mr. President, I had a conversation with a number of Senators who had been supporting me on the first amendment. It became apparent to me that some of the questions that were in my mind were also in theirs. One of the things we certainly did not want to do under any circumstances was to take an action which would have the appearance that the Senate is unwilling to act on behalf of the crewmembers now held by the North Koreans. A rejection of my amendment on trade might be so interpreted. So, the amendment I have sent to the desk is a modification of my original trade proposal. It is substantially different.

Instead of requesting the President to actually establish an embargo, it expresses the sense of Congress that the President should promptly review and submit to us a program for establishing partial or total trade embargoes with any or all Communist countries. It is intended to accomplish the same objective; namely, to get our crew out of North Korea.

As I said yesterday, after extensive briefings with as many people as I could find who know anything about the subject, I conclude we are not any further now in trying to get these crewmembers released from North Korea than we were when they were captured in January.

We have tried by the usual diplomatic lines of communication to get other countries to be of assistance. But this is not easy to do.

It seems to me in the process of trying to determine what mechanisms are open to us—and we took one affirmative, though limited step yesterday—we could by the adoption of this amendment use trade not only as an economic weapon but we could also start to use it as a strategic weapon, as I have been advocating for years.

I would like to read into the RECORD the names of 25 countries which, at least as of June 1965, had diplomatic relations with North Korea.

The countries are the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Communist China, East Germany, North Vietnam.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, would the prohibition apply to the furnishing of arms or supplies to the Vietcong? Does the Senator consider the Vietcong area of South Vietnam as a Communist country?

Mr. DOMINICK. I did not say that was a Communist country.

Mr. AIKEN. No.

Mr. DOMINICK. I have not mentioned the Vietcong, although I would hope we could find mechanisms of getting at them. However, I am not talking about the Vietcong. The amendment requests the President to study and make recommendations regarding the countries listed as Communist in the Foreign Assistance Act.

Mr. AIKEN. The Senator's provision would not in any way prevent funds from going by way of investment to South Vietnam, and would not prevent the furnishing of petroleum or other supplies to that area.

Mr. DOMINICK. My amendment has nothing to do with South Vietnam or with the Vietcong in South Vietnam.

Mr. AIKEN. Would the Senator be willing to have the prohibition apply to the Vietcong in South Vietnam? I think that is where it is needed most.

Mr. DOMINICK. We have a prohibition against trading at the present time with the North Vietnamese. I do not believe anybody is trading with the Vietcong deliberately.

Mr. AIKEN. Oh, I guess the Senator has not talked with the people with whom I have talked.

Mr. DOMINICK. I guess I have not.

Mr. AIKEN. How does the Senator account for the fact that the Vietcong use American dollars as their currency?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I decline to yield any further.

All of the countries I have mentioned so far have been Communist controlled. There is also Cuba.

Others which recognize North Korea are Guinea, Mali, Uganda, Yemen, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Mauritania, Cambodia, and Brazzaville—as far as that portion of the Congo is concerned—Ghana, and Tanzania.

Some of these are certainly so-called nonalined nations. Not very many of the 25 are very friendly with the United States. These 25 are the ones that have, as I see it, diplomatic relations with North Korea. To the extent that we are trading with the Communist-controlled countries—which have the closest relationship with North Korea—it strikes me that we have a much better lever than any other approach to put pressure on the North Korean Government to release these crewmembers.

For example, the Soviet Union has been increasing its trade with us considerably. It might be interesting to the Senate in the process of discussing this to give some idea of what has been licensed for shipment to some of the Eastern bloc countries and the Soviet Union as of October 12, 1966.

The following are "nonstrategic" goods which are licensed for shipment from us to the Soviet Union: Airborne communications equipment, generators for electronic equipment used to control aircraft, communications equipment, airborne navigation equipment, and electronic computer and parts.

total of 25 mg./kg./day in 4 equal doses at 6-hour intervals usually produces and maintains concentrations in blood and tissues adequate to control most infections for which the drug is indicated. Increased dosage in these individuals, demanded by severe infections, should be given only to maintain the blood concentration within a therapeutically effective range. After the first two weeks of life, full-term infants ordinarily may receive up to a total of 50 mg./kg./day equally divided into 4 doses at 6-hour intervals. *These dosage recommendations are extremely important because blood concentration in all premature infants and full-term infants under two weeks of age differs from that of other infants.* This difference is due to variations in the maturity of the metabolic functions of the liver and the kidneys.

When these functions are immature, (or seriously impaired in adults), high concentrations of the drug are found which tend to increase with succeeding doses.

Infants and Children with Immature Metabolic Processes—In young infants and other children in whom immature metabolic functions are suspected, a dose of 25 mg./kg./day will usually produce therapeutic concentration of the drug in the blood. In this group particularly, the concentration of the drug in the blood should be carefully followed by microtechniques. (Information available on request.)

April 5, 1968.

Hon. Gaylord Nelson,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C

My Dear Senator Nelson: I should have written this letter much earlier, but haven't been physically or mentally able to do so.

On June 27, 1967, just six monts after I had suffered a severe coronary, our daughter, then 18, was hospitalized with aplastic anemia. During this time I was hospitalized again with another near coronary, due to stress and over-physical exertion.

She had just finished her freshman year at Shawnee, a piano and voice major. While she was home on Christmas vaction, our doctor here gave her a prescription of Chloromycetin for a sore throat on 3 Jan., which she took back to school, and 13th Jan. had this prescription refilled at Shawnee. I don't know whether the druggist there checked with our doctor before refilling it. (The last of May 1966, she was quite ill at home with strep throat for a week, the doctor calling each day and giving Chloromycetin shots, also the summer before that, she was hospitalized with the same malady and given the same treatment.)

Shortly after finishing the 13th Jan. prescription, she became listless, constantly sleepy, and had severe headaches for the rest of the last semester. These things I attributed to the strenuous college activity—she was a member of the Bisonettes (girl's glee club), member of Shawnee Choral Society, private piano and voice, plus all her required subjects.

When she came home the 1st of June, she was in the same condition. One morning she got up with her mouth full of blood clots. I rusher her to our doctor who ran a complete blood count, which were all so low that they didn't understand how she was even still on her feet. Our doctor said she was quite sure it was aplastic anemia, and sent her at once to Tulsa to a well-known hematologist. She was immediately hospitalized, bone morrow tests (bone marrow was completely inactive) and he at once confirmed the diagnosis, saying it was caused from Chloromycetin.

She was so afraid she had lukemia and we were all relieved, not having ever heard of aplastic anemia nor of the deadly effects of Chloromycetin. Transfusions were begun, and she was put on 80 mil. of Prednisone per day. She was up and able to come home after 11 days. From that time on she was either in the hospital here or on an outpatient basis, with either or both whole blood and platelet transfusions every few days. She was also changed from Prednisone to Decadron. She also suffered every known side effect in the worst way from the steroids—swelling, acne, severe stomach ulcer, and diabetes for which she injected herself with insulin every morning when at home.

This horrible nightmare continued until the 1st of Dec., when she died! She was only in the hospital this last time one week, during which time an incision was made on top of her foot through which was given all food, transfusions, medications, etc.

She had lost her voice, all control of her bodily functions, bleeding from her bowels and pure blood coming from her kidneys, and in such hideous pain she was kept sedated. She prayed that God wouldn't let her wake up to anymore of the terrible pain.

We had to sit and watch her slowly die, not knowing us, when finally a massive brain hemorrhage took her. She was almost unrecognizable. Her whole body was a complete mass of bruises, looked as if she had been beaten to a pulp, and as if the blood were just ready to burst from her body. Three different times she lost 1½ pts of blood, twice from her nose, and once from an infected finger.

I was never told until afterwards that the disease is fatal (it was decided this was best because of my heart condition), but for the last 2 months of her life her dad had to live with this knowledge. I never let myself believe that I would lose her and I still haven't accepted the fact that she is gone. I have gone through a lot in my 48 years, but never anything like this unending misery and grief. She was one of the most beautiful of girls (everyone who saw her or knew her commented on this) and she was so sweet and precious and a wonderful christian who accepted death and was not afraid. She was *our only* daughter, the brightest, most wonderful thing in my life—we were always so close and had such a wonderful relationship. I sometimes wonder if I can keep on living with this emptiness.

We have only one other child, a son who is 12, and this was such a traumatic experience for him (his first experience with death and it had to be "his Sister") that we've had to take him to a doctor, he still isn't the same.

I still can't bring myself to blame our doctor, she loved her so much, and all during her illness was with her or on call, day and night.

As soon as I can find out how to go about it, having never been involved in any kind of law suit, we are going to bring suit against Parke-Davis. Our medical bills have been tremendous (still owe about $1,000.00) that we'll have to borrow money to instigate the suit, but I'm going to do everything in my power to see that Parke-Davis pays—at least for the financial hardships this has inflicted. All the money in the world could not possibly even so much as lessen our grief or loss. *BUT*, the money is minor (we'll manage somehow) and if we can in any way be instrumental in preventing this hideous thing happening to even *one* family, it will give me some relief, and to try to get this death-dealing drug off the market!

The hematologist who treated her first sent me a letter, the following is an excerpt: "It was my impression at the time she was discharged from St. John's that she had an unusual idiosyncrasy to Chloromycetin therapy and this continued to be my impression during the remainder of her illness."

She was never one to take medicine, could hardly get her to take an aspirin, and the Dr. said she would never have lived as long as she did except for the fact that she had such a wonderfully healthy body.

I pray that you can use this letter in some way, and perhaps even be able to advise us as to what we can do. Enclosed is a picture of our daughter, 19 in Aug. It isn't too good, since it is an inexpensive reprint.

Very respectfully yours,

——— ———.

March 1, 1968.

Dear Senator Gaylord Nelson: I am writing this letter in hope that you will do all in your power to help restrict chloromycetin from the market.

My 1½ son died after receiving two bottles of the medicine for a minor cold. For three months my son received blood transfusions and spinal taps, nothing could be done for him. He was a healthy, fat, and happy baby as you can see before he took the medicine.

The doctor who gave my baby the medicine was old and didn't bother to check the new drug for any after effects, he took the word of Parke, Davis & Co.

My son died six years ago, but it takes the death of two physician's sons for anything to be done about it. I hope you will look into this matter and use all your power to keep this drug off the market.

I wish Parks, Davis could have seen my son's lips bleed for weeks and his whole body covered with black and blue marks, then see his little eyes swollen shut from crying because he hated the transfusions that kept him alive and then the next day lose a whole pint of blood through his kidneys and have to go through it again.

Please help keep other children and adults from going through this horrible and useless death. Thank you very much for your time and trouble.

Yours, Truly,

——— ———.

April 24, 1968.

Mr. Gaylord Nelson.

Dear Senator: It is with great interest that I have read several articles in regard to your investigation into the use of "chloromycetin".

I recently lost my 39 yr. old wife from aplastic anemia, caused by the misuse of chloromycetin. The doctor that prescribed the drug for pneumonia, never checked her blood condition, while administering the drug and one month later prescribed the same drug for bronchitis.

She developed aplastic anemia and died March 18, 1968, leaving four children and myself. She was in the hospital one month to the day. When she started developing signs of the disease, she went back to the same doctor and he diagnosed the paceti as an allergy. When I got her to the hospital, the doctors attending her knew immediately what the disease was.

She was administered 15 pints of whole blood and 6 transfusions of platelets in the month she was in the hospital.

If I can be of any assistance to you with my wife's case history or the pathologist report from the autopsy, that was held after my wife's death, I will be very pleased to do so, maybe it would help save some other person's life.

I intend to file suit for her death and if there is anything you might be able to do in my favor would be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

——— ———.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the bill (S. 2060) to amend section 503(f) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to extend for a period of 5 years the authorization to make appropriations for allocations and grants for the collection and publication of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16729) to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama allow me a minute on the bill?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, there is a phrase used in the bill dealing with extended risk guarantees, a new feature, which contains the word "negligence" in conjunction with the words "fraud" and "misrepresentation," which are also contained in the bill.

Mr. President, lawyers will advise their clients against accepting a guarantee from which the United States could escape on the ground that the particular businessman whose investment is guaranteed is negligent of his business.

For example, suppose he comes in late in the morning, or leaves early at night, or plays golf 2 days a week; is he neglecting his business?

I do not think the committee had any such thing in mind. It did not wish to invalidate these guarantees. Therefore, rather than trying to deal with it here, which would probably be difficult, I ask the Senator from Alabama whether the committee would make an effort, as this new word does not appear in the committee report, to endeavor to establish in conference some criteria for the use of the word "negligence," which would enable a guarantee to have viability in terms of the people who would accept it, by whatever scheme the conferees might decide to work out.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I see nothing in the proposal of the Senator from New York that could not be complied with. Certainly, any time that a meaningful word is used, it becomes incumbent upon the agency or department concerned to issue regulations covering that particular word.

I do not know what criteria may be used. It might be that we could in the conference committee decide to write a more explicit definition of what we mean by that.

Mr. JAVITS. That would be fine.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly I would be glad to try to do that.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I join with the Senator from Alabama. And in the conference I shall cooperate in doing what I can to clarify the matter in conference.

The Senator from New York has been very cooperative. We can leave it the way it is and take it to conference and clarify the definition.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague.

Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, yesterday the Senate adopted the first of my two amendments regarding the *Pueblo*. That amendment dealt with foreign aid. The second amendment dealt with trade and requested the President to establish an embargo on trade between the United States and all Communist countries listed in the Foreign Assistance Act until the crew of the *Pueblo* is released by North Korea.

Mr. President, I had a conversation with a number of Senators who had been supporting me on the first amendment. It became apparent to me that some of the questions that were in my mind were also in theirs. One of the things we certainly did not want to do under any circumstances was to take an action which would have the appearance that the Senate is unwilling to act on behalf of the crewmembers now held by the North Koreans. A rejection of my amendment on trade might be so interpreted. So, the amendment I have sent to the desk is a modification of my original trade proposal. It is substantially different.

Instead of requesting the President to actually establish an embargo, it expresses the sense of Congress that the President should promptly review and submit to us a program for establishing partial or total trade embargoes with any or all Communist countries. It is intended to accomplish the same objective; namely, to get our crew out of North Korea.

As I said yesterday, after extensive briefings with as many people as I could find who know anything about the subject, I conclude we are not any further now in trying to get these crewmembers released from North Korea than we were when they were captured in January.

We have tried by the usual diplomatic lines of communication to get other countries to be of assistance. But this is not easy to do.

It seems to me in the process of trying to determine what mechanisms are open to us—and we took one affirmative, though limited step yesterday—we could by the adoption of this amendment use trade not only as an economic weapon but we could also start to use it as a strategic weapon, as I have been advocating for years.

I would like to read into the RECORD the names of 25 countries which, at least as of June 1965, had diplomatic relations with North Korea.

The countries are the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Communist China, East Germany, North Vietnam.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, would the prohibition apply to the furnishing of arms or supplies to the Vietcong? Does the Senator consider the Vietcong area of South Vietnam as a Communist country?

Mr. DOMINICK. I did not say that was a Communist country.

Mr. AIKEN. No.

Mr. DOMINICK. I have not mentioned the Vietcong, although I would hope we could find mechanisms of getting at them. However, I am not talking about the Vietcong. The amendment requests the President to study and make recommendations regarding the countries listed as Communist in the Foreign Assistance Act.

Mr. AIKEN. The Senator's provision would not in any way prevent funds from going by way of investment to South Vietnam, and would not prevent the furnishing of petroleum or other supplies to that area.

Mr. DOMINICK. My amendment has nothing to do with South Vietnam or with the Vietcong in South Vietnam.

Mr. AIKEN. Would the Senator be willing to have the prohibition apply to the Vietcong in South Vietnam? I think that is where it is needed most.

Mr. DOMINICK. We have a prohibition against trading at the present time with the North Vietnamese. I do not believe anybody is trading with the Vietcong deliberately.

Mr. AIKEN. Oh, I guess the Senator has not talked with the people with whom I have talked.

Mr. DOMINICK. I guess I have not.

Mr. AIKEN. How does the Senator account for the fact that the Vietcong use American dollars as their currency?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I decline to yield any further.

All of the countries I have mentioned so far have been Communist controlled. There is also Cuba.

Others which recognize North Korea are Guinea, Mali, Uganda, Yemen, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Mauritania, Cambodia, and Brazzaville—as far as that portion of the Congo is concerned—Ghana, and Tanzania.

Some of these are certainly so-called nonalined nations. Not very many of the 25 are very friendly with the United States. These 25 are the ones that have, as I see it, diplomatic relations with North Korea. To the extent that we are trading with the Communist-controlled countries—which have the closest relationship with North Korea—it strikes me that we have a much better lever than any other approach to put pressure on the North Korean Government to release these crewmembers.

For example, the Soviet Union has been increasing its trade with us considerably. It might be interesting to the Senate in the process of discussing this to give some idea of what has been licensed for shipment to some of the Eastern bloc countries and the Soviet Union as of October 12, 1966.

The following are "nonstrategic" goods which are licensed for shipment from us to the Soviet Union: Airborne communications equipment, generators for electronic equipment used to control aircraft, communications equipment, airborne navigation equipment, and electronic computer and parts.

Licensed for shipment to Czechoslovakia: Nuclear radiation detection and measuring instruments, electrical measuring and testing instruments, pyrotechnical rocket engines, and transmitter radio beacons and parts.

For Poland the licenses include: Electrical steel sheets, electrolytic tining and coil preparation line, components and tubes for electrical equipment, metalworking and cutting machine and parts, and radio communication receiver and parts.

The authorized shipments to East Germany include: Boring and drilling machines, data processing systems, and rotary combustion engines.

To Yugoslavia we are licensed to export copper scrap, semiconductors, aircraft parts, and communication cable. Hungary can import scientific and professional instrument parts, electronic navigational aids, airborne communication equipment and parts, and airborne navigational equipment and parts. Rumania is cleared to receive industrial instruments and parts, signal generators, hot aluminum sheet mills, and aluminum coldstrip mills. And finally, Bulgaria's list includes industrial equipment and parts, electrical and electronic equipment and parts, and airborne radar—transponders—equipment.

To the Soviet Union we have also licensed for shipment: rifle-cleaning compounds, propeller blades, propellers, machine-made paper for dynamite, gun wadding, shell stock, parachute cloth, tarpaulins, tents, and several other items of very direct and obvious military application. Also, crude rubber, railway cross ties, iron ore mass, aluminum, manganese, lead, zinc, chromium, tin, scrap metal, coke, liquefied petroleum gas, pig iron, carbon steel bars and rods, iron or steel rails, railway material.

We have licensed airborne communications equipment. We have licensed navigational equipment for ships.

The point I am making by outlining this is the fact that while we are licensing this type of equipment for shipment to them, they are the ones who have the maximum influence on the Government of North Korea at the present time. If they really want this equipment—and I presume they do, because they have been using us as a source for it over a long period of time—if the other Communist-controlled countries I have mentioned want the equipment they are looking for—and at the moment Rumania is asking for a nuclear powerplant and the technology for it—it seems to me that a Presidential study and report is in order as to the advisability of our saying "No" unless or until they help us get these people out of North Korea. I suspect if this were done they could exercise a great deal of influence on the Government of North Korea almost overnight.

Rather than an adamant attitude on this matter, I simply propose that we ask the President to submit programs outlining what he thinks can be done by embargoing this trade. If he says that he does not think anything can be done—which apparently is the attitude of some members of the State Department—that is one thing. If he thinks that by taking certain steps we can implement the pressure I have been talking about, then this is another thing. Congress then would be equipped at that point to move forward and institute a meaningful program in order to get licensing agreements which will have this effect.

If the President says we should do it with respect to the Communist countries, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, because of the present situation regarding Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, we can then take that into consideration. My amendment gives the President maximum flexibility to name one, any, or all of the countries and present a program which he thinks might be helpful in this area.

It provides broad scope. It is a very flexible program, one which I believe is better than trying to write legislation in the Senate, without having been able to view the possible impact that this would have on the situation with Czechoslovakia as well as some of the other areas of the world. It is for that reason that I have modified it to provide only for Presidential review and recommendations to the Congress.

I know that many people feel that trade is helpful, but the fact is that the trade we are conducting is not with the private citizen I have made this point over and over again. Apparently nobody listens. We do not trade with any private person in any Communist country. All the trade that goes on is with the Communist-controlled, government-organized corporation in each one of those countries; and they are the only ones in any of those countries—whether it be Poland, Albania, Czechoslovakia, or Russia—who are allowed, under their governmental system, to buy anything from us. Then the government group decides what they are going to do with it, and it never gets down for the general benefit of the people.

The President set up a special committee on U.S. trade relations with East European countries in 1965. One of the statements I found particularly interesting in the report which was issued by that committee is a statement by Nathaniel Goldfinger, who is the director of research for the AFL–CIO and a trustee for the Joint Council on Economic Education. He said, as I have said time and again, that we are not opposed to this trade policy provided we get something from it. This is the point he makes, and I read from his statement:

> Trade relations with the Soviet Union and its European satellites should be viewed as a tool of our Nation's foreign policy. Therefore, the report should have placed greater emphasis on the political aspects of this issue.
>
> There is also inadequate caution in the report about the risk of exporting American technology, particularly advanced technology, to those countries. In centrally planned totalitarian states, military and economic factors are closely related.

This is the very point I am trying to make, and it was put very succinctly by Mr. Goldfinger.

We have a potential lever by which we can try to exert some pressure to get the *Pueblo* crew out of North Korea, and we are not using it. Whether we should or should not, under my amendment, would be left up to the President; but it does express the sense of Congress that we should take steps along this line.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield to me?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, no one in this body is more interested in obtaining the release of the men on the *Pueblo*. Six come from my State. One lives in the same apartment house that we do and his mother and father are our good friends. Therefore, after much thought, I voted for the first amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado.

But it seems to me this amendment could at least imply something was basically wrong with any trade with any country behind the Iron Curtain. Several years ago, in a hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations I asked both the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of the Treasury if there was any developed country of the free world not doing its best to trade behind the Iron Curtain. Both Cabinet members said that, to the best of their knowledge, there was not a single developed country not doing its best to that end except the United States. I then asked the Secretary of Commerce if he did not believe the reason General de Gaulle had recognized Red China was because he was getting tired of seeing countries like Great Britain develop their trade relations with the Chinese. The Secretary of Commerce said, "Of course, that was one of the reasons France had recognized Red China."

Mr. President, some years ago I decided we had little money left to give other countries; therefore began voting against much of the foreign aid bills that have come up since then. At that time, also, I said, My slogan from here on would be more trade and less aid; because in the capitalistic system, it is volume that gives low cost and low cost is essential to obtain a profit.

It seems to me that those of us who criticize, actually or by implication, trade with the Soviet Union, or trade by the Soviet Union with countries such as North Vietnam, should realize that in the last 5 years the United States has built up its military sales alone to foreign countries from $300 million a year to some $1.5 billion a year; and many of those countries to whom we sell are on the border of the Soviet Union.

In addition, it appears from the press that all is not completely well with respect to the relationship of the Soviet Union with some of its satellites. We have known that was true for a long time with respect to Romania, Yugoslavia, and Poland; and now it is obvious it is also true with respect to Czechoslovakia.

To me it seems that to hold Czechoslovakia responsible for the actions of North Korea, as might be interpreted under this amendment, would not be just, and would not be in the best interests of the United States.

As a member of the Committee on

Foreign Relations, it is clear to me that many developments in Southeast Asia have created a great deal of apprehension in the Soviet Union, just as they have created apprehension in the United States.

Being one who is for more trade as against aid, and because of reasons just mentioned in these extemporaneous comments, I shall oppose the amendment.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the very distinguished Senator from Missouri, with whom I side on most occasions. I can understand his concern.

The concern I have, which I know is shared by him, is whether there is any method by which we can do something other than just meet in Panmunjon in order to try to persuade the North Koreans to release these men.

Most of the suggestions that have been made around the country have been risky, to say the least. They may have some merit, but they certainly have a great deal of risk.

The kind of amendment I have proposed would not involve any military action, and it would not involve any action other than to have the President review and make recommendations to Congress on whether an embargo on trade should be established, and if so, what kind and against whom?

North Korea trades with Communists China and with the Soviet Union. It also trades with many other countries so to look at only one will not be effective.

I am not saying an embargo has to be set up. I am saying, let the President send us a program and tell us what might help. If he does not have a program, or does not want a program let him tell us; but I am absolutely convinced there must be some economic or diplomatic measure we can use to get those men out of North Korea, a weapon we are not now using. I hope this amendment will enable us to move on.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I point out that trade was mentioned between not only North Korea and the Soviet Union, but also North Korea and Red China.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** (Mr. YOUNG of Ohio in the chair). The Senate will be in order. If attachés do not stop talking to each other, the Chair will direct the Sergeant at Arms to clear the aisles.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I think one of the most unfortunate aspects of our venture in Vietnam is that it has been preventing this Nation from developing a better understanding with the Soviet Union, and this especially because of the problems that have developed between that great country and Red China.

As my good friend from Colorado says, we are generally in agreement on these matters. I was wondering whether he would be willing to modify his amendment to take in only North Korea. If he did that, then there would not be, even by implication, any criticism of, say, Czechoslovakia.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AIKEN. I would like to join the Senator from Missouri in expressing the opinion that the country we should be putting the pressure on is North Korea, not the other, smaller countries who are trying to break out of the Soviet or Communist orbit.

Also, I am afraid that the amendments which we have approved will not be in the least effective toward releasing the men of the *Pueblo* but will, perhaps, give false hope to their families.

We have done too much shadow boxing. We have bordered on irresponsibility in dealing with this subject.

The thing that incenses me most is the fact that the Vietcong in South Vietnam are reported on good authority to get a great deal of their financing, and a major part of their supplies, from the United States. Of course, they get their antiaircraft guns from Russia, but we know that American businessmen pay protection money over there, and they are well protected. They do not get killed after they pay their protection money.

It is so revolting to think that we are in a war over there where, for the first time in history, some are involved in financing both sides.

As some Members of the Senate read the other day, smugglers who get rice to the Vietcong insist on being paid with American dollars.

That speaks a great deal more for the American dollar than it does for American diplomacy when the Vietcong themselves use our money as their currency.

I think that we should do everything we can to put the pressure on North Korea. There must be some way to do that short of the atomic bomb. I know there are people who advocate extreme measures because I have heard from them. They say we should use every means that we have, including the atomic bomb, if necessary.

I know that everyone here wants to help get those men of the *Pueblo* back home, and would do almost anything to bring that about. But, let us go at it in the right way and put the pressure, the force, where it is necessary—that is, on North Korea.

I know there is dispute as to where the *Pueblo* was, whether within the 3-mile limit or the 12-mile limit, or wherever it was. I know that it is repulsive to have to pay ransom money to get the crew back. Yet, I am told, we paid $100 million to Cuba to get back some of our fellows that went down there on the Bay of Pigs invasion.

The idea of paying ransom is repugnant and should not be resorted to unless to keep these men from being executed. But when it comes to punishing the smaller countries that wish they could get out from under the Communist orbit, for something they cannot help, then I think we are doing wrong.

The Senator from Missouri recalls that 2 years ago Henry Luce led a group of 20 top-flight businessmen to Eastern Europe to create better relations with them in a business sense.

I do not believe that Henry Luce, Henry Ford, or the president of other great American corporations are all Communists, by any means merely because they went to Eastern Europe.

Thus, I hope we use reason and not emotion in our efforts to get the men of the *Pueblo* back home. I repeat, everyone here will do anything humanly possible to get them back. If anyone is talking about war against them, we would probably have been more justified in going to war with North Korea than we were against North Vietnam. But such action would surely have resulted in the death of all the crew of the *Pueblo*.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I thank the able senior Senator from Vermont for his typically wise and constructive remarks.

Through the years that I have served on the Committee on Foreign Relations, I have come to the conclusion that he is as wise in this field as any Member of this body, even though we do not happen to sit on the same side of the aisle.

Mr. President, we politicians have not done too well when it comes to solving many of the problems of the cold war. Perhaps we would want to ask the aid of businessmen, and bankers, in normal fashion, to see if there is some way they could help us reduce cold war tensions; tensions which are costing the American people so many billions of dollars a month.

As I read the amendment offered by my good friend from Colorado, if I were a Czech official, I would be hurt by it being offered at this time, when it is known they are having these crucial negotiations with the Soviet Union. Apparently they desire to create in their own country the type and character of independence we value so highly in this country.

When it comes to the other better entrenched members of the Iron Curtain country bloc, for example, Yugoslavia, if I were in the position of Tito, I would resent it.

I would say, "Well, if this is the way the United States plans to take it out on me, considering I had nothing whatever to do with the *Pueblo* action, which may well have been suggested or approved by the Chinese Communists, that lessens any desire to put any pressure on North Korea to let the crew of the *Pueblo* go."

Mr. President, I will be glad to yield to my good friend from Colorado if he still wants me to yield to him; otherwise, I yield the floor.

Mr. DOMINICK. If the Senator will yield for one comment, he asked me if I would be willing to make a modification with regard to substituting North Korea for the other countries. My answer would be "No," because we do not have any trade of any kind, under present law, with North Korea. We have an embargo on. Thus, we have no economic power to put on North Korea.

Mr. SYMINGTON. As I understand it, the Senator modified the original amendment, so it was to be the sense of the Senate. Speaking as one Senator, it is not my sense, the way the world is today, with the growing tensions behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. What is the time situation on the pending measure?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time on the pending amendment has not expired as yet.

Mr. McGEE. How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Twelve minutes remain to the Senator from Alabama, and 8 minutes remain to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. McGEE. Would the Senator from Alabama yield me some time?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Wyoming. How much time would he desire?

Mr. McGEE. Let me start with 5 minutes, and then let us see how we go along here. How much time would the Senator be able to yield to me?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Five minutes, subject to renewal of the Senator's time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I announce that I am going to offer a substitute amendment to the amendment being offered by the Senator from Colorado. I have been advised by the Parliamentarian that I cannot offer it until all time has expired or has been yielded back on the pending amendment. Therefore, I withhold sending my amendment to the desk at this moment.

Mr. President, my amendment will propose to confine the language of this measure to trade between the United States and North Korea. The point of it is that it will enable all Senators who are equally concerned about the men on the *Pueblo* to be on a recorded vote as supporting a measure for the men on the *Pueblo*.

I think it is unfortunate that we are probing here for some kind of political impression for the folks back home, rather than doing something about the men on the *Pueblo*. I think those in this body who felt compelled, in the interests of our foreign policy, to vote "no" on a similar measure last night have an opportunity to vote for the men on the *Pueblo*. Very frankly, that is the reason why I am offering the substitute amendment.

May I remind my colleagues in this body that the whole phase of the world Communist movement is changing very rapidly. Those days when it was a monolith, when they all marched in cadence, were frightening indeed. We pursued a policy in our country which was aimed at cracking the solid front, in causing the cadence in their march to be broken. And we are witnessing those days right now.

These are critically significant days, and perhaps the most significant development in what we have called the cold war, for no longer are the world Communists marching in unison. They are marching differently in China. They are marching differently in Eastern Europe. They are marching differently in almost every part of the world. Why, then, should we take action in this body that will, at the very least, tend to galvanize the various kinds of Communist governments around the world against the cracks that have been appearing, when it is against our interest not to do business with them?

It seems to me that we hurt nobody by the proposed amendment of our distinguished colleague from Colorado except ourselves. We are the ones that have the greatest stake in disrupting the unification among the Communists. Yet, in a single move here in psychological warfare, we would thrust them closer together again.

I think we would be ill advised to pursue to passage the proposed resolution by the distinguished junior Senator from Colorado. Therefore, I am prepared to send to the desk, at the proper parliamentary moment, when the time has expired or has all been yielded back, my substitute amendment that would limit the language of the pending amendment to North Korea.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, how much time do I have left?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama has 7 minutes remaining.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE].

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado, a distinguished Member of the Senate, for whom I have the highest regard, calls upon the President to submit a program that will achieve an emancipation of the *Pueblo* and the men who operated it. I think that if anything is to be done by the Congress, it ought to be done directly, and not by asking the President to submit a program which substantially has been enunciated in what has been done.

In my opinion, the *Pueblo* was seized with the purpose of precipitating the United States into another war in Korea. The Communists were of the opinion that, with the impasse that seems to exist in South Vietnam, if we were thrown into another war in Korea, our position would be helpless and disastrous to the United States.

There are some who have argued, as the Senator from Vermont has said, that we ought to use the full power of the United States to go into Korea and liberate the ship and the men——

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I did not advocate going into Korea with force of arms. Since North Korea has a mutual defense agreement with China, that would have the effect of declaring war against China, too. What I do say is that we should use the full power of our diplomatic and economic force to secure the release of these men.

Mr. LAUSCHE. North Korea has a bilateral agreement with Russia. She has a bilateral agreement with China. China and Russia have said: "If you are offended by any nation, we will come to your aid." That means we would be involved in a war with Russia and Red China.

Mr. AIKEN. If the Senator will yield further, I may say that is the very reason why the Congress has not yielded to the recommendations of certain extremist groups in this country and declared war on North Vietnam, because that would also involve a declaration of war against Russia and China.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I concur completely.

Mr. AIKEN. I think that ought to be made clear.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, if we are going to adopt anything, we ought to speak directly. The President has indicated his problem. If we have a different solution, let us write it into the bill.

I have some sympathy for what the Senator from Missouri has suggested when he stated that the embargo should be directed only against those ships of foreign nations that go into Korea, and Korea alone. Whether or not that can be done, I cannot support the amendment of the Senator from Colorado, which says that it is the sense of Congress that the President should promptly review and submit to Congress a program for the establishment of an effective method of procuring the release of the men and the U.S.S. *Pueblo*.

If we are going to do it, let us do it; and when I say let us do it, we are going to run into the same barrier that has faced the President in his ability to do it, except if we want to get into another war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I have listened to the arguments, and I would like to make a couple of statements to my distinguished friend from Ohio, of whom I am very fond, and to the distinguished Senator from Wyoming, whom I know so well and for whom I have high regard. What I am trying to do is find some lever which can be used to put pressure on the North Korean Government. We do not have any trade with North Korea, so to limit this language to having an embargo on our trade with North Korea seems to me to be an exercise in complete futility.

It became apparent there were enough people who were in opposition to my original trade amendment, which actually requested an embargo be set up by the President, to jeopardize its passage.

I certainly did not want to propose any kind of program which the Senate was going to reject and thereby lead any other country to believe that we are not going to continue our efforts to try to get our crewmen out of Korea. I therefore modified the amendment to provide only for a study. We are having a sizable amount of trade with many Communist countries. They are constantly asking for more. I have a chart which I ask unanimous consent to have place in the RECORD at this point which shows the extent of this trade.

There being no objection, the chart was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE 8.—U.S. EXPORTS TO AND IMPORTS FROM EASTERN EUROPE AND COMMUNIST AREAS IN ASIA, 1960-67

[In thousands of dollars]

Country	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
	Exports, including reexports							
Total	194,467	133,568	125,369	166,817	339,926	140,010	197,821	195,149
Eastern European areas	194,467	133,561	125,365	166,814	339,923	140,009	197,820	195,147
Albania	3		2	(1)	19	8	166	56
Bulgaria	73	47	33	136	5,020	3,613	3,631	4,219
Czechoslovakia	4,740	7,388	7,173	9,791	11,338	27,685	37,336	19,155
East Germany	4,042	2,775	1,698	6,403	20,211	12,413	24,864	26,329
Estonia								
Hungary	1,650	1,410	837	17,371	13,753	9,327	10,053	7,570
Latvia	824	2,911	4,887	2,364	1,807			
Lithuania			1	323				
Poland	143,111	74,856	94,577	108,936	138,066	35,417	52,988	60,827
Rumania	1,260	1,424	802	1,249	5,156	6,385	27,057	16,796
U.S.S.R	38,764	42,750	15,355	20,241	144,553	45,161	41,725	60,195
Communist areas in Asia		[2] 7	[2] 4	[2] 3	[2] 3	[2] 1	[2] 1	[2] 2
China, including Manchuria		[2] 7	[2] 4	[2] 3	[2] 3	[2] 1	[2] 1	[2] 1
Outer Mongolia					(1)			1
North Korea								
North Vietnam	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)		
	General imports							
Total	83,848	84,634	82,442	85,142	102,305	141,590	182,179	179,812
Eastern European areas	80,934	81,062	78,918	81,489	98,561	137,496	178,668	177,222
Albania	65	74	123	117	102	113	109	335
Bulgaria	781	1,248	1,136	1,195	1,177	1,666	2,529	2,814
Czechoslovakia	12,214	9,286	9,989	10,369	12,706	16,741	27,695	26,241
East Germany	3,153	2,522	3,096	3,158	6,686	6,537	8,194	5,647
Estonia		2	(1)	6	96	13	113	55
Hungary	1,809	2,024	1,813	1,581	1,693	2,092	2,985	3,884
Latvia	2	(1)	1	810	418	12	18	34
Lithuania	13	(1)	(1)	15	4	33	8	32
Poland	38,807	41,316	45,836	43,119	54,202	65,861	82,948	90,960
Rumania	1,461	1,362	626	789	1,272	1,836	4,655	6,176
U.S.S.R	22,629	23,228	16,298	20,330	20,160	42,592	29,414	41,044
Communist areas in Asia	2,914	3,572	3,524	3,653	3,789	4,094	3,511	2,590
China, including Manchuria	253	447	241	264	477	463	102	181
Outer Mongolia	2,658	3,125	3,283	3,389	3,312	3,631	3,409	2,409
North Korea	3							
North Vietnam	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)		

[1] Less than $500.

[2] Figures shown include printed matter under general license and shipments to diplomatic missions of friendly foreign countries.

[3] Not reported separately.

Note: Exports are shown by area of destination. Imports are credited to the area to which the merchandise was originally produced, not necessarily the area from which purchases and shipments were made. General imports represent merchandise entered immediately upon arrival into merchandising or consumption channels plus commodities entered into bonded customs warehouses for storage.

United States exports to North Korea were embargoed July 1950, and those to Communist China, Manchuria, and Outer Mongolia were embargoed the following December. On Mar. 1, 1951, general export licenses to Eastern European areas were revoked and the requirement of prior approval by license was extended to cover all exports to this area. On July 26, 1954, exports to North Vietnam were embargoed. Since mid-1954 the policy with respect to exports of nonstrategic goods to Eastern European areas has been liberalized to some extent. In particular, a less restrictive policy with respect to Poland has been pursued since August 1957, and with respect to Rumania since July 1964. On April 26, 1956, a general license was established authorizing the export without a validated license of certain commodities to Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Outer Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R., except the Maritime Province. Pursuant to the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, benefits of trade agreement tariff concessions were withdrawn from the U.S.S.R. and other Eastern European areas and an embargo was imposed on the import of certain furs from China and the U.S.S.R.

Controls over imports of Chinese and North Korean merchandise are exercised by the Treasury Department under Foreign Assets Control Regulations issued December 17, 1950. On May 5, 1964, license control of imports from North Vietnam was added to these regulations. Under these regulations the import of Chinese goods is prohibited wihout license by the Treasury Department, and it is contrary to the present policy of that agency to license such imports. Some items of Chinese origin, however, continue to appear in the statistical records of U.S. imports. For example, duty-free merchandise permitted entry for customs inspection but subsequently rejected when determined Chinese to be of Chinese origin, may be counted in the statistics. The figures may also include imports licensed to avoid undue hardship to firms and individuals who acquired the Chinese merchandise in good faith and imports from third countries, of Chinese products in which all Chinese interests had ceased by December 17, 1950. In U.S. import statistics, goods of Chinese origin are credited to China regardless of the last country from which they were shipped.

Source: 83d Quarterly Report—1st Quarter 1968 "Export Control," by the Secretary of Commerce to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives.

Mr. DOMINICK. Just to summarize, in 1967 we exported to Eastern Europe and Communist areas in Asia $195.1 million worth, and imported from them $179.8 million worth.

These are fairly substantial figures, particularly for countries of that type, which do not have the economic resources we have. It seems to me the adoption of the amendment would at least encourage a study of a potentially useful tool.

I say once again, we would be engaging in a trade restriction, or embargo, or whatever Senators may wish to call it, against the countries which would have maximum influence on North Korea. I have put into the amendment the words "partial or total trade embargo," so that the President could determine what type of approach he would prefer, if any, and its extent. The words "all or any" of the Communist countries would permit the President to select one or more countries for its application. He has complete freedom, in the review, to pick the countries he wants to have the trade embargo against, or to say, "We are not going to do it at all."

I must say that I fail to see why this type of program should be objectionable in any way to a single member of the U.S. Senate. I just do not understand it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I am ready to yield back my time.

Mr. McGEE. Has time on the amendment been yielded back?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Unless the Senator from Wyoming objects.

Mr. McGEE. I have no objection. I want to use some time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOMINCK. If we yield back the remainder of our time, and the Senator from Wyoming puts in a substitute amendment, which I understand he intends to do, who will be in charge of the time in opposition to the substitute?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair advises the Senator from Colorado that the Senator from Alabama would have charge of that time.

Mr. DOMINICK. I shall be happy to join forces with the Senator from Alabama.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is time yielded back?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the Dominick amendment is yielded back. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I send to the desk a substitute for the amendment now pending before the Senate, and ask for its consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] proposes, as a substitute for the pending amendment and in lieu of the language thereof, the following:

On page 17, between lines 1 and 2, insert the following:

"CHAPTER I—POLICY

"SEC. 101. Section 102 of chapter I of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to the statement of policy, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

" 'It is the sense of Congress that the President should promptly review and submit to Congress a program for establishment of total trade embargo with the North Korean Peoples Republic in order to assist our efforts to obtain the release of the crew members of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* from the North Korean Peoples Republic.' "

Redesignate the succeeding sections of part I of the bill accordingly.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the purpose of this amendment is obvious. It is designed to supply an opportunity for those Senators who are equally and intensely concerned with me about the men on the *Pueblo* to cast a vote for the men on the *Pueblo*, and express their concern by doing something about it.

The substance of this amendment is very little different from the substance of the amendment agreed to yesterday, in terms of the economics involved. In the amendment that we adopted yesterday, there was no foreign aid money involved in connection with any of the Communist countries that were mentioned. Yet we passed an amendment in this body, by a rather substantial margin, which suggested that all aid to those Communist countries should be shut off until the men of the *Pueblo* were freed.

Since there was no money involved, this social and psychological amendment was aimed simply at saying we were for helping the men on the *Pueblo*. A great many of us in this body believe it is important that we not right now entangle that motive with other facets of American foreign policy as it affects the many different kinds of Communist countries around the world, especially at this moment, when we find cracks in the wall among the satellite nations. This is not the time when we should be trying to close those cracks. It is a time when we should be supplying psychological motivation to those countries that are beginning to slip away from the central domination of one center of control—Moscow—not trying to drive them back under the aegis of that monolith.

For that reason, I think it is equally important that those of us who voted "nay" yesterday because we did not believe that amendment had any justified place in our policy right now should have an opportunity, in the same kind of setting, to vote for helping the men on the *Pueblo*, and still not jeopardize our policy efforts to split the Communist phalanx around the world.

That is the burden of my amendment. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I would like to say that up until now, I have opposed all amendments to the foreign aid bill, even though I did not agree, in committee, with all of the provisions of the bill as reported but I felt that the final result was as good as we could do.

However, my resistance has about given out, and I wish to say that I shall vote for the amendment offered by the Senator from Wyoming, if he offers it because I think it will have the most practical force of any that has been offered up to this point.

Mr. McGEE. I thank my friend from Vermont.

Mr. President, I am ready to yield back my time. The Senator from Alabama has control of the opposing time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, does the Senator from Colorado desire time?

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield my time to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I shall use 5 minutes, to begin with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I just wish to say that what the Senator from Wyoming is, in effect, suggesting is a unanimous vote by the Members of the Senate to say, "We are all in favor of the men on the *Pueblo* who are held by North Korea."

Of course we are. No one has said anything to the contrary. This substitute of the Senator from Wyoming is completely meaningless. If I may have the attention of the Senator from Wyoming, I think he would admit it.

In July 1950 we embargoed all trade with North Korea. We have continued that embargo. It is on the books; it is a part of the law. So the Senator's substitute does not mean anything.

If he wants a vote to show everyone being in favor of the members of the crew of the *Pueblo*, fine; I have no objection. But let us have it as a separate vote, and not on a substitute for an amendment which might give us at least the hope of some kind of program for getting something accomplished to fortify our position at the talks in Panmunjom.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, who has control of the time in opposition to the amendment?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator from Colorado has control of the time.

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I am against both amendments, for these reasons:

We just do not know what the facts are. I pray to God that the *Pueblo* was always in international waters, but we cannot get the State Department or the Pentagon to tell us today they are sure she was. That is why it is so important that we seek some kind of international investigation of this matter.

The Senator from Wyoming now proposes an amendment that would slap an embargo on North Korea. Mr. President, we are dealing with irresponsible leaders. We do not know what they will do. They are beginning to say that unless they get some concession from the United States on the basis of their allegations that our ship was not in international waters, they will discipline or punish those men.

I think we had better keep our eyes on the men. If we want to get them out, I do not think this kind of action is going to help us at all.

We are dealing with irresponsible Communists. They are not concerned about getting the world into a war. We are; and I think what we ought to be doing is asking Russia and some of the other Communist nations to join in agreeing upon an impartial international commission, see if they can get North Korea to accept such an international commission, and go in there and make an investigation. We need a finding of fact, with the assurance that if they will agree, we will agree to have such an international commission make an investigation. If they find we were in national waters, then we are in an entirely different format for a settlement. If they find we were not in national waters, then we are in a different international format for a settlement.

What worries me about both of the amendments is that they might be provocative, and the people who will suffer in the first instance will be the men themselves.

I think we ought to leave it to the State Department and ask them to change their proposals and try to get some international commission to take jurisdiction for an investigation and we would abide by the results.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I could not agree more firmly with the Senator from Oregon. Negotiations have been going on—secret, private, diplomatic negotiations. I would not be at all surprised that neutral countries have been brought into the negotiations.

Today we are being swayed by emotion, not by commonsense or rationality. These things sound very good in the saying. However, we do not know what the far-reaching effects will be. We will accomplish nothing. Such a threat may relieve a Senator's feeling—but it does not release the 82 men of the *Pueblo*.

We are not doing business right now with North Korea. I do not know what aid we are giving to Communist countries.

We had a vote on not giving foreign aid to Communist countries unless the crew of the *Pueblo* was released. We are not doing that. These things have a flair and sound brave. We are arousing the emotions of people with further ideas that can only bring frustration and disappointment. We have made our gesture—now let us leave it to the experts.

If we want to do the right thing and the sensible thing, we will keep quiet. We will keep our mouths shut at this moment and let those who have the responsibility, the authority, and the means to negotiate do so unhampered by us. That way lies the present safety of our men of the *Pueblo*—and their future freedom.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I would like to address a question to the Senator from Oregon, with whose views I have great sympathy. My problem is that some Senators who took that position and voted against the amendment of the Senator from Colorado—which was plainly silly—were licked and the amendment is now in the bill. If we reject the amendment of the Senator from Wyoming, we are stuck with the silly amendment of the Senator from Colorado, and what can we do? We have both of them, except that the amendment of the Senator from Wyoming is not silly.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 1 minute?

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Senator had better try to take what he has and try to knock it out in conference.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I would make one point clear with respect to the amendment of my good friend, the Senator from Colorado, who I know is completely sincere in his approach to this matter.

The amendment in my opinion would hurt rather than help our chances of getting back the *Pueblo* crewmembers. That belief is the reason I shall oppose the amendment of the able Senator from Colorado.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I think we ought to keep the record straight here. I could not agree more with the Senator from Oregon. We have no business trying to make policy on the floor of the Senate that would affect something as ticklish as releasing the men of the *Pueblo* crew. My reason is that we had an amendment pending. We had an amendment of a similar type which was overwhelmingly agreed to last night.

It is my intention in offering my amendment as a substitute to give the Members of the Senate a chance to vote the same way for the men on the *Pueblo* without having to foul up any worse the whole problem of diplomacy in terms of cracking the solid front among the Communist nations around the rim of the Soviet Union.

My amendment is offered in an attempt to lessen the wave of this kind of reaction on the floor of the Senate. I am willing to withdraw the amendment if the Senator from Colorado will withdraw his. If he cannot withdraw his, then I insist on keeping my amendment as the pending substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have not the slightest question about the good intentions of the Senator's motivations or about the motivations of the Senator from Colorado. I just completely disagree on the desirability of passing anything. Therefore, I shall vote against the amendment of the Senator from Wyoming, and I shall vote against the amendment of the Senator from Colorado, too. I think that is the way to resolve it—pass neither amendment.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back all time, if the Senator from Colorado is.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I take the floor to say to the Senator from Pennsylvania that I am getting a little tired of his characterizations. And I say that directly. I do not think he is the sole hub of all intelligence in the U.S. Senate or elsewhere. Nor do I think he has the right to characterize amendments dealing with a serious subject as being silly.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. No; I will not.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I thank the Senator for his courtesy.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, the arguments that have been made on the floor ignore the fact that the amendment I propose has been totally changed. It does not declare a policy as to whether we should or should not cut off trade with countries. What I ask is that the President consider this and send us a program if he thinks it will be helpful.

I must say that I cannot see any real problem with that type of amendment. I do see some real problems involved in the substitute amendment which the Senator from Wyoming sent to the desk. We already have an embargo on trade with North Korea. And, as a result, it does not add anything to existing law. It does have the effect, obviously if it is carried, of killing my amendment. I recognize that. I can understand that this may be his objective.

We would do better by having a straight vote as to whether Congress will ask the President to determine whether a trade restriction of some kind will give us a little more leverage.

This is the subject of conversations I have had with various people. They have advised me that the possibility of using this as leverage had not been discussed.

Today the Senate has had a discussion, and to that extent, I think it has been helpful. However, over and beyond that, it has merit, particularly if we find that there are items for which the Communist countries are seeking an export market.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I respect the views of all Senators. I particularly respect the views of those who voted against the Dominick amendment last night.

However, there is a vast difference between what the Senate did last night with respect to the Dominick amendment and the McGee substitute amendment that is now pending.

Under existing law, assistance can be given to a Communist country. The President could use that as a lever.

The majority voted to withdraw that possibility.

In connection with the McGee amendment, that provision is already in the law. There is an embargo against North Korea. It is not even in the realm of possibility. I believe the Senator from Colorado has rendered a real service here. I do not think it is silly. I think he is sincere. I believe the Senator has put his finger on some avenues that do not carry risk, but may be of some material help.

I think the Senator is entitled to a vote on his amendment and I do not think we should agree to the substitute which, on its face, would accomplish nothing, because it is in the existing law.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the Senator from Florida is on the other side of this matter. Let the Senator from Colorado yield him time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I am not on the side of the Senator from Colorado either.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I certainly do not impugn any Senator's motives. I know we all have the same motives and good objectives in this matter. Any of us would give any of our possessions to help to relieve the plight of the officers and men of the crew of the *Pueblo*. I believe everybody knows that. I do not have to vote "yea" or "nay" on any motion to satisfy anybody that that is my motive, because I know it is my motive, and I know my people know it is my motive, and I know everybody in the United States has the same view; and they realize every Senator has that view as a patriotic American.

Mr. President, I voted against the well-intentioned amendment of the distinguished Senator from Colorado last night. I shall vote against—if we come to that point—the well-intentioned amendment of the Senator from Colorado today. I shall also vote against the amendment—and it is a well-intentioned one—of the Senator from Wyoming.

I believe the Senator from Oregon has pretty well stated my position to a degree, but the Senator from Missouri has added very largely to my position; because, as a matter of fact, we all know these actions, if taken, are apt to hurt rather than to help.

Mr. President, why did I vote against the amendment of the Senator from Colorado last night? For various reasons, but for one reason that has not been mentioned in the RECORD. That reason is this: If one of these independent Communist nations—there are three or four of them, and I think particularly of Yugoslavia—were helping us to the utmost of its ability to get the *Pueblo* and her crew released, and if their release by the North Koreans were not accomplished, we still would be unable to extend any help or friendly hand to Yugoslavia under the meaning of that amendment. There is no question about that. If one reads the amendment, he will find that would be the result.

With respect to the amendment of today offered by the distinguished Senator from Colorado, it, too, would bring into play action against all the Communist nations, as if they were of one mind, and present history indicates very clearly that they are not, and it would bring into play our economic relations with all of them; and we are not in the same situation with reference to all of them.

As distinguished Senators have said, we have had for some years an embargo against North Korea, or against trade with North Korea, so that the proposal here is meaningless, even as made by the distinguished Senator from Wyoming.

So, Mr. President, I believe we are toying with a field that cannot do anything but harm to the efforts of our officials who, with all their means, are doing their best to release the officers and men of the *Pueblo*.

My hope is that we shall adopt neither of the amendments pending at this time. I say again that I do not question in the slightest that the best of motives prevail in the mind of the Senator from Colorado and equally in the mind of the Senator from Wyoming, but I do not believe it is wise to adopt such amendments. As a matter of fact, I deplore greatly the fact that we adopted yesterday the amendment that was offered, with the best of motives, by the Senator from Colorado. I believe we are playing with something we have no business playing with, and we are playing with it without knowing the facts and without having in our possession the tools to do any good by adopting these amendments.

I hope the Senate will reject—I am sorry to have to say this—the substitute amendment offered with such good motives and supported so eloquently by the distinguished Senator from Wyoming; and then, having done that, I hope the Senate will reject, likewise, the amendment offered with equal good motives and with equal eloquence by the distinguished Senator from Colorado. We have no place in this bill for this type of amendment.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, we must keep one thing in mind, in response to the Senator from Nebraska and that is that the difference between the pending proposal of the Senator from Colorado and the embargo that we already have on the books against North Korea is a simple one. The difference is that the embargo against North Korea was a flat embargo against an enemy nation since 1950, because of the Korean war. But the Senator from Colorado has attached to it this language: "to assist our efforts to obtain the release of the *Pueblo*."

This is the incriminating addition in his proposal. This is what sets it apart from the existing legislation. It is not the amount of trade that we have with North Korea. It is the attempt to insert this as one of the complicating factors in the freeing of the men of the *Pueblo*.

I repeat that I wanted no part of any of this, and I say to the distinguished Senator from Florida that I had no intention of offering anything about the *Pueblo* on the floor of the Senate. I do not believe it is any of our business, in terms of meddling with the delicate negotiations now taking place. But because of the surprising success of the Senator's amendment which was adopted last night, and because it appeared to me that the same kind of approach would meet with similar success this afternoon, it seemed to me that we had to do something to take the Senate out of the business of muddying those waters; and that is the only reason for my proposal.

So I renew my offer to the Senator from Colorado: I will withdraw my substitute amendment if he will withdraw his amendment. I believe it would be better for the Senate if neither amendment is on the books.

May I ask the Senator from Colorado if he would consider that withdrawal?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a quorum call, with the time to be taken out of the time on the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I think we should get on with the bill. I believe we should have a vote on these matters.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Moss in the chair). Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes on the bill to the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] to file a conference report.

SAFETY STANDARDS FOR TRANSPORTATION OF NATURAL AND OTHER GAS BY PIPELINE—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1166) to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety standards for the transportation of natural and other gas by pipeline, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The assistant legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of July 26, 1968, pp. 23715–23719, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. With what subject does the report deal?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Gas pipeline safety.

Mr. President, the natural gas pipeline safety bill, S. 1166, which emerged from conference, is a strong and comprehensive bill which will provide assurance to the American people that the gas pipelines which run under their streets and into their homes will be maintained as safe as technology can make them.

The conference with the House was as constructive as any I can remember. It was the judgment of the Senate conferees that the amendments agreed to removed any doubt about the adequacy of the mechanism provided in the bill for enforcing the standards.

I want, particularly, to commend the chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee [Mr. STAGGERS], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Communications and Power [Mr. MACDONALD], and the ranking Republican member [Mr. SPRINGER] for their dedication to the pursuit of a final bill which will best serve the public interest.

I want also to express my personal appreciation for the long hours and creative effort devoted to this most important legislation by the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], who chaired the hearings in the Senate, who helped guide the committee over the very technical and complex aspects of this very difficult piece of legislation, and who added an informed and persuasive voice to the deliberations of the conference committee.

Without the strong support and guidance of the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON] and the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], we would never have been able to achieve so strong and so effective a piece of legislation. As usual, their understanding and intelligence contributed greatly to the development of the final product.

I also want to express my appreciation to Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd, whose candor and firm sense of direction was a major factor in the passage of this legislation.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement of the House managers be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MAGNUSON. While this statement outlines the principal changes made by the conferees, I desire to call particular attention to several significant items in the report.

First, and most important to the Senate, the conference restored the Senate language regarding the imposition of civil penalties for violations. With this language, each gas company in the Nation will know that its failure to adhere to the standards set will subject it to severe penalties. This is as it should be. In matters of safety, particularly in an area in which the potential risk is so great, we cannot afford to be casual about the necessity for vigorous enforcement.

Second, the language adopted by the conferees makes it clear that any State desiring to assume the burdens of enforcement must demonstrate to the satisfaction of the Secretary that it has the plans, the funds, the capacity, and the legal sanctions necessary for full and effective enforcement. If the Secretary determines that the State is not doing the job, the State has the burden of proving, in an open proceeding, that it is in fact enforcing the standards in conformity with the requirements of the act.

There were certain areas in which the Senate conferees acceded to the House version, after being satisfied that the differences between the versions were not substantive. In this category, the House conferees made it clear, as they had during the debate in the House, that the Secretary could require industrywide correction of a general category of hazard which he discovers in existing or in new facilities. The Secretary need not find that a danger exists with respect to each specific facility for which corrective action may be needed before he requires industrywide correction of this type of hazard in similar facilities.

The Senate had included within the coverage of the bill all natural gas gathering lines. It believed this would give the Secretary of Transportation some flexibility to determine the type and degree of regulation which might be needed, depending on such factors as the population density—for example, whether the area is urban or rural. The Senate acceded to the House amendment since it excluded the gathering lines in rural areas but allowed the Secretary to define a nonrural area. We share the House view, as stated on page 19 of the House report, that a covered area does not require "a total of a large number of people."

The Senate had included, and the House deleted, language defining "adversely affected" as including "exposure to personal injury or property damage." This definition applied to those persons who were entitled to appeal an order of the Secretary as, for example, an order issuing a standard. The House managers indicated that they did not remove the definition because of any disagreement that persons so exposed would indeed qualify as adversely affected, but simply because the term "adversely affected" had become well defined by the courts and did not need, in their judgment, further definition.

The Senate acceded to the House amendments broadening the qualifications of the Technical Standards Committee to include persons who need not be technically qualified in pipeline engineering. Under the expanded definition, nonengineers who are experienced in the regulation of gas safety, such as lawyers, could qualify for the Committee. In addition, the Senate conferees agreed to the House amendment which provides that two members of State commissions shall serve as Government members, and which reduces the industry membership to four and increases the public membership to six.

We also agreed with the House addition of a definition of "gas," which clearly excludes atmospheric gases such as oxygen and other nonflammable, nontoxic, and noncorrosive gases. The transportation of these elements is so limited, and is done under such conditions, that we do not believe it should be included within the scope of this legislation.

This legislation adds one more proud chapter to the unparalleled story of consumer democracy written by President Johnson. The initiative, leadership and support emanating from the White House on this legislation was unsurpassed. I believe the Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act will rank among the many proud accomplishments of this administration.

EXHIBIT 1

STATEMENT OF THE MANAGERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1166) to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety standards for the transportation of natural and other gas by pipeline, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explaining of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The House amendment struck out all of the Senate bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute text, and the Senate disagreed to the House amendment.

In large part the provisions of the Senate bill and the House substitute amendment were the same or similar, but there were some rather important differences.

The committee of conference recommends that the Senate recede from its disagreement from the amendment of the House to the text of the bill, with an amendment which is a substitute for both the text of the Senate bill and the House amendment. The differences between the House amendment to the text of the bill and the substitute agreed to in conference are noted below, except for clerical corrections, and minor drafting and clarifying changes.

SECTION 5. (A) PROCEDURES FOR STATE ENFORCEMENT OF FEDERAL SAFETY STANDARDS

Section 5(a) of both the Senate bill and the House amendment provided procedures for State instead of Federal enforcement of the Federal safety standards applicable to gathering, distribution, and local transmission lines. The Senate bill did this through a State written agreement with the Secretary. The House amendment did this through an annual State certification to the Secretary.

Either procedure required a State agency to adopt the Federal standards and to enforce them through section 11 (plans of inspection and maintenance) and section 12 (plans of reporting).

The Senate agreement procedure had a condition precedent that the States must have authority to impose the sanctions of section 9 (money penalties) and section 10 (injunctions). The certification procedure under the House amendment required that the law of the State make provision for monetary and injunctive sanctions.

The substitute agreed to in conference retains the certification procedure of the House amendment but provides that there be a condition precedent to State agency certification; namely, that the law of the State make provision for injunctive and monetary sanctions "substantially the same as are provided under sections 9 and 10." The conference substitute also adds a provision that a State agency may file a certification without regard to the requirement of injunctive and monetary sanctions under State law for a period of not more than 2 years after the date of enactment of this legislation.

SECTION 5. (A) PROCEDURES FOR REJECTION OR TERMINATION OF STATE CERTIFICATIONS OR AGREEMENTS

If, on the basis of information required to be filed with the Secretary under this legislation, information obtained by the Secretary through a program of Federal monitoring under section 12(b), or information otherwise obtained by him, the Secretary determined that a State agency was not in compliance with its agreement or annual certification, he could have terminated the agreement with the State agency under section 5(e) of both the Senate bill and the House amendment or, under section 5(a) of the House amendment, he could have rejected the annual certification of the State agency. Inasmuch as under either subsection the termination or the rejection must be preceded by notice and opportunity for hearing, it would appear that the basic administrative procedures would be the same, as the administrative procedure provisions contained in chapter 5 of title 5 of the United States Code would apply. Under either it was presumed that the Secretary would have instituted a proceeding requiring the State agency to show cause why its agreement should not be terminated or its certification rejected.

The substitute agreed to in conference retains the certification procedure of the House amendment but adds a provision to make it clear that when the Secretary moves to reject a certification the burden of proof is on the State agency to show that it is in compliance.

SECTION 9. (A) CIVIL PENALTIES

Section 9(a) of the Senate bill provided that any person who violated any provision of section 8(a), or any regulation issued under this legislation, would be subject to a civil penalty of not more than $1,000 for each violation for each day it persists, except that the maximum penalty could not exceed $400,000 for any related series of violations.

Section 9(a) of the House amendment required the Secretary to give notice to any person the Secretary had reason to believe was violating any portion of section 8(a) or any regulation issued under this legislation, and to allow such person a reasonable opportunity to achieve compliance before imposing any penalty. Under the House amendment, the penalty was not more than $500 for each day that a violation persists, except that the maximum penalty could not exceed $100,000 for any related series of violations.

The managers on the part of the Senate insisted upon the language of the Senate bill relating to civil penalties. The managers on the part of the House finally agreed to include the Senate language in the substitute agreed to in conference with the modification that the maximum penalty cannot exceed $200,000 for any related series of violations, and with the further modification that for a reasonable period of time, not to exceed 1 year after the date of enactment of this legislation, the civil penalties will not be applicable to pipeline facilities existing on such date of enactment.

SECTION 15. APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

Section 15(a) of the Senate bill authorized appropriations of $10,000,000 for the fiscal year 1969, $13,000,000 for the fiscal year 1970, and $15,000,000 for the fiscal year 1971.

Section 15(b) of the Senate bill authorized the Secretary to require the payment to him of a reasonable annual fee by all persons engaged in the transportation of gas to help defray the expenses of Federal inspection and enforcement under this legislation.

Section 15 of the House amendment authorized appropriations of $500,000 for the fiscal year 1969, $2,000,000 for the fiscal year 1970, and $3,000,000 for the fiscal year 1971.

The substitute agreed to in conference follows the provisions of the House amendment with one modification; namely, that the authorization for the fiscal year 1971 is increased from $3,000,000 to $4,000,000.

HARLEY O. STAGGERS,
TORBERT H. MACDONALD,
HORACE R. KORNEGAY,
LIONEL VAN DEERLIN,
WILLIAM L. SPRINGER,
JAMES T. BROYHILL,
JAMES HARVEY,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, this was a long and drawn-out conference, which resulted in a unanimous agreement on a very technical subject. The Senator from Washington as well as the Senator from Oklahoma contributed greatly to this matter and are to be complimented on the satisfactory outcome.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my substitute amendment and the yeas and nays that had been ordered thereon.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection. The amendment is withdrawn and the order for the yeas and nays is withdrawn.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I appreciate the consideration of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] and the very great cooperation I have received from the Senator from Alabama.

I believe the potential of economic leverage is an important proposal. I hope the Committee on Foreign Relations will hold an executive committee hearing shortly on the situation with regard to the *Pueblo* in an effort to obtain as much information with respect thereto as possible. I think a hearing of this type would be of interest to Senators.

Pursuant to my agreement with the Senator from Wyoming, I ask that my amendment (No. 922) be withdrawn.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The amendment is withdrawn.

The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment on behalf of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] and myself and ask that it be stated.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

On page 17, line 18, strike out "$350,000,000" and substitute "$550,000,000".

On page 18, line 18, strike out "$14,600,000" and substitute "$15,100,000".

On page 20, line 8, strike out "$420,000,000" and substitute "$495,000,000".

On page 20, lines 11 and 12, strike out "$90,000,000" and substitute "$110,000,000".

On page 20, line 18, strike out "$200,000" and substitute "$500,000".

On page 21, line 7, strike out "$130,000,000" and substitute "$143,000,000".

On page 22, line 5, strike out "$10,000,000," and substitute "$30,000,000,".

On page 28, line 1, strike out "$50,000,000" and substitute "$58,775,000".

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may require.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the purpose of the amendment is to restore to the bill the House committee figures for foreign aid authorization with respect to all economic assistance except supporting assistance. It makes no change in the military assistance figures.

The amendment has several different items in it, and, therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection? The Chair hears no objection, the amendments will be considered en bloc.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the amendment requires very little explanation, and, accordingly, I shall be brief.

In my opinion, the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which I am proud to be a member, went too far in cutting the foreign aid bill this year.

The President had requested a total for economic aid of $2,51,475,000. The Senate committee cut that figure by almost $1 billion to $1,580,900,000.

In my opinion, we in Congress are going too far in cutting back a program which for many, many years has brought credit on the United States and has been of inestimable benefit to the underprivileged peoples of the world.

I am strongly of the view that a normal sense of compassion leads to the conclusion that these cuts are too great. I realize the need to cut back on expenditures in the budget in light of our determination to cut $6 billion from expenditures and to impose a 10 percent surtax. I am in sympathy with that effort. However, in my judgment, we should not take that amount of money out of the hides of the individuals who are being benefited by our foreign aid program and who will be threatened in many instances with hunger, if not worse, if this program is cut back as much as the Commiittee on Foreign Relations has done.

I stated these views very briefly in individual views which appear on page 16 of the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations. I ask unanimous consent that my views may be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the views were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDIVIDUAL VIEWS OF MR. CLARK

I regret the cutbacks in the foreign aid program which are made in this bill. These cutbacks are not justified either on grounds of economy or of performance by the Agency for International Development.

The bill as reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations involves a reduction of almost $1 billion from the administration request. The saving thereby effected is substantially less than 1 percent of the Federal budget, but it will be made at great cost to our foreign policy.

The bill as reported is almost $400 million below the total amount of economic assistance approved by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. I would have supported the President's original recommendations. At the least, I supported the levels of the House committee's bill as a bare minimum, but when I moved to restore those figures in the Foreign Relations Committee, the motion was rejected by a vote of 3 to 15.

The committee bill contains language expressing the sense of the Congress that the President should take such steps as may be necessary to provide Israel with the modern supersonic jet airplanes which it needs to ward off Arab aggression. I strongly support this section and I hope that the President will act promptly to implement it.

JOSEPH S. CLARK.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the net effect of the amendment would be to take the House committee figures and to substitute them for the Senate committee figures with respect to the following items in the bill: The Development Loan Fund, the authorization for American schools and hospitals, the Alliance for Progress, the Partners of the Alliance for Progress, international organizations, the contingent fund for the President, and administrative expenses for AID.

The net result would be to add $317,575,000 to the bill as reported by the Senate committee.

Mr. President, I expect the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] to appear in the Chamber at any moment. I reserve the remainder of my time. Perhaps the manager of the bill would take a few minutes until the Senator from New Jersey arrives and I would be prepared to yield back my time and vote.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I shall be very brief. I simply wish to say, as I have said several times during the course of the consideration of the bill, the Senate committee met in quite a number of sessions and worked diligently on the bill. We had many rollcall votes. We arrived at the figures which are stated.

It is true there are some cuts from the figures in the House-passed bill. However, by and large, our figures are the same figures agreed to by the House of Representatives. I am sympathetic with some of the purposes for which the increase would go. As a matter of fact, I would have been very glad to see, as I remarked before, additional funds for technical assistance. I think that is a real down-to-earth program, perhaps producing more good for dollars spent than any other program in the entire foreign aid setup.

I would have been glad to see the figures sustained for development loans at the level requested. I would have been glad to see us restore some of the funds for the international organizations. But we had votes and the majority of the committee voted otherwise. On this particular matter, this proposal by the Senator was made at the conclusion of the committee's consideration.

I believe the proposal was rejected by a vote of 15 to 3—every member of the committee save one voted in person or by proxy. That was a decisive vote and represented the feeling of the committee. As I have said in the course of floor consideration of this bill, I came here feeling that it was my function to uphold the committee. Therefore, I shall have to oppose the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time——

Mr. SPARKMAN. So am I.

Mr. CLARK. I am not going to ask for the yeas and nays because it is important for some of us to be elsewhere. I hope that we can have a vote on the matter. I know the views of the Senator from Alabama. I know in his heart that he would like to see some of these matters restored. I recognize that, as acting chairman of the committee, he goes along with the 15-to-3 vote. I want to get on the record as indicating that I do not think the bill is nearly enough. We are not doing right by the people. I could not feel, in good conscience, that I could let the matter go without bringing it to the floor, and I know the Senator from New Jersey would not, either. I shall yield back the remainder of my time and I shall not ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I commend the Senator from Pennsylvania and say that he has been perfectly consistent throughout. In the committee, he worked diligently trying to get the bill improved as he saw it.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Is it not true that adoption of the amendment would, in large part, nullify the work of the Senate committee extending over recent days?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes, it would throw it all out.

Mr. HOLLAND. Is it not true that the figures suggested in the amendment offered by the Senator from Pennsylvania will be in conference when the——

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not at all, because I am afraid some Senators do not get the distinction. The proposal of the Senator from Pennsylvania would restore the funds to the level at which the House committee reported them, whereas we are working on, and largely in line with, the figures as the House passed them. The House reduced some of the figures which the House committee proposed.

Mr. HOLLAND. Then the Senate bill and the House bill will be in conference.

Mr. CLARK. If the Senator from Alabama will yield so that I may comment to the Senator from Florida, I think that I should make abundantly clear to the Senator from Florida that the amendment would put back into effect, if it were to be carried, $317,000,000 which the House knocked out of the House Foreign Affairs Committee bill. So that these amendments will not be in conference unless this amendment is adopted, and I do not expect it to be adopted. The conference cannot take the items until it considers the items which are now knocked out of the bill by the House on the floor, and action by the House on the floor has been largely sustained by the committee and the Senate, so far.

Mr. HOLLAND. The observation of the Senator from Pennsylvania makes his amendment that much more objectionable to me, because it looks like he would superimpose the judgment of the House committee and accept it against the judgment of our Senate committee; and that, I think, would be an unfortunate thing for the Senate to do.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] is absent on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maryland would vote "yea," and the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING]. If present and voting, the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "yea," and the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. PERCY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea," and the Senator from Illinois would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 13, nays 62, as follows:

[No. 258 Leg.]

YEAS—13

Brooke
Case
Clark
Harris
Hart
Inouye
Jackson
McGee
Metcalf
Mondale
Moss
Muskie
Pastore

NAYS—62

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Church
Cotton
Curtis
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McClellan
McGovern
McIntyre
Miller
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Nelson
Pearson
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—24

Bartlett
Brewster
Carlson
Cooper
Dirksen
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hayden
Hruska
Javits
Kennedy
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pell
Percy
Scott
Smathers
Tower

So Mr. CLARK's amendment was rejected.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask for its consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments offered by the Senator from Oklahoma will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

> On page 21, line 7, strike out "$130,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$135,000,000, of which $80,000,000 shall be available only for the United Nations development program".
>
> On page 22, line 15, strike out "$365,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$360,000,000".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc?

Mr. MONRONEY. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendments will be considered en bloc.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, this is a very simple amendment. It transfers from the military aid appropriation $5 million to add to the United Nations Development Fund. This is the project the great director of the Marshall plan, Paul Hoffman, has been running for the United Nations to extend technical assistance programs to the developing economies of the smaller nations, to which other nations contribute about 60 percent and we contribute about 40 percent.

The amount received from the United States for the United Nations development program is raised from $80 million to $85 million, and the $5 million will be transferred from military aid, which amounts to many, many times that amount.

In answer to the question, "What is the United Nations' development program?" U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, has characterized it as follows:

> It is the world organization's principal financing, administrative and operational arm in the pre-investment and technical assistance field. To carry out the comprehensive worldwide responsibilities assigned to it by

the United Nations General Assembly, the UNDP received, for 1968, $183 million in voluntary contributions from 117 governments.

Other countries are raising their contributions. I think we would be very unwise not to provide this amount for a program which embodies agricultural programs and technical assistance programs.

Mr. President, on December 31 of this year this program was helping 137 countries and territories to carry out 600 major preinvestment projects, each averaging $2 million in cost and 4 years in duration. During the preceding 12 months, it had also furnished support for 2,566 smaller scale technical assistance operations which, in addition to providing vital services on their own, often prepared the way for, operated in conjunction with, or followed up on the larger preinvestment projects.

Mr. President, in comparison with other nations, we contributed, last year, $75 million; the United Kingdom contributed $11,750,000; Sweden contributed $15.5 million; little Switzerland, $2.5 million; and so on.

With a large number of other nations coming in to help make successful this peaceful movement for development of the most underdeveloped countries on a scale which though small enough, can meet a maximum need, where could we accomplish so much for $85 million as through the aid provided by this great program, headed by an American who has already demonstrated his ability to bring about recovery to Western Europe through wise administration of the Marshall plan?

Mr. President, I hope the manager of the bill will be able to take this amendment to conference without a rollcall vote.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I join the Senator from Oklahoma in the comments he has made. It is a very good amendment and the transfer of funds a very fair exchange; the amendment, if agreed to, would serve as a very appropriate symbol and a means of paying our great respects to Paul Hoffman for the splendid job he has done for our country at the United Nations. He will continue to use this money for the ultimate benefit of our country. I hope the chairman will accept the amendment and take it to conference.

Mr. MONRONEY. I thank the Senator from Oregon. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I merely wanted to ask the Senator from Oklahoma, would his amendment simply increase the share of the United States by $5 million?

Mr. MONRONEY. By $5 million; but it takes the $5 million out of military aid, which, good though it may be, I think offers a much smaller yield in proportion to the money invested than the development of farming and small-scale industry in the underdeveloped areas.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I have no desire to resist the amendment. I am sure it is a good amendment. I am sure the money would be better spent, probably, than it would be in military aid. But I should like to take this opportunity, when the Senator is seeking to increase our contribution to the United Nations, to remind the Senate that the Senate voted, if my recollection is correct, by a vote of 82 to 0, to request and urge that the President of the United States insist on the United Nations considering the Vietnam situation, facing up to it, and giving us a full hearing and some kind of official decision.

In my opinion, the place to look for peace is New York rather than Paris. I am getting a little tired, though I shall not oppose the Senator's amendment, of this country paying more than its share of the maintenance of this peacekeeping organization, which we have all supported and we all ardently hope will be effective as a peacekeeping organization, though it seems thus far to be more of a debating society. It seems to be willing to police various parts of the world, and take up various vexatious questions, but not the one that is haunting the minds and hearts of the American people today.

We have invested nearly $3 billion in the United Nations, and I think it is high time we insist on their at least considering this matter. If they decide against us, we might well, of course, have to accept their decision, but I think it is time they meet their responsibilities.

I merely wished to inject that thought. I shall not oppose the Senator's amendment.

Mr. MONRONEY. I appreciate what the Senator has said, and I pray for the time when a settlement may be brought before the United Nations for consideration. I also pray that they will have a substantial hand in the final arrangements for peace, when it occurs.

I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished committee chairman.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I simply wish to say to the Senator from Oklahoma and the Senator from Oregon that, since this proposal on the part of the Senator from Oklahoma does not increase the overall amount of the bill, but simply shifts the priorities, and the matter will be wide open in conference with the House of Representatives, at this late hour and under those circumstances, I am willing to accept the amendment and take it to conference.

Mr. MONRONEY. I thank the distinguished Senator, and I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, what percentage are we paying now?

Mr. MONRONEY. The fund is receiving, from recipient governments, $1.54 for every dollar we invest. Of the total project cost, 55 percent is contributed by recipient governments, with 45 percent coming from the United Nations development programs, which means we are contributing about 40 percent of the total amount. The other nations are contributing the rest of the amount of the United Nations funds, but the recipient nations are putting up 55 percent of that cost, on their own, from the areas in which the program is working.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I concur with my colleague from Oklahoma on the desirability of participation in the International Development Fund, and I would have no objection to increasing the amount of that participation, especially if other nations are increasing their contributions.

What I have a reservation about, however, is that the Senator from Oklahoma, instead of asking for an increase of $5 million to do what he says he wants to do, would subtract that amount from the military assistance part of the bill.

As I look at the bill, I see that we are proposing, with the present figure of $365 million, a reduction from $510 million in the next fiscal year. With the world situation as it is, I am not at all sure that it is a wise move to cut military assistance that much.

What I should like to suggest is that the amount not be taken away from the military assistance fund, but merely provided as an additional amount. I would support the Senator from Oklahoma on that; but I think we are not following the course of realism if we continue to hack away at military assistance. It is already away down, from $510 million to $365 million. Now the Senator wants to reduce it to $360 million.

I hope the Senator will modify his amendment to add $5 million to the amount in the bill for the purpose he states, and I will support him on that, but I am concerned about this military assistance drawdown, which now the Senator seeks to draw down still farther.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I have supported military assistance since it first began, but I am convinced that we still do not have that program down to a point where there is not some fat in it.

The entire amount of this increase would be less than the cost of one jet fighter, and I think this amount of money, invested in the basic development of the poorest countries in the world—too small for us to establish programs in, even, because the overhead would cost us more than the money we would be spending in the country—is better spent in comparison than if the money were left to remain a part of the military aid provision.

I am realistic enough to know, in the tightest budget year we have ever seen, that Congress would not be likely to give to this program an additional $5 million, unless I find economies elsewhere.

Mr. MILLER. May I make a comment at that point?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield the Senator 2 minutes.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I would be the first to suggest and agree that there probably has been fat in all of these programs. But when we have already cut the military assistance program from $510 to $365 million, cutting it by $145 million in just 1 year, I am afraid the Senator is not only going to eliminate the fat, but the lean as well.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I do not believe my $5 million transfer should make the difference between the success of our military aid program and its failure. If I did, I would not have proposed it. But I do feel that this $5 million will go a long way, not only toward the success of our contribution, but the success of the contributions of nations much poorer than we, which are putting much larger amounts into the fund, and whose leadership in doing so we must support by showing we are not only continuing what we have done, but adding $5 million.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I suggest to my colleague that he try to get the amendment agreed by adding the $5 million. And I will support that. If he fails in that attempt, then he can put the amendment the way it is. However, I suggest to the Senator from Oklahoma that he would have substantial and probably majority support here for his purpose if he would add $5 million to the bill. We would be treading on dangerous ground by just continuing to chip away at the amount in addition to the $135 million reduction for military assistance that has already been made. These are very troubled times. I do not think we ought to do this. At least, let us let the Appropriations Committee go into that when they get to it.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, this will be a matter subject to conference. It would be open, with respect to the $130 million, to being increased or cut out in its entirety.

I am sorry. I cannot change my amendment because I have agreements with so many of the distinguished Senators on this side of the aisle who have agreed to support it under these conditions.

I would like to have a vote on the amendment.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes. I do not like to hold the Senate, but I would like to have a test here. If we may have a quorum, I would like to offer a substitute to add the $5 million for the purpose desired by the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Whose time will the quorum call be charged against?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the time may be charged against my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is not in order to submit an additional amendment until the time has been yielded back on the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time. However, I would have the right to speak in opposition to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Iowa is in order. The amendment will be stated.

The Assistant Legislative Clerk. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller] proposes an amendment to the Monroney amendment as follows: "Strike out the second paragraph."

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, my amendment would leave intact the provision of the Monroney amendment to increase the amount of assistance for the development loan fund by $5 million. That would increase the amount of the bill by $5 million. It would leave the military assistance part, which is the second paragraph of his amendment, alone.

I think we can achieve the same objective in conference with this as we could with the Monroney amendment. As I said, I think we are treading on dangerous ground here when, after having reduced the military assistance by $145 million, we are now going to whittle away still further.

I am in sympathy with the purpose of the Senator's amendment. All I am trying to do is to preserve the purpose and also to preserve the already drastically reduced military assistance amount.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I will be extremely brief. I must oppose the amendment. I appreciate the support of the Senator as to what the fund does. However, I am familiar enough with the workings of military aid. I, too, sit in the Appropriations Committee, and I know that we can make room within our military aid for the $5 million cut.

If I can read the temper of the Senate in the last few days, I know that they do not wish to raise the cost of the pending bill. My amendment would not raise it. It puts the emphasis where it belongs, and that is on helping to create an opportunity for nations to help themselves.

This is what we are doing without increasing any burden on the taxpayer.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 2 minutes?

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I speak against the amendment because what it does in effect is raise the amount of the bill the committee brought to the Senate. We have gotten along reasonably well on the floor of the Senate and stayed within the recommendations of the Foreign Relations Committee.

We have had one vote on the matter of the international organization in which we did not increase the amount directly.

I think the Senator from Oklahoma offered a very fair adjustment when he offered to transfer $5 million from the military aid to this particular project. However, do not forget that the military aid to all countries involved in the Vietnam war is not included in the pending bill at all. That is in the defense department program.

We are dealing in the pending bill with military aid to countries in many other parts of the world, countries that have no connection whatsoever with the war in Vietnam. It certainly is a generous allowance to them.

The transfer of $5 million, in my judgment, will not have a detrimental effect on the military aid program. It will make it possible to carry out what the Senator from Oklahoma has in mind.

I do not think it is fair to some of the Senators who have been trying to work out a fair compromise on the bill on the floor of the Senate. I do not want to do it until all the discussion is over, but I propose before we come to a vote to move to lay the Miller amendment on the table.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New Jersey such time as he requires.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I shall take only a moment.

I think the Senator from Iowa is making a very real contribution. Those Senators who want to cut the amount in the bill are not happy with that contribution. I am not in favor of cutting the bill. I am in favor of raising the amount, as we tried to do in the previous amendment.

I think the House cut the bill far too far in every respect except possibly the Presidential discretionary fund. I went along with that cut on constitutional grounds. I think the Senate committee should have raised the amount to the House committee amount.

I think the Senator from Iowa is correct in supporting the Senator from Oklahoma in increasing the amount for that particular fund under the auspices of our great friend, Paul Hoffman, a great benefactor and aid to our country and to the world.

I support the amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I move to lay the amendment on the table.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Oregon to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from Iowa to the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pell], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore] is absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pell]. If present and voting, the Senator from Alaska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen and Mr. Percy], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy]. If present and voting, the Senator from New York would vote "yea" and the Senator from California would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] is paired with the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower]. If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea" and the Senator from Texas would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 61, nays 13, as follows:

[No. 259 Leg.]

YEAS—61

Aiken
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Church
Cotton
Curtis
Dodd
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fong
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Inouye
Jordan, N.C.
Lausche
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pearson
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—13

Allott
Boggs
Brooke
Case
Dominick
Fannin
Hickenlooper
Jackson
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Miller
Pastore
Thurmond

NOT VOTING—25

Bartlett
Brewster
Carlson
Clark
Cooper
Dirksen
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hayden
Hruska
Javits
Kennedy
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pell
Percy
Scott
Smathers
Tower

So Mr. Morse's motion to table the Miller amendment to the Monroney amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Burdick in the chair). The question now recurs on the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended, was agreed to.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I am troubled by many of the amendments to H.R. 15263, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1968. I am especially troubled because of the effects these amendments will have upon our efforts to ease the impending world food crisis.

Ten thousand people will die today of primary or secondary malnutrition. They will either starve to death or die because their diets are inadequate to protect them against disease. Tomorrow, another 10,000 will die. I find this tragic, more particularly so since it happens in a world of abundance.

Americans can no longer shrug their shoulders when people die of hunger. In today's world, hunger pangs in Lahore—and in Lima—are an authentic international problem. A world in which the United States stands aside and allows people by the tens of thousands to die through neglect is a world fraught with danger for the United States.

There is a bitter irony to the crippling reductions in the foreign assistance program for the new fiscal year. These reductions come at a time when efforts to grow more food in the developing nations show highly encouraging signs—signs of what has been called a "Green Revolution." Pakistan, Turkey, Korea and other countries where the Agency for International Development runs major programs to assist agriculture are rapidly developing the ability to grow enough food to feed themselves. In 1967, world agricultural production set a new record, and most of the increase occurred where it was most needed—in those nations where millions go hungry each day. Last year the total agricultural output in the poor and malnourished countries rose from 7 to 8 percent over 1966, while per capita food production increased by 6 percent.

Mr. President, when Congress so drastically cuts the foreign aid program, we jeopardize this progress. What does it mean when we slash in half the amount requested for development loans? It means less fertilizer—less U.S. manufactured chemical fertilizer—for farmers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Millions of these farmers have been applying our fertilizer to the new miracle seeds—doubling and tripling yields of rice and wheat and corn. Now farmers will have to do without, and people will have to do without food.

What does it mean when we cut the authorization for technical assistance? It means that American agronomists and other specialists will not be available to demonstrate the use of the new seeds and fertilizers and pesticides. Farmers will have to do without help they need. Hungry people will have to do without food.

What does it mean when we remove AID's authority to guarantee investments by private companies—Esso, Indiana Standard and others—in fertilizer plants and distribution facilities in the developing nations? Again, people will have to go hungry.

The financing needed to continue and consolidate the gains of the green revolution are relatively small. The fact is that when we fail to make that financing available, we halt progress now underway.

We must avoid the consequences of further reductions—the consequences for hungry people in the world, and the consequences for the United States in a world where people are no longer content to be hungry or to die for want of food.

We must support at least the committee recommendations for foreign economic aid. This is no time to practice false economy; this is no time to play politics with human hopes and aspirations.

The committee has sought in this bill to reduce U.S. commitments abroad and to lessen the strain on U.S. resources. In the report accompanying H.R. 15263, the committee comments that "the United States cannot longer postpone giving priority to putting its own house in order." This is a conviction that I generally share. But I would question whether cutting the budget request for the development loan fund in half, and cutting the request for the Alliance for Progress by $205 million, and cutting the request for international organizations by $12 million is giving proper consideration to our international priorities. The tight fiscal situation in which the United States now finds itself and the strain that we feel on our economic and human resources are not the product of $2.1 billion that was authorized in fiscal year 1968 for foreign economic aid. Rather our financial troubles are the product of some $40 billion that we spent in fiscal 1968 in Vietnam. It is here that I question our priorities. I have said time and again, in many forums, in many different ways, that I would rather build America than destroy Vietnam.

My uppermost concern in international affairs is that we do not have any more Vietnams. I do not think that we help prevent future Vietnams by cutting our economic aid to aspiring peoples. It is important that we meet their aspirations in good faith. We need not buy them; indeed, we cannot buy them. We need do only what is right among neighbors—we must help free men and free governments in casting off their chains of poverty.

There are two provisions in this bill on which I especially want to comment favorably. The first is an increase of $15 million in economic assistance funds for programs related to population growth. Population control is an essential element of economic development. The $50 million earmarked in this bill for population programs should contribute much to the success of our total AID effort. It is important to note that this $50 million is not a ceiling on the amount that can be spent for these vital programs, and that more funds can be diverted if it becomes feasible to do so.

I am pleased also that we have lowered the ceiling on the military assistance that will go to Latin America and to Africa. We have lowered the ceiling on our military assistance from $55 million to $35 million in Latin America and from $40 million to $25 million in Africa. These cuts are properly made. I congratulate the committee on its vision and wisdom in this regard. Food for the hungry is a better expenditure than napalm for the nonconformist.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, there is a time to give and a time to save.

The Government of the United States has given with unprecedented generosity. Since the beginning of World War II, we have extended aid to nearly every other government in the world. During the past 20 years, we have subsidized no less than a hundred foreign governments in a total amount that exceeds a hundred billion dollars.

But the time of giving has been brought to a close by the war in Vietnam, the burgeoning cost of which this country shoulders alone.

The expense of this war now approaches $100 million a day. Because of it, we have raised taxes. Because of it, we have incurred huge deficits. Because of it, the American dollar is now in jeopardy in the world markets and dwindles in value under the mounting pressure of inflation here and at home. Because of it, our own domestic needs go unmet and ferment spreads through the land.

This is a time, not for further spending abroad but for stringent saving. In my judgment, conditions now call for the suspension of the foreign aid program for the duration of the war in Vietnam. Accordingly, I voted for the first time in the Committee on Foreign Relations—against reporting the bill favorably to the Senate. And I shall vote against it on final passage.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the amendment and third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask to be recognized for 1 minute, the time to be taken out of the time allotted to the minority on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I would like to ask the majority leader what he plans for the remainder of the day and, if he can tell us, what he plans for the Senate tomorrow and thereafter.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we are faced with a choice between the military construction appropriation bill and the appropriation bill for HEW.

I believe I have indicated to the Senate on at least three occasions that upon the disposal of the pending business the next order of business would likely be the military construction appropriation bill.

In line with that promise to the Senate, when we are through with the foreign aid legislation it is the intention of the joint leadership to lay before the Senate the appropriation bill for military construction, hopefully to pass that bill tomorrow, and to take up odds and ends in between. At the moment, it is quite doubtful we will be able to get to the HEW appropriation bill at this time if we proceed with the military construction appropriation bill.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, does the Senator contemplate any rollcall votes during the remainder of the evening?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I presume there will be a rollcall vote on final passage of the pending bill; and that is about all.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Does the Senator know of any amendments to the military construction bill?

Mr. MANSFIELD. There are none that I know of.

Mr. DODD. I wish to ask the majority leader how much time he contemplates will be required to take up the military construction bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I would hope the distinguished Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible] would make his statement today and we could dispose of the bill tomorrow. I do not believe there will be much debate except on one or two subjects, and that may not be lengthy; but I do not know.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, so there may be no misunderstanding, I wish to ask the distinguished majority leader whether he contemplates that the vote on the pending legislation will be the last rollcall vote tonight.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes; that will be the last rollcall vote today.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank the Senator.

RESTORATION OF PASSPORT TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I want the Record to show that 1 week ago yesterday the Department of State restored to Stokely Carmichael the passport it took from him on December 11, 1967.

Carmichael's passport was revoked because he traveled to restricted areas, specifically to Castro's Cuba and to North Vietnam. In each country, he publicly and violently attacked the United States and our American troops.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I do not like to break the continuity of the presentation, but I think this is a very important matter, and I think we should hear what the distinguished Senator from Virginia is stating to Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I thank the Senator from West Virginia.

Carmichael obviously gave aid and comfort to North Vietnam, a nation at whose hands the American people have suffered 191,328 casualties, 38 percent of those casualties having occurred during the past 6 months.

Yet the Department of State has restored his passport, thus making possible other such trips and other such denunciations of the American people and the American soldiers in Vietnam.

We hear a great deal today, throughout our Nation, about the people losing confidence in their Government.

Is there any wonder that more and more citizens are losing confidence in their Government when the Government acts in such a foolish, absurd, and pusillanimous manner as it has in pampering Stokely Carmichael, not only by permitting him to make treasonable statements on foreign soil, but also permitting him to incite to rioting in this country, all without penalty.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on final passage.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Do Senators yield back the remainder of their time?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is, Shall the bill pass? On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] is absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT] is paired with the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT]. If present and voting, the Senator from Alaska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Arkansas would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING]. If present and voting, the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "yea" and the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. PERCY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]. If present and voting, the Senator from New York would vote "yea," and the Senator from California would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 28, as follows:

[No. 260 Leg.]

YEAS—46

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Boggs
Brooke
Cannon
Case
Dodd
Dominick
Fong
Harris
Hart
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Inouye
Jackson
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, La.
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough

NAYS—28

Bennett
Bible
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Church
Cotton
Curtis
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Hartke
Hollings
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Magnuson
Mansfield
McClellan
Morse
Russell
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—25

Bartlett
Brewster
Carlson
Clark
Cooper
Dirksen
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hayden
Hruska
Javits
Kennedy
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pell
Percy
Scott
Smathers
Tower

So the bill (H.R. 15263) was passed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed showing the Senate amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to make technical and clerical changes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate insist on its amendments, and ask for a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees.

There being no objection, the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MORSE, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, and Mr. AIKEN conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the bill was passed be reconsidered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] has again demonstrated his superior knowledge of this Nation's international involvement. He has again exhibited the deep understanding of the many facets of our foreign aid program that has won him the respect of every Member of this body. I refer, of course, to his handling of the foreign aid authorization measure for fiscal year 1969, to his diligent work in the committee on this program, to his superb management of the bill in the Chamber. Performing most of the task, in the necessary absence of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], Senator SPARKMAN deserves the high commendation of the Senate for this success.

Joining him was the ranking minority member, the distinguished senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER]. His contribution on this measure as on all proposals of this nature was immense. The outcome certainly bears his indelible stamp.

I wish to thank also the Senators who contributed to assure such a high level and provocative debate. Particularly, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] deserves our commendation for offering and successfully urging his amendments. The Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] offered their strong and sincere views on many features. And notable was the contribution of the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who also urged his equally strong and sincere views and cooperated generously to assure final action today. The Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] joined by the Senators from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] and Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] also deserve our thanks for contributing so much to the discussion. We are indeed grateful to them and other Senators for joining so ably on this highly important measure.

Finally, I wish to thank the Senate as a whole for its splendid cooperation in obtaining the disposition of this measure today and for achieving the success in such an orderly and efficient manner.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of John A. Carver, Jr., of Idaho, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 3136) to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to make a study to determine the advantages and disadvantages of increased use of the metric system in the United States.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1470, H.R. 18785, the military construction appropriation bill, 1969. I do this so that the bill will become the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 18785), making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. MANSFIELD. For the information of the Senate, it is my understanding that the distinguished Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the chairman of the subcommittee, will make his opening statement this evening.

It is my further understanding that that is all that will be done on the military construction appropriation bill this evening.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL TOMMORROW AT 10 A.M.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR MOSS OF UTAH, TOMORROW AT CONCLUSION OF THE READING OF THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of the reading of the Journal tomorrow morning, the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] be recognized for not to exceed 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] tomorrow, there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business and that statements therein be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

STATE - JUSTICE - COMMERCE APPROPRIATIONS—ANNOUNCEMENT OF POSITION ON VOTE

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, on Monday, July 29, 1968, while I was necessarily away from the Senate, a yea-and-nay vote was taken on an amendment, No. 904, as amended, by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], to the State-Justice-Commerce appropriations, exempting certain employees of the FBI and the U.S. attorneys' offices from the personnel limitations of the Revenue and Expenditures Act.

Had I been present and my vote recorded, I would have voted "aye."

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, 1968

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to make a statement giving my reasons for voting against the Foreign Assistance Act of 1968.

First, I want to highly commend the acting chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], for the very fair, impartial, and masterly way he handled the foreign aid bill, both through the committee and on the floor of the Senate.

Let me say that I came closer this year to voting for a foreign aid bill than I have in a good many years. However, it still has so many serious defects that, in my opinion, I could not vote for it—although it had many good features in it.

One of its best features was that it was reduced to a figure of—in round numbers—$1.9 billion, $1 billion below the request of the administration.

Mr. President, in view of the great crises which face this country, the total amount of the bill was far too high to obtain the vote of the senior Senator from Oregon.

In my judgment, I could not possibly have voted for a foreign aid bill in respect to an amount of more than $1,200 million. I think that a bill of more than $1 billion really would find difficulty in being justified on the basis of an analysis of the problems which face our country.

Furthermore, I could not vote for the bill because within the amount it contains, there is still entirely too much for military aid. The military aid in the bill is only a part of our total military assistance program, the rest of which is contained in the regular Defense Department budget.

I shall not vote for foreign aid as long as there is this overemphasis on military aid. In my judgment, it is military aid by the United States around the world that is causing us to be more and more isolated and that is causing us to be more and more feared and is causing us, in my judgment, to be the greatest contributor to the spread of communism in the world.

I happen to think the United States is the greatest contributor to the spread of communism, because our military aid is stirring up for us so much resentment on the part of so many people in nontotalitarian states that they are developing a tremendous fear of the United States and suspicion in connection with our military objectives and motivations.

Next, I voted against the bill because there is too much grant money in the bill. We have to recognize that the American people are entitled to have Congress stop giving away the hundreds of millions of dollars of their money which it has been giving away under the label or name of foreign aid for these many years. Since 1946 over $120 billion of foreign aid has been approved by the Congress of the United States.

I think there is a clarion cry across this land to stop wasting the American taxpayers' money dollars through so many foreign aid ratholes around the world.

Mr. President, I did not do it this year, but I usually bring to the floor of the Senate the reports of the Comptroller General. I could have brought them again this year, because they would have told the same story. Since the last foreign aid bill, the Comptroller General has continued to survey and spot check foreign aid around the world, and his reports since the last reports a year ago are identical in their findings—continued waste, malfeasance, the cause of corruption in regard to our expenditures of foreign aid money.

I am not going to vote for foreign aid until we clean up the aid; until we reform it.

Neither am I going to vote for foreign aid as long as we continue to grant foreign aid to foreign governments rather than surround that aid with safeguards that will give the American taxpayers assurance that the money is to go into projects that will in turn help raise the standard of living of the people who live in the economic environments of the projects. That has not been done again this year.

I have taken that consistent position since we adopted in 1965 the Morse-Fulbright amendment, which was lost in conference; but the Morse-Fulbright amendment of 1965 was based on the principle I have just enunciated—namely, that our foreign aid should be a program of investment in specific economic projects or cultural projects or educational projects that will benefit people, and not line the pockets of crooked politicians of corrupt governments abroad—which so often is exactly what happens to so much of our foreign aid money.

That is why the secret reports by the Comptroller General particularly emphasize the importance of cleaning up foreign aid.

Mr. President, there were some good things in the foreign aid bill. I am sorry we could not bring about the types of reforms I have suggested so we could vote for the foreign aid bill. There were some good improvements in the bill in regard to some of its technical assistance programs, in development loans, and economic aid for specific projects, which I highly applaud, but not enough to justify my voting for it.

I spoke, day before yesterday, at length in regard to the section of the bill that deals with the amendment I offered in behalf of Senators MANSFIELD, METCALF, CHURCH, JORDAN, MOSS, and HATFIELD, seeking to take our national forests out of the field of foreign policy negotiations.

I pointed out that our national forests are not subject to negotiations with any foreign government in respect to selling to those foreign governments or doing business in those foreign governments with the logs of the people's forests in this country. The intent of our national forest laws from the very beginning, when the great Gifford Pinchot started the great conservation program with respect to national forests, was to maintain those national forests on a trustee basis in perpetuity for the benefit of all oncoming generations of Americans, in order to guarantee them, under a scientific management program of sustained yield, an adequate supply of wood products in perpetuity.

Therefore, as we argued, there was no justification for any department of our Government, or the Government itself, selling logs of the national forests that were not in fact surplus. The logs that had been sold to Japan in recent years were not in fact surplus.

Let me add one comment concerning the language of that amendment. In discussing its intent yesterday, I referred to the need for administering officials to develop regulations that will prevent the substitution of Federal timber for exported private timber.

I want to make it clear that the substitution referred to is a reasonably direct one. So that if a company owns land in two localities and ships logs in export from holdings in one locality, there should be no resulting limit on that company's freedom to purchase public timber in the other locality. Further, the purpose of the amendment would not apply in the locality from which the logs were exported unless the company undertakes to substitute the same specie purchased in the same general area.

This provision should not operate to keep a company that once exports logs from ever thereafter buying any public timber anywhere. The purpose should be to provide that an owner may not substitute in the same area and in the same time period public timber for his privately owned timber which he has sold for export.

Although these amendments have my warm support, I could not approve of the bill as a whole, and therefore I voted against it. However, as one of the conferees, I want to say tonight that I will cooperate very closely with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], who will be chairman of our Senate conferees, in an effort to try to improve the bill sufficiently in conference, so some of us who voted against it can vote for it. As a conferee, I shall do my best to try to improve the bill so we can bring back to the floor of the Senate a better bill than the bill we sent to conference.

SERVICE-CONNECTED COMPENSATION INCREASE FOR VETERANS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending business be laid aside temporarily and that the Senate turn to the consideration of Calendar No. 1461, H.R. 16027.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 16027) to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Finance with amendments.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, most of the President's 1968 recommendations with regard to veterans fall within the jurisdiction of the Senate Committee on Finance. The committee has considered these recommendations and has recommended that this bill be passed.

Mr. President, I wish to make a statement on the bill at this time.

I am pleased to take up today H.R. 16027, a bill to increase compensation payments to veterans with disabilities they suffered while in service to their country. There is no group in America today more deserving of our support than the men and women of our Nation who have become disabled while defending our country. It is their sacrifices which have kept our country strong and free.

The bill we have before us today, represents the largest single increase in the compensation program since it was first enacted. This bill would increase compensation payments by close to one-quarter billion dollars annually, beginning next January.

The bill reported by the Finance Committee incorporates the House bill in its entirety. The two most important provisions of the House bill are related to the compensation increase, which becomes effective next January. For totally disabled veterans, the bill would provide a $100 monthly increase in compensation payments. Most totally disabled veterans receive $300 monthly now; this would be increased to $400. Veterans with certain very severe disabilities now receive higher payments; these too would be increased by $100.

For those veterans who are less than totally disabled, the bill provides an 8-percent increase in compensation payments. This represents the increase in the cost of living since December, 1965, when the last increase in compensation payments was enacted.

The annual cost of this bill is $235 million. Of this total, $137 million is related to the $100 monthly increase for the totally disabled and the remaining $98 million is related to the 8-percent increase for other veterans with service-connected disabilities.

Mr. President, last year President Johnson directed the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to appoint an advisory commission to study each facet of the existing programs designed to assist veterans and their dependents. A panel of 11 distinguished members was subsequently named by the Administrator and designated as the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission. This Commission held hearings throughout the country, and in March of this year they submitted their report. They state in their report:

> Veterans with disabilities incurred in service in time of national peril should be given first priority in the range of special programs.

That is what we have done in this bill. The first two recommendations in the Advisory Commission report have been incorporated as the two major provisions of this bill—a $100 monthly increase for the totally disabled, and a cost-of-living increase for other veterans with service-connected disabilities.

Another provision of the House bill authorizes the furnishing of medical devices on an outpatient basis to totally disabled veterans who have very severe service-connected disabilities in the same way as they are now furnished to veterans requiring regular aid and attendance whose disability is not service-connected. This amendment is designed to correct an inequity in present law. The Finance Committee reported this amendment without change.

The Finance Committee added three amendments to the House bill. The first of these relates to veterans with arrested tuberculosis. Under present law, veterans with arrested tuberculosis are awarded specific disability ratings automatically, even if they are not disabled at all. Whether disabled or not, the law provides a minimum compensation payment of $67 monthly. About 56,000 veterans now receive this minimum payment.

These provisions of present law originated in the 1920's when tuberculosis was a dread disease. At that time, it was believed that few persons suffering from the disease could expect to live more than 20 years, and that even if the tuberculosis became arrested the disease was almost certain to recur. At that time the only therapy known was the rest cure, which took years. Happily, the expectations of the 1920's proved false. There has been very little recurrence of the disease among veterans with arrested tuberculosis. Persons with arrested tuberculosis face no special problems in getting jobs. Thus the compensation payments under present law do not reflect average economic loss as they are intended to do.

In view of this triumph of modern medicine, the committee felt that these provisions should be deleted for veterans whose tuberculosis becomes arrested in the future. However, the 56,000 veterans now receiving compensation for arrested tuberculosis will not be affected. This provision also incorporates a recommendation of the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission.

The second new section added by the committee is related to nursing home care of veterans rendered on a contract basis.

In 1966, for the first time, nursing homes and hospitals were brought under minimum wage legislation to amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act. Recognizing that hospital and nursing home employees were being covered for the first itme, however, the Congress provided special transitional minimum wages for these newly covered employees.

Recently, the Wage and Hour Division of the Labor Department ignored the 1966 amendments and determined that under the Service Contract Act of 1965, nursing homes contracting with Federal Government must pay the full $1.60 minimum wage rather than the special transitional minimum wage of $1.15 this year. The Service Contract Act of 1965 requires that the minimum wage be paid by employers rendering services under Federal contracts. It refers neither to hospitals nor nursing homes.

The 1966 legislation indicates a congressional intent that hospitals and nursing homes—whether or not contracting with the Federal Government—should be uniformly brought under the minimum wage law on the special transitional basis provided in that legislation.

The Labor Department determination has created an immediate problem with respect to nursing home care rendered to veterans by private nursing homes with whom the Veterans' Administration has contracted. In the opinion of the Veterans' Administration and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the House of

Representatives, the Labor Department decision would result in nursing homes simply refusing to provide care for veterans because of the prohibitive labor costs which would result.

Now, the same nursing homes furnishing care to veterans also serve medicare beneficiaries and welfare recipients under the medicaid program. Obviously, the same facility could not have two minimum wage levels—and our medicare and medicaid costs would rise substantially. Even those nursing homes which do not have veterans would have to increase their wages to compete with nursing homes paying $1.60 an hour. In addition, the Labor Department has exempted hospitals from the $1.60 wage rate, even though they compete for and employ many of the same kinds of personnel as do nursing homes.

The committee amendment does not remove the requirement that nursing homes contracting with the Government pay the minimum wage. It merely insures that the minimum wage required will be the transitional one authorized by the Congress in legislation enacted in 1966.

The final amendment added by the committee is related to a particular problem which has arisen in an onfarm training program in Tangipahoa Parish, La. Between 1958 and 1962, a number of veterans owning or leasing farms were urged to participate in an onfarm training program operated by the Tangipahoa Parish School Board. Though these veterans participated in the program in good faith, they did not realize that it did not meet Veterans' Administration standards. Now the Veterans' Administration is attempting to make all the veterans return the educational allowances they received during this period, including those veterans who acted in good faith.

The committee amendment would permit any veteran who participated in the Tangipahoa Parish onfarm training program to apply to the Veterans' Administration for relief from the liability of paying back the educational allowances he received after September 1958. If the Veterans' Administration finds that the veteran first, owned or had a legitimate lease on a farm; second, cultivated the farm and was not employed full-time in another job; and third, participated in the instruction furnished him by the Tangipahoa Parish School Board, under the amendment the veteran would be relieved of any liability to pay back the educational allowances he received.

The two persons most directly responsible for the operation of the training program have been convicted of criminal violations and have served their sentences.

The amendment is needed to clarify the rights of veterans who acted in good faith.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to support the bill with the committee amendments.

Mr. President, there was another recommendation which the President wanted to see adopted. However, it did not fall within the jurisdiction of the committee. Therefore, we did not presume to make it a part of the bill we submitted, even though we considered the proposal and found it had merit.

It is my understanding that a Senator—perhaps the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF]—may see fit to offer an amendment which substantially carries out the remainder of the President's recommendations with regard to veterans legislation. It has to do with a special allowance for veterans who wish to be teachers, policemen, or firemen in deprived areas on their return from service.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, may we have the committee amendments considered first?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendments will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the committee amendments, which were as follows:

On page 4, after line 5, insert a new section, as follows:

"SEC. 4. (a) Section 314(q) and section 356 of title 38, United States Code, are hereby repealed.

"(b) The repeals made by subsection (a) of this section shall not apply in the case of any veteran who, on the date of enactment of this Act, was receiving or entitled to receive compensation for tuberculosis which in the judgment of the Administrator had reached a condition of complete arrest."

After line 12, insert a new section, as follows:

"SEC. 5. (a) The Service Contract Act of 1965 shall not apply with respect to any contract, whether entered into pursuant to the provisions of title 38, United States Code, or any other provision of law, between the United States (or any department, agency, or instrumentaliy thereof) and any institution for the provision by such institution of hospital services or extend care or nursing home services.

"(b) The effective date of the amendment made by subsection (a) of this section shall be the ninetieth day after the date of the enactment of the Service Contract Act of 1965.

"(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed as amending, modifying, or superseding any provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended."

And, on page 5, after line 3, insert a new section, as follows:

"SEC. 6. Any veteran determined by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to have received overpayments of educational benefits under former chapter 33 of title 38, United States Code, in connection with the institutional on-farm training program conducted by the Tangipahoa Parish School Board, Amite, Louisiana, shall be relieved of all liability to the United States for the amount of such overpayment, remaining due on the effective date of this section, if he makes application for relief within two years following the date of enactment of this Act, and if the Administrator finds that such veteran—

"(1) owned, or operated under a valid lease, a farm which met the requirements of the law and implementing Veterans' Administration regulations;

"(2) was engaged in the cultivation of such farm and was not employed on a full-time basis in a non-farm occupation; and

"(3) participated in the institutional instruction furnished by the Tangipahoa Parish School Board in connection with the institutional on-farm training program, even though such instruction may not have met all of the requirements of law and implementing Veterans' Administration regulations.

In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this section."

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I have an amendment to the committee amendment, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed to strike section 5 of the committee amendment, beginning on page 4, line 13, through line 3 on page 5.

The committee amendment proposed to be stricken by the amendment of Mr. METCALF is as follows:

SEC. 5. (a) The Service Contract Act of 1965 shall not apply with respect to any contract, whether entered into pursuant to the provisions of title 38, United States Code, or any other provision of law, between the United States (or any department, agency, or instrumentality thereof) and any institution for the provision by such institution of hospital services or extended care or nursing home services.

(b) The effective date of the amendment made by subsection (a) of this section shall be the ninetieth day after the date of the enactment of the Service Contract Act of 1965.

(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed as amending, modifying, or superseding any provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, the amendment relates to a problem involving nursing homes. It is somewhat controversial. It does not seem appropriate to the manager of the bill that we should vote on this amendment at this particular time.

In view of its controversial nature, and the fact that the rest of the bill is not controversial, I would be happy to accept the amendment and ask the Senate to agree to it, with the understanding that thereafter, without prejudice, we may again present the issue to the Senate.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, as far as I am concerned, I am not sure about this amendment. I want to make further study. I think it warrants some additional study. As the chairman says, it is controversial.

It may be that when the matter comes up again, I may vote for it or against it.

The remainder of the bill, however, is very important. I believe it is important to move the bill. So I am grateful to the chairman for removing this hurdle, and letting us further consider it at a later date.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the committee amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on agreeing to the committee amendment as amended.

The committee amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 912, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. Ribicoff's amendment (No. 912) is as follows:

At the end of the bill add a new section as follows:

"Sec. 7. (a) Chapter 34 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subchapter V as follows:

" 'SUBCHAPTER V.—INCENTIVE BENEFITS FOR VETERANS SERVING AS TEACHERS, POLICEMEN, AND FIREMEN

" '§ 1690. Purpose; definitions

" '(a) This subchapter is intended to furnish special encouragement, by the payment of incentive benefits and supplementary training allowances, to veterans who are willing to serve in the United States for a prescribed period of time as elementary and secondary public school teachers or as policemen or firemen.

" '(b) For the purposes of this subchapter—

" '(1) The term "qualified veteran" means a veteran who is an "eligible veteran" as defined in section 1652(a) of this title.

" '(2) The terms "policemen" and "firemen" mean persons employed as regular full-time policemen or firemen, as the case may be, by a State or local subdivision thereof.

" '(3) The term "at least two years" means not less than two consecutive academic years in the case of a qualified veteran who agrees to serve as a teacher under this subchapter, and not less than twenty-four consecutive months in the case of a qualified veteran who agrees to serve as a policeman or fireman under this subchapter.

" '§ 1691. Public service incentive benefits

" '(a) The Administrator may, by regulation, provide incentive benefits for qualified veterans who agree to serve for a period of at least two years as (1) a full-time teacher in an elementary or secondary public school, (2) a policeman, or (3) a fireman.

" '(b) Payment of incentive benefits under this section—

" '(1) may not exceed the rates set forth in section 1683 of this title and may not in the case of any qualified veteran be paid for more than twenty-four months;

" '(2) may not extend (A) over a period of more than three academic years in the case of a qualified veteran serving as a teacher, or (B) over a period of more than two years in the case of a qualified veteran serving as a policeman or fireman;

" '(3) may not be made to a qualified veteran serving as a teacher under this subchapter for any month or months following the end of the regular academic year of the school in which he has been teaching unless he is actually serving as a teacher in such school during such month or months; and

" '(4) may be paid only to a qualified veteran on the basis of his service as teacher, policeman, or fireman subsequent to the date of enactment of this section.

" '§ 1692. Supplementary training allowance

" '(a) Any qualified veteran who is pursuing, on a full-time basis, as defined by the Administrator, a program of education (or a combination of education and training) which would qualify him for service as a teacher, policeman, or fireman and who agrees to pursue such service in the United States for at least two years after the completion of his program, may receive a supplementary training allowance of $50 per month while pursuing such program. Such supplementary training allowance shall be in addition to the educational assistance allowance to which the veteran is entitled under section 1682 of this title.

" '(b) No allowance authorized pursuant to subsection (a) of this section may be paid for any period of education or training longer than the period the qualified veteran has agreed to serve, and in no event shall a qualified veteran be paid a supplementary training allowance under this section for any period after his eligibility for education and training under this chapter has expired.

" '§ 1693. General provisions

" '(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a qualified veteran employed by the District of Columbia to serve as a teacher, policeman, or fireman may receive an incentive benefit or a supplementary training allowance under this subchapter in addition to his compensation for such service.

" '(b) In the event a qualified veteran breaches his agreement to serve as a teacher, policeman, or fireman, any amount paid to him by way of supplementary training allowance pursuant to section 1692 of this chapter shall be considered an overpayment and recoverable as a debt to the Government unless waived pursuant to section 3902(a) of this title.'

"(b) The analysis at the beginning of chapter 34, title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

" 'SUBCHAPTER V.—INCENTIVE BENEFITS FOR VETERANS SERVING AS TEACHERS, POLICEMEN, AND FIREMEN

" '1690. Purpose; definitions.
" '1691. Public service incentive benefits.
" '1692. Supplementary training allowance.
" '1693. General provisions.' "

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, the purpose of my amendment is to recruit some of the 800,000 veterans who will be released from the service this year for the teaching, police, and firefighting professions. It will do this by offering them, first, a $50 monthly training allowance, in addition to their other educational benefits, for up to 2 years during their training to enter these professions; and, second, by supplementing their salaries once they are on the job. Teachers would receive salary supplements for 3 academic years, and policemen and firemen would receive them for 2 full years. Payments will be made on a sliding scale, decreasing over the 2 years, and adjusted for the number of dependents.

My amendment would apply to all veterans honorably discharged after January 31, 1955, but it is specifically designed to attract Vietnam veterans to a career in public service. These people, with their strong sense of patriotic duty, could bring a new spirit and dedication to the public sector and to these undermanned professions. School administrators, police, and fire chiefs have made plain the shortage of personnel in these vital jobs.

The salaries in these professions are undeniably low. The starting salary for classroom teachers in school systems attended by more than half the children in the country is just over $5,500. The median starting salary for policemen in cities over 10,000 in 1966 was only $5,460. And the average pay for a fireman working a 59-hour week is $6,200.

Mr. President, the program I propose can help many cities and towns in America. For $25 million we can recruit 40,000 new teachers and 6,000 new policemen and firemen. These people can make a real difference in the quality of American life. They will provide better education for our children and safer communities across the country. I urge the adoption of my amendment.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, my understanding is that the Senator's amendment is broader than the administration proposal, in that the administration proposal related only to the so-called ghetto or underprivileged areas. If the Senator would be willing to limit his amendment along the lines of what the administration recommended, I would be happy to support the amendment.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I would be willing to have the amendment so amended.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I send to the desk a substitute amendment that would so modify the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment as modified.

The legislative clerk read the substitute amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be added by amendment No. 912, add the following:

"Sec. 7. (a) Chapter 34 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subchapter V as follows:

" 'SUBCHAPTER V.—INCENTIVE BENEFITS FOR VETERANS SERVING AS TEACHERS, POLICEMEN, AND FIREMEN IN CERTAIN AREAS

" '§ 1690. Purpose; definitions

" '(a) This subchapter is intended to furnish special encouragement, by the payment of incentive benefits and supplementary training allowances, to veterans who are willing to serve for a prescribed period of time as teachers in certain elementary and secondary public schools or as policemen or firemen in deprived areas of the United States.

" '(b) For the purposes of this subchapter—

" '(1) The term "qualified veteran" means a veteran who is an "eligible veteran" as defined in section 1652(a) of this title.

" '(2) The term "deprived area" means any political subdivision of a State which has a crime rate of more than 1,500 per 100,000 population, as determined by the Administrator from year to year on the basis of the Crime Index contained in the Uniform Crime Reports, compiled and published annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

" '(3) The terms "policeman" and "fireman" mean persons employed as regular full-time policemen or firemen, as the case may be, by a State or local subdivision thereof.

" '(4) The term "at least two years" means not less than two consecutive academic years in the case of a qualified veteran who agrees to serve as a teacher under this subchapter, and not less than twenty-four consecutive months in the case of a qualified veteran who agrees to serve as a policeman or fireman under this subchapter.

" '§ 1691. Public service incentive benefits

" '(a) The Administrator may, by regulation, provide incentive benefits for qualified veterans who agree to serve for a period of at least two years—

" '(1) as a full-time teacher in an elementary or secondary public school which is receiving assistance under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended;

" '(2) as a policeman in a deprived area; or

" '(3) as a fireman in a deprived area.

" '(b) Payment of incentive benefits under this section —

" '(1) may not exceed the rates set forth in section 1683 of this title and may not in the case of any qualified veteran be paid for more than twenty-four months;

" '(2) may not extend (A) over a period of more than three academic years in the case of a qualified veteran serving as a teacher, or (B) over a period of more than two years in the case of a qualified veteran serving as a policeman or fireman;

" '(3) may not be made to a qualified veteran serving as a teacher under this subchapter for any month or months following the end of the regular academic year of the school in which he has been teaching unless he is actually serving as a teacher in such school during such month or months; and

" '(4) may be paid only to a qualified veteran on the basis of his service as teacher, policeman, or fireman subsequent to the date of enactment of this section.

" '(c) The Administrator may continue to pay a qualified veteran incentive benefits under section 1691 of this title for the period covered by the agreement entered into between the Administrator and the veteran even though the school in which such veteran is teaching is no longer receiving assistance under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended, or the area in which such veteran is serving as a policeman or fireman is no longer a deprived area for the purposes of this subchapter, if (1) at the time such veteran began teaching in such school pursuant to an agreement entered into under section 1691 of this title such school was receiving assistance under such Act, or the area in which such veteran is serving as a policeman or fireman was a deprived area for purposes of this subchapter at the time such veteran began his service therein pursuant to an agreement entered into under section 1691 of this title, as the case may be, and (2) such veteran otherwise qualifies for such benefits.

" '§ 1692. Supplementary training allowance

" '(a) Any qualified veteran who is pursuing, on a full-time basis, as defined by the Administrator, a program of education (or a combination of education and training) which would qualify him for service as a teacher, policeman, or fireman and who agrees to pursue such service for at least two years after the completion of his program (1) as a teacher in an elementary or secondary public school receiving assistance under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965, as amended, or (2) as a policeman or fireman in a deprived area, as the case may be, may receive a supplementary training allowance of $50 per month while pursuing such program. Such supplementary training allowance shall be in addition to the educational assistance allowance to which the veteran is entitled under section 1682 of this title.

" '(b) No allowance authorized pursuant to subsection (a) of this section may be paid for any period of education or training longer than the period the qualified veteran has agreed to serve in a deprived area, and in no event shall a qualified veteran be paid a supplementary training allowance under this section for any period after his eligibility for education and training under this chapter has expired.

" '§ 1693. General provisions

" '(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a qualified veteran employed by the District of Columbia to serve as a teacher, policeman, or fireman may receive an incentive benefit or a supplementary training allowance under this subchapter in addition to his compensation for such service.

" '(b) In the event a qualified veteran breaches his agreement to serve in a deprived area, any amount paid to him by way of supplementary training allowance pursuant to section 1692 of this chapter shall be considered an overpayment and recoverable as a debt to the Government unless waived pursuant to section 3902(a) of this title.'

"(b) The analysis at the beginning of chapter 34, title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

" 'SUBCHAPTER V.—INCENTIVE BENEFITS FOR VETERANS SERVING AS TEACHERS, POLICEMEN, AND FIREMEN IN CERTAIN AREAS

" '1690. Purpose; definitions

" '1691. Public service incentive benefits

" '1692. Supplementary training allowance

" '1693. General provisions.' "

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, may I say to the Senator from Connecticut that I really think I would probably like to vote for the amendment the way he offered it, but I think, in fairness, the proposal should be given further study, and that no one can really quarrel with the amendment so limited. Therefore, if the Senator is agreeable and the Senate will agree to the amendment as amended, I would be happy to accept and support it.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I shall be pleased to agree to the modification of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana, offered as a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill (H.R. 16027) was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. BIBLE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of calendar Nos. 1465, H.R. 16086, and 1466, S. 1434, in that order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

CHOCTAW TRIBE OF OKLAHOMA

The bill (H.R. 16086) to amend the act of August 25, 1959 (73 Stat. 420), pertaining to the affairs of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1481), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of H.R. 16086 is to amend a 1959 statute that provided for final disposition of the affairs of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma, and to extend the time limits for completing the program.

The committee also considered a similar bill, S. 3209, introduced by Senator Monroney and Senator Harris.

NEED

The act of August 25, 1959 (73 Stat. 420), provided (1) for the sale of the real property owned by the Choctaw Tribe, with some exceptions, (2) for the organization of a legal entity under State law to hold certain land which the tribe wants to retain, and to hold the one-half interest in minerals which is required to be reserved when the lands are sold, and (3) for a per capita distribution of the funds of the tribe.

The time prescribed for selling the land was 3 years from the date of the act, or as soon thereafter as possible. The time was later extended to 6 years, and then to 9 years, or as soon thereafter as possible. The 9 years will expire on August 25, 1968.

Prior extensions of time granted by the act of August 24, 1962 (76 Stat. 405), and by the act of August 4, 1965 (79 Stat. 432), were based on the need for more time in order to complete litigation to quiet title to some of the tribal lands. The title needs to be cleared before the land can be sold on the open market. Some of the titles have not yet been cleared, and a further 2-year extension is provided by H.R. 16086.

COMMITTEE COMMENT

The committee expects that the additional time offered by the enactment of this legislation will result in the completion of all of the actions contemplated by the 1959 act.

COST

Enactment of the bill will involve no Federal cost.

AMENDING THE STREET READJUSTMENT ACT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1534) to amend the Street Readjustment Act of the District of Columbia so as to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to close all or part of a street, road, highway, or alley in accordance with the requirements of an approved redevelopment or urban renewal plan, without regard to the notice provisions of such act, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia, with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the Street Readjustment Act of the District of Columbia, approved December 15, 1932 (47 Stat. 747; D.C. Code, title 7, chap. 4), is amended by adding the following new section:

"Sec. 11. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, whenever any redevelopment plan or urban renewal plan approved by the District of Columbia Council pursuant to the authority contained in the Act approved August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 790), as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 5–705), requires the closing of all or part of any street, road, highway, or alley, the Council is authorized to order the closing of such street, road, highway, or alley, or such part of a street, road, highway, or alley, as the case may be, without regard to the provisions of sections 2 and 4 of this Act, if it finds that the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency has acquired title to all or a major part of the properties abutting said street, road, highway, or alley, or said part of a street, road, highway, or alley, and, with respect to such of the said abutting properties as may not have been so acquired, the said Agency has obtained and furnished to the said Council the written consent of the owners of such properties to the closing of such street, road, highway, or alley, or such part of a street, road, highway, or alley.

"(b) No public way or part of a public way may be ordered closed by the Council under the authority of this section unless the Council, in giving notice of the public hearing to be held on a redevelopment plan or urban renewal plan, shall have included in such notice a statement of its intention to order the closing of all or part of certain specified public ways within the area or areas covered by any such plan."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill to amend the Street Readjustment Act of the District of Columbia so as to authorize the District of Columbia Council to close all or part of a street, road, highway, or alley in accordance with the requirements of an approved redevelopment or urban renewal plan, without regard to the notice provisions of such Act, and for other purposes."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1482) explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to amend existing law so as to expedite the closing of public streets and ways, and parts thereof, embraced wholly within urban renewal plans approved by the District of Columbia Council in accordance with the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945.

Section 2 of the Street Readjustment Act of the District of Columbia (47 Stat. 748; sec. 7-402, District of Columbia Code), establishes the following requirements with respect to notice of the proposed closing of a public way:

"* * * the Commissioners of the District of Columbia shall cause public notice of intention to be given advertisement for not less than fourteen consecutive days, exclusive of Sundays and holidays, in a daily newspaper of general circulation printed and published in the District of Columbia, to the effect that a public hearing will be held at a time and place stated in the notice for the hearing of objections, if any, to such closing. The said Commissioners shall, not later than fourteen days in advance of such hearing, serve notice of such hearing, in writing, by registered mail, on each owner of property abutting the street, road, highway, or alley, or part thereof, proposed to be closed, or if the owner cannot be located the advertisement provided for above shall be deemed sufficient legal notice. At such hearing a map showing the proposed closing shall be exhibited, and the property owners or their representatives, and any other persons interested, shall be given an opportunity to be heard."

Section 4 of the same act provides that: "If, after such hearing, the Commissioners are of the opinion that any street, road, highway, or alley or part thereof, should be closed, they shall prepare an order closing the same and shall cause public notice of such order to be given by advertisement for fourteen consecutive days, exclusive of Sundays, and legal holidays, in at least two daily newspapers of general circulation printed and published in the District of Columbia, and shall serve a copy of such order on each property owner abutting the street, road, highway, or alley, or part thereof, proposed to be closed by such order, and copy of such order shall be served on the owners in person or by registered mail delivered at the last known residence of such owners, or if the owner cannot be located the advertisement provided for above shall be deemed sufficient legal notice; or if he be a nonresident of the District of Columbia, by sending a copy thereof by registered mail to his last known place of address: *Provided*, That if no objection in writing be made to the Commissioners by any party interested within thirty days after the service of such order, then the said order shall immediately become effective; and the said order and plat or plats as provided for herein shall be ordered by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia recorded in the Office of the Surveyor of the District of Columbia."

Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1967 transferred the regulatory and other functions of the Board of Commissioners, relating to the closing of streets and approval of redevelopment plans, to the District of Columbia Council.

In order to comply with the requirements of sections 2 and 4 of the Street Readjustment Act, it is necessary for the Surveyor of the District of Columbia to prepare a plat showing proposed closings of public ways, and thereafter recommend that a public hearing be held thereon. After the requisite advertising and written notice by registered mail to each owner of property abutting the property affected by the proposed closing, and after the required public hearing, the Council decides whether to proceed with the proposed closing, and if so, it issues an order to accomplish it. This order, under section 4 of the act, must be advertised for 14 consecutive days, excluding Sundays and holidays, in at least two daily newspapers of general circulation, with a copy of such order being served on the owner of each piece of real property abutting the public way affected. If no objection to the order be made "by any party interested" in writing within 30 days, the order so advertised and so served becomes effective. The procedure established by the Street Readjustment Act involves such a degree of expense and consumes so much time that the former Board of Commissioners normally held only about three such hearings a year.

The Redevelopment Act of 1945, as modified by Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1967, requires, that all urban renewal plans be submitted to the Council for approval. Prior to granting this approval, the Council is required to hold a public hearing and to publish notice of that hearing in a newspaper of general circulation, at least once a week for not less than 2 weeks, prior to such hearings.

In giving their approval to an urban renewal plan, the Council, of course, implicitly sanctions any street closing proposed in that plan. In spite of this implicit approval and the notice and hearing which must precede such approval, the Council, under existing law, must go through the procedures of the Street Readjustment Act which are largely repetitious of what has gone before, in the required urban renewal processes.

S. 1534 would eliminate this redundancy of procedures by authorizing the Council to close all or part of any public way embraced within an urban renewal plan approved by them, without regard to the requirements of sections 2 and 4 of the Street Readjustment Act of the District of Columbia, whenever it finds that the Redevelopment Land Agency has acquired title to all of the property abutting the public way or part thereof to be closed, and to take like action in those cases in which they find that the Agency has acquired title to a major part of the property abutting the public way or part thereof to be closed, if the Agency has obtained and furnished to the Council the written consent to such closing of the owners of so much of the property remaining in private ownership as abuts the public way or part of a public way to be closed.

The committee believes that enactment of S. 1534 will result in expediting urban renewal activities in the District of Columbia and will reduce some of the expense to the District in connection therewith, without depriving owners of property of notice concerning the proposed closing of a public way on which any such property abuts. It should particularly be noted that the bill relates only to public ways embraced within urban renewal plans approved by the Council in accordance with the requirements of the Redevelopment Act of 1945, as amended, and does not in any manner affect any public way not embraced in any such plan, the closing of which would continue to be subject to all the notice provisions of the Street Readjustment Act.

There was no opposition to the bill at a hearing conducted before the Business and Commerce Subcommittee on August 17, 1967.

Similar bills passed the Senate in the 88th and 89th Congresses.

The government of the District of Columbia favors passage of the bill. Its enactment will not result in additional expense for the District of Columbia.

AMENDMENTS

The amendments to the bill are technical in nature, and are for the purpose of conforming the bill to the Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1967.

CONCLUSION

The committee recommends that the bill, as reported, be approved.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 18785) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I present today, for the consideration of the Senate, H.R. 18785 together with the report from the Appropriations Committee, No. 1486, making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969 and for other purposes.

It is not my intention in presenting the bill to give detailed figures concerning each line item. The line item breakdown and explanation are contained in the report which has been placed on each Senator's desk.

Before going into the recommendations of the Appropriations Committee, I would briefly like to summarize the pertinent facts pertaining to the bill.

When one considers that just five major items in the bill total $1,149 million, it is surprising that this bill is one of the smallest military construction bills that has come before us in years. The large items in the bill are the requests of $589,700,000 for family housing, $227,300,000 for the Sentinel program, $207,104,000 for Southeast Asia, $55,000,000 for NATO, and $70,000,000 for the emergency fund, Secretary of Defense.

The fiscal year 1969 budget estimates as submitted to Congress for military construction last January were $2,031,500,000, broken down as follows: Army, $688,300,000; Navy, $367,000,000;

Air Force, $266,000,000; Defense Agencies, $85,400,000; Army National Guard, $2,700,000; Army Reserve, $3,000,000; Naval Reserve, $5,000,000; Air National Guard, $8,300,000; Air Reserve, $4,300,000; defense family housing, $589,700,000; and homeowners' assistance fund, $11,800,000.

The total of the military construction appropriations bill as reported by the Committee on Appropriations is $1,744,936,000. This is a decrease of $20,083,000 under the $1,765,019,000 provided by the House. The total bill as reported to the Senate is $286,564,000 under the budget estimate of $2,031,500,000. This represents a reduction of approximately 14 percent.

The Military Construction Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee held joint hearings again this year with the Military Construction Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee, chaired by the able Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON]. These joint hearings were most productive in saving time for Senators and the witnesses from the Department of Defense. Additional hearings by the Appropriations Subcommittee were held to hear testimony on items in the bill which were from previous years authorizations. These hearings also afforded an opportunity for the military services and the Department of Defense to fully present appeals from the House appropirations action.

Before going into the construction appropriations for each of the services and the Department of Defense, I will mention a number of committee actions taken on large items.

The largest single reduction made by the House was $120 million due to so-called unobligated balances remaining from previous years appropriations. In fact, the unobligated carryover in the 1969 fiscal year amounted to $1,115,000,000. This is an unusually large carryover for construction unobligated balances. The committee agreed with the House in making this $120 million overall reduction in funds from this fiscal year 1969 program.

The request this year by the Department of Defense to finance the North Atlantic Treaty Organization infrastructure program amounted to $55,000,000. The committee has made a recommendation of $20,000,000 reduction. This is in line with last year's appropriation of $37,500,000.

The largest single item approved was $583,700,000 for Family Housing which will be discussed elsewhere in this bill.

The committee approved the full authorized amount of $227,300,000 for the Sentinel intercontinental ballistic missile program which will allow construction to start, and, in addition, $36,000,000 for planning was approved. The $227,300,000 covers that portion of the cost associated with fiscal year 1969 plans to provide real estate and facilities for the deployment of this missile system. The tactical facilities to be started out of this appropriation are to be sited at various locations throughout the United States and will include radar buildings, powerplants, and other ancillary facilities for the missile sites.

The Sentinel system is designed to protect the United States against the initial capability of a Chinese-launched ICBM attack and to guard against the effects of an accidental or unauthorized missile launch by other foreign countries.

The budget request for the Southeast Asia portion of the military construction program totals $225,375,000. Authorization legislation reduced the total amount requested by $18,271,000. Thus the committee has approved $207,104,000, of which $195,004,000 is for Vietnam and $12,100,000 is for Thailand. By military departments this amounts to $139,247,000 for the Army; $51,357,000 for the Navy and $16,500,000 for the Air Force.

In South Vietnam the above amounts will provide for additional airfield, storage, shallow-draft port, hospital, maintenance, and troop housing facilities and utilities needed because of new deployments, as well as facilities which were previously deferred for higher priority operational items, and which are even more essential because of increased activities and the broadening of the logistics base. Also included are improvements to or replacements of field-type facilities such as tents and lean-to shelters which are no longer serviceable in their present state. In addition, the amounts will allow for the continued improvement of the road systems in the ICTZ to support operations below the DMZ and for facilities required for support of free world forces which are essential to their operations.

In Thailand, the above amounts will provide additional maintenance, storage, personnel support, and communications facilities for U.S. Forces and additional utilities, principally water supply, storage, treatment, and distribution needed to supplement the present inadequate system.

Approval has been given for the Defense Emergency Fund, Secretary of Defense, in the amount of $70,000,000. It is anticipated that a large part of this appropriation will be spent in Southeast Asia. It is felt that the Secretary of Defense should have this flexibility in construction funds in dealing with unforeseen emergency situations.

An important item restored to the bill after the House action was $3,555,000 for land acquisition at Naval Air Station, Imperial Beach, Calif. Testimony presented to the committee indicated that developments in the southern California area along with the requirement for proximity of this helicopter training base to the ocean, and the large concentration of Navy ships in the San Diego area, precludes moving to an alternate site. Further testimony indicated that to move this helicopter tracking base from Imperial Beach could cost as much as $50,000,000.

Another large item restored to the bill was $3,000,000 in the Air Force account for a classified satellite tracking facility. The committee was convinced that deletion of this item would seriously impair Air Force communications systems.

ARMY

The committee approved an appropriation of $537,605,000 for construction within the Army exclusive of family housing. The largest amount requested by the Army was for operation and training facilities amounting to $309,000,000. Included in the 35 items in this category is $227,300,000 for Sentinel and $35,000,000 for the U.S. share of NATO infrastructure military construction costs. The remaining projects are for airfield improvements, communications, operational facilities and training facilities.

The next largest item is troop housing and community facilities. The committee has approved $33,000,000 for these facilities. The program provides for the construction of 1,491 permanent enlisted barracks spaces, upgrading of 1,480 spaces in old permanent buildings, and the construction of 400 BOQ spaces.

In the field of research and development facilities, $18,562,000 has been provided. The 13 items in this category support development and test of Nike-X and the improvement of the Army's research and development capability.

The Army this year is building two major permanent hospitals and permanent dental clinics at five installations; $27,804,000 has been approved for this hospital construction.

In final review of the Army appropriations, the committee has approved $62,000,000 for planning, design, and for minor construction projects and access roads. Of this amount, $51,000,000 can be used to provide money for planning and design—$36,000,000 for Sentinel, $10,000,000 for minor construction, and $1,000,000 access roads.

The Army appropriation for Southeast Asia has been mentioned earlier in this presentation.

NAVY

For military construction for the Active Forces for the Department of the Navy and the Marine Corps, the committee approved funds totaling $286,374,000. The largest segment of the Navy's program is for maintenance, operation and training facilities for which the committee approved $149,000,000. Changes in technology have tended to emphasize direct operational maintenance facilities. These are urgent requirements in order that the Navy can efficiently accomplish its assigned missions.

In the field of research, development, test, and evaluation, the committee approved $12,000,000. One large project at Panama City, Fla., costs $7,411,000 for a deep ocean engineering pressure building at the Navy Mine Defense Laboratory was deferred by the committee. The committee fully supports a national commitment for exploitation of the sea, but questions funding at this particular time.

A facility of this nature having as its purpose extending man's capability to work to an ocean depth of 2,000 feet should receive a most careful and detailed examination during the planning stage.

In last year's construction bill, a like facility at Los Alamitos, Calif., was denied by the Senate and the Navy was charged at this time to "further study the situation to determine how many such centers are anticipated and whether this is in fact the most suitable location for the laboratory."

To date, the Senate has not been advised of the Navy's study. It is felt that the delay of this program until next year's funding bill will in no way affect the completion date of the planned project.

Administrative facilities received an appropriation of only $4 million. This was less than 1½ percent of the Navy program.

The committee has approved $35 million for utilities and ground improvements. The Navy has faced a serious deficiency in the last few years in the upgrading of the utility systems on naval bases.

In the area of design and minor construction, the committee has allowed $26 million; $16 million for design and $10 million for minor construction.

AIR FORCE

For military construction for Active Forces of the Department of the Air Force, the committee has approved an amount totaling $224,361,000.

The projects in the operational, training, maintenance, and supply categories comprise approximately 60 percent of the Air Force's program. These are the pavements, airfield lights, test cells, academic facilities, aircraft shops, and supply facilities.

Personnel support encompasses medical facilities and all types of training and training related construction. The total of $32.2 million in this category is divided into $12.7 million for medical and $19.5 million for training.

The medical projects consist of major alterations and additions to hospitals at Sheppard Air Force Base, Tex.—$3.3 million—and Nellis Air Force Base, Nev.—$2.7 million—and replacement of the hospital at England Air Force Base, La.—$3.8 million.

In the training area, appropriations in the amount of $5.8 million are recommended for Columbus Air Force Base, Miss., to convert it to an undergraduate pilot training base. This conversion, plus the additional facilities requested at the Air Force's existing training bases, will increase our pilot training capability substantially.

The Air Force's research and development systems group of facilities included in the $31.7 million for research and development equal $19.7 million. There is $7.6 million for a major satellite receiver station and $2.7 million for the worldwide satellite tracking system. At the Arnold Engineering Development Center, Tenn., we are altering a propulsion test cell for $3.6 million, fully coordinated with NASA. Construction at the eastern and western test ranges is programed at $2 million and $1.9 million, respectively. These amounts will provide facilities to continue the capabilities of the ranges to handle and test various booster and payload configurations.

The project within the administrative category total $7 million. Eleven projects at $0.7 million are to alter data processing facilities to accommodate new computer equipment. The logistical administrative facilities, briefly mentioned earlier, are the other main subgrouping, and account for $2.1 million of the total.

The Air Force's program for the construction of troop housing and community facilities amounts to $28.2 million, or 11 percent of the program. Of that sum, $25.3 million is to build or improve dormitories and officers' quarters. This year we are requesting 4,433 new airmen's dormitory spaces at a cost of $16.1 million and 860 officers' quarters for $8.7 million.

Projects in the utilities category provide augmentations to existing utilities to support the construction requested in the program. Also included are improvements to existing systems that have become overloaded due to the increase in power demand as more and bigger equipment loads are added. Heat, light, power, and water projects total to $10.9 million of the $17.6 million in this category.

In the category of general support programs, the committee has approved $24,100,000. This amount will support planning, minor construction, and access roads.

FAMILY HOUSING

The committee has approved $583,700,000 in new obligational authority for the fiscal year 1969 military family housing program. This amount comprises more than one-fourth of the entire funds appropriated in this bill.

To provide maintenance and operations funds for defense housing, approval has been given in the amount of $367,538,000, a reduction of $6 million below the budget estimate. A reduction of $3 million was made in the authorizing legislation and the committee approved a further reduction of $3 million. The request of $3 million was made to employ additional personnel to staff rental housing offices at individual military bases. The committee supports this worthwhile effort for rental offices, but is of the opinion that the Defense Housing Office can effectively accomplish this mission within the allowance provided for maintenance and operations. It is the understanding of the committee that these rental offices are now functioning with available base housing personnel.

The request for construction of family housing consists of only 2,000 units costing $48,740,000. This request is the smallest in recent years and reflects efforts on the part of the Department of Defense to ask for new construction for only those bases which are in dire need of housing. However, the Department of Defense does have a carryover of authorization and funding from previous years of aproximately 10,000 units which will be placed under contract during calendar year 1968.

The funds approved by the committee for debt payment is the budget estimate of $168,277,000. This includes $76,674,000 for the payment of mortgage principals in Capehart and Wherry housing indebtedness and $6 million for repayment to the Commodity Credit Corporation. In addition $76,973,000 is approved for the payment of interest on mortgage indebtedness on Capehart and Wherry housing and for other expenses relating to the construction and acquisition of these houses in prior years. The committee approved $8,630,000 for payment to the Federal Housing Administration for premiums on Capehart and Wherry housing mortgage insurance and for the payment of premiums on insurance provided by the FHA for mortgages assumed by active duty.

DEFENSE AGENCIES

The committee has approved $83,396,000 for defense agencies, Department of Defense. This is a reduction of $2,004,000 below the budget estimate. The reduction was made by the authorizing action.

A wide range of facilities is encompassed in the approved amounts. Among the major items are $1,697,000 for a gamma ray facility for the Defense Atomic Support Agency at the Naval Ordnance Laboratory, White Oak, Md.; $2,937,000 for warehouse, communications, and automatic data processing facilities for the Defense Supply Agency at Defense Depot, Tracy, Calif.; $2,500,000 for an automatic data processing facility at Battle Creek, Mich.

The amount of $70 million is provided to the Office of the Secretary of Defense for emergency construction. The purpose of this item is to permit the Secretary of Defense to proceed with the construction of facilities in support of operations necessary to the defense of the United States and for which the need is unforeseen.

HOMEOWNERS' ASSISTANCE

Funds were requested in the amount of $11,800,000 for the homeowners' assistance program. The committee has approved $6,200,000, the same amount as approved by the House. The reduction of $5,600,000 was made because the Department of Defense advises of the inability to use the full authorized amount. The appropriated sum, together with funds carried over, will enable the Department of Defense to carry out the homeowners' assistance program for fiscal year 1969.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

The committee recommends approval of the action of the House in inserting a new section 111 to the bill, providing as follows:

> SEC. 111. Funds received from the proceeds of handling excess family housing remaining under the jurisdiction of the Department of Defense shall be deposited to the credit of "Family Housing, Defense" to be used for the purpose of reducing debt payments of the military departments.

The House inserted this provision in the bill to afford the Department of Defense the opportunity to apply rental money accrued from housing properties on closed bases to retirement of debt payment. This rental money will generally come from base housing that the Department of Defense has been unable to dispose of through the channels prescribed by law. The present law requires that the proceeds from the disposal of these units be transferred into the family housing management account to be used for debt services. Consequently, funds received as a result of rental action should likewise be utilized in the same fashion. The above provision is designed to accomplish this purpose.

RESERVE FORCES

The committee has approved **$2,700,000 for the Army National Guard and $3 million for the Army Reserve.** The committee has approved a total of **$5 million** for aviation, surface, and ground forces of the **Naval and Marine Corps Reserve.** This amount is composed of **$4,600,000** for facilities and **$400,000** for planning and design.

Some **$4,300,000** is approved for the Air Force Reserve and **$8,300,000** for the Air National Guard. All of the above amounts are the same as the budget estimates and the amounts approved by the House.

CONCLUSIONS

Mr. President, this concludes my summary of the military construction bill. I shall now be glad to answer any questions concerning the committee's action and to explain any additions or deletions which may have been made.

Mr. President, I know that there will be many questions asked on various items tomorrow. I will be happy to answer those questions then, or tonight.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the comparative statement of appropriations for fiscal year 1968 and the extension of the amounts contained in the bill for fiscal year 1969.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY FOR 1968 AND BUDGET ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN THE BILL FOR 1969

Item	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in the House bill	Amount recommended by Senate committee	Senate committee bill compared with—		
					New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	House allowance
Military construction, Army	$372,228,000	$688,300,000	$554,597,000	$537,605,000	+$165,377,000	−$150,695,000	−$16,992,000
Military construction, Navy	486,661,000	367,000,000	289,238,000	286,374,000	−200,287,000	−80,626,000	−2,864,000
Military construction, Air Force	400,662,000	266,000,000	221,588,000	224,361,000	−176,301,000	−41,639,000	+2,773,000
Military construction, Defense Agencies	114,540,000	85,400,000	83,396,000	83,396,000	−31,144,000	−2,004,000	
Transfer, not to exceed	(20,000,000)	(20,000,000)	(20,000,000)	(20,000,000)			
Military construction, Army National Guard	3,000,000	2,700,000	2,700,000	2,700,000	−300,000		
Military construction, Air National Guard	9,500,000	8,300,000	8,300,000	8,300,000	−1,200,000		
Military construction, Army Reserve	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000			
Military construction, Naval Reserve	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000			
Military construction, Air Force Reserve	3,900,000	4,300,000	4,300,000	4,300,000	+400,000		
Loran stations	3,600,000				−3,600,000		
Family housing	671,271,000	589,700,000	586,700,000	583,700,000	−87,571,000	−6,000,000	−3,000,000
Homeowners assistance fund	20,000,000	11,800,000	6,200,000	6,200,000	−13,800,000	−5,600,000	
Total	2,093,362,000	2,031,500,000	1,765,019,000	1,744,936,000	−348,426,000	−286,564,000	−20,083,000

Mr. **BIBLE.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments be considered and agreed to en bloc, and that the bill as thus amended be regarded as original text for purpose of amendment, provided that no point of order shall be considered to have been waived by reason thereof.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The amendments agreed to en bloc are as follows:

On page 2, at the beginning of line 7, strike out "$554,597,000" and insert "$537,605,000".

On page 2, line 17, after the word "appropriation" strike out "$289,238,000" and insert "$286,374,000".

On page 3, at the beginning of line 1, strike out $221,588,000" and insert "$224,361,000".

On page 5, line 15, after the word "law" strike out "$586,700,000" and insert "$583,700,000".

On page 5, line 21, after the word "maintenance" strike out "$136,383,000" and insert "$135,383,000".

On page 6, line 3, after the word "maintenance" strike out "$84,949,000" and insert "$84,249,000".

On page 6, line 7, after the word "maintenance" strike out "$143,743,000" and insert "$142,443,000".

Mr. **THURMOND.** Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator yield?

Mr. **BIBLE.** I yield.

Mr. **THURMOND.** Mr. President, I commend the distinguished Senator from Nevada for the outstanding service he has rendered in handling the bill.

I had the pleasure of serving on the Subcommittee on Military Construction and on Defense Appropriations as an ex-officio member. I know of the long hours and tedious work involved in legislation of this kind.

The distinguished Senator from Nevada has given of himself and rendered very dedicated and distinctive service to our country in the handling of this legislation.

Mr. **BIBLE.** Mr. President, I certainly appreciate the sentiments of my very dear friend the Senator from South Carolina. If my memory serves me correctly, I think the Senator from South Carolina and I came to the Senate at approximately the same time. We have worked on many projects and bills and problems together. It is always a delight to work with him. I appreciate his sentiments.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL TOMORROW AT 10 A.M.

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 57 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, August 1, 1968, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate July 31, 1968:

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

John A. Carver, Jr., of Idaho, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 22, 1973 (reappointment).

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate July 31, 1968:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Barbara M. Watson, of New York, to be Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State.

Edson O. Sessions, of Illinois, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Ecuador.

Raul H. Castro, of Arizona, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Bolivia.

The following-named Foreign Service Officers for promotion from class 1 to the class of career minister:

Charles W. Adair, Jr., of Virginia.

John H. Burns, of Oklahoma.

John A. Calhoun, of California.

Ridgway B. Knight, of the District of Columbia.

Miss Carol C. Laise, of the District of Columbia.

Edwin W. Martin, of Maryland.

Robert H. McBride, of the District of Columbia.

Dwight J. Porter, of Nebraska.

Joseph John Sisco, of Maryland.

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., of California.

William H. Sullivan, of Rhode Island.

Philip H. Trezise, of Michigan.

IN THE DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The nominations beginning James W. Spain, to be a Foreign Service officer of class 1, and ending William N. Wilkes, Jr., to be a consular officer of the United States of America, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on July 11, 1968.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

EULOGY FOR BENJAMIN JACKSON, BLESSED SACRAMENT CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 1, 1968, BY THE REVEREND ROBERT PAUL MOHAN, S.S., PH. D., PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, last month, Benjamin H. Jackson of the U.S. Information Agency died after a lengthy illness. He had been a Government official for the last 13 years. Ben was a fellow alumnus of Catholic University and a former resident of my home city, Warwick, R.I.

For many years, Ben Jackson served his country by working in Greece with the U.S. Information Agency. He was a member of that rare breed of men who combine wisdom, compassion, and enthusiasm for life. These qualities affected those around him.

Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to insert in the RECORD the eulogy which was delivered for Benjamin H. Jackson by the Reverend Robert Paul Mohan, professor of philosophy at Catholic University:

EULOGY FOR BENJAMIN JACKSON

Today is a day of paradox. For today we meet in tears to celebrate a birthday of a good man who is born to eternity.

Today is a sad day, for hearts are human, and a little bit of us dies in each farewell. A mother sees a son called home; a wife who will for a time know only in memory the singular gentleness and love of this good man; and children who might have expected many more years of his physical presence in their blossoming lives; all these will not have their grief assuaged by the frail words of one who would try to capture in the net of language all of those intangible qualities that so enriched his own life and the lives of those whom he encountered.

But today, in a real sense, is a joyous day. For Ben was a Christian. The liturgy itself in the mood of joy and resurrection proclaims it a day when a son of Christ comes home.

I never knew him when he didn't reflect in his life the Sermon on the Mount.

By vocation Ben moved in the sophisticated circles of a Thomas More, but he never lost the simplicity of Francis of Assisi.

One could cite his career as a professor, or his work with the USIA and the Department of State. But I prefer to remember him informally as a remarkable human being. He was a great American, yet the Greeks loved him as their own. Greece was not to him the cradle of our civilization. It was a land he loved, and it is a land in which many a tear is being shed this morning for that extraordinary American who so well articulated everything we want to say to the rest of the world in our nobler moments. He loved its people, knew its history, gloried in its literature, and used the lilting beauty of its language with surprising fluency.

I remember the day he told me of his approaching marriage. From that day to this, I have never met a man whose ideals of family life were nobler.

I remember the evening when, deeply troubled, he told me of his suspicions of the malady that was to take his life. From that day to this, I have never met a man whose grief was so unselfish.

I remember many days and many evenings, many episodes, many places—as do you all. They are memories of Ben which will live through the years. They will remind us with a subtle urgency of what it means to be a good man in our time.

We shared a common enthusiasm in the works of Albert Camus, a man painfully concerned with the human conscience in our time. One of his characters in *The Plague* says simply: "What interests me is living and dying for what one loves." That simply is why Ben Jackson's life so short was so rich. He lived and died for the things he loved. He was very vitally a part of his world—knew its problems, shared its dreams, felt its pain.

He was husband, son, brother and father, and friend, and because he was loved by so many, he seems to have died in his springtime.

To mother, wife, children, brothers and sisters we extend our condolences in a special way, but for their sakes, not his. For it is not as important that he goes on before us into eternity by a few short years as it is that he walked our way and made us better people for having known him.

Last Friday as we kept the long vigil at George Washington Hospital, a dear friend and co-worker of Ben's quoted from the Greek poet, Solomos, words which Ben had written and left on her desk: "The chasm which the earthquake opened, suddenly filled with flowers."

From the chasm of the grief that we feel today, fresh flowers of hope and consolation will blossom in time to come. His family share his quiet faith, and they shall go on, and what he loved will live in them.

As he was a dear friend, we mourn him; as he was an outstanding servant of his country, we admire him; as he was human, we shall pray for him; as he was Ben Jackson, we shall love him.

But death to Ben was not the end. Thomas Wolfe phrased well the serenity that was so much a part of his life:

"To lose the earth you know, for greater knowing;
To lose the life you have, for greater life;
To lose the friends you loved, for greater loving;
To find a land more kind than home, more large than earth."

NEED FOR STRICTER LAW ENFORCEMENT AS A DETERRENT TO CRIME

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to an editorial broadcast by radio station WBML, Macon, Ga., concerning nine men who were charged with looting in Washington, D.C. The editorial points up the need for stronger and stricter law enforcement as a deterrent to crime.

As the rate of crime and lawlessness increases in this country, it becomes more and more evident that law-enforcement officials at all levels of government must make it absolutely clear that those guilty of rioting, looting, and other criminal acts are going to be punished without fear or favor.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON LOOTERS

A story in the Washington Post of June 11th relates an interesting case study which our National Leaders would do well to heed. Judge Alfred Burka in the Washington Court of General Sessions asked nine men who appeared before him on a riot-related offense the following question: "If you had heard that looters would be shot, would you have been on the street?" All nine answered, "No Sir."

It requires no Study Commission or Special Presidential Fact Finding Board to get this message.

WBML thinks that Judge Burka reached the simple solution with a simple question—We suggest that our leaders let looters know they will be shot—Just as criminals are handled—for surely criminals they are.

EUGENE O'NEILL NATIONAL MONUMENT

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I introduced today a bill which would establish the Eugene O'Neill home, located in my district of Contra Costa County, Calif., as a national monument.

While O'Neill is generally recognized as one of the greatest playwrights of the 20th century, and the only American dramatist to receive the Nobel Prize, few persons are aware of the place in which he wrote some of his greatest works, including "The Iceman Cometh" and "Long Day's Journey Into Night."

They were written in a home he constructed in 1937 near San Ramon in my congressional district, and I do not think you could find a more idyllic or inspirational setting anywhere. Named Tao House, it is nestled on a stretch of wooded land high above the magnificent San Ramon Valley.

O'Neill and his wife, Carlotta, moved into the house in October 1937 while the carpenters and painters were still at work. Carlotta designed the structure, using a base material of white concrete blocks which resemble native adobe. The roof is of black tile, and the doors and shutters painted Chinese red, with ceilings of deep blue.

O'Neill called it Tao House because, as he wrote, "the name signifies the peace, restfulness, and contentment of the Taoist religion." He confided to a friend that it would "be a final harbor for him."

But it was not—his poor health, at last, caught up to him and, 6 years after moving in, the O'Neills left this beautiful hillside never to return again. Carlotta wrote later:

> We had stayed there longer than we lived anywhere else. It is a beautiful place and I hate to leave.

The home is presently occupied by a couple, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Miller, who are most aware of its historical significance even to the point of extending their lease an additional year while efforts are made to establish the national monument.

I think it is hardly necessary to explain or describe the dramatic achievements of Eugene O'Neill. In addition to the Nobel Prize, he was awarded four Pulitzer Prizes for his work.

Establishment of his home as a national monument would be a fitting tribute to an author who has become one of the truly literary giants of America.

Tao House was to O'Neill a place of contentment and peace, something lacking in his crowded and hectic life. As a national monument, it can be used as a cultural landmark which will honor his genius and his dramatic achievement, and give respite and inspiration to all who visit it.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, at the national convention of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 24 new resolutions were adopted by the association as a part of their annual platform.

While I commend the association for their diligent work and fine resolutions and intend to place some of them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I do not believe that space will permit insertion of all the resolutions.

Those that I have singled out for the attention of Senators are listed below by title: Resolution 7, "In Support of Law and Order"; Resolution 9, "In Support of General Abrams"; Resolution 13, "Deployment of the Sentinel Anti-Ballistic-Missile System"; Resolution 18, "Increased Oceanographic Efforts of the U.S. Navy and Coast Guard"; and Resolution 22, "Unit Vacancy Promotions for Involuntary Recalled Reserve Officers."

Mr. President, the Reserve Officers Association of the United States has a reputation for supporting the defense and security of the Nation. I know that Senators will give their full support to these resolutions; therefore, I invite attention to the ROA annual report and ask unanimous consent that the full text of each resolution enumerated above be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION 7—RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Resolution in support of law and order

Whereas, in the recent past there has been a trend towards the use of public demonstrations and propaganda rather than reason, normal processes of law and the ballot in attempts to change our institutions and social order, and

Whereas, such methods can often lead to mass hysteria, disorder and then to violence, and

Whereas, the acceptance of such methods of artificial pressure can lead to control by subversive elements, and

Whereas, our college campuses and a small minority of their students have been particularly vulnerable to these invidious procedures, and

Whereas, the Reserve Officer Training Corps programs, which this Association so strongly espouses, have sometimes been the target of such attacks and pressures, and

Whereas, these pressure methods have been seriously detrimental to the peace and tranquility, lawful processes and good order which the vast majority of our citizens so overwhelmingly desire,

Now therefore be it resolved that the Reserve Officers Association of the United States lend its wholehearted support and full endorsement to the prompt and vigorous use of appropriate counter measures, including the use of force when necessary and prudent by the governors of our various states, the mayors of our cities, the heads of our colleges and universities and by the President of the United States if Federal action is required to combat illegal acts of violence and pressure instigated against our nation, its institutions, and the property and persons of its citizenry.

Adopted by the National Convention, June 22, 1968.

Attest:

JOHN T. CARLTON,
Executive Director.

RESOLUTION 9—RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Resolution in support of General Abrams

Whereas, the command of United States military forces in South Vietnam has been assigned to General Creighton W. Abrams, and

Whereas, there are hundreds of thousands of Americans risking their lives daily in the fight to preserve the freedom of a nation, and perhaps all nations,

Now therefore be it resolved that the Reserve Officers Association of the United States pledge its support of General Abrams in his grave responsibilities as Commander of U.S. Forces in South Vietnam, as ROA has previously pledged its full support to General Westmoreland.

Adopted at National Convention, June 22, 1968.

Attest:

JOHN T. CARLTON,
Executive Director.

RESOLUTION 13—RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Resolution favoring deployment of the Sentinel anti-ballistic-missile system

Whereas, an effective ballistic missile defense at the earliest practical time is an essential element necessary to the security of the United States, and

Whereas, offensive forces alone cannot limit wholesale destruction of our population, and

Whereas, passive defense measures alone cannot insure survival of our population, retaliatory weapons systems or critical industrial complexes if an attack occurs, and

Whereas, the decision to deploy the Sentinel System to defend the United States against an ICBM attack is considered an urgent and timely step towards provision of an effective ballistic missile defense, and

Whereas, the Secretary of Defense has ordered that the Sentinel System be deployed.

Now therefore be it resolved that the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, in the interest of saving millions of American lives and our industrial capacity, urges that there be no delay in the deployment of the Sentinel System to counter the ICBM threat that now exists.

Adopted by the National Convention, June 22, 1968.

Attest:

JOHN T. CARLTON,
Executive Director.

RESOLUTION 18—RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Resolution increased oceanographic efforts of the U.S. Navy and Coast Guard

Whereas, the oceans have been of strategic importance since the dawn of history and are becoming of increasing interest as the Navy's operating environment and as food and mineral sources, and

Whereas, the oceans belong to no one nation and are a great resource to be shared by all mankind, and

Whereas, the U.S.S.R. has a vigorous and substantial oceanographic program which is marked by increased research activities throughout the world, and ever increasing capabilities, and

Whereas there is only one first-rate oceanographic fleet in the world, that of the Soviet Union, and

Whereas, it is considered most essential to our national security and economic interests to sponsor substantial oceanographic programs at ever increasing rates, and

Whereas, it is highly desirable for any U.S. Navy or Coast Guard oceanographic survey and research ship to have unlimited range and staying power (as well as adequate research and support facilities) while conducting a scientific expedition.

Now therefore be it resolved that the Reserve Officers Association of the United States strongly support the added emphasis in all oceanographic efforts of the U.S. Navy and Coast Guard.

Adopted by the National Convention, June 22, 1968.

Attest:

JOHN T. CARLTON,
Executive Director.

RESOLUTION 22—RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Resolution "unit vacancy" promotions for Air Force mobilization assignees and augmentees

Whereas, The Reserve Officers Personnel Act provided that unit vacancy promotions would be afforded to Air Force Reserve Officers in units and "in positions to be filled by officers with a mobilization assignment or designation", and

Whereas, because of the lack of overall vacancies in the grades of major and lieutenant colonel there has been a freeze on unit vacancy promotions to those grades, and

Whereas, Public Law 90–168, "The Reserve Bill of Rights" provided a two year relief from this freeze but restricted this relief only to members of a Reserve unit organized to serve on active duty as a unit, thus discriminating against all Mobilization Augmentees and Assignees,

Now therefore be it resolved that the Reserve Officers Association of the United States seek legislation which will amend PL 90–168 to permit unit vacancy promotions of Mobilization Assignees and Augmentees.

Adopted by the National Convention, June 22, 1968.

Attest:

JOHN T. CARLTON,
Executive Director.

CHROMITE ORE IMPORTS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I have become concerned about the possibility that the United States may be becoming overly dependent on the Soviet Union for its supply of chromite ore. In addition, there is the possibility that a portion of our chromite ore purchases from the U.S.S.R. are reexports of ore originally produced in Rhodesia.

On April 30, 1968, and June 3, 1968, I wrote to William B. Macomber, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, on this issue. His first reply of May 9, 1968, was mainly a tirade against the Government of Rhodesia. His second reply of July 1, 1968, was more factual but his facts were very disturbing. U.S.S.R. exports of chromite ore to the United States accounted for more than one-half of our imports. He now expects our imports of U.S.S.R. chromite ore to "increase significantly" in 1968. He states that it is in our "overall national interest" to not import chromite ore from Rhodesia and thus increase our imports from the U.S.S.R. Perhaps the Congress should check the administration on its determination of what is truly our overall national interest.

The two letters from Mr. Macomber follow:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., May 9, 1968.

Hon. THOMAS B. CURTIS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CURTIS: I have received your letter dated April 30 regarding your constituent's concern about United States chromite purchases in the Soviet Union.

The United States permits trade in peaceful goods between this country and the communist nations of East Europe, including the Soviet Union. We consider this trade, small though it is, to be beneficial to our national interest because it offers one of the few channels available to us for constructive contacts with the countries closed to free-world influences in many other respects. We also benefit from imports from these countries. Our imports include important metals such as chromite and other goods of utility to our economy

The question of chromite imports from the Soviet Union is also linked to the United Nations Security Council's selective mandatory economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Your constituent may find it useful to have some background information on this subject.

Chromite is one of twelve Rhodesian products covered by the UN Security Council's December 16, 1966 decision to impose selective mandatory economic sanctions against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. United States restrictions on the importation of Rhodesian chromite, promulgated by Executive Order on January 5, 1967, are but one aspect of United States compliance with the Security Council's decision.

In invoking sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, where a racial minority has seized power illegally in an attempt to perpetuate its domination over the vast majority of the inhabitants, the Security Council has attempted to aid the United Kingdom in national peace and stability in Africa. In the political context of the African continent, such a situation threatens to lead to civil strife that might extend across international boundaries and involve other parties, including extremist elements, on one or both sides of the conflict.

There are sound policy reasons for United States support of the Security Council's action. There is no doubt of the strategic importance of Africa, or of the serious political and security implications for the United States should that vast continent erupt in racial warfare or come under the domination of hostile forces. We therefore have a major stake in retaining our political influence in the area, in strengthening the forces of moderation, in assisting African states to maintain their independence, and in helping to create conditions of reasonable stability that will minimize the risks of Communist subversion and penetration. American policy toward Southern Rhodesia supports these ends.

Although Southern Rhodesia was the major source of United States imports of metallurgical chromite through 1965, commercial imports of chromite from the Soviet Union—one of the world's largest producers and exporters of metallurgical chromite—have been an important factor in United States supplies for some time. For example, United States imports of metallurgical chromite from the U.S.S.R. totaled 241,531 gross tons in 1965 and 261,307 tons in 1966.

In 1967, 861,000 tons of metallurgical chromite ore were used by American companies, of which about 539,000 tons were imported. A little more than half, 299,000 tons, came from the Soviet Union. The remainder came from South Africa (83,000 tons), Turkey (44,000 tons), and Mozambique (112,000 tons, 100,000 tons of this was Southern Rhodesian ore stored in Mozambique before the imposition of UN sanctions and the remainder was South African).

The price for all chrome ore has increased in the last year. Russian ore usually sells at a premium because it has a higher chrome content and hence is more valuable.

I hope the foregoing information will be helpful to you in replying to your constituent.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., July 1, 1968.

Hon. THOMAS B. CURTIS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CURTIS: I refer to your letter of June 3, 1968, concerning chromite imports. I will answer your questions in the order in which they are given.

Your first question asks whether Rhodesian chromite ore is being re-exported to the United States through the USSR. To the best of our knowledge, the allegation that the Soviet Union is re-exporting Rhodesian chromite to the United States is not true. There was one specific report of Rhodesian ore being sent to the USSR that we investigated and found to be false. The Treasury Department is responsible for ensuring that materials from Rhodesia do not come to the United States through third countries. Therefore, I have referred your first question to the Treasury Department for further reply.

Your second question asks what country is planning to supply the difference this year to make up for the 100,000 tons of Rhodesian ore that the United States bought in 1967. We expect imports of Soviet metallurgical grade chromite, which totaled about 300,000 tons in 1967, to increase significantly this year. We can not be more precise as the figure is commercially classified. We also believe that other countries, principally Turkey, Iran, and South Africa, which supplied about 200,000 tons in 1967, may be the source of 250,000 to 300,000 tons in 1968. In addition, as of January 1, 1968, there were 570,000 tons of surplus United States Government metallurgical chromite that had been contracted for by the domestic industry but had not yet been shipped from United States Government depots. The companies that have contracted for this material can call for delivery of it as they wish. We believe, therefore, that United States firms will have an adequate supply of chromite for 1968.

Your third question asks whether it is in the best interest of the United States to be dependent on the USSR for more than half of its metallurgical-grade chromite imports. Generally speaking, we would not want to be overly dependent on any single source for any important commodity. We decided, however, that it was in our overall national interest to support the December 16, 1966 Security Council resolution, and forego purchases of Rhodesian chromite. Moreover, we stockpile metallurgical chromite and ferrochromium metal, and we have a large surplus of the latter.

The United States Government has not encouraged other countries to expand chromite production, nor is it necesary to do so, since we know that they have been doing this in response to market force. For example, Turkey increased its chromite production from 1966 to 1967 by 5 percent, while India over the same period showed a 50 percent increase. Iran has scheduled a 10 perecnt increase for 1968.

I hope this information will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Another point covered in Mr. Macomber's second reply was the question of how the United States insures that chromite ore from the U.S.S.R. is not originally produced in Rhodesia. He referred this question to the Treasury Department for reply. Mrs. Margaret W. Schwartz, director of the Foreign Assets Control Division, replied on July 22, 1968. She stated that the Treasury Department has never analyzed chromite ore imports from the U.S.S.R. to determine if they were of Rhodesian origin.

Earlier this spring a State Department official was reported as denying that Rhodesian ore was coming into the United States and said that chemical analysis could tell exactly where the ore came from. The implication, of course, was that the U.S. Government was making such chemical analysis to ensure that no Rhodesian ore imports were coming into the United States. It now turns out that no analysis has ever been made of imports from the U.S.S.R.

Only now, and as a result of my inquiry, will the Customs analyze chromite ore samples from the U.S.S.R. to try to determine their origin.

The letter from Mrs. Schwartz follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D.C., July 22, 1968.

Hon. THOMAS B. CURTIS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CURTIS: I am replying on behalf of the Secretary to your letter of July 10, 1968, in which you express your concern over the possibility of Rhodesian chromite ore being imported into the United States through the U.S.S.R.

This Office administers the Rhodesian Transactions Regulations issued by the Treasury Department under Executive Order 11322 of January 5, 1967. These Regulations prohibit, among other things, the unlicensed importation into the United States of all

Rhodesian chromite. Customs officials at U.S. ports of entry therefore refuse the unlicensed importation of any chrome ore being entered as of Rhodesian origin. Additionally, they refuse the unlicensed importation of any other shipment if there is reason to believe that the shipment contains Rhodesian origin chrome ore.

We have recognized the high degree of risk that Rhodesian ore, misdescribed as being of South African origin, might be imported from South Africa or from Mozambique, countries through whose ports Rhodesian goods normally move and neither of which participates in the U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia. Accordingly, we requested Customs to obtain samples from each shipment of chromite arriving from South Africa or Mozambique for chemical analysis in the Customs Laboratory. This request to Customs was made after we had consulted both Government and trade commodity experts and had been informed that on the basis of the results of such a chemical analysis, and most particularly on the basis of the chrome-iron ratio revealed, a reliable determination could be made as to the Rhodesian or South African origin of the ore. No doubt it is these analyses which are referred to in the March 25, 1968 issue of "Purchasing Week".

We have not asked Customs to test in this fashion importation of chromite from the Soviet Union as we have not had reason to believe that such a procedure was necessary. In other words, we have not had reason to believe that Rhodesian origin chromite was being transshipped to this country through the Soviet Union. As Mr. Macomber informed you in his letter of July 1, 1968, the one specific allegation to this effect was investigated and found to be false. However, in view of your concern now about the possibility of such transshipments taking place and of other allegations as reported in "Purchasing Week", we are asking Customs for a period of time to analyze samples obtained from shipments of chromite arriving from the U.S.S.R. We are informed that the results of this analysis, and again particularly the chrome-iron ratio, will generally serve to distinguish Rhodesian ore from Russian. Also that in cases where a question still remains after such an analysis, the distinction could be made by an examination of the minerality and texture of the ore. Facilities of the Geological Survey would be available for this purpose.

We shall be pleased to report to you the results of the analyses of the importations from the U.S.S.R. We would, of course, be interested also in receiving any information about this matter which might come to your attention.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) MARGET W. SCHWARTZ,
Director.

I certainly hope that the U.S. Government will analyze chromite ore imports from the U.S.S.R. to determine their real origin.

I also think we should question very carefully whether it is in our best interests to become ever more dependent on the U.S.S.R. as the source of our chromite ore.

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, there have been a number of recent, significant developments in the field of East-West relations. In this connection, an especially noteworthy editorial appeared in the Port Huron Times Herald of July 5, 1968, and I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TIME FOR CAUTION, NOT FOR COMFORT

With all the shooting and fist-shaking that is going on in the world, it is gratifying to hear the Soviet Union propose concrete measures toward peace in the world.

Coming on the heels of the signing by 51 nations, including the United States and Russia, of a nuclear non-proliferation treaty, the Red proposals have an optimistic sound. It seems clear that if the great nations of the world were really to work together, world peace could indeed be achieved.

Yet it also is clear that the United States must exercise extreme care both in application of the nuclear treaty, and in commiting itself to additional limitations by agreement.

For the hard fact is that any kind of agreement with Russia is a tenuous thing. They have a history, a long history of treaties made to be broken. They have made solemn promises that were, to their view, meaningless. Documents which other nations honored because their leaders had signed them, were but interesting scraps of paper to Russian counterparts.

The reasons lie in differences of ideology and philosophy. The communist state makes its own rules. It permits its people to lie, steal, cheat, kill or undertake any kind of underhanded method in advancing the communist cause.

That is not to say that the nuclear nonproliferation treaty is no good, or that President Johnson should not have signed it. Taken at face value, the treaty is a step toward sanity in international relations.

Neither is it to say that this Nation should not join with other nations, including Russia, in seeking ways to better world conditions. The philosophy under which America operates demands that people help people.

But it IS to say that we must be sure of our ground. We must not sign away any prerogative or power that is not matched by similar, equal and provable commitments by all others involved. Blind trust is folly where all parties do not use the same definitions, scale of value and moral code.

It would be a wonderful, joyful condition if Russia and the rest of the communist world were to sincerely work for peace and justice and international honesty. But we dare not find comfort in the prospect, because Russian sincerity toward any of these goals is yet to be demonstrated.

We must attempt to move forward in harmony with any legitimate proposal that the Russians are prepared to accept. But we must never for a moment forget that the world is roughly divided into God-fearing and God-rejecting camps—and that Russia is not on the God-fearing side.

THE CRISIS OF OUR TIMES

HON. JAMES B. PEARSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I recently read an address entitled "A Preface to the Crisis of Our Times," delivered by Professor Paul Eidelberg at Wake Forest University on July 23. Professor Eidelberg, formerly of North Carolina State University, will join the faculty at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, this fall. I was much impressed with this most serious and worthwhile statement and wish to call it to the attention of Senators.

Professor Eidelberg sounds a note of warning "that unless thoughtful liberals and conservatives join hands and firmly uphold the rule of law, each will be rent asunder and fall victims of the tyranny of man." But this is no simple appeal to law and order in the standard rhetoric of the day. Rather it is a serious, deep-probing attempt to understand the crisis of the spirit which today plagues the American society. Like other commentators of the American scene are increasingly wont to do, he evokes these foreboding lines from Yeats:

> Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world;
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drawned;
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity.

The American center still holds, and I am confident that it will continue to do so; yet no serious minded observer can lightly ignore the growing and ominous signs of political instability.

Throughout society it would seem that our capacity for reason has been weakened, our standards of civility lowered, our ability to communicate restricted, and our understanding of justice and freedom confused.

Professor Eidelberg's analysis does not make for easy reading, but this is proper, for the malaise of the public spirit of which we suffer today is not the result of some simple, easily identified political virus. It has been long in the making, the product of many and complex factors, and the prescription for recovery is not to be found in political sloganeering and legislative expediencies. Professor Eidelberg deals with causes rather than symptoms, a characteristic woefully lacking in most of the supposed discussions of the crisis of our times. One need not accept all that he has to say, but all must accept his challenge that now is the time for all men of reason and goodwill to undertake a "critical and courageous self-examination."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Profesor Eidelberg's address be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PREFACE TO THE CRISIS OF OUR TIMES

(by Paul Eidelberg)

A PREFACE TO THE CRISIS OF OUR TIMES: LAWLESSNESS, THE CONSTITUTION AND THE FOUNDING FATHERS

This paper is addressed to the political center of this nation. It is addressed to men who are genuinely committed to the Western tradition of Reason and Civility; to men who abhor fanaticism whether from the Left or from the Right. It sounds a note of warning, that unless thoughtful liberals and conservatives join hands and firmly unhold the Rule of Law, each will be rent asunder and fall victims to the Tyranny of Men. But this paper is less warning of danger, so much as an appeal to critical and courageous self-examination. For it is not possible that reasonable and civilized men have unwittingly sown or nourished the seeds of unreason and incivility? Is it not possible that certain aspects of liberalism and conservatism have cooperated to bring about the lawlessness of our times?

In his dissenting opinion in the Ginzberg case, a case involving a federal obscenity statute, Justice Douglas boldly brought into public view a doctrine which pervades virtually all institutions of learning, a doctrine, therefore, which has shaped and which continues to shape the character of American life. Said Justice Douglas: "I do not think it is permissible to draw lines between the 'good' and the 'bad' and be true to the constitutional mandate to let all ideas alone." "Government," he continued, "does not sit to reveal where the 'truth' is."[1]

Now what is especially remarkable about this statement is its use of quotation marks around the word *truth* as well as around the words *good* and *bad*. These little quotation marks are symptomatic of the moral and intellectual crisis of our times. For they signify that we—that you and I—can say nothing really true as to how man should live. Hence they place in question the function of this and every other institution of learning. They place in question the relationship between teacher and student. They place in question the dignity of reason, the distinction between the noble and the base. They place in question the worth—ultimately the very existence—of civilized society.

Nevertheless, those little quotation marks do not seem to disturb Justice Douglas. He appears wholly unconcerned about the profound and inescapable ignorance to which man is condemned by those quotation marks. Perhaps he believes that this ignorance as to how man should live justifies living as one likes?[2] Perhaps he believes that this ignorance as to how man should live provides a firm foundation for individual freedom, hence for liberal democracy? If this be Justice Douglas's belief, he is dangerously mistaken.

Consider the issue of the Ginzburg case, the issue of freedom of speech and press. Not long ago this freedom was defended as being essential to the discovery of truth, including moral and political truths. But if we are incapable of discovering such truths—if we are inescapably ignorant as to how man should live, the defense or justification of freedom of speech and press is considerably weakened. Indeed, if there are no moral and political truths—no universally valid standards by which man can rationally choose between the better and the worse—or if the opinions of the educated on moral and political matters are no more sound than those of the ignorant—if this be the case, then tyranny is as defensible as liberal democracy. And in the writings of Herbert Marcuse, who combines the doctrines of Mill with those of Marx and Mao, the Left has available a justification for tyranny based on libertarian grounds.[3] But there are other roads to tyranny.

Consider again Justice Douglas's statement that it is impermissible for government "to draw lines between the 'good' and the 'bad' and be true to the constitutional mandate to let all ideas alone." To say this is to say, in effect, that the Constitution, and all laws passed in pursuance of the Constitution, must be morally or ethically neutral. Such a doctrine, I shall argue, is utterly subversive of society.

What makes a society, Lord Devlin has said, is a community of ideas; and not only political ideas, but also ideas about the way its members should behave and govern their lives; and these latter ideas are its morals.[4] Morality is nothing less than those standards of conduct which guide men to recognize and show concern for others, and to act out of some larger motive than their own advantage or well-being.[5] It must be emphasized, however, that morality begins with self-restraint, restraint over our own appetites and passions. Just as we blame individuals for being grasping and domineering, so do we blame them for being lewd and gluttonous. And so we must, for no society can endure unless its members are capable of feeling disgust and indignation—hence of being intolerant of certain kinds of behavior and sometimes of the ideas which encourage such behavior.[6]

Now it is the tendency of intellectuals to exaggerate the impact of ideas on conduct. Since Marx and Freud, however, ideas have come to be regarded as mere reflections of subterranean forces, whether economic or libidinous. This teaching is false. The ideas purveyed by advertising, propaganda and persuasion—whether on television or in magazines, books and classrooms—change not only people's opinions, but people. While academic psychologists are divided, Madison Avenue confirms every day that people's behavior may be changed merely by purveying information—whether the information be true or false.[7]

Information, of course, is not only of things but of values—say of things noble and of things base. But what is base may be portrayed in such a way as to excite desire and thus undermine what is noble. This is true of obscenity. By obscenity I mean the gross public display of physical intimacies; or the arousal of lust, that is, of sexual desire in the absence of love and affection, where the persons involved are not concerned about each other as persons; or the arousal of lust in connection with scenes of violence, cruelty or brutality—this obscenity, this reduction of the human to the merely physical, this presentation of a degrading picture of human life, inviting the reader or viewer to wallow in it to the accompaniment of desire[8]—all this, word after word, scene after scene, is slowly but ineluctably eroding the moral foundations of society. Here the values do not have to be imposed; the prescriptions spelled out. They are built into the character, shaping attitudes and ultimately behavior.[9]

I have said that no society can endure without intolerance. Is it not true, however, that our society, together with government, has become increasingly tolerant of vile, of vicious, and of violent behavior? Is it not true that our society, together with government, has become increasingly tolerant of forms of expression which are correspondingly vile, vicious, and violent—hence subversive of that community of ideas which constitute established morality? No one will deny that good and honest government is essential to the welfare of society. But no less necessary to society's welfare is an established morality. We must bear in mind that societies more frequently disintegrate from within than from pressures exerted from without. There is disintegration, says Lord Devlin, where no common morality is observed, and history shows that the loosening of moral bonds is often the first stage of disintegration. Hence society is justified in taking steps to preserve its moral code as it is in taking steps to preserve its government or the integrity of its political institutions. This means that society may use the law to preserve morality in the same way as it uses law to safeguard anything else that is essential to its existence.[10] The law cannot be morally neutral.

Now there are two instruments which are esesntial to the preservation of morality. One instrument is that of enforcement, the enforcement of law. The other is that of teaching, the teaching of doctrine.[11] Let us consider first the enforcement of law.

It is too often forgotten that the enforcement of law helps to sustain parental authority, although the converse is commonly emphasized. Whatever undermines parental authority undermines all authority, therefore, the very existence of society. I have already suggested that no society is possible unless its members are capable of showing concern for others and of acting out of some larger motive than their own well-being. But this disposition is first learned in the family, by the loving care which parents take of their children. It will not be learned, however, unless children are taught to control their appetites and desires. Teaching children self-restraint or the virtue of moderation requires the exercise of parental authority, and this involves a certain degree of coercion. As children grew older, however, this unpleasant but necessary instrument of authority gradually gives way to that of moral suasion. But the moral authority of parents lacks the coercive power of law—the coercive power of an impersonal authority. Therefore, in these times, when so much conspires to undermine the moral authority of parents, the importance of effective law enforcement can hardly be exaggerated.

Leaving the family aside, suppose those who violate the laws go unpunished. Should this happen frequently, then what Lincoln called the "lawless in spirit" will be encouraged to become the "lawless in practice." The lawless in spirit are those who are not truly moral or virtuous: they are not capable of exercising self-restraint; that is, they require the restraints of law—the dread of punishment—to hold in check their lawless passions, especially the passions of envy and hatred. When those who violate the laws go unpunished, these passions, no longer inhibited by fear, are liberated to do their work of destruction. But there are more dangerous consequences that follow upon governments failure to enforce the laws—more dangerous if only because less visible and more distant. For, as Lincoln warns, when the laws go unheeded, "good men, men who love tranquillity, who desire to abide by the laws and enjoy their benefits, who would gladly spill their blood in the defense of their country; seeing their property destroyed, their families insulted, and their lives endangered; their persons injured; and seeing nothing in prospect that forebodes a change for the better"—these men, says Lincoln, "become tired of, and disgusted with, a government that offers them no protection." And so, imagining they have nothing to lose, they welcome a change in the established form. "At such a time and under such circumstances, men of sufficient talent and ambition will not be wanting . . ."[12]

I may finish Lincoln's thought by asking: Are we not in danger of tyranny—if not from the Left, then from the Right? Lawlessness now infects every class of society: the affluent no less than the poor, the educated no less than the ignorant. How long will good men support a government incapable of insuring domestic tranquillity, of protecting life and property, of upholding public decency and dignity? With the very best of intentions, a Justice of the Supreme Court has proclaimed a doctrine of moral and intellectual nihilism. Let us not stand perplexed awaiting the findings of a presidential commission to explain the increasing anarchy of American life.

I have said that morality requires the support of law. Conversely, law requires the support of morality. It is to be noted, however, that moral standards are generally higher than those of law. The law does not seek to prevent or punish every vice, nor should it. And this is one reason why morality requires that second instrument I spoke of earlier, namely, that of teaching, the teaching of doctrine. Now if teaching is essential to morality, one of the causes of immorality, hence of lawlessness, will be found in what we teach, perhaps in the very doctrines we teach in colleges and universities. No less than the mass-media—and who indeed teaches those who direct the mass-media and determine its moral tone and content?—no less than the mass-media, colleges and universities influence our conceptions of man and society, of law and government. They shape beliefs and attitudes; and

---

Footnotes at end of article.

sooner or later, beliefs and attitudes govern conduct.

Now perhaps the most subtle instrument of immorality is the doctrine of moral relativism, a doctrine which, in one form or another, permeates the social sciences as well as other disciplines, a doctrine, moreover, which is propagated even in secondary schools.[13] It was precisely this doctrine I had in view when speaking of Justice Douglas's use of quotation marks around the words good and bad. Those quotation marks signify that there is nothing good or bad in itself. Or as Hobbes said, and more lucidly than either Marx or Freud, to say nothing of lesser lights: ". . . whatever is the object of any man's appetite or desire, that is it which he for his part calleth good; and the object of his hate and aversion, evil; . . . For these words of good [and] evil . . . are ever used with relation to the person that useth them: there be nothing simply and absolutely so; . . ." Such words signify only "the nature, disposition, and interest of the speaker." [14] It follows that there are no objective standards by which to determine whether the interests or desires of one person are preferable to those of another. All interests, whatever be their character; all desires, whatever be their objects, are equal.

But our schools and colleges are not the only purveyors of this doctrine. Youth is constantly bombarded by the moral relativism implicit in certain aspects of our economic system. This system is dedicated to the proposition that the purpose of society is to maximize consumption. Therein, by the way, is the animating principle of capitalism and communism alike, a principle which contributes to the restlessness and instability of regimes educated along Marxist and crypto-Marxist lines. Be this as it may, it will not be denied that our economic system indulges virtually every want or desire. It does not discriminate between good and bad wants, but rather seeks to gratify all wants, whether natural or artificial, refined or vulgar, praiseworthy or reprehensible. As one economist explains this ethically neutral system:

> We are not concerned with the origin of these wants or with their "rightness" or "wrongness" from any absolute point of view. It is a matter of indifference to us whether these wants are due to snobbishness, extravagance, ignorance, or bad habit. We do not wish to distinguish between the want for bread, for holidays on the Riviera, or for opium. We simply note that human beings experience wants.[14a]

But our economic system does more than "simply note that human beings experience wants." For through the mass-media it is constantly manufacturing new wants. Hence it creates and intensifies discontent; it arouses envy and avarice; it engenders a ceaseless craving for more and more. But this craving for more and more can only be satisfied by means of *money*. Money thus becomes the standard—but an ever changing and relativistic standard—for gauging social status and well-being. This is what underlies the crisis of identity: Not what one *is*, but what one *has;* not even what one has, but what one has relative to one's neighbor; and not even what one has relative to one's neighbor, but what one has relative to the most privileged puppets portrayed by that almost constant companion of old and young alike, the TV commercial. Money is the means to happiness. Like the GUN, it is the greater equalizer. Will any presidential commission dare tell us that crime or lawlessness is symptomatic of the anarchy of men's desires produced by the economic and educational systems of this country?

Once more I remind you of Justice Douglas' statement that it is impermissible for government to draw lines between the good and the bad—a statement which implies that all laws must be morally neutral. Assuming a law of such nature were possible, the question arises as to whther it would serve the common good. But surely this question is absurd. For how can a law which is morally neutral serve the common good? Besides, according to a host of behavioral scientists, it is impossible for any law to serve the common good, for the common good does not exist.[15] Like such notions as the public interest, the common good, they say, is merely a myth—a symbol employed by various groups to justify or conceal what are merely their own private interests. As there exists no common good, no objective standard by which to determine whether the interests of one group are preferable to those of another, law can be nothing more than a system of rules intended to protect the interests of the dominant group or coalition of groups engaged in the struggle for power—more precisely, for income, safety, and deference.[16] And thus it is that so many well-intended men are daily teaching students that justice is the interest of the stronger, or that *might makes right;* for this is precisely what is implied in the doctrine that law merely reflects the interests of the dominant group.

I have here been speaking of what is known as the "group" or "group-interest" theory of politics, a theory whose underlying principles have long shaped the teachings of the social sciences. What conception of man or of human nature is implied in this theory? Briefly, it is this: By nature man is concerned only with his own good; he cooperates with others only with a view of his own interests; and it is only with a view to his own interests that he employs that most subtle and most powerful instrument of human desire, the faculty of reason.[17] From this we may understand why men have invented ideologies or such myths as the "public interest" or "justice" or the "common good." What is more difficult to understand, however, is that proponents of group-interest theory regard these myths, or belief in these myths, as *salutary!* We may ask: Salutary *for whom?* For given man's unqualified egotism, will not those who know that the public interest is a myth exploit or take advantage of those who do not? But this leads to another difficulty.

When proponents of group-interest theory say that belief in such myths as the "public interest" is salutary, they mean it is necessary for the survival of society. Belief in these myths moderates group conflict. It inclines men to temper their demands, to engage in the arts of persuasion and compromise. It thus facilitates peaceful as opposed to violent change. Yet the same social scientists who say that belief in such myths as the "public interest" is necessary for the survival of society are engaged in exploding these myths!—exploding them in the interest of science, that is, in the interest of advancing the science of society. Hence they are caught in a profound dilemma. For by speaking of the public interest or the common good as myths, which is to say, as fictions, more and more members of society will cease to believe in these myths. As a consequence, group conflict will become more frequent and intense; the demands of various groups will become less moderate; men will be less inclined to engage in the arts of persuasion and compromise or to accept peaceful as opposed to violent change.[18] Thus we see an irreconcilable conflict between the interests of society and the interests of social science. Society requires belief in certain myths; social science requires the explosion of these myths.[19]

And yet, perhaps there is a way out of this dilemma. For might it not be possible to teach social science on an esoteric as well as on an exoteric level—the one intended for the general public, the other for social scientists? The trouble with this solution (there are others) is that the social scientists in question are committed to the unrestricted communication of ideas. More generally, they are committed to the ideals or values of liberal democracy—though goodness knows why. And this leads to still another difficulty.

According to the theory under discussion, society is merely an aggregation of groups pursuing a variety of interests no one of which is intrinsically or morally superior to another. Now if we substitute nations for groups, and ideologies for interests, the group-interest theory will appear as cultural relativism. According to this doctrine, all ideas and all moral evaluations are culturally determined; their validity is limited to the social or cultural context in which they originated.[20] Stated another way, each nation is bound by a particular ideology, some system of shared beliefs and values. These ideologies serve to promote national loyalty and solidarity, hence national survival. Furthermore, each society—"open" no less than "closed"—regards its own ideology as preferable to those of others. For the beliefs and values of any given society constitute its answer to the question of how man should live or how society should be governed. According to cultural relativism, however, there is no objective or universally valid standard by which to determine whether the ideology of one society is better or worse than that of another.

Consider, now, where this doctrine has taken us. Is it not apparent that the ideologies in question are nothing more than those myths, the belief in which was said to be necessary for the survival of society—the same myths that moderate group conflict within society. Yet these very ideologies, while moderating group conflict within society, are said to intensify and even engender international conflict, conflict *between* societies. It will be recalled, however, that groups within society employ these myths to conceal and promote what are merely their own private interests. Similarly, nations use ideologies as facades for advancing their own "national interests." (Here we see myths concealing myths!)

Now granting that belief in these ideologies is necessary for national survival, revealing them as myths, or as having no intrinsic validity, cannot but undermine and endanger national survival. Men may sacrifice their intellects to a myth; they cannot give it their wholehearted devotion. Men will fight and die for what they believe to be true. But only the deluded or self-deluded would fight and die for what they have been taught to be a mere fiction, a myth or ideology which cannot be shown to be morally superior to that of any nation against whom they may be called to bear arms. (It is no wonder that psychological explanations of war abound.) [21] But meanwhile, of those influenced by this teaching, some may become pseudo-humanitarians. They will speak the language of morality, but it will be a morality whose overriding value is *survival:* "Better red than dead." Here I am reminded of Erich Fromm, who writes: "The kind of relatedness [a man has] to the world may be noble or trivial, but even being related to the basest pattern [of social existence] is immensely preferable to being alone." [22] I shall only comment by saying that nothing is more lonely than the grave.

Imagine, now generations of students imbued with the doctrine of moral or cultural relativism. They have been taught that there are no objective grounds for prefering the values of their society to those of any other; that their own society is merely an aggregation of groups engaged in a struggle for power or for income, safety, and deference; that what keeps this struggle from getting out of hand is belief in such myths as the "public interest" or "justice" or the "common good"; that politicians employ these myths to conceal and promote what are merely private interests; that the laws of their country are simply rules intended

---

Footnotes at end of article.

to protect the interests of the group or coalition of groups that happened to be dominant at the time these laws were enacted. Now imagine some politician addressing these well-educated citizens, urging them to respect the law; or informing them that the passage of some particular law is required by "justice," or that it would promote the "public interest" or the "common good."

But what of those who propagate these doctrines? What shall they say to students who violate university rules and regulations? What shall one of these behavioral scientists—prominent at Columbia—what shall he say to students who refuse to abide by what he calls "the rules of the game"—rules they have not made; rules which they claim do not serve their interests; rules which they claim serve only the interests of the "establishment," meaning the dominant group? And that some of these students couch their interests or demands in the name of justice—for not all do—well, this should amuse some of their teachers. For what is "justice" but a name groups give to what is nothing more than their own desires? Surely, it is absurd to appeal to reason. For what shall these students reason about? Shall they reason about the good and the bad, or about the better and the worse, or about the noble and the base? But behavioral scientists have taught them that reason is incapable of discovering any universally valid standards by which to distinguish one from the other—for again, such words as good and bad are only names we give to the objects of our own desires or aversions—words to be placed between quotation marks. So taught Hobbes three centuries ago; and so the young are taught today to be sure, not so crudely or honestly, but for that very reason, all the more effectively. Thus may reasonable and decent men bring about the degradation of reason and, with it, the ascendancy of the passions.

II

Having considered some of the implications and consequences of group-interest theory for law and society, I turn to the second part of this paper where I shall consider the application of this theory to our fundamental law, the Constitution.

For the better part of this century, countless students have been taught the Constitution "was essentially an economic document"; that its authors, the Founding Fathers, "were, with few exceptions, immediately, directly, and personally interested in, and derived economic advantage from, the establishment of the new system." [23] The author of these words, of course, is Charles Beard, whose *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* was first published in 1913.

Now Beard's interpretation is extraordinarily simple: it explains politics in terms of private interests—which is precisely the teaching of group-interest theory. Indeed, in the very first chapter of his work, Beard refers to the reputed founder of group-interest theory, Arthur Bentley, whose book, *The Process of Government*, was published in 1908. The truth is, however, that group-interest theory is nothing but a pallid version of Marxism.[24] And therein is the link between the oligarchic interpretation of the Constitution propounded by Beard and the democratic interpretation of the Constitution propounded by that leading exponent of group-interest theory, John Roche. Permit me to state the main features of his interpretation.

In an essay entitled "The Founding Fathers: A Reform Caucus in Action," [25] Roche proclaims that the Constitution was not a triumph of "architectonic genius" or of political theory, but rather a "patch-work sewn together under the pressure of both time and events by a group of extremely talented democratic politicians" (815). Running through the *Records of the Federal Convention*, Roche finds no evidence that these politicians were guided by any "over-arching principles," not even by such principles as federalism and the separation of powers, which he dismisses as post-convention rationalizations.[26] Besides, neither of these principles, we learn, could have been of fundamental importance; for the Convention, according to Roche, was wholly dominated by what he calls a "Continental ideology." Not that Roche would have us infer from this that the Founders were governed by a concern for the "national interest" or the "common good." For consistent with group-interest theory, Roche relegates these notions to the realm of mythology by the now familiar trick of placing them between quotation marks (799–801). We are thus to understand that the Founders employed the myth of the "public interest" as a facade for what were merely their own private interests (807). In short, the Founders were self-serving politicians who were governed not by principles or by long-range considerations, but only by expediency on the one hand, and by immediate and transient interests on the other.

Now it is not my purpose to engage in a refutation of this charming theory. This not difficult task has been done elsewhere.[27] Instead, I only wish to illustrate by the example of Roche's teaching the profound conflict that exists between the interests of society and the interests of the social sciences, that is, the social science represented by an increasingly large number of behaviorists. Surely if young men believed this teaching they could hardly have a manly respect for the Constitution—that "patch-work" of self-serving politicians.[28] Surely they could hardly feel obligated to obey the laws passed in pursuance of the Constitution—laws enacted by other self-serving politicians. But here I have come to the same conclusion reached at the end of the first part of this paper. I now turn to the third part.

III

We have seen that the doctrine of moral relativism permeates the social sciences, and that it is propagated even by men holding high public office.[29] I regard this doctrine as false—false and in utter conflict with the basic principles upon which our government was founded. The time has come to stand and reaffirm these principles, to proclaim them in colleges and universities and in other institutions whose very existence depends on the preservation of these principles. With this in view, I turn first to the Declaration of Independence.

Recall these familiar yet hallowed words:

> When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

To whom are these words addressed? The authors refer to *mankind*. Are they addressing the whole of mankind or only that part of mankind they regard as *civilized?* Perhaps their intended audience is more exclusive. Notice that "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" compels them to explain why they are separating from Britain. Surely they would not feel thus compelled were it not for the fact that such separation, according to the opinion then prevailing among the generality of mankind, would be condemned as *unlawful*—nay, as *treason*. But while respecting this not unreasonable opinion, the authors of the Declaration are not guided by that opinion. Indeed, they have undertaken a course of action which they know to be utterly *contrary to world opinion!* A decent respect to world opinion only "requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." Once having stated those causes they can boldly declare:

> We . . . acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold [our British brethren], as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

How very different from present day appeals to world opinion—that nebulous creature of timid men. But still the question persists: *To whom is the Declaration primarily addressed?*

Before declaring the causes or the specific grievances which impel them to sever their ties with Britain, the authors of the Declaration wrote the following words:

> . . . let facts be submitted to a candid world . . .

What does the word "candid" mean? In the lexicon of the eighteenth century, to be candid is to be *free from bias or prejudice*. What bias or prejudice did the authors have in view? Very likely it was but another opinion of mankind, namely the respectable opinion that *to be just is to be law-abiding*. It is precisely this identification of the just with the legal that would lead the generality of mankind to regard the Declaration, or the act of its authors, as treason. In contrast, a *candid* person would know that *laws may be unjust*, or that over and above the laws of parliaments and kings are the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God. A candid person would see in these laws of nature universally valid standards by which to determine the justice or injustice of the laws of men. And so, before enumerating those laws or acts of grievances which impel them to separate from Britain, the authors declare:

> We had these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

What do they mean by the words "all men are created equal"? Obviously the Declaration does not mean that all men are born equal in their physical, moral, and intellectual endowments.[30] Rather, they are born equal in their inalienable rights. This, according to the authors, is a self-evident truth. By a self-evident truth is meant a proposition whose truth in apprehended intuitively or which is demonstrable from the meaning of the proposition alone.[31] (In geometry, that *the whole is greater than its parts;* in ethics, that *one ought not repay good with evil,* are examples of self-evident truths.) Two things, however, are to be noted. First, a proposition may be true without its truth being self-evident. Second, whether the truth of a proposition appears *to us* as self-evident will depend upon whether we understand its key terms. Bearing this in mind, consider the proposition that all men are endowed with an inalienable right to life (to which you may add liberty and the pursuit of happiness). Notice that the proposition speaks of all *men,* not of all sentient creatures; it refers to man, not to brute animals. Brute animals are not endowed with an inalienable right to life. Hence, we do not censure wolves for killing sheep, nor men for eating lamb chops. We know that the behavior of wolves, like the behavior of sheep, is morally neutral; that the "interests" of the one are neither better nor worse than the "interests" of the other. We do not say the same of men—outside of certain classrooms. We know there are men who are as bloodthirsty or as ravenous as wolves, and we condemn them. We say their behavior is *in*human, meaning it is contrary to certain qualities that distinguish human nature from brute nature—I mean not only *reason* but *self-restraint*. These two qualities of human nature are presupposed by the Declaration. Together they elucidate the self-evident truths of which the Declaration speaks and to which this nation was once dedicated.

Footnotes at end of article.

It is precisely because man is a being endowed with the power of reason that he is able to discover the laws of nature; that he is able to distinguish between what is right by nature and what is right by convention. It is this magnificent power that enables men to question and determine whether the laws or acts of parliaments and kings conform to or violate standards of natural justice. This power of human reason is thus the precondition of human freedom—nay, of human dignity. Hear what it teaches us: Man is the only animal who knows he is an animal, therefore, he is not merely an animal. Unlike any other animal man is capable of knowing himself. This means that men are free to the extent they are governed by insight or knowledge as opposed to mere opinion—say the opinions of mankind.

Now it is because man is endowed with the power of reason that he is capable of choosing what is good and what is noble while shunning what is bad and what is base. Unlike brute animals, man has genuine alternatives. He is not simply a determined creature. He is not simply at the mercy of instinct, appetite, and desire. Unlike brute animals, man has a sense of shame; he is capable of self-restraint. This capacity for self-restraint is an essential precondition of human freedom and of human dignity.

Let us now join these two qualities that distinguish human nature from brute nature and refer them back to that proposition I spoke of a moment ago and which the authors of the Declaration regarded as a self-evident truth. That proposition may now read as follows: "All men—meaning those earthly beings who are endowed with reason and with the capacity for self-restraint—are thereby endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

To secure these rights, the Declaration continues,

> Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

It is precisely because man is endowed with reason and with the capacity for self-restraint that he may not be governed without his consent. It is in this light that we may more fully understand the proposition that *all men are created equal*. In the *order* of nature, men stand to each other not as they stand to brute animals whom they may rule without their consent—a term which is here inappropriate. Rather, men stand to each other in the order of nature as equals, equals in the sense that no man may rule another without his consent.

Again consider the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Clearly governments do not derive their just powers from the consent of the young, no more so than from the insane or from felons or criminals. Consent presupposes maturity—the maturity of those very qualities that distinguish human nature from brute nature, again, reason and the capacity for self-restraint. Hence it follows that those whose public conduct is brutish—vile, vicious, or violent—may be governed without their consent.

Now the principle of government based on the consent of the governed should not be taken to mean that democracy is the only legitimate form of government. The word democracy does not appear in the Declaration. Besides, what the Declaration emphasizes is not the *forms* but the *ends* of government. In its own words:

". . . whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it. From this it follows that there are legitimate forms of government other than democracy, for example, constitutional monarchy. (And I might note in passing that no less a liberal than John Stuart Mill held that "Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement, and the means justified by actually effecting that end.") [32]

Given the paramount importance of the ends of government, no people has a right to choose a form of government which is destructive of those ends. Man's natural rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are *inalienable*, meaning, they cannot, on principle, be taken away or voted way. Men who cannot distinguish between freedom and tyranny, between the good and the bad, are not the men to whom the Declaration is addressed.

From these considerations it follows that the Declaration posits only a qualified—not an absolute—right of revolution. Revolution may be justified only if government becomes destructive of man's natural or inalienable rights. And yet, even here, in the very midst of advocating revolution, the authors of the Declaration remain committed to a politics whose first principle is not violence but *moderation*. Well did they know that a call to revolution, however well-justified, would arouse not only the nobler, but the baser passions of mankind. And so, guided not only by immediate, but by long-range considerations, they add the following words of caution:

> Prudence, indeed will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

The authors of these words would soon join in the establishment of a new government, a government to which men would not be accustomed. And so, with a view to the future as well as to the present—for they do not wish to arm the wicked—they further clarify the conditions under which a people might resort to revolution. Consider well these words:

> . . . when a long train of abuses *and* usurpations, pursuing *invariably* the same Object, evinces a *design* to reduce them under *absolute Despotism*, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. [My emphasis.]

There are men who seem incapable of distinguishing between evils which are sufferable—but which may be remedied by means of politics—and evils which are insufferable and which can be remedied only by means of violence. Hence they will regard an imperfect justice as slavery, an imperfect government as tyranny. The Declaration is not addressed to such men. They could not possibly understand the civility of its authors.

It is to men possessing the virtues of civility that the Declaration is primarily addressed. These virtues include: (1) moderation, or the capacity to exercise restraint over one's passions and desires; (2) public spiritedness, or a due concern for the good of others; (3) a decent respect—but never subservience—to the opinions of mankind; (4) an abiding commitment to reason and truth. These virtues are even more clearly revealed in our most authoritative work on the Constitution, The Federalist Papers.

In the very first number of The Federalist, Hamilton writes:

> It has been frequently remarked that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force.

Individual men are indeed capable of being governed by reason, of choosing the good or the better while shunning the bad or the worse. But whether societies of men have this capacity is here in question.

> Happy will it be [Hamilton continues] if our choice be directed by a judicious estimate of our true interests, unperplexed and unbiased by considerations not connected with the public good.

Too often men mistake their apparent for their true interests. Too often they are governed by immediate as opposed to long-range interests. But when to ignorance is added a lack of public spiritedness, men will resist change though it be utterly necessary for the common good. Here proposed was a new Constitution of government, a Constitution, says Hamilton, that affects too many particular interests, innovates upon too many local institutions, not to involve in its discussion a variety of objects foreign to its merits, and of views, passions and prejudices little favorable to the discovery of truth.

Nevertheless, Hamilton admits, . . . so powerful are the causes which serve to give a false bias to the judgment, that we, upon many occasions, see wise and good men on the wrong as well as on the right side of questions of the first magnitude to society.

Indeed, he continues, . . . we are not always sure that those who advocate the truth are influenced by purer principles than their antagonists. Ambition, avarice, personal animosity, party opposition, and many other motives not more laudable than these, are apt to operate as well upon those who support as those who oppose the right side of a question.

This is not the teaching of propaganda, which appeals to passion and prejudice.[33] It is the teaching of civility, which appeals primarily to the reason.

It is precisely because the virtues of civility are not in abundance that it remains a question "whether societies of men are really capable of establishing good government from reflection and choice." It would be reasonable to expect, therefore, that should such a government be established, one of its principal functions would be to preserve the very virtues which were indispensable to its own establishment. To preserve these virtues, two things are required, one positive, the other negative. First, government must support institutions which teach morality and which foster a love of reason and truth. Second, government must guard against vices which undermine public morality and respect for reason and truth.

In his *Farewell Address*, Washington reminded his countrymen that the teaching of virtue or morality is indispensable to private and public felicity. It was Washington's conviction, however, that public morality cannot be maintained without religion. Most of the state constitutions reflected similar views. For example, Pennsylvania's declared that:

> Laws for the encouragement of virtue, and prevention of vice and immorality, shall be made and constantly kept in force.
>
> . . . And all religious societies or bodies of men heretofore united or incorporated for the advancement of religion and learning . . . shall be encouraged and protected.[34]

In *Federalist 10*, however, we find a different emphasis. There Madison reminds us that "neither moral nor religious motives" are *sufficient* to ensure justice and domestic tranquillity. Government must also take account of and guard against men's passions.

In *Federalist 51*, Madison boldly declares that:

> In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must *first* enable the government to control the governed; and in the *next* place oblige it to control *itself*. [My emphasis.]

To enable the government to control the governed, it must be invested with great power. Government requires great power if only because the people are too often ruled by their passions. And yet, to concentrate power in a government to be administered by men—men who will not be devoid of the

---

Footnotes at end of article.

passion of ambition—is to risk one or another form of tyranny. To avoid this danger, and thus, to oblige government to control itself, political power must be divided among several departments. But these departments, says Madison, must be constituted "by different modes of election and different principles of action." Only then will those who administer each department have, in addition to "the necessary constitutional means," the "personal motives to resist encroachments of the others."

> Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place.

We are not to conclude from this, however, that Madison shared Hobbes' view of human nature: that men act only with a view to their own interests. Like Hamilton, Madison regarded man as a mixture of virtue and vice, capable of acting out of disinterested as well as out of self-interested motives.[35] Nor are we to conclude that, whereas the founding of the new government would depend on reason, its subsequent operation was to depend on the interplay of the passions.[36] It is one of the tasks of a founder to design institutions in such a way as to compensate for defects in the character of men, to turn men's passions to the public's advantage.

Now it will be admitted that the division of powers among several departments constituted by different modes of election and by different principles of action is conducive to moderation. It insures the representation of different opinions and interests on the one hand, and the necessity for compromise on the other. But the excellence of the system presupposes that the different opinions and interests to be represented are not the opinions of fools or the interests of knaves; hence, that compromise will be governed not only by expediency or only with a view to temporary considerations, but also by principle and with a view to long-range considerations. This means that justice and domestic tranquillity cannot be secured simply by the negative mechanism of countervailing interests or passions. The same was said regarding exclusive reliance on moral and religious motives. Good government must not only check men's vices; it must foster men's virtues.

Consistent with this two-fold task, Madison sets forth two principles in *Federalist 49:*

> . . . the reason, alone, of the public . . . ought to control and regulate the government. The passions ought to be controlled and regulated by the government.

By the reason of the public, Madison most certainly does *not* mean public opinion. Recall that the *first* task of founding or of statesmanship is to enable the government to control the governed. Besides, as Madison said during the Constitutional Convention:

> . . . if the opinions of the people were to be our guide, it would be difficult to say what course we ought to take. . . . We ought to consider what was right and necessary in itself for the attainment of a proper Government. . . . All the most enlightened and respectable citizens will be its advocates. Should we fall short of the necessary and proper point, this influential class of citizens will be turned against the plan, and little support in opposition to them can be gained from the unreflecting multitude.[37]

This suggests that when Madison speaks of the reason of the public, he has primarily in view the reason of "the most enlightened and respectable citizens." And so we might have inferred from *Federalist 63*. There he refers to the "cool and deliberate sense of the community" which, he says, ought to "prevail over the views of its rulers." But this cool and deliberate sense of the community was to be embodied in the Senate. For the Senate, Madison expected, would be composed of men distinguished for their wisdom and virtue[38]—men who would uphold the authority of "reason, justice, and truth" over against the passions and follies of the multitude. But surely this means that government was to foster the virtues of civility. Surely this means that the laws of this government would foster a morality of self-restraint and of public spiritedness. For without these virtues, without this morality, good government can neither be established nor endure. But here I have only touched upon the political guardians of reason, justice, and truth. There is another.

During the debates of the Constitutional Convention, James Wilson declared that "The cultivation and improvement of the human mind [is] the most noble object [of government]."[39] Consistent therewith, Wilson supported a motion introduced by Madison and Pinckney that would have specifically invested Congress with the power to establish a national university. This motion came very close to being adopted, and perhaps would have been adopted had not some delegates agreed with Gouverneur Morris that the motion was unnecessary, unnecessary because, in his opinion, Congress could establish a university, the silence of the Constitution on this point notwithstanding,[40] Washington agreed. For in his last annual message to Congress he, too, proposed the establishment of a national university, a primary object of which, he said, would be to educate youth in the science of government. Here, then, would have been a school for statesmen, a university, which together with other universities, would foster the virtues of civility, or, in Madison's words, a commitment to reason, justice, and truth.

IV

From this all-too-brief examination of the thoughts of the Founding Fathers, it should be apparent that their philosophy of government transcends liberalism and conservatism. Their work, the Constitution, was intended to unite and foster the best aspects of these two traditions. Their statesmanship mastered the art of reconciling permanence and change. Their politics combined sobriety with boldness. But it should also be apparent that their philosophy of government and their work, the Constitution, cannot but be undermined by the doctrine of moral relativism which pervades virtually all institutions of learning. This doctrine cannot but bring about the degradation of reason and the ascendancy of the passions.

With the New Left the passions are indeed ascendant. In place of the old morality whose first but not last rule is self-restraint, we have a new morality whose first *and* last rule is self-expression. It is the morality of libertarianism. But consider well the words of Kenneth Monogue written some six years ago:

> When libertarianism becomes a doctrine, equipped with its own moral scale and set of beliefs about the world, it turns into romantic fantasy; it becomes fully irrationalist in the way in which it frightens liberal intellectuals. It has appeared as anarchism, nihilism, and the theory of the *acte gratuit;* it usually asserts the legitimacy of destruction and violence, doing for these what Rousseau tried to do for all feelings. These are doctrines which attempt to intellectualize what is spontaneous and unplanned, and therefore produce only self-conscious caricatures fit for timid men to prove their courage, and slavish ones to prove their independence.[41]

But the timid and the slavish are fit material for the overly ambitious. Therefore, a word from Yeats:

> Things fall apart; the center cannot hold; mere anarchy is loosed upon the world, the blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere the ceremony of innocence is drowned; the best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity.

Unless the center of this nation holds, unless the best among liberals and conservatives unite, gird up their courage, and renounce moral and intellectual laissez-faire—then, not mere anarchy, but the darkest of tyrannies will be loosed upon the world.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Ginzburg* v. *United States,* 383 U.S. 463, 491, 492 (1966).

[2] According to Justice Douglas, masochists and homosexuals are nothing more than "somewhat offbeat, non-conformist and odd." Their desires, he says, are just as legitimate as those of normal people. And after placing the word *normal* between quotation marks, he goes so far as to suggest that to prefer the mode of life of one to that of another is merely a matter of personal "taste." But having thus boldly proclaimed his moral relativism, Justice Douglas humbly concludes: "How can we know enough to probe the mysteries of the subconscious of our people and say that this is good for them and that is not." (*Ibid.*, 489, 491.

[3] Herbert Marcuse *et al, A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965). See his concluding essay entitled "Repressive Tolerance."

[4] Patrick Devlin, *The Enforcement of Morals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 9.

[5] See Joseph Cropsey, "The Moral Basis of International Action," in Robert A. Goldwin (ed.), *America Armed* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1961), p. 72.

[6] To avoid misunderstandings, let me say that one of the distinguishing characteristics of genuinely liberal and civilized persons is their capacity to be friends despite serious differences in their ideas or beliefs. Nevertheless, men cannot be friends unless they share a body of ideas or beliefs which are more important or fundamental than their differences. Now society cannot exist without friendship. It cannot endure unless it draws some limits to what it will tolerate, limits which, if transgressed, undermine society. The limits will vary over time, at least in some matters; but unless they are drawn, tolerance will become nothing more than a name for indifference.

[7] See Kenneth R. Minogue, *The Liberal Mind* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 83.

[8] See Harry Clor, *The Legal Control of Obscenity* (doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago), soon to be published by the University of Chicago Press.

[9] Minogue, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[10] Devlin, *op. cit.,* pp. 11, 13.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[12] T. Harry Williams (ed.), *Abraham Lincoln, Selected Speeches, Messages, and Letters* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), p. 9.

[13] Three major categories of moral relativism may be mentioned: *cultural* (or sociological); *individualistic* (or psychological—which may be determinist along the lines of Freud, or indeterminist or existential along the lines of Sartre); and, finally, *linguistic* (or semantic). Examples of cultural relativists are: Margaret Mead, *The Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1928); Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York: Penguin Books, 1946); and Melville J. Herskovits, *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955). It is to be noted, however, that the social sciences, which include, in addition to anthropology, sociology, and psychology, political science and economics, are dominated by *logical positivism*. This doctrine holds that moral judgments express no proposition which can be either true or false; they are merely emotive statements expressing the subjective state of the individual. Thus, to say "You acted wrongly in stealing that money," is to utter nothing more than the factual statement, "You stole that money"; it merely evinces the speaker's moral disapproval. See A. J. Ayer, *Language,*

Truth and Logic (New York: Dover Publications, 1946), pp. 107–112. Accordingly, the social sciences are *behaviorally* oriented. See Bernard Berelson (ed.), *The Behavioral Sciences Today* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), p. 3, who says: "The ultimate end [of the behavioral sciences] is to understand, explain, and predict human behavior in the same sense in which scientists understand, explain, and predict the behavior of physical forces or biological factors or, closer to home, the behavior of goods and prices in the economic market." One of the earlier behavioralists, the psychologist John B. Watson, was more ambitious. In his *Ways of Behavioralism,* Watson wrote: "We hope to reach such proficiency in our science that we can build any man, starting at birth, into any kind of social or a-social being upon order." Cited in Philip Wheelwright, *A Critical Introduction to Ethics* (New York, The Odyssey Press, 1949), rev. ed., p. 46, who asks: "Upon *whose* order, one wonders?" (In this connection, see B. F. Skinner's utopian novel, *Walden Two,* and compare with Huxley's *Brave New World.*)

For the writings of behavioralists in political science, see S. Sidney Ulmer (ed.), *Introductory Readings in Political Behavior* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1961); and James C. Charlesworth (ed.), *Contemporary Political Analysis* (New York: The Free Press, 1967).

For critical essays on behavioralism and on moral relativism, see Herbert J. Storing (ed.), *Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics* (New York: Hold, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1962); and Leo R. Ward, (ed.), *Ethics and the Social Sciences* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959). The latter work includes the writings of Catholic social scientists who, with others, reject moral relativism in all its forms.

[14] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan,* chs. 6, 5 (end), and compare chs. 14, 15 (end), and 46 (near the beginning).

[14a] Erich Roll, *Elements of Economic Theory,* cited in Wheelwright, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[15] See Glendon Schubert, "Is There a Public Interest Theory," and Frank Sorauf, "The Conceptual Muddle," in Carl Friedrich (ed.), *The Public Interest* (NOMOS V) (New York: Atherton Press, 1962); David Truman, *The Governmental Process* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), chs. 2 and 11; Bertram Gross, *The Legislative Struggle* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1953), ch. 1; Earl Latham, "The Group Basis of Politics," *American Political Science Review,* XLVI (June, 1952), 390; Harold Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What When, How* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1936); ch. 1; Pendleton Herring, *The Politics of Democracy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1940, 1965), chs. 22–24; Arthur Bentley, *The Process of Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908), chs. 11 and 15. (Note that Bentley's book was republished by Principia Press in 1935 and 1949, and by Harvard University Press in 1967.)

[16] The words income, safety, and deference are from Lasswell, *op. cit.* Hobbes uses the words gain, safety, and reputation (*Leviathan,* ch. 13). Compare Machiavelli, *The Prince,* ch. 25.

[17] According to Hobbes, "The thoughts are to the desires, as scouts, and spies, to range abroad, and find the way to the thing desired." (*Leviathan,* ch. 8.) Or as Hume said: "Reason is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions, and may never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them." (See his *A Treatise of Human Nature,* Bk. II, Part III, Section III.

Strange as it may seem, the doctrine of human egoism propounded by Hobbes is evident even in the social psychology of liberal Marxists such as Erich Fromm. See his *Escape From Freedom, op. cit.*, pp. 17 and 64, apparently contradicted on pp. 115–116. This helps to explain Fromm's relativism (or historicism), as may be seen at pp. 9, 12–15, 18, 36, 127–128, 248, 290 and 294, despite contradictory statements at pp. 173, 250, 266–267, and 289. For Fromm's perhaps unwitting dependence on Hobbes, see pp. 17, 63–64, 112–113, and 164, but compare with pp. 7–8.

[18] Lest it be thought that the increasing number and intensity of strikes by public employees is unrelated to the doctrines under discussion, permit me to recall here an incident where the leader of striking school teachers *publicly* declared: "This is a power struggle pure and simple!"

[19] See Plato *Republic* 488a–493d, 414b–415d; Rousseau, *Discourse on the Moral Effects of the Arts and Sciences.*

[20] See David Bidney, "The Philosophical Presuppositions of Cultural Absolutism," in Ward, *Ethics and the Social Science, op. cit.*, p. 59, *passim.*

[21] See Senator Fulbright's preface to Jerome D. Frank, *Sanity and Survival* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), p. x.

[22] *Escape From Freedom, op. cit.*, p. 20. Fromm also writes that self-preservation is "the primary motive of human behavior" (p. 17). Hence he would agree with Bertrand Russell, another relativist, that it is better to be red than dead.

[23] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 324. For recent critiques of Beard, see Forest McDonald, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Robert Brown, *Charles Beard and the Constitution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956). It is to be noted that neither of these critical works constitute actual refutations of the *theory* of economic determinism (whatever their authors may think). What they do refute, or at least challenge, is much of the *evidence* which Beard used in support of his economic interpretation.

[24] See Bentley's acknowledgment that his "starting-point" is Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

[25] *American Political Science Review,* LV (Dec. 1961), 799–816. Page references will hereafter appear in parentheses. The reader should note that Roche's interpretation was partly anticipated by Max Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1913), pp. 201–203. (Note, too, the publication date of Farrand's book.)

[26] According to Roche, "Federalism, as the theory is generally defined, was an improvisation which was later promoted into a political theory" (804). As for the separation of powers, this principle, we are told, was not expounded during the Convention "on anything resembling a theoretical basis." Indeed, "The merits of Montesquieu did not turn up until *The Federalist*" (809). Incredible as it may seem, Roche seems to believe that unless statesmen make explicit and sustained references to political theories, any decisions they arrive at cannot have been significantly influenced by general principles or by philosophical doctrines! But see Madison's reference to Montesquieu during the constitutional debate in Max Farrand, *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (4 vols.; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1937) 314–315, 324, 391, and 437. For Madison's views on the application of theory to practice, see Gaillard Hunt (ed.) *The Writings of James Madison* (9 vols.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900–1910), V, 49, 197, 199, IX, 359, 526. For a most influential work based on the erroneous view that the Founding Fathers were not guided by political theory, see Daniel Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), ch. 3.

[27] See my *Philosophy of the American Constitution* (New York: The Free Press, 1968), esp. pp. 169–183.

[28] See Roche's essay "Judicial Self-Restraint," *American Political Science Review* XLIX (Sept. 1955), 762, for another unrestrained piece of behaviorally oriented political science. Notice his cultural relativism expressed at the very outset of his essay.

[29] Moral relativism in the form of historicism is evident in Eugene Rostow, "The Supreme Court in the American Constitutional System," in Willmoore Kendall and George Carey (eds.) *Liberalism Versus Conservatism,* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1966), pp. 285–300, esp. pp. 287 and 298.

[30] See Jefferson's letter to Adams on the natural *aristoi,* in Edward Dumbauld (ed.), *The Political Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1955), p. 91.

[31] See Edmund S. Morgan (ed.), *Puritan Political Ideas* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1965), especially the writings of John Wise, pp. 253–256.

[32] *On Liberty* (Indianapolis: The Liberal Arts Press, 1956), p. 14.

[33] For Roche *The Federalist* was the work of "inspired propagandists" (804).

[34] See Eidelberg, *op cit.*, Appendix 2, pp. 269–270. I might note that provisions for religious education were not affected by the First Amendment. Indeed, some state constitutions had provisions for the support of religion which survived the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment.

[35] See *Federalist 10* where Madison speaks not only of man's self-love, but also of his "patriotism and love of justice," his "enlightened views and virtuous sentiments." In *Federalist 55* we find the following passage: "As there is a degree of depravity in mankind which requires a certain degree of circumspection and distrust, so there are other qualities in human nature which justify a certain portion of esteem and confidence." Hamilton expresses the same view in *Federalist 76.*

[36] See Martin Diamond, "Democracy and *The Federalist:* A Reconsideration of the Framer's Intent," *American Political Science Review,* LIII (March, 1959), p. 67.

[37] Farrand, I, 215.

[38] *Ibid.*, I, 423, and see *Federalist 64.*

[39] Farrand, I, 605.

[40] *Ibid.*, II, 616.

[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

WHAT WAS MR. DZU'S CRIME?

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, almost 3 months ago I stood here and expressed my dismay at the imprisonment of Truong Dinh Dzu, who suggested the possibility of creating a coalition government in his native South Vietnam.

Mr. Dzu, who ran second as the "peace candidate" in last fall's presidential election in South Vietnam, has now been sentenced to 5 years at hard labor without even an opportunity for fair defense of the government charges.

I deplore the suppression of free speech involved in Mr. Dzu's imprisonment and conviction. If the United States has any purpose in Vietnam, that purpose is to create a situation in which basic freedoms shall prevail. If the South Vietnamese Government is not prepared to permit such a basic right as free speech then it is incumbent upon our Government to reevaluate the basis for our involvement in Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese Government cannot indefinitely follow the path of totalitarianism and expect our continuing support. I call upon President Johnson to have Ambassador Bunker make clear to President Thieu our deep and serious concern over the sentencing of Mr. Dzu and to further request that Mr. Dzu's entire case be reviewed with appropriate attention to the rights of free speech and fair trial. I further believe that we should make it clear that our continued support of the Thieu-Ky government is contingent upon the desire and ability of that government to establish promptly the minimum standards of democracy.

The Long Island Press last Saturday, July 27, carried an editorial on this important subject. I commend this editorial to my colleagues' attention as a responsible editorial comment on the possible implications of Mr. Dzu's sentencing.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include that editorial in the RECORD at this point:

Truong Dinh Dzu, the peace candidate who came in second in last fall's South Vietnamese Presidential election, has been sentenced to five years at hard labor.

His crime: suggesting that South Vietnam negotiate directly with the National Liberation Front and form a coalition government including communists.

Communism and neutralism are outlawed by South Vietnam's constitution. That may make Dzu's imprisonment legal, but hardly commendable.

A nation at war must be tough on political extremists. But we must also remember that part of our mission in Southeast Asia is to preserve and advance the freedom of its people. It is hardly an expression of freedom to deal so harshly with a man who dared debate an unpopular idea.

South Vietnam has been making some significant progress in eliminating corruption and instituting political and economic reforms. The Dzu case is a grim reminder of how much further it still has to go. It also underlined the intransigence of South Vietnam at a time when the United States and its allies should be showing greater flexibility. It seems almost calculated to slam the door on any attempt to achieve a political settlement of the conflict—the only kind of settlement that common sense dictates we should now be willing to consider.

THE PARIS PEACE TALKS

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Grasping at Straws," published in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 26, 1968.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRASPING AT STRAWS

Ambassador W. Averell Harriman and other U.S. officials at the Paris peace talks were grasping at straws on Wednesday when they leaped on a statement by the North Vietnamese foreign ministry as a significant breakthrough in the negotiations and a sign that Hanoi was ready to come to terms to end the war.

The statement was a recapitulation of Hanoi's demands, but somehow one of them had been omitted. It was the demand that any settlement of the conflict must be based upon the political program of the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Viet Cong.

Harriman was quickly assured by a North Vietnamese official that this demand—which has been a major stumbling block in the past—has not been dropped. And Radio Hanoi immediately went on the air to broadcast repeated assertions that the NLF program is still the "only" basis for a settlement.

In fact, those broadcasts revived another demand which Hanoi had previously toned down. In a number of recent statements, North Vietnam had stopped referring to the NLF as the "sole" authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people. But yesterday Radio Hanoi was once again referring to the front as South Vietnam's "only authentic representative."

This was a direct rebuff to Harriman's plea on Wednesday that Hanoi recognize that the Saigon government must play a role in any settlement. And it was a further indication, despite Harriman's optimism, that if the Communist position has changed at all, it has become harder, not softer.

That sad fact was already underscored as recently as last Friday, when Ho Chi Minh, in a message to the people of North Vietnam, urged them to step up their "war of resistance" against the U.S. "imperialists." Shattering hopes for a peaceful settlement, he said that U.S. negotiators at Paris "keep demanding 'reciprocity' in a shameless and utterly unreasonable manner."

When the man who could end this war says it is unreasonable to expect concessions from him, it is obvious that the weeks of negotiating in Paris haven't been very productive. In fact, as Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr., remarked this week, with conditions in Vietnam getting worse instead of better and casualties mounting, the Paris peace talks may be "lulling the American people into a false sense of security."

RESULTS OF CONGRESSMAN SHRIVER'S 1968 KANSAS FOURTH DISTRICT OPINION POLL

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice since coming to Congress to send to my constituents in the Fourth Congressional District of Kansas a questionnaire on important issues facing the Nation on the foreign and domestic fronts. Our citizens today are concerned about these issues, and representative government functions best when the people have an opportunity to communicate their views to their elected representatives.

This year my opinion poll was mailed to each household in the seven counties of the Kansas Fourth District, under mailing regulations approved by Congress. I am pleased to report that more than 19,000 have been returned by citizens to me, and some continue to be mailed back. This is an excellent response, and it is very helpful to me in weighing my decisions on the vital legislative issues. Many people took the opportunity to include their personal comments on the problems confronting us and they were given my personal attention.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the final tabulations which have been made on this 1968 Fourth District opinion poll:

RESULTS OF CONGRESSMAN SHRIVER'S ANNUAL FOURTH DISTRICT OPINION POLL

[In percent]

1. Which 4 of the following would receive your highest priority for spending reductions?

Defense	19
Foreign aid	74
Agriculture	10
Public works	25
Education	7
Health	7
Highways	10
Poverty program	42
Aid to cities	40
Beautification	61
Supersonic transport	37
Space	31
Anticrime programs	7
Air and water pollution	6

2. Do you favor the President's request for a 10-percent surcharge on Federal income taxes?

Yes	44
No	49
No opinion	7

3. Should the Nation be working to eliminate a compulsory draft?

Yes	39
No	53
No opinion	8

4. Do you favor establishment of a strategic reserve of agricultural commodities by the Government with specific restraints against the arbitrary sale of these stocks into the market?

[In percent]

Yes	49
No	27
No opinion	24

5. Congress in 1967 appropriated $1.7 billion for the antipoverty program.

	Yes
Should the program be expanded?	13
Should the program be reduced?	29
Should the program be eliminated?	27
Should the program be maintained as is?	31

6. In order to help resolve problems of hard-core unemployment, which do you favor:

The Human Investment Act providing a tax credit incentive to employers for part of the cost of training workers on the job?

Yes	61
No	16
No opinion	23

The President's proposal for the Government to subsidize any added costs of training above those a company would spend on normal employees?

Yes	20
No	38
No opinion	42

Federal Government guaranteeing public employment as a last resort for people unable to find jobs in the private economy?

Yes	20
No	40
No opinion	40

7. Do you favor Federal assistance to the States to improve and enlarge State and local police forces as determined by local and State governments?

Yes	43
No	49
No opinion	8

8. Do you favor the return of U.S. military forces from Western Europe as a means of improving our balance-of-payments situation?

Yes	64
No	25
No opinion	11

9. Vietnam: The major international problem on the minds of Americans at this time is United States involvement in Vietnam. Which of the following courses is in line with your present thinking:

If it would stop the war, we should increase our military effort, including intensified nonnuclear bombing and hot pursuit into Cambodia and other neutral sanctuaries, to bring North Vietnam to the conference table.

Yes	55
No	17
No opinion	28

(Last year in a similar question calling for increased military effort to insure complete control of South Vietnam in the shortest possible time, 61.8 percent answered "Yes.")

If it would stop the war, we should help form a coalition government in Saigon that would include the Vietcong?

Yes	21
No	33
No opinion	46

(Last year a similar question was not asked).

If it would stop the war, we should pull our troops out of Vietnam and let the South Vietnamees take care of themselves.

Yes	32
No	29
No opinion	39

(Last year 11.1 percent said they favored withdrawal of U.S. forces.)

If it would stop the war, we should stop bombing North Vietnam.

Yes	33
No	21
No opinion	46

(Last year 2.2 percent said they favored cessation of bombing in North Vietnam).

Thirty-nine percent of those responding also included other alternatives to stopping the war.

MAINE'S AUSTIN CARY WAS PIONEER FORESTER

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. **MUSKIE**. Mr. President, the State of Maine is renowned for the natural beauty of its great forests and for the rugged individualism of the men who hunt and log or seek to preserve those tracts.

One of Maine's outstanding sons who knew and loved the north woods was Austin Cary, whose birthday we observe today. Born in 1865 in Machias, Maine, Austin Cary graduated with honors from Bowdoin College in 1887. Following a distinguished teaching career, Cary later became a pioneer in forestry during a 25-year career with the U.S. Forest Service. During those years he helped to develop improved and practical forestry practices throughout the country. His "Woodsman's Manual" became a sort of bible to hunters and woodsmen.

Mr. President, Miss Isabel Whittier has written a paper on Austin Cary's life and work. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the paper was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAINE'S AUSTIN CARY WAS PIONEER FORESTER

(By Isabel Whittier)

Thirty years have passed since the death of that great Maine man, Austin Cary, a pioneer in United States forestry, who became a man of national renown. He was widely known throughout New England and the North West and was regarded in the South as their own pioneer in forestry.

Austin Cary was a distinguished and prolific writer. He contributed to many technical and trade journals. He wrote fully 100 articles for various periodicals among which were the American Geographic Society, Proceedings of the Society of American Foresters, Journal of Forestry, Savannah Naval Stores Review, West Coast Lumberman, Southern Lumber Journal, Naval Stores Review and the American Lumberman.

His most important contribution to the literature of Forestry was his Manual for Northern Woodsmen written while he was teaching at Harvard and first published by the Harvard University Press in 1909. It underwent several subsequent editions, revised and retitled as Woodsman's Manual.

This was of great value to students and scholars in forestry and to practical workers in the wood-using industries. It has been treasured by thousands of men, who have been interested in forestry. It was long considered a Bible for forestry and may still be so regarded by many.

Austin Cary was a rugged individualist, a keen observer, very straightforward, accurate and thorough. He had a tremendous influence on lumbermen, on timberland owners and on business executives. He was engaged in forestry for more than forty-two years and served for a quarter of a century with the United States Forest Service, of which he was an active and loyal member. His contributions to the Journal of Forestry made him well-known to members of the Society who found his "thoughtful and vigorous handling of forestry matters a continual inspiration" wrote W. T. Neal, when President of the Southern Pine Association.

Austin Cary was born in Port Machias, Maine, July 31, 1865. He was of English descent on both sides of his family. He was descended from John Cary who came to Massachusetts from Bristol in 1630. Caleb Cary, Austin's grandfather, left Massachusetts early in the 19th century and settled in East Machias, with his wife, Sally Jones Talbot. This couple had two sons, Charles and Lewis, both of whom lived in East Machias. Charles married Mary Eliza, his first cousin, and they became the parents of Austin and George Cary.

Austin prepared for college at Washington Academy in East Machias. At Bowdoin he was considered retiring, modest, and somewhat sensitive. Recognized as a great mathematician, he had an all round superiority in all his studies with a tendency towards the natural sciences. Not a book worm, he pursued an extensive course of general reading. He had orderly methods of study and showed persistent industry and expressed himself with clearances and force. He had a sense of humour and could enjoy a good joke, but appeared serious and cared little for social diversions.

Austin Cary graduated from Bowdoin with honors in 1887.

Cary served as an instructor in Biology and Geology for a year (1887–88) at Bowdoin, and then went to Johns Hopkins where he studied biology for a year and a half. In February, 1890, he went to Princeton for a special course in paleontology which he completed in 1891. In 1890 he was awarded an AM by Bowdoin.

In the summer of 1891, Cary went on the Bowdoin Scientific Expedition to Labrador led by Professor Leslie A. Lee of the Biological Department. An account of this expedition was told in a monograph entitled *Bowdoin Boys in Labrador* written by Jonathan Prince Cilley, Jr., a member of the expedition.

Austin Cary was well-fitted for the enterprise by his logging and hunting in the Maine forests near Machias. Cole, who accompanied Cary up Grand or Hamilton River, had been active in athletics in college and had served as an assistant to Professor Lee on the "Albatross" in a voyage from Washington around Cape Horn to Alaska.

One of the objectives of the expedition was the exploration of the Grand or Hamilton River. Austin Cary and Dennis Cole made the trip up the river from the Hamilton inlet for 300 miles to the Grand Falls.

The trip was difficult. One boat capsized near the Horse Shoe Rapids fairly early in the trip and many food provisions were lost and also a measuring chain, cooking utensils, rifles with much ammunition, an axe, and small stores of salt, sugar, and coffee.

They could hear what they thought was the roar of the falls long before they reached them. They came out above the falls and found that the sound they had heard was of the river running at the plateau level. Here the river was nearly two hundred yards wide, a heavy boiling rapid. They walked along the blocks of rock which was the shore and the river appeared to narrow and soon they saw the Grand Falls, 316 feet in height. The river narrowed just above from 250 to 50 yards "the water shooting over a somewhat gradual downward course and then plunging straight down with terrific force and with immense volume. At the bottom there was a large pool—the canyon extended for 25 miles through archaic rocks."

Cary and Cole named the Canyon at the bottom of Grand Falls Bowdoin Canyon after their alma mater. A name that has been retained. They gave the name Mt. Hyde to an elevation in the vicinity, after their College President, William DeWitt Hyde.

These young men from Bowdoin had solved the mystery of the Grand Falls, bringing to light a navigable waterway extending for an unbroken 90 miles, 300 miles in the interior of an unknown region. All this had been accomplished in a relatively short period.

Cary kept a journal of this expedition. This was the first accurate description of this area of Labrador. His report was published in a Bulletin of the American Geographical Society and also in pamphlet form.

In 1923 Hon. William J. Malone of Bristol, Conn., on a trip to the Grand River in Labrador found a sextant and a rifle that had belonged to Austin Cary and Dennis Cole. These were taken by Mr. Maurice Mack of Bristol, Conn. in July 1949 to Bowdoin College. These are now with the sled Peary used on his trip to the North Pole and other mementoes of Bowdoin explorers, including articles associated with another Bowdoin man, Donald McMillan.

Early in life Cary had become associated with the Maine woods where his uncles were lumbermen. Later in life, in his reminiscences, he could recall being in their camps before stoves were used when the fire for warmth and cooking was in the middle of the camps under a big smoke hole while the berth and living space were under the eaves. He could recall no mention of the word forestry until 1892 when he was 27 years old.

It was on a fishing trip in Washington County in 1892 that Cary met Professor Cleveland Abbott of the United States Weather Bureau and B. E. Fernow of the

Division of Forestry. Through them he became interested in the field of forestry. Fernow, Gifford Uinchot, and Solon S. Graves were the only ones in America at that time at all versed in forestry. There was then no school or center of instruction in forestry in the United States.

Dr. B. E. Fernow, then in charge of the Bureau of Forestry in Washington, was the first systematic educator in Forestry in the United States. Fernow was able to work out a very small state appropriation for Cary who became a surveyor and investigator and soon qualified as an expert. Cary served with the Federal Division of Forestry from 1893–1896.

In the winter of 1895 Austin Cary was active in Michigan and Wisconsin gathering pine stem analyses data under Fernow for the Bureau of Forestry, in 1896 he was asked by Oakes, Forest Commissioner of Maine, to make a study and report on Forest Resources of the Androscoggin and Kennebec watersheds, and accordingly spent a full season in the Maine woods. Austin Cary may be said to have taken a significant part in state forestry.

Frank Heywood Jr. considered Cary's report the first comprehensive practical survey of this kind ever made. "He gave a good account of conditions and an analysis and new conclusions." (Cary's comment and review made 40 years later are in the Forest Commissioner's Report for 1933–1934.)

From March to Sept. 1896 Austin Cary traveled in Europe, visiting Greece for the Olympic Games and traveling the length of Italy. He spent time in the Black Forest in Germany observing forest practices where there were trained wardens. Ownership there was divided among general government, state and private owners. More progress had been made in forestry in Germany than anywhere else.

From March 1898 until 1904 Austin Cary was employed by the Berlin Mills Co., which had large holdings in Northern New Hampshire and in Western Maine. This was the first firm in the United States known to have pursued a scientific course in preserving its timber lands by employing a forester. Cary went to different camps in the cutting season to see that "timber was well picked up—that land was cut conservatively."

During the six years that he was with the Berlin Mills, Cary surveyed, mapped, and cruised some 150,000 acres. Austin Cary was "the first American to hold such a position with a progressive corporation far-seeing and judicious enough to plan for reforestation". All of Cary's four original suggestions or innovations became established principles with large landholders and operating companies.

In 1903 Austin Cary made his second trip to Europe, learning much from his observations in France. He taught the spring terms of 1904 and 1905 at the Yale Forestry School and did geographical mapping at Milford, Penna.

From 1905–1909 Cary was Asst. Professor at the Harvard School of Forestry. In the winter of 1905–06 he was in charge of a senior class of Harvard University foresters at a lumber camp in Maine.

It was while Asst. Prof. of the Harvard School of Forestry that Cary visited the mills of Hollingsworth and Whitney Company of Boston at Waterville. This was one of the largest paper manufacturing establishments of New England. The firm owned 100,000 acres of spruce land on the Kennebec. William Lanigan, the head of the land business of the company, was a lumberman and log driver, a forcible, clear-headed man who had devised mountain watch stations connected by telephone with the wardens below, an efficient method to prevent forest fires. Under Lanigan there were walking bosses who had general charge of a section of the company's wood operations. Cary also knew Lewis Oakes in charge of some 8–10 camps to the east of Moosehead Lake.

William B. Greeley considered Austin Cary a remarkable teacher. "He endeared himself to his students by his pithy homely way of putting things, by his practical down to earth Yankee mind and was at his best charging through the woods, axe in hand with students or landowners."

In 1908 Austin Cary was appointed by Governor Cobb to represent Maine at the Great Natural Resources Conference in Washington.

In 1908 Austin Cary began a policy of purchasing small timber tracts and became a private forester.

In 1909 he was appointed Supt. of Forests for New York, but resigned a year later due to ill health.

In 1910 Cary entered the U.S. Forest Service as a Senior Logging Engineer. (His first appointment with the U.S. Forest Service had been March 1, 1905 and he was then classified as an expert. His continuous employment did not begin until July 1910. He was honorably retired at the age of 70 in July 1935. He was engaged in special investigations and promotion of forestry. "He was a practical field man and his method of approach was direct and simple with few tools and theories," wrote Frank Heywood, Jr.

Until 1910 Austin Cary had been a pioneer in the practical field of forestry. His activities had been confined almost entirely to New England, with the exception of one winter in Michigan and Wisconsin and a brief visit to Pisgah Forest in N.C. when he was employed by the Berlin Mills.

From 1900 Cary continued to be a pioneer in forestry, but his influence extended to nearly every forest region of the United States. He continued to be a supporter of conservative lumbermen who in their practical plans, were actually practicing the best principles of forestry.

Cary carried a little black notebook in which he jotted down observations or statements made by truck drivers and company presidents. He used dozens of standard Forest Service notebooks. These he kept filed in an old steamer trunk by his desk.

Cary liked people but was not inclined to chit-chat. He was particularly at home in the woods and with people who were interested in forestry. He was definitely an informal rugged individualist. He was not argumentative, but not afraid to state his opinion even when it was a minority one. He had facts with which to back it up. He was one whose opinion was valued because he was known to have a good memory, to be sincere and accurate, and could express himself clearly and forcibly.

It was generally known that if Austin Cary said he'd do a thing it would be done, done well, and in a reasonable time, an enviable reputation to have and one well-deserved.

In 1922 Austin Cary was awarded the degree, Doctor of Science, by Bowdoin College.

In 1924 he went to France and Spain with the American Naval Stores Commission.

He had become a member of the Society of American Foresters in 1905. In 1924 in recognition of his outstanding achievements in the forestry profession he was elected a Fellow of the Society of American Foresters, the highest honor that the Society can confer on any of its members.

In 1935 Austin Cary retired from the Forest Service, having reached the age of 70. It was his intention to still spend some time each year in Florida. He had been teaching Sunday School at Lake City and spent his summers at his house on Gurnet Road in Brunswick, which he still regarded as his legal residence. He had been in the habit of being here for his birthday, July 31st, and many looked forward to being invited to his annual picnic outings. He intended to review his past studies and to assemble them all. No doubt he looked forward to some fishing in Maine and in Florida.

F.A. Silox, Head of the Forest Service, in a letter written in Washington, D.C. July 30, 1935 expressed appreciation of the work of Austin Cary:

"My attention has just been called to the fact that you are to retire on July 31st.

"I should like to express to you for the Forest Service and for myself personally a very sincere regret that we will no longer have the advantage of your high ability, sound judgment and practical good sense. You are to be congratulated most heartily upon the things you have done for forestry in the United States. You have been the means of improved forest practice on very large areas of forest land, especially in the South and in the Northeast. This must be a source of great satisfaction to you as it is to the Forest Service. . ."

Austin Cary's last public address was the presentation of his paper "Common Sense in Conservation" at the 35th Annual Meeting of the Society of American Foresters, in Atlanta, Georgia, in January 1936. At the conclusion of his address he spoke six words that he thought could convey all that might be stated at much length, "I have lived in Good Times."

Though apparently in good health Austin Cary died suddenly at 10:40 a.m. from a heart attack on Tuesday, April 18th, 1936 in Gainesville, Florida. He was on his way to keep an appointment with Professor Harold S. Newins, Head of the Forestry Department. The day before he had presented the Department with copies of a number of his publications and was returning with his Woodman's Manual.

On reaching the second floor of the hallway of the Agricultural Experiment Station Building he collapsed against the wall and died almost immediately.

Dr. Cary's brother and nephew, both Bowdoin College graduates, 1888 and 1910 respectively, attended the funeral services at Lake City, Florida on April 29th, as did local foresters and other intimate friends.

His body was cremated at Jacksonville, Florida, April 30th.

A poem was writen by Orville W. Struthers, one of the forestry students at the University of Florida at the time of Cary's death:

"A TRIBUTE TO DR. AUSTIN CARY

"Who fought for forestry from the start,
Who lived for it with all his heart,
Who every phase of forestry knew,
And fought the Battle hard and true?
'Doctor Cary'

"Who was a pioneer in his game,
Who never tried for worldly fame,
Whose every effort was bent
To serve mankind his heart's content?
'Doctor Cary'

"Who, when the end of life was near,
Still gave his all without a fear;
Whose dying effort, though not in pain,
Was given to the Forestry Game? 'Doctor Cary'

"Now he is gone, we will not mourn,
For him in Heaven a new life is born
And although we miss his even tread,
His work, his memory are not dead."

AUSTIN CARY MEMORIAL

Dr. Cary's death on the campus of the University of Florida along with his work in promoting forestry there led Professor Newins of the School of Forestry to inaugurate steps to perpetuate the memory of Austin Cary.

At the December 1936 annual meeting of the Society of American Foresters in Portland, Oregon, it was voted to have a memorial to the memory of Dr. Cary who since 1924 had been one of the Fellows of the society numbering over 3,900 members.

Within a year of Dr. Cary's death a nationwide effort to honor him had developed. Many professional foresters and friends of Dr. Cary contributed but it was the Society of American Foresters that was "the driving force" and the "focal point" that brought all interest together.

The Austin Cary Memorial is located on the Florida State Highway No. 13, 10 miles from Gainesville—between Fairbanks and Waldo in Alachus County.

Here there is granite boulder transported from near East Machias, Maine, where Austin Cary was born. On this there is a bronze plaque with an inscription prepared by T. A. Liefeld, then in charge of the Lake City Branch of the Southern Forest Experiment Station at Lake City, Florida:

"Dr. Austin Cary, 1865–1936, 'The Society of American Foresters and friends of Dr. Austin Cary have erected this memorial in deep appreciation of his unceasing interest and effort toward the promotion of sound forestry practices in the United States.' "

There is a pine frieze around the inscription appropriate for a forester from the Pine Tree State and for the forester who had devoted a life time in promoting northern and southern pine.

The boulder is placed in a planted grove of 71 slash pine trees centered in a ten acre park-like area at the entrance to the Austin Cary Memorial Forest.

Slash pines emphasize Cary's intensive interest and his accomplishments in naval stores, pulpwood and timber production.

The number 71 was selected as Austin Cary was nearing his 71st birthday at his death. (He was born July 31, 1865 and died April 28, 1936.)

The Memorial was dedicated January 14, 1939. His brother, George Cary, and his nephew, Charles A. Cary, attended.

On the occasion of the dedication of this memorial C. F. Korstian, the president of the Society of American Foresters, in presenting the memorial to the University of Florida for maintenance said in part: "May it long be a reminder, especially to those of us so fortunate to have known him personally, that the good work started by him must go on, and a reminder to future generations that Austin Cary was one of forestry's most sincere and successful pioneers and that the world is richer for his having lived and labored in it."

P. Warner Frazer, Associate Professor in the School of Forestry at the University of Florida at the 20th Anniversary of the dedication of the Austin Cary Memorial wrote:

> "In retrospect it seems clear that Austin Cary as much as anyone else, realized what an expanding forest economy would mean to the South and the nation. More than anyone else he had faith and confidence in the American people and their institutions. His faith and confidence were based on the solid foundation of a life-time of experience and work throughout the United States. This had led him to the conviction that maximum progress in forestry would come about 'With a mixing of the general idea with the affairs and the interest of our people . . . How far he (Cary) progressed along the way may never be known. But we know this: Many people have evaluated his achievements highly . . ."

"He was above all," in the words again of P. Warner Frazer, "a practical man and one with unlimited faith in what could be accomplished through the framework of American ingenuity and enterprise."

Austin Cary is generally recognized as one of the great early leaders in American Forestry.

AUSTIN CARY MEMORIAL FOREST

Every year the Forestry Club of the University of Florida at Gainesville has the privilege of cutting one acre of timber in the Austin Cary Memorial Forest. The School of Forestry has set aside 30 acres for the Forestry Club to manage "in sustained yield with a thirty year rotation."

The Forestry Club according to Reid Felsom, will each year harvest one acre and plant one acre on this area. Any profit that the club can realize after paying stumpage to the University of Florida goes into the club treasury. As the labor of harvesting and planting is done by club members the income may be considerable.

The members of the Forestry Club in addition to building up funds in its treasury gain experience in the manual and technical skill of harvesting—not only in harvesting the timber but in selling it. The School of the Forestry faculty is available for advice and suggestions, but the club members have the responsibility.

This model forest of 30 acres will be a showcase of forest management. Public and students may benefit tremendously from it. Here will be a forest to be seen "managed for sustained yield by the even age system." Planting, thinning, and harvesting can readily be seen and understood.

The Austin Cary memorial in Gainesville, Florida is an appropriate living memorial to a great pioneer forester who accomplished a great deal in his years; for his beloved state of Maine and for his country through his enthusiasm, initiative, persistent and methodical industry and the splendid traits of character that he displayed.

This is a simple silent memorial in a pine forest in keeping with the character and work of Austin Cary.

PAT MINOR MARTIN—A DISTINGUISHED FORMER MEMBER

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened this week to stand as an honorary pallbearer for my fallen fraternity brother, former Congressman, Pat Minor Martin, of Riverside, Calif.

I was with Pat at the University of California 20 years ago, where we both were brothers in Delta Deuteron Charge of Theta Delta Chi. Brother Pat received his bachelor of arts degree from the University of California, where he had a distinguished undergraduate record, scholasticly and as an athlete; and later was graduated from Hastings College of Law in San Francisco. Pat pursued an aggressive legal career in southern California before he was elected to Congress in 1962 with many of us in the 88th Congress Club.

Pat was a modest Representative, as was evidenced by the very modest biography he inserted in the official CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Riverside Press Enterprise newspaper wrote of Pat Martin's record in part, as follows, last week:

> Martin's two-year term in Congress as representative of the 38th Congressional District, Riverside and Imperial Counties, 1962–1964, climaxed a career in which he also was known locally as an athlete, lawyer and member of the District Attorney's staff.
>
> Born in Norfolk, Nebraska, in 1924, he came to California with his family in 1936, living first in Ontario and then in Pomona.
>
> He was a star football halfback, basketball guard and baseball pitcher and catcher first at Pomona High School and then at Riverside Poly, which he entered in 1942.
>
> He was an all-league halfback in his last year at Poly and won the baseball team batting championship with an average of .354.
>
> Martin entered the Coast Guard in February 1943, before graduating from Poly and finished his high school education in the service.
>
> He was a radioman third class on troop transports and served on an LST in the South Pacific.
>
> After the war he entered the then Riverside Junior College and again starred in football and baseball in both of his two years.
>
> He continued at the University of California in Berkeley, where he made the varsity football squad, scored on a 52-yard touchdown run in an early season game. A shoulder injury soon after this ended his football career.
>
> He received his AB degree at the University in 1949 and worked in the Oakland shipyards while going through the university's Hasting's College of Law. He received his law degree in 1953.
>
> Martin got his first law experience as a deputy under then District Attorney William O. Mackey from September 1954 to the middle of 1955, he joined the firm of Best, Best and Krieger.
>
> He was later a partner in the firm of Thompson and Colegate. He established his own practice in 1960, saying, "I want to be on my own."
>
> In politics he started out as a precinct worker with the Young Republicans at the University of California and did precinct and other party work in Riverside while practicing law.
>
> He won a three-way race for the Republican Congressional nomination against incumbent Democrat D. S. Saund in 1962.
>
> A memorial fund has been established in the former Congressman's name to aid students interested in government service. Friends are being asked to send contributions to the Pat Martin Memorial Fund, Crocker-Citizens National Bank, 4077 Main, Riverside 92501.

Though, out of office on his death, Pat continued to have a political future. It is regrettable that California and his home county of Riverside must now be deprived of his advice, counsel and leadership.

Pat's wife, Patsy, earned a position of esteem in Washington as president of the 88th Congressional Wives Club. To Patsy and the children, I want to say that your loss is also mine and that of your country.

ONLY THE PUBLIC LOSES

HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Only the Public Loses," which was published in the Tampa Tribune of Tuesday, June 11, 1968.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONLY THE PUBLIC LOSES

The Mandalay Shores Apartment building overlooking the Gulf of Mexico at Clearwater Beach is a sight to admire. But its splendor cannot cover up the fact that it represents a colossal example of secrecy and mismanagement in government.

The history of this 387-unit luxury apartment building is a good example of why people raise questions about the way their government handles public funds.

The story of Mandalay Shores is only half told. It took an investigation by Tribune reporter Sam Mase to assemble the facts which are known.

On April 3, 1961 the Dworman brothers of New York—Alvin, Lester J. and Darryl—operating a corporation known as Mandalay Shores Inc., obtained a bank loan for $7,170,900. It was insured by the Federal Housing Administration. It was not the Dwormans' first FHA-insured venture. By 1964 they had constructed $250 million worth of apartment buildings in the United States.

The Dworman brothers also owned the construction firm which built Mandalay Shores. The FHA has refused to disclose construction costs. Several sub-contractors who sued the prime contractor, Dworman Construction, estimated the construction costs to be $5,975,895.

Business did not flourish at Mandalay Shores after it opened early in 1963 and apparently only $8,964 ever was paid on the $7,170,900 loan. The mortgage was assumed by FHA Feb. 21, 1964; then it made good the insured bank loan. On June 21, 1965 FHA assumed ownership and operation of the project.

By then the total indebtedness had reached $8,011,496, including $522,293 in unpaid interest.

Since the FHA began operating the apartment building, rentals have totaled $1,289,876. But this amount has not been sufficient to pay operational costs, taxes mounting to $751,698 and replacement of sub-standard construction work costing $200,000.

The Tribune's investigation turned up another interesting example of governmental laxity. By Federal Court order the Dworman brothers were told to return $30,963 in advance rental payments made by Mandalay tenants. The Dwormans ignored the court order and there is nothing to show that the U.S. District Attorney ever made any attempt to collect the money.

It is little wonder that the government refuses to make public the story of Mandalay Shores. It is the public's business, but the FHA uses the excuse that information in its files about Mandalay Shores is confidential.

Confidential for whom? The Dworman brothers? The New York bank which made the loan? FHA officials who might be embarrassed by full disclosure?

Mandalay Shores is one of 19 apartment buildings financed by FHA loans since the 1950s which became failures in the 21-county area supervised by the Tampa FHA office. The FHA has managed to sell to private interests all but eight.

As far back as 1965 Delaware Sen. John J. Williams, the persistent pursuer of wrongs in government, attacked the questionable handling of loans for big apartment buildings. He specifically listed Mandalay Shores among others at the time.

What Williams said then is even more appropriate today:

"The wholesale manner in which these multi-million dollar projects have been approved in the past few years and the wholesale manner in which they are going broke, oft-times before they are completed, represents enormous and unnecessary cost to the taxpayer.

"The government takes 100 per cent of the risk and the sponsors can sit back with 100 per cent of all the profit, resulting in everyone having a field day at the taxpayer's expense."

Neither Senator Williams' warning nor the entire Mandalay Shores affair has caused the FHA to change its policies in guaranteeing big apartment house loans.

If a project promoter can borrow an excessive amount for construction, then do the job himself at a substantially cheaper price, he pockets a handsome profit. He loses nothing, then, if the FHA takes over the property. To avoid this sort of risk to the government, it would seem essential to require the borrower to obtain competitive bids from independent contractors. But the FHA apparently doesn't do this.

If the FHA persists in refusing to tell the full story of its operations, then perhaps a Congressional investigation committee ought to determine how the taxpayer turned out to be loser on Mandalay Shores.

DISCOVERER OF STREPTOMYCIN CELEBRATES 80TH BIRTHDAY

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, one of my most distinguished constituents celebrated his 80th birthday last week. Dr. Selman Waksman, discoverer of streptomycin and other wonder drugs, winner of the 1952 Nobel Peace Prize, began his ninetieth decade as he has begun so many of the others—at his offices in the Rutgers University Institute of Microbiology.

Dr. Waksman, professor emeritus of microbiology at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, is the man who made the word "antibiotic" known to the American people; he is the man largely responsible for fighting the once-dreaded tuberculosis germ. He has been awarded 22 honorary degrees and 66 major academic awards, culminating in the Nobel Prize.

He is an amazingly vital, wonderful man to whom we all owe a deep debt of gratitude. The following story which appeared in Thursday's Camden Courier-Post should be of interest to my colleagues:

DISCOVERER OF STREPTOMYCIN CELEBRATES 80TH BIRTHDAY

(By Ken Earl)

NEW BRUNSWICK.—The man who coined the word "antibiotic" in 1941 reached the age of 80 this week.

He's Dr. Selman A. Waksman, Rutgers University professor emeritus of microbiology, who went on to discover streptomycin in 1943—an achievement that led to his receiving the 1952 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine.

Despite his age the octogenarian still goes daily to his office in the Rutgers Institute of Microbiology—when not keeping speaking engagements that take him to all parts of the world.

KNOCKS OUT MICROBES

"Antibiotic" now is a familiar household word. But before 1941 there was no word for the substance a microbe produced to "knock out" other microbes.

Dr. Waksman was the first to demonstrate that such a substance could come from microbes in the soil.

His interest in soil microbes began shortly after he arrived at Rutgers 57 years ago as an immigrant freshman from Czarist Russia.

Since then he has earned—in addition to the Nobel Prize—66 prizes, awards and medals and 22 honorary degrees from universities around the world.

STOPPED WHITE PLAGUE

He also has won the gratitude of millions no longer doomed by the "Great White Plague"—tuberculosis.

Dr. Waksman began to study the survival of tuberculosis germs in both soil and water as far back as 1931. The first break was his discovery in 1940 of actinomycin, the first antibiotic produced by a soil microbe and as toxic to animals as it was to other microbes.

He followed that discovery with isolation of a second antibiotic two years later. It was effective against tuberculosis germs but also was highly toxic to humans.

CHICKEN THROAT SWABBINGS

In August, 1943, another Rutgers scientist swabbed a chicken's throat and cultured the swabbings to identify the germs. The germs were species of streptomyces, a microbe that stopped the growth of other microbes. It produced an antibiotic effective against tuberculosis germs but was much less toxic to humans.

Dr. Waksman named the antibiotic "streptomycin" and reported his find to the scientific world.

Today streptomycin is one of the leading drugs in the treatment of tuberculosis and other diseases, including rabbit fever, meningitis, whooping cough, leprosy, typhoid and brucellosis.

THE NOMINATIONS OF JUSTICE FORTAS AND JUDGE THORNBERRY

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, many radio and television stations throughout the country devote part of their air time to editorial comment on current issues.

One of the most important issues is pending before the Senate at this time—the nominations of Associate Justice Abe Fortas to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and of Judge Homer Thornberry to be an Associate Justice.

I ask unanimous consent that three radio and television editorials dealing with this matter be included in the RECORD. The broadcast stations are WMAL in Washington, D.C.; WTCM in Traverse City, Mich.; and WIBW in Topeka, Kans.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Broadcast during the week of June 30, 1968, by WMAL, the Evening Star Broadcasting Co.]

NEW JUSTICES

When a President appoints a new Justice of the Supreme Court, he extends his own philosophical outlook far into the future. President Johnson is now in the uniquely powerful position of nominating both a Chief Justice and a new Associate Justice. This is heady spice for peppering lame duck broth.

Justice Fortas and Judge Thornberry are surely capable jurists, as well as two of the President's oldest friends. Their qualifications are not an issue. The propriety of a lame duck President elevating two Supreme Court justices who will serve the next 10, 15 or 20 years is an issue. This was an equally valid issue when Democrats opposed President Eisenhower's similar action.

We agree that the new Justices should be named by the new President after the November election. This is a point of real validity, which the Senate should consider fully before confirming these nominations.

[From WCTM, Traverse City, Mich., July 18, 1968]

SENATOR BOB GRIFFIN PUTS UP A FIGHT

(By Les Biederman, president)

The national news commentators, who are very pro administration are giving Bob Griffin, Michigan Senator a rough time. This is usual. They provide much of the atmosphere for the things that the present administration stand for.

It takes real guts for Bob, the Junior Senator to put up the fight that he presently is doing, and we admire him for it. He is raising some very important constitutional issues. The sad part of the whole story is the little knowledge that the general electorate has of the importance of the Supreme Court. For instance, there are many who think the Supreme Court is merely for trying criminal cases, as a court of last resort. Little do they know of the chain of legal issues that decisions of the Supreme Court controls, and the effect that it has on the living in this country.

Senator Griffin says the public wants a change in the policies of the national administration and there are people who feel this way we know and there are people who just want more. Yet, there is a very strong current of opinion flowing in today's world. For instance, just yesterday, three different people asked if I personally was going to support Wallace. This surprised me, and when the votes are counted, I'm sure that the numbers will be surprising.

Senator Griffin is a very astute lawyer, and we are sure that he knows what he is talking about. Two days ago, we received a copy of a speech that he delivered to the Senate Committee, and in this speech he pointed out that Justice Abe Fortas was helping make national decisions. Two days later, Justice Fortas admitted this to the Senate Committee. The issue that Senator Griffin is raising is simply this—If a man helps make a decision, then how can he later render an impartial verdict as to its legality under the Constitution of the United States?

We feel that rightly or wrongly, these debates are very important in our process of government. This is democracy at work.

[From WIBW, Topeka, Kans., July 14, 1968]

When President Johnson nominated Associate Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas to succeed Earl Warren as Chief Justice and Federal Judge Homer Thornberry of Texas to become an Associate Justice of the Nation's highest court, he struck at the concept of an independent judiciary. Kansas Senator Frank Carlson has, rightly in our opinion, joined those seeking to delay confirmation of the appointments until after the election.

Under the balance-of-powers concept in the constitution, the executive and judicial branches of the United States government are to be independent of one another. By seating first one, then another long-time political friend on the Supreme Court, President Johnson is potentially exercising an influence on the character of court decisions long after he leaves Washington. Now he seeks to make his long-time friend and personal attorney the Chief Justice.

President Johnson is not a lame duck in a strict sense, but in general, he belongs in that political category by his announced decision not to seek re-election. While he hasn't said so, it seems obvious that the President recognized that he had lost popular support and felt he could not win in November. It seems improper for him to attempt to shape the nature of the Supreme Court for years to come by action in his final months in office.

The Gallup Poll shows clearly there is widespread dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court—particularly the ultra-liberal tack it has taken under the leadership of Chief Justice Earl Warren. Some 66% of those questioned by Gallup found fault with Supreme Court decisions.

The Supreme Court, often by five to four votes, has distorted the Constitution and the laws of the United Staes in recent years. It has allowed criminals to hide behind technicalities. It has deprived the states of authority over education. Civil disobedience advocates have been given free rein to trample on the rights of the law-abiding majority. Laws to control Communist subversion have been struck down or crippled.

We respect the desire of the Chief Justice to retire. On the other hand, he has said he will serve until a successor is chosen. Since it seems clear the American people are disturbed by recent Supreme Court decisions, we believe the Senators who are campaigning to delay the appointments until after the November election are acting in the public interest. What is badly needed is a truly independent judiciary that recognizes the limits of federal interference with the rights of states and individuals—a Supreme Court that will uphold law and order—and deal firmly with challenges to the security of the United States. Our founding fathers, in setting up the legislative, judicial and executive branches of government, never intended that the President should use the Supreme Court as a political plum. Rather, it should be a place for appointment of legal minds of the highest stature.

There are many who believe that Justice Fortas is a competent and capable jurist—and has served admirably since the President appointed him to the Supreme Court. Judge Thornberry's principal attribute seems to be his loyalty to Mr. Johnson. Should this necessarily be a qualification for a man designated to decide constitutional cases?

Perhaps consideration should be given to a revision in the method of selecting Supreme Court Justices. We'd suggest a plan similar to the one for Kansas Supreme Court Justices. A top-level committee, including representatives of the American Bar Association, the Federal Court Judges and the Congress would submit a list of names to the President from which the new Justices would be chosen.

In November, Americans will go to the polls. A new President and Congress will be chosen. The election will do much to determine the outlook of the nation. It is only reasonable, therefore, that the new President to be inaugurated next January be allowed to exercise the right of nomination for the vacancies on the Supreme Court. If this procedure is followed, the will of the American people will be more accurately expressed. With less than four months remaining until the election, the Senate should delay this decision until the inauguration of the new President. We commend Kansas Senator Frank Carlson for his positive action.

GARRISON DIVERSION—A DREAM COMING TRUE

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, as is my custom, and because I believe it is important that those of us in Congress make every effort to keep our constituents informed of all activities, I am sending out this week another of my regular reports. It includes information and my views on the Garrison Diversion project in North Dakota, proposed cutbacks in postal service, House action regarding the use and transportation of drugs, and the recently approved Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

Also included are photographs of the Secretary of the Interior, Jerome Keating, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and a number of constituents including members of the North Dakota Farmers Union ladies "fly-in," the North Dakota delegates to the National 4–H Citizenship Conference and Boys' Nation, plus Lt. Barry Speare, veteran of two tours to Vietnam, along with appropriate cutlines.

I place this newsletter in the RECORD at this time.

REPRESENTATIVE MARK ANDREWS' REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

GARRISON DIVERSION—A DREAM COMING TRUE

(Photographs mentioned not included in RECORD)

The first shovel of dirt has been turned at the site of the first major construction job on the Garrision Diversion Unit . . . the contractor is expected to have his men and equipment at work very soon.

This is the tangible beginning of a project that's been a cherished dream in our State for many years.

Garrison Diversion is a fantastic project that will irrigate 250,000 acres of North Dakota farmland, initially, and just as important, provide water for thirsty cities and potential industries, fish and wildlife benefits and recreation for large parts of North Dakota.

The idea of diverting water from the Missouri River began when our State's Constitutional Convention memorialized the Congress in support of this development. Future generations will benefit greatly because previous generations of North Dakotans were inspired to work hard toward this project's realization.

The groundbreaking, momentous as it was, doesn't mean that construction is all the work that remains to be done. Just as Senator Young kept the project alive for many years by securing appropriations for its planning on a regular annual basis, so now must the money for construction be made avaliable annually for years to come.

On the House Appropriations Committee, I am well aware of the many demands made on the U.S. Treasury at this time. Necessary funds to maintain an orderly construction pace have been obtained by stressing that the project is a sound and needed investment of taxpayers' dollars.

Let's not forget that this project will continue to need the unified and enthusiastic support of all North Dakotans.

These young people pictured with North Dakota Congressional delegation were chosen to represent our State at the National 4–H Citizenship Conference in Washington recently. They are Denise Dean, New Town; Freya Ottem, Osnabrock; Carmen Knudson, Arville; Randy Fode, Jud; and David Hoffman, Buford.

The ladies from Eastern North Dakota pictured above with North Dakota Farmers Union Secretary-Treasurer Stanley Moore, Jamestown, and myself, participated in a NDFU "Fly-in" to Washington where they did a fine job telling urban Congressmen about the difficult problems facing farm families today. The ladies are: Mrs. Marvin Bartle Enderlin, Mrs. John Simon, Oberon, Mrs. Leona Meyer, Monango, Mrs. Oscar Heffta, Jr., Adams, Mrs. Lester Larson, Brocket, and Mrs. Moore.

YOUNG PEOPLE AND DRUGS: A SERIOUS PROBLEM

Concern about the growing use of drugs by young people in this country prompted the House to take action recently. Inadequate laws dealing with such drugs as LSD and "pep pills" have made it hard for law enforcement officials and others called upon to discourage their use.

Surprisingly, persons found possessing and using LSD have not been legally guilty of breaking any law. This new legislation, passed by the House, will prohibit the possession of this type of drug unless it is obtained by a doctor's prescription.

Hopefully, we will also see strong emphasis placed on information programs to educate the public—particularly young people—about the serious dangers of drug abuse.

NEW HOUSING PROGRAM APPROVED

Congress recently approved the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. I supported this legislation because I believe it can be an effective start toward eliminating substandard housing and living conditions in our nation.

As an original sponsor of the National Homeownership Foundation Act, I was pleased that much of the new Act copies our plan to use the talents and energy of private enterprise to provide homeownership opportunities to families of low and moderate incomes.

This legislation also contributes to the solution of other urban problems. Low income residents in the area of a housing project will have the opportunity of employment on the project, slum areas will be revitalized, the tax base of local governments will be increased, and when individual living conditions are improved, taxeaters will become taxpayers.

North Dakota's two delegates to Boys' Nation took time out to lunch with their Congressional delegation. They are Paul Collins, son of Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Collins, Fargo; and Thomas Monson, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Monson, Jamestown.

Lt. Barry Speare, son of Mr. W. G. Speare of Rugby, stopped in to see me when he was in Washington recently. He has served in Viet Nam twice—once as an enlisted man and more recently as an officer and provided me with a first-hand report of the G.I.'s view of our nation's involvement in that part of the world.

Jerry Keating, President of the National Association of Letter Carriers visited my office not long ago to discuss problems facing members of his organization.

The recent Administration decision to cut back on postal service is a "meat axe" approach to needed cuts in Federal spending. It doesn't make sense to reduce essential and direct services, while allowing wasteful, big spending schemes to go unchecked.

The same thing happened two years ago when, in response to a demand for economy by the Congress, the President tried to cut the School Lunch Program! Ridiculous research projects, payments to beatnik poets, waste and duplication in the Pentagon and the other strange activities of the Administration, however, are able to escape the President's "economy" drive.

THREAT TO THE LIBERAL CZECHS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the July 30, 1968, edition of the Washington Evening Star contains an article entitled "Threat to Czechs Mutes Liberals," written by David Lawrence.

Mr. Lawrence discusses the obvious paradox that is conspicuous with American liberals in their attitude toward Czechoslovakia. All groups, organizations, college professors and others in America who loudly proclaim the right for people to determine their own form of government are unusually silent during the current Czechoslovakian crisis.

When the United States goes to the assistance of a country which is trying to determine its own form of government such as South Vietnam, liberals denounce this as aggression. Yet they remain strangely silent as the Soviets try to deny even to the liberal Communists in Czechoslovakia the right to set up their own system of government.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THREAT TO CZECHS MUTES LIBERALS

(By David Lawrence)

Paradoxes are numerous these days, but none is more conspicuous than the absolute silence about Czechoslovakia which is being maintained by virtually all the groups, organizations, college professors, liberals and others in America who zealously expound the doctrine that people have a right to determine their own form of government.

No such silence prevailed when Rhodesia, for example, tried to solve its internal problems with respect to racial relations. In fact, the United States has joined with other members of the United Nations in imposing almost total sanctions on trade with Rhodesia.

But here is Czechoslovakia threatened by military intervention by the Soviet government if something in line with Moscow-style communism is not adopted. Yet no voices are raised anywhere in Europe or in this country even to express sympathy with the democratic elements in Czechoslovakia which are trying to modify their form of government. Meanwhile, the Soviets are making military threats and have actually mobilized troops on the border of Czechoslovakia to coerce the latter into acceptance of Moscow's dictatorial policies.

The Czech leaders are not trying to abolish communism, but seeking to modify it so that it will be more democratic. They already are permitting considerable freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press. The Soviet government, however, apparently feels it has the right to dictate to the leaders in Prague what they may or may not do in domestic policies.

Members of the 11-man Communist body ruling Czechoslovakia are conferring with top Soviet leaders who have come from Moscow to a meeting on Czech territory near the Soviet border. Upon the outcome of this conference depends whether the Soviet Union will intervene militarily to force the present government to come to terms or will establish a new regime that will adhere to the kind of communism which the Soviets apply throughout the areas they control. Moscow is being supported by Poland, East Germany and Bulgaria—over which it maintains an iron hand—and to a lesser extent by Hungary, which is still occupied by Soviet troops.

The Kremlin leaders are demanding of Czech officials that they turn back toward the Soviet kind of communism—including a resumption of press censorship and the suppression of all non-Communist political activities. Even more, the Czechs are being coerced into maintaining their alliance with the Communist-bloc nations and are being warned about getting too friendly with West Germany or other non-Communist countries. The threat of Soviet military intervention is constant.

The crisis is bound to affect the future of the satellite states in Eastern Europe. Yugoslavia under Tito long ago broke away from Soviet domination, but does have friendly relations with Moscow. Rumania, too, has in recent years asserted more and more independence.

It is understandable that the American government would, for diplomatic reasons, choose to be silent. Washington has kept a hands-off policy in the Czechoslovak controversy because of a belief that nothing should be done that would give Moscow a chance to blame Western governments for what is happening in Czechoslovakia.

When the United States goes to the assistance of a country which is trying to determine its own form of government—such as South Vietnam—"liberals" denounce this as "aggression." Yet they remain silent as the Soviets seek to deny even to "liberal" Communists the right to set up their own system of government within Czechoslovakia. The mobilization of Soviet military forces is plainly a threat of aggression against Czechoslovakia, but none of the Communist parties—in France, Italy or this country—is willing to recognize it.

Certainly there is nothing to prevent private organizations and some of the articulate professors and scholars in America and Western Europe from condemning publicly in most vehement terms the Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. But silence seems to be the rule.

STARVATION IN BIAFRA

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of July 30 has three articles on Biafra which I would like to insert in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues.

The Biafran famine is the largest world problem of this kind since the Second World War when many refugees were starving. I am hopeful that America will not sit by and wring its hands when there is so much that must be done.

If it is true that there are 3 or 4 million persons starving inside Biafra and roughly three-quarters of a million persons starving in Nigeria, then it will take much more transport and food to help these people than has been undertaken. The article, entitled "Red Cross Flights Halted," indicates that the Red Cross "mercy flights of medical and food supplies to Biafra had been halted by technical difficulties." In reading the articles, it seems to me that the flights are still the only form of transport for the food going in. These flights land on a roadway in three different areas, but no overland shipment is being reported.

I was pleased to learn that the U.S. AID program has provided $5.3 million of emergency relief funds, some of which may be used to assist in transporting the food. I would urge that the United States work more closely with the United Nations and with the International Red Cross to get the roadway opened up for overland shipment. Unless that roadway is neutralized so food can get in to the starving peoples, all those who have it within their means to obtain an agreement between the warring factions of Nigeria and Biafra will have failed.

I would urge that this world problem be dealt with by a community of nations if the U.N. is unable to act. I understand that Great Britain has supplied a number of trucks which could be used, and that Norway has provided a team of doctors. But if 200 tons of food a day

will feed roughly 600,000 persons, much more will be necessary than the few airplane loads of food flown in to Biafra so far.

Biafra Relief Run Is a Risky Business for Men Who Fly It

(By Lloyd Garrison)

Aba, Nigeria, July 26.—While relief organizations and neutral diplomats talk of a cease-fire in the war between the federal Government in Lagos and Biafra, some eight million people in the secessionist region must still rely on shuttle flights from Lisbon for food.

But the airlift—the slender lifeline that links thousands of starving Biafrans to the outside world—has to run the risk of Nigerian antiaircraft fire. And the pilots, all Americans, must land on the tiny Biafran airstrip here at night at the height of the rainy season. They are almost at the point of revolt.

The airlift has been dubbed "The Warton Follies," after its organizer, Henry A. Warton, a controversial American who was born in Germany and who has a price on his head.

Nigerian agents in Europe have offered Mr. Warton's pilots $100,000 to kidnap him. Church leaders in Geneva and Rome have hailed Mr. Warton for his "humanitarian enterprise." The State Department would like to have him in Washington so that he could answer for a variety of extra-legal adventures, including the running of guns to Biafrans.

"Sure, I'm flying both guns and butter," Mr. Warton said. "The Biafrans need both to survive."

In flying to Biafra, the pilot gets more than $1,000 a trip, a figure which can be used as a gauge of the risk.

A typical flight begins after dark at the military end of Lisbon International Airport.

Two planes await take-off—a Constellation with ammunition aboard and a large DC–7 that has just been acquired with funds raised by West German Protestants. It is loaded with 10 tons of milk.

In the lounge, two pilots sit waiting for a flight to Frankfurt, West Germany. They are quitting Mr. Warton. "Lousy maintenance," says one. Another two pilots appear. Both are airlift veterans and will fly the Constellation: "Nothing wrong with the maintenance, I can assure you," says the captain. He is cheerily drunk and his copilot is trying to sober him up with a bottle of vichy water.

What about those two crashes? the reporter asks. "Pilot error," smiles the captain. "Pure pilot error."

"The code. The code. Who's got the code?" someone asks. The pilot suddenly recalls he left a sealed envelope—with the password for landing in Biafra—in his sports jacket back at the hotel. Take-off is delayed an hour while he retrieves it.

BAD SPARK PLUGS

The Constellation is finally cleared for take-off, pauses at the end of the runway, then taxis back. "Spark plugs are shot," the captain says.

The DC–7 is on its maiden flight. Five hours out of Lisbon, it banks in for a refueling stop in Bissau, Portuguese Guinea. Just before touchdown, it hits a squall. The plane hits the runway, bounces, skids and finally straightens out. "Pray that we don't hit rain like Biafra," says Capt. Robert McAllister.

Eight hours later the DC–7 lands on São Tomé, a tiny Portuguese island off West Africa, with one hotel, one movie house, two cafes and more stray dogs than people.

The final run is at dusk the next day. Captain McAllister is not overly concerned about Nigerian antiaircraft fire, although three of the last five flights have been fired on by radar-guided 90-mm guns aboard Nigerian navy gunships off the Biafra coast.

ON A NEW ROUTE

"We're on a new route tonight," says Captain McAllister, "Detour, with plenty of elbow room." Still he orders the plane blacked out.

Two hours later, the flight ends on a narrow two-lane highway illuminated by flickering kerosene lamps. It is overcast, but not raining.

Captain McAllister exchanges the code, circles twice, then comes in low for a long approach. He has to hit square in the middle of the road. If he veers 17 feet to either side, he may skid off the road and into the trees.

The plane is so low that the wheels almost graze a church steeple a half mile from the strip. The plane hits short of the strip, careens back into the air, recovers on one wheel, then swivels drunkenly down the highway, half off, half on the runway.

Captain McAllister fights desperately for control. The right landing gear buckles. A left tire blows.

Seconds later, it is over. The plane lurches to a stop. A head pops through the cabin door and proclaims: "Welcome to Biafra."

The Constellation lumbers in an hour later from Lisbon. A perfect landing. The captain climbs out, ever cheerful, but deadly sober.

Daring Airlift Director: Henry Arthur Warton

Lisbon, July 29—The man running the airlift to secessionist Biafra is an adventurer who says that his heart is very much in his work and that he hopes to profit handsomely by it.

The airlift, the only real link with the world for the secessionist former Eastern Region of Nigeria, is the project of Henry Arthur Warton, a German-born pilot who became a United States citizen and who has now become virtually a man without a country. He seems to be driven by the same desire for adventure at a profit that inspired the gentleman pirates of yore; indeed, in Lisbon, where he has his headquarters, his airlift is widely referred to as "pirates."

The flights Mr. Warton's planes manage to make to Biafira, despite the Lagos regime's best effort to stop them, are the breakaway region's lifeline for food, medical supplies, arms and journalists.

The flights have made trouble for Mr. Warton with the State Department in Washington because the United States has proclaimed a policy of neutrality in the war while supporting the principle of Nigerian unity.

Mr. Warton's United States passport has been confiscated because of his unorthodox activities. Without it he cannot work, at least officially, or travel freely.

BIG STAKE IN WAR

Lacking, in a sense, a country of his own, Mr. Warton, who is 46 years old, has staked his future on Biafra's becoming one. He firmly believes, he says, in the Biafran cause.

"The Biafrans have the right to exist, just like anybody else, and I want to help them," he says.

The Biafrans owe him about a million dollars, he says. If the region's independence is finally established, Mr. Warton hopes to be in a favored position to set up the first Biarfran national airline.

Mr. Warton appears to have won the confidence of the Biafrans. "Everybody else the Biafrans have done business with has let them down, and so now they only trust Hank," a source close to the Biafran mission said.

Often seemingly inefficient in normal operations, Mr. Warton has proved to be extremely cool and efficient under fire. Airlift flights have regularly started hours late because he has forgotten the code or the papers to land in Biafra. Yet the man has a special genius for pulling out of tight situations.

When he first began to work with the Biafrans in 1966, he crashed in Cameroon with a cargo of arms. His aircraft, a DC–4, was seized and he was jailed. Several months later, however, he succeeded in escaping from jail and smuggling himself out of Cameroon on a passing French mail boat, aided by a German girl, Gitta Harder, who is now his private secretary.

Last year, Mr. Warton had a run-in with Liberian authorities when he tried to register three of his aircraft. His passport was lifted and he was jailed. After a few days, however, he talked a United States official into persuading the Liberians to let him return to a hotel under house arrest.

Within 48 hours he had slipped out of the country disguised as an airline pilot aboard a commercial plane, bound for Europe.

Mr. Warton's latest narrow escape was in Malta, six months ago. He flew into Malta in a plane loaded with 113 airplane tires, to meet an old friend who wanted, he said, to start up a tourist passenger service to Europe.

The Maltese refused to swallow the tire story, confiscated the plane and detained Mr. Warton on suspicion of smuggling narcotics. After three and a half weeks, he succeeded in leaving Malta in a fishing boat bound for Sicily, where he took a plane to Rome.

WORKED IN INTELLIGENCE

Mr. Warton became a flier after he had joined the United States Army as a volunteer in 1941. He took part in the invasion at Guadalcanal and later worked with United States military intelligence. He is fluent in Spanish as well as German.

He was born in Grätz, Germany, which is now Grodzisk, Poland, on Dec. 22, 1916. He immigrated to the United States in 1937 and became a citizen during his wartime service.

Mr. Warton has been married and divorced twice. He has a 21-year-old son, Robert, who is studying at Long Island University, and a 6-year-old son, Daniel, who lives with his mother, the Berlin actress Birke Bruck.

When Mr. Warton left the service in 1945, he held several temporary jobs, such as making cheesecake at Lindy's in New York and Danish pastry at a restaurant in Miami. Then he obtained a commercial flying license on the G.I. Bill in 1947 and has been in the air ever since.

Mr. Warton has flown just about everything everywhere: tea and fruit for Air-India, Moslem pilgrims to Mecca, and United Nations troops and supplies in the Congo.

For a short time he flew The New York Times International Edition from Paris to Frankfurt in the early morning, returning to Paris in the afternoon with The Stars and Stripes.

"IMPOSSIBLE NOT TO LIKE"

"Hank had brilliant ideas and a lot of charm, but he was low on follow-through," said Zoltan Havas, who hired him for The Times. "We had to let him go but he is the kind of guy it is impossible not to like."

Mr. Warton appears to have a certain idealistic quality. It's difficult to get him to talk about gun-running, but he is willing to talk about the tons of food and medicines he takes to Biafra.

"I'll do any kind of job, but my heart must be in it," he said. "I've got to feel I'm on the right side, helping the right people. That's the way it is with Biafra."

BIAFRAN EFFORTS RAISED

A World Council of Churches official recently praised Mr. Warton's organization as "the only channel for bringing relief supplies into Biafra."

The assistant director of the International Committee of the Red Cross said that "thanks to the initiative and courage of Mr. Warton and his pilots, hundreds of civilian victims inside Biafra have so far been reached by our relief."

There is in fact a price on Mr. Warton's head. The Nigerians are reported to have offered $150,000 for his capture or $100,000 for the hijacking of one of his planes.

Mr. Warton shows no concern over this risk. "It's not that he's exceptionally brave," said a close friend, "he's just unconscious of danger. He never dreams he could be knifed in the back."

IN BIAFRA, DEATH BY FAMINE STRIKES EVERYWHERE

OBINZE, NIGERIA, July 29.—Statistics on the food crisis here in the secessionist republic of Biafra pall before the on-scene, everyday reality of death.

Death strikes everywhere—in hospitals, in mission stations, even by the roadside. At the Okpala Mission 80 miles west of here, the Rev. Ken Doheny is close to weeping as 7,000 children assemble at dusk, their bony hands outstretched.

"They used to come here every night for a little soup—milk or bean," he reports. "Now we have nothing left. This is a children's war. They're all doomed, the lot of them."

Relief workers here believe that only a massive airlift of food, so far blocked by politics and pride can save the people of Biafra from the starvation that now appears rampant.

JUST A TRICKLE SO FAR

Just a trickle of food and medicine has reached this breakaway region of Nigeria aboard blockade-running planes landing at night. It has been a drop in the bucket.

So far, the Nigerian Government in Lagos has refused to authorize planes to fly direct to Biafra by day, but has said that it wants a land corridor into Biafra from Enugu, north of the front line.

Asked about the death toll, Dr. Herman Middlekoop, an official of the World Council of Churches, says: "This week I just can't give a figure. It's accelerating every hour. It's a desperate situation. That's all I can say."

On the roadside near this muddy little junction town in southern Biafra, eight old women sit motionless in the rain, too weak to walk. A ninth woman, who is cradled on the arms of her friend, is dead. But her friend keeps talking to her as if she were still alive.

Nearby, a man buries his three-year-old daughter in a drainage ditch, using his hands as a shovel to scoop out a grave in the mud. They are all refugees along this road. Most are on foot. A few are on bicycles. Some push handcarts piled high with furniture and bedding. There are more than 10,000 on this road alone, fleeing before Nigeria troops slicing north in an attempt to seize Biafra's last airfield near Owerri.

The same refugee exodus can be witnessed in almost every sector near Biafra's front line, where fighting continues unabated despite forthcoming peace talks in Addis Ababa a week from now.

Biafra's nearly one million refugees are not the only ones dying from lack of nutrition. Death is also stalking settled villagers and townspeople. For many of them cannot afford the high price of what little protein-producing food is still available. In the village market here a goat's leg sells for $12. A scrawny dog can be bought whole for $35 and rats bring 35 cents a pound.

Relief agencies here believe the Biafrans need a bare minimum of 200 tons of food a day to survive. The job could be done, experts say, with two American Air Force C-130 transports, flying daylight shuttles from the offshore islands of Fernando Po and São Tomé, where more than 2,000 tons of food have stacked up. And more is on its way.

The Lockheed C-130, specially designed to land heavy loads on short strips, has already proved itself in flying relief to remote strips in the Congo and has become the main cargo plane in Vietnam.

But Nigeria and Biafra are still stalemated over which shall control the flow of relief. Biafrans have rejected the land corridor on the ground that it would be taking food directly from the hands of the enemy.

Instead, the Government here has suggested that planes land in Enugu, where the Nigerians could inspect the cargo. The planes would then fly on to Biafra. But late yesterday, a federal Government spokesman dismissed this proposal.

RED CROSS FLIGHTS HALTED

GENEVA, July 29.—The International Committee of the Red Cross announced today that its mercy flights of medical and food supplies to Biafra had been halted by technical difficulties.

Top officials of the all-Swiss committee declined to expand on the announcement at a news conference except to say that the difficulties concerned arrangements for landing in the territory of the rebel region of Nigeria.

Only last week the committee dispatched a chartered four-engine plane from Geneva to continue the shuttle from Fernando Po, a Spanish island off the Nigerian coast, to the encircled Biafrans, who have been at war with the federal Government for over a year.

A total of 16 flights were flown since the start of the aid operations last April, but Roger Gallopin, an executive director of the humanitarian agency, stressed that the air transport of emergency relief supplies from Fernando Po had always been considered to be "only a temporary and precarious arrangement."

Only the opening of a land corridor through the fighting lines would permit food supplies to reach the famine-stricken Biafrans "in sufficient quantities to meet the needs," Mr. Gallopin said.

ISSUE LEFT OVER

The Red Cross official declined to attempt to estimate the number of deaths resulting from starvation in Biafra. But he said that of the eight million people in the cut-off Biafran territory about two million were known to be suffering from hunger.

Samuel A. Gonard, the committee president, said that the failure to reach agreement on the opening of a relief corridor at last week's preliminary peace talks between Biafra and Nigeria in Niamey, Niger, was very regrettable. More people will die from starvation because the issue was left over for the full-scale peace conference that is to open in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, by Aug. 3, he said.

The Red Cross officials said that three advanced depots near the Biafran-held territory were being stocked with 3,400 tons of emergency supplies for transport into Biafra whenever a mercy corridor is opened.

A further 12,000 tons of relief supplies are en route for Nigeria, with 7,500 tons earmarked for Biafra, they said.

The Nigerian relief action was described by the Red Cross officials as their most important undertaking since World War II. An appeal by the committee last week for Swiss truck drivers and mechanics, radio operators and medical workers to volunteer for duty in Nigeria had already brought 1,000 offers, they said.

THE WHITNEY GALLERY OF WESTERN ART

HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, Wyoming, and particularly the Cody community, was given recognition recently when the Ford Times, published by the Ford Motor Co., featured the Esther Vanderbilt Whitney Gallery of Western Art in its August issue with an article on the Cody institution, accompanied by several colored photographs.

The Whitney Gallery, Mr. Speaker, is one of the outstanding, if not the leading, gallery presenting extensive collections of objects depicting the history of our western United States.

Established in 1959, the Whitney Gallery possesses unmatched collections of the works of Charles M. Russell and Frederic Remington, the two foremost western artists. It displays as well numerous of the personal belongings of the famed Buffalo Bill Cody, who founded the town.

It was my pleasure to have been present on July 4 of this year, when a new wing of the gallery was opened and dedicated.

The Whitney Gallery is truly a community enterprise and one of which the town of Cody is justifiably proud. I recommend a visit to it.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks the text of article written by James C. Ericson and published in the August issue of the Ford Times:

THE WHITNEY GALLERY OF WESTERN ART

(NOTE.—Wyoming was created as a U.S. territory a century ago when the Old West was in full swing. That era was captured in painting and sculpture that are on view at this exceptional museum in Cody.)

(By James C. Ericson)

In the Whitney Gallery of Western Art at Cody, Wyoming, there is a greeting card drawn by Charles M. Russell. Two riders meet on a snowswept prairie. The horses, gaunt and shaggy, hold their heads low into the wind. A bottle passes between the two men. Beneath the drawing is this thought:

> "Here's hoping your trail is a long one
> Plain and easy to ride
> May your dry camps be few
> And health ride with you
> To the pass on the Big Divide."

This card is, in a way, a crystallization of the gallery and the West. Found here, in the paintings and sculpture of Frederic Remington Russell and others are the recurrent themes that were an actual part of the West and persist today, slightly glamorized, as folklore.

The old West, that West of the mid-1800s, remains in legend, music, ghost towns, and log forts which still stand vigil to a vanished peril. Nowhere, however, is the West more perceptively on display than in the Whitney Gallery which opened in 1959. Here in a magnificent stone structure that faces Shoshone Canyon, the mountain gateway to Yellowstone, the courage and greatness, the greed and destruction that were the West hang immortalized.

The theme is always man alone. Stoically he faces a country at once beautiful and hostile. Often the picture is romantic, as in Edgar S. Paxton's "Custer's Last Stand" or "The Victor" by H. H. Cross. And yet at its finest, in the works of Remington and Russell, there is achieved a truly tragic quality where man in defeat achieves a heroic stature.

The Remington collection is extensive. It ranges from the entire contents of his Ridgefield, Connecticut, studio to many of his unfinished paintings. From the years 1880 to 1907, the plump Easterner went West and with unerring insight captured the most romantic period in American history. There is man in search of fortune in "The Prospectors"; man against man in "Fight for the

Waterhole." In all of his paintings the country predominates. The rivers roar, the mountains jut majestically from the vast plains. The tones run from the brilliance of sunsets to the pastels of the unfinished works.

Remington's sculpture, much like Rodin's, has an intensity and action that defies solid, cold metal. In "Bronco Buster," "The Rattlesnake," and "Coming Through the Rye" there is a frenzy of movement suspended. Remington's classic, however, is the "Mountain Man." Set on a pedestal near the center of the gallery, a mountain man, more Indian than white, works his horse down a deep draw. Metal muscles in man and horse strain. There is a quality here that says more than a million words.

Unlike Remington, Russell spent most of his life in Montana. Possibly because he lived the hard life completely, his paintings contain a pathos lacking in those of most other Western artists. There is, for example, the stark tragedy of "Waiting for a Chinook, the Last of 5,000" where a steer stands weakly in a ring of wolves. An Indian warrior looks down on a killed prospector in "Death Lurks Where Gold Lures." And in "Making the Chinaman Dance" Russell comments indirectly on that part of the West which was built at the expense of human misery.

Russell was also successful with sculpture, both in bronze and delicately fashioned wax figures. And his letters on display are a joy for the sketches that personalize them and for their wit.

Russell and Remington dominate the gallery as they do western art. Part of the building, however, is devoted to the Buffalo Bill Museum. It was Buffalo Bill who founded Cody, and many of his personal belongings rest here. There are the guns that made him famous, photographs, gifts from royalty, a saddle—silver-trimmed and well-worn—and posters announcing "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World."

The land that Remington and Russell painted, that Bill Cody helped settle, has changed little. To be sure, the buffalo have long since vanished from the plains, the trails are cement, and there are more people. And yet the country, the fenceless prairies, light with sage and dotted with antelope, the mountains that ponderously rise to create a new horizon, remain the same.

The Whitney Gallery of Western Art (open from May 1 to October 1) stands where the prairie ends and the mountains begin, on the western outskirts of Cody.

PROGRAMS AID CHILDREN WHO FOLLOW THE CROPS

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, the welfare of children whose parents follow the crops in this country has long been a matter of serious national concern. Personally, I view the condition of these children as an important facet of our national crisis.

The children of migrant farmworkers do not have the stability of a permanent home, but must move with their parents as the crops become ripe and are harvested. The medical, social, and educational problems precipitated by this situation are severe and the logistics of dealing with them difficult.

To most American children summer is a time of freedom and fun, but too many of the children of migrant farm laborers have spent summer after summer bored and unattended as their parents worked in the fields to make a living for the family.

I am painfully aware that we are only inching toward enlightenment concerning the needs of these children and that many more programs are needed to achieve a proper level of care and concern. This concern must be expressed on a national and local level by the government and by private citizens. Certainly the welfare of migrant workers and their families is not the responsibility of the farmer alone but a matter which demands much broader involvement.

Therefore, it is very satisfying to me to observe what is happening in Yolo County, Calif. Yolo County is a predominately rural area which comprises a part of the Fourth Congressional District which I represent. Here the Federal Government, the county, and various cities as well as deeply concerned professional and lay citizens and involved parents have combined their efforts to provide good care for the children of migrant farmworkers. In Yolo County many of these children now enjoy a summer filled with educational opportunities, medical care, and perhaps best of all, the fun of a normal childhood.

The following article by reporter Ann Ehrenburg appeared in the Daily Democrat of Woodland, Calif., on July 18, 1968:

PROGRAMS AID CHILDREN WHO FOLLOW THE CROPS

(By Ann Ehrenburg)

Tomato harvest season will begin shortly and bring hundreds of migrant families into this area for the remainder of the summer.

To the adults who follow the crops each year, summer in Yolo county may bring to mind the heat, the fields, the dust and the backbreaking labor.

But the children who spend the summer here will have pleasant memories of days spent in cool classrooms singing, playing, and learning about paints, toys and books.

Prior to 1966, these same youngsters probably were taken into the fields or left unattended in cars or cabins, as there was no one to care for them while their mothers were working.

But now all this has changed, and just about every member of the migrant family has something to do and someplace to go during the day.

In Madison, the change began in 1966 when the government labor camp, with a day care center for small children, was built. It is one of 19 camps in the state sponsored by the Economic Opportunity Commission, most of which have child care facilities.

Last summer, a pilot program for older children was set up with centers in Esparto, Winters and Davis. Each center could take about 35 youngsters over 6 years old, with Esparto handling slightly more.

This summer the Esparto school district is sponsoring a large county-wide summer project for migrant children with funds granted by the state under Title I, compensatory education.

Classes for this migrant summer school project are being held for grades 1–8 in Davis, Esparto, Dixon and Winters, under the direction of William Waroff, county program head.

The project also provides funds for preschool classes at the Madison labor camp for children aged 3–5. They spend from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m. in the center and receive instruction by accredited teachers from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. Mrs. Gulnore Kergel is principal.

The children also receive clinic care on Tuesdays from 5:15 to 7:30 p.m., under the auspices of the Yolo county public health department. Their parents are eligible for free medical services of a public health doctor and nurse at a clinic held on Thursday nights at Yolo General Hospital.

Mrs. Eleanor Durst, the school nurse, goes to Madison daily to check up on the children. She also calls at the migrant summer school in Esparto.

Parents also are involved in the school activities at the labor camp. There will be a class in English for them on Tuesday and Thursday nights and a social evening with films on Wednesday to help them get acquainted with the teachers.

There are 33 children, including some 2 year olds, at the pre-school center now and the staff expects about 45 during the peak harvest season.

About 120 children, half of them from the labor camp, are also attending the summer session at Esparto elementary school. Local children, many of whom come from low income families, comprise the other half of the enrollment.

The first to eighth graders have flexible class schedules and their day is composed of one-and-a-half hour blocs of time in the following areas of concentration: language arts, arts and crafts, physical education and recreation.

Will Crom is the principal. He said the children from the camp are bused into town for school. They also receive a morning snack and hot lunch, as do all students in the program.

In Davis, where there are two migrant camps, primary school children attend a morning session at Birch Lane school and students in intermediate grades attend the regular summer school held at Valley Oak school during the morning hours. Then all the migrant children meet for lunch and afternoon activities at Emerson junior high school.

Ed Jursnich is the principal in Davis, where 175 are now enrolled.

There is presently no program in Davis for the pre-school children, although the Davis Human Relations council is trying to obtain funds to establish a day care center.

Some of the children are being taken in temporarily by the parent cooperative nursery school.

In Winters, the farm workers youngsters are attending a summer school which is open to any child in the community. About 225 children are enrolled, 100 in a regular morning program, and 125 (most of them migrants) in an afternoon session for children whose parents are working. Dean Clark is the principal.

Learning English as a second language is emphasized in all the summer sessions and every school site has several bi-lingual teachers and aides.

All the teachers have credentials and were chosen for experience, Spanish-speaking ability and imaginativeness, according to Mrs. Diane Saunders, coordinator of the county-wide program. She explained that with such a flexible instruction schedule, the teachers are expected to come up with many ideas of their own on the children's needs. Also there are no specified textbooks for any class, the choice being up to the instructor.

Individual attention for the children is also very important and there is a close ratio of students and teachers. Besides the instructors there are teacher's aides, volunteer aides, and EOC-trained volunteers called the Mini-Corps.

These are college students who themselves came from underprivileged backgrounds or are the children of farm workers. They provide a fine example for children to see that it is possible to break the poverty cycle.

Nancy Montalvo is the coordinator for the Mini-Corps and travels between the various school locations. She lives at the Madison labor camp. The other Mini-Corps members, who also spend the summer living in the labor cabins or nearby, are Elizabeth Medina and Mark and Charlyne Waite, assigned to the Esparto school; Gabino Galban and Rudy Rodriquez, Winters; Caleria Perea, Davis, and Bill Cross, Sarah Martinez, Nina Michel and Frank Hernandez, Dixon. Their salaries are paid by the state and they are trained at either Chico State, Fresno State or Hartnell college in Salinas.

They spend many hours working overtime and have set up the English classes and social nights for the parents at the Madison camp. They also help take the children on field trips once a week to such places as Cal Expo, the zoo, and the beach. There are about 100 college students working in the Mini-Corps this summer around California.

ABSENTEEISM: COUNTERFEIT POLITICAL CAPITAL

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, now is the season when candidates of both political parties seeking to unseat incumbents attempt to net political capital from alleged absenteeism. Somehow, these candidates promote the misconception that, unless the Congressman in question is solidly anchored to the floor of the House whenever Congress is in session, he is grossly negligent in his No. 1 duty: voting on legislation.

While I certainly would not dispute the importance of the congressional voting record, I would like to clarify some of the misconceptions that surround it—misconceptions that are often perpetrated by unscrupulous, nonincumbent candidates for public office.

First, a considerable amount of congressional business concerns minor, noncontroversial legislation—such as building a dam in "Lake Bluff, Idaho," or a private immigration bill, which, to save necessary time, is enacted by means of the consent calendar or a suspension of the rules if two-thirds of the House are clearly in favor. Also, a quorum call can be summoned at any time during a debate if a Member feels that less than 25 percent of the Members of the House are present. Even rollcalls are, at times, taken on relatively unimportant, parochial issues in order to enable Members to establish a fat voting record to use at campaign time.

A Member of Congress has many fundamental, pressing responsibilities: aside from voting on legislation, he must attend committee meetings, research and study the myriad matters which come before his review, answer constituent correspondence, and, in the case of Members serving on committees that have overseas responsibilities, be able to participate in committee travel and thus be necessarily absent from the Capitol. All this besides finding the time to travel home at frequent intervals, so that he can keep abreast of the attitudes and problems of the people whom he represents. Obviously, Members of Congress must be superb jugglers if they hope to fulfill each of these charges competently, not to mention in a superior manner.

To manage this balancing act, a Member must put priorities on his time, and often this requires him to miss some votes in the House. Yet, absenteeism from the floor of the House is not necessarily absenteeism from congressional responsibility, and the challenging candidates who allege as much are twisting and distorting the facts.

I am sure that I speak for many of my colleagues, Democrats and Republicans alike, when I say that it is vitally important for the public to adequately understand just what is involved in attendance records.

ONLY UNCLE SAM CAN KILL RATS?

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, nothing more clearly demonstrates the erosion of self-reliance in this country than the continuing efforts of the Great Society to spend millions of dollars on so-called rat extermination.

The following editorial from a recent issue of the Waterloo Daily Courier deals with this subject, as I am sure the great majority of the citizens and taxpayers of this country want it dealt with—that is, use a do-it-yourself kit instead of spending millions to finance a swarm of bureaucrats to spread over the land looking for rats.

ONLY UNCLE SAM CAN KILL RATS

The decline of self-reliance in the United States and the rise in political trickery are nowhere better illustrated than in the proposed establishment of a federal rat control administration.

One year ago on July 20 the House of Representatives voted to reject consideration of a so-called two-year, $40 million rat control program.

Those who voted against the measure were immediately accused of desiring to let rats kill little babies. The venomous and irrational attacks were so effective that the House reversed itself and approved the authorization bill.

But to date no appropriation has been voted, although a recent revival of publicity on the issue will doubtless result in some funds being provided. Observers believe the money will be approximately equal to the $19 million requested for 46 large cities.

No one, of course, approves of rats biting little babies. The absurdity of the rat control debate is the fact that (1) no American is so poor that he cannot afford rat poison and a lid for his garbage can and (2) no American city is administered by such incompetent officials that they cannot organize a city rat control program if they desire to do it.

Only a generation ago the American public would have considered it absurd to vote a federal appropriation for rat control. The tradition still lingered that people were supposed to have enough energy to solve some of their problems themselves.

Now, however, the tradition apparently is that the citizen sits with a can of beer in front of his television set and demands that the federal government solve all his problems. He is showing a growing inability to act on anything.

MOST STATES HAVE MORE FISH AND GAME WARDENS THAN SAFETY INSPECTORS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, a great deficiency in the control of known occupational diseases is the lack of trained personnel to correct work-place hazards. The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 would provide sufficient authority to train the needed personnel.

In the third largest of our industrial States, Illinois, there is only one professionally trained industrial hygienist for the entire State. Texas has two, one of whom is in school and one of whom is about to retire.

As of January 1967, there were only 176 industrial hygienists employed by all State agencies. There were only 32 such persons employed in the 25 largest cities of the Nation. A conservative estimate made by the Public Health Service in 1967 indicated that at least 519 additional industrial hygiene field personnel are needed in State and local agencies merely to inspect and survey industries.

In the field of safety, the situation is not much better. Most States have more fish' and game wardens than they do safety inspectors. And when I speak of State safety inspectors, I include those who check boilers and elevators in apartment buildings as well as those who attempt to keep the work site accident free.

Ohio, Illinois, and Pennsylvania, all highly industrialized States have more people assigned to protecting wildlife than to protecting the arms and legs of their citizens on the job. Even in New York State, often cited for its outstanding program, there are only 255 safety inspectors. If I were working in one of the hundreds of small plants there which do not have any safety program of its own, I think that I would have some doubts about the adequacy of even this outstanding program.

So, Mr. Speaker, if the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 did nothing more than to increase the number of qualified safety and occupational health specialists, the American worker would be in better shape than he is today. But the bill does more; it gives the Secretary of Labor the authority to correct the problems the inspectors find, something which is not true in most instances now. It allows the Secretary of Labor to set Federal standards to protect our workers, and it provides for the improvement and broadening of State programs in the field of occupational safety and health.

This is why I support the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968. I sincerely urge my colleagues of both parties to do likewise; the safety and health of American workers is not a partisan issue.

POST OFFICE ECONOMIES

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, recently I have had word from the Post Office Department that one of the post offices in our Sixth Congressional District of Minnesota will be closed because of the economies dictated by Congress.

I have had letters and petitions from the people served by this post office, urging me to do everything possible to keep this post office open. This is a serious problem. It is the only close connection—except for the tax collector—which these people have with their Federal Government, and it is being taken away from them. Yet, part of their taxes will be used to support the deficit which the Post Office Department incurs each year.

But other people, in addition to those who are being denied postal service, are concerned about these so-called economies by the Post Office Department.

Editor Bill Cutten, of the Eden Valley Journal, was among several newspaper editors who commented on the economy actions of the Post Office Department. I am inserting his fine editorial into the RECORD so that my colleagues may share this example of the depth of feeling regarding these actions:

> The announcement on the front page of this issue of the Journal, on new post office hours isn't going to handicap us too much, but the Postmaster General's ruling will certainly make it harder for clerks and postmasters of the local post office and all over the country, because of lack of understanding of postal patrons.
>
> For instance, it is going to be mighty hard this issue of the Journal, on new post office to explain that she can't sell stamps, a money order etc. but still the office is open from the hours of 8:30 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. on Saturday morning.
>
> Certainly we can understand how this may save the expense of an additional employee, in larger offices with special windows for the sale of stamps, money orders, parcel post, etc. But in an office, such as our local post office, where the same clerk sells all of the above over one counter, it is going to seem ridiculous to say the least, and we can just see some irate postal patron scolding the local postal employees for the fact that they couldn't mail a package or buy some stamps on Saturday.
>
> We suspect that the Postmaster General may be trying to use a black jack over the head of Congress, because of the economy orders that have been taking place.
>
> We think that politics may be being played in the cutbacks that have been ordered by the Postmaster General. If there is enough hue and cry from an outraged public, Congress may be forced to restore money to the Post Office department budget which has been cut.

REEVALUATE OUR TRADE POLICIES

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, as one reviews the session's activities from the beginning up to this point, one can find whatever he is looking for. If he is interested in consumer welfare, the session has been a success. This Congress has passed more legislation in the interest of the consumer than any Congress in our history.

The main thrust of this legislation has been to stop the long history of consumer gouging, false advertising, actual-cost labeling, and interest and credit charges so that everybody can understand how much an auto, an appliance, or any other credit purchased item will finally cost a customer.

In the area of protection, we passed stricter meat inspection laws, safety codes, and better designed housing construction and planning programs.

In spite of a drastic cutback in total budgeting of expenses—a $6 billion cut—we were able to maintain a reasonable rate of spending for education, antipoverty, housing, public works, and essential hospital and welfare construction and maintenance operations.

The Vietnam war and our adverse trade balances have combined to cut into our revenue returns to such a grave and serious extent that curtailment and postponement of many programs became necessary.

In the main, we have provided, with the money available, Federal services and Federal aid in many cases of need.

This Congress took a harder look at foreign aid spending than any other Congress since its inception after World War II. Some of us wanted to go further in cuts in this area, however, the very people who were screaming and wailing about Federal deficits came running to the rescue of the foreign aid bill and are daily condemning the Members who are fighting to cut the excessive imports of steel, glass, radios, mushrooms, shoes, and hundreds of items that are destroying our industrial capacity, depleting our jobs, and eroding the American dollar all over the world.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, one must mention the many acts of Congress dealing with our most serious and disturbing domestic issue in the body politic. I speak of riots and disorder, disregard and disrespect for law and order, for public officials, the good as well as the bad, disrespect for our institutions and, above all, the open and public display of an apparent breakdown in what we consider to be moral values.

Critics, especially the news media, daily rap Congress for not doing something. This, of course, only adds to the disrespect and distrust of government at all levels. Is there a law that anyone can think of that Congress has not passed on the issue of riots and disorder. Congress has written antiriot clauses into every conceivable bill passing through Congress, and yet the criticism fails to note that Congress cannot administer the laws; it cannot physically police the streets and cities.

We are told that somehow public officials have neglected the poor and the underprivileged. Maybe we have; however, in my 36 years of public life I have consistently voted for, sponsored, and supported in every way possible, social security, unemployment compensation—I introduced the first bill in the State of Pennsylvania in 1935—provided funds for direct and indirect relief; voted for and sponsored manpower training, medicare and all its services to the aged, the sick, and the victims of disaster—personal and otherwise—and antipoverty programs—in some publicized cases mismanaged by nonelected administrators to the detriment of the poor with the blame as always placed upon the Congress.

The most important economic antipoverty bill was the minimum wage and maximum hour law which I am proud to have sponsored and managed through the Congress.

In spite of the many unions and united labor groups in the Nation, over 19 million workers were still not covered by minimum wage laws. The bill I sponsored put 8,700,000 more workers under coverage and raised the national minimum from $1.25 to $1.60 an hour. For the first time in wage legislative history we were able to include farmworkers employment, the so-called commerce test We set aside in the major areas of employment, the so-called "commerce test" allowing millions of workers to be covered and protected against exploitation in wages and excessive overtime.

At this moment, Mr. Speaker, my committee is working on the next step in this area. We have, for advisement council and open hearings, the new labor standards bill aimed at further reduction in production workers hours, overtime, extra pay, and a basic wage up to $2 an hour in certain fields of employment.

While this bill is being studied, our committee has been holding hearings on one of the most serious problems facing the older workers in the labor field. The question of security in old age has been and will remain one of Government's greatest concerns. While the present legislation appears to be labor oriented, it really covers all pension plan members, from top to bottom. This legislation is aimed at guaranteeing through insurance coverage the workers pension and welfare rights and benefits. We are trying to work out, with the help and advice of all concerned—employer, employee, business, and insurance officials—a plan to insure every worker who participated in a pension plan, a vested right for his annuity, a safeguard in the funding of the plans reserves, insuring said funds and an all-out effort to write a law containing portability of pension participation by every worker. This means that a worker may shift jobs and employers and have his pension and welfare rights travel with him.

Our committee knows how tough this job is, and therefore, is doing the job in a manner that will guarantee its passage once we get over the rough job of drafting a final, and we hope, an acceptable bill.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have been the sponsor of bills that have become law: First, giving every worker up to 65 years of age a right to a job in spite of his advanced years if he qualifies in every other respect. This legislation outlawed job discrimination against workers over 40 years of age in many industries. Our committee received copies of forms from some employers bluntly stating that "workers over 40 need not apply." Congress must have agreed with our committee, since the bill became law with an overwhelming majority vote. Second, a bill that took 5 years of hearings and effort is finally paying off in dividends of better trained workers, higher earnings, and better craftsmanship. I refer to the Dent loans to vocational, trade, business, and craft school students. This bill recognized the need for aid to the unskilled and semiskilled workers who wanted to become craftsmen and experts in the less than college degree careers. It gives those students the kind of loans and aid given by previous law to college students under the NDEA. No other law is doing more to fill one of our Nation's greatest needs—trained, capable, and willing experts in this field.

This Congress has been through some serious crises. The erosion of the dollar in foreign trade is caused by the Vietnamese drain on the Treasury and our outmoded, seriously damaging trade policies. No nation can survive in a free trade world with high costs of production built in by Federal, State, and local taxes, mandated labor standards, noncompetitive public utility charges, and a free labor and free enterprise system, as opposed to foreign-government-controlled labor unions, if any, fixed subsidies for transportation and public services, tax rebates, and Government financing for plant expansion, industrial research, and nontariff barriers to protect domestic production and jobs.

The former world of separate and individual nations' monopoly on know-how, finances, and production volume, and a world market of nonindustrial nations, made this Nation the greatest exporter of manufactured and primary products.

That day has passed and now we find ourselves fighting desperately to hold our industries together, our job ratios to population growth, and our domestic markets against our former customers who can and are producing competitive products at costs below our Government-fixed costs of production, leaving no room for our industries to fight back. Whether industry is to blame or whether Congress is to blame is of little matter at this point. What is important is for the whole Nation—and especially the public opinion forming news media—to take a new look at our trade policies.

Congress, at least the House of Representatives, has done so by passing the Dent—H.R. 478—bill which will shift the burden of proof of import damages from the Tariff Commission to the Labor Department. This is where the real impact of wage laws, import policies, foreign wage and services costs of production can be measured against the impact upon an industry, a plant in a specific community, the industrial capability to compete, and the job losses, if any. This bill took over 6 years of pushing, studying, hearings, and coaxing to pass. It now is tied up in the Senate. It must pass if we are to reassess our trade position.

It was this pending bill that caused me to turn down the offer of my colleagues to take the election to the Ways and Means Committee. While the Ways and Means Committee handles tariff matters, believed then and now that the avenue to pursue in reaching an answer to ours and the world's trade dilemma is through the Labor Committee.

All political, diplomatic, and other international considerations must bow to the inevitable, inflexible rules of the exact science of economics. The inexact science of political diplomacy which has created the present monstrosity of trade policies must be set aside or the whole trading world will end up in a depression that will make the Hoover regime look like prosperity.

Nations are building production facilities way above any anticipated needs for generations to come. They are building for export, their chief markets being the United States and the nonindustrialized nations. Our country, after having helped the presently industrialized nations to become competitive, is busy building up production facilities in the so-called backward nations. Our own industries are scrambling to get out from under our minimum and union wage levels.

They are building plants in tax-free zones in Mexico, Formosa, Hong Kong, and in every foreign country. We are told that this is done to penetrate the foreign market. This may have been so in the beginning, until the foreign nations, with our help, suddenly started producing for themselves, thereby cutting out our foreign markets. It is not true today. For instance, what market can Formosa or Hong Kong give us for electronics, toys, and hundreds of other products and yet we produce more in these countries than they consume by any stretch of the imagination.

Take a good look at what the Mexicans call the Pronef program. This is the straw that eventually must break their free trade camel's back. In Mexico there has been set aside an 11-mile-wide strip of land the length of the Rio Grande River, plus all of Baja California, as a free entry, free export area for American industry to produce goods for the U.S. marketplace. The plants must hire Mexican labor, pay little if any local government taxes, but must ship all their products out of Mexico. They are not permitted to sell with the rest of Mexico.

Yes, we have moved in, and today, after just a few short months of operation of this great industrial steal, we find over 4,000 industrial jobs shifted to Mexican labor by exploiting U.S. industry. Many thousands of jobs have been lost to our southwestern and western farmworkers by the transfer of production of food products, especially tomatoes, strawberries, citrus fruits, and beef, to the Mexican side of the border where wages are not as much for a day as our minimum wage is for an hour. How do we compete? We cannot. If we could, there would be no runaway industry.

This action by our Government in allowing this is directly opposite to what Congress has done in the minimum wage law. In order to protect the industries and jobs of workers covered by this law—commerce clause exemptions made coverage very limited—especially in the Northern States with the minimum wage laws, Congress made it illegal to ship from one State to another goods produced not paying the minimum wage and maximum hour mandates.

Our own Government, while restricting domestic producers, allows products produced by American industry to come across the Rio Grande, the Canadian border and in fact, from anywhere, without consideration of the wages paid, the hours worked, and above all without regard to the competition from foreign products produced by runaway American industry that produces overseas, disregards our labor standards, and sells in the U.S. market without penalty or charge of any kind, in competition with domestic industry paying the full costs required by the U.S. Government at all levels.

This bubble must break. Right now at every wage conference, the unseen bargainer is the foreign worker, undercutting U.S. wages and taking so much out of our economy that Fort Knox cannot meet the drain from both the military and the economic wars we are in.

For more than 10 years, I have warned both labor and industry about the coming crisis. It is here and it is so simple that even an eighth grader can understand its impact. For instance, we hear of steel's problems on imports. Both labor and management now admit the gravity of the situation. For years, like the shoe manufacturers, textile and farmers, they ignored the warnings simply because they were selling more than they were buying. This will never be again. The production capabilities, the know-how, cheap labor and government ownership and partnership overseas will never again allow this Nation to make their economies dependent upon the United States for their everyday needs. For instance, while the average per ton profit on steel to U.S. manufacturers is $12 a ton, the imported steel sells for $35 less than domestic competitors.

Here were the words of both labor and industry before my committee 7 years ago when they were fighting the early Dent bill to reevaluate our trade policies. Industry said—Conrad Cooper speaking for steel:

> We would not be afraid of foreign competition if labor would increase its productivity, give us a full day's work, and hold down their wage demands.

Labor said—Bernstein speaking for David MacDonald, United Steel Workers:

> We would not be worried about imports if large industry would reduce its prices and cut its profits.

This, then, was the formula: Cut profits, cut wages, increase production, and cut prices. That is easy, only what comes first, the hen or the egg—wage reductions or price cutting.

I said then and repeat now, It will not work for many reasons, not the least of which is our need for an enormous income to meet an enormous National, State, local, and personal debt structure and the costly need for roads, schools, hospitals, and personal services that, right or wrong, are our way of life.

Add to this the simple fact that we cannot cut low enough to reach the 7-cent labor in Taipei, the 15-cent labor in Hong Kong, the 35 cents to $1.25 labor in Japan, Mexico, and Europe, and only the Lord knows how soon we will be competing with the "for nothing" labor of less than 50 cents a day in the Latin American countries and the emerging African and Asiatic economies.

No, we cannot count on this steel formula if we are to have a free labor and free enterprise economy. If we are ready for something else, then that is another matter. For myself and my family, for my State and my Nation, Mr. Speaker, I am not ready to change from what I have for what I am afraid I would get.

This will be true with food as well as clothes, and other consumer goods within this decade. The slim, weak string of agricultural exports—mostly subsidized by our Government—is the only binding holding our trade together today. When it comes apart—and it will soon—the fiasco of our policies will hit like an H-bomb in all the marketplaces of the world.

It has been said that world free trade creates peace and friendship among nations. I am now 60 years of age, Mr. Speaker, and I cannot remember too many years and especially this past 25 years when we have had more war, more strained relations, and more free trade in our modern world.

World free trade may be the cause of more grief than we can overcome. We hold out promises to all nations that they can sell in our marketplace. When the inevitable day comes when idle hands and marching feet force a drastic and undesirable closing of our borders, the economies of the exporting nations will collapse and good old Uncle Sam, the provider, will be "stoned and spat upon by the multitude of nations."

CHARLES BAUMBERGER, JR.: INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, in the business and industrial community of San Antonio the name Charles Baumberger, Jr., for decades commanded the respect that is due to an innovator, to a successful industrialist, and to a community leader. Mr. Baumberger recently died, but as we say in Texas, he made his mark, and men will always know where he passed.

San Antonio was only a small town when natural cement rock was found in the then outlying area of town that is today Brakenridge Park. In 1880 the San Antonio Portland Cement Co. was founded with the name of Alamo Roman and Portland Cement Co. The capital of that company was $3,100, and Charles Baumberger's father joined the firm as a bookkeeper. It was the first cement plant west of the Mississippi. Mr. Baumberger, Sr., rose to become manager of the firm in 1884, and 3 years later became president of the company, a post that he held until 1948, when his son took control.

The original quarries of the San Antonio Portland Cement Co. are now near the downtown business district of San Antonio. One quarry has been reclaimed and turned into a sunken garden, the beauty and fame of which are well known in the Southwest. Some of the old plant buildings are still preserved on the site and incorporated into the gardens. Other quarries have been converted into an amphitheater. Another old quarry of the company is the site of Trinity University which surely must be among the most beautiful of college campuses in the country. The company had left these sites behind as it grew and as its needs for materials expanded. By the mid-20th century the San Antonio Portland Cement Co. was among the leaders of the field, and it remains there today.

None of this would have been possible without the able leadership of Charles Baumberger, Jr., and his father.

Industrial leadership alone was not the only contribution Mr. Baumberger made to San Antonio. He was a liberal supporter of both St. Mary's University and Trinity University, which as I mentioned earlier is located on the site of an old company quarry. He helped provide for the growth of Southwest Research Institute, which is a rapidly growing leader in applied research of all kinds. He was a benefactor of the San Antonio Zoo, and a supporter of the Boy Scout movement. An industrial good citizen, he belonged to the San Antonio Manufacturers Association and the local chamber of commerce.

It is always sad to note the loss of a remarkable community leader, and San Antonio mourns the passing of Mr. Baumberger. Yet his mark is made, and he contributed mightily to the growth of San Antonio. I mourn the passing of this man, who like his father before him helped create, shape, and turn into an industrial leader a company whose contribution to the city has been and will continue to be a great one.

WE VOTED FOR IT

HON. JAMES V. SMITH

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, much of the strength of our country's backbone comes from the editors of our smalltown newspapers. These men—and women—are close to the grassroots, yet they keep a sharp eye on the affairs of the community, the State, the Nation, and the world.

Up in the Panhandle of Oklahoma, in a town named "Beaver," there is a newspaper publishing family—the Lansdens—which puts out the weekly Beaver Herald Democrat to a subscription list numbering more than 2,000. Willis and Merlee Lansden are the publishers; Joe Lansden is news editor and advertising manager.

In a recent issue, they had an editorial that is so pertinent to the times that I would like for each one of my colleagues to read it. I submit it here for the RECORD:

WE VOTED FOR IT

Statistics tell us the country is more prosperous than ever, but the practical experience of a great many people tell us the statistics are out of kilter. It is becoming harder and harder to make both ends meet. Family budgets are stretched thinner and thinner and, of late, wage increases show a tendency to lag behind price increases—all of which is inevitable when steady monetary inflation becomes a way of life.

Many well-meaning persons ask, "Can't industry, or can't the farmer, or the businessman do something to restore stability?" They forget that for more than a generation the people themselves have voted time after time for the philosophy of more and bigger government. Whether they have realized it or not, they have voted for the philosophy of socialism. As a consequence, we live in a semi-socialized state, in which much of the authority for decision making in economic matters rests with government. In reality, political pressures now dominate economic decisions. Instead of business cycles, we have political cycles, which determine fluctuations in fiscal and monetary policies of government.

It is easy to blame the war in Vietnam for our current troubles, but the war is not wholly to blame. And as to the question of whether business and industry can preserve stability, the answer is, they already have to a remarkable degree. Living standards are at record levels, and every resource of technology is being called upon in the competitive business world to help improve efficiency and cut costs. But beyond this, the philosophy of the socialized state is the root cause of current instability—and we voted for it.

LIEUTENANT MILLER, OF GREEN BERETS, KILLED IN VIETNAM COMBAT

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lt. Joseph J. Miller, Jr., a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his bravery and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

LIEUTENANT MILLER OF GREEN BERETS, KILLED IN VIETNAM COMBAT

Joseph J. Miller, Jr., a first lieutenant with the Special Forces who had been a varsity athlete at Calvert High School, has been killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Lieutenant Miller, 21, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. Miller, Sr., of 291 Sipple avenue, Homecrest, died July 24 of wounds received in an exchange of fire, the department said.

He was stationed with Detachment A 333, Company A of the Fifth Special Forces Group.

After receiving his basic training in February 1966 at Fort Gordon, Ga., he went to Fort Dix, N.J. for further training. Then he attended Officer's Candidate School at Fort Bragg, N.C. He went to Vietnam in February of this year and entered the Green Berets in March. He was due home next February.

A graduate of Calvert Hall High School in 1965, he won the alumni unsung-hero award for efforts on the football team in his senior year. He also played varsity lacrosse.

After graduation, he worked for a short time installing phone lines for the Telephone Company.

TOLD OF JUNGLE PATROL

"In his letters home," his father said, "he didn't tell us much about what he was doing. He wrote that he goes out on patrols into the jungles for five days at a time." His father added that his son had trained a group of nine unskilled South Vietnamese villagers living in the mountains in how to fight the Viet Cong.

He once delivered a baby to one of the Vietnamese women and was called "Doc" by the village youths after that.

Survivors besides his parents include two sisters, Marcia J. and Paula J. Miller, and two brothers, Glenn M. and Gregory P. Miller, all of Baltimore.

INCREASE IN 1969 AUTHORIZATION FOR FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 29, 1968

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the food stamp plan vote yesterday marked an eventful day in the history of the food stamp plan when the House, by a vote of 227 to 172, adopted the Sullivan amendment which would authorize the expenditures of such sums as are necessary for the next 4 fiscal years.

I remember well the day in February 1954, when LEONOR SULLIVAN offered her first amendment to create the food stamp program. On that day, after listening to her presentation and having been aroused by the misuse and waste in the handling of surplus foods in my own district, I voted for Mrs. SULLIVAN's amendment.

Even though the amendment was defeated on that occasion, the gentlewoman from Missouri and those of us who were interested in this approach to the food problem, for our poor, our aged, our pensioners and our underprivileged persisted until the food stamp program became a reality on a trial basis. One of the counties in my congressional district, which had the greatest rate of unemployment anywhere in the United States, was selected as one of the experimental counties. In actual practice, the food stamp plan has been a boon, not just to those who qualify to receive the stamps, but to the merchants and business people in our community.

In view of the fact that many persons who are recipients of the benefits are elderly citizens, living on very limited income, this plan enables them to have a balanced diet and buy food in quantities they need. The waste associated with the distribution of Federal surplus food due to the large quantities being distributed, lack of refrigeration and the drabness of having to eat the same foods day after day, have caused the food stamp plan to meet with tremendous public approval throughout the United States.

I am indeed sorry that the House added an amendment preventing those on strike in a labor dispute from participating in the food stamp program. Representing an area in which labor is a viable and important segment, I doubt if on any occassion there has ever been a unanimous vote of any union to strike. It would be bad enough if the amendment prevented only the members who were striking or involved in a labor dispute from receiving the benefits of this plan, but the wives and children who have absolutely no part in the strike, whatsoever, are the innocent victims of the amendment adopted by the House.

I am further concerned about the amendment adopted in the House which prevents a student attending institutions of higher learning from participating in the food stamp plan. It is ironic that the same Congress which has stated they are perfectly willing to advance money to institutions of higher learning for the construction of new buildings and financial assistance to students so they may attend college, is so niggardly when it comes to helping a student have a balanced diet.

We have heard a hue and cry in the press, on radio and television about the people in this country who live in poverty. Of course, some of the figures are taken out of context and some of the statements are made by irresponsible persons, but there is no doubt in anyone's mind that there are people in this country who are poor—many through no fault of their own. Though the Congress has declared that there should be a poverty program and though this program has served many useful purposes, one of the first and finest ways to relieve poverty in this country—and in my opinion, the best way—is to ascertain that every citizen, regardless of race, color, or creed, has an adequate and sufficient diet.

The food stamp plan, which has this as its basic and ultimate goal, stands as a memorial to Congresswoman LEONOR SULLIVAN. I am happy to have been able to vote for the food stamp plan from its origination.

EDWARD T. O'BRIEN: A DEVOTED FRIEND, A SELFLESS INDIVIDUAL

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, upon my election to Congress almost 4 years ago I established within my district a committee of area aides—that is an advisory committee of concerned and active citizens from the various communities in my district. This committee has consistently provided me with needed advice and the people serving on this committee became my close and valued friends.

Recently Edward T. O'Brien, of Albertson, a member of my committee of area aides since its formation, passed away suddenly. I mourn Eddie O'Brien because he was a trusted and devoted friend. On another plane, though, I mourn Eddie O'Brien because it is through the selfless service of people such as Eddie that I can constantly look to my constituents for advice and strength. As an area aide, Eddie O'Brien was a great help to me and thus, I believe, a great help to the people of the Third Congressional District.

In fact it may fairly be said that by lending his services to my office Eddie O'Brien did an important service to his country. The impact of his efforts reached beyond my district, beyond New York, into many of my activities. This is national service and the commitment with which Eddie O'Brien provided that service demonstrates his devotion to the United States. We have lost a sincere, an able, and a good American.

To Eddie's dear widow, Mary, and to his three sons, Edward, James, and John, I can say that I was proud to have known Eddie O'Brien and that all his neighbors will forever be in his debt for devoted work for the public good.

URBAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—A PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL POLICY

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, more than a year ago, Herblock of the Washington Post, summed up the crisis in our cities with one brilliant cartoon—he drew a typical American city with a huge time bomb ticking in its center.

The tragedy of this last 12 months is that if Herblock was to sit down today, the only accurate picture he could draw of the American city is one with even more dilapidated houses than last year, more tragic congestion, more wall-to-wall garbage on the streets, more water and air pollution, more abandoned cars, broken street lamps, thugs and muggers on the sidewalk—and a bomb, with a very much shorter time fuse.

The fate of our cities lies with Congress. This year we refused to make a commitment. Next year we must.

Quite recently, the Center for New York Affairs of the New School for Social Research sponsored a series of seminars for urban experts from education, business, and government, who came to the same conclusion.

Under the chairmanship of Under Secretary of Commerce Howard Samuels, the experts drafted an intelligent and realistic program for the economic development of urban America. The core of the program is a dramatic commitment of Federal funds.

I include the program drafted by the experts at this point in the RECORD:

URBAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL POLICY

(Note.—Recommended by participants from business, education, government, and civic groups in a series of seminars sponsored by the Center for New York City Affairs of the New School for Social Research, April through June, 1968.)

We, the undersigned, having brought together different viewpoints on urban economic problems, conclude that entirely new actions at the national level are needed to satisfy urgent economic needs:

1. The full employment of the present and potential economic capacities of all who are willing and able to work, through the joint efforts of government and private industry.
2. Adequate income for those who cannot work—children, mothers who must care for children, the old, the sick, the handicapped.
3. Acceptance by the federal government of the costs of national problems stemming from poverty now borne by local governments.
4. Development of new, and redevelopment of old, urban growth centers to provide job opportunities and geographical alternatives for residents of the central cities and rural migrants.

These recommendations assume continued federal responsibility for maintaining a sound and balanced full-employment economy through appropriate fiscal and monetary action. We believe the executive branch should have more authority, through flexible tax rates within a range set by Congress, to fulfill this responsibility.

The recommendations are also based on the belief that the fiscal resources necessary are simply not available to state and local governments from the present tax system.

To accomplish these goals, the following seven steps are needed:

1. Each human being deserves the opportunity to develop his potential to the fullest. Since many communities are unable to provide the necessary resources, national action is required.

Only recently has the federal government accepted some responsibility for the full development of the disadvantaged child. But present programs are inadequate and underfinanced.

Federal funds to assure a minimum quality of education throughout the nation, plus 100 percent federal financing for special education programs for the disadvantaged child, are required. National programs would recognize that in a mobile society, human assets are national assets; that inadequate investment in the development of human resources by one state becomes the problem of another state, and a national problem.

2. Past and present failure in education and motivation, along with increasing skill requirements, has left a large number of men and women unemployed or underemployed. The federal government has now accepted the responsibility for leadership and financing of manpower training programs. But the programs launched during the past few years must be improved and expanded to facilitate greater job entry for the unemployed and occupational upgrading for the underemployed.

3. Even with an adequate level of skills and education, we still cannot have full employment if the people and the jobs are not in the same place. Present programs do little to bring people and jobs together. The United States Employment Service needs to be completely restructured and re-oriented to meet national requirements.

A national program for mobility should include a far more effective system of employment and manpower information, and expanded incentives for migration of people to where the jobs are and location of industry where the people are.

4. The best education and manpower programs would still leave some able and willing people without jobs, even in a full economy, because perfect matching of people with jobs is impossible. Recognizing that this gap will exist and that human dignity in our society requires the opportunity for useful work, the federal government must take leadership and provide resources to assure jobs in the performance of urgently needed public services.

To allow public needs to go unmet while paying a man for doing nothing is an economic and social loss. If we maintain a vigorous economy and provide adequate education and training opportunities, this program need not be large.

5. For those truly unable to work, the federal government must assure a national minimum living standard through a system of income maintenance and strengthened social services. A minimum standard would remove some of the incentive for migration to the central cities. With social services for the poor as with special education needs, the federal government must bear the burden as a national cost and free the cities to raise the standard of local services for all its citizens.

6. The country's minority citizens must be brought into fuller participation in the ownership and administration of the business enterprises of the nation. To that end the federal government must expand its leadership in making risk capital, industrial sites, loans and credit guarantees, management training and technical assistance available.

7. To achieve maximum utilization of manpower and economic resources, a national planning framework is necessary to anticipate economic forces at work in the country and to prepare the appropriate level of government to deal with them.

Within such a framework, the federal government should support regional and local economic development efforts. Federal action in defense contracts, transportation, housing subsidies, agriculture and other areas which have often contributed to chaotic metropolitan development must be coordinated and redirected. A set of conscious federal policies, developed with the full participation of business, labor, state and local leaders, is necessary to make regional and local economic development effective.

In carrying out these policies, the leadership and funds must be federal but decision-making and management must be shared with state and local governments and organizations.

The time has come to bring all our citizens into full participation in the nation's economy, and allow all to share in its benefits.

The time has come, in a just and compassionate society, to provide adequately for those who through no fault of their own, cannot participate.

The time has come to recognize the role of planning to achieve a truly full employment economy.

The nation has the duty. The nation has the resources. The nation has the opportunity. The nation must meet the urban challenge.

The above statement reflects the conclusions that emerged from the working sessions of the seminars. Each participant did not necessarily endorse every item.

SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS

Howard Samuels, Chairman, Under Secretary, United States Department of Commerce.

E. Sherman Adams, Senior Vice President, First National City Bank.

Herbert Bienstock, Regional Director, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Dr. Nathan Brown, Executive Deputy Superintendent of Schools, Board of Education, New York City.

Paul Busse, Executive Vice President, Economic Development Council of New York City.

Ross D. Davis, Assistant Secretary for Economic Development, U.S. Dept. of Commerce.

Samuel Ganz, Former Commissioner, Manpower and Career Development Agency.

Mitchell I. Ginsberg, Administrator, Human Resources Administration.

Frank J. Hoenemeyer, Executive Vice President, Prudential Insurance Company.

John P. Keith, Executive Vice President, Regional Plan Association.

Frederica Kramer, Staff Planning Associate, National Association Against Discrimination in Housing.

Haskell Lazere, Acting National Director, Inter-Racial Council for Business Opportunity.

Richard Lewisohn, Administrator, Economic Development Administration.

Jerome Liblit, Associate Dean, The New School.

Alfred C. Neal, President, Committee for Economic Development.

Dr. Oscar A. Ornati, Director, Labor Market Project, New York University Graduate School of Business Administration.

John T. Patterson, President, Consultant Urban Development, John T. Patterson & Company.

Arthur Pearlroth, Consultant, Economic Development Administration.

Pierrepont Prentice, Administrative Vice President, Time, Inc.

Allan K. Sloan, Deputy Executive Director, New York City Planning Commission.

George Spater, President, American Airlines.

Hector Vasquez, Executive Director, Puerto Rican Forum.

Dr. Thomas Vietorisz, Professor of Economics, New School for Social Research.

Jay Wells, President, Wells Television, Inc.

Robert G. Wilmers, First Deputy Financial Administrator, Department of Finance.

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE SOCCER CLUB TO TOUR EUROPE

HON. ROBERT T. STAFFORD

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, there are few who will question today the need for improved relations between the United States and European nations, including those on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

One of the best ways of bringing about such improvement is through direct people-to-people contact. I have therefore been very interested in plans of the Middlebury, Vt., College Soccer Club to make a tour of Europe, including stops in Russia and Poland. These plans have now been finalized and are announced in detail in the following news story.

I, of course, am very proud that this trip in being made by young men from a Vermont institution of higher learning, which also happens to be my alma mater. I also want to recognize the cooperation which was given in planning this trip by officials of the People-To-People Sports Committee, Inc., and of the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

Most importantly, however, I know that my colleagues here in the House of Representatives will want to extend all of our best wishes to the Middlebury College Soccer Club and its coach for a most successful trip, the details of which are explained below:

[From the Rutland (Vt.) Daily Herald, July 27, 1968]

When the Middlebury College Soccer Club leaves next month for a seven-country tour of Europe, including stops in Russia and Poland, it will make history by becoming the first U.S. Collegiate soccer team to play behind the Iron Curtain and only the second such team to go abroad.

The Middlebury club, consisting of 32 members of the College's varsity soccer team, will leave Kennedy International Airport, N.Y., August 12, for the historic tour of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Poland and France. The trip is under the auspices of the People-to-People Sports Committee.

The team, coached by Joseph J. Morrone, varsity soccer and lacrosse coach at Middlebury, will play an 18–20 game schedule against all-star university teams and top amateur clubs in the seven countries visited. Middlebury players will also train with various Polish clubs as well as observe top flight training and competition on the tour.

The trip is designed to be educational, to teach the European brand of soccer to American youth, and promote international good will. It was first conceived during the summer of 1966, when Coach Morrone was in Poland observing soccer play and programs under the State Department's Educational and Cultural Exchange Program.

It was during his eight and one-half week stay in Poland that Morrone received an invitation to bring a team to Poland. He made further contacts last year when he helped coach a team of New England high school and college youths on a tour of Western European countries.

When he first outlined to his soccer team plans for such a trip, the response was overwhelming, with 32 of a possible 45 players indicating a desire to make the tour. Because of this enthusiasm, Middlebury will field two squads on the European circuit.

"This tour is one of the most ambitious undertakings in the 12-year history of the People-to-People Sports Committee," Dr. Leonard Milton, president, said. "We commend Coach Morrone and the Middlebury College Soccer Club, and we are confident that these young men will do much to enhance our relationship with the people of the host countries," he added.

Congressman Robert T. Stafford of Vermont, a graduate and trustee of Middlebury College, said in Washington, that he is pleased that the Middlebury College Soccer Club is embarking on this tour of good will. "We need much more of this type of People-to-People contact, and I am sure these young men will be a great credit to our country," he noted.

Although interest was essential to organizing such a trip, financing was the key. The coach and players launched a fund raising drive last fall, and through a variety of projects and personal donations reached their goal. Using a little "Yankee ingenuity," the boys sold souvenirs at football games, did odd jobs in the college community, ran two raffles and sold bowling tickets through an arrangement with a local alley.

A big boost to their financing problems was the invitation by the Polish Olympic Committee and Football Association to spend a week in Poland as their guests.

With all travel scheduled by air, the Middlebury Soccer Club will make its first stop in Hamburg, Germany. The two-day visit will include four games with area all-star university teams.

The team will be in Copenhagen, Denmark, August 15–17, for games with amateur club teams; moves to Stockholm, Sweden, for two days of competition with club teams; and then completes its Scandinavian swing in Helsinki, Finland, again playing against club teams.

Several games have been scheduled on the Polish portion of the trip, which includes a seven-day stay, August 25–31, in Warsaw and other Polish cities, but game plans for the visit to Leningrad and Moscow are not finalized. Two days rest in Paris is planned before returning to New York, September 2.

Although European teams on this tour will hold a definite advantage, since soccer is the national sport in all of these countries, Middlebury is hoping to make a strong showing as the U.S. representative.

The Vermont liberal arts college, with an enrollment of only 750 men, fields one of the best teams in the country. The small college has placed 12 of its players on eight consecutive All-America Soccer Teams; has never had a losing season; and, in its 14 years of collegiate competition, has never lost two games in succession.

Middlebury has represented New England in college and university division NCAA Championship play and was named the New England co-champion with Brown University in 1965.

Communication with European teams shouldn't prove too much of a problem, since five of the players are enrolled in French, German and Russian at Middlebury, internationally known for its language program. This may be useful following the contests, when the Middlebury players will meet with opposing coaches and players to discuss the finer points of the game.

Whether they are able to converse freely or not, both the American and the European players are expected to understand each other.

CHANGE AND THE CHALLENGE TO YOUTH

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to give proper recognition to a large segment of our society that, in my judgment, is not receiving the full share of credit it so rightfully deserves.

I refer, specifically, to the millions of young Americans who are deeply concerned about the future of this Nation and the direction it will take in coming years; those who sincerely believe that America can and must project a better image both at home and abroad; and those who genuinely want a "piece of the action" when the time comes for their active participation in a cause that will produce effective and meaningful results.

Mr. Speaker, we are told that, by 1980, nearly half of the total population of the United States will be under 25 years of age. With only 12 years remaining, I question if we, of other generations, are doing enough to prepare the youth for such an eventuality and I submit that the Congress and our national leadership should be made more cognizant of, and responsive to, this rapidly developing trend.

There is a challenge for youth in America today—a call to reevaluate and, where necessary, revise outmoded methods, ideas, policies, principles, and priorities that have proven ineffective or damaging to our national purpose. There is a charge to the youth of today and the leaders of tomorrow to redefine and strengthen the cause of American idealism, or mark its defeat; to put freedom on the move, or watch international communism run a one-sided race against free institutions; and to promote positive and constructive involvement at home to secure and insure peace and security around the globe.

Most, if not all, responsible youth in America believe as I do, that our international purpose will be judged by our domestic performance. This, then, becomes the great challenge to the youth of America, to demonstrate by our deeds here at home that this Nation is truly worthy of the mantle of free world leadership. Those who most surely face the test of this challenge and this call are the young Americans of the next generation.

To prepare them for the responsibilities of leadership, and to enable them to meet the challenge I have enumerated, I believe much more can and should be done by and for the youth of America. The burden of world leadership and the responsibility to uphold freedom are, indeed, weighty problems and carry heavy obligations.

I believe there are several things that can and should be done to give young Americans the best possible start on the road to responsible citizenship and effective leadership. Among these are first, an extension of the right and privilege to vote in national elections to those citizens 18 to 21 years of age; second, a more equitable national system of military conscription that will allow young men to pursue their future with confidence and certainty; and third, formation of a National Youth Advisory Council appointed by the President for the purpose of advising him of the problems, aspirations, and recommendations of young people as they apply to national goals and priorities.

In addition, those of us of the present generation must take immediate steps to prepare young America's journey into the future. Among those things that should be done, are: first, establishment of meaningful dialog between adults and young people, including parents and their own sons and daughters, to close the "communication gap," so that a better understanding of each other's objectives may be obtained on a mutual basis; second, stressing the vital importance and future application of balancing idealism with realism on the part of young people; third, understand the importance for adults to match their words with deeds as an example to young people—that is, "telling it like it is" and then practicing what you preach; and, fourth, placing paramount importance and priority on the necessity, both at home and abroad, to export ideas and ideals that are constructive, innovative, and creative, and tend to stimulate and motivate people into action.

The leadership potential of young America today is greater than at any time in our history, and I need not remind you that the demands for bold and imaginative leadership have never been greater.

Throughout my private life, business career, and public service, I have been closely associated with young people and youth programs. One of my most interesting and personally rewarding efforts, was the initiation and implementation of an aviation education-flight training program in our community high school nearly 20 years ago.

The one compelling and noteworthy lesson from this and other experiences with youth is, the more responsibility you give a teenager the more he responds with sensible and responsible behavior and performance. The obligations and responsibilities of young Americans have increased greatly in recent years.

On the other hand, however, young America is restless and waiting for a signal. They see a nation of many paradoxes. They see a lengthy and costly war in Vietnam that drains America of its manpower and resources and hampers our efforts to come to grips with pressing domestic problems here at home. They see hunger and poverty in a land of plenty; unemployment in a land of opportunity; rampant crime and violence in a free society of men and laws; and they see ignorance and lost opportunities in a land of technological excellence.

For them, hindsight and past accomplishments are not sufficient. A hot war in Vietnam, problems at home, and the threat of a nuclear confrontation compel young people to want and strive for a better America and a safer world. This, in my judgment, is to their great credit. What is at issue, as I see it, are the methods a small minority of irresponsible young people have employed for expressing and conveying their concern to a vast, silent majority in this country.

But, who would deny that war represents the one great failure of mankind or that new and different approaches should not be launched in man's quest for peace?

The youth of today have unlimited energy and, as I see it, human energy is the mainspring to progress. Properly directed, it is or can be the most powerful and constructive force in the world—even in a nuclear age. Improperly directed, however, it can lead down the path to anarchy, mobocracy, and ultimate destruction.

We have a world that we can build or destroy and we have the tools to do either. The fate of this Nation and ultimately the world, rests squarely on the shoulders of the coming generation. The sooner we recognize this, the better.

First, however, our generation—the so-called leadership of today—must realize the facts at hand. A head in the sand attitude toward youth and the future will not do—the stakes are too high—the consequences of failure too great—and the potential reward for initiative too inviting.

With their increased knowledge, greater talents, and abundant energy, properly directed, young America can and will give a proper accounting of itself because they know full well that the future they save is their very own. It is going to be their nation and their world. I sincerely believe that the sooner they are permitted to establish an equity in its direction, the more they will become personally concerned about the improprieties of a small but very vocal minority of their age group that is causing great damage to their otherwise very responsible image.

No matter how you describe it, America needs a new sense of direction, and new and expanded leadership. Young men and women by the thousands, are waiting for programs and causes they can "put their teeth into" and believe in. Young America has the obligation to realize that only periodically may we permit ourselves the luxury of acceptance with things as they are, but that the pursuit of perfection must be constant in the continuing struggle for leadership of the world community.

Some may not accept this, but I honestly believe that much of the displayed irresponsibility by youth recently is the direct result of not being given responsibility in the first place. Equal rights beget the assumption of equal responsibilities. But how can one be held responsible if he is deprived of basic and God-given rights?

In my lifetime, I have had the great pleasure of converting some very irresponsible "hot-rodders" into some very responsible airplane pilots at the ripe old age of 16! And this happened solely because we gave them the responsibility and the opportunity to participate—much to the pleasure and appreciation of their parents.

In summary, the real test of this Nation will come when we stop offering excuses and start directing our energies toward meeting the challenge for change. This country and this world are literally loaded with potential for concerned problem-solvers and the keys to unlocking success can be found in two words "commitment" and "involvement"! And, in my judgment, it is here that young America's greatest assets can be realized.

In closing, may I say that I have great trust and abiding faith in the young people of America. They are bigger, healthier, and smarter than past generations of Americans. Compared to the young people of 1920, recent studies prove that our youth of today are biologically, emotionally, and intellectually matured.

I admire their sincerity and energy. I respect their interest and their awareness of what is going on in the world. I share their admiration for America and their desire to create a world of peace and understanding. And I believe they will insure a measure of unparalleled success and achievement in America in the next decade.

From them, I submit, will come the ideas and ideals that will capture and captivate the hearts and minds of men and women throughout the world and in the newly emerging nations that are yet to come. For, it is this, I submit, that will determine the destiny of man, whether we will live under a collectivized, monolithic system of government that demands conformity, or whether freedom under the dynamic and viable forces of free people will prevail to permit the individual to be recognized and rewarded for his creativity and ingenuity.

We must afford more people the opportunity to have a larger say and a greater responsibility in determining what direction our country and the family of nations takes in the future. Why not start with our own youth and then extend and delegate that freedom to the maximum extent possible? This, I believe, is the American way.

The need is great and time is short! False promises, hypocrisy, demagoguery, and "all talk—no action" have no place in the rapidly changing world of today. Opportunities and potentials must be matched by production and performance in creating programs and proposals that appeal to the strengths of men, rather than programs of the past that have only appealed to his weaknesses.

America needs to take inventory and advantage of her assets and then work toward minimizing her domestic and international liabilities as we mobilize to accept change and the challenge it presents to youth.

AMENDMENTS TO S. 633

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on the agenda this week for consideration by the House is S. 633, a bill to establish a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps in the USIA. Now I readily admit that there is other legislation pending that ranks higher in priority and general applicability, but a closer look at S. 633 will indicate its importance in the all-important area of foreign policy.

Briefly, this legislation would put USIA officers on a par with Foreign Service officers in the State Department. The case for USIA was best stated by Mr. Lionel S. Mosley, Assistant Director for Personnel and Training, USIA, in his appearance before the House Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations:

> We have a large corps of officers who have been in our service for 14 years. They have been patient. They wonder why they can't be considered a part of a career service just like their colleagues that they are working alongside. We are having to compete on a market and ask the cream of the crop, if you will, to come into a service which is not a career service at all. It is a temporary service. We have permanent enabling legislation but no career service to go along with it. We are seeking a permanent career service so we can have an orderly, sound personnel system, to support our segment of the foreign affairs area.

I certainly endorse giving USIA officers those privileges which have been denied to them while they serve abroad, and I have introduced H.R. 16408 which is similar to S. 633 with two amendments added. So far as privileges and equities go concerning retirement and compensation for work abroad this type of legislation has been long overdue.

The first amendment contained in H.R. 16408 concerns a provision for veteran's preference and is no more than a reintroduction of that proviso which was found in the original bill. As S. 633 stands now, the veterans' preference section means next to nothing. It reads:

> The fact that any applicant is a veteran or disabled veteran . . . shall be taken into consideration as an affirmative factor in the selection of applicants. . . .

It must be remembered that the Veterans' Preference Act inaugurated the appeals process which was later extended nonveteran employees. Under the present version of S. 633 we would have the ridiculous situation in which a veteran returning from Vietnam and who subsequently joined the USIA Information Officer Corps would be stripped of his right of appeal. The same holds true for the State Department's Foreign Service Corps. The innocuous wording of S. 633 quoted above in effect says that a veteran will relinquish his appeal rights and be subject to the "selection-out" process which is in operation both at State and the USIA.

Mr. Francis W. Stover of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, in his statement before the House subcommittee, stated in part:

> We believe the language of H.R. 16408 introduced by Representative John M. Ashbrook will more effectively obtain the results sought by those who would improve the effectiveness of U.S.I.A. and the Foreign Service. Protection must be accorded the class of officers envisioned by S. 633. As a minimum the original Section 14 of S. 633 should be substituted for the present ineffective language. To be fully effective, however, the Congress must also state unequivocaly that selection out is considered to be an adverse proceeding.

The second amendment contained in H.R. 16408 would establish an appeals procedure for all Foreign Service officers at State and for Foreign Service Information officers at USIA.

This amendment was supported by the largest organization of Federal employees in the United States, the American Federation of Government Employees, in its statement before the subcommittee:

> We most respectfully request that your Subcommittee incorporate either the language now appearing in Section 8 of H.R. 16408, the Ashbrook bill, or some other language which would establish an appeals machinery for Foreign Service Officers and Information Officers in the adverse action of firing or involuntary retirement through "selection out."

Still another organization which is concerned with aspects of S. 633 is the American Civil Liberties Union which submitted recommendations to the subcommittee. Director Speiser of the ACLU stated in part:

> S. 633 should complete the needed reform of the D.A.R.—Development Appraisal Report—system by eliminating all secrecy. This could be accomplished by using language such as that in H.R. 16408 to the effect that "no document may be submitted to a selection panel without first having been shown to the officer being rated. The resulting check on possible abuses by rating officers and corresponding improvement in the ability of those rated to protect themselves is fair to all concerned and fully consonant with established requirements of due process of law."

It is quite evident, then, that there are others who are concerned with the possible abuse of Foreign Service officers and of veterans in the Foreign Service, and I greatly fear that though some USIA information officers may be acquiring privileges rightly belonging to them, many others will be denied their most fundamental constitutional rights and their necessary legal safeguards unless the bill is amended to enable them in cases of adverse action to appeal within their agency and subsequently outside the agency for a review of the files.

Basically, these amendments are offered to protect the initiative of officers in the Foreign Service at the State Department and USIA. To illustrate, in 1965 Prof. Chris Argyris of Yale prepared a report based on a series of conferences with 60 senior Foreign Service officers—many of them Ambassadors or deputy chiefs of mission—which confirmed the harmful professional impact which "selection out" without an appeals procedure has on Foreign Service officers.

The professor observed in his report that after officers had been in the Foreign Service for a few years, they "soon came to write careful and innocuous memos," to "round the sharp corners off the telegrams;" they also "learn not to make waves," they minimize risk taking; they "fear taking responsibility;" they "play the game."

Ambassador Averell Harriman also took issue with the present setup under Foreign Service officers labor:

> Here again, in the process of "selection out," the application of the system can be more fairly applied. I have noted that men have been given low ratings because they haven't gotten along with one individual when others have given them high ratings. If a man happens to be judged at a time when he has worked for a man who doesn't understand him or disagrees with his view he may be "selected out" for reasons which are not sound.

I believe that there is a sound case to be made for including the above-cited amendments in S. 633. There is a substantive body of opinion which supports corrective legislative action, and it cannot be denied that the foregoing amendments complement the purpose of S. 633 by adding further protection and encouragement to those in the Foreign Service.

CURE FOR A SICK POST OFFICE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the Postmaster General is blackmailing the Congress with the threat of curtailing postal service and evidently the Congress will yield to the blackmailing pressures.

An editorial carried by WBBM-TV Chicago, Monday, July 22, carried an exceptionally significant message. The article very effectively and frankly dramatizes the need to follow the Presidential Commission's recommendation to remove politics from the Post Office, turn the Department into a Government supervised corporation, and establish effective administration in lieu of the present mismanagement of the Post Office Department.

The editorial follows:

> CURE FOR A SICK POST OFFICE
>
> The United States Congress and the people of these United States have made a bargain: we will pay 10 per cent more on our income taxes, if the government will cut 6 billion dollars out of its spending.
>
> We, the people, already have started keeping our part of the bargain. The withholding of the 10 per cent income tax surcharge went into effect last week. But there is no great flood of evidence from Washington that the government is keeping its share of the economy bargain.
>
> A case in point is the cool reception given by the White House last week to a presidential commission's recommendation that the Post Office Department could, and should, eliminate a billion dollar a year deficit that has to be made up from money collected from taxpayers.
>
> The commission's report was frank, if not actually brutal. It said the postal system each year "slips further behind the rest of the economy in service, in efficiency, and in meeting its responsibilities as an employer. It wastes about a billion dollars a year and is regularly tangled up in a maze of conflicting authority." The commission suggested that the post office be taken totally away from its present politics-riddled and wasteful system of operation, and be turned over to a special, non-profit, government-supervised corporation which would handle the mail like a business, not as a political sideshow.
>
> The post office is now operated by a cabinet level department that has to go to Congress for even the slightest policy decision. Thus, politics, rather than sound business management principles, govern how much you pay to mail a letter, how fast that letter will get to the address you send it, and how many of your tax dollars will have to be diverted to make up the post office deficit.
>
> Bringing about any substantial change in the creaky and costly postal system we have endured for years will be difficult because the politicians who would have to agree to the change will surely resist the loss of the political patronage involved. But it should be changed for a number of reasons. One we deserve better mail service than we get. Two, we must eliminate the billion dollar a year wasteful deficit cited by the presidential study commission.

Third, and most important, politics should not meddle with the mail.

CWA FAVORS A LOWER VOTING AGE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, as one who has long felt we should lower the voting age in response to the growing sophistication and interest of young people I am pleased by the strong support organized labor has given to a lower voting age.

A resolution calling for lowering the legal voting age to 18 was unanimously adopted at the 30th anniversary convention of the Communications Workers of America. This resolution is indicative of the responsible approach of organized labor to the need for lowering the voting age and, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include that resolution in the RECORD at this point.

The resolution follows:

VOTING AGE

During the Middle Ages, when knighthood was the aspiration of youth and the ultimate authority for the old, an unwritten law evolved, the age of majority. Young men seeking the spurs of knighthood were deemed of age on their twenty-first birthday. It was felt that then they were indeed men.

Today, in the dawn of the space age, young men and women of America take their place in the business community and industry at the age of eighteen, and in the process accept the responsibilities of the adult world. They contribute to the operation of the machinery of government through tax dollars yet have no voice or vote in the affairs of government.

Among these young and vital Americans are many mothers and fathers, working and supporting their families. Their children's future is in the hands of others, yet the right to participate in the selection of those who shape that future is denied them. In times of crisis and times when these young men are called upon to defend their country, with their lives if necessary, the right to vote is withheld. Such a paradox in today's world should no longer be acceptable to America. Therefore, be it

Resolved: That the Communications Workers of America endorses the principle that the legal voting age be lowered to eighteen and that a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S FAILURE TO "CLEAR UP" OVER A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME, STRONGLY SUGGESTS THAT A "CLEAN UP" IS IN ORDER

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on May 8, 1968, I remarked in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, on pages 12396 to 12399, that the Justice Department was deserving of a full scale inquiry by the Congress, and joined my colleague, Congressman RICHARD POFF, in his call for a House Judiciary Committee investigation.

The subject of our concern was the alleged improper actions between some of the highest ranking Democrats and Mr. Lawrence Callanan, leader of the Steamfitters Union in St. Louis. Some highly competent investigative reporting in both the St. Louis Globe Democrat and the Wall Street Journal brought to light suspicious circumstances surrounding the Justice Department's delay in bringing to trial Mr. Callanan on charges that he had converted union dues money for political purposes, including $60,000 to the Democratic Party 6 months after the President commuted a previous jail sentence he was then serving. However, after receiving this sort of publicity, the prosecution was allowed to proceed along its proper course.

"Post hoc ergo propter hoc"—that when two events follow one another they are deemed to be causually related—is recognized by many as a logical fallacy. This it is, and standing alone should never be confused with conclusive proof. However, this fallacy would never have retained its Latin name if it was not commonly recurring, or if it did not have suggestive power, or if it did not occasionally link evidence so strongly together that further investigation was warranted by reasonable people. This then is the theme of my remarks today.

The public allegations in three distinct, yet substantially similar cases, show serious evidence of abuse and misconduct at the highest levels of the executive branch of our Federal Government. These allegations and the evidence supporting them are in my judgment so serious that a mere denial or silence is totally insufficient. We can legitimately assume that "post hoc ergo propter hoc" will be at work in the minds of many so that if the allegations are false they must be cleared up at once. We then can further legitimately assume that due to the seriousness of the charges and the inferences drawn, silence by the Executive supports and confirms them. A failure to "clear up" over a reasonable period of time, suggests that a "clean up" is in order.

I mentioned that there were three distinct, yet substantially similar cases, of possible official misconduct that has come to my attention in recent months. The first is, of course, the Callanan case previously mentioned, and reported more fully in my remarks on May 8, 1968, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at pages 12396 to 12399.

The second case upon which I would like to focus attention is that involving Adam Clayton Powell. It was this 90th Congress which on March 1, 1967, excluded Adam Clayton Powell from its membership. The House voted to exclude former Congressman Powell due to a great extent upon the evidence of misconduct amassed by the Celler committee against him. This investigative committee, chaired by Congressman CELLER, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and composed of eight other members, many of whom were Powell's strongest defenders, submitted a unanimous report to the House finding that Powell was guilty of acts which if proven in a criminal court were tanamount to felonies; that is, embezzlement and forgery.

I felt that the committee had been distracted from the real issue—namely preserving the integrity of the Congress to act as a legislative body—by their concern with punishment. I felt that punishing those that violate criminal statutes was a matter for the prosecuting authorities and the courts. I pointed out that Powell's actions endangered the ability of the House to function as a study and deliberative body, and had caused many citizens to lose confidence in both Houses, and that a vote for or against exclusion, rather than some form of punishment was what was called for.

That much is now history but the criminal charges carefully documented by the Celler committee, and presumably by further investigations by the FBI, remain unprosecuted. Because I felt strongly that the Congress should not be properly concerned with punishment of an individual, I was most interested to see that the proper branch of our Government in this area—the executive—take whatever action may have been warranted. Following a news story which reported that I had expressed concern that the Powell investigation was not going forward with diligence, Assistant Attorney General Fred V. Vinson, wrote me and assured me that these observations were inaccurate. I responded indicating that I hoped this was so, but that the proof would be found in the results. Copies of this exchange of correspondence follows:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, May 10, 1967.

Hon. THOMAS B. CURTIS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: A news story of May 4, 1967, reports you have stated that the Department of Justice has "handcuffed" the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its investigation of allegations concerning Adam Clayton Powell, and that the FBI was specifically limited to three areas of inquiry.

Neither of these statements attributed to you is accurate. The inquiry extends beyond these three areas, and I can assure you that the FBI has not been restricted in its investigation in any way.

Sincerely,

FRED M. VINSON, Jr.,
Assistant Attorney General.

MAY 12, 1967.

Hon. FRED M. VINSON, Jr.,
Assistant Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. VINSON: Thank you for your letter assuring me that the Justice Department has not limited the FBI investigation of the activities of Adam Clayton Powell to three specific areas and thereby is not "handcuffing" the investigation.

This is quite interesting, but you will pardon me if I continue to rely on the information I have received to this effect. The test, of course, will be what is forthcoming in the immediate future, just as will the test of whether the Justice Department is going to take action in this matter after having delayed for almost six months following the report of the House Administration Subcommittee. It will not lie on self-serving statements to the contrary.

For your information I am enclosing a letter I recently addressed to Chairman Celler of the House Judiciary Committee in respect to a recent news item concerning the introduction of 333 immigration bills by Congressman Powell in the last Congress. I think this is a matter the FBI and the Justice Department might well look into so that it can be clarified one way or the other, i.e. to still ugly rumors if no improprieties exist or to check the improprieties if they do exist.

Sincerely,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

Mr. Speaker, subsequently over 1 year later, I again contacted the Attorney General regarding recently released reports that the Justice Department had recommended prosecution of Mr. Powell on certain charges of misuse of Federal funds, but that the President had intervened and reversed the decision. The Assistant Attorney General responded with what is becoming characteristic brevity, merely denying the allegations which I was referring to him. Copies of the exchange of correspondence follow, together with the article referred to by Mr. Robert S. Allen:

JUNE 19, 1968.

Hon. RAMSEY CLARK,
Attorney General of the United States,
Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Attorney General: A news item has been called to my attention that the Justice Department has recommended that former Representative Adam Clayton Powell of New York be prosecuted for misuse of federal funds. This recommendation was made by Assistant Attorney General Fred Vinson following an exhaustive investigation by the FBI agents and a federal grand jury.

It is also my understanding that this recommendation is not being implemented because of your intervention in referring the matter directly to President Johnson and the President's intervention.

Recently I had occasion to comment publicly upon a similar type action on the part of your Department in interfering with the prosecution recommended by the District Attorney of Eastern Missouri involving Lawrence Callanan and other members of the politically active steamfitters' union, in St. Louis, Missouri. I was pleased to note that after the pressure of publicity the prosecution was allowed to take its orderly course.

I hope that similar publicity will bring about a change in tactics in this instance.

It is difficult to perceive how we are going to maintain law and order in our society if those in high places interfere with the normal course of justice in this fashion.

I would be happy to receive whatever comments you would care to make in respect to either of the two matters I have discussed.

Sincerely,

Thomas B. Curtis.

Department of Justice,
Washington, July 10, 1968.

Hon. Thomas B. Curtis,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman: The Attorney General has asked me to reply to your letter dated June 19, 1968, commenting on a recent news item concerning Adam Clayton Powell.

I assume the article to which you refer was one written by Robert S. Allen. Not only are most of the basic allegations in that article untrue, but the implication that the President has played any part in this matter is both untrue and unfair.

When an investigation is completed, evaluation is made at several levels in the Department and our ultimate decisions are not tainted by political considerations. Further, your conclusion that publicity affects prosecutive decisions is totally unfounded.

Sincerely,

Fred M. Vinson, Jr.,
Assistant Attorney General.

Inside Washington: L. B. J. Stalls on Justice Department's Recommendation for Prosecution of Powell for Misuse of U.S. Funds

(By Robert S. Allen)

Washington, May 18, 1968.—President Johnson is stalling action on a Justice Department recommendation that former Representative Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y., be prosecuted for misuse of federal funds. This politically explosive proposal has been pending for more than a month.

It was made by Assistant Attorney General Fred Vinson, following an exhaustive investigation by a squad of FBI agents and a federal grand jury. Powell, his estranged Puerto Rican wife and one-time members of his staff were among the numerous witnesses interrogated by the jury.

Vinson, head of the Criminal Division and son of the late Chief Justice, recommended Powell be indicted and brought to trial. That was submitted to Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

After a detailed study of these findings, Clark took them directly to President Johnson. They have discussed the matter at length several times. Insiders attribute the block on action entirely to the President.

There is no indication when if anything will be done about Vinson's recommendation. The whole affair is very hush-hush; shrouded in tight official silence and secrecy.

Last month, during a Harlem sortie from his Bimini retreat, Powell announced he would again seek election to Congress as a Democrat. However, he intimated he was still undecided whom he would support for President. This recalled that in 1952, when a possible tax case was pending against him in the Justice Department, he declared for General Eisenhower, the Republican standard bearer. Subsequently, the Justice Department shelved the case.

It is authoritatively understood Vinson's recommendations that Powell be tried is based on a series of charges. They include misappropriation of funds involving a federal salary paid his wife; misuse of funds for unauthorized travel and other purposes; and income tax allegations.

BILL OF PARTICULARS

The Justice Department launched the grand jury investigation last year following a number of condemnatory findings by a special House committee appointed to determine whether Powell should be allowed to take his seat.

After a thorough inquiry, this bipartisan panel, headed by Representative Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., veteran chairman of the Judiciary Committee, proposed that Powell be seated on condition he repaid $40,000 in misappropriated funds and appeared before the "bar of the House . . . and be publicly censured by the Speaker."

But the House by a decisive bipartisan vote rejected the committee's seating recommendation, and expelled Powell for the duration of this Congress. His appeal to the courts have gotten nowhere. In its published report, the Celler committee flatly charged Powell with the following financial improprieties:

"Wrongfully and willfully appropriated $28,505.34 of public funds for his own use from July 31, 1965 to January 1, 1967, by allowing a salary to be drawn on behalf of Y. Marjorie Flores as a clerk-hire employee when, in fact, she was his wife and not an employee in that she performed no official duties and further was not present in the state of New York or in Mr. Powell's Washington office as required by Public Law 89.

"Wrongfully and willfully appropriated $15,683.27 of public funds to his own use from August 31, 1964 to July 31, 1965 by allowing salary to be drawn on behalf of said Y. Marjorie Flores as a clerk-hire employee when any official duties performed by her were not performed in the state of New York or Washington, D.C., in violation of House Resolution 294 of the 88th Congress.

"During his chairmanship of the committee on education and labor, in the 89th Congress, Mr. Powell falsely certified for payment from public funds, vouchers totaling $1,291.92 covering transportation for members of the committee staff between Washington, D.C., or New York City and Miami, Fla., when in fact, Mr. Powell and a female member of the staff had incurred such travel expenses as part of their private travel to Bimini."

The committee also charged "other wrongful and willful appropriations of public funds to his own use," among them $214.79 for a domestic worker's pay and travel to Bimini. These findings were the basis for the grand jury's investigation and Assistant Attorney General Vinson's subsequent recommendation that Powell be tried.

NO WELCOME MAT

Even if Powell is re-elected to the House, he still faces tough hurdles before he can regain his seat. Bipartisan leaders are emphatic that the "wrongfully and willfully appropriated"$40,000 is still a debt he had to pay. Says Representative Celler, "He would have to face the same charges as he did in this Congress. Those circumstances haven't changed one bit as far as I am concerned."

Representative Thomas Curtis, R-Mo., who led the fight that expelled Powell, is equally firm, saying, "Powell was accused of criminal activities by his peers. I don't see how the House could ever change its mind about that. The overriding question is still the integrity of the House, and that doesn't change."

Meanwhile, President Johnson is uneasily pondering what to do about Assistant Attorney General Vinson's strongly bulwarked recommendation that Powell be indicted and tried.

Challenges Clark on Powell Trial Inaction

(By Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith)

Washington.—Attorney General Ramsey Clark is being bluntly challenged to state what he proposes to do about prosecuting former Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, D., N.Y., "for misuse of Federal funds."

This demand was made by Rep. Thomas Curtis, of Missouri, second-ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, and leader of the fight that led to Powell's expulsion from this Congress. Early last year a special committee, following an inquiry, recommended that he be seated on condition he repaid $40,000 "wrongfully and willfully appropriated" and publicly apologized to the House.

But under Curtis' leadership, the House while demanding the return of the $40,000, refused to seat Powell. This action has been upheld by two lower courts. Powell's appeal is now pending before the Supreme Court.

In calling on Clark to "come clean," Curtis cited information disclosed in this column some weeks ago. The column revealed that Assistant Attorney General Fred Vinson, head of the Criminal Division, following an investigation by FBI agents and a federal grand jury, had recommended that Powell be indicted and brought to trial.

After a study of these findings, Clark took them to President Johnson. They discussed them at length several times—nothing has happened since.

Curtis's letter to Clark demands an explanation.

"It is difficult to perceive," declared Curtis, "how we are going to maintain law and order in our society if those in high places interfere with the normal course of justice."

The Missourian notes that his protests regarding a "similar type action" produced results.

Wrote Curtis, "Recently, I had occasion to comment publicly upon a similar type action on the part of your department in interfering with the prosecution recommended by the district attorney of Eastern Missouri involving Lawrence Callanan and other members of the politically active steamfitters' union, in St. Louis. I was pleased to note that after the pressure of publicity the prosecution was allowed to take its orderly course. I hope that similar publicity will bring about a change in tactics in this instance (the Powell case)."

Curtis contends that if Powell is elected to the new Congress that convenes in January, he would still be subject to expulsion.

"He would still have to face the same charges he did in this Congress," declares Curtis, "of 'wrongfully and willfully expropriating' $40,000. That hasn't changed one bit. Powell was accused of criminal activities by his peers. I don't see how the House could ever change its mind about that. The overriding question is still the integrity of the House, and that doesn't change."

Mr. Speaker, I think that the Assistant Attorney General's denial is woefully insufficient under the circumstances. Although I was pleased to have his firm denial that neither publicity nor politics affect prosecutive decisions, the allegations are not without evidentiary support and they impugn the integrity of our highest executive judicial officers. Under these circumstances the Congress should want to know, for example, why it is taking so long for action by the Department, and why previous recommendations for action have been scuttled, if this is the case, and if it is not, then what action is planned.

Now, if by some chance the administration is dragging its feet on the Powell case because Powell happens to be a Negro and that prosecuting a prominent Negro at this time of social tension might aggravate the tension, let me suggest that the bulk of our Negro citizens—which contains the majority of their black militant leaders—do not look upon one who is charged as an embezzler as one possessing the attributes of leadership for their people or any people for that matter.

Their "civil disobedience" does not extend to violating laws against libel and embezzlement. It extends to violating laws which restrict their civil rights, which laws themselves in many instances, have been held to be unconstitutional. I think by and large the black community respect and obey these laws which in essence are no more than a 20th-century codification of certain of the 10 Commandments. They want leaders who respect and obey these kinds of laws which are the bedrock of any society which lays claim to being civilized. It is harmful to them as well as to the whole society when these laws are unenforced against any person—white, black—follower or leader.

A share of the responsibility must be borne by the Congress charged with legislative oversight. Ideally, to effectuate congressional oversight in all such cases a permanent congressional committee should be established for this purpose. This was the recommendation of the Republican members of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. Senate report 1414, second session, 89th Congress, pages 85 to 87, contains the minority recommendation that a Permanent Committee on Public Accounts be established which would be chaired by a member of the political party not in control of the White House.

The key factor is making political partisanship work for the people to clean up their Government, not against them, in effect, by suppressing wrongdoings of the party in power. While both Houses of the Congress now have committees on Government operations which do have some responsibility for congressional oversight, it is difficult for this task to be carried out effectively when the results appear likely to reflect unfavorably on their own party's administration.

This suggestion is unlikely to be considered this session because the joint committee's reorganization bill has been bottled up in the House Rules Committee for over a year and a half. Nevertheless it is not without precedent. Perhaps the most famous case of official misconduct in the recent history of this country was the "Teapot Dome" scandal in the early 1920's. This case, however, is well known because it was properly and intelligently investigated in a thorough manner—cleared up, cleaned up, not covered up. Although the Republicans controlled both Houses of Congress and the White House, a Democrat, Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, conducted the investigation at the request of the Senate Republicans. The need for maintenance of the public respect for the institutions of government was felt to be greater than political advantage. It should not be considered any less so today.

Mr. Speaker, the third case I wish to call to the attention of the House today is one which is equally serious and also demands official "clearing" up. An article appearing in the Wall Street Journal of July 19, 1968, entitled "A Friend In Court" again underscores the need for greater congressional oversight in these delicate and serious matters. The article follows, in addition to an article the following day in the Washington Post:

A Friend in Court? Union's Political Gifts Follow Administration Aid to Fugitive Official—Seafarers Give Democrats $100,000 After Rusk Vetoes Canadian Extradition Bid—Secretary Denies Pressure

(By Jerry Landauer)

WASHINGTON.—On a busy Friday afternoon some months ago, seven lawyers gathered in Secretary of State Dean Rusk's inner office over glasses of sherry to discuss a complicated extradition case that could seriously embarrass Hubert Humphrey in his race for the White House.

The lawyers argued discreetly about a Canadian government request that the U.S. surrender Harold C. Banks, former boss of the Canadian district of the Seafarers International Union. He had jumped bail in Canada and fled south across the border to avoid serving a five-year jail term on a conviction for hiring goons to beat up a rival labor leader.

At the informal hearing in the Secretary of State's office, Canada's lawyers sought Banks' return. But Secretary Rusk, rejecting the conclusions of his legal adviser and overruling a U.S. Commissioner, declined to issue an extradition warrant. To surrender Banks, then in Federal custody, would have violated "my own sense of old-fashioned justice," Mr. Rusk says. Instead, the Secretary let Banks go free. He also rejected a Canadian appeal for international arbitration of the dispute.

Then a noteworthy thing happened. Within days after the Rusk decision, but unknown to the Secretary, checks totaling $100,000 started flowing into Democratic Party campaign coffers from Seafarers Union headquarters in Brooklyn. The Seafarers' gift is the single biggest union contribution known to have been made in this Presidential election year. It came in two equal packets of 10 checks each—and each of the 20 checks was for exactly $5,000. Half the money was earmarked for Vice President Humphrey's campaign; the rest went to groups that had been working for President Johnson's reelection.

POLITICALLY MINDED UNION

Conceivably, this sequence of events represents sheerest coincidence. At any rate, Secretary Rusk emphasizes that no political pressure was applied from any source to influence his decision.

It's conceivable, too, that the union's campaign donations represent nothing more than a gesture of gratitude by Seafarers President Paul Hall, on whose yacht Banks found temporary refuge after he became a fugitive from Canada. ("He is a field general in tough waterfront wars," Mr. Hall has said of Banks.)

Or, as one insider speculates, Mr. Hall may have been misled by Democratic fund raisers into believing that political pull set Banks free. The Seafarers president has always assumed that pouring money into political campaigns achieves results; though numbering just 80,000 members, the union hopes to spend $1 million for politics this year, most of it labeled as voluntary donations by seamen since use of union dues to help candidates for Federal office is illegal.

The Seafarers decline to make any comment on their political contributions that followed Banks' release or to give any reasons for them; the union refuses even to tell when it sent the ten $5,000 checks to Humphrey campaign committees.

Mr. Hall knew, at any rate, that Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz had put in a good word for Banks in a memorandum to Cabinet colleague Rusk. Mr. Wirtz had been urged to intervene by AFL–CIO officials and, according to one participant's recollection, by an attorney for Banks; his well-connected lawyers include Myer Feldman, a former special counsel to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and Abram Chayes, former State Department legal adviser. But the timing of the Seafarers donations and the manner in which they were made tend to raise the question of whether there was a prearrangement with Democratic fund raisers.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

For one thing, Mr. Hall waited to unzip his union's bulging purse (June 1 balance for political activity: $460,671) until the Banks case had been decided to his satisfaction. He contributed nothing to Lyndon Johnson when the President was under fire during the New Hampshire Democratic primary, and he held back even after Robert Kennedy, an arch-foe of Mr. Hall, jumped into the Presidential fray in mid-March.

The chronology of subsequent events seems to underline the question about a prearrangement. On March 13, Secretary Rusk informed the Canadian Embassy that he wouldn't issue the surrender warrant. The next day Ottawa said it would ask for reconsideration—and international arbitration. On March 25, Mr. Rusk rejected the appeal, saying it wouldn't be wise to permit arbitration. Then on Sunday, March 31, President Johnson surprised the nation by announcing his intention not to run for reelection.

Yet on or about Wednesday, April 3, the Seafarers Political Activity Donation Committee wrote 10 consecutively numbered checks for $5,000 each—nearly all to Democratic committees that had been working for LBJ's reelection. One possible explanation: Somebody had struck a bargain with Seafarers President Hall while the Banks case was pending—a bargain he executed to the letter even though the candidate he intended to support had retired from the race.

In any case, Mr. Hall needed advance advice from Democratic fund raisers about how to write the checks. Federal law sets an annual $5,000 limit on contributions to committees supporting candidates for Federal office. To avoid that legal limit—and often to avoid identifying contributors—financiers of both parties make arrangements to divide big gifts among numerous dummy committees set up in distant places.

Accordingly, these first 10 checks went to the President's Club, the Democratic National Committee, the President's Club of New York, Democratic Citizens of New York, Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey of Rhode Island, the President's Club of Illinois, Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey of Illinois, the President's Club of Texas, Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey of Texas and the Democratic City Club of Texas in Austin.

It is pertinent to note that neither Rhode Island nor Illinois nor Texas requires political committees operating within those states to disclose receipts and expenses. And because they are deemed to operate solely in those states, the recipient committees needn't report under Federal law. Moreover, the two New York committees needn't file reports in Albany until early 1969. Hence, just $10,000 of the first $50,000 contributed by the Seafarers appears on any Democratic committee report; $40,000 can be spent or sent to Washington without any public accounting.

But $25,000 of the $40,000 can be traced, and the route it took strengthens the impression that Seafarer Hall had agreed to open his union's purse at about the time Banks was freed. On April 11, the Democratic City Club of Texas, the President's Club of Texas and the Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey of Texas each transferred $5,000 to the Washington offices of Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey, a now defunct committee. Five thousand dollars more arrived in Washington April 18 from the President's Club of Illinois, and on April 23 $5,000 came in from Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey of Rhode Island. Most of the $25,000 was used to pay off expenses that had been incurred on the President's behalf in late March during the Wisconsin primary campaign: Wisconsin Democrats voted on April 3, just two days after LBJ's retirement announcement.

Some time later on, the Seafarers delivered the second packet of ten $5,000 checks to committees supporting Vice President Humphrey's Presidential aspirations. Of the ten recipient committees only two—United Democrats for Humphrey and Citizens for Humphrey—are actually functioning. And because the Federal disclosure law doesn't cover primary elections, neither committee is required to file an accounting of receipts and expenditures.

The eight other Humphrey committees to which the union donations went exist mostly on paper; none has obtained or applied for telephone service. Their titles are: Humphrey for President Committee, D.C. Volunteers for Humphrey, Election Committee for Humphrey, National Humphrey for President Committee, National Committee for Humphrey, Humphrey Campaign Committee, Friends of Humphrey Committee and Unite With Humphrey Committee.

The co-chairman of Citizens for Humphrey is David Ginsburg, law partner of Mr. Feldman, who along with Mr. Chayes, represented fugitive Banks in the informal hearing in Secretary Rusk's office. Mr. Feldman says he knows nothing about Seafarer political contributions. The United Democrats, for their part, decline to disclose when the union gifts were received: "We're just not going to go into individual contributions," a spokesman says.

Labor Secretary Wirtz, a Humphrey supporter and friend, also says he was unaware of any big Seafarer contributions following Banks' release from Federal custody. "It worries me greatly, and I intend to find out about it," Mr. Wirtz says, expressing concern that the size and timing of the donations could hurt Mr. Humphrey. Mr. Wirtz adds that he wrote the memo on Banks' behalf primarily to acquaint Secretary Rusk with the history of maritime violence involving the Canadian union of which Banks was president.

For his part, Secretary Rusk doesn't recall that any official in the Johnson-Humphrey Administration except Mr. Wirtz wrote or spoke to him about Banks (in addition to the memo, Mr. Rusk vaguely recalls a brief conversation about the case with Mr. Wirtz during or after a Cabinet meeting). "No one tried to use inducement or threat with me regarding this case," the Secretary adds, vowing to throw out any visitors who might try.

"No one at the Democratic National Committee ever communicated with me on this matter. No one at the White House ever attempted to influence my decision. Nor did any Senator or Congressman. This matter rested solely with the Secretary of State."

In deciding whether to extradite Banks, Secretary Rusk had to interpret the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. It was signed in 1842 by the U.S. and by the British government on behalf of Britain and its colonies, which then included Canada. As the State Department explains it, Canada's request presented a "unique problem" for non-lawyer Rusk. In 1964 Banks was convicted in Canada for conspiring to commit assault. The court determined that he paid $1,000 to "Big John" Kasper, former bodyguard to ex-Teamsters boss Dave Beck. Kasper assertedly was hired to thrash a certain Capt. Henry Walsh of the Canadian Merchant Service Guild, a rival union. Whoever administered the beating did it thoroughly, inflicting a double rupture and a fractured skull.

A GOVERNMENT UNDER PRESSURE

Banks failed to appear on the day set for his appeal to the court of appeals in Quebec. Instead, he forfeited a $25,000 cash bond and fled to the U.S., presumably knowing that assault is not among the extraditable crimes listed in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Almost immediately Canada's Conservative Party assailed the Liberals for letting Banks slip away. Among other epithets, the Conservatives called Banks the "pampered pet of Liberalism." Hence, the Liberal government was under pressure to prove that it hadn't pampered fugitive Banks.

Finally, in August 1967, Ottawa asked Washington to surrender Banks on a charge of perjury, an extraditable crime under the treaty. Canada alleged that the fugitive had lied four years earlier to a royal commissioner in denying knowledge of the beating inflicted on Capt. Walsh. The commissioner had been assigned to investigate union strife and disruptions of shipping along the Great Lakes; his report concluded, among other things, that labor leader Banks is a man whose "violence is compulsive."

After being scooped up by Federal authorities in Brooklyn, Banks was taken before U.S. Commissioner Salvatore T. Abruzzo. There the fugitive's lawyers protested that the new perjury charge was part of a political campaign by the Canadian government to "get Banks." Commissioner Abruzzo dismissed this contention and also rejected Banks' plea that he had been deprived of rights against self-incrimination. At that point, Banks switched lawyers, engaging Mr. Chayes, Secretary Rusk's former legal adviser, who then brought in former White House aide Feldman.

The fugitive's new lawyers could have continued the fight against extradition in U.S. district court and on up to the Supreme Court. Instead, as is permitted under extradition procedure, they chose a direct appeal to Secretary Rusk.

In the 75-minute session over sherry in the Secretary's office, Messrs. Feldman and Chayes argued that extradition processes shouldn't permit the Canadian government to accomplish indirectly what it couldn't achieve directly—that is, to retrieve Banks for skipping bail on the nonextraditable assault charge.

A "POLITICAL ELEMENT"

"To say this is not to impugn the motives of the Canadian government or to charge it with any improper action," according to Mr. Chayes' 43-page brief. "Everyone knows that there is a large political element in the law enforcement process, especially when it involves a well-known public figure like Mr. Banks."

This argument didn't impress the Canadian government's U.S. counsel, New York attorney Richard H. Kuh, nor did it sway Mr. Rusk's current legal adviser, Leonard C. Meeker. But "because the charge of perjury arose directly out of a denial of guilt of a nonextraditable offense," according to the State Department, "the Secretary concluded that it would not be compatible with the overall design and purpose of the extradition treaty, which is limited and not universal in its coverage of offenses, to agree to extradition on the unique facts of this case."

Mr. Rusk, saying "one could put a strong argument either way," frames the issue involving Banks more simply: "He denied having committed a nonextraditable offense. I thought he should have a chance to deny it and not be extradited for his denial. . . . A man has the right to protest his own innocence. . . . Whatever he may be, I had the case of a human being in front of me."

Though Mr. Rusk limited his decision to the particular facts of the case, he may have established a diplomatic precedent of sorts. The State Department says it can't find another instance where extradition was denied on the ground that the fugitive's alleged offense arose from another crime that wasn't subject to extradition. The department further says it can't find another case involving Canada where a lower magistrate's ruling was overturned on appeal to the Secretary of State.

Mr. Rusk's aides explain that he delves deeper into extradition matters than most predecessors. "You'd be surprised how deeply involved he gets," one official says. "Probably it's because these cases involve individuals, not broad concepts like disarmament."

But the Canadians are still simmering, arguing that American courts often permit convictions for perjury when the crime from which the perjury flowed isn't within reach of the law.

PARTY DENIES FUNDS TIED TO RUSK RULING

(By Walter Pincus)

The Seafarers International Union Political Activity Donation Committee gave $100,000 last spring to organizations campaigning on behalf of President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey.

The first in the series of donations was received in Washington in April, shortly after Secretary of State Dean Rusk turned down the advice of his legal adviser and refused to approve extradition to Canada of a former Seafarers official charged with perjury.

Spokesmen for the Vice President and his campaign organization, United Democrats for Humphrey, yesterday denied any connection existed between the extradition case and the contributions, which were disclosed in Friday's Wall Street Journal.

The Seafarers Union issued a statement which said the contributions "were made openly . . . legally, . . . reported publicly" and any suggestion they were "linked" to other matters was "wholly without justification."

RUSK STATEMENT

State Department spokesman Robert McCloskey said Rusk "is satisfied with the correctness and legality of his decision." McCloskey quoted Rusk as saying, "No one at the Democratic National Committee has ever communicated with me on this matter, no one at the White House ever attempted to influence my decision . . ."

The former Seafarers official, Harold C. (Hal) Banks, had fled to the United States from Canada while on bail pending appeal of an assault conviction. In August, 1967, Canadian officials sought his extradition on perjury, alleging he had lied to a Canadian government commission about the assault.

Banks last January hired as his lawyer for the extradition proceeding Abram Chayes, who served as Legal Adviser to Secretary Rusk during the Kennedy Administration. Chayes, in turn, brought Washington Lawyer Myer Feldman into the case. Feldman is a former White House aide who served under both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

RUSK HEARING

They asked that Rusk hold a hearing on the extradition request—a procedure in accordance with U.S. law. The session was held in the Secretary's office. Present, along with Rusk were State's Legal Adviser Leonard C. Meeker, Chayes, Feldman, and two lawyers representing the Canadian government.

The discussion went on for 75 minutes around a conference table. When it was over, the Secretary served sherry.

On March 13. Rusk told the Canadians he would not permit extradition. The Ottawa government sought reconsideration and suggested international arbitration. On March 25, Rusk turned down the appeal.

The Seafarers contributions represent the largest publicized contributions made by a union in this year's presidential campaign.

In 1964, the Seafarers Union contributed $121,000 to the Democratic Party.

According to the union's own reports, filed last month with the Clerk of the House, two groups of $5,000 checks were sent out between March 1 and May 31.

The first $50,000 went to ten organizations which supported the renomination campaign for President Johnson during the Wisconsin primary. Among them were the President's Club, the Democratic National Committee, the President's Club of New York, the Democratic Citizens of New York, the President's Club of Texas, Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey in Texas, the Resident's Club of Illinois, Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey of Illinois, Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey of Rhode Island and the Democratic City Club of Austin, Texas.

CONDUITS FOR FUNDS

The second $50,000 went to ten organizations which support the Humphrey campaign.

These included United Democrats for Humphrey, Humphrey for President Committee, Citizens for Humphrey, D.C. Volunteers for Humphrey, the Election Committee for Humphrey, National Humphrey for President Committee, National Committee for Humphrey, Humphrey Campaign Committee, Friends of Humphrey Committee and Unite With Humphrey Committee.

Since campaign fund laws prohibit contributions by one donor to a single committee in excess of $5000, campaign organizations usually divide large sums among a number of groups, many of them non-active organizations set up on paper only to serve as conduits for money.

The first Seafarer $5000 checks were reported received by the Washington based Citizens for Johnson-Humphrey Committee on April 11, and the flow of money continued for almost a month. One $5000 check went to Citizens for Humphrey, which is headed by Feldman's law partner David Ginsburg.

The checks to the Humphrey campaign were handled by the vice chairman and treasurer of United Democrats for Humphrey, Richard Maguire. UDH spokesman Alvin J. Spivak said yesterday, "I assume (the Seafarers Union officials) talked with the treasurer" before they made their contributions. Spivak added, "No one in the Humphrey campaign organization had knowledge of the Banks case."

Maguire was unavailable for comment. A former treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, Maguire was handling campaign funds for President Johnson in 1964 when a similar situation occurred.

In that case, a St. Louis Pipefitters local contributed $50,000 to the Democratic presidential campaign. The donation came six months after President Johnson, upon the recommendation of then Attorney General Robert Kennedy, commuted the sentence of an official of the union. The commutation permitted the official to resume his activities with the union.

The Wall Street Journal, in its story yesterday, speculated that the Seafarers "may have been misled by Democratic fund raisers into believing that political pull set Banks free."

Rusk's reason for denying extradition, the State Department said, was that while the perjury charge is covered in the 1842 U.S.-Canadian extradition treaty, it was being used in an effort to send Banks to jail for assault—a charge not covered by the treaty. Legal Adviser Meeker said yesterday he could recall no precedent for denial of extradition on such grounds.

Rusk, however, acknowledges receiving a memorandum from Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz recommending the action which he took. Wirtz's opinion was that Banks should not be extradited considering the legal arguments and the history of violence between Canadian maritime unions.

COAST GUARD CHIEF MUSICIAN CARL S. WALTHER RETIRES

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 18, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, on August 1 the U.S. Coast Guard will be losing a dedicated member of its band who has rendered distinguished service over more than three decades.

The person to whom I am referring is Senior Chief Musician Carl S. Walther who will be ending a career of almost 34 years of active service. A native of Washington, D.C., Chief Walther has spent most of his adult life in the State of Connecticut and is one of whom the people of my State are very proud. Starting as a percussionist in the new Coast Guard Band in 1929, he has since become the senior member of the Band and has earned the title of "Dean of Service Band Percussionists."

In honor of Chief Walther's exemplary service, I would like to include in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Commandant's Bulletin, a weekly servicewide publication in the Coast Guard, which honors Senior Chief Walther with the special recognition he justly deserves:

MUSC CARL S. WALTHER, U.S. COAST GUARD BAND, RETIRES AFTER 34 YEARS SERVICE

Senior Chief Musician Carl S. Walther will retire from active duty with the United States Coast Guard Band on 1 August 1968, bringing to a close a most distinguished career which has earned him the title of "Dean of Service Band Percussionists."

Chief Walther was born and raised in Washington, D.C. having ample opportunity to listen to the world's finest band music. That he absorbed much of what he heard was readily apparent when, at the age of thirteen, he was invited to perform as guest soloist with the United States Marine Band. This was followed by many similar performances with other service bands.

In 1926 Chief Walther joined the United States Army Band and served for three years. He then decided to pursue a civilian career and did so until the time of Herbert Hoover's inauguration.

Hearing of an opening in the relatively new United States Coast Guard Band in New London, he auditioned and began a career during which he has participated in the Coast Guard Academy graduations of the present Commandant of the Coast Guard, Admiral Willard J. Smith, and his predecessor, Admiral Edwin J. Roland, as well as nearly every Coast Guard officer presently on active duty.

When Walther joined the Coast Guard Band, the band was then, as it is now, stationed at the Coast Guard Academy. At that time, however, the Academy was located at Fort Trumbull, presently the site of the Underwater Sound Laboratory. One of his early performances with the Band was at the ground breaking ceremonies of the present Academy.

Since joining the Coast Guard Band, Walther has witnessed the Band grow from the original 18 men and leader to the present 44 men and leader. As the senior member of the Band, he has participated in more performances than any other bandsman. The one performance he recalls most vividly was occasioned by the tragic assassination of President John F. Kennedy; at which time he, along with selected drummers from the other official service bands, escorted the late president's caisson from the White House to the Capitol. "This was," recalls Walther, "the greatest honor and the most sorrowful duty of my career."

Chief Walther is a highly competent ham radio operator and, at the outset of hostilities in 1941, was selected to go to the Coast Guard training center at Manhattan Beach as instructor of Radio and Electronics.

During World War II Walther was assigned as assistant leader of the Coast Guard Band at Avery Point Coast Guard Station, becoming leader of that band in 1945. He returned to the United States Coast Guard Band in 1946 when the Avery Point Band was dissolved during the reduction of all armed forces.

Among his many decorations is a commendation from the Commandant of the Coast Guard for lifesaving in Ashland Lake, Jewett City. The young man whose life he saved later become a lieutenant in the United States Navy.

The retirement of Senior Chief Musician Walther will mean the loss of an outstanding musician and a man who has been a constant credit to the Service. His many years of exemplary performance and personal integrity are things for which we should all strive.

A TRIBUTE TO A GREAT CONGRESSMAN: REPRESENTATIVE ELMER J. HOLLAND

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, after 30 long years of dedicated public service to his native State of Pennsylvania and to the Nation, 16 of which he spent in this historic Chamber, the distinguished and able Representative of the 20th Congressional District of the Keystone State—Representative ELMER J. HOLLAND—decided to retire for personal reasons. So when the 91st Congress convenes in January 1969, we will be deprived of the benefit of keen intellect, the liberality of his views, and his valuable contributions to the work of the House, both during committee investigations and deliberations on the floor.

Representative HOLLAND did not run for reelection for the 78th Congress but subsequently was elected to the Pennsylvania State Senate. He resumed his congressional service in the 84th Congress when it was my pleasure to first meet this very able legislator. One of the more objective publications in our colleague's district paid him a well deserved compliment when it stated.

> Rare indeed are men of the political stature of Congressman Holland.

Representative HOLLAND introduced the first Federal scholarship bill in Congress in 1956 which would have provided outright scholarships for those specializing in engineering and the sciences as well as those who would teach mathematics, science, physics and similar subjects. This legislation was introduced after consultation with the deans of the 150 accredited engineering schools in the United States as well as the National Science Foundation. Our present National Defense Education Act is partially the result of this scholarship bill as well as others on the subject.

Representative HOLLAND introduced legislation first in 1956 which would require the President—under the Full Employment Act of 1946—to review the economic conditions of the Nation and provide retraining courses for those whose skills had been made obsolete by the introduction of automation and mechanical devices in our mills, mines, factories, and railroads. Similar legislation was later enacted into law as is known as the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

During the years served in Harrisburg and Washington, many measures initiated by Congressman HOLLAND have become laws. Long ago he secured the streetcar passes for schoolchildren, he started the Ohio River Valley compact for clean streams and rivers; he fought for unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, minimum wages, lowering the age for social security benefits and permitting disability benefits to be paid to those disabled from 50 years of age on, adequate health programs for those on social security and numerous other measures of social legislation. Many of these have now become laws of the land. Representative HOLLAND can be justly proud of his service to his constituents and the Nation.

May the years ahead of ELMER J. HOLLAND be filled with health and happiness for he carries with him our most heartfelt best wishes and appreciation for his great work here in the House of Representatives.

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND, OF PENNSYLVANIA

HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, as I was unable to be on the floor last night during the special order on the retirement of my fellow Pennsylvanian, ELMER HOLLAND, I would now like to associate myself with the remarks then made and add a few of my own.

ELMER HOLLAND came to the Congress with a brilliant record already as a soldier in both World Wars, an outstanding labor leader, and an experienced legislator in the State Senate of Pennsylvania. As he leaves these Halls he will be remembered not only for his distinguished legislative achievements here, but for his warmth, wisdom, simplicity, and graciousness as a gentleman. We sat on opposite sides of the aisle, but it has always been my privilege to count ELMER as a friend.

He and his gifted and devoted wife, Emily, richly deserve the gratitude of those they toiled so diligently to serve and represent, and I wish them both good health and happiness in the years ahead.

FARM AND NATION

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, the American drive for the illusive and cheapening dollar and for what it will buy has been a major factor in the causative agents for the shifting national population. This is most evident in the migration of younger people from rural areas and largely traceable to the fact that farm income has continued low in comparison to labor returns in other vocations, or on the basis of investment of capital.

One of the leading papers in the Sixth Congressional District in western Minnesota, carried an editorial by Mr. O. B. Augustson on July 24 in the Willmar Tribune, which I am inserting. I believe this cogently paints a hopeful picture of the value of redirecting our energies and talent to helping alleviate the farm income problem. Mr. Augustson's reasoning drives at the central theme of the national benefit to be derived from improving the rural financial picture.

FARM AND NATION

We attended the meeting held by the NFO one evening last week. The address was given by Erhard Pfingsten. It was ably delivered and among many things contained reference to one phase of agriculture and rural America itself which we also have mentioned from time to time. But it has not been stressed as much as it should be. And it is something to which we have alluded we would say a long time ago—and that is the effect of a declining rural America upon the nation and our society as a whole. Now this is an important phase.

The essence is that the matter of agriculture is not just economic justice to the farmer—that his segment of our national economy should be just as prosperous as other segments. Not only that the Main Streets of our rural area should, directly and indirectly, be as prosperous as the big cities. They are the immediate conditions, goals and benefits.

But the good status of rural America will have a far reaching effect of great benefit to the entire economy of the country. From a plain dollars and cents standpoint. Added to that will be a benefit to our society as a whole, the kind of people and citizens, and that is even more important. The kind of population we build that is going to preserve this Christian democracy.

We do not think this type of citizenship is going to come out of the huge teeming centers of population. In fact we tremble what can become of our society and its character if its destiny will lie within those metropolises. It is well known that when one rates the good it is always highest in rural areas and by the reverse token when one rates what can be viewed bad it is the lowest in the rural areas. These things being true—what a bad deal our country is making in building up these huge cities at the expense of rubbing out a wonderful countryside and a rural America which the late Elsa Maxwell called the real heart of our nation.

So we have two giant benefits to the nation to offer and both stem from rural America which some are willing to see go down the drain.

First—a prosperous agriculture will make for good times on the farms; this in turn makes for good times in all the rural towns. Put those all together and you have about 40% of all the people of the country. Is it not very evident that if those 40% are prosperous that the whole country will get a shot in the arm that will be staggering to say the least. Just now we have prosperity mostly on paper and operating under crushing burdens of debt. A false prosperity? And one might add—if this country fears a depression, it can be solved by a prosperous agriculture and be its soundest investment.

Secondly—if we wish the best society character you will not find it in the teeming centers. On the contrary, it can be found in the increased populated areas of rural America where even yet, as one authority said, "Folks still fear God and man."

Could one with all this thinking and forethought conclude by saying clearly this—you save rural America—and you will save the nation? Too strong? We don't think so. By saving and enlarging rural America that "shot in the arm" will save this country not only economically but physically, morally and spiritually.

Those who tamper and destroy rural America are in reality undermining the very foundation of this nation and its society. And if it continues—this nation some day is going to tragically regret what it has done. It will be on a terribly wrong road.

THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION—15 YEARS OF PROGRESS

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to the fact that yesterday, July 30, marked the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Small Business Act of 1953. This act created the Small Business Administration, an independent Federal agency.

In the passage of those 15 years, the Small Business Administration has more than proved its value to the small business community of our country. The assistance that this small but energetic agency has given in the form of loans, training and volunteer counseling has been an important factor in our continuing economic growth—a growth unparalleled by any other nation in any period of history.

I wish to share with my colleagues the accomplishments of this agency, and insert in the RECORD an SBA fact sheet, entitled "Fifteen Years of Growth":

FIFTEEN YEARS OF GROWTH

The Small Business Administration in its 15 years of existence has made very large contributions to our steady economic growth.

The accomplishments made in the past five years are particularly dramatic.

Here is the record, by programs, from SBA's beginning in 1953 (or from the date on which a particular program began) through June 30, 1968:

Business loans

A total of 85,285 business loans have been made to small businesses—47,658 of them in the past five years. The rate of lending in the last five years is two-and-one-half times that of the first 10 years.

These business loans totaled $3.8 billion, but nearly $2 billion of this was loaned during the past five years—a rate almost twice as great as during the first 10 years.

Development company loans

A total of 1,805 local development company loans were made to assist small businesses since the program started in 1958, but 1,484 were made during the past five years. The current rate of lending is over four-and-one-half times that of the first five years.

These local development company loans total $375.5 million, but $307.3 million of this was loaned during the past five years—a rate increase of four-and-one half times.

Disaster loans

A total of 74,102 disaster loans were made to disaster victims, and 53,672 of these loans—more than 70 percent—were made during the past five years.

These disaster loans totaled $648.4 million, but $465.7 million—70 percent of the total—was loaned during the past five years.

Government contract awards under set-asides

Federal procurement awards to small firms under the set-aside program totaled $19.2 billion, but $10.7 billion of this was set aside during the past five years, a growth rate of 152 percent.

Management publications

A total of 41.3 million management publications have been distributed, but 21.7 million of these were distributed during the past five years—a growth rate of 106 percent.

Management training courses

A total of 11,200 management assistance courses, conferences and workshops were given by SBA, but 8,765 of these were given during the past five years, a growth rate of 656 percent.

A total of 452,519 small businessmen have benefited from these courses, but 352,265 attended during the past five years, a growth rate of 600 percent.

Management counseling

A total of 565,184 small businessmen received individual management counseling from SBA since 1960, but 391,437 of them received counseling during the past five years—a growth rate of 35 percent.

Small business investment companies

Since the inception of the Investment Program in 1958, 807 small business investment companies have been licensed by SBA, and of these 527 have remained in the program. The investment companies have provided 28,367 financings to small businesses for a total of $1.2 billion.

An analysis of reports from 1,381 SBIC-assisted small businesses reveals an increase in employment during the course of the financing by 28 percent—11,800 jobs. Thus a new employee was hired for each $10,000 of SBIC financing.

Private capital has been significant in this program. SBA loans to investment companies is less than one-third ($377.7 million) of the total financings by the industry.

In the past two years significant legislation has been enacted by the Congress that will enable the investment companies to broaden their assistance to small business.

NEW SBA PROGRAMS

During the past five years SBA inaugurated several new programs which are bringing substantial benefits to small businesses.

Subcontracts

In 1963 SBA developed the subcontract program, working with the Nation's top 39 prime contractors to the Federal government. These 39 prime contractors have increased subcontracts to small business from $2.1 billion in fiscal year 1964 to $4.1 billion in fiscal year 1967, a growth rate of 97 percent.

The subcontracting program is now being expanded to include the top 75 prime contractors.

Economic opportunity loans

In 1964 SBA developed the Economic Opportunity Loan program for the disadvantaged under the authority of the Economic Opportunity Act. SBA has made 7,773 loans totaling $82.3 million to businessmen who could not qualify under the Agency's regular business loan program. The 1967 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act provided additional authority for SBA greatly to increase its management and procurement assistance to the disadvantaged under this program.

Of the 7,773 EOL loans SBA has made, 2,891 were made during the past year, an average monthly increase of 50 percent.

Of the dollar volume of EOL loans totaling $82.3 million, $31 million was loaned during the past year, an average monthly increase of 46.3 percent.

SCORE

In 1964 the Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE) program was developed to make this reservoir of executive ability, talent, and experience available to small businessmen on a national basis. SCORE volunteers have served 42,524 small businessmen. There are about 3,200 SCORE volunteers on the rolls.

Lease guarantee

In 1965 the Congress provided SBA with authority to guarantee the leases for small businessmen, thereby enabling them to locate in prime market areas previously denied them for lack of a top AA credit rating which only large firms can obtain. Fifty-four small businessmen are now benefiting from this program which guarantees $15.8 million in leases—and the program is steadily expanding.

Bank participation in SBA loans

During the past five years SBA has made major efforts to increase bank participation in its loans to small business. As a result, 60 percent of all SBA regular business loans are now made in participation with private lenders as compared to 29 percent in 1963.

Economic growth

The United States is now in its eighth year of continuous economic expansion, a surge of growth and prosperity without precedent in this country.

The real output of goods and services has increased more than 40 percent.

Employment has increased by 10 million jobs.

Twelve million more Americans have moved above the poverty line.

Eight million more American families have attained yearly incomes above $10,000.

The Nation's more than 5 million small businesses have contributed significantly to this economic growth.

Mr. Speaker, it is also appropriate at this time to call the attention of the House to the superior qualifications of the newly designated Administrator of the Small Business Administration, the Honorable Howard J. Samuels, who has moved from the position of Under Secretary of Commerce to take over the grave responsibility of preserving and strengthing this Nation's vitally important small business community. Mr. Samuels is indeed exceptionally qualified for this high post as the following will amply testify:

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HOWARD J. SAMUELS

When Howard J. Samuels was sworn in as Under Secretary of Commerce in the East Room of the White House on November 30, 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson opened the ceremony with these words: "I am here this morning to hand new challenges to a man who has really made a career of challenges."

The President then reviewed Mr. Samuels' record:

As a student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he received a Bachelor of Science degree in Business and Engineering Administration in 1941;

As a World War II soldier, who was cited for outstanding service on the staff of General George S. Patton, and attained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel at age 25.

As a businessman, who began, as the President noted, with "an idea and a dream" that he built into a corporation which is today one of the nation's largest plastic producers.

President Johnson then charged Under Secretary Samuels with the task of challenging Americans business "to do more to solve the stubborn problems that plague this nation."

Howard J. Samuels' appointment as Under Secretary of Commerce represents a continuation of his active career in public service. In 1966 he was the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor of New York. In 1965–66 he served as Chairman of the Citizens' Committee for an Effective Constitution, which led the successful campaign for voter approval to convene the New York State Constitutional Convention. He also served as Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the New York State Democratic Advisory Council from 1963 to 1966.

As a businessman, Mr. Samuels was co-founder and President of the Kordite Corporation of Macedon, New York. Now part of the Mobil Chemical Company's Plastic Division, the company was begun in 1946 in an abandoned schoolhouse rented for $35 a month. Its annual volume of business today approaches $100 million.

Mr. Samuels has been active in numerous state and community educational and civic organizations, and has been the recipient of many awards for his service in the public interest.

He was born in Rochester, N.Y., on December 3, 1919. He is married to the former Barbara Christie of Hempstead, Long Island. They have eight children—two sons and six daughters—ranging in age from 7 to 24. Names: William Christie (2/10/44); Susan Carey (4/5/46); Catherine Christie (5/20/47); Victoria (11/7/49); Howard Christie II (3/29/52); Barbara Christie (8/19/54); and twins, Jacqueline and Janine (3/12/60).

Before moving to Washington, Mr. Samuels and his family lived in the Finger Lakes Community of Canandaigua, New York. They now reside in Washington, D.C.

HOWARD JOSEPH SAMUELS

Born: 12/3/19 in Rochester, N.Y., son of the late Bertha and Harry L. Samuels.

Family: Married 2/22/42 to the former Barbara J. Christie, of Hempstead, L.I.; eight children—William Christie (2/10/43); Susan Carey (4/5/46); Catherine Christie (5/20/47); Victoria (11/7/49); Howard Christie II (3/29/52); Barbara Christie (8/19/54); and twins, Jacqueline and Janine (3/12/60).

Residence: Washington, D.C.

Education: Rochester, N.Y., public schools; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Bachelor of Science degree in Business and Engineering Administration, June '41.

Military: Entered U.S. Army August 1941; graduated from Officer Candidate School in December 1941; transferred to England in spring of 1943; landed on Omaha Beach on "D" Day plus 20; attained rank of Lt. Colonel (at age of 25), and cited as an outstanding officer on the staff of General George S. Patton, Commander, Third Army in Europe; honorably discharged December 1945.

Business: Founded the Kordite Corporation in 1946 in an abandoned schoolhouse, which was rented for $35 per month. The basis for this business was his M.I.T. thesis. This initial investment, which was a joint effort with his brother, Richard M. Samuels, is now part of Mobil Chemical Company's Plastics Division, employing over 3,000 people. Currently the nation's largest producer of plastic packaging, its rapid growth has been the result of internal management and product development.

Political: 1966—New York State Democratic Candidate for Lieutenant Governor. 1963–1966—Chairman, Administrative Committee, New York State Democratic Advisory Council.

Civic Activities and Honors (partial list):

1965–1966—Chairman, Citizens' Committee for an Effective Constitution (led campaign for voter approval to convene N.Y. State Constitutional Convention in April 1967).

April 1967—Trustee, Franklin Pierce College, New Hampshire; Fellow of Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts; Trustee, Keuka College, New York.

1968—Awarded "The Bishop's Plaque" of the Catholic Diocese of Buffalo for "his devotion to the cause of peaceful relations between labor and managment."

1967—National Civil Rights Committee, Anti-Defamation League.

1967—Board of Governors, American Jewish Committee.

1966—Trustee, Public Education Association.

1966—Humanitarian Award for Outstanding Civic and Community Services, Alliance of Independent Labor Unions and Professional People, Rochester, New York.

1966—Herbert H. Lehman Memorial Citation of the National Information Bureau for Jewish Life.

July 1965—Participant in White House Conference on Education.

Sept. 1965—Citizenship Day Award, Citizens' Forum of City and State of New York.

Oct. 1965—Appointed to Employment Service Task Force by Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz.

1964—Appointed by President Johnson to National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations.

1964—Chairman, American Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute.

1964—Member, National Committee for Employment of Youth Symposium, Washington, D.C.

1964—Award for National Foundation of March of Dimes as 1964 New York State Chairman.

Dec. 1964—Public Service Award from NAPAN.

1963–1964—New York State Chairman, Cancer Crusade of American Cancer Society.

1963—"Man of the Year Award" from Stuyvesant Polyclinic, New York City.

1962—"Man of the Year Award" from Canandaigua Chamber of Commerce.

1954–1958—Member, New York State Business Advisory Committee (by apopintment of Governor Harriman); Member, Executive Committee, American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

Miscellaneous: Author of many articles and studies on education, economics, and business. Participates in active sports, including tennis, swimming and basketball. (Was City of Rochester and Western N.Y. State tennis champion; and while at M.I.T. was Captain of the basketball team and a member of the All New England Soccer Team.)

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 191st day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS—A PRIVILEGE TO BE OF SERVICE

HON. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, as the second and final session of the 90th Congress nears its end I feel it appropriate to comment on an element of my congressional service in which I take particular pride: service on the House Committee on Appropriations. The Appropriations Committee has as its distinguished chairman GEORGE H. MAHON, of Texas; and my friend of long standing with whom I came to Congress originally in 1950, FRANK T. BOW, of Ohio, as ranking Republican member.

I take a measure of particular personal pride in my service on the Appropriations Committee, because it is broken service.

I transferred from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, headed by my valued friend, WAYNE ASPINALL, of Colorado, to the Appropriations Committee in the 88th Congress. But having been defeated in 1964 by an unfortunate swing away from Republican principles, I found myself dispossessed both of that committee post and my at-large congressional seat from Wyoming for 2 years.

I gained reelection in 1966 and, as one of Wyoming's leading newspapers, the Wyoming State Tribune, puts it, "confounded those seers who said it couldn't be done by not only getting back on the Appropriations Committee, but also by getting a ranking on it considerably above first termers."

The same article by the Tribune noted also:

> Harrison suffered only one other political defeat in a general election contest since he first was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1950.

When I returned in this 90th Congress I regained also my position on the Subcommittees on Interior and on Agriculture, two subjects vital to a public land and agriculturally oriented State such as Wyoming.

The uniqueness of this position gives me essentially the advantages which obtain as a member of the Interior Committee, because there is little Interior legislation of significance that does not involve a monetary consideration. Accordingly, I am in a position on the subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee to have a say in the finality of much Interior legislation affecting Wyoming.

With more than half of Wyoming owned or controlled by the Government, this is a decided advantage.

As an index of what the Appropriations Committee means for Wyoming, I offer the following partial breakdowns of the Interior and Agriculture Department budgets as they affect Wyoming:

Department of the Interior—Funding program in fiscal year 1969 for the State of Wyoming

SUMMARY

Bureau of Land Management	$3,296,000
Bureau of Indian Affairs	951,636
Bureau of Outdoor Recreation	$446,239
Geological Survey	3,535,700
Bureau of Mines	2,407,000
Bureau of Commercial Fisheries	20,500
Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife	1,586,090
National Park Service	7,955,800
Office of Water Resources Research	100,000
Bureau of Reclamation	3,291,700
Office of the Solicitor	18,531

Department of the Interior—Bureau of Reclamation

[Estimate in the budget for fiscal year 1969 for the State of Wyoming—appropriation, activity, and project]

General investigations:	
Atmospheric water resources re-Eden project	190,000
Basins, reconnaissance, and other, including Upper Green River reconnaissance	89,000
Subtotal, general investigations	494,000
Construction and rehabilitation:	
Eden project	$190,000
Kendrick project	480,000
Missouri River Basin project:	
Glendo unit	---------
Hanover-Bluff unit	79,000
Owl Creek unit	72,000
Transmission division	505,000
Yellowtail unit	62,000
Investigations:	
Cassa-Horseshoe unit	---------
Kaycee unit	---------
LaPrele unit	29,000
Shoshone extensions unit	---------
Recreation facilities at existing reservoirs	2,000
Riverton project	---------
Shoshone project	---------
Subtotal, construction and rehabilitation	1,419,300
Operation and maintenance:	
Eden project	45,000
Kendrick project	434,000
Minidoka area projects	41,000
Missouri River basin project	1,897,400
North Platte project	337,000
Riverton project	149,000
Shoshone project	200,000
Soil and moisture conservation	188,300
Subtotal, operation and maintenance	3,291,700
Upper Colorado River storage project:	
Colorado River storage project: Transmission division	10,000
Lyman participating project	2,686,000
Seedskadee participating project	238,000
Seedskadee participating project (O. & M. and emergency expenditures)	48,000
Operation and maintenance	90,000
Subtotal, Upper Colorado River storage project	3,072,000
Total, all appropriations	8,227,000

---

[1] Based on program amounts in conference report on Public Works for Water and Power Resources Development and Atomic Energy Commission Appropriation bill, 1969, above amounts are estimated inasmuch as programs are not made by States or districts and include application of prior year appropriated funds, non-Federal advances and underfinancing where applicable.

Department of the Interior—Funding for the oil shale program by Bureau of Office, fiscal year 1969

[House and Senate allowance]

Office of the Solicitor:	
The 1969 funds provide for staffing for legal work related to clearing title to public oil shale lands	$65,000
Bureau of Land Management:	
Realty and mineral leasing services	45,000
Land classification and mineral examination	325,000
Cadastral survey	50,000
Total, Bureau of Land Management	420,000
Geological Survey:	
Research appraisals of oil shale deposits	225,000
Studies of oil shale deposits in Green River and Uintah Basins	205,000
Total, Geological Survey	430,000
Bureau of Mines: Oil shale research	2,213,000
Grand total, Interior	3,128,000

Department of the Interior—Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife

[Report of funds programed in State of Wyoming—appropriation and activity, fiscal year 1969]

Management and investigations of resources:	
Fish hatcheries	$137,900
Wildlife refuges	157,700
Soil and moisture conservation	6,000
Management and enforcement	18,000
Fishery research	225,000
Fishery services	65,600
Wildlife services	138,600
Totals	748,800
Construction:	
Sportfish facilities:	
Beulah Fish Genetics Laboratory	
Jackson NFH	
Saratoga NFH	112,000
Totals	112,000
Federal aid in wildlife restoration:	
Payments to States	550,000
National wildlife refuge fund:	
Development and maintenance of refuges	
Enforcement activities	
Payments to counties	25,290
Totals	25,290
Federal aid—fish restoration and management: Payments to States	150,000
State totals	1,586,090

Department of the Interior—National Park Service

[Funds appropriated, fiscal year 1969 for the State of Wyoming—Appropriation, activity, and project]

Management and protection:	
Management of park and other areas	$1,798,100
Forestry and fire control	146,700
Soil and moisture conservation	
Park and recreation programs	
Concessions management	
Subtotal, management and protection	$1,944,800
Maintenance and rehabilitation of physical facilities:	
Roads and trails	1,160,300
Buildings, utilities, and other facilities	1,163,700
Subtotal, management and rehabilitation	2,324,000
Construction:	
Buildings, utilities, and other facilities	1,047,400
Acquisition of land and water rights	30,100
Subtotal, construction	1,077,500
Parkway and road construction (liquidation of contract authorization):	
Parkways	
Roads and trails	2,609,500
Subtotal, parkway and road construction (LCA)	2,609,500
Land and water conservation fund	
Total	7,955,800

[Large construction projects (over $300,000) State of Wyoming (at large)]

1969 FISCAL YEAR

Parkway and road construction (liquidation of contract authorization):	
Roads and trails:	
Yellowstone National Park:	
Reconstruct lake bypass, Bridge Bay to Fishing Bridge junction	$1,362,000
Reconstruct Grant Village to Arnica Creek including relocation of West Thumb junction	2,180,000
Resurface Beartooth Highway	635,000
Construction:	
Buildings, utilities, etc.:	
Grand Teton National Park:	
Visitor center expansion, Colter Bay	303,400
Yellowstone National Park:	
Employee apartments, visitor contact stations, utilities, and razing of old visitor center	339,100
Parkway and road construction (liquidation of contract authorization):	
Roads and trails:	
Grand Teton National Park:	
Reconstruct Route 3 (Por.) Jackson Lake Dam to North Jenny Lake loop junction	1,000,000
Yellowstone National Park:	
Base and bituminous surface, east entrance to Sylvan Pass (complete)	597,000
Parking area expansion, Old Faithful (complete)	412,200
Construction:	
Buildings, utilities, etc:	
Grand Teton National Park:	
Sewage treatment plant, Colter Bay	$333,300
Yellowstone National Park:	
Visitor center, including razing old visitor center	564,000

Estimated fiscal year 1969 obligations—State of Wyoming

INDIAN HEALTH ACTIVITIES	
Hospital health services	$15,500
Field health services	302,000
Sanitation	26,500
Dental	26,700
Public Health nursing	31,500
Health education	10,700
Field medical services	206,600
Contract medical care services	365,000
Total, Indian health activities	682,500
CONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN HEALTH FACILITIES	
Sanitation facilities for new housing	29,000
Total, Wyoming	711,500

U.S. Department of Agriculture

[Estimated obligations for activities in Wyoming—fiscal year 1969]

(The amounts shown reflect appropriations as enacted and do not reflect any reductions which may be required by limitations imposed under provisions of Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (Public Law 90–364).)

Activities for which 1969 estimates can be made at this time:

Agricultural Research Service:	
Research	$245,600
Plant and animal disease and pest control	401,400
Cooperative State Research Service:	
Payments to State for agricultural experiment station research	343,149
Payments to State for regional research	156,368
Grants for cooperative forestry research	29,679
Extension Service: Payments to State for cooperative agricultural extension work	424,171
Statistical Reporting Service:	
Crop and livestock estimates	112,157
Consumer and Marketing Service:	
Market news service	42,300
Meat inspection	51,000
Poultry inspection	6,200
School lunch program, cash assistance	274,300
Special milk program	132,200
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service:	
Agricultural conservation program, cost-sharing assistance to farmers	1,911,000
Emergency conservation measures	16,000
Sugar Act program	2,087,630
Conservation reserve program, payments to farmers	486,035
Cropland adjustment program, payments to farmers	99,039
ASCS State and county office expenses:	
State office	256,600
County offices	661,020
National Wool Act, payments	5,240,000

U.S. Department of Agriculture—Continued

[Estimated obligations for activities in Wyoming—fiscal year 1969]

Federal Crop Insurance Corporation: Operating expenses	$10,000
Farmers Home Administration:	
Operating loans	3,700,000
Farm ownership loans:	
Direct	75,000
Insured	2,000,000
Rural housing loans:	
Direct	100,000
Insured	1,800,000
Rural rental housing loans (insured)	200,000
Emergency loans	300,000
Soil and water loans:	
Direct	125,000
Insured	1,300,000
Water and waste disposal grants	125,000
Watershed protection loans	75,000
Economic opportunity loans	250,000
FHA State and county office expenses	510,000
Forest Service:	
Forest protection and utilization, exclusive of fighting forest fires	5,336,100
Forest roads and trails	3,147,000
Assistance to State for tree planting	10,000
Payments to State from the national forests fund	158,100
Payments to counties, national grasslands	38,320
Expenses, brush disposal	135,100
Watershed protection and other activities	21,100
Soil Conservation Service:	
Assistance to soil conservation districts and other cooperators	1,552,000
Watershed planning	89,000
Watershed protection	387,970
Great Plains conservation program	550,000
Resource conservation and development	82,000
Total	35,052,538

Activities for which it is not practicable to make 1969 estimates at this time. (The allocations by States can be determined only on the basis of program developments during the year.)

Consumer and Marketing Service:	
Donations of agricultural commodities to schools and welfare agencies	----------
Food stamp program	----------
Commodity Credit Corporation:	
Price-support loans on commodities	----------
Storage facility and equipment loans	----------
Acreage diversion and price-support payments:	
On feed grains	----------
On wheat	----------
Federal Crop Insurance Corporation: Indemnities paid	----------
Rural Electrification Administration:	
Rural electrification loans	----------
Rural telephone loans	----------
Forest Service: Fighting forest fires	----------

(NOTE.—The above amounts represent obligations and do not reflect credits for receipts arising from loan collections and settlements, crop insurance premiums, national forest revenues or miscellaneous recoveries, since such data are not readily available on a State basis.)

U.S. Department of Agriculture—Forest Service

[Estimated appropriations and/or obligations for activities in Wyoming—fiscal year 1969 activity]

FOREST PROTECTION AND UTILIZATION	
Forest land management:	
National forest protection and management (includes advance from "cooperative range improvements")	$3,925,200
Water resource development related activities	26,500
Insect and disease control	19,600
Forest research	101,000
State and private forestry cooperation	105,000
Subtotal, forest protection and utilization	4,177,300
Forest roads and trails (includes transfer from "roads and trails for States")	2,791,100
Assistance to States for tree planting	9,000
Expenses, brush disposal	133,900
Restoration of forest lands and improvements	1,000
Payments to counties, national grasslands	41,500
Payments to States, national forests fund	154,500
Trust funds	524,000
TRANSFERS	
Watershed protection	24,000
Watershed planning	2,000
Land and water conservation fund	40,900
Total	7,899,200

As noted in the figures above, Mr. Speaker, the development of mineral resources is one of the most conspicuous signposts on the road to Wyoming's future growth and prosperity.

Oil shale, coal, uranium, iron, conventional oil deposits, trona, bentonite, gypsum; these are among the reserves which make Wyoming a treasure house of energy and industrial minerals.

Wyoming is known now to rank first in coal reserves, second in uranium, and third in oil shale. Subsequent surveys may adjust these figures, but any way the mineral pie is cut, Wyoming has the biggest pieces of the minerals most vital to America.

I am particularly pleased to have had a major role in the availability of funds for such worthwhile projects as the coal-to-asphalt research which will be underway at the University of Wyoming in a pilot project for which my committee has approved $50,000.

We have approved also nearly $2.3 million for oil shale research, much of which will be conducted at the Laramie Petroleum Research Center. Wyoming, with large lodes of the immensely rich Green River oil shale formation within its boundaries, is the logical location for oil shale research facilities.

I am pleased to report to my colleagues, and for the RECORD, that research undertaken in Wyoming will be at the very heart of the deposits which will be the principal sources of petroleum energy for America in the decades ahead.

In view of the strong possibility that the Republican Party shall control the House of Representatives when the 91st Congress convenes in January of 1969, it would become apparent that I would be in an even more propitious position to render service for my State as a majority member of one of the committees which by peculiarity and design is best suited for service to Wyoming and to the Rocky Mountain States.

HISTORICAL TRANSFERENCE OF POPULATION AND POLITICAL POWER

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, my district office administrative assistant, James N. Fazio, has written an interesting essay entitled "The Historical Transference of Population and Political Power."

Without endorsing or agreeing with the new and unique theory presented by the author, I do want to bring this essay to the attention of my colleagues in the House. I am sure that the essay will be of interest to my colleagues—particularly the thought-provoking concept of a westerly migration throughout history of population shifts and political power.

I compliment the author, a graduate of Syracuse University and the Harvard School of Law, an attorney and a man who has given a great deal of thought to this most interesting aspect of historical patterns in international politics.

I place in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues the full text of James N. Fazio's essay:

ESSAY ON THE HISTORICAL TRANSFER OF POPULATION AND POLITICAL POWER

(By James N. Fazio)

'Malthus forecast the gloomy geometric increase of mankind in spite of the galloping Four Horsemen: Death, Hunger, Pestilence and War. Although it is obvious to anyone that our population continues to grow, what has not been so obvious to the ordinary eye is the direction taken by such growth.

Levi-Straus, the father of structuralism, applied his ethnological thinking to the social behavior of certain tribes and revealed that human behavior can be described scientifically. He observed that since there is nothing arbitrary in nature's scheme, why should there be anything arbitrary in man's behavior since he is part and parcel of nature?

From today's vantage point, we are able to look back in history and by applying Levi-Straus' theory, discover that the world's population growth has established a pattern of human behavior that can be described scientifically: (1) That man's population, while multiplying in numbers, reveals an inexorable westerly migration around the earth (as if man were magnetically following the "apparent" westerly movement of the sun), and (2) that subsequent to each such westerly migration there eventually shifted westerly the dominant political power of the world. A panoramic review of history supports the aforesaid observations.

Based on archeological data, the original nucleus of mankind can be theorized to have germinated somewhere within an elongated circle encompassing the eastern Mediterranean area and the Asiatic subcontinent. Even though the Egyptians gave us the first artifacts of earliest history, it is known that other cultural groups existed prior to, and simultaneously with the Egyptians, without having left any permanent articles for posterity.

Further evidence indicates that Egypt, Persia and India produced a race of men who were prolific in the reproduction of their own kind and who occupied a piece of geography that permitted them mobility. The Chinese were another Asiatic family of men whose sex drive insured their constant increase in numbers, although their tribal movements must have been partially contained by the rugged mountains that surrounded their living-room geography. For centuries, the Himalayas certainly discouraged them from entertaining any ambitious migratory thoughts.

The other tribes of man were the Indians of the Western hemisphere who appear to have been endowed with a lukewarm libido and the blackmen of Africa and Australia whose population growth was controlled by environment.

It seems that with civilization, man for some reason expands his family and then finds it necessary to acquire more space to keep up with his multiplying breed. We can imagine man's population growth as germinating from individual living cells that were deposited on earth in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, and then slowly took root, dividing and sub-dividing until these expanding tribal cells met. Upon contact, there immediately commenced a competitive struggle for political mastery and control of the terrestrial area for purposes of domination and self-preservation.

Beginning with the Egyptians who gave us our first authentic historical evidence, we attribute them to be the cradle of civilization at about 4,000 B.C. They were the dominant power economically, religiously, politically and militarily. They controlled the rim of Mediterranean Africa, the Mid-East and parts of Greece. This area housed a swirling mixture of boiling people constantly at war with each other, Eventually, political power slipped from the Egyptians into the hands of the Babylonians, Assyrians and Persians. For centuries, political power violently shifted between the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates people, while the Greeks marched and sailed out of the western horizon and captured for themselves the dominant political power of the whole Mid-Eastern area. The Greeks, being just as aggressive as their predecessors, continued man's traditional intra-battling until they too lost out to a new power, Rome, made up of people just west of Greece.

The Roman legions were the first to consolidate under their single aegis all of the people and their lands, running from the edge of Scotland to the banks of the Euphrates River.

No different from its predecessors the Roman Empire slowly and reluctantly disintegrated into history, as new tribes poured in from the North, East and South. These people added new nomenclatures to our vocabulary—Juts, Celts, Teutons, Goths, Franks, Huns, Slavs, Seljuks, Saracens and Muslims. They resembled three separate human streams converging westerly in, down and across Europe until the sceptre of political power, once again, came to rest in the western hands of Charlemagne, King of the Franks, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Franks achieved political dominance when Charlemagne subdued the remaining Germanic tribes, tamed the Magyars (Huns) and blocked the Muslims (Arabs) in Spain.

After Charlemagne's death, political control shifted like a ping pong ball amongst the various Germanic tribes as they fought while moving into the 13th Century. The Crusades added to Europe's battling confusion while Genghis Khan brought new pressures as his Golden Hordes swept westerly into Russia.

For centuries the sceptre of political power became the prize in a real tug of war amongst three western powers: Spain, France and England. Both Spain and France each momentarily juggled with the sceptre of power until it was wrested from them by the British people.

Despite the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, the world's population continued to multiply.

Europeans found themselves being squeezed within a vise consisting of the formidable Atlantic Ocean on one side and the increasing internal population pressure on the other. The Europeans could not expand eastward. It would have entailed swimming against a human tide made up of Slavs, Mongols, Indians and Chinese. Napoleon tried it and failed. Recently, Hitler tried it and failed. From Europe's intolerable conditions for survival emerged a new breed of navigators and explorers. They imitated living cells that broke away sporadically to sail westerly across the Atlantic barrier, until they touched new land and secured a beach head for others to follow.

It was the young, the daring, the courageous men and women who migrated and colonized America's Atlantic sea coast. They kept coming, spreading, pushing, jabbing and moving westerly across the American continent. So powerful was their current, that they overwhelmed Indians, animals and forests with their guns, plows, covered wagons and iron horses.

After World War I, these mongrel Americans were recognized as a new western political power on earth, and after World War II, they became the greatest dominant political entity since the Roman Empire. In short, once again, with the westerly flow of man's population, the world's political control and domination migrated westerly.

It should be safe to propose that from the time of known civilization, for compelling and formidable reasons of self-preservation men have found it necessary to migrate. It can further be deduced that those people who did pull out their birthroots to start life all over again in a strange and foreign land, had to have an indomitable spirit and courage. These ingredients in any man or woman spelled leadership. Since they moved westerly so did their individual leadership, and eventually so did they collectively insure that the sceptre of political dominance would come to rest, westerly, in their hands.

What happens now to the westerly migration pattern? What happens to the sceptre of political power? Can the same pattern prevail: that ". . . . . upon contact, there immediately commences a struggle for mastery and control of the terrestrial area for purposes of self-preservation?"

Within 300 years the American clan has grown to 200 million. The population pressure cooker continues to ferment while Americans perpetuate the pattern of westerly movement across the Pacific Ocean into Hawaii, the Philippines, Australia, Korea and Viet Nam.

Although the Pacific offers no barrier to our modern ships and jets, yet 800 million Chinese, 650 million Indians and hundreds of millions of Indonesians, Malaysians and other Asians, do present a human barrier, more formidable than the Himalayas, Andes and Rockies piled one atop the other. What occurs is that today man has moved in great numbers clear around the globe and has finally caught up with himself.

If the Asian real estate were vacant or even sparsely populated, there would be no problem. Man would migrate there with ease. Unfortunately over one billion and a half people are squatting there looking for their own Lebensraum.

The Chinese on their part tried to move into Korea, but were stopped by a westerly flowing people—America. The Chinese tried to move into India, but were stopped by the combination of India, England, Russia and America. The Chinese tried to move into Viet Nam and again they found Americans. China is trying to move into Mongolia, but Russia is there with her armed forces. Today, anywhere on earth, any mass movement east, west, north or south presents a dangerous and explosive situation. The exception is that Americans can still migrate westerly to Australia or move northerly into friendly Canada and Alaska, or even southerly to South America.

Assuming validity in the hypotheses that (1) the world's population migrates in a westerly direction and (2) subsequently brings with it the dominant political power of the world, can these hypotheses hold true under today's population saturation factor? Does America carry the advantage of the westerly momentum? Is China starting a second human tidal wave moving in Asia? Should the westerly cycle continue, does it point towards Australia as being the next people and area to hold the sceptre of political dominance? Would a World War III obliterate man except for a few survivors who must start all over again and take thousands of years to re-achieve today's civilization?

It is unfortunate that universal man still finds that he must continue to shed blood and tears before he is fully grown and capable enough to grasp the sceptre of political power and retire it permanently into the hands of the United Nations, the geocentric body where all the compass points meet, North, South, East and West.

Of course, since man is colonizing the Moon, it may be best for him to do so only when the Moon is West of the Earth???

MIDSOUTH SPEAKS ON VIETNAM

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include the third of a series of articles from the Memphis Press-Scimitar in which the people of the Midsouth express their concern over the war in Vietnam.

The article follows:

THE WAR AND THE MIDSOUTH: RIPLEY, TENN.—MOST TOWNSFOLK FEEL WE'RE DOING RIGHT THING IN VIETNAM AND ACCEPT DECISIONS OF U.S. LEADERS

(By Margaret McKee)

RIPLEY, TENN.—The bench sitters on the courthouse lawn move with the weather, basking in the sun on coolish days, moving to the shade under the old trees when the sun heats up. But the conversation goes on.

Bench sitting is a talker's pastime—the weather, the crops, the new mayor, all come in for their share.

But the talk slows almost to a halt when two strangers begin asking questions about the war in Vietnam. Dee Winbush shifts his unlit cigar from one hand to the other. "I don't quite understand it," he says. "The way I feel about it—it's just too bad."

"That money could be spent better to help people over here," Searcy Thompson chimes in. "I worked all my life in construction and I ought to be getting more pension than I am, seems like."

POLITICS

Johnny Moore's truck is parked on the square, and he sits drowsily on the back end with the baskets of vegetables, rousing to sack up peaches and squash and potatoes and string beans for occasional customers.

He pulls his straw hat farther down on his forehead and rubs his jaw with its stubble of whiskers. "I don't have nothing to do with that war," he says. "I don't pay too much attention to it. It's a lot of politics. I don't know nothing about politics."

Hal Wilson has a little bit of everything in his store on the square, metal toys, bird seed, cameras, and the Western Union office. "One person I heard was strong about it," he said, between tending to customers and answering the phone. "He said that it was just a political war. I hear people fuss about the war. A lot of people are like me. They're confused."

The confusion, bewilderment, even indifference in the faces of Ripley have their reflections in other faces in other towns. But, for most residents of this Tennessee hill country town built on farming and small factories, a heritage of patriotism and confidence in the country's leaders is as much a part of life as church on Sunday and prayer meeting on Wednesday night. A stars-and-stripes sentiment comes through as Ripley talks.

"I wasn't fortunate enough to be in service," says J. T. Denison, his haircut short as a Marine's, a patch with "shop foreman" sewn on his Carlton Chevrolet shirt. "I tried to enlist after I married, but I had too many dependents.

"I think we're obligated, in a sense, to those people over there.

"We know what freedom is all about. When we see a country that wants freedom from Communism, it's up to the United States to help them any way we can. If it's war, that's the price we have to pay."

In 1963 and 1964, when Doyle Davis served 13 months in Vietnam, it was a different war. "Lots of snipering, that was about all we had then," Davis says, pumping gas and wiping car windows at the Chevrolet dealership while body repair work is slow. "It's gotta be," he says. "If we weren't there, they would be here. I think we should go on, knock out every ammunition dump, block them off from China by the sea, and get it over with."

Upstairs in the bookkeeper's office, Jim Giles looks up from his ledgers: "I got back from Vietnam in November, after a year. It's gonna be a long, drawn-out war, but I think we're doing right over there, stopping the Communists."

RIDICULOUS

Across the street at the Blue and White Cafe, Anna Marie Moss is having the $1.50 lunch buffet—country fried steak, crowder peas, squash, cornbread. "It's ridiculous," she says, her blond hair bouncing on her shoulders as she tosses her head. "I think we should be there, but dragging it on and on is ridiculous.

"It's like playing a football game. The coach tells the team not to play hard enough to win—but not to let the other side win."

Again and again comes the statement that Ripley accepts the decision of the experts, the leaders, those who are calling the shots.

"People want their sons home, naturally," says William Klutts, in his shirt sleeves as he makes up the week's edition of his paper, the Lauderdale County Enterprise, in his basement office. "But as long as the President and Congress feel we should be there, the people around here accept their decision."

The mayor of this town owns a furniture store, the Rozelle Crimer Furniture store, on the square. Mayor Crimer threads his way through the narrow path between chairs and sofas, bedsteads and dressers and bureaus crowded together, to talk to the strangers. At first he is reticent, but then he begins to talk. "The people here want something done. They feel not enough effort is being done.

"But I wouldn't criticize. I don't know all of their problems. I don't have all of the facts."

Brooks Adams, the chairman of the Ripley Red Cross, owns the Family Shoe Store on the other side of the square. "All the people I talk to say they think we're doing the right thing by being in Vietnam," he says, waiting behind the check-out counter for women to finish opening boxes and trying on shoes. "I don't oppose the policies. I would like to see it finished. I'm not that smart to know how to finish it."

SON RETURNS

"I've got a boy who came back from over there the 13th day of May," says Norman A. Shands, who rents out his farm land outside town and so has time to stand by Moore's produce truck, talking to the people buying vegetables. "He said he didn't see nothing over there worth fighting for.

"I don't feel like we should be in any foreign country. If we have our boys and power at home, I think we could defend ourselves here. That's what we ought to do, not kill our boys up overseas.

"But we have a government that's supposed to know all about our business. I don't argue with them, it may be necessary that our boys are there."

In the new Office of Economic Opportunity, woodpaneled with a black-and-white vinyl floor, seven girls—four Negro and three white—are chatting and laughing. Pauline Adams, 18, just out of high school and working this summer for O.E.O. before starting college in the fall, is one of them.

FOR THE OLDER

To Pauline, the war is something for somebody older. "The young people don't keep up with the latest events of the war," she says, doodling on her notepad. "They don't really know what's happening. I know I don't like it.

"I don't think teen-agers should be sent to Vietnam after just six weeks training. I think the older ones should go, who've had experience."

Her boss, Levi Moore, finds time to answer questicns between conferences on Head Start and the new VISTA workers for Lauderdale County. A tall, very dark man with big hands, he taught high school history in Ripley before taking the O.E.O. job.

"Personally I feel that we should be there. I have a son who is draft age. I will encourage him, if he has to go, to do his part," Moore says. The resentment expressed by some Negroes that their people are bearing too much of the load in Vietnam finds little expression in Ripley, he says.

"They resent the war in the sense they resent all wars, not so much in the fact that they have a disproportionate number of people there.

"I believe this country has certain commitments to our own international prestige. If we do not stay behind our commitments, it will make it difficult for other nations to commit themselves to us."

HER WISH

The commitment of nations, international prestige matter little to Mrs. Addie Bell Reed, her hair rolled up in pink curlers, bouncing a neighbor's child on her knee. "I would just like for it to be ended," she says. "Our boys are over there, putting up their lives. They should be home with their wives and children.

"Just bring them back home. The mothers need their sons. The wives need their husbands, war over or not."

A minority voice in patriotic, expert-trusting Ripley, but a voice that has echoes in other towns, in other counties, in other states. A voice that could be drowned out by martial music—or a voice that could grow louder.

WHY POLICEMEN QUIT

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, now as never before "the policeman's lot is not a happy one." He is harassed by constant charges of police brutality, hamstrung by Supreme Court decision, and usually underpaid. It is little wonder that morale is low, resignations are widespread, and recruitment drives fail.

The Aurora Advertiser of Aurora, Mo., in an editorial of July 19, 1968, brought these problems into their proper prospective. The editorial follows:

WHY POLICEMEN QUIT

The St. Louis police force has reason to worry.

Experienced, competent officers are throwing up their hands and resigning, with the rate of departure exceeding the rate at which qualified men can be found and trained. The result is low manpower and increased pressure upon those who are wearing badges to quit, too.

The resignations are in no way a reflection on the St. Louis police department, nor are they confined to St. Louis alone. In major cities all over the country similar conditions exist. Good men are leaving the force, replacements are not being secured.

Nation wide this is certainly a cause for concern, or ought to be. Never before, with the crime rate doubling every decade and the ratio of convictions being cut in half, was there a more pressing need for experienced, capable police officers. The very existence of even a semblance of law and order in this country may be hanging in the balance.

It seems likely that the growing tide of resignations by good policemen is a symptom of the break-down of law and order that besets the whole country.

As the St. Louis Globe-Democrat put it editorially this week, "When experienced, dedicated policemen are made to feel that the whole world—from the Supreme Court on down—is against them, is it any wonder growing numbers will get fed up and seek other work?"

We talked to a veteran police officer from Memphis about a year ago and asked him why he, who had followed in the footsteps of his father, also a policeman, had resigned to go into a far less cogenial and economically more risky line of work, and he put it in one word, "abuse."

When he made an arrest, he said, he had to take abuse from spectators as well as the man arrested, not for what he was doing, but just because he was an officer doing his job.

When he booked a suspect, he said, he had to stand a quiz from his superiors about all the technicalities which officers are expected to follow. If the suspect had resisted physically, he could expect a charge of "police brutality" to be lodged by someone, and undergo a grilling by a board of investigation. And when, in the rare instances in which someone he had arrested was finally brought to trial he was treated far more roughly in the witness chair by defense attorneys than the accused was by the prosecuting attorney.

It finally got him down, he said, and he found himself not sleeping well at night, so he decided to chuck it, and with not too many years to go to qualify for a pension, start in a new line when well up in middle age.

He does not know what is going to happen, but he thinks the time is not far off when city police forces will have to lower requirements to a dangerous point in order to keep even skeleton forces on the street and in the patrol cars.

And if anyone believes that the difficulties which make the lot of a policeman a tough one are confined to the cities of the country, let him but get a rural deputy sheriff or small town officer to talk frankly, and the bitterness and frustration they feel will reveal that is certainly not true.

We think that anyone who puts his life on the line every minute of the day or night to protect the lives and property of others is entitled to respect and honor.

Instead, as the Globe-Democrat put it "Policemen have been the targets of vocal and editorial abuse, and of physical attack by those who characterize all peace officers as practitioners of 'brutality'."

And, unfortunately, far too many cop haters have access to TV cameras and microphones these days, and irresponsibly add their voices to those who mouth the documented campaign of the communists to try to overthrow our government by destroying confidence in those who enforce this country's laws and protect this nation's way of life.

The Globe-Democrat concluded with this warning, "Young men starting out in this vital field of public service usually do so with the highest ideals. In a short time they can become frustrated or even cynical because they are handcuffed by the courts and attacked by segments of the press and public."

We think the Globe-Democrat said a mouthful.

STOP, LOOK, AND LISTEN

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, many Americans are rightfully angry. They have had it with those who are responsible for the mess this country is in—and this goes for rioting, lawbreaking, dope peddling, and permissiveness in general as well as for the slaughter in Vietnam. They are insistent that those who want help from them—in the form of a slice of their taxes—be ready and willing to sincerely try to help themselves. They will vote out of office those who call themselves their representatives but who would hand away their savings, their future, and their principles.

In this connection, the advertisement of the Warner & Swasey Co. appearing in Forbes magazine issue of August 1, 1968, is good reading, and I commend the reading of this message of warning to my colleagues:

I THINK I HAVE SOME RIGHTS, TOO

The right to walk the streets of my home town in safety. But courts and parole boards have so pampered criminals and hampered police that crime is skyrocketing into anarchy.

I have the right to expect my taxes to be prudently used for my country—not squandered on buying votes of pressure groups nor perpetuating useless bureaus.

I have the right to save my own money by doing without—save for a secure future; not to have it stolen by inflation created by wasteful government.

I have the right to start my own legitimate business and if I have ability, see it prosper; not succumb to greedy union bosses who, for their own power and profit, can close me out with an unreasonable, even illegal, strike.

I have the right and desire as a decent American to be sure no honest man goes hungry, but I also have the right to insist he do everything he can to earn his own living.

This nation was founded by men who rose up in anger against the bossism of Taxation without Representation, and established a country where the majority rules (not pressure groups)—the majority of law-abiding, hard-working, tax-paying citizens.

This great nation has come dangerously close to *mob* rule supplanting majority rule. Any official who supports or tolerates it is untrue to his country and should be treated accordingly.

NEW YORK FEDERAL RESERVE BANK LEAKS BOND MARKET INFORMATION FOR BENEFIT OF INSIDERS

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the past I have charged and proved that initially at least 2,500 people are in a position to take advantage of inside bond market information immediately after the Federal Open Market Committee meets here in Washington every third Tuesday of the month.

The Federal Open Market Committee is made up of the seven members of the Federal Reserve Board and five of the 12 presidents of the district Federal Reserve banks. It meets here in the Federal Reserve Board's marble mausoleum to decide what our monetary policy will be for the ensuing month. Present at this regular monthly meeting, as observers and influencers, are the presidents of the other Federal Reserve district banks and staff.

These bankers when they return home to their district banks are obligated, of course, to inform their own boards, made up principally of private bankers, about the action taken by the Federal Open Market Committee. It is easy to see that in minutes after this information is imparted to insiders, those in a position to take advantage of the situation have all the facts they need.

This is why, Mr. Speaker, I have argued in fairness to all that the actions of the Federal Open Market Committee should be made available immediately, and that the Federal Open Market Committee should meet not in executive session but in public so that all the people may be aware of the important actions taken by this group. In this way no benefits could be derived from having inside information of the situation. Further, if there were a policy disagreement with the conclusions taken, a meaningful dialog and debate could ensue.

But now, Mr. Speaker, new information comes to light which makes a complete mockery of the entire alleged secrecy that is supposed to rule over the activities of the Federal Open Market Committee decisions and operations.

Before detailing the specifics, Mr. Speaker, a little background information is necessary. When the Federal Open Market Committee decides whether monetary policy over the next month should be "tight," "loosened," or continued as firm, this information is transmitted to the New York Federal Reserve Bank.

Why? Because it is the New York Federal Reserve Bank which translates all Federal Open Market Committee decisions into practical operations for the entire Federal Reserve System. The other 11 banks in this instance are useless appendages. It is the New York bank, through its Federal Open Market Committee desk and manager, that does all the buying and selling of Government securities for the entire Federal Reserve System.

Now what do we find? Mr. Joseph R. Slevin, a noted financial reporter and columnist, writing in the July 30, 1968, issue of the American Banker, states that the New York Federal Reserve Bank regularly puts out "important money market news and only the insiders know that the information came straight from the potent reserve bank."

The New York Federal Reserve Bank personnel, according to Mr. Slevin, have regular briefings every Thursday afternoon. At these briefings the reporters are told whether U.S. money and credit policy is to become tighter or easier, information obviously of great benefit to bond dealers. Knowing this, they know whether interest rates and bond prices will be going up or down.

Just recently, Mr. Slevin states, Mr. Alfred Hayes, president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, held such a briefing. Mr. Hayes is not only the president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank which as I have indicated translates Federal Open Market Committee policy decisions into actual financial decisions for the Federal Government. He is also the Vice Chairman of the Federal Open Market Committee. No one, Mr. Speaker, is in a better position to know what monetary policy will be over the next month than Mr. Hayes.

I ask if it is fair that the trust placed by the American people in the Federal Open Market Committee and the New York Federal Reserve Bank be violated in this respect? In all other instances of similar action—divulging information by Federal employees—the Government would move immediately against such people for violating the trust of the Nation and releasing confidential Government information. This is precisely what Mr. Hayes and other personnel have done as indicated in Mr. Slevin's article.

This is a matter which I, as chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, shall immediately take up with the Federal Reserve Board. If necessary, we will hold hearings to get to the bottom of this. And if these statements have substance, it certainly will be reasonable for appropriate action to be taken.

The Joseph R. Slevin article follows:

[From the American Banker, July 30, 1968]

NEW YORK FED COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEMS IS ALLY OF BOND MARKET INSIDERS

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York gives more information to bond market insiders than it gives to less knowledgeable members of the financial community or to the general public.

It's a communications problem. The New York-based central bankers are not deliberately playing favorites. But they regularly put out important money market news and only the insiders know that the information came straight from the potent reserve bank.

The central bankers have their say at briefings that they hold for New York financial reporters every Thursday afternoon, after the markets close. They release their weekly banking figures and often provide explanations that disclose whether U.S. credit policy is getting tighter or easier, which, in turn, tells market professionals whether interest rates and bond prices will go up or down.

The briefings cause trouble because the N.Y. Fed officials refuse to be publicly identified as the source of the explanations. The newsmen are not allowed to say that the briefing took place and may not attribute the comments to the reserve bank.

But bond market professionals recognize the follow-up stories as authoritative policy explanations. They know about the Thursday briefings and the N.Y. Fed staff's unwillingness to be quoted. The insiders take the central bank assessments into account in making their buy and sell decisions while more casual market participants never know that the reserve bank has spoken.

The Thursday briefings are discriminatory, for all market participants should be treated alike. Some should not lose out because they are not privy to the New York Fed's policy of speaking from behind a mask.

To make matters worse, the newspaper accounts usually are misleading. The reporters go too far in cooperating with the New York Fed's insistence on concealing its spokesman's official status.

The New York Times, for example, customarily pretends that its information has come from "bankers," or from "bankers who are close to official thinking," or from "informed market sources," or "informed bankers," or "bankers who are close to Federal Reserve thinking."

In each case, the so-called "bankers" or "market sources" are none other than the reserve bank official who conducted the Thursday briefing. Bond market professionals see through the false identification immediately but other financial page readers do not. To most people a New York banker is an official of the First National City Bank, Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty, or one of the other commercial banks.

Actually, a spokesman for the N.Y. Federal Reserve Bank is not a banker, as most people understand the word. He is an official of the U.S. Government in almost everything except name.

Not quite three weeks ago, N.Y. Federal Reserve Bank president Alfred Hayes held a special meeting with New York newsmen during which he discussed Federal Reserve credit policy at some length—with the customary understanding that his identity was not to be revealed. Among other significant things, Mr. Hayes said that future monetary policy should be "firm" but should allow for an "appropriate growth" of bank credit.

The New York Times attributed the Hayes views to "one well-informed New York banker, who declined to be identified" but the select group of bond market professionals knew immediately that Mr. Hayes was the source.

Mr. Hayes not only is not just a private "New York banker," he is not just any Federal Reserve official. He is vice chairman of the Federal Open Market Committee, the powerful group that sets national monetary policy, and the FOMC was scheduled to meet at the Federal Reserve's Washington headquarters the morning after Mr. Hayes' disguised "New York banker" judgments were printed.

WINN'S WASHINGTON REPORT

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

CONGRESSMAN WINN REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

CITIZENS EXPRESS VIEWS IN QUESTIONNAIRE

I wish to thank those of you who took your valuable time to answer my recent questionnaire. I can assure you that your opinions are weighed heavily before I cast each vote on the floor of the House.

Of the 147,098 questionnaires mailed from my Washington office, I received more than 15,000 responses. I also received more than 1,000 letters expressing views on issues not covered in the questionnaire.

I know that many of you found it difficult to answer some questions with a mere yes or no. I myself face the same problem in voting on each bill that comes to the House floor, as I can only vote yea or nay on it.

It should be pointed out that bills drafted by members of Congress often become substantially different pieces of legislation than the bills that are finally voted on, due to numerous amendments and revisions.

I believe that the heavy return on my questionnaire is indicative of your interest in our government and its monumental problems. But more important, your responses provide a vital link between you and me.

CAVE-IN AMENDMENT

The House approved an amendment to the Omnibus Housing Bill of 1968 on July 9. The amendment, subject to Senate approval, was offered from the floor by Congressman Winn.

The amendment would change the Housing Act of 1949 to allow urban renewal to pay pre-collapse prices to property owners suffering losses due to cave-ins of limestone quarries.

In support of his amendment, Winn cited the danger to life and property of those living above the abandoned limestone quarry in the "Hilltop" district of Kansas City, where seven cave-ins have occurred since 1965.

TORNADO BILL INTRODUCED BY WINN

On April 24, Congressman Winn introduced a bill in the House to establish a "National Tornado Detection and Warning System," with up to $10 million to be funded for the Act.

Winn urged quick action on his bill by pointing out that, in addition to lives lost, tornadoes and other severe storms cost billions of dollars in property damage annually.

As an example, he cited the "Topeka tornado" of June 8, 1966, which took 17 lives and did approximately $80 to $100 million worth of property damage.

Winn's bill authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to conduct research and development programs to increase knowledge of tornados, squall lines and other severe storms.

It also provides for establishment of a National Severe Storms Service in the Department of Commerce. The bill has wide bipartisan support in both the House and Senate.

WINN WRITES RUSK ON "PUEBLO" INCIDENT

On April 4, Congressman Winn wrote Secretary of State Dean Rusk demanding that the American people be given a full explanation of the incident which resulted in the capture of the intelligence ship U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew off the coast of North Korea last January 23.

The State Department reply contained the usual bureaucratic mumbo jumbo stating, "It would clearly not be in the best interest of the United States Government or the crew of the *Pueblo* to comment publicly regarding any possible future course of action we might take."

CRIME RESOLUTION PASSED BY HOUSE

A resolution to establish a bipartisan joint Congressional committee to investigate crime and lawlessness in the nation passed the House by a vote of 318 to 12 on July 12. The resolution was co-sponsored by Congressman Winn, who also spoke in favor of it during debate on the House floor.

H.J. Res. 1, still subject to Senate approval, would give the committee power to hold hearings anywhere in the United States, subpoena witnesses and documents, and take testimony.

Winn has asked to serve on the committee if it is formed.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

NOTE.—Since many people checked more answers than were requested on multiple-choice questions of 3 and 6, answers here are those selected most often by questionnaire respondents.

[In percent]

1. Do you favor Federal legislation regulating the sale and possession of firearms?

Yes	54.3
No	38.4
Undecided	7.3

2. Do you favor legislation which would permit a portion of your Federal income taxes to be used to pay the cost of political campaigns?

Yes	10.5
No	84.5
Undecided	5.0

3. In your opinion, what is the primary cause of increased crime and violence?

Answer: Disrespect for law.

4. Do you favor the Administration's present Vietnam policy?

Yes	26.0
No	59.0
Undecided	15.0

5. Do you favor a greater Federal Government role in the area of agriculture and farm product support?

Yes	14.7
No	73.2
Undecided	12.1

6. Which four of the following would receive your highest priority for spending reductions?

Answers: (1) Foreign aid, (2) beautification, (3) supersonic transport and (4) space exploration.

7. Do you favor legislation providing Federal assistance to help low-income families achieve home ownership?

Yes	34.1
No	53.1
Undecided	12.8

8. Do you favor a Federal attack on unemployment by offering incentives to employers to hire and train unskilled workers?

Yes	58.2
No	31.8
Undecided	10.0

9. Do you think the Federal Government should return a portion of the taxes it collects to State and local governments to use as they see fit?

Yes	40.9
No	48.2
Undecided	10.9

PROTECTING OUR ESTUARIES

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, in recent years the Congress has devoted more of its time to conservation matters and particularly the preservation of our estuarine and wetland areas—those tidal zones where fresh and salt water meet.

The disappearance of many thousands of acres of valuable marshlands through private development, dredging, and filling projects has endangered the ecology of this continent and has destroyed much of the spawning grounds for fish and shellfish.

A bill—H.R. 25—to preserve the Nation's estuarine areas has been approved by the House and Senate and is now awaiting the President's signature. As a cosponsor of this legislation, I am very pleased at the action of the 90th Congress in the passage of this bill and in the area of conservation and protection of our natural resources.

H.R. 25 brings to the field of conservation a new concept in protecting natural resources which I first introduced in the 89th Congress—the concept of cooperative Federal, State, and local management agreements. Instead of authorizing condemnation or Federal acquisition of lands for conservation purposes, for which limited Federal funds are available, H.R. 25 authorizes the Secretary of Interior to conduct an inventory of the Nation's valuable estuaries and in certain cases where the land is already in public ownership to enter into cooperative management agreements with States and other political subdivisions to permanently protect and maintain these lands with title remaining in the State or other local government. Thus, more of the remaining valuable wetlands areas can be saved.

I commend to my colleagues a recent editorial which appears in the July 19, 1968, edition of Life magazine entitled "Endangered Edge of the Sea." I place the text of the Life editorial in the Record for the attention of my colleagues in the House, as follows:

> **Endangered Edge of the Sea**
>
> The tidal zone where America borders the sea in bays, marshes, estuaries, sloughs and flats may be the least understood and most maligned fraction of our natural world. The shallow edge of the sea where salt water mingles with fresh, commonly called the estuarine zone, is the most productive acreage known to man. It provides food and sport, moderates our weather and protects us from the weight of a storm-driven ocean. In return we dredge its shallows, pile muck onto its marshes, dam it off with highways and bulkheads and glorify our efforts as "reclamation." We aren't reclaiming a thing—we are destroying. And unless the Congress and the states move quickly to put into law the protective measures demanded by ecologists we will have sacrificed one of our greatest wealths to create dry sterile land that the nation already has in abundance.
>
> Two thirds of all our fish and shellfish—and that includes such choice species as the bluefish and striped bass, the shrimp, the shad, the salmon and the oyster—spend all or a vital part of their life cycle in the estuarine zone. Wipe out the estuaries and you wipe out the fish.
>
> The ecology of this continent is based on the interaction of thousands of species in zones that are often immense. Gut a bay by dredging it for gravel and more than the fish are affected. A key link in a waterfowl flyway may have been broken. Insects that were never a great problem suddenly become a plague. The bay's ability to cleanse itself of sewage may have been lost and it becomes an open cesspool.
>
> Just this sort of problem is building in San Francisco Bay. Already shrunk from its original 700 square miles to 435 by the haphazard filling of its shores, the shallow bay is in danger of being squeezed down to an ignoble drainage ditch. In the entire state of California 67% of the wetlands area has already been lost. In Connecticut only 20 square miles remain and on Long Island, in a recent span of only 10 years, 29% of the wetlands were demolished.
>
> It is tragically late to recognize the problem, but there are signs of an awakening. Massachusetts has enforced, since 1965, a stiff law requiring permits for all alterations of estuarine areas. And in San Francisco the Bay Conservation and Development Commission has had the power to veto filling projects for the past three years while it worked out a master plan for bay development. Recognizing that a bay is far too valuable a resource to be preserved solely for the needs of ecology, the BCDC suggests strongly that future development of the shoreline of San Francisco Bay should be restricted to projects for which such a location is vital—port terminals, ocean-based industries and recreation areas (right now only 10 of the bay's 276 miles of shoreline are open to the public).
>
> The BCDC is scheduled to go out of existence next year. If that happens, control of filling will revert to the localities. And it is not easy for any city or county to ignore the siren call of a developer who promises to reclaim acres of "useless" marsh and add it to the tax rolls—particularly when the marsh makes its greatest contribution to fishermen in another state or duck hunters a thousand miles away.
>
> Because the problems and values of estuaries transcend local boundaries, their protection can be guaranteed only by federal standards, binding on the states. Just such a measure passed the House of Representatives in February. It is languishing now in a Senate committee. And it will continue to languish until Americans realize, as John Clark, president of the American Littoral Society, puts it, that "the shore is in the same danger now that the forests were when Teddy Roosevelt took office." An acre of cutover forest will come back, given time. An acre of marsh 20 feet under the town dump is gone forever.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all the Members of the House to review the problem of protecting estuarine areas in their districts and to look into the new cooperative management concept contained in H.R. 25.

There is no reason why we should have to authorize Federal acquisition of lands already in public ownership in order to preserve natural resources for future generations. We can and should encourage cooperation among Federal, State, and local officials to protect these valuable areas from unnecessary development and destruction. That is the reason for H.R. 25 and it is my hope that future generations of Americans will benefit from this legislation.

COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION REMAINS A PROVEN PROGRAM

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I enthusiastically endorse the acceptance of the conference report on the Higher Education Amendments of 1968.

For 22 years I have had the honor of representing the Eighth Congressional District of the State of Minnesota. During that time I have seen this House slowly come to take an active interest in the problem of insuring that this Nation can adequately educate its youth. For a number of years after World War II it was deemed possible to leave education virtually totally outside the sphere of Federal activity. In 1945 we knew, as we do today, that it takes nearly 50 years time to get an innovative and necessary educational idea off the drawing board and into every classroom. Unlike today however, we felt that we in Congress had no responsiblty to change this lapse of time—the responsibility was entirely a State and local one.

This attitude of Congress changed over a period of time. The Korean war, the cold war, automation, prosperity, and finally the launching of Sputnik combined with many other factors to make Congress take on a new attitude. At long last we realized that change in technology, in social pressure, and in the mass of scientific and nonscientific knowledge was occurring at an increasingly rapid rate. We realized that the rate of change was so fast that very soon it would take 60, then 75, then 100 years to move an innovation from drawing board to the classroom.

At the same time Congress and the American people reached the conclusion that the continued well-being of this Nation was directly dependent on the possession and maintenance of a population that was universally as highly educated in modern technology as a racing car is highly tuned.

In 1958 the 86th Congress passed the National Defense Education Act in hopes of, first, stimulating a quick growth in the number of highly educated people in certain specified scientific and nonscientific academic areas, and second, reducing the number of years that pass between the time of conception of a new idea and the time of institution of that idea in our educational system. The passage of this act was truly crucial in the history of education legislation. It represents the first major step Congress has taken in this field. One reason for this step can be attributed to the pressure the entire Nation felt following the Soviets' launching of their first sputnik. The National Defense Education Act was perhaps in part a panic response to this Soviet success as well as a response to the conclusions that I have already talked about.

Since 1958, Congress has very often modified the National Defense Education Act in hopes of perfecting it. To reach perfection in any field of endeavor is an impossible task, but Americans will, and must, always strive to reach it. This is simply an inherent part of the American character. Today, we are involved in amending the NDEA as a part of that process of perfecting.

We are doing other things today in addition to this. Since 1958 and the National Defense Education Act, many more education acts have been passed with the same general purposes of the NDEA. The Higher Education Act of 1963 is one of these. Under it, we are doing much to upgrade, enlarge, and modernize the American higher education system. We are providing community service programs, college library materials, librarian training programs, strengthening developing institutions programs, student financial aid programs, teacher training and preparation programs, and improvement of undergraduate instruction.

To me personally, the most important program, and the one I want to talk about for a short while, is the student financial aid program. We are providing financial aid to students with great minds who also have great financial need. To withhold financial aid from this kind of student would effectively deprive the Nation of most numbers of potential Presidents, Congressmen, business executives, scientists, college professors, generals, and other personnel vital to the life of this Nation. Nobody in this House, including myself likes to give away tax money for no good purpose. But student financial aid is no giveaway program. Under the national defense student loan program, students attending institutions of higher education in my district received more than $180,000 in 1966, and even more in 1967. Every penny of this loan money will be returned to the Government with interest. To me this does not sound like a giveaway—it sounds more like a sound investment in our future.

Of all the student financial aid programs, the college work-study program is probably closest to my heart. Under this program, students work part time during the academic year at jobs on campus, such as laboratory assistants, cafeteria waiters, office workers and librarians, and off campus, such as garage mechanics, waiters, and clerks. In my opinion, a student, like any other person, can become limited and stilted by devotion to one task only. The work-study program provides the opportunity for constructive, nonacademic activity that can only help to build a balanced human being able to work both with books and with people of all educational levels. Last year, more than $158,000 was earned by numerous students in the Eighth Congressional District of Minnesota under this program.

In this year's Higher Education Amendments, these programs, among many others, are extended and enlarged. But the amendments also add some new programs, one of which, Mr. Speaker, I feel is extremely valuable and necessary; this is the cooperative education program. Under cooperative education programs which some colleges have run for as much as 60 years, a student alternates full-time study with full-time work. The work is usually, but not always, connected to the student's academic schedule. Thus, you have marine biology majors working on oceanographic research ships, accounting majors in accounting offices, drama majors in theaters, history majors in research establishments, political science majors in congressional offices, and geology majors in mining companies. This kind of program is valuable because, not only does a student gain academic knowledge, but he also gains practical experience on which the knowledge can be applied and which can make practical and workable the pure abstract theories. The proposal that is before us would help colleges and universities to plan and establish cooperative education programs by authorizing $8 million for fiscal year 1969 and $10 million for fiscal year 1970 for this purpose. I sincerely hope that this program is put into action quickly and can be expanded following fiscal year 1970.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the Committee on Education and Labor, its chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS], and its members from both sides of the aisle on having completed a conference report in a short time under extreme pressure and I am pleased that I have been able to join so many colleagues in supporting the Higher Education Amendments of 1968.

EXEMPTION OF SURVIVORS FROM VIETNAM COMBAT

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill that would prohibit the assignment to combat duty in Vietnam of servicemen—except those who volunteered—who have lost a member of their immediate family in the war. I understand that, as of today, 67 other Members have introduced the same bill, and I hope that even more will join in its sponsorship.

Existing regulations exempt a family's only surviving son from combat duty, except voluntarily. The bill I have cosponsored would extend the exemption to all other surviving members of a family whose father, brother, or sister had died as a result of military service in Vietnam.

It is asking too much for a family to bear the grief of more than one war death. The number of military personnel and their families who would be affected by this proposal would be relatively small. But the suffering that would be saved would greatly outweigh the actual numbers involved. While affecting our military effort in no way, the policy would be of inestimable humanitarian value to the nearly 30,000 families who have already lost a close relative.

Following is the text of the bill:

H.R. 19108

A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to prohibit the assignment of a member of an Armed Force to combat area duty if any of certain relatives of such member dies, is captured, is missing in action, or is totally disabled as a result of service in the Armed Forces in Vietnam

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 39 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding immediately after section 671 the following new section:

"§ 671a. Certain members not to be assigned to combat areas

"Except during the period of a war or a national emergency declared by Congress, no member of an Armed Force may be assigned to active duty in an area in which the armed forces are engaged in combat, unless he volunteers for such duty, if after December 31, 1963, the father or a brother or a sister of such member—

(1) is killed in action or dies in line of duty,

(2) is captured or declared as missing-in-action, or

3) dies or is totally disabled as a result of injuries received or disease incurred,

while serving in the Armed Forces within the combat zone designated in Executive Order Numbered 11216, dated April 24, 1965."

SEC. 2. The table of sections at the beginning of chapter 39 of such title is amended by inserting immediately after

"671. Members not to be assigned outside United States before completing training."

the following:

"671a. Certain members not to be assigned to combat areas."

COMMENT: "FOR GOD AND COUNTRY"

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, radio station WORK of York, Pa.—my congressional district—has instituted an innovation which makes a superb contribution to the public service. This unique device has been labeled "Comment," and it is made up of a series of subjects having for the general public. The series is heard three times daily on radio station WORK, Monday through Friday.

One "Comment" entitled "For God and Country," won broad acclaim, having gained the George Washington Honor Medal from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and having been read into the records of the State of Pennsylvania General Assembly.

Because of the timely nature of this "Comment," I insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

COMMENT: FOR GOD AND COUNTRY

Americans are the richest people in the world. They eat more, they have a higher standard of living, they have more in the way of possessions and yet they are not satisfied.

The promised land. That's what America is in reality you know. With all its riches, resources and power, America has twice engaged in world conflict to make this planet safe for all people to live, without fear of tyranny. Both wars failed to accomplish this goal. Was the blood of our veterans wasted then? Did they fight and die in vain? For no cause at all? No, they did not. They succeeded in keeping America free and in keeping America a major world power, however distasteful that might be to other countries. The world citizen, fortunate enough to be born in the United States of America, has wealth untold, even if his riches are not visible. Personal freedom is the most valuable of all possessions, and the poorest of our citizens still has that. Certainly there is poverty in this country and we must all work together to fight the strangling effect, but this does not change the fact that we are rich.

Most of us have enough to eat, we have shelter, we own an automobile, we have clothing and other items sufficient for our needs . . . This does not mean we are satisfied, but they are sufficient for our needs. Compare our lot with that of any average citizen of any other country and you'll find that we are better off all the way around.

This did not come about by accident, not by a long shot. It came about through hard work, back-breaking work . . . Through strong will and although other countries downgrade us for it, through capitalism. After all, where would America be without her great industries? That's exactly why she maintains her lead in the world and other countries remain at a standstill. Our industries are the very basis of our good way of life. Like people the world over, we tend to complain . . . But unlike those people, we have less right to do so.

In the first place we should be ever thankful we are Americans and not Chinese or Japanese or anyone else . . . Not that there is anything wrong with any of the aforementioned races . . . It just goes back to the opening statement of this comment, "Americans are the richest people in the world."

Yet, we have the chronic complainers, those who are never satisfied. Those who must make waves to stay happy. They protest everything . . . They carry banners with anti-American slogans . . . They take up for others in disputes with America . . . They pray for other countries to defeat America in war. While they enjoy the freedoms and rich life offered by America, they work underhandedly to overthrow her. One can understand to some degree, a Russians' passion for downgrading America, but how do you explain an American, and I use the word loosely, downing his own country. Some of these poor misguided souls have been led so far astray that they have carried American flags in their protest marches and set them afire. The flag of their own country, marred by their own hands.

This is not the act of a patriot. It is the act of an enemy of the country and should be treated as such. Old Glory is not just red, white, and blue silk, it is the symbol of this Nation, and should be treated with respect. But then these moaning and groaning kooks have respect for nothing.

In reality they are worthless . . . They contribute nothing to society . . . They ride free on its coat tails figuring all the while the world owes them something. They are leaches of the lowest form. They are unkempt, ill mannered, uneducated, and very noisy. They incite riots, preach race hatred, demonstrate, protest, burn draft cards, meet in muddy fields or on downtown streets, Smoke marijuana, pot, heroin, refuse to work or shave, or take a bath, take what they want, when they want it regardless of price and feel afterward that it was owed to them. They conform with nothing . . . They wish to be individualists. They claim God is dead, they bring about insurrections on college campuses. They are the hate mongers, the bigots, and they all come from the same mold. In their efforts to avoid conformity, they conform.

They have no place in the world because of their weird and warped outlook so they attempt to solidify their foundation by drawing other weirdos into their clique. They are a deadly group. Their efforts cause millions in damage every year, not to mention countless lives. Their hate, greed, and bigotry wreaks havoc on the world and still we allow them in our midst.

We must not violate their rights, the very rights they see fit to violate constantly.

Perhaps these people who find America so hard to take, would enjoy living behind the bamboo curtain of China, or the iron curtain of Russia or even the concrete wall of East Berlin.

That's where they should be because they certainly can find nothing good about the U.S. of A. Our Government is always wrong . . . Others are always right and we should all go jump into a bottomless pit. Call them what you will: Beatniks, Peaceniks, Vietniks, their actions are always the same.

Anyone must agree that a fellow American has a right to protest and even a right to demonstrate, so long as he does it orderly and does not create a disturbance. Burning an American flag can certainly be described as a disturbance, to say the least. These low-grade individuals should perhaps be drafted into the service, made to bathe and shave, made to don shoes, which appears to be against their principles, and then to be made to pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America.

Maybe, if these shiftless characters were made to sacrifice a little for that flag, they would not be so ready to disfigure it.

This isn't the whole solution, not by a long shot, but it is a start, and start we must if we are ever going to rid ourselves of these hatespreading, worthless protestors. Not having been anywhere, nor seen anything, they know little of what they protest. They thrive on violence. . . . If they want it that badly, send them to Viet Nam . . . there's plenty there.

For comment, Bill Nicholas.

WE NEED BOTH

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Jeffersonian, edited by Mr. August Maher, recently published a fine editorial on necessary utilization of American forests. I would like to share this thoughtful column with my colleagues:

WE NEED BOTH

A late issue of "American Forests" contains an editorial on people, land and the timber industry that should leave few illusions concerning our forest lands and their use. The editorial was written on the heels of the Washington, D.C. riots. It told of the massive rebuilding job with which the city was confronted—a job requiring vast quantities of lumber and other materials.

Beyond the immediate need of rebuilding riot-torn and depressed areas of cities, the editorial also drew attention to another fact that a lot of us ignore: "So many new needs so many new people. Last November 20 the Population Clock at the Bureau of the Census reached the 200 million mark. On April 5 it had climbed to 200,820,734. Meanwhile, our country has the same fixed two billion acres of land including a half billion acres of forest land. Twenty years from now we will still have the same amount of land plus 331 million Americans using a third more wood products plus more of everything else."

No one is more conscious of the increasing squeeze on people and land than timber companies. Leaders in the industry are calling for heavier investment in research in order to increase timber yields per acre, as well as improving woods and mill techniques. They present the strongest kind of case for an investor-owned, wood products industry, oriented around preservation of that most basic principle of constitutional government, private land ownership. They are strong exponents of wilderness area conservation, but recognize the absolute necessity of utilizing the nation's forest lands on a multiple-use basis—in other words, for recreation, wildlife conservation and sustained-yield timber harvesting.

As the "American Forests" editorial makes crystal clear, the time for illusions about people and land is past. We must treasure productive forest lands just as we do the remaining wilderness areas. We need them both.

ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION AND FEDERAL RELATIONS, JOHN M. LUMLEY

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, among the ablest and hardest working spokesmen for American education here in Washington is John M. Lumley, the assistant executive secretary for legislation and Federal relations of the National Education Association.

During my 10 years in Congress, I have had many opportunities to discuss problems of education with Mr. Lumley and I have found him unfailingly courteous, straightforward, and helpful.

I am pleased to insert at this point in the RECORD a sketch published in a recent issue of the NEA Journal about Mr. Lumley:

ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION AND FEDERAL RELATIONS, JOHN M. LUMLEY

Although NEA has played a central role in shaping public education policy for more than a century, at no time in our history has the Association's role in relation to the federal government been more important to America than now. The promotion of NEA legislative objectives is today a matter that directly affects more teachers, more pupils, and more citizens than ever before. During this school year alone, literally billions of dollars of federal money will go directly and indirectly to schools throughout the nation.

Guiding the legislative efforts of NEA is the assistant executive secretary for legislation and federal relations, John M. Lumley. As NEA chief lobbyist and as executive secretary of the NEA Legislative Commission, Dr. Lumley turns the Association's goals into legislative realities.

Under his direction, staff legislative consultants promote NEA objectives through contract with members of Congress and their staffs, with federal agencies, and with other education interests. Further, under Dr. Lumley's direction, state and local education association efforts to obtain sound federal legislation are coordinated. And, in addition, NEA newsletters and special reports on legislative matters are prepared.

The NEA Legislative Commission itself is made up of 11 Association members appointed by the NEA Executive Committee. Its mission is to formulate and promote the legislative program of the Association. It prepares resolutions for consideration by the NEA membership (through the Representative Assembly) and defines specific legislative goals within the framework of the general objectives set by the membership.

Dr. Lumley and his staff develop the action plans to implement the legislative programs adopted by the Legislative Commission. They keep the Commission and the profession informed about federal activities related to education.

John M. Lumley, a Pennsylvanian, attended elementary and secondary school there and received his undergraduate and doctoral degrees in that state. He has served as superintendent of schools in Wilkes-Barre and Sullivan County, and as chief deputy superintendent of the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction. While working on his doctorate at Pennsylvania State University, he served as a consultant in reading at the Penn State institutes for teachers and also taught summer school classes.

Several years ago, Muhlenberg College named Dr. Lumley its outstanding alumnus in the field of education, and Waynesburg College awarded him an honorary doctoral degree for his contributions to education in Pennsylvania. In 1964, the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction honored him with a citation for outstanding leadership in education.

Dr. Lumley joined the NEA staff in 1957 and soon after became director of the NEA Federal Relations Division. He was named assistant executive secretary for legislation and federal relations last October.

He lives with his wife, the former Kathryn Wentzel, in Washington, D.C. Mrs. Lumley, director of the reading clinic in the D.C. public schools, was recently named by President Johnson as a member of the National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development. Their son Joe is in the Army. When he graduated recently from basic training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, he received an award as the outstanding trainee of the company.

A long-time supporter of a federal role in education financing, Dr. Lumley believes that strong programs of federal education legislation mean improvement in the quality of education for America's students and increased professional advantages for the nation's teachers. Good federal programs can bring a better climate for teaching and better salary schedules, he says.

He also believes that a firm partnership of local, state, and federal levels is essential for financing the schools. "As this three-way partnership develops," he says, "NEA and the state and local associations will have to coordinate and strengthen their political activities. Close cooperation between NEA and the field is a desirable objective in any case," he emphasizes, "but the long-range implications of federal programs make such cooperation essential."

Personally warm and friendly, Dr. Lumley has long acted on his belief that "people are wonderful." As he puts it, "Each year that I work in the education profession, I am renewed and strengthened in this belief. I am proud to be an educator."

—M.O.D., Jr.

MESSAGE TO DISTRICT

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare to recess for the month of August, I feel the people back home are entitled to a brief summary of the state of our Nation in the eyes of their Representative. I have prepared such a statement and will be sending the following message to the residents of my district in the very near future:

THE SURTAX

By now you have started to pay additional taxes. On June 20 the House of Representatives passed the surtax bill. I voted against passage, and I would like to give you my reasons for opposing the measure.

1. The brunt of the burden is falling on the middle income group of taxpayers, who were already paying more than their fair share of the taxes. Loopholes need to be closed in other brackets to bring in more money.

2. Taxes are already too high. We need to reduce our spending and live within our income . . . not raise taxes.

3. The promised cuts in spending did not materialize just as I predicted would be the case. People have been told that under the new tax "they will be paying only 7 additional pennies for each dollar of tax paid." This averages out to be somewhere near $2.00 each week for a man earning $175.00 per week. This means that from mid-July through December this man will lose at least $50.00 in take-home pay. Further, because the tax is retroactive, he will have to pay for the months of April, May, June, and half of July, so will owe an additional tax on next April 15 of approximately $30.00.

It seems to me that Corporations (which are being taxed retroactively to January 1) will be forced to increase the cost of their products by a small amount. They will not be able to absorb the increase without taking such steps. With less take-home pay for the workers and higher prices staring them in the face. I fail to see how the Administration can say that inflation will be checked and the people better off. I agree with the theory that it is easier to reduce Government spending to control the economy than to impose a tax which may never be removed. If we look at our history, we see that we are still paying some taxes supposedly just for the duration of World War II.

CRIME IN THE STREETS

Militant civil rights activists kept the lid on violence for the first half of the summer, but the second half looks like a new ball game. At the time I am writing this paragraph, the National Guard has moved back into Cleveland's East Side and Akron and other cities are feeling the pressure. The long hot days of August will send tempers soaring and extremists might well start more trouble for our cities. If law and order are to be maintained, looters and rioters must be punished and police and riot-control troops must receive the cooperation of the entire community which is involved.

REMEMBER THE PUEBLO

On July 23 the U.S.S. Pueblo had been in the hands of the North Koreans for six months. We do not seem to be able to get the Administration spurred sufficiently to get to the heart of the matter and get our 82 American boys out of the hands of international pirates. For too long we have kept silent so negotiations could proceed at Panmunjom and for our troubles the North Koreans have humiliated us in the eyes of the world.

There have never been any satisfactory answers given by the Administration about the Pueblo. Former Secretary of Defense McNamara was charged with the responsibility of the vessel which, though commanded by the Navy, was operating for the Defense Intelligence Agency—under McNamara. Doubletalk came for the first two or three weeks the crew was in North Korean hands. Now nothing. I am amazed at the patience of the families of the crew and I know how frustrated they must be with the lack of action. Our hopes now seem to rest in the election this fall of an Administration which has sufficient nerve to deal with pirates with firmness and resolve and without hand-wringing and vacillation.

My next report will be sent to you as soon as the Congress has adjourned for the year. It will contain a summary of my votes on major issues as well as a report on major legislation passed during the 90th Congress.

TO EXPAND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, education is the key to progress for individuals and for the Nation as a whole. Throughout our history the American educational system has responded to the continuing pressures of population growth and the demands levied by an increasingly specialized and technologically advanced society. Those pressures and demands have never been greater than they are now—yet they will grow still more intense in every coming year.

During the past decade our educational progress has been spurred by many successful Federal programs of aid to students and schools. The amendments to the Higher Education Act, NDEA and other legislation which the House passed last week are the most recent in a long series of congressional steps to stimulate innovation and improvement throughout American education, to develop special programs to meet special needs, to make financial assistance available to all who need it in order to pursue their education and training.

Impressive as our achievements have been, serious problems do remain. We still have a long way to go before the highest quality of education will be available to all American children, youth, and adults. Reaching this goal may require far-reaching changes in many parts of our educational system. It will certainly involve a much greater public and private investment, and it surely will require a comprehensive strategy.

In my judgment, it is time for a thorough review of our educational structure as a whole, and for an objective, intensive study of alternative routes to the goal of full educational opportunity for all Americans. Accordingly, I am introducing legislation (H.R. 19111) proposing a national educational policy and directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to initiate a full study, by a National Education Commission, to propose plans for implementing that policy.

In support of this legislation, I include in the RECORD at this point a resolution on the subject adopted by the Communications Workers of America at their 30th anniversary convention in Washington last month. The resolution, the questions which it raises, and the course of action proposed should have the full and prompt attention of the Congress.

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

For the past eight years, beginning with the Kennedy Administration, great strides have been made in providing broadened educational opportunities for all Americans. Congress has enacted legislation improving and expanding opportunities in the elementary and secondary, higher and vocational educational fields. The innovative head start program has met with measurable success in preparing the underprivileged preschool children to measure up to the challenges that their formal education will present when they enter elementary school.

But the nation is still plagued with the problem of an immense number of dropouts, particularly in the secondary level, because of economic needs. In addition, many thousands of bright and ambitious high school graduates are unable to pursue their education because of financial barriers. Many others who may have reached their academic capacities, or have no desire to further their mental development, have not been properly encouraged to develop their potential in the vocation education field.

As a result, there are many jobs that go begging because the unemployed and underemployed do not possess the skills that the jobs require. It is true that the government has embarked upon a number of manpower training programs with some degree of success, but not to the extent that the situation and conditions demand.

We in CWA applaud the progress that has been made. But we are far from being satisfied. We believe that there is too much emphasis applied in some areas and not enough in others. We think that the total educational system lacks the high quality, as well as the easy accessibility that our citizens deserve and that the national needs demand. We believe, despite the improvements, that the system lacks the continuity that would permit and encourage every citizen to develop his potential to its fullest capacity.

In short, CWA believes that it is time that a thorough study and analysis of the nation's educational system be made with the view of developing a plan for providing high quality education at all levels of instruction and making it available to every citizen from nursery through graduate school without regard to financial barriers. The only limitation to be imposed is the individual's lack of desire to pursue, or his ability to absorb such education.

CWA has, therefore sponsored a bill (H.R. 16673) introduced by Congressman Perkins, Chairman, House Education and Labor Committee, and co-sponsored by 13 other Congressmen, that establishes a national educational policy geared to high quality and accessibility to every American.

The bill authorizes the President to appoint a National Education Commission charged with the responsibility of developing a plan to implement the policy.

The nation's educational system must be revamped, redesigned and bolstered to meet the needs of the people and the exacting demands of our technological society.

In his Message on Education to Congress on Feb. 5, 1968, President Johnson declared that "another essential human freedom," must be added to the "four essential human freedoms" set forth by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941.

The President said, "In the years since then, those four freedoms of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from free—have stood as a summary of our aspirations for the American Republic and for the world.

"And Americans have always stood ready to pay the cost in energy and treasure which are needed to make those great goals a reality.

"Today—wealthier, more powerful and more able than ever before in our history—our Nation can declare another essential human freedom.

"The fifth freedom is freedom from ignorance.

"It means that every man, everywhere, should be free to develop his talents to their full potential—unhampered by arbitrary barriers of race or birth or income." Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 30th Anniversary Convention of the Communications Workers of America calls on the 90th Congress to enact into public law H.R. 16673; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all members of the House Education and Labor Committee and of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

PAN AMERICAN ADDS NEW MAINTENANCE DEVICE

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, because of my continuing interest in aviation, I try to remain aware of new developments which improve safety and add to public convenience. Such a development occurred recently when Pan American World Airways purchased from Hawker Siddely Dynamics a new maintenance device which automates the painstaking task of checking out sophisticated aircraft electronic equipment.

The computer-oriented testing machine, called TRACE 600—test-equipment for rapid automatic checkout and evaluation—is designed to reduce by up to 80 percent the time which otherwise would be required for a technician to manually test complicated electronic components. The test time reportedly allows a significant reduction in the number of spare components required to support aircraft.

I present for inclusion in the RECORD a statement describing this innovation:

James E. Weesner, Pan Am Vice President-Maintenance, said the airline decided to purchase the $205,000 T.R.A.C.E. unit following a year-long evaluation of an earlier production model.

"In 12 months we saved over $200,000 in reduced spares inventory," Mr. Weesner said. He explained that T.R.A.C.E. can check out a Boeing 707 automatic pilot computer in 1½ hours compared to 18 hours using conventional testing methods.

Mr. Weesner said he expected that the new T.R.A.C.E. unit would pay for itself "in about one year's time."

The new unit will be installed this September in Hangar 17 at Pan Am's maintenance complex at John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York. Until that time, Pan Am will continue to use the earlier model.

In addition to testing automatic pilot computers, the T.R.A.C.E. unit can be programmed to perform tests on antiskid computers, general control panels, cabin address amplifiers, pneumatic systems, radio components and navigational aids on Boeing 707 and 727 and Douglas DC-8 Jet Clippers.

In the near future, T.R.A.C.E. will be programmed to test many electronic systems on the Boeing 747 Superjet—the 366-passenger jet transport which Pan Am will put into scheduled service in the Fall of 1969.

THE 10TH CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the 10th observance of Captive Nations Week, held during July 14 to 20, met with great success both here and abroad. In Congress and in all sections of the country, the week was celebrated with pointed meaning as the Russians escalated their pressures against Czechoslovakia. Despite the White House typically playing down this annual observance, the contrast of events was too sharp. Though, on the surface, the conflict between Moscow and Prague is between two Communist Parties, the underlying pressure in Czechoslovakia is the patriotic nationalism at work among both the Czech and Slovak peoples.

The following examples give an indication of the scope of the week in this country. They are, first, the proclamation by Gov. Spiro T. Agnew, of Maryland; second, a resolution of the 75th general assembly of the Illinois House of Representatives; third, a Chicago Tribune account of "8,000 March in Nations Parade," and a Chicago Sun-Times item on "Captive Lands Week at Sesquicentennial"; fourth, a letter to Washington papers by Miss Vera A. Dowhan, executive secretary of the National Captive Nations Committee; fifth, the appearances during the week of a top-ranking West German parliamentarian, the Honorable Clemens Riedel in Pennsylvania and its general assembly; and, sixth, the nationally distributed, new brochure of the National Captive Nations Committee in Washington.

The material follows:

GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION ON CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, JULY 14–20, 1968

Whereas, With the unanimous adoption of Public Law 86–90 by the 1959 Congress of the United States, the third week of July has been annually designated as "Captive Nations Week", calling attention and offering hope to the billion captives of East-Central Europe; and

Whereas, The people of the United States possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the subjected nations; and

Whereas, It is vital for the United States to combine sincere support of independence for the new nations with the demand for the restoration of independence in the old nations of East-Central Europe; and

Whereas, The cause of human rights and personal dignity remains a universal aspiration; and it is only fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples, through an appropriate and official means, the knowledge that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence;

Now, therefore, I, Spiro T. Agnew, Governor of the State of Maryland, do hereby proclaim the week of July 14–20, 1968, as Captive Nations Week in the State of Maryland.

Given Under My Hand and the Great Seal of the State of Maryland, in the City of Annapolis, this 15th Day of July, in the Year of Our Lord, One Thousand Nine Hundred Sixty Eight.

By the Governor:

SPIRO T. AGNEW,
C. STANLEY BLAIR,
Secretary of State.

H. RES. 388

Resolution in commendation of captive nations committee

Whereas, Since 1918 the imperialistic policies of communist Russia and communist China have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, East Germany, White Ruthenia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Armenia, Mainland China, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Ukraine, Cossackia, North Viet-Nam, North Korea, Cuba, Turkestan and others; and

Whereas, The people of the United States sympathize with the desires and aspirations of all peoples for self government and freedom; and

Whereas, It is vital to the national security that the desire for freedom among the peoples of the conquered nations be kept alive; and

Whereas, The President of the United States has authorized Congress to designate the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week" to be observed with appropriate ceremonies and activities; and

Whereas, July 20, 1968 has been designated "Captive Nations Day" by the Mayor of the City of Chicago to be marked by a spectacular and colorful parade; and

Whereas, Americans of myraid ethnic backgrounds residing in the Greater Chicago Metropolitan Area have formulated a "Captive Nations Committee" for the purpose of keeping world attention focused on the plight of the many peoples who suffer the loss of life, liberty and property under the heel of communist domination; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the House of Representatives of the Seventy-fifth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, that we do commend and congratulate the "Captive Nations Committee" for their unceasing efforts in helping to keep the torch of liberty, alive, not only during "Captive Nations Week", but throughout the entire year; and be it further

Resolved, That a suitably engrossed copy of this resolution be delivered to the "Captive Nations Committee".

Adopted by the House, July 16, 1968.

________________,
Speaker of the House.
FREDERIC B. SELCKE,
Clerk of the House.

EIGHT THOUSAND MARCH IN NATIONS PARADE

State street was jammed with bands and cheering spectators yesterday afternoon while 8,000 persons marched in a parade marking the end of Captive Nations week in Chicago.

The parade which began at Wacker drive and moved south to Van Buren street, included units of 14 national groups whose countries have been taken over by the Communists. A navy band, a horse troop, and several floats also took part.

Mayor Daley and Gov. Shapiro reviewed the marchers with Ralph G. Newman, chairman of the Illinois Sesquicentennial commission, and Victor Viksnins, 4902 Melrose st., general chairman of the Chicago program.

TWO THEMES USED

Two parade themes were used, "150 Years of the Good Life in Illinois," and "Freedom and Independence for All Nations."

The national groups were dressed in native costumes with their flags hanging above them from lamp posts. Many marchers wore sesquicentennial badges and waved American flags.

Captive Nations week was designated by Congress to stress that many persons were forced to live under Communist regimes after World War II.

NEWS TO BE BROADCAST

Viksnins said news of the activities will be broadcast by the Voice of America to the captive nations.

After the parade, Newman spoke at a dinner for about 300 persons.in the Sherman House.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Sun-Times, July 15, 1968]

CAPTIVE LANDS WEEK AT SESQUICENTENNIAL

Representatives from countries under Communist regimes will join with the Illinois Sesquicentennial Commission in this week's observance of Captive Nation's Week.

A parade on State St. at noon Saturday will highlight activities of the week, which was set for the third week in July by an act of Congress.

In addition to the U.S. Navy Band and contingents from the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion, the parade will feature floats and marchers from Chinese, Hungarian, German, Ukrainian, Polish, Latvian and other organizations.

A luncheon at the Sherman House after the parade will feature a speech by Ralph Newman, chairman of the Illinois Sesquicentennial Commission.

Theme of the week's observance, announced by Chicago Captive Nations Committee, is "150 Years of the Good Life in Illinois" and "Freedom and Independence for All Nations."

In this International Human Rights Year, July 14–20 marks the 10th Observance of Captive Nations Week. The issue is well known; the nations and peoples involved are well known. And yet, over one-third of the earth's people are still denied their human rights. The captive nations—the peoples themselves as against the totalitarian Red states and their Communist Party apparatus—still are very much captive. While confetti diplomacy and paper treaties continue to be meaningless, there are those naive and gullible enough to accept these crumbs from the Red table as signs of "improvement."

Yet, with all this "improvement," mass intellectual purges are presently taking place in the Soviet Union because of resistance to chained intellectual pursuits and sheer national captivity. That there has been a breakthrough is only wishful thinking on the part of our policy pacesetters. Let us face up to reality and show that we are very much aware of realities by using the media available to us, e.g., the U.N., UNESCO and others. In this International Human Rights Year let's rededicate ourselves to the principles of our own American Revolution—not just speech-making, but courageously presenting facts.

VERA A. DOWHAN.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Evening Chronicle, July 19, 1968]

TOP WEST GERMAN AIDE SAYS HERE: "COMMUNISTIC TOLERANCE, FLEXIBILITY JUST A MYTH"

(By Mark Staples)

People to people, not government to government, is the best way to communicate the value of freedom to citizens of Communist countries, a top-ranking West German official said today.

In Allentown during Captive Nations Week, Clemens Riedel, member of the West German parliament, said Communism is totalitarian and inflexible.

He dispelled the notion that Communism evolves and becomes more sentimental. It does not become more tolerant. It does not evolve into a more democratic institution as it matures, he said.

His comments were addressed to Dr. Hagen A. K. Staack of Muhlenberg College, acting interpretor during Riedel's day-long visit to the city, at a meeting in the Mayor's office, City Hall.

Riedel and Dr. Karol H. Sitko, president of the World Association of Silesians, and exiled president of Upper Silesia, were the guests of Rep. Samuel Frank of Allentown, who recently was in Germany as their guest.

In making his statements concerning Communism, Riedel said it was a mistake on the part of the American people to assume that the totalitarian bloc could ever evolve to become more tolerant.

Discussing the attempt to regain a reunified Germany, Riedel said the question was not so much only one of Germany, but of Europe. Other countries as well, Rumania, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, are more concerned with an identification with a united spirit of liberty, than they are with territory in square miles as a Communist satellite.

COMMUNIST DISASTER

"That's why what's happening in Czechoslovakia now is so important," Riedel said. "For the Soviet Union to lose even a part of a crucial corner of Europe would be disastrous."

Riedel said the trouble in Czechoslovakia was particularly helpful in view of the Vietnam issue, a difficult issue in the Western Corner. It provides a kind of balance, he indicated.

The importance of a people to people kind of relationship may be seen when one realizes, according to Riedel, that a simple desire to escape the "fangs" of communism, is not enough. "People in Czechoslovakia must know that free people care to help them. They cannot escape alone." He said communism was inflexible while democracy represents to these people, an organism, a living entity.

"To say through your senators and representatives that the United States must communicate not only with governments, through its government, but must also communicate with people in these countries, is the most important thing an American can do."

GO AFTER VICTORY

Riedel sized up his view of the Vietnam War this way. "Why must the U.S. do the thing halfway? Either get out or go after the victory."

He said Europeans do not view the assassinations and racial turmoil of this country as hysterically as Americans do.

REMARKS OF HON. CLEMENS RIEDEL

Mr. Speaker and members of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, with great anxiety, respect and admiration I do take the opportunity to speak to your House, the birthplace of the United States of America and the birthplace of the right of self-determination. The basis of freedom of the individual, the cornerstone of community life and liberty is the practical application of the right of self-determination. Simultaneously, I would like to express my deepest gratitude for the opportunity to address this august assembly.

Mr. Speaker, the initiative of the members of your House, Mr. Samuel Frank and Mr. John Pezak in passing a resolution confirming our thoughts expressing your interest in liberty and justice was a remarkable step to further the idea of a free united Europe. The inspiration to present the resolutions to you came to us after we read about the thoughts and deeds of William Penn. We are sure that William Penn's idea and later the practical application of the right of self-determination in the United States of America must become also the formula for the future United States of Europe.

For my Upper Silesian countrymen, I would like to thank you for the presentation of the State flag which was a gift of the Secretary of the House of Representatives, Mr. Stimmel and the presentation of the flag by Representative Samuel W. Frank who was among us in Essen, West Germany on June 22–23, 1968, at which time more than 100,000 delegates were witnessing the presentation of the flag and were listening to your message. We will cherish both until the day a united Europe in peace based on the right of self-determination becomes a reality.

Following our thoughts which were expressed in the resolution of your House dated September 19, 1967, I permit myself to add my today's message of good will expressing our deepest desire to work with you for peace and justice, to find solutions through a dialogue in freedom in genuine partnership with the American people.

Europe and Germany needs reconciliation of all the people involved to overbridge dividing differences. Only then liberty and justice will become a reality. Let us remember the distinguished words of a British historian who said, "if peace is to be permanent it must before all things be, a peace of peoples."

Ladies and gentlemen, this is our and my goal. As a member of the German Federal Parliament, European Parliament and president of the Roman Catholic Union of Expelees in Germany representing millions of people who are thankful for your work in spreading the idea of self-determination, justice and liberty, let me say may God bless the people of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the great United States for showing us the way and giving us a helping hand.

NATIONAL CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE

> "Yes! This thought I hold with firm persistence;
> The last result of wisdom stamps it true;
> He only earns his freedom and existence
> Who daily conquers them anew!"
> —GOETHE.

Mr. George Meany, President, AFL–CIO, Honorary Chairman.

Hon. Herbert C. Hoover (1960–64).

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Georgetown University, Chairman.

Mr. Philip A. Guardino, Executive Director.

Miss Vera A. Dowhan, Exectuive Secretary.

Executive committee: Dr. Hratch A. Abrahamian (Washington, D.C.); Mr. Stephen Boychuk (Baltimore, Md.); Mr. Walter Chopiwskyj (Phoenix, Ariz.); Mr. John M. Fisher (Chicago, Ill.); Mr. William J. Gill (Pittsburgh, Pa.); Dr. Peter P. Lejins (College Park, Md.); Dr. Edward M. O'Connor (Buffalo, N.Y.); Dr. Hermonio Portell-Vila (Arlington, Va.); Mr. Walter Pretka (Rockville, Md.); Mr. Lee Vogel (Miami, Fla).

The National Captive Nations Committee is a non-profit tax-exempt organization incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware and supported by voluntary contributions.

The National Captive Nations Committee is an educational organization founded shortly after the passage of the Captive Nations Week Resolution (Public Law 86–90) in 1959.

Its members are Americans with conviction, faith and perserverance, voicing concern for the lost basic freedoms and human rights of the approximately one billion captive peoples of the captive nations behind the Iron, Bamboo and Sugar Curtains.

Local committees function in almost every major city throughout the United States. Internationally, the World Anti-Communist League (of which this committee is an affiliate) sponsors the observance of the Week on the basis of a resolution passed at its first congress in Taipei in September 1967.

Annually, Governors and Mayors in 35 States and 42 major cities, as well as in hundred of towns, consistently issue proclamations patterned after the resolution. National and international statements appear regularly in the *Congressional Record.*

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—PUBLIC LAW NO. 86–90 SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 111, HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTIONS 454, 459

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such people through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July, 1959, as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

PURPOSE

The purpose of NCNC is broad and multiple in scope:

First and foremost, firm adherence to our Declaration of Independence—that we Americans, in the interest of our own national security, will never forget the captive nations or accommodate ourselves to their present captivity.

Promote and accelerate the freedom aspirations of the peoples of the captive nations, to which they are entitled by their Creator.

Throughout the year, but especially during the Week, exposing the Russian fraud of "self-determination" and putting into proper perspective the present-day captivity of the Central and East Europeans, the non-Russian nations in the USSR, the Asians and Cubans; spotlighting the dangerous myths surrounding the Red empire, despite the propaganda and diplomatic pressures of the Communist regimes.

Continuous rejection of existent colonialism effected by Russian aggression and "wars of liberation," and focusing world attention on the last remaining empire, the Soviet Union itself.

Dispel the concepts that the Soviet Union is a "nation" and that Russia is the Soviet Union; prove, historically and geographically, that Russia is only one of the republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Restore the great image of America and defend every point of NCNC's purpose—a challenge to every American's courage of convictions and conscience.

Full support of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights; implementation of this declaration to include the captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union.

A resolute stand against misleading Cold War theories of "peaceful coexistence," "lessened tensions," "trade with Red countries," "bridges of understanding," etc., while the rape of nations exists.

Promulgate the effective achievement of political, social, economic, religious, linguistic and cultural rights of the captive peoples in the captive nations.

Regardless of political persuasion, instill in all men their sacred duty and responsibility for the preservation of freedom in the full tradition of our American Revolution.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Original Captive Nations Week Resolution (Public Law 86–90) authored by the chairman of the committee.

Regular Congressional observances of the Week in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives; religious commemoration led by Congressional chaplains.

Expansion of observances through further formation of local and state captive nations committees in all major cities and states; religious observances conducted in many places of worship.

Stimulation of Captive Nations Week activities and proclamations by many heads of state of foreign countries such as Japan, Free China, South Korea, South Vietnam, India, Philippines, Australia, Turkey, Malta, West Germany, England, Sweden and Argentina.

Testimonies before Congressional committees on subjects relevant to our own national security in conjunction with the captive nations, e.g., East-West Trade (1965), US-USSR Consular Convention (1967).

Congressional Record publication of all Captive Nations Week activities both national and international from 1959 on.

Nation-wide educational link with press, radio and TV media, especially before and during Captive Nations Week.

Continuous responses by captive nations committee members to attacks against the resolution and observances on the part of Moscow and its Red syndicate.

Lectures by scholars and experts in the fields of Soviet Affairs, Communism, Red political warfare, etc.

OBJECTIVES

Assistance in the creation of a Special Committee on the Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

Total victory in Vietnam.

A first, complete review of U.S. policy toward the USSR.

Reformation of the Voice of America as a genuine projector of the American image in the captive lands.

Pursue the policy of no liberalized trade without political concessions to the captive nations.

Further Cold War education dealing with the crucial importance of captive nations, especially the non-Russian nations in the USSR.

Emphasizing the need for a Freedom Commission and Academy to cope with the Cold War tactics of the Red enemy.

Advancement of ideas to sustain and expand the American image of independence, i.e., concentration on the independence aspirations of all non-Russian captive nations in the USSR.

Promotion of public awareness of the Adlai Stevenson memorandum in the UN on Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism with a view toward a full-scale debate on the subject.

Generate a consciousness of how various forms of agitation aimed at completely undermining the structure of American civil authority, i.e., university campus eruptions, civil disobedience, certain types of civil rights disturbances, etc., are supported by communist sources and conducted along the same lines used in the captive nations.

Urging a basic change in U.S. policy from an economic-military defensive to a psycho-political offensive.

Further expansion of the captive nations movement in all states and communities of the Free World via proclamations, observances and implementation of what the committee is doing in the United States.

Provision of more speakers on the captive nations before chambers of commerce, labor unions, education and religious groups.

Additional publication on developments in the captive nations and their import on U.S. national security.

Preparation and research position papers on current foreign policy issues in the Congress of the United States.

Reports on legislative developments.

Conducting seminars and conferences.

PUBLICATIONS PERTINENT TO THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

The Captive Nations: Nationalism of the Non-Russian Nations in the Soviet Union by Roman Smal-Stocki

Captive Nations Week: Red Nightmare, Freedom's Hope by Lev E. Dobriansky

Economic Factors in the Growth of Russia by Nicholas L. Chirovsky

Human Rights and Genocide in the Baltic States by Aleksander Kaelas

The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism by Roman Smal-Stocki

The Ordeal of the Captive Nations by Hawthorne Daniel

Russia and Her Colonies by Walter Kolarz

Russian Frontiers: from Muscovy to Khrushchev by William G. Bray

The Struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917–1921 by Firuz Kazemzadeh

Turkism and the Soviets by Charles Warren Hostler

The Ukraine: A Submerged Nation by William Henry Chamberlin

Ukraine Under the Soviets by Clarence A. Manning

The Vulnerable Russians by Lev E. Dobriansky

THE CAPTIVE NATIONS—WHO'S NEXT?

Country and people, year of Communist domination

Armenia	1920
Azerbaijan	1920
Byelorussia	1920
Cossackia	1920
Georgia	1920
Idel-Ural	1920
North Caucasia	1920
Ukraine	1920
Far Eastern Republic	1922
Turkistan	1922
Mongolian People's Republic	1924
Estonia	1940
Latvia	1940
Lithuania	1940
Albania	1946
Bulgaria	1946
Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, etc. in Yugoslavia	1946
Poland	1947
Rumania	1947
Czecho-Slovakia	1948
North Korea	1948
Hungary	1949
East Germany	1949
Mainland China	1949
Tibet	1951
North Vietnam	1954
Cuba	1960

Who's Next? South Vietnam? Algeria? Colombia? Congo? Laos? Tanzania? Bolivia? Thailand? Greece? Guatemala? Chile?

AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. HOUSING ACT OF 1937

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I introduced last Friday an amendment to the U.S. Housing Act of 1937. My amendment would broaden the eligibility standards for low-rent housing for the elderly by including the qualification provisions under the Social Security Act for widows over 60 who have not remarried.

Historically, conforming amendments to the 1937 Housing Act have been adopted by the Congress to correlate the qualification standards for the elderly with the Social Security Act governing old-age benefits.

Since 1965, under certain circumstances widows have been entitled to survivors benefits at age 60. It would thus seem entirely appropriate to adopt my amendment in order to remedy what now appears to be a technical injustice to these widows. The board of supervisors of my home county, Westchester, N.Y., has brought this matter to my attention and I am submitting for inclusion in the RECORD the resolution adopted by the board which urges the adoption of this amendment, as follows:

To the Board of Supervisors of Westchester County:

Your Committee on Legislation has considered Resolution No. 103–1967, adopted September 25, 1967, by your Board. This resolution supplements Resolution No. 109–1959, adopted July 6, 1959, and this Committee's Resolution No. 141–1959, adopted November 9, 1959, relative to the minimum age of elderly persons eligible for low-rent housing under the United States Housing Act of 1937. The minimum age was then 65 years, and subsequent to your Board's action on the above resolutions in 1959 the minimum age was reduced to 62 years, to conform to eligibility for old-age insurance benefits.

The resolution now under consideration points out that since 1965, under certain circumstances widows are entitled to benefits at age 60, and requests that a similar conforming amendment be made. Your Committee believes that such amendment is desirable and appropriate and offers the following resolutions memorializing Congress to enact legislation to accomplish the desired result:

"Whereas, Section 1402 of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, in defining families of low income to whom low-rent housing under such act shall be available, includes the following language, 'The term "elderly families" means families whose heads (or their spouses), or whose sole members, have attained the age at which an individual may elect to receive an old-age benefit under title II of the Social Security Act, or . . . .'; and

"Whereas, widows who have reached the age of 60 and have not remarried are not covered by the above definition since they do not receive old-age benefits but survivors' benefits; now therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, New York, on behalf of the people of the county, go on record as favoring an amendment which would include such widows; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That the Congress of the United States be and it is hereby respectfully memorialized to enact an amendment to the United States Housing Act of 1937 so that it shall apply to those individuals who are entitled to apply for widows' benefits at age 60; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, to the members of the Senate of the United States representing the State of New York, and to the members of the House of Representatives of the United States representing the County of Westchester, New York, and that the latter be urged to devote themselves to the task of accomplishing the purpose of these resolutions."

A PRIZE FOR REPRESENTATIVE ROTH

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, the Federal Government, its agencies and programs have multiplied at an astounding rate, so quickly, in fact, that the Government itself does not have an accurate record of its own size.

This uncertainty makes economical, effective government virtually impossible. For this reason I have introduced a bill that establishes a Commission for the Improvement of Government Management and Organization to delve into the tangle of Government organization, programs and activities and eliminate overlapping functions.

My hope is that this commission, which is similar to the old Hoover Commission, will streamline Government and save the taxpayers millions of dollars.

This bill is an exact duplicate of the one introduced recently by a thorough and conscientious freshman Republican Congressman from Delaware, Representative WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

Congressman ROTH's efforts at eliminating Government waste have been editorially praised in two newspapers that serve my congressional district. Under

unanimous consent I place the two editorials in the Record at this point:

[From the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Nonpareil, July 15, 1968]

A Prize for Representative Roth

If there is ever a prize passed out to the individual congressman who made the greatest single achievement in his first session, the award might well be given to a virtually Republican freshman from the small state of Delaware.

Rep. William V. Roth, as the result of awesome labors with his staff over an 8-month period, has compiled a 200,000 word catalog of more than 1,000 domestic aid programs which funnel 20 billion dollars a year to the public. He placed it in the Congressional Record where it consumed 144 pages of small type.

Such a publication should have been provided by the Johnson administration; the money now used on publicity and propaganda material could have been better used for this effort. But Mr. Johnson and his bureaucrats chose to keep these mammoth programs a secret from the general public.

Congressman Roth soon found out why the bureaucracy for years has avoided a detailed listing in one place of its assistance programs. He discovered as many as 25 agencies doling out money in the same area, duplicating each other's efforts in a welter of confusion and waste.

He began to suspect, moreover, that the pattern of red tape and confusion was deliberate. Most of the loot, Roth learned, was being grabbed by groups who employ professionals in the art of pursuing federal funds. They work at this game of "grantsmanship"; they maintain skilled staffs to keep track of the multiplying programs and establish personal contacts with the officials who approve money grants.

When the 46-year-old Roth came to Washington 18 months ago, he quickly learned that members of Congress were constantly besieged with requests for information on government assistance programs. He was appalled to find that among the thousands of federal publications, catalogs, and press releases there was no genuine information about these programs.

"No one, anywhere, knew how many programs there were", he said. "There was not even a definition of what a 'program' was."

There is such a catalog now, thanks to Congressman Roth's efforts. It is not complete, though; the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would not cooperate—but 1,050 program descriptions and titles, with information about them are outlined in Roth's Catalog. Roth's work has exposed the folly of countless spending programs, now hidden in the bureaucratic jungle from the public.

Wouldn't George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, both of whom believed that the best government is the least government, be shocked to learn that it now takes 200,000 words just to describe the programs of the modern-day American government?

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, July 4, 1968]

Just Like Sears, Roebuck

Last year the Office of Economic Opportunity published a fine broth of a book, a "Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs." It was, said OEO, "a description of the Federal Government's domestic programs to assist the American people in furthering their social and economic progress."

It was 701 pages thick, weighed in at 3 pounds 3 ounces, and listed 459 separate programs designed to help the American people one way or another.

One might have thought such a volume about as comprehensive as possible; surely, there couldn't be many more than 459 different assistance programs for the benefit of Americans.

But in a Delaware Congressman, William V. Roth, Jr. wasn't so sure. So he and his staff went to work, devoted eight months to the tasks and came up with a total of 1,271 programs.

Now that, we submit, is an awful lot of programs.

But the disturbing thing about what the gentleman from Delaware learned is, in his words, that "no one, anywhere, knows exactly how many Federal programs there are . . . nowhere is there a central, comprehensive repository where meaningful information on all operating programs can be found . . . more than 20 billion dollars a year is being spent on such programs, yet only with long and great effort can one begin to find meaningful information about all of them."

Congressman Roth and a number of cosponsors have introduced a bill to create a centralized catalog of all programs, and maybe that is a good thing to do. But we'll bet our copy of the OEO's "Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs" that Congress, if it devoted a little effort to it, could find a few hundred of them that could be looped off entirely and wouldn't need to take up space in the proposed centralized catalog.

ROGERS MORTON ON MILITARY MANPOWER MANAGEMENT

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the subject of the draft is one of the most volatile and emotional problems of today. One of our colleagues, the Honorable Rogers C. B. Morton, of Maryland, recently made a brilliant statement on the Military Manpower Management in his appearance before the platform committee of the Republican Convention in Miami.

Under unanimous consent I include Representative Morton's speech as a portion of my remarks:

Military Manpower Management

(Statement by Representative Rogers C. B. Morton, of Maryland, for the Subcommittee on Foreign Policy and National Security Committee on Resolutions, Republican National Convention, July 29, 1968)

The present system of selective service, as it is now being administered and employed, coupled with the inevitable correlated low rate of retention of men in service, probably represents the most inefficient design for the utilization of young Americans in the development of this country, and for its military requirements. In order to build a truly great society, a most efficacious use of the nation's manpower in the defense system is paramount.

The Republican policy, and the prime thrust of its implementation, must be directed specifically toward two goals. The first is a military establishment manned primarily by career people who are motivated from the beginning to participate in the military life. We must achieve an efficient military establishment which can maintain the defense posture of our nation with a minimum turnover in personnel, maximum dedication and application to the job, and to the art of warfare. Finally, we must do this with the least sacrifice of other vital areas of American development.

The second goal must be to devise a stand-by selective service system which can be used—as it must be used in situations such as that we are facing today—to supplement, only when necessary, the manpower requirements of a volunteer, career-oriented service.

If we have the courage and judgment to accept the defense of the nation and outright military capability as the prime criteria for manpower management of the services, these goals are clearly attainable.

Republicans, based on past experience, are the hope to lead the way to a new determination in this nation for peace. On this world, in our time, peace is achieved only by the articulate management of power. We are committed to the people of the free world to a dynamic policy guaranteeing freedom among men, and their right of self-determination. Peace within this commitment and within the overriding requirement of our own national security can be a reality. It is evident that the management of our power as a great nation is in bad hands. It is evident that the policies under which we are trying to use our strength for peace are wrong.

In recent times, we have seen the use of our military system for non-military purpose. Bases have been continued for political advantage. Problems of society have been overlaid on the services for solution. The economic impact of procurement and employment of the military is so vast that, in many minds, peace is synonymous with depression. If we are to open the door for a better life on this planet, this must not be.

Military failures of history, for the most part, were human failures, not a jammed gun or faulty shield. They were failures of judgment—failures in proficiency—failures in training—failures in courage. The turnover of manpower in our services today is a costly failure in the system with which we are trying to defend ourselves. This is part of our national failure to manage.

Republicans must not accept the doctrines of inefficiency just because they exist. The Republican proposition must be to purify the system. We must be intolerant of any dilution of its purpose, or lo and behold, we will realize—and under pressure, when it is too late—that we have no real national security or capacity to meet our commitment to the freedom of men.

The Republican Party, through its leadership, can turn this nation toward the development of a military and defense organization manned by volunteers, compensated equitably with other public service; and can develop a selective service system of which we can be proud, which in every sense is equitable and fair, and which will broaden the base of opportunity for every American. Only then will we be worthy of the responsibility to govern.

The draft, when it is needed, must be efficient in itself; it must be fair in its effect and demand upon the young people of America; and it must create a minimum of interference with education, career training, productivity, and family development, all of which are so important to the progress of this nation.

Let us adopt a few fundamental ground rules. First, all physically qualified young men between specific age limits must be considered eligible to serve. Secondly, the exposure to selection and service should be limited to a specific period in a young man's life, preferably for only one year. A man should know in advance which year in his life he will be exposed to the draft. Around this knowledge he can plan not only his education, but also his career and the development of his family.

It is not necessary that each individual be vulnerable to the draft during the same year of his life. With modern computers and planning methods, the period of exposure for each person can be pre-determined so the individual himself, and his employer, his parents and his teachers, as the case may be, will know in advance when he will be in the batter's box, standing ready to serve his country.

The Republican opportunity must be to put asunder the axiom that prosperity can be supported in this country only by the involvement of millions of men in service, and millions more grinding out the machines of war. The end point of this cycle is debt and exhaustion.

Our military must be among our sharpest tools to build the needed scaffolding while we carve from the resources of this earth a better civilization. It has been, and must be in the future, of noble purpose. To stand and to watch our reach for security absorb more and more of our total manpower and energy; to see our men flounder under doctrines of failure and policies of limitation must not be the role of Republican leadership. If we accept this, we become only a party of replacement.

The Republican opportunity is one of leadership toward a new concept of defense, from the end point of which will extend the bridges of understanding, spanning the canyons of hate, greed and self-interest. These bridges can be built only by the hands of people who themselves are secure. Security for America involves the elimination of doubt. It demands a new purity of purpose in our armed forces.

Let us heed the warning of Dwight Eisenhower concerning the engulfing consequences of a limitless interphase between industry and military which can become, if it has not already, an expanding malignancy in the very core of our national life—the free enterprise system. An expanding inter-dependence between jobs and war can too easily reach a point of no return. From this day forward, we will see a civilization begin to melt before our eyes and will weep irretractable tears of a wounded conscience. We will witness that our stupidity has prevailed.

It is my belief that we have the courage to face the truth—that we have the vision and judgment to respond to its discipline—that we can have the capacity to lead this world from an age of war to an age of peace.

RESPECT, KEY TO RACIAL HARMONY

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, in these days when there is deepening concern over the polarization of the American people along racial lines, it is very gratifying to see individual citizens seek to combat this trend and strengthen the ties of brotherhood and understanding. I believe my colleagues will be pleased to have an opportunity to read the following letter by Mr. Napoleon Ford which appeared in the Orlando, Fla., Sentinel:

RESPECT, KEY TO RACIAL HARMONY

EDITOR: I am a Negro citizen of Orlando, born and raised here. For a few days now I have been trying to put together some comments on the article or two you had in the paper concerning the death of the young Orlando Marine at the hands of a Negro in Washington, and the actions and words of the Marine's father, Mr. King Sr.

Let me say first of all that because to me human life is precious, I am sorry that Mr. King lost his son in such a senseless killing. I am also very sorry that it was a Negro who killed his son. That may sound like a strange thing to say but I must be honest with myself and that is the way I feel. My very first regret is the fact that the young man lost his life. I am also concerned with what such an incident might have done to the already shaky race relations situation in America, except for the courage and convictions of a remarkable man like Mr. King Sr.

It must have taken some strong convictions and courage to ask for an integrated honor guard after his son died at the hands of a Negro. I think his statement that there has been enough hating and bloodshed, and that someone had to take the first step, make a conciliatory gesture of some kind, is true and timely. It is for this reason that I cannot let his gesture and his actions go unanswered from at least one Negro. I want him to know that as far as I am concerned his son did not die in vain.

I want to make it plain that I am one citizen willing to give more than lip service to help bring about human understanding and achieve understanding and establish respect for the human dignity of all people.

If Orlandoans, and Americans elsewhere for that matter, will let it, Mr. King's gesture could be a giant step in bridging the gap of understanding, mutual respect, and decency which so obviously exists between whites and non-whites.

I liked his statement that he did not raise his children to hate, but instead taught them to respect all people regardless of color or creed. I want him to know that there are those of us in the Negro race who are doing the self same thing in raising our children. It is not easy and it is not popular to take this position but it seems that this is what must be done by blacks and whites. To me, this is the root of the problem—values and attitudes learned primarily at home and practiced in our associations in society at large.

I work in the public schools in Orange County teaching and coaching. This brings me into pretty close contact with hundreds of boys and girls the year around. I want Mr. King to know that neither by my words or by my deeds will I betray my trust and teach these children to hate anybody, be they white or black or any color in between.

In my every contact with them, in my every influence, I try to teach them to respect all people and at the same time carry themselves so that they in turn can demand respect from all people. If every one of us in the school system, entrusted with shaping the lives, values and attitudes of youngsters would do this, then Mr. King might have the feeling that his son did not, after all die in vain. This happens to be a personal philosophy of mine. In my initial contact with any man I accord him the respect that human beings are due and that is all I ask in return.

The philosophical answer to our dilemma, of course, is that before we can have a just and peaceful society we must learn to love each other as children of the same creator. If we cannot achieve this, then we must at least learn to respect each other's humanity. I think that in regard to the racial situation we need to stop using words like "tolerance" and "acceptance." I know very few people, if any, who wish to be tolerated, and fewer still who are concerned about people accepting them. The key to the whole problem is respect.

Mr. King obviously has great respect for human dignity and he is to be commended for his convictions. I want him to know that I extend my deepest sympathies to him and his family in their loss, and that if there is anything that just one man can do to see that his loss does not go for naught, then he can count on me.

I don't think that anyone will argue that we have a long way to go in achieving true brotherhood in America but then a journey of a thousand miles begins with but one step. Mr. King has taken a giant step.

It has also been said that it is better to light just one candle than to stand and curse the darkness. Mr. King lit the first candle in an effort to lead us out of the darkness of prejudice, mistrust and hatred. I hope this letter can be regarded as the second candle. Are there any more candle lighters in Orlando?

NAPOLEON FORD.

FOUR THOUSAND RECORDINGS MADE OF WOMAN'S POEM

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Tom (Christina) Margetich's poem has been set to music and over 4,000 recordings have been sent to soldiers in Vietnam and their families.

A native of Elizabethton, Tenn., she ends her poem, "Do keep our flag, the red, white, and blue, Stars and Stripes forever."

Her moving words, "A Mother's Prayer," are dedicated to her son, Tommy, a Seabee, now serving his second enlistment.

She was recently visiting her brother, Bobby Heaton, who resides in Elizabethton.

The Johnson City Press-Chronicle on Friday morning, July 26, 1968, carried the following news article:

TO GI'S AND FAMILIES: 4,000 RECORDINGS OF AREA WOMAN'S POEM DISTRIBUTED

ELIZABETHTON.—A mother's prayer and concern for her son in Vietnam was all she intended it to be. . . .

But today Mrs. Tom (Christina) Margetich's poem has been set to music and over 4,000 recordings have been sent to soldiers in Vietnam and their families.

Mrs. Margetich, a native of Elizabethton, who is visiting her brother, Bobby Heaton here, wrote "A Mother's Prayer" and dedicated it to her son Tommy, a Seabee now serving his second enlistment. The Margetich's now live in Creve Coeur, Ill.

Tommy was so impressed with the poem he showed it to his chaplain. Next, Mrs. Margetich received a call from Da Nang via ham radio requesting the poem be recorded.

"I didn't really mean for it to be this way," Mrs. Margetich protested, "I just wanted my son and all the others serving in Vietnam to know I care."

She continued, "So many are indifferent to our servicemen. Before Tommy, I didn't think about Vietnam, but now they know I care," she said.

Because of the request from Vietnam, Mrs. Margetich set the wheels in motion, had the poem copyrighted and shortly afterwards, Bobby Mack, a singer from Rogersville, recorded the song.

The young soldier's mother did not want to promote the record commercially. "I only wanted it for families who have loved ones in service."

The records were only sent to Seabee camps and overseas.

How are sales going? "Like crazy," she replied. Her first intention was to distribute 1,000 copies, but already the figure has climbed to 4,000.

The poem dedicated to Mrs. Margetich's son not only exemplifies a mother's loneliness for her soldier son, but the need to "back them strong, show them we care."

It reads:

"A Mother's Prayer, for her son,
Who's over there, with a job to be done.
In Vietnam, a land of unrest;
Of people poor, a land of oppressed;
The loneliness I ofttimes feel
When he's not here to share a meal;
Tears dim my eyes, my heart is sad,
We miss him so, our lad;
We didn't raise our son to fight
But his country called, his heart is right;
He joined the ranks of a million strong,
To fight the Commies, the Viet Cong.
Though they fight on distant land,
We must give them a helping hand;
Back them strong, show them we care,
This isn't much, to do our share.
These young men, have given their most,
And some have given all.
On foreign battlefield they fell,
In answer to their country's call.
How long could America stand,
With Vietnam's oppression her land.
This is the Commies aim,
To bring our America to shame.
Marchers and protestors have done well,
As far as I'm concerned, they can go to hell.
We're proud of our Seabee Son, and we will always be,
He's a small part in keeping America free.
So America rise, and stand together.
Keep the bell of freedom ringing;
Turn aside from those that would still our voices, our freedom of singing.
Cease your vigilance never,
Do keep our Flag, the Red, White, and Blue Stars and Stripes forever."

Mrs. Margetich has received several letters from persons who are impressed with the poem. Among the treasured ones are from Tommy's chaplain, and the commander of the Seabee units, who wanted the poem published because "it reflects the feelings of the majority of mothers on the homefront."

Also, Rear Admiral Heaman wrote, "Since I plan to dedicate the 1968 edition of 'Reports' to our Seabee wives and mothers, I believe it would be most appropriate to include your poem on the inside front cover."

And too, a letter from the White House from Whitney Shoemaker, assistant to President Johnson, said the President was deeply moved by the poem.

"Words cannot adequately express the President's pride in our valiant men who bear the hardships of this struggle for freedom or in the families who stand so steadfastly behind them at home," the letter said.

It concluded, "With such courage and dedication, we can surely attain the freedom and peace for which our country stands."

FROM THE VIRGINIA PLANTATION TO THE NATIONAL CAPITOL—THE AVENUE OPEN TO NEGROES IN AMERICA

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is certainly appropriate in these troubled times that we pay tribute to those members of the Negro race who have so ably served their country as Members of Congress.

One of these men comes particularly to my mind, John Mercer Langston. Although born a slave in Virginia, he was granted his freedom and moved at an early age to Ohio where he was educated in the schools of Cincinnati, and Chillicothe, finally attending Oberlin College where he studied theology. Langston then read law under Philemon Bliss in Elyria and was admitted to the bar in 1854. In March 1855 he was nominated by the Liberty Party for clerk of Brownhelm township in Lorian County, Ohio, and was elected, probably the first Negro to be chosen to an elective office in the United States. This election was, of course, before the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution. Langston went on to found the Howard University Law School, become minister-resident to Haiti and chargé d'affaires to Santo Domingo, and in 1890 a Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia. His autobiography, "From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capitol," should be an inspiration to us all.

Mr. Speaker, it is men like John Mercer Langston, who received his education and began his political career in Ohio, that make us proud of this great Nation of ours. It is men like him, and the many other members of his race who have sat in this Chamber, who provide enduring evidence of the wonderful opportunities for men of every race, color, and creed in this United States.

SENATE—*Thursday, August 1, 1968*

The Senate met at 10 a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

God of all life, in whose presence is no darkness at all—we confess that at best we but grope in the shadows, that our sight is dim, our knowledge partial, and our judgments fallible.

Make plain to our understanding that our economic adjustments in themselves cannot bring social salvation, except as they clear the way for the spiritual undergirding without which we labor in vain.

In spite of all human denials and betrayals, deliver us from fretfulness and self-pity; make us sure of the goal we cannot see, and of the hidden good in the world.

In a better order of human society, may pity, and plenty, and laughter return to the common ways of man bringing fulfillment at last to the ancient prophet's dream—"Violence shall be no more heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders."

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, July 31, 1968, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I believe we have unanimous consent to limit statements during the transaction of routine morning business to 3 minutes, after the conclusion of the speech by the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MOSS obtained the floor.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah yield to me for 2 minutes?

Mr. MOSS. I yield.

CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of measures on the calendar, beginning with Calendar No. 1469 and the succeeding measures in sequence.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COASTWISE TRANSPORTATION OF CARGO EQUIPMENT AND STEVEDORING GEAR

The bill (H.R. 18254) to amend further section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, an excerpt from the report (No. 1485), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of this bill is to amend the last proviso of section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, so as to enable vessels of foreign registry and vessels of the United States not qualified to engage in the coastwise trade to transport between points in the United States equipment for use with cargo vans, lift vans, or shipping tanks; empty barges specifically designed for carriage aboard a vessel; and any empty instrument of international traffic exempted from application of customs laws by the Secretary of the Treasury, if such articles are owned or leased by the owner or operator of the transporting vessel and are transported for his use in handling his cargo in foreign trade.

In addition, the bill would also exempt stevedoring equipment and material, if such equipment and material is owned or leased by the owner or operator of the transporting vessel, or is owned or leased by the stevedoring company contracting for the lading or unlading of that vessel, and is transported without charge for the use or handling of cargo in the foreign trade.

BACKGROUND AND NEED FOR LEGISLATION

Subject to certain exceptions, section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, prohibits the transportation of merchandise in the coastwise trade of the United States by certain described classes of vessels, including foreign vessels and those which have been built or rebuilt abroad, owned by aliens, or registered under foreign flag.

One of the exceptions to section 27 is contained in the last proviso, which was a result of Public Law 89–194, approved on September 21, 1965.

This exception permits empty cargo vans, empty lift vans, and empty shipping tanks to be transported coastwise by vessels of foreign registry and vessels of the United States not qualified to engage in the coastwise trade, if the government of that nation of registry extends reciprocal privileges to U.S. vessels, so long as such vans or tanks are owned or leased by the owner or operator of the transporting vessel and are being transported for use in the carriage of cargo in foreign trade. H.R. 18254 would broaden the exception made by this proviso so as to include such equipment as that used with cargo vans, lift vans, or shipping tanks, stevedoring equipment and material et al.

The Bureau of Customs has held that the language of Public Law 89–194 insofar as it relates to "empty cargo vans, empty life vans, and empty shipping tanks" is not sufficiently broad to embrace running gear related to such containers unless such gear is, in fact, affixed thereto. Moreover, the Bureau of Customs has ruled similarly that the coastwise transportation of stevedoring equipment whether for hire by a foreign-flag vessel or by an American vessel not qualified to engage in the coastwise trade is in violation of the general prohibitions of section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920.

No opposition or adverse reports have been received from any source. Port and shipping interests urge its enactment.

CONCLUSION

Your committee urges prompt enactment of this measure, which will help to facilitate the waterborne commerce of the United States. The bill was reported from the committee unanimously.

COST OF LEGISLATION

The enactment of this bill will involve no additional cost of any kind to the Federal Government.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (H.R. 18785) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Over, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

STATUE OF BENITO PABLO JUAREZ

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 191) authorizing the erection of a statue of Benito Pablo Juarez on public grounds in the District of Columbia was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S.J. RES. 191

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to select an appropriate site for the location of a statue, including pedestal therefor, of Benito Pablo Juarez, a gift of the Government of the United States of Mexico, on grounds now owned by the United States of America in the District of Columbia, and the erection thereof is hereby authorized, such authority to terminate five years from the effective date of this joint resolution unless erection of the statue is begun within that time: *Provided,* That the choice of the site and the design of the statue shall be subject to the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission: *Provided further,* That the erection of the statue and proper landscape treatment of the site including walks, shall be without expense to the United States of America, except for necessary maintenance after completion.

ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY INVESTIGATIONS

The resolution (S. Res. 321) to increase the amount of funds available for the investigation of matters pertaining to antitrust and monopoly was considered and agree to, as follows:

S. RES. 321

Resolved, That S. Res. 233, Ninetieth Congress, agreed to March 15, 1968 (authorizing an investigation of antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States), is hereby amended on page 3, line 4, by striking out "$560,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$577,500".

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS INVESTIGATIONS

The resolution (S. Res. 322) to increase the amount of funds available for the investigation of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments was considered and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 322

Resolved, That S. Res. 235, Ninetieth Congress, agreed to March 15, 1968 (authorizing a study of matters pertaining to constitutional amendments), is hereby amended by striking out "$110,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$120,000".

SAFETY FOR MOTOR VEHICLES IN USE

The resolution (S. Res. 381) authorizing the printing of the report entitled "Safety for Motor Vehicles in Use" as a Senate document was considered and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 381

Resolved, That a report to Congress entitled "Safety for Motor Vehicles in Use," submitted by the Secretary of Transportation, pursuant to the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 (Public Law 89–563), be printed with illustrations as a Senate document and that there be printed two thousand additional copies of such document for the use of the Committee on Commerce.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 306) to continue the Special Committee on the Organization of the Congress for an additional period during the 90th Congress, which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administraton, with an amendment, to strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

That S. Res. 247, agreed to March 15, 1968 (containing the Special Committee on the Organization of the Congress), be amended by striking out "June 30, 1968" wherever it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "July 31, 1968".

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

THE PRESENT-DAY KU KLUX KLAN MOVEMENT

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 781) authorizing the printing as a House document of the publication "The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement," and providing for the printing of additional copies was considered and agreed to.

LETTERS OF VICE ADM. HYMAN G. RICKOVER

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 213) authorizing the printing as a House document of the letters of Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover relating to the distinguished Americans in whose honor the U.S. Navy Polaris nuclear submarines were named was considered and agreed to.

OBJECTION TO SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR MEETING

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, an objection has been lodged with the minority. I object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is heard.

SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOLLINGS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

PARKS ARE FOR PEOPLE

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I requested an opportunity to address the Senate this morning on a subject that I believe is of concern and should be given attention by the Senate and, indeed, by our National Park Service and by all the people.

Our 33 national parks have often been called our "crown jewels"—they represent the best we have in natural wonders and scenic beauty. Some 14 million acres have been set aside in these parks for the enjoyment of all Americans.

Yet, of these 14 million acres only about 5 percent—or about 700,000 acres—have actually been developed with roads and campgrounds and visitors centers. Most of the remaining 13,300,000 acres of natural beauty are accessible only by foot or bicycle or horseback trails.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MOSS. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. How many acres did the Senator say are actually being used by campers and visitors?

Mr. MOSS. Roughly 700,000 acres, and more than 13 million acres are undeveloped.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. So that only approximately 5 percent of the total is being used?

Mr. MOSS. That is correct.

This summer, more visitors are trying to crowd into our national parks than ever before. We have asked our people to "Discover America" and with astounding mobility they are doing it. In 1967, 127 million Americans visited our national parks and the 230 other operational units of the National Park Service. An estimated 146 million will wheel into these areas this year, and in 1969 the crowd will surge to 164 million. Many of our parks are no longer a place of escape and repose, but a massive traffic jam as nerve racking as a 5 o'clock urban rush.

The major reason our parks are so crowded—aside from the fact that we do not have nearly enough of them—is that we are wedging from 90 to 95 percent of all of our visitors into 5 percent of the space, and walling off all of the remaining acres in their natural state to be visited by perhaps one out of 10 of those who pass through our national park portals.

And now there is a developing philosophy in the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service that additional limitations and regulations and restrictions should be established—that the number of people who can come into the park must be limited, for example, rather than opening access to additional acres with scenic roads or more campgrounds.

This is rank discrimination, and I believe Congress should be aware of it. I propose to discuss the situation rather fully here today.

Nearly 10 years ago, the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission documented for us the developing crisis in outdoor recreation in America.

Over 90 percent of our people seek the out-of-doors, we are told, and with increased leisure, income and mobility, we can expect that Americans of all ages will seek more and more outdoor recreation, and for longer periods of time. By the year 2000 when our population will have doubled, we can expect far more than double the demand for open space.

We have moved in seven league boots in the last 10 years to meet the ORRRC challenge. The Federal Government, the States and local governments, and the private sector have joined eager hands in an effort to establish more outdoor recreational facilities.

We have created a round handful of new national and State parks, of recreational areas, memorials and national monuments, of historic sites, and of national seashores and lakeshores. Not enough of them, of course, but we have the steam up.

We have enacted new laws to provide funds for the acquisition of recreational areas, and there has been so much eloquent talk about the lure of hiking and fishing and boating and camping and swimming that anyone who was not interested in the out-of-doors 10 years ago, must certainly be so by now.

Yet, during the same 10 years, we have been zoning people out of national parks and national monuments by setting aside larger and larger sections of these areas as "wilderness" or "primitive" or "natural," which keeps them so that they are visited and enjoyed by only the relatively small minority of our population who have the money to buy expensive pack and camping gear, and have the time to trek into the roadless, completely wild expanse.

Again and again, as national park bills have come before the Congress, we have heard ringing phrases about "opening up" this magnificent area for "all of the people," only to find that the establishment of the park has served instead to "lock up" huge sections of it into which a handful of people were going before the park was established, and into which only a handful will go now that the park is there.

We are forgetting, I believe, that our national parks are for people, and that a vast majority of Americans see most of our natural wonders, and the greatest part of our magnificent scenery, from the window seats of their automobiles, or after a short hike from a visitor's use area. They come into our national parks, not with a pack on the back, but with a row of children, and perhaps grandma or grandpa as well, in the back seats of their cars. They are much more interested in getting an unobstructed view of Old Faithful than finding a remote camping site in Kings Canyon. I am not saying they like it best this way, I am not saying that they do not feel the call of the wild just as much as their more fortunate brothers who are able to answer that call, I am just trying to tell it to you like it is.

Now, there are those who say: "But our national parks are the cream of our natural heritage. Let those who seek developed roads and campsites go somewhere else. Let us keep our parks in their natural state for those who appreciate them, and are willing to exert themselves to enjoy them to the fullest."

To those people, I would reply: "Of course, our parks must be protected and preserved. But is it right to wall them off from most Americans on the basis that we must keep them inviolate for those who have the time and money to pack through all of them. After all, there are wilderness areas elsewhere to which these people could go."

For example, we have almost 9 million acres in wilderness in our national forests, and we are in the process of adding to that wilderness, some 32 primitive areas. These contain an additional five and a half million acres.

These areas are inaccessible to most Americans, but they represent truly unspoiled wilderness where the backpacker and the hiker and the student scientist and the nature lover can study the delicate ecology of nature in an undisturbed state, and can refresh mind and spirit far from the multitudes and the problems of the cities.

It would be more equitable to open up our national parks more widely—say to provide access to 25 or 35 percent of the area—and then unhesitatingly tell those who cannot find a spot in the campgrounds or a hotel or lodge accommodation that they have to go elsewhere. At the same time we should urge those who cannot find enough remote "natural" areas in our parks to seek pristine natural beauty in the vast wilderness and primitive areas of our national forests.

Now, let me make myself clear. No one is more interested than I in preserving the best of our natural areas which are still undisturbed. I supported the Wilderness Act of 1964, and I am in sympathy with its objectives. I supported the wild rivers bill, and if it dies in the House this session, I am willing to go to work for it again next session. I am too much of a fisherman and a hunter and a camper and an outdoors man myself not to understand those who love the wilderness and want to keep it inviolate.

But I am asking simply:

Are we overemphasizing wilderness and underemphasizing people?

Are we forgetting the majority of our people? Those who seek refreshment and revitalization from an outdoor experience but who keep near graded roads and manmade shelter. And are we favoring the minority who have the time and the money to seek nature in its pristine state far from roads and manmade camps?

The dilemma facing the National Park Service in the administration of its wild areas—in its 33 national parks and 77 national monuments—is a serious one. But the problems which have arisen are by no means all of their own making.

In the first place, there are certain limitations placed on the Service by the 1916 Organic Act. This act, approved by President Wilson, directed the agency—"to conserve the scenery and natural and historic objects and wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such a manner and by such a means as will leave unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

At the same time the act was passed, it was not so much a question of preserving but taming a proposed park so that its outstanding natural features, its vast primitive areas, its many species of wild animals, and its certain unique characteristics could be seen and enjoyed. However, I cannot believe that those wise legislators, who foresaw that hundreds of visitors of the 1920's would become thousands and even millions in the 1960's, ever intended to seal off the scenery so that most latter-day Americans could not see it. They intended the area to be tamed, protected, and managed for the benefit of all. And even in their most fantastic dreams they could not have foreseen the millions of annual park visitors, riding in fleets of automobiles, and the problems these masses of people would bring.

I am also aware that in the Wilderness Act, the Congress made mandatory the study of all roadless areas of 5,000 contiguous acres or more, in units of the national park system, to determine their suitability for inclusion in the national wilderness preservation system, and that the recommendations for the first period are now reaching Congress. When a Federal agency is implementing a program like this, it naturally influences the general philosophy of that agency about the overall development of our parks.

Likewise, I realize that sharp cuts have been forced on the National Park Service budgets in the past because of general economy moves in the Government, and, more recently, because of the Vietnam war, and that this has undoubtedly slowed down the construction and other developments in our national park system.

And, finally, I recognize the strength of the conservationist movement in this country, and the dedication with which both its leaders and members press their philosophy on the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service. Some of the finest and most public-spirted people in the country are in the conservationist movement, and I am proud to say that I identify myself with their objectives in most instances.

However, like all movements, the conservationists have a broad spectrum of thought among their members and member organizations, and there are those who are rigid in their views that all parks should be wild, and that people should not be allowed to fish or hunt or even to bird watch or picnic in them, but only to commune with nature. These people seem mainly to want to know that the natural area is there—inviolate—even though few people see it. The Department, naturally, must consider these views.

So the criticism I offer of our national park development and management programs is not directed specifically and solely at the National Park Service or the Secretary of the Interior. I realize that the Service and the Department must bend to outright legislative mandates, are subject at all times to trends in congressional thinking, are buffeted constantly by strong lobbyist pressures, and are limited by budget realities. The errors in judgment which have been made are the fault, I believe, of all of us—but at fault we are—and it is time we do something about it if we are to, and I quote Park Director Hartzog, "extend more broadly to all Americans the many values and opportunities represented in their national park system."

Some of the best evidence that our park development has not kept pace with the use of the parks by the public lies in the statistics on the roadbuilding program in the past 10 years. In 1957, there were 7,258 miles of roads in the national park system. By 1967, the number of miles had increased to 8,788 miles, an increase of 21 percent. But, at the same time the use of these roads increased by 60 percent. This means there were half again as many people trying to see the parks on just about the same stretches of road which were available 10 years ago.

Public visits per unit were up 77 percent, but there is comparatively not very much more space in our established national parks which the average visitor can reach in a car than there was 10 years ago. We have built some more picnic tables and campsites, but the areas in which they are located have by no means expanded by 77 percent. Camping has gone up 122 percent in the last 10 years. People are crowded together almost tent peg to tent peg.

In our first and largest national park, Yellowstone, which contains about 3,400 square miles, there has been a famous figure eight, or Grand Loop, road over which people have traveled to see the park ever since I can remember. It is connected to the five main entrances to the park by spur roads. These roads total about 200 miles and open up perhaps a fourth of the land area of the park. There has been little expansion in the road system since I was a boy—only another entrance from the northeast. Yet the roads carry many, many times more visitors—the number of visitors has almost doubled in the past 10 years.

It is true that trails reach into other parts of the park. Some are pleasant for a walk of an hour or two, others are long and traverse rough terrain, and therefore require time and a degree of skill to travel. I should like to know what proportion of the more than 2 million people who visited Yellowstone in 1967 took those long, hard walks—I should like also to know what proportion of the visitors to Yellowstone were on the trails while the others were bumper to bumper around the Grand Loop road. I wonder how many people were camped at the primitive campsites, and how many were tent pole to tent pole in the campgrounds along the roads.

Yosemite, a 12,000-square-mile geological wonderland with sculptured peaks and domes has two main roads through it—one which comes up from the south and swings across the center of the park, and a second which cuts north of this road, and again crosses the center of the park. There is also another short road which penetrates a few miles from the west into the northern section.

Thus, about a tenth of the park in the central section is open to the man in a car on the roads which total about 200 miles. The vast northern part, and the almost equally large southern part of the park, are open only through 700 miles of trails—open either to the hiker, or to saddle and pack animals.

In 1967, there were more visitors to Yosemite than there were to Yellowstone—I wonder what proportions could have been found on the trails, and what proportion on the roads?

I am reminded of an experience former Assistant Interior Secretary John Carver related at a National Park Service conference several years ago. On a mid-Sunday afternoon in August, at the top of the season, he and his family took a 12-mile hike along a well-designed and attractive trail in the Shenandoah National Park, one of the best visited national parks. During the whole time, they met not another single soul. The day before, the Carvers went into an even more remote area of the park, on several other trails, and on that occasion they saw no one else either.

Now, I know that such days are balm to the soul of an outdoor lover, and no one wants to deny him that joy. But since I am sure that on the same Sunday afternoon the Skyline Drive in Shenandoah National Park was jammed with cars. I wonder whether it is equitable to keep so many miles of the park in trails only, or whether some of the trails at least, might not be widened into a low-grade, scenic, automobile road?

Secretary Carver told also of a visit to the Colorado National Monument, where the superintendent gave him a quick tour, during which time he pointed to a takeoff point of a downhill, one-way trail which led to the highway on the valley floor. The superintendent declared it was a most worthwhile trip which would add greatly to an understanding of the park, but that only about 25 people a year took it. I am wondering how many more people would find their trip to Colorado National Monument more worth while if they could reach the valley floor by some other means than a hard trip down a treacherous foot trail.

Mr. President, we have not opened up well-established national parks and monuments so that the majority of the people visiting them can enjoy them to the fullest, and the trend toward keeping large areas of our parks locked up continues in Park Service development plans for the new parks.

Canyonlands, as this body well knows, is a new national park in southeastern Utah which was established in the 88th Congress. At the time the bill was considered in Congress, the National Park Service made a strong point of its plans to build a road from Squaw Flat which would circle the famous Elephant Hill and reach the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers in the south central section of the park—a point which all visitors to the park should reach since it offers a magnificent, panoramic view. Just recently this road was canceled in favor of a series of jeep trails. There will be no automobile road to the confluence from Squaw Flat, and there is even talk of canceling plans for the road into Chesler Park to the south, and instead to build trails for hikers.

To my mind, this defeats the purposes for which Canyonlands was established. It was possible long before we authorized the park to take a jeep ride over Elephant Hill. If one has the money to pay, it still is possible. Jeeps can get into Chesler Park. What we need are automobile roads so that thousands of Americans and their families can drive into this wonderland and see some of it on a week's vacation or a weekend. A road can be planned to skirt Elephant Hill, and the road over the hill can be left in its present condition for those who want the jeep ride. But a graded road should be built to the confluence of the two rivers and down into Chesler Park for those who cannot, or do not want, to go in by jeep or by foot. The road does not have to be a four-lane highway. It can be a simple scenic road which does not require too deep a cut in the side of the hills—but a road is needed. There are thousands and thousands of other acres in Canyonlands which can be set aside and kept in a primitive state for those who seek a wilderness vacation. In fact, practically the entire park is a wilderness now—our purpose in establishing the park was to get some roads into some parts of it so that more people could see it. This purpose is being thwarted.

An example of what happens when more of a park is opened up can be seen at Zion National Park in southern Utah. For many years there have been only two main roads in the park—one up the North Fork of the Virgin River through Zion Canyon proper, and a second called the Zion-Mount Carmel Highway which veers off to the east following Clear Creek.

Now, after years of discussion and planning, a new road has been constructed through the Kolob Highlands to the north which connects with a wide, well-graded road leading into Cedar City. A whole new section of the park has been opened up, offering spectacular back country views, and the people are using it heavily.

Mr. President, the people of America are entitled to visit their national parks in as large numbers as we can accommodate them, and to have as deeply satisfying experience as it is possible for us to provide for them. The policy today is to deny most of them this experience. The trend is to restrict the use of the parks for the majority, to keep them in a primitive state to be enjoyed by the minority.

But we cannot ignore the interests of the majority of our citizens—the majority which apparently prefers to get their enjoyment out of the wilderness by seeing it from the road, and to get refreshment from nature by eating and sleeping under big trees in a common campground.

We may have to have more restrictions and limitations on park use. It may be necessary, as the Park Service is now doing, to cut the number of campers who can use a public campground, in order to keep some space around the tents, and to refuse to allow overflow camping along other roadside sections. It may be necessary to put traffic lights in some of the more popular parks—as we recently had to install a first traffic light in Yellowstone—and it most certainly is necessary to take measures to handle the "bear" jams there, and to protect the cliff dwellings at Mesa Verde from too many tourists visiting them at one time.

But, it does not seem to me that we should be doing all of these things with one hand while with the other we keep closed more and more of our parks to the limited use of the back packers and the strong hikers and the wilderness buffs.

Certainly, we must keep part of our national parks and monuments in their natural state. Certainly, we should encourage our citizens to pack into these unique areas and enjoy them to the fullest. For those whose "inner receiver" needs solitude and miles between them and anyone else we should provide the place and the means.

But we cannot ignore the interest of the majority of our citizens, the majority which gets their enjoyment out of the wilderness by seeing it from the road, and their refreshment from nature by eating and sleeping under big trees.

What they want is more roads—hardtops, or low-grade scenic roads as conditions dictate—but more access to our parks, and more campgrounds to stay there.

It is not fair simply to say that people who want outdoor recreation should seek it somewhere else than in our national parks and monuments. There should be a place, a much bigger place than they now have, in our national parks. There should be a place for the wilderness lover, too, but the man with a trailer has just as much right in our national parks as the man with a pack on his back. More right really, because he is in the vast majority.

Unless we open more areas of Yellowstone to automobile campers, its jammed center loop will continue to disappoint and discourage visitors. Unless we build roads to the confluence, Chesler Park and other scenic areas of canyonlands, we have failed to provide the outdoor scenic experience we sought for our people.

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION

Mr. **TYDINGS**. Mr. President, the College Democrats of Illinois have unanimously endorsed a resolution calling on the Congress to enact strong gun-control laws this session. The resolution was forwarded to me by Henry A. Denzler, president of the Cook County College Young Democrats.

I request that the resolution and the list of membership colleges be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ON GUN CONTROL OF THE COLLEGE DEMOCRATS OF ILLINOIS

Whereas, the people of the United States have expressed their outrage at the absence of effective firearms legislation,

We, the College Democrats of Illinois, in convention assembled, strongly urge Congress to enact, for the President's approval this session, the recently introduced bill of Senator Tydings providing for effective firearms control which we feel will promote domestic tranquility in America.

Unanimously passed June 29, 1968 by sixteen colleges and Universities in Illinois.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE COLLEGE DEMOCRATS OF ILLINOIS

Bogen City College.*
Central Y.M.C.A. Community College.*
Concordia Teachers College.*
DePaul University.*
Eastern Illinois University.*
Loyola University.*
Loop City College.*
North Park College.*
Northern Illinois University.
Northwestern University.*
Rosary College.*
Saint Xavier College.*
Southern Illinois University.
University of Illinois (Champaign Urbana).
University of Illinois (Chicago Circle).*
Western Illinois University.

---

* Under immediate jurisdiction of Cook County College Young Democrats.

Mr. **TYDINGS**. Mr. President, each Member of Congress has received a resolution from the board of supervisors of the County of Los Angeles requesting the U.S. Congress to pass a strong gun-control law this session. The resolution was unanimously adopted on July 16.

I ask unanimous consent that this resolution appear in its entirety at this point in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On motion of Supervisor Hahn, unanimously carried, it is ordered that the following resolution be and it is hereby adopted:

"Whereas, there is pending in the Congress of the United States a strong gun control and registration law introduced by Senator Tydings of Maryland; and

"Whereas, a gun control law will save lives, reduce crime and make the streets safer; and

"Whereas, last year 7,000 Americans were killed by firearms in domestic disputes, robberies, holdups and murders; and

"Whereas, the citizens of the County of Los Angeles, in which the tragic assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy occurred, are mindful of other assassinations such as those of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in Memphis, Tennessee, and President John F. Kennedy in Dallas, Texas, and almost every day read of needless killings by hoodlums and the criminal element:

"Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles urgently requests the Congress of the United States to enact a strong gun control law during this session; and

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Congress of the United States."

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
County of Los Angeles, ss:

I, James S. Mize, Executive Officer of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true and correct copy of the Original Minutes of Board Order No. 177 adopted on July 16, 1968 by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the County of Los Angeles this 16th day of July, 1968.

JAMES S. MIZE,
Executive Officer of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** announced that on today, August 1, 1968, the Vice President signed the following enrolled bills, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

H.R. 1648. An act for the relief of Martina Zubiri Garcia;

H.R. 3136. An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to make a study to determine the advantages and disadvantages of increased use of the metric system in the United States; and

H.R. 15387. An act to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. LONG of Louisiana, from the Committee on Finance, with amendments:

H.R. 653. An act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on certain nonmalleable iron castings (Rept. No. 1496); and

H.R. 2767. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a farmer an amortized deduction from gross income for assessments for depreciable property levied by soil or water conservation or drainage districts (Rept. No. 1497).

By Mr. MAGNUSON, from the Committee on Commerce, without amendment:

S. 3945. A bill to authorize the documentation of the vessel *West Wing* as a vessel of the United States with coastwise privileges (Rept. No. 1498).

AMENDMENT OF TITLE II OF THE MERCHANT MARINE ACT, 1936, TO CREATE AN INDEPENDENT FEDERAL MARITIME ADMINISTRATION, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE—INDIVIDUAL VIEWS (S. REPT. NO. 1495)

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, from the Committee on Commerce, I report favorably, without amendment, the bill (H.R. 159) to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes, and I submit a report thereon. I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed, together with the individual views of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be received, and the bill will be placed on the calendar; and, without objection, the report will be printed, as requested by the Senator from Washington.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

James L. Latchum, of Delaware, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Delaware.

By Mr. MAGNUSON, from the Committee on Commerce:

John A. Carver, Jr., of Idaho, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission.

By Mr. YARBOROUGH, from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

Francis A. O'Neill, Jr., of New York, to be a member of the National Mediation Board.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, from the Committee on Armed Services I report favorably the nominations of 24 flag and general officers in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. I ask that these names be placed on the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar, are as follows:

Maj. Gen. Beverley Evans Powell, U.S. Army, and Maj. Gen. Michael Shannon Davison, U.S. Army, to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President, in the grade of lieutenant general;

Lt. Gen. John William Bowen, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army), to be placed on the retired list in the grade of lieutenant general;

Rear Adm. David C. Richardson, U.S. Navy, and Rear Adm. James W. O'Grady, U.S. Navy, for command and other duties determined by the President, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving;

Vice Adm. Frederick L. Ashworth, U.S. Navy, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral on the retired list;

Vice Adm. John T. Hayward, U.S. Navy, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral on the retired list;

Rear Adm. Richard G. Colbert, U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving;

Rear Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving;

Robert G. Owens, Jr., and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Marine Corps; and

Robert F. Conley, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Marine Corps.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, in addition, I report favorably 900 appointments in the Air Force in the grade of major and below and 94 promotions in the Navy in the grade of captain. Since these names have already been printed in the Congressional Record, I ask unanimous consent that they be ordered to lie on the Secretary's desk for the information of any Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to lie on the desk, are as follows:

Charles D. Adams, and sundry other officers, for appointment in the Regular Air Force; and

Rodger L. Alspach, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the U.S. Navy.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. MANSFIELD:

S. 3955. A bill for the relief of Avelina Ong Patascil; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIBLE:

S. 3956. A bill for the relief of Jose Noriega Becerra, Jose Luis Sarragueta Espinal, Jose Francisco P. Olasagasti, and Sebastian Olasagasti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NELSON:

S. 3957. A bill for the relief of Haralabia Kostopoulou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PASTORE:

S. 3958. A bill to amend Chapter 18 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

(See the remarks of Mr. Pastore when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. PASTORE (by request):

S. 3959. A bill to amend section 182b of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes;

S. 3960. A bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, to eliminate the requirement for a finding of practical value and abolish the distinction between commercial licenses for facilities and certain research and development licenses for facilities and for other purposes; and

S. 3961. A bill to amend section 170 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

(See the remarks of Mr. Pastore when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. FONG:

S. 3962. A bill for the relief of Pedro Dela Cruz Aqui;

S. 3963. A bill for ther relief of Kwang Wu Lee and his wife, Isabelle Ying Chang Yuang Lee; and

S. 3964. A bill for the relief of Honorato Dela Cruz and his wife, Melecia Pacol Dela Cruz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 3965. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Hohokam Pima National Monument in the vicinity of the Snaketown archeological site, Ariz., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HARTKE:

S. 3966. A bill to assist the cities of the United States to meet their needs for increased revenues by sharing with them a portion of the revenues derived from the Federal income tax; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. Hartke when he introduced the above bill, which appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. PROXMIRE:

S.J. Res. 197. Joint resolution to correct certain references in section 4(i) of the act entitled "an act to amend chapter 37 of title 38 of the United States Code with respect to the veterans' home loan program, to amend the National Housing Act with respect to interest rates on insured mortgages, and for other purposes," approved May 7, 1968; considered and passed.

(See reference to the above joint resolution when introduced by Mr. Proxmire, which appears under a separate heading.)

S. 3958, S. 3959, S. 3960, AND S. 3961, INTRODUCTION OF BILLS TO AMEND ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY ACT OF 1954

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, today I introduced a bill to amend various sections of chapter 18 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, the enforcement chapter of that act. I believe it would be helpful if I briefly explained the principal purposes of the proposed legislation and why these amendments are being offered.

One major purpose of the bill is to correct shortcomings in chapter 18 brought about by the U.S. Supreme Court's recent decision in *United States v. Jackson*, 36 L.W. 4277, April 8, 1968. It was there held that the death penalty provision of the Federal Kidnapping Act is unconstitutional because in permitting imposition of the death penalty only upon defendants who assert their right to be tried by a jury, it discourages assertion of, and thereby imposes an impermissible burden upon the exercise of, a constitutional right.

This decision would appear to hold significant implications for, and raise very substantial questions about, somewhat similar provisions in sections 222, 224a, 225, and 226 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. These sections provide that where there is a violation thereof with intent to injure the United States or to secure an advantage to a foreign nation, there may be imposed punishment by a fine of not more than $20,000 or imprisonment for not more than 20 years, or both, or, upon the recommendation of a jury, life imprisonment or death.

These penalty provisions of the Atomic Energy Act and the death penalty provision of the Federal Kidnapping Act operate in the same manner; therefore, the effect of the Jackson decision on the former would appear to be similar to its effect on the latter. Indeed, in certain respects the decision has more far-reaching effects on the Atomic Energy Act inasmuch as both the life imprisonment penalty as well as the death penalty provided for therein are contingent upon a jury recommendation, whereas only the death penalty provision of the Federal Kidnapping Act was affected by the Jackson decision.

The bill which I have introduced would retain the life imprisonment penalty in the affected sections, but delete the capital punishment penalty and the requirement for a specific recommendation by the jury before the maximum penalty prescribed may be imposed upon an offender.

As my colleagues are aware, the question of whether capital punishment for Federal crimes should be abolished by general legislation, S. 1760, is one that is now under active consideration within the Congress. However, I do not believe that necessary corrections to sections of the Atomic Energy Act dealing with penalties for offenses committed with intent to injure the United States or with intent to secure an advantage to a foreign nation should await enactment of this general legislation. Nor do I believe the legislative branch should continue to await the recommendations of the executive branch as to whether, and, if so, what amendments are necessary to effect corrections to sections of the Atomic Energy Act dealing, among other things, with the theft by foreign agents of highly sensitive atomic information. Therefore, I have introduced the minimum amendments required to give effect to the intent of Congress presently reflected in the sections of the Atomic Energy Act thrown into serious question by the Jackson decision, but at the same time striking therefrom the provision for capital punishment which has never been—and in all probability never would be—employed.

A second principal purpose of my bill is to amend section 222 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to increase the criminal penalties which could be imposed for unauthorized diversion of special nuclear material, and for certain related offenses. This material is the principal ingredient in nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. However, if a willful diversion of this material were committed by a person in this country under circumstances where the Government was unable to prove that the person charged specifically intended to injure the United States or to secure an advantage to any foreign nation, the maximum penalty which could be imposed under section 222 would be a fine of $10,000 and imprisonment for 5 years.

Thus, a thief, a terrorist, an insurrectionist, or a criminal group might commit such a diversion and, in the absence of proof of the requisite intent, would be subject to a maximum penalty under section 222 of imprisonment for 5 years and a $10,000 fine. For example, if the diversion were made for financially rewarding criminal purposes rather than out of political motivation, or if the unlawful sale were to the agent of an undisclosed principal and the unidentified principal was a foreign nation, the specific intent to injure the United States or gain an advantage to a foreign power might well be lacking. Section 1 of my bill would amend section 222 to increase from 5 to 10 years the maximum imprisonment for such willful violations of the section. No increase in the maximum fine appears necessary.

An Ad Hoc Advisory Panel on Safeguarding Special Nuclear Material appointed by the Atomic Energy Commission in 1967 pointed up the weakness of the act in this regard and recommend that it be amended to increase the penalties for unauthorized diversion of such material. The Panel noted that the maximum penalties presently provided for "may not be a sufficient deterrent to illicit transactions involving materials valued in excess of millions of dollars." and observed:

> The threat of detection and more severe criminal penalties should help deter organizations and individuals from attempting to divert materials to unauthorized uses.

Moreover, increased maximum penalties for unauthorized diversion of these materials would make them more nearly comparable to those for crimes of similar gravity.

A third principal purpose of this proposed legislation is to confer on the Atomic Energy Commission authority to impose civil penalties in addition to the Commission's present authority to modify, suspend, or revoke a license for violations of AEC health and safety regulatory requirements. Specifically, the bill would authorize the AEC to impose civil fines of up to $2,500 for individual infractions, and not to exceed $7,500 for two or more violations occurring within a 30-day period, of certain sections of the Atomic Energy Act and rules, regulations, orders, or licenses issued thereunder. I understand that similar authority to impose civil penalties is possessed by the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Aviation Administration, the Department of Agriculture, and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

It is not my intent in introducing this legislation to in any way suggest that serious violations of the act or of rules, regulations, orders, or licenses issued thereunder are to be penalized by a mere fine. I particularly do not mean to suggest this where the violation is one involving health and safety matters. I do believe, however, that in some instances the revocation of a license or suspension thereof may be too harsh a penalty under the circumstances.

Moreover, in certain cases a suspension may penalize the licensee's employees through loss of income without having any significant impact on the licensee itself. At the present time, the AEC in such cases essentially must choose between issuing a revocation or suspension order, on the one hand, or, on the other, issuing a cease and desist order which is little more than a direction to a licensee to refrain from doing whatever it was that the Commission found objectionable. Injunctions may also be obtained in appropriate cases, but here again the enforcement action may be out of all proportion to the infraction. For these reasons the imposition of a fine may be the more appropriate enforcement action in some cases.

Conferring on the AEC authority to impose civil fines, while at the same time retaining the authority to impose more severe penalties either in lieu of or in addition to a civil fine, should afford the Commission ample flexibility to deal with infractions of varying severity. I believe the AEC should have such authority. I also believe the Commission wants such authority. When queried about the matter in 1967 the Commission indicated that it was then preparing proposed legislation along these general lines for submission to the Congress. Apparently due to the inevitable delays involved in the administrative review process no such legislative proposal has as yet been cleared for submission to the Congress by the executive branch. For this reason, and in view of the limited time remaining for congressional consideration of such legislation during this session of Congress, I have included language in section 4 of my bill designed to accomplish the intended purpose.

Mr. President, I today also introduced, by request, three legislative proposals submitted by the Atomic Energy Commission. One relates to the so-called practical value provisions of the Atomic Energy Act; another relates to the present requirement of the act that the Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards review and report on all power reactor license applications; and another relates to the possible extension of the Price-Anderson nuclear indemnification legislation to cover public liability arising from nuclear incidents occurring outside the territorial limits of the United States or any other nation in the course of transportation of nuclear materials to or from the site of activities being carried out in the United States under nuclear indemnity agreements.

I believe it would he helpful to my colleagues and others interested in this proposed legislation to include in the public record the AEC's analysis of each of these bills, and ask unanimous consent to have the analyses and bills included at this point in the RECORD.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The bills will be received and appropriately referred and, without objection, the bills and analyses will be printed in the RECORD.

The bills, introduced by Mr. PASTORE, were received, read twice by their title, referred to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

By Mr. PASTORE:

S. 3958. A bill to amend Chapter 18 of the

Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 222 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended by striking out "imprisonment for not more than five years" and inserting in lieu thereof "imprisonment for not more than ten years".

Sec. 2. Section 223 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended by adding the word "criminal" before the word "penalty".

Sec. 3. Sections 222, 224, 225, and 226 are each amended by striking out "death or imprisonment for life (but the penalty of death or imprisonment for life may be imposed only upon recommendation of the jury)" and inserting in lieu thereof "imprisonment for life".

Sec. 4. The Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended by adding thereto the following new section:

"Sec. 234. Civil Penalties.—

"a. Any person who (1) violates (A) any licensing provision of sections 53, 57, 62, 63, 81, 82, 101, 103, 104, 107, or 109 or any rule, regulation, or order issued thereunder, or any term, condition, or limitation of any license issued thereunder, or (B) any rule, regulation, or order issued under section 65 or subsections 161 b., i., or o., or (2) commits any violation for which a license may be revoked under section 186, shall be subject to a civil penalty of not to exceed $2,500 for each such violation, or not to exceed a total of $7,500 for violations occurring within any period of thirty consecutive days, as determined by the Commission. If such violation continues for a period of three consecutive days from the beginning date of infraction such violation shall constitute two separate offenses. Penalties prescribed by this section shall be in addition to any other specific or general criminal penalties provided by law and any other sanctions authorized by this Act, including revocation, suspension or modification of license.

"b. No liability for a civil penalty imposed under subsection a. shall attach unless a written notice shall have been issued by the Commission (i) setting forth the date, facts, and nature of the act or omission with wihch the person is charged, (ii) specifically identifying the particular provision or provisions of the section, rule, regulation, order, or license involved in the infraction, and (iii) advising of the penalty which the Commission proposes to impose and its amount. Such written notice shall be delivered by the Commission to the person charged by registered or certified mail sent to the last known address of such person. The person so notified shall be granted an opportunity to show in writing, within such reasonable period as the Commission shall by regulation prescribe, why such penalty should not be imposed. The notice shall also advise the person charged that upon failure to pay the amount stated, or an amount subsequently determined by the Commission to be appropriate, it will be subject to collection in accordance with subsection c. below.

"c. The amount of such civil penalty, when so determined, may be deducted from any sums owing from the United States to the person charged. The penalties provided for in this section shall be payable into the Treasury of the United States, and may be collected by civil action instituted within one year from the date of notification. On the request of the Commission, it shall be the duty of the various United States attorneys, under the direction of the Attorney General of the United States, to prosecute for the recovery of any civil penalties under this section."

By Mr. PASTORE (by request):

S. 3959. A bill to amend section 182 b. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Subsection 182 b. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"b. The Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards shall review each application under section 103 or section 104 b. for a construction permit or an operating license for a facility, any application under section 104 c. for a construction permit or an operating license for a testing facility, any application under section 104 a. or c. specifically referred to it by the Commission, and any application for an amendment to a construction permit or an amendment to an operating license under section 103 or 104 a., b., or c. specifically referred to it by the Commission, and shall submit a report thereon: *Provided, however,* That, unless the Commission specifically requests a review and report on an application or portion thereof, the Committee may dispense with such review and report by notifying the Commission in writing that review by the Committee is not warranted. Any report or notice required by this subsection shall be made part of the record of the application and available to the public except to the extent that security classification prevents disclosure."

The analysis, presented by Mr. Pastore, is as follows:

AEC Analysis of Bill To Amend Section 182 b. of the Atomic Energy Act

The Atomic Energy Commission's Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards was established by Section 29 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, to review safety studies and facility license applications, advise the Commission with regard to the hazards of proposed or existing reactor facilities and the adequacy of proposed reactor safety standards, and perform such other duties as the Commission may request. At present, Subsection 182 b. of the Act requires that the ACRS shall review each application under Section 103 or Subsection 104 b. for a construction permit or an operating license for a facility, any application under Subsection 104 c. for a construction permit or an operating license for a testing facility, any application under Subsections 104 a. or c. specifically referred to it by the Commission and any application for an amendment to a construction permit or an amendment to an operating license under Sections 103 or 104 a., b. or c. specifically referred to it by the Commission, and shall submit a report thereon. Thus, a mandatory review and reporting requirement exists for all power and test reactor applications for construction permits and operating licenses.

The legislation proposed would modify the mandatory review requirement of Subsection 182 b. by providing in effect that unless the Commission specifically requests a review and report on an application, the ACRS may dispense therewith by notifying the Commission in writing that ACRS review is not warranted. The proposed legislation would require that any notice from the ACRS to the effect that review is not warranted in a given case be made a part of the record of the application.

Relaxation of the mandatory review and reporting requirements will enable the Committee to concentrate its activities on the more novel and difficult questions of reactor safety. It would, moreover, place the ACRS in a better position to deal with the increasing volume of reactor applications by giving them the flexibility to review certain features of a reactor rather than the whole application. Neither the Commission nor the ACRS has felt that reactor cases coming in during the past and current year would include those for which ACRS review would not be desirable. However, as reactors are becoming more standardized, it seems appropriate and desirable to have the statutory flexibilty to omit ACRS review if and when such ommission appears warranted to both the Commission and the ACRS.

S. 3960. A bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, to eliminate the requirement for a finding of practical value and abolish the distinction between commercial licenses for facilities and certain research and development licenses for facilities and for other purposes:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection 11 b. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"b. The term 'agreement for cooperation' means any agreement with another nation or regional defense organization, authorized or permitted by section 54, 57, 64, 82, 91 c., 102, 104, or 144, and made pursuant to section 123."

Sec. 2. Paragraph (4) of subsection 31 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(4) utilization of special nuclear material, atomic energy, and radioactive material and processes entailed in the utilization or production of atomic energy or such material for all other purposes, including industrial or commercial uses, the generation of usable energy, and the demonstration of advances in the application of atomic energy for industrial or commercial purposes; and"

Sec. 3. Subsection 41 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"a. Ownership of production facilities.—The Commission, as agent of and on behalf of the United States, shall be the exclusive owner of all production facilities other than facilities which (1) are useful in the conduct of research and development activities in the fields specified in section 31, and do not, in the opinion of the Commission, have a potential production rate adequate to enable the user of such facilities to produce within a reasonable period of time a sufficient quantity of special nuclear material to produce an atomic weapon; or (2) are licensed by the Commission pursuant to section 102 or 104."

Sec. 4. Paragraph (3) of subsection 53 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended is amended to read as follows:

"(3) for use under a license issued pursuant to section 102;"

Sec. 5. Paragraph (1) of subsection 53 c. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(1) The Commission may distribute special nuclear material licensed under this section by sale, lease, lease with option to buy, or grant: *Provided, however,* That unless otherwise authorized by law, the Commission shall not after December 31, 1970, distribute special nuclear material except by sale to any person who possesses or operates a utilization facility under a license issued pursuant to section 102 for use in the course of activities under such license; nor shall the Commission permit any such person after June 30, 1973, to continue leasing for use in the course of such activities special nuclear materials previously leased to such person by the Commission."

Sec. 6. Paragraph (4) of subsection 53 c. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(4) The Commission may make a reasonable charge, determined pursuant to this section, for the use of special nuclear material licensed and distributed by lease under subsection 53 a. (1), (2) or (4) and shall, unless otherwise authorized by law, make a reasonable charge determined pursuant to this section for the use of special nuclear material licensed and distributed by lease under subsection 53 a.(3). The Commission shall establish criteria in writing for the determination of whether special nuclear material will be distributed by grant and for the determination of whether a charge will be made for the use of special nuclear material licensed and distributed by lease under subsection 53 a. (1), (2) or (4), considering, among other things, whether the licensee is a nonprofit or eleemosynary institution and the purposes for which the special nuclear material will be used."

SEC. 7. Subsection 53 d. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"d. In determining the reasonable charge to be made by the Commission for the use of special nuclear material distributed by lease to licensees of utilization or production facilities licensed pursuant to section 102 or 104, in addition to consideration of the cost thereof, the Commission shall take into consideration—

"(1) the use to be made of the special nuclear material;

"(2) the extent to which the use of the special nuclear material will advance the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy;

"(3) the energy value of the special nuclear material in the particular use for which the license is issued;

"(4) whether the special nuclear material is to be used in facilities licensed pursuant to section 102 or 104. In this respect, unless otherwise authorized by law, the Commission shall, insofar as practicable, make uniform, nondiscriminatory charges for the use of special nuclear material distributed to facilities licensed pursuant to section 102; and

"(5) With respect to special nuclear material consumed in a facility licensed pursuant to section 102, the Commission shall, unless otherwise authorized by law, make a further charge equivalent to the sale price for similar nuclear material established by the Commission in accordance with subsection 53 c. (2), and the Commission may make such a charge with respect to such material consumed in a facility licensed pursuant to section 104."

SEC. 8. The last sentence of section 54 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Under any such agreement, the Commission shall purchase only such material as is delivered to the Commission during any period when there is in effect a guaranteed purchase price for the same material produced in a nuclear reactor by a person licensed under section 102 or 104, established by the Commission pursuant to section 56, and the price to be paid shall be the price so established by the Commission and in effect for the same material delivered to the Commission."

SEC. 9. The first two sentences of section 56 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, are amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 56. GUARANTEED PURCHASE PRICES.—The Commission shall establish guaranteed purchase prices for plutonium produced in a nuclear reactor by a person licensed under section 102 or 104 and delivered to the Commission before January 1, 1971. The Commission shall also establish for such periods of time as it may deem necessary but not to exceed ten years as to any such period, guaranteed purchase prices for uranium enriched in the isotope 233 produced in a nuclear reactor by a person licensed under section 102 or 104 and delivered to the Commission within the period of the guarantee."

SEC. 10. Paragraph (3) of subsection 63 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(3) for use under a license issued pursuant to section 102; or"

SEC. 11. Subsection 63 c. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"c. The Commission may make a reasonable charge determined pursuant to subsection 161 m. for the source material licensed and distributed under subsection 63 a.(1), subsection 63 a.(2), or subsection 63 a.(4), and shall, unless otherwise authorized by law, make a reasonable charge determined pursuant to subsection 161 m., for the source material licensed and distributed under subsection 63 a.(3). The Commission shall establish criteria in writing for the determination of whether a charge will be made for the source material licensed and distributed under subsection 63 a.(1), subsection 63 a.(2), or subsection 63 a.(4), considering, among other things, whether the licensee is a nonprofit or eleemosynary institution and the purposes for which the source material will be used."

SEC. 12. Section 101 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 101. LICENSE REQUIRED.—It shall be unlawful, except as provided in section 91, for any person within the United States to transfer or receive in interstate commerce, manufacture, produce, transfer, acquire, possess, use, import, or export any utilization or production facility except under and in accordance with a license issued by the Commission pursuant to section 102 or 104."

SEC. 13. Section 102 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 102. COMMERCIAL AND DEMONSTRATION LICENSES.—

"a. The Commission is authorized to issue licenses on a nonexclusive basis to persons applying therefor for utilization and production facilities useful for industrial or commercial purposes or for the demonstration of advances in the application of atomic energy for industrial or commercial purposes. Such licenses shall be issued in accordance with the provisions of chapter 16 and subject to such conditions as the Commission may by rule, regulation, or order establish to effectuate the purposes and provisions of this Act.

"b. The Commission shall establish such regulations and terms of license for facilities licensed under this section as are appropriate to permit the Commission to fulfill its obligations under this Act to promote the common defense and security and to protect the health and safety of the public.

"c. Each license issued under this section shall be issued for a specified period, as determined by the Commission, depending on the type of activity to be licensed, but not exceeding forty years, and may be renewed upon the expiration of such period.

"d. The Commission may require as a condition of any license issued under this section that the licensee make available to the Commission such technical information and data concerning activities under such license as the Commission may determine necessary to promote the common defense and security and to protect the health and safety of the public. All such information may be used by the Commission only for the purposes of common defense and security and to protect the health and safety of the public, *Provided, however,* That nothing in this subsection shall be deemed to limit the Commission's authority to obtain and use information under a contractual arrangement with a licensee.

"e. No license under this section may be given to any person for activities which are not under or within the jurisdiction of the United States, except for the export of production or utilization facilities under terms of an agreement for cooperation arranged pursuant to section 123, or except under the provisions of section 109. No license may be issued to an alien or any corporation or other entity if the Commission knows or has reason to believe it is owned, controlled, or dominated by an alien, a foreign corporation, or a foreign government. In any event, no license may be issued to any person within the United States if, in the opinion of the Commission, the issuance of a license to such person would be inimical to the common defense and security or to the health and safety of the public.

"f. All licenses to operate heretofore issued under section 103 or subsection 104b. of this Act shall be deemed to have been issued under this section and all pending applications for licenses under section 103 or subsection 104 b. of this Act shall be deemed to be applications for licenses under this section."

SEC. 14. Section 103 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is revoked.

SEC. 15. Section 104 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended (a) by revoking subsection b. thereof and (b) by redesignating subsections c. and d. as subsections b. and c. respectively.

SEC. 16. The subsection of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, redesignated 104 b. by section 15 of this Act, is amended to read as follows:

"b. The Commission is authorized to issue licenses to persons applying therefor for utilization and production facilities useful in the conduct of research and development activities of the types specified in section 31 and which are not facilities of the type specified in section 102. The Commission is directed to impose only such minimum amount of regulation of the licensee as the Commission finds will permit the Commission to fulfill its obligations under this Act to promote the common defense and security and to protect the health and safety of the public and will permit the conduct of widespread and diverse research and development."

SEC. 17. Subsection 105 c. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"c. Except with respect to such classes or types of licenses as the Commission, with the approval of the Attorney General, may determine would not significantly affect the applicant's activities under the antitrust laws as specified in subsection a. of this section, the Commission, promptly after receiving any application for a license under section 102, shall transmit a copy thereof to the Attorney General and thereafter it shall notify him when it issues a notice of hearing or a notice of opportunity for hearing on such application and inform him of the license terms and conditions proposed in the notice. At any time after receiving such copy of an application for a license, but in any event no later than 15 days after issuance of the notice of hearing or notice of opportunity for hearing, the Attorney General shall advise the Commission whether, insofar as he can determine, the issuance of such license or the activities for which the license is sought would tend to create or maintain a situation inconsistent with the antitrust laws, and such advice shall be published in the Federal Register. The Commission shall give due consideration to the advice received from the Attorney General, and is authorized to take such action and impose such license conditions as it finds to be necessary or appropriate. Upon the request of the Attorney General, the Commission shall furnish or cause to be furnished such information as the Attorney General determines to be appropriate or necessary to enable him to give the advice called for by this section, including, but not limited to, contracts between the applicant and other parties relating to activities for which the license is sought.

SEC. 18. Subsecton 106 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"a. group the facilities licensed either under section 102 or under section 104 into classes which may include either production or utilization facilities or both, upon the basis of the similarity of operating and technical characteristics of the facilities;"

Sec. 19. The second sentence of section 108 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"The Commission is authorized during such period, if the Commission finds is necessary to the common defense and security, to order the recapture of any special nuclear material or to order the operation of any facility licensed under section 102 or 104 and is authorized to order the entry into any plant or facility in order to recapture such material, or to operate such facility."

Sec. 20. The introductory portion of section 123 preceding subsection 123 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 123. Cooperation With Other Nations.—No cooperation with any nation or regional defense organization pursuant to section 53, 54, 57, 64, 82, 91, 102, 104, or 144 shall be undertaken until—"

Sec. 21. Section 124 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 124. International Atomic Pool.—The President is authorized to enter into an international arrangement with a group of nations providing for international cooperation in the nonmilitary applications of atomic energy and he may thereafter cooperate with that group of nations pursuant to sections 54, 57, 64, 82, 102, 104, or 144 a.: *Provided, however,* That the cooperation is undertaken pursuant to an agreement for cooperation entered into in accordance with section 123."

Sec. 22. Section 125 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 125. Cooperation With Berlin.—The President may authorize the Commission to enter into agreements for cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany in accordance with section 123, on behalf of Berlin, which for the purposes of this Act comprises those areas over which the Berlin Senate exercises jurisdiction (the United States, British, and French sectors) and the Commission may thereafter cooperate with Berlin pursuant to sections 54, 57, 64, 82, 102, or 104: *Provided,* That the guaranties required by section 123 shall be made by Berlin with the approval of the allied commandants."

Sec. 23. Subsection 145 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"a. no contract shall be made or continued in effect under section 41, and no license shall be issued under section 102 or 104, unless the person with whom such arrangement is made, the contractor or prospective contractor, or the prospective licensee agrees in writing not to permit any individual to have access to Restricted Data until the Civil Service Commission shall have made an investigation and report to the Commission on the character, associations, and loyalty of such individual, and the Commission shall have determined that permitting such person to have access to Restricted Data will not endanger the common defense and security."

Sec. 24. Paragraph (1) of subsection 153 c. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(1) who has made application to the Commission for a license under sections 53, 62, 63, 81, 102, or 104, or a permit or lease under section 67;"

Sec. 25. Subsection 161 m. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"m. enter into agreements with persons licensed under section 102, 104, 53 a.(4), or 63 a.(4) for such periods of time as the Commission may deem necessary or desirable (1) to provide for the processing, fabricating, separating, or refining in facilities owned by the Commission of source, byproduct, or other material or special nuclear material owned by or made available to such licensees and which is utilized or produced in the conduct of the licensed activity, and (2) to sell, lease, or otherwise make available to such licensees such quantities of source or byproduct material, and other material not defined as special nuclear material pursuant to this Act, as may be necessary for the conduct of the licensed activity: *Provided, however,* That any such agreement may be canceled by the licensee at any time upon payment of such reasonable cancellation charges as may be agreed upon by the licensee and the Commission: *And provided further,* That the Commission shall establish prices to be paid by licensees for material or services to be furnished by the Commission pursuant to this subsection, which prices shall be established on such a nondiscriminatory basis as, in the opinion of the Commission, will provide reasonable compensation to the Government for such material or services and will not discourage the development of sources of supply independent of the Commission;"

Sec. 26. Subsection 161 n. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"n. delegate to the General Manager or other officers of the Commission any of those functions assigned to it under this Act except those specified in sections 51, 57 b., 61, 108, 123, 145 b. (with respect to the determination of those persons to whom the Commission may reveal restricted data in the national interest),"

Sec. 27. Subsection 161 o. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"o. require by rule, regulation, or order, such reports, and the keeping of such records with respect to, and to provide for such inspections of, activities and studies of types specified in section 31 and of activities under licenses issued pursuant to sections 53, 63, 81, 102, and 104, as may be necessary to effectuate the purposes of this Act, including section 105; and"

Sec. 28. Subsection 161 t. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"t. enter into contracts for the processing, fabricating, separating, or refining in facilities owned by the Commission of source, byproduct or other material, or special nuclear material, in accordance with and within the period of an agreement for cooperation while comparable services are available to persons licensed under section 102 or 104: *Provided,* That the prices for services under such contracts shall be no less than the prices currently charged by the Commission pursuant to section 161 m.;"

Sec. 29. Paragraph (A) of subsection 161 v. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"v. (A) enter into contracts with persons licensed under sections 53, 63, 102 or 104 for such periods of time as the Commission may deem necessary or desirable to provide, after December 31, 1968, for the producing or enriching of special nuclear material in facilities owned by the Commission; and"

Sec. 30. Section 169 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 169. No Subsidy.—No funds of the Commission shall be employed in the construction or operation of facilities licensed under section 102 or 104 except under contract or other arrangement entered into pursuant to section 31."

S53. 31. The first sentence of subsection 170 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"a. Each license issued under section 102 or 104 and each construction permit issued under section 185 shall, and each license issued under section 53, 63, or 81 may, have as a condition of the license a requirement that the licensee have and maintain financial protection of such type and in such amounts as the Commission shall require in accordance with subsection 170 b. to cover public liability claims. Whenever such financial protection is required, it shall be a further condition of the license that the licensee execute and maintain an indemnification agreement in accordance with subsection 170 c. The Commission may require, as a further condition of issuing a license, that an applicant waive any immunity from public liability conferred by Federal or State law."

Sec. 32. The second sentence of subsection 170 f. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"This fee shall be $30 per year per thousand kilowatts of thermal energy capacity for facilities licensed under section 102."

Sec. 33. The first sentence of subsection 170 k. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"With respect to any license issued pursuant to section 53, 63, 81, 104 a., or 104 b. for the conduct of educational activities to a person found by the Commission to be a nonprofit educational institution, the Commission shall exempt such licensee from the financial protection requirement of subsection 170 a."

Sec. 34. The sixth sentence of subsection 182 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Applications for, and statements made in connection with, licenses under sections 102 and 104 shall be made under oath or affirmation."

Sec. 35. Subsection 182 b. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"b. The Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards shall review each application under section 102 for a construction permit or an operating license for a facility, any application under section 104 b. for a construction permit or an operating license for a testing facility, any application under section 104 a. or b. specifically referred to it by the Commission, and any application for an amendment to a construction permit or an amendment to an operating license under section 102 or 104 specifically referred to it by the Commission, and shall submit a report thereon which shall be made part of the record of the application and available to the public except to the extent that security classification prevents disclosure."

Sec. 36. Subsection 182 c. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"c. The Commission shall not issue any license for a utilization or production facility for the generation of commercial power under section 102 until it has given notice in writing to such regulatory agency as may have jurisdiction over the rates and services of the proposed activity, to municipalities, private utilities, public bodies, and cooperatives within transmission distance authorized to engage in the distribution of electric energy and until it has published notice of such application once each week for four consecutive weeks in the Federal Register, and until four weeks after the last notice."

Sec. 37. Subsection 182 d. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"d. The Commission, in issuing any license for a utilization or production facility for the generation of commercial power under section 102, shall give preferred consideration to applications for such facilities which will be located in high cost power areas in the United States if there are conflicting applications for a limited opportunity for such licenses. Where such conflicting applications resulting from limited opportunity for such license include those submitted by public or cooperative bodies such applications shall be given preferred consideration."

Sec. 38. The second sentence of subsection

189 a. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"The Commission shall hold a hearing after thirty days' notice and publication once in the Federal Register, on each application under section 102 for a construction permit for a facility, and on any application under section 104 b. for a construction permit for a testing facility."

Sec. 39. Section 272 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 272. Applicability of Federal Power Act.—Every licensee under this Act who holds a license from the Commission for a utilization or production facility for the generation of commercial electric energy under section 102 and who is a 'public utility' as defined in section 201(e) of the Federal Power Act and who transmits such electric energy in interstate commerce or sells it at wholesale in interstate commerce shall be subject to the regulatory provisions of the Federal Power Act."

Sec. 40. Section 273 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 273. Licensing of Government Agencies.—Nothing in this Act shall preclude any Government agency now or hereafter authorized by law to engage in the production, marketing, or distribution of electric energy from obtaining a license under section 102, if qualified under the provisions of section 102, for the construction and operation of production or utilization facilities for the primary purpose of producing electric energy for disposition for ultimate public consumption."

The analysis, presented by Mr. Pastore, is as follows:

AEC Analysis of Bill To Eliminate Requirement for a Finding of Practical Value

INTRODUCTION

The basic approach of the draft amendments to eliminate the requirement for a finding of practical value and to in effect abolish the distinction between "commercial" licenses and "demonstration" licenses is relatively simple in concept. Essentially two amending actions are proposed: first, revocation of section 102 (providing for the finding of practical value), section 103 (authorizing "commercial" licenses), and subsection 104 b. (authorizing "demonstration" licenses); second, substitution of a new section (numbered "102") in place of the revoked sections and covering commercial and demonstration licenses as a single class. The new section 102 retains essentially all of the statutory qualifications and limitations applicable under present law to section 103 licenses.

While the basic concept of the amendments is simple, many different sections of the Act require revision, owing to the fact that the present Act contains numerous cross references to sections 103 and 104.

The draft amendments are contained in a proposed bill having forty separate sections. Of these forty sections, twenty-five of them* (and a portion of a twenty-sixth**) are fairly characterized as providing for no substantive changes in the Act.

Having in mind the basic scheme, the analysis of each amendatory section is as follows:

Sec. 1: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 11 b.

Sec. 2: This section constitutes a substantive amendment to the research provisions of section 31 a.(4) to delete the concept of authorizing AEC to make research arrangements to demonstrate "practical value" of reactors and to substitute in lieu thereof authority to make research arrangements to demonstrate "advances in the application of atomic energy" for industrial or commercial purposes.

Sec. 3: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 41 a.

Sec. 4: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 53 a.(3).

Sec. 5: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 53 c.(1).

Sec. 6: This section constitutes a substantive amendment to 53 c.(4) qualifying the flat requirement now contained in the Act that the Commission *shall* make a charge for special nuclear material distributed for use under a section 103 license (per 57 a.(3), which, as amended by section 4 of this draft bill now refers to a license under 102). As qualified, AEC must make the charge under a 102 license, "unless otherwise authorized by law." To unqualifiedly prevent any waiver of charges under new 102 (which, in effect, combines 103 and 104 b. facilities) would not be consistent with present 53 c.(1) which, in pertinent part provides that unless "otherwise authorized by law, the Commission shall not after December 31, 1970, distribute special nuclear material except by sale to any person who possesses or operates a utilization facility under a license issued pursuant to [103 or 104 b.] 102". In effect, Congress would be retaining authority to authorize waiver of charges on a case-by-case basis.

Sec. 7: Technical (cross reference) amendments in opening of subsection 53 d. and 53 d. (4), plus substantive (but conforming) amendment in 53 d.(4) and 53 d.(5) to recognize that with respect to 102 facilities the waiver of use and burn-up charges could be "otherwise authorized".

Sec. 8: Substantive (but conforming) amendment to section 54 to recognize substantive amendment to section 56 (made by section 9 of this draft bill) which extends guaranteed purchase prices to plutonium and uranium enriched in the isotope 233 produced in 102 reactors.

Sec. 9: (See explanation under section 8.)

Sec. 10: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 63 a.(3).

Sec. 11: Substantive amendment to 63c. to permit case-by-case waiver by Congress of otherwise unqualified requirement to charge for source material distributed under a 102 license.

Sec. 12: Technical (cross reference) amendment to section 101.

Sec. 13: This section together with sections 14 and 15, comprise the substantive core of the bill: namely, an entirely new section 102 combining old 103 and old 104 b. and removing reference to the old "practical value" concept formerly contained in old 102 and 103. The other features of this amendment are:

A. The concept of issuance of licenses "on a non-exclusive basis" is preserved.

B. The injunction to the Commission under old 104 b. to "impose the minimum amount of such regulations and terms of license as will permit the Commission to fulfill its obligations under this Act to promote the common defense and security and to protect the health and safety of the public and will be compatible with the regulations and terms of license which would apply in the event that a commercial license were later to be issued pursuant to section 103 for that type of facility", has been deleted as unnecessary in view of the abolition of the distinction between 103 and 104 b. type facilities.

C. The requirement under old 104 b. that "priority shall be given [in the issuing of licenses] to those activities which will, in the opinion of the Commission, lead to major advances in the application of atomic energy for industrial or commercial purposes," no longer has any significance because of the uranium supply picture. It has been deleted.

D. The concept of a 40-year term (under old 103) is retained.

E. The concept of requiring information for health and safety purposes (under old 103) is retained with a clarifying proviso assuring that if AEC wants to pay extra it can use the information for such other purposes as would be specified by contract.

F. Any existing 104 b. and 103 licenses are statutorily converted to 102 licenses, as are any pending applications for such licenses. One of the purposes of this amendment is to make clear that holders of operating licenses already granted are not subject to the provisions of 105 (c). Pending applications for construction permits and holders of construction permits are subject to 105 (c).

Sec. 14: Substantive—revokes section 103.

Sec. 15: Substantive—revokes subsection 104 b.

Sec. 16: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 104 c. (which subsection has been redesignated "104 b." in view of revocation of present 104 b.).

Sec. 17: This section makes a substantive change to the antitrust review requirement of 105 c. It requires that all applications for a construction permit under section 102 be sent to the Attorney General for antitrust review. In the proposal, as under present law, an exception would be provided for those types or classes of licenses which would not significantly affect the applicant's activities under the antitrust laws. The period during which the Attorney General would conduct his antitrust review is also changed. Under present law the AEC is to notify the Attorney General when it proposes to issue any license and the Attorney General has up to 90 days within which to advise AEC whether or not the proposed license is consistent with the antitrust laws. By the time AEC proposes to issue a license, however, the application has been under health and safety review within the AEC for at least six months. In the proposal, the Attorney General is to be notified promptly of the receipt by the Commission of a license application so that his review will be simultaneous with the AEC's health and safety review. The new amendment requires that the Attorney General's advice be transmitted to the AEC not later than fifteen days after the date the Commission issues a notice of hearing (or notice of opportunity for hearing) on the license application. In addition to providing an earlier opportunity to the Attorney General to begin his antitrust review, as well as a longer period in which to do it, the proposed revision makes it possible for the parties to the licensing proceeding to receive early notification as to whether antitrust matters are to become an issue in the proceedings. In effect, the 90-day extension to the regulatory process under the present law is reduced by 75 days.

Sec. 18: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 106 a.

Sec. 19: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 108.

Sec. 20: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 123.

Sec. 21: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 124.

Sec. 22: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 125.

Sec. 23: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 145 a.

Sec. 24: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 153 c.(1).

Sec. 25: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 161 m.

Sec. 26: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 161 n.

Sec. 27: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 161 o.

Sec. 28: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 161 t.

Sec. 29: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 161 v.

Sec. 30: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 169.

Sec. 31: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 170 a.

Sec. 32: Partially-substantive amendment to subsection 170 f. to provide that fee should be $30 per year per kwth "for facilities licensed under section [103] 102." The amendment is substantive in that by making a straight substitution of "102" for "103", former 104 b.-type licenses are now covered by section 170 f. and no reduction in the amount can be made (as it can be under existing law for 104 b.-types).

---

*Sections 1, 3, 4, 5, 10, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35 and 38.

**Section 7.

Sec. 33: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 170 k.

Sec. 34: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 182 a.

Sec. 35: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 182 b.

Sec. 36: Partially-substantive amendment to subsection 182 c. extending the notification requirements of that subsection to facilities licensed under new section 102 (which covers former 103-type licenses, as well as former 104 b.-type licenses). Formerly, the notification requirements applied only to section 103 facilities.

Sec. 37: Partially-substantive amendment to the preference provisions of subsection 182 d. extending them to facilities licensed under new section 102 (which covers former 103-type licenses, as well as former 104 b.-type licenses). Formerly, the requirements of subsection 182 d. applied only to section 103 facilities.

Sec. 38: Technical (cross reference) amendment to 189 a.

Sec. 39: Partially-substantive amendment to section 272 extending applicability of that section (which pertains to the coverage of the Federal Power Act) to facilities licensed under new section 102 (which covers former 103-type facilities, as well as former 104 b.-type facilities). Formerly, the provisions of section 272 applied only to section 103 facilities. This amendment also clarifies that no additional jurisdiction is intended to be given to the Federal Power Commission as a result of this bill.

Sec. 40: Partially-substantive amendment to section 273 (which pertains to licensing of government agencies) extending the provisions thereof to facilities licensed under new section 102 (which covers former 103-type facilities, as well as former 104 b.-type facilities). Formerly, the provisions of section 273 applied only to section 103 facilities.

S. 3961

A bill to amend section 170 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 11 of the Atomic Eenergy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended—

(a) By deleting the period (.) at the end of subsection q. and inserting in lieu thereof ": *And provided further,* That as the term is used in subsection 170 p., it shall mean any such occurrence which arises out of the transportation of source, special nuclear or byproduct material on vessels of United States registry and which takes place (1) in the course of such transportation and (2) outside the territorial limits of the United States or any other nation.";

(b) By deleting "or (2)" in subsection t. and inserting in lieu there of "(2) with respect to a nuclear incident as the term is used in subsection 170 p., the person with whom an idemnity agreement is executed and any other person who may be liable for public liability by reason of his activities within the United States, or on the vessel transporting the source, special nuclear, or byproduct material while such vessel is outside the territorial limits of the United States or any other nation, or in connection with his ownership or operation of such vessel, and any other person who has his principal place of business in the United States, or who is the agent or employee of such other person, and who may be liable for public liability; or (3)"; and

(c) By deleting the word "and" appearing before "(iii)" in subsection w., and by deleting the period (.) at the end of the first sentence of said subsection and inserting in lieu thereof "; and (iv) whenever used in subsection 170 p., claims for loss of, or damage to, or loss of use of any of the following: the vessel transporting the source, special nuclear, or byproduct material; the vessel's equipment, fuel, and stores; the source, special nuclear, or byproduct material being transported; and the containers used in the transportation of such material."

SEC. 2. Subsection 170 e. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended by inserting after the first sentence thereof "With respect to any nuclear incident occurring outside the territorial limits of the United States to which an agreement of indemnification entered into under the provisions of subsection 170 p. is applicable, such aggregate liability shall not exceed the amount of $100,000,000 together with the amount of financial protection required: *Provided, however,* That such aggregate liability shall in no event exceed the sum of $115,000,000."

SEC. 3. Subsection 170 f. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended by inserting after the fourth sentence thereof "The Commission is authorized to establish criteria in writing for the determination of an additional fee for an indemnification agreement issued pursuant to subsection 170 p."

SEC. 4. Section 170 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"p. In addition to any other authority the Commission may have, the Commission is authorized until August 1, 1977, to enter into agreements of indemnification with licensees or contractors engaged in activities in the United States covered by an indemnity agreement with the Atomic Energy Commission pursuant to subsection 170 c. or 170 d. to indemnify and hold harmless the licensee, contractor, and other persons indemnified, as their interest may appear, from public liability in excess of the level of any financial protection required arising from nuclear incidents which arise out of the transportation of source, special nuclear, or byproduct material to or from the site of such activities on vessels of United States registry and which take place (1) in the course of such transportation and (2) outside the territorial limits of the United States or any other nation. In such agreements of indemnification entered into with licensees, the Commission shall, and in such agreements of indemnifications entered into with contractors, the Commission may, require that financial protection be provided and maintained. The amount of financial protection required shall be $15,000,000: *Provided, however,* That the Commission may establish a greater or lesser amount, taking into consideration the amount of liability insurance available from private sources and the cost and terms of such insurance. The aggregate indemnity for all persons indemnified in connection with each such nuclear incident shall not exceed $100,000,000 including the reasonable costs of investigating and settling claims and defending suits for damage: *Provided, however,* That this amount of indemnity shall be reduced by the amount that the financial protection required shall exceed $15,000,000."

The analysis, presented by Mr. PASTORE, is as follows:

AEC ANALYSIS OF BILL TO AMEND SECTION 170 OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY ACT, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Section 1(a) of the draft bill amends subsection 11 q. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended [hereinafter "Act"] by adding to the definition of "nuclear incident" appropriate language broadening the scope of the definition so that it will encompass incidents to be covered by indemnity agreements authorized under new subsection 170 p. As the term "nuclear incident" is used in new subsection 170 p. it shall mean those occurrences which arise out of the transportation of source, special nuclear or byproduct material on vessels of United States registry and which take place in the course of such transportation and outside the territorial limits of the United States or any other nation, i.e., on the high seas or within some international zone not belonging to a particular government or nation, such as Antarctica. The occurrence, of course, in accordance with the present definition of nuclear incident must cause, within or outside the United States, bodily injury, sickness, disease, or death, or loss of or damage to property, or loss of use of property, arising out of or resulting from the radioactive, toxic, explosive, or other hazardous properties of the source, special nuclear, or byproduct material, in order to qualify as a nuclear incident.

While the language of subsection 11 q. is susceptible of the interpretation that the term "nuclear incident" as used in subsection 170 p. includes "extraordinary nuclear occurrence", it is the intent of the Commission that the language shall not be so interpreted. The Commission does not intend to make the concept of "extraordinary nuclear occurrence" and the waiver of defenses provisions applicable to incidents on the high seas.

Section 1(b) amends subsection 11 t. by setting forth those persons who would be indemnified under agreements entered into pursuant to subsection 170 p. The term "person indemnified" in such agreements has a more limited meaning than it does generally under Price-Anderson. As that system operates domestically, any one who may be liable is a person indemnified. With respect to indemnity agreements under subsection 170 p., the term "person indemnified" is to be limited to the person with whom an indemnity agreement is executed (licensee or contractor) and any other person who may be liable for public liability by reason of his activities within the United States (e.g., U.S. cask designer and manufacturer, a stevedore in an American port); or on board the vessel transporting the nuclear material while such vessel is on the high seas (e.g., seaman); or who may be liable in connection with his ownership or operation of such vessel (e.g., the owner or master of the vessel); and any other person who has his principal place of business in the United States or who is the agent or employee of such other person and who may be liable for public liability (e.g., employee of American cask manufacturer who may supervise loading at the foreign port).

Section 1(c) amends subsection 11 w. of the Act which defines the term "public liability". As used in new subsection 170 p. that term will not include certain liabilities. Comparable to the domestic Price-Anderson coverage which does not indemnify for the loss of the transporting vehicle, the indemnity would not cover the vessel transporting the nuclear material and its equipment, fuel and stores—which are covered by hull insurance. Also, the nuclear material being transported and the containers used would not be covered.

Section 2 amends subsection 170 e. by providing for a limitation of liability in the amount of $100 million together with the amount of financial protection (underlying commercial insurance) for nuclear incidents covered by an agreement of indemnification pursuant to a new subsection 170 p. The aggregate liability, however, shall not exceed $115 million.

Section 3 amends subsection 170 f. of the Act. That subsection authorizes the Commission to collect a fee from all persons with whom an indemnification agreement is executed. It gives some guidance as to what fees amounts should be for certain licensed activities. The amendment authorizes the Commission to establish criteria for determining an additional fee for entering into an indemnification agreement under new subsection 170 p.

Section 4 amends section 170 of the Act by adding new subsection 170 p. The new subsection would authorize the Commission until August 1, 1977 to enter into additional agreements of indemnification with it licensees and contractors engaged in activities in the United States covered by an indemnity agreement. The new agreement would indemnify and hold harmless the licensee, contractor, and other persons indemnified, from public liability in excess of the level of financial protection required, arising from nuclear incidents which arise out of the transportation of source, special nuclear or byproduct material to or from the site of such activities on a vessel of United States registry and which take place in the course of such transportation and outside the territorial limits of the United States or any other nation.

Following the pattern of domestic arrangements, with respect to licensees the Commission must, and with respect to contractors the Commission may, require that financial protection be provided. The amount of financial protection to be required would be $15 million (the amount which appears to be presently available). The Commission may establish a greater or lesser amount of financial protection, taking into consideration the amount of liability insurance available from private sources (domestic and foreign), and the cost and terms of such insurance.

The amount of indemnity for persons indemnified in connection with each nuclear incident would be $100 million including the reasonable costs of investigating and settling claims and defending suits for damage.

The amount of indemnity would be reduced by the amount that the financial protection required exceeds $15 million.

S. 3966—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO PROVIDE FOR FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING WITH CITIES

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I introduce today a bill to assist our cities in meeting their mounting needs for revenue by sharing with them a portion of Federal income tax revenues.

Most of our cities face rising costs of traditional services and growing demands for new services. Daily our news media remind us of the problems confronting city governments—problems, indeed, confronting the entire Nation. The majority of Americans living in urban areas witness the needs in their daily lives. Without greater Federal assistance, our cities must resort to sharp increases in property and other taxes and in borrowing or allow their services to decline, hastening the decay that already characterizes too many of our urban areas.

Under my proposal, 2 percent of Federal corporate and individual income taxes would be earmarked for automatic distribution to all incorporated cities with populations of 10,000 or more. The Federal moneys would be apportioned among the cities on a strict per capita basis. Each recipient government would use its share in any way it deems advisable; there would be no strings attached.

According to census figures some 1,899 cities would be eligible, involving nearly half the American population: more than 97 million people. Had the program been in effect during the 1968 fiscal year, slightly more than $2 billion would have been earmarked for distribution. Each city would have received approximately $20 for each of its residents.

There are two cardinal virtues in this approach to aiding our cities. On the one hand, the needed revenues are generated through the Federal tax system which is more equitable and efficient than local tax systems. On the other hand, decisions affecting use of the funds are left to the local governments which have major and immediate responsibilities in providing the public services.

The superiority of the Federal tax system over local systems is widely recognized. Federal income taxes are more progressive, more efficiently collected, and more responsive to general economic changes than are local property and sales taxes.

Property taxes, on which city governments rely most heavily for revenue, are largely unrelated to an individual's ability to pay; they are often regressive. Property taxes do not automatically generate more revenue in proportion to economic growth; yet economic growth almost invariably requires expansion of city services. Consequently, property tax rates must be raised even though the property may be depreciating in value. Federal income taxes, on the other hand, automatically generate revenues in proportion to economic growth without resort to legislative action to change the statutory rates. When property tax rates are raised, serious administrative difficulties generally follow and add to the cost of collection. Tax delinquencies increase as do appeals of assessment. Hence much administrative effort and expense goes into tracking down the delinquencies and in adjudicating the appeals.

Another significant deterrent to raising local taxes is the danger that higher taxes will drive off potential or existing residents and businesses which can locate themselves in other cities or suburbs where rates are lower. The loss of important business and individual taxpayers may well offset any gains from higher taxes. Thus, competition among cities and other taxing jurisdictions often prevents local governments from raising revenue much needed to meet the problems of our cities.

It is my hope that one day we will move to a uniform, progressive tax system in this country that will eliminate the multiple jurisdictions now levying varying amounts of taxes. The present setup necessarily hamstrings businesses operating across jurisdictional boundaries and necessarily affects individuals on an unequal basis.

This maze of tax systems is costly, inefficient, and inequitable. Federal revenue sharing is a major step in the needed transformation. With it must come reform of the Federal tax structure. I await with great interest the reform proposals that the President is expected to place before the Congress by the end of this year. We must assure that the system operates, fairly, and efficiently.

Our cities have increasingly turned to the Federal Government for help. The Federal response has come largely in the form of grant-in-aid programs directed at specific problems and accompanied by Federal requirements and controls. Many of these programs may need reform or redirection, but the purpose of my revenue-sharing plan is to supplement, not supplant, existing efforts.

Revenue sharing will give new flexibility to city governments. It will aid them in filling the gaps between present grant programs. It will permit them to be more responsive to the wishes of the people they represent.

It is imperative that this country upgrade local government. It is necessary both for the mastery of urban problems and for the health of democracy. Much of the frustration of the American people derives from a feeling of inability to influence the decisions that affect their lives. We must at every turn alter the mechanisms of government in order to expand opportunities for citizen participation. We must leave maximum decisionmaking at the local level. To be sure, this will require reform and reorganization of many local governments. I am confident that the urge to participate, exhibited by so many Americans today, will bring the desired changes. Revenue sharing can help make these changes meaningful.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3966) to assist the cities of the United States to meet their needs for increased revenues by sharing with them a portion of the revenues derived from the Federal income tax, introduced by Mr. HARTKE, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

PROTOCOL RELATING TO THE STATUS OF REFUGEES—REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from executive K, 90th Congress, second session, a protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, which was endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1966, and soon thereafter opened for accession by the Secretary General. I ask that the protocol, together with the message from the President, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and that the President's message be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, will the distinguished majority leader explain the procedure involved?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes. This is the ordinary procedure by means of which a protocol is forwarded by the President. Under the Constitution that is his responsibility. It is forwarded with a message which goes to the Senate. Then the protocol and the message is referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations because it comes within that area.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the unanimous-consent request?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The unanimous-consent request is that the protocol, together with the President's message, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations in order to be printed and that the President's message be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. CURTIS. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The message from the President is as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to accession, I transmit herewith the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, which was endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1966 and soon thereafter opened for accession by the Secretary General. Annexed is the text of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, to which the Protocol relates.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report by the Secretary of State with respect to the Protocol.

The Protocol constitutes a comprehensive Bill of Rights for refugees fleeing their country because of persecution on account of their political views, race, religion, nationality, or social ties. The United Nations has designated 1968 as International Year for Human Rights, and on October 11, 1967, I proclaimed the year 1968 to be Human Rights Year in the United States. Foremost among the humanitarian rights which the Protocol provides is the prohibition against expulsion or return of refugees to any country in which they would face persecution. Through a number of other specific guarantees, refugees are to be accorded rights which—taken together—would enable them to cease being refugees, and instead to become self-supporting members of free societies, living under conditions of dignity and self-respect.

It is decidedly in the interest of the United States to promote this United Nations effort to broaden the extension of asylum and status for those fleeing persecution. Given the American heritage of concern for the homeless and persecuted, and our traditional role of leadership in promoting assistance for refugees, accession by the United States to the Protocol would lend conspicuous support to the effort of the United Nations toward attaining the Protocol's objectives everywhere. This impetus would be enhanced by the fact that most refugees in this country already enjoy the protection and rights which the Protocol seeks to secure for refugees in all countries. Thus, United States accession should help advance acceptance of the Protocol and observance of its humane standards by States in which, presently, guarantees and practices relating to protection and other rights for refugees are less liberal than in our own country.

Accession to the Protocol would not impinge adversely upon established practices under existing laws in the United States. State laws are not superseded by the Convention or Protocol. In two instances where divergences between the Convention and United States laws would cause difficulty, appropriate reservations are recommended.

Refugee problems—in their origin and in their resolution—cannot be divorced from the strife, tensions and oppression which are so detrimental to the well-being of nations and peoples. Once refugees secure asylum, it is essential on humanitarian grounds alone that they be assisted. But emergency assistance—in the absence of rights such as those provided in the Protocol—can degenerate into permanent relief, fostering the refugees' human deterioration and permitting abandonment of responsibility by concerned governments. On the other hand, the provision of such rights can lead to just and lasting solutions to refugee problems. Such solutions in turn can help promote the reduction of tensions, the solution of broader issues and the stability of concerned nations.

United States accession to the Protocol would thus constitute a significant and symbolic element in our ceaseless effort to promote everywhere the freedom and dignity of the individual and of nations; and to secure and preserve peace in the world.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Protocol and give its advice and consent to accession, subject to two reservations, as recommended in the report of the Secretary of State.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 1, 1968.*

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, August 1, 1968, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 1166. An act to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety standards for the transportation of natural and other gas by pipelines, and for other purposes; and

S. 2060. An act to amend section 503(f) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to extend for a period for five years the authorization to make appropriations for allocations and grants for the collection and publication of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States.

EXTENSION AND AMENDMENT OF THE RENEGOTIATION ACT OF 1951—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 926

Mr. SPARKMAN (for himself and Mr. PROXMIRE) submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (H.R. 17324) to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT OF INTERNAL REVENUE CODE RELATING TO CERTAIN COSTS INCURRED IN PLANTING AND DEVELOPING CITRUS GROVES—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 927

Mr. CURTIS (for Mr. TOWER) submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 3864) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to require the capitalization of certain costs incurred in planting and developing citrus groves, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

NOTICE OF MOTION TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENT TO DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969

AMENDMENT NO. 928

Mr. SPONG submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL of the standing rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 18037), an act making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes:

On page 16, line 5, before the period insert a colon and the following: "*And provided further,* That the $90,965,000 provided for 'School Assistance in Federally Affected Areas' in the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1968, shall be available for expenditure until September 30, 1968."

Mr. SPONG also submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the House bill 18037, making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

EAST-WEST TRADE

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in that lush period directly following World War II the United States was at the pinnacle of world power. The U.S. dollar was in demand throughout the world. Our gold stockpile was tremendous. The United States was held in the highest admiration in capitals the world over. That is gone with the wind. Now the U.S. dollar is under attack throughout Europe. It has been under severe attack in France during the past 6 months.

That has lagged somewhat, because De Gaulle is having plenty of troubles of his own.

Our gold supply has been depleted. More than half is gone. Except for our satellite country, South Korea, the United States does not have one real friend in Asia. This includes India, where we have saved millions from starvation through our food-for-peace program. Officials of the Government of India are hostile to us and join with the chorus of other Asiatic nations that Yankee aggression in Vietnam has succeeded French colonial aggression in Southeast Asia.

U.S. gold reserves in 1949 approximated $25 billion; now, less than $11 billion. In 1949 foreign claims against our gold approximated $6 billion. On May 1, foreign claims against U.S. gold were nearly six times that at $34 billion. We lack the friendship, even the respect, of heads of state the world over. We need customers for the products of American farms and factories, and to buy handicraft, furs, and so forth from abroad. Trade is likely to lead to friendship and peace. All our allies, including Canada, are enjoying lucrative trade with Communist countries—China, the Soviet Union, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and others.

Very definitely, we Americans should sell to countries behind the Iron Curtain all products of the United States that the people of those countries can eat, drink, smoke or wear, eliminating, of course, strategic materials.

Our trade with the Soviet Union last year amounted to 1.3 percent of our total exports overseas. The only time our exports behind the Iron Curtain to countries such as the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Poland have exceeded 1 percent was in 1964 when we made large wheat shipments to the Soviet Union which, incidentally, were fully paid for in gold. We should welcome buying furs and handicraft from the Soviet Union and other countries and sell to those countries the products of American farms and factories. People do not fight with their customers, as a rule.

The fact is that the Soviet Union maintains extensive trade with our allies. Australia and Canada have sold hundreds of thousands of bushels of wheat to the Soviet Union and have been paid in gold at the world price. In 1966, the Canadians exported more than $52 million in food products alone to the Soviet Union, and more than $110 million in 1967. On the basis of such trade, in recent years, the credit rating of the United Union is definitely very good.

Trade between Eastern and Western Europe is surging ahead by almost 20 percent a year. Witness the following dramatic increases in Western European exports to Eastern Europe from 1961 to 1966: France—$240 to $387 million; Italy—$216 to $357 million; England—$295 to $410 million; West Germany—$473 to $696 million; Spain—$15 to $57 million; Switzerland—$66 to $112 million. During this period U.S. exports to Eastern Europe increased from $135 million to only $198 million.

West European industrialists have established a strong foothold in the fastest growing market in the world for industrial goods—those 350 million people who live under Communist rule from Prague, to Vladivostok. West European firms have built or are building approximately 150 factories throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and more contracts are on the way. Italy's Fiat Co. concluded an $890 million agreement to build a plant in the Soviet Union to produce 730,000 cars a year.

While members of the European Common Market have abolished import restrictions on Eastern European products, we still maintain trade barriers which discriminate against American businessmen, farmers, and working men and women.

Just recently, Mr. President, airline schedules have been instituted between this country and the Soviet Union, with direct jet flights from the Soviet Union to the United States and from the United States to the Soviet Union. This is a step in the right direction.

Of course, we should encourage trade with the various nationalist Communist countries of Europe, which are usually—and often erroneously—referred to as "behind the Iron Curtain." Countries such as Yugoslavia very definitely are not Soviet satellites, and now it is becoming more evident each day that Czechoslovakia will join the others in no longer viewing itself as a Soviet satellite, and Soviet troops will no longer be within its borders. Czechoslovakia has become another nationalist Communist country, definitely outside the Iron Curtain as far as being a Soviet satellite is concerned. This offers opportunities for a very lucrative trade, such as we are beginning to have with Yugoslavia and other such nations.

Increased trade with the West has forced many Communist governments to institute sweeping economic reforms in order to make their products more competitive in both price and quality. Increased trade from America with European Communist nations will also provide a powerful political tool to woo them toward peace, complete independence of Russia, and consumer orientation.

Also, why continue to ignore the existence of Communist China with its population of 700 million? During 1966 and 1967 alone the Chinese paid more than $250 million in gold for almost 150 million bushels of wheat exported to them by Canada. West Germany, England, France, Japan, and Australia, to mention a few of our allies, maintain lucrative trade with Communist China. Communist China is torn by internal dissension and threatened by Soviet aggression along the 6,500-mile border between Russia and China. Its development of intercontinental missiles and production of nuclear weapons has been set back 8 years by the internal conflict going on within its borders. Even the most hawkish American no longer talks of Chinese Communists overrunning Southeast Asia.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 2 minutes to respond to the Senator from Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAYH. I compliment my friend from Ohio for his penetrating analysis of the situation as it is, very much as the young people of today insist that we "tell it as it is," and I think in this case it is long overdue that we do so.

There is not a Member of this body who would not stand up and protest the shipment of strategic goods that could be utilized by any of the Communist countries to increase the hardships that are being confronted by our young men around the world, particularly in Vietnam, but last Thanksgiving I had the opportunity, for the first time, to spend any length of time behind the Iron Curtain, in a visit I made to Poland. I shall remember as long as I live an interview that I had with the No. 1 leader of the Catholic Church in Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski. Cardinal Wyszynski is the leading voice of dissent against the regime in Poland.

He suggested that the people of Poland are looking to the United States of America as the one last hope that they have of someday being able to throw off the yoke of totalitarianism which has been clamped on them.

We sense a restlessness among the people over there. You can sense it by talking with student leaders, businessmen, and people from all walks of life. I think one of the important aspects of the Senator's suggestion about opening the doors of nonstrategic trade opportunity is that to do otherwise, to shut the door, would be to say to the restless people of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other parts of the Communist world, "We are deserting you; we are turning our backs on you."

So I think it is important for those well-meaning opponents of this effort, who at the same time speak out and champion every effort to defeat communism, to recognize that the suggestion of the Senator from Ohio is indeed a valuable tool to accomplish that goal, and I salute him for this effort.

Mr. President, I now ask to be recognized in my own right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana is recognized.

THE NATIONAL GUARD

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I call to the attention of the Senate a fact which I regret very much; namely, that in recent months the National Guard has been subjected to considerable adverse, as well as undeserved criticism and publicity. Those attacking the Guard often have been guilty of disseminating erroneous impressions and even misinformation about its strength, vitality, and operations. It seems to me that it is time that attention be called to the excellent record achieved and the invaluable services performed by the officers and members of this historic American organization.

I have had the opportunity, Mr. President, to attend the National Guard camp that every summer is operated and participated in by our Indiana Guardsmen. Right now, some of them are in Grayling, Mich., undergoing active duty training. It is rigorous. I have had the chance to observe them, and thus can speak with some firsthand information about the esprit de corps, the degree of training, and, indeed, the accomplishments of these young men, not only from Indiana, but from all across this country, who are serving in the National Guard today.

There is no question but that the National Guard today is an integral part of the Nation's first line of defense. Evidence indicates that it has become the strongest, best equipped, and most potent peacetime Ready Reserve Force in our history. In every State, in Puerto Rico, and in the District of Columbia, members and units of the National Guard are constantly being trained for rapid mobilization and effective utilizations as a powerful fighting force whenever and wherever needed.

The National Guard, which currently has a strength of approximately 500,000 officers and men, has reached the highest degree of peacetime mobilization readiness in its 300-year-plus history. The Guard trains under Regular U.S. Army and U.S. Air Force standards. With the modern equipment available today it is sufficiently versatile to meet effectively almost any situation which might arise.

Guardsmen have fought for the freedom of this country in every major conflict since the Revolutionary War except Vietnam. The value of the National Guard contribution to our fighting strength in World War I is evidenced by the fact that 17 Guard divisions served overseas. It is interesting to note that of the eight American divisions rated excellent or superior by the German Supreme Command, six were National Guard divisions.

The Guard's performance in World War II was well summarized in a statement made by the late Robert P. Patterson, then Secretary of War:

> The National Guard took to the field 18 Infantry Divisions—300,000 men. Those State troops doubled the strength of the Army at once, and their presence in the field gave the country a sense that it had pressed the lowest ebb of its weakness.
>
> Nine of these Divisions crossed the Atlantic to Europe and Africa, and nine went to the far reaches of the Pacific.
>
> The soldiers of the Guard fought in every action in which the Army participated from Bataan to Okinawa. They made a brilliant record on every fighting front. They proved once more the value of the trained citizen-soldier.

All Army National Guardsmen train a minimum of 48 weekly armory training periods and 15 days full-time field training each year. The Department of Defense, in order to further increase combat-readiness, has designated Selected Reserve Force units whose members are required to perform an additional 24 training periods annually.

Personnel of these units often devote many hours over and above the minimum requirements, in many cases at personal sacrifice to themselves and their families, in order to be combat-ready to serve where needed.

Members of the Guard have been criticized in some quarters for being draft dodgers, strikebreakers, Boy Scouts, rag-tag soldiers, and even as trigger-happy and scared boys during riot control duty.

Even though Department of Defense strategic planning has not required mobilization of most of these reserve units for Vietnam duty, their very existence plays an important role in the defense of the country. The Guard has consistently and constantly sought to be among the first to be called into combat, and Congress recognized this when it adopted the following provision:

> It is the intent of Congress that whenever Congress shall determine that units and organizations are needed for the National security in excess of those of the regular components of the ground forces and the air forces, the National Guard of the United States, or such parts thereof as may be necessary for a balanced force, shall be ordered into the active military service of the United States and continued therein so long as such necessity exists.

Perhaps it would not be inappropriate to remind ourselves of the unique National-State status of the National Guard. The framers of the Constitution wisely foresaw that States and communities might have need for trained, disciplined, military personnel. They made provision for a system of forces which, although primarily organized and operated by the States, could be called into national service during time of need. Not the least important power delegated to Congress by article I, section 8, was that of invoking this authority as follows:

> To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;
>
> To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

The National Guard in each State is normally under command of the Governor, available immediately in event of disaster or local emergency. This responsiveness to State, as well as National needs does much to tell the story of the Guard. It is the last remaining State law enforcement force available to the Governor after all other State and local agencies have been employed.

To become a member of the National Guard of the United States, the individual must first enlist or be appointed as an officer in the Army or Air National Guard of one of the States. At the time of enlistment or appointment in the National Guard of a State, the individual is also enlisted as a reservist of the U.S. Army or U.S. Air Force, or, in the case of an officer, appointed by the Secretary of the Army or Air Force as a Reserve officer of the Army or Air Force. He thus becomes a member of the National Guard of the United States.

Each individual, therefore, has at all times a dual status. He trains in his State status as a member of the National Guard. When a national emergency is declared and his unit is ordered into active Federal service, he serves as a member of the National Guard of the United States. When relieved from active duty in Federal service, the individual or unit reverts to former status as a part of the National Guard of the State and command passes back to the Governor.

It should be kept in mind that the National Guardsman, whether an officer or enlisted man, must meet the same physical and mental standards for appointment and promotion as a member of the U.S. Army Reserve, since the guardsman is, in his dual status, a reservist as well. These standards are as high and, in some cases, higher, than those set for the active service. It is also important to note that since October 1957 every Army National Guard recruit without prior military service has been required, as a condition of his voluntary enlistment, to take 6 months active duty in basic and technical training at Army training centers. Guardsmen attend Army service schools at all levels, including the Army War College, on an equal basis with their Active Army contemporaries. Records bear out the fact that guardsmen do exceptionally well in these courses. Successful completion of these same courses at an appropriate level is a prerequisite for the promotion of National Guard officers and is not subject to waiver.

Thus, the National Guard provides the Governor a force ready to meet natural emergencies, such as fire, floods, snowstorms, and maintenance of the law, in addition to providing the Nation with a ready reserve force to supplement the Regular Army and Air Force.

In this dual role function, the Guard is often unwittingly subjected to disparaging remarks from those unfamiliar with the nature and character of missions assigned it. Mr. President, from personal observation and from reports to me by responsible officials, I can report that the Indiana National Guardsman has been of tremendous assistance to the victims of tornadoes, floods, and other disasters in my State. Several times every year, Indiana guardsmen respond to calls for assistance. They have fought forest fires, dug through snowdrifts, searched for fugitives and lost children, snatched victims from floodwaters, and restored order in communities torn by violence.

During 1966 alone, Indiana guardsmen were called out on nine separate occasions to assist local authorities. The length of duty varied from 1 to 4 days and involved a variety of missions. During a recent critical period of concern over the likelihood of civil disturbance, a minimum of 1,000 troops were ordered into training in the immediate area involved, and an additional 5,400 troops were placed on a standby alert poised for action should the occasion have demanded. Although actual commitment of troops to quell the threatened disturbance was not required, it is believed that the prompt response to duty and the movement of troops and equipment in the disturbed area acted as a deterrent to what otherwise might have developed into a catastrophe of major proportions.

In sum, Mr. President, it seems to me that the National Guard has played an honorable and vital role in our history.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Salute to Guardsmen," recently published in the Indianapolis News, which expressed the high esteem in which the National Guard is held by many of the people of my State.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SALUTE TO GUARDSMEN

In the aftermath of rioting and civil disorder a lot of people seem to be knocking the country's National Guardsmen—civilian weekend warriors—who are called to our defense when the going gets rough.

Commentators and government officials have called for more riot-control training. Some have said guardsmen don't get such training. These assertions are mistaken, as are those which say the guardsmen don't know how to fight snipers. They fought back with fire and if anyone knows a better way he should say so.

Some have said the guardsmen, youths in their late teens and early 20s, were "scared" when they went into the riot area. Is there any combat soldier who isn't a little scared as he goes into battle?

This country is in sad shape when its young men in National Guard uniforms are criticized for taking prompt and immediate action in riots as ordered by civilian authority.

National guardsmen are the ones the snipers are shooting at when they are called from their civilian pursuits to re-establish law and order. In like fashion, guardsmen fought for the freedom of this country in the Revolutionary War and have fought in every war since except Vietnam.

It is time to stop second-guessing and to salute the Guard for its outstanding service to the nation.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record an article entitled "Pipeline: The Army in Training," written by Sfc. Victor Mulero and Pfc. Mark Cox, and published in the Army Times of April 17, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Pipeline: The Army in Training—Guardsmen "Conquer" Canal Zone Jungles

(By Sfc. Victor Mulero and Pfc. Mark Cox)

Fort Sherman, C.Z.—The dense, murky jungles of the Canal Zone seem impenetrable and forebodding at 6 a.m. Trees, bushes, ferns, and vines fight for a square inch of earth in which to sink their roots in the already thick undergrowth. Insects, snakes, bats, and animals of all descriptions live and thrive in the sweaty ever-dark dampness. With the exception of the narrow gravel road leading down to the Fort San Lorenzo boat landing, the only open space where the rising sun's rays can penetrate is the wide expanse of the Chagres River.

Suddenly, the jungle stillness is broken as men in the wet muddy fatigues and full battle gear emerge from a previously unseen jungle trail, and begin to form into platoons on the narrow road. The Indiana National Guard's 201-man contingent is about to begin another day of jungle training in the Army School of the Americas' jungle operations committee's 55-square-mile patch of green hell, near Fort Sherman.

But these Guardsmen are not Vietnam-bound as are most of the 10,000 U.S. soldiers who pass through the backbreaking two-week jungle survival course here annually. They are preparing for any emergency which might call them to carry out their mission, reinforcing the CZ's defenses.

The jungle operations course teaches the soldier-student how to use the jungle as an ally rather than fear it as a dangerous enemy. By learning how to use the undergrowth as cover, the leaves and trees as shelters, and the animals, insects, and plants as food, the soldier comes to understand how to make the impenetrable penetrable and the seemingly hostile a friend.

The intensely practical exercise consists of 250 hours of instruction of which only six are given in the classroom. These six hours are devoted to the study of jungle wildlife, plants, and how to make shelters, canteens, and map cases from readily available jungle materials.

In the jungle, students go through extensive practical exercises in target detection, obstacle crossing, night operations, patrolling and ambushes, search and destroy missions, village search techniques, and escape and exfiltration. For example, students are presented with the problem of crossing the 300-foot wide Chagres River and one of its smaller tributaries using nothing but their field equipment and some ropes.

The most difficult problem which the students have to overcome, however, is the escape and exfiltration exercise, the final part of the two-week training. The exercise presupposes that the soldiers have just escaped from an enemy prisoner of war camp and are trying to make it back to friendly lines. They have to travel a distance of more than 9000 meters through some of the worse jungle in the CZ and have 24 hours to make it. They are equipped with only a compass, a map, machete, and some water.

Early in the morning groups of four students are dropped off at predestined spots and are given the approximate location of the first of three "partisan points," check points where they can find food and directions to the next point. In between these points aggressor forces constantly try to locate and ambush the students. Students must navigate these jungles undetected and reach all three points to receive full credit for the exercise.

Ninety-seven per cent of the Guardsmen were awarded the Jungle Expert patch, one of the best records set since the jungle operations course was initiated.

Meanwhile in Alaska: "Guerrilla Warfare"—Alaskans End FTX

Camp Carroll, Alaska.—Eskimo Scouts of the Alaska Army National Guard recently completed a two-week training stint at the National Guard training camp here.

Approximately 70 members of the 2d Scout Bn practiced their missions of reconnaissance, surveillance and reporting.

According to a spokesman, if and when the Eskimo scouts resort to fighting it will be as guerrillas, harassing the enemy to delay its advances.

These Army Guard scouts do their fighting with rifles and handguns, the weapons of hunters, which all of them are.

Native to Arctic regions, they have no peers in the north. The majority are Eskimos, some are Aleuts, others are Indian.

PART-TIME VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION TRAINING FOR VETERANS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on July 26, with the signing by President Johnson of H.R. 14954, granting service-disabled veterans the right to take vocational rehabilitation training on a part-time basis, the 90th Congress added new luster to its already impressive record of accomplishment in the field of veterans affairs.

The Senate's constant and continuing concern for the welfare of all of our veterans, but especially of those who have suffered a service-connected disability, assured the passage of this measure from the moment the President proposed it in his special message to Congress last January 30 on America's servicemen and veterans.

It is gratifying to know, however, that one of the principal requests of President Johnson on behalf of "our pride and our strength" was enacted by the Congress to which he entrusted such a large share of his legislative program for our Nation's veterans.

Not only justice and equity, but commonsense required that the 90th Congress held the service-disabled veteran who needs to work to support his family but who also needs the specialized vocational rehabilitation training which the Veterans' Administration can provide.

For too long, as the President noted, and as Congress obviously agreed, our returning disabled veterans were presented with a hard, an unfair, and a cruel choice: either leave their jobs for full-time training in order to qualify for a training allowance, or forgo the training itself.

We have lifted this burden from them at the very modest cost of about $4.2 million in the first year.

In terms of the people involved—about 4,000—H.R. 14954 will never rank very high in our legislative history.

In terms of the principle served, however, help to those who are willing and able to work a little harder at both a job and at vocational rehabilitation training to help themselves and their families, we have scaled new heights and set new standards for the future.

NEED FOR LEGISLATION TO SAFEGUARD THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE EVENT OF PARALYZING STRIKES OR LOCKOUTS

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] is unavoidably absent today, and he has asked me to have printed in the Record in his behalf a statement indicating the need for legislation to safeguard the public interest in the event of paralyzing strikes or lockouts.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Statement by Senator Javits

It now appears likely that this Congress will join its predecessors in failing to act on any permanent legislation to protect the health and safety of the nation when it is threatened by strikes or lockouts.

I have been and remain opposed to compulsory arbitration as either an ad hoc or permanent basis of resolving labor disputes. I do believe, however, that permanent legislation is necessary to fill the lack of any provision in current law to protect the nation from paralyzing strikes or lockouts. That legislation should, I believe, take the form of S. 1456, which I and Senator Kuchel have sponsored. Under S. 1456, if a dispute remains unresolved after a fact-finding board has been appointed and made its recommendations, a federal court could appoint a receiver to take over the facilities affected by the dispute and operate them in the name of the United States to the extent, and only to the extent necessary to protect the public health and safety. During the period of limited seizure, the parties would remain free to settle the dispute on their own terms.

Unfortunately this approach has so far found little favor in either labor or management circles. Moreover, when I offered it as an alternative to the bills proposed by the Administration to resolve the 1963 and 1967 railway labor disputes, it was rejected by a large vote each time.

The experience of 1963 and 1967 has served to strengthen my belief that compulsory arbitration is not a desirable method of resolving labor disputes. We must recognize, nonetheless, that the futility of the efforts of myself and others to resist the use of compulsory arbitration in 1963 and 1967 indicates that ad hoc legislation, designed to deal with specific crises, is unlikely to take any other form.

I strongly believe that the best way to avoid anything tantamount to compulsory arbitration in the future is for Congress to consider, and act upon, in a non-crisis atmosphere, legislation such as S. 1456. In that connection I would be pleased to consider any comments or suggestions anyone from labor or management might have on the bill.

Finally, I would like to make it clear that in the event permanent legislation is again not enacted and another crisis arises I shall do my utmost to seek some method of safeguarding the public interest other than compulsory arbitration or anything similar to it.

USE OF U.S. MAILS FOR DECEPTIVE BUSINESS SOLICITATIONS

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations memorializing Congress with respect to the use of the U.S. mails for deceptive business solicitations.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION H1402

Resolution memorializing the Congress with respect to the use of the United States mails for deceptive business solicitations

Resolved, That the members of Congress be and they are hereby respectfully requested to enact legislation to prohibit persons from using the United States mail for the purpose of deceptive business solicitations.

Resolved, That the secretary of state be and he is hereby authorized to transmit duly certified copies of this resolution to the senators and representatives from Rhode Island in the congress of the United States.

Attest:

AUGUST P. LA FRANCE,
Secretary of State.

GUN CONTROL NOW

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, three decades ago, U.S. Attorney General Homer Cummings, of Connecticut, aptly stated:

> Show me the man who doesn't want his gun registered, and I will show you a man who shouldn't have a gun.

A little over a year ago, the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, appearing before the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, which I chair, issued the sober warning:

> We have a responsibility to the victims of crime and violence, a responsibility to think of the tragedy of sudden death. It is a responsibility to put away childish things—to make the possession and use of firearms a matter undertaken only by serious people who will use them with the restraint and maturity that their dangerous nature deserves—and demands. The time for enactment of legislation is now. It would save hundreds of lives in this country and spare thousands of families the grief and heartbreak that may come from the loss of a husband, a son, a brother or a friend.
>
> It is past time that we wipe out this stain of violence from our land.

These two quotations are part of an eloquent article entitled "Gun Control Now," which appears in the August Reader's Digest by the distinguished author Carl Bakal. Mr. Bakal provides an excellent synthesis of the reasons why this Congress must pass effective gun control legislation now.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bakal's article be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GUN CONTROL NOW

(By Carl Bakal)

This year's tragic assassinations in Memphis and Los Angeles were the most recent and visible symptoms of a strange and peculiarly American plague that has long swept our land—a plague of guns.

Bullets have been aimed at seven and killed four of our 20 Presidents within the past 100 years. Since the turn of the century, guns have brought death to the astonishing total of 750,000 Americans—more than the 627,000 Americans killed in all of our wars. Fatal shootings increased to a record high of 19,185 in 1966, or nearly 54 a day!

The United States is, in fact, virtually an armed camp. Three are an estimated 50 to 200 million privately owned guns in this country today. Over a million guns were imported, and more than two million more were made and sold here, last year. Every other American household, according to a Gallup poll, has at least one gun; in the South, there are guns in two homes out of three. In California, where dealers must report sales of concealable weapons, about three million handguns are recorded with the state Department of Justice.

At the same time, the United States has the dubious distinction of being perhaps the most lawless nation on earth. Since 1960 the nation's crime rate has increased 48 percent, five times faster than our population. That most heinous of crimes—murder—occurred 10,920 times in 1966, more than once every hour of every day. You would be safer in almost any other country. Japan has a murder rate of about a fourth of ours France a seventh and England and Wales only an eighth.

It would be neither fair nor entirely accurate to say that "guns cause crime." But there is ample evidence indicating a causal relationship between the ready availability of the firearms and the importance they assume in crime statistics. Of the 10,920 U.S. murder victims reported in 1966, 60 percent or over 6500, were killed by guns.* By contrast, of the 1469 homicides in Japan in a comparable period, only 37 were by firearms, and of 309 murders in England and Wales, only 29 were by firearms.

LICENSE TO KILL

Where guns can be more easily purchased, they play a greater part in murder. Thus, firearms accounted for 38 percent of such killings in the northeast United States, where there are some gun restrictions, against 66 percent in the South, where there are fewer controls and where handguns are displayed, like shoes, for anybody's buying. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has commented: "A review of the motives for murder suggests that a readily accessible gun enables the perpetrator to kill on impulse."

No other modern nation makes death-dealing weapons so freely and cheaply available. Even the new gun-control bill passed by Congress in June on the day Robert F. Kennedy died was, as President Johnson put it, a "halfway measure." It restricts sales of pistols and revolvers. But virtually anyone old enough to walk into a sporting-goods store and peer across the counter can still buy some sort of gun, with no questions asked. Anyone able to write—a child, ex-convict, drug addict or lunatic—can order some sort of gun by mail and get it.

Only eight states require you to have a license or permit before you buy a handgun: Hawaii, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York and North Carolina—plus some counties of Virginia. Ten states and the District of Columbia specify a waiting or "cooling off" period (48 or 72 hours) between the time you buy the gun and are actually allowed to have it. This ostensibly gives the local constabulary the chance to check the buyer's credentials, or allows the beat of passion prompting a purchase to subside.

Other states prohibit the sale of guns to certain proscribed categories of persons: those "under the heat of passion" (Texas), persons of unsound mind (Pennsylvania), idiots (New Jersey), tramps, drug addicts, drunks, felons, fugitives from justice, etc. But in these cases, judgment of the customer's condition, character and other qualifications is simply left to the gun salesman.

Most states (all but nine) do prohibit the sales or delivery of firearms to those below a certain age. In Utah and Oregon you must be all of 14, and in Rhode Island, 15—still somewhat below the usual minimum age requirement for driving or drinking. Elsewhere, the gun-wielding minimum age usually varies from 16 to 21, although what this ordinarily means is that you have to *look* a certain age. Few dealers are fussy enough to ask to see birth certificates.

Only one state, New York, through its well-known Sullivan Law, requires you to have a license both to purchase and to possess a handgun. The other 49 states permit you to have a pistol without a license as long as you keep your gun at home, or, in 36 states, as long as you carry it about openly. Some of these states impose certain "restraints" on this privilege. In Texas, you can carry a handgun only if you're "traveling." Hence every Texan is a traveler.

In the 28 states in which you need a license to carry a handgun openly or concealed (some states flatly prohibit the carrying of concealed weapons), getting the license is no more complicated or expensive than getting a dog license. Supposedly prerequisite is the absence of a criminal record. However, only a half a dozen states make mandatory the taking of fingerprints, which is the only reliable means of checking for a criminal record. And in fewer than half our states are dealers required to report handgun sales to the police.

License and register

Most serious students of the gun problem are of the firm opinion that all guns, like cars, should be registered. Moreover, they feel that guns should be sold only to persons at least 18 or 21 years old, with permits or licenses.

Obviously, the great majority of guns are owned by honest, law-abiding citizens; mostly they are used for hunting and target-shooting. Effective gun registration would not affect such use.

"If a person has nothing bad in mind," a Treasury Department official told me, "there is no reason in the world why he should object to there being a record of the fact that he has a gun." Or as U.S. Attorney General Homer Cummings put it three decades ago, "Show me the man who doesn't want his gun registered, and I will show you a man who shouldn't have a gun."

If gun buyers are licensed, it follows that gun dealers should be, too. Only 23 states and the District of Columbia now license handgun dealers. Much more care should be taken in the issuance of licenses. The federal licenses required of interstate dealers are given out to anyone, except a convicted felon, who can pay the $1 cost. More rigid screening, comparable to that required for dealers in products such as liquor and drugs and for private investigators, does not seem unreasonable.

With the exception of the United States, most civilized countries make it illegal for anyone to own a firearm without some sort of special permit. In Great Britain, for example, you need a certificate from the local police in order to buy or own a gun. Since few people can give any valid reason for wanting a pistol or revolver, certificates for them are rarely issued. Even the police do not carry guns routinely. Nor do prison guards, or guards employed by armored-car delivery services. The only bodyguards normally armed are those assigned to protect the members of the royal family and the prime minister. Of all the 700,000 arrests in England and Wales over a recent three-year period, only one half of one percent involved firearms. Shootings, by comparison with the U.S. total, are negligible.

---

*In addition, some 2600 persons were accidentally killed by guns and there were 10,400 suicides by gun in 1966.

The British, however, are not entirely without firearms. Britain has 4900 shooting clubs. Valid sportsmen can avail themselves of shotguns and air guns, but they can be used only in specified places.

Similar restrictions on firearms and on ammunition apply in most European countries. In France, all guns must be registered, and possession is rigidly restricted to those with police permits. In addition, users of these guns are allowed only a limited supply of ammunition, and need special permission to buy more. In the Netherlands, no firearms can be lawfully bought or owned without a permit. When applying for a license in Sweden, you must also show that you know how to handle the gun.

Japan prohibits entirely the private ownership of handguns. If you are 18 or over you can buy a shotgun or rifle for hunting, but it must be registered and checked annually by the police. Japanese law also requires that you take three hours of instruction and pass a written examination before being issued a hunting license.

STAIN OF VIOLENCE

Short of outlawing all firearms, what can be done to reduce the danger to all of us?

The bill passed by Congress in June does a few things: It outlaws interstate mail-order sales of handguns to individuals, and limits counter sales to persons 21 or older, who reside in the same state as the dealer. It sets stricter standards for obtaining a dealer's license. But more must be done. In a 1964 address before an American Bar Association panel, U.S. Court of Appeals Judge George Edwards of Detroit outlined three essential steps:

1. The manufacture, sale and possession of handguns suitable for concealed weapons should be prohibited by state and federal law, except where sale and possession are the subject of a permit provided by state law. Such laws should provide for court review of denial.

2. The purchase and possession of rifles or shotguns should be a matter of right for any law-abiding citizens. Such weapons should be registered under state law and sold only on proper identification. The purchase or possession of a rifle or shotgun by a person with a felony record should be made illegal, unless he possess a permit—issued on a showing of a subsequent record of good citizenship of some length.

3. Interstate mail-order sale or delivery of firearms of any kind should be banned by federal law. (As of late June, sentiment appeared to be growing in Congress to prohibit mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns, as well as handguns.)

Such a system would prevent the impulsive purchase of weapons and would enable law-enforcement officers to keep track of who was armed with what in case of a shooting. Gun purchasers would have to show identification and sign their names (in most states today such proof and signature are not required) before they can pick up their guns, after the specified waiting period. Ammunition, it follows, would be sold only to holders of firearms permits, which would be required of present as well as prospective gun owners.

Soon after the assassination of his brother, and again a year ago, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy appeared before the subcommittee on juvenile delinquency, chaired by Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, and pleaded for the regulation of all firearm sales. All citizens should ponder his sober words of warning:

"We have a responsibility to the victims of crime and violence, a responsibility to think of the tragedy of sudden death. It is a responsibility to put away childish things—to make the possession and use of firearms a matter undertaken only by serious people who will use them with the restraint and maturity that their dangerous nature deserves—and demands. The time for enactment of legislation is now. It would save hundreds of lives in this country and spare thousands of families the grief and heartbreak that may come from the loss of a husband, a son, a brother or a friend.

"It is past time that we wipe out this stain of violence from our land."

LEWIS G. ODOM, JR., STAFF DIRECTOR AND GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE, RETURNS TO PRIVATE LAW PRACTICE

Mr. **MUSKIE**. Mr. President, Lewis G. Odom, Jr., recently announced that he is resigning his post as staff director and general counsel of the Banking and Currency Committee to practice law in Montgomery, Ala.

Lewis Odom has a long record of outstanding service to the Senate. He has served as administrative assistant to the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] and, for several years as staff director and general counsel of the Select Committee on Small Business prior to his assumption of duty with the Banking and Currency Committee. During this period of time, his devotion to duty and the excellent manner in which he performed his job have won him many friends and admirers in the Senate.

I regret very much that the committee is losing his services. I am sure he will be missed. However, I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to him for his long and outstanding service to the Senate, and I wish for him every success in his future career.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: BATTLER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. Mr. President, our history has not been without its trials and tribulations. Our freedom was secured by men of great principle deeply committed to a just cause. Our Constitution was forged by the fires of a Revolutionary War. The principles upon which this country is founded have served as shining examples for many an emerging nation.

Right now, another country is fighting for her freedom, her right to make her own decisions. She has seen fit to brave all odds in her struggle for the human rights I'm afraid we have taken for granted. The small country of Czechoslovakia, surrounded by seemingly insurmountable obstacles, has looked to the Western world and made her decision. It is a decision that she has been forced to make alone.

In its resolve for freedom, Czechoslovakia has ratified eight out of the nine Conventions on Human Rights. The Czech people have realized the need for freedom of association and protection of the right to organize. They understand that all women as well as men have the right to stand up and be counted in the political process. Czechoslovakia has not been without its own historical racial difficulties, but it is trying to do something positive about it. It has agreed that the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination is an ideal to which it must add its voice and force.

Mr. President, have we forgotten the principles of our Founding Fathers? Have we lost sight of these in the flurry of modern living? I hope with all my heart that we have not.

I plead with the Senate to pledge itself again to our constitutional ideals—which also have been embodied in constitutions other than our own. I ask that we realize and appreciate those principles that drive men to fight for their freedom.

I ask that the Senate ratify the Human Rights Conventions. If once we have shown the way, let us not permit others to overtake and overshadow us in this day with all its many complexities. Let us join together with all nations and fight for those high principles that bind men together as a nation and a people, man to man.

WILD ANIMALS IN DANGER OF EXTINCTION

Mr. **YARBOROUGH**. Mr. President, the wild animals of this planet have disappeared and are disappearing at an alarming rate. In this century alone man has succeeded in eradicating over 60 species or subspecies of mammals alone, besides innumerable birds and fish.

Some of these animals are threatened by expanding civilization, and all we can do is to try to soften its impact. The greatest number, however, are threatened by nothing more necessary than human vanity; vanity which creates a frantic market for exotic furs, and vanity which rejoices in hunting for no purpose but to kill a rare animal. The great cats in particular are threatened by this double demand to gratify egos, and the slaughter every year by hunters and poachers is appalling.

The Christian Science Monitor on July 19 published a very fine editorial, endorsing my bill, S. 2984, as a means of saving threatened species. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, July 19, 1968]

SAVE THE ENDANGERED SPECIES

Among the important bills which Congress should certainly pass before adjournment is the Endangered Species bill, S. 2984 in the Senate and H.R. 11618 in the House.

For each year of this century, a species or subspecies of mammals has vanished, as well as a number of birds and fish. Conservationists are now deeply concerned for the large spotted cats, such as the cheetah and the Somali leopard, for whose skins there is what the Smithsonian's Dr. S. Dillon Ripley calls an "almost insatiable market." World wildlife authority Dr. Lee Talbot, also of the Smithsonian, says that "for the price of one Somali leopard coat we could send a trained man into the field for a year to learn enough to save hundreds of spotted cats from extinction." The "exotic pet" trade is stripping the jungle of birds, and scientists demand hundreds of thousands of monkeys and apes for laboratory use. The United States furnishes the biggest market for these and other creatures, many of which are in danger of extinction.

The provisions of the Endangered Species bill, curtailing this destructive traffic, are sound, reasonable, and crucially needed. H.R.

11618 has already been cleared for a full vote in the House. Hearings on S. 2984 are scheduled for July 24. Members of Congress, and their constituents back home, should get behind these bills and see that they go through in this session.

PROPOSED REQUIREMENT THAT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES SEEKING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE EXPAND FACILITIES AND TEACHING STAFFS TO ACCOMMODATE A HIGH PERCENTAGE OF "C" STUDENTS

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations memorializing Congress that colleges and universities seeking Federal assistance be required to expand their facilities and teaching staffs to accommodate a high percentage of "C" students.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION H. 1154

Resolution memorializing Congress that colleges and universities seeking Federal assistance be required to expand their facilities and teaching staffs to accommodate a high percentage of "C" students

Whereas, There is a large group of untapped talent in America which falls within the category of the "C" student; and

Whereas, Colleges and universities who seek federal assistance under the various titles ought to be required as a condition of their grant that facilities and teaching staffs will be expanded to accommodate a high percentage of "C" students; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the state of Rhode Island, through its assembly, now requests the congress of the United States to give consideration to this serious situation so that colleges and universities will be required to expand their facilities and teaching staffs to accommodate a higher percentage of "C" students who desire to go to college; and be it further

Resolved, That the senators and representatives from Rhode Island in said congress be and they are hereby earnestly requested to use concerted effort to bring about this greatly-needed assistance to "C" students desiring to go to college; and the secretary of state is hereby authorized to transmit duly certified copies of this resolution to the senators and representatives from Rhode Island in said congress:

Attest:

AUGUST P. LA FRANCE,
Secretary of State.

UNIFORM AND HIGHER DISCOUNT RATE ESSENTIAL FOR REAL PROGRESS IN CUTTING SPENDING

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on Tuesday, the Joint Economic Committee began the first of 3 days of hearings on the question of consistent interest rate and discounting procedures in the analysis of public expenditures. These sessions climax the series of hearings which the committee has held dealing with questions of interest rate policy and discounting procedures in the various branches of the Federal Government.

The earlier hearings on this matter involved both the testimony of professional economists on the appropriate interest rate concept and its current size and a report by the Comptroller General's office on actual discounting and interest rate policy in the agencies. Witnesses at these hearings agreed on a number of propositions about discounting policy. Among them are the following:

First. Interest rates to be used in evaluating public expenditures should reflect the opportunity cost of the funds utilized by the project.

Second. The use of an interest rate of 3¼ percent in evaluating public investments is too low and results in serious misallocation of the Nation's resources. Moreover, under current conditions, it is also inflationary.

Third. The appropriate interest rate to be used in evaluating current public expenditures should not be less than the current yield on long-term Government securities.

Fourth. Currently, there is substantial disparity among agencies in the application of discounting procedures and in interest rate policy.

Over past years, the Joint Economic Committee has had a deep interest in the establishment of sound analysis and budgetary policies in the Federal Government. It, therefore, welcomed and strongly supported the President's 1965 Executive order which established a planning-programing-budgeting system within all agencies of the Federal Government. Since that time, the rapidly increasing demands on the Federal budget make it even more essential that we develop a meaningful set of techniques by which to measure the economic worth of alternative Government expenditures.

To focus on questions of the relative effectiveness of alternative Federal spending programs is particularly pertinent in this period of congressional budget cutting. It is only through competent benefit-cost and cost-effectiveness analysis that Congress can rationally choose among alternatives rather than apply the crude and wasteful "meat ax" to the Federal budget.

In an attempt to assist the effort of analysts to evaluate alternative public investments, the Joint Economic Committee is conducting a comprehensive study of planning-programing-budgeting concepts and techniques. The objectives of this study are to establish communication among agency people and Congress on the progress, problems, and potential of applying economic criteria to public expenditures, to focus the talents and interests of economists and other exports outside Government on the problems of measuring social benefits and costs, and finally, to assist the Congress in developing a sound response to improved analysis in the agencies.

Tuesday, the committee heard from three witnesses who are knowledgeable in questions pertaining to interest rate and discounting policies, especially as they apply to benefit-cost analysis in the water resources agencies. Kenneth Holum, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, presented the statement prepared by Secretary Udall as chairman of the Water Resources Council. With Assistant Secretary Holum was Dr. Henry Caulfield, executive director of the Water Resources Council, who discussed some of the conceptual issues of interest-rate policy and the rationale supporting the Council's proposed revision of the interest-rate regulation.

In addition, Mr. Fred Hoffman, Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget, described for us the Bureau's position on the interest-rate question and advised us of the efforts of the Bureau in assisting the agencies to adopt appropriate discounting procedures.

Wednesday, the committee heard the testimony of two prominent academic economists on the interest-rate question. Professors Eckstein and Harberger provided us with the best advice of the economics profession on the appropriate interest-rate concept, the procedures for its calculation on an on-going basis, and their best estimates of the current rate.

TRADE AND CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL ABUSES

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, some 5 million Americans, more than 10,000 of them in my State, are signed up for correspondence and trade courses through private vocational schools. Some of these schools are excellent, but a great many others are engaged in what a Minnesota high school guidance counselor has called the last legalized con game in America.

Such schools, while advertising that their graduates receive top salaries as medical technicians, heavy equipment operators, computer programers, and the like, frequently are more concerned about profits than education and offer their students inadequate facilities and training, and misinformation about job opportunities.

All too frequently, the prospective student has no way to find out in advance whether a particular correspondence or trade school will give him the marketable skill which he seeks. Such advertising phrases as "accredited" and "GI approved" are not necessarily reliable guides for students seeking such training.

In an excellent series of articles published recently in the Minneapolis Tribune, Mark Wyman has examined in detail this "legalized con game" and has offered some imaginative suggestions for State and Federal regulation that would provide the public with protection. I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Tribune,
July 10, 1968]

MANY VICTIMIZED BY MISLEADING SCHOOL PITCHES

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of four articles on the effectiveness and sales practices of private trade and correspondence schools in Minnesota.)

(By Mark Wyman)

The salesman's story sounded exciting that evening to Jack Powers—a chance to become a highly-paid heavy-equipment operator, with plentiful jobs, a new career.

So exciting that when salesman Helmer Myhre of Mahtomedi left an hour later, he had collected Power's check for $200 and his signature on a contract for Associated School, Inc.

The $900 course was to include 60 correspondence lessons and two weeks' training in Texas.

But Powers, a factory worker, began to have second thoughts.

Encouraged by his wife—the couple live with their two small children in a modest suburban home—he called Associated General Contractors (AGC) the next day.

AGC's advice: Get out! It called the course worthless and said equipment operator jobs were scarce, wages far below those suggested by Myhre.

Powers got out—but the $200 was "nonrefundable."

The continued existence of such short-term schools in Minnesota prompted the AGC and the Operating Engineers union to issue a joint statement warning that a graduate "would be hired on the same basis as a totally inexperienced applicant."

Both groups recognize only one training program, the 21-month heavy-equipment course at the area vocational-technical school in Staples, Minn.

Powers' case is fairly common, according to high school counselors, lawyers and state officials who see the victims of overselling by private trade and correspondence schools.

"One of the problems is the residents of Minnesota don't know what's going on," said Mrs. Tobey Lapakko of St. Paul, president of the Minnesota Consumers League.

"This is the last legalized 'con game' in America," said Dr. Gerald Thompson, a St. Louis Park High School counselor who has led a long battle against such schools through the American School Counselor Association (ASCA).

At the heart of the ASCA's opposition is the fact that victims frequently are people grasping for a way out of poverty: "They prey on the less-than-average, the lower-motivated, as the way to transcend their difficulties," said Lorsen Benson of Hopkins High School.

But the counselors emphasize that there are many excellent private vocational schools, and they point specifically to such well-established institutions as Dunwoody Institute, Northwestern TV and Electronics Institute, Brown Institute and the traditional business colleges located in several Minnesota cities.

From some other schools, however, counselors collect such "horror stories" as:

The color-blind youth who was sold a correspondence course in color-coding for electrical wiring.

The highschool girl, weighing 160 pounds, recruited by a private airline stewardess school in Missouri although it knew she could never meet airline requirements.

The retarded boy who was sold a broadcast course by a Milwaukee, Wis., school although he could not read the application test paragraphs without the salesman's help.

The retarded child who was sold an art instruction course which was available free at a local school.

The prospective student has few guidelines.

With few exceptions, private correspondence schools and trade schools are "accredited," offer "diplomas," have "free lifetime placement service," are "approved by the U.S. Office of Education" and are "licensed by the State of Minnesota." Many also carry the "GI approved" label.

Some 10,000 Minnesotans—and some 5 million Americans—are signed up for correspondence work through private schools. In Minnesota another 3,000 people are enrolled in private trade schools.

The schools are big business, but despite this state regulation in the field has been slow in developing.

In 1943, when "Rosy the Riveter" schools were springing up along University Av., Minnesota enacted its first trade school law.

"It had a large hole," recalls one veteran of those days. "No one ever passed judgment on whether the course would lead to a job."

In 1968 this problem remains: Will the student get what he sought when he signed up—a marketable skill, or prerequisites for a license or for further training or schooling?

"Learn how you can earn a bachelor of laws degree at home in your spare time," advertises La Salle Extension University of Chicago, Ill., on matchbook covers throughout the region.

In an affidavit filed with the Hennepin County District Court in November, Legal Aid Society attorney Michael Fridgen told how he heard La Salle salesman Stanley J. Piersale answer "Yes" when asked whether a graduate of the correspondence course could practice law in Minnesota.

Pressed on the point, Piersale said the graduate could go to Montana, pass the bar exam there and return to Minnesota and take the test under reciprocity agreement.

But William Lloyd, director of bar admissions for the Minnesota State Board of Law Examiners, said a La Salle graduate cannot take the bar exam in Minnesota—and can't do so in 48 states.

Only California and Montana permit correspondence school law graduates to take their bar exams, he said. But an applicant would need five years' residence there before trying in Minnesota—and then would still have to show that he had three years of college work.

Which is a bit more complicated than La Salle indicates.

But is anyone fooled?

La Salle, the American School, International Correspondence Schools, the Academy for Home Study and others offer "High School at Home" in Minnesota.

American's pamphlets, for example, says "Completion of our High School course makes you a 'High School Graduate' in training, and entitles you to offer yourself as such for positions requiring that qualification." Salesman Arthur Westphal assured a caller this was true.

But high school graduation in Minnesota is allowed only through a local high school—and the only correspondence courses which can be applied are those taken through the University of Minnesota Extension Division, reported Edmund C. Lee, director of secondary education for the State Department of Education.

High school dropouts studying in private correspondence courses conceivably could enter college in Minnesota by passing a high school equivalency test—but if they took acceptable university extension work they could enter college directly without taking the test.

Salesmen who oversell a school's offerings get much of the criticism leveled at the field.

James A. Forcier, Coon Rapids, and Walter J. Smith, Becker, Minn., won more than $800 apiece in out-of-court settlements in 1965 from Truck Driver Training School, Inc., after charging that salesman Helmer Myhre and John P. Sheeran had lied about graduates' job opportunities, salaries and placement service help.

Their suit in Hennepin County District Court said Sheeran once told them during their three-week training, "The companies back home are screaming for you."

When they returned to Minneapolis he told them, "Get out there and start hitting those truckers!"

And after months of fruitless job hunting, they found that the school's placement service consisted of a salesman paging through a telephone directory and commenting, "Well, let's see where we will send you today."

[From the Minneapolis Tribune, July 11, 1968]

IN TWIN CITIES HOSPITALS—TECHNICIAN DIPLOMA NO JOB ASSURANCE

(By Mark Wyman)

The young Minneapolis woman can't understand it.

Once told there was a shortage of medical laboratory technicians, she now finds after a year of training that no Twin Cities hospital will hire her for such work.

"I wasted a whole year," she said sadly. "I can't get a job here. I'll have to start all over."

She signed up in 1967 for medical laboratory technician training at the Institute of Medical Technique, 1900 La Salle Ave.

But she didn't learn until later that the school—along with Minneapolis' three other private medical technician schools—is not accepted by any major medical group—not by the State Medical Association, the American Society of Clinical Pathologists (ASCP) or the Minnesota Society of Medical Technologists.

This means that almost no graduates of the schools can get medical laboratory technician jobs in the Twin Cities. And they occasionally are told by the local pathologists (as one graduate of Professional Business Institute was), "I wouldn't hire you as a dishwasher."

The schools train medical technicians, medical and dental assistants and receptionists and X-ray technicians—all fields with large shortages in Minnesota.

Because of these shortages, the graduates get jobs quickly in rural areas, and frequently in the Twin Cities in non-technician positions.

The fact that rural clinics have many graduates of the schools led Dr. Seymour Handler of North Memorial Hospital, Robbinsdale, a pathologist concerned with the schools' training, to ask friends, "If I'm ever in an accident out in the country, don't give me a blood transfusion."

The schools continue to exist "because of a failure of public institutions to train" enough medical technicians, charged Dr. D. M. Larson of the personnel department at the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minn.

S. L. Troup, president of Professional Business Institute (PBI), 1402 W. Lake St., noted the pathologists' criticisms and answer, "They frown on us but hire our graduates."

The four schools—PBI, the Institute of Medical Technique, Medical Institute of Minnesota, 2309 Nicollet Av., and the Northwest Institute of Medical Laboratory Technique, 3408 E. Lake St.—all have been inspected by the State Department of Education in recent years.

They have never received an over-all favorable report—including a 1967 inspection of the Institute of Medical Technique by Handler. Because of that inspection the institute is now facing removal of its approval for veterans' training.

Edwin A. Hetland is owner of the Institute.

Asked Wednesday about the state's attempt to remove veterans' training approval, Hetland said, "I never heard of it."

He said the pathologists were "hostile" to him and should not have been picked to inspect the institute.

Hetland gave names of six recent graduates who, he said, were working as medical technicians in the Twin Cities area. A brief check indicated that one is working as a receptionist in a doctor's office, one as a research assistant in an animal laboratory, two as medical secretaries, and the other two as laboratory technicians.

The medical technician field is not the only area with a running feud between the professionals and the private training schools.

Airline officials, for example, admit that they hire graduates of such private schools as McConnell Airline School, 1030 Nicollet Av.; Humboldt Institute, 2201 Blaisdell Av.; Gale Institute, 3006 Hennepin Av., and Weaver Airline Personnel School, Inc., Kansas City, Mo.

But an official of the Air Transport Association, Washington, D.C., cautioned that "most of the airlines have their own standards and requirements and prefer to train their own employes."

Locally, Northwest and North Central Airlines spokesmen said previous private school training does not reduce a new employe's training time, nor does it give her any advantage over other applicants.

"We feel this training makes a girl a better applicant," a McConnell spokesman said.

"We tell the girls when they call from McConnell, 'You'll get just as much consideration as any girl off the street,' " said one Northwest Airlines representative.

The medical technician feud is stronger than the airline debate, however.

Pathologists point to the private schools' advertising as another reason for their opposition: The schools list extensive "accreditation" by groups not recognized by the AMA, ASCP, or similar major medical organizations.

The Institute of Medical Technique's catalog asks, "If you plan to enter a medical technician school why not attend the finest?"

It calls itself "one of the leading schools of its kind in the United States. The equipment and facilities of the school are the finest."

(In January 1956 the school agreed—under threat of a court suit filed by the Minnesota attorney general—to drop the claims that the school has "the finest and newest scientific instruments" and that it "contains a medical library."

Pathologists' inspections for the State Department of Education have turned up these complaints: no clinical training for students, inadequately-trained staff (including chiropractors at times), poor training procedures, lack of screening of applicants, over-emphasis on unnecessary areas.

PBI's Troup argues that clinical affiliation is not needed because students practice exams, etc., on each other.

For comparison, Dr. Charles W. Jarvis, a pathologist at Children's Hospital in St. Paul, suggests that the one-year Minnesota Laboratory Assistant (MLA) program be used.

The MLA program, set up by the ASCP and the Minnesota Society of Medical Technologists, is offered free at four area vocational-technical schools: St. Paul, Alexandria, Hibbing and Duluth, St. Mary's Junior College in Minneapolis offers a two-year MLA course which Jarvis singled out for praise.

"The MLA graduates know what they know—but they also know what they *don't* know," Jarvis stressed. "They don't go to a hospital in Podunkville and think they can do just anything."

MLA students, he emphasized, are drawn from the upper half of their high school graduating class and spend six months in class work and six months in a hospital laboratory, closely supervised by medical technologists—at a ratio of five students for each full-time laboratory instructor.

The pathologists occasionally find some points to praise in the private medical technique schools. Jarvis said that other schools should be urged to upgrade as much as has the Medical Institute of Minnesota. He noted that the school "makes no claim in print to be turning out a registered medical technician."

Others have noted upgrading at PBI.

L. A. Moen, Medical Institute of Minnesota director, said the school is in the process of obtaining clinical affiliation.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune, July 12, 1968]

Top Jobs Used as Lures—But Training May Not Assure Them

(By Mark Wyman)

What seemed ideal about the course to 17-year-old Richard Kreutz was that he could study at his farm home for 36 lessons, only requiring six weeks of formal training at the school to become a computer programmer.

And Jule Blum, salesman for Midwest Automation Training-Kansas City, Inc., held out the prospect that after finishing training, Richard could walk right into a programming job at the IBM Corp. plant in nearby Rochester, Minn.

"He gave me a test—it was supposed to be 30 minutes, I did it in 12," Richard said. "I was average. He said I would be acceptable."

The contract would have to be signed that night, Blum emphasized repeatedly during his two-hour visit to the farm on the rolling hills near Douglas, Minn.

"He was talking pretty fast," recalled Richard's mother—but she finally wrote Blum a registration fee check of $25 although "he was so nervous" about getting it done immediately.

The rest of the $800 tuition was to come from insurance funds left by Richard's late father.

Someone suggested that the family first check with IBM. And that was the end of that.

IBM officials turned thumbs-down on the course, and Richard got out, aided by State Sen. Harold G. Krieger of Rochester.

"A mushrooming, talked-about glamour industry is bound to attract opportunists" admitted a data processing teacher writing on private computer schools in a professional journal recently.

"The computer field is 'hot' right now," agreed Earle A. Obermeyer, guidance director at John Marshall High School in Rochester.

Students hear computer jobs described only in glowing terms.

"Industry can't get enough programmers. You can get in on the ground floor," said Stephen Child, director of Career Training Institute, 84 S. 6th St., while talking to a high school graduate recently.

"After two years of work, you'd be earning $10,000," he added. He assured that student that the aptitude test wasn't much—"We don't count the ones you don't finish, and only one-fourth of the wrong ones."

Computer industry officials interviewed agree that training is provided by the mass of computer schools springing up—but they added that it was often somewhat less than that described in the advertising which lured the student.

"These schools misrepresent," said Robert K. Patterson, Univac employment manager. Along with spokesmen from Control Data Corp. and Honeywell Inc., he agreed that such schools generally turn out computer operators or technicians—but not programmers.

Salesmen receive much of the criticism, however.

"The problem with these salesmen is that they'll grab at anything," said Merwin Chambers, Willmar, Minn., high school counselor.

Another Willmar counselor, Herbert Dutt, told of a computer school salesman trying to sign up a boy "who could no more catch on to data processing than the man in the moon."

"These schools are inclined not to be selective," agreed Mark D. Wanvig, a personnel chief for Honeywell.

Harriet Loge of Willmar said she became suspicious last spring when a salesman "didn't want me to talk to my high school counselor" before signing up for a programming course. The salesman represented Automation Machine Training Center, Inc., Kansas City, Mo.

"He said, 'Why? Is there some question? Haven't I explained it well'?" Miss Loge recalled.

Salesmen are quiet on one point that might interest prospective students: their organizations' experiences with the Federal Trade Commission (FTC).

Both Midwest Automation and Electronic Computer Programming Institute (ECPI), for example, have signed FTC consent orders promising to stop advertising that their graduates can go on to top salaries quickly.

ECPI's branch in Atlanta, Ga., agreed to stop accepting students who had taken its aptitude tests without supervision and to stop "possible misrepresentation" of job opportunities in the field.

Midwest Automation, the FTC said, wrongly advertising that its facilities were adequate for the training offered and that its placement service had obtained jobs for graduates.

The school "had no graduates," at that time, the FTC said.

Midwest Automation also consented not to imply that IBM accredits, approves or sponsors its training.

This point is a growing concern to IBM, and an IBM spokesman said last week that the firm has obtained four consent decrees in two years from computer schools agreeing to stop using IBM so conspicuously in their advertising.

Industry officials interviewed generally agreed computer schools' training is often oversold unless the school is tied to a computer firm—such as Control Data Institute—or has traditional connections with such firms, such as Brown Institute.

Students of the schools also often find that the "programming" is a lure—but that keypunch and operator training is actually provided.

"They told how there were four or five jobs for every graduate," said Kathy Klee, 1517 E. 88th St., Bloomington, who took ECPI's 15-week, $1,500 course and got a key-punch job. "It's not true."

"Some of them did get programmer jobs, but only the top people," added Robert Pettipiece, 8511 Columbus Av., Bloomington. "It's not a programmer-oriented school."

Bill Morga, assistant director of ECPI's Minneapolis branch at 512 Nicollet Av., stressed that the school turns out "programmer trainees."

"Our graduates are going to work, right out in the programmer fields," he added. Half of the firms hire those with programmer training as operators—"Then they move up," he said.

Some schools get caught when they cross the line beyond legitimate puffery.

Ten former students of Gale Institute, 3006 Hennepin Av., filed suit and won out-of-court settlements of about $600 apiece in 1965 after charging that Gale salesmen told them the courses would qualify them for jobs.

This was not true, they discovered later.

After this encounter Gale dropped such short courses as "jet mechanics" and "heavy equipment operation."

Since 1965 each Gale student must sign a certificate stating "I have not been promised a job," reported James Lushine, Gale's general manager.

"Before that, there were misunderstandings," Lushine admitted.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune July 13, 1968]

Legal Control Weak—Few Guides Exist on Trade Schools

(By Mark Wyman)

He had lost $150 when a fraudulent computer training school folded in 1965, and Jim Somers was trying to avoid a second misstep.

But the Faribault, Minn., youth could find no agency or official who would talk openly with him on what to watch for in specific trade schools.

"There was no place I could go," recalls Somers, now living at 2217 Portland Av.

So he followed the computer programming advertisements to a $1,080 course at Electronic Computer Programming Institute, 512 Nicollet Av. He wanted to be a programmer—as the school implied he would—but soon he realized that without college training he would qualify only for a lower-skill job as a computer operator or key punch operator.

Somers is not alone in discovering that there are few guides for those seeking training in a private correspondence or trade school.

"For a while we used to tell students to go down and check with the Better Business Bureau," explained Earle A. Obermeyer, guidance director at John Marshall High School, Rochester, Minn. "But that didn't do any good."

(Observers note that the bureau's report on one of Minnesota's worst private schools simply questions two statements made by salesmen and adds that it has received no complaints on the school.

(A bureau official, questioned on this point, said that often complaints do not reach his office but are taken care of by the school to avoid getting on the bureau's list.)

"We can't go anymore by the fact that they're GI-approved," added James Rosasco, counseling director for Red Wing, Minn., High School, "because many of the schools we have trouble with are GI-approved."

This occurs, officials said, because the GI protection applies only to veterans, not the public. Schools may apply different rules on refunds and training to nonveterans.

Such problems do not occur, counselors stressed, in such reliable schools as Dunwoody Institute, Brown Institute, Northwestern TV and Electronics Institute, and the traditional business colleges.

Counselors channel their complaints to Charles Shubat, supervisor of private trade schools for the State Department of Education who is one of Minnesota's most knowledgeable officials in the field, and to Atty. Gen. Douglas Head.

But these officials are hampered by weak legislation—a monument to the powerful private trade school lobby, which includes both good and bad schools.

Leading the fight against stronger controls have been such persons as State Sen. Donald O. Wright, one of the legislature's most powerful men, and lobbyist Peter Popovich.

Irving Brand, former Hennepin County district judge, now is defending the institute of Medical Technique in its fight to avoid losing approval for veteran's training. In 1963 the institute was represented by a South St. Paul attorney named Harold LeVander, whose presence today in the governor's chair has not cheered advocates of stronger regulation.

(Critics concede, however, that a lawyer's representation of a client does not necessarily imply personal approval.)

Despite the strength of the private trade school lobby, some observers are optimistic about chances for tighter regulation in the 1969 legislative session.

Commissioner of Education Duane Mattheis said he will seek a joint effort with the attorney general for a stronger bill next year. They did not work together in the 1967 session, but Mattheis admits now that his attempt to push a compromise bill with the private schools was a failure.

Advocates of stronger legislation are seeking such regulations as these, all aimed at schools showing more concern for financial gain than for students' education.

Course content should be examined by the State Department of Education, with an eye to determining whether it can provide the training sought by the student.

The fee schedule should include a maximum registration fee—such as $50—and a refund policy returning all but $25 to the student who drops out within a few weeks after signing up. This would soften effects of the salesman's "quick sell."

Adequate screening is needed to "make reasonably certain," as the Wisconsin law states, "that the student has the ability to profit" from the course.

Counselors criticize many schools' "entry" examinations, especially the "Draw Me" test given by Art Instruction Schools, 500 S. 4th St. Such tests appeal to a child's ego and attract many who cannot benefit from the course, several counselors charged.

But President Roy Stuart said 20 per cent of those taking the test fail, and "even on a single drawing, we can tell whether they have art talent."

Regarding criticism that the test is merely copying, Stuart answered, "That's what art is: If you're drawing something you're copying it."

Others look to effective accreditation as a possible road to regulation.

"Accreditation means that a school has met certain rigid requirements," states the National Home Study Council (NHSC) the nation's major private correspondence school group.

But critics charge that the NHSC and other organizations are merely accrediting their own members.

"It means nothing," charged Loren Benson, Hopkins High School counselor. "The good schools and the bad schools are both listed."

With all its high-sounding phrases, the NHSC recently "accredited" Midwest Automation Training, Kansas City, Mo. On May 2, 1967, the school signed a Federal Trade Commission consent order promising to drop dishonest advertising.

Why do unethical schools continue to thrive? Observers agree that many victims are embarrassed to reveal their mistakes, or are afraid of a lawsuit if they try to escape a contract.

This is an unrealistic fear, said Joseph Summers, St. Paul city attorney, who handled cases against fraudulent schools while serving as an assistant state attorney general from 1962–65.

He said he does not recall any school going to court to collect money from a student who broke a contract; others active in the field give an identical report.

"That's symptomatic of frauds—they don't do that," Summers said.

The reason: to avoid the publicity a trial would generate. It's safer to lose just one student's tuition by dropping the matter.

George Roehrdanz, a Minneapolis attorney, said, "I've had 50 cases since 1961" of students suing private schools over unfulfilled promises, "and not one has gone to court—all were out-of-court settlements by the schools."

Because costs are "prohibitive" for out-of-state schools to come to Minnesota to defend themselves, the state resident is in a strong position to sue them for dishonest advertising, attorneys said.

But most victims of fraudulent trade schools, of overzealous salesmen, of dishonest advertising do not know this. And it was their own interest in self-improvement which led them to sign on the dotted line and become the next victim.

"The pathetic part of this whole thing is that the people are ambitious people—people attempting to improve themselves," said Adolph Tobler, business representative of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly and a longtime proponent of stronger regulation.

RETIREMENT OF LEWIS G. ODOM, JR.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to salute Mr. Lewis G. Odom, Jr., the staff director and general counsel of the Committee on Banking and Currency, who has announced that he is departing from Washington to return to his native Alabama and to the pursuit of his profession, the law.

Alabama's gain will be the Senate's loss, for Mr. Odom has proved to be an outstanding public servant in his present position and, before that, as staff director and general counsel for the Select Committee on Small Business and as administrative assistant to the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN]. As a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, I have benefited greatly from my association with Mr. Odom. I shall miss him, as will his host of friends in Washington. I wish him well in his law practice back in Montgomery.

WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITIES SELECT DISTINGUISHED TEACHERS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the critical shortage of teachers in the Nation has reached shocking proportions. Some ascribe this deficiency of manpower to the fact that our Nation's teachers rarely are given the recognition that they deserve. All too often our educators are taken for granted and not compensated sufficiently for their efforts.

Today I am pleased to extend my congratulations to nine Wisconsin State University professors selected as "1968 Distinguished Teachers."

This year the awards by the Johnson Foundation, of Racine, Wis., went to Miss Vera Moss, River Falls; Oliver Andrews, Stevens Point; Dr. Evelyn Rimel, Stout State; Dr. Egal Feldman, Superior; and Dr. Raymond E. Light, Whitewater. In addition, the Eugene W. and Marjorie P. Murphy Foundation made awards to Dr. Edward Blackorby, Eau Claire; Dr. Don Wille, La Crosse; Dr. Roberto Nelson, Oshkosh; and Dr. Thomas Lundeen, Platteville.

Recently, the achievements of these nine educators were spelled out in the Wisconsin State Universities Report. I think that Senators would enjoy learning about these Wisconsin scholars. Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent that the article appearing in the July issue of this publication be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE UNIVERSITIES SELECT DISTINGUISHED TEACHERS

Special distinction and honor have come to nine Wisconsin State University professors recently selected as 1968 Distinguished Teachers. Cited for excellence in teaching and chosen individually by each State University, the six men and three women will each receive $500.

This is the first year that nine Distinguished Teachers were chosen in the WSU system. Originally the award was established by the Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, as an alternate year award for each State University. This year, in addition to five awards presented by the Johnson Foundation, four more awards were made possible by the Eugene W. and Marjorie P. Murphy foundation. Mr. Murphy is president of the WSU Board of Regents.

Those receiving Murphy Foundation awards include Dr. Edward Blackorby, Eau Claire; Dr. Don Wille, La Crosse; Dr. Roberta Nelson, Oshkosh; and Dr. Thomas Lundeen, Platteville. Johnson Foundation awards went to Miss Vera Moss, River Falls; Oliver Andrews, Stevens Point; Dr. Evelyn Rimel, Stout State; Dr. Egal Feldman, Superior; and Dr. Raymond E. Light, Whitewater.

Dr. Blackorby, professor of history at WSU-Eau Claire, has been on the faculty there for 10 years. An author of a book and numerous articles and papers, Dr. Blackorby was selected by ballot by members of the last three graduating classes at Eau Claire.

Dr. Wille, associate professor of health-recreation-physical education, has been a WSU-La Crosse faculty member for 15 years. He has published articles and given more than 1,000 lectures on health education. Dr. Wille was selected by vote of the student body.

Prof. Nelson, chairman of the department of management in the WSU-Oshkosh School of Business Administration, is a four year staff member. Selected by an all-university committee, she has done extensive research, publishing and consulting in the area of industrial relations and related fields.

Dr. Lundeen, professor of history, has been at WSU-Platteville since 1958. He was chosen from 13 candidates by a vote of the student body.

Miss Moss, professor of English, was selected by members of the classes of 1968, 1965 and 1963. She was one of 120 different teachers nominated for the award and has been on the WSU-River Falls faculty for 36 years.

Mr. Andrews, associate professor of chemistry, has been at WSU-Stevens Point for eight years. He recently conducted an experiment on teaching chemistry principles to kindergarten students and was cited for success both in and out of the classroom. He was selected by an all-university committee.

Dr. Rimel, professor of education and psychology at Stout, was also chosen by an all-university committee. She has been on the faculty since 1961 and is listed in Who's Who of American Women, Who's Who in Education, and the Academy of Science.

Dr. Feldman, professor of history, has been at WSU-Superior for two years. His research papers have had wide publication and he is currently writing a book. He was chosen by an all-university committee.

Dr. Light, professor of music, is also director of the University Concert Choir at WSU-Whitewater. Coordinator of music education for the University and clinician for elementary music education workshops, he has worked on the faculty there for 14 years. He was chosen by a faculty-student committee.

Based on national studies and conferences, the proposal was initiated at WSU-O by Jarvis E. Bush, university director of the division of composition and survey. Approval was granted by the department of English at large, the department's composition committee, the university teacher education council, curriculum committee, and WSU-O President Roger E. Guiles.

SUMMER IN THE PARKS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, my friends and neighbors from the Woodrow Wilson High School neighborhood have been reporting enthusiastically about the new burst of special summer programs in the area, some at Deal and Wilson, some on the grounds of Fort Reno Park.

One of the most exciting of these seems to be the summer in the parks program developed by the National Park Service, National Capital region. It is taking place in 16 other areas of the city, besides Fort Reno.

One unusual feature of this citywide program is its relationship to 20 neighborhood planning councils. These councils were inaugurated in January 1967, as an expression of the desire of local citizens, particularly youth, to participate in and help guide the formulation of summer plans for children of the District. Nearly every neighborhood planning council has its summer in the parks program, with facilities located at the point requested by representatives of the neighborhood.

In the case of Fort Reno, which lies within Neighborhood Planning Council Area No. 3, the west half of the eighth police precinct, the council officers chose a secluded spot deep within the park, far from the nearest homes, about halfway between Deal Junior High and Wilson Senior High Schools. Like other community parks, there is a simple platform which serves as a stage or bandstand, a black topped area for dancing, exhibitions or games, some lights—hung attractively within a small grove of trees—and facilities for a movie screen. Last Friday evening, July 26, the neighborhood turned out for its first open-air movie; the Smithsonian loaned films for the occasion which drew spectators of all ages. One local resident commented that he had never known such a large number of Negro children lived in the area behind the reservoir. They came, with their parents, to the show. The previous day many of the same youngsters had a "surprise trip" to Great Falls, Maryland side, where they fished at a site on the C. & O. Canal, stocked for this purpose by the Department of the Interior. Two hundred youngsters a day are bused to the fishing grounds where fishing gear and instructions on its use are provided. The Angler's Club of Washington and Police Boys Clubs cooperate in the daily program.

Clay modeling, puppetry from the Smithsonian Institution, and special "artmobiles" are regular features of "Summer in the Parks." Some programs have instructors in poolplaying; community parks also offer volleyball and badminton, horseshoes, and play equipment for very young children, dancing, folk singing, chamber music, soul, dixieland jazz, exhibitions, and performances of all kinds. The varying programs are brought into each neighborhood on request.

Each neighborhood has also been invited to develop its own programs such as community sings, outdoor cooking contests, fashion and art shows, model plane and car races, amateur athletic exhibitions, drama and jazz groups, and so on. One nature lover proposed the incorporation of a nature center program presented a few times previously at Fort Reno. She adds that in her 20 years of residence in the area she has never seen a program with so many possibilities for constructive activity.

A storage building to house maintenance supplies, a complete sound system which can be dismantled at the end of the day, a bulletin board and attractive signs are all provided. You may have seen the bright green "Smiling Tree" which is the emblem used by the National Park Service to get people out into their city parks.

The neighborhood councils are divided into districts, each with its own district representative to help plan programs and involve neighborhood groups in the project. Each park has its own property manager. Staff for the sites come through recommendations of the neighborhood planning councils, who are also responsible for security of facilities and equipment, and operating hours.

Each council also runs its own concession stand and keeps the profits through a neighborhood concession arrangement with the parks. Hot Shoppes, Inc., with the cooperation of General Services, Inc., helped to get the concessions started with a donation. In the Wilson area, the high school Key Club provides and mans the concession stand.

One hopeful feature of the program is the reaction of some of the local merchants who have had long experience with the misbehavior of idle youngsters during the many years when Fort Reno, scheduled to be Regional Recreation Center for region A, lay fallow and unused. They report the excitement and interest of the young people who are gradually beginning to find their way to summer in the park. Also, the local gardeners, who have maintained small plots in the vicinity of Fort Reno since World War II, have remarked upon the decrease in vandalism of their gardens for the first time in years.

It may surprise some persons to learn that this affluent community has its share of problems with some of its youth. The Neighborhood Planning Council is working on development of special teen activities as an effective antidote to summer doldrums.

This program is one of many constructive programs for young people in and around the District in summer 1968. It has already succeeded in filling a need of children and their parents in one part of the city—undoubtedly in others as well. The citizens who have taken part so far hope that this is the first of many "Summers in the Park."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that certain inserts be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIST OF COMMUNITY PARK LOCATIONS

Northwest area.—(NPC 1)—Fort Slocum-Kansas Avenue, Madison, Oglethorpe and 2d Sts., N.W.

(NPC 3)—Fort Reno-Fessenden and Chesapeake Sts, and Nebraska Avenue.

(NPC 4)—Palisades Playground—Potomac and Arizona Avenues, N.W.

(NPC 5)—Piney Branch Parkway.

(NPC 6)—Jelleff's Boys Club—Wisconsin and S St.

(NPC 9)—Meridian Hill Park—16th, Euclid and U Sts.

(NPC 11)—Dunbar Senior High School—1st and O Sts.

(NPC 13)—P Street Beach, P at 23rd Street.

(NPC 12)—Kalorama Park—Kalorama and Columbia Roads, and 18th St.

Northeast area.—(NPC 7)—Fort Bunker Hill—bet. 13th and 14th Sts., and Perry Place, N.E.

(NPC 14)—Langdon Park—18th St. at Mills Avenue, Hamlin and Franklin Sts.

(NPC 15)—Wheatley School—Montello Ave. and Morse St.

(NPC 18)—Fort Mahan—Benning Rd. bet. 42nd and Grant Sts.

Southeast area.—(NPC 16)—Lincoln Park—E. Capitol bet. 11th and 13th Sts.

(NPC 19)—Anacostia Park—Northeast of 11th St. Bridge.

(NPC 20)—Oxon Run Parkway—Mississippi Ave. and 1st Street.

Southwest area.—(NPC 17)—Lansburgh Park—Delaware Ave. bet. I and M Sts.

(NPC=Neighborhood Planning Council.)

Summer in the Parks

The National Park Service would like all citizens of the District of Columbia this summer to enjoy the great wealth and variety of beautiful parks which are the heritage of the District. So, we have devised a program called Summer in the Parks in which we offer the use of all of our parks with special structures, special equipment and special transportation. We will provide a public relations program complete with visual aids such as posters, handouts, flags, and structure decorations to publicize and make more enjoyable the activities which will go on in the parks.

We are also offering many ideas for activities and new usages of our parks to all of the municipal and citizen groups and agencies, but we are first calling together representatives of these groups to ask them for their ideas and their needs of outdoor areas.

It must be made clear that we are not going into the recreation business, nor do we wish to compete with the many worthy organizations here in the District. We are simply offering space, structures, facilities, some transportation and a plan of coordination for established organizations to make use of the parks with their personnel and their summer programs.

The plan is in four parts:

I. Surprise excursions would provide buses that would pick children up each week day at designated spots and take them on an outing to a different large park. Each park would offer a different activity. Trained recreation leaders would supervise the program at each park. Some of these excursions would be guided tours of an educational character, but most of them would provide participating active entertainment. Thus, some thirty of these large parks would be activated.

Fort Dupont, Oxon Hill Farm, Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, Anacostia River, National Arboretum, National Zoo, Fort Washington, Rock Creek, Prince William Forest, Fort Totten, Great Falls, Md., Great Falls, Va., Carterock Recreation Area, Green House and Nursery, Theodore Roosevelt Island.

The National Park Service will provide the buses and drivers. We have asked the District Recreation Department to provide escorts on the buses who will go along with the children on the tours, but we will ask other organizations to provide trained leaders for the various activities on the sites.

We have these suggestions for activities:

Swimming and beach sports, folk singing and folk dancing, rowing, canoeing and barge-poling, outdoor games, treasure hunt, historic monument visit, hayride and watermelon picnics.

Nature hikes, fishing and fish frying, bicycling and pony riding, soap box derbys farm visits, zoo visits, outdoor performances.

We hope that the various District of Columbia agencies and organizations will request specific activities and supply other ideas. The main object is that each day and each park should provide a change in activity and a surprise to the children.

We will also provide decorations on the buses, buttons for the children. Flags in the designated parks, tents for the counsellors.

II. Community Parks. We are inviting each of the twenty district community councils to select a park in their area which we will equip with structures and lights for summer day and night activities. Then we would ask each community what activities they would like for their parks. We will supply a variety of portable equipment and entertainment which each community can request and schedule, but it should be understood that the community is invited to use the park for their own programs.

Here are some of the portable programs which we are considering:

Jazzmobile, artmobile, beauty culture and fashion show truck, puppet show, performing platform with lights, exhibition and instruction in karate and jiu-jitsu, concerts—bands and orchestras, performances—dancing and drama, exhibitions.

This hasn't gotten off the ground yet.

III. The focal park, main demonstration or "show window" for Summer in the Parks will be *Anacostia Park* which stretches two miles along the Anacostia River. Huge balloons will float over it and be seen from all over the city.

By day it will provide such activities as boating and canoeing on the river, bicycle racing along the paths, swimming, baseball, tennis, soft ball, and miniature golf at the Recreation Center. A tent with an adjoining open area for the making and flying of gliders and model airplanes. A Child Care Center pavilion, carousel, and playground equipment for children under six.

We hope to devote a special section to teen-agers which will include a pavilion that they will plan and manage themselves, and we are suggesting a pavilion that would be a Learning Center, providing programs of instruction in such subjects as sewing, car driving, automobile repair, beauty care, baby sitting, typing to help prepare the teen-ager for employment.

After sunset, fireworks on a barge would be drawn along the river to announce the Night activities. And then this park will glow with lights in the chosen Summer in the Parks colors, with outdoor baseball, a band shell and dancing, pavilions, movies, performers and an Amateur Night.

We would like all organizations with summer programs who could use open space or tented pavilions to contact us concerning use of a location on this long Anacostia Park.

IV. The parks close to the Capitol should also participate in Summer in the Parks promotion and the Smithsonian Institution will help in planning and producing cultural events and exhibitions as that part of the program which will be more sophisticated, and planned for adults.

We are also considering small soft drinks kiosks, traveling exhibitions, cocktail lounges on the Georgetown Canal, and a sophisticated cafe in Rock Creek Park run by concessionaires, special events to occur at various times and various locations. Some of these events will include visiting professional performers and others will be organized for public participation.

Posters, banners, balloons, handbills, tents and buses all decorated with Summer in the Parks colors and emblems will provide Washington with a festive mood and much outdoor recreation to bring people together in our beautiful parks.

"Community Parks," a Partnership Between Citizens and Government

Throughout the District of Columbia shafts of sunlight will filter through forests by day and spotlights by night to reveal people in their parks enjoying them as never before. Each section of the District will have its own neighborhood park—made possible through the joint efforts of the Neighborhood Planning Councils and the National Park Service. This will be the Community Parks program in action. These cool glades during the daytime will be active with programs of clay modeling, puppetry from the Smithsonian Institution, and special Art Mobiles. Creative instructors will assist children, teenagers, young adults, the middle-aged and the oldsters with devising new means for self-expression. In the late afternoons, young instructors will demonstrate pool techniques and train pool players.

The events and programs in the parks throughout the District are too numerous to mention. Some have not even been considered before—not even thought of yet, for each Neighborhood Planning Council will provide its own individual stimulating, entertaining community activities. One event will spark others. Indeed, it should be an exciting July and August.

Each Summer in the Parks site has been selected by a Neighborhood Planning Council and will be equipped by the National Park Service with a stage, dance platform, modern outdoor stage lighting, attractive area lighting, a storage building equipped with maintenance supplies, a bulletin board and entrance station, a complete sound system that can be dismantled at the end of each day, and a special concession stand. There will be volley ball and badminton courts, play equipment and horseshoe courts at many parks; and the list continues. In one park three stands for use by non-profit organizations are being supplied.

The Smithsonian Institution is making a valuable contribution to Summer in the Parks. On March 30th and 31st, 1968 the theme of its "Rites of Spring" mall celebration was "Summer in the Parks." Since early June, the Institution has been busy preparing the set for a puppet show, assembling its cast; finding interesting movies, training movie projectionists, converting station wagons into colorful Art-Mobiles. On a given night there may be folk singing, chamber music, soul music, western and hillbilly tunes and dixieland jazz wafting through the woods—made possible through the help of the Smithsonian Institution.

These Community Parks are a new kind of park—a new idea proposed by the National Park Service to better serve the needs of city dwellers. No more "Keep off the Grass" signs. The National Park Service is now saying that city parks should be for people and offer many more pleasures and usages than walking on paths and sitting on benches. The District of Columbia's Community Parks may prove to be the birth of a new kind of park that will be copied all over the world.

LOCATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD PARKS, COMMUNITY PARKS

Anacostia Park: Northeast of 11th St. Bridge, S.E.

Fort Bunker Hill: Between 13th and 14th Sts. & Perry Place, N.E.

Fort Mahan: Benning Road Between 42nd and Grant Sts. N.E.

Fort Reno: Fessenden and Chesapeake Sts. & Nebraska Ave. N.W.

Fort Slocum: Kansas Ave., & Madison St., Oglethorpe and 2nd St., N.W.

Kalorama Park: Kalorama & Columbia Rd., & 19th St., N.W.

Langdon Park: 18th St. at Mills Ave., Hamlin and Franklin Sts., N.E.

Lansburgh Park: Delaware Ave., Between I and M Sts., S.W.

Lincoln Park: E. Capitol St., Between 11th and 13th Sts.

Meridian Hill: 16th, Euclid & W Sts., N.W.

Oxon Run Parkway: Miss. Ave., & 1st St., S.E.

Palisades Playground: Potomac Ave., and Arizona Ave., N.W.

Piney Branch Parkway:

"P Street Beach": P St. at 23rd St., N.W.

Wheatley School site: Montello Ave., and Morse St., N.E.

Whitehaven Parkway: West of Wisconsin Ave., at W St., N.W.

COMBINED EFFORT FOR A COMMON GOAL

Another example of how the Community Parks program has provided the medium of the Government and District citizens to work together for community benefit is reflected in filling meaningful summer in the parks jobs.

In May each of the 20 Area Planning Councils was asked to recommend prospects to be and as (2) Park Property Managers. These employees are to be paid by the National Park Service.

Serving now as District Representatives are: Philip Adams, representing Area Planning Councils' 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Alvin Clay, Area Planning Councils' 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; Lee Hatcher, Area Planning Councils' 18, 19, 20; and Arthur Jenkins, Area Planning Councils' 7, 14, 15, 16, 17.

Each District Representative will encourage and promote the utilization of local resources and talents, maintain liaison with neighborhood groups; exchange information with all councils, act as a sounding board for the local community and work closely with other governmental units.

The hours of work for the property manager will depend upon the number of NPC personnel also assigned to the project. It is suggested that each council have at least one supervisory staff person at the site at all times along with as many NYC people as can be handled. The manager will assist the District Representative. Primarily, however, it is the Park Property Manager's job to assure that the area is well maintained and that equipment and facilities are in place and functioning when called for.

Each Neighborhood Planning Council is looked for to provide full-time staff at the site. The daily hours of operation and the programming are the responsibility of the Council. Providing full-time supervisory leadership is an important and necessary input—without this the program does not have much chance of succeeding. The Neighborhood Planning Council programming efforts should have the park operating on a full schedule each day of the week.

SUGGESTIONS FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS IN YOUR PARKS

The NPC and the Smithsonian Institution have "primed the pump" with programs for the Community Parks but it is hoped that each neighborhood will develop many additional programs and other uses for these pleasant settings and this equipment—events which will fill your neighborhood needs and interests.

Here are some suggestions for the Council and the managers to consider:

a. Community Sings—folk songs-spirituals-gospels.

b. Outdoor cooking nights—best chef contests.

c. Music and dinner in the park—Records and food.

d. Local fashion shows from local dressmakers and stores.

e. Neighborhood Arts and crafts (all ages) shows.

f. Do-it-yourself night—Exhibits of local craftsmen.

g. Model races—planes-cars for young model makers.

h. Ice cream and cake festivals.

i. Oldest and youngest citizen night.

j. Neighborhood "Salute" nights—music-speeches-food.

k. Bring your record and do your thing night-teens.

l. Husband and Wife (day or night) contests—bag racing.

m. Egg balancing, carrying races, wheelbarrow, etc.

n. Couples who have been married the longest.

o. Birthday parties, marriages, wedding receptions and similar social events.

p. Amateur boxing, professional exhibitions, etc.

q. Jazz and rock and roll.

These are but a few of our ideas and those which have been tried and found successful in other cities. Your ideas too are needed to make the community park the lively gathering place it truly should be.

We are hopeful that this summer all the people of Washington will experience a program which will capture the life and color, the excitement and variety which exists here in the Nation's Capital.

CONCESSION ARRANGEMENT

Through a generous donation from Hot Shoppes, Inc. and the cooperation of General Services, Inc. it has been possible to offer a concession operation to each Neighborhood Planning Council with a Community Park site. Stands have been specially constructed that will be available to each council at no cost. Each stand will have an initial inventory donated and the opportunity to renew inventories at cost.

There are no strings attached. The Neighborhood Planning Councils will hire their own operations and all profits will stay in the communities.

Before these concession operations begin serving you, experts in food and drink merchandising will have instructed the operators in sales techniques and management, given suggested retail price lists, discussed night security precautions and familiarized operators with the District of Columbia health laws that apply.

Through Hot Shoppes, Inc., General Services, Inc., the Neighborhood Planning Councils and the National Park Service another opportunity for a citizen-government partnership has been established. This unique concession arrangement will be a training ground for future businessmen as well as a financial benefit to each community.

SECURITY

Security for the facilities and equipment has been mentioned frequently as a matter of concern. "Summer in the Parks" has been cautioned to provide storage facilities. This kind of facility will be provided but there will be some equipment such as the light poles and the spot and flood lights which cannot be stored.

Should the rented sound equipment be damaged or stolen there is no way it can be replaced. The same holds true with the spot and flood lights. There is not enough money in the "Summer in the Parks" budget for replacement items.

Due to the warnings received from individuals in the community, this is an appeal to you and the Neighborhood Planning Council for support and advice on how to best handle this anticipated problem. One suggestion has been to use the salary for the Park Manager for a night watchman. Another suggestion is to store the sound equipment in a residence or building that can be locked. There just are not replacement funds available in the "Summer in the Parks" program to replace these tables.

Again, the need for citizen involvement is imperative. The program may grind to a halt without citizens acting to protect facilities and equipment.

Area Planning Council leaders in two areas have indicated they will incorporate a neighborhood-based security program in their plans. Each NPC is urged to give serious consideration to this approach as a point of departure, with Police Reserves, Park Police and Metropolitan Police as adjuncts.

EXPENDITURE CONTROLS AND PUBLIC SERVICES

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, at a time when the Johnson administration is doing so much bellyaching about its inability to comply with the recent enacted expenditure controls and at a time when it is threatening to curtail the most essential public services for the American taxpayers it is rather ironic to note that by Executive order it has just released a major portion of the approximately $22.5 million in retroactive social security payments to citizens in the Communist countries.

Under the law until last month, the Treasury Department had been withholding social security benefit payments to persons in Russia, North Vietnam, East Germany, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, China, and others, since it was recognized, first, that due to the Iron Curtain we were unable to determine whether or not these beneficiaries were still living and if living whether or not they were qualified as the result of the earnings test; second, that we had no assurance that even if the benefits were paid the beneficiaries themselves would receive the dollars; and third, that these Communist countries had confiscated American property and still refused to settle the claims of American citizens.

Certain of these countries, including Russia, have already been released from this restriction, and we are advised that exemptions for others are being studied.

Mr. President, there is no excuse for the executive branch having arbitrarily released this $22.5 million without first consulting congressional committees. We should not have released this $22.5 million to Communist controlled countries without reciprocal arrangements. This decision comes at a time when they are asking all Americans to curtail their own expenditures and pay higher taxes.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter from the State Department attempting to justify these transactions along with a breakdown of the amounts involved in each of the respective countries be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and table were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 8, 1968.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: Thank you for the opportunity you extended the Department of State on June 24 to outline the action it has taken with regard to the removal of certain Eastern European countries from the Treasury Circular 655.

During the discussion you requested additional information on the effects of our action. We have consulted with the Social Security Administration and they are able to provide the following information.

"Based on assumptions that all beneficiaries in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who were entitled when the restriction was imposed would still be alive and entitled to payments for each month during that period, the maximum amounts payable would be about $11 million in Czechoslovakia, $3 million in Hungary, and $1.3 million in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. However, based on our experience when payments were reopened in Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania, and upon a current sampling of the cases in question, we believe the actual payments would be about $5 million in Czechoslovakia, $1 million in Hungary, and $700,000 in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Exact figures cannot be determined until the individual periods of entitlement for each beneficiary can be established.

"It is our intention to conduct on-the-spot examinations to determine the propriety of the claims before any benefits are paid with a Social Security Administration employee or Foreign Service officer taking all appropriate steps (a visit to each claimant to establish his identity, existence, and eligibility to benefits for the period in question). In addition, each piece of evidence which was used to establish the claim, such as a certificate of marriage or birth, would be checked against the original records made at or near the occurrence of the event.

"Since 1951, when benefits were first withheld, no social security payments have been made under any previously negotiated agreements to Czechoslovakian and Hungarian citizens living in those countries. Payments of approximately $500,000 have been made to residents of those two countries in recent years when they were in countries where delivery of checks was not prohibited under Treasury Circular 655 and when there was sufficient assurance that the payments were proper. Initial payments of approximately $190,000 were made in Bulgaria as a result of a 1963 agreement which removed that country from the Treasury Circular, $170,000 in Romania as a result of a similar 1961 agreement, and $650,000 in Poland as a result of the 1957 agreement. Regular continuing monthly payments totaling approximately $660,000 in Bulgaria, $715,000 in Romania, and $11.5 million in Poland have been made since those dates.

"No interest is payable on any of the amounts which might have accrued or will accrue in the future."

We have also examined the status of claims on the part of United States residents for Czechoslovakia's Social Security payments. As a rule Czechoslovakia makes no payments to United States residents. Czechoslovakia, however, makes payments to three United States residents because of hardships involved in each individual case. Two of these beneficiaries are United States citizens and the third is a Czechoslovak citizen. The Czechoslovak Embassy has informed us that a substantial number of U.S. claims are expected as soon as the reciprocity agreement, now in the final stages of negotiation, is concluded. The Embassy indicates that upon conclusion of this agreement, payment will be made to all United States residents entitled to Czechoslovak benefits.

Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the USSR have recently presented letters to the Department of State assuring the United States Government that a resident payee of a U.S. Government check will be able to receive the check and negotiate it for full value. Consequently, the United States has removed these countries from Treasury Circular 655, and following the validation of individual claims, the accrued benefits will be paid to the rightful beneficiaries. However, no payments will be made unless assurances of reciprocity are obtained.

I hope this information is responsive to your request of June 24.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

ESTIMATED ACCUMULATED SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS WITHHELD IN CERTAIN COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED COUNTRIES[1]

[Dollar amounts in millions]

	Year restriction imposed	Number of beneficiaries	Amount
Albania	1948	338	$4.5
China	1950	130	1.5
Cuba	1963	214	.6
Czechoslovakia	1951	900	10.4
Estonia	1951	7	.1
Hungary	1951	257	2.9
Latvia	1951	4	(2)
Lithuania	1951	12	.1
North Korea	1950	1	(2)
North Vietnam	1964	0	
U.S.S.R.	1951	119	1.4
East Germany	1950	78	1.0
Total		2,060	22.5

[1] Assumes that all beneficiaries in a given country were entitled as of the date the restriction was imposed, that they are still living, and that no deduction, suspension, or termination events have occurred since that time. Since these assumptions are unrealistic, the dollar amounts are probably about double the amounts that would actually be paid if the Treasury ban were lifted in these countries.

[2] Less than $50,000.

ANGUS BLAD—A GREAT NEVADA CITIZEN

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, one of Nevada's truly remarkable citizens is Angus "Gus" Blad. This year he observes his 84th year of life, his 50th year of marriage and his 28th year as U.S. commissioner in the city of Las Vegas.

Those not acquainted with Gus Blad might think he is ready to consider retirement. Those who do know Gus will tell you he is just getting his second wind.

Like so many of Nevada's native sons, Commissioner Blad was a frontiersman who grew up with the West in an era of adventure and excitement. Born in Panaca, Lincoln County, he was at various times a train inspector, grocer, and bartender before winning election to the Las Vegas municipal court bench in 1934. That launched a long and successful career in the judicial branch, one which continues to this day.

Mr. President, the life of Gus Blad parallels the life of Las Vegas. They matured together, man and city. The history of the community—from dusty desert outpost to glittering entertainment capital—has been seen through the eyes of a citizen who fondly remembers his yesterdays but thinks more about his tomorrows. That is his personal philosophy and it is the philosophy of Las Vegas as well—respect the past but look toward the future.

On May 8, Commissioner Blad celebrated his 84th birthday. On the same date, another distinguished American, President Harry S. Truman, passed the same milestone. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Blad received a letter from Mr. Truman remarking on the coincidence and extending warm good wishes.

Another significant occasion for Gus Blad came later this year, on October 25 when the commissioner and his lovely wife, Marie, celebrate their golden wedding anniversary. More than 600 friends will join in honoring them at a party at the Las Vegas Elks Lodge.

Mr. President, the Las Vegas Sun recently paid tribute to Commissioner Blad in a feature article by Staff Writer Harol Hyman. Mr. Hyman has done an excellent job in describing the exciting and productive life of this outstanding Nevada citizen, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD, together with a copy of the letter by Mr. Blad from President Truman.

There being no objetcion, the article and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Las Vegas (Nev.) Sun, May 19, 1968]

U.S. COMMISSIONER ANGUS "GUS" BLAD

(By Harold Hyman, Sun staff writer)

In the course of 28 years as a federal officer in Las Vegas, 15 before that as municipal judge, and even earlier as a bartender and grocery clerk on Fremont Street where the California Club now stands, Angus "Gus" Blad achieved singular eminence as a pioneer.

Now in his 84th year, he is as active and sharp in the daily role of U.S. Commissioner as he was when he first took the job back in 1940.

His legal eminence extends over a vast network of federal arrest procedures, from issuing warrants to arraigning prisoners and setting the amount of their bail bonds.

With little thought to retiring, the spry, white-haired Commissioner works out of a small office suite on the Federal Building's fourth floor and often extends business into the night to visit the jail, advise new prisoners of guaranteed rights and make occasional rulings on defense lawyers arguments for lower than normal bail for their clients.

Celebrating his birthday on May 8 (to the day and year the same as Harry Truman's), Gus recently held a modest daytime party with coffee and cake in the U.S. Court Clerk's office and played host to friends he has known more than two generations.

The Commissioner and his equally energetic wife, Marie, are also planning a gala party for their 50th wedding anniversary this Oct 25 at the Las Vegas Elks Lodge. Invitations are being readied for a guest list of 600, but the couple is already urging friends who might accidentally be left off the list to show up anyway. The party promises to be a major social bash.

Born in Panaca, Nev., Gus became a train inspector and grocer at Caliente, then settled in Las Vegas when labor strife paralyzed the western railroads in the mid-1920s.

As manager of the Mesquite Grocery at First and Fremont where the California Club now stands, he recalls selling candy to local children who, 40 years later, have become leading citizens of the city and the state.

Always active in politics, Gus in 1934 captured the Las Vegas municipal judgeship and held that post until well after World War II.

Chidingly, friends recall "conflict of interest" situations the judge aroused by also holding a nighttime job as bartender at the Elks Lodge, then at Third and Carson Streets.

They remember him as a liberal bartender but also as a stern magistrate next day in court when customers from the night before chanced to appear.

Reminded of this now, his blue eyes sparkle and his craggy face splits in a grin. "I've never meted out a sentence that wasn't fair, impartial and just," he says.

Las Vegas today is far different from anything imagined when Gus Blad settled here as a young man with a new bride. Then this was a dusty desert outpost and train stop. There was pavement on only a few short streets that are now the nucleus of Casino Center.

He terms the explosive growth of Las Vegas into a metropolitan community nothing short of remarkable and links the boom to three major past events:

Construction of Hoover Dam.

Establishment of chemicals and metals heavy industry in Henderson during World War II;

Post-war tourism and gambling.

He also sees the advent of light industry as adding fuel to continued population and economic expansion. What he doesn't see, Gus freely admits, "is where it is all going to end."

Never an advocate of organized religion, he nevertheless holds a fundamentalist view of human thought and deed:

"If you're going to seek salvation, you've got to do it every day, not just Sunday."

Noting his 84th birthday this month, hundreds of Gus Blad's friends would easily agree that for him every day indeed is Sunday.

INDEPENDENCE, MO.,
May 20, 1968.

Hon. A. G. BLAD,
U.S. Commissioner, Court House,
Las Vegas, Nev.

DEAR MR. COMMISSIONER: I have just learned that you celebrated your birthday on the same day that I celebrated mine.

I hope you had a very happy one and that you will have many more like it.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

LEWIS G. ODOM, JR., RETURNS TO PRIVATE LAW PRACTICE AFTER YEARS OF OUTSTANDING SERVICE TO THE SENATE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, Lewis G. Odom, Jr. has served the United States for more than 12 years. He is currently the staff director and general counsel of the Banking and Currency Committee. Before he assumed that post, he served as administrative assistant to the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] and as staff director and general counsel of the Select Committee on Small Business.

During his many years of service, Lewis has consistently performed his duties in an extremely efficient and effective manner. I think we all know just how much an efficient staff can contribute to the work of an individual Member or a committee. I am sure that everyone who has known and worked with Lewis Odom will readily agree that his work for the Senate has been of immeasurable value to the Senate and is in the very highest traditions of those who serve the public.

The services of Lewis Odom will be greatly missed by those of us who have worked with him. I am sure we all wish him the very best of luck in his new law practice.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY'S VIEWS ON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, today in an interview on the NBC "Today" program, the Vice President elaborated on his previous statement of yesterday that he supported free elections for South Vietnam "in which every group willing to do so can play its full part in the peaceful political process." In response to a question by NBC newsman Edwin Newman as to whether this represented a departure from his oft-quoted previous remark that to permit the National Liberation Front to participate in the elective process of South Vietnam would be "like letting the fox in the chicken coop" the Vice President stated that he had not changed his position and that he was—and always had been—in favor of permitting all persons—as individuals—to participate in the elective process. Vice President HUMPHREY on the same program expressed his regret at the political conviction by the Saigon regime of Truong Dinh Dzu, the runner-up in last year's elections to President Thieu.

It is appropriate that the Vice President as an announced candidate for the Presidency of the United States should elucidate and clarify his position on this tragic Vietnam war even when that position may conflict or run counter to that of the present administration. As one who has, since February of 1965, expressed grave doubts as the continuations of this unending and ever expanding conflict, I am interested in the Vice President's remarks. Coming as they do at a time when the President of the United States, according to the news in this morning's paper, has strongly suggested a possible further escalation of the conflict by our Government, and when further escalation of the war has resulted today in the sending of 4,000 additional U.S. troops to Vietnam the Vice President's seeming departure from the inflexible intransigency of this Government gives the American people some occasion for hope for a negotiated settlement. And I know that I speak for many Members of this body and for the American people when I say I hope that further elucidation and clarification of the Vice President's position on this vital issue can be expected to be forthcoming.

A BLOW TO EDUCATION

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], who is absent today, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement he has prepared.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

A BLOW TO EDUCATION

(Statement by Senator BARTLETT)

I understand that last night the President decided not to release any of the $91 million Congress appropriated recently for full funding of the P.L. 874 program, which provides aid to school districts affected by federal employment. Evidently the decision was based on the Congressional mandate to cut federal expenditures in this fiscal year by $6 billion.

I further understand that the President said he might be sympathetic if Congress appropriated money to fully fund the entitlements of school districts with students living on federal property. However, because the bill providing these additional funds set a July 31 deadline for the allocation of these funds, there will be no new P.L. 874 funds for the last fiscal year unless the Congress takes specific action.

I deplore the decision not to release these funds. The decision will adversely affect the quality of education in many districts across the nation. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the cutback in P.L. 874 funds is the fact that school officials making up budgets in federally impacted districts last summer had every right to expect full entitlements and did not learn of the reductions until well into the fiscal year. Obviously, many of the affected school districts had no way of making up the loss short of curtailing necessary programs or dismissing needed personnel.

While I will continue my efforts to have the P.L. 874 program funded as fully as possible in this fiscal year, the least the administration should do is to indicate to the districts receiving P.L. 874 funds how much they can expect to receive this fiscal year. If that were done, school officials would be in a better position to make realistic budgetary decisions.

I am also disturbed that the President saw fit to ignore the extraordinary action the Congress took to appropriate additional funds for this program. I was active in the successful effort the Senate made in approving these additional funds and in finally convincing the other body to accept the Senate's position on this question.

While I disagree on the President's decision, I recognize that the President can and does have a different set of priorities than Congress. It was for that reason that I voted against the conference report on H.R. 15414, the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968, which, in addition to raising taxes, ordered a $6 billion reduction in federal spending. The act instructed the President to impose budget cuts in the event Congress did not make the necessary reductions.

As I explained in a statement appearing in the June 24, 1968, Congressional Record, I felt that if Congress wanted a cutback in spending, the cutback should be accomplished by Congress and not left to the executive branch. It is the job of Congress to appropriate funds. In approving H.R. 15414, the Congress handed the job of cutting funds to the President, thus ignoring its responsibility in this matter.

While I deplore the decision not to release the P.L. 874 funds, I also have little sympathy for those members of Congress who voted to give the President power to control the budgetmaking process and now complain when he cuts one of their favorite programs.

Let me just repeat in part what I stated on June 24:

"That is what I object to, Mr. President. If it is the will of the majority of Congress to have cuts, let Congress make the cuts.

"Many of the same voices which support a cutback in federal expenditures are the same voices which warn that our three-branch system of government is getting out of balance at the expense of the legislative branch.

"Many of these same voices now say that Congress should cut what it can, and leave the rest up to the President. Mr. President, I ever so firmly believe that this approach is nothing more than a shirking of responsibility and smacks of political expediency. I can hear the howls now when the President cuts a program which is a favorite of some particular group. Then there will be attempts to restore the Presidential cuts, with the explanation that when we voted to force the President to cut federal spending we did not mean he should have cut this or that particular program. Indeed, I forecast that the majority of us will after the administration proposes cuts plead desperately that they should not be made.

And finally, Mr. President, I go on record today pledging to work for appropriation of at least enough funds to pay 100 percent of the P.L. 874 entitlements for school districts with students living on federal property. That is not enough, and I hope, without any great confidence of succeeding, that we can do more.

Here is the situation as the President's decision affects Alaska.

Alaska is entitled to a total of $12.1 million in P.L. 874 funds for fiscal year 1968. If no additional funds are appropriated and released by the President, Alaska will receive $9.7 million. If Congress approves and the President releases $21 million for school districts with students living on federal property, Alaska will receive an additional $1.9 million, about $500,000 less than its full entitlement. While Alaska may fare better than many states in this matter, the reduction of $500,000 will be sorely felt by many school districts in Alaska.

MAYOR GRAGSON RECEIVES EAGLES' NATIONAL AWARD

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, this is a proud day for the citizens of Las Vegas, Nev., the fastest growing city in the Nation's fastest growing State. Today, Las Vegas Mayor Oran K. Gragson is in Houston, Tex., to accept the Fiorello La Guardia Award presented each year to the Nation's outstanding mayor by the Fraternal Order of Eagles in international convention.

I commend my fellow Eagles for the wisdom of their choice, and I salute Mayor Gragson for the bold and imaginative leadership he has provided Las Vegas during the period of its greatest growth and development.

Mayor Gragson joins distinguished company. Previous winners of this coveted award include former or current Mayors John Lindsay, New York City; Anthony Celebrezze, Cleveland; George Christopher, San Francisco; Richard Daley, Chicago; John Hines, Boston; David Lawrence, Pittsburgh; and Robert Wagner, New York City.

Mr. President, when Mayor Gragson was elected to the first of three consecutive terms in 1959 the population of the Greater Las Vegas area was 105,000. Today it is estimated at 270,500—an astonishing increase of 157 percent in a single decade. This explosive growth has created myriad problems in the areas of housing, education, employment, and social services. It is a tribute to the mayor and his government that these problems have been met and acted upon, thus insuring the orderly growth of a dynamic community.

Mayor Gragson's award is of particular significance since the Fraternal Order of Eagles dispatched selection teams to cities in more than 30 States for a detailed study of all candidates' qualifications. In competition against mayors representing many of the Nation's largest cities, Mayor Gragson was adjudged the best.

Mr. President, Mayor Gragson has brought credit to the city of Las Vegas and the entire State of Nevada. All of us take pride in the honor he will receive today during the 70th international convention of the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of a telegram sent by me to Mr. William Andrew McCawley, grand worthy president of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> Mr. WILLIAM ANDREW MCCAWLEY,
> *Grand Worthy President, Fraternal Order of Eagles, National Eagles Convention, Houston, Tex.*
>
> May I add my warmest congratulations to my fellow Eagles at National Convention for their selection of Las Vegas Mayor Oran Gragson to receive their Fiorello LaGuardia award. Certainly, Mayor Gragson's long and meritorious service to the people of the fastest growing city in the fastest growing state in this country is indeed commendable. The 70th International Convention of the Fraternal Order of Eagles does honor to every Nevada resident by its selection of Mayor Gragson for this high award. Please convey to Mayor Gragson and all my fellow Eagles my highest regards.
>
> Cordially,
>
> ALAN BIBLE.

IMPACTED AID: A BROKEN PROMISE TO SCHOOLCHILDREN

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I am disappointed to learn that the President of the United States is withholding some $91 million that the Congress has appropriated to aid the education of children attending local schools that are federally affected. These are the school districts that were entitled to some $486 million under Public Law 874. These are the school districts upon which the Federal Government has placed heavy financial burdens. These are the school districts that educate the children of parents who work or live on Federal property, especially military bases and Federal agencies.

Under this 1950 law these school districts are entitled to financial aid from the National Government. They prepare their yearly budgets on the basis of these entitlements. The school districts literally depend upon this money to educate the children.

Yet the administration has said to many of these school districts, "We will not honor our commitment to you; we will withhold the funds for the education of these children."

After a long and protracted fight, the Congress appropriated this $91 million in the second supplemental appropriations of 1968. On three different votes the Senate of the United States reaffirmed its clear intent to have these entitlements fully paid. We extended by 1 month the time for the Bureau of the Budget to allocate these funds to these impacted school districts. Yet the Bureau of the Budget refused to act. Contrary to the intent of Congress, contrary to the very clear spirit of the second supplemental appropriations, the Bureau of the Budget refused to make available money which the Congress had appropriated. And in the last hour the President of the United States announced that none of this $91 million was to be made available, though he might be sympathetic to another Public Law 874 appropriation of some $22 million. He would limit even this small amount to one category of students—those whose parents actually live on a Federal installation.

This is not what Congress intended. Congress meant for the full $91 million to be paid. In the committees of the Senate and on the floor of the Senate, I was a leader in the fight to appropriate this money. No one who has read the public record of this appropriation can seriously question the clear intention of Congress for all of this money to be made available, subject to no false economy by the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. President, this is no mere question of budgeting and financing; nor is it simply a matter of executive versus legislative power; it is a question of children and their education.

The rationale of the freezing of these funds is that we are in a war that requires domestic cutbacks. Mr. President, these children did not ask for that war. There is no justice and there is no reason in cutting back on their education in the name of war.

Yet these school districts will have to cut back on their education because the Federal Government is not fulfilling its commitment to them. Indeed, because of that war our military bases have more people than ever, thus putting an even greater financial burden on these local school districts.

There are about 4,400 local school districts in the United States that are entitled to impacted aid funds under Public Law 874. These districts serve about 17 million children—roughly 40 percent of the schoolchildren attending public schools in the Nation. In my own State of Texas, about 285 school districts, with 1.25 million children, are entitled to impacted aid funds. Because of the administration decision not to release all of these funds, impacted school districts in Texas will be cut back by about $5 million. As I have noted before, this is more than a cut in money; it is a cut in the education of children.

By refusing to comply with the overwhelming mandate of Congress, the President has broken faith with thousands of children in school districts which depend upon these funds. I think that the Bureau of the Budget, by withholding these appropriated funds, has robbed these children of the education that they had every right to expect, and that Congress clearly expected them to have.

THE REAL NATURE OF THE VIETCONG

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, one of the central issues in the Vietnam debate has to do with the nature of the Vietcong insurgency.

On the one hand, all who believe that our intervention is morally justified are convinced that the so-called war of national liberation in South Vietnam had its origin in Hanoi and Peking, and that what we are fighting is really aggression by proxy and deceit.

On the other hand, there are those who tell us that the Vietcong movement is essentially South Vietnamese and that the war in Vietnam is a civil war in which we have no right to intervene.

It is amazing to me that intelligent people can still hold to this estimate because the Communists have, in a few more unguarded moments, been remarkably frank about the relationship of the Vietcong movement to Hanoi. For example, an editorial in Hoc Tap, official organ of the North Vietnamese Communist Party on October 5, 1966, made it clear that the Vietcong movement, or the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam as it is sometimes called, is simply a clever application of Leninist tactics.

I would like to quote the key paragraphs from this document and invite Senators to weigh its words carefully.

This is what it said:

> The policy of founding the Indochinese democratic front between 1936 and 1939, the Viet Minh front between 1941 and 1951, and the Lien Viet front; the decision of signing the 6 March 1946 preliminary accord; *the present NFLSV policy of upholding the mottos of independence, democracy, peace, and neutrality, and so forth—all these are typical examples of the clever application of the following instruction of Lenin:* "It is possible to defeat a stronger enemy only through displaying great effort and under the necessary conditions of taking advantage—very minutely, very attentively, very carefully, and very cleverly—of any rift, even the smallest one, among the enemy; taking advantage of any contradiction, even the smallest one, among the interests of the bourgeoisie of various countries and among the interests of various bourgeois groups and factions in each country; as well as taking advantage of any possibility, even the smallest one, of winning over an ally who is numerically strong—although this ally is temporary—uncertain, unstable, and unreliable.

The fact is that the present insurrection in South Vietnam goes back to the third Communist Party Congress in

Hanoi in September of 1960. At this congress it was decided "to liberate South Vietnam from the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in order to achieve national unity and complete independence." The congress also called for the creation of a broad front in South Vietnam directed against the U.S.-Diem clique.

Several months later the formation of the Front for the Liberation of the South was announced.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the complete text of the Hoc Tap editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese, October 1966]

TEXT OF HOC TAP EDITORIAL ON PARTY THEORY

(September Hoc Tap editorial: "Let us step up the theory-formulating task of the party")

Marxism was born during the forties of the 19th century. Shortly after, it was widely disseminated in capitalist countries. But only during the twenties of the 20th century—that is, about 80 years after its birth, and after its triumph in one-sixth of the globe—was Marxism introduced in Vietnam. Since its introduction in Vietnam, Marxism-Leninism, in collaboration with the workers movement and the patriotic movement, has caused a basic change in the direction of our people's struggle for freedom and independence. The spirit of the Indochinese Communist Party marked that change.

Under the invincible flag of Marxism-Leninism, our party headed by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, has led our people in defeating one enemy after another in advancing from victory to victory. The August revolution was victorious. The protracted resistance against the French colonialists was crowned with success. Land reforms were completed. Socialist transformation and construction in the north achieved great results. Now, during the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, our troops and people in both zones are winning brilliant victories, causing the enemy to tremble and friends everywhere to be fired with enthusiasm and happiness.

The above-mentioned victories of our people were victories of the association of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary realities in Vietnam. The correct revolutionary line set forth by our party was a product of this association. We can be proud that during 36 years of leadership over the revolution, our party, following an arduous but glorious path, has not committed any errors concerning the line.

Applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, our party immediately after its birth set forth a correct political program. This program pointed out the character of our revolution as follows: a bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class, which later was called the people's national democratic revolution, advancing directly to socialism without passing through the phase of capitalist development. The duties of the revolution were to overthrow the French imperialist rule, to eliminate the feudal regime, and to carry out the slogans of "National independence" and "Land to the tillers." The main forces of the revolution were workers and peasants. Thus, after half a century of struggle in search of the truth, the working class and our people found for the first time a correct revolutionary path: the Marxist-Leninist path, the October Revolution path.

Concerning the strategic motto of the people's national democratic revolution, our party correctly associated with the two anti-imperialist and antifeudal tasks, regarding the anti-imperialist task as the main one and holding that the antifeudal task should be carried out gradually and in close association with the anti-imperialist task.

There were close relations between the anti-imperialist and antifeudal tasks which should not be separated, but these two tasks should not be carried out at one time. A close relationship was a strategic problem; the fact that these two tasks should not be carried out at one time was a tactical problem.

On the basis of keeping firm in strategy, our party cleverly applied its tactics: On the one hand, it cleverly took advantage of the regional and temporary contradictions of the enemy to sow division among them. On the other hand, it united with anyone who could be united, won over anyone who could be won over, neutralized anyone who should be neutralized, completely isolated the imperialists and their most dangerous lackeys, and concentrated the spearhead of the attacks on them to overthrow them.

The policy of founding the Indochinese democratic front between 1936 and 1939, the Viet Minh front between 1941 and 1951, and the Lien Viet front; the decision of signing the 6 March 1946 preliminary accord; the present NFLSV policy of upholding the mottoes of independence, democracy, peace, and neutrality, and so forth—all these are typical examples of the clever application of the following instruction of Lenin: "It is possible to defeat a stronger enemy only through displaying great effort and under the necessary conditions of taking advantage—very minutely, very attentively, very carefully, and very cleverly—of any rift, even the smallest one, among the enemy; taking advantage of any contradiction, even the smallest one, among the interests of the bourgeoisie of various countries and among the interests of various bourgeois groups and factions in each country; as well as taking advantage of any possibility, even the smallest one, of winning over an ally who is numerically strong—although this ally is temporary—uncertain, unstable, and unreliable."

Anyone who does not understand this truth understands neither Marxism nor scientific, modern socialism in general. Understanding the Marxist-Leninist position, outlook, and methods well, synthesizing the experiences of the Vietnamese revolution, and learning from selected experiences of the revolutions of the USSR, the CPR, and other fraternal parties, our party has guided our people in inventing methods for the execution of the revolution suitable to the conditions of a country which was once a colonial and semifeudal state, so much so that we are capable of defeating any enemy, including U.S. imperialism.

These are the experiences of the August revolution, of the resistance against French colonialists, and of the anti-U.S. struggle at present, namely, to fight protracted war, to combine armed struggle with political struggle, conduct three-pronged attacks in political, miiltary, and military-proselyting fields, to build bases in rural areas while building forces in cities, to conduct partial uprisings in advancing toward the use of both political and military forces to defeat the enemy completely, and so forth.

In the socialist revolution in the north, our party has correctly solved a series of problems, basing itself on Marxist-Leninist principles. Based on the characteristics of the northern part fo our country, after we accomplished the people's national democratic revolution, our party assessed that the north could and should move directly from a backward agricultural economy, characterized by individual production, to socialism without going through the phase of capitalist development.

POWER STRUGGLE DESTROYS BALANCE IN GOVERNMENT

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Power Struggle Destroys Balance in Government," written by Walter Trohan, and published in the Chicago Tribune of July 31, 1968.

The distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] merits the praise given him in this article. As one who voted with him, I congratulate him.

There being no objection the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON: POWER STRUGGLE DESTROYS BALANCE IN GOVERNMENT

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, July 30.—The struggle for power in the government has all but destroyed the balances set up between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches by the founding fathers.

This has long been recognized, but the extent of the departure from the separation of powers under the Constitution is greater than most Americans suspect.

Recently Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. [D., Va.] called attention to a new law under which the President, rather than Congress, shall determine salaries. The senator led a fight against the measure but lost by a 47 to 41 vote.

The law Byrd challenges established a commission which shall make recommendations on the salaries of members of Congress, judges, and the cabinet. The law states that every four years "the President shall include in the budget transmitted by him to the Congress . . . his recommendations with respect to the exact rates of pay which he deems advisable."

The law provides that the Presidential recommendations shall become law unless the Congress disapproves within 30 days, Members of Congress who have trebled their salaries since the end of World War II and are constantly raising their pensions are not likely to disapprove any pay boosts, especially if they can attribute them to the President rather than to themselves.

BYRD FIGHTS $100,000 FUND

Byrd fought a provision in the independent offices and department of housing and urban development appropriations bill, which proposed to establish a $100,000 fund to finance the initial operations of the commission on executive, legislative, and judicial salaries. It was this fight that Byrd lost.

When the appropriations bill was before the House, funds for the commission were not provided. The $100,000 fund was added to the appropriation bill by a Senate committee.

The commission on salaries is to be composed of nine members. Three of these are to be appointed by the President and two each by the Vice President as president of the Senate, the speaker, and the chief justice.

In opposing funds for the commission, Byrd argued that too much power was being given the President already and the Senate would be giving him more power by voting funds for the commission.

WARNS OF ENDLESS PERILS

"I think we will all agree, as a practical matter, what we are doing is giving the President the right and power to set the salaries of a co-ordinate branch of the government," Byrd said. "It seems to me that this is not a desirable thing to do.

"The President already has too much power; Congress has already given him too much power; he has already taken too much power."

Byrd was supported by Sen. John Williams [R., Del.] who said that Congress has always regulated salaries and should continue to do so. Sen. Gordon Allott [R., Colo.] fought the creation of the commission and voted against the $100,000 fund.

"The worst part of this piece of legislation, which has already become law, is that it is not just for this time but endlessly in the future that salaries would be adjusted thru the backdoor method. . . . The only solution to the problem is a bill to repeal that law, because, otherwise, it will go on endlessly in the future."

Unless the $100,000 fund is stricken in a Senate-House conference, repeal of the law creating the commission is expected to be offered in the next Congress.

COMPENSATION FOR DISABLED VETERANS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, Americans have a great capacity to adopt to any situation. We fight a war, then we quickly forgive and rebuild the former enemy's country and economy—and in most cases better than it was before the war occurred. We levy taxes to pay education and research expenses on things as remote as the mating habits of an African fly. We allocate billions to send a man into outer space, and we build playgrounds for children in the District of Columbia.

We respond to the call of war for defense of freedom, and we sympathetically and hastily provide for those who fight our battles when they return to this country. We exhibit concern and compassion for those men who are maimed by war by providing compensation to insure they must not suffer economically because of their sacrifice on our behalf.

But, in our great capacity to forget and forgive, we often delegate the past to the realm of the forgotten, and, unfortunately, include the needs of those who have served.

Yesterday the Senate passed a bill which will increase the allowances paid to those with disabilities suffered while fighting for this Nation. I want to voice my wholehearted support for this important and vital piece of legislation.

There is no man here who has not felt the pinch of inflation, regardless of how much money he makes. We have responded to the needs of our older citizens by increasing social security payments, we have raised the salaries of Federal workers, we have even adjusted and increased the pensions of the older veterans who do not suffer combat disabilities, but we have not increased, since 1965, the compensation to those disabled veterans who were wounded in action.

H.R. 16027 offers the opportunity to rectify this situation. While we are compassionate, we have acted not only in compassion, for it was also a duty that we provide equitably for these men whose bravery preserved this Republic for us and our children.

We have not assumed that because the laws passed years ago granted a monetary allowance to our disabled veterans, that we could shelve forever a review of their needs. In fact, it is but fair that we reassess every so often those commitments to see if they have fulfilled the intent of initially granting these benefits.

In reality, by considering this legislation yesterday we have done just that. We are reassessing our commitment. When we approved this bill, we decided that the amounts which were granted several years ago did not meet our requirements—that the increases were needed to fulfill our intent.

We recently passed the Independent Offices Appropriations bill. It contained almost $7 billion for the Veterans' Administration. Of this amount over $4½ billion was designated for compensation and pensions. If we pass this legislation today, we will be providing an additional $234.7 million the first year for some 1,951,000 disabled veterans. Because of the conflict in Vietnam, we can expect that the disabled veteran population will increase, and it is estimated that within 5 years the total recipients will increase to 1,964,000, and will cost about $236.2 million a year more than the present benefit program.

It is true that we are budget conscious, perhaps more so this year than ever before. But our obligation is clear. If cuts must be made, they must not be in a field where sufficient funding is not only most needed, but also most deserved.

By enacting this legislation we have provided a $100 a month increase to those men who are totally disabled from the scars of battle. Others, with lesser disabilities, will receive an across-the-board increase of 8 percent. It also provides a monthly increase of $50 for those whose disabilities require regular aid and attendance.

No disabled veteran should suffer because we have failed to see his need and failed to provide what is required. In my mind there is no doubt but that the cost of living for the 100-percent disabled has increased such that the increases we have approved will only make an adjustment, because of our economic situation, in line with the disabled's actual needs.

In addition, by approving this legislation, we have provided that invalid lifts, any type of therapeutic or rehabilitative devices, and other medical equipment and supplies will be supplied in cases where the seriously disabled require them. It is only just and right that we have passed this legislation which provides such a service to these men who suffer their disability because of their service to our country.

These men responded to the Nation's call when it needed them. Yesterday we responded to their need by enacting this legislation.

REHABILITATION OF PERSONS HAVING IMPAIRED HEARING

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to an interesting effort in business-government cooperation. The National Hearing Aid Society and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have agreed to work together toward maximum rehabilitation of the more than 8,000,000 persons in the United States who are handicapped by impaired hearing by signing a "Statement of Principles of Cooperation." This agreement is aimed at providing more effective services to individuals who are hard of hearing.

As a part of the agreement, the Department will encourage State vocational rehabilitation agencies to recognize the society as a representative organization at the national level for ethical hearing aid dealers and to cooperate with its members in educational and training programs to upgrade performance standards and by acknowledging referrals made by member dealers.

To familiarize more hearing handicapped people with the services of the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program, NHAS will urge its members to work closely with the program by referring individuals in need of such services and by cooperating in educational, training and research and demonstration programs financed or sponsored by the agency.

The agreement, which was jointly announced by Mary E. Switzer, Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service, and Raymond Z. Rich, of Cleveland, president of NHAS, was recently signed in Washington by Miss Switzer, Mr. Rich, Joseph Hunt, Commissioner, Rehabilitation Services Administration, and Joseph C. Lucke, of Miami, vice president of NHAS.

I commend both the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the National Hearing Aid Society for this creative cooperation, which will bring about better services to the hard of hearing in our Nation. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the agreement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE REHABILITATION SERVICES ADMINISTRATION AND THE NATIONAL HEARING AID SOCIETY

The National Hearing Aid Society and the Rehabilitation Services Administration have concurred with the following basic principles of cooperation aimed at more effective services toward maximum rehabilitation opportunities for the hearing handicapped.

BACKGROUND

I. Rehabilitation services

Under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, as amended (PL 89-333, 29 U.S.C.), the following are among the services made available for the purpose of rendering the hearing handicapped fit for gainful occupation consistent with their capabilities.

1. Otological and audiological examinations coupled with a vocational evaluation as the basis for determining eligibility and an appropriate plan of rehabilitation for the individual.
2. Counseling and guidance to select suitable fields of work by relating vocational capacities to job requirements and local vocational opportunities.
3. Any medical, surgical, hospital or other services that will improve a client's hearing ability, or correct any other handicapping conditions found through the medical examination.
4. Any aid that is required to help in communicating with others, such as a hearing device, training in speech reading, speech correction, fingerspelling, sign language, auditory training, interpreting services or other related services.
5. Vocational training to furnish new skills, if indicated. The training may be in public or private schools, college or university, on the job, by correspondence or by tutor.
6. Financial assistance to provide maintenance and transportation as appropriate during the rehabilitation process.
7. Placement in a suitable job, and in certain instances provision of occupational tools, and in other specific instances equipment, licenses and stock for a small business.

8. Follow-up on performance in employment to ensure client and employer satisfaction.

II. Services provided by the National Hearing Aid Society

The National Hearing Aid Society is an organization of ethical hearing aid dealers. The purposes of the Society are:

1. To establish and maintain standards of excellence for the training, knowledge, experience and character of its members requisite to issuing its official certification to qualified members.
2. To establish and maintain among its members a Code of Ethical Practices.
3. To establish and maintain a unified voice at the national and State levels for those actively and principally engaged in the retail fitting and selling of hearing aids.
4. To establish and maintain liaison mechanisms to deal with issues of common interests to its members, otologists, other related medical disciplines, audiologists, speech pathologists, teachers of the deaf, public school educators, and other groups concerned with hearing problems.
5. To promote and encourage hearing conservation and auditory rehabilitation as a community responsibility through cooperation with national, State, and local governmental agencies concerned with hearing problems.
6. To promote and encourage the acceptance of hearing aids as a method of auditory rehabilitation when medical or surgical correction is not possible.

PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION

I. Vocational rehabilitation

1. The Rehabilitation Services Administration encourages State rehabilitation agencies to become familiar with the purposes and goals of the National Hearing Aid Society membership requirements, State and local affiliates, and certification standards, codes of ethics, and grievance policies and procedures.
2. The Rehabilitation Services Administration will encourage State rehabilitation agencies to recognize the National Hearing Aid Society as a representative organization at the national level for hearing aid dealers.[1]
3. The Rehabilitation Services Administration will encourage State rehabilitation agencies to make full and proper use of hearing aid dealers such as those who are bona fide members of the National Hearing Aid Society.
4. The Rehabilitation Services Administration will encourage State rehabilitation agencies to acknowledge referrals made by member dealers. This should not be construed in any manner to imply the revealing of any information about the client whatsoever deemed of a personal or confidential nature.
5. The Rehabilitation Services Administration shall encourage State rehabilitation agencies to cooperate in educational and training programs affiliated with or sponsored by the National Hearing Aid Society for the purpose of upgrading membership standards of performance in assisting the hearing handicapped.

II. Dealer relations

In order that more hearing handicapped people may become familiar with and utilize the services of the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program, the National Hearing Aid Society shall promote the following activities:

1. The National Hearing Aid Society will encourage individual members to become familiar with the purpose and goals of the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program. Included should be familiarity with location of facilities, services provided and eligibility requirements.
2. The National Hearing Aid Society will encourage individual members to make full and proper use of the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program through the referral of those individuals who may be in need of such services.
3. The National Hearing Aid Society shall encourage its State affiliates and individual members to undertake and cooperate in studies and projects as might contribute to more effective relations between its members and the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program.
4. The National Hearing Aid Society shall encourage its State affiliates and individual members to cooperate in educational, training, and research and demonstration programs financed or sponsored by the Rehabilitation Service Administration as related to rehabilitation of the hearing handicapped.

MARY E. SWITZER,
Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service.
JOSEPH HUNT,
Commissioner, Rehibilitation Services Administration.
RAYMOND Z. RICH,
President, National Hearing Aid Society.
JOSEPH C. LUCKE,
Vice-President, National Hearing Aid Society.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, is there further morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The BILL CLERK. A bill (H.R. 18785) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, yesterday the Senate started to deliberate and consider H.R. 18785, the 1969 appropriation bill for military construction. I made an opening statement at that time and detailed the action of the Appropriations Committee.

The bill was from the subcommittee reported unanimously to the full committee, and then from the full committee to the Senate with dissenting views insofar as the ABM was concerned, signed by four members of that committee.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, the pending business is the military construction appropriation bill. I am aware of two items on which there are differences of opinion and on which I am sure there will be expressions. I know of the interest of the distinguished senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] in the anti-ballistic-missile item in the bill and also the interest of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] in that particular item. I am advised that the Senator from Kentucky will be in the Chamber shortly to speak in opposition to the appropriation allowance for the ABM.

Mr. President, there is another item in the appropriation bill which I believe will cause some questions and discussion by certain Members of the Senate. I refer to the item for the Navy Mine Defense Laboratory in Panama City, Fla. This is a deep ocean engineering pressure building to be constructed at a cost of $7,411,000. This amount was authorized in the military construction authorization bill. It was funded by the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives. Our committee, in considering this item, denied funds for this deep ocean engineering pressure building at the Navy Mine Defense Laboratory, Panama City, Fla. The committee stated that it fully supported a national commitment for exploitation of the sea, but questioned the propriety of funding this item at this particular time on two counts.

First, a facility of this nature, having as its purpose extending man's capability to work to an ocean depth of 2,000 feet, should receive the most careful and detailed examination during the planning stage. Not only should all available expertise be brought to bear for technical reasons, but also because of human safety considerations. Laboratory simulation of a man-rated 2,000 feet depth ocean environment will tax the state of the art of both biological and physical knowledge. The time required to accomplish such high quality planning and design raises serious doubts that the construction will be ready for obligation in fiscal year 1969. Information obtained by the committee staff leads to a clear conclusion that little more than site clearing and minor preparation will be ready for construction contracting in fiscal year 1969. At most, a delay of construction funding until next year will only delay actual construction by a very short time.

This was one of the reasons the committee denied the item, based upon our experience in handling other military construction items where they are not planned and all the details worked out in advance. We sometimes fund these projects before they should be funded and as a result we have had some bad engineering estimates. I could give instances of this in the West Point area.

Mr. President, I know of the keen interest of the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND]. The Senator from Florida spoke to me last evening and indicated he does wish to be heard on this matter and he has certain information to furnish. I had hoped he would be in the Chamber. Before we reach third reading I will attempt, during a quorum call, to reach him to advise that we are about to take up this item.

---

[1] Hearing aid dealers for this purpose are persons, firms, corporations and organizations engaged in the selection and sale of any instruments, devices, and parts and accessories designed for or represented as aiding or compensating for defective hearing.

The second factor of concern to the committee is the extent to which this item has been coordinated with other oceanographic facilities. Last year the Navy proposed to construct an undersea warfare laboratory at Los Alamitos, Calif. The Senate Armed Services Committee denied authorization for this item stating in their Report No. 570:

> * * * further study should be made by the Navy to determine how many such centers are anticipated and whether this is, if fact, the most suitable location for this laboratory."

The absence of this undersea laboratory from the current program, and other information obtained by the committee indicates this study still is not completed.

Prudence and the current fiscal climate demand an affirmative showing that the deep ocean engineering pressure building is uniquely required, and is urgently required in the fiscal year 1969 program.

It seemed to the committee that the Navy was moving forward a little prematurely. I hope the Senator from Florida might share that view in light of our strong statement that in any event we feel there is a need for advancing in this field, but it should not be until such time as the studies are completed as to how many of these deep ocean pressure facilities the national commitment requires. Until that information is forthcoming, as well as additional information as to the extent to which the planning and design work has gone forward, it appeared to the committee this could be properly deferred until the next fiscal year, because of the very tight fiscal situation we find ourselves in and the great pressure on Congress for dollars for a variety of reasons.

Now I am delighted to yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I should like to ask a few questions with respect to the housing program involved in the bill. I observe that there is recommended for appropriation $58,700,000 for family housing.

On page 8 of the report is contained the statement that agreements will be made between the U.S. Government on the one hand and builders on the other, providing for the construction of 5,000 units of housing.

The report further states:

> To attract builders of suitable housing, the U.S. Government guarantees a predetermined percentage of occupancy (not to exceed 97 percent) at prescribed rental charges for a period of time (not to exceed 10 years).

I am prompted to put the questions on the basis of what the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] argued the other day, that in the building of postal facilities, terms are obtained by the private builders which procure for them practically a full return on their investment at the end of 10 or 12 years and, thereafter, still leaves them in full ownership.

I quote it again:

> To attract builders of suitable housing, the U.S. Government guarantees a predetermined percentage of occupancy (not to exceed 97 percent) at prescribed rental charges for a period of time (not to exceed 10 years).

Concerning the prescribed rental charges, would they be agreed upon between the builder and the Government?

Mr. BIBLE. I would say to my good friend from Ohio that my understanding is that they would not.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Has there been an analysis or study made to determine at what period the owners would become fully reimbursed for their expenditure through the guaranteed rentals that will be paid?

Mr. BIBLE. I believe, insofar as the experience of the Defense Department is concerned, that the rental guarantee on family housing, which the Senator read from in the report, the term of years generally worked out is a term of 20 years.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The bill says that the Government will guarantee not more than 97-percent occupancy for a period of 10 years. Would that mean that at the end of 10 years, the builder or sponsor would completely recoup his initial investment and still have ownership of the housing?

Mr. BIBLE. My understanding is that it would not result in that. The prescribed rental lease would be for a period not to exceed 10 years. It would not be completely amortized insofar as the owner's interest or equity in the housing unit would be concerned. A study has been made so that if it was for 20 years, it would be fully amortized. I suppose that this could be renegotiated at the end of 10 years. Quite frequently it is.

This is cut to 10 years simply because it is located overseas and our obligations and commitments there will vary in the future. I think that is the reason they cut it to a lesser period of time.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The committee, however, has made certain that the rentals charged and the period during which the rental payments will be guaranteed will not give to the sponsor or to the builder any extraordinary favors?

Mr. BIBLE. We believe that we have worked it out in that method, I would say to my friend from Ohio, but the whole problem of family housing both overseas and in the continental United States is a troublesome one, and has been to the committee for many years. We think this particular method of approaching the problem, particularly in the United Kingdom, is the best that we have been able to design to date.

Mr. LAUSCHE. As I have said, it was pointed out by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] that the present method of building post offices, allowing the private investor to build and then having the Government pay the rentals, has resulted in many instances of the initial capital investment being recouped in a rather short period of time, with the whole building continuing to remain in the possession of the builder.

The Senator has answered my questions, that this matter has been explored and it has been concluded that the rentals that will be guaranteed will not give undue advantage to the builder recouping in full his investment; is that not correct?

Mr. BIBLE. That is the belief of the committee. We do not think this creates an unjust enrichment. I would be less than frank with the Senator from Ohio if I did not tell him that I am not completely satisfied with the family housing situation because we have many problems of this kind every year with the program. The bill as brought before the Senate in this particular legislation is about the most austere which has been reported in recent years. Actually, it calls for only 2,000 housing units. There was a backlog of some 10,000 units which is now being placed under contract.

We are making definite headway in this overall family housing problem.

Mr. LAUSCHE. To obtain a clear understanding of what the bill provides, does it mandate that there shall be a 97-percent occupancy, or does it provide that the agreement shall not undertake an obligation in excess of 97 percent but may be less than 97 percent?

Mr. BIBLE. My understanding is that they guarantee the sponsor an average of 97 percent.

Mr. LAUSCHE: The report states:

> To attract builders of suitable housing, the U.S. Government guarantees a predetermined percentage of occupancy (not to exceed 97 percent) * * *.

I would construe that to mean that they guarantee 60 percent; is that not correct?

Mr. BIBLE. I think the agreement is that it guarantees an average of 97 percent; but, in any event, not to exceed 97 percent.

Mr. LAUSCHE. There is also to be inserted into the agreement what the rental charges shall be during the period that the guarantee is in effect.

Mr. BIBLE. It is my understanding that this amount is the equivalent of the quarters allowance given to the enlisted man and officers.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I thank the Senator from Nevada very much.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, notified the Senate that pursuant to the provisions of section 804(b), Public Law 90-351, the Speaker had appointed Mr. ST. ONGE of Connecticut, Mr. TENZER of New York, Mr. McCULLOCH of Ohio, and Mr. POFF of Virginia as members of the National Commission for the Review of Federal and State Laws Relating to Wiretapping and Electronic Surveillance, on the part of the House.

The message announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the bill (S. 3865) to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3710) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15387) to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes;

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15758) to amend the Public Health Service Act so as to extend and improve the provisions relating to regional medical programs, to extend the authorization of grants for health of migratory agricultural workers, to provide for specialized facilities for alcoholics and narcotic addicts, and for other purposes; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. STAGGERS, Mr. JARMAN, Mr. ROGERS of Florida, Mr. SATTERFIELD, Mr. KYROS, Mr. SPRINGER, Mr. NELSEN, Mr. CARTER, and Mr. SKUBITZ, were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2269) to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3416) to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize the rendering of direct assistance to and performance of special services for the Inaugural Committee, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had concurred in the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1093) to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The mesage also announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 12323) to amend chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the retired serviceman's family protection plan, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. MORGAN, Mr. ZABLOCKI, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. HAYS, Mr. ADAIR, Mr. MAILLIARD, and Mr. BROOMFIELD were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18706) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. NATCHER, Mr. GIAIMO, Mr. PATTEN, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. MAHON, Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin, Mr. McDADE, Mr. RIEGLE, and Mr. JONAS were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 17126) to amend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 1166. An act to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety standards for the transportation of natural and other gas by pipeline, and for other purposes; and

S. 2060. An act to amend section 503(f) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to extend for a period for 5 years the authorization to make appropriations for allocations and grants for the collection and publication of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 18785) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

THE BASIC FALLACIES IN THE PROPOSED ABM SYSTEM

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, last June I joined 33 of my colleagues in voting for the Cooper-Hart amendment to the military construction authorization, an amendment which would have eliminated the funds requested for construction, and subsequently procurement of missiles, for the Sentinel ABM system. That amendment would have reduced the defense budget this year a total of $615 million.

My opposition to the deployment of such an ABM system at this time was based on a review of all testimony on the subject before various Senate committees.

At the time the amendment was offered, I stated:

> This testimony has convinced me that neither the Defense Department, nor the Administration, has made any firm broad policy decision with respect to increasing the "Damage Limiting"—defensive—capability of the United States which would justify at this time the deployment of an ABM system against a possible attack from any aggressor.

My conclusion has not changed since that statement of over a month ago; in fact, additional information brought to light, plus subsequent developments, make me believe that arguments advanced in support of such are even weaker.

During the debate on the ABM question, I stated I could not support deployment of such a system at this time, basing my position on the fact I could not accept two of the major arguments advanced by the administration; namely, first, the time was such that the United States should begin development of an ABM against a possible future Chinese missile threat; and, second, the Chinese could be expected to act more irrationally than the Soviet Union; therefore, a thin defensive system, in addition to our "assured destruction" offensive capability, was needed as an extra deterrent against this lesser alleged threat.

This latter argument for spending $5 to $10 billion on a "drawing board" thin system, the effectiveness of which is questionable indeed, is just too tenuous to be acceptable.

As to the other major argument, in the previous debate it was pointed out that a high Defense Department official admitted there has been "at least a 1-year slip in the Chinese ICBM program beyond what we expected when we made the deployment decision." Therefore, it would appear the so-called threat has been reduced.

If they have slipped a year, and in that no one knows whether or not this proposed ABM system will work, why can we not proceed with research and development, but hold up production for a year?

Why should we not postpone our own decision to deploy a system to counter said postponed threat?

As stated, until recently, the administration had based its request for a Chinese-oriented system on the foregoing major arguments; and at the same time, also until recently, the administration and those in support of the Sentinel had argued the latter was not designed as a building block for constructing a "thick" ABM against a possible attack by the Soviet Union. They maintained that an ABM designed against possible Soviet nuclear attack was technologically infeasible at present, also that maintaining our assured destruction offensive capability would be a far more effective utilization of resources.

It has also been argued by the former Secretary of Defense and other members of the Defense Department that construction of such an ABM system could well hinder United States-Soviet talks with respect to possible strategic arms limitation.

Apparently realizing the fundamental weakness of their arguments, those in support of the Sentinel ABM system suddenly switched the base of their position, no longer pointing to the Chinese threat as "the" reason for deployment of the Sentinel.

Now apparently the proposed Sentinel is also the United States' answer to the limited Soviet deployment around one city—and that is all anybody states they have done—deploy around one city—and this U.S. system, while it would not provide a complete shield of protection for our population, could be expected to reduce casualties from an all-out Soviet nuclear attack by 20 million, provided the Soviets did not improve their penetration aids in effort to counter any ABM system of our own.

This argument is now being made only 6 months after the Secretary of Defense stated to the Senate Armed Services Committee:

> There is no point whatever in our responding to a massive ABM deployment or their part with a massive ABM deployment of our own. Instead, we should act realistically and further strengthen our offensive forces, if and when necessary, to preserve our "Assured Destruction" capability.

At the time of the recent debate, the argument was also advanced that building the Sentinel ABM could, as in an international game of poker, present the United States with a stronger hand in its negotiations for an arms limitation agreement with the Russians. Let us note, however, that this stand is a complete about-face from the earlier administration position. That position was that an ABM system oriented in any way toward a possible Russian nuclear attack could well hinder United States-Soviet talks regarding arms limitation.

On June 27, only 3 days after the Senate defeated the amendment to postpone deployment of the Sentinel ABM, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko announced that the Soviet Union would be willing to talk with the United States about strategic arms limitation. Those who supported deployment of the Sentinel ABM thereupon promptly claimed their vote in favor of such deployment had accomplished exactly what they said it would, namely, had forced the Soviets to agree to commence talks on a limitation of strategic weapons.

Anyone with any knowledge of the workings of the Kremlin, however, would find it very difficult indeed to believe that such a momentous decision as the beginning of talks with the United States on this vital matter was the result of a vote in the Senate of the United States taken 3 days before.

More believable would be the fact that the Soviets, because of their effort around only one of their cities, Moscow, now realize the enormous expense that would be involved if they decided to deploy an ABM system around their country. They must also now realize that such a system could not possibly provide a complete defense against a nuclear attack from the United States.

Perhaps the Soviets also decided that the effectiveness of such a system could not be guaranteed even on a limited basis. If they did, that would coincide precisely with our own experiences to date.

The Soviets are also having problems on the homefront. In this connection, a recent article in the Christian Science Monitor refers to a statement by Vladimir X. Sitnin, chairman of the state price committee in the Soviet Union. This statement asserts that a rising cost spiral in the Soviet Union has necessitated a reduction of defense costs.

Mr. Sitnin reports that the high level of production costs in major industries has made it necessary to institute price reform. Even with that price reform, however, the price of coal has been raised 78 percent, which is 50 percent above the world market price; and the price of natural gas has gone up about 50 percent.

This article concludes:

> The way out, wrote Mr. Sitnin, consists in an all around reduction of costs as a result of a big spurt in labor productivity and a dropping of non-productive government expenses, among which the cost of the nuclear weapons race is an especially important factor.

Mr. President, if the Soviet Union admits it unwise to expend vast sums on a questionable defense system at this time, why should the United States, a country that is already spending some $2.5 billion a month in Vietnam alone, plus billions on other defenses, a country that has watched go down the drain billions upon billions of dollars of taxpayers' money in missile development that later proved worthless, spend additional billions at this time on an ABM system which its chief advocates would be the first to admit may not work?

Even if the decision by the Soviets to have talks on nuclear arms limitation went through their bureaucracy only 3 days after the Senate vote, it would appear that those who argue in support of the Sentinel ABM on the basis it would force the Soviets to agree to talks, have now argued themselves out of the need to deploy such a system. In accepting Premier Kosygin's invitation to talk about arms limitation, it would also appear that a decision now to go ahead with the deployment of an ABM system would show that our willingness to talk about limitations was nothing more than words.

Why should the Soviets discuss seriously any limitation on nuclear weapons when they know that, at the same time this country was continuing with its plans to build an extensive ABM system; a system it was said was originally designed for defense only against China. Now, however, its proponents emphasize it is a defense against the Soviet Union? We have spent all these billions to be sure our missiles can get in if we are attacked. Now we plan to reverse ourselves, and say we must spend all these additional billions in effort to keep their missiles out.

No matter how ineffective this system turned out to be—and I believe it will be as ineffective as all the past systems—going ahead with it will be a contribution to accelerating the very arms race this administration says it desires to slow down.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at this point?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to my friend from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. It seems to me that the Senator is raising a very serious question of fact, that those of us who do not serve on the Committee on Armed Services, as he does, need to be enlightened about.

My interpretation of what the Senator has already said is that he seriously doubts that there is convincing evidence that this ABM system will work, or that it will accomplish what the Pentagon alleges its purpose is.

Can the Senator tell the Senate on what basis he raises this question of doubt as to the scientific value of this system, which is eventually going to cost, as he says, $100 billion? His statement causes me to wonder whether or not we even have enough scientific data to justify making any contribution to the system at the present time.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I would answer my able friend this way, regardless of his desire to proceed with this system, could come to the floor of the Senate, or anywhere else, and say he is sure this system will work.

It is a system still strictly in the research and development stage, and the willingness of the U.S. Government to go into various systems without careful and thorough research effort at least to the point of being able to test properly, has, over the years, cost the taxpayers many billions of dollars.

I could name instance after instance. It is on record that the foremost authority on these matters, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] has stated that he felt one of the most unfortunate decisions he ever made was to approve frigates to carry missiles the Navy wanted, because although the frigates were well built, the missiles did not work.

The same thing is true of the Air Force Bomarc and the Nike-Ajax on which we spent $2.5 billion, and which is obsolete today. The same thing would be true of the Atlas and others.

Important things were learned as a result of these gigantic expenditures. But I am saying this tendency to come to Congress and ask for billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money before Defense has followed the normal businesslike course of testing thoroughly before cutting a unit into full production must be stopped. If it is not stopped, the taxpayers of this country will not be able to bear the burden.

Mr. MORSE. Will the Senator yield for one further intervention, to be followed by a question?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I wish to say for the RECORD that the Senator from Missouri not only was formerly Secretary of the Air Force, before coming to the Senate, but also is now, in the Senate, a member of both the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Foreign Relations, the two committees which have the closest contacts with the foreign policy of this country, which includes, of course, our defense policies.

I happen to know he has continued, ever since he ceased being Secretary of the Air Force, to maintain a constant and abiding interest in the air policies of our country and its defenses. Therefore, his opinion carries great weight with me when I come to vote on any matter involving the defense of our country.

So, with that as a basis for my placing my reliance on the Senator from Missouri, my question is this: Am I to understand from the comments of the Senator from Missouri thus far in this debate that he is urging us not to vote the amount of money provided in this bill, because it is his best judgment that the ABM program has not been developed to the point, scientifically, that we have any reason to rely upon its workability after we spend the billions of dollars we will eventually spend if we start the program by way of appropriations today?

Mr. SYMINGTON. The Senator is right. I do not plan to offer an amendment at this time, because we will have another look at it when the appropriation bills come up in September. My primary purpose this morning was to give the facts. The Senate's decision should be based on the facts.

For example, may I say to the Senator from Oregon that I made certain comments in a letter to the able and distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], who handled this matter in the committee:

> 1. It is by no means certain the Soviets plan to deploy a heavy ABM system. So far no intelligence shows they so plan. But if the United States decides to proceed with a system, this may prompt the Soviets to do likewise.

It is true that they have proceeded around just one town, but there is no evidence they have gone any farther. All the evidence is to the contrary:

> In effect, therefore, this would mean the United States was taking the lead in a new arms race.
>
> 2. Any defensive system is founded on assumptions about the nature of the offense it is intended to counter. An enemy may choose to depend on alternative modes of attack that outwit any ABM system. The French learned the truth of this inflexibility when Hitler stabbed at the heart of France by skirting the Maginot Line and attacking with numerically inferior forces.

I once asked the head of the Air Force years ago, "Why is it you establish these lines of defense where you hope they will attack? Why would they not attack from another point, now that they know you have a defense in these places?"

I never received a satisfactory answer.

The third point in my comments to the Senator from Mississippi was as follows:

> 3. The performance requirements for an effective ABM system are extreme. They may be incapable of adequate operational testing. Highly qualified defense experts contend that a "90-percent success in interception constitutes failure in the inverted terms of thermonuclear warfare."

Twenty-five years ago, if you destroyed 6 percent of an incoming force, you knew they would stop, because they could not stand the attrition. Today you still lose your city if you get 96 percent:

> Thermonuclear weapons are so devastating in their effects that a defensive shield would have to be virtually leakproof or impenetrable.
>
> 4. Given the fact a Nike-X shield would be penetrable, one must provide for "leakage." This means that even the most expensive Nike-X system would require a back-up of a shelter system to protect the civilian population against weapons that penetrate the defense. Several years ago shelters were rejected by the American people. Given the present civil strife in metropolitan areas, it seems improbable that nuclear-weapon shelters will enjoy popular support. Ghetto-dwellers need a different kind of shelter.
>
> 5. Deployment of a thick Nike-X system can be countered by the Soviet option of building more ICBM's to override the defense. This point was made by Secretary McNamara in his fiscal year 1968 testimony before Congress.
>
> The Secretary stated that efforts to raise a stout shield would increase the level of attack and wash out the value of ballistic defense, adding:
>
> "In all probability, all we would accomplish would be to increase greatly both their defense expenditures and our own, without any gain in real security to either side—and that is the nub of the argument."

In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on July 12, Director William Foster, of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, stated that he believed the Soviet offer to discuss control and limitation of nuclear weapons was a sincere gesture.

If there is even a chance the Soviets are sincere, why should the United States not express sincerity by postponing deployment of this unproved Sentinel system at least until there had been some discussion. "Unproved" is an important word.

At this same hearing, Secretary Rusk testified:

> We feel that until we get an understanding and agreement it would be important for us to maintain the preliminary work that is now being done on ABM's.

I am not quite certain to what "preliminary work" Secretary Rusk was referring; but it would seem that the expenditure of over $1 billion for the construction of sites and procurement of missiles constitutes more than just any "preliminary work," particularly as it is now clear such preliminary work would in all probability—based on tremendous price increases primarily due to engineering changes that we have watched over the last quarter of a century—commit us in the long run to an expenditure of over $100 billion.

As we know only too well, once a project of this character is started in Government, any effort to slow down or stop it becomes very difficult indeed.

On the other hand, "preliminary work" could refer to the continuation of research and development on an ABM system. That I have always approved. I would hope therefore that we would continue with ABM research and development instead of committing ourselves now to the expenditure of billions of dollars for construction and production.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to the distinguished Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, did I correctly understand the Senator to say in quoting the Secretary of State that the administration would not propose to go ahead on deploying the ABM system provided the Soviets agreed not to deploy such a system?

Mr. SYMINGTON. The Secretary said, "We feel that until we get an understanding and agreement, it would be important for us to obtain the preliminary work that is now being done on ABM."

Mr. McGOVERN. But there is no implication that we would abandon the system if the Soviets agreed to abandon it?

Mr. SYMINGTON. No. May I say to the Senator that what began to worry me was when we first said we were only going to create this system to protect ourselves from the Chinese. That is when I got off the bus. It was such a ridiculous argument. Now, when the ridiculous aspect of that argument becomes clear, they say, "We didn't really mean that. We meant that it would be a building block for the Soviets."

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, as noted in previous testimony, there are two defense systems in the Soviet Union; namely the Galosh, deployed around Moscow only, and the Tallinn, deployed around the countryside.

Regarding the latter system, there follows a colloquy between the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown, in appropriations on May 6, 1968. This colloquy would appear to show conclusively that the Tallinn system is built against bomber attack, and not against nuclear attack. The colloquy reads:

TALLINN SYSTEM DESIGNED AGAINST AIRCRAFT

> Senator RUSSELL. I thought I saw water there. I thought that was the finest cooperation I had seen between the Navy and Air Force: the Air Force firing a Polaris. Are you still convinced that the Tallinn system that the Russians have installed is designed only against aircraft?
>
> Secretary BROWN. I have looked at it, myself. The system is apparently designed for use within the atmosphere. It would most probably be used against an aerodynamic threat rather than a ballistic missile threat.
>
> Now, it is possible that such a system might have some limited capability to defend itself against ballistic missile attack, but the Tallinn system is deployed away from cities, which means it is not in the right place to serve a ballistic missile defense role for cities.
>
> I would have to admit that one could add the radars and missiles that would make it a ballistic missile defense system, but you would be starting almost from scratch.
>
> I think it has almost no capability.
>
> Senator RUSSELL. I have been worried about the idea of destroying a missile over the cities. I think if we can stop them somewhere more distant we would be more effective in cutting down radiations. You are going to have some radiation, I don't care how high you hit it. Hitting them at 250,000 feet, you are still going to have some radiation.

Parenthetically, I think the Senate should know, and it will know, that plenty of radiation would come from both Spartans and Sprints.

Mr. President, I continue to read the colloquy:

> Secretary BROWN. A defense ahead of the city is a useful component of a ballistic missile defense system, Mr. Chairman, but the Tallinn system is less able to defend something behind it than it is to defend itself.
>
> It has almost no capability, but it may have a marginal capability to defend itself.
>
> Senator RUSSELL. We have a number of people who are quite knowledgeable in that field who think it is a capable missile, and the intelligence forces of at least one so-called free country are convinced that it is an antimissile system.
>
> Secretary BROWN. The majority of our intelligence community believes it is an antibomber system, and that is what the evidence looks like to me. One can never be 100 percent sure in these matters.

It is in order to say that I have looked at all intelligence available with respect to the Tallinn system and the Galosh system, and will stake any reputation I may have in this field that the Tallinn system is not an antimissile system.

I was impressed by what the chairman of our committee asked Dr. Brown. The former always gets to the core of these matters. So I asked for a special intelligence briefing on this, so as to look at everything we have. I base the above statement on the results of that briefing.

If true, it means we are going to spend a gigantic amount of money, tens of billions of dollars, while the Soviets try it around one city. In that connection, I found that what they planned has now been very much reduced in effort.

This entire ABM matter will come before the Senate later this year when military procurement itself will be voted on. If at that time, as evidence against going ahead with the production of an ABM system accumulates, we do not approve the $342.7 million requested for these planned theoretical missiles, there will be no need to proceed with the purchase and construction of any sites.

It is now also clear that the deployment of these antiballistic missile launchers around Moscow—the Galosh system—has not proceeded nearly as much as was predicted a few months ago.

Commenting on the effectiveness of any Soviet missile defense system, Secretary Brown remarked in the hearings previously referred to:

> I think there is no chance that they could stop our missiles; however, I do believe it is true that the Soviets have spent much more on defensive systems than we have.
>
> They have spent more on air defense than we have, not only a larger fraction of their defense expenditures, but probably a higher absolute amount—and not to very much advantage.
>
> I think it is clear that we can penetrate their air defenses without bombers.
>
> They have spent more money than we have on ballistic missile defense deployment. I do not think they have spent more money on ballistic missile defense research and development, but they have deployed antiballistic missile defenses, and we have not.
>
> Again, I am sure this will not, if nuclear war comes, save them from unacceptable damage. I am really completely convinced of this.

I would emphasize that point again and again, because we have already spent billions to insure that with our missiles we can get into any country which attacked us. Now we say we have to spend additional billions to defend against their missilry. This is especially unfortunate because I, for one, am skeptical that we can have an antiballistic missile defense which would prevent destruction of our cities by a first-class nuclear power.

It is for these reasons I continue to oppose at this time any additional appropriations for an ABM system, except the money necessary for a continuing of the research and development; and opposition to going into construction and production would appear even more logical now that agreement has been reached, between the Soviets and ourselves, to begin talks on limitation of nuclear weapons.

There are less, but still a lot, of professional anti-Communist people who do not trust these humans just because they are Russians. But I notice what we have done in Vietnam. I notice also what the South Vietnamese Government has just done to one of their leaders in that uncredible trial. And I also notice that there seems to be a dialog going on in a small building over in Europe between a powerless country and the most powerful country in the world except the United States. It could give a little feeling of reassurance that perhaps these people are learning as we are learning about the mutual suicide of nuclear war.

Perhaps they are now willing to sit down if for no other reason the fact they now know what the cost of an ABM system would be.

After latest intelligence reports, it is my conviction that proceeding with the deployment of an ABM system now would hinder if not destroy this chance of the two superpowers arriving at a meaningful agreement to that end.

Deployment of an ABM system at this time could well eliminate any chance of reducing the heavy cost of this new arms race, a race which would seriously and perhaps permanently cripple our society, either through incipient national bankruptcy, or the neglect of problems here at home for which we now know Federal funds are so desperately needed.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CASE. The Senator from Missouri has made an extremely significant, important, and helpful statement, and I thank him for it.

I was happy to join with him and the majority leader and the Senator from Wisconsin in expressing our dissent from that part of the pending bill which would appropriate $227 million for the construction phase of this so-called thin anti-ballistic-missile system. The Senator has added important facts as well as the weight of his important opinion and experience on the side, I think, of reason in this controversy.

I am confident that before too long we shall persuade the majority of the Members of this body and of Congress as a whole—and I hope the executive branch and the American people—that this not only would be a waste of money and unwise but also would be positively harmful in its effect upon what we hope is a growing possibility of discussions between the United States and Russia in regard to the limitation of armaments, both offensive and defensive, as to which the President has expressed such feeling. And we share his hopes and aspirations in this regard.

That there can be no value, so far as we can see, in this thin system seems clearer all the time. That it can be positively harmful for us to go ahead at this time also seems clearer all the time. That, in itself, should stop us from taking this step.

Beyond that is the fact that $227 million, plus $300-odd million—a net of some $600 million—could be saved in this fiscal year for purposes at home which are absolutely essential in connection with the rehabilitation of our cities, in connection with the war on poverty, in connection with our effort to bring an end—God knows we must bring an end—to the racial troubles we are undergoing at the moment. Six hundred million dollars would go a long way toward being helpful in this respect.

Every day in my office, at the end of the telephone or in correspondence, I have brought to my attention cities in my home State in which a few hundred thousand dollars may make the difference between a quiet summer and a summer of riots. And this is true all over the country. It is almost a crime to spend these precious resources for something which not only is useless in itself but may even in itself be harmful.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, before yielding to the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, I thank the Senator from New Jersey for his contribution.

For over a quarter of a century, my primary work has been an effort to keep this Nation strong so it can remain free. I have been fooled, as have other Members of this body. I was fooled in the early fifties by statements from highest intelligence that the Russians were building thousands of new bombers. They hardly built any new bombers, not any long-range bombers.

In the late 1950's we were told by highest intelligence that the Soviet had a number of missiles on their launching pads. Within approximately 18 months, from December 1959 to August 1961, in four separate reductions, the highest intelligence in this land reduced the number of estimated ICBM's on launching pads 97½ percent, leaving 2½ percent remaining.

I know my friend from New Jersey is as anxious as I am to protect the security, freedom, and well being of the country. I join him in wanting to know more about whether or not these ABM missiles will really work, whether or not it is right to put them in at this time, a time when we are starting negotiations, we hope, with the Russians. Let us get the facts in this case. Today we have a much better chance of getting those facts because our intelligence is so much better as a result of technological developments. Let us get all possible facts before we commit the United States to this gigantic new arms race, one which will cost the American taxpayers so many billions of dollars.

It is a privilege to yield to the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, who has consistently taken the lead in this matter.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I am sure that all have been impressed by the speech of the distinguished Senator from Missouri and his unanswerable argument.

In June, when the amendment was offered to the authorization bill to strike funds for the deployment of the ABM system, and thus to defer any action, other than research, until next year, the Senator from Missouri made a very powerful supporting speech at that time. It is evident from his speech today that he has been studying this issue even more thoroughly in the intervening period.

We know that he, as a member of the Committee on Armed Services, and one who served in a former administration as Secretary of the Air Force, has a deep interest in any question that involves national defense. I might say that while I am concerned about the cost of this system, if the issue before us were a question of cost versus the security of the Nation, there would be no question about our decision. We would spend any amount of money to insure the safety of the Nation. But that is not the issue.

Since the last time we debated this issue the Senator has brought to us the judgment of individuals in the Department of Defense who know something about the system, as well as his own good judgment.

I recall arguments made a few weeks ago supporting the deployment of an ABM system when this matter was before the Senate. The first argument repeated again and again was that the Soviets are deploying an anti-ballistic-missile system. The general statement connotated that the Soviets were deploying an effective ABM system.

I ask the Senator, from the intelligence he has received, is the Tallinn system an anti-ballistic-missile system?

Mr. SYMINGTON. It is not.

Mr. COOPER. Is the installation at Leningrad a part of an effective anti-ballistic-missile system?

Mr. SYMINGTON. It is not.

Mr. COOPER. Is it not correct that the Department of Defense and our intelligence state that the Galosh system around Moscow has been delayed and the Soviets are not proceeding with its construction expeditiously?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I would answer the able Senator this way. They are not proceeding with it to the extent we were told previously they were going to proceed with it. They apparently have reduced their plans and efforts with respect to the Galosh system.

Mr. COOPER. I ask the Senator if he will answer the general statement made again and again that we must act because the Soviets are deploying an anti-ballistic-missile system which bears the connotation of an effective system. In the Senator's judgment is the Soviet Union deploying an effective anti-ballistic-missile system?

Mr. SYMINGTON. It is not, and there is no evidence to show that it is.

Mr. COOPER. Is it correct that Mr. Brown and others have said the installations made so far would present no difficulty to our offensive missiles?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I would not say "no difficulty." But as I read his words, it has very, very little capability. Probably there would always be some capability.

There is another point I submit to the Senate. Secretary McNamara pointed out that if we went to an anti-ballistic-missile system, along with our tremendous capacity to penetrate, this could only increase the desire of the Soviets to have more offensive weapons.

Although they have not made as much effort in offensive weapons as have we, they have made more of an effort in defensive weapons.

The previous logic of the Department of Defense in this matter appears unanswerable. No one will benefit in the long run from this arms race.

If we do not need this system, we in the Congress should come out frankly and say so.

Mr. COOPER. An argument made again and again during the last debate in the Senate was that the system would save lives; no matter whether anti-Soviet, or whether a thin anti-Communist Chinese system, it would save lives. I am concerned about the saving of lives, but the statement must be examined.

Is it the Senator's judgment that if we should install such a system, and we were not able to reach agreement with the Soviet Union, that they would then install their system and also construct more sophisticated offensive weapons?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad the Senator brought up that point. The argument that it would save 20 million lives would appear pretty specious, because some 90 million would be lost; and more if the Soviets increased their offensive capability with more ICBM's

If the Soviets, who are not spending $2.5 billion a month in Vietnam, and do not have anything like our tremendously expensive worldwide commitments, know that we are building an anti-ballistic-missile system along with our ICBM's and Polarises then to protect themselves they will probably decide on a much larger offensive capability that would destroy, if ever used, many more American lives, unless we continued the arms race by building more nuclear weapons of our own.

Mr. COOPER. The Senator is correct. What would occur would be a change in the level of offensive and defensive weapons.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I would rather say an escalation in weaponry.

Mr. COOPER. As the Senator has so clearly pointed out, when the installation of the anti-ballistic-missile system was proposed it was said it was a thin system for protection against Communist China. However, the Senator knows that on the floor of the Senate and during the House debate it was clearly admitted that the stated purpose now is to install a system which could be built up for protection against the Soviet Union.

Would not the Senator say that, before we start on this course, we should know the purpose of the administration, and the purpose of the Congress? Is our purpose to install a "thin" system at an estimated cost of $6.5 billion, or is it to lay a foundation to install what has been admitted to be an ineffective system against the Soviet Union at a minimum cost of $40 billion?

Does not the Senator think there should be clear evidence of our purpose before we take this step?

Mr. SYMINGTON. First, let us give full recognition of the sincerity of the administration and the Department of Defense in the presentation of this case. With that premise, I do not know. I honestly do not know whether this is just a thin defense system, a sort of limited effort against a future Chinese threat, or the first step in a thick system against the Soviet Union. One cannot find out from the shifting testimony exactly what it is. That is one of the chief reasons why, inasmuch as the administration admits the Chinese have slipped a year, and inasmuch as intelligence states the Soviets are not doing what we thought they were going to do around Moscow—the only place they are making any ABM defense effort—why can we not wait a year instead of committing ourselves to such a gigantic construction and production program?

Mr. COOPER. Can the Senator, from his position on the Committee on Armed Services, state, if this item is deleted, whether research will go ahead on the anti-ballistic-missile system? Would we be behind in effectiveness in 1 year than if we went ahead?

Mr. SYMINGTON. Of course.

One of the chief reasons I am opposed to this particular program is not only because of the money we need so desperately for various domestic programs, but also because of what we need in at least two military fields. The first is submarine. Because of superb work done by the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee it is as clear as light that our submarine program is inadequate.

Nearly 3 years ago I called from Saigon about the urgent need for new fighter planes; but as of today there is not one even in contract definition. Truly, from a defense standpoint:

> We have done those things which we ought not to have done, and we have left undone those things we ought to have done.

Mr. COOPER. The Senator has pointed out so clearly the facts on this subject, that the minimum costs will be $6½ billion to build an ABM system against the Chinese. The minimum cost will be $40 billion against the Soviet Union. Many people estimate $70 billion. Does not the Senator think that Congress and the people of the United States deserve at least 1 year to secure the facts as to what kind of system this is designed to be, and what its cost will be, as well as its effect, before we start on such a program?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I do. That is the basis of my presentation this morning.

Mr. COOPER. One other matter, and then I shall conclude, as there are other Senators wishing to discuss this matter with the Senator from Missouri.

An argument is made that 3 days after the Senate voted to proceed with deployment, the Soviet Government accepted the proposals of the United States for talks upon offensive and defensive weapons including, of course, ABM systems. I am not competent to say whether the Soviet Union made its decision because the Senate voted this way. But I would say that from a very limited experience I had in past years, in dealing with representatives of the Soviet Union I did not find them hasty in action—I remember experience in the General Assembly of United Nations some years ago with the distinguished Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD]; and I remember that shortly before the end of World War II and shortly after, I was in Germany, dealing with the Soviets concerning the return of displaced persons to Russia. My experience is practically nothing concerning Soviet Russia, but my study of their methods, casts doubt that the Soviet Union, with all its layers of bureaucracy would make such an important decision in 3 days. But it did on that basis, and bearing in mind the negotiations which President Johnson has announced he hopes will take place soon, does the Senator believe that the Soviet Union would be very much impressed by an ineffective ABM system? The chief point I desire to make that for the United States or the Soviet Union to begin now the deployment of additional weaponry adds just that much to the difficulty of reaching agreement.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I think the Soviets might believe we had given them further evidence of our desire, ultimately, to start a conflict with them. For a long time we have had, and still have, nuclear weapons very close to their borders, in many lands. I was completely in agreement with President Kennedy when he told Mr. Khrushchev to take his missiles out of Cuba, or else. On the other hand, I personally have seen many of our nuclear weapons very close to the borders of the Soviet Union. We have also, as everyone knows, the Polaris submarine, the greatest strategic weapon of them all. But we now know the Soviets too have Polaris-type submarines.

Every American knows of the growing problems we have in our cities—each day it is a question of which city did it happen in last night. We know also about the tremendous sums needed for adequate educational facilities, and for water and air pollution, all those things we want to do for a better America. If I were in the Kremlin, and discovered this country was going to spend this type and character of money on an unproved ABM system, I might say to myself, "Well, if that is where they are going to put their money, it is clear they have designs on us." Instead of such, to me, unnecessary saber rattling, I would hope we could reach more of a detente with the one country in the world that can destroy us, as we can them.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I close by saying that those who support the beginning of the installation of this system—and we who oppose its installation—are deeply concerned about maintaining the security of the country. The chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Senator Russell, and the Senator from Missouri [Senator Symington] have worked valiantly in that cause for many years. We, who oppose it at this time, consider it a far-reaching step, upon which we and the Nation deserve time and information.

The Senator from Missouri—with wide experience and knowledge—has searched deeply into the facts. He has spoken eloquently of the need for agreements with the Soviet Union. Although it may seem without hope at times, we must continue to work for agreements with the Soviet Union upon nuclear weapons with the hope of lifting their curse from our people and the people of the world, the Senator from Missouri has spoken with a rational mind and voice. Our country deserves the opportunity to determine from the talks—the absence of talks—whether it will be possible to remove, at least to some extent, this terror which is spreading all over the world.

The words of the Senator from Missouri should be heard not only in this Chamber but throughout the land.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I thank the able Senator from Kentucky for his contribution. It is a privilege to join with his leadership in this all important matter.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE KOREAN DELEGATION TO THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, sometimes we become discouraged, and then we realize that we have some great friends in the world. Among those are our friends in the Republic of Korea, whose troops fight side by side with us in Southeast Asia.

Thus, Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me today to introduce to the Senate a member of the Korean National Assembly, who is chairman of the Korean delegation to the Interparliamentary Union—Chang Keun Kim, of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea. [Applause, Senators rising.]

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess for 2 minutes for the purpose of meeting our distinguished visitor; provided that the Senator from Missouri shall not lose his right to the flood.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 28 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess for 2 minutes.

The Senate reassembled at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. Spong in the chair).

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 18785) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I believe, when we recessed, it was the understanding that the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Symington] would not lose his right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Missouri yield to me?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to the able Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. How much is being requested for the ABM for fiscal year 1969?

Mr. SYMINGTON. $615 million; for construction only, $227 million.

Mr. MANSFIELD. What is the $227 million to be used for?

Mr. SYMINGTON. For the purchase of sites, and so forth.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Have all the sites been selected, or would sites still have to be purchased?

Mr. SYMINGTON. Based on what I hear in my own State, they are still looking for sites.

Mr. MANSFIELD. In the Senator's opinion, would there be any harm in postponing this particular authorization for 1 year?

Mr. SYMINGTON. The majority leader well expresses my thought. We know there has been a slippage in the Chinese effort. We know there has been an interesting retrenchment in the Soviet effort. I would hope, because of the gigantic levies from all sides on our Treasury, we could postpone this for a year.

Since we last discussed this matter, two things have occurred. We now have an unfavorable balance of foreign trade even in the private sector. This could be disastrous if it continues. Second, the Federal deficit last year was $25,400 million higher even than any estimate we have ever heard.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to my friend from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If what the Senator says is correct, and it is intended eventually to spend in excess of $6 billion to build a "thin" ABM system, which we were told originally by Secretary McNamara, and since by his assistants, was for defense against China, but which we were told when the authorization bill was before the Senate some weeks ago was in effect for defense against the Soviet Union, does it not seem logical to assume, if that is the case, that $6 billion-plus is just the first installment on a program which could eventually cost this country somewhere in the vicinity of from $50 to $70 billion?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I think it would be more than that. As but one example, take the F–111 planes. The original price on that plane was $2.8 million. I asked last spring what 100 of them would actually cost, and was told $15 million apiece. That is five times higher.

It is already admitted the thick line would cost $40 to $50 billion. Following the same character of extrapolation—and there are other items I could mention—it could cost at least $100 billion.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Regardless of cost, is it not safe to assume that if a program of this nature were undertaken—again, regardless of cost—the Soviet Union would do its very utmost to compensate as we went along?

Mr. SYMINGTON. The Senator is so right. A statement made in September of 1967 by Secretary McNamara, which, in due course, I will put in the Record, emphasized that point; that there was no possible way to prevent some of their missiles penetrating into our country. What we will do by this action is increase Soviet defense effort, and in that way increase the arms race on both sides.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If we accept $50 or $100 billion as the cost of an ABM system, and the Soviet Union spent a comparable figure as a counterpoise to what we were doing, where would both countries be at the end of this huge expenditure binge?

Mr. SYMINGTON. Neither country would be any further ahead in deterrent capacity. But our country would be far worse off than the Soviets, because in their country the coin of the realm is the order of the dictator. They do not have to worry about profit or loss. If we spent another $100 billion on this system, we could well wreck our economy, already in real trouble; whereas if they spent it, it would mean a further repression of the living standards of their people. Note also they have no troops in Southeast Asia, no worldwide establishments such as ours.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is it not true that shortly after the Senate some weeks ago passed the military construction authorization bill, President Johnson announced that an agreement had been reached at long last between the Soviet Union and the United States to enter into discussions affecting the ABM systems in both countries?

Mr. SYMINGTON. That is right.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And is it not true the President, since January 1967, when he gave a letter of instructions to Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson, has been endeavoring to reach this particular stage?

Mr. SYMINGTON. That is what the administration has been constantly telling the Congress and the American people.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Some people seem to have the idea that because this announcement was made 3 days after the authorization bill containing authority for a thin ABM system was passed, the legislation which was the creature of Congress, was responsible for the Soviet decision. Frankly, I must disagree with that thesis, because, as the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] has stated—and his diplomatic background especially has afforded him a great many contacts with the Soviets over the years—this has been in the works for a long time. And I am hopeful that, on the basis of the announcement made by the President that an agreement had been reached for the two countries to get together on this particular matter, it would be in the best interests of this Nation if, as was attempted in the authorization bill, this matter were postponed for a year. In the meantime, perhaps the two nations could get together and reach a mutually satisfactory agreement, and in that way save both countries many billions of dollars, which could be put to more effective use, especially in this country, in looking after problems which confront us domestically and helping to scale down the cost of the war in Vietnam, which I think the Senator estimated at $2.5 billion a month.

I commend the Senator for a well thought out statement. I assure him he has my full support, and I am delighted to follow his leadership in this subject.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am grateful for what the majority leader has stated. There is no Member of this body from whom I would rather have that approbation.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARTKE in the chair). The bill is open to amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I always feel extremely unhappy to be on the opposite side of any matter relating to national defense from my distinguished friend from Missouri. We have worked together very closely on the Committee on Armed Services since he has been a Member of this body, and prior to that time I followed his leadership when he was the first Secretary of the Air Force. In fact, in those days, we did not have an ironhanded Secretary of Defense, and there were considerable differences between the three services, the Air Force, the Navy, and the Army. This was just after the Unification Act had been passed.

Certainly this is a matter on which men of good will and sincere patriotism can well differ; and I feel that there should be a brief statement made, at least, with respect to some of the arguments that have been made here today, not altogether by the Senator from Missouri.

I differ, first, with his estimate of the cost of even a full anti-ballistic-missile system. Of course, one can use the tragic TFX episode to prove that any amount of extrapolation as to the cost of any weapon can have tragic consequences on the Treasury. But I have never heard anyone else mention $200 billion, nor even $100 billion.

Secretary McNamara, at the time he was opposing this program, before he even agreed to the limited system, never placed a higher estimate on the program than $40 billion; and, of course, some of the advocates of the program placed an estimate on it of $20 billion.

I am frank to say that the increases in costs that we are encountering now, due to the inflationary state of our economy, are such that I am convinced that $40 billion would be a conservative estimate, and would, if anything, be on the side of overconservatism, because the costs of all arms, all weapons, are increasing tremendously. We have only to look at the tools of an infantryman. They cost some 10 or 12 times what they did in World War II, and that has not been such a long time ago in the course of history.

Mr. President, there is one argument that has been made by two or three of the most eminent Members of this body that I have not been able to understand, and that is that somehow, if we get involved to any degree in an antiballistic missile system, it will worsen our relations with the Soviet Union and destroy any hope of ever coming to an agreement on a limitation on the use of nuclear weapons.

This is the first time, Mr. President, that I have ever heard an argument of that kind advanced. When we are proceeding to build offensive weapons that could destroy and wipe out vast areas of the Soviet Union if they are ever used, nothing is said about that offending the Russians or discouraging the course of any negotiations; but when we come, here, to a purely defensive weapon, it is argued that will just throw the Soviets into a dither, and cause them to refuse to negotiate, and to break off the course of all negotiations.

I have never known a defensive weapon to discourage a country that is bent solely on peace, as we are told the Soviet Union is today. I do not think it could possibly have that effect. The Soviet Union and their government, however much we might disapprove of their internal administration, have shown themselves to be realists. They know that while we are the two great nuclear powers, we are not the only nuclear powers in the world today, and in spite of slippages in China's nuclear program, and some difficulties that have undoubtedly been encountered by the French, there are other nations that have the capability to produce nuclear weapons and refuse to participate in any agreements on limitations or controls.

I cannot believe that a purely defensive weapon could possibly destroy any hope of negotiations with a nation that is bent on peace and good will, and has no designs whatever against this Nation.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield, although I say to the Senator I do not intend to speak at any length.

Mr. CASE. This is an extremely important point, and I think it deserves discussion.

The feeling that has been advanced, and that some of us share, as to the particular importance upon the attitude of the Soviet Union of our appearing to intend to deploy what would, of course, be a defensive weapon, is this: The important thing in this confrontation with intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons is the second strike capacity. As long as each of us—and I believe this is a fact—has the capacity to retaliate against a first strike, and to retaliate in a fashion which is unacceptable to the other side, I think we have the basis for the continuation of the uneasy peace which we have so far enjoyed, if that word can properly be used.

But if that ability to retaliate with unacceptable force is destroyed—and that might be the effect of a really effective antiballistic missile system—then the basis for——

Mr. RUSSELL. I thought the argument was that we could not possibly build a truly effective system. I think that is what the Senator from Missouri believes. So why should they worry about it?

Mr. CASE. I think if we thought this were possible, we would have to do it, because every country has to protect itself with its greatest skill and attention. But I think this is the real point of concern: It just is not quite obvious, as the Senator, I think, suggested, that Russia could not be upset by what is purely a defensive weapon. Actually, though defensive in one sense, it is the most terribly dangerous thing to Russia, in the full sense of the word, I think.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I do not pretend to know what the Soviets think. I have no direct contact with them, and have not had. But I was speaking generally, that never in the course of human history have I ever known of a purely defensive weapon, such as the ABM, to be considered dangerous to one who was bent on peace, and who had no designs against us.

Mr. CASE. Just one further word, and then I shall certainly not interrupt the

Senator again. I think this is terribly important.

The importance, if I may try to put it a little bit more clearly than I have, is that anything that appears to render either side invulnerable would also appear to make that side able to use its offensive weapons against the other without fear of retaliation. That is why it is such a terrible prospect that either side should seem to be able to acquire invulnerability against the nuclear weapons and antiballistic missiles of the other.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, for my part I do not believe that this country will ever launch an offensive with nuclear weapons against any other nation on earth, unless we know beyond any peradventure of a doubt that there is an imminency, within minutes or hours, of an attack being made against us.

The Russians, if they will believe anything we say anywhere else, must know that to be a fact. We speak here about building this defensive weapon. No one has expressed concern over the fact that the production of long-range intercontinental ballistic missiles, the offensive weapons of the Russians, has almost tripled over the past 5 years.

Here we sit, saying: "We can't build any kind of defense that will defend against Russia." And Russia has reached parity and, in my opinion, perhaps superiority in the number of offensive nuclear weapons they could launch against this Nation and cause our absolute destruction.

Mr. President, I admit that the system will not save every American life. But I do not accept the argument that because it will not save all, we should not make an effort to save some. And even the strongest opponent of the system, and one who had more experts engaged in furnishing him information than any of us could possibly assemble—Secretary McNamara—admitted that it would be possible to save millions of lives, although we could not save them all. However, he was opposed to our building it for the reasons assigned by the Senator from New Jersey in his statement a moment ago.

The argument has been made here about continuing the research and development program. Mr. President, we have been engaged in the most intensive research and development on this system for a period of 10 years. Talk about the money contained in the pending bill to start this modest construction program—we have expended over $3 billion on research. And we have reached a stage now where we should proceed with an orderly deployment of the system. If we are not going to deploy the system, why should we continue with the research and development system?

I am perfectly willing to enter into any agreement with the Russians that they approach in good faith. Up to now they have never agreed to any treaty of any kind that would require inspection on their soil. Until they are willing to permit inspection teams from the United Nations or some neutral powers to come on their soil—as we are willing to have them come here and investigate anything including the pantry in the White House—I am not going to say, "Yes. I accept the good faith of the Russians, and we are in no danger whatsoever." We can talk about suspicions and so forth. But if they are willing to agree in good faith in dealing with this dread force that has been unloosened on mankind—atomic and nuclear power—to some form of inspection to show, in effect, that the agreement is being carried out, I am perfectly willing to enter into an agreement with them.

My friend, the Senator from Missouri, mentioned the large sums of money that were spent on weapon systems that are totally obsolete today. And I think those are the three words that he used. That statement is absolutely true. We have spent vast sums on weapon systems that are totally obsolete today.

Most of them have served some purpose. The Senator is familiar with that. As Secretary of the Air Force, he fought, over the bitter objection of the Navy, to develop the B–36. We spent billions of dollars on that. Today it is as totally obsolete as the Wright plane that was tried out at Kitty Hawk, N.C., as far as a weapon of war is concerned.

That B–36, however, protected nations for some 10 or 12 years. It was one of the greatest achievements that the Senator from Missouri accomplished in the way of effectuating peace in the world and protecting our Nation. We had a plane that the Soviet Union knew could deliver the atomic bomb anywhere in Russia. It is obsolete today, but it was worth many, many times its cost. It did preserve world peace and stopped the aggression that was going on in Europe where the Soviet Union was reaching out and bringing one country after another behind the Iron Curtain. Though it is obsolete today, the fact that it was ever in existence has had a notable impact upon the trend of history.

I was not for the deployment of the Nike-X ABM system in 1963. Senators may recall that we had a long debate on the matter that ended in a rare executive session. I opposed an effort to start the deployment of this system at that time. I opposed it because I did not think we had gone far enough with the research and development. I did not oppose it because of any trouble with the basic missile. We had at that time a missile that we knew could intercept a single ICBM warhead.

When I considered the number of warheads, the chaff, the decoys, and things of that kind, I became convinced at that time that we were not ready for deployment.

The radars at that time were not effective against these devices. I think that everyone will agree to that. Locating and identifying the real warhead from the decoys and being able to track a large number of warheads creates a problem.

Mr. President, I do not know whether any of this money will be spent. But I cannot help believing that it is a very strong card in the hands of the President of the United States and the others who are carrying on our negotiations.

The Russians have the Galosh system around Moscow, and they have slowed it down for some reason. We do not know why. They also have the Tallinn system that a majority of our intelligence community think is an aircraft defense system. But we do not know that to be a fact.

We had a hearing at which Secretary McNamara testified on that matter. He was asked whether he expected the Soviet ABM system to be extended from the present modest system they are now deploying.

The Secretary said, "Well, first there is some uncertainty as to the character of that system. We know they are building one around Moscow which is not yet in operation."

That was in 1967.

He further said, "They are deploying a second system elsewhere which may have an ABM capability that they will deploy a system across their entire nation, and that is the assumption on which we are developing and have developed our offensive weapons. Whether they will do that or not, I do not know."

He was referring to the Tallinn system. I can echo his words. I do not know. I do not know of a single citizen of the United States today who could state categorically and know it to be true that this system has no validity whatever against missiles.

The Russians have surprised us a number of times in this area. And the fact that this is not a gigantic missile such as we employ in the ABM system, and the fact that it is not as large, by several times, as the ones the Russians have employed in their systems does not mean that it cannot be used against missiles; because there is a refinement and a constant revolution going on in all your weapons systems, and we in time, if we proceed, will have a much more effective system.

The Russians have surprised us many times from the time the first Sputnik was put in orbit. They have been ahead of us in a great many respects. They now have the FOBS. It is a system that can launch weapons directly from space downward and eliminate even that 15-minute warning of which we hear so much. That 15 minutes has never been any great comfort to me. I have never believed you would be able to save many lives with only 15 minutes notice that a missile was on the way, because of tremendous confusion that would ensue and the traffic conditions that would result on the highways. You might really kill more people in the long run, or as many, in trying to escape, than you would if you did not have any warning whatever.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on that point?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. Our best intelligence tells us that insofar as the notice element is concerned, it cuts it from a warning time of 15 minutes on down to 2 to 3 minutes.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator is correct. Instead of having the 15 minutes some people console themselves with, in which they might be able to save themselves from terrible hydrogen warheads, it would be cut to 2 minutes, and you would have no opportunity to get your planes off the ground. That was one real benefit from the 15-minute warning. If you knew they were coming, you would have time to launch your missiles and have time to get your planes off the ground. But this FOB system has eliminated even that margin, and even if you had your planes lined up with the engines started, you could not get your planes off the airfields before they would be struck by an atomic warhead dropped by this FOB system. They have developed that system.

We are not going into the FOB system. I do not know why. It may be because of the fact that any time we start any advancement whatever in the field of these dread weapons, which we all pray—and mankind everywhere had best pray—will never be used, it is said that we cannot do this because we will offend the Russians. They have it. We do not have it. They have a system of sorts as defense against our missiles. But when we discuss building one, a purely defensive system, it is said, "Oh, you're going to frighten the life out of the Russians." Why, Mr. President, should they be concerned about a purely defensive system?

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. On that very point, when Kosygin was in London he spoke on this subject and was interrogated on the question of the antiballistic missile. I put the details in the RECORD during the last debate in the Senate on this subject. Kosygin said, "Our antiballistic missile is not an offensive missile. It is a defensive missile. It is a missile to protect humanity."

And that is all we are talking about here—protect humanity. Do not let us forget that American people are a part of humanity—and deserve to be protected, too.

Mr. RUSSELL. I think they are, and I think they are the most important part.

When they talk about an anti-ballistic-missile system not saving more than 40 million lives or, if you have a stronger system, saving 80 million lives, I say if you are going to save 80 million, I want them to be American citizens. That may be a parochial way to view this matter, but if they are going to save some lives for seed on this planet of ours, in the horrendous event that a nuclear war is launched, I want them to be American lives.

This does not mean that this system will be built, but it will demonstrate that we are willing to build it, and that we will build it before we will see the Amercan people in the position of being sacrificed by the millions, without being able to protect them against the Nation that launches the attack upon us.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me briefly?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. I have been detained from the Senate floor on other matters. I heard part of the presentation of the Senator from Georgia. I cannot be here very long as I must go to a conference meeting on the military authorization bill, but I do want to raise one point.

I just wish to leave one question with the Members of the Senate. Is this the place to decide this matter for this year? This matter has been debated and argued within the military, with the President of the United States, with the past Secretary of Defense, with the present Secretary of Defense, with the former Joint Chiefs of Staff, with the present Joint Chiefs of Staff, with the members of the Committee on Armed Services.

All the way down the line, beginning with the President, down to our committee, at least, they are in favor of making this start. There is some division of opinion on the committtee, it is true; and, with all deference to those who do not believe in it, I do not know of anyone who has been more attentive to this matter than has the chairman of the committee, Senator RUSSELL.

I had been opposed to it in its early days. Others have made studies of it. The point I raise now is that, as serious as this is, is this the place to decide against the system, merely by counting votes of Senators after a hasty rollcall, many of whom have not had a chance to again review the facts?

So I respectfully submit that, even though there is honest difference of opinion about it, for this year at least it is too late, and this forum is not the right place to now decide against approval of starting the system.

This will be the third or fourth time that this matter has been voted on in this calendar year. There were two Senate votes this year regarding this question on a former bill, another Senate vote on the question the other day, and now this vote today. I submit the question has been decided for this year.

I hope the Members of the Senate will stand firm in this matter, stand by their former positions, and let us move forward rather than backtrack.

I appreciate the Senator's yielding to me.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, may I say, in response to the statements just made by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, that this is the place to discuss this or any other matter, because this happens to be the Senate of the United States. I do not care if a President, a Vice President, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the entire Cabinet, or any particular Senate committee, subcommittee, or whatnot, has discussed it and arrived at a firm conclusion. The ultimate place to discuss it is in this Chamber, and every Senator has a right to be heard and will be heard.

I believe this forum is the right place to discuss matters which are of national interest and which affect the security, the welfare, and the safety of the people of this Republic.

Mr. RUSSELL. Of course, Congress, in the last analysis, has the constitutional responsibility in this area of the national defense and in the maintenance and support of arms.

I am constrained to say that any one Senator, against all 99 others, if he feels strongly on any matter relating to the national defense, would not be true to himself or to his convictions or to his constituency if he did not express himself.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator has expressed the point far better than I could. The point he raises about one Senator having so much power is, in a sense, a sign of the strength of the Senate; and, by the same token, on occasion a sign of the weakness of the Senate.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I should like to join with the Senator from Montana in his response to the statement made by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi.

The Senate and the House ought to discuss the subject whose implications are vital to the security of this country. Without discussion, or with it, the proposal is made to begin a course which could cost the country, admittedly, $40 billion and perhaps millions more. But even cost is not most important. If it should be the wrong course, it will not add to the security of our country. It would lead only to our country and the Soviet Union increasing their stocks of nuclear weapons, and when that is done beyond the credible deterrent it endangers not only our security but also the security of the world. I do not know anything more important we could discuss.

To be truthful, when we offered the amendment one important purpose was that for the first time—other than in the closed session 4 or 5 years ago, which I thought was one of the most fruitful sessions I have ever attended—we could debate the question and speak of it on the floor of the Senate, and presented it, as best we could, to the people of the United States.

Perhaps in time there will come a response.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me briefly?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I understood the Senator from Montana said that as he understood me I said it should not be discussed here. I do not think I said it should not be discussed. I was suggesting it should not be decided here, now, and especially in an open forum.

If we really want to go into the matter and fully discuss everything, then a closed session is the only proper way to do it. I say that from a little experience. I think I listen here and talk less, or about as little as any other Member, unless there is an extended debate. I believe in this forum for discussion.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator is correct. The word was "decided," and not "discussed."

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. There are strong feelings on both sides of this matter, and I would hazard a guess that regardless of the side a Member is on, that Member will have doubts about the advisability of the system now under discussion. But, Mr. President, when you are torn with doubts on a proposal of this nature you have to arrive at a conclusion and you have to base that conclusion on the knowledge at your disposal and on a calculated projection of the future.

The distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, indicated the Soviet Union, under any treaty, must show its "good faith" in a number of respects. I agree with him completely.

He also said, and I paraphrase him, he did not know if any of the money now being considered for planning and use under the ABM program would be spent. I think that is a fair assumption to make at this time, too.

I want to express my appreciation that no amendment has been pressed today, at least up to this moment, seeking to cut funds contained in this bill for the initial construction of the ABM system. This does not mean that one will not be offered, but as of now I have no knowledge to that effect.

As one Member of this body who supported the effort to eliminate these funds earlier this year, I believe the circumstances have drastically changed for the better since that previous effort.

The announcement that talks between the Soviet Union and our country on the limitation of these very systems will take place in the near future is the best news for every concerned American regardless of their positions on this matter. I think the deferral of any action today by the Senate will serve a very useful purpose. It will give to the President a further alternative to demonstrate the good faith of the United States is undertaking these talks. It has been said that the initial construction of this system at this time would cerainly be interpreted as undermining our good faith. In the same light, however, the option should be left to the President to have the funds available and by his own affirmative act demonstrate this Government's good faith by deferring the expenditure of these construction funds for this year.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, first I highly commend the able and distinguished senior Senator from Nevada for his outstanding work in connection with the hearings and presentation of the bill now before the Senate. As chairman of the Military Construction Subcommittee, of the Armed Services Committee, I have had the privilege of working with Senator BIBLE in his capacity as chairman of the counterpart Appropriations Subcommittee. We have held our subcommittee hearings jointly for 2 years in a row, and the contribution of the able Senator from Nevada has been tremendous. I wish to commend him for the outstanding job he has done.

Mr. President, there is nothing new in the arguments which opponents of the ABM have made today against deployment of the Sentinel system. We have been through all this before on the Senate floor, the arguments against deployment of the ABM were thoroughly debated, and on Monday, June 24, by the overwhelming votes of 52 to 34 and 72 to 12, the Senate rejected those arguments and made clear we would proceed with the deployment of the Sentinel ABM system. This decision was further emphasized a day later in the final 78-to-3 Senate vote on the military construction authorization bill which includes the authorization for starting Sentinel deployment.

Certain Senators had argued that a vote to go forward with the Sentinel system would seriously prejudice the possibility of talks with the Soviets on strategic armaments.

Not only did the Senate's decision to go forward with Sentinel deployment not reduce the chances of such talks: I call attention to the fact that on Thursday, June 27, 3 days after the Senate ABM votes, Foreign Minister Gromyko announced:

> The Soviet Union is ready to enter an exchange of opinions on the mutual limitation and later reduction of strategic weapons, both offensive and defensive, including antimissile missiles.

Mr. President, opponents of the ABM are singing the siren song that goes: "if the U.S. weakens its diplomatic hand, the Soviets will be more reasonable."

What sense does it make to say that if we cut back our ABM program unilaterally—that if we decide not to go ahead with the ABM—we will be in a better position to persuade the Soviet Union to drop its ABM program? On what basis would we negotiate the issue?

I remind my friends of the classic quotation from Reinhold Niebuhr:

> If the democratic nations fail, their failure must be partly attributed to the faulty strategy of idealists who have too many illusions when they face realists who have too little conscience.

It has been said that the Soviet Union has wholly changed. I wonder what the people of Czechoslovakia are thinking at this moment. I wonder if they think the Russian bear has lost his claws, or if he has changed his intention to try to maintain control over that area of the world the Soviets now dominate and other areas they would like to dominate.

Where is this fundamental change? I am one who long has advocated the policy of doing two things at once as far as the Russians are concerned. On the one hand, we should continue to talk with them. We should try to find areas of mutual interest and agreement where our interests parallel. I have supported those efforts, including the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

At the same time let us make sure that we have the kind of power structure essential to our national security and to the advancement of mutually beneficial agreements.

Consider an example, not heretofore brought out on the floor of the Senate in this debate, that deals precisely with the problem we now face. I refer to our experience in unilaterally cutting back our production of enriched uranium and our plutonium facilities.

On January 8, 1964, President Johnson announced that this country was cutting back our production of enriched uranium by 25 percent.

He said:

> We are shutting down four plutonium piles. We are closing many nonessential military installations. And it is in this spirit that we today call on our adversaries to do the same.

How did the Soviets respond to that unilateral action on our part? Not only did they not reduce their production; the Soviets proceeded to increase their plutonium facilities.

All of us should know by now that the way to negotiate successfully with Soviet leaders is to have the strong positions to bargain from. I am confident that the administration's decision to proceed with Sentinel deployment strengthens our diplomatic hand and that this program improves the chances for meaningful discussions with Moscow on strategic armaments control and limitation.

Let me conclude by observing: How are we going to negotiate an end to the deployment of an ABM system with the Soviets, if we proceed before we have even been able to make arrangements for talks—and, Mr. President, I point out that arrangements for talks have not yet been made—if we announce in advance that we have already eliminated the ABM matter from the agenda and from the leverage of the United States in negotiating on the mutual control and reduction of strategic weapons.

I have never heard of a more absurd way in which to approach negotiations with the Soviets than by announcing in advance that we will remove a big part of our bargaining strength from the agenda by not going forward with the ABM program.

I submit that the faster we proceed with this ABM effort, the faster they will come to the conference table; the position the majority of us took prior to the vote on June 24. Others are saying that by going ahead with Sentinel, we would reduce the chances of getting talks started. The record speaks for itself and we stand on that record today.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I believe the time has come when we must move forward with deployment of an antiballistic missile system. Russia has been working for years on an ABM system. In fact, they have such a system deployed to protect Moscow now. It may well be that they have firm plans for a much more extensive deployment system. We are far behind—dangerously so—and this could well be the most important part of any defensive system of the future.

The nation that can find a way to protect itself against nuclear missile attack could well dominate the world.

If an ABM system could be perfected, it could go a long way toward saving the world from nuclear destruction.

This is not a weapon for offense that would make it the concern of the rest of the world. Indeed, people everywhere should welcome the perfection of a system such as this, designed to save lives rather than to destroy lives.

The present system is far from perfect, but we need experience in this field if we want to perfect it as well as to keep abreast of Russia.

Thus, I believe that we should move ahead, in a limited way, to perfect this system.

I do not know of anything that will be more important to the future of this Nation and to the world than to perfect a system that will protect any nation against a nuclear attack.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the distinguished majority leader, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] made another outstanding statesmanlike address today. It is my hope that those who were not in the Chamber at the time will read his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is my further hope that the views expressed by the Senator from Montana will prevail, not only in the Senate but will also be listened to and prevail at the White House.

The military construction appropriation bill provides for $227,300,000 for the Sentinel ABM system.

If this bill is passed and the $227,300,000 is spent for the Sentinel ABM system, it will result in as wasteful and expenditure of taxpayers' money as was the Nike-Zeus system which ringed cities of the United States, such as my home city of Cleveland, Ohio, at an expenditure of hundreds of millions of taxpayers' dollars. That system is now utterly useless. At the time it was constructed it was antiquated and was really of no use in defending Cleveland, or any other city.

More than $5 billion has already been spent on the Nike-Ajax missile system, the Nike-Zeus, and following that the Nike-X. This is taxpayers' money down the drain, utterly wasted. These antiballistic missile systems were ineffective and useless even at the very time they were completed. Experience keeps a dear school. It is high time we profit by our mistakes of the past and not perpetrate further boondoggles such as proceeding with the Sentinel ABM system. My vote will be cast against this bill which perpetuates this waste of money. Patrick Henry on a historic occasion said:

> There is but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way to judge the future but by the past.

It seems to me that this proposed expenditure of $227,300,000 is an indefensible expenditure and would, inevitably, result in an utter waste of the taxpayers' money.

When this matter was considered in the Armed Services Committee, the distinguished senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] and I expressed our opposition at that time. I listened intently to the address the Senator from Missouri made today in opposition to the expenditure.

Mr. President, negotiations are now proceeding between the United States and the Soviet Union seeking mutual reduction in armaments and to eliminate the deployment of ABM systems. Should we proceed to build this ABM system, the leaders of the Soviet Union are almost certain to respond with increases in offensive strength which would negate any advantage from ABM deployment.

By plunging ahead with deployment of a relatively premature ABM system, we run the risk, it seems to me, of escalating the arms race to a fantastically high and unbelievably costly plateau.

This upward spiral of the arms race would leave both sides with no more real security than each has now. The fact is that today we have at least 4,500 nuclear warheads. We have that against approximately 1,000 for the Soviet Union. How much overkill do we in the United States need? Something was said earlier today about the necessity of on-the-spot inspections within the confines of the Soviet Union by American inspection teams. That has been denied to us, as we would deny it to any Russian inspection teams trying to make inspections in our land.

However, our satellites are on the alert 24 hours a day, and they provide the United States with better and more accurate information as to what is going on within the confines of the Soviet Union and China than any missile inspection team could give us.

After both sides have anti-ballistic-missile systems, we may rest assured that the race will then start all over again to produce new, more expensive and more sophisticated missiles that can penetrate the antimissile systems. After another costly race is over, there is every reason to believe that the balance of power will settle at the same point where it now rests.

Neither our Nation nor the Soviet Union nor China would be any safer. Each would have managed to maintain a stalemate only by the expenditure of vast sums of money that could certainly have been put to more constructive use.

Our real defense against the threat of a nuclear attack is the deterrence of our overwhelming offensive forces. Our tremendous potential offense is our best defense. We must keep our offensive power so far ahead of the Russian and Chinese defense that it will remain perfectly clear and obvious to the Soviet and Communist Chinese leadership that a first strike against us will trigger an unbearable response. We must constantly seek to improve our offensive missiles now standing in concrete silos and underwater in our Polaris submarines throughout the oceans and seas of the world. The Soviet Union is the only nation in the world with the capability of attacking the United States with intercontinental ballistic missiles. We know that.

Proponents of the Sentinel ABM system talk about this thin missile defense against Communist China, which is now torn with internal disorder, almost a civil war, if not a civil war. In reality, the only nation with any nuclear capability to attack us is the Soviet Union; and with our Polaris submarines, capable of being under the water for more than 300 days and nights at a time, the fact is that the United States now maintains, in my judgment after a thorough study of the subject, and as a member of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, a 3-to-1 or a 4-to-1 advantage over the Soviet Union in the number of strategic missiles we possess. Soviet missiles may threaten our land-based ICBM force, but they cannot threaten our large and highly effective Polaris force which is based on submarines and is invulnerable to attack.

The fact is that the United States has spent almost $19 billion since World War II on missile systems that either were never finished or were out of service when completed because of obsolescence. Also, on multibillion dollar projects such as the B-70, the Skybolt, and more recently the F-111. This proposed appropriation is only the beginning of what could become the greatest waste of taxpayers' money in the history of the Nation. While the so-called thin ABM missile system is estimated to cost taxpayers at least $5 billion dollars, former Defense Secretary McNamara, the greatest Secretary of Defense to ever serve the Nation, has made it clear that this would merely be a downpayment on a price tag that would eventually be at least $40 billion.

Mr. President, $5 billion is a lot of money. It seems to me that, instead of ringing my home city of Cleveland with a "thin" anti-ballistic-missile system, it would be far better for the citizens of my city and of the Nation if that money were spent in our war against poverty and to eliminate slums and hunger in Cleveland and other cities.

From research that I have made on this subject, I am convinced that the total price tag would eventually come closer to $60 to $70 billion, and even those figures are considered conservative by some experts.

Those favoring this appropriation say that it is necessary because of possible Communist China nuclear attack. The fact is that China now wracked with internal disorder will not have the capability of launching a nuclear attack on us before 1970 or 1971 at the very earliest. Furthermore, the Sentinel is not proof against all means of directing nuclear weapons. It does not at present have a capability against sea-launched missiles and would not be effective against a submarine or a surface vessel missile attack by the Chinese.

Of course, Communist China has really no surface navy, except perhaps 10,000 junks. If perchance the Chinese finally achieve the capability to launch a nuclear warhead from one of their submarines, then the antimissile system we are being asked to provide $227 million for today would be no defense against that sort of nuclear attack.

The evidence is clear and many experts in the field, including former Secretary of Defense McNamara, have testified that the ABM missile system would not offer real protection against a Soviet nuclear attack. It follows that should the Red Chinese make tremendous strides in their nuclear capability, then we would be faced with the same situation as we are today with the Russians. In the meantime, untold billions of taxpayers dollars will have been squandered and utterly wasted, as have all the millions so far spent on Nike-Zeus and other ballistic missiles defenses, so-called.

To embark now upon a project of such dubious value, at such fantastic expense, against the advice of former Secretary of Defense McNamara and other experts, and at a time when we are pleading with other nations against any further expenditures for such armaments, makes no sense whatever and should be rejected.

In the Committee on Armed Services I endeavored to delete this matter from the military construction authorization bill. Mine was a minority vote. I was not alone, but mine was a minority vote. When that bill was considered by the Senate I introduced an amendment to strike this $227 million authorization from the bill. It was defeated at that time. I do not propose to offer any amendment today on this subject. However, the fact is that the junior Senator from Ohio cannot in good conscience cast his vote for an appropriation bill which would result in a waste of at least $227 million of the taxpayers' money and cannot in good conscience vote for such a waste when he knows this would be just an installment payment on a much, much larger sum. Also, this so-called defensive system would ring only certain preferred cities in the United States. I do not know which they would be. I say "preferred" not because the citizens would be any safer or better defended, but because some temporary prosperity might accrue in the neighborhood of the system because of the huge expenditure of taxpayers' money involved.

If that should be done, if this expenditure of more than $227 million, is approved by the Senate today, it will begin an escalation of the armaments race which will inevitably lead to an unbelievably high plateau. Therefore, I announce at this time that my vote will then be cast against the bill. It is, of course, with reluctance that I make this statement, because there are some worthy features and expenditures in the bill.

Mr. CLARK obtained the floor.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I rise today to urge the Senate to carefully consider the implications of proceeding with deployment of an anti-ballistic-missile system at this time. There are sound reasons to defer deployment of the proposed Sentinel anti-ballistic-missile system. I hope all Senators will weigh and evaluate these reasons before making a final decision. We have that opportunity on this bill and will have a further opportunity when the defense procurement bill is considered by the Senate later in this session.

First. The money for the Sentinel ABM system contained in the military construction bill now under consideration is $227 million plus $36 million carryover from last year's appropriations for a total of $263 million. But this amount is only a very small part of the funds that will be required for the Sentinel ABM system. If only the so-called thin system is deployed, it will cost well over $6 billion. If the so-called heavy system urged by the Armed Services Committee is deployed, its minimum cost is estimated to be $40 billion, and some authorities believe the cost would reach $70 billion or even more. Can we afford to devote this money for an untested and unproven system when it is not yet necessary? Can we afford to spend these vast amounts of money when we are not certain that the system, if built, will work? Can we afford to spend these vast amounts, particularly when we already have had to cut back on desperately needed domestic programs and, only yesterday, have cut our foreign aid program to its lowest level in 20 years to under $2 billion—a fraction of what the Sentinel will cost?

Second. According to best and most recent intelligence estimates which have been fully discussed on this floor in recent weeks and only today by the senior Senator from Missouri, Senator Symington, it is rational to defer deployment of the ABM system for at least 1 year. This is what we have argued. During the next year, research and development on an ABM system can and should proceed so that if the next President recommends that it is necessary to deploy an ABM system, we can take advantage of the best and most recent research and development.

Third. It is important to recognize that ABM technology has not yet reached the stage that justifies costly deployment of a full system. Research and prototype development should proceed. The overwhelming majority of scientists, including all of the President's former scientific advisers, agree that the proposed Sentinel system would not provide protection, even against a primitive Chinese ICBM system if and when the Chinese build ICBM's in significant numbers. The Chinese, we are informed, do not yet have an ICBM. Further, all the components that are to go into the proposed Sentinel system have not yet been built or tested. Some components that have been built are thought by men of outstanding scientific credentials to be obsolete. Most important, the course of debate on the floor of the Senate in June concerning the ABM revealed a deep disagreement as to the purpose of the Sentinel system. Is it a building block against the Soviet Union as the Armed Services Committee contends, or is it Chinese oriented, as the executive branch has indicated? Surely, we must have the facts from the executive branch and from our scientific and military experts, open and clear, telling us the purpose of the system, whether it is a Chinese-oriented antiballistic system or an antiballistic system oriented against the Soviet Union.

Fourth. We are now in the process of coming into negotiations with the Soviet Union on the question of limitations of offensive and defensive nuclear weapons systems. This of course includes ABM systems. There are those who argue that the Senate action approving the authorization of the Sentinel anti-ballistic-missile system as contained in the military procurement authorization bill was the main reason that the Soviets publicly announced a willingness to discuss a limitation of ABM systems. I do not believe this is correct. It is doubtful that such a decision would be made by the layers of Soviet bureaucracy in 3 days. I believe the administration had knowledge of Soviet desires to discuss limitation of nuclear weapons systems before the Senate action.

However, let us assume for the sake of argument that the Senate action was instrumental in bringing about an open declaration by the Soviet Union of a desire to negotiate a limitation of nuclear weapons—both offensive and defensive. If this is so, there is now no good reason to destroy the advantage presumably gained by the pressure exerted by the Senate to achieve these talks. There is no good reason to make it more difficult, by either side beginning to develop and deploy new defensive weapons at a time when we are making an effort to come into negotiations with the Soviet Union on both offensive and defensive weapons. We should be fully aware that we should expect offensive countermeasures by the Soviets and a spiralling nuclear arms race with all of its costs and dangers to our security and survival—the opposite of the objective we seek.

It would be prudent, therefore, to defer deployment for at least 1 year. We have the time. According to the best intelligence, we have gained a year because of setbacks caused by cultural revolution in China and a slowdown of Soviet efforts. While it would be prudent to defer deployment until we have some understanding of where talks between the United States and U.S.S.R. on nuclear offensive and defensive weapons systems would lead, it would also be wise to continue with a vigorous research and development program so that we could proceed with an ABM system if talks should fail and if the next President should decide that it is in the national interest. The alternative to this course of action is escalation of the arms race.

Accordingly, with other Members of the Senate, I will offer an amendment later in this session to have this issue again brought to a decision and a vote.

The amendment will urge a vigorous research and development program of the ABM system but will defer deployment until June 30, 1969, by which time the next President and the next Congress will have the opportunity to determine what course this Nation should follow. We will then be able to draw upon the progress of talks between the United States and the U.S.S.R. on the limitations, or their absence, and will have better evidence on the value of an ABM system and its true purpose.

Finally, I ask unanimous consent that a recent study by Jeremy Stone, published by the Institute for Strategic Studies, "The Case Against Missile Defense," in April of this year be inserted in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks. I believe the Senate will find much valuable information concerning the ABM issue in this article.

There being no objection, the study was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE CASE AGAINST MISSILE DEFENCES

(By Jeremy J. Stone)

(Note.—Dr. Stone is currently on the faculty of Pomona College, California; during 1968–69, he will be engaged in post-doctoral work in economics at Stanford University. He was a member of the Hudson Institute from 1962 to 1964, and a Research Associate at Harvard Center for International Affairs from 1964 to 1966. He has written widely on problems of national security and arms control, and is the author of *Containing the Arms Race: Some Specific Proposals* (MIT Press, 1966) and *Strategic Persuasion: Arms Limitation Through Dialogue* (Columbia University Press, 1967.)

THE BACKGROUND

On 18 September 1967, Mr. Robert S. McNamara, then U.S. Secretary of Defense, announced plans to deploy a limited ballistic missile defence system (called *Sentinel*) against the possibility of an attack by Chinese ballistic missiles. He acted under considerable political pressure, and called the case for the weapon system 'marginal'. This political pressure was generated very largely by the belief—now thought to be mistaken—that the Soviet Union was deploying ballistic missile defences around far more than Moscow. The Soviet Government had expressed willingness in principle to discuss limits on the arms race, but had delayed in setting a date for talks to begin. Many drew the conclusion that the Russians were 'stealing a march' on the United States. Because this pressure combined with the problem of missile defence against China, and because China became the rationale for the decision taken it is a decision almost impossible to reverse on the grounds of faulty American estimates of Soviet intentions. Indeed, the new U.S. Secretary of Defense, Mr. Clark Clifford, has advised the Senate Armed Services Committee that he is for maintaining a 'clear-cut nuclear supremacy' over the Soviet Union; this approach, distinctly more favourable to missile defence procurement than that of Mr. McNamara, suggests an increase in the likelihood that the United States will press on to build a larger system.

Nevertheless, this paper rejects the argument that at least some missile defences should be accepted as inevitable. Since these defences have a tendency to rapid obsolescence, conceding their desirability would concede the correctness of continuing expenditures. The case against additional expenditures for missile defences is, for the most part, a case against building any—thus a case for letting whatever has been done become obsolete as soon as possible. In any event, this paper attacks the idea that the existing thin defence against Chinese missiles should be used as a 'building block' for a larger defence designed to neutralize Soviet offensive weapons.

For eight years preceding the September 1967 decision to deploy a 'thin' ballistic missile defence, United States Administrations considered and rejected suggestions that ongoing development programmes for missile defence be followed by procurement of one system or another. At first it was a primitive *Nike-Zeus* missile—considered successful if it could make an 'intercept' of a single incoming warhead. Such a system could have been built by 1963–64 but would, according to estimates made by the Defense Department in 1962, have been obsolete by the time it became operational.[1] A more advanced system, *Nike-X*, could have been ordered in 1963 and built by 1968, but—relative to projected Soviet improvements—would have been obsolete by 1966.[2]

These systems depended upon tracking incoming objects despite clouds of 'chaff', then distinguishing between decoys and weapons, and then launching anti-missiles at located warheads. Since observations of atmospheric drag on incoming objects were critical to distinguishing them, the defence was required to wait until the attacking warhead had entered well into the atmosphere and to intercept perhaps 5,000 to 100,000 feet off the ground; hence it had to rely upon interceptors that could climb thousands of feet in a few seconds. For this reason also, it had to anticipate low-level detonation of adversary warheads, and hence it had to complement the system with fallout shelters. Finally, the defense was local in character, covering ranges of only 15 to 25 miles, and all but the largest 25 or 50 urban areas would have been undefended.[3]

Although the systems under development were quite obviously improving throughout the 1959–65 period, they seemed, paradoxically, ever less likely to be built. The problem of civil defense, the partial coverage provided by the defence, the rising cost of building an ever more complicated system, a growing willingness to rely upon the balance of terror, the prospect of suitable Soviet penetration devices, a widespread desire not to stir up the arms race, and Mr. McNamara's emphasis on cost-effectiveness—all combined to limit the prospects for missile defence procurement.

In 1964, Communist China exploded her first bomb, and American strategists saw a threat that might be neutralized with greater confidence than could that of the Soviet Union. Not long thereafter, the range of the American interceptor missiles was greatly expanded. At the same time, new techniques were developed to permit the destruction of incoming missiles with X-rays while they were still outside the atmosphere. (Earlier systems had relied on blast effects in the atmosphere, and hence such systems were ineffective at air-less altitudes.) The increased range of the interceptor, in conjunction with the new X-ray method of 'kill', enormously improved paper-and-pencil calculations of effectiveness. Incoming missiles could be attacked several hundred miles up. Each interceptor battery could cover a ground radius of about 400 miles.[4] When these results were considered with respect to the new (and weaker) prospective Chinese threat, some began to talk of the possibility of preventing any Chinese missiles from penetrating until the 1980s—even of discouraging China from building long-range missiles at all.

In this supersaturated situation, in 1966, some evidence was uncovered that the Soviet Union had begun to build a ballistic missile defence. Earlier sporadic Soviet efforts to build a single battery around Leningrad in 1962 had created only a stir. Now it seemed certain that a defensive system had been installed around Moscow. Elsewhere, unquestionably, something was being built rapidly. This more comprehensive installation (called the 'Tallinn' system, after the Estonian city that housed part of it) was thought by some to be a defence against missiles. General Earle G. Wheeler testified that it would violate 'military logic' if it were not. But despite an earlier news conference in which Mr. McNamara announced 'considerable evidence' that the Soviet Union was deploying an anti-missile system, he testified in 1967 that existing evidence could be explained by the hypothesis of an extensive new air defence system. Presumably such a system would have been started in anticipation of a high-flying B–70 aircraft or the flights of some U–3 spy plane. More generally, it might have reflected compulsive vested interests in aid defence. By 1968, a 'majority' of Department of Defense analysts subscribed to Mr. McNamara's 'air defence' view, and the situation was seen as follows in the fiscal 1969 defence budget:

> Now, I can tell you that the majority of our intelligence community no longer believes that this so-called 'Tallinn' system (which is being deployed across the north-western approaches to the Soviet Union and in several other places) has any significant ABM capability. This system is apparently designed for use within the atmosphere, most likely against an aero-dynamic rather than a ballistic missile threat.
>
> Although construction of the *Galosh* ABM system around Moscow is proceeding at a moderate pace, no effort has been made during the last year to expand that system or extend it to other cities. It is the consensus of the intelligence community that this system could provide a limited defence of the Moscow area but that it could be seriously degraded by sophisticated penetration aids.[5]

Notwithstanding this new appraisal of Soviet plans, the Defense Department has not changed its own plans, asserting: 'Nevertheless, knowing what we do about past Soviet predilections for defensive systems, we must, for the time being, plan our forces on the assumption that they will have deployed some sort of an ABM system around their major cities by the early 1970s'.[6] The phrase 'for the time being' presumably refers to the possibility of American-Soviet discussions and may suggest American willingness to compromise in the presence of talks.

THE CENTRAL ISSUES

Will Soviet missiles be launched against us?

A large-scale Soviet attack against American cities is plainly and simply not rational since the American response is primed to destroy the Soviet Union in return. The Soviet leadership is aware of this. That nuclear war is mutual suicide has attained the status of a cliché with both superpowers. Wide-scale nuclear attacks on American forces are so unlikely to succeed, and so dangerous in any case, that it is very hard to imagine a Soviet leader, or Soviet committee, attempting them.

One can talk of war occurring through escalation. But it still requires, at some stage, that one major power launch nuclear weapons against the other. This will be, and can be expected to be perceived as a self-destructive act. For the foreseeable future, war calculations will not seem promising; moveover, leaders are unlikely to believe them if they do seem so. And there is ample evidence in the three decades since World War II of great-power caution in treating events that might risk general nuclear war.

For these reasons, among others, nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union has become a low-probability event—possible and well worth worrying about because of its enormous consequences, but still unlikely. Because it has this character, concern with 'getting through the next few years' has gradually been transmitted into concern with maintaining nuclear peace and national security over the next decades. In short, the world situation now warrants paying attention to the medium- and long-term problems attendant upon proposed policies relating to nucelar war.

Would missile defences work against a major power?

There are four questions. First, will missile defences work more or less as planned in the absence of adversary counter-measures? Second, would the defences be vulnerable to American or Soviet counter-measures? Third, would these counter-measures be taken? And, fourth, would the defences simply become obsolete as a result of unrelated developments in offensive weaponry?

Because most observers take their cue from the official estimates of the effectiveness of missile defence, little attention is normally paid to the possibility that these estimates might themselves be only 'best guesses'. The U.S. Defense Department asserted in 1967, for example, that a massive American missile defence, costing $20 to $40 billion, would hold immediate fatalities down to 20 or 30 million if the Soviets did not make corresponding offensive adjustments in their strategic forces. These and related figures, admitted by the Defense Department to be illustrative and 'highly sensitive' to small changes in targeting, are in fact still more questionable. They are technological speculations derived by systematically excluding all that does not lend itself to quantitative analysis, and by estimating with unreal precision parameters little understood and with wide variance.

These estimates are associated with historically unprecedented maintenance, electronic reliability, and computer programming standards. They then assume that the defence will work as planned in a nuclear environment that is, to put it mildly, unprecedented. Highly complicated computer programmes, sensitive radars, and missiles filled with electronic equipment are supposed to be regularly shooting down hundreds of incoming missiles in an environment with radar-blinding fire-balls, electronic-disrupting blast and X-ray effects, and earth-shaking detonations. Moreover, these figures assume that no unexpected Achilles heel will prevent itself during, or soon after, the few to several years required to build the system. It is worth remembering the American air defence system which was built at a total cost of perhaps $30 billion during the late 1950s. This was a system of which its builders admitted no realistic test could ever be given. In *On Thermonuclear War*, Herman Kahn remarked that a strategic analyst could

---

Footnotes at end of article.

not make his reputation by finding holes in the air defence system—it was known to have so many.

It is no accident that many of the scientists who were intimately involved in building the SAGE air defence system in the United States are persuaded that a comparable effort now to defend against ballistic missiles is a boondoggle. Thus Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, former science adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, asserted in a recent article in *Look Magazine* that 'few competent people expect the extremely complex ABM system to work the first time; yet it must to have any effect'. And he noted that it must work perfectly, since a single warhead can destroy a city. It should also be mentioned that the construction of ballistic missile defences in the United States is the single most complicated engineering feat ever attempted in the world.

Even assuming that the defence would work, would it work against counter-measures? It is useful here to examine American countermeasures to the prospect of a Soviet ballistic missile defence, since these could presumably be adopted by the Soviet Union. The most important recent change in American offensive capability is the incorporation in each missile launcher of Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs): in short, the placing of several separately aimed warheads in a single 'missile'. Thus one possible American missile could carry ten separately aimed 50-kiloton warheads instead of, for example, one 10-megaton warhead, and the trend is for each launcher to have several.[7] This requires the defence to use ten times as many interceptors. American land- and sea-based missile 'launchers' have stabilized at about 1,700. If each came to have 'several' warheads capable of reaching the Soviet Union, there would be approximately 10,000. Soviet ICBMs are now approaching 750, and their generally larger payloads can presumably reproduce the American multiple warhead capability if the Soviet Union should choose to try.

Multiple warheads are the penetration aid that lends itself best to computations. But the United States is also preparing, and presumably the Soviet Union could prepare, electronic counter-measures: knock out or confuse a radar, and all warheads might get through to a target; send one warhead through the trajectory of another, and the radar may be blinded by the blast of its own interceptor; try to have your missiles arrive simultaneously so that the defence is overloaded; seek out vulnerable parts of the system to attack, and then attack the city.[8] Obviously there is room for ingenuity and surprise (factors which are hardly susceptible to calculation).

Would the Soviet Union attempt to nullify an American system, and how strongly would the United States react to a Soviet defence? Those in favour of ballistic missile defences have sometimes put stress on the possibility that the Soviet Government would not make those corresponding adjustments in its offensive weapons that prevent the United States from holding immediate fatalities down to 20 or 30 million. Perhaps out of lack of interest, ineptitude, or scarcity of resources, the Soviet Union might not respond effectively; but that she would in fact make corresponding adjustments in her offensive weapons seems—as has been put by Mr. McNamara—to be "virtually certain". She has aready built an enormous strategic force that is growing more, not less, rapidly than it did in the past. She becomes, as does the United States, more skilled in making these arms race projections with each passing year. (She has only to follow the American lead in any case.) And she grows richer.

In both the United States and the Soviet Union, internal political considerations join with legitimate security concerns to make the credibility of the deterrent the single most important military consideration. In the United States, the opposition political party is not alone in being the guardian of the certainty with which the United States can invoke her deterrent. Inside the Pentagon, as Secretary McNamara put it in March 1967, "I do not think there is a senior civilian or military official in the Defense Department that does not believe that (1) we should react to the [Soviet] ABM deployment by expanding our offensive force, and (2) we have the technical capability to react in such a way as to assure our continued capability to penetrate that ABM defence. None of us are in any doubt about that."[9] It is a measure of the height of feeling on this issue in the United States that it was not considered ridiculous when Mr. McNamara asserted that he would spend "$50 billion, the entire military budget", on maintaining the ability of American missiles to penetrate if necessary.

When the Secretary of Defense announced that the Soviet Union had built a ballistic missile defence around a single city (Moscow) and suggested that another system (the Tallinn system) *might* be designed against missiles, the U.S. Defense Department acted as follows. It chose to produce and deploy the *Poseidon* submarine-launched missile, which it said would make the effectiveness of the *Polaris* submarine 'several times greater. It produced and deployed 'improved missile penetration aids'. It initiated the 'development of new re-entry vehicles specifically designed for use against targets heavily defended with ABMs'. And it decided to 'increase the proportion of *Minuteman III* in the planned force and provided it with an improved third stage'. This would give it greater payload and, at a cost of $400 million, would require of the Soviet Union 'many times more in ABM defences if they try to offset it'.[10]

Thus, in the face of an equivocal and still building Soviet defence, the United States ordered the capability to defeat any plausible Soviet defence of the mid-1970s. We cannot so easily connect the rapid *Soviet* build-up in missiles with the *American* debate over missile defences—a debate that the Soviet analysts must have expected would eventually lead to deployment. But we should at least observe that the very long lead-time involved from ordering a system to having it operational—at least a few years—causes each power to overreact to still potential threats.

The Soviet Union, which less than a generation ago suffered from the most devastating destruction in modern warfare, is no less keyed to the importance of deterring the enemy from attack. And in her internal politics, as in the United States, the defence issue can presumably be used by one faction against another. As likely as not, for a Soviet leadership to permit the United States to build, if not later to boast about, an unanswered defence against missiles is to make itself vulnerable to potential rivals.

Even if neither super-power were interested in counter-measures to ballistic missile defences, but assuming that the arms race continued, it is entirely possible that the defences would be outmoded by unrelated advances in weaponry. For example, as soon as the first inter-continental missiles were deployed—which was about the same year the American air defence system was completed—it became obvious that missiles could attack and 'roll back' the air defence to make corridors through which planes could then fly without opposition. Who is to say that a non-ballistic missile, orbiting bomb, or new radar-disrupting weapons effect will not do the same thing to an even more expensive missile defence? The missile was not developed to defeat the air defence system, but it certainly outflanked it.

Virtually any new strategic weapon, or major modification of existing strategic weapons, will raise a host of new problems for missile defences. As with the air defence system, the designers of the missile defence system expect that system to defend itself while it defends the country. Weapons against which it cannot defend itself will be weapons against which it cannot defend the country. Not many of such weapons will be necessary, therefore, to re-establish the credibility of the large Soviet investment in missiles.

For reasons like these, Dr. John S. Foster, who as Director of Defense Research and Engineering is the chief engineer in the US Defense Department, asserted that: 'Because the enormous quantities of equipment involved, and the near rapid rate at which the technology changes, to maintain an effective system one would essentially have to turn over the whole system, the whole $20 billion system, every few years.'[11]

In summary, missile defences are too complicated, and inevitably too untested, to generate much confidence that they will work as planned. Worse, both major powers can be expected to take appropriate counter-measures to neutralize them—even to overreact in the measures taken. Even in the absence of counter-measures, the arms race and advancing technology are likely to defeat the effectiveness of the system.

One may ask why advancing technology will not produce an even better defence. And this can only be answered by saying that a single bomb can destroy a city, and no imaginable defence will be perfect. It is an axiom of life, as one strategic analyst put it, that it is easier to destroy than protect. The offence can try any one of many methods; the defence must protect against each. The offence can lose many times and still succeed in its goal of destruction; the defence must be 100 per cent perfect. Each major power is reaching a stage at which it has literally thousands of warheads to launch in any one of several ways that technology can and will provide.

An attempt to defend a country against the effects of nuclear war, an attempt destined to cost several tens of billions of dollars and take years to construct, is not something to be done on the basis of short-range expectations. Nor, as was noted, do the immediate risks of war in the early 1970s warrant it. It seems that one must attempt to estimate the chances that the defence will be able to have any significant attritional effect on the offence over time, despite a continuing arms race and a determined attempt to neutralize the defence. These chances seem slim. At best, there is no permanent victory for the defence, but only continued and expensive struggle. More likely, most of the time, the defences will not serve to protect significant fractions of the population against super-power offence.

Effect of Missile Defences on the Arms Race

It is clear that missile defences tend to encourage expenditures on systems aimed at pentrating missile defences. Since these can involve the retrofitting of entire missile forces with improved missiles, and the multiplication of missiles or warheads, this fact is a major economic and political argument against the deployment of defences.

Still worse, however, the MIRV method of ensuring penetration, in conjunction with missile defenses, creates certain strategic fears. From the Soviet point of view, for example, the United States may come to have several thousand separately deliverable warheads. The Soviet Government controls about 750 ICBMs and about 800 IRBMs and MRBMs. What if each of these could be successfully atacked by American missiles? In response to a newspaper report suggesting that the accuracy of MIRVs might be in-

---

Footnotes at end of article.

sufficient to threaten hardened weapons, the US Defense Department issued a denial saying: 'Each new MIRV warhead will be aimed individually and will be far more accurate than any previous or existing warhead. They will be far better suited for destruction of hardened enemy missile sites than any existing missile warheads'.[12] Indeed, no other assumption than steadily improving accuracy could be made with even medium probability by a cautious Soviet strategic analyst. A measure of the improvement to date was provided by the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Mr. Nitze, in a table which showed that a missile carrying ten 50-kiloton warheads could destroy ten separate airfields, from 1.2 to 1.7 hard missile silos, or 3.5 cities of 100,000 population. (In these respects it was anywhere from 1.2 to ten times more efficient than a single 10-megaton warhead.)[13]

Although the United States is far ahead of the Soviet Union in the development of multiple warheads, has numerical superiority in missiles, and has a far more secure submarine force, she is nevertheless already worried about Soviet attacks on her land-based missiles. According to the US Defense Department; 'A large Soviet ICBM force with a substantial hard-target kill capability might be able to destroy a large number of our *Minuteman* missiles in their silos. An extensive effective Soviet ABM defense might then be able to intercept and destroy a large part of our residual missile warheads, including those carried by submarine-launched missiles'.[14] Admitting that such a threat is 'quantitatively far greater than those projected in the latest intelligence estimates', Mr. McNamara asserted that 'prudence' dictated that the United States put herself in a position to strengthen her offensive capability.

Of course, the Russians have far more reason to feel concerned. Defense Department testimony revealed what the Soviets must do to neutralize various American defensive postures. In illustrative computations about the mid-1970s against a hypothetical American defensive system now estimated at $22 to $40 billion, the Soviet retaliatory force of the mid-1970s would hold only 10 million Americans hostage to a surprise attack unless counter-measures were adopted. Soviet adoption of penetration aids, and of Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicles (MIRVs), would raise this figure to 40 million. But to get it back to 90 million, where it would stand if the United States built only *Sentinel*, would require 550 mobile ICBMs. The fact that the Defense Department refers to 'mobile' ICBMs reveals the anticipated capacity of MIRVs to attack locatable ICBMs. In short MIRVs plus ABM spell trouble, at least on paper, if the centre of gravity of Soviet decisionmaking is still worrying about surprise attack from the United States.[15] As Mr. McNamara's current statement put it, 'We have come to the conclusion that both sides would be far better off if we can reach an agreement on the limitation of all strategic nuclear forces, including ABMs'.[16]

Missile defences are likely to encourage not only offensive weapons that may neutralize them but more defences as well. Although Mr. McNamara may have argued, as he did in his announcement, that the case for a 'Chinese defence' is only 'marginal', and the case against a more massive defence clear, time tends to turn whatever exists into a military necessity in the logic and psychologic of defence bureaucracies. We have seen this happen before. The case for 1,000 land-based American *Minutemen* was questionable, and Mr. McNamara's 18 September speech announcing his recent decision admitted that they were excessive, blaming the decision on Soviet secrecy. Had the United States followed a different logic, it is possible that she might have contented herself with *Polaris* submarines and few if any land-based missiles. She might have relied on the threat to attack a few cities and disavowed any intention to strike Soviet missiles (the policy called finite deterrence). But having made the choice she has, American policy-makers are led seriously to consider attempts to extend or protect what they have built.

Something should be said, in passing, of the arms-race implications of the different solutions proposed to the projected vulnerability of *Minuteman*. First of all, almost all of the arms-race problems could be resolved at one swoop if the Defense Department would dismantle the land-based missiles when they become vulnerable, and rely instead on existing or increased numbers of *Polaris* submarines. This massive reduction of American offensive power would undercut fears on the part of the Soviet Union of attack on her forces. The invulnerability of *Polaris* would prevent attack upon the sea-based missiles, and whatever was necessary to penetrate future Soviet defences could be installed in the submarine-launched missiles.

Instead, the Defense Department is considering: (*a*) converting the entire force to *Minuteman III*, i.e. completing its modernization, and hence improving its offensive capability, so that whatever missiles survive will be more powerful; (*b*) increasing the number of warheads each *Minuteman* missile could carry, i.e. doing more of the same as in (*a*); (*c*) emplacing the entire *Minuteman III* force in super-hard silos, i.e. protecting it against attack by requiring of the Soviet Union more accuracy, more missiles, or larger ones for the same amount of destruction; or (*d*) protecting the *Minuteman* force with an ABM defence, i.e. employing what is called hard-point defence.

Solutions (*a*) and (*b*) would further threaten the Soviet force, pushing the spiral still further. Solution (*c*) buys time, but resolves the problem in no definitive way if the Russians seek protection in numbers—numbers that will eventually seem to threaten the new silos. Solution (*d*) will tend to enlarge the *Sentinel* missile defence, representing a step forward politically, psychologically, and perhaps even technically, to a full-fledged city defence. This will have an unfortunate effect on Soviet planners. And if Dr. Wiesner is right when he says he is 'certain that the system we are now planning will be regarded as ineffective before it is installed', it is equally plausible that the hard-point defence will be considered inadequate protection by the time it is built.

The only possible basis for stability is to switch the main part of strategic offensive capability to submarines and to do it in both super-powers. Unfortunately, the trend in relative offensive power seems quite in the opposite direction, and strong political and bureaucratic pressures seem likely to keep it that way.

In any case, these difficulties reveal the problems that are associated with a single bad decision—too many *Minutemen*. Similarly, if it should become accepted that attempts to protect the country are in order, a variety of other expenditures will follow in time. These will include expenditures on bomber defences and anti-submarine warfare, as well as expenditures to prevent existing missile defences from becoming obsolete. There is, of course, the further possibility that defences against new weapons, cruise missiles or something else might be encouraged as well.

The possible future costs in arms procurement of accepting the legitimacy, feasibility, and desirability of defence against nuclear weapons are quite unlimited. Systems of mid-course intercept, or boost-phase intercept, are now officially considered outlandishly expensive, involving, as they may, large numbers of satellites. But present missile defence considerations were, when begun in the late 1940s and early 1950s, even more outrageous, anticipating, as they had to, the parallel future development of the missiles themselves. And the logic and potential efficiency of attempts to intercept missiles early in their course will keep such defences under serious study. By the same token the strategic fears aroused by these possibilities could easily grow over time since, conceptually, they could conceivably promise higher reliability of attrition.

In general, over a period of decades, the possibility that the defence might throw a substantial scare into the offence is an important argument against the deployment of defences. It is not, as some would argue, a good reason for encouraging defences because, in the face of the strenuous pressures for their neutralization, we can hardly expect the "effective" defence to be more than a transitory phenomenon in a dynamic contest. (If at some future time some really super and more permanent defence emerged, it would be time enough then to take its particular characteristics of cost and permanency into consideration, along with the nature of the political climate.)

While these long-run dangers seem speculative, they may be related to this first decision to build a limited missile defence much as the present commitment of 500,000 troops in Vietnam is related to the initial decision to commit 15,000 combat troops. Inspired by Soviet efforts, by occasional new ideas in missile defence, by improvements in Chinese weapons, by competition among the political parties, by pressures from American industry and the defence establishment, by changes in Defense Department leadership, and, conceivably, by stresses and strains in American-Soviet relationships, missile defence is not going to be easy to stop.

All this costs money, but it has other unfortunate effects as well. The preoccupation with arms gaps or the implications of new weapons takes the time of government and preempts the focus of public debates. It forces negotiations to concentrate on a series of new problems (like bombs in orbit), creates alarms that undermine better American-Soviet relations, and tends to produce ever more destructive weapons.

Does China warrant a missile defense?

Virtually all China experts deny the image of a Communist China that 'seeks' nuclear war. They suggest instead the likelihood that Peking will seek low-risk strategies of political intervention, assistance to insurgents, propaganda, and so on. More generally, the Chinese leadership can hardly remain oblivious to the stark nuclear realities that have persuaded everyone else. A Chinese attack upon the United States is Chinese national suicide, and Chinese leaders, or committees of them, can be expected to see it this way. Attack from China is very well deterred.

Many American supporters of a defense against Chinese missiles quite openly want to retain the ability to attack China pre-emptively or the threat to do so. Thus one American analyst asserted: 'American leaders probably would develop different attitudes towards the Chinese according as the United States did or did not have BMD.' However, American Presidents are not likely to put as much confidence in these very involved computations of the Defense Department as all that, and even these computations always leave open the possibility of losing a city or two. Presidents know that Defense Departments—indeed government agencies generally—are capable of making mistakes. This particular estimate concerns a system that is especially complicated and untestable—as we noted. In short, the President is likely to be deterred from pre-emptive attack on China.

But would the Chinese know it? Might they not be sobered by an American defense? Again, their most likely strategies are one to which nuclear conflict and the threat

---

Footnotes at end of article.

of it are irrelevant. In any case, can they be expected to believe in the defense? Whoever heard of a defense that was airtight? Chinese planners will not have to be optimistic to be sceptical of the optimism of American planners; they need only share the attitudes of almost everyone but strategic analysts.

In addition, this posture of seeming to threaten pre-emptive attack is not desirable. The temptation to carry out the threat gives rise to risks of general nuclear war. To the extent that the threat of attack is successful, it might only induce in the Chinese a policy of holding Asians hostage. It could also induce them to develop weapons less desirable than missiles. In any case, the very effort to defend against Chinese missiles is likely to enhance China's status in Asia. And if Chinese missiles are worth such an effort on the part of the United States, it may be that Asians will be pressed by parties in opposition to take the Chinese threat more seriously than they might otherwise. The pre-emption possibility itself might be considered very undesirable by friendly Asians and very dangerous. War with China, like war with North Vietnam, will be much more destructive in the theatre of conflict than it is to the United States, and this possibility will not be lost upon Asians.

In general, to base Western steadfastness in Asia upon the ability of the United States to reduce American casualties is to make the same mistake just made in Europe. There the United States has recently avoided basing her commitment on her ability to cut her own losses in a nuclear exchange—that posture has totally lost credibility. An analogous policy would lose that same credibility in Asia fast enough. The United States should therefore develop a rationale for Asian guarantees with greater staying power. As in Europe, she should avoid playing into the hands of those who doubt her commitment by basing it on ever more dubious calculations of casualties.

Notwithstanding all this, would the system work against China? No one really knows because the type and sophistication of future Chinese missiles cannot be known. The most effective counter-measures of the 1970s are not known either (nor whether they will be expensive or cheap). Whatever they are, they will be openly discussed in the American press, and the Chinese will learn them. The Defense Department estimates that attacks which might otherwise kill 7 million people could be held to 1 million or less. And it believes that as the Chinese ICBM force grows, 'for relatively modest outlays' *Sentinel* could be improved to limit Chinese damage into the 1980s. But 1985 is as far in advance as 1950 is behind, and since the first Soviet atom and hydrogen bombs were detonated in 1949 and 1952, it has become clear that an awful lot of technical advance is possible in time spans of this order.

Can the Chinese-oriented system be dissociated from a larger Soviet-oriented one? The Chinese force is likely to require improvement in *Sentinel* earlier than the United States expects, and these improvements may blur the difference. More immediately, many in the United States see *Sentinel* as a suitable beginning for an attempt to maintain or increase American nuclear 'superiority'; Secretary Clifford might be in that category. Certainly *Sentinel* could be a building-block to a larger system. (It is also what the Defense Department calls a 'foundation' for a future defence of *Minuteman* forces.)

Most relevant, the Soviet leaders are likely to see this system as a first step to a defence against their missiles, because that is the problem they worry about and because they need lead-time to take the appropriate preventive measures. Certainly, *Sentinel* is far more effective in neutralizing overall Soviet capabilities than the primitive Soviet efforts around Moscow are in reducing those of the United States. And consider how much the latter overreacted to the Soviet efforts.

Mr. McNamara called the American decision to build *Sentinel* 'marginal'. But in terms of the American-Soviet arms race, the balance seems quite in the other direction. *Sentinel* seems likely to cost the United States a great deal of time.

MISSILE DEFENCES AND ARMS CONTROL

For some time the dominant American view has been that missile defences would have the exacerbating effect on the arms race just described, and that the pressures they would generate could not be contained in a comprehensive formal agreement. For this reason, for example, the American proposal to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference that it explore a freeze on offensive and defensive strategic nuclear delivery vehicles included as 'an essential part' limitations on anti-ballistic missiles.[17]

In the recent past there have been isolated defections from this view, encouraged by the seeming inevitability of Soviet missile defence deployment—an inevitability now largely based on *American* actions, if indeed missile defences are inevitable at all. One advocate of missile defences has suggested that ballistic missile defences could reduce potential casualties (an arms-control goal) and then be controlled by a comprehensive American-Soviet agreement. Such a possibility cannot be ruled out entirely, since for example, the missile defences might be as ineffective and irrelevant as existing air defences. But, assuming that the deployment contest between missiles and anti-missiles was reasonably balanced—so that the defensive missiles were, or were thought to be, competitive with the offensive ones—then the competition between offence and defence becomes very complicated and hard to freeze. Indeed, in practice, it is probably only necessary that the defence seem to be *improvable to effectiveness in coming years* for it to cast a pall over the prospects of the treaty. And this is for strategic analysis! Politicians may find it sufficient to know that the treaty and the problem are complicated, that technology changes fast, and that deterrence is important. Note that even with an enormous political, strategic, and economic consensus favouring ending the arms race on the basis of overkill and nuclear plenty, not more than a handful of American senators argued for an agreement with the Russians. If deterrence seemed erodable under the treaty, even this handful would be further reduced.

As for the technical complications induced by missile defences, they are enormous. Each side is committed to ongoing research and development in every faintly plausible direction out of which an effective defence might come. It is quite impossible to design a treaty that would cope with ideas not yet formulated—such ideas would, of course, have to be covered by a right of withdrawal. But there are also those ideas which, while not sufficiently novel to spark a withdrawal from the treaty, may nevertheless arouse the most serious concern. What if a treaty had been negotiated in the early 1960s that limited the number of defensive missiles and froze only the externally observable characteristics—a common assumption. The American improvements in range of interception and kill mechanism of warhead could have turned the point-defence, 'frozen' by the treaty, into a defence of large areas. Similarly, the recent shift from individual warheads to smaller independently guided re-entry vehicles very substantially changes the efficiency of each offensive missile. In effect each missile is turned into several. Yet, with regard to external characteristics, the missile can be designed to look the same. It is possible to hope that defensive improvements like these mentioned might be exactly nullified by offensive improvements like these also mentioned. But surely there is no certainty about it.

At least one analyst has argued that the problem would be solved if the United States did not put such emphasis on overwhelming deterrence, and has proposed that this emphasis be changed. But in view of the political obstacles, the lead-time uncertainties, and the tremendous sensitivity of all concerned, it seems unrealistic to think that important changes might be effected. It is relatively easy to persuade a Congress or an American Administration to do something like buy a ballistic missile defence. But to persuade it that it ought not respond to Soviet defences is to strike at the fundamental premise of post-war strategic weapon policy—overwhelming deterrence.

More often, it has been argued that the Russians will never agree to holding down expenditures on missile defences, and hence that agreements must be designed to permit them. (Again, it should be pointed out that, on available evidence, the Soviet Union is not planning to spend very much.) But in considering what the Russians will accept, one must also keep in mind what they cannot refuse. The idea that the Russians should not build a missile defence effective against the United States is not just part of a proposal which the United States would like the Soviet Union to *accept*; it is an integral part of American policy with which the United States would like to have the Russians *cooperate*. The United States can, and unquestionably will, 'negotiate' the ineffectiveness of a Soviet defence unilaterally. This is what Mr. McNamara meant when he testified in the spring of 1967: 'I do not think they have a defence, Mr. Sikes, that is exactly my point. We will get more weapons through to the Soviet Union as a result of their deploying an ABM than we would if they had not. We presented to you a programme that with a high degree of probability will more than offset their ABM. . . . Therefore, I say they do not have a defence.'[18] In this light, any expenditures by the Russians on a missile defence designed against the United States would be errors in cost-effectiveness, ones which they would eventually correct. Remember, the Soviet Union is not standing still; a Kosygin or his successor may veto expenditures that a Khrushchev might not know how to oppose, or a Stalin want to.

It has been suggested that the United States should match Soviet expenditures on missile defence, on the assumption that similar forces on both sides will make arms-control agreements easier. Why this should be so is unclear; in any case the argument puts too much stress on the relatively more formal—and less likely—methods of ending the arms race. It is noteworthy that no one seems to think that the United States need match the Russians in numbers of submarines or they match us in kinds of naval forces—as a precondition of plausible agreements. In any event, the argument was made on the now questionable assumption that the Soviet Union was buying more missile defence than the United States.

In some cases, analysts who emphasize the importance of symmetry in matching the Russians' (supposed) missile defence purchases—either to deter them or to secure an agreement with them—will insist that the agreement also preserve 'historical asymmetries' between the capabilities of American and Soviet strategic forces. In short, some will argue for symmetry when it comes to matching the Russians, and against it when it comes to their matching us. Indeed, the notion of "historical asymmetries' is altogether questionable, in that the post-war periods have seen very different ratios of megatons deliverable (ranging from many-to-zero at one extreme to one-to-one at another, depending upon the period and type of measurement).

Footnotes at end of article.

EUROPE

The single most important consideration in the attitude of Europeans to American missile defence decisions concerns the confidence of European central bankers in American fiscal responsibility. Faced with rising unrest at home, an expensive war abroad, inflation, and a balance-of-payments deficit, the United States is finding it ever harder to persuade European bankers and European institutions to hold US dollars rather than gold. The issue will turn on European confidence in the ability of the United States to set her house in order—to stop inflation and stem the balance-of-payments deficit. But more immediately, the issue is the credibility of the government's determination, as measured by its willingness to take unpalatable measures. In this connection, a decision to spend resources on missile defences is likely to be the worst possible step. It will seem to reflect the Administration's unwillingness to make hard decisions: a government unwilling to disengage from a war abroad, obligated to right urban wrongs at home, and financially pressed abroad is willing to open an open-ended new front in the arms race. While some European national security analysts may see merit in the missile defence, European financial circles are likely to see only inflation and equivocation. These attitudes will be enforced by the general unpopularity of the Vietnam war, which precludes a certain amount of sympathy for the American predicament, and for her requests for special consideration in the name of common defence against Communism or aggression This issue is of enormous consequence.[19]

To return to more standard strategic considerations, in view of the thousands of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, and the general low level of apprehension in Western Europe over the Soviet threat, Europeans do not seem to feel the need for enhanced American strategic superiority that one might have predicted some years ago. In short, there is no direct European doctrinal requirement for an American missile defence. Nor are Europeans unduly concerned about Soviet defences, assuming, as they can, that the United States will be making energetic efforts to neutralize them.

In the long run, it is possible that Europeans will come to regard missile defences as desirable for themselves. This does not seem very plausible at present, in view of British cuts in defence expenditure and French strains in producing even strategic offensive weapons. But a growing European armaments industry might become interested in missile defence for export to countries that might feel threatened by Chinese missiles—Australia, Japan, India, Formosa—as well as to West European countries that might be involved in some future European war. And both these impulses might be strengthened by advances in missile defence effectiveness. Existing experience in missile defence development teaches us to anticipate periods in which missile defences may look especially promising; during one such period, it is possible that Europeans might try to buy whatever the major powers had already bought.

It ought to be mentioned also that missile defences lend themselves conceptually to the different rationals used by supporters of the multilateral force; indeed, missile defences fit these arguments better than the multilateral force itself.[20] At some point, efforts may be made to use this fact to introduce co-operative missile defences in Europe.

PROLIFERATION

It has been argued that American and Soviet missile defences will increase the technological gap between the major powers and other powers and, in this way, somehow reduce the risk of proliferation. However, one is hard put to find a potential nuclear power which is likely to forgo nuclear weapons simply because, a decade or so hence when it has missiles to mount them on, these missiles might be unable to penetrate the defences of the United States or the Soviet Union. Many potential nuclear powers, among them the most plausible (e.g. Egypt, Israel, India, Pakistan, and Japan), are not directly interested in their ability to penetrate American or Soviet defences. In many potential nuclear powers, *all* strategic questions are secondary to other motivations.

No one is going to believe, in any case, that a nuclear bomb in hand cannot in time be made credible enough in one fashion or another. It is a revealing *reductio ad absurdum* that gaps in this argument have sometimes been filled in the following bizarre fashion: if America has a missile defence, the Egyptians, though not interested directly in threatening the United States, will have to anticipate an American guarantee of Israel, backed by an American missile defence. If they anticipate being unable to penetrate the American defence, they would anticipate finding nuclear weapons useless for threatening Israel and hence would be significantly less likely to buy them in the first place. This obviously requires single-minded Egyptian attention to a single long-run scenario. It requires unprecedented confidence in American defences of the future—more confidence than most American analysts have. And it requires an absence of other motivations for having the bomb.

Evidently proliferation provides no motive for still greater missile defence expenditures. And by way of contrast it is worth mentioning that the political councils of at least some potential nuclear powers may be influenced adversely if the United States and the Soviet Union find themselves unable to prevent a new round of the arms race. Certainly the Indians have made this point repeatedly.

Speaking generally, missile defences will add to the world-wide fixation on nuclear weapons and make it more difficult to dispel the desire for them. It may lead the Japanese to review the development of a regional ABM system for them, and to stimulate discussions of the distinction between offensive and defensive weapons.[21] All of this can be harmful to the non-proliferation effort.

CRISIS BARGAINING

It has been suggested that one-sided Soviet development of ballistic missile defences would lead Soviet generals to believe that the United States could be 'pushed around'. One spokesman—again under the impression that the Soviet Union was doing more than the United States—even went so far as to call this the single most important reason for American procurement. Perhaps this fear has been allayed by the recent decision of the Secretary of Defense to build at least some ballistic missile defence. But it is symptomatic of the character of the debate over missile defence that an argument of this kind should be put forward. To maintain it one is forced to assume that the Russians' interest in defences stemmed from the high valuation they put on them, which, in turn, would suggest their contempt for anyone who did not have them. The argument overlooks the possibility that defences might have been purchased for reasons of vested interests—reasons unrelated to strategy. Or that they might have been bought because of compulsions to buy defensive weapons arising from the psychology of Soviet suffering in World War II—again reasons unrelated to strategy. Or simply that they were bought in anticipation of an American purchase, or because the Soviet bureaucratic system still thinks Russia might be attacked.

Some argue for an American ballistic missile defence on grounds that it will improve the strategic balance. A few years ago, it would have been argued that such a defence would persuade the Soviet Union that the United States might be willing, under extreme provocation, to strike first and suffer the consequences of retaliation. This same point of view now claims only that the United States would gain 'escalation assurance'—a willingness to bargain harder in crises. The difference between these positions is largely semantic and certainly is not one that can be communicated with assurance to the Russians. A variety of news reports have already suggested that the Russians regard the American decision to build a 'Chinese' ballistic missile defence as threatening.

Some writers have quoted the figures provided by the Secretary of Defense in support of the idea that only 'escalation assurance', and not greater strategic advantage, will be secured. These figures show immediate American fatalities being reduced only from 30 million to 20 million. But, as has been pointed out, the figures are illustrative. If any president is ever induced by some enormous provocation or mental imbalance to launch his strategic force, it will be because he is persuaded that some highly sensitive trick or tactic will destroy virtually all Soviet weapons locatable, and that an improved missile defence, in conjunction with anti-submarine warfare, will be highly effective in destroying a disjointed and sporadic attack. With a vast missile defence, but not without it, one can perhaps imagine a president imagining a 'successful' nuclear attack on Russia. This is one way of describing the difference a missile defence makes, and it gives one pause.

It has also been argued that ballistic missile defences would make an American president and a Soviet premier less willing to use demonstration missile attacks as shows of force, thus making the actual initiation of a central war much more difficult. But the plausibility of demonstration missile attacks is itself controversial, at best. The argument's underlying premise, that these attacks constitute a sizable fraction of the only avenues by which a war can be started, is a further very questionable speculation. And even the idea that the ballistic missile defences will make demonstrations much less likely—rather than, for example, only adding something new to demonstrate, namely penetration capability—superimposes a third order of uncertainty.

CONCLUSION

A decision has been taken to build a small missile defence against the possibility of Chinese attack—what 'small' will mean relative to a growing Chinese force is hard to say. Indeed, it is possible that the Chinese will not build intercontinental ballistic missiles at all.

At the moment, the most appropriate question seems to be: should the United States press on and build a still bigger missile defence at a cost of tens rather than several billions? Many of the arguments given for doing so by strategic analysts were set forth under the impression that the Russians were building a wide-scale missile defence over and above that around Moscow. These arguments, e.g. that the Russians will feel contempt for us if we don't have what they do, or that an agreement with them will become more feasible if we do have what they do, were always speculative, marginal, and controversial. Now their very premise seems doubtful. 'Matching the Russians' does not now seem to be at issue—according to the majority of the intelligence community quoted earlier by Mr. McNamara.

In any case, the only important reasons for a heavy missile defence have always been sufficient expectation of nuclear war, and sufficient expectation that the defence would work, to override the obvious economic and political arguments against it. Ever greater effectiveness is required of the defensive systems, and men of experience in these matters have learned to be sceptical of the possibility of achieving it. Just as estimates of cost for

---

Footnotes at end of article.

big systems are always uncertain (virtually always too low), estimates of effectiveness can be no more reliable. Indeed, with respect to cost, the factors are relatively well determined; but effectiveness involves an intelligent adversary who will be seeking countermeasures.

Expectations that the defences will work can hardly be very high. The 'offence' is not being left behind, and if the Soviet Government wants to make the necessary expenditures, it can defeat the Western system even on paper. (Because defence is a harder and more unreliable game than offence, the Russian offence is still more likely to defeat the defence in an actual war.) Depending upon how the war started and many other factors, a massive defence might or might not protect when and if war came. No one will ever be sure. And very possibly the system will be considered obsolete—like its two predecessors—before its date of completion.

Nevertheless, the United States seems likely to press on with missile defences in the absence of talks with the Soviet Union simply because she is unable to restrain herself from doing so. Mr. McNamara's appeals to the Russians to talk were really appeals for help—help in ending the arms race. Combined with fears on both sides of increasingly vulnerable land-based missiles, missile defences have the potential to project the United States and the Soviet Union very firmly into a next round—in which the United States and possibly the Soviet Union build missile defences and both try to build offensive weapons in response to future defence.

In my view, the important question for the West is whether the national interest of the United States demands that she try to protect against the low-probability threat of nuclear war, even if the chance of effective protection is itself small over the long run. Perhaps any amount of money and any encouragement to the arms race are worth a small chance of protecting American society, and perhaps nothing in the resultant arms race can make the United States much more vulnerable than she is now. This point of view, which also discounts the political implications of a continuing arms race, must be answered on a still different plane. It raises the question of how long, and at what cost, America will continue to bemuse herself with low-probability threats to her 'national security' in a world where others uniformly have less security and, almost uniformly, look to her for some kind of moral and financial leadership. The United States must learn, just as people must learn, to distinguish between a legitimate interest in insurance and an obsessive, neurotic concern for an unachievable nuclear security.

FOOTNOTES

[1] U.S. Congress, House Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, *Department of Defense Appropriations for 1964,* Part I, pp. 434–35.

[2] U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Armed Services, *Military Procurement Authorization Fiscal Year 1964* (88th Congress, 1st Session, 1963).

[3] *Statement of Secretary of Defense McNamara Before the Senate Armed Services Committee on the Fiscal Year 1969–73 Defense Program and 1969 Defense Budget,* p. 75 (hereafter cited as *Statement 1969*).

[4] The area protected is egg-shaped, about 500,000 square miles in extent, with the sharper part of the egg pointed south. Considering overlaps, about 14 batteries cover the continental United States. See Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Military Applications of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, U.S. Congress, 90th Congress, 1st Session, *Scope, Magnitude and Implications of the U.S. Antiballistic Missile Program,* 6 and 7 November 1967 (hereafter cited as *Scope*).

[5] *Statement 1969,* p. 55.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 55.

[7] Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, *Scope,* pp. 48–49.

[8] Thus the American *Sentinel* system must have terminal defence interceptors to protect the Perimeter Acquisition Radars, which are called the "eyes of the system" (*Ibid.,* p. 14.)

[9] *Department of Defense Appropriations for 1968,* Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives.

[10] *Statement of the Secretary of Defense Before the House Armed Services Committee on the Fiscal Year 1968–72 Defense Program and 1968 Defense Budget,* pp. 57, 44, 56.

[11] *U.S. Armament and Disarment Problems,* Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 3 February to 3 March 1967, p. 15.

[12] *The New York Times,* 17 January 1968.

[13] Joint Atomic Energy Committee, *Scope,* pp. 48, 49.

[14] *Statement 1969,* p. 59.

[15] By combining the estimate provided earlier by Mr. Nitze with standard probability tables, one can estimate the order of magnitude of Soviet problems. Thus if ten 50-kiloton warheads will destroy 1.7 hard missile silos, and if this computation assumes that missiles are assigned to targets so that no more than 2 per cent to 5 percent of targets are destroyed (a natural assumption), then the single-shot kill probability of each warhead must be 0.45 to 0.5 (see, for example, the table provided in Herman Kahn's *On Thermonuclear War,* p. 468, entitled 'Missile Required to Attack a 50-Point Target System'). Assuming that the Soviet target system of hard missile silos grows to, say, 1,000 by the mid-1970s period under discussion, then 7,000 to 8,000 warheads with this single-shot kill probability could attack them in such a way that only about ten would remain. (See *On Thermonuclear War,* p. 481, for this estimate.) If each of the 1,000 American land-based missiles came to have the 'several' warheads referred to earlier, this might be feasible on paper.

Incidentally, if the range from 1.2 to 1.7 provided earlier refers to ranges of 'hardness' from, say, 100 psi to something higher ('hard' means at least 100 psi in common parlance), then the CEP under consideration can be read from the table on page 469 of *On Thermonuclear War* (using the well-known fact that the efficiency of missiles varies as yield $^{2/3}$/CEP^2) or from the standard Nuclear Bomb Effects Computer Slide Rule. It would be about 0.25 miles, which explains the enthusiasm in the denial quoted earlier that MIRVs were inaccurate. President Eisenhower boasted of CEPs of one or two miles.

[16] *Statement 1969,* p. 65.

[17] Speech on 'ABM and the SNDV Freeze', delivered by Adrian S. Fisher to the ENDC, 16 August 1966.

[18] *Department of Defense Appropriations for 1968.*

[19] The recent wave of speculation and the American decision to cease selling gold to private parties have highlighted the danger. The fundamental problem seems now to be one of persuading others to join with the United States in the final establishment of a new monetary system—rather than only to hold American dollars. But this is at least as difficult, and militates against missile defenses on the same economic and psychological grounds.

[20] For this argument, see my article 'ABM—The Next MLF?', *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* September 1966.

[21] These points have been made by Mrs. Alice Hsieh in testimony before the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, *Scope,* p. 86.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

INDUSTRY COMES TO MOUNTAIN HOME, ARK.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, as I pointed out in an interview published in U.S. News & World Report, May 6, 1968, there is a vital need to encourage and assist industry to decentralize, and to expand by building its plants in the open spaces, in the rural communities. Such a move would provide a measure of relief to overcrowded, slum-infested cities that are plagued with greater problems as more people migrate from rural areas with high hopes of finding a better life. When they fail to find work and a decent place to live, many become a burden to the cities by swelling the welfare rolls. Others become desperate and resort to crime.

It is my belief that there should be a carefully planned program designed to open up more employment opportunities in rural America so that further migration to cities would be discouraged. Such a program would provide a needed economic boost to underdeveloped areas while relieving the strain and pressure caused by social discontent and disorders in the megalopolis.

Proof that an outmigration of industry can be made to work is seen in the town of Mountain Home, Ark., where industrial expansion, encouraged by hard-working local leaders, has contributed immensely to the growth of the community in the past few years.

An article reporting the return of rural emigres, lured by blue-chip industrial firms building plants in this town in the Ozark Mountains, appears in the July 29 issue of the National Observer. It states that Mountain Home's population has increased from 2,105 in 1960 to 3,258 in 1968, largely because of incoming industry that created more jobs.

The story of what has been happening in Mountain Home should be considered by those who are concerned about and who are seeking to resolve the serious problems of urban congestion and poverty.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, "Rx for Cities: The Lure of 'Home,'" written by Mark R. Arnold, and published in the National Observer of July 29, 1968, be printed in the RECORD:

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BACK TO THE BOONDOCKS?—RX FOR THE CITIES: THE LURE OF "HOME"

(By Mark Arnold)

MOUNTAIN HOME, ARK.—The movement of people from country to city in Twentieth Century America has been called, by Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, "the most massive migration the world has ever known." Here in one city in the central Ozarks, those rural emigres, in small numbers, are beginning to return.

They're coming back for all the reasons you might expect: fresh air, open land, freedom from crowds, traffic jams, urban unrest, and high taxes. Plus one more reason: jobs.

Federal public works and local initiative have combined to create here what was once thought impossible in rural America—an atmosphere conducive to industrial growth. Such blue-chip industries as McDonnell Douglas Corp. and the pharmaceutical house of Baxter Laboratories, Inc., have located in this remote mountain town in the past few years, creating 1,700 industrial jobs. As a result, while most rural areas continue to lose population, Mountain Home and surrounding Baxter County are gaining steadily.

A PRACTICAL ALTERNATIVE

This country's lessons—and those of other rural communities likewise experiencing economic growth—are instructive because if they can be duplicated elsewhere, they offer an alternative to the vision of an American future built upon the assumption that more and more people must be crammed into less and less space.

Today, 7 out of 10 citizens live on less than 2 per cent of the nation's land—and most of the rest seem destined to join them. This trend was never seriously questioned by previous generations. The reason: Those who went to the city demonstrably found a better life.

But now, a chorus of critics are saying, while a half million rural migrants, many of them nonwhite, continue to make the trek to urban areas each year, they are not finding a better life. Witness the joblessness, vice, and crime of the ghettos.

What's more, say the critics, it is folly to think the cities' problems can be solved simply by improving living conditions and job opportunities in them. That only encourages more poor and unskilled to come off the farms in search of work, creating a treadmill effect.

REVERSING THE TIDE

So, a movement is growing to reverse the migrant tide, to repopulate the countryside by creating rural counter-magnets to the seemingly inexorable pull of the cities. The Economic Development Administration (EDA), successor to a host of Government agencies charged with stirring growth in depressed areas, seek to channel industry and work-hungry people into new rural "growth centers," fleshed out with new highways and community facilities from up-to-date schools to modern sewage systems.

Agriculture Secretary Freeman stumps endlessly for establishment of a national migration policy that will achieve "urban-rural balance." And Oklahoma's Fred Harris, liberal Democrat, and Kansas' James Pearson, conservative Republican, sign up 32 Senate cosponsors for a bill that would encourage economic decentralization by granting tax concessions to industries locating in rural areas.

Two unspoken assumptions lie behind all the plans to revitalize rural America: that industry can be induced to provide jobs in rural America, and that people will return to the land from urban areas to claim them.

Can this be done? The example of Mountain Home and two dozen or more rural communities like it suggest that it can.

Surrounded by mountains, three hours from a city of 100,000 population (Springfield, Mo., on the north, Little Rock on the south), without a rail line, and with its main highway cut by a ferry. Mountain Home (1960 population 2,105) can—without much fear of contradiction—be called inaccessible. Says local lawyer Thomas B. Tinnon: "Anyone shows up in Mountain Home, you know he's not passing through; he's coming to."

It's always been a sleeping Ozark town—the kind where men in bib overalls and wide-brimmed hats loiter around the county courthouse all day, where people in restaurants fold their hands and say grace before meals, and drivers leave the keys in the ignition when they park their cars to go shopping.

Like most rural communities, Mountain Home lost population steadily after the war as technology took its toll of family farms, sending Baxter County's economy into a tailspin. The effect, it should be noted, was not as severe here as elsewhere in the Ozarks because of the fortuitous construction of two large dams on the White and Norfolk Rivers outside of town after World War II.

These Federal power projects created twin lakes with 1,500 miles of shoreline in Baxter County, spawning a tourist industry, catering to fishermen and vacationers, that is still a $4,000,000 factor in the local economy. In addition, the lakes attract a growing number of retired people's settlements to their shores.

Even so, every town in the county registered a drop in population in the 1960 census, the Baxter County Bulletin reported with alarm eight years ago. And unemployment remained high until the last few years. Remembers William R. Clements, who graduated from Mountain Home High School in 1950: "There were 13 of us in the class. Twelve of us left, as best I can recall. No one really thought seriously of staying. There just wasn't work."

As for industrial potential a Government study of Mountain Home a few years ago found:

"Transportation access is poor. There is no rail or water access to the (proposed) industrial area. Road access by major interstate roads is nonexistent, state roads are winding and only fair in quality. They permit only relatively low speed in reaching major markets, which are generally located at substantial distances. The quality of labor available for new industry is uncertain. . . . The technical skills in the potential labor supply are limited."

Yet Mountain Home has now reached what economists might call the economic take-off point. It has in six years produced 1,700 industrial jobs (starting with 873), a small noncommercial airport, an industrial park, a $2,700,000 water and sewage system, two new shopping centers, a $600,000 high school, a modern 40-bed hospital and 40-bed nursing home.

Permits were issued for more than $1,000,000 in construction last year, including 11 business buildings, 74 residences, and 2 churches. The boost to the area economy has been sufficient to lift Baxter County's per capita income from 21st to 5th among the state's 75 counties—in five years. And the unemployment rate last year dipped low enough—to 5.7 per cent—to have the county stricken from the list of depressed areas qualifying for Economic Development Administration grants.

PEOPLE WILL VOTE FOR IT

How did it happen? Pete Shiras, the folksy co-editor of the Baxter County Bulletin has this explanation: "The difference between us and a lot of other towns is that when a bond issue comes up for something that will improve the community—a swimming pool, a high school, or an industry—the people will vote for it." A look at the record suggests three elements are responsible for the county's economic upswing: business leadership, local bond issues, and a Federal helping hand at each crucial juncture.

The first break came in 1961. A New York City garment maker offered to locate a shirt factory in nearby Gassville, creating jobs for 600 workers, if a plant were furnished and water provided. Baxter and neighboring Marion County joined forces to float a $535,000 tax-supported bond issue. A $160,000 grant and loan to build a water system to Gassville and the plant followed. It was the first project approved by the old Area Redevelopment Administration, predecessor agency to the EDA. The company has since increased its employment in Gassville to 800, and opened branches in three other mountain towns.

Two years later, city residents raised money for a 200,000 square foot pharmaceutical plant, which now sits squarely in the middle of what used to be a cow pasture. The $3,000,000 bond issue drew Baxter Laboratories, Inc., and another 800 jobs, to Baxter County. It also had a salutary effect on prevailing wage scales: Workers at Baxter, whose products include plastic blood bags used in Vietnam, start at more than $1.75 a hour.

A DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Most of the new jobs were for women. To encourage jobs for male workers and achieve a measure of control over future growth, five county leaders formed a nonprofit industrial development corporation and, through the sale of $150,000 in debentures, acquired 769 acres of land north of Mountain Home. The Economic Development Administration commissioned a $20,000 study of the areas' economic potential. The corporation also developed on the site a small airport, capable of handling executive twin-jets, with 3,500 feet of paved runway. With five other communities, Mountain Home voted a $2,300,000 bond issue to bring a natural-gas line 50 miles across the mountains to the industrial park.

Since that time McDonnell Douglas has built a $450,000 sub-asembly plant on the site, providing jobs for 100 men. It too was financed by local bond issue. And the EDA has given Mountain Home's industrial hopes a major boost by approving a $2,700,000 project (half grant, half loan) to bring water and sewage facilities to the airport-industrial site. This assures an inexhaustible supply of water to meet the needs of future industry.

To be sure, the city's problems are not entirely ended. Except for the McDonnell Douglas plant, a small welding operation, and the airport, the park is undeveloped. It looks to the visitor like a big open field of daisies, but for the sign in the middle that reads: Mountain Home Industrial Park 769 acres of Opportunity.

BOND LIMIT REACHED

Another problem is that the city has reached the statutory limit of its bonded indebtedness. It can't offer prospective employers the kind of concessions it gave to attract industry only a few years ago. But it may no longer have to. T. J. McCabe, local Ford dealer and president of the Industrial Development Corporation of the Ozarks, ticks off the community services now available in Mountain Home—water and sewerage system, hospital, the only accredited high school in the region—and notes that taxes are low. Then he adds:

"We've got a good clean-living environment, recreation, and community spirit. The way things are going down in the cities, I'd say that makes us a pretty attractive place to settle."

Some of those who fled Mountain Home in search of jobs in the cities 10, 15, or 20 years ago, are coming back as jobs open up, confirming a theory of county judge James H. Baker that "if you bring the industry in the workers will materialize." One who came back is Bill Clements. In fact, he estimates that of those 12 members of his class of 1950 who left Mountain Home, half are now back in town. Why do they come back? Bill, a 37-year-old Marine Corps veteran, answers: "To get away from it all." He relates his own experience:

"I was a supervisor with Douglas [Aircraft] at Long Beach [Calif.], living in an apartment in Garden Grove. It was the kind of life where you got out of work at 3:30 in the afternoon, but not out of the parking lot till 30 or 40 minutes later. Then you fought one big traffic jam all the way home. My mother sent me a clipping from the local paper here. It showed them digging the foundation for a new [McDonnell Douglas] plant, right in Mountain Home. 'To hell with this,' I said."

PLANNING TO BUILD

So Bill obtained a transfer and returned to Mountain Home as a foreman in the McDonnell Douglas sub-assembly plant, which produces parts for DC–8s and DC–9s. That was last October. Now he's bought a plot of land outside town on which he hopes to build a home in the fall for his New Hampshire-bred wife and two children, ages 14 and 10.

"We went on an outing last week end," Bill recalls, chuckling at the memory. "Down to Cotter Springs. Ate by a bubbling little spring under a sycamore tree. There was a rope on one of the branches and the kids swung back and forth out over the water like Tarzan. No one was crowding in on us."

Of course, if industrialization runs its course, Mountain Home won't always be so free and open. The city's population has increased a third, to 3,258, since 1960. With a little luck, predicts an economic development specialist in northern Arkansas, the county will double its population of 11,000 over the next decade. If all goes well residential subdivisions will spring up in concentric rings around the industrial site, rippling out into surrounding counties, creating new shopping centers and service industries, new demands for community services, and inevitably higher taxes.

Ross D. Davis, the bespectacled chief of the Economic Development Administration, maintains that this growth can be rationally directed and channeled to avoid the urban sprawl and chaotic zoning that characterizes most metropolitan areas. But he adds it is deceptive to think rural areas developed as growth centers can retain a wholly rural character.

"Jrbanization is a process that can't really be reversed," he said recently, relaxing in his Commerce Department office, a stone's throw from the White House in Washington. "It's going to happen, the only question is where we want it to take place and what kinds of mechanisms we use to channel it there."

To some extent economic decentraliaztion has already begun. Almost half the new plants valued at $1,000,000 or more last year were built outside of metropolitan areas.

BALANCED URBANIZATION

Mr. Davis talks about achieveing "balanced urbanization," creating small cities across the country. Obviously, it can't be done everywhere. "Economic development in rural areas requires industrialization," he argues, and industrialization requires a "clustering of people and capital." In those backwoods rural hamlets that have no potential for growth, he adds, what's needed is "not a subsidary to inefficient operations," but moving and readjustment allowances to those who want to go where the opportunities are, and welfare and other supportive services to those, mainly old people, who choose to remain behind.

Some economists maintain the nation can't achieve balanced growth without establishing a national policy on migration, with tax and training incentives or interest subsidies to channel plants and people where they can do the most good. "Year after year," observes one economist deep in the reaches of Washington bureaucracy, "we take more unskilled jobless people into the cities, while the jobs that develop are in the suburbs where these people don't live and can't get to and don't have the training or sophistication to qualify for any way."

Says another economist: "We have a migration policy now, a chaotic one, although we don't recognize it as such. Everytime we build a highway, we're deciding where growth and urbanization will occur. Or our welfare system. If the payments are higher in the cities, that's where the people without jobs will go. The shortage of credit in rural areas, easy Federal Housing Administration mortgages in suburbia—these are all inadvertently part of a migration policy because they all shape the decisions people make as to where to live."

Agriculture Secretary Freeman asked recently whether it is possible by the year 2000 to create an America in which 300,000,000 Americans can live in less congestion than 200,000,000 live today—"free of smog and blight, free of overcrowding, with ample parkland within easy reach of all?" It's an open question.

NO SIMPLE SOLUTION

Certainly the problem of the cities would not be ended by sending vast numbers of people back to the countryside. There the cities would sit, representing huge investment. Their present preeminence as centers of political power would be badly shaken, with unforeseeable impact impact on the national political structure. The more esoteric field of "culture" has traditionally been a thing of the cities.

Nor is there firm reason to believe that Negroes would be welcomed any more joyously in many white rural communities than they have been in the cities. There is a slight ray of hope, however. There are so many smaller places where Negroes could settle, perhaps achieving a social integration they haven't in the city. For example, there are about 5,300 places with a population of 2,500–25,000, another 13,800 with population under 2,500.

And above all it is doubtful that the problems of the cities can be solved by moves that would crowd more and more people, black or white, into megalopolis. It is interesting to note that a majority of Americans, according to a May 1 Gallup Poll, would prefer to live in rural America than in city or suburb. The implication is that they would prefer to live in rural America if jobs were available.

The lesson of Mountain Home and places like—Hibbing, Minn.; Benewah County, Idaho; Hartshorne, Okla.; Warren and Fayette Counties, Tenn., for example—is that industry will make those jobs available if rural areas make themselves attractive enough.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I extend sincere congratulations to the people of Mountain Home for their progressive spirit and for the success they are having in their endeavor to build and better their community.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 18785) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield to the Senator from Ohio for not more than 3 minutes, without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, when Dr. Edward Teller testified before the Committee on Foreign Relations in connection with the nonproliferation treaty, he made some statements which impressed me deeply, and which I believe ought to become a part of the debate on the subject now under consideration by the Senate.

Dr. Teller said:

> In this rapid and continuing technological revolution, you won't put any genie back into the bottle. All you can do is to create new ones, and hopefully better and more belligerent ones. Perhaps, just conceivably, missile defense may be a step in that direction.
>
> When it is said that missile defense will make matters worse because it will merely stimulate our opponents toward more offense, this is predicated on the statement that defence will always remain more difficult than offense.

Dr. Teller further said:

> It used to be said that offense cost only 3 per cent of the cost of defense. Now many estimates are that offense is 50 percent of the cost of defense. Thus the proportion rose from 1 to 33 down to 1 to 2.

He went on to say:

> The time may come when defense will be easier than offense. I do not know. But what I do know is that even today, we can deploy and, because of wise decisions of the Senate, we are in the way of deploying, a defense system which has a good chance to be effective against the Chinese or any newcomer in the nuclear crowd. Whether it will be effective against the Russians I don't know, and I claim nobody knows, and that is the reason why the present development called, as you know, Sentinel, is reasonable, because it is not only a defense in itself, it is also a pilot operation that can teach us whether further development will be reasonble.

This is his statement. I think it is very pertinent. He is of the belief that scientists will eventually make discoveries that will place the cost of defense on a lower level than the cost of offense. It is for that reason that I believe that we ought to go forward with this program.

I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania very much, and I think I remained within 3 minutes because of the liberality of the Chair in permitting me to talk for 5 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is a man of his word.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield briefly to the Senator from South Carolina, without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania for his courtesy. I shall have just a few words to say on this subject at this time.

The main point that has been raised here, as I understand it, is that we should delay this matter. As I comprehend the arguments, very few say we do not need a Sentinel antiballistic missile system.

The Sentinel system is composed of two types of missiles, the Spartan, which is a long-range intercept missile, which goes out a long distance and attempts to intercept a missile before it comes in close; and the Sprint missile, which is a very fast missile and goes up quickly in the event the missile is not intercepted at some distance. The Sprint is used chiefly, or would probably be used, to defend missile sites, radar sites, or such locations as that.

Mr. President, I would say, first, that we should not think of delaying this matter. I have been interested in this question since 1957. The Army has advocated this since that time.

I would remind the Senate that the Russians have an antiballistic missile system. It is already in being. It is now deployed around Moscow. We cannot afford to delay longer.

I would remind the Senate further that it will take from 4 to 5 years now to actually build and get this system deployed, once the Senate has approved it. If there should be delays, it could take longer than that.

I remind the Senate of what Secretary Clifford said in his letter to the Senate of June 18, 1968. He said that if we delay the matter this year, the disruption would delay the program 2 years.

Mr. President, we cannot afford to delay this matter. We must remember that the goal of the Soviets is to dominate the world, and we must remember that they will use any means to do that. They have such a system. Why do we even think of delay?

The security of 200 million people in the United States is at stake. It has been estimated that this system will save some 80 million to 100 million lives. If it were to save only 5 million lives or 1 million lives, or fewer than that, would it not be worthwhile? We cannot afford not to go forward.

The point has been raised here that the system is unproved. I challenge that statement. This system has been proved. For 12 years, research and development have gone forward with the antiballistic missile system.

I remind the Senate of what Secretary Clifford said in the letter I have referred to. He said that we have spent $3 billion on this system already. Are we going to just throw that money away and disregard the security of the people of the United States, or are we going forward to build this system which will give as much security as possible to the people of our country?

I also remind the Senate that as far back as 7 years ago we proved that we could knock down incoming missiles. There is no question as to whether we can track incoming missiles and knock them down. This system is not an unproved system. The system, through the testing and research so far, has proved to be a success.

On the matter of deterrents, I would say that the best way to avoid a war is to be able to deter a war. The Soviets are going to be guided largely in their actions by the actions we take. If we were to build this system, it would be a strong deterrent to them because they would know then that we would be able to knock down their incoming missiles, or most of them, and in that way we could save the people of this country from the great harm they would wish to impose upon us in an all-out nuclear exchange.

If we want to avoid war, the best way is to keep strong. The only thing the Soviets know is strength. Someone said this is only a system against the Chinese. It is being started out as a thin system, and it is being built from that standpoint, to protect us against an attack from Red China. But we would gain a great advantage by having that base ready for use against the Soviet Union if, later on, we should go forward. This would not be money wasted.

I realize the chief enemy is the Soviet Union. However, the progress we make on this system at this time will help us later to complete the system against the Soviet Union much faster. I do not think we can afford to delay the matter.

It is unnecessary for me to remind the Senate that the President of the United States has recommended this system. Former Secretary of Defense McNamara, with whom I disagreed so many times, has recommended it. The present Secretary of Defense, Mr. Clifford, has recommended it. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have unanimously recommended it. Every Defense official of any importance has recommended this system.

Mr. President, in my judgment, they are absolutely right. I do not think we can afford to delay this matter. This system has been proven. If we wish to have a strong deterrent against the Soviet Union, as well as against Red China, we should go forward and build this system without further delay.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I am opposed to the expenditure of $227 million for the initial deployment of the Sentinel program. The money would be used for the acquisition of real estate and facilities for a missile defense system which the preponderance of the scientific and military opinion agrees is not effective to perform its mission.

It has been said the Soviets have a system in being, and this is correct. But it is the preponderance of scientific and military and intelligence opinion—including the present head of the CIA—that the Soviet system is of no earthly use, any more than our Sentinel system would be.

So, the end result of our reacting by deploying our own Sentinel system as a response to a Soviet system presently in being would be to throw bad money after bad money, for the Soviet system is no good and our system is no good, either.

I have made these comments on the floor of the Senate before, and no one has undertaken to controvert them. And they cannot be controverted because scientific opinion is in support of the fact that research and development have not reached the state and yet—and probably never will, although all things are possible—where we can say with any confidence that the expenditure of this initial sum of $227 million is in the interest of the national security of the United States. It just is not.

Moreover, it is a pretty expensive start to a system which again the preponderance of military and scientific opinion agrees will in the end cost us, if not the $60 billion to which the Senator from Ohio referred, at least a minimum of $35 billion to $40 billion. So, I strongly believe that we are about to engage in an exercise in fiscal folly.

I hope very much that when this appropriation passes—as it will because we do not have the votes to stop it—the President will not spend the money, but will take a second thought and conclude that he should listen to some of his scientific advisers who have been telling him that the Joint Chiefs of Staff are wrong and that actually Secretary McNamara was right, because he was never convinced that the system was any good. I hope that the President will, therefore, not spend the money.

Mr. President, in the colloquy a while ago between the able Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] and the distinguished majority leader, the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], I thought the majority leader quite correctly and most politely and in the best tradition of our senatorial courtesy, took the Senator from Mississippi to task in a kindly way for suggesting that the Senate of the United States is not the place in which to decide this question of deployment.

It is clear to me beyond the peradventure of doubt that, under the Constitution of the U.S. Congress has control over the pursestrings. We are given the power to appropriate or not to appropriate money as we see fit. And the thought that we are going to abandon that control over the pursestrings for alleged reasons of national security because wiser heads know better, daddy knows better, seems to me to be utterly out of context with our whole democratic form of government—republican form of government, I should say.

I hope very much that the majority of the Members of the Senate will never take it on the say-so of the Joint Chiefs of Staff or the Secretary of Defense or the Armed Services Committee or the Appropriations Committee or even the President of the United States that we should or should not appropriate money for any particular project.

That is our job as Members of the Senate. I was so glad to hear the majority leader make that point clear.

Any other course is a way of dictatorship. Any other course is the way in which republics and democracies through recorded history have been destroyed. Once we give up our power over the pursestrings, we will have lost our power to control in the interest of the people of the United States.

Now, it was said that the goal of the Soviet Union is world conquest. This has been a cliche, repeated time after time, ever since the days of the late Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY] to frighten members of the American public and of Congress into taking particular action—more or less a stampede by fear.

I am concerned that we are coming closer every day in this body to government by fear. The arguments made in support of the deployment of a fundamentally useless ABM system are really arguments appealing to our fears, to frighten us into making an expenditure which is not only not in the public interest but also is definitely a matter of fiscal folly, as I said earlier.

It is not only in this area of national defense that I feel we are in the process of yielding to the temptations of a government by fear. This is true in wide areas of our domestic programs, also; for, when we think in terms of violence in the streets, of law and order, of riots, we react from fear. And the measures which have been proposed by a number of otherwise eminently sensible Americans to deal with the problems of our slums, with the social injustices which confront millions and millions of our fellow citizens—the arguments of "crackdown" "let them have it," "double the police force," "shoot them for the mildest of misdemeanors"—are a public reaction which I deplore and which, in my judgment, is a manifestation of this Government by fear which I am concerned is sweeping our country.

So when it is said that the goal of the Soviet Union is world domination, I think we should take another look. That might have been true in the days of Lenin; it probably was true in the days of Stalin. I do not believe it has been true for a long while.

There are a number of instances in which it seems to me to be clear that the Soviet Union is gradually becoming a civilized nation, with some sense of compassion, with some sense of decency, with a very strong desire among its people for the finer things of life, for more consumer goods, for an end to the heavy yoke of military expenditures which is presently weighing them down—weighing them down to a far greater extent than it is us, because they are not as rich as we are.

So I would hope that we would have more logical arguments as to whether we should or should not build this antiballistic missile system than the baldfaced assertion that the Soviet Union is bent on world domination, and therefore we have to spend billions of dollars foolishly, as though we were pressing the panic button in order to counter an ineffective Soviet system with an ineffective system of our own.

Accordingly, I am not impressed by the argument of the Senator from Washington to the effect that we have to counter the Soviet no-good system with our own no-good system in order to be able to negotiate from strength an agreement under which both useless systems would be phased out. To me, this is not an argument which is persuasive in any way.

Of course, we must remain strong. Of course, we must keep our guard up. Of course, until we can come to some sensible agreement in terms of arms control and disarmament, it is important that we should meet strength with strength. It does not mean we have to match a foolish expenditure with another foolish expenditure.

I must say, in contemplating how $227 million could easily increase to $30, $35, or $40 billion over the course of a few years, that I cannot take with much seriousness the argument that we must make the start now because otherwise the Russians will be one up on us. If there is no water in your bottle, it does not do any good to put an empty bottle on the table to match the other fellow's empty bottle. Let us have some sense of perspective and some sense of priorities about this matter.

So, in the end, it is a question of judgment as to whether we should spent this money or not. I have sought advice wherever I could find it—in classified testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, in talks with eminent scientists such as Jerome Wiesner, George Kistiakowsky, and others—and the preponderance of opinion is that this system is not going to do the job. Therefore, my judgment is adverse to that of the Committee on Armed Services, adverse to that of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and—I say it with reluctance—adverse to that of the new Secretary of Defense, who really differs from the former Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, in this regard; and I would not spend this money.

It was said that the Senate, by an overwhelming vote a couple of months ago, defeated a proposal to shelve the authorization for the money for the Sentinel system. To me, the key vote, and the only vote of any significance, was the one in which, by a vote of 52 to 34, the Senate refused to go along with an amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], which would in effect have postponed any expenditure for the deployment of this system.

I do not believe that a vote of 52 to 34 is as overwhelming as the Senator from Wyoming suggested. A shift of nine votes would have changed the result. In my judgment, that shift will come. I hope it will come in September; if not in September, then next year; if not next year, then the year after—for the overwhelming evidence is clear that the deployment of this system is not in the national interest.

Senators may inquire why, if I feel so strongly about this matter, I do not offer an amendment to cut back or to cut out this appropriation of $227 million. I have most reluctantly agreed not to offer such an amendment, because those who have more expertise in this matter, those who have served in the Senate longer than I have, are of the view that, as a parliamentary matter, we had better wait until September and not force the issue to a vote now, and that perhaps the President, as part of the negotiations with the Soviet Union—which we hope will shortly be initiated—will be persuaded not to spend this money, even though we appropriate it. I would have preferred to carry the question to an issue on a rollcall vote. But I like to be a team player, and I have agreed I would not propose such an amendment and would merely make a speech, as I am now doing, in opposition to the proposal advanced by the Appropriations Committee.

So, Mr. President, I am opposed to this expenditure. I hope to have a chance to vote against it in September. I hope the President will not spend the money.

Now, if I may have the attention of the able Senator from Nevada, I should like to ask a couple of questions about other parts of this bill.

I ask the Senator if he will turn to the first page of the report of his committee—incidentally, an extremely able report—and ask him whether the amount of $286,564,000, which has been eliminated from the budget estimates for 1969 by the committee, does not represent approximately 14 percent of the total bill.

Mr. BIBLE. So I am advised, that it is approximately 14 percent under the budget.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, if we are as fortunate with the huge military appropriations bill, which I understand will come to the floor shortly after we return, in cutting out 14 percent of that bill, we will at one fell swoop eliminate from the budget estimates far in excess of the $6 billion we undertook to eliminate at the time we passed the 10-percent surtax. It has always been my contention that we could take the entire $6 billion, and more, out of military appropriations.

I believe that with the cuts which have been made by the subcommittee, and concurred in by the full Committee on Appropriations, under the able leadership of the Senator from Nevada, we are well on our way, in order to meet our commitments which we made dealing with appropriations, to make it unnecessary to take any cuts whatever out of the social welfare programs this administration did so much to advance and is now doing so much, unfortunately, to cut back. So I would hope we might get an accounting of the saving that will follow. The Senator from Nevada is to be congratulated for having done more than his share by taking out of this bill a part of the $6 billion reduction in the budget. He has taken 14 percent out of one bill.

I observe the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] in the Chamber as I understand, the larger military appropriation bill, which has not yet been acted on by the House, provides a saving of at least $3 billion.

Mr. RUSSELL. I understand the other body has reduced the amount by $4.8 billion. Last year we made a reduction of about $2.5 billion in the regular defense bill and the military construction bill.

Mr. CLARK. Under the budget figure?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. Under the budget figure?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. I would hope the Senate would do at least as well, and probably better, this year. If we do, we will have recovered the entire $6 billion which we pledged ourselves to cut from appropriations, without having to touch any of the social welfare programs.

I should now like to have the attention of the Senator from Nevada again.

If the Senator will turn to page 31 of the report, he will observe the following sentence:

> The committee has approved $583,700,000 in new obligational authority for the fiscal year 1969 military family housing program.

I assume that that appropriation is based on the strength of the armed services in uniform for the coming fiscal year of somewhere near the present level—3,400,000?

Mr. BIBLE. It is based on those figures.

Mr. CLARK. If Congress or the President should decide to cut significantly the size of the armed services in uniform, as I hope will be done, not only as a result of what I hope will be a peaceful termination of the war in Vietnam, but withdrawals of forces overseas so that we could perhaps cut 15 percent from the 3,400,000 men in the armed services, would not that significantly decrease the necessity for the expenditure of $583,700,000 for family housing?

Mr. BIBLE. I think the correct answer to the Senator's question is rather obviously related to the closing of bases, which would in turn reduce the need for housing on these particular bases, and thus reduce the personnel by that particular amount of closure.

Mr. CLARK. Would it not be logical to assume that if we were to reduce the number of men in uniform from 3,400,000 to—let us take a hypothetical figure—1,800,000, we would almost automatically close some bases?

Mr. BIBLE. I cannot authoritatively answer that question, because I do not pose as a military expert on the closure of bases. Unfortunately, a military base was closed in my State. I think it was bad judgment and that the military made a great mistake.

Mr. CLARK. I always deplore the action of the military in closing bases in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, but now and then they do it.

Mr. BIBLE. This had such great import because it was a training spot for astronauts and it was a fine helicopter base. They made the closing and certain housing became surplus.

It depends on the nature of the responsibility of the base involved, whether it be the Air Force, Army, or Navy. I would not want to indicate to the Senator that a reduction of x number of men in the Armed Forces would automatically percentagewise reduce the amount of the family housing figure because that is made up of maintenance and operation funds, and, in addition, and a very substantial amount for debt payment and debt reduction.

Mr. CLARK. I understand the position of the Senator and I am in sympathy with him, but it must be clear to those of us who are not expert in matters of military housing that if we have only two-thirds as many men in the Armed Forces as in previous years there will not be needed as many housing units for them to go to bed at night.

Mr. BIBLE. The Senator is correct, but they are far short now, even with 3,400,000 men in the Armed Forces. Many of them live in off-base housing. That is another item that must be taken into consideration. Very honestly, I do not know whether there would be any great reduction. I figure there would be some.

Mr. CLARK. I shall not pursue the matter further except to say in my opinion we should make drastic cuts in the number of men under arms in the next year, 2 years, or 3 years, particularly if we make some progress, and I hope we do, in a detente with the Soviet Union in connection with some arms control limitation, which will be necessary if we are to carry the fantastic burden of $82 billion for a Military Establishment.

When that time comes, I hope very much what might be called the infrastructure, which constitutes all of these units all over the world, in Europe and everywhere else, could be drastically reduced, as was done at the end of World War II.

Mr. BIBLE. I hope there will be some substantial reduction.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. RUSSELL. We all hope there can be a substantial reduction in the Armed Forces. They have been increased some 450,000 since the difficulty in Vietnam. A settlement there would provide for a gradual reduction. It would not happen overnight, but there would be a gradual reduction in military personnel.

But I want to say there is a good deal of misconception about the housing item because that would not represent a savings. If houses are built on a base, the Government collects the housing allotment that is made to the individual who lives in the house. If he lives off base, he has to be paid for that in cash from appropriated funds. Unless a base is closed, the Government housing pays for itself out of the housing allotment of the servicemen.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is entirely correct. My point is—I do not want to shock the Senator, and I know he does not shock easily—were we to reduce the Armed Forces to 1 million men, there would be a savings.

Mr. RUSSELL. Indeed, the need for new housing would practically be eliminated if the number of men were reduced to 1 million. I shall not comment on what that would do to the security of the United States.

Mr. CLARK. It am sure the Senator and I would not agree on that subject.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I appreciate the sentiments of the Senator from Pennsylvania and the contribution made by the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, on the specific subject of the antiballistic missile system, perhaps all that can be said has been said. Yet, I feel an obligation to make a brief statement for the record.

As many Senators know, I prepared an amendment to eliminate the fund of $227,300,000 earmarked for this purpose. I did so in response to the position made clear by the four Senators who filed additional views, Senators MANSFIELD, CASE, PROXMIRE, and SYMINGTON. These committee members dissent from the committee's recommendation approving ABM spending.

In light of the discussion, and thoughtful discussion, as I believe it was, it is my decision that I should not offer the amendment. In making that announcement, I should like the record to be perfectly clear that this decision in no way, shape, or form indicates any change of attitude on my part or any waiver of my conviction that now is not the time to deploy the Sentinel system, a system about which we have no assurance as to its reliability and no indication that it would be effective. It is a system that would tie up not only $227 million; but Senators can guess the amount that could be plowed into the system because that is what it is, almost anybody's guess, in the billions of dollars.

The Senator from New Jersey voiced very eloquently the need for money in the slums in our cities and our poor rural areas. Indeed, if our survival depended upon an antiballistic missile system we would not bookkeep in a fashion to prevent us from having to respond to the need of the cities or the ABM. But the case has not been made that our survival depends on that ABM system.

I think we could make a good argument that our survival does depend upon solving the problems of the cities. I accept the guidance, judgment, and leadership of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] that in these next few weeks, those of us who share this point of view feel that our case will become increasingly clear; that a broader understanding of the futility of making this huge expenditure will develop and that we will be able to join on this issue when the Department of Defense appropriations bill is before us. In the meanwhile, I echo the moving remarks of our able majority leader, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], expressing the hope that in leaving the option to the President, he will be in a position to demonstrate the good faith of this Government by deferring the expenditure of these construction funds for this year.

If I were in the shoes of a Russian, I would have one heck of a time convincing myself that America was demonstrating good faith as it approached the negotiations, when it was earmarking hundreds of millions of dollars for the construction of a system which in the most optimistic estimate will take 5 or 6 years to produce.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to my good friend from Michigan. I agree with him in his opposition to the ABM figure in the report. This morning I indicated, when I listened to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], the former Secretary of the Air Force, my complete agreement with him in opposition not only to the figure of $227 million-plus, but also to the appropriation bill.

In connection with the ABM program, I agree with the other Senators who have spoken in opposition, such as the Senator from New Jersey, our great majority leader, and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE]. I would be less than honest if I did not say that I am disappointed that there is practically no support that I can find for trying to strike the figure from the appropriation bill.

With it in there, I cannot vote for it. I do not know whether there will be a record vote or not, but I want the RECORD to show that I am opposed to what I think is a legislative fraud upon the American people so far as the ABM program is concerned.

If we go through with this, we will be starting a program that will result in the killing of millions and millions of Americans.

This is the way to help guarantee world war III. That is not the only thing we are doing to guarantee world war III.

I do not know why we cannot learn. I do not know why we cannot see, before it is too late, that the military program of the United States as it proceeds to build an American military so-called lifeline around the world, makes us the leader in the armaments race. No country can approach us in the armaments race. We are the most militaristic nation in the world, so militaristic that we are frightening the world and are becoming isolated more and more by nations that should be our friends.

I cannot vote for that kind of legislative fraud as I see it. We should strike it. Yet I have checked throughout the Senate and I find that a move to strike will have very few votes for it. Many of those against this item will be voting for the appropriation bill. We have been sold on the proposition of, "Wait until you get the big defense bill before you."

We should not wait. We should oppose every step of such a program. If the program is not stopped, it will lead to what I think will be such an armaments program on the part of this country that world war III cannot be avoided.

If history teaches anything, it teaches that armaments races always produce war. Preparation for war does not prevent war, it causes war.

We should exhaust, first, the approach that is available to us and try to stop the armaments race.

Today, I am aghast at the worsening of events in South Vietnam, the sending of 4,500 more men over there. We read in the newspapers that the probabilities are there will be further escalation there, that more American boys will be killed—and are being killed daily.

I happen to think that at the local levels in America in all our States, there is a growing public demand that we stop that killing by stopping the escalating, by stopping the sending of more boys over there, by withdrawing them from the escalation firing lines and bringing them back, first, to lines of defense that we can hold. Many authorities such as a Ridgway, a Gavin, or a Shoup tell us it would save lives. But, instead, we play the role of killer, safe in our security here at home, by supporting policies that enlarge the war.

I am not going to do it. I am not going to be a party to it. I have not been, for many years. I opposed the preparations for this war before we had a soldier over there. I opposed the preparations for this war which were made by John Foster Dulles, when he was Secretary of State, and first concocted his massive retaliation, threatening, foreign policy program, and when he was deluded with the pact mania. The Secretary of State helped lead this country into security pacts with 43 nations. If five nations sought to collect at one and the same time, we know what would happen to us, internally and externally. We are already too involved in Vietnam to meet any other commitment.

Now we have in the neighborhood of 540,000 soldiers in Vietnam, and 4,500 more are going over today. This will result in shocking casualties, the killing of American boys, merely to support a fraudulent and corrupt government over there which is represented to the American people as being a free government but, in fact, is a police state, a government which has imprisoned for 5 years—referred to by the Senator from Missouri this morning in his eloquent speech—one of the candidates for the Presidency of South Vietnam in the last election. He has violated a law that denies the precious freedom of free speech. He suggested that they ought to give consideration to a coalition government, so he is thrown into prison for 5 years.

Mr. President, we are killing American boys to support that kind of tyranny. We are killing American boys in support of a government that is recognized by all who have analyzed the internal workings of that government to be a shockingly corrupt government. We are killing American boys in support of a regime whose alleged President—but you ought to put the word President in quotation marks, because a presidency is supposed to be related to a democracy, not a totalitarian state—takes the position that they should have the right to determine, in effect, how many American boys ought to be killed. They take the position that there can be no peace settlement unless they approved.

Well, I want to say, as I have said many times in the past in my speeches against this war on the floor of the Senate, as far as I am concerned, Thieu and Ky—those two corruptionists—should not have the slightest voice in determining how long we will leave American boys over there and what our policy should be over there. If they do not like the policy we are following over there, the sooner we get those boys home and stop the killing of them, the better.

Of course there has to be a coalition government. Of course it ought to be recognized that what we have dealt with, from the very beginning, is a civil war, and we had no business involving ourselves in it in the first place.

Mr. President, we have followed an armament program in Asia which, in my judgment, is based upon the design of the American military to establish a permanent American foothold on the mainland of Asia. We cannot maintain a permanent American military foothold on the land mass of Asia without getting into a war with China. There are those who want to do that, I know, but I think if the American people will ponder what that will involve, we may be able to stop it before it starts. The only briefings on the matter that I have heard all point out that if we get into a war with China, we will have to have 3 million American boys in China within 30 to 36 months. That is why I have asked so many times, "Where are you going to get them? How are you going to support them? Pray tell, for what purpose?"

But there is also a fourth point that we had better remember now, before it is too late. What makes anyone think the American people will tolerate it? In my judgment, if we are led into a war with China because of the mistaken policies we are now following—and we are laying the foundations for that war with our military excavating the runway to a war with China in Vietnam right now—I happen to believe the American people will repudiate any government that is in power at the time we are led into that murderous holocaust.

Mr. President, that is all involved in the armament program of the United States. We ought to change it. We ought to start changing it today, and not wait until the bid defense bill gets before us.

Mr. President, I have said for over 4 years that we ought to hold other nations to their responsibilities and obligations to enforce the peace when the peace is threatened. We cannot do that unilaterally, and we should not be attempting to do it unilaterally. If the other nations whose signatures appear on that San Francisco Charter known as the United Nations Treaty, or Charter, or Compact, do not want to assume their obligations, we should know it.

I should add, provided that we make a pledge, which we have never made—and this point is missed by many Americans. We have never pledged to abide by the jurisdiction of the United Nations if it will take jurisdiction over the war in Asia and seek to enforce the peace. The United Nations is not going to attempt to do it until we make that pledge. That is why some of us here in the Senate who have talked from time to time with the top officials of our Government with respect to this issue have always pleaded for carrying out that international law obligation of the United States. It is our legal obligation under the charter, and we have never fulfilled it.

Mr. President, take the so-called peace conference in Paris. It is a mockery. It has always been a mockery, for it is not a peace negotiation. It really is a conference in which the United States has set out its terms of surrender demands to the North Vietnamese. For what are we saying in Paris, when you strip it of all its verbiage? We are saying to North Vietnam, "We will stop our bombing when you stop your infiltration." Of course, all the world knows what that means. We are saying to the North Vietnamese, "You just leave the Vietcong to our tender mercies, and we will end that war, but, of course, that means if you accept our proposal, you, in effect, have to surrender." And they are not going to do it.

Mr. President, I certainly hold no brief for the shocking philosophy of the Communist leaders of North Vietnam, nor for the tyrants of South Vietnam who are involved in the civil war, but we are not going to get peace that way. We are going to get peace only when noncombatant nations, under the aegis of international law, representing international tribunals, are given jurisdiction over the war in helping to negotiate a peace.

Mr. President, I have made my comments again on my position on the war in Vietnam because I think it is worsening, and I think the division in America is worsening. Those of us opposing the war are no longer alone. Millions support us. This rift in the body politic, in my opinion, has got to be bridged some way, somehow, for the good of the Republic. But it is not going to be bridged by sending 4,500 more men over there. It is not going to be bridged by escalating the war. It is not going to be bridged, as the Senator from Missouri pointed out this morning, by starting here today a program that will lead to a $100 billion expenditure as we go forward with the ABM program, which, in my judgment, increases the probabilities of world war III.

Our direction should be in the opposite way. We should stop the attempt of the United States to set itself up as the military policeman of the world. That is what Dulles wanted. We ought to change the Dulles course of action, not perpetuate it.

So, Mr. President, I want the record to show, if there is not a rollcall vote, that I am recorded against this bill. I am recorded against it for several reasons. There are other divisions of it that cause me to vote against it, but the principal one is the very one the Senator from Michigan spoke about—$227 million to start this phase of the ABM program.

DOES THE STEEL INDUSTRY RECOGNIZE ONLY THE SIGN OF THE DOLLAR?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to speak briefly about a domestic crisis that has been created in this country in recent hours.

The American people have just received a slap in the face from a hand in a glove of steel. After many months of heated debate, the American people, through their representatives in the Congress, imposed upon themselves a tax increase amounting to billions of dollars. In addition, they accepted the inevitability of cutbacks in Federal programs providing vital services to them and to the Nation. Why did we do these things? Is it because we like to pay higher taxes? Is it because we do not care if there are delays and cutbacks in the programs we believe America needs? That is nonsense.

We raised taxes and tightened our belts because America's interests demanded such action. We did these things because we wanted to ward off inflation. We did these things to maintain world confidence in the strength of the dollar. We did these things so that we could continue to play our leadership role in the free world. At least those are the reasons that we gave.

Now that the American people have swallowed this bitter pill, they have a right to expect other segments of our society to act just as responsibly and just as much in the public interest. Is that too much to ask? Is that unreasonable? Apparently, as far as Bethlehem Steel Corp. is concerned, the answer to those questions is Yes. Responsible action in the public interest is too much to ask of this giant corporation.

Bethlehem Steel Corp. yesterday announced what has been characterized as an across-the-board price increase of almost 5 percent on its steel mill products.

This news must come as something of a shock to the average American who has just gotten a smaller paycheck because of the July 1 income tax increase. This action must come as something of a shock to the consumer who will have to pay more for steel products, out of a paycheck that is somewhat smaller. This action must come as something of a shock to our fighting men in Vietnam who are risking their lives because of America's vital interest. It certainly came as a shock to me.

If the price increase announced by Bethlehem Steel made some economic sense, it would still be hard to accept in these difficult days. But it does not even make sense economically.

For example:

In the past several years there have been high gains in worker productivity.

Between the first quarter 1966 and first quarter 1968—labor costs per unit of output went up less than 1.5 percent, while steel mill prices went up more than 3 percent.

The new wage settlement in the steel industry certainly does not justify an across-the-board rise in prices of 5 percent. Productivity is rising, for one thing. And for another, labor costs make up only 40 percent of the total costs of the steel industry.

In 1966, I was a member of a special commission appointed by the President of the United States. My colleague was ex-Governor Collins of Florida. We were assigned, by the President, the responsibility to look into the steel industry in regard to both management and labor problems, and to report to him our recommendations for settlement of the steel dispute of that year.

I must say, Mr. President, that I am satisfied that there is not the slightest economic justification in fact for what Bethlehem Steel did yesterday.

Bethlehem Steel just reported first half-year profits for 1968 of almost $100 million. This figure is 41 percent higher than last year's first-half profits.

The consequences on the Nation's economy of the Bethlehem Steel action come close to being disastrous. Here are the reasons.

First, an across-the-board increase of this magnitude threatens to destroy price stability. It is practically a blueprint for inflation.

Second, a steel increase like this would cripple our efforts to achieve equilibrium in our international balance of payments.

Third, a major price increase would hurt the steel industry itself by bringing about an increase in imports of cheaper foreign steel. It would also force other industries to turn to steel substitutes such as glass, aluminum, and plastics.

The more one analyzes the situation objectively, the more difficult it becomes to justify the price increase announced by Bethlehem Steel on any rational grounds.

As President Johnson said yesterday afternoon:

> The Bethlehem price increase is unreasonable and just should not be permitted to stand.

I do not know what the motives of Bethlehem Steel were when it made the decision to raise prices in this manner. I do not want to speculate on the motives, either. But in all candor, I must say this: If ever there was an action which appeared to reflect an attitude of "Damn the public interest," the Bethlehem price increase was such an action.

As a private citizen, I am outraged at the damage the price increase can do to America's domestic and international interests. And I am giving voice today to my sense of outrage.

But as a Senator, I feel an obligation to go beyond mere words. I have an obligation to my constituents, to my State, and to my country. I do not believe that the Bethlehem Steel price increase can be allowed to go into effect without some appropriate committee of the Senate examining the price increase in its totality. We have investigated questions of far less national importance. We cannot, in conscience, ignore this threat to our domestic stability and our international posture.

Therefore, Mr. President, I strongly recommend a Senate investigation of this inflationary action on the part of Bethlehem Steel immediately.

Mr. HART and Mr. MANSFIELD addressed the Chair.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, if the majority leader will permit me, I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I should like to add just one aspect to the discussion of the Bethlehem Steel matter that I believe we should have in mind.

We have been almost flooded out of the Senate Chamber this year by the tears of the steel mills of this country, bewailing steel imports and the devastating consequences they have on the domestic steel industry.

I do not happen to be a Ph. D. in economics, but I would like somebody to tell me if my reaction is wrong. I ask, if they think they have had trouble with foreign steel imports at the existing domestic price, what in heaven's name is going to happen, and how many more feet of tears are we going to have, when they try to market domestic steel at this new price?

Mr. MORSE. That is exactly why I say an investigation is in order.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the official transcript of President Johnson's news conference statements on Bethlehem Steel's price increase yesterday.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, July 31.—Following is the official transcript of an impromptu news conference President Johnson held today in the Cabinet Room of the White House:

"The Bethlehem Steel Company this morning announced an across-the-board increase of almost 5 per cent in steel mill products. If this action were followed by the rest of the steel industry, it would have dire economic consequences for our nation:

"Resulting in a price increase exceeding one-half billion to the American consumer.

"Setting back the efforts of all Americans to reverse the current inflationary trend and get back on the road to price stability.

Creating pressures for price increases across the whole range of products made out of steel.

"Eroding our whole world competitive position and jeopardizing our balance of payments, and

"Aggravating the steel industry's own problems in meeting competition from foreign producers and substitute materials.

"Steel prices have been moving gradually upward on a selective basis. A general price increase has been wisely avoided. I stated last May, and I quote, 'the relative stability of steel prices has been one of the key favorable factors in our recent price record. And it must be preserved.'

"The steel companies and the union reached a collective bargaining agreement yesterday. The terms of their settlement are high. That settlement will result in some increases in steel costs, but the announced Bethlehem price increase far exceeds any reasonable calculation of the cost of the wage settlement.

"Steel is the nation's basic industrial product and the industry's pricing decisions affect our entire economy. Inflation in steel is inflation for the nation. American consumers are now threatened by a price increase that will take $600-million a year directly out of their pockets and pocketbooks and at the very time they are paying increased taxes as their contribution to the urgent task of restoring price stability.

"According to the ticker this afternoon, Bethlehem Steel Company, with sales buoyed with second quarter hedge buying against a strike that never came, today reported net profits of $93,400,000 for the first half of 1968, a 41 per cent increase over last year's first half.

"The Bethlehem price increase is unreasonable and just should not be permitted to stand. The public interest must be recognized by the entire steel industry in its price decisions at this critical time."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to express my accord with the views of the distinguished Senator from Oregon and also with the observation just made by the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

Yesterday, Bethlehem Steel Corp. announced that it was putting into effect an across-the-board increase of about 5 percent in the prices of its steel mill products. President Johnson responded to this action by forcefully expressing the dismay the Nation feels at the serious consequences which will inevitably follow the price increase announced by Bethlehem Steel. Unfortunately, it now appears that other steel companies are ready to follow the lead of Bethlehem.

Here are some of the unfortunate results of the steel increase, as outlined by the President, yesterday afternoon.

Enormous price increases for the American consumer.

A serious setback in our efforts to achieve price stability.

Pressure for price increases in other industries which use steel.

Damage to our international balance-of-payments position because the steel price hike will make our steel less competitive in world markets.

Injury to the steel industry itself through increased use of foreign steel and increased use of substitute materials.

In fact, it is difficult to see any benefit at all coming out of the price increase, even for Bethlehem Steel.

If the price increase is sustained and if other companies join in, the American people may wonder why they were persuaded to accept a multibillion-dollar tax increase and a cutback in vital Federal programs, in order to ward off inflation, while large corporations seemingly go their own way without regard to the Nation's needs or the Nation's problems.

I believe this is a time for the business leaders of America to demonstrate statesmanship. This is a time for the leaders of the steel industry to raise their eyes above the balance sheets of their corporate books and take a searching look at the balance sheets in the book entitled "America's National Interest."

I hope the American steel industry will come to recognize that America comes first.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 18785) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. NELSON. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask there be a time limitation of 20 minutes on the pending amendment, the time to be equally divided between the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, the author of the amendment now pending, and the distinguished senior Senator from Nevada, the manager of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin has the assurance of the leadership that if more time is needed, it will be forthcoming.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the amendment on page 2, line 7, under the heading "Military Construction, Army," merely strikes out the figure $537,605,000 and inserts in lieu thereof $310,305,000.

The $227,300,000 deleted covers the cost for the fiscal year 1969 of acquiring real estate and facilities for the deployment of the ABM system, including radar, buildings, powerplants, and easement rights relating to the ABM system.

I especially note that funds for research and development will not be affected by my amendment.

Mr. President, I realize that a number of my colleagues who are opposed to the deployment of the ABM have the feeling that it would be better not to request a rollcall now on the appropriation for the deployment of the ABM, but that it would be better to wait until September.

I have listened to the arguments in behalf of that position. And though I respect the viewpoint of my colleagues who feel that way, I am not in agreement. That is the reason why I am asking for a rollcall vote now.

I point out that this is like Vietnam all over again. I remember very well when the President requested a $700 million accelerated appropriation in the spring of 1965. The $700 million was not needed for some time. The committee report and the House so stated. It was not needed for a matter of 2 or 3 months. This was a question of getting Congress to endorse the stepup of the war in Vietnam. This was the beginning of the change of our role in Vietnam from a technical aid assistance commitment to a ground commitment.

The resolution to accelerate that $700 million came up in the House at noon one day. We were told that we would have to take it up the next day and vote on it. I spent a long time, almost all night, writing a speech against it. However, there was very little debate at that critical time in history. If those of us who had opposed Vietnam had had the time and had taken the floor and held it for a week and discussed the implications of what we were doing, we might not have gotten involved in this tragic affair in Vietnam.

However, the issue was raised and quickly disposed of with very little debate. When the roll was called, there were just three people in the Senate who voted against that appropriation—the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], and I.

This is the launching of a similar program which can have consequences, in my opinion, that are as bad or worse.

In the April and June debates on the deployment of an ABM system, those of us who opposed it submitted for the RECORD all of the scientific and technical arguments against deployment by the most qualified experts in this country. To this day the experts have not been answered or refuted by the proponents, and next year at this time the experts will remain unanswered because the proponents do not have an answer.

There is no way to explain this headlong drive toward disaster in logical and rational terms. It can only be explained as Mr. Eisenhower explained this phenomenon shortly before he left office. It can only be explained by recognizing the raw power of the military-industrial complex combined with the emotional power of appeals to fear and patriotism and national defense.

So, like that interesting little creature, the lemming, we have all joined together in a vast mob, rushing off to nonsense land, waving the flag, and shouting slogans about national defense and communism while we proclaim our unbounded faith in peace in the world.

What a tragic commentary on our sense of priorities.

Three years ago we launched a ground war in Vietnam. We were stampeded then, as now, into a commitment which is draining our Treasury, dividing our country, and sacrificing our men in an enterprise that never had a chance of success in the first place, and everybody now knows it.

If we could turn the clock back to the spring of 1965, with the benefit of the hindsight we now have, there is hardly a soul in Congress or elsewhere in America who would advocate doing it again.

That is the real test of the wisdom of getting into Vietnam as we did. Yet, here we are launching another multibillion-dollar enterprise on grounds as flimsy as the arguments made for Vietnam. In fact, I think it can be said that the arguments in support of the ABM are weaker than those for Vietnam, if that is possible.

I, for one, will not vote for the bill so long as it contains this appropriation for beginning the deployment of the ABM. And those of us who oppose this move to escalate the missile race are now hearing the same arguments and reading the same pundits, spouting the same eternal verities that they blessed us with on Vietnam.

Fifty billion dollars and 6 years later, they will all grow silent again, as they have on Vietnam, while they privately confess it was all a big, sad mistake.

I, for one, am not going to endorse the mistake. It has all the tragic potential of another Vietnam, or worse.

Mr. President, I think all of the arguments that can be made on the subject were made in April and June and today.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed, at this point in the RECORD, statements I made on this subject on April 18, April 19, and June 24, 1968.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Apr. 18, 1968]

The price tag on this proposal is now $5 billion. As we all know, it will be higher. We are told it is aimed against China missiles only. It is conceded by everyone that at best it would be effective against a crude, unsophisticated delivery system. On February 2 of this year, Defense Secretary McNamara testified before the Armed Services Committee that this was a Chinese oriented system. When Senator DOMINICK asked, "If a Soviet missile should come within that particular defense system you could handle that one?" Secretary McNamara replied:

"If it were only one missile, yes. However, if it were the size attack the Soviets are capable of mounting today, the answer is 'No.' "

In a speech a few months ago on September 18, 1967, the Defense Secretary said:

"Our strategic offensive forces are immense. All of these flexible and highly reliable forces are equipped with devices that insure their penetration of Soviet defenses."

Mr. McNamara said further:

"None of the [ABM] systems at the present or foreseeable state of the art would provide an impenetrable shield over the United States. There is clearly no point . . . in spending $40 billion if it is not going to buy us any significant improvement in our security. Every ABM system that is now feasible involves firing defensive missiles at incoming offensive warheads in an effort to destroy them. But what many commentators on this issue overlook is that any such system can rather obviously be defeated by an enemy simply sending more offensive warheads, or dummy warheads, than there are defense missiles capable of disposing of them."

He reminded his audience that the United States has already initiated offensive weapons programs costing several billions in order to offset the small present Soviet ABM deployments.

Secretary McNamara pointed out that four distinguished scientific advisers to three Presidents—Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson—"have unanimously recommended against the deployment of an ABM system designed to protect our population against a Soviet attack." He went on to say:

"We have the power not only to destroy completely China's entire nuclear offensive forces, but to devastate her society as well."

He went on to elaborate on the folly of spending "$4 billion, $40 billion, or $400 billion—and at the end of all the spending, and at the end of all deployment, and at the end of all the effort, to be relatively at the same point of balance on the security scale that we are now."

So, nevertheless, we are now in the treadmill process of spending $5 billion on a system that may not work at all and, at best, could have some brief, some transitory value until China slightly refined its delivery system, which everyone concedes they can easily do—and certainly will.

What incredible manner of logic is this? We can, as Mr. McNamara put it, totally destroy "China's entire nuclear offensive forces" and "devastate her society as well," but, he says, we should install this system because "one can conceive conditions under which China might miscalculate."

I respectfully suggest to Mr. McNamara that the fertile human mind can conceive of almost any condition it wants to. With that assumption, any proposition can be logically supported.

It is, I think, a weird process of reasoning that causes us to spend $5 billion on a system of doubtful and certainly temporary value on the belief that China might be insane enough sometime to attack us knowing it would result in devastation for their whole society.

We cannot even wait to conclude our first round of folly in Vietnam before launching into a second round of folly in a nuclear missile race.

In 1965, when we intervened in Vietnam with a military ground troop commitment, it was argued, among other things, that it was a necessary move to contain China. High State Department, including the Secretary of State and other officials, used the same argument to justify each stage of the escalation. Now we are there with over a half million troops and draining our Treasury at the rate of $25 billion a year in an enterprise we wish we had never undertaken in the first place.

China has not a single troop in the war, but somehow we are supposed to be containing China by fighting the Vietnamese.

Now, again, under the guise of defending ourselves against the same enemy, China, we are launching a little "thin missile system" which, like the Vietnam war, will balloon into a big thing—and, like Vietnam, 5 years from now we will all be saying, how in Heaven's name did we ever get trapped into this? Well, it is not easy, but it can and will be done if we work at it hard enough.

I think the truth of the matter is, this is not an anti-Chinese system at all, but the first step in construction of a major heavy ABM system. Of course, many of the proponents—I emphasize this—of the thin system do not intend that result any more than they intended a big war in Vietnam, but that, nevertheless, will be the result.

The signposts along the route we are traveling are clear and we can read them down that route as far as the eye can see—they read: We escalate; they escalate; we escalate; and so forth, until we reach the end of the line, wherever that may be. As Mr. McNamara put it, we could spend $4 billion, $40 billion, or $400 billion on an ABM system and at the end be relatively at the same point of balance on the security scale that we are now.

In commenting on the futility of it all, Dr. Jerome Wiesner, science adviser to the President, said:

"Defense against thermonuclear attack is impossible."

Dr. Ralph Lapp stated:

"I believe that for every wrinkle you introduce into defense there are 10 more wrinkles that can be introduced in the power of the offense."

I am aware that the Joint Chiefs and the military hierarchy favor the heavy ABM just as they favored intervention in Vietnam, and we who oppose it will be told now, as we were then, that we are wrong and the military knows what is best. And, again, 5 years from now, if we are still around, we will have the doubtful honor of pointing to our sad mistake—and we will be told then, as now, to quit talking about the past—that is history—let us talk about the future. And so mankind goes down his merry road to disaster.

There is, of course, no doubt that this authorization will pass. This is an election year and we all know that the two biggest words in the English language are "national defense," "national defense." If you just shout them loud enough you are in the clear—you win and your opponent loses. It is just plain unpatriotic to question any appropriation for national defense. Defense against what? It does not matter what, or where, or how, or whether it makes any rational sense at all—just utter the magic words and you are in the clear.

We know that the military-industrial complex favors this appropriation; we know that Congress supports it; I assume that the public does, too. But I do not and I will not vote for it. I cannot in good conscience vote for a program that will launch us into a spiraling missile escalation which has no end and no purpose either. If that is bad politics, at least it is good sense and that is something worthwhile nowadays. For my part, I would rather leave here with my conscience than stay here without it.

In conclusion, may I say, how much better it would be if we just poured this money into our troubled cities for programs to right what is wrong in America. Lest we do that soon, we may not have a worthwhile society left here in America for the ABM to defend.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "Experts See 'Thin' ABM Vulnerable," published in the Washington Post of Sunday, March 3, 1968; an article entitled "Defense: The Missile Nobody Needs," written by William E. Jackson, Jr., and published in the New Republic of October 28, 1967; and an article entitled "Anti-Ballistic-Missile Systems," written by Richard L. Garwin and Hans A. Bethe, and published in the Scientific American of March 1968.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"[From the Washington Post, Mar. 3, 1968]

"EXPERTS SEE 'THIN' ABM VULNERABLE

"The Chinese will be able to build missiles that will penetrate the so-called 'light' ABM system the United States intends to construct, according to statements by two groups of American scientists.

"An article in the March issue of Scientific American by Richard L. Garwin and Hans A. Bethe, both long associated with the development of American nuclear weapons, argues that the proposed system 'will add little, if anything, to the influences that should restrain China indefinitely from an attack on the U.S.'

"The two scientists argue that the Chinese can surmount the American system, 'whose characteristics and capabilities have been well publicized.' Their article discusses this possibility in considerable technical detail.

"Bethe is a Nobel Prize winning physicist. Garwin, a Columbia University physicist, was recently reported to have gone to South Vietnam, a report setting off rumors that nuclear weapons were being deployed there. But Pentagon officials later said he went instead to Thailand.

"The Federation of American Scientists, in a statement, called the ABM system 'irresponsible on fiscal grounds' and 'pointless on military grounds.' The Federation statement said that 'the basic technical fact is that this system can be easily neutralized by the Chinese by using relatively simple and cheap penetration aids or by developing different means of weapons delivery.'

"Both the Garwin-Bethe article and the FAS statement express fear that the 'light' ABM system, approved last September by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, will not stop there. Both believe there will be great pressure to expand the system into one designed to protect against Soviet ICBMs at a cost of $40 billion or more.

"The FAS statement is also critical of incoming Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford's statement that he will seek 'clear-cut nuclear superiority' over the Soviet Union. The statement said that 'at today's level of weaponry there can be no such thing.' "

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 19, 1968]

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, my remarks are addressed to the bill itself, which I am going to vote against.

There are, it seems to me, any number of routes a country may follow down the road to disaster. We seem to be traveling several roads at the same time; namely, the war in Vietnam, the destruction of our environment, and the disintegration of our great cities.

One would think that these manmade disasters would be sufficient for any country to contend with at one time. But, apparently not.

We are now about to trigger a missile race with Russia, an offensive and defensive missile escalation that literally will have no end.

The so-called thin missile system is not aimed at China at all. That is ridiculous. It is simply an opening wedge for the installation of a heavy system aimed at Russia which will cost us $30 to $40 billion, when the system will be obsolete anyway. We will have succeeded only in exacerbating the balance of terror.

Mr. President, I will not vote for this bill because it involves this authorization for the Sentinel thin missile system.

I predict that every single Member of this body who votes for this bill which will start this escalation by construction of the thin missile system, will regret his vote and the honest ones will publicly apologize for it in less than half a dozen years.

Remarks by Senator Gaylord Nelson on the Cooper-Hart-Case-Nelson Amendment to H.R. 16703, Military Construction Authorization Bill to Bar ABM Funds June 24, 1968

Mr. President, the immediate issue involved is whether we should begin the installation of a "thin" Antiballistic Missile System now or whether we should postpone that decision for one year while we further explore the feasibility, the need, the desirability of launching a program of this magnitude.

Every scientific, technical and military expert agrees that no Antiballistic Missile System has been devised that could successfully defend either Russia or America against attack by the other.

It was originally claimed that this "thin" system was aimed at China and could successfully protect us from some irrational assault by them for the next decade or so. No one has explained what would motivate them to commit such an irrationality knowing as they do that our retaliation would toll the end of China as a viable nation or culture for the next century if not for all time to come. If in fact the proponents of the "thin" system are trying to buy insurance against this kind of contingency it raises the question, really, just who is irrational?

Now the proponents are beginning to shift ground. It will have some value against Russia they tell us. Yet every scientific advisor to the last three Presidents vigorously opposes installing an ABM system on the ground that there is no effective defense against either the Russian or our own offensive missile system. Dr. John Foster, the present Director of Defense Research and Engineering recently stated:

"The ability to protect ourselves from unacceptable damage from a numerically large and technically advanced missile force such as that of the Soviet Union is not yet technically feasible. However, the Sentinel system will complicate any attack on the United States."

The hard fact of the matter is that the deployment of the "thin" system is simply the first step in the deployment of a massive ABM system aimed at Russia which it is conceded will cost $40 to $50 billion but will be much more than that before it is completed. Russia, of course, will respond by matching our system step by step. Then to be certain that neither has an advantage over the other each of us will escalate our offensive missile system to make certain we can overwhelm the defense. And, at the end of it all we will be right back where we started, except out of pocket $50 to $100 billion. As former Secretary McNamara put it, "and at the end of all the spending, and at the end of all deployment, and at the end of all the effort, we will be relatively at the same point of balance on the security scale that we are now."

Mr. NELSON. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial on this subject published in the New York Times of July 31, 1968.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed in the Record, as follows:

Halting Missile Deployment

Senator McCarthy's proposal that the United States delay deployment of new offensive and defense strategic missiles pending "speedy agreement" on a mutual moratorium with the Soviet Union places the problem in proper perspective.

The objective would be to achieve the missile freeze, which Washington and Moscow have agreed to negotiate, before rather than after a vast new expansion of nuclear delivery systems on both sides. Such expansion would be both expensive and dangerous, and it would greatly complicate the projected Soviet-American negotiations. It is therefore highly desirable in the initial talks with Moscow to seek a quick agreement on mutual restraint while the comprehensive negotiations go forward.

A delay in American missile deployment until this approach can be explored with the Soviet Union would dramatize the need for a rapid reciprocal move by Moscow; a unilateral American standstill obviously could not continue indefinitely.

The McCarthy position paper, which was prepared by two former Presidential science advisers—Dr. George Kistiakowsky of Harvard and Dr. Jerome Wiesner, provost of Massachusetts Institute of Technology—argues that such a standstill would not jeopardize American security. It would apply to the Sentinel antimissile system and the Poseidon and Minuteman III offensive missiles. The fact that the House has now followed the Senate in approving funds for Sentinel deployment does not obligate the Administration to begin construction immediately.

"Neither the Chinese nuclear threat against which we are deploying Sentinel nor the Soviet antiballistic missile, which is the rationale for the Poseidon and Minuteman III deployments, are moving ahead perceptibly," the McCarthy paper observes.

The danger in letting the missile race go on during a prolonged negotiation is evident. The introduction of sophisticated missile defense systems and new offensive missiles equipped with multiple warheads could destroy the strategic stability that now exists. That stability results from the presence on both sides of invulnerable deterrent forces capable of absorbing a surprise attack, then striking back in retaliation with devastating effect. The new weapons systems, on the contrary, would raise fears on both sides that the other may be achieving a capability for a preemptive attack. In crises, there would be the temptation to launch a first strike.

The mutual moratorium Senator McCarthy proposes to head off this danger would freeze the number and characteristics of strategic offensive and defensive weapons at their present level. Both sides would halt antimissile deployments. The United States would cease deployment and flight-testing of new offensive missiles, much as Poseidon and Minuteman III. The Soviet Union would do the same, terminating the considerable expansion of its offensive strategic program. Development and deployment of new intercontinental bombers would also be prohibited.

Subsequent reduction of strategic weapons would be more difficult to achieve, since intrusive inspection would be needed and agreement on retained levels of arms would not be easy. But a freeze of present weapons could be monitored by satellite reconnaissance without intrusive on-site verification.

Would the Soviet Union respond to this proposal for quick agreement on a mutual moratorium as a prelude to a comprehensive treaty? No one can say. But an attempt should be made to find out before another upward spiral in the missile race is initiated.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record an article written by Edward P. Morgan, published in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of July 28, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Our Overkill Ideas Play Cruel Joke on Us

(By Edward P. Morgan)

The trouble with us Americans is that our middle name is Overkill.

We own nearly 200 million shotguns, rifles, pistols and revolvers, yet we not only refuse to register them but insist on stockpiling more, dreaming that we are still a pioneer society, which we protect by pulling all the covered wagons into a circle.

We possess more than enough thermonuclear warheads to destroy any enemy—and the rest of the civilization along with it. But we insist on refining and fortifying that arsenal, in a spastic reflex of fear, to infinite dimensions of destruction—thereby proving in a cruel joke on ourselves how downright primitive our "sophisticated" systems of defense really are.

This deadly paradox is dramatically illuminated by the saga of the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile).

The Senate recently voted to deploy the system despite abundant expert evidence that it will not only fail to bring us added safety but is more likely to breed added insecurity for a world already teetering on a fulcrum of mutual terror—that balance of weapons cooperatively struck by the United States and the Soviet Union to stand off a nuclear attack on each other.

Many thoughtful persons see the Senate's move to activate an antiballistic missile system as the latest step in a conspiracy by the "military-industrial complex" to dictate defense policy.

The Pentagon did indeed lobby for the ABM but with such cumbersome and confusing inconsistency as to suggest less the pattern of a plot than the classic line of least resistance which is this: When in dobut, reach for your gun. Translation: In this fragile world the most comforting defense is more armament.

The uncomfortable prospect is that the ABM won't fill that bill. All its saga does so far is strengthen the theory that defense spending has become such a juggernaut that its sheer momentum makes independent, intelligent policy decisions impossible.

Reason is disarmed, as it were, by built-in orthodox arguments for more arms. Some highly knowledgeable observes—top scientists included—suggest that to deploy ABMs just as we approach the Russians for talks on arms-control spells not security but A Brutal Mistake.

Last September, in the most tortured speech of his career, Defense Security Secretary McNamara eloquently warned that "there is a kind of mad momentum intrinsic to the development of all new nuclear weaponry" which pushes their deployment beyond prudence.

This was linked to his reluctant announcement that the government had decided to install a "light" ABM system against China's rising nuclear strength. But, he added in almost palpable anguish, we must resist the temptation to expand that "into a heavy Soviet-oriented ABM system."

The Administration is succumbing to precisely that temptation. In the process, it has already seduced the Senate into rejecting a proposal by Senators Cooper of Kentucky and Hart of Michigan to continue research and development on ABM but not deploy it yet, on the reasonable grounds that China's nuclear program has slipped about a year behind.

A collateral argument: The delay could save up to a billion dollars in a budget which Congress is forcing President Johnson to trim by six billion.

Suddenly the ABM defense is aimed less against China than Russia. (Some skeptics saw this as the foot-in-the-door objective all along.)

Armed with an unexpected, quickly-inspired supporting letter from McNamara's successor, Secretary Clark Clifford, Washington's Senate Henry Jackson made a case—such as it was—in Senate debate June 19.

"It (the anti-Chinese ABM) will have definite capabilities for defense against the Soviet missile threat," Jackson declared. Later he added: "Full coverage of the United States is what is involved in this program."

That was a stunning surprise. Even scientists urging ABM deployment now concede there is no known "full coverage" defense against a massive nuclear attack which Moscow is capable of mounting against us.

McNamara's original argument against racing the Russians on ABMs seems more logical than ever: If they insist on deploying defensive ABMs so be it; our answer lies in a better offensive force.

As for the "light" ABM shield against China, its dubious justification was blasted in the March issue of Scientific American by two celebrated physicists, Hans A. Bethe and Richard L. Garwin, who argue that if it is deployed now, it will "add little, if anything, to the influences that should restrain China indefinitely from an attack on the U.S. . . . (but) it will nourish the illusion that an effective defense against ballistic missiles is possible . . ."

McNamara's September speech ended with the injunction that what the world requires is not a new race toward armament but a "new race toward reasonableness."

The Pentagon and its powerful protectors on Capitol Hill are still running the wrong way.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I believe I have 10 minutes under the unanimous-consent agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAYH in the chair). The Senator is correct.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I oppose the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin. The subject matter to which he addresses his amendment is the deletion of the $227.3 million from the Military Construction Act which has been reported by the full Appropriations Committee. The Appropriations Committee reported this bill with the dissenting views of four of its members, the dissents being as to the inclusion of the ABM item.

We have discussed this matter rather exhaustively since approximately 11 o'clock this morning, a period of 4 hours. I believe that all of the arguments that can be made by the proponents and by the opponents of the ABM system have been full and complete. This is largely a repeat of the arguments that were made heretofore during the course of the debate on the authorizing language.

The amendment now before the Senate would strike from this bill the ABM construction item. It is true that other moneys are in the defense bill which will be before the Senate at a later date. So I am certain that we can expect a continuing asault upon this item.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BIBLE. I am glad to yield to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota, the ranking minority member of the committee.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Is it not true that the joint chiefs of staff give a high priority to the ABM system and they fully endorse it, and so does the Secretary of Defense?

Mr. BIBLE. This is true. It is endorsed by the President of the United States, by the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, by the former Secretary of Defense, by the present Secretary of Defense, and by the Armed Services Committee, after a full and exhaustive hearing, both on the House side and the Senate side.

This is not a new item before the Senate. It is an old item. The support is very strong; it is very well based; it is very diversified.

Not all the questions raised could be covered in 10 minutes. There has been a great investment in this program to date. Approximately $3 billion has been expended over the past 10 years. It is significant that the latest letter from the present Secretary of Defense indictates that the program is now ready, without further research and study, to go into the actual procurement and this is where we find ourselves today.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BIBLE. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In connection with the deployment, is it not true that the construction of facilities to handle the deployment is actually underway at present and that sites are being selected to be made ready for the deployment of this so-called thin system?

Mr. BIBLE. This is true. It was made abundantly clear during the course of the day that, No. 1, they are starting construction; and, No. 2, that they are in the process of site location. So both things are actually going forward at this time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We have recently conducted hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations in connection with the proposed nonproliferation treaty.

Mr. BIBLE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In the questioning of witnesses, particularly the military and scientific experts who appeared before us to testify, effort was made from time to time to get them to say that this would render unnecessary the ABM system, and not one of those witnesses would agree to that thesis. One of our outstanding experts—I am sorry I do not have the transcript here—a well known scientist, Dr. Teller, testified to the effect that we should not adopt the nonproliferation treaty unless we knew we were going to have a protective anti-ballistic-missile system.

Mr. BIBLE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I thought it was very strong evidence in support of the need for going forward with this system. I am strongly in favor of the nonproliferation treaty. I am strongly in favor of our working out arms control. But I am not willing to throw in the defense installations and systems until I know that those things are going to work out. That is the way I view the ABM system.

Mr. BIBLE. The proponents of the ABM system, time and time again today, have driven home the point that this is a measure to save lives.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly it is.

Mr. BIBLE. To save lives in the United States of America.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly it is. As a country boy, I still am not used to handling the big figures that we sometimes use. But what is the amount of money to be spent on this system contrasted with the lives that may be saved by having the system? I believe the Secretary of Defense said in his letter that it would probably save 100 million lives.

Mr. BIBLE. I do not know that the figure was that high with respect to the thin line.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not on the thin line.

Mr. BIBLE. With the thin line, it might be 20 to 30 million. Whatever lives would be saved, it would be an investment in the safety and security of America. I think that case has been well made.

I know there is a vast difference of opinion, and a very emotional difference of opinion, on this issue. But it has been studied and restudied. It has had the benefit of the best brains available. I realize that people disagree with these conclusions. But it seems to me that not to move forward now would be a very tragic error.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator may recall that when we debated this matter earlier in the year, the minority leader told of his own experience in 1940 or 1941, when he voted against the fortification of Guam, and how much that had worried him since that time. I was present at the time, and I remember the vote. I was present, just 2 or 3 months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, when, by a single vote, we voted to continue the draft system. I have often thought what might have happened if we had not done that.

Mr. BIBLE. I am convinced that the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services made a splendid statement earlier today.

The Committee on Armed Services almost overwhelmingly—not unanimously, but almost overwhelmingly—advocates this system. They voted for it. I believe that not to move forward now would be an error in judgment.

Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time. Is there time remaining on the bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada has 1 minute remaining, and the Senator from Wisconsin has 3 minutes remaining.

Mr. BIBLE. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the name of the Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, was mentioned. I should like to remind the Senate again that the former Secretary of Defense opposed any ABM system until February 2; and at that time he testified that it was not feasible, under the know status of the art, to create an ABM system that would defend us against a sophisticated massive attack such as Russia is capable of delivering.

So when this issue first came before

us, the posture was that we would create a thin system aimed at China. Then, that began to look like such a foolish argument so after a few months it was changed around and it then became the building block for a fat system against Russia?

How can anyone have confidence in the position of the proponents when only 3 or 4 months ago it was said to be aimed at China and suddenly that argument is dropped and it then is claimed it is aimed at defense against Russia?

To that point Dr. John Foster, the present Director of Research and Engineering, recently stated:

> The ability to protect ourselves from unacceptable damage from a numerically large and technically advanced missile force such as that of the Soviet Union is not yet technically feasible. However, the Sentinel system will complicate any attack on the United States.

Secretary McNamara himself said:

> None of the [ABM] systems at the present or foreseeable state of the art would provide an impenetrable shield over the United States. There is clearly no point . . . in spending $40 billion if it is not going to buy us any significant improvement in our security. Every ABM system that is now feasible involves firing defensive missiles at incoming offensive warheads in an effort to destroy them. But what many commentators on this issue overlook is that any such system can rather obviously be defeated by an enemy simply sending more offensive warheads, or dummy warheads, than there are defense missiles capable of disposing of them.

Secretary McNamara pointed out that four distinguished scientific advisers to three Presidents—Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson—"have unanimously recommended against the deployment of an ABM system designed to protect our population against a Soviet attack."

There is not a single person today who can say the system will work. We cannot even get a system that works effectively against airplanes; the kill rate is very low. Yet we are proceeding with the installation of a multibillion-dollar system that will escalate the arms race at a time when we should deescalate, and in a period in our history when this $227.3 million could better be spent to feed the hungry and reconstruct our cities.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, if we do not understand this matter in this Congress at this stage of history, I warn Senators that the public understands it. What do Senators think all of the revolt is about across the land, all of the disillusionment of youth, the burning in the cities, the disillusionment with our Government? It is because of a lack of confidence in our Government due to Vietnam, the senseless growing arms race and the failure to successfully address ourselves to the problems at home.

I sat here listening to the argument: Stop them in Vietnam, or else they will be in Hawaii, and then in San Francisco. I wager that every Senator, Representative, or anybody else who made that statement wishes that he could erase it from the record. It gives you some measure of the hysteria of our times that such an argument could have been seriously made and believed at the time.

That is the same kind of argument being used to foist this ABM system on the public, but it will not work. The installation of the ABM will escalate the arms race, further drain our Treasury, and it will be the reason used for doing nothing to keep our country from falling apart on the domestic scene.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, with respect to the arguments made by the Senator from Wisconsin, I realize his feelings. These are problems that trouble all of us. We must all make our determination in line with our own best judgment and conscience. This question is not a new one. It has been before this body time and time again.

I think the record overwhelmingly supports going forward with this project without delay. I think that is the correct action and I think it is the action the Senate should take today.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BIBLE. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I want the RECORD to clearly show the administration asked for $2.1 billion for the poverty program, that the House cut that figure by $307 million, that the Senate committee sustained the position of the House and will report the HEW bill which will contain the House figure.

The Senator from Rhode Island has every intention of raising that figure for the poverty program because I think it behooves this country to do everything that needs to be done to take care of the poor. There is no need for the poor to lose a dollar by reason of our land's defense. The lives of all are precious.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I yield 1 additional minute to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. That is not enough time. Will the Senator yield to me for 3 additional minutes?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I believe it is unfair to extend the time when Republicans must attend a national convention to select our candidate for the next President of the United States. If these extensions are to go on interminably, I shall have to object, but I will not object now.

Mr. PASTORE. I think this is very important.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Rhode Island.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator from Rhode Island is going to vote to raise that amount for the poverty program, but the Senator from Rhode Island is for the anti-ballistic-missile system, too. Only a secure nation can fight poverty.

My mind goes back to the birth of the atom bomb. If it had not been for Enrico Fermi, on December 2, 1942, under Stagg Stadium at the University of Chicago when he controlled the chain reaction of uranium, we would never have had the bomb. To that time everybody had said that was impossible.

Maybe the world would have been better off if the bomb were never born, but it is here. As Dr. Edmond Teller said before our committee, it is here to stay. It is a fact of life—and death—for us as for the entire world.

There are those who opposed the building of the *Nautilus* submarine. If it had not been for the persistence of Admiral Rickover we would not have the primacy we have today in undersea warfare.

There are those who opposed the hydrogen bomb. If it had not been for the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and their personal plea to President Truman, we would not have primacy in that field. There were many people in the scientific community who said you could not have thermonuclear reaction. Dr. Teller thought we could. We got the hydrogen bomb. Less than 1 year later Russia exploded its own hydrogen bomb.

Now, Russia has an antiballistic missile. We are saying here that it will not work, but Ed Teller said that it would work.

This argument about Vietman vis-a-vis the antiballistic missile is a specious argument to me. We can well be against our current involvement in Vietnam and yet be in favor of the antiballistic missile. As a matter of fact, if Senators are against Vietnam they should very well be for the antiballistic missile, for, if we are going to begin to withdraw, let us start to think about saving lives in America. This is a defensive weapon. Ed Teller said it could be done. We learned time and time again we could do it in space, underwater, and in many scientific areas.

The argument that 10 years from today we will regret what we do now reminds me of the man who built a fire prevention sprinkler system in his home. He had had the system for 10 years, and he did not have a fire. He lamented its lack of use—no emergency—and he threw out the system. That is what we would be doing here.

If we built an anti-ballistic-missile system, even at a cost of $50 billion, and if, by its very existence, it will stave off and prevent a nuclear holocaust, I say it will be worth every dime of every dollar we spend. That is the objective today: To avert this thermonuclear holocaust.

There are enough bombs available to destroy the world several times over and exterminate society completely. That is what we have to prevent. The Russians already have an ABM.

I say that we can have our poverty program and I am going to vote for those poverty programs. But this idea that I am making a choice between a bomb and putting food in the mouths of hungry people is an assault on my intelligence and a slur on congressional understanding of its duty.

If we need to take care of the sick, let us do it.

If we need to take care of the poor, let us do it.

If we need to take care of the hungry, let us feed them.

By the same token, if we need to defend the life and limb of America, let us do that as well.

We have the means to feed the hungry and the means to defend our homes. Let us shirk neither duty.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, have the yeas and nays been ordered?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct, the yeas and nays have been ordered.

All time has now expired. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson]. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD (after having voted in the affirmative). On this vote, I have a pair with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay"; if I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I withdraw my vote.

Mr. CURTIS (after having voted in the negative). On this vote, I have a pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "yea", if I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore] is absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett] is paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster]. If present and voting, the Senator from Alaska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Maryland would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening] is paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche]. If present and voting, the Senator from Alaska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Ohio would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper] is absent because of illness.

The Senators from Kansas [Mr. Carlson and Mr. Pearson], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen and Mr. Percy], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller] and the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits]. If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois would vote "nay," and the Senator from New York would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] is paired with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay," and the Senator from Illinois would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott]. If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "nay," and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea."

The positions of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott] and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper] have been previously announced.

The result was announced—yeas 27, nays, 46, as follows:

[No. 261 Leg.]

YEAS—27

Aiken
Brooke
Case
Church
Clark
Ellender
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
McCarthy
McGovern
Metcalf
Mondale
Morse
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pell
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Smith
Symington
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NAYS—46

Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Cotton
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Inouye
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Long, La.
Magnuson
McClellan
McGee
McIntyre
Monroney
Montoya
Pastore
Prouty
Russell
Smathers
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

PRESENT AND GIVING LIVE PAIRS, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—2

Curtis, against.
Mansfield, for.

NOT VOTING—24

Allott
Bartlett
Brewster
Carlson
Cooper
Dirksen
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hruska
Javits
Kennedy
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Miller
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Percy
Scott
Tower

So Mr. Nelson's amendment was rejected.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. KUCHEL. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BIBLE. Are there further amendments?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendments to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and the bill to be read the third time.

The bill (H.R. 18785) was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, I have no personal desire for a yea-and-nay vote on passage, and unless there is a request for such a vote, it is not my intention to request the yeas and nays on passage.

Before the vote, however, the Senator from Florida [Mr. Holland] has several questions which he has requested that I answer.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BIBLE. I yield.

Mr. NELSON. Did I understand the Senator to say that he intended to ask for the yeas and nays?

Mr. BIBLE. No; I stated that it was my intention not to ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I wish to be recorded as voting against the measure. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Florida. I would like to have order, so that I might hear his questions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The Senator from Florida is recognized.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Presiding Officer and the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. President, when this bill was marked up, I was surprised to note in the report of the committee so ably headed by the Senator from Nevada that two items which I had regarded as quite important, and which happened to be in my State, were omitted, although they had appeared in the budget.

At the same time, I told the chairmen of the subcommittee and the full committee that I expected to take up the two matters with the Navy, and get their reaction, at which time I would communicate their reaction to the Senator from Nevada, which I have already done.

Mr. President, in the first place, I have now received two letters from high ranking naval officials, one dated July 31, from Mr. Charles F. Baird, the Under Secretary of the Navy, and one from Mr. Barry J. Shillito, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, dated August 1, 1968. I ask unanimous consent that those letters be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the letters

were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Under Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D.C., July 31, 1968.
Hon. Spessard L. Holland,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Holland: You asked whether the Navy considered the first increment for the Second Recruit Camp at Orlando and the deep ocean engineering pressure building at Panama City were items of major importance in the FY 1969 Military Construction Program. The answer in both these instances is definitely in the affirmative.

The Navy requires the additional recruit training facilities, in addition to the 4000-man First Recruit Camp at Orlando, in order to relieve a critical overload condition which exists now, and will continue to exist, at recruit training centers at Great Lakes, Illinois and at San Diego, California. Fiscal Year 1969 appropriations are also required to ensure that construction of the deep ocean pressure building at Panama City, which will provide a unique and critical capability for the Navy's Deep Submergence Program, is not delayed thereby impeding the progress of the overall project. For these reasons, the request for funds to construct these facilities at Orlando and at Panama City were included in the President's budget for FY 1969. Both requirements are indeed considered of major importance to the Department of the Navy, and we wholeheartedly support their inclusion in this year's military construction program.

Sincerely,

Charles F. Baird.

The Assistant Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D.C., August 1, 1968.
Hon. Spessard L. Holland,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Senator Holland: Supplementing the Under Secretary of the Navy's letter of this date, I am attaching point papers regarding both Orlando and Panama City.

Regarding Panama City the planning and design work will be sufficiently complete and the first of a series of construction contracts must be made in June of 1969.

Sincerely,

Barry J. Shillito.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, in the second instance, I learned from talking with the Navy officials that they had already prepared strong position papers for considerations by the conference on these two subjects, and they were kind enough to furnish me with copies of those position papers.

The first of them deals with the NTC, or Naval Training Center at Orlando, Fla. I ask unanimous consent that that paper, just furnished to me this morning and already given by me to the Senator from Nevada, be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Point Paper, NTC, Orlando, Fla.—Need for Second Recruit Camp

PROBLEM

The Senate Appropriations Committee has denied an 800 man recruit barracks and utilities in the amount of $2.850M which were to initiate construction for the second male recruit camp at the Naval Training Center, Orlando, Florida. The Committee fully endorses proceeding with the second camp at an early date, but considers the overall fiscal situation militates against funding at this time.

BACKGROUND

The Navy fully recognized the current budgetary limitation. Accordingly, the MILCON program has been restricted to only the most urgent operational items. Accordingly, the Navy modified the projects for NTC, Orlando by withdrawing facilities intended to start the WAVE recruit camp and substituted, instead, a 1600 male recruit barracks and supporting utilities line items for the first increment of the second recruit camp. Subsequently, the Congressional Armed Services Authorization Committees reduced the 1600 male recruit barracks to an 800 man barracks and authorized the supporting utilities.

JUSTIFICATION

The above substitution was necessary in view of the grave urgency to obtain added male recruit capacity at the earliest possible time. The existing recruit facilities at Great Lakes, Illinois and San Diego, California will have a capacity for approximately 18,000 male recruits. The facilities being constructed at NTC, Orlando will add an additional 4,000 capacity, for a total of 22,000 spaces. Into these spaces must be crowded an average on board load of 31,200 recruits, or an overload of 42%. This 42% overload, or 3 men being berthed in a space designed for 2 men, continues to constitute a severe health hazard. Therefore, it is apparent that even with the initial occupancy of the first 4,000 man recruit camp at Orlando, no relief from the overcrowded conditions at the Naval Training Centers will be realized. Under the present emergency requirements (SEA) for additional recruits, it is necessary to reduce the recruit training course from the required 11 weeks course to 7 to 9 weeks. This results in reduced training received by recruits which requires additional on-the-job training when they are assigned to fleet units, with a significant loss of initial productive effort.

The approval of these items is essential in order to maintain the orderly and phased construction program that was initiated in FY 1967, and designed to provide the 8,000 recruit capability at Orlando needed to meet the Navy's firm and continuing recruit training requirements. Deferral of these items will disrupt the orderly development of the Orlando Master Plan and continue the congestion which constitutes a health hazard and loss of training effectiveness at the three recruit training centers.

RECOMMENDATION

In view of the real urgency for additional recruit barracks, it is imperative that the recruit barracks and utilities be funded in the amount of $2,850,000.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I wish to read just a part of that statement, which I believe is the important part, under the heading "Justification." It reads as follows:

> The existing recruit facilities at Great Lakes, Illinois and San Diego, California will have a capacity for approximately 18,000 male recruits. The facilities being constructed at NTC, Orlando will add an additional 4,000 capacity, for a total of 22,000 spaces. Into these spaces must be crowded an average on board load of 31,200 recruits, or an overload of 42%. This 42% overload, or 3 men being berthed in a space designed for 2 men, continues to constitute a severe health hazard. Therefore, it is apparent that even with the initial occupancy of the first 4,000 man recruit camp at Orlando, no relief from the overcrowded conditions at the Naval Training Centers will be realized. Under the present emergency requirements (SEA) for additional recruits, it is necessary to reduce the recruit training course from the required 11 weeks course to 7 to 9 weeks. This results in reduced training received by recruits which requires additional on-the-job training when they are assigned to fleet units, with a significant loss of initial productive effort.
>
> The approval of these items is essential in order to maintain the orderly and phased construction program that was initiated in FY 1967, and designed to provide the 8,000 recruit capability at Orlando needed to meet the Navy's firm and continuing recruit training requirements.

Mr. President, under the situation, I shall not offer an amendment; and I have, at the request of the distinguished Senator from Nevada, waited until after third reading. I did, however, want to have that matter in the Record, and I did want to have the Senator's assurance that this situation at Orlando will receive his very careful attention, in the light of the figures and facts presented by the Navy, at the conference which will ensue. I assume that such will be the case.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I can assure the distinguished Senator from Florida that this will continue to have our careful study and consideration. We think the decision we made on this particular item, which is in connection with the naval center at Orlando, Fla., was the correct one. So the Record may show we had the full record before us as to this item. This project was first requested as a WAVE recruit camp at this particular station, and then later, the Navy withdrew that request, and after the decision was made to continue WAVE training at Bainbridge, Md., where facilities have been provided for some years, the Navy then asked that the withdrawal of the WAVE recruiting camp be transferred to a male recruiting camp.

Last year over $13.4 million was authorized for the first male recruit camp at this new training center, and in the current bill, $2,416,000 is allowed for two additional projects for this camp. These projects were deferred last year, and were funded this year.

It appeared to us that this was a very substantial start, and, in the light of the fiscal circumstances under which we are operating today, and of which we are all aware, it was believed that the start on this second camp to which the Senator addresses himself, and for which he has filed the justification on a new Navy position, can well be deferred until such time as the Navy can come in for a complete package.

I can assure the Senator the matter will continue to have our careful study. We think our denial was based on sound grounds, and, as the Senator very well knows, this item is and will be in conference, and we will bear his views, plus the additional pleading of the Navy, in mind when we move forward in conference.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. President, if anything, I am even more deeply concerned about the second project, which is the deep ocean, engineering pressure facility proposed to be constructed at the Navy Mine Defense Laboratory at Panama City.

I have secured from the Navy today their position paper which they are filing with the conference committee and which I have already furnished to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that position paper be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the paper was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY, FISCAL YEAR 1969 MILITARY CONSTRUCTION FUNDING PROGRAM, NAVY MINE DEFENSE LABORATORY, PANAMA CITY, FLA.

Deep ocean engineering pressure facility

Budget request	$7,411,000
House action	7,411,000
Senate action	0
Restoration requested	7,411,000

JUSTIFICATION

Since 1962 the Mine Defense Laboratory (MDL) has been the leading Naval activity in "manned undersea operations" development. By choosing this site as the Navy's lead laboratory such natural features as year around climatic conditions, a large continental shelf, and a central location were strong considerations. In addition, civilian engineers and scientists, trained and qualified by Navy diving schools, present a unique and sole concentration of expertise and technology not to be found in any other research and development laboratory. These assets together with a $5,000,000 computer facility, which will become an integral part of the vessel were all factors in a coordinated effort in selecting MDL as the site and assignment of tasks for this important development program. Final resolution was reached in early 1967 by representatives from Navy Laboratories, Systems Commands, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, the Navy Oceanographer, and Project Managers such as the Deep Submergence Systems Project (DSSP). It should also be emphasized that this project, as to technical features, location, and capability, has been evaluated by an Ocean-engineering Panel of the Interagency Committee on Marine Resources and Educational Facilities under the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

Over the last four years the laboratory has performed a most thorough and comprehensive analysis to determine the safest means of extending man's capability to work at ocean depths. The design definition of the Deep Ocean Pressure Facility has been the result of this analysis. Exhaustive planning and conceptual analysis has reached the point where plans and specifications of high quality and definition can proceed. Consultants from the Navy, Industry, and Academic Institutions have been brought together as a formal advisory body for the definition and expose of all related technology for the purpose of insuring optimum design of the medical, life support, technical, and safety aspects. A recognized A&E firm has been employed to complete final design specifications. Detailed design of the facility will be monitored by the advisory board.

The Commander of the Naval Facilities Engineering Command is, therefore, fully prepared to embark on the engineering and design stages of this sophisticated test facility that will test the interfaces of man and equipment essential in a deep ocean environment. The first step of construction is obviously the enclosure. It can be stated unequivocally that the first in a series of contracts will be made in FY 1969. Therefore, any delay in funding will delay or extend the critical path of the project a minimum of one year.

The Undersea Warfare Laboratory, formerly proposed at Los Alamitos is being reviewed only from the concept of location and physical configuration. Task assignments are in the field of ASW weapons systems, particularly light weight torpedoes, ASW systems simulation, ASW systems analysis, and ocean engineering related thereto. It is not intended that the NUWC laboratory will duplicate or compliment the functions of the Mine Defense Laboratory.

In conclusion, the Navy's Research and Development program for diver/swimmer and related support equipment will be centered at the Mine Defense Laboratory, Panama City, Florida. No other center of Navy research will be assigned similar tasks and functions and no comparable item for manned hyperbaric test equipment is being planned or projected to support research and development programs at this time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I shall call attention to three brief excerpts from the position paper.

The first is:

> Since 1962 the Mine Defense Laboratory (MDL) has been the leading Naval activity in "manned undersea operations" development. By choosing this site as the Navy's lead laboratory such natural features as year around climatic conditions, a large continental shelf, and a central location were strong considerations. In addition, civilian engineers and scientists, trained and qualified by Navy diving schools, present a unique and sole concentration of expertise and technology not to be found in any other research and development laboratory.

In other words, the personnel already at the mine defense laboratory at Panama City—many of them—are useful in this new project.

The second excerpt is this:

> It can be stated unequivocally that the first in a series of contracts will be made in FY 1969. Therefore, any delay in funding will delay or extend the critical path of the project a minimum of one year.

That statement is in relation to the statement contained in the able report of the committee which voiced doubt as to whether a contract could be let in 1969.

The third excerpt reads:

> In conclusion, the Navy's Research and Development program for diver/swimmer and related support equipment will be centered at the Mine Defense Laboratory, Panama City, Florida. No other center of Navy research will be assigned similar tasks and functions and no comparable item for manned hyperbaric test equipment is being planned or projected to support research and development programs at this time.

This is in connection with another point made by the able report of the committee which shows their question as to whether such other duplicating facilities were being considered.

Mr. President, I ask very strongly that the Senator give special consideration to the facts cited here in the conference. And may I state in closing that I have never asked for an item, neither for any military construction or other defense item, simply on the basis of its being in my own State. The Senator, I am sure, realizes that is the case. But it seems to me that the Navy makes a strong case in both of these matters, and particularly so relative to the needed laboratory at Panama City.

I hope the Senator will give very careful attention to the facts shown in the Navy's position paper.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I say to the distinguished senior Senator from Florida that we have already given rather careful and searching study to this particular project at Panama City. We have covered our position insofar as the rejection of the item is concerned in the report that has been filed.

Earlier today, in a longer statement, I incorporated the additional reasons for turning down this item. I think briefly that it can be summed up in this way. We have a national commitment to the exploitation of the sea, and we are anxious to move forward in this area.

It was a year ago that the armed services report in dealing with the Underseas Warfare Laboratory at Los Alamitos, Calif., said that a further study should be made by the Navy to determine how many such centers are anticipated and whether this is in fact the most suitable location for this laboratory.

I am advised by our staff people—and they are among the ablest of all in the Government—and the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees that to this day they have never received this finalized study from the Navy.

To go into a new project, they will require at least tentatively, three or four of these very deep ocean engineering pressure buildings at various locations—possibly one or two in the Pacific Ocean, possibly one or two in the Atlantic, and one in the Gulf of Mexico. But this question has not been resolved. They have not carried that study far enough forward to give us any final, determinative decision. It was for this reason that the item was denied.

This is a rather large item. It involves $7 million plus.

A second reason for the committee's denial was that on information that was made available to our staff people, it was indicated that the final planning and designing would not be completed until some time in November or December of next year, 1969, and that the earliest, in any event, that the contract could be let would be in January or February of 1970.

These facts seem to be somewhat in dispute. The Senator has furnished me with a statement of the Navy saying that possibly it would be broken down into two contracts. This is something that I do not believe was before the committee at the time we acted as we did. However, we have learned by experience that if the planning and designing is not complete for a project the military services keep adding to it and we are constantly in difficulty.

This year, on this very bill, we turned down three construction items for West Point because the items asked for were deficiencies. There was evidence of poor engineering estimates. And there were poor engineering estimates because the Army proceeded too fast. They did not get all of the plans, designs, and necessary engineering done.

It was ironic, and rather pathetic actually, that over the last several years in letting contracts at West Point, out of 23 contracts, 20 contracts were over the engineers' estimates.

It was out of experience and caution that we decided to wait and see what the total package, the final design, the final specifications, and the total price tag would be.

Those are the reasons that motivated the committee in denying the item. I think we have a national commitment, but I think it can be put off 1 year. I think we have many areas, both military and nonmilitary, that are far more pressing than the building of a Navy mine defense laboratory in the ocean.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I appreciate the care and caution being employed by the Senator from Nevada. I told him I would not bring up these matters unless my conferences with the Navy people showed facts which I thought tended to answer the facts raised by the able report of the Senator from Nevada and his subcommittee.

It seems to me that the position papers do rather directly answer those points. It was for that reason that I brought up the matter at this time. I shall, of course, be completely satisfied with such decision as the Senator and his fellow conferees may make on this subject.

I felt that I should call their attention to what we thought to be real answers to the points raised by the distinguished Senator as reasons for not recognizing these budgeted items.

I thank the Senator for yielding to me. I am quite agreeable to accepting any decision he may make.

Mr. BIBLE. I thank the Senator from Florida. I can assure him that the matter will have our careful study when we go into conference.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement prepared by the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits].

There being no objection, the statement of Senator Javits was ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

Mr. Javits. Mr. President, an item of particular significance to my state has been cut by the Senate Appropriations Committee and I would like to express my regret and my hope that it can be funded in a supplemental bill.

I refer to a proposed electronic research laboratory to be constructed at Griffis Air Force Base in Rome, New York. This building was only recently authorized but is badly needed if a new $7 million computer leased by the Air Force is to be housed in the proper conditions.

This bill reflects cuts in many states, but I am particularly disturbed that the Rome area will not get this new facility without delay. Only the tight budget situation makes these cuts necessary, but I have every confidence that the Griffis laboratory will be funded in a supplemental, or next year at the latest.

TEXAS PLAYS MAJOR ROLE IN MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Texas contributes much to the national defense effort, and a vital element of that contribution is in military construction. I am proud, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, that the military construction appropriations bill we have reported out includes over $54 million for Texas projects.

The 23 projects in Texas for which we are appropriating funds today include seven for the Army, three for the Navy, and 13 for the Air Force.

The largest of the Army projects is for hospital and medical facilities at William Beaumont General Hospital at Fort Bliss. This project involves funds of $17,545,000. Other Army projects include $3,656,000 to the Aeronautical Maintenance Center at Corpus Christi for maintenance facilities; $1,226,000 to Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio for operational facilities; $1,021,000 to Fort Wolters near Mineral Wells for maintenance facilities and troop housing; $877,000 to Fort Hood in Bell County for maintenance facilities; $465,000 to Fort Bliss near El Paso for training facilities; and $372,000 to the Red River Army Depot at Texarkana for maintenance facilities.

Over $13 million is being appropriated for military construction projects with the Navy in Texas. The naval hospital at Corpus Christi will receive $8,000,000 for hospital and medical facilities. The Naval Auxiliary Air Station at Chase Field near Beeville will receive $5,106,000 for operational training and maintenance facilities, troop housing and utilities. A sum of $721,000 is being appropriated for the Naval Auxiliary Air Station at Kingsville for operational and maintenance facilities.

Air Force construction projects in Texas in this bill total over $15 million. The largest of these appropriations goes to Sheppard Air Force Base in Wichita Falls, $3,708,000 for hospital and medical facilities and troop housing. Other Air Force appropriations are $2,796,000 to Webb Air Force in Big Spring for operational and training facilities; $1,861,000 to Brooks Air Force Base in San Antonio for research, development, and test facilities; $1,615,000 to Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio for operational, training and community facilities, troop housing and utilities; $1,157,000 to Laredo Air Force Base for operational and maintenance facilities, troop housing and utilities; $1,136,000 to Perrin Air Force Base in Sherman for troop housing; $1,074,000 to Randolph Air Force Base in San Antonio for operational facilities and real estate; $701,000 to Kelly Air Force Base in San Antonio for maintenance and administrative facilities and utilities; $607,000 to Matagorda Air Force Range on Matagorda Island for real estate; $354,000 to Bergstrom Air Force Base in Austin for operational and administrative facilities; $107,000 to Laughlin Air Force Base in Del Rio for administrative facilities and utilities; $101,000 to Reese Air Force Base in Lubbock for training and administrative facilities; and $49,000 to Laredo Air Force Base for sound suppression equipment required to eliminate personnel hearing damage.

At this time of increased scrutiny of Government expenditures, I am pleased to note that the military construction requests submitted were the smallest construction requests in years. Those projects which we recommend have a direct relationship to urgent operational requirements or the advancement of research and development projects. The Military Construction Subcommittees of both the Armed Services Committee and the Appropriations Committee met in joint session to hear each request. As a member of the Appropriations Committee and a participant in those hearings I want to congratulate the chairman, Mr. Jackson, and his cochairman, Mr. Bible, for their careful and exhaustive treatment of this bill. This bill saves the American taxpayer money both in eliminating nonessential requests and in preserving those requests that would not be truly economical to delay.

I am proud of the contribution Texas is making to our national defense effort. The large amount of money for military construction projects we are approving today will help Texas to continue to improve its contribution to that effort.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass? On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore] is absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Alaska [Mr. [Bartlett] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] is paired with the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maryland would vote "yea," and the Senator from Alaska would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper] is absent because of illness.

The Senators from Kansas [Mr. Carlson and Mr. Pearson], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen and Mr. Percy], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller], the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Pearson], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy], the

Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott], the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 71, nays 3, as follows:

[No. 262 Leg.]

YEAS—71

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Church
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hollings
Inouye
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Kuchel
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Montoya
Moss
Muskie
Pastore
Pell
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Smathers
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—3

Morse
Nelson
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—25

Bartlett
Brewster
Carlson
Cooper
Dirksen
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hayden
Hruska
Javits
Kennedy
Lausche
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Miller
Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Percy
Scott
Tower

So the bill (H.R. 18785) was passed.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. Bible, Mr. Russell, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Yarborough, Mr. Hayden, Mr. Symington, Mr. Young of North Dakota, Mr. Kuchel, and Mr. Ellender conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], chairman of the Military Construction Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, deserves the highest commendation of the Senate for the splendid way in which he managed this funding measure for military construction. Once again we are in his debt for the magnificent and competent manner in which he explained the details. His deep understanding of this all-important bill contributed immensely to its swift acceptance. We are grateful.

Joining the Senator from Nevada in moving this bill to such efficient adoption was the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young]. As the ranking minority member, he contributed a great deal to the discussion in the Chamber after applying his diligent efforts in committee. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. Symington] is also to be commended for leading off the discussion on the ABM funds contained in this proposal. We appreciate his thoughtful and persuasive comments and those of the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], Georgia [Mr. Russell], and Washington [Mr. Jackson]. They and others representing all sides of this critical issue are to be deeply thanked. The pertinent questions and information contributed so much to the discussion.

Again, I wish to thank Senator Bible and the other members of the subcommittee. Their cooperation, indeed the cooperation of the entire Senate, assured the efficient disposition of this measure today.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18188) making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes; and that the House receded from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 11 and 20 to the bill and concurred therein, each with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report to the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3638) to extend for 3 years the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers for milk required to be withheld from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10864) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forests, Inc., and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15794) to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16361) to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 17522) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes; that the House receded from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 5, 14, 17, and 18 to the bill, and concurred therein, and that the House receded from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 12 and 13 to the bill and concurred therein, each with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 15387) to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the Vice President.

AMENDMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 15758.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15758) to amend the Public Health Service Act so as to extend and improve the provisions relating to regional medical programs, to extend the authorization of grants for health of migratory agricultural workers, to provide for specialized facilities for alcoholics and narcotic addicts, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. HILL. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendment and agree to the request of the House for a conference, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. Hill, Mr. Yarborough, Mr. Williams of New Jersey, Mr. Pell, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Javits, Mr. Murphy, and Mr. Dominick conferees on the part of the Senate.

MAURITZ A. STERNER

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 3865.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 3865) for the relief of Mauritz A. Sterner and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendment and agree to the request of the House for a conference, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. HART, Mr. MCCLELLAN, and Mr. FONG conferees on the part of the Senate.

GILMOUR C. MACDONALD, COLONEL, U.S. AIR FORCE, RETIRED

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10932) for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force, retired. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The bill clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of Aug. 2, 1968, pages 25030 and 25031, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, the only issue in conference was the Senate amendment deleting section 3 of the House bill which placed an arbitrary limitation on any attorneys fee that would be received in connection with this claim. The House conferees have receded, and thus the Senate position has fully prevailed. I move the adoption of the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18188) making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The bill clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, this conference report was signed by seven of the nine Senate conferees. The other two conferees did not decline to sign the conference report but were out of the city when the report was signed and they are still out of the city.

The major items in the conference were the Senate's amendments relating to increased funds for controllers in the towers and centers of FAA; the additional money for equipment and facilities for the towers and centers; and other items that have to do with air safety.

The amendments recommended by the committee were directed largely at the alleviation of current and long-range aviation problems relating to safety and efficiency in flight operations. The subject matter related directly to air traffic control, operation and maintenance manpower, facilities and equipment for air traffic control purposes, and in its recommendations the Senate bill proposed a manpower increase of 1,996 and $15,750,000 over the budget request and House bill. The conferees agreed to split this amount—$7,875,000 and 998 additional personnel for operation and maintenance of the air traffic control system were approved.

The statement of the managers on the part of the House clearly identifies 1,401 additional positions for operation and maintenance of the air traffic control system and the 998 additional approved in conference. There were 230 additional positions approved in the House bill for administration of the flight standards program on which there was no controversy between the House and Senate versions. These 230 positions are, of course, included in the bill. The managers on the part of the House agreed to offer a motion to recede and concur with a Senate amendment exempting air traffic control personnel from the personnel ceiling in Public Law 90-364—Smathers-Williams amendment.

As to facilities and equipment, we finally agreed on $50 million to be spent now for long-time lead items in the form of additional equipment for these towers and control centers. The immediate effect will not be felt because these are not items that can be taken from the shelf. Most of them have to be especially contracted for and produced. But, of course, we have some coming off the pipeline now and the controls and equipment will eventually come into being, which will be a great relief. That will be 2 years from now, when the situation will be much more serious than it is now.

For facilities and equipment the committee recommendation provided a total of $191,500,000 which was $121,500,000 over the budget request and $126,500,000 over the House bill. In conference, $50,000,000 over the budget estimate was recommended. It is the belief of the committee that the additional amount should be used in part to provide for necessary equipment for safety enhancement and traffic improvement in more terminals than merely the major metropolitan hubs.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I had wanted to yield first to the Senator from New Hampshire, who is the ranking minority member.

Mr. HOLLAND. I am glad to yield first to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. STENNIS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from New Hampshire, who has been so active in all these matters all these years, and has made a fine contribution, too.

Mr. COTTON. I thank the Senator. I merely want to add to the report of the chairman of the subcommittee, and the chairman of the conferees, the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, that I have been in a good many conferences since I came to the Senate, particularly in the last few years, and this was one of the hardest contested conferences I have ever sat in. The House fought vigorously and continuously over a period of 3 days on the money, the language, and the added personnel that we have written into the bill. We fought just as hard, because we in the committee believed that it is vitally necessary to the traveling safety of the flying public of this Nation and that unless we took steps now, and not later, dire disaster might result.

If, some day, we woke up and found that several hundred lives had been lost, although we did not intend it, there would be a certain responsibility placed at the doors of Congress for not acting promptly.

I have never seen a chairman or member of a conference who fought longer, harder, and better than the distinguished Senator from Mississippi. We all helped, because we believed thoroughly in his cause; but as I sat there and watched him hold out for 3 long days in the conference, I began to wonder how we Yankees, with overwhelming numbers and a greater industrial complex behind us ever got across the Mason-Dixon line to say nothing of being successful in the Civil War. If the South had had JOHN STENNIS there at that time, I think we would be fighting yet.

He did a magnificent job. We held successfully a reasonable proportion of what we wrote into the bill because we believed it was in the interests of public safety.

The Senator from Mississippi is to be honored for the valuable service he rendered.

Let me add that the report was not signed by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA] or the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT]—I am sure they would have signed it—but they had to leave before the conference was over because they had business in Miami or somewhere else; so my distinguished colleague from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] and I signed the report and saw the conference through for the minority.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator from New Hampshire for his very kind remarks.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I am glad to compliment the distinguished Senator from Mississippi and the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire. I think all Senators know that there is nothing very soft about either one of them when it comes to maintaining their position on something they believe in.

I want the RECORD to show the difference between the complete estimates of the budget and the final amount covered by the conference report. I understand there has been a considerable saving, and I wonder whether the Senator from Mississippi can state that amount?

Mr. STENNIS. I am glad to state the amount. The amount of new budget authority totals $1,634,266,000. This is $288,875,000 over the House. It is $297,766,000 under the 1969 budget estimates. That is the key figure to which the Senator referred—$297,766,000 under the 1969 budget estimates. It is $73,938,772 under the 1968 appropriations, and $154,145,000 under the Senate version of the bill. A great deal of that difference was because we had to yield some on equipment and controllers above the budget.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator and congratulate him and the Senator from New Hampshire, as well as their associates on the conference, for the distinct saving which they were able to make at this time.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, now I am going to be quite brief on this one matter which should be mentioned.

The House had put in no money under the program of grants for airport construction, such as runways, in the States. The request was for the 1970 fiscal year which is ordinarily appropriated 1 year in advance. The reason they took that position was that they were suggesting the users tax or the users fee would be in effect by fiscal 1970, and funds for that purpose could come from the trust fund.

The Senate put in, to have it all in conference, the total amount recommended by the Budget for this program, of $65 million, and that was finally settled at $30 million.

That brings into this matter the users fee. In connection with our work we went into that during the hearings on a users fee in the proposal for a trust fund. Speaking only for myself, I strongly favor the creation of this new authority, this new plan, and included in that would be the grants of whatever sum was allowed for the airports.

The users fee, I think is an absolute must. I mean a users fee on the passengers and a users fee on the airlines and other matters connected with the operation, are an absolute must.

It is getting to be very expensive to build and maintain and operate the control towers and the control centers and all the other items which are growing tremendously and at increased expense for air travel, as well as the factor of safety which is something that must be cared for and cannot be economized on too much, and to keep it from becoming too unbearable a burden upon the Federal Government. The users tax, I hope, will be certainly enacted during the rest of the calendar year. I judge, when it started off, that we would have to appropriate some money to start it operating, but I am sure that is definitely a part of the picture.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I wish to commend the able chairman [Mr. STENNIS] for his explanation of the airport funding problem, and for his stressing of the pressing needs to have sufficient air traffic controllers and adequate airways facilities.

The distinguished Senator [Mr. STENNIS] is so correct in his evaluation of the necessity to supply, through a trust fund, moneys for airport construction, which are now unavailable from general funds in the treasury.

I regret that the sum agreed to for airport construction in the conference report for fiscal year 1970 is only $30 million. I understand, however, that in cutting the amount from $65 million to $30 million that you and other Senate conferees, including the knowledgeable Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], have underscored the possibility—yes, the urgency as I see it—for user charges in a trust fund similar in intent and practice to the trust fund for our Federal-aid highway system.

Legislation which I introduced, S. 3641, would establish a new program under a proposed Federal Airport Development Act. Several facets of my measure were retained in the revised bill the Senate Commerce Committee filed with a favorable report to the Senate. The committee-amended version of S. 3641 is a good bill which, if enacted into law, would be most helpful by trust fund financing toward the advancement of aviation and the development of the airport airways system.

If legislation of that type is not passed by this Congress, or by the 91st Congress early next year, I fear the airport applications will have to overcome hurdles as high in 1969 and 1970 as those now prevailing.

There are better ways—such as S. 3641—to achieve the development of airports—in West Virginia or elsewhere—than to burden the taxpayers generally or to relegate such basic needs as health and education to a subordinate or nonparticipating status in the competition for limited funds.

Mr. STENNIS. The senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] is a leader in our joint efforts to have Congress and the American citizen deal realistically with these problems. I am appreciative of his diligent work.

On another matter in connection with the funds for urban mass transportation grants, an item not considered by the House for which $230,000,000 was requested, the Senate version of the bill provided $200,000,000. In conference the amount was resolved at $175,000,000 of which $30,000,000 was earmarked for research, development, and demonstration activities.

The conference report includes $13,000,000 for high-speed ground transportation research and development of the $16.2 million approved by the Senate. The item had been deferred by the House because of delayed authorization action. The conferees have included language in the report specifically denying funds requested for a test facility until a site has been selected; denied funds for five new positions; and directed that no part of the reduction should be applied to the Boston-New York or New York-Washington demonstration programs.

I will be happy to try to answer any further questions from Members of the Senate may have.

Mr. President, I move the adoption of the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will state the first amendment in disagreement.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House agree to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18188) entitled "An Act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes."

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert the following:

"URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION

"*Urban mass transportation grants*

"For an additional amount for grants as authorized by the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, as amended (49 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), to remain available until expended, $175,000,000 for the fiscal year 1970, of which $30,000,000 shall be available only for research, development, and demonstration grants."

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House to Senate amendment No. 11.

The motion was agreed to.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will state the next amendment in disagreement.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20, to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: Change the section number to "210".

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the Senate agreed to the conference report and to the amendments be reconsidered.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD at this point a tabulation on this bill reflecting the amounts appropriated for fiscal year 1968, the budget estimates for each item for fiscal year 1969, the amounts agreed to in the House, the amounts agreed to in the Senate, and the final conference figure.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMARY OF THE BILL, H.R. 18188

Item	New budget (obligational) authority, 1968	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, 1969	House bill	Senate bill	Conference action
TITLE I					
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY					
Salaries and expenses	$7,475,000	$11,335,000	$9,800,000	$9,800,000	$9,800,000
Transportation research	5,950,000	7,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
Total, Office of the Secretary	13,425,000	18,335,000	15,800,000	15,800,000	15,800,000
COAST GUARD					
Operating expenses	347,351,000	391,560,000	362,000,000	362,000,000	362,000,000
Acquisition, construction, and improvements	107,014,000	107,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000
Reserve training	24,300,000	(1)	25,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000
Retired pay	48,199,000	51,056,000	51,000,000	51,000,000	51,000,000
Research, development, test, and evaluation	(2)	9,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000
Total, Coast Guard	526,864,000	558,616,000	532,000,000	532,000,000	532,000,000
FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION					
Operations	617,400,000	663,079,000	663,079,000	678,899,000	670,954,000
Facilities and equipment	54,000,000	70,000,000	65,000,000	191,500,000	120,000,000
Research and development	27,000,000	28,000,000	27,000,000	38,500,000	27,000,000
Operation and maintenance, National Capital airports	8,715,000	9,019,000	8,900,000	8,900,000	8,900,000
Construction National Capital airports	160,000	1,000,000	700,000	700,000	700,000
Grants-in-aid for airports:					
Fiscal year 1969	70,000,000				
Fiscal year 1970		65,000,000	(3)	65,000,000	30,000,000
Civil supersonic aircraft development	142,375,000	223,000,000			
Rescission of unobligated funds			*(−30,000,000)*	*(−30,000,000)*	*(−30,000,000)*
Total, Federal Aviation Administration	919,650,000	1,059,098,00	764,679,000	938,499,000	857,554,000
FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION					
Limitation on general expenses	*(59,927,000)*	*(68,136,000)*	*(65,556,000)*	*(65,556,000)*	*(65,556,000)*
Federal-aid highways (trust fund—appropriation to liquidate contract authorization)	*4,170,872,000*	*4,158,000,000*	*4,155,370,000*	*4,155,370,000*	*4,155,370,000*
Highway beautification	1,200,000	1,508,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Traffic and highway safety;					
Appropriation	21,034,000	30,305,000	26,500,000	26,500,000	26,500,000
By transfer	*(1,100,000)*	*(1,255,000)*	*(1,200,000)*	*(1,200,000)*	*(1,200,000)*
State and community highway safety (appropriation to liquidate contract authorizations)	*25,000,000*	*70,000,000*	*50,000,000*	*50,000,000*	*50,000,000*
Motor carrier safety	1,833,000	2,012,000	2,012,000	2,012,000	2,012,000
Forest highways (appropriation to liquidate contract authorization)	*32,000,000*	*33,000,000*	*26,000,000*	*33,000,000*	*29,000,000*
Public lands highways (appropriation to liquidate contract authorization)	*9,000,000*	*9,000,000*	*6,200,000*	*9,000,000*	*7,600,000*
Inter-American Highway	5,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Chamizal Memorial Highway	4,000,000	4,000,000			
Alaskan assistance	5,000,000				
Repair and reconstruction of highways	15,097,772				
Total, Federal Highway Administration	53,164,772	39,825,000	31,512,000	31,512,000	31,512,000
FEDERAL RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION					
Office of the Administrator, salaries and expenses	680,000	1,032,000	900,000	900,000	900,000
Bureau of Railroad Safety	3,414,000	3,820,000	3,700,000	3,700,000	3,700,000
High-speed ground transportation research and development	11,750,000	16,200,000	(3)	16,200,000	13,000,000
Railroad research	200,000	400,000	300,000	300,000	300,000
Total, Federal Railroad Administration	16,044,000	21,452,000	4,900,000	21,100,000	17,900,000
URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION					
Urban mass transportation grants:					
For fiscal 1969	175,000,000				
For fiscal 1970		230,000,000	(4)	200,000,000	175,000,000
ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION					
Limitation on administrative expenses	*(514,000)*	*(560,000)*	*(550,000)*	*(550,000)*	*(550,000)*
NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD					
Salaries and expenses	4,057,000	4,706,000	4,500,000	4,500,000	4,500,000
Title I, new budget (obligational) authority	1,708,204,772	1,932,032,000	1,353,391,000	1,788,411,000	1,634,266,000
Consisting of—Appropriations:					
Fiscal year 1968	1,463,204,772				
Fiscal year 1969	245,000,000	1,637,032,000	1,353,391,000	1,523,411,000	1,429,266,000
Fiscal year 1970		295,000,000		265,000,000	205,000,000
Memoranda;					
Appropriations to liquidate contract authorizations	*4,236,872,000*	*4,270,000,000*	*4,237,570,000*	*4,247,370,000*	*4,241,970,000*
Rescission of unobligated funds			*(−30,000,000)*	*(−30,000,000)*	*(−30,000,000)*
Grand total	5,945,076,772	6,202,032,000	5,560,961,000	6,005,781,000	5,846,236,000

(1) $25,024,000 included under "Operating expenses."

(2) Included under "Operating expenses."

(3) Deferred.

(4) Not considered.

AMENDMENT OF THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ACT OF 1965

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, as to the request I am about to make pertaining to H.R. 17126 and Senate bill 3590, I have consulted with the majority leader as well as the minority leader and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], who serve on the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 17126.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate H.R. 17126, to amend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, which was read twice by its title.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, yesterday the House passed a farm bill, which is before us now. The Senate farm bill was passed a few days ago.

I ask unanimous consent that all after the enacting clause of H.R. 17126 be stricken, and that the language of S. 3590 be placed in lieu thereof.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the amendment and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

TITLE I—DAIRY

EXTENSION OF CLASS I—BASE PLAN AUTHORITY

SEC. 101. The class I dairymen's base plan is extended by striking out "December 31, 1969" and inserting "December 31, 1973" in section 103 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

RESEARCH, PROMOTION, AND ADVERTISING

SEC. 102. The Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 and subsequent legislation is further amended, by adding at the end of subsection 8c(5) the following new subparagraph (I):

"(I) Establishing or providing for the establishment of marketing research and development programs, other research programs, and advertising (excluding brand advertising), sales promotion, educational, and other similar programs, designed to improve or promote the domestic marketing and consumption of milk and its products, to be financed by producers in a manner and at a rate specified in the order, or all producer milk under the order. Producer contributions under this subparagraph may be deducted from funds due producers in computing total pool value or otherwise computing total funds due producers and such deductions shall be in addition to the adjustments authorized by subparagraph (B) of this subsection 8c(5). Provision may be made in the order to exempt, or allow suitable adjustments or credits in connection with, milk on which a mandatory checkoff for advertising or research is required under the authority of any State law. Such funds shall be paid to an agency organized by milk producers and producers' cooperative associations in such form and with such methods of operation as shall be specified in the order. Such agency may expend such funds for any of the purposes authorized by this subparagraph and may designate, employ, and allocate funds to persons and organizations engaged in such programs which meet the standards and qualifications specified in the order. All funds collected under this subparagraph shall be separately accounted for and shall be used only for the purposes for which they were collected. Programs authorized by this subparagraph may be either local or national in scope, or both, as provided in the order, but shall not be international. Order provisions under this subparagraph shall not become effective in any marketing order unless such provisions are approved by producers separately from other order provisions, in the same manner provided for the approval of marketing orders, and may be terminated separately whenever the Secretary makes a determination with respect to such provisions as is provided for the termination of an order in subsection 8c(16)(B). Disapproval or termination of such order provisions shall not be considered disapproval of the order or of other terms of the order."

TITLE II—FEED GRAINS

EXTENSION OF CURRENT PROGRAM AUTHORITY

SEC. 201. The feed grain program is extended by striking out "1966 through 1969 crops" wherever it appears and substituting "1966 through 1973 crops" in the following provisions of law:

(1) Section 105(e) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended.

(2) Section 16(i) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended.

AUTHORITY FOR PAYMENTS IN CASH OR KIND

SEC. 202. Effective beginning with the 1969 crop, section 105(e) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this subsection and section 16(i) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, price support payments and diversion payments may be made in cash or in kind for the 1969 through 1973 crops of feed grains. Payment-in-kind certificates which the Commodity Credit Corporation acquired under the price support and diversion programs for feed grains through the 1968 crop in assisting producers in the marketing of such certificates and which are still on hand on September 30, 1969, shall not be marketed and shall be canceled."

TITLE III—COTTON

EXTENSION OF AUTHORITY FOR ALLOTMENT TRANSFERS, EXPORT MARKET ACREAGE, AND DOMESTIC ALLOTMENT

SEC. 301. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended—

(1) By striking out "1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969" in section 344a(a) and inserting "1966 through 1973".

(2) By striking out "the 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969 crops" in the first sentence of subsection (e) of section 346 and substituting "the 1966 through 1973 crops".

(3) By striking out "the 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969 crops" in section 350 and substituting "the 1966 through 1973 crops".

EXTENSION OF AUTHORITY FOR PRICE SUPPORT AND DIVERSION PAYMENTS, LEASE OF ACREAGE NOT DIVERTED, AND EXTENSION OF CCC RESALE PRICE PROVISION

SEC. 302. Effective beginning with the 1969 crop, the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended—

(1) By amending paragraph (1) of section 103(d) by striking out "the 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969 crops" and substituting "the 1966 through 1973 crops".

(2) By striking out the first sentence in paragraph (6) of section 103(d) and substituting the following: "Where the farm operator elects to participate in the diversion program authorized in this subsection and no acreage is planted to cotton on the farm, diversion payments shall be made at the applicable rate or rates established under paragraph (4) on the quantity of cotton determined by multiplying that part of the farm acreage allotment diverted under the program by the projected farm yield, and the remainder of such allotment may be leased under the provisions of section 344a of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, subject to the conditions of that section, or may be released under the provisions of section 344(m)(2) of such Act. Such lease or release shall not result in reduction of the acreage eligible for diversion under this paragraph."

(3) By striking out "July 31, 1970" in the next to last sentence of section 407 and substituting "July 31, 1974".

EXTENSION OF CURRENT DEFINITION OF COOPERATOR

SEC. 303. Section 402(b) of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 is amended by striking out "1966 through 1969 crops" and substituting "1966 through 1973 crops", and by striking out "1967, 1968, and 1969 crops" and substituting "1967 through 1973 crops".

EXPANSION OF ALLOTMENT TRANSFER AUTHORITY

SEC. 304. Section 344a of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended—

(1) By striking out in subsection (a) the following: "(excluding that part of the allotment which the Secretary determines was apportioned to the farm from the national acreage reserve)".

(2) By striking out the last sentence in subsection (b).

EXPORT MARKET ACREAGE

SEC. 305. Section 346(e) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended—

(1) By striking out in the third sentence thereof "For each subsequent crop—" and substituting "For the 1967 and 1968 crops—".

(2) By inserting after the table in the third sentence thereof, the following: "For the 1969 through 1973 crops the national export market acreage reserve shall be an amount prescribed by the Secretary, not to exceed 250,000 acres."

(3) By striking out in the tenth sentence thereof "of all cotton produced on such farm for such year" and substituting "of a quantity of cotton equal to the quantity of all cotton produced on such farm for such year".

TITLE IV—WHEAT

EXTENSION OF CURRENT WHEAT PROGRAM

SEC. 401. The wheat program is extended—

(1) By striking out "the calendar years 1964 through 1969" in amendment (7) of section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1964, as amended by amendment (1) of section 505 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, and substituting "1964 through 1973 calendar years".

(2) By striking out "the calendar years 1969 through 1969" in amendment (13) of section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1964, as amended by amendment (2) of section 505 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, and substituting "1965 through 1973 calendar years".

(3) By striking out "the calendar years 1964 through 1969" in section 204 of the Agricultural Act of 1964, as amended by amendment (3) of section 505 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, and substituting "1964 through 1973 calendar years".

(4) By striking out "the calendar years 1966 through 1969" in section 332(d) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, and substituting "1966 through 1973 calendar years".

(5) By striking out "the calendar years 1964 through 1969" in section 339(b) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, and substituting "1964 through 1973 calendar years".

(6) By striking out "the calendar years 1966 through 1969" wherever they appear in section 502 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, and substituting "1966 through 1973 calendar years".

(7) By striking out "1966 through 1969 crops" in section 506 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, and substituting "1966 through 1973 crops".

PROJECTED FARM YIELD COMPUTATION

SEC. 402. Effective beginning with the 1969 crop, section 301(b)(13)(K) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended by striking out "three calendar years" and substituting "five calendar years".

WHEAT ALLOTMENT COMPUTATION

SEC. 403. Effective beginning with the 1969 crop, section 332(b) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended by striking out "owned by the Commodity Credit Corporation" and substituting "on hand in the United States".

COST OF WHEAT MARKETING CERTIFICATES TO PROCESSORS

SEC. 404. Section 379e of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended by striking out "1969" and substituting "1973".

DATE FOR DETERMINING WHEAT SUPPORT PRICE

SEC. 405. Effective beginning with the 1969 crop, section 107 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended by inserting in paragraph (1)(a) after the words "100 per centum of the parity price" the following: "as of the beginning of the marketing year as estimated by the Secretary not earlier than May 1 preceding the beginning of such marketing year,".

TITLE V—WOOL

EXTENSION OF WOOL ACT

SEC. 501. Section 703 of the National Wool Act of 1954, as amended, is extended by striking out "December 31, 1969" and substituting "December 31, 1973".

TITLE VI—CROPLAND ADJUSTMENT

EXTENSION OF CROPLAND ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM

SEC. 601. Section 602 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) By striking out "the calendar years 1965 through 1969" in subsection (a) and substituting "1965 through 1973 calendar years".

(2) By striking out "during any of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966 through June 30, 1968 or during the period June 30, 1968 through December 31, 1969" in subsection (k) and substituting "during any of the fiscal years ending prior to July 1, 1972, or during the period July 1, 1972, through December 31, 1973".

ADVISORY COMMITTEE EXPENSES

SEC. 602. Section 602(p) of such Act is amended by striking out of the last sentence thereof the words "or expenses" and inserting "other than transportation expenses and per diem as provided by section 5703(c) of title 5, United States Code".

TERMINATION OF AGREEMENTS

SEC. 603. Section 602 of such Act is amended by adding a new subsection (r) as follows: "(r) The Secretary may terminate agreements which are entered into with producers after the effective date of this subsection if he determine such action to be in the national interest and gives public notice in ample time to permit producers a reasonable opportunity to make arrangements to return their land to agricultural production."

TITLE VII—RICE

EXTENSION OF CONTINGENT RICE ACREAGE DIVERSION PROGRAM

SEC. 701. Section 353(c)(7) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended by striking out "1966, 1967, 1968, or 1969" and substituting "1966 or any succeeding year up to and including 1973".

TITLE VIII—MISCELLANEOUS

EXTENSION OF TOBACCO ALLOTMENT LEASE AUTHORITY

SEC. 801. Section 316(a) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended by striking out of the first sentence thereof "1962 through 1969", and inserting "1962 through 1973".

RESTRICTION ON REDUCTION OF STATE AND COUNTY PROJECTED YIELDS

SEC. 802. Section 708 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "The projected yield for any State or county for the 1969 and succeeding crops of any commodity shall not be less than 95 per centum of the yield established for such State or county for the preceding crop."

EXTENSION OF BOILED PEANUT EXEMPTION

SEC. 803. The last paragraph of the Act entitled "An Act to amend the peanut marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, and for other purposes," approved August 13, 1957 (7 U.S.C. 1359 note), is amended to read as follows: "This amendment shall be effective for the 1957 through 1973 crops of peanuts."

MARKETING ORDERS FOR APPLES PRODUCED IN COLORADO, UTAH, AND NEW MEXICO

SEC. 804. Clause (A) of the first sentence of section 8c (2) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 and subsequent legislation, is amended by striking out "and Connecticut" and inserting in lieu thereof "Connecticut, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Illinois, and Ohio".

ADVERTISING PROGRAMS FOR APPLES

SEC. 805. (a) Section 2(3) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as reenacted and amended by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 and subsequent legislation, is amended by inserting ", such marketing research and development projects provided in section 8c(6)(I), and" immediately after "section 8c(6)(H)".

(b) The proviso at the end of section 8c (6)(I) of such Act, as amended, is amended by striking out "or avocados" and inserting in lieu thereof "avocados, or apples".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the amendment and the third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist on its amendment, request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, Mr. AIKEN, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. BOGGS conferees on the part of the Senate.

AMENDMENT OF FOOD STAMP ACT OF 1964

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representaitves on S. 3068.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3068) to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended which was, strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert:

That subsection (a) of section 16 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964 is amended (A) by deleting from the first sentence the phrase "not in excess of $225,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969;" and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "such sums as may be necessary for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972;" and (B) by adding at the end of the subsection the following sentence: "On or before January 20 of each year, the Secretary shall submit to Congress a report setting forth operations under this Act during the preceding calendar year and projecting needs for the ensuing calendar year." and section 5(b) of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any person who is engaged in a strike, labor dispute, or voluntary work stoppage shall be ineligible to participate in any food stamp program established pursuant to this Act: *Provided*, That if any such person was eligible for and was receiving food stamp assistance pursuant to the provisions of this Act prior to the existence of a strike, labor dispute, or voluntary work stoppage, such person shall not be ineligible for participation in the food stamp program solely as a result of engaging in such strike, labor dispute, or voluntary work stoppage. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any person who is a student attending an institution of higher learning shall be ineligible to participate in any food stamp program established pursuant to this Act: *Provided further*, That if any such person was eligible for and was receiving food stamp assistance pursuant to the provisions of this Act prior to being enrolled as a student at an institution of higher learning, such person shall not be ineligible for participation in the food stamp program solely as the result of being a student attending an institution of higher learning."

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist on its amendments, request a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, Mr. AIKEN, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. BOGGS conferees on the part of the Senate.

OMNIBUS RIVERS AND HARBORS BILL—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3710) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of July 31, 1968, pages 24417–24424, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the report comes before the Senate by unanimous vote of the Senate conferees. It authorizes the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, for navigation, flood control, and other purposes.

The House and Senate conferees met on several occasions to consider, and they did consider fully, the differences in S. 3710, the rivers and harbors-flood control omnibus bill.

We had long deliberations. The distinguished chairman of the Public Works Committee of the Senate, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], guided the legislation very adroitly through the conference.

We of the Senate conferees obtained practically everything we sought to obtain, with the exception of a couple of matters to which I shall refer very briefly in a moment.

Mr. President, we have agreed on a substitute measure. In the judgment of the Senate conferees, it is a fair and equitable compromise.

The bill as agreed upon authorizes the construction of 73 meritorious projects, at an estimated cost of $1.2 billion. This brings the total cost of the bill, including the amount of $469 million authorized for projects in approved basin plans on which there was no disagreement, to $1.7 billion.

This amount is slightly more than the total approved by the House, and somewhat below the amount passed in the Senate when we acted on the legislation.

I am informed that in the House of Representatives the conference report was ratified within a few minutes yesterday, and without any controversy.

In most instances we of the Senate were successful in upholding the position of the Senate. However, the House conferees would not recede in their disagreement to three items. The Senate conferees tried to be most persuasive and persistent in our argument.

The items in which the House conferees would not concur with our views included restoration of the full amount for the Red River Waterway, transfer of the Yazoo River project from title I to title II, and the Devil's Jump Dam and Reservoir in Kentucky and Tennessee.

My colleague the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] fought valiantly for the Devil's Jump Dam and Reservoir. He had the backing of every one of the Senate conferees, but there could be no agreement thereon.

In the case of the Red River Waterway, the Senate committee will give consideration to fully authorizing this project during consideration of the next omnibus bill. That item was worked out in that manner.

Further consideration will also be given at that time to the Mississippi River and tributary project.

With respect to the Devil's Jump Dam, for which we pressed so hard, and for which the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] pressed eloquently and persistently, but without success, he finally brought in a substitute offer, and the conferees did agree to a restudy of the project, to be made by the Chief of Engineers and other Federal agencies.

This action, I feel, will be most helpful to Congress in its further consideration of the matter, and, in reality, I feel in the end it was a very substantial accomplishment on the part of our colleague, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER].

Mr. President, I feel we have a good bill here, finally, and I recommend that the Senate agree to the conference report.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, this afternoon, as we consider the conference report, I wish to express tribute to the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] and the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], the respective leaders in their parties in the conference, and to all those who joined in discussion with the House conferees of the projects that are included in the omnibus rivers and harbors bill.

Senator YOUNG and Senator COOPER and those who signed the report with them—five Democrats and three Republicans in all—were desirous of bringing back to the Senate a measure which retained, insofar as possible, the authorization for these projects, including the river basins—a total of $1.7 billion, approximately, with some 73 projects included in that figure.

I believe the Senator from Ohio handled the measure in conference in a very helpful and realistic manner. He was chosen as chairman of the conference. The Senate and House conferees worked with him in bringing the conference report into being. I know that I benefited from the give and take, as always in conference with House Members; but the fair and courteous conduct of our conference chairman, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] deserves our accolade at this time.

The other body had added a number of projects to the bill. All these added items were examined closely prior to our meeting. Most of the projects were meaningful, meritorious projects, and were acceptable to the Senate, the Senate having acted earlier on this legislation.

There were several projects, however, in addition to those which have been mentioned by the Senator from Ohio, which required the study and deliberation of the conferees. Included among these were the Port Jefferson Harbor in New York, the Charleston Harbor in South Carolina, the Navasota River in Texas, and the Wabash River in Indiana and Illinois.

The Port Jefferson Harbor project was included in the Senate bill on its merits. It has a benefit-cost ratio of 6 to 1. Of course, this is exceptionally high—almost unbelievably high. This project had the interest and support of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], of course, with the support of the State of New York through the Governor of that State, and was approved by all of the Federal agencies, including the Bureau of the Budget.

However, the House felt compelled to delete this item, for reasons other than the merits of the project, which I have indicated are very real. We discussed the project at length with our House counterparts. We indicated that we could not recede, in view of the case that had been established for the authorization.

As to the Charleston Harbor project, in the Senate version of the bill we provided only for negotiation between the Corps of Engineers and the South Carolina Power Authority to limit flow through that company's power facility to reduce silting in the harbor. The House has authorized, in addition to the negotiation feature, construction of a canal and a powerhouse to compensate that power company for loss of power in reducing flow on the Cooper River. This action was in accordance with the recommendation of the Corps of Engineers. The Senate conferees, after examining the factors associated with this proposal, felt justified in receding from objections to the House modifications. It was realized that the problem of silt in that harbor is most acute, and that we have a responsibility to deal with it as effectively as we can, and just as quickly as possible.

As to the Navasota River project in Texas, we feel that an adequate settlement has been made of that matter. The Senate expressed its approval of the project, providing construction of the Millican Dam, with the proviso that the Navasota No. 2 Reservoir project would be restudied prior to its construction. The conferees reached agreement by deleting the provisos of both of the Houses, and leaving the order of construction in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers.

The Wabash River project is another one where the conferees established a high degree of understanding of the problem. Here we were faced with differences between the Senate and the House of Representatives, and there has been a controversy as to this project, as we know, with respect to the construction of the Big Walnut Dam and Reservoir.

Our Senate committee believed that it was best to defer this project—and the Senate concurred—until such time as we could have a mutually acceptable project developed by the Chief of Engineers. However, the House indicated that the project was merited at this site and that there was a need for flood control and water supply in that valley. Accordingly, construction was authorized, but not to be initiated until further and approval by the President.

I think that the conferees, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], and the others agree fully with my statement that we reached what we considered to be an equitable solution to a very pressing problem.

I believe that at such time as the President gives his approval to this project, the details will have been worked out to the satisfaction of all those who are interested in the project.

I again wish to thank the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] and all other members of the conference, both Senate and House conferees. I believe it is in the interest of a continuation of worthwhile projects for rivers and harbors and flood control and the development of basins in this Nation that the conference report receive the support of the Senate at this time.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the Senate-House conference report on S. 3710, known generally as the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors-Flood Control Act, or the biennial public works authorization bill, authorizes a number of navigation, flood control and harbor projects, and would also extend the authorization for the river basin plans. I serve as the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Flood Control-Rivers and Harbors, which held hearings on these projects, as well as on the full Senate Committee on Public Works which recommended S. 3710 to the Senate.

I wish at this time, not only in response to the gracious remarks of the chairman of the committee, the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], but also because it is true, to speak of his diligence and fairness during consideration by the committee of all the matters which have come before the committee this year—subjects important to the national economy, to the development of local resources, and to the people of the country.

During this 90th Congress, in the session this year, and in particularly in the last 2 weeks, we have dealt with, and he has guided through the Senate, bills of great significance—including air pollution control; extension of the Appalachian Redevelopment Act; highways, including the act of 1968 embodying the new relocation assistance; and now this bill authorizing navigation, flood control, and other river and harbor projects.

I will pay my respects also to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG], who, as chairman of the Flood Control-Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee, conducted the hearings and guided the consideration of the projects in this bill. I call attention also to the work and contribution made by my colleagues, Senators FONG, BOGGS, MURPHY, JORDAN of Idaho and BAKER, and of all the members of the committee, as we have worked together on the legislation considered by the committee, and in some instances very largely initiated and developed by the Senate Committee on Public Works.

Mr. President, of course this bill contains many projects located throughout the country. But I would like to speak briefly at this time of two provisions of interest in my own State. As reported by our committee and passed in the Senate, the bill contained the authorization for two projects located in Kentucky.

The first is the local flood protection project for southwestern Jefferson County, which is included in section 203 under the heading "Ohio River Basin" at an estimated cost of $19.8 million. I know the project is needed and will be welcomed in Jefferson County, which is the county in which the city of Louisville is located.

A second project was authorized by the Senate bill, but was not contained in the House bill and was therefore an item of disagreement in the conference. It proposed the authorization of the Devils Jump Dam and Reservoir on the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River, and I will describe it very briefly.

The site of the proposed Devils Jump Dam is in McCreary County, Ky., about 48 miles above the confluence of the Big South Fork and the Cumberland Rivers at Burnside, Ky. The main area of the reservoir would be situated in Tennessee, but part would be in Kentucky. The project, for which I have worked for years, has been strongly supported by officials, organizations, and hundreds of citizens in the area.

The Devils Jump project has been approved by the Corps of Enginers and by every interested agency of the Federal Government after thorough study. It has been approved by three administrations—those of President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and President Johnson. It has the approval of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. And, it has been approved on five occasions by the Senate Committee on Public Works and the Senate itself—in the public works authorization bills of 1962, 1963, 1965, 1966, and 1968.

I have lived in this area all my life, as has my family for 170 years. I know the people—and I know that this project would be of great help.

I had hoped very much that this year the Senate-House conference on public works authorizations would approve the project. I was a member of the Senate-House conference, and think it proper to say that in the conference the Senate conferees and I fought hard for the project and did our best to secure its approval. In fact, the conference adjourned on last Thursday over this item, which was taken up again at the meeting of the conferees on Friday. However, the House conferees were adament and again refused to approve the project.

I considered this continuing stalemate, this impasse between the House and Senate which has continued for 6 years, to be of no help to the people of the area. It was producing nothing, and in fact the failure of the House of Representatives to resolve the issue one way or another was resulting also in an inability to consider alternative plans for the region.

It was for this reason that I came to the conclusion that we should be prepared to have a decision on the Big South Fork project before it can come up again in 1970, when the next omnibus rivers and harbors bill will be considered by the Congress.

Among the reasons given by the House conferees for their refusal to place the project, with all others in the bill, before the House of Representatives at this time, was the lack of an up-to-date Corps of Engineers report on the cost of the project, the feasibility and marketability of power, and of the cost-benefit computations. Therefore, I proposed a review of the plan of the Corps of Engineers, with a report to Congress by December 31, 1969, to provide up-to-date information on power feasibility and cost before consideration of the next rivers and harbors authorization act.

It is my own belief that the increasing demand for peaking power may well result in a better feasibility at that time. But if it should not, or if the House remains adamant as in the past, I considered it important also to have placed before the Congress alternative plans for the best use of the area and its resources, and for its development to provide economic benefits to the people of the area.

Therefore, I also proposed that the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture and the Corps of Engineers prepare alternative plans for the recreational, conservation, or preservation use of the Big South Fork and its tributaries and contiguous areas in Kentucky and Tennessee. I believe that such alternatives, which could include, for example, development of a national recreation area, could attract thousands of people to this area of beauty.

I emphasize that the purpose of my proposal was to assure that the Congress will have constructive proposals before the next omnibus bill comes up—and to end the present impasse which brings no help to the people of the area and leaves it with nothing.

I want to mention also that before presenting my proposal to the conference, I consulted with my colleague Senator MORTON, with Senator HOWARD BAKER of Tennessee, whose home is in the immediate area, and with Senator GORE who has also been keenly interested in the best development of this area. We were agreed that this proposal appeared to offer a very hopeful approach—one that could lead, without long delay, either to the hydroelectric project or to a comprehensive development plan of great promise to the people of the area.

I am very glad that my proposal was adopted by the Senate-House conference. It is included as section 218 of S. 3710 as contained in the conference report, which has since been adopted by the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate in the final action on this measure before it becomes law.

The section authorizes a study by the corps, as I mentioned, to review the Devils Jump project as to its power feasibility and cost. It authorizes also the study and preparation of alternative plans, by the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, and the Corps of Engineers, for the use of the Big South Fork and its tributaries and contiguous areas for recreational, conservation, or preservation uses.

The appropriation of funds to carry out these reviews and prepare such plans is authorized by the section, and I hope very much that the Departments will request, and the Bureau of the Budget will recommend, supplemental appropriations for this purpose—and during this session of the Congress. I call attention to the point at this time because it is necessary for the work on these studies to get underway promptly, in order to have the reports ready by the time specified, at the end of next year.

I do wish to thank the chairman of our committee, Senator RANDOLPH of West Virginia, the chairman of the subcommittee, Senator YOUNG of Ohio, my colleagues, Senator JORDAN of Idaho and Senator FONG, and the other Senate conferees who were steadfast in their support of the Senate position in conference. I acknowledge also the courtesy and attention of the House conferees. I do think this is a constructive step, and look forward to the best development of the area.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I would like to compliment the members of the Senate Committee on Public Works and the House Committee on Public Works for their wise action in forbidding entrance and admission fees which have been imposed on fishermen and visitors to our recreational areas for the past several years.

Members of the Senate may remember that I have long fought these fees and succeeded in passing an amendment to knock out this system of fees on sportsmen and vacationers when the bill was originally before the Senate. Unfortunately, the House and Senate conferees deleted my amendment and the entrance charges were then applied. I have consistently sought to repeal these unfair and unreasonable fees on the very people whose taxes have been used to construct the dams and lakes and recreation areas.

My personal investigations and inquiries through various hearings have revealed testimony from the Corps of Engineers that the revenue is infinitesimal in relation to the cost of collecting these fees. Statistics were brought forth in Senate hearings showing that the cost of collecting sometimes exceeded the revenue earned, and that the denial of public access to these tax-created facilities was resented by all. We have appropriated vast sums to create recreational areas and such programs as lakes, parks, and game refuges, and these areas should not be denied the people who paid for them.

The creation of these outdoor recreation areas is of great benefit to the people of our Nation, and the imposition of these nuisance taxes has brought a resentment to a degree which far exceeds the financial returns.

I strongly urge unanimous Senate approval of the conference report which contains an amendment—due in large part to my good friend and fellow Oklahoman, Congressman ED EDMONDSON—which prohibits the collection of entrance or admission fees at recreation areas of the Corps of Engineers after March 31, 1967. I only wish it could be sooner, for the people of this country are entitled to enjoy our outdoor recreational facilities. The outdoor recreational programs are the best antidote to the conditions that overcrowded ghettos and obsolete cities create.

I urge unanimous passage of this conference report.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Ohio.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I have a question or two I would like to address to either the distinguished Senator from Ohio or the distinguished Senator from West Virginia.

One question relates to the project for the depth of the harbor in Miami. I think it is both the harbor and the turning basin.

The Senator will remember that the favorable report came in after the Senate had acted, and I requested the committee to accept an amendment on the floor, which was done.

Is my understanding correct that, as accepted on the floor, and by the committee, that item remains in the conference report?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. That project is included in the bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator. With reference to two other projects, I have understood that while the bill was in conference, a final report was received from the Secretary of the Army, duly approved by the Bureau of the Budget, covering an additional program for the central and south Florida flood control program, and having expanded it and having supplemented with it the so-called Martin County report which really relates to the same area, my understanding was that because of the receipt of those final committee reports while the bill was in conference, and because of the fact that the House had added those items in expectation of the early receipt of those reports, they were both acceptable to the Senate conferees and they appear in the conference report. Is my understanding correct?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. The distinguished Senator from Florida is absolutely correct. Those items were inserted in the bill by the House as an amendment and were accepted by us all. It was done by a unanimous vote. They are in the report.

Mr. HOLLAND. They were accepted by the Senate conferees after the final report had come from the Secretary of the Army and the Budget Bureau.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. The final report came over and then we accepted those.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator. I am very grateful to him and to his associate conferees.

My third question is that my information was that the House had also put in the bill, in the expectation of early receipt from the Secretary of the Army and the Bureau of the Budget, a project known as the missing-link project, covering the Gulf Intercoastal Waterway from Tarpon Springs to St. Marks. I wonder what the final action of the conferees was on that particular project.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. The report had not come up. However, we approved that project and placed language in the conference report to take care of it when the report does come up.

Mr. HOLLAND. In other words, under the conference report, this will be a project which, if it is approved and then completed, will complete the Gulf Intercoastal Waterway. That is placed in the conference report on a conditional basis, conditioned upon its being hereafter finally approved by the Secretary of the Army and the Budget Bureau.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. That is the best we could accomplish. The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], the chairman of our committee, worked hard on that matter and might be able to tell the Senator more concerning it.

Mr. HOLLAND. That is a very good "best," as far as the Senator from Florida is concerned.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, to reaffirm what the Senator from Ohio has said, we have many projects that come to us from time to time. We took the necessary steps, and understandably so, to secure procedural approval before acting in the Senate or House or conference. And knowing of the intense interest of the Senator from Florida in the so-called missing link—and feeling that there should not be any missing link—we want to help him join those parts together.

What we have done is in the interest of continuity, to keep the project very active. Yet, there has not been full approval because the procedural steps have not yet been fully completed.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I thank both of my distinguished friends. I hope they will join us in urging the Budget Bureau to promptly approve that item, because it means a great deal not only to our State but also to the whole gulf coast and to the Mississippi Valley and all other rivers emptying into it which are navigable, and all navigable streams entering into the gulf, to have the missing link completed.

I thank my distinguished friends for their favorable action.

CORRECTION OF CERTAIN REFERENCES IN AMENDMENT OF VETERANS' HOME LOAN PROGRAM OF 1968

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I introduce, and send to the desk, a joint resolution and ask that it be read, but that it not be referred to a committee because I expect to make a unanimous-consent request.

Mr. President, this joint resolution merely corrects a technical error that was made in Public Law 90-301 approved May 7, 1968. The error relates to the numbering and lettering of the subsections that relate to the members of the Commission which was established by the Public Law to study mortgage interest rates and to make recommendations.

The way the law is written at present, payment would be directed to the congressional members of the Commission instead of the appointed members for whom payment was originally intended. Accordingly, a correction is necessary. The resolution merely changes the numbering and lettering of the subsections so as to permit proper payment.

I feel that there should be no objection to making this correction. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be considered immediately and passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wisconsin?

There being no objection, the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 197) to correct certain references in section 4(i) of the act entitled "An act to amend chapter 37 of title 38 of the United States Code with respect to the veterans' home loan program, to amend the National Housing Act with respect to interest rates on insured mortgages, and for other purposes," approved May 7, 1968, was read the first time by title and the second time at length, as follows:

S.J. RES. 197

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4(i) of the Act of May 7, 1968 (Public Law 90-301) is amended—

(1) by striking out "(a)", each place it appears, and inserting in lieu thereof "(b)";

(2) by striking out "(4)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(5)"; and

(3) by striking out "(5)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(6)".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 197) was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 17522) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPONG in the chair). The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The assistant legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I shall make only a few brief remarks. The total appropriation allowed is $1,986,721,500. This sum is $305,272,400 below the total budget estimates, and $191,740,000 over the House allowance. It is $14,222,500 below the sum recommended by the Senate. Generally speaking, it is a pretty good bill and will provide sufficient funds in almost all instances to cover the necessary expenses of the various departments and agencies included in the bill, for fiscal 1969. As Senators know, the activities included in the bill have been operating for the past month under the continuing resolution of Congress and will be for some time in the present month under similar circumstances.

I shall mention some of the important changes of items that were either reduced or denied in conference.

For the State Department, mutual educational and cultural exchange program, the sum allowed is $31,000,000, instead of $30,000,000 proposed by the House and $33,000,000 recommended by the Senate.

For the Department of Justice, under general legal activities, the conferees disapproved the addition recommended by the Senate of $565,000 to provide for 20 attorneys and 10 clerks in the Criminal Division and $165,000 for 10 attorneys and five clerks for the Criminal Rights Division. For salaries and expenses of U.S. attorneys and marshals, the conferees allowed an increase of $286,000 over the House bill. This increase will provide for 15 assistant U.S. attorneys and 15 additional clerks. These additional positions, together with the 100 allowed in the House bill, will provide a total of 65 assistant U.S. attorneys and 65 clerks in fiscal 1969.

For the community relations service, the conference agreed to $2,275,000 for necessary expenses in fiscal 1969. This sum is $75,000 above the House allowance and $75,000 below the sum recommended by the Senate. For the law enforcement assistance administration, the conference approved $63,000,000 instead of $69,000,000 as proposed by the Senate. This sum includes $19,000,000 for State planning grants, $29,000,000 for matching grants to improve and strengthen law enforcement, $6,500,000 for student loans and tuition aid, $3,000,000 for national institute programs, $3,000,000 for the FBI training and assistance, and $2,500,000 for administrative expenses, all activities. The conference agreed to exemption of the FBI from the application of section 201 of Public Law 90–364, relating to the filling of vacancies and the employment of new personnel. It did not agree to the Senate amendment which would have included the exemption of authorized positions in the office of the U.S. attorneys.

For the Department of Commerce, the conference disapproved the Senate recommendation to add $500,000 to implement the Fire Research and Safety Act of 1968. For State technical services, the conference agreed to $5,300,000 for grants and expenses in fiscal 1969, instead of $5,000,000 proposed by the House and $5,600,000 recommended by the Senate. For the Maritime Commission, the conference agreed to the Senate recommendation of $119,800,000 for ship construction and $6,700,000 for the research and development program.

For the judiciary branch, the conference disapproved the Senate recommendation of $97,500 for costs of nine additional law clerks to Justices of the Supreme Court. Also disapproved was the Senate recommendation of $500,000 for 83 additional deputy clerks for U.S. district courts. For fees of jurors and commissioners, the conference approved the additional sum of $4,000,000 to cover increased costs for jurors' fees and allowances as provided in the Jury Selection and Service Act of 1968. For travel and miscellaneous expenses the conference approved $250,000 instead of $500,000 recommended by the Senate.

For the Federal Judicial Center, the conference approved the Senate recommendation of $300,000 for expenses this fiscal year.

For the Health, Education, and Welfare, civil rights educational activities, the conference approved $10,750,000 instead of $10,000,000 allowed by the House and $11,500,000 proposed by the Senate.

For the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the conference approved $8,750,000 instead of $6,936,000 proposed by the House and $10,000,000 proposed by the Senate.

For the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, the conference approved $750,000 instead of $344,000 proposed by the House and $1,331,000, the budget estimate, recommended by the Senate.

For the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws, the conference approved $250,000, the Senate recommendation, instead of $200,000 proposed by the House.

For the special representative for trade negotiations, the conference approved $450,000, the House allowance, instead of $700,000 proposed by the Senate.

For the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control, the conference disapproved the Senate recommendation of $160,000 to finance the expenses of the newly created Commission.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I yield.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I am shocked at the duplicity and breach of faith by the Maritime Administration. Through its officials testifying before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on the Commerce Department—of which the Maritime Administration is a part—the Maritime Administration in supporting the full budget request of $1,900,000 for State maritime schools represented that this budget request was based upon an allowance of $600 for individual cadet subsistence.

The subcommittee approved the full amount requested and on the basis of $600 subsistence for each cadet.

The Maritime Administration subsequently broke faith in two respects. First, it decided to reduce that individual cadet subsistence from $800 down to $500 per cadet. It made this decision without giving any notice to the subcommittee or the full committee. Such reduction is in contradiction to the basis of the appropriation. Second, it not only did not notify the subcommittee or the full committee of such contradictory action but instead first notified the State martime schools. I had to learn of this contradictory action by a telegram from the superintendent of the Maine Maritime Academy received at my office as late as Tuesday.

Since both the House and the Senate had approved the full budget request for this item and it was not a matter in conference because there was no disagreement, the knowledge of the contradictory action of the Maritime Administration transmitted in the telegrams from the State maritime schools came too late for the conferees to be able to take any action other than to make protests to the Maritime Administration and to make our resentment at this breach of faith abundantly clear.

As the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, I now serve notice on the Maritime Administration that I shall not let this matter drop. I shall pursue it and I shall particularly make a point of it on every other appropriations request made by the Maritime Administration from now on.

Those in authority in the Maritime Administration have a very serious obligation to advise the Appropriations Committee of any changes that are to be made in the funding of State maritime schools before they make direct announcements to the schools that the funding program may be changed. They should not make any detours from what appears in the justification as presented.

They have had ample time to advise the committee and subcommittee on this matter and had they done so the committee would then have been in a position to make an intelligent judgment as to the needs.

Let me make it crystal clear to the officials of the Maritime Administration that I demand that those in charge of this program not make any reduction in this activity and in the future keep the committee advised of any planned or anticipated changes in the funding of this program.

Mr. President, my colleague, the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], has asked that he be associated with my remarks.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I am in full accord with the statement made by the distinguished Senator from Maine and ranking minority member of the subcommittee on appropriations for the State, Justice, Commerce, and judiciary bill. I have not been apprised of any reduction from $600 to $500 for cadet subsistence by officials of the Maritime Administration who are charged with the administration of the State marine schools, and I wholeheartedly agree with the Senator from Maine that if such reduction as reported is to become effective in the ensuing school year, certainly the committee should have been advised of such action.

Had the committee been apprised of this situation, I am sure it would have been a matter of inquiry during the course of the recent hearing and some appropriate action would have been taken thereon.

As chairman of the subcommittee, I shall ask the Secretary of Commerce for a full report on the subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Spong in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate agree to the amendments of the House to the amendments of the Senate numbered 12 and 13

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments in disagreement will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12 to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert the following:

"LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For grants, contracts, loans, and other law enforcement assistance authorized by title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, including departmental salaries and other expenses in connection therewith, $63,000,000, of which $3,000,000 shall be available for transfer to the Federal Bureau of Investigation including the purchase for police-type use, without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, of an additional seventy-five passenger motor vehicles."

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert the following:

"SEC. 207. Investigative and other essential positions which are financed by appropriations in this Act for the Federal Bureau of Investigation which are determined by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be essential to the operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation may be filled without regard to the provisions of section 201 of Public Law 90-364, and such positions shall not be taken into consideration in determining numbers of employees under subsection (a) of that section or numbers of vacancies under subsection (b) of that section."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Arkansas.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I submit a summary of the bill, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY FOR 1968 AND THE BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1969

[Becomes available automatically under earlier, or "permanent" law without further, or annual action by the Congress. Thus, these amounts are not included in the accompanying bill]

Agency and item (1)	New budget (obligational) authority, 1968 (2)	Budget estimate of new (obligational) authority, 1969 (3)	Increase (+) or decrease (−) (4)
PERMANENT NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY—FEDERAL FUND			
DEPARTMENT OF STATE			
Educational exchange fund	$353,000	$354,000	+$1,000
Payment to Republic of Panama	1,930,000	1,930,000	
Total, Department of State	2,283,000	2,284,000	+1,000
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE			
Maritime Administration:			
Operating-differential subsidies: Contract authorization	213,000,000	213,000,000	
State marine schools: Contract authorization	1,275,000	1,275,000	
Total, Department of Commerce	214,275,000	214,275,000	
SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION			
Payment of participation sales insufficiencies	5,193,000	10,593,000	+5,400,000
Grand total, permanent new budget (obligational) authority, Federal funds	221,751,000	227,152,000	+5,401,000
PERMANENT NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY—TRUST FUNDS			
DEPARTMENT OF STATE			
Administration of foreign affairs:			
Foreign Service retirement and disability fund	$11,487,000	$11,975,000	+$488,000
Miscellaneous permanent appropriations	43,000		−43,000
Total, administration of foreign affairs	11,530,000	11,975,000	+445,000
International organizations and conferences: Gifts and bequests, National Commission on Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation	2,000	2,000	
Educational exchange: Educational exchange trust funds	340,000	360,000	+20,000
PERMANENT NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY—TRUST FUNDS—Continued			
DEPARTMENT OF STATE—Continued			
Other Indemnification funds, foreign governments	$720,000		$−720,000
Total Department of State	12,592,000	$12,337,000	−255,000
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE			
General administration: Gifts and bequests	55,000	52,000	−3,0000
Bureau of the Census: Special statistical work	4,022,000	3,230,000	−792,000
Economic Development Administration: Federal action planning commissions' trust fund	7,620,000	6,761,000	−859,000
Business and Defense Services Administration: Special statistical work	8,000	13,000	+5,000
International activities: Contributions, educational and cultural exchange	1,004,000	1,895,000	+891,000
Environmental Science Services Administration: Special statistical work	174,000	179,000	+5,000
National Bureau of Standards: National Bureau of Standards trust fund	1,840,000	2,040,000	+200,000
Maritime Administration: Federal ship mortgage insurance escrow fund	94,200,000	119,500,000	+25,300,000
Total, Department of Commerce	108,923,000	133,670,000	+24,747,000
THE JUDICIARY			
Judicial survivors' annuity fund	1,065,000	1,095,000	+30,000
RELATED AGENCIES			
American Battle Monuments Commission: Contributions	7,000	13,000	+6,000
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission: War Claims Fund		9,500,000	+9,500,000
U.S. Information Agency: U.S. Information Agency trust funds	64,000	62,000	−2,000
Total, related agencies	71,000	9,575,000	+9,504,000
Grand total, permanent new budget (obligational) authority, trust funds	122,651,000	156,677,000	+34,026,000

Note.—Some items are indefinite in amount, and thus are subject to reestimation.

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS

[Limitation on amounts of corporate funds to be expended]

Agency and item	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968 (enacted to date)	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in House bill	Amount recommended by Senate committee	Increase (+) or decrease (−) Senate bill compared with—		
					Appropriations, 1968	Budget estimates, 1969	House bill
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE							
Federal Prison Industries, Incorporated	($2,714,000)	($3,607,000)	($3,237,000)	($3,237,000)	(+$523,000)	(−$370,000)	

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY FOR 1968 AND BUDGET ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN THE BILL FOR 1969

[Note—All amounts are in the form of "appropriations" unless otherwise indicated]

TITLE I—DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Agency and item (1)	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968 adjusted [1] (2)	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969 (3)	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in House bill (4)	Senate bill (5)	Conference action (6)
ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS					
Salaries and expenses	$195,699,000	$204,168,000	$199,475,600	$199,475,600	$199,475,600
Representation allowances	993,000	993,000	993,000	993,000	993,000
Acquisition, operation, and maintenance of buildings abroad	13,350,000	12,750,000	12,500,000	12,500,000	12,500,000
Acquisition, operation, and maintenance of buildings abroad (special foreign currency program)	5,025,000	3,050,000	3,050,000	3,050,000	3,050,000
Emergencies in the diplomatic and consular service	4,100,000	1,600,000	1,600,000	1,600,000	1,600,000
Overseas schools program (special foreign currency program)		700,000			
Total, administration of foreign affairs	219,167,000	223,261,000	217,618,600	217,618,600	217,618,600
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES					
Contributions to International organizations	93,735,400	118,628,000	118,453,000	118,453,000	118,453,000
By transfer	(15,606,000)				
Missions to international organizations	3,716,000	3,913,000	3,800,000	3,800,000	3,800,000
International conferences and contingencies	1,780,000	1,822,000	1,800,000	1,800,000	1,800,000
World health assembly		500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000
Total, international organizations and conferences	99,231,400	124,863,000	124,553,000	124,553,000	124,553,000
INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS					
International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico:					
Salaries and expenses	851,000	880,000	880,000	880,000	880,000
Operation and maintenance	1,935,000	2,110,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Construction	9,000,000	5,806,000	5,806,000	5,806,000	5,806,000
Chamizal settlement	2,700,000				
American sections, international commissions	630,000	629,000	610,000	610,000	610,000
International fisheries commissions	2,015,000	2,075,000	2,075,000	2,085,000	2,075,000
Total, international commissions	17,131,000	11,500,000	11,371,000	11,381,000	11,371.000
EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE					
Mutual educational and cultural exchange activities	45,125,000	44,862,000	30,000,000	33,000,000	31,000,000
English language teaching program in Poland (special foreign currency program)		3,100,000			
Center for cultural and technical interchange between East and West	5,220,000	5,362,000	5,260,000	5,260,000	5,260,000
Total, educational exchange	50,345,000	53,324,000	35,260,000	38,260,000	36,260,000
Total, title I, Department of State	385,874,400	412,948,000	388,802,600	391,812,600	389,802,600

TITLE II—DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Agency and item (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION					
Salaries and expenses, general administration	6,036,000	6,903,000	6,285,000	6,285,000	6,285,000
Salaries and expenses, general legal activities	22,991,000	24,852,000	23,598,000	24,163,000	23,598,000
Limitation on general administrative expenses, alien property activities	(134,000)	(136,000)	(136,000)	(136,000)	(136,000)
Salaries and expenses, Antitrust Division	7,820,000	7,991,000	7,991,000	7,991,000	7,991,000
Salaries and expenses, U.S. attorneys and marshals	37,842,000	41,036,000	39,590,000	40,545,000	39,876,000
Fees and expenses of witnesses	3,100,000	4,500,000	3,200,000	4,200,000	4,200.000
Law enforcement assistance	7,500,000	[3] (20,000,000)	7,500,000		
Salaries and expenses, Community Relations Service	2,000,000	2,808,000	2,200,000	2,350,000	2,275,000
Total, legal activities and general administration	87,289,000	88,090,000	90,364,000	85,534,000	84,225,000
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION					
Salaries and expenses	194,986,000	207,450,000	207,450,000	207,450,000	207,450,000
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE					
Salaries and expenses	85,684,000	86,941,000	86,450,000	86,450,000	86,450,000
FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM					
Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prisons	63,201,000	61,752,000	59,220,000	59,979,000	59,729,000
By transfer		(5,150,000)	(5,659,000)	(5,659,000)	(5,659,000)
Buildings and facilities	[4] (4,500,000)	[4] (4,650,000)	[4] (4,650,000)	(4,650,000)	(4,650,000)
Support of U.S. prisoners	5,800,000	4,900,000	4,900,000	4,900,000	4,900,000
Total, Federal prison system	69,001,000	66,652,000	64,120,000	64,879,000	64,629,000
LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION					
Salaries and expenses		98,600,000		69,000,000	63,000,000
Total, title II, Department of Justice	436,960,000	547,733,000	448,384,000	513,313,000	505,754,000

TITLE III—DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Agency and item (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION					
Salaries and expenses	4,120,000	5,125,000	4,875,000	4,875,000	4,875,000
OFFICE OF BUSINESS ECONOMICS					
Salaries and expenses	2,948,000	3,314,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS					
Salaries and expenses	17,150,000	18,250,000	17,578,000	17,578,000	17,578,000
Preparation for Nineteenth Decennial Census	7,650,000	17,487,000	17,000,000	17,000,000	17,000,000
1967 economic censuses	7,500,000	6,947,000	6,800,000	6,800,000	6,800,000
1967 Census of Governments	1,000,000	347,000	347,000	347,000	347,000
Modernization of computing equipment	4,000,000				
Total, Bureau of the Census	37,300,000	43,031,000	41,725,000	41,725,000	41,725,000

See footnotes at end of table.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY FOR 1968 AND BUDGET ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN THE BILL FOR 1969—Continued

[Note—All amounts are in the form of "appropriations" unless otherwise indicated]

TITLE III—DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—Continued

Agency and item (1)	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968 adjusted [1] (2)	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969 (3)	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in House bill (4)	Senate bill (5)	Conference action (6)
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE					
Development facilities	$175,000,000	$203,000,000	$180,000,000	$180,000,000	$180,000,000
Industrial development loans and guarantees	55,000,000	58,500,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000
Planning, technical assistance, and research	25,000,000	27,780,000	25,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000
Operations and administration	20,225,000	21,370,000	19,740,000	19,740,000	19,740,000
Total, economic development assistance	275,225,000	310,650,000	274,740,000	274,740,000	274,740,000
BUSINESS AND DEFENSE SERVICES ADMINISTRATION					
Salaries and expenses	5,993,000	6,480,000	6,102,000	6,102,000	6,102,000
INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES					
Salaries and expenses	12,500,000	22,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000
Salaries and expenses (special foreign currency program)	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000
Export control	5,367,000	5,358,000	5,358,000	5,358,000	5,358,000
Total, international activities	18,067,000	27,558,000	20,558,000	20,558,000	20,558,000
OFFICE OF FIELD SERVICES					
Salaries and expenses	4,681,000	5,178,000	4,900,000	4,900,000	4,900,000
U.S. TRAVEL SERVICE					
Salaries and expenses	3,000,000	4,678,000	4,500,000	4,500,000	4,500,000
ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE SERVICES ADMINISTRATION					
Salaries and expenses	107,200,000	119,841,000	115,000,000	115,000,000	115,000,000
Research and development	24,400,000	27,432,000	24,000,000	24,000,000	24,000,000
Research and development (special foreign currency program)	750,000	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000
Facilities, equipment and construction	5,200,000	3,200,000	3,200,000	3,200,000	3,200,000
Satellite operations	28,110,000	27,000,000	20,000,000	20,000,000	20,000,000
Total, Environmental Science Services Administration	165,650,000	177,973,000	162,700,000	162,700,000	162,700,000
PATENT OFFICE					
Salaries and expenses	39,000,000	42,742,000	42,000,000	42,000,000	42,000,000
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS					
Research and technical services	32,450,000	[6] 37,679,000	35,000,000	35,500,000	35,000,000
Research and technical services (special foreign currency program)	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000
Plant and facilities	240,000	1,300,000	1,300,000	1,300,000	1,300,000
Total, National Bureau of Standards	33,190,000	39,479,000	36,800,000	37,300,000	36,800,000
OFFICE OF STATE TECHNICAL SERVICES					
Grants and expenses	6,500,000	6,600,000	5,000,000	5,600,000	5,300,000
MARITIME ADMINISTRATION					
Ship construction	143,000,000	119,800,000	------------	119,800,000	119,800,000
Operating-differential subsidies (appropriation to liquidate contract authorization)	(200,000,000)	(206,000,000)	‘(206,000,000)	(206,000,000)	(206,000,000)
Research and development	9,575,000	6,700,000	------------	6,700,000	6,700,000
Salaries and expenses	15,947,000	16,275,000	16,275,000	16,275,000	16,275,000
Maritime training	4,720,000	5,177,000	5,177,000	5,177,000	5,177,000
State marine schools	500,000	625,000	625,000	625,000	625,000
(Appropriation to liquidate contract authorization)	(1,275,000)	(1,275,000)	(1,275,000)	(1,275,000)	(1,275,000)
Total, Maritime Administration	173,742,000	148,577,000	22,077,000	148,577,000	148,577,000
FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT CONTROL					
Salaries and expenses	------------	4,475,000	4,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,0000
Total, title III, Department of Commerce	769,416,000	825,860,000	632,977,000	759,577,000	758,777,000
TITLE IV—THE JUDICIARY					
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES					
Salaries	2,031,500	2,207,500	2,110,000	2,207,500	2,110,000
Printing and binding Supreme Court reports	155,000	155,000	155,000	155,000	155,000
Miscellaneous expenses	120,000	144,400	140,000	140,000	140,000
Care of the building and grounds	334,400	384,500	345,500	345,500	345,500
Automobile for the Chief Justice	9,100	9,500	9,500	9,500	9,500
Books for the Supreme Court	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000
Total, Supreme Court of the United States	2,690,000	2,940,900	2,800,000	2,897,500	2,800,000
COURT OF CUSTOMS AND PATENT APPEALS					
Salaries and expenses	483,000	505,000	505,000	505,000	505,000
CUSTOMS COURT					
Salaries and expenses	1,480,000	1,647,000	1,600,000	1,600,000	1,600,000
COURT OF CLAIMS					
Salaries and expenses	1,520,000	1,595,000	1,595,000	1,595,000	1,595,000
COURTS OF APPEALS, DISTRICT COURTS, AND OTHER JUDICIAL SERVICES					
Salaries of judges	16,480,000	16,795,000	16,795,000	16,795,000	16,795,000
Salaries of supporting personnel	41,150,000	[7] 45,650,000	43,500,000	44,000,000	43,500,000
Fees and expenses of court-appointed counsel	3,150,000	3,150,000	3,150,000	3,150,000	3,150,000
Fees of jurors and commissioners	8,150,000	[8] 12,400,000	7,900,000	11,900,000	11,900,000
Travel and miscellaneous expenses	6,113,000	[9] 7,163,000	6,200,000	6,700,000	6,450,000
Administrative Office of the United States Courts	2,074,000	[10] 2,351,000	1,846,500	1,861,500	1,846,500
Federal Judicial Center, salaries and expenses	40,000	[11] 538,000	------------	300,000	300,000
Salaries of referees (special fund)	4,514,000	4,588,000	4,588,000	4,588,000	4,588,000
Expenses of referees (special fund)	7,420,000	8,617,000	8,200,000	8,200,000	8,200,000
Total, courts of appeals, district courts, and other judicial services	89,091,000	101,252,000	92,179,500	97,494,500	96,729,500
Total, title IV, the judiciary	95,264,000	107,939,900	98,679,500	104,092,000	103,229,500

See footnotes at end of table.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY FOR 1968 AND BUDGET ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN THE BILL FOR 1969—Continued

[Note—All amounts are in the form of "appropriations" unless otherwise indicated]

TITLE V—RELATED AGENCIES

Agency and item (1)	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968 adjusted [1] (2)	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969 (3)	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in House bill (4)	Senate bill (5)	Conference action (6)
AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION					
Salaries and expenses	$2,370,000	$2,329,000	$2,329,000	$2,329,000	$2,329,000
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS					
Salaries and expenses	2,650,000	2,650,000	2,650,000	2,650,000	2,650,000
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE					
Office of Education: Civil rights educational activities	10,000,000	14,976,000	10,000,000	11,500,000	10,750,000
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION					
Salaries and expenses	6,655,000	13,093,000	6,936,000	10,000,000	8,750,000
FEDERAL MARITIME COMMISSION					
Salaries and expenses	3,600,000	3,678,000	3,653,000	3,653,000	3,653,000
FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION					
Salaries and expenses	1,275,000	1,331,000	344,000	1,331,000	750,000
NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FIRE PREVENTION AND CONTROL					
Salaries and expenses		[11] 500,000		160,000	
NATIONAL COMMISSION ON REFORM OF FEDERAL CRIMINAL LAWS					
Salaries and expenses	[12] 150,000	250,000	200,000	250,000	250,000
SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION					
Salaries and expenses	9,900,000	11,600,000	11,200,000	11,200,000	11,200,000
(Transfer from revolving funds)	(47,647,000)	(49,833,000)	(47,647,000)	(47,647,000)	(47,647,000)
Participation sales authorization	150,000,000	150,000,000			
Payment of participation sales insufficiencies	1,350,000	[13] 3,191,000	2,014,000	2,014,000	2,014,000
Total, Small Business Administration	161,250,000	164,791,000	13,214,000	13,214,000	13,214,000
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS					
Salaries and expenses	501,000	742,000	450,000	700,000	450,000
SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD					
Salaries and expenses	295,000	425,000	344,400	344,400	344,400
TARIFF COMMISSION					
Salaries and expenses	3,739,000	3,860,000	3,850,000	3,850,000	3,850,000
U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY					
Arms control and disarmament activities	9,000,000	10,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000
U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY					
Salaries and expenses	155,048,000	163,654,000	159,990,000	159,990,000	159,990,000
Salaries and expenses (special foreign currency program)	8,604,000	9,340,000	9,250,000	9,250,000	9,250,000
Special international exhibitions	12,016,000	5,466,000	3,500,000	3,500,000	3,500,000
Special international exhibitions (special foreign currency program)	387,000	428,000	428,000	428,000	428,000
Acquisition and construction of radio facilities	18,200,000				
Total, U.S. Information Agency	194,255,000	178,888,000	173,168,000	173,168,000	173,168,000
Total, title V, related agencies	395,740,000	397,513,000	226,138,400	232,149,400	229,158,400
Total, titles I, II, III, IV, and V, new budget (obligational) authority	2,083,254,400	2,291,993,900	1,794,981,500	2,000,944,000	1,986,721,500
Consisting of—					
Appropriations	(1,933,254,400)	(2,141,993,900)	(1,794,981,500)	(2,000,944,000)	1,986,721,500
Authorizations to spend agency debt receipts (participation certificates)	(150,000,000)	(150,000,000)			
Memorandums: Appropriations to liquidate contract authorizations	(201,275,000)	(207,275,000)	(207,275,000)	(207,275,000)	(207,275,000)
Grand total	(2,284.529,400)	(2,499,268,900)	(2,002,256,500)	(2,208,219,000)	(2,193,996,500)

---

[1] Includes $35,366,900 in 1968 2d supplemental bill.
[2] Includes $1,300,000 requested in H. Doc. 318.
[3] Canceled by supplemental estimate, S. Doc. 85.
[4] To be derived from prior year funds.
[5] Supplemental estimate, S. Doc. 85.
[6] Includes $840,000 requested in H. Doc. 318.
[7] Includes $1,190,000 requested in H. Doc. 318.
[8] Includes $4,500,000 requested in H. Doc. 318.
[9] Includes $675,000 requested in H. Doc. 318.
[10] Includes $30,000 requested in H. Doc. 318.
[11] Supplemental estimate, H. Doc. 318.
[12] Appropriated in 2d supplemental, 1967.
[13] Requested as permanent, indefinite appropriation.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I should like to ask the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee a brief question.

We have had some problems about maritime construction, the ship construction subsidy, because the authorization was not made by the House and the Senate, I believe, until a couple of days before we marked up the bill. As the Senator knows, the House put in $257 million for construction differential subsidy. The Senate had $113 million, the budget amount.

Mr. McCLELLAN. $119,800,000.

Mr. MAGNUSON. And on the floor of the Senate, by a close vote, we took out the House item and went back to the $119 million. Then the Appropriations Committee of the House had no chance to bring it up to the amount they suggested.

We agreed in the Senate committee that we would take the budget amount of $119,800,000, and we found that they had a carryover of $148 million. We directed in our report that the Maritime Administrator be directed to take the budget amount for next year and add the $148 million, which would give us a total a little above the original House authorization for this year.

Did the conference accept that procedure?

Mr. McCLELLAN. It was not involved in the conference. That procedure was not an issue for us to resolve. The conference agreed to $119,800,000, and it is understood there will be this carryover, which is available for expenditures.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Was it explained to the House managers of the bill?

Mr. McCLELLAN. They fully understood.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I hope this will make some legislative history, and I hope this will be understood by the Maritime Administrator at the Department of Commerce.

I thank the Senator for calling it to the attention of the House.

Mr. McCLELLAN. It is understood that $119,800,000 will be added to the carryover, all of which will be available for expenditure in this fiscal year.

Mr. MAGNUSON. In fiscal 1969.

Mr. McCLELLAN. That is my understanding and, I believe the understanding of all conferees.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I wish to take this occasion to thank the distinguished Senator from Arkansas, the distinguished Senator from Maine, and all of the conferees of the Senate, for their assistance given to the Senator from Florida in seeing that a fairer situation prevailed than was provided for in the bill of the other body relative to the financing of the activities of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission which relates directly at this time to claims of our own nationals to property that was taken over by the Castro Cuban Government.

Already there are 7,200 claimants, many hundreds of them are in my State. Many hundreds of them are people of Latin ancestry who, by reason of family connections or otherwise, had property in Cuba which was seized.

Under the appropriation of the other body the Claims Commission would not have been able to adequately continue its work. Under the law already passed it is required to complete its work on Cuban claims by May 1, 1970.

The distinguished chairman of the committee, the ranking minority member of the committee, and all members of the committee were very active in obtaining the increase of that amount from the $344,000 granted by the House bill, to the $750,000 included in the conference report.

While that amount is not the full amount requested by the budget, it will permit, I am informed, the continued functioning of the Claims Commission which is so important, particularly in view of the fact that many of the claimants, especially in my State, are aged persons and they are very desirous of completing adjudication of their claims while they are still here and able to assemble their facts, figures, and papers. I think this was an act of both justice and mercy. I want the record to show my appreciation and the appreciation of hundreds of Floridians of the type I mentioned, and they are fine people, for the attention to the matter and the assistance in the matter given by the members of the conference.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, the Senator from Florida had undertaken to secure the total of $1,331,000 in the budget estimate for this item.

I think every member of the Senate conference felt it was a meritorious request and that the appropriation should have been made. At least, it should have been made for more than the $750,000.

However, we were confronted with adamant opposition on the part of the House and the amount we finally secured seemed to be the best we were able to do. If this amount does not prove adequate to carry on the program, it would be my hope that, during the consideration of some supplemental appropriation bill, we can give the matter further attention and try to do greater justice than we have already done for these people who have legitimate claims and who are being discriminated against if we do not appropriate adequate funds for them to process and establish those claims and get them adjudicated.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I am glad the Senator spoke of the discrimination which would result had the program been discontinued. There have been filed approximately 7,200 claims of which 2,000 have been fully adjudicated, but the remaining claims are in the process of adjudication. Unless they can be handled through adjudication, there will be great discrimination between claimants who have been served and those who will not be served.

I thank the Senator for his assurance in the event the $750,000 granted by the conference report is inadequate, and it will be inadequate, but it will enable the work to go on until sometime next year, consideration will be given to a supplemental appropriation request.

I appreciate the assurance that the Senator will be glad to help at that time to see that justice is done to this group of people who are affected by this expropriation of their property in Cuba.

In many instances it covers a large part of their estates, and in some instances it is all they own.

I am not speaking now about Cuban refugees. I am talking about Latin people who came into my State in years past, and who are fine citizens.

Mr. President, I appreciate the cooperation of the distinguished Senator.

ADDRESS BY FORMER SENATOR EDWIN C. JOHNSON BEFORE THE GRADUATING CLASS OF RANGELY COLLEGE

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on June 7, 1968, Edwin C. Johnson, a former Member of this body, addressed the graduating class of Rangely College. His speech is an excellent one and it shows great interest in the affairs of the country. I am happy to see that former Senator Johnson is taking time out and talking to the young people of the country.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address by former Senator Edwin C. Johnson.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Doctor John E. Roberts, The President of Rangely, The Distinguished Faculty of Rangely, The Graduation Class of 1968, Our Honored Guests and, Ladies and Gentlemen, Hats off and warm greetings to the 1968 Graduating Class of Rangely College. Words cannot express how proud and pleased I am to have been selected to visit with you on this happy occasion.

I am most grateful to Doctor Roberts and to this graduating Class of 1968 for inviting me to participate in this graduating ceremony. I deem it a very great honor and a special privilege.

Most Americans are partial to Commencement Day programs. To witness the smiling graduates march in and assume new responsibility with so much confidence and personal assurance is a thrilling experience. For them a new day has dawned. For years and years they have looked forward to this hour and now it is here!

Shortly they will look back to it as the significant milestone of their lives and as time marches on this pride and satisfaction will grow and mature into complete reality. A difficult task has been completed by them so now we rejoice with them over a worthy achievement. It is a real good feeling. Hearty congratulations to each of you!

A multitude of problems are facing all of us and each of us and what to do about them must have our undivided attention. The 1968 Graduating Class of Rangely College and the thousands of graduating classes scattered all over the world have selected an opportune time to try their new wings and to assume a new goal and a new responsibility.

But there is a time for everything. There is a time for sowing and a time for reaping. A time for laughing and a time for weeping. Today is the time for accepting and assuming a very much greater responsibility to the world we share. And this is an appropriate time to call attention to "the State of the Union" which now is your specific responsibility.

I wish I could look each of you in the eye and say all is well in our America and "the goose hangs high" but that is not the way it is. Instead we must pass from fantasy to reality and do it now. It would be nice if we could linger but the times will not permit. Instead we are compelled to face with sorrow the knowledge that thirty-thousand eager young Americans who loved life as we love life have sacrificed it in the jungles of South East Asia, 7 thousand miles from their homes. Also, that one-hundred thousand sturdy young Americans have suffered serious body wounds in the defense of freedom in Vietnam. And that more than a million natives of South Vietnam have lost their lives and all of their worldly possessions in a cruel war which fate has arranged for them. We know that war is not the answer but we must postpone such speculation temporarily. For the present, in the National interest we must overcome the tragedy of war by more war. Our government has chartered that course and we must follow our capable leadership.

Today I want to visit briefly with the members of this graduating class on these and other matters directly affecting them and the world at large. Beginning now the people of the United States must find additional leadership in industry, science, government and the other human activities upon which we depend as a nation. A million college graduates more or less, will contemplate fitting into this picture. Some will become active in the Vietnam war, others for various reasons may not, but all of us will be deeply concerned and we will be active.

Greatly respected world authorities in the fields of finance, diplomacy, war, peace and military strategy, the delicate subject of college student behavior, the so-called good neighbor policy, the status of our democratic society, and the never ending list of serious problems and the proposed solutions which clog and jam the trestle boards of the world must have tangible and pertinent action and solution. They await your attention.

The political situation on Mother Earth in the year 1968, is significant and extremely demanding. Perhaps it is not rational but practically every region of the Earth's free and habitable surface is demanding political change of more or less drastic character and thoughts of delay are frowned upon.

The more democratic an area is the more persistent the public clamor for political change becomes. So where political change is needed most, it is pressured the least. Thus the world's colleges and universities have put forth the greatest effort and urge the most spectacular demonstrations on behalf of political change. They have been criticized bitterly for their enthusiastic endeavor but they refuse to abandon their crusade for direct action and it *is* a crusade in every sense of that word.

As should be anticipated, the pressure for political change is many times greater in the liberal democracies where government is doing a pretty good job now than in the countries under dictator rule. Almost everywhere political change is coupled with a youth movement and that point is significant.

On May 28, Chancellor Maurice B. Mitchell of Denver University received an American Legion Award commending him for action that ended an April 30th Campus "sit in."

The Denver Legion Post Commander officiating lauded the Chancellor for "lighting the candle" which may reverse the trend of "College Student Disorderliness" which has swept Colorado and the nation.

In presenting the award, the Denver Legion Post Commander said, among other things, "I single out Chancellor Mitchell as an administrator who believes that students are in school to obtain an education. When 39 demonstrating students impeded the business at the Univeristy Chancellor Mitchell expelled them. I feel that justice prevailed," said the Post Commander. I too am in complete agreement with the Commander and the Chancellor. I hope all of you are also.

Surprisingly the colleges of the world appear to be the very center of the demand for radical political change. It is apparent that this national and international anxiety and unrest is spreading like a prairie fire into every nook and corner of the globe. Truly the year 1968 is saturated with thought-stimulating and thought-provoking maneuvers in all of our colleges and universities. Some demonstrations and actions are childish and freakish but there is great interest.

This is the age of Youth and Youth will not be denied. President John F. Kennedy was trusted by the Youth of America. He understood youth and they understood him. He had a great plan for promoting the interest of the Youth of America and it did not include war in faraway Asia nor any other place. His tragic removal from the scene left a gap between the government of the United States and our Youth that has never been closed.

President Kennedy's first action following his election proposed that age 18 be fixed in the United States as the age for the Youth of America to become eligible to vote in the elections of the United States. President Kennedy's first step was to create a commission to assemble the basic facts respecting voting and to develop the technical and legal processes authorizing it.

The Founding Fathers of our Federal Government had cloudy concepts on the subject of voting. Some of them favored restricting the vote to free holders and property owners. Since they were unable to reach an agreement, they turned the problem over to the States of the Union and there it rests. Four states however, have taken separate action but forty-four states left the voting age of youngsters at 21 years.

In 1946 the sovereign State of Georgia fixed the eligible voting age for Georgia citizens at 18 years. In 1955 Kentucky took similar action. In 1959 when the territories of Alaska and Hawaii entered the Union, the Alaska voting age was set at 19 years and Hawaii set her voting age at 20 years.

Eighteen year olds serve in the Armed Forces, pay taxes, are held legally responsible for their acts in many courts and are bound by the draft decisions of their government. The adage "If he's old enough to fight, he's old enough to vote" is a sound argument.

In recent days President Lyndon B. Johnson has urged that all of the States of the Union now set the voting age at 18 years. I am convinced that lowering the national voting age to 18 years will promote and add tremendous interest in the voting habits of American citizens. In the year 1966, one hundred and sixteen million Americans were eligible to vote for the President of the United States but only 48 percent of these eligible voters cast a ballot. The record must stand as a national disgrace. In Italy, 92 percent of eligible Italians voted; 87 percent of West German eligibles voted and 80 percent of eligible Canadians voted.

George Gallup who makes it his business to measure public interest and public sentiment, reports that in June 1939 only 17 percent of the people favored voting to begin at age 18. In 1943 it was 39 percent, in 1951 it was 47 percent, in 1953 it was 63 percent, in 1965, 57 percent and today it is 64 percent. If these estimates hold good, President Johnson should meet with success in fixing the age for National elections at 18 years. Let us hope.

In this day and age when it appears that college students have the right of way for any action they choose, it comes as a tremendous relief that a Supreme Court Associate Justice would declare in all seriousness, "The advocacy of civil rights does not require or justify the abandonment of all decency."

This straight from the shoulder and curt observation by Mr. Justice Fortas, an honored member of the U.S. Supreme Court, has thrilled millions. The justices of this distinguished court rarely speak out boldly on issues which eventually might be submitted to them for interpretation or other official consideration. Furthermore, Mr. Justice Fortas has been and is a truly consistent libertarian so we can hardly charge him with being prejudiced.

Mr. Justice Fortas reported he had been taken to task by university professors with impressive credentials, for speaking against law violations as a means of protest. He said, "It is deeply disturbing to me that there has been a measure of acceptance of the teaching of this kind of lawlessness by some young faculty members."

This same Associate Justice Fortas of the United States Supreme Court observed also: "If the civil disobedience takes the form of disrupting traffic, preventing people from going to their offices, their buildings—perhaps even their homes—that is a violation of law. it should not be called civil disobedience. It is simply law breaking on a large scale. The fact that it is a protest does not rescue it from such a classification."

It is a fact that many college students assert that they are not obliged to obey or observe laws, rules, and regulations with which they disagree. Some students have the strong conviction that higher education is privilege and theirs by right. But it is true that a huge majority of college and university students in Colorado do make a most serious effort to apply themselves to their studies.

The University of Colorado and most of the schools of higher learning in Colorado belong to the State and its citizens and are financed by the State. The students come and go at their convenience. Enrollment is not a matter of an inalienable right. Out of a total of 16,000 University of Colorado students less than 300 are "troublemakers" in any degree. They realize that the State of Colorado is under no obligation to keep any student, or students, at the University who are not there for the purpose of studying, researching or learning. Students who do not desire to devote themselves to legitimate educational pursuits are not invited to attend the schools of higher learning in Colorado. The student is and should be a free agent but if he does attend college here he must comply with all of the rules. He cannot have his cake and eat it too; nor can the tail wag the dog.

Some demonstrators are not vicious, and some are. It is true as charged officially last week that the conduct of some college students has been outrageous and irresponsible but all student demonstrators are not crackpots or troublemakers. When they are reasonable they should be reasoned with and listened to with patience and respect. Students are entitled to their private opinion if they keep it a private opinion. When they act like a spoiled brat they should be paddled.

For many decades the United States of America has been the world leader but lately she has not had the breaks, everything has been rough. These questions seem odd but are being asked by me in all seriousness: Is the United States able to govern itself? Is American Democracy in mortal danger? Fifty years ago William Jones the historian said, "Democracy is on trial and no one knows how long it will stand the ordeal." Such questions should be uppermost in our minds today.

Freedom will never be gained or retained without sacrifice, dedication and solid integrity. To revere historic deeds or laud the ideals which have made democracy great are not enough. A never-ending battle for democratic integrity in high places and low must be waged. If integrity in the United States has been questionable, as has been hinted, the United States stands on very dangerous grounds. Can a politically bankrupt and dishonest democracy survive? None ever has. It has been said that the Vietnam war lacks integrity. If true, we shall and ought to lose this war. I do not believe that it is true. But the world in some important areas accustomed to relying on the United States is beginning to fret. Riots, lawlessness, bitter strife, economic chaos, the monetary crisis and rabid inflation appear to be getting out of hand.

The most spectacular factor in the lives and progress of mankind is religion. The spiritual blessing it bestows on humanity is a beautiful concept. It is difficult to feature the smooth and faultless operation of the universe without acknowledging and paying tribute to the guidance and the Love of God.

Nevertheless, private citizens do have responsibilities which it is their duty to support vigorously. The most vital of these burdens is Government. Generous nature has made it possible for each and every human being on this planet to have sufficient food and shelter. That is the responsibility of government to its citizens. Yet human beings die from starvation on everyone of the earth's continents. That happens because some place along the line government has not been adequate.

Unless man enjoys responsible government he will be more or less helpless in a modern world. Under an adequate government every human being will be able to provide for his creature needs. That is the test of good government. How inadequate food supplies follow the adequate and inadequate government operation, is demonstrated clearly by reviewing the economic situation of the United States of America and Brazil of South America.

These two large countries are equal in area. Brazil has much of the best of it when it comes to national resources and salubrious climate. But the United States supplies all her own needs and obligations. In addition she provides many billions of dollars in loans and huge quantities of supplies to the rest of the world including Brazil. Our goal must continue to be the Good Neighbor Policy coupled with International Honesty, understanding and patience.

In Hubert Humphrey's first day of campaigning for the Presidency, he pleaded for a reduction of US forces in Europe in addition to Vietnam. It is to the advantage of the enemy to compel the United States to keep a large military force in Europe in addition to doing most of the fighting in Asia. We should oppose such a stupid policy.

The United States cannot and must not attempt to police the world. Such a policy would be disastrous to the peace of the world and to the United States. I deem it a tremendous privilege and honor to be a devoted citizen of a capitalistic democracy. I am completely convinced that under such a government mankind will prosper, advance, and develop to the highest level of equity, justice, and freedom.

Furthermore, due to its basic deceptive and and tyrannical nature, I am bitterly and violently opposed to Communism which is presently operating in many of the heavily populated back regions and areas of the earth. But I do not conclude that the United States should regard that Communism is or ought to be a standing invitation to go to war.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONWIDE SYSTEM OF TRAILS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 827.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 827) to establish a nationwide system of trails, and for other purposes, which was, strike out after all the enacting clause, and insert:

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "National Trails System Act".

STATEMENT OF POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) In order to provide for the ever-increasing outdoor recreation needs of an expanding population and in order to promote public access to, travel within, and enjoyment and appreciation of the open-air, outdoor areas of the Nation, trails should be established (i) primarily, near the urban areas of the Nation, and (ii) secondarily, within established scenic areas more remotely located.

(b) The purpose of this Act is to provide the means for attaining these objectives by instituting a national system of recreation and scenic trails, by designating the Appalachian Trail as the initial component of that system, and by prescribing the methods by which, and standards according to which, additional components may be added to the system.

NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM

SEC. 3. The national system of trails shall be composed of—

(a) National recreation trails, established as provided in section 4 of this Act, which will provide a variety of outdoor recreation uses in or reasonably accessible to urban areas.

(b) National scenic trails, established as provided in section 5 of this Act, which will be extended trails so located as to provide for maximum outdoor recreation potential and for the conservation and enjoyment of the nationally significant scenic, historic, natural, or cultural qualities of the areas through which such trails may pass.

(c) Connecting or side trails, established as provided in section 6 of this Act, which will provide additional points of public access to national recreation or national scenic trails or which will provide connections between such trails.

The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with appropriate governmental agencies and public and private organizations, shall establish a uniform marker for the national trails system.

NATIONAL RECREATION TRAILS

SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary of the Interior, or the Secretary of Agriculture where lands administered by him are involved, may establish and designate national recreation trails, with the consent of the Federal agency, State, or political subdivision having jurisdiction over the lands involved, upon finding that—

(i) such trails are reasonably accessible to urban areas, and

(ii) such trails meet the criteria established in this Act and such supplementary criteria as he may prescribe.

(b) As provided in this section, trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture or in other federally administered areas may be established and designated as "National Recreation Trails" by the appropriate Secretary and, when no Federal land acquisition is involved—

(i) trails in or reasonably accessible to urban areas may be designated as "National Recreation Trails" by the Secretary of the Interior with the consent of the States, their political subdivisions, or other appropriate administering agencies, and

(ii) trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas owned or administered by States may be designated as "National Recreation Trails" by the Secretary of the Interior with the consent of the State.

NATIONAL SCENIC TRAILS

SEC. 5. (a) National scenic trails shall be authorized and designated only by Act of Congress.

(1) The Appalachian Trail, a trail of some two thousand miles, extending generally along the Appalachian Mountains from Mount Katahdin, Maine, to Springer Mountain, Georgia, is hereby established as the initial national scenic trail. Insofar as practicable, the right-of-way for such trail shall comprise the trail depicted on the maps identified as "Nationwide System of Trails, Proposed Appalachian Trail, NST-AT-100-May 1967", which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Dicector of the National Park Service. Where practicable, such rights-of-way shall include lands protected for it under agreements in effect as of the date of enactment of this Act, to which Federal agencies and States were parties. The Appalachian Trail shall be administered primarily as a footpath by the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Secretary of Agriculture.

(2) The Secretary of the Interior may establish an advisory council for the Appalachian National Scenic Trail. The Secretary shall consult with such council from time to time with respect to matters relating to the trail, including the selection of rights-of-way, standards of the erection and maintenance of markers along the trail, and the administration of the trail. The members of such advisory council, which shall not exceed thirty-five in number, shall serve without compensation or expense to the Federal Government for a term of five years and shall be appointed by the Secretary as follows:

(i) A member appointed to represent each Federal department or independent agency administering lands through which the trail route passes and each appointee shall be the person designated by the head of such department or agency;

(ii) A member appointed to represent each State through which the trail passes and such appointments shall be made from recommendations of the Government of such States;

(iii) One or more members appointed to represent private organizations, including landowners and land users, that, in the opinion of the Secretary, have an established and recognized interest in the trail and such appointments shall be made from recommendations of the heads of such organizations; *Provided*, That the Appalachian Trail Conference shall be represented by a sufficient number of persons to represent the various sections of the country through which the trail passes; and

(iv) The Secretary shall designate one member to be chairman and shall fill vacancies in the same manner as the original appointment.

(3) In all other respects, the Appalachian National Scenic Trail shall be administered in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(b) The Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture where lands administered by him are involved, shall make such additional studies as are herein or may hereafter be authorized by the Congress for the purpose of determining the feasibility and desirability of designating other trails as national scenic trails. Such studies shall be made in consultation with the heads of other Federal agencies administering lands through which such additional proposed trails would pass and in cooperation with interested interstate, State, and local governmental agencies, public and private organizations, and landowners and land users concerned. When completed, such studies shall be the basis of appropriate proposals for additional national scenic trails which shall be submitted from time to time to the President and to the Congress. Such proposals shall be accompanied by a report, which shall be printed as a House or Senate document, showing among other things—

(1) the proposed route of such trail (including maps and illustrations);

(2) the areas adjacent to such trails, to be utilized for scenic, historic, natural, cultural, or developmental, purposes;

(3) the characteristics which, in the judgment of the appropriate Secretary, make the proposed trail worthy of designation as a national scenic trail;

(4) the current status of land ownership and current and potential use along the designated route;

(5) the estimated cost of acquisition of lands or interest in lands, if any;

(6) the plans for developing and maintaining the trail and the cost thereof;

(7) the proposed Federal administering agency (which, in the case of a national scenic trail wholly or substantially within a national forest, shall be the Department of Agriculture);

(8) the extent to which a State or its political subdivisions and public and private organizations might reasonably be expected to participate in acquiring the necessary lands and in the administration thereof; and

(9) the relative uses of the lands involved, including: the number of anticipated visitor-days for the entire length of, as well as for segments of, such trail; the number of

months which such trail, or segments thereof, will be open for recreation purposes; the economic and social benefits which might accrue from alternate land uses; and the estimated man-years of civilian employment and expenditures expected for the purposes of maintenance, supervision, and regulation of such trail.

(c) The following routes shall be studied in accordance with the objectives outlined in subsection (b) of this section:

(1) Continental Divide Trail, a three-thousand-one-hundred-mile trail extending from near the Mexican border in southwestern New Mexico northward generally along the Continental Divide to the Canadian border in Glacier National Park.

(2) Pacific Crest Trail, a two-thousand-three-hundred-and-fifty-mile trail extending from the Mexican-California border northward generally along the mountain ranges of the west coast States to the Canadian-Washington border near Lake Ross.

(3) Potomac Heritage Trail, an eight-hundred-and-twenty-five-mile trail extending generally from the mouth of the Potomac River to its sources in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, including the one-hundred-and-seventy-mile Chesapeake and Ohio Canal towpath.

(4) Old Cattle Trails of the Southwest from the vicinity of San Antonio, Texas, approximately eight hundred miles through Oklahoma via Baxter Springs and Chetopa, Kansas, to Fort Scott, Kansas, including the Chisholm Trail, from the vicinity of San Antonio or Cuero, Texas, approximately eight hundred miles north through Oklahoma to Abilene, Kansas.

(5) Lewis and Clark Trail, from Wood River, Illinois, to the Pacific Ocean in Oregon, following both the outbound and inbound routes of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

(6) Natchez Trace, from Nashville, Tennessee, approximately six hundred miles to Natchez, Mississippi.

(7) North Country Trail, from the Appalachian Trail in Vermont, approximately three thousand two hundred miles through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, to the Lewis and Clark Trail in North Dakota.

(8) Kittanning Trail, from the village of Frankstown through Kittanning to Kittanning, Pennsylvania.

(9) Oregon Trail, from Independence, Missouri, approximately two thousand miles to near Fort Vancouver, Washington.

(10) Santa Fe Trail, from Independence, Missouri, approximately eight hundred miles to Santa Fe, New Mexico.

(11) Long Trail, extending two hundred and fifty-five miles from the Massachusetts border northward through Vermont to the Canadian border.

(12) Mormon Trail, extending from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Salt Lake City, Utah, through the States of Iowa, Nebraska, and Wyoming.

(13) Gold Rush Trails in Alaska.

(14) Mormon Battalion Trail, extending two thousand miles from Mount Pisgah, Iowa, through Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona to Los Angeles, California.

CONNECTING AND SIDE TRAILS

SEC. 6. Connecting or side trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior or Secretary of Agriculture may be established, designated, and marked as components of a national recreation or national scenic trail. When no Federal land acquisition is involved, connecting or side trails may be located across lands administered by interstate, State, or local governmental agencies with their consent: *Provided*, That Such trails provide additional points of public access to national recreation or scenic trails.

ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

SEC. 7. (a) Pursuant to section 5(a), the Secretary of the Interior shall select the right-of-way for the Appalachian National Scenic Trail and shall publish notice thereof in the Federal Register, together with appropriate maps and descriptions: *Provided*, That in selecting the rights-of-way full consideration shall be given to minimizing the adverse effects upon the adjacent landowner and his operation. The location and width of such rights-of-way across Federal lands under the jurisdiction of another Federal agency shall be by agreement between the head of that agency and the appropriate Secretary. In selecting rights-of-way for trail purposes, the Secretary shall obtain the advice and assistance of the States, local governments, private organizations, and landowners and land users concerned.

(b) After publication of notice in the Federal Register, together with appropriate maps and descriptions, the Secretary charged with the administration of a national scenic trail may relocate segments of a national scenic trail right-of-way, with the concurrence of the head of the Federal agency having jurisdiction over the lands involved, upon a determination that: (i) such a relocation is necessary to preserve the purposes for which the trail was established, or (ii) the relocation is necessary to promote a sound land management program in accordance with established multiple-use principles: *Provided*, That a substantial relocation of the rights-of-way for such trail shall be by Act of Congress.

(c) National scenic trails may contain campsites, shelters, and related-public-use facilities. Other uses along the trail, which will not substantially interfere with the nature and purposes of the trail, may be permitted by the Secretary charged with the administration of the trail. Reasonable efforts shall be made to provide sufficient access opportunities to such trails and, to the extent practicable, efforts shall be made to avoid activities incompatible with the purposes for which such trails were established. The use of motorized vehicles by the general public along any national scenic trail shall be prohibited and nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the use of motorized vehicles within the natural and historical areas of the national park system, the national wildlife refuge system, the national wilderness preservation system where they are presently prohibited or on other Federal lands where trails are designated as being closed to such use by the appropriate Secretary: *Provided*, That the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail shall establish regulations which shall authorize the use of motorized vehicles when, in his judgment, such vehicles are necessary to meet emergencies or to enable adjacent landowners or land users to have reasonable access to their lands or timber rights: *Provided further*, That private lands included in the national recreation or scenic trails by cooperative agreement of a landowner shall not preclude such owner from using motorized vehicles on or across such trails or adjacent lands from time to time in accordance with regulations to be established by the appropriate Secretary. Except to the extent otherwise provided by law, the Federal laws and regulations applicable to Federal lands or areas included in any national recreation or scenic trail shall continue to apply. The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with appropriate governmental agencies and public and private organizations, shall establish a uniform marker, including thereon an appropriate and distinctive symbol for each national recreation and scenic trail. Where the trails cross lands administered by Federal agencies such markers shall be erected at appropriate points along the trails and maintained by the Federal agency administering the trail in accordance with standards established by the appropriate Secretary and where the trails cross non-Federal lands, in accordance with written cooperative agreements, the appropriate Secretary shall provide such uniform markers to cooperating agencies and shall require such agencies to erect and maintain them in accordance with the standards established.

(d) Within the exterior boundaries of areas under their administration that are included in the right-of-way selected for a national recreation or scenic trail, the heads of Federal agencies may use lands for trail purposes and may acquire lands or interests in lands by written cooperative agreement, donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or exchange: *Provided*, That not more than twenty-five acres in any one mile may be acquired without the consent of the owner.

(e) Where the lands included in a national scenic trail right-of-way are outside of the exterior boundaries of federally administered areas, the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail shall encourage the States or local governments involved (1) to enter into written cooperative agreements with landowners, private organizations, and individuals to provide the necessary trail right-of-way, or (2) to acquire such lands or interests therein to be utilized as segments of the national scenic trail: *Provided*, That if the State or local governments fail to enter into such written cooperative agreements or to acquire such lands or interests therein within two years after notice of the selection of the right-of-way is published, the appropriate Secretary may (i) enter into such agreements with landowners, States, local governments, private organizations, and individuals for the use of lands for trail purposes, or (ii) acquire private lands or interests therein by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or exchange in accordance with the provisions of subsection (g) of this section. The lands involved in such rights-of-way should be acquired in fee, if other methods of public control are not sufficient to assure their use for the purpose for which they are acquired: *Provided*, That if the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail permanently relocates the right-of-way and disposes of all title or interest in the land, the original owner, or his heirs or assigns, shall be offered, by notice given at the former owner's last known address, the right of first refusal at the fair market price.

(f) The Secretary of the Interior, in the exercise of his exchange authority, may accept title to any non-Federal property within the right-of-way and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction which is located in the State wherein such property is located and which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal. The values of the properties so exchanged either shall be approximately equal, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require. The Secretary of Agriculture, in the exercise of his exchange authority, may utilize authorities and procedures available to him in connection with exchanges of national forest lands.

(g) The appropriate Secretary may utilize condemnation proceedings without the consent of the owner to acquire private lands or interests therein pursuant to this section only in cases where, in his judgment, all reasonable efforts to acquire such lands or interests therein by negotiation have failed, and in such cases he shall acquire only such title as, in his judgment, is reasonably necessary to provide passage across such lands: *Provided*, That condemnation proceedings may not be utilized to acquire fee title or lesser interests to more than twenty-five acres in any one mile and when used such authority shall be limited to the most direct or practicable connecting trail right-of-way.

Money appropriated for Federal purposes from the land and water conservation fund shall, without prejudice to appropriations from other sources, be available to Federal departments for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands for the purposes of this Act.

(h) The Secretary charged with the administration of a national recreation or scenic trail shall provide for the development and maintenance of such trails within federally administered areas and shall cooperate with and encourage the States to operate, develop, and maintain portions of such trails which are located outside the boundaries of federally administered areas. When deemed to be in the public interest, such Secretary may enter written cooperative agreements with the States or their political subdivisions, landowners, private organizations, or individuals to operate, develop, and maintain any portion of a national scenic trail either within or outside a federally administered area.

(i) The appropriate Secretary, with the concurrence of the heads of any other Federal agencies administering lands through which a national recreation or scenic trail passes, and after consultation with the States, local governments, and organizations concerned, may issue regulations, which may be revised from time to time, governing the use, protection, management, development, and administration of trails of the national trails system. In order to maintain good conduct on and along the trails located within federally administered areas and to provide for the proper government and protection of such trails, the Secretary of Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall prescribe and publish such uniform regulations as they deem necessary and any person who violates such regulations shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and may be punished by a fine of not more than $500, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

STATE AND METROPOLITAN AREA TRAILS

Sec. 8. (a) The Secretary of the Interior is directed to encourage States to consider, in their comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation plans and proposals for financial assistance for State and local projects submitted pursuant to the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, needs and opportunities for establishing park, forest, and other recreation trails on lands owned or administered by States, and recreation trails on lands in or near urban areas. He is further directed, in accordance with the authority contained in the Act of May 28, 1963 (77 Stat. 49), to encourage States, political subdivisions, and private interests, including nonprofit organizations, to establish such trails.

(b) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is directed, in administering the program of comprehensive urban planning and assistance under section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, to encourage the planning of recreation trails in connection with the recreation and transportation planning for metropolitan and other urban areas. He is further directed, in administering the urban open-space program under title VII of the Housing Act of 1961, to encourage such recreation trails.

(c) The Secretary of Agriculture is directed, in accordance with authority vested in him, to encourage States and local agencies and private interests to establish such trails.

(d) Such trails may be designated and suitably marked as parts of the nationwide system of trails by the States, their political subdivisions, or other appropriate administering agencies with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

RIGHTS-OF-WAY AND OTHER PROPERTIES

Sec. 9. (a) The Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture, as the case may be, may grant easements and rights-of-way, upon, over, under, across, or along any component of the national trails system in accordance with the laws applicable to the national park system and the national forest system, respectively: *Provided*, That any conditions contained in such easements and rights-of-way shall be related to the policy and purpose of this Act and shall not be based upon the Department of Interior or Department of Agriculture regulations relating to granting rights-of-way for power transmission lines issued March 23, 1963 (28 F.R. 2903, 2905; 43 C.F.R. 2234.4, 36 C.F.R. 251.52).

(b) The Department of Defense, the Department of Transportation, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and other Federal agencies having jurisdiction or control over or information concerning the use, abandonment, or disposition of roadways, utility rights-of-way, or other properties which may be suitable for the purpose of improving or expanding the national trails system shall cooperate with the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture in order to assure, to the extent practicable, that any such properties having values suitable for trail purposes may be made available for such use.

AUTHORIZING APPROPRIATIONS

Sec. 10. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act, but not more than $5,000,000 shall be appropriated for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands and not more than $1,000,000 shall be appropriated for development.

And, amend the title so as to read: "An act to establish a national trails system, and for other purposes."

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I move that the Senate disagree with the amendment of the House and request a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. Jackson, Mr. Moss, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Kuchel, and Mr. Allott conferees on the part of the Senate.

THE WAVE OF CRIMINAL OUTBREAKS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the excitement of the approaching political conventions and the heavy press of prerecess business seems to have distracted our attention from an ominous current of events that is sweeping the country. I refer to the wave of criminal outbreaks simultaneously appearing in many of our major cities. We are engulfed in riots, looting, arson, and deliberate attacks on courageous policemen. Yet the reports hardly make any impression on us anymore. We read them with the same passing interest as we read the weather reports.

I have in my hand here two pages from just 2 days running in the Washington Post. On Tuesday, July 30, grouped together on a single page, we have news accounts on violence in Cleveland, Grand Rapids, Wheeling, and Gary. On Wednesday, July 31, we have Peoria, Goldsboro, Seattle, and Gary again. Our local police are bearing the brunt of this action. Three policemen were killed in Cleveland. Ten policemen were wounded in Peoria. Four policemen were wounded in Seattle. Sniper fire shattered a police windshield in Gary. Morale has practically collapsed on the Cleveland force, and police in Shreveport are talking about a national 2-day walkout to underscore the lack of support they are getting.

Mr. President, we ought to read these articles carefully, because they suggest two alarming trends. The first is that there appears to be a national crisis brewing in the police departments of this Nation. Unless the police are backed up strongly by the leaders in their communities, we may be confronted with a collapse of police protection. Many citizens are already convinced that they will be denied proper protection during an emergency. In fact, many victims of riots have already stated that their persons and property did not get adequate protection. Many persons have been ruined because the authorities allowed criminals of every description to rampage through their neighborhoods. But the approaching crisis in police morale, and its consequences for police effectiveness, could bring us face to face with anarchy in some of our major population centers.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield?

Mr. THURMOND. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I am happy to say that yesterday we passed a bill to give a $50 benefit to any young serviceman who comes back from Vietnam and is willing to serve in the ghetto areas to help protect law and order. We are particularly wanting some of those fine Negro boys who have developed into good military policemen, who will be willing to sign up as policemen in order to protect the flower of womanhood, the young and the old in the ghetto areas.

I would hope that in the course of the Senator's eloquent remarks, he would recognize the fact that Congress is really—particularly the Senate—trying to recognize these fine young men who take regular baths, shave their faces, and comb their hair, who believe in America, who have fought for it and even reenlisted to fight again for it. I know that the Senator from South Carolina, as a general officer of the U.S. Army in private life, will applaud these courageous young men who would protect the young and the old, on the streets, or wherever they may be.

The distinguished Senator is speaking for the restoration of law and order. I applaud him for that but I would also hope that he would say that we have done some things, that we have not been completely negative in this matter.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I wish to express my appreciation to the distinguished Senator from Louisiana for his pertinent remarks on this subject. I am directing no criticism at Congress.

If I were to point my finger at any one agency of Government as to the breakdown of law and order in this country, it would be the Supreme Court. There is no question that their decisions have turned loose criminals to prey upon society. Case after case can be cited to prove that.

If I were to point my finger next, it would be at the executive branch, especially the example it set right here in

Washington in not enforcing the law when the riots occurred in April after the death of Martin Luther King.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I have made many speeches in my State, since all this occurred, and I would say to the distinguished Senator from South Carolina that the one thing that brings everyone to their feet is when one discusses the recent decisions of the Supreme Court, or the fact that the man who would protect a criminal against society should not be promoted.

If any Senator does not know that, he should go back home and meet his hometown folks. We can talk about 50 subjects the best we know how on any one of them, but just talk about how crime has increased in this country by 400 percent in 21 years, and the fact that the people on the Supreme Court had a major part to do with it, explain how the guy who was a patrolman 21 years ago is still a policeman but the handcuffs have been taken off the criminal and placed on that policeman, and that will bring the people to their feet in a sense of outrage. That kind of thing is beyond description.

The people understand it. The patrolmen understand it. That is one thing the people understand. If we want to bring the people to their feet cheering lustily, just say that we will work to take those handcuffs off the policeman and put them back on the criminal. We will find the people will support us on that.

Mr. President, if anyone wants to support the kind of people who go along with the current permissiveness, who allow all sorts of corruption, immorality, murder, rape, and armed robbery, seem to think that they should protect those people who commit those crimes under various arguments that they were to be protected in the Bill of Rights, I would say to the Senator that they will find great difficulty in obtaining support.

If anyone finds himself with an opponent trying to get elected and he does not think he can make it, I would suggest to anyone who wants to advocate that kind of permissiveness, that he try it. In my judgment, it will change a Democrat into a Republican, and a Republican into a Democrat, if he advocates that kind of thing.

I applaud the Senator from South Carolina for his courageous devotion to the old-time, basic honor of our country.

People are sick and tired of this thing, of those who could not raise a crowd in their own right but shout down the other man. They are sick and tired of it. If I do say so, with all due respect, it is a shocking thing in this Nation to see a third party arise where a man simply says, "If you get in front of my automobile, that is the last automobile you are going to lie down in front of."

The people are sick and tired of all this permissiveness, of mischief, of anarchy, of lawlessness and dishonor. Especially the permissiveness of someone flying a Vietcong flag and to advocate victory of the enemy over the boys who have been drafted, many of them against their will, and sent over to fight for their country in Vietnam.

Let me say to the Senate today, that STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, has never engaged in that kind of permissiveness. He has advocated the old-fashioned kind of honor which, in my part of the country, is the only kind of honor we ever knew—love of country, love of those we were raised among, and the devotion to stay by their side.

I applaud the Senator for speaking out in favor of law and order.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I wish to thank the distinguished Senator from Louisiana for his kind remarks. I thoroughly agree with him that the people of this Nation have become outraged at the lawlessness which has been going on. In my judgment, they are going to rise up in resentment. They will support candidates who are willing to stand up and say that they stand for law and order, that they will stand by the standards which made this land the greatest country in the world.

No country can be called civilized where there is a breakdown in law and order. We are fast becoming uncivilized in this country today.

Think of it—the richest Nation on the face of the earth has more crime than any other country in the world.

This enlightened country, with more colleges and universities, more churches, more opportunity for its people than any other country in the world, has more crime than any other country. Such a situation is completely inexcusable.

I believe that our national leadership must set the example in this matter.

Once more, I thank the distinguished Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It was my privilege last night to attend a dinner for a dear friend, the Vice President of the United States, HUBERT HUMPHREY.

Someone said to me, "Does this mean that you are for HUBERT HUMPHREY for President?"

I replied, "I am in favor of HUBERT HUMPHREY getting the Democratic nomination."

Now, when I went to that meeting there were a bunch of bearded beatniks across the street. Some of those filthy characters looked as though they had not had a bath in their lifetime. Some of them were dragging filthy women around with them. If I had seen my daughter in that crowd, I would have dragged her off into a private place and given her a good spanking—which my wife has not permitted me to administer to my daughters for a number of years. I must say my wife was right, because those young people have done very well. But I did not see anyone like my daughters in that crowd, though I must admit that I did see a few young women who might have taken a bath a few times in the past few years. "Clean with GENE," they say.

Those people were fighting against the right of someone to say his piece and to be heard. People like that ought to be in jail—at least until they take a bath—and they ought to be spanked as one would spank a child. These were overgrown children. The fact that they have a right to grow hair on their faces does not mean they are mature.

I commend the Senator from South Carolina, a courageous man, for standing up and speaking out against things like that.

May I say that I had never seen a pornographic film before the Senator made the point. It is amazing that any man would defend the right to send filthy films and literature to someone's home and display that kind of thing, where anybody could come in and see it. I have never before seen things like that. We said, "Let us just take a look and see what Judge Fortas is trying to do." And when I saw it, I said, "I am not going back. I have seen one Fortas film—I have seen enough." The American people have the right to defend themselves against that kind of thing.

I applaud the Senator from South Carolina for stating that he simply does not go along with that kind of mischief.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I wish to thank the distinguished Senator from Louisiana for the stand he has taken on this matter, which is of great importance to our Nation.

The second alarming trend is the coincidence of these outbreaks of criminal anarchy. The adjutant general of Ohio's National Guard, Sylvester Del Corso, has stated that he believes the sniping, firebombing, and attacks on civilians in Cleveland to be part of a nationwide conspiracy. It seems clear that the Cleveland attacks were planned by black nationalist groups, and that similar groups have been working for anarchy around the country. Mayor Stokes himself has said he now believes the Cleveland outbreaks were planned. Such activity is the work of criminals, whatever the motive. Not all the outbreaks reported in the press necessarily must be linked to a conspiracy, but it is certainly a reasonable hypothesis that such a conspiracy is afoot.

Mr. President, this view has been taken by one of America's distinguished newspapers, the Charleston News and Courier, of Charleston, S.C. I would like to quote from the editorial "Bitter Fruit," which appeared on July 25:

> In Cleveland, three of the dead are policemen. These men were murdered in line of duty. Their slayers are criminals. If the slayers were organized in a cause—no matter what its name or purpose—the organizers are criminals too.

I shall ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

In my judgment, Mr. President, our leaders have refused to face the facts of this situation. They fail to take precautions against the possibility of conspiracy. They deny that such a possibility could come to pass. The Kerner Commission report is but one example, which ignored the findings of the Cleveland grand jury on the earlier outbreak of anarchy in Cleveland. The U.S. Attorney General is another official who repeatedly insists that these outbreaks are isolated incidents.

Yet, it was hardly more than a year ago, in May 1967, that a sergeant from the Cleveland police force, Sgt. John J. Ungvary, appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and described the conspiracy which was being plotted in Cleveland by one Fred Ahmed Evans. His warnings were not heeded. In the violence last week in Cleveland, Fred Ahmed Evans was one of the first snipers apprehended, and the leader of the group.

Mr. President, if our Federal authorities keep assuring the Nation that there is no conspiracy, when the circumstantial evidence points the other way, our local policemen will be completely disillusioned. They know the score. They are the ones being shot at. It is interesting, to return to Cleveland for a moment, that the police had no armored vehicles with which to meet the sniper fire. According to the article in the Washington Post, they could not retrieve their fallen comrades until they borrowed armored trucks from the Brinks Co. I do not know why Cleveland did not have any armored vehicles, but the fact that they did not have them was right in line with the recommendations of the U.S. Justice Department and the Kerner Commission report.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. THURMOND. I am pleased to yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator knows as a fact, does he not, that after that courageous policeman was killed in the performance of his duties, policemen from all over the entire area, honorable, decent men—and I am not talking about the South; I am talking about the Middle West—came from all over the area to attend that man's funeral, because they felt it was a disgrace to America that that man should have been permitted to die?

At this very instance we are in the process of indicting people who fired on a criminal trying to escape justice. The Congress is in the process right now of trying to prosecute people who fired on an escaping felon. Yet these men came from outside the State to pay homage and honor to a man killed while on his post of duty, trying to put out a riot.

I will ask the Senator, Does it not seem appropriate at some point that the Government, besides dipping the flag to half-mast for Martin Luther King, ought to fly the flag at half-mast for honorable men who die trying to protect the honor of this country or policemen who die trying to protect men, women, and children so that no harm will come to them?

Mr. THURMOND. My judgment is that there was much more reason for flying the flag at half-mast for policemen killed in the line of duty or soldiers who died defending their country than there was for flying the flag for Martin Luther King who, as the Senator knows, was not an official of the Government, and who, so far as I know, had never held any official position, but upon his passing, the flag was flown at half-mast.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. May I refer to an instance in which a Senator who is defined as a Senator who tried to defend minority rights woke up one morning and found that his secretary had been brutally raped and beaten almost to death by assault. The assailant unscrewed a metal box which was supposed to be a mailbox, reached inside and opened the door. The poor little creature was inside her bedroom. He almost killed the woman and would have killed her, if necessary, to achieve his result, all within a city block of the Supreme Court.

Then, within 1 week, in the very shadow of the Supreme Court Building, an assailant tried to assault and achieve the same kind of result over a secretary of the Finance Committee.

If this Senator, who is a member of the Committee on Finance, were on the Judiciary Committee, he would likely find himself somewhat outraged about things like that, and eager to restore law and order.

I ask the Senator, if we cannot establish law and order in the Nation's Capital, why do we not move it somewhere else? Can the Senator explain to me why we must have the Nation's Capital in a place where law and order cannot be maintained?

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I do not think it is the location of the Capital that counts so much as it is the leadership in the Nation's Capital, particularly that of the President, who has been permissive in the manner in which he has been handling the affairs of the Nation.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. THURMOND. I am pleased to yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Can the Senator explain to me any possible justification for Congress failing to act to eliminate the kind of lawlessness where a female secretary is not even safe on Capitol Hill?

Mr. THURMOND. I think it is an outrage that the people of this Nation, in Washington or New York or any other city, are afraid to go out on the streets at night, and even in the daytime. In this great country, which is supposed to be the land of freedom, the land of a highly civilized people, for them to have their lives or their limbs jeopardized if they go out on the streets is completely reprehensible, and, I reiterate, I think it stems from the leadership in this Nation.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, when a fine woman of good moral character is assaulted in the very shadow of the Supreme Court Building, in the exact shadow of that building, at noontime, can the Senator explain to me any conceivable reason why the Congress and the people of the United States should not react to that kind of assault?

Mr. THURMOND. I thoroughly agree they ought to react by setting aside the Supreme Court decisions that have shackled the law-enforcement officers and have handicapped policemen in performing their duties, and that have hindered swift apprehension and sure punishment. That is what these Supreme Court decisions have done.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Can the Senator explain to me any conceivable reason—I am sure he has a very able mind—why anyone would defend a course of lawlessness under which no honorable female in this Nation is safe even in the shadow of the Capitol Building or the Supreme Court itself?

Mr. THURMOND. I agree with the Senator. But the President of the United States has not only not recommended to Congress that Congress reverse some of these decisions, but he has opposed Congress reversing the decisions which have allowed these criminals to go free on technicalities.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield further, I wish to say to the Senator from South Carolina—I have known him for many years; I voted for him before he ever came here——

Mr. THURMOND. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. That the Senator from South Carolina has never changed his views for a moment. He has never changed his course. The Senator from South Carolina has been steadfast in his views and his purpose.

What the Senator from South Carolina is advocating, may I say, is on the wrong side of the aisle from my point of view, but then again, he was on this side of the aisle for some time, and he is not saying anything different than he said when he was here. He has never spoken any differently, to my knowledge, in the entire time he has served in this body. What he has said from the Republican side of the aisle is exactly what he said from the Democratic side of the aisle. I have sat in conferences with the Senator, where he told me that his conscience was troubled, that he doubted that things were going the way they should go, and that he might have to make a major decision to depart our ranks.

May I say to the Senator that among the people whom I regard as courageous men, without deceit, without any intention to delude or mislead, simple people who would pour their hearts out and say what was wrong with this country, the Senator from South Carolina has always been numbered, because he is that kind of person.

Mr. THURMOND. I thank the Senator.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. He never has been anything other than a forthright man, who would lay his cards on the table face up and say, "This is what I think is right, and here is what I think is wrong."

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator for his kind remarks. I deeply appreciate them.

Mr. President, as a result, Cleveland could not back up its policemen, and had to withdraw the police, and police protection, from the riot area.

It is no wonder that some of our policemen and some of our citizens, have lost confidence in the ability of our leaders to govern and to keep order. The police find that they are not backed up. Local leaders fail to take the necessary steps to put down riots. Our Federal officials propose irresponsible policies. Our judiciary and the Supreme Court fail to convict criminals, and place all kinds of procedural roadblocks in the way of measured justice. Can we be surprised any longer to find that criminals are taking advantage of our weaknesses? Is it astonishing that anarchists test and probe our very will to govern ourselves? We must make ourselves a nation of law and order, or we will become a nation torn asunder.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the following articles, which I have been discussing, at the conclusion of my remarks: The editorial "Bitter Fruit," from the Charleston News and Courier, July 25, 1968; the article "Stokes Defends Police Pullout," and the related items on Grand Rapids, Wheeling, and Gary from the Washington Post, July 30, 1968; the article "Gunfire Hits 10 Policemen in Illinois Violence," and the related articles on Goldsboro, Seattle, Gary, and Shreveport, from the Washington Post, July 31, 1968, also the article "Shootings Reconstructed in Cleveland," from the New York Times, Thursday, August 1, 1968.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, July 25, 1968]

THE BITTER FRUIT

Intimations of a "Black Power" plot add ominous overtones to the murderous gunfire at Cleveland, which at this writing has claimed 10 lives. Three of the dead are policemen.

The adjutant general of Ohio's National Guard, which deployed 2,600 troopers in the Negro neighborhood, has been quoted as saying the plot is part of a nationwide conspiracy. Mayor Stokes, a Negro, has expressed belief the violence may have been planned.

Long ago reports came out of Cleveland about black rifle clubs in training for racial action. What connection those earlier activities—prior to election of Mayor Stokes—may have with the current outbreak we do not know. Election of a Negro mayor in any event has not been enough to quiet the militants. Washington, D.C., which also has a Negro mayor, underwent bloody riots in the aftermath of Martin Luther King's murder.

Mayor Stokes has promised full punishment for the guilty in Cleveland. If a Black Power conspiracy is under way, the public ought to know about it. Debate in the Congress over gun control laws seems futile in the face of such a prospect as organized anarchy.

In an address at Greenville to law enforcement officials of the Carolinas, the Attorney General of South Carolina said that the U.S. Supreme Court had "established a new bill of rights for the American criminal." He laid part of the blame for the rise of crime to court decisions. The speech, unrelated to the Cleveland outbreak, also noted fresh public interest in policemen as though they have "just been discovered."

In Cleveland, three of the dead are policemen. These men were murdered in line of duty. Their slayers are criminals. If the slayers were organized in a cause—no matter what its name or purpose—the organizers are criminals too.

Sniper fire in American cities is a despicable example of political action gone mad. Behind this political action is a story of error and agitation. The bitter fruit at Cleveland has been a long time under cultivation. The roots that bore it must be dug up.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 31, 1968]

GUNFIRE HITS 10 POLICEMEN IN ILLINOIS VIOLENCE

PEORIA, ILL., July 30.—Mayor Robert J. Lehnhausen declared a 9 p.m. curfew tonight for persons under 21 after 10 policemen and a reporter were wounded by gunfire that erupted in a predominantly Negro neighborhood.

Fire bombs were hurled at buildings and autos during the height of the disorders early today that mushroomed from a rock-throwing incident into an exchange of shotgun fire with police.

The disturbance followed the arrest of an 18-year-old pregnant Negro girl who demonstrators charge was mishandled. It ended at dawn with the arrest of 12 persons. Charges ranged from disorderly conduct to carrying concealed weapons.

Police charged that some of the rioters wore red baseball caps, identifying them as "King's Followers," a group named after the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and reportedly hired by the Peoria Office of Economic Opportunity to ease community tensions.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 31, 1968]

NORTH CAROLINA TOWN UNDERGOES THIRD NIGHT OF VIOLENCE

GOLDSBORO, N.C., July 30.—One man was shot and five buildings firebombed last night in Goldsboro's third night of sporadic racial violence.

Two abandoned houses burned to the ground. Two groceries received minor damage in the bombings, which brought to 10 the number of buildings hit by firebombs since Saturday night.

The disorders started when police attempted to arrest Ray Forbes, 24, near a nightclub. The police said a crowd of Negroes stoned them. The police later arrested Forbes, 24, and charged him with public profanity and resisting arrest. He was released under $150 bond.

[From the Washington, (D.C.) Post, July 31, 1968]

FOUR MEN WOUNDED IN SEATTLE DISORDERS

SEATTLE, July 30.—An outburst of gunfire in sporadic disturbances in the predominantly Negro Central Area here last night resulted in the wounding of two civilians and two police officers. Six persons were arrested.

A shot from a high-powered rifle penetrated the roof of a police car. Officer Don Marquart, 28, suffered wounds in the right leg and hand. His partner, Mike Tipton, suffered a nick on his left hand.

One man was taken into custody in connection with the shooting of two civilians. Reginald Mills, 20, and Isaac Pamm, 18. Both were hospitalized with shotgun wounds.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 31, 1968]

POLICE FIRE AT SNIPERS IN GARY, 64 ARRESTED

GARY, IND., July 30.—Police silenced snipers with return gunfire and arrested 64 persons with beefed-up patrols to restore order again early today in Gary.

No one was reported injured in the third straight night of disorders in this industrial city, whose population is 55 per cent Negro.

Mayor Richard G. Hatcher, 35, announced establishment of a commission of 14 Negro community leaders. He said the men would work in their respective neighborhoods and act as liaison between the citizens and city officials.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 31, 1968]

WALKOUT BY POLICE PROPOSED

SHREVEPORT, LA., July 30.—A national two-day police walkout has been proposed by police leaders embittered by what they consider lack of support in dealing with racial violence.

"When police are being shot like fish in a barrel, it's time we do something," said John Harrington of Philadelphia, national president of the 137,000-member Fraternal Order of Police.

A conference will be held in September to consider the walkout, Harrington said today while visiting Louisiana. No date or place has been set.

Delegates will include representatives of the order and of such city police groups as New York's Patrolmen's Benevolent Association and the Detroit Police Association, Harrington said.

The walkout was first proposed, he said, at a meeting of police leaders of several large cities after they attended the funeral for three Cleveland officers slain by snipers.

"They think people ought to find out what it would be like if there were no police departments," said Harrington.

"You take Cleveland," he said. "Nobody's concerned about the man lying there paralyzed with a bullet in his spine. Nobody's concerned about three officers in their graves. Nobody's concerned about their widows and orphans. What they are concerned about is the civil rights of Evans."

He referred to Fred Ahmed Evans, a black nationalist quoted by police as saying he led a group of 17 men in the attack.

Cities represented at the Cleveland meeting included New York, Boston, Detroit, Philadelphia, Birmingham, Ala., and Gary, Ind., he said.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 30, 1968]

STOKES DEFENDS POLICE PULLOUT

CLEVELAND, JULY 29.—Mayor Carl B. Stokes, a Negro, today defended his action in withdrawing all white police from the embattled East Side last week, saying they could have walked into a wholesale slaughter.

Police Chief Michael Blackwell agreed. He said white officers would "have been mowed down" by black nationalists with machine guns.

Their statements came amid complaints from police rank and file that the withdrawal was a slap in their face.

Stokes said he wanted to prevent more police from getting killed. Three white officers were slain in the first 30 minutes of a gun battle with Negro snipers last Tuesday night. Seven Negro civilians also were shot to death.

"My concern that night was that no white policeman be killed, that no confrontation would take place that would lead to wholesale continuation of the slaughter," Stokes told a news conference.

Blackwell said police should appreciate the Mayor's withdrawal order.

"They can thank their lucky stars they weren't sent in last Wednesday," Blackwell said. "They would be dead today.

"On Friday at City Hall I took a statement from a reliable informant that if white policemen had gone into Glenville (an East Side district) they would have been mowed down."

Blackwell, Safety Director Joseph McManamon, Stokes and Frank Schaefer, Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) president, met for an hour today to discuss police grievances.

A second man was charged today with first degree murder in the ambush of a police car and tow truck last Tuesday night that touched off the disorder. He was Lathan Donald, 19, confined to the prison ward of a local hospital with bullet wounds. Last week black nationalist leader Fred (Ahmed) Evans was charged with murder.

Blackwell said a police informant had seen at least one "tripod military type machine gun" and that black nationalists involved were wearing stitched ammunition belts which would be useless for any other weapon.

"I don't know where the gun is now," Blackwell said. "The danger is still present."

Schaefer said the recall order, which was met by obscenities on the police radio, "reflected on the men." He recommended to Stokes the order never be repeated.

He said the men wanted bulletproof vests and armored cars. He pointed out many officers lay wounded last Tuesday until armored vehicles obtained from Brinks, Inc., could get to them.

Describing the mood of the police force, which appeared at one time to border on open revolt, Blackwell said, "The same thing happens to soldiers when they are ambushed. They are shocked that they lost some men."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 30, 1968]

Grand Rapids Curfew Is Lifted by Romney

Grand Rapids, Mich., July 29.—Gov. George Romney lifted a curfew and state of emergency in Michigan's second largest city today when violence in the inner city tapered off into a few hit and run firebombings.

More than 200 policemen patrolled a one square mile area early Monday, strictly enforcing the dusk-to-dawn curfew. At least 16 persons were arrested.

Police reported at least 15 firebombings during the third night of unrest in the city of 205,000, about 10 per cent Negro.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 30, 1968]

Unruly West Virginia Youths Dispersed by Police

Wheeling, W. Va., July 29.—Wheeling police dispersed a gang of 50 to 60 Negro youths early today after a firebomb had been thrown through the front window of a department store.

No arrests were made by the 40 policemen called into the predominantly Negro area. Damage to the Sears Roebuck & Co. store was "extremely minor," according to a fire department spokesman.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 30, 1968]

Police Car in Gary Hit by Sniper Fire

Gary, Ind., July 29.—A police car windshield was shattered by sniper fire tonight as disorders broke out for the third straight night in Gary.

The sniper fire occurred in a predominantly Negro area southwest of the Central District where the first disorders occurred Sunday.

Police returned the sniper fire but no injuries were reported.

The firing came less than an hour after a 9 p.m. curfew was reimposed on the city.

City police said there were 20 arrests for curfew violations.

National Guardsmen were on alert at the Gary armory.

[From the New York Times, August 1, 1968]

Shootings Reconstructed in Cleveland

(By Anthony Ripley)

Cleveland, July 31.—The police, in reconstructing the shootings here eight days ago that led to 11 deaths, said today that the outbreak did not begin with the removal of an abandoned car, as they had reported earlier.

Instead, the police are convinced the shooting began when armed black nationalists fired at a police Task Force Unit car, which finally left the area on four flat tires filled with bullet holes.

The tow truck arrived a short time later. Its driver did not know there had been any shooting. He was peppered with shotgun pellets and hit in the right lower back with a bullet.

In addition, the police said, one of the men who had been listed as a suspected sniper was, instead, trying to help the police remove the body of a fatally wounded police lieutenant. The man was shot to death, the police believe, by black nationalists.

Inspector Lewis W. Coffey, head of the Task Force Unit, a special group of 60 riot-trained police, said, "in reconstructing it," it was concluded that "they [two Task Force officers on the scene] definitely were fired upon first."

He said the two men, who had been sitting in a police car in surveillance of a black nationalist headquarters on the city's East Side, were told to leave immediately when the firing broke out.

"Almost simultaneously, in comes the poor tow truck," Inspector Coffey said. The driver, attempting to hook up to an abandoned 1958 Cadillac, was shot, he said.

The reconstructed version follows:

Patrolmen Thomas R. Garrity and Thomas Horgan had been assigned, at 5 P.M. roll-call, to keep watch on the headquarters of Fred Ahmed Evans, a black nationalist figure in the city.

Another task force car, containing three men, had just left on a Code 8 call, signifying they wanted to either go to dinner or to find a rest room.

About this time, according to Capt. George Sperber, of the Tactical and Technical Unit, a group of armed Negroes walked out of Evans's headquarters.

Captain Sperber salu some of the armed men got into automobiles, with three or four heading east on a side street when shots rang out.

Patrolman Garrity and Horgan reported the shooting and were told to get out of the area as fast as they could.

With bullets flattening the tires and smashing through the car body, Inspector Coffey said, the two men dropped to the floor in the front seat and drove the disabled automobile, reaching up to steer it. They drove to a fire station one and a-half miles away, arriving unhurt.

As the firing continued and other policemen arrived, Lieut. Leroy Jones was cut down by gunfire. It was in an attempt to rescue him that James Earl Chapman, 22 years old, was killed. Patrolman Angelo Santa Maria, called to the scene asked for help to rescue Lieutenant Jones.

He said Mr. Chapman, who lived in the area, had volunteered his car. The two man, attempting to use the vehicle as a shield, drove close to where the lieutenant lay.

The patrolman got out of the car and dropped immediately with a bullet in his back. Mr. Chapman, according to the police, got out and ran. He was hit with a single bullet in the temple and fell in the street.

The police had thought Mr. Chapman was either a looter or one of the black nationalists in their first reports of the gun battle.

However, some doubt was later cast by the autopsy report that said he had been dressed in a business suit, vest, white shirt and tie, while the black nationalists wore African or sports garb, with bandoleers around their waists and chests.

The police are continuing to study reports and conflicting bits of evidence and are still convinced that a number of armed black nationalists may have escaped.

Seven persons died and more than 15 were wounded by gunfire close to the same scene. Among the victims killed were three policemen, three black nationalists, and Mr. Chapman. Three more Negroes were shot to death in the hours following the outbreak.

An 11th man, a Negro folk singer Tedd Browne, was shot to death in suburban Cleveland Heights last Friday night while stopped for a traffic light.

NATURALIZATION OF PERSONS WHO HAVE SERVED IN COMBAT AREAS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 15147.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15147) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide for the naturalization of persons who have served in combat areas in active-duty service in the Armed Forces of the United States, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and agree to the request of the House for a conference, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. Eastland, Mr. McClellan, and Mr. Dirksen conferees on the part of the Senate.

THE ANNOUNCED GENERAL PRICE INCREASES OF STEEL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I would like to read into the Record a letter which I received this aftenoon from the President of the United States. It reads:

The White House,
Washington, August 1, 1968.

Hon. Mike Mansfield,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mike: As you know, two of the Nation's largest steel producers have announced general price increases of about five percent. This represents the largest single price increase in the steel industry since 1958. My economic advisers consider it the largest inflationary price increase for the nation in this decade.

I believe it is my duty to inform the Congress of the dire consequences which would result if these increases are allowed to stand.

The first is a clear and immediate threat to our efforts to restore price stability.

The second is the added danger to our balance of payments.

Just six weeks ago, the Congress enacted a tax and expenditure reduction bill. Nobody likes to pay more taxes. Nobody likes belt-tightening in needed Government services. But the health of our economy demanded strong fiscal medicine.

In signing that measure, I called upon business and labor to exercise the utmost restraint in price and wage decisions.

Clearly neither Bethlehem nor Republic has heeded this appeal. If their increases are allowed to stand—and if the other major steel companies follow suit—the immediate result will be $600 million in increased costs. The ultimate cost to the American consumer will exceed $1.1 billion in higher prices, as the increase is reflected in products containing steel.

Across-the-board, inflationary price increases in steel products seriously impair our efforts to overcome the nation's balance of payments problems.

We have been making progress on this front—and the tax bill promises even greater improvement. But a five percent increase would be a clear and unnecessary setback. Higher domestic prices would invite larger imports of steel. And key exports, such as machinery and transportation equipment, would be placed at a severe competitive disadvantage.

Thus action of a single industry could injure all Americans by weakening the dollar both at home and abroad.

As I said yesterday, these price increases should not be permitted to stand.

Steel profits are up. This morning's newspapers, reporting on the price rise, noted that second quarter profits for Bethlehem were up 47 percent from the year before, and that U.S. Steel's second quarter profits were up 79 percent.

Just last May I said that, "The relative stability of steel prices has been one of the key favorable factors in our recent price record and it must be preserved."

This record is now in danger. The Congress which has acted in the national interest to help stem inflation by passing the recent tax bill, should be informed of the inflationary threat that the actions of a few pose for us all. The American people, who are now buying insurance against inflation through higher taxes, should not have another tax imposed upon them by unjustified steel price increases.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business tonight, it stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SEA GRANT AUTHORIZATION—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 13781) to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The bill clerk read the report, as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 1837)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 13781) to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 1.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same.

ALTON LENNON,
PAUL G. ROGERS,
THOMAS N. DOWNING,
CHARLES A. MOSHER,
THOMAS M. PELLY,
Managers on the Part of the House.

WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
CLAIBORNE PELL,
JACOB K. JAVITS,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this was a simple, uncomplicated conference. The House and Senate had only one area of disagreement. This had to do with the level of funding authorized for the sea-grant college program for the fiscal years 1969 and 1970. A mutually satisfactory settlement was arrived at between the two Houses, with the Senate receding to the House for fiscal 1969 and the House receding to the Senate for fiscal 1970. I move adoption of the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR-HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE APPROPRIATIONS—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 928

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, every year since the impacted areas program was initiated in 1951, eligible school districts have received almost 100 percent of their entitlement under the program. As things now stand, however, the 1967–68 year is going to be different. School districts have already received 80 percent of their entitlement. Congress had appropriated the $91 million in additional funds to bring entitlement up to 100 percent. That appropriation lapsed July 31, 1968, however, with the President saying he would release no more than $21 million and that he would release that only if Congress specified that the funds would be used exclusively for category "A" children, that is, children whose parents live and work on Federal property. Consequently, I am today offering an amendment to the Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare appropriations bill to extend the period of availability for the previously made appropriation to September 30, 1968, in the hope that some arrangement can be made for the release of the funds.

There are many practical and important considerations which make this extension necessary.

First, school districts have had full entitlement every year since 1951 and many of them had programed this money into a budget for the last school year—in other words, many of the districts have already spent money they will not now receive.

Second, the Office of Education has already overpaid some districts and these districts will have to have the overpayment subtracted from future payments. Fairfax County, Va., for example, will have subtracted from their fiscal 1969 entitlement some $800,000 or $900,000. That is a ridiculous burden to place upon any school district.

Third, education is certainly a high priority. The administration has indicated that it opposes the affected appropriation because the funds often go to the wealthy educational districts. On this point, I would, first of all note that even in the wealthiest school districts, there are often schools which need to be upgraded. Secondly, I believe, that it is as shortsighted to refuse good schools funds which have helped them become good as to refuse to upgrade schools which are lagging behind. With the many problems we must educate ourselves to solve, it is not enough just to upgrade the lagging schools, we must also maintain and even strive to improve our schools which are providing good education.

Fourth, if this type of cut has to be made, it should certainly be made prior to the school year for which it was to be used. I do not see how anyone can justify advance funding for the elementary and secondary school program and then not support the full entitlement of the impacted areas funds for the school year which has now passed.

Fifth, Congress is already firmly on record in favor of full entitlement for the program. Furthermore, it is on record in favor of full entitlement despite the spending reductions provided in the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act. It should be quite obvious by now that spending cuts are to be made elsewhere.

Sixth, the administration argument that the supplemental appropriation, because it was passed in fiscal 1969, is subject to the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act is just a bookkeeping hoax. In the accounts, the supplemental will be listed in the fiscal 1968 column.

Finally, there is some question as to the President's constitutional authority to impound funds. I understand that a Senate subcommittee will look into that matter next session.

At this time, however, I again point out that this appropriation affects every State and over 4,000 school districts. I would suggest that each Senator check to see how many school districts in his State have already spent this money in anticipation of receiving it—albeit, late as usual. I would also suggest that my colleagues check to see how many of their school districts have received "overpayments" and will have to reduce next year's budget to take care of an error on the part of the Federal Government. These two reasons—the timing of the reduction and the Federal Government's mistake—present, I believe, the main reasons why Congress should again make their feelings known on this matter and why the funds should be released to the affected school districts.

ADDITIONAL REVENUE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16361) to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PELL in the chair). The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The bill clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, I wish to make a brief explanation of this conference report. Through a combination of increased District taxes and an increased Federal payment authorization, the bill agreed on in conference provides approximately $43 million in new revenue for fiscal year 1969. This additional revenue is needed to defray the increasing operating expenses of the District government, and to enable the District to put as many additional policemen on the streets as possible during the present fiscal year.

By way of summary, title I increases the annual Federal payment authorization from $70 to $90 million. The House had approved a Federal payment authorization of $80 million, and the Senate had approved $98 million.

Title II, not before the conference because both the Senate and House bills were identical, increases the individual income tax in the District of Columbia by amending the present rate and bracket structure. The title also increases the tax rate on the taxable income of corporations and unincorporated businesses operating in the District from 5 to 6 percent. The estimated revenue increases from these sources are $8.2 million in individual income taxes and $2.9 million in business taxes.

Title III increases the District of Columbia general sales and use tax from 3 to 4 percent. The title removes the present exemption for local telephone service and for fertilizers and certain agricultural supplies. Title III provides an exemption from local sales taxes for operations of the printing clerks of the House majority and minority rooms and for sales of food, beverages, and other goods in connection with the operation of the majority and minority cloakrooms of the House. The increase in the general sales tax is expected to provide an additional $10.4 million in fiscal year 1969, and the application of the tax to telephone service is expected to provide $1.1 million in fiscal year 1969.

Title III as agreed to in conference represents a compromise between the House and Senate provisions. The House conferees receded from the House provision of a 5-percent rate on restaurant meals and alcoholic beverages in favor of the Senate-approved 4-percent rate. The Senate had provided the smaller increase because of the serious difficulties restaurants and related industries have suffered in recent months resulting from substantial declines in business.

The Senate agreed to House provisions exempting from local sales and use taxes certain printing operations and food sales conducted in the majority and minority rooms and cloakrooms of the House of Representatives, with the understanding that only services and sales to Members of Congress shall be exempt from the tax.

Title IV contains House provisions relating to the expenditure of District funds for the transportation of elementary and secondary school children. These provisions were not included in the Senate version of the bill. However, the House conferees accepted a Senate amendment modifying the House provisions to assure that there will be no interruption of existing programs for the education of children under the care, custody, or guardianship of the District government in foster homes and institutions outside the District of Columbia.

Title IV also contains a House provision prohibiting the use of District funds to further or promote demonstrations designed to influence legislative or other Government action. Here again, however, the House conferees agreed to a Senate amendment assuring that the proposed prohibition will not impair the ability of the District government to take such action as it determines necessary in such situations to protect the public health, safety, and welfare.

Title V was added to the bill by the Senate, and agreed to in the conference. It amends the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to eliminate the existing statutory prohibition against the sale on Sundays of alcoholic beverages other than light wines and beer, and to authorize the District of Columbia Council to prohibit the sale of any such beverages on days the Council determines necessary in the public interest. Title V also amends the ABC Act to permit the issuance of a license to noncommercial, nonprofit clubs if a majority of the principal officers are citizens of the United States.

Mr. President, I believe the bill—as agreed to in conference—strikes a proper balance between the obligation of the local taxpayers of the District of Columbia to bear the major portion of the expense of operating the government of the District, and the obligation of the United States to make a fair and equitable contribution for the proper maintenance and welfare of the Nation's Capital.

I move that the Senate agree to the conference report.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPONG. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. Has this been agreed to by all the conferees?

Mr. SPONG. Yes; by all conferees on both sides.

Mr. CURTIS. In the Senate?

Mr. SPONG. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 5 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, August 2, 1968, at 10 a.m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Thursday, August 1, 1968*

The House met at 11 o'clock a.m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

If any of you lacks wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally; and it will be given him.—James 1: 5.

O Thou seeking Shepherd of our striving spirits whose goodness and mercy follow us all our days, may the thoughts in our minds and the attitudes of our hearts and the words on the lips be acceptable in Thy sight as we face the tasks of this day.

Amid the shifting scenes of modern movements we pray for strength to carry our burdens, for wisdom to solve our problems, for understanding to relate ourselves affirmatively to others, and for the faith of the patriot dream—

That sees beyond the years
  Thine alabaster cities gleam,
Undimmed by human tears!
  America, America,
God shed his grace on thee,
  And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 16086. An act to amend the act of August 25, 1959 (73 Stat. 420), pertaining to the affairs of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 15263. An act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16027. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 15263) entitled "An act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes," request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MORSE, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, and Mr. AIKEN to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1166) entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety standards for the transportation of natural and other gas by pipeline, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 1534. An act to amend the Street Readjustment Act of the District of Columbia so as to authorize the District of Columbia Council to close all or part of a street, road, highway, or alley in accordance with the requirements of an approved redevelopment or urban renewal plan, without regard to the notice provisions of such act, and for other purposes.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 18706, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 18706) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. NATCHER, GIAIMO, PATTEN, PRYOR, MAHON, DAVIS of Wisconsin, MCDADE, RIEGLE, and JONAS.

CLARIFYING STATUS OF NATIONAL GUARD TECHNICIANS

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 3865) to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 3865

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "National Guard Technicians Act of 1968".

SEC. 2. Title 32, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Section 709 is amended to read as follows:

"§ 709. Technicians: employment, use, status

"(a) Under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Army or the Secretary of the Air Force, as the case may be, and subject to subsection (b) of this section persons may be employed as technicians in—

"(1) the administration and training of the National Guard; and

"(2) the maintenance and repair of supplies issued to the National Guard or the armed forces.

"(b) Except as prescribed by the Secretary concerned, a technician employed under subsection (a) shall, while so employed, be a member of the National Guard and hold the military grade specified by the Secretary concerned for that position.

"(c) The Secretary concerned shall designate the adjutants general referred to in section 314 of this title, to employ and administer the technicians authorized by this section.

"(d) A technician employed under subsection (a) is an employee of the Department of the Army or the Department of the Air Force, as the case may be, and an employee of the United States. However, a position authorized by this section is outside the competitive service if the technician employed therein is required under subsection (b) to be a member of the National Guard.

"(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of law and under regulations prescribed by the Secretary concerned—

"(1) a technician who is employed in a position in which National Guard membership is required as a condition of employment and who is separated from the National Guard or ceases to hold the military grade specified for his position by the Secretary concerned shall be promptly separated from his technician employment by the adjutant general of the jurisdiction concerned;

"(2) a technician who is employed in a position in which National Guard membership is required as a condition of employment and who fails to meet the military security standards established by the Secretary concerned for a member of a reserve component of the armed force under his jurisdiction may be separated from his employment as a technician and concurrently discharged from the National Guard by the adjutant general of the jurisdiction concerned;

"(3) a technician may, at any time, be separated from his technician employment for cause by the adjutant general of the jurisdiction concerned;

"(4) a reduction in force, removal, or an adverse action involving discharge from technician employment, suspension, furlough without pay, or reduction in rank or compensation shall be accomplished by the adjutant general of the jurisdiction concerned;

"(5) a right of appeal which may exist with respect to clause (1), (2), (3), or (4) shall not extend beyond the adjutant general of the jurisdiction concerned; and

"(6) a technician shall be notified in writing of the termination of his employment as a technician and such notification shall be given at least thirty days prior to the termination date of such employment.

"(f) Sections 2108, 3502, 7511, and 7512 of title 5, United States Code, do not apply to any person employed under this section.

"(g)(1) Notwithstanding sections 5544(a) and 6102 of title 5, United States Code, or any other provision of law, the Secretary concerned may, in the case of technicians assigned to perform operational duties at air defense sites—

"(A) prescribe the hours of duties;

"(B) fix the rates of basic compensation; and

"(C) fix the rates of additional compensation;

to reflect unusual tours of duty, irregular additional duty, and work on days that are ordinarily nonworkdays. Additional compensation under this subsection may be fixed on an annual basis and is determined as an appropriate percentage, not in excess of 12 percent, of such part of the rate of basic pay for the position as does not exceed the minimum rate of basic pay for GC–10 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

"(2) Notwithstanding sections 5544(a) and 6102 of title 5 United States Code or any other provision of law the Secretary concerned may for technicians other than those described in clause (1) of this subsection, prescribe the hours of duty for technicians. Notwithstanding sections 5542 and 5543 of title 5, United States Code, or any other provision of law, such technicians shall be granted an amount of compensatory time off from their scheduled tour of duty equal to the amount of any time spent by them in irregular or overtime work, and shall not be entitled to compensation for such work.

"(h) In no event shall the number of technicians employed under this section at any one time exceed 42,500.

(2) The analysis of chapter 7 is amended by striking out the following item:

"709. Caretakers and clerks."

and inserting in place thereof the following item:

"709. Technicians: employment, use, status."

(3) Section 715(a) is amended by striking out "caused by a person employed under section 709 of this title acting within the scope of his employment;".

SEC. 3. (a) A claim accrued under section 715 of title 32, United States Code, before the effective date of this Act by reason of the act or omission of a person employed under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, may, if otherwise allowable, be settled and paid under section 715 of title 32, United States Code.

(b) Except as provided in this Act and in the amendments made by this Act, and notwithstanding any law, rule, regulation, or decision to the contrary, the positions of persons employed under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, existing on the day before the effective date of this Act, and the persons holding those positions on that day, shall, on and after that effective date, be considered to be positions in and employees of the Department of the Army or the Department of the Air Force, as the case may be, and employees of the United States to the same extent as other positions in and employees of the Department of the Army or the Department of the Air Force. Such positions shall be outside the competitive service, if, as a condition of employment, the persons employed therein were, on the day before the effective date of this Act, required to be members of the Army National Guard or the Air National Guard.

(c) All service under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, or prior corresponding provision of law, performed before the effective date of this Act shall be included and credited in the determination of length of service for the purposes of leave, Federal employees death and disability compensation, group life and health insurance, severance pay, tenure, and status. This subsection shall apply only in the case of persons who perform service under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, on or after the effective date of this Act.

(d) Annual leave and sick leave to which a technician was entitled on the day before the conversion of his position, as provided in subsection (b) of this section, shall be credited to him in his new position.

SEC. 4. Section 2105(a) of title 5, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out "or" at the end of clause (1) (D);

(2) by adding "or" at the end of clause (1)(E); and

(3) by adding the following new subclause (F) at the end of clause (1):

"(F) the adjutants general designated by the Secretary concerned under section 709(c) of title 32, United States Code;".

SEC. 5. (a) Section 8332(b) of title 5, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of clause (4);

(2) by striking out the period at the end of clause (5) and inserting in place thereof "; and"; and

(3) by adding the following new clause:

"(6) employment under section 709 of title 32, United States Code or any prior corresponding provision of law."; and

(4) by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Service referred to in paragraph (6) is allowable only in the case of persons performing service under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, on or after the effective date of the National Guard Technicians Act of 1968."

(b) Section 8334(c) of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this subsection, the deposit with respect to a period of service referred to in section 8332(b)(6) which was performed prior to the effective date of the National Guard Technicians Act of 1968 shall be an amount equal to 85 per centum of a deposit computed in accordance with such provisions."

(c) Section 8339 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(l) In determining service for the purpose of computing an annuity under each paragraph of this section, 45 per centum of each year, or fraction thereof, of service referred to in section 8332(b)(6) which was performed prior to the effective date of the National Guard Technicians Act of 1968 shall be disregarded."

(d) Clause (4) of subsection (a) of this section and subsections (b) and (c) of this section do not apply to any person employed prior to the effective date of this Act under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, whose employment under that section was covered by subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code.

Sec. 6. (a) Notwithstanding section 709(d) of title 32, United States Code, a person who, on the date of enactment of this Act, is employed under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, and is covered by an employee retirement system of, or plan sponsored by, a State or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, may elect, not later than the effective date of this Act, not to be covered by subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, and with the consent of the State concerned or Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, to remain covered by the employee retirement system of, or plan sponsored by, that State or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Unless such an election, together with a statement of approval by the State concerned or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, is filed with the Secretary of the Army or the Secretary of the Air Force, as appropriate, on or before the effective date of this Act, the person concerned is covered by subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, as of that date.

(b) A member of the National Guard of a State or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico who was employed as a technician under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, or prior corresponding provision of law, who—

(1) was involuntarily ordered to active duty after January 1, 1968, from that employment and has not been released from that duty prior to the effective date of this Act; or

(2) is on active duty under section 265, 3015, 3033, 3496, 8033 or 8496 of title 10, United States Code, on the effective date of this Act;

and was covered by a retirement system or plan of a State or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, may, if he is reemployed within sixty days under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, make the election described in subsection (a) of this section, within thirty days following the date of his reemployment.

(c) In the case of any person who files a valid election under this section to remain covered by an employee retirement system of, or plan sponsored by, a State or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the United States may pay the amount of the employer's contributions to that system or plan that become due for periods beginning on or after the effective date of this Act. However, the payment by the United States, including any contribution that may be made by the United States toward the employer's tax imposed by section 3111 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended (26 U.S.C. 3111), may not exceed the amount which the employing agency would otherwise contribute on behalf of the person to the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund under section 8334(a) of title 5, United States Code. Notwithstanding section 8332(b) of title 5, United States Code, as amended by section 5 of this Act, the service under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, or prior corresponding provision of law, of a person who has made an election to remain covered by the employee retirement system of, or plan sponsored by, a State or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, shall not be creditable toward eligibility for or amount of annuity under subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code. A person who retires pursuant to his valid election shall not be eligible for any rights, benefits, or privileges to which retired civilian employees of the United States may be entitled.

Sec. 7. The fourth sentence of section 218(b)(5) of the Social Security Act, as amended (42 U.S.C. 418(b)(5)), is amended to read as follows: "Persons employed under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, who elected under section 6 of the National Guard Technicians Act of 1968 to remain covered by an employee retirement system of, or plan sponsored by, a State or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, shall, for the purposes of this Act, be employees of the State or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and (notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this paragraph), shall be deemed to be a separate coverage group.".

Sec. 8. (a) Except as provided in section 709(g) of title 32, United States Code, the Secretary concerned shall fix the rate of basic compensation of positions existing on the date of enactment of this Act in accordance with the General Schedule set forth in section 5332, or under the appropriate prevailing rate schedule in accordance with section 5341 of title 5, United States Code, as applicable. In fixing such rate—

(1) If the technician is receiving a rate of basic compensation which is less than the minimum rate of the appropriate grade of the General Schedule, or which is less than the minimum rate of the appropriate grade or compensation level of the appropriate prevailing rate schedule, as applicable, in which his position is placed, his basic compensation shall be increased to that minimum rate.

(2) If the technician is receiving a rate of basic compensation which is equal to a rate of the appropriate grade of the General Schedule, or which is equal to a rate of the appropriate grade or compensation level under the appropriate prevailing rate schedule, as applicable, in which his position is placed, he shall receive basic compensation at that rate of the General Schedule, or at that rate under the prevailing rate schedule, as applicable.

(3) If the technician is receiving a rate of basic compensation which is between two rates of the appropriate grade of the General Schedule, or which is between two rates of the appropriate grade or compensation level under the appropriate prevailing rate schedule, as applicable, in which his position is placed, he shall receive basic compensation at the higher of those two rates under the General Schedule or appropriate prevailing rate schedule, as applicable.

(4) If the technician is receiving a rate of basic compensation which is in excess of the maximum rate of the appropriate grade of the General Schedule, or which is in excess of the maximum rate of the appropriate grade or compensation level of the appropriate prevailing rate schedule, as applicable, in which his position is placed, he shall continue to receive basic compensation without change in rate until—

(A) he leaves that position, or

(B) he is entitled to receive basic compensation at a higher rate,

but, when any such position becomes vacant, the rate of basic compensation of any subsequent appointee thereto shall be fixed in the manner provided by applicable law and regulation.

(b) The conversion of positions and employees to appropriate grades of the General Schedule set forth in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, and the initial adjustment of rates of basic compensation of those positions and technicians, provided for by this Act, shall not be considered to be transfers or promotions within the meaning of section 5334(b) of title 5, United States Code, and the regulations issued thereunder.

(c) Each technician on the effective date of this Act whose position is converted to the General Schedule set forth in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, or to the appropriate prevailing rate schedule, as applicable, who prior to the initial adjustment of his rate of basic compensation under subsection (a) of this section, has earned, but has not been credited with, an increase in that rate, shall be granted credit for such increase before his rate of basic compensation is initially adjusted under that subsection.

(d) Each technician on the effective date of this Act whose position is converted to the General Schedule set forth in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, or to the appropriate prevailing rate schedule, as applicable, shall be granted credit, for purposes of his first step increase under the General Schedule or prevailing rate schedule, for all satisfactory service performed by him since his last increase in compensation prior to the initial adjustment of his rate of basic compensation under subsection (a) of this section.

(e) An increase in rate of basic compensation by reason of the enactment of subsection (a) of this section shall not be considered to be an equivalent increase with respect to step increases for technicians whose positions are converted to the General Schedule set forth in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, or the appropriate prevailing rate schedule under authority of this section.

Sec. 9. Title 10, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Sections 3848(c) and 3851(c) are each amended to read as follows:

"(c) Notwithstanding subsections (a) and (b) of this section, the Secretary of the Army may authorize the retention in an active status until age 60 of any officer of the Army National Guard of the United States who would otherwise be removed from an active status under this section and who—

"(1) is assigned to a headquarters or headquarters detachment of a State or territory, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, or the District of Columbia; or

"(2) is employed as a technician under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, in a position for which Army National Guard membership is prescribed by the Secretary."

(2) Sections 8848 and 8851 are each amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(c) Notwithstanding subsections (a) and (b) of this section, the Secretary of the Air Force may authorize the retention in an active status until age 60 of any officer of the Air National Guard of the United States who would otherwise be removed from an active status under this section and who is employed as a technician under section 709 of title 32, United States Code, in a position for which Air National Guard membership is prescribed by the Secretary."

Sec. 10. Regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Army and Secretary of the Air Force under this Act shall be approved by the Secretary of Defense and shall, so far as practicable, be uniform.

Sec. 11. This Act becomes effective January 1, 1969, except that no deductions or withholding from salary which result therefrom shall commence before the first day of the first pay period that begins on or after January 1, 1969.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, as Members of the House will recall, on February 20, 1967, the House passed H.R. 2, the so-called Reserve bill of rights. Included in H.R. 2 as title II was language which would have given National Guard technicians a Federal employee status and thus make them eligible for civil service retirement benefits as well as other related Federal employee fringe benefits.

Unfortunately, the Senate deleted title II in its entirety, and in the subsequent conference with the House, refused to restore title II to the bill. However, the Senate conferees assured the House conferees that the Senate Armed Services Committee would take expeditious action on the general subject matter of National Guard technicians early in 1958.

The bill S. 3865 is, therefore, the Senate substitute for title II of H.R. 2.

The Senate bill, S. 3865, is quite similar to the language originally contained in title II of H.R. 2 as passed by the House. Subcommittee No. 2 hearings held on July 30, 1968, indicated that there are two major differences between title II as passed by the House and S. 3865 as passed by the Senate. These differences are:

First. The manner in which technicians will be given credit for past service in the computation of their retirement formula; and

Second. The responsibility for control and administration of the program.

Briefly, H.R. 2 would have provided 100 percent credit for past technician service, whereas the Senate bill only authorizes 55 percent of past service credit in the retirement computation. The subcommittee concurs with the Senate action in this regard since it effects a substantial cost reduction in the program while at the same time giving appropriate weight and consideration to the fact that these technicians have heretofore been given social security credit as well as possible credit for participation in State retirement programs during previous years.

In respect to the second major difference, the language of the House bill provided that the "Secretaries concerned" would designate the Adjutants General or "other appropriate persons" to administer hiring controls and operation of the program. The Senate bill deletes the language "other appropriate persons" thereby making the Adjutants General the sole statutory agents for employment and administration of the technician program. The Senate language, therefore, eliminates what was construed as emphasis on Federal control of the program and places this control in the States.

At the present time there are approximately 42,000 technicians in the Army and Air National Guard. The Senate bill establishes a permanent statutory ceiling of 42,500 technicians for the program. Thus, the existing technician program cannot be appreciably expanded without future congressional action.

The Department of Defense, in a letter dated July 29, 1968, advised the committee that it supports the Senate bill in its entirety and recommends its enactment. However, the Department's report indicates that it would prefer elimination of the statutory ceiling of 42,500 technicians.

The departmental witness who appeared before the subcommittee, Maj. Gen. Winston P. Wilson, Chief of the National Guard Bureau, advised the subcommittee that the statutory ceiling presents no problem since existing Army and Air technician strengths as requested by the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1969 are 42,173. The witness therefore indicated that if circumstances in the future dictated a requirement for increasing technician strength, the military departments would then request such authority from the Congress.

COST

The departmental letter advises that enactment of this legislation will result in increased personnel costs for the Department of Defense amounting to $6.9 million for fiscal year 1969. This represents a 6-month cost since the effective date of the bill would be January 1, 1969. The Bureau of the Budget interposes no objection to the bill.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARDY] has outlined in broad form the major differences between the language passed by the House on this matter contained in H.R. 2, and that passed by the Senate as S. 3865.

In order to give the Members of the House a more comprehensive idea of the full scope of this bill, let me briefly outline the major provisions in the legislation. These provisions are summarized by item as follows:

First, a broadened statutory scope of the technician employment program thereby eliminating the permanent provisions of law relating to "caretakers and clerks" which have been suspended by various appropriation acts.

Second, conversion of National Guard technicians to a Federal employee status with the authority for requiring National Guard membership as a condition for civilian employment. About 95 percent of the technician force would be in this latter category. Federal status would be in the noncompetitive category for this group.

Third, conversion of technician positions to classified or wage board Federal positions.

Fourth, requirements for adjutants general to be the sole agent for employment and administration of technician program under regulations prescribed by the Secretary concerned.

Fifth, provision for final level of appeal in adjutants general for all technicians for certain adverse personnel actions.

Sixth, provision for termination of civilian employment upon loss of Guard membership, failure to meet military security standards, or separation for cause, with requirement of 30 days' notice by adjutants general prior to termination.

Seventh, provision for nonapplication of veterans preference provisions for technicians because of the military nature of the National Guard program.

Eighth, provision for compensatory time off in lieu of overtime and differential pay for technicians (other than those assigned to operational duties at air defense sites), which is the practice under the present program.

Ninth, credit for past technician service for Federal employee purposes with respect to leave, Federal employee death and injury compensation, group health and life insurance, severance pay, tenure, and status.

Tenth, credit for past technician service in full for civil service retirement eligibility purposes but with a limit of 55 percent for retirement computation purposes.

Eleventh, provision of election to remain under a State retirement system with the consent of the State in lieu of coming under Federal civil service system.

Twelfth, permissive authority to retain technician Reserve officers until age 60.

Thirteenth, provision requiring technicians to be in the program either now or in the future in order to receive credit for past technician service.

Fourteenth, an effective date of January 1, 1969, for legislation.

The need for this legislation is apparent to anyone familiar with the National Guard technician program. There are approximately 42,000 technicians who are full-time civilian employees of the National Guard. These employees have their salaries paid in full by the Federal Government and must meet all the mental and physical standards as well as professional qualifications prescribed by the military departments. About 95 percent of the technicians are required to hold concurrent National Guard membership as a condition for their civilian employment. The concept of the technician program is that the technicians will serve concurrently in three different ways: First, perform full-time civilian work in their units; second, perform military training and duty in their units; and third, be available to enter active Federal service at any time their units are called.

Despite uniformity with respect to salaries and required standards there has been no program, on a uniform national basis for a retirement and fringe benefits program for technicians. The technicians except for those in the District of Columbia, are considered State employees. About 16,000 or 40 percent are covered under Federal retirement systems which may be combined with the social security program. About 24,000 depend on social security alone for their civilian retirement coverage. It should be noted that a total of 92 percent of the technicians, however, are covered under social security which may be combined with State retirement programs.

The fringe benefit program of technicians, such as group health and group life insurance, is dependent solely on coverage which may vary from no coverage to whatever may be provided for other State employees.

In addition there is the matter of clarifying the precise legal status of the technicians to prevent conflicting court decisions regarding third party claims against the Government arising out of accidents within the scope of employment.

In view of these circumstances, enactment of this legislation has been long overdue. I am pleased to have been in a position to assist in the development and approval of this legislation by the Congress.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Vermont?

There was no objection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation to give National Guard technicians status as Federal employees, thus making them eligible for civil service retirement benefits.

I have personally introduced legislation to accomplish this recognition on three different occasions. Such recognition of the valuable services rendered by National Guard technicians is long overdue. For years, our Vermont technicians have been without status by either the State or Federal Government. They and their families deserve much better treatment.

While this bill, reported unanimously by our Armed Services Committee, does not go as far as I would like it to, the important aspect is that it does give these technicians Federal employee status. I hope that it may be approved as is, so that it may become law at its effective date on the first day of next year.

It is a step in the right direction. It is a step which is long overdue. I urge its overwhelming approval.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I support fully the unanimous consent request of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARDY] on S. 3865 to clarify the status of National Guard technicians.

I supported this proposal when it was approved by the House last year as a section of H.R. 2. I was disappointed when the other body deleted the section in order to make a further study.

S. 3865 is necessary and timely legislation, and I commend the Committee on Armed Services for using this expedited procedure to clear this measure for signature by the President.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation. For a long time, I have felt that Congress has been insensitive to the situation of the National Guard technicians. For one thing, they are not a particularly large group, so their voice has not spoken as loudly as other interest groups. They number only 40,000, 300 of which are stationed in New Hampshire.

Basically, the problem of these technicians over the years has been that they have not had an identifiable employer. Caught in limbo between the Federal and State Governments, where their pay comes from Federal funds but their orders from State officials, the National Guard technicians have been claimed by neither.

As a consequence, most of these men have no retirement benefits due to civil employment, other than social secruity and this only during the past 15 years. Neither do they have the protection of an employer-sponsored health insurance plan nor that of an employer-sponsored life insurance plan. And what is more, because they have no identifiable employer, they have no place to go to take their grievances.

Mr. Speaker, I urge enactment of this legislation because it will end a serious inequity which has existed for too long a time. I remind my colleagues that the House has already passed similar legislation, first in the autumn of 1966, and second in February of last year. The latter was contained in title II of H.R. 2. But in both cases, due to a number of considerations, neither ever found its way into the law of the land.

I have been working with the National Guard technicians on their problem for many years now, and I feel it is intolerable that Congress allow this situation to continue to exist any longer. These men have stood ready to serve or have served in World War II, Berlin, Korea, Lebanon, Europe, and Vietnam. They are the backbone of the National Guard, and it is fair to say that without them, there would be no Guard.

Congress should give them the standing and the recognition which they have earned and deserve, and I urge that the House give its unanimous approval to this legislation.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RESIGNATION FROM COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation from the House Committee on the Judiciary:

AUGUST 1, 1968.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Please accept my resignation from the House Judiciary Committee, effective immediately.

Respectfully,

JAMES C. CORMAN.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

RESIGNATION FROM COMMITTEES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation from committees:

AUGUST 1, 1968.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Please accept my resignation from the Committees on Post Office and Civil Service and Science and Astronautics.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. GREEN.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

RETIRED SERVICEMAN'S FAMILY PROTECTION PLAN

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 12323) to amend chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the retired serviceman's family protection plan, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert: "That chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code is amended as follows:

"(1) Section 1431(b) is amended to read as follows: "'(b) To provide an annuity under section 1434 of this title, a person covered by subsection (a) may elect to receive a reduced amount of the retired pay or retainer pay to which he may become entitled as a result of service in his armed force. Except as otherwise provided in this section, unless it is made before he completes nineteen years of service for which he is entitled to credit in the computation of his basic pay, the election must be made at least two years before the first day for which retired pay or retainer pay is granted. However, if, because of military operations, a member is assigned to an isolated station or is missing, interned in a neutral country, captured by a hostile force, or beleaguered or besieged, and for that reason is unable to make an election before completing nineteen years of that service, he may make the election, to become effective immediately, within one year after he ceases to be assigned to that station or returns to the jurisdiction of his armed force, as the case may be. A member to whom retired pay or retainer pay is granted retroactively, and who is otherwise eligible to make an election, may make the election within ninety days after receiving notice that such pay has been granted to him. An election made after the date of enactment of this amendment is not effective if—

"'(1) the elector dies during the first thirty-day period he is entitled to retired pay as a result of a physicial condition which led to his being granted retired pay under chapter 61 of title 10 with a disability of 100 per centum under the standard schedule of rating disabilities in use by the Veterans' Administration at the time of the determination of the per centum of his disability;

"'(2) the disability was not the result of injury or disease received in line of duty as a direct result of armed conflict; and

"'(3) his widow or children are entitled to dependency and indemnity compensation under chapter 13 of title 38 based upon his death.'

"(2) Section 1431(c) is amended to read as follows:

"'(c) An election may be changed or revoked by the elector before the first day for which retired or retainer pay is granted. Unless it is made on the basis of restored mental competency under section 1433 of this title, or unless it is made before the elector completes nineteen years of service for which he is entitled to credit in the computation of his basic pay (in which case only the latest change or revocation shall be effective), the change or revocation is not effective if it is made less than two years before the first day for which retired or retainer pay is granted. The elector may, however, before the first day for which retired or retainer pay is granted, change or revoke his election (provided the change does not increase the amount of the annuity elected) to reflect a change in the marital or dependency status of the member or his family that is caused by death, divorce, annulment, remarriage, or acquisition of a child, if such change or revocation of election is made within two years of such change in marital or dependency status.'

"(3) The text of section 1434 is amended to read as follows:

" '(a) The annuity that a person is entitled to elect under section 1431 or 1432 of this title shall, in conformance with actuarial tables selected by the Board of Actuaries under section 1436(a) of this title, be the amount specified by the elector at the time of the election, but not more than 50 per centum nor less than 12½ per centum of his retired or retainer pay, in no case less than $25. He may make the annuity payable—

" '(1) to, or on behalf of, the surviving spouse, ending when the spouse dies or remarries;

" '(2) in equal shares to, or on behalf of, the surviving children eligible for the annuity at the time each payment is due, ending when there is no surviving eligible child; or

" '(3) to, or on behalf of, the surviving spouse, and after the death or remarriage of that spouse, in equal shares to, or on behalf of, the surviving eligible children, ending when there is no surviving eligible child.

" '(b) A person may elect to provide both the annuity provided in clause (1) of subsection (a) and that provided in clause (2) of subsection (a), but the combined amount of the annuities may not be more than 50 per centum nor less than 12½ per centum of his retired or retainer pay but in no case less than $25.

" '(c) An election of an annuity under clause (1 or (2) of subsection (a), or any combination of annuities under subsection (b), shall provide that no deduction may be made from the elector's retired or retainer pay after the last day of the month in which there is no beneficiary who would be eligible for the annuity if the elector died. For the purposes of the preceding sentence, a child (other than a child who is incapable of supporting himself because of a mental defect or physical incapacity existing before his eighteenth birthday) who is at least eighteen, but under twenty-three years of age, and who is not pursuing a course of study or training defined in section 1435, of this title, shall be considered an eligible beneficiary unless the Secretary concerned approves an application submitted by the member under section 1436(b)(4) of this title. An election of an annuity under clause (3) of subsection (a) shall provide that no deduction may be made from the elector's retired or retainer pay after the last day of the month in which there is no eligible spouse because of death or divorce.

" '(d) Under regulations prescribed under section 1444(a) of this title, a person may, before or after the first day for which retired or retainer pay is granted, provide for allocating, during the period of the surviving spouse's eligibility, a part of the annuity under subsection (a)(3) for payment to those of his surviving children who are not children of that spouse.'

"(4) Section 1435(2)(B) is amended to read as follows:

" '(B) under eighteen years of age, or incapable of supporting themselves because of a mental defect or physical incapacity existing before their eighteenth birthday, or at least eighteen, but under twenty-three years of age and pursuing a full-time course of study or training in a high school, trade school, technical or vocational institute, junior college, college, university, or comparable recognized educational institution;'.

"(5) Section 1435 is amended by adding the following flush sentences at the end:

" 'For the purposes of clause (2)(B), a child is considered to be pursuing a full-time course of study or training during an interval between school years that does not exceed one hundred and fifty days if he has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Secretary concerned that he has a bona fide intention of commencing, resuming, or continuing to pursue a full-time course of study or training in a recognized educational institution immediately after that interval.'

"(6) Section 1436(b) is amended to read as follows:

" '(b) Under regulations prescribed under section 1444(a) of this title, the Secretary concerned may, upon application by the retired member, allow the member—

" '(1) to reduce the amount of the annuity specified by him under section 1434 (a) and 1434 (b) of this title but to not less than the prescribed minimum; or

" '(2) to withdraw from participation in an annuity program under this title; or

" '(3) to elect the annuity provided under clause (1) of section 1434(a) of this title in place of the annuity provided under clause (3) of such section, if on the first day for which retired or retainer pay is granted the member had in effect a valid election under clause (3) of such section, and he does not have a child beneficiary who would be eligible for the annuity provided under clause (3) of such section. For this purpose, a child (other than a child who is incapable of supporting himself because of a mental defect or physical incapacity existing before his eighteenth birthday) who is at least eighteen, but under twenty-three years of age shall not be considered an eligible beneficiary; or

" '(4) to elect that a child (other than a child who is incapable of supporting himself because of a mental defect or physical incapacity existing before his eighteenth birthday) who is at least eighteen, but under twenty-three years of age shall not be considered eligible for the annuity provided under clause (2) of section 1434(a) of this title, or for an annuity provided under section 1434(b) of this title, if on the first day for which retired or retainer pay is granted the member had in effect a valid election under clause (2) of section 1434(a) of this title, or under section 1434(b) of this title.'

A retired member may not reduce an annuity under clause (1) of this subsection, or withdraw under clause (2) of this subsection, earlier than the first day of the seventh calendar month beginning after he applies for reduction or withdrawal. A change of election under clause (3) of this subsection shall be effective on the first day of the month following the month in which application is made. An election under clause (4) of this subsection shall be effective on the first day of the month following the month in which application is made and, if on the effective date there is no surviving child who would be eligible for an annuity provided under clause (2) of section 1434 (a), or under section 1434(b), of this title if the elector died, no deduction shall be made for such an annuity to, or on behalf of, a child from the elector's retired or retainer pay for that month or any subsequent month. No amounts by which a member's retired or retainer pay is reduced prior to the effective date of a reduction of annuity, withdrawal, change of election, or election under this subsection may be refunded to, or credited on behalf of, the member by virtue of an application made by him under this subsection.

"(7) Section 1437 is amended to read as follows:

" '§ 1437. Payment of annuity

" '(a) Except as provided in subsection (b) each annuity payable under this chapter accrues as of the first day of the month in which the person upon whose pay the annuity is based dies. Payments shall be made in equal installments and not later than the fifteenth day of each month following that month. However, no annuity accrues for the month in which entitlement thereto ends.

" '(b) Each annuity payable to or on behalf of an eligible child (other than a child who is incapable of supporting himself because of a mental defect or physical incapacity existing before his eighteenth birthday) as defined in section 1435(2)(B) of this title who is at least eighteen years of age and pursuing a full-time course of study or training at a recognized educational institution, accrues—

" '(1) as of the first day of the month in which the member upon whose pay the annuity is based dies, if the eligible child's eighteenth birthday occurs in the same or a preceding month.

" '(2) as of the first day of the month in which the eighteenth birthday of an eligible child occurs, if the member upon whose pay the annuity is based died in a preceding month.

" '(3) as of the first day of the month in which a child first becomes or again becomes eligible, if that eligible child's eighteenth birthday and the death of the member upon whose pay the annuity is based both occurred in a preceding month or months.

However, no such annuity is payable or accrues for any month prior to the effective date of this subsection.'

"(8) Section 1446(a)(2) is amended by striking out '18' and inserting in lieu thereof '19'.

"Sec. 2. Chapter 67 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding to section 1331 the following new subsection:

" '(e) Notwithstanding section 8301 of title 5, United States Code, the date of entitlement to retired pay under this section shall be the date on which the requirements of subsection (a) have been completed.'

"Sec. 3. For members to whom section 1431 of title 10, United States Code, applies on the date of enactment of this Act, the provisions of section 1434(c) of that title, as amended by this Act, are effective immediately and automatically.

"Sec. 4. A retired member who elected an annuity under chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, before the date of enactment of this Act, but did not make the election that was then provided by section 1434(c) of that title, may, before the first day of the thirteenth calendar month beginning after the date of enactment of this Act, make that election. That election becomes effective on the first day of the month following the month in which the election is made. Under regulations prescribed under section 1444(a) of this title, on or before the effective date the retired member must pay the total additional amount that would otherwise have been deducted from his retired or retainer pay to reflect such an election, had it been effective when he retired, plus the interest which would have accrued on that additional amount up to the effective date, except that if an undue hardship or financial burden would otherwise result payment may be made in from two to twelve monthly installments when the monthly amounts involved are $25, or less, or in from two to thirty-six monthly installments when the monthly amounts involved exceed $25. No amounts by which a member's retired or retainer pay was reduced may be refunded to, or credited on behalf of, the retired member by virtue of an application made by him under this section. A retired member described in the first sentence of this section, who does not make the election provided under this section, will not be allowed under section 1436(b) of title 10, to reduce an annuity or withdraw from participation in an annuity program under that title.

"Sec. 5. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, elections in effect on the date of enactment will remain under the cost tables applicable on the date of retirement, and the annuities provided thereunder shall be payable to those eligible beneficiaries prescribed under the law in effect on the day prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

"SEC. 6. Clause (1) and clause (6) of section 1, and sections 2, 3, and 4 of this Act are effective on the date of enactment. Remaining provisions of this Act are effective on the first day of the third calendar month following the date of enactment. However, notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, any member to whom section 1431 of title 10, United States Code, applies on the date of enactment of this Act may, before the first day of the thirteenth calendar month beginning after the date of enactment of this Act, submit a written application to the Secretary concerned requesting that an election or a change or revocation of election made by such member prior to the date of enactment of this Act shall continue to be governed by the provisions of section 1431 (b) or (c) of title 10, United States Code, as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act."

Mr. HARDY (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the amendment and that it be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, on December 4, 1967, the House passed H.R. 12323, as reported by the Committee on Armed Services.

The bill as reported by the committee represents a Department of Defense legislative recommendation, the purpose of which is to liberalize the various provisions of the retired serviceman's family protection plan—RSFPP—so as to encourage greater participation in the program by retiring service personnel.

At the present time, participation by retiring personnel is only 16 percent, and therefore the Board of Actuaries as well as the Department of Defense have recommended liberalization of this self-financing survivor benefit program for retiring service personnel.

Briefly, the bill as reported by the Committee on Armed Services and passed by the House, made the following changes to current law:

First. The committee authorized withdrawals from the program to become effective after a 12-month waiting period.

Second. The committee agreed to extend the withdrawal privilege to the approximately 5,700 participants now in the program who had not previously incorporated the restoration option—option No. 4—with their election. However, the right to this additional group of participants, under the House bill, was limited to those with a living beneficiary.

Third. The committee also provided that Reserve officers retired under title III of Public Law 80–810 at age 60 would be entitled to participation in the RSFPP immediately upon their being approved for retired pay rather than the first day of the following month as provided by the Uniform Retirement Day Act.

Fourth. Finally, the committee approved various technical changes recommended by the Board of Actuaries and the Department of Defense.

On Monday, July 29, 1968, the Senate passed H.R. 12323 with an amendment which struck all after the enacting clause and substituted new language in the form of an amendment.

The amendment substituted by the Senate generally adopted the House provisions except for two major differences:

First. Under the House-passed bill, a retired member who wished to reduce an annuity or withdraw from the annuity program would have been authorized to do so effective on the first day of the month following a 12-month waiting period.

Under the Senate bill, this waiting period was reduced to 6 months. The Department of Defense strongly supported the 6-month rule for both reductions and withdrawals, whereas the Board of Actuaries would have preferred a more conservative 12-month rule. However, the Senate concurred with the Department of Defense recommendation since in the absence of actual experience under one or the other rule, no compelling statistical basis can be developed in support of one of the other alternatives.

Second. The second major change relates to those retired members who wish to withdraw from the annuity program and who had not incorporated option No. 4 with their original election. Option No. 4 provides that reductions in retired pay would cease upon the death of an eligible beneficiary.

Under the House language these approximately 5,700 participants in the program who had not included option No. 4 in their election would have been permitted to withdraw from the program after a 12-month waiting period provided that, at the time they indicated an intention to withdraw, they have a living beneficiary.

The Senate change would eliminate the requirement that such retired member have a living beneficiary and would also permit such withdrawal after a 6-month waiting period as previously indicated.

Of approximately 80,000 retired participants in the program, there are less than 5,700 who did not elect the restoration option—option No. 4. Of that number, it is estimated that 700, or 1 out of 8 may not have an eligible beneficiary.

The Senate Armed Services Committee, in commenting on this liberalization of the House provision, stated that it recognized that if all 700 participants who are without an eligible beneficiary choose to withdraw, the impact on the fund may approximate $2.5 million. However, the Senate committee points out that since all other participants will be provided the right to withdraw from the program, those participants without a living beneficiary should also be similarly treated. Furthermore, it was pointed out that in the view of the Senate, this cost is not excessive since the total amount withheld for all participants in the annuity program through 1965 was $149.6 million, of which only $41.5 million has been paid to 5,850 survivors.

The Department of Defense has advised the Committee on Armed Services that it fully concurs in the Senate action and urges the committee and the House to accept the Senate amendments as evidenced by the following departmental letter.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., July 30, 1968.
(Military Personnel Policy.)

Hon. L. MENDEL RIVERS,
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: It is understood that the Senate on 29 July 1968 passed H.R. 12323, a bill "To amend Chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the Retired Serviceman's Family Protection Plan, and for other purposes."

The bill as passed by the Senate includes a number of amendments to the House-passed bill, all of which the Department of Defense favors and believes will enhance the attractiveness of the Retired Serviceman's Family Protection Plan.

The Department of Defense solicits your support for the Senate-passed version of H.R. 12323 and urges that the House of Representatives enact that Senate version.

Your continued and personal interest in this important legislation affecting the members of our Armed Forces and their families is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM W. BERG,
Major General, USAF,
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 1279 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1279

Resolved, That the following-named Members be, and they are hereby, elected to the Standing Committee of the House of Representatives on Ways and Means: JAMES C. CORMAN, of California; WILLIAM J. GREEN, of Pennsylvania.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

EXEMPTING FROM COMBAT MEMBERS OF FAMILY OF SERVICEMEN KILLED IN VIETNAM

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill that would exempt from combat assignment any member of the Armed Forces whose brother, father or sister had been killed in action or died in line of duty in the Vietnam war unless the service man or woman volunteered for duty in a combat area.

Under the present policy, a sole surviving son has such an exemption, but there are instances where a family with several sons have lost one son and found one or more of their other sons faced with military service in Vietnam.

I feel it is a great hardship and unfair to impose additional risks on a family that has already suffered a heavy loss, when under our present policy for military duty, there are many young men who would not be expected to perform military service in Vietnam.

There have been a number of combat deaths of men from my congressional district, and there are presently situations in some of these families where other sons are in the military service and are facing duty in Vietnam. This is no doubt the case in every congressional district in the United States.

Under the proposed bill, the exemption can be waived by the serviceman if he does not wish to avail himself of it, but if he does, he would not be precluded from military duty, but must be assigned to a noncombat station in some other area of the world.

CHROMITE ORE IMPORTS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the House an extension in the RECORD that I inserted yesterday at page 24564 entitled "Chromite Ore Imports."

This involves a series of correspondence I have had with the Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. In this correspondence Mr. Macomber states that it is in our own national interest not to import chromite ore from Rhodesia and thus increase our imports from the Soviet Union.

This is a very interesting national policy which I think deserves the attention of the Congress.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE REVIEW OF FEDERAL AND STATE LAWS RELATING TO WIRETAPPING AND ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE

The **SPEAKER.** Pursuant to the provisions of section 804(b), Public Law 90–351, the Chair appoints as members of the National Commission for the Review of Federal and State Laws Relating to Wiretapping and Electronic Surveillance the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. ST. ONGE, of Connecticut; Mr. TENZER, of New York; Mr. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio; and Mr. POFF, of Virginia.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER.** Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 301]

Ashley
Baring
Battin
Blanton
Bolton
Brock
Brown, Mich.
Burke, Fla.
Burton, Utah
Clawson, Del
Conte
Conyers
Cowger
Cramer
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dent
Derwinski
Devine
Diggs
Dole
Dwyer
Esch
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Feighan
Flood
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gardner
Gettys
Goodell
Halleck
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Hawkins
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Herlong
Holland
Karsten
Kirwan
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Lipscomb
Lukens
Mathias, Calif.
Moore
Moorhead
Morse, Mass.
Quie
Quillen
Rarick
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Roth
Roudebush
Teague, Tex.
Ullman
Vanik
Waggonner
Watson
Willis
Wylie
Wyman

The **SPEAKER.** On this rollcall 365 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 15263, AMENDING FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 15263) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment there, disagree to the Senate amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I assume that it is the foreign aid bill that you wish to take to conference?

Mr. MORGAN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Am I correctly informed that there are a number of ungermane amendments that the other body placed on this bill?

Mr. MORGAN. The gentleman is correct. There are several ungermane amendments to the bill.

Mr. GROSS. Of course, the gentleman from Iowa and others who may be interested in these ungermane amendments have had no opportunity whatever to go into the parliamentary situation, and it would be my suggestion to the gentleman, if he is so disposed, to withdraw his request at this time and perhaps renew it later today.

Mr. MORGAN. I wish to assure the gentleman that I am opposed to the ungermane amendments to the bill, and I will certainly use all my efforts to see that they do not come back from conference.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman would not feel that he would need instructions from the House to uphold the House position with respect to ungermane amendments?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I feel the House conferees will be firm enough to protect the House position.

Mr. GROSS. In toto?

Mr. MORGAN. In toto.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, we have this assurance from the gentleman?

Mr. MORGAN. The gentlemen has that assurance from this gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, do we have assurance that the ungermane amendments which the other body has placed on this bill will not be accepted by the managers on the part of the House?

Mr. MORGAN. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. MORGAN and ZABLOCKI, Mrs. KELLY, Messrs. HAYS, ADAIR, MAILLIARD, and BROOMFIELD.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 15387, POSTAL ASSAULTS AND PERSONNEL CEILING

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 15387) to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 1822)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the following numbered amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15387), to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

Amendment numbered 1: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1 and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In the matter proposed to be stricken out by the Senate amendment insert the word "with" immediately after the word "interferes"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2 and agree to the same.

T. J. Dulski,
David N. Henderson,
Arnold Olsen,
Robert J. Corbett,
Managers on the Part of the House.
Mike Monroney,
Ralph W. Yarborough,
Jennings Randolph,
Hiram L. Fong,
J. Caleb Boggs,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the two numbered amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15387), to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

Amendment No. 1: The House bill provided for disciplinary action against any postal employee who assaults, resists, opposes, impedes, intimidates, or interferes with any other postal employee while performing official duties. Senate amendment No. 1 limits this disciplinary authority to cases of assault only.

The House recedes from its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 1 with an amendment which makes a technical and clarifying change in language; and the Senate agrees to the same.

Amendment No. 2: Senate amendment No. 2 adds a section 3 to the House bill which provides, effective on the date of enactment, that employees in the postal field service (other than employees in regional offices) and employees of the Bureau of Research and Engineering of the Post Office Department, shall be exempted from the limitation on the number of civilian employees prescribed by section 201 of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968, Public Law 90–364. The new section 3 also excludes such exempted employees from being taken into account in applying the employee ceiling prescribed by section 201, Public Law 90–364.

The House bill contained no such provision.

The House recedes.

EXPLANATION OF CONFERENCE AGREEMENT REGARDING POSTAL SERVICE PERSONNEL CEILING

Under the conference agreement, the employment ceiling, insofar as the Post Office Department is concerned, will not apply to—

(1) The Bureau of Research and Engineering; and

(2) The postal field service (other than employees in the regional offices).

The conference agreement does not exempt the Washington headquarters office (other than the Bureau of Research and Engineering) from the personnel ceiling. It does not exempt any part of the Post Office Department appropriated funds from the budget expenditure reductions required by sections 202 or 203 of Public Law 90–364.

The provision exempting the postal field service includes the personnel of the field inspection service, the postal data centers, and the supplies centers, all of which are part of the postal field service but not part of the regional offices.

Bureau of Research and Engineering: The conference agreement provides that the Bureau of Research and Engineering personnel ceiling shall not apply to the Bureau of Research and Engineering in the Post Office Department headquarters. This Bureau, which was created by Public Law 89–492 on July 5, 1966, represents the real hope for postal modernization, effective management, and improved efficiency. Since its creation, appropriations for research and engineering have increased from $18 million in fiscal year 1966 to $35 million in fiscal year 1969. The number of employees has increased from 276 on June 30, 1966, to 517 on June 30, 1968. The Congress recently authorized 160 additional positions for this Bureau, making a total of 675 for fiscal year 1969.

The progress which this Bureau can achieve in the future for improved postal services is far more important to the Government and the taxpayer than the number of people it employs, or the amount of money it spends, can indicate. It would be a tragic and foolish waste to cut back this vitally important Bureau to the 1966 employment level.

Regional offices: The conference agreement does not exempt the regional offices from the personnel ceiling. The estimated personnel authorization for fiscal year 1969 for the regional offices is 3210, and the total personnel in these offices on June 30, 1966, was 2724. The conferees believe that these positions should be subject to the personnel limitation as will the positions in the Washington headquarters office, which total 1930 under the 1969 fiscal year authorization.

Mail volume: Unlike some government functions, the volume of mail cannot be controlled. Mail volume has increased from 75.6 billion pieces in fiscal year 1966 to an estimated 84 billion pieces in fiscal year 1969, an increase of 8.4 billion pieces.

From fiscal year 1966 to the end of fiscal year 1969, it is estimated that city deliveries will increase by 4 million. Rural deliveries will increase by 660,000. Business deliveries will increase by 358,000. Population will increase by 4 million.

Mail volume will continue to increase as the economy grows and the population increases.

The employment ceiling will require a fewer number of postal employees to deliver an ever-increasing volume of mail. It will impose a physically impossible task.

Postal employment: The personnel ceiling on postal employment, using the June 30, 1966 date, the estimated employment authorized by the Post Office Department Appropriation Act, 1969 (Public Law 90–350), and the personnel reduction required, are shown in the first chart set forth below.

The second chart shows the postal service changes proposed by the Postmaster General, to accomplish the personnel reduction of 83,238.

REDUCTION IN POSITIONS

	Permanent	Other[1]	Total
1969 appropriation	566, 437	194, 877	761, 314
Public Law 90–36 limit	489, 898	188, 178	678, 076
Reduction	76, 539	6, 699	83, 238

[1] Based on month of June as example. Actual positions allowed vary by month.

Postal service changes required by reduction in personnel to be accomplished over a 4-year period

Service change	*Reduction in positions*
Close all rural (4th class) post offices and 50 percent of contract stations	7, 410
Close 5,000 3rd class post offices	5, 000
Close all window services at 1st and 2d class post offices one day a week	2, 274
Eliminate all postal work on Saturday and Sunday without regard to delay in mail or extra force required for handling backlog	23, 272
Schedule work force so as to gain additional 2 percent increase in clerical productivity without regard to delay in mail	8, 558
City residential delivery—eliminate Saturday and one additional day	22, 711
Parcel post delivery—reduce service to 5 days per week	1, 112
City business delivery—eliminate Saturday service and reduce service on other days to one delivery a day	1, 378
Rural delivery—reduce service to 3 days per week	1, 797
City residential and rural delivery—no extension of service to new homes	3, 670
Collection service—restrict Saturday service to the Sunday schedule	380
Eliminate new training programs, certain mechanization projects, management programs for service improvements, certain transportation and logistical support	5, 676
Total	83, 238

Another material factor in the personnel requirements of the postal service is the series of legislative actions in recent years directed to the modernization of postal personnel policies and procedures.

One of the major legislative actions which had a direct bearing on manpower levels is Public Law 89–301, enacted October 29, 1965. This law established a five-day workweek for postal employees, premium pay for Sunday and overtime pay for holiday work for substitute employees, replaced compensatory time off practices, and limited the tour of any employee on a workday to a period of 12 consecutive hours. These provisions have required the establishment of 42,940 new positions in the postal service, practically all of which were established after June 30, 1966.

Personnel ceiling flexibility: The conferees have rejected the argument that section 201 of Public Law 90–364 contains sufficient flexibility for the Executive Branch to meet the requirements of the personnel ceiling if only the Director of the Bureau of the Budget would exercise his authority under that section to reassign vacancies from one department to another.

In 1966, postal employment of 678,000 represented approximately one-fourth of the total Federal employment of 2,726,000. The continual expanding volume of mail demands more postal employees, not less. It would be a physical impossibility for the Budget Director to reassign 30,000 vacancies from other Executive agencies to meet the estimated needs of the Post Office Department during fiscal year 1969, or to make annual reassignments each year thereafter in numbers running upwards from 15,000.

The Director of the Bureau of the Budget testified that he could not see his way clear to giving any agency complete relief from the personnel ceilings, as the conferees believe is necessary in the case of the Post Office Department.

Consequently, in view of the mandatory personnel reductions to begin as of July 1, 1968, and the lack of any possibility of relief by reassignment of vacancies by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Postmaster General had no alternative but to issue the orders early in July for curtailment of mail services in order to meet the personnel ceiling. These orders have now been postponed until August 3, on the basis of action taken by the Senate on July 26, 1968.

Acceptance of the conference provisions relieving the Postal Field Service from the personnel ceilings will remove any requirement for the Postmaster General to curtail mail services. It is particularly important to note that those orders for the closing of 3rd- and 4th-class post offices, which were issued solely because of the personnel ceilings, will be withdrawn upon acceptance of the conference provisions.

Also, the conferees have been assured by the Postmaster General that he will notify the Committees on Post Office and Civil Service of both the House and the Senate at least 30 days before any post office is closed hereafter.

In the judgment of the conferees, to leave the postal service to the mercy of the employment ceiling would be the ultimate in false economy.

It would irreparably damage the postal service.

It would severely hamper business and industry, and tend to undermine the economy at a time when vibrant economic growth is imperative to support the Government's fiscal reforms.

It would virtually hamstring postal management and enforce drastic curtailment of postal services.

It would relegate the American public to second-class situations in terms of availability and usefulness of their chief means of communication.

The results would be disastrous in the face of ever-rising and uncontrollable mail volume.

The chaos in the postal establishment would be equaled only by the indignation of an outraged public.

Impairment of the postal service, such as the postal ceilings, will be especially dangerous because of the extraordinary and unique function performed by the postal service.

The postal service affects more Americans individually and personally, and exerts a far broader and more direct influence in their unique cultural and social pursuits than does any other government activity.

The adoption of the conference provision removing the postal service from the personnel ceiling will alleviate these major problems that would arise upon curtailment of the postal service.

T. J. Dulski,
David N. Henderson,
Arnold Olsen,
Robert J. Corbett,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. DULSKI (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement of managers on the part of the House be dispensed with.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, before discussing the conference report on H.R. 15387, I want to express my sincere appreciation to the other conferees on the part of the House for their very prompt, informed, and effective contributions in the committee of conference.

The conference report is the very best agreement that could be worked out, in the interest of the Government and the American people. It is a real tribute to the cooperation we have received on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. Speaker, the conference agreement on H.R. 15387 represents full compliance with directives adopted by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on two separate occasions.

In our regular committee executive session of July 18, 1968, the committee, by a bipartisan record vote of 14 to 3 in ordering H.R. 18663 reported favorably, instructed me to take all possible legislative and parliamentary measures to obtain its prompt enactment.

Section 6 of that bill provides exemption of the entire postal establishment from the Government-wide employment cutback imposed by section 201 of the Revenue and Control Act of 1968. The committee's instruction stressed the special necessity for enactment of this section.

Again, in a special executive session on July 29, 1968, the committee, by a unanimous bipartisan vote, instructed me to proceed in accordance with rule 20 of the House rules to conference on the matters in disagreement between the House and the Senate in H.R. 15387.

This instruction was coupled with the further unanimous instruction that every effort be made, in the committee of conference, to obtain the maximum possible exemption for the postal establishment from the employment cutback imposed by the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act.

The instructions of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service are implemented by the conference report on H.R. 15387.

It is true that the conference report does not achieve the total exemption for the postal establishment for which our committee voted in its July 18 meeting.

However, the exemption finally agreed to represents very substantial compliance with that purpose. As I have indicated, it is the best that could be worked out under the rules of conference.

H.R. 15387, as passed by the House, contained no reference to employment cutbacks, since the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act had not yet been enacted.

The second Senate amendment to the bill exempts the entire postal field service—except for the regional offices—and also exempts the research and engineering function at departmental headquarters.

This will place at the disposal of the Postmaster General practically the entire fired work force he must have to insure continuance of adequate postal service.

Mr. Speaker, there is one other very important factor which cannot be too strongly emphasized.

This legislation does not involve money. It relates solely to people.

Without a sufficient number of letter carriers, distribution clerks, mail handlers, and supporting personnel, the Post Office Department could not possibly handle the ever-increasing mail volume. The only alternative would be to curtail services.

The Postmaster General has officially reported that, if H.R. 15387 is enacted, he will not only continue existing services, but will absorb the Post Office Department's share of the $6 billion reduction in expenditures required by the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act.

A great deal has been said about the so-called flexibility which, it is alleged, would enable the Bureau of the Budget to provide necessary relief by allocating jobs vacated in other agencies to the postal service.

This can in no way meet the needs of the postal service. There simply will not be enough jobs available from other agencies.

The authority granted the Director of the Bureau of the Budget is extremely limited. It could not be used for wholesale relief of the Postal Establishment from the employment cutback.

The Director testified to this before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee in the other body. He said:

> I doubt if that will meet the test of most efficient operation of the Government under these provisions, and I would further doubt that in the next few months at least—we will look at it again in 3 months—that we are going to give any relief to the Post Office Department under the provisions of this law.

Mr. Speaker, to leave the Postal Establishment at the mercy of the employment cutback would be the ultimate in false economy.

It is the considered judgment of the Post Office and Civil Service Committees of both Houses of the Congress—which have the legislative responsibility for postal operations—that the postal service must be exempted from the employment ceiling in the interest of the public and of any real economies.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly recommend adoption of the conference report.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DULSKI. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The gentleman made one statement I thought most interesting. In quoting Postmaster General Watson the able chairman indicated that Mr. Watson stated the Post Office Department would be willing to absorb its share of the $6 billion expenditure cut. Would the able chairman have any indication as to how much that share would be that the department is going to absorb?

Mr. DULSKI. I refer to the report, and read from page 3:

> *Regional offices.*—The conference agreement does not exempt the regional offices from the personnel ceiling. The estimated personnel authorization for fiscal year 1969 for the regional offices is 3,210, and the total personnel in these offices on June 30, 1966, was 2,724. The conferees believe that these positions should be subject to the personnel limitations as will the positions in the Washington headquarters office, which total 1,930 under the 1969 fiscal year authorization.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The cuts would be in these areas of the administrative branch?

Mr. DULSKI. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DULSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I strongly favor complete exemption of the entire postal establishment from the cutback required by section 201 of the Revenue and Expenditure Act of 1968—Public Law 90-364.

I have made my position clear on this issue by supporting H.R. 15387 as amended. As a matter of fact, I am actually cosponsoring this legislation with the following two bills: H.R. 18696, to amend section 201 of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 and H.R. 18804, to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for the employment of necessary postal field service personnel.

My position has been publicly stated and follows in a telegram which I sent to Branch 20 of the National Association of Postal Supervisors on Wednesday, July 31, 1968:

July 31, 1968.

National Association of Postal Supervisors,
Branch 20,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Attention: Helsel Marsh, president.

Dear Hetz: Have received your good letter twenty seven July. Am already supporting HR 15387 as amended to remove from general reduction of employees in Federal service the Post Office Department employees. Am also actually cosponsoring this legislation with my bills HR 18696 and HR 18804.

Let us face it! Every administration plays politics with postal workers and Federal employees as well as the post offices. So I have criticized each administration both Democrat and Republican for this callous and reckless misuse of governmental power.

We congressmen who are strong supporters of postal workers and Federal employees as well as efficiency in the post office with humane administration must continually fight such action regardless of which Party is in power.

It was not the intention of Congress to penalize the post office on original passage of mandatory reduction of number of employees to June 1966 level but of course this was used by the administration for wrong purposes in an election year.

Count on my full cooperation.

Count me on the team as usual.

Congressman Jim Fulton.

The letter received by me from Mr. Helsel Marsh, president of Branch 20 of the National Association of Postal Supervisors follows:

National Association of Postal
Supervisors, Branch 20
Pittsburgh, Pa., July 27, 1968.
Congressman James G. Fulton,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jim: Because of the Public Law making mandatory the reduction of the number of employees in the Federal Service to the June 1966 level, The Post Office Department is faced with the worst crisis in its history.

Senator Monroney and his colleagues gave us real hope of solving our dilemma last Friday when the Senate passed H.R. 15387 and this bill, as amended, exempts the Post Office from manpower cuts.

Please support and vote again for H.R. 15387 this week.

Lots of personal luck to you.

Hetz Marsh.

I strongly urge the Congress, and particularly the House of Representatives promptly to approve the conference report which has been worked out by the House conferees with the Senate on this legislation.

We people of responsibility must protect our U.S. Post Office and permit room for growth. We Members of Congress must see that our faithful postal workers and postal supervisors are protected in the fine work they accomplish for the American people.

We hear so many complaints about everything these days, that it is a pleasure to give a pat on the back for a job well done through the years to our postal workers and Federal employees.

We have a fine efficient postal service and Federal Government service, which operates every day of the week giving unfailing service to the American people and it is a pleasure to express my pride and gratitude for this loyalty and dedication.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DULSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. HALEY. I thank the chairman very much for yielding.

I merely want to ask the gentleman this question: The Post Office Department appropriation bill has already passed both bodies. Is that correct?

Mr. DULSKI. Yes, it has.

Mr. HALEY. Will the passage of this conference report require a supplemental appropriation for the Post Office Department? I understand that the Post Office Department is asking for an increase of several thousand additional employees. Will they be able to absorb those employees in the appropriation that has already been passed?

Mr. DULSKI. They certainly will [Mr. Haley].

Mr. HALEY. So there will be no additional appropriations or a supplemental bill to increase that. Is that the gentleman's understanding?

Mr. DULSKI. The understanding of the gentleman from Florida is correct.

Mr. HALEY. Of course, the broad coverage, as I understood the original bill here, reducing employment to the 1966 level does not necessarily have to apply to the Post Office Department. There is broad latitude in there as to where these cuts will be made, and it does not in particular go to any one department. Am I correct in that?

Mr. DULSKI. It specified that it was an across-the-board cut. As I explained in my statement, the Post Office Department is on a quarterly basis, and it would have to go into effect for the first quarter. So they cannot leave the first 3 months open and then try to absorb everything in the next 9 months.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Corbett], the ranking minority member of the committee.

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Robison].

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, if the chairman of the committee will give me his attention, I would like to see if we can clear up one question relating to this year's postal appropriation bill that has already been passed by both Houses of Congress and sent to the President. My recollection is that under this bill we provided funds so that the Post Office Department could hire in this fiscal year an additional 15,700 employees. I think this relates to the question asked a moment ago by the gentleman from Florida as to whether or not the Post Office Department will need, in the future months, any supplemental funds in order to maintain service at the current level. Can the chairman of the full committee tell us whether or not the ceiling on employment which has been mentioned here, and which is our problem, presently restricts the Post Office Department from hiring any of those additional or new 15,700 employees we provided under the appropriation bill for this fiscal year?

Mr. DULSKI. According to the Revenue Act I understand it would restrict them.

Mr. ROBISON. So, unless this measure passes, the Post Office Department could not hire any of the new employees that were provided in this year's appropriation bill; is that right?

Mr. DULSKI. That is my understanding.

Mr. ROBISON. In addition to which they will face the problem of being able to fill only three out of every four vacancies that will occur during the fiscal year.

Mr. DULSKI. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, the questions which have been raised by the various gentlemen who have participated in this colloquy just concluded point up the fact that this bill is necessary and desirable. The Post Office Department, as I stated in the debate a few days ago, has no control over the volume of its business. It has to deliver all of the users of the mail now in the post offices. Since most of the work is handling they simply ought to have enough people to do the job that confronts them.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that this conference report is agreed to expeditiously and sent to the President for his signature in order that there will be no curtailment of postal service in these United States.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CORBETT. I shall be happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. With reference to the colloquy between the gentleman from New York [Mr. Robison] and the chairman of the committee, the response to the question being that unless this conference report is adopted the Post Office Department will not be able to hire additional employees, I would like to call the attention of those who engaged in that colloquy and all of my colleagues in the Chamber today to the fact that during June 1968, during 1 month, the Post Office Department hired 20,358 people and had on their rolls that many more people than they had at the end of May. So, I think that sufficiently explodes the arguments that they are not permitted to hire any new people.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CORBETT. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding for a question.

May I ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Corbett], or the chairman of the committee this question: If this procedure is adopted today, does this mean that those small post offices which are scheduled for August 1 closing, ostensibly because of this shortage of personnel, will now remain open?

Mr. CORBETT. I can say to the gentleman that this would permit the Postmaster General to leave them open. However, he would retain his existing authority to close any post office which he felt had become obsolete or useless.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, the gentleman knows that, in the publicity, the department said that it is the manpower restrictions which have caused them to close these post offices.

Mr. CORBETT. That was because of the number which was mentioned, of 200, to be closed. I would say, however, that this legislation would allow these 200 to be open until it became clearly evident that they were obsolete.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. HENDERSON], a member of the committee.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge the adoption of the conference report on H.R. 15387, and prompt approval of this conference report is necessary to avoid irreparable damage to our vast postal service.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENDERSON. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to enthusiastically support the conference report on H.R. 15387, and plead with the Members of the House to vote overwhelmingly in favor of this measure today.

Mr. Speaker, the post offices in rural America constitute the real heart of community life.

Rural America considers—and quite properly so—their third- and fourth-class post offices, as the case may be, as their one vital contact—their communication—with relatives, friends, and the world beyond their geographic border. There is nothing closer to the patrons of each office than their own post office.

In every case the local post office is their essential service. To eliminate this vital and justly due service is to cause undue hardship. In effect, the closing of these offices would isolate the small communities of America. Therefore, we do have an obligation to retain and continue to retain this service to those who need this service. No one can question the value of this continued service.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the distinguished chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee of the House of Representatives, Congressman THADDEUS J. DULSKI and the members of his committee and Chairman A. S. MIKE MONRONEY and the members of the U.S. Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service for their success in bringing this measure of vital importance to the citizens of America to the floor for debate at this time.

Mr. Speaker, these leaders of America are legislators with compassion and an understanding of the essential needs of America. They are dedicated and we each and every one owe them a debt of gratitude because they care—because they have been successful in overcoming what appeared to be impossible hurdles.

Again I respectfully urge the Members of the House to unanimously adopt the conference report now under consideration in order that the patrons served by our smaller communities will be able to continue to have the postal service they so richly deserve. This is our opportunity to reconfirm our understanding of vital services to those areas which are justified without question.

In conclusion, I express my personal gratitude to the dedicated Members of both Houses of the Congress for their determination to preserve this unsurpassed part of the American way of life. We all owe each one who has worked so diligently our deepest gratitude because they understood what needed to be done—how to accomplish the task—and for their success.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I strongly concur in the judgment, expressed by the distinguished chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. DULSKI], that the conference agreement certainly is the best that could be worked out in the interest of the Government and the public.

There are, however, two matters of very real concern to many Members of Congress which it would be well to clear up at this time.

The first relates to the action that the Postmaster General will take upon the enactment of H.R. 15387.

As we all know, the Postmaster General on July 12, 1968, issued an order curtailing many postal services and closing a number of post offices. He has also stated that further and more severe curtailments of service and closings will be necessary if relief from the employment cutback is not granted.

The second relates to the policy which the Postmaster General will follow in giving advance notice to the Committees on Post Office and Civil Service before any post office is closed.

On this second matter, section 6 of H.R. 18663, as reported by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, contains a requirement that the committees in both Houses be given 30 days advance notice before any post office is ordered to be closed.

I believe that a satisfactory understanding on these two important matters may have been reached, and will ask the chairman of our committee, the gentleman from New York, if he has received any assurance from the Postmaster General as to the steps that will be taken if the House adopts our conference report.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENDERSON. I am delighted to yield to our Chairman.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I have a letter dated July 31, 1968, from the Postmaster General which reads as follows:

> THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
> *Washington, D.C., July 31, 1968.*
>
> Hon. THADDEUS J. DULSKI,
> *Chairman, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*
>
> DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I refer to your letter of July 30, 1968 requesting written reaffirmation that the curtailment order necessitated by Section 201 of Public Law 90–364 will be withdrawn upon enactment of H.R. 15387 as amended in the Senate.
>
> The phased series of service restrictions and curtailments ordered on July 12 were in response to be clear requirement of Section 201 that the Post Office Department roll back employment to the June 30, 1966 level.
>
> The curtailment orders of July 12 will be withdrawn by the Department upon enactment of H.R. 15387 now under consideration in the House.
>
> Of course, as you are well aware, the Department has for a number of years followed a policy of consolidating relatively few of the smaller post offices each year. Implementation of this policy, which bears no relationship to Public Law 90–364, will continue; and a small number of post offices, where closings were announced before the July 12 order, will be terminated in July and August, 1968. In response to your request and to the request of the House Committee, the Department will notify the Chairmen of the House and Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committees, and the Members of both Bodies directly involved, thirty days in advance of such a post office closing.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> W. MARVIN WATSON.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman of the committee, and certainly commend him for obtaining this agreement on the part of the Postmaster General.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that there will be no alternative to very damaging reductions in postal service if the conference report is not approved. It is recommended by the Committees on Post Office and Civil Service of both the House and the Senate—the committees which share the legislative responsibility for postal affairs.

I strongly urge the adoption of the conference report.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENDERSON. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. HALEY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I am glad to hear it stated and see in the report that the Postmaster General says that he will notify the committees of Congress 30 days prior to any closing of post offices.

I would like also, if we possibly could, to include in that that we give notification to the Postmaster General that he refrain from giving out notices and starting a campaign against the Congress of the United States. I believe we ought to at least have 30 days' notice prior to the Postmaster General of the United States going into a program of scaring the people of the Nation with statements that they were going to have to close all of the post offices, and that they are not going to have any postal service, and so forth. I believe the Postmaster General would be doing a great service if he would withhold such news media programing prior to notifying the Congress of these facts.

Mr. HENDERSON. I concur with the gentleman.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of the conference report.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CUNNINGHAM].

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this conference report.

We have been talking, the other day and today, almost exclusively on this ceiling proposition. I want to point out to the Members that the original bill which passed our committee and passed this House overwhelmingly, with I think only 5 votes against it, was a bill to provide penalties for people who assault postal employees, letter carriers and clerks and other members of the Postal Establishment.

For example, a man who is a letter carrier may go to a home and drop the mail in a slot in the front door and some man might be asleep inside and that makes a little noise that may awaken him and he gets angry and goes out and beats up the mail carrier. There is no Federal law presently on the books to cope with this and similar assaults.

We have had a lot of instances in this regard. So do not forget there are two parts to this bill.

I want to point out that this conference report following the passage of the original bill will make it a Federal offense to assault a postal employee.

It also goes further and provides penalties for one employee becoming involved in an argument or in an assault upon another employee—although that does not happen very often.

I want to point out that the original bill is enthusiastically supported by the postal employee organizations. The letter carriers and the postal clerks unions have worked very closely with us and I am sure they are friends of the great majority of the Members of the House. They are very much concerned with this original bill, the assault bill. They are very much concerned, of course and support the addition that has been added to the bill that we sent over to the Senate having to do with the ceiling and cutback in the postal service. This report has been adequately explained and as the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CORBETT] has twice pointed out, the Post Office Department has no control over their workload and their manpower needs. There is just nothing they can do about it.

When people post letters, they have to be handled, processed, and delivered. The Post Office Department just does not have any control over their workload. To put this ceiling on their employees is going to result in a drastic curtailment of the postal services now provided which are presently inadequate. If we pass this conference report today, we will at least keep that which we have and the third- and fourth-class post offices scheduled for closing will remain open with the normal exception that there are always some consolidations that are made through the years and from time to time but they are few and far between. But this will vacate the order of the Postmaster General as was pointed out by the distinguished chairman of our committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. DULSKI].

So I certainly urge that the House overwhelmingly approve this conference report.

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this conference report.

I would ask the gentleman one question.

There are approximately 257 third- and fourth-class post offices that were scheduled to close Saturday August 3. As I understand it, the adoption of this conference report and from the colloquy that has been going on, passage of the conference report will vacate that order except that the Postmaster General still will follow his policy of consolidating small post offices.

Prior to closing any of them, there will be a 30-day notice given to the committee; that is that correct?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. The gentleman is correct. That will be done under this policy of consolidating some of the small post offices from time to time as circumstances may warrant.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. SNYDER. I was wondering if your committee has developed the answer to this question: Do you know, based upon the 20,358 new employees that the Post Office Department put on in June of this year, how long it would take the Post Office Department, under the attrition formula which has been laid down in the Revenue Act, to get back to the level of the number of employees that they had, not in 1966, according to the bill, but that they had in May of 1968, before they hired these 20,000 new people? Would that be a relatively short time or would that take awhile?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I am sorry. I have no information on that point. I have not calculated it. You might ask one of the other speakers who may have that information.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] whatever time he wishes to consume.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I commend the chairman and the members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee for the outstanding service they have rendered in bringing before the House this conference report. Our whole Nation, both business and other postal patrons, extend real gratitude for this legislation. It will aid the Postal Department in carrying out the biggest business we have in this Nation.

I represent a large business and factory area. When notice of possible curtailment of postal service was released, my office was flooded with mail and telegraph protests.

Postmasters in Gary, Hammond, East Chicago, and Whiting, Ind., are short of sufficient, competent, and trained employees under normal conditions.

The exemption of the postal service under the enforced economy cut of $6 billion was a great relief to millions of business, industry, and family postal patrons, in my district, and over the entire Nation.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. OLSEN].

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OLSEN. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. The appropriation for the Post Office Department became law before the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act went into effect; therefore, it is not subject to the provision in that act waiving the statutory requirement for apportionments. Can the gentleman tell me, or could the chairman of the committee tell me, what amount of the total appropriation provided this year for the Post Office Department was apportioned by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget for the first quarter?

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee.

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman knows, under the law the Post Office Department is required at the beginning of each fiscal year to divide its budget into four quarterly budgets. There has been no order made that I know of by the Bureau of the Budget that any of their budget be apportioned to the overall cut. The Department will be absorbing about $132 million out of the $6 billion expenditure cut which was required by the Revenue Act.

Mr. JONAS. The reason I am asking the question is that if it turns out the Director of the Bureau of the Budget apportioned one-quarter of the total amount included in the appropriation bill to the Post Office Department, there would have been absolutely no reason for the Postmaster General to have closed a single post office or curtailed a single bit of the postal service, if he received his full apportionment.

Mr. STEED. I might say to the gentleman that since less than $1 billion of the total Post Office budget is affected in the so-called expenditure reduction, the $132 million absorption that they made in their budget could be assumed to have been their full share of the cutback.

Mr. JONAS. I am not talking about——

Mr. OLSEN. I can yield no further.

Mr. Speaker, I think one thing must be made very clear here. The limitation imposed by the Revenue and Expenditure Act on the number of employees that can be had is not at all flexible if the Post Office Department is going to remain in that limitation, for the reason that the number of employees in the Post Office is one-quarter of all the employees in the Federal Government.

The Post Office indeed needs more employees. Every month they need more employees. They have to keep up with the growth in the mail volume. It is absolute. As a matter of fact, if they do not get more employees to keep up with the growing volume of mail, it will cost more money, for the reason they will have to pay more overtime for regular employees to handle that increased load.

It is incumbent upon us to keep faith with the Post Office Department. After all, we have the finest Post Office Department in the world, and they are striving to be better every day.

What we are trying to do here today in exempting the Post Office from the limitation on employes is merely consistent action, because, after all, we did raise the rates of postage the people must pay, and we promised better service.

The Appropriations Committee has cooperated splendidly with the Post Office Department in supplying them funds for research and development and for more employees. The Post Office Department responded with better and expanded service every day and all the time.

I submit that we ought to look at the problem of the Post Office, which is growing so rapidly in volume of mail it handles. When we talk about growing rapidly, we are talking about growing from 81 billion pieces to 84 billion pieces in a year. That is tremendous volume. As I think the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL] said yesterday, the growth in a single year of our mail volume is more than the volume of mail for all of France. That is just our growth.

As a matter of fact, I was startled by some figures I have here, showing that we handled 80 billion pieces of mail. If there is a 1-percent error, that means we have four misdirected pieces of mail for every man, woman, and child in a year.

I strongly recommend adoption of the conference report.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the conference committee on this bill, I declined to sign the conference report. For those who voted for the tax bill, I invite attention to what you voted for. The Revenue and Expenditures Control Act of 1968 provided the Director of the Bureau of the Budget may reassign vacancies in one department or agency to another department or agency when such reassignment is in the opinion of the Director necessary or appropriate because of the creation of a new department or agency, because of a change in functions, or for the more efficient operation of the Government. That is the law you enacted a month ago with respect to permanent employees, and another provision, with respect to temporary and part-time employees, is almost verbatim the same language.

The question now for those who voted for the tax increase bill with these provisions, plus the assurance that there would be a cut in expenditures by $6 billion in this fiscal year is: When do you propose to make good?

The further question is: Why did not the department and agency heads, including the Postmaster General, Director of the Budget, and the Secretary of the Treasury, knowing these manpower hiring restrictions were in the bill, not come to the Congress before the final vote and say, "This is unacceptable"? Nothing of the kind happened. What were they waiting for? Why did they not come to Congress and say: "These agencies and departments cannot live with these restrictions"?

I think we all know the answer. This would have jeopardized passage of the 10-percent tax increase, and those in the administration who were promoting the $10 to $12 billion increase in taxes did not mean what they said and did not say what they meant about cutting spending and chopping 250,000 off the payroll. It is just about that simple.

A member of the other body has shed some light on the subject of what has been going on. It is against the rules of the House to use his name, but his remarks will be found on page 24507 of the RECORD. He points out that while CONGRESS last month, June, was talking about a rollback of employment, the Federal employee payroll was soaring to a record high. He said:

> I call attention to the indefensible manner in which the Johnson administration deliberately padded the public payroll by adding over 95,000 extra employees in the 30-day period immediately prior to his signing the tax increase legislation, which also embraced a mandatory reduction in both expenditures and Federal civilian employment.

Under the title of "The Great Texas Hypocrisy," this member of the other body goes on to say:

> This spectacular increase in employment for the month of June brings the total number of employees on the Federal payroll as of July 1 to 3,026,376, the highest since 1945.

Mr. Speaker, instead of cooperating with Congress to reduce the Federal payroll by 250,000, the President has winked at the restrictions in the law and stood idly by while threats of curtailment of service have been made. Meanwhile, 95,000 have been added to the payroll in 1 month. This is why the member of the other body labels what is taking place as "The Great Texas Hypocrisy," and he could not have described it more accurately.

Mr. Speaker, I reiterate my opposition to this conference report and denounce this conduct of the Government's business.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. I should like to pursue the question I raised with the gentleman from Montana.

My recollection is that the 1969 appropriation bill for the Post Office Department provided approximately $7 billion. One-fourth of that would be about $1.8 billion.

Under title 31 of the United States Code, section 665, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget is required by law, within 30 days after the signing into law of an appropriation bill, to apportion that money to the department by quarters.

What I should like to know is how much the Director of the Bureau of the Budget apportioned to the Post Office Department for use in the first quarter, which is almost over and will be over at the end of August? Can any member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service inform me and the Members of this?

Since the time of the gentleman has expired and I am unable to get any time in my own right, it appears obvious that I am not going to get an answer to the question. This is unfortunate because it is a very important question and the answer should be on the record during this debate.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. STEED].

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I come here today to support this conference report because it is inconceivable to me that any Member who really understands what is at stake could do anything else.

I want to make clear at the outset that we are not talking here about saving money. The money-saving part of postal operations has already been decided in the appropriation bill. I believe all Members will remember we gave them the tightest budget in about 20 years.

We are talking about losing money or wasting money or destroying service. If we do not give the Department the manpower it must have to continue its business then we will have to suffer the penalty of bad postal service.

The Department has two sources of impact on manpower requirements which are beyond its control, and both are going at a hot and fast pace. First, of course, is the tremendous increase in mail volume—over three billion additional pieces a year. It just simply takes more people to deliver that much additional mail. Secondly, we have more places to deliver mail every day. About 1,400,000 new addresses every year are getting mail delivery every day. These two things require clerks and carriers. That is what makes the big manpower demand.

There is one point I should like to clear up here, about the 20,000 people hired in June. Those people had nothing to do with this year's problem, but I thought the Members would like to know the facts since the matter was brought up earlier.

About 11,000 of those people were forced upon the Department by a program which the Congress passed to hire the so-called disadvantaged. They are temporary employees, but they are on the postal payroll for the summer. I am not one who advocates that program, and I am sure we would find, if they were free to talk, the people in the Department would likewise say so.

Some 5,000 of the people they put on are the temporary employees they always hire during summer vacation time, because, with 700,000 employees entitled to vacations, they do need a few extra people if they are to permit some of their employees to have vacations in the summer and to be with their families.

The other 4,000 or 5,000 are those normally required during the course of the year as a result of the growth in volume, and to replace normal turnover in workforce. We allowed them about 15,000 additional permanent personnel for postal operations for this coming year, and they will certainly need all those people if the volume of mail and the number of places to which mail must be delivered continue to go up as they have been for the past 10 years.

This much is certain, if we leave this manpower restriction in effect, the Department cannot continue mail service at its present level of efficiency. They cannot reduce mail volume. The only alternative is to reduce service where possible and pay overtime to get the work done. Therefore, you will get less for your money and poorer mail service. Keep in mind also that just a short time ago this Congress increased the postage rates.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with the charge that the Postmaster General has been trying to club the

Congress. I cannot believe anybody wants to be that unfair. The Postmaster General has no choice to do anything except what he has been doing in the light of the mandate that we have given him. First of all, he would be derelict in his duty if he did not do what he did and would be subject to imprisonment if he did less. We have given him no authority to do anything else.

I believe if we adopt this conference report, we will have the assurance of adequate and continued good postal service. We will not have these cutbacks and we will be back in business the way we need to be in order to give the American people the high quality postal service they deserve and for which they are paying over and above their taxes.

Mr. Speaker, the Post Office Department last year was able to make better economies than they thought they could at the beginning of the year. Near the close of the fiscal year, they came to our committee voluntarily and surrendered $99 million of their budget because they had done better than they thought they could. There is no better evidence of good faith. If they can save money, I firmly believe they will do it. I believe, in the light of that, we ought to give these people a lot more consideration and a lot more credit than some of us have been giving them.

Mr. Speaker, I have one final point: A number of other agencies are faced with serious problems stemming from this same manpower restriction. I have in mind, particularly, those agencies concerned with collection of revenue and adequate law enforcement such as the Internal Revenue Service, the Bureau of Customs, the Secret Service, and others who have no control over their workloads. I cannot believe that Congress intended to further deteriorate the two major problems facing our Nation today—adequate revenues to support the Government and effective and impartial enforcement of the laws. And I serve notice now that this is something the Congress must face up to in the very near future.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Daniels].

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, there is one bit of confusion I want to dispel. Somehow there seems to be the assumption that if the Post Office is exempted from personnel limitations, we will be defeating the purpose of economy.

In the case of the Post Office Department the exemption from the personnel limitation is a completely separate issue. We are not talking about relieving the Post Office of any of its obligations to reduce expenditures as required by the law.

This is a problem of people, not of money.

It is because people would not be available that service must be curtailed. The money has been appropriated by the Congress—cut substantially from the amount requested by the President, I might add—and additionally the appropriated funds will be still further reduced because the Department will take its full share of the $6 billion cut required by Congress in the President's budget.

Let me amplify on the expenditure reduction for a moment. Because the Department earns very substantial revenue from the sale of its services, it very nearly pays its entire cost. The net expenditures of the Department are relatively small. It is my understanding that the Post Office Department will have to reduce its expenditures by more than the amount that would be in proportion to the relationship between its net expenditures and the total of all expenditures in the executive branch.

So the Post Office is not to get any relief from expenditure reduction. This is a problem simply of the personnel limitations.

In actual fact, the application of personnel limitations will cause an increase in postal cost. I wonder how shortsighted we can be. In the name of economy we demand actions that result in higher costs and an absolute waste of taxpayer funds.

Let us assume that a certain amount of work today requires four full-time postal workers. Under the current law as vacancies occur these four workers will be reduced to three. The remaining three would have to do the work of four.

There is no escape for it—unless you want to let the Post Office Department burn the mail or dump it in the parking lot—these three men are going to have to work longer hours to do the work of four. That means overtime at 50 percent more cost. So, like I say, we have spent more money instead of saving it.

Still further, three men would not finish the job as quickly as four men. So the mail is delayed and the service is worse.

Three men working longer hours are going to be tired, work more slowly, make more errors.

The only exemption that I support is an exemption from the personnel limitations so that the Department can save money, do its share of expenditure reduction, and keep the mail moving on time.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois, a member of the committee [Mr. Derwinski].

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would imagine from the remarks that have been made thus far that if anyone were to oppose this bill vigorously, he would be like Don Quixote charging against the windmills, and since I am not in that mood today I will not take that approach. However, I must make a few comments for the record so that we know exactly what we have done this morning.

First I commend the conferees for one item they referred to in which I agree, and that is stressing the need to cut back on regional offices. Regional offices have become a graveyard for the political hacks in the Department. We could achieve quite an economy if we could terminate the structure. All they do is shuffle papers back and forth. You cannot get an answer out of the regional office that is not cleared in Washington. So it is a wasteful structure in the Department.

I would also like to point out to the Members—and the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Steed] touched on this a moment ago—that the Post Office Department, by administration policy, is forced to hire marginal personnel. This is so especially in the big city post offices like Chicago. Hiring standards have been lowered so that they are hiring personnel under minimum standards. Once they are hired, of course, they cannot be removed and, as a result, mail service deteriorates. Unless we maintain the effectiveness of personnel in the Department and cease hiring inadequate personnel we will have greater problems with mail delivery.

May I direct attention to page 4 the conferees list figures of possible reductions of personnel. Please do not take them to be the gospel. These are figures of the Department. These figures have been concocted merely to make this conference report look good and they bear little resemblance to fact. However, the committee had not any figures to refute them. The committee did not even take the time to consult or to discuss this with the Postmaster General.

Mr. Speaker, one other point I would like to make is this: A few weeks ago the President's Commission recommended that we turn the Post Office Department into a nonprofit Government corporation. Considering the fact that the Post Office Department is in fact a nonprofit organization now, this is a good idea.

I would suggest that as a closing testimonial to the great white father of the present administration, we support the proposal since this is one Commission that he has concocted that might merit some support.

Mr. Speaker, we are not going to be able to solve any of the problems of the Post Office until we take politics out of the Department and until we really go to work and straighten out the total mess that this Department is faced with.

Mr. Speaker, I have, as a member of the committee, watched the growth of the Post Office Department and have been properly upset at the complete indifference to sound administrative practices and, therefore, economy in operations. However, in checking my files I came across a very interesting statement by former Postmaster General Gronouski at a time when he joyfully greeted a Supreme Court ruling striking down the law controlling Communist propaganda mail. This is his statement of May 24, 1965:

> The United States Supreme Court's ruling striking down the communist propaganda mail control law will save the Post Office Department a quarter of a million dollars a year.
>
> Despite its good intentions, the law had proved practically unworkable and was a harassment to serious scholars and newsmen. Ever since I have been Postmaster General, I have been concerned about the implications of this program on freedom of speech. I am pleased that the Supreme Court has now clarified this issue.
>
> The ruling will free about 40 postal employees for other work.
>
> Post Offices at the 11 points of entry at which the law had been implemented have been notified to discontinue immediately their work on this program.

Please note how pleased he was that 40 employees were freed for other work while Communist propaganda mail is delivered without restriction by the Post

Office Department. May I add that none of the Postmaster Generals have shown any interest in curtailing the use of the mails by peddlers of pornography. If they would cooperate rather than battle the efforts of Congress in this field they might free postal employees for other duties if the volume of smut literature could be terminated.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. WALDIE], a member of the committee.

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report. But I also rise to express reservations with respect thereto; the same reservations and questions which I raised when the bill was pending before the House for consideration. That reservation was sufficiently strong that it caused me to vote against the bill at that time and that reservation still remains.

Mr. Speaker, this bill would create a new Federal crime, covering criminal conduct, which would be under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government instead of the State and local governments where control and jurisdiction of such criminal conduct now resides.

Mr. Speaker, the testimony which we received was to the effect that the assaults upon the postmen and the men carrying the mail occurred while they were engaged in delivery of mail to the people of the local community and most of them as a result of bites by dogs owned by the patrons of the Post Office Department. The testimony was very clear that the local authorities and the local agencies in all instances had properly disposed of the cases and that the local courts provided sufficient penalties to meet this situation in the disposition of all cases involved.

Mr. Speaker, it does not make sense to me for the Congress of the United States to enact into law legislation to meet every contingency which is normally and satisfactorily handled at the State and local levels. If we continue to create a new Federal law to dispose of every case of injustice that comes to our notice, we will end up with a central police force and we will have the Federal courts faced with such a backlog of cases and clogged calendars in the Federal court system that they will literally be unable to function.

Mr. Speaker, we should not remove from the State and local authorities the responsibility of these authorities to meet situations such as these. Law enforcement should be a local responsibility; not a Federal. This measure contradicts this essential theme of our democracy and its division-of-powers theory.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, we are moving into the campaign season, and I can almost guarantee that every Member of this House seeking reelection will be out in the hustings claiming they are "foursquare" for economy and efficiency in Government. Despite this, when an effort is made to introduce some economy and efficiency into Government operations, this Congress runs away from it so fast that you would think it was a plague.

Mr. Speaker, this conference report today is a typical example. This report would take the Post Office Department completely out of the personnel restraint imposed in the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act.

Let me clearly emphasize at the outset that no situation must be allowed to exist that will impair the essential postal services to which the American people are entitled. The personnel provisions in the recent tax bill were designed to avoid this result. Congress did feel that since the administration was asking the American people to tighten their belts by paying higher taxes, economies should also be effected by the Government that would return order to the Nation's fiscal affairs. But in doing this, Congress recognized that the personnel needs of some agencies—such as the Post Office—are higher. It therefore granted the administration specific authority to reallocate vacancies among agencies.

There are certainly places in the vastly expanded Federal Establishment where jobs can be found that are not essential today, and that could be reallocated to the Post Office. But, has the Director of the Bureau of the Budget done this? No. He has not allocated one single job to the Post Office Department from any other agency. Instead, the administration has regrettably attempted to scare the American people and blackjack the Congress by proposing a series of unrealistic cuts in services far beyond anything required in the new law. The absurdity of these proposals is demonstrated by the fact that many of these curtailments are not even proposed until 1972. In short, Mr. Speaker, the present problem of the Post Office Department is directly attributable to the failure of the administration—particularly the Director of the Bureau of the Budget—to use the authority that Congress provided specifically for situations like that facing the Post Office Department.

Instead of the administration using its authority through the Budget Bureau to reallocate vacancies in accordance with priorities demanded by the present fiscal mess, the administration sent Postmaster General Watson to Congress to play partisan politics with an essential public service. An analysis of Mr. Watson's testimony will indicate that it was not designed to help in a solution of the problems that we face, but was purely a partisan political maneuver. His case for relief was based primarily on the need for a much higher personnel level than that prevailing in June of 1966 due to several factors:

First. There has been an 8.4 billion increase in the number of pieces of mail delivered between fiscal year 1966 and 1969—75.6 to 84 billion;

Second. Since 1966 postal carriers delivered to 5 million more locations, and the increase in area covered has gone up between 5½ and 6 percent; and

Third. Total deliveries have increased by about 5 million—from 62 to 67 million—between fiscal year 1966 and 1969.

The real question that these figures raise can only be resolved by translating this increased workload into specific manpower needs. In his testimony Mr. Watson failed completely to do this, relying instead on public relations techniques. He compared the increase in mail volume to the annual mail volume of France and the increase in the number of addresses served to the addresses served throughout Canada. Given the differences of geography, population levels, the level of business activity, economies to scale resulting from larger volume, and other factors, his comparisons are completely irrelevant.

Additionally, his specific figures relating to the numerical increase in deliveries, in mail volume—pieces delivered—and locations and area served were not particularly helpful to the committee. For instance, an analysis of his figures shows the 8.4 billion increase in pieces of mail delivered is an 11.1-percent increase from fiscal year 1966 to fiscal year 1969. Deliveries increased by 8.1 percent—62 to 67 million. The area served went up less than 6 percent—actually 5.9 percent in the cities and 5.4 percent in rural route mileage.

Yet, the percentage increase in the number of permanent positions from June 30, 1966, to the level appropriated for fiscal 1969 was greater than any of the foregoing—15.5 percent—from 489,898 to 566,474. Mr. Watson did not compute this percentage increase in employment or make any attempt to relate it to the increase in workload to which he refers. Although this was relevant to the possibility of the increased efficiency Congress hoped for, it was irrelevant to Mr. Watson's political ploy.

While it is impossible to make this comparison for him, a few self-evident facts should be kept in mind. First of all, during the period 1966–69 the new ZIP code method should have been producing greater efficiency and some savings in personnel. Additionally, the Post Office should have benefited from the technological revolution affecting business in general. It could be expected that new computers, mail sorting machines, automatic stamp machines, and other labor-saving devices would have resulted in economies reducing overall personnel needs. The increased demand for postal services which Mr. Watson referred to normally has the effect of increasing technological innovation in most industries. It should have had this effect on the postal service, but Mr. Watson chose to omit discussion of it in his testimony.

Finally, and most important, the increased volume in mail, area covered, and delivery stations normally would result in "economies of scale," requiring a smaller percentage increase in employees than the percentage increase in workload. Thus as mail volume or delivery locations increase, we need more postmen, but normally we would not need a directly proportionate increase. It does not take twice as many postmen to deliver two letters to a house as it does one letter to a house; similarly, if one postman is delivering to three houses on a block, it does not require two postmen to deliver to six houses on the same block.

Despite the administration's attempt to defog the issues, it is clear that in recent years we have had a deterioration in the quality of service, accompanied by an increase in employment outrunning any increase in the workload. This is not due to the postal employees. As the recent report of the President's Commission on Postal Organization—the Kappel Commission report—makes clear—these employees are hardworking, dedicated, and conscientious. In view of the handicaps which the present system imposes, they have done a good job. I favor implementing the report's recommendation for changing the basic structure by removing the Post Office from the political arena and establishing services on a businesslike basis.

In arriving at this recommendation, the analysis developed by the Kappel Commission report makes it clear that it would be a mistake to assume that there is no room for increased efficiency coupled with improving services in the Post Office. The Congress recognized this fact when we enacted the tax bill a little over a month ago. This congressional action has already prodded the administration into taking long overdue action that will take a small step toward improved postal efficiency. On July 25, the President finally took some steps to require Federal agencies to standardize their envelopes, which will facilitate use of high-speed mail-processing machines. It is my understanding that the postal systems in Europe have long required this standardization of envelopes. If this Government leadership, backed up by one-tenth of the muscle that the administration has used in the area of foreign investments by corporations, is followed by business, the savings to the postal service will be $50 million.

Despite this hopeful sign, the legislation before the House assumes that there is no room for improved efficiency in the Post Office. It provides a blanket exemption, completely removing any incentive for improved operations. This is the wrong approach. I must oppose eliminating the Post Office Department from any restraints.

I want to make it very clear that the Post Office does need some relief, particularly in view of the failure of the administration to cooperate, but it does not require complete exemption from the law.

I will support legislation to give the Department relief, but I will not support the complete exemption contained in the conference report that is now before us.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford].

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply grateful to the chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

I regret very much the unfair charge against the Congress by the executive branch of the Government, and particularly the Postmaster General. The impression has been created in the minds of the public that the personnel reduction provisions in the tax increase-expenditure control legislation, is inflexible. The truth is that the personnel reduction provision gives Government-wide flexibility, and it is regrettable that the Director of the Bureau of the Budget or somebody in control has not used that flexibility in the intended and constructive way.

The top officials handling this legislation could take a job from some Federal department that is being decreased in employees and assign it to the Post Office Department.

For example, they could take jobs away from the foreign aid agency that is being reduced and assign it to the Post Office Department.

But this ironclad, inflexible attitude in the executive branch is resulting in the alleged need and the necessity in the minds of some for this legislation.

The provision in the bill that we passed, the tax increase, spending limitation and personnel reduction bill or provision did not require the executive branch of the Government to fire one employee. It did not say that the Post Office Department could not hire employees. It just said that Government-wide for every four employees who left the Government service, only three could be hired. If they could not handle it in the Post Office Department, they could make adjustments elsewhere.

I regret the situation where the public is not being told the full and total truth.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this conference report because I believe it is the only proper action for us to take at this time. I would have much preferred it had the Postmaster General appeared before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee to give detailed information on his plans, the difficulties to be faced by his Department if the cuts were carried out, and sought the advice and assistance of the committee. He chose instead to ignore the committee of Congress charged with this responsibility and made a press-relations exercise in publicity complete with pressure tactics. I believe every Member of Congress should properly object to this action.

However, I am convinced, as I have long been, that arbitrary ceilings on employment have resulted in less efficiency and greater cost in the postal service. The workload is increasing and the people are demanding better service. It is no secret that the delivery of mail and parcels has been subjected to more criticisms in recent months than in several years, and with adequate reason. I still urge that the Postmaster General take another look at the damage that has been done to parcel post delivery and the intradivisional movement of mail by the shift from rail transit to movement by air. These very substantial problems remain and demand solution.

Much has been said, and accurately I believe, that no cut in personnel of the size stated by the Postmaster General is required by the existing law. That this administration chose to proceed in the opposite direction is a matter of record and will become better known to the public as time goes by—and it should be. Congress should not accept the light in which the administration has cast it.

Nevertheless, since the administration refuses to exercise its responsibility, the Congress must. But let the record show that this is further evidence of bad faith in the passage of the revenue and expenditure control bill. The manpower requirements are real. They are present and immediate. They must be met, in spite of—not because of—the pressures exerted against the Congress.

The postal field service has a proud tradition of service and I, for one, hope we can preserve this tradition.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of the time remaining on this side to the gentleman from Arizona [Mr Udall] to close debate.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report and yet to express concern that the Post Office Department is so involved in politics and political maneuvering that it feels impelled to make this request of Congress. As has been previously mentioned, the Revenue and Expenditures Control Act of 1968 gives discretionary authority to the Director of the Budget, a part of the Executive Office of the President, to assign cuts to agencies in any manner it feels will least disturb public service. It seems reasonable to me that cuts could be made in the Office of Economic Opportunity, in the model cities program, or in foreign aid, but the administration in its wisdom, knowing that postal service is close to the people, has chosen to turn out press releases indicating such a drastic curtailment of postal service that the people of the country will be concerned and will express that concern to the Congress. In my opinion, there would be no need to reduce postal services in any manner if the President chose to make the cuts in some other manner. A Presidential commission has recommended the establishment of a Government corporation to operate the postal service. To me, it seems more important to take politics out of the Department if we are to improve the quality of our mail service. Certainly it should not be used as a lever to thwart congressional efforts, to reduce spending and balance the budget. However, inasmuch as the administration has chosen to either force the exemption of the Post Office Department from the operation of the economy measure or to reduce and even eliminate mail service, Congress has no choice but to approve the conference report.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, as this debate draws to a close, let me just make about three brief points.

First, with regard to the flexibility issue discussed by the minority leader.

Of course, the surtax and expenditure control bill provides for flexibility in the reduction of Government employees. But the question is, Where shall the ax fall—shall it fall on the Post Office Department? Or somewhere else?

If we exempt the Post Office Department, then other agencies will be compelled not only to take their share of the reduction but to absorb the reduction of the Post Office as well.

Let me say to my friend, the minority leader, I checked this morning to see what exemptions are in the legislative mill, where action has been taken, on what we are talking about today.

There is a rider on the defense appropriation bill which had some support on both sides of the aisle that says that we will relieve 90,000 naval shipyard workers from this cutback.

The FBI has an exemption in some legislation already in the mill.

The conferees on another bill are considering an exemption for the FAA controllers, for air safety.

I am reminded of an old story of William Jennings Bryan where a fellow's coat was stolen off the restaurant rack and the thief put it on and started to run away when a policeman pulled his gun and was going to shoot. The owner of the coat said, "Shoot him in the pants." Everyone wants the shot or the ax to fall someplace else—everyone wants the thief to be shot in the pants.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I agree that perhaps the Congress ought to raise the overall level a bit. As I understand it, the House Committee on Ways and Means has provided some overall relief in this area. But I think it is far better, if you are going to give relief, to give it Government-wide so that the Director of the Bureau of the Budget has the additional flexibility to meet the problem.

But the way we are doing it today, if it is done, and I suspect that it will be, you are limiting it to a single department here. Undoubtedly the next bill will have some relief for another department and so on.

Is it not far preferable to do it on a Government-wide basis and to put responsibility in the top of the executive department to use some sense in handling this problem?

Mr. UDALL. Well, again about all I can say is if we are going to do it on a Government-wide basis, Ways and Means will give us an opportunity later today to take a step in that direction.

But the Post Office Department service is in a situation where it should never have been bracketed in here.

But let me turn to another point that has been touched upon here today. As long as we are telling stories here, let me tell another.

A coroner's jury could not figure out how a death occurred back in the hills of the Ozarks somewhere. But finally they came up and said, "We, the jury, find the deceased came to his death by reason of an act of God—but under very suspicious circumstances."

My friend from Iowa and the Senator he refers to find it very suspicious that Post Office employment increased during the month of June.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I would first like to finish.

Mr. HALL. What I would like to say applies to the "story" that the gentleman has told.

Mr. UDALL. I have a limited amount of time, and I want to get some more stories in, if I can.

Mr. HALL. I think it would be profitable if the gentleman would yield.

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman for yielding. Did the alleged "Coroner's Jury in the Ozarks" have any testimony about the damage done under these suspicious circumstances, and did either the conferees or has the committee of the House, had any testimony from the Postmaster General himself—or his designee—that it would irreparably damage the Postal Service, that it would severely hamper business or industry, and so forth as listed on the last page of the conference report? The answer is "Yes" or "No."

Mr. UDALL. We were satisfied. The Postmaster General testified extensively before the Ways and Means Committee and extensively before the Senate counterpart committee. We had that testimony available. The answer is, No, the House committee did not take testimony on that subject.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for one quick observation?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman from Iowa did not limit his statement to the Post Office Department. He said 95,000 Federal employees had been hired in the one month of June, Government-wide.

Mr. UDALL. Oh, yes, this is all very suspicious, that suddenly in the month of June we had a great increase in employment. First, we did not have the tax bill until the latter part of June. No one knew whether we would have it or not. There was considerable doubt on that point. I think that is a partial answer.

Second, I have discovered some other very curious and suspicious things. During the months of May and June there were more bathing suits sold than there were in March and January. There were also more air conditioners sold. Historically, in the month of June people go on vacations in the Ozark Mountains, and the beaches open up. We need more forest rangers in the month of June. There are a lot of seasonal things that go on in the Federal Government, and it happens every June. I just happen to have the comparative figures for last year for the Post Office Department.

In this suspicious month of June last year, if you exempt this 10,000-man Presidential summer employment program which we did not have last year and which the Congress authorized and funded, if you leave that out, last year the Post Office Department increase for the month of June was 16,000. This year the comparable figure is not 16,000. It is 9,000. So that we had a far less increase this year. The Postmaster General indeed was making efforts even in June to keep from unduly increasing the number of his employees.

It was said here earlier, and I refer back to what the gentleman from Oklahoma talked about—and this is a fundamental thing that I do not think is widely recognized—there are two parts to this Expenditure Control Act. One deals with money; the other deals with manpower. We are not talking about the money part of it here today. The $6 billion mandatory cut is still in effect. This legislation does not touch it in any way.

If you recall what we said in connection with that act, we said that there will be a $6 billion reduction in expenditures; that we in the Congress would take a whack at it first, and if we did not do the full $6 billion, then the President and the Director of the Budget must do it.

Of that $6 billion, $4 billion has been reduced and accounted for in the House appropriation bills already passed. Of that $4 billion, $132 million has already been cut out of the Post Office Department's budget. So we are making progress on the $6 billion reduction. You cannot just equate the reduction of manpower, as the gentleman from Oklahoma said, with a reduction in money. We can increase the manpower the Post Office Department needs and still have the Post Office Department absorb its part of this $6 billion cut.

I want to say in response to something said earlier today about what a vote for this bill would mean; a vote "no" on this conference report will mean a cutback in postal service this coming Saturday. It will mean the closing of many post offices in your districts. That is what a vote against this conference report will do. It will also be a vote to fire 83,000 clerks and carriers over the next couple of years. It will be a vote for catastrophe in the Postal Service. I urge you to vote "aye."

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I have determined that I should be counted among that lonely band that will vote "no" on this conference report. It should be understood that this is not because I am against the original bill but because I feel it necessary to register my protest against the amendment added to it in the other body, and adopted by the conferees, which has the effect of giving the Post Office Department a near-blanket exemption from the employee-ceiling requirement of the well-known surtax bill.

Mr. Speaker, the vote I shall thus cast will be neither a very practical one since—as I indicated during the colloquy I had with the distingiushed Gentleman from New York [Mr. Duslki] earlier today—I am certain that the Post Office Department will eventually need some relief from that employee ceiling, nor a very good political one since my mail already indicates that my constituents do not look kindly on any curtailment in their postal service of the kinds the Postmaster General has been threatening.

However, despite all the fuzziness of the figures that were thrown around here earlier in this debate, I do not believe the Post Office Department is presently in such difficult straits—and I wish to underscore the word "presently"—as to require this near-total exemption from the employee-ceiling we are about to give it. We may well come to that point, but we are not there yet, and personally I do not like to see us give in so easily as we evidently are prepared to do to the kind of pressure tactics that are being exerted against us and our constituents.

On Friday of last week—July 26, under special order granted me—I spoke on this problem at some length. My remarks, if anyone is interested, are on pages 23729 through 23731 of the Record for that day.

During the course of those remarks, I referred to a statement by the author of the employee-ceiling provision of the surtax bill, as made the other day in the other body, to the effect that we might just as well junk the whole idea of trying to roll back Federal employment levels in this fashion as to keep on, as we are, "shooting bullet holes in the bottom of the bucket."

By today's action—and I know the conference report will be adopted—we will actually be putting a shotgun blast through the bottom of that "bucket," and thereby demonstrating once again our near total inability to get any sort of firm grip on the level of Federal spending.

Is there an alternative—even if one accepts the fact that the Post Office Department, along with the FBI, the FAA, the TVA and several other alphabet-soup type of Federal agencies, will need relief from a rigidly mandated employment ceiling?

Yes, I believe there is, and the Ways and Means Committee, whose members—with the exception of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES]—have been markedly silent throughout this debate, pointed that alternative out on yesterday when it reported out H.R. 18985 which would set up a pool of 14,000 positions for the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to use, as he thinks needed, throughout the Federal Establishment, without regard to the surtax bill's mandate against filling more than three of each subsequently occurring four Federal job vacancies.

Now, it may be that a pool of that size—and allowing at least that much flexibility in application of the employee ceiling—would not be big enough to take care of the Post Office Department's true needs for very long. But—and this is important—it is stated in the committee's report on this new attempt at giving some flexibility to all this, and I quote:

> In September, after the congressional recess, it is anticipated that more information will be available to the Congress as to the impact of the employee ceiling and the problems arising under this provision. At that time the employee ceiling may be reconsidered and modifications in it developed if Congress should consider this desirable.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what is wrong with that—except for the fact that, if we approach our problem in that more thoughtful and objective way, we will be missing this opportunity to tumble over each other in our haste to show our constituents that, by George, we are not going to let anybody cut back on the postal service if we can help it?

I would suppose that, if we pass this conference report, the Ways and Means alternative, to which I just referred, may never come to the floor—and, indeed, why should it? After today, it would be a little late to do much good, for the floodgates will again be open, Federal employee levels will go on soaring upward, with Federal spending levels following along, so that one must really ask—especially those of us who voted for the surtax bill only because it also mandated a lower level of Federal spending—how much anti-inflationary impact it will eventually prove to have.

Well, there is really little more to be said, except that blanket expenditure cuts and rigid employee ceilings are not the right way for Congress to try to control Federal spending levels. As this experience is indicating—and as we shall soon discover, I am sure, with respect to today's news that the President has chosen to freeze some impacted school-aid funds—in which action, incidentally, I believe he is right—it is here that Federal priorities must be sorted and resorted, and it is here that the painful decisions as to what to cut and what not to cut should be made.

I do not believe that the Post Office Department can or should be immune from consideration in that difficult task. This is why, when the regular Post Office Department appropriation bill was before this body, back in April, I offered an amendment to it to eliminate, for the time being, Saturday deliveries of mail in residential areas. It seemed to me then—and still does, though I know others disagree—that this was a low-priority service item and, if cuts had to be made, the one to which both the public and the service could most easily adjust. That amendment did not carry, of course, though there were 100 Members besides myself who voted for it on a subsequent rollcall when it was offered as a recommital motion. But my point is, Mr. Speaker, that this was an honest attempt on my part to get at the heart of the question of priorities on a specific, item-by-item basis, and that, if we had made a similar attempt at that sort of thing all year long, and stood up against whatever fears of political reprisals such votes might cost us, I doubt very much we would be here in the fix we are in today.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, there is one bit of confusion I want to dispel. Somehow there seems to be the assumption that if the Post Office is exempted from personnel limitations, we will be defeating the purpose of economy.

In the case of the Post Office Department the exemption from the personnel limitation is a completely separate issue. We are not talking about relieving the Post Office of any of its obligations to reduce expenditures as required by the law.

This is a problem of people, not of money.

It is because people would not be available that service must be curtailed. The money has been appropriated by the Congress—cut substantially from the amount requested by the President, I might add—and additionally the appropriated funds will be still further reduced because the Department will take its full share of the $6 billion cut required by Congress in the President's budget.

Let me amplify on the expenditure reduction for a moment. Because the Department earns very substantial revenue from the sale of its services, it very nearly pays its entire cost. The net expenditures of the Department are relatively small. It is my understanding that the Post Office Department will have to reduce its expenditures by more than the amount that would be in proportion to the relationship between its net expenditures and the total of all expenditures in the executive branch.

So the Post Office is not to get any relief from expenditure reduction. This is a problem simply of the personnel limitations.

In actual fact, the application of personnel limitations will cause an increase in postal cost. I wonder how shortsighted we can be. In the name of economy we demand actions that result in higher costs and an absolute waste of taxpayer funds.

A certain amount of work today requires four full-time postal workers. Under the current law as vacancies occur these four workers will be reduced to three. The remaining three would have to do the work of four.

There is no escape for it—unless you want to let the Post Office Department burn the mail or dump it in the parking lot—these three men are going to have to work longer hours to do the work of four. That means overtime at 50 percent more cost. So as I said a moment ago we would spend more money instead of saving it.

Still further, three men will not finish the job as quickly as four men. So the mail is delayed and the service is worse.

Three men working longer hours are going to be tired, work more slowly, make more errors.

The only exemption that I support is an exemption from the personnel limitations so that the Department can save money, do its share of expenditure reduction, and keep the mail moving on time.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I urge the House to adopt this conference report which will prevent many of our faithful, loyal, and much-needed postal employees from being discharged. This conference report will prevent our small rural post offices from being arbitrarily closed. To me it is incredible that any curtailment of service, closing of small rural post offices, or reduction in employees generally was ever proposed. The volume of mail being handled cannot be controlled by the U.S. Government. The volume of mail is daily increasing. The American people expect the mail to be delivered.

Mail volume has increased from 75 billion pieces of mail in fiscal 1966 to an estimated 84 billion pieces this fiscal year. As this report states, from fiscal year 1966 to the end of fiscal year 1969, it is estimated that city deliveries of mail will increase by 4 million, rural deliveries will increase by 660,000, business deliveries will increase by 358,000, and the population of our country will increase by 4 million.

Mail volume will continue to increase as our economy grows and our population increases. To handle this mail will require additional personnel—not less. It would be tragic to close rural post offices. It would sound the death knell of rural America at a time when we need desperately to encourage the development of rural areas and the location of industries and employment in the small cities.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad the Congress is taking action to protect our postal employees, save our rural post offices and provide adequate service for the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the House to adopt this report by an overwhelming vote and serve notice that the Congress is not going to be intimidated and coerced into false economy regarding our mail service.

Mr. Speaker, the following is from the committee report and I commend it to the attention of the Congress and the country:

> In the judgment of the conferees, to leave the postal service to the mercy of the employment ceiling would be the ultimate in false economy.
>
> It would irreparably damage the postal service.
>
> It would severely hamper business and industry, and tend to undermine the economy at a time when vibrant economic growth is imperative to support the Government's fiscal reforms.
>
> It would virtually hamstring postal management and enforce drastic curtailment of postal services.
>
> It would relegate the American public to second-class situations in terms of availability and usefulness of their chief means of communication.
>
> The results would be disastrous in the face of ever-rising and uncontrollable mail volume.
>
> The chaos in the Postal Establishment would be equaled only by the indignation of an outraged public.
>
> Impairment of the postal service, such as the postal ceilings, will be specially dangerous because of the extraordinary and unique function performed by the postal service.
>
> The postal service affects more Americans individually and personally and exerts a far broader and more direct influence in their unique cultural and social pursuits than does any other Government activity.
>
> The adoption of the conference provision removing the postal service from the personnel ceiling will alleviate these major problems that would arise upon curtailment of the postal service.

Mr. **HALPERN**. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report on H.R. 15387, a bill whose chief purpose is to permit the employment of postal personnel sufficient to provide adequate postal service to the public.

The importance of the postal service to the American public cannot be disputed. It is the vital lifeline in our society and economy without which our economic, industrial, and social institutions would be seriously disrupted. Such disruption has fortunately never happened in this Nation's history. The postal service has functioned 7 days a week ever since the Government was established, even including the Civil War, when the U.S. Post Office Department continued to deliver mail in the Confederacy.

Unlike some Government functions, the volume of mail cannot be controlled unless Congress increases rates of postage to make it economically unrealistic, or unless Congress enacts legislation placing an embargo upon the mailing of a particular class or kind of mail. Absent these extraordinary remedies, mail volume will increase as the economy grows and as the population increases.

Mail volume has increased from 75.6 billion pieces in fiscal year 1966 to an estimated 84 billion pieces in fiscal year 1969, an increase of 8.4 billion pieces. By fiscal year 1973 the estimated annual volume will be about 93 billion pieces. There is a material qualitative difference in present-day postal service as compared with the 1966 level. Four million more homes have city delivery service, 666,000 more homes have rural service, and 358,000 businesses have been added to service requirements. This is an increase of over 5 million locations—equivalent to the total of all addresses served throughout Canada.

The population of the United States has increased 4 million since 1966. The gross national product has increased from $717.5 billion in fiscal year 1966 to $822.1 billion in fiscal year 1968. Mail to American servicemen in Vietnam has increased 59 percent during the same 2-year period. To roll back by attrition the level of employment in the Post Office to that existing on June 30, 1966, would require a reduction of 76,539 full-time permanent positions and 6,699 nonpermanent positions, a total of 83,238.

Neither the existing nor the most optimistically planned postal facilities could serve as warehouse for temporary storage depots for mail that would pile up to clog postal channels. There simply is not enough space. We have only to recall the dramatic evidence of this in the Chicago Post Office 2 years ago, when a deluge of mail literally smothered the employees and left them no room to do their work.

In the final analysis, therefore, the employment cutback provision calls for postal employees eventually to process and deliver 17 billion more pieces of mail than they did in 1966, but with only the same number of people they had in 1966. This intolerable extra burden of work will fall on the backs of our postal employees, unless the relief provided by H.R. 15387 is granted.

I feel sure my colleagues here will agree with my feeling on this subject and support this worthy legislation.

Mr. **BOLAND**. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my strong support for this bill to exempt the Post Office Department from the personnel cutbacks demanded by the 1968 Revenue and Expenditure Act.

An understaffed Post Office Department would pose a major threat to the country's economy. The continued growth of business and industry—the backbone of our economic system—hinges upon swift and efficient mail service. Major curtailments in this service, indeed, even minor curtailments, would jeopardize the economy just as it appears to be shaking off the burdens that have slowed its progress over the past few years. Studies have revealed a direct relationship between economic growth and the amount of mail generated by business activity. To hinder this vital means of communication would be to hinder the business community itself, creating a hardship for business institutions ranging all the way from giant industries to corner grocery stores.

The average citizen, too, would be adversely affected by curtailments in mail service. The elderly, for example, depend upon prompt delivery of the pension checks and social security checks that are often their sole means of livelihood. Rural housewives, similarly, depend upon the mails to shop for family clothing and household appliances. People throughout the United States have a right to expect adequate mail service. They pay handsomely for it—both in taxes and in postage costs.

Yet a provision of the 1968 Revenue and Expenditure Act directs the Post Office Department, among other Government departments and agencies, to fill only three of every four job vacancies until its work force is trimmed back to the 1966 level.

A personnel cutback of this magnitude would virtually destroy the standard of brisk efficiency that the Post Office Department has achieved under Postmasters General Lawrence O'Brien and Marvin Watson, forcing it to deplete its employee ranks at the same time that its mail volume is soaring upward at an unprecedented rate. The number of mail pieces that the Department handles annually has jumped from 75.6 billion in 1966 to an anticipated 84 billion this year, an increase of more than 8 billion pieces. The number of mail delivery addresses, moreover, has moved from 63 million up to 67 million in the same 2-year period. It is clear, Mr. Speaker, that the Post Office Department simply will not be able to process the swelling mail volume if its work force is cut to the 1966 level. The Department is now faced with this bleak dilemma: either put an embargo on certain categories of mail other than first class—the only category the Department must deliver under its mandate—or curtail mail service as a whole. For the time being the Department has chosen the latter alternative, prefering to restrict the services offered to all mail users rather than abandoning outright the services offered to a few users. But in the future, as the mail volume spurts upward and the personnel level plunges downward, the Department may well be forced into implementing the mail embargoes it outlined before the Congress earlier this year.

It is clear, Mr. Speaker, that the ceiling on Post Office Department manpower must be eliminated before it destroys the efficiency of mail service throughout the United States.

Any money this ceiling might save for the Government—if, indeed, it saves any money at all—would be trivial in comparison with the widespread economic damage it would cause. The following letter from a businessman in Monson, Mass., points out how the elimination of Saturday deliveries and pickups has jeopardized his firm:

DANIEL O'CONNOR & SONS, INC.,
Monson, Mass., July 22, 1968.

Hon. EDWARD BOLAND,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

We are a small business that through 35 years of hard work, many times over 16 hours a day we built up a business that catered to over 500 other small businesses, namely the amusement parks and carnivals throughout the United States.

As most of these carnivals are moving every week the only way they can receive material is through the post office. We have a rural route number for over 70 years and have built this post office in Monson up to a first class post office and shipped thousands of these drive cables all over the United States and Canada and with special handling on most we found that delivery and pickups at the various post offices were made on Saturday.

We were astounded to learn that starting this Saturday we can no longer ship anything out or can our customers pick up any of the shipments that were made during the week . . .

Sincerely,

DANIEL F. O'CONNOR.

Another letter, this one from a woman in Springfield, Mass., makes clear the general public concern over curtailments in mail service:

> SPRINGFIELD, MASS.,
> *July 19, 1968.*
>
> Representative EDWARD BOLAND,
> *House of Representatives,*
> *Washington, D.C.*
>
> DEAR MR. BOLAND: We wish to register our extreme displeasure with the new Government directive, curtailing mail service to business and residential areas.
>
> Despite higher taxes, increased postal rates and other personal sacrifices, our services are continually lessened.
>
> Our beloved President, the late John F. Kennedy, once remarked, "What can you do for your country?"
>
> Throughout our lifetime, we have given of ourselves in every area, education, medicine and military service with distinction both in World War II and presently in Vietnam. We shall continue to be loyal and dedicated Americans.
>
> Why does our bureaucracy keep demanding more and more from each citizen? Is there something you can do to stop this unjust curtailment of mail service?
>
> Respectfully yours,
> BESS BENNETT.

Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress must accept our responsibility to see that the Post Office Department is amply staffed and amply funded in this era of rising mail demands.

I urge swift and favorable action on the bill now before us.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I have listened to this debate with close attention and great interest. I happen to be one of those who did not support the tax increase and expenditure reduction package. The more I consider my stand on the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act, the better I feel that I did not support this measure.

In our present dilemma over the curtailment of postal service, it is much easier for a Member who did not go along with the surtax increase to be able to point out he is in no way responsible for any of the conditions which have led to the proposal to curtail postal service.

However, that may be of slight comfort. We must face the realities of the situation. We are faced in this country today with the fact the Postmaster General has delayed for 1 week the previously issued order to close certain post offices and to reduce all urban delivery service to 5 days per week, and has even threatened to reduce rural service to 3 days a week.

Where we are today it does little good to point fingers or call names as to whether or not our Ways and Means Committee failed to consult with the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. At this moment it is even too late to argue whether we relinquished to the administration the responsibility to make cuts in expenditures which should have been made by the Congress. It is my opinion it is even too late to debate whether the executive branch could or might exempt the Post Office Department without action by the Congress. It is pointless even to question whether this might be the start of piece-meal exemptions from expenditure controls. We face a condition we must do something about quickly.

I have heard it contended by some Members that the action of the Postmaster General is a sort of gimmick or a kind of scare tactic. Regardless of the truth or falsity of the charges, we face an emergency through the disruption of postal service.

It is quite possible the Bureau of the Budget could have made selective reductions in other departments and spared the Post Office Department. I am not sure whether this was attempted or whether there may be truth in the charge that the Post Office Department just was not interested in any alternatives, but really wanted to create a crisis.

Notwithstanding, this action should serve as a lesson that the executive branch realizes good mail service is a sensitive subject and that they also know Congress will respond to provide good service. What we should be certain of is that, if we exempt the Post Office Department from the manpower ceilings, are we going to have improved service? In other words, if we provide this exemption and grant immunity to the Post Office Department, what assurance are we going to have that there will be no more post office closings, that there will be a 6-day-a-week delivery and that the rural areas will be served as well as the urban areas?

It is my judgment it is going to do little good for any of us to berate each other now, whatever committee we may belong to or whether we voted for or against the tax increase. The fact remains we have, it seems, only authorized the executive branch to use the meat-axe approach on expenditure reductions rather than some selective, carefully thought-out, planned priorities that would do the least damage to the least number. Now is the time to undo in part this unwise authorization.

I happen to be one of those who thought the Congress had exempted the postal services as well as the Veterans' Administration and Vietnam expenditures. Because I opposed the whole package I suppose I am not held to the same high degree of care as those who supported the package. I now learn the Senate clearly proposed the Post Office Department be exempted and it may have been the House conferees who failed to insist upon the exemption in the conference report. Thus the conference report did not actually include exemption for the Post Office Department. As it stands at the moment, we have before us a good conference report. It should be adopted.

My remaining observation is that, because we raised postal rates last December, we had best make certain good postal service is provided. In a few days we are going to have about a month's recess. It is my considered prediction if we do not agree to this conference report, we will be saying to our people, "Yes, we raised your rates but you must be willing to accept worse postal service than you had at the old or lower rates." I am sure my colleagues understand that if we do not act with dispatch, our August recess will turn out to be the longest, the most unpleasant, and the most miserable recess of all time. Moreover, our constituents will see to it we move around in our congressional districts faster than at any time in our congressional careers. The reason that will be so is we will literally be on the run trying to outdistance the irate constituents. The recess will seem much longer than 30 days because of the justified wrath of the postal patrons who will be sitting on our doorsteps.

The SPEAKER. All time has expired.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the conference report.

The question was taken.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 345, nays 24, not voting 63, as follows:

[Roll No. 302]

YEAS—345

Abbitt
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blackburn
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Cabell
Carey
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Cohelan
Conable
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Culver
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flynt
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Griffiths
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, N.C.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kyl
Kyros
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Lloyd
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Matsunaga
May

Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Calif.
Miller, Ohio
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Monagan
Montgomery
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Konski
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Pollock
Price, Ill.
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scheuer
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Tunney
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—24

Abernethy
Arends
Ashbrook
Bennett
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Collier
Curtis
Ford, Gerald R.
Goodling
Gross
Hall
Jonas
Laird
Michel
Mills
Price, Tex.
Robison
Roth
Schneebeli
Smith, Calif.
Taft
Utt

NOT VOTING—63

Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Ashmore
Baring
Battin
Blanton
Bolton
Bow
Brock
Burke, Fla.
Burton, Utah
Celler
Colmer
Conte
Cowger
Cramer
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Dent
Devine
Dole
Esch
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Flood
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Goodell
Gray
Gude
Halleck
Hansen, Idaho
Hawkins
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Herlong
Holland
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Kirwan
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Lukens
McDade
Mathias, Md.
Mize
Moore
Morse, Mass.
Morton
O'Hara, Mich.
Quie
Quillen
Rarick
Rees
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Roudebush
Ullman
Waggonner
Watson

So the conference report was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Hébert with Mrs. Bolton.

Mr. Waggonnner with Mr. Dole.

Mr. Ashmore with Mr. Watson.

Mr. Dent with Mr. McDade.

Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. Brock.

Mr. Celler with Mr. Conte.

Mr. Blanton with Mr. Cowger.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Morton.

Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Burke of Florida.

Mr. Everett with Mr. Moore.

Mr. Colmer with Mr. Halleck.

Mr. Flood with Mr. Morse of Massachusetts.

Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.

Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. O'Hara of Michigan with Mr. Mathias of Maryland.

Mr. Baring with Mr. Battin.

Mr. Karsten with Mr. Burton of Utah.

Mr. Ullman with Mr. Cramer.

Mr. Rees with Mr. Lipscomb.

Mr. Hawkins with Mr. Holland.

Mr. Resnick with Mr. Kupferman.

Mr. Gray with Mr. Goodell.

Mr. Rarick with Mr. Davis of Wisconsin.

Mr. Herlong with Mr. Devine.

Mr. de la Garza with Mr. Rhodes of Arizona.

Mr. Quillen with Mr. Kuykendall.

Mr. Gude with Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts.

Mr. Roudebush with Mr. Mize.

Mr. Lukens with Mr. Quie.

Mr. Esch with Mr. Hansen of Idaho.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 302 I was unavoidably detained, and did not vote. Had I been present I would have voted "yea."

PERSONAL STATEMENT

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained on official business on rollcall No. 302. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 18188, DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 18188) making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. NO. 1833)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18188) "making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 2, 4, 15, and 16.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 17; and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 1: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$670,954,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$120,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert: "$30,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 6: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: Insert the matter proposed by said amendment, amended to read as follows: ": *Provided further*, That of the total amount made available during the current fiscal year for administration, operation, and research expenses of the Federal-aid highway programs, not to exceed $12,718,000 shall be available for support and services furnished by elements of the Federal Highway Administration other than the Bureau of Public Roads and by other Federal agencies."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 7: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$29,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 8: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$21,050,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 9: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 9, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$7,600,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment insert: "$13,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$65,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 13: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 204. None of the funds provided under this Act shall be available for the planning or execution of programs the obligations for which are in excess of $29,000,000, exclusive of the reimbursable program, in fiscal year 1969 for 'Forest Highways'."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: Restore the matter stricken by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 205. None of the funds provided under this Act shall be available for the planning or execution of programs the obligations for which are in excess of $12,500,000 in fiscal year 1969 for 'Public Lands Highways'."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 18: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert: "208"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert: "209"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 11 and 20.

EDWARD P. BOLAND,
JOHN J. MCFALL,
SIDNEY R. YATES,
GEORGE MAHON,
WILLIAM E. MINSHALL,
CHARLES R. JONAS (except as to amendments 17 and 20),
Managers on the Part of the House.
JOHN STENNIS,
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN,
WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
JOHN O. PASTORE,
MIKE MONRONEY,
NORRIS COTTON,
MARGARET CHASE SMITH,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18188) making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION

Operations

Amendment No. 1: Appropriates $670,954,000 instead of $663,079,000 as proposed by the House and $678,899,000 as proposed by the Senate. The increase above the amount provided by the House is for 998 positions for operation and maintenance of the air traffic control system. The House provided 1,401 additional positions for this effort. Thus, the conference agreement provides a total increase of 2,399 positions.

The committee of conference is in agreement that every possible effort must be made by the Federal Aviation Administration, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the commercial aircraft industry, and general aviation to alleviate the present congestion in air travel in certain areas of the nation. It is felt that the additional personnel funded will be helpful in the long term, but the time required for their training will not permit them to be very useful in the near term.

There are certain helpful short-term actions which could be taken and which have not yet been taken. A number of international flights could be shifted from overcrowded airports to less congested areas. Schedules could be stretched out throughout the day rather than bunched in the early morning and evening hours. Fare reduction incentives could be used to encourage travel in off peak hours. Not enough facilities can ever be furnished to permit all flights to depart at 5 to 6 p.m. Better utilization could be made of existing airports such as Dulles International in the Washington, D.C., area. There are several former military airfields which are not presently being utilized which could be used for commercial or general aviation purposes. These and other practical, relatively simple steps should be taken without delay and at little cost. Continued failure to face reality in the use of the air space must not be permitted.

Within the money available in this act, the FAA is directed to maintain the tower control facilities at Paine Field, Wash., due to an emergency due to the withdrawal of the Air Force.

Facilities and equipment

Amendment No. 2: Deletes language proposed by the Senate which would have permitted purchase of one new aircraft.

Amendment No. 3: Appropriates $120,000,000 instead of $65,000,000 as provided by the House and $191,500,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Research and development

Amendment No. 4: Appropriates $27,000,000 as proposed by the House instead of $38,500,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Grants-in-aid for airports

Amendment No. 5: Appropriates $30,000,000 instead of $65,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION

Amendment No. 6: Includes language as proposed by the Senate identifying as a line item that part of the sum available for general expenses to be used by elements of the Federal Highway Administration other than the Bureau of Public Roads. The Senate language was amended to include the phrase "not to exceed".

Amendment No. 7: Appropriates $29,000,000 for liquidation of contract authorization for "Forest highways" instead of $26,000,000 as proposed by the House and $33,000,000 as proposed by the Senate. It is intended that the program be managed so that no additional liquidating cash is required in fiscal year 1969.

Amendment No. 8: Provides that $21,050,000 of the amount authorized for "Forest highways" for fiscal year 1968 be appropriated instead of $18,050,000 as proposed by the House and $25,050,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 9: Appropriates $7,600,000 for liquidation of contract authorization for "Public lands highways" instead of $6,200,000 as proposed by the House and $9,000,000 as proposed by the Senate. It is intended that the program be managed so that no additional liquidating cash is required in fiscal year 1969.

FEDERAL RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION

Amendment No. 10: Appropriates $13,000,000 for "High-speed ground transportation research and development" instead of $16,200,000 as proposed by the Senate. The item had not been included by the House since the necessary authorization had not been enacted at the time of House consideration.

The $950,000 requested for a test facility is denied. No funds will be provided for the test facility until a site for the facility has been selected.

The request for $43,000 for five new positions, and the positions, are denied.

No part of the reduction is to be applied to the Boston-New York or New York-Washington demonstration programs.

URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION

Amendment No. 11: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers will offer a motion to appropriate $175,000,000 for "Urban mass transportation grants" instead of $200,000,000 as proposed by the Senate. The program was not included by the House since the necessary authorizing legislation had not been enacted at the time of House consideration.

Language has been included in the bill making $30,000,000 available only for research, development, and demonstration grants.

The committee of conference is in agreement that the project files retained by the Department of Housing and Urban Development should be terminated as soon as practicable, and that none of the funds appropriated under this heading shall be used for such projects.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Amendment No. 12: Limits obligations for "State and community highway safety" to $65,000,000 instead of $60,000,000 as proposed by the House and $80,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The committee of conference directs that the funds provided be obligated only on the most essential and practical program activities in the belief that concentration of funding on fewer programs than are proposed in the Budget will result in more clearly demonstrable accomplishments.

Amendment No. 13: Restores House provision and limits obligations for "Forest highways" to $29,000,000 instead of $26,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 14: Restores House provision and limits obligations for "Public lands highways" to $12,500,000 instead of $9,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendments Nos. 15 and 16: Restores section numbers as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 17: Deletes expenditure limitation proposed by the House.

Amendments Nos. 18 and 19: Change section numbers.

Amendment No. 20: Reported in disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur with the Senate amendment exempting air traffic control personnel from the personnel ceiling in Public Law 90–364.

EDWARD P. BOLAND,
JOHN J. MCFALL,
SIDNEY R. YATES,
GEORGE MAHON,
WILLIAM E. MINSHALL,
CHARLES R. JONAS (except as to amendments 17 and 20),
Managers on the Part of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BOLAND] is recognized.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the conferees have brought back a bill which has a total amount of new obligational authority of $1,634,266,000.

This figure is $297,766,000 below the budget estimates. It is $280,875,000 above the House figure.

When this bill left the House, the total amount in the bill was $1,353,391,000.

The $280,875,000 above the House figure is attributable in large part to programs not considered by the House. For example, $175 million is provided for urban mass transportation. That program was not authorized at the time the House considered the bill.

There is $30 million in the bill for grants-in-aid to airports, and $13 million for high-speed ground transportation that was not authorized when the House considered the bill. A total of $218 million is carried for these three programs in the $280 million above the House figure. But I hasten to add that the bill is $154,145,000 below the Senate figure. This was not accomplished without great difficulty.

It is also—and I think the Members of this House can take some satisfaction in this—around $74 million below the appropriations for the fiscal year 1968. The budget estimates were reduced by 15 percent.

So, Mr. Speaker, on that basis I would hope that the Members of the House would accept our work and agree to this conference report. The following table gives the figures in detail:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS APPROVED FOR 1969

[Note: All amounts are in the form of "appropriations" unless otherwise indicated]

Agency and item	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968 [1]	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	House bill	Senate bill	Conference action	Conference action compared with—			
						New budget (obligational) authority, 1968	Budget estimates, 1969	House bill	Senate bill
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
TITLE I									
Office of the Secretary									
Salaries and expenses	$7,475,000	$11,335,000	$9,800,000	$9,800,000	$9,800,000	+$2,325,000	−$1,535,000		
Transportation research	5,950,000	7,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	+50,000	−1,000,000		
Total, Office of the Secretary	13,425,000	18,335,000	15,800,000	15,800,000	15,800,000	+2,375,000	−2,535,000		
Coast Guard									
Operating expenses	347,351,000	391,560,000	362,000,000	362,000,000	362,000,000	+14,649,000	−29,560,000		
Acquisition, construction, and improvements	107,014,000	107,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000	−17,014,000	−17,000,000		
Reserve training	24,300,000	(2)	25,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000	+700,000	+25,000,000		
Retired pay	48,199,000	51,056,000	51,000,000	51,000,000	51,000,000	+2,801,000	−56,000		
Research, development, test and evaluation		9,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	+4,000,000	−5,000,000		
Total, Coast Guard	526,864,000	558,616,000	532,000,000	532,000,000	532,000,000	+5,136,000	−26,616,000		
Federal Aviation Administratio									
Operations	617,400,000	663,079,000	663,079,000	678,899,000	670,954,000	+53,554,000	+7,875,000	+$7,875,000	$7,945,000
Facilities and equipment	54,000,000	70,000,000	65,000,000	191,500,000	120,000,000	+66,000,000	+50,000,000	+55,000,000	−71,500,000
Research and development	27,000,000	28,000,000	27,000,000	38,500,000	27,000,000		−1,000,000		−11,500,000
Operation and maintenance, National Capital Airports	8,715,000	9,019,000	8,900,000	8,900,000	8,900,000	+185,000	−119,000		
Construction, National Capital Airports	160,000	1,000,000	700,000	700,000	700,000	+540,000	−300,000		
Grants-in-aid for airports:									
Fiscal year 1969	70,000,000					−70,000,000			
Fiscal year 1970		65,000,000	(3)	65,000,000	30,000,000	+30,000,000	−35,000,000	+30,000,000	−35,000,000
Civil supersonic aircraft development	142,375,000	223,000,000				142,375,000	−223,000,000		
Rescission of unobligated funds			(−30,000,000)	(−30,000,000)	(−30,000,000)	(−30,000,000)	(−30,000,000)		
Total, Federal Aviation Administration	919,650,000	1,059,098,000	764,679,000	983,499,000	857,554,000	−62,096,000	−201,544,000	+92,875,000	−125,945,000
Federal Highway Administration									
Limitation on general expenses	(59,927,000)	(68,186,000)	(65,556,000)	(65,556,000)	(65,556,000)	(+5,629,000)	(−2,630,000)		
Federal-aid highways (trust fund—appropriation to liquidate contract authorization)	(4,170,872,000)	(4,158,000,000)	(4,155,370,000)	(4,155,370,000)	(4,155,370,000)	(−15,502,000)	(−2,630,000)		
Highway beautification	1,200,000	1,508,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	−200,000	−508,000		
Traffic and highway safety:									
Appropriation	21,034,000	30,305,000	26,500,000	26,500,000	26,500,000	+5,466,000	−3,805,000		
By transfer	(1,100,000)	(1,255,000)	(1,200,000)	(1,200,000)	(1,200,000)	(+100,000)	(−55,000)		
State and community highway safety:									
Appropriation to liquidate contract authorization	(25,000,000)	(70,000,000)	(50,000,000)	(50,000,000)	(50,000,000)	(+25,000,000)	(−20,000,000)		
Limitation on obligations	(25,000,000)	[4] (140,039,000)	(60,000,000)	(80,000,000)	(65,000,000)	(+40,000,000)	(−75,039,000)	(+5,000,000)	(−15,000,000)
Motor carrier safety	1,833,000	2,012,000	2,012,000	2,012,000	2,012,000	+179,000			
Forest highways:									
Appropriation to liquidate contract authorization	(32,000,000)	(33,000,000)	(26,000,000)	(33,000,000)	(29,000,000)	(−3,000,000)	(−4,000,000)	(+3,000,000)	(−4,000,000)
Limitation on obligations	[5] (38,364,000)	[4] (38,298,000)	(26,000,000)	[4] (38,298,000)	(29,000,000)	(−9,364,000)	(−9,298,000)	(+3,000,000)	(−9,298,000)
Public lands highways:									
Appropriation to liquidate contract authorization	(9,000,000)	(9,000,000	(6,200,000)	(9,000,000)	(7,600,000)	(−1,400,000)	(−1,400,000)	(+1,400,000)	(−1,400,000)
Limitation on obligations	[5] (14,000,000)	[4] (16,000,000)	(9,000,000)	[4] (16,000,000)	(12,500,000)	(−1,500,000)	(−3,500,000)	(+3,500,000)	(−3,500,000)
Inter-American Highway	5,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,0000,00	2,000,000	−3,000,000			
Chamizal Memorial Highway	4,000,000	4,000,000				−4,000,000	−4,000,000		
Alaskan assistance	5,000,000					−5,000,000			
Repair and reconstruction of highways	15,097,772					−15,097,772			
Total, Federal Highway Administration	53,164,772	39,825,000	31,512,000	31,512,000	31,512,000	−21,652,772	−8,313,000		

See footnotes at end of table.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS APPROVED FOR 1969—Continued

[Note: All amounts are in the form of "appropriations" unless otherwise indicated]

Agency and item	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968[1]	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	House bill	Senate bill	Conference action	Conference action compared with—			
						New budget (obligational) authority, 1968	Budget estimates, 1969	House bill	Senate bill
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
TTILE I—Continued									
Federal Railroad Administration									
Office of the Administrator, salaries and expenses	$680,000	$1,032,000	$900,000	$900,000	$900,000	+$220,000	-$132,000		
Bureau of Railroad Safety	3,414,000	3,820,000	3,700,000	3,700,000	3,700,000	+286,000	-120,000		
High-speed ground transportation research and development	11,750,000	16,200,000	[3]	16,200,000	13,000,000	+1,250,000	-3,200,000	+$13,000,000	-$3,200,000
Railroad research	200,000	400,000	300,000	300,000	300,000	+100,000	-100,000		
Total, Federal Railroad Administration	16,044,000	21,452,000	4,900,000	21,100,000	17,900,000	+1,856,000	-3,552,000	+13,000,000	-3,200,000
Urban Mass Transportation Administration									
Urban mass transportation grants:									
Fiscal year 1969	175,000,000					-175,000,000			
Fiscal year 1970		230,000,000	[6]	200,000,000	175,000,000	+175,000,000	-55,000,000	+175,000,000	-25,000,000
St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation									
Limitation on administrative expenses	(514,000)	(560,000)	(550,000)	(550,000)	(550,000)	(+36,000)	(-10,000)		
National Transportation Safety Board									
Salaries and expenses	4,057,000	4,706,000	4,500,000	4,500,000	4,500,000	+443,000	-206,000		
Total, title I, new budget (obligational) authority	1,708,204,772	1,932,032,000	1,353,391,000	1,788,411,000	1,634,266,000	-73,938,772	-297,766,000	+280,875,000	-154,145,000
Consisting of—									
Appropriations:									
Fiscal year 1968	(1,463,204,772)					(-1,463,204,772)			
Fiscal year 1969	(245,000,000)	(1,637,032,000)	(1,353,391,000)	(1,523,411,000)	(1,429,266,000)	(+1,184,266,000)	(-207,766,000)	(+75,875,000)	(-94,145,000)
Fiscal year 1970		(295,000,000)		(265,000,000)	(205,000,000)	(+205,000,000)	(-90,000,000)	(+205,000,000)	(-60,000,000)
Memoranda:									
Appropriations to liquidate contract authorizations	(4,236,872,000)	(4,270,000,000)	(4,237,570,000)	(4,247,370,000)	(4,241,970,000)	(+5,098,000)	(-28,030,000)	(+4,400,000)	(-5,400,000)
Rescission of unobligated funds			(-30,000,000)	(-30,000,000)	(-30,000,000)	(-30,000,000)	(-30,000,000)		
Grand total	(5,945,076,772)	(6,202,032,000)	(5,560,961,000)	(6,005,781,000)	(5,846,236,000)	(-98,840,772)	(-355,796,000)	(+285,275,000)	(-159,545,000)

---

[1] Amounts have not been reduced to reflect reserves pursuant to Public Law 90-218 (H.J. Res. 888).
[2] Estimate of $25,024,000 carried under "Operating expenses."
[3] Deferred.
[4] No limitation proposed. Estimated obligations as shown in January 1968 Budget appendix.
[5] No limitation enacted. Estimated obligations as shown in January 1968 Budget appendix.
[6] Not considered.

We did have some difficult problems in the conference. An agreement on the part of the managers of the House was reached only after much discussion with the Senate on items particularly with reference to the Federal Aviation Administration. On the "Operations" appropriations, the House appropriated the entire $663 million requested, including 1,401 additional positions for operations of the air traffic control system. We also approved 230 new positions for the flight standards program.

The Senate added $15,700,000 plus for "Operations." This would have added 1,996 new personnel to the 1,631 that the House provided for. So the House conferees split the difference and we agreed to include 998 new personnel for operation and maintenance of the air traffic control system above those put in by the House.

So the total number of personnel for the air traffic control system provided for in this bill will run to around 2,400 personnel.

We have had great difficulties with airport congestion which is of concern both to commercial aviation and to general aviation. We are trying to meet the problem. We cannot solve that problem immediately. It is a current problem, but we cannot solve it today. We cannot solve it tomorrow. The problem of air traffic safety is a long-range problem that has to be solved not by personnel alone, but has to be solved by additional facilities and equipment and by better planning.

The conference report brings back an additional amount for "Facilities and equipment" which is $55 million above the House figure and $50 million above the budget. May I add that this item alone was increased by the Senate from our $65,000,000, to $191,500,000. The House conferees arrived at an agreement which will bring the total figure up to $120 million for "Facilities and equipment" for the fiscal year 1969.

It is the judgment of the House conferees that this is a fair figure. It is impossible to obtain the complex equipment tomorrow. They are long leadtime items, primarily. It is equipment which is absolutely essential for the proper safety of the air-traveling passengers and for the safety of general aviation and commercial aviation, too.

So, Mr. Speaker, I think the House can go along with this figure. I think it is a figure which is a good figure, and I am sure the aviation industry, and certainly the FAA, ought to be able to live with it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, do I understand that the Senate Appropriations Committee or the conference committee put language in this bill exempting the FAA from the provisions of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968?

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, amendment No. 20 of the conference report does exempt the air traffic controllers of the FAA from the provisions of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act. It was the feeling of the conferees on the House side that we should agree to the Senate amendment.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, then, with the adoption of this report, twice within the matter of about an hour we will have breached the firm commitment made by those who voted for the 10-percent tax increase that there will be expenditure cuts of $6 billion and manpower reductions to a total of $250,000. Twice within an hour the House will have breached that solemn agreement that was made to the taxpayer.

Mr. BOLAND. The gentleman is correct, and it will be breached again, I presume, before we recess at the end of this week.

Mr. GROSS. I cannot believe the gentleman takes any satisfaction in that sort of procedure.

Mr. BOLAND. The gentleman from Massachusetts—and I think I bespeak the sentiment of the conferees on the bill—feels we were satisfied in agreeing to the exemption of the air traffic controllers. This is a very difficult problem. Even if the exemption were not carried in this bill, it would be unthinkable for the Secretary of Transportation to apply the reduction to the air traffic controllers. All we are saying is that this is the policy of the Congress and that if there are reductions in personnel, they will not come where air traffic safety is involved.

The fact is that we do not have enough controllers now, and we are never going to fully meet the air traffic problems until we have sufficient controllers.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman again yield?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. Can the gentleman or anyone else in this Chamber shed any light on the reason why the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Director of the Transportation Department, Mr. Boyd, or any other head of a department of Government—and all those who are affected by this manpower-control provision in the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act—did not come to Congress preceding the adoption of the conference report on the tax bill and point out they would be in difficulty? Why, when that conference report was before the House, was there not the slightest suggestion that any department head or agency of the Government disagreed on the manpower restrictions? Can the gentleman or any Member of the House shed any light on the reason why we did not hear from the White House and other officials downtown at that time?

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I must confess to the gentleman, I do not know the reason why, and I cannot shed any light on it.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from Iowa knows, the big thrust over a period of months was to pass a tax bill coupled with an expenditure reduction. This got the attention. But over in the other body there was a usurpation of the authority of another committee, and the adoption of a limitation on personnel in the Government.

This proposal, to the effect that only three out of four vacancies could be filled and, if necessary, to roll back employees in some instances to the 1966 level, was a part of the tax-expenditure reduction package. It was not discussed at length on the floor.

The Director of the Bureau of the Budget was perfectly aware of it. He protested the proposal. It was well known to many of us that it was thought to be unworkable. There was no acquiescence whatsoever on the part of the executive, and many in the legislative branch opposed the adoption of this proposal, but the other body was adamant on the proposal.

I am sure if the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills] were here, he would say that he did not sponsor the proposal. It was a part of the package, and we had to take it as part of the package. This is the best explanation I can make. I am sure the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills] or the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Byrnes] or other members of the Ways and Means Committee could shed more light on the matter, but certainly this was and is the wrong way to approach the matter of personnel limitations.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for one more comment?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, after all, the President of the United States signed this bill knowing what it contained, and it was agreed to by the various agencies downtown. The President signed the bill.

The gentleman speaks of usurpation of authority in the handling of the tax bill. Yes, there was usurpation, and the gentleman from Iowa offered the House an opportunity to do something about that usurpation of constitutional authority by the other body in connection with the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act.

The gentleman well recalls that I rose to a question of privilege of the House and my attempt to defend the integrity was tabled.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Certainly there is no question as to where the personnel ceiling and the restraint amendments came from. They came from the Senate. They were added on in the Senate.

Let me point out also, that is where the dollar limitation came from. It was a Senate amendment.

Those were the two items in conference, which were involved in whether we were to have a tax increase or not. Many of us voted for the tax increase on the basis that it could only be effective and meaningful if accompanied by a restraint in the area of Government on spending. But this was also an item of restraint and limitation on executive expansion.

I will agree with the gentleman, and we agreed in conference, that there had to be more than just a flat rule. There had to be some flexibility. We provided some flexibility. I believe I would grant that probably we needed more flexibility than we gave them.

The Committee on Ways and Means met yesterday, and we voted for a proposal which I believe we might as well forget about, if the Congress is going "hellbent" for just exempting every other agency. The whole thing becomes meaningless.

Our effort and our purpose, quite frankly, was to provide more of a flexibility within the executive branch to meet any emergency problems that developed, such as there may be in this instance. I am no authority on the problem of the controllers, as the gentleman is. If they have a personnel problem, they could go to this pool.

We granted a pool of 14,000, which the Director of the Bureau of the Budget could call on for these kinds of situations. If he wanted to add 1,000 new employees to the FAA for this purpose, the Bureau of the Budget could transfer them.

It seems to me, rather than just throwing the whole proposal to put some restraint on personnel practices out the window, which is what we are doing by these individual exemptions, frankly, we would be much better off if we tried to make the provision which was in the act more meaningful and more workable.

I will say to the gentleman. I almost give up on the proposition of trying to do something meaningful, because Congress cannot do anything meaningful if the administration downtown will not at least make an effort to make it workable. The administration can take and subvert any action of this Congress by the way it acts with respect to it. If we do something they do not like, they can turn it into the worst action possible by just refusing to make it workable. That is where we are at the mercy right now, it seems to me, of the executive branch. They do not want it. They will not use it. They are going to prove it is unworkable.

So where are we? I believe we are in an impossible situation.

Mr. BOLAND. The reason the conferees put in this exemption is to tell the department and the Budget Bureau that if there are to be personnel reductions at all, there will not be reductions any place in the area of air traffic control, which is so essential to air safety. Everyone knows what has transpired in the past few months; the situation will get worse instead of better. There is a crisis in air travel; there is no question about it.

What we are saying to the department is that there will be no reduction in air traffic control personnel. This bill provides 2,399 new positons to operate and maintain the air traffic control system. The FAA says it is not enough people. In our judgment, we believe it is enough.

It takes 2 years to train an air traffic controller. It takes him 3 years to become fully trained and 4 years to become an expert.

Some controllers are now working 6 days a week. We cannot expect these men to work under the tensions under which they work and to labor under the conditions they labor, and expect to have safety in the air. It just will not work.

It just cannot work. The evidence from the FAA indicates that some of the controllers are handling 15 aircraft simultaneously on radar. This is far and away beyond the ability of any human being to handle for any length of time. The optimum number, the indication is, should be about eight. So here we are about double the optimum figure for the safe handling of operations. I just do not think we ought to permit it to continue.

One of the reasons why we did not go along, and I think a good reason why we did not go along with the Senate on every dime they wanted, is because we believe—at least I am convinced in my own mind from having sat on the committee over a long number of years—that there ought to be greater user charges paid by the aviation industry, both the commercial and general aviation ends of it. There is no question about it. They are not paying their fair share of the ever-increasing load, and if we continue to pump money into the FAA for the air traffic control system without demanding user charge legislation, we will never get it. That is the reason why we insisted on our position, and I think it is a good position.

The same thing applies to airports. There ought to be a new look by the Administration at the airport system around the Nation.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. I think the statement that is being made by the chairman of the subcommittee is very appropriate.

With respect to the colloquy with the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES], I think the point ought to be made that the lifting of the personnel ceiling does not mean that the economy efforts of this Congress are going down the drain. This does not mean we are not reducing appropriations in this session of Congress by a minimum of $10 billion. We will achieve that goal, which is the major goal of the tax bill, along with the increased revenue. The matter of personnel ceilings was not sufficiently considered, and is not fully workable. It will have a dampening influence on the hiring of additional personnel, but some adjustments have to be made. However, this in no way detracts from the good work being done by the Congress in holding down expenditures and in reducing the hiring of new personnel as requested in the budget.

I want to make one point clear. All is not lost by any means as a result of this portion of the bill, which relates only to certain personnel. After all, the major control we have here is over the money provided, and not in the language relating to personnel. Personnel is related to money, of course, but the restriction in the tax bill is to some extent unworkable as to personnel. It is being revised here, and it will be revised further. The Committee on Ways and Means is proposing a further revision in the pool of some 14,000. I think this will relieve the pressure.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield on that point?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. What is the point now of trying to work out some reasonable arrangement for a pool if we are here bent on exempting every agency, which is apparently what we are doing? If we have a bill here and we have some other bill some place else that are exempting these agencies, I am almost afraid that it is pointless. We might as well repeal it, and maybe we ought to repeal the whole act.

Mr. MAHON. Everybody knows we are not trying to exempt all of the agencies. It was utterly preposterous to think that the Post Office Department could live under this unworkable provision. Here, some slight exemption is being made, but in the overall the bill is not exempting personnel from reductions.

We have another conference report up today, and some exemption is being made with respect to the FBI in it, but the great rank and file of the employees are not being exempted.

Mr. BOLAND. May I say to the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the committee, that he is exactly right. All we are doing here is exempting the air traffic constrol system personnel and no one else in the department. There are some 56,000 civilian employees in the Department of Transportation. If they are going to abide by the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act, there can be reductions in other activities. All we are saying here—and Congress ought to agree to it overwhelmingly—is that if you are going to reduce personnel, you are not going to do it in the air traffic control system, and that is exactly what we do by this amendment.

With respect to funds provided for urban mass transportation, I wish to make it clear that the bill will not affect performance of functions in this area which were retained by the Department of Housing and Urban Development under Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1968. The continuing functions of HUD include administration and completion of certain projects retained by the Department under the plan, as well as new activities to be funded with appropriations already made for fiscal year 1969 and assigned to HUD pursuant to the plan. It is the intention of the conferees that procedures for coordination of these activities with the Department of Transportation be established promptly so that duplication or inconsistency of effort can be avoided and the increased effectiveness and efficiency in administration of Federal assistance to urban mass transportation made possible by the reorganization plan can be quickly and fully realized.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me yield to the gentleman from Ohio, a very valued and knowledgeable member of this committee, one of our conferees [Mr. MINSHALL].

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MINSHALL].

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BOLAND] upon his summarizing of the actions of the conferees. The gentleman from Massachusetts has done an outstanding job.

As has been mentioned, of course, we had an exemption in this bill of air traffic control employees in the FAA. But I want to emphasize that these 2,399 are definitely assigned and allocated to the air traffic control system. This is a long-term proposition. It takes 2 years to train these men and it takes a period of 4 years for them to become expert. Everyone knows about the problem of traffic congestion and delay which the airlines are experiencing throughout the country today.

This particular allocation of employees will not cure that situation immediately, but in the conference report, although we could not take any legislative action, we have suggested—and I refer the members of the committee to page 4—certain actions which we believe will help the situation right now at little or no expense to the Government.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to read from this report:

> There are certain helpful short-term actions which could be taken and which have not yet been taken. A number of international flights could be shifted from overcrowded airports to less congested areas. Schedules could be stretched out throughout the day rather than bunched in the early morning and evening hours. Fare reduction incentives could be used to encourage travel in off-peak hours. Not enough facilities can ever be furnished to permit all flights to depart at 5 or 6 p.m.—

Or I might say as far as that goes between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Speaker, resuming the quotation from the report:

> Better utilization could be made of existing airports such as Dulles International in the Washington, D.C. area. There are several former military airfields which are not presently being utilized which could be used for commercial or general aviation purposes. These and other practical, relatively simple steps should be taken without delay and at little cost. Continued failure to face reality in the use of the air space must not be permitted.

Better utilization could be made of the existing airport such as Dulles Airport in the District of Columbia area. Dulles is only operating at approximately 20 to 25 percent of capacity. Also, there are several military airfields which are not presently being utilized but which could be used for general aviation purposes. In this connection, I wish to point out right here that we have the Anacostia-Bolling Field complex which is ready to be used. However, it has been restricted to use by the White House helicopters. With the exception of a few chuckholes on taxiways and some minor runway conditions, this airport could be in operation and some of the feeder lines could be in operation within a matter of weeks.

Mr. Speaker, the Federal Aviation Administration has emphasized that use of Anacostia would not jeopardize the air traffic pattern in the Washington area. General aviation is in agreement with this, as well as other organizations. The reason it is not being used is that the Bolling-Anacostia complex is marked out for low-income housing, which could easily be located elsewhere.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MINSHALL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to make reference to the actual language of the Senate bill with respect to the action taken by the conferees. The Senate language reads as follows:

> Positions which are financed by appropriations in this Act which are determined by the Secretary of Transportation to be essential to assure public safety and which are assigned to facilities directly engaged in the operation or maintenance of the air traffic control system or the air navigation system of the Federal Aviation Administration may be filled without regard to the provisions of section 201 of Public Law 90–364, and such position shall not be taken into consideration in determining numbers of employees under subsection (a) of that section or numbers of vacancies under subsection (b) of that section.

The point I am making is that there are other positions other than air traffic controllers. There are maintenance men, for example, which are essential for the continued safety of the operation of the airlines. But the fact remains that the responsibility for this is placed directly in the Secretary of the Department of Transportation to make certain that the airlines are operated safely.

Mr. MINSHALL. I thank the gentleman.

Many of the Members have heard that complaint about the use of the Kennedy Airport where they have an average of 600 operations every day. By reducing those operations by 20 percent, by diverting some of those flights to Boston, Philadelphia, to Dulles, Chicago, to Cleveland, or some of the other key airports, such as Miami, they could reduce traffic congestion at Kennedy Airport drastically, and get rid of most of the complaints we are now getting.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MINSHALL. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I am going to vote for the conference report because I participated in the conference. I made my fight there and lost.

I invite attention to the fact that I took two exceptions when I signed the conference report, and one was to amendment No. 20, which takes these people out from under the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act personnel limitations.

I would have accepted the first part of that section, because I am in favor of exempting air traffic controllers from the employment rollback, but I thought the excepted people could and should be absorbed by other agencies and departments of the Government since the latest figures show that the number of civilian employees exceeded 3,000,000 at the end of June 1968. As it is now, the controllers are entirely exempt from the personnel limitation, as the gentleman from Wisconsin said—and he does not know it, but we will have another conference report on the floor this afternoon which will exempt additional employees.

I hear rumors that other exemptions are going to be imposed before this session ends.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that we should live up to our self-imposed mandate to reduce employment by the Government. Nobody forced us to adopt the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act. We did it voluntarily on a rollcall vote. And I for one am not in favor of marching up the economy hill one day and marching back down the next. I believe that, of providing these piecemeal exemptions, we should have met the Committee on Ways and Means halfway and urged that a rule be obtained, if necessary, and pass the bill providing the 14,000 pool that they voted out yesterday. That would have been completely adequate to take care of all of those who need to be excepted.

Once we begin whittling away at the ceiling which Congress itself solemly imposed a little more than a month ago, instead of creating a pool out of which these emergencies can be taken care of, I believe there will be no way to stop the snowball.

I repect that I was perfectly willing to grant an exception to Air Traffic Controllers but I thought the number excepted should be absorbed by the other less sensitive activities of the Government and therefore took an exception to amendment No. 20.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 additional minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MINSHALL].

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MINSHALL. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Let me say this: That I believe what we have done in setting this limitation has been good, but certainly it is reasonable to examine our actions if exemptions have to be made that should be made.

With regard to the air traffic controllers, we had testimony just this morning by the Acting Administrator of the FAA on the point that they need, not another 2,000, but another 4,000 in additional controllers to handle air traffic safely.

In addition to that point, it was pointed out that the air traffic controllers today in the major metropolitan areas are working a 10-hour day, and a 6-day week. I do not know how many of the Members realize that when they are sitting in the back end of a passenger air transport that that air traffic controller may be on his 8th or 9th or 10th hour at the end of a 6-day week. But it is pretty obvious to me that it is only reasonable to examine our actions, and if we need to make exceptions then we should make those exceptions. But I believe what Congress did in establishing limitations was good; then if exceptions must be made I believe we can treat them on an individual basis, and this is proper.

I certainly commend the conferees for the job they have done on this report.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MINSHALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JONAS. I would like to state to my friend, the gentleman from Georgia, that we cannot appropriate money on the basis of testimony given to a legislative committee.

We can only appropriate on the basis of testimony given in hearings before our subcommittees. We provided in the House bill money for every single air traffic controller that FAA asked for and was called for in the budget. That was 1,213 new ones. That is all they asked for and that is all they testified for and the record shows that that is all they said they needed.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MINSHALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS. The thing that discourages me about this whittling away is that you are now removing any discipline in establishing priorities.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Byrnes] has rightly pointed out that the executive could establish these priorities and could have done it in the Post Office Department and if the case was made that some employees should not be cut back in reference to other agencies that we have, the executive could do that. The executive could do it here.

What we are seeing exhibited here is the executive branch of the Government, the President having signed this law, is now undermining its possibility of working.

If this committee before us could put these employees in context with the needs of other agencies, then you could establish priority.

I think a good case is made for this specific group of employees. But other cases will be made for others and there has to be this kind of discipline in the establishment of priorities and the Congress cannot do this by itself. It must be done with the cooperation of the executive.

Mr. BOLAND. I think the gentleman has made a good point.

I do believe we are establishing priorities here, as the gentleman suggests we do, because we specifically say in this section that these employees are to be exempted but that other employees of the FAA and of the Department are not.

Mr. CURTIS. I agree that you are in this case, and I commend that.

But then as to other agencies of Government, you see we are not establishing priorities.

I think a good case would be given to the executive to meet the problem. But why did not the executive do it? Why did the executive encourage the Postmaster General to get on television and then organize the postal employees to put this sort of blackmail on the Congress when he knew that he could have exempted them right then and there.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MacGregor] for a question.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, when this body earlier this year passed the appropriation bill for the Department of Transportation, the House deleted all 1969 fund for the American supersonic transport aircraft and also rescinded some funds that were previously appropriated and uncommitted in the 1968 appropriation bill.

It appears to me as though the managers on the part of the House have been completely successful in the conference in maintaining the House position. Am I correct in that statement?

Mr. BOLAND. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

Mr. MacGREGOR. There is no new money in this bill for the supersonic aircraft?

Mr. BOLAND. There is no new money in this for the SST.

Mr. MacGREGOR. I congratulate the House managers for their work on this.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. Don H. Clausen] for a question.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. I just want to satisfy myself as to information that was presented to you. Were you, as an individual, and the members of the committee satisfied that the request of the FAA was a justifiable one? You have visited these air traffic control centers and you are familiar with the traffic demands and the demands made on the personnel. Are you personally satisfied with this, and I assume you are, because you presented your case in support of this conference report.

Mr. BOLAND. I would say that I am satisfied and I am sure the other conferees are with respect to the FAA budget which was $92.8 million above the House figure. Most of it is going into air traffic safety personnel and equipment. $120 million, $55 million above the House figure, is provided for new equipment and facilities. So in my judgment it is a figure which ought to be sufficient, at least for now. I do not say this will be so next year or the year after, but we are not going to solve this particular problem today or tomorrow. These are long-range problems.

I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts has outlined with crystal clarity the dimensions of the airport crisis. I believe the American people will support the position of the gentleman from Massachusetts to shift more of the load to user taxes in the financing of airports in the future. Does the gentleman believe, in the light of the fact that it is impossible to pass such a user tax bill this year in this Congress, that $30 million will be sufficient to cover Federal aid to airports?

Mr. BOLAND. In the judgment of the gentleman from Massachusetts, I think perhaps $30 million is enough to fund that program. This figure is for 1970. We forward-fund Federal aid for airports by 1 year. There is $70 million already appropriated for fiscal 1969. There will be $30 million in fiscal year 1970 for grants-in-aid to airports. So it is the judgment of the committee that this is sufficient until we get some activity on the part of legislative committees to institute user charges.

I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California [Mr. Reinecke].

Mr. REINECKE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, some of my colleagues have been wondering about conditions in the aircraft industry. The FAA Air Traffic Control Training Center is in my district. I have visited this installation several times. I have met with the air traffic controllers. I have inspected their training facilities. I know they are grossly inadequate. These men are working long hours. They come in Saturdays and take a reduction in hourly pay instead of obtaining an increase. I think this is one area where, in spite of the fact that I strongly support a reduction in Government personnel, I think this is an area that deserves the direct attention of Congress, and I fully support the conference report.

Mr. Speaker, our air traffic control procedures have not been adequately updated in many years. The fact that we have had so few mishaps is a tremendous credit to all personnel remotely involved in the air traffic controller problem in particular.

An item frequently overlooked is that adequate employee billets for training are as essential as the operational billets. Here, as few places in Government, employment excellence on a sustained basis cannot be compromised. We must recognize the needs of this all critical occupation and allow sufficient training personnel.

The equipment used likewise needs review and modernization. Parallel channels for microwave communication from search radar should be installed. A recent instance in California completely shut off contact in the Los Angeles Basin for 5 minutes with many airplanes in the air at the time—all because of a failure in a microwave relay station.

Let us face this problem realistically and offer strong support for these people by adopting the conference report.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ottinger].

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the conference report contains $13 million for high-speed ground transportation research and development. Included are funds for building two stations in New Jersey and Maryland to which I and the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss] objected in the authorization bill. The House considered no appropriation bill covering this item.

I seriously object to the diversion of these funds for the purpose of building stations in New Jersey and Maryland, and I am very distressed to find that procedurally there is no way to take appropriate action. The House should be given a chance to amend the money for this controversial item.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to respond briefly to the gentleman from New York.

The two stations, as the gentleman knows, are part of the New York to

Washington demonstration programs, and the funds are not being diverted.

I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make clear to the chairman of the subcommittee that, in my criticism of the exemptions, I do think the committee in this instance did a splendid job in terms of defining a priority. I think it is a priority that the Bureau of the Budget should really have established anyway and have said, "We are going to make sure they get that number of employees."

I also compliment you for not pursuing the course that was pursued in conjunction with the Post Office Department, whereby we simply exempt the whole agency. And I support the conference report. I see nothing wrong with the exemption here in terms of the priority which is established.

But I think the policy is bad. I do wish to agree also with the chairman, and I take this time to do so, in his emphasis on the need to take a look at the user charges on both commercial and general aviation that is currently being charged to carry on this service. I think it is a proper moment that we focus-in on that problem so the users will pay the charges for the services we are granting. I do wonder how we get into a mess where we have a situation we have today and require 2,000 new jobs, and it is going to take 2 or 3 years for them to be trained. I wonder whether this still means we are going to have a chaotic situation for 2 or 3 years? I wonder how that happens. But I do support the conference report.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I think one of the reasons why we have this situation is that no one anticipated the fantastic escalation in air passenger traffic, let alone air cargo traffic. It has been running at a rate of 17 to 20 to 25 percent of increase in some areas.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS].

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to invite the attention of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the gentleman is aware of the fact that we were not able to prevail on the conferees in the other body to accept our proposed elimination of the last five lines of the amendment which would have charged these excepted employees to other departments and agencies of the Government. As it now stands, the excepted employees are absolutely eliminated from the ceiling and are required to be absorbed in other agencies of the Government. That was my objection to it.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the gentleman. I think that is a bad facet of the conference report, but the safety operators' exemption is salutary. It is too bad it is not charged against the overall Government employment restraint.

Mr. JONAS. I would not have had any objection to eliminating air traffic controllers, and it was my proposal that we split this amendment. The Senate conferees would not agree and I alone of the House conferees held out as will be shown by the fact that I signed the conference report with a reservation as to amendment No. 20.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RANDALL] such time as he may consume.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, this morning I sat on a subcommittee that was told our air controllers are working 6 days a week and 10 hours a day.

On his first day of service as Acting Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, David D. Thomas appeared before our Government Activities Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee. I am sure we have all read about the delays that have been occasioned recently in air traffic in the New York area. Delay as such is, of course, a source of inconvenience and sometimes expensive. But it is not the delay in landing these planes in the New York area or elsewhere that should be the source of concern for all of us in the Congress. Instead we should be most concerned about safety or, in other words, the lives of those who travel by air.

The last Administrator of FAA, Gen. William F. McKee, who ended his service yesterday, seemed to have the ability to foresee events before they actually happened. He predicted that the volume of air travel would peak sometime in the summer of 1968. We know this able Administrator did not carry around a crystal ball, but his forecasts and predictions have proven most accurate.

This great increase in the volume of travel by commercial, scheduled airlines comes now at a time just after the Congress has voted the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act. I happen to be one of those who opposed this package for quite a variety and a miscellany of reasons. With the events that have transpired since the passage of this act, I have no reason to apologize for my stand in opposition.

There seems to be a great amount of lipservice given to the subject of priorities in connection with the effort to control expenditures. I suppose every member has his own list of priorities. I thought we had exempted Vietnam operations, interest on the Federal debt, Veterans' benefits and the postal service from expenditure limitations? Somewhere along the line, in the conference report, the exception or exemption for postal service was eliminated. That is why awhile ago the House had to take up the conference report to be sure or certain that the manpower ceiling imposed by the revenue and expenditure control act would not apply to Post Office operations.

High on the list of almost anyone's priorities should be safety in air travel. And until our hearings this morning, I had thought that it just might be a case of some loose talk that our air controllers were actually working 6 days a week and 10 hours a day. This morning before our committee I heard the new Administrator assure members that this was true. He went on to say that at the end of a 10-hour day, because of fatigue and because of the great strain from following closely the movements on a radar screen, fatigue sets in and it becomes difficult for these controllers to follow all of the blips on their radar. In somewhat different words he told us that without some rest, after working 6 days a week for 10 hours a day, controllers' eyes may begin to play tricks on them.

Mr. Speaker, I compliment the conferees on their report, because it contains funds not only for additional air controllers, but adequate funds for maintenance of air control equipment. Our conferees in my opinion exhibited good judgment in providing these funds. This Congress must consider priorities in its course toward expenditure control. I can think of a lot of priorities, but ranking alongside of almost any of them is the importance of assuring as much safety as is humanly possible for the air traveler. How can we recess in a few days and go home unless we support this effort of our conferees? How can we face our constituents who must daily use commercial airlines, knowing that our air controllers are under the strain of a 10-hour day for 6 days a week? The conferees have taken a responsible course under the circumstances and the House should be equally responsible by adopting this conference report.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, the conference report on the Department of Transportation Appropriations is before the House today. Included in the appropriations provided for in this bill are the funds with which the Federal Aviation Administration will operate the Nation's air traffic control system. There are some very noticeable differences between the House and Senate bills in the sections providing for air traffic controllers.

In recent weeks, traffic delays averaging 2 and 3 hours per flight have become commonplace on flights to and from some of our major airports. The reason given for the delays in most instances has been that the airways finally reached the saturation point in early July, the point at which the controllers could not handle any more planes.

In an effort to determine what could be done in the immediate future, the Subcommittee on Government Activities, of which I am chairman, held hearings today in which we heard testimony from representatives of the FAA, the CAB, the Air Transport Association, Air Traffic Controller groups, and others. We requested that the witnesses give us their views on the causes of the problem and their recommendations for alternative solutions. I think there was a great deal of useful information presented at the hearing which the subcommittee will find most helpful in searching for some improvement.

The subcommittee is presently undertaking an extensive indepth review of the air traffic control system. The results of this study, however, will not be completed for some months. Our hearing today was limited to the immediate problem of easing air congestion in the Nation's busiest terminals. This will require that schedules be rearranged and operations be reduced to an acceptable level.

Hopefully, these restraints can be worked out by the commercial air industry and general aviation representatives on their own initiative. The time in which the aviation community has to act on its own accord is critically short.

It can be measured in days rather than months or even weeks. As a final resort, the Federal Aviation Administration has the authority to act effectively to meet this emergency to maintain safety.

This conference report would exempt the air traffic controllers from the mandatory cutback in manpower that became effective on July 1. These are critical positions involving the lives of every person who flies.

In addition to the exemption provision the conference report authorizes 2,399 new controller positions.

I strongly support the conference report in these respects and feel that by providing these additional controllers we will be moving toward some solution to the problem of air traffic delays.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the conferees for recognizing the very serious plight of the men who operate the air traffic control systems for the Federal Aviation Administration.

I want to strongly support their position to increase the number of positions for operation and maintenance of the system.

One of the most critical situations facing this country is the tremendous congestion of air traffic in the metropolitan areas of the Nation.

Frankly, I suggest, with all the vigor at my command, that all Members of Congress personally visit an air traffic control center in order to fully acquaint themselves with the operational techniques required to safely handle the air traffic flying our airways and in and out of the airports of the country.

Further, I suggest you discuss the problem with the commercial, military, and general aviation pilots who are intimately familiar with the problems of congestion.

At this point, I want to serve notice on the Congress that one of the top priorities of legislative business must be, in the immediate future, the consideration of our air traffic, and airport problems in this country.

The increasing use of air travel, on an interstate and international basis, places the responsibility for action squarely on the shoulders of Congress. As I have said so many times before, our economic growth is tied directly to the air travel capabilities of this Nation. We must be prepared to accommodate the aircraft required to move people and goods. The basic requirements are an adequate system of airports, an adequate navigation and traffic control system, and the personnel to operate and maintain them. If Congress fails to acquaint themselves with the need, it is being derelict in its duty.

I believe this action today is a step in the right direction, but we still have a long way to go.

We desperately need a "Coordinated National Plan of Integrated Airport Systems"—yesterday was too late.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

AMENDMENTS IN DISAGREEMENT

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 11: On page 14, line 1, insert:

"URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION

"URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION GRANTS

"For an additional amount for grants as authorized by the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, as amended (49 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), to remain available until expended, $200,000,000 for the fiscal year 1970."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. BOLAND

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BOLAND moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed, insert:

"URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION

"URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION GRANTS

"For an additional amount for grants as authorized by the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, as amended (49 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), to remain available until expended, $175,000,000 for the fiscal year 1970, of which $30,000,000 shall be available only for research, development, and demonstration grants."

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 20: On page 17, line 23, insert:

"SEC. 208. Positions which are financed by appropriations in this Act which are determined by the Secretary of Transportation to be essential to assure public safety and which are assigned to facilities directly engaged in the operation or maintenance of the air traffic control system or the air navigation system of the Federal Aviation Administration may be filled without regard to the provisions of section 201 of Public Law 90–364, and such positions shall not be taken into consideration in determining numbers of employees under subsection (a) of that section or numbers of vacancies under subsection (b) of that section."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. BOLAND

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BOLAND moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: Change the section number to "210".

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the votes by which action was taken on the conference report and on the several motions was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the conference report on H.R. 18188.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 17522, DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 17522) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 1830)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 17522) "making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 1, 6, 15, 20, 21, 26, 31, and 33.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 8, 9, 19, 22, 23, 24, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, and 38; and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$31,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$39,876,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 4: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$2,200,000'; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 7: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$2,200,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$2,275,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 11: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$65,388,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 16: That the House

recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 16, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$5,300,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 25: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 25, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$6,450,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 27: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 27, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

"FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER

"Salaries and expenses

"For necessary expenses of the Federal Judicial Center, as authorized by Public Law 90–219, $300,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 28: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 28, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$10,750,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 29: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$8,750,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 30: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 30, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$750,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 5, 12, 13, 14, 17, and 18.

John J. Rooney,
John M. Slack, Jr.,
Neal Smith,
Charles S. Joelson,
George Mahon,
Frank Bow,
E. A. Cederberg,
Mark Andrews,
Managers of the Part of the House.
John L. McClellan,
Allen J. Ellender,
Spessard L. Holland,
John O. Pastore,
Gale W. McGee,
J. W. Fulbright,
Margaret Chase Smith,
Roman L. Hruska,
Norris Cotton,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

Statement

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 17522) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments; namely:

TITLE I—DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS

International Fisheries Commissions

Amendment No. 1: Appropriates $2,075,000 as proposed by the House instead of $2,085,000 as proposed by the Senate.

EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

Mutual educational and cultural exchange activities

Amendment No. 2: Appropriates $31,000,000 instead of $30,000,000 as proposed by the House and $33,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 3: Provides that not less than $8,500,000 shall be used for payments in foreign currencies which the Treasury Department determines to be excess to the normal requirements of the United States instead of $8,700,000 as proposed by the House and $8,400,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 4: Provides that not to exceed $2,200,000 may be used for administrative expenses instead of $2,000,000 as proposed by the House and $2,250,000 as proposed by the Senate.

GENERAL PROVISIONS—DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Amendment No. 5: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate.

TITLE II—DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

LEGAL ACTIVITIES AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Amendment No. 6: Appropriates $23,598,000 for "Salaries and expenses, general legal activities" as proposed by the House instead of $24,163,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 7: Appropriates $39,876,000 for "Salaries and expenses, United States attorneys and marshals" instead of $39,590,000 as proposed by the House and $40,545,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 8: Appropriates $4,200,000 for "Fees and expenses of witnesses" as proposed by the Senate instead of $3,200,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 9: Deletes the $7,500,000 for "Law enforcement assistance" as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 10: Appropriates $2,275,000 for "Salaries and expenses, community relations service" instead of $2,200,000 as proposed by the House and $2,350,000 as proposed by the Senate.

FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

Amendment No. 11: Appropriates $65,388,000 for "Salaries and expenses, Bureau of Prisons" instead of $64,879,000 as proposed by the House and $65,638,000 as proposed by the Senate.

LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION

Amendment No. 12: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to appropriate $63,000,000 instead of $69,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

The amount agreed to provides funds as follows:

Grants for establishment of State planning agencies and development of comprehensive plans	$19,000,000
Matching grants to improve and strengthen law enforcement	29,000,000
Grant and contract awards for student loans and tuition aid	6,500,000
National Institute program—grants and contracts and related services and programs	3,000,000
Federal Bureau of Investigation program—training programs and assistance, etc	3,000,000
Administration—all activities	2,500,000
Total	63,000,000

GENERAL PROVISIONS—DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Amendment No. 13: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to concur in the amendment of the Senate with an amendment which will exempt only the Federal Bureau of Investigation from the provisions of Section 201 of Public Law 90–364.

TITLE III—DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Amendment No. 14: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to concur in the amendment of the Senate to provide for the acquisition of one aircraft.

NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS

Amendment No. 15: Appropriates $35,000,000 for "Research and technical services" as proposed by the House instead of $35,500,000 as proposed by the Senate.

OFFICE OF STATE TECHNICAL SERVICES

Amendment No. 16: Appropriates $5,300,000 for "Grants and expenses" instead of $5,000,000 as proposed by the House and $5,600,000 as proposed by the Senate.

MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

Amendment No. 17: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to concur in the amendment of the Senate to appropriate $119,800,000 for "Ship construction".

Amendment No. 18: Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to concur in the amendment of the Senate to appropriate $6,700,000 for "Research and development".

FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT CONTROL

Amendment No. 19: Appropriates $3,000,000 for "Salaries and expenses" as proposed by the Senate instead of $4,000,000 as proposed by the House.

TITLE IV—THE JUDICIARY

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Amendment No. 20: Appropriates $2,110,- and development" for the Maritime Ad- instead of $2,207,500 as proposed by the Senate.

COURTS OF APPEALS, DISTRICT COURTS, AND OTHER JUDICIAL SERVICES

Amendment No. 21: Appropriates $43,500,000 for "Salaries of supporting personnel" as proposed by the House instead of $44,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendments Nos. 22 and 23: Provide for the increase in the dollar limitations as proposed by the Senate to allow for the employment in grade J.S.P. 9 of additional law clerks for circuit judges.

Amendment No. 24: Appropriates $11,900,000 for "Fees of Jurors and Commissioners" as proposed by the Senate instead of $7,900,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 25: Appropriates $6,450,000 for "Travel and miscellaneous expenses" instead of $6,200,000 as proposed by the House and $6,700,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 26: Appropriates $1,846,500 for "Administrative Office of the United States Courts" as proposed by the House instead of $1,861,500 as proposed by the Senate.

FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER

Amendment No. 27: Appropriates $300,000 for "Salaries and expenses" as proposed by the Senate.

TITLE V—RELATED AGENCIES

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

Amendment No. 28: Appropriates $10,750,000 for "Civil rights educational activities" instead of $10,000,000 as proposed by the House and $11,500,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

Amendment No. 29: Appropriates $8,750,000 for "Salaries and expenses" instead of $6,936,000 as proposed by the House and $10,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION

Amendment No. 30: Appropriates $750,000 for "Salaries and expenses" instead of $344,000 as proposed by the House and $1,331,000 as proposed by the Senate.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FIRE PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Amendment No. 31: Deletes the appropriation of $160,000 proposed by the Senate.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON REFORM OF FEDERAL CRIMINAL LAWS

Amendment No. 32: Appropriates $250,000 for "Salaries and expenses" as proposed by the Senate instead of $200,000 as proposed by the House.

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

Amendment No. 33: Appropriates $450,000 for "Salaries and expenses" as proposed by the House instead of $700,000 as proposed by the Senate.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

Amendment No. 34: Provides not to exceed $15,000 for travel as proposed by the Senate instead of $3,500 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 35: Eliminates the proposal of the House making $69,000 available only for accumulated leave and severance pay as proposed by the Senate.

TITLE VII—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Amendment No. 36: Inserts the word "finally" in section 705 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 37: Deletes certain language in section 705 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 38: Deletes language proposed by the House relating to expenditures.

JOHN J. ROONEY,
JOHN M. SLACK, Jr.,
NEAL SMITH,
CHARLES S. JOELSON,
GEORGE MAHON,
FRANK BOW,
E. A. CEDERBERG,
MARK ANDREWS,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. ROONEY of New York (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the statement of the managers on the part of the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr Speaker, the bill now before you, as agreed to by the conferees, provides a total of $1,986,721,500 in new obligational authority for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies.

I should like to point out that this amount is $305,272,400 below the total amount of the budget estimates, and I particularly wish to emphasize that it is $96,532,900 below the comparable figure for fiscal year 1968.

It is also $14,222,500 below the amount recommended by the other body. It is, however, $191,740,000 above the bill total as it passed the House. This is due primarily to the fact that the funds for "ship construction" and for "research and development" for the Maritime Administration were stricken from the House bill on a point of order inasmuch as the authorization bill therefor had not then been enacted. The bill now before you includes the $126,700,000 inserted in the other body for these two items.

The other body also considered supplemental estimates over and above those considered by the House for a net total of $88,173,000. The largest of the supplemental requests was for implementation of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. The conferees agreed upon a total of $63,000,000 for this item.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD a table showing the actions of the House-Senate conferees with regard to the various departments and agencies contained in the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HARDY). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The table is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES, 1969

Department or agency	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in House bill	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in Senate bill	New budget (obligational) authority recommended by conference action	Conference action compared with— New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968	Conference action compared with— Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	Conference action compared with— New budget (obligational) authority recommended in House bill	Conference action compared with— New budget (obligational) authority recommended in Senate bill
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Department of State	$385, 874, 400	$412, 948, 000	$388, 802, 600	$391, 812, 600	$389, 802, 600	+$3, 928, 200	−$23, 145, 400	+$1, 000, 000	−$2, 010, 000
Department of Justice	436, 960, 000	547, 733, 000	448, 384, 000	513, 313, 000	505, 754, 000	+68, 794, 000	−41, 979, 000	+57, 370, 000	−7, 559, 000
Department of Commerce	769, 416, 000	825, 860, 000	632, 977, 000	759, 577, 000	758, 777, 000	−10, 639, 000	−67, 083, 000	+125, 800, 000	−800, 000
The Judiciary	95, 264, 000	107, 939, 900	98, 679, 500	104, 092, 000	103, 229, 500	+7, 965, 500	−4, 710, 400	+4, 550, 000	−862, 500
American Battle Monuments Commission	2, 370, 000	2, 329, 000	2, 329, 000	2, 329, 000	2, 329, 000	−41, 000			
Commission on Civil Rights	2, 650, 000	2, 650, 000	2, 650, 000	2, 650, 000	2, 650, 000				
Office of Education: Civil rights educational activities	10, 000, 000	14, 976, 000	10, 000, 000	11, 500, 000	10, 750, 000	+750, 000	−4, 226, 000	+750, 000	−750, 000
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	6, 655, 000	13, 093, 000	6, 936, 000	10, 000, 000	8, 750, 000	+2, 095, 000	−4, 343, 000	+1, 814, 000	−1, 250, 000
Federal Maritime Commission	3, 600, 000	3, 678, 000	3, 653, 000	3, 653, 000	3, 653, 000	+53, 000	−25, 000		
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission	1, 275, 000	1, 331, 000	344, 000	1, 331, 000	750, 000	−525, 000	−581, 000	+406, 000	−581, 000
National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control		500, 000		160, 000			−500, 000		−160, 000
National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws	150, 000	250, 000	200, 000	250, 000	250, 000	+100, 000		+50, 000	
Small Business Administration	161, 250, 000	164, 791, 000	13, 214, 000	13, 214, 000	13, 214, 000	−148, 036, 000	−151, 577, 000		
Special representative for trade negotiations	501, 000	742, 000	450, 000	700, 000	450, 000	−51, 000	−292, 000		−250, 000
Subversive Activities Control Board	295, 000	425, 000	344, 400	344, 400	344, 400	+49, 400	−80, 600		
Tariff Commission	3, 739, 000	3, 860, 000	3, 850, 000	3, 850, 000	3, 850, 000	+111, 000	−10, 000		
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	9, 000, 000	10, 000, 000	9, 000, 000	9, 000, 000	9, 000, 000		−1, 000, 000		
U.S. Information Agency	194, 255, 000	178, 888, 000	173, 168, 000	173, 168, 000	173, 168, 000	−21, 087, 000	−5, 720, 000		
Total, new budget (obligational) authority	2, 083, 254, 400	2, 291, 993, 900	1, 794, 981, 500	2, 000, 944, 000	1, 986, 721, 500	−96, 532, 900	−305, 272, 400	+191, 740, 000	−14, 222, 500
Consisting of—									
Appropriations	(1, 933, 254, 400)	(2, 141, 993, 900)	(1, 794, 981, 500)	(2, 000, 944, 000)	(1, 986, 721, 500)	(+53, 467, 100)	(−155, 272, 400)	(+191, 740, 000)	(−14, 222, 500)
Authorizations to spend agency debt receipts (participation certificates)	(150, 000, 000)	(150, 000, 000)				(−150, 000, 000)	(−150, 000, 000)		
Memoranda: Appropriations to liquidate contract authorizations	(201, 275, 000)	(207, 275, 000)	(207, 275, 000)	(207, 275, 000)	(207, 275, 000)	(+6, 000, 000)			
Grand total	(2, 284, 529, 400)	(2, 499, 268, 900)	(2, 002, 256, 500)	(2, 208, 219, 000)	(2, 193, 996, 500)	(−90, 532, 900)	(−305, 272, 400)	(+191, 740, 000)	(−14, 222, 500)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I am pleased to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Do I correctly understand that the Department of Justice is increased $68,794,000 over last year?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. It is a net increase of $57,370,000.

Mr. GROSS. $57,370,000?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Yes.

Mr. GROSS. Would the gentleman explain why this is up $57,370,000?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Would the distinguished gentleman from Iowa please excuse the gentleman from New York? The amount I just gave him should have been $68,794,000.

Mr. GROSS. That is what I thought.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Yes.

Mr. GROSS. Will the gentleman explain why, in view of the lackadaisical operation of the Department of Justice and the Attorney General's failure to prosecute a number of cases some of us believe he ought to be interested in, this appropriation is up $68 million over last year?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Well, $63 million of it is for the item I referred to in my opening statement; to wit, for the implementation of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act.

Mr. GROSS. But the failure of the Attorney General's office to operate in other areas he ought to be interested should make available the manpower to take care of these new obligations. I still do not understand.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman is entitled to his opinion in that regard. It does not agree with the opinion of everyone else, however.

Mr. GROSS. I understand. I would not expect the gentleman from New York to agree with the gentleman from Iowa in all things. But I thought we might have some understanding as to why this is up close to $70 million.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I repeat again, $63 million of it is for the implementation of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman suppose the Attorney General will do any better administering that than he is now doing?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. That program does not require too much administration, and the conferees saw to it that there will not be too much administrative expense.

This program is primarily a matter of getting the checks out to the various recipients of the taxpayers' bounty. That is all it is.

Mr. GROSS. You think they can do that efficiently, do you?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I think they can do that, as well as many other things, very efficiently.

Mr. GROSS. There is a $7,965,000 increase in funds for the Judiciary over last year. What brings this about?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The bulk of that $7,965,500 is due to the new jury bill, the increase in jurors' fees, which has resulted in an unprecedented increase in that appropriation, which had been more or less static over the years.

Mr. GROSS. As I recall—and I had not until the gentleman reminded me of it—the Congress passed a bill increasing jury fees and certain other fees.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Yes. That is Public Law 90-274, which was enacted into law on March 27, 1968.

Mr. GROSS. I notice, if the gentleman will bear with me for one more question—and I thank him for yielding to me——

Mr. ROONEY of New York. It is always a pleasure to yield to my distinguished friend from Iowa.

If I may first interpolate this, in connection with the jury fee matter, the committee has sought to make the blow to the taxpayers as light as possible and has refused 160-some-odd employees requested to administer the increase.

Mr. GROSS. I want to compliment the committee for any economy in any direction.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The distinguished gentleman from Iowa well knows that the committee of which the gentleman from New York is chairman does practice practical economy.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Now, in that connection, how about the $49,400 increase for the Subversive Activities Control Board? That is the outfit that the Attorney General handed seven petitions to to study this year. I do not believe they have had any other work.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Does the gentleman have the number of that amendment handy?

Mr. GROSS. No. I am just reading from the worksheet that your committee kindly provided me.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The item to which the gentleman refers is in two amendments that were in disagreement. The first is amendment No. 34, in which the Senate increased the amount for travel to $15,000, whereas the House bill provided but $3,500, and the second is amendment No. 35, in which the Senate deleted the proviso of the House which stated, "of which $69,000 shall be available only for accumulated leave and severance pay."

Mr. GROSS. Do you mean that these members of the Subversive Activities Control Board are traveling and, if so, where do they go and what do they do? They have had almost nothing to do for the past year, and I understand in order to make work for them the Attorney General handed them seven petitions to look over. Apparently that will be their work for this year, for the next 12 months.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. They now have seven cases, I believe. The law requires that when necessary they travel in connection with the hearings on those cases. That requires a sufficient sum of money for the purpose of travel for the Commissioners and their staff.

Mr. GROSS. They could almost pay their own travel expenses out of the lush annual salaries they get to handle seven cases, I would say to the gentleman.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I shall tell the gentleman from Iowa that when I first came to the House of Representatives we received an annual salary of $10,000 a year. It cost me in the first number of years that I was here, almost 25 years ago, approximately $4,000 or $5,000 of my own money, which was a lot of money back in those days, just to stay here and in order to pay for my travel. In those days as well as now the public thought that Congressmen traveled free of charge on any railroad or airplane.

Mr. GROSS. I am sure the distinguished gentleman from New York will agree that this is in the nature of a pension—an appointment to this Activities Control Board?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Oh, no; this Board is really chomping at the bit to get on with their job. They actually want to do something properly constructive in the field of subversive activities.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CEDERBERG].

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, the minority agrees with the distinguished gentleman from New York, the chairman of the subcommittee, regarding this conference report.

In my opinion it would be fair to say that in some instances we believe it is somewhat higher than it ought to be. However, I believe this is a good conference report and we are supporting it.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. It is a compromise. There are items contained in this conference report that the gentleman from Michigan feels should be greater in amount and there are items which I think should be smaller in amount. The gentleman from New York finds himself in the same position.

Mr. CEDERBERG. We in the minority agree with this report and we have no further requests for time.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. DOWNING].

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, during my 10 years in the House of Representatives I have infrequently, I think, usurped the time of my colleagues by coming down here in the well of the House. I have only done so when I felt compelled and impelled to present a point of view, and I do so now.

Mr. Speaker, I am particularly distressed, as are many other people, that this appropriation bill carries the sum of only $119 million for the construction of ships for this fiscal year.

Mr. Speaker, the House and the other body, if you recall, have already authorized $200 million and that authorization is on the President's desk right now awaiting his signature. I hope he will sign it before the end of the week.

Mr. Speaker, I am trying to tell the Members of the House that the maritime industry is in a state of utter confusion and despair at the present time. We have got to start the construction of ships right now if we are going to fill the national commercial and military needs of this Nation.

Now, my friends, I am not an alarmist, but I do intend to sound the alarm. An adequate merchant marine is just as vital to this country as is an Army, Navy, and Air Force. Right now we do not have the ship-carrying capacity to serve our needs. We do not have enough ships to carry our own products, and if another military situation should break out such as broke out in Korea and in South Vietnam we will be in real trouble. We could send out troops by air, but how do you support them logistically? It takes ships and plenty of them.

Mr. Speaker, I am told that we will have a supplemental bill later during this session of Congress and I am hopeful that the chairman of this subcommittee, the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], who has done so much for our maritime industry, will use his influence to up the appropriation from $119 million to the figure of $200 million, the figure authorized by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from Virginia yield?

Mr. DOWNING. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I must repeat what I said here on the floor the other day to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia who is a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. It is because of the handiwork of that committee of which the distinguished gentleman from Virginia is a member and its staff that the amount now pending before this House for ship construction for the merchant marine is not $245 million, but is $119.8 million.

Mr. Speaker, my friend, the distinguished gentleman from Virginia, will recall the points of order that were made against the bill here in the House. There were three points of order made with regard to ship construction in this bill which could not have been successfully made if the gentleman's committee had not revoked the open end appropriation authority which we have had and under which we have operated for so many years for the maritime industry and for ship construction.

Mr. DOWNING. I disagree with the gentleman but all that is in the past. I would hope that the gentleman from New York would support some kind of supplemental appropriation for this purpose.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Of course, there is no assurance that there will be a supplemental appropriation request for ship construction, according to the information which the gentleman from New York has. It is only a pipe dream to expect a supplemental appropriation in this session but I join the gentleman in his hope that there will be. I regret that due to the situation I have outlined we cannot provide for more American ships on the high seas carrying more American cargo.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

AMENDMENTS IN DISAGREEMENT

The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 5: On page 13, line 16, insert:

"SEC. 106. Existing appointments and assignments to the Foreign Service Reserve in the Department of State which expire during the current fiscal year may be extended in the discretion of the Secretary of State for a period of one year in addition to the period of appointment or assignment otherwise authorized."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. ROONEY OF NEW YORK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ROONEY of New York moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 12: On page 21, line 14, insert:

"LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION

"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For grants, contracts, loans, and other law enforcement assistance authorized by title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, including departmental salaries and other expenses in connection therewith, $69,000,000, of which $3,000,000 shall be available for transfer to the Federal Bureau of Investigation which is authorized to purchase for police-type use, without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, an additional seventy-five passenger motor vehicles."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. ROONEY OF NEW YORK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ROONEY of New York moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert the following:

"LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION

"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For grants, contracts, loans, and other law enforcement assistance authorized by title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, including departmental salaries and other expenses in connection therewith, $63,000,000, of which $3,000,000 shall be available for transfer to the Federal Bureau of Investigation including the purchase for police-type use, without regard to the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, of an additional seventy-five passenger motor vehicles."

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 13: On page 23, line 3, insert:

"SEC. 207. Investigative and other essential positions which are financed by appropriations in this Act for the Federal Bureau of Investigation which are determined by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be essential to the operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and authorized positions in the office of the United States attorneys may be filled without regard to the provisions of section 201 of Public Law 90–364, and such positions shall not be taken into consideration in determining numbers of employees under subsection (a) of that section or numbers of vacancies under subsection (b) of that section."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. ROONEY OF NEW YORK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ROONEY of New York moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert the following:

"SEC. 207. Investigative and other essential positions which are financed by appropriations in this Act for the Federal Bureau of Investigation which are determined by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be essential to the operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation may be filled without regard to the provisions of section 201 of Public Law 90–364, and such positions shall not be taken into consideration in determining numbers of employees under subsection (a) of that section or numbers of vacancies under subsection (b) of that section."

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri for a question.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I would simply ask the distinguished chairman if this motion to recede and concur with an amendment is another exemption, or another fragmentation of the Economy Act, Public Law 90–364?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. It is to exempt FBI investigative and other essential positions as determined by the Director, from certain provisions of Public Law 90–364 which has previously been referred to.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, it does not include the attorneys?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. It does not include anyone other than the FBI positions.

Mr. HALL. Obviously in the opinion of the gentleman's committee, in view of his motion, it was felt that this was justified, and is just another fragmentation of the so-called Economy Act, as has been identified here today?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The answer to the inquiry of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri is yes. The gentleman from New York believes that the attempt to grant an exemption to the U.S. attorney's offices was not proper for the reason that if we are going to extend further exemptions we should have had the border patrol ahead of the U.S. attorneys, and we should have had the keepers and personnel in the Federal prisons come ahead of them. I think most law enforcement positions should be exempted.

Mr. HALL. Of course, I agree with the gentleman, if we are going to continue these exemptions, there will be a fragmentation of the law that was passed, the tax increase, and then we probably should have done it in the order of priorities in the first place or else we should revoke the bill on the tax increase.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to

the gentleman from Missouri for a question.

Mr. CURTIS. Was it brought out during the discussions in conference that the Executive could have exempted the Federal Bureau of Investigation if he had felt this priority was needed.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The conferees were thoroughly conversant with that situation. If the executive branch wants to exempt the U.S. attorneys offices that is the prerogative of that branch.

Mr. CURTIS. So it would have been possible, would it not if the FBI—and it is a point but not a broad point—simply if the Executive wanted to, the Executive could have done what we have done here in conference.

This is what disturbs me about this fragmentation.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I would not call it a fragmentation. Only one agency of the Government has been exempted and that is the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. CURTIS. What you are saying is, it is just a little fragmentation—it is not a big fragmentation and I agree with you. But it is a fragmentation. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The motion was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER.** The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 14: On page 28, line 16, after the word "including" insert "purchase (one),".

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. ROONEY OF NEW YORK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ROONEY of New York moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER.** The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 17: On page 32, line 13, insert:

"SHIP CONSTRUCTION

"For construction-differential subsidy and cost of national-defense features incident to construction of ships for operation in foreign commerce (46 U.S.C. 1152, 1154); for construction-differential subsidy and cost of national-defense features incident to the reconstruction and reconditioning of ships under title V of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. 1154); and for acquisition of used ships pursuant to section 510 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. 1160); to remain available until expended, $119,800,000: *Provided*, That transfers may be made to the appropriation for the current fiscal year for "Salaries and expenses" for administrative and warehouse expenses (not to exceed $3,150,000) and for reserve fleet expenses (not to exceed $700,000), and any such transfers shall be without regard to the limitations under that appropriation on the amounts available for such expenses."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. ROONEY OF NEW YORK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ROONEY of New York moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 17 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER.** The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 18: On page 33, line 20, insert:

"RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

"For expenses necessary for research, development, fabrication, and test operation of experimental facilities and equipment; collection and dissemination of maritime technical and engineering information; studies to improve water transportation systems; $6,700,000 to remain available until expended, of which $3,400,000 shall be for operation of the N.S. *Savannah*: *Provided*, That none of the funds appropriated herein are to be used for a layup of the N.S. *Savannah*: *Provided further*, That transfers may be made to the appropriations for the current fiscal year for "Salaries and expenses" for administrative expenses (not to exceed $931,000) and any such transfers shall be without regard to the limitation under that appropriation on the amount available for such expenses: *Provided further*, That transfers may be made from this appropriation to the "Vessel operations revolving fund" for losses resulting from expenses of experimental ship operations."

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. ROONEY OF NEW YORK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ROONEY of New York moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 18 and concur therein.

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the votes by which action was taken on the conference report and on the several motions was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to extend their remarks on the conference report just passed.

The **SPEAKER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 18706, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers on the part of the House may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on the bill H.R. 18706, which is the District of Columbia appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1969.

The **SPEAKER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

ADDITIONS TO LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to advise the House that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARDY] has advised that he will seek to call up under a unanimous-consent request later today H.R. 18673, to amend the United States Code to prescribe health care cost-sharing arrangements for certain surviving dependents.

Also, Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] will ask to call up under unanimous-consent request later today H.R. 11618, a bill to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish or wildlife.

NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (H.R. 12843) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health, and ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12843

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That title IV of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C., ch. 6A, subch. III) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new part:

"PART F—NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE

"ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE

"SEC. 451. The Surgeon General is authorized, with the approval of the Secretary, to establish in the Public Health Service an institute for the conduct and support of research for new treatment and cures and training relating to blinding eye diseases and visual disorders, including research and training in the special health problems and requirements of the blind and in the basic and clinical sciences relating to the mechanism of the visual function and preservation of sight. The Surgeon General *Secretary* is also authorized to plan for research and training, especially against the main causes of blindness and loss of visual function.

"ESTABLISHMENT OF ADVISORY COUNCIL

"SEC. 452. (a) The Surgeon General is authorized, with the approval of the Secretary, to establish an advisory council to advise, consult with, and make recommendations to the Surgeon General on matters relating to the activities of the National Eye Institute.

"(b) The provisions relating to the composition, terms of office of members, and reappointment of members of advisory councils under section 432(a) shall be applicable to the council established under this section, except that the Surgeon General, with the approval of the Secretary, may include on such council established under this section such additional ex officio members as he deems necessary.

"(c) Upon appointment of such council, it shall assume all or such part as the Surgeon General may, with the approval of the Secretary, specify of the duties, functions, and powers of the National Advisory Health Council relating to the research or training projects with which such council established under this part is concerned and such portion as the Surgeon General may specify (with such approval) of the duties, functions, and powers of any other advisory council established under this Act relating to such projects.

"FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 453. The Surgeon General shall, through the National Eye Institute established under this part, carry out the purposes of section 301 with respect to the conduct and support of research with respect to blind

ing eye diseases and visual disorders associated with general health and well-being, including the special health problems and requirements of the blind and the mechanism of sight and visual function, except that the Surgeon General shall, with the approval of the Secretary, determine the areas in which and the extent to which he will carry out such purposes of section 301 through such Institute or an institute established by or under other provisions of this Act, or both of them, when both such institutes have functions with respect to the same subject matter. The Surgeon General is also authorized to provide training and instruction and establish and maintain traineeships and fellowships, in the National Eye Institute and elsewhere in matters relating to diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of blinding eye diseases and visual disorders with such stipends and allowances (including travel and subsistence expenses) for trainees and fellows as he deems necessary, and, in addition, provide for such training, instruction, and traineeships and for such fellowships through grants to public or other nonprofit institutions."

With the following committee amendments:

Page 2, line 3, strike out "Surgeon General" and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary".

Page 2, lines 3 and 4, strike out ", with the approval of the Secretary,".

Page 2, line 11, strike out "Surgeon General" and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary".

Page 2, line 16, strike out "Surgeon General" and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary".

Page 2, strike out the comma at the end of line 16, and on line 17, strike out "with the approval of the Secretary,".

Page 2, line 19, strike out "the Surgeon General" and insert in lieu thereof "him".

Page 2, line 25, strike out "Surgeon General, with the approval of the Secretary," and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary".

Page 3, line 4, strike out "Surgeon General" and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary".

Page 3, lines 4 and 5, strike out ", with the approval of the Secretary,".

Page 3, line 9, strike out "Surgeon General" and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary".

Page 3, line 9, strike out "(with such approval)".

Page 3, line 13, strike out "Surgeon General" and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary".

Page 3, line 20, strike out "Surgeon General" and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary".

Page 3, lines 20 and 21, strike out ", with the approval of the Secretary,".

Page 4, line 1, strike out "Surgeon General" and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, the bill before the House today provides for the establishment of a new Institute in the National Institutes of Health to be known as the National Eye Institute, which would be responsible for all of the programs of the National Institutes of Health relating to blindness and vision disorders. As a practical matter the bill would transfer from the current National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness its authorities in the field of research and training in vision problems to this new Institute.

The administrative structure of the Institute would be the same as is true of other institutes such as the Heart Institute, Cancer Institute, and others. Principally, the new Institute would serve as the principal focus for Federal research and training activity in vision disorders, and it is anticipated that this would lead to greater activity in the future than has been the case in the past.

There were a number of public witnesses who appeared at the hearings who favored the legislation. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare expressed opposition to the legislation primarily on the grounds that they felt the legislation to be unnecessary.

It is estimated that the bill would cost approximately $800,000 a year in administrative costs. Other than these administrative expenses, the bill does not provide any authority for activities not currently authorized under the Public Health Service Act.

The bill would add a new part F to title IV of the Public Health Service Act, providing for the establishment of a National Eye Institute. Section 451 provides that the Secretary shall establish a National Eye Institute which will conduct and support research relating to blinding eye diseases and visual disorders, including research and training in the special health problems and requirements of the blind.

Section 452 provides for establishment of an advisory council to advise, consult with, and make recommendations to the Secretary on matters relating to the activities of the Institute. The Council would consist of persons especially qualified in problems relating to vision, and would include ophthalmologists, optometrists, and other specialists in vision disorders.

Section 453 added to the Public Health Service bill specifies the functions of the National Eye Institute, and provides for transfer to the National Eye Institute of the functions of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness and from other Institutes, functions which they now exercise with respect to blinding eye diseases and visual disorders, which will hereafter be the responsibility of the new National Eye Institute. This section also provides for training and instruction, and traineeships and fellowships, in matters relating to diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of blinding eye diseases and visual disorders, which will include training, instruction, traineeships and fellowships in optometry.

The bill was reported out of our committee unanimously, and we urge its passage.

Mr. Speaker, I would like also to take this occasion to pay tribute to some of the people who have worked so hard to obtain the passage of this legislation. Dr. Ralph W. Ryan, an ophthalmologist in West Virginia who gives care to my family has worked very hard to obtain passage of this bill. Also, one of America's great ladies, Mrs. Mary Lasker, a known humanitarian, has worked tirelessly in behalf of this bill. The advice and counsel of these two fine Americans has been of great help to me in our committee's consideration of this bill.

I would also like to pay tribute to the Members of the House who have been of so much help in getting this bill to the floor today. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. YOUNG] has worked very hard, both with our committee and also with the Committee on Rules. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY], who offered the original bill on this subject in the House, and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE] were of great help. A number of members of our committee were sponsors of the bill—the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FRIEDEL], the gentleman from California [Mr. MOSS], the gentleman from New York [Mr. MURPHY], the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY], the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. RONAN], the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CARTER], the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS], and the gentelman from Maine [Mr. KYROS]. They have all also helped greatly, so that the bill before the House today is a cooperative venture that a great many people played an important part in.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, the bill before us today would establish a new institute in the National Institutes of Health which would be responsible for the research leading to treatment, cures, and training which relate to visual disorders and eye diseases. It would be organized and would operate in the same fashion as the other institutes of health presently in being. The functions which would be transferred to this new institute are presently being handled by the Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness.

There has been a great increase in the attention directed at vision problems in the last few years. Great progress has been made and a great deal more can be expected and should be pursued vigorously. There is also greatly increased attention in the field of geriatrics, and eye problems rank high among diseases afflicting our older citizens.

Eye problems are unique from a medical point of view and should have the concentrated attention of specialists in vision disorders. The Institute should be headed by an ophthalmologist with broad training in both research and administration. Other types of specialists and other skills such as optometry will certainly be recognized and used in carrying out the purposes of this Institute.

Although no new authorizations are required by this bill because to a large extent it would be a matter of transferring functions and people, it is estimated that breaking off and establishing this new institute will result in additional administrative expenses of approximately $800,000 a year.

As in the case of the other institutes there will be an advisory council on the particular problems with which the Institute is concerned. This should focus even further the specialized skills and attention on this important area of health.

I recommend the passage of this bill.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, several Members of this body have introduced bills similar to H.R. 12843, to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health.

Under the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, many advances have been made in finding the causes of blinding diseases, and this Institute has been helpful in preventing blindness. However, the problem involves so many people and is of such severity that a separate Institute, headed by a senior ophthalmologist, is necessary. At the present time, this is not the case. An ophthalmologist is a doctor of medicine who has 5 years extra training in diseases of the eye.

Dr. Richard Masland, former Director of NINDB, the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, is an excellent neurologist, but until the present time, he has not been able to obtain the services of a senior ophthalmologist to head the research on eye diseases. This position has been held by a Ph. D.

Dr. Arthur Keeney, chief ophthalmologist of Wills Eye Hospital; Dr. Maumenee, head of the Department of Ophthalmology at Johns Hopkins, the American Association of Ophthalmologists, the American Medical Association, the American Association of University Professors of Ophthalmologists, and the Association for Research in Ophthalmology all recommend establishment of an Eye Institute under the direction of a competent ophthalmologist.

At the present time, 400,000 people in the United States are blind, 420,000 Americans have 10 percent or less vision, 1 million Americans are unable to read regular newsprint, even with the aid of glasses, and nearly 90 million have to some degree impaired vision. About 30,000 Americans, adults, and children, become blind each year. The most startling and disturbing fact is, 80 percent of all blindness is the result of diseases whose causes are unknown to science.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it is necessary that we conduct a concentrated, scientific attack against sight-destroying diseases—glaucoma, diabetes, cataracts, and many others—and attempt to do everything in our power to find the causes of these blinding diseases. And we can best do this by establishing a National Eye Institute, with trained ophthalmologists to define a program which will find the causes, the manner of prevention, and the method of treatment of blinding diseases.

It is true that this will cost approximately $800,000 more. However, this is a small expenditure in contrast to the good which would be accomplished by finding the cause of glaucoma and to improve upon its treatment, or to find the cause of cataracts and to prevent their formation, or to improve upon surgery for either blinding condition.

The following poem was written by S. Kendrick Guernsey:

Today upon a bus I saw a lovely maiden with golden hair . . .
I envied her, she seemed so gay, and I wished I was so fair . . .
When suddenly she arose to leave, I saw her hobble down the aisle . . .
She had one foot, and wore a crutch, but as she passed, a smile.

I have two feet, the world is mine.
Oh God, forgive me when I whine.

And when I stopped to buy some sweets, the lad who sold them
Had such charm . . . I talked to him.
He said to me, "It is nice to talk to men like you . . .
You see," he said, "I'm blind."

Oh God, forgive me when I whine . . .
I have two eyes, the world is mine.

Then walking down the street, I saw a child with eyes of blue . . .
He stood and watched the others play, it seemed he knew not what to do.
I stopped for a moment, then said, "Why don't you join the others, dear?"
He looked ahead without a word, and then I knew he could not hear.

Oh God, forgive me when I whine,
I have two ears, the world is mine.
With feet to take me where I go,
With eyes to see the sunset's glow
With ears to hear what I would know,
Oh God, forgive me when I whine,
I am blessed indeed,
The world is mine.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly urge the passage of this bill.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, we currently are spending for eye research in the neighborhood of $24 million in various training programs, direct research, research grants, and contracts.

This bill takes from the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness the responsibility for ophthalmological research beginning in 1970. I should like to make it clear that the committee report does not set forth the increase to be expected so far as dollars and cents involved is concerned, but it should be understood that just the administrative expenses involved in establishing a new institute at NIH would at the very minimum be about $800,000. This is just the overhead cost for the creation of a new institute.

I intend to offer an amendment to this bill to provide that the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness have its name changed, because I do not believe we want to continue that institute under that name. It should be continued as the Institute of Neurological Diseases, but I believe that "Blindness" should be dropped because that function would be transferred to the Eye Institute under the provisions of this bill.

I should like to make it clear that 1969 is a difficult year so far as starting new activities or expanding old ones is concerned because we are going to have to curtail the activities of the National Institutes of Health under legislation already passed to cut expenditures. There is a freeze on there at the present time. And it is quite possible that 1970 will be difficult, too.

This is a good bill, however. I do not want to be misunderstood in that respect. I believe this is the time to get on with the creation of the institute, but it should be borne in mind, at a period of time when we are curtailing overall expenditures, and when the $24 million currently being spent on eye research is going to be reduced already under the direction of the Bureau of the Budget and the President, we are in such a position that it may be 1971 or 1972 before there will be a significant increase in the amount of activity through the creation of a new institute.

This is something deserving the consideration of the House. I commend the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for bringing it before us. At the proper time I will offer an amendment to change the name of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness to the National Institute of Neurological Diseases.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I do not believe there is anybody in this House more interested in improving the medical sciences so far as the blind are concerned, and the development of the science on the eyes is concerned, than I am, because I am the beneficiary of the remarkable improvement in eye research and in eye surgery.

But I take this time, Mr. Speaker, to point out to the House that if we continue in America today as we are proceeding we shall find we are not going to have any doctors to implement the results of the research.

During the debate on the next bill I hope to bring to the attention of this House some shocking facts concerning what we as a Congress are doing to the medical profession in this country by reason of medical grants.

Here we are once again spending $93 million for eye research, when we are now failing to train young men and young women in this country to carry on the very necessary medical services of this country.

I have taken this time to ask the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee to comment upon the reports that have been filed year in and year out by the subcommittee headed by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOUNTAIN], of the Committee on Government Operations, which have been highly critical of the administration of the National Institutes of Health.

The gentleman's committee accused the NIH repeatedly of lowering research standards, poor research projects, and results. It seriously questioned the accountability of funds and seriously criticized wasteful duplication of research projects and equipment. I wonder what the committee has done to investigate these serious charges that have been leveled at NIH and its research foundations by Mr. FOUNTAIN's committee. I wonder if the chairman of the committee could tell me that.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I am glad to yield to the chairman.

Mr. STAGGERS. Of course, every time we have the Department before us we talk to them about what they are doing and what their work is. We are certainly trying to correct any deficiencies that are going on. The gentleman mentioned the next bill, which is not coming up right now but which will come up later in the evening. We are trying to take care of all of the deficiencies that are going on and get as much research as we can. We are earmarking funds for that. I do not know what more we can do. We cannot go out and do the job for them.

Mr. CAHILL. I would like to pursue this question with the chairman. Can the chairman tell me why it is necessary to create a new institute for the eye at a cost of $800,000? Why cannot this be handled as an adjunct or as a department as with other vital medical projects? Why do we need a separate program for the eye in and of itself?

Mr. STAGGERS. Let me say this to the gentleman: When you take your watch to get it fixed, you do not take it to a plumber. That is the reason why we want this.

Mr. CAHILL. If that is the reason, it is not a very good reason, in my judgment, because I think if that is true, you ought to have a separate institute for podiatry, too, and a separate institute for all illnesses, because we are all sensible enough to go to a specialist when we have a particular problem. My point is these administrators are not going to solve any of these problems. As I understand this institute, all it will do is correlate all of the research grants handed out throughout the country as far as the eye is concerned. They are not going to do any work themselves, are they?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. LAIRD

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Amendment offered by Mr. LAIRD: On page 4, after line 8, add "The name of the Institute for Neurological Diseases and Blindness is hereby changed to the Institute for Neurological Diseases."

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, with the creation of the new Eye Institute that is provided for in this bill, the activities which were primarily assigned to the Institute whose name I am trying to correct now will be changed. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] raised certain questions about the activities of the Eye Institute. It will do intramural as well as extramural research and it will carry on these activities as they are presently being carried on by the Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to refer to the gentleman's remarks insofar as the Fountain subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations is concerned. I would hope that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] would read very carefully the appropriation hearings which were held on the National Institutes of Health, and particularly those held on the report to which the gentleman referred. We spent days on the charges made by the Fountain subcommittee report. I am sure the gentleman after reading that report, and after reading the appropriation hearings with Dr. Shannon, the Institute directors, and others, will come to the conclusion that the charges were not well founded in many cases and that the NIH has indeed a clean bill of health in the administration of its programs.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that all of the Members of the House would read those hearings which went into depth into the charges which were contained in the Committee on Government Operations' report.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it would satisfy any Member of the Congress as to the effective job that Dr. Shannon has been doing as the Director of the National Institutes of Health. He has a splendid record as Director of the National Institutes of Health. In this connection I might mention the fact that he leaves on September 1 after spending the past 15 years in this very important position.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAIRD. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CAHILL. I have before me the ninth report of the Committee on Government Operations.

Mr. LAIRD. That is the report that we used for the basis of our questioning witnesses for days, with reference to this matter, before the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, what is a Member of this body to do when they read a report of this body that makes the charges that I am sure the gentleman is aware of, charges made by this committee?

Mr. LAIRD. Before we appropriated a single dollar that report was gone into in great detail. I would be more than happy to discuss it with the gentleman from New Jersey. I hope he will spend the time to go through part 5 of the hearings before the Subcommittee on Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare of the Committee on Appropriations. It is the volume containing most of the hearings on the subject. It is worthwhile reading if anyone has any questions as to the operation of the National Institutes of Health.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, not later than yesterday afternoon I spoke personally with the gentleman who is chairman of this subcommittee and told him if he was relying upon this report, why was not this raised in the Committee on Government Operations and I asked him whether or not he was completely satisfied with the findings expressed in here which were the basis for what I proposed to say. He assured me that he finds everything in here to be based upon fact and that to his knowledge there has never been any attack upon the report.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Government Operations ought to get together so that the Members of the House could be informed as to what the true facts are.

Mr. LAIRD. We handled this matter very adequately in the hearings, and the legislative committee which has the responsibility for this program, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, has also done an excellent job in this area.

So that the RECORD may show just one part of the hearings we had on this subject I will include in my remarks at this point my questioning of Dr. Shannon. This is far from being all of our hearings on this subject but will give some indication of the detailed consideration we gave this matter:

NINTH REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Mr. LAIRD. During the past 15 years I have taken particular interest in the activities of NIH and have closely followed the development of its programs. I am firmly convinced that there are few Federal activities as important as a practical concern for improving the health of the American people. I am equally convinced that this can only be achieved through a vigorous national research effort for which the Federal Government must supply a major share of the support. I have been much impressed by the intelligence, initiative, vigor, and dedication with which those responsible for the NIH programs have attacked the task of building up a national medical-research capability that is now second to none. I am proud of the fact that the committee on which I serve has played a significant part in making this possible.

I am therefore disturbed that another committee of the Congress has issued a report which questions the way in which these programs have been—and, more particularly, are being—administered. The ninth report by the Committee on Government Operations, issued last October, is mainly concerned with some specific management problems and with some policy decisions with which the Committee on Government Operations disagrees. However, the conclusions drawn from these issues in the report and the tone of the report are used to cast doubt on the effectiveness of the NIH programs. This is a serious implication which I would like to explore. Can you make a factual assessment of the overall effectiveness of NIH activities in terms of the extent to which they are accomplishing their purpose?

Dr. SHANNON. The sole purpose of the NIH programs is to enhance man's ability to deal with disease and, thus, to advance the health of the American people. NIH is by far the largest single source of support for medical research in this country—about 40 percent of our total national expenditure for medical research is now provided through the NIH appropriations. NIH therefore plays a substantial role in determining the character and directions of our national medical research effort. It is not merely fortuitous that the most dramatic period of medical progress coincides with the period of NIH's rapid growth.

There is in progress a revolution in the practice of medicine as the result of research. The American Medical Association has reported that the introduction of new drugs and other therapeutic products has been so dynamic that seven out of 10 now on the market were not available 10 years ago. New knowledge has greatly changed both the approach to the treatment of disease and the attitude of the practicing physician to science. In fact, the impact of science on the capability to diagnose and treat disease has become so great that physicians, who were formerly mainly concerned with the application of existing empirical knowledge which changed very little from year to year, now require broad programs of continuing education if they are to avoid a very high rate of technological obsolescence. NIH can fairly claim to have made a major contribution—and, probably, the major contribution—to this dramatic change.

Last year, the AMA's Commission on Research, after 3 years of investigation, said in its report that—

"The public has benefited immensely from the total effort in medical research which largely has been carried out since World War II under the aegis of the National Institutes of Health."

And that—

"The improved quality of patient care currently available reflects, to a significant degree, the expanded research knowledge created in the last decade."

THE QUALITY OF RESEARCH SUPPORTED

Mr. LAIRD. The most serious criticism in the report is the charge that the quality of research being supported by NIH has declined to the point where "a much lower level of competence has replaced high quality as the standard for determining what research is worthy of Federal support." This is contrary to everything that this committee has learned about NIH programs. Witnesses appearing before this committee in the public sessions have been almost unanimous in emphasizing the high standards of quality of the NIH programs. In fact, the criticism which this committee has encountered has been just the opposite; that the NIH quality standards are so high that many investigators and institutions are unable to qualify for support. It is important that the facts of this matter be made clear.

Has NIH lowered its quality standards?

Dr. SHANNON. Most certainly not. NIH research support—now as in the past—is provided only for a research proposal judged by the applicant's peers in his field of science to be a worthwhile project with a high probability of yielding useful results and which is judged by an NIH Advisory Council to have significant relevance to the program objectives of NIH.

Mr. LAIRD. The report states that "it is unclear whether the NIH objective is to support only high quality research or to extend support to all competent investigators." What is the NIH objective?

Dr. SHANNON. There is no basis on which one can draw a valid a priori distinction between the competence of an investigator and the quality of his research—as the Fountain Committee seems to suggest.

The objective of NIH is to support competent research projects judged likely to contribute to the solution of disease problems. The work that must be done to resolve these problems covers a broad spectrum of activities that ranges from highly imaginative and technically sophisticated studies, such as research on genetic mechanisms, to equally important but less colorful tasks involving well-established techniques, such as many biometric and epidemiological studies and much painstaking laboratory research. It would be disastrous for the progress of medicine if support were limited to exciting and dramatic projects. Occasionally some major breakthrough—like the discovery of the effect of penicillin, which, incidentally, was unplanned and accidental—will greatly advance the state of the art, but the bulk of medical progress is due to careful, undramatic work that expands the solid base of existing knowledge. It is understandable that a lay observer would not regard some of this work as high quality research. Yet it is as important to the development of the structure of scientific knowledge as the work of a structural engineer is to an architect.

The Fountain Committee report says: "If pedestrian research contributes importantly to the advancement of science, that fact has not been brought to our attention." The term "pedestrian research" has a highly derogatory connotation but no real meaning. If what is meant is "lacking brilliance," the Committee must understand that the vast body of scientific knowledge has not been built—and cannot be built—by a series of brilliant forays. The brilliant achievements—the so-called breakthroughs—are all too frequently only recognizable long after the event and usually only in the light of the less colorful work, by many hands, which they made possible. Moreover, these brilliant achievements are themselves the culmination of much dogged research by many others. In fact, the more immediate contributions of research to the improvement of diagnosis, treatment, and prevention are more likely to come from the work of the merely competent investigators than from a few brilliant achievements which usually require years of painstaking elaboration by other investigators before they can be applied.

The criteria by which grant applications are judged have been clearly stated. They are—

The general scientific significance and relevance to PHS-related research of the proposed study and its objectives;

The technical adequacy of the experimental design or the research approach;

The competence of the proposed investigator or group to pursue the project;

The adequacy of the available resources and of the scientific and administrative environment;

The necessity of budget components requested in the application in relation to the proposed research and to resources described as currently available; and

The appropriateness of the period of support requested.

The quality level of an application is assessed against these criteria. Two judgments are made. The first is whether the proposed work warrants support. The second is a comparative judgement on the probable value of the work in the light of the current state of the art in its field. This is not—and there cannot be—an absolute and abstract determination of quality against some fixed and generally applicable standard.

Mr. LAIRD. The Fountain Committee report states that the quality of a project is denoted by its priority rating assigned by the scientific review panels. On the basis of these ratings, it charges that the quality of NIH-supported research is declining. Do these data really mean that there has been such a decline?

Dr. SHANNON. No; they do not. The use made of the priority ratings in the report is misleading. The report ignores the fact that priority scores are assigned only to research projects judged worthy of public support. The standards of this process are rigorous. Almost half of all new research grant applications are rejected, during the initial review process, as not worthy of Federal support. All of the applications to which priority ratings are assigned have thus already been judged to have scientific merit.

The purpose of the priority score is not to quantify quality, in an absolute sense, but to provide a means of selecting, from a large number of worthy proposals, those that should have priority for support from the limited funds available. The priority score does, to some extent, reflect the quality of the proposed project but also its relevance and its urgency and a judgment by the reviewers of where research emphasis is needed. For example, a sound proposal for a research project on a relatively neglected problem will usually receive a higher priority score than a proposal of equal quality in a field already under fairly intensive investigation. The priority score thus reflects scientific choice as well as scientific merit.

Contrary to the impression conveyed by the report, there has been relatively little change during the past 8 years in the distribution pattern of the priority scores of research grant applications recommended for approval. In fact, during the past 2 years there has been a slight increase in the proportion of applications falling in the highest priority group but no significance is attached to this change.

Mr. LAIRD. What has been the opinion of other groups that have examined the NIH research programs about the quality of the research being supported?

Dr. SHANNON. The Woolridge committee, after an exhaustive scrutiny of NIH research administration in 1965, came to the conclusion that:

"Despite the tenfold increase in NIH support of research during the last 8 years, there is no evidence of overall degradation in quality of the work supported. On the contrary, there is good evidence that the average quality is steadily improving. This appears to be a consequence of a rate of increase in the production of competent biological research scientists matching the overall rate of increase in research support."

The American Medical Association's Commission on Medical Research, after its review of NIH activities, concluded that:

"The study section arrangement organized by the NIH for review of proposed project grants through panels of outside academic experts (or peer groups) has been successful in identifying and supporting research of quality."

NEW PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Mr. LAIRD. The report is critical of NIH's procedure in the development of new programs. In this connection, the report criticizes the manner in which the new health sciences advancement awards program was launched and questions the propriety of making a single large grant to the Sloan-Kettering Institute.

The report questions the statutory authority for the health sciences advancement awards. What is the position?

Dr. SHANNON. The legality of this program was clearly confirmed well before the Fountain committee report was issued in October. You will recall that the question of statutory authority for this program was raised during last year's appropriation hearings. In fact, last May the House Committee on Appropriations, in its report on the Labor-HEW bill directed that no further grants be made under the health sciences advancement awards program until the Comptroller General had ruled that there was legislative authority for it. In compliance with this direction, a ruling by the Comptroller General was requested by DHEW. On June 30, 1967, the Comptroller General ruled that the statutory provision under which the HSAA program was initiated was adequate for the action taken.

Mr. LAIRD. I understand from your testimony at these hearings that the procedure for selecting the recipients of the first few health sciences advancement awards was an experimental approach or in the nature of a feasible study. Are you yet in a position to say whether this program is feasible and justified and, if so, what procedure will be adopted for making future awards?

Dr. SHANNON. Two years' experience with this program has clearly demonstrated both its feasibility and the national need for such a program.

The basic aim of the HSAA program is to increase the number of generally excellent institutions engaged in health-related research and the attendant training of scientific manpower. The two original HSAA awardees have made significant progress in this direction. In one, the research in the medical sciences, which was fragmented and diffuse, has been greatly strengthened by the consolidation of ongoing research and the recruitment of outstanding scientific leaders for key positions. The second awardee has assembled distinguished leadership for four of its preclinical departments and there has already been a notable rise in the quality of its graduate students.

This program was discussed freely with a number of academic groups and, while it was judged not advisable to seek broad participation during the initial year, the belief that NIH moved in a secret manner, as has been suggested, is erroneous.

Interest on the part of academic institutions in this program is extremely high. Nearly 140 institutions have already applied for assistance under the program. On the basis of the effects achieved in the first two grantee institutions and the evident opportunities demonstrated in the applications examined to date, NIH is convinced that expansion of the program is justified at as rapid a rate as available funds will permit.

As a result of experience with the preliminary review of a limited number of applications, the process of evaluating university proposals has now been established on a solid base. In general, it now conforms to the dual peer review system in use at NIH. Applications are reviewed by staff, by a recently constituted HSAA advisory and review committee, and by the National Advisory Health Council. the HSAA advisory and review committee is composed of 16 members, chosen to include university administrators and research scientists. Awards will only be made on recommendation by the National Advisory Health Council. All interested institutions will be considered equally eligible for each cycle of competition. It should be added that the early development of this program involved considerable discussion with institutions and consultants before its actual initiation.

Mr. Laird. The Fountain committee does not challenge the legality of the Sloan-Kettering grant, but takes the view that "the Surgeon General acted unwisely in using the broad discretion" given him by section 301(i) of the Public Health Service Act which permits him to adopt "such additional means as he deems necessary or appropriate" for the conduct and support of research. The wisdom of using this authority in a particular case is a matter of opinion rather than of law.

Why was it "necessary or appropriate" to make a single large grant to the Sloan-Kettering Institute?

Dr. Shannon. The principal reason for making a single, comprehensive grant to SKI was to facilitate a comprehensive research attack on cancer. Cancer is a diverse array of diseases whose basic causes are unknown and the biological processes involved are extraordinarily complicated. Many aspects of cancer research therefore require a concerted approach involving many scientific skills. For this reason, the National Cancer Institute has sought to stimulate and support the development of research institutions—or centers within institutions—wholly devoted to cancer research. SKI is such an institution and it has, for a number of years, drawn about half of its financial support from the National Cancer Institute. However, this support has been in the form of individual project grants which, in the case of a specialized institution such as SKI, represents a piecemeal approach to what should be cohesive activity—and for which a single support device is more appropriate.

The program of an institution wholly devoted to research on a specific disease, such as cancer, is also more appropriately reviewed by assessing the program as a whole—and from the point of view of relevance to the disease. However, the initial review groups at NIH (that is, the study sections) are organized along disciplinary, rather than disease, lines. Each study section reviews individual project applications primarily from the point of view of scientific excellence and their relevance to the scientific discipline or specialty with which the study section is concerned. The study sections are thus not in a position to take a panoramic view or to make a comprehensive judgment about the total program of an institution that is wholly devoted to research on a specific disease but which involves a broad spectrum of scientific disciplines and medical specialties. In these circumstances, a single grant, covering the whole of the support to be provided by NIH, serves the public interest by providing a coherent review and assessment of all the relevant work.

From the institution's point of view, it is also a more appropriate support device. It permits the institution to make a clearer and more informative presentation of its research program for review and evaluation by NIH. At the same time, it greatly simplifies the administration both for the institution and for NIH. The single grant gives the institution a firmer base for planning its future activities and greater flexibility in addressing itself to new research needs as they arise. The assurance of support for a major segment of its program also facilitates the recruiting and retention of highly qualified investigators. Finally, dependence on a single grant for the Federal share of the institution's support will obviously stimulate more rigorous management of the Federal funds because so much is at stake. The maintenance of the high quality of work and its continued relevance to the solution of grave problems in the cancer field is monitored by the participation of the senior staff of the National Cancer Institute in the annual program review of the Sloan-Kittering Institute.

The amount of the single grant made to SKI was slightly less than the total of the ten existing project grants which the single grant replaced.

Mr. Laird. Does NIH intend to make any more of such grants in future?

Dr. Shannon. NIH has no specific plans for making other single-grant arrangements. However, there are a number of other situations in which such a grant may well be more appropriate, effective, and efficient than present methods of providing support. If the arrangement with SKI proves to be as satisfactory as expected, consideration will be given to making further use of this device in similar circumstances. The criteria will be that the grantee institution—

Is devoted largely, if not exclusively, to a categorical research objective;

Has a comprehensive research program in its field;

Is basically a noninstructional institution with a concentration on research not usually possible in a discipline-oriented department university;

Has a science program that is well established and of recognized excellence; and

That the institution has demonstrated that it has effective scientific and administrative management.

Mr. Laird. Are the present administrative procedures at NIH adequate for the fair and efficient development of new programs? Or what changes do you recommend?

Dr. Shannon. As I already indicated, I am convinced that the NIH procedures are adequate—not because they have reached a stage of perfection but because they are not static. No set of procedures and no administrative machinery will be equally well suited to all programs or for all time. As programs change or new ones are developed, administrative procedures must change or new ones must be developed. The NIH administrative machinery has the flexibility, the awareness of the need for change, and the ready access to competent advice to insure that procedures can and will be adapted to new program needs.

The process will occasionally involve some growing pains and initial decisions will not always be the right ones. But the system for making these decisions is flexible and responsive. The initial decisions, therefore, do not become permanent procedures until we are satisfied that they work. There are many examples of this evolutionary process in the long history of NIH program development. The experimental approaches used in launching the Health Sciences Advancement Awards and in making a single grant to Sloan-Kettering are the latest examples of this process.

ADEQUACY OF MANAGEMENT DEVICES

Mr. Laird. The third general area of criticism in the Fountain committee report concerns the adequacy of NIH management of existing programs. Most of this criticism is directed at various aspects of the administration of grants but some of it is 5 years old, having been made on the basis of the committee's investigations in 1961 and 1962. Although the report states that NIH "has made relatively little effort to improve its administration of grants" during the past 5 or 6 years, it was my impression, from the testimony at the appropriation hearings during these years, that a number of important administrative changes had been made.

Have any significant steps been taken during this period to strengthen the management of the grant programs?

Dr. Shannon. Yes, a great deal has been done. The entire process of grant management—from the Institutes and divisions to the Office of the Secretary—has been extensively overhauled and strengthened.

A new Division of Grant Administration Policy, under the general direction of the Comptroller, has been established at the department level.

The Department has taken over the function of external grant audit as well as the determination of indirect cost rates.

A new system of grant payment has been developed to reduce the cash outflow rate to the level of current requirements.

Additional personnel has been assigned to program and grant administration and a special training program has been instituted for this staff.

The handling of grant data, including review and approval data, has been improved and expanded by the use of computer processing.

Revised grant-management policies and procedures have been published in manuals (for use both at NIH and by the grantees) and clarified regulations governing the exercise of basic grant authorities have been published.

An extensive pilot study is now in its fourth year under which the managerial responsibilities of grantee institutions have been enlarged with a view to strengthening their role in the management of grant funds.

To assist in the further development of sound grant policies and improved grant administration in grantee institutions, the Secretary recently established a Grant Administration Advisory Committee consisting of representatives from all sections of the grantee community. This committee will give grantees a greater awareness of the conditions governing the use of public funds and will give Federal administrators a better insight into the problems and needs of institutional management.

There has, indeed, been substantial change and improvements in grant administration during the 6 years since the Fountain committee reviewed these matters in 1961 and 1962. A number of the current recommendations of the committee had been incorporated in NIH procedure prior to the issuance of its 1967 report.

Mr. Laird. This committee has repeatedly given intensive consideration to the problem of indirect cost payments. In 1965 the committee took the initiative in eliminating the arbitrary 20 percent ceiling on indirect cost payments and replacing it by a simple requirement that the grantee institution make some contribution to the total cost (including indirect costs) of a great project. On the floor of the House, the late chairman, Mr. Fogarty, explained that this meant that the "grantees would be participating to the extent of perhaps an average of 5 percent." How has the change in the legislation affected the indirect cost problem?

Dr. Shannon. The effect of this provision has been, as intended, to permit the Federal Government to reimburse an institution for all but a small part of the full cost of grant-supported research. However, a grantee institution's actual indirect-cost rate must still be determined to make it possible to compute its entitlement to reimbursement for indirect costs. The determination of this entitlement continues to present policy and operating problems. Available indirect-cost rates have not been computed on a uniform basis, they are not equally applicable to varying types of research, they are constantly changing due to increasing costs and changes in the administrative arrangements at grantee institutions, and there are complex questions about their applicability to off-campus research. These problems are under active study with a view to the further improvement in the administration of indirect costs and to extend the use of the fixed-predetermined rate method of paying indirect costs authorized by Public Law 87-638. Responsibility for determining indirect-cost rates was consolidated in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Department some 2 years ago.

Mr. LAIRD. What steps have been taken to insure that the present system of payments for indirect costs does not lead to the sort of problems that seem to have resulted from the procedures used before 1965?

Dr. SHANNON. Since December 1965 no indirect-cost payments have been made to institutions that have not submitted an indirect-cost rate proposal. A determined effort is being made by the Office of the Secretary to establish—and maintain—current and reliable indirect-cost rates for all grantee institutions. In connection with the use of the fixed-predetermined rate method of payment arrangements are being made to establish the validity of a prior year's rate as the basis for setting a forward rate.

Mr. LAIRD. The Fountain Committee report quotes the view of "an outside management consulting firm retained to study the Cancer Institute's organization and procedures" in support of its criticism of a lack of central management at NIH. What were the circumstances that led to this study and is it still relevant to the situation today?

Dr. SHANNON. This study was undertaken nearly 7 years ago. It was made at the request of NIH itself under a contract which the National Cancer Institute awarded to McKinsey & Co., Inc., in June 1961. It has long since served its purpose and is no longer relevant to the current scene. The research-grant program of NCI had grown very rapidly between 1956 and 1961 and there had been a considerable increase in staff. It became apparent to administrative officials at NIH—including the new Director of NCI who had been appointed in July 1960—that, in view of these changes, a reorganization of the grant function of NCI was needed. In asking McKinsey & Co. to undertake the study, NIH directed that the framework of the total NIH extramural operation be considered and that the objectives, concepts, and methods of the overall NIH extramural operation be appraised.

As a result of the McKinsey study, the extramural area of NCI was completely reorganized. This reorganization, in turn, set a pattern that was adapted by other institutes. In subsequent years, NCI has been further reorganized to meet changing conditions and new administrative problems. The 1961 findings of this study are thus no longer applicable to the current situation.

Mr. LAIRD. The report again quotes your statement, made during the Fountain Committee's 1962 hearings, that after research projects are selected for support all subsequent administrative actions are essentially trivial. What did you mean by this phrase and do you still hold this view?

Dr. SHANNON. This much quoted phrase is from my opening statement to the Fountain Committee at a hearing in March 1962. At the end of a lengthy passage, in which I was attempting to explain the fundamental objectives of the NIH research grant programs and the philosophy that underlies their administration, I said:

"Selection of good men and good ideas—and rejection of the inferior—is the key. All subsequent administrative actions having to do with the adjustment of budgets, and so forth, are essentially trivial in relation to this basic selection process."

I realize that the phrase "essentially trivial" was ill-chosen and that I probably overstated the case I was trying to make. At the end of the hearings, Mr. Fountain reread the passage containing this phase and said:

"You are sold on what you are doing. I think that is fine. But I think you are so sold on it that in your statement you added undue emphasis to one element without taking into account another very important one."

He was, of course, right. I then reiterated my view and concluded by saying:

"I am so concerned with the selection of top scientists—with the development of support under terms and conditions conducive to performance at full capacity—that I think all things short of that must be secondary. This doesn't mean that because they are secondary, they are unimportant."

I do, indeed, still hold this view about the overriding importance of the selection of good men and good ideas—as, I think, any responsible administrator of NIH must. There was, of course, nothing in my 1962 statement to suggest that NIH was unconcerned about the effective expenditure of grant funds. It is a pity that the phrase, which Mr. Fountain recognized as overly emphatic, is now so often quoted out of context.

Mr. LAIRD. Please supply for the record a summary of the Department's response to each of the 17 specific recommendations made in the report and the Secretary's letter of transmittal.

Dr. SHANNON. I shall be glad to.

Mr. LAIRD. I have no further questions.

(The material requested follows:)

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE,
Washington, February 26, 1968.

Hon. L. H. FOUNTAIN,
Chairman, Inter-Governmental Relations Subcommittee, Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am pleased to transmit to you the enclosed document which contains the comment of this Department on the Ninth Report of the Committee on Government Operations entitled "The Administration of Research Grants in the Public Health Service". The findings and recommendations of the report have been studied carefully within the Public Health Service and by the staff of the Office of the Secretary. The views expressed in the enclosed comment and the positions taken on the recommendations are the consequence of these reviews and have my full approval.

This response is based on a thorough review of the policies, procedures, and organization for the management of research grants within the Department. While effort to obtain progressive improvement in these arrangements remains a continuing responsibility, I am convinced on the basis of this review that the structure and approach of the departmental grant-management processes are basically sound and capable of effective discharge of the responsibilities involved.

The magnitude of NIH programs, which are the principal object of your committee's examination, is now of the order of $1.2 billion. This reflects the current managerial dimension of this activity. The twelvefold increase in these expenditures since 1956 is a gauge of the rate of growth and the consequent complexity of the task of program and policy development.

A national program of this importance, undergoing rapid change in an area requiring extensive policy and procedural innovation, must, in the public interest, be subject to continuing scrutiny and evaluation. The National Institutes of Health has been subjected to such inquiries. Among these studies, those conducted by your committee have, without question, contributed to the improvement of procedures and the evolution of public policy in the conduct of these grant programs.

There is much in the report recommendations with which this Department concurs and little where there is any difference in principle. Thus, of the seventeen major recommendations in the report, we have no disagreement in substance with fourteen. Only in three of the recommendations is the Department not in accord with the committee's view. The enclosed report develops the reasoning and conclusions with respect to these three recommendations.

Of the fourteen recommendations where there is agreement in principle, action is already under way, or has been accomplished, in four; in an additional eight, while there is general concurrence, the Department approach may differ somewhat from that recommended by the committee, and specific plans to determine a final course of action are under study or in the process of development. In the remaining two of these recommendations, while the Department concurs, the principal action lies within the Executive Office of the President and we are making this report available to the Bureau of the Budget for their consideration.

Beyond specific actions taken and planned in the areas examined by the committee, a series of broad changes in the Department have been taken which will contribute substantially to the purposes of the committee report:

The establishment of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Comptroller, has provided the means to substantially strengthen the financial management capabilities of the Department and bring to the management of departmental grant programs a coordinated rational approach which will obviate many of the difficulties of the past.

The development of a Departmental Planning, Programming and Budgeting System under the Assistant Secretary for Program Planning and Evaluation now permits the critical examination of new and expanded program plans in the context of emerging needs, national policies, and the conditions of responsible administration.

As a final point, I believe it important to emphasize, as the enclosed response does, that the postwar growth of medical research in the United States is surely one of the great contributions of this Nation in advancing human well-being. The role of Federal programs and particularly those of the National Institutes of Health, in providing impetus and support for this remarkable scientific effort, has been broadly acknowledged. To have participated in the further planning and development of these activities over the past two and one-half years has been, for me, both a great challenge and a special satisfaction.

I should like to assure the committee of my firm confidence in the leadership being provided these programs through the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service and the Director of the National Institutes of Health. We are fortunate, indeed, to have such able and dedicated men in the public service. In order to maximize their effectiveness, we are endeavoring to improve the present organizational arrangements. The reorganization of the health functions of the Department now under consideration has as its principal objective the effective assertion of national leadership, policy development, and program coordination in health matters to further overall progress in improving the national health.

I am taking the liberty of transmitting copies of this response to Senators Hill and Hayden, and Representatives Mahon, Flood, and Staggers in recognition of their interests in this matter and their committee responsibilities.

We shall be pleased to provide the committee with further information on this matter or respond to additional requests as you may desire.

Sincerely,

———— ————,
Secretary.

"DEPARTMENTAL POSITION ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS

"Indirect costs overpayments

" 'Recommendation No. 1.—The Committee strongly recommends that the Surgeon General make suitable arrangements to assure the uniform application of the Department's indirect cost rate information by all granting units of the Public Health Service. With respect to the use of off-campus rates, which are normally lower than on-campus rates, the Committee recommends that the Public Health Service obtain sufficient information in grant applications and in subsequent reports to identify the locations at which the research is performed.'

"In respect to Recommendation No. 1 of the Committee's report, the arrangements proposed therein have already been accomplished. A system to assure the availability of indirect-costs information and uniform policies in its application throughout DHEW has been established. Provision has been made for securing additional information on the location of research activities, to assist in ascertaining the application of differential off-campus indirect-cost rates.

"Despite the progress in this area, the handling of indirect costs continues to present policy and operating problems which are now under study to permit further improvement:

"1. Because of the varying sources and currency of indirect-cost rates, and the varying character of research projects, available rates may not be directly and simply applicable, presenting continuing problems to program administrators involved in determining the amounts of awards.

"2. Increasing costs and the changing administrative arrangements in institutions limit the durability of a given rate and the extent to which use can be made of the fixed-predetermined rate method of paying indirect costs authorized by P.L. 87–638. This forces continuation of the process of making provisional allowances for indirect costs, with the consequent burden of recalculation and adjustment. The Department is endeavoring to extend use of the fixed, predetermined rate method in administering indirect-cost activities.

"3. The determination of the appropriate circumstances for the use of "off-campus" indirect-cost rates can be extraordinarily complex. Various factors enter into whether an off-site rate should be used. A specific study is now under way aimed at developing criteria for establishing off-site rates and the mechanics for identifying the circumstances where such rates should be applied.

"Improving indirect-cost determination

" 'Recommendation No. 2.—The Committee endorses the concept of assigning Government-wide responsibility for establishing indirect cost rates with all institutions of a given type to a single Federal agency, with each type of institution audited by one Federal agency only. The Committee recommends that this concept be vigorously pursued by the Bureau of the Budget and other interested agencies so that a final Government-wide plan covering all institutions will expeditiously be established.'

"While deferring to the primary responsibility of the Bureau of the Budget in respect to Recommendation No. 2, it should be noted that the Department has long advocated this objective and sought to engender its exploration. Thus DHEW is in full accord with this recommendation.

"General research support grants

" 'Recommendation No. 3.—To eliminate some of the abuses that have developed in the general research support program, the Committee recommends that program policies be changed immediately to:

" '(1) Determine each GRS grant on the basis of the recipient institution's research expenditures from Federal sources alone. The Committee does not believe the premium given for non-Federal research funds under the existing formula operates as a meaningful incentive for institutions to seek private funds. Rather, this premium favors research organizations over institutions of higher education, and has been difficult to administer and wasteful of Federal research money, and

" '(2) Exclude from the computation base for a GRS grant all Federal payments for research which include fees above actual research costs.

" 'Additional recommendations concerning the GRS program appear below.'

"In respect to Part I of Recommendation No. 3 of the Committee report, the Department has directed PHS and NIH to submit to the Secretary a plan for modification of the formula utilized for calculating the awards under the General Research Support Grant program which provides for the elimination of the premium factor for nonfederal research expenditures, as well as other changes considered desirable, to be effective with the GRS awards made for fiscal year 1969. This plan would encompass such interim arrangements as may be necessary to moderate abrupt changes in the magnitude of grants now being received by institutions whose entitlement may be substantially affected by the revised formula.

"In respect to Part 2 of Recommendation No. 3, instructions have been given to PHS and NIH to require institutions to exclude as entitlement claims for GRS awards all Federal research contract funds which include fees above actual research costs. The amount of specific fees on such contracts are, under present policies, excluded from the entitlement calculation. In view of the Committee's concern of the data furnished in respect to the Stanford Research Institute, PHS and NIH have also been directed to take appropriate action to the extent that applicable policy and practice in respect to contract fees have not been observed.

"Health Sciences Advancement Award

" 'Recommendation No. 4.—The committee strongly recommends that no future grant program be initiated by NIH or the Public Health Service without fair and open competition after the purpose and the policies of the program have been carefully developed and publicly announced.

" 'Recommendation No. 5.—The committee further recommends that before any new grant program is started, or a major change is made in the existing program, the proposed regulations for the program be published in the Federal Register so that interested parties may have an opportunity to express their views. The final regulations should be approved by the Secretary before issuance.

" 'Recommendation No. 6.—The committee recommends that before any new program is initiated in the Public Health Service without specific statutory authorization, the program should be formally reviewed by the Department and the Executive Office of the President to determine its conformance with national education and science policies. Also, a written opinion concerning the legality of any such program should be obtained in advance from the HEW General Counsel.

" 'Recommendation No. 7.—The committee further recommends that no additional HSAA awards be made unless and until PHS obtains specific legislative authorization for this program.'

"As a matter of general practice, vigorous open competition governs awards of the funds appropriated to NIH for research project grants, training grants, fellowships, and facilities construction grants. Programs such as these, once well established, publish statements describing their objectives, eligibility requirements, application formats, and the process for review and approval. When features distinctive enough to require amendment of the PHS regulations emerge, the prescribed formalities, including publication of contemplated changes in the Federal Register, are observed.

"Thus, NIH has long respected and prized the tradition of public administration that gives all potentially eligible claimants equal access to appropriated funds. In the administration of NIH Research Grant programs, elaborate machinery has been developed over time for informing potential applicants, for the filing of applications, and for subjecting these to careful review according to clearly understood criteria of scientific merit and program relevance. But it is important to note that this widely known and respected framework emerged only after considerable experimentation and progressive modification based on experience. Throughout this period new program developments were initiated in limited trial forms as a basis for assessing the validity of the concepts involved and the procedural adaptation required. From such tryouts the basis for broader efforts and information required for adequate public announcement was formulated.

"It seemed clear, after careful consideration, that the best interests of the Government and the academic community would be served if a similar approach were exercised in the experimental phases of the HSAA program. Initiation of such an experiment on a small-scale basis appeared to be an approach that would lay the groundwork for a soundly conceived formal program when and if expansion on a national scale could be justified. After first-hand experience had been garnered, program objectives as well as the policies and procedures for attaining them could be defined in terms of greater precision and specificity than those general ones which were the best possible within the existing state of knowledge. The rationale for establishing the eligibility requirements for various classes of institutions would also become more evident.

"In the event that the feasibility study did not yield encouraging results, a pilot program launched cautiously, pragmatically, and without extravagant promises could be terminated before large sums of money had been committed. For while large awards to potential 'centers of excellence' might turn out to be useful to the grantee and to the Nation in important ways, they would only be justifiable under this program if they produced the 'quantum' increase in capability required to establish a true center of excellence in the health sciences.

"Thus, the Department is persuaded that the conditions which prevailed at the time justified NIH's exercise of limited experimental option even though the number of institutions involved might have been larger. Beyond undertaking what amounts to pilot efforts under appropriate terms, the Department concurs fully with the general procedure advocated implicitly in the Committee's report: that new formal programs be inaugurated after public announcement and with open competition.

"Therefore, the Department's reaction to Recommendation No. 4 is concurrence in general, but with clear recognition that under exceptional circumstances, such as those prevailing at the time the HSAA program was inaugurated, the constituent agencies of DHEW must be permitted the flexibility under appropriate Departmental guidelines to experiment with imaginative and creative program innovations so essential if national needs are to be responsibly served.

"The acceptability of Recommendation No. 5—for the publication in the Federal Register of the proposed regulations for new programs and the major changes in regulations for existing ones—depends on the definition of 'new' and 'existing.' The Department would have no objection to supplementing the highly effective public announcement procedures traditionally employed by NIH with use of the Federal Register when it has been determined that new programs (1) have completed their experimental phases, (2) have encountered and solved the major administrative problems that usually appear during early operational phases of novel endeavors, and (3) have been expanded to a significant scale. Until such time, an agency needs maximum flexibility to be responsive to unexpected situations, and needs freedom from ponderous and formalistic procedures in order to modify policy rapidly in the light of lessons taught by operating experience.

"The use of standing and ad hoc advisors and advisory committees, and of National Advisory Councils, has been a very effective mechanism for soliciting the opinions and the reactions of interested parties. In the same context, major changes in existing programs, when important, widely applicable, based on extensive experience, and viewed as relatively permanent, should also be published in the Federal Register. Standard procedure, of course, requires the Secretary to approve and issue such regulations.

"*Statutory Authority.* The concerns of the Committee on this score take two forms: a challenge of the adequacy of existing authority, with the implication that administrative actions taken by NIH in starting the program were illegal; and an insistence upon the need for explicit statutory authorization for the HSAA program.

"The legislative history of Public Law 86–798, which authorized grants for general support of the research and research training programs of certain classes of institutions, clearly envisaged the broad exercise of discretion in the design of detailed instruments to carry out the purpose of the law. However, the adequacy of the statutory authority for the program was challenged in the spring of 1967 in the process of examination by the Committee on Appropriations of the U.S. House of Representatives of the President's budget requests for fiscal year 1968. As a result, first the Office of the General Counsel for the Department of HEW and then the Comptroller General of the United States were requested to rule on the question of adequacy of the existing legal authority to operate the Health Sciences Advancement Award program. Each of these offices affirmed that the authority conveyed in the General Research Support statute (P.L. 86–798) was adequate for the action taken.

"The Department, as a consequence of these opinions, believes that the requirement of specific statutory authorization for the HSAA program has been met. Thus Recommendation No. 7, which is predicated on a contrary assumption, must be considered as inapplicable.

"The Department agrees with the objectives inherent in Recommendation No. 6 that new programs be "formally reviewed by the Department and the Executive Office of the President to determine its conformance to the national education and science policy." The formal process of the development of the budget requests requires both program examination and concurrence by the Department and the Bureau of the Budget. Thus it may be reasonably inferred that this program was in 'conformance with national education and science policies'

"Single-Instrument Support: The Sloan-Kettering Award

" 'Recommendation No. 8—The committee recommends that the Congress amend this provision of the act to clarify and limit the Surgeon General's blanket authority to adopt "such additional means as he deems necessary or appropriate" for the conduct and support of research.'

"To be able to act in exceptional circumstances, and to undertake special arrangements in furtherance of research, not only in cancer but in comparably urgent and difficult health problems, are viewed by the Department as essential provisions of law for the discharge of national responsibilities in the health area.

"Thus the Department does not support the Committee's recommendation that Congress amend this provision of the Act with the intention of limiting the authority, now resident in the Secretary of HEW, to undertake such necessary and appropriate action in respect to the conduct and support of research in matters related to health area.

"Because of the breadth of this authority, however, the Department concurs in the view that it should be exercised only after careful consideration of the circumstances involved. To assure that such careful consideration precedes such action, the formal delegations of authority within the Department are being reviewed to assure that there are appropriate restraints on the use of this authority.

"Quality of research

" 'Recommendation No. 9.—The committee recommends that the Surgeon General establish a high standard of quality as the basic qualification for research project support, and that he develop adequate procedures for the uniform maintenance of that high standard by NIH and other bureaus of the Public Health Service. The confinement of research grants to projects in the range of excellent to good should not be breached except in special circumstances where the reasons for supporting a lower quality project are fully documented in a written record.'

"The support of investigator-initiated research projects through the Regular Research Grant programs of NIH is a major and long-standing component of NIH operations. What is expected of the individual investigator under this program of NIH is the *sine qua non* of science: to propose scientifically meaningful research of the best that he is capable. A scientist can do no less. The selection of such projects for the award of grants is through a process that assigns determinant roles to peer groups, notably study sections and advisory councils. This review system, which derives from the statutory requirement for affirmative advisory council recommendations prior to award, constitutes a truly unique achievement in meshing the considerations of public purpose with the criteria and values of science in the conduct of Federal programs. The process has been subjected to numerous critical examinations and broadly judged to be sound, effective, and conducive to the interests of both science and public.

"The standards of this process are rigorous. The result: As the number and dollar value of research grant applications has increased, the proportion of applications surviving this review has fallen. In recent years almost half of all the new and 40 percent of the competing research grant applications received by NIH have failed to pass the basic qualitative threshold and have been disapproved. The following charts show this trend graphically.

"The priority scores utilized in the review process are assigned to applications only after they have been approved by a study section. Thus, the scientific merit of a project and its eligibility for NIH support have already been established. The purpose of the priority score is less to quantify quality in an absolute sense than to provide a means of gaining a collective opinion of the reviewers for ranking the applications recommended for payment. This is not to suggest that priority rating is unrelated to scientific merit, but other subjective variables are reflected in these numerical indices. To illustrate: Given two project proposals of corresponding scientific merit, one an epidemiological approach, another a laboratory technique, one reviewer might assign higher priority to the former as a consequence of his conviction that the 'state of the art' in that science-discipline calls for more emphasis on epidemiologic studies. Thus, priorities reflect scientific *choice* as well as scientific merit.

"In 1956 the NIH appropriation for project-grant support was $40 million, which represented 13 percent of the estimated total national expenditure on medical research ($312 million) and involved the support of only 2500 projects. The national need was great and the research capacity of the Nation substantial; national programs were severely limited (partly because of the Korean war); and only established investigations, research programs, and institutions were being supported. The skewing of priority ratings to the upper end of the scale during the period when these conditions were in substantial dominance was inevitable.

"Ten years later that universe of medical research was transformed. National expenditures in this area totaled over $2.0 billion, of which the Federal share was $1.3 billion and the NIH figure was $791 million, the predominant share of which was expended in support of almost 16,000 research projects. These are the dimensions of a national medical research effort which is not only of a wholly different order of magnitude, but is beyond equating in respect to the scope and depth of the science involved or the investigators and institutions engaged, and to the extent to which the national interests are being served. To ignore these massive changes and to assume that the priority rating pattern of 1956 is a valid base of comparison with the pattern of 1966 hardly seems reasonable.

"Furthermore, it would be difficult, indeed, to demonstrate any meaningful change in the priority character of research grant applications after the initial period of rapid program growth. Thus, since 1960 the distribution of priority scores—as shown by the table printed in the Committee's report—has remained virtually constant with: about 24 percent in the 100–199 group; about 48 percent in the 200–299 group; about 25 percent in the 300–399 group; and only 3 or 4 percent in the lowest priority category of 400–500.

"In 1966 and 1967 the proportion in the highest priority group has shown a distinct increase, to 26 percent and 30 percent respectively.

"As a consequence of its examination of all the considerations surrounding the Committee's comments on the quality of research being supported through NIH programs, the Department concludes, as noted at the outset of this discussion, there has not been a 'continued lowering of research standards' in the conduct of these programs nor has 'a much lower level of competence . . . replaced high quality as the standard for determining whether research is worthy of Federal support.' The available evidence, to the extent that it can be considered to reflect qualitative trends, suggesst quite the opposite trend.

"Thus, in respect to the Committee recommendation that a high standard of quality be the basic qualification for research project support and that adequate procedures be developed to maintain that standard, the Department believes that the existing arrangements have given and will continue to give firm assurance that only projects worthy of public support for the accomplishment of the statutorily established objectives of NIH programs will be awarded grants.

"In respect to that part of the recommendation relating to the circumstances under which projects fall in the lower priority ratings, present procedures require that any application falling in the lowest 10 percent of the priorities assigned by any Study Section be subjected to special review by staff and the relevant Advisory Council before an award is made. This process assures that applications receiving the lowest decile of priority ratings are thus deliberately selected for their importance to some aspect of the relevant Institute's program. This procedure has been in effect since June 1959 in response to criteria set by President Eisenhower.

"Concentration of grants

" 'Recommendation No. 10.—The committee recommends that the Public Health Service's responsibility for programs designed to develop or improve the capability and resources of educational institutions be limited to medical and other health professional schools. The general research support program is not included in this category since the Congress authorized these grants, permitting broad discretionary spending, specifically to supplement project grants. The committee recommends that the responsibility for grants intended to strengthen educational institutions other than health professional schools be confined to the National Science Foundation and/or the Office of Education—the two Federal agencies broadly responsible for strengthening basic science and education.'

"A policy that would limit NIH efforts to improve the health-related research capability and resources of educational institutions to medical and health professional schools would not be compatible with the realities of existing Federal-university relationships, nor with the scope of science upon which the advancement of health capability depends.

"The last several decades have seen the evolution—principally in non-health professional components of graduate schools—of hybrid scientific disciplines such as biochemistry, biophysics, and biomathematics into strong and viable areas of scholarly endeavor. These new sciences represent points of contact and areas of interdigitation between the sciences of chemistry, physics, and mathematics and that of biology. New knowledge developed in these hybrids, particularly in specific subdisciplines, has proved to be enormously significant for health. There is every reason to believe that fundamental insights into health problems will continue to flow from these sources.

"The Department believes that there are important and noncompetitive developmental roles to be played by NIH, NSF and OE in the non-health professional components of this Nation's graduate schools in the present context of national policies and arrangements for support of university functions. OE's mission is the broadest and most general—to support the basic process of graduate education and the basic educational enterprise. NSF has primary responsibility for education and basic research in the sciences generally, including mathematics and engineering. And NIH must focus on research and research training in the sciences related or oriented to health.

"Thus, in respect to the Committee's recommendation that NIH's programs directed towards the improvement of the capability and resources of educational institutions in the biomedical area be confined to medical and other health professional schools, this Department believes that such modification would impair the achievement of national objectives in the area of health and medical research in the present context of Federal relationships to educational institutions.

"Aiding weaker institutions

" 'Recommendation No. 11.—To provide for more equitable treatment of the smaller and less wealthy institutions, the committee recommends the following changes in PHS policies:

" '(1) Qualification for a GRS grant should be based on a school's receiving $100,000 or more annually in research project grants from all units of the Public Health Service combined, rather than exclusively from NIH. Moreover, HEW should consider broadening the GRS program, with appropriate legislative authority, to include health-related research grants made by other units of the Department in such programs as vocational rehabilitation and maternal and child health. Eventually, a single general research support grant for each eligible institution, administered on a Government-wide basis, would be most efficient and desirable.

" '(2) The amount of each GRS grant should be determined solely on the basis of the institution's research expenditures from Federal sources. The committee does not believe the premium given for non-Federal research funds under the existing formula operates as a meaningful incentive for attracting private funds. Rather, this premium discriminates against poorer institutions, favors research organizations over institutions of higher education and, as demonstrated in chapter IV, has been difficult to administer and wasteful of Federal research money.

" '(3) The same GRS eligibility requirements should be applied to health professional schools as to other institutions. To the extent that health professional schools require assistance in developing a research capability, this should be accomplished by a separate program of technical and financial assistance tailored for the purpose.

" '(4) The separate biomedical sciences support grant should be discontinued, and the GRS grant awarded to graduate schools on the same terms as to professional schools, hospitals, and research institutions.

" '(5) Until such time as a single general research support program may be established on a Government-wide basis, the NIH program and NSF's institutional grants program should be closely coordinated to avoid duplication. Some institutions presently receive general research support from both NIH and NSF computed on the basis of the same research projects; this occurs because NSF bases the amount of its award exclusively on the research (as well as some research training) grants it makes, while NIH includes these same NSF research grants in the computation for GRS awards.'

"As noted in the prior section of this response dealing with General Research Support program, this program was designed to provide support for the health research and research training programs of institutions and thus to complement project support for individuals within those institutions. Its major intents were to provide funds to redress imbalances and inflexibilities created by categorically oriented research-project grants; to foster autonomous institutional growth in the health sciences area through the development of research and research training programs in accordance with self-defined institutional aspiration; and to create and operate the central resources and facilities used in common by many biomedical scientists within the institution.

"In evaluating the meaning of 'equitable' utilized by the Committee, one should not lose sight of the fact that intrinsically the GRS program is discriminatory. It was intended, within limits, to provide support in proportion to the imbalance or straining of institutional programs by categorically oriented research-project grants from NIH. Institutions were not to receive awards unless a reasonable basis was evident to conclude that such distortion operated. Hence, a threshold, defined in terms of dollar amount of NIH support, became a necessary (but not sufficient) requirement to be met in establishing institutional eligibility.

"The intent of these remarks is to introduce a note of caution into the formulation of the concept of 'equitable treatment' when applied to the 'smaller and less wealthy institutions' under the GRS program.

"Thus, in respect to the general purpose of Recommendation No. 11, the Department shares the concern expressed in the Committee report for institutions which are small, or modestly endowed, or outside geographic areas of high-population density. With the Committee, the Department believes it to be in the national interest to upgrade the research capability as well as the general excellence of all classes of institutions of higher learning. However, the Department is persuaded that the fundamental considerations involved in seeking this objective are so different from those toward which the General Research and Biomedical Support programs are directed that, as noted above, a broader national program should be devised for this purpose.

"In respect to the specific components of Recommendation No. 11, many of the changes proposed are ones that have been under consideration within the Department. If the Report of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council evaluative study of the General Research Support program had not cautioned against such action before at least 1967, and were it not evident that some of these actions, if taken precipitously, would have serious adverse effects on specific institutions, several of these recommendations would have been put in force some time ago.

"The Department concurs in principle with the Recommendation 11(1) that the eligibility base for general research support be broadened beyond the present NIH base. Plans for effecting this will be developed within the coming year. With regard, however, to expanding this program to make possible a DHEW-wide and, eventually, a Government-wide general research support program, the Department has misgivings. These derive from the conviction that the changes would inevitably reduce the effectiveness of these funds in achieving the statutory missions of the separate Federal agencies which support research and development efforts in their respective fields of interest in eligible institutions.

"The Department concurs in principle with Recommendation No. 11(2), the effect of which is to terminate automatic eligibility for those classes of health professional schools initially declared eligible when the program began in 1962. However, it reserves the right to put this change into effect in such a way as to minimize dislocation and adverse effects in grantee institutions, and further hopes that new authorities and funds will become available to develop research capability and otherwise strengthen some of the previously eligible institutions which need and have no other source of such support. Particular consideration will be given to the problems of these institutions in the legislative submissions that relate to the extension of the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act.

"The Department wishes to study more carefully Recommendation No. 11(3), to discontinue the Biomedical Sciences Support Grant program. The view at NIH is that there should be as many fund-allocation formulas as there are homogeneous classes of institutions in terms of institutional importance as a performer of health-related research. It may turn out that no distinctions sufficiently important to warrant separate categorization should be made, in which case the recommendation will be accepted. Alternatively, two or even more programs may appear most appropriate.

"The Department concurs in Recommendation No. 11(4) that there be close coordination between NIH and NSF in the evolution of their respective programs of the type that NIH calls general research support. At the moment they are the only sources of Federal support for such programs. It should be noted that coordination has been practiced in the past, even though differences of opinion—which the NIH believes to be en-

tirely appropriate—on some problems continue to exist.

"As noted in response to Part 1 of Recommendation No. 3, this Department has directed PHS and NIH to submit to the Secretary a plan for the modification of the formula utilized for calculating the awards under the General Research Support Grant program which provides for the elimination of the premium factor for non-Federal research expenditures, as well as other changes considered desirable, to be effective with the GRS awards made for fiscal year 1969.

"This plan will also take into account the foregoing recommendations of the Committee.

"Training grant programs

" 'Recommendation No. 12.—The committee recommends, further, that the Secretary of HEW review the numerous NIH and other PHS training grant programs to determine if they are effectively organized to serve national manpower needs and objectives. This review should be concerned particularly with ascertaining if the institutions which receive large amounts of training funds are making a proportionate contribution to the nation's manpower supply. Conversely, the Secretary should determine if training grant policies discriminate against schools which award graduate degrees in the biomedical sciences but receive little or no PHS training support.'

"NIH training programs provide support for both predoctoral and postdoctoral training in the biomedical sciences. Approximately 65 percent of the support covers predoctoral training, with heavy emphasis upon the basic medical sciences, and about 35 percent covers postdoctoral training. Because of the inclusion of this significant postdoctoral training component, there is not necessarily a 1–1 correspondence between NIH training support and doctoral output in the basic medical sciences.

NIH training grant support is provided not only with respect to the intrinsic scientific quality of institutional programs, but also in terms of the relevance of the proposed training to the authorized mission of the awarding NIH Institute. It is not possible, therefore, for NIH training grant support to be provided to every environment simply because it awards advanced degrees in the biological sciences. Rather, training grant awards must continue to be made selectively on the basis of the twin criteria of scientific excellence and NIH mission relevance.

"Nonetheless, the Department concurs with the Committee's view of the importance of assessing the effectiveness of NIH training programs in meeting urgent national needs for biomedical research manpower. Thus, in respect to Recommendation No. 12, the Department is directing the National Institutes of Health to extend its already broad and thorough review of the biomedical research manpower area now under way. The findings and conclusions of these studies are expected to be available during the forthcoming year. A subcommittee on manpower of the Advisory Committee to the Director of NIH has recently been established to provide guidance in the review of NIH training programs. It is anticipated that the advice and recommendations emanating from this group will also be of significant value in determining the appropriate NIH training role and responsibilities in the years ahead.

"Technical assistance to institutions

" 'Recommendation No. 13.—The committee recommends that the President designate one or more Federal agencies to provide technical assistance, upon request, to help institutions plan for the improvement of their science education and research programs. It would be logical for the Public Health Service to be concerned with the health professional schools; other groups of institutions in which the biomedical sciences are taught might be made the responsibility of the National Science Foundation and/or the Office of Education.'

"While deferring to primary concerns of the Executive Office of the President in respect to this matter, the Department wishes to emphasize that it has actively supported and participated in interagency efforts to this end and will continue to do so.

"In respect to Recommendation No. 13, the Department feels that sufficient preliminary steps have already been taken by the Executive Branch so that it should be possible, within a reasonable period of time, to designate specific "cognizant agencies" for providing technical assistance in the development of academic science capabilities in respect to particular categories of institutions or areas of research. However, it is felt that it would be premature, pending the further development of these concepts, to make the division of responsibilities for the biomedical sciences suggested by the Committee.

"Improving the academic quality of graduate institutions

" 'Recommendation No. 14.—The committee recommends that the President give early attention to the problem of improving the academic quality of weaker graduate institutions and that a unified and coordinated Federal assistance program be developed for dealing with this matter. The committee believes the present piecemeal and uncoordinated approaches of Federal agencies to institutional improvement are competitive, wasteful, and frequently not directed to the heart of the problem.'

"Again the Department acknowledges the principal concern of the Executive Office of the President with this recommendation, and thus comments only from its more limited purview.

"Graduate education is the culmination of the formal process of equipping individuals with the requisite scholarly capability for independent teaching, research, and technical endeavor at the frontier of expanding knowledge and technological innovation. As a consequence of the evolution of this academic function over the past 50 years, the graduate schools of the United States now encompass a predominant portion of the intellectual force of the Nation. This Department is convinced that only through the careful cultivation of this resource can the Nation be assured of continuing capability to advance knowledge, to extend the base for technological progress, to influence the social, cultural, and economic quality of national life, and to exert intelligent and effective leadership in world affairs. Gaining a national consensus on this fundamental circumstance constitutes the major challenge to Legislative and Executive efforts to bring about a more rational relationship between the Federal Government and graduate education.

"Thus, in respect to Recommendation No. 14, the Department shares the Committee's concern with the problem of improving the academic quality of weaker graduate institutions. The Department emphasizes, however, that the existing circumstances are not solely the consequences of the diffusion of Executive responsibility in this matter, but are basically reflective of the yet ambivalent and indecisive state of the national mind in respect to the matter in which national action in this area will be taken and the policies which should govern. Nonetheless, a considerable effort is under way within the Executive Branch to improve existing conditions and to further the resolution of national policy in this area.

"Central management of grants

" 'Recommendation No. 15.—The committee recommends that the Surgeon General (1) establish in PHS, and in each of the bureaus which administer grant programs, a single grants management office to provide uniform interpretations of policies and procedures, and (2) provide adequate staffing for PHS's Division of Grants and Contracts to enable this unit, on a current basis, to maintain surveillance over and liaison with the several bureau grants management offices to assure that policies are being properly and uniformly implemented.'

"In the initial section of Part II of this commentary, there is a review of the major efforts within NIH, PHS, and at the departmental level to advance the status and capability of the grants management function. The Department believes that substantial progress has been made in this area and that the framework is considerably stronger today than in the past. The Department would also re-emphasize its previous statement that there is no disagreement in respect to the responsibility that bears upon the Department and its constituents for sound management of grant programs.

"Without question, an increase in competent grant mangement staff and further progress in the coordination of the necessarily diverse activities is required. Thus, in respect to Recommendation No. 15, the Department is in full accord with the objectives sought. The planned reorganization of the health functions of the Department now under study will provide both the opportunity and the means to focus and strengthen further the grant management activities of each of the constituent agencies.

"Advisory Committees

" 'Recommendation No. 16.—The committee recommends that appointments to advisory councils be limited to one 4-year term, with members ineligible for reappointment, or appointment to other advisory councils, for a period of 4 years following the completion of their terms.

" 'The committee recommends further, that consideration be given in the selection of advisory committees to obtaining a balanced representation of geographic regions and educational institutions. To the extent possible, consultants should be drawn from among qualified scientists who are not themselves recipients of PHS grants.' "

"The National Advisory Councils are unusual, if not unique, in that they are not only established by law but have the statutory authority to make recommendations prerequisite to the award of a grant by the Surgeon General. These Councils provide the basic mechanism for broad public participation in the programs of NIH. This unusual framework for joining non-Federal advisers in the direct conduct of Federal programs has been remarkably productive and has achieved complete acceptance by the scientific community. Indeed, much of the rate of growth, scientific distinction, and public appeal of NIH programs is directly attributable to this engagement of both lay concern and technical competence in program affairs.

"Eligibility for reappointment, which is the subject of the Committee's recommendation for change, is covered by statute: reappointment of a member to the same Council is prohibited for one year following completion of a term of service.

"Thus, in respect to Part of the Recommendation No. 16, the Department recognizes the need for rotation of membership on National Advisory Councils as the best means for insuring that interplay of fresh and disparate viewpoints which will result in benefit, not only to NIH programs, but also to the national understanding and the exercise of national responsibility. A tightening of requirements for reappointment would be consistent with current committee management practices at NIH, which are now based on a limitation prescribed by law. At the same time, such modifications should be kept in balances: undue restrictions upon membership could result in denying access to the experience of advisers familiar with the diversity of NIH missions, with the operation of this

complex system, and with the officials whom they are advising. Consequently, the selection and appointment procedures for National Advisory Council members are being revised to provide for special review of all recommendations for reappointments to assure that such reappointments are made only when there is clear evidence that the national interest is served thereby.

"The selection and appointment of members of technical advisory committees present a different set of considerations. The maintenance or enhancement of ability to judge the scientific qualify of proposals is paramount. Candidates for appointment are therefore selected primarily on the basis of outstanding qualifications as investigators in clinical or laboratory research. Because this review system is designed to assure the maintenance of scientific merit in the projects supported, it thus demands that its membership be seleced on the basis of competence.

"Thus, in respect to Part II of Recommendation No. 16, the Department must emphasize that the first requirement for selection of technical advisors is excellence in a specific field of research. Since excellence in science and medical research is not equivalently distributed in all States and all institutions, a proportionate representation in the distribution of PHS technical advisers by State and institutions cannot be expected. Inevitably the distribution of Federal support in mission programs follows the distribution of competence, which in turn forms the universe from which technical advisers must be selected. There appears to be no reasonable escape from this dilemma. To the maximum extent possible, the Department will endeavor to assure the broadest representation in the selection of technical advisors consistent with the basic obligation of serving the primary statutory objectives involved.

"Institutional accountability

"Recommendation No. 17.—The committee recommends that the percentage of grant funds allocated to the general research support program not be increased, and no new forms of institutional support be initiated, until (1) PHS has modified GRS policies for a more equitable and efficient distribution of these funds, as recommended earlier in this report, and (2) PHS or HEW is prepared to promulgate grants management standards and to determine that institutions wishing to be eligible for research support are in compliance with those standards."

"Without question, the grant relationship imposes upon the grantee clear responsibility for the effective management of the funds awarded in the accomplishment of the purpose for which the grant was made. The statement of principles governing the use of grant funds by grantee organizations promulgated by PHS makes this fundamental condition clear. Thus the Department is in full concurrence with the objectives being sought in the committee's discussion of the problems of institutional accountability.

"The matter of concern for the Department that arises in connection with the Committee's discussions of institutional accountability is the implication that the recipient of a grant, to meet the obligation for prudent management, is required as an absolute condition of support to give evidence of the existence within the grantee institution of formal management systems utilizing modern accounting and auditing, central purchasing, inventory management, and other basic business techniques. As the Committee is well aware, authority to make grants involves an explicit Act of Congress. Thus, the grant is viewed as a special instrument of public action. It is distinguishable from a contract in that it does not constitute the procurement of goods or services required for the performance of public business. In contrast, it is a unilateral act centered in the concept that the public interest will be served by contributing to the work of a non-Federal organization. Thus the primary concern in making a grant is the identification of the public value to be gained through the grant and the capability of the awardee to advance such value. The determination of whether the public interest has been so served is not in the nature of the expenditure that is made under the grant, but the degree to which the broad objective being sought has indeed been furthered by what was accomplished as a consequence of the award.

"In respect to Recommendation No. 17, however, the Department is convinced that it would be unwise to establish any absolute degree of management capability on the part of a grantee institution as an explicit condition of eligibility for research support. This must continue to be a variable judgment encompassing both the nature of the public purpose to be served and the assessment of this Department of the capability of the institution for prudent use of the funds involved. This view, however, will not diminish the efforts of the Department and its constituents to contribute to the managerial capability of the framework of non-Federal institutions upon which the progress of its grant programs depends."

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS].

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of this legislation, I rise in support of H.R. 12843, which would provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute within the National Institutes of Health.

Presently, within the National Institutes of Health, eye research is being conducted within the Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. However, testimony before our Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare indicated that more could and should be done both in the research on the causes and treatment of blindness as well as research in sight preservation.

Disorders of the eyes constitute the Nation's leading cause of disability. Some 90 million Americans are estimated to require correction or treatment of some eye difficulty. Some 3½ million of these have permanent noncorrectable defects. A million persons are estimated to have undiagnosed glaucoma, one of the leading causes of blindness. The United States is estimated to have some 1½ million persons blind in at least one eye.

About 80 percent of all our blindness is estimated to be the result of diseases whose cause or basic mechanism of action is not adequately understood. By adoption of this legislation, we would intensify efforts to reduce this percentage. The National Eye Institute that would be established would conduct research and explore and determine the causes of blindness, and would also authorize and finance the research of others for the same purpose.

In June of 1967 I introduced H.R. 10780, which would provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute, and as a member of your committee, I was privileged to participate in the consideration of this most worthwhile and necessary legislation. I urge its adoption.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, in regard to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] I believe it is a good amendment, and we accept the amendment on this side.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise gladly in support of H.R. 12843, the bill before us today to create, within the National Institutes of Health, a separate and distinct National Eye Institute.

In the enactment of this measure, I can envision the fulfillment of what you might term a dream—a dream which I was privileged to share during the 89th Congress with our late and distinguished colleague from Rhode Island, the Honorable John E. Fogarty, and a dream which I am sure is shared today by many colleagues in this Chamber.

Still another who has shared this dream is a former Bethlehem, Pa., ophthalmologist who left a promising practice in my congressional district to become professor of ophthalmology at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia.

This man, Dr. Thomas D. Duane, has devoted a great deal of his time and energy to champion the creation of a National Eye Institute. In 1962 and 1963 he traveled throughout the country to survey the conditions under which eye research was being conducted and he chronicled the inadequacies of the research effort in a report, "Ophthalmic Research, U.S.A."

One of the most serious tragedies which can beset man is to be rendered sightless. It has been man's instinctive practice, I suppose since he first set foot on earth, to develop means to protect his eyes against accidental injury. But man has advanced to the 20th century without having applied a great deal of his initiative and vast know-how to guard against loss of eyesight through eye disease.

It is true that within one of the existing National Institutes of Health, eye research is being carried out at this moment. But within that Institute diseases which can destroy one of man's five basic senses is relegated to a subordinate level where I submit our research effort is less effective than it could or should be.

The late John Fogarty, speaking in this Chamber almost 2 years ago to the day, addressed you, Mr. Speaker, and declared:

> It is one of the great and growing responsibilities of the Congress to take appropriate action in matters concerning the Nation's health and to support the continuous pursuit of scientific efforts to control diseases which deprive our citizens of a useful existence. The evidence that we are carrying out this function effectively is all around us. The advance of medical science is so rapid, however, that we must be constantly alert that we do not neglect new challenges and new opportunities in health research as they are presented to us by the scientific community.

In that address, Mr. Speaker, John Fogarty declared his support for a bill I had introduced on January 27, 1966—nearly identical to the bill before us—to create a separate and autonomous National Eye Institute.

In considering this measure today, I ask that my colleagues consider the fact that among our 200 million citizens are 1 million blind Americans. Before another year passes 42,000 more of our citizens will be blind. Within a decade a half million more will be blind. And there are 90 million Americans at this moment who suffer from some form of eye disorder or vision impairment.

Throughout the world, 10 million are blind. The cost of blindness—in addition to the human tragedy—runs to more than $1 billion per year.

Yet, at a time when our vast scientific knowledge has enabled man to produce mechanical substitutes for human organs, and has sustained life by the transplanting organs—yes, even the human heart—we find that the causes of 80 percent of all eye diseases still are unknown to medical science.

I was personally disappointed to find that this bill, to concentrate research efforts on the tragic affliction of blindness, failed to generate enthusiasm within the Surgeon General's office. But I am proud that the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and indeed the full Commerce Committee, recognized eye disease as a seriously neglected health problem and acted deliberately and positively to bring this measure to the floor.

The Members of this House now have the opportunity to demonstrate to all Americans that we in Congress do not need to be prodded to react to our Nation's needs. Instead, we can demonstrate by passage of this bill that we can and do lead the way when positive action is warranted.

There is more than adequate reason for Congress to lead the way in this instance. Permit me to cite one bit of testimony to the inadequacy of efforts thus far to learn the causes and the cures of dreaded eye diseases.

On November 1, 1967, a panel of scientists testified in support of this legislation in hearings before the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I would like to quote from the testimony of one of those experts, Dr. Jules Stein, chairman of Research to Prevent Blindness, Inc., the Nation's leading voluntary organization in the field of eye research. Dr. Stein said:

> We find ophthalmic investigators working under deplorable conditions which make it difficult, if not impossible, for them to move ahead effectively toward the conquest of blinding diseases. There is not enough laboratory space for eye research, there is not enough modern equipment, and there is not enough manpower to do what must be done.
>
> We are not training enough researchers to meet the enormous needs in this field, and we are not providing sufficient incentive to keep those we train. Money alone will not provide the answer. Our essential need is for a concerted research attack against blinding diseases, planned, directed, and executed by those whose lives are dedicated to the study of the eye and its problems.
>
> Until we put leadership and direction of eye research in the hands of those who best understand ophthalmic problems, we will witness the continuous, steady rise in the incidence of blindness in this nation and throughout the world.

The legislation before us today, Mr. Speaker, will give vitally neecssary leadership and direction to the quest for greater knowledge about eye diseases in order to develop means of preventing and curing eye diseases and, hopefully, to be able to restore sight for some who now seem hopelessly blind.

I hope, too, Mr. Speaker that none of us in this Chamber will be blind today to the need to focus all of the resources at our disposal, through the creation of a National Eye Institute, in the effort to protect the sense of sight for our generation and future generations.

Mr. Speaker, I have heard two erroneous statements made by the distinguished Member from New Jersey that $93 million today is allocated for the study of eye diseases. If this were the case, Mr. Speaker, this bill that we have before us today would not be necessary, but unfortunately the eye blindness research receives less than $20 million per year.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield so that I may reply to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY]?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD].

Mr. LAIRD. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] that I was including in my figure the traineeship grants and the fellowship grants. I believe the figure stated by the gentleman from Pennsylvania is limited to the research of the intermural and extramural research in the field of ophthalmology, but in my figure we are also including the traineeship grants. I believe they should be shifted to the new National Eye Institute. I believe the traineeship program and the manpower programs should also be in the new Institute. That was my understanding, that they would be shifted from the various other institutions into the Eye Institute. So that the combined figure was not limited to the research activities.

Mr. STAGGERS. That is correct, they would be transferred, and all their efforts.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the gentleman from Hawaii.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 12843, a bill to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health.

At the outset I wish to commend the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY], for being the first to propose the establishment of a National Eye Institute and for pursuing this matter aggressively to bring this worthy bill to the floor. The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, too, is to be commended for its favorable action on this bill.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Pololo Lions Club, Lions International, I have long been especially concerned with the plight of the blind. Sight is perhaps the most valuable of our senses, and every effort should be exerted to preserve it. While the so-called "Lions" throughout the United States have carried on tremendous programs for the blind on a voluntary basis at the local community level, the problem of the blind is such an immense one that there is a definite and urgent need for governmental action at the national level.

There are over 400,000 blind persons in the United States, and it is estimated that some 90 million Americans—nearly one-half of the entire population—suffer from some form of eye disorder or impaired vision. Approximately 3,500,000 people in this country are afflicted with permanent, noncorrectable visual defects, and 1,500,000 are blind in one eye; and what is more important is that more than 12 million of our schoolchildren require eye care.

It is tragic that, in an advanced society such as ours, more than 32,000 Americans lose their vision each year, so that during the 20-year period from 1940 to 1960 the blind population increased by 67 percent while the total population itself grew by only 36 percent. If this percent trend is allowed to continue, in the next 10 years over one-half million Americans will lose their sight.

These startling statistics lead us to the inescapable conclusion that an expanded program of research to determine the causes of blindness, and to establish preventive programs, is absolutely necessary.

Mr. Speaker, the pending bill will hopefully help to fill the need.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the amendment.

I take this time, Mr. Speaker, not for the purpose of delaying this bill, but because I believe the colloquy we have had between the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin and the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey at least ought to be partially answered insofar as our committee is concerned.

All the matters which have been raised in the report by the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey have been under consideration by our committee.

We had a special subcommittee in 1967 which took up not only the question of grants, but the entire question of how appropriations have been spent by the National Institutes of Health going back for a number of years, especially in the field of research, traineeships, and scholarships.

We had some of those complaints, and we felt that it was necessary to have and we did have, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare before that special subcommittee, which was appointed by the chairman, for weeks—this went on for at least, as I recall, 2 or 3 months.

That was under the chairmanship of the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] whom I see here on the floor and I am sure he will be glad to tell what that subcommittee did.

So this is not something that we have not been aware of on the committee. We have been aware of it and we took corrective legislation.

There was even some revision of what the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare volunteered and did do to cure these problems which have been raised by this report.

Let me say, we were after this long before the Committee on Government Operations got into it and we feel that steps have been taken that ought to have been taken some time ago. But we believe this situation has been corrected and I think we have a good solid answer insofar as our committee is concerned in serving our responsibility to this Congress to see that the National Institutes of Health serve this country properly and the money that is out there now being expended is supervised in such a way that I believe it would receive the approval of every Member of this body. I believe I am giving it exactly as it occurred. This special subcommittee did an excellent job.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. NELSEN. In response to the point brought up by our good friend, the gentleman from New Jersey, I would call attention to the fact that in the hearings, the gentleman from Florida, [Mr. ROGERS] very extensively interviewed and interrogated the witnesses dealing with our medical schools and our training program with the nurses training program. Our good friend the gentleman from New Jersey, has a complaint that we have not produced enough doctors and enough nurses.

I think there is agreement in our committee that this program should be stimulated.

The gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] did a very extensive job in the interrogation of witnesses on it, and I am sure he would respond to the gentleman's remarks because we do admit that there are some areas where a little more stimulation would be necessary and the criticism of our friend, the gentleman from New Jersey is not altogether unfounded.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. I would just like to comment on what the gentleman from Illinois has said.

We did have a special committee specifically formed to study this whole problem and we did a very thorough study on it.

It is true that our subcommittee has felt that we must do more in producing more doctors and more nurses and more medical personnel.

We have a bill that the committee has recommended that should be on the floor, hopefully, this afternoon, the Health and Manpower Act which goes specifically to the problem of producing more doctors and more nurses and more medical personnel.

That is the thrust of that legislation. But that is not this legislation. This legislation for an eye institute is simply to give impetus to and to tie under one roof the efforts to do something about eye disease, which is a disease that affects some 90 million Americans.

That is all we are trying to do here.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] has expired.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word and rise in support of this amendment as well as this legislation represented by H.R. 12843.

As the Speaker well knows, and as some Members do, I initially had some reservations about this legislation because of the reorganization of the U.S. Public Health Service, to wit, the amendments on the first page of the report wherein "the Surgeon General" is changed in many different instances to "the Secretary."

Second, I am well aware of the fact that this will be a training institute for residencies and fellowships with additional grants and both additional in-house and outside research grants with study contracts; and I know also, Mr. Speaker, of the tremendous shortage of opthamologists or trained physicians in the diseases, to say nothing of the refraction, of the eye.

The eye is a special end-organ of the brain. At one time there was an institute for the eye in the National Institutes of Health. It was moved out by request and/or agreement. Another one of my concerns was a private opthamological institute across Old Georgetown Road from NIH, but now under the direction of free enterprise. It is doing good work near the site of and in cooperation with and based on grants from private foundations and the National Institutes. However, Mr. Speaker, as I said in the beginning, and as you well know, I agreed to let this legislation come up over one week ago by unanimous consent, as a result of all the good work by the committee, in view of all the explanations that have been made forthrightly here today, and in particular the work of our colleagues, Messrs. YOUNG, GREEN, and CAHILL, among others, and in view of their personal experience in this regard as well as the overall shortages in an increasingly scarce category of trained personnel.

Also Mr. Speaker, I have had personal correspondence from many ophthalmologists throughout the Nation, from my own medical society back home, because of the intercession and explanation of my colleague from Kentucky, Dr. TIM LEE CARTER, and because of letters from the Wilmar Institute, from the Washington University in St. Louis, chief of ophthalmalogy; and from the University of Missouri, professor and head of the Ophthalmology Department, who incidentally, used to direct the in-being private Ophthalmological Institute on Old Georgetown Road. They now are all in favor of this bill.

I think this is a good bill. I am sorry we have to do it in spite of the testimony of the Director of the National Institutes of Health and in spite, indeed, of the testimony before this distinguished Committee of the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service. But, as I predicted some 3 years ago, this Service is in its waning days as a separate arm of the Government, and it certainly is being emasculated as far as the Surgeon General is concerned and will be taken over by the Department of HEW and the social workers that head it, I am sure. Perhaps for all of these reasons it is more important than ever, as a professional training device, for further coordinated eye research; and particularly for bringing together and amalgamating all the different directions that our grants, that our contracts, and that our studies have been directed in pursuit of a "breakthrough" versus blindness, glaucoma, cataracts, retinal and other diseases of eye.

I rise in full support of this measure and compliment the cosponsors who have brought it to our attention.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I wish to make crystal clear to the members of this committee that I mean no criticism of this committee or of the Appropriations Committee. But I find it difficult indeed to read the report of the Committee on Government Operations published in 1967 when I recall the rules of this House that, as I understand it, this particular committee has the duty of studying Government operations at all levels with a view to determining their economy and their efficiency. I suggest, whether this report is correct or not I have no knowledge, but to read this report one comes to the inescapable conclusion that there is definite need for corrective measures in the Public Health Service and in NIH.

I want to thank the gentleman from Wisconsin for his proposal to place in the RECORD a rebuttal of this report, and I promise this committee and I promise the gentleman from Wisconsin that if upon reading it I find that the corrections suggested by this report have indeed been remedied, I will be the first to concede the fact in the RECORD.

I just hope that some of the Members are here during the debate on the Medical Manpower Act to hear some facts which I really believe must be known by this House of Representatives as far as research is concerned. It seems to me we are going to have to start turning around in research in this country, and we are going to have to start directing our funds to the development of more doctors and more nurses to take care of the needs of our people.

It was shocking to me to learn that in this past year more foreign doctors and students came in to the United States for training than the total number of medical graduates from all of the medical schools in the United States.

This is at a time when our people are demanding more services, when our medical schools are producing less doctors. My only hope is that this great committee will look not to a deprivation of necessary funds for research, but to an establishment of priorities, so that first things can be taken care of first.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate what the gentleman is saying. I think the gentleman knows that I completely share his feelings that we must do more in the medical education field.

I would like to point out to the gentleman, as I am sure he realizes, that the National Institutes of Health have been in existence since 1937. These NIH programs have emphasized research in trying to find out what caused cancer and what caused heart disease, and so forth. This program has been going since 1937 and has built up tremendously. NIH has directed funds to the universities and medical schools for research but not primarily for education. The Congress, in recognizing this problem, and this committee, in 1963 passed for the first time legislation really aimed at doing something about the health profession education itself in all of its facets.

It was not really funded until 1964, so we have just started in this program. Now, the Health Manpower Act is to come in and implement it even more, so that emphasis can be placed on education, on which, I agree with the gentleman, there is crying need for support. We are trying to do that in this bill, whereas we have been handling research in large amounts through the National Institutes for many years.

I think when the gentleman realizes what has occurred over this period of time, it is understandable why research has had such prominence and education itself has not.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, knowing as I do the gentleman's views on this subject, I recognize progress is indeed being made. I merely am seizing this opportunity to alert other Members that they, too, should take a closer look at this problem, which I think cries out for further attention.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in wholehearted support of H.R. 12843, the bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health.

As substantiated by the House report, there are more than 400,000 blind persons in the United States, and it is calculated that some 90 million Americans—nearly one-half of the entire population—suffer from some form of eye disorder or impaired vision. The cost of blindness and semiblindness, in addition to the human tragedy, exceeds $1 billion per year.

The creation of an Eye Institute would extend research and training possibilities in special eye health problems and requirements of the blind and in the basic and clinical sciences relating to the mechanism of the visual function and preservation of sight. It would also authorize the establishment of an advisory council to aid in carrying out the provisions of this act.

The overall improvement of eye health and vision suggests far-reaching and numerous ramifications for all America. If improved vision could aid the learning ability of schoolchildren and reduce the number of automobile accidents alone, the bill being considered today would be worthy of unanimous support.

For these reasons and many others, I proudly join with the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Staggers] in requesting strong support for H.R. 12843, to create a National Eye Institute. I believe that this bill will do much to aid the well-being of Americans now and in generations to come.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this measure.

I am privileged to have had a number of years of personal experience in working with the fine members of the Texas Medical Association and the Texas Optometric Association. I know of the high ideals they promote in connection with eye care and eye health, and of their strong support of this bill.

Without question they are right. There is a strong and desperate need for this legislation. Visual disability can be one of the most heartbreaking types, and any work that can be done to help us understand its causes and cures is well worth the price.

There are now over 400,000 blind persons in the United States, and almost half of our population suffers from some type of eye disorder. Moreover, the proportionate increase in blindness is growing faster than our population.

I would also like to note the statement of Burt L. Risley, the executive director of the Texas State Commission for the Blind, that a National Eye Institute is badly needed because the percentage of research in this field lags behind that of other fields of physiology.

I have also been a member of the Lions Club for some 30 years. As many of you know, the principal work of most Lions Clubs is in the field of care for the blind. Sometimes the work is in providing glasses to needy persons who should have corrective care. Sometimes clubs have sponsored eyebanks and seeing-eye-dog programs.

Now, this work is only supplemental to this bill, because the measure before us is to expand research in the field of eye care. Still, I know that this is a matter which grips the heart of everyone, and surely we should concentrate on research to find better ways to cure or prevent blindness.

Perhaps one of the best ways will be to set up this separate agency—the National Eye Institute—and focus our work more directly on finding cures.

I would like to compliment some of my colleagues who have worked hard on this bill—my colleague from Texas, Hon. John Young; the delightful and able gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Rooney; the capable chairman of the full committee, Mr. Staggers, of West Virginia; the chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. Jarman, of Oklahoma; Mr Rogers of Florida, a man who has shown exceptional dedication to this cause; and certainly Mr. Springer, of Illinois, deserves credit.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this bill will focus attention on the need for basic research in eye disorders and help us solve the underlying problems.

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, an expanded program of research to determine the causes of blindness and to develop effective prevention and treatment techniques is, in my opinion, critically essential. In spite of great effort and diligent attempts, the present National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness has been unsuccessful in mounting an adequate campaign of research and training to prevent and cure blinding eye diseases. The structure of the present Neurological Institute and its many diverse commitments have not permitted an adequate recognition of important needs or stimulated sufficient action to meet the requirements of vision research. The economic cost to the country of the resulting blindness is enormous, yet within the present administrative structure of NINDB, there is no physician with special knowledge of ophthalmology who can spearhead these programs. Moreover, the study of the eye and its diseases has now reached the point at which enormous advances are possible, both in the treatment and discovery of the causes of blinding eye disease, provided there is leadership by persons highly skilled in vision problems and research decided upon and determined by such leaders. The eye offers a unique anatomical area to study basic metabolic and physiological processes and the eye is affected by most systemic diseases so that knowledge gained from the study of these ophthalmologic complications will be helpful in understanding disease processes in other areas of the body. The new Eye Institute can provide the model for research development on eye diseases as has been done in heart disease, cancer, neurologic disease, and arthritis and metabolism. Consequently, in view of the fact that over 400,000 persons in the United States are blind and some estimated 90 million Americans suffer from some form of eye disorder or impaired vision, I urge this Congress to act now to establish the National Eye Institute.

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 12843, to provide for a National Eye Institute. As a cosponsor of this legislation (H.R. 5501) I wish to commend the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for approving this most important piece of legislation and bringing it to the floor of the House for appropriate action.

In the 89th Congress I introduced a bill calling for the establishment of a National Eye Institute and I am delighted to again raise my voice in support of this forward-looking legislation which is so vitally needed.

For many years before I came to the Congress I was identified as a volunteer with organizations engaged in research in the field of blinding eye diseases and visual disorders. During the past 20 years it has been my privilege to have been a member of the board of directors, and for the past 11 years, president of the National Council To Combat Blindness, Inc.—Fight for Sight—a voluntary agency, which through its "Fight for Sight" makes awards annually, through grants-in-aid, student fellowships, postdoctoral research fellowships, and clinical service projects.

Today in the United States alone there are 3½ million men, women, and children with chronic noncorrective visual defects and that number is increasing each year. It is estimated that by 1975, unless there are some dramatic major developments—some new discoveries and cures for blinding-eye diseases and new programs in the field of eye research and treatment, there will be 16 million totally blind persons in the world. This Nation cannot and must not accept defeat in this battle against eye disease.

Health is a basic human right. Its enemy, disease, respects no geographical boundaries. It discriminates against no one, irrespective of political belief, social or economic status, race or religion.

The establishment of a National Eye Institute would have a major impact on our efforts in the attack on the causes of blinding eye diseases. Medical research under the guidance of the Eye Institute, could be directed to the study of blinding eye diseases and visual disorders including research and training in the special health problems and requirements of the blind and in the basic sciences relating to the mechanism of sight and visual function.

Mr. Speaker, the legislation which this distinguished body is now considering provides for the establishment of a National Eye Institute—to insure the most advanced medical research and development for the study of blindness. Only through the availability and accessibility of modern, well-organized and supervised medical facilities and services can we hope to challenge the problem of eye diseases and blindness and other visual defects. The need for a new program to assist the fight against blinding eye diseases is clear and I urge the House to vote favorably on the legislation introduced by my friend and colleague the Honorable HARLEY O. STAGGERS, of West Virginia, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I support this legislation (H.R. 12843) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health. Such an institution in the National Institutes of Health when activated will provide a tremendous boost in research into diseases of the eye which is one of this Nation's major health problems. As a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee which brings this bill before the House today I have supported it in committee and urge its adoption.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, on January 10, 1967, I was pleased to introduce a bill, amending the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health. I wish today to address myself to the desperate need for this legislation which is now before this House for consideration.

The most precious gift we possess other than life itself is our gift of sight. No other sensory mechanism provides as much information concerning our environment as do our eyes, and no other source of information provides an overwhelming base for the decisions which we make in our daily lives. Visually handicapped children are educationally handicapped in the 80 percent of the school tasks which are based on vision. One-sixth of our motorists have visual handicaps of which they are unaware—yet 90 percent of all the automobile driving decisions they make are based on sight.

Today heavy demands in education and scientific observation require long hours of looking at instruments, small print, symbols, and microscopic objects. Prolonged and critical seeing plays a vital role in all professional activities. When 58 percent of our population has some visual deficiency—the productivity of our Nation must reflect the burden civilization has placed on our eyes.

We are looking at general visual problems which afflict most of our people and specific problems which seriously affect millions.

For reasons we have yet to comprehend there are more malfunctions of the eye than any other organ of our body. We have over 450,000 blind persons in the Nation, a figure which is increased by one every 15 minutes. Four thousand people go blind every year from one eye disease alone, glaucoma. An estimated 1 million Americans over 40 years of age have glaucoma and do not even know it. Early detection and treatment can control the progress of this disease for most of these million people; we are discouraged, however, that a great many of them will not be treated until it is too late to prevent damage and ultimate total or partial blindness. Cataracts, degenerative changes in the eyes and brain, and a host of generally nonblinding infections and disorders complete the list of conditions which damage the intricate visual instruments which nature has so carefully constructed. It is our aim to learn how to prevent, alleviate, or cure these afflictions and to do so for as many of those affected as possible.

The prospects for giant strides in this critical area of our Nation's health have been significantly upgraded in recent advances in the field. It is interesting to note that the contribution to scientific understanding of the visual process by two American physiologists, Drs. George Wald and Haldan Keffer Hartline, was recognized recently by the Nobel Prize Committee. This recognition, as well as the eminence of other eye researchers in our Nation, suggests that we possess a competence for understanding of which we should take full advantage.

It is the potential of this national leadership which the proposed legislation is all about. Section 453 of the measure before us specifically authorizes the Secretary to "provide training and instruction and establish and maintain traineeships and fellowships, in the National Eye Institute and elsewhere in matters relating to diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of blinding eye diseases and visual disorders with such stipends and allowances—including travel and subsistence expenses—for trainees and fellows as he deems necessary, and, in addition, provide for such training, instruction, and traineeships and for such fellowships through grants to public or other nonprofit institutions." This emphasis on training is not to the exclusion of the conduct and support of research on new treatment and cures for blinding eye diseases and visual disorders.

Mr. Speaker, I have purposely not provided elaborate statistics on the visual problems of our people in my remarks. These are pitiful and frightening. You have heard them before from other Members of this body who are interested in this measure. We know the dimensions of the problem—let us get on with the solution.

Mr. Speaker, the public is growing impatient with our inertia on this matter. There is a growing interest, a stimulated scientific community and a new sense of optimism stemming from research which has already yielded results with promise of new breakthroughs in the future. It is time to identify and focus our fiscal and manpower resources which are consistent with the national need in this area. A new rallying point is required; the National Eye Institute will provide this and it will succeed just as similar organizations have succeeded in the solution of equally complex problems.

I hope that the House will take favorable action on this urgent measure.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 12843, which was reported out of the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare unanimously.

The National Eye Institute will provide a means of communication between scientists in the other Institutes which we do not now enjoy.

Neglect in the study of blinding disease has not arisen because of inability to seek solutions or inability to secure skilled and competent investigators. Rather the toll of blindness continues because of lack of a sense of urgency and the absence of programs to solve the problems.

We need a program in the investigation of blindness from variations in the shape of the eye such as occurs in nearsightedness. We lack adequate programs in the best methods of rehabilitating those already hopelessly blind and in programs dealing with engineering methods to provide the development of other senses in those who cannot use their sight.

This neglect is not due to lack of compassion or of interest in these fields on the part of the National Institutes of Health.

It is due to the fact that blindness and blinding eye disease cannot have the priority required in an institute with major interest and priorities in an unrelated field.

When an institute encompasses many broad fields, it is extremely difficult to make special policy for one area with special needs and to provide programs which apply to this area to the exclusion of others. This can be done only in an institute designed for a single specialized field.

It is estimated that the percentage of neuro-ophthalmic patients in an ophthalmologist's practice is less than 1 percent, and the percentage of blindness caused by neuro-ophthalmic disease is less than 10 percent.

Ophthalmology is generally included in medical schools as one of the surgical specialties. This was more justified in the past than in the present. Surgery and surgical training are still the prime preoccupation of ophthalmologists, but it is probably fair to say that the major advances of the specialty in the past 50 years have been in medical ophthalmology and in the diagnosis and recognition of disease.

In glaucoma, for instance, although significant improvements have been made in the technique of surgery, the greatest advances have been made in the diagnostic selection of cases for surgery and in the medical management of glaucoma. Similarly, with detachment, the increasing use of photocoagulation and laser radiation has progressively advanced the noncutting aspects of detachment treatment.

Ophthalmology is in the ambiguous position of being neither clearly a surgical nor medical specialty. It has equal contacts with both major disciplines, to say nothing of its commitment to optics which sets it outside the realm of either. Its linkage to ear, nose, and throat was a marriage of economic convenience and is even more ambivalent. It is now an anachronism.

To expect an institute which is primarily concerned with neurology to oversee the needs of ophthalmology is as illogical as it would be to subordinate ophthalmology in the neurologic sciences or other major disciplines in medical schools, and this has been accomplished as the schools have sufficiently matured.

We now feel that NIH has developed to a comparable stage of maturity when it is appropriate to establish a separate and peer status for ophthalmology among the Institutes.

In an Eye Institute we would envisage an entire council drawn from persons concerned with vision and an administration dedicated exclusively to this field. When the council met we would expect them to address themselves entirely to problems of eye diseases, training of medical and paramedical personnel for visual care in this country, identification of the most urgent areas for ophthalmic research, and application of these researches to the care of the patient. A separate supervision in the form of an Eye Institute is the most effective way of accomplishing the ideals which we aim for.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support the bill before us today.

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the question of the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health seems to me to be a very simple one.

I had the honor of appearing before the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare in support of H.R. 5260, which I introduced and which is similar to the measure we are considering today. Also, I had the opportunity to read in detail the testimony of all who appeared before that subcommittee.

Perusal of the testimony offered would reduce this question to its most simple terms: No one is shying away from the enormous problems which eye diseases and eye traumas present to the United States and the world; the difference is in the approach.

The distinguished Surgeon General of the United States, Dr. William H. Stewart, his aides and his superiors at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, believe that the best and the most could be accomplished through the retention of the status quo; continuing eye research within the province of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness.

Basically, Dr. Stewart holds that eye research demands a neurological approach. Further, he warns us that to establish a separate National Eye Institute would entail additional administrative costs of approximately $800,000.

Dr. Stewart, if I understand his testimony clearly, also takes the position that the NINDB has great difficulty in finding eye specialists in the quality and quantity desired to extend eye research; therefore eye research could not be expanded even with the establishment of a separate institute.

On the other hand, witness the testimony of some of our Nation's most prominent ophthalmologists and lay leaders in eye research, which to me refutes Dr. Stewart's and the HEW position.

With due respect to Dr. Stewart, and he has my deepest respect, it would appear to me that we will not, we cannot start moving toward a desired program of eye research until we provide what these eminent researchers find prerequisite—that is a separate National Eye Institute.

Let us take up Dr. Stewart's points—at least my interpretation of his points—one by one.

There is no question that neurology plays a role in eye diseases, but the ophthalmic witnesses pointed out that the other disciplines within medicine likewise are concerned in eye diseases. Further, they take the reverse position—that eye research could provide answers to diseases in other fields of medicine.

I bow to no one, Mr. Speaker, in my concern for the expenditure of taxpayers' money, but considering the sums that this Congress has authorized for various purposes, I do not find myself frightened by the threat that an appropriation of $800,000 may be required to prime the pump for adequate eye research.

In this Nation today we are spending approximately $1 billion a year to aid those already blinded. But for research to discover the causes of eye diseases and traumas, to prevent future blindness, we spent only $18 million last year.

The Public Health Service more or less takes the position that further expenditures for eye research would not be necessary because that research is at its limit now.

Here again I find myself in disagreement with HEW and in agreement with our independent medical witnesses. They have explained why there has been difficulty in obtaining the qualitative and quantitative personnel which would be desirable for eye research.

They point to the reluctance of prominent ophthalmologists to place themselves and their research under control of a neurological approach. They assure us that with a separate National Eye Institute there would be no difficulty in obtaining the personnel; in fact I detect the willingness of these distinguished men to assume these positions even at a drastic economic sacrifice on their parts.

For 18 years now, Mr. Speaker, we have lived with eye research being conducted within the context of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness.

While it is not my intention to find fault with past accomplishments, I must in good conscience state the belief that the results have not been what we need and what we want.

I believe firmly that we owe it to ourselves and to our Nation to try this new approach which has been offered and condoned by the very men who live with these problems daily.

I urge the passage of this measure and the establishment at the earliest possible moment of the National Eye Institute.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to strongly urge all of my colleagues to vote for the passage of H.R. 12843, a bill to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute. I have always been concerned about the health problems associated with visual disorders and introduced a similar bill, H.R. 586, on January 10, 1967.

No one can deny that blindness and other visual disorders pose one of the most severe health problems in America today. More than 90 million Americans suffer from vision problems; moreover, 3½ million of our citizens are afflicted with some sort of permanent visual disorder which cannot be corrected within the range of present-day scientific knowledge. To my way of thinking, an independent Eye Institute and a massive research program are necessary to discover the causes of all visual afflictions.

We spend $1 billion annually for the care of the blind, for vocational rehabilitation, special schools and textbooks. However, the entire budget for eye research in fiscal 1967 was little more than $18 million. Despite other Government funds and private sources, the total amount spent in the same fiscal year was still barely $24 million. In other words, less than 2½ percent of all money spent in fiscal 1967 in relation to visual problems was used to discover the underlying causes of eye disease and disorders. This percentage is nowhere near sufficient. I strongly believe that we must concentrate more on curing substantial numbers of eye diseases which discomfort our citizens. This, in turn, will effectively reduce our expenditures to help those we cannot cure to adjust to a "seeing" society.

Again, I urge all my colleagues to vote in favor of H.R. 12843. The formal establishment of a separate National Eye Institute will go a long way toward meeting the need for more intensive research into this vast problem area. Eventual progress in the form of cures for a substantial portion of all Americans afflicted with visual disorders will certainly follow.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my strong support for the legislation before us which would amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute within the National Institutes of Health.

Since January of 1966, when our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY], introduced his bill H.R. 12373, we can assume that more than 48,000 men, women and children have lost their sight. We can make this assumption because it is derived from the known number of persons who are newly blinded each year. Today we have some 450,000 blind persons in the Nation. Over half of these are totally blind and the remainder severaly handicapped by marked visual incapacities. If we add to this pitiful situation another 3½ million Americans who suffer from serious and noncorrectable visual defects, a million of whom cannot read ordinary type with the aid of glasses, we then have a population of 4 million who cannot see at all or cannot see very much.

This staggering figure is underscored by the fact that the number of legally blind persons is keeping pace with the growth of the population as a whole. Work-loss days in persons 45 years or older due to chronic visual impairment will probably be in the order of 2,000 this year. The work force of the Nation has always been affected by eye conditions. For example, a 1959–61 survey reported 124,000 persons as limited in their major activity due to chronic visual impairments. This group ranked 11th out of the 25 conditions which were studied. Finally, a recent study in Florida of 1,500 children with reading difficulties indicated that 77 percent of them suffered abnormalities of binocular eye control. Agreement has not been reached on the interpretation of this data as it relates to the ability to read, but whatever the cause or technicalities are, "seeing to read" is a very important problem in the education sector of our Nation.

We are not without progress in diagnosis and treatment of eye conditions, even in complicated disorders such as glaucoma and cataracts. There are new methods of unmasking low-pressure glaucoma, improvements in cataract surgery, drugs noted and removed from the market because of a cataract-producing side effect, new understanding of the role of heredity in certain eye conditions, and continuing success in corneal transplants.

It is encouraging that these and other developments have taken place, because they serve to prove the point. The point is that research pays off—it has already paid off, as I have just mentioned—and it will pay off more if it is stepped up and aimed directly at the problem. If private and community efforts, together with the excellent but inadequate program at the National Institutes of Health, can accomplish so much with so little, it seems a logical deduction that greater identification and effort are in order. The Institute in which vision research and training are now conducted and supported has done well, yet less than 20 percent of the Institute's appropriation is obligated to vision. I believe that a separate eye institute is needed as a strong central source of intensified research and training designed specifically to conquer blindness.

Mr. Speaker, there is a genuine need to focus more attention on eye care and eye problems, concerning which there is a surprising degree of ignorance and fear among our people. There is no advertised commodity on the market through which public awareness is promoted and through which people are encouraged to care for their eyes and have regular examinations. Cosmetics have not been to the eye what toothpaste has been to dental care. A program of public education would be an important part of the proposed Institute's activities.

I believe there is a critical shortage of ophthalmologists in our country. I have been informed that this specialty has not developed and grown as well as some of the others. As of November 1, 1967, there were 8,272 ophthalmologists in the United States—about one for every 25,000 persons. About 50 of these eye specialists were in Government or military establishments, about 75 in full-time research, and about 300 in hospitals and medical schools. Of course, the pursuit of knowledge concerning abnormal functioning of the eyes is not left to physicians alone; there are many others in the basic scientific disciplines who are skilled investigators and who are searching for causes, cures, and treatments. It might even be said that eye doctors in the course of practice are contributing to research and understanding.

As we know, too, there is a great need for more optometrists—and optometric teaching facilities—for these eye care specialists render the majority of vision care in this country. We must have more training and facilities in the optometric area of vision care if we are to keep pace with our population growth. So I was particularly pleased that the committee report stated that the Advisory Council to the new Eye Institute "would consist of persons especially qualified in problems relating to vision, and would include ophthalmologists, optometrists, and other specialists in vision disorders." In addition, authorization is included in the bill for training, instruction, traineeships, and fellowships in optometry.

I strongly believe a separate Eye Institute would encourage more young people to prepare as technicians in studies of the eye or take up the full course of study for ophthalmology.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, the establishment of a National Eye Institute is essential. A relatively small investment would enable our scientists to bring the scourge of blindness under control and eventually cure or prevent eye diseases. Public knowldge of such a center would create awareness of eyesight problems and promote proper care and examination. Federal action in this matter would stimulate support in other sectors: State, community, foundations, and other private organizations. A further and important outcome would be to encourage people to enter the field of ophthalmology where a critical shortage exists. Also, any major advance or discovery which would significantly reduce the growth rate of blindness would soon reduce public assistance payments to the blind. Such payments average close to $100 million annually and it is not unthinkable that an Eye Institute would eventually pay for itself.

Mr. Speaker, our international health organizations today are making plans for the total eradication of certain diseases, such as malaria and smallpox. They can do so realistically because they know the cause of these and similar diseases. Why do we not seek a like understanding of the causes of blindness with a greater dedication and determination? Perhaps 5 or 10 years from now we would be able to set a national goal for the eradication of blindness. A National Eye Institute is the essential first step in this direction, and I most strongly urge approval of H.R. 12843.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 12843, to establish a National Eye Institute, set up within the National Institutes of Health, which would conduct and support research relating to blinding eye diseases and visual disorders, including research and training in the special health problems and requirements of the blind. I commend the author of this proposal, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman FRED B. ROONEY, and my colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. TENZER], for their foresight and efforts in behalf of this bill.

This is a progressive measure, one that is worthy of Congress tradition as a leader in the field of health care and research. All of us here in Congress depending so heavily as we do on our eyes, understand its means. I urge favorable consideration of this bill and the establishment, without delay, of a National Eye Institute.

Mr. Speaker, we know that by 1975, unless there is a dramatic breakthrough in eye research and treatment, there will be some 16 million blind persons in the world. Even today, in the United States alone, there are three and a half million men, women, and children suffering from permanent and serious eye defects. It is estimated that nearly 90 million Americans suffer from some sort of eye trouble. At this moment, there are more than 10 million in the world who are blind.

It is difficult to believe that with all the effort and money that has been put into medical research, most diseases of the eye remain a mystery to doctors. Eighty percent of all loss of vision in the United States results from diseases of which the causes are unknown. Surely that alone is testimony to the importance of this legislation.

In economic terms, the burden of eye diseases is staggering. Public assistance is extended to more than 100,000 blind persons. Society pays for special facilities, books, teachers and materials for no less than 20,000 blind children attending elementary and secondary schools. The upkeep is tremendous for vocational rehabilitation centers and other facilities to restore the productiveness of the blind. I have no figure of how much society pays for this grevious debility but it is enormous, and we obviously cannot measure blindness in monetary terms alone.

But, as an example, let me point out to you the story recently brought to my attention of one blinding disease. In 1953, doctors made the discovery that too much oxygen administered to premature infants resulted in retrolental fibroplasia, a cause of blindness. As a result of the discovery, the incidence of this disease fell from 1,900 cases in 1952 to only 28 in 1958. Happily, this terrible condition is today a rarity. But if this discovery had come only a year later, the lifetime cost of care for the additional blind persons would have amounted to more than $120 million. If the discovery had come 10 years later, the cost would have exceeded $1 billion.

We are not being asked to undertake a project that is merely humane, as if humaneness alone were not sufficient reason for passage of the bill. This measure will pay for itself over and over again in the years to come. The National Eye Institute would conduct research on blinding eye diseases, blindness and other visual defects. Its work will be of benefit not only to the thousands, perhaps millions, who will be saved from blindness. It will be of benefit to society, both at home and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, the American people will be grateful to the Congress for approval of this bill. A recent Gallup Poll disclosed that Americans fear blindness only second to cancer as a debilitating disease. I urge passage of H.R. 12843, for each day means more persons struck down, persons who could be leading happy and productive lives if only they had the use of their eyes. This bill will do so very much to keep these eyes functioning.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Laird].

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed, H.R. 12843.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 16361, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REVENUE ACT OF 1968

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 16361) to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

Conference Report (H. Rept. No. 1829)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16361) to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"That this Act may be cited as the "District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1968".

"TITLE I—FEDERAL PAYMENT AUTHORIZATION

"Sec. 101. Section 1 of article VI of the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1947 (D.C. Code, sec. 47-2501a) is amended (1) by striking out 'June 30, 1968' and inserting in lieu thereof 'June 30, 1969', and (2) by striking out '$70,000,000' and inserting in lieu thereof '$90,000,000'.

"TITLE II—AMENDMENTS TO THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA INCOME AND FRANCHISE TAX ACT OF 1947

"Sec. 201. Section 3 of title VI of the District of Columbia Income and Franchise Tax Act of 1947 (D.C. Code, sec. 47-1567b(a) is amended to read as follows:

" 'Sec. 3. Imposition and Rates of Tax.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after December 31, 1967, there is hereby imposed on the taxable income of every resident a tax determined in accordance with the following table:

" 'If the taxable income is:	The tax is:
Not over $1,000	2% of the taxable income.
Over $1,000 but not over $3,000	$20 plus 3% of excess over $1,000.
Over $3,000 but not over $5,000	$80 plus 4% of excess over $3,000.
Over $5,000 but not over $10,000	$160 plus 5% of excess over $5,000.
Over $10,000	$410 plus 6% of excess over $10,000.'

"Sec. 202. (a) Section 2 of title VII of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47-1571a) is amended by striking out '5 per centum' and inserting in lieu thereof '6 per centum'.

"(b) Section 3 of title VIII of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47-1574b) is amended by striking out '5 per centum' and inserting in lieu thereof '6 per centum.'

"Sec. 203. (a) Section 7(a)(4) of title XII of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47-1586f(a)(4)) is amended to read as follows:

" '(4) Employers.—Every employer required to deduct and withhold tax under this article shall make a return of, and pay to the District, the tax required to be withheld under this article for such periods and at such times as the District of Columbia Council may prescribe.'

"(b) Section 1(b) of title XIII of such Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47-1589(b)) is amended to read as follows:

" '(b) Failure To File Employer's Return.—In the case of any employer—

" '(1) who pursuant to this article is required to withhold taxes on wages, make a return of such taxes, and pay to the District the taxes required to be withheld pursuant to this article, and

" '(2) who fails to withhold such taxes, make such return, or pay to the District the taxes required to be withheld pursuant to this article,

there shall be imposed on such employer a civil penalty (in addition to any criminal penalty provided for in this article) of 5 per centum of the amount required to be shown as tax on such return if the failure is for not more than one month, with an additional 5 per centum for each additional month or fraction thereof during which such failure continues, not exceeding 25 per centum in the aggregate.'

"Sec. 204. (a) The amendment of any provision of the District of Columbia Income and Franchise Tax Act of 1947 shall not affect any act done or any right accruing or accrued, or any suit or proceeding had or commenced in any civil cause before such amendment; but all rights and liabilities under such Act shall continue, and may be enforced in the same manner and to the same extent, as if such amendment had not been made.

"(b) All offenses committed, and all penalties incurred, under any provision of law hereby amended, may be prosecuted and punished in the same manner and with the same effect as if this title had not been enacted.

"Sec. 205. The amendments made by sections 201 and 202 of this title shall be applicable to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1967. The amendments made by section 203 of this title shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

"TITLE III—AMENDMENTS TO THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SALES TAX ACT AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA USE TAX ACT

"Sec. 301. Section 107 of the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47-2601, par. 7) is amended by striking out ': *Provided, however,* That the word "food" shall not include spiritous or malt liquors and beer' and inserting after the period at the end of such section the following new sentence: 'The word "food" shall not include spiritous or malt liquors, beer, or wines.'

"Sec. 302. Subsection (a) of section 114 of the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47-2601, par. 14(a)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

" '(7)(A) The sale of or charges to subscribers for local telephone service. The inclusion of such sales and charges in the definition of the terms "retail sale" and "sale at retail" shall not authorize any tax to be imposed under this title on so much of any amount paid for the installation of any instrument, wire, pole, switchboard, apparatus, or equipment as is properly attributable to such installation.

" '(B) The term "local telephone service" means—

" '(i) the access to a local telephone system, and the privilege of telephonic quality communication with substantially all persons having telephone or radio telephone stations constituting a part of such local telephone system, and

" '(ii) any facility or service provided in connection with a service described in clause (i) of this subparagraph.

The term "local telephone service" does not include any service which is a "toll telephone service" or a "private communication service" as defined in subparagraphs (C) and (D).

" '(C) The term "toll telephone service" means—

" '(i) a telephonic quality communication for which (a) there is a toll charge which varies in amount with the distance and elapsed transmission time of each individual communication and (b) the charge is paid within the United States, and

" '(ii) a service which entitles the subscriber, upon payment of a periodic charge (determined as a flat amount or upon the basis of total elapsed transmission time) to the privilege of an unlimited number of telephonic communications to or from all or a substantial portion of the persons having telephone or radio telephone stations in a specified area which is outside the local telephone system area in which the station provided with this service is located.

" '(D) The term "private communication service" means—

" '(i) the communication service furnished to a subscriber which entitles the subscriber—

" '(a) to exclusive or priority use of any communication channel or groups of channels, or "'(b) to the use of an intercommunication system for the subscriber's stations,

regardless of whether such channel, groups of channels, or intercommunication system may be connected through switching with a service described in subparagraph (B) or (C).

"'(ii) switching capacity, extension lines and stations, or other associated services which are provided in connection with, and are necessary or unique to the use of, channels, or systems described in clause (i) of this subparagraph, and

"'(iii) the channel mileage which connects a telephone station located outside a local telephone system area with a central office in such local telephone system,

except that such term does not include any communication service unless a separate charge is made for such service.'

"Sec. 303. Section 114(b)(2) of the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47–2601, par. 14(b)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

"'(2)(A) Sales of transportation and communication services other than sales of local telephone service.

"'(B) Sales of local telephone service rendered by means of a coin-operated telephone available to the public; except that where such coin-operated telephone service is furnished for a guaranteed amount, the amounts paid under such guarantee plus any fixed monthly or other periodic charge shall be subject to the tax imposed on local telephone service by this title.'

"Sec. 304. Section 125 of the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47–2602) is amended to read as follows:

"'Sec. 125. A tax is imposed upon all vendors for the privilege of selling at retail certain tangible personal property and for the privilege of selling certain selected services (defined as "sales at retail" in this title). The rate of such tax shall be 4 per centum of the vendor's gross receipts from the sale of such tangible personal property and services, except that the rate of tax with respect to sales or charges for any room or rooms, lodgings, or accommodations, furnished to transients by any hotel, inn, tourist camp, tourist cabin, or any other place in which rooms, lodgings, or accommodations are regularly furnished to transients, shall be 5 per centum of the gross receipts from such sales or charges, and the rate of tax with respect to sales of food for human consumption off the premises where such food is sold shall be 1 per centum of the gross receipts from such sales.'

"Sec. 305. (a) Section 128 of the District of Columbia Sales Tax Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47–2605) is amended—

"(1) by adding after paragraph (c) the following new paragraph:

"'(d) Sales of materials and services to the printing clerks of the majority and minority rooms of the House of Representatives for use in the operation of such rooms, and sales of materials and services made by such clerks in connection with the operation of such rooms.';

"(2) by amending paragraph (i) to read as follows:

"'(i) Sales of food, beverages, and other goods made to any person for use in the operation of the majority and minority cloakrooms of the House of Representatives and sales of such food, beverages, and other goods made by such person in connection with the operation of such cloakrooms.'; and

"(3) by redesignating paragraph (r) as paragraph (q).

"(b) Paragraph (d) of such section 128, added by paragraph (1) of subsection (a) of this section, shall apply with respect to sales of materials and services made on or after January 1, 1961.

"Sec. 306. Section 201(b)(2) of the District of Columbia Use Tax Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47–2701, par. 1(b)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

"'(2) Sales of transportation and communication services other than sales of local telephone service.'

"Sec. 307. The last sentence of section 212 of the District of Columbia Use Tax Act (D.C. Code, sec. 47–2702) is amended to read as follows: 'The rate of the tax imposed by this section shall be 4 per centum of the sales price of the tangible personal property or services rendered or sold, except that the rate of tax with respect to sales of food for human consumption off the premises where such food is sold shall be 1 per centum of the sales price of such sales.'

"Sec. 308. Except as provided in section 305(b), the amendments made by this title shall take effect on the first day of the first month which begins on or after the thirtieth day after the date of enactment of this Act. The imposition of sales tax on local telephone service shall be applicable to the sales price or charge made by a vendor for local telephone service as stated on the bills rendered to the purchaser by the vendor on and after such effective date.

"TITLE IV—GENERAL PROVISIONS

"Sec. 401. No funds appropriated for the government of the District of Columbia may be used—

"(1) to provide transportation for students enrolled in the public schools of the District of Columbia if the transportation is provided solely to change the racial balance in any public school in the District of Columbia, or

"(2) for the cost of education (including the cost of transportation) of any individual in an elementary or secondary school located outside the District of Columbia, except (A) any handicapped individual for whom education facilities do not exist in the public school system of the District of Columbia and (B) any individual under the care, custody, or guardianship of the District of Columbia placed in a foster home or in an institution located outside the District of Columbia.

"Sec. 402. No funds appropriated for the government of the District of Columbia may be used to furnish materials or services to promote or further any demonstration in the District of Columbia undertaken for the purpose of influencing legislation or other governmental actions of the United States Government or the government of the District of Columbia, except that nothing in this section shall preclude the government of the District of Columbia from taking such emergency action as the Commissioner of the District of Columbia determines necessary for the preservation of the health, safety, or welfare of any person within the District of Columbia.

"Sec. 403. The first sentence of the second paragraph of section 7 of the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act (D.C. Code, sec. 25–107) is amended to read as follows: 'The District of Columbia Council shall have authority to make rules and regulations for the issuance, transfer, and revocation of licenses; to facilitate and insure the collection of taxes; to govern the operation of the business of licensees, with full power and authority to prescribe the terms and conditions under which alcoholic beverages may be sold by each class of licensees; to forbid the issuance of licenses for manufacturing, sale, or storage of alcoholic beverages in such localities in, and such sections and portions of, the District of Columbia as the Council may deem proper in the public interest; to limit the number of licenses of each class to be issued in the District of Columbia and to limit the number of licenses of each class in any locality in, or sections or portions of, the District of Columbia as the Council may deem proper in the public interest; to forbid the issuance of licenses for businesses conducted on such premises as the Council, in the public interest, may deem inappropriate; to forbid the issuance of any class or classes of licenses for businesses established subsequent to the date of enactment of this Act near or around schools, colleges, universities, churches, or public institutions; to prescribe the hours during which alcoholic beverages may be sold; and to prohibit the sale of any or all alcoholic beverages on such days as the Council determines necessary in the public interest.'

"Sec. 404. Section 14(a) of the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act (D.C. Code, sec. 25–115(a) is amended—

"(1) by striking out in paragraph 2 'a citizen of the United States,';

"(2) by adding immediately after paragraph 2 the following new paragraph:

"'3. That (A) each individual, each member of a partnership, and each principal officer of a corporation (other than a club) is a citizen of the United States, and (B) a majority of the principal officers of a club are citizens of the United States.'; and

"(3) by redesignating paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 and all references thereto, as paragraphs 4, 5, and 6, respectively."

And the Senate agree to the same.

John L. McMillan,
Basil Whitener,
Don Fuqua,
Ancher Nelsen,
William H. Harsha,
Joel T. Broyhill,
Managers on the Part of the House.

W. B. Spong, Jr.,
Wayne Morse,
Thruston Morton,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

Statement

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16361) to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The Senate struck out all of the House bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute amendment. The committee of conference has agreed to a substitute for both the House bill and the Senate amendment. Except for technical, clarifying, and conforming changes, the following statement explains the differences between the House bill and the substitute agreed to in conference.

FEDERAL PAYMENT AUTHORIZATION

The House bill provides an increase in the amount of the Federal payment authorization from $70 million to $80 million for each fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968.

The Senate amendment increases such authorization to $98 million for each such fiscal year.

The conference substitute provides an increase of such authorization to $90 million for each such fiscal year.

SALES AND USE TAX RATE ON RESTAURANT AND LIQUOR SALES

The House bill increases the rates of the sales and use taxes on restaurant and liquor sales from 3 percent to 5 percent.

The Senate amendment provides an increase in such rates to 4 percent.

The conference substitute provides the same increase as the Senate amendment.

APPLICATION OF SALES TAX TO HOUSE MAJORITY AND MINORITY ROOMS

The House bill and the conference substitute provide an exemption from the sales tax for sales of materials and services to the printing clerks of the majority and minority rooms of the House of Representatives for use in the operation of such rooms, and for sales of materials and services made by such clerks in connection with the operation of such rooms.

The House conferees regard the operations of the House majority and minority rooms as a function of the House of Representatives. It is the intent of the House conferees that the sale of materials and services by the printing clerks be limited to Members of Congress.

PROVISION OF EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The House bill prohibits the use of District government appropriations to pay the cost of educating (including the cost of transportation) individuals in elementary or secondary schools located outside the District of Columbia. An exception is made for the education of handicapped individuals if there are no facilities for their education in the District of Columbia.

The Senate amendment contains no similar provision.

The conference substitute is the same as the House provision, except exceptions were provided to allow the District to use its appropriations to pay for the education of individuals under the care, custody, or control of the District of Columbia placed in foster homes or in institutions located outside the District of Columbia.

SUPPORT OF DEMONSTRATIONS

The House bill prohibits the use of District government appropriations to provide materials or services to promote or further demonstrations in the District of Columbia undertaken to influence governmental actions.

The Senate amendment does not contain a comparable provision.

The conference substitute is identical to the House bill provision, except that it makes it clear that the prohibition is not to be construed to prevent the Commissioner of the District of Columbia from taking any emergency action that he determines is necessary for the preservation of the health, safety, or welfare of any person in the District of Columbia.

AUTHORITY TO PRESCRIBE HOURS AND DAYS FOR LIQUOR SALES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Senate amendment contains a provision not in the House bill which authorizes the District of Columbia Council to prescribe the hours during which alcoholic beverages can be sold in the District of Columbia and to prohibit the sale of such beverages on such days as it determines is necessary in the public interest.

The conference substitute contains the Senate amendment provision.

CITIZENSHIP REQUIREMENT FOR CLUB LIQUOR LICENSE

The Senate amendment contains a provision not in the House bill relating to the citizenship requirement for applicants for liquor licenses. Under existing law if an applicant for a liquor license is a club, each of its principal officers must be United States citizens. Under the Senate amendment only a majority of such principal officers must be United States citizens.

The conference substitute contains the Senate amendment provision.

JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
BASIL WHITENER,
DON FUQUA,
ANCHER NELSEN,
WILLIAM H. HARSHA,
JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. McMILLAN (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement of the managers on the part of the House be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the main problem with which we may be confronted regarding this District revenue bill is the estimates of tax receipts for this year in the District of Columbia.

These estimates were submitted prior to the riots and property destruction which occurred in April. This within itself caused a loss of several million dollars in tax revenue. The so-called Poor People's Crusade and continuing civil disturbances caused practically all businesses in Washington to lose several millions of dollars in revenue which will cause the tax receipts to be much less than anticipated.

We may therefore, have to come back and ask for an additional Federal payment to operate our Nation's Capital.

Mr. Speaker, another thing that will cause loss of revenue is that—under the guise of civil rights, certain criminal elements in the city of Washington, D.C., have for a number of months been attempting to drive white merchants out of various sections of the city.

These attempts are blatant, vicious, and include the fine art of blackmail, threats and acts of violence, and demands for costly, unwanted, and spurious partnerships as a price for continuing to do business.

One specific group, known as Build Black, has forced many white merchants to close their doors permanently after arsons, break-ins, lootings, threats, and other forms of harassment.

Eight or 10 weeks ago I wrote the Department of Justice, Mr. Speaker, to the good office of the self-righteous Attorney General, Mr. Ramsey Clark. I asked him if in his great wisdom he might not find a modicum of injustice in this harassment of our merchants, to say nothing of violations of their civil rights. This is a subject, Mr. Speaker—civil rights—to which Mr. Clark directs his attention with great fervor and frequency.

I now have his reply, Mr. Speaker, signed by a Stephen J. Pollak, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division.

Mr. Pollak makes official by the Justice Department the acceptance—yes, even the promotion—of a double standard of justice—one for our Negro citizens—another for our white merchants who are trying to make a living in this city of turmoil and confusion.

The Department of Justice, Mr. Speaker, rejected out of hand any concern for these blackjacked and blackmailed merchants who protested violations of their rights to do business where they see fit, when they see fit, and with anyone they see fit.

The Department of Justice rejected out of hand any official concern for the fate of these merchants.

The Department rejected out of hand any intention of ever considering any action to protect them, or help them enforce their civil right to be left alone in decency.

I ask, Mr. Speaker, what would be the response of the Department of Justice were a white merchant, in terror, and fear for his life, to take the law into his own hands to protect his own property?

I ask, Mr. Speaker, what would be the response of the Department of Justice if the shoe were on the other foot, and a Negro merchant was undergoing harassment from white citizens bent on driving him out of business?

I also ask, Mr. Speaker, how long will the American people, the God-fearing, dedicated businessmen, storekeepers, clerks, housewives, and customers, have to tolerate this double standard of civil rights and justice from the Department of Justice and its chief law enforcement officer, sworn to protect each and every citizen without fear or favor?

The Attorney General had little difficulty in finding a loophole in the law so he could bring suit this week against a small private hospital in South Carolina, Mr. Speaker.

After they discontinued all Federal financial assistance programs to protect themselves from his fury, he discovered he could get them under the public accommodations section because they operate a cafeteria and snack bar.

Mr. Speaker, the right to do business is as much a right in America as the right of free speech, the right to assemble, and the right to peacefully petition those who govern us, the Department of Justice and the Supreme Court notwithstanding.

Mr. Speaker, I urge this Congress, which has listened to hundreds of expressions from Members—Members whose patience wears thin over the antics of our Attorney General—to impress on the Department of Justice and Mr. Clark that equality under law does not stop at the storefront or at the color line, just because it is white.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to read into the RECORD my letter to the attorney general on this matter and his reply dated July 22, 1968. I should also like to read the press release of the Attorney General announcing his suit against the Roper Hospital in Charleston, S.C.:

APRIL 30, 1968.

Hon. RAMSEY CLARK,
Attorney General of the United States, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: I should like to formally request that you initiate an investigation to determine if there exists in the District of Columbia a conspiracy by so-called Black Power groups to deprive a minority group, in this case a white minority, of its Constitutional and civil rights.

The enclosed newspaper clippings describe in some detail anti-white, and especially anti-semitic actions by representatives of Black Power groups. I am sure you will agree that if Negro merchants were harassed, looted, their enterprises burned by fire bombs, and open incitements and threats made against them solely on the basis of the color of their skin, the Department of Justice could and would find adequate legal grounds, civil rights or otherwise, to protect them. I feel that the white minority in the District of Columbia are entitled to the same protection from your Department, and I therefore urge that you initiate the necessary steps to afford them protection.

Your early attention to this critical situation will be appreciated.

With best wishes, I am,
Sincerely.

JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, July 22, 1968.
Hon. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROYHILL: This is in reply to your letter to the Attorney General of April 30, 1968, and the enclosed newspaper clippings concerning the alleged harassment of white businessmen in the District of Columbia by Negroes.

We have reviewed carefully your correspondence and the enclosed clippings and have concluded that there is no statute administered by this Department covering the specific type of activity described in the clippings.

Section 241 of Title 18 of the United States Code prohibits conspiracies which threaten or intimidate persons in the exercise of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution or laws of the United States. The courts have uniformly held that the right to operate a business is not in and of itself a right secured by the Constitution, and there are no federal statutory provisions securing the right to operate or maintain a business. Therefore section 241 would appear to be inapplicable to interferences with an individual's conduct of his business relations even though that interference were premised on or motivated by racial considerations.

Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, 18 U.S.C. section 245(b)(3), which punishes threats or incidents of violence against businessmen "during or incident to a riot or civil disorder" also is inapplicable. That section is applicable only to acts which occur during or incident to a riot, and there is no indication that the acts that are the subject of the newspaper clippings can be so characterized.

Other provisions of Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 provide penalties for intimidation on account of race or color of individuals in the exercise of certain enumerated rights such as attending school utilizing public accommodations and serving on juries. But this section would provide no penalty for intimidation of a businessman unless he were engaged in one of these enumerated activities and in addition it were clear that his participation in that particular activity was the reason for the harassment.

The matter that you have brought to our attention therefore does not appear to violate any laws administered by this Department. However I want to assure you that our policy with respect to enforcement of the civil rights laws is to investigate incidents we have cause to believe may involve violations of those laws regardless of whether such incidents involve harassment of whites by Negroes or Negroes by whites.

Sincerely,
STEPHEN J. POLLAK,
Assistant Attorney General,
Civil Rights Division.

[News release from the Department of Justice, July 29, 1968]

The Department of Justice filed suit today charging Roper Hospital in Charleston, South Carolina with discriminating against Negroes in violation of two sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark said the civil suit, brought in United States District Court in Charleston, alleged violations of the public accommodations and employment sections of the 1964 Act.

The Department sought a court order barring the private hospital from discriminating racially in admitting patients, hiring staff members or permitting use of any facility.

Roper Hospital has discontinued various federal financial assistance since enactment of the 1964 Act, which includes a section forbidding discrimination in federally-assisted programs.

But the Department said the hospital is covered by the public accommodations section because it contains a cafeteria and a snack bar.

The section, which lists eating facilities as being covered, also covers any establishment that houses a covered facility and purports to serve its patrons.

The suit said the hospital does not admit Negroes and furnishes them limited outpatient service on a racially-segregated basis.

It was also asserted that the hospital, which employs 523 persons, hires few if any Negroes as professional or clerical workers and provides racially-segregated facilities for its employees.

Negroes are employed exclusively or almost exclusively as orderlies, practical nurses, nurses' aides, service workers and unskilled laborers, the suit said.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, for the consideration of the District of Columbia revenue bill many factors were involved in conference.

The conferees did agree on a generous Federal payment set at the figure of $90 million.

The conferees agreed on some adjustment of sales taxes applying to food and liquor sales.

One item long in dispute dealt with regulation of liquor sales in the District of Columbia.

Now that we have passed the Reorganization Act and a city council is provided, it can be argued with merit that rules and regulations relative to liquor sales in the District of Columbia, should be handled by the City Council.

The Congress should not be bogged down by the multitude of municipal problems we have to face.

I may say, however, that I did not support the amendment which transferred the authority for liquor sales to the District of Columbia Council, I took this position primarily because it is the declared objective of the Council to permit Sunday sales of liquor.

Many hold that we should exercise extreme care relative to the conduct of affairs in our Nation's Capital. I support that view.

I would point out that the remedy now rest with petition before the Council for clarification.

The majority of the conferees, however, supported the item in dispute and the conference report was recommended for adoption.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 3638, DAIRY INDEMNITY PAYMENTS

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 3638) to extend for 3 years the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers for milk required to be withheld from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 1828)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3638), to extend for three years the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers for milk required to be withheld from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the text of the bill and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

"That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to make indemnity payments, at a fair market value, to dairy farmers who have been directed since January 1, 1964, to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government at the time of such use. Such indemnity payments shall continue to each dairy farmer until he has been reinstated and is again allowed to dispose of his milk on commercial markets.

"SEC. 2. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

"SEC. 3. The authority granted under this Act shall expire on June 30, 1970."

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the title of the bill and agree to the same.

W. R. POAGE,
E. C. GATHINGS,
JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
PAGE BELCHER,
CHARLES M. TEAGUE,
Managers on the Part of the House.

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
SPESSARD L. HOLLAND,
B. EVERETT JORDAN,
JOSEPH M. MONTOYA,
GEORGE D. AIKEN,
MILTON R. YOUNG,
J. CALEB BOGGS,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill, S. 3638, to extend for 3 years the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers for milk required to be withheld from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government, submit the following statement and explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended an accompanying conference report.

The companion bill in the House, H.R. 17752, would have expired in 1 year, on June 30, 1969. The Senate bill would have expired in 3 years, on June 30, 1971. The conferees agreed on a compromise, expiration in 2 years, June 30, 1970.

W. R. POAGE,
E. C. GATHINGS,
JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
PAGE BELCHER,
CHARLES M. TEAGUE.
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 15794, U.S. GRAIN STANDARDS ACT

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 15794) to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 1827)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 15794), to provide for United States standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes, having met after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered (15).

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12), (13), (14), (16), (17), (18), (19), (20), (21), (22), and (23); and agree to the same.

GRAHAM PURCELL,
THOMAS S. FOLEY,
FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD,
PAGE BELCHER,
CHARLES M. TEAGUE,
Managers on the Part of the House.

ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
SPESSARD L. HOLLAND,
B. EVERETT JORDAN,
JOSEPH M. MONTOYA,
GEORGE D. AIKEN,
MILTON R. YOUNG,
J. CALEB BOGGS,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The Managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill, H.R. 15794, to provide for United States standards and a national inspection for grain, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended an accompanying conference report.

The amendments of the Senate to the House bill were technical, save and except; (1) an amendment to provide that inspection fees, instead of being deposited as miscellaneous receipts in the United States Treasury, would continue to be placed in a revolving fund for the use of the inspection service in meeting overtime charges in connection with appeal inspections; (2) an amendment to subsection 7(f) to allow the continued operation of more than one inspection agency in any one area which on the date of enactment of the bill has two such agencies, and (3) an amendment of Section 10(a) to allow withdrawal of inspection services upon the commission of "any repeated or flagrant" violation of Section 13 of the Act.

The House receded from its disagreement to the first two amendments above described. In the first instance fees for appeal inspection and Canadian port inspection and proceeds from the sale of samples shall continue to be deposited, as they are presently, in a special fund for the use of the Department in meeting the extra costs of overtime, night or holiday work in connection with appeal inspections. The U.S. Grain Standards Act was amended in 1958 to so provide and the conferees agreed to continue this practice.

Secondly, conferees agreed to the Senate language allowing those areas now having more than one inspection agency to continue the operation of two such services where two were operative on the date of enactment of the bill. At present there is at least one area in the country where two agencies are authorized to operate. The bill as agreed to by the conferees would prohibit the opening after enactment of more than one inspection agency at any one time for any one area.

The Senate amendment not agreed to would have permitted the Secretary of Agriculture to withdraw inspection service for commission of repeated or flagrant violations of section 13 of the act. The House bill permitted such withdrawal for conviction of any violation of section 13. The Senate conferees agreed to the House language with the understanding that the statement of managers on the part of the House would make it clear that withdrawal of service could follow upon conviction without awaiting the conclusion of appeals from such conviction, and could be effective so long as the conviction stood.

GRAHAM PURCELL,
THOMAS S. FOLEY,
FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD,
PAGE BELCHER,
CHARLES M. TEAGUE,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. POAGE (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be considered as read.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I just take this time to say there is no objection to the conference report on this side.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Would the gentleman kindly tell us which bill this is?

Mr. POAGE. This is the grain standards bill.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 10864, EXTRA-LONG-STAPLE COTTON, DIERKS FORESTS

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 10864) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forests, Inc., and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 1826)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10864), to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Arkansas, to the Dierks Forests, Incorporated, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 4. Section 347(b) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"'(b)(1) The Secretary shall, not later than October 15 of each calendar year, proclaim the amount of the national marketing quota for the crop of cotton described in subsection (a) produced in the next succeeding calendar year in terms of the quantity of such cotton equal to the estimated domestic consumption plus exports for the marketing year which begins in such succeeding calendar year, less the estimated imports, plus such additional number of bales, if any, as the Secretary determines is necessary to assure adequate working stocks in trade channels until cotton from the next crop becomes readily available without resort to Commodity Credit Corporation stocks: *Provided*, That the Secretary may reduce the national marketing quota so determined for any crop for the purpose of reducing surplus stocks, but not below the minimum quota prescribed under paragraph (2) of this subsection.

"'(2) The national marketing quota for any crop shall not be less than the amount of the import quota in effect on August 1, 1967, for the year beginning on such date for extra long staple cotton (one and three-eighths inches or more) in pounds converted to standard bales of five hundred pounds gross weight, established pursuant to section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (of 1933), as amended.

"'(3) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (1) of this subsection, the national marketing quota shall be the minimum quota under paragraph (2) of this subsection for each crop of such cotton for which the Secretary estimates that the carryover of American grown extra long staple cotton at the beginning of the marketing year for the crop for which the quota is proclaimed (excluding any such cotton in the stockpile established pursuant to the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act, as amended) will be more than 50 per centum of the estimated domestic consumption and exports of American grown extra long staple cotton for such marketing year: *Provided*, That the foregoing provisions of this sentence shall not apply for any crop for which the carryover so estimated is an amount equal to 50 per centum or less of the estimated domestic consumption and exports of American grown extra long staple cotton for the marketing year for such crop, and such provisions shall not apply to any crop following the first crop for which this proviso comes into operation.

"'(4) The provisions of paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of this subsection shall apply to the 1969 and each succeeding crop of cotton described in subsection (a) of this section.'

"Sec. 5. Section 101(f) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended by striking out all of the first sentence following the words 'except that', and substituting in lieu therefor the following: 'notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, price support shall be made available to cooperators for the 1968 and each subsequent crop of extra long staple cotton, if producers have not disapproved marketing quotas therefor, through loans at a level which is not less than 50 per centum or more than 100 per centum in excess of the loan level established for Middling one-inch upland cotton of such crop at average location in the United States (except that such loan level for extra long staple cotton shall in no event be less than 35 cents per pound) and, in addition, through price-support payments at a rate which, together with the loan level established for such crop, shall be not less than 65 per centum or more than 90 per centum of the parity price for extra long staple cotton as of the month in which the payment rate provided for by this subsection is announced. Such payment with respect to any farm shall be made on the quantity of extra long staple cotton, determined in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary, equal to either (1) for a farm on which the acreage planted to such cotton does not exceed an acreage determined by multiplying the farm acreage allotment by the price-support payment factor established by the Secretary for each crop, the actual production of such cotton on the farm, or (2) for a farm on which the acreage planted to such cotton exceeds an acreage determined by multiplying the farm acreage allotment by the price-support payment factor but does not exceed the farm acreage allotment, the actual production of such cotton on the farm attributable to the number of acres determined by multiplying the farm acreage allotment by such price-support payment factor. The Secretary shall establish the price-support payment factor for each such crop of extra long staple cotton by dividing the 1966 national acreage allotment for such cotton by the national acreage allotment proclaimed for such crop, except that such factor shall not be more than one. The Secretary shall provide for the sharing of price-support payments under this subsection among producers on a farm on the basis of their respective shares in the crop of extra long staple cotton produced on the farm, or the proceeds therefrom. The provisions of subsection 8(g) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended (relating to assignment of payments), shall also apply to payments under this subsection The Commodity Credit Corporation is authorized to utilize its capital funds and other assets for the purpose of making the payments authorized in this subsection and to pay administrative expenses necessary in carrying out this subsection."

"Sec. 6. Section 347 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is amended by adding the following new subsections at the end thereof to read as follows:

" '(f) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, beginning with the 1968 crop of extra long staple cotton, the Secretary, if he determines that it will not impair the effective operation of the program involved, (1) may permit the owner and operator of any farm for which an extra long staple cotton acreage allotment is established to sell or lease all or any part or the right to all or any part of such allotment to any other owner or operator of a farm for transfer to such farm; (2) may permit the owner of a farm to transfer all or any part of such allotment to any other farm owned or controlled by him. No allotment shall be transferred under this subsection to a farm in another State or to a person for use in another State. The Secretary shall prescribe regulations for the administration of this subsection and may prescribe such terms and conditions as he deems necessary.

" '(g) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, if the extra long staple cotton acreage allotment established for any farm for the 1968 and subsequent crops is greater than such allotment for the preceding crop, because of transfers under subsection (f) of this section or for any other reason, the soil conserving base established for the farm shall be reduced by the same number of acres that the allotment is increased for that year.'

"Sec. 7. Section 407 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: 'Notwithstanding any other provision of this section, effective August 1, 1968, the Commodity Credit Corporation shall make available during each marketing year for sale for unrestricted use at market prices at the time of sale, a quantity of American grown extra long staple cotton equal to the amount by which the production of such cotton in the calendar year in which such marketing year begins is less than the estimated requirements of American grown extra long staple cotton for domestic use and for export for such marketing year: *Provided,* That no sales shall be made at less than 115 per centum of the loan rate for extra long staple cotton under section 101(f) of this Act beginning with the marketing year for the first crop for which the national marketing quota for extra long staple cotton is not established under paragraph (3) of section 347(b) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended. The Secretary may make such estimates and adjustments therein at such times as he determines will best effectuate the provisions of the foregoing sentence and such quantities of cotton as are required to be sold under such sentence shall be offered for sale in an orderly manner and so as not to affect market prices unduly.'

"Sec. 8. Section 3 of Public Law 88–638 (78 Stat. 1038) is hereby repealed effective August 1, 1968."

And the Senate agree to the same.

W. R. Poage,
E. C. Gathings,
John L. McMillan,
Page Belcher,
Charles M. Teague,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Allen J. Ellender,
Spessard L. Holland,
B. Everett Jordan,
George D. Aiken,
Milton R. Young,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

Statement

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill, H.R. 10864, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forest, Inc., and for other purposes, submit the following statement and explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended an accompanying conference report.

As passed by the House of Representatives, the bill authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forest, Inc. The Senate amendment to this bill added provisions amending the extra-long-staple cotton program. The Senate amendment provided for lower price-support loans, supplemented by price-support payments, so that the price of this kind of cotton would be more in line with the price of upland cotton, and would move into the market instead of into the hands of Commodity Credit Corporation. The Senate amendment also provided and increasing acreage allotments.

The conference substitute adopts all of the provisions of the Senate amendment except one, which would have increased the national acreage allotment for the 1968 crop by 6,800 acres. Because the crop has been planted since the Senate adopted this amendment and is now almost ready for harvest, this provision is no longer appropriate and the substitute properly strikes it out.

The committee of conference was mindful of the fact that both Houses have now passed H.R. 10915 which prohibits imports of extra-shall give domestic producers the opportunity to produce an amount of extra-long staple long staple cotton from countries which have severed diplomatic relations with the United States and which directs that, nowithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary for a method of disposing of surplus stocks cotton, equal to the reduction in imports resulting from the enactment of H.R. 10915.

The conference agreement on H.R. 10864 will not in any way diminish the effect of the provisions of H.R. 10915 when that bill becomes law, or in any way interfere with the right of domestic producers to have the opportunity to produce and to receive price support on the quantity of extra-long staple cotton provided for therein. The acreage to produce such cotton is in addition to that acreage which would otherwise be established under section 347 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, if H.R. 10915 had not been enacted. The extra-long staple cotton produced from the acreage made available under H.R. 10915 will be eligible for price support at the same level and rate of price support as that accorded cotton produced within the regular allotment, and the acreage provided pursuant to H.R. 10915 shall not be included in determining the price support payment factor under section 101(f) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended.

W. R. Poage,
E. C. Gathings,
John L. McMillan,
Page Belcher,
Charles M. Teague,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Could we have just a brief explanation of this bill?

Mr. POAGE. Yes, sir. I will be glad to.

This is a bill which when it went to the other body involved nothing more than the clearing of title to certain lands which at one time had been public lands and sold with an incorrect survey in the State of Arkansas. In the other body there was an amendment placed on the bill which added to it a change in the method of supporting extra-long-staple cotton, shifting that support from the present method, which is a loan of 48 cents a pound to the present system for upland cotton of a much lower loan of about 32 cents a pound plus a payment of an 8-cent payment and bringing that in line with the support payment on upland cotton.

At least according to the figures presented by the Department of the other body there is a saving to the U.S. Treasury of some $4 million or $5 million a year. That saving would be achieved by reason of the fact that this bill limits the support to 90,000 bales of cotton and no more could be supported under this program. The payments would amount to approximately $40 a bale. That cotton would not go into the loan, and you would have no losses except that direct payment.

Mr. GROSS. Will the gentleman yield for a brief comment?

Mr. POAGE. Certainly.

Mr. GROSS. I appreciate the statement of the gentleman that there may well be some economy in the amendment, but it would be my hope that the Committee on Agriculture as well as all other committees of the House would do everything within their power to resist this business of ungermane amendments being attached to meritorious legislation that the House sends to the other body.

I just do not like to see an ungermane amendment attached to this legislation. It would be my hope that in the future the great Committee on Agriculture would not go along with this procedure.

Mr. POAGE. I can assure the distinguished gentleman from Iowa that I am in complete agreement with his statement and I pointed out at the conference the same criticsm. I believe I made the statement at that time that we were not going to come back to conference with them on any other actions of this kind if such procedure were undertaken to be followed in the future.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY].

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I take this time merely to state as the ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture at the conference on this matter that we have no objection to the conference report.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO AMEND TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, TO PRESCRIBE HEALTH CARE COST-SHARING ARRANGEMENTS FOR CERTAIN SURVIVING DEPENDENTS

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 18673) to amend title 10, United States Code, to prescribe health care cost-sharing arrangements for certain surviving dependents, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Speaker. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 18673

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 55 of title 10, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) by adding the following new subsection at the end of section 1079:

"(g) When a member dies while he is eligible for receipt of hostile fire pay under section 310 of title 37, United States Code, or from illness or injury incurred while eligible for such pay, his dependents who are receiving benefits under a plan covered by subsection (d) of this section shall continue to be eligible for such benefits until their eligibility is otherwise terminated."

(2) by adding the following new section at the end thereof:

"§ 1088. Cost-sharing for certain dependents

"Notwithstanding any other provisions of this chapter, when a member dies while he is eligible for the receipt of hostile fire pay under section 310 of title 37, United States Code, or from illness or injury incurred while eligible for such pay, his dependents shall, for a period of one year following the date of his death, pay for benefits under this chapter on the same basis prescribed for the dependents of members of the uniform services who are on active duty."

(3) the analysis is amended by inserting the following item:

"1088. Cost-sharing for certain dependents."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by this Act shall be effective as of January 1, 1967.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill is simply to see that dependents of servicemen are not suddenly faced with increased medical costs because the serviceman was killed in Vietnam.

When an active duty member dies his surviving dependents continue to be eligible for regular health care benefits but under a different cost-sharing arrangement. For civilian hospitals active duty dependents are required to pay the first $25 or $1.75 per day, whichever is greater. However, on the day following the death of an active duty member and for any subsequent period of hospitalization his surviving dependents are required under present law to pay 25 percent of the total cost of the care obtained.

Cases have come to the committee's attention where service wives were pregnant at the time their husbands died in Vietnam. Under present law if they subsequently receive their maternity care at civilian hospitals they would be charged as dependents of deceased personnel and would be required to pay 25 percent of all costs which would typically result in a cost to the woman of approximately $150. This is in contrast to the usual cost of $25 for maternity care of a wife whose husband is still alive.

This is a result not envisioned at the time the law was enacted. The bill would provide that for a 1-year period following the death of a serviceman while in the receipt of hostile fire pay, or from illness or injury incurred while eligible for such pay, charges for his dependents for medical care shall continue at the active duty dependent rate.

Additionally, the bill would continue the eligibility for care of a mentally retarded or physically handicapped spouse or child of a service member killed in Vietnam. The program of care of these mentally retarded and physically handicapped dependents is limited to dependents of active duty personnel. Without the bill, therefore, the dependents would lose their eligibility under the program at the time the service member dies. The bill would continue the benefits under the program until eligibility was lost for reasons other than the serviceman's death.

The bill is retroactive to January 1, 1967, which is the commencement date of the program for assistance to mentally retarded and physically handicapped dependents.

The estimated annual cost of the bill is $165,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PREVENT THE IMPORTATION OF ENDANGERED SPECIES OF FISH OR WILDLIFE INTO THE UNITED STATES

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 11618) to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish or wildlife into the United States; to prevent the interstate shipment of reptiles, amphibians, and other wildlife taken contrary to State law; and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11618

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) no person shall import into the United States, its territories or possessions, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, any species or subspecies of fish or wildlife or parts thereof which the Secretary of the Interior determines to be threatened with extinction, except as provided in subsection (b) of this section. A species or subspecies of fish or wildlife shall be regarded as threatened with extinction whenever the Secretary of the Interior finds, after consultation with the affected foreign country, and, when appropriate, with the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, that its existence is endangered because its habitat is threatened with destruction, drastic modification, or severe curtailment, or because of overexploitation, disease, predation, or because of other factors. He shall, from time to time, publish in the Federal Register the names of the species or subspecies of fish or wildlife found to be threatened with extinction under this section.

(b) The Secretary may permit, under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe, the importation of any species, or subspecies of fish or wildlife or parts thereof that are threatened with extinction for zoological, educational, and scientific purposes.

(c) The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of the Treasury shall enforce the provisions of this section, including any regulations issued thereunder. Any person who violates any provision of this section or the regulations issued thereunder or any permit provision shall, upon conviction, be fined not more than $500 or imprisoned not more than six months, or both. Any person authorized to enforce the provisions of this section and the regulations prescribed thereunder or any provision of a permit may, with or without a warrant, arrest any person who violates such provisions or regulations in his presence or view, and may execute any warrant or other process issued by any officer or court of competent jurisdiction, and may, with a search warrant or as incident to a lawful arrest, search for and seize any fish or wildlife or parts thereof or property taken, used, or possessed in violation of said laws or regulations. Anything so seized shall be held by such person or by the United States marshal pending disposition of the case by the court or commissioner. Upon conviction, any fish or wildlife or parts thereof seized shall be forfeited to the United States or otherwise disposed of by the court or commissioner; and any property seized may be forfeited to the United States or otherwise disposed of by the court or commissioner.

(d) As used in this section—

(1) the term "fish or wildlife" means any wild mammal, fish, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean;

(2) the term "person" means an individual, corporation, association, organization, or partnership.

SEC. 2. Section 43 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by deleting the words "wild mammal or bird" in paragraphs 1 and 2 and inserting "any wild mammal, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean".

(b) The last paragraph in section 43 of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read as follows: "shall be fined not more than $500 or imprisoned for not more than six months, or both; and the wild mammals, wild birds, amphibians, reptiles, mollusks, or crustaceans, or the dead bodies or parts thereof, or the offspring or eggs thereof, shall be forfeited.".

SEC. 3. Section 3054 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting "42," after "to enforce sections" and by inserting a comma after "43".

SEC. 4. Section 3112 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting "42," after "to enforce sections" and by inserting a comma after "43".

SEC. 5. The first paragraph in section 44 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by deleting "wild animals or birds, or the dead bodies or parts thereof," and inserting "any wild mammal, wild bird, amphibian, or reptile, or the dead bodies or parts thereof, or any mollusk or crustacean,".

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That (a) no person shall import into the United States, its territories or possessions, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, any species or subspecies of fish or wildlife or parts thereof which the Secretary of the Interior determines to be threatened with extinction, except as provided in subsection (b) of this section. A species or subspecies of fish or wildlife shall be regarded as threatened with extinction whenever the Secretary of the Interior finds, after consultation with the affected foreign country, and, when appropriate, with the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, that its existence is endangered because its habitat is threatened with destruction, drastic modification, or severe curtailment, or because of commercial exploitation, through exports and imports of animals and parts thereof, or by other means, or because of disease, predation, or other factors. He shall, from time to time, publish in the Federal Register the names of the species or subspecies of fish or wildlife found to be threatened with extinction under this section.

"(b) The Secretary of the Interior may permit, under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe, the importation of any species or subspecies of fish or wildlife or parts thereof that are threatened with extinction for zoological, educational, and scientific purposes.

"(c) For the purposes of facilitating enforcement of this section and reducing the costs thereof, the importation of all fish or wildlife and the parts thereof into any port in the United States, except such as may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury as ports of entry for vessels or aircraft, is prohibited.

"(d) The Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe by regulations such terms and conditions as he shall deem necessary to implement his administration of the foregoing provisions of this section. The Secretary of the Treasury shall, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe, enforce the foregoing provisions and any regulations of the Secretary of the Interior issued with respect to importations subject to the provisions of this section. Any person who knowingly violates any provision of this section or the regulations of the Secretary of the Interior issued thereunder or any permit provision shall, upon conviction, be fined not more than $500 or imprisoned not more than six months, or both. Any person authorized to enforce the provisions of this section and the regulations prescribed thereunder or any provision of a permit may, with or without a warrant, arrest any person who violates such provisions or regulations in his presence or view, and may execute any warrant or other process issued by any officer or court of competent jurisdiction, and may, with a search warrant or as incident to a lawful arrest, or incident to the arrival from outside the customs territory of the United States of any merchandise or person, search for and seize any fish or wildlife or parts thereof or property taken, used, or possessed in violation of such provisions or regulations. Anything so seized shall be held by such person or by the United States marshal pending disposition of the case by the court. Any fish or wildlife or parts thereof seized shall be forfeited to the Secretary of the Interior to be disposed of in such manner as he deems appropriate; and, upon conviction, any property seized may be forfeited to the United States or otherwise disposed of by the court.

"(e) As used in this section—

"(1) the term 'fish or wildlife' means any wild mammal, fish, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean;

"(2) the term 'person' means an individual, corporation, association, organization, or partnership.

"SEC. 2. (a) Section 43 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by deleting the words 'wild mammal or bird' in paragraphs 1 and 2 and inserting 'wild mammal, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean.'

"(b) Section 43 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting a new paragraph after the second paragraph in said section to read as follows:

" 'Whoever knowingly transports or ships or causes to be transported or shipped in interstate or foreign commerce, or knowingly sells or causes to be sold, any wild mammal, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean or parts thereof which were captured, killed, taken, purchased, sold, or otherwise possessed or transported in any manner contrary to this section or any Act of Congress or regulations issued thereunder or contrary to the laws or regulations of any State, District of Columbia, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, possession of the United State, or foreign country, or knowingly sells or causes to be sold any products manufactured, made or processed from such wild mammal, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean or parts thereof; or'

"(c) The last paragraph in section 43 of title 18, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

" 'Shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than six months, or both; and the wild mammals, wild birds, amphibians, reptiles, mollusks, or crustaceans, or the dead bodies or parts thereof, or the offspring or eggs thereof, shall be forfeited.'.

"SEC. 3. Section 3054 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting '42' after 'to enforce sections' and by inserting a comma after '43'.

"SEC. 4. Section 3112 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting '42' after 'to enforce sections' and by inserting a comma after '43'.

"SEC. 5. The first paragraph in section 44 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by deleting 'wild animals or birds, or the dead bodies or parts thereof,' and inserting 'any wild mammal, wild bird, amphibian, or reptile, or the dead bodies or parts thereof, or any mollusk or crustacean,'.

"SEC. 6. (a) Section 2 of the Black Bass Act (44 Stat. 576), as amended (16 U.S.C. 852), is amended—

"(1) by inserting before the words 'any foreign country' the words 'or from', and

"(2) by inserting after the words 'District of Columbia' the words 'or any foreign country'.

"(b) Section 3 of the Black Bass Act (46 Stat. 846) as amended (16 U.S.C. 852a), is amended by deleting the comma after 'commerce' and inserting therein 'or foreign commerce,'.

"(c) Section 6(a) of the Black Bass Act (46 Stat. 846), as amended (16 U.S.C. 852d (a)) is amended by changing the words 'Any employee of the Department of the Interior authorized by the Secretary of the Interior to enforce the provisions of this Act' in the first sentence thereof to read as follows:

" 'The provisions of this section and any regulations issued thereunder shall be enforced by personnel of the Department of the Interior and the Secretary may utilize by agreement with or without reimbursement personnel and facilities of other Federal agencies, and such personnel'.

"SEC. 7. (a) Section 1 of the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 926), is amended by adding a new subsection at the end thereof to read as follows:

" '(d) For the purpose of sections 1 through 3 of this Act, the term 'fish and wildlife' means any wild mammal, fish, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean.'

"(b) Section 2(d) of the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 926), is amended by adding a new sentence at the end thereof to read as follows:

" 'The Secretary is authorized to acquire by purchase, donation, exchange, or otherwise any privately owned land, water, or interests therein, within the boundaries of any area administered by him, to conserve, protect, restore or propagate any selected species of native fish and wildlife that are threatened with extinction without regard to any limitation on appropriations applicable to such area under any other provision of law and each such acquisition shall be administered in accordance with the provisions of law applicable to such area.' "

Mr. DINGELL (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with and that it be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENTS TO COMMITTEE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DINGELL

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I offer two amendments to the committee amendment and ask unanimous consent that they be considered en bloc.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments to the committee amendment offered by Mr. DINGELL: On page 5, line 15, insert before the period the following: ", and for the purpose of breeding such species and subspecies for preservation and propagation".

On page 10, strike out lines 7 through 17, and insert the following: "thereof to read as follows: 'Until June 30, 1971, the Secretary is authorized to acquire by purchase, donation, exchange, or otherwise any privately owned land, water, or interests therein within the boundaries of any area administered by him, for the purpose of conserving, protecting, restoring, or propagating any selected species of native fish and wildlife that are threatened with extinction and each such acquisition shall be administered in accordance with the provisions of law applicable to such area: *Provided*, That for each of the fiscal years 1969, 1970, and 1971 there are authorized to be appropriated annually not to exceed $750,000 to carry out the provisions of this sentence.' "

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, section 43 of the United States Criminal Code provides for the seizure and forfeiture of any legally protected wild mammal or bird or parts thereof imported into the United States contrary to the laws or regulations of the foreign country from where it was illegally taken. Also, section 43 makes it unlawful for anyone knowingly to put into interstate or foreign commerce any wild mammal or bird—or parts thereof—which has been taken contrary to any Federal, State, or foreign laws.

The purpose of this legislation is to extend this protection to amphibians, reptiles, mollusks, and crustaceans. It also has as its purpose to assist on an international level in the preservation of endangered species of fish and wildlife and to assist the States in stopping or reducing illegal traffic in certain protected animals, such as the alligator.

Mr. Speaker, over the years many species of animals have become endangered because they are in great demand for novelty uses or because their skins provide specialty or decorative wearing apparel. For example, hides of spotted cats and zebras are in demand as luxury apparel and status symbols. Hides of alligators are in demand for such wearing apparel as shoes, handbags, belts, and wallets. Many species of rare, beautiful fish have been dangerously reduced in number to supply an ever increasing market for aquaria fish. Poaching to supply these markets has become a lucrative enterprise, and it appears that the United States has become the world's most lucrative market for these illegally taken species. As indicated in the testimony at the hearings on this legislation, there are about 1,000 alligator poachers active in southern Florida alone. It is not unusual for a poacher to make as much as $100 in one night's foraging.

Mr. Speaker, it was because of this illegal traffic and the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee's desire to assist in protecting endangered species on a worldwide basis that prompted the legislation we are considering today.

Briefly explained, section 1 of the bill would prohibit the importation into the United States of all species of fish or wildlife or parts thereof determined to be endangered by the Secretary of the Interior after consultation with the affected foreign country and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, whose endangered list now includes about 250 mammals and more than 300 birds. However, exceptions would be made for zoological, educational, and scientific purposes. To reduce the cost of the legislation and to facilitate enforcement, all imports of fish and wildlife would be restricted to only those ports designated as "ports of entry" by the Secretary of the Interior. Further, section 1 of the bill would provide penalties for those knowingly violating the provisions of this legislation and also would define the term "fish and wildlife" used throughout this section of the bill to include—in addition to wild mammals and birds—amphibians, reptiles, mollusks, or crustaceans.

Section 2 of the bill would provide assistance in reducing the illegal traffic in certain species of fish and wildlife by making it unlawful for anyone to knowingly place into interstate commerce any wild mammal, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, molluks, or crustacean, or parts thereof, or products manufactured therefrom, which were taken contrary to any Federal, State, or foreign laws.

Mr. Speaker, I might point out that in addition to the main purpose of this section of prohibiting interstate commerce in such species as the alligator, it also has as its purpose to prohibit commerce in products which were manufactured from species illegally taken, and also to make sure that innocent purchasers are not penalized. The committee provided that the prohibition would apply only to those who knowingly sold or caused to be sold such manufactured products.

Also, the committee feels that this section of the bill should prove helpful in reducing the illegal traffic in alligator hides, since it has been found that State laws and regulations are often ineffective in preventing live baby alligator from being poached in one State and transported to another State.

Sections 3 and 4 of the bill would amend section 42 of the United States Criminal Code—which governs the importation of injurious species of fish and wildlife—to provide for arrest of persons committing violations and the execution of warrants, such as for search and seizure. These enforcement provisions are contained in section 43 of the code. Therefore, in conformity, the committee felt that they should also be available for enforcing section 42 of the code.

Section 5 of the bill would make it unlawful for anyone to place in interstate or foreign commerce any package containing wild mammals, wild birds, reptiles, mollusks, or crustaceans, without plainly marking, labeling or tagging such packages. The committee felt that this section would provide valuable assistance in reducing the illegal commercial traffic in alligator hides.

Section 6 of the bill would amend the Black Bass Act to make it unlawful to place into interstate or foreign commerce any black bass or other fish taken contrary to any Federal, State, or foreign laws. Heretofore, the law did not apply to imported fish. The committee felt that by extending the act to cover imported fish, valuable assistance would be rendered in reducing the commercial traffic in all species of fish illegally taken in foreign countries.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, section 7 of the bill would further assist in protecting native species of fish and wildlife that may be endangered by authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to acquire privately owned lands and waters within the boundaries of any area administered by him.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. All department reports filed on the legislation were favorable, and all amendments recommended by the departments were adopted by the committee. This legislation has the endorsement of the National Wildlife Federation, the Wildlife Management Institute, the Southeastern Association of Game and Fish Commissioners, the National Audubon Society, and of all conservationists in general.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that this legislation be enacted during this session of the Congress, and I urge its prompt passage.

Mr. SPEAKER. The question is on the amendments to the committee amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL].

The amendments to the committee amendment were agreed to.

The committee amendment, as amended was agreed to.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, because so many species of rare and beautiful wildlife have been dangerously reduced in numbers, I support H.R. 11618 and want to commend the distinguished chairman and members of the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation for the excellent work they have done in writing language which, hopefully, will protect and preserve this earth's threatened species for the generations who will follow us.

It has been brought to my attention, though, by aviculturists in my district, that they would be excluded from importing of such endangered species despite their desire to import such species and subspecies of wildlife for purposes of preservation and propagation.

Aviculturists in our country, certainly those ornamental and game bird breeders in my district, have devoted a great deal of time and effort to the breeding and preserving of endangered species of wild birds. Given the opportunity, I feel sure they can keep many such birds from extinction and, in some cases, replenish and reestablish the birds in their native habitat. My constituents have also pointed out that a private aviculturist will specialize in specific fields, and, therefore, has perhaps a better chance of establishing breeding stock in captivity, as opposed to zoos. Most zoological societies maintain many forms of wildlife—and many do seem to concentrate more on display of such stock than on breeding.

I believe the same is true of private breeders of all species of wildlife. They have made—and should be allowed to continue to make—significant contributions to the overall effort to preserve and protect our threatened species.

Since the importation of such endangered species by private breeders for propagation and preservation would be in complete keeping with the intent and spirit of this legislation, and meets with the approval of the Department, I am very grateful that the committee accepted my amendment to make this possible.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to be associated with the statement of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL], the distinguished chairman of our subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation, and urge the passage of the bill, H.R. 11618.

The affluence of the American society has created a substantial demand in the world marketplace for the hides of certain species of wildlife. In order to meet this demand, poaching has become a lucrative enterprise. Man, the giant predator, preys upon these species recklessly and relentlessly in the pursuit of the dollar, endangering the very existence of several hundred of these species.

The basic objective of the legislation, H.R. 11618, now before you is to remove this extraordinary commercial stimulus to the exploitation of wildlife. This bill would extend Federal assistance for the preservation of threatened species on an international and State level.

On the international level, H.R. 11618 would assist in the preservation of endangered wildlife by prohibiting the importation of any specie of wild mammal, fish, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk or crustacean or parts thereof which are threatened with extinction. The singular exception would be in the case of importation for zoological, educational or scientific purposes.

The bill, H.R. 11618, also would assist our own States in local efforts to reduce this illegal traffic in endangered wildlife. Present Federal law extends protection only to wild mammals or wild birds or parts thereof. This legislation would make it unlawful also for anyone knowingly to put into interstate or foreign commerce any amphibian, reptile, mollusk, crustacean, or parts thereof, taken contrary to any Federal, State or foreign laws or regulations.

H.R. 11618 could serve to strengthen existing State laws and regulations which have not been effective in providing this needed protection. For example, the alligator of southern Florida is threatened with extinction by poachers seeking to capitalize upon the unprecedented demand for the skins of this specie for wearing apparel. This legislation could aid in reducing this illegal activity.

Mr. Speaker, there were no unfavorable departmental reports filed on this legislation. It also received the strong endorsement of several private organizations concerned with conserving and protecting endangered wildlife.

There is, however, one area of needed remedial action. It has been pointed up by the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums. This is the need to prescribe humane shipping standards for the transportation of wild animals and birds.

Subsection 1(b) of H.R. 11618 gives the Secretary of the Interior authority to permit "under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe" the importation of species threatened with extinction for zoological, education and scientific purposes. The language is, I believe, sufficiently broad to permit affirmative action on the problem of humane shipping standards.

Similar and more explicit statutory authority to meet this problem is to be found in subsection 42(c) of title 18 of the United States Code. It is vested in the Secretary of the Treasury. I would hope that either or both of these Cabinet officers would heed the admonition of these distinguished zoological associations and take affirmative steps to establish such shipping standards as may be necessary.

Mr. Speaker, the objectives of H.R. 11618 also have received editorial support from various newspapers such as the New York Times and the Washington Post. Perhaps the following concluding paragraph from an editorial appearing in the Washington Post of February 18 best sums up the need for the passage of H.R. 11618:

> We need to appreciate that a species, of whatever form of life, is a unique manifestation of life, the final product of eons of evolutionary development. Each species surely has important things to tell us about life and its evolution, when we are intelligent enough to ask the right questions. *No extinguished species can ever be recreated, and the whole world is inevitably poorer when a species anywhere is lost.* In recognizing this truth and the priceless value of the species, [H.R. 11618] . . . establishes the first principle of conservation. It sets an example which every country can follow to the benefit of all future generations.

Mr. Speaker, in recognition of this priceless value of the species, I strongly urge the favorable action of my colleagues in the House on the bill, H.R. 11618.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, many species of animals are endangered because they are in demand for novelty uses, or because their skins provide specialty or decorative wearing apparel. The hides of spotted cats and zebras are in demand as luxury apparel and status symbols. Many species of rare and beautiful tropical fish have been dangerously reduced in numbers to supply an ever-increasing market for aquaria fish. Poaching to supply these markets is a lucrative enterprise in Asia and Africa. As the demand and price increase, the animals become rarer and rarer until they either become extinct or so scarce that it does not pay to hunt them. The developing countries with only limited resources have not been successful in stopping this traffic.

There is at the present time a law regarding transportation in interstate or foreign commerce of illegally possessed wild mammals or birds; however, reptiles, amphibians, mollusks, and crustaceans are not now covered.

State laws and regulations have not been effective in affording protection to some of the species—namely, the alligator.

The purpose of H.R. 11618 is twofold. First, in order to assist on an international level in the preservation of threatened species, this legislation would prohibit—except for zoological, educational, and scientific purposes—the importation of any species of wild mammal, fish, wild bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean or parts thereof that are threatened with extinction.

Second, in order to assist the States in stopping or reducing illegal traffic in certain protected animals, the legislation would make it unlawful for anyone to knowingly put into interstate or foreign commerce any amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean or parts thereof taken contrary to any Federal, State, or foreign laws or regulations.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of this measure as very important conservation legislation.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to support this meritorious bill, H.R. 11618, to protect endangered species the world over, and wish to commend the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. LENNON] for sponsoring this bill and my colleagues on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee for their prompt action in reporting the measure to the House.

Legislation of this kind is long overdue and I am glad that the House by its action today is seeing to it that strong curbs are placed against imports of helpless creatures of the wild, alive or in the form of pelts, who are faced with extinction largely because of the activities of greedy poachers, not only in this country but all over the globe.

Shortly before the turn of this century, a shocked nation took action to save the beautiful egret which was rapidly disappearing to meet the demands for the plumage of women's hats. Today the world is faced with the loss of priceless species of wild animals as the savage campaign of extinction is carried on by human greed.

The statistics are impressive and cause for real concern long past due on the part of all of us. It is reported that from the birth of Christ to the year 1900, only some 20 different mammals disappeared from the earth. But for each year of this century, there has been lost to the world a species or subspecies of mammal.

In the United States and Puerto Rico during the same period of little more than 50 years, there have vanished 24 birds and 12 mammals, a sad reminder of our disregard and lack of interest in retaining these priceless gifts of nature.

Before it is too late, it is wise and humane for this House to adopt the endangered species bill to provide some degree of protection to the whooping crane, the orangutan, the cheetah, the timber wolf, the alligator, and the some 1,000 mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, and mollusks, whose continued existence is at stake.

The abuses are quite obvious and now is the time to correct them.

This legislation is well conceived and I hope that it will be effective in protecting the endangered species of this world insofar as this country is concerned.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to support the legislation before the House today, H.R. 11618, a bill to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish or wildlife into the United States and to prevent the interstate shipment of reptiles, amphibians, and other wildlife taken contrary to State law.

I am particularly interested in section 2 of the bill which would give protection to American alligators and certain other native animals taken in violation of law that are shipped in commerce.

The bill would provide a $1,000 fine for anyone who puts into foreign or interstate commerce any wild mammal, bird, reptile, amphibian, mollusk, and crustacean or parts thereof, which have been taken, captured, possessed, or transported contrary to any Federal, State, or foreign laws or regulations. The purpose of this is to prohibit commerce in products which were manufactured from species illegally taken.

Testimony by the Department of Interior in the hearings on the bill pointed out that there are about 1,000 poachers active in southern Florida capturing alligators and making between $400 to $500 weekly in this illegal traffic. The total market for these alligator skins in Miami is in excess of $1 million.

For many years alligators in the Florida Everglades were never threatened, but recently when the hides have been used for fashion purposes the illegal traffic has gone up, and the profits on the poaching have also gone up.

This legislation has the support of the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, the Florida Audubon Society, the Florida Forestry Association, the Society of Geographers, and the Florida Outdoor Writers Association.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this is a good first step to protect the alligator. I am hopeful legislation can be developed in the future to abolish the sale of all alligator products, if this is needed to protect them as it appears to be; just as Congress did to save egrets some years ago, I am working toward that objective.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my support for H.R. 11618, a bill that would put new strength into the worldwide effort to protect species of wildlife threatened with extinction.

The need for this bill is clear and pressing.

Thousands of species of wildlife ranging from mountain gorillas to tropical fish are slowly disappearing because hunters want them as trophies, because zoos want them as displays, because collectors want them as curios, because clothing manufacturers want them as a source of skins and furs.

To supply these markets poachers are flouting conservation laws throughout the world, killing off millions of rare creatures each year.

Shall we allow the alligator to die out merely because women like durable handbags? Shall we countenance the extinction of the leopard merely to provide coats for the grandes dames of society? Shall we sit back and watch the gorilla disappear from its native habitat merely to stock the cages of the zoos and circuses? Shall we tolerate the slaughter of the Ceylon elephant merely to provide ivory for trinkets and ornaments?

Thousands of creatures—running the zoological gamut from mammals, to fish, to birds, to amphibians, to reptiles, to mollusks, to crustaceans—face extinction unless the United States and other nations join forces now to protect them.

Over 40 species of wildlife were exterminated between 1910 and 1945 alone. Since 1945 the extinction rate has been accelerating rapidly—so rapidly that scientists, conservationists, and ordinary people the world over are expressing alarm.

H.R. 11618 would help knit together international efforts to protect endangered species. This bill would outlaw the importation into the United States of any creature put on an "endangered list" drawn up by the U.S. Interior Department in cooperation with foreign countries. The bill, moreover, would strengthen and broaden our domestic laws prohibiting interstate traffic in endangered species.

I want to make it clear that H.R. 11618 would not stop the importation or transportation of rare wildlife taken legally for zoological, scientific, or educational purposes.

A few statistics point out the magnitude of the problem that H.R. 11618 would help solve. At one New York City airport last year, during a 2-month period alone, 830,000 creatures were imported into this country. Among them were 20,000 birds, 790,000 fishes, 4,000 primates, 6,000 reptiles, and hundreds of large animals.

Many of the creatures in these shipments clearly fit into the category of "endangered species."

Dr. Theodore H. Reed, Director of the National Zoological Park, said in hearings before the Congress:

> The United States is the most lucrative market for birds, monkeys, furs, hides, and other animals and animal products. Too often our dollars are the reward sought by the poachers and smugglers. * * * It is unfortunately true that the temptation of dollars encourages lawbreaking and at times leads to the corruption of officials responsible for wildlife law enforcement.
>
> When such large rewards are available, it is profitable to evade the law, and smuggling becomes a major problem.
>
> The case of the orangutan is relevant. This gravely endangered species survives only in Sumatra and Borneo, where it is under full legal protection. The temptation to disregard these laws was great, however. A smuggler would buy illegally taken orangutans in Sumatra for as little as $5. They could be sold to zoos for $3,000 or more.
>
> Until a few years ago, most orangutans bought by zoos had illegal origins. Zoo buyers could close their eyes to this, because they bought from dealers who in turn bought from other dealers. Zoos did not know where the animals came from or how these animals began their journeys.
>
> In this case, zoos took the initiative in suppressing the illegal trade. Recognizing that zoo purchases could add to the danger of extinction, our American zoos, in 1962, resolved that we would no longer purchase orangutans without evidence of legal origins.

Stanley A. Cain, an Assistant Secretary of the Interior Department, pointed out in hearings that illegal traffic in domestic wildlife is also becoming a significant problem. Mr. Cain testified that a park ranger in the Florida Everglades estimated that 1,000 poachers are hunting alligators in southern Florida. Mr. Cain added:

> It is possible for a poacher to make as much as $100 in one night's foraging for these skins because raw skins are now bringing $6 a linear foot. Several of these poachers are said to make $400 and $500 a week when they are at this illegal business. The total market for these skins in Miami, the illegal market, is in excess of $1 million. I am quoting these data from this ranger.
>
> The protection service provided by the National Park and by the State game agents is entirely inadequate to significantly check this illegal traffic so that we are getting at the critical point where we are hurting them in the pocketbook.
>
> I think if we had more officials it would help to check this process, but the real problem I believe is the economic problem. If there are means of curbing the market for the sale of such products * * * you get at the profit. Until very recently, well, for centuries, people have lived in the Gulf States and alligators were never threatened. It is only recently when the alligator hides have been used for fashion purposes that the commerce has gone up, and it is the dollar profit that is threatening the species.

The Congress must act to strengthen the laws protecting wildlife now that rising profits are encouraging more and more poaching here and abroad.

I feel sure my colleagues in the House join me in urging passage of H.R. 11618.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 11618, a bill to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish and wildlife into the United States, and to prevent the interstate shipment of reptiles, amphibians, and other wildlife taken contrary to Federal or State law.

I am particularly pleased with section 2 of the bill which will assist the States in stopping or greatly reducing the illegal traffic in certain protected animals by making it unlawful for anyone to knowingly put into interstate or foreign commerce any wild animal, bird, amphibian, reptile, mollusk, or crustacean or parts thereof in violation of State or Federal law.

Section 2 of the bill also contains language which makes it a crime for anyone knowingly to sell or cause to be sold such protected animals, or products made from such animals.

Violations of these provisions will mean a fine of up to $1,000 or imprisonment for up to 6 months, or both, and forfeiture of the illegally taken animal, or any part of the animal.

This legislation will be very welcome in my own State of Florida which is the natural habitat of the alligator.

This noble beast, a living fossil from the age of reptiles which flourished some 200 million years ago is faced with extinction.

The alligator is widely sought by poachers for his skin that is so highly prized by the fashion industry of this Nation and foreign lands.

Testimony before the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation revealed that the total annual illegal market of skins in Miami, Fla., alone, is in excess of $1 million.

Prime alligator hides bring up to $6 a linear foot from dealers who do not question their origin.

A finished alligator suitcase will sell for amounts as high as $1,000, and men's alligator shoes retail at $70 and up.

Greed and vanity all but extinguished the American bison and egret 100 years ago. That same greed and vanity now threatens the American alligator.

Sufficient funds are not available to properly patrol the vast wilderness areas of Florida, including the Everglades National Park, and Louisiana, so we must strengthen the law to deter these poachers and those who would buy their illegal skins.

This legislation does that because if enacted, it will permit Federal and State officials to move in on those who transport the skins and those who knowingly purchase the illegally taken skins.

Under present law, if the poacher is not caught in the act of catching or slaughtering the alligators, and if he can get the carcass or skins to a dealer, there is little State or Federal officials can do. This bill would change that dreadful situation.

We would be naive to assume that the alligator will always be a part of our wildlife; we must afford this animal more protection. This bill does so, and I vigorously urge its adoption.

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation of our Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, the Honorable JOHN D. DINGELL, in urging prompt passage of my endangered species bill, H.R. 11618.

Mr. Speaker, one of the great ironies in the history of our Nation is that, because of our great economic growth and affluence, we have been directly responsible for the disappearance of many species of American wildlife from the face of the earth. Altogether, some 24 birds and 12 mammals, which were once native to the United States, have become extinct.

Fortunately, Congress has acted to prevent any additional losses of our natural heritage through passage in 1966 of Public Law 89-669. This law provides for the conservation, protection, and development of endangered species of fish and wildlife which are native to the United States.

Such action was needed on a national level. But, as members of the human race, we owe more than this to the generations of the future. Conservationists the world over recognize that a concerted, international effort must now be made to extend protection and assistance to all endangered species—regardless of their native habitat.

It is now obvious that—unless such international action is taken within the near future—hundreds of rare and endangered species of fish and wildlife will join the untold number of others which have already been ruthlessly exterminated by man.

Naturally, the United States cannot control the internal policies of other nations. It can, however, enter into a cooperative venture with other countries that are interested in preserving the world's precious wildlife heritage.

This is the purpose of my bill. It also has as its purpose to prevent interstate or foreign shipment of mollusks, crustaceans, reptiles, amphibians, and other wild mammals and birds which are taken contrary to any State, Federal, or foreign laws.

Mr. Speaker, since the distinguished chairman of our Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation has already given a section-by-section explanation of the bill, I will not impose on the Members' time by going into an additional explanation of what my bill is designed to accomplish. However, I would like to say that I wholeheartedly endorse the remarks of my distinguished subcommittee chairman and I would like to briefly comment on section 7 of the bill.

Mr. Speaker, my bill, as introduced, contained no land acquisition authority; it only contained enforcement authority which was designed mainly to extend protection to amphibians, reptiles, mollusks, and crustaceans, and at the same time to prohibit the illegal traffic in endangered species. Unfortunately, when the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries originally considered my bill in executive session, I was unable to be present. As many of the Members of the House know, I am opposed to any open-ended appropriation authorization. Although the committee deemed it desirable to include land acquisition authority in my bill, had I been present at the original executive session I would have offered an amendment to this section of the bill to limit the authority to a definite time and the funds authorized to be appropriated to a certain amount.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would like for the Members of the House to know that I wholeheartedly endorse the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries' amendment to section 7 of the bill that would limit the program authorized by this legislation to a period of 3 years and the funds authorized to be appropriated to a maximum of $750,000 per year.

Mr. Speaker, I join my distinguished colleagues in urging prompt passage of my bill, H.R. 11618.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

House Resolution 1244 was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the conference report on the District of Columbia revenue bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZING THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO APPOINT A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE AND REPORT ON CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES OF CANDIDATES FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1239 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1239

Resolved, That a special committee of five Members be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives to investigate and report to the House not later than January 7, 1969, with respect to the following matters:

(1) The extent and nature of expenditures made by all candidates for the House of Representatives in connection with their campaign for nomination and election to such office.

(2) The amount subscribed, contributed, or expended, and the value of services rendered, and facilities made available (including personal services, use of advertising space, radio and television time, office space, moving picture films, and automobile and any other transportation facilities) by any individual, individuals, or group of individuals, committee, partnership, corporation, or labor union, to or on behalf of each such candidate in connection with any such campaign or for the purpose of influencing the votes cast or to be cast at any convention or election held in 1968 to which a candidate for the House of Representatives is to be nominated.

(3) The use of any other means or influence (including the promise or use of patronage) for the purpose of aiding or influencing the nomination or election of any such candidates.

(4) The amounts, if any, raised, contributed, and expended by any individual, individuals, or group of individuals, committee, partnership, corporation, or labor union, including any political committee thereof, in connection with any such election, and the amounts received by any political committee from any corporation, labor union, individual, individuals, or group of individuals, committee, or partnership.

(5) The violations, if any, of the following statutes of the United States:

(a) The Federal Corrupt Practices Act.

(b) The Act of August 2, 1939, as amended, relating to pernicious political activities, commonly referred to as the Hatch Act.

(c) The provisions of section 304, chapter 120, Public Law 101, Eightieth Congress, first session, referred to as the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947.

(d) Any statute or legislative Act of the United States or of the State within which a candidate is seeking nomination or reelection to the House of Representatives, the violation of which Federal or State statute, or statutes, would affect the qualification of a Member of the House of Representatives within the meaning of article I, section 5, of the Constitution of the United States.

(6) Such other matters relating to the election of Members of the House of Representatives in 1968, and the campaigns of candidates in connection therewith, as the committee deems to be of public interest, and which, in its opinion, will aid the House of Representatives in enacting remedial legislation, or in deciding contests that may be instituted involving the right to a seat in the House of Representatives.

(7) The committee is authorized to act upon its own motion and upon such infor-

mation as in its judgment may be reasonable or reliable. Upon complaint being made to the committee under oath, by any person, candidate or political committee, setting forth allegations as to facts which, under this resolution, it would be the duty of said committee to investigate, the committee shall investigate such charges as fully as though it were acting upon its own motion, unless after a hearing upon such complaint, the committee shall find that the allegations in such complaint are immaterial or untrue. All hearings before the committee, and before any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, shall be public, and all orders and decisions of the committee, and of any such subcommittee, shall be public.

For the purpose of this resolution, the committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such public hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Eighty-ninth Congress, to employ such attorneys, experts, clerical, and other assistants, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony as it deems advisable. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

(8) The committee is authorized and directed to report promptly any and all violations of any Federal or State statutes in connection with the matters and things mentioned herein to the Attorney General of the United States in order that he may take such official action as may be proper.

(9) Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties prescribed by law.

That said committee is authorized and directed to file interim reports whenever in the judgment of the majority of the committee, or of a subcommittee conducting portions of said investigation, the public interest will be best served by the filing of said interim reports, and in no event shall the final report of said committee be filed later than January 7, 1969, as hereinabove provided.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this is the biennial resolution for the appointment of five Members, three from the majority side and two from the minority side, to look into the elections of the House of Representatives.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, due to the noise in the Chamber, I would ask the gentleman if this is the usual resolution that is passed to provide for a committee to investigate contested elections to the House of Representatives?

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in reply to the inquiry of the gentleman from Iowa, I will state that that is correct.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1239 is identical with resolutions that have been adopted in prior years. It would authorize the Speaker to appoint a bipartisan committee of five Members to investigate and report to the next Congress concerning campaign expenditures of candidates for the House of Representatives.

The committee is empowered to make investigations with a much greater latitude than solely that of campaign expenditures. In section 6 of the resolution, the committee is directed to report on such other matters relating to the election of Members of the House of Representatives in 1968, and the campaigns of candidates in connection therewith, as the committee deems to be of public interest.

In 1965, the House considered the question of seating a number of our colleagues who had been nominated and elected in congressional districts where Negro citizens had been systematically excluded from participating in the electoral process.

In its actions on both the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the seating of the Mississippi delegation, the House affirmed that complaints of racial discrimination should be carefully scrutinized in the future.

It would be in the service of the House as well as the Nation, if the special committee took on the responsibility of making a thorough investigation of all complaints of intimidation or discrimination involving prospective candidates and voters before the election, so the House may intelligently consider any election contests or challenges.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge strongly the adoption of this resolution. More than at any time in my career in the House of Representatives, I see the necessity for the passage of House Resolution 1239, authorizing a Special Committee To Investigate and Report on Campaign Expenditures of Candidates for the House of Representatives. There have been some false statements made by the Republican central committee in Montana, and I would welcome an opportunity to show them for what they are.

I certainly recommend that there be a committee established to investigate campaign expenditures for any reasons that warrant investigation. I can assure you I would welcome an investigation into the distorted charges made against me. Obviously slanderous charges or legitimate charges should be followed by an investigation not only to detect any wrongdoing, but to protect the innocent.

Furthermore, I urge that we go another step and strengthen our Committee on Standards of Official Conduct by establishing a precise and specific code of ethics.

At the present time, in the absence of a code of ethics, any $1 campaign contribution could be viewed as a bribe. I do not believe this overstates the situation, and I think it dramatizes the need for a specific code of ethics to protect all Members of the Congress.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. O'NEILL OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts: On page 4, line 15, strike out "Eighty-ninth" and insert in lieu thereof "Ninetieth".

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I take this time simply to say that we on the minority side agree to the amendment, and agree with the resolution.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HEALTH MANPOWER ACT OF 1968

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15757) to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 15757, with Mr. GRAY in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS].

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, the bill before the House today is one of the most important health bills to be considered by the Congress this year. It provides for extension and expansion of all programs under the jurisdiction of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce dealing with professional health manpower. The bill provides for assistance to students at health professions schools, and for assistance to the schools themselves. The professions covered are medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, nursing, public health, optometry, pharmacy, podiatry, veterinary medicine, and the allied health professions such as medical technology, occupational therapy, physical therapy, sanitarians, and the like.

The United States is short of medical manpower in just about every field. There are a variety of reasons for these shortages, but primarily they arise out of the fact that more people are obtaining health care today than ever before in our Nation's history. It is estimated that we are short at least 50,000 physicians; we need at least an additional 12,000 dentists. We are over 140,000 nurses short, and this shortage is expected to grow to in excess of 180,000 in a few years.

It has only been in the last decade, and principally in the last 5 years, that there has been any substantial support for teaching of persons in the health professions. There is a long lead time involved between the date an initial decision is made to establish a health professions school and the time that school graduates its first class. In the case of medicine particularly, the lead time is even longer because it is necessary for the graduate M.D. to receive further training as an intern and as a resident before he is fully ready to go into private practice.

Notwithstanding the long lead time involved, the programs we now have on the books which are to be extended by the bill before the House today, have led to nearly 4,000 new first year places for health professionals other than nurses, and over 3,000 first year places for nurses.

Assistance has been provided for the construction of 12 new medical schools, five new dental schools, one new school of public health, and 17 new schools of nursing. In addition, construction assistance has been provided for a substantial number of existing schools which has enabled them to increase enrollment or to improve the quality of training which they provide.

Our Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare held full hearings on this bill and considered it thoroughly and was unanimous in reporting it to the full committee, and the full committee was unanimous in reporting it to the House.

The bill is in four titles relating to health manpower. The administration request was for a 4-year bill authorizing $2,700,000,000. The Senate has passed a 3-year bill authorizing $1,900,000,000. The bill before the House today is a 2-year bill, authorizing $1,176,000,000.

Title I provides assistance to medical schools, dental schools, and other health professions schools, with grants to schools for operating costs and special projects, and loans and scholarships for students.

Title II provides assistance to schools of nursing, with the same pattern as applies to medical schools. The bill provides construction grant assistance, grants to schools for operating costs and special projects, loans, scholarships, and traineeships for students.

Title III is a 1-year extension of the allied health professions program under which grants are made for construction and operating expenses of schools for allied health professions.

Title IV extends the health research facilities matching grant program, under which grants are made for construction of health research facilities.

The United States is short of manpower in all of the health professions. The programs contained in this bill are designed to help meet these shortages of manpower.

In general, the bill provides for matching grants for construction of teaching facilities at schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, public health, pharmacy, optometry, veterinary medicine, podiatry, nursing and allied health professions such as medical technologists, physical therapists and the like. In addition, the bill provides for support for institutions teaching students in these fields in order to enable them to provide better courses and improved teaching methods.

This institutional support is one of the more important features of the bill since there are some medical and dental schools which are in danger of having to close their doors today as a result of continuing deficits. One dental school has already closed, and I understand that there are several dental schools and medical schools which are considering closing.

The bill also provides support for student loan programs and scholarship programs, and continues existing programs of traineeships to provide advanced training for health professionals.

Mr. Chairman, we think this is a good bill, and as I mentioned before, it was reported by our committee unanimously. We recommend its passage by the House.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. JARMAN], chairman of the subcommittee.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, it is my pleasure to give my full support to H.R. 15757, Health Manpower Act of 1968.

The supply and quality of America's health manpower is at the very heart of our national endeavor to achieve and maintain the support for good health services for all Americans. The essential ingredient in the provision of health services is, of course, the people who are engaged in it. Our most important task in the field of health is to prepare enough people with adequate knowledge and skill so that the right and expectation of each of our citizens to health care can be realized.

The members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and indeed all of us in the Congress, take pride in the series of laws which have been enacted over the past few years to alleviate the Nation's shortages of health manpower. These laws have provided the foundation and the framework within which the Federal Government has participated with a wide variety of institutions—schools of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, nursing, optometry, podiatry, pharmacy, veterinary medicine, public health and allied health—in the task of preparing ever-increasing numbers of skilled personnel necessary to translate the Nation's expectations for health care into reality.

Under these laws, new schools have opened their doors and others have significantly expanded or updated their training facilities. Schools have been assisted in strengthening their curricula so that the students who are trained are realistically prepared to serve the health needs of the people of this Nation. Students have received loans and other financial assistance which have enabled them to prepare for health careers.

The Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare, of which I am chairman, held hearings on H.R. 15757 and received testimony which made it abundantly clear that although progress has been made in training additional numbers of physicians, dentists, nurses, and other vitally needed health manpower, serious shortages still exist. In fact, in some cases, it seems that shortages are becoming increasingly serious as we face unprecedented demands for health services—demands resulting from our rising standards of living, higher levels of education and income, the growth in insurance and public medical care programs, and accelerated advances in medical knowledge.

The Health Manpower Act of 1968 will continue and strengthen five major laws: the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963, the Nurse Training Act of 1964, the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966, the Health Research Facilities Act of 1956, and the authorities of sections 306 and 309 of the Public Health Service Act for public health traineeships and project grants for graduate or specialized training in public health.

As reported, the bill would extend all but one of these laws for 2 years—fiscal years 1970 and 1971. Since there has been only 1 year of experience under the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act, the bill would provide for a 1-year extension of that act in order to gain more experience and to evaluate the needs for modification or revision.

The bill makes significant improvements in the legislative acts it amends. I should like to call particular attention to several of them:

Health professions training—title I—would continue the program of assistance in the construction of schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, pharmacy, podiatry, optometry, public health and veterinary medicine—new schools must be built, and existing schools must be expanded if increased numbers of students are to be enrolled.

The bill would simplify and make more efficient the authorities related to the support of construction so that schools planning to construct facilities primarily for teaching purposes, but also for medical library or health research purposes, will not be forced to make separate applications to different agencies under different review procedures and different priorities. Under the bill they could make one application to this construction program. This authority would remove the artificial barriers which have prevented the sound planning and construction of the teaching facility as a whole.

Under present law, grants may be made to improve the quality of schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, optometry, and podiatry. These improvement grants are of two kinds: basic improvement grants, made on the basis of a formula of $25,000 per school and $500 per enrolled student, and special improvement grants, made on a project basis. With these grants, schools are developing new courses, improving teaching methods, expanding curriculum areas, and otherwise supporting and strengthening their teaching programs.

The bill would extend eligibility for both institutional—formula—and special project grants to schools of veterinary medicine and pharmacy. It would also provide for a new formula which would retain the $25,000 base grant for each school. Of the sums remaining from appropriations after the computation of the base grant, 75 percent would be distributed on the basis of relative enrollments. A school would receive twice as much for each student added to its enrollment in a given year, over its average enrollment for the preceding 5 years, as it would for other students. The increased funding for increased enrollment is designed to encourage the schools to enlarge their enrollments and to help them with the cost of educating the additional students.

The new formula would provide that 25 percent of the sums remaining from appropriations after the base grant would be distributed on the basis of the relative number of graduates. This would provide a further incentive for the schools to increase and to retain their enrollments, since at graduation a student would again be counted. This would also provide incentives for schools to experiment with shortening the length of the training period without diminishing the quality of training, and to try to develop practical means for accepting students at advanced standing; as, for example, admitting a first-year student with advanced standing in courses for which he had demonstrated competency.

Some of the health professions schools are in serious financial difficulties. Some are faced with loss of accreditation. Some are in danger of closing; one dental school has already announced its closing. These schools have been graduating significant numbers of trained professionals each year. They require assistance. Saving an existing school means a saving of a graduating class each year. The planning and construction of a new school takes time. It would take a new school as many as 8 to 10 years from planning stage to the graduation of its first class. Serious efforts must be made to keep these existing schools open to prevent deterioration in the quality of their training programs, and to assure that they can graduate well-qualified professionals year after year.

The bill contains several provisions which will be of especial importance in meeting the needs of these schools: It would remove the $400,000 limitation on the amount of any special improvement grant a school could receive in fiscal year 1969, and under the new legislation there would be no statutory ceiling on such grants. In determining priority for special project grants, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would be required to give consideration to the relative need of the applicant for financial assistance to provide for accreditation, to avoid curtailing enrollment, or to avoid reduction in the quality of training.

Several of the schools in serious financial straits need substantial renovation or replacement of their obsolete facilities just to retain their current enrollments, yet they are unable to raise the 50 percent matching money required by present law for construction which does not involve a new school or major expansion of an existing school. Their financial plight also makes it impossible for them to assume the operating burdens of increased enrollments. The bill would provide that the Federal share of the costs of such construction could, in unusual circumstances, be increased from the present maximum 50 percent up to a maximum of 66⅔ percent if the Secretary determines that the larger percentage is necessary.

NURSE TRAINING (TITLE II)

Similar provisions are included in the nurse training amendments for the renovation and replacement of obsolete teaching facilities for schools of nursing, many of which have been unable to meet the matching requirements to undertake construction which is essential if they are not to reduce enrollments or go out of business altogether.

Costs of educating nurses have increased markedly. All types of schools are finding it increasingly difficult to operate their programs and often impossible to expand enrollments or employ faculty. In many cases the deficits are passed along to patients through higher fees for hospital care.

The bill would authorize institutional—formula—grants to all three categories of nursing schools: diploma, associate degree, and collegiate. Under the proposed formula, which was modeled after the formula for health professions schools, each school would receive a base grant of $15,000 and the remainder of the amounts appropriated would be distributed among the schools, 75 percent on the basis of relative enrollments and 25 percent on the basis of the number of graduates. In computing relative enrollments, the schools would receive twice as much for students in excess of the average enrollment during the previous 5-year period as for other students. It is hoped that these incentives will encourage expansion of enrollments and reduction of attrition.

The present project grant authority for improvement of nurse training would be broadened with respect to the purposes for which grants may be made, and eligibility for grants would be extended to cover institutions in addition to nursing schools. The broadened authority would permit grants to be made to institutions and agencies which do not have programs of nurse education but which could plan and develop such programs or make major contributions to the improvement of programs of nurse education. It would also permit, in a period of transition in nursing education, grants to junior colleges and colleges which are planning and developing arrangements with diploma programs.

The bill would authorize special project grants for the planning, development, and establishment of new or modified programs of nurse training. The bill would continue, with an increased appropriation authorization level, the program of advanced traineeships for professional nurse training, to provide the teachers and supervisors so essential to any expansion of the nurse training effort. It would also significantly improve the loan and scholarship programs for students of nursing to provide the financial assistance necessary for ever-increasing numbers to undertake nurse training.

The bill would also liberalize the accreditation provisions of the Nurse Training Act. It would delete the authority of the Commissioner of Education directly to accredit programs of nurse training, and would define an accredited program as one which is accredited by a recognized body, a State agency, or a school of nursing of a hospital, college or university that is accredited by a recognized accreditation body. The Commissioner of Education would be required to publish a list of nationally recognized accrediting bodies and State agencies which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of training offered.

ALLIED HEALTH (TITLE III)

The Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act was enacted in November of 1966. There has been only a year of experience under that act. The bill would extend the law for 1 year—through fiscal year 1970. This will make it possible to gain additional experience before proposing a major extension, modification, or revision of the act.

In the interim, however, the bill would amend the authority for projects to develop, demonstrate, or evaluate curriculums for the training of new types of health technologists, to make it clear that, in addition to training centers for allied health, other agencies, institutions, and organizations are eligible to apply for such grants. Institutions which do not currently have training programs which would qualify them as centers could receive project support to develop, demonstrate, or evaluate curriculums or methods of training of known, as well as new, types of health technologists.

PUBLIC HEALTH (TITLE III)

The bill would extend for 2 years the authority for project grants to schools of public health and other organizations and institutions for graduate or specialized training in public health, and the authority for traineeships for graduate or specialized training in public health. These programs are making a significant contribution to the expansion and improvement of public and community health throughout the country, and in increasing the numbers of trained public health specialists so badly needed in today's society.

HEALTH RESEARCH FACILITIES (TITLE IV)

The bill would extend for 2 years the authority for construction of health research facilities. It would authorize not to exceed 25 percent of appropriations for any fiscal year for these purposes to be used for a Federal share of up to 66⅔ percent of the cost of any class or classes of projects which the Secretary determines have special national or regional significance.

A number of major research program areas have been identified as meriting special attention, such as cardiovascular research and training centers, cancer research and training centers, centers for research on aging, pharmacology-toxicology research and training centers, and the like.

This authority will make it possible to plan effectively for the coordinated development of programs of special national or regional significance.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 15757 was approved by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce without a dissenting vote. The provisions of the Health Manpower Act of 1968 would extend and significantly improve programs which are essential to increasing the numbers and maintaining the quality of crucially needed professionals skilled in the various areas of health service. I urge the House to approve this important legislation.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

This bill will continue five programs in the field of health which have proved to be highly successful and well accepted.

MEDICAL EDUCATION ASSISTANCE ACT

This act was designed to, and has in fact resulted in, creation of more schools to train doctors, dentists, osteopaths, optometrists, podiatrists, pharmacists, and, more recently, veterinarians. The fact that it takes approximately 10 years from the project stage to a trained and practicing physician makes it rather surprising that progress has been as rapid as we are able to report. New medical schools are under construction, and established medical schools have increased enrollments.

Institutional and special project grants have assisted present schools to upgrade the curriculums and to explore and experiment in new teaching methods and ways to improve and shorten instruction. Included in these provisions in the present bill as well as the original legislation is a requirement upon which I have insisted to insure that the expenditure of Federal funds does, in fact, result in increased production of professional people. Schools must assure the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that they will make certain specific increases in enrollment before they can qualify for grants.

Medical education as herein defined would also include loans for students and a limited number of scholarships the recipients of which will be determined by the individual schools. These later provisions on student aid are herein extended to include students of pharmacy and veterinary medicine.

There are two changes from present legislation which have little if any bearing on the funds involved but which may prove very valuable to the professions. One such makes it possible for an applicant to prepare one application for multipurpose facilities. In the past an application for construction of a medical school could not be combined with an application for construction of a medical research facility although they would be administered as one unit, would use the same personnel and might even occupy the same building. This change recognizes the realities of medical school administration.

Also added is a provision which allows construction funds to be used to create facilities for both advanced and continuing education in the medical field. This today is at least as important as the creation of new medical talent.

NURSE TRAINING ACT

The Nurse Training Act is extended for a 2-year period and contains all of the same elements as the previous section. One significant change allows construction grants to be as high as 66⅔ percent of the total cost instead of 50 percent as in the past. This is consistent with other similar provisions in the law such as hospital construction and should, I feel, be an acceptable change. Also student loans can now be allowed as high as $1,500 in any one year.

Perhaps it should be noted here that throughout the bill the committee has attempted to square student aid provisions with the National Defense Education Act both for reasons of fairness to all concerned and for simplification in administration at the university level.

Because of the special problems in the field of nursing and the urgent need to train larger numbers as quickly as possible, the committee felt compelled in those provisions having to do with improvement grants to set forth some priorities. In determining which schools will be given first consideration for such improvement grants, the Secretary will consider the following priorities:

First. The relative need for assistance to continue in operation or to avoid curtailing enrollment.

Second. A special need in the case of merging with another school of nursing.

Third. The relative need of the applicant for assistance to obtain or keep accreditation.

Fourth. The extent to which the project will increase enrollments.

In the field of nurse training there has been considerable discussion about the problem of accreditation of nursing schools. Each time we have considered the matter on the floor we have found more than one school of thought. Certainly this House wants nursing students to obtain the best possible education and have the best possible qualifications when practicing this important profession. On the other hand the need to increase the number of schools and the number of graduates is urgent. Accreditation by national bodies alone has proved to be cumbersome. Junior colleges which obtain their accreditation for all other purposes from either a State or regional body often find it too burdensome to ask for completely separate accreditation for one program alone. The result is one less nursing program.

This bill will allow regional accrediting bodies and even State accrediting bodies to approve nursing programs in hospitals and junior colleges. We do not believe that these bodies are inclined to accredit inferior programs, but they should, by the very fact that they are closer to the source, make it cheaper, easier and more practical for a school to get underway.

ALLIED HEALTH PROFESSIONS TRAINING AND PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING

Of all the programs included in the present bill the allied health professions are the newest. They provide for construction, improvement grants, assistance to design new methods and traineeships. At the present time they do not include scholarships specifically designated for these categories. The problem of allied health personnel is directly connected and related to shortages in the basic medical professions and nursing. Only by more and better qualified professionals in new categories can the doctor hope to provide care for the ever increasing number of patients. Highly qualified medical technologists, physical therapists and similar professionals will round out the ranks of health manpower as time goes on. The 1-year extension of this bill is well justified although the act has not been in force long to show either dramatic results or problems. We hope for the one and expect the other.

Schools of public health have received assistance from the Federal Government for many years. Public health practice is something extra for the ordinary health professional. It is something he should understand and use in conjunction with his regular practice. Because of this extra professional character of public health efforts we have also provided in the past traineeships by which an already trained medical professional can accept this extra education without undue loss.

HEALTH RESEARCH FACILITIES

The last program involved in this bill provides funds for the building of health research facilities. For several years this ran at the fairly steady rate of $50 million a year. The last time around the legislation provided for $280 million for a 3-year period. We had been convinced by testimony that there would be a fairly dramatic rise in the building of health research facilities. As a matter of fact, there seems to have been a dramatic drop instead. Only a small part of that total authorization was ever requested. There will, of course, be activity in this field if for no other reason in conjunction with the building of new medical schools. At the present time the much lower authorizations of $20 million and $30 million provided in this bill would seem to be adequate.

This entire package which totals $1,176,000,000 presents a rather formidable fiscal picture. It does not appear the same when broken down into its component parts, and we can see that this is, by and large, a continuance of accepted and successful programs at levels which are consistent with performance we have observed and at the same time cognizant of the fiscal problems of the Nation.

I recommend H.R. 15757 to my colleagues in the House as it comes to you from our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I have been reading page 15 of the report, on the cost of this legislation, to which the gentleman just referred. I find this language:

> As reported by the committee, the bill provides a 2-year extension of these programs, with appropriation authorizations totaling $1,141.8 million as shown by the following table:

Adding the figures in the table, $536,000,000 for fiscal 1970 and $649.8 million for fiscal year 1971, gives a total, if I am correct, of $1,185,800,000 instead of $1,176,800,000. The figures do not conform.

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the chairman of the committee to respond.

Mr. STAGGERS. I should like to say to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa that these are typographical errors. The figures should be $531 million for 1970, $645.8 million for 1971, for a total of $1,176.8 million.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SPRINGER. I thank the distinguished gentleman for calling it to the attention of the committee.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I am proud to be a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It certainly embraces a wide spectrum of activity. I am not a member of the Subcommittee on Health, but that distinguished subcommittee brought to the full committee a fine, worthwhile, and needed piece of legislation, which is now before us. As has been stated, it did pass the subcommittee and the full committee unanimously. It has my full support. I hope it will have the full support of the Members of the House.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may consume to the distinguished gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. Dwyer].

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill.

Mr. Chairman, the bill before use represents a downpayment on the cost of the Nation's long-standing neglect of its health manpower needs—neglect which has confronted the country with drastic shortages of personnel in the several health professions, including doctors, nurses, dentists, technicians, researchers, and others.

It is not my purpose to assign blame to any individual or organization; there is plenty to go around, embracing both Government and professional associations in the health field among others. Our purpose must be to remedy this neglect, to enlarge the national effort to redress the imbalance between the supply of health professionals and the growing demand for their services. The pending, bill, while it will not by any means solve the problem, will nevertheless greatly strengthen the beginning we have made in recent years to increase the supply of professional health personnel, and so I strongly support the legislation.

The reason for our predicament, Mr. Chairman, is all too evident. In the face of a rapidly expanding population, the growing affluence of the population at large, significant improvements in the treatment of illness, and Government programs designed to bring more adequate medical care to those previously unable to afford it, the demand for health services has greatly exceeded the capacity of our health education establishment to train the needed personnel. As a result, the ratio of those needing health care and those able to furnish it has substantially declined.

It should be apparent to all that medical discoveries, increasing personal incomes, medical care programs, hospital construction, and similar developments can have little or no positive effect on the Nation's health unless the trained personnel are available to translate potential into reality. As the committee report notes, crowded waiting rooms, lengthy delays in hospital emergency departments, overworked staffs, and hospital admissions often limited to emergency cases testify to the severity of the health personnel shortage.

This bill, therefore, points up once again a continuing problem which Congress and the administration have not yet adequately confronted—the problem of setting priorities and of achieving a balance in providing assistance to related activities. I refer to reports from my Committee on Government Operations which have shown that by putting more funds into medical research over the years than that area of medicine can effectively utilize, we have substantially reduced the quality of that research and consequently have produced a lower return, in terms of beneficial results, than our investment warranted.

The opposite is true, I suggest, in the case of health personnel. In addition to attracting a disproportionate number of doctors and technicians to the field of research through an extraordinarily generous grant policy, we have failed to invest adequately in the training of such personnel to provide the necessary manpower not only for research but for the care and treatment of the sick. This bill, I believe, will help to redress this imbalance.

The situation, as I have noted on many occasions in the past, is especially serious in the case of nurses, and I am personally gratified that the bill takes a number of significant forward steps in the direction of increasing support for nurse training, particularly in the hospital-related diploma school of nursing. In these respects, I am glad to note, the bill follows recommendations included in legislation, H.R. 13096, which I joined in sponsoring with our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rooney] and several other Members.

In the area of nurse training, the bill will accomplish several important objectives: extend for 2 years the program of construction grants for schools of nursing, with added flexibility to permit a higher Federal share in certain cases of exceptional need; provide broader authority for making institutional grants for the support of schools of nursing, especially diploma schools, to help ease the cost squeeze which has led some hospitals to abandon their nursing schools or subsidize them through higher charges to patients; permit grants to be made for special projects involving institutions and agencies not now providing nurse education but which could be encouraged to do so, again with emphasis on relating such training to hospital diploma schools; strengthen the scholarship and loan programs for student nurses; extend the program of traineeships of professional nurses in order to improve teaching and administrative resources; and liberalize the accreditation process by which schools of nursing are determined to be eligible for Federal assistance, thereby increasing the number of institutions capable of providing professional nurse training.

Given the major importance of hospital diploma schools of nursing, which provide approximately 75 percent of our trained nurses, and considering the unusual handicaps facing many such schools, I am especially encouraged that the legislation provides much-needed emphasis on helping these schools.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I am quite interested in the accreditation of some of these nursing schools. It has been my information it has been easier for college or university nursing schools to become accredited to receive Federal funds than, for example, a State charity hospital or a private hospital which has a nursing school. It is my information that it has actually been very hard in the past for private and State hospital nursing schools to become accredited for these funds. We need more nurses and these small nursing schools are doing a real commendable teaching job in my State. Let us help them out just like we help the college and university nursing schools.

Mr. SPRINGER. I believe we changed that in the past few years. I will yield to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. Rogers] who has been interested in that subject, to explain it further.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I appreciate the question asked, because this is an important facet of the bill.

We are trying to put emphasis on schools of nursing in the three categories, but also particularly on the diploma schools, the hospital schools of nursing to which I believe the gentleman refers. We are saying here that we want Federal funds in this bill to be available to the institutions which have established these diploma schools so that they can be upgraded and turn out more nurses.

This is the point of the legislation.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This is my point, also. In my State only a few of the larger schools of nursing have been accredited for these funds. I know if we could get funds to the private, State, and county hospitals with nursing schools then we could further upgrade nurse teaching.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. The gentleman is exactly right. This legislation is aimed at correcting that situation, because we are determined to allow State agencies to approve schools of nursing as well as a regional accrediting body. The situation has been that the Commissioner of Education has designated the National League of Nursing to do the accrediting. Anyone who did not get this accrediting from the National League of Nursing was barred from getting any funds at all, and those were the institutions that needed the money most to update and improve their institutions. So this legislation will correct that situation and help boost the diploma schools of nursing.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I thank the gentleman very much for that response.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may consume to the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. May].

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I wish to add my remarks to those of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Montgomery] on this subject. The member of the committee from Florida [Mr. Rogers] recalls that I have corresponded with him and have had a number of conversations with him on this point. We have had very serious situations existing in my district where hospital nursing schools have not been able to get proper funding or accreditation because of over-rigid criteria. The primary emphasis should be given in this area, and I applaud the committee's action in putting the emphasis where the need is great. I am highly in accord with what the committee did to alleviate the situation under this bill.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the ranking minority member of the subcommittee [Mr. NELSEN].

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, I am in support of this bill.

I must say the remarks that were made by the gentleman from Florida pretty well point out the interest of the subcommittee as well as the full committee. I must also compliment the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] who appeared before our committee pleading the case for more nurses and more doctors to implement the product of our great research programs. I think those of us who live in rural areas are aware of the shortage of doctors. Many hospitals, I am told, have a wing that is not in operation because of lack of nurses. The emphasis throughout our hearings was to stimulate the production in the area of nurses and doctors. We found in so many cases that our medical schools moved in the direction of a use of research grants rather than going into producing more doctors. We have an extensive amount of money which is spent over and above what was spent a year ago or 2 or even 10 years ago, but we still have not produced more doctors and nurses. The emphasis in our hearings was to move in the direction which was discussed here today. The total product here is one that we can all support, because I believe the efforts of our subcommittee and full committee have been in the direction that the Nation needs and which the Congress will approve of. There may be some details that need correction and which can be approved of later, of course. No bill is perfect, but we did a thorough job in this, and I am in complete support of the bill.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CARTER].

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman, the foundation of health care for our people is contained in the bill we are discussing today. The Health Manpower Act of 1968 will continue and strengthen programs designed to prepare the physicians, dentists, nurses, and other vitally needed health professions personnel who are essential to the translation of our expectancy of good health care into reality. I endorse the provisions of H.R. 15757, as reported from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and urge its enactment.

We are all acutely aware of the shortage of physicians in this country. The American Medical Association has said the shortage is reaching "alarming proportions." I am told that right now we need more than 52,000 additional doctors despite the fact that we are training more doctors than ever before in the history of this country. Last year 9,000 qualified applicants were not admitted to the medical schools of this Nation simply because there was not space for them. The single most important factor in the accommodation of addition students is the construction of teaching facilities. We must significantly step up the creation of new places—by building new schools, and by constructing new spaces in existing schools.

With the assistance of the health professions educational assistance construction program, 10 new medical schools have been funded since 1964, seven have actually admitted students, and three more are scheduled to open in 1968. In addition, many existing schools have received construction grants which are assisting them in building space to accommodate new students and renovating obsolete facilities to maintain enrollments.

But this is only a fraction of what is needed. Continuation of the construction program is essential. There is a backlog of approved, but unfunded projects for construction of medical schools of more than $65 million. We must take advantage of the readiness of these medical schools to undertake major construction to hasten the day when these schools graduate physicians.

Enactment of title I of the Health Manpower Act of 1968 will continue this program which is essential if we are to train the physicians this Nation needs.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK].

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in wholehearted support of this legislation H.R. 15757. I congratulate the committee upon bringing it to the floor of the House for consideration and passage.

H.R. 15757 extends and improves a number of programs dealing with the training of nurses and other health personnel and with the construction of health research facilities.

In the last decade, the Federal Government has taken significant steps to increase the availability of the health care offered its citizens. Perhaps the most significant step was taken in 1965 when the House Ways and Means Committee, of which I am a member, reported out a medicare bill which was enacted into law.

Yet the extension of decent health care to more and more Americans coupled with a great increase in population has stretched the capabilities of our health resources to the breaking point. The heavy demand upon our Nation's hardworking nurses and health professions workers has caused the cost of health care to skyrocket. Increasing cost makes the goal of easy accessibility of health care more difficult. The whole thing becomes a vicious circle.

According to every projection, the situation will become even more dangerous in the near future. For example, it is estimated that the demand for physicians in 1973 will be 42,000 higher than the supply. Between 1968 and 1973 the supply of dentists will increase by 6,000 but the additional demand will increase by 12,000. It is estimated that the supply of nurses will increase by 95,000 between 1968 and 1973, but the shortage of nurses, which is estimated to amount to 141,000 today, will increase to 186,000 by 1973.

This heavy strain and demand upon our health resources is felt everywhere. In my community of Cleveland, there are hospitals, both in the central city and in the suburbs, where the occupancy rate is in excess of 100 percent. This means that patients are being treated on beds in hallways and corridors.

The legislation before us strengthens and extends for 2 years five health acts which have had a great impact in meeting the Nation's health needs. These acts are the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963, the Nurse Training Act of 1964, the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966, the Health Research Facilities Act of 1956, and the Public Health Service Act. Together, these programs contributed approximately $6.4 million in health assistance to Cuyahoga County hospitals and schools in fiscal year 1967 alone.

To fail to extend these acts or to cripple them through cutbacks would bring certain disaster. I urge that the House pass this bill so vital for the health of the country.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN].

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for yielding to me at this time.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, the bill before us authorizes a significant change in the accreditation procedures for schools of nursing. I question the value of that change.

Many of us are disturbed by the turbulence which seems to pervade the younger generation today—the hippies, the campus revolutionaries, the youngsters who use drugs, the draft card burners—and the list goes on.

In every generation we have our young revolutionaries, but in this mid-20th century we are all beginning to feel that there is a greater feeling of unrest with our children.

What was a new psychological theory many years ago has, I believe come into common acceptance today. When young people begin "misbehaving" or "acting up" they are often trying to tell us something that is not too obvious by what they actually say or do.

I, for one, feel that their revolt is, at least partially, a revolt against second-class standards. They do not want foisted on them second-class commodities; they do not want to fight in second-class wars; they do not want the left-over and second-class attention and respect from their parents; and they do not want a second-class education.

If we expect our young people to be productive and useful citizens, we must take the first step by providing them with the kinds of opportunities which give them a chance to achieve excellence.

We cannot, with the wave of a magic wand, make all education perfect. But we can, as each opportunity arises, strike down substitutes for excellence—even though substitutes are often the easy way out.

We have in this bill a measure which would offer the opportunity of encouraging the growth of a second-class education in nursing.

Rather than holding firm and saying to our young people, "We will only condone excellence for your future," we are saying, "A second-rate education is good enough for you."

The accreditation provisions of the previous law guaranteed to America's young people not only excellence in education but also our word that we believe that they, and the future of our country, are deserving of the best.

If this accreditation provision is changed, we will be doing what John Gardner once said, ". . . walking backwards into the future."

This new amendment strips away the promise of excellence. It rewards mediocrity. And it says nothing to our young people today who ask for any sign—however small—that they deserve and will serve us well with the finest educational opportunities.

For those who say, "This is only a small thing," I would say that it is all of the small things, together, which become the large compromise which is so destructive to our future. I doubt whether these amendments will have the effect of inducing young people to enter nursing, particularly in the nonaccredited schools.

I include in my remarks an excerpt from the publication entitled National Commission on Accrediting, The Past and the Future, pages 8 and 9, "Consensus on Accreditation":

> The conflict over professional versus regional accreditation revealed that within American higher education, the general significance of accreditation was not well understood. Created out of concern for institutional autonomy and the danger of restrictive standardization, the Commission later realized that colleges and universities are free neither to dispense with standards nor to determine unilaterally their own standards. As a result of this realization, the Commission has endeavored in recent years to achieve a wider understanding of the role that institutions, the professions, the states, and the federal government play in relation to the governance of American higher education. Largely through the speeches, articles, and reports of its executive director, the Commission has gained a wider consensus on the utility of accreditation in American society and the unique place of voluntary accreditation by both the regional and professional agencies in academic government.
>
> Under this philosophy, the Commission has attempted to keep the interests of the institutions, the regional associations, and the professions in balance. In this effort, it has worked with each of the professions to assure that both educators and practitioners within the profession share responsibility in accreditation. Most significantly, it has tried to reach its decisions in terms not alone of the desires of educational institutions or the professions, but of the needs of the public at large. Hence in recognizing any accrediting agency, it has adopted as its first requirement the principle of "social need"—the legitimate need of students, parents, employers, faculty members, government agencies, and other groups for information and guidance about institutional quality.
>
> Occasionally, as a result of this philosophy, the Commission has been subject to the criticism that it weighs more heavily the interests of accrediting agencies than those of its institutional members. It is true, as the history of the regulatory agencies of the federal government shows, that any regulatory body, including the Commission, may in time tend to represent the interests of those it was created to regulate. But the Commission continues to deem of first importance the welfare of the public and of higher education; and support for this policy seems evident from the growth of its membership to more than thirteen hundred colleges and universities—the largest number of institutional members of any higher education association in the United States.

The Commission "deems of first importance the welfare of the public"—so do the nurses.

Mr. Chairman, the Washington Star on July 18, 1968, carried an article by Judith Randal entitled "More or Better Nursing Education?" As its title indicates, it points out the big problem facing us in deciding the course of action which will best encourage the young people of our Nation to enter a nursing career. I wish to conclude my remarks by placing this timely article in the Congressional Record:

> ### More or Better Nursing Education?
>
> (By Judith Randal)
>
> With the nation an estimated 300,000 registered nurses short of its needs, Congress is having difficulty deciding what to do about federal assistance to nursing education.
>
> The Senate has passed a bill that would permit grants to schools meeting the accreditation standards of the National League of Nursing, a group devoted to raising the standards of nursing service and training.
>
> A House bill would ignore the league and authorize aid to schools meeting state standards.
>
> There are 1,252 schools of nursing offering 1,269 training programs—some at junior colleges, some at colleges and universities and some merely at hospitals. Although these schools meet the standards of the state in which they are located, only 770 meet league standards.
>
> Though the House approach probably would put more nurses at the bedside more quickly and has the backing of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, it might or might not be the best plan in the end.
>
> It is not just that some state agencies might sacrifice educational quality for quantity—a move of dubious wisdom when one considers that nurses are increasingly called on to do tasks once performed by physicians and that complicated equipment and techniques are now the norm in most hospitals. The reasons are far more complex.
>
> There is, for example, increasing talk of a new class of medical care givers to be called "physicians' assistants." Indeed, some are already being trained. Not surprisingly, nurses are ambivalent toward this development, seeing in it the threat that this new subprofession could be used to keep them in their places—particularly if the standards of their own training were to be lowered.
>
> The accreditation dilemma can also be traced in part to nursing itself, an occupation that is militantly struggling to become a true profession. In the process, like many labor unions, it has sought to set up barriers to entry.
>
> Thus, diploma school graduates (nurses trained at a hospital whose teaching program is unconnected with a college or university) who wish to climb the career ladder which requires a degree, often find they must enroll at a college or university and start all over again.
>
> The question is, therefore, whether ambitious students seeking lasting job satisfaction and higher salaries will be content to settle for some of the schools that a state agency might approve.
>
> A generation or so ago, when nursing was one of the few careers to which a respectable young girl might aspire, it might not have mattered.
>
> Now nursing must compete with a host of other jobs which are not only better paid, but more attractive as well. College has become a part of the American way of life and diploma nursing schools often just don't fill the bill.
>
> At the same time, such schools are having difficulties of their own. Where once student nurses did much of the menial work in the wards and sandwiched classes in between, today's educational standards require that they spend most of their day at lectures and in laboratories. These must be paid for, and the cost is one reason daily hospital charges keep rising. Facing mounting expenses any way, many hospital schools are so financially overwhelmed they are simply shutting down.
>
> A lowering of standards, it is true, might be expected to relieve some of these pressures and enable hospital-based schools to have their students devote less time to the classroom and more to patient care.
>
> But would this really make sense?
>
> Teachers of nurses as well as bedside nurses are in short supply and nursing educators argue with some justification that diploma schools often represent a waste of scarce resources. In their view, a junior college that trains nurses for the entire community or a university-based program is closer to the ideal.
>
> At recent Senate hearings, for instance, Dr. Evelyn Cohelan of the American Nurses' Association said that university or college programs enable four or five classes of students at once to profit from the faculty and facilities, whereas other nursing schools have only two or three classes of students in attendance at a time. This is especially relevant, she said, because tuition covers only a fraction of the educational cost at many schools of nursing.
>
> This is one side of the argument. The other is the inescapable fact that the nation is clamoring for nurses and that setting standards too high and emphasizing programs that require four or five years in school instead of two or three limits the immediately available supply of nurses as well as the kind of people who will be able to enroll. Just as the police force was the route by which many Irish immigrants entered the middle class, so hospitals are becoming that upward ladder for Puerto Ricans and Negroes from inner city slums.
>
> In finally shaping nursing education, Congress will need to weigh carefully the disparate needs of quality versus quantity and educational opportunity. If the decisions are to be made in the broadest public interest, it will not be an easy task.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Rogers].

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Just in reply to the gentleman from California [Mr. Cohelan]—and I appreciate the views that he put forth—I would like to have the gentleman know that his very distinguished wife, Dr. Evelyn Cohelan, who is doing an outstanding job for nursing at the University of Maryland as chairman of its graduate program in nursing, and who has been a driving force toward upgrading nursing care in this Nation, testified before our committee and was most helpful in the testimony she presented.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from California and I do differ, though, in trying to bring about quality as well as quantity, and I believe we must consider both, and of course we want both, and I am sure the gentleman desires that also as the end result.

But, of course, what we have done under the present program the way it has been run, by allowing only moneys to go to those schools that are accredited by the National League of Nurses, we have, in effect, denied those schools which need the money the most to upgrade their faculties, to upgrade their curriculums, and to offer inducements to students to attend these schools and can qualify for student loans and scholarships. We have denied those institutions which really need the funds necessary to bring excellence to their institutions.

So we feel that we are now correcting the situation, and I believe that this legislation will.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 15757, the Health Manpower Act of 1968.

This legislation provides for a 2-year extension of four major health programs: the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963; the Nurse Training Act of 1964; the Health Research Facilities Act of 1966, and the Public Health Service Act authority for public health traineeships in project grants for graduate or specialized training in public health. A fifth program, the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966 is extended for 1 year.

This bill will enable us to continue our commitment to try to meet the health manpower needs of this nation of over 200 million. Needs which are urgent. Needs which are qualitative as well as quantitative.

Your Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare heard extensive testimony from many knowledgeable people concerned with the needs of health manpower.

These witnesses told the subcommittee that in 1968 alone some 52,000 more physicians are needed.

That by 1973, less than 5 years from now, an additional 18,000 dentists will be needed.

That by 1973, there will be a shortage of some 186,000 nurses.

How can these manpower needs be met?

A major step to meeting these needs can be achieved by enactment of the bill before us today.

Under title I of the bill, institutional grants will continue to be made available for construction or rehabilitation of teaching facilities at schools of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, public health, optometry, pharmacy, veterinary medicine and podiatry. These grants are available for program improvement to all these schools on a formula based on consideration of student enrollment and graduates.

For those schools that face an immediate crisis and the possibility of having to close their doors, special project grants can be made available to meet accreditation problems and overcome educational and economic weaknesses. Funds for such special project grants were first made available in fiscal year 1968 and some $17.8 million of these special grants were made with a statutory maximum of $300,000 to each school.

The situation facing our medical schools is serious. Information is that medical schools at Boston University, Tufts, Marquette, Creighton University, Omaha, the Chicago School of Medicine, Georgetown, George Washington, the Hahnemann College of Medicine, Philadelphia, Jefferson School of Medicine, Philadelphia, Meharry School of Medicine, Nashville, St. Louis School of Medicine, Loyola University, Stritch School of Medicine, Hines, Ill., Tulane University, and Woman's Medical College, Philadelphia, have fallen upon hard times and are considering closing their doors.

Should this happen, it would mean a loss of about 1,000 new physicians a year when the shortage is already about 52 thousand.

This legislation would make special project loans available to elevate these troubled schools. I might add that management research surveys show that it is less costly to revitalize an ailing school than to close it down and build another, or to vastly expand existing facilities at another school.

Title II of the bill will take us far along the road to bridging the gap between the number of nurses currently being graduated and the present and future needs in this vital manpower area.

Under this title, institutional grants are made available for construction or rehabilitation of teaching facilities at baccalaureate, associate degree, and diploma schools of nursing. These grants are available for program improvement on a formula based on consideration of student enrollment and graduates.

Likewise, project grants, as under part I for the other professions, are available to those schools in need of immediate help to strengthen curriculums.

Your committee has also extended the coverage of these special project grants to include institution—diploma schools—as well as the baccalaureate and associate degree schools.

A particular provision was put in the bill to insure that proper priorities would be set. These priorities, to be considered by the Secretary are:

First. The relative need of the applicant—if a school of nursing—for financial assistance to continue in operation or avoid curtailing enrollment or reduction in the quality of training provided;

Second. The special need of the applicant for financial assistance in connection with its merger with a school of nursing;

Third. The relative need of the applicant for financial assistance to maintain or provide for accreditation as a school of nursing; and

Fourth. The extent to which the project will increase enrollment of full-time students receiving nursing training.

Scholarships and loans will continue to be made available to assist the individual students.

Accreditation has also been broadened to permit State agencies approved by the Commissioner of Education to be designated as accrediting agents under this act.

Under present law only the National League of Nursing, a private organization, has been designated as the accrediting agency although the Commissioner of Education has the authority to accredit specific nurse training programs rather than institutions.

Many institutions, primarily junior colleges, have been reluctant to apply for accreditation of specific programs since the normal method by which they attain accreditation is accreditation as an institution.

As a result, full participation under the provisions of this legislation is now denied to over 300 programs of nurse training.

We cannot let this situation continue. There is an estimated shortage of 141,000 nurses in the United States today; by 1973, at the current rate of graduation, the shortage will be 186,000.

We must permit other institutions to participate in this legislation.

Title III of the bill extends the allied health professions personnel training program for 1 year.

This is a continuation of the program begun in 1967 and is very important because it authorizes project support grants for the training of new types of health technologists as well as the established and known categories.

This means more medical technologists, more dental hygienists, more occupational and physical therapists and more dietitians, just to name a few of the allied health professions that would benefit from this legislation.

Project grants for graduate training of schools of public health for professional public health personnel are also continued under this title. Also included are traineeship provisions for graduate or specialized public health personnel.

Title IV of the bill extends title VII part A of the Public Health Service Act to provide a 2-year extension of Federal assistance to the States in the construction or remodeling of research and research training in the sciences related to health.

I support this title of the bill, but wish to add that during committee hearings I expressed concern that too much money under governmental programs were going for pure research and not enough for manpower output to meet the needs of the Nation. Research is funded by NIH. This legislation is to meet the Nation's needs for health manpower.

Accordingly, I am of the opinion that the committee was exercising proper action when it reduced the authorization for appropriations for this research facilities program; $8.4 million has been appropriated for fiscal year 1969, and $20 million is authorized in this bill for fiscal year 1970 and $30 million for fiscal year 1971.

I think this bill, in summary, is a logical step in the direction of better, more effective production of health manpower, and I support its passage.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 7 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL].

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, during the past several years, hospital officials, medical educators, the press, representatives of organized medicine, and the public's representatives in Government have spoken of an impending crisis in our Nation's system of health care. However, it has become evident that far from threatening in the remote future, crisis conditions presently exist. As reported by the President's National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower several months ago:

> The indicators of such a crisis are evident to us as Commission members and private citizens: long delays to see a physician for routine care; lengthy periods spend in the well-named "waiting room" and then hurried and sometimes impersonal attention in a limited appointment time; difficulty in obtaining care on nights and weekends, except through hospital emergency rooms; unavailability of beds in one hospital while some beds are empty in another; reduction of hospital services because of a lack of nurses; needless duplication of certain sophisticated services in the same community; uneven distribution of care, as indicated by the health statistics of rural poor, urban ghetto dwellers, migrant workers, and other minority groups, which occasionally resemble the health statistics of a developing country; obsolete hospitals in our major cities; costs rising sharply from levels that already prohibit care for some and create major financial burdens for many more.

However, despite knowledgeable estimates that our Nation is presently short 50,000 doctors, and that by 1970 we will be short 250,000 nurses, the Advisory Commission fails to conclude that these conditions of crisis are primarily the result of a national shortage of health manpower. Rather, it places major emphasis on defects in America's medical-care delivery system.

In my opinion, the Commission has misjudged the nature and causes of what is wrong with the American health-care system. While I recognize that this crisis is not simply one of numbers, I am convinced that it will be impossible to improve our medical care system without a massive national effort to provide large increases in available physicians, nurses, and allied health personnel. In short, I believe that our current medical crisis has been caused by the failure of our medical schools to produce doctors, the failure of our nursing schools to produce nurses, and the failure of our dental schools to produce dentists.

After careful consideration of our Nation's system of medical education, I am convinced that these failures are largely due to the Federal Government's expanding role in providing massive research grants to such educational institutions. In 1967, for example, the Federal Government expended over $1.5 billion for medical research and development alone. Just last month, despite crippling cuts in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the House of Representatives voted to appropriate over $1.3 billion for medical research, and in the same appropriations bill it approved only $274 million for medical and allied health education and manpower development.

I am now of the opinion that the effect of this massive research support has been to detract from the number of health manpower graduates each year. In short, our Nation's medical educational system has not produced treating physicians for 90 percent of the public's illnesses, but, rather, a professional corps of researchers and specialists. Moreover, there is complete agreement by representatives of the medical schools and by organized medicine that research has diverted physicians away from the patient and hospital and into laboratories.

To those who would question this result, I would strongly recommend the excellent reports by the Committee on Government Operations which were the result of hearings by the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, chaired by Representative FOUNTAIN. These hearings were conducted in 1961, 1962 and again in 1967 and dealt primarily with the administration of grants by the National Institutes of Health. The results of these hearings and investigations indicate the detrimental effect of massive research grants to educational institutions. Some of these effects indicated by the committee include the following:

First. Continued lowering of research standards and an academic grantsmanship that has often provided poor research projects and results.

Second. Serious questions of accountability of funds.

Third. Wasteful duplication of research projects and equipment.

Fourth. An excessive diversion of scarce professional personnel from teaching and medical practice to federally supported research.

Fifth. Congress has been overzealous in appropriating money for research and has placed increasing pressure on NIH to spend increasingly large appropriations without taking adequate management precautions.

Perhaps these effects of excessive research expenditures are best presented by the subcommittee's reference to an article by Dr. W. C. Davison, the distinguished dean emeritus of the Duke University School of Medicine:

> It is true that the National Institutes of Health, the American Heart Association, the American Cancer Society, and other grantors do not insist that the faculty apply for these large grants, but so long as they are available, there is a great temptation to get as much as possible. Few faculty members have the character to withstand this temptation, and to attend to their chief job of medical education . . . The members of the staff want more and larger projects, often regardless of whether they are particularly interested in the field in which the grants are available. Some departments are judged by the amount of money they can obtain, even though the members of the department are already as busy as they can be with teaching and a reasonably active research program. Some appointments and promotions are based on the individual's ability to attract money. In other words, some research is being done primarily to obtain an appropriation and not to further medical education or to stimulate the staff and students. In fact, some outside sponsored projects have been so huge and so hastily and badly planned that the principal investigators, through boredom or fatigue, have refused to write up the results. They have literally been "choked by dollars."
>
> With grants for research projects, research facilities, research training, research equipment, research personnel, and for anything in any way, shape, or form, so long as it is for research, the central educational function of medical schools has been seriously distorted. To quote Parkinson's law for "Grantsmanship": "After your grant has been obtained—perhaps from government, perhaps from public charity, or more probably from private benefaction, your next problem is how to overspend the money as quickly as possible so as to be justified in asking for more the next time." . . .
>
> The curriculum has been so distorted that almost every student is compelled to engage in the research program. Those who have no research skill are given special courses in gadgetry.
>
> * * * * *
>
> . . . it is high time that the dangers of the current research programs in medical schools, as well as their benefits, were recognized. Although medical education cannot be sound without medical research, the latter by having, at present, more available funds than the former is dominating the partnership. A warning is needed for some heads of departments who frankly have allowed their research programs to interfere with their instruction of students and care of patients. It is such a temptation to have a large grant and several technicians and to build a small empire that only the strongminded resist and keep the whole program in balance. Another fear is that the available manpower may be diverted from the medical care of patients, in community as well as in university hospitals, and from the teaching of students and thus, in the long run, cause even a greater shortage of medical teachers.

Certainly I would agree that medical research has brought about dramatic improvements in medical technology. However, I believe that it is time we in Congress recognize that there is now a major gap between the presently available advanced technology and the manpower now available to apply that technology. I believe it is also time to recognize that our current orientation toward research is destroying the capability of our Nation's medical schools to produce treating doctors.

The following table indicates that Federal research expenditures of over $94.5 million to 10 of the Nation's top medical schools was accompanied by an annual increase of only 19 graduates:

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH RESEARCH GRANTS TO 10 MEDICAL SCHOOLS RANKED IN DESCENDING SCALE ACCORDING TO AMOUNT OF MONEY AWARDED, FISCAL YEAR 1967 FUNDS—COMPARISON WITH ANNUAL INCREASES IN GRADUATES 1965–66

Rank	Medical school	Amount	Number of graduates, 1965	Number of graduates, 1966	Net increase or decrease
1	Yeshiva University, Albert Einstein College of Medicine	$10,765	89	87	−2
2	Columbia University, College of Physicians and Surgeons	10,260	114	109	−5
3	Harvard Medical School	10,198	133	141	+8
4	University of California School of Medicine, Los Angeles	10,087	71	70	−1
5	University of California School of Medicine, San Francisco	9,500	100	99	−1
6	University of Washington School of Medicine	9,077	65	81	+16
7	Washington University School of Medicine	8,857	83	85	+2
8	University of Chicago School of Medicine	8,684	67	59	−8
9	University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine	8,653	124	132	+8
10	Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine	8,519	82	84	+2
	Total	94,550	928	947	+19

However, many may not be shocked by the inescapable conclusion that research has not produced medical doctors, since, by their definition, research funds are designed to produce new technology, not treating physicians. Let us examine this proposition by examining the effects of massive research grants to one of the medical schools included in the above table: The University of Pennsylvania Medical School.

Incredibly, despite receiving Federal research grants totaling about $60 million during the past 10 years, Federal research facility construction grants in excess of $8 million, and health education construction grants totaling over $2 million, this school graduated less medical doctors in 1967 than in 1957. In 1957, there were 126 medical doctor graduates, while in 1967, there were only 122 M.D.'s. The faculty and staff, however, since that time has increased to the point where there are now 1,496 faculty and staff members, distributed by rank according to the following table:

Distribution of academic staff at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine—1967

Emeritus professors	38
Professors:	
Fully affiliated	101
Partially affiliated	104
Associate professors:	
Fully affiliated	35
Partially affiliated	38
Assistant professors:	
Fully affiliated	113
Partially affiliated	97
Associates:	
Fully affiliated	71
Partially affiliated	225
Instructors:	
Fully affiliated	34
Partially affiliated	243
Lecturers, partially affiliated	17
Assistant instructors partially affiliated	249
Research assistants, partially affiliated	3
Research fellows, partially affiliated	11
Total	1,496

It should be noted that there were only 501 M.D. students attending the medical school at this time. In other words, there are approximately three academic staff members for every first professional degree student. Why, with such a large staff, were there only 122 graduates? The answer appears clear—the majority of staff were not occupied by teaching, but rather were pursuing research. Certainly this conclusion is persuasively evidenced by an examination of the distribution of over $8.6 million in Public Health Service research grants to this medical school and its staff.

Professional staff involved in 170 notices of research projects of Public Health Service grants to the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine in fiscal year 1967

Professors	84
Associate professors	71
Assistant professors	83
Associates	75
Instructors	27
Lecturers	3
Assistant instructors	8
Research assistants	9
Research fellows	40

If further documentation of medical education's current preoccupation with research is required, consider the Federal research activities of the present dean of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. As a distinguished authority on cancer research, the dean has received over $5.9 million during the past 15 years in the capacity of principal chief investigator. Most of his work was conducted at Columbia as a professor of medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and he last month assumed the position of dean at Pennsylvania. At present, he is listed by the Public Health Service as the recipient of a $680,000 grant for a cancer research project with a current responsibility for supervising 94 staff members. It is to be seriously doubted whether, with such a responsibility, the dean of a major medical school can adequately discharge his duties either to the students of the school or to his pursuit of research. Certainly, the motivations of a university in seeking out distinguished scientists to act as a dean are not to be found in a desire to produce more treating physicians.

It is also interesting to note that the former outstanding U.S. Surgeon General, Dr. Luther Terry, is presently the vice president of medical education at the University of Pennsylvania. In this position, Dr. Terry has responsibilities for all health-related activities at the university, including those of the schools of medicine and nursing and the financing thereof.

I describe the situation at the University of Pennsylvania, not with any desire to impugn the abilities, talents, or dedication of its staff or administration. I am sure the research activities there have produced significant contributions to biomedical science and technology. However, the fact remains clear that with this preoccupation with research, the school has not expanded its production of M.D. graduates.

Moreover, I am certain that the pursuit of research and neglect of educational functions is not unique to the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. It is the trend of our Nation's entire system of medical education and, in my judgment, it has been caused by what the Committee on Government Operations has termed the "overzealousness" of Congress in providing Federal funds for research.

This is clearly demonstrated by the following table, which indicates that during the past 18 years, the NIH appropriation exceeded the President's request in every year except 1951, 1952, and 1964:

BUDGET ESTIMATES, HOUSE AND SENATE ALLOWANCES, AND APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH, FISCAL YEARS 1950–61 (EXCLUDES CONSTRUCTION FUNDS)

Fiscal year	Budget estimate	House allowance	Senate allowance	Appropriation
1950	$38,246,000	$42,371,000	$56,563,000	$46,371,000
1951	53,111,000	52,511,000	56,867,000	50,600,750
1952	54,409,000	52,676,885	53,806,058	53,050,291
1953	55,005,000	53,833,500	58,982,000	59,030,750
1954	56,340,000	61,586,200	72,153,000	71,153,000
1955	71,128,000	77,393,000	85,143,000	81,268,000
1956	90,314,800	89,773,000	113,416,800	98,458,000
1957	126,525,000	135,525,000	183,007,000	183,007,000
1958	190,183,000	190,183,000	226,783,000	211,183,000
1959	211,183,000	219,383,000	320,577,000	294,383,000
1960	$294,279,000	$344,279,000	$480,604,000	$400,000,000
1961	400,000,000	455,000,000	664,000,000	547,161,000
1962	494,676,000	548,818,000	710,100,000	629,459,000
1963	653,501,000	707,201,000	752,201,000	737,201,000
1964	742,333,000	736,326,000	741,518,000	736,326,000
1965	778,327,000	773,349,000	787,949,000	787,099,000
1966	892,270,000	878,970,000	927,320,000	921,720,000
1967	1,002,961,000	1,037,162,000	1,072,162,000	1,067,162,000
1968	1,152,250,000			

Source: Office of Administrative Management, National Institutes of Health.

I would urge that we reassess this potentially disastrous policy and would commend the major thrust of the present Health Manpower Act.

Basically, this legislation seeks to improve the balance between functions of education and research by providing a more intensive program of Federal financial assistance to medical and professional health-care education. To this end, the act establishes expanded Federal grants for teaching facilities, grants for devising special and shortened health education curriculum and institutional grants which provide broad support to the educational functions of medical schools. It is especially encouraging to note that the institutional grants will be allocated to medical schools on the basis of a formula which provides incentive to expanding student enrollments.

However, in my judgment, the Health Manpower Act contains many features which tend to perpetuate inadequacies in the existing system of medical health education. Primarily, it continues to place undue emphasis on research and specialization. I am concerned that these are the directions that most of the Nation's medical school graduates will take unless something is done.

Indeed, to ascertain the seriousness of this flight from direct patient treatment, I conducted a survey of 88 of our Nation's medical schools with respect to the anticipated career directions their graduates will take. Over 60 percent of the schools responded, and an analysis of the results has shocking implications for our future health care system. According to the responses I received, it was indicated that graduates from the classes of 1967 and 1968 will follow these career directions:

Similarly, improvement grants are authorized for the purpose of planning new programs of education and shortening health professions curriculum where it will not diminish the quality of education provided. Again, the determination of what is a quality education is left to the administrative determination of HEW officials. I am convinced that this deference to administrative discretion is, at best, ill-advised. I believe that crisis conditions in America's medical care system require the Congress to demand an objective statement of what constitutes a "quality medical education" from the organized health professions.

Moreover, in my judgment, the contention of organized health professions, which has been accepted by many Health, Education, and Welfare officials, that any reduction in Federal research funds or any abbreviation of medical school curriculum will result in a diminished quality of physicians is, in my judgment, nonsense. This is the same contention that the National League of Nurses has employed to retain its power of accreditation over nursing schools. Acceptance of that argument by the Congress and by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has had disastrous effects on nursing education and manpower. This is particularly true with respect to diploma training schools which do not fit in the NLN's plans to make nursing a 4-year college degree program. The fact that an average of 10 diploma schools have closed each year for the past 5 years, and at the present time some 74 schools are making plans to cease operations, is tragic proof of this failure to realistically define quality.

Moreover, as an example of the present system's willingness to sacrifice quality where it is to the advantage of vested interests, consider the tragic shortages of physicians, nurses, and allied health personnel, and consider the number of foreign medical doctors in the United States: According to the American Medical Association, in 1966, there were 2,795 interns, 9,483 residents, and an estimated 34,000 foreign medical practitioners in the United States. The following indicates the total immigrant admissions and adjustments of status of physicians by the Immigration and Naturalization Service:

1958	1, 934	1963	2, 093
1959	1, 630	1964	2, 249
1960	1, 574	1965	2, 012
1961	1, 683	1966	2, 552
1962	1, 797	1967	3, 326

Even more startling is the fact that in fiscal year 1967, for the first time, the number of foreign medical graduate immigrants plus medical exchange admissions—approximately 8,000—exceeded the number of U.S. medical graduates—approximately 7,600.

There is no doubt that a majority of these foreign-trained doctors, many of whom are from the undeveloped countries of the world, have not received the quality education which is vaunted by the American Association of Medical Colleges.

First. Primarily research- or academic-oriented careers—11 percent.

Second. General practice—15 percent.

Third. Career military service or administrative medicine—4.5 percent.

Fourth. Specialties—69.5 percent.

Moreover, if further evidence of the flight from family medicine is required, the dramatic statistics indicating ratios of family doctors to population should be considered. While family doctors are in short supply, especially in rural areas, the need for doctors is even greater in hospitals. Twenty percent of internships and 15 percent of residencies remained unfilled in 1966, even after nearly 10,000 foreign-trained medical graduates were hired to fill these positions. Moreover, the 51,800 positions available in hospitals in 1965 represented an increase of 1,400 over the previous year.

In view of present career directions away from the patient's bedside, away from the hospital, and away from where physicians are most acutely needed. I would urge that we must undertake an intensive national effort to produce greater numbers of general practitioners in a far shorter time of training than that which is required by the present system of medical education.

In my judgment, this can be accomplished within the resources and funds available at a Federal level:

First. By a deemphasis in the amounts that are spent on medical research;

Second. By an increase in Federal assistance to the construction and expansion of existing and new medical teaching facilities and programs; and

Third. By an immediate effort to improve and abbreviate medical school curriculum so that general practitioners can be graduated and undertake the treatment of the myriad illnesses that can be healed, without specialization, within 4 years.

Judged by these standards, the present Health Manpower Act is an important advance in meeting our Nation's health needs. Yet, I believe it will fall far short of attaining this purpose.

I am, therefore, concerned that this legislation would increase from 50 percent to 66⅔ percent the Federal share of assistance for health research facility construction. Moreover, provisions of title I, which would permit diversion of construction funds from teaching and education to health research facilities and facilities to support special and advance training space, are, at best, ill-advised. I am also opposed to Section 103, which would remove the present requirement that facilities constructed for teaching purposes—and federally assisted by reason thereof—must be used for teaching purposes for at least 10 years after completion. Under the present amendments, facilities constructed for teaching purposes with Federal funds under the Health Professions Training Act may be converted to research use at any time subsequent to completion.

Another theme which recurs throughout the instant legislation is the congressional deference to "quality standards of education." This bill follows the precedent of substantially all existing Federal legislation dealing with health professions training by referring the determination of what constitutes a "quality education" to administrative discretion. For example, institutional grants are made to medical and nursing schools on the condition that they expand enrollment. However, the legislation authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to waive the expanded enrollment requirement where such expansion cannot be accomplished without "diminishing the quality of education."

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, this is an essential piece of legislation—essential because it meets the challenge of a shortage of health manpower that is growing more serous each day. As our population increases and as health care becomes more accessible to all those who require it, the need for trained personnel will become more and more urgent. This bill provides assistance to those institutions and individuals who have committed themselves to expanding and improving the health profession. Unless we provide that assistance in adequate measure, we can expect relatively speaking, a qualitative and quantitative lag in health-care services. I do not think that is a situation a society as richly endowed as ours can tolerate.

We are moving toward the day when every American can expect good health care regardless of his standing on the financial or social ladder. The Health Manpower Act provides important impetus toward that goal. Many of the pressures present in our society today are the result of joblessness, or, just as often, jobs that are unrewarding in the basic human compensation that is necessary in order to carve out for ourself a relevant niche in our increasingly impersonal environment. Being a nurse or a doctor or a medical technician is more than just a job—it is a calling that provides a unique opportunity to serve one's fellows and to play a meaningful role in the human community. This bill makes the medical professions more accessible to those who have the intelligence and commitment necessary to complete their training but lack the financial resources to meet the rising costs of education. I can think of no single group more deserving of our support.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Chairman, I regret that I could not be on the floor during the remarks of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] and the debate that followed as to the intent of H.R. 15757, and especially section 104. I thank the distinguished gentleman for his kind remarks about the work of the subcommittee I have the honor to head.

The able gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] is to be complimented on his work in spotlighting the seriousness of the doctor shortage and the importance of increasing the production of medical doctors. I read with great interest the results of the gentleman's recent survey of the Nation's medical schools, and I agree with his general conclusion that Federal support of research in medical schools has endangered the ability of the schools to produce practicing physicians.

I do not think there can be any doubt that the tremendous and increasing sums which the Congress has appropriated for health research during the past 10 years has been administered in such a way as to discourage careers in clinical medicine and to limit the production of an adequate supply of practicing physicians.

Studies conducted by the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee have shown that the overemphasis on research has had the effect of diverting money and manpower from other essential health activities, has resulted in the support of more low quality and low priority research than can be justified, and has fostered lax and inefficient program administration.

The correction of this condition is not an easy task, but we must make a start. The Committee on Government Operations has worked toward this objective for many years by analyzing the administrative shortcomings of NIH and the Public Health Service. The Appropriations Committee has made a contribution, in my judgment, by holding the line this year on the NIH budget. This action, hopefully, will help stimulate needed reforms for the more prudent, efficient, and equitable use of research money. And the gentleman from New Jersey has made a contribution by illustrating that medical schools have not generally produced additional medical doctors as the volume of Government funds going to the medical schools has greatly increased.

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and its distinguished chairman deserve great credit for their handling of this complex legislation and for reporting a health manpower bill which seeks to increase the supply of medical doctors and other professional personnel in the health field. I am especially pleased that the committee has recommended more realistic incentives under institutional formula grants for medical schools to increase their enrollments.

I am sympathetic also with the idea of using special-project grants to help rescue health-professions schools in serious financial difficulty. But let us not lose sight of the fact that medical schools in many cases are in financial difficulty because they have been tempted by Federal funds to expand their research operations more than was prudent. Unless we take a hard look at the reasons for the financial plight of medical schools, we are likely to increase their problems further.

I had planned to inquire of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS] or others on the committee as to the intent of section 104—and the related section 103—which amends the Health Professions Training Act. I am concerned as to whether or not these new sections would permit the diversion of any of the funds earmarked for the construction of teaching facilities to research purposes. Mr. ROGERS and others on the committee have assured me that the answer is emphatically "No," that there can be no such diversion; that the only research possible under section 104 is that which is essential to the teaching program.

It should be very clear therefore in the legislative history that section 104 must not be used to frustrate the important objective expressed elsewhere in the committee report—that of eliminating the imbalance between teaching and research at medical schools.

Mr. Chairman, I support H.R. 15757 in the strong hope and belief that it will accomplish the basic good set forth in the committee report and emphasized in this debate today.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Health Manpower Act.

American hospitals are engaged in a battle with difficult problems of soaring labor costs, lack of beds, cramped space, a rising patient load and not enough doctors. Not the least of these is the growing nursing shortage—a problem which, by passing the Health Manpower Act, we now have the opportunity to help solve.

Hospital administrators in my district advise me that in 1966, hospital diploma schools of nursing accounted for 75 percent of the nursing graduates. However, these schools are finding it increasingly difficult to finance nursing education programs. As a result, nearly 100 hospital based diploma nursing education programs have closed over the past 10 years.

Those schools remaining in operation face bleak prospects. Despite revenue from tuition, room and board, and other incidental charges, huge annual deficits are incurred. Especially distressing is the fact that, as one hospital official wrote me:

> These deficits have been absorbed in the cost of the hospital operation and passed on to patients in the form of higher charges for care.

Another writes:

> We consider it an injustice, but we are faced with the alternative of closing the school.

The Health Manpower Act will free hospitals with nursing schools from this unfortunate dilemma. By granting a $15,000 annual payment to certified schools, nursing education programs will receive a much-needed lift. The act will be doubly beneficial in this regard, since its enactment will result in more equitable patient charges at such hospitals. And it provides for formula grants to collegiate and associate degree schools, as well as diploma schools of nursing.

Though I have talked mostly about the nurse-training provisions, the bill has other highly desirable features. It grants funds for medical construction and for training and research facilities, and expands the scholarship and loan programs. Schools of pharmacy and veterinary medicine would also be included among those eligible for grants.

These are sizable merits, Mr. Chairman, and I strongly urge that my colleagues vote for the Health Manpower Act.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Chairman, each of us is aware of the health needs of the people of the United States. I wholeheartedly endorse the Health Manpower Act of 1968—H.R. 15757—as an essential step toward meeting these needs.

This act authorizes programs that should go a long way to help the supply of health manpower keep pace with the rising demands for good health care. The scope of the bill is broad. It provides for many types of essential health manpower; it also provides the varied programs of support indicated by the interrelated problems involved with increasing the numbers of health workers.

As a member of the committee which considered this bill, however, I would like to comment on one section about which I have some doubts. That is section 231, the section of title II which extends the Nurse Training Act and amends the accreditation procedure to be used in the allocation of funds for programs in nursing. The amendments disregard quality of program as a basis for the allocation of Federal money.

If a bank were to loan money to a business which showed no potential for growth or improvement in the quality of its product—or if, in fact, there was every indication that the business was regressing—it stands to reason that we would question the good judgment of the bank in making such a loan. It stands to reason, then, that if the U.S. Government—through outright grants—supports educational programs which cannot, or are unwilling to, show promise of educational improvement for the future, it is also showing a lack of judgment on its investment.

In an age when more young Americans are seeking a better education, there is a strong question in my mind that nursing education programs which meet minimal, or less than minimal standards, should be rewarded for their indifference to the future needs of American education.

Today, there are 1,269 programs in basic nursing in the United States, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Of these, 917 have national accreditation or preliminary approval for accreditation. All of these 917 programs are currently eligible to receive Federal support. The remaining 352 nursing programs have not sought accreditation, or their programs have been below acceptable standards and they have not shown any indication of a desire to improve. Does it stand to reason that tax dollars should support educational programs which ask for money but which refuse to make even the attempt to match the increasing excellence being sought by others? Clearly, the majority, 917, are in the forefront in their attempts to improve educational opportunities and standards for our future students.

The institutions which do offer quality, as determined by national accreditations, enroll over 83 percent of the students. This is evidence that students choose to enter schools that have shown some degree of excellence. The graduates of the programs accredited by the National League for Nursing do much better on the licensing examination. During the past 5 years, about twice as many failures were recorded for graduates of nonaccredited programs. The same State licensure examination is used in every jurisdiction. What further proof is needed to emphasize that quality programs produce quality products?

When we or our loved ones need nursing care, we want the best there is. Only by assuring ourselves that the schools preparing the nurses are of the highest quality can we be sure that we are getting quality. Surely if we are concerned about consumer protection, we have a responsibility to see that the human services are as safe as the manufacturer's product.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I would like to express my strong support for H.R. 15757, the proposed Health Manpower Act of 1968. The bill, as reported to the House, is an omnibus piece of manpower legislation, and its provisions will affect nearly every category of health personnel.

The scope of the legislation is great, but only because our health manpower problems are of the same magnitude. There seems to be one word constantly appearing in each and every discussion of health manpower—the word is "shortage." We have a doctor shortage, a nursing shortage, and evidence of a rapidly growing shortage of skilled allied health technicians.

Recent health manpower studies, such as the report of the National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower, point to the disarray in the organization of our health resources, including the utilization of health personnel, as the principal cause of many of our problems. Still these studies also emphasize the need to train additional personnel, if we are to meet realistically the ever-increasing demand on the part of the American people for high-quality health care.

H.R. 15757 will extend the provisions of the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act through fiscal year 1971 and provide construction and institutional grant support totaling $680 million to medical, dental, and other professional schools. Since these programs were enacted by the Congress, 4,000 new first-year student positions in the health professions have been created, while another 8,600 first-year positions have been maintained by renovation or replacement. One hundred seventy-two schools have been able to improve their curriculums, faculty, and educational capacity as a result of these programs. The bill provides for an additional $102.8 million to assist students entering the health professions to complete their education, by providing loan funds and scholarship awards. Over 25,000 students now depend upon this loan program to finance their education, and nearly 8,000 scholarships are now being awarded to our professional health talent of the future.

The legislation provides $260 million in 2 fiscal years to support the Nation's nursing education system. Nearly half of this amount—$125 million—will go to finance nurse traineeships, student loans, and scholarships for prospective nursing students. The remaining funds will be used to construct new or expand existing facilities for nurse training. These programs are expected to increase our supply of trained nurses by some 95,000 persons. Despite this effort, the prospects of an intensifying nursing shortage loom larger than ever before.

The bill also extends, for a period of 1 year, the allied health professions program enacted by Congress in 1966. This is a relatively new program which needs careful evaluation, and the bill calls for a report to Congress on the impact and directions of the program by April 1, 1969.

The legislation also extends the project grant and traineeship programs in public health and the health research facilities construction grant program. But the thrust of the proposed Health Manpower Act is to sustain the commitment on the part of Congress to assure that adequate numbers of trained health personnel will become available to the American people in years to come. Certainly no one can quarrel with this objective.

Unfortunately, we cannot, nor will we, correct the imbalance between the supply and demand for medical and other health personnel overnight. The training of skilled health professionals in the modern advances of medicine and science is a complex and time-consuming job. But, on the other hand, we cannot and should not expect the American people to forgo opportunities to obtain the best health our commitment to provide the needed our commitment to provided the needed manpower. I believe, therefore, that the enactment of the proposed Health Manpower Act of 1968 is a critically important and necessary step to meet our responsibilities, and I urge prompt and decisive action on this measure.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 15757, which embodies President Johnson's proposals to meet our Nation's tremendous need for well-trained manpower in a broad array of health fields. Our Nation is confronted by a serious crisis of too few doctors, too few nurses, and too few technicians.

H.R. 15757 represents a bold step toward the resolution of the health manpower shortage, to insure that our burgeoning population will continue to receive proper health care for years in the future.

I rise particularly at this time to invite the attention of my colleagues to section II of this measure. Section II represents a determined and, most importantly, a new approach to the shortage of registered nurses which has left virtually every hospital in our Nation with too few nurses to provide the level of care our hospitals want to provide and have the know-how to provide their patients.

Last fall, Mr. Chairman, I introduced a bill identified as H.R. 13096 and best known as the diploma—or hospital—nursing school bill. Through that measure, I wanted primarily to focus attention on the fact that our Nation's major nursing education program was virtually ignored in the Nurse Training Act of 1964.

Some 75 percent of all registered nurses in the country receive their nursing education in what is known as a teaching hospital—a hospital which conducts a nursing education program which blends practical, bedside experience with classroom instruction. But today all but a few of these teaching hospitals find the nursing education programs in treacherous financial straits. Within the past decade, at least 121 of these so-called diploma schools have shut their doors, unable to justify further subsidy of their nursing education programs by raising fees for hospital care.

More of these diploma schools will close their doors this month or next. Some will survive for another year or two.

Unless all of these are to shut their doors in the not-too-distant future, they must have the substantial financial relief which can help meet the rising costs of nursing education without pushing tuition charges to a level which will drive away even the most dedicated prospective nurses.

H.R. 15757 does not contain the level of assistance which can be described as the ultimate fulfillment of this need. But certainly it is a far better attack on the crisis in nursing than anything we in the Congress have yet mobilized. I endorse it because within H.R. 15757 we can give all our nursing education programs an enlightened boost—our baccalaureate programs, our associate degree programs, and our diploma programs.

What is most significant about this bill is that it does away with some of the seriously discriminatory features of the Nurse Training Act of 1964 which had a tendency to shunt aside the diploma school programs—backbone of our entire civilian nurse corps. That those discriminatory features have been recognized both by the administration and many of my colleagues is evident in the bill now before us, as well as the fact that my diploma nursing school bill has, at this time, some 50 cosponsors in this Chamber plus the endorsement of a distinguished U.S. Senator, LISTER HILL, of Alabama.

In the diploma school bill, I had proposed a new method of determining eligibility for Federal assistance to nursing education. The 1964 act was discriminatory because any nursing program which failed to meet a standard imposed by a particular screening body, was ineligible for assistance. However, the diploma school bill had, as its prime purpose, the application of Federal assistance to help substandard schools improve the quality of their programs and thus assist with the tremendous task of wiping out the national nursing shortage.

The approach of Congress in the field of general education has been to provide Federal assistance to improve educational quality and expand educational opportunity. That same approach was taken in H.R. 13096 and is embodied now in H.R. 15757.

If this bill is approved, and I hope that it will be, a nursing education program which has not yet achieved the standards of "accreditation" in the 1964 act may be extended assistance which can help that school improve the quality of its program. This is a program of help and not of exclusivity. And this is what is vitally needed unless we are to force more and more nursing education institutions to stop training nurses and thus precipitate a crisis far more serious than the one we face at this moment.

I might add that this new approach to determine which nursing education institution is qualified has a fringe benefit which is significant to the new community colleges being opened around the country. Many of these community colleges are establishing associate degree programs in nursing education and, provided their program can meet their State's standards for nursing education, will be eligible for assistance under this Health Manpower Act.

Critics of this new approach to determine the eligibility of nursing programs for assistance insist it will open the door to a lower standard of excellence in the nursing profession. I disagree strongly. This measure will not lower the stand-

ards of a single institution of nursing education but it will enable many to raise their standards and join the ranks of our Nation's quality institutions of nursing education. And that is what our objective must be if we ever are to adequately staff hospital facilities in every part of our Nation.

A vote for H.R. 15757 is a vote to help improve the quality of nursing education, not undermine its quality. Unless we meet the nursing crisis squarely, and promptly, we will see a reduction of quality—not of nursing education but of nursing care in our hospitals. A vacancy on a hospital personnel roster cannot attend to the needs of ailing patients.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the Clerk will now read by title the substitute committee amendment printed in the reported bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Health Manpower Act of 1968".

SEC. 2. As used in the amendments made by this Act, the term "Secretary", unless the context otherwise requires, means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

TITLE I—HEALTH PROFESSIONS TRAINING

PART A—CONSTRUCTION GRANTS

EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATIONS

SEC. 101. (a) Section 720 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293) is amended by inserting after and below clause (3) of the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: "For such grants there are also authorized to be appropriated $170,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $225,000,000 for the next fiscal year."

(b)(1) Such section 720 is further amended by striking out "Sums so appropriated shall remain available until expended." and by adding at the end of such section the following: "Sums so appropriated for any fiscal year shall remain available for obligation through the close of the next fiscal year."

(2) The amendments made by this subsection shall apply only with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

FEDERAL SHARE

SEC. 102. (a) Subsection (a)(1) of section 722 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293b) is amended by striking out "such amount may not exceed 50 per centum" and inserting in lieu thereof "such amount may not, except where the Secretary determines that unusual circumstances make a larger percentage (which in no case may exceed 66⅔ per centum) necessary in order to effectuate the purposes of this part, exceed 50 per centum".

(b) The amendment made by this section shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

LENGTH AND CHARACTER OF FEDERAL RECOVERY INTEREST IN FACILITIES

SEC. 103. (a)(1) Clause (b) of section 723 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293c) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) the facility shall cease to be used for the teaching purposes (and the other purposes permitted under section 722) for which it was constructed, unless the Secretary determines, in accordance with regulations, that there is good cause for releasing the applicant or other owner from the obligation to do so,".

(2) So much of such section 723 of such Act as precedes clause (a) is amended by striking out "ten" and inserting in lieu thereof "twenty".

(3) Clause (A) of section 721(c)(2) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 293a) is amended to read: "(A) the facility is intended to be used for the purposes for which the application has been made,".

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a)(1) and (2) shall apply in the case of facilities for which a grant has been or is in the future made under part B of title VII of the Public Health Service Act. The amendment made by subsection (a)(3) shall apply in the case of assurances given after the date of enactment of this Act under such part B.

GRANTS FOR MULTIPURPOSE FACILITIES

SEC. 104. (a) Section 722 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293b) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) In the case of a project for construction of facilities which are primarily (as determined in accordance with regulations of the Secretary) for teaching purposes and for which a grant may be made under this part, but which also are for research purposes, or research and related purposes, in the sciences related to health (within the meaning of part A of this title) or for medical library purposes (within the meaning of part I of title III), the project shall, insofar as all such purposes are involved, be regarded as a project for facilities with respect to which a grant may be made under this part."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made under part B of title VII of the Public Health Service Act from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

GRANTS FOR CONTINUING AND ADVANCED EDUCATION FACILITIES

SEC. 105. (a) Paragraph (3) of section 721(c) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293a) is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: "(and, for purposes of this part, expansion or curtailment of capacity for continuing education shall also be considered expansion and curtailment, respectively, of training capacity)".

(b) Subsection (d) of section 721 of such Act is amended by inserting "(other than a project for facilities for continuing education)" after "an existing school" in paragraph (1)(A) and after "a school" in paragraph (1)(B).

(c) Section 724(4) of such Act is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof: ", and including advanced training related to such training provided by any such school".

(d) The amendments made by this section shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made under part B of title VII of the Public Health Service Act from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

PART B—INSTITUTIONAL AND SPECIAL PROJECT GRANTS FOR TRAINING OF HEALTH PROFESSIONS PERSONNEL

SEC. 111. (a) Sections 770, 771, and 772 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 295f, 295f–1, 295f–2) are amended to read as follows:

"AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 770. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated $117,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $168,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, for institutional grants under section 771 and special project grants under section 772.

"(b) The portion of the sums so appropriated for each fiscal year which shall be available for grants under each such section shall be determined by the Secretary unless otherwise provided in the Act or Acts appropriating such sums for such year.

"INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

"SEC. 771. (a)(1) The sums available for grants under this section from appropriations under section 770 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for the next fiscal year shall be distributed to the schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, pharmacy, optometry, veterinary medicine, and podiatry with approved applications as follows: Each school shall receive $25,000; and of the remainder—

"(A) 75 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of—

"(i) the relative enrollment of full-time students for such year, and

"(ii) the relative increase in enrollment of such students for such year over the average enrollment of such school for the five school years preceding the year for which the application is made:

with the amount per full-time student so computed that a school receives twice as much for each such student in the increase as for other full-time students, and

"(B) 25 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of the relative number of graduates for such year. In computing the increase under clause (a)(ii) of the preceding sentence for any school, there shall be excluded a number equal to the increase required by subsection (b)(1) (except in the case of a school to which the third sentence of such subsection applies).

"(2) For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1970, and June 30, 1971, only, the sum computed under paragraph (1) for any school which is less than the amount such school received under this section for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, shall be increased to that amount, the total of the increases thereby required being derived by proportionately reducing the sums computed under such paragraph (1) for the remaining schools, but with such adjustments as may be necessary to prevent the sums computed for any of such remaining schools from being reduced to less than the amount it received for such fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, under this section.

"(b)(1) The Secretary shall not make a grant under this section to any school unless the application for such grant contains or is supported by reasonable assurances that for the first school year beginning after the fiscal year for which such grant is made and each school year thereafter during which such a grant is made the first-year enrollment of full-time students in such school will exceed the average of the first-year enrollments of such students in such school for the two school years having the highest such enrollment during the five school years during the period of July 1, 1963, through June 30, 1968, by at least 2½ per centum of such average first-year enrollments, or by five students, whichever is greater. The requirements of this paragraph shall be in addition to the requirements of section 721 (c)(2)(D) of this Act, where applicable. The Secretary is authorized to waive (in whole or in part) the provisions of this paragraph if he determines, after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance, that the required increase in first-year enrollment of full-time students in a school cannot, because of limitations of physical facilities available to the school for training, be accomplished without lowering the quality of training provided therein.

"(2) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, no grant under this section to any school for any fiscal year may exceed the total of the funds from non-Federal sources expended (excluding expenditures of a nonrecurring nature) by the school during the preceding year for teaching purposes (as determined in accordance with criteria prescribed by the Secretary), except that this paragraph shall not apply in the case of a school which has for such year a particular year-class which it did not have for the preceding year or in the case of Howard University.

"(c)(1) For purposes of this part and part F, regulations of the Secretary shall include provisions relating to determination of the number of students enrolled in a school, or in a particular year-class in a school, or the number of graduates, as the case may be, on the basis of estimates, or on the basis of the number of students who were enrolled in a school, or in a particular year-class in a school, or were graduates, in an earlier year, as the case may be, or on such basis as he deems appropriate for making such determination, and shall include methods of making such determinations when a school or a year-class was not in existence in an earlier year at a school.

"(2) For purposes of this part and part F, the term 'full-time students' (whether such term is used by itself or in connection with a particular year-class) means students pursuing a full-time course of study leading to a degree of doctor of medicine, doctor of dentistry, or an equivalent degree, doctor of osteopathy, bachelor of science in pharmacy, or doctor of pharmacy, doctor of optometry or an equivalent degree, doctor of veterinary medicine or an equivalent degree, or doctor of podiatry or an equivalent degree.

"SPECIAL PROJECT GRANTS

"SEC. 772. Grants may be made, from sums available therefor from appropriations under section 770 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for the next fiscal year, to assist schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, pharmacy, optometry, podiatry, and veterinary medicine in meeting the cost of special projects to plan, develop, or establish new programs or modifications of existing programs of education in such health professions or to effect significant improvements in curriculums of any such schools or for research in the various fields related to education in such health professions, or to develop training for new levels or types of health professions personnel, or to assist any such schools which are in serious financial straits to meet their costs of operation or which have special need for financial assistance to meet the accreditation requirements, or to assist any such schools to meet the costs of planning experimental teaching facilities or experimental design thereof, or which will otherwise strengthen, improve, or expand programs to train personnel in such health professions or help to increase the supply of adequately trained personnel in such health professions needed to meet the health needs of the Nation."

(b)(1) Subsection (a) of section 773 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295f–3 is amended by striking out "basic or special grants under section 771 or 772" and inserting in lieu thereof "grants under section 771 or 772."

(2) Subsection (b)(1) of such section is amended by inserting before "or podiatry" the following: "pharmacy, veterinary medicine,".

(3) Subsection (c) of such section is amended by striking out "National Advisory Council on Medical, Dental, Optometric, and Podiatric Education" and inserting in lieu thereof "National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance".

(4) Subsection (d)(2) of such section is amended by inserting "(excluding expenditures of a nonrecurring nature)" after "for such purpose".

(5) Subsection (e) of such section is amended to read as follows:

"(e) In determining priority of projects applications for which are filed under section 772, the Secretary shall give consideration to—

"(1) the extent to which the project will increase enrollment of full-time students receiving the training for which grants are authorized under this part;

"(2) the relative need of the applicant for financial assistance to maintain or provide for accreditation or to avoid curtailing enrollment or reduction in the quality of training provided; and

"(3) the extent to which the project may result in curriculum improvement or improved methods of training or will help to reduce the period of required training without adversely affecting the quality thereof."

(c)(1) Section 774(a) of such Act is amended by striking out "and podiatric education" and inserting in lieu thereof "podiatric, pharmaceutical, and veterinary education".

(2) Such section 774(a) is further amended by striking out "twelve" and inserting in lieu thereof "fourteen", and by striking out "National Advisory Council on Medical, Dental, Optometric, and Podiatric Education" and inserting in lieu thereof "National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance".

(3) The heading of section 774 is amended to read:

"NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE"

(4) Section 780(d) of such Act is amended by striking out "National Advisory Council on Medical, Dental, Optometric, and Podiatric Education" and inserting in lieu thereof "National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance".

(d) The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

(e) Effective only with respect to appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, section 772 of such Act is amended (1) by striking out subsection (c), and (2) by inserting before the period at the end of subsection (b) the following: ", or (3) to plan for special projects for which grants are authorized under this section as amended by the Health Manpower Act of 1968".

PART C—STUDENT AID

STUDENT LOANS

SEC. 121. (a)(1) Clauses (2) and (3) of section 740(b) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 294) are each amended by inserting ", except as provided in section 746," after "fund" the first time it appears therein.

(2) Section 740(b)(4) of such Act is amended by striking out "1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "1971".

(3) Section 741(c) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294a) is amended by striking out "three years" the first time it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "one year" and by adding before the period at the end thereof "; and periods (up to five years) of advanced professional training including internships and residencies)".

(4) Section 741(e) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(e) Such loans shall bear interest, on the unpaid balance of the loan, computed only for periods for which the loan is repayable, at the rate of 3 per centum per year".

(5)(A) Section 741 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(j) Subject to regulations of the Secretary, a school may assess a charge with respect to a loan made under this part for failure of the borrower to pay all or any part of an installment when it is due and, in the case of a borrower who is entitled to deferment of the loan under subsection (c) or cancellation of part or all of the loan under subsection (f), for any failure to file timely and satisfactory evidence of such entitlement. The amount of any such charge may not exceed $1 for the first month or part of a month by which such installment or evidence is late and $2 for each such month or part of a month thereafter. The school may elect to add the amount of any such charge to the principal amount of the loan as of the first day after the day on which such installment or evidence was due, or to make the amount of the charge payable to the school not later than the due date of the next installment after receipt by the borrower of notice of the assessment of the charge.

"(k) A school may provide, in accordance with regulations of the Secretary, that during the repayment period of a loan from a loan fund established pursuant to an agreement under this part payments of principal and interest by the borrower with respect to all the outstanding loans made to him from loan funds so established shall be at a rate equal to not less than $15 per month."

(B) Subsection (b)(2) of section 740 of such Act is further amended by striking out "and (D)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(D) collections pursuant to section 741(j), and (E)".

(b)(1) The first sentence of subsection (a) of section 742 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294b) is amended by striking out "and" before "$25,000,000" and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", and $35,000,000 each for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year".

(2) The third sentence of such subsection is amended by striking out "1970" and "1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "1972" and "1971", respectively.

(3) The fourth sentence of such subsection is amended by striking out "and" before "(2)" and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", and (3) for transfers pursuant to section 746".

(c) Section 743 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294c) is amended by striking out "1972" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "1974".

(d)(1) Section 744(a)(1) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294d) is amended by inserting "and each of the next three fiscal years," after "1968,".

(2) Section 744(c) of such Act is amended by striking out "$35,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$45,000,000".

(e) Part C of title VII of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294, et seq.) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNDS TO SCHOLARSHIPS

"SEC. 746. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriations for any fiscal year for Federal capital contributions under an agreement under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under part F of this title to be used for the same prupose as such sums. In the case of any such transfer, the amount of any funds which the school deposited in its student loan fund pursuant to section 740(b)(2)(B) with respect to the amount so transferred may be withdrawn by the school from such fund."

(f) The amendments made by subsections (a)(1), (b)(3), and (e) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969. The amendment made by subsection (a)(3) shall apply (1) with respect to all loans made under an agreement under part (C) of title VII of the Public Health Service Act after June 30, 1969, and (2) with respect to loans made thereunder before July 1, 1969, to the extent agreed to by the school which made the loans and the Secretary (but, then, only as to years beginning after June 30, 1969). The amendment made by subsection (a) (4) and (5) shall apply with respect to loans made after June 30, 1969.

SCHOLARSHIPS

SEC. 122. (a) Subsection (a) of section 780 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 259g) is amended by striking out "or pharmacy" and inserting in lieu thereof "pharmacy, or veterinary medicine". The heading of such section is amended by striking out "OR PHARMACY" and inserting in lieu thereof "PHARMACY, OR VETERINARY MEDICINE".

(b) Subsection (b) of such section is amended by inserting "and each of the next two fiscal years" after "1969," in the first sentence and by striking out "1970" and "1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "1972" and "1971", respectively, in the second sentence.

(c)(1) Paragraph (1) of subsection (c) of such section is amended by inserting "and each of the next two fiscal years" after "1969" in clause (D) and by striking out "1969" and "1970" in clause (E) and inserting in lieu thereof "1971" and "1972", respectively.

(2) The first sentence of paragraph (2) of such subsection (c) is amended by striking out "from low-income families who, without such financial assistance could not" and inserting in lieu thereof "of exceptional financial need who need such financial assistance to".

(d) Part F of title VII of the Public Health Service Act is further amended by inserting after section 780 the following new section:

"TRANSFER TO STUDENT LOAN FUNDS

"SEC. 781. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriations for any fiscal year for scholarships under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under part C for (and to be regarded as) Federal capital contributions, to be used for the same purpose as such sums."

(e) The amendment made by subsections (a), (b), (c)(1), and (d) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending June 30, 1969. The amendments made by subsection (c)(2) shall apply with respect to scholarships from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

PART D—MISCELLANEOUS

STUDY OF SCHOOL AID AND STUDENT AID PROGRAMS

SEC. 131. The Secretary shall, in consultation with the Advisory Councils established by sections 725 and 774, prepare, and submit to the President and the Congress prior to July 1, 1970, a report on the administration of parts B, C, E, and F of title VII of the Public Health Service Act, an appraisal of the programs under such parts in the light of their adequacy to meet the long-term needs for health professionals, and his recommendations as a result thereof.

TITLE II—NURSE TRAINING

PART A—CONSTRUCTION GRANTS

EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION

SEC. 201. (a) Section 801 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 296) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 801. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated, for grants to assist in the construction of new facilities for collegiate, associate degree, or diploma schools of nursing, or replacement or rehabilitation of existing facilities for such schools, $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $35,000,000 for the ficsal year ending June 30, 1971.

"(b) Sums appropriated pursuant to subsection (a) for a fiscal year shall remain available for obligation through the close of the next fiscal year."

(b) Section 802(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 296a) is amended by striking out "July 1, 1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1970".

FEDERAL SHARE

SEC. 202. Section 803(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 296b) is amended by striking out "may not exceed 50 per centum" in clause (B) and inserting in lieu thereof "may not, except where the Secretary determines that unusual circumstances make a larger percentage (which may in no case exceed 66⅔ per centum) necessary in order to effectuate the purposes of this part, exceed 50 per centum".

INCLUSION OF TRUST TERRITORY

SEC. 203. Section 843(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298b) is amended by striking out "or the Virgin Islands" and inserting in lieu thereof "the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands".

AMENDMENT OF DEFINITION OF COLLEGIATE SCHOOL OF NURSING

SEC. 204. Section 843(c) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", and including advanced training related to such program of education provided by such school".

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 205. The amendments made by sections 201 and 204 shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

PART B—SPECIAL PROJECT AND INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS TO SCHOOLS OF NURSING

SPECIAL PROJECT AND INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

SEC. 211. Sections 805 and 806 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 296d, 296e) are amended to read as follows:

"IMPROVEMENT IN NURSE TRAINING

"SEC. 805. (a) From the sums available therefor from appropriations under section 808 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year, grants may be made to assist any public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution to meet the cost of special projects to plan, develop, or establish new programs or modifications of existing programs of nursing education or to effect significant improvements in curriculums of schools of nursing or for research in the various fields of nursing education, or to assist schools of nursing which are in serious financial straits to meet their costs of operation or to assist schools of nursing which have special need for financial assistance to meet accreditation requirements, or to assist in otherwise strengthening, improving, or expanding programs of nursing education, or to assist any such agency, organization, or institution to meet the costs of other special projects which will help to increase the supply of adequately trained nursing personnel needed to meet the health needs of the Nation.

"(b) In determining priority of projects for which applications are filed under subsection (a), the Secretary shall give priority in the following order:

"(1) the relative need of the applicant (if a school of nursing) for financial assistance to continue in operation or avoid curtailing enrollment or reduction in the quality of training provided;

"(2) the special need of the applicant for financial assistance in connection with its merger with a school of nursing;

"(3) the relative need of the applicant for financial assistance to maintain or provide for accreditation as a school of nursing; and

"(4) the extent to which the project will increase enrollment of full-time students receiving nursing training.

"INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

"SEC. 806. (a) The sums available for grants under this section from appropriations under section 808 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year shall be distributed to the schools with approved applications as follows: Each school shall receive $15,000; and of the remainder—

"(A) 75 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of—

"(i) the relative enrollment of full-time students for such year, and

"(ii) the relative increase in enrollment of such students for such year over the average enrollment of such school for the five school years preceding the year for which the application is made; with the amount per full-time student so computed that a school receives twice as much for each such student in the increase as for other full-time students, and

"(B) 25 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of the relative number of graduates for such year.

In computing the increase under clause (A)(ii) of the preceding sentence for any school, there shall be excluded a number equal to the increase required by subsection (b) (except in the case of a school to which the third sentence of such subsection applies).

"(b) The Secretary shall not make a grant under this section to any school from any appropriation for a fiscal year ending after June 30, 1970, unless the application for such grant contains or is supported by reasonable assurances that for the first school year beginning after the fiscal year for which such grant is made and each school year thereafter during which such a grant is made the first-year enrollment of full-time students in such school will exceed the average of the first-year enrollment of such students in such school for the two school years having the highest such enrollment during the five school years during the period of July 1, 1963, through June 30, 1968, by at least 2½ per centum of such average first-year enrollment, or by five students, which ever is greater. The requirements of this subsection shall be in addition to the requirements of section 802(b)(2)(D) of this Act, where applicable. The Secretary is authorized to waive (in whole or in part) the provisions of this subsection if he determines, after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Nurse Training, that the required increase in first-year enrollment of full-time students in a school cannot, because of limitations of physical facilities available to the school for training, be accomplished without lowering the quality of training provided therein.

(c)(1) For the purposes of this part and part D, regulations of the Secretary shall include provisions relating to determination of the number of students enrolled in a school, or in a particular year-class in a school, or the number of graduates from a school, as the case may be, on the basis of estimates, or on the basis of the number of students who were enrolled in a school, or in particular year-class in a school, or were graduates from a school in earlier years, as the case may be, or on such basis as he deems appropriate for making such determination, and shall include methods of making such determination when a school or a year-class was not in existence in an earlier year at a school.

"(2) For purposes of this part and part D, the term 'full-time students' (whether such term is used by itself or in connection with a particular year-class) means students pursuing a full-time course of study in an accredited program in a school of nursing."

CONDITIONS OF ELIGIBILITY

SEC. 212. Part A of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"APPLICATIONS FOR GRANTS

"SEC. 807. (a) The Secretary may from time to time set dates (not earlier than in the fiscal year preceding the year for which a grant is sought) by which applications under section 805 or 806 for any fiscal year must be filed.

"(b) The Secretary shall not approve or disapprove any application for a grant under this part except after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Nurse Training.

"(c) A grant under section 805 or 806 may be made only if the application therefor—

"(1) is from a public or nonprofit private school of nursing, or, in the case of grants under section 805, a public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution;

"(2) contains or is supported by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary that the applicant will expend in carrying out its functions as a school of nursing, during the fiscal year for which such grant is sought, an amount of funds (other than funds for construction as determined by the Secretary) from non-Federal sources which are at least as great as the average amount of funds expended by such applicant for such purpose (excluding expenditures of a nonrecurring nature) in the three fiscal years immediately preceding the fiscal year for which such grant is sought;

"(3) contains such additional information as the Secretary may require to make the determinations required of him under this part and such assurances as he may find necessary to carry out the purposes of this part; and

"(4) provides for such fiscal control and accounting procedures and reports, and access to the records of the applicant, as the Secretary may require to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant under this part.

"AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 808. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated $35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $40,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, for improvement grants under section 805 and institutional grants under section 806.

"(b) Of the sums appropriated under subsection (a) of this section $15,000,000 shall be available for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1970, and June 30, 1971, for grants under section 805."

CONFORMING CHANGE

SEC. 213. Clause (2) of section 843(f) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298b) is amended to read: "(2) in the case of a school applying for a grant under section 806 for any fiscal year, prior to the beginning of the first academic year following the normal graduation date of the class which is the entering class for such fiscal year (or is the first such class in such year if there is more than one);".

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 214. The amendments made by the preceding provisions of this part shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

PLANNING FOR FISCAL YEAR 1969

SEC. 215. Effective only with respect to appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, section 805(a) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Appropriations under this section shall also be available for grants for planning special projects for which grants are authorized under this section as amended by the Health Manpower Act of 1968."

PART C—STUDENT AID

ADVANCED TRAINING

SEC. 221. Section 821(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 297) is amended by striking out "and" before "$12,000,000" and by inserting "$15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $190,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971," after "1969,".

STUDENT LOANS

SEC. 222. (a)(1) Clauses (2) and (3) of section 822(b) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 297a) are each amended by inserting ", except as provided in section 829," after "fund" the first time it appears therein.

(2) Section 822(b)(4) of such Act is amended by striking out "1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "1971".

(b)(1) Section 823(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297b) is amended by striking out "$1,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$1,500", by inserting "to licensed practical nurses and" immediately after "preference", and by inserting after the first sentence the following new sentence: "The aggregate of the loans for all years from such funds may not exceed $6 000 in the case of any student."

(2) Section 823(b)(2) of such Act is amended by (A) striking out "one year" and inserting in lieu thereof "nine months" and (B) striking "except that" and all that follows down to but not including the semicolon and inserting in lieu thereof "excluding from such 10-year period all (A) periods (up to three years) of (i) active duty performed by the borrower as a member of a uniformed service, or (ii) service as a volunteer under the Peace Corps Act, and (B) periods (up to five years) during which the borrower is pursuing a full-time course of study at a collegiate school of nursing leading to baccalaureate degree in nursing or an equivalent degree, or to graduate degree in nursing, or is otherwise pursuing advanced professional training in nursing".

(3) Section 823(b)(3) of such Act is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", except that such rate shall be 15 per centum for each complete year of service as such a nurse in a public or other nonprofit hospital in any area which is determined, in accordance with regulations of the Secretary, to be an area which has a substantial shortage of such nurses at such hospitals, and for the purpose of any cancellation at such higher rate, an amount equal to an additional 50 per centum of the total amount of such loans plus interest may be canceled".

(4) Section 823(b)(5) of such Act is amended by striking out everything which follows "3 per centum per annum" down to but not including the second semicolon.

(c)(1) Section 823 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(f) Subject to regulations of the Secretary, a school may assess a charge with respect to a loan from the loan fund established pursuant to an agreement under this part for failure of the borrower to pay all or any part of an installment when it is due and, in the case of a borrower who is entitled to deferment of the loan under subsection (b)(2) or cancellation of part or all of the loan under subsection (b)(3), for any failure to file timely and satisfactory evidence of such entitlement. The amount of any such charge may not exceed $1 for the first month or part of a month by which such installment or evidence is late and $2 for each such month or part of a month thereafter. The school may elect to add the amount of any such charge to the principal amount of the loan as of the first day after the day on which such installment or evidence was due, or to make the amount of the charge payable to the school not later than the due date of the next installment after receipt by the borrower of notice of the assessment of the charge.

"(g) A school may provide in accordance with regulations of the Secretary, that during the repayment period of a loan from a loan fund established pursuant to an agreement under this part payments of principal and interest by the borrower with respect to all the outstanding loans made to him from loan funds so established shall be at a rate equal to not less than $15 per month."

(2) Subsection (b)(2) of section 822 of such Act is further amended by striking out "and (D)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(D) collections pursuant to section 823(f), and (E)".

(d)(1) Section 824 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297c) is amended by inserting $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $21,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, after "1969," the first time it appears therein, by striking out "1970" and inserting in lieu thereof "1972", and by striking out "1969," the second time it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "1971,".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", and (3) for transfers pursuant to section 829".

(e) The first two sentences of section 825 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297d) are amended to read as follows: "From the sums appropriated pursuant to section 824 for any fiscal year the Secretary shall allot to each school an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount so appropriated as the number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in such school bears to the total number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in all schools of nursing in all the States. The number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in schools of nursing for purposes of this section shall be determined by the Secretary for the most recent year for which satisfactory data are available to him."

(f) Section 826 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297e) is amended by striking out "1972" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "1974".

(g) Section 827(a)(1) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297f) is amended by inserting "and each of the next three fiscal years," after "1968,".

(h) Part B of title VIII of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297 et seq.) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFERS TO SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

"SEC. 829. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriation for any fiscal year for Federal capital contributions under an agreement under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under part D to be used for the same purpose as such sums. In the case of any such transfer, the amount of any funds which the school deposited in its student loan fund pursuant to section 822(b)(2)(B) with respect to the amount so transferred may be wihdrawn by the school from such fund."

(i) The amendments made by subsection (b)(1) and (2) shall apply with respect to all loans made after June 30, 1969, and with respect to loans made from a student loan fund established under an agreement pursuant to section 822, before July 1, 1969, to the extent agreed to by the school which made the loans and the Secretary (but then only for years beginning after June 30, 1968). The amendments made by subsection (b)(4) and subsection (c) shall apply with respect to loans made after June 30, 1969. The amendment made by subsection (h) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years beginning after June 30, 1969. The amendment made by subsection (b)(3) shall apply with respect to service, specified in section 823(b)(3) of such Act, performed during academic years beginning after the enactment of this Act, whether the loan was made before or after such enactment.

SCHOLARSHIPS

SEC. 223. (a) So much of part D of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298c et seq.) as precedes section 868 is amended to read as follows:

"PART D—SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS TO SCHOOLS OF NURSING

"SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS

"SEC. 860. (a) The Secretary shall make grants as provided in this part to each public or other nonprofit school of nursing for scholarships to be awarded annually by such school to students thereof.

"(b) The amount of the grant under subsection (a) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year to each such school shall be equal to $2,000 multiplied by one-tenth of the number of full-time students of such school. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for each of the three succeeding fiscal years, the grant under subsection (a) shall be such amount as may be necessary to enable such school to continue making payments under scholarship awards to students who initially received such awards out of grants made to the school for fiscal years ending prior to July 1, 1971.

"(c)(1) Scholarships may be awarded by schools from grants under subsection (a)—

"(A) only to individuals who have been accepted by them for enrollment, and individuals enrolled and in good standing, as full-time students, in the case of awards from such grants for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year; and

"(B) only to individuals enrolled and in good standing as full-time students who initially received scholarship awards out of such grants for a fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1971, in the case of awards from such grants for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and each of the three succeeding fiscal years.

"(2) Scholarships from grants under subsection (a) for any school year shall be awarded only to students of exceptional financial need who need such financial assistance to pursue a course of study at the school for such year. Any such scholarship awarded for a school year shall cover such portion of the student's tuition, fees, books, equipment, and living expenses at the school making the award, but not to exceed $1,500 for any year in the case of any student, as such school may determine the student needs for such year on the basis of his requirements and financial resources.

"(d) Grants under subsection (a) shall be made in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Nurse Training.

"(e) Grants under subsection (a) may be paid in advance or by way of reimbursement, and at such intervals as the Secretary may find necessary; and with appropriate adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments previously made.

"TRANSFERS TO STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM

"SEC. 861. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriation for any fiscal year for scholarships under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve for such school for such year, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under this part for (and to be regarded as) Federal capital contributions, to be used for the same purpose as such sums."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

PART D—MISCELLANEOUS

DEFINITION OF ACCREDITATION

SEC. 231. (a) Subsections (c) and (e) of section 843 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298b) are each amended by striking out "an accredited program" and inserting in lieu thereof "a program".

(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended by striking out "an accredited two-year program" and inserting in lieu thereof "a two-year program".

(c) Such subsection (c) is further amended by adding before the period at the end thereof (and after the language added by section 205 of this Act) ", but only if such program, or such unit, college, or university is accredited".

(d) Such subsection (d) is further amended by adding before the period at the end thereof ", but only if such program, or such unit, college, or university is accredited".

(e) Such subsection (e) is further amended by adding before the period at the end thereof ", but only if such program, or such affiliated school or such hospital or university or such independent school is accredited".

(f) So much of subsection (f) of such section as precedes clause (1) is amended—

(1) by inserting ", or by a State agency," immediately after "accredited by a recognized body or bodies";

(2) by inserting "or State agency" immediately after "such a recognized body or bodies";

(3) by inserting after "Commissioner of Education" the first time it appears therein "and when applied to a hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof) means a hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof) which is accredited by a recognized body or bodies, or by a State agency, approved for such purpose by the Commissioner of Education";

(4) by striking out "or a program accredited for the purpose of this Act by the Commissioner of Education";

(5) by inserting ", or a hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof)," immediately after "except that a program";

(6) by inserting ", or the hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof)," immediately after "reasonable assurance that the program"; and

(7) by striking out "by the school which provides or will provide such program".

(g) Such subsection (f) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "For the purpose of this paragraph, the Commissioner of Education shall publish a list of recognized accrediting bodies, and of State agencies, which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of training offered."

STUDY OF SCHOOL AID AND STUDENT AID PROGRAMS

SEC. 232. The Secretary shall, in consultation with the Advisory Council established by section 841, prepare, and submit to the President and the Congress prior to July 1, 1970, a report on the administration of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act, an appraisal of the programs under such title in the light of their adequacy to meet the long-term needs for nurses, and his recommendations as a result thereof.

TITLE III—ALLIED HEALTH PROFESSIONS AND PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING

EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF ALLIED HEALTH PROFESSIONS PROGRAM

SEC. 301. (a)(1)(A) Section 791(a)(1) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 295h) is amended by striking out "and $13,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "$13,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970".

(B) Section 791(b)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out "1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "1969".

(2)(A) Section 792(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295h–1) is amended by striking out "and $17,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "$17,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970".

(B) Section 792(b)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out "1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "1970".

(3) Section 793(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295h–2) is amended by striking out "and $3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "$3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970".

(4) Section 794 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295h–3) is amended by striking out "and $3,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "$3,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $4,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970".

(b) Such section 794 is further amended by—

(1) striking out "training centers for allied health professions" and inserting in lieu thereof "agencies, institutions, and organizations";

(2) inserting "and methods" after "curriculums"; and

(3) striking out "new types of".

(c) Part G of title VII of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"EVALUATION

"SEC. 797. Such portion of any appropriation pursuant to section 791, 792, 793, or 794, for any fiscal year ending after June 30, 1969, as the Secretary may determine, but not exceeding one-half of 1 per centum thereof, shall be available to the Secretary for evaluation (directly or by grants or contracts) of the programs authorized by this part."

(d) Such part G is further amended by adding after section 797 (added by subsection (c)) the following new section:

"STUDY

"SEC. 798. The Secretary shall prepare, and submit to the President and the Congress prior to April 1, 1969, a report on the administration of this part, an appraisal of the programs under this part in the light of their adequacy to meet the needs for allied health professions personnel, and his recommendations as a result thereof."

PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING

SEC. 302. (a) Section 309(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 242g) is amended by striking out "and" before "$9,000,000" and by inserting "$8,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $12,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971," after 1969.

(b)(1) Section 306(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 242d) is amended (1) by striking out "and" before "$10,000,000" and by striking out "the succeeding fiscal year," and inserting in lieu thereof "the two succeeding fiscal years, and $14,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971", and (2) by inserting "sanitarians," immediately after "nurses,".

(2) Section 306(d) of such Act is amended by striking out "$50" and inserting in lieu thereof "$100".

TITLE IV—HEALTH RESEARCH FACILITIES

EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION

SEC. 401. (a) Section 704 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292c) is amended by striking out "and" after "$50,000,000"; and by inserting "$20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $30,000,000 for the next fiscal year," after "$280,000,000,".

(b) Section 705(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 293) is amended by striking out "1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "1970".

FEDERAL SHARE

SEC. 402. (a) Subsection (a) of section 706 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292e) is amended by striking out "except that in no event may such amount exceed 50 per centum" and inserting in lieu thereof "but such amount may not, except as provided in paragraph (2), exceed 50 per centum".

(b) Such subsection (a) of section 706 is further amended by inserting "(1)" after "(a)" and adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) The maximum amount of any grant shall be 66⅔ per centum instead of the maximum under paragraph (1) in the case of any class or classes of projects which the Secretary determines have such special national or regional significance as to warrant a larger grant than is permitted under paragraph (1); but not more than 25 per centum of the funds appropriated pursuant to section 704 for any fiscal year shall be available for grants in excess of 50 per centum with respect to such class or classes of projects."

ADVISORY COUNCIL COMPENSATION

Sec. 403. Section 703(d) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292b) is amended by striking out "$50" and inserting in lieu thereof "$100".

EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 404. The amendments made by section 402 shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

Mr. STAGGERS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the substitute committee amendment be considered as read, printed in the Record, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to title I?

Are there any amendments to title II?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. STAGGERS

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Staggers: On page 67, line 6, strike out "$190,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$19,000,000".

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is for the purpose of correcting a typographical error—which involves $171,000,000.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt there is much merit to this bill.

But I wonder where the $1 billion called for in this bill is to come from? Is there any budget authority for this spending? I assume there must be.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. STAGGERS. I might say to the gentleman from Iowa that the original request of the administration was that this bill carry an appropriation of $2,700,000,000.

Mr. GROSS. $2,700,000,000?

Mr. STAGGERS. Yes, and as passed by the Senate, the bill carried a $1,900,000,000. The subcommittee and the full committee in their wisdom limited this to 2 years and to $1,176,000,000.

This money, as in the case of all moneys, must be appropriated and authorized by this Congress and must come from the taxpayers.

Mr. GROSS. Would I be correct in assuming that the original administration proposal for a $2 billion plus expenditure was not accompanied by any statement from the President or the Director of the Bureau of the Budget as to where the money was to come from, how it was to be obtained? Did they give you any information as to where they proposed to get the money?

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. GROSS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. STAGGERS. This is nothing new. The money has to come from the same source. There is only one source. That is the taxpayers. That is one reason we cut it to the very barebones of what we thought we could get by with and still protect the health of the Nation, and in future years ago ahead for the benefit of those who come after us, to provide some kind of protection for them. We thought that was our duty as Members of the Congress. Of course, the money must come from taxes.

Mr. GROSS. This administration has agreed to cut $6 billion off expenditures in this fiscal year of 1969. I do not know how they are going to cut the mustard if they are going to authorize spending of this dimension, in addition, I am sure, to the large amount of money already being spent annually for hospitals, scholarships, training, and that sort of thing, not only in this but in other fields.

Mr. STAGGERS. If the gentleman would yield further, I am sure the administration is contemplating budgeting the $2.7 billion. This bill does not run out until July 1, 1969. We have cut it from the $2.7 billion down to $1,176,000,000. So the Bureau of the Budget can budget it for next year and the years to come. We have done this. We have cut it more than half. I am sure we are not asking for it now; the administration is not, either. We thought this was the least we could do for the health of America.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to my colleague from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. May I ask the chairman if the cut made by the House of which he speaks is a cut in actual expenditure or is this simply a reduction in the length of the program?

Mr. STAGGERS. This is really a reduction in the length of the program.

Mr. KYL. In other words, we have not really cut the dollars spent per year; we have merely cut the period of the appropriation; is that correct?

Mr. STAGGERS. That is exactly correct. Under the circumstances and the conditions of the country, we thought it was better to do it under a short-term program. So what is not made up in this bill will have to be made up in the budget for next year.

Mr. KYL. In other words, we really cannot say that the House cut the program dollarwise from $2 billion-plus to $1 billion-plus. We simply have cut the length of the program.

Mr. STAGGERS. That is perfectly true.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. Gross was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TENZER. I would suggest to my distinguished colleague from the State of Iowa that this bill provides some very essential medical and health facilities and manpower which is very much needed in this Nation. The need has been spelled out in many, many communications and in a part of the report we have before us. The Nation's health is the No. 1 item of the Nation's unfinished business, and therefore should be given the highest priority in our Nation's needs.

We have, as of 8 o'clock this morning, 201 million citizens in the United States, and we have a constantly growing population, and their health is of concern to us.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I thought I said at the outset of my remarks that there undoubtedly was merit to this bill.

Mr. TENZER. I concur with my colleague.

Mr. GROSS. And this country is also—regardless of the population growth—facing a financial crisis.

Let me say to the gentleman from New York, and the gentleman from West Virginia, and some others on that side of the aisle as well as on this side of the aisle, that it was only a short time ago when we had a $2.3 billion foreign handout bill before this House. With $5 billion in the foreign aid pipeline to draw on, I offered an amendment to provide for a 1-year moratorium on any new money, insisting at the same time that there were certain ongoing domestic programs that would have to be financed; that this country was in a desperate situation financially.

I did not get to first base with my amendment that would have stopped the authorizing of $1,900,000,000 in new money to be handed out around the world, plus the $5 billion pipeline bank for them to draw on. Now here we have this bill, and this is not peanuts we are talking about authorizing this afternoon. My point is simply that we cannot spew billions around the world and continue to spend at home without facing bankruptcy.

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, the gentleman raised a very good point. That program, just as many other programs, should be constantly reviewed and the expenses curtailed as necessary.

However, the gentleman conceded the importance of this, and the importance of affixing the highest priority to this kind of program because, as I said, the Nation's health knows no geographic or political boundaries.

Mr. GROSS. I certainly attach a much higher priority to this program than I do to a foreign giveaway program around the world, but I do not seem to have my way. A majority of the people on your side of the aisle seem to feel we can finance both. It cannot be done. We ought to begin to realize that.

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Chairman, I agree. For example, we ought to cut out the building of a golf course on a military reservation. We did that in 1962.

Mr. GROSS. I agree with the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

(On request of Mr. Scheuer, and by unanimous consent, Mr. Gross was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to emphasize the priority we ought to place on this program and the extent to which the absence of health services interferes with other vital Federal programs we have devised to aid the cities and States in other ways. The National Advisory Council, under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which is our congressional program to help the cities and States do a better job of their education of our young children, found that title I funds for remedial education purposes were all too often—particularly in rural areas—being spent not directly for education purposes but for medical and health and nutrition programs for the kids.

They found the children did not have dental and health care, and eye examinations. They found that the kids were half asleep in the morning because the last square meal they had was the school lunch the day before. The reason for spending the money from the education fund was that, of course, when children have diseased mouths, when they are half asleep from hunger, when they cannot see their lesson book because they need glasses, they cannot function in school. When children are not healthy, they cannot possibly make a go of the school programs. And when they don't have shoes, or decent clothing, they do not come to school at all. Therefore, many local school agencies reluctantly are spending title I funds on health, nutrition, and clothing needs, because society has failed to meet these needs adequately in programs designed to meet these needs. Schools have paid for medical personnel out of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act funds to do the job this bill will provide for.

Therefore, knowing so many of my colleagues on both sides have supported programs to help the cities and States do a better job of educating our kids I would urge the best way we can help them do a better education job under ESEA is to provide funds and trained personnel in this bill to do the needed health and nutrition job for the kids of America.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I do not disagree with the gentleman. What I am talking about is priorities. I am talking about the President, who said he would join Congress in cutting $6 billion out of spending. How does he propose to cut $6 billion if he is going to lavish another $1,900,000,000 this year on aid to foreign countries from Ouagadougou to Timbuktu and back again?

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, I would propose to cut $6 billion by reducing agricultural subsidies, by reducing military construction spending here at home in the United States that can be stretched out, by stretching out spending in the space and SST programs, and by stretching out spending in the public works programs, particularly for those less than essential projects which can be deferred, and so on.

I agree with my colleague from Iowa. There are plenty of ways we can find $6 billion of cuts other than invading these essential programs which affect the health, education, and employability of our citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Staggers].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, this Health Manpower Act of 1968 is vitally needed if we are to provide adequate medical care for the United States in the future. I am constantly being informed about deserving students who want to become doctors, but cannot obtain a medical education because of inadequate facilities for such an education. At a time when we are facing an increasingly acute shortage of doctors, we must respond by doing something affirmative to train doctors.

The same is equally true about nurses. The shortage is also acute. A respected authority in the congressional district which I represent is Sister Ann Jean who is the administrator of St. Joseph's Hospital in Paterson. She has called my attention to the need, and urged the passage of this bill. Likewise Sister Eileen Theresa who is administrator of St. Mary's Hospital in Passaic has told me of her difficulty of staffing that institution.

I whole-heartedly support this bill and urge its passage.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, the amendments discussed by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Cahill] are clearly aimed at our present and future medical research program. They eliminate all flexibility which was to be provided to the medical schools to administer a cohesive and integrated program to medical education, service, and research—the three essential components of modern medical education. The intent of removing this flexibility seems to be to criticize the medical schools for their crucial involvement and accomplishments in medical research in the past.

No one believes more strongly than I in the need for a greater number of trained physicians, nurses, and other health professionals. But the way to accomplish this is not through attacks on research. Research alone holds the promise of the cure and elimination of the diseases which require the care of physicians today. To remove the creative component of research from modern medical education would be consigning the medical students of the 1970's and 1980's to the quality of education of the 1940's and 1950's. I know that is not the intention of the gentleman from New Jersey or this House here today. It is vital to the future of the health of this Nation that we sustain our national commitment to health manpower and to health research by rejecting the amendments put forward by my friend from New Jersey today.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. CAHILL

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, if the bill is open for amendment at this time, I have some amendments at the Clerk's desk, and I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. Cahill: On page 41, strike out lines 18 and all that follow down through and including line 17 on Page 42, and insert in lieu thereof:

"Sec. 103. (a)(1) Section 723 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293 c) is amended as follows: so much of section 723 of such Act as precedes clause (a) is amended by striking out 'ten' and inserting in lieu thereof 'twenty'.

"(2) Section 721 (c) (2) proviso (A) of such Act is amended by striking out 'ten' and inserting in lieu thereof 'twenty.' "

On page 42, strike out line 18 and all that follows down through and including line 11 on page 43.

Redesignate the succeeding section accordingly.

On page 41, beginning in line 22, strike out "(and the other purposes permitted under section 722)".

On page 43, strike out line 12 and all that follows down through and including line 8 on page 44.

On page 66, after line 24, insert the following:

"NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON NURSE TRAINING

"Sec. 216. Section 841(a)(1) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298(a)(1)) is amended (1) by striking out 'sixteen members' and inserting in lieu thereof 'eighteen members', and (2) by inserting immediately before the period at the end of the second sentence of such section the following: 'and two shall be selected from among individuals recommended to the Secretary by the American Hospital Association'."

On page 81, strike out lines 5 through 10 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 402. (a) Subsection (a) of section 706 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292e(a)) is amended (1) by striking out 'except that in no event may such amount exceed 50 per centum' and inserting in lieu thereof 'but such amount may in the case of applications approved subsequent to Sept. 30, 1968, not, except as provided in this paragraph and in paragraph (2), exceed 40 per centum', (2) by striking out '50 per centum' the second time it appears in such subsection and inserting in lieu thereof '40 per centum', and (3) by adding at the end of such subsection the following new sentences: 'In the case of any grant made under this part to a school of medicine or to a school of osteopathy (as defined in section 724 of part B of this title), the maximum amount of such grant shall be 50 per centum (instead of the maximum prescribed by the preceding sentence) if the application for such grant contains or is supported by reasonable assurances that the number of graduates from such school receiving degrees of doctor of medicine or doctor of osteopathy (as determined under regulations prescribed by the Secretary) in the first full school year following the completion of the construction of the facility (with respect to which such application is made) and for each of the next nine school years thereafter will exceed the average number of such graduates in the five school year-period ending with the school year immediately preceding such completion of construction by at least 5 per centum of such average number, or by 5 graduates, whichever is greater. The Secretary is authorized to waive (in whole or in part) the condition prescribed in the preceding sentence for a grant of 50 per centum of construction costs if he determines, after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Education for Health Professions, that (A) the required increase in the number of graduates cannot, because of limitations of physical facilities available to the school for training, be accomplished by the school without lowering the quality of the training it provides, and (B) the school has made reasonable efforts (including applying for funds under this Act) to increase its physical facilities for training.'"

On page 81, line 21, strike out "50 per centum" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "the percentage limitations prescribed in paragraph (1) of this subsection".

Mr. CAHILL (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendments be dispensed with and that they be printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. CAHILL was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, like most Members I hesitate to attempt a futile thing, and it is clear to me, observing the number of Members on the floor and recognizing that most of them properly are members of this great committee, if these amendments are not acceptable to the chairman and to the ranking minority member, there is little or no chance of their adoption by this Committee, with perhaps 20 Members of the House of Representatives on the floor.

So I am going to say without going into detail, that the purpose of these amendments—all of them—is to try to change the direction of the grants under this bill away from research.

If Members have read the bill carefully, they have found grants for construction. Under the present law they must be used for the construction of teaching facilities for at least 10 years. If they are not continued for that period of 10 years for teaching purposes the buildings revert to the Federal Government. That has been changed, and now these buildings can be used for research. The same is true throughout the entire bill.

This bill is called the Medical Manpower Act of 1968. It is misnamed. It should be called the Manpower-Research Grants Act of 1968.

I have taken this time, really, to relate some interesting facts to the Committee. I put in the RECORD a couple of weeks ago a list of 10 medical schools in this country who have received $100 million in Federal grants. They increased the total number of doctor graduates by 19. One school graduated 17 more. Some of them had less gradudates than before receipt of the grants.

I decided to look into one of these schools, because I do not have time or staff to look into all of them, and I picked the school closest to my district so that there would be no charge that I was picking on any other Member's district.

I picked the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. Now, let me tell you an interesting story. In 1967 that medical school graduated less students than it graduated in 1957. This was after the receipt of $50 million in research grants and $10 million in construction grants. They graduated this past year, I think, 126 students, with a total enrollment in the school of approximately 500. What do you think the faculty in this school is? How many professors and assistant professors and instructors do you think they have? Would you say 300? Would you say 500? Well, if you do, you would be wrong, and you would be too low. There are 126 graduates, 500 students, and over 1,400 on the faculty

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. STAGGERS. I am sure the gentleman is presenting a good argument here, but you do not graduate a doctor in 1 year or 2 years or 3 years or 4 years or 5 years or 6 years or 7 years.

Mr. CAHILL. I do not yield any further to the gentleman.

Mr. STAGGERS. I am only correcting the gentleman in what he is saying.

Mr. CAHILL. But I do not yield any further. Let me continue on and then I will yield and you can respond.

The new dean of the university has already received in the last 15 years approximately $5 million individually in grants. He is now the receipient of a $680,000 individual grant. He supervises 90 projects. And he is now the dean of the medical school. I wonder, how can a man do all that is required in both capacities? I would be happy to have somebody tell me how it can be done.

I have looked into this problem and I am satisfied that we in America today are driving the doctor into the laboratory and out of the classroom. This is understandable. I do not blame the doctors. I do not blame the doctors because the research grants are there. Somebody has to spend them. The only way you can spend them is to have accredited doctors or researchers do the work. So they are put on the medical staff of a medical school allegedly as teachers or as instructors, but they are spending most of their time, if not all of their time, doing research on Federal grants.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have a book over there which I received from the U.S. Government, and it is a list of grants to one medical school. The grants they are receiving are absolutely unbelievable. This is all right. I have no objection to that if it is necessary and if it is doing a necessary job for the country and if the committee feels it is worthwhile. But how can you do that and at the same time permit 5,000 foreign-trained doctors to practice medicine in this country? How can you staff the hospitals with foreign doctors from all over the world and from medical schools that we know very little about and say that we cannot have more doctors in the United States because we have to have "quality medicine"? We had more foreign doctors and more foreign trainees come into the United States this past year than the sum total of all of the doctors graduated in all of the medical schools in the United States. I say to you that the American people are not going to stand for it much longer. It is about time we changed our priorities.

Mr. Chairman, if we have enough money to do all of this research, fine. But at the same time let us provide more doctors.

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of my amendments is to so orient the grants that the recipient schools will have to produce a proportionate larger number of medical graduates each year in order to receive continuance in these grants. In other words, they should receive more grants if they produce more doctors, less money if they graduate less doctors.

Until we reach the point in the future where we produce more physicians, the people in the ghettos, the people that need the doctor at night and on Sunday, are not going to get that doctor.

As has been stated by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] on many occasions "one day the chickens are coming home to roost."

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, in my opinion the gentleman from New Jersey is making a very interesting point.

I asked the head of a department of one of our great medical schools during the course of the hearings on the National Science Foundation budget how many hours a week he spent in the classroom. He said, "One." And the same thing applies in the undergraduate departments in the academic world. The good professors are receiving Federal grants and spending most of their time upon research. The freshmen and the sophomores who need good teachers are being taught by graduate students.

Mr. CAHILL. Absolutely; and some young doctors are obliged to seek these grants.

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TENZER. In connection with the statement which the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] made about the University of Pennsylvania, the gentleman referred to a school of 500 students and a lot of professors and instructors, or 1,400. Would the gentleman have any information as to how many were full time and how many were part time?

Mr. CAHILL. I had intended to present that information to the Committee in the form of a breakdown and I have inserted it in the RECORD because I do have it broken down into professors, assistant professors, instructors and so forth.

However, let me say in order that there be no misunderstanding about the fact of the matter, I recognize that some of these men also teach graduate students. So, just the fact that there are 500 in the medical school is not to say that perhaps some of these men do have other work, but I say that most of them from what I have been able to observe do not desire to be teachers if they can receive the medical grant, and do limited research. They will take the grant and I intend to demonstrate this fact by the information which I shall insert into the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] remain in the well. The comments of the gentleman have intrigued me and have made me wonder about some of the things we are doing here.

I would like to have the gentleman explain further his amendments in order to determine whether I can vote for the amendments or not.

Mr. CAHILL. I have already checked with the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS], and the ranking minority member, and have asked them if they would accept the amendments and they have said that they would not.

We are authorizing so much money for the construction of teaching facilities in this bill. This legislation makes it possible for those facilites to be used for research, and it extends from 10 years to 20 years the time during which they can be allowed to be used for research. My amendment, if adopted, would limit those facilities to teaching purposes. In other words, they would have to be used for teaching.

All of my amendments are similarly oriented.

I will say to the gentleman from Iowa that I was interested in discussing each amendment individually but I became disheartened by the obvious lack of interest on the part of the Members and I thought it would be love's labor lost to go into each one in detail. I felt it would be better to put them in the RECORD and let the Members read them. I say this especially in view of the fact that the chairman of the committee and the ranking member of the committee will not accept them. Why waste time? But they are all oriented the same way, I will say to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KYL. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. JOELSON. The gentleman from New Jersey has spoken very eloquently about the need of children and others in the ghettos for medical care and I agree. But I am sure the gentleman would also agree that these researchers have taken away the dread of polio, measles, and many other things with which our children have been afflicted.

Mr. CAHILL. The gentleman from New Jersey was not here when I said that I agree that research has accomplished wonderful results. I agree it is necessary, and if this amount of money is necessary I am for it. But my point is let us not neglect, let us not forget that we cannot implement the results of research unless we have doctors to do the work. That is all I am saying.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. KYL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, although I am not for it, to be consistent, I wonder if the gentleman perhaps could inquire whether the committee would be interested in inserting into this bill the same provision that was added yesterday in the bill we passed. To be consistent it would be a new section 405, as follows: "no grant exceeding $20,000 per year will be provided to any person or institution under the provisions of this act."

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield so that I may reply to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH]?

Mr. KYL. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CAHILL. One of the great tragedies, I will say to the gentleman from Iowa, is not the amount of money, but the fact that the grants go to individuals rather than to institutions. And what you are finding today is that, just the same as airplane manufacturers like to get somebody that was formerly connected with the Government, and has the contacts, so with the medical schools today. And sometimes the dean, or the professor is the man who has the largest individual grant. I am informed that some of the medical schools participate in a percentage of the amount of the grant for overhead and administrative expenses.

So what I am saying is that we ought to stop the individual grants, and we ought to give them to the institutions and then they could be administered under the directions of an objective body that is not personally motivated financially and has concern on how the money should be spent.

Mr. KYL. Does the gentleman know whether the committee has exercised any oversight of these programs that have functioned in this way?

Mr. CAHILL. If the gentleman will yield further, in my judgment, the answer is No. The only committee that I know that is doing that—although I was told today by the gentleman from Wisconsin that the Committee on Appropriations is now doing it—is a subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, and that committee has been rather critical of it. I talked to the chairman of the subcommittee, and he said, "We put it in the report year after year, but nobody pays any attention to it."

And these complaints are in the 1967 report which are available to all Members. These programs have been criticized for 7 years by this Subcommittee on Government Operations of this House of Representatives.

Today, I raised the question, and I was told, "Well, they are not right, they are not facts. We have investigated them, and what the committee says is not true."

Now, as a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, I do not have the expertise or knowledge myself to find these things, but that I have got to rely on the other committees.

I will say to the gentleman from Iowa that I am perplexed, if not completely confused, by my research into research.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I believe we ought to put in perspective——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I believe it would be well for us to put in proper perspective the problems we are discussing here.

The problem of research and research grants is not concerned with the legislation that is before us. This is an education bill which gives grants for construction and help in education in medical schools, schools of nursing, and for allied purposes.

The problem the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL], is talking about, is a problem associated with the National Institutes of Health where the research programs are carried on, where research grants are made. And of course, they pick out the man who is the most knowledgeable in the field and give the research grant to him rather than some institution where they do not know whether they have got an expert in the field or not.

This is a procedure that has been going on. It has been a procedure which the Committee on Appropriations and our committee, has checked and there are undoubtedly some things that need to be straightened out, of course, as there are in any program that large. There would naturally be.

We have made recommendations and many of the corrective steps have been taken and will be taken. But to get back to this bill and what this bill does, we do not make grants to individuals for research in this bill at all. This is to help meet the health manpower problem in this Nation, where we have a shortage of over 50,000 doctors, and where we have a shortage of over 200,000 nurses, and right on down the line.

That is what this legislation is designed to take care of.

Now the gentleman from New Jersey came before the committee and gave excellent testimony. It was most helpful. I share his feeling that what we have done in this Nation, and I tried to point it out earlier, is that we have emphasized, I think, research too much and education not enough, in the medical field.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LAIRD. I would like to state to the gentleman from Florida that so far as dollars and cents are concerned, it may appear that in some cases research activity has been overemphasized as compared with education. But we have had a very difficult time here because we have not had the authorization to go ahead with educational grants. Research has been used as a subterfuge in many cases so far by the National Institutes of Health in order to keep some of our medical schools open this year. This year we are about to have the medical schools of two of our great universities closed. We have also had two dental schools close in this last year.

Quite recently, the St. Louis University dental school was closed. That is unfortunate. That is why this bill is needed because we want to get away from using the research avenue to finance dental and medical education—yes, and even nurses education. This gives us an opportunity and an avenue to do it open and above board and to take care of these educational needs.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. I agree with the gentleman and thank him for his contribution. What he says is certainly true.

I would like to make just this point. The committee has done exactly what the gentleman recommended. We have changed the 10-year to a 20-year period. as to the use for which a facility once built with these funds must be continued.

I personally felt very strongly about that. I think these facilities must be primarily used for education. That is the first call on them. The only reason we did not bar any funds to be used for research is simply because when you build a medical school there is some area in the building which will be used for research, clinical research, and teaching in effect.

So what we are doing in this legislation is saying that whatever is used here must be done primarily for education and the research must be geared to education. That, I think, is what the gentleman would want and what the committee's intent is in presenting this legislation to the House.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. I am delighted to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CAHILL. I want to say that I was impressed by the interest of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. JARMAN] and your interest and the interest of all the members of the subcommittee in listening to the testimony that I gave.

I really believe that this bill is a step in the right direction. I think we have a long way to go. But I do think it is an improvement.

I disagree with the gentleman that if you can open the door for a little bit of research—which is like a little bit of something else—but the point of it is I think you have to orient completely our thinking to the fulfillment of the public need for more doctors.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, this bill refers to money for space in a building. This does not refer to money to any individual for research. In other words, you have to have a library for research and clinical research is carried on where the faculty will teach students. These are examples.

Mr. CAHILL. That is right. This is the old story—that the more research grants you give the more people will be working in it and the more space is needed. This is what they want to do. They want to take the facilities now and use them for research when it ought to be used for teaching.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. If the gentleman will permit me, we have changed that whole process in this law. What we are saying here is that it must be primarily for education—these research facilities must be geared to education because that is the whole thrust of this bill—education.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to be as brief as I can to see if we can move along.

But I do believe that the whole thrust of what the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey is talking about ought to be met—we should not leave this bill with the House under the impression that we are draining off money for research, because I think that in this bill we are not doing that.

I do not dispute the figures which the gentleman has presented to the House. I am sure he has been very honest and forthright in what he has said. I do not know how many doctors the University of Pennsylvania produced in 1957. But this law was not in effect in 1957. This is a 1960's bill. But there is an amendment added to the original act called the Springer amendment under which any school which accepts certain funds for construction under the terms of the legislation originally passed must increase their freshman class by 5 percent or five members, whichever is the greater.

As I said, I do not know how many the University of Pennsylvania produced in 1957. But I will tell you this: When they obtained money for expansion of facilities, they were required to increase their next September's enrollment by that percentage or by that number. So they are not producing less than they did when this program went into effect. I cannot tell you about 1957 because this legislation was not in effect in 1957. But we are producing more doctors under this formula.

The distinguished gentleman has raised the question about foreign doctors. I am very happy about the foreign doctors situation. I happen to have 11 rural counties in my district. I have been trying to get doctors into those crossroad towns. Do you know who I am getting? I am not getting any of the graduates of the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, or the University of Michigan. The only ones I am getting are those that are coming in from out of the country, and those people are perfectly satisfied to go to the small communities and reside there for the rest of their natural life. This in the rural communities is a great asset.

I do not think the gentleman meant to say that he did not want them, but I think he was trying to distinguish the fact that we graduate about 7,700 doctors a year, and you said there were 8,000 coming in.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. Since I mentioned the gentleman's name, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CAHILL. My complaint is that a country as large and as rich and in great need as this country is should be able to produce enough doctors to take care of our Nation's needs. I do not think we ought to rely upon any other country to do it. I think it is an indictment against the Federal Government and against every State government in this country that we do not provide enough American boys who want to go to school the opportunity to do so. They have the ability to go to school, but cannot get into a school because there are not enough schools. That is my complaint.

Mr. SPRINGER. Let me answer the gentleman on that particular point. When this legislation originated, if the gentleman will go back and read my words which I delivered from the well of this House, I said that by 1974 we would not have any more doctors per thousand than we have today, but that under the legislation we would be able to keep up with the increase in population, and in 1974 we would have the same number of doctors per thousand that we had when the legislation was passed earlier in the 1960's.

I think on the whole we stand well with the rest of the world. You have to go around to some of these other countries, as our subcommittee did, and look at the medical training in England, in Sweden, in West Germany, in France, in Italy, in Japan, and in 1955 the subcommittee went to Australia when they were putting in the first medical program for everyone at Government expense.

We have tried to compare every year or two where we stand with the rest of the world, and you cannot deny that this country, both in the field of research and the field of medical care, is so far ahead of any other country that it is almost beyond description.

So I want to be sure that the House understands that the medical care in this country is good.

There are some rural areas in the country—and Mississippi is one State which contains them—which have been trying to attract doctors. They have a formula for them in an attempt to get them into the ghettos at the present time. There is a lack of doctors there.

There has been a bill introduced in the other body by two or three Senators from both sides of the aisle and given bipartisan support to secure diagnostic centers in those areas. It is pertinent to a bill we already have and are going to bring back from conference soon, a bill which we think will work toward getting diagnostic centers in those areas. While we do not have all the answers, I believe we have some answers which I think the gentleman ought to be acquainted with if we are talking about medical care in this country, because I believe it is second to none.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I rise to oppose the amendments. This is primarily a teaching bill—a manpower training bill. There is not a cent in here for research. We provide aid to build some research facilities, and that is all, but the bill is primarily for teaching facilities.

The gentleman from New Jersey has the same intentions that we on the committee have. We intend this to be a teaching bill, and we think we have come up with a bill for that purpose.

The bill was very carefully considered by the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare in several days of hearings and several days of markup, and I have every confidence in the bill that came out as a result of that. The full committee also carefully considered the bill, and I think the reported bill is a good one. For these reasons, I oppose the amendments offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I think this is a good bill, and I support this legislation, but I did want to ask the committee a question concerning student loans. I have felt for several years, after talking to administrators in nursing schools that especially in the case of nurses, because so many of them are women, there is a need for a flexible repayment option rather than requiring a rigid schedule of repayments. Some of the administrators in the schools have told me it would be very valuable, and they think that with it they could secure enrollment of some good nursing students who are not now accepting these loans.

I appeared before the committee and suggested that possibly the committee could provide as an alternative repayment provision, a repayment of about 5 percent of their income annually until the loan was paid. This would mean that during the years they do not work they would not have to pay, but during the years they do work they would have to pay 5 percent of their income. I believe we would find some young girls who now hesitate to tie themselves down for 10 years to come, would accept and be able to pay the money back as fast on an average but with less hardship. I sincerely hope, although the committee did not include it this year, they will work on this proposition and try to come up with something of that sort in the future.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, the committee appreciated the gentleman appearing before the committee, and the committee certainly will in the coming year consider the merits of the matter brought to it by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH].

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered en bloc by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL].

The amendments were rejected.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this bill and all amendments thereto close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. DOW].

Mr. DOW. Mr. Chairman, I had an amendment to offer. My amendment would retain the present provisions of the law that gave the Commissioner of Education authority to accredit programs of nurse education directly. In the interest of time at the end of this session, I shall not offer the amendment but do offer the following statement in support of it.

The meaning of the provisions incorporated in section 231, which my amendment would strike out, is to give over the power of accreditation to recognized bodies or State agencies approved by the Commissioner of Education. In other words, the Commissioner could accredit the State agencies and they would in turn accredit the institutions of nurse education. In other words, this would be accreditation by indirection.

Basically, the issue here is whether the vast flow of Federal funds would be allotted on the basis of uniform nationwide standards within the control of the Commissioner or whether they would be placed at the disposal of State agencies. The philosophy involved here is akin to the philosophy of block grants that has entered into much of the mechanisms provided by the law for disposing of Federal funds.

Being one who is not philosophically attuned to block grants, I offer this amendment by way of expressing the contrary philosophy; that is, one wherein high standards are set and maintained uniformly throughout the Nation.

I quote from a letter of a very responsible official in the State University of New York at Albany, who has questioned the possibility of resorting to State accreditation of programs of nurse education. This official writes as follows:

> "State approval" means approval by a state board of nurse examiners, of which there are fifty. With the exception of New York State, members of these boards are political appointees of the respective governors. They may or may not be nurses; or if they are nurses, they may or may not be qualified in nursing education or may even be retired from nursing practice. These factors differ from state to state for statutory reasons.
>
> Most nurse boards, even the very good ones, are under various political pressures which diminish their ability to enforce standards of quality in nursing schools. As a former member of a state board of examiners myself, I am well aware of the political pressures within any state which influence such a board to grant so-called 'state approval' to almost any nursing program in which some individual or group has vested interest.
>
> Licensing is a function of state government and nursing licenses are already controlled by these same boards. To add the power of granting them control over dispersal of federal funds within each of the 50 constituencies is to magnify the force of the political pressures upon them and, hence, to encourage 50 sets of educational standards for nursing. Coupled with the autonomous licensing authority, this mechanism could well produce chaos in quality of patient care as a result of the inter-state movement of nurses at a time of increasing mobility of our population.

Mr. Chairman, I am aware that the U.S. Commissioner on Education does not himself now accredit the institutions for nurse education. He has assigned this responsibility on his behalf to the National League for Nursing. It is further understood that the National League for Nursing tends to be somewhat strict in their standards for accreditation. Now, I submit that it would be easier for the Commissioner to interest the National League for Nursing to be slightly more flexible, than it would be to bring all the various State agencies and State institutions, and miscellaneous private schools, up to a standard that would justify their receiving Federal funds.

A final word, Mr. Chairman, about the concept of block grants and States rights would not be amiss. I have the strong impression that the establishments in some of the States are quite jealous, not only to retain dominance in their particular States, but also to employ the leverage of Federal funds to reinforce the dominance that they treasure so jealously. It is my humble opinion that it would be very well for localities in many of these States to benefit from direct relations with the Federal agencies. Otherwise, their window on the world is strictly limited to the same State channel time after time. Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, I would recommend adoption of such an amendment and to leave the accreditation of nursing schools in the same good hands that it has been.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS].

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I support this legislation and urge its passage.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE].

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, it is good to see the Health Manpower Act of 1968 being considered today, and I wish to give my full support to this important piece of legislation. Having served on the committee which considered this bill, I know its history and some of the details of the earlier programs.

One of my major interests in the bill is that it takes great strides toward improving the Nurse Training Act of 1964 in ways similar to legislation I introduced early last year. But the bill also goes much further and provides good and effective answers to the critical personnel shortages seen in other areas of medicine.

The bill's strength lies in the fact that it extends five existing health programs, and I believe it is important to take a look at each of them individually.

The Nurse Training Act of 1964 certainly stands as a landmark piece of legislation in the medical personnel field. But the reasons which gave rise to that law are still with us, and the shortage of nurses is one of the most critical challenges in the entire area.

It was on this point, Mr. Chairman, that I introduced legislation last year to provide massive assistance to our hospital diploma schools of nursing—the greatest current supplier of our annual crop of nurses.

If we are to answer this need in time to have any impact at all on present shortages, we cannot philosophize on these questions—we must act, and I am glad to see these provisions before the House.

The major thrust of the nurse training amendments is to broaden the type of nursing school which may become eligible for assistance. There is some sentiment supporting an effort to upgrade the nursing profession by requiring college training of all nurses. I do not question the merit of this plan, but the facts show that it is simply not quick enough.

The Nurse Training Act provides construction and scholarship grants to schools engaged in this training.

The Health Professions Educational Assistance Act is extended, in order that construction and special project grants may continue to our schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, optometry, and podiatry. It is no secret that many of these schools are having a hard time financially. With medical costs increasing at staggering rates, it is no longer the answer simply to raise student tuition. If the public expects to have an adequate supply of medical professionals, we have got to keep up this effort. This program also offers matching funds for student loans and scholarship, in order to assure that the top people are not deprived of this valuable opportunity of public service.

The shortage of hospital administrators, and others in a supervisory role is attacked through the Allied Health Professions Act. The bill before us today extends this program and makes a great contribution toward the goal of getting the maximum possible use of our existing medical community.

The Public Health Training Act hits the broader problems facing us in the general field of public health. Through project grants to schools of public health, the Public Health Service has achieved good success in problems of preventive medicine, medical care economics, and environmental public health. In addition to extending these programs, the bill before us today offers traineeships for graduate public health training for physicians, engineers, nurses, and other related professions.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, the bill today extends the Health Research Facilities Act which gives Federal assistance for the construction and operation of research and research training facilities.

Since the end of World War II, there has been a tremendous increase in the demand for health services. The overcrowded hospitals and emergency rooms are one glaring example of this—the startling spiral of medical costs is another. Unfortunately, the situation is fast approaching the point where good health service will be available only to a few rich, and I say that this simply will not do. It is the responsibility of this country to provide the essential leadership.

Two years ago the medicare program went into effect midst much fanfare. It was wildly acclaimed as an assurance to our older citizens that they would be relatively free from excessive worry about how their health bills would be paid.

But if the medicare promise of 2 years ago is to remain a viable, responsive answer, then I say we cannot look at only one side of the problem. It is not enough to say that the therapeutic expenses will be paid if there are no therapeutic specialists. It is not enough to say that hospital beds will be made available if hospital administration is so snarled as to make the bed available at the wrong time. And it is not enough to say that the doctor bills will be paid if there are no doctors to perform their lifesaving services.

Mr. Chairman, I applaud the bill before us today and urge my colleagues to give it their most careful and favorable consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. Rosenthal].

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, I shall at the appropriate time offer an amendment to section 798(a). It is merely an amplifying amendment. That section requires the Secretary to report to Congress on developments and to give an appraisal of programs under this act.

My amendment merely makes more specific the report the Secretary is required to file, in the area of innovations in training of new personnel, providing for doctors' assistants and specific nursing training. It merely says the report by the Secretary shall be more detailed and more specific in line with the new innovations theory in this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Friedel].

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, the Health Manpower Act of 1968 is a most significant and far-reaching piece of legislation. Health manpower is at the heart of our national endeavors to provide health care to our citizens. I strongly support this important bill, H.R. 15757.

I would like to speak briefly on one aspect of the bill. There is a growing shortage of dentists in this country. Dentistry is one of the health professions in which the demands for service are increasing so fast that despite our major efforts to train more dentists, we are falling farther behind each year. For example, although the supply of dentists is likely to increase by 6,000 between now and 1973, the estimated demand for dental services will result in a need for an additional 12,000 over and above that 6,000.

Four new dental schools have been funded under the health professions construction program; two have admitted students, and an additional one will open this fall, and another next year. In addition, 20 existing schools have expanded their teaching facilities with the help of these construction grants. The bill would extend this construction program. This is crucial if spaces are to be provided for the training of increasing numbers of dentists.

Some of the dental schools are in serious financial trouble. One school has already started to phase out its program, and will not admit a freshman class next year; another has announced its intent to close. The closing of a dental school, with the attendant loss of new dentists year by year, is a staggering blow in the face of the shortages we face. Every effort must be made to keep existing schools in operation.

H.R. 15757 includes several provisions under which appropriate assistance could be provided to assist dental and other health professions schools in serious financial difficulties. The $400,000 ceiling on the amount of any special improvement grant to a school would be removed, effective in fiscal year 1969, thus allowing appropriate assistance according to the peculiar needs of the school. In establishing priorities among competing institutions for special project grants, consideration would be given, among other things, to relative needs of the schools for financial assistance to prevent curtailment of enrollments. Projects could be tailored to assist schools in serious financial straits.

In my own State of Maryland, the University of Maryland School of Dentistry received $5,257,424 in construction grants for 28 new places for first-year students as well as $503,967 in grants for improvement of the curriculum. Five hundred fifty-two dental students received loans in my State under this program and 22 first-year scholarships were received the first year of this program and 70 first- and second-year scholarships were received this year bringing the number of scholarships to 92. Therefore, I know how important it is to continue this program to train dentists.

Mr. Chairman, it is as important to prevent the loss of a dental graduate as it is to tool up to add a new dental graduate. I therefore endorse these provisions of H.R. 15757 and urge the enactment of the Health Manpower Act of 1968.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ROSENTHAL

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Rosenthal: On pages 8 and 9, following the period on line 24, insert the following:

"This report shall cover—

"(a) the extent to which the medical profession is already involved in developing new health professions and, specifically, in developing training programs for physicians' assistants who can assume some of the important, but routine, burdens of medical care, under the supervision of doctors, so that our limited professional resources can be more fully and efficiently used;

"(b) the steps which the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has taken to encourage and assist this development, and

"(c) the further steps by which HEW can assist and stimulate the medical profession in developing curricula, training institutions, and approaches to accreditation and licensing necessary to achieve the fullest possible use of such new health personnel."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Rosenthal].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. STAGGERS

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment on behalf of the committee.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Staggers: On page 82, after line 8, insert the following:

"Sec. 405. The clause of section 101(b) of the Joint Resolution of June 29, 1968 (Public Law 90-366) relating to activities of the domestic agricultural workers health program of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is amended by striking out ",' other than grants,'."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Staggers].

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment, as amended.

The committee amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Gray, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 15757) to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 1262, he reported the bill back to the

House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The **SPEAKER**. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. **SPRINGER**. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER**. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 350, nays 0, not voting 82, as follows:

[Roll No. 303]

YEAS—350

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blackburn
Boggs
Boland
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carter
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Cohelan
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Cunningham
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fisher
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Griffiths
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Lloyd
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Mathias, Calif.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Calif.
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mink
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Passman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Pollock
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Railsback
Randall
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zwach

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—82

Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Ashbrook
Baring
Barrett
Battin
Blanton
Blatnik
Bolling
Bolton
Bow
Brock
Brown, Mich.
Burke, Fla.
Burton, Utah
Carey
Celler
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Davis, Wis.
Dent
Devine
Dole
Edwards, La.
Esch
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fino
Flood
Ford, William D.
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Goodell
Gude
Halleck
Hansen, Idaho
Hawkins
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Herlong
Holland
Karsten
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Landrum
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
MacGregor
Martin
Mathias, Md.
Minshall
Moore
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Nix
Patman
Quie
Quillen
Rarick
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Roudebush
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Teague, Tex.
Waggonner
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Widnall
Willis
Zion

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Kirwan with Mr. Bow.
Mr. Hébert with Mr. Watson.
Mr. Celler with Mr. Goodell.
Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Ashbrook.
Mr. Dent with Mr. Watkins.
Mr. Barrett with Mr. Widnall.
Mr. Anderson of Tennessee with Mr. Battin.
Mr. Blanton with Mr. Morton.
Mr. Everett with Mr. Brock.
Mr. Carey with Mr. Fino.
Mr. Fulton of Tennessee with Mr. Morse of Massachusetts.
Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Corbett.
Mrs. Sullivan with Mrs. Bolton.
Mr. Patman with Mr. Rhodes of Arizona.
Mr. King of California with Mr. King of New York.
Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Roudebush.
Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Cramer.
Mr. Willis with Mr. Devine.
Mr. Nix with Mr. Kupferman.
Mr. Rhodes of Pennsylvania with Mr. Minshall.
Mr. Hawkins with Mr. Resnick.
Mr. Herlong with Mr. Halleck.
Mr. Flood with Mr. Gude.
Mr. Edwards of Louisiana with Mr. Kuykendall.
Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Conte.
Mr. Baring with Mr. Lipscomb.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Martin.
Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Talcott.
Mr. Holland with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
Mr. Rarick with Mr. Wampler.
Mr. Burke of Florida with Mr. MacGregor.
Mr. William D. Ford with Mr. Mathias of Maryland.
Mr. Brown of Michigan with Mr. Cowger.
Mr. Frelinghuysen with Mr. Esch.
Mr. McClory with Mr. Dole.
Mr. Quillen with Mr. Moore.
Mr. Quie with Mrs. Heckler of Massachusetts.
Mr. Davis of Wisconsin with Mr. Hansen of Idaho.
Mr. Taft with Mr. Zion.
Mr. Burton of Utah with Mr. Lukens.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 1262, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is discharged from the further consideration of the bill, S. 3095.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. STAGGERS

Mr. **STAGGERS**. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Motion offered by Mr. STAGGERS: Strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 3095 and insert in lieu thereof the provisions of the bill H.R. 15757, as passed, as follows:

"That this Act may be cited as the 'Health Manpower Act of 1968'.

"SEC. 2. As used in the amendments made by this Act, the term 'Secretary', unless the context otherwise requires, means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"TITLE I—HEALTH PROFESSIONS TRAINING

"PART A—CONSTRUCTION GRANTS

"EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATIONS

"SEC. 101. (a) Section 720 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293) is amended by inserting after and below clause (3) of the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: 'For such grants there are also authorized to be appropriated $170,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $225,000,000 for the next fiscal year.'

"(b)(1) Such section 720 is further amended by striking out 'Sums so appropriated shall remain available until expended.' and by adding at the end of such section the following: 'Sums so appropriated for any fiscal year shall remain available for obligation through the close of the next fiscal year.'

"(2) The amendments made by this subsection shall apply only with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

"FEDERAL SHARE

"Sec. 102. (a) Subsection (a)(1) of section 722 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293b) is amended by striking out 'such amount may not exceed 50 per centum' and inserting in lieu thereof 'such amount may not, except where the Secretary determines that unusual circumstances make a larger percentage (which in no case may exceed 66⅔ per centum) necessary in order to effectuate the purposes of this part, exceed 50 per centum'.

"(b) The amendment made by this section shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

"LENGTH AND CHARACTER OF FEDERAL RECOVERY INTEREST IN FACILITIES

"Sec. 103. (a)(1) Clause (b) of section 723 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293c) is amended to read as follows:

"'(b) the facility shall cease to be used for the teaching purposes (and the other purposes permitted under section 722) for which it was constructed, unless the Secretary determines, in accordance with regulations, that there is good cause for releasing the applicant or other owner from the obligation to do so,'.

"(2) So much of such section 723 of such Act as precedes clause (a) is amended by striking out 'ten' and inserting in lieu thereof 'twenty'.

"(3) Clause (A) of section 721(c)(2) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 293a) is amended to read: '(A) the facility is intended to be used for the purposes for which the application has been made,'.

"(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) (1) and (2) shall apply in the case of facilities for which a grant has been or is in the future made under part B of title VII of the Public Health Service Act. The amendment made by subsection (a)(3) shall apply in the case of assurances given after the date of enactment of this Act under such part B.

"GRANTS FOR MULTIPURPOSE FACILITIES

"Sec. 104. (a) Section 722 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293b) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"'(d) In the case of a project for construction of facilities which are primarily (as determined in accordance with regulations of the Secretary) for teaching purposes and for which a grant may be made under this part, but which also are for research purposes, or research and related purposes, in the sciences related to health (within the meaning of part A of this title) or for medical library purposes (within the meaning of part I of title III), the project shall, insofar as all such purposes are involved, be regarded as a project for facilities with respect to which a grant may be made under this part.'

"(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made under part B of title VII of the Public Health Service Act from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

"GRANTS FOR CONTINUING AND ADVANCED EDUCATION FACILITIES

"Sec. 105. (a) Paragraph (3) of section 721(c) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293a) is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: '(and, for purposes of this part, expansion or curtailment of capacity for continuing education shall also be considered expansion and curtailment, respectively, of training capacity)'.

"(b) Subsection (d) of section 721 of such Act is amended by inserting '(other than a project for facilities for continuing education)' after 'an existing school' in paragraph (1)(A) and after 'a school' in paragraph (1)(B).

"(c) Section 724(4) of such Act is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof: ', and including advanced training related to such training provided by any such school'.

"(d) The amendments made by this section shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made under part B of title VII of the Public Health Service Act from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

"Part B—Institutional and Special Project Grants for Training of Health Professions Personnel

"Sec. 111. (a) Sections 770, 771, and 772 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 295f, 295f–1, 295f–2) are amended to read as follows:

"'AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

"'Sec. 770. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated $117,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $168,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, for institutional grants under section 771 and special project grants under section 772.

"'(b) The portion of the sums so appropriated for each fiscal year which shall be available for grants under each such section shall be determined by the Secretary unless otherwise provided in the Act or Acts appropriating such sums for such year.

"'INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

"'Sec. 771. (a)(1) The sums available for grants under this section from appropriations under section 770 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for the next fiscal year shall be distributed to the schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, pharmacy, optometry, veterinary medicine, and podiatry with approved applications as follows: Each school shall receive $25,000; and of the remainder—

"'(A) 75 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of—

"'(i) the relative enrollment of full-time students for such year, and

"'(ii) the relative increase in enrollment of such students for such year over the average enrollment of such school for the five school years preceding the year for which the application is made:

with the amount per full-time student so computed that a school receives twice as much for each such student in the increase as for other full-time students, and

"'(B) 25 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of the relative number of graduates for such year.

In computing the increase under clause (a) (ii) of the preceding sentence for any school, there shall be excluded a number equal to the increase required by subsection (b)(1) (except in the case of a school to which the third sentence of such subsection applies).

"'(2) For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1970, and June 30, 1971, only, the sum computed under paragraph (1) for any school which is less than the amount such school received under this section for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, shall be increased to that amount, the total of the increases thereby required being derived by proportionately reducing the sums computed under such paragraph (1) for the remaining schools, but with such adjustments as may be necessary to prevent the sums computed for any of such remaining schools from being reduced to less than the amount it received for such fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, under this section.

"'(b)(1) The Secretary shall not make a grant under this section to any school unless the application for such grant contains or is supported by reasonable assurances that for the first school year beginning after the fiscal year for which such grant is made and each school year thereafter during which such a grant is made the first-year enrollment of full-time students in such school will exceed the average of the first-year enrollments of such students in such school for the two school years having the highest such enrollment during the five school years during the period of July 1, 1963, through June 30, 1968, by at least 2½ per centum of such average first-year enrollments, or by five students, whichever is greater. The requirements of this paragraph shall be in addition to the requirements of section 721(c)(2)(D) of this Act, where applicable. The Secretary is authorized to waive (in whole or in part) the provisions of this paragraph if he determines, after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance, that the required increase in first-year enrollment of full-time students in a school cannot, because of limitations of physical facilities available to the school for training, be accomplished without lowering the quality of training provided therein.

"'(2) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, no grant under this section to any school for any fiscal year may exceed the total of the funds from non-Federal sources expended (excluding expenditures of a nonrecurring nature) by the school during the preceding year for teaching purposes (as determined in accordance with criteria prescribed by the Secretary), except that this paragraph shall not apply in the case of a school which has for such year a particular year-class which it did not have for the preceding year or in the case of Howard University.

"'(c)(1) For purposes of this part and part F, regulations of the Secretary shall include provisions relating to determination of the number of students enrolled in a school, or in a particular year-class in a school, or the number of graduates, as the case may be, on the basis of estimates, or on the basis of the number of students who were enrolled in a school, or in a particular year-class in a school, or were graduates, in an earlier year, as the case may be, or on such basis as he deems appropriate for making such determination, and shall include methods of making such determinations when a school or a year-class was not in existence in an earlier year at a school.

"'(2) For purposes of this part and part F, the term "full-time students" (whether such term is used by itself or in connection with a particular year-class) means students pursuing a full-time course of study leading to a degree of doctor of medicine, doctor of dentistry, or an equivalent degree, doctor of osteopathy, bachelor of science in pharmacy, or doctor of pharmacy, doctor of optometry or an equivalent degree, doctor of veterinary medicine or an equivalent degree, or doctor of podiatry or an equivalent degree.

"'SPECIAL PROJECT GRANTS

"'Sec. 772. Grants may be made, from sums available therefor from appropriations under section 770 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for the next fiscal year, to assist schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, pharmacy, optometry, podiatry, and veterinary medicine in meeting the cost of special projects to plan, develop, or establish new programs or modifications of existing programs of education in such health professions or to effect significant improvements in curriculums of any such schools or for research in the various fields related to education in such health professions, or to develop training for new levels or types of health professions personnel, or to assist any such schools which are in serious financial straits to meet their costs of operation or which have special need for financial assistance to meet the accreditation requirements, or to assist any such schools to meet the costs of planning experimental teaching facilities or experimental design thereof, or which will otherwise strengthen, improve, or expand programs to train personnel in such health professions or help to increase the supply of adequately trained personnel in such health professions needed to meet the health needs of the Nation.'

"(b)(1) Subsection (a) of section 773 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295f–3) is amended by striking out 'basic or special grants under section 771 or 772' and inserting in lieu thereof 'grants under section 771 or 772'.

"(2) Subsection (b)(1) of such section is amended by inserting before 'or podiatry' the following: 'pharmacy, veterinary medicine,'.

"(3) Subsection (c) of such section is amended by striking out 'National Advisory Council on Medical, Dental, Optometric, and Podiatric Education' and inserting in lieu thereof 'National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance'.

"(4) Subsection (d)(2) of such section is amended by inserting '(excluding expenditures of a nonrecurring nature)' after 'for such purpose'.

"(5) Subsection (e) of such section is amended to read as follows:

" '(e) In determining priority of projects applications for which are filed under section 772, the Secretary shall give consideration to—

" '(1) the extent to which the project will increase enrollment of full-time students receiving the training for which grants are authorized under this part;

" '(2) the relative need of the applicant for financial assistance to maintain or provide for accreditation or to avoid curtailing enrollment or reduction in the quality of training provided; and

" '(3) the extent to which the project may result in curriculum improvement or improved methods of training or will help to reduce the period of required training without adversely affecting the quality thereof.'

"(c)(1) Section 774(a) of such Act is amended by striking out 'and podiatric education' and inserting in lieu thereof 'podiatric, pharmaceutical, and veterinary education'.

"(2) Such section 774(a) is further amended by striking out 'twelve' and inserting in lieu thereof 'fourteen', and by striking out 'National Advisory Council on Medical, Dental, Optometric, and Podiatric Education' and inserting in lieu thereof 'National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance'.

"(3) The heading of section 774 is amended to read:

" 'NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE'

"(4) Section 780(d) of such Act is amended by striking out 'National Advisory Council on Medical, Dental, Optometric, and Podiatric Education' and inserting in lieu thereof 'National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance'.

"(d) The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

"(e) Effective only with respect to appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, section 772 of such Act is amended (1) by striking out subsection (c), and (2) by inserting before the period at the end of subsection (b) the following: ', or (3) to plan for special projects for which grants are authorized under this section as amended by the Health Manpower Act of 1968'.

"PART C—STUDENT AID

"STUDENT LOANS

"SEC. 121. (a)(1) Clauses (2) and (3) of section 740(b) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 294) are each amended by inserting ', except as provided in section 746,' after 'fund' the first time it appears therein.

"(2) Section 740(b)(4) of such Act is amended by striking out '1969' and inserting in lieu there of '1971'.

"(3) Section 741(c) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294a) is amended by striking out 'three years' the first time it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof 'one year' and by adding before the period at the end thereof '; and periods (up to five years) of advanced professional training including internships and residences)'.

"(4) Section 741(e) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

" '(e) Such loans shall bear interest, on the unpaid balance of the loan, computed only for periods for which the loan is repayable, at the rate of 3 per centum per year'.

"(5)(A) Section 741 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

" '(j) Subject to regulations of the Secretary, a school may assess a charge with respect to a loan made under this part for failure of the borrower to pay all or any part of an installment when it is due, and in the case of a borrower who is entitled to deferment of the loan under subsection (c) or cancellation of part or all of the loan under subsection (f), for any failure to file timely and satisfactory evidence of such entitlement. The amount of any such charge may not exceed $1 for the first month or part of a month by which such installment or evidence is late and $2 for each such month or part of a month thereafter. The school may elect to add the amount of any such charge to the principal amount of the loan as of the first day after the day on which such installment or evidence was due, or to make the amount of the charge payable to the school not later than the due date of the next installment after receipt by the borrower of notice of the assessment of the charge.

" '(k) A school may provide, in accordance with regulations of the Secretary, that during the repayment period of a loan from a loan fund established pursuant to an agreement under this part payments of principal and interest by the borrower with respect to all the outstanding loans made to him from loan funds so established shall be at a rate equal to not less than $15 per month.'

"(B) Subsection (b)(2) of section 740 of such Act is further amended by striking out 'and (D)' and inserting in lieu thereof '(D) collections pursuant to section 741(j), and (E)'.

"(b)(1) The first sentence of subsection (a) of section 742 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294b) is amended by striking out 'and' before '$25,000,000' and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ', and $35,000,000 each for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year'.

"(2) The third sentence of such subsection is amended by striking out '1970' and '1969' and inserting in lieu thereof '1972' and '1971', respectively.

"(3) The fourth sentence of such subsection is amended by striking out 'and' before '(2)' and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ', and (3) for transfers pursuant to section 746'.

"(c) Section 743 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294c) is amended by striking out '1972' each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof '1974'.

"(d)(1) Section 744(a)(1) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294d) is amended by inserting 'and each of the next three fiscal years,' after '1968,'.

"(2) Section 744(c) of such Act is amended by striking out '$35,000,000' and inserting in lieu thereof '$45,000,000'.

"(e) Part C of title VII of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294, et seq.) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

" 'TRANSFER OF FUNDS TO SCHOLARSHIPS

" 'SEC. 746. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriations for any fiscal year for Federal capital contributions under an agreement under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under part F of this title to be used for the same purpose as such sums. In the case of any such transfer, the amount of any funds which the school deposited in its student loan fund pursuant to section 740 (b)(2)(B) with respect to the amount so transferred may be withdrawn by the school from such fund.'

"(f) The amendments made by subsections (a)(1), (b)(3), and (e) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969. The amendment made by subsection (a)(3) shall apply (1) with respect to all loans made under an agreement under part (C) of title VII of the Public Health Service Act after June 30, 1969, and (2) with respect to loans made thereunder before July 1, 1969, to the extent agreed to by the school which made the loans and the Secretary (but, then, only as to years beginning after June 30, 1969). The amendments made by subsection (a)(4) and (5) shall apply with respect to loans made after June 30, 1969.

"SCHOLARSHIPS

"SEC. 122. (a) Subsection (a) of section 780 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 295g) is amended by striking out 'or pharmacy' and inserting in lieu thereof 'pharmacy, or veterinary medicine'. The heading of such section is amended by striking out 'OR PHARMACY' and inserting in lieu thereof 'PHARMACY, OR VETERINARY MEDICINE'.

"(b) Subsection (b) of such section is amended by inserting 'and each of the next two fiscal years' after '1969,' in the first sentence and by striking out '1970' and '1969' and inserting in lieu thereof '1972' and '1971', respectively, in the second sentence.

"(c)(1) Paragraph (1) of subsection (c) of such section is amended by inserting 'and each of the next two fiscal years' after '1969' in clause (D) and by striking and '1969' and '1970' in clause (E) and inserting in lieu thereof '1971' and '1972', respectively.

"(2) The first sentence of paragraph (2) of such subsection (c) is amended by striking out 'from low-income families who, without such financial assistance could not' and inserting in lieu thereof 'of exceptional financial need who need such financial assistance to'.

"(d) Part F of title VII of the Public Health Service Act is further amended by inserting after section 780 the following new section:

" 'TRANSFER TO STUDENT LOAN FUNDS

" 'SEC. 781. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriations for any fiscal year for scholarships under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve, may be transferred to the sums available to the school underpart C for (and to be regarded as) Federal capital contributions, to be used for the same purpose as such sums.'

"(e) The amendment made by subsection (a), (b), (c)(1), and (d) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending June 30, 1969. The amendments made by subsection (c)(2) shall apply with respect to scholarships from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

"PART D—MISCELLANEOUS

"STUDY OF SCHOOL AID AND STUDENT AID PROGRAMS

"SEC. 131. The Secretary shall, in consultation with the Advisory Councils established by sections 725 and 774, prepare, and submit to the President and the Congress prior to July 1, 1970, a report on the administration of parts B, C, E, and F of title VII of the Public Health Service Act, an appraisal of the programs under such parts in the light of their adequacy to meet the long-term needs for health professionals, and his recommendations as a result thereof.

“TITLE II—NURSE TRAINING

“PART A—CONSTRUCTION GRANTS

“EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION

“Sec. 201. (a) Section 801 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 296) is amended to read as follows:

“ ‘Sec. 801. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated, for grants to assist in the construction of new facilities for collegiate, associate degree, or diploma schools of nursing, or replacement or rehabilitation of existing facilities for such schools, $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971.

“ ‘(b) Sums appropriated pursuant to subsection (a) for a fiscal year shall remain available for obligation through the close of the next fiscal year.’

“(b) Section 802(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 296a) is amended by striking out ‘July 1, 1968’ and inserting in lieu thereof ‘July 1, 1970’.

“FEDERAL SHARE

“Sec. 202. Section 803(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 296b) is amended by striking out ‘may not exceed 50 per centum’ in clause (B) and inserting in lieu thereof ‘may not, except where the Secretary determines that unusual circumstances make a larger percentage (which may in no case exceed 66⅔ per centum) necessary in order to effectuate the purposes of this part, exceed 50 per centum’.

“INCLUSION OF TRUST TERRITORY

“Sec. 203. Section 843(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298b) is amended by striking out ‘or the Virgin Islands’ and inserting in lieu thereof ‘the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands’.

“AMENDMENT OF DEFINITION OF COLLEGIATE SCHOOL OF NURSING

“Sec. 204. Section 843(c) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof ‘, and including advanced training related to such program of education provided by such school’.

“EFFECTIVE DATE

“Sec. 205. The amendments made by sections 201 and 204 shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

“PART B—SPECIAL PROJECT AND INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS TO SCHOOLS OF NURSING

“SPECIAL PROJECT AND INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

“Sec. 211. Sections 805 and 806 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 296d, 296e) are amended to read as follows:

“ ‘IMPROVEMENT IN NURSE TRAINING

“ ‘Sec. 805. (a) From the sums available therefor from appropriations under section 808 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year, grants may be made to assist any public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution to meet the cost of special projects to plan, develop, or establish new programs or modifications of existing programs of nursing education or to effect significant improvements in curriculums of schools of nursing or for research in the various fields of nursing education, or to assist schools of nursing which are in serious financial straits to meet their costs of operation or to assist schools of nursing which have special need for financial assistance to meet accreditation requirements, or to assist in otherwise strengthening, improving, or expanding programs of nursing education, or to assist any such agency, organization, or institution to meet the costs of other special projects which will help to increase the supply of adequately trained nursing personnel needed to meet the health needs of the Nation.

“ ‘(b) In determining priority of projects for which applications are filed under subsection (a), the Secretary shall give priority in the following order:

“ ‘(1) the relative need of the applicant (if a school of nursing) for financial assistance to continue in operation or avoid curtailing enrollment or reduction in the quality of training provided;

“ ‘(2) the special need of the applicant for financial assistance in connection with its merger with a school of nursing;

“ ‘(3) the relative need of the applicant for financial assistance to maintain or provide for accreditation as a school of nursing; and

“ ‘(4) the extent to which the project will increase enrollment of full-time students receiving nursing training.

“ ‘INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

“ ‘Sec. 806. (a) The sums available for grants under this section from appropriations under section 808 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year shall be distributed to the schools with approved applications as follows: Each school shall receive $15,000; and of the remainder—

“ ‘(A) 75 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of—

“ ‘(i) the relative enrollment of full-time students for such year, and

“ ‘(ii) the relative increase enrollment of such students for such year over the average enrollment of such school for the five school years preceding the year for which the application is made;

with the amount per full-time student so computed that a school receives twice as much for each such student in the increase as for other full-time students, and

“ ‘(B) 25 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of the relative number of graduates for such year.

In computing the increase under clause (A) (ii) of the preceding sentence for any school, there shall be excluded a number equal to the increase required by subsection (b) (except in the case of a school to which the third sentence of such subsection applies).

“ ‘(b) The Secretary shall not make a grant under this section to any school from any appropriation for a fiscal year ending after June 30, 1970, unless the application for such grant contains or is supported by reasonable assurances that for the first school year beginning after the fiscal year for which such grant is made and each school year thereafter during which such a grant is made the first-year enrollment of full-time students in such school will exceed the average of the first-year enrollment of such students in such school for the two school years having the highest such enrollment during the five school years during the period of July 1, 1963, through June 30, 1968, by at least 2½ per centum of such average first-year enrollment, or by five students, whichever is greater. The requirements of this subsection shall be in addition to the requirements of section 802(b)(2)(D) of this Act, where applicable. The Secretary is authorized to waive (in whole or in part) the provisions of this subsection if he determines, after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Nurse Training, that the required increase in first-year enrollment of full-time students in a school cannot, because of limitations of physical facilities available to the school for training, be accomplished without lowering the quality of training provided therein.

“ ‘(c)(1) For the purpose of this part and part D, regulations of the Secretary shall include provisions relating to determination of the number of students enrolled in a school, or in a particular year-class in a school, or the number of graduates from a school, as the case may be, on the basis of estimates, or on the basis of the number of students who were enrolled in a school, or in particular year-class in a school, or were graduates from a school in earlier years, as the case may be, or on such basis as he deems appropriate for making such determination, and shall include methods of making such determination when a school or a year-class was not in existence in an earlier year at a school.

“ ‘(2) For purposes of this part and part D, the term “full-time students” (whether such term is used by itself or in connection with a particular year-class) means students pursuing a full-time course of study in an accredited program in a school of nursing.’

“CONDITIONS OF ELIGIBILITY

“Sec. 212. Part A of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

“ ‘APPLICATIONS FOR GRANTS

“ ‘Sec. 807. (a) The Secretary may from time to time set dates (not earlier than in the fiscal year preceding the year for which a grant is sought) by which applications under section 805 or 806 for any fiscal year must be filed.

“ ‘(b) The Secretary shall not approve or disapprove any application for a grant under this part except after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Nurse Training.

“ ‘(c) A grant under section 805 or 806 may be made only if the application therefor—

“ ‘(1) is from a public or nonprofit private school of nursing, or, in the case of grants under section 805, a public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution;

“ ‘(2) contains or is supported by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary that the applicant will expend in carrying out its functions as a school of nursing, during the fiscal year for which such grant is sought, an amount of funds (other than funds for construction as determined by the Secretary) from non-Federal sources which are at least as great as the average amount of funds expended by such applicant for such purpose (excluding expenditures of a nonrecurring nature) in the three fiscal years immediately preceding the fiscal year for which such grant is sought;

“ ‘(3) contains such additional information as the Secretary may require to make the determinations required of him under this part and such assurances as he may find necessary to carry out the purposes of this part; and

“ ‘(4) provides for such fiscal control and accounting procedures and reports, and access to the records of the applicant, as the Secretary may require to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant under this part.

“ ‘AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

“ ‘Sec. 808. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated $35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $40,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, for improvement grants under section 805 and institutional grants under section 806.

“ ‘(b) Of the sums appropriated under subsection (a) of this section $15,000,000 shall be available for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1970, and June 30, 1971, for grants under section 805.’

“CONFORMING CHANGE

“Sec. 213. Clause (2) of section 843(f) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298b) is amended to read: ‘(2) in the case of a school applying for a grant under section 806 for any fiscal year, prior to the beginning of the first academic year following the normal graduation date of the class which is the entering class for such fiscal year (or is the first such class in such year if there is more than one); ’.

“EFFECTIVE DATE

“Sec. 214. The amendments made by the preceding provisions of this part shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

“PLANNING FOR FISCAL YEAR 1969

“SEC. 215. Effective only with respect to appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, section 805(a) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new sentence: ‘Appropriations under this section shall also be available for grants for planning special projects for which grants are authorized under this section as amended by the Health Manpower Act of 1968.’

“PART C—STUDENT AID

“ADVANCED TRAINING

“SEC. 221. Section 821(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 297) is amended by striking out ‘and’ before ‘$12,000,000’ and by inserting ‘$15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $19,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971,’ after ‘1969,’.

“STUDENT LOANS

“SEC. 222. (a)(1) Clauses (2) and (3) of section 822(b) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 297a) are each amended by inserting ‘, except as provided in section 829,’ after ‘fund’ the first time it appears therein.

“(2) Section 822(b)(4) of such Act is amended by striking out ‘1969’ and inserting in lieu thereof ‘1971’.

“(b)(1) Section 823(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297b) is amended by striking out ‘$1,000’ and inserting in lieu thereof ‘$1,500’, by inserting ‘to licensed practical nurses and’ immediately after ‘preference’, and by inserting after the first sentence the following new sentence: ‘The aggregate of the loans for all years from such funds may not exceed $6,000 in the case of any student.’.

“(2) Section 823(b)(2) of such Act is amended by (A) striking out ‘one year’ and inserting in lieu thereof ‘nine months’ and (B) striking ‘except that’ and all that follows down to but not including the semicolon and inserting in lieu thereof ‘excluding from such 10-year period all (A) periods (up to three years) of (i) active duty performed by the borrower as a member of a uniformed service, or (ii) service as a volunteer under the Peace Corps Act, and (B) periods (up to five years) during which the borrower is pursuing a full-time course of study at a collegiate school of nursing leading to baccalaureate degree in nursing or an equivalent degree, or to graduate degree in nursing, or is otherwise pursuing advanced professional training in nursing’.

“(3) Section 823(b)(3) of such Act is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ‘, except that such rate shall be 15 per centum for each complete year of service as such a nurse in a public or other nonprofit hospital in any area which is determined, in accordance with regulations of the Secretary to be an area which has a substantial shortage of such nurses at such hospitals, and for the purpose of any cancellation at such higher rate, an amount equal to an additional 50 per centum of the total amount of such loans plus interest may be canceled’.

“(4) Section 823(b)(5) of such Act is amended by striking out everything which follows ‘3 per centum per annum’ down to but not including the second semicolon.

“(c)(1) Section 823 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

“ ‘(f) Subject to regulations of the Secretary, a school may assess a charge with respect to a loan from the loan fund established pursuant to an agreement under this part for failure of the borrower to pay all or any part of an installment when it is due and, in the case of a borrower who is entitled to deferment of the loan under subsection (b)(2) or cancellation of part or all of the loan under subsection (b)(3), for any failure to file timely and satisfactory evidence of such entitlement. The amount of any such charge may not exceed $1 for the first month or part of a month by which such installment or evidence is late and $2 for each such month or part of a month thereafter. The school may elect to add the amount of any such charge to the principal amount of the loan as of the first day after the day on which such installment or evidence was due, or to make the amount of the charge payable to the school not later than the due date of the next installment after receipt by the borrower of notice of the assessment of the charge.

“ ‘(g) A school may provide in accordance with regulations of the Secretary, that during the repayment period of a loan from a loan fund established pursuant to an agreement under this part payments of principal and interest by the borrower with respect to all the outstanding loans made to him from loan funds so established shall be at a rate equal to not less than $15 per month.’

“(2) Subsection (b)(2) of section 822 of such Act is further amended by striking out ‘and (D)’ and inserting in lieu thereof ‘(D) collections pursuant to section 823(f), and (E)’.

“(d)(1) Section 824 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297c) is amended by inserting $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $21,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, after ‘1969,’ the first time it appears therein, by striking out ‘1970’ and inserting in lieu thereof ‘1972’, and by striking out ‘1969,’ the second time it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof ‘1971,’.

“(2) The second sentence of such section is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof ‘, and (3) for transfers pursuant to section 829’.

“(e) The first two sentences of section 825 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297d) are amended to read as follows: ‘From the sums appropriated pursuant to section 824 for any fiscal year, the Secretary shall allot to each school an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount so appropriated as the number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in such school bears to the total number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in all schools of nursing in all the States. The number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in schools of nursing for purposes of this section shall be determined by the Secretary for the most recent year for which satisfactory data are available to him.’

“(f) Section 826 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297e) is amended by striking out ‘1972’ each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof ‘1974’.

“(g) Section 827(a)(1) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297f) is amended by inserting ‘and each of the next three fiscal years,’ after ‘1968,’.

“(h) Part B of title VIII of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297 et seq.) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

“ ‘TRANSFERS TO SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

“ ‘SEC. 829. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriation for any fiscal year for Federal capital contributions under an agreement under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under part D to be used for the same purpose as such sums. In the case of any such transfer, the amount of any funds which the school deposited in its student loan fund pursuant to section 822(b)(2)(B) with respect to the amount so transferred may be withdrawn by the school from such fund.’

“(i) The amendments made by subsection (b)(1) and (2) shall apply with respect to all loans made after June 30, 1969, and with respect to loans made from a student loan fund established under an agreement pursuant to section 822, before July 1, 1969, to the extent agreed to by the school which made the loans and the Secretary (but then only for years beginning after June 30, 1968). The amendments made by subsection (b)(4) and subsection (c) shall apply with respect to loans made after June 30, 1969. The amendment made by subsection (h) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years beginning after June 30, 1969. The amendment made by subsection (b)(3) shall apply with respect to service, specified in section 823(b)(3) of such Act, performed during academic years beginning after the enactment of this Act, whether the loan was made before or after such enactment.

“SCHOLARSHIPS

“SEC. 223. (a) So much of part D of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298c et seq.) as precedes section 868 is amended to read as follows:

“ ‘PART D—SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS TO SCHOOLS OF NURSING

“ ‘SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS

“ ‘SEC. 860. (a) The Secretary shall make grants as provided in this part to each public or other nonprofit school of nursing for scholarships to be awarded annually by such school to students thereof.

“ ‘(b) The amount of the grant under subsection (a) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year to each such school shall be equal to $2,000 multiplied by one-tenth of the number of full-time students of such school. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for each of the three succeeding fiscal years, the grant under subsection (a) shall be such amount as may be necessary to enable such school to continue making payments under scholarship awards to students who initially received such awards out of grants made to the school for fiscal years ending prior to July 1, 1971.

“ ‘(c)(1) Scholarships may be awarded by schools from grants under subsection (a)—

“ ‘(A) only to individuals who have been accepted by them for enrollment, and individuals enrolled and in good standing, as full-time students, in the case of awards from such grants for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year; and

“ ‘(B) only to individuals enrolled and in good standing as full-time students who initially received scholarship awards out of such grants for a fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1971, in the case of awards from such grants for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and each of the three succeeding fiscal years.

“ ‘(2) Scholarships from grants under subsection (a) for any school year shall be awarded only to students of exceptional financial need who need such financial assistance to pursue a course of study at the school for such year. Any such scholarship awarded for a school year shall cover such portion of the student’s tuition, fees, books, equipment, and living expenses at the school making the award, but not to exceed $1,500 for any year in the case of any student, as such school may determine the student needs for such year on the basis of his requirements and financial resources.

“ ‘(d) Grants under subsection (a) shall be made in accordance with regulation prescribed by the Secretary after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Nurse Training.

“ ‘(e) Grants under subsection (a) may be paid in advance or by way of reimbursement, and at such intervals as the Secretary may find necessary; and with appropriate adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments previously made.

“ ‘TRANSFERS TO STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM

“ ‘SEC. 861. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriation for any fiscal year for scholarships under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve for such school for such year, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under this part for (and to be regarded as) Federal capital contributions, to be used for the same purpose as such sums.'

"(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

"PART D—MISCELLANEOUS

"DEFINITION OF ACCREDITATION

"SEC. 231. (a) Subsections (c) and (e) of section 843 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298b) are each amended by striking out 'an accredited program' and inserting in lieu thereof 'a program'.

"(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended by striking out 'an accredited two-year program' and inserting in lieu thereof 'a two-year program'.

"(c) Such subsection (c) is further amended by adding before the period at the end thereof (and after the language added by section 205 of this Act) ', but only if such program, or such unit, college, or university is accredited'.

"(d) Such subsection (d) is further amended by adding before the period at the end thereof ', but only if such program, or such unit, college, or university is accredited'.

"(e) Such subsection (e) is further amended by adding before the period at the end thereof ', but only if such program, or such affiliated school or such hospital or university or such independent school is accredited'.

"(f) So much of subsection (f) of such section as precedes clause (1) is amended—

"(1) by inserting ', or by a State agency,' immediately after 'accredited by a recognized body or bodies';

"(2) by inserting 'or State agency' immediately after 'such a recognized body or bodies';

"(3) by inserting after 'Commissioner of Education' the first time it appears therein 'and when applied to a hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof) means a hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof) which is accredited by a recognized body or bodies, or by a State agency, approved for such purpose by the Commissioner of Education';

"(4) by striking out 'or a program accredited for the purpose of this Act by the Commissioner of Education';

"(5) by inserting ', or a hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof),' immediately after 'except that a program';

"(6) by inserting ', or the hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof),' immediately after 'reasonable assurance that the program'; and

"(7) by striking out 'by the school which provides or will provide such program'.

"(g) Such subsection (f) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: 'For the purpose of this paragraph, the Commissioner of Education shall publish a list of recognized accrediting bodies, and of State agencies, which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of training offered.'

"STUDY OF SCHOOL AID AND STUDENT AID PROGRAMS

"SEC. 232. The Secretary shall, in consultation with the Advisory Council established by section 841, prepare, and submit to the President and the Congress prior to July 1, 1970, a report on the administration of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act, an appraisal of the programs under such title in the light of their adequacy to meet the long-term needs for nurses, and his recommendations as a result thereof.

"TITLE III—ALLIED HEALTH PROFESSIONS AND PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING

"EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF ALLIED HEALTH PROFESSIONS PROGRAM

"SEC. 301. (a)(1)(A) Section 791(a)(1) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 295h) is amended by striking out 'and $13,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969' and inserting in lieu thereof '$13,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970.'

"(B) Section 791(b)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out '1968' and inserting in lieu thereof '1969'.

"(2)(A) Section 792(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295h–1) is amended by striking out 'and $17,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969' and inserting in lieu thereof '$17,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 3, 1970'.

"(B) Section 792(b)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out '1969' and inserting in lieu thereof '1970'.

"(3) Section 793(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295h–2) is amended by striking out 'and $3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969' and inserting in lieu thereof '$3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970'.

"(4) Section 794 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295h–3) is amended by striking out 'and $3,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969' and inserting in lieu thereof '$3,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $4,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970'.

"(b) Such section 794 is further amended by—

"(1) striking out 'training centers for allied health professions' and inserting in lieu thereof 'agencies, institutions, and organizations';

"(2) inserting 'and methods' after 'curriculums'; and

"(3) striking out 'new types of'.

"(c) Part G of title VII of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

" 'EVALUATION

" 'SEC. 797. Such portion of any appropriation pursuant to section 791, 792, 793, or 794, for any fiscal year ending after June 30, 1969, as the Secretary may determine, but not exceeding one-half of 1 per centum thereof, shall be available to the Secretary for evaluation (directly or by grants or contracts) of the programs authorized by this part.'

"(d) Such part G is further amended by adding after section 797 (added by subsection (c)) the following new section:

" 'STUDY

" 'SEC. 798. The Secretary shall prepare, and submit to the President and the Congress prior to April 1, 1969, a report on the administration of this part, an appraisal of the programs under this part in the light of their adequacy to meet the needs for allied health professions personnel, and his recommendations as a result thereof.'

"PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING

"SEC. 302. (a) Section 309(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 242g) is amended by striking out 'and' before '$9,000,000' and by inserting '$8,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $12,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971,' after 1969.

"(b)(1) Section 306(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 242d) is amended (1) by striking out 'and' before '$10,000,000' and by striking out 'the succeeding fiscal year,' and inserting in lieu thereof 'the two succeeding fiscal years, and $14,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971', and (2) by inserting 'sanitarians,' immediately after 'nurses,'.

"(2) Section 306(d) of such Act is amended by striking out '$50' and inserting in lieu thereof '$100'.

"TITLE IV—HEALTH RESEARCH FACILITIES

"EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION

"SEC. 401. (a) Section 704 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292c) is amended by striking out 'and' after '$50,000,000'; and by inserting '$20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $30,000,000 for the next fiscal year,' after '$280,000,000,'.

"(b) Section 705(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 293) is amended by striking out '1968' and inserting in lieu thereof '1970'.

"FEDERAL SHARE

"SEC. 402. (a) Subsection (a) of section 706 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292c) is amended by striking out 'except that in no event may such amount exceed 50 per centum' and inserting in lieu thereof 'but such amount may not, except as provided in paragraph (2), exceed 50 per centum'.

"(b) Such subsection (a) of section 706 is further amended by inserting '(1)' after '(a)' and adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

" '(2) The maximum amount of any grant shall be 66⅔ per centum instead of the maximum under paragraph (1) in the case of any class or classes of projects which the Secretary determines have such special national or regional significance as to warrant a larger grant than is permitted under paragraph (1); but not more than 25 per centum of the funds appropriated pursuant to section 704 for any fiscal year shall be available for grants in excess of 50 per centum with respect to such class or classes of projects.'

"ADVISORY COUNCIL COMPENSATION

"SEC. 403. Section 703(d) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292b) is amended by striking out '$50' and inserting in lieu thereof '$100'.

"EFFECTIVE DATE

"SEC. 404. The amendments made by section 402 shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

"SEC. 405. The clause of section 101(b) of the Joint Resolution of June 29, 1968 (Public Law 90–366) relating to activities of the domestic agricultural workers health program of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is amended by striking out ', other than grants,'."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS].

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 15757) was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their own remarks in the RECORD on this bill and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

GENERAL PRICE INCREASES FOR STEEL—COMMUNICATION FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the President of the United States, which was read:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, August 1, 1968.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: As you know, two of the Nation's largest steel producers have announced general price increases of about five percent. This represents the largest single price increase in the steel industry since 1958. My economic advisers consider it the largest inflationary price increase for the nation in this decade.

I believe it is my duty to inform the Congress of the dire consequences which would result if these increases are allowed to stand.

The first is a clear and immediate threat to our efforts to restore price stability.

The second is the added danger to our balance of payments.

Just six weeks ago, the Congress enacted a tax and expenditure reduction bill. Nobody likes to pay more taxes. Nobody likes belt-tightening in needed Government services. But the health of our economy demanded strong fiscal medicine.

In signing that measure, I called upon business and labor to exercise the utmost restraint in price and wage decisions.

Clearly neither Bethlehem nor Republic has heeded this appeal. If their increases are allowed to stand—and if the other major steel companies follow suit—the immediate result will be $600 million in increased costs. The ultimate cost to the American consumer will exceed $1.1 billion in higher prices, as the increase is reflected in products containing steel.

Across-the-board, inflationary price increases in steel products seriously impair our efforts to overcome the Nation's balance-of-payments problems.

We have been making progress on this front—and the tax bill promises even greater improvement. But a 5-percent increase would be a clear and unnecessary setback. Higher domestic prices would invite larger imports of steel. And key exports, such as machinery and transportation equipment, would be placed at a severe competitive disadvantage.

This action of a single industry could injure all Americans by weakening the dollar both at home and abroad.

As I said yesterday, these price increases should not be permitted to stand.

Steel profits are up. This morning's newspapers, reporting on the price rise, noted that second-quarter profits for Bethlehem were up 47 percent from the year before, and that U.S. Steel's second-quarter profits were up 79 percent.

Just last May I said that, "The relative stability of steel prices has been one of the key favorable factors in our recent price record and it must be preserved."

This record is now in danger. The Congress which has acted in the national interest to help stem inflation by passing the recent tax bill, should be informed of the inflationary threat that the actions of a few pose for us all. The American people, who are now buying insurance against inflation through higher taxes, should not have another tax imposed upon them by unjustified steel price increases.

Sincerely,
LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

HOUR OF MEETING TOMORROW

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZATIONS FOR THE SEA GRANT COLLEGES AND PROGRAMS

Mr. **ROGERS** of Florida submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 13781) to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966.

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 16363, TO AMEND POULTRY PRODUCTS INSPECTION ACT

Mr. **PURCELL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers on the part of the House have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on H.R. 16363, to amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. **MAYNE**. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The **SPEAKER**. Objection is heard.

GRANTING ADDITIONAL TRAVEL AUTHORITY TO THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

Mr. **MATSUNAGA**. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1247 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 1247

Resolved, That, notwithstanding the provisions of H. Res. 203, Ninetieth Congress, the Committee on Public Works is authorized to send not more than five members of such committee, two majority staff assistants, and one minority staff assistant to such European and Near Eastern countries as the committee may determine for the purpose of conducting an investigation and study of public works in various European and Near Eastern countries, which would include mutual problems involving rivers and harbors, flood control, highways, water pollution and related subjects; and is further authorized to send not more than five members of such committee, two majority staff assistants, and one minority staff assistant to such Far Eastern countries as the committee may determine for the purpose of conducting an investigation of water pollution and public transportation in various Far Eastern countries.

Notwithstanding section 1754 of title 22, United States Code, or any other provision of law, local currencies owned by the United States shall be made available to the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives and employees engaged in carrying out their official duties under section 190(d) of title 2, United States Code: *Provided*, That (1) no member or employee of said committee shall receive or expend local currencies for subsistence in any country at a rate in excess of the maximum per diem rate set forth in section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended by Public Law 88–633, approved October 7, 1964; (2) no member or employee of said committee shall receive or expend an amount for transportation in excess of actual transportation costs; (3) no appropriated funds shall be expended for the purpose of defraying expenses of members of said committee or its employees in any country where counterpart funds are available for this purpose.

That each member or employee of said committee shall make to the chairman of said committee an itemized report showing the number of days visited in each country where local currencies were spent, the amount of per diem furnished, and the cost of transportation if furnished by public carrier, or if such transportation is furnished by an agency of the United States Government, the identification of the agency. All such individual reports shall be filed by the chairman with the Committee on House Administration and shall be open to public inspection.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 5, after the word "to", strike "such European and Near Eastern countries as the committee may determine" and insert in lieu thereof "England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, Greece, and Turkey".

Page 1, line 7, after the word "works", strike the words "in various European and Near Eastern countries".

Page 2, line 1, after the word "to", strike "such Far Eastern countries as the committee may determine" and insert in lieu thereof "the Philippine Islands, Japan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Thailand, and India".

Page 2, line 4, strike the words "in various Far Eastern countries".

Page 3, line 3, after the word "Government", insert "the cost of such transportation, and".

AMENDMENT TO THE COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. MATSUNAGA

Mr. **MATSUNAGA**. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to the committee amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to committee amendments offered by Mr. MATSUNAGA at the direction of the Committee on Rules: On page 1, line 8, strike the first word in the line "and", and, after the word "Turkey", insert a comma and the words "and Spain".

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on the amendment to the committee amendments offered by the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA].

The amendment to the committee amendments was agreed to.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. **MATSUNAGA**. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KLUCZYNSKI].

(By unanimous consent Mr. KLUCZYNSKI was allowed to speak out of order.)

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, I seldom rise to address the House for any purpose other than to discuss the merits of legislation specifically before us. This is, therefore, a somewhat rare occurrence, and I hope the Members will give me their careful attention, for I rise now in defense of the House of Representatives, its major legislative committees, and a large number of individual Members, all of whom have been brought under deliberate and completely unjust attack by a small number of individuals whose motives I cannot divine and do not care to pursue, and by segments of the press of this country, whose motive I assume is, as is all too often the case, a simple desire to sell its product by whatever sensational misinformation that sales goal may require.

Most of this attack upon the House, and its Members and committees, has been centered on S. 2658, a bill which would permit the individual States to increase the sizes and weights of commercial vehicles operating on the Interstate System. Within the last few days an additional attack has been launched against the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968. I will deal first with S. 2658.

This legislation was introduced in the U.S. Senate by 22 Members of that body. The Senate Public Works Committee held substantial hearings, and thereafter reported the bill with amendments that reduced the permissible sizes and weights below those contained in the legislation as it was originally introduced.

S. 2658 passed the Senate without a dissenting vote. It is immaterial how many Members of that body were on the floor when the vote was taken. Every Member of that body, just as every Member of this body, is notified well in advance as to what legislation is scheduled to be considered. Any Member who feels disposed to oppose the legislation can therefore be present to do so. Obviously no one disagreed with the recommendations of the Senate Public Works Committee sufficiently to lead them to oppose the bill.

Identical legislation was introduced in the House of Representatives by myself and 10 other Members from both parties. The Subcommittee on Roads held 8 days of hearings on this and other highway legislation. Every individual and organization who asked to be heard was given full opportunity to testify; indeed, we rearranged the schedules on several occasions to accommodate both witnesses and committee members. Witnesses were heard on S. 2658 throughout these hearings, and, in addition, more than a full day was set aside for this one subject. Every member of the committee was on notice concerning these hearings; to suggest that full consideration was not accorded because the printed hearings were not available at the time the full committee acted, as some of the opponents have done, is nothing more than an admission on their part that they would rather read a printed hearing than be present in committee to listen to testimony and ask questions while the hearing is in progress.

Supplemental questions were submitted by one committee member to the American Trucking Association, and the association answered the questions in detail prior to committee action.

I received copies of both the questions and the answers, before the committee action, and I have no reason to believe that other members did not receive them—indeed, I know that several of them did. A substantial majority of the committee favored S. 2658; among its half dozen opponents were those who clearly indicated they would endeavor to prolong committee action indefinitely. No responsible legislative body submits itself to that kind of futility, and the Public Works Committee did not do so in this instance.

The opponents and the press have charged that the members of the Public Works Committee, and several other committees as well, have been improperly influenced by contributions made to them by the American Trucking Association. The cartoonists, the Drew Pearsons, and the sensationalist reporters, are having a field day, and they are all, to put it bluntly, telling conscious lies.

The $2,000 contribution which I am supposed to have received was actually sent to a separate citizen's committee to buy tickets to a dinner in my honor; I assume the tickets were distributed to association members in Illinois. The 1966 contribution was made to the same organization. This is a standard campaign contribution situation. Without such contributions, no man could seek public office, not even the multimillionaires. I speak for myself and for every Member who has been so maliciously maligned in this matter. Nobody has tried to buy my vote. Nobody could buy my vote, and certainly not for the meager sum of $3,000.

I support S. 2658 and will continue to do so. I have supported with equal energy legislation to aid river transportation in the Midwest and throughout the Nation, just as I have supported and will continue to work for any sound legislation that will encourage and assist in the economic and social development of the city of Chicago, the State of Illinois, the Midwest as a region, and the Nation as a whole.

Prior to 1956 there was no Federal law concerning the sizes and weights of trucks, or any other vehicles, on the roads and streets of this country. A temporary limitation of 96 inches in width, and 20,000 and 32,000 pounds in weight on single and tandem axles, was included in the 1956 Highway Act, but those limitations applied only to the Interstate System and the Congress stated then that it would reconsider those limitations on the basis of an engineering study which it ordered to be made. No length limitation was included and none is included now.

The study was made by the Bureau of Public Roads and the American Association of State Highway Officials. The report, which should have been submitted in 1959, was not submitted until 1964. It has been available for anyone to read for the last 4 years. The permissible sizes and weights and the formula for weight distribution contained in S. 2658 were recommended in that report. They were not devised by the trucking industry. They are the independent recommendations of the Bureau of Public Roads, which supports this bill, and the American Association of State Highway Officials, which also supports this bill.

The people who are creating all this furor say these limitations would be unsafe for bridges. The Bureau of Public Roads, which is responsible for the design standards on the Interstate System, testified before the committee that Interstate System bridges are designed to carry these loads safely.

The opponents cry out that trucks do not run on only the Interstate System, and they are quite right. What they do not tell you is that several States have legal limitations for their primary and secondary system roads that are already higher than those contained in the bill, which applies only to the Interstate System. Several other States are up to these limitations. Some States were at or beyond these limitations when the 1956 act was passed. Some States have lower limits and as late as this spring have refused to raise them.

This bill is not a mandate to the States to increase their limitations; it simply permits them to do so if they wish. I have considerably more confidence in the wisdom and integrity of our State legislatures, apparently, than have the opponents and the press, because I am convinced the States will continue to do what they believe is best for their roads and their industry and their people.

The States, after all, own these roads. The Interstate System is only 41,000 miles. There are better than 900,000 miles of roads and streets in this country, and the States and local governments pay all or half the cost of building them and 100 percent of the cost of maintaining them.

Once they are built, even with the help of Federal money, they are the property and the responsibility of the individual States. I do not believe any State legislature is going to be willing to pay an excessive bill for highway maintenance just for the benefit of the trucking industry or any other industry.

The opponents complain that we should have mandatory limitations at the Federal level that apply to all States. I believe and I think a majority of this Congress believes that where responsibility can properly be exercised by the State, that is where the responsibility belongs. The States have done a good job of meeting their responsibility in this field. But even beyond that, a nationwide standardization is impractical. Economic requirements vary from State to State. Traffic volume varies from State to State. Financial ability varies from State to State. Soil conditions vary from State to State, and the life of a road varies from State to State as a result of all these and many other factors.

The opponents complain that there is no length limitation, and that this could be a safety hazard. The Department of Transportation testified that this legislation does not create safety hazards. And what the opponents are careful not to tell you is that every State in this Nation has a length limitation in its present laws. The lowest is the District of Columbia, at 50 feet. The highest is Nevada, at 70 feet.

Those are the facts, thus far, with respect to S. 2658.

With respect to the Highway Act of 1968, the publicity situation is equally deplorable. Tunnel-vision conservationists and newspaper editorial writers are daily accusing the House of Representatives of destroying the parks, dictating to the District of Columbia, and setting dangerous precedents for similar action elsewhere, and killing off beautification.

With respect to the parks, the fact is, however, that the House of Representatives passed the first legislation to help protect parks and similar lands from harmful construction, in the 1966 Highway Act. The further fact is that the House had no desire to change that protection, except to make it clear to a frequently arbitrary Secretary of Transportation that the authority granted him in the law was a discretionary prohibition, not a mandatory prohibition.

Insofar as the District of Columbia and its highways and transportation are concerned, right or wrong the Congress governs the District of Columbia. If the District government is unable to solve its problems, and in this field it has clearly been unable to do so, then the Congress has no choice. The Congress does not govern the 50 States, and this is therefore no precedent and is not intended to be. But when the self-righteous castigate the Public Works Committee and the House of Representatives in this regard, they conveniently or in ignorance avoid the fact that without this action there would be no useful transportation system for the Nation's Capital. And this is the Nation's Capital. It exists to serve the operation of Government, and it belongs to all the people of this country. It must be protected and developed accordingly.

No man has worked harder for beautification than I have, and no man has devoted more hours to trying to get a useful program that the people and the Congress can support, even in these stringent financial circumstances. But every effort to make the program more acceptable has been refused, and thus the program remains at life-and-death risk everytime it comes up. We saved it this year, just barely. We will face it again next year, undoubtedly. I hope the people who support it will in the meantime learn the difference between the perfect and the possible, and I hope they will also learn that vilification and vituperation will not help their cause.

Our gracious First Lady understands these things. She has worked earnestly for the program, but she is also wise and reasoning, and she knows we have accomplished as much as we can in the circumstances. It is unfortunate that others who support the program lack that understanding and grace and wisdom, for in their ugly words and attacks upon the House and its Members, they create more opposition than friendship, and make the task ahead just that much more difficult.

These parts of the 1968 Highway Act are important, but when the smoke of all this publicity has cleared away, I think everyone will find that there are other parts of the act of great significance to the Nation. I refer particularly to the relocation program it contains. It is by far the most progressive and the most generous relocation program ever enacted for any part of the Federal activity, and I believe it will ultimately stand as a model for all Federal land acquisition and construction. We are daily accused of having no concern for people, but this program, which will be financed from the highway trust fund, is solely for the benefit of people.

It also provides for special programs to relieve traffic congestion in the cities, again financed from the trust fund, and for the construction of fringe parking tied in with mass transit, also from the trust fund. We are, contrary to what you read in the papers, hardly so much the captives of the so-called highway lobby as we are the captives of a devotion to the progress of this Nation, and the progress of this Nation is dependent upon its transportation. Transportation in this country is basically highway transportation. We do not have our highway transportation system because we are a wealthy nation. We are a wealthy nation because we have our highway transportation system.

The 1968 Federal Highway Act is the most carefully considered and best thought-out act since 1956. Its long-range effects will be of tremendous significance, and the time will come when every Member of this House will be proud of his contribution to it.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Kluczynski] for his statement and I expect to make an additional statement on the same subject matter shortly—before the Record closes for adjournment tomorrow.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. Smith], and pending that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1247 would authorize the Committee on Public Works to send not more than five members of the committe, two majority staff assistants, and one minority staff assistant to England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Spain for the purpose of conducting an investigation and study of public works, including common problems involving navigation, beach erosion control, flood control, water pollution control, highways, and other modes of transportation and related subjects.

The resolution also would authorize the sending of five members of the committee, two majority staff assistants, and one minority staff assistant for the purpose of conducting an investigation and study of water pollution and public transportation in the Far East. It is anticipated that the Far Eastern countries visited will be the Philippines, Japan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Thailand, and India.

The Committee on Rules amended the resolution in order to specify the countries to be visited.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1247.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

It was not so long ago that the House approved a travel resolution for this same committee. Is that embodied in this resolution, or is this for an additional 10 Members and staffers to go on a junket?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I will say to the gentleman from Iowa that this is the only resolution that I can recall which would authorize members of the Committee on Public Works to travel abroad.

Mr. GROSS. I thought there was an earlier one with regard to the Committee on Public Works.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. To my memory—and I believe I am right—I have been confirmed in my memory by one of the members of the Committee on Public Works that there has been no other resolution.

Mr. GROSS. Then this is the first such resolution for the Committee on Public Works?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. This is the first resolution.

Mr. GROSS. This raises some questions. As I understand it, Spain was just added on the floor of the House. Was this an afterthought that Spain was inserted?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Spain was included after the resolution came to the committee. It was added on to the list of other countries specifically named, and the committee thought it necessary to include Spain.

Mr. GROSS. Is there something in Spain, such as bullfights, or wine, or something of that kind, that is not available in some of these other countries?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I have conferred with another gentleman on the committee, and he assures me that they will not go to Spain merely for the purpose of visiting the "Lady of Spain."

Mr. GROSS. Now, what about Czechoslovakia? Will they be going there with the present maneuvers of the Russian Army on the borders of Czechoslovakia? Would it be in the interest of security to permit them to go to Czechoslovakia now?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. It is my understanding that, depending upon the international situation, they may go or the they may not go.

Mr. GROSS. I see.

Well, in addition to all of these things that they are going to look into, of these five who are going to Scotland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Spain, this resolution provides for a look at "related subjects." What are related subjects, in addition to all the rest of this?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Rivers, harbors, or anything pertaining to transportation and public works. I am sure the gentleman knows what related subjects are.

Mr. GROSS. Never having made one of these trips, I am just trying to find out what I might look forward to if I ever did take one.

On the second page, those who are going to the Philippine Islands, Japan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Thailand, and India, are not going to investigate related subjects. Are there no related subjects over there?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I suppose that the gentleman from Iowa realizes that the committee members will be going out to investigate public works and transportation matters. Actually, the phrase "related matters" is superfluous because public works and transportation would include all related matters as well.

Mr. GROSS. I have not had the opportunity to study carefully this "end of all junkets" resolution.

Is the Hall amendment to prohibit the collection of two per diems per day in this resolution? Does the gentleman know?

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Yes, I believe it is.

I will yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] who is a member of the Committee on Public Works to reply further.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Hawaii for yielding.

I want to commend the gentleman from Iowa for raising the point he has raised and for going through these matters with a fine toothcomb.

I can assure the gentleman on behalf of the Committee on Public Works that this is no junket.

It would take hours to explain the details and all of the justifications. But if I may I would like to explain just a little.

We are spending billons of dollars of the taxpayers money on the problems of water pollution, Highways Flood Control, Rivers and Harbors, and other Public Works.

In the United Kingdom there is a new water pollution research laboratory and it is believed that we can obtain valuable information that can be passed on to the various communities in the United States for which we want to provide the newest methods in sewerage treatment.

The gentleman mentioned Czechoslavakia. They have a new super highway under construction there and the gentleman knows that in many of these countries they are buildng new super highways.

We lost over 53,000 people on the highways of America last year. If this committee of five members can bring back one new safety feature on how to design bridges or other features of our highway building program that would be helpful to save just one life, the trip would certainly be worthwhile.

The gentleman mentioned several countries.

In Turkey the Bureau of Public Roads has built with funds under the AID program a new highway and carried it to Istanbul. We would like to look at that and see if your tax dollars have been spent wisely.

The same applies to Italy.

The same with reference to the Autobahn and other various countries. The same thing in Greece and Vietnam.

Also these countries have problems having to do with flood control and navigation where many AID dollars are being spent.

We feel that the taxpayers of this country ought to send a small watchdog committee out to make sure that these funds are spent for the purposes for which they were intended.

That is all that this resolution does.

Mr. GROSS. Does not the gentleman know that the Committee on Foreign Affairs sends junketeers around the world to check on foreign aid?

Mr. GRAY. Yes, and the gentleman is very expert in that field.

Mr. GROSS. No, I am not an expert. But they are supposed to be experts in that field.

Mr. GRAY. Now I am not being facetious—the gentleman is an expert in the field of foreign affairs. He serves on that committee and has rendered very valuable service to this House. So I am not making fun. What I am getting at is we want to take the staff along—and people who are versed on subject matters and programs handled by our committee and people who will know exactly when they look at a bridge whether it is designed like our bridges are designed and so forth. What we want is valuable information you can not get at home.

Mr. GROSS. It would be impossible, I suppose, to write a letter to England and get some of the details on the new plant that you spoke about there. You just have to go over there to see it; is that right?

Mr. GRAY. It would be pretty hard if not impossible to make a determination on it without looking at it first hand.

Mr. GROSS. Are you going to take any expert engineers or chemical experts along so that they can explain the operation of this plant to you and to the members of the committee?

Mr. GRAY. We have never traveled without an expert with us and I am sure that they will be expert in the field of getting information for the Congress and the American people.

Mr. GROSS. I do not know that anybody has ever accused Republicans of being expert in all things—maybe they are.

Mr. GRAY. I understand the question that the gentleman is raising and it is an important one. I am also trying to be very serious and to point out that this is for the purpose of obtaining information concerning these multibillion-dollar programs that we have underway in our country.

The interstate highway program alone is going to cost over $56 billion before it is completed in 1974.

We think we need to get all the information we can.

Mr. GROSS. There are all kinds of ex-servicemen in this country who could tell you all about the Autobahn in Germany or whatever that highway is known as over there—as well as most of the other highways in Europe. There are Army engineers who have been over there and they can tell you all about them—without taking a junket.

But in any event, when you get back will you report to the House on the subject of "Related Subjects"?

Mr. GRAY. I will be glad to do so.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I opposed a resolution somewhat similar to the pending resolution and lost. I have no intention of opposing this one. I think it has been adequately presented. I hope the Members who go will have a very pleasant and enjoyable trip.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 218, nays 108, not voting 107, as follows:

[Roll No. 304]

YEAS—218

Abernethy
Adair
Addabbo
Albert
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Ayres
Belcher
Berry
Bevill
Bingham
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Cabell
Cahill
Carter
Casey
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Cohelan
Colmer
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Derwinski
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Farbstein
Fascell
Findley
Fisher
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Griffiths
Grover
Hagan
Halpern
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hardy
Harvey
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Holifield
Hull
Hungate
Irwin
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kyros
Leggett
Lennon
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McCloskey
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
Madden
Mailliard
Mathias, Calif.
Matsunaga
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Minish
Mink
Montgomery
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nichols
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Pollock
Pryor
Purcell
Randall
Rees
Reifel
Reuss
Rivers
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Roush
Roybal
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Saylor
Scheuer
Schwengel
Selden
Shipley
Sisk
Skubitz
Smith, Iowa
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—108

Abbitt
Adams
Arends
Ashmore
Bates
Bell
Bennett
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Boland
Brotzman
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Bush
Button
Byrnes, Wis.
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Cunningham
Curtis
Denney
Dickinson
Dowdy
Duncan
Edwards, Ala.
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Foley
Goodling
Green, Oreg.
Gross
Haley
Hall
Hamilton
Harrison
Harsha
Horton
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jacobs
Jarman
Jonas
Kastenmeier
Kleppe
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Lloyd
McClure
Mahon
Marsh
May
Mayne
Meeds
Mills
Mize
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pelly
Pettis
Poff
Price, Tex.
Pucinski
Railsback
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Riegle
Robison
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
Satterfield
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Scott
Shriver
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Ullman
Utt
Wiggins
Winn
Wyatt
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Zwach

NOT VOTING—107

Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Ashbrook
Baring
Barrett
Battin
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolling
Bolton
Bow
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Mich.
Burke, Fla.
Burton, Utah
Carey
Celler
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dent
Devine
Diggs
Dole
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Esch
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Feighan
Fino
Flood
Ford, William D.
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Goodell
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Halleck
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hawkins
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Herlong
Holland
Howard
Karsten
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Landrum
Latta
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McMillan
MacGregor
Machen
Martin
Mathias, Md.
Miller, Calif.
Minshall
Monagan
Moore
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Nix
Ottinger
Patman
Price, Ill.
Quie
Quillen
Rarick
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rostenkowski
Roudebush
Sikes
Slack
Taft
Talcott
Teague, Tex.
Tuck
Waggonner
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whitten
Widnall
Willis
Wydler
Zion

So the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. ADAMS and Mr. BELL changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. SKUBITZ changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill and concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 18254. An act to amend further section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920;

H. Con. Res. 213. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing as a House document of the letters of Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover relating to the distinguished Americans in whose honor the U.S. Navy Polaris nuclear submarines were named; and

H. Con. Res. 781. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing as a House document the publication "The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement," and providing for the printing of additional copies.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 3865) entitled "An act for the relief of Mauritz A. Sterner," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. HART, Mr. McCLELLAN, and Mr. FONG to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 827) entitled "An act to establish a nationwide system of trails, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. JACKSON, Mr. MOSS, Mr. NELSON, Mr. KUCHEL, and Mr. ALLOTT to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 17126) entitled "An act to amend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. JORDON of North Carolina, Mr. AIKEN, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. BOGGS to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 15758) entitled "An act to amend the Public Health Service Act so as to extend and improve the provisions relating to regional medical programs, to extend the authorization of grants for health of migratory agricultural workers, to provide for specialized facilities for alcoholics and narcotic addicts, and for other purposes," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. HILL, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. PELL, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. MURPHY, and Mr. DOMINICK to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3068) entitled "An act to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, Mr. AIKEN, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. BOGGS to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 13781) entitled "An act to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10932) entitled "An act for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force (retired)."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 17522) entitled "An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18188) entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3710) entitled "An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes."

WHOLESOME POULTRY PRODUCTS INSPECTION ACT

Mr. PURCELL submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 16363) to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). The gentleman will state the parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to object to the filing of the conference report on the ground that it is not in proper form. I am a conferee and I have not had an opportunity to see the report.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. That is a matter that the gentleman should take up with the gentleman from Texas.

The Chair has no knowledge of the conference report except that it is being filed.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to have the record made clear that I do object to its filing for the reason that it is not in the proper form.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman's statement will appear in the RECORD.

A PROMISING NEW FUTURE FOR THE AMERICAN FARMER

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House marked an historic turning point that will open a promising new future for the American farmer.

In my view, in establishing a limitation on payments, the House took a position as significant to the future of American agriculture as the rejection in 1962 of mandatory acreage controls for feed grains.

I predict this action will lead to an early termination of production payments. This will be good news for the farmer, because under this authority, the Government has been able to keep market prices low and thus make many farmers dependent on Federal payments.

With the payment-dependency concept so plainly rejected on a record vote of the House, the Congress by necessity will turn to programs which have the objective of high, not low, market prices, with Government interference in cropland management decisions of the individual farmer kept at a minimum.

My recommendation is that the Congress terminate at the earliest possible date the commodity management activities of the Department of Agriculture, especially Government buying, selling, and storage of grain. At the same time, the Congress should fund the presently dormant cropland adjustment program, under which the Government can retire at reasonable cost cropland. Under it, unlike present commodity programs, emphasis can be placed on the retirement from production of entire farms, in order to achieve maximum results in terms of production cutback. Legislation I have introduced, H.R. 8001, would replace existing programs for feed grains and wheat, and provide a means of guaranteed harvest-time credit so the farmer can choose his own time to sell crops.

In the past 3 years I have offered four different payment limitation amendments to farm bills. Beginning May 22 this year I began a series of "Dear Colleague" letters in which I campaigned for the payment-limitation concept. During House action yesterday I offered a $10,000 limitation amendment, which was rejected by a 72 to 122 nonrecord vote, then supported Representative Silvio Conte, Republican, of Massachusetts, in the recommittal motion, which, 230 to 160, established the $20,000 payment limitation.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SHOULD TAKE ACTION: CARMICHAEL URGES TAKING POWER WITH GUNS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to include a newspaper article.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I see by the newspapers that the notorious black power fanatic, Stokely Carmichael, is out in public again advocating the overthrow by force of this Government.

If we had an Attorney General worthy of the name, or an administration with the spine to back him up, Carmichael would have been in jail long ago.

According to the Associated Press, this imported revolutionary last week urged a group of Negroes to take power "with a gun barrel," exulted in the anarchy in Cleveland, and said:

> We must create the maximum damage with a minimum of losses of black people. And that is through guerilla warfare.

Since Ramsey Clark is the only so-called Attorney General we have available, I am, once again, going to demand he prosecute this vicious firebrand. But I do not believe I will hold my breath awaiting for him to act.

I include the newspaper article at this point for insertion in the Record.

Carmichael Urges Taking Power With Guns

Mobile, Ala., July 26.—Stokely Carmichael black power advocate, urged a crowd of Mobile Negroes tonight to take political power away from the whites with a gun.

"Don't pray for power, don't beg for power, take it with a gun barrel," he shouted. The Negroes applauded enthusiastically. Police estimated that the gathering numbered about 600. About 20 whites, including several Catholic priests, were among them.

"We must create the maximum damage with a minimum of losses of black people. And that is thru guerrilla warfare," Carmichael added. He referred to the armed state of the black revolution, citing such places as Watts and Detroit, and praised the Negroes who had died there. "Look at Cleveland two days ago and that was even better, wasn't it?"

CONTINUATION OF THE SHAKESPEARE SUMMER FESTIVAL

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, the House recently took up the District of Columbia appropriations bill. As a member of the committee, I am pleased that there is money in the bill to provide for the continuation of the Shakespeare Summer Festival.

Anyone who has attended the production at the Sylvan Theater on the Washington Monument grounds knows what a worthwhile project this is for the citizens of the District as well as the visitors from all over the country. It is of great importance to the education of the young people of the District to see the works of the "Great Bard" in a professional setting. This program affords them that opportunity.

I am including, with the permission of the House, the statement of John D. Hardy, trustee, Shakespeare Summer Festival before the District of Columbia Recreation Board. This statement sets forth quite clearly the accomplishments of the Shakespeare Summer Festival.

Statement of John D. Hardy, Trustee, Shakespeare Summer Festival, Inc., Before the District of Columbia Recreation Board in Connection With the 1970 Budget Estimates, February 20, 1968

My name is John D. Hardy and I am a Trustee of the Shakespeare Summer Festival. I appear before you tonight to make the Festival's request for funds for the summer of 1969. Accompanying me this evening is a lady whom I am sure most of you know and to whom everyone who has seen Shakespeare at the Sylvan Theater is indebted. The foundress of the Festival, a trustee, and its artistic director—Mrs. Ellie Chamberlain Galidas.

Before talking about the Festival, its accomplishments, and future plans, I would like to point out that the appropriation we received through the Department of Recreation for last summer's production of Hamlet amounted to less than 15% of our budget. The major source of the Festival's income was and will continue to be private. Last year our contributions from the public more than tripled. Our membership increased from 75 to over 400. And we were also able to raise funds through a benefit held at the Apex Theater last March.

I believe these facts clearly demonstrate that the Festival has a broad base of support within the community, and is, therefore, a significant part of the District's summer cultural life.

Last summer's production of Hamlet marked the continuing growth of the Festival as one of the leading events of community interest as well as one of the outstanding artistic attractions offered to the many people who visit our nation's capital.

Upwards of sixty thousand people, residents of the District and its environs, as well as visitors from the several states and abroad, were able to enjoy free of charge this timeless Shakespearean tragedy in the natural surroundings of the Sylvan Theater.

Artistically, due in large measure to the efforts and theatrical insights of Mrs. Galidas, the Festival's production of Hamlet attained an even higher degree of professionalism than its previous productions. The play itself was the most challenging we had ever undertaken. The internationally celebrated Shakespearean actor and director, Mr. Philip Burton, directed. Professional actors, all of whom had Broadway or Television credits, were cast in the leading roles. And a professional technical crew was engaged to do the required stage lighting and amplification.

All of this we were able to accomplish in 1967 with an operating budget of about forty thousand dollars. And as I have said, the District Government through the Department of Recreation provided about 12% of this amount.

Our plans for the coming summer are, of course, already underway. We confidently expect that the Festival will continue to grow along the lines it has in the past. In addition to producing Theater of an even higher professional standard, however, we believe that the Festival should make an even greater effort to interest the citizens of the District, especially the young people, in our productions. We also believe that the Festival should become more active in related activities which add to the cultural enrichment and entertainment of the people who live in Washington. Consequently, we are exploring a number of possibilities such as providing bus transportation to the Festival from various neighborhoods in the southwest, southeast, and northeast sections of the city. We are also studying the possibility of using our talent and facilities to provide additional entertainment of a theatrical nature for the young people in the District.

These efforts for the coming summer do, of course, require a higher budget, and we have planned accordingly. Next year will require an even larger expenditure on our part and for that reason I am tonight requesting from the District Government through the Department of Recreation $25,000 for the summer of 1969.

Briefly, allow me to summarize the reasons why we are asking for this increased amount.

First, costs in the theatre as elsewhere are rising. It is just not possible to engage professional people at the same salaries we have in the past. I might add, however, that we are still able to obtain actors at salaries far below the Equity scale for comparable summer productions.

Second, we must continue to strive for an even higher degree of professionalism. This means, among other things, increased production costs. In case anyone here thinks our attempts to approach the highest production standards consistent with funds and talent available, is unnecessary, let me assure him to the contrary. The audiences of this country have grown accustomed to the professionalism of television and the movies. Consequently, if the Festival is to attract this same audience it must offer them entertainment of a professional caliber.

Third, in striving for higher production standards and artistic achievement the Festival must increase its capital expenditures. More lighting and sound equipment, as well as other miscellaneous equipment will be required.

And finally, our efforts to bring the Festival to more and more young people in the District will add expenses which we have heretofore not had.

I would conclude by emphasizing that the $25,000 I am requesting for the summer of 1969 will still represent only a small proportion of the money we expect to spend for that season. We at the Festival are confident that, as in the past, public participation and support will grow along with us. But financial assistance from the District Government is also vital if we are to have the necessary flexibility to implement our plans. This concludes my prepared statement and I shall be happy to answer any questions you might have.

ADMINISTRATIVE LEAVE FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES UNDER CONDITIONS OF SEVERE WEATHER

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, considerable evidence has evolved that the procedures among and between the various agencies and departments for releasing Federal employees when hazardous weather conditions prevail have been inconsistent and uncoordinated.

The Honorable CLAUDE PEPPER and the Honorable DANTE B. FASCELL, both Congressmen from the State of Florida, first brought this matter to the attention of Congress following a severe hurricane in their districts. The burden of the evidence was that in the same general area, Federal employees were being released at different times even though there had been official warnings of imminent danger of hurricanes.

Public hearings were held on this matter in the fall of 1967 before the Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. It developed that the problem was not limited only to those areas of the country susceptible to hurricanes, but to areas that experience floods, tornadoes, snow and ice storms, and other hazardous weather conditions. Stories of homegoing employees being stranded and finally being rescued by airlift or emergency vehicles were given as examples of the results of belated releases. Further, testimony adduced that there were conflicting procedures in handling leave under these conditions among the various agencies and departments.

The law now provides that with certain exceptions employees shall be excused from duty without loss of pay or charge to leave whenever the Environmental Science Services Administration—the Weather Bureau—has officially issued warning that inherently dangerous weather conditions are imminent. The rub came because there was a total lack of uniformity and local agency heads independently made decisions on whether or not to release employees, or when to release them, or whether annual leave should be charged.

The need for coordinated, uniform group dismissals of Federal employees in affected areas throughout the Nation was apparent. Officials of the Civil Service Commission testified that they recognized the desirability of coordinated action and, agreed that employees excused because of hazardous weather should not be charged leave or lose pay. However, these Commission officials were of the opinion that ample administrative authority existed to rectify the situation, and that legislation, therefore, was not necessary and might even be imprudent. The officials further testified that plans had been inaugurated to make use of the nearly 100 existing Federal executive boards and associations throughout the Nation to take coordinated action in deciding when to dismiss employees under adverse weather conditions. The hearings closed on this note and I requested a progress report from the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission.

I have now received that report advising that Federal Establishments have been directed to set up coordinated procedures through their local boards and associations and to forward written statements of procedures and policies to the Commission. I was advised that to date policy statements have been received from all 15 of the Federal executive boards, which are located in the major centers of Federal employment, and from approximately one-third of the 84 Federal executive associations, which are located in centers with lesser Federal populations. Those employment centers already covered by coordinated dismissal policies contain about 1,250,000 Federal employees. The Commission is currently following up with the remaining associations.

A review of several of these policy plans indicates that they are workable and flexible enough to cope with the variety of weather conditions peculiar to various sections of the Nation. In substance, these plans call for coordination among the various Federal activities in a given area, say Miami, or Philadelphia or Honolulu, in releasing employees, following consultation among the leading Federal officials in the immediate area on the basis of all the information obtainable. Because of the great variety of local conditions and the necessity for different policies for different locales, I am reasonably convinced that this matter is not one to legislate, but is one where local policies based on local conditions, is the best approach.

I believe that both Mr. PEPPER and Mr. FASCELL are to be commended for bringing this problem to attention and that John W. Macy, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, is also to be commended for coming up with what appears to be a satisfactory solution.

MISUSE OF DEFENSE PROCUREMENT PROCEDURES

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been investigating what to me appears to be a gross misuse of defense procurement procedures by the Navy Ships Parts Control Center of Mechanicsburg, Pa.

The matter involves two different contracts, one of them purportedly issued under "emergency procurement" conditions, for the same item—a breechblock lock for an MK–12, 22 mm. aircraft gun. One of these contracts issued under routine and ordinary procurement procedures was awarded to a low bidder at a quoted price of $37.75 per piece. The second contract, issued 30 days later on a negotiated bid, was awarded to another firm at a price nearly three times higher for the identical item.

This little scheme—and my investigation convinces me that a scheme was involved—will cost American taxpayers $118,760 for a padded contract. This is inexcusable to say the least.

What is even more disconcerting is the possibility that the company which is going to collect this $118,760 windfall profit may at this very moment be in default of contracts totaling multi-millions of dollars for the manufacture of bomb casings.

I have written to the Secretary of the Navy and to the Government Accounting Office requesting a full investigation, not only of this specific instance but also of the Navy's general use of "emergency procurement" contract award procedures.

My letters to the General Accounting Office and the Secretary of the Navy, outlining the matter in more detail, as well as several other pieces of correspondence between the low-bid contract holder and the Navy Ships Parts Control Center at Mechanicsburg are certain to be of interest to my colleagues who like myself want to provide necessary funds for defense, but not surplus funds for get-fat conspiracies.

I request that this series of letters be included in the RECORD at this point. They point up a number of very serious questions which require detailed and

well-documented explanations and firm action to discipline those individuals responsible for gross misuse of public funds.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., August 1, 1968.
Hon. Elmer B. Staats,
Comptroller General,
General Accounting Office,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Staats: Enclosed for your consideration is a copy of a letter I have just sent to the Secretary of the Navy requesting an investigation of the Navy's use of emergency procurement procedures in general and, specifically, an investigation of a contract award made May 13, 1968 for 2000 Breechlock locks MK–12 20mm Aircraft Gun.

I earnestly urge that you begin an immediate investigation of the circumstances surrounding the award of this contract spelled out in considerable detail in the enclosures.

I ask specifically that you seek answers to the fourteen questions contained in the letter to the Secretary of the Navy.

With kind personal regards, I am
Sincerely yours,
Fred B. Rooney,
Member of Congress.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., August 1, 1968.
Hon. Paul R. Ignatius,
Secretary of the Navy, U.S. Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: This is to ask your immediate investigation of a negotiated Navy contract issued under the guise of "emergency procurement" and which is about to cost the Navy Department and the American taxpayer nearly three times more than necessary. This contract award, at a rate almost three times that of an existing contract for the same item, represents a waste of $118,760.

I am simultaneously contacting the Government Accounting Office to request that a full investigation be made of this contract and of the Navy's use of "emergency procurement" contract awards. This particular contract, I feel, is an example of gross abuse of emergency procurement authorization.

The circumstances are as follows:

Subject: Breechblock locks for the MK–12, 20MM Aircraft Gun being procured by the Navy Ships Parts Control Center, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, under two separate contracts. Part No. is FSN–4A1005–HDB–5380.

Chronology:

Subject breechblock locks have not been manufactured for the Navy for a period exceeding five years. When last produced, manufacture was done at the Naval Ordnance Plant (NOP), York, Pennsylvania. This facility was sold to American Machine and Foundry Company (AMF) in the interim.

January-February of 1967: The Navy awarded a design contract to the York Division of AMF for redesign of the breechblock lock and production of 10 sample pieces. Redesign basically involved a change of material used in manufacture of the item. (I understand that 45 breechblock locks were produced by York AMF, 10 of which were selected for submission to the Navy. Five of those were found acceptable by the Navy.) The piece is identified as Drawing No. 2518518.

January-February of 1968: Navy determined that it needed 2,400 breechblock locks for the MK–12, 20 MM Aircraft Gun, and posted a notice at the Navy Ships Parts Control Center, Mechanicsburg, that it was negotiating a contract for their production with York AMF. Inquiries by other potential manufacturers led to refusal by NSPCC to release design of the piece to firms other than York AMF.

March 5, 1968: After surreptitiously securing the design drawing, two competitor firms submitted bids in addition to that negotiated with York AMF. Although I have not learned exact dollar amount of the negotiated AMF bid, it was in excess of $100 per piece. One of the competitor firms, Newbould Tool Co., Inc., of York, Pennsylvania, submitted a bid of $37.75 per piece. I am not familiar with the third bid.

April 12, 1968: After a 38-day period during which the manufacturing capability and financial resources of the Newbould Tool Co. were studied and approved, a contract for production of 2,400 breechblock locks was awarded Newbould on the basis of its low bid. That contract is identified as N00104–68–C–4695.

May 13, 1968: Apparently without prior announcement, another contract for production of 2,000 breechblock locks for the MK–12 was awarded this date to York AMF. This contract identification is N00104–68–C–4759. Per piece price of this contract is $97.13 with delivery of 125 pieces per week to commence August 10 and end December 10, according to Capt. L. O. Larson Jr., Contracting Officer, NSPCC, Mechanicsburg. This contract was issued under "emergency procurement" procedures but without the "DX" terms for accelerated delivery which generally are implemented when emergency procurement is necessary. Without the "DX" designation, material for the manufacture of these pieces was secured under a 10-week delivery order, exactly as the routine contract which was awarded the Newbould firm. This period could have been cut to two weeks if a true emergency had existed.

June 21, 1968: Newbould Tool Co. Inc., delivered to Dahlgren, Va., Testing Grounds three sample pieces for testing. Contract specifications required that the breechblock locks pass a test of 2,000 gun firings. These tests submitted the breechblock locks to 3,000 firings and Newbould's officials who observed the firings were advised orally their pieces were approved. Written notice of approval, which was to follow, was not received as of July 27, 1968. It should be noted, too, that Newbould, during manufacture of the samples for pre-production testing, discovered an error in the specified design and made the correction in one of the three pieces produced for testing. That corrected piece is the one selected for manufacture.

Mr. Secretary, on repeated occasions since May 13, 1968, Newbould Tool Co. attempted to communicate with Capt. Larson relative to the handling of this so-called "emergency procurement" contract and to have clarified some of the great many curious aspects of this entire matter. Not until after my office made some inquiries about the contract awarded York AMF did Capt. Larson give Newbould an acknowledgement.

Because the procedures followed are so outrageously contrary to sound procurement practices, I request that you initiate a full investigation which will provide me with answers to these specific questions:

1. Why has the Navy not purchased any breechblock locks for the MK–12, 20 MM Aircraft Guns for a period of more than five years preceding the contract awards of April and May of 1968? Did the Navy have an inventory of these pieces sufficient to carry it through this period?

2. What inventory of breechblock locks for the MK–12 does the Navy have at the present time?

3. When was the original requisition for 2,400 breechblock locks issued by the Naval Air Systems Command? (Please supply a copy of the requisition order.)

4. When was the requisition for emergency procurement of 2,000 breechblock locks issued and by whom? (Please supply a copy of that requisition order.) What prompted this emergency need to develop 30 days after award of a routine contract for the same item?

5. If emergency procurement of the additional 2,000 pieces was justifiable, why did the Navy not cooperate with the original contractor, who was willing to produce these items for only $37.75, to expedite production of the order? This could have been done by (1) amending the original contract to cover the 2,000 additional pieces, (2) by assuring that preprod approval was given promptly in writing after the June 21 test-firing at Dalgren, Virginia, and (3) by assigning "DX" status to the original contract in order to secure prompt delivery of the material for production. (Newbould could be in production now, meeting the Navy's emergency need if one exists, at the $37.75 price.)

6. How was it possible for the Navy Ships Parts Control Center at Mechanicsburg to "audit" both the Newbould and York AMF prices for the same item and declare both prices "appropriate" when the latter was more than 250 percent higher than the former?

7. Why, when NSPCC began negotiations with York AMF for the original 2,400 piece contract, were Newbould and at least one other prospective bidder refused copies of the design drawing which was necessary in order to submit bids?

8. When the emergency procurement requisition was issued, why did Capt. Larson and his staff not seek to negotiate for the production of the 2,000 additional units by the lowest bidder on the original contract?

9. What is the current status of the multimillion dollar defense contracts now held by American Machine and Foundry for the manufacture of bomb casings? How many such contracts are currently being performed or have been awarded to AMF and is AMF in default on any of these contracts and to what degree?

10. If AMF is in default on contracts to supply bomb casings, and I am advised that it is, how could York AMF pass the production capability and financial stability tests to secure this additional contract?

11. If AMF is in default on contracts to supply bomb casings, what penalties are being applied by the Navy Department or any other federal agency or department?

12. Does York AMF have the production capability to meet the delivery terms of this breechblock lock contract without defaulting on it or on any of the other existing AMF contracts?

13. Capt. Larson has advised Newbould that he "deliberately" excluded them from consideration for the emergency procurement because York AMF already had pre-production approval for its item on the basis of the earlier design contract. He contended that he was saving 120 days by negotiating with York AMF. But the fact is, no time whatever has been saved and a great deal of public money is to be lost.

14. Why has formal written notice of approval for Newbould's pre-prod samples been delayed when three sample pieces performed considerably better than contract requirements on June 21st and were orally approved at that time?

Mr. Secretary, Attorney Robert Kane of York, Pennsylvania, and the officers of Newbould Tool Company, Inc., stand ready to cooperate with you in every way in the investigation of what I consider to be an arbitrary distortion of contractual procedure. Further, Newbould stands ready to take on the emergency procurement contract and deliver the 2,000 additional pieces at their quoted price of $37.75.

I submit that this entire procedure is indicative of a plan to reward York AMF with a substantial and profitable contract for some reason unknown to me. It is possible that the contract was to help York AMF offset some loss it may have suffered in the redesign of the breechblock lock, if indeed any loss was suffered under that contract. Refusal to issue the design drawing to any possible competitive bidders, during the period negotiations were being carried out with York AMF, certainly is indicative of an attempt to guarantee that York AMF and only York AMF would receive the contract for the original 2,400 piece order. However, after the plan to exclude any competitive bidding was thwarted by two competitors who secured the design drawings surreptitiously and entered bids, I submit the second "emergency procurement" contract was contrived as a means to carry out the original plan to provide York AMF with a fat profit.

I have learned that even at the low $37.75 sum bid by the Newbould firm, that figure will turn the manufacturer a fine profit. The difference between that figure and the $97.13 price to be paid York AMF, then, Mr. Secretary, must be all "gravy."

It appears that a complete investigation by you will uncover evidence which may warrant disciplinary action against Navy Department personnel who may be responsible for this abuse of responsibility to uphold both a public trust and the national interest.

Your immediate attention is requested.

Sincerely yours,

Fred B. Rooney,
Member of Congress.

June 21, 1968.

Re: Contract No. N00104–68–C–4695. Part: FSN 4 A 1005 HDB 5380.

Capt. L. O. Larson,
U.S.N., Division Director, U.S. Navy Ships Parts, Control Center, Mechanicsburg, Pa.

Dear Captain Larson: This is to advise you that I represent Newbould Tool Company, Inc., 119 Zoar Avenue, York, Pennsylvania, with respect to the above-referenced contract and part, which is further identified as Drawing No. 2518518. We herewith formally protest the award of a contract to the York Division of American Machine and Foundry Company for some 2,000 pieces of the item already referred.

HISTORY

During the months of January and February of 1967, the United States Navy under a negotiated contract, had certain prototype pieces of this item manufactured by the York Division of A.M.F. and there were 45 such prototype pieces so manufactured from four different materials. The purpose of having this work done was to make a material change in this particular item, which is a breachblock lock for a 20 m.m. gun. These items previously were manufactured by the predecessor to the York Division of A.M.F., the United States Naval Ordnance Plant, York, Pennsylvania, and no such pieces have been in manufacture since 1963.

Thereafter, specifically during the month of February of 1968, some twelve months later, the Ships Parts Control Center at Mechanicsburg invited bids for the manufacture of 2,400 of these pieces and upon the bid opening on March 5, 1968, my client was the successful bidder at its low price of $37.75 per piece. Also bidding on this job was York Division of A.M.F., who bid a price of approximately $100.00 per piece. Thereafter ensued a preaward survey of my client for the purpose of determining manufacture capabilities, as well as financial ability, both of which were concluded favorably to my client. Thus on April 12, 1968, (A delay of thirty-eight days between the bid opening and that date.) the Navy awarded contract above-referred to my client.

Shortly after the award of April 12, 1968, the United States Navy through its Ships Parts Control Center located at Mechanicsburg, entered into a negotiated contract for 2,000 pieces of this item with the York Division of A.M.F., without affording any opportunity whatsoever to my client or others to either bid or negotiate the production of the additionalal 2,000 pieces. This award to the York Division of A.M.F. was made purportedly under the applicable emergency procurement procedure of the A.S.P.R. regulations. We feel that such an award was arbitrary, capricious and totally unwarranted under the aforesaid regulations.

DELIVERY

Contract of my client, as it was awarded on April 12, 1968, allowed three months for the manufacture of preproduction samples and I am pleased to inform you that as of this date, those preproduction samples were delivered to the Naval Weapons Laboratory, Dahlgren, Virginia, approximately thirty days in advance of the three month period aforesaid. Thereafter, the United States Navy has one month from this date to test and grade its approval on the preproduction items. Upon such approval, my client has four months in which to produce the 2,400 pieces. The negotiated contract with York Division of A.M.F., the subject of this complaint, is not in any way, shape or form substantially different from the production and delivery requirements of the contract awarded to my client, and therefore, the position of emergency procurement is substantially reduced, if not obliterated.

PRICE

We are informed and have every reason to believe that the negotiated award to the York Division of A.M.F. is approximately 300% of the price bid by my client on which it was successful in receiving its award. This fact bears quite heavily on the unjustified negotiated award about which we complain.

MATERIALS

We are reliably informed and have reason to believe that York Division A.M.F. contracted to procure the materials for this job, as well as the competitively bid job, in advance of the award made April 12, 1968.

In view of the above facts and circumstances surrounding the awarding of this contract without bid, we request an immediate and thorough investigation, as it is our firm belief and opinion that the emergency procurement procedure has been abused violently. In addition, *time is of the essence,* since my client is placed in a position of suffering irreparable harm since it was not afforded the opportunity to bid or negotiate for the additional 2,000 pieces.

We insist that the contract awarded to York Division of A.M.F. be forthwith terminated and that the same be made available through normal procurement channels, so that the Government may procure their competitive prices and my client stands ready, willing and able to bid on this or any similar type work. Finally, we offer to cooperate and assist with any proper authorities in bringing this matter to an early and proper resolution.

Very truly yours,

Robert P. Kane.

July 17, 1968.

Re: Contract No. N00104–68–C4695
Part: FSN 4 A 1005 HDB 5380

Capt. L. O. Larson,
U.S.N., Division Director, U.S. Navy Ships Parts, Control Center, Mechanicsburg, Pa.

Dear Captain Larson: Reference is made to my letter of June 21, 1968, a copy of which is enclosed herewith for identification purpose. Further reference is made to our telephone conversation of Tuesday, July 2, 1968, wherein you assured me of a response to my aforementioned letter by midweek of the week of July 8, 1968. I wish to inform you respectfully, as you may or may not know, that such response has not been forthcoming. Further, that repeated efforts to reach you on the telephone regarding this rather critical matter have been unavailing; specifically, I phoned you on Friday, July 12, 1968, Monday, July 15, 1968 and Tuesday, July 16, 1968, each time leaving a return message requesting that you phone me, again to no avail.

Without discussing the merits of our position in this matter, you should know that time is of the essence in resolving this contract. My client has been, is now and will suffer irreparable damage by further delay and we shall have no recourse but to take this matter into the hands of other officials and demand a thorough investigation of this improperly awarded-negotiated contract.

Would you do me the courtesy of acknowledging receipt of this letter, as well as responding to my letter of June 21, 1968.

Very truly yours,

Robert P. Kane.

Department of the Navy,
Navy Ships Parts Control Center,
Mechanicsburg, Pa., July 23, 1968.

Mr. Robert P. Kane,
Attorney at Law, York, Pa.

Dear Mr. Kane: This is in response to your letter of June 21, 1968, protesting the award of a contract by the Ships Parts Control Center to the American Machine and Foundry Company (AMF) for the procurement of 2,000 breechblock locks. The contract that you have questioned is Contract N00104–68–C–4759 dated May 13, 1968.

As requested by you, I have reviewed the circumstances culminating in the aforementioned award and find the following:

a. The breechblock locks being manufactured by AMF under Contract N00104–68–C–4759, and also by your client, Newbould Tool Company, Inc., under Contract N00104–68–C–4695, are required to maintain the operation of the MK–12, 20MM aircraft gun. A substantial number of these guns are used in aircraft assigned to and engaged in tactical operations in Southeast Asia. Accordingly, the importance of maintaining these guns in optimum operating condition at all times cannot be overemphasized, and this factor must be considered in analyzing the circumstances that have resulted in the award of these two recent contracts.

b. Upon completion of evaluation of the several proposals received, Contract N00104–68–C–4695, dated April 12, 1968, was awarded to Newbould Tool Company covering the procurement of 2,400 breechblock locks. This contract requires your client first to manufacture and submit to the Government two units for First Article testing, and delivery of these two units is required within 90 days from the date of the contract. Because Newbould Tool Company had not previously manufactured this breechblock lock, the First Article testing requirements could not be waived in this instance. The contract further stipulates that the Government will provide the contractor with the results of its tests within 30 days after receipt of the First Article testing samples. Thus, a period of 120 days can normally be expected to pass prior to receipt by the contractor of authorization to commence manufacture of the items covered by the contract. Delivery of the 2,400 units is to be completed within a further 120 calendar days after approval of the test samples. The Government cannot, therefore reasonably expect your client to satisfy the requirements of his contract until early December 1968.

Subsequent to the date that the solicitation of offers for the 2,400 breechblock locks were issued, but prior to the award of a contract based thereon, a very high priority requirement for another 2,000 locks developed. The urgency of this requirement was such that a determination was made to procure these 2,000 units from the only known source which had manufactured the locks before and for whom, therefore, the First Article testing requirements could be waived, namely, AMF. By so doing, it was reasoned, 120 days could be saved in the commencement of manufacture. Accordingly, non-competitive negotiations with AMF were authorized and conducted pursuant to 10 USC

2304(a)(2). Contract N00104–68–C–4759 was awarded to AMF on May 13, 1968, and deliveries are scheduled at a rate of 125 units per week beginning August 10, 1968.

Based upon my review of the facts and circumstances surrounding the award of these two contracts, I find that (i) the breechblock locks being procured under Contract N00104–68–C–4759 are urgently required to maintain guns on board A7 and F8 aircraft engaged in Southeast Asia operations and this emergency condition is of an increasingly serious nature, and (ii) the negotiation of Contract N00104–68–C–4759 with AMF under the Public Exigency provisions of ASPR 3–202 and 10 USC 2304(a)(2) was and is valid and proper and does not constitute an abuse of the emergency procurement procedures. It is therefore determined that Contract N00104–68–C–4759 with AMF will not be terminated as you have requested.

If any additional information is required, please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

L. O. LARSON, Jr.,
Captain, SC, USN, Contracting Officer.

INDEPENDENCE DAY OF THE REPUBLIC OF DAHOMEY

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the African Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I take great pleasure today in extending congratulations and best wishes to President Emile-Derlin Zinsou, to Ambassador Maxime-Leopold Zollner and to the Government and people of the Republic of Dahomey on this eighth anniversary of independence.

Upon assuming her place on August 1, 1960, in the consort of nations, the nascent State of Dahomey found herself faced with all the familiar problems of the young, underdeveloped countries, which have achieved their independence since World War II. Dahomey is a small country, dependent for the most part upon agriculture, the revenues from which have often proved insufficient to cover the normal operating expenses of her government. Nor have reserves of foreign exchange been at hand for the financing of the capital goods necessary to her economic growth.

Nevertheless, with the help of France, which had administered Dahomey during the colonial era, and other Western nations, Dahomey has worked diligently to achieve economic development, looking forward to the day when she will be able to provide for all of her own needs.

While Dahomey has not resolved all her economic and political difficulties, she has not resigned herself to their perpetuation but is actively seeking the ways and means to bring economic well-being and political stability and peace to her people. Therefore, I know that the Members of this House, together with all the American Government and people, will join with me in wishing the people of Dahomey full success in their development efforts and a peaceful and prosperous future.

PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED LAPSING OF SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDS FOR PUBLIC LAW 874

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Hawaii?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that the President last night ordered the lapsing of the $91 million supplemental funds for Public Law 874 recently enacted into law by the Congress in the fiscal 1968 Urgent Supplemental Appropriations Act.

Despite the newspaper reports that the President ordered 100-percent funding of category A schools, my checking with the Bureau of the Budget revealed that the President did not in fact make any such order. The President merely speculated that if the Congress had decided in its wisdom that only A category schools should be funded that he would have allowed these funds.

This is indeed spurious argumentation. If the President had the power to disallow an act of Congress passed "in its wisdom" authorizing the funding of both A and B programs under Public Law 874, surely that same power would have resided in the President to do precisely what he wanted to do with respect to A funds without demanding that the Congress further act "in its wisdom." The fact of the matter is the President has chosen not to fund this program despite the "wisdom and will of this Congress." That, of course, is the power of the Executive as further enlarged by the enactment of the tax package giving him the power to cut wherever he pleases in order to effectuate the $6 billion spending reduction. It is for this precise reason that I voted against that tax measure.

I am further advised by the Bureau of the Budget that none of these supplemental funds for Public Law 874 are now available; they have totally lapsed, according to the Bureau of the Budget.

I join the President in his disagreement with the $6 billion spending cut required in the tax bill. I voted against this tax package. I join the President also in his consternation that all the requested funds were not allowed in the elementary secondary education program. But the fact remains that disagreements with these actions should not be further compounded by creating further losses to education by depriving school districts of their expected money under the Public Law 874 program that has never heretofore been denied its statutory expectation.

I do not agree with the President that we should seek only "A" money. Funding only category A is totally inadequate. The category A formula pays the school district something less than 50 percent of the cost of educating the on-base child. In Hawaii, as in other districts, the cost of educating the on-base child is supported by using category B funds in its entirety in addition to our allotted "A" money. Even then, a substantial sum of State moneys are needed to meet the cost of educating the on-base child.

I am certain that many school districts faced with the loss of these funds will be forced to relinquish participation in this program altogether and surrender the jurisdiction of the education of these on-base children to the Department of Defense, as is already done on 50 military installations in this country. The anticipated savings of the Government by this refusal to release these funds could well be totally nullified by the Government having to pay 100 percent of the cost of running these on-base schools under the Department of Defense, instead of only 50 percent of the cost as provided under Public Law 874. The savings made by this decision to allow these funds to lapse may immediately enrich the coffers of the Treasury, but in the long run it means the diminution of our educational effort, with the children in these school districts being the final losers.

I urge the President to reconsider this matter and through the exercise of the vast powers of his office allot these funds which he himself described in his press conference as being merely "reserved." I further urge my colleagues to join me in this request.

ARE WE DENYING THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF 30 MILLION?—THE 18- TO 21-YEAR-OLDS AND THE MOVERS

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, for 20 years now, it has been of deep concern to me that the American system of representative democracy be as equitable and uninfringed upon as is humanly possible. We have made great strides in recent years, but it is with regret that I find that nearly 20 million American citizens were denied full participation in our last presidential election for various reasons. Foremost among the groups denied their fair voice were the "movers," those who fail to meet archaic residency laws in time to vote in their new home States. In these days, when mobility is a way of life in America, it is time to stop treating the "movers" as political outcasts.

In addition, it is also time to stop treating our 18- to 21-year-olds as half-citizens: grownups when we want them to assume responsibility and children when they ask for political participation. Mr. Speaker, as one who introduced and supported a resolution in the Iowa Legislature to make 18-year-olds eligible to vote and one who believes in civil rights for everyone, I fully support the President's request to enfranchise some 10 million young people by making 18-year-olds eligible to vote.

EXPANDING THE SUFFRAGE: CRITICAL AREAS IN NEED OF REAPPRAISAL

It would seem self-evident that democracy and the unabridged right to vote are one and the same. Yet, surprisingly enough, it has taken this country almost 200 years of struggle against tradition and custom to realize the basic doctrine of "one citizen, one vote." I unequivocably support this concept for every level of our federal system. What it means is simply that people, not trees, nor barns, nor land, nor money, are to be represented in Government. Therefore, the only criterion for being able to vote is to be a citizen. And all citizens abe to be equally represented. As James Madison said in the Federalist, No. 57:

> Who are the electors of the Federal representatives? Not the rich more than the poor; not the learned more than the ignorant; not the haughty heirs of distinguished names more than the humble sons of obscure and unpropitious fortune. The electors are to be the great body of the people of the United States.

What Madison said so clearly 200 years ago has only slowly been realized, through four constitutional amendments, numerous Supreme Court decisions, and much legislation, giving the idea the reality of law. In the beginning, the only person uniformly assured of the right to vote was the white, 21-year-old male, propertied, literate, a fixed resident, and with means to pay any tax. Gradually these restrictions have fallen by the wayside, as custom and prejudice gave way to reason, or the coercion of law. Most recently, through the 24th amendment, the poll tax has been driven from the list of subtle discriminations against the full exercise of the voting right.

But it is clear that a complete victory has yet to be won over the various forms of voting limitations. The two which I want to discuss are the 21-year-old age limit and the residency requirements, both of which need a new, hard look in the light of our modern era.

THE 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE

A quick look at the history of the suffrage reveals that there exists no cut and dried legal qualification concerning voting age. There is no magic age at which one is suddenly qualified to vote. Indeed, the age of 21 seems to have derived from Medieval English custom concerning eligibility for knighthood, a prerequisite most of us would consider a bit stern for voting. Through time, 21 has developed the sanctity of familiarity. The time has come, however, for a reasoned reappraisal.

In the first place, we should recognize that the 18-year-old franchise is not an especially radical doctrine. The ancient Greeks defined a citizen as 18 and a property owner. Seventeen-year-olds were allowed to vote for the Nation's first legislative body, the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1619. In this century, the world-wide trend has been toward lowering the voting age. In 1900 the average legal minimum voting age was a few months under 24, and there were less than seven countries with a minimum voting age of 18. Today the average age is the remarkably low figure of just over 19½. More than 30 countries presently embrace a voting age of 18.

America has already, in many ways, recognized the citizenship of her 18-year-olds. Legally, they stand responsible in adult, not juvenile, courts, and can acquire a criminal record. They can make wills and be declared competent in our chancery courts. They can join the Civil Service, they can be sued, they can drive automobiles and must acquired various other licenses. Insurance companies defines an adult as 18 or over. Eighteen-year-olds can marry and are responsible for the welfare and lives of their families; pension and welfare cases are treated equally regardless to whether one is 18 or 21. But most important of all, 18-year-olds can be drafted and they must pay income tax. I do not think anyone needs be reminded of the significance of "taxation without representation" in American history.

In a time of war, the question of the 18-year-old vote always has received more attention. In peace time, we glibly dismiss the argument "old enough to fight, old enough to vote" as simplistic, but in wartime our consciences begin to bother us. We see our sons bearing the burden of our wars—what might be called "sacrifice without representation." Doubters often resort to the argument that the mental qualities that go into the making of a good fightingman, especially pliability, are not the same as those making up a good voter. On the contrary, I would say that what has made the American fighting man great is exactly the opposite: his ingenuity and independence. Total docility may be a trait of Facist armies, but not of ours.

War may be a necessity sometimes in this imperfect world, but we are often too careless in our use of it, as today. It is a little known fact that the United States has been at war 1 day for every week of its existence, and yet we call ourselves a peaceful nation. Today the problem is perhaps at its greatest height in our history, with our leaders pursuing the misbegotten war in Vietnam—now the longest war in our history. It is no wonder that, when we have excluded the young from the election of those to whom we have entrusted peace, and we have then failed at the maintenance of peace, that they should feel cheated.

Any committee chairman knows that for the democratic process to work, everyone must have his views heard and discussed, or else some will feel mistreated. Our youth have not had a fair hearing, although they are prepared to enter intelligently into the public forum as no generation before them. They are prepared to contribute in a positive manner, as they have shown through the Peace Corps, the civil rights movement, VISTA, and numerous other community projects.

For the most part, the argument against the 18-year-old vote smacks of that against woman suffrage: a supercilious view that women had no place in public affairs and that they were not well enough acquainted with political issues to make intelligent choices. It was a falacious argument then, as it is now.

The youth of today are more mature, better educated, and are actively concerned with the Nation's problems on an unprecendented scale. Physically, scientists say, today's 18-year-olds are as much as 3 years ahead of their counterparts in 1900, because of better diet and health care. But far more important is, of course, their intellectual maturity. We must recognize the effect of extensive mandatory education and the dramatic rise the number of high school graduates and college enrollees; unquestionably, the modern 18-year-olds have a better education than their parents, let alone their forebears. Furthermore, this is the era of mass communication: along with all the ills which that entails, it does mean a vastly increased awareness of the world among our youth. In tests of factual knowledge about politics, our young people have actually been found embarrassingly better informed than their elders.

In 1954 the American Institute of Public Opinion made a survey throughout the country, asking seven questions testing political awareness. The 18-to-20 age group scored 41 percent correct, as opposed to a meager 28 percent for all others. In another study made in Detroit by Wendell Cultice, 2,000 people were asked if they could explain the electoral college system: again the students prevailed, by 42 to 27 percent.

Factual knowledge is not the whole story, however, it is more the attitudes which the young bring that can infuse new energy into our public life. As the President has said:

> There is a moral energy in this generation that exceeds any I have ever seen before.

Not that the young have not always been highly idealistic, but we have either let it dissipate, paying it only lip service, or else we have tried to smother it out of apprehension. Elders do not want to contend with an informed age group in which rebellion against the status quo would be far more than a possibility. But that rebellion is occurring anyway, and it is a healthy, constructive rebellion, so it would be foolhardy not to channel it through acceptable means. It can be of great help in balancing the rigidity and cynicism which often characterize adults, for, as the New York Times has said:

> Youthful protest more often than not has focused attention on evils that adult society has too long neglected. . . . The good of the nation as well as its youth will be served if extension of the franchise channels this potent reservoir of fresh perception and idealism into the often stagnant mainstream of American political life.

Naturally, youth are not perfect, nor would I advocate turning over the reins of Government to those under 30. But as voters they have a real contribution to make. When one considers some of the trivial criteria by which the adult voter too often makes his choice, we should not be too quick to write off the 18-year-old as immature. Clearly, some people never reach the maturity to make an intelligent contribution to public affairs. But that fact has not caused the Nation to forsake democracy as the best method of government.

Giving our youth the vote can have a valuable balancing effect on the sometimes narrow spheres of interest among older people. They are more apt to place the national interest above those particular interests which they will acquire through time. To quote H. Stuart Hughes:

> Adults are frequently too occupied with their private lives and problems of family

and finances to worry about matters seemingly far removed from them.

If for no other reason, we should observe that this country is actually growing older, and therefore lower the voting age. In 1850 only 4.1 percent of our citizens were over 60, by 1950 this number reached 12 percent, and by 1960 was 13 percent. If we wish to preserve the political balance, it is not unreasonable to counter the more conservative influence of our older citizens.

The independence of the youthful voter would be his greatest asset. The Gallup poll report of June 1968, on young people, dramatically substantiates the constructive independence of the young voters in their twenties. Forty percent named their political affiliation to be independent, compared with 24 percent of those over 50, and a greater percentage than declared for either major party. As large a proportion of young adults declared an interest in politics as did older age groups; as large a porportion have worked for a party or candidate; and, 41 percent, more than any of their elders, declared a willingness to do political volunteer work. The final conclusion of the Gallup report was:

> Young adults are overwhelmingly constructive in their approach to political problems. The proportion of young people who are either alienated or passive is minor .... Our survey shows conclusively that the young people are in the mainstream of public opinion.

Nor should we ignore the possibility that a reduced voting age can be as much a cause as an effect toward the improved quality of our youth as citizens. In a nation with such a poor voting turnout, commonly between 50 and 65 percent, we should be encouraging, not discouraging the habit of voting, expecially when it is just being formed.

The timelag between schooling and 21 often ingrains passivity in new voters. Moreover, teachers and schools would be increasingly challenged to better prepare the young for civic responsibility when it is an immediate possibility, not a mysterious result of "time" or "aging," both which generally succeed only in intrenching misconceptions and biases. As the National Educational Association has declared:

> A reduction in the voting age would raise the average level of civic effectiveness.

The Vice President once said, in his more free-thinking days:

> There is no better civic training than the exercise of the vote. Without the vote, all other forms of civic training are lacking in meaning and effectiveness. It is essential that our young people take on political responsibility as soon as they are ready to do so, for the real value of education comes from its association with responsibility.

The time has surely come for a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age. In this Congress there have been about 50 such proposals. The last time that a sustained move in this direction was tried, after President Eisenhower's 1954 state of the Union message called for it, the measure was defeated by a narrow margin in the Senate. The cause was the fear among some Senators that States' rights might be infringed upon. This question needs some consideration, as the voting requirements are now, without question, under the constitutional jurisdiction of the States.

The great and vital role of the States under our federal system is innovative, not obstructionist. In the case of the lower voting age, four States have struck out on their own: Georgia in 1943, 18; Kentucky in 1955, 18; Alaska, 19; and Hawaii, 20. It is noteworthy that the only two States to enter the Union in completely modern times have reduced voting ages.

In all four cases, the experiment has proved to be an unqualified success. The conflicts predicted by critics with other legal rights and duties not realized until 21, such as jury duty and entering into a contract, simply have not emerged. No other laws were changed. In addition, the massive turnout at the polls among the young cannot be anything but encouraging: in Kentucky in 1956, some 80 percent of the 18-to-20 age group voted. Georgia's 18- to 20-year-olds were 20 percent of the electorate after being given the vote. In other words, Georgia and Kentucky have provided laboratory proof of the feasibility of the 18-year-old vote.

Historically, progress toward acceptance of this idea resembles that of the fight for woman suffrage—with new States daring to be different and old ones breaking away from tradition. In 1869 the Territory of Wyoming gave the suffrage to women voters for territorial officers, and by 1914, 11 States, including new Wyoming, had given women the franchise. Probably we shall see the number of States allowing the 18-year-old vote increase dramatically until such time as the Congress feels safety in numbers. I feel that the time has long since come. Twenty-one years ago I introduced such a bill into the Iowa State Legislature; now I support a constitutional amendment.

National opinion, both public and among leading political figures is certainly ripe for action. Support crosses all party line, and public opinion has been shown overwhelmingly in favor of the move. Gallup's poll, which once showed 79 percent opposed in 1939, now shows 64 percent in favor. Not since 1953 have the popular majority opposed such a change.

In sum, let me say that it serves no purpose to reduce the issue to absurdity, as some have done, by asking whether the age limit should eventually be lowered to five. The question is one of the age at which a young person can, and wants to be called a citizen, with all the rights and responsibilities entailed therein. Regardless of all the conventional arguments, which I have covered above, the problem simply does not reduce to figures and statistics; instead, it turns on a matter of collective judgment and trust.

The young people of America are calling out to be heard and to be given responsibility, to be given a chance to affect the future they must inherit. The older generation says "Show us that you are responsible, and we will give you responsibility." The young answer, "Give us responsibility and we will show you that we are responsible." Certainly they are right: nothing reacts in a vacuum. We have asked for responsibility and meant docility. They will have none of that. The young know their own capabilities; they ask for our trust. As the President has said:

> A nation without faith in its sons and daughters is a nation without faith in itself.

The time has come to reaffirm our faith in American democracy by extending the franchise one more time, to the 18-year-olds. They are ready to act; the question is whether that action will be with us or without us. If we do not show our trust that the best channels of action are through present democratic means, specifically the vote, then there is no reason to hope that they should show respect for those means either.

So now is the time to make another step along the path to the fullest sort of participatory democracy, the ideal on which this great Nation was founded. We must have the courage to act, grasping the initiative, and again infusing new blood into the political life of America.

I would now like to turn my attention to another group, already fully recognized citizens, who are nonetheless denied full participation in our elections. These are the "movers." It is apparently a little known fact that archaic residency requirements and registration procedures are denying the vote to almost 10 percent of our potential electorate. This is a staggering figure; enough to give us pause.

It has become a truism that ours is the world's most mobile society, to an unprecedented extent. Every year about 20 percent of our populace, or some 40 million, change their residency, and around 32 million of these move to a new State. The number of potential voters involved is nearly 15 million.

Once in a new location, voters must meet certain residency requirements, laws which are over a century old in half the States. In 1965 seven States required 6 months of established residency, while fully half demanded a year or more; two States were as high as 2 years. Furthermore, there exists a hodgepodge of 40 different combinations of State, county, city, and precinct requirements, with the latter ranging from 10 days in Iowa to 1 year in Mississippi.

The result of this situation is, of course, an ever-growing number of effectively disenfranchised adults. In 1950, the estimated number affected was about 4 million, in 1960 nearly 8 million, and in this coming election easily 10 to 12 million people will not be able to vote because they are "movers." It seems that we are penalizing the people in this country for being successful, for having the motivation to try to do better, to get ahead. This should not be done. It is bad economics; it is worse democracy.

Over a hundred years ago, the Supreme Court affirmed the right to travel freely, but there is no excuse for allowing the full exercise of one right to deny the full exercise of another, the right to vote. As the Court said in Reynolds against Sims—1964:

> The right to vote freely for the candidate of one's choice is of the essence of a democratic society, and any restrictions on that

right strike at the heart of representative government.

In keeping with the earlier theme of this speech, I might also add that the discrimination against "movers" falls most heavily on our youth. The Gallup poll of June 1968 found that only 48 percent of the age group 21 to 29 were registered, not due to apathy, but because of their high mobility. Keeping in mind that the average residency requirement is around 1 year, consider the plight of the 37 percent of our young people who have lived at their present home less than a year. Of those over 30, a still not inconsiderable 17 percent have been in residence less than a year.

When we consider the poor voting turnout in this country, how foolish it is to discourage voting among our young. The problem is to make it easier for people to vote, not harder. As John Kennedy said, rather prophetically:

> It is easier today to buy a destructive weapon, a gun in a hardware store than it is to vote. . . . Why make it difficult for people to vote?

There are two major approaches to solving this problem. The first is simply to lower the residency requirements for incoming voters, and the second is to allow movers to vote in their former State by absentee ballot. Several States have made steps in these directions, eight following the so-called Connecticut plan allowing former residents to vote, once certified by an election official in their new place of residence. Another 16 States have followed the lead of Wyoming, by allowing new residents to waive part of the requirements in presidential elections. Thus, the States have fulfilled their innovative function to a great extent and it is time for national action in this area.

Last year I introduced both a concurrent resolution recommending State action and a proposed amendment to the Constitution, in which I urged a line of action similar to the Connecticut plan. I propose to allow a mover to continue voting in his last place of residence until he meets the requirements of his new State. In addition, I extend the provisions to include all Federal offices, as I feel that it is the right of every American to vote for President, Senator, and Congressman.

Why do my proposals take the form they do?

In the first place, I recognize the valid original purpose of the residency laws: the desire for the voters to be informed about local issues and candidates. Surely this argument has no bearing whatsoever on the presidential office, which is totally national in scope, nor, I believe, does it apply to senatorial and congressional elections: these are no longer local offices, if indeed they ever were. Their impact is national and the crucial issues confronting this Congress are known to all voters. In any case, my proposal would have the mover continue voting where he is well informed, and it is extremely unlikely that his interest or awareness concerning issues and candidates on the Federal level will wane appreciably in the year or so he takes to qualify for the vote in a new place.

My clear intent in adopting the absentee method rather than lowering residency requirements is to avoid a conflict with State prerogatives. The Constitution provides that the qualifications for voting in congressional elections is the same as for voting for the most numerous branch of the State legislature. Thus, in order to change eligibility for voting in congressional elections, the States would also have to change their voting requirements for their own legislatures. It is very unlikely that they would do so, and I do not advocate such a development. Indeed, in purely local elections I feel the case for requiring time to become informed is indisputable.

Instead, my proposal would take advantage of the previously well-established procedure of the absentee ballot. Recognizing that there is still a serious lack of absentee registration procedures in many States. I still think that this method would best fit into existing State election structures. States would keep the prerogatives in determining eligibility requirements, and so forth.

Naturally the question of fraud arises, but this would be no more serious than is presently the case. I would envisage procedures along the lines of the Connecticut plan, whereby a mover must have the local official sign an affidavit certifying that he is ineligible to vote yet because of residency requirements.

I believe that the time has come for the Nation to act decisively in the interests of the two great blocs of citizens, the movers and the young adults, who now suffer disenfranchisement. Representative government demands that each citizen shall have the right to participate in the selection of those who are to govern him; every citizen therefore deserves the unabridged right to vote, and the right to be represented in the Congress. We must reaffirm our faith in this great democracy by reaching out to embrace the aspirations of our young and all those who are as yet unheard from, including the forgotten citizens on the Indian reservations, the migrant laborers, and the citizens of the District of Columbia. We will all be stronger for the effort.

THE TRUCK BILL AND HIGHWAY DETERIORATION

Mr. Speaker, at this time I wish to continue my fight on the truck bill. Today I will discuss trucks and highway deterioration.

I would like first to reiterate my conviction that the provision in S. 2658 limiting these truck increases to the Interstate System is meaningless. The AASHO has stated rather firmly that it simply is not practical to have a set of standards of size and weight applicable solely to the Interstate System:

> The matter of containing trucks to the Interstate System is, in our opinion, an impossible one. Practically all vehicles have to enter and leave the Interstate by some road not a part of the Interstate system. Enforcement would be a problem that could not be handled by most states. Simply stated, these new heavier loads would be using all highways.

Furthermore, Federal adoption of proposed increases would cause irresistible lobby pressure for the adoption by all States of similar standards for their highways.

Despite our vast roadbuilding efforts, the Interstate System now constitutes only about 5 percent of the total Federal-aid highways. Outside the Interstate System itself, only a paltry 2,400 to 2,700 miles of State highways are up to the standards of the Interstate System; this is only .27 percent of the roads in the United States. We have already spent some $232 billion on our highway networks in the United States, of which the Interstate type is only one-twentieth. This bill may seriously jeopardize this vast investment, and it faces us with the possibility of making much of our investment in highways obsolete in one stroke.

The question here is simply a matter of preventing the shortening of the expected life of our highways to the point where funds are not available for replacement; and all the figures I can find point to a dramatic rise in upkeep costs. Ross G. Stapp, the Wyoming Highway Superintendent, and chairman of the committee on transport of AASHO has said:

> The increase from the 18,000 pound single axle load to the 20,000 pound single axle load can result in an average loss of the remaining life of the pavement of between 35 and 40 percent.

A report to Congress by the Secretary of Commerce on maximum desirable dimensions and weights of vehicles, which covered only 67 percent of the State primary road mileage, said that the cost of resurfacing for a 10-year period would increase by $954 million, if the 18,000 to 32,000 axle weight limits were increased to 20,000 to 35,000. The costs in California alone would go up over $110 million. In addition, the Department of Transportation estimates a total of $2,800 million for new construction and upgrading of older highways if every State takes advantage of this new bill.

We must even face the fact that our vaunted Interstate System is already suffering from trucking: according to the latest Interstate cost estimate submitted to Congress in January, sections of the Interstate System completed early in the program are already beginning to show signs of severe distress because of a larger number of trucks than originally forecast, and the increased frequency of heavier axle loadings. The 1968 cost estimate includes a $1 billion item to provide for heavier design of roadway base, surface, and shoulder areas to accommodate heavier truck traffic volume and frequency of heavy loads.

Clearly, weight wrecks highways. We learned this after the expenditure of $27 million and 2½ years of testing in the AASHO road tests. Why should we now ignore these results? I would like to point out certain salient figures on deterioration and damage from that study. On a rigid pavement, concrete, an increase of single-axle loads from 18,000 to 20,000 would increase deterioration by 55 to 59 percent, depending on the surface thickness. The rise in tandem-axle limits from 32,000 to 34,000 would mean an increase in damage of 44 to 46 percent. For a flexible pavement, asphalt, the corresponding figures are 55 to 61 percent and 30 to 31 percent increases.

How does this compare with the wear and tear of passenger automobiles? A single 18,000-pound axle load has an effect on the pavement surface equivalent to nearly 5,000 cars. This means that on Interstate 80 between Des Moines and Davenport, the daily traffic of 7,194 18,000-pound axle loads is equivalent to about 17 million passenger cars per day in wear and tear. But that is in fact closer to a yearly total.

Bridges are another consideration, somewhat more dramatic than pavement, in view of such disasters as that on the Ohio River recently. Interstate bridges are designed for 32,000-pound tandem axle, and raising the limit to 34,000 would overstress these bridges by 32 to 26 percent. On the Federal-aid highways, over 50 percent of all bridges are not designed for use by vehicles of even 25,000-pound tandem. Only 22.7 percent are made at Interstate standards of 32,000-pound tandem. But even these figures do not involve the complications introduced by combinations employing a number of axles greater than four. AASHO states:

> Any recommendation for extending Federal axle load standards to the Federal-aid systems must give very careful consideration to the capacity of bridges on these systems.

Right now the Department of Transportation and the State highway departments are doing a study of all highway and railroad bridges, but these results will not be available to Congress for some time. I would not call it "very careful consideration" if Congress passes this bill without even listening to the results of this important Government study; we would be legislating from ignorance and not from intelligence. We might as well have thrown the money for this study and the AASHO study down the drain, if we are so foolish as to ignore them.

Again I must call for this bill, S. 2658 to be recommitted to the Public Works Committee for further study.

Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding Members of Congress joined me in this fight on the truck bill, the Honorable JAMES CLEVELAND from New Hampshire. We are indebted to him for his keen insight and evaluation and his dedication to the public service which is reflected in his statement recently prepared for his constitutents. It is very well done and ought to be read by every Member of the Congress before we consider this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD immediately following my own remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to follows:

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS—MINORITY VIEWS

(By JAMES CLEVELAND)

After a bill has been approved by a committee, a detailed report on the why's and what's of the legislation is then written. If you don't like the bill you can submit minority or supplemental views. Minority views are not widely read, and fame and fortune are rarely their rewards. I have had some fun with them, however, and from time to time have scored some points. There have even been notable cases where, despite these views, we lost the legislative battle but later won the war by making the point.

Three years ago I wrote minority views in opposition to the building of a Vice Presidential mansion in verse (the first time this had ever been done). Perhaps it might be more accurate to say doggerel. The bill passed, but the President, at the time he signed it, and in one of his rare economy moves, announced that no action would be taken on building the mansion at that time. I made my point; plans for the mansion still lie dormant.

Just a few weeks ago I also wrote some minority views in opposition to a bill (S. 2658) that would permit the increase of truck weights, lengths and widths on our Interstate Highways. This bill passed the Senate on a voice vote with only a handful of Senators present. In fairness to its proponents it reflects to some extent sectional requirements, particularly from the Middle and Far West, that are in some respects justifiable. Because my dissenting views were brief, let me share most of them with you:

"I am opposed to S. 2658 in its present form and at the present time. I concur in some respects with the minority views of Congressmen McCarthy, Schwengel, Everett, and Kee.

"My present opposition to S. 2658 in its present form may best be expressed in the form of certain reservations which I have. I do not feel that adequate time and study have been given to resolving these reservations.

"1. There is lack of agreement among the engineers and experts as to the desirability of allowing greater weights and dimensions of motor vehicles.

"2. The lack of any limitation on length could cause serious traffic and safety hazards.

"3. The increase in allowable width, from 8 feet to 8½ feet, could cause serious traffic and safety hazards.

"4. Although the bill applies to the Interstate System, it will affect all other highways which must be used to enter upon or exit from the Interstate System.

"5. Since it is conceded that allowing heavier vehicle weights will damage highways and cause additional expense, the bill should not be enacted until additional user taxes upon the beneficiaries of the bill are fully considered.

"It is quite true that this legislation is permissive and does not force the several States to adopt these increases. As a practical matter, however, the Congress by giving its stamp of approval to these increases would in effect be paving the way for increases by many of the States." (Report No. 1636, to accompany S. 2658)

AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

Shortly after the above views were made public, I received the following telegram from the President of the Motor Transport Association of New Hampshire:

"Your position on S. 2658 is appalling. This legislation is merely permissive, not mandatory. Your home town could not exist without trucks; neither can the rest of New Hampshire. Approximately 43,000 people all registered voters are employed in motor transportation in New Hampshire, half of them in your district. Assuming you plan to run for reelection, I suggest you reconsider and support this bill." This friendly communication was answered by me as follows:

"For your information I do intend to run for reelection and your flagrant threat is an insult to me personally and to my office. In regard to S. 2658, my opposition to this legislation in its present form at the present time is based on the following considerations: 1. fiscal responsibility and the integrity of the Highway Trust Fund; 2. serious highway and bridge safety factors; 3. my concern for the fifteen million smaller trucks that will be hopelessly disadvantaged by this legislation's partiality to three-hundred thousand large trucks. I would be pleased to debate with you publicly the advisability of Federal legislation which would permit triple-bottom trailers to turn the Interstate Highway System into a freight yard."

THE PUBLIC RESPONDS

A reporter from the Scripps-Howard newspaper who was in my office discussing the truck weight legislation found this friendly exchange to be newsworthy and wrote a feature story on it for his papers all over the nation. The result has been a good deal of additional mail. Here are some typical comments:

"Good luck to you in your effort to prevent the truck lobby from turning our highways into freight yards!" said the lady from Pittsburgh. "Thanks from all citizens for your efforts . . ." said the man in Memphis. "We applaud and commend your stand in the face of intimidation to hold fast to what you believe to be right," came from a man in Knoxville. "Your fearless and courageous reply is heartwarming . . ." from Florida. "The State of New Hampshire is to be congratulated. It has a Congressman who has the integrity and fortitude to try to protect the rights and safety of the average voter," from Denver.

We may not have won a legislative victory. But at this writing, the leadership has not yet scheduled this bill for Floor debate. In the fact of public reaction which our minority views aroused, it may not!

DECENTRALIZE ACROSS THE LAND

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Montana [Mr. OLSEN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, as a representative of the western district of the great State of Montana for the past several years, it has been my pleasure to work for projects that will improve, not only the State of Montana, but the entire West as a suitable living area for the expanding population of our region.

In this connection, I have worked for the construction of the Reichle Dam on the Big Hole River. I have vigorously supported S. 1602, the Northwest Regional Services Act, which will benefit the entire Northwest.

Finally, I have not overlooked the necessity of fundamental training in our great area so as to build a reservoir of skilled personnel available for industry as industry finds it necessary to decentralize across the land.

I am cosponsor of legislation which has resulted in H.R. 18366, a bill to amend the Vocational Education Act of 1963, which has passed both Houses of Congress and will become law in the near future. The measure will provide $1.2 billion for vocational guidance in the next 2 years.

All of my interests and support demonstrate my firm belief that we have to return to the land in order to resolve the social and economic crisis facing our Nation.

This is the age of the syndrome. At any given time there are vast, concurrent symptoms of war, strife, hunger, disease, and their threat is growing. To some, the diagnosis is simply that of a sick society on the verge of a nervous breakdown. If this be true, our future is indeed bleak.

I reject this diagnosis. Our problems are not insurmountable. I fear we often confuse effect with cause, and resort to treating symptoms which at best serve only to magnify their causes. These basic problems will not go away unless we set about the Herculean task of eradicating serious contributing factors.

For example, as we face the problem of unprecedented world hunger, it is simply not enough to feed mankind, as if this were possible for any one nation to accomplish. The wiser course is to help nations to help themselves. The administration recognized this when it asked our Nation to make its great agricultural technology available to emerging nations. For, as man is able to provide for himself, he bolsters his spirit and restores his dignity. It is time we recognized that a temporary halt to despair only leads to greater depression as the cause reasserts itself. We can ill afford the nonproductive dole.

As we stand on the threshold of the 21st century in the Christian era, we face apocalyptical threats of gigantic proportions:

We possess the nuclear capability to destroy the world, and nations still tamper with the fuse;

We seek freedom of spirit and democracy in many ways, and see our dedicated leaders brutally slain.

We can scarcely feed our exploding world population and it will double within a few short years; and

We see disease and malnutrition rampant throughout the world as 12,000 perish daily, yet this century finds the Schweitzers, the Dooleys, and the Salks rare among us. We build mighty cities only to poison the air. Our polluted streams reflect a contempt for our great national resources.

The enormous tasks that lie ahead call for a rededication to a strenuous undertaking, unprecedented in our history. We must form a community of interest, drawing on the best resources that religion, education, government, labor, and industry can provide. Time is short. We must get on with it.

It is not enough, at this time, to focus attention on civil disorders in the streets of our cities for, in my opinion, this too is only one symptom. While this is important, we must direct our efforts to more fundamental causes in the whole spectrum of poverty, hunger, and despair.

I urge a return to the land. Here I am not advocating an expansion of our agricultural economy, although this will be required as our surpluses dwindle and we add another 100 million people in America, but rather a formation, or rebuilding of rural-urban communities where all types of industry may prosper. It seems to me that, historically, man has solved his problems by turning to the wide open spaces—the God-given resources of land and water. Whether for religious, political, philosophical or economic reasons, land has been a common denominator in the quest for solutions of great problems. Mother earth has been the haven—the refuge.

There is a sorry imbalance in our way of life that requires 140 million people—70 percent—to live on 2 percent of our land. The urban pull is economic, as opportunities for work diminish in the poverty of the rural community. The flight of our young people to the cities since the close of World War II is a threat to the economic revival of our State. Most who have migrated are finding they are untrained for the exacting requirements of our industrial life.

Contrary to common belief, the majority of our citizens desire the breathing space of the countryside, but there has been no opportunity for livelihood. If we can reestablish economic opportunity once more across the land, we can reverse the migration to our cities. This is the objective I seek.

Such a program requires two ingredients: First, the cooperation of both government and industry to decentralize. Second, a vocational training program that will create reservoirs of trained people throughout the land. These will keep our people at home and provide new opportunities.

While there are a few examples of success in decentralization, such as that of Congaree Steel which a South Carolina citizen literally planted in a cotton patch, or the recent introduction of new crops in Little River, Ark., which brought new prosperity to that sagging economy, much more needs to be done. I am confident industry, given the proper incentives, will cooperate.

Education is the keystone to a plan of decentralization. Within another decade, our children in the grade schools will be training for the 21st century. Yet, there are serious gaps in our present public educational programs. It is tragic that out of every 10 pupils in our lower grades, only seven finish high school. Of these seven, four enter college, and less than two receive degrees. In other words, 80 percent of our children are not being trained for the exacting, technological, industrial, and business demands in the future, let alone in our present generation.

Formal education in America, beyond high school, has become so expensive that it is looked upon as a luxury, instead of an absolute necessity if we are to remain a great nation. There is grave danger for our whole society in this situation. It is estimated 60 percent of our high school students enter the world of work unprepared to hold a job.

This is why I became a cosponsor of H.R. 18366, a bill to amend the Vocational Education Act of 1963. This will provide over $500 million in 1969 and $750 million in 1970. I am pleased to report this legislation passed the House of Representatives, unanimously, on July 15. This program is indispensable.

There is no use advocating the decentralization of industry, unless we provide more trained people on a regional basis. Private industry and government are making great strides in the fields of testing and vocational guidance and we need to draw on every facet of this potential if we are to equip our students to cope with the great technological revolution currently taking place in our economy. Unskilled manual labor is very much outmoded in this day and age. Unless our training facilities provide more prospect, we are simply training for oblivion.

For those unable to participate at the higher levels of formal education, I believe vocational guidance is the best answer. Its practical value has been demonstrated. As I have reviewed the testimony calling for increased emphasis on vocational education, I was very much impressed with the testimony of Mr. Kenneth B. Hoyt, of the University of Iowa, who testified earlier this year:

> Vocational education exists as part of public education in order to expand both the number and the variety of opportunities from which individuals may choose. It is truly a means of making man free. Guidance exists to help man choose from among all possible alternatives available to him. It is one means of letting man be free. Vocational guidance, in this sense, is an essential ingredient in attainment of the benefits which vocational education holds for the individual. Vocational guidance is this important and this basic. In no sense is it an ancillary service—or one which can be delayed until the late high school years.

In recent months, I have had an opportunity to participate in the formulation of legislation which will authorize the creation of the first National Center for Human Resources at the Glasgow Air Force Base, Mont. S. 1602, known as the Northwest Regional Services Act, would permit the Government to take over a surplus, $100 million, defense training facilities and convert it to a manpower development and job training center for the benefit of the undereducated and the disadvantaged young people of Montana and her neighboring States. The Center would train workers in data processing, medical assistance, television, transportation, and provide, not only our youth an opportunity to be trained in law enforcement, crime prevention, and public service, but also create a rehabilitation training center for our senior citizens. This legislation is an important step in providing a reservoir of skilled personnel across the countryside in order to encourage and maintain a decentralization of American industry.

This general objective was recognized recently in a report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders when it called for improved tax credits for business and industry willing to reestablish in the countryside. Before S. 1602 has progressed very far in the Halls of the Congress, I am impressed with the suggestions of American industry desiring to decentralize certain of their activities to this Center. They must recognize that this kind of greatly expanded vocational training offers the only sure way to end labor shortages, and its prospect has promptly inspired industry to come forward, not only in support of the concept involved, but also to take advantage of the potential labor supply. The dialogue that has developed about the Glasgow Air Force Base proves my concept that we must return to the less populated areas of the country.

The impact of this project will be enormous on the State of Montana where we have approximately 1,700 miners available for other work, if we can but train them to new skills. It will also provide assistance to the Indian population of approximately 22,000 people in the State and will be vital in developing a new labor source. It seriously reflects on the adequacy of our public and private education efforts in this Nation, when we realize that of the 9,000 Indian children in our grade schools in Montana, only a very slight percentage will reach college level. The facility at Glasgow will also benefit other Western States in that area.

It has been estimated that there are as many as 60 million people in approximately 9,000 countryside towns and cities in this Nation. Less than a third of these communities have been able to make much progress with their local economy in recent years. I spoke of the 20 million people who have migrated to the cities. It seems to me that if we do not reverse this trend, we shall be pyramiding despair into the modern skyscraper.

Two other factors should be carefully considered. The development of urban rural communities will be of great benefit to our farm populations. They eventually could become the centers for processing of agricultural products locally and provide many of the modern "city facilities" at the local level. Here we can assist industry to find better answers.

Why should it be necessary for us to ship vast quantities of copper ore out of the State of Montana—long distances for processing and fabricating?

Why should it be necessary to ship wool out of the State when it could be utilized by industry locally?

Why should it be necessary for millions of our people to move to the overcrowded urban areas when they could find gainful employment not only within the State but also within the communities of which they are a part?

It seems to me, with social welfare costs increasing over the past 40 years from approximately $4 billion per year to more than $100 billion in fiscal 1967, and with the mounting burden of our national debt, we should be seeking ways to make more of our population self-reliant through gainful employment. Welfare, except for the infirm and elderly, is not a solution.

Second, it is a matter of national defense. There is no gainsaying the fact that in this nuclear age powerful intercontinental missiles are now aimed at our crowded industrial centers. The prospect of self-defense and survival should prompt all thinking citizens to participate in this program of decentralization. For as we move to the countryside, we reduce the ills of the depressed areas and provide America with a new "industry-frontier" concept.

In the 17th century, people from the crowded cities of Europe fled the intolerable governmental and industrial environment of that continent. Now, as then, our citizens can once more look to the vast expanses of the United States for a greater opportunity to live and work as free men.

In the early days of this Nation, courage and physical strength prompted our people to seek new frontiers in the western part of the Nation. Now, as then, I am confident that, with adequate training and new opportunity, our Montana people will once again turn to our countryside.

Our Republic was born in the recognition that all men are created free and equal. Now, as then, we must lift the chains of ignorance and assist all men fully to realize the great gifts of liberty. For if we extend equal opportunity to all, we shall have fulfilled the golden dream of our founders.

EVER-GROWING SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN OUR SOCIETY

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from California [Mr. CORMAN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, as we near the end of this session, I would like to speak to the action taken by the Congress since 1963 to cope with the ever-growing social problems in our society.

These problems have been with us for many years—more closely defined perhaps since the end of World War II, for since that time the momentum of our changing society began to reach a rapid pace.

Before 1963, we dealt with our social ailments on a piecemeal basis. During that time, we began to give some serious attention to poverty, to urban decay, to education needs, to racial discrimination.

The recent civil disorders have dramatized the depth and seriousness of these problems so that every American has had to recognize that solutions must be found.

On July 27, 1967, President Johnson established the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, asking the Commission to—and I quote—"search for the truth and to express it in a report."

It is not merely to recall the fact of the Commission's establishment—nor my experience as a member of the Commission—that I stand before you today. It is rather to recall the recommendations that the Commission made in its report—to evaluate those recommendations in the light of what the Congress has done about them—and what still remains to be done.

The Commission was charged with finding answers to three basic questions to the civil disorders: What happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

The response to these questions is incorporated in some 700 pages of the report. We learned what took place in America during racial disorders. We learned the root causes. We decided what needs to be done to prevent the recurrence of disorders. These answers became the basis for the Commission's recommendations. And, while the members of the Commission were not all agreed on the emphasis that should be given to each recommendation—each of us signed the report as an article of faith to provide an honest beginning.

The report first came to the public in the form of a paperback edition—followed by the Government Printing Office edition. I do not know of any other report of a Presidential Commission that has commanded as much attention as this one. GPO has to date recorded sales of 30,000 copies of the report. I am told by the officials of the private publishing company that to this date they have printed 1,610,000 copies—of which an estimated 1,300,000 have already been sold. There is every indication that the report has created a profound interest not only among the general reading public—but also among businessmen, professional men, religious groups, press people, government personnel, educators, students—in fact, persons in every sector of our society.

An indication of this widespread interest came to me personally with the number of invitations that I have received to discuss the Commission's findings. I am sure that the other members of the Commission have had the same experience. I was astounded and pleased at the varied groups and institutions who extended invitations to me. Grinnell College had a 2-day institute on the report—at which I spoke. The students were frank, searching, and enthusiastic in their opinions. At the College of Law, University of Arizona—interest was as intense. This meeting was attended not only by students and faculty—but by many in the Tucson community.

I spoke at the Methodist Conference in Redlands, Calif., and at the Milwaukee Jewish Council. I particularly recall the probing questions of the audiences at the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and at the National Association for Community Development in Atlanta.

There were many more—and I have still other speaking engagements scheduled.

Certainly not every person in the groups to whom I spoke was in accord with the Commission's findings and recommendations. Some thought they went too far; some thought they did not go far enough. But, it was evident that there was genuine interest and concern about the seriousness of the phenomenon of civil disorders.

These speaking engagements, Mr. Speaker, necessitated many absences from the House. I regretted this—but it seemed to me to be a vital part of my obligation as a member of the Commission to foster interest in and understanding of the problems and the solutions recommended by the Commission.

Presidential Commissions and the reports that ensue serve an important function in our Government. But, to be effective—they must be translated into realistic action.

The Commission was directed by the President to provide practical guidance. That practical guidance must, of course, be based upon a realization that our national resources are not unlimited—which means, of course, that priorities have to be set.

Much of the action that the report recommends can be—and should be—taken at the local level. Let me speak to one aspect of this. The Commission was concerned with the lack of communication between local government and the ghetto—and the necessity to stimulate greater sensitivity and responsiveness to ghetto needs. It was concerned with the burdens carried by local mayors—and how they could acquire adequate power and resources to lead their community—how to finds ways to involve more citizens in the processes of local government and to evaluate individual grievances.

In the final analysis—urban problems must be solved where the problems are. The capacity of local governments to find effective solutions is primarily dependent on their imagination—on their having adequate resources—and on their having officials who are truly representative of the entire community. Solutions are also terribly dependent on the effectiveness of local law-enforcement agencies.

We know that we shall never reach the proper objectives of a free society unless the security of our neighborhoods and our homes is inviolate. We cannot permit the life and property of any American to be endangered without affording him the maximum protection of our local and State authorities—and if necessary—of the Federal Government. The disorders have placed heavy new responsibilities upon police departments in addition to their already extraordinarily difficult tasks. We must recognize that the police face an increasingly complex challenge—and that police departments urgently need additional support.

In his message to the Congress early in 1967, President Johnson urged enactment of a Safe Streets and Crime Control Act—to provide grants to States and local governments to assist them in developing plans for improvement of their police, court, and correctional systems—and to encourage innovative efforts against crime in the streets, juvenile delinquency and organized crime. The proposal replaced the 1965 Law Enforcement Assistance Act with a broader program of research and development and with funds for special pilot projects. The President also proposed legislation to establish a Federal Judicial Center to help Federal courts plan for a more effective judicial system and for better administration of justice.

I know that my colleagues share my deep satisfaction that this Congress included the President's proposals against crime in the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act—which became public law earlier this year. And, that we provided legislation to establish a Federal Judicial Center.

With the crime control provisions, this Congress has laid a firm foundation for the maintenance of public order, which I believe to be the first order of business.

The Commission on Civil Disorders maintained that law must provide the framework for the control of civil disorders. The Commission studied the relationship between violent crime and the easy availability of firearms in the United States. It surveyed the existing Federal, State, and local gun-control statutes and concluded that they should be strengthened. The Commission supported President Johnson's call—early in this Congress—for Federal gun-control legislation—and urged its promp enactment.

The crime bill included a provision to curb the interstate sale of handguns. This was a beginning. Recent tragic events resulted in a public outcry by some 80 percent of the American people—if the polls can be read correctly—for even stronger firearms control. And, we responded with the legislation passed last week.

Mr. Speaker, let me come back to one of the questions which the Commission was asked to answer: Why did disorders happen? The Commission found that a factor in every major civil disorder was the poor relationship between a policeman and a ghetto resident. The role of chiefs of police and police officers is one of the most important elements in the solution of the problem of urban disorders.

Undoubtedly, the Nation's police are better today than they have ever been. Time magazine, in its July 19 issue, includes an article entitled "Police: The Thin Blue Line." Incidentally—I highly recommend the article to my colleagues. It so correctly describes the meaning of a police officer in our inner cities today. Let me quote a sentence or two:

> Yet in the end, it is the individual cop who is the overseer of peaceful normalcy. Often under the most difficult circumstances, he is the thin blue line between law and order—civilization and anarchy.

Police forces all around the country are taking advantage of every local, State, and Federal program to step up training. They are beginning to reexamine the concepts that have guided them for years past—and to respond to the social changes taking place in our land.

Nowhere is this more evident than in my own area of Los Angeles. I can say with the utmost sincerity that if every major city in the country had a police chief like Tom Reddin, I would feel that we were well on our way to establishing the kind of relationship between ghetto dweller and police that is basic to the ultimate solutions of our problems.

No police chief is acting with more vigor and imagination than Chief Reddin to prevent new outbreaks of civil disorders. He clearly understands that all former concepts of law enforcement must be reexamined. He knows that his men must understand the problems of the ghetto to afford protection to all citizens—black and white alike. He has initiated many innovative measures—too many to enumerate here—but let me just mention a few. In his efforts to expand community relationships, Chief Reddin has set up rumor control centers and has given business cards and name tags to every member of his force. Little things—perhaps—but every resident in Los Angeles can know the name of the man behind the badge and that he is a human being. They can communicate on the street corner. They can talk together about a grievance and—perhaps—avoid a major disturbance. The Commission found that the lack of communication between police and ghetto dwellers was a startling factor in the start of a disorder. The report also stressed the enormous influence of rumors in creating a climate conducive to disorders. Rumor control centers, such as Chief Reddin established, can be most effective in cooling hot tempers.

Chief Reddin's stature as one of the country's best police chiefs is testified to in the Time magazine article I mentioned before.

Mr. Speaker, let me reiterate my earlier statement that we in this Congress have taken the second and third—and perhaps more—steps on our journey to stem the deepening racial division in our Nation and to finding ways to resolve the attendant problems.

Much of the responsibility to do something about our problems lies with us—the Congress of the United States.

One of the questions so often asked around the Commission table was "How much would that cost?" I do not believe I need to say more about where the responsibility lies. We are the ones who finally must translate recommendations into programs by enacting laws and appropriating funds.

But, responsibilities lie elsewhere, too. I have mentioned the role of local and State governments. Every citizen—black or white—is also personally involved and personally responsible to do what he can to contribute to the solutions of civil disorders. Groups such as churches, schools and colleges, businesses, the press—in fact, every segment of our society must share the responsibility to act in behalf of justice and equality for all Americans.

The Commission outlined four broad categories for action: Jobs, education, welfare, and housing. Time does not permit me to list in detail the goals we set for national action in each category. I am sure you are familiar with them.

As I reviewed legislation that the Congress has passed and is now public law—legislation that came to us through President Johnson's programs in the 89th and 90th Congresses—I was gratified that so many measures—basic to meeting the root causes of our social problems—are already in operation. I can say with confidence that the second and third steps I spoke of earlier have already been taken by us.

With respect to jobs, one of the clear priorities established by the Commission was the necessity for the many unemployed and underemployed persons living in the ghettos to find work. It was recommended that immediate action be taken to create 2 million new jobs over the next 3 years, half in the private sector and half in the public sector.

The Congress has taken steps to meet this goal. At the President's request, we have established the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) in a number of cities. Funds authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act are financing a number of special employment programs.

In January of 1968, the President established the National Alliance of Businessmen, whose purpose it is to enlist the aid of private employers throughout the country in providing jobs for 100,000 hardcore unemployed within the next 2 years.

The Manpower Training and Development Act has given job training to nearly 2 million disadvantaged men and women so that they may acquire the necessary skills to support themselves and their families with permanent and decent jobs. Young people have received training at Job Corps Centers. The work incentive program, authorized by the Social Security Amendments of 1967, provides on-the-job training for adult members of AFDC families so that they may have an opportunity to get off welfare rolls. These are only a few things we have done in this area, and as long as these programs are needed, the Congress must continue to provide Federal financial assistance and technical aid to States and cities where the programs operate. This is a commitment that we cannot afford to drop, for it is within our power to see that everyone who wants a job has a job—and has the will to do it.

Every American has the right to earn a living. He must have the will to work, and I believe that he has. I also believe that he wants a chance for training so that he can get a job that has some permanency to it—a job that will permit him to improve his skills and earnings. A decent job means dignity to an individual, it means resources to a family, it means a place in the community. Every American needs that—and our society will benefit from it.

With respect to education, I firmly believe that our first priority must be to improve the ability of young Americans to read and communicate at the level necessary to get and hold a decent, permanent job—and to understand the principles and processes of our democratic system. Basic to our education system—and to the solution of our urban problems—is, of course, complete elimination in every State of school segregation in accordance with title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The education recommendations of the Commission report require a significant increase in Federal support to local school systems to accomplish this.

President Johnson, in February of this year, sent a message on education to the Congress. In it, he reiterated his commitment to achieve unprecedented gains at all levels of American education. He spoke of President Roosevelt's four essential freedoms: Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear; which, President Johnson remarked, "have since stood as a summary of our aspirations for the American Republic and for the world." He continued:

> We have always stood ready to pay the cost in energy and treasure to make these great goals a reality.

President Johnson, in his message, declared a fifth freedom: Freedom from ignorance. I accept this as most important of the essential freedoms; for, without it, we can never be a truly free people.

With President Johnson's proposals, and with our subsequent action over the past few years of translating them into such statutes and programs as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act, the National Defense Education Act, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, the Teachers Corps program, Headstart program, the Bilingual Education program, to name a few, we have begun to guarantee that freedom.

The job, we know, will never be done. It is a perpetual process, for it involves a commitment to every child, from kindergarten age through colleges, for those now in our schools, and for those children yet unborn. But the Congress must accept the responsibility for that commitment. The quality of education in America must meet our highest aspirations.

It took the work of four administrations to get Federal help for education. It is the obligation of every Congressman to continue the work that has been started.

The third Commission recommendation concerned itself with welfare. Proposed reforms in the welfare system were largely based on the recommendations of the Advisory Commission on Public Welfare, which studied the problem in 1966. The Commission recommended a "system of income supplementation" as a long-range goal to replace the present welfare system, but a general endorsement of that recommendation is not an issue before us. Last January, before the Commission report was published, the President established a Commission on Income Maintenance Programs. This Commission will look into all aspects of existing welfare and related programs and make recommendations for constructive improvements in our welfare system.

When we speak of welfare rolls, we must give special attention to those recipients who have the capacity to work. We know, despite accusations to the contrary, that most persons on welfare who can work want to work. They do not want to be on relief to be able to feed their children. They prefer jobs to a welfare check. We must provide the means whereby they can find work. These are not trained people. Generally, they have had very little education—but they can work, they can learn—they should be given the chance.

There is no reason why the Federal Government cannot make itself the employer of last resort for such citizens. We have so much work in this country that needs so badly to be done—that can be done by those who are jobless. We can hire these people as aides in education, in health care, in recreation work, and in other public service areas. If there are State or local projects that need attention—and I am sure that there are—arrangements can be made through contracts with States to provide the necessary work force. A program of this nature will not only provide self-sufficiency and self-respect for those now living on welfare—but it will offer great benefits to the Nation. We will certainly enjoy a more stable society —and a program of tax-spending will give way to a program of taxpaying.

I believe there is general consensus—in and out of the Congress—that there is need for welfare reform. The action we took this year on the AFDC programs—which I consider to be punitive action—points up more than any other example I could give—the fact that our present welfare system pleases no one. I was glad to see us postpone restrictions on the AFDC program for 1 year. I urge that we rescind the restrictions completely until we have some notion of what we want to do about the overall welfare program.

We must find a way to break the dependency on welfare for as many of the poor as possible. A certain segment of our population merely exists—this is not enough—these people must also be able to exist with dignity.

The fourth major category of recommendations concerns housing. The Commission found that housing discrimination is the greatest single source of conflict between the races, and that it is therefore especially critical that we extend the operation of democratic principles to the marketplace for housing. Specifically, the Commission recommended that the Federal Government enact a comprehensive and enforceable Federal open housing law—that the Federal housing programs be reoriented by placing more low- and moderate-income housing outside of ghetto areas—that the Federal Government provide the legislation to bring within the reach of low- and moderate-income families within the next 5 years 6 million new and existing units of decent housing.

The essential features of the housing recommendations have already been transmitted to the Congress in the President's message on the "Crisis of the Cities," including expansion of rent supplements, incentives for homeownership among low- and middle-income families, and most important—open housing legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I hail the President's vigorous leadership during his administration in giving to the Congress the blueprint for legislation necessary to make a vigorous attack on the acute housing problems in our cities.

The Congress has had a remarkable record of legislative achievement in attempting to solve these problems. We began back in 1937 with the launching of the historic public housing program sponsored by President Roosevelt. In 1949, President Truman and the 81st Congress combined the urban renewal programs in an attempt to fight decay of the cities. In 1954, the 83d Congress expanded this program, and at the beginning of the 1960's—President Kennedy and the 87th Congress began to enlarge the role of the Federal Government to bring decent housing into the reach of poor- and moderate-income families.

President Johnson took these fragmented programs—established a Department of Housing and Urban Development—and gave the problems of the American city the unified attention they should have—at Cabinet level.

The 89th Congress enacted programs of rent supplements—model cities—programs to stimulate the flow of private credit for homebuilding through FHA mortgages and the FNMA operation; programs that offered assistance to the cities to develop modern and efficient mass transit services and systems—and laid the foundation for the omnibus housing bill that we in the 90th Congress have just passed.

I hope that the gentlemen here today share my satisfaction with the imaginative work the Congress has done this year in the housing field. I believe the housing bill we have enacted is historic.

Rent supplements will really begin to be effective. We have made it possible for a housing project sponsor to receive Federal assistance so that he can charge lower rents to people who can only pay low rents. We created a new philosophy of homeownership. Now with Federal help—a low-income family can purchase a home or an apartment.

I wonder if we can really imagine the feeling of the members of a low-income family who are now able to see a dream come true—the cherished hope of every American to own his own home.

Our goal is admittedly ambitious—and we must find the money to implement the legislation. But—we have made a beginning—and we have the responsibility to see that the goals set forth in the housing bill—and the money with which to make the provisions meaningful—are met.

I have stressed what the President has proposed and what the Congress has already accomplished with respect to the four main categories of recommendations in the Commission's report. But, I must mention our action in other areas—areas that do not precisely fit into these four categories—but which have gone a long way toward helping disadvantaged citizens.

We enacted historic medicare and medicaid programs under social security—not only for the benefit of the disadvantaged, but for every American receiving social security. We must wonder at times how we ever got along without medicare—and why we were so slow in enacting the necessary legislation.

We began to break the stranglehold of poverty with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. With the programs of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Upward Bound, Legal Services, the Job Corps, and many others—for the first time in our Nation's history we have started a war on poverty.

The Commission recommended the transfer to the Small Business Administration of a program to assist Negro businessmen in creating associations for pooling purchasing power and sharing experiences in business management. The SBA, under provisions of legislation we enacted, now offers management training and counseling services to economic opportunity loan applicants in an effort to strengthen and encourage the development of Negro-owned and operated enterprises.

Mr. Speaker, any recitation of our efforts is meaningless without reviewing our work on civil rights.

We have come a long way since August 1957—when the first civil rights bill in almost a century was passed by the Congress. That legislation gave the country the Civil Rights Commission—and provided for the creation of a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice. It was passed by the Congress only after a long and painful filibuster in the Senate.

From then until 1964—progress in civil rights was almost at a standstill. The Civil Rights Commission was getting off to a slow start. The Civil Rights Division in Justice was encountering many difficulties in its efforts to enforce voting rights for Negroes. School desegregation in the South was not only virtually halted—there was even a willingness on the part of some communities to sacrifice entire school systems in preference to accepting integrated schools.

But, as the civil rights debate went on—in and out of the Congress—a new dimension was added to the issue—the very obvious need to protect voting rights of Negro citizens in the South—the right to register to vote—and the right to vote.

On June 19, 1963, President Kennedy's civil rights legislation came before the Congress—legislation that would finally make civil rights meaningful to American minorities. But what a long, difficult, and sad journey it traveled until it became the law of the land. Dallas, on November 22, 1963, gave new impetus to its need—and on July 2, 1964, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 finally became law—a testament to America's willingness to begin to right the wrongs of a hundred years.

We enacted groundbreaking legislation. We struck down discrimination in job opportunities. We outlawed discrimination in public accommodations. We continued the Commission on Civil Rights. We created an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. We made it possible to effectively implement the Supreme Court ruling that our schools throughout the land be desegregated.

With this bill—strengthened by the 1965 Voting Rights Act—we made it possible for Negroes in the South to exercise the right of citizenship.

The promise of American democracy to all of its citizens was now incorporated into the Nation's laws.

Congressional action this year in civil rights is equally as historic. In 1964 the fight for open housing began. This year, we enacted the legislation.

We made equal opportunity in housing a reality for all Americans. We also extended the life of the Civil Rights Commission for an additional 5 years. We approved legislation to prevent interference with the exercise of civil rights. We reformed the Federal jury selection system.

We have taken another step on that long road—for our accomplishments in civil rights go to the heart of the Commission's findings and recommendations.

Mr. Speaker, as the 90th Congress nears the completion of its existence, I take great pride in the work we have done. But, this is not to say—and I want to be very clear on this—that I am entirely satisfied with the substance of the legislation we have enacted.

In many cases we could have—and should have—done more. There is much, much more that needs to be done, but, as we all know, legislation enacted is legislation on which we can build in later sessions. Our most serious responsibility is to see that we continue to build.

And, I make another point equally as clear. I am disappointed with the amount of money we have put into the programs we have enacted, either in past years, or in this Congress. But again, we have a foundation, and now hopefully we can build. Indeed, we must build, or there will be no hope.

As a member of the Democratic Party, my greatest source of expectation that America will move forward in its search for national resolutions to the root causes that are dividing us as a nation is the attention that Vice President Humphrey has given to the basic recommendations of the Commission's report.

I have conferred with the Vice President on several occasions about the report. I know of his deep concern for every American. His concern is the history of his life—public and private.

In his Truman Day speech on July 6, the Vice President said—and I quote:

> The next President must, once and for all, lead this nation in the re-invigoration and renewal of our urban development through a new Marshall Plan for the American City, the next President must assert the right of every American to earn a living, to work and to learn, the next President must conquer hunger, the next President must look to the full meaning of civil rights, the next President must provide full protection of the law in every American neighborhood.

There were no priorities—they are all simply "musts."

With these words, the Vice President has acknowledged the validity of the basic recommendations of the Commission Report.

He went on to say in that same speech—and I shall paraphrase—that we have big goals that will require big commitments, commitments in money, commitments in determination by Federal, State, and local government, by free institutions of this country, by every single person—and that they will be sustained only by a nation unified with the clear vision of a better tomorrow.

I am extremely gratified by the Vice President's statements.

The Democratic Party has been urged to endorse the Commission's report and recommendations by including them in the party platform to be adopted at the Democratic National Convention next month.

I would hope that both parties will endorse the philosophy that America must move toward a single society—tearing down all racial barriers—and that we must utilize our resources to overcome the disadvantages suffered by so many of our citizens.

HON. A. SYDNEY HERLONG, JR.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Feighan], is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, as we travel the pathway of life, we make many friends—some casual and some warm and steadfast, with whom we feel a bond. Frequently we cannot fully evaluate true friendship until a test presents itself, then we know our real friends and hold them apart from the casual friends. It has been my good fortune to know and serve in this body with Syd Herlong for nearly 20 years, and I have known him to be one of my warm and steadfast friends. Everyone who knows Syd cannot but admire his friendly, affable manner and his willingness to be helpful whenever the occasion may arise.

Perhaps it is superfluous to make mention of Syd's outstanding record in Congress, as I am certain all of us are aware that he possesses all the qualities of a born fighter, a natural leader, and he has demonstrated his able and forceful manner as a legislator who speaks out and fights for what he feels is best for his constituency, the State of Florida, and for our Nation. The conscientious manner in which he has devoted his time and talents to his official duties is significant of SYD's ability, determination, and zeal.

In addition to my service with SYD here in this House, my wife and I have enjoyed the extra pleasure of counting SYD and his lovely wife, Mary Alice, as our personal friends.

It is my feeling that SYD HERLONG will, even out of office, spend his time and continue to direct his energies to the good of our country and his fellow men. I know he has made his decision with considerable deliberation, to depart the Halls of Congress, where he has made his mark and established a distinguished record, but we hope he will not forget us, as we shall not forget him, and that he will find time to return on frequent occasions, and enjoy the fraternity of the Members of this body.

All of us will miss SYD as the 91st Congress convenes, but the excellent record he has made here will stand as a monument to his diligence, his faithfulness to his trust, and the high purpose with which he has pursued his work.

NEW HOPE FOR RURAL AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RANDALL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill which will increase to $5 million the amount of tax-free industrial development bonds a city or political subdivision may issue. For years there was no limitation. Then by the so-called revenue expenditure control bill we knocked out the tax exemption entirely. But later the committee provided an exemption in the amount of $1 million.

Mr. Speaker, this amount is not realistic. It is certainly not going to be of very much help. I am advised that the chairman of our Committee on Ways and Means recognizes this fact. I understand he has introduced a bill raising the exemption from $1 million to $5 million. I am proud to join the gentleman from Arkansas today in that effort. Perhaps mine is not an identical bill, because I put in some recitation of purposes which may not have been contained in his bill.

My objective is to encourage the establishment of new employment opportunities in the rural areas which should be accelerated by these tax-free industrial development bonds.

Yesterday following the debate on the farm bill I made some remarks on the floor to the effect that one of the great problems facing our Nation today is the imbalance between the population of our rural areas and our urban areas. Yesterday I introduced what I called the rural revitalization bill and proceeded to briefly discuss its provisions on the floor last night.

The unique provision of my bill is a tax incentive of 7 percent to induce light and medium industry to locate in the rural areas, meaning smaller towns and the countryside.

This year for the first time we enacted a housing bill which provided housing benefits for the rural areas. Heretofore about all we had in the rural areas was the VA program, and some Farmers Home Administration programs. However, in this last housing bill for the first time we provided for a program of housing for the low-income group in the rural areas. It was our privilege at that time to offer an amendment which was accepted by the committee on both sides of the aisle. It provided for the planning of rural housing.

We added the word "implementation" to the planning section, which will be advantageous to smaller cities and counties to implement programs after they have been planned.

Our new housing bill is closely related to the effort we are discussing now by the introduction of this bill to raise limitation from $1 million to $5 million on industrial bonds. They are both intended to improve life in rural America.

The extent to which this country's rural families find it necessary to abandon farming as a way of life and as a way of making a living creates perhaps the most serious domestic problem in America today.

It is a complex problem with ramifications that directly contribute to other serious conditions with which the Congress must deal.

Large farms have the cushion of better capitalization with which to ride out financial and other adversities and they have the means to fight rising costs with technocratic innovations. But the small farmer, many of whom have been reduced to a net income of only $3 or $4 a day, have no such resources.

Just 3 weeks ago, and over the protests of some of us, the Congress took away still another help to the small farmer when legislation was passed to reduce by 70 percent the amount of nonfarm commodities that can be backhauled by farm cooperative trucks.

It is really not surprising that the number of small farms has declined at the rate of about 100,000 a year. But the result is a scandalous waste of human and natural resources.

Rural America is becoming pockmarked by deteriorating communities that once were prosperous farming and trading centers.

Small country towns have grown smaller.

The lack of economic activity that was once generated by the purchasing power of farms and farm people has led to the disrepair and disintegration of stores and homes and other buildings.

It is no wonder that more than 50 percent of the country's substandard housing is to be found in the rural areas.

The people who remain are just as reliable and are just as industrious as ever but they have nothing with which to occupy their productiveness and they lose a little more hope every day.

Many of those who have left have become parts of the army of migrants who have flocked to the urban ghettos in recent years.

Mr. Speaker, there needs to be no such horrendous waste as this.

In order to try to help stem this tide, I introduced yesterday H.R. 19130, which I described as The Rural Revitalization Act of 1968.

As a companion measure I am today introducing a bill to encourage the establishment of job oportunities in depressed rural areas by increasing to $5 million the amount of tax-free industrial development bonds that may be issued for such purposes.

Mr. Speaker, through my bill I propose that the limit be raised to $5 million face value of industrial bonds which shall not be taxable to the obligor when all or a major portion of the proceeds of the bond issue are used to acquire, construct or improve industrial job-creating property, including property for use in wholesaling and retailing activities. However, these bonds may not be issued unless the Governor of the State or Territory in which the property will be located certifies a substantial and persistent unemployment or underemployment exists in the plant area or in the community from which the plant's labor force will be drawn, and other opportunities for employment in the area are inadequate.

Adding to the soundness of this measure is a requirement that the person or persons using the proceeds of the bonds issued under this provision must spend or contract to spend at least $1 of his or her own money for every $5 available from the bond issue.

Unlike the billions of dollars we appropriate each year for welfare and relief purposes, neither the Rural Revitalization Act of 1968 nor this bill contemplates any payments to anyone who cannot or will not work. These bills require no appropriation from the Treasury. They do not make tax concessions to those industries whose owners are unwilling to invest some of their own money in order to get Federal assistance in building job-producing opportunities. We waive tax requirements for a little while to the advantage of thousands of unemployed and underemployed in rural areas. We hope this bill can create new sources of Federal revenue in future years from corporate earnings of industries with help from personal taxes from those we have helped to become useful, productive citizens in our rural areas.

The most valuable asset that any country can have is its human resources. This Nation has been very well blessed in this respect. We have also been blessed with a great amount of space within which to expand our productive capacity. We are faced today with a situation in which additional human resources are going to have to be used because the farmlands to which these people have in the past dedicated their toil have finally become so unprofitable as to make further endeavors along those lines less and less productive.

Thousands of our rural people are leaving the farms and the countryside seeking a brighter future in the urban centers. Too many of them become bitterly disappointed in this quest when they find the already overcrowded conditions of the big cities. They soon become the recipients of welfare payments of one kind or another from local, State, and Federal treasuries. Yet the lands from which these people have migrated are left lying unused. Why not bring all these factors together?

My bill would increase the tax-free issuance of industrial development bonds. This should provide the possibility for improving the attractiveness of rural America. When this bill is coupled with the Rural Revitalization Act of 1968 and with the score or more of other programs of assistance available under present Federal law, we should have the ingredients we need for making profitable the use of thousands of tracts of unused land all over America.

Hundreds of thousands of people who, through no fault of their own, are not now productive, and additional thousands of people, who have not found the prosperity they sought in the Nation's big cities, will be restored to usefulness. I have consistently maintained that it will cost far less to save and revitalize our rural communities than it would cost to rebuild our big cities. The two bills which I have introduced provide the means for preserving the countryside while making it possible to renovate the big cities at far less cost.

I fervently hope that at some time in the not too distant future, Congress will move forward with favorable action on the Rural Revitalization Act, and on the bill I have introduced today, both of which are intended to provide additional industrial incentives for the rural areas.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The House will be in order. The gentleman is making an important speech and deserves to be heard.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent at this time that at the conclusion of all special orders heretofore granted for tomorrow, Friday, the second day of August, I be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

A BILL TO ESTABLISH A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill which would establish a Cabinet-level U.S. Department of Education. We all recognize the important role education plays in every phase of American life, and each year we become more cognizant of the need for various forms of Federal activity in the field of education. At the same time, we are acutely aware of our fiscal responsibilities and of the need to eliminate all unnecessary and wasteful Government spending. I believe that the creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Education would serve to improve our performance in the field of education while simultaneously streamlining the Federal educational machinery, thus eliminating much of the wasteful fragmentation and duplication now common in Federal programs.

I might note that among those who have strongly supported the establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Education are the distinguished chairman of our Subcommittee on Education, Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, of Oregon, and Connecticut's Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, a former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I urge all Members to give serious consideration to this proposed legislation. It is of the highest priority and deserves the earliest possible attention.

Education has always been of great concern to Americans, and has long been considered one of the prime responsibilities of Government. While the educational process itself is in essence a local concern, we have become aware that many aspects of education, particularly international education programs, research, and many areas of funding are handled most effectively at the national level.

Never before has education involved so many individuals, or so great a percentage of our population. In 1956, the total enrollment of American educational institutions, not including adult education programs, was 40 million. By 1966 that figured had swelled by almost 50 percent, to 56 million students. We are currently undergoing continuing growth in the number of children involved in early childhood schooling and the number of young men and women able to take advantage of the opportunities of higher education, and official Department of Health, Education, and Welfare projections indicate that despite the drop in the Nation's birth rate, the number of students in American schools and universities in 1976 will have reached at least 62 million. A huge percentage of American citizens are, and will be, directly involved in the Nation's educational endeavors.

Likewise, education has become big, big business. In 1956, the total educational expenditure of the American economy, at all levels, was $16.8 billion. This year that figure has exploded to $52.2 billion. It is projected that the figure will reach $70.2 billion by 1976.

Federal activity in education has grown as we have become more aware of the needs of our students and of our educational institutions. It is estimated that in 1968 the expenditures of the Federal Government for educational purposes will total approximately $11 billion.

The attention that the Federal Government has given to the needs of education is both highly commendable and extremely necessary. But the Government only meets its full responsibility by spending wisely and efficiently. Unfortunately, our efforts in the very important field of education have been plagued by fragmentation, duplication, and waste.

About one-third of the Federal education budget is the responsibility of the U.S. Office of Education. Although the Office of Education, a branch of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is responsible for only a fraction of Federal programs, it already has an annual budget greater than eight of our current Cabinet Departments, as the figures here listed indicate.

Budgets for fiscal year 1967

	Million
Office of Education	$3,918
Department of Housing and Urban Development	2,025
Department of Transportation	1,826
Department of the Interior	1,704
Post Office Department	1,227
Department of Commerce	1,066
Department of Labor	638
Department of Justice	410
Department of State	398

The other two-thirds of the programs are handled by at least 32 different Federal departments and agencies, 14 of which have annual educational budgets in excess of $100 million.

At this point, I would like to list a summary of the Federal funds spent for education and training, by agency, as it appears in "Special Analyses of the U.S. Budget, Fiscal Year 1968."

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS, BY AGENCY: FISCAL YEARS 1966–68

[In millions of dollars]

Agency	New obligational authority			Expenditures		
	1966 actual	1967 estimate	1968 estimate	1966 actual	1967 estimate	1968 estimate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET						
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: Office of Education	$3,342 (3,342)	$4,018 (3,918)	$4,155 (4,055)	$1,972 (1,972)	$3,047 (2,947)	$3,556 (3,356)
Public Health Service:						
National Institutes of Health	773	852	897	558	790	804
Other Public Health Service	200 (200)	341 (341)	433 (421)	84 (84)	193 (193)	285 (270)
Vocational Rehabilitation Administration	90	124	151	82	121	146
Welfare Administration	47	60	64	43	57	66
Other Health, Education, and Welfare	28	26	104	22	30	50
Total, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	4,479 (4,479)	5,421 (5,321)	5,803 (5,691)	2,762 (2,762)	4,238 (4,138)	4,906 (4,691)
Department of Defense:						
Military activities:						
Army	743	1,013	857	715	1,008	856
Navy	513	586	560	511	573	558
Air Force	645	711	695	625	707	701
Other	54	52	50	52	48	50
Civil activities	20	21	25	16	25	27
Total, Department of Defense	1,975	2,384	2,188	1,918	2,361	2,191
Office of Economic Opportunity	742	892	1,291	588	841	1,115
National Science Foundation	480	480	526	368	395	455
Veterans' Administration	80	415	472	79	415	472
Department of Labor	408	405	415	283	284	304

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS, BY AGENCY: FISCAL YEARS 1966-68—Continued

[In millions of dollars]

Agency	New obligational authority			Expenditures		
	1966 actual	1967 estimate	1968 estimate	1966 actual	1967 estimate	1968 estimate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
ADMINISTRATIVE BUGET—Continued						
Department of Housing and Urban Development	300 (300)	9 (9)	345 (345)	312 (312)	347 (−253)	340 (−1,260)
Department of the Interior	205	237	240	205	216	243
Economic assistance	137	160	225	82	108	158
Department of Agriculture	188	192	205	170	182	196
Atomic Energy Commission	108	119	120	103	115	120
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	143	117	111	119	141	136
Department of State	67	62	64	69	66	66
District of Columbia	22	30	62	20	32	36
Peace Corps	57	50	55	47	47	50
Military assistance	67	56	42	67	51	42
Library of Congress	26	32	38	25	31	37
Smithsonian Institution	27	32	37	30	41	42
Department of Transportation	32	31	33	32	32	32
Department of Commerce	12	15	23	11	14	20
National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities	6	11	16	1	8	15
Department of Justice	8	9	13	4	9	12
U.S. Information Agency	8	10	11	8	10	11
General Services Administration	4	4	5	4	4	5
Tennessee Valley Authority	2	2	2	2	2	2
U.S. Government Printing Office	1	1	1	1	1	1
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	1	1	1	1	1	1
Small Business Administration	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total budget funds for education, training, and related programs	9,587 (9,587)	11,175 (11,075)	12,346 (12,234)	7,313 (7,313)	9,993 (9,293)	11,009 (9,194)

Note: Figures in parentheses represent amounts after proceeds from loan participation sales.

Source: Special Analyses, Budget of the United States, Fiscal Year 1968.

Our Federal educational machinery has become so unwieldy that many large school systems have been forced to hire full-time personnel whose sole function is to keep track of Federal assistance programs in the various departments.

Many times different departments and agencies handle programs that precisely duplicate one another. For instance, the Office of Economic Opportunity's Upward Bound program is extremely similar to the Office of Education's Talent Search. Programs for teacher training institutes are administered both by the National Science Foundation and the Office of Education. College scholarships and fellowships are handled by a myriad of Federal agencies. Manpower and vocational training programs are administered by the Office of Education, the Department of Labor, the HEW Social and Rehabilitation Service, and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The duplication of effort and extra expense caused by so many layers of bureaucracy are things that neither our educational system, our local governments, nor our Federal budget can afford.

The establishment of a Department of Education would enable the Government to organize and coordinate its educational programs much more effectively and efficiently, without resorting to the waste of bureaucratic duplication and a complex and costly system of redtape.

While the sub-Cabinet Office of Education has been very effective in fulfilling the limited responsibility placed in its hands, the fact that it is only a sub-Cabinet office has had significant adverse effects on our educational system.

It is ironic that while the United States is a nation that has always been extremely concerned with the quality of its education opportunities to all segments of its population, the U.S. Commissioner of Education is hierarchically outranked by the educational representative of every other nation at UNESCO meetings and other high-level educational conferences.

This is because no other country in the world relegates education to a sub-Cabinet or sub-Ministry level as does the United States. For the foreigner looking at the structure of American Government, it would be difficult to realize the great stress and value placed upon education in this country.

The lack of a Cabinet-level Department of Education has also hindered the functioning of educational programs currently assigned to the Office of Education. We are very fortunate to have found such an able and respected Commissioner of Education as Dr. Harold Howe II, who has added significantly to the regard in which the Office of Education is held. But on one occasion when the office of Commissioner of Education was vacant, no less than 12 qualified candidates were approached before one accepted the positon. Who can imagine such being the case for a Cabinet-level appointment? The situation is even more discouraging for lower echelon positions in the Office of Education. Because of the dearth of high-status and well-paid positions to which qualified personnel can aspire, it is difficult to attract highly qualified men and women to the Office.

The creation of a Department of Education would serve to attract many more qualified people into Government work in the field of education, and would at the same time raise the status of education to the high position it deserves within our Federal superstructure.

Another area in which a Department of Education would be of enormous benefit is in the field of educational research. A recent comprehensive study carried out by the Committee for Economic Development indicates that the educational industry in this country spends only 1 percent of its annual budget on research, which is far less than other private industry devotes to this vital purpose. The results of that research which is conducted are often not well disseminated to those teachers and administrators who must need them. A Department of Education would have as one of its prime responsibilities the encouragement, coordination, and dissemination of research and innovation at all levels of education.

In short, the establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Education would serve many necessary and valuable functions. It would consolidate the unwieldy Federal machinery in the field of education, eliminating much of the wasteful duplication and fragmentation now plaguing our Federal programs, and would thus reduce much of the unnecessary spending of both the Federal Government and our local school systems. A Department of Education would better enable the Government to recruit truly high-quality personnel in educational programs, and would raise the status we accord to education, both in the minds of our own population and in the minds of those who view us from overseas. A Department of Education would promote the expansion of research activities in the field of education, and would thus serve to improve the quality of education in those areas where we are now weakest, particularly in ghetto education, vocational training, and early childhood schooling.

I commend this proposal to your attention, as I believe the restructuring it undertakes would be of utmost value to those purposes we have constantly dedicated ourselves—namely a high-quality education for every American and a reduction in the amount of unnecessary and wasteful spending undertaken by the Federal Government. The establishment of the Department of Education deserves the full attention of the Congress in the very near future.

TRADE POLICY IN A SICK ECONOMY

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I am not one of those who, after the unfortunate events of recent months, concluded by instant reflex that we are a sick nation. Indeed I do not think that we are. I would, however, draw a fine line between our psychological health as a nation and the state of health of our economy.

The latter, after months of agonizing study, assessment and reassessment, recently required us to adopt a tax increase tied to a $6 billion spending cut. Call it what we will, in the last analysis this major move was bitter medicine for a sick economy.

I was among those Members of this House, Mr. Speaker, who voted for this bitter medicine. I voted for it because I felt and feel that it is necessary. With a deficit of $3.57 billion in our balance of payments last year, our declining gold reserves and our operating deficit in the

Federal Government are putting an inflationary pressure on the U.S. dollar which may well wipe out many businesses and individuals, not to mention the jeopardy in which it puts the stability of our entire national economy. Until recent months, however, the United States could always count on its favorable balance of trade to retrieve some of its dollars. Traditionally, our merchandise trade surplus has been the strongest element in the overall U.S. balance-of-payments situation. This classic trade helped offset dollar outflows as a result of travel, foreign aid grants, and military expenditures abroad.

But things are changing. The cumulative trade surplus for the first 6 months of 1968 was only 317.8 million, or significantly below the 2.27 billion cumulative surplus of the first 6 months of 1967. So far, the Commerce Department estimates that exports are running 6 percent higher than last's $30.94 billion total, but the same Commerce Department concedes that imports are up 20 percent more than last year's total of $26.82 billion. May, March, and June were deficit months in our Nation's balance of trade.

So, while the spending cut-tax increase package may be one important step toward curing our economic ills, we must take additional bold steps as a nation to cure the disease which afflicts our economy. I refer to steps necessary to correct the deficit in our balance-of-payments resulting from the inexorable eating away of our export markets. Yes, and the eating away of some of our domestic markets as well by trade policies of some of our so-called friends in the family of nations which we call the "free world."

In recent years, Mr. Speaker, we have moved further in the direction of what some grandly label "free trade." Today it is just short of sacrilege to speak up and raise any questions about "free trade." But I want to suggest that for trade to be "free" it must also be "fair."

Don Page in his column in the March 12, 1968, issue of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer put it this way:

> The shrewd Yankee trader isn't doing so well in today's international mart. He's yelling "Uncle". The "Uncle" he's yelling is to Uncle Sam. What he's yelling for is a better deal in competing with countries where "free trade" doesn't mean the same thing it means here.

I ask unanimous consent to insert Mr. Page's entire column in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

Many of those who point the finger of criticism at anyone who demands "fair trade" in the international marketplace are the same who beat the doors of Congress to demand relief for the jobless poor. These people, Mr. Speaker, unfortunately fail to realize that the best relief for poverty is work—gainful employment in responsible jobs that contribute to society and in which the jobholder can take personal pride and satisfaction because he is a taxpayer rather than a tax-supported welfare case.

I would suggest to my distinguished colleagues and others who sincerely seek relief for the poor that, if we are to provide work for the people of this Nation, we had better start giving close attention to the policies which destroy jobs and compound poverty in this country. The policies which our Nation pursues today—and some of those now being considered—may just be depriving some potential workers of my State and district of jobs. American jobs, in effect, are being given away unnecessarily to workers in other countries which surely are not doing the same for us.

I am sorry to say that careful examination of many of our past and present trade policies, and some of those now being formulated, compels me reluctantly to conclude that in international trade policy, Uncle Sam today resembles a patsy.

The Committee on Ways and Means recently completed exhaustive public hearings on this subject and now is in executive session on the question. A plethora of bills and resolutions for import controls covering a vast number of foreign products now contributing excessively to our deficit in balance of payments are before that distinguished committee. Our deficit in balance of payments relates directly to these imports, many of which enjoy special tax and other benefits in their country of origin. The imported items, produced and manufactured abroad, also deprive our Government of corporate and personal income taxes which must be made up by tax increases such as that which we have recently voted.

The district which I am honored to represent derives much of its economic sustenance from steel. With 12 other members I have cosponsored a measure now before the Committee on Ways and Means to place a sliding quota on steel imports. Mr. Speaker, this legislation would not deprive foreign producers of their fair share of the American market. But it would limit that foreign share of our market so that access to our domestic market would grow at a regulated pace rather than permit the domestic producers to be elbowed out of their own market by steel produced in countries where national policy, rather than actual cost, sometimes determines export price. As our actual costs of steel go up as a result of the recent wage settlement and consequent steel price increase such subsidies in lower wage nations become more significant.

Steel is not the only product being adversely affected which is significant to the economic health of my congressional district. In recent months I have also been disturbed about the pressure a number of agricultural products from the rich farmlands of Ohio are facing in United States and foreign markets. Such pressure depresses farm prices and adversely affects the economic status of farm producers. Both dairy and meat products have faced severe domestic competition from foreign production, while Ohio-grown wheat has not had comparable success finding increased foreign markets.

These problems have not necessarily grown from tariff rates, but rather from product classifications which avoid the laws and agreements prohibiting dumping.

While some nations have been dumping their surpluses in U.S. markets, quantitative import restrictions against wool and manmade textiles are reportedly applied by 12 foreign nations with whom we are said to have the best of trade relations. Such restrictions are imposed, of course, to protect their own domestic production and manufacturing facilities from the production of other nations such as the United States.

One of the highly specialized industries which has a company operating in my district has suggested a similar restriction be imposed by the United States on the products it manufactures, cordage and rope. This industry, which supplied a vital wartime necessity, has declined sharply since the end of World War II when it consisted of 22 companies with 23 mills. Only 10 companies of 10 mills now remain. The commercial market for hard fiber rope has declined 53 percent since 1955, partly due to the invasion of the market by manmade fiber. Yet, U.S. imports of hard fiber rope during that same period have risen from 7.6 percent to about 25 percent. What will happen should we have another wartime need for hard fiber rope and foreign manufacturing sources are cut off when domestic manufactures have become so depressed that they cannot meet the requirements of a peacetime need?

On the other end of the spectrum of size and specialization, there are more than 5,000 United Auto Workers union members in my district whose jobs can be affected by imports. While most of these workers are employed in truck assembly, there are several hundred in auto assembly and parts manufacture. The truck industry has been as severely affected by imports as the auto makers. In 1967, 11 percent of all trucks purchased in the United States were made outside the United States. That was also true of automobiles in 1966, but last year we imported over 1,020,620 foreign cars from abroad or 14 percent of all those sold here. How many more auto workers would we employ in the United States if those cars had been made in America? And how many steelworkers' jobs, for that matter, since each car averages 1,400 pounds of steel? That is over 750,000 tons of steel which would have required almost 6,000 steelworkers' job to produce.

Steel is not the only industry in our Nation where a reduction in production because of imports can have a devestating impact on our economy. In testimony before my Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz mentioned steel and automobile manufacturing as two industries where lengthy shutdowns as a result of labor disputes could not be tolerated because of the problems this would create for our entire national economy. He also mentioned transportation and communications industries—and even newspapers—as basic industries on whose prosperity our national economic well-being is based. If his concern is applicable to labor shutdowns, why it is not as applicable to shutdowns as a result of loss of markets to foreign imports? And certainly steel and the auto and truck industry are as basic to our long-run national security as rope manufac-

ture or agriculture. So I shall continue to discuss steel as my example.

Mr. Speaker, I also wish to call this body's attention to a new and little-noticed development in trade policy which shocks and disturbs me. I suspect that many of my distinguished colleagues are not aware of this disquieting new development. Should it be permitted to become national policy, I am sorry to say that Uncle Sam would resemble not a patsy but a dope.

I refer to an application now being entertained by the Foreign-Trade Zones Board to permit the fabricating of ships in foreign-trade subzones set up on American soil at U.S. ports so that foreign steel can be used in this country without even entering the U.S. customs area. Certainly the next step would be to take all of our American shipbuilding into duty-free subzones to use cheaper foreign steel. And after that why not move our shipyards lock, stock, and barrel to foreign lands so that low-wage foreign shipbuilders would have the jobs too. Then we can rename all of our idle shipyards Resurrection City.

Such an application is now pending. The Foreign-Trade Zones Board held hearings in New Orleans on a request to permit a shipbuilder there to convert his yard into a foreign-trade subzone. If ever there was a totally unnecessary plan to weaken our domestic steel market, that is it. Why we would even consider it, I do not know.

Under the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade—GATT—of course, we have some obligations which we cannot avoid. Under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, we agreed to negotiate reductions in our tariffs for reduced tariffs abroad. Nowhere, though, Mr. Speaker, can I find any rationale, law, treaty, or otherwise for voluntarily carving out an American shipyard, putting it outside of our customs so as to give its steel consumption to foreign steel producers. And mind you, the beneficiaries would be the same nations which are already swamping our domestic steel industry to the point that 119 Members of Congress have demanded legislation to establish fair trade on this import.

I am advised that if the Foreign-Trade Zones Board grants this application for New Orleans, shipyards up and down the coast of our country will ask the same tariff loophole for themselves so that they, too, can use cheaper foreign steel without paying duty on it. Though the American press, for the most part, has failed to notice this important threat to our domestic industry and to the American worker, I am happy to say that it is reported quite fully in some of the specialized media. So that my colleagues may have the benefit of this information, I ask unanimous consent that clippings from the following media be inserted in the RECORD:

Business Week, June 8, 1968, issue and the New York Journal of Commerce, March 31, 1968; April 17, 1968; April 29, 1968; May 22, 1968; and May 27, 1968 editions.[1]

I wonder sometimes whether our Federal Government is more interested in winning concessions for our foreign friends than it is in the jobs which make possible life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for the American worker. I wonder, Mr. Speaker, if some of our appointive public officials who entertain applications of this kind have ever seen a mining town shut down because there is no more market for its coal; or a steel town in depression because there is no market for its steel and, therefore, no employment for its workers.

Many of us are trying to undo by legislation what has already been done to subject many of our markets to this unfair competition. Must we now also seek corrective legislation to ban foreign-trade zones to prevent what has not yet been done—and does not have to be done—in order to prevent the frittering away of more of our domestic market for steel and other U.S. products? I do not believe the intent of Congress in the Foreign Trade Zones Act of June 18, 1934, and as amended in 1950, was the creation of manufacturing zones where duty-free products could be converted by those selling merely to avoid import duties. Interpretations by administrative departments of the executive branch of Government sometimes represent the desires of the executive branch rather than the original intent of the legislative branch in the enactment of the law. This should not be.

And in yet another area, Mr. Speaker, why must we wait until nickel-bearing scrap needed for stainless steel production in the United States is in short supply before we establish export controls? Only a few months ago we were faced with just such a situation.

One of my first constituent problems as a Member of this body was a request from an industry in my district for an increase in its nickel quota in order to install equipment to lower costs and hopefully become more competitive in world markets. While I had some success, the full need could not be met and this needed modernization had to be deferred. While other factors were involved, that independent company since has been sold to one of our Nation's great conglomerates and the independence of our smaller businesses has suffered one more setback.

Last March 18, because of indications of a developing critical situation on nickel, 10 of our colleagues in the other body asked, in a letter to the President, for export controls on stainless steel scrap to keep nickel in this country until it was no longer in short supply. The answer—negative—came from the Department of Commerce.

Recently, my attention was called to a telegram from Mr. T. S. Fitch, president of the Washington Steel Corp., of Washington, Pa. He asserted:

> In our company seventy-five percent of everything we sell and ship contains nickel. We estimate that our net earnings in this fiscal year which ends September 20 will be depressed by the premiums we have to pay to obtain our minimal nickel requirements. Restricting domestic scrap exportation would greatly aid other domestic producers and manufacturers as well as ourselves.

Mr. Fitch was simply adding his voice to what has become a growing clamor by American business and labor for help for American industry and the American worker. This is further evidenced by a statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 18—Extensions of Remarks, page 22218, by the Honorable HAROLD COLLIER, of Illinois—in which Congressman COLLIER reports receiving a petition from 7,500 employees of Keystone Steel & Wire Co. and their families supporting steel quota legislation.

I am sure that my colleagues did not miss the significance in the unprecedented joint appearance before the Ways and Means Committee a few days ago of Mr. I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, and Thomas F. Patton, chairman of Republic Steel Corp. and spokesman for the entire steel industry. These gentlemen, usually at each other's throats and even then negotiating new labor contracts under threat of strike, readily cooperated to come to a committee of Congress together to plead and warn that their major sector of our national economy was in dire danger under the pressures of foreign trade machinations.

> Whatever our differences may be as to other matters—

Mr. Patton told the committee—

> we and the union are of one mind as to the seriousness of the problem of imports of pig iron and steel mill products into the United States. We and the union are in agreement that there is an immediate need for some reasonable limitation on the importation of those commodities to prevent the present negative balance in steel trade from getting rapidly worse.

The joint concern of labor and management in the steel industry over the incursions of foreign imports which can diminish American employment and the viability of the American steel industry would presumably stir the sympathy of Secretary Wirtz. Those in this country who are concerned about jobs and our national security as it is affected by the vigor of basic industries have a broader interest than the parochial concern of the management or stockholders in our Nation's industries. After all, it is possible to move a manufacturing operation abroad in order to take advantage of cheap labor and whatever advantages may exist in other foreign markets by having a product originate in a nation other than the United States.

As a matter of fact, this very movement has been going on for some time. My late father and predecessor in the office I now hold was highly critical some years ago of one world renowned American industry which formerly maintained extensive manufacturing operations in Ohio because it was doing just that. It had moved much of its manufacturing operation abroad in order to have advantages in world trade and it was even supplying parts to its U.S. plants from its foreign manufacturing operations. Thus it was supplying jobs to foreign labor at the expense of American workers, avoiding some U.S. Federal taxes and not adversely affecting the profits from which its managers were being paid or by which American stockholders were seeing their dividends or stock values increase. Although it must be admitted that the stockholder benefits are somewhat more complicated to realize when the money is made abroad, this trend is still going on today in many major U.S. corporations and the American workingman feels the immediate negative impact.

---

[1] Articles not submitted with copy.

Higher and higher wages in the United States compound this problem, of course. But that is one of the results as well as one of the causes of inflation which starts with a government spending more than it takes in and thus demanding ever-higher taxes from the paychecks of its wage earners. Continuing wage increases in our Nation can give a price advantage to low wage nations in time, but there is no reason to give additional advantages through our trade policies.

A Commerce Department official has recently predicted that attempts to bolster the U.S. trade surplus this year will not meet the goal set January 1, when the administration announced an attack on the growing balance-of-payments deficit. The official told a Senate committee:

> We hope for a substantial improvement in our export picture during the second half of the year, but I doubt . . . that improvements will . . . permit attainment of the general improvement in the trade surplus sought this year.

Yet this is the department, Mr. Speaker, which administers the proposed foreign-trade zones which I discussed a few minutes ago, and which can make that significant decision.

Meanwhile, Andrew F. Brimmer, a member of the Federal Reserve Board warns that the U.S. trade surplus will be below the depressed level of 1967 despite an improvement expected as a result of the 10 percent income tax surcharge.

That balance certainly is not helped by steel imports which are continuing to take a large and increasing portion of the domestic steel market. From 1.2 million tons in 1957, imports rose to 10.8 million in 1966, and they are still rising. Over the same period U.S. exports declined from 5.3 to 1.7 million tons—a net adverse swing of over 13 million tons for the past decade.

Our domestic U.S. market for steel has grown since 1957 by over 23 million tons, but foreign sources have taken over 40 percent of that growth in consumption. Imports have grown at an average rate of 27.7 percent per year during the latter half of this period and will reach a record 18 million tons or more in 1968. This represents 18 percent of the total domestic market in the United States. I am sorry to say that this is equivalent to more than 100,000 full-time jobs for American steelworkers and employees in supporting activities.

Of course, some of this impact on American markets has come from the nations which have been the recipients of foreign aid. After World War II, it became our Nation's policy and in our interest to strengthen these nations so that they would thwart the incursions of communism. Nations which were our enemies in World War II have been a part of this impact on our markets. Their industrial capacity, destroyed during that war, has been completely rebuilt since and, in some cases, is even more efficient than our own because it is more modern. And often these nations could afford to rebuild their industrial resources because their citizens pay no taxes for military activities as do American citizens and industries which are required to carry the financial burden of taxes to support American peacekeeping efforts throughout the world.

Perhaps over the past few years, there was no way to avoid the circumstances which have brought about these economic results. But if American taxpayers are to be expected to continue to carry these burdens, then we had better protect their jobs and their ability to pay the necessary taxes. If the industrial jobs are to be yielded up to other nations in the substitution of trade for aid, then perhaps those same nations must be expected to share the costs of policing the world.

Japan, for example, has grown industrially by leaps and bounds since the war and every indication is that her industrial expansion will be continued as fast as possible. Last year, the U.S. trade deficit in steel was about $875 million and a good part of it was due to Japanese competition. In 1968, our steel trade deficit could balloon to $1.4 billion or more. Trade papers and company literature from Japan recently reveal plans to double Japan's steel production capability by 1975. When this is stacked up against estimated domestic consumption in Japan by then, it reveals that some 30 to 40 million tons of raw steel will be available for export. There is every indication that Japan will achieve its production objective and that the United States will increasingly be Japan's market target.

As the Foreign-Trade Zones Board first considered the application to permit increased use of foreign steel, Japan—which would be the greatest beneficiary of the application—had initially refused to budge on liberalizing her import restrictions. The New York Times on June 14 quoted a Japanese Government official as saying:

> Japan would not liberalize completely the import of car engines in the next two or three years.

The official's remarks, the New York Times said, have been interpreted by industry in Japan as meaning that Japan will try to defer liberalizing her import quotas for engines as long as possible. Yet we are considering opening up to her our market for steel for ships made in the United States by means of Foreign Trade Zones.

The San Francisco Chronicle in its December 11 issue warned editorially—

> The best suggestion that might be made to the Japanese would be to do something to avoid sharpening the weapons of protectionism in the U.S. Congress. This the Japanese Government and steel producers could do by imposing a quota on their steel exports to the United States, as they have done in the past in the case of textile exports.

I ask unanimous consent to insert this entire editorial in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

While I was pleased that Japan recently recognized the severity of the problem created by steel imports in the United States and expressed a willingness to impose self-restraint, I was discouraged by the specific proposal. The Japanese plan projects a 40 percent increase in their shipments during a 12-month period and a subsequent 7 percent annual increase in shipments to U.S. markets. This would represent a growth in American consumption of Japanese steel three times the normal level and would provide for a larger Japanese share of the domestic U.S. market for steel than now exists.

If we must depend on this so-called voluntary restraint, by nations where governmental control of industry is greater than in the United States, then the ultimate effects of the future of our steel industry and our entire national economy is disturbing. To depend upon other nations to maintain our economic stability is to abdicate the primary duty of each of us in this body.

Of course, we must cooperate with those nations who genuinely seek solutions to these serious international economic problems, but obviously a serious disruption of the domestic American economy would have grave repercussions throughout the world. Can we rely on voluntary action of other governments if their proposals are such as the Japanese have made? It is also worth noting that even had the Japanese plan been more acceptable, a simple internal change in the Japanese National Government could result in new policies detrimental to our interest if those policies are nothing more than voluntary and unilateral.

I am not sure that it is enough, therefore, to rely on our State Department or the executive branch to arrange voluntary understandings with current governments on an ad hoc basis. Rather, it seems to me to be within the responsibility of the legislative branch of our Government to assure by appropriate legislation that our economy remains strong and that our taxpaying workers will have jobs in U.S. industry.

David Lawrence, writing in the January 12, 1968, issue of the Washington, D.C., Evening Star and speaking of the proposal to tax Americans traveling abroad, said:

> If the American people are to be prevented from traveling abroad as they wish, the question will be raised as to why imports from other countries are permitted to drain from the United States many hundreds of millions of dollars a year . . .

Mr. Lawrence also supported the need for "some restrictive measures to curtail the outward movement of American dollars in import trade." I ask unanimous consent to insert Mr. Lawrence's entire column in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to a speech on the floor of the other body delivered on July 10, 1968, which appeared on page 20478 of the RECORD. I especially want to mention the remarks following that speech by the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. He said:

> I wish to compliment the Senator for the statement he has just made. As a member of the Finance Committee, it becomes fairly obvious to me that if nothing is done about the trend which has been developing with regard to the steel industry, that industry

> will suffer very badly and lose a great deal of its market right here in the United States.
>
> A similar situation exists with regard to the textile industry, so ably defended by the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS), now the present occupant of the chair.
>
> We have also had some experience with regard to the problem of petroleum. Without an import program with regard to petroleum, our balance of payments would perhaps be $1 billion worse than it is today.
>
> The fact is, no nation other than ours, to my knowledge, permits one of its major, established, essential industries to run the danger of being completely destroyed and driven from its own markets.
>
> The time will come when the Nation will feel that it should look after its own industries, at least to some reasonable extent.
>
> I am certainly aware of the fact that the steel industry is one of those which is more threatened than others by the great rise in imports.
>
> We have this choice: We can do nothing and let the trend continue until eventually the steel industry is crippled; or, we can move with foresight—we can see that this is a very serious problem—and act to stem imports in the interest of maintaining a healthy steel industry. This is a matter we will have to correct sooner or later.
>
> I think the Senator from New Hampshire has analyzed very well the general nature of the problem which has developed with regard to steel. . . .
>
> . . . I want to assure the Senator from New Hampshire that at such time as we are able to move to find the overall answer to the steel problem, we shall do so, but it will take considerable doing in light of the trend the Senator from New Hampshire mentioned; namely, the large increase in steel production in Japan which, so far as we know, has no other market to go to but the United States. It will take some real doing.
>
> I anticipate being one of those helping him with this problem when the time comes.

While my discussion of the impact of imports has revolved around steel, all industries are susceptible. The American Iron and Steel Institute focused on the problem when it reported recently:

> While the import penetration of the United States market varies by product and/or region, there is no important product line or market area which is immune to their impact.

One reason for the shipment of large quantities of the most sophisticated steel products to this country is the installation of large-scale and ultramodern equipment by European and Japanese producers. Yet, Mr. Patton of Republic Steel was able to tell the Ways and Means Committee:

> The American steel industry is still the most technically efficient in the world. Our technology, particularly as to upgrading of raw materials and the processing of steel beyond the crude ingot stage, is superior to that of any other country. Our research facilities and efforts far exceed those of any other nation and the fruits of our research are widely and quickly adopted by the industries of other nations. This is why foreign producers continue to buy American-made equipment and seek licenses to use American-developed processes and make American-developed steel products often in spite of significantly higher initial costs. Furthermore, the steel companies in the United States are investing in improved steelmaking and processing facilities at a record rate and engaging in vigorous campaigns to expand the uses of steel products.

And the U.S. industry at the same time is spending millions of dollars in the public interest to solve air and water pollution problems in accordance with the laws of this Congress. I have previously expressed through a legislative proposal my concern about this domestic problem of water and air pollution caused by industry. My proposal asks for a sharing of this economic burden by Government and industry through tax credits to industry for investments in pollution control and cleanup. Without such an approach, it is not impossible that industry, faced with increasingly severe competition from abroad, will elect to save the added costs of pollution control that necessarily contribute to total product cost and affect competitive price. The same danger exists with regard to modernization of production facilities which might be deferred in an effort to achieve temporary current cost savings in the hope of maintaining a competitive price, if only temporarily. Such problems must be faced sooner or later, not only by the industry, but by those of us in Government.

Members of both Houses have repeatedly indicated their concern over the steadily expanding inroads of foreign steel and pig iron into domestic markets. Late last year the Senate Finance Committee in a staff study noted:

> The problem is related to a determination by a host of newly emerging nations to establish steel industries of their own and to policy decisions by aid-giving governments and financial institutions to assist in their establishment. Trade and taxation policies, by other countries, aimed at subsidizing production and exports while restricting imports have also aggravated the steel import problem . . .
>
> World overcapacity of steelmaking facilities has caused some foreign steel industries to unload their surplus production on the U.S. market at prices at or below cost. In some countries they have been abetted by government through the remission of taxes and through subsidies. In contrast, the U.S. steel industry has been unable to maintain its exports, in part because of a multitude of non-tariff barriers encountered abroad, and of the lack of U.S. export incentives.
>
> . . . If foreign steel-producing industries were run like prudent private enterprise in this country, the problem of the U.S. steel industry would be less troublesome. Unfortunately, however foreign steel industries have thrown steel on the world market, especially the largest and least restricted by non-tariff barriers, i.e., the U.S. market.
>
> In July 1967, the European Coal and Steel Commission published its formal estimate that between 1966 and 1970 world steel capacity would expand by some 33 million tons a year, a figure which substantially exceeds foreseeable world demand. There is, therefore, reason to fear that foreign steel industries will not act prudently and adjust output and prices to levels permitting a reasonable return on sales and investment. The concern is that foreign producers, facing further deterioration of their financial status, will continue to sell increasing quantities of steel in the United States at prices which do not reflect their full direct and indirect costs, with the collaboration of their respective governments.

We should not overlook, by the way, the announcement the other day that France had invoked import quotas on a variety of items, including iron and steel. The clampdown was ordered during recent political and social threats to the franc as France and the five other European Common Market countries were preparing to remove all tariff barriers.

Meanwhile, Secretary of State Dean Rusk told the Committee on Ways and Means on June 10:

> The partnership we have nurtured with Japan would be put to a severe test—and it might not survive if we were to adopt wholesale restrictions, which would have a serious impact on Japan's ability to make its way in the world.

One industry spokesman took issue with that view in later testimony when he said:

> Other nations purchase goods and services from this country because they want and need them, not because of altruistic feelings.

It is difficult enough for U.S.-made steel to compete because of the higher prices required by higher wages paid in the United States; it should not have to face adverse U.S. trade policies.

The St. Louis Globe Democrat in an editorial on June 6 also took exception to the administration's position, saying:

> As undesirable as import quotas are, they are preferable to the alternative of a major recession in the steel industry.

This is an extrapolation of the Wirtz concern about a strike that would shut down the steel industry and adversely affect our national economy. I agree with this concern and ask unanimous consent to insert the entire editorial in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I would urge that as a nation we reexamine our entire philosophy of "free trade," not with the thought of abandoning it, but with a view to modifying it so as to adopt in the international arena that familiar domestic policy—"fair trade." Let us not be patsies for anyone. For in statecraft, as in business, in the long run, no one respects a patsy. And in the end our trading friends will benefit more from our continuing economic strength and prosperity than they will from policies which weaken our economy and which produce social dislocation undermining our national strength.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of free trade, but to me free trade is not a one-way street, not a unilateral gift, but part of a bargain contracted with other nations. Today if such a bargain exists, the bargain has been an unfair one. For that bargain must take into account our vast expenditures of foreign aid—expenditures, I might add, which are in many areas responsible for the industrial development of nations which are today competing with our own manufacturers. That bargain must also take into account our vast expenditures to police the world—expenditures to which American corporations must contribute to insure that their foreign competitors may trade freely. And finally, that bargain must be related not only to the level of international tariff barriers but to the less obvious but equally effective barriers and benefits such as quotas, product definitions, direct and hidden government subsidies to industries, and a host of other nontariff factors.

So "free trade" has to be "fair trade"—and today our trade policies are "free" only in the sense of being a gift to other nations. We should have free trade, as long as it is fair, and we should move toward it in an orderly fashion, allowing time for all the parties, nations, industries, and workers, to adjust to its effects as gently as possible.

I suggest that foreign leaders both in government and business will respect us more if we use a little domestically-produced starch and apply it to our backbones in the field of international trade policy. Let us adopt sensible iron and steel trade legislation. And let us close the foreign-trade zones loopholes before they further weaken our domestic industry and rob more of our American workers of the jobs which keep them out of our poverty legions and make it possible for them to pay the taxes which are unfortunately necessary to maintain our Federal Government as a free people.

[From the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Mar. 12, 1968]

JAPANESE STEEL CAUSES CONCERN

(By Don Page)

"The shrewd Yankee trader" of tradition isn't doing so well in today's international mart. He's yelling "Uncle." The "Uncle" he's yelling to is Uncle Sam. What he's yelling for is a better deal in competing with countries where "free trade" doesn't mean the same thing it means here.

That's the plaint of Bethlehem Steel, one of America's biggest traders.

Right now Bethlehem is in the bight of the line from big, growing Japanese steel exports. Some of that Japanese steel is helping build trade across Seattle docks. But there's another side to this steel coin, Bethlehem spokesman Bruce Davis told the Transportation Club here the other day. Bethlehem wouldn't mind competing on an even keel with Japanese steelmakers. But competing with the Japanese government is a big order, even for a not-so-small American company like Bethlehem.

Japan has upstaged such traditional steel countries as Germany and Britain lately. It now accounts for about half the steel imported into the U.S. This year, Bethlehem forecasts, imports will provide about a sixth of U.S. steel. Half of U.S. users will buy some foreign steel.

In this situation, Davis said, the Japanese government has called its nine big steel producers into a new sales campaign. The goal is a 10 per cent increase in exports by March 31, 1969, the penalty for any producer who doesn't hit the quota will be an assessment of $28 a ton on export sales (about a fifth of the price) or a reduction in coking coal allotments.

"They're gonna sell like fools!" the Bethlehem speaker protested.

Meanwhile, exportwise, American producers can't seem to get any steel into Japan, Davis said, even special types of steel the Japanese don't produce.

In this regard, Davis inferred, American steelmakers are like the Chevvie and Ford and Plymouth and Rambler people, who run into stiff tax barriers getting their cars into Japan, while the Japanese set their sights on U.S. sales of 200 or 300,000 cars a year.

Or like American whisky distillers in another market, who find they can't advertise their wares in wine-exporting France.

Where's that good, old Yankee knowhow that's supposed to surmount all? Davis insists it's been pretty well automated out of existence. U.S. steel wages average $4.66 an hour, he says, compared with $1.88 in West Germany and $1.08 in Japan. Standards of living—and wages—are climbing in Japan, but it will be a long while before they climb close to the American rate.

American production capacity, paradoxically, is on the short end of the scale in the international steel industry. Yankee producers are trying to modernize, but they're starting with prewar plants.

In contrast, many other countries are producing with highly efficient plants, built since World War II. Those plants were built with the best American and international knowhow, sometimes with American funds. And Davis points out, in this day of modern competition and communication, a new way of doing things doesn't last long as a competitive secret. The world still beats a path to the door of the man who builds a better mousetrap, but in 1968 most of the pathbeaters are "technical observers," there to pick up the best points of the new mousetrap for their own models.

That's the picture Bethlehem Steel paints of its problems. That's the reason Bethlehem is sending speakers around the country to talk up its plea for a quota on steel imports.

Bethlehem's story may be only part of the picture. International traders have a story, too. Puget Sound, for instance, would be a dead puddle if there weren't imports coming in as well as exports going aboard ship here.

But there's no question that the rules of national and international business vary from country to country. Private American businessmen have a right to make their case heard. Uncle Sam can't afford to drown out their voices with a happy song about Free Trade—a song that seems to have different tunes and different lyrics in other parts of the world.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 11, 1967]

STEEL IMPORTS: A U.S. DILEMMA

Although they have not created much sympathy either in Washington or among their customers by recent price raises, the steel companies of the country are entitled to some consideration and concern over the very difficult problem of sharply increasing steel imports that they face.

The United States is the biggest steel-using country in the world, and yet 11 per cent of what is used now comes in from abroad. As recently as the mid-50s, however, this country was a net exporter of steel. Many countries shelter, protect and subsidize their steel industry, and that makes the battle even more unequal for high-cost American producers.

"The case of (American) steel," says the London Economist sympathetically, "causes a certain discomfort even to the most convinced freetrader." It notes that foreign sellers traditionally use exports at almost any price as a means of keeping their plants going. That is the theme of a special complaint made by the American Iron and Steel Institute. It charges Japan with using its steel industry as an instrument of national policy in international trade by insulating it from competing imports through licensing, red tape, warehousing requirements and other devices.

With much lower labor costs than those here, but nearly as high productivity, the Japanese are getting more and more of the U.S. market, and of course with the help of the $5 a ton increases posted lately on some domestic classes of steel products, the Japanese stand to get even more by underselling.

President Johnson, confronted by an alarming surge of protectionism in Congress, is trying to keep the advocates of import quotas and tariff increases at bay. And of course he should be doing that. He is obliged to fight to save our overall trading position, which has so recently and so successfully been established by Ambassador William M. Roth's negotiations in the Kennedy Round at Geneva.

But the dilemma still remains and the import threat still exists for the American steel companies. They say present laws designed to keep foreign imports from reaching "intolerable proportions" through unfair trading practices do not work. They are not at present suggesting a solution for their dilemma, but it is fairly obvious that they will be demanding one from the next Congress.

Meanwhile the best suggestion that might be made to the Japanese would be to do some thing to avoid sharpening the weapons of protectionism in the U.S. Congress. This the Japanese Government and steel producers could do by imposing a quota on their steel exports to the United States, as they have done in the past in the case of textile exports.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Jan. 12, 1968]

IMPORTS ALSO THREATEN DOLLAR

(By David Lawrence)

Now that President Johnson has placed restrictions on travel outside the Western Hemisphere, the question has arisen as to why the administration has not put forth any plan to reduce the outflow of American dollars which pay for products imported from other lands.

The deficit in the "balance of payments" which is threatening the stability of America's monetary unit amounted to about $3.5 billion in 1967. Yet the total amount of imports of certain products are expected to exceed the exports by $3.9 billion.

In other words, if the United States could wipe out the imbalance between imports and exports in only seven categories of trade, there would be no deficit in the "balance of payments."

The United States traditionally has had a surplus in trade on an over-all basis, amounting in recent years to $5 billion annually, but there are conspicuous deficits in important products.

Thus, in 1967 new automobiles imported from abroad are estimated at a total of more than $1.5 billion, but only about $600 million worth of cars were exported, leaving a deficit of more than $950 million.

The same thing is true of iron and steel, which, it is calculated, the United States in 1967 imported in the amount of $1.4 billion. Exports are put at $417 million, leaving a deficit of $933 million.

A big deficit was also noted in textiles and clothing. There were last year nearly $1.5 billion of imports and only $686 million of exports, or a deficit of $768 million.

When the excess of imports over exports is added together in footwear, alcohol beverages, meat products, toys and sports goods, another $1.3 billion deficit emerges.

It is recognized, of course, that if the United States put restrictions on foreign trade in those products which show a deficit on the export side, there might be retaliation from other countries in various commodities which America sells overseas. So the real problem is how to reduce the deficits in certain categories while not injuring overseas trade in others.

One plan that has been given much attention by leaders in different industries would call for a quota arrangement whereby the average amount imported to this country over the last three years would be taken as a yardstick and no imports above that amount would be admitted. Foreign governments would be asked to hold their exports to the United States at the quota level.

This proposal would not immediately wipe out the balance-of-payments deficit, but might reduce it substantially because there is every expectation that, unless pressure is applied, imports will continue to rise.

Spokesmen for American industries are saying frankly that, while they may be able to cope with the existing quantity of imports, they do not want the situation to become worse year by year. Bills have been introduced in the Congress to set up a quota system but, unless the administration gives its wholehearted support to such a proposal, it is not likely to be enacted.

Incidentally, strikes to force higher wages in the steel and auto industries not only increase the costs of products inside the United States but make it possible for foreign countries to undercut those prices more than before. Yet no restraints are being placed on the labor unions.

The U.S. Department of Labor, for instance, revealed on Thursday night that, with the removal of the wage-price "guidelines," union wages increased an average of 5 percent in 1967. This is one of the reasons why imported products at lower prices are getting into American markets and increasing the outflow of American dollars to buy foreign goods.

As the balance of payments situation gets more and more hazardous, some restrictive measures will have to be imposed in order to curtail the outward movement of American dollars in import trade. Certainly, if the American people are to be prevented from traveling abroad as they wish, the question will be raised as to why imports from other countries are permitted to drain from the United States many hundreds of millions of dollars a year and thus enlarge the deficit in the "balance of payments."

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, June 6, 1968]

STEEL INDUSTRY AT STAKE

Ambassador William M. Roth, President Johnson's special representative for trade negotiations, told members of the House Ways and Means Committee it would be too risky to restrict imports, that even one import quota bill would invite retaliation.

Under ordinary circumstances, we would agree with Ambassador Roth. These are not ordinary circumstances facing the United States today.

In the case of steel, a basic industry, imports are threatening to put tens of thousands of steelworkers out of jobs. In 1966 foreign steelmakers' share of the United States steel market was 10 per cent. But by the end of this year it will be 14 per cent.

As undesirable as import quotas are, they are preferable to the alternative of a major recession in the steel industry.

The difficulty is that the average steel wage of $4.65 an hour for an American steelworker is more than four times the hourly wage paid in Japan and other developing nations.

It also is a fact that many state-owned steel plants in foreign countries use the United States as a dumping ground for excess capacity, disposing of it at cost or less.

The ideal situation in world trade is one that places no restrictions on imports or exports. But when a country's basic industry has its back to the wall, things are done that stem from self-preservation.

An import quota to limit incoming steel to 10 per cent of the United States market would still permit foreign steelmakers a big market here, but would give the steel industry time to regain its worldwide competitive position.

Should the steel industry suffer a recession from a growing loss of its market in its own country, it could bring on a general recession.

This is too big a price to pay for trying to cling to completely unrestricted trade.

SUPPLEMENTAL AIR CARRIERS SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO CHARTER FLIGHTS FOR GROUPS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. POLLOCK] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I am very concerned about the serious implications for the future of the Nation's air transportation system if H.R. 17685, as approved by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, is enacted into law.

For some years now it has been clearly established in the law that supplemental air carriers were not to engage in the scheduled, individually ticketed business performed by regular airlines, but were to be restricted to charter flights for groups. Now we seek to authorize the supplemental air carrier to do indirectly through agents that which he admittedly cannot do directly; that is, to sell inclusive tour charter trips to individuals through a tour operator or travel agent—a travel package, including charter air transportation, lodging, and such surface transportation and other land arrangements as are appropriate.

This is mischievous and far-reaching legislation detrimental to the entire air transportation system.

In order that all Members may be apprised beforehand, I furnish for the RECORD the following amendments to H.R. 17685, which I may introduce in proper course, to alleviate the imminently dangerous impact of what is intended by this legislation, and to make the legislative intent abundantly clear that the role of the supplemental air carrier is restricted and shall not be destructive to the operations of the scheduled carriers which serve the market.

The first two amendments below are alternate approaches. If neither is adopted, the third will be offered.

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 17685, AS REPORTED

(Offered by Mr. POLLOCK)

Page 2, beginning with line 14, strike out all material through page 3, line 2, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(33) 'supplemental air transportation' means charter trips in air transportation, other than the transportation of mail by aircraft, authorized by a certificate of public convenience and necessity issued pursuant to section 401(d)(3) of this Act. The term 'supplemental air transportation' includes inclusive tour charter trips in air transportation; that is, travel packages, including charter air transportation, lodging and such surface transportation and other land arrangements as are appropriate, offered at one all-inclusive price and sold by a supplemental air carrier or by a tour operator or travel agent to members of a specific group or groups organized for purposes other than for travel; however, nothing in this paragraph shall permit a supplemental air carrier to sell or offer for sale, directly or indirectly, any inclusive tour in air transportation or any other air transportation to individual members of the general public, except as provided in section 417, nor shall such supplemental air carrier accomplish same through a tour operator or travel agent, or by controlling, being controlled by, or acting in consort or under common control with a person authorized by the Board to make such individual ticket sales directly or indirectly to members of the general public. Nothing in this Act shall prevent a State, the District of Columbia, or a possession of the United States from exercising jurisdiction of the sale of inclusive tour charter trips."

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 17685, AS REPORTED

(Offered by Mr. POLLOCK)

Page 2, beginning with line 14, strike out all material through page 3, line 2, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(33) 'supplemental air transportation' means charter trips in air transportation, other than the transportation of mail by aircraft, authorized by a certificate of public convenience and necessity issued pursuant to section 401(d)(3) of this Act. The term 'supplemental air transportation' includes inclusive tour charter trips in air transportation, i.e., travel packages, including charter air transportation, lodging and such surface transportation and other land arrangements as are appropriate, offered at one all-inclusive price and sold by a supplemental air carrier or by a tour operator or travel agent to members of a specific group or groups organized for purposes other than for travel; however, nothing in this paragraph shall permit any supplemental air carrier to sell, directly or indirectly, air transportation to individual members of the general public, except as provided in section 417 of this Act. Nothing in this Act shall prevent a State, the District of Columbia, or a possession of the United States from exercising jurisdiction of the sale of inclusive tour charter trips."

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 17685, AS REPORTED

(Offered by Mr. POLLOCK)

Page 3, line 2, immediately before the period, insert the following: "Nothing in this Act shall prevent a State, the District of Columbia or a possession of the United States from exercising jurisdiction of the sale of inclusive tour charter trips."

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIRACLE STRIP

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, we in Florida have a particular interest in recreation, and we offer the finest in recreational advantages in the Nation. The fascinating story of the attractions of our beautiful beaches and pleasant climate is nowhere told better than in the miracle strip which is northwest Florida's gulf coast. What I do today is to call attention to a story back of the story of the development of the miracle strip. This is the story of the construction of facilities, particularly at Panama City, Fla., which is the center of summer tourism in Florida.

In the development of these facilities a Federal agency, the Small Business Administration, has figured very prominently. The programs of this small but very effective agency have permitted Panama City, and other communities in my State of Florida, to encourage tourism at home and help to expand our national economy. By offering financial assistance for business development to the community which extends along the gulf coast from Panama City to Pensacola, the Small Business Administration has played a large role in the construction of 52 new motels in this area.

As a result of SBA's program of loans in cooperation with local banks, aptly named miracle strip has quadrupled its tourist income from $25 to $100 million annually over a 6-year period. The success of this program was recently reported to a meeting of the Jacksonville

Region Small Business Council by Charles S. Smith, chairman of the council and vice president of the Bay National Bank.

A total of $16 million in joint commercial bank-SBA funds have revived this previously depressed area into an attractive beach strip. SBA has indeed enabled miracle strip to live up to its name.

The SBA participation program provides loans that would not otherwise be available to small businesses at reasonable terms. In addition, SBA loans encourage other investment institutions to move into the community.

Florida ranked fifth in the Nation in SBA loans last year. With 3.5 percent of the business population of the country, Florida has received 5.6 percent of the SBA loans. Grateful to SBA for its substantial contribution to the economic development of Florida and to the expansion of the national economy, I submit the following newspaper article to be included in the RECORD:

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Times-Union May 2, 1968]

PANAMA CITY? IT'S A REAL SBA TOWN

(By George Wachendorf)

PANAMA CITY.—This could be called the town that the Small Business Administration built. The shining success of the so-called Miracle Strip which runs along the Gulf Coast from Panama City to Pensacola, this community has quadrupled its tourist income from $25 million to $100 million annually in the space of only six years—principally due to SBA help.

The story of the cooperative drive by local banks and the Small Business Administration (SBA) was told at the Ramada Inn here at a meeting of the Jacksonville Region Small Business Advisory Council, which covers the 43 northern Florida counties. The man doing the telling was Charles S. Smith, chairman of the council and vice president of the Bay National Bank here—a prime mover in the growth of the area.

The tool used was the SBA participation program, under which the federal agency will furnish up to 90 percent of a loan for a business development. Some idea of what the program has meant for the economically depressed Panhandle can be gained from the fact that a total of $16 million in joint commercial bank-SBA funds have been pumped into the strip since 1963.

The program used, designed to provide loans for small businesses when they are not otherwise available on reasonable terms, has played a part in the construction of 52 new motels on the strip. Currently outstanding in the Panama City area are 62 loans totaling $3.8 million, with $1.9 million more pending. SBA participation has run between 50 and 90 percent of the face value of loans.

According to Smith, it all began because money to develop tourist facilities in the area was just not available locally on feasible terms. The SBA participation plus a lengthening of loan time by local institutions did the trick.

As he sees it, the most significant thing of all is that large institutional investors like life insurance companies now are coming into the area financially in view of the success of what has happened so far.

Smith's principal point in urging greater interest in the SBA participation program by banks is that it can result in a high yield on the bank investment. Although SBA loans are limited by law to 5½ percent interest, the proper mix of bank participation and SBA funds can result in a total loan at 6⅛ percent, with the SBA collecting 5½ percent and the participating bank up to 8 percent on its actual investment.

Douglas McAllister, Jacksonville regional director for the SBA, reported that his office has increased its loan production by 70 percent during the first three quarters of the fiscal year ending June 30.

He used Florida's rankings nationally in various financial categories to illustrate the impact SBA funds have had on the economic development of the state.

McAllister said that though last year Florida was 10th in population of the 50 states and 10th in the total amount of federal money received ($4.7 billion), in SBA loans it ranked fifth. Florida has 3.5 percent of the business population of the country and 5.6 percent of the SBA loans. The Jacksonville region, with 1.1 percent of the business population of the nation, has 2 percent of the SBA loan volume.

Also worthy of note, perhaps, was the comment that the Lum's restaurant chain, one of the most sensational national success stories of recent years, started a few years ago with a $10,000 loan from the SBA.

ANDREW JACKSON DAY

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Pensacola Journal for July 17 made a very sound suggestion in proposing that July 17 be designated as "Andrew Jackson Day." There is good reason for strong endorsement of this suggestion, and this will be noted in the following editorial from the Florida newspaper:

ANDREW JACKSON DAY—HE LIKED PENSACOLA

This date on the Pensacola calendar deserves the full attention of the community as Andrew Jackson Day.

Yes, July 17—a dot on the summer calendar that is certainly significant in Florida and American history—should be set aside as a tribute to Old Hickory and those brave Americans who fought for Florida and marched into Plaza Ferdinand in 1821 and replaced the colors of Spanish rule with the Stars and Stripes of a young and ambitious republic.

We remind Pensacolians of this important date because of renewed interest in authentic Pensacola history and its contributions to the American story. Indeed, we think it is time for the Governor of Florida, the state Legislature and public officials at the county and city level to recognize this date—or this week—as Jackson Day, or Territorial Days in Florida, or some other appropriate honor.

Too often in various celebrations, such as the Fiesta of Five Flags, we tend to overshadow such historical characters as Jackson, Alexander McGillivary and Stephen Russell Mallory. Now, in keeping with the nineteenth century character of Pensacola's new historic district. Pensacolians must elevate Jackson as one of several characters who dramatized the Americanization of Pensacola.

Seven days after the official transfer of East Florida from Spain to the United States took place in St. Augustine, General Jackson accepted the transfer of West Florida, completing the transfer of the Floridas to the United States in Plaza Ferdinand.

Jackson chose to accept West Florida in person while he sent his adjutant, Colonel Robert Butler, to act for him in St. Augustine.

The treaty by which Spain ceded the Floridas to the United States was signed Feb. 22, 1819, but Spain delayed ratification for two years, until Feb. 22, 1821.

Jackson's close association with Pensacola in those rough and troublesome days of the nineteenth century produced a fascinating and colorful drama, typically American in scope and character.

But that final day, July 17, 1821, was climactic for Pensacola and the famous Tennessean who was then the Hero of New Orleans. Jackson had fought many battles against Indians, British and Spanish in the raw frontier of West Florida, and now he was seeing his flag snap above the oak and magnolia of the Plaza in a city he said "will rise into notice as a commercial city faster than any other place in the United States."

Early on the morning of July 17 Jackson entered Pensacola and was welcomed at the governor's house by his wife Rachel and other Americans in the advance party. At 10 a.m. the troops of Spain and the United States were drawn up on the plaza and Richard Keith Call, with other officers of the United States Army and Navy, escorted Territorial Governor Jackson between the saluting ranks to the Government House.

Spanish Governor Jose Callava greeted his American successor in the court room and formalities were completed. In the plaza, with Jackson and Rachel watching, the Spanish colors were lowered and the American flag hoisted "with the tune of 'long may it wave, o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.' "

Naval guns in the harbor boomed a salute and Florida became a United States territory.

It happened here, in Plaza Ferdinand, on July 17, 1821. A significant date in American history—a date deserving recognition by Pensacolians; indeed, all Floridians.

Let's take the official action to make this date on the Pensacola calendar Jackson Day.

And maybe, just maybe, someone will finally show Old Hickory that *"Pensacola will rise into notice as a commercial city faster than any other place in the United States."*

THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM—EARLY ADJOURNMENT III

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I commented again on the problem of long sessions—page 24444—and I do so again this once more before our August recess. Early in July, I wrote a report to my constituents on the same subject, at a time when there was still a hope we would adjourn finally by this time. My report was headed "The Impossible Dream" and alas my prediction that we would not adjourn proved all too true.

In that report I suggested some reasons why we may stay in long sessions. More important I asked the question: "Are long legislative sessions bad?" I gave reasons why they are.

And who suffers, Mr. Speaker? I concluded that it is "the forgotten man." This report was warmly commented on by many of my constituents and I would like to share it with my colleagues at this point in the RECORD:

THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM

Adjournment is in the air. You can sense it by the hustle and bustle in the offices and halls of Congress as the leadership drives towards an avowed August 3 adjournment date. This will close the Congressional session just prior to the conventions of our two major political parties scheduled for August. However, it seems to many (myself included) an impossible dream. Long and protracted sessions of Congress have become a way of life in Washington.

The power structure that runs Congress likes Washington. Some call this Potomac Fever. It is here on the banks of the Potomac that the power structure of Capitol Hill enjoys their greatest prestige and their most cherished privileges and prerogatives. It is here that they can most conveniently huddle to plan their next issue and plot the new programs to solve them. It is here, too, that they can huddle with the media, to call the signals for the next plays and to set the stage for thet next scrimmages in the unending battle between the good guys and the bad guys. Although I have long been an advocate of home rule for Washington, I cannot agree with those who say the District is not well represented in Congress. I think that the District is over-represented in Congress. It is here that many members have become most at home. With each passing year and with each protracted session of Congress, the gulf between the stately domes on the Potomac and the hinterlands widens.

The centralization of power accelerates. Its engines are fueled with an annual intake of new legislation, new programs and, yes—you guessed it, more problems. Just recently, after eight months of study, Congressman William Roth, of Delaware, compiled a list of 1,091 operating Federal assistance programs. He found that the Federal bureaucracy has become so large and so complex that people don't know where to go to find assistance. Even Congress itself is having trouble in effectively determining the desirability or need for new programs that may be proposed, let alone advising constituents what ones are already in existence.

ARE LONG LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS BAD?

Long legislative sessions are inherently bad. Without adjournment deadlines, poor legislation can be manipulated into law. The discipline of the grassroots can be avoided. Legislative schedules can be ignored, as happened the week that this is being written when the foreign aid and gun control bills were both inexplicably and hastily taken off the announced and published legislative agenda for the week. The liberal cant that legislation should be voted up or voted down has become a mockery. Legislation that is in trouble is being saved by detour, delay and deal. As sessions lengthen attendance falls off. On July 3, only 222 members (218 is a quorum) answered the roll on an important appropriation bill. In the waning days of the 89th Congress (1966) I recall vividly, important measures being voted on with long waits to get a bare quorum. Last year when we adjourned late in December, I observed in my last report that one reason why "so much power has become centralized in Washington may be that with Congress now meeting on an almost year-round basis, Washington is virtually 'home' for many Members."

PROBLEMS OF CENTRALIZATION

Lord Acton said that all power tends to corrupt—absolute power corrupts absolutely. Surely total centralization of power leads ultimately to absolute power. It is equally true, of course, that a national government with a federal system would fall apart without some centralization of power. It is thus a question of degree. In my opinion the pendulum has now swung too far.

The problems of centralized power, however, are not confined just to government. In recent weeks, as answers to my questionnaire, many with accompanying letters, have poured in, I have been struck by the hardships and frustrations that centralization of power is causing the "forgotten man" in America. That mail has made it increasingly clear that many national organizations have also fallen victim to centralization. Union members are beginning to tell me in increasing numbers, that their national organizations do not always speak for them on some issues. The same is true of church members and members of business organizations and others.

National organizations here in Washington, staffed by high salaried officials, purport to speak for the rank and file, when in fact they often speak only for themselves or small fragments of their membership. These so-called spokesmen have interlocking power structures of their own. Yet they purport to speak on endless occasions for their membership, the rank and file—the forgotten man.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN

Who is the Forgotten Man? The Forgotten Man is the guy in the middle, the hard-working, tax-paying, law-abiding, God-fearing citizen. He is not rich enough to fight the ravages of inflation by investing in the stock market or real estate, nor to command the advice of lawyers and accountants to steer him through the tax loopholes. He is not poor enough to have a federal program smother him with affection, nor does he seem to be young enough or old enough. He is told that Betty Furness loves him as a consumer, but he feels that her Administration's taxes and inflationary policies are robbing him blind. He is told that we are fighting a war to protect freedom against aggression in Vietnam but he senses that we are losing that same fight at home in a wave of civil disorder, mounting crime and court decisions that he cannot understand.

THERAPEUTIC EQUIVALENCY

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include a treatise on a medical manuscript.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, for many months, medical and pharmaceutical experts, Federal regulatory and research officials, and some Members of the Senate and House have been engaged in discussions of generic and brand name drug products, and differences or similarities in their prices and their effectiveness.

We can all understand and applaud the constant and increasing interest in these issues because of growing Federal involvement in health and welfare programs and, as a result, growing Government expenditures for the purchase of prescription drugs.

On the one hand, some advocates of generic name drug prescribing in Federal and State health and welfare programs assert categorically that large sums can be saved, with no loss in drug effectiveness, simply by the use of generic names on prescriptions and purchase invoices and the avoidance of brand name designations.

Others dispute this, declaring that a drug product's having the same generic, or established, name as another of demonstrated safety and efficacy justifies no assumption of safety and efficacy for the first product.

It seems clear to me that the name by which a product is known or prescribed can have no bearing on its safety or efficacy. Every drug product, by law, has a generic—established—name. Some have trade names as well.

Whatever its name or names, a product's safety and therapeutic efficacy depend on the integrity of the manufacturer, on the clinical trials or biological tests in man by which the product was shown to be safe and effective, and on the quality controls which assure that production batches will perform in the same manner as the clinically tested prototype.

A recent episode demonstrated the validity of this appraisal of the generic drug controversy. It was reported at length in the Wall Street Journal on July 11 by Jonathan Spivak, a member of that newspaper's Washington bureau who is a recognized expert on drug regulation and in health and welfare program administration.

I would like to read, Mr. Speaker, the first few paragraphs of this article for the information of the House.

> WASHINGTON.—Abbott Laboratories was attempting to assemble scientific evidence of the advantages of one of its antibiotics for a new promotional campaign.
>
> The company contracted with a private testing outfit to compare the performance of its brand of the drug erythromycin, used to combat pneumonia and other infections, with versions marketed by Eli Lilly & Co. and Upjohn Co. The products were given successively to a small number of human volunteers, and measurements then were made of the drug concentrations in each volunteer's blood stream.
>
> The results unexpectedly showed that Upjohn's erythromycin was not working promptly to combat infection, and therefore was probably less efficacious than the others. Abbott warned Upjohn. Upjohn told the Food and Drug Administration, then quickly withdrew its product from the market, substituting a faster-dissolving, more effective formulation.
>
> The incident, which occurred this year, probably posed no major threat to public health. But it did reveal one of the primary problems confronting the FDA's new commissioner, Dr. Herbert Ley Jr.—variations in efficacy among competitors' versions of the same drug.
>
> In 1962, after bitter debate, Congress empowered the agency for the first time to insure that all drugs sold to the public were effective, as well as safe. These amendments to the 1938 Food and Drug Act appeared to close the last remaining loopholes in consumer drug protection; all that seemed needed was a diligent enforcement effort by the FDA. But only now, nearly six years later, are the enforcers seeing clearly the legal difficulties and scientific uncertainties posed by the proliferation of products on the market.
>
> Consider the erythromycin circumstances: Upjohn's product had satisfied supposedly stringent FDA standards for efficacy, and the agency had no reason to suspect shortcomings: Abbott made the discovery quite by chance and was under no legal obligation to reveal its findings to Upjohn, the FDA or anyone else.
>
> ### CRITICAL CHALLENGE
>
> Thus Dr. Ley, who took office July 1, faces a critical challenge—revamping Federal drug marketing requirements to more fully assure that all versions of the same preparation are equally effective. The policies he pursues will have great significance for the public and the industry.

This incident suggests that one can be assured of the safety and efficacy of a drug product only when there is substantial clinical evidence or appropriate biological data based in tests in man with the specific product of the individual manufacturer.

It may be that such clinical evidence or biological tests will have to be required for every dosage form of each specific medication—tablet, capsule, injectible solution, and the like.

A news story by Associated Press reporter Jack R. Miller, appearing in the Washington Post on July 16, serves to reemphasize this question. This time the issue does arise in a generic versus trade name context.

Mr. Miller reported:

> It was learned that the latest case of inequivalency, on which the FDA received a report less than two weeks ago, showed up in tests at Georgetown University.
>
> The tests found that generic versions of the sulfa drug sulfisoxazole did not perform up to the standard of the brandname original. The drug is used mainly for urinary infections.

This Associated Press writer points out:

> The latest findings could have an impact on proposals for lowering the cost of prescription drugs and for adding the cost of such drugs to benefits of the medicare program.

This therapeutic equivalency issue, among many others pertaining to the efficient delivery of medical and pharmaceutical services, is now being explored by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department's Task Force on Prescription Drugs.

I hope that this elaborate and much-needed governmental study, set in motion by direction of the President earlier this year, will result in responsible conclusions about these important matters and, hopefully, will produce significant gains in the general safety and effectiveness of the Nation's drug supply.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include the Wall Street Journal and Associated Press articles, referred to above, in their entirety at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Wall Street Journal, July 11, 1968]

FINGER ON "EFFICACY" SCALE FOR DRUGS

(By Jonathan Spivak)

WASHINGTON.—Abbott Laboratories was attempting to assemble scientific evidence of the advantages of one of its antibiotics for a new promotional campaign.

The company contracted with a private testing outfit to compare the performance of its brand of the drug erythromycin, used to combat pneumonia and other infections, with versions marketed by Eli Lilly & Co. and Upjohn Co. The products were given successively to a small number of human volunteers, and measurements then were made of the drug concentrations in each volunteer's blood stream.

The results unexpectedly showed that Upjohn's erythromycin was not working promptly to combat infection, and therefore was probably less efficacious than the others. Abbott warned Upjohn. Upjohn told the Food and Drug Administration, then quickly withdrew its product from the market, substituting a faster-dissolving, more effective formulation.

The incident, which occurred this year, probably posed no major threat to public health. But it did reveal one of the primary problems confronting the FDA's new commissioner, Dr. Herbert Ley Jr.—variations in efficacy among competitors' versions of the same drug.

In 1962, after bitter debate, Congress empowered the agency for the first time to insure that all drugs sold to the public were effective, as well as safe. These amendments to the 1938 Food and Drug Act appeared to close the last remaining loopholes in consumer drug protection; all that seemed needed was a diligent enforcement effort by the FDA. But only now, nearly six years later, are the enforcers seeing clearly the legal difficulties and scientific uncertainties posed by the proliferation of products on the market.

Consider the erythromycin circumstances: Upjohn's product had satisfied supposedly stringent FDA standards for efficacy, and the agency had no reason to suspect shortcomings: Abbott made the discovery quite by chance and was under no legal obligation to reveal its findings to Upjohn, the FDA or anyone else.

CRITICAL CHALLENGE

Thus Dr. Ley, who took office July 1, faces a critical challenge—revamping Federal drug marketing requirements to more fully assure that all versions of the same preparation are equally effective. The policies he pursues will have great significance for the public and the industry.

An overly permissive approach could allow ineffective products to remain on the market, harming untold numbers of patients. Yet an unnecessarily stringent approach could give a handful of manufacturers a monopoly of the market without corresponding gain to the public.

The problem arises because, in the past, the FDA assumed that the public was fully protected if the first company seeking to market a drug demonstrated its ability to cure disease in humans. Such clinical trials are extensive and expensive, involving thousands of patients; there seemed no valid scientific reason to require other manufacturers to repeat the effort.

Instead, it was assumed that laboratory standards could be relied on to assure that all competitors' versions were equally effective—"therapeutically equivalent," in industry language. Such standards prescribe the amount of active ingredient and set such chemical tests as disintegration rates, melting points and crystal size to insure product similarity.

It is turning out, however, that drugs performing equally well in the test tube can differ drastically in the body. "We looked at standards for the product sitting in the bottle, but now we know we have to look at standards of patient response," comments William J. Kinnard Jr., dean of the School of Pharmacy at the University of Maryland.

For years, the FDA did not fuss with comparing competitors' versions of the same product. Its experts did not perceive that a problem could exist; anyway they had more than enough other work to do. But now Federal scientists say the evidence has convinced them that slight variations in formulation can render valueless one firm's version of an otherwise effective drug. Though active agents may be identical, different fillers, coloring substances, coatings and other inert ingredients can alter the product's action. As a result, a drug may be ineffective because it: Dissolves too slowly or not at all; fails to furnish enough active ingredient to the bloodstream, or is excreted too rapidly.

LABS AND THE BODY

Upjohn's initial formulation of erythromycin, for example, did not disintegrate promptly, thus delaying the release of its active ingredient. It had fully satisfied disintegration tests in the laboratory, but these did not accurately duplicate the digestive process. The problem was remedied by adding a cellulose substance that expands and breaks the tablet apart after it is swallowed.

A similar lack of therapeutic equivalency turned up in another antibiotic, chloramphenicol, used to treat typhoid fever. The FDA allowed 11 competitors of Parke, Davis & Co., the drug's developer, to market their own versions without submitting evidence of efficacy in humans; laboratory tests were deemed sufficient.

Parke-Davis, however, demonstrated last year that its formulation furnished more antibiotic to the bloodstream of volunteers than did several of its competitors. The FDA verified the tests, then ordered all other manufacturers to withdraw from production until they could prove their products were equivalent. None has proved it so far. Government experts think the particular Parke-Davis manufacturing process, which minimizes the number of inert ingredients, enhances its product's solubility.

How to identify poor performers among the many products on the market? Dr. Ley hopes limited additional testing in human volunteers, measuring concentrations of the administered drugs in the bloodstreams of normal individuals, would show which products are not "biologically available" to fight disease. Many experts believe such a shortcut, avoiding the need for lengthy trials in patients, is sufficiently accurate.

Blood-level tests need involve only 20 volunteers per drug, and results are available in hours; a full-scale clinical trial requires thousands of patients and takes months to complete. Furthermore, blood-level testing minimizes risks. A normal person runs little danger if the drug he receives is ineffective, but a diseased patient's life could be jeopardized.

Disadvantages remain, however. Most experts insist that the only absolute test of a product's value is its ability to cure disease in afflicted patients. "Ideally, the final decision whether a drug is effective is the clinical result it achieves in patients," declares Edward G. Feldman, director of the National Formulary, a non-government group that sets drug standards. Perhaps the drug circulates in the blood but does not reach its desired destination—the brain, for example—because of the body's own barriers. For drugs applied only to the skin, blood levels are irrelevant. Compounds such as arthritis-fighting cortisone circulate in such minute amounts in the bloodstream that accurate measurements are not possible.

Scientists also do not yet know the desired blood levels for treating some diseases. The standard is usually set by the product that has undergone the most thorough patient testing, such as Parke-Davis' chloramphenicol. But, perhaps, lower concentrations would be effective enough and less dangerous.

Other questions arise. What proportion of volunteers should show the required response to demonstrate a product's therapeutic equivalency? The FDA calculates nine out of ten, but why not ten out of ten—or six, seven or eight out of ten? Experts agree that there's no good justification for settling on any specific figure.

Aside from the scientific uncertainties, the FDA confronts a shortage of testing facilities. "We don't have enough resources to cover the waterfront. We must do it by stages, tackling the critical drugs, the antibiotics, first," explains Dr. Ley. Even so, the demands are straining the FDA's slim fiscal resources. The number of individual antibiotic products runs into the hundreds. The cost per trial for several drugs can total $50,000. Persuading individuals to participate is also a problem; blood-level sampling involves lots of needles. So far, the FDA has relied on prisoner populations for many of its tests.

The agency would prefer that pharmaceutical firms perform their own testing, but their response has been erratic, motivated largely by the desire to prove a competitor's product inferior. "Their object is to get a larger part of the market," complains an FDA official. Eventually, Dr. Ley wants to shift the legal burden of testing to the manufacturers, but first the agency must demonstrate that a lack of therapeutic equivalency exists and establish the standards that must be met.

There are legal problems. The FDA has ample authority to establish test standards for antibiotics, sample the manufacturers' production and hold off the market products that fail to satisfy Federal criteria. But for tranquilizers, pain-killers and other non-antibiotic drugs, the "official" manufacturing standards are set by non-government groups and the FDA is not specifically authorized to require their routine testing in advance of marketing.

Indeed, the FDA does not even know who manufactures many of the non-antibiotic drugs now being sold to the public. For many years, the agency often allowed firms to market, without any official clearance, their own versions of a drug the FDA had already approved. The FDA felt that the original product was so well tested that extra Federal checking was unnecessary. Now that efficacy doubts have arisen, the agency cannot easily identify these "me too" manufacturers. It has no records and is dependent on encountering their products in the course of routine regulatory activities.

PLANT MONITORS

Thus, some experts say, a different approach is needed to insure therapeutic equivalency. One alternative would be to authorize the FDA to test in advance every product, not just antibiotics. But the evidence so far suggests that a drug can satisfy the most stringent laboratory test requirements and still fail its ultimate test in humans. A few major drug manufacturers, like Smith Kline & French Laboratories, want the FDA to set stringent licensing standards, which a company must meet before it can market any products. Such additional Federal control would probably prevent production by small, sub-standard firms, but it would not eliminate the big brand-name companies' problems with therapeutic equivalency. Other experts want the FDA to station inspectors in every drug plant to monitor production, but the expense would be immense.

What remains is the most drastic departure of all—eliminating competitive variations in drug production itself. Dr. James Goddard, as FDA commissioner, believed that ultimately such product standardization could furnish the fullest consumer protection, enabling the FDA to pick up the most effective version of a drug when the patents expired and prescribe the precise manufacturing process for all firms to follow.

Dr. Ley worries that the agency now lacks the scientific knowledge (not to mention sufficient legal authority) to set such stringent manufacturing standards; a great deal remains to be learned about why one formulation works and another does not. But if evidence continues to accumulate that widely used products are not therapeutically equivalent, Dr. Ley may find himself forced to make the attempt.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 16, 1968]

BRAND NAMES LEAD GENERICS IN DRUG TEST

(By Jack R. Miller)

Tests on human volunteers have turned up two antibiotics and one sulfa drug whose cheaper, scientifically named generic versions work less well than the brand-name originals, it was learned yesterday.

The three cases, the latest of which had not previously been made public, have stirred some rethinking by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and the drug industry.

The matter is of great interest to drug consumers—especially the elderly—because generic drugs often cost only a fraction of the brand-name versions.

The generic drugs have the same active chemical ingredients. But doctors frequently prescribe the brand names because they are familiar with them and their quality.

Differences in performance so far have been traced to such things as the amount of pressure used in making tablets and to coatings or other added inactive ingredients.

Dr. Herbert L. Ley Jr., the FDA commissioner, confirmed that the new findings "are making us look very seriously at the matter" of supposed equivalency of generic and brand name drugs.

But Ley said in an interview, "We still maintain there are relatively few of these generic drugs which don't perform up to standards. We may be wrong. But if we are, we'll be the first to admit it."

Ley said he believes that the differences still can be overcome by 1970, when the FDA hopes to be able to say that all drugs on the market are both safe and effective.

He acknowledged, however, that the findings have forced the FDA to expand the scope of an 18-month study of generic and brand-name drugs that is to be completed at the end of this year. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare ordered the study to resolve the question of differences.

An authoritative source at the FDA described the impact of the findings more strongly than did Ley. Recalling testimony a year ago by then FDA Commissioner James L. Goddard that differences were minimal, the source said: "We've got quite a different situation now."

The source said the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association was "more right than we gave them credit for" in maintaining that brand-name drugs assure doctors of quality and that generic versions do not.

The latest findings could have an impact on proposals for lowering the cost of prescription drugs and for adding the cost of such drugs to benefits of the Medicare program.

It was learned that the latest case of inequivalency, on which the FDA received a report less than two weeks ago, showed up in tests at Georgetown University.

The tests found that generic versions of the sulfa drug sulfisoxazole did not perform up to the standard of the brand-name original. The drug is used mainly for urinary infections.

The two antibiotics involved in the FDA studies were erythromycin and chloramphenicol.

WARSAW UPRISING DAY AUGUST 1

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today our friends and neighbors of Polish birth and extraction commemorate an event of deep emotional significance. Twenty-four years ago today thousands of Polish men, women, and children summoned enough courage to rise up against their Nazi overlords who held them in abject slavery.

Fully realizing the appalling odds which they faced, these Polish patriots began a battle which was to last 63 days. Their coveted goal was to liberate their beloved capital city from the cruel and heartless Nazi occupiers. Once Warsaw was free, the fighters hoped to engender enough mass support to free the rest of their homeland.

But intense as was their patriotic fervor and valiant as was their courage, 200,000 of them fought and died in vain. The pitiful few survivors saw their nobel city almost totally destroyed by the overwhelming Nazi forces summoned to quell the revolt. The loss of brave lives and the awesome flow of Polish blood in the streets was made even more painful because the help they had been promised was not forthcoming from the Soviet troops encamped on the outskirts of the doomed city.

Even though 24 years have passed since that epic struggle took place, the people of Poland have lost none of their great hunger for freedom. Even though babies born during that historic 63 days of gallant fighting have now become full-fledged adults, the proud and independent spirit of Poland has not diminished. Although the detested subjugation of the Nazis gave way to an equally repulsive enslavement by the Communists inflicting the will of their Soviet masters, the treasured Polish love of freedom and hope for a regained homeland have never been quenched.

Mr. Speaker, all America owes it to the valiant Polish people to do our utmost to hasten the day when they too can taste the nectar of freedom's cup. All of us for whom independence is an accepted blessing should be willing to join with our splendid Polish American societies in leaving no stone unturned which will bring freedom and self-determination to these people who so richly deserve them.

A few meager improvements in the lot of our Polish friends have appeared over recent years. We must all be on guard lest these small attainments woo us into a false sense of complacency. The free world cannot relax its vigorous condemnation of the Soviet illegal and inhuman seizure of control of Poland. We cannot permit our most energetic efforts for returning sovereignty to the people of Poland to diminish or wane because a few paltry political or economic concessions which have been made by the usurpers to the rightful heirs of their country. To this end we can be grateful for the unceasing efforts of all Polonia to regain and restore to Poland its full rights and status as an independent and sovereign nation with allegiance owed to no one. This is the task to which we should all rededicate ourselves on this important anniversary.

TRIBUTE TO HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, belatedly I would like to join THOMAS E. MORGAN and other colleagues, in commending ELMER J. HOLLAND of Pennsylvania, for the outstanding job he has done for his State, his country, and his constituents.

As a member of the Committee on Education and Labor he has done much to improve our school systems and working conditions throughout the Nation. He has devoted many long hours to help make America a better place in which to live.

As he retires from Congress, after serving for 12 consecutive years, I want to congratulate him for a job well done. He will be missed by all those who have been privileged to serve with him in the House of Representatives, and by his constituents, who have been represented by this dedicated servant of the people. I join with my colleagues in wishing him a happy, healthy retirement, and much success in future years.

AUTHORIZING SECRETARY OF INTERIOR TO CONSTRUCT, OPERATE, AND MAINTAIN COSUMNES RIVER PROJECT

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, today I introduce legislation to authorize the development of a new unit of the Central Valley project. This is the initial phase of the Cosumnes River division which includes three dams and reservoirs: Nashville, Aukum, and Pi-Pi.

The Nashville Reservoir, standing 426 feet high and 1,550 feet across, would capture 900,000 acre-feet of water drained from 436 square miles of the Cosumnes River watershed. The lake, which will have a total surface area of 6,400 acres, will be located on the main stream 9 miles south of the town of El Dorado.

Aukum Reservoir, to be located 8 miles northeast of Plymouth on the South Fork of the Cosumnes River, would have a total storage capacity of 120,050 acre-feet. The dam itself will be 197 feet high and 1,850 feet across the crest.

Pi-Pi Reservoir, to be located on the Middle Fork of the Cosumnes River at Cook's Station, would have a capacity of 70,000 acre-feet. It would stand 294 feet high, with a crest length of 1,800 feet.

All three reservoirs would be earth- and rock-fill type construction and would be built by the Bureau of Reclamation in accordance with the legislation I am introducing today.

Development of the land and water resources of the area is necessary to create new economic opportunities and realize the area's ultimate potential. Local water resources are adequate to meet the demands of the division area if storage reservoirs are provided to regulate winter runoff into firm annual supplies. However, I should point out that existing facilities are unable to adequately meet the increasing needs and demands of the area for water for agriculture, municipal, and industrial use, and fishery resource enhancement.

Project water supplies would be obtained from storage and diversion at Nashville, Aukum, and Pi-Pi Reservoirs on the Cosumnes River system and diversions from Dry and Sutter Creeks and would be supplemented by available ground water sources.

Water would be supplied to the initial phase service area for irrigation of 34,749 acres of productive lands; and in addition, would provide an estimated 25,000 acre-feet for municipal and industrial use. With a firm irrigation water supply, livestock, orchard, vine, and field crop enterprises would be considerably enhanced, thus providing a stable agricultural economy for the area.

Fishery resources, both anadromous and sport fish, would be considerably enhanced in the Cosumnes River system by releases from each of the proposed reservoirs as recommended by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. In addition, new fish opportunities would be created at each of the three proposed reservoirs.

Recreation use would be developed at the three reservoirs where facilities would be provided for boating, fishing, camping, picnicking, hiking, and swimming.

Mr. Speaker, this is a true multiple-purpose project, offering water supplies for irrigation, municipal and industrial use, flood control, fish and wildlife benefits, recreation, and water quality control in the Cosumnes River and the delta.

Mr. Speaker, the direct benefits are such that we have a benefit cost ratio of 1.4 to 1 and if we add to this the other indirect benefits, we have a ratio of 1.5 to 1. You can see there, Mr. Speaker, that this is a very solid economically feasible project which will prove of tremendous value to the people of all of northern California.

I am pleased to offer this legislation for the appropriate consideration of Congress.

MINISH SUBCOMMITTEE PROTECTS SERIVCEMEN FROM CREDIT ABUSES

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, since 1965, the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee has waged an aggressive campaign to protect servicemen from sharp practice operators, loan sharks, and other similar credit frauds.

On two occasions, special subcommittees of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee have been sent overseas to look into the credit frauds and sharp practices being used against servicemen. On both occasions, the special subcommittee was headed by the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey, Congressman JOSEPH MINISH. Congressman MINISH's work as chairman of this special subcommittee has been outstanding and his desire and willingness to work long and hard hours on these investigations can be seen in the change that has been brought about in the treatment of our servicemen in the area of consumer affairs.

Three years ago, the serviceman attempting to borrow money or to make a purchase on credit was hopelessly engulfed in what best may be described as a "credit jungle." Today, however, through the efforts of Congressman MINISH and the other members of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee, the serviceman is no longer faced with that situation. This morning, Congressman MINISH submitted to me a copy of the report of his special subcommittee's recent investigation in Europe of the credit problems facing the servicemen there, as well as the operation of the newly opened credit unions in Germany.

One of the purposes of the Minish subcommittee was to assist in the organization of U.S. military credit unions in those European countries where such credit unions are not presently operating.

Congressman MINISH's report indicates that the military credit unions in Germany are performing a vital and effective service for our men and women in uniform and are growing much more rapidly than had originally been anticipated.

For instance, Congressman MINISH reports that at Ramstein Air Force Base, where it had been anticipated that the credit union would have 500 members after its initial stage of operation, more than 5,000 members, or a tenfold increase in the anticipated membership, have already joined. Similar growth patterns were found at the five other military credit unions in Germany.

The Minish subcommittee, which was also composed of Congressman TOM S. GETTYS, of South Carolina, and Congressman LESTER L. WOLFF, of New York, was successful in obtaining credit union operations in Italy, Spain, and Great Britain, the other European countries with our greatest troop concentrations. It is expected that credit union operations will begin in these countries in the near future.

In the report of the subcommittee, Congressman MINISH warns that although the potential for the credit problems in Europe that existed 3 years ago has been greatly minimized and credit unions are performing an outstanding service in providing low cost credit to servicemen, military authorities must maintain a constant vigil to make certain that the situation does not return to its 1965 level.

Although the credit situation in Europe has been greatly improved, problems still exist in the Pacific military commands, and very shortly, Congressman MINISH and his special subcommittee will travel to the Pacific to look into those problems and to provide solutions. I am confident that Congressman MINISH and his subcommittee can provide the answers.

Mr. Speaker, the whole Congress can be proud of the work done by the Domestic Finance Subcommittee and by the special subcommittee headed by Congressman MINISH and every veteran's organization in this country should be extremely proud that Congress is making certain that our servicemen are not being bilked but that all possible efforts are being made to make certain that our servicemen are not treated as second-class citizens in the area of consumer affairs.

THE POOR PAY MORE IN SUBSTANTIAL PART BECAUSE THE REAL COST OF SO-CALLED EASY CREDIT TAKES THE FORM OF HIGHER PRODUCT PRICES

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the body of the RECORD in two instances and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the heading above is one of the key conclusions in a study of "Installment Credit and the Low-Income Consumer: A Case Study," by Dr. Arthur T. Andersen, chief of the Division of Industry Analysis of the Federal Trade Commission.

The inability of the poor to buy important consumer goods at prices comparable to those paid by middle and upper income groups, is documented in an exceedingly well written and informed article by Dr. Andersen. The article will appear in the forthcoming issue of the Quarterly Economic Digest and I have been granted permission to reproduce it at this time in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The full article is appended at the end of my remarks because of its exceedingly important findings in the public interest.

For many years I have contended that one of the important reasons why the poor are so seriously disadvantaged in this country is they do not have access to adequate low-cost credit. It is not enough to argue that the poor are not good credit risks. Many of the poor pay their bills promptly, even though they labor under the severe handicap of very low income. However, many, too many, of the poor are locked into a system wherein they are forced to buy from merchants who charge very high prices and exact exceedingly high interest charges. Such interest charges, however, are often cloaked in the form of higher product prices. Indeed, as Dr. Andersen's article points out "credit charges, when separately stated, are not notably higher than those imposed by general market retailers." On the other hand, he points out, "some low-income market retailers imposed effective annual finance charges as high as 33 percent," but these charges are hidden in the much higher prices of the products the poor buy. For example, according to Dr. Andersen:

> On the average goods purchased for $100 at wholesale (based on a Federal Trade Commission survey of practices in the District of Columbia) sold for $255 in low-income market stores, whereas the retail price was $159 in general market stores. Thus, low-income market retailers marked up their cost 2½ times to determine their selling price.

Because of the great importance of these findings, based upon the Federal Trade Commission's very important survey, I am including the entire text of Dr. Andersen's article herewith:

INSTALLMENT CREDIT AND THE LOW-INCOME CONSUMER: A CASE STUDY

(By Arthur T. Andersen)[1]

As the dimensions of the problem of poverty are exposed, its complexities become increasingly evident. The inability of the poor to earn a decent living has been revealed in dismal chronicle. Less well known, but no less important, are the problems of the poor as buyers of consumer goods in the market place. It is becoming increasingly evident that many poor are unable to obtain goods and services at prices comparable to those paid by consumers of greater affluence. This is particularly so with regard to the purchase of "big ticket" appliances and household furnishings where access to installment credit is a prerequisite of purchase. The problems arising from unequal access to earning opportunities are thus compounded by unequal consumer opportunities.

New evidence on the problems of the poor consumer was developed recently in an FTC study focusing on marketing and credit practices in the District of Columbia.[2] The study was based on a survey of installment sales and credit practices involving household furnishings and appliances. The purpose of the survey was to obtain a factual picture of the finance charges, prices, gross margins and profits, legal actions taken in collecting delinquent accounts, and the assignment relationships between retailers and finance companies. The survey covered those D.C. retailers of furniture and appliances having estimated sales of at least $100,000 for the year 1966. The 96 retailers providing data had combined sales of $226 million, which represented about 85 percent of the sales of furniture, appliance, and department store retailers in the District of Columbia (table 1).

TABLE 1.—COMPARISON OF 1966 SALES OF SURVEY RETAILERS WITH SALES REPORTED BY 1963 CENSUS OF BUSINESS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Type of retail store	U.S. Census total sales, 1963	Survey retailers, 1966—					
		Number of retailers	Total sales, all retailers	Number of retailers	Total sales, retailers offering installment credit	Number of retailers	Total sales, retailers not offering installment credit [1]
Department stores (SIC 531)	$186,439,000	6	$144,864,000	3	$91,364,000	3	$53,500,000
Furniture and other home furnishings stores (SIC 571)	50,442,000	59	51,255,000	38	33,929,000	21	17,326,000
Appliance stores (SIC 572, 573)	29,912,000	31	29,693,000	24	25,677,000	7	4,016,000
Total	266,793,000	96	225,812,000	65	150,970,000	31	74,842,000

[1] Includes stores using revolving credit arrangements; 30-,60-,90-day credit arrangements; and stores operating on a cash basis.

Source: FTC Survey; 1963 Census of Business, vol. III, pt. 2, p. 110-5.

Sixty-five retailers with combined sales of $151 million indicated regular use of consumer installment sales contracts. The remainder sold only for cash or on a regular or revolving charge account basis. The survey revealed considerable variation among stores with respect to the percentage of sales made on installment credit. Some discount appliance stores made very few sales on installment credit or none at all. At the other extreme, a number of retailers sold almost entirely on installment credit.

To analyze differences in credit practices, retailers surveyed were classified in various groups. One means of classification was by type of establishment, i.e., department store, appliance store, or furniture store. The type of store did not, however, appear to be the most crucial element in determining credit practices. A second method of classification undertook to classify retailers according to the income level of customers served. Since direct data were not available on income of customers served by various stores, two criteria were used to identify retailers serving low-income customers: (1) location of store, and (2) advertising practices. Stores located in low-income areas and doing no city-wide advertising were classified as low-income market retailers. Those located in higher income areas or using city-wide advertising media were classified as general market retailers. Of the 65 retailers reporting sales on an installment basis, 18 were judged to be low-income market retailers and 47 were classified as general market retailers (table 2).

TABLE 2.—VALUE OF INSTALLMENT CONTRACTS AS A PERCENT OF SALES, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RETAILERS, 1966

[Dollar amounts in thousands]

Type of retailer	Number of companies	Net sales	Installment contracts—		
			Value	Percent of total	As percent of net sales
Total	65	$150,970	$45,251	100.0	30.0
Low-income market retailers	18	7,874	7,296	16.1	92.7
General market retailers	47	143,096	37,955	83.9	26.5
Appliance radio and television	22	25,089	8,466	18.7	33.7
Furniture and home furnishings	22	26,643	10,608	23.5	39.8
Department stores	3	91,364	18,881	41.7	20.6

Source: FTC survey.

VARIATIONS IN INSTALLMENT CREDIT SALES

A striking characteristic of low-income market retailers is the high proportion of their total sales accounted for by installment contract transactions. Table 2 indicates that installment credit transactions accounted for 93 percent of the total sales of the 18 low-income market retailers. In contrast, installment credit accounted for only 27 percent of total sales of general market retailers. Within this group, furniture and home furnishings retailers sold most frequently on an installment basis (40 percent). But no general market retailer had such a high proportion of installment credit sales as those indicated by low-income market retailers. Many of the general market retailers in fact had the bulk of their sales accounted for by cash transactions or by noninstallment credit.

GROSS MARGINS, PRICES, AND PROFITS

In addition to obtaining information on the use of installment credit, the Commission survey requested financial data as well as wholesale and retail prices on popular appliance and furniture items. This information was classified by type of retailer and indicated that operating results for low-income market retailers differed significantly from general market retailers in a number of important respects.

Gross margins

Though gross margins for different types of retailers in the survey sample varied, the most significant variation was found when margins of low-income market retailers were compared with those of general market retailers (table 3). The 18 low-income market retailers had an average gross margin of 60.8 percent. The average for general market retailers was 37 percent, ranging from a low of 30 percent for appliance, radio, and TV stores to a high of 41 percent for furniture and home furnishings stores.[3]

---

[1] The author is Chief, Division of Industry Analysis, Bureau of Economics, Federal Trade Commission. The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Federal Trade Commission.

[2] Economic Report of the Federal Trade Commission on *Installment Credit and Retail Sales Practices of District of Columbia Retailers*, U.S. Government Printing Office, March 1968.

Obviously, the higher the gross margin on a particular product, the higher will be its retail price. On the average, goods purchased for $100 at wholesale sold for $255 in low-income market stores, whereas the retail price was $159 in general market stores (Fig. 1). Thus, low-income market retailers marked up their cost 2½ times to determine their selling price. This was the average for the 18 low-income market retailers in the sample. The retailer with the largest volume of sales in this group had a gross margin of 68 percent of selling price, which means that he marked up his merchandise on the average to more than three times its cost.[4]

Gross margins on specific merchandise

Retailers surveyed were asked to select two "best-selling" items in each appliance and furniture line of merchandise and to report their wholesale costs and selling prices. The difference between these figures (selling price minus cost of goods) represented the gross margin, which was expressed as a percent of selling price. Table 4 gives the average gross margins on each merchandise item for each type of retailer surveyed. In some instances the gross margins given were for items especially reduced in price for volume sales. Consequently, the averages of these gross margins are somewhat lower than the average gross margins shown for each type of retailer in Table 3.

TABLE 3.—NET SALES AND GROSS MARGINS OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RETAILERS, 1966

[Dollar amounts in thousands]

Type of retailer	Number of companies	Net sales: Value	Net sales: Percent of total	Gross margin[1]: Value	Gross margin[1]: As percent of sales
Low-income market retailers	18	$7,874	5.2	$4,790	60.8
General market retailers	47	143,096	94.8	52,988	37.0
Appliance, radio, and television	22	$25,089	16.6	$7,586	30.2
Furniture and home furnishings	22	26,643	17.7	10,979	41.2
Department stores	3	91,364	60.5	34,423	37.7
Total, retailers using installment contracts	65	$150,970	100.0	$57,778	38.3
Retailers not using installment contracts	31	74,842		26,902	35.9
Total, all retailers surveyed	96	225,812		84,680	37.5

[1] Gross margins reported by different types of retailers may not be strictly comparable. 1 low-income market retailer included finance charges and 1 general market appliance retailer included service charges in their net sales. Adjustments were made in these instances, but other retailers in the sample may have included such charges in their net sales and not reported their inclusion. To the extent that finance, service, and other charges might have been included in net sales and no corresponding adjustment made in cost of goods sold, gross margins for these retailers would be slightly overstated. However, every effort was made to calculate gross margins in this study net of finance and other charges.

FIG 1.—AVERAGE SELLING PRICE ASSUMING $100 WHOLESALE COST BY TYPE OF RETAILER

Type of retailer	Wholesale cost: 0-$50	Wholesale cost: $50-$100	Gross margin: $100-$150	Gross margin: $150-$200	Gross margin: $200-$250	Gross margin: $200-$300
Low-income market retailers						$255
General market retailers				$159		
Appliance, radio, and television stores			$143			
Furniture and home furnishings stores				170		
Department stores				161		
All retailers using installment contracts				162		
Retailers not using installment contracts				156		
All retailers surveyed				160		

Source: FTC survey.

TABLE 4.—AVERAGE GROSS MARGINS OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RETAILERS ON BEST-SELLING ITEMS OF APPLIANCES AND FURNITURE, 1966

Merchandise items	Average percent gross margin of—: Low-income market retailers	General market retailers: Appliance stores[1]	General market retailers: Furniture stores[1]	General market retailers: Department stores
Television sets	46.4	23.7	28.4	25.2
Carpets	50.0		37.5	33.2
Refrigerators	50.6	24.5	24.9	34.6
Washing machines	51.0	25.0	32.3	35.3
Stereophonographs	52.7	33.0	36.5	34.7
Freezers	53.7	24.8		33.7
Dryers	53.9	25.7	28.4	37.7
Furniture	56.2		47.5	50.4
Vacuum cleaners	57.9	26.3	30.2	36.4
Radios	60.0	23.4	38.0	27.9
Sewing machines	66.3	49.0		42.7

[1] Appliance and furniture stores have been classified on the basis of their principal merchandise lines. Furniture stores carry appliances as a substantial secondary merchandise line, and for this reason average gross margins of appliances sold by furniture stores are included in this table.

Source: FTC survey.

For every merchandise item specified, low-income market retailers had the highest average gross margins reported—ranging from 66.3 percent on sewing machines, to 51 percent on washing machines, and down to 46.4 percent on television sets.

Table 5 converts these gross margins to a comparative price basis. Since the cost of the merchandise has been arbitrarily held constant, the "retail prices" shown in Table 5 directly reflect absolute differences in average gross margins by the type of store and make it possible to compare relative prices on each best-selling item when purchased from low-income market retailers or general market appliance, furniture or department store retailers. As shown in Table 5 and Figure 2, a television set that cost retailers $100 could have been bought for $131 in a general market appliance store, but would have been priced at $187 by the average low-income market retailer. A washing machine with the same wholesale cost sold on the average in general market appliance stores for $133, in furniture stores for $148, in department stores for $155, and in low-income market stores for $204.

TABLE 5.—AVERAGE "RETAIL PRICES" OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RETAILERS ON BEST SELLING ITEMS OF APPLIANCES AND FURNITURE IN 1966, ASSUMING WHOLESALE COST OF $100 FOR EACH ITEM[1]

Merchandise item	Average "retail price" assuming $100 wholesale cost of—: Low-income market retailers	General market retailers: Appliance stores[2]	General market retailers: Furniture stores[2]	General market retailers: Department stores
Television set	$187	$131	$140	$134
Carpet	200		160	150
Refrigerator	202	132	133	153
Washing machine	204	133	148	155
Stereophonograph	211	149	157	153
Freezer	216	133		151
Dryer	217	135	138	160
Furniture	228		190	202
Vacuum cleaner	237	136	143	157
Radio	250	130	161	139
Sewing machine	297	196		174

[1] These are cash prices and do not reflect separately imposed finance charges.

[2] Appliance and furniture stores have been classified on the basis of their principal merchandise lines. Furniture stores carry appliances as a substantial secondary merchandise line, and for this reason average "retail prices" of appliances sold by furniture stores are included in this table.

Source: Calculated from average gross margins in table 4, FTC survey.

Direct price comparisons

Hypothetical price comparisons are useful for purposes of generalization, but we need not depend on just such comparison. The striking differences between the low-income market and the general market perhaps may best be illustrated by a comparison of prices for similar (in some cases identical) products. Table 6 matches similar makes and models of appliances sold by low-income market retailers as well as general market retailers.

The general conclusion that emerges from data contained in Table 6 is that the low-income market is a very expensive place to buy durable goods. On television sets (most of which are the popular 19-inch black and white portables) the general market retailer price is about $130. In the low-income market a customer can pay up to $250 for similar sets. Other comparisons include a dryer selling for $149.95 from a general market retailer and for $299.95 from a low-income market retailer; and a vacuum cleaner selling for $59.95 in the general market and $79.95 in the low-income market.

CUSTOMER CHARACTERISTICS OF LOW-INCOME MARKET RETAILERS

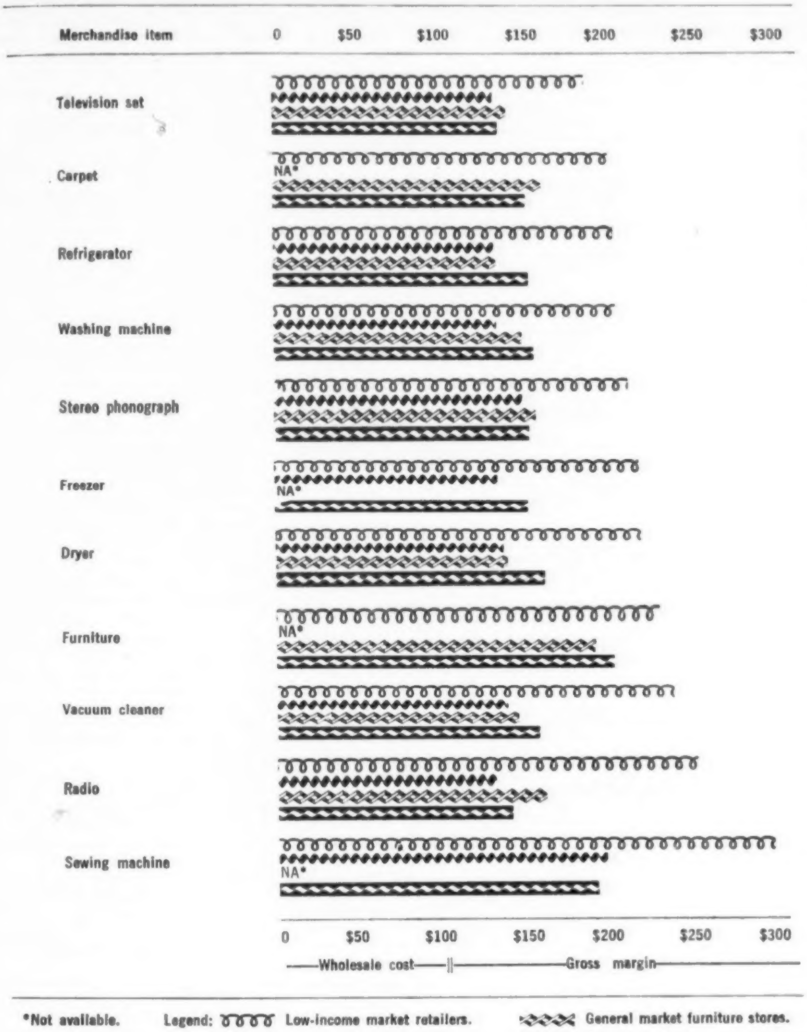
A sample of installment sales contracts and credit applications was analyzed to more precisely identify the customer characteristics of low-income market retailers. The analysis

---

[3] Subjecting these differences to statistical analysis indicated that there was only one chance in 100 that they reflected simple random variation. In other words, there is every reason to believe that differences in gross margins of low-income market retailers and general market retailers are systematic.

[4] General market retailers that used no installment contracts were also contacted in the survey and their gross margins, as indicated in Table 3, did not differ significantly from the average for general market retailers as a whole.

FIG. 2.—AVERAGE RETAIL PRICES, ASSUMING $100 WHOLESALE COST, OF COMPARABLE MERCHANDISE ITEMS PURCHASED FROM LOW-INCOME MARKET AND GENERAL MARKET RETAILERS



*Not available.

Source: FTC Survey.

TABLE 6.—COMPARISON OF REPORTED WHOLESALE AND RETAIL PRICES FOR BEST-SELLING PRODUCTS, LOW-INCOME MARKET, AND GENERAL MARKET RETAILERS

Products	Wholesale cost		Retail price[1]	
	Low-income market retailer	General market retailer	Low-income market retailer	General market retailer
Television sets:				
Motorola portable	$109.00	$109.50	$219.95	$ 9.95
Philco portable	108.75	106.32	199.95	9.95
Olympic portable	[2] 90.00	85.00	249.95	9.95
Admiral portable	94.00	91.77	249.95	9.99
Radio: Emerson	16.50	16.74	39.95	5.00
Stereo: Zenith	32.99	32.99	99.95	6.99
Automatic washers:				
Norge	144.95	140.00	299.95	155.00
General Electric	183.50	160.40	339.95	219.95
Dryers:				
Norge	80.00	87.00	249.95	102.45
General Electric	206.90	205.00	369.95	237.76
Admiral	112.00	115.97	299.95	149.95
Vacuum cleaners:				
Hoover upright	39.95	39.95	79.95	59.95
Hoover canister	26.25	24.55	49.95	28.79

[1] Retail prices are cash and do not include separately imposed finance charges.
[2] Reported as approximate wholesale cost.

Source: FTC survey.

revealed substantial differences between customers of the low-income market retailers and all residents of the District of Columbia. The average family size was larger—4.3 persons compared to an average of 3.5 persons for the District of Columbia. Almost half of the families of customers in the sample had five or more members. The median family income during 1966 of the sample customers was $348 per month. This is very low considering the larger than average size of the families. The Bureau of Labor Statistics recently estimated that the maintenance of a moderate standard of living for four in Washington, D.C., requires a monthly income of $730.

Most customers were engaged in low-paying jobs. The largest proportion, 28 percent, were Service Workers, such as waitresses and janitors. Second in importance were Operatives (including such occupations as taxi drivers and laundry workers). Laborers and Domestic Workers also represented a significant share of the sample. Together, these 4 major occupational groups accounted for 75 percent of the customer sample. In comparison, only 36 percent of the general population in the District was classified in these low-paying occupational groups. There were 31 welfare recipients in the sample, accounting for 6 percent of all customers in the sample. There were also a number of customers in the sample dependent on social security, alimony, support payments, and income received from relatives.

A review of credit references noted in the 486 contracts subjected to detailed analysis revealed that 70 percent indicated no credit references or references with low-income market retailers only. Only 30 percent of the customers in the sample, therefore, had established credit with general market retailers.

CHARACTERISTICS OF INSTALLMENT CONTRACTS

Over 90 percent of low income market retailer sales were on an installment contract basis. Table 7 shows the distribution of all installment contracts by effective annual rate of finance charge for those retailers reporting charges on installment credit sales. The bulk of installment credit sales by low-income market retailers was at effective annual financing rates of 22 percent or more. Nearly half (48 percent) was at rates ranging from 26 to 33 percent.

Contracts arising from sales by general market retailers rarely entailed such high charges. Three-fourths were at finance rates of 20 percent or less. This figure is heavily weighted by department store installment credit sales. Less than one percent of general market retailer contracts had finance charges exceeding 24 percent.

Among general market retailers, only appliance stores had rates consistently exceeding 20 percent. These retailers assigned most of their contracts at effective annual rates of 23 to 24 percent. Thus, virtually all of the contracts involving rates exceeding 24 percent were written by low-income market retailers.

Of the $45.2 million in installment contracts reported for 1966 in the Commission's survey, $15.8 million or 35 percent was assigned to finance companies and banks. Among all retailers reporting installment credit sales, department stores alone assigned no contracts. General market appliance and furniture stores were most dependent on assignment and together accounted for 91 percent of all reported assignments. For appliance stores almost all (98 percent) installment credit contracts were assigned; for furniture stores, 57 percent. Finance companies held virtually all of the appliance retailer assigned paper, but only one-third (36 percent) of the furniture retail paper. Banks held the balance (64 percent) of assigned contracts involving purchases from furniture stores.

Despite the fact that more than 90 percent of sales by low-income market retailers was

TABLE 7.—INSTALLMENT CONTRACTS DISTRIBUTED BY EFFECTIVE ANNUAL RATE OF FINANCE CHARGE (ASSIGNED AND UNASSIGNED)[1]

[Dollar amounts in thousands]

Effective annual rate of finance charge (percent)	Value of contracts at each effective annual rate for—					
	Low-income market retailers		General market retailers		All retailers combined	
	Value of contracts	Percent of total	Value of contracts	Percent of total	Value of contracts	Percent of total
33	$360	7.1			$360	0.8
29	283	5.6	$99	0.3	382	.9
27	1,087	21.6			1,087	2.5
26	685	13.6			685	1.6
24			3,541	9.3	3,541	8.2
23			4,576	12.1	4,576	10.6
22	871	17.3	1,173	3.1	2,044	4.8
20			16,872	44.4	16,872	39.2
18	1,550	30.8	173	.5	1,723	4.0
17			6,311	16.6	6,311	14.7
16			77	.2	77	.2
15	187	3.7	3,210	8.5	3,397	7.9
14			460	1.2	460	1.1
13			115	.3	115	.3
11	14	.3	635	1.7	649	1.5
Rate not available			713	1.8	713	1.7
Total	5,037	100.0	37,955	100.0	42,992	00.0

[1] Includes all installment contracts for which separate finance charges were specified.

Source: FTC survey.

on an installment basis, this group assigned only 20 percent of their contracts. These typically were the largest contracts. Whereas the average value of unassigned contracts was $124 in 1966, the average for contracts assigned was $298.

JUDGMENTS, GARNISHMENTS, AND REPOSSESSIONS BY RETAILERS

One of the most notable facts uncovered by the study relates to the frequency with which a small group of retailers utilized the courts to enforce their claims with respect to installment contracts. Eleven of the 18 low-income market retailers reported 2,690 judgments in 1966. Their legal actions resulted in 1,568 garnishments and 308 repossessions. For this group, one court judgment was obtained for every $2,200 of sales. In contrast, general market retailers reported very few judgments; judgments by all general market retailers equaled one for every $232,000 of sales. In effect, low-income market retailers make extensive use of the courts in collecting debts. While general market retailers may take legal action as a last resort against delinquent customers, some low-income market retailers depend on legal action as a normal order of business.

OPERATING EXPENSES AND NET PROFITS

Despite higher prices and more often than not higher finance charges, low-income market retailers as a group do not appear to be unusually profitable. It is true that they reported the highest profit after taxes on net sales, 4.7 percent, as compared to 4.6 percent for general market department stores, 3.9 percent for home furnishings, and 2.1 percent for appliances (Table 8). However, return on net worth for low-income market retailers was only 10.1 percent as compared to a range of 13 to 20 percent for the various groups of retailers serving the general market.

TABLE 8.—NET PROFIT AFTER TAXES AS A PERCENT OF SALES AND RATES OF RETURN AFTER TAXES FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RETAILERS SURVEYED, 1966

Type of retailer	Net profit after taxes as a percent of sales	Percent rate of return after taxes on stockholders equity
Low-income market retailers	4.7	10.1
General market retailers:		
Appliance, radio, and television stores	2.1	20.3
Furniture and homefurnishings stores	3.9	17.6
Department stores	4.6	13.0

Source: FTC survey.

Practically all of the substantially higher gross margin of low-income market retailers was offset by higher expenses. This was clearly revealed by a comparison of 10 low-income and 10 general market retailers of comparable size (Table 9). As shown in the right-hand columns of Table 9, of the total difference in gross margin of 26.7 percentage points, 94 percent of the difference (25.1 percentage points) was accounted for by higher expenses and 6 percent of the difference (1.6 percentage points) was accounted for by higher net profits on sales of low-income market retailers.

TABLE 9.—COMPARISON OF EXPENSES AND PROFITS AS PERCENT OF SALES FOR 10 LOW-INCOME MARKET RETAILERS AND 10 GENERAL MARKET RETAILERS OF FURNITURE AND APPLIANCES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 1966

	10 low-income market retailers	10 general market retailers	Difference in margins and ratios	
			Percentage points	Percent of total
1966 net sales	$5,146,395	$5,405,221		
Operating ratios as percent of sales	100.0	100.0		
Cost of goods sold	37.8	64.5		
Gross profit margin	62.2	35.5	+26.7	100.0
Salary and commission expense [1]	28.2	17.8	+10.4	38.9
Advertising expense	2.1	3.9	−1.8	−6.7
Bad debt losses [2]	6.7	.3	+6.4	24.0
Other expenses [3]	21.3	11.2	+10.1	37.8
Total expenses	58.3	33.2	+25.1	94.0
Net profit return on sales	3.9	2.3	+1.6	6.0

[1] Includes officers' salaries.
[2] Includes amounts held back by finance companies to cover bad-debt losses.
[3] Other expenses, including taxes, after deduction of other income.

Source: FTC survey.

More than one-third (38.9 percent) of the higher gross margin of the 10 low-income market retailers was spent on salary and commission expense. This expense item included all employees' compensation and officers' salaries and was 28.2 percent of sales for low-income market retailers, compared to 17.8 percent of sales for general market retailers. A major reason for low-income market retailers' higher personnel expense is believed to be their use of outside salesmen who canvass house-to-house or follow up requests for home demonstrations and often make collections of installment payments at the home of the customer. Several of the 10 low-income market retailers pay their outside salesmen-collectors commissions on both sales and collections. Other reasons for higher personnel costs of low-income market retailers could be that they have more sales personnel and pay higher rates of compensation compared to small-volume general market retailers; and since they finance all or a larger proportion of their own installment contracts, they require more employees to keep records of small payments on installment credit accounts.

Higher bad-debt losses of low-income market retailers accounted for about one-fourth (24 percent) of the total difference in gross margins. It was evident from analysis of financial statements, finance charges, and retail prices of low-income market retailers that they often charge higher prices anticipating that part of the increased revenue will cover higher collection expenses of their method of doing business. For the group of 10 low-income market retailers, bad-debt loss was 6.7 percent of sales, while comparable size general market retailers had bad-debt losses of less than 1 percent of sales.

Items of occupancy, delivery, and administrative expense were included among the other expenses, but a comparative analysis of these items could not be made because of inconsistency in expense account classifications and accounting methods.

CONCLUSIONS

Installment credit is widely used in marketing appliances and home furnishings to low-income families. Often these families purchase durable goods, such as furniture, television sets, and phonographs, through the mechanism of "easy" credit. Low-income market retailers specialize in granting credit to consumers who do not seek or are unable to obtain credit from regular department, furniture, or appliance stores. As a group, low-income market retailers made about 93 percent of their sales through installment credit.

The real cost of this "easy" credit is very dear, however. Primarily it takes the form of higher products prices. Credit charges, when separately stated, are not notably higher than those imposed by general market retailers. Though some low-income market retailers imposed effective annual finance charges as high as 33 percent, others charged much less. Markups on comparable products, however, are often two or three times higher than those charged by general market retailers.

The findings of this study suggest that the marketing system for distribution of durable goods to low-income consumers is costly. Although their markups are very much higher than those of general market retailers, low-income market retailers do not make particularly high net profits. They have markedly higher costs, partly because of high bad-debt expenses, but to a greater extent because of higher salaries and commissions as a percent of sales. These expenses reflect in part greater use of door-to-door selling and expenses associated with the collection and processing of installment contracts.

The high prices charged by low-income market retailers suggest the absence of effective price competition. The competition that exists among low-income market retailers apparently takes the form of easier credit availability, rather than of lower prices. Greater credit risks are taken to entice customers. Insofar as the problem for low-income consumers is availability of credit, merchants who sell to them focus on this element.

Thus, the misfortune of poverty extends beyond the stark reality of inadequate low income. It embraces an inability of poor consumers to buy goods as cheaply as consumers of greater affluence. The basic finding of the FTC study is that the poor are poorly served when seeking to satisfy their wants for home furnishings and modern appliances, products which are part and parcel of an acceptable standard of living in America today.

To alleviate this problem a number of coordinated steps must be taken. First every effort should be made to make the poor consumer an informed consumer. Adult consumer education must be pressed. Some limited steps have already been taken through local community action programs. But only a beginning has been made. The poor consumer must be sufficiently informed to be a comparison shopper, aware of price differences for commodities purchased, and aware of differential finance charges. (The latter may be simplified by the recent passage of the truth-in-lending bill.)[5] Adequate sophistication on the part of the consumer cannot be assumed.

Information alone, however, will not make the low-income consumer an effective comparison shopper particularly when purchasing "big ticket" items. He must have access to credit on reasonable terms. Here too some steps have been taken. Limited experience with federally-sponsored credit unions in low-income areas indicates considerable reliability on the part of most borrowers. Loss rates have been low. The major problem appears to center on the need to periodically reschedule payments due to unanticipated unemployment or illness. Unfortunately, general market retailers appear to have been insufficiently aggressive in reaching out to cultivate the low-income consumer. This conclusion seems amply justified when it is recalled that most customers of low-income market retailers repay on time despite the high prices and finance charges they must pay. Much needs to be done to develop alternatives to the easy credit merchant in financing installment purchases.

Additionally, ways must be sought to shift the source of competition in low-income areas away from the granting of easy credit toward providing good quality low-cost commodities. The major part of America's distribution system is highly competitive and price-conscious. Ways must be sought to incorporate the deprived sector of distribution into the main stream of activity. This no doubt involves not only efforts to encourage general market retailers to orient marketing efforts more specifically toward serving low-income consumers but also steps to encourage the entrance of new competitors who will focus their competitive efforts on low cost merchandising.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AERONAUTICS—TRIBUTE TO THE LATE DR. H. J. E. REID

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, in the spring of 1915 the Congress approved legislation authorizing the establishment of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. Clearly stated as its mission was "to supervise and direct the scientific study of the problems of flight with a view to the practical solution."

The dominance of U.S. airpower during World War II, the great accomplishments of aviation in the supersonic world of today, and the conquest by man of the elements of outer space are eloquent testimony to the wisdom of that legislation and the dedication of those individuals who accepted the task which it prescribed.

Among this group of dedicated scientists was a young engineer from Massachusetts who journeyed to Virginia to join the staff of the Langley Laboratory of the NACA a few years after the work was begun. His potential was quickly noticed and in 1926 he assumed the direction of the laboratory, the pioneer aviation research facility in the United States. He maintained this position of leadership until 1960 when he relinquished the reins in order to enter a well-deserved retirement. That retirement came to an end Tuesday with the death of Dr. H. J. E. Reid, the recognized elder statesman of aviation.

Henry Reid lived, worked, and died in the district which I have the honor to represent. He was a good friend of mine. His accomplishments, however, were of a nature far greater than personal, sectional, or even national.

The sadness his death brought is shared not only by his friends and former coworkers but by every individual who has ever participated in the miracle of flight or dreamed of man's conquering the universe.

During the years of Dr. Reid's leadership the Langley Laboratory of the NACA gave birth to other research establishments at Moffet Field, Calif.; Cleveland, Ohio; Wallops Island, Va.; Edwards Air Force Base, Calif.; and Huntsville, Ala. The young men who matured professionally under his guidance became the ranking scientists of aeronautics and space research.

Not the least of this dedicated individual's accomplishments was the preparation which he gave the aeronautical research establishment that enabled it to move quickly and positively toward putting an American in space.

The passing of Henry Reid has not closed his era. This never occurs when a scientist dies because his work has paved the way for others to accomplish his dreams. The era of Dr. H. J. E. Reid will continue as long as man is concerned with the problems of flight.

MANPOWER TRAINING PROGRAMS DO WORK

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, approximately 74 percent of the 173 graduates in the manpower retraining program for mine maintenance mechanics in Pennsylvania are now working in mining or related industries within the State.

These are men who were numbered among the unemployed, but who were given the opportunity to go back to school for 46 weeks in a mine maintenance mechanics program conducted by the Pennsylvania State University at Elders Ridge, Pa., under the Manpower Training Act.

Nearly all of these men indicate they could not have obtained their present employment as mine maintenance mechanics without this special training. Their salaries range from $6,000 to $14,000 annually.

Penn State has been offering this program since 1966, graduating three classes from the Elders Ridge location which is the former research facility of Joy Manufacturing Co. The company presented the building to the university for retraining programs.

The majority of the graduates over the 3 years are continuing their employment with the same companies which hired them upon graduation.

The following table is appended herewith:

EMPLOYMENT SURVEY—MINE MAINTENANCE MECHANIC GRADUATES, ELDERS RIDGE MANPOWER TRAINING PROGRAM PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

	1966	1967	1968	Total
Number of graduates	68	51	54	173
Number of responses	51	41	46	138
Percent of responses	75.0	80.4	85.2	79.8
Employed by mining or related industry	35	34	33	102
Percent of respondents in mining or related industry	68.6	82.9	71.7	73.9
Number of respondents reporting job titles related to mechanics work	24	29	21	74
Percent of respondents reporting job titles related to mechanics work	47.1	70.7	45.7	53.6
Annual income:				
$5,000 to $6,000	3	4	5	12
$6,000 to $7,000	9	13	11	33
$7,000 to $8,000	13	5	11	29
$8,000 to $9,000	6	9	5	20
$9,000 to $10,000	8	4	8	20
$10,000 to $11,000	4	0	0	4
$11,000 to $12,000	1	2	0	3
$12,000 to $13,000	2	1	1	4
$13,000 to $14,000	0	0	0	0
$14,000 to $15,000	0	1	1	2
Unanswered [1]	5	2	4	11

See footnote at end of table.

---

[5] The bill as passed required affirmative disclosure of interest and finance charges for both installment and revolving credit. Full disclosure is required in all advertising and credit instruments.

EMPLOYMENT SURVEY—MINE MAINTENANCE MECHANIC GRADUATES, ELDERS RIDGE MANPOWER TRAINING PROGRAM, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY—Continued

	1966	1967	1968	Total
Number of times changed employer:				
Unanswered [1]	4	2	2	8
None	22	29	32	83
Once	14	5	9	28
Twice	8	4	2	14
Three or more	3	1	1	5
Percent of respondents working for their 1st employer	43.1	70.7	69.6	60.1
Number of respondents indicating they could have worked at present position without Penn State training:				
Unanswered [1]	4	2	3	9
Yes	9	4	14	27
No	38	35	29	102
Percent of respondents working in positions they could not have held without training	74.5	85.4	63.0	73.9

[1] Unanswered responses are the result of counting known deceased and those on military assignments among respondents.

GUN-CONTROL LEGISLATION

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks public attention has been focused on legislation to regulate the sale and possession of firearms and ammunition. I supported this legislation, which was similar to legislation I have introduced since first coming to the Congress in 1963. Today I am introducing legislation to provide a similar prohibition on the sale, manufacture and possession of switchblade knives and certain other long-bladed folding knives.

Firearms and switchblade knives are similar in at least one respect; both can be used as tools of violence. But there is a significant difference. There are legitimate uses for firearms, including hunting and target shooting; there is no legitimate use for a switchblade knife. It can be used for only one purpose, as a weapon of violence.

The ease with which these switchblades may be obtained is alarming. They are readily available in many stores, usually at very low prices, and they are sold to juveniles, to mental incompetants, to drug addicts—to anyone. A number of States have laws to regulate the sale or possession of these knives, but they are not very effective, and they can be easily circumvented by interstate sales. There is a Federal law regarding interstate traffic in these knives, but the fact that only 17 convictions have been made under this law in the 10 years it has been on the books suggests that it is not very effective either.

The most dramatic evidence of the need for stronger legislation in this area may be found in recent crime statistics. The most recent FBI figures show that in 1965 and 1966, of the approximately 20,000 homicides in the United States, 4,700 were committed with knives—nearly 25 percent.

The magnitude of this problem, and the failure of existing State, local, and Federal laws to solve the problem, necessitates new Federal legislation, and today I am introducing such legislation.

My bill would effectively ban switchblades, gravity knives, and folding knives with an exposed blade exceeding three inches in length, by banning their manufacture and distribution within the United States. The bill also strengthens the existing regulation of interstate shipments and sales of these knives.

This legislation, like the firearms legislation, will not absolutely prevent crime, but by depriving the criminal of a weapon as deadly as the switchblade, it will serve as a major deterrent to crime.

The most compelling reason for banning switchblades is the simple fact that they have absolutely no use beyond that of causing destruction. Many of them have no cutting edge, just a sharp point that can only be used to puncture or stab. Even those with a cutting edge have no practical application, because the mechanical devices are easily damaged by rust or corrosion. In short, Mr. Chairman, switchblades, and other similar knives have absolutely no use except as weapons of violence. There is no place for such weapons in our society and they should be banned without further delay.

DEDICATION ADDRESS, ALABAMA WAR MEMORIAL CEREMONY

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, on July 20, my friend, Audie Murphy, was the principal speaker at the dedication of the Alabama War Memorial in Montgomery.

At a time when the news media is headlining the activities of peaceniks and draft dodgers, it is most refreshing to know that someone who has seen the worst a war can offer still feels that "there is no greater satisfaction, no greater opportunity, a man can have on this earth than the chance to stake the ultimate—his life—fighting for freedom and for country".

Audie, as you all know, was the most decorated soldier of World War II. His patriotism and love for his country are an inspiration, and I want to share his remarks with my colleagues:

DEDICATION ADDRESS, ALABAMA WAR MEMORIAL CEREMONY, JULY 20, 1968

(By Audie Murphy)

Ladies and gentlemen, I am truly proud and deeply honored to be asked to speak here today during the dedication ceremony for this splendid memorial.

It has been my privilege to know many of these fighting Alabamians.

Commander Gunn, your department has every reason to feel very proud. This magnificent memorial is an inspired and fitting tribute to the noble war veterans of Alabama. The Alabama Department of the American Legion and all its members deserve the high praise of all Alabamians, and of the entire nation, for having so honored their fighting men.

Let us hope other states will copy this patriotic gesture . . . until there are fifty such memorials erected throughout the land . . . to stand as inspiration for the entire nation in these troubled days.

I have a couple of random thoughts that I would like to touch on at this time. I will be mercifully brief.

The first concerns a disturbing attitude toward military service that seems to be developing of late. There is a growing tendency to regard military duty as an onerous chore rather than as an exciting opportunity. The chance to serve one's country is a high privilege, not a wearisome sacrifice. I feel quite certain that not one of the gallant men, honored here, regretted or regrets the years he spent in the uniform of these United States.

Somehow . . . perhaps without intending it, perhaps because we have felt guilty about waging war and have mistakenly looked to the abstraction 'Peace' as a panacea for all our ills, we have more and more tended to view military service as an unworthy occupation. But when has man ever known Peace? A great American soldier and statesman once said, "If man ever does find the solution to world peace, it will be the most revolutionary reversal of his record he has ever known."

By all means let us keep searching for Peace, but until it is at least a possibility, let's keep our powder dry and not downgrade the noble profession which safeguards our freedom.

Let me speak from my own personal experience for a moment. I was a soldier for a few years early in my life, and though I have been fortunate enough to win some success in other fields, I look back on the days I spent in uniform as the most rewarding of my entire career. There is no greater satisfaction, no greater opportunity, a man can have on this earth than the chance to stake the ultimate . . . his life . . . fighting for freedom and for country.

All men are born to die . . . and if one man must go a few turns of the earth sooner than the next . . . what has he really lost?

In life quality is what counts, not quantity. It's not how long, but how well one lives that matters most. Who among us would hang on for a few brief moments longer, to leave a worse world behind . . . or refuse to depart a bit earlier, if he could leave a better world to his children and to posterity?

I would like to turn now to a subject that seems to be receiving a great deal of attention recently, the younger generation. I don't believe there was such a thing when I was a kid, but we have them today . . . and a much maligned group they are. I won't attempt to explore the reasons for this now, except to suggest that the bizarre and unusual make news, and television can easily, if not intentionally, create the illusion that a handful of deserters are the entire army.

There is nothing wrong with the great mass of young people today. For example, I feel quite certain that the 900,000 patriotic youngsters who contributed to the construction of this memorial will never forget why it was erected and will themselves defend, if it becomes necessary, the high standards it symbolizes.

More than half the population of this nation was born since the beginning of World War II. That ancient conflict, which still seems very close to some of us, is as remote to the young people today as the War of the Roses is to their elders. Half the population of this nation does not remember what it felt like to live through those trying years when freedom was at stake during every major battle . . . yet our proud flag still flies and our noble Republic still stands . . . and this generation is now guarding the ramparts.

Our country has never in its history been involved in a war as controversial and as frustrating as the bitter struggle in which we are now engaged in Southeast Asia. No war has ever been fought under more trying circumstances, yet our young men in the field fight on with courage and a high morale never surpassed in the history of this Republic.

I know many young people are disturbed and uneasy. I know many of them are asking some hard, penetrating questions. We must welcome these questions when they are honest and sincere. We simply must provide good answers to the difficult questions they pose. We have never been a complacent people, willing to rest on our laurels. Americans have always welcomed constructive change.

Challenge and Response . . . That's what this great nation is all about. If we respond properly to the challenge these fine, young people confront us with . . . If we hand them a better nation than we received, I know they will not let us—or themselves—down. I don't have the slightest doubt that they will build upon what they are given, and that the future of this great country is safe in their strong, resolute, young hands.

In closing, let me indulge in a brief, sentimental reminiscense. I open my heart to show how strongly one man feels about freedom . . . what a precious thing it is to me. I'm sure most of you will agree with my sentiments.

A few days ago I was poking through some junk that had been gathering dust in my attic and I came across a couple of objects that inspired me to compose a short poem. I'd like to share it with you:

Dusty old helmet, rusty old gun,
They sit in the corner and wait—
Two souvenirs of the Second World War
That have withstood the time, and the hate.

Mute witness to a time of much trouble,
Where kill, or be killed was the law—
Were these implements used with high honor?
What was the glory they saw?

Many times I've wanted to ask them—
And now that we're here all alone,
Relics all three of a long ago war—
Where has freedom gone?

Freedom flies in your heart like an eagle.
Let it soar with the winds high above
Among the spirits of soldiers now sleeping,
Guard it with care and with love.

I salute my old friends in the corner.
I agree with all they have said—
And if the moment of truth comes tomorrow,
I'll be free, or By God, I'll be dead!

CO-OPS AND SOME GOOD LEGISLATIVE COOPERATION

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the Congress recently enacted S. 752, the so-called agricultural cooperative trucking bill, and on July 27, it was signed into law by the President.

Subsequently, certain misunderstandings, not only as to the purpose of this legislation but also as to its sponsorship have been noted in the comments of a few newspaper reporters. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I am very familiar with the legislation. Normally, I would let the record of the hearings before the subcommittee speak for itself, for as you know, it is a public record and anyone sincerely desirous of determining the full and correct facts may easily do so. However, Traffic World, the weekly transportation news magazine which is completely free from ownership or control by any mode of transportation, in its July 20, 1968, issue contains an excellent editorial. The editorial is entitled "Co-ops and Some Good Legislative Cooperation." The editorial correctly notes that the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the National Council of Farmers Cooperatives, the National Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, and the National Farmers Union deserved "special praise" for materially pushing the bill toward enactment. Other agencies and organizations in support of the bill were the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Railway Labor Executives Association, the Association of American Railroads, the National Association of Railroad & Utilities Commissioners, the Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, the Millers' National Federation, the Eastern Industrial Traffic League, and the Transportation Association of America.

I will not go into further detail for I am inserting the editorial into the RECORD as it clearly explains the objectives of S. 752 and lists those groups who sought enactment of the legislation. I only want to comment that while allegations have been made as to this legislation being the sole result of activity by the American trucking associations, such are not correct as is explicitly noted by the editorial writer of Traffic World:

CO-OPS AND SOME GOOD LEGISLATIVE COOPERATION

As these lines are written, the White House has in its custody the long-kicked-around legislation known in transportation circles as "the co-op trucking bill." The number of the bill, passed by the Senate on June 4 and approved without amendment (but not without some vocal opposition to it) by the House late the night of July 15, is S. 752. (The House vote for passage, on a roll call, was 272 to 106.) The title of S. 752 as sent to the President is "a bill to amend sections 203(b)(5) and 220 of the interstate commerce act, as amended, and for other purposes." It was introduced by Senators Magnuson (D-Wash.) and Lausche (D-O.).

Enjoyable and enlightening information about S. 752 appears on pages 21461 to 21467, inclusive, of the July 16 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. (The time of adjournment of the House session on July 15 was 11:11 p.m.)

Before a review in part, of the House discussion of the bill is undertaken here, however, recognition and appropriate plaudits should be given to the leaders of the organizations that by statesmanlike and cooperative efforts—including the effectuation of reasonable compromises where differing points of view caused objections to the bill to arise—put enough "steam" behind the bill to cause final Congressional action to be taken on it in mid-July, when the chances for its consideration by the House before adjournment of the Ninetieth Congress, Second Session, had grown dim. Special praise is due the agricultural organizations that, together with the Department of Agriculture, helped very materially to push the bill toward enactment: The National Council of Farmers Cooperatives, the National Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, and the National Farmers Union.

Also supporting the bill to restrict "co-op" trucking were the Interstate Commerce Commission, the American Trucking Associations, the Railway Labor Executives Association, the Association of American Railroads, the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, the Grain and Feed Dealers National Association, the Miller's National Federation, and the Eastern Industrial Traffic League. Working in collaboration with practically all those groups and assisting in effecting the necessary "meetings of the minds" where differences of opinion might have hindered the progress of the legislation was the Transportation Association of America.

The bill would have been stalled, of course, without strong support from the chairmen of the Senate and House "commerce committees"—Senator Magnuson and Representative Staggers (D-W. Va.). Mr. Staggers proved to be a highly capable and effective champion of the bill at the time when his support of it was needed most—the night of July 15, on the floor of the House. Some of the most forceful help he received in that debate was provided by Representative Springer (R.-Ill.). Mr. Springer stated briefly and concisely the situation the bill is designed to correct and what those corrective steps are.

"As the law now stands," he told his colleagues in the House, "agricultural cooperatives qualifying for such designation under the agricultural marketing act may haul up to half of the tonnage in their trucks for non-members. Not included in this non-member traffic are hauls made under contract to the federal government, which consist of munitions and other defense items. The result of this has been some highly questionable practices wherein cooperatives of doubtful *bona fides* carry very little of their own freight and very much for Uncle Sam. This violates the intent and in many instances the letter of the law. . . . Legitimate farmer cooperatives have been concerned about the ultimate effect of these gray area operations on their clearly legitimate operations. Regulated carriers, duly certified by ICC, have been concerned. . . ."

Five objectives of S. 752 were then specified by Mr. Springer. He said the bill would do these things:

"1. Allow farmer 'co-ops' to haul up to 15 per cent of their total tonnage interstate for non-members in the non-exempt freight.

"2. Government hauling is non-member hauling.

"3. A trucker proposing to do non-member hauling must notify ICC in advance.

"4. Forbid an association to haul more for others—general freight and exempt combined—than it does for itself.

"5. Require inspection by ICC upon demand."

Representative Dingell (D-Mich.) made an interesting presentation as a supporter of the bill, in the course of the House debate.

"If there is anything that I would assume that a farm 'co-op' was not to do," he said, "it is to haul ammunition for the U.S. government. That is what the fuss is about. . . ."

The Defense Department, he said, is trying to "play footsy with a bunch of people calling themselves farm cooperatives when they are actually in the business of hauling ammunition," he added that "this is a situation which is highly regrettable."

Just before Mr. Dingell made those remarks, Mr. Staggers indicated that he is not at all sympathetic with the Defense Department's use of the trucking services of so-called "farm co-ops." Replying to a colleague's question about use of "co-op trucking" by the Department of the Army, Mr. Staggers said:

". . . They want to get everything as dirt cheap as they can, however it might be. Let them use the certificated haulers of this nation if they want something hauled, and they can get the job done and they can get it done efficiently. I say that when they cannot use it [a transportation service] properly, they should go and get a certificated hauler."

Those words, Mr. Staggers, entitle you to acclaim that should include, at the very least, three "yea-rahs," a "sis-boom-bah," and a toast drunk to the tune of "He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

NATIONAL HOLIDAYS

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, one of my first acts as a newly elected Member of Congress in 1963 was the introduction of legislation to declare Columbus Day a national holiday. Since my mother and both paternal and maternal grandparents were born in Italy, this has been a cause of especial appeal to me, although, of course, the fame of Columbus is the proud possession of all Americans. It was, therefore, an occasion of deep happiness when on June 28 the President signed into law the act designating the second Monday in October as a national holiday to be called Columbus Day. The bill also provides that three of our national holidays will be celebrated on Monday: Washington's Birthday on the third Monday in February; Memorial Day on the last Monday in May; and Veterans' Day on the fourth Monday in October.

The bill takes effect on January 1, 1971. State legislatures will thus have time to act for observances in local government offices and in private employment.

A pen used by the President in signing this momentous bill, which he graciously gave me, will always be a treasured memento of a significant event in American history. As the President stated at the signing ceremony:

> It is fitting now that we give national expression to our faith in the spirit of discovery embodied by this great adventurer. This new holiday will henceforth honor one of our finest and most cherished national characteristics—our ability to live and work together, men and women of all national origins, as one united and progressive nation.

Despite the particular pride of Americans of Italian heritage in the first immigrant from Italy, I should stress that the legislation adopted by the Congress and signed by the President calls for the observance of Columbus Day each year as "a day for honoring the United States as a nation of immigrants."

As a symbol of courage, as the discoverer of America, as an inspiration to the millions of Americans of both Italian descent and non-Italian descent, who came to this country in search of new opportunity and to contribute to the Nation's development, Columbus is truly a hero of all Americans.

By commemorating the momentous voyage of Columbus to the New World, we are paying fitting tribute to the courage and determination which enabled generation after generation of immigrants from all lands to broaden their horizons in search of new hope and a renewed affirmation of freedom. The strength of our Nation has been built from many groups from many lands. As America's first truly great poet wrote over a century ago:

> We are not merely a nation, but a nation of nations.

Each has made a vital and unique contribution to our culture and our industrial and economic progress, but none has contributed more than the sons and daughters of Italy from the earliest days of our Republic to the present. From the American War for Independence to today men of Italian blood have served with valor and honor in the defense of the principles which brought their forebears to these shores. In politics, government, the arts, science, music, business—in every profession and occupation—Americans with fine Italian names play a distinguished role.

The superb record of the men and women who migrated from Italy and from every quarter of the globe in building our great Nation was recognized in the reforms written into our immigration policy in 1965. It was my honor to sponsor the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 which replaced the infamous national origins quota system with a policy more consonant with our democratic principles. Instead of the archaic, self-defeating and discriminatory national origins system, emphasis was laid on the humanitarian policy of reunifications of families and the pragmatic policy of obtaining skills beneficial to our Nation. Under this landmark act countless numbers of families have been reunited but unfortunately a few nations which had unreasonably low quotas under the old system still have huge backlogs of visa applications from brothers and sisters of citizens. In the case of Italy, there are over 100,000 on the waiting list, many dating as far back as 1955. Many of our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, have, as I do, relatives or constituents who have looked forward for years to a reunion with loved ones. Their hopes were raised by the enactment of the new act only to be crumbled again by the impossibility of cleaning up the backlog of applications that have accumulated under the national origins quota system. In order to allay this distressing situation, I have introduced legislation to admit outside of any quota limitations the brothers and sisters of citizens who are beneficiaries of petitions filed prior to December 1, 1965. My proposal is surely in the spirit of the 1965 reform law and will carry forward more effectively its promise of equal consideration and justice for all persons seeking admission to our land. Let us perfect the policy which governs the oldest theme in our Nation's history, the history of a nation of immigrants, from the arrival of Columbus until today.

All Americans—whether first or sixth generation—are grateful for the privilege of living here, are proud of the country that is our magnificent heritage, and proud, too, of the ancestral lands we claim. America, despite the defects and injustices that mar our society, is still the best hope of the world, still beckons men and women possessing the courage, faith and strength exemplified by Columbus who seek new horizons, new opportunities. The ancestors of all of us who migrated to these shores created a society reflecting man's most cherished ideals. Today, in this fateful year of 1968, it behooves each of us to do our share to keep this the land to which many will want to come and none will want to leave.

SALE OF GOVERNMENT LAND

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill designed to help solve several significant problems that we face today. Specifically the bill provides that the Federal Government sell out of its land inventory of some 770 million acres an amount of land value equal to the cost of the land acquired for any reason.

To the city planners—this means that land taken off the tax rolls of his county due to Federal procurement will be replaced in equal value and hence approximately equal tax base will be added back onto the tax rolls. If the land is not available in the immediate tax jurisdiction, then the bill instructs the Secretary of Interior to dispose of land in the same State first and only another State as a last resort.

To the conservation-minded citizen this bill offers the possibility of solving the massive financial problem of funding the authorizations for new national parks, national recreation areas, wilderness areas, and other like purposes. Essentially this proposal will provide an automatic safeguard against inflation which has stalled the progress of so many fine parks and recreational areas.

To the citizen and taxpayer—this bill offers relief of additional taxation by simply selling off some of the land assets which are presently lying dormant but which may be brought into realization and true value.

Early hearings should provide recognition of the advantages of this proposal. It should be pointed out that this bill in no way duplicates or conflicts with the new law that provides up to $200,000,000 from offshore revenues to be placed in the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Revenues from sale of Federal property will be placed in this same fund but will act to relieve the necessity of using offshore revenues that would otherwise be placed in the general funds of the Treasury and thus the land assets will simply be converted from one area to a more desirable area with little or no cost to the taxpayer.

RELIGION AND LAW, THE UNIVERSAL TWINS

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, recently I became aware of a very timely and most relevant sermon given by Dr. George R. Davis, D.D. to the employees of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and their families at the FBI's Annual Vespers Service. Dr. Davis is both an old friend of mine and the distinguished minister of the National City Christian Church here in Washington, D.C. It is a great pleasure to commend his remarks to the attention of my colleagues.

Dr. Davis, in his sermon "Religion and Law, the Universal Twins," adeptly points out the great importance to America of being a lawful and religious society. In these times when some of our citizenry would spawn their confused goals and misdirected ambitions on the rest of society, Dr. Davis' message rings out as a reaffirmation of the American ideal of nationhood. Because of the logic of this message and the definity with which it is delivered, the following remarks deserve the attention of all. Accordingly, I include Dr. Davis' sermon in the Record at this point:

Religion and Law, the Universal Twins

(By Dr. George Davis, D.D.)

I know nothing I have looked forward to with greater interest during the seven years of my ministry than this service. It would be impossible to describe to you the very interesting and impressive experiences which have been mine. Many of them I never anticipated when I came to Washington. I am not trying to curry your favor by telling you that my anticipation of this service has been the most rewarding.

This brings to my mind an experience I had at West Point some months ago. Before I went into the first of the three services, I said to the Chaplain, one of the officers, "now you have to make some kind of introductory remark to these men—these are high type men, they are the best of our young men, and I don't want to say the wrong thing in the introduction to my sermon and expressing to them my appreciation." The Chaplain spoke up and said, "Well, there's one thing you dare not tell these men at West Point. Don't tell them how good they are. They already know that!"

I'm not trying to curry your favor but suggesting to you that it is with a great deal of pride that I have the opportunity to speak to you and have anticipated this service. It grows out of the fact that my personal commitment and leading up to this message, I, more than two years ago, along with a good many ministers, made a two-fold commitment.

My first commitment was that I would serve the historic church and I would not join that group of ministers and lay people who spend their time tearing the church apart. My loyalty would not only be to the invisible perfect church which does not exist on earth but in the mind of God, not only to that ideal church which one day *might* be accomplished on earth, but to the historic, inadequate and evil church on this earth. The church made up of inadequate people like all of us. The church marred by imperfections. The church which does not live up to all goals of God. The church and history, as we know it, and that I would serve and commit myself to this church and that I would not become a part of the group seeking to tear it apart and to tear it out of history as irrevelant and meaningless.

My second commitment was that I would commit myself to the purposes of this nation. That as I looked about and saw the alternatives—and we do live by alternatives—I could see no other land on earth, and this was no criticism of other lands or other peoples, I could see no other land on earth that offered more opportunities for achieving the human dreams of God on earth than here. And that I would not become a part of that destructive element which would create anarchy and would lead us to ruin and away from the possibility of achieving the goals we hold out as being achievable and desirable to achieve. That I would not think in terms of this nation as an ideal place, but as an alternative. And as Winston Churchill said once of democracy, "Democracy is the worst form of government on earth, except for all the other forms." And, therefore, as the best of the alternatives, he would choose democracy—not because it's perfect, but because it's the best of the lot.

So my commitment was made to the church and it was made to this government. I do not believe that in anarchy or in rioting or in excessive dissent or in the repudiation of law and order or by destructive tendencies within the nation which tend to tear its fibres apart that we could exist or even achieve the goals. It is with this background that I have anticipated—looked forward—to a service with a group of men and women committed to law and order.

Committed not only because you believe in upholding law, but because you believe we shall never achieve the goals of social justice—that we shall never sustain the goals we have already achieved—unless we can maintain a society which is held together by obedience to the law and that includes the bad laws. We dare not come to the place where we say that men have a right to distinguish unless they are willing to pay the penalty.

I maintain that if a man wants to violate a law, he has that privilege if he is willing to pay the penalty but within a free society, a man does not have the right to violate a law, even a bad one, until it is changed by the proper procedures and expect to get away without paying the penalty of the violation of that law. Even Jesus Christ, when the chips were down, willingly went to the cross not only as the sacrificial lamb for the redemption of man because He, too, was committed to the obedience of laws. He was willing to go to the cross in an evil generation for an evil empire and His Apostles were committed to that. And even though they came to the place where they violated the law, they were willing to suffer the penalty and they expected no reservations on their behalf. The subject, therefore, that I have called your attention to is "Religion and Law, the Universal Twins." Good religion sustains law and good law sustains religion. And our fathers were committed to this—the fathers of this democracy were committed to the separation of church and state but they were committed also to sustaining the right of free men to freely worship or that every man could have that right to worship and have it protected unless the law would guarantee that. And that laws could not be sustained unless under the laws you put the guarantee of religion, good religion—our founding fathers knew that. It's been a part of the warp and woof of our natural existence from the very beginning.

And this, I want to insist, includes the bad laws. A man who maintains that if a law is bad he has a right to violate it and escape the penalty does not understand that you cannot pick and choose. That you must be committed to the total obedience until the laws are changed through the proper procedures unless you want anarchy—unless you want to destroy a system in which it is possible even to attain social justice or to move on to the accomplishment of the deeper human purposes which are in the hearts of men to accomplish.

Therefore, I want to say very clearly, defiance of law is never good religion. Defiance of law is never good religion! The Apostle Paul declares again and again in his letters that laws were made for evil people. He says those very words. He said a good man never worries about a law—it's the bad man who worries about the law. Evil men worry about laws. Good men will uphold the law even if there were no laws. Good men will respond to decency and order by the very natural thing that's within their souls. It is only bad men who have to be compelled to obey them. Defiance of law is never good religion and for us to come to the place in this country—and in some areas we have come to it—the students came to it at Columbia University—they came to it first at Berkeley University—they have come to it all over this nation—that the defiance of the law sometimes is good religion. It is *never* good religion according to the precepts of the New Testament!

In the second place, defiance of law enforcers is never Christ-like. Our Bible teaches that we are to pray for those in authority. And if we are to pray for those in authority, then we are to respect those in authority and we are to uphold the hands of those who are to express that authority. My friends, I must say to you quite bluntly that if I have to choose between a little police brutality and a great deal of criminal brutality, I'll choose the little police brutality. One can never hope that you will gather together a group of law enforcement individuals, whether it be the FBI or local police department, without finding within those groups, some men who have no response to decency. Some men who have no character. Some men who will not violate principle. But across this land, we have an element of criminality that becomes so dangerous in our time that it is unsafe to walk the streets—unsafe to even think about walking! Therefore, I must repeat with all the force I have, though I never thought ten years ago I'd ever make such a statement, that if I have to choose between a little police brutality and running the risk of some men in the law enforcement agencies violating laws to uphold the law, I'll take that over against criminal brutality running rampant across the nation. And yet, everywhere today, if anyone violates the law, whether it be the students at Columbia University or at Berkeley, the first thing you hear is police brutality. Even like the attack on the Pentagon! And some of his force is pretended and dramatized and you can see that it's dramatized so that it will appear that the police are brutal when they're not really brutal. A man who is being arrested so behaves that it appears to be brutality. The defiance of a law enforcer is never Christ-like when we are to pray for those in authority. And the third fear I advocate is the disregard for property. It is not to show regard for persons.

Now from the beginning of our history there has been a debate going on between the Hamiltonian philosophy and the Jeffersonian philosophy, so we are told. The philosophy of Hamilton was what one might call property rights. The philosophy of Thomas Jefferson was, as one might say, human rights. And yet there has never been any real quarrel between Hamilton and Jefferson. These men were related with our founding fathers in bringing into being the kind of land and system we have. There was never really any great quarrel. It was only looking at two sides of a coin—property and persons. And so today, when we had our riots recently in Washington, and people tell me it's better to let the property burn down than it is to kill persons—this sounds good, and basically, it is true. But if you ever surrender to the principle that property is not valuable, then, in the long run, you surrender the belief that persons are valuable.

Disregard for property does not show regard for persons, in the long run.

So, in the Lord Jesus Christ, this man does not live by bread alone. The most important word in that sentence is "alone." He does not live without bread. He may not live by bread alone, but he does not live without bread. So Jesus placed the emphasis both upon the physical and the spiritual. And here we see a fine gathering together in the New Testament teachings of Christ, physical and spirit, so to speak. Disregard for property—the right of people to own property—the right of people to possess property—the right of people to expect protection of property. If this is not regarded—eventually, respect for people will go. If you do not respect that which belongs to a man, you will not long respect the man who possesses that which belongs to him. This is not only good law—it's good religion.

I, for one, am not of that group who like to talk of the Communist conspiracy. No one, more than I as a minister some years ago, became more disgusted than I did with McCarthyism. That is, going about the land pointing a finger at everyone you suspect and dubbing him Communist or Communist-front. But there is an equal danger. And that is the danger of not knowing that there is a radical revolutionary Communist conspiracy at work in our world and even in our nation. There isn't any question in my mind that all the radical, revolutionary movements going on in our time, if not created by Communism, have been used by and taken over by Communism. I believe this and I do not say this casually.

The revolutionary way—this may be added to that—even if this were not so, then we learn fairly well from the times because the Communist way is to defy law. It is to create confusion. It is to create disrespect. It is to set one man against another—one order against another—one system against another—one group against another. And wherever you look today across this land and the world, the radical revolutionary movement is in full swing. These are the tactics. Whether they are Communist or not, we have learned fairly well from them.

Therefore, wherever I go with all the power I have at my command, I am pleading and urging men if we want this system to endure, if we want to attain the goals of social justice that we plead for, we must maintain law. We must have order. We must not have anarchy. Therefore, when I said to you I anticipated this privilege, it may sound like currying your favor. I cannot imagine any group of people in a more essential, productive and important profession than the one you are in today. For if you fail and the private police forces fail and the individual community police forces fail, everything else will go down the drain with that failure. There is no more important job—not even the minister standing in the pulpit—not even the sacred music—not even the public school teachers because if law goes down the drain, schools go down, churches go down, music goes down, culture goes down—everything goes down if anarchy comes. There is no more important profession in this land today than the profession of law enforcement or the containment of criminality.

I believe in the sacredness of profession. Those of us who are Protestants believe in the priesthood of all believers. The Roman Catholics really believe this too. And growing out of this is the sacredness of all professions. Now, whatever a man's profession is, if it is legitimate, if it contributes to human wellbeing, if it is a part of the total picture which adds up to the total wellbeing of all, then it is legitimate and it is sacred—because I believe your profession is so essential, then I believe you are in a sacred profession and, indeed, you dare never look upon it as being secular. You dare never look upon it as being just a job paid for by the United States government—you dare never look upon it as just another occupation to which you go each day—you look upon it as a sacred commitment under God. The reason I had these long passages of scripture read this afternoon was not because I intended to elaborate upon them, and they were so beautifully read; but to remind you how much law there is in the Bible whether you turn to the Old Testament with the Ten Commandments or the Fifth Chapter of Matthew in the New Testament with the Sermon on the Mount. The Bible is filled with laws of all kinds. The writers of the Bible and the God who inspired the Bible knew that when law goes—all goes. And unless people are willing to live within law, they cannot attain their goals.

Now, that places upon you some great responsibility. If your profession is sacred and essential, and I believe it is, and I have nothing to gain from you because your particular profession is one in which you can't curry favor. There are some people you can curry their favor—but not yours! You are so committed, it couldn't be curried. You know all the ins and outs. You know all the language. You know all the pretense. One couldn't curry your favor. But because it is so essential, then upon you rests obligations.

First of all, your basic character. If there must be character anywhere, beyond even the character of the teaching profession, beyond the character of the preaching profession, beyond the character of any profession, it must be in the profession of those people who have to do with sustaining and upholding law. That means you. I cannot think of any people who carry upon themselves the point of character and I am grateful to God that you're there. When it was my privilege to walk through the FBI on a tour again for the first time after a good many years and saw the efficiency of the operation and saw upon the wall the solution of the crimes for which you have been responsible and your work, I have been glad you were there. And when you were being criticized and when you were being torn apart, at night I often expressed to God my thanks that you were there.

It was my privilege more than a year ago to have a brief journey on a Polaris submarine. We were submerged for just a brief time and when I thought of that Polaris submarine and the many others we have and the dedicated men sailing 60 days at a time beneath the oceans of the world, I go to bed each night grateful those men are there.

And once I was privileged to become acquainted with the Strategic Air Command and that's being limited now. And I knew that while I was sleeping peacefully, that men were flying over the land and over all the seas and that I could sleep and that I am free because these men were there. I became grateful and I am grateful.

So much rests upon you in terms of character, dedication, and faith. And if it isn't too personal, may I, therefore, call you to the altar of God in personal commitment. May I, this day, ask of each of you—an agent or whatever your responsibility is within your organization—that before you leave this place, you will recommit yourself upon the altar of God—not to a job—not to a secular profession—but to a sacred commitment under God. For whatever we hold dear in this nation and it is not to fall apart and the goals are ever to be attained. If you fail, we fail. And where you fail, we fail. Let no one lead you astray at this point. Let no one disillusion you at this point. This is the holy truth. I believe it with all the commitment of my soul. May the Lord bless you, may He keep you, and may He sustain you.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. Adams, for August 2, 1968, on account of official business.

Mrs. Hansen of Washington, for August 1, 3, and September 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 1968, on account of official business in district.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Olsen, for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Corman (at the request of Mr. Matsunaga), for 60 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Feighan (at the request of Mr. Matsunaga), for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Vanik, for 10 minutes, on August 2, 1968; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Randall, for 30 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Zwach) and to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Halpern, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. Brown of Ohio, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. Randall, for 30 minutes, on August 2.

Mr. Pollock (at the request of Mr. Wyatt), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Dulski in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Pelly and to include an editorial prior to the passage of H.R. 11618.

Mr. Broyhill of Virginia (at the request of Mr. McMillan) immediately after the conference report on the District of Columbia revenue bill and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Harsha (at the request of Mr. McMillan) immediately after the conference report on the District of Columbia revenue bill.

Mr. Pepper immediately prior to the vote on the bill H.R. 11618.

Mr. Ryan prior to the passage of House Resolution 1239.

Mr. Olsen prior to the passage of House Resolution 1239.

Mr. Fountain to revise and extend his remarks prior to the vote on H.R. 15757.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ZWACH) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CURTIS in four instances.
Mr. BELL.
Mr. HUNT.
Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin.
Mr. BROWN of Ohio.
Mr. SCHERLE.
Mr. UTT in two instances.
Mr. WHALLEY.
Mr. FINO.
Mr. HORTON in five instances.
Mr. HOSMER in two instances.
Mr. MICHEL.
Mr. BROOMFIELD.
Mr. GOODELL.
Mr. WYDLER.
Mr. ESCH.
Mr. GURNEY.
Mr. AYRES.
Mr. HALPERN in two instances.
Mr. MCCLORY.
Mr. MCCLURE.
Mr. BOW.
Mr. ASHBROOK in two instances.
Mr. MILLER of Ohio.
Mr. BROTZMAN.
Mr. SCOTT.
Mr. WYLIE.
Mrs. REID of Illinois.
Mr. DERWINSKI in three instances.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MATSUNAGA) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. PODELL in three instances.
Mr. LONG of Maryland in three instances.
Mr. CORMAN in two instances.
Mr. ST. ONGE in two instances.
Mr. HANNA.
Mr. COHELAN in five instances.
Mr. OTTINGER in two instances.
Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama in two instances.
Mr. JOHNSON of California.
Mr. ASHMORE.
Mr. ROGERS of Florida in five instances.
Mr. ULLMAN in five instances.
Mr. ROYBAL in six instances.
Mr. MINISH in two instances.
Mr. RODINO in two instances.
Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts in three instances.
Mr. FRASER in five instances.
Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.
Mr. MCCARTHY in 10 instances.
Mr. HELSTOSKI.
Mr. GALLAGHER.
Mr. KYROS.
Mr. O'HARA of Michigan in three instances.
Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania in two instances.
Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania in two instances.
Mrs. MINK in two instances.
Mr. FRIEDEL in two instances.
Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico in six instances.
Mr. TEAGUE of Texas in six instances.
Mr. CAREY in two instances.
Mr. SCHEUER in four instances.
Mr. HOLLAND in two instances.
Mr. MURPHY of New York in two instances.
Mr. EDWARDS of California.
Mr. VANIK in two instances.
Mrs. KELLY in two instances.
Mr. KORNEGAY in two instances.
Mr. YOUNG.
Mr. LEGGETT.
Mr. BOLAND in two instances.
Mr. RYAN in four instances.
Mr. SMITH of Iowa in six instances.
Mr. BRADEMAS in 10 instances.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 1534. An act to amend the Street Readjustment Act of the District of Columbia so as to authorize the District of Columbia Council to close all or part of a street, road, highway, or alley in accordance with the requirements of an approved redevelopment or urban renewal plan, without regard to the notice provisions of such act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 15387. An act to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16086. An act to amend the act of August 25, 1959 (73 Stat. 420), pertaining to the affairs of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1166. An act to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety standards for the transportation of natural and other gas by pipeline, and for other purposes; and

S. 2060. An act to amend section 503(f) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to extend for a period for 5 years the authorization to make appropriations for allocations and grants for the collection and publication of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on the following days present to the President, for his approval, bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

On July 31, 1968:

H.R. 2281. An act for the relief of Dwayne C. Cox and William D. Martin;

H.R. 6195. An act for the relief of Peter Balinas and Lee Balinas;

H.R. 6655. An act for the relief of Mary Jane Orloski;

H.R. 8391. An act for the relief of Adel Lessert Bellmard, Clement Lessert, Josephine Gonvil Pappan, Julie Gonvil Pappan, Pelagie Gonvil Franceour de Aubri, Victore Gonvil Pappan, Marie Gonvil, Lafleche Gonvil, Louis Laventure, Elizabeth Carvonau Vertifelle, Pierre Carbonau, Louis Joncas, Basil Joncas, James Joncas, Elizabeth Datcherute, Joseph Butler, William Rodger, Joseph Cote, four children of Cicili Compare and Joseph James, or the heirs of any who may be deceased;

H.R. 9098. An act to revise the boundaries of the Badlands National Monument in the State of South Dakota, to authorize exchanges of land mutually beneficial to the Oglala Sioux Tribe and the United States, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9391. An act to amend section 376(a) of title 28, United States Code;

H.R. 9606. An act to exempt from taxation certain property of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 10213. An act to amend the Life Insurance Act of the District of Columbia, approved June 19, 1934 (48 Stat. 1125);

H.R. 10321. An act for the relief of Mrs. Claudette C. Donahue;

H.R. 10327. An act for the relief of Louis J. Falardeau, Irva G. Franger, Betty Klemcke, Wineta L. Welburn, and Emma L. McNeil, all individuals employed by the Department of the Army at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.;

H.R. 10915. An act to amend section 202 of the Agricultural Act of 1956;

H.R. 11026. A act to amend the act of September 15, 1960, for the purpose of developing and enhancing recreational opportunities and improving the fish and wildlife programs at reservations covered by said act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11381. An act for the relief of E. L. Townley, Otis T. Hawkins, and Leo T. Matous;

H.R. 12119. An act for the relief of Joseph M. Hepworth;

H.R. 14167. An act for the relief of Lydia M. Parsley;

H.R. 15189. An act to authorize appropriations for certain maritime programs of the Department of Commerce;

H.R. 15864. An act to provide for the operation of the William Langer Jewel Bearing Plant at Rolla, N. Dak., and for other purposes;

H.R. 16913. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17903. An act making appropriations for public works for water and power resources development, including certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, the Delaware River Basin Commission, Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Water Resources Council, and the Atomic Energy Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 1420. Joint resolution making containing appropriations for the fiscal year 1969, and for other purposes.

On August 1, 1968:

H.R. 1648. An act for the relief of Martina Zubiri Garcia;

H.R. 3136. An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to make a study to determine the advantages and disadvantages of increased use of the metric system in the United States; and

H.R. 15387. An act to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 26 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, August 2, 1968, at 11 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

2102. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, to eliminate the requirement for a finding of practical value and abolish the distinction between commercial licenses for facilities and certain research and development licenses for facilities, and for other purposes, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Operator of Office of Education (Conflict of Interest—Proposed Grant for Computerized Classroom)" (33d report by the committee). (Rept. No. 1834). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. HARDY: Committee on Armed Services. H.R. 18673. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to prescribe health care cost-sharing arrangements for certain surviving dependents, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1835). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Government Use of Satellite Communications, 1968 (34th report by the committee). (Rept. No. 1836). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida: Committee of conference. H.R. 13781. An act to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966 (Rept. No. 1837). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. BARING: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 13512. A bill to designate the Mount Jefferson Wilderness, Willamette, Deschutes, and Mount Hood National Forests, in the State of Oregon; with amendment (Rept. No. 1838). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PURCELL: Committee of conference. H.R. 16363. An act to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1839). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. FALLON: Committee on Public Works. H.R. 4846. A bill to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 to provide that the issue of just compensation may be tried by a jury in any case involving the condemnation of real property by the Tennessee Valley Authority; with amendment (Rept. No. 1840). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. NATCHER: Committee of conference. H.R. 18706. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1841). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CURTIS:

H.R. 19182. A bill to amend the farm tax loss provision of the Internal Revenue Code; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 19183. A bill to establish the quantity of unprocessed timber from certain Federal lands which may be sold for export during the calendar years 1968 through 1972; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 19184. A bill to provide compensation for firemen not employed by the United States, killed or injured in the performance of duty during a civil disorder, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19185. A bill to provide certain benefits for certain employees in the postal field service who are required in the interest of the Government to transfer to new duty stations; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 19186. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an additional income tax exemption for a taxpayer or spouse who has had a laryngectomy; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 19187. A bill to amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act to assure all recipients of such assistance (in conjunction with recent social security benefit increases) an average increase of $7.50 in the total amount of their income from such assistance and other sources; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

H.R. 19188. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Cosumnes River division, Central Valley project, California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MARSH:

H.R. 19189. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to prohibit the assignment of a member of an armed force to combat area duty if certain relatives of such member died while serving in the Armed Forces in Vietnam; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. O'HARA of Illinois:

H.R. 19190. A bill to assure to every American a full opportunity to have adequate employment, housing, and education, free from any discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, and for other purpose; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BROTZMAN:

H.R. 19191. A bill to amend the Small Business Act to provide assistance for owners and employees of small business concerns displaced or injured by Federal or federally assisted programs; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 19192. A bill to provide for equitable acquisition practices, fair compensation, and effective relocation assistance in real property acquisitions for Federal and federally assisted programs; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 19193. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and the Social Security Act to provide for more equitable treatment of persons affected by real property acquisitions in Federal or federally assisted programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ESCH:

H.R. 19194. A bill to amend the act of March 3, 1905, relating to the dumping of certain materials into the navigable waters of the United States; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FALLON:

H.R. 19195. A bill to amend the definition of "metal bearing ores" in the tariff schedules of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 19196. A bill to amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act to assure all recipients of such assistance (in conjunction with recent social security benefit increases) an average increase of $7.50 in the total amount of their income from such assistance and other sources; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HANSEN of Idaho:

H.R. 19197. A bill to extend the provisions of the Commercial Fisheries Research and Development Act of 1964; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 19198. A bill to strengthen and clarify the law prohibiting the introduction, or manufacture for introduction, of switchblade knives into interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. REINECKE:

H.R. 19199. A bill to stabilize the public domain and acquired land holdings of the United States of America, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 19200. A bill to authorize the payment to local governments of sums in lieu of taxes and special assessments with respect to certain Federal real property, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SANDMAN:

H.R. 19201. A bill to establish a community self-determination program to aid the people of urban and rural communities in securing gainful employment, achieving the ownership and control of the resources of their community, expanding opportunity, stability, and self-determination, and making their maximum contribution to the strength and well-being of the Nation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 19202. A bill to establish a Department of Education; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 19203. A bill to provide additional Federal assistance in connection with the construction, alteration, or improvement of air carrier and general purpose airports, airport terminals, and related facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JACOBS (for himself, Mr. McCARTHY, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. TUNNEY, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. ICHORD, Mr. ROUSH, Mr. HANNA, Mr. BRADEMAS, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. KYROS, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. HICKS, Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. EDMONDSON, Mr. GALIFIANAKIS, Mr. HATHAWAY, Mr. THOMPSON of New JERSEY, Mr. CULVER, Mr. PRYOR, and Mr. VAN DEERLIN):

H.R. 19204. A bill to extend benefits under section 8191 of title 5, United States Code, to law enforcement officers and firemen not employed by the United States who are killed or totally disabled in the line of duty; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KLEPPE (for himself, Mr. BUSH, and Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia):

H.R. 19205. A bill to establish a community self-determination program to aid the people of urban and rural communities in securing gainful employment, achieving the ownership and control of the resources of their community, expanding opportunity, stability, and self-determination, and making their maximum contribution to the strength and well-being of the Nation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PATTEN:

H.R. 19206. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to permit the payment of annuities to a married couple on their combined wage record where that method of computation produces a higher combined annuity; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 19207. A bill to assist the balance of trade and promote the export of products, services, and processes of small business enterprises by providing tax incentives for the formation of small business export trade corporations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHERLE (for himself and Mr. DEVINE):

H.R. 19208. A bill to amend section 620 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to prohibit assistance under that act to any Communist country until the crew of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* have been released, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WHITE:

H.R. 19209. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in a feasibility investigation of the Red Bluff rehabilitation project in Texas; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. RANDALL:

H.R. 19210. A bill to encourage the establishment of new employment opportunities in rural areas by increasing to $5 million the amount of tax-free industrial development bonds that may be issued for such purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.J. Res. 1433. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim annually National Improved Order of Red Men Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WHALEN:

H.J. Res. 1434. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim October 26, 1968, as the date commemorating the 50th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Czechoslovakia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.J. Res. 1435. Joint resolution regarding the status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ERLENBORN:

H.J. Res. 1436. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim October 26, 1968, as the date commemorating the 50th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Czechoslovakia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN:

H. Res. 1280. Resolution to print as a House document the eulogy proceedings on former Representative Hubert B. Scudder; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H. Res. 1281. Resolution authorizing expenditures incurred by the Special Committee To Investigate Campaign Expenditures to be paid from the contingent fund of the House; to the Committee on House Administration.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 19211. A bill for the relief of Luigi Bottari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19212. A bill for the relief of Domenico Chieffo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19213. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Ciprietti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19214. A bill for the relief of Adrian Thales Halmar Corfield; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19215. A bill for the relief of Jane Nathalie Corfield; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19216. A bill for the relief of John Fraser Rohn Corfield; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19217. A bill for the relief of Lorenzo DiChiara; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19218. A bill for the relief of Gabriele DiGiacomo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19219. A bill for the relief of Britta Schellander Moresco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19220. A bill for the relief of Riccardo Moresco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19221. A bill for the relief of Luis Maria Quinteros; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19222. A bill for the relief of Antonio F. Savini; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19223. A bill for the relief of Gaspare Serafino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H R. 19224. A bill for the relief of Adua Taraschi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19225. A bill for the relief of John Veneziale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 19226. A bill for the relief of Claricia B. Joven; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19227. A bill for the relief of Patrick Hua-Pu Wang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 19228. A bill for the relief of Carmen D. Black; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19229. A bill for the relief of Grazia Antonia Calogero; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19230. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Di Martino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H.R. 19231. A bill for the relief of Nello Giarelli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 19232. A bill for the relief of Jose Ylaya Bayani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19233. A bill for the relief of Catalino V. Concepcion; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19234. A bill for the relief of Nella Giusti (nee Giuntini); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19235. A bill for the relief of Margherta Sarfatti Larson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19236. A bill for the relief of Franco Magnani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19237. A bill for the relief of Michael Oyebode Oyelakin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19238. A bill for the relief of Porfiria Pantas Pragasa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19239. A bill for the relief of Pedro Garcia Reyes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONYERS:

H.R. 19240. A bill for the relief of Dr. Aristol Coronel Sandoval and Dr. Alicia Calicosa Sandoval; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DELANEY (by request):

H.R. 19241. A bill for the relief of Benjamin Marcel Shalom, Andree Shalom, Marietta Shalom, and Silvana Shalom; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19242. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Bastiani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOW:

H.R. 19243. A bill for the relief of Mahmut Karadagn, Emine Kazadegli, and children, Dilek, Rezzan, and Nazan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 19244. A bill for the relief of Daniel Fortunee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19245. A bill for the relief of Jean Paul Erepmoc; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 19246. A bill for the relief of Stefano Cannella; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H.R. 19247. A bill for the relief of Dr. Roberto de la Caridad Miquel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 19248. A bill for the relief of Pauline Bujnovska; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HANSEN of Idaho:

H.R. 19249. A bill for the relief of Francisco Javier Aseguinolaza Amescua; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19250. A bill for the relief of Martin Aseguinolaza Amescua; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19251. A bill for the relief of Jose Anchastegui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19252. A bill for the relief of Jesus Gorrino Aramburu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19253. A bill for the relief of Jose Maria Guerricabeitia Arriaga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19254. A bill for the relief of Eleuterio Erleaga Arrizabalaga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19255. A bill for the relief of Juan Jose Basterrechea Atela; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19256. A bill for the relief of Jose Aldana Badiola; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19257. A bill for the relief of Benigno Birandona Bengoechea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19258. A bill for the relief of Francisco Ezcurdia Berasain; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19259. A bill for the relief of Ignacio Landeta Careaga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19260. A bill for the relief of Casiano Artiach Cortez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19261. A bill for the relief of Valetin Arruza Dunabeitia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19262. A bill for the relief of Alberto Goiricelaya Echevarria; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19263. A bill for the relief of Javier Olaeta Echevarrieta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19264. A bill for the relief of Francisco Javier Larruscain Egana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19265. A bill for the relief of Juan Irusta Elu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19266. A bill for the relief of Jesus Maria Muguira Gabicagogeascoa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19267. A bill for the relief of Francisco Rementeria Gabiola; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19268. A bill for the relief of Jose Bermeosolo Gabiola; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19269. A bill for the relief of Fermin Aramburu Gandiaras; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19270. A bill for the relief of Juan Zorrozua Garay; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19271. A bill for the relief of Pablo Garay; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19272. A bill for the relief of Jose Antonio Omaechevarria Garmendia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19273. A bill for the relief of Antonio Zorrozua Gondra; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19274. A bill for the relief of Javier Zorrozua Gondra; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19275. A bill for the relief of Jose Luis Gorostiza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19276. A bill for the relief of Pedro Uberuaga Guenechea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19277. A bill for the relief of Vincente Barberia Huarte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19278. A bill for the relief of Lucio Irazoqui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19279. A bill for the relief of Julian Iturri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19280. A bill for the relief of Gregorio Ocamica Jayo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19281. A bill for the relief of Pablo Jayo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19282. A bill for the relief of Jose Arrate Legarra; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19283. A bill for the relief of Severiano Malaxechevarria Lequericabeascoa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19284. A bill for the relief of Pedro Batis Madariaga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19285. A bill for the relief of Gregorio Sillonis Madarieta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19286. A bill for the relief of Jose Maguregui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19287. A bill for the relief of Marcelino Larracoechea Meavebasterrechea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19288. A bill for the relief of Tiburcio Tellechea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19289. A bill for the relief of Andres Elguezabal Uriarte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19290. A bill for the relief of Raimundo Legarreta-Echevarria Uriarte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19291. A bill for the relief of Mariano Basterrechea Zorrozua; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19292. A bill for the relief of Juan Cruz Zubizarretta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 19293. A bill for the relief of Domenico Stalteri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. MAY:

H.R. 19294. A bill for the relief of Eulogio Lizarraga Eusa and others; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINSHALL:

H.R. 19295. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Emerito Daganzo de la Cruz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OLSEN:

H.R. 19296. A bill for the relief of Sulai Monhamma Toma; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 19297. A bill for the relief of Domingos Silverio Ferro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 19298. A bill for the relief of Pietro Ratta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19299. A bill for the relief of Guiseppina Rigoli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PODELL:

H.R. 19300. A bill for the relief of Calogero Mendola; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19301. A bill for the relief of Antonio Monticciolo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19302. A bill for the relief of Ines Altagracia Parra de Reynoso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19303. A bill for the relief of Maria Pinazzi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAILSBACK:

H.R. 19304. A bill for the relief of Leonardo Vitale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19305. A bill for the relief of Santa Vitale and her minor children, Salvatore Vitale and Antonia Vitale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 19306. A bill for the relief of certain members of the American Hull Insurance Syndicate; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RONAN:

H.R. 19307. A bill for the relief of Mr. Salvatore Vitale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 19308. A bill for the relief of Pietra Cusumano, Margaret Cusumano, and Phillip Cusumano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19309. A bill for the relief of Daniel Jen Wai Wong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H.R. 19310. A bill for the relief of Elena Martin Jimenez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADAIR:

H.R. 19311. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Enriqueta Gutierrez Taboy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CLARKSBURG, W. VA., AEROSPACE-EDUCATIONAL SYMPOSIUM BANQUET ADDRESSED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE LAWRENCE C. McQUADE—REMARKS ARE COGENT AND CHALLENGING—12,000 HARRISON COUNTY SCHOOLCHILDREN PRESENT FOR EXHIBIT

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it was my privilege to participate with Assistant Secretary of Commerce Lawrence C. McQuade at the aerospace-educational symposium banquet in Clarksburg, W. Va. This dinner climaxed a week-long space science fair, which was attended by over 12,000 Harrison County schoolchildren.

Secretary McQuade's remarks were significant and challenging. He spoke on technological and geographical changes, the constantly changing national economic mix, and the role of education.

Also, McQuade pointed out that—

> We should recognize that one factor contributing to our critical urban problem is the existence of a rural problem. Unless we can slow down the influx of rural poor into the cities, unless the migrants into the cities are equipped to hold jobs, and unless jobs are available in the cities, the future of America's metropolitan areas looks dark indeed.

I have continually stressed that the cure for riots, crime, and filth in America's cities may lie in making rural areas livable and attractive enough to reverse the current population surge to congested urban centers. I believe that given the necessities of the good life, rural residents will not only remain where they are but will encourage hundreds of thousands of others to migrate to the countryside, such as the State of West Virginia, which has an increasingly fine appeal for those persons in congested areas. To better create this good life, basically we need four components. They are water, education, roads, and jobs. We have already the spirit and cooperation to do the task.

I agree with Secretary McQuade that we must attract industry to smaller communities and give jobs to those who would otherwise seek urban meccas.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from Secretary McQuade's speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PROMISES AND PERILS OF A CHANGING WORLD

"There is nothing permanent except change."—Heraclitus.

* * * * *

We live in a world of change. . . . Today's conditions—whatever they may be—are constantly crumbling. That is the essence of the world.

Internationally, the once monolithic Communist Bloc has been fractionalizing, and our relationships with the Eastern European countries and our allies evolving toward new patterns. Newer nations are struggling to create an identity, to combine human and natural resources to their maximum advantage, to improve the standard of living of their peoples.

Within this country, we are striving to achieve a world peace compatible with other important values, to sustain a healthy, growing domestic economy, to deal with the problems of race, poverty, student disaffection, national unity and social progress within America.

On all fronts, then, there is ferment and change.

This process of change can hurt, but it also creates moments of opportunity for those with imagination.

The Clarksburg area well illustrates the promises and perils of a world of change. Your fortunes are directly affected by shifts in the national and international economic winds. Your concerns are the nation's concerns. And you face some special problems as well.

Your Space Sciences Fair and Educational Symposium this week undertakes to deal with today's changes through creative, imaginative, determination.

* * * * *

I propose to look at the promises and perils of a world of change in four areas of concern to you:

The changes that technology imposes.

The geographical changes of the mobile American population.

The constantly changing national economic mix.

The challenges education faces in preparing young people for changing work careers.

* * * * *

Let's begin with technological innovation—finding new ways to produce new and better products at less cost. There are two important aspects of this. First, technological advance has a price. Second, the price is usually worth paying.

In the last century, a technologically exploding America has transformed itself from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban society. The brilliant technological success of the United States has been in agriculture. Fewer people produce much more. Human resources have shifted away from the farm as the nation's agriculture adopts mechanization, better seeds, better fertilizers and better farming. Between 1947 and 1964 alone, agricultural employment dropped 42 percent, and 3.5 million agricultural jobs vanished. Yet production continues more bountiful than ever.

Another great example of the technological phenomenon changing America lies in the evolution of energy. Man, mule and canoe preceded water power, steam, electricity and petroleum. And now atomic power is adding to the energy resources available to the nation and to the world.

Today, fossil-fueled power plants still account for 75 percent of all electric power generated in the United States. But nuclear reactors will be replacing power boilers at an increasing rate of the generation of electricity for our homes and industry. Current forecasts indicate that 60 percent of all generating capacity to be installed in the 1970's will be nuclear powered, and by 1980 between 30 and 50 percent of all electricity generated will be from nuclear steam supply systems.

This does not mean that West Virginia's great natural resource—coal—will become irrelevant to the national economy. The coal industry is healthy today, and our wish in Washington is that much more could be done to produce enough coal to feed the willing export markets of Western Europe. These export dollars would help the balance of payments. But competition from home demand and higher freight rates for export destined coal have kept this kind of exporting below optimum.

It is true, however, that the proportions of national energy derived from coal will diminish. More important, mechanization of mining has displaced the old-fashioned miner, and employment has fallen off sharply. Marvelous achievements for the nation as a whole have troublesome, even tragic consequences for the individual, the business or the community which loses out.

A second aspect of the energy evolution consists of unplanned side-effects. For example, the increasingly critical problem of air pollution.

In 1966 the burning of conventional fuels by motor vehicles, industry, power plants, home heating plants, and refuse disposal facilities poured an estimated 142 million tons of pollutants into the atmosphere, heavily concentrated in urban areas. This hazard to the health and to other interests of the community have triggered an intensive effort to discover more effective pollution control devices, better fuel composition, new engines, new power sources, and alternate means of individual and mass transportation—all creating problems and opportunities for auto manufacturers, fuel producers and others.

The hazards also invite restrictions on the burning of high-sulfur coal and fuel oil—and may hurt the competitive position of coal and residual oil for electric power generation.

This capsule treatment of the evolution of energy and technology is intended to drive home the obvious but important point: Progress has a price.

One price may be job displacement or disappearance; another, health hazards to the community eliciting counteractions which force industry to still further adaptation.

On the brighter side, technological change creates more jobs for Americans than it wipes out. It vastly increases our ability to produce more goods in fewer hours. Technology spawns new industries and jobs—electronics, computers, television, chemicals, plastics, and optics. The new and still infant aerospace industry employes almost 10 times more workers than coal mining.[1]

Today, almost 76 million persons are employed in our country—some 2 million more than were working a year ago. At the same time, our unemployment rate nationally is down to about 3.5 percent of the labor force.

This suggests a second point: The price of progress is usually worth paying.

We can cushion the unfortunate by-products of change and catch the wave of the future rather than hide in the lagoon of the past.

Technological change has an analogue in the great mobility of the American people. We do not tend to spend our lives in the same house or the same neighborhood or the same community. Every year, at least 20 percent of all Americans move to new address,[2] although most of the persons so moving move to a new residence within the same county.

Some 500,000 rural poor, many of them Negro Americans from the South, migrate

* * * * *

each year to metropolitan areas in search of jobs and better living conditions.

The country's population is increasingly concentrating in urban and metropolitan areas. By 1980, the Bureau of the Census projects that 75 percent of the 241 million Americans will live in urban areas.

Yet at the same time manufacturing plants, wholesale and retail businesses, and service businesses are moving to the suburbs and smaller cities.

Between 1960 and 1965, 62 percent of all new plant development, by value, took place outside the central cities where there is room for expansion, lower taxes and other costs, and living conditions attractive to skilled labor.

The result is an increasing mismatch between jobs and people in the central cities. Because of this two-way migration, it is forecast that the 25 largest metropolitan areas outside California will be faced with a shortage of nearly 3 million jobs by 1975.

Is it wise to concentrate our population in the urban centers? Or can we change the circumstances so that jobs will be more evenly distributed throughout the land?

We should recognize that one factor contributing to our critical urban problem is the existence of a rural problem. Unless we can slow down the influx of rural poor into the cities, unless the migrants into the cities are equipped to hold jobs, and unless jobs are available in the cities, the future of America's metropolitan areas looks dark indeed.

To stem the influx into the cities, we must attract industry to smaller communities and give jobs in these areas to those who will otherwise seek urban meccas. We should change the present tendency to move to the large urban centers by giving workers the skills to match job requirements in the places they now live—and creating job opportunities there.

This effort requires the cooperation of private enterprise and government at all levels. Among the Federal programs aimed at this objective are two of particular interest to you: the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration, both established in 1965.

The Appalachia program is a Federal-State effort for the economic development of a 13-state region, including West Virginia. Here in Harrison County its benefits are already flowing—the upgrading of U.S. Highway 50, the construction of a local access road to serve Salem College, a Federal grant to construct a new science building at Salem College, and the proposed construction of a vocational education school in the County.

The Economic Development Administration—EDA—on the other hand, is national in scope, seeking to promote regional economic planning and programs in areas of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment. EDA combines local initiatives with Federal assistance to create new job opportunities by developing new and expanding existing facilities and resources.

Here in Harrison County EDA has made several grants to help stimulate industrial development. A feasibility study has been completed on the proposed Lost Creek industrial park South of Clarksburg, which could provide an estimated 600 jobs. A grant was made for the airport terminal building at Bridgeport. And grants were made for water systems at Bridgeport and Salem.

* * * * *

Through these and other government programs but mainly through local initiative and promotion, geographic change can be an opportunity for growth even for an area losing some of its traditional sources of economic strength.

The new Lockheed-Georgia plant in Harrison County indicates that era of electronics has already dawned here. Other space-age industries are looking for progressive communities in which to locate. This week's Symposium demonstrates that you're taking an initiative in the best American tradition.

These demographic and technological changes in our domestic economy have contributed to the *third major area* of change, the shifts in the economic mix of the country.

The first is the sheer size of the growth of the American economy. Between 1961 and 1967, the total output of goods and services of the United States (our Gross National Product) increased by 60 percent, of which 41 percent consisted of growth in real production, that is after adjusting to eliminate price rises. This growth alone, in real terms, exceeded the entire real output of the United States in 1938.

To accent this even more strongly, our growth alone during these seven years of expansion equaled: almost a sixth of the world's 1966 production of goods and services; around two-thirds of the entire 1966 production of goods and services in the USSR; and almost twice all of the 1966 production of goods and services of Great Britain and France.

In this period of expansion, the personal income of Americans rose $236 billion, or 58 percent. This means an average increase in personal income of 44 percent, or almost $1,000 for each man, woman and child in the United States, to a $3,200 a year average.

The nation is rich and has been getting richer. Measured in terms of economic capability, our capacity—if not our will or skill—to deal with the problems of economic and social adjustment, including poverty, is very great indeed.

Second, the change in size of the economy has been accompanied by a change in the ways people tend to earn a living.

An equally spectacular change has been the fantastic employment increases in the service industries and in state and local government. Since 1950 each of these sources of employment has doubled. The service industries in that period moved from 12 percent of the work force to 15 percent and state and local government workers moved from 9 percent to 13.5 percent. At the same time the share of the work force in manufacturing and transportation, taken together, declined from about 43 percent to 36 percent.

The dynamics of the fast moving American economy shift—sometimes quite rapidly—the kinds of skills by which a man may earn his living. This, of course, focuses for both individuals and communities the need for adjustment, and gives impetus to private and government efforts to retrain individuals and to revitalize industries, communities and regions.

---

[1] On December 31, 1967, 144,200 persons were employed in coal mining and 1,407,000 persons in the aerospace industry.

[2] Census Bureau, *Current Population Survey*, Series P-20.

A third example of the changing economic mix lies in international trade. As our economy has become more industrialized and our technology more advanced, finished manufactures—predominantly machinery and transport equipment—account for an increasing share of our exports.[3] Though wage rates are high in these industries, technological applications have made it possible to produce the products with relatively fewer workers and thus at competitive prices.

Until relatively recently, our stable unit labor costs gave us a stronger competitive position in these products relative to major foreign producers whose costs were rising. Since late 1965, the situation has reversed. Our prices have risen relatively faster than those of our foreign competitors. Price increases in the last four months have been the largest the nation has seen for many a year. They reflect in significant part rising wage costs. The rise in average compensation per man-hour for non-farm workers rose 6.8 percent in the first quarter of this year over the first quarter of 1967—the fastest rise in more than a decade.

* * * * *

The escape clause has been used to assist the sheet glass industry, which is an important part of the economy of the Clarksburg area. In 1962, the President imposed higher escape-action rates on sheet glass imports to meet the strong competition faced by domestic industry.

Last fall, the escape-clause tariff rates on medium-weight sheet glass were extended to January 1970, in recognition that most of the plants producing this type of glass are located in areas of relatively high unemployment. The President also appointed a task force of representatives of the Departments of Commerce and Labor and the Small Business Administration to study the possibilities of mobilizing public and private help for the industry and communities which might suffer without the special protection. This task force visited Clarksburg in May and talked with industry, labor and civic representatives to explore long-term solutions and to determine the adequacy of government assistance programs.

The higher tariff protection under the escape clause, which I fully supported, provides a breathing spell. I urge industry, labor and community leaders to take advantage of this respite and seek ways to move towards a more competitive situation in the same, some related, or even a different product line, for the benefits of an escape clause relief are not guaranteed forever.

Manpower Development and Training programs, as well as special adjustment assistance, are other examples of government efforts to ease the problems workers face from economic changes.

* * * * *

Finally, in discussing change in our society, one cannot omit the role of education in the processes of change.

It is self-evident that there is a need to look beyond today's problems in order to prepare today's children for tomorrow's world.

The theme of your week's observance recognizes this by its focus on education and the opportunities ahead, rather than the hazards.

I believe that it is hard to teach people exactly what they will need to know to be successful in life. The more valuable thing to teach is how to deal with problems.

A law school, for example, attempts to teach the lawyer how he can respond to his client's problems—how he can find the answers for the myriad of situations which can never be fully foreseen. Versatility is the goal. And lawyers have demonstrated that versatility by participating in numerous other activities as well as in their chosen profession.

This same capability can, of course, be learned in many other disciplines. Even at early stages in school, I believe that more emphasis can usefully be placed upon analytical and imaginative dealing with problems. Those with these developed talents will, I believe, inevitably outstrip those with predominantly information-oriented minds.

The complexities of tomorrow require even higher levels of education and training. The exhibits at the Armory which most of you—and some 12,000 Clarksburg area students—have seen this week makes this point dramatically.

In the past few decades, improved education has raised the average quality of our labor. This quality must continue to improve. And that means that youngsters must stay in school and spend more years in the classroom to compete successfully in the future.

Even today, of the Labor Department's list of 70 occupations for which there will be a steady national demand, only four do not require a high school education.

One of the best investments of our economic wealth would be to give our youth the necessary skills—and the breadth of understanding—to build their lives with wisdom and success. We must prevent deprived children from becoming deprived adults.

We cannot afford to have unemployables when jobs are going begging in many areas of the nation. We have created 12.5 million new jobs in the past seven years of steady economic growth. And, as President Johnson said in his State of the Union Message this year, we will add 1.5 million to 2 million jobs every year at our present rate of growth.

To fulfill the promise of people and jobs being ready for each other, our states and communities are, for the most part, striving to improve their educational systems to the best of their ability within the resources available to them. Yet far too many youngsters still leave public school without a diploma. A substantial number leave college without a degree. We have yet to master this problem.

While education adjusts to the tide of events, it also contributes to the process of change. Without doubt, education is of prime importance to your area's future. The existence of 7 or 8 colleges within the general area of Clarksburg demonstrates your consciousness of this fact. With trained manpower, you should be able to attract new and diversified industry, which will give your economy a wiser and more stable base. But the commitment, vision, and energetic effort must start with you, as indeed it has.

Change creates opportunity. Technology, mobility and the changing economic mix are creating a nation with a higher skilled, better paid work force. The communities and the individuals with imagination and adaptability can go far in this environment.

Change also creates stress and difficulty. Progress has a price. The process of adjusting to change often entails a mismatch between jobs and people—in the rural and small communities and in the big cities. Industries and the communities dependent upon them decline. Successful adaptation may be difficult indeed.

The negative features of change can be ameliorated by imaginative use of private and governmental initiatives. Appalachia and EDA and this Symposium are but three examples of such initiative at work in Clarksburg.

Over the long run, an education program which teaches people how to think—rather than what to think—offers the best hope for avoiding the perils and seizing the opportunities of change.

---

[3] Since 1961, the percentage, but not the value, of agricultural products in our total foreign shipments has fallen from 25 to 21 percent.

THE NEW RACIALISM

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, in the Atlantic, August 1968, in an article entitled "The New Racialism," sociologist Daniel P. Moynihan comments on the turn-around in liberal thinking on the issues of centralized Government and ethnic quotas.

Distrust of Washington, once the sure giveaway of a conservative or reactionary mind, has become a characteristics stance of forward-looking young men. And now ethnic quotas have reappeared.

This is a most provocative article by a distinguished scholar, and I commend it to my colleagues.

But as we have learned that turning to the Federal Government does not produce satisfactory answers to all of our problems, particularly to the continuing problems of inequality of opportunity faced by our Negro citizens, let us not forget that neither is the city hall of yesterday perfect mechanism for dealing with many of these problems. As a comment on this side of the picture, I call attention to an interesting essay by Leon M. Despres, an independent alderman in Chicago, entitled "The Chicago the Delegates Won't See," which appears in the August 1968 issue of the Progressive.

[From Atlantic Monthly, August 1968]

THE NEW RACIALISM

(By Daniel P. Moynihan)

(Note:—The liberals have been confusing their vocabulary, talking of "racism" when they mean "racialism," and have been abandoning their traditional opposition to decentralized government and racial quotas. The results may be dangerous, observes Professor Moynihan, the buoyantly iconoclastic sociologist, author, and director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University.)

The great enterprise on which the American nation was embarked when the Vietnam storm arose was the final inclusion of the Negro American in the larger American society. That the Negro was, and still in considerable measure is, excluded none will doubt. But it seems not less clear that this fact of exclusion has been the lot of a very considerable portion of the American people over the generations, and the process of inclusion, of "national integration," in Samuel H. Beer's term, a process "in which the community is being made more of a community," has been going on almost from the moment the fortunes of war and empire defined this hopelessly heterogeneous people as made up exclusively of General de Gaulle's "Anglo-Saxons." In fact, at midcentury only 35 percent of the American people were descendants of migrants from Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Most of the rest have known greater or lesser degrees of exclusion--and into the present. But none quite like that of the Negro, and final, palpable equality for him became the essential demand of our time, just as it became the demand of the American presidency; only to arouse among some elements of the society—in greater or lesser degree in all elements—a pervasive fear and deep resistance. Laws in the hundreds were passed, but changes were few. As the black masses for whatever reasons became increasingly violent, white resistance became more stubborn, even as it assumed more respectable forms: "Law and order."

This resistance has produced something of a stalemate, and in consequence a crisis. The essential symbol, and in ways the central fact, of black exclusion in white America is that the Negro is not permitted to move about freely and live where he will. Increasingly he is confined to the slums of the central cities, with consequences at once appalling to him and disastrous to the cities. The laws do not require this exclusion; in fact, they forbid it. Now also does the Supreme Court. But it prevails because of a process of private nullification by whites.

More and more one hears that this situation is likely to persist so long as to require that it be treated as a permanent condition. And largely as a result of this conclusion, a marked reversal appears to be taking place in what are generally seen as liberal circles on the subject of decentralized government and racial quotas. For a good half century now—longer than that, in truth—liberal opinion has held quite strong views on these issues, and they are almost wholly negative. Nor have these views been in any sense marginal. Quite near to the core of the liberal agenda in the reform period that began at the turn of the century and continued almost to this moment we find two propositions.

The first is that local government is conservative or even reactionary. Such nostalgia as might have persisted about New England town meetings was seen as historically obsolete and ethnically inapplicable. Local government in New York, for example, was known to be run by Irishmen, who were bosses wielding vast but illegitimate power, placing unqualified men on public payrolls, consorting with criminals, and lowering the standards of public life. In the South, local government was in the hands of racists, who systematically excluded Negroes from participation in public affairs, and much else as well. The West was far away. Hence the great thrust of liberal/intellectual political effort, and central to liberal/intellectual political opinion, was the effort to *raise* the level at which governmental decisions were made above that of state and local government to that of the federal government. The great and confirming successes of that effort were, of course, the Administrations of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. "States' rights" became a symbol of reaction. Distinguished public servants such as Paul Appleby developed the doctrine that those who insisted that this or that governmental activity was best carried out at the local level were in fact opposed to such activity, and confident that in actuality the local government would do nothing. E. E. Schattschneider explained the whole thrust of liberal politics in terms of the effort to raise the level at which the decisions were made. These views had consequence. Three years ago, for example, when the Johnson Administration was about to come forth with a proposal for revenue-sharing with state governments—the well-known Heller-Pechman plan—the proposal was vetoed by the labor movement on grounds that giving more resources to local powers could only strengthen the forces of conservatism and reaction.

The second general theme has to do with the whole issue of ethnic, racial (if one wishes to make a distinction between those two), and religious heterogeneity. These were matters which liberal opinion firmly held ought not to be subjects of public moment or acknowledgment. Rather as politics and women are proscribed as matters of conversation in a naval officers' mess, it was accepted that such categories existed, and given the doctrine of freedom of conscience, it was also accepted that religious diversity would persist, but in general, opinion looked forward to a time when such distinctions would make as little difference as possible. Opinion certainly aspired to the complete disappearance of ethnic characteristics, which were felt to have little, if any, validity. Increasingly, the identification of persons by race or religion, especially in application forms of various sorts, was seen as a manifestation of racism, of unavoidably malign intent.

It is hard to judge which is the more extraordinary: that Americans could have thought they could eliminate such identities, or that so little comment was made about the effort. (Resistance, then as now, was largely silent and ashamed.) Andrew Greeley has recently speculated that the historians of, say, the twenty-third or twenty-fourth century looking back to this time will find that, apart from the great population increase in the world, and its Westernization and industrialization, quite the most extraordinary event was the fusing of cultures in the American republic:

"The historians of the future will find it hard to believe that it could have happened that English, Scotch, and Welsh, Irish, Germans, Italians, and Poles, Africans, Indians, both Eastern and Western, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Finns, Swedes, Lebanese, Danes, Armenians, Croatians, Slovenians, Greeks, and Luxembourgers, Chinese, Japanese, Philippinos, and Puerto Ricans would come together to form a nation that not only would survive but, all things considered, survive reasonably well. I further suggest that the historians of the future will be astonished that American sociologists, the product of this gathering in of the nations, could stand in the midst of such an astonishing social phenomenon and take it so for granted that they would not bother to study it."

I agree, largely as I feel that future historians, relieved of our nineteenth-century preoccupation with the appearance of industrialization and the issue of who would control the artifacts thereof, a preoccupation, in other words, with issues such as capitalism, socialism, and Communism, will also see that the turbulence of these times here and abroad has had far more to do with ethnic, racial, and religious affiliation than with these other issues. Nonetheless, beginning with the New Deal, federal legislation began prohibiting discrimination based on race and religion, and this movement increasingly took the form of forbidding acknowledgment even of the existence of such categories. In New York, for example, a prospective employer simply may not ask to know the religious or ethnic affiliation of an employee. A dean of admissions may not ask for a photograph of an applicant. The culmination of this movement, and given its insistence on absolute equality in competition, the high-water mark of social Darwinism in the United States was, of course, the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Now, of a sudden, all this has changed. The demand for decentralization of government and local participation in decision-making about even the most global issues has become almost a leading issue with liberal thinkers and politicians. Distrust of Washington, once the sure giveaway of a conservative or reactionary mind, has become a characteristic stance of forward-looking young men. And now ethnic quotas have reappeared, although primarily in terms of racial quotas. That which was specifically forbidden by the Civil Rights Act is now explicitly (albeit covertly) required by the federal government. Employers are given quotas of the black employees they will hire, records of minority-group employment are diligently maintained, and censuses repeatedly taken. In universities in particular the cry has arisen for racial quotas, roughly representative of population proportions, in both university faculties and student bodies, and the proposal is most ardently supported by those who would have themselves considered most advanced in their social thinking. It would seem together to be expected that this process will continue, and come to be applied to all the most visible institutions of the land, starting, of course, with those most sympathetic to social change, and therefore most vulnerable to such pressure, and gradually, grown more legitimate, extended to the more resistant centers.

What on earth happened? Taking these developments in the order that I listed them, one can perceive at least two sources of the thrust toward decentralization, both related to the racial stalemate and both of which can properly be described as the result of a learning process, and on that ground welcomed. The first is the discovery by liberal middle-class America that many of the institutions of urban working-class politics served important and legitimate purposes, and that the destruction of these institutions created a vacuum in which by and large Negroes now have to live. Having destroyed the power of the local bosses, we learn that the people feel powerless. Having put an end to patronage and established merit systems in civil service, we find that the poor and unqualified are without jobs. Having banished felons from public employment, we find that enormous numbers of men who need jobs have criminal records. Having cleaned up law enforcement, we find that crime is run by the Mafia (or whatever is the current term for slandering Italians), instead of the police, as was the case in the idyllic days of Lincoln Steffens' youth. Hence liberals now are urged to return to local organization with an enthusiasm ever so slightly tinged with the elitism of the middle-class liberal/radical who now as always is confident that he is capable of running anything better than anyone else, even a slum neighborhood. Middle-class radicals continue to insist the Negroes in Harlem are powerless, not least, one fears, because the one type who is *never* elected is the middle-class radical. (But to my knowledge there is hardly a single significant elected or appointed political, judicial, or administrative office in Harlem that is not held by a Negro.) Hence an ever increasing enthusiasm of liberal foundations and reform mayors for creating new "indigenous" community organizations and giving to them a measure of real or pretend power. Whether in fact outsiders can create an "indigenous" organization is problematic. (Would it not be good sport for the Landmarks Commission to assign to Mayor Lindsay's Little City Halls their traditional Tammany designations of Tuscorora Club, Iroquois Club, Onondaga Club?) But the effort is sincere, if withal tinged with a certain elitist impulse to manage the lives of the less fortunate.

On a different level, a movement toward decentralization has arisen largely from the emergence of what James O. Wilson has called the bureaucracy problem, the fact that "there are inherent limits to what can be accomplished by large, hierarchical organizations." Although Max Weber explained to us why large bureaucracies, once established, would work for themselves rather than the putative objects of their concern, it was not until the bureaucracies were established, and someone tried to do something with them, that any great number of persons came to see the point. Interestingly enough, this seems to have happened in the Soviet Union at about the same time as in the United States. For certain it is an endemic mood among men who went to Washington with John F. Kennedy. The problem involves not just the dynamics of large organizations, but also the ambitiousness of our society. As Wilson continues: "The supply of able, experienced executives is not increasing nearly as fast as the number of problems being addressed."

This is all to the good. It responds to reality; it reflects an openness to experience. Irving Kristol has remarked, echoing Sir William Harcourt at the turn of the century on the subject of socialism, "We are all decentralists now." The acknowledgement that race and ethnicity are persisting and consequential facts about individuals that ought in certain circumstances to be taken into consideration is long overdue. (Several years ago to my ultimate grief, I tried to get the welfare establishment in Washington to abandon its "color-blind" policy which refused to record anything about the race of welfare recipients. Last year Southern committee chairmen brought about the enactment of vicious anti-Negro welfare legislation, which no one could effectively oppose because no one is supposed to "know" about such things.) But before lurching from one set of overstatements to another, is it not possible to hope that a measure of thought will intervene, and that the truth will be found, alas, somewhere in the middle?

The issues are intertwined, and tend to work against one another. Thus the fundamental source of equal rights for Negro Americans, for all Americans, is the Constitution. Where the federal writ runs, all men are given equal treatment. But this process is not directed by some invisible hand; it is the result of political decisions made year to year in Washington. "Local control" means a very different thing in Mississippi than it does in New York, and let us for God's sake summon the wit to see this before we enshrine the political principles of George C. Wallace in the temple of liberal rationalism. Paul Appleby knew what he was talking about. An aggressive federal insistence on equal treatment for all races is indispensable to the successful inclusion of the Negro American into the large society.

Further, to argue that all things cannot be run from Washington is not to assert that neither can they be run from city hall. Unfortunately, a good deal of decentralization talk is fundamentally antigovernment in spirit, and this can be a calamity in areas such as race relations. Giving a mayor enough untied federal funds to enable him to govern his city could release immensely creative energies. Forcing him to break up his administration into endlessly fractionating units will bring on anarchism at best and chaos at worst. Given the heterogeneous political community of most large cities, this potential for ethnic and racial chaos, Kristol remarks, is especially great.

School decentralization in New York seems to be encouraging just this. The problem is that now, as ever in the past, the lower classes of the city are ethnically quite distinct from what might be termed the bureaucratic classes, and neighborhoods tend to conform to those distinctions. The result is that conflict induced between the two groups gets ugly fast. Thus the New York *Times* reported that the militant picketing of I.S. 201 in east Harlem in 1967 was "flagrantly anti-Semitic." Similar tendencies have appeared in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area where decentralization is being experimented with. A leaflet recently distributed there reads:

"If African-American History and Culture is to be taught to our Black Children it Must Be Done By African-Americans Who Identify With And Who Understand The Problem. It Is Impossible For The Middle East Murderers of Colored People to Possibly Bring To This Important Task The Insight, The Concern, The Exposing Of the Truth That is a *Must* If The Years of Brainwashing And Self-Hatred That Has Been Taught To Our Black Children By Those Bloodsucking Exploiters and Murderers Is To Be Overcome."

A pretty sentiment, to which, not surprisingly, there are Jews capable of responding in kind. Charles E. Silberman, the distinguished author of *Crisis in Black and White,* recently demanded of an American Jewish Committee meeting that it "face up to the raw, rank, anti-Negro prejudice that is within our own midst. We talk—endlessly—about Negro Anti-Semitism; we rarely talk about—let alone try to deal with—the Jewish Anti-Negroism that is in our midst and that is growing very rapidly."

All too familiar. And as Archbishop John F. Dearden of Detroit, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, observed last year, in other cities of the nation the Negro-white confrontation is becoming a Negro-Catholic (Protestant-Catholic) encounter. *Plus cu change . . .'*

The danger is that we shall see the emergence of a new racialism. Not racism, a term—dreadfully misused by the Kerner Commission—that has as its indispensable central intent "the assumption that psychocultural traits and capacities are determined by biological race and that races differ decisively from one another" (Webster's *Third New International Dictionary*). There is a streak of the racist virus in the American bloodstream, and has been since the first "white" encounter with the "red" Indians. But it is now a distinctly minority position, and mainly that of old or marginal persons, with an occasional politician seeking to make use of what is left. Yet there is a strong, and persisting, phenomenon of racialism, defined as "racial prejudice or discrimination: race hatred." This is in no sense confined to "whites," much less "Wasps." (I use quotation marks. The geneticist Joshua Lederberg notes that it is scientifically absurd to call anyone in this country "black," and probably not accurate to speak of "whites" either.) Writing in a 1935 issue of *Race,* E. Franklin Frazier, for example, referred to W. E. B. DuBois's then current proposal that the Negro build a cooperative industrial system in America as "racialism." There is nothing mystical about racialism; it is simply a matter of one group not liking another group of evidently antagonistic interests. It is a profoundly different position from that of racism, with its logic of genocide and subordination. And it does no service whatever to this polity to identify as racist attitudes that are merely racialist and which will usually, on examination, be found to have essentially a social class basis. But our potential for this type of dissension is large and very likely growing. In the hands of ideologues (who often as not enjoy the chaos) or charlatans (who stand to benefit) or plain simpletons, many forms of decentralization in the modern city will give rise to racialism. Responsible persons should examine that prospect beforehand.

The question of quotas raises the same issues. As I am almost certain to be misunderstood—that appears to be an occupational hazard in this field (and I would seriously suggest that the training of any social scientist in years to come should include something equivalent to the processes by which psychiatrists are taught to anticipate and accept hostility)—let me offer a word or two by way of credentials. I believe it fair to say that I have been one of a smallish band of sociologists and political scientists who have insisted that race, ethnicity, and religion were and are relevant and functional categories in American life. I accept fully, as does Greeley, the Weberian analysis of E. K. Francis that the ethnic collectivity represents an attempt on the part of men to keep alive during their pilgrimage from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft,* or as Greeley puts it, "from peasant commune to industrial metropolis," some of the diffuse, ascriptive, particularistic modes of behavior that were common to their past. I have argued in favor of the balanced political ticket; I have even been a member of one. I see the emergence of "black pride" as wholly a good thing. And so on. But at the same time, I would hope as we rush toward an ethnically, racially, and religiously conscious society that we try to keep our thinking just a bit ahead of events.

My concerns are twofold and come to this. First, I am worried that having so far been unable to assemble the political majority that would enable the nation to provide a free and equal place for the Negro in the larger society by what are essentially market strategies (full employment, income supplementation, housing construction, and suchlike), we will be driven to institutional strategies involving government-dictated outcomes directed against those institutions most vulnerable to government pressure. I don't like this mostly because I don't like that kind of government pressure. But I oppose it also because I fear the kind of rigidities that it can build into a society that obviously is most effective when it is most flexible.

Remember, the Negro middle class is on the move. A recent study at Columbia found that the proportion of Negroes with professional or technical occupations in New York City is distinctly higher than that of Irish or Italians.

If there is an ethnic balance "against" Negroes in many municipal bureaucracies today, there is likely to be one "for" them in the not distant future. These are for the most part truly integrated groups, which, much as do the Armed Forces, provide major opportunities for Negro advancement on purely equal terms involving neither discrimination nor preference. (When the Jewish principal at P.S. 201 resigned, his Negro deputy refused the job on grounds that she would not be appointed *as a Negro*. She had no need to be. Inspired or lethargic, brilliant or bright, she was on her way to a principalship on her own. That is what bureaucracy is like.)

My second concern is, to my mind, the greater. Once this process gets legitimated there is no stopping it, and without intending anything of the sort, I fear it will be contributing significantly to the already well-developed tendency to politicize (and racialize) more and more aspects of modern life. Thirty years ago Orwell wrote, "In our age there is no such thing as 'keeping out of politics.' All issues are political issues. . . ." I resist that. Not all issues. Not yet. Note that he added "and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred, and schizophrenia." Not all American politics. Not yet. But enough is, and we must therefore struggle against the efforts of government, in some large general interest, to dictate more and more of the small details. It is necessary to be more alert to Robert A. Nisbet's observation that democracy is, fundamentally, "a theory and structure of *political power,*" but that liberalism is "historically a theory of *immunity* from power."

This, to my mind, is something more than a generalized concern. For centuries it has been obvious that property is not always evenly distributed, and it has been more or less legitimate to talk about it. In America, however, in the modern world generally, there have grown up new forms of property and influence, not so readily perceived, and the people who possess them have been wisely content to leave it at that. Success, as Norman Podhoretz wrote, and as he learned, is a dirty little secret in America, which those who are successful very much dislike to see discussed in public. A quality which makes for social stability at this time is that different groups in the population value different kinds of success, and tend to be best at those they most value. But government knows little of such variegations, and I very much fear that if we begin to become formal about quotas *for* this or that group, we will very quickly come to realize that these are instantly translated into quotas *against*. This is painfully true in the field of education and culture, which to a very considerable degree at this particular moment in our history is exceptionally influenced by American Jews. It was in a certain sense in an effort to resist the processes that brought about this partial hegemony that the "older American" institutions imposed quotas in the first place, and it was to abet the process that the quotas were abolished. Those were in fact quotas on success, imposed against a disproportionately successful group.

Let me be blunt. If ethnic quotas are to be imposed on American universities and similarly quasipublic institutions, it is Jews who will be almost driven out. They are not 3 percent of the population. This would be a misfortune to them, but a disaster to the nation. And I very much fear that there is a whiff of anti-Semitism in many of these demands. I was interested that when demands for quotas were made at Harvard, the *Crimson* endorsed with some enthusiasm the idea of ethnic representation, if not exactly quotas, on the faculty, but the editors were not at all impressed with the advantages of extending the principle to the student body. I do not know what was on their mind, but I do know that if ethnic quotas ever should come to Harvard (surely they won't!), something like seven out of eight Jewish undergraduates would have to leave, and I would imagine it to be a higher proportion in the graduate schools. This, I repeat, would be a misfortune for them, but a disaster for a place like Harvard. And much the same exodus would be required of Japanese and Chinese Americans, especially in the graduate schools.

One assumes that America has known enough of anti-Semitism and anti-Oriental feeling to be wary of opening that box again. Especially now. Given the prominence of Jews in current American radical movements—the *Times* describes the student activists at Columbia as "typically very bright and predominantly Jewish"—and the hostage of Israel, Jews are at this moment perhaps especially exposed to conservative or reactionary pressures which could easily make an issue of "overrepresentation." Recalling what we did to Japanese Americans in World War II, we surely should be careful about exposing Chinese Americans today to reactionary pressures simply on the basis that mainland China is our enemy.

It comes down to a matter of prudence: of recognizing our potential for racialism, and guarding against it, while responding to real and legitimate racial needs. Thus Negroes need preferential treatment in some areas, and deserve it. The good sense of the country in the past has been to do this kind of thing by informal arrangements—the balanced ticket. At the present time Israel, for example, seems to be having success with similar arrangements for its Eastern Jewish immigrants. Can we not do as much?

I hope I would not be interpreted as resisting a more open acknowledgment of these factors. To the contrary, I feel they should be more in our minds, but at a private and informal level of concern. I am acutely aware, for example, of the debilitating imbalance in the ethnic origins of American social scientists. I say debilitating because it is the nature of heterogeneous societies such as ours that analysis that could in any way be taken as criticism is routinely rejected when the analyst is of a distinctly different group. That is the plain truth of it. And it is a truth much in evidence with respect to Negro studies at this time. Thirty years ago in this country anyone seeking to learn more *about* Negroes would have had to read books written *by* Negroes: Frazier, Drake, Cayton, Johnson, and others. Somehow that tradition, nobly begun by DuBois, faltered. There was not, for example, a single Negro social scientist on the research staff of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Now, with only a few exceptions, social science studies of Negroes are carried out by whites, and we are not to wonder that more and more the cry goes out from the slums that they are tired of that white magic and will listen no more. But Negroes are only one case, and not a particularly special one. American social sciences desperately needs to expand its ethnic, racial, and religious base, just as it has got to expand its interests in those areas.

Let me conclude with the words with which Nathan Glazer and I closed our own study of the city:

"Religion and race define the next phase in the evolution of the American peoples. But the American nationality is still forming: its processes are mysterious, and the final form, if there is ever to be a final form, is as yet unknown."

[From the Progressive, August 1968]

THE CHICAGO THE DELEGATES WON'T SEE

(By Leon M. Despres)

(NOTE.—Leon M. Despres, a lawyer and lecturer on law, has served as a Fifth Ward alderman in Chicago since 1955. He has won national recognition as a critic of machine politics in Chicago and as a champion of open housing, civil rights, and city planning. He received the Chicago Newspaper Guild Page One Award for his "outstanding contribution to a better Chicago.")

Most of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention will enter Chicago through the palatial gateway of O'Hare Field, "the busiest airport in the world." They will travel by taxi or limousine at high speed over miles of the broad, brightly lighted John F. Kennedy Expressway through the northwest quadrant of the city to their sumptuous hotels downtown, in the "Loop." Then for several days they will be whisked back and forth between the Loop and the convention hall, a few miles southwest of downtown, along special, well-guarded routes. They will be welcomed to Chicago by the mayor, Richard J. Daley, and they may fail to see in this warm, homespun man the tough and dominating city boss with the iron hand. They may go home impressed with what they have seen of Chicago and its mayor. Some may think they have seen the whole picture.

But there are many aspects of Chicago and its boss they will not see, aspects less glittering than O'Hare Field or the impressive new architecture in the Loop or the special treatment accorded visitors.

Chicago has to be lived in to be fully understood, but a visitor who leaves the central business area and visits the black ghetto, the gray neighborhoods, the suburban sprawl, and the wealthy dormitory towns can gain some insight into the city. Chicago is a great, modern industrial city, the second biggest in the nation (well, anyhow, third biggest), dominated by rich, successful business and financial interests and governed by the most efficient political machine of the past century.

The Chicago metropolitan area, with a population of about 8,000,000, has fantastic industrial, commercial, financial, scientific, and educational resources. The heart of the area is Cook County, with a population of 5,500,000, including the legal city of Chicago with 3,500,000, a million of whom are black. Residentially, Chicago is the most segregated American big city. In the City Council, when I quoted the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to confirm this distinction, one of my colleagues rose in defense and said that Cleveland is now more segregated residentially than Chicago. When you tour Chicago, however, you will think Chicago is still first.

Except for its 700,000 poor (income under $3,000 for a family or $1,000 for an individual), Chicago is a great place to make money, and lots of people are making lots of it. The city motto is "I will," but no one has ever said what. In a representative poll, "I will make money" would probably win a majority. The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, after defining the Chicago metropolitan area to cover all the wealthy suburbs, flourishes figures to show that, even with its 700,000 poor, Chicago has the highest per capita income of any metropolitan area.

Chicago's most pampered neighborhood is the central business area, comprising downtown and the near north side along Lake Michigan. When visitors speak of Chicago's "dynamic, modern progress," they usually refer to the central business area. There you see bold new buildings, daytime vigor, and excellent city maintenance. New projects are always in the works. Speedy public transit converges on the area. Hundreds of millions of dollars in expressways pour people into the area by day and back to the suburbs at night. Get off the subway anywhere in the central business area and you won't find a broken city sidewalk. Get off the subway almost anywhere else, and you will. Between the central business area and the outskirts lie large, almost uninterrupted gray areas of urban dry rot. This is where most Chicagoans live.

The pampered central business area evidences the basis of Chicago politics, the unwritten compact between Chicago's Democratic political machine and the business and financial interests. Under this tacit agreement the business and financial interests receive luxurious support for the central business area, subsidies of valuable public works, indulgent business-oriented drafting and enforcement of ordinances regulating business, and, for the rest of Chicago, a firm hand on the city's tiller and on the till. In exchange, the business and financial interests provide the machine what it needs in money and Republican backing, and delivers nearly full support of all parts of the public opinion media.

Except for a number of local suburban governments and a few county offices lost by suburbanite margins, Chicago is governed by a firmly run, businesslike organization of about 35,000 persons who live off politics—the Cook County Democratic Organization. Indeed, it really is a business. It controls the mayoralty, thirty-eight of the fifty members of the City Council, the school board, the park board, the library board, the housing authority, the transit authority, two-thirds of the county board, nearly all the county offices, many suburban governments, the state's attorney, the judiciary, the governor, the attorney general, the secretary of state, a chunk of the state legislature, the Chicago Congressmen, and the Federal patronage.

Chicago may have yielded to Los Angeles in population, and to Cleveland in residential segregation, but thanks to moldy civil service laws, it yields to no city in its total of 35,000 partisan political patronage jobholders. They are the paid troops who run the election machinery. In a Presidential election, they can produce about 100,000 votes more than are lawfully cast for the candidate. The importance of this achievement was best demonstrated in 1960 when John F. Kennedy squeaked through in Illinois by 8,858 votes. This "bonus" of 100,000 votes was decisive in capturing a key state. ("Just to even up the shameful Republican frauds downstate," the boys sometimes rationalize.) They are treated indulgently in the performance of most of their public chores, but held to high standards for their party work. Deviations or failures in party work bring prompt discharge from a job or interdict from office. For their party fidelity, however, they win money, security, power, and prestige. There is not much money, security, power, or prestige for a junior clerk in the tuberculosis sanitarium, but the closer you come to the center of the 35,000, the more you get.

The party is administered by fifty Chicago ward committeemen and thirty suburban township committeemen, elected for four-year terms in patronage-dominated primaries (only two city upsets in the last seventeen years). Every four years the committeemen elect one of themselves as chairman. In 1953, they elected the eleventh ward committeeman, and have reelected him every four years since. Since a party chairman finds it dangerous to let another man hold power and prestige as mayor of Chicago, the present party chairman notified the mayor in 1954 that the party would not re-slate him, beat him in the 1955 primary, and won the election. Every fourth year since then, Chicago has re-elected him and called him Mayor Daley, but his really important office is party chairman.

The party chairman has the executive powers of a strong corporation president. His job is to run the organization for the benefit of the 35,000 jobholders, keep its power intact, and win each election as it comes. He administers all the party patronage from the central office; handles the party money without public account; exacts loyalty from each committeeman; restrains excessive greed; suppresses scandals; settles internal arguments; conducts sensitive negotiations with powerful interests; keeps his private—but not always his public—promises; and says the final word on promotions, policies, and candidates, even for the Presidency of the United States. Party Chairman Daley is not a great party builder like former Mayor Anton Cermak or Mayor Edward Kelly, but he is a remarkable consolidater of power. Although "Democratic" is the name on the ballot, the party organization is autocratic. Each committeeman depends on the party chairman for the life-blood of patronage and party support and, in turn, each patronage appointee or officeholder is absolutely responsible to his committeeman.

To win elections, the party organization maintains its professional precinct army; keeps a monopoly of the attractive label of "Democratic;" prevents government from becoming so bad that it provokes fatal resentment; and holds together a majority of votes for the ticket.

The party organization is constantly handling political brokerage arrangements with Chicago interests, principally with the business and financial interests. There are also deals with Chicago labor, which tags along after Chicago business; with shady businesses, such as slum operators and preemptors of profitable billboard sites; and even, at some levels, with the unmentionable criminal businesses called "the syndicate."

Richard J. Daley is an able party head and election winner, but as mayor he is not quite modern enough to enable Chicago to meet the needs and challenges of modern times. He has kept most of his conservative, sober views from the days of his youth. He opposes city planning because it would take away from the party the profitable decision-making on city development and public works, and he follows literally the famous admonition of the great Chicago planner, Daniel Burnham: "Make no little plans." He makes no city plans at all.

To give an appearance of planning, however, the city administration issues and withdraws beautifully printed but non-binding documents and employs a half-time Commissioner of the Department of Redevelopment and Planning. The main function of the Department is to give a facade of approval to decisions made elsewhere and especially to proposed acts of pillage such as the building of expressways along the lake front, the real estate promoters' development of air rights over lakefront railroad tracks, or the proposed rape of twenty-seven square miles in Lake Michigan for the super-profitable construction of an airport. In all these cases, the immediate profit to the central business area and the promoters outweighs the interest of the majority of Chicago citizens. The refusal to plan in the general interest has done great harm to Chicago.

Daley works hard as party chairman and as mayor, and he is as good and conscientious a mayor as his personal views and his paramount loyalty to the Democratic Party permit. Except for slighting the ghetto by failing to provide all the extra help it needs to keep up with the rest of the city, he keeps the essential services functioning fairly well—refuse collection, fire protection, water distribution, sewage disposal, street repair, snow removal, and the other activities whose interruption would immediately bring down a government. Adequate police protection is a more difficult service to maintain successfully. Despite the excellent reorganization by O. W. Wilson after the 1960 police burglary scandal, the personal insecurity of Chicagoans is growing. Nevertheless, although the crime syndicate has continued to produce gang executions since Daley became mayor, only four per cent of the aldermen have been shot. One alderman (Ben Lewis) was mysteriously murdered, and the other, I, was only shot in the leg by youths making a robbery attempt.

Chicago's black-white tension is the force that racks, stretches, and disjoints Daley and the Chicago political machine. It can erupt at any time into physical violence, and there is concern the convention delegates may have a glimpse of some. Or it may produce a political upset. Daley has never learned—nor dared—to resolve this tension. He has held the blacks' vote by tight political and social control of the black wards through both black and white committeemen, the use of patronage, and occasional sops, such as tolerating a minuscule pupil-busing program or renaming South Parkway "Martin Luther King Drive." He has held the anti-blacks by keeping segregationists in charge of the school board, delaying the open housing ordinance for twelve years longer than New York City, keeping blacks almost entirely out of his cabinet, and encouraging police repression.

The extreme anti-blacks are angered even by the sops Daley gives to the blacks; and black Chicagoans, although they vote mostly for the Daley Democratic candidates when they vote, are now expressing themselves eloquently by staying home in sensationally large numbers. "I just can't get them out to vote," one precinct captain told his committeeman. Neither can anyone else, yet, except two black independent Democratic aldermen, A. A. Rayner, Jr., and William Cousins, Jr., who won elections over machine candidates in black, middle class wards in 1967. Despite warning and prodding, the party command thinks only in terms of sops, and turns its back on the perceptive recommendations for city action made by the Kerner Commission.

As a group, black Chicagoans do not live nearly so well as white Chicagoans, and the disparity is growing. In *Chicago's Widening Color Gap*, sociologist Pierre De Vise tells us that, compared to the average white Chicagoan, the average Chicago black is younger by ten years, half as likely to be in a craft job, one-third as likely to be a sales person or manager, three times as likely to be a laborer, and eight times as likely to be a domestic. Black families are one-fifth larger, have only two-thirds of the income, and occupy housing units one-fifth smaller, five times more dilapidated, and three times more substandard, but pay just as much rent for their inferior housing.

Chicago's public schools are deeply segregated. More than half the enrollment is black. More than sixty-seven per cent of all high school pupils and eighty-four per cent of all elementary school pupils attend segregated schools—that is, schools ninety per cent or more all white or all black. Black school districts are uniformly lowest in both reading skills and percentage of certified teachers. In one black district, only eight per cent of sixth graders are normal readers. Black teachers and principals are assigned overwhelmingly to segregated black schools. For many years the Board of Education has worked hard to maintain segregation by gerrymandering school districts. The only significant break in the policy has come with a modest bussing program in 1968; but, to confirm the basic policy, Daley this year broke his promise to follow recommendations of a blue ribbon advisory commission and reappointed to the Board of Education the board president and vice president who are the principal advocates of the status quo policy.

As a result of bad schooling, poor job training, massive job discrimination, enforced housing segregation, and high work-commuting costs, the unemployment rate of Chicago's black labor force varies from five per cent to thirty-seven per cent, depending on area of residence, whereas the white labor force is almost fully employed.

The segregation and oppression of Chicago blacks in housing, jobs, schooling, and the quality of community life are crucial deterrents to general community improvement of any kind of Chicago. Self-organization of the ghetto, self-determination, and self-expression would soon end ghetto support of any political machine which tolerates such conditions.

Under the Daley system of tight control, therefore, the party has to try to overrun, dominate, or starve every significant citizens' committee and community organization, especially in the ghetto. For example, when the Chicago NAACP became militant, Daley forces infiltrated it and replaced the officers. When The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), which energetically represents the Woodlawn community, obtained a large antipoverty program on its own, Daley opposed the program, blocked the appointment of a director, opposed renewal of the program, and committed his Congressmen and police force to help a U.S. Senate Committee try to give the project a death blow. The "citizens' participation" groups required in public programs such as urban renewal, model cities, antipoverty, or air pollution are pretenses. The effect of the machine's systematic repression is the muting of protest, incalculable stagnation of the general citizenry, and loss of progress to Chicago. The increase in the number of alienated Chicagoans is incredible. The likelihood of an apocalyptic solution is great.

For the committeemen who live off politics, Daley is the best they have had. One committeeman explained: "He is a good family man. No scandal around him. He works hard. He gives you your share of jobs, and good ones too." If he stepped down, the committeemen would try to elect someone as much like him as possible.

These are some facets of a Chicago which the convention delegates and television viewers are not likely to see. Some day this Chicago will change. It has to, if Chicago is to survive and flourish. It will change when the business and financial interests perceive the damage Chicago sustains under the current system and shift their support to programs and policies that genuinely serve the interests of all the people; or when social upheavals compel a change; or when there is a shift at the polls. But so far in 1968, Chicago has not yet shown signs of changing.

TEACHING CONSERVATION TO YOUNG CHILDREN

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, it is of prime importance that young Americans be given every opportunity to become acquainted with our Nation's natural resources, man's basic environment, and the values of conservation. I was very pleased, therefore, to learn that a pilot education program for elementary school children, which will give them firsthand knowledge of conservation matters, has begun to operate in Monroe County, Ind. The soil and water conservation district of that county is sponsoring this pioneer effort, and Indiana University is cooperating by providing the services of student teachers who are working toward a degree in elementary education.

Over 200 children have received instruction in conservation problems and have been able to participate directly in experiments and conservation activities in the field. The supervisor of the Monroe County Soil and Water Conservation District, Barbara Restle, who has written a very interesting and informative article describing this educational innovation, points out that—

> The program goal is to give students an awareness of natural forces at work in the land.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article, which was published in Soil Conservation in the July 1968 issue, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STUDENT TEACHERS JOIN IN DISTRICT PROGRAM TO GIVE CHILDREN THE FACTS OF CONSERVATION

(By Barbara Restle)

A pilot program that gives a continuing conservation education to children from the first to seventh grade has been started by the *Monroe County Soil and Water Conservation District in Indiana.*

Student teachers from Indiana University in Bloomington and other volunteers in the district help teach the 1-hour-a-week classes.

District supervisors initiated the program, the first of its kind in Indiana, at Washington Township Consolidated School in Bloomington. The student teachers are fulfilling requirements for a degree in elementary education under Professor Prevo Whitaker of Indiana University, who is also secretary-treasurer of the district.

Professor Whitaker, Wayne Fix, SCS work unit conservationist, and the author held meetings with the Washington school principal, teachers, and others to develop plans for the course.

A CUSTOM-TAILORED COURSE

The course may touch on any phase of man's relationship to his natural environment, from how the White River got polluted to how many trips in 12 hours a bird makes away from her nest hunting insects.

The conservationists assisting with the program make an effort to custom fit the subject matter to specific age groups, giving the teachers opportunity to carry conservation into many areas of study.

The fifth grade has integrated a new science program with conservation interests by experimenting in making soil. They observe what happens when leaves, sand, and fertilizers are mixed and let stand for a period.

The sixth grade has been given many class hours of instruction on land use. During one session, a conservationist discussed land capability and explained why some of the "hills and hollows" of southern Indiana are not suitable for farming.

All the classes have field trips to see actual examples of the things discussed in lectures. All 220 children were taken to their new school site in four shifts. The older children were put to digging a 2-foot-deep hole to obtain soil samples at various depths and see the differences between topsoil rich with organic matter and the deeper subsoils and parent materials. Earlier in the semester all the students had run the experiments in growing peas or corn in topsoil and subsoil and to observe the health of the plants.

All the classes also planted conifers to serve as a windbreak for the future playground. Three sink holes on the new school site were inspected, and students learned that sink holes and caves are a natural feature of limestone country.

During the spring semester Joe Lamendola, biologist of the Indiana Department of Natural Resources, spoke to a large group of students about the needs of wildlife.

Ned Woodward, Monroe Lake conservation officer, spoke about migrating birds and told how special areas in the new reservoir have been designated off limits to power boats to insure resting and breeding places for ducks.

A state forester, John Datena, led student groups into wooded areas identifying trees and explaining plant succession. The forester showed how to estimate the height and board feet of trees by using a tree-measuring stick.

The regular teaching staff at Washington School was encouraged to introduce conservation ideas into their classes in art, math, biology, geography, and history. For the first three grades, art projects proved most meaningful in putting across concepts in conservation.

Teachers had the benefit of a wealth of educational materials from such sources as the Massachusetts Audubon Society, National Audubon Society, the Soil Conservation Society of America, Boy Scouts of America, and the Soil Conservation Service.

The Washington Township Farm Bureau donated $75 for a conservation library, and a portable library rack was built to hold the books. The new library includes information on the precarious balance of nature, mammals and birds, geology, and water. To broaden the picture for the midwestern child, a few books deal with arctic and tropical wildlife and conservation problems.

AWARENESS OF RESOURCES

The goal of our district is to give students an awareness of natural forces at work in the land. Hopefully, the conservation classes will encourage better citizenship by developing a deeper understanding of natural resources.

Professor Whitaker says, "We must always take advantage of new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the growing scarcity in world resources. In our community we have had many willing citizens to help us along our way. We started with the supervisors of our district contacting school administrators and enlisting the help of qualified technical personnel and talented local citizens. During the entire semester I can't remember anyone turning down our request for assistance."

JAMES DESMOND: NEWSPAPERMAN

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the people of the State of New York, and more particularly its political world, were saddened this weekend by the untimely passing of James Desmond, Albany correspondent for the New York Daily News and an esteemed authority on political affairs in our State.

I first met James Desmond as a member of the New York State Assembly and I soon learned to admire his professionalism, value his wisdom, and to treasure his friendship. He enjoyed the envy of his colleagues for his craftsmanship, and his integrity was a source of comfort to the public officials and political leaders who constituted his beat. He enriched the political life of our community, and he will be sorely missed by those of us who were touched by his presence.

The following article from the New York Times on Sunday, July 28, 1968, details some of the highlights of James Desmond's career:

JAMES DESMOND IS DEAD AT 59—DAILY NEWS POLITICAL WRITER—COLUMNIST WROTE BIOGRAPHY OF ROCKEFELLER—SERIES ON TAXES WON AWARD

James Desmond, a political writer for The Daily News, died of cancer yesterday in Mount Sinai Hospital. He was 59 years old. Formerly a resident of Bedford Hills, N.Y., he had lived at the Tudor Hotel since the death of his wife two years ago.

Governor Rockefeller, the subject of a biography by Mr. Desmond that was published in 1964, issued the following statement on his death:

"The loss is a heavy one to all of us in and out of government who knew him. His insight, his integrity and his ability made him one of our nation's most respected journalists. Mrs. Rockefeller and myself treasured his friendship. We both express our deepest sympathy to his family."

The tall, slender, convivial Mr. Desmond was a specialist in state political affairs. His column of analysis and comment, "Albany Line," appeared regularly in The Sunday News.

Since 1944 he had covered every national political convention and except for his illness would have been accompanying Governor Rockefeller on the campaign trail.

In 1952 he and Joseph Martin received a George Polk Memorial Award for a series in The News that led to the payment by the Treasury of $10-million in unclaimed refunds to taxpayers.

"Nelson Rockefeller: A Political Biography," was praised in The New York Times as "a friendly and understanding" work that "clearly reflects Mr. Desmond's wide understanding of professional politics, how nominations are won and lost and how Rockefeller won one and lost another."

Mr. Desmond was born in Brooklyn on Aug. 24, 1908, and grew up in Yonkers, where he joined The Yonkers Statesman in 1930. He later worked for The Associated Press, The New York World-Telegram and PM. He joined The News during World War II.

Surviving are a son, Michael of New York; a daughter, Mrs. Shila D. Schultz of Oroville, Calif.; a brother, John W. Desmond, assistant Sunday editor of The Times; a sister, Mrs. Walter Fitzpatrick of Las Vegas, Nev., and 10 grandchildren.

MAKING THE RECORD CLEAR

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, once again we are on the brink of a presidential election campaign in which political passions reach a fever pitch. Against this background I think it is wise for the Senate and the Nation to recall some disconcerting events as in the presidential campaign 4 years ago.

At that time there was unleashed one of the most intemperate and unwarranted attacks ever mounted against a candidate for public office. I refer of course to the attack against Barry M. Goldwater, who was at that time the junior Senator from the State of Arizona. The

extent and depth of this attack, the distortions willingly and actively disseminated, the dire consequences predicted if he were elected, have besmirched the character and credibility of those who took part.

Now we face another election. Four years give friend and foe alike a measure of historical perspective and I hope that with this perspective we can all be more rational and statesmanlike in our campaigns. It is with this purpose in mind that I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Reflections on Hysteria, 1964—The Campaign of Fear," written by Walter Zipf, and published in the Sun Valley Spur Shopper. I do this with the hope that it may in some measure prevent the recurrence of the campaign directed against my good friend Barry Goldwater.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REFLECTIONS ON HYSTERIA, 1964—THE CAMPAIGN OF FEAR

(By Walter Zipf)

"O judgment! Thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason!"

I thought of those lines from the third act of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar as I finished reading a book just coming to my desk, "Hysteria 1964" by Lionel Lokos describing the monstrous fear campaign against Arizona's Barry Goldwater when he was Republican candidate for the presidency four years ago.

Barry Goldwater, Public Enemy No. 1.

Barry Goldwater, the man who would drop The Bomb and defoliate the little girl's daisy.

Barry Goldwater, the man with the stench of fascism.

That's what Goldwater's detractors said about him, that and worse as the peddlers of hate and fear warned there was a monster in our midst who threatened to devour us all.

The wild, gutter rabble-rousing against a good American whose worst sin was a sincere patriotism and an inclination to speak the truth as he saw it now sounds silly and ridiculous—even laughable. But there was nothing funny about it four years ago, during the most calculatingly vicious campaign of character assassination of a public figure this country has ever known.

Lokos observed that all the denunciations of previous presidential candidates put together, including Lincoln, were almost benign compared to the new high in hysteria reached in the infamous campaign of 1964.

During a period of some 10 months, Barry Goldwater was accused of:

Wearing the bloody mantle of Adolf Hitler.

Fomenting a racial holocaust.

Advocating a nuclear policy that would destroy half the world.

Being hell-bent to tear up all Social Security cards.

Branded as a lunatic.

Plotting the destruction of the Republican Party.

Paving the way for a totalitarian government.

Sending American labor down the road to wage slavery.

Trying to establish a link between the right wing in the U.S. and Bavaria, because he happened to take a post-convention trip to Germany.

Goldwater lamented that the whole campaign against him was based on fear of him and Lokos offers a relentless rebuttal to the hysteria of 1964. He calmly but devastatingly shows the difference between what Goldwater really said in some of his speeches and what some of the reports quoted him as saying. Distortion of the Arizona senator's remarks was practiced with sheer brutality.

To quote a foreword to the book, "In one excruciating chapter—appropriately titled 'A Diary of Defamation'—he traces the long, livid scar of hate and fear that ran from one end of the campaign to the other."

Lokos examines the issues that dominated the campaign and describes how to the horror of Goldwater and his associates, they "saw their positions distorted beyond recognition, their motives impugned and their sanity questioned."

The lunatic connotation was a low blow and someone seems to be still at this insidious business. It was rather disquieting to read a story in Tuesday's edition of The Arizona Republic stating that former President Eisenhower considered Goldwater "nuts" during the '64 campaign. This, according to an Arthur Larson, one-time White House consultant and speech writer, in a preview of his Eisenhower biography.

Such a remark, if true, is unworthy of a former president and why did such a crack find its way into a news story about the Eisenhower book anyway? Who is still throwing the knife and why?

The sad part of the whole matter is that the heat against Goldwater was first generated by men in his own party before he was ever nominated at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco.

As Lokos notes, admit that Goldwater threw away the political rule book on the day he accepted the GOP nomination with the unfortunate but greatly overplayed remark near the end of his speech—"Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice—Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

This was just what the opposition was waiting for and the jackals shot him down with it but many political observers will tell you that the Goldwater cause was lost before he ever made his acceptance speech.

Republicans like Rockefeller, Romney and Scranton, governors all, dealt the mortal blows before the convention assembled.

Romney's choicest anti-Goldwater remarks furnished potent ammunition for the opposing party during the general election campaign, such as, "The Republican convention will either take actions that will enable the party to provide leadership the nation needs, or commence the suicidal destruction of the Republican Party."

Among other bitter things, Scranton said, "I reject the echo we have thus far been handed—the echo of fear and reaction, the echo from the never-never land that puts our nation on the road backward to a lesser place in the world of free men."

The Pennsylvania governor continued to spread his venom as he tossed out this blast, "Goldwaterism has come to stand for a whole crazy-quilt collection of absurd and dangerous positions that would be soundly repudiated by the American people in November."

Governor Rockefeller, in the California primary, made a noose of the word extremism and looped it around Goldwater's neck.

He expressed fear of the fear that if Goldwater were nominated the Republican Party would go down the drain and the two-party system in America, consequently, would be destroyed.

The spoilers, the architects of the policy of rule or ruin, had done their work well. What Rockefeller had begun in the spring, Scranton finished in June and at the convention—painting for the American people the picture of a half-crazed leader indifferent to the needs of the American society at home and eager to plunge the nation into war abroad.

Some time after his defeat, Goldwater said, "Rockefeller and Scranton cut me up so bad, there was no way on God's green earth that we could have won. I knew it the day after the convention."

The scurilous nonsense was accelerated through the general election campaign as the opposing party and many others of Liberal ilk leaped in for the kill. For sheer, vindictive fury, their wild rantings have never been equaled in a presidential campaign.

It was rather sickening to hear the ex-ball player Jackie Robinson, for example, declare that "Barry Goldwater, at best, is a hopeless captive of the lunatic, calculating right-wing expression. A challenge must be issued to the Negro people to assure that Goldwaterism and extremism and anti-Negroism will be so brutally defeated that they will never again threaten the future of America."

Roy Wilkins declared flatly that a Goldwater victory would bring about a police state and the late Dr. Martin Luther King forecast "a dark night of social disruption if Barry Goldwater is elected president."

Walter Lippmann denounced Goldwater as "an enemy of the poor" and George Meany compared Goldwater's rise to that of Hitler, "to whom no one paid much attention until suddenly the crackpot took over."

Hubert Horatio Humphrey, who this year aspires to be elected president of the United States, in a speech at Terre Haute, Ind., tossed out this rot, "Mr. Goldwater's freedom is the freedom to be uneducated, to be sick, to be hungry, to be unemployed."

The once-respected Saturday Evening Post delivered the most venomous attack of all, in which, among other things, it said "Goldwater is a grotesque burlesque of the conservative he pretends to be. He is a wild man, a stray, an unprincipled and ruthless political jujitsu artist."

This from a magazine that so sanctimoniously condemned extremism in others.

This sort of scurrilous, underhanded assault on Goldwater, the man and the candidate for the presidency, went on and on. Everything about him was so distorted that his campaign didn't have a chance to click.

The Arizona senator made some fine speeches during the campaign but his treatment was so shabby, so cruel, so vindictive and his battered image so smeared that the majority of the American people just left him bleeding and bruised by the roadside.

Time and again he made his position crystal clear on the major issues on which he had been maligned but the message didn't get across.

Neither common decency nor ordinary common sense prevailed. He was crucified by detractors who should be proud of themselves. They helped write the blackest, most shameful chapter in American political history.

Where are those detractors now. Well, some of them are in the Republican Party still trying desperately to save the party for themselves, singing the old refrain, "the other fellow can't win."

As I think back, after reading Lokos' book, one indisputable fact clings to my memory.

We in Arizona who know him best, excluding the political opportunists who are opposed to him, have never considered Barry Goldwater, sick, mentally or otherwise, foolish, dangerous or in any sense a wild man.

In his first experience politically, he was elected to the Phoenix City Council back about 1948 and took the lead in establishing a clean, efficient form of government which has stood the test through the years. We shudder to think what would have happened if Phoenix, in its greatest period of growth, had been saddled with the type of government Goldwater and his colleagues threw out.

In 1950, he had a lot to do with electing Howard Pyle as the first Republican governor of Arizona in 22 years. He ran successfully for the United States Senate in 1952 against Ernest W. McFarland.

His campaign speeches did not bear the mark of a wild man. To the contrary, he showed a deep understanding of state and national problems and his remarks certainly made good sense.

From the time he entered the Senate, Goldwater was given preferential treatment by his GOP colleagues, partly because he had dethroned McFarland, the Senate majority leader, and partly because he displayed real ability and promise.

Many of the Democratic senators liked and respected him. He was given important committee assignments.

After his re-election in 1958, the Republicans made him chairman of the Senate campaign committee and he went about the country helping raise money to re-elect GOP senators and making many, many speeches.

In those days, Goldwater was respected and his remarks treated with respect by the press of the country. There wasn't the remotest suggestion that he was on the lunatic fringe, that he was unsound or reckless, a wild man incapable of wise and prudent action and thinking.

That didn't come until he sought the highest office in the land. No man, especially one in the prime of life, could disintegrate so rapidly into the atrocious character painted by his enemies. Think it over!

Arizonans should have rallied behind Barry Goldwater when the political assassins started after him. They knew he was not the kind of a man they said he was. But many of us in Arizona who should have really helped just stood by and did little or nothing and he barely carried his own state against Lyndon Johnson.

One more remark and I am done.

What were the predictions in 1964 if Goldwater were elected president?

The frightening picture of what he would do in Vietnam. Certainly he would accelerate the war and American boys would die there.

That he would provoke racism and riots on the streets of America.

That he would bring America to the brink of economic ruin.

Well, where has Lyndon Johnson taken us during his last four years in the presidency?

MARION TAPP, 21, DIES IN VIET ACTION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Cpl. Marion N. Tapp, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his bravery and honor his memory by including the following article in the Record.

Marion Tapp, 21, Dies in Vietnam—Port Deposit Man Killed in Helicopter Action

A 21-year-old soldier from Port Deposit, Md., who told his family he considered himself safer in Vietnam than at home has been killed in action, the Defense Department said yesterday.

Cpl. Marian N. Tapp was reported killed on July 12 when a helicopter in which he was a gunner was shot down by enemy gunfire.

SECOND TOUR OF DUTY

Corporal Tapp, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Marion Tapp, was a 1966 graduate of Perry High School in Cecil county. Raised on his father's farm, he joined the Army two months after graduation and "planned to make the military a career," a family spokesman said yesterday.

He served six months in Vietnam in 1967 and returned in April of this year for a second tour of duty, for which he volunteered.

"He just couldn't wait to get back," a relative said.

"He said often that he felt safer over there than at home," it was added.

A member of the 1st Air Cavalry, Corporal Tapp was a chief gunner.

In high school, he was on the soccer and wrestling teams.

Surviving, in addition to his parents, are a brother, William T., 16, and two sisters, Eva May, 19, and Cathy, 6.

FIREARMS LEGISLATION

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, last week I received from a Maryland constituent a terse note that I should like to share with Senators:

Hyattsville, Md.

One week . . . one newspaper. Twenty-nine incidents involving firearms in the hands of private citizens. Ten deaths caused by these private possessors of firearms. Fourteen robberies conducted at gunpoint.

How long must me wait for strong gun legislation?

Sincerely,

Kerry Raines.

Mr. President, the letter speaks for itself. I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 21, 1968]

Employee Robbed of Nearly $2000

William Jordan, an employe of the Peel Cleaning Service, gave up nearly $2000 about 11:40 a.m. yesterday to two holdup men who entered the store at 963 Calvert st. nw. and forced him to open the safe and cash register at gunpoint.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 20, 1968]

Three Rob Savings and Loan, Suspect Held

Three men in their 20s, all armed with revolvers, took about $1000 from a cash drawer at the Franklin Federal Savings and Loan Association, 2381 Rhode Island ave. ne., yesterday, police said. One was caught by FBI agents as the trio ran off.

Police said the manager, Jacqueline Guy 25, told them she and a teller were alone in the office around 1:45 p.m. when the men entered. They made her open the door to the teller's cage and removed the money from a drawer, she said.

As the men ran down Rhode Island Avenue ne. two FBI agents driving past spotted them and gave chase. A block and half away, the agents took Harry L. Brown Jr., 21, of 815 Maryland ave. ne., into custody. He was charged with armed robbery.

Firm Is Robbed by "Job Seekers"

A man who said he was looking for a job pulled a revolver on the manager of the Arrow Window and Building Cleaning Co. yesterday and escaped with $100, police reported.

"I've never been a window cleaner," the man said as he aimed his gun at William Warner, 60, manager of the company at 931 New York ave. nw., and three other employes. He took $100 from Warner's wallet after herding the four into a back room and making them lie down on the floor, police said.

Warner, who was kicked in the side by the robber and struck on the side of his face with the gun barrel, was treated at George Washington University Hospital for cuts and released.

Two Convicted of Assault in Gunfight With Police

(By Lawrence Feinberg)

Easton, Md., July 19.—Clyde Edward Laws and Thomas Franklin Dorman were convicted today of assault with intent to murder two Montgomery County policemen in a gunfight while making their getaway after a supermarket holdup.

The pair, both Midwesterners who have served jail terms in several states, were also convicted of the armed robbery of about $1500 from the Kroger Food Store at 13701 Georgia ave., Wheaton, on Feb. 8, 1967. The shoot-out with the police took place several minutes later—about two miles down the highway.

A Talbot County jury took 1 hour and 15 minutes to reach the verdict at the end of a two-day trial. Talbot Circuit Court Judge Harry E. Clark scheduled sentencing for July 31. Each of the defendants faces up to 50 years imprisonment.

In May they were each sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment after being convicted of kidnaping a drugstore clerk as they completed their getaway.

Montgomery County Deputy State's Attorney Andrew L. Sonner said he will seek a trial soon of Rose Haas Solie, 43, 4513 Sangamore rd., Bethesda, who has been indicted as an accessory for sheltering the men.

Laws, 40, was arrested in Missouri last May 19. Dorman, 37, was captured by the FBI two days later in Indiana. Both had been placed on the FBI's list of 10 most-wanted criminals.

At the trial police Pvts. Raymond J. Brown Jr. and Theodore O. Chick, both of the Wheaton substation, testified about the gunfight, which occurred after they stopped the defendants' car at the corner of Georgia Avenue and Wiseman Road.

Brown said Laws walked toward him "with a smile on his face" and shot him in the side from an arm's length away. The policeman has recovered.

In the gunfight that followed, Chick said shots were also aimed at him but neither he nor Brown was able to identify Dorman as the second gunman.

However, Clement L. Lanham, head cashier of the Kroger store, testified that both Laws and Dorman took part in the robbery.

Det. Sgt. Richard F. Kitterman said two laundry slips with Dorman's name on them were found in the glove compartment of the car used in the getaway.

Detainers have been issued for the two men by Fairfax County in connection with a holdup at another Kroger store four days before the Wheaton robbery.

Pair of Bandits Rob Bank Near Seven Corners

Two armed men held up the Willston Shopping Center branch of the Mount Vernon National Bank and Trust Company near Seven Corners about 10 a.m. yesterday and fled with $2900, Fairfax County police reported.

The men were believed to have had a third accomplice waiting outside as a lookout. They abandoned a getaway car, which had beeen reported stolen, near the scene of the robbery.

Nergo Minister Trades Gunfire With Riders

Irasburg, Vt., July 19.—A Negro minister who moved here with his family recently, traded gunfire today with assailants who shot at his home from a passing car.

No one in the house was injured. The Rev. David Johnson said he did not know if any of the shots he fired hit the car.

The minister and his wife and four children moved here two weeks ago from Seaside, Calif.

Police said at least four blasts from a 12-gauge shotgun were fired at the house. The shots came from a car which cruised past the house twice.

Reverend Johnson returned six shots from his second floor bedroom window and said he wasn't sure whether he had hit the fleeing car.

Three Thousand in Virginia Died of Gunshots in 5 Years

Richmond, July 19.—Firearms caused the deaths of nearly 3000 Virginians in the five-year period of 1963 through 1967, a Virginia Department of Health report disclosed Thursday.

There were 249 firearm deaths among Virginia residents during the first four months of 1968, the report said, and the figure is expected to top 800 before the year ends.

More than half the deaths during the 1963–67 period, the report said, were suicides. Homicides accounted for 35 per cent of the firearm deaths during the period and accidents 9 per cent.

The number of firearm deaths reported annually during the period indicated an annual average increase of 5.4 per cent, with the greatest percentage increase in homicides.

The 40 to 49 year age group was the most common in firearm deaths, with more than half the homicides occurring in the 20 to 39 year age group.

One Man Shot in Haight-Ashbury—45 Arrested in San Francisco Violence

San Francisco, July 19.—A man was shot and a policeman injured as violence flared for the third straight night in the Haight-Ashbury hippie district.

Michael Moore, 20, suffered a gunshot wound in an arm. Police said it was not determined who fired the shot.

Last night's outbreak followed the pattern of previous disturbances. False alarms attracted fire trucks, which were called in to assist.

Police were targets of fire-bombs and debris when they were called in to assist.

Officers made more than 45 arrests, bringing the three-day total to about 100.

Several stores were looted for the second time and broken glass again littered Haight Street. Sniper fire was reported for the first time in the series of disturbances.

There were 200 officers in the area at the height of the disturbances, and Mayor Joseph Alioto warned of tougher enforcement.

"Drug peddlers are not going to use the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood as a rendezvous for idle and unthinking youngsters," Alioto said.

In disorders elsewhere:

Two teen-agers were wounded by shotgun pellets in a rock-throwing spree by 250 youths in Akron, Ohio, tonight despite a dawn-to-dusk curfew that was extended tonight following disturbances earlier in which 110 persons were arrested.

Police and National Guardsmen used tear gas to disperse the mob. A bar owner was arrested on charges of firing the shotgun into the crowd.

In Seattle, two policemen escaped with minor injuries in a disturbance during which firemen, extinguishing an auto fire, were pelted with stones by a group of 50 to 60 young people. Some looting was reported early today.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 19, 1968]

Four Posing as Mailmen Rob Bank of $8,000

The First National Bank of Washington, 800 Independence ave. sw., was robbed of $8000 yesterday by four bandits dressed as mailmen and wearing kerchiefs over their faces, police said.

Reva Martin, 54, a teller, said the robbers entered about 9:50 a.m. She said three carried pistols and the fourth had a shotgun.

One bandit ordered the bank's four customers and seven employes to stand in the rear by the manager's desk. While the man with the shotgun guarded the door, two of the others jumped over the tellers' counter and put the money from the four cash drawers into mailbags.

"Keep still—nobody move," one bandit said as they walked out the front door and climbed into a stolen car, which they later abandoned at the Southwest Freeway and 4th Street.

Officers Tell of Gun Duel After Holdup

Easton, Md., July 18.—Two Montgomery County policemen testified today about their dramatic gun duel with Clyde Edward Laws and Thomas Franklin Dorman after a February, 1967, holdup.

Laws and Dorman, both itinerant Midwesterners, are on trial here for the armed robbery of about $1500 from the Kroger Food Store in Wheaton. They are also charged with assault with intent to murder the two police privates, Raymond J. Brown Jr. and Theodore Chick, both of the Wheaton substation.

The policemen stopped the pair at the corner of Georgia avenue and Wiseman road a few minutes after the robbery.

Brown testified that Laws approached him "with a smile on his face" and shot him in the side from an arm's length away. The policeman has recovered.

Chick said the gunfight followed as the two men sped away. They were arrested three months later in the Midwest.

In May, Laws and Dorman were convicted here of kidnapping a drugstore clerk as they completed their getaway. They were both sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment.

Gun Duel Erupts in Bank Theft

Two policemen and three bandits exchanged gunfire yesterday after the $8500 holdup of the National Bank of Washington branch at 2844 Alabama ave. se.

Police said they believed no one was hurt in the shooting as 11th Precinct Pvts. Albert C. Lorraine, 25, and John J. Campbell, 28, chased the robbers to the corners of Akron street se., where they jumped into a stolen car and escaped.

The three men, two carrying pistols, entered the bank about 12:40 p.m., police said. One walked up to the guard, stuck a gun in his stomach, disarmed him, and said, "This is a holdup."

The ten employees and customers were ordered to lie on the floor as one holdup man vaulted the tellers' counter and cleaned out four cash drawers.

The second bandit held a gun on the customers and employes, while the third stood at the door with a gun, the police said.

As the robbers were leaving, one of them fired a shot into the wall. This attracted the attention of Lorraine and Campbell, who were on foot nearby.

The policemen raced after the men, one of whom fired two shots at them. Lorraine fired two shots in return.

Lone Bandit Robs Howard Johnson's

A holdup man took $94 from the Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge in Silver Hill yesterday.

Prince George's County police said the bandit entered the motel's lobby at 3 a.m. and asked Marcus L. Night, the night clerk, to change a $1-bill so he could make a telephone call. He then produced a gun and forced Night into a rear room before fleeing on foot.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 18, 1968]

Southeast Man's Death Is Ruled a Suicide

The death of Hudie Wrenn Jr., 35, of 832 Barnaby st. se., was ruled a suicide yesterday by the coroner's office.

Police said Wrenn was found dead in the bedroom of his home about 6:30 p.m. Tuesday by relatives. They said he had a bullet wound in the chest and a .38-caliber revolver was found next to his bed.

Bandits Get $30,000 at Bank Here

Four bandits, two of them armed with shotguns, fled with about $30,000 yesterday from the American Security & Trust Co. branch at 5911 Blair rd. nw., police reported.

A shot was fired by one of the gunmen during the holdup, but it went through a back window and no one was injured. The bandits fled in a car that had been reported stolen less than two hours earlier in Northeast Washington, police said.

The robbers entered the bank about 2:45 p.m. and one of the gunmen ordered assistant treasurer Milton O. Jones, 57, to get into the head cashier's booth.

Another bandit vaulted the counter and toured the five cashier booths and drive-in window, gathering money, according to police.

The four men then ran to a car and took off at a high rate of speed. The car had been reported stolen at 1 p.m. from in front of the home of its owner, Lillian J. Phillips at 1842 Capitol ave. ne., police said. It was found abandoned after the holdup at Maple and Grant Avenues, Takoma Park.

Dapper Holdup Men Rob Arlington Bank

Two young men, one of them armed, robbed an Arlington bank of more than $19,000 yesterday morning, police reported.

The two, described as well-dressed and wearing gloves, entered a branch of the Fidelity National Bank at 1233 Jefferson Davis hwy, shortly before 11 a.m. One pulled a small revolver and forced two tellers, the only people in the bank, to lie on the floor, police said.

The second man then scooped the money out of the cash drawers and from an open wall safe.

Robbery, Rape Trial Under Way

Trial began yesterday in Prince Georges Circuit Court for Eddie Nance, 21, charged with rape, robbery and burglary during a gang invasion of an Accokeek home on Jan. 15.

A jury of nine men and three women heard the victim's husband tell how four men came to his home and asked to borrow an automobile jack and then to use the telephone.

This was the prelude to an evening rampage during which the man's 60-year-old wife was raped, the eldest son beaten, five family members tied up, the house ransacked and valuables taken.

"This fellow right here," said the victim's husband as he pointed to Nance. "He was the one requesting the use of the phone . . .

"He shoved me aside and ran into the den. When I got there he was standing in front of the television with a drawn automatic."

Nance, who is listed at 859 51 st. se., did not testify yesterday. His attorney, George P. Lamb Jr., repeatedly challenged witnesses' ability to identify Nance.

Awaiting a separate trial on the same charges and sodomy is Charles W. Alston of Washington. A warrant has been issued for the arrest of a third man, Francis Delilly Jr., an escapee from Clifton T. Perkins State Hospital.

Jet Forced to Cuba With Fake Grenade

(By Ben Funk)

Miami, July 17.—A DC–8 jetliner forced to fly to Cuba by a desperate, Spanish-speaking gunman who said "Fidel ordered me back" was returned to Miami this afternoon without its passengers.

The 57 passengers who had been left behind in Havana, were flown back in a chartered plane late tonight.

National Airlines Capt. Sidney L. Oliver, the pilot, said Cuban authorities refused to let him bring back his passengers because of safety reasons.

The interrupted Los Angeles-to-Miami flight included a tense refueling stop in New Orleans during which the gunman threatened to blow up the plane if any officials came near the craft.

Oliver said the hijacker boarded the plane in Los Angeles and was listed on the passenger list as "Hernandez." Oliver said he threatened to blow up the plane with a phony grenade that later turned out to be a can of shaving lotion.

Stewardess Kathleen Dickinson acted as interpreter for the hijacker, who Oliver said was "extremely nervous." Miss Dickinson quoted the hijacker as saying: "Fidel has indicated to me that I've got to go back to Cuba any way I can."

"I tried to pump him but I couldn't get any more than that except that he missed his family and friends very much," the 23-year-old Miami girl said.

When they arrived in Cuba, Oliver said, the hijacker "made a big show of unwrapping his hand grenade. It was a can of Old Spice shaving lotion."

FBI agents met the crew when the four-engine craft touched down at 5:11 p.m. EDT.

The return was a replay of a hijacking July 1 when a Northwest Orient Airlines DC8 was forced to Cuba and came back to Miami without its 86 passengers, brought back several hours later by an aircraft chartered by the U.S. Government.

Today's hijacking marked the first time one of the commandeered planes had stopped for refueling before heading to Cuba.

The refueling was accomplished in a tense, 10-minute scene in New Orleans after the hijacker took charge of Flight 1064 over Texas.

He threatened to blow up the plane with his so-called grenade if police got too close.

"I got disturbed at the New Orleans airport," the veteran pilot said. "He told us emphatically that he didn't want anybody around the plane when it landed."

Miss Dickinson said the hijacker approached her shortly after the plane left Houston.

"He had this thing in his hand," Oliver said. "He called it a hand grenade and it was wrapped up in a cloth and it looked like a grenade. He held it like a grenade."

Oliver said the hijacker repeatedly pointed his pistol at the phony grenade, threatening to fire.

When the plane arrived in Havana, Oliver said, the dark-complexioned hijacker was the first person off and, walking jauntily, was escorted away by security guards.

"I've got a Cuban in the cockpit with a grenade in one hand and a pistol in the other," Oliver reported by radio as the plane winged over the Sabine Pass on the Texas Gulf Coast. "I am being ordered to Cuba."

The flight had originated in Los Angeles and made a scheduled stop at Houston. It was 35 minutes away from a landing at New Orleans when Oliver reported that he no longer was in command of the plane.

Oliver told the hijacker the plane had 36,000 pounds of fuel, not enough to fly nonstop to Cuba.

Then the pilot reported to the New Orleans control tower that he was coming in for a fuel stop, but warned that it would be dangerous to attempt to hold the plane on the ground.

"This character is requesting to go to New Orleans to get fuel," Oliver said, "but no one can deplane. No one can get close to the airplane except people to refuel."

Later, he told the tower, "Need enough fuel to get into Havana and back out. Pull two trucks up to airplane with a grenade.

"Tell everybody in New Orleans to get on the ball. This guy is running a time clock on us right now. We are going to leave one engine running. Tell operations to stay away."

"Keep well away from the aircraft," Oliver warned. "Any unusual activity and he's going to pull the pin. This boy's got it in his hand. I don't know if he'll pull it, but he's damn certain he will."

FBI agents and police stood by helplessly as Oliver taxied to a stop at the far end of a runway on the gunman's orders.

It took exactly 10 minutes to top off the fuel tanks at 70,000 pounds. Then the plane took off for Cuba.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 17, 1968]

POLICEMEN HELD IN SNIPER CASE

TOMS RIVER, N.J., July 16.—Two policemen and a businessman were arrested today on charges they illegally sold the 59-year-old revolver Angel Angelof used three weeks ago in the fatal sniper shooting of two persons in New York City's Central Park.

Ocean County prosecutor Robert H. Doherty Jr. said the two Jackson Township policemen bought the vintage .45-caliber Smith & Wesson without a permit from a local dealer.

Police Pvt. Frederick L. Matteson, 38, who was shot in the head and chest on July 2 in a struggle in which his partner lost his life, was reported making good progress yesterday at the Washington Hospital Center.

The Tenth Precinct policeman has been removed from the critical list although his condition is still considered serious because fragments of a bullet are lodged in the left side of his brain.

This caused paralysis of his right side, but he is regaining some movement, said Dr. Ronald W. Strong, a member of the Board of Police and Fire Surgeons. He added that a physiotherapist is helping Matteson with exercises and that Matteson has started lessons in walking.

Matteson is able to "make his wants known" and to answer simple questions but has difficulty remembering some events before the shooting, Dr. Strong said. Only members of his family are allowed to visit him. His wife has a room at the hospital.

GUNMAN TRIPS, WIFE SHOT

SANFORD, MAINE, July 16 (AP).—A Dover, N.H., man who held his wife at gunpoint in a brother's home apparently shot her accidentally tonight and was himself wounded by police trying to serve an assault warrant.

Doctors at Goodall Hospital said the wife, Marilyn Goodwin, 25, had one bullet in her head and her condition was extremely critical. Her husband, Ralph, 28, was wounded by three bullets.

Photographers entered the house with police and took photographs of Goodwin holding a pistol to his wife's head as they sat on a couch.

Goodwin had barricaded himself inside the home holding his wife as a hostage and refusing to surrender to the police. After some time he agreed to come out to talk with newsmen and emerged with the gun pointed at his wife's head.

Witnesses said he evidently tripped descending the steps, lost his balance and the gun went off, wounding his wife. Police surrounding the home returned the fire, wounding Goodwin.

Armed rider—Unidentified motorcyclist drives through heart of York, Pa., Negro district, which was quiet for the first time in six days of sporadic disorders.—(Caption)

Two of the weapons that police in Greensboro, N.C., say were found on the floor of a car used by outlaw Edward Thompson, Jr. are shown behind driver's seat.—(Caption)

TRAIL OF ABDUCTIONS, MURDERS, RAPE LEADS TO CAPTURE OF OUTLAW

(By Peter A. Jay)

An ex-convict, branded an outlaw and sought in Virginia and North Carolina on rape and kidnap charges, was captured yesterday with three frightened teen-age girl hostages huddled unharmed in a stolen car.

Edward Thompson Jr., 37, armed with a rifle and a revolver, was hemmed in by police as he headed south through Greensboro, N.C., at about 4:30 p.m. yesterday.

Two hours earlier, the bodies of the mother of one young hostage and the father of another were discovered 100 miles to the north in an abandoned shed outside Roanoke, Va.

Roanoke police said the victims, Hester S. Freeman, 50, and J. Howard Davis, 46, both of the Roanoke area, had been shot in the head.

Mrs. Freeman's daughter Hester E., 17, her niece, Matilda Love, 13, and Davis's 13-year-old daughter Joanne Ellen were taken from the car, which police said was stolen from Davis.

Col. Walter A. Burch of the Greensboro police said the girls were "a little hysterical" but unhurt. Relatives took them home to Roanoke last night, where they were interviewed by Roanoke County Commonwealth's Attorney Raymond L. Robrecht and Sheriff Oscar Foster.

Robrecht, in a press conference early this morning, said two charges of murder and three of kidnaping were placed against Thompson about midnight, after he and Foster interviewed each of the girls in their home and evaluated their testimony.

Foster said he will go to Greensboro later today to serve the warrants and begin extradition proceedings.

Thompson, who arrest record dates to 1948, already faced rape, armed robbery and kidnap charges stemming from four other cases in two western North Carolina counties over the past two months. In one of the warrants, he is accused of kidnaping a Hendersonville, N.C., physician and his wife and drugging the doctor with his own morphine.

Since May 8, he has led law enforcement officials a chase of more than 400 miles through the hills of North Carolina and Virginia. A North Carolina judge formally declared him an outlaw under an archaic and seldom used North Carolina statute. This meant that he could be shot on sight by any citizen.

Police gave this chronology of Thompson's wandering flight, in which he before yesterday is accused of kidnaping 6 persons, raping two, assaulting a police officer and stealing four cars and an undetermined amount of cash.

On May 8, he was charged with assaulting a Hendersonville, N.C., police officer, Homer Reed, firing a wild shot from his revolver and fleeing.

KIDNAPS DOCTOR

Two days later, Henderson County Chief Deputy J. Neal Grissom said, Thompson was charged with abducting Dr. William Alexander, a local physician, and his wife at gunpoint. Mrs. Alexander said Thompson told them he was fleeing the police.

Before releasing the couple, the Henderson County warrants say he forced Dr. Alexander to inject himself with morphine, Grissom said the doctor was not injured by the injection.

Thompson's next appearance was in the Henderson County town of Green River, where he is accused of kidnaping a man identified in warrants only as Beddingfield, and a 17-year-old girl. The girl was raped, and police said Thompson fled on foot after Beddingfield intentionally wrecked the car.

A week later to the day, Sheriff Leroy Reavis of Iredell County, southeast of Hendersonville, said an armed man found 22-

year-old William Robert Lewis and a 14-year-old girl companion parked on a country road and kidnaped them.

The man raped the girl twice, Reavis said, robbed Lewis at gunpoint and drove off in Lewis's new car with Lewis locked in the trunk and the girl in the car.

Lewis and the girl were later released unharmed and identified Thompson from photographs as their assailant, Reavis said. Thompson is charged with rape, armed robbery and kidnaping in Iredell County warrants.

Lewis's car was found abandoned in Yadkin County, 50 miles due north of Iredell and just west of Winston-Salem. Shortly thereafter, a pickup truck was stolen from the Winston-Salem area.

The pickup truck did not reappear until yesterday, when it was found near a shed in Roanoke County, about eight miles from the city, where the bodies of Davis and Mrs. Freeman were discovered.

The victims, along with the three hostages recovered from Thompson's car, had been missing since lunchtime Monday when Davis vanished while on his way to the Freeman home. Mrs. Davis, looking for her husband later, found the Freeman house empty, lunch on the table and a pot of coffee boiling unattended on the stove.

SEARCH STEPPED UP

At that point the search for Thompson intensified, as hundreds of police combed the Roanoke area and Thompson's home county of Rockingham, N.C., 50 miles to the south.

Thompson "knows all there is to know about this area," said Rockingham County Sheriff Carl Axsom. "When I was a deputy sheriff in 1948 we ran him through these woods with bloodhounds. He was a hard one to catch."

Thompson was charged with murder in that case. He was later acquitted. Thompson has been convicted of a number of other crimes and was most recently released from jail early this year, authorities said.

Yesterday, Thompson's brother reported to Rockingham County officials that he thought he had seen the defendant driving a car that matched the description of Davis's missing 1968 Dodge, and accompanied by three girls.

Greensboro police set up roadblocks outside the city, but Thompson somehow eluded them. He was nearly through the city before police spotted him, surrounded his car and blocked it with a garbage truck. They said Thompson surrendered quietly.

The suspect was taken to the Greensboro City jail and subsequently moved, police said, to "an undisclosed location."

Thompson's designation as an outlaw came June 25, by Buncombe County Superior Court Judge W. K. McLean in Asheville, N.C., at the request of Henderson County Sheriff James Kilpatrick.

Greensboro police Col. Burch said he had heard of the statute being invoked only "twice in my 27 years as a police officer."

Few other states have such a statute. A Virginia State police spokesman said the Old Dominion abandoned a similar law more than a dozen years ago.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 16, 1968]

SHOWDOWN DEFUSED NEAR 14TH AND U

(By Leon Dash and William N. Curry)

A confrontation between police and about 100 persons was defused early yesterday several blocks from the scene of the fatal shooting of a Negro Sunday morning by white policemen.

In yesterday's incident, Theodore R. Jones, 25, was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and another man said he was bitten by a police dog.

The incident occurred about 12:40 a.m. in an area that is tense with resentment over the shooting, in the 1900 block of 14th Street, of Theodore R. Lawson.

The crowd was attracted after Jonathan Barnes, 30, of 2015 15th st. nw., the New Dunbar Hotel, was shot in an altercation with another person—not a policeman—in the 1400 block of U Street.

The incident occurred after a group of 20 persons reportedly had just returned to the intersection from Mayor Walter E. Washington's house where they went to demand his resignation or the arrest of the two policemen involved in Sunday's shooting.

TWO MEN ROB MARKET IN SOUTHEAST

The Jumbo Supermarket at 3401 Naylor rd., se., was robbed last night of an undetermined amount by two men—one armed with a sawed-off shotgun and the other with a revolver, police reported.

Police said the men walked into the still-open store at 8:50 p.m. and ordered everyone down on the floor. They ordered a clerk to open a store safe, and when he said he was not able to, one of the men hit him on the head with the barrel of the shotgun, police said. The clerk received no medical treatment.

According to police an unarmed special guard slipped out of the store during the incident and tried to surprise the men through the back entrance. Police said the man carrying the revolver fired once at the guard, missing him but driving him away from the store.

Police reported that the men then emptied the store's cash register and fled.

IN BALTIMORE—FOUR NEGRO YOUTHS SHOT

BALTIMORE, July 15.—An 18-year-old Negro burglary suspect was fatally shot by a white City policeman here yesterday. A second Negro youth, 14, was wounded when police fired at him, also as a burglary suspect.

Seven fires, two false alarms and incidents of glass-breaking in Baltimore's East Side followed the second youth's shooting and prompted police to keep a heavy patrol in the area until 7 a.m.

In two other separate incidents early yesterday, two Negroes were shot from passing cars occupied by whites.

Gov. Spiro T. Agnew urged police officials to exert every effort to solve the shootings by civilians. In identical telegrams to Col. Robert J. Lally, State Police Superintendent, and Baltimore Police Commissioner Donald D. Pomerleau, Agnew said he was "gravely concerned over the reports."

In the fatal shooting of the 18-year-old, Patrolman Anthony E. Filipiak, 54, said that as he was investigating a report of an aged invalid being threatened, a youth attempted to run from the house. The officer said he fired only after the youth ignored his warning to halt.

Filipiak, the recipient of six departmental citations during 26 years on the force, was arraigned on a charge of homicide yesterday in Central Municipal Court.

Judge Basil A. Thomas postponed the case and released Filipiak in the custody of his district commander.

In the police shooting of the 14-year-old boy, he was shot after police were sent at midnight yesterday to a North Charles Street restaurant to investigate a burglary report.

Patrolman Paul Boone reported that he saw two people running from the basement. One of them, he said, fired three shots at him.

The patrolman said he shouted twice for the suspects to halt, fired two warning shots in the air, ordered them again to halt, then fired again.

Officials at Maryland General Hospital said the bullet that hit the 14-year-old apparently passed through his chest and back.

In another incident John M. Sheppard, 19, was shot at about 3:15 a.m. yesterday. Police said Sheppard was a passenger in a car stopped at a red light when a green sedan occupied by four white men pulled alongside.

One of the white men shouted a racial epithet, police reported, then Sheppard was shot. He was treated for an injured finger and released from the hospital.

One hour and 15 minutes later, Betty Washington, 19, was shot as she stood talking to a friend a few blocks from the first shooting. The shot came from a blue and white sedan said to be occupied by five white men.

Miss Washington was treated at Johns Hopkins hospital for a lower-leg wound and released.

MAN SLAIN IN APARTMENT LIVING ROOM

Home Lewis Richards, 44, of 2802 Stanton rd. se., was shot to death yesterday in the living room of an apartment at 3944 C st. se. about 12:35 p.m., police said.

A gunman walked in and shot twice into Richards' chest as he was seated in the room, according to police, who said Richards then staggered to a rear hallway and collapsed.

His assailant was last seen running down an alley behind the apartment house, police said.

FORT MEADE SOLDIER SHOT IN OFF-BASE ARGUMENT

Army Spec. 5 Lloyd H. Edwards, who was shot in the left side of his chest early Friday, was listed in satisfactory condition yesterday at Kimbrough Army Hospital, Ft. Meade.

Edwards, 26, a member of 889th Medical Detachment at Ft. Meade and a resident of Los Angeles, was shot in Boontown, near the base, apparently in an argument, police said. Maryland State police previously had reported erroneously that the shooting was fatal.

No arrests have been made in connection with the incident, police said.

BLADENSBURG COUPLE KILLED BY GUNSHOT

Police found a Bladensburg couple dead of gunshot wounds in the head Saturday night in their apartment. They said the deaths appeared to be a murder and suicide.

The victims were Joanne L. Chandler, 37, and Herbert Hoover Chandler, 35, of 4275 58th ave. The couple's children, age 7 and 5, were at their grandparent's home in Riverdale at the time of the shooting, police said.

Police said neighbors of the Chandlers reported hearing two shots about 9:30 p.m.

After breaking into the locked apartment, police said, they found Mrs. Chandler lying on her bed. Her husband was lying on the floor 10 feet away, a pistol in his hand, police said. He was a maintenance man for the Gateway Apartments, 4301 57th ave.

ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND'S SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, on August 1, the Army Materiel Command celebrates its sixth anniversary of service to our Army and Nation. Established in 1962, as a result of a major reorganization of the Army, the Army Materiel Command performs the wholesale logistics mission for the Army, including research, development, procurement, production, supply, and maintenance.

Since the Army Materiel Command's inception, its only commander has been

Gen. Frank S. Besson, a skilled logistical planner and manager, and a leading authority on transportation systems and requirements. General Besson directs his huge command using traditional military management techniques and a "vertical" type of management, in which over 50 project managers have been assigned to expedite the development of high-priority weapons and equipment systems. General Besson also operates through nine major subordinate commands, in directing the efforts of research and development laboratories, depots, arsenals, maintenance shops, proving grounds, and test facilities.

The Army Materiel Command task in support of the current conflict in Vietnam is to keep one-half million fighting men supplied with the weapons and munitions of war, and to sustain that effort with necessary research, developmental, and logistical programs. To this major effort by AMC is also added the mission of providing materiel support to the additional U.S. Army elements stationed throughout the free world, and of providing materiel aid to our allies.

During its 6-year history, the Army Materiel Command has met the challenges, and has compiled a remarkable record of outstanding achievement, marked by increased efficiency and economies. It is with pride that I salute General Besson and the 180,000 dedicated members of his command, for their indispensable contributions to the Army and our country.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks a news release on the progress and achievements of the Army Materiel Command during the past year.

There being no objection, the news release was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Army Materiel Command Sharpens Logistical Support of Combat Forces

Increasingly effective logistical support of combat forces in the field characterized the past year's operations of the U.S. Army Materiel Command (AMC), which observes its sixth anniversary on 1 August.

Primary emphasis throughout AMC's huge network of more than 190 arsenals, depots, laboratories, proving grounds, procurement offices and other facilities has been placed upon providing the finest possible weapons, equipment and other supplies to front line troops in Southeast Asia—enough and on time.

This heightened support of the war effort in Vietnam has been achieved through development of improved weapons and equipment, expedited production and procurement, and streamlining of both the organization and procedures of the Army's largest logistics field command.

Commenting upon the performance of AMC over the past 12 months, General William C. Westmoreland, newly-appointed Chief of Staff of the Army, said:

"It is a pleasure to extend the heartiest congratulations and best wishes to the members of the Army Materiel Command as you celebrate the 6th anniversary of your service to the nation"

General Westmoreland, who recently completed four years as commander of the U.S. Army in Vietnam, added:

"The success of our fighting forces in Vietnam is a direct reflection on the Army Materiel Command's ability to keep the fighting men supplied with the best and most advanced materiel. Each member of the command can take pride in its fine record of achievement.

"I join with all the men and women of the United States Army in saluting your accomplishments and in expressing confidence that you will continue in the same tradition of excellence which you have established."

Major organizational change in the AMC structure involved the establishment in April of a U. S. Army Sentinel Logistics Command, giving AMC a total of nine major subcommands. The new subcommand, to be located eventually in Huntsville, Alabama, will provide logistical support to the Sentinel System, the Communist Chinese-oriented antiballistic missile system approved for deployment last year.

Also established early this year was a U. S. Army Advanced Materiel Concepts Agency as another step in assuring closer coordination between AMC and the Army Combat Developments Command in evolving new materiel concepts and systems for the Army of the future.

Announcement was also made of the testing of a new concept in worldwide logistics management, aimed at further improving supply service to troops in the field and at reducing equipment deadlines. Under the new concept, AMC will assume responsibility and accountability at depot level for selected "high dollar value" secondary items on a worldwide basis. In the past each overseas theater has been responsible and accountable for all supply items physically located in the theater. Secondary items as involved in this new concept are components and repair parts used in the assembly and maintenance of major end items such as tanks, aircraft or weapons systems.

AMC has stepped up its program to secure civilian employee volunteers for extended overseas assignments in support of the Vietnam effort. In addition, approximately 350 highly qualified civilians served as members of AMC quick reaction teams on temporary duty in Southeast Asia. These teams provide assistance in meeting unforeseen short-term requirements in connection with the supply and maintenance of equipment.

Frank S. Besson, Jr., Commanding General of AMC announced in May the establishment of an AMC award to provide recognition to all AMC civilian employees who have completed three months or more of service in a combat area. Recognition devices will be the USAMC Certificate of Recognition and a lapel emblem awarded in bronze for three months of service, silver for six months, and gold for nine months.

In a personal message on the occasion of AMC's anniversary, General Besson told AMC's more than 175,000 military and civilian personnel that they "may well be proud of AMC's increasingly responsive logistical support of our Modern Army."

"Without question," General Besson pointed out, "we have substantially extended the soldier's essential ability to 'move, shoot, see and communicate'."

Improved items of clothing and equipment which AMC is supplying in quantity to combat forces in Southeast Asia include poplin uniforms, nylon reconnaissance boats, and waterproof wrist compasses. A new, lightweight collapsable intrenching tool is also being provided.

Procurement of the M–16 rifle has been stepped up with selection of two additional production sources. Additionally, the previous single supplier will expand production from 30,000 to 50,000 rifles per month.

Among specific items developed recently by AMC agencies with direct application to field requirements are:

A new variable body armor being procured for use in Vietnam. Ceramic armor plate is inserted into front and back vest pockets to provide protection against shell fragments.

Improved Aircrew armor for protection of pilots and aircrewmen against small arms fire make use of ceramic tiles cured to fit the chest and/or back.

A collapsible, fabric 55-gallon capacity water drum to resupply potable water to platoon-size combat units in Vietnam. The cylindrical container can be transported by vehicle, boat, or aircraft. A valve arrangement permits filling of canteens and other containers.

In its sixth year of operation, AMC provided more than one billion pounds of high explosives in support of combat operations in Southeast Asia.

A contract was awarded for development, production and follow-on support of the Tactical Fire Direction System (Tacfire) with the first system scheduled for fielding in the 1970s. Tacfire will be employed at battalion, division and corps artillery levels, and provide an automated capability for processing of field artillery, technical and tactical data.

Advances in implementing Project ARMS (Army Master Data File Reader Microfilm System). Involving transmittal of supply management data via microfilm to the Army in the field. This concept, after initial feasibility testing in 1967, has grown to a current distribution of 400 sets of microfilm data being produced and distributed by the AMC Catalog Data Office. It is anticipated that projected users of microfilmed data will total approximately 2,500 by July 1970.

Procurement and logistical support of Army aircraft also has been expanded by AMC. In 1962, the Army aviation inventory stood at 5,692 aircraft, of which 49% were rotary wing aircraft. As of now, the inventory comprises more than 11,000 aircraft, including 79% of the rotary wing type. Army aircraft flew 1.6 million hours in FY 1962, while in FY 1968 the total flying hours reached 6.7 million, with more than one-third of the aircraft inventory operating under combat conditions.

Production and procurement of 375 of the Army's newest combat helicopter, the Cheyenne (AH–56A), was authorized early in January. Designed as a stable weapons platform, able to take off and land vertically, it will fly at speeds up to 220 knots. First engineering test flight of the Cheyenne was completed in September 1967.

Newest version of the Chinook helicopter, the CH–47C, was accepted for the Army in March. Improvements over earlier models include increased speed and payload and longer ferry range.

A production contract was awarded in March for the OH–58A light observation helicopter. It will have performance characteristics comparable to those of the Cayuse (OH–6A).

The Army also formally accepted and deployed the AH–1G Huey Cobra, a high-speed helicopter gun ship. In Vietnam, it has proved its capability to perform search and target acquisition, reconnaissance by fire, multiple weapons fire support, and troop helicopter support. As of May of this year, 838 AH–1G helicopters had been placed under contract.

Additional heavy-lift helicopter support has been provided for combat forces in Southeast Asia. Twenty-one CH–54A "Flying Crane" helicopters have been airlifted to Vietnam. In addition to performing normal combat heavy lift support duties, the aircraft has been credited with retrieving more than 300 downed aircraft since September 1965.

Testing of the Army combat version of an Air Cushion Vehicle (ACV) is underway. AMC, acting under expedited procurement procedures, modified a commercial ACV into a military configuration, fabricated three vehicles, trained the crews, and delivered the equipment to Vietnam in 11 months. The ACV will travel at speeds up to 70 mph and is capable of engaging the enemy with .50 caliber heavy machine guns, 7.62 machine guns, and other weapons. Vital components and personnel are protected against enemy fire up to and including .50 caliber armor-piercing rounds.

The Armored Reconnaissance-Scout Vehicle (XM800) reached concept formulation stage in FY 1968. This is to be a small, lightweight, lightly-armored, highly-mobile vehicle for use in the scouting and reconnaissance missions of the armored cavalry and scout platoons. It will replace the M114A1 in the Army inventory.

Publicly exhibited during the past year were first prototypes of the jointly-developed U.S.-Federal Republic of Germany Main Battle Tank and Heavy Equipment Transporter. The tank, capable of firing guided missiles as well as conventional ammunition, features the latest state-of-the-art advances in fire control, suspension, armor protection and crew comfort.

Additional uses were worked out during the past year for the M113 armored personnel carrier. Bulldozer kits were developed and tested and have been sent to Vietnam for evaluation. Kits, to facilitate recovery of disabled vehicles and repair in the field, are also under development.

First production models of the new M60A1E2 combat tank were accepted in March and are now under test. This sophisticated weapon system, an improved version of the currently operational M–60, fires either missiles or conventional ammunition.

Fielding of the newest addition to the Army's fleet of general purpose vehicles—the M715 series, 1¼ ton, 4x4 trucks—began in January of this year. This new vehicle has four-wheel drive, a top speed of 60 mph, and a capacity to negotiate 60% grades.

Production of the M561 Gama Goat 1¼ ton cargo truck was ordered in June of this year, with the first vehicle expected off the production line in August 1969. The six-wheeled, two-unit vehicle has demonstrated a considerable improvement in off-road mobility. The two units are connected by an articulated joint which permits them to pitch and roll and still maintain ground contact and traction with all six powered wheels.

The Mobile Floating Assault Bridge/Ferry developed by AMC's Mobility Equipment Research & Development Center has been delivered to the Army. This versatile amphibious vehicle, primarily designed as a ferry for transporting essential elements across water obstacles, can link up with like vehicles to form a heavy duty bridge for river crossings by combat units.

Redeye, the Army's smallest air defense guided missile system, was deployed during FY 1968. It has an infrared homing guidance system which tracks the heat exhaust of low-flying enemy aircraft and guides the missile to its target. The hand held missile and launcher combined weigh little more than 29 pounds.

Successful development tests were conducted with components of another lightweight weapon, the Dragon anti-tank missile system which weighs about 27 pounds. Designed for high accuracy against both moving and stationary targets, it will be far superior in range, accuracy, and lethality to the anti-tank weapon it will replace, the 90mm recoilless rifle.

Production of new ground support equipment for the Pershing 1–A missile system was contracted for during FY 1968. Pershing 1–A involves a shift from tracked to wheeled carriers for all components, including the erector-launcher. The change was prompted by the Army's continuing quest for faster rate of fire, increased reliability, less maintenance, and lower over-all costs.

A new class of solid propellant additives has been developed. The new class of additives increases the burning rate of solid rocket propellants to at least three times the present rates and permits the development of rocket motors with shorter burning times and with higher thrust.

Prototypes of the Forward Area Altering Radar (FAAR), a highly mobile, lightweight, high resolution radar capable of detecting aerial targets at extremely low altitudes, have been completed and tested. The FAAR is a component of the Chaparral/Vulcan Air Defense System being developed to defend against low-altitude aerial attacks in the forward battle zone. In addition to the FAAR, the system includes the Chaparral surface-to-air guided missile system and the Vulcan 20mm gun, self-propelled and towed. First production units of the Chaparral and Vulcan systems were completed and delivered in FY 1968 to the Army for testing.

A new fully automatic mortar locating radar, the AN/TPQ–28, is nearing production. It is designed to provide the operator with an accurate first-round location of hostile mortar sites.

AMC achieved a significant improvement in multichannel radio relay communications in FY 1968. The medium capacity (12/24 channels), subsystem, featuring pulse code modulation, was delivered to the first users in Vietnam. An improved version of the AN/PRC–25 manpack radio, the AN/PRC–77, was initially fielded in Southeast Asia during the year.

First shipment of Army standard tactical single sideband communications equipment to Military Assistance Program grant aid recipients was competed in FY 1968. A total of 128 systems for Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Peru comprised this project.

The United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia are participants in the MALLARD project, established during the past year as a cooperative international program for development and production of a major tactical trunking and distribution communications system for field armies and elements of other services. The MALLARD system is intended to be fielded in the 1975–77 time period. It will provide secure, digital, automatically switched communications.

Announcement was made in May of the Army's latest night vision devices. Thousands of the devices have been supplied to field units, and many are in use now in South Vietnam. They include the Individual Weapons Sight, the Crew-Served Weapons Sight, and the Night Observation Device, all of which employ "image intensification" technology. This new system amplifies the dim glow of the moon, stars, or even faint sky-glow and intensifies it within the target area of the scope. A supplementary light source is not required, and therefore, the user does not risk detection by an enemy using a near infrared viewer.

In its third year, the AMC Zero Defects Program, established to motivate all personnel to be more quality conscious, continued to produce tangible results. AMC employees, as of late FY 1968, had submitted more than 4,200 Error Cause Removal (ECR) actions, and management had approved and applied more than 3,000 of these suggestions.

AMC won the Department of the Army FY 1967 Award of Honor for Safety in world-wide competition with 13 other major commands. It was the second consecutive year and the third time in the last five years that AMC had won this top award. During FY 1967, rates of accidents, injuries and cost were improved 24% despite an approximate 25% increase in personnel.

In the aircraft safety field, efforts by AMC and industry to solve the post-crash fire problem have resulted in design of a fuel tank of superior strength to prevent rupture during crashes in which the crew would survive. Stronger tanks and other safety items recently were incorporated into a UH–1 helicopter, which was flown and intentionally crashed in a demonstration. Both engine and transmission were torn from their mountings, but no tanks were ruptured.

In open competition with films entered by the nation's foremost industrial firms, AMC films won important awards from the Industrial Management Society during FY 1968.

U.S. Army Missile Command won first place for its film, "The Standardization Concept," in the management techniques category; the U.S. Army Test and Evaluation Command also took first place for "Quick Change Artistry", in the methods improvement category; and Headquarters AMC won third place in the management motivation category for "Cost Reduction is a Money Splendid Thing."

Film producers were Redstone Arsenal Pictorial Division, the Aberdeen Proving Ground Photographic Laboratory, and the Army Pictorial Center.

The new Tandem Van de Graaff accelerator at the Nuclear Defense Laboratory, Edgewood Arsenal, Md., is scheduled to begin operation in the fall of this year. This unique research tool will provide the Army with the capability to obtain precise information from basic research in nuclear effects for incorporation into Army materiel designs.

A Smoke Generating Subsystem, Helicopter: XM52 was developed and is currently in limited production. Atomized fog oil is projected into the exhaust of the UH–1D helicopter turbine engine to generate airborne smoke screens. A number of the subsystems have been put into use in Vietnam.

THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, just recently the American people and many of our allies celebrated the 10th observance of Captive Nations Week. The successful observance was interesting observed against a backdrop of circumstances and events that would even confuse many of our experts, not to speak of the proverbial average man.

On the one hand, the White House purposely played down the observance so as not to irritate the Russians, and during the week it revelled in the opening of the Moscow-New York flight run. On the other hand, rumblings of Czech, Slovak, and Ukrainian nationalism were heard throughout Europe, while in the course of the Czech-Slovak crisis the Russians tightened their imperialist screws on two Slavic captive nations. These events in themselves vested the 10th observance with pointed meaning.

The clue to a perceptive understanding of these and similar developments can be found in the current book, "The Vulnerable Russians." Authored by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, this instructive work provides all the essential outlines of Soviet Russian imperio colonialism which we now see spectacularly operating in Czechoslovakia, as in Hungary 12 years ago.

The work is now available at the Georgetown University bookstore, White Gravenor, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. The following review by Bill Freehoff of WKPT in Kingsport, Tenn,. amply shows the nature and worth of the book:

The Vulnerable Russians—A Review by Bill Freehoff

50 years ago last Sunday, the people of Byelorussia established the Byelorussian National Republic as a free and independent nation.

The freedom of that nation was, however, short-lived. On December 10, 1918, the Red Army invaded Byelorussia. Finally, in 1921, that nation was absorbed into the Soviet Union.

The experience of Byelorussia—one of the many captive nations conquered by Russian might and deception—was an experience shared by the Ukraine and by other nations that were on the border of the Russian empire.

Tonight's book, written by the one man in the United States who knows more about the subject than any other, tells the story of how these nations were absorbed into the Russian Empire, how that fact should be mentioned constantly, and how the liberation of these nations from the yoke of Russian imperialism should be the object of U.S. foreign policy.

Dr. Dobriansky is the author of the Captive Nations Resolution, passed by Congress in July, 1959, and he is also the author of the Congressional resolution honoring the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko.

He states his thesis simply and often in his book, "The Vulnerable Russians", and that thesis is this: that the Soviet Union is not a nation. It is, rather, an empire, an empire of conquered nations, nations that fell victim to Russian aggression.

Dr. Dobriansky points out that the Russian Empire is an old one and that the Bolsheviks—when they came to power after the Russian royal family was murdered—merely continued the old Russian tsarist policy of colonialism.

He says it is ironic for the United States to spend so much time talking about the right of self determination of tiny little areas in Africa and to ignore the nations under the Russian empire.

He points out that President Woodrow Wilson made a terrible blunder after World War I when he did not insist on the right of the nations now part of the Russian Empire, for self-determination.

He points out further that Wilson's blunder was compounded when President Franklin Roosevelt extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union and, at treaty conferences during World War II, sealed the doom of the captive nations under Russian domination.

But Dr. Dobriansky also points out that neither Richard Nixon, nor John Kennedy, nor Dean Rusk fully understand the situation with respect to the captive nations.

They all keep talking about the Russian Communist Empire as if it were a nation and they call all the people who are subject to Russian domination "Russians".

That, he says, is like calling an Irishman or a Scotsman an Englishman.

He also points out that it is short-sighted, to say the least, to refer to the Ukraine as if it were as much a part of the Soviet Union as Texas is of the United States.

The Ukraine was once a sovereign nation. It is an ancient country and its people have a language and a culture different from that of the Russians.

Moreover, the Ukraine was conquered by the Russians.

Texas, it is true, was also a sovereign nation. But the Republic of Texas voluntarily agreed to join the United States as a state.

Moreover, the men who ran the Republic of Texas were Americans, spoke English and had no real traditions separate and apart from the United States.

It is wrong to speak of all of the people of the Soviet Union as "Russians" Dobriansky explains, because Russia is only one of the 15 entities that make up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Moreover, the Russians are a minority and, in many parts of the Soviet Union, are despised.

Dobriansky points out that Karl Marx once referred to the empire of the Tsars as a "prison house of nations", and he makes the point that the term is even more appropriate for the present Russian Empire.

He says that communism is a means under which the Russians spread their empire, just as pan-slavism and the Russian Orthodox Church were means for the same end under the tsars.

He reminds us that Russia is the key to the Cold War problem, that if the Soviet Union were to be destroyed, other communist areas might soon dissolve.

He points out that when Hitler's army invaded the Soviet Union in World War II, many of the subject people of the nations under Rusian Control wanted to rebel against Russia—especially in the Ukraine—but that Hitler failed to take advantage of that situation.

He points out that the United States muffed the deal when the Freedom Fighters of Hungary made a break for independence and that many soldiers of the Red Army did not like to fight the Hungarians.

Although Dobriansky does not mention it in this book, the fact is the soldiers of the Red Army were not told they were going to Budapest at first.

But Dobriansky does mention the fact that the Russian General Staff was afraid the Western Powers would not stand for Russian aggression in Hungary.

Here, ironically, was a repeat of a similar situation in the 1930's, when the German General Staff warned Hitler not to invade Czechoslovakia for fear France and Britain would intervene.

In both cases, the Western powers stood by, while a nation was raped!

Dobriansky points out that the captive nations is the soft spot of the Russian body, it is their Achilles heel and when the Captive Nations Resolution was passed, the Russian dictator had a fit.

The masters of the Soviet Empire do not like for the truth to be told about the captive nations that make up the entity known as the Soviet Union.

They try to give the impression that the various so-called "republics" are part of the Soviet Union because they want to be and they point out that under the federal constitution, these republics may part company at any time. A realist knows they dare not, of course.

On one hand, the masters of the Kremlin point up the ethnic and cultural traditions of these republics, on the other hand, they are delighted that the leaders of the United States regard these people as "minorities" within Russia, like the Irish in Boston or the Chinese in San Francisco.

At times, when it suits the Russan propaganda machine, these people of what were once nations, are regarded as minorities, also.

But the Russians know that the people of the Ukraine, for example, have clung to their traditions and they were furious when the United States stole the thunder from the Russian communist imperialists and erected a statue to the great Ukranian poet, Shevchenko, who was a freedom lover.

The Russians have tried to make him a hero of the Bolshevik Revolution in an effort to appease the Ukranians who know the difference.

A recent issue of the Russian propaganda magazine that circulates in the United States, devotes that entire issue to Armenia, which is really a Russian colony but which the Russians pretend is a nation.

Dobriansky says we should keep harping on these national differences, that we should keep reminding the world that the Soviet Union is not a nation in fact, but is an empire made up of some 15 nations that were conquered or subverted by Russian imperialism, that each of these nations deserved to be free, that if they all were free, there would be no Soviet Union at all, and as a consequence, the rest of the Russian empire would collapse.

Certainly, if President DeGaulle of France can come out for a "Free Quebec", President Johnson can come out for a "Free Byelorussia, Georgia, Ukraine, Idel-Ural" and so on.

Dobriansky thinks the Cold War must be won and can be won through effective propaganda and psychological offenses.

For example, he suggests that since the Ukraine and Byelorussia are members of the United Nations and are thus, technically, sovereign nations, they should be recognized as such by the United States and that we should send ambassadors to Kiev and Minsk.

This would tend to drive a wedge between these two captive nations and Imperial Communist Russia.

The state department—which, Dobriansky insists, does not at all understand the situation, does not go along with the idea which was actually proposed in 1953 by Congressman Smith of Wisconsin.

Dobriansky also suggests that the Voice of America step up its broadcasts in the language of the people of the captive nations and put less emphasis on Russian-language broadcasts.

But his main idea is the establishment of a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy and a Joint Congressional Freedom Committee.

Again, the State Department turns thumbs down—not, insists Dobriansky, giving them the benefit of the doubt, not because they are subversive in the State Department, but simply because they are stupid.

The Freedom Commission would be composed of six members and a chairman appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The Commission would establish and supervise the Freedom Academy, which would concentrate on Soviet Russian political warfare techniques and how best to counteract them.

The students at the Freedom Academy would oversee the work of the Freedom Commission.

Such a set-up is badly needed, says Dobriansky, because the leaders of our government simply do not understand the Russian communist imperial threat.

We are not simply fighting "communism", as so many people think; we are fighting Russian imperialism.

He says that the Russians want us to look at the Cold War in terms of a struggle between communism and capitalism.

But it is more than that and Dobriansky is quite right when he points out that the people of the under-developed nations do not understand communism or capitalism but they do understand freedom and colonialism.

Moreover, communism as an economic system is simply socialism in its most advanced form and how can a Welfare State, semi-socialist nation really fight communism per se?

There is food for thought in this remarkable book. It is a shame that "The Vulnerable Russians" had to be printed by some relatively obscure press. It should have the widest possible distribution and ought to be required reading for the policy makers in government, for those who aspire to the presidency, and for professors of international relations and for editors, and broadcasters.

TWO NOTED HOOSIERS RECEIVE COVETED GOLD PLATE AWARD

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, it has just come to my attention that two outstanding citizens from Indiana have been honored by being selected as captains of achievement for 1968 by the American

Academy of Achievement. Mr. Eugene C. Pulliam, distinguished journalist and publisher, and Mr. Frank E. Sullivan, immediate past president of the Million Dollar Round Table and leader in the life insurance profession, were both named to receive the Golden Plate Award of this highly respected organization at its annual banquet on June 15.

Each year since 1961 approximately 50 outstanding leaders, chosen as "representatives of the many who excel in the great walks of life," have been similarly designated by the American Academy of Achievement. Among those chosen this year were such well known figures as Dr. Joyce Brothers, psychologist, Dr. Denton Cooley, pioneer heart surgeon, Thomas G. Cocoran, adviser to Presidents, the Honorable DANIEL K. INOUYE, Senator from Hawaii, Capt. James A. Lovell, astronaut, Stan Musial, baseball executive and former star player, Brig. Gen. Robin Olds, Commandant of Cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy and outstanding combat pilot, Eugene Patterson, editor, and Lawrence E. Spivak, television producer and panelist on public affairs.

The two Hoosiers who were honored are both eminent and highly respected personages in my State. Mr. Pulliam, the owner and publisher of five newspapers in Indiana and two in Arizona, is the first vice president of the Associated Press and has served with distinction on the boards of several educational institutions and other organizations. He established the Central Newpapers Foundation, which for many years has assisted deserving students to pursue a college education. During his own student days at DePauw University, in Greencastle, Ind., he was one of the cofounders of Sigma Delta Chi, the well-known journalistic society. Because of his lifetime dedication to the preservation of a free press, Mr. Pulliam has received the John Peter Zenger Award "for distinguished service in support of the freedom of the people's right to know."

The other Indiana leader selected for the Golden Plate Award in 1968 was Frank E. Sullivan, insurance executive of South Bend. A Navy veteran and graduate of Notre Dame University, he was elected when only 42 years of age to be president of the Million Dollar Round Table, an international organization of top-ranking life insurance agents. In addition Mr. Sullivan has been a very active participant in numerous community organizations and charitable programs, has authored a book on selling life insurance, and has gained several public honors for his humanitarian efforts and his contributions to mankind.

Mr. President, the recognition which these two Indiana leaders have received is well deserved. I extend my personal congratulations to them, and ask unanimous consent that a brief summary of their accomplishments, which appeared in the annual publication of the American Academy of Achievement, be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUGENE C. PULLIAM

Eugene Collins Pulliam was born in Grant County, Kansas, son of a missionary Methodist minister, the Reverend Irvin B. Pulliam, and Martha Ellen Collins Pulliam. He launched his business career at six—delivering the Iola Register.

Upon graduation from Baker Academy at Baldwin, Kansas, he enrolled in DePauw University at Greencastle, Indiana. The necessity to earn his way through school led him to establish The DePauw Daily. While at DePauw—he and nine other students founded Sigma Delta Chi, now an international journalist fraternity.

Following DePauw, Mr. Pulliam became a reporter on the Kansas City Star. At 23 he took over publication of the Atchison, Kansas, Champion—the youngest publisher of the day in the United States. Since he has owned and operated 47 newspapers in eight states. Today his newspapers are The Arizona Republic and The Phoenix Gazette, The Indianapolis Star and The Indianapolis News, The Muncie (Ind.) Star and The Muncie Press, and The Vincennes (Ind.) Sun Commercial.

Mr. Pulliam considers himself first of all not an owner, not a publisher, not an employer, but a newspaperman—a reporter at heart. He and his wife, Nina, have traveled throughout the world as a reporting team. He still can, on occasion, write an editorial, and his unerring sense of news sets the pace and commands the admiration of his staffers. However, he realizes that a newspaper to be a good newspaper must be financially successful; it must constantly improve its service to its readers; it must provide the best possible condition for the best possible staff, and it must back its community's progressive programs with money as well as editorial support.

During past years the Central Newspapers Foundation, established by Mr. Pulliam, has sent hundreds of young men and women to colleges of their choice and has brought young foreign reporters to this country to study, to work and to travel.

Mr. Pulliam is a member of the board of Directors and First Vice President of the Associated Press. He is a trustee of the William Allen White Foundation at the University of Kansas; he is on the advisory committee for the Professional Journalism Fellowship Program at Stanford University and the advisory Board of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard, as well as being a member of the Board of Directors of the Union Printers Home Association at Colorado Springs.

Of the many awards and honors he has received, probably the most highly treasured are two voted him by his fellow newspapermen spanning the full range of newspaper activity.

The masthead of each of the Pulliam newspapers carries the slogan, "Where the Spirit of the Lord Is, There is Liberty."

FRANK E. SULLIVAN

Frank E. Sullivan, C.L.U., general agent of American United Life Insurance Company, is one of the best known and most admired life insurance agents in the United States.

A forceful advocate and living example of continuing advanced education for life insurance agents, and of personal growth, discipline, and responsibility, he has had a remarkable influence in the improvement of life insurance men and life insurance service throughout America.

At 42, Mr. Sullivan was the youngest man ever elected President of the life insurance industry's distinguished, international organization of leading life insurance salesmen—The Million Dollar Round Table.

A native of Lowell, Mass., Mr. Sullivan moved to South Bend to attend Notre Dame University. After serving in the Navy during World War II, he graduated from Notre Dame, where he was administrative assistant to famed Notre Dame football coach Frank Leahy in his undergraduate days and for three years thereafter. He ghost-wrote Leahy's nationally syndicated sports column and organized the material and manuscripts for two Leahy football books.

Since joining American United Life, Mr. Sullivan has propelled himself and his agency to an impressive series of achievements. At one time or other, he himself has led the entire 89-office nationwide A.U.L. complex in all aspects of individual life insurance sales. And his South Bend firm, though small in numbers, is consistently among the top five of all company agencies.

Besides his business and MDRT activities, Mr. Sullivan is a strong community leader in South Bend. He is Chairman of the Executive Committee of The Advisory Council of University of Notre Dame's College of Business Administration; Honorary Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United Community Services of South Bend; has been chairman of every division and General Chairman of the St. Joseph County (Indiana) United Fund, and has had active leadership in fund drives which have raised more than $12 million. He was South Bend's "Young Man of the Year" in 1958; Notre Dame Alumni Club "Man of the Year" in 1959; and was a 1962 recipient of the Brotherhood Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Mr. Sullivan is author of a book, "Selling Life Insurance for Deferred Compensation," considered the authoritative work in that special underwriting field.

He donates much time to helping struggling young agents get established, and many now-successful agents credit his help as the turning point in their careers.

L. B. J. ORDERS AID FOR NEGRO BUSINESSES

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, we are all fully aware of the economic problems that exist among minority groups, particularly in our inner cities.

Yesterday, I had the opportunity to study an approach to these problems that hit me like a breath of fresh air. I refer, Mr. Speaker, to an article by the Honorable Howard J. Samuels, Administrator-designate of the Small Business Administration, in the Washington Post.

I commend this article to my colleagues as well worth reading, not only because it clearly enunciates an imaginative course of action which promises real progress, but also because it clearly shows the drive and vigor that Howard Samuels will bring to SBA to achieve the objectives assigned to him by President Johnson at the time of his appointment.

I know Howard Samuels, and I am delighted that he is to have the opportunity to dedicate his considerable talent and know-how to this pressing national problem.

As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, I know of the desperate need to help our disadvantaged help themselves, and share in this unprecedented land of plenty.

Mr. Speaker, I include the article from the Washington Post at this point in the RECORD:

L. B. J. ORDERS AID FOR NEGRO BUSINESSES

(By Howard J. Samuels)

The demand of the black community for a share in American business—not only as employes but as owners and managers—has been heard clearly by political leaders this year. The leading candidates of both parties are calling for new policies to promote black ownership.

In the inner city itself "a piece of the action" has become a symbol more potent than just an economic issue. "Jobs" still means working for whitey; "own your own" means a lot more.

A Negro business leader put the problem bluntly. "This is a capitalistic system," he said, "but we are the only people in it without any capital."

The Irish, the Jews, the Italians have always owned the businesses in their neighborhoods, and the grocer's son eventually made his way to college and into the "system". The blacks, for many reasons, have not been able to.

The facts are dramatic:

Minorities are 15 per cent of the population but own only one percent of the businesses. One out of ten white families owns its own business, but only one out of 40 black families.

Even in the ghettos, some 80 to 85 per cent of the businesses are owned by whites. Certainly less than 10 per cent of the retail volume moves through black stores in the inner city.

In Washington, where more than half the population is Negro, blacks own 2000 businesses while whites own 28,000. One-fourth of the businesses the Negroes do own are barber shops and beauty parlors. They own no manufacturing enterprises.

Other ethnic groups came to this country from Europe with some merchant experience to exploit. The road up from slavery has been tougher. Negroes have simply not been a part of the economic system, except as workers. Few have acquired management experience because only recently have white businesses begun to move them into top jobs.

The brightest and most ambitious blacks have gone into law, medicine, teaching or politics where the barriers have not been so formidable. In addition the Negroes have little capital. The black community, at the bottom of the economic heap, has been unable to develop the savings essential to capital formation.

With little capital of their own they have a hard time walking into a bank downtown and coming out with a business loan. And there are astonishingly few Negro banks to go to—only one in the whole of New York City, 17 in the entire United States. The assets of all the Negro banks in the country add up to one half of one per cent of the assets of the Bank of America alone.

This Administration has made a start, gaining some experience in how to help minorities and making some mistakes along the way. But it now has the tools and is ready to move in a much bigger way.

The critical problem of insurance for businesses in high risk areas will soon be resolved by the re-insurance bill Congress is expected to pass. The Small Business Administration has the authority to guarantee hundreds of millions of dollars worth of loans from the private banks. SBA can do for minority business development what federal mortgage guarantees have done for housing. The agency can offer 100 per cent guarantee on special "economic opportunity" loans for the poor—looking more at their personal potential as entrepreneurs than at their capital. Some $82 million has been loaned so far.

As a matter of principle, I believe a man taking a Government loan should have a little of his own money in the venture. Trying to put a man with nothing into business would be both bad business and a disservice to him. The philosophy of the free enterprise system requires that an entrepreneur take some personal risk.

But acquiring some capital is only the start for the new class of minority entrepreneurs we want to help establish. They must also have training in management to succeed.

On both these scores there is a limit to what government can or should do. The private business community's participation is essential to provide not only capital—greatly leveraged with government guarantees—but management assistance.

Much more can and must be done by the retail and service businesses to offer franchise to minority entrepreneurs—auto dealerships, service stations, supermarkets. There is no better way for people with limited experience to develop managerial competence than by operating first under the umbrella of a successful corporation.

Trade associations should set up special programs to sponsor and train minorities to get into their fields, especially retail and service areas where entry is the easiest.

The minority community must get involved too, through participation in local development corporations and by helping find potential business owners and educate them to the opportunities. The government role should be that of catalyst, organizer, planner, and guarantor of the financing. Our most important role now is to galvanize private sector involvement.

The President has given me the mandate as head of the SBA to move forcefully in these new directions, and quickly. The leaders of the banking and business communities are being consulted and they understand this need. They see minority ownership as important to economic growth and a stable society.

In their active participation lies the single best hope for giving the nation's minorities a stake in the free enterprise system.

POLICE: THE THIN BLUE LINE

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, law enforcement and the preservation of law and order are issues that have been of great concern to this Congress. As a member of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, I have come to appreciate more than ever before the vast number of problems facing local police forces. In the Los Angeles area, we are fortunate to have an excellent force with superb leadership. Its chief, Tom Reddin, was recognized in the July 19 issue of Time magazine as one of the Nation's outstanding police chiefs, and I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues some of the remarks made in the article which point out justification for the great respect he has gained.

The soldier of the cities is the cop, his front line the American ghetto . . . Police forces around the country are stepping up recruiting. Armories are stocking weaponry that ranges from small, knockout-spray atomizers to tanks. Training is being reorientated and intensified. And slowly—sometimes too slowly—the best forces are beginning to re-examine the concepts that have guided policemen for generations, trying to look upon the citizens of the slums not as foes but as fellow men and a commanding social challenge.

Nowhere is more being done in these respects than in Los Angeles, scene of the first cataclysmic riots of the '60s. No police chief is acting more vigorously or imaginatively to prevent new outbreaks than Los Angeles' Thomas Reddin, 52, who understands that the cop today must not only be a well-trained soldier but a "street-corner sociologist." Says Reddin: "This is the year when the public will suddenly realize that the policeman has more to do with the state of our nation than any other man on the streets today."

Most Americans heard of Reddin only after the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, when, for a period of 42 nearly sleepless hours, he directed the investigation of the murder and also expertly fielded newsmen's questions on nationwide TV. Most Californians knew of him long before, almost from the very day in February 1967 that he moved into the chief's office in L.A.'s new eight-story headquarters building, known to the force as the "Glass House."

The late William Parker, Reddin's predecessor, was the epitome of the police professional, a crusty authoritarian who had little truck with sociological theories. Taking over a scandal-tainted force in 1950, Parker made it as honest as any in the nation, boosting standards, competence and morale, and giving the L.A. police a paramilitary *esprit*. He did not, however, understand the new problems caused by the postwar influx of Mexican-Americans and Negroes.

Yet, with all the vaunted efficiency of L.A.P.D., Watts would never have been subdued without the aid of 13,900 National Guardsmen. Like most other cities at the time, L.A. had no contingency plan for a major uprising. "We were so anxious not to cause a riot that we backed off at first and let a riot develop," admits Reddin, who was then a deputy chief: "Using accepted practice on the second day, we isolated the area, reasoning that the rioters would riot themselves out and go home. So what happened? Other riots broke out in other areas." In the end, the insurrection encompassed a region roughly the size of San Francisco. There was little liaison with other agencies, particularly the National Guard, and commanders often could not communicate with patrol cars because their radios operated on different frequencies.

Like any other lost battle, Watts yielded its lessons, and Los Angeles' riot plan is now geared for all contingencies. Police response is carefully adjusted . . . to the size of the disturbance—enough force to smother trouble quickly, but not enough to provoke greater resentment. In each division, half the patrol cars are always tagged for response to special riot alert; if the cars of one division should prove inadequate to halt a disturbance, half the cars in the city can be on the move within minutes. If half the department still cannot keep control, nearly the entire uniformed force of 4,000 can be mobilized for duty. Los Angeles' basic formula of speed and superior force is being copied by 100 other cities.

Every front-line policeman in Los Angeles has been through a three-day riot-control school, and all have been told exactly what to do in event of riot. Officers would no longer work as individuals, but would be assigned to highly mobile, rapidly moving squads. "One man, operating as one man," says Reddin, "can control only one man. One man as a part of a squad of ten can control several hundred people." When should a policeman shoot to kill? Reddin is notably evasive, refusing even to outline a situation when he himself would fire his revolver. Ultimately in Los Angeles, the decision is left up to the individual cop. Two hundred marksmen have been assigned to a squad named S.W.A.T. (Special Weapons and Tactics), designed to pick off snipers and to eliminate, presumably, the need for indiscriminate police gunfire, which took innocent victims in Newark and Detroit last year. On the target range they can hit the head of a man's silhouette at 300 yards. A $25,000 trailer has been fitted out as a mobile command post, with an armored underside to fend off Molotov cocktails, and a smaller van is available for secondary commanders. Fibre shields, straight out of Ivanhoe, and bulletproof vests have been bought for men in danger areas. The force this summer will have nearly 700 walkie-talkies (v. 58 in 1965) to link commanders with front-line cops.

Potential riots are far from the only problem. Los Angeles recorded an 8.1% crime rise in 1967 over 1966. Because of its sprawling size, which isolates branch offices and gives any getaway car 1,000 escape routes, it is No. 1 in bank robberies. Because of its proximity to Mexico, it is the marijuana capital of the world. The L.A.P.D. seized 2½ tons of grass last year, enough to orbit a good-size army. Because of its balmy climate, it has, notes the chief, a "twelve-month crime culture."

To cope with all this, Los Angeles has the smallest force in the country, relative to population (an estimated 2,840,632) and area (463.6 sq. mi.). The city employs only 1.9 cops per 1,000 residents v. 2.8 in Chicago, 3.2 in New York. Yet man for man, in part because the force is so highly motorized, it is probably one of the most efficient. The L.A.P.D. has a higher percentage of civilians than any other big-city force (three civilians for every ten in uniform); they handle many tasks, such as clerical work and traffic direction, that elsewhere sworn policemen usually perform, thus freeing all but a few regulars for active law-enforcement duty. An elite team of 225, known as the "Top Group," has been organized for special assignments, such as nabbing organized car-theft rings or stick-up artists. A "community radio watch," composed of cabbies and truck drivers who have two-way radios, is being formed to alert police to violations. Eventually, Reddin guesses, the radio watchers could add 60,000 pairs of eyes without any cost to the police-surveillance network. Another laborsaving device is a new $450,000 computer, financed by the Federal Government, that will not only cut down on paperwork but also, by constantly pinpointing changing crime target areas, will help commanders assign patrols when and where they are needed.

Yet the biggest problem of the L.A., or any other police force, is not tactical. "Above all," says Reddin, "we found as a result of Watts that we had lost touch with the public that we were attempting to serve."

Keeping in touch has been Reddin's main concern. California Criminologist A. C. Germann suggests that a good police chief must be as willing to talk to black nationalists as he is to the Optimists' Club. Reddin may not exactly rap with the Black Panthers, but he tries.

A gregarious . . . man, he will talk with almost everyone. During his first year in office, his audiences numbered more than 70,000; he still spends four to five hours a day in some form of community relations, averages at least five speeches a week. . . . The L.A.P.D. has not been excluded from Reddin's conviviality. Not only does he talk frequently with all levels, but every two weeks he sends the troops a little newsletter dubbed "The T.R. Times." One of its maxims: "Don't blow your cool."

At Reddin's direction, community-relations programs have been greatly expanded, with a deputy chief and a staff of 100. A community-relations officer, often a Negro, and a youth-service officer have been assigned to each ghetto station as emissaries to the neighborhood. Each station, in addition, has established a citizen's council that brings together 20 to 50 residents a month to discuss local problems with the police.

To damp down rumors that often lead to riots . . . Los Angeles like other cities, has set up rumor-control centers. If an inflammatory incident occurs, police immediately tell their side of the story to the local rumor-control officer. He calls four friends and each of them calls four more; the chain continues until a large part of the community knows that there are at least two sides to the story. "It's very loose-knit," admits Reddin, "but it gets the word out. And the people involved aren't known as finks."

So that residents can know who the man behind the badge is, Reddin also gave each cop business cards and name tags— an innocuous but nonetheless controversial departure in a once notoriously highhanded force. Another innovation is actually ancient. Reddin has returned to the streets a man who disappeared from Los Angeles when patrol cars came in; the cop on the beat. It is remarkable in a city where only the poor and the eccentric walk, and so far the experiment is on a tiny scale. About 30 are now pounding the pavements.

"This is beautiful community relations," argues the chief. "The policeman gets to know people. They identify with him, and the chances of one of them throwing a rock at him or at a police car are less. It's the most expensive way of deploying policemen, but in the long run it could very well turn out to be the least expensive."

The Reddin blueprint pays attention to the young—rather self-consciously. Fourteen officers, each known as "Policeman Bill," are assigned to the city schools' first, second and third grades, where they tell children about the policeman's job. It all sounds a little cloying. Even so, before one "Policeman Bill's" visit, a survey showed, ghetto children portrayed cops as monsters with whips and flashing silver badges. After he left, they scrawled kindly father figures. To woo teenagers, almost always the troublemakers in ghetto disturbances, the L.A.P.D. has experimentally hired twelve youths for help on such minor but ticklish assignments as mediating family disputes. The program so far has shown encouraging signs of success.

Yet in the end, it is the individual cop who is the overseer of peaceful normalcy. Often under the most difficult circumstances, he is the thin blue line between law and disorder, civilization and anarchy. He is the man whom Tom Reddin and others like him are trying to lead—and change. Few experts promise quick results. As Tom Reddin puts it: "We're reversing a whole lifetime of a different kind of policework." Understandably, the policeman—even the "street-corner sociologist"—is not so much concerned with social trends as with the job an older society gave him to do.

Mr. Speaker, to conclude, I would just like to reiterate a point brought out in the report of the Kerner Commission:

> Alone, the policeman in the ghetto cannot solve these problems. His role is already one of the most difficult in our society. He must deal daily with a wide range of problems and people that test his patience, ingenuity, character, and courage in ways that few of us are ever tested. Without positive leadership, goals, operational guidance and public support, the individual policeman can only feel victimized. . . .

Los Angeles policemen have the leadership. I hope the Congress and the people of the United States will provide the necessary support.

SEVENTEEN WHO CARED

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, all of us are familiar with stories of witnesses to the commission of a crime who fail to come to the aid of the victim, for fear of becoming involved. That course of conduct by no means reflects the universal attitude of the American people.

Last week, Police Commissioner Howard R. Leary, of the city of New York, presented civilian commendation bars and certificates of commendation to 17 civilians who performed outstanding acts of bravery by coming to the aid of police in the capture of dangerous criminals and in the rescue of people in need of assistance. I am happy to join with the police commissioner and with the people of our city in a salute to these people whose courage demonstrates that they do care.

Five of those commended are residents of the Bronx, four from Manhattan, three from Brooklyn, two from Queens, and one each from Staten Island, Pearl River, and New Jersey. They represent various occupations, including an attorney, a mail carrier, a trucker, a student, a security guard, a school crossing guard, a police cadet, a teacher, and a public relations representative.

BARRY COHEN AND ALLAN KORNBLAU

On December 11, 1966, at about 3 p.m., Mr. Barry Cohen, a student, and Mr. Allan Kornblau, a teacher, heard a woman scream for help. They rushed to the assistance of the victim and were informed that a man attempted to assault and rape her. They ran in the direction the suspect took, apprehended him at the East 167th IRT Subway station and detained him until the police arrived. The courageous action of Mr. Cohen and Mr. Kornblau in coming to the aid of a citizen is highly commended.

SEYMOUR FERSKO

On July 19, 1967, at about 6:45 a.m., Mr. Seymour Fersko, a trucker, assisted the police in rescuing a man who threatened to jump from the George Washington Bridge. The man stood on the outermost railing on the south side of the bridge, and refused police efforts to remove him to safety. Cooperating with the police, Mr. Fersko drove his truck toward the man with the tailgate of his truck lowered to the height of the guard rail while two officers were concealed in the rear of the vehicle. The officers were thereby able to leap from the tailgate and rescue the attempted suicide. Mr. Fersko's skillful operation of his vehicle, his exact timing and judgment, and his cooperation with the police is highly commended.

GEORGE STEWART

On July 24, 1967, at about 10:20 p.m., Mr. George Stewart, a security officer, heard screams for help from the victim of an assault and robbery in front of 105 Ashland Place, Brooklyn. Mr. Stewart responded, chased the perpetrators, and apprehended one of them a half block away after a struggle. Mr. Stewart's alert, intelligent, and courageous action is highly commended.

VICTOR MALDONADO

On August 25, 1967, at about 10:40 p.m., at East 139th Street and Willis Avenue, Bronx, Mr. Maldonado apprehended a man who had committed a homicide with a revolver at a bar and grill. Mr. Maldonado followed the perpetrator and ordered him to stop. The man turned and pointed the gun at Mr. Maldonado, who disarmed him after a violent struggle. The courageous action of Mr. Maldonado, who suffered personal injury while subduing a felon, is highly commended.

ELOY R. BARROS

On October 5, 1967, at about 2:25 p.m., Mr. Eloy Barros, a security supervisor, observed two men running from a liquor store, chased by the owner. Mr. Barros followed them in his car and apprehended them at West 135th Street and Eighth Avenue. One of the perpetrators had on his person an imitation gun which had been used to hold up the liquor store. Mr. Barros' courageous action is highly commended

JAMES FLEMING AND EDWARD F. M'ELLIGOTT

On October 20, 1967, at about 5:30 p.m., Mr. Fleming and Mr. McElligott, security officers, observed a man fleeing from a burglary at the Park Sheraton Hotel. They chased the man, and after an exchange of gunfire and a violent struggle, disarmed him of a loaded .25-caliber automatic pistol. For their courageous action at great personal risk, Mr. Fleming and Mr. McElligott are highly commended.

KENNETH SCHAFFER

On October 17, 1967, at about 2:45 p.m., Mr. Schaffer, a public relations representative, assisted the police in the arrest of three men charged with homicide and robbery at 41 Convent Avenue, Manhattan. Mr. Schaffer followed the perpetrators on his motor scooter for several blocks, kept them under surveillance until he notified a police officer who took them into custody. Mr. Schaffer's courageous action is highly commended.

MARGARET T. ROGERS

On November 16, 1967, at about 8 a.m., Mrs. Rogers, a school crossing guard at East Tremont Avenue and Bruckner Boulevard, did observe two young girls about 15 years of age being forced into an automobile. Mrs. Rogers recorded the license plate number of the auto and description of the persons involved, and notified the police. Approximately 45 minutes later, one of the victims was found murdered at 1470 Outlook Avenue, Bronx. The information furnished by Mrs. Rogers led to the arrest of the perpetrators. Mrs. Rogers' intelligent assistance to the police is highly commended.

JOSEPH KENNEDY

On January 16, 1968, at about 2 p.m., Mr. Kennedy, a police cadet, assisted in the arrest of a man who snatched a handbag from a woman at 16 West 130th Street, Manhattan. Mr. Kennedy heard the victim's screams and observed three fleeing suspects. Without hesitation, he pursued one of them. After a short chase and a brief struggle, he apprehended the suspect. Mr. Kennedy's alert and courageous act is highly commended.

WILLIE LEE

On February 16, 1968, at about 11 a.m., Mr. Lee, a mail carrier for the U.S. post office, observed a youth carrying a woman's pocketbook, being chased by a woman on Nostrand Avenue and Herkimer Street, Brooklyn. Mr. Lee gave chase, caught the youngster, and subdued him after a struggle. Mr. Lee's alert, intelligent, and courageous action is highly commended.

ARTHUR HENRIKSEN

On May 28, 1967, at about 1:30 a.m., Mr. Henriksen, an attorney, came to the assistance of one of his neighbors who was being assaulted by three men. Mr. Henriksen, without regard to his personal safety, rendered vital aid when he, with the victim of the assault, fought and subdued the assailants until the police arrived. Mr. Henriksen's action is highly commended.

VIRGINIA MULCAHY, ANTON PASTIER, JOSEPH FAZIO, AND MICHAEL BUMBERA

On March 1, 1968, at about 6:15 p.m., Miss Virginia Mulcahy observed her girlfriend, who had entered a phone booth at Rector and Washington Streets, being assaulted by a man armed with an ice pick. Miss Mulcahy tried to prevent the attack, whereupon the man turned on her, knocked her to the ground, and stabbed her. Mr. Anton Pastier and Mr. Michael Bumbera came to her assistance, struggled with the armed assailant, and both sustained stab wounds in attempting to disarm him. The man then fled, pursued by Mr. Pastier and Mr. Bumbera who were seriously wounded. Mr. Fazio, attracted by the cries and shouts, joined in the chase, apprehended and disarmed the attacker, and held him until the arrival of police. Miss Mulcahy, Mr. Pastier, and Mr. Bumbera required medical treatment for their wounds. They and Mr. Fazio are highly commended for their courageous action.

PRODUCTIVE INVESTIGATIONS

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the investigations conducted by the Subcommittee on Foundations, House Small Business Committee, has covered the three Baird Foundations of New York City, which were founded and operated by Wall Street financier David B. Baird. The subcommittee published a study of the Baird Foundations on October 16, 1963, and they were also involved in our hearings of 1964.

We found that the Baird Foundations were exploiting their tax exempt status and operating as tax-free commercial enterprises. Those business transactions include:

Operations as securities dealers;

Operations as business brokers, including sales and leases of plants and equipment;

Operations as finders of credit;

Banking activities, including substantial loans to affiliated companies and business associates; and

Trading in mortgages.

Following our October 16, 1963, report, the Securities and Exchange Commission began an investigation of David G. Baird's operations, and the Internal Revenue Service levied taxes on the three Baird Foundations totaling $6.2 million. Recently, almost 5 years after the date of our report, the Securities and Exchange Commission issued its opinion in this case. Among other things, Mr. Baird is barred from engaging in the securities business. The text of the Commission's findings and a Washington Star story of July 15, 1968, follow:

[In the United States of America before the Securities and Exchange Commission, July 5, 1968, Administrative Proceeding File No. 3–462]

IN THE MATTER OF DAVID G. BAIRD, BAIRD & CO., 67 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. (8–1456)—SECURITIES EXCHANGE ACT OF 1934, SECTIONS 15(B), 15A AND 19(A)(3)—FINDINGS, OPINION AND ORDER DISCONTINUING PROCEEDINGS

(Securities Exchange Act Release No. 8350)

BROKER-DEALER PROCEEDINGS

Engaging in Broker-Dealer Business Without Registration

Improper extension of Credit

Failure to File Ownership Reports

Where partner of registered broker-dealer caused charitable foundations controlled by him, which were not registered as broker-dealers, to conduct broker-dealer business by engaging in large-scale securities activities, including purchases and sales for accounts of others as well as own accounts, transactions with persons not broker-dealers, and extension of loans to purchase securities; to extend credit in amounts and on collateral prohibited by applicable regulations; and to fail to file required ownership reports, *held*, partner willfully violated and aided and abetted violations of Securities Exchange Act and Regulation T, but under all the circumstances, including inactive status of foundations and partner's disassociation from registrant and his representation that he will not engage in securities business, appropriate in public interest to accept his offer of settlement providing for issuance of opinion containing findings respecting violations.

Appearances:

Stanley Sporkin and Irwin M. Borowski, for the Division of Trading and Markets of the Commission.

Richard H. Paul and *Sidney Rosdeitcher*, of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, for David G. Baird and Baird & Co.

These were private proceedings which among other things raised issues under Sections 15(b), 15A and 19(a)(3) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 ("Exchange Act") with respect to David G. Baird, a former partner of Baird & Co. ("registrant"), a registered broker-dealer.[1] The order for proceedings included allegations that between June 1950 and October 1963 Baird caused three foundations controlled by him to engage in a broker-dealer business without being registered with this Commission as broker-dealers and in connection therewith to extend credit in contravention of applicable requirements.

Baird submitted an offer of settlement in which he waives hearings and, solely for purposes of these proceedings and without admitting any violations of law or any findings entered under the terms of the offer, consents to our making certain findings and conclusions, including findings that he willfully violated and willfully aided and abetted violations of the Exchange Act as charged in specified allegations of the order for proceedings. Baird resigned as a general partner of registrant in June 1967 and as a limited partner in December 1967 and represents that he will not engage in the business affairs or activities of registrant except as may be necessary for the transfer of control of registrant to its partners who are continuing its business and for the liquidation of his interest and that of a deceased partner.[2] He further represents that he is not and will not be engaged in the securities business in any capacity with any broker-dealer or investment adviser. He agrees that if it should at any time be found after notice and opportunity for hearing that he has breached any representation in or term or condition of the offer of settlement or he fails after notice to appear at a hearing on the issue of whether there has been such breach, we may without further proceedings impose such sanctions as we deem appropriate for the violations as charged in the order for proceedings. The offer provides that, in view of those representations and agreements, no sanction is to be imposed on the respondents other than issuance of these findings and opinion.

---

[1] Also named as a respondent was William D. Brome, a partner of registrant, who died subsequently. The proceedings will be discontinued as to him.

After due consideration of the offer of settlement, the recommendation of our staff and the reasons hereinafter stated, we have determined to accept such offer and make the findings set forth below.

Baird organized the three foundations, the Winfield Baird Foundation, the David, Josephine and Winfield Baird Foundation, Inc. and the Lansing Foundation, Inc., as charitable foundations between 1936 and 1944, and from their inception has controlled them and directed their activities. In 1950 he organized registrant, which became a member of the New York and American Stock Exchanges, and he was a general partner of the firm until his resignation in June 1967. During the time he was actively associated with the firm, he was the person most responsible for directing its activities and setting its policies and most of the firm's customers were his customers.

During the period from June 1950 to October 1963, Baird caused the foundations, although not registered with us, to engage in activities which amounted to the conduct of a large-scale broker-dealer business.[3] As detailed below, these activities included the purchase and sale of securities in large volume and on an almost daily basis, for the accounts of others as well as for their own accounts, extensive transactions with persons who were not broker-dealers, the extension of large loans in connection with the purchase of securities, and various related activities typical of a broker-dealer business. Moreover, the foundations' income was derived primarily from their securities activities. While charitable foundations may engage in securities transactions that are part of their normal activities of managing funds devoted to their charitable purposes without falling within the regulatory framework of the Exchange Act with respect to broker-dealers, in the present case the scope and magnitude of the foundations' securities activities carired out under Baird's direction went far beyond such conduct. Under the circumstances, it is clear that the foundations were "engaged in the business" of buying and selling securities for the accounts of others and for their own accounts, and were therefore brokers and dealers within the meaning of the Exchange Act.[4] As such, they were prohibited by Section 15(a) of the Exchange Act from using the mails or interstate facilities to effect securities transactions otherwise than on a national securities exchange without being registered with us.

As set forth in the offer of settlement, in the 1950–1963 period the foundations effected transactions in more than 630 different issues of securities, including transactions executed on a principal or agency basis with 340 persons who were not broker-dealers. The total dollar volume of transactions with one person alone exceeded $25 million and the foundations acted as agents for such person in 40 situations, some of them entailing a series of individual transactions, involving a total consideration of more than $12 million. In addition, the foundations engaged in certain transactions in which large blocks of stock were purchased from one person or a group of persons and thereafter redistributed in the public market or by private placement. The foundations' books reflect more than 13,000 securities transactions in the period 1955 through 1963 alone. During the period from 1953 through 1963 purchases of securities totalled $118,833,100 and sales $125,815,812, with the total dollar volume in most years exceeding or nearly equalling the year-end value of the corpus of the foundations.

During the period from 1950 through 1962, the foundations also extended loans totaling more than $18 million to some 40 persons in connection with the purchase of securities. Loans for the purpose of purchasing securities, extended to 14 persons who were customers of registrant, were in amounts exceeding those which brokers or dealers may extend under applicable provisions of the Exchange Act and Regulation T of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and were supported by collateral other than that permitted by such provisions. Those loans totaled more than $17 million and included loans of $11,500,000 to one person during the period from October 1950 through October 1961. Throughout most of that period the credit extended to this person was more than $1 million in excess of that permitted, exceeding such amount at one point by more than $4 million. A loan of $1,514,000 to another person to purchase stock with a market value of $1,852,000 was also improper since the only collateral furnished was the purchased stock. During the period 1954–1961, another person was loaned $70,250 to purchase stock on no collateral other than the stock purchased which was traded only in the over-the-counter market. During the period from September 1956 through March 1963, loans of $153,325 to purchase stock were made to yet another person, which exceeded permissible amounts by as much as $31,000.

As noted, the income of the foundations was derived primarily from their securities activities. Thus, in the 1953–1963 period net gains on the sale of securities totaled $21,884,929, compared with a total of other income and donations received of $15,168,855. The latter figure included $4,963,149 in interest income, which was derived mostly from loans made in connection with the purchase and sale of securities, and dividends of $3,525,207.

In connection with the activities described above, the foundations engaged in related activities typical of a broker-dealer business. They collected and disbursed dividends for individuals, received and pledged customers' securities as collateral on loans, pledged their own securities for loans and directed the delivery and transfer of securities for individuals.

In light of the foregoing, we conclude that Baird willfully violated and willfully aided and abetted violations by the foundations of Section 15(a) of the Exchange Act and Sections 7(c)(1) and 7(c)(2) of that Act and Sections 3(b)(1) and 7(a) of Regulation T.

Baird further willfully aided and abetted violations by the Lansing Foundation, Inc. and the Winfield Baird Foundation of Section 16(a) of the Exchange Act and Rule 16a–1 thereunder in that he caused those foundations, following their acquisitions in 1953 and 1960 of more than 10 percent of a class of equity security registered on a national securities exchange, to fail to file with us required reports with respect to such acquisitions and subsequent changes in their ownership. No reports were filed until June 1965, shortly after Baird had been advised by our staff that the failure to file these reports could constitute violations of Section 16(a).

In support of his offer of settlement, Baird states that he is 72 years old and in ill health, that the foundations were at all times substantially engaged in bona fide charitable activities and that their income generated by the activities described above was devoted wholly to charitable purposes, including a large number of contributions to a broad range of charitable organizations. He asserts, among other things, that respondents believed that their activities in connection with the foundations were not subject to the provisions of the securities laws here involved, and that such activities have not caused any injury or loss to their customers.

In appraising the mitigating factors urged upon us we were mindful that the violations in this case were of a serious nature and continued over an extended period of time. By failing to register as broker-dealers the foundations avoided our regulatory scrutiny of the records and reports that registrants are required to maintain and file, which serves to prevent as well as to uncover improprieties affecting the interests of investors and the securities markets, including the excessive extension of credit in violation of the restrictions as to margin and type of collateral which are designed among other things to prevent excessive securities speculation. The failure to register is thus seen to have had a direct relationship to the use by Baird of the large pool of capital held by the foundations to provide sizeable loans to persons for securities purchases in violation of those restrictions, as well as to the violation of Section 16(a).

Our conclusion that under all the circumstances it is appropriate in the public interest to accept the offer of settlement was based principally on the facts that the foundations are now inactive, have been liquidated in part and will be fully liquidated immediately upon the determination of a claim of possible tax liability asserted against them by the Internal Revenue Service, and that Baird is no longer associated with registrant or with any other broker-dealer or investment adviser and under the terms of the offer will be precluded from engaging in the securities business in any capacity with a broker-dealer or investment adviser.[5]

---

[2] Baird represents that aside from liquidating transactions by the foundations, his future trading activity through registrants successor firm by him and any other business entity controlled by him is not expected to exceed 5 percent of the annual volume of that firm.

[3] The foundations maintained their offices in registrant's offices. The work involved in operating them, including record-keeping, secretarial and clerical functions, was performed by Baird and other of registrant's personnel, and registrant also provided the necessary supplies, all without expense to the foundations. The foundations maintained accounts with registrant and conducted certain of their securities transactions through registrant, in which registrant charged such commissions as were required by the rules of the New York Stock Exchange.

[4] Section 3(a)(4) of the Exchange Act defines a "broker" as a person "engaged in the business of effecting transactions in securities for the account of others." Section 3(a)(5) defines a "dealer" as a person "engaged in the business of buying and selling securities for his own account."

Accordingly, it is ordered that:

(1) the proceedings with respect to David G. Baird be, and they hereby are, discontinued provided that if it shall appear at any time after the issuance of this order that Baird has breached any representation contained in or any term or condition of the offer of settlement, the Commission may, upon 30 days notice to Baird, order a hearing to determine whether a breach has occurred and to afford Baird an opportunity to deny that a breach has occurred or to establish mitigating circumstances with respect to such breach. If Baird fails to appear at such hearing or upon such hearing if the Commission finds a breach of any representation, term or condition of the offer of settlement, the Commission may, without further proceedings, impose such sanctions as it deems appropriate under the circumstances and may determine such proceedings against Baird in accordance with the provisions of Rule 7(e) of the Commission's Rules of Practice;

(2) the proceedings with respect to Baird & Co. and William D. Brome be, and they hereby are, discontinued.

By the Commission (Chairman Cohen and Commissioners Owens, Budge, Wheat and Smith).

ORVAL L. DUBOIS,
Secretary.

[From the Washington Star, July 15, 1968]

FOUNDATIONS PROBE FIGURE IS BANNED BY SEC DECISION

(By Lee M. Cohn)

David G. Baird, the target of a 1963 congressional investigation of tax-exempt foundations, has been forced off Wall Street by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

In an opinion issued earlier this month, the SEC said Baird had illegally used three foundations be controlled to engage in multimillion-dollar stock transactions.

Rather than imposing sanctions, the SEC accepted Baird's settlement offer, which bars him permanently from engaging in the securities business in any capacity with a broker-dealer or investment adviser.

Without admitting any violations of law, Baird consented to the SEC's findings. The SEC noted in offering the settlement he had said he was 72 years old and ill.

PATMAN LEADS PROBE

Rep. Wright Patman, D-Tex., charged in a 1963 report that Baird had used three "charitable" foundations to cloak tax-free stock deals, banking operations and other profit-making business ventures.

Patman, who has been crusading for tighter regulation of tax-exempt foundations, said Baird used his foundations as "multimillion-dollar, tax-free securities dealers—dispensing millions of dollars of credit to prominent businessmen customers."

Among those cited by Patman as engaging in big stock and credit deals with Baird through the foundations were Serge Semenenko, a Boston banker with movie industry interests; Floyd B. Odlum, a prominent New York financier; William Zeckendorf, once a real estate magnate, and Conrad Hilton and other members of the hotel family.

The SEC said Baird, then the leading partner of Baird & Co., a Wall Street broker-dealer, used his foundations "to engage in activities which amounted to the conduct of a large-scale broker-dealer business," although the foundations were not registered with the SEC.

The foundations carried out transactions in more than 630 issues from 1950 to 1963, including transactions with 340 persons who were not broker-dealers, the SEC said.

Transactions with one person alone exceeded $25 million, the SEC said, but did not identify him.

The foundations bought $118.8 million worth of securities and sold $125.8 million worth from 1953 through 1963, the SEC said.

ILLEGAL LOANS CHARGED

Futhermore, the SEC said, the foundations loaned more than $18 million to 40 persons in connection with securities purchases from 1950 through 1962, including $11.5 million to one person. Some of the foundations' loans to customers of Baird & Co. were larger than allowed by Federal Reserve regulations and were not backed by required types of collateral, the SEC said.

Income of the foundations came mainly from their securities activities, the SEC said. Income and donations totaled $37.1 million from 1953 to 1963, of which $21.9 million came from net gains on sales of securities, $5 million from interest and $3.5 million from dividends, according to the findings.

The SEC said Baird resigned as a general partner in Baird & Co. in June 1967 and as a limited partner last December. The three foundations are inactive and in the process of liquidation, the SEC said.

Another investigation of the Subcommittee on Foundations involves the operations of an organization known as Americans Building Constitutionally—ABC—Barrington, Ill. This organization was allegedly mass-producing tax-exempt foundations for a fee of $10,500. Hearings were held in October–November 1967. Three of the trustees of Americans Building Constitutionally have now been indicted in California on grand theft charges. The Wall Street Journal of July 25, 1968, covers the indictment as follows:

NINE TIED TO GROUP FOSTERING TAX SIDESTEP FOUNDATIONS INDICTED FOR THEFT AND FRAUD

(By Byron E. Calame)

LOS ANGELES.—The three top officials of an Illinois organization that claimed to be helping individuals use trusts and foundations to avoid taxes, and three of its California promoters, have been indicted on grant theft charges by an Orange County grand jury.

All six of the officials and California promoters of Americans Building Constitutionally, or ABC, plus three other promoters of the organization, also were indicted on charges of conspiring to commit grand theft and fraud and obtain money by false pretenses. The indictments followed a 20-month investigation of the group by the California Attorney General's office.

The nationwide activities of the organization were first disclosed in a Wall Street Journal story last August. Since then, both the Internal Revenue Service and Congressional subcommittee have announced investigations of ABC, which was started early in 1966 and has claimed to have more than 200 members. The group also is being investigated by authorities in Illinois and Michigan.

In return for a membership fee of up to $10,500, the organization offered to organize a package of private trusts and foundations that supposedly would minimize the member's income and estate taxes. This was usually accomplished, according to the group's claims, by setting up a nonprofit foundation that took over the member's business (supposedly making all the income tax-free) and then hired the member to operate it. Trusts linked to the nonprofit foundation assertedly took the member's house, stocks and certain other assets off the tax lists.

The three indicted ABC trustees were Robert D. Hayes, managing trustee and a Barrington, Ill., sales-training executive; Richard J. Stephenson, a law school graduate from Chicago; and J. Alton Lauren, a Chicago real estate appraiser. The California promoters indicted were B. Douglas Fahy and Charles R. Billings, Long Beach insurance men, and Gustave Galas, a Santa Ana lawyer.

ALLEGED LEADER

The individuals indicted only on the conspiracy charge were James R. Walsh, of Fontana, Wis., who has been described as the principal architect of ABC; Lyman Garber, a Beverly Hills, Calif., lawyer, and Fred K. Dell, a Barrington, Ill., training expert.

The defendants could be sentenced to from one to 10 years in prison for each count of grand theft or conspiracy on which they might be convicted.

The first count of the indictment, which alleges that the defendants conspired to commit grand theft and fraud and to obtain money by false pretenses, links all nine defendants to the operations of ABC in Orange County between March and December 1967. It states that Messrs. Fahy, Billings, Galas, Dell and Garber held or attended meetings where the ABC plan was discussed with prospective members. According to the indictment, prospective members at some of these meetings were shown a film prepared by Messrs. Hayes, Walsh, Stephenson and Lauren. The first count also alleges that Mr. Galas received a total of $1,875 from three Orange County doctors in July 1967 for the purpose of setting up a foundation for them.

The second and third counts in the indictment charge the three ABC trustees and Mr. Fahy with grand theft in taking $8,000 from each of two Orange County men who were to have foundations created for them by ABC. Mr. Billings also is named in the second count. The three other counts of grand theft involve the $1,875 received from the three doctors and name the three trustees and Messrs. Fahy, Billings and Galas.

None of the six counts in the indictment spell out exactly why or how the receipt of the money from the prospective members constituted the alleged grand theft, fraud or obtaining money by false pretenses. But the attorney general's office has stated in previous court proceedings that it believes "a major portion of ABC's advice is false and misleading" and that it questions whether the package of foundations and trusts created by ABC can legally provide all the benefits claimed for it by ABC's promoters.

It was learned yesterday that some of the defendants have already been arrested, but their identity couldn't be immediately determined.

LAWYERS DISCUSS PLAN

The ABC plan has generated considerable discussion among tax lawyers across the country. For example, recent seminars on private foundations held in New York and Las Vegas by the Practicing Law Institute of New York have included a presentation called the "ABC" Foundation Plan: Magic Formula or Sham?

---

[5] As noted, under the terms of the offer of settlement we make no findings as to the allegations with respect to registrant. In view of the Division's recommendation that we accept the offer and the other particular circumstances of this case, including the fact that Baird dominated registrant during the period of the activities in question, that considerable time has elapsed since some of the events we have discussed took place, and that the composition of the firm has changed and, as stated above, Baird will be disassociated from the successor firm, we have considered it appropriate in the public interest to dispose of these proceedings without addressing ourselves to those allegations and shall accordingly discontinue the proceedings as to registrant. Our action in this respect is not, of course, in any way in derogation of the principles regarding the responsibility of registrants for activities of their principals and their employees.

ABC's three trustees are currently fighting a Chicago Federal court order that would force them to turn over a complete list of members and certain other information to the IRS. All three trustees had previously refused to provide the information in response to an IRS summons issued last October. The IRS has expressed doubts about the legality of the ABC plan and warned last October that "the tax consequences to those who participate could be adverse."

The three trustees refused to provide similar information to the Foundations subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee last fall. Mr. Walsh also refused to answer numerous questions put to him by the subcommittee headed by Rep. Patman (D., Texas) and ended up walking out of the hearing room while he was still being questioned. Mr. Walsh told the subcommittee that he was then the subject of an IRS investigation that could lead to the filing of criminal charges against him. At that time, Rep. Patman indicated that contempt citations would be sought against the balky witnesses, but the subcommittee hasn't issued any yet.

The Orange County indictments are the result of an investigation begun early last year by Lawrence R. Tapper of the charitable trust section of the California Attorney General's office. When Messrs. Fahy and Billings refused to answer certain questions put to them by Mr. Tapper, the deputy attorney general sought to have them held in contempt of court. Despite a year-long legal battle, both men were eventually sentenced to jail until they answered certain of Mr. Tapper's questions. Mr. Billings purged himself of contempt earlier this month after spending 38 days in the Los Angeles County Jail. But Mr. Fahy avoided arrest in the contempt matter by remaining outside the state and never was jailed. It couldn't be immediately determined if the contempt citation against Mr. Fahy would now be dropped.

IDENTITIES WITHHELD

Several of the persons questioned about ABC have maintained that such inquiries were an invasion of their privacy and that the rules of ABC prohibited disclosure of the names of its members. In the membership agreement, the ABC member supposedly promises never to divulge any of the "methods, procedures or techniques" used, or the identity of any other member.

The indictment which was handed up by the grand jury earlier this week, is being handled by H. Warren Siegel, a state deputy attorney general, with the assistance of Michael R. Capizzi, deputy Orange County district attorney.

Mr. Hayes said in an interview last October that he was introduced to Mr. Walsh, who had developed the package of foundations and trusts used by AEC, in 1965. Mr. Hayes, 67 years old, said he and Mr. Walsh created ABC in early 1966, and that the ABC plan was introduced to individuals around the country by employes of Sales Analysis Institute, a sales training concern owned by Mr. Hayes. The Sales Analysis Institute employes worked with local promoters such as Mr. Fahy who would set up meeting of prospective members.

Mr. Walsh, who is about 50, has repeatedly claimed that he has no official connection with ABC, although he has been described by a source close to the Patman subcommittee as the "principal architect" of the ABC idea.

Mr. Hayes and Mr. Walsh maintained in interviews last fall that ABC's purpose was to "awaken the average creative person" to the benefits of "restructuring" his business and estate on a not-for-profit basis. They claimed that ABC was simply "Henry Fordizing"—or mass producing—legal and tax expertise, long available only to the wealthy.

ABC recruited its members by word of mouth. At an introductry meeting, prospective members would be given a three-hour presentation by an ABC representative. If the prospect decided to join, he would make an initial payment of $1,050. This payment covered 30 hours of instruction in how to use the complex legal web of foundations and trusts that ABC claimed it could create for the member to help him avoid taxes.

COST ESCALATES

Upon completing the 30-hour course, the new member had the option of paying $4,200 more to have a nonprofit foundation created for his benefit, or paying $9,450 more for the entire ABC package of foundations and trusts. It couldn't be determined whether ABC has continued to actively seek new members or has modified its plan in any way in recent months.

Mr. Walsh said last fall that none of the trustees received any money from ABC, but he admitted then that his own foundation received an undisclosed amount of money from ABC for certain services it provided to ABC. Some of ABC's money has gone to pay the legal costs of Messers. Fahy and Billings in their legal battle with the state attorney general's office here, according to Mr. Fahy.

Sources close to ABC's operations said last fall that a significant number of its members were medical men, including chiropractors, dentists, general practitioners and osteopaths. Those who joined ABC could recoup all or part of their initial outlay through the organization's "referral system." Mr. Walsh explained in the interview last fall that if one member could convince another member to join, his foundation would receive a $2,000 "endowment" out of the fees paid by the new member. The first member's foundation would also get $1,000 of the fees paid by any new members attracted by the second member, and $500 of the fees paid by the next "generation" of members.

THE AUTOMOBILE—SOURCE OF PROTECTION OR OF DANGER?

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, in the 2 years since he was named Director of the National Highway Safety Bureau, Dr. William Haddon has contributed greatly to a highly significant effort to create a system in which the design of the automobile may serve as a means of protection to its occupants, rather than as an additional source of hazard. The effort is continuing, and it is worthwhile.

Dr. Haddon recently gave a speech on this topic and on the responsibilities of his agency to the American Automobile Association. Knowing that my colleagues will be as interested in this question as I, I ask that Dr. Haddon's speech be reprinted in the Record.

The speech follows:

The Individual and the Quality of His Environment

(Remarks of Dr. William Haddon, Jr., Director, National Highway Safety Bureau, Federal Highway Administration, U.S. Department of Transportation, before the Annual Traffic Safety Management Workshop, American Automobile Association, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., June 27, 1968)

The miracles and blessings of the age of technology need no new spokesmen. Yet man, who made this technology to master his environment and to better his life, now senses that the human values which make life worthwhile now seem threatened by this technology. Large and complex systems have a momentum of their own. Their objective was to give man greater control. The result is a tragic irony: systems now tend to control the individual, to isolate him, and even to maim him.

Let us focus for a moment at the human equation of the automotive system, at the risk of over-simplification. On the one hand, it is a mode of transportation which is owned and directed by the individual, giving him mobility, freedom and privacy. The private automobile is, if anything, a symbol of individual power, success, and glamour in the midst of a society whose images are mostly impersonal, automated, and large scale. In his car the American individual need not feel dwarfed, out of place and without a say or a role. On the other hand, there are these appalling human statistics:

The deaths of nearly 2,000,000 men, women, and children on our highways in the past 60 years of the automotive age.

Tens of millions of injured and uncounted thousands crippled for life in this same time period.

These statistics continue to grow on a daily, monthly and yearly rate:

On an average *day* highway casualities in the U.S. total over 10,000 injured.

Average *weekly* deaths constitute a tragic toll of more than 1,000.

Economic losses average about $1 billion a *month*.

Each *year* more than 8 million days of hospitalization are now required merely for the care and treatment of crash survivors.

There is a more sobering fact about our technological age that the best minds and tools of modern science have *not* been brought to bear to any great extent on this tragic problem of human loss.

Traffic safety has largely remained outside the areas traditionally of concern to most of the professionals who could contribute their skills to its solution.

The signs of change, however, are clearly with us. In fact, beginning about a dozen years ago, a few research workers here and there began to uncover the facts which have increasingly pointed the way to the possibility of great reductions in these tragic totals of human and property damage.

In outline, the problem divides logically into three parts, in each of which are circumstances which contribute greatly to the losses that continue to occur.

We refer to these three parts of highway safety as the pre-crash, crash, and post-crash phases of the problem.

In the first, or *pre-crash phase,* the issues are those which determine whether or not a crash takes place. Here, for example, we are concerned with drunken driving, blowouts and the other mechanical failures of vehicles, medical conditions which may lead to incapacitation while driving, and those features of highway design and maintenance such as lighting and markings which make it more difficult for the operator to continue safely on his way.

In the second, or *crash phase,* we are concerned with the circumstances which, in the crash itself, determine whether or not any injury occurs, and if so, its severity. Here, the success of the vehicle "package" in protecting its occupants is the paramount issue. Also important is the success of the highway designer in providing the safest possible highway crash design of the road, for example, by ensuring that vehicles that do leave the roadway will not be able to hit solid objects that decelerate them too abruply to allow the survival of those involved.

It is strange with respect to the crash phase that most Americans still do not understand that it is scientifically possible for them to ship themselves and their loved ones just as successfully packaged and, consequently, as safely as they ship delicate wedding presents and other fragile cargo. Yet many who would consider it preposterous to ship a teacup loose in an empty barrel with a hostile interior and sides that may fall open, do precisely this with themselves and their children, and at high speed.

Since crashes will continue to occur in substantial numbers, for the foreseeable future, we are placing strong emphasis on greatly improving the crash design of vehicles, and especially the safety of the occupant compartment itself.

Similarly, at a time when our children continue to learn of the danger of wolves in the forest, we must somehow also educate them and ourselves to the hazards of our modern environment, and what can be done about them. For example, an uncushioned bridge pillar, or a light pole designed so that it kills rather than shears when hit, is a hazard far more serious than any wild animal could possibly be, even if loose in a downtown area. Similarly, the steering shaft of a car does not need to be a spear aimed at the chest; rather it can be redesigned as a cushion that protects the driver, as required under our Departmental standards on all vehicles manufactured after January 1, 1968.

Once the crash has taken place, we are concerned with the *post-crash phase* and the circumstances which in it determine whether or not many will live or die. Here, of course, the principal issues involve the rapidity and quality of the post-accident response; the communication system and emergency transportation; and the provision of the best in first-aid and medical care.

Unfortunately for many of the dead and injured, emergency services in a large portion of the United States are archaic at best. Although there are outstanding exceptions in some areas of the country, in most there have been no requirements that ambulance attendants be expert in first-aid, that their equipment meet acceptable standards of any type, or that their patterns of operation be sufficient for the great responsibility placed upon them. We believe on preliminary evidence that such deficiencies are contributing directly to thousands of deaths each year in the United States, especially in rural areas.

That the shortcomings of our present situation are unnecessary is illustrated by the fact that as a nation we have demonstrated and applied a completely different level of planning, technology, and understanding in our handling of very similar injuries occurring under the conditions of jungle warfare.

By contrast, for example, few on the domestic scene expect to see helicopters working rapidly in transferring the injured to hospitals, the use of highly skilled medical corpsmen and other paramedical professionals; or for that matter survival rates for serious injuries anywhere near as high as those now achieved routinely under military conditions. This is all the more tragic when it is considered that on the civilian scene the logistical requirements can be anticipated with a precision impossible under the shifting conditions of modern war. The highways continue in the same locations, the hospitals do not move about, the evening and weekend hours in which a greatly disproportionate share of the major crashes take place, are all well known in advance. Yet such considerations are only now beginning to be weighed by those concerned with the survival of those injured on the nation's roads.

In recognition of the seriousness of the highway safety problems and the need to bring the nation's resources to bear on them, President Johnson in 1966 requested the Congress to take action. Within six months, a record-setting pace, with the suggestions and support of organizations such as the AAA, the Congress returned a comprehensive, well-constructed package consisting of two Safety bills for the President to sign into law. Let me now briefly outline the areas which these Acts cover.

The National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act is the most well known. Its first title provides a mandate to establish appropriate Federal motor vehicle safety standards, the first set of which went into effect in the current model year. An additional group of standards has been applicable to the 1969 model.

Title I of the Act also provides the legal authority to enforce such vehicle and equipment standards and specifies that the manufacturers must notify purchasers of vehicles and equipment known to have defects, and to notify the Department as well.

In addition, the Bureau is to conduct research, testing, and development and training activities to support the current and projected actions of the Bureau.

Under Title II of the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act, the Bureau is also directed to establish standards for tires, and the first standards under this authority have been issued.

Under Title III of the Act, we are to study the needs for research and test facilities and report back to the Congress. This report will be submitted in the near future.

Finally, under Title IV of the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act, the National Driver Register, in which all States participate, was transferred from the Bureau of Public Roads to the National Highway Safety Bureau. This is a mechanism under which any State can check on the major aspects of a driver's record in other States.

Under the Highway Safety Act of 1966, our job is the establishment of uniform standards for State highway safety programs. On June 27, 1967 Secretary of Transportation, Alan S. Boyd, issued the first group of these. They had been developed during the preceding seven months with very considerable participation—as appropriately required by the statute—of a wide variety of individuals and organizations from virtually all the States, from organizations of State and local government officials, from National and other safety organizations, and from a wide range of interested groups. These standards cover the following 13 areas indicated by their titles:

Driver Education
Driver Licensing
Motorcycle Safety
Traffic Records
Alcohol in Relation to Highway Safety
Periodic Motor Vehicle Inspection
Motor Vehicle Registration
Highway Design, Construction, and Maintenance
Traffic Control Devices
Identification and Surveillance of Accident Locations
Codes and Laws
Traffic Courts
Emergency Medical Services

A very important provision of this law, one which I very strongly endorse personally, is the requirement which places in the hands of each Governor the authority for all State activities under this grant-in-aid program. This was a move on the part of the Congress to ensure a unified approach to this important problem within each State, and among all the States.

The great importance of work at the local level was also emphasized. At least 40 percent of the funds must be spent in local communities, where the problem can and must be approached by those closest to it.

The Highway Safety Act and those who framed it did not anticipate a Federal takeover of functions we all feel should be left to the States. The legislative history makes very clear that the purpose was not to establish Federal licenses, certificates of title, police forces or any other such activities. Rather, the objective was to provide a means for helping those who are nearest to the problems involved to deal with them most effectively. Judging from the exceptionally fine response in almost every State during the past year, this objective will be achieved and the Federal role will be one of standard setting, in cooperation with the States, the provision of the financial assistance, and especially the sponsoring under both safety Acts of the research that must be greatly intensified if we are obtain the facts upon which all of our programs must increasingly be based.

The scope of this program is a large one and its objectives ambitious. The success of the program depends, however, on the degree to which it truly cares about the value of human life and the quality of the environment in which we live. This care must be focused not only on protecting human lives and preventing human injuries but also on the role played by the individual in the program. We seek not to build a new, impersonal system to cure the evils of another or to fill the vacuum of past inaction with all-pervasive Federal power.

Our search is rather to ensure a harmonious balance between the rights of a free citizenry and the necessity for orderly and responsible actions. The task of the private sector in this program cannot be overemphasized, particularly where organizations such as yours provide the most direct link with individual drivers and citizens as well as with State and local officials.

Already we see the promise of results. For instance, the initial emphasis of the program on improving the crashworthiness of the vehicle system shows signs of payoff. Data from Sweden on the effect of a safety belt occupant restraint system shows a 30 percent reduction in minor injuries and 80 percent for those of fatal grade. This study of more than 28,000 highway crashes revealed that not one of 9,345 occupants wearing combination shoulder-lap safety belts was fatally injured in serious crashes at speeds up to 60 miles per hour. But non-belted occupants were killed at speeds as low as 12 miles per hour. Clearly, these figures underscore the need to promote a wider and more effective use of such restraint systems. Preliminary evidence shows comparable reductions due to the introduction of energy absorbing steering shafts and the new laminates for windshields.

We have recently heard of the results of better crash design of the highway environment. There has been only one fatality on Texas highways in collisions with signs mounted on breakaway supports in the 27 months since introduction of this safety feature as contrasted with 80 fatalities in collisions with non-breakaway signs in the preceding 2 years in that State.

The progress in other areas, particularly as to those human and system factors which account for crashes, may well be more difficult to achieve. More and better accident investigation data and methods are urgently needed as well as extensive research and development. In many of these areas we are dealing with a complex of factors concerned with human behavior and the need to change that behavior. Again, the role of organizations who deal directly with individual drivers is crucial whether it relates to the problem of alcohol in driving or the need for better maintenance practices for vehicles in use.

I am confident that your concern for the driver, his passengers, and other road users will continue to engage your best efforts and talents in making the automotive system more compatible to the needs of the individual and of our society.

THE NEGRO REVOLUTION AND TRADE UNIONISM

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, with the two major political parties talking about jobs and job training for the unemployed, either through private enterprise or the public sector, it is appropriate to consider the role of the apprenticeship system in the opening of job opportunities for black Americans.

In too many instances it has been more a barrier than a facilitator. Despite Department of Labor regulations prohibiting approved apprenticeship programs from discriminating, opportunities are only now just beginning to open on an equal basis.

I include in the RECORD a speech by William Gould, New York labor lawyer, to the Long Island Labor-Management Institute on "The Negro Revolution and Trade Unionism":

The Negro Revolution and Trade Unionism

(Speech by William B. Gould to the Tri-County Long Island Labor-Management Institute, June 23, 1968)

I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak with you this morning since, as leaders of your respective unions, you are the men who will have a significant role in determining whether this nation redeems its promise of equal employment opportunity—a promise made most recently through the language of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—or whether we collectively slip back off the abyss into continuous racial disorder and violence. At the outset, let me be frank about where I think the blame lies for the current racial tensions. While it is true that most industrial unions have little if anything to say about hiring policies—and that racial discrimination in employment generally preceded the advent of the labor movement, the natonal labor movement—both the craft and industrial unions—must shoulder a very major portion of the responsibility for the white racism, which, according to the Kerner Report, lies at the heart of the ever-increasing and self-destructive polarization of the races which we witness today. Having said this, however, I also believe that it is important to take note of the role which certain labor leaders and unions have played in improving the lot of black workingmen and, most significantly, the impact that their efforts have had within the unions and at the work place over which the unions have jurisdiction.

District 65, RWDU has made a substantial effort in developing a training program and reference system which is deliberately aimed at minority youth. Harry Van Arsdale has recruited a large number of Negro and Puerto Rican workers who now enjoy caft union membership in his prestigious IBEW. And even Peter Schoenmann, President of the United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters—who one year ago railed against the invidious concept of "affirmative action" as a procedure foreign to his union's traditions, has now followed the lead of C. J. Haggerty (President of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL–CIO) in stating a desire to recruit Negroes and other minority group apprentices. And, of course, the Workers Defense League has done yeoman duty in preparing Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters for apprenticeship examinations.

But the cold facts are that only 4% of the nation's apprentices in the urban areas—where Negroes have migrated in large numbers—are minority group people. The Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has stated that a more intensive effort is needed. The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966—(Model Cities Program) provides that ghetto residents obtain "maximum opportunities" for employment. But neither the AFL–CIO leadership—nor any international union so far as I am aware—has put itself on record in support of a "trainee" classification which will lead to a journeyman's card for Negroes and Puerto Ricans who may not meet qualifications—such as age, for instance—of existing apprentice programs.

And while the industrial unions with their large Negro constituencies have been more responsive in providing a remedy for the racial malaise in this country—some of them continue to thwart the equitable advancement of their Negro members through discriminatory seniority systems. Apparently, the wrath of their white membership—the white majority—inhibits the bold approach that is required. In short, union leaders are acting like our political leaders who refuse to face up to the implications of the Kerner Report.

What makes all of this particularly tragic in the case of the unions, however, is that they were born out of the deeply-felt need to protect working people who, by themselves, could not obtain equitable treatment from their employers or their state. The overriding goal of the trade union movement was to eliminate wage competition between workers and to establish standards which would do away with exploitation. The mechanisms established to achieve these goals took a number of forms: the apprenticeship program, hiring halls, the *de facto* closed shop, all of which, among other things, were designed to keep the supply of organized labor in the trade so scarce that the members would have work during periods of economic decline. And the industrial unions—in addition to negotiating union security provisions which require membership as a condition of employment—put together a seniority structure which protects union members (and non-union) in varying degrees in the case of promotion, layoff and bump-back. Thus, an employer is now limited in his ability to affect the worker's employment status without considering length of service.

All of these tools represent an obvious improvement over the old order in my opinion. They were devised to protect those who could not protect themselves individually. But now, gentlemen, you are confronted with the Negro Revolution which, like the labor movement, is, in part, a demand to share in the material goods from which a part of the community has been excluded. So long as these union devised procedures—apprenticeship programs, hiring halls and seniority—are seen by the Negro community as exclusionary devices, the labor movement will not be able to meet the challenge of the Negro Revolution and will not be able to assist in wielding together a Negro-labor coalition geared to demand economic and social reform in this country. You must, where necessary, modify legitimate protective devices so that they will be regarded as instruments to *speed* the advance of minority group workers—and not as instruments of oppression which thwart their interest. In short, the labor movement must act as representative of *all* the workers in the community—no matter how lowly their station in life, no matter how difficult their plight.

Fundamental to this process, it seems to me, is the acceptance of two assumptions. The first is that the white majority in the unions—like the white majority in the nation—must assume burdens which would not be shouldered if the Negro were to remain a second class citizen. In the context of today's struggle, the white membership might be often likened to the individual worker who benefited—or thought he benefited—from the unorganized shop and thus resisted unionism as a limitation on his opportunities. The price of social justice and civil order is a sharing of available work opportunities. Otherwise, a despairing Negro community will join forces with traditionally anti-union elements. The budding friendship between Richard Nixon and Floyd McKissick is already an example of this.

Secondly, the labor movement at all levels—AFL–CIO, international union, and local unions—must stop telling its members that "affirmative action" and all programs which deliberately encourage the recruitment and advancement of minority group workers are something different from equal employment opportunity. The fact of the matter is that the goal of equal employment opportunity can be best realized through *color conscious* policies which are remedies for past discrimination and which, in some instances, may modify some of the union procedures of which I have been speaking. Otherwise, I fear, the attack on union negotiated protective devices will destroy their effectiveness for both black and white workers—and we will all be the losers as the result.

Part of the price may be revision of apprenticeship programs which are outdated because of technological developments. But that is a relatively small price to pay.

Let me be specific about some of the things that are wrong and what must be done about them. Insofar as recruitment into apprenticeship programs is concerned, C. J. Haggerty's February 1 letter to Secretary of Labor Wirtz appears to be an important step forward because it promises "maximum utilization of responsible civil rights organizations willing to join in a cooperative effort . . ." and, in addition, support for programs of minority recruitment, endorsement of apprenticeship programs like the Urban League sponsored LEAP. But, as The New York Times said on February 19 ". . . the reforms now promised will mean little where local unions continue to find excuses for keeping apprenticeship programs almost totally "lily white."

In the meantime, however, I believe that the AFL–CIO, to begin with, should make clear its endorsement of a Model Cities Program trainee classification which will impart construction trades skills to minority group workers and which will culminate in a journeyman's card for the trainee. The Labor Department has already approved such a trainee classification in a Syracuse, New York federally assisted project. Labor union support for this type of program—in effect, training in lieu of apprenticeship for employees who have been bypassed by father-son or relative, friend apprentice programs—might go a long way toward easing ghetto unrest.

But this program—in which unions, employers, the Negro and Puerto Rican communities should establish jointly—must lead somewhere—in this case to a journeyman's card. Otherwise, we are only going to fan the fires of frustration and engender new violence and destruction. We simply cannot be satisfied with construction programs—no matter how properly motivated—which have no objective beyond keeping the summer "cool."

I implore you to lobby your international unions—and the AFL–CIO to make the Model Cities Program meaningful to ghetto residents. It should be emphasized that acceptance of the trainee classification and thus acceptance of the statute's intent to increase employment opportunities for those in the ghetto, will lead to construction which will increase work opportunities for *all* workers. And I ask that you do not hide behind the familiar cliche about lack of skills. As Peter Millones of The New York Times (February 18) said: ". . . there is no question that many Negroes lack the basic skills to be such workers as sheet-metal workers and plumbers. But they presumably also have lacked, at one point, the skills of an electrician, yet the electricians' local in New York, under the leadership of Harry Van Arsdale, has made great strides in adding Negroes to its roles."

But the problem of justice for the Negro is not limited to the craft unions. This fact is dramatized by the recent strike by the white members of the Paperworkers Union in Bogalusa, Louisiana, in protest against a revision of seniority procedures proposed by the Office of Contract Compliance—revisions which were accepted by management, but not the union. In the case of the crafts, the problem is job access. But in mass production, it is promotion—more particularly, the basis upon which promotions are to be made. And, parenthetically, it should be noted that where business is attempting to hire minority group employees, the opportunity for advancement and training should be present and clearly spelled out.

Prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many industrial unions and employers negotiated segregated seniority lines or districts—that is to say, Negroes were limited to the undesirable lowpaying jobs—and whites were privileged to receive the higher paid, more skilled work. Sometimes, in the paper industry, for instance, Negroes acted as "helpers" and actually performed some of the same or similar tasks as white employees who received higher pay; sometimes, of course, the jobs were unrelated altogether. But the separate seniority pattern was the same.

Now everyone agrees that segregated seniority rights are unlawful. But many unions—even at the international level—resist a revision of the system which will permit the Negro worker to invoke his seniority accumulated in the segregated dead end job—for the purpose of advancement in regard to previously "lily white" jobs. I must report to you that the AFL–CIO Civil Rights Department has been of little help in this matter. For, it contends that any disruption of existing seniority agreements would break faith with the interpretation of the Civil Rights Act which it sold to its membership in 1963 and '64.

In the AFL-CIO document, *Civil Rights: Facts* v. *Fiction*, distributed prior to the Civil Rights Act, the AFL-CIO informed its members that, while certain seniority plans might be discriminatory, no employees' seniority rights would be interfered with in any way. Quite obviously, this could not be if the Negro worker is to achieve some equity to compensate for past discrimination.

Unless a Negro worker is given some seniority credit for the purpose of future promotional opportunities and security against layoffs which is based upon time worked in the formerly segregated job, he is just as effectively denied equality through a "grandfather clause" as is the Negro applicant to a father-son apprenticeship program. But collective agreements often establish departmental or job classification seniority which designates the department or classification as the seniority unit—the very department and classification into which the Negro worker has been discriminatorily fenced in.

Without racial considerations, there would be nothing inherently meritorious in one seniority system as opposed to another. Younger workers, for instance, might legitimately create a narrow unit out of fear of displacement from older workers in more obsolete departments in the plant who have plant wide or company seniority. But it is obvious that a narrow unit—departmental or classification—is detrimental to the Negro worker who has been denied the right to accumulate seniority—in the unit to which he now advances—because of a discriminatory promotion policy. A remedy must take into account the seniority previously accumulated and must attempt to compensate for what would have been obtained but for discrimination. Without such an approach, the Negro worker's present employment status continues to embody within it past discrimination.

At a conference between the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the AFL-CIO in May 1966, no union leader would risk the ire of his white members by proposing some type of compromise on this issue. The one-sided response to what is admittedly a difficult question was that the Commission is not authorized to reform labor contracts involving "vested rights" of white employees.

Now anyone familiar with the process of collective bargaining knows that the unions themselves alter these "vested rights" on many occasions and that the courts have upheld such modifications. I therefore suggested in both a report to the Commission and in an article in the Winter 1967 issue of the Howard Law Journal that an accommodation be arrived at between the competing interests of Negro and white workers. For the latter group—the white worker—has built up reasonable expectations, even if predicated on segregation, as to the future of its employment status.

In brief, I said that under practically no circumstances should Negroes *displace* whites; that where a valid "line of progression" exists—where it is truly necessary to learn one job before proceeding to the next—Negro workers should go to the bottom of the line just as the whites had done, unless it could be shown that a Negro's presently existing skills entitled him to more. I proposed that Negro workers, once having entered this formerly all-white line, could exercise seniority accumulated on the Negro job *after a "residency" period was completed* during which the skills of the job could be learned.

This plan was not acceptable to the AFL–CIO. But now the handwriting may be on the wall. The District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, in *Quarles* v. *Philip Morris Company* has struck down a departmental seniority system which had its genesis in past discrimination—prior to the enactment of Civil Rights Act of 1964. As the court said, ". . . Congress did not intend to freeze an entire generation of Negro employees into discriminatory patterns that existed before the act."

One would hope that the AFL–CIO Civil Rights Department would take a position on this vital matter before more court cases further tarnish the labor movement's image in the Negro community. As the New York Sheet Metal Workers well know, you buy little good will by integrating as the result of court order rather than voluntary action.

Finally, I want to deal briefly with union organization of non-union Negro workers and the impact that this can have on the development of Negro leadership within the unions. It seems to me that one of the more hopeful trends today is the growth of public employee unions like the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union and their enthusiastic representation of poorly paid Negro workers in local government. We must never forget that it was in this cause that Martin Luther King, Jr. died in Memphis. And in the public employment sector particularly—where the two revolutions involving public employees and Negro workers are proceeding simultaneously—there is more opportunity to provide equality inasmuch as the system is new and no one yet has a vested interest in it to protect.

I believe that trade union movement must encourage Negro workers to assume leadership positions as well as to become members. And I should add that at times such encouragement must call for procedures which both encourage and discourage democratic procedure inside the union. Sometimes a total exclusion from leadership should obligate the unions to take measures which will guarantee positions for minorities—and in most strong unions this can be done; but sometimes a union constitution's rigid officer eligibility requirements exclude new minority group members—and, accordingly, such rigidities must be removed.

Perhaps it would be a good idea for the ILGWU—formally or informally—to make sure that some of its large unskilled Negro membership become managers. There are no Negroes in this important position at present. But there is no doubt that there will be if there is a will strong enough on the part of the ILGWU leadership.

It is my hope that it is not too late for this type of trade union commitment. But that commitment—if it is to be successful—must reflect a willingness to revise and adapt, where necessary, the hard won security guarantees which the unions achieved for another generation of dispossessed workers. And to be successful, you gentlemen must tackle the problem with the same vigor that you employed in constructing the house of labor itself. If this is not done, the erosion of your protection may wreak havoc for black and white workers in all industries and in all parts of the country.

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL PLATFORM HEARINGS

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, in an unprecedented effort to solicit and represent public opinion throughout the Nation on the major issues facing the American people, a group of Democratic Congressmen are planning public hearings to gather information for consideration by the Democratic National Convention Platform Committee.

We are seeking to democratize even further the workings of the Democratic Party and make certain that all factions and viewpoints are reflected in our party's platform. We do not have the audacity of the senior Senator from Illinois who thought he might write his party's platform in his own office. Nor do we believe it is possible to distill into 3,500 words a responsible, comprehensive statement on the myriad of issues facing the American people.

Thus, with the blessing of our platform committee chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Boggs], we are going to the people to hear their thoughts, to learn their views, and to represent their opinions in our platform. These hearings, which will be held throughout the country by the participating Members, will enable the Democratic Party to frame a responsible and responsive platform.

The following Members are participating in this democratic effort for the Democratic Party and American people:

Brock Adams of Washington, Joseph P. Addabbo of New York, Thomas L. Ashley of Ohio, Jonathan B. Bingham of New York, John A. Blatnik of Minnesota, Edward P. Boland of Massachusetts, John Brademas of Indiana, Frank J. Brasco of New York, George E. Brown, Jr., of California, James A. Burke of Massachusetts.

Phillip Burton of California, Hugh L Carey of New York, Frank M. Clark of Pennsylvania, Jeffery Cohelan of California, James C. Corman of California, John C. Culver of Iowa, Dominick V. Daniels of New Jersey, John H. Dent of Pennsylvania, John G. Dow of New York.

Don Edwards of California, Joshua Eilberg of Pennsylvania, Frank B. Evans of Colorado, Leonard Farbstein of New York, Thomas S. Foley of Washington, William D. Ford of Michigan, Don M. Fraser of Minnesota, Richard H. Fulton of Tennessee.

Kenneth J. Gray of Illinois, William J. Green of Pennsylvania, Edith Green of Oregon.

Lee H. Hamilton of Indiana, Julia Butler Hansen of Washington, William D. Hathaway of Maine, Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, Henry Helstoski of New Jersey, James J. Howard of New Jersey, Andrew Jacobs, Jr., of Indiana, John C. Kluczynski of Illinois, Peter N. Kyros of Maine.

Robert L. Leggett of California, Clarence D. Long of Maryland, John J. McFall of California, Spark M. Matsunaga of Hawaii, Lloyd Meeds of Washington, Patsy T. Mink of Hawaii, Joseph G. Minish of New Jersey, William S. Morehead of Pennsylvania, Robert N. C. Nix of Pennsylvania, Richard L. Ottinger of New York.

Edward J. Patten of New Jersey, Thomas M. Rees of California, Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, George M. Rhodes of Pennsylvania, Peter W. Rodino of New Jersey, Fred B. Rooney of Pennsylvania, Benjamin S. Rosenthal of New York, Edward R. Roybal of California, J. Edward Roush of Indiana, William F. Ryan of New York, Fernand J. St Germain of Rhode Island, James H. Scheuer of New York, B. F. Sisk of California, Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey, Robert O. Tiernan of Rhode Island, John V. Tunney of California, Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Joe D. Waggonner, Jr., of Louisiana, Jerome R. Waldie of California, Charles H. Wilson of California, Lester L. Wolff of New York.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since Congress passed the Captive Nations Week resolution—Public Law 86–90—in 1959, we have observed 10 annual Captive Nations Week events. What makes this record all the more remarkable is the fact that despite discouraging pressures from the White House and other sources, the annual observance has grown and expanded, both here and abroad. It is evident that increasing numbers of free men are coming to recognize the strategic importance of all the captive nations to the security of the free world.

As further indications of the variety of activities, undertaken during this past 10th observance the following items are of particular interest: First, proclamations by Governors Ronald Reagan of California, and Harold E. Hughes of Iowa; second, an editorial and news account in the July 15 and 16 issues of the New York Daily News; third, a New York Times report on July 15; fourth, a Spanish-language report in New York's El Tiempo of July 15; and fifth, a nationally distributed pamphlet on the week, titled "From Moscow's 'Izvestia' to 'Washington's 'Post,'" and written by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University and chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee:

A PROCLAMATION BY GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN ON CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK IN CALIFORNIA, JULY 14 THROUGH 20

Whereas, the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas, the diverse backgrounds of the people of California enable them to understand and sympathize with the aspirations of peoples everywhere who wish to enjoy the blessings and benefits of freedom; and

Whereas, it is fitting and proper that we in California do formally express our sympathy with those aspirations held by the peoples of the captive nations;

Now, therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, Governor of California, do hereby proclaim the week of July 14th through 20th as Captive Nations Week and invite the people of California to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the United States and the State of Iowa have an abiding commitment to the principles of self-determination and human freedom; and

Whereas, the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of peoples in these conquered nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to any ambitions of Communist leaders to initiate a major war; and

Whereas, the freedom-loving peoples of the Captive Nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom and to the people of the United States as leaders in bringing about their freedom and independence; and

Whereas, the Congress of the United States by unanimous vote passed Public Law 86–90 establishing the third week in July each year as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate prayers, ceremonies, and activities; expressing their sympathy with and support for the just aspirations of captive peoples for freedom and independence:

Now, therefore, I, Harold E. Hughes, Governor of the State of Iowa, do hereby proclaim the week of July 17–20, 1968, as Captive Nations Week in Iowa, and call upon our citizens to join with others in observing this week by offering prayers and dedicating their efforts for the peaceful liberation of oppressed and subjugated peoples all over the world.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused the Great Seal of the State of Iowa to be affixed, Done at Des Moines this 13th day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred sixty-eight.

HAROLD E. HUGHES,
Governor.

Attest:

MELVIN D. SYNHORST,
Secretary of State.

[From the New York Times, July 15, 1968]

CAPTIVE LANDS UNIT HOLDS PROTEST HERE

Two brief outbreaks marred a program of speeches, folk dancing and singing on the Mall in Central Park yesterday to mark the annual protest by the Captive Nations Committee against Communist Governments in Europe.

The national organization consists of émigrés and their families from countries now absorbed by the Soviet Union or under Communist control.

During a program of dancing four teenagers ignited a Soviet flag, and a bystander tried to take it from them. The scuffle was interrupted by policemen, who escorted the demonstrators away for questioning, then released them.

Later Jeff Lobaito, who identified himself as a former Conservative party district leader in Greenwich Village, complained to the police because the American flag was "burned around the world" but they had prevented the burning of the Communist flag.

Before the disorder, Representative Lester L. Wolff, a Democrat from Nassau County said in a speech:

"People everywhere look to the United States as a citadel of freedom. I call on the Soviet Union and mainland China not to muffle the voice of protest. I call on the Soviet Union and mainland China to face the test of self-determination."

[From the New York Daily News, July 15, 1968]

LIKE A CRY IN THE NIGHT

There comes once a year Captive Nations Week to recall the pitiful plight of the millions throughout the world held in slavery by Communists. The observance this year began yesterday.

In part, it is the reminder of a national shame. We stood by as the fond and complacent ally of Soviet Russia while the Kremlin demons dragged many of these nations, unwilling but powerless, into the dark and silent empire of Communism.

You would think that our officials would shout denunciations of this crime in every world forum at every opportunity.

But what do they do? They talk of "building bridges" of trade and understanding to the Red cutthroats and their puppet henchmen; they simper over every gesture, no matter how meaningless, of Soviet "good will."

The Captive Nations once basked in the supposed warmth of such friendship. Too late they learned the real nature of Communism.

We would do well to remember that we are marked for the same fate if we are ever so foolish as to let our guard down.

[From the New York Daily News, July 16, 1968]

COPS, FOTOG IN A SCUFFLE AT CITY HALL

Ceremonies commemorating Captive Nations Week ended abruptly yesterday at City Hall when police scuffled with a photographer taking pictures of a woman being ejected from the event.

The woman, who identified herself as Queen Mother Mary of the Black Nation, left City Hall during the scuffle.

The photographer, Frank Carrion of the Spanish language newspaper El Tiempo, was released after police discussed the incident with Chief Inspector Sanford Garelik. Police said Carrion refused to show his press card. Carrion argued that the plainclothes guard outside Mayor Lindsay's office interfered with him.

PROCLAMATION ISSUED

Before the scuffle, Deputy Mayor Timothy Costello issued a proclamation naming the week of July 14–20 as Captive Nations Week and urged New Yorkers to "express deep concern and sympathy for the people of countries throughout the world now under Communist control or attack."

As Costello posed for photographs with various delegations representing captive nations, including representatives of a free Cuba group, the woman slipped into the room and loudly complained that Negroes in America have less freedom than persons living under communism.

At the request of a city official two plain clothesmen assigned to City Hall removed the woman from the ceremonial room near Mayor Lindsay's office. As she was removed, Carrion brushed past other plainclothesmen who said

they asked him to show his press card. The scuffle ensued and Carrion said his camera was broken.

[From El Tiempo Nueva York, Lunes 15 De Julio De 1968]

PROCLAMAN SEMANA DE NACIONES CAUTIVAS

Ayer domingo se inició la semana de las Naciones Cautivas. Esta celebración se lleva a cabo oficialmente bajo los acuerdos de ley del Congreso, en resolución de Julio de 1959. Desde entonces se vienen celebrando ceremonias de este tipo con la participación de le alta oficialidad de representativos de los países en cautiverio bajo la dominación del Imperialismo Ruso.

Faras ceremonias comenzaron ayer domingo con una misa solemne en la Catedral de San Patricio en esta ciudad. El Rev. Monsenor Ealkuna hizo uso de la palabra y en valient discurso poco usual para un prelado de su categoria recalcó el rol que vienen desempañando las maciones cautivas enel mundo libre y los grandes conquistas y optmismo hacia la liberación de los países cautivos en Europa.

Monseñor John Balkuna es el Pte. de las Naciones Bálticas (BATUN) y con el Rev. father Trespaygozan un gran prestigio por su combatividad espcialmento ante les países de las Naciones Unidas.

Después de terminada la misa y desplagando las banderas de todos los países cautivos hubo un acto público en la concha del parque Central. Abrió el acto el honorable Juez Matthew J. Troy, chairman del comité de las Naciones Cautivas de New York. Después le siguioó en el uso de la palabra el Hon. Representante a la Cámara, Lester L. Woff, de Port Washington, L.I.

Por el condado de Queens habló la Honorable Rosemary Gunning. Hubo manificos números danzarios, especialmente los bailarines y afamado grupo Eukraniano, dirigidos por Mr. Oleh Genza. Todos lo países inclusive Cuba, último en la lista, estuvieron presentes.

,PROCLAMA EN CITY HALL

La proclama en el City Hall, como todos los años será entregada por el Hon. John V. Lindsay y sy entrega se efectuará en el salón Azul, macana martes 16, a las 11 de la mañana.

,INCIDENTE EN EL PARQUE CENTRAL

Un incidente muy lamentable ocurrió en el Parque Central cuando un grupo de muchachos jóvenes trató de quemar una bandera Rusa y un comunista disfrazado trató de ocupar el micrófono. El coronel Nazarenko, de los Cosacos, bajó a los intrusos y la policía los detuvo. Grandes masas de jóvenes Ukranianos se movieron a defender los presentes que se vieron amenazados por los solapados comunistas.

FROM MOSCOW'S IZVESTIA TO WASHINGTON'S POST

(By Lev E. Dobriansky)

The 50th anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution, which was celebrated for a week up to November 7, 1967, disclosed a number of instructive items. There was the disclosure of Moscow's orbital missile, the firmness of its anti-American policy, particularly in Vietnam, the single-man ascent of Brezhnev, the continued concentration on capital and war goods as against consumer goods production, and the persistent attempt on the part of the Soviet Russian totalitarians to exercise their superior leadership over the world Communist Party movement. As concerns the last, this would only be a political and ceremonial reaffirmation of the primary power position of the Russian center in the Soviet Union in relation to all other states in the Red Empire, including mainland China, and also in relation to the Communist Parties in the Free World.

But significant, too, were the comments and observations made of this "50th" by American commentators, journalists, and periodical writers. In fact, this aspect constituted the prime disclosure of the event. Without itemizing the popular magazines, such as *Life* and *Look*, and detailing their specific comments, it is sufficient here to point out that their uncritical handling and assessment of the facts provided Moscow with a billion dollar propaganda windfall. Their comments on "Russia's economic progress" these past fifty years, its mighty armed forces and space exploits, its slow evolution toward "capitalist" ways of thinking and doing and similar matters can all be taken as superficial and devoid of perspective and meaning. Reading some of these accounts, one would think that these accomplishments were effected without incalculable and irrational costs in lives and economic value, as though fifty years of Soviet Russian totalitarianism and imperio-colonialism were unblemished by genocide, concentration camps, man-made famine, the cruelest forms of oppression and continuous aggression.

Most important in this interesting episode was the almost complete neglect shown by our commentators and writers toward the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR. The average American reader of these popular magazines wouldn't think they even existed. On the basis of what was presented to him in these magazines and several newspapers, he couldn't possibly entertain the thought that there exists any such thing as Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism within the Soviet Union itself. Some of our writers haven't even a working awareness of the multi-national nature of the USSR, no less its empire-state character. To cite one example, a columnist refers to Red China and the USSR as "two very large nations," evidently completely ignorant of the fact that since 1963 the Red Chinese, who can boast of a national entity, have been attacking Moscow on the Russian/captive non-Russian scale in the USSR.[1] In the same organ, another summarizes the event in this vein: "But the whole thrust of the celebrations was aimed at boosting Brezhnev's image as it was felt that *the nation* needs a stronger voice than merely a collective one."[2]

KNOW YOUR ENEMY

As this writer has constantly stressed, one of the most formidable weapons at the disposal of Moscow in the Cold War is the protracted ignorance of numerous opinion-makers in this country concerning the make-up, policies, and strategy and tactics of the Soviet Union, which is dominated by the Soviet Russian totalitarians. If fundamental concepts of state and nation, Russian and non-Russian, elude them, what worth can we impute to their interpretations and higher formulations? As I show in my current work, the ultimate responsibility for this general state of confusion and misinformation rests with our Government where similar misleading conceptions abound.[3] Time is short in getting to know your enemy—Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism—and it is our Government, not the universities and their time-lengths, that can achieve this in the shortest possible period.

In offsetting the untruths and fantasies built about the Russian Bolshevik "50th," Americans of Ukrainian ancestry can well take pride in their World Congress in New York during the week of November 12–19. The full-page ads in *The New York Times* related the essential story of Soviet Russian conquest and domination of Ukraine.[4] The demonstration in front of the United Nations building was most impressive and received TV, radio, and news coverage.[5] And the rally in Madison Square Garden, attended by some 13,000, was a tremendous highlight which preceded the march to the Soviet U.N. Mission.[6] The demonstration at the mission produced another highlight of the Congress.[7] On record, no other American group in this country equalled this massive protest against the fraudulence and pretensions of the Russian Bolshevik revolution.

Judging by reports from other sections of the country, the *AP* and *UPI* release on this mammoth demonstration were carried in local newspapers and over TV and radio media. In performing this feat, Americans of Ukrainian ancestry have, in effect, done their share at this time in pointing to the real enemy whose tentacles reach into places like Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and Egypt. This powerful, yet from another viewpoint, fragile enemy is Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, which was given birth to by the Russian Bolshevik revolution.

However, the Congress and the demonstrations were far more positive than negative. The negation of the Russian Bolshevik "50th" was only one major aspect of this memorable event. More important and consequential was the positive affirmation of the continuous Ukrainian National Revolution and the launching of the patriotic, national "50ths," commencing with the 50th Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence on January 22, 1968. This will be followed by the Lithuanian "50th" in February and numerous others through the Latvian "50th" in November, all pointing to the present captivity of the non-Russian nations in the USSR. In short, all of this is interwoven with the whole captive nations thesis as set forth in the Congressional Captive Nations Week Resolution (Public Law 86–90) and as expounded by participating groups annually in the Captive Nations Week Observance.

THE IZVESTIA ATTACK

What has been described in the preceding sections is only a further projection of the fundamental problem of U.S. policy toward the USSR. Controversy and debate over this problem have centered on the Captive Nations Week since its inception in July, 1959, and its chief premise that the captive nations *in toto* are of paramount value to U.S. strategy and tactics in the Cold War. In the summer of 1967 a new episode developed in this continuing battle involving, as so often in the past, colonialist Moscow and a prominent American newspaper organ. The details of this outstanding episode begin with an attack against the Week and also this writer in Moscow's government newspaper *Izvestia* and extend to this day with an open challenge to the editors of *The Washington Post*. A familiarity with these details can enable one to see and appreciate the urgent need for a thorough U.S. review of its present policy toward the USSR.

It is highly significant that as in every preceding year since 1959, Moscow again decided to inveigh against Captive Nations Week. Sarcasm, vituperative bitterness, and sheer vehemence have consistently punctuated its attacks. Here are several samples of 1967 vintage under the caption "A Champion Cynic."[8] Manifesting some sardonic humor, the attack begins in this fashion: "In the United States of America, at Georgetown University, a world record has been established. It was established not by a runner or swimmer, not even by a spaghetti eater, but by Professor Lev Dobriansky, a big wheel in the American propaganda machinery and Chairman of the so-called National Committee on Captive Nations."

The attack assumes a more serious tone in the next paragraph. "The point is that the Washington rulers celebrate each year in July a propaganda spectacle called 'Captive Nations Week,' which sets people's 'teeth on edge.'" After talking about "the emigre scum," "capitalism" and the like, the frustrated writer interjects, "Usually, prominent government leaders of the U.S.A. shed a few tears, too." The commentary continues: "This time, the approach of the notorious 'Week' is being widely commented on by the American reactionary press. During the past years the 'Week' has been in crisis and pass-

---

Footnotes at end of article.

ing without effect, the anti-Communists complain; it is necessary, from nice words on liberty to change to deeds. They even blame Washington for not showing a firm determination to support 'the peoples of the captive nations.' Something new is needed, they say." Although it cannot be denied that the Administrations since 1959 have feared a courageous implementation of the Resolution and thus have toned down the presidential proclamations, there is obviously much wishful thinking here about the Week being in crisis and the cry for something new. By all evidence, the Week has expanded in scope, both nationally and internationally, and constantly represents the new alternative to the threadbare policy pursued toward the USSR and the entire Red Empire.

Among other things mentioned in this attack is Vietnam, evidently a source of irritation to Moscow when properly brought into the captive nations context. "It is here," the attack continues, "that Professor Dobriansky established his record. It would be a record in stupidity if it was not a record in cynicism." Why? Because in "the center of attention of the 'Week,' Dobriansky has declared, referring to the wishes of the Washington leadership, there will be this year 'the disastrous condition of the 17 millions of enslaved North Vietnamese.' "[9] In truth, this was highlighted during the 1967 Week, and it is encouraging to witness its effects in terms of wider discussion about invading North Vietnam, not by American troops but rather by South Vietnamese guerrillas and some regulars. North Vietnam is a captive nation, and its enslaved millions are the ultimate key to victory over the totalitarian Hanoi regime. They are also the key to a unified and independent Vietnam. Should all this come to pass, the 1967 Week would have accomplished its purpose, indeed.

THE POST ATTACK

Three days later, on July 10, the editors of The Washington Post also came forward with a blistering editorial attack against the Week and this writer. The striking parallel here causes one to lean toward the apt characterization of yesteryear "The Washington Pravda," which would have made for an even more attractive title. However, regardless of the vicious editorial against my person, I deem such a characterization unfair. The *Post* is more than its editors and owner, and although Senator McCarthy often relished using this characterization, he certainly didn't grasp the issue at hand in his time. Moreover, many reporters and others at the *Post* are at variance with the paper's editorial opinions, and surely the type of editorial produced here scarcely reflects well on those responsible for it. The *Post's* July 10, 1967, editorial is a classic in irresponsible and unenlightened journalism and deserves to be read in full. Here it is: [10]

CAPTIVE CONGRESSMEN

"Captive Nations Week is almost upon us, and so it's time to pine again for Idel-Ural, Turkestan, White Ruthenia and—don't forget—good old Cossackia. These pseudo-states and others of better historical repute are listed in Congress' Captive Nations' Resolution as having lost their 'national independence' to the wicked Communists. 'The people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence,' in case you didn't know.

"This fanciful cold-war rhetoric was issued by Congress in 1959 in a surge of hysterical anti-communism. Or rather, it was issued by ethnic manipulator Lev Dobriansky, father of the Captive Nations idea, and foisted by him upon a Congress sensitive to the presumed sentiments of Americans from now-Communist lands. Actually, many of these Americans, if not most of them, are insulted by being treated as hyphenated citizens. The annual Captive Nations charade might better be called Captive Congressmen Week.

"Its aspect of ethnic discrimination is particularly offensive. For, it turns out, Russia is not among the Captive Nations. The reason for this strange omission is that Mr. Dobriansky's heart belongs to his ancestors' native Ukraine, and Ukrainian nationalism is nothing if not anti-Russian. This is, in our view, precisely the kind of.old-country ethnic backbiting that has no place in a gambit designed to influence American policy.

"To those who do not share faith that Captive Nations Week will crack the Kremlin, Mr. Dobriansky has prepared an insidious rebuttal. 'High on the priority list in Red psycho-political farfare,' he has written, 'is the downgrading and eventual elimination of Captive Nations Week.' The technique of attributing criticism to foreign manipulation is, unfortunately, typical.

"To his credit, President Johnson has shown some embarrassment over the Resolution, which 'authorizes and requests' him to proclaim Captive Nations Week annually. He has avoided specifying which countries are Captive Nations and has stressed instead American support for the 'just aspirations' of peoples everywhere. Clearly, Mr. Johnson rejects the Resolution's tenet that 'Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence.' He believes, as most Americans do, that all available openings to East-West peace and stability should be explored."

Having had long experience with the *Post's* treatment of letters-to-the-editor, I had but one choice in the immediate situation. That was to send the editors a short letter establishing formally our exchange and at the same time offering a concrete challenge. Again on the basis of past experience with the ostensibly liberal minds in command of the paper, I anticipated correctly that neither my brief letter nor critical letters from others would be published in the pages of the *Post*. This turned out to be the case, but other avenues of publication were managed for the most essential letters of criticism. Reproduced here is my immediate letter, which is self-explanatory, and then we can proceed from it to a systematic evaluation of the *Post's* substantive opinions and the challenge it raises: [11]

"Aside from its malicious overtones, your July 10 editorial on 'Captive Congressmen' is so absurd, both logically and empirically, that I am fully convinced my forthcoming book on *The Vulnerable Russians* will be of enormous value to you. Scheduled for publication release this October as 'An American Answer to the "50th"—The Fraudulent Russian Bolshevik Revolution,' the work will not only place imperio-colonialist Moscow on notice that not all Americans, by a long shot, are fools as concerns its empire in the USSR itself, but it will also, I am sure, be a permanent answer to you and other segments of Moscow's-induced breed of Pavlovian dogs in our country.

"Having had long experience with your letter-cutting and omitting techniques because of 'want of space' and other convenient rationalizations—in itself scarcely a symbol of journalistic honesty—I offer here a simple, formal challenge which I raised publicly on July 15 at the Captive Nations Conference in the Mayflower Hotel. It is a challenge for you to receive some elementary education on Soviet-Russian imperio-colonialism. Simply, I challenge you to arrange a discussion meeting in the *Post's* auditorium, which would bring you face-to-face with living victims of Soviet-Russian imperio-colonialism from Idel-Ural, Turkestan, White Ruthenia, and Cossackia.

"It doesn't require much courage to shield one's ignorance behind an editorial pen and continue to misinform your readers about the true nature of the USSR. Let us see how courageous you are in meeting these people—whom you think are ghosts without a national background of independence struggle—before the audience of the *Post's* personnel who, in this setting, would have the opportunity to gauge the level of their editors' understanding of this vital problem. Here, too, I am confident that quite a number of our citizens will be interested in your response to this challenge.

"LEV E. DOBRIANSKY,
"Professor, Georgetown University,
Chairman, National Captive Nations
Committee."

AN EDITORIAL OF IGNORANCE

Comparing the *Izvestia* article and the *Post* editorial, the reader by now is doubtless impressed by their similarities in tone, character, and content. The *Post* editorial might well have been written in Moscow except that the motivations of the Russian totalitarians would be one of circumspect distortion rather than blind ignorance. The editorial is, indeed, one of ignorance. A highly reputable organ run by Americans of Armenian ancestry, which was not given a hearing by the *Post's* editors, goes a bit further by saying, "The offending editorial is really not an editorial; it is a cartoon in the worst possible taste calculated to destroy an issue by the application of the great American belly-laugh." [12] It is also an insult to our legislators for, as *Hairenik* states further, the editorial "has caricatured not only their motivation in expressing their warm support of the common cause of the Captive Nations of the Soviet, but has in effect cavalierly scorned the sacred aspirations to be free (as *The Washington Post* is free) of 119,000,000 non-Russians who, today, in a classic syndrome of colonialism, are dominated by a minority of 96,000,000, the Russians of the Soviet Union."

Now, point by point, let's examine this editorial cartoon. First, brushing aside its silly sarcasms and belly-laughs, we meet at the outset a definitive statement that Idel-Ural, Turkestan, White Ruthenia, and "good old Cossackia" are pseudo-states which really shouldn't be listed in the Captive Nations Week Resolution. Mind you, this is the last word of precise knowledge from literary artisans who know there are no such animals in the human kingdom as "the wicked Communists." This first argument alone reveals how pathetically ignorant the editors are. Historically, each of these national entities staked out an independent state in the 1917–23 period. This isn't the place to teach them history, but if they would move their lazy minds, a quick reading of Idel-Ural and its revolution in 1917 would show the writers how foolish they really are.[13] Analytically, they also don't make sense. White Ruthenia is Byelorussia, a Republic-state in the USSR. Then, even if all four had never attained to statehood, they possess more national substance than can be found in most states of Africa; and the Resolution talks about captive nations, not states. The vital distinction between nation and state is obivously too heavy for our omniscient editors.

Regarding these national entities, the views expressed by the many who sent their letters to the *Post's* editors, only to have them liberally suppressed from publication, make for some choice reading. One, for example, after having cited the population of each of these entities, states, "In 1918, they were all proclaimed independent National Republics and were on the road to rebuilding their countries before being brutally destroyed by Russia in the name of "world Communism." [14] A young scholar at Columbia University, who has written *Marxism and Existentialism*, published by Doubleday, strikes a point in his suppressed letter: "Before becoming comic about Idel-Ural and Turkestan, it would be wise to remember that no more than two hundred years ago America was a tiny, back-

---

Footnotes at end of article.

ward nation whose struggle for national independence evoked a sarcastic smile on the faces of the 'sophisticates' of Britain and Europe.[15] Need more be said about the *Post's* "sophisticates?"

Aside from the childish, personal slur, the second point made in the editorial is that the Resolution is "fanciful cold-war rhetoric" issued in "a surge of hysterical anti-communism." This interpretation is far removed from the facts. Anyone who knows the facts of the quiet and deliberative passage of the resolution in Congress, the explosion in Moscow, and Khrushchev's apoplectic harangues over this event, cannot but wonder where our editors hibernated at the time, and even since then. Theirs is a sad case of misplaced hysteria. As *Hairenik* accurately points out, "the *Post* apparently is unaware that since 1959 the Soviet Government has directed an intensive worldwide propaganda effort against the Captive Nations cause, for there is no doubt in the least that the Achilles heel of the Soviet is its captive world—and the Kremlin knows this." [16] Offering a concise historical background on Russian imperialism from the days of Muscovy, another suppressed letter stresses that "the idea of the Week has transcended our own leaders and promises to awaken countless other individuals and nations to the historical character of Russian imperio-colonialism." [17]

The *Post's* third point is clearly an argument of desperation, which it attempted to use during "the Shevchenko affair" in 1963–64. Because of the resolution, it holds that most Americans who come from now-Communist lands "are insulted by being treated as hyphenated citizens." This supposedly brilliant argument ignores completely the experiences these citizens have to offer for our benefit and security, the heavy participation of native Americans in the annual Week, and the mythical nature of the argument itself. As one letter pointedly states, "Yearly observances indicate that Americans from all walks of life participate in observances and express their support of the traditional American principles for freedom and independence of nations." [18] It then drives home the additional observation, "During the last Israel-Arab conflict, American Jews supported Israel 100%. I have not seen anything that stated or even implied that they were 'hyphenated' citizens. American Irish actively supported Ireland's struggle for independence, without being accused of hyphenated' citizenship or 'old-country ethnic backbiting.' " Evidently, the *Post* reserves its argument only for those who oppose the Russian colonialists.

Another suppressed letter dwells on this same point in this vein: "Only the *Post* could conjure up a 'hyphenated citizen.' Benjamin Franklin, one of this country's founding fathers, is credited with the view that anyone ashamed of his forebears could add little to our country. This would certainly discredit hyphenated citizenship, not to mention the editor's mythical non-ethnic origins." [19] The classic Coolidge statement on immigrants and Americanism could be thrown in for added measure.

Going from the absurd to the ridiculous, the *Post* now charges "ethnic discrimination" in the resolution because Russia is not mentioned and, with baseless reference to the writer, "Ukrainian nationalism is nothing if not anti-Russian." The conqueror of other nations is scarcely qualified for such listing, no more than a circle is a square. Also, to be anti-Russian imperio-colonialist does not mean being anti-Russian as concerns the Russian people at large, who have been captive in another sense for literally 500 years, namely to barbaric Russian institutions of tyranny, genocide, and imperialism. As another suppressed statement puts it, "*The Post,* consciously or not, upholds the foundation of the Russian empire, with all its ugly and inhuman features, including anti-Semitism. No wonder that in past years *The Post's* policy on the captive nations was praised by the Communist press within the Soviet Union." [20] *Hairenik* again sums it up in good humor, "Let us here draw a smile. To list Russia as a Captive Nation would be to have listed England with India, Uganda, Kenya etc., etc., among the territories of the British Empire which were candidates for decolonialization!" [21]

In essence, Ukrainian nationalism is no different from American nationalism and scores of others that brought independence from a foreign, imperialist power and for the self-determination of people. One of the suppressed letters puts this cogently, "In the days when more African peoples have won their independence, to deny the right to freedom for Ukraine, Armenia . . . is a contradiction to the concept of universal freedom and justice which is talked about so much in the free world nowadays." [22] What the writer is unaware of is the fact that the *Post* operates on a double politico-moral standard.

The Post's further contention that this writer "has prepared an insidious rebuttal" on the downgrading of the Week and "attributing criticism to foreign manipulation" can be disposed of briefly. It is a figment of their own imagination. However, as the record well shows, it is interesting to observe how the Red totalitarians, the Kennans, *The Post,* and a few others have shared the same objective. And, finally, its adulation of the President's omission of the countries specified in the resolution and his ostensible rejection of the resolution's tenet that "Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence" is also largely inflated. From Eisenhower to the present, identical omissions have been made chiefly because of a fear of irritating the Bear and not knowing how to implement the resolution. As for the second item, it would be absorbing, to say the least, to see the President openly support *The Post's* statement at face value.

It may astound the editors to learn that we, too, are for a genuine "peaceful coexistence," not the present Russian ersatz type, and for openings to East-West peace and stability, but based on principle, truth, and expanded freedom, not blind and obscurantist impulses. As a suppressed letter states it, "We do not believe, however, that such an exploration should be on the account of the captive nations in tightening their captivity, but rather in supporting their right to freedom and self-determination." [23] As another suppressed one views it, "Peaceful coexistence may be a tempting policy—but if it means peace at any price, then it is certainly a prelude to war. . . ." [24] And as a last suppressed one puts it, "The National Captive Nations Committee is in the forefront of a people-to-people program for peace and stability—much more so than the *Post*—for NCNC dares to mention the forgotten peoples—those in the USSR!" [25]

The reader has noticed my challenge to the editors of the Post, contained in my suppressed letter of July 17, 1967. "I challenge you," it read, "to arrange a discussion meeting in the *Post's* auditorium, which would bring you face-to-face with living victims of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism from Idel-Ural, Turkestan, White Ruthenia, and Cossackia. . . . Let us see how courageous you are in meeting these people—whom you think are ghosts without a national background of independence struggle—before the audience of the *Post's* personnel who, in this setting, would have the opportunity to gauge the level of their editors' understanding of this vital problem." [26]

THE OUTSTANDING CHALLENGE

In view of the *Post's* editorial, this, you will agree, is a most reasonable challenge. To this day, there hasn't been a whimper from the editors concerning it. Just stony silence. Meanwhile, able representatives of these national entities have stood ready to engage in such a constructive discussion. Their counterparts in the Soviet Union may be muted by Russian tyranny, but here no one will mute them, least of all the *Post's* editors. The challenge is outstanding.

The double standard of the *Post* should be recognized by all. When, for example, its editors sharply criticize the Greek Junta for curbing free speech and assert "That is hardly the behavior of a government prepared to let its opposition speak," the integrity of its words can be properly weighed on the scale of its own policy and behavior.[27] So, too, captive non-Russians in the USSR speak out at times and are arrested and confined to forced labor, and Americans who keep abreast of all this, also speak out in criticism of our Government's inept policy toward the USSR. By all means, let the opposition speak, but everywhere and not just those areas determined by double-standard judgments. In behalf of opposition speech, I repeat, the challenge still remains outstanding.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Richard Wilson, "Soviet Union Playing Long-Haul Power Game," *The Evening Star,* Washington, D.C., November 8, 1967.

[2] Bernard Gwertzman, "Curtain Falls Quietly on Soviet, Jubilee," *The Evening Star,* November 8, 1967.

[3] Lev E. Dobriansky, *The Vulnerable Russians,* Pageant Press, New York, 1967, pp. 454.

[4] "Ukrainian National Revolution vs. Russian Bolshevik Revolution!," *The New York Times,* November 16, 19, 1967.

[5] "Ukrainians Protest Slavery," *Daily News,* New York, November 18, 1967.

[6] "Stepping Out for Freedom," *Sunday News,* New York, November 19, 1967.

[7] "Police Repulse 2,000 Marchers at Soviet U.N. Mission," *The New York Times,* November 19, p. 1, 4; "Cops Break Up Charge on UN Soviet Mission," *Sunday News,* p. 21.

[8] *Izvestia,* July 7, 1967.

[9] Complete text of *Izvestia* article is quoted in *The Ukrainian Bulletin* October 1–15, 1967, p. 85.

[10] "Captive Congressmen," editorial, *The Washington Post,* July 10, 1967.

[11] Lev E. Dobriansky, "Letter to the Editor of *The Washington Post,*" Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25633.

[12] "The Washington Post: A Captive Organ," *The Hairenik Weekly,* Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25634.

[13] "Anniversary of First Revolution, By Captive Nations," Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 24, pp. 32266–32268.

[14] Walter Tutka, Letter-to-the-Editor, Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25634.

[15] Walter Odajnyk, Letter-to-the-Editor, *The Ukrainian Bulletin, October* 1–15, 1967, p. 88.

[16] *Ibid.*, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25643.

[17] Walter Pretka, Letter-to-the-Editor, Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 15, p. 19900.

[18] O. Szczudluk, Letter-to-the-Editor, Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25633.

[19] Vera A. Dowhan, Letter-to-the-Editor, Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 15, p. 20019.

[20] Peregrinus, "The Washington Post and Captive Nations," Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25633.

[21] Ibid., vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25634.

[22] Walter Tutka, *op. cit.,* vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25633.

[23] O. Szczudluk, *op. cit.,* vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25633.

[24] Walter Odajnyk, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[25] Vera A. Dowhan, *op. cit.*, vol. 113, pt. 15, p. 20019.

[26] Ibid., vol. 113, pt. 19, p. 25633.

have rightly a deserved trust of Communists.

[27] "The Right Direction," *Editorial, The Washington Post,* October 9, 1967.

AMERICANS MUST BECOME AWARE OF THE ISSUES

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter I have received from a Czech political refugee. The letter clearly points up the importance of the forthcoming November election and the need for every American to become aware of the issues, as follows:

JULY 29, 1968.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE UTT: With a deep interest, I see the coming Presidential election in the United States, and I know that the citizens and the politicians of West European countries expect with hopes and fears the decision which will be made in November by the people of the first and greatest country of the world. Like the people in the United States, we over here have our opinions and compare them with those of American politicians and journalists.

On June 27, 1968, Mr. James Reston warned, in the *International Herald Tribune* (the European edition of the *New York Times*), the Republicans not to nominate Richard M. Nixon as their Presidential candidate because this would bring the Vietnam War to a stop and thus help the Democrats to win once more the Presidency. He wrote: "The nomination of Nixon could help bring about a cease-fire in Vietnam but for an odd reason. There is no man in American political life the Russians distrust more than Nixon. If he were nominated, it is certainly not beyond the realm of possibility that they would really use all of their influence on North Vietnam to bring about a cease-fire before the election. But that would merely enable the Democrats to go to the polls saying the fighting was over, and thus enhance their chances of keeping the Republicans out of power for another four years."

I agree with Mr. Reston that the nomination of Mr. Nixon (in case he also has a running mate of his own persuasion) will bring about an armistice in Vietnam, bringing thus the aimless and barbaric killing of Americans and the Vietnamese to an end. I cannot, however, share the logic of Mr. Reston. What he, indeed, should have correctly said is the following: The Soviets distrust Mr. Nixon because he cannot be fooled by them. They are going to make a cease-fire in Vietnam in order to prevent his election, and they are going to undertake, I feel sure, before the election, some more additional "Peace", "friendship", "cooperation", "disarmament", actions in order to prevent his election. These actions will probably be the release of the PUEBLO, the retreat of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia, some phony and uncontrolled disarmament actions (rocket disarmaments, etc.) following the nonproliferation treaty, visits, etc.

It must be clearly stated that the mere candidacy of Mr. Nixon will force the Communists to these retreats and concessions. The cease-fire in Vietnam, however, will remain phoney and will be followed by a peace which will mean the communization of the entire Vietnam, and all other peace actions will turn to the disadvantage of the United States and the Free World, in case the Communists reach by them their principal objective, namely the prevention of the election of Mr. Nixon, and if they enable by them the election of a man whom they, in the words of Mr. Reston, can trust. That this view is not a mere phantasy shows the phoney Communist "retreat" in Cuba in 1962, just before the elections. By this "retreat" the Communists did hurt Mr. Nixon in his bid for the Governorship of California. Today, however, Communism is more firmly entrenched in Cuba than before.

It would be certainly ideal for the Communists to have in the United States a President whom they can trust. Such a President would seek cooperation with them, would give them economic aid, would conclude with them pacts and treaties at the cost of American allies, while tolerating aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere. Such a man could have rightly a deserved trust of Communists.

In Mr. Reston's article, we can find also the explanation why the Communists instigated, in the past years, the poor in America to revolts, riots, looting and burning. The poor, in the Communist calculation, should put more and more demands costing much money. This would force America to reduce her military security and to strive for a détente with Moscow at the conditions given by Moscow. Mr. Reston states quite clearly: "If the job of the next President of the United States is to get peace, and find the momentous sums of money needed to deal with the menace of the poor at home and abroad, this is likely to be done only by a substantial reduction in military expenditures, which in turn depends on greatly improved relations with the Soviet Union."

In a second article, on July 15, 1968, in the same newspaper, Mr. Reston compares two candidates, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Humphrey. He writes: "Nixon is still talking as if Alger Hiss and Nikita Khrushchev were household words, and emphasizing what he calls 'the fundamental fact of continuing confrontation between Communist aggression and Western resistance.' Nixon's tendency is to assume the worst about Communist ambitions, to give top priority to military security, to concentrate on Asia. He is not against 'reconciliation', but the main thrust of his mind is on 'confrontation' and 'containment.'

"Humphrey's tendency in all relations—human relations, political relations, and foreign relations—is to assume the best in other people. His top priority in the world, as he sees it now, is social reconstruction. He thinks first not about the Cold War—Nixon's priority—but about what he regards as the new Class War in the world between the rich people and the poor people within our own country, and the rich nations and the poor nations elsewhere."

Now, I believe that that man would best save the money needed for the poor people, whose mere candidacy would stop the Vietnam war. (He would, by the way, also save the lives of Americans and Vietnamese, both poor and rich.) This man, in Mr. Reston's own words, is Richard Nixon.

(This year, the Communist agents obviously do not encourage and instigate the riots, because this is an election year and the riots do hurt only the opponents of Mr. Nixon.)

Mr. Nixon, with his plan for the Negro economic power, supporting the most able and active Negro elements to build up their own business enterprises, would, of course, also stop a blind squandering of money, would give the Negro problem the only possible reasonable solution and would give the Negro people a real dignity.

Leading politicians of the United States have voiced their opinions that "world conditions have changed and demand new priorities in American policy. They demand . . . a shift from policies of confrontation and containment to policies of reconciliation and peaceful engagement. The most important area of reconciliation—and the top priority for American foreign policy in the next decade—is that of East-West relations. This particularly includes relations among the United States and the Soviet Union, Western Europe and Eastern Europe." (International Herald Tribune, July 15, 1968.) Or we read the central goal of the United States should be the cooperation with the Soviet Union. (International Herald Tribune, July 27–28, 1968, page 3.)

Now, I do not believe that world conditions have changed, that Communism has changed, just because there will be—caused by Mr. Nixon's candidacy, and remaining phoney in case Mr. Nixon is not elected the President—some pre-election Communist peace moves, in order to influence the U.S.A.

Let us take the example of Czechoslovakia.

The only changes are some more personal freedoms—ridiculous for those who know what a real freedom is—for the Communist subjects in Czechoslovakia. In return, the Communists will demand Western (American, West Germans, etc.) economic and financial help for the ruined Czechoslovak economy. They also believe that they can prove to the world that the population stands behind them, behind Communism. And Soviet Russia, on the other hand, can play again, like in Cuba in 1962, the "retreating" peace-loving Communist power, giving thus another contribution to the pre-election peace moves.

This is, as I, being a Czech political refugee from Communism in Czechoslovakia, see it.

(By the way, nothing new happened in Czechoslovakia when Dubcek was exchanged for Novotny. This has happened in all countries ruled by Communist apparatuses since ever: the front-men, discredited by failures, are exchanged, but the party apparatus keeps itself in power.)

Let me be clear on one point: There could be, of course, a development towards a real liberalization and democratization, towards real freedom, towards real disarmament, towards real peace, but only in case the Communists know that there is a man President of the United States whom they must "distrust" of whom they, in other words, know that they cannot outwit and outcheat him and his people.

Obviously Mr. Nixon, whom the Communists "distrust" and whose mere candidacy will stop the Vietnam War, will be the ideal man to get a true, real détent with Moscow, a true disarmament and peace, much more than any other man whom the Reds would trust, after the nomination and election of whom they would not need stopping the Vietnam War, and whom they would use for further extortions of the Vietnam type and for getting economic support for Communist countries and for the continued Communist aggression (which they could carry out sometimes openly, sometimes secretely, just as they would wish).

But there is also the question of American allies.

The American uncritical cooperation with Communist Russia and other Communist countries would mean the full disruption of American alliances (thus again causing more American expenditures, for America would have to pay everything herself). The countries of the Free World would partly seek their own "cooperation" with Communist countries, partly and mainly carry out their own policies protecting them against communization. The example of this is today's France. These countries will simply—nobody knows with what result—refuse to become voluntary victims of Communism. On the other hand, however, how wonderful it would be if America, after the November election, had a President who would have the "distrust" of the Soviets and the Communists, but the trust of countries of the Free World!

GEORGE BRADA.

A BILL TO AMEND THE FARM TAX LOSS PROVISION OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill today designed to improve the competitive position of the real farmer in America. Agriculture in recent years has become the most controlled sector of the American economy and has severely suffered as a consequence. There are many areas in which we should move to restore the competitive position of the farmer. The administration's regressive trade policies with respect to agriculture illustrated by the recent International Wheat Trade Convention which in effect taxes U.S. farmers wishing to sell wheat for export and therefore drastically reduce their income—see Congressional Record, page 23790, July 26, 1968—the parity ratio in agriculture which is now the lowest since 1931; and the interest rates, which are the highest since the Civil War, reflecting added costs to many farm items; increased taxes—Federal, State, and local; are only a few areas demanding improvement.

The bill I am introducing today is to correct a problem which has long been of concern to me and is an implementation of one of the recommendations of the Republican members of the Joint Economic Committee, namely, to "update the income tax laws to protect the commercial farmer against the unfair competition which results when those whose principal occupation is not farming, purchase farms, and then write off the losses on their tax bills"—1968 Joint Economic Report, Senate Report No. 1016, page 105. A recurring phenomenon across the country is the purchase of farm property by business and professional people and corporations whose principal business is other than farming. The motivation behind these purchases is generally twofold: relaxation and enjoyment, and to take advantage of the tax provisions relative to business losses. The first motivation is perfectly proper in itself and by this bill I do not intend to curtail anyone's right to buy and use his land for any legitimate purposes. However, the utilization of the farm loss provisions in the Internal Revenue Code leads to distortions in the agricultural economy and unintended tax benefits which it is my purpose to correct by this legislation.

The tax laws are distorted when used by "hobby farmers"—as they are often called—because the methods of accounting allowed to be used by real farmers are different than those required by the Internal Revenue Service for most other businesses. There are two principal methods of accounting used for reporting business income for tax purposes: the "cash method" and the "accrual method." In general, those businesses which do not involve the production or sale of merchandise may use the cash method. Under it, income is reported when received in cash or its equivalent, and expenses are deducted when paid in cash or its equivalent.

Where the production or sale of merchandise is a significant factor, income can be properly reflected only in the costs of the merchandise are deducted in the accounting period in which the income from its sale are realized. This is called the "accrual method" of accounting, and is accomplished by recording costs when incurred and sales when made, and including in inventory those costs attributable to unsold goods on hand at the end of the year. Deduction of the costs included in inventory must be deferred until the goods to which they relate are sold and is not permitted when the costs are incurred. Thus, under the accrual method, income from sales of inventory and the costs of producing or purchasing such inventory are matched in the same accounting period thereby properly reflecting income.

Because of the complexities of the bookkeeping chores associated with inventories and accrual accounting, the Internal Revenue Service has historically permitted ordinary farmers to use the cash accounting method, even though this has resulted in an inaccurate reflection of their annual income in many cases since expenditures are deducted in the year incurred, despite the fact that the income produced by these expenditures may not be reported until a succeeding year.

For the ordinary family farm, I feel that these deviations from standard accounting practices are quite reasonable. However, for the high-income bracket "hobby farmer" or corporate farming operation, they are not. When a high tax bracket "hobby farmer" elects to use the special farm accounting rules, many of these taxpayers show farm losses which are not true economic losses. They can instead be characterized as artificial tax losses. These tax losses can then be deducted from other nonfarm income which often results in large tax savings.

Furthermore, these artificial tax losses from limited farming operations are often in reality capital costs of inventory costs. They often more accurately represent an investment in farm assets rather than amounts actually lost in the business. This investment quite often will be sold and taxed at the capital gains rate. Therefore, hobby farms present a situation where deductions are set off against ordinary income to reduce the amount of taxes paid while the taxpayer holds the farm, while the sale price of the farm is taxed at a capital gains rates.

The typical situation is the hobby farmer who raises cattle, develops citrus groves, fruit orchards, and other similar ventures which involve assets which require several years to mature. The development costs are deducted in the years before the asset matures as expenses. After the asset matures, the entire lot is sold, and taxed not at ordinary income rates, but at capital gains rates. This is an unfair distortion of our tax laws which this bill is designed to rectify.

It is also a distorition of the farm economy and punishes the farmer who has to rely on his yearly income from his farm to support himself and his family. This occurs because the hobby farmer who competes with the real farmer in the marketplace need not make a profit—indeed a profit to the hobby farmer may be unnecessary and sometimes even detrimental.

The present tax provisions thus distort the farm economy by bidding up the price of farmland to a level far beyond that which would prevail in a normal farm economy. This is harmful to the real farmer in the event he may wish to expand his operations and finds he cannot do so because of the artificially high price of the surrounding land. It has its beneficial aspects of course only in the event that the real farmer chooses to sell out as he can then realize a higher price for his land, but if he sells out he is no longer a farmer.

The magnitude of the effect on the farm economy has not been accurately measured. However, there are several indications that the distortion is significant. For example the Internal Revenue Service has provided the following statistics:

> In 1965, among taxpayers with less than $50,000 of adjusted gross income, the total farm profits were $5.1 billion and total farm losses were $1.7 billion; about a five to two ratio of profits and losses.
>
> Among taxpayers with an adjusted gross income between $50,000 and $500,000, profits and losses were in an approximate one to one ratio. However, among taxpayers with an adjusted gross income over $500,000, total farm profits were $2 million and total farm losses were $14 million, a more than seven to one ratio in the other direction—that is, loses to profits. (Cong. Rec., pp. 21704–21706, July 17, 1968.)

In other words, the richer one is, the worse farmer he tends to be, and if one is very rich, apparently he cannot farm at all. I think that can only be a reflection of the distortion created by the farm loss provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, and if left unchecked, the distortion can be expected to become even greater in the future.

ANALYSIS OF THE BILL

The bill I am introducing today is offered as a suggested method of dealing with the problem, which I hope will receive study along with some other approaches which have been and might be offered. My bill provides that a taxpayer who claims to be in the trade or business of farming must prove this fact by a clear preponderance of the evidence if an agent of the Internal Revenue Service in auditing the taxpayer's return determines that the taxpayer is not in the business of farming and the national office of the Internal Revenue Service on the petition of the agent sustains the agent's determination. The presumption which the bill creates that the taxpayer is not in the business of farming is in addition to the normal presumption of correctness which attaches to an Internal Revenue Service determination. The effect of denying the taxpayer's claim that he is in the trade or business of farming is to deny him any deduction for farm losses.

Under the bill the national office must give the taxpayer timely notice before reviewing the agent's determination. Its review is to include both a comprehensive study of the taxpayer's case file and, at the request of the taxpayer, at least one conference with him.

Under existing law the national office of the Internal Revenue Service generally does not review questions of fact. Moreover, it reviews questions of law only at the request of a taxpayer. Under the bill, however, as I stated above, the national office review, which is necessary to establish the additional presumption, that a taxpayer is not engaged in farming as a trade or business, is to take place only on the petition of the auditing agent. Thus, unlike in the usual case, under the bill the agent has the burden of establishing the correctness of his determination so that the statutory presumption will apply.

The presumption which the bill establishes does not apply in the taxable year in which a taxpayer acquires a farming enterprise or in the succeeding taxable year. This gives the taxpayer an opportunity for his actions to establish that he is farming as a trade or business. The presumption under the bill applies in the case of an individual taxpayer as well as a corporate taxpayer.

The bill applies with respect to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment.

The current provisions relating to hobby farms, section 270 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, provides in effect that no one shall be considered a legitimate farmer entitled to deduct farm losses if he failed to show a profit in his farm operations in the preceding 5 years. This provision has been ineffective, as experience has shown the ease with which a non-bona-fide farmer could merely show a slight profit for one of those 5 years. Consequently, my approach is to deal with the matter flexibly in each specific case and to place great emphasis upon the determination of the Internal Revenue agent in the field as to whether or not the farm is operated with the bona fide intent to make a profit. The fact that a loss appears is not fatal to allowing a tax deduction for it if the IRS agent ascertains a good-faith intent to farm for a profit. Because great emphasis is placed on the judgment of the IRS agents—who are individual human beings—the bill adds that the agent's determination shall not be effective without the approval of the national office of the IRS if the agent in the field should rule against the farmer in any specific case. This procedure has its precedent in the ascertainment by the Internal Revenue Service of a bona-fide pension plan for tax purposes.

Other bills have been introduced which approach the problem in a different fashion which also merit close study. Senator Lee Metcalf has introduced S. 2613 in the Senate—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 23, page 30102. My colleague on the Joint Economic Committee, Senator JACK MILLER, of Iowa, offered an amendment to the Metcalf bill, S. 3443 on May 7, 1968—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 12006–12007. In addition, the Internal Revenue Service is expected to offer its suggestions to the Congress in the near future which in general are expected to take the form of providing a ceiling on the amount of nonfarm income which could be offset by farm losses in any one year. If there were excesses from farm losses, they could be carried forward or backward to offset farm income, but no other income, in other years.

The farm tax loss problem needs study and attention by the Congress. It represents a loophole in our tax laws which is unfair to all Americans not in a position to take advantage of it. It also represents to the legitimate American farmer unfair competition; something difficult to tolerate anytime, but particularly difficult in light of the effects upon farmers of the failures of the past 8 years of Government farm policies.

THOUGHTS ON THE KERNER COMMISSION

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, anyone reading an account of the daily news these days could be excused if he has the impression that we apparently have a new summer sport to add to the traditional summer pastimes such as swimming, golf, baseball, tennis, and so forth. I am referring, of course, to the reports of violence coming in every day from points all over the country, including my own hometown of Peoria, where the other night 11 policemen were wounded by shotgun pellets while trying to restore order. The violence in Peoria began when police moved into an area of the city to halt rock-throwing at passing automobiles.

It seems to me that the so-called Kerner Commission report has been remiss in overlooking the growing impatience of all Americans with civil disorder, and in that connection, I am in agreement with the views of Mr. Daniel P. Moynihan, who recently denounced expressions by national leaders which give "aid and comfort to an ever-rising tide of domestic violence." There must be a stop to this practice by high officials and I add my own hearty amen to Mr. Moynihan's comment that—

> Violence is never inevitable; violence is never admissible in this society.

An editorial from today's edition of the Chicago Tribune makes some pertinent observations on this whole question and I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

KERNER COMMISSION "GO HOME"

The report of the Kerner commission on civil disorders, issued last Feb. 29, blamed almost everybody but the rioters. Now the commission has issued supplementary studies which purport to show that a majority of Negroes think that riots are justified as a form of social protest.

If this conclusion is correct, it is a shocker, for it has been generally believed that the vast majority of Negroes deplore violence as much as most white people. Have the commission's researchers really determined that a majority of Negroes think that murder, arson, and looting will build a better society?

We doubt it. Surely a majority of Negroes know that every riot, every instance of violence, makes whites less sympathetic toward the needs and aspirations of black people. Surely a majority of Negroes know that Negroes are the principal sufferers in the big riots.

The Kerner commission, in its main report, caused great harm to the cause of racial peace by its insistence that "white racism" was responsible for all misbehavior by Negroes. Now the commission compounds its evil with a report that encourages further violence by telling rioters that a majority of their people are behind them.

The commission would have been better advised if it had emphasized, or at least noted, the growing impatience of white America with civil disorder. Sen. Joseph Tydings, a Maryland Democrat, said in a speech to the National Symposium of Law Enforcement Science and Technology:

"I think that disorders are making the public lose confidence, making it vindictive and impatient. I wonder how much time we have before the 90 per cent of the people who are white *demand* that disorders end."

Daniel P. Moynihan, the liberal student of Negro and urban problems, recently denounced expressions by national leaders which give "aid and comfort to an ever-rising tide of domestic violence." There must be a stop to it, he said. "Violence is never inevitable; violence is never admissible in this society."

Yesterday 11 Peoria policemen and a newsman were wounded by shotgun blasts, and fire bombs were hurled at buildings and cars. The violence began when police moved into a Negro area to halt rock throwing at passing automobiles.

In Seattle, a sniper fire thru the roof of a police car in a Negro area, wounding two policemen.

In Cleveland, three policemen were killed and 16 wounded in last week's orgy of sniping and looting.

"When police are being shot like fish in a barrel, it's time we do something," said John Herrington of Philadelphia, national president of the 137,000-member Fraternal Order of Police. He said a two-day national police walkout had been proposed by police leaders as a protest against lack of public support.

"You take Cleveland," he said. "Nobody's concerned about the man lying there paralyzed with a bullet in his spine. Nobody's concerned about three officers in their graves. Nobody's concerned about their widows and orphans. What they are concerned about is the civil rights of Evans." (Fred Ahmed Evans is a black nationalist quoted by police as saying he led 17 men in the attack on the police.)

Some of the blame for these tragedies must be shared by the Kerner commission's pronouncements. The commission, we hope, will now go out of business. Its members and staff can go back to their homes and academic communities, which are well insulated from the slum conditions discussed in their reports.

The police and firemen must stay on duty keeping order and putting out fires.

HON. HERBERT B. SCUDDER

HON. W. R. HULL, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I note the passing of my friend and former colleague, the Honorable Herbert B. Scudder, of the First District of California.

When I was first elected to Congress and was assigned to the Public Works Committee, Herbert Scudder was an influential member of that committee and although we sat on different sides of the aisle, he was helpful to me in my work on the committee.

From the day I met him, I found Herbert Scudder to be kind, courteous, and sincere. His work in behalf of his constitutents and the Nation will be long remembered and I join with my other colleagues in expressing my deepest sympathy to his family.

TESTIMONY BY PRESIDENT OF U.S. CHAMBER BEFORE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, July 30, Mr. Winton M. Blount, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, presented the following statements before four subcommittees of the Republican resolutions committee of the Republican National Convention.

As I felt Mr. Blount's testimony would be of particular interest to all readers of the RECORD, I am privileged to insert these remarks herewith:

STATEMENTS BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

(By Winton M. Blount, President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States before the following subcommittees of the resolutions committee of the Republic National Convention: Subcommittee on economic affairs, subcommittee on human needs, subcommittee on private enterprise and the Federal Government, and subcommittee on National, State and local relations, at Miami, Fla., July 30, 1968)

INTRODUCTION

Let me first express my appreciation for your invitation to present the National Chamber's views on the major issues of the day.

Our national federation speaks for more than 3,700 local and state chambers of commerce and trade and professional associations, and 33,000 business firms. The more than 5,000,000 business and professional men and women which these organizations represent are deeply concerned with the requirements for healthy economic growth on which our social and material progress depend.

Your deliberations come at a time of justifiable concern among our people and our friends around the world. We are concerned about how our great country will cope with the many difficulties that confront us both at home and abroad. We are concerned about the kind of leadership we will give, or the example we will set.

It is worthy of note that our problems at home really stem from success, not defeat. Our basic problem is how we can live with—or how we can manage—our prosperity . . . how we can maintain healthy economic growth with benefits more widely earned and shared, especially by the disadvantaged.

There must be the means—and the will—to keep providing the opportunities for a better life for a still larger percentage of our growing population. The only means available, short of changing our form of government, is the free market economy. As you know, it has brought to our people the highest standard of living in the history of the world.

Political parties—whose product is government—play an important role in helping private business generate the economic activity that is necessary to maintain stable growth and prosperity.

Central government can be stifling when it engages in massive intervention in the economy and in our private lives.

On the other hand, it can also be an effective force for progress. It can stimulate individual initiative. It can foster a political climate conducive to private investment. This will help provide our growing population with more and better goods, services and jobs. It will help provide the means for attacking many of our critical urban problems. It's a sad fact that we cannot hope to achieve our goals until we straighten out the imbalances of our economy.

Our competitive political process is an inherent part of our competitive economic system. There is much it can do to keep the system virile, strong and responsive to our needs. It can provide a favorable climate for job-making, for taxpaying, and for business operations that are geared for progress—progress for our country, for our people, and for the communities in which we all live.

STATEMENT DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

In the field of fiscal and monetary policy, with which your subcommittee is concerned, we in the business community show greatest concern over inflation, rising taxes and excessive government spending.

Inflation hurts everybody, most of all the poor. It also weakens the competitive position of our products in world markets.

A primary cause of inflation is federal deficit spending. This is evident from what has happened to the purchasing power of the dollar since 1950. In the past 18 years the Federal Government has had only four years of balanced budget—and the value of the dollar has dropped to 70 cents.

The more than $25 billion deficit, which is estimated for the fiscal year just ended, has been the principal force behind our increasing rate of inflation. It has risen from a tolerable 1½ per cent to more than four per cent a year. This accelerated inflation is jeopardizing the nation's ability to do as much as it otherwise might to fight poverty and to attack community problems.

Excessive taxation has the same stifling effect on economic growth as inflation. To relieve the inflationary pressures, the National Chamber gave its support to the new 10 per cent tax surcharge, coupled with a $6 billion reduction in federal expenditures. However, we urge that the surtax be removed as soon as the present monetary-fiscal crisis is over and the surtax is no longer needed. Fiscal responsibility can hasten that day.

We recommend, therefore, as a matter of national urgency, that your platform contain a commitment to move toward achieving a federal budget surplus as early as possible, hopefully in fiscal 1970. Times of high business activity such as we have today offer the best opportunity for substantial progress toward that end.

The tax increase-expenditure limitation package is a crucial step toward getting our financial affairs in order. But it is only a first step. Something must be done about government policies which allow spending to exceed our capacity to produce. They encourage pay increases that are far in excess of gains in productivity, lead to price increases, and the inflationary spiral is on.

We must reverse the direction of national policy if inflation is to be controlled. All of us, including the government, must recognize that social objectives worth having are worth paying for.

We need to set priorities. We can't achieve all of our objectives at once. We need to evaluate our objectives and the programs designed to meet them in the light of current needs. We need to match commitments with available resources.

Thus, we recommend that your party support the creation of an objective, bipartisan commission to provide a comprehensive reevaluation of federal spending priorities.

With respect to international trade, controls on investments abroad imposed last January represent another in a series of measures which deal with our balance-of-payments problem in a fragmented fashion.

The controls address themselves to symptoms rather than to causes of the malfunctioning of our international monetary system. They also run counter to our declared liberal trade and payments goals, and therefore should be lifted as soon as possible.

We must restore an equilibrium which can be sustained without controls, and without other devices which obscure a disequilibrium.

The National Chamber recommends that the government undertake objective and far-ranging studies of what its options may be in achieving equilibrium, while at the same time avoiding further controls in the future.

We consider it imperative that the Republican Party reaffirm its historic stand on the economic benefits of freer trade. Consistent with the basic position of the need for a free-functioning market place, we hope that your platform will clearly state that, in the interest of free enterprise, artificial restraints on trade, on travel and on investments will be avoided.

STATEMENT DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN NEEDS

The field of human needs, with which your subcommittee is concerned, offers both the greatest challenge and maximum opportunity for imaginative, effective and long-lasting solutions to our problems.

One of the most desired of human needs is adequate housing.

The National Chamber supports giving encouragement to home ownership by families of modest means. We support improving the climate for business action to help meet the people's needs. We support reorienting federal programs to provide a systematic approach to solving housing problems.

Government efforts can best be aimed at attacking the main cause of inadequate housing. That is why we support the Percy home ownership plan and allied approaches for government assistance to stimulate housing improvement for families of modest means.

There's much talk about a guaranteed income, or negative income tax plan, to cope with the poverty situation. It would take the place of the existing batch of welfare programs which haven't worked. More than 30 years of federal experimentation have established welfare as a way of life for many families.

Certainly what we need is some built-in incentive for poor people to get off welfare. Because of the importance of the incentive factors, any move toward a guaranteed income should be taken only with extreme caution. Our entire welfare system needs to be re-examined.

We need to find a new approach. But we need to experiment and not rush headlong into another catch phrase type of program without first proving its workability.

Community needs parallel human needs. Progress on one helps meet the other. There is a growing need today for more participation by *all* segments of the society in working together toward improving our urban communities. We have seen the failures that result from fragmentation and relying too heavily on the Federal Government.

We urge a strong plank in your party platform calling for greater participation by all groups in the community and suggesting how this might be done by joint, cooperative action at the local, area and state levels. We commend to your attention, as a model, a process for Mobilizing Total Community Resources, which the National Chamber is making available to communities through their local chambers of commerce.

The great haste with which the Congress has been called upon to enact legislation dealing with the crucial problems of our times has resulted inevitably in duplication. This too easily breeds mismanagement and waste.

Federal grant-in-aid programs are a classic example of uncontrolled project growth. Four years ago there were 239 grant programs. Today there are more than 400. The Administration has predicted that they will quadruple in five years, when the cost is expected to increase to $60 billion from the current $18 billion a year.

As one part of the solution, and to allow communities more flexibility and the opportunity to make more effective use of funds, the National Chamber urges that the grants to communities be block grants.

An objective review of overall federal operations is also urgently needed. We urge that your party platform call for the establishment of a bipartisan, blue-ribbon commission, patterned along the lines of the former Hoover Commission, to help determine which federal programs should be merged, modified or discontinued. We need to establish relative priorities that permit the conduct of essential programs within financial bounds that do not jeopardize our economic security.

The national issue of most emotional and critical concern this year is the problem of riots and looting, and rightfully so. Mob action is a tolerated instrument for political, social and economic change has emerged as a new phenomenon in our society. It is tolerated for political reasons and in the name of social progress. Many misguided intellectuals and opinion leaders have mistakenly interpreted mob action as an expression of progress and given it their blessing. It's not progress; it's regression.

It is regression particularly when politicians carelessly make promises to the disadvantaged and the uneducated which they know cannot be fulfilled. Hope dashed on the rocks of reality, followed by frustration, is a basic cause of much of the mob action we see today.

A serious problem of the citizen, and especially the businessman, when riots threaten is reluctance of law enforcement officials to protect his human rights, one of which is the property right. Basic rights can't be divided. Look around the world. Where property rights are restricted, you won't find much personal freedom, either.

To protect human rights, which include property rights—indeed, to protect all of our basic rights—the government must make an early showing of all the force necessary to preserve law and order when riots threaten. We saw this done in Washington last month—and it worked.

The National Chamber recommends that your platform plank on law and order call for all levels of government, as needed, to put up an overpowering show of force and determination at the very first sign of a riot outbreak. This is one way to help preserve our free society.

Another major concern today is the rise in crimes and violence of all kinds. No one is immune to this menace. While it preys on all of our people, its chief victims are the underprivileged.

We believe that fundamental responsibility for controlling and preventing crime must rest with the state and local governments, cooperating fully with the Federal Government with respect to interstate crimes and emergency situations.

The Federal Government can and should make important contributions in areas of training and research, and the collection and evaluation of crime statistics.

We urge that your party platform call for strong, but enlightened, measures to strengthen state and local law enforcement. We hope that your platform will also recognize that crime must be fought by attacking poverty, ignorance and other underlying causes through programs that stimulate and encourage involvement of the private sector.

STATEMENT DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In the field of labor-management relations and wages and hours, to which your subcommittee is directing its attention, the business community is justifiably concerned over the many infringements which undermine the proper functioning of the private enterprise system for the public good.

The growing imbalance in labor-management relations has led to uneconomic wage settlements which jeopardize price stability. It has also accelerated the decline in our international monetary position.

We're confronted today with an inflationary situation—a vicious circle of unions forcing major industries to raise wages about twice as much as the increase in productivity. The result is that unit labor costs have risen to a record high level and, consequently, so has the cost of living.

Employers must be assured of the right to manage their businesses as efficiently as possible so that increased productivity might allow wages to rise without forcing up prices. This is how we improve our standard of living.

Legal restrictions against secondary boycotts, which victimize neutral employers and their employees alike, must be tightened. We need to close loopholes in present laws, not open up new ones.

The imbalance in management's relations with unions is nurtured by a combination of weaknesses in our labor laws and their biased application by the National Labor Relations Board. In our opinion this gives unions excessive power and control over employees and employers alike not contemplated by the Congress.

Impartiality must be restored in the administration of labor laws and in those instances when the government intervenes to protect the national interest. Appeasing a union to avert or terminate a crisis is shortsighted and often whets the appetite of others for unstabilizing demands.

The public must be assured of continued government services and be protected against the growing number of strikes by public employees. Strikes against the government should not be necessary. They should not be tolerated.

The federal minimum wage should be uniform for all industries and all work, whether government or nongovernment. It should be fixed at a level which will preserve job opportunities and minimize further inflationary effects by not contributing to higher wages generally.

Wage laws relating to government contracts, particularly the Walsh-Healey and Davis-Bacon Acts, are unnecessary, conflicting and overlapping, and should be repealed. Federal wage policy should be limited to determining minimum wages, not top wages, as is sometimes the case.

Great strides have been made in the protection of health and safety of employees while at work. Efforts of the business community to improve the record even more will continue. Regulation and enforcement of safety standards have been historically, and quite appropriately, a primary concern of the states. We urge that they be allowed to continue to exercise their responsibility in this regard. The Federal Government can play a role, however, in helping to identify correctable job hazards. The National Chamber has urged Congress, and we urge as one of your platform proposals, that a national conference be convened to perform this function.

Basic labor laws must be improved to assure individual workers that they will be protected against excessive union power in the same way these laws originally were designed to protect them against unreasonable employers.

We have seen in recent years a growing number of union practices which penalize individual members for exercising their individual rights. We refer to fines and other penalties imposed on union members for exceeding production limitations dictated by unions, for ignoring picket lines, for criticizing union leadership or for exercising other traditional democratic rights.

This makes it all the more important, and we strongly urge, that the individual worker be protected in his right to decide by his own free will whether or not he will join a union. No free individual should ever be forced to join, or give financial support to a union or any other organization, in order to get or hold a job. There should be no qualification of the fundamental right to join or not to join a labor organization. Both should have equal protection of the law.

STATEMENT DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL STATE, AND LOCAL RELATIONS

A matter of utmost concern in this election year is our anachronistic Electoral College procedure. Already there's speculation that a deadlock of the electors may throw the election of a President into the House of Representatives. This raises the possibility that a candidate with less than a mere plurality of the vote could be selected.

The National Chamber urges that your party platform pledge to guard against the future threat of such an undesirable development in the world's greatest democracy.

We urge that your platform support the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment that would abolish the Electoral College. In its place, we suggest that the Constitution provide for the election of the President and Vice President in either of two ways:

Either by popular vote of the Nation at large,

Or by the so-called District Method, with one electoral vote for each Congressional District and two for each state at large. The candidate with the most electoral votes across the country would be elected.

The National Chamber's position in this respect does not stem from any mere whim or fancy. Rather, it is the conclusion of more than 90 per cent of our membership who voted in a referendum after careful study of the problem and the alternatives for solution. You are aware, I am sure, of similar support for our proposal from other sectors.

Electoral college reform should, insofar as possible, balance the interests of all states, both large and small. It should give equal weight to the vote of every citizen.

In our considered judgment, abolishing the Electoral College and adopting either the nationwide popular vote or the District Method would meet these requirements.

Such a Constitutional Amendment would go far in restoring to the American people complete faith in our great democracy, and pride in their role in our elective processes.

Above all, it would alert every American voter to the value and importance of his vote in electing the men who will fill the two highest public offices in the world, the President and Vice President of the United States.

Another area of more immediate and increasing concern is the need to strengthen the capability of state governments to deal more effectively with urgent domestic problems.

We hope that the Republican Party platform will support efforts by business, government and other groups to bring about the amendment or revision of state constitutions where constructive state and local action is restricted by outdated constitutional provisions. Vigorous state and local governments are a vital part of our federal union.

Governors and state legislatures should be provided the resources and authority to develop programs and policies suitable to the needs of their states and regions both within and among several states. They should be accorded a policy-making role in the development and implementation of federal-aid programs.

We urge your party support of all efforts to preserve and develop the federal system and to restore the public's confidence in the ability of state and local governments to deal with urgent domestic problems.

We further urge that your party platform affirm support for the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. This organization, which originated in the Eisenhower Administration, has worked continuously to strengthen state and local government and to achieve more effective coordination among all levels of government.

CIVIC CLUBS PETITION FOR LAW AND ORDER

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, recently the Batesburg-Leesville Rotary Club of Batesburg, S.C., drafted a statement bemoaning the lawlessness and disorder which has marked our Nation in recent years, and calling on officials of our Government for a reversal of this situation. The Rotary Club, Lions Club, Exchange Club, Kiwanis Club, Business and Professional Women's Club, and the Chamber of Commerce of Clinton, S.C., thereupon endorsed the resolution.

I believe that it warrants the attention and action of all Members of the Congress, and at this time I am pleased to submit it for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

To All Members of the U.S. Congress:

Believing that you share equally with us our deep concern over the alarming increase of forces which threaten to destroy both the very foundation of our government and the true liberty of our law-abiding citizens, we confidently make this approach to you. Confident are we that you deserve, that you need, that you will welcome our assurance, the assurance that we are firmly standing back of you in your every endeavor to preserve the very essentials of our American heritage.

Specifically do we call your attention to the following:

1. The devastating violence which has erupted all over the nation, resulting in enormous loss of property and of life.

2. Attitudes which have encouraged such outbreaks of violence.

a. The strange leniency of many courts in dealing with hardened criminals.

b. The denying to police officers the very authority and means to curb much violence.

c. The impressions created by many so-called "interpreters of the law" that the courts are far more concerned with the rights of the breakers of the law then they are with the rights of the keepers of the law.

d. The failure of our government to punish certain blatant advocates of violence, allowing them the liberty to travel at home and abroad, everywhere defying our government and continuing to incite violence.

e. The strange, new role of the high court, namely, the making of laws rather than the interpretation of the law.

3. The openly militant approach to Congress by certain group leaders, in which approach, demand and threat are uppermost.

4. The so-called "credibility gap." The confidence of multitudes of our law-abiding people in our government has been severely shaken by the repeated discrepancy between official statements and actual facts.

We urge you to use your high and responsible position, the sacred gift of your constituency, to do all in your power to bring to an end the power of these dangerous forces. We expect you to resist, with unyielding courage, every group, regardless of name or claim, which insults you by their demands and their threats. The time for statesmanship and courage is here. We confidently look to you for both.

THE TAXPAYER PAYS ALL

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, it is now less than 3 weeks since the 10-percent surtax provided for in the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968, went into effect and already this balloon of optimism, blown up by the Johnson administration as the vital hedge against inflation, is beginning to deflate.

In the waning weeks of the controversy prior to the passage of the so-called tax bill, it was rather disconcerting to witness the unusual number of businessmen and companies, large and small, that supported the administration measure, perhaps based on the assumption that Federal spending was the real target of the legislation. Whether expenditure/obligational reductions can even be attained, let alone sustained, is questionable at best, and the attitude of the executive branch will attest to the fact that current policies fan the flames for an expanded budget and not one of fiscal restraint.

To be sure, the middle-class, wage-earning individual is the object of a three-pronged attack as a result of this administration's fiscal and monetary policies. Specifically, the individual taxpayer has already begun to pay his share of the 10-percent surtax, retroactive to April 1, 1968; second, he will pay a portion, if not all, of the surtax imposed on corporations through an increase in prices; and finally, he will pay the hidden "tax" inherent in inflation which continues unabated.

On July 31, the Labor Department reported that the cost of living rose 0.5 percent in June over the previous month which represents a 4.2-percent increase over June a year ago. Furthermore, this increase equaled the rise of February 1966 and is larger than any since September 1962. Consumer, rather than wholesale, prices bore the brunt of the advance.

On top of this, the largest steel contract ever to be negotiated was wrapped up this week, subject to ratification, for a combined wage and benefit package reportedly totaling more than $1 billion, or an estimated 6 percent annual increase over the next 3 years. Already, four major steel producers have announced price hikes, some across the board and some selectively. Before week's end, others are likely to follow suit and along the line, steel users will be under mounting pressure to raise their prices. How much of these price increases will represent the passing along of the surtax, one of the costs of doing business, is conjecture at this point, but in the end the consumer will suffer.

And so it goes, Mr. Speaker, that the facts are unraveling before us while over the months just passed, the case for the tax increase was being built on the sands of optimistic speculation.

Mr. Speaker, for the consideration of the Members, I include at this point in my remarks an article by Richard F. Janssen, discussing the plight of the individual taxpayer, as it appeared in the July 29, 1968, issue of the Wall Street Journal:

APPRAISAL OF CURRENT TRENDS IN BUSINESS AND FINANCE

(By Richard F. Janssen)

Care to chip in on someone else's surtax? The question isn't the fiscal frivolity it might seem. Regardless of how emphatically you say no, it's quite possible that individuals will help shoulder the extra tax load imposed on some of the country's mightiest corporations.

That, in effect, is what will happen to whatever extent they succeed in raising prices to offset the 10% surcharge that they, like individuals, now must pay.

Basically, of course, Federal seers expect the surtax to eventually slow the pace of price and wage inflation by draining off private purchasing power. "Most businessmen will find their markets just aren't as strong" as they have been, a Government economist predicts, so that ultimately they'll have to pare back some price increases and rescind or forgo others altogether.

But already there are scattered signs of companies trying to "pass through" the surtax to their customers. Public utilities have attracted attention by talk of simply tacking on to monthly bills an amount that would shunt forward to householders the full amount of the extra Federal levy, or, alternately, asking state authorities to let them raise regular rates accordingly.

Businessmen in general are no less imbued by a deep-rooted drive to preserve their profit margins, an emotion that's been subject to considerable frustration of late because of rapidly rising wages.

And just as they were starting to restore more pleasing pre-tax profits, the table below shows, the real reward of a fattening annual rate of after-tax profits was suddenly stripped away as the surtax took effect retroactive to Jan. 1:

[In billions of dollars]

	Corporate pre-tax profit	Corporate after-tax profit
1st quarter 1967	79.9	47.1
2d quarter 1967	80.3	47.3
3d quarter 1967	80.8	47.6
4th quarter 1967	85.4	50.3
1st quarter 1968	88.9	49.1

For the June quarter, incomplete returns suggest businesses by-and-large managed to recover their stride toward higher profits, thanks both to still booming output and to price increases.

From the standpoint of Johnson Administration economic strategists, of course, it would be best if corporate taxpayers abstain from any efforts to offset the surcharge by raising prices. If higher readings on the consumer price index are traced to the surtax, they're well aware, it would undercut their anti-inflationary argument and perhaps seriously set back the whole cause of fiscal flexibility.

For a range of reasons, key officials stress that they don't expect the corporate surtax to touch off a huge wave of price increases. Against total business sales of well over $1 trillion dollars, the extra $3 billion-plus annually of surcharge shouldn't loom nearly so large a factor as, for instance, a fat new wage contract. "If a businessman finds it so easy to raise his prices" that he'd do it because of something as small as the surtax, a top tax planner taunts, "why the hell didn't he do it before?"

In this way, he rather earthily expresses a dry economic theory that Government men now urgently hope will prove valid in practice. It holds that businesses always maximize profits, setting prices and production at the level which produces the highest return. Simple logic dictates that a company making the maximum possible profit couldn't make an even higher one, the theory goes, no matter how hard it tried.

Psychology imposes a related restraint on those who'd try to pass along the tax increase, the fiscal analysts assert. If a company president were to cite the surtax as a reason for raising prices, they claim, he'd be confessing that he hadn't been doing as well by his stockholders all along as he could have.

At the moment, though, no one seems confident about business conforming completely to the theory that corporate taxes aren't passed forward. The idea that businesses always maximize profits, for one thing, is far from being an undisputed axiom of economics. Rather than always aiming for the largest possible lump sum of profit immediately, some analysts challenge, corporate chiefs may often have other considerations, such as staying out of the antitrust limelight or retaining customer good will for the longer haul. Many companies, they suspect, often aim at more modest and precise targets as a certain percentage of return on investment or desired level of per-share earnings.

So it wouldn't surprise the seers to see some companies striving to divert their surtax to others. "We might be getting some one-shot effects on the cost-of-living" from tax-prompted price hikes, one concedes, and then a second round of industrial customers seek to cover higher prices of supplies by marking up their own wares. Reports that some big New York banks are anesthetizing their employes against the deeper tax bite by special pay raises show that perverse effects on wages are possible, too.

Indeed, on another front the Johnson Administration itself can be seen openly arguing that corporations increasingly do pass on a portion of their profit tax burden to consumers. The aim is to persuade our European trading partners that the U.S. should be allowed to spur exports by rebating a portion of income taxes the way other nations rebate sales-type taxes which are explicity passed on to consumers. To that end, the influential Committee for Economic Development testified in Congress last month that "modern economic analysis supports the common view of businessmen that at least part of the corporation profits tax is passed on in the form of higher prices to buyers."

There is, fortunately, one spot of common ground in this contentious area. The longer a corporate tax is intact, it's widely agreed, the more it tends to become "built in" to the country's cost and price structure.

If for no other reason, the same phrase so often heard during the fight to obtain the tax increase might be equally appropriate in considering when to remove it: "The sooner the better."

THE VOICE OF THE NINTH NEW JERSEY DISTRICT VOTERS

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, for the fourth consecutive year, I have polled the residents of the Ninth Congressional District of New Jersey—the district I have the honor to represent in Congress—on the vital issues of the day. These are issues upon which we must act with wisdom and intelligence to reflect the views of our constituents.

I am extremely gratified that more than 33,000 responses have been mailed back to my office. These actually represent families within my district and it indicates the tremendous interest in the problems which confront us in our society today. These responses provided me with a cross section of opinions, and, in fact, many of the returned questionnaires had additional comments attached enlarging on the views of my constituents on a particular question or problem.

I wish to take this opportunity to publicly thank the many people who took time to study the questions and reply to them. It indicates that our citizens are alert to and concerned with the Nation's problems. They wish to have a voice in suggesting solutions.

Now that the tabulation has been completed, I intend to have it circulated within my district so that my constituents may have the benefit of the views of their neighbors and friends and make a comparison. The responses to the questionnaire have a great value, assisting me and guiding my decisions in voting on the issues as they come up before Congress. All the proposed legislation is given my very serious consideration.

The subject of Vietnam still continues to dominate the interest of the people. A total of 58 percent of the persons replying indicated a preference for a bombing halt and 53 percent indicated support for a negotiated settlement which would include the participation of the National Liberation Front in a coalition government. Another aspect of this portion of the poll indicates that my constituents think the United States ought to provide economic aid to Southeast Asia after peace is established. Such assistance would aid in the rebuilding of that area and rehabilitate that war-torn country. Support for such a program was indicated by 60 percent of the persons replying, and opposed by 27 percent.

Approval of the way the President was handling the Vietnam question had the endorsement of only 36 percent of the people, while 54 percent expressed their dissatisfaction. An analysis of the past year's questionnaire replies indicates this trend toward dissatisfaction on the part of the public with the President's actions regarding this conflict and its attendant problems. This change is evident by the high of 53 percent registered in 1966.

The returned questionnaires have indicated a distinct interest in our domestic problems. Civil rights issues and crime are of deep concern to my constituents. Although the questionnaire was mailed far in advance of the June 5 tragedy that struck down Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY in Los Angeles, the replies to gun-control legislation were overwhelmingly in favor of this proposal—78 percent favoring controls and 18 percent opposed. At the time of the poll, early in May, this question did not have the emotional impact which became evident after the assassination of Senator KENNEDY. I am certain it brought an avalanche of mail to every congressional office as it did in mine. My own current mail exceeded 6,000 letters favoring strong gun controls, while approximately 200 people expressed opposition.

The Civil Rights Enforcement Act of 1968, which provides for criminal penalties for interference with certain federally protected rights, including the right to vote, obtain an education, obtain and hold a job received the approval of 86 percent of those responding. Only 9 percent indicated opposition. The Federal open-housing provision of this act was passed after the questionnaire was mailed. My constituents indicated their approval of the proposal by a 56-to-34-percent ratio.

A response of 40 percent for a tax surcharge, 46 percent against such a surtax, with 12 percent undecided reflects my constituents opposition to the enactment of any tax increase on individual or corporate income. On this subject, I have expressed my own opposition and voted against the enactment of the surtax. I voted for the $4 billion Federal expenditure reduction when it was considered in the House. I called to my colleague's attention the need for reform of the entire tax structure which would close the loopholes that provide an escape to the many high-bracket taxpayers who pay little or no taxes on their income. This tax reform should take into consideration the various tax-free foundations, family trusts, oil, gas, and mineral depletion allowance and other areas which provide excessive provisions for tax deductions.

By a margin of 44 to 42 percent, with 12 percent undecided, my constituents favored wage and price controls as a means of curbing inflation. They approved of a program to provide on-the-job training for the unemployed and the underemployed by a 63-to-26-percent ratio.

Given the choice of curtailing expenses, before considering an increase in revenues, 10,883 replies indicated Congress should cut back foreign aid, and 9,801 supported a military cut, with an additional 2,621 specifically mentioning expenditures in Vietnam. Welfare program cutbacks were endorsed by 7,274 of those replying. A cut in our space program was supported by 7,169 persons. Curtailing farm subsidies was endorsed by 4,230 persons. Public works programs cuts were suggested by 2,871 and general Federal spending by 1,997. The public roads program cutback, favored by 1,540 persons closed the higher rated categories. These figures surpass the total number of replies simply because multiple choices were made by my constituents.

Civil disturbances, demonstrations, and rioting have grown in such scope that many communities simply cannot cope with them without additional equipment and manpower training in law enforcement. My constituents favored such aid to local law-enforcement agencies by a 60-to-20 percent ratio, with 19 percent undecided, but without any Federal control. We have an obligation to our local law-enforcement agencies. Consequently, I was one of 10 consponsors of the legislation which provides for a $300 million each year for 3 years to train and properly equip these officials for the prevention of civil disorders and in riot control.

Our Selective Service System, which was revised recently by the Congress, still contains many inequities which should be corrected. On the question of whether this system should be revised to establish uniform requirements for all draft boards throughout the Nation, my constituents expressed themselves overwhelmingly in favor of such a proposal—by response of a 83-to-10 percent ratio, with 6 percent undecided.

Support for legislation which would protect the consumer regarding the quality of meat, poultry, and fish products was expressed by 87 percent of the replies, with only 8 percent indicating opposition to such laws. The poultry inspection legislation will complement the meat inspection law which was passed earlier by the Congress.

In the area of voting and elections, I submitted the question of permitting 18-year-olds to vote which was supported by 43 percent of those responding with 50 percent opposed and 6 percent undecided. Perhaps the heavy response against permitting our 18-year-olds to participate in our electoral processes might be based upon the unrest shown by youth in recent college campus demonstrations, and general disorders.

The proposal to abolish the electoral college and allow the voters to cast their ballots directly for the President and Vice President was supported by 74 percent of the responses with just under 17 percent against this change.

Because of the many areas which had to undergo congressional district revisions, the question of whether a State legislature should be permitted to reapportion a congressional district more than once during a decennial census was presented to my constituents. They have responded with a 34 percent "yes" tally and a 45-percent "no" response, with nearly 20 percent in the undecided column. In New Jersey, the State assembly redistricted the entire State to provide for as equal a representation as could be attained in accordance with the rulings of the Supreme Court. This was done in 1966. However, in 1968, the State assembly acted only upon a bill which created new boundary lines for the Ninth Congressional District. This was the third time in 4 years that the Ninth District lines have been changed. This only leads to confusion in the minds of the citizens as to who their Representative in Congress is. The many written comments indicated this uncertainty.

Mr. Speaker, the Ninth Congressional District of New Jersey ranks in the top 5 percent of the 435 congressional districts of the Nation in regard to educational and economic levels attained by its citizens. I value their thinking and the care which they took in completing the questionnaire replies. They represent a good cross section of opinion and sound views. I am honored and privileged to represent the people of this district in Congress.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I include at this point the complete tabulation of the 23 questions covered in my 1968 questionnaire. I trust my colleagues will compare the results of the Ninth New Jersey Congressional District with the responses received from their own constituents on similar questions.

The tabulation follows:

1968 LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

Question	Total response	Yes		No		Undecided	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
FOREIGN AFFAIRS—VIETNAM							
1. Do you approve of the way President Johnson is handling the Vietnam question?	31,425	11,515	36.64	17,017	54.15	2,893	9.21
2. Do you support the bombing halt north of the 19th parallel as a means of beginning negotiations?	31,091	18,304	58.87	11,274	36.26	1,513	4.87
3. Would you support a negotiated settlement in Vietnam which provides for participation by the National Liberation Front (Vietcong) in a coalition government?	31,134	16,799	53.96	11,397	36.61	2,938	9.43
4. If a "satisfactory" solution of the Vietnam problem is found, would you support continued U.S. economic assistance in Southeast Asia?	31,236	18,993	60.80	8,672	27.76	3,571	11.4
FOREIGN AFFAIRS							
5. Do you support an expanded U.S. program to help willing underdeveloped countries implement birth control programs and increase agricultural output to meet the imminent threat of a world food shortage?	31,126	25,116	80.69	4,965	15.95	1,045	3.36
6. If Soviet arms aid to the Arab States continues, should the United States make needed weapons available to Israel?	31,338	20,067	64.04	8,008	25.55	3,263	10.41
7. Would you support Israel's refusal to withdraw her troops until she has firm guarantees of her sovereignty and access to all waterways?	30,985	24,384	78.70	4,531	14.62	2,070	6.6
CIVIL RIGHTS							
8. Do you approve of the Civil Rights Enforcement Act of 1968 which provides criminal penalties for interference with certain federally protected rights, including the right to vote, obtain an education, obtain and hold a job?	30,960	26,703	86.25	3,010	9.72	1,247	4.03
9. Do you approve of the open housing provisions of this act?	31,600	17,927	56.74	10,897	34.48	2,776	8.78
NARCOTICS AND CRIME							
10. Do you favor increasing Federal penalties to make the manufacture and sale of LSD and other hallucinogenic drugs a felony and their possession a misdemeanor?	31,248	24,870	79.59	4,247	13.59	2,131	6.82
11. Do you favor Federal legislation to ban interstate mail-order shipments and foreign imports of guns?	31,026	24,432	78.75	5,642	18.18	952	3.08
12. Do you favor increased Federal matching funds for local law-enforcement agencies under the terms of the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act passed by the House in 1967?	30,603	18,465	60.34	6,267	20.48	5,871	19.18
MILITARY DRAFT							
13. Do you favor revision of the Selective Service System by establishing uniform requirements for all draft boards throughout the Nation?	31,003	25,951	83.71	3,126	10.08	1,926	6.21
14. Do you favor a selective service system based on random selection from a pool made up of all nondeferred 19- to 26-year-olds, including graduate students?	30,308	17,307	57.10	9,768	32.23	3,233	10.67
THE ECONOMY							
15. Do you favor a $2,000,000,000 program to provide on-the-job training for the unemployed and the underemployed?	31,180	19,725	63.26	8,279	26.55	3,176	10.19
16. Would enacting a tax increase on individual and corporate incomes help to improve the economic health of the Nation?	30,803	12,618	40.96	14,221	46.17	3,964	12.87
17. Do you favor wage and price controls as a means of combating inflation?	32,844	14,754	44.92	13,945	42.45	4,145	12.62
18. If there should be a reduction of spending before a consideration of a tax increase, in which areas should they be made? 1. Foreign aid 10,883 2. Military 9,801 (a) Vietnam 2,621 3. Welfare 7,274 4. Space 7,169 5. Farm subsidies 4,230 6. Public works 2,871 7. Federal spending 1,997 8. Roads 1,540							
CONSUMERS							
19. Do you favor Federal legislation to protect the consumer regarding the quality of meat, fish, and poultry?	31,869	27,922	87.62	2,752	8.63	1,195	3.75
20. Do you feel that the distribution of trading stamps should be prohibited by Federal law?	31,108	11,761	37.81	15,641	50.28	3,706	11.91
ELECTIONS							
21. Do you favor an amendment to the U.S. Constitution allowing 18-year-olds to vote?	30,167	13,193	43.73	15,030	49.82	1,944	6.45
22. Should the electoral college system be abolished to permit voters to cast their ballots directly for the President and Vice President?	31,556	23,612	74.83	5,360	16.98	2,584	8.19
23. Should the State legislatures be permitted to reapportion congressional districts more than once during a decennial census?	31,378	10,914	34.78	14,256	45.44	6,208	19.78

PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Extensions of Remarks the newsletter I am sending today to my constituents. The report follows:

As this report is being written, Congress is preparing for a 30-day recess during the period of the National Conventions. Congress will convene again right after Labor Day, for a few weeks, to complete unfinished legislation.

By the time you receive this, most of you will have felt the first effect of the 10% surtax, either by way of a payroll deduction, an increased estimate, or indirectly as your company has had to pick up the tab from the first of the year. However, you will *not* have noticed the many promised benefits of this surtax, which included a reduction in interest rates, a decrease in the cost of living, and the stopping of inflation. I voted against the surtax, because I did not believe it would bring any of the several benefits which were forecast by the proponents of the bill. Furthermore, I did not believe the Johnson-Humphrey Administration would enter into the spirit of the intent of Congress in the reduction of expenditures and in rolling back the number of personnel on the public payroll, which incidentally has increased by 95,000 since the passage of the reduction as provided in the tax-expenditure control bill.

We are over thirty days into the 1969 fiscal year. Interest rates have edged higher. In fact, the last issue of Participation Certificates, which are government obligations, and are included in the national debt, sold at a whopping 6.2% interest rate, about the highest in history. The cost of living has moved up more than 3/10 of 1%. The $6 billion cut in expenditures is not in prospect. In fact, new programs have been inaugurated. In the Higher Education Bill which passed the House last week, the House was not satisfied with higher domestic education, but added a new Title called "International Education." For this reason, I voted NO.

The Housing Act of 1968, which passed the House since the "new look" of federal expenditures was adopted, was several hundred million dollars higher than it was for last year. It came to the Floor in the form of an omnibus bill, made up of several bills that had been defeated in committee previously but, by combining them together, each had its little group of supporters, which gained for the legislation enough votes to pass it. That was logrolling of the lowest order, and carried a price tag of over $5 billion. This legislation permits the "disadvantaged" families whose incomes are considerably above the so-called poverty level, to buy $20,000 homes, financed by the government at 1% interest, while you, my dear readers, are having to pay from 6% to 8% interest on your mortgaged homes. It just does not pay to be "affluent."

The bill also provides rent subsidies for people who would like to live in a higher rent area than their income permits. No thought is given to the fact that these lower income families moving to a high rent district cannot afford a gardener; they cannot pay the local county taxes, which will have to be picked up by Uncle Sam; and they will not be able to join the country club of their neighbors, so they will immediately feel inferior, and next year we will have to appropriate money to cover that contingency. And so it goes on, ad infinitum. The Social Planners thrive in this atmosphere—and so do taxes.

Returning to the 10% surtax legislation, America can probably survive the $10 billion financial jolt, but it may never recover from the parliamentary procedure which produced that legislation in complete contravention of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that all tax matters shall originate in the House of Representatives. This legislation was written in a Joint Conference Committee, consisting of five members of the Ways and Means Committee and five members of the Senate Finance Committee. It did not have the benefit of hearings before the Ways and Means Committee, nor the advantage of the wisdom of the full Committee. Normally, the product of a Conference Committee would return to the Committee of origin for further consideration. This was bypassed by sending it to the Rules Committee, and from Rules to the Floor for one hour of debate, without amendments. The bill also included matters within the jurisdiction of the Appropriations Committee, which again violated the Constitution. When this matter was pointed out on the Floor, the Leadership responded, "This is no time to worry about the Constitution. The financial situation is so serious." It would have taken only a few days to have followed the Constitutional process and to report the bill back to the Floor. My position is that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and a violation of Constitutional process is always pertinent to any legislation.

The only "good news" for tonight, my friends, is that we just concluded Fiscal 1968 with a $25.4 billion deficit.

THE PURPOSE OF A COMMITTEE ON ETHICS: A TRIBUTE TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE GENTLEMAN FROM IOWA, MR. SCHWENGEL

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the recent publicity given to allegations that the lobbyists for the trucking industry had established a questionable pattern of contributions to the campaign funds of Congressmen on the Public Works Committee which handles a great deal of the legislation which affects the industry points up one of the essential reasons for the House establishing a permanent ethics committee. See my remarks on this basic matter, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD volume 113, part 7, pages 9430–33, and my testimony before the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, August 23, 1967, published in the hearings of the committee.

One of the primary functions of an ethics committee is to examine into matters of this nature, to get at the truth and in light of the truth to establish the proper guidelines for both lobbyists and Members of Congress to follow.

There are two important gray areas which relate to the legislative process and the representative process that need considerable clarification. One of the areas is the citizen's right, indeed, the citizen's duty to participate in the process of electing his representatives. The election process includes not just voting, but organizing to campaign and to get votes. This means that the citizens collectively must engage in the process of financing campaigns. If they don't a great evil of having the Government itself through tax money finance campaigns will come about. I think there is already too much power in the hands of incumbent office holders to get reelected and preserve their status quo without putting further power in their hands which financing their election campaigns with taxpayers' money could do.

The second area is equally important and equally difficult to establish guidelines. It relates to conflict of interests of the elected Representative. Some people in their desire to eliminate all conflict of interests on the part of their legislators have lost sight of the theory of representative government, at least as it has been developed in our society to date; namely, that a Representative is a part-time occupation. To properly represent his people he must be part of the community he is representing. To be part of a community implies that he should be active in pursuing his trade, profession, or activity to the extent he can, commensurate with his responsibilites as a Representative. This presupposes some conflict of interest which I would argue is kept healthy through the process of full disclosure and in certain instances when the conflict is immediate and obvious the process of a legislator disqualifying himself to vote on an issue and voting "present" instead.

For example, it is presumed that when a farmer is elected to the Congress he is not going to give up farming. Indeed, if he did he would be less able to represent his district because he would be less a "part" of his community by his withdrawal. This is true for any profession. However, when it comes to the legal profession the possibility for hidden conflicts of interest arise. Furthermore, the opportunity for outside interests to improperly compensate a lawyer legislator increase greatly. I have been urging that the bar association assume its great responsibility in developing the proper ethical codes that relate to lobby groups dealing with legislators because most lobbyists are lawyers and most legislators are lawyers. I think it is little short of tragic that the bar associations have shown little interest or activity in assisting our society in getting on top of this problem. Because the legal profession has failed, of course, is no excuse for the Congress and other legislative bodies not to establish these codes and guidelines.

To get back to the issue. I think the Congress owes the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL] a vote of appreciation for understanding so well the significance and importance of the permanent ethics committee the House at long last has established. As soon as he saw the publicity alleging improprieties in respect to the lobbying activities of the trucking industry he sent a letter to the ethics committee asking them to investigate the situation and report. In other words, clear the matter up. If there were no improprieties, point out why there were not. If there were improprieties and these stemmed to a large degree from no one understanding clearly what a proper code of ethics should be, come out with suggestions of what a proper line of action should be for the future. On the other hand, if the facts revealed that there were serious improprieties and that what was going on was designed to corrupt the legislative and representative processes, say so, name names, and go about getting the matter cleaned up.

I have pointed out time and again that the failure to clear up if extended over a period of time implies the need to clean up. Seeking to clear up a matter is the responsibility of all of us and seeking to clear a matter up in no sense implies that something needs to be cleaned up.

The purpose of a standing ethics committee is so that these matters can be cleared up without making a Federal case out of them, as it were. The House or the Congress does not have to go through the procedures of establishing a committee to look into ad hoc allegations, thus suggesting that the ad hoc is so serious this kind of formal action needs to be taken.

The ethics committee should be available for any Member to refer something that perhaps is relatively insignificant simply to get the matter cleared up so that it will not become aggravated. It should be available to any Member to correct false innuendoes that have received publicity.

For example, the ethics committee should right now—if they are not—look into the charges made in the recently published book by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson entitled "The Case Against Congress." Many innocent Members of Congress have been unfairly smeared in this book. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that the book calls attention to some things that clearing up will reveal need cleaning up.

So my colleague from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] badly misses the point of the purpose of an ethics committee when he lambasts his colleague, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL], for referring this matter to the ethics committee for clearing up. Indeed, if the ethics committee, is on its toes it has already started looking into these charges without the impetus of the Schwengel letter.

I am setting forth an editorial appearing in the Washington Daily News of July 31, 1968, entitled "In Praise of Stupidity," which is a well-deserved tribute to the honesty and intelligence and understanding of my colleague, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL]. The News has the proper understanding of what the House ethics committee is designed to do.

IN PRAISE OF STUPIDITY

"I am aware the member from Iowa is not too bright," said Rep. John Dingell (D., Mich.) during a brilliantly churlish display on the House floor of his own contempt for good government.

The object of Mr. Dingell's wrath was Rep. Fred Schwengel (R., Iowa), who has been "stupid" enough to ask the House ethics committee to investigate the palm-greasing activities of the big-truck lobby.

Mr. Dingell, a $1500 beneficiary of the lobby's largesse, obviously felt his own integrity had been put in question by Mr. Schwengel's request. According to Mr. Schwengel, Mr. Dingell called him a liar and a coward and threatened to hit him.

In fact, Mr. Schwengel has disclaimed any charge of improper conduct against any of his colleagues. His request for an investigation was based on Scripps-Howard and other documented newspaper accounts of the lobby's tendency to lavish campaign gifts on congressmen assigned to deal with legislation affecting the truckers.

Like Mr. Schwengel, we make no accusations against the Congressional beneficiaries. But the record does show the big-spending big-truck lobby has done just fine in getting Congressional approval for ever-bigger behemoths on the nation's highways and substantially eliminating competition from farm co-op truckers.

If Mr. Dingell finds these documented facts embarrassing and is unwilling to have the Ethics Committee explore them, he should—in view of his declaration that Mr. Schwengel is "not bright"—find some more cerebral approach than a punch in the nose to resolve his dilmema. Like, perhaps, eschewing truck-lobby gifts.

And if Mr. Schwengel, who seeks only to put Congressional integrity beyond question, is "not bright," then the nation needs nothing more than a resounding "stupid" Congress.

That, of course, would exclude the intellectually superior Rep. Dingell from membership.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN T. KMETZ

HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep, personal regret that I learned of the death of John T. Kmetz, former Assistant Secretary of Labor and a longtime executive of the United Mine Workers and CIO.

I have had the pleasure and honor of knowing John Kmetz for many years and he has distinguished himself to be a man of integrity, honesty, and a man whose word was his bond.

In my opinion, John Kmetz was highly respected within the UMW and CIO not only for his ability and initiative but also because of his personal devotion to the well-being of these organizations.

I want to extend our sympathy to Mrs. Kmetz and the other members of his family.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Evening Star had an article on John Kmetz in the July 31 edition, and I call attention to this article at this time by inserting it in the RECORD:

JOHN KMETZ, 74, DIES—LONGTIME UMW AIDE

John T. Kmetz, 74, former assistant secretary of labor and a longtime official of the United Mine Workers, died yesterday at the union's headquarters here. He lived in Nanticoke, Pa., but stayed at the Statler Hilton Hotel during the week.

Mr. Kmetz was born in Lapuhov, Czechoslovakia (then a part of Austria-Hungary), and came to this country as a child and went to work in the coal mines at the age of 7 as a breaker-boy, picking slate out of coal. He then became a coal miner and president of his local union.

His national labor career began in 1923 when Mr. Kmetz became a district board member in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. He was appointed to the United Mine Workers' international executive board in 1936 after helping John L. Lewis form the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

On the recommendation of then Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwellenbach, President Truman appointed Mr. Kmetz as assistant secretary of labor in 1947, a post Mr. Kmetz held until 1948, when he resigned in order to spend more time at his home in Nanticoke.

In addition to serving on the union's international executive board, Mr. Kmetz was director of organization. Much of his work involved traveling and helping to mediate labor disputes.

Mr. Kmetz leaves his wife, Frances; two sons, John J. of Nanticoke and James F. of Silver Spring; seven grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

Services and burial will be Friday in Nanticoke.

DEAN JOSEPH O'MEARA'S INTRODUCTION TO A SYMPOSIUM ON RIOTS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Dean Joseph O'Meara, of the University of Notre Dame Law School, has written an excellent introduction to a symposium on riots to which I invite the attention of Senators.

Each of us knows that the rising crime rate and the increasing mob rioting are major problems in our country today. We have experienced some degree of mob violence throughout the history of this country, but only in the last few years has the problem of rioting been so acute in so many of our major cities.

Any crime causes the public to be concerned for the protection of their property and their personal security; but when a riot is not quickly suppressed, the public views this as a continuing crime which is a direct challenge to law and order. Such a challenge to law and order, when successful, causes people to lose faith in their government which is supposed to give them protection. Government at all levels has the prime responsibility to secure the confidence of the people by maintaining law and order.

Mr. President, Dean O'Meara points out in this article that riots can be quickly and effectively suppressed. In fact, he states the appropriate procedure that can be used to achieve this result. His main contention is that those in authority must act swiftly, without apprehension, in using the appropriate men and resources to effectively quell a riot.

Washington has been particularly victimized by rioting, and Dean O'Meara's hypothesis is well supported by the dramatic events over the past few months in this city. Immediately following the death of Martin Luther King, the country, especially Washington, was stricken by intense rioting. Here in Washington there was hesitancy on the part of those in positions of authority to employ a sufficient amount of troops and to act firmly at the start of the trouble. Mob violence was allowed to spread until it was out of control, and the resulting damage is undeterminable.

Recently, Washington was on the brink of more mass riots when the poor people's encampment was closed and many of its participants arrested. However, this time a sufficient amount of troops with proper training and instructions was employed throughout the city, and the result was that law and order prevailed, with the exception of minor skirmishes.

Mr. President, law and order can be maintained if effective action is taken. Dean O'Meara's suggestions should be carefully studied by those in positions to administer law enforcement so that peace can be maintained in this country. I ask unanimous consent that Dean O'Meara's article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

INTRODUCTION TO THE SYMPOSIUM: RIOTS*

(By Dean Joseph O'Meara)**

"There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law," Abraham Lincoln as quoted by President Johnson, South Bend Tribune, March 29, 1968, at 1.

This is the tenth in our series of annual symposia, each dealing with a highly controversial problem of urgent national concern. Of these ten symposia, this is the third having to do with crime. The extent of our concern with this cancerous problem is demonstrated by that fact. My own belief is that the rising incidence of crime is our country's number one domestic problem.

It is all to easy to ascribe this ugly phenomenon to the ugly phenomena of poverty and unemployment among Negroes. The fact is that crime is increasing more rapidly in well-to-do neighborhoods than in the colored sections of our cities;[1] and, referring to "[t]he typical rioter in the summer of 1967," the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder found: Economically his position was about the same as his Negro neighbors who did not actively participate in the riot."[2]

As for the riots, that plague of the 1960's, the first thing to say is that every effort should be made to prevent them.[3] Once a riot has started, however, it is the *obligation* of the authorities to stop it. As President Eisenhower has said:

"These riots are a growing danger to our nation and must be handled without temporizing. When the police cannot cope with the situation, there should be no hesitancy in calling out the National Guard. And the culprits, when their guilt is clear, must be dealt with as any other criminals, regardless of their race or their grievances against society. People simply must be taught that personal or social problems cannot be solved by violence and defiance of authority."[4]

There is no excuse for a riot that lasts for four or five days with the attendant injuries, loss of life, and damage to property. *A riot can be stopped before it is twenty-four hours old* and should be. Law and order are a precondition of civilized society.

Please note that what I have said has to do only with riots—not with peaceful demonstrations. The march on Selma, the march on Washington—these were peaceful demonstrations inspired by a deep conviction of injustice. In no sense could they be characterized as riots. On the other hand, none of the riots in recent years was the product of a sense of injustice, as the Selma and Washington demonstrations were.

Some will disagree, of course, and point to Harlem, Watts, and other violent episodes. They were not race riots, they were *youth* riots.[5] Those who challenge that assertion will have to explain the riots by young *white* people in Oregon, New Hampshire, Florida, Wisconsin, and on university campuses, beginning with the riot at that seed bed of youthful lawlessness, the University of California at Berkeley.[6] For these young white rioters were not giving vent to a bottled-up sense of outraged justice. They were responding, I assume, to the pressures of the Age, but so are we all. To be sure, the most damaging riots have occurred in blighted areas inhabited by Negroes. Understandably, therefore, the focus is on them, and I accept that focus in the rest of what I have to say.

Four years of worsening riots are enough—riots which were not put down, mark you, but simply ran out of steam after four or five days of terror. Crime must be suppressed; riots must be put down and put down fast, as they can be. To accomplish that, however, requires stern measures and, so far, the officials of our city and state governments have been too timid to do what the situation requires. Timidity—official timidity—almost as great a problem as the riots.

It may be even a greater problem for, unless the rioting by young Negroes is stopped, inevitably the wild ones in the white community will respond in kind and that will mean the worst horror yet—guerrilla warfare between whites and blacks. Then no neighborhood will be immune, nobody will be safe. Peaceful people in quiet neighborhoods will be gunned down from passing cars; their homes will be fire-bombed in hit-and-run attacks. Every city in the land will become another Algiers—worse than Algiers, in fact, because the Algerians did not resort to burning. God forbid.

The message comes through loud and clear to all who do not close their ears: *Disarm.* Rioters should be disarmed forcibly—and it can be done. But that is only a beginning. All possible pressure must be brought to bear for effective weapons-control legislation—national, state and local.

The fine record of young Negroes in Viet Nam indicates that they have as much to contribute to this nation's welfare as their white counterparts. How to bring this promise to fruition is a question of utmost complexity, whose answer I think no man fully understands. Whatever the remedy or remedies may be, however, one thing is sure: no remedy can be applied until the rule of law has been recognized and order has been restored. That can be accompanied only by the prompt and courageous use of effective measures. But it *can* be accomplished; and those city and state officials who fail to accomplish it should be held responsible by their constituents.

How can it be accomplished? How can a riot be stopped within 24 hours—less than a quarter of the time span of virtually all the riots of the last few years? Assuming that the mayor and the governor cooperate and that they are willing to use strong medicine, it can be done as follows. In the first place, the National Guard should be mobilized immediately, that is to say, as soon as it is plain that a serious riot is in progress.[7] And the rule should be better too soon than too late.[8] Moreover, someone other than the police should decide the question, for the police will hesitate to admit they can't handle the situation. What I have said doesn't mean that *some* Guardsmen should be sent to the scene, or that *all* Guardsmen should be alerted. It means that an adequate number of Guardsmen should be mobilized and dispatched to the riot area *at once*. And, again, the rule should be better too many than too few.[9]

As soon as the Guardsmen arrive, the riot area (that is, the area where the rioting is taking place and/or from which bands of marauders erupt to carry the rioting to other areas until resistance drives them back to the riot core)—the riot area, to repeat, should be sealed off absolutely and no one permitted in or out except the Guardsmen themselves and emergency vehicles, such as ambulances, convoyed by Guardsmen.

An around-the-clock curfew should be put into effect immediately and announced every few minutes by loud speakers at strategic points. This would allow no one on the streets. To enforce the curfew the streets should be patrolled by Guardsmen in tanks. They should be used to protect the Guardsmen from snipers. Anybody violating the curfew should be arrested or, if he resists arrest, shot.[10] And if a little imagination were used, perhaps some of the Guardsmen could be armed with sawed-off shotguns using shells having a reduced charge of powder. It should be possible to reduce fatalities in this way, especially if the Guardsmen are ordered to shoot low, that is, at the ankles of the rioters.

Strategic buildings in the area should be rushed in order to get at snipers on the roofs, along with those using the primitive but deadly Molotov cocktail. With these preparations made, Guardsmen *in force* should systematically search every building in the area and confiscate all weapons found, including bottles and gasoline. There would be some resistance, of course; and those with arms (including bottles, etc.) who refuse to give them up and resist being deprived of them, should be arrested or, if necessary, shot. The new and apparently effective chemical called "Mace" should be used at close quarters, since it subdues without injuring.[11] There should be no hesitation, however, about using deadly weapons if the Guardsmen are fired on from a distance beyond the range of "Mace."

Strong medicine? Assuredly, but that is exactly what is needed. Consider what has happened in city after city across the country. Fires are set and the firemen who respond are attacked with rocks and bottles—even fired upon. More and more the rioters are armed with shotguns, rifles, and other deadly weapons. Motorists in peaceful neighborhoods are fired upon from passing cars. The police are shot at. Looting is growing in areas outside the riot core. Who is safe, either in his person or in his property? Are not the citizens, black as well as white, entitled to protection from these increasing outbursts of mass violence?[12]

Milder measures have been tried for four years, but the riots spread and the violence increases. It is time and past time for tough tactics.[13] To repeat, strong medicine is exactly what is needed. Needed or not, many will be horrified by my suggestion that armed persons in a riot area, who disregard the curfew, refuse to surrender their weapons or turn them on the police or Guardsmen, should be shot. To those who find this a shocking suggestion I put this question: Is is not better to kill some malefactors than to allow them to kill innocent persons?

That question will not stop those who are horrified by my suggestions. Regardless of the evidence to the contrary, they will insist that Harlem, Watts, and subsequent violent episodes were the product of a sense of injustice. Even if that were true, even if a riot (whether by whites or blacks) were churned up by a deep feeling of outraged justice, there would still be a moral as well as a legal obligation to use *effective* measures to protect the community. The "community" is not just an abstraction but *an aggregation of people, people whose rights as individuals are just as sacred as the rights of those few individuals who resort to violence.* Why is it so hard for some persons to understand this?

When a lone sniper is surrounded and shot down, nobody is outraged. In a riot there are many snipers. And every person bearing arms in the riot zone is a potential sniper. So, I submit, the real question is: Whom should we protect? The snipers and those who beat and kill and burn and loot—or their victims?

Cities and neighborhoods differ from one another to a greater or lesser extent. Thus I recognize that modifications of the plan of operations I have outlined briefly might, almost certainly would be called for in some instances.

Footnotes at end of article.

One final thought. A woman whose husband or son has been killed, the owner of property whose premises have been burned down, a merchant whose store has been looted—why are they not entitled to compensation from the municipality and/or state which could have protected them, but was too timid to do so? The city solicitors, corporation counsel (or whatever else they may be called) would do well, I suggest, to start preparing whatever defense they may think they have against the damage suits that are bound to be filed and are being filed.[14]

FOOTNOTES

[*] In this paper I speak neither for the University of Notre Dame nor for the Notre Dame Law School but only for myself.

[**] Dean, Notre Dame Law School.

[1] *See* FBI, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States—1966, tables 6–7, at 92–94 (1967) (shows a higher rate of crime increase in suburban areas than in major cities).

[2] Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders 128 (Bantam ed. 1968).

[3] *Id.* at 2.

[4] Reader's Digest, Aug., 1967, at 70.

[5] Referring to the riots of 1967, the National Advisory Commission found that "The typical rioter in the summer of 1967 was a Negro, unmarried male *between the ages of 15 and 24 . . . .*" *supra* note 2, at 128 (emphasis added).

John P. Spiegel, Director of the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University, commenting on recent disorders, said: "Kids, often very young kids—I call it 'youth phenomena'—started the trouble and then if the adults joined, it was because they gave in to the temptation of looting. After all, they liked a colored television set as much as anyone." South Bend Tribune, April 10, 1968 at 12, cols. 5–6.

[6] *See* Moore, *Anarchy on the Campus: The Rebels . . . and the Law,* The Police Chief, April, 1965, at 10.

[7] Orlando Wilson, one of the nation's leading criminologists, has said: "There is no substitute for force in quelling civil disturbances, and if the police are unable to provide the manpower to restore normalcy, then there is no alternative but to put in a call for the National Guard—and as quickly as possible.' This is my view in a nutshell." Wilson, *Civil Disturbances and the Rule of Law,* 58 J. Crim. L.C. & P.S. 157 (1967).

[8] *See* House Comm. on Armed Services of the Special Subcomm. to Inquire into the Capability of the National Guard to Cope with Civil Disturbances, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., 5652 (Dec. 18, 1967) (recommending the judicious early commitment of adequate National Guard forces).

[9] *See* text accompanying notes 7–8 *supra.*

[10] *See* text accompanying note 11 *infra.*

[11] South Bend Tribune, Jan. 7, 1968, at 25, col. 3.

[12] Consider the words of a young Negro Marine, wounded in Viet Nam, flying back to Detroit only to learn of the riot in progress there:

"This is my first time home in almost two years and look what the hell I come home to. I just hope nobody hurt my family. They live on the West Side. I heard it was pretty bad there.

"It's not like that in Vietnam. I'm a Marine. You know, Marines have a thing: I take care of the next guy, he takes care of me. It's beautiful. . . .

"I was in pre-med school before I went into the Marines. My mother's a pediatrician. I wanted to be a pediatrician. But when I get out, I'm going to be a cop. I left my application in Los Angeles. . . . Boy I sure hope they didn't hurt my family. I don't care who it is, I'll fight to save my family." South Bend Tribune, July 25, 1967, at 8.

[13] The *Restatement (Second) of Torts* says of the tactics that may be used in riot control: "The use of force or the imposition of a confinement which is intended or likely to cause death or serious bodily harm for the purpose of suppressing a riot or preventing the other from participating in it is privileged if the riot is one which threatens death or serious bodily harm." Restatement (Second) of Torts § 142(2) (1965). The commentary on this section clarifies this permissible use of force.

"If the riot itself threatens death or serious bodily harm, it is sufficiently serious to justify the use of deadly means to suppress it. It is not necessary that the avowed purpose of the riot be to inflict such harm. It is enough that the conduct of the rioters is such as to create the probability or even the possibility of such consequences." Restatement (Second) of Torts, Comments § 142, comment *g,* at 257 (1965).

[14] The Supreme Court has spoken to this point of public liability for riot damage, as follows:

"The State is the creator of subordinate municipal governments. It vests in them the police powers essential to the preservation of law and order. It imposes upon them the duty of protecting property situated within their limits from the violence of such public breaches of the peace as are mobs and riots. *This duty and obligation thus entrusted to the local subordinate government is by this enactment emphasized and enforced by imposing upon the local community absolute liability for property losses resulting from the violence of such public tumults.*

"The policy of imposing liability upon a civil subdivision of government exercising delegated police power is familiar to every student of the common law. We find it recognized in the beginning of the police system of Anglo-Saxon people. Thus, "The Hundred," a very early form of civil subdivision, was held answerable for robberies committed within the division. By a series of statutes, beginning possibly in 1285, in the statutes of Winchester, 13 Edw. I, c.1, coming on down to the 27th Elizabeth, c.13, the Riot Act of George I (1 Geo. I, St. 2) and Act of 8 George II, c.16, we may find a continuous recognition of the principle that a civil subdivision entrusted with the duty of protecting property in its midst and with police power to discharge the function, may be made answerable not only for negligence affirmatively shown, but absolutely as not having afforded a protection adequate to the obligation." Chicago v. Sturges, 222 U.S. 313, 323 (1911) (emphasis added).

A majority of the relatively small number of cases appear to be contra. But Chicago v. Sturges never has been overruled or qualified. *See also* County of Allegheny v. Gibson, 90 Penn. St. 397, 35 American 670 (1879). These two cases, especially the latter, sketch the historical background of the legislative enactments about to be mentioned.

Nearly half of the states have statutes imposing liability or government subsidies for riot damage. Most of these are collected in Note, *Riot Insurance,* 77 YALE L.J. 541, 552 n. 75 (1968). Another relevant statute is: W. VA. CODE § 61–6–12 (1966). It goes without saying, of course, that these enactments are not uniform in their provisions. The extent and conditions of liability vary considerably.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 192d day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

PROMOTE SMALL BUSINESS EXPORTS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill that will assist our balance of payments and further strengthen our economy by promoting export or products, services, and processes of small businessmen. This bill will establish tax incentives to encourage small businessmen to set up small business export trade corporations. Mr. HARTKE has introduced an identical bill in the Senate. This measure will allow us to tap the resources of nearly 250,000 small businesses which are currently ignoring export opportunities.

At the present time our balance of trade is badly in need of a shot in the arm. We have traditionally depended upon a large trade surplus to balance our international accounts. But this vital surplus has recently disappeared. The average monthly surplus for the first 5 months of this year was only $81 million while 4 years ago the comparable figure was $584 million. And we experienced trade deficits in March, May and June.

There are only two ways in which a manufacturer can become involved in export trade. One is to establish an export department, at a cost which is prohibitive to the small business man. The other alternative is to employ a combination export-management firm which will assist several noncompeting firms with promoting their goods and services abroad. At the present time, 5,000 firms are serviced by these combination export-management firms, and they account for about $500 million, or 4 percent of all of the U.S. exports. Obviously it would greatly assist our trade balance if we could encourage a large percentage of the 250,000 manufacturers which are not now exporting goods to make use of these services. This bill is designed to do that by providing him with tax incentives.

Specifically, this legislation would authorize the Small Business Administration to issue certificates of eligibility to corporations organized under State law for the primary purpose of promoting the interests of American businesses abroad. The corporations must be certified by the Small Business Administration, and meet three requirements.

First, the corporation must have a paid-in capital and surplus of not less than $100,000.

Second, no single client manufacturer can own or control more than 20 percent of the corporation.

Third, there must be a minimum of five small businesses in each corporation.

The following tax incentives will be available to the Small Business Export Trade Corporations—SBETC:

First, while gains of sale or exchange of stock would be treated as capital gains, losses of sale or exchange of stock would be treated as ordinary losses.

Second, up to an income ceiling of $250,000 the equivalent of a 14-percent tax rate reduction will be granted to the

Small Business Export Trade Corporation. Income earned from the performance of export trade contracts with GATT countries and income earned in GATT countries by SBETC's would continue to be taxed at ordinary corporation rates. The 14-percent tax incentive would be denied to any firm which in the present tax year, or for either of the two preceding taxable years, received 50 percent or more of its income from the performance of a single export trade contract or of two or more export trade contracts entered into with the same person.

Third, a deferral of up to $50,000 of the tax consequences of an equity acquired in a foreign business, incident to the performance of an export trade contract, is permitted when the equity is acquired in exchange for patent rights, processes, formulas, franchises, or other like property. This bill provides that at the time the equity is disposed of, the proceeds will be treated as ordinary income. By this provision deferral is afforded to both the SBETC and the small business manufacturer with whom it has the export trade contract.

Fourth, a deferral of items of income which are blocked by repatriation laws of a foreign country is permitted until such time as the income can be, or is permitted to be, repatriated. By this provision deferral is afforded to both the SBETC and the small business manufacturer with whom it has the export contract but no deferral is permitted to items of income derived from the sale of exported products.

Fifth, an SBETC is permitted a fast write-off of up to $50,000 in bad debts per export trade contract.

Sixth, certified SBETC's are exempted from the personal holding company provisions of the Internal Revenue Code unless a shareholder of the SBETC is performing an export contract.

Seventh, certified SBETC's are exempted from the controlled foreign corporation provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, unless during the taxable year a shareholder owning more than 20 percent of the stock certifies SBETC also owns 10 percent or more of the stock of a corporation with which the SBETC has an export trade contract.

Finally, in order to best encourage the promotion of export trade of American small business enterprises, this bill will be coordinated with existing programs and services of the Department of Commerce.

It is time that we ceased thinking of our export trade only in terms of huge business. Rather, this bill will enable us to tap the resources of our small manufacturers to help the national effort to restore our balance of trade.

FOOD SUPPLEMENT ORDER HEARINGS: ANOTHER FDA STALL

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, it has been 1 year today since the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee requested a report from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on H.R. 11837, my bill to curb the Food and Drug Administration's power to regulate food supplements, including vitamins.

No report has been forthcoming from the Department during this year and my repeated efforts to determine when the report would be submitted have been met with nothing but evasive and surly response.

This, despite the fact that to date my bill has received overwhelming bipartisan support as evidenced by the fact that 72 Members of the House and 10 Members of the Senate, representing 30 of our 50 States, have either cosponsored or introduced identical measures.

Now FDA has started a new stall. They began public hearings in May on the food supplement order in an apparent effort to divert the attention of both Congress and the public from my legislation.

In the July-August 1968 issue of the National Health Federation Bulletin, Mr. Clinton Miller, NHF legislative advocate, takes a close look at these hearings, the reasons behind them and the strong need not to allow FDA to sidetrack this legislation to curb the Food Supplement Order.

The following is the text of Mr. Miller's remarks:

FDA'S HEARINGS ON FOOD SUPPLEMENTS EMPHASIZE URGENT NEED FOR HOSMER BILL

(By Clinton R. Miller)

After six years, public hearings have finally started on the Food and Drug Administration's food supplement Order. The government has waited since June, 1962 to start agency hearings. That is when they first issued their sweeping proposals which would put most food supplement potencies and combinations on prescription.

Since June, 1962, FDA has amended the Order several times, but never held hearings. Early in 1968, they announced their intention, in a separate action, to go even further and ban bioflavonoids entirely so not even physicians could prescribe them. Now the hearings have started. It is a shame that Congress hasn't acted in the six years we have had since the FDA first announced their intention to destroy the food supplement industry as we now know it. But in fairness to Congress, it wasn't until early in 1967 that the NHF had worked out a bill (now known as Hosmer's H.R. 11837) that would limit FDA's power and which had a chance of getting passed. Congress has been most receptive to the bill. We now have 65 cosponsors. To succeed, we need 100 cosponsors.

FDA HOPES HEARINGS WILL PREVENT CONGRESS FROM ACTING ON H.R. 11837

FDA has urged Congressmen not to cosponsor Hosmer's bill. At the same time, they stubbornly refuse to give a Position Report on it. FDA's strategy is to stall, and to divert the attention of Congress and the energies of NHF to their hearings so the Hosmer bill will languish and die in Congress from lack of interest. Several Congressmen have recently told their constituents that now FDA has started hearings, they will await the outcome before cosponsoring legislation. It sounds fair, but isn't. We have demanded the FDA hearings for six years and some Congressmen have assumed we were turning to Congress only because we could not get FDA to hold hearings. This is not the case. We will win some minor victories in the hearings, but FDA hearings can never correct the main legal issue in the food supplement controversy. Only Congress can do this.

FDA hearings cannot solve the main problem over food supplement regulations because FDA believes, quite justifiably, they are under a legislative mandate from Congress to consider a food legally as a drug if any health claims are made for it. Congress gave this medically oriented mandate to FDA in 1938 when the food supplement industry was a baby. Thirty years ago, the idea of using food concentrates or supplements to prevent or cure a disease was not widely researched. Adelle Davis, Linda Clark, Carlton Fredericks, Catherine Elwood, J. I. and Bob Rodale had not published their books and magazines which contained revolutionary new concepts in do-it-yourself nutrition.

In 1941, FDA completed extensive hearings on food supplements, and issued regulations to govern their labeling claims. The FDA's 1941 regulations contained a definition of food supplements which is almost impossible to improve on today. Now FDA wants to cut out the two most important words in the definition—"pathological" and "diseases." This excellent definition is the major part of Hosmer's bill, H.R. 11837. It says that food supplements may be used for "pathological" and "disease" conditions if these conditions exist because of a "particular dietary need." FDA wants the two words, "pathological" and "diseases," cut from their own definition which has been unchanged since 1941. This is a major change in the FDA's Order and one which NHF's Attorney, Charles Orlando Pratt, has objected to and will strongly object to in the FDA's hearings. If Congress passes the Hosmer bill, FDA then couldn't change the definition because only Congress can change its own laws. But an equally important thing Congress can do if it passes the Hosmer bill is to write new legislative history which will say that it doesn't ever want a food supplement to be considered a drug just because true health claims are made for it. Congressmen who say they will wait for the FDA hearings to end before changing the old law of 1938 just do not yet understand that their own law, which has been unamended or unchanged on this point since 1938, makes it impossible for a food supplement manufacturer to sell a food supplement with a truthful health claim, even though it is safe and the claims made for it can be supported by competent proof. It doesn't make any difference how unreasonable the interpretation is in 1968, FDA can point to the 1938 legislative report which says most clearly. "If it [a product] contains nutritive ingredients but is sold for drug use only, as clearly shown by the labeling and advertising, it will come within the definition of drug, but not that of food." Thus, Congress naively said FDA should put every product in one of two slots—foods or drugs. If a health claim of any kind was made for a food on the label, Congress said, it should be considered as a drug.

FDA hearings can never change this legislative flaw of 1938. Only Congress can do this. It takes an Act of Congress to change an Act of Congress. The Hosmer bill, if passed, will make a third slot for FDA to use. Then there will be (1) foods, (2) drugs and (3) food supplements. Then, whenever a manufacturer makes a true nutritional health claim supported by competent proof, FDA will have to place such a product in the third slot provided by Congress and will not be able to seize it as a misbranded "drug" as they have been doing since 1938. Everybody knows foods are not drugs, regardless of what labeling claims are put on them. The only reason Congress has never updated the law and provided the third category for food supplements or foods for special dietary uses is that it hasn't been asked by us—the people—to do it. So don't let FDA's hearings sidetrack your Congressman from cosponsoring Hosmer's bill or demanding a Position Report from FDA (see NHF April, 1968 Bulletin, pp. 12–14).

FDA HEARINGS VERGE ON CHAOS FROM THE BEGINNING

When FDA's new Hearing Examiner, David Harris, opened the prehearings at 10:00 a.m. Tuesday, May 7, nearly 100 consumers or attorneys representing industry were on hand to testify. This is too many to participate in an orderly hearing. Mr. Pratt, in his article this month, has listed the objective firms and individuals. Some firms, like Abbott Laboratories, have as many as four attorneys representing them. Most consumers represented themselves. A court reporter was there and every word was taken down in an official transcript.

CONSUMERS MUST PAY MORE THAN EIGHT TIMES AS MUCH AS THE GOVERNMENT FOR A WRITTEN TRANSCRIPT OF THE HEARINGS

The first day's transcript was 151 pages. When we ordered a copy, we learned that FDA had issued a contract to the Columbia Reporting Company (300 Seventh Street, S.W., Washington, D.C.) to be the official reporters. They were granted a contract with the unthinkable right to charge consumers and industry more than eight times as much as the Government pays for a copy of the same transcript! We were told we would have to pay 75¢ per sheet or $113.25 for the next-day delivery of the May 7 transcript! If all 100 objectors ordered the same service, it would give the Columbia Reporting Company an order for $11,325 for just the first day. Their printing costs would be less than $500. It has been estimated the hearings may last three years or longer. Under this biased contract, if all 100 objectors bought copies at 75¢ per sheet, the cost of the transcript alone, would run into several millions of dollars!

FDA PAYS 9 CENTS; CONSUMERS PAY 75 CENTS A SHEET

Then NHF checked what the Government had contracted to pay for their own copies of the transcript! We learned they only pay 9¢ a sheet! This is an intolerable injustice! There are many consumers and small companies who would have a hard time buying transcripts at even 9¢ a sheet and who just cannot afford over $100 a day for them. It is just as insufferable to have wealthy companies pay such a price. They have to pass such costs on to consumers. FDA's strategy is simple to see through. They are going to do everything they can to make the hearings as expensive to objectors as possible.

OUR COUNTER ACTION IS TO PROTEST AT ONCE TO CONGRESS

When FDA let the contract to a court reporting company, they could have and should have asked them to bid on the exact cost of the court reporter and those who transcribe the notes. The total cost of the first copy should have been paid by the government. Then every additional copy bought by the government or consumers or industry should have been available to them at the actual cost of reproduction plus a reasonable profit. This would run us 10¢ or less per page, depending on the number of copies ordered, less than one-eighth as much as we now must pay.

ARE WE EXHAUSTING OUR ADMINISTRATIVE REMEDIES OR ARE WE GOING TO BE EXHAUSTED BY THEM?

Congress should write into the Administrative Procedures Act an amendment which will prevent such an unendurable thing from ever happening in the future instigated by FDA or by any other agency.

FDA BRINGS 2,000 EXHIBITS TO PREHEARING CONFERENCE

FDA filed 2,000 exhibits with the Hearing Examiner but was not required to make a copy available to each of the 100 parties in the proceedings. Instead, Mr. Harris unfairly ruled: "I am not going to require the Government to go to the expense of duplicating so many documents. They are on file with the Hearing Clerk and can be examined at your convenience."

AMERICAN CHIROPRACTIC ASSOCIATION ATTORNEY PLAYING A LEADING ROLE

The attorney who forced Mr. Harris to rule on this question was Mr. Harry N. Rosenfield, appearing on behalf of the American Chiropractic Association. After the FDA's attorneys introduced nearly 2,000 exhibits for identification, Mr. Rosenfield asked the Hearing Examiner: "May I respectfully request that they be distributed just as the others were. If one of the objectives is to advise us most effectively on the issues, this would be very helpful." This resulted in Mr. Harris making his inequitable ruling above. We are most grateful that the American Chiropractic Association has hired one of the best-qualified men in Washington, D.C. as their Washington Counsel, and have directed him to participate in these hearings. He is doing a superb job! Although the American Medical Association is represented at the hearings by Paul R. M. Donelan, up till now he only appeared at the first day's roll call. We don't know where AMA will stand on the issues at this time. Dr. William J. Darby and Dr. Philip L. White will be AMA's witnesses.

IMPROVED SURVEY TECHNIQUES PAVE WAY FOR CALIFORNIA TIMBER SALVAGE

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, because of a damaging storm 4 years ago which set the stage for the invasion of massive infestations of northern California forests by Douglas-fir bark beetles, a technique has been found to measure quickly and cheaply the extent of beetle infestation as a necessary step leading to salvage of the damaged timber.

The improved technique was a matter of both necessity and invention by pest control experts of the Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The Douglas-fir beetle, a destructive pest of Douglas-fir trees throughout the western half of the Nation, had done little damage in California prior to 1964. Severe storms and subsequent floods in December of that year caused a vast amount of timber to be damaged and uprooted in the north-coastal region of California.

Forest entomologists were aware that this huge accumulation of favorable habitat for the beetle could very well trigger a buildup of beetle populations. If beetles multiplied in the damaged timber in 1965 they would be able to attack healthy, green trees in the spring of 1966. Forest land managers were alerted to this possibility. As a preventive measure they were encouraged to salvage and remove as much of the storm-damaged timber as possible.

A strong concerted effort was made to salvage the trees but the job was just too large—there were too many trees spread over too large an area of rough terrain. Salvage was hampered further by the widespread destruction of existing road systems during the floods.

To better judge the potential for a beetle epidemic, an extensive detection and evaluation survey was made on the Six Rivers and Klamath National Forests in the fall of 1965. The survey revealed a general beetle population buildup. It was predicted that the beetles would attack green trees the following spring. How severe the attacks would be and over what area they would occur were questions that could not be answered.

The adult beetle broods survived very well under the bark of unsalvaged storm-damaged trees through the mild winter of 1965–66. They emerged in the spring and successfully attacked standing green trees. Forest managers were advised to include green-infested trees in their continuing salvage program.

The newly infested trees began to fade in midsummer, but it was not until an aerial survey flight was made in the fall that the full magnitude of the problem was realized. Groups of infested trees were observed on 1.6 million acres in Del Norte, Humboldt, Siskiyou, and Trinity Counties and represented an unprecedented loss of Douglas-fir.

Although the extent of the infested area was known, the number and volume of killed trees had to be determined. This information was needed to inform the land managers about the scope of the damage so they could plan for maximum recovery of the timber through salvage logging. Because of the large area involved and the extreme inaccessibility, normal timber cruising methods could not be used. Therefore, with the assistance of the Pacific Southwest Forest and Range Experiment Station, a combined aerial photo-ground survey was specially designed to measure the impact of the beetle epidemic.

This scientifically designed survey employed two forms of sampling: first, color photographs were taken from the air at random locations over the entire infested area; and, second, ground checks of selected outbreak centers recognized on the photographs were made to determine the actual number of Douglas-fir trees killed by beetles. Other data were taken to provide individual tree volumes killed by the beetles.

As a result of the survey it was learned that the beetles had killed 249,000 Douglas-fir trees containing 796 million board feet of timber. This timber could provide 535 million board feet of finished lumber; enough to build 53,500 three-bedroom frame houses. Guided by the information gained from this survey, land managers are salvaging much of the accessible dead timber.

The survey cost $9,607 or $0.006 per acre and required 318 color photographs, 53 ground samples, and 123 man-days of work. In order to provide results of equal accuracy, previously used survey methods would have been more costly and time consuming. For example, a standard ground survey over 1.6 million acres would have required 17,000 man-days and $830,000. Mapping infested centers seen by visual inspection from an airplane coupled with a sufficient number of ground visits would have taken 400 man-days and cost $21,200.

This improved technique, using aerial photo interpretation combined with a minimum of ground checking, proved very effective in measuring the total impact of the recent Douglas-fir beetle outbreak in northern California and in providing data for salvage operations. The same technique looks particularly promising for other bark beetle surveys because large areas can be sampled at a reasonable cost and with a high degree of accuracy. The statistical technique is also adaptable to bark beetle losses in other types of timber and terrain.

NIXON-LINDSAY TEAM VIEWED AS A DREAM TICKET FOR TIMES

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Washington Post of August-1, 1968:

Nixon-Lindsay Team Viewed as a Dream Ticket for Times

(By Joseph Kraft)

Because the polls have not yielded the decisive result required for the candidacy of Nelson Rockefeller, the Nixon camp approaches the Republican convention full of confidence. Now serious attention is turning toward putting together what amounts to a dream ticket—a ticket that would have as Mr. Nixon's running mate, Mayor John Lindsay of New York.

The Nixon-Lindsay ticket would be a dream ticket because it is in harmony with the basic political condition of the country today. That condition features a public opinion fragmented along unfamiliar lines.

Because opinion is so badly fragmented no single candidate in either party can by himself appeal to a substantial majority of the voters. Each man has to supplement his own appeal with that of another political figure. For that reason, as much as because of the "pressures of the nuclear age," both parties have been casting about intensively for men of reputation as possible Vice Presidents.

As Mayor of the media capital, Mr. Lindsay has had good exposure on television and in the press. He has campaigned across the country for Governor Rockefeller. Thus he passes the first test. He is a man of national stature.

Traditionally, the fault lines Vice Presidential candidates were supposed to cement were lines of regional tension. Franklin Roosevelt, as usual, provides the classic example. A New Yorker with broad appeal in the cities of the East, he supplemented his own strength first with John Garner of Texas, and then with Henry Wallace from Iowa and Harry Truman from Missouri.

But supermarkets and suburbs have planned away regional differences, while the pace of change has tended to intensify distinctions between age groups. As the constant criticism of Nixon and Vice President Humphrey for being old, tired and familiar suggests, the generational line of division is as important as the regional one.

But at 46, Mayor Lindsay is physically young. Having first run for office only a dozen years ago, he is a fresh face. He also has the looks, manner and wideranging cultural interests of the new breed. He bridges the generational gap.

With respect to an even more basic line of division—race—the question is not so easy. Almost all candidates who have taken an outspokenly liberal line on issues associated with the Negro have paid for it. And no one is more sympathetic to the Negro cause than the Mayor of New York.

But his reputation is that of the man who has held the lid on. His personal appeal has enabled him to avoid having to say some of the things about Black Power that spelled trouble for Senator Robert Kennedy, and more recently for Hubert Humphrey and, I believe, Governor Rockefeller.

Not only is Lindsay not offensive to the low-income whites of the big cities and the South, but his standing with civil rights and civil liberties groups is so great, that it would afford Nixon wider room for acommodations in other quarters. With Lindsay as running mate, Nixon could safely take stances that would cut into the law and order vote that now seems to be heading in the direction of the third Party headed by former Governor George Wallace of Alabama.

But would Lindsay take the assignment? Well, his future career, notably the need to exit from City Hall in New York moving upwards, leaves open only very few possibilities as the next step. His statements so far have fallen short of the absolute prohibition, required to rule him out. At the most, it is an open question.

There remains the obvious drawback that both Nixon and Lindsay come from New York. Under the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, the electors of a state cannot cast its votes in the electoral college for two men from the same state as President and Vice President.

One possible way out is for Nixon to change his residence to, say, Washington, D.C., after the election. But he has rightly pointed out that such a move would be considered "tricky."

As it happens, however, the 43 electoral votes from New York would become absolutely vital only under very special conditions—only if the Republicans carried New York and won a national majority in the electoral college by 20 votes or less.

Otherwise, the problem could be solved simply by an advance statement that the New York Republican electors would split their vote, with 22 going for Nixon as President, and 21 for Lindsay as Vice President. And that course, which is now being urged on Mr. Nixon, looks to me like a sensible way out.

THE AKRON BEACON JOURNAL ENDORSES CONGRESSMAN WHALEN'S CRITICISM OF THE NLRB'S HANDLING OF THE NATIONAL CASH REGISTER CO. UNION REPRESENTATION CASE

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague from the State of Ohio [Mr. Whalen] took the National Labor Relations Board to task in a speech on the House floor on July 23, 1968.

He detailed for us what he rightly called incredible ineptness and unbelievable bungling on the part of the NLRB in its handling of a union representation case affecting employees of the National Cash Register Co.

An eminent newspaper in my district, the Akron Beacon Journal, has commented editorially on Mr. Whalen's evaluation of that continuing labor impasse.

Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members of the House, I herewith insert that editorial:

[From the Akron Beacon Journal, July 26, 1968]

Bungling

Rep. Charles W. Whalen of Dayton is not one of those congressmen who make sensational statements just to get their names in the papers. Though a Republican, he does not go out of his way to find fault with federal bureaus. He is, in short, a responsible man.

So when Whalen says the National Labor Relations Board has been guilty of "incredible ineptness and unbelievable bungling," you can believe that the NLRB has really goofed.

Whalen was talking about the NLRB's handling of a dispute over what union shall represent 14,000 employes of the National Cash Register Co. This, Whalen said, is what the NLRB did:

—Took five months to decide to call a bargaining election.

—Set the date of the election 3½ months after expiration of the existing contract.

—Miscounted 100 votes cast during the election.

—After six months still has not determined the outcome of the election.

That's pretty incredible all right.

SENATE—*Friday, August 2, 1968*

The Senate met at 10 a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, enable, we pray, with the light of Thy wisdom and strength of Thy might, those who in these fear-haunted times here entrusted with the stewardship of the Nation's life, send forth to waiting tasks conscious of a great heritage worth living for and dying for, and with a deathless cause that no weapon that has been formed can defeat. Hear our prayer: America, America, God mend thine every flaw.

Amid all the contentions and convulsions of these volcanic days, still may the Republic say with utter confidence—"God lives and the Government at Washington still stands," and with Thy help will continue to stand as the beacon light of truth for all the earth.

And now may the Lord bless you and keep you; may the Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you.

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Let we forget—lest we forget.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, August 1, 1968, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SUSPENSION OF THE RULE ON NOMINATIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that paragraph 6 of rule XXXVIII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, relating to the procedures on nominations, be suspended with respect to the nominations unacted upon before the August adjournment for the national conventions, and that the status quo of the nominations shall not be affected by the adjournment for the remainder of the second session of the 90th Congress.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—the distinguished Senator from Delaware [Mr. Williams] and the junior Senator from Nebraska were about to approach the distinguished majority leader and tell him that we did not expect to object to this request.

We are aware that if an objection were made, it would not go to the contest of confirming or failing to confirm the nomination of any particular person; but the alternative action that would have to be resorted to would be some sort of session next week.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct.

Mr. CURTIS. That would involve the plans of many employees and many officials of the Senate, as well as of Members of the Senate.

For that reason, there will be no objection, certainly so far as the junior Senator from Nebraska is concerned; but in failing to object, we want the record clear that it is not an expression of approval of the nominations in reference to the Supreme Court.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If I had known that the distinguished Senator from Nebraska and the distinguished Senator from Delaware were interested in this matter, I would have gone to them before I made this request. I thought it had been cleared.

Mr. CURTIS. There is no complaint about that, but we wanted the majority leader to know that while we feel a very serious situation has been presented to the Senate, about which we feel very strongly in the position we take, we are aware that an objection at this time would have nothing to do with the merits of it, but would inconvenience a great many other persons. Therefore, I shall not object. I understand that the distinguished Senator from Delaware wishes to make a statement.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—the Senator from Nebraska has expressed my sentiments completely.

This is a parliamentary procedure and in no way indicates an expression as to whether the Senate should or should not confirm these nominees. The request should be granted.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is absolutely correct.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I should like the Record to disclose that the staff of the able minority leader indicated earlier today precisely what the majority leader desires to do. It appeared to me that there was no reason for any of us to raise any question whatever. I fully acquiesced in the desire of the majority leader to have this consent in the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGee in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

AUTHORITY TO SIGN BILLS, RECEIVE MESSAGES, AND FILE REPORTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the adjournment of the Senate following the completion of business, hopefully today, until September 4, 1968, all committees of the Senate may be permitted to file their reports, together with any minority, individual, and supplemental views, if desired; that the Vice President, the President pro tempore, or the Acting President pro tempore may be permitted to sign duly enrolled bills; and that the Secretary of the Senate may be permitted to receive messages from the President of the United States and from the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1468, H.R. 18037, an act making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

May I say, before the Chair acts on the request, that this would be the pending business when we return. Nothing would be done on it until we return.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The Assistant Legislative Clerk. A bill (H.R. 18037) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

GUN CONTROL BILL—REFERRAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, H.R. 17735 is the companion bill of S. 3633, which has been ordered reported from the Committee on the Judiciary and will be reported during the August adjournment of the Senate, if not before the adjournment takes place. I ask unanimous consent that H.R. 17735, to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide for better control of the interstate traffic in firearms, approved by the House, be ordered placed on the Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there ojection? There being no objection, the bill (H.R.17735) was read twice by its title and ordered placed on the calendar.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the referral of S. 3633 to the Committee on Commerce be ordered immediately upon its report to the Senate during the August adjournment, or before, if it is available.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nominations for the Department of Commerce, the Department of Justice, the Federal Power Commission, the National Mediation Board, U.S. Army, U.S. Navy, U.S. Marine Corps, and nominations placed on the Secretary's desk. That would exclude the nominations for the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Interstate Commerce Commission, for the time being.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Department of Commerce.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of James L. Latchum, of Delaware, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Delaware.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of John A. Carver, Jr., of Idaho, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission.

JOHN CARVER: A MAN OF PROVEN ABILITY

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I am pleased that President Johnson has nominated John A. Carver, of Idaho, who is presently serving as a member of the Federal Power Commission, to another term as a member of that Commission. Endorsing his proven ability, the Committee on Commerce has unanimously approved the nomination.

This appointment is another benchmark in the distinguished public career of John Carver. It is further testimony to his continuing effectiveness, competence and integrity.

John Carver came to Washington as my administrative assistant in 1957. Four years later, he was appointed by the late President Kennedy as Assistant Secretary of the Interior. In 195, he was named Undersecretary of the Interior, and in 1966 became a member of the Federal Power Commission, serving the remainder of a term expiring this year.

Men of all political views have paid tribute to John Carver's extraordinary success as a public administrator. He has vast talents in the field of natural resource management; and possesses the capacity of listening thoroughly to all sides of an issue—always with fairness and objectivity.

He is a man of proven ability to cut to the heart of the most difficult problems, and then make final decisions that reconcile the facts of the case with the national interest. He has served with distinction as a member of the Federal Power Commission.

President Johnson once said, during a visit to Idaho:

> **One of the finest men in public life is your own John Carver.**

I agree. I commend the President for this renomination and support it without reservation.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, I rise today to express my endorsement of the reappointment of the Honorable John A. Carver, Jr., as a member of the Federal Power Commission. Mr. Carver is a distinguished Idahoan with broad experience in private law practice and in both the legislative and executive branches of Government.

His work with the Federal Power Commission over the past few years has proven his competence and integrity. He has an incisive mind and great ability as an administrator. As a Commissioner he has earned the respect of many men of different persuasions for his constant fairness and sound judgment.

Through his experience Mr. Carver has gained a thorough awareness of the problems and responsibilities of the Federal Power Commission. I am sure he will continue to contribute importantly to the effectiveness of the Commission's efforts. I certainly add my strong support and urge that his reappointment be confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Francis A. O'Neill, Jr., of New York, to be a member of the National Mediation Board.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

U.S. ARMY

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Army.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

U.S. NAVY

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Navy.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the pending nominations include that of Rear Adm. David C. Richardson to be a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy. I should like to comment briefly about Admiral Richardson.

I first met him aboard the carrier *Kitty Hawk* in the Gulf of Tonkin, when he was serving as commander of Task Force 77. Admiral Richardson's new assignment will be that of commander of the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean.

My impression of Admiral Richardson is that he is one of the ablest men in our Navy. He has had an outstanding record, and I know that he will add greater luster to his record when he assumes his new duties as commander of the 6th Fleet.

I am pleased to urge today the confirmation of the nomination of Admiral Richardson to the rank of vice admiral.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

U.S. MARINE CORPS

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Marine Corps.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Environmental Science Services Administration, Coast Guard, Air Force, and Navy.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified immediately of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate turn to the consideration of the nomination of Mr. John H. Crooker, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The Presiding Officer. Without objection, it is so ordered. The nomination will be stated.

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of John H. Crooker, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination?

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, at this time, as the majority leader knows, it is my duty to make a statement. I refer to the pending nomination of John H. Crooker, Jr., to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board. The same remarks will apply, although his nomination has not yet been brought up, to Kenneth H. Tuggle, of Kentucky, for reappointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. President, the recommendation of the Committee on Commerce concerning these two nominations was not unanimous. I would like to have the RECORD show that five members of the committee voted against recommending the confirmation of these two nominees at this time. The objection does not go to the merits of either of these nominees. The objection, as a matter of fact, has a partisan tinge because the five Senators voting in opposition were five Republican members of the Committee on Commerce.

The reason, and I am speaking on behalf of myself and the four other members, who could not be present today, for our opposition at this time and in committee is that in the case of Mr. Crooker and Mr. Tuggle, their terms have not yet expired. There is no vacancy and the term of each nominee does not expire until the 31st day of December of this year.

Therefore, we wished, as a matter of record, to register our opposition to the appointment in advance of nominees to serve before their terms have even expired. In the case of Mr. Crooker, he has been nominated for a term of 6 years in advance starting the 1st of January. I am not quite sure of the period for Mr. Tuggle's term.

Certainly, our objection is not to the individuals, because Mr. Tuggle, who has been nominated for reappointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission, is a Republican, and comes from the same State as does our distinguished colleague from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], who is one of the objectors. Our objective is purely to register our objection to making these appointments in advance before the vacancy has occurred. It has a partisan tinge, in that I have vivid recollections that in the last year, at least in the last 7 months of the Eisenhower administration, the party then in the majority in the Senate held up scores and scores and scores of reappointments when the vacancy had already occurred, and they were held over until the incoming President had the opportunity to fill the vacancies.

Mr. President, I have no intention of opposing the confirmation of either of these gentlemen this morning. Senators realize that all we could do would be to hold them over until the Senate returned, and obviously, by a majority party vote they would be confirmed. So I am merely taking the liberty of making this statement in order that we may make the record and so that we can then consistently oppose, if we desire, the filling of these vacancies in advance because, of course, the President will still be the President after January 1.

Therefore, having made my statement concerning the nomination of Mr. Crooker and Mr. Tuggle, I shall not interpose any further objection to their consideration and confirmation.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the nomination of Kenneth H. Tuggle, of Kentucky, and Wallace R. Burke, of Connecticut, to be Interstate Commerce Commissioners.

Mr. **DODD.** Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues this morning to the excellent qualifications of Wallace Burke of Farmington, Conn., to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

It has been a great pleasure for me to have known Wallace Burke for many years, and to have had the privilege of being associated with him in the same law offices for a time.

Wallace Burke, a practicing attorney, is currently a member of the Connecticut Public Utilities Commission, a cooperating commissioner of A.T. & T. rate investigation, and is chairman of the telecommunications division, Emergency Planning Board of the State of Connecticut.

Mr. Burke is also a past president of the New England Conference of Public Utility Commissioners, a former municipal court judge, and a former assistant U.S. attorney for the district of Connecticut.

Commissioner Burke is extremely skilled in the field of transportation law, and is eminently qualified to deal with the many complex problems that come before this important Commission.

Mr. President, I commend the appointment of Wallace Burke to the Interstate Commerce Commission by President Johnson, and I urge my colleagues to vote for the confirmation of this distinguished public servant to the ICC.

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified immediately of the confirmation of these nominations.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of legislative business.

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 1371—WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that House Joint Resolution 1371, to provide that it be the sense of Congress that a White House Conference on Aging be called by the President of the United States in 1971, to be planned and conducted by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and for related purposes, now at the desk, be taken from the desk and ordered to lie on the table.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered. The measure will lie on the table.

SHAMEFUL MISCONDUCT OF AID OFFICIALS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. **YOUNG** of Ohio. Mr. President, earlier this week my vote was cast against the foreign aid authorization bill, and I shall continue to vote against foreign aid authorizations and appropriations until I am assured that at least an effort will be made to cleanse the cesspool that best characterizes our Agency for International Development program in South Vietnam. While the Senate approved an amount more than $1 billion less than requested by the President and $48 million less than approved in the House of Representatives, I could not in good conscience vote to authorize the expenditure of more of taxpayers' money for the scandalous AID operation in South Vietnam.

Recently, I spoke out in this Chamber denouncing the outrageous maladministration by AID officials of the foreign aid program in South Vietnam. At that time I denounced the fact that 782 AID officials in Vietnam are now being paid a total of $25,000 a year or more. Included among those officials are the AID director in Vietnam who receives in excess of $44,000 per year; 28 officials who receive in excess of $41,700 per year and 82 who receive $35,500. May I point out that these are conservative estimates of the real income received by these bureaucrats. In addition to their base salaries as Government employees they are given a 25-percent hardship allowance, a $3,000 separate maintenance allowance and numerous fringe benefits including air conditioned housing, medical care, automobiles, PX and commissary privileges, expense accounts and many, many others. These fringe benefits have been estimated to approximate 25 percent of an official's or employee's base salary. The fact is that they probably far exceed that percentage and that the actual real income received by these officials and employees exceeds the figures which I have stated and which were furnished me by AID officials here in Washington.

I also related my personal observations of the abuse of PX and commissary privileges by AID and other civilian officials in Vietnam as well as detailing the facts revealing unbelievable incompetence and maladministration of the AID program in South Vietnam.

Since my speech was reported in Saigon newspapers I have received numerous letters from American civilian officials in Vietnam substantiating my remarks, and, in fact, supplementing them with facts and firsthand observations by other concerned Americans equally outraged over this utter waste of taxpayers' money and undermining of the goals of our foreign policy in Southeast Asia.

Almost all of the correspondence I have received to date has come from thoughtful citizens concerned for the welfare of our Nation. Of course, I have received a few letters from malcontents who have seized this opportunity to further their complaints of one sort or another, but by far the majority clearly confirm facts that I set forth and the situation as I saw it in Saigon and elsewhere in South Vietnam and Laos.

Three letters particularly impressed me and I feel that the views expressed in them deserve the consideration of all thoughtful Americans. The first was from Sidney J. Roche, a retired AID official who spent more than 3 years in South Vietnam, half of that time on active duty with the U.S. Army and the remainder as a $25,000 a year plus fringe benefits AID official. Mr. Roche resigned his AID post in March 1968. He included with his correspondence a memorandum sent to his superiors upon his resignation setting forth his personal views and comments on 12 subjects pertinent to South Vietnam, four of which pertain in particular to the operation of our foreign aid program there. In his letter and enclosures Mr. Roche in forthright and candid language details not only the sorry operation of our AID program in Vietnam but also the deplorable conduct of many AID personnel—conduct which is definitely detrimental not only to the foreign aid program but to the United States in general and ultimately to the cause of peace in Southeast Asia. I ask unanimous consent that his letter and enclosures be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLUMBUS, GA.,
July 21, 1968.

Hon. STEPHEN M. YOUNG,
Democrat of Ohio,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YOUNG: I read with interest an AP story this week in which you charge that Agency For International Development personnel are overpaid and also participate in illegal black market activities. I agree one hundred percent with your statement.

I resigned my twenty five thousand dollar a year job with AID in Vietnam this past March in disgust with the handling of the AID program and with the conduct of the overall advisory effort in Vietnam. Based upon more than three years experience in Vietnam, half with the U.S. Army on active duty and half with AID, I had a lot of time to participate in the effort and to also observe the conduct of the mission. While I will be the first to agree that there are many fine men in AID who are trying to do a job and who have the finest and best motives, the Agency is just shot clear through with incompetents who are not qualified to hold the positions that they are hired for.

Many of the men are overseas in the first place because they have marital difficulties at home and are just plain running away from them. I think that at least half of the mission is living with native women in some form or other. Many use the pretext of hiring "sleep in" maids. Herein lies the root of the problem. U.S. personnel in order to pay for these "services" often go directly to the Post Exchanges and commissaries and buy U.S. merchandise to turn over to their paramours, who in turn sell the items on the black market. The total dollar value thus diverted to the black market is enormous as a casual visit to the black market sales areas will readily prove.

The Vietnamese are essentially a moral people, however, in these strained times, when there are many refugees who have no way to make a living fill the cities, Americans flush with inflated salaries find no difficulty in "hiring" sleep maids or just plain companions. I estimate that at least one half to two thirds of all AID employees are openly engaged in this kind of activity. All, from the top to the bottom do it and no effort is made to control the practice. The highest officials are as guilty as the lowest.

The Viet Cong are making excellent propaganda of the general immorality of the Americans. They point out that the Americans are destroying the essential morality of the Vietnamese young women. This is hard to counter as a visit any night to the International Club, which is sponsored by the American Embassy, will show many elder American AID officials, often in their sixties, dining and dancing with young Vietnamese girls in their teens. The effectiveness of the VC propaganda is hard to assess. It must be effective to some degree as it is the only way to explain the dislike for Americans which is spreading throughout the land.

Never once during my entire tour with AID in Vietnam did any of my senior supervisors warn me about my conduct or even say that cohabitating with Vietnamese women was unlawful or that dealing in the black market was illegal. On the contrary, two of my supervisors were openly living with young Vietnamese women despite the fact that both were married and had families residing in nearby Bangkok.

I think that the only solution to the situation in Vietnam with respect to American AID is to recall the entire AID mission and turn the problem over to the military. I suggested such a solution to General Westmoreland last February in a letter which I enclose. I never received an answer.

During the Korean war all of our AID program was administrated by the United Nations Civil Assistance Command, which was under military command and supervision. I spent eighteen months in that command and it was a far more efficiently administered organization with far less overhead than the AID mission in Vietnam. I think that events have proved that AID cannot or will not police itself and control its people. It is a tremendous organization with much duplication and extremely poor supervision. In Vietnam, it is two or three hundred percent overstaffed with most of its people located in Saigon, when in reality, its strength should be in the provinces.

When I resigned from AID on 19 March of this year, I prepared a list of twelve considerations which in my judgment are preventing a successful conclusion to the war in Vietnam, and sent it to my immediate supervisor. One of the points of that letter covered the failure of AID to come to grips with the problem. I enclose a copy for your possible interest.

I hope that you continue your fight to bring some sense and organization to AID.

Sincerely,

SIDNEY J. ROCHE.

HEADQUARTERS,
U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE
COMMAND, VIETNAM,
San Francisco, Calif., March 19, 1968.

Memorandum for: Mr. J. F. W. Watson, Chief, New Life Development, CORDS.

Subject: Termination of Service Report.

Upon the termination of my service with USAID in Vietnam, I submit this report on my observations in regard to the conduct of the war. Instead of the usual report listing accomplishments by persons ending their tours, I submit these twelve (12) considerations which, in my judgment, are the primary reasons why United States efforts to end the war are being frustrated.

The twelve considerations are in a general order of preference; however, all of the points are of vital importance and none should be sacrificed for another. The Tet Offensive, which began January 29, 1968, was a period of heavy contact both on the military and political front. The issue was in grave doubt for a week or more and that offensive is still resolving itself. The final issue is not yet certain. The success of that offensive was not so much because of the skill of the Vietcong in military operations as was a demonstration of failures on the part of the Government of Vietnam and its principal advisor, the United States, to correctly assess the conditions which made that offensive possible and successful. Continued delay in attacking the basic problems in Vietnam will surely guarantee an early and complete take-over by the communists.

SIDNEY J. ROCHE,
New Life Development Division,
CORDS.

POINT 3: VIETNAMESE ARMY

The Army of the Republic of Vietnam may very well be the worst army in all of Asia. It is organized along the lines employed by modern armies thirty years ago. It is top heavy with needless headquarters and administrative elements. Its weapons, in the main, are outdated and no match for modern Chinese and Russian weapons now in the hands of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese regulars. Its leadership is ineffectual, poorly trained, and head over heels in graft and corruption. Its men are badly trained, poorly motivated and encumbered with dependents who follow them on campaigns. The Army is garrison bound, rarely venturing forth to do battle with the enemy despite numerous known enemy concentrations. The Army is quite content to sit in camps, take their share of the graft and corruption, and let the United States Army do the fighting and take the casualties. During the recent Tet Offensive, instances were reported of refusal by ARVN commanders to venture out of forts to the assistance of towns and villages under seige by Vietcong troops. All of these problems remain after more than seven years military assistance by the United States. Instead of improving, the Army is suffering from a day-to-day decline in effectiveness. The leadership is top heavy with incompetents who have little stomach for fighting but whose main interest seems to be the perpetuation of graft and corrupt practices. These men are costing the United States millions of dollars in diverted funds and misappropriation. If Vietnam is to survive, high on the list of priorities must be the task of reorganizing, retraining, and re-equipping the Army.

POINT 7: REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT CADRE

Of all the failures and disappointments in Vietnam, none stand greater than the Revolutionary Development Cadre Program. The RD Cadre strength stands at more than *fifty thousand* (50,000) men, all of whom are recruited, trained and paid under the auspices of the Central Intelligence Agency. The cost in American dollars is not known as funding is from CIA sources and not subject to public inspection.

The RD program, which has such worthwhile objectives as improving the living conditions of the Vietnamese peasants by building hamlet schools, roads, dispensaries, and providing security from Vietcong attacks, is poorly supervised. Supervision is practically non-existent at the hamlet level. This is not surprising when one realizes that the CIA, whose charter by Congress is to provide foreign intelligence to United States and to organize overseas intelligence nets, is the principal supervisor. It is small wonder that the principal effort by the CIA may be the organization of intelligence nets rather than the supervision of a very worthwhile program. As an example, this writer has inspected hundreds of teams over the past year and very rarely found half of the team strength on duty, and in many cases, less than twenty five percent were present for duty. Then, too, at the first sign of Vietcong activity, the RD Cadre is habitually withdrawn to the safety of the province capital, thus leaving the hamlet and village people defenseless.

POINT 8—UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Basic USAID programs have failed to reach the real need of Vietnam. The conventional USAID approach with emphasis upon agricultural, economic and industrial development are not applicable in Vietnam at this time. USAID cannot be effectively employed in a situation where security is nebulous and a country is wracked with war. The very nature of USAID dictates that it must have close and continuing contact with the people. Such is not now the case.

USAID programs in Vietnam have been wasteful. Programs have been over-funded with no clearcut idea of the goal to be obtained. Programs are badly managed, with confusion as to who really manages what. Supervision has been nonexistent and many struggle with the idea that somehow we will win by the sheer weight of our expenditures. Large quantities of supplies and equipment have been brought into the country and now jam the warehouses. The original use for which this was intended, in many cases, has long been forgotten. Waste has been the key note with many USAID employees apparently laboring under the misapprehension that all of the supplies and equipment come from some far distant and vague source which has an unlimited bounty to dispose of, all free. The lack of realistic programs with adequate supervision and management has cost American taxpayers millions upon untold millions dollars, and the end is not in sight, for the same lack of direction and supervision remain.

Continued mishandling of American AID funds in Vietnam can only lead to curtailment in AID funds in other deserving parts of the world, if not a complete elimination of the Agency itself as an instrument of American foreign policy. An agency either unable or unwilling to police itself should be policed by others.

POINT 11: REFUGEES

The Vietcong Tet Offensive which began 29 January 1968 produced more than six hundred thousand (600,000) refugees. Added to the total of more than eight hundred thousand (800,000) already in existence, this makes a grand total of over *one million four hundred thousand* (1,400,000), approximately *12%* of the total south Vietnamese population. This tremendous number of refugees are, for the most part, destitute and solely dependent upon government programs for bare survival. The conditions under which the refugees live are primitive and inadequate. Their living conditions breed discontent and distrust for the government. When taken into consideration that many of the refugees were generated from ARVN or United States actions to clear Vietcong or suspected Vietcong from inhabited areas, there is small wonder that, as a group, they are hardening their attitude toward the legal government. The refugee camps are a fertile ground for the communists to practice propaganda unfavorable to the legal government and the United States.

The Refugee Program, long neglected, requires rapid action to bring these people back into a productive life.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I received two other thoughtful letters, one from a member of the U.S. AID mission to Vietnam and another from a man employed in the U.S. naval support activity in Saigon. Both of these letters with great clarity and insight give first-hand impressions by knowledgeable, experienced and intelligent men, who are on the scene, of our foreign aid program in South Vietnam. Because they are both employed at the present time by the U.S. Government, I shall not disclose their names publicly but any Senator is free to read this correspondence at any time and then to write to these two men if he so desires. I ask unanimous consent that both of these letters be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JULY 26, 1968.

Hon. STEPHEN M. YOUNG,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: An article, in the Pacific Stars and Stripes, attracted my attention, and provoked some serious thought. The article to which I refer is entitled "Aid Execs Called Overpaid", and lists the base salary of some eight hundred and fifty-nine people. You are aware I am sure that each of these people is issued a new motor vehicle with chaufer if desired. They are, also often, able to average more than sixty days a year on vacation of one type or another.

While this knowledge is interesting, to say the least, what can be done? I am quite sure you have encountered this problem many times, wherein you are faced with a wrong that you cannot change. You must therefore find the patience to accept that which you cannot change.

The yearly attack on the Foreign Aid Program by Congress is, in itself, a form of retribution. The only problem being, it is the innocent that suffer. This is really not as serious as it may seem, because the needy people of the world have suffered and starved for many years. This is one of the inequities of the Aid Program. We always say so much and do so little. We do manage, however, to make little "Emperors" of some highly unqualified American people.

Your newspaper comments are forgotten, by now, by all but a very few people. This should indicate that a change in the salary structure cannot be made.

I would suggest that the change be made in the quality of the personnel, regardless of the cost per man. If men could be found to administer the Aid Program correctly, it would be the most effective weapon in the arsenal of democracy. You will find, I am sure, that the people who direct the programs today are unqualified by one reason or another. You will also find that people who are qualified leave the Program as if thrown off by a centrifuge of confusion.

Change these events, and you will have accomplished a never to be forgotten service to all of mankind.

Your name and reputation are not unknown to me. I feel highly privileged to be able to express my sincere appreciation for your efforts. May I also add my encouragement for you to continue your efforts for a better America.

——— ———.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Saigon, July 27, 1968.

Senator S. M. YOUNG,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The Saigon Daily News 20 July 1968, printed your reactions to the AID program here in Vietnam.

Hell Senator, you do not know the half of it. I happen to be in an Organization that must support these Americans, whether they be on the upper management level or those of us who must work for our pay. Please do not misconstrue what I am writing. There are those in Vietnam who do work damn hard and take many more risks than what I take but they are rare in this mass of bureaucracy. Even those that do try and get some work done are generally handicapped by mismanagement. Basically we have so much so called top management that the workers are done before they start.

The so called associate directors over here have all been in other missions as directors or deputy directors or some other out-landish title that does not mean more than a pile of beans and beans is a better word than I generally use. Each associate director is running his own department as a separate and divorced entity. The U.S. AID/V is now big enough to generate enough paper work so that no outside agency need interfere, such as U.S. AID/W, State Department, and the Congress.

The American Staff is living high off the hog, let me tell you, with maid service, new furniture from Hong Kong no less, new stoves, refrigerators, air conditioners, dishes, and the other mass of goodies it takes to set up a household. These items are supplied to all American AID people. Senator, you should even visualize what the management types get—Oh to live as well in the United States. Hell, we even provide air conditioned cars to these upper crust groups and there are only a couple of people in the whole mission that are authorized to have this luxury.

It is too bad Senator, that the U.S. AID has lost the whole concept of foreign aid to people who really need help. The people in the provinces, province representatives and their immediate associates are the only people who actually deal with the people.

It is too bad that the younger people who have come over here and some of the older people who are here, are compelled to conform to practices set forth by the old entrenched management types. Generally the U.S. AID can not keep the good people as they will not accept practices that went out twenty years ago.

I could go on and on but to what avail—I for one, as many before me, have had it with this outfit. The experience I have gained through this one tour is irreplaceable. Let no man tell me that the U.S. AID/V knows what in hell they are doing because they will have one fine argument with me.

As they used to say to Harry Truman—"Give 'em hell" Steve.

——— ———.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, undoubtedly there are some honest and dedicated men working in the Agency for International Development in South Vietnam, but the evidence is clear and convincing that there are many, many others—perhaps a majority—who are scandalously overpaid and unneeded. Frankly, throughout the entire area of South Vietnam I came in personal contact with many AID officials and found them to be a disgusting, no-good, low-grade set of men. In Laos I encountered some AID officials and employees who were honest and industrious and were not deadbeats. Three categories of men stand out—those who were job hoppers, unemployed single men, divorced or separated from their families, or adventurers seeking big pay to pay off big debts. These are the characteristics attributable to all AID officials and employees in South Vietnam with very few exceptions.

Perhaps never have so many been sent so far at such great cost to our taxpayers to accomplish so little—or to do so much harm to our country. It is high time that a thorough investigation of our AID program in Vietnam be conducted, that a thorough housecleaning of incompetents be made and that many of these officials be removed forthwith from the public trough.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], may be allowed to proceed for not to exceed 15 minutes; and following that, the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] be allowed to proceed for not to exceed 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COASTWISE PRIVILEGES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1482, S. 3945, which has been cleared on both sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 3945) to authorize the documentation of the vessel *West Wind* as a vessel of the United States with coastwise privileges.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 3945

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any provision of law to the contrary, the vessel West Wind (official number 514065), owned by George H. Staley, of Seattle, Washington, shall be documented as a vessel of the United States, upon compliance with the usual requirements, with the privilege of engaging in the coastwise trade so long as such vessel is owned by a citizen of the United States.

THE MYTH OF THE DÉTENTE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, we are now entering into the most perilous phase in our national history.

Look where you will on the world horizon, and you will find violence and bloodshed and threats of further violence.

Everywhere freedom is on the defensive.

And while the physical dangers that threaten us are grave enough, I am even more concerned over the threat posed to our survival by the collapse of our political judgment and the weakening of our will to resist.

In Vietnam we have for some seven years now been involved in a costly war which has thus far defied all efforts to bring it to an honorable end.

In Korea and the Middle East other wars threaten to erupt momentarily, while the Soviet Union is openly threatening to invade Czechoslovakia.

In all of these situations Soviet communism is directly or indirectly involved.

But for some strange reason, the greater the violence that afflicts the world and the more flagrant the record of Soviet intervention and subversion, the more talk one hears about the existence of a détente in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Détente is a French word that means a "thaw," a "calm," or a "relaxation," or a bit of all three at the same time. Because it says more than any single word in the English language, it has now, for all practical purposes, been adopted into our vocabulary. Certainly it is the most commonly used word one comes across in the press today to describe the supposedly improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Most of the articles speak about the détente not as a possibility or as an objective for which we should strive but as an accomplished fact.

These articles are the reflection of a growing school of thought which holds that, despite the Vietnam war and other isolated instances of friction, the overall relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have for a number of years now been moving in the direction of an accommodation, based on a growing community of interests between the two countries.

According to this school of thought, the communism of today is not the same as the communism of yesterday, the Soviet Union has given us many significant evidences of its desire for peaceful coexistence, and we must seek to encourage the further evolution of the Soviet Union in this direction by our own example.

There is nothing more destructive of judgment and balance than thralldom to a myth. And it is my contention, and I intend to support this contention in detail, that the so-called détente is a myth.

It is a myth which the Soviet propaganda apparatus in the free world assiduously cultivates. The reasons for this are obvious.

It is clearly to the advantage of the Soviet Union if the free world can be persuaded to close its eyes to the harsh realities of the cold war and to seek consolation in pipedreams about a completely nonexistent détente. Nothing could be more calculated to weaken our resolve and our ability to resist Soviet subversion and expansionism.

The talk about a détente is now a number of years old, and this is not the first occasion that I have warned against the danger of this paralyzing illusion. But the myth has become so strong and so widespread that I think the time has come to reexamine its history from the beginning and to bring the record up to date.

I know that it is not a popular thing to paint the world in somber hues or to cry alarm. It is much easier, it is much more popular for a politician to pretend that all is going well even when all is not going well, and to avoid any statement which might disturb the peace of mind of his constituents.

I know, too, that there are very few people who agree with my estimate, that the great majority do believe in the existence of a détente.

But I am convinced that all the evidence, all the logic, and all that history can teach us, is on my side.

And even if mine were the last voice to say so, I would still proclaim as loudly as I could that the détente is a myth which beclouds our judgment and helps the Kremlin; I would still warn that more than one civilization has gone under because its citizens preferred to indulge in pipedreams rather than to face up to unpleasant realities.

The most extreme advocates of the détente philosophy tell us that we have been excessively suspicious and provocative in our dealings with the Soviets and that, if we truly seek the goal of peace and understanding, we must offer the Soviets tangible evidence of our good will in the form of concessions and unilateral actions.

They have for years now been urging that the United States voluntarily surrender its nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union and permit the Kremlin to achieve parity. As they see the matter, this will reduce the sense of insecurity from which the Kremlin now suffers and thereby make peace more secure.

Some of them even hold that we should not be alarmed if the Soviet Union achieves nuclear superiority, because, so they say, we will still have the ability to inflict unacceptable damage if the Soviets attack us.

This has been the position of a large section of our scientific community, including key scientific advisers to the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations.

The record further suggests that this philosophy has not been confined to ivory tower scientists but that a good deal of it even rubbed off on hardheaded businessmen like former Secretary McNamara.

According to an article by Stewart Alsop in the Saturday Evening Post of December 1, 1962, Mr. McNamara lamented the vulnerability of the Soviet missile system at that time, and expressed the hope that the Soviets would be able to achieve a sure second-strike capability—that is, a capability to survive any initial attack by American missiles and to hit back with devastating force. According to Alsop, McNamara believed that the sooner the Soviet Union achieved such a capability, the better it would be.

I know that there are many people who honestly believe in the existence of the détente, and the theory has, as I have pointed out, received support from official sources as well as from the press and from our intellectual community.

But I find it difficult to understand how anyone who examines the history of the past decade could read this meaning into the course of events.

This record, in my opinion, demonstrates conclusively that there has been no basic change in Soviet policy under Khrushchev or Kosygin, and that the Soviet Government today is just as committed as it was in the days of Lenin and Stalin to the destruction of freedom and to the worldwide triumph of communism.

Let me make it clear at this point, that I am not opposed to a détente. I am in favor of it. Indeed, I believe that the achievement of a true détente, involving a total cessation of cold war activities, should be a prime objective of our foreign policy.

The question at issue, therefore, is not whether a détente is desirable, but whether a détente actually exists.

If a détente really did exist, one should be able to find some evidence of it in Soviet doctrinal pronouncements, in their propaganda, and above all, in the record of their actions.

The evidence is nowhere to be found.

Khrushchev in his time was hailed as a more moderate, more "pragmatic" Communist. But the record will show that at the conference of 81 world Communist Parties which took place in Moscow in January 1961, Khrushchev called on the delegates, in quasi-military language, to "synchronize" their watches for the final assault on capitalism. And in his keynote address he called upon the world Communist movement to give unqualified support to "peoples wars of national liberation."

It is certainly no accident that the period immediately after Khrushchev's speech was marked by a major intensification of the Communist guerrilla efforts in South Vietnam.

Is the present Soviet leadership perhaps more moderate or more "pragmatic" than Stalin was or than Khrushchev was?

The answer to this question was given by Brezhnev himself at the 23d Party Congress in March 1966.

This is what he said:

> It goes without saying that there can be no peaceful coexistence where matters concern the internal processes of the class and national liberation struggle in the capitalist countries or in colonies. Peaceful co-existence is not applicable to the relations between oppressors and oppressed, between colonialists and the victims of colonial oppression.

When the apostles of "détente" in the free world cite the Communist commitment to "peaceful coexistence" as proof of their contention, they are taking the words at face value, instead of interpreting them in terms of Communist semantics.

But there is no excuse for this, because one does not have to look very far to find out what the Communists actually do mean when they talk about "peaceful coexistence." They are, in fact, surprisingly frank on the subject.

Let me quote to you from a recent statement by a leading Soviet spokesman, Mr. Leonid Ilichev. This is what he said:

> Peaceful coexistence of states with different social orders does not mean the end of the class struggle. Peaceful coexistence not only does not exclude the class struggle but is itself a form of the class struggle, between victorious socialism and decrepit capitalism on the world scene, a sharp and irreconcilable struggle, the final outcome of which will be the triumph of communism throughout the entire world.

Has there been any softening of Soviet propaganda, as distinct from Soviet doctrine, in response to the gentlemanly restraint displayed by the "Voice of America" in commenting on Soviet affairs?

All one has to do to obtain the answer to this question is to check the outpouring of anti-American propaganda from Moscow on any day of the week.

In terms of their vehement anti-Americanism, today's broadcasts from Moscow are quite on a par with the most frenetic statements of Stalin's and Mao's propagandists.

Let me give you one brief example from a radio commentary by Radio Moscow on the war in Vietnam:

> The new crimes committed by the American aggressors in Vietnam are evident to the whole world. They shock us by their monstrous inhumanity and barbarous cynicism; the criminal deeds of these present-day cannibals arouse angry protests and indignation.

There are some who suggest that we must not take the extremist revolutionary utterances from Moscow at face value, because Moscow's conflict with Peking compels it to pretend to be more revolutionary than it really is.

We must judge today's Soviet leaders by the record of their actions, they tell us, and not by what they say or appear to say. And the record, they tell us blandly, does prove the existence of a détente.

They remain unperturbed by the fact that their talk of détente has coincided with a period during which the Soviets have been deploying the broadest, the most massive, and the most ruthless offensive in the entire history of the cold war.

It makes no sense to talk about a détente in a decade that has witnessed the suppression of the Hungarian revolution, Khrushchev's Berlin ultimatum, the Communist seizure of Cuba, the Cuban missile crisis, the Soviet violation of the moratorium on nuclear testing, the establishment of puppet Communist dictatorships in the Brazzaville Congo and in Zanzibar and the two Communist attempts to seize power in the Congo.

Nor does it make sense to talk about a Soviet-American détente in a period that has witnessed Soviet involvement in the Laotian uprising of 1961–62, in the war in Vietnam, in the growing Communist insurgencies in Thailand and Laos, in the Tricontinental Conference of revolutionary parties in Havana, in the launching of half a dozen guerrilla movements in the countries of the Americas, in the attempted Communist takeover in the Dominican Republic, and in the recent war in the Middle East.

Nor does it make sense to talk about a détente at the very moment when the Soviet Union is threatening Czechoslovakia with intervention if it does not reintroduce censorship and put an end to the liberalization movement.

Search where you will—in the realm of doctrine, or propaganda, or political action, or strategic policy—the evidence of détente is nowhere to be found. On the contrary, all the evidence points in the other direction.

"But surely," some of the apostles of détente will tell us, "there are serious differences between Red China and the Soviet Union. Surely the Soviets are more moderate, more anxious to avoid war, more willing to seek peaceful solutions, than the Chinese Communists are." Reasoning thus, they have been disposed to believe that the Kremlin has for some time now really desired a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam conflict.

Of course there are differences between the Soviet Union and Red China. I do not underestimate these differences. There are ways, indeed, in which the free world can exploit them. But it would be the most dangerous kind of folly to take any serious comfort from the existence of these differences.

Let me give you an analogy.

Suppose you were a crime fighter in Chicago in the days of the Capone gang, and you heard that Al Capone's men were out to get you.

This would be something that any reasonable man would worry about.

Now, suppose the Capone gang split in two, and you received word that the rival gangs were competing to see who could do you in first.

Would this make you feel more secure or less secure?

This analogy is not very farfetched, because basically this is what the differences between the Soviet Union and Red China add up to. They are competing, in every part of the world, to see who can take over first.

And just as rival criminal gangs will sometimes make common cause against the law, Moscow and Peking both support Hanoi, both support the Communist regimes in the Brazzaville Congo and in Zanzibar, and both support North Korea in her campaign of provocations against the Government of South Korea and the United States.

Who is the more dangerous enemy?

Peking, with its insane commitment to violence everywhere, and under all circumstances?

Or Moscow, with its talk of peaceful coexistence and its entrenched apparatus of confusion and its flexible combination of violent and nonviolent methods?

Unquestionably there are dangers for the free world in the berserk revolutionary extremism of Mao Tse-tung and in the stubbornness of Ho Chi Minh.

But in my opinion the greatest danger we confront comes from the calculated and flexible long-range policy of the Kremlin.

On the specific question of the Kremlin's attitude toward the Vietnam war, the facts once again belie the wishful thinking of our "détente-ists."

It is Soviet aid, far more than Chinese Communist aid, that has enabled Ho Chi Minh to escalate the Vietnam war to its present level of intensity.

Truly massive aid pours from the Soviet Union and East European countries to the harbors of North Vietnam.

Among the weapons systems delivered in increasing quantities by the Soviet bloc to North Vietnam in 1956 were SAM surface-to-air missiles, thousands of radar-controlled antiaircraft guns, and hundreds of Mig-21's, complete with technicians to train the North Vietnamese.

These Soviet weapons, delivered in ever-increasing quantities, have been responsible for the destruction of some 1,000 American aircraft over North Vietnam and they played a major role in the recent Vietcong offensive.

Looking at the Vietnam situation from the viewpoint of the men in the Kremlin, I cannot think of a single reason why they should want to help us extricate ourselves, while I can think of a hundred reasons why they should want to see us bogged down for as long as possible in our Vietnam dilemma.

But the will to self-delusion runs strong, while the Communist apparatus of confusion is infinitely more powerful and more subtle than most people realize.

And so, learned men continue to talk about a mythical détente as though it were a reality, and about peaceful coexistence as though Soviet words meant what they said.

Eight years ago this summer I attended a conference on the cold war in Paris.

One of the main speakers was Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, onetime Socialist Prime Minister of Belgium, and former Secretary General of NATO.

I recall that Mr. Spaak referred to "peaceful coexistence" as a "cursed expression" that had generated great political confusion and had done vast damage to the Western alliance. And this came from a man who certainly believes in honest peaceful coexistence.

The confusion, if anything, has increased lamentably since Mr. Spaak made this statement, while the damage done to the Western alliance approaches the proportions of galloping consumption.

After all, there appears to be no serious point to NATO or to increased defense budgets, or to constant vigilance, if the Soviets have evolved as far along the road of peaceful coexistence as some of our wishful thinkers pretend.

It is not surprising, therefore, that recent years have witnessed a terrifying erosion of NATO and of other barriers erected against the spread of Soviet influence in the late forties and early fifties.

DOES CONCILIATION WORK?

From the illusory premise that we live in a state of détente, our détentists, with the same cavalier disregard for the facts, arrive at the conclusion that we must be more trustful, less provocative, more generous, more conciliatory, in our attitude toward the Soviets.

Since facts do not concern them, they do not consider it necessary to establish that the Soviets have responded in an affirmative manner to any action of trust or generosity or good will on our side; nor are they troubled by the overwhelming evidence that the Communists have invariably responded to every such action on our part by stepping up their propaganda attacks and their political offensive against the free world.

Our concessions, our demonstrations of good will, our commitment to the quest for peace even to the point of imperiling our own security, have all been interpreted as signs of weakness and have inspired the Communists and other extremists whom we sought to influence to respond with contempt and ingratitude and new aggression.

If our efforts at appeasement and conciliation had scored even a single conditional victory, it might be more difficult to argue against those pundits who have been talking about "détente" and the need for abandoning our rigid and antiquated attitude toward the cold war.

But the fact is that this approach has failed, and failed miserably, in every single instance in which it has been tried.

We pursued the policy of conciliation in China when we forced Chiang Kai-shek to call off his offensive against the Communists and to enter into negotiations for a coalition government with them.

And the result was the loss of China to communism.

We gave the Soviets unstinted lend-lease; and, at the Yalta, Potsdam, and Teheran Conferences, we made important political concessions to them on Central Europe.

Our generosity, our good will and our naivete, in fact, knew absolutely no bounds during the war years and for a period of time thereafter.

The Soviets responded to our conciliatory attitude by installing Communist dictatorships in all of the Central European countries; and they responded to our virtually total disarmament in the postwar period by imposing the Berlin blockade.

China probably could have been saved from communism with one-half the effort we subsequently invested in Korea or that we are today making in Vietnam.

But we made it clear by our inaction that we were not prepared to lift a finger to prevent the Communists from overrunning the Chinese mainland.

The first reward for our inaction in China was the Korean war.

And this was only the first of many heavy payments that we shall have to make for permitting our desire for noninvolvement and conciliation to override our political judgment.

When the Chinese Communists sued for peace in Korea because their economy was exhausted and their army in full retreat and on the verge of collapse, we again showed our good will by agreeing to the immediate cessation of hostilities.

And, in proving our desire for peace, we agreed to an armistice so lenient in its terms that the Communist negotiators rushed from the tent at Panmunjom, shouting, "We have won."

The repayment for the conciliatory attitude we displayed in Korea was quick to come in the form of the Communist-led insurrection in Indochina.

Not to be discouraged, we again made an effort to create the conditions for "peaceful coexistence" when President Eisenhower consented to meet with Khrushchev at the ill-fated Geneva conference in 1955.

For a brief period of time, we beguiled ourselves with the belief that the so-called "spirit of Geneva" marked the beginning of the end of the cold war.

We were wakened from this dream by the announcement that the Soviets were shipping massive quantities of arms to Nasser, thus establishing a Soviet political presence in the Mediterranean for the first time and creating a situation which has over the past 10 years gravely disturbed the peace of the entire area.

But our conciliatory spirit knew no bounds.

When, in the summer of 1956, the flames of popular revolution erupted in Moscow's satellite empire, we let it be known that we looked upon Eastern Europe as an area vital to Soviet security and that we had no intention of intervening.

And the result was the bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution, and the restabilization of the Communist bloc.

We again carried our desire for conciliation to the point of folly when, in October 1958, we announced to the world that we were embarking on a voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing while the possibilities of a test ban treaty were being further explored with the Soviet Union.

The voluntary moratorium was, in effect, a total test ban treaty without any mechanism of inspection or control.

Our military men and our nuclear experts warned us that the moratorium was imperiling our security.

But apparently it was considered more important at the time to prove to the Soviet leaders that we harbored no suspicions about their honesty or intentions.

And so we committed ourselves to this historic act of overtrustfulness and naivete, completely abandoning the principle that every step in the field of disarmament must be accompanied by corresponding safeguards.

Exactly 4 weeks after we embarked on the moratorium, on November 27, 1958, Khrushchev promulgated his famous Berlin ultimatum.

The ultimatum was followed by a whole series of missile-rattling perorations by Mr. Khrushchev; by the bloody riots in the Panama Canal; by the establishment of a Communist regime in Cuba in January of 1959; and by stepped-up activities by the Communist parties throughout the free world.

This was our reward for the trustfulness and good will we displayed in consenting to an honor moratorium on all nuclear testing.

But our final reward for the testing moratorium came in August 1961, when Khrushchev announced that the Soviets would resume the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons.

In the 2 months that followed, the Kremlin exploded 26 bombs, culminating in their 60-megaton monster.

And when the tests were analyzed by our experts, it turned out that the Soviets had virtually succeeded in liquidating the precious 3- to 4-year lead in nuclear technology which we possessed before we embarked on the moratorium.

Our blind insistence on answering every new affront and every new act of aggression with a new demonstration of conciliation was again apparent in the decision to invite Khrushchev to visit our country in September 1959.

We rolled out the red carpet for Khrushchev, we completely muted our criticism of communism, we did our utmost to prevent or discourage demonstrations against the Red dictator.

And when President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev met for several days at Camp David, toward the end of September, the meeting was hailed on every side as a positive move toward improved understanding and the relaxation of tensions.

The "spirit of Camp David" turned out to be as illusory and fleeting as the "spirit of Geneva."

For the hospitality he had received in Washington, Khrushchev repaid us by tearing up the Soviet invitation to Eisenhower at his Paris press conference, while Communist-led rioters in Venezuela spat upon Vice President Nixon and Mrs. Nixon and, across the world in Japan, other Communist-led rioters forced President Eisenhower to cancel a long-planned visit at the invitation of a friendly foreign government.

The larger political consequences of Khrushchev's visit to America is a subject big enough for a separate speech.

Let me, therefore, confine myself to the comment that the Khrushchev visit opened up a Pandora's box of bilateralism within the NATO community, and to state invitations at all levels to the Soviet leaders.

Indeed, I think it is not too much to say that the grave weakness of NATO today is in large measure due to the unfortunate example of bilateralism established at Camp David.

In July of 1963, on American initiative, a treaty was signed banning all nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water, and in space.

To achieve this treaty, we made numerous important concessions to Soviet obduracy.

Among other things, we agreed to include underground explosions for peaceful purposes within the framework of the ban.

One month later, in August 1963, the news broke that the Soviet Union was facing one of the gravest food shortages in its history and that it was in the market for American wheat.

In the month of October we agreed to sell to the Soviet Union $200 million worth of wheat.

The wheat was sold not at the price which the Government had paid the American farmer, but at the artificially low world price, so that the American Government, in effect, was subsidizing the Soviet Union.

Concessions were also made on freight rates and on credits.

The sale was made without condition of any kind.

The test ban treaty has been hailed on every side as the first serious move toward a reduction of the arms race and a relaxation of tensions.

The terms of the wheat deal, moreover, should have been enough to persuade the hardest Soviet heart of our good intentions, because here we were saving the Soviet Union and asking nothing in return.

How did the Soviets react to these two historic manifestations of good will?

First, on October 22, the very anniversary of the Cuban missile crisis, Soviet Mig fighters, operating out of Cuba, attacked an American-owned freighter on the high seas.

Second, there was a series of harassments in October 1963 of American and British convoys on the Berlin Autobahn.

Third, in the month of October 1963, an official Soviet delegation in Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam, broadcast a call for the overthrow of the Diem government and for the expulsion of the

"American imperialists" from South Vietnam.

Fourth, the Soviets, again during the month of October 1963, further inflamed the highly dangerous situation in North Africa by sending arms and equipment to the Ben Bella government in large quantities and by openly inciting the Algerians against the Moroccans.

In the month of November 1963, the Congolese Government was compelled to expel the entire Soviet mission when members of the mission were caught redhanded with documents proving their complicity in a leftwing plot to overthrow the Congo Government.

In December 1963, there were the Panama riots, which were organized and led by identified Castro agitators and which were supported to the hilt by the entire Soviet propaganda apparatus.

In January of 1966 there took place in Havana the so-called Tricontinental Conference. The Soviet Union had the largest delegation at this conference—40 delegates—and was, by all accounts, the dominant influence.

It was clear from the proceedings that Moscow had elbowed out the Chinese Communists, to emerge as the undisputed controlling force in this new international apparatus of subversion.

The head of the Soviet delegation, Sharaf Rashidovich Rashidov, told the assembled delegates that:

> The Soviet delegation has arrived at this conference with the aim of giving all-round assistance to the unification of the anti-imperialist forces of the three continents, in order to provide greater impetus to our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism—led by the U.S. capitalists.

Acting on the advice of some of the ivory-towered scientists who have urged unilateral disarmament in the interests of promoting the détente, we announced to the world a few years ago that we were cutting back on the production of weapons quality uranium and closing down some of our reactors.

All the evidence is that the Soviets have responded to this unilateral action by stepping up their own production of uranium.

Acting on the same advice, we stabilized our number of land-based missiles at 1,054. This number has remained constant for 3 years now.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has increased its own force of land-based strategic missiles from an estimated 340 in 1966 to approximately 1,000 at this date.

Indeed, there are many experts who believe that, despite our supplementary forces of Polaris missiles, the Soviet Union already enjoys a substantial strategic superiority over the United States because their missiles are fitted with far more powerful warheads than are ours.

We entered into a treaty barring nuclear weapons from outer space without provisions of any kind for inspection.

And a short while later the Soviet Union rewarded our trustfulness by announcing the development and deployment of fractional orbital missiles which would reduce our warning time from 15 minutes to 5 minutes or less.

For years, at the urging of the same group of scientists, we dillydallied over the development of an anti-missile defense system.

The Soviet Union responded to the unilateral restraint which we had imposed on ourselves in this field by deploying an anti-missile system of their own. Belatedly, in reaction to this development, we have finally decided to take the first step to deploy our own defense system.

On June 27 of this year we signed the nonproliferation treaty which was hailed on many sides as a major step in the development of the détente.

The Soviet Union responded to this step by encouraging its East Germany satellite to fan the flames of a new Berlin crisis by imposing restrictions on travel and transport between West Germany and West Berlin. On the surface, the taxes imposed may not appear to be onerous. But let no one underestimate the gravity of the implications or consequences.

In effect, the Soviet Union and East Germany have repudiated a series of postwar agreements on West Berlin and asserted their right to control its destiny.

And because we have done nothing in response to this provocation, the reports now indicate that the brave peoples of West Berlin, who have stood up to so many pressures in the past, have become fearful that the Communists will soon move to a complete takeover.

Already, some of them are making arrangements to move to West Germany.

And instead of West German industry locating in Berlin, there have been reports that industry, too, is beginning to move out of West Berlin.

On June 27 of this year on the heels of the nonproliferation treaty, the Soviet Union and the United States issued parallel statements saying that they plan to seek further accords to avoid the building of competitive anti-missile defense systems and in the general field of disarmament.

This apparent agreement on objectives was hailed as another evidence of the growing détente between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Only a few weeks later, the Soviet Union embarked on a series of menacing political and military actions directed against the new liberal Communist regime in Czechoslovakia.

Not even Hitler ever played a cruder game of blackmail.

The Soviet press, supplemented by the press of its most obedient satellites, East Germany and Poland, has openly warned the Czechoslovak people that the abolition of censorship and the democratization of their country will not be tolerated.

After a series of harassing delays by Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces engaged in maneuvers in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union finally withdrew these forces.

But immediately on doing so, it embarked on its most massive military maneuvers of recent years, with its forces in certain cases only a stone's throw from the Czech frontier.

The Soviets have now brought satellite troops into these maneuvers; and, according to recent reports, they have stepped up their blackmail pressures by starting to call up their reserves.

No one can say for certain at this juncture how the Czechoslovak crisis will be resolved.

But the essence of the concept of the détente is peaceful coexistence and noninterference in the affairs of other states.

Whether or not the Red army invades Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Government has already been guilty of a flagrant and massive intervention in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia.

This by itself should be enough to give the lie to the belief that the Soviet Government of today is committed to peaceful coexistence and that it has abandoned the interventionist policies of its predecessors.

No one in the Western World was more committed to the advocacy of the détente than French President Charles de Gaulle. It is of more than passing significance that when France tottered on the brink of revolution in the early weeks of June, De Gaulle suddenly changed his tune and talked to the French people about the "danger of totalitarian communism."

In the Mideast, we have sought from the beginning to limit the arms race in the interests of preserving peace. We have invited the Soviet Union to cooperate with us in limiting this race. The Soviets have responded by pumping in many hundreds of millions of dollars of military equipment to the Arab extremist governments.

In 1964 I called the attention of my Senate colleagues to an article in which New York Herald Tribune Foreign Editor Seymour Freiden warned that the Soviet Union had given Nasser and other Arab leaders the green light for the destruction of Israel.

It should, therefore, have been no surprise when, last spring, Nasser and other Arab extremists publicly committed themselves to Israel's military destruction.

In the brief war that followed, the Israeli Army and Air Force utterly demolished the military forces that surrounded Israel, about to invade it.

When the war was over, the hundreds of millions of dollars worth of military equipment which the Soviet Union had lavished on Nasser and his colleagues lay strewn and broken in the Sinai Desert and on the Golom heights.

In the 13 months that have elapsed, the Soviet Union has replaced all the equipment lost by the Arabs with more modern equipment. To be sure that this equipment will be used effectively, it has been accompanied by thousands of Soviet military advisers who, according to some reports, hold virtual powers of command over its use.

This buildup has been reinforced in the Mediterranean by a massive Soviet naval power which already constitutes a serious challenge to our own 6th Fleet.

And intelligence reports indicate that this Soviet fleet will soon be augmented to include marine units, landing craft, and helicopter carriers.

The Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean is not a visiting fleet. It is there on a permanent basis. It already enjoys port facilities in the United Arab Republic, and all the evidence indicates that it will very shortly be granted port facilities at the former French naval base of Mers-el-Khebir in Algeria, within easy striking distance of the Strait of Gibraltar.

The Soviet military presence in the Mediterranean is all the more alarming because it is solidly based on a tremendous expansion of political influence throughout the area.

The Soviet Union is already the dominant foreign influence in Syria, Iraq, the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Yemen, southern Arabia, and the Sudan, and it has fortified its political influence by serving as the chief source of military hardware and military advisers for all of these countries.

Most Americans are agreed, I believe, on the need to stand up against the danger of Soviet expansion in the Middle East and to support Israel against Arab extremists. Unfortunately, however, our people are divided in their support of our Vietnam commitment. Many of those who understand the importance of holding the line in the Middle East apparently do not understand the importance of holding the line in the Far East

They fail to realize that these two conflicts are part of a larger global conflict between the forces of freedom and the forces of Communist slavery.

The Communists, however, understand this only too well. That is why, in the Mideast crisis, the propaganda radios of North Vietnam and the Vietcong gave unstinting support to the Arab extremists against Israel. Naturally, they likened that crisis to the war in Vietnam.

For example, on May 31, at the point where the Arab armies were preparing to invade Israel, North Vietnam's Premier sent the United Arab Republic's Premier a message of full support for what North Vietnam's premier called "the Arab people's just struggle."

In a parallel message to Nasser, the president of the National Liberation Front, the Vietcong's political arm, said:

> The South Vietnamese people are closely united with the Arab countries in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges.

It makes no sense, therefore, to argue that we must support Israel and hold the line against Communist expansion in the Mideast, and to argue on the other hand that we must abandon South Vietnam and forget about holding the line in Southeast Asia.

The hard fact is that we are involved in a global struggle for survival and we must, in elementary self-defense, resist Communist aggression, whether of the direct or indirect variety, wherever it threatens, while we seek to expand the frontiers of freedom wherever there is a possibility of doing so.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

Accepting this assessment of the world situation, it is imperative that we gird ourselves domestically for a long and bitter struggle; that we maintain a substantial nuclear superiority over the combined nuclear forces of the Soviet Union and Red China; that we make an all-out effort to keep ahead of the Communist powers in all aspects of weapons technology; that we vastly improve our capabilities in the field of propaganda and political warfare; and that we seek to maintain and strengthen our system of defensive alliances.

I take it for granted that every patriotic American, no matter what position he has taken on Vietnam, would agree on the essential point that, somehow, we must draw the line against further Communist expansion—in Asia, in Africa, in the Mideast, and in Latin America.

The cost of holding the line runs high. It may run even higher in the decade ahead.

But it is not my belief that the cold war will continue indefinitely.

Our success in holding the line can have the effect of further turning Red China and the Soviet Union in upon themselves.

It can encourage the unrest and disorganization that is rampant in Red China.

It can encourage the passionate intellectual ferment which is sweeping like wildfire through the Soviet Union and the satellite countries of Central Europe.

The scale of this ferment holds out the prospect that the Communist dictatorships may crumble before man's irresistible urge for freedom. Ultimately, this ferment must result in the opening up of Communist society and in the creation of governments more responsive to popular will and restraint.

When that day comes, the cold war will end. Moscow and, let us hope, even Peking, will, in their own self-interest, accept the wisdom of cooperating with the United States in maintaining the peace of the world.

At that point the détente will become a reality instead of a myth.

This is more than my fervent hope. It is my earnest expectation. I believe, therefore, that it should be a prime objective of our foreign policy to support and encourage the popular will for freedom among all those peoples who today live under the aggressive tyranny of communism.

But if we are to pursue such a policy successfully, it is essential that we emancipate ourselves from our servitude to the myth of the détente, that we look at the world as it really is and not as we would like it to be.

It is essential that we stop burying our heads in the sand like so many ostriches and face up, like men, to the dangers that confront us.

It is essential that we return to those values which gave our Nation birth and which are, or should be, our most potent weapon in the cold war.

For it is we and not the Communists who are the true revolutionaries.

It is we and not the Communists who have the answers which respond to the yearnings of mankind.

It is we and not the Communists who have the ideas to win the hearts of peoples the world over.

The degree of peace we enjoy over the coming decades will depend to a very large extent on how effectively we make use of these ideas.

A BILL TO PROTECT CONSUMERS AGAINST ARBITRARY OR ERRONEOUS CREDIT RATINGS, AND THE UNWARRANTED PUBLICATION OF CREDIT INFORMATION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, when I introduced the truth-in-lending bill last year, I stated that there were many other areas of abuse and mistreatment of consumers, but that we were at that time confining our attention to the full disclosure of the cost of credit. Today, I call attention to one of those other areas of abuse; namely, the area of consumer credit reporting.

Mr. President, I am sure that every Member of Congress has received complaints from constituents regarding unfortunate experiences with credit ratings. I am speaking of cases where a consumer is unjustly denied credit because of false or incomplete information in a credit report, or because he has been confused with another individual.

In order to alleviate this type of problem, I intend to introduce a bill next session which would add a new title to the Truth-in-Lending Act—Public Law 90–321—to provide safeguards in the field of credit reporting. This is an area where, because of rapid advances in technology, public policy has failed to keep up. There is virtually no State or Federal regulation concerning the credit reporting industry.

The purpose of my bill as stated in its title is "to protect consumers against arbitrary or erroneous credit ratings, and the unwarranted publication of credit information." In all fairness it should be noted that the bill's effect would be to make uniform throughout the industry the already high standards now observed by the best credit bureaus. I view this bill as another step in our developing tradition of consumer protection legislation, of which the latest examples are the Truth-in-Lending and Meat Inspection Acts. I am announcing my intention to introduce this bill now, because I believe the Senate should begin serious consideration now of the great need for legislation in this area and so that the issues may be clearly drawn when the bill comes before the Congress.

My bill would require three things. It would require, first, that credit bureaus have in effect procedures for guaranteeing the confidentiality of the information they collect and that no such information be released to noncreditors such as governmental investigatory agencies without the express consent of the person involved.

The bill would require, second, that an individual be given an opportunity to correct adverse information in his credit record at his request and that he be notified when a derogatory item of public record is entered in his credit record.

Third, the bill would require that there be procedures for discarding irrelevant and out-dated information in an individual's credit file.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a draft of the proposed bill be printed in the RECORD at the end of my statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I want to make crystal clear at the outset that the last thing I want to do is to inhibit the flow of consumer credit in the American economy. There can be no question that consumer credit has been one of the most important ingredients in this country's remarkable record of economic growth. The volume of consumer credit has grown from just over $20 billion in 1950 to its present level of almost $100 billion. It is also quite evident that the credit reporting industry, which is composed of the institutions we normally call credit bureaus, has played a vital role in the growth of consumer credit. The credit reporting industry has come into being and has grown in response to the demand by banks, retailers, and other creditors for sound information about the credit worthiness of consumers. Creditors need this information, and they need it as quickly as possible, in order to make sound decisions about the granting of credit. And consumers need an efficient credit reporting industry in order to obtain credit promptly and with a minimum of redtape.

Now, it must be said right here that it is in everybody's interest to have a reliable and speedy source of credit information. This is as true for the consumer as it is for the creditor. However, the establishment of such an information system carries with it serious problems which penetrate in their implications to our constitutional foundations. I might mention here in passing that Congressman GALLAGHER's subcommittee has recently held some very worthwhile and informative hearings on these issues: on March 12, 13, and 14 there were hearings on commercial credit bureaus, and on May 16 there were hearings on the activities of the Retail Credit Co. of Atlanta.

It is important to note the size of the information network which has been established. The Associated Credit Bureaus of America, Inc., an organization which has been in existence for 62 years, currently has a membership of approximately 2,200 local bureaus. Because any one of these bureaus can obtain individual credit reports from any of the other members, this organization constitutes an information network containing credit files on 110 million Americans. Some of the local bureaus have computerized operations, but at this time most do not. Clearly, it is possible that someday the whole operation will be computerized, and we will have reached a situation where there is a national file of credit information with any given individual's file available to any subscriber in a matter of seconds. Obviously, a great deal of thought should be put into the standards which will prevail with regard to the availability and accuracy of this information.

At the present time, the largest computerized operation is conducted by the Credit Data Corp., based in California, which has 20 million credit files on computer tape. The president of Credit Data, Dr. Harry C. Jordan, testified at the March hearings of the Gallagher committee that his company was adding individual credit files to the system at the rate of 50,000 per day. Furthermore, Dr. Jordan estimated that his company could have a dossier on every American who has applied for credit within 5 years.

Now, where does all this leave the consumer? Clearly, it is to the advantage of the consumer for the creditor to be able to get accurate and useful information about the consumer's credit history on short order. This ability on the part of the creditor makes it much easier and less troublesome for the consumer to get credit.

But the increasing volume of complaints makes it clear that some regulations are vitally necessary to insure that higher standards are observed with respect to the information in the files of commercial credit bureaus. I cite what I consider to be the three most important criteria for judging the quality of these standards. They are first, confidentiality; second, accuracy; and, third, currency of information.

Let us discuss each of these in turn and state with regard to each the provisions of my bill.

First. Confidentiality: It is only right that, if the consumer desires the privilege of credit, he be willing to furnish and have made known to the creditor certain information about his bill-paying history. Indeed, this is what we all do without objection when we furnish references on a credit application. However, this information is furnished for a specific purpose, namely, in support of the application for credit. Without the consumer's knowledge or acquiescence this information should not be supplied to a noncreditor. It is the current practice for instance, of most credit bureaus, with the notable exception of the Credit Data Corp., to grant free access to their files to various governmental investigatory agencies such as the FBI and the IRS. There have also been many stories telling of the ease with which an unauthorized person can get a look at an individual's file. Therefore, my bill requires that no one can engage in the business of credit reporting unless there are procedures in effect for guaranteeing the confidentiality of the information collected. And, furthermore, the bill requires the express consent of the person involved, before any information can be released to a noncreditor.

Second. Accuracy: Many of the complaints received by Members of Congress relate to the inclusion of inaccurate or biased information in a credit report. There are many varieties of inaccurate information, but I shall mention only two. One is the case of mistaken identity, where two individuals with the same name are confused, and the deserving individual is denied credit because of something done by the other person. A case of this type is documented in an article written by Stanford Sesser published in the Wall Street Journal of February 5, 1968, where a New York State assemblyman was denied credit because he was confused with someone who had a judgment outstanding against him. This assemblyman had a very difficult time in finding out why he had been denied credit and in correcting the misinformation on his record.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Wall Street Journal article to which I have just referred be printed in the RECORD at the end of my statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. PROXMIRE. A second type of inaccuracy, or more precisely, incompleteness, has to do with so-called derogatory items from public records. Credit bureaus seem very anxious to record the fact that a person has been sued for nonpayment, but they are in many cases not so diligent in noting the disposition of the case. For example, if a consumer refuses to pay because he cannot get satisfaction from a merchant with respect to a shoddy piece of merchandise, the merchant may sue him for nonpayment, and this fact is recorded by the credit bureau. However, if the suit is subsequently decided in favor of the consumer, this would not be recorded, and the consumer's credit rating would be unjustly jeopardized.

Mr. President, I would like to quote a short passage from the January 1968 issue of Management, a magazine published by the Associated Credit Bureaus of America. The article from which the quoted passage comes was written by Lyle D. Sallee, manager of the Credit Bureau of Fort Smith, Ark. I do this in order to show that the industry itself admits the difficulty sometimes encountered by a person who has been declined credit and who is trying to correct inaccuracies in his record. Mr. Sallee says:

> If the declined applicant is interested enough in his or her record to visit the bureau, and feels strongly enough that an error has been made, we should take the time to investigate.
>
> In checking with other bureau managers, I find most of them are willing to investigate. However, some bureaus discourage this by placing a nuisance charge on the investigation, or merely by placing the date of interview as much as two weeks away.

In order to alleviate the problems due to inaccurate or incomplete information my bill requires that a consumer at his request be given the opportunity to correct adverse information in his credit record. The bill further stipulates that a person be notified when a derogatory item of public record is entered in his record and be given the opportunity to submit an explanation.

One of the objections of the industry to a requirement that the consumer be allowed to see his file is that the credit bureaus' sources of information would dry up, because of the fear of damage suits. Perhaps, a way to deal with this problem would be for the regulating agency, in this case the Federal Reserve Board, to stipulate that the liability of the credit bureau and the creditors extends only to the correcting of the inaccuracy. The consumer could be required to sign a waiver of liability as a condition for his being given an opportunity to correct his record. I understand the credit reporting industry itself is seriously considering this procedure.

Third. Currency of information: The bill further provides that there be in effect procedures of information for evaluating and for keeping the information in an individual's credit file up to date. This requirement is related to the one I have just discussed: the requirement that the information be accurate. However, there is a further element here: that irrelevant and outdated information be discarded from the file. For instance, there might be a regulation stating that all information relating to nonpayment suits be discarded after a certain number of years.

Advisory committee: Mr. President, in line with my belief that all interests—those of creditors, consumers, and credit-rating services—should be represented in discussions about the regulations under this bill, I have made provision in the bill for the establishment of an advisory committee composed of representatives of all three groups. This committee would advise and consult with the Federal Reserve Board in carrying out the provisions of the bill.

Mr. President, I wish to emphasize again that I am anxious to strengthen the credit reporting industry and to encourage the free flow of credit. I would certainly hope that the Congress and the industry could explore the problems together and come up with some mutually satisfactory answers. It is my understanding that the credit bureau industry, under the sponsorship of the Associated Credit Bureaus of America, has under discussion at the present time proposals for self-regulation in many of the areas I have mentioned. The four principal areas being discussed are:

First. Disclosure of credit histories to consumers.

Second. Various credit bureau services and the customers they serve. This would presumably include a discussion of the propriety of releasing information to noncreditors.

Third. Credit bureau file content. I assume this means discussion of what items it is proper to include in a file to be used strictly for the purpose of credit reporting.

Fourth. Procedures followed in retaining information in credit bureau files.

I might also mention that the American Bankers Association has also been discussing these problems with particular reference to the future development of a checkless society. Mr. Dale Reistad, deputy manager and director of automation for the ABA, in a speech on November 9, 1967, before the Maryland Bankers Association made several remarks which I would like to repeat. He said that bankers should perhaps advocate a "consumer oriented credit bureau industry which would do for consumer credit what Dun & Bradstreet does for the business sector." Further, he said that a credit file in this consumer oriented system would be set up and would be prevented by law from "listing individuals who chose not to participate." Mr. Reistad also proposed that the consumer be allowed at any time to receive for a fee a complete copy of his record, and that no business could receive information on the content of the file without authorization from the consumer.

Clearly, Mr. President, the industry is making an effort to deal with these problems. Congressman GALLAGHER'S March hearings on credit bureaus adjourned with the proviso that the Associated Credit Bureaus of America return within 4 months with the industry's recommendations and proposals for self-regulation. I await these recommendations with great interest and hope that through constructive dialog, satisfactory solutions can be found.

EXHIBIT 1

S. —

A bill to amend the Consumer Credit Protection Act to protect consumers against arbitrary or erroneous credit ratings, and the unwarranted publication of credit information

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Consumer Credit Protection Act is amended by inserting after title IV a new title as follows:

"TITLE V—CREDIT RATING AGENCIES

"Sec.
"501. Findings and purpose.
"502. Definitions.
"503. Prohibitions.
"504. Regulations and advisory committee.
"505. Penalty.

"§ 501. Findings and purpose.

"(a) The Congress finds—

"(1) that there has developed in this country an elaborate interstate mechanism for investigating and evaluating the credit worthiness of citizens;

"(2) that in an economy which depends increasingly upon credit for the movement of goods and services there is a need for accurate and readily ascertainable consumer credit data;

"(3) that credit rating agencies have assumed a vital role in assembling and evaluating such data; and

"(4) that there is a need to ensure that such agencies exercise their grave responsibilities with fairness, impartiality, and a respect for the individual right to privacy.

"(b) It is the purpose of this title to require that all credit rating agencies, utilizing the facilities of interstate commerce, adopt reasonable procedures, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, for meeting the needs of commerce for credit information in a manner which is fair and equitable to the individual.

"§ 502. Definitions

"For the purposes of this title:

"(a) The term 'Board' means the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

"(b) The term 'credit' means the right granted by a creditor to a debtor to defer payment of debt or to incur debt and defer its payment.

"(c) The term 'creditor' means any person who regularly extends, or arranges for the extension of, credit whether in connection with loans, sales of property or services, or otherwise.

"(d) The term 'person' means a natural person or an organization.

"(e) The term 'credit report' means any written or oral report, recommendation, or representation as to the credit worthiness, standing, or capacity of any individual, and includes any information which is sought or given for the purpose of serving as the basis for a judgment as to any of the foregoing factors.

"(f) The term 'credit rating agency' means any individual or organization which engages in the business of making credit reports, and for the purpose of preparing or furnishing such reports uses any means or facility of interstate commerce.

"(g) The term 'interstate commerce' means trade, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States or between any State and any place outside thereof.

"(h) The term 'State' means any State of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or any territory or possession of the United States.

"§ 503. Prohibitions

"It shall be unlawful for any credit rating agency—

"(1) to furnish a credit report concerning any individual to any person other than a creditor, unless such individual has given his consent, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Board, to the furnishing of such report; and

"(2) to furnish a credit report to any person, unless there are in effect in such agency procedures, in conformity with regulations prescribed by the Board, (A) to ensure the confidentiality of information obtained by such agency which bears upon the credit worthiness, standing, or capacity of any individual; (B) to provide any individual, upon request, a reasonable opportunity to correct information obtained by such agency which bears adversely upon the credit worthiness, standing, or capacity of such individual; (C) for evaluating information bearing upon the credit worthiness, standing, or capacity of any individual and for keeping such information current; and (D) for notifying promptly any individual whenever information is obtained by such agency which is a matter of public record and bears adversely upon his credit worthiness, standing, or capacity, and for providing a reasonable opportunity to such individual to submit an explanatory statement with respect thereto

"§ 504. Regulations and advisory committee

"(a) The Board shall prescribe regulations to carry out the provisions of this title.

"(b) The Board shall establish an advisory committee to advise and consult with it in the exercise of its functions under this title. In appointing the members of such committee, the Board shall seek to achieve a fair representation of the interests of creditors, consumers, and credit rating agencies. The advisory committee shall meet from time to time at the call of the Board, and members thereof shall be paid transportation expenses and not to exceed $100 per diem.

"§ 505. Penalty

"Whoever violates any provision of this title, or any regulation of the Board issued pursuant to this title, shall be fined not more than $——— or imprisoned not more than ———, or both."

SEC. 2. Title V of the Consumer Credit Protection Act (as designated prior to the amendment made by section 1 of this Act) is amended—

(1) by striking out "TITLE V" in the heading and inserting in lieu thereof "TITLE VI";

(2) by striking out "501", "502", "503", and "504" in the analysis preceding section 501 and inserting in lieu thereof "601", "602", "603", and "604", respectively;

(3) by redesignating sections 501, 502, and 503, as sections 601, 602, and 603, respectively; and

(4) by striking out section 504 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"§ 604. Effective dates

"(a) Except as otherwise specified, the provisions of this Act take effect on May 29, 1968.

"(b) Chapters 2 and 3 of title I take effect on July 1, 1969.

"(c) Title III takes effect on July 1, 1970.

"(d) Title V takes effect on the first day of the ninth calendar month which begins after the date of its enactment; except that section 504 takes effect upon the date of its enactment."

EXHIBIT 2

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 5, 1968]

PRYING FOR PAY: HOW CREDIT BUREAUS COLLECT AND USE DATA ON MILLIONS OF PERSONS—CRITICS HIT SOURCES AND WIDE DISSEMINATION OF MATERIAL—SEX, DRINKING ARE CHECKED—BUT FIRMS NEED INFORMATION

(By Stanford N. Sesser)

ATLANTA.—Some people look upon it as "Big Brother Inc." Others defend it as an essential tool for the conduct of business.

The organization at issue is Retail Credit Co., an Atlanta-based company with 1,800 offices across North America. You may not have heard of Retail Credit, but there is a good chance that it has heard of you; each year it investigates millions of Americans who apply for insurance or employment.

It has records on more than 45 million individuals, with information ranging from the size of their families to the amount of liquor they consume. A file might touch on any number of allegations, including reports of extramarital affairs and homosexuality. A total of 40,000 customers get 35 million reports from the firm each year.

The business of credit, insurance and personnel investigations is burgeoning, and Retail Credit Co., though by far the largest individual firm in the field, is only part of the industry. There is also, for example, Associated Credit Bureaus of America Inc., an affiliation of 2,200 local credit bureaus by which each bureau has access to files on 110 million persons.

ASSAULT ON PRIVACY?

Organizations such as Retail Credit and Associated Credit Bureaus (ACB) are pursuing their business relatively unhampered by state or Federal regulations at the same time a debate rages in Washington about a proposed National Data Bank. It would use a centralized computer system to collect information on individuals scattered through many Government files. Congressional investigators wonder if private industry isn't quietly accomplishing much the same thing—a centralization of personal and potentially harmful information.

The staffs of the House Committee on Government Operations and the Senate antitrust and monopoly subcommittee are taking a searching look at the operations of credit bureaus and insurance investigators, and many industry executives seem resigned to the prospect of eventual hearings. "I expect we'll have our day in court like everyone else," says Frederick E. King, president of Hooper-Holmes Bureau Inc., a Morristown, N.J. credit firm.

The many critics of credit investigators acknowledge the need for such organizations in today's society. The increasing use of credit cards has made the business of credit-checking more essential than ever. The critics' complaints center on the way information—or, occasionally, misinformation—is used.

Consider Credit Bureau of Greater New York Inc., the largest local bureau in the nation. This cooperatively owned organization, which does credit checks for department stores, auto-rental firms, oil companies and other large credit grantors, has records on 8.5 million persons. Its filing cabinets occupy an entire floor of an office building.

IN THE FILES

A typical file contains a person's address, family status, place of employment, approximate salary and credit history—where the person has charge accounts and what his payment record has been. Often there is a more controversial item: Most banks will divulge to credit bureaus the approximate size of a customer's checking account and, in rare instances, the size of his savings account.

Each year about 780,000 so-called "derogatory items" go into this vast compendium of information on New Yorkers. Some items involve nonpayment of bills. Others record court judgments. But the vast majority of them, about 550,000 are information on lawsuits gleaned from court records. One important fact—how the suits were decided—*never gets recorded.*

This practice can produce inequities. A woman in one Eastern city tells this tale: She ordered a rug. A carpet of the wrong color was delivered. The merchant refused to take it back and sued for payment. The suit was thrown out of court, but the woman's credit record showed only that she had been sued for nonpayment. As a result, her credit was cut off elsewhere.

"It's impossible to get the disposition of a suit," says Rudolph M. Severa, executive manager of the New York credit bureau. "It would be extremely expensive." Mr. Severa explains that each case would have to be looked up by researchers, and he says, "Our members know they should draw no conclusion from the fact that a suit has been filed. It's up to them to check into it further."

LOOKING INTO THE RECORD

Can a person get his credit record corrected? "We'll sit down with a person and talk over his file in general terms," Mr. Severa says, "but we won't tell him who said what." Whether the credit organizations do recheck disputed entries is a matter of considerable debate.

Chester J. Straub, a Manhattan lawyer and New York State assemblyman, says he was turned down by a major credit card company because of an erroneous report from a credit bureau. "The entry indicated that a judgment was outstanding against me which in fact wasn't mine," he says. "It belonged to someone with a similar name."

But at the outset, all Mr. Straub knew was that he had been turned down. He went to the credit bureau. "All they would tell me was that my credit report was unfavorable," he recalls. Only after repeated telephone calls—emphasizing that he was an assemblyman—did he find out about the error.

"I'm an assemblyman," Mr. Straub notes. "What happens to the poor guy who walks in off the street with no leverage of any kind?" The incident has led him to introduce a bill that would require credit bureaus in New York to provide a person with a copy of his record.

At the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, any of the 500 employes have easy access to the 8.5 million files; so do any of the 14,000 employes of ACB affiliates across the nation. Last year ACB members exchanged more than seven million reports, largely those of persons who changed their residences.

Eventually any of ACB's 110 million files will be available to local bureaus at the touch of a button. ACB, working with International Business Machines Corp. and the Dallas and Houston credit bureaus, is designing a computerized system that it expects to become nationwide in time. A central switching system will connect computers at all local bureaus.

Credit bureau workers aren't the only ones who can look into the files. Investigators from such Federal agencies as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the State Department get copies of more than 20,000 records from the New York bureau each year, Mr. Severa says. What are they used for? "Frankly, we don't ask the Government what they're doing," Mr. Severa says. "We don't feel that's our prerogative."

With equal ease, Government agencies can get copies of insurance investigation reports by visiting Retail Credit or Hooper-Holmes, whose combined files contain information on 54 million persons who at some time have applied for insurance. "The FBI can do just about anything they want to do," says Mr. King of Hooper-Holmes. "They're constantly in our files."

THE SENSITIVE FILES

If the information in credit records is potentially troublesome, the allegations in insurance inspection files can be devastating. Credit bureaus concentrate on financial and legal information, but the insurance companies are interested in what they call "moral hazards"—extramarital affairs, homosexuality, heavy drinking or other aberrations that could lead to violence, blackmail, accidents or death. Some insurance companies won't write policies for persons they believe to be homosexuals.

"When someone accuses you of violating their privacy when you investigate them—yes, you are invading their privacy, there's no question about it," Mr. King acknowledges. But, he adds, "That person has initiated a request to the insurance company to gamble thousands of dollars on him."

And how does an inspector go about obtaining this delicate information? Mr. King candidly describes the procedure with a married man suspected of an extramarital affair. "You go to a neighbor and establish rapport," he says. "Then you ask, 'What's your opinion of X's home life; how do you think of him as a family man?' This will usually elicit some hint—through the expression on their faces or the way they answer. Then you start digging. You press them as far as they go, and if they become recalcitrant, you go somewhere else. If you go to enough people, you get it."

Homosexuality, Mr. King concedes, 'is one of the most difficult things to determine." But he points out, "If you have that sixth sense that something is wrong you dig. The tipoff is their mode of living, their circle of friends and the organizations they belong to." Is it fair to simply report the suspicions of neighbors? "We won't say he's a homosexual," Mr. King replies. "We'll report, for example, that certain people feel he has homosexual tendencies."

JUST COLLECTING INFORMATION

In defense of the system, Mr. King says information won't be recorded unless it is reported by more than one source. Even when it is recorded, Hooper-Holmes doesn't "make judgments," he says. "We're just reporting what we have in our files."

Almost any plausible customer can get access to the files of Retail Credit or Hooper-Holmes, Charles M. Watt, vice president and secretary of Retail Credit, says material from the insurance files may be used when a prospective employer calls about a job applicant. And another Retail Credit executive notes that the company will handle as few as 10 investigations for a customer a year; thus small customers as well as large can delve into the files.

There is one notable exception to the generally easy access—the person who wants to see his own record. Retail Credit won't even confirm that it has done a report on a person. This, Mr. Watt says, is to avoid lawsuits. If a person raises a question about his record, he is invited to write a statement about whatever may be bothering him, and, says Mr. Watt, "we tell him if we did a report, we'll send the statement to anyone who asked about him."

In some quarters of the industry, there is concern about inaccurate and freely disclosed information. Credit Data Corp., a rapidly growing, computerized company whose biggest customers are New York and California banks, won't let Government agencies look at its files without a subpoena. "We're very sympathetic to the people who are concerned with the invasion of privacy," says Harry C. Jordan, president. Such invasion, he is convinced, occurs "not because of a computer but because of unauthorized access to the data."

Dale L. Reistad, an official of the American Bankers Association, said recently that banks should demonstrate concern over "some obvious intrusions into individual privacy today." He proposes a "consumer-oriented" credit bureau whose files would be organized by identification number rather than name.

A person would carry an ID card, for presentation to a merchant seeking a credit report. The report would be a "mathematical credit score" that would add up all relevant factors on a standardized basis. The merchant wouldn't find out the person's salary, bank balance or other personal data. And finally, the person would be guaranteed the right to review his own credit listing.

WHAT THE SENATE HAS TO DO

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, this Congress, this Senate could have done better. It could have done worse. It did its best.

Mr. President, as we well know, it had been the fervent hope of the leadership to adjourn sine die by August 3. It became impossible to reach our goal. This has been a productive session but I regret to say that we still have some unfinished business in the way of appropriations, Supreme Court nominations and other matters which require our return after the conventions. When the Senate reconvenes on September 4, we will have before us the following appropriations:

Labor-HEW—as the unfinished business of the Senate.

Independent offices-HUD and military construction—in conference.

Defense, foreign aid, and possibly a supplemental—not yet passed by either House.

Other conferences yet to be acted on are: Agricultural Act of 1968, Auto Theft Prevention Act, central Arizona, food stamp authorization, foreign-aid authorization, Health Services Amendment of 1968, Higher Education and Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, military procurement, national trails, National Water Commission, and Redwoods National Park.

Other items such as District of Columbia judgeships, drug controls, foreign military sales, hazardous radiation, IDA, International Coffee Agreement implementation, MDTA extension and the nonproliferation treaty can be taken care of after our return.

There is a possibility that other measures may be reported on which action may be necessary, as well as Senate-passed items which may be returned from the House for further action, but the above will give some indication of what will be facing the Senate on its return.

For the information of the Senate, the following is a thumbnail sketch, by subject, of Senate action on major and general legislation since January 15.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the recapitulation of Senate legislative activity through August 1 be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the recapitulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY THROUGH AUGUST 1, 1968—SENATE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE, 90TH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Days in session, 129.

Hours in session, 689:24.

Total measures passed, 560.

Treaties ratified, 6.

Confirmations, 33,082.

Public Laws, 199.

Symbols: P/H, Passed House; P/S, Passed Senate.

Following is a brief summary of major Senate activity. Presidential recommendations and bills in accord with the President's program are indicated by (PR).

AGRICULTURE

Agricultural Act of 1968: Extended for four years the farm programs under the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. HR 17126. In conference (PR).

Commodity Exchange Act: Amended the act to require that commodity futures markets meet specified minimum standards, to increase the penalties for violations such as manipulation and embezzlement, to add livestock and livestock products as regulated commodities, and to authorize the issuance of cease-and-desist orders. PL 90–258. (PR).

Crude pine gun price support: Provided for production goals and compliance payments for a period of 3 years, 1968 through 1970. S. 2511. P/S 2/7/68. H. Cal.

Dairy indemnity payments: Extended to June 30, 1970 the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers for milk required to be withheld from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government. S. 3638. PL 90– .

Emergency farm loan funds: Authorized the Commodity Credit Corporation to make advances to the emergency credit revolving fund up to $30 million. PL 90–328.

Extra-long-staple cotton import quota: Prohibits the importation into the United States of extra long staple cotton produced in any country which has severed diplomatic relations with the United States. The prohibition will last for the period beginning with the import quota year following severance of the relations and continuing through 2 import quota years after relations are resumed. HR 10915. PL 90– .

Fair trade practices: Made it unlawful to discriminate against any agricultural producer because of membership in an association of producers or interference with his right to join. PL 90–288. (PR).

Farm Credit Administration Amendments: Liberalized the capitalization of Federal intermediate credit banks. PL 90–345.

Food for peace: Extended the Food for Peace Act for 2 years; encouraged greater use of local currency funds for population control; and broadened the authority for using foreign currencies for education activities. PL 90–436 (PR).

Food stamp program: Increased from $225 million to $245 million the Food Stamp program authorization for fiscal 1969. S. 3068. In conference (PR).

Foot-and-mouth disease control: Authorized cooperation with Central American countries to eradicate foot-and-mouth disease or rinderpest to protect the U.S. livestock industry. PL 90–388.

Loans on leased land in Hawaii: Extended to June 30, 1970 the Farmers Home Administration's authority to make loans to lessee-operators of farmland in Hawaii. PL 90–426.

Orange juice futures: Amended the Commodity Exchange Act to add frozen concentrated orange juice to the list of commodities subject to regulation under the act. PL 90–418.

School lunch-pilot breakfast: Expanded the National School Lunch Act to provide federal support for lunches to children in public or private nonprofit child-care institutions and authorized $32 million a year for fiscal 1969–1971; extended for 3 years the pilot breakfast program in schools in impoverished areas and authorized $6.5 million for fiscal 1969, $10 million for fiscal 1970 and $12 million for fiscal 1971. PL 90–302 (PR).

Tobacco acreage allotments: Removed the statutory requirement for consent of the lienholder to a 1-year lease of a Fire-cured, Dark Air-cured, or Virginian Sun-cured tobacco allotment. PL 90–387.

U.S. grain standards: Made inspection with respect to interstate grain shipments permissive, rather than mandatory, in all cases except grain in a container bearing a grade designation. H.R. 15794. PL 90– (PR).

Wholesome poultry products act: Authorized Federal assistance, including grants, to State poultry inspection programs up to 50% of the cost of the cooperative program; extended Federal inspection to intrastate transactions in States which fail to develop adequate State systems in 2 years and immediate authority to intrastate plants producing adulterated products which endanger the public where the State does not remove such danger. HR 16363. PL 90– (PR).

ANTICRIME

Omnibus crime control and safe streets: Authorized $100.1 million for the first year and $300 million for the second year for law enforcement block grants to States and cities with a population of 25,000 and over to help cope with crime; granted authority for wiretapping by Federal, State and local police officers acting under Court authority; and prohibited interstate mail-order sales of handguns and over-the-counter sales to non-residents of a state and to minors. PL 90–351. (PR).

APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1968

First supplemental: Appropriated an additional $28 million for unemployment compensation for Federal employees and exservicemen. PL 90–286. (PR).

Second urgent supplemental: Appropriated a total of $400 million from the highway trust fund for the Federal-aid highway program, and $50,980,863 for the payment of claims and judgments. PL 90–352 (PR).

Second supplemental: Appropriated a total of $9,019,666,096 for fiscal 1968 for various departments, of which $6,295,831,498 is new obligational authority and $2,723,834,598 is transfer and release funds. $13 million is for the summer job youth program, $5 million for Headstart, and $10 million for the expansion of the school lunch program. PL 90–392. (PR).

APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1969

Agriculture: Appropriated a total of $5-531,296,650 for fiscal 1969 for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. HR 16913. PL 90– (PR).

District of Columbia: Appropriated a total of $540,178,988 and a federal payment of $79 million for the District of Columbia for fiscal 1969. HR 18706. PL 90– (PR).

Independent offices: Appropriated a total of $15,505,214,000 for independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development. HR 17023. In conference (PR).

Interior: Appropriated a total of $1,284,989,300 for fiscal 1969 for the Department of Interior and related agencies. PL 90–425 (PR).

Legislative: Appropriated a total of $298,151,396 for the Legislative branch for fiscal 1969, and placed certain restrictions on stationery allowances of Senators and required that the unused portion of such allowance at the end of fiscal years shall be covered into the general fund of the Treasury. PL 90–417 (PR).

Military construction: Appropriated a total of $1,744,936,000 for military construction for fiscal 1969. HR 18785. In conference (PR).

Public works–AEC: Appropriated a total of $4,608,421,000 for Public Works and Atomic Energy Commission. HR 17903. PL 90– (PR).

State-Justice-Commerce-Judiciary: Appropriated a total of $1,986,721,500 for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary and related agencies. HR 17522. PL 90– (PR).

Transportation: Appropriated a total of $1,634,266,000 for the Department of Transportation for fiscal 1969. HR 18188. PL 90– (PR).

Treasury-Post Office: Appropriated a total of $8,158,477,000 for fiscal 1969 for the Departments of Treasury and Post Office, Executive Office of the President and certain independent agencies. PL 90–350 (PR).

ATOMIC ENERGY

AEC: Authorized $2,174,550,000 for operating expenses and $443,751,000 for plant and capital equipment making a total of $2,618,301,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1969. PL 90–289 (PR).

CIVIL RIGHTS

Federal jury selection: Provided improved judicial machinery for the selection, without discrimination, of Federal grand and petit juries in order to assure all litigants that potential jurors will be selected at random from a representative cross section of the community and that all qualified citizens will have the opportunity to be considered for jury service. PL 90–274 (PR).

Federal Voting Assistance Act Amendments: Revised procedures under the Federal Voting Assistance Act to facilitate absentee balloting by members of the Armed Forces and Federal civilian employees on duty away from home. PL 90–344.

Protection against interference with rights; fair housing; incitement to riot; and Indian bill of rights: Punished forcible interference with persons seeking to exercise specifically enumerated rights; provided punishment for persons who travel in or use the facilities of interstate commerce with intent to incite, organize, promote, encourage, participate in or carry on a riot; created a "bill of rights" for Indians; prohibited discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the sale or rental of housing; and added a new civil obedience title relating to firearms or explosives. PL 90–284 (PR).

Voting procedures: Recommended to the States that absentee registration and voting procedures for federal, state and local elections be extended to all U.S. citizens temporarily residing abroad. PL 90–343.

CONGRESS

Code of ethics: Adopted a Code of Ethics for Senators, officers and Senate employees (making in excess of $15,000) covering restrictions on outside employment, contributions, political fund activity, and disclosure of financial interests. S. Res. 266. Senate agreed to 3/22/68.

Congressional alternates to Service Academies: Increased from five to nine the number of Congressional alternates for each vacancy who may be nominated by members of Congress for possible appointment to the various service academies. PL 90–374.

Franked mail: Provided franked mail privileges for 180 days for surviving spouse of members of Congress who die in office. PL 90–368.

Joint Economic Committee study: Authorized the Joint Economic Committee to study the distribution of population between urban and rural areas of the United States. S. Con. Res. 33. P/S 1/24/68.

Select Committee on Human Needs: Established a Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs to study the food, medical, and other related needs among the people of the United States and to make a report by the opening of the 91st Congress. S. Res. 281. Senate adopted 7/30.

Senate Office Building: Authorized $1,250,000 for the purchase of land as an addition to the site for an extension of the New Senate Office Building. S. 2484. P/S 4/30; H. Cal.

DEFENSE

Civil defense authorities: Extended for 4 years the following three civil defense authorities—50 percent contributions to States and local governments toward the cost of personnel and administrative expenses, donations of radiological instruments to the States, and contributions for the travel and per diem expenses of trainees attending civil defense schools. PL 90–336 (PR).

Defense Production Act extension: Extended for 2 additional years, through June 30, 1970, the remaining powers of the President under the Defense Production Act of 1950; increased the amount available for the Joint Committee on Defense Production from $85,000 to $100,000 in any fiscal year; and provided for a study to be made by the Comptroller General, in cooperation with the Secretary of Defense and Director of the Budget Bureau, to determine feasibility of applying uniform cost accounting standards to be used in all negotiated prime contract and subcontract defense procurements of $100,000 or more. PL 90–370 (PR).

Military construction: Authorized $1,782,844,000 in new authority and an increase in prior years' authorization of $17,375,000, making a total of $1,800,219,000 for military construction within and outside the U.S. PL 90–408 (PR).

Military correctional facilities: Made uniform the laws covering the administration of military correctional facilities and treatment of persons convicted under court-martial. PL 90–377.

Military procurement—defense reserves: Authorized for fiscal 1969, a total of $21,341,738,000 for procurment of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, tracked combat vessels for research, development, test, and evaluation; and authorized the personnel strengths for fiscal year 1969 for the Selected Reserve of each of the Reserve components of the Armed Forces. S. 3293. In conference (PR).

Military reemployment rights: Prevents reservists and National Guardsmen not on active duty who must attend weekly drills or summer training from being discriminated against in employment because of their Reserve membership, and extended the period of active duty certain reservists or enlistees can perform without losing their reemployment rights. HR 1093. PL 90– (PR).

Multiyear procurement: Amended military procurement law by adding authority for the Department of Defense to contract for certain services for periods up to 5 years. PL 90–378.

National Guard Technician act of 1968: Authorized Federal employee status for the National Guard technicians to provide a uniform and adequate retirement and fringe benefit program, to recognize the military requirements and the State characteristics of the National Guard by providing for certain statutory administrative authority at the State level with espect to the technician program, and to clarify their legal status. S. 3865. PL 90– .

Navy-special duty: Authorized an increase in the number of line officers of the Regular Navy who may be designated for duty as full-time specialists in various technical and professional fields. PL90–386.

Retired serviceman's family protection plan: Liberalized various provisions of the retired serviceman's family protection plan to encourage greater participation in the program by retiring service personnel. HR 12323. PL 90– (PR).

Special leave for military: Extended for 2 years the authority to grant an extra 30 days leave and round trip transportation to the United States or another place of the member's choosing to servicemen who voluntarily extend their service in a hostile fire area. PL 90–330 (PR).

Stockpile disposals (PR): Beryl, 988 short tons, HR 14367, P/S amended 4/26, H. disagreed to S. amendment and returned to Senate 6/27; Magnesium, 55,000 short tons, HR 5785, P/S amended 4/26; Platinum, 115,000 troy ounces, HR 5789, P/S amended 4/26.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Air pollution: Created the District of Columbia Air Pollution Control Board to investigate and control causes of air pollution in the District through standards and regulations. PL 90–440.

Alcoholic Rehabilitation Act: Provided a comprehensive program for the control of drunkenness and the prevention and treatment of alcoholism in the District of Columbia. HR 14330. PL 90– .

Chanceries: Amends the D.C. Chancery Act of October 13, 1964 to exempt from coverage cases where negotiations were begun prior to the effective date of the 1964 act and which culminated in a contract of sale prior to June 1, 1964; also permits the right of transfer to include property which is granted a chancery use under an exception. PL 90–412.

Court of Appeals: Permits the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit to approve an increase in the selling price of the reports containing its opinions from a price of "not more than $6.50 per volume" to a price of "not more than $12 per volume." PL 90–380.

Debt adjusting: Prohibits the business of "debt adjusting" in the District of Columbia. S. 1739. P/S 7/19.

Disorderly acts: Authorized the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia to prosecute the offenses of disorderly conduct and lewd, indecent, or obscene acts under section 22–1107 of the District of Columbia Code. PL 90–441.

District-owned buildings: Authorized the District to enter into contracts with private concerns for the inspection, maintenance, and repair of fixed equipment in District-owned buildings for periods up to 3 years. S. 2017. P/S 4/24.

Elected School Board: Provided for the election of an 11-member school board in the District of Columbia at the time of the Presidential election in November. PL 90–292 (PR).

Foreclosure notice: Required written notice of foreclosure to the owner of encumbered real property, with a copy of the notice to the District of Columbia Commissioner or his designated agent at least 30 days in advance of the date of sale. S. 2592. P/7 7/19.

Hospital-Medical Facilities Construction Act: Authorized supplementary Federal assistance for the District of Columbia government for modernization of public or nonprofit private hospitals, and for the construction of health centers, long-term and extended care facilities, diagnostic or treatment centers, rehabilitation facilities, community mental health centers, and facilities for the mentally retarded. S. 1228. PL 90– .

Land-grant college: Amended the Public Education Act to name the Federal City College as the land-grant college for the District of Columbia. PL 90–354.

Liens: Provided that a judgment or decree of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia shall not constitute a lien until filed and recorded in the office of the Recorder of Deeds. PL 90–263.

Life Insurance Act: Liberalized the requirements with respect to financial advertising imposed upon alien life insurance companies doing business in the District of Columbia. H.R. 10213. PL 90– .

Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act Amendments: Requires that benefits under the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act be made available to defendants in criminal cases in the D.C. Court of General Sessions. S. 1514. P/S 6/26.

National Visitor Center: Authorized the Secretary of Interior to enter into an agreement with the Washington Terminal Company for the use of the Union Station as a National Visitor Center in D.C. PL 90–264. (PR).

Police-firemen pay bill: Established a minimum base salary for police and firemen of $7800 retroactive to October 1, 1967 and effective July 1, 1968 increased the base to $8000. Proportionate increases were provided for all police and firemen. PL 90–320 (PR).

Presidential inaugural ceremonies: Revised the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act to provide travel expenses and food allowances for "sanitarians" (expert health advisers) and municipal employees. PL 90–251.

Psychology: Defines and regulates the practice of psychology in the District of Columbia. S. 1864. P/S 4/24.

Reciprocal agreements: Authorized the District of Columbia government to enter into reciprocal agreements with governmental units in Maryland and Virginia to provide police mutual aid when emergencies threaten or occur. S. 2496. P/S 4/8/68.

Register of blind persons: Established a register of blind persons in the District of Columbia and provided for the mandatory reporting of information concerning them. S. 1224. PL 90- .

Revenue Act of 1968: Increased the annual Federal payment authorization to $90 million; increased rate from 2% to 6% on individual income tax; increased the tax rate on the taxable income of businesses from 5% to 6%; increased the general sales and use tax from 3% to 4%; authorized the City Council to establish hours and days for the sale of alcoholic beverages; and prohibited the use of D.C. funds for the transportation of school children within and outside of the District of Columbia. HR 16361. PL 90- (PR).

Tax suit reciprocity: Authorized suits in the courts of the District of Columbia for collection of taxes owed to States, territories, or possessions or political subdivisions thereof, when the reciprocal right is accorded to the District. S. 1628. P/S 6/26.

Teachers pay increase: Provided an overall increase of approximately 8.3 percent in the salaries of all professional personnel in the public school system retroactive to October 1, 1967, and a second increase of approximately 10.9 percent effective July 1, 1968. PL 90-319 (PR).

Uniform gifts: Amended the District of Columbia Uniform Gifts to Minors Act to provide that monetary gifts to minors in the District may be deposited in savings and loan associations, credit union, and related institutions, as well as in banks. PL 90-290.

DUTY SUSPENSIONS

Electrodes—aluminum: Continued until July 15, 1969, the suspension of duties on electrodes imported for use in producing aluminum; and added permanent authority to the Social Security Act permitting the Secretary of HEW during the last quarter of a fiscal year to borrow funds from the following year's appropriation for public assistance. HR 17104. P/S amended 6/18.

ECONOMY AND FINANCE

Banks Protection Act: Directed the appropriate bank supervisory agencies to issue regulations establishing minimum standards for the installation and operation of security measures on the part of federally insured banks and savings and loan associations. PL 90-389 (PR).

Deceptive Sales Act of 1968: Authorized the Federal Trade Commission to enjoin, in the U.S. District Court, unfair or deceptive acts or practices when necessary for the protection of consumers. S. 3065. P/S 7/11 (PR).

Export-Import Bank Act Amendments of 1968: Extended the life of the Export-Import Bank of the United States for 5 years, to June 30, 1973; increased from $9 billion to $13.5 billion the limitation on the amount of loans, guarantees, and insurance permitted to be outstanding at any one time; increased from $2 billion to $3.5 billion the bank's authority to issue export credit insurance and guarantees; and banned financing exports to Communist nations but allowed the President to waive this if he finds a transaction to be in the national interest. PL 90-267 (PR).

Export-Import Bank Loans: Authorized the Export-Import Bank of the United States to use $500 million of its present statutory lending authority to facilitate through loans, guarantees, and insurance export transactions which in the judgment of the Board of Directors of the Bank, offer sufficient likelihood of repayment to justify the Bank's support in order to actively foster the foreign trade and long-term commercial interests of the United States. PL 90-390 (PR).

Federal Credit Union Act Amendments: Amended the Federal Credit Union Act to increase the time ceiling on secured loans from 5 to 10 years, increase the unsecured loan limit up to $2500, permit investment in the shares of State central credit unions, permit the purchase of notes of liquidating credit unions, permit delegation of borrowing authority, require semi-annual instead of quarterly audits, and authorize the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions to conduct consumer credit counseling programs for low income persons. PL 90-375 (PR).

Flexible interest rates: Extended for two additional years the maximum rate of interest paid on time and savings deposits by commercial banks and insured thrift institutions to restrain excessive rate competition between financial institutions. S. 3133. P/S 7/24.

Gold cover: Removed the requirement that each Federal Reserve Bank maintain reserves in gold certificates not less than 25 percent against its Federal Reserve notes in circulation, and eliminated the $156 million gold reserve for U.S. notes and Treasury notes of 1890. PL 90-269 (PR).

Investigation of unfair practices within the home improvement industry: Authorized the Federal Trade Commission, over a 1-year period, to conduct a detailed and comprehensive investigation of unfair practices within the home improvement industry, including the relationship between fraudulent contractors and their product suppliers and finance companies, and to expand and intensify, over a 3-year period, its enforcement activities in this area. S.J. Res. 130. P/S 7/11.

Investment Company Amendments Act of 1968: Amends provisions of the Investment Company Act of 1940 which pertain to investment company management fees; mutual fund sales commissions, and periodic payment or contractual plan sales commissions; amends various provisions of the Federal securities laws to permit banks to operate commingled managing agency accounts in competition with mutual funds; and amends both the Investment Company Act of 1940 and the Investment Advisers Act of 1940 to facilitate, update and improve the administration and enforcement of these acts. S. 3724. P/S 7/26 (PR).

Public lands: Directed that 25% of gross revenues from sale of timber on public lands be paid to the appropriate counties for use for public schools and roads. S. 1385. P/S 7/12.

Savings and loan holding companies: Provided a comprehensive statutory framework for the registration, examination, and regulation of holding companies controlling one or more savings and loan associations, the accounts of which are insured by an agency of the Federal Government, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. PL 90-255 (PR).

Securities Exchange Commission—disclosures: Required the full disclosure of corporate equity ownership of securities. PL 90-439 (PR).

SEC margin requirements: Extended margin requirements to over-the-counter securities. PL 90-437.

SEC study: Authorized $875,000 for the Securities and Exchange Commission to make study of institutional investors and the effect of their transactions on our nation's securities market. PL 90-438 (PR).

Treasury obligations: Extended for 2 years the authority of the Federal Reserve Board to purchase public debt obligations directly from the Treasury up to a limit of $5 billion outstanding at any one time. PL 90-300 (PR).

Truth-in-Lending Act of 1968: Required creditors to disclose to consumers the full cost of credit expressed in terms of dollars and cents, and for most forms of credit, as an annual percentage rate. PL 90-321 (PR).

EDUCATION

Educational TV: Extended through fiscal 1969 the authorization of $9 million for the Corporation of Public Broadcasting. PL 90-294 (PR).

Fire Research and Safety Act: Provided for a national fire research and safety program and created a National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control in order that more effective measures may be taken to protect against the hazards of death, injury, and damage to property as a result of fire. PL 90-259 (PR).

Higher Education Amendments of 1968: Authorized a total of $14,058,414,745, extended existing programs through fiscal 1972, and established new programs of assistance to institutions of higher education in the area of cooperative education, networks for knowledge, education for public service, improvements of graduate programs, and law school clinical experience programs. S. 3769. In conference (PR).

Juvenile delinquency: Authorized $150 million through fiscal 1971 to assist courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; and to support research and training efforts in prevention, treatment, and control of juveniline delinquency. PL 90-445 (PR).

National Science Foundation Act: Amended the act by authorizing $525 million for fiscal year 1969 for the Foundation and by making reforms in the organization and operation of both the Foundation and its governing body, the National Science Board. PL 90-407.

NEA: Liberalized the corporate powers of the National Education Association; eliminated the board of trustees and transferred their duties to the executive committee of the association. S. 2628. P/S 6/28.

New Hampshire-Vermont interstate school compact: Authorized a compact to encourage the formation of interstate school districts between New Hampshire and Vermont. S. 3269. P/S 7/29.

Sea grant college authorization: Authorized $6 million for fiscal 1969 and $15 million for fiscal 1970 to continue the national sea grant college program. HR 13781. PL 90 (PR).

Standard reference data: Strengthened and clarified the authority of the Secretary of Commerce to provide for the collection, evaluation, and dissemination of reliable reference data on the physical and chemical properties of materials widely used in science and industry. PL 90-396 (PR).

State Technical Services Act authorization: Extended the State Technical Services Act for an additional 3 years and authorized $6.6 million for fiscal 1969, $10 million for each of fiscal years 1970 and 1971. The basic purpose of the Act is to speed industrial and economic growth of the States and the country through improved technical and scientific knowledge. PL 90-422 (PR).

Student assistance: Continued the higher education student loan programs to October 31, 1968. HR 16729. PL 90 (PR).

Vocational Education Amendments of 1968: Authorized $2,825,000,000 for fiscal years 1970-1972 in Federal grants to States to assist them in maintaining, extending, and improving existing programs, in developing new programs, and to provide part-time employment for youths who need employment to continue their vocational training. HR 18366. In conference (PR).

ELECTIONS

Election Reform Act of 1967: Extended reporting requirement to all general, special, primary, conventions, caucuses, and fund raising events; insured disclosure; and lifted the existing ceilings on spending by political committees and Congressional candidates. S. 1880. P/S 9/12/67; HR 11233, H.Cal. (PR).

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

ASCS county office employees: Recognized periods of employment service in the county offices of the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service for the purposes of salary adjustment, annual and sick leave, and reduction in force for former county office employees who are appointed to Federal positions in the Department of Agriculture. PL 90–367.

Foreign Service retirement: Placed annuitants of the Foreign Service retirement system on the same basis as civil service annuitants for purposes of computing future cost-of-living increases; provided retired Foreign Service personnel and their survivors with the same cost-of-living increases accorded civil service annuitants and increased the maximum creditable service from 35 to 40 years. S. 2003. P/S 6/26/67; HR 16903. H. Cal.

Paid leave: Provided up to 3 days' paid leave so that a Federal employee may make arrangements for or attend the funeral of an immediate relative who dies as a result of combat service; and up to 22 days' paid leave for an employee who is called to active duty in the Reserves or the National Guard for the purpose of enforcing the law. HR 13844. P/S amended 7/20.

Payroll savings deductions for Federal employees: Permits Federal employees to purchase shares of Federal- or State-chartered credit unions through voluntary payroll allotment. PL 90–365.

Postage accounting: Permits prosecution of postal service employees for failure to remit postage-due collections. PL 90–384.

Postal assaults and employee ceiling waiver: Provides disciplinary action against postal service employees who assault other such employees in performance of official duties; and exempts post offices and the Bureau of Research and Engineering in the Post Office Department headquarters from provisions of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 requiring reductions in the number of Federal employees. HR 15387. PL 90– .

USIA Foreign Service personnel system: Authorized a career personnel system for the professional Foreign Service officers of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) by creating the officer category of Foreign Service information officer, paralleling the Foreign Service Officer Corps of the Department of State. S. 633. P/S 11/13/67; H. Cal. (PR).

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Arts and Humanities: Extended the life of the Foundation on the Arts and Humanities for 2 fiscal years and authorized $34 million, plus funds to match private gifts and necessary administrative expenses. PL 90–348 (PR).

Civil government for Trust Territory of Pacific Islands: Authorized increased appropriations for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for civil works and administrative programs; increased the present authorization of $35 million for fiscal 1969 to $120 million for fiscal years 1970, 1971, and 1972; and authorized up to $10 million for any single disaster, principally typhoons, that strikes the territory. S. 3207. P/S 5/28.

Copyright protection: Continued until December 31, 1969, the renewal term of any copyright subsisting on the date of approval of this resolution, or the term as extended by PL 87–668, or PL 89–442, or PL 90–141, where such term would otherwise expire prior to December 31, 1969. PL 90–416.

Economic development of Trust Territory of Pacific Islands: Established a Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Economic Development Loan Fund to promote the development of private enterprise and private industry in the trust territory; and would bring the total economic development authorization fund to a $5 million level. S. 3073. P/S 5/28.

Guam Governor's election: Provided for the popular election of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the Territory of Guam. S. 449. PL 90– (PR).

Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968: Improves the quality of government by making needed reforms in present procedures and opening up new areas for cooperation with the Federal system. S. 698. P/S 7/29 (PR).

Monday holidays: Changed the observance of Washington's birthday from February 22 to the third Monday of February; Memorial Day from May 30 to the last Monday in May; Veterans Day from November 11 to the fourth Monday in October; and established the second Monday in October as Columbus Day. PL 90–363.

Metric system study: Authorized the Secretary of Commerce to make a comprehensive study to determine the impact of increasing worldwide use of the metric system of weights and measures upon the United States, and to make a report of his findings to Congress within 3 years. HR 3136. PL 90– (PR).

National Gallery of Art: Authorized the National Gallery of Art to construct a building or buildings on a previously reserved site with all costs to be paid from private trust funds. PL 90–376 (PR).

Public lands: Provided for the conveyance of certain real property of the United States to the Alabama Space Science Exhibit Commission. PL 90–276.

Secret Service: Authorized Secret Service to furnish protection to major Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates and authorized an appropriation of $400,000. PL 90–331 (PR).

Supergrades: Authorized 392 new administrative, policy and program positions in grades GS–16, 17, and 18 of the general schedule, known as supergrades. S. 3672. P/S 6/25. H .Cal. (PR).

Surplus property: Made foreign-generated surplus property available to domestic agencies S. 1974. P/S 6/18.

Trust Territory of Pacific: Provided for the development of methods by which the people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands may express their wishes with respect to their future political status. S.J. Res. 106. P/S 5/29 (PR).

U.S. historical documents: Extended for 5 years the authorization to make appropriations for allocations and grants for the collection and publication of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States. S. 2060. P/S/3. P/H amended 7/31.

Virgin Islands: Provided for the popular election of the Governor of the Virgin Islands. S. 450. PL 90– (PR).

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Animal Drug Amendments of 1968: Consolidates into one piece in the law all of the principal provisions of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act which relate to premarketing clearance of new drugs for administration to animals, either directly or in their feed and water. PL 90–399.

Health Manpower Act of 1968: Authorized $1.97 billion in new appropriations and extended through fiscal 1972 programs relating to training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the programs relating to student aid and health research facilities. S. 3095. PL 90– (PR).

Health services amendments: Extended through fiscal 1971 the regional medical programs, the Migrant Health Act, the Hill-Burton hospital construction program; the narcotics and alcoholism rehabilitation program, and the Solid Waste Disposal program through fiscal 1970. HR 15758. In conference (PR).

Physically handicapped: Required that public buildings financed with Federal funds be designed and constructed to be accessible to the physically handicapped. S. 222. PL 90– .

Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1968: Amended the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to extend through 1971 the authorization of grants to States for rehabilitation services, to broaden the scope of goods and services available for the handicapped, and to authorize a total of $1.4 billion for such services. PL 90–391 (PR).

Water Quality Improvement and Vessel Pollution Control Act: Authorized $3 billion over a 3-year period to permit communities to finance the Federal share of the cost of waste treatment with repayment assured by the Federal Government; and authorized the establishment of standards for the control of vessel pollution in navigable waters. S. 3206. P/S 7/10 (PR).

White House Conference on the Aging: Declared as the sense of Congress that the President call a White House conference on Aging in 1970 to make recommendations for further action and research in aging and related fields. S.J. Res. 117. P/S 5/6. H.J. Res. 1371. P/H 7/30.

HOUSING

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968: Authorized $5 billion for housing, urban development, rent supplements, model cities, mass transportation, open space, water-sewer facilities, and the following new items: the establishment of a new Government bond insurance system to help finance the acquisition and development of new communities; the establishment of a new neighborhood development program as part of the urban renewal; the extension of urban planning to cover rural districts; the creation of federally chartered, privately funded corporations to mobilize private investment and the application of business skills in the job of creating low- and moderate-income housing in large volume; the establishment of the National Insurance Development Corporation to provide reinsurance to insurance companies for losses paid by them resulting from riots or civil disorders; the establishment of a program of national flood insurance as a joint venture between the Federal Government and the private insurance industry; and the D.C. Insurance Placement Act. PL 90–448 (PR).

VA and FHA interest rates: Removed until October 1, 1969 the statutory 6 percent interest rate ceiling requirement and authorized the Secretary of HUD to set the ceiling for FHA mortgages; continued the VA authority to set interest rate ceilings but limited it to the rate set by HUD; and increased the maximum amount of the guarantee on VA-guaranteed home loans from $7,500 to $12,500. PL 90–301 (PR).

IMMIGRATION

Naturalization of active-duty personnel: Provides for the expeditious naturalization of aliens who have served in an active-duty status in the Armed Forces of the U.S. during the Vietnam hostilities or in any designated future armed conflicts. HR 15147. P/S amended 6/24.

Surviving spouse naturalization: Permits immediate naturalization for an alien, male or female, widowed by the death of a U.S. citizen spouse on active duty in the U.S. Armed Forces, provided the alien has been admitted to the U.S. for permanent residence, is living in marital union with the U.S. citizen at the time of his death, and is otherwise qualified for naturalization. PL 90–369.

INDIANS

Adult vocational education: Increased the annual authorization from $15 million to $25 million for the Indian Adult Education program and on-the-job training. PL 90–252 (PR).

Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation: Authorized consolidation of judgment funds awarded to portions of the Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation and use of the $8.5 million already recovered. PL 90–266.

Cherokee Nation: Authorized the conveyance of 2,668 acres of land in Oklahoma to the Cherokee Nation upon payment by the nation of $3.75 per acre to the Federal Government. PL 90–279.

Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes: Provided for the donation of approximately 116 acres of Federal land to the Cheyenne and Aarapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. PL 90–310.

Chickasaw Tribe of Oklahoma: Provided for the disposition of an award to the Chickasaw Nation by the Indian Claims Commission. Funds to cover the award in the amount of $190,934.78 were appropriated by the act of March 31, 1961. S. 2715. P/S 7/2.

Colville-Yakima: Conferred jurisdiction of the Court of Claims to determine the respective rights of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation and the Yakima Tribes of the Yakima Reservation of the State of Washington in and to a joint judgment fund. PL 90–278.

Crow: Granted mineral rights to the Crow Indians on certain lands of the Crow Reservation, Montana. PL 90–308.

Crow Creek and Lower Brule Indian Reservation: Amended existing law, which provided for the legislative taking of certain lands of the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Indian Reservations needed for the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir, by extending to September 1, 1969, the time in which an individual Indian who was not willing to accept the amount offered for his property to obtain a judicial determination of just compensation. PL 90–393.

Flathead Reservation, Mont.: Authorized the disposal of certain isolated tracts of land on the reservation presently owned by the Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation and authorized the Tribes to acquire Indian- or non-Indian-owned lands to be held in trust for tribal use or conveyance to tribal members in trust. PL 90–402.

Gifts for the benefit of Indians: Permits the Secretary of Interior to accept and use donations of property in furtherance of any program authorized by other provisions of law for the benefit of Indians. PL 90–333.

Higher education: Removed the prohibition against appropriation of Federal funds for the higher education of Indian children in any sectarian school. PL 90–280.

Hualapai Reservation: Authorized leases of Indian lands on the Hualapai Reservation in Arizona up to 99 years. PL 90–355.

Muckleshoot Tribe: Provided for the disposition of a judgment in the amount of $80,377.00 awarded to the Muckleshoot Tribe of Washington by the Indian Claims Commission. S. 3621. P/S 7/2.

Navajo Indian Reservation: Broadened the provisions of existing law governing the use of revenue from oil and gas leasing on a portion of the Navajo Indian Reservation in Utah. PL 90–306.

Navajo-Ute Mountain Tribes: Authorized the Navajo Tribe of the Ute Mountain Tribe to commence litigation to determine the location of a part of the common boundary between their two reservations. PL 90–256.

Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, Mont.: Provided for a reservation in perpetuity for the benefit of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe of the minerals on or underlying the allotted lands on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation. PL 90–424.

Pawnees-Oklahoma: Conveyed certain lands embraced in the Pawnee School and Agency Reserve to the Pawnee Indian Tribe of Oklahoma. HR 5910. In conference.

Quechan Tribe: Provides for disposition of approximately a $500,000 award to the Quechan Tribe of the Fort Yuma Reservation in California. S. 3620. P/S 7/3.

Southern Paiute Nation: Provided for the distribution and use of an award of approximately $7 million to the Southern Paiute Indians. S. 3227. P/S 7/9.

Spokane Indian Reservation: Provided general authority to acquire and hold in trust for the Spokane Indian Tribe land within its reservation, to dispose of tribal land, and to enter into long-term leases of tribal or allotted land, all for the purpose of consolidating landownership patterns within the reservation and making the maximum utilization of the reservation land base. PL 90–335.

Spokane Tribe: Provided legislative authority for the Spokane Tribe of Indians to use the claims judgment of $6,029,831.78 for any purpose that is authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of Interior. PL 90–337.

Tiwa Indians of Texas: Recognized the Tiwa people of the pueblo of Ysleta del Sur in El Paso County, Texas, as a band of American Indians and to transfer to the State of Texas any responsibility the U.S. may have for them. PL 90–287.

Ute Mountain Tribe: Permitted the Ute Mountain Tribe to use its portion ($1,441,002.24) of an Indian Claims Commission judgment in favor of the confederated Bands of Ute Indians. PL 90–332.

Yakima Tribes: Repealed the law which limited inheritance or devise of restricted or trust property of deceased members of the Yakima Tribes to enrolled members of those tribes of one-fourth or more degree of Indian blood. S. 1764. P/S 7/3.

INTERNATIONAL (GENERAL)

Arms control: Authorized $18.5 million for fiscal years 1969 and 1970 for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and limited external research to $7 million for these years. PL 90–314. (PR).

Claims: Amended the International Claims Settlement Act to provide for an orderly liquidation of the Bulgarian and the Rumanian claims programs. PL 90–421.

Foreign aid authorization: Extended the foreign assistance program for 1 year and authorized $1,945,900,000 for fiscal 1969. HR 15263. In conference (PR).

Foreign Service buildings program: Authorized $13.5 million for fiscal 1970 and $14.3 million for fiscal 1971 for operating expenses of the Foreign Service buildings program. PL 90–442.

Inter-American Development Bank: Authorized the U.S. Governor of the Inter-American Development Bank to vote in favor of a $1 billion increase in the Bank's authorized callable capital stock and to agree on behalf of the U.S. to subscribe to our share of the increase, amounting to $411,760,000. PL 90–325 (PR).

International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs: Authorized the appropriation of such sums annually as may be necessary for the payment by the U.S. of its share of the expenses of the International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs and of its Bureau, but not to exceed 6 percent of such annual expenses. S. 1578. P/S 5/28. H. Cal.

Passport law changes: Provided that a passport shall be valid for 5 years without renewal instead of 3 years with a renewal period of 2 years; provides for a uniform fee of $12; and eliminates the necessity of successive personal appearances by individuals who have already been issued passports. PL 90–428.

Peace Corps authorization: Authorized $112,800,000 for the Peace Corps for fiscal 1969. PL 90–362 (PR).

Special drawing rights in IMF: Amended the International Monetary Fund Agreement to create a new monetary facility, the Special Drawing Rights, and to provide for U.S. participation in the Special Account. PL 90–349 (PR).

Warsaw: Recognized the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. H. Con. Res. 655. House adopted 4/23; Senate adopted 4/25/68.

World weather watch: Expressed the sense of Congress that the U.S. should participate in and give full support to the world weather program and that the President shall transmit to Congress before March 1 of each year a statement of the proposed participation, activities to be conducted in connection with it, department or agency to carry out these activities, and appropriations needed. S. Con. Res. 67. Senate adopted 4/1/68; P/H amended 5/20; Senate adopted House amendments 5/29 (PR).

TREATIES (PR)

Brazil Tax Convention: Eliminated double taxation resulting from the taxation of the same or items of income by both countries; established procedures for mutual assistance in the administration of income taxes; permitted a unilateral 7% tax credit for investments made in Brazil only after an exchange of notes between the Contracting States and approved by the Senate. Ex. J(90–1). Resolution of ratification agreed to 6/6.

Convention on International Exhibitions: Established the Bureau of International Expositions to maintain oversight over the location, timing, cost, purposes and quality of international expositions in which its members are invited to take part. Ex. P(90–1). Resolution of ratification agreed to 4/30/68.

Convention on International Hydrographic Organization: Gives treaty status to an existing international organization known as the Inernational Hydrographic Bureau whose purpose is to make navigation easier and safer by improving nautical charts and documents. Ex. O(90–1). Resolution of ratification agreed to 5/13/68..

France Tax Convention: Replaced the existing tax conventions of 1939 and 1946, supplementary protocol of 1948, and supplementary convention of 1956, made necessary by fundamental changes in 1965 in the French income tax structure and the U.S. in 1966. Ex. N(90–1). Resolution of ratification agreed to 6/6/68.

International Coffee Agreement: Extended the 1962 International Coffee Agreement for a period of 5 years with certain modifications. Ex. D(90–2). Resolution of ratification agreed to 6/28/68.

International Grains Arrangement Treaty: Provided new insurance against falling prices in the wheat export trade and brings wheat exporting and wheat importing nations into partnership in the War on Hunger. Ex. A(90–2). Resolution of ratification agreed to 6/13/68.

Organization of American States: Protocol to the Charter of the Organization of American States made substantial revisions in the OAS structure and the powers of certain OAS organs to increase its capacity to function more effectively. Ex. L(9 –1). Resolution of ratification agreed to 2/10/68.

Philippines Tax Convention: Designed to achieve the national objectives of improving tax equity through the elimination of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal erosion, and to promote international trade and investment between those countries and the U.S. Ex. D(89–1). Resolution of ratification agreed to 6/6/68.

Safety of Life at Sea Amendments: The six amendments are designed to improve the standards of ship safety. Ex. C(90–2). Resolution of ratification agreed to 5/13/68.

JUDICIAL

Abusive and harrassing telephone calls: Made it a Federal offense to make certain obscene or harassing telephone calls in interstate or foreign commerce or within the District of Columbia. PL 90–299.

Additional circuit judges: Provided for the appointment of nine additional circuit judges as follows: one for the third, two for the fifth, one for the sixth, four for the ninth, and one for the tenth; made permanent the four additional judgeships for the fifth circuit created by the act of March 18, 1966. PL 90–347.

Attorneys' fees: Removed arbitrary limitations on attorneys' fees for services rendered in proceedings before administrative agencies of the United States. S. 1073. P/S 11/22/67; H. Cal.

Bureau of Prisons: Authorized the Federal Bureau of Prisons to provide technical assistance to State and local governments in improving their correctional systems. PL 90–371. (PR)

Court of Claims: Allows persons having monetary claims within the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims to obtain all necessary relief in one action. S. 1704. P/S 7/29.

Desecration of the flag: Prohibits and punishes by Federal law certain public acts of desecration of the flag. PL 90–381

Judicial survivors annuity system: Allowed entry into the survivorship plan of a judge who is unmarried at the time he takes office and who does not marry until after expiration of the 6-month period in which he must now elect to participate in the judicial survivors annuity system. HR 9391. PL 90–

Local law-enforcement officers: Provided compensation for law enforcement officers not employed by the United States killed or injured while apprehending persons suspected of committing Federal crimes. PL 90–291. (PR)

Multidistrict litigation: Provided formal machinery to transfer, for coordinated or consolidated pretrial procedures, civil actions pending in different judicial districts, that have one or more common questions in fact. PL 90–296.

Traveler's checks: Made it a Federal crime to transport in interstate or foreign commerce, with unlawful intent, traveler's checks bearing forged countersignatures. S. 1440. P/S 10/12/67. H. Cal.

U.S. Court of Military Appeals: Provided that the present Court of Military Appeals be redesignated the U.S. Court of Military Appeals. PL 90–340.

LABOR

Railroad retirement: Amended the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act to provide increases in railroad retirement benefits to approximately 653,000 persons in amounts equal to 110 percent of the amounts they would have received had they been Social Security beneficiaries. PL 90–257. (PR)

MEMORIALS AND PARKS

Cradle of Forestry in America: Established the Cradle of Forestry in America in the Pisgah National Forest in North Carolina to promote knowledge about forestry education and forest land management. PL 90–398.

Fort Point National Historic Site: Establishes the Fort Point National Historic Site as a unit of the national park system in San Francisco, California. S. 2159. P/S 7/8.

Lister Hill Center: Designated the National Center for Biomedical Communicaitons as the Lister Hill National Center for Biomedical Communications, S.J. Res. 193, PL 90–

Robert S. Kerr Center: Established the Robert S. Kerr Memorial Arboretum and Nature Center in the Ouachita National Forest in Oklahoma, to promote learning about nature and forest land management. PL 90–327.

Saugus Iron Works: Established the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site in Massachusetts; provided for its administration as a unit of the national park system; and authorized $400,000 for rehabilitation and construction work. PL 90–282.

PROCLAMATIONS

Family Reunion Day: Authorized the President to proclaim August 11, 1968, as Family Reunion Day and to call upon the people of the U.S. to observe with appropriate ceremonies and activities. PL 90–405.

Professional Photography Week: Authorized the President to issue a proclamation designating the week of August 4 through August 10, 1968 as "Professional Photography Week." PL 90–443.

Safety Patrol Week: Designated the second week of May of 1968 as National School Safety Patrol Week, and requested the President to issue a proclamation calling upon all people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies. PL 90–277.

Salute to Eisenhower Week: Authorized the President to issue a proclamation designating the week of October 13, 1968 as "Salute to Eisenhower Week" and calling on the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies. PL 90–406.

Save Your Breath Month: Authorized the President to proclaim National Jewish Hospital Save Your Breath Month. PL 90–281.

Treaty of Peace: Authorized the President to issue a proclamation designating the calendar year 1968 as the centennial of the signing of the 1968 treaty of peace between the Navajo Indian Tribe and the U.S. PL 90–309.

Youth Week: Provided that the Congress of the United States proclaim the week beginning May 1 of next year as Youth Week, and urged all departments of government, civic, fraternal, and patriotic groups, and citizens to participate in its observance. S.J. Res. 153. P/S 6/24.

REORGANIZATION

Executive Reorganization and Management Act: Established a Hoover-type 8-member commission to undertake a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the organization and management of the executive branch of the Federal Government and report its findings no later than 2 years after its appointment. S. 3640. P/S 7/27.

ICC: Permits the Interstate Commerce Commission to refer to individual qualified employees for decision those matters which have not involved the taking of testimony at a public hearing or the submission of evidence by opposing parties in the form of affidavits. The bill specifically provides for a right of appeal from these individual employee decisions to the Commission and the courts. S. 758. P/S 5/14.

Plan No. 1: Transferred the Bureau of Narcotics from the Treasury Department and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control from HEW and created the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in the Department of Justice. Effective 4/8/68 (PR).

Plan No. 2: Transferred urban mass transportation programs to the Department of Transportation and established an Urban Mass Transportation Administration within the Department. Effective 6/30/68 (PR).

Plan No. 3: Brought recreation programs under the authority of the D.C. Commissioner and abolished the present Board and the Office of the Superintendent of Recreation. Effective 6/30/68 (PR).

Plan No. 4: Strengthened the D.C. Commissioner's authority to initiate and guide the administration of urban renewal by authorizing him to appoint the five members of the Redevelopment Land Agency Board and to prescribe the rules and regulations of the Redevelopment Land Agency. Effective 5/23/68 (PR).

RESOURCE BUILDUP

Alewife control: Authorized $5 million for the control of the alewife, smelts and other fish and aquatic life in the waters of the Great Lakes which affect adversely the fish resources and ecological balance of the Great Lakes. S. 2123. P/S 4/4.

Cape Hatteras: Authorized the necessary appropriations to satisfy civil judgments for acquisition of lands for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in North Carolina. PL 90–326.

Central Arizona project: Authorized $768 million for the construction of the Central Arizona project in Arizona and New Mexico; and $360 million for five projects in the upper basin. S. 1004. In conference (PR).

Commercial Fisheries Act extension: Extended for an additional four years the Commercial Fisheries Research and Development Act, and authorized $5 million for each fiscal year beginning July 1, 1969. S. 3866. P/S 7/29.

Conservation program on military reservations: Authorized not to exceed $500,000 a year for a period of 3 fiscal years—1969–1971—to carry out fish and wildlife conservation programs on military reservations and to promote the enhancement and development of related fish and wildlife recreational programs. HR 11026. PL 90– .

Eklutna Project, Alaska: Makes nonreimbursable the cost of the work which was necessary to rehabilitate the Eklutna Federal hydroelectric power project in Alaska because of damage caused by the earthquake of March 27, 1964. S. 224. P/S 5/28. H. Cal.

Estuarine areas: Authorized the Secretary of Interior to conduct a study and inventory of the Nation's estuaries and the waters of the Great Lakes, and to submit a report to the Congress, through the President, not later than January 30, 1970. HR 25. PL 90– .

Feasibility investigations: Authorized the Secretary of Interior to engage in feasibility investigations of certain water resource developments in the States of Oklahoma, North Dakota, Arizona, and Oregon. PL 90–254.

Fish protein concentrate: Increased the authorization to $1.9 million for the Secretary of Interior to develop, through the use of an experiment and demonstration plant, practicable and economic means for the production by the commercial fishing industry of fish protein concentrate. S. 3030. P/S 4/2. H. Cal. (PR).

Flaming Gorge: Established the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in Utah and Wyoming. S. 444. P/S 5/29 (PR).

Foss Reservoir: Authoried the Secretary of the Interior to conduct feasibility studies of ways and means of alleviating the problems encountered by the Foss Reservoir Master Conservancy District associated with the poor quality and supply of water stored in Foss Reservoir, Washita River Basin, Oklahoma, and afforded relief to the district from the burden under its repayment contract wherein it is obligated to pay for water that is unusable. PL 90–311.

Great Lakes Basin compact: Granted the consent of Congress to the creation of a Great Lakes Commission composed of representatives of the States of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. PL 90–419.

Great Swamp Wilderness: Designated approximately 3,750 acres of the Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge, including the M. Hartley Dodge and Harding sections, in Morris County, New Jersey, as part of the national wilderness preservation system. S. 3379. P/S 7/10. H. Cal. (PR).

Land leases—California: Increased to 55 years (from 30) the length of time the Secretary of Interior may lease lands at El Portal, adjacent to Yosemite National Park, California, to concessioners operating in the park. HR 4739. PL 90– .

Land and water conservation fund: Authorized an appropriation from general revenues to make the total annual income into the fund amount to $200 million for each of fiscal years 1969–1973, with receipts from Outer Continental Shelf activities covered into the fund to the extent that appropriations from the general fund fail to achieve the objectives. PL 90–401 (PR).

Migratory birds: Replaced the Secretary of Commerce with the Secretary of Transportation as a member of the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission. PL 90–261.

Missouri River Basin project: Authorized an additional $59 million for fiscal 1969 and 1970 to continue the program of the Bureau of Reclamation for investigation and construction of the comprehensive plan for the Missouri River Basin project. PL 90–315 (PR).

Monomoy Wilderness: Designated as wilderness Monomoy Island located within the Monomoy National Wildlife Refuge in Barnstable County, Massachusetts. S. 3425. P/S 7/10 (PR).

National Water Commission: Established a seven-member National Water Commission to make a comprehensive review of national water resource problems and programs. Limited the life of the Commission to 5 years and the appropriation to $5 million. S. 20. Conferees agreed 7/13 (PR).

Nationwide System of Trails: Established the nationwide system of trails composed of the following four classes of trails to serve the needs of the American people—national scenic trails; State park, forest, and other recreation trails; metropolitan area trails; and Federal park, forest, and other recreation trails. Authorized up to $10 million over the next five years to carry out the purposes of the Act. S. 827. In conference (PR).

Navajo Reservoir, N. Mex.: Granted authority to the Secretary of Interior to enter into three repayment contracts for water for industrial purposes from the Navajo Reservoir in New Mexico. PL 90–272.

Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Act: Implemented a protocol to the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries by expanding the definition of "fishing" in the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Act to include the taking of mammals as well as fish. PL 90–420.

Oahe unit: Reauthorized the initial stage of the multipurpose Oahe irrigation unit, Missouri River Basin project, and authorized $191,670,000 for new construction. S. 6. PL 90– .

Ocean exploration: Expressed the sense of Congress that the U.S. should participate in and give full support to an International Decade of Ocean Exploration. S. Con. Res. 72. P/S 7/29.

Omnibus rivers and harbors-flood control: Authorized $1,669,894,000 for the construction of 73 navigation beach erosion control, flood control, and multiple-purpose and related projects, and 13 basin monetary authorizations. PL 90– (PR).

Pelican Island Wilderness: Designated the Pelican Island in Florida as a unit of the national wilderness preservation system. S. 3343. P/S 7/10 (PR).

Pesticide effects on fish and wildlife: Authorized an annual appropriation of $3.5 million for each of fiscal years 1969, 1970, and 1971 for the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of Interior to continue its comprehensive studies of the effects of pesticides on fish and wildlife. PL 90–394.

Recaptured-relicensing power: Established more adequate procedures for determining whether, upon the expiration of a non-Federal hydroelectric power project license, a project should be recaptured by the Federal Government or relicensed. S. 2445. PL 90– (PR).

Reclamation feasibility studies: Authorized the Secretary of Interior to undertake feasibility studies of three reclamation projects in Colorado and Oregon. S. 3575. P/S 7/2.

Redwood National Park: Authorized up to $100 million to establish a Redwood National Park in northern California and provided for the land exchange of a 14,567-acre Forest Service tract. S. 2515. In conference (PR).

Saline water conversion: Authorized $24.556 million for fiscal 1969 for the Saline Water Conversion Program. PL 90–297 (PR).

San Gabriel Wilderness: Designated 36,000 acres of the Angeles National Forest in California as the San Gabriel Wilderness. PL 90–318 (PR).

San Rafael Wilderness: Designated as the first addition to the National Wilderness Preservation System since its establishment in 1964, 143,000 acres of land located in the Los Padres National Forest, Santa Barbara County, California, as the San Rafael Wilderness. PL 90–271 (PR).

Water Resources Planning Act Amendments: Increased from $700,000 to $1.5 million the annual authorization for the administrative functions of the Water Resources Council under all title of the Act. S. 3058. P/S 6/18 (PR).

Watershed project contract procedure: Amended the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act to permit the Secretary of Agriculture, upon request of the local organization, to contract for the construction of works of improvement. PL 90–361.

Wilderness areas in Michigan, Wisconsin and Maine: Designated as units of the National Wilderness Preservation System the Seney, Huron Islands, and Michigan Islands Wildnerness areas in the State of Michigan, the Wisconsin Islands Wilderness in the State of Wisconsin, and the Edmunds Wilderness and Birch Islands Wilderness in the State of Maine. All of the lands included are presently within the National Wildlife Refuge System. S. 3502. P/S 7/10 (PR).

SPACE

NASA authorization: Authorized a total of $4,013,073,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1969 for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations. PL 90–373 (PR).

TAXATION

Chinese gooseberries: Made fresh gooseberries subject to a tariff rate equivalent to the general tariff level applied to berries rather than the tariff level applied to "other" fruits, which would change the rate from 17.5 percent ad valorem to $.75 cents per pound. HR 2155. P/S amended 4/11.

Political advertising: Modified the present restriction denying a deduction for an amount paid or incurred for advertising in a political convention program to allow a deduction for the cost of this advertising under certain limited circumstances. PL 90–346.

Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968: Extended the 7 percent excise tax on automobiles and the 10 percent on telephone communications through December 31, 1969; accelerated corporate tax payments; provided a 10 percent surtax on individuals effective April 1, 1968 and on corporations effective January 1, 1968; provided for an expenditures reduction of $6 billion and a $10 billion reduction in obligated authority; and terminated as of May 1, 1968 the tax-exempt status of industrial revenue bonds in the case of any issue over $1 million unless there was a prior commitment. PL 90–364 (PR).

Unemployment trust fund use: Extended for an additional 5 years the period during which States may obligate, for administrative purposes, certain funds transferred from excess Federal unemployment tax collections. PL 90–430.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Agricultural cooperative transportation exemption: Empowered the Interstate Commerce Commission to proceed more effectively against illegal operators masquerading as bona fide agricultural cooperatives. PL 90–433.

Aircraft loans: Extended for an additional 5 years the aircraft guarantee loan program. S. 2499. P/S 6/19.

Aircraft noise abatement: Authorizes and requires the Federal Government to establish and apply noise reduction standards to the issuance of certificates under title VI of the Federal Aviation Act, and to prescribe and amend rules and regulations necessary to provide for the control and abatement of aircraft noise. PL 90–411. (PR).

Automobile insurance investigations: Authorized $2 million for the Secretary of Transportation, in cooperation with other Federal agencies, to conduct a comprehensive 24-month study and investigation of the automobile insurance system. PL 90–313 (PR).

Cargo containers: Prevented the application of discriminatory policies or practices by any Government agency against any carrier by giving preference as between them on the basis of length, height or width of cargo container cells, except when required by military necessity. PL 90–268.

Coast Guard: Authorized $136 million for the capital requirements of the Coast Guard for ships, planes, shore facilities, aids to navigation, and bridge construction for fiscal 1969. PL 90–334 (PR).

Coast Guard officers: Raised the limitation on the maximum number of officers, excluding commissioned warrant officers, on active duty which could be authorized for the U.S. Coast Guard from 4,000 to 5,000. PL 90–385.

Equal time: Suspended for the 1968 campaign the equal time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for nominees for the Office of President and Vice President. S.J. Res. 175. P/S 5/29.

Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968: Authorized $12,307,500,000 in new funds for the Federal-Aid Highway programs for fiscal year 1970 and 1971; established a program to assist those displaced and dislocated by Federal aid highway construction in reestablishing their homes, farms, and businesses; and provided funds for the highway beautification program. S. 3418. PL 90– (PR).

Fisheries in territorial waters: Prohibited any vessel except a vessel of the United States or any master or other person in charge of such vessel to engage in activities in support of a foreign fishery fleet within the territorial waters of the United States. PL 90–427.

Fishing vessel exemption: Broadened the fishing vessel exemption in certain inspection and loadline laws to include cannery and fishing tender vessels which provide a wide range of services. This 5-year exemption will permit cannery and fishing tenders serving isolated areas of Alaska and the Pacific Northwest to continue the present practice of carrying fish, cargo, stores and people to and from fishing vessels, canneries and other facilities used in the salmon and crab industries. PL 90–397.

Fishing vessel seizure: Authorized reimbursement to the owners of fishing vessels for losses incurred through their seizure by foreign governments. S. 2269. PL 90– .

Freight charge refunds: Empowered the Federal Maritime Commission to authorize common carriers by water in foreign commerce to make voluntary refunds to shippers and to waive the collection of a portion of freight charges where it appears that there is an error in a tariff of a clerical nature, or where, through inadvertence, there has been a failure to file a tariff reflecting an intended rate. PL 90–298.

High-speed ground transportation extension: Extended to June 30, 1971 the authority of the Secretary of Transportation to undertake research and development and to conduct demonstrations in high-speed ground transportation, and authorized $16.2 million for fiscal 1969 and $21.2 million for fiscal 1970. PL 90–423 (PR).

Interoceanic Canal Study Commission: Extended to December 1, 1970 the time by which the Commission must complete its study and make recommendations concerning a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and authorized an additional $6.5 million. PL 90–359 (PR).

Loan insurance: Removed the 6 percent statutory interest ceiling on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, and authorized the Secretary of Commerce to approve such interest rates as he determines to be reasonable. PL 90–341.

Mail frauds: Revised the provisions of existing law prohibiting the use of the mails for fraudulent and lottery matter. HR 1411. In conference.

Mailing of master keys: To deter the mailing of master keys designed to operate motor vehicle ignition switches, made nonmailable master keys and advertisements offering master keys for sale. Provides criminal penalties for violation of the statute. HR 14935. In conference (PR).

Maritime programs: Authorized a total of $429,451,000 for Maritime programs for fiscal 1969, which included $200 million for construction and $10,960,000 for research. HR 15189. PL 90– (PR).

Masters' liens for wages: Granted to the master of a vessel documented, registered, enrolled, or licensed under the laws of the U.S. the same lien for his wages against such vessel, and the same priority therefor, as any other seaman serving on such vessel. PL 90–293.

Mobile trade fairs: Extended the mobile trade fair program for 1 year and authorized $166,000 for fiscal 1969. PL 90–434.

National Traffic and Safety Act: Amended the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 to temporarily exempt limited production motor vehicles (less than 500) from any motor vehicle safety standard if compliance would cause the manufacturer substantial economic hardship and would not result in undue hazard to the public. PL 90–283.

Ocean cruises: Permitted any U.S.-flag passenger ship receiving operating subsidy payments to engage in cruise trade off its assigned trade route for up to 7 months of the year if the Secretary of Commerce finds that such off-route cruising will not prevent adequate service on the vessel's assigned trade route nor substantially adversely affect an existing U.S.-flag operator's services. PL 90–358.

Parcel Distribution Services Advisory Commission: Extended the reporting deadlines of the Commission from January 1, 1968 to June 30, 1969, and from January 1, 1969 to June 30, 1970, and increased the authorization from $100,000 to $300,000. The Commission is to make recommendations concerning the adequacy of existing services, improvement methods, simplification of rate structure, and other matters relating to parcel disribution. S. 3656. P/S 6/19.

Passenger vessels: Postponed for two years the date on which passenger vessels operating solely on the inland rivers and waterways must comply with certain safety standards. PL 90–435.

Pipeline safety: Authorized the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety regulations for the transport of natural gas by pipeline. S. 1166. PL 90– (PR).

Radio frequency interference: Empowered the Federal Communications Commission to prescribe regulations for the manufacture, sale, offer for sale, shipment, and import of devices which cause harmful interference to radio communications and reception. PL 90–379.

Supplemental air transportation: Amended the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to give specific statutory authority to supplemental air carriers to conduct inclusive tour charter trips. S. 3566. P/S 7/9. H. Cal.

Vehicle weights and dimensions: Amended the Federal Aid Highway Act to increase the vehicle weight and width which a State may lawfully permit on the Interstate Highway system. S. 2658. P/S 4/4. H. Cal.

Water carrier financing: Made equipment trust certificate financing available to the water carrier industry by extending the same recordation and limited bankruptcy benefits now available to the railroads and the airlines. S. 913. P/S 4/25.

VETERANS

Disabled veterans compensation increase: Provided a $100 monthly increase in compensation payments to totally disabled veterans whose disability is service connected; an 8 percent cost-of-living increase in compensation payments to other veterans with service-connected disabilities; and authorized medical devices on an outpatient basis to totally disabled veterans. HR 16027. P/S amended 7/31 (PR).

Education and training: Liberalized the eligibility and educational assistance under the G.I. bill of rights and established educational benefits for widows and wives of totally disabled veterans. HR 16025. P/S amended 7/15 (PR).

Federal payments to states: Increased payment by the Federal Government to State homes for domiciliary and hospital care from $2.50 to $3.50 and for nursing home care from $3.50 to $5; and extended for 5 additional years matching grants of $5 million each year for States to construct nursing homes. PL 90–432.

Job opportunities for returning veterans: Expressed the sense of Congress that employment opportunities be made available to veterans who return from military service in Vietnam and elsewhere, and that every possible effort be made by the Government and private enterprise to give priority in their employment programs to such veterans. H. Con. Res. 705 P/H 4/24/68; P/S amended 7/3; H. adopted S. amdts. 7/30. (PR).

Medical care: Provided nursing home care and contract hospitalization for certain veterans in Alaska and Hawaii. HR 3593. P/S amended 7/15.

Nursing home care for veterans: Increased the maximum amount which the Veterans' Administration can pay to community nursing homes for veterans who have exhausted their hospital benefits and need extended care. PL 90–429.

Pensions' Protection Act: Provided that increased Social Security benefits would not affect veterans' pensions until 1970, when pensions would be gradually adjusted to take into account the increased Social Security benefits. PL 90–275 (PR).

Vocational rehabilitation: Expanded the vocational rehabilitation program for veterans to permit training on a part-time as well as full-time basis, with subsistence payments for part-time training proportionately reduced from the full-time level. PL 90–431 (PR).

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

IS IT TIME TO TAKE ANOTHER RISK TOWARD PEACE?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Christian Science Monitor under date of August 1, 1968, there is an article—a column, in reality—entitled "Of Peace and Politics," by Joseph C. Harsch.

Mr. Harsch, in my opinion, is one of the most outstanding commentators and columnists in the newspaper profession. He is a man who goes deeply into his subject, who tries to think through what he discusses, and always writes in a manner which is captivating, interesting, and illustrative.

The column has to do with the possibilities which confront this country insofar as the situation in Vietnam and Paris is concerned. The column ends on this statement: "Is it time to take another risk toward peace?"

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the column by Mr. Harsch be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 1, 1968]

Of Peace and Politics

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

Washington.—For several weeks now the most bitterly waged argument inside the administration has been over whether, and when, to assume that there has in fact been a "response" from Hanoi to the pullback of the American bombing line in Vietnam.

According to the official line at this moment of writing there has never been any response.

This is supported by the fact that Hanoi has never once labeled anything it has done as being a response to the first United States act of deescalation. On the contrary, it has continued to insist in public that there is nothing to talk about or do unless the United States has first ceased all hostile actions against North Vietnam.

RESPONSE?

However, the following things have happened:

1. No rockets have hit Saigon since June 21.
2. The number of North Vietnamese troops arriving in South Vietnam in June was half as many as those which arrived in May.
3. The number of troops "fed into the pipeline at the top" also has declined, leading to the expectation of a substantial drop in the number of North Vietnam arrivals during August and September.

Do these three facts represent a "response"? Do they add up to an act of deescalation by the other side?

Hanoi refuses to claim them as deescalation.

United States military authorities provide alternate explanations.

It is suggested that the rocketing of Saigon has ended because the enemy has run out of rockets, due, it is claimed, to the success of American countermeasures.

It is suggested that the fall in troop movements from North to South is because the enemy has virtually completed his deployment for a second great offensive and has now stepped his troop movements down from a "reinforcement" to a mere "replacement" level.

BEHAVIOR AMBIGUOUS

It also is asserted that military intelligence continues to indicate that the enemy is getting ready for a major offensive which is now expected in late August. At the White House there is an inclination to think that this timing is intended to embarrass President Johnson at the time of the Democratic convention.

The argument on the other side starts with the proposition that the pattern is standard operating procedure in a case of this kind. Hanoi's behavior is ambiguous. There are acts which might mean deliberate restraint in response to United States restraint. But they refuse to put the label of "response" upon them.

But this, it is pointed out, is precisely what happened in the case of the Cuban missile crisis when every message from Moscow to Washington was open to two interpretations.

President John F. Kennedy methodically selected the interpretation he preferred. By choosing his own interpretation of the Russian positions he led Mr. Khruschev step by step from confrontation to capitulation.

In this case President Johnson so far has refused to apply the Kennedy technique to the Hanoi position.

There are political implications.

To do so would be of enormous help to Vice-President Hubert Humphrey's campaign. Until such a step is taken Mr. Humphrey still has the albatross of the war around his neck. His rival, Eugene McCarthy, has the enormous advantage of being free of the war.

GREAT RISKS

Humphrey supporters have been pleading with the White House to take a chance and make a second deescalation move. Their argument is that there is nothing to lose. If Mr. Johnson assumes that Hanoi has given

> him a "response" and acts accordingly, then one of two things will follow:
>
> Either there will be another responsive signal from the other side. Or there will be the grand offensive which the Pentagon predicts. If there is an offensive, say the Humphrey people, then everyone will rally behind the President and support him in returning to bombing North Vietnam. If there is no offensive, the evidence of a "response" will be all the more impressive.
>
> In peacemaking as in war-making there are great risks at every turn. *Is it time to take another risk toward peace?*

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BOGGS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

U.S. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, in the Federal Register of Wednesday, July 31, appears the text of a new Executive Order No. 11419.

This order is designed to close the economic noose on the peaceful country of Rhodesia by barring all U.S. imports from and exports to that country.

The order also prohibits aircraft or vessels under U.S. registration or under charter to a U.S. citizen from carrying cargo originating in or destined to be delivered to Rhodesia. Additionally, the order prohibits the operation of any U.S. airplane to or from Rhodesia and it bars the transfer of funds to or from Rhodesia.

This action was taken in support of a resolution passed by the United Nations Security Council on May 29 of this year.

That resolution represents the second step in the effort to bring about the collapse of the Rhodesian Government. The first step—a partial economic boycott instituted last year—was a failure. The third step, which will be called for should these added measures also fail, is military action.

The United States is in a vulnerable position—its action is unprincipled and wrong. It is unjust. Besides that, we are in the absurd position of demanding economic sanctions against a nation at peace with us, and yet do nothing about seeking economic sanctions against North Vietnam, at whose hands this country has suffered more than 193,000 casualties.

Just 10 months ago—last October—I introduced an amendment calling on this Government to initiate and support in the United Nations economic sanctions against North Vietnam. The Senate adopted that formal resolution by a vote of 74 to 15. Yet, despite that action, the President has done nothing about North Vietnam. But he has intensified the actions of this country against Rhodesia.

Mr. President, the Senator from Virginia does not pass judgment on whether Rhodesia should be independent or whether it should continue her former relationship with Great Britain.

All that I argue is that this is a matter to be decided between the countries involved—Great Britain and Rhodesia. The American Government has no business interfering in this matter.

The same position has been forcefully stated by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

Mr. Acheson has labeled the United Nations' action against Rhodesia as "barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle."

The British people themselves are divided on this question. Not long ago, the upper house of the British Parliament refused to approve any further tightening of the economic screws on Rhodesia. It did so at great risk to itself, for it is within the power of the Socialist government of Britain to abolish the House of Lords.

Hopefully, we may have pressure for a change of policy in this country. We have recently had a change of our ambassador to the United Nations. Mr. George W. Ball, our former Undersecretary of State, now heads our delegation.

Mr. Ball has many times expressed his view that our policy toward Rhodesia is self-defeating and misguided, and I commend Ambassador Ball for the view he has taken in this matter.

In his recent book, "The Discipline of Power," Mr. Ball argues it is a romatic delusion" to believe that anything short of armed force will bring about the downfall of the Rhodesian Government. And, of course, this is what the Charter of the United Nations calls for if economic sanctions fail.

Mr. Ball points up what I believe to be the very grave risk involved in this action against Rhodesia. This country, if the President pursues his present policy, could very well find itself embroiled in an armed intervention in Rhodesia.

So, in addition to the injustice of our action, there is this practical matter to consider. We must not stumble into another Vietnam—this time in Africa.

There is evidence already that our participation in the boycott of Rhodesia is hurting our vital interests. Rhodesia was one of our important sources of chromium ore which is a primary element in the making of stainless steel. But because the United States has prohibited imports from Rhodesia, our country is dependent on the Soviet Union for more than one-half of its chromite imports—and I might say at increased prices.

So we cannot purchase chrome from Rhodesia, a nation at peace, but must instead purchase it from the Soviet Union, which is supplying the bulk of the war material to keep the Vietnam war going.

Mr. President, I think it should be made a matter of record that while this country is fully supporting Great Britain in its vindictive policies against Rhodesia, the British in turn have failed to support the United States in its defense of South Vietnam.

Ships flying the British flag continue to deliver supplies to the ports of North Vietnam. For the first 6 months of this year, 61 such ships were reported. This represents an increase of nearly 100 percent over the same period last year.

The British also have refused to honor the economic boycott of Cuba which has been imposed by the countries of the Western Hemisphere. With respect to those shipments, British officials have been quoted as saying, "We do not believe in economic boycotts."

Again, while this country fully cooperates in the United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia, the United Nations, for its part, refuses even to consider the question of a boycott of North Vietnam. This is so despite the fact that the U.N. is specifically charged with helping to maintain world peace and specifically prohibited from interfering in the internal affairs of any nation.

Mr. President, I strongly object to the actions taken by this Government against the country of Rhodesia. I firmly believe we are embarked on a dangerous path, one that does no honor to our traditions as a peace-loving people. It is an unprincipled act and a dangerous one.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 11618. An act to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish or wildlife into the United States; to prevent the interstate shipment of reptiles, amphibians, and other wildlife taken contrary to State law; and for other purposes;

H.R. 12843. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health; and

H.R. 18673. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to prescribe health care cost-sharing arrangements for certain surviving dependents, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills:

S. 3865. An act to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10864. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forests, Incorporated, and for other purposes;

H.R. 15794. An act to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16086. An act to amend the act of August 25, 1959 (73 Stat. 420), pertaining to the affairs of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma;

H.R. 16361. An act to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16729. An act to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were each read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H.R. 11618. An act to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish or wildlife into the United States; to prevent the interstate shipment of reptiles, amphibians, and other wildlife taken contrary to State law; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

H.R. 18673. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to prescribe health care cost-sharing arrangements for certain surviving dependents, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, under the provisions of Public Law 74–170, appoints the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN] to attend the Interparliamentary Union Meeting, to be held at Lima, Peru, on September 5–13, 1968.

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, appoints the following Senators to attend the meeting of the 23d session of the United Nations General Assembly, to be held at New York, N.Y., from September 17 to mid-December 1968: the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER].

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 816, 80th Congress, reappoints the following Senators to the Board of Visitors to the U.S. Naval Academy: the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER].

The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with Senate Resolution 281, appoints the following Senators to the Select Committee To Study the Unmet Basic Needs Among the People of the United States: the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BOGGS], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD].

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT OF DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

A letter from the Secretary, Department of the Air Force, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Semiannual Experimental, Development, Test, and Research Procurement Action Report," for the period January 1, 1968 through June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF STATE

A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the extent and disposition of U.S. contributions to international organizations, for the fiscal year 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORT OF NATIONAL PARK FOUNDATION

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the National Park Foundation, covering the period December 18, 1967 through June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION OF CERTAIN ALIENS

Two letters from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders suspending deportation of certain aliens, together with a statement of the facts and pertinent provisions of law pertain to each alien, and the reasons for ordering such suspension (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting, pursuant to law, the 17th annual report of the Commissioner of Education on the administration of Public Laws 874 and 815, 81st Congress, as amended, for the fiscal year which ended on June 30, 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY ACT OF 1954

A letter from the Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, to eliminate the requirement for a finding of practical value and abolish the distinction between the commercial licenses for facilities and certain research and development licenses for facilities and other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. LAUSCHE, from the Committee on Commerce, with amendments:

S. 2687. A bill to amend section 17 of the Interstate Commerce Act to provide for judicial review of orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1499).

By Mr. ERVIN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. 3738. A bill to amend the definition of "felony" in title IV (adding chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code) and title VII of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (Rept. No. 1500).

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BENNETT:

S. 3967. A bill relating to the effective date of the 1966 change in the definition of earned income for purposes of pension plans of self-employed individuals; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. KUCHEL:

S. 3968. A bill for the relief of Jose Molina-Nieto, his wife, Maria Jorge (Georgina) Luna de Molina, and their children, Maria Asunction Molina, Jacinto Molina, Marina Molina, Beatrice Molina, Ignacio Molina, Pedro Molina, and Eulalia Molina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHURCH:

S. 3969. A bill for the relief of certain individuals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. CHURCH when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 3970. A bill for the relief of Ping Wah Cheng, Chuen Sang Cheung, Shui Feng Chen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BYRD of West Virginia:

S. 3971. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ruperto Evangelista Perez, Jr., and Dr. Bella P. Mercado Perez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BYRD of West Virginia (by request):

S. 3972. A bill to authorize a study for a waterway connecting the Kanawha River, W. Va., and the James River, Va., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BAYH:

S. 3973. A bill for the relief of the American and Foreign Insurance Co., the Queen Insurance Co. of America, the Newark Fire Insurance Co., and the Star Insurance Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. BAYH when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CLARK:

S. 3974. A bill for the relief of Frank McGrady; and

S. 3975. A bill for the relief of Joseph M. Whelan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 3976. A bill for the relief of Tsang Kwai Yau; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOMINICK (for himself, Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. CANNON, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. FANNIN, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. JORDAN of Idaho, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MCGEE, and Mr. MURPHY):

S. 3977. A bill for the relief of certain individuals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina:

S. 3978. A bill for the relief of King-Fa Yu;

S. 3979. A bill for the relief of Ah Gee Yue (also known as Ah Kin Yu); and

S. 3980. A bill for the relief of Shu Ling Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey:

S. 3981. A bill for the relief of Andreas Boutis; and

S. 3982. A bill for the relief of Chong Pil Lee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

S. 3983. A bill to authorize the establishment of the Biscayne National Monument in the State of Florida, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BAYH:

S. 3984. A bill to amend chapter 23 of title 38, United States Code, to increase the maximum amount which the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may pay to cover the burial and funeral expenses of certain deceased veterans; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 3985. A bill to extend benefits under section 8191 of title 5, United States Code, to law enforcement officers and firemen not employed by the United States who are killed or totally disabled in the line of duty; to the Committee on Government Operations.

(See the remarks of Mr. BAYH when he introduced the first above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey:

S.J. Res. 198. Joint resolution authorizing the issuance of a gold medal to George Jessel; and

S.J. Res. 199. Joint resolution authorizing the issuance of a gold medal to Jimmy Durante; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. Williams of New Jersey when he introduced the above joint resolutions, which appear under separate headings.)

S. 3969—INTRODUCTION OF BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I introduce today, for referral, a private bill for the relief of 55 aliens. These individuals are Basques from Spain, employed as sheepherders in the State of Idaho. You have, on numerous occasions, heard me speak of the Basques of Idaho and the high regard in which we hold them. This also is true of the sheepherders, an occupation the Basques have pursued there for many years, demonstrating unequalled care for their charges, a fact long known and highly valued by Idaho sheep ranchers.

Theirs is an important contribution to this industry, a contribution we cannot afford to lose. For this reason, I urge approval of this bill, granting them permanent residence in the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3969) for the relief of certain individuals, introduced by Mr. Church, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3973—INTRODUCTION OF BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF FOUR INSURANCE COMPANIES

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I am today introducing, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide relief for four insurance compaines which were members of the American Hull Insurance Syndicate during the early days of World War II and sustained major losses providing insurance protection for American shipping in that critical period. These companies the American & Foreign Insurance Co., the Queen Insurance Co. of America, the Newark Fire Insurance Co., and the Star Insurance Co., are members of the Royal-Globe Insurance Group. Each of these firms was incorporated in the United States many years ago; each has its main office in New York City, and each employs American workers, but because of restrictions on stockownership they were not qualified to share in later reimbursements.

Nevertheless, they have always been considered to be American domiciled companies, and they have been members of the American Hull Insurance Syndicate since it was established in 1920 at the request of the American Government. Along with the other 79 companies in this group, these four wrote their allotted share of war-risk insurance for American hulls in World War II and suffered proportionate losses.

Before the United States became an active participant in World War II in 1941, the affiliated companies sustained severe losses because of German attacks on Allied shipping. Under the Neutrality Act which was in effect before the official involvement of the United States as a belligerent, the American Hull Insurance Group could not collect for war losses to its insured shipping. Despite this, apparently in the belief that the National Government would sanction the policy, the syndicate continued to assume war-risk insurance in this period of trial and tribulation. Later, partial reimbursement was made for the losses incurred before active U.S. participation. Following Pearl Harbor war-risk insurance was taken over by the Federal Government, but by that time the reserves of these companies had been exhausted.

An act of Congress adopted after the end of World War II provided that the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission could use sequestered alien assets to settle claims for losses sustained in the period of the war when the Neutrality Act had been in effect. However, only companies which were both incorporated and owned by American stockholders were allowed to file claims under this law.

Under British law the companies were considered to be American citizens because of the situs of their incorporation, but because their stock was owned by British interests these four companies were banned from the treatment accorded other members of the syndicate. However, the Foreign Claims Settlement Act did permit American stockholders owning substantial interest in a foreign corporation to file claims for losses to the extent of their ownership.

The purpose of this bill would be to authorize the payment of relief for the inequitable treatment afforded these four companies. It would permit reimbursement to them for provable losses sustained in supporting the U.S. war effort in the early days of World War II which they have been unable to collect because of legal technicalities. It has been estimated that the total provable loss of the four companies would amount to $858,170.81, allocated as follows to each company: American & Foreign Insurance Co., $437,904.29; Queen Insurance Co., $251,186.77; Newark Fire Insurance Co., $71,767.67; Star Insurance Co., $97,312.08.

Let me stress, however, that the bill does not provide for any fixed amount of reimbursement. To the contrary, it would direct the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to determine the total provable losses of each company and to compute each company's share of the total losses suffered by the syndicate. Provable losses would be determined by deducting paid losses, commissions, and expenses from premiums received by each company. The Commission would then certify to the Treasury the proportion of such losses which would have been paid to each company if it had been eligible for reimbursement as a member of the syndicate under the War Claims Act of 1948.

Mr. President, it is entirely proper and just that these four companies should receive reimbursement for early World War II losses on insured shipping in the same proportion as the other members of the American Hull Insurance Syndicate. Although they are incorporated in the United States and provided war-risk insurance during a critical period of our history, they are ineligible under present law to receive war claims payments. During the period that the Neutrality Act was in existence, these companies joined with other American companies to provide insurance which was essential to keep vital American shipping flowing to our allies. The service which they rendered was encouraged, in order to meet a need which the Government itself was unable to provide. It seems to me that in all fairness Congress should take steps to rectify the obvious inequity which has faced these particular companies.

In order to provide more complete background information on the significant role played by the American Hull Insurance Syndicate in meeting war-risk insurance losses during the early years of World War II, I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from a report of the War Claims Commission made on January 16, 1953 (House Document No. 67, 83d Congress, first session, pp. 141–142), be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks. I also ask consent that the full text of the bill, which is brief, be also printed in the Record at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and excerpt will be printed in the Record.

The bill (3973) for the relief of the American & Foreign Insurance Co., the Queen Insurance Co. of America, the Newark Fire Insurance Co., and the Star Insurance Co., introduced by Mr. Bayh, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 3973

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission is authorized and directed to determine the total provable losses sustained by each of the following insurance companies as members of the American Hull Insurance Syndicate during the period September 1, 1939 to September 2, 1945; the American and Foreign Insurance Company of New York, the Newark Fire Insurance Company of New Jersey, the Queen Insurance Company of America of New York, the Star Insurance Company of New York. The Foreign Claims Settlement Commission shall compute each company's share of the total losses of that syndicate and the provable losses shall be determined by deducting paid losses, commissions and expenses from premiums received by each company concerned. Upon determination of total provable loss sustained by each company the Commission shall determine the proportion of such losses which would have been paid to each company if it had been eligible for reimbursement as a member of such syndicate under the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, and shall certify such amount to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated to each of the insurance companies named in section 1 of this Act the amount certified to him by the Foreign Claims Settlements Commission as the amount of provable losses suffered by each company named in section 1 of this Act in full settlement of that company's claim against the United States for reimbursement for such losses.

Sec. 3. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this subsection shall be deemed guilty or a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The excerpt, presented by Mr. BAYH, is as follows:

[House Document No. 67, pp. 141–142, 83d Congress, First Session]

"A". CLAIMS OF INSURANCE UNDERWRITERS

The American insurance companies which were engaged in the underwriting of various types of war-risk insurance and reinsurance during the war, claim as subrogees for the amounts they paid on maritime losses sustained during World War II. These insurance companies paid out approximately $191,500,000 on losses, distributed as follows:

Cargo	$144,000,000
Hull	44,500,000
Protection and indemnity	3,000,000
Total	191,500,000

The premiums the companies received on the specific contracts of insurance in which losses occurred amounted to approximately $6,550,000.

The losses in question involved approximately 1,300 ships which were either damaged or sunk during a period of the war when Government insurance was not available. Although the United States Maritime Commission had been authorized by the act of June 29, 1940, to write war-risk insurance on American vessels engaged in the Commerce of the United States, there was doubt as to whether the Commission had the power to write insurance on American vessels carrying military or other supplies to Allied ports during the first critical months after the United States entered the war. The doubt was caused by a proviso in the act of June 29, 1940, that in the event the neutrality law then in effect was suspended, no vessel or its officers and crew, carrying contraband and no cargo of contraband could be insured under the act.

The American Hull Syndicate, which includes the claimants for the war losses under consideration, apparently stepped in the breach created by the unavailability of the Government insurance and wrote the war-risk insurance on vessels used chiefly in transporting such basic commodities as wool, rubber, tin, burlap and scarce metals to the United States and in supplying cotton, petroleum products and similar items to the nations friendly to the United States. The insurance was written at stabilized rates of premiums announced from time to time. In March 1942 the above-mentioned proviso was repealed and in April 1942 the War Shipping Administration, the agency to which the insurance functions of the Maritime Commission were transferred, was relieved of the necessity for charging premiums adequate to cover the risks assumed. Following the enactment of the provisions the War Shipping Administration began to carry the war-risk insurance on American vessels; whereupon, the Hull Syndicate withdrew from the field of writing war-risk insurance on hulls.

The right of underwriters to rank as war-damage claimants has been recognized by the Congress and by the courts and commissions which have been concerned with war claims arising out of previous conflicts. In World War I there was no adjudication of the issue by the American-German Mixed Claims Commission because a compromise was reached pursuant to which Germany agreed to pay the underwriters 83 percent of the losses they sustained. However, in a life-insurance case Umpire Parker referred to contracts of marine insurance cases in the following language:

"* * * a contract of marine or war-risk insurance is a contract of indemnity ingrafted on and adhering in the property insured. * * * the insured suffers no loss to the extent of payments made him by the insurer, who is the real loser to the extent of such payments not reimbursed by reinsurance. * * *"

It is the view of the Commission that the underwriters have valid war claims for the losses they sustained under their war-risk contracts of insurance. In their behalf it must be said that but for the contracts of insurance they wrote, many ships engaged in the commerce of the United States would not have taken to sea and the United States and its allies would have been denied vital material whose shipment to their destination the underwriters made possible. The underwriters have, themselves, urged that "there can be no doubt that in carrying so large a part of the burden of war risk * * * the syndicate performed a duty to the highest importance to the American economy when the danger was greatest and the Government was least able to act."

S. 3984—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO INCREASED BURIAL EXPENSES FOR VETERANS

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill which would authorize the Veterans' Administration to contribute a larger share to the burial costs of wartime and disabled veterans. Present law (38 USC 901 et. seq.) provides for the payment of not to exceed $250 toward the burial, funeral expenses, and costs of transporting a body to the burial site of those veterans who served during periods of armed conflict and certain peacetime veterans whose deaths are service related. Also, provision is made for transporting the remains of veterans who might die while hospitalized or domiciled in a veterans' hospital or elsewhere at the expense of the Veterans' Administration.

In the 10 years since the enactment of the present law, the cost of burial expenses has increased considerably. The National Funeral Directors Association, which conducts an annual nationwide survey among its members, has indicated that the average cost of regular adult funeral services increased from $661 in 1958 to $820 in 1966. In addition interment or cremation charges, which are separate from those paid to the funeral director for his services, have increased likewise. The cost and charges for opening and closing a grave will run from $45 to $150. Cremation costs vary from $35 to $100, and there are additional charges for urns and niches.

Under the circumstances the $250 which is now authorized for burial expenses for veterans is obviously inadequate. It seems to me that some administrative flexibility should be authorized which would permit the Veterans' Administration to share the unavoidable burden which falls on the estate and the family of a wartime veteran. Consequently, my bill would strike out the present maximum limit of $250 and would authorize payment of an amount determined to be reasonable and necessary, but in no case to exceed $500. If this were adopted it would enable the Administrator to vary the amount of contribution according to actual need and also to take into account the rising costs of services, within the maximum authorized amount of $500.

Perhaps it would be relevant to point out that present law (10 U.S.C. 1482 et seq.), in providing for the final disposition of the remains of deceased active duty military service personnel, authorizes the appropriate secretary to pay for necessary burial expenses. In addition to preparing the remains, providing an appropriate casket, and transporting them with an escort to place of burial, a cash interment allowance is paid in accordance with the circumstances of the burial for necessary expenses which are not larger than those normally incurred. This language permits an adjustment of the amounts paid according to actual costs; at present the maximum interment allowance for burial in a private cemetery is $500.

The bill I am introducing proposes to confer similar discretionary authority on the Veterans' Administration to adjust the amount paid for the burial of eligible veterans in accordance with need and actual costs, up to the maximum of $500 in each case. It seems to me that Congress should provide adequate funds to cover the bulk of unavoidable funeral expenses for wartime veterans unless it is demonstrated that there is no financial need for such help. Especially in those cases where the estate is so small that interment charges become a sizable drain on the resources of his family, the present limit of $250 is pitifully small.

I hope that Members of both the House and Senate will turn their attention to this matter in order that more realistic assistance can be authorized for this worthy purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3984) to amend chapter 23 of title 38, United States Code, to increase the maximum amount which the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may pay to cover the burial and funeral expenses of certain deceased veterans, introduced by Mr. BAYH, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILLS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 3875) the Community Self-Determination Act of 1968.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 8) to amend the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, so as to make its provisions applicable to agriculture.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HAR-

RIS] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 3784) to establish an Aging Research Commission.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 3893) to authorize the use of facilities at the U.S. Public Health Service Owyhee Indian Hospital to provide certain medical care to non-Indians.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The PRESIDING OFFICER announced that on today, August 2, 1968, the President pro tempore signed the following enrolled bills, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

H.R. 16361. An act to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16729. An act to extend for two years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs.

BETTER CONTROL OF INTERSTATE TRAFFIC IN FIREARMS—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENTS NOS. 929 THROUGH 932

Mr. TYDINGS submitted four amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 3633) to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide for better control of the interstate traffic in firearms, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

NOTICE OF PUEBLO DE TAOS LANDS HEARING

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has set hearings September 19 and 20 on H.R. 3306, a House bill to place certain National Forest lands in New Mexico in trust for the use of the Taos Indians.

The hearings have been set at the request of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], who has cooperated in recent subcommittee efforts to find a consensus on the matter. Because of public interest in the matter, and the fact that we are coming back in September, it has been concluded that hearings can and should be held.

I make this announcement so persons interested may file statements with the committee or, if they wish, request permission to appear at the hearings.

INDEMNITY PAYMENT TO CERTAIN DAIRY FARMERS—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3638) to extend for 3 years the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers for milk required to be withheld from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The assistant legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of August 1, 1968, p. 24762, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, conferees on both sides unanimously signed the report. As passed by the Senate, this bill authorized dairy indemnity payments for 3 years. The House amendment authorized such payments for only 1 year. The conference substitute for the House amendment provides for payments for 2 years.

Mr. President, I move the adoption of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

THE CREDIT UNION MOVEMENT

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I know of no two Senators who have worked harder on behalf of the credit union movement than the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], and the able chairman of the Subcomittee on Financial Institutions, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE]. The credit union movement plays a vital role in providing millions of families with low-cost credit when they need it the most.

At the same time, the credit unions have proven to be safe and effective institutions for savings deposits. I was pleased to see the 90th Congress take a number of actions which modernize and update the Federal Credit Union Act and permit credit unions to provide even better service to their members.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two resolutions passed by CUNA, commending Senator SPARKMAN and Senator PROXMIRE, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENDING SENATOR SPARKMAN AND SENATE BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

Whereas, Senator John J. Sparkman, Chairman, and members of the Banking and Currency Committee of the United States Senate have granted public hearings and promulgated extensive credit union legislation introduced in the 90th Congress at the request of CUNA International, Inc., and

Whereas, Senator Sparkman and members of the Banking and Currency Committee of the United States Senate have by their interest in and support of such legislation greatly furthered the best interests of the credit union movement in the United States and its millions of members,

Now therefore be it resolved, that the Board of Directors of CUNA International does hereby place on record its commendation and appreciation to Senator Sparkman, Chairman, and the individual members of the Banking and Currency Committee of the United States Senate for their part in furthering the passage of sound legislation for the modernization and advancement of federal credit unions, and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to Senator Sparkman and to each member of the Banking and Currency Committee of the United States Senate.

COMMENDING SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE

Whereas, Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin, as Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions, and as a member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, has demonstrated keen, analytical and objective approaches to economic and financial matters and the institutions associated therewith, and

Whereas, Senator Proxmire, as Chairman of the Financial Institutions Subcommittee, has expedited consideration of credit union legislation, and

Whereas, Senator Proxmire has energetically and aggressively assumed the role of principal advocate in the Senate of truth-in-lending legislation, and has managed such legislation to unanimous acceptance by the U.S. Senate, and

Whereas, Senator Proxmire has won the respect and appreciation of consumers and credit unionists for his untiring efforts in their behalf,

Now therefore be it resolved, that the Board of Directors of CUNA International does hereby place on record its wholehearted commendation of Senator Proxmire's public service and its appreciation for his dedicated and aggressive leadership in consumer credit legislation as well as legislation of direct concern to credit unions, and

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to Senator William Proxmire and to the Wisconsin Credit Union League.

A USEFUL CONGRESSIONAL PUBLICATION FOR SMALL BUSINESS

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. Presidert, on July 10, 1968, the Committee on Small Business released a report entitled "Automatic Data Processing and the Small Businessman." The report, prepared by Mr. Robert L. Chartrand of the Science Policy Research Division, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, will be of great interest to Members of Congress as well as the small business community.

As chairman of the committee I have long recognized the need of the small businessman to utilize effectively new tools and techniques of modern management in order to survive in a competitive market. Focusing on the needs and practices of the small business in using automatic data processing, the report examines three major areas of information:

First. The status of Federal Government activity in providing information and other forms of support in the area of automatic data processing technology to the small businessman;

Second. Detailed information describing how and where the small business community has been using automatic data processing; and

Third. Useful information regarding the tools, techniques, and applications which should be considered by the small businessman who seeks to improve his business operation.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, "Chapter 1, Summary and Conclusions of the Report."

There being no objection, the chapter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING AND THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN

I. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

Automatic data processing technology represents man's innovative ability to overcome many of the problems inherent in collecting, indexing, storing, manipulating, and retrieving information. The impact of this technology on the public and private elements of our society has been pronounced. In the governmental realm, a recent report stated:

"No single technological advance in recent years has contributed more to effectiveness and efficiency in Government operations than the development of electronic data processing equipment."[1]

The application of the computer and its ancillary tools to business problems also has proceeded at an accelerated pace. Today, while many larger corporations have tested and invested in automatic data processing systems, a significant portion of the small business community remains unconvinced of the desirability or feasibility of using the new approach. Yet there is a growing awareness that the contemporary small entrepreneur must avail himself to those mechanisms and services which will allow him to survive in an age where competition is increasingly sophisticated and unrelenting.

There has been a recognized need on the part of the Federal Government—executive branch agencies and legislative branch components—and various private sector groups for an overall strategy to be conceived which would lead to a marshaling of resources to address the problem of linking the small business community with the potential of the computer. Much of the effort expended heretofore has been unfocused or lacking in continuity, and this situation has resulted in the study undertaken by the Senate Select Committee on Small Business.

An examination of the problem area has permitted the identification of three critical requirements for future action. First, a carefully coordinated investigation of user (that is, small business) needs for automatic data processing support should be initiated. The fragmentary data now in existence requires updating, and should be analyzed in the light of state-of-the-art developments of the last few years. The responsibility for organizing this activity should be negotiated through discussion between cognizant Government and business organizations.

The second vital requirement is related to identifying those hardware and software developments of the immediate past and foreseeable future in terms of their application to the multitudinous problems of the small businessman. The small business community is increasing at a great rate: 200,000 new small firms since 1961; 50,000 now taking their place in the competitive milieu every year. The role of industry in helping to match the new devices and man-machine techniques with the discrete applications cannot be underplayed, but the contributions of governmental groups also must be delineated and evaluated.

The third requirement which is critical to an improvement of the status of the small business is for a much enhanced program of orientation and education of the small merchant in terms of the support which can be gained from utilizing automatic data processing. The level of technical literacy must be raised, and a willingness to seek out and listen to counsel must be engendered. Although industry increasingly has provided information to the public about the pro's and con's of the new machine technology, the degree of understanding remains inadequate to the needs of our times.

The Federal Government has played a growing role in encouraging the use of computer technology by business. Through the support provided by the Office of State Technical Services' grants, pilot projects involving business concerns and other private sector elements have been founded; also, dozens of workshops, conferences, and training curriculums have been established to provide guidance to the busy businessman. The Small Business Administration, in fulfillment of its charter, continues to sponsor educational programs designed to introduce automatic data processing to the small businessman. In addition, this group has prepared and disseminated countless copies of basic reference literature on the subject. The Office of Technology Utilization of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has established a repository for computer programs at the University of Georgia, which may be drawn upon by businessmen. These Federal units and others to a lesser degree have confronted the dilemma of the small businessman and sought to render useful assistance in the form of counsel, funding, and background material.

Nor has the private sector of society been idle. While their resources necessarily are limited, the trade associations such as the Association of Data Processing Services Organizations and the National Retail Merchants Association, among others, have moved to provide member firms with current information on the possibilities for using punched card equipment and computers. Universities, too, have become involved through the medium of moneys granted by the Office of State Technical Services. Throughout the efforts to raise and apply resources which could be put to use by the small businessman a question of authority and responsibility has emerged. *Should there be a single point of coordination within the Federal Government so that the application of talent and funding would result in topimum benefits?*

The findings of the committee regarding industrial acceptance of governmental support in this area indicate that in general both large and small business concerns favor the allocation of Federal funds in educational and experimental systems efforts. It is recognized by business that many of the applications now fully supported by ADP-oriented equipment and software were brought to that state of performance as the result of work done with Government money. The emergence of State and metropolitan governmental capabilities in the data processing realm also has affected the attitude and willingness o become involved on the part of many small businessmen. The need of small business, then, is for the establishment of a policy at the Federal level which would bring together and make available to the "small" businessman sufficient funding, educational resources, and counseling expertise. In a number of instances, the level of effort by Federal agencies could be raised considerably; this should be the result, it was indicated by many of those in contact with the committee, of a reappraisal of individual agency policy and resource commitment.

The expansion of business participation in its own members education and status improvement also was voiced by contributors to the committee study. There is a distinct need for an increased public relations effort so that the small businessman knows *who* wants to discuss the advantages and limitations of automatic data processing with him and *why* that particular group is so engaged. It should be noted that some of the larger corporations provide the means for employees to gain information or attend classes on computer technology, but few of the smaller firms are in a position to do this.

The transfer of technology from one environment to another has been addressed in an earlier committee report entitled "Policy Planning for Technology Transfer." The advances made, for example, in the aerospace field *may* be useful to the small entrepreneur, but if any significant modification to a device or program is required, the matter may be allowed to drop. What is the proper organism for assessing which tools and techniques could be collected and applied to the range of small business applications? Would this be a suitable project for university or foundation research, or should this fall within the aegis of a trade association project for its members? The feasibility of taking advantage of equipments, software, or applications developed elsewhere in our society needs to be viewed realistically. Such carryover may even be feasible, but at what cost? The committee report on technology transfer has this to say:

"The transfer of technology from Federal military-space programs to commercial application is intrinsically inefficient compared to directed research and development sponsored for specific purposes by industry. Only the massiveness of the recent Government investment makes the promise of private sector gains possible."[2]

The report then goes on to identify certain contributions which such transfer of technology provides to the economy:

Direct transfers of packaged technology, such as airplanes or computers.

Tangible or intangible spinoff applications in other industries.

New processes and techniques, new products, and devices to replace former methods and provide capabilities not previously available.

Cost reductions in goods, processing, and services.

The nature of the American small business community has allowed many areas of marginal responsibility and activity to evolve. Indeed, the very definition of "small business" varies from industry to industry. In order to have a common point of departure for the purpose of the committee report, the Code of Federal Regulations categories and definitions are iterated.

Industry and limitation:

Construction: $5 million annual average receipts.

Durable goods manufacture: 250 employees.

Nondurable goods manufacture: 250 employees.

Transportation and communication: $5 million annual average receipts.

Wholesale-retail trade: $5 million annual average receipts.

Finance and industry: $20 million assets.

Services and miscellaneous: $3 million annual average receipts.

Petroleum: $5 million annual average receipts.

---

[1] Executive Office of the President. Bureau of the Budget. Report to the President on the management of automatic data processing in the Federal Government. Washington, February 1965, p. 1.

[2] U.S. Senate, Select Committee on Small Business. Subcommittee on Science and Technology. Policy planing for technology transfer. (90th Cong., first sess., Document No. 15, 1967.) Washington, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1967, p. 3.

The advantages to be derived, and the constraints to be acknowledged, from small business utilization of automatic data processing are of prime importance to the Nation at large. As a result of analyzing the experience of the small business community in its relationship with those who supply technological support, the requirement for further study, discussion, and program development has been ascertained.

B. Conclusions

The analysis of the information which forms the basis for this report indicates the existence of these key factors in the national efforts to insure the stability and growth of small business through the utilization of automatic data processing technology.

(1) The state of the art of computer technology continues to progress impressively and should maintain a high level of contribution, as expressed in tools and techniques, for use by small business.

(2) The augmenting of counseling services both in government and industry will be needed if small business is to have access to that expertise which is requisite to its survival and growth.

(3) The evolution of more flexible, broader gaged service bureau centers, with their ability to serve the small businessman, is essential to the welfare of the Nation.

(4) Formal orientation and education curriculums are required, through government, university, and trade association sponsorship, in the era ahead.

(5) An investigation, on a continuing basis, of the changing cost-benefit ratios for various applications and various industries will be essential to convincing the small businessman of the applicability of ADP to his problems.

(6) The establishment of a Federal focal point for support to the small businessman, authorized by the Congress and implemented by the executive branch of the Federal Government, would appear to be a future development.

(7) The creation of the opportunity for expanded public discussion and the correlation of opinion from all sectors is necessary prior to the initiation of a detailed plan for public policy. User reaction to existing programs, both public and private, must be reviewed in the light of projected technological progress and the anticipated needs of the small business community.

POPULAR PLURALITY AND THE PRESIDENCY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared for delivery by the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], who is necessarily absent today.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POPULAR PLURALITY AND THE PRESIDENCY

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I hereby add my voice to the growing list of Senators who have pledged their support to a plan of insuring that in the event of a deadlock in the Electoral College as a result of the 1968 Presidential Election, the candidate for President having a popular plurality be elected to office by the House of Representatives, and that the Senate exercise the same democratic principle in its selection of the Vice President.

I am not persuaded by the arguments that have been advanced by opponents of the Electoral College system that the system be abolished. I recognize that much study has been given to the problem, but remain unconvinced that the less populous States would not suffer by the abolition of our current and time-tested system. The so-called Gossett Plan, advanced by the American Bar Association, specifically excludes Alaska and Hawaii from its consideration.

However, after carefully considering the climate of our great Nation in this year, I have reached the personal conclusion that the further political unrest and turmoil that could result from a candidate's failure to achieve an Electoral College majority would not benefit our country. The resulting controversies in the House of Representatives and in the Senate might tend to further the cause of chaos, not the ideal of democracy. Accordingly, I endorse the plan whereby the candidates having the national popular plurality would be elected President by the House of Representatives and Vice President by the Senate in the event no candidate achieves a majority of Electoral College votes. While I support the concept of the Electoral College, I do not believe it should become an unwitting device which could lead to the selection of a President through deals rather than through the votes of the people.

GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I wish to share with Senators a letter that I received recently from one of my constituents. For obvious reasons her name has been deleted.

I am publicizing this tragic story to help Senators who are struggling with their consciences over gun control legislation to realize the immediacy of the problem. Delay is a luxury we cannot afford, and any effort we make to avert further deaths through laxity in firearms regulations will mark a milestone in sour search for a society without violence.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JULY 11, 1968.

Senator DANIEL K. INOUYE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR INOUYE: I wish to take this opportunity to urge you to do all that you can to enact laws for the more rigid control of firearms of all kinds, including rifles.

Each person who feels strongly about this issue perhaps has his or her own personal reason for that view. Mine is that one Saturday afternoon last April my husband, in a deeply depressed state of mind, went into a sporting goods store in downtown Honolulu, purchased a rifle, went to his office and shot himself. If it had been necessary for him to secure a permit for this rifle, it is just possible that this tragedy might not have occurred. In any event, I am deeply concerned when I read the statistics of the number of suicides each year by gunshot. If only a few of these people were saved by more rigid controls, such laws would have served a very useful purpose.

Sincerely yours,

——— ———.

SENATOR RANDOLPH RECEIVES RECORD VOTE FOR CONVENTION DELEGATE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, it is noteworthy to report to his Senate colleagues that Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH has received the highest number of votes for delegate at large from West Virginia to the Democratic National Convention beginning Monday, August 26, 1968, in Chicago.

My esteemed colleague was given approximately 17,000 more votes than any of the 37 citizens who were candidates in the May 14 primary election.

Senator RANDOLPH was an uncommitted and unpledged candidate. The members of our party had confidence in his decision as to the man to support at the convention. This is a genuine tribute to the statesmanship that has characterized Senator RANDOLPH during his 24 years of public service in the Congress.

In 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1964, my colleague was elected to be a statewide delegate to Democratic conventions. He has always been a candidate without a pledge to a certain presidential aspirant.

Senator RANDOLPH attended his first Democratic convention as a boy of 10 years when his father, Ernest Randolph, a stalwart party leader, went to Baltimore in 1912 to give his support to Woodrow Wilson.

INITIAL HEARINGS ON S. 3235, PROPOSED TRADE SIMPLIFICATION ACT OF 1968

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, the first 2 days of hearings on S. 3235, the proposed Trade Simplification Act of 1968, have made it clear to me that large segments of American industry favor strongly this kind of legislation. S. 3235 is designed to remove serious obstacles to international transportation—obstacles which have been recognized for many years, but whose importance has grown recently with the advent of containers and with other new developments in transportation technology.

During hearings conducted by the Committee on Commerce on June 17 and 19, we heard from several witnesses who favor the enactment of S. 3235. I was impressed by the variety of witnesses who asked to testify in support of the bill. I was impressed that both large and small industries, both shippers and transportation companies, believe that legislation of this sort will serve not only their own interests, but important national interests as well.

The purpose of S. 3235 is to establish the legal framework which would allow carriers representing different modes of transportation to quote single, joint rates for the carriage of goods from points in the United States to points in other nations. The quotation of a single rate from inland point to inland point would take much of the guesswork, much of the uncertainty and much of the delay out of international transportation. In addition, the bill would enable groups of carriers involved in joint-rate arrangements to issue a single bill of lading for an entire intermodal and international journey. This decrease in the paperwork associated with transportation would have obvious beneficial effects on our commerce.

I think that at this point in the legislative process it might be worthwhile to review briefly what has been said during the first two days of hearings. My own hope, on the basis of what I have heard so far, is that the committee can soon continue work on this bill—and that we can look forward to legislation accomplishing the bill's objectives as soon as possible.

Five witnesses representing Government agencies testified in support of S.

3235. The eight remaining witnesses heard during the 2 days of hearings represented a wide range of interests.

The Secretary of Transportation, Alan S. Boyd, was the first witness. He said that the Department of Transportation has begun a broad effort to remove artificial impediments to trade. The proposed Trade Simplification Act is an important part of the campaign, according to Secretary Boyd.

As the Secretary said:

> In its simplest terms, the problem is that the institutional framework within which goods move in foreign commerce has not caught up with the technology. We have in this country several modes of transportation which, to be effective, must function as an inter-connected system. Our technology recognizes this, but very often our legal requirements and procedures do not.

Documentation requirements are among the most expensive results of this fragmented situation. Each time a shipment of goods is shifted from one kind of transportation to another—for example, from rail car to ship—a whole new group of documentation requirements present themselves. It was stated during the hearings that the paperwork and administrative costs associated with U.S. international trade cost an estimated $5 billion a year. Often, according to one witness, the cost of the documentation associated with a shipment exceeds the value of the shipment itself.

Rear Adm. John Harllee, chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission; and John H. Crooker, Jr., chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, followed Secretary Boyd as witnesses in support of S. 3235. Both these gentlemen were enthusiatic in their support for the bill. Admiral Harllee said joint-rates legislation would be beneficial to the U.S. maritime industry as well as to shippers and others involved in the transportation business.

Chairman Crooker said, on behalf of the CAB, that the legislation would affect surface carriers more profoundly than air cargo carriers. He pointed out, however, that freight which moves by air must also move part of the journey by land or water. He indicated that he believes S. 3235 would offer air carriers important opportunities for participation in joint-rate agreements.

Lawrence C. McQuade, an Assistant Secretary of Commerce, presented to the committee a persuasive argument that S. 3235, by benefiting the American exporter, "would work to the advantage of the national economy as a whole." It is a simple but an important fact that if you can reduce the cost of moving American goods to a foreign country, you can reduce their cost in the marketplace and make them more competitive.

The final Government witness during the 2 days of hearings was Robert C. Moot, the Small Business Administrator. Mr. Moot called to our attention a situation which has concerned many Senators. As he said:

> While a large shipper may still be able to cope with our present transportation system and survive, the small shipper just cannot afford the necessary personnel to cope with such things as the differing rates for different types of carriers from origin to destination.

Mr. Moot said he believes that if S. 3235 were enacted, the joint-rate, single-bill-of-lading arrangements which would result would encourage many small American manufacturers to enter the export market. He said that as things now stand, we make great efforts to interest small businessmen in the export market. And then, after having his interest aroused, the small shipper is confronted immediately by a system whose complexity is most discouraging.

One of the most impressive things about the 2 days of hearings was the fact that the enthusiasm in support of S. 3235 by people who concern themselves with the needs of the small shipper was matched, if not surpassed, by large shippers.

We heard testimony from representatives of Caterpillar Tractor Co. of Peoria, Ill.; Burlington Industries, Inc., of Burlington, N.C.; and American Machine & Foundry Co., of New York. In each case, we were told that the facilitation of international transportation through enactment of legislation such as S. 3235 would benefit American exporters and make it easier for them to sell their goods abroad.

The views of Caterpillar, Burlington, and American Machine & Foundry were supported by representatives of the Commerce and Industry Association of New York, whose membership includes about 2,000 firms engaged in international trade, and by a relatively new organization called the National Committee on International Trade Documentation—NCITD.

George F. Begnal of International General Electric in New York, appearing on behalf of NCITD, outlined in detail some of the complexities of the paperwork problems associated with international trade. He said paperwork costs must be cut if our exports are to continue to expand satisfactorily. I think it is significant that a group of private companies have gotten together and organized—and financed—an organization such as NCITD.

During the hearings we heard also from Thomas M. Goodfellow, president of the Association of American Railroads; John M. Haydon, president of the Port of Seattle; and Joseph C. Scheleen, the editor of Traffic World.

Mr. Goodfellow praised the Department of Transportation for proposing the Trade Simplification Act to the Congress. He said solutions to the problems the bill seeks to attack "must be found so that there may be a freer flow of goods in our foreign commerce and so that those who export or import goods will have the kind of service they deserve, with fewer complications and less redtape."

He said the bill would allow all carriers, including the railroads, to cooperate to provide better service to their customers.

Mr. Scheleen, whose magazine is read throughout the transportation industry, agreed with Mr. Goodfellow's assessment. Mr. Scheleen said enactment of S. 3235 "would make it possible for American business enterprises to effect savings that could amount to billions of dollars a year."

The Port of Seattle is a major transportation hub of the Pacific Northwest—and is vitally concerned with international, intermodal transportation. Mr. Haydon said on behalf of the port that S. 3235 represents "a very basic and vital first step" toward the intermodal service which the Nation's transportation future demands. He said that although he could speak officially only for the Port of Seattle, he believes that "most, if not all, of the major ports of the United States" would support this bill.

In summary, let me say again that the variety of testimony in support of S. 3235 has been impressive. It is clear to me that this bill represents an effort to modernize the transportation environment in such a way as to let American industry function more efficiently and more effectively. In a sense, it is an effort to get government out of the way of transportation.

This is an age when regulation and paperwork requirements seem to be proliferating. This bill is the result of a praiseworthy effort, in the field of transportation, to reverse that trend.

UNJUSTIFIED CRITICISM OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, one of the great problems of Congress is its occasional tendency to take things out of context. It is easy to ridicule a program, a research project, or a person if the full significance is not realized.

Such actions on the part of Senators and Representatives are indeed unfortunate. They bring credit neither to individuals nor to Congress as a whole.

I have received a letter from the director of the project, which originated at the University of Minnesota, together with information on the work of the project.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the letter and the statement from Mr. Ancel Keys, director of the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, University of Minnesota.

Research plays a vital part in the improvement of health of Americans. I am proud that the University of Minnesota is participating in this way.

There being no objection, the letter and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
Minneapolis, Minn., July 23, 1968.

Hon. WALTER MONDALE,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: On July 7, 1968, leading American newspapers ran the enclosed story. The House Government Operations Committee, or some member of the Committee, objects to a $17,400 grant to study death rates among Italian railroad employees. The conclusion was that the research was not needed or useful to the United States and was a wasteful expenditure abroad of U.S. money.

That study on railroad men in Italy originated in Minnesota; it was conceived in the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene and my associates, Doctors Henry L. Taylor and Henry Blackburn, as well as myself, are keenly interested in it. The criticism of the Committee is based on gross ignorance which I shall try to dispel in the attached statement. The study on the Italian railroad men is a part of the effort to learn how to combat coronary heart disease. The expense, spread over a number of years, is trivial compared with the prospective value of the information to be gained.

The attached statement may convince you that the criticism from the House Committee is unjustified. It is unwarranted to imply that we at the University of Minnesota who sponsored this project, and the review agencies of the United States Public Health Service who approved it, have been irresponsible. On the contrary, the issuance of the statement from the Committee is not a responsible action.

It is a pleasure to be able to comment here that we in the state of Minnesota are fortunate in being represented in the Congress by responsible men.

With good personal wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

ANCEL KEYS,
Director.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, July 7, 1968]

CONGRESSMAN SEEKING CUTS IN "WAY OUT" U.S. RESEARCH

(By Rudy Abramson)

WASHINGTON.—To the consternation of some congressmen, the U.S. government, in the midst of its agony over the balance of payments, is paying foreign scientists to investigate:

Death rates among Italian railroad employees.

The social integration of Iranian industrial workers.

Changing patterns of family life in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

The teeth, dental arches, jaws, face and skull of Australian aborigines.

The distribution of power in communities where Bedouin nomads and settled oasis dwellers meet.

REQUEST MADE IN 1966

Those are just a few of the foreign research projects which the House Government Operations Committee suggests should be curtailed to help stem the outflow of dollars.

Its subcommittee on research and technical programs has been concerned about the problem at least since 1966 when it asked the budget bureau to set specific guidelines limiting dollar-financed research in foreign countries.

Though dollar obligations for foreign research have dropped to $20,000,000 per year from $26,600,000 in 1966. The subcommittee is still concerned that too many grants like the $17,400 outlay to study death rates among Italian Railroad employes are being made.

BASIS OF OBJECTION

It points out that most of these funds are going into developed countries (Western Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa) which "could well afford to support their own research."

Some members of the subcommittee feel strongly that U.S. government agencies are using specific research projects as a cover for general support to institutions and individuals of renown.

Though the subcommittee does not identify individual foreign scientists receiving such support, they are known to include such widely known figures as anthropologist Louis Leakey.

SUGGESTED LIMITATION

When the subcommittee on research and technical programs held its 1966 hearings, it asked the Budget Bureau to limit foreign research project to those urgently needed by the United States.

It said further they should be limited to projects which cannot be conducted in the United States or cannot be funded through other sources.

Now the committee charges the Budget Bureau has not followed through on the recommendations, and it says the deterioration in the balances of payments situation has made it even more urgent to eliminate nonurgent foreign research projects.

DEATH RATES OF ITALIAN RAILROAD WORKERS

(A statement from the laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, University of Minnesota, July 23, 1968)

As an offshoot of extensive research aimed at eventual prevention of premature coronary heart disease in the United States a small study was organized in Italy to compare heart disease mortality of men in the same occupation in the United States and in Italy. That study was proposed by the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene of the University after careful consideration of the need for data on the incidence of heart attacks among men in the same occupation in populations differing in the habitual diet.

On July 7, 1968, leading American newspapers stated that the House Government Operations Committee criticized the grant of $17,400 by the U.S. Public Health Service to aid the collection of data in Italy. The following summary will show that the House Committee criticism must have been made without adequate information.

CORONARY HEART DISEASE

Coronary heart disease is by far the leading cause of death in the United States, accounting for nearly a third of all deaths of men and approaching a quarter of all deaths of women in our country. Coronary heart disease particularly attacks old people but *excluding* deaths at 70 years and older, in 1965 this one disease killed 169,144 men and 60,419 women in the United States. Coronary heart disease is the main reason why U.S. men aged 40 and over have a greater risk of early death than men in a number of other countries.

In spite of all advances in treatment of coronary heart disease and much excitement about heart transplants, all medical scientists agree that control of our number one killer requires prevention. We must prevent the *premature* coronary heart disease that is now killing almost a quarter of a million Americans before they reach seventy.

The idea that prevention is possible is based on reports that in many populations this disease is much less frequent than it is in the United States and some other countries with similar high attack rates—Finland, Scotland, Australia, for example. Why do men in such places as Italy, Greece, Japan and parts of Yugoslavia suffer so little premature coronary heart disease? If early coronary heart disease is relatively rare in some populations, knowledge as to what those peoples are like and how they live will provide important guidance for prevention programs in the United States. This approach, that of epidemiology, is relatively new.

Over twenty years ago we began work in Minnesota on the prediction of coronary heart disease—what characteristics and mode of life promote or hinder the development of it, what "risk factors" are involved. In the winter of 1947–48 the first "prospective study was started in the United States on 300 Minnesota business and professional men to be examined, measured, tested, and queried yearly so that some day we could say what were the pre-disease peculiarities of those men who eventually had heart attacks (Judge then Governor, Luther Youngdahl was, and is, one of our subjects). The Minnesota example was followed by similar prospective studies now operated at substantial cost by other research teams in ten or a dozen U.S. areas.

These studies are all producing the same answers, they all agree in showing the importance of blood pressure, serum cholesterol and cigarette smoking and the much smaller importance of overweight. They give no clear answer about occupation and the effect of inactivity partly, perhaps, because there is so little variation of physical activity—or inactivity—among the men in the U.S. population samples. Also these studies in the U.S. can say little about the effect of the diet because there is so little individual variation in the diets in those groups.

WHY RAILROAD EMPLOYEES?

One of the biggest problems in such follow-up studies is to find and keep track of men who differ in their jobs and who do not change their habitual activities over many years. Railroad employees are exceptional; their jobs are well classified, they tend to stay in the same kind of work, and the Railroad Retirement Board keeps good records of their employment, retirements and deaths. So in 1958 Dr. H. L. Taylor started a major study of men in several job categories in U.S. railroads. That study has already produced valuable information about the characteristics of U.S. men and their tendency to have heart attacks.

In the meantime research which we coordinate in a number of countries has been showing that men in some areas, Finland and the Netherlands for example, are just about as prone to heart attacks as are men in the United States while men in some other areas, Italy, Japan, Greece and parts of Yugoslavia, for example, have so little coronary heart disease that their total all-causes death rate is considerably lower than that of men of the same age in the U.S. Why? Dietary differences are suspected but other factors, including occupation and activity could be involved.

Now it so happens that many jobs and activities in the railroad industry are essentially the same in different countries. Railroad clerks and switchmen do much the same work in the same way in Italy and in the United States, but their diets are different. Obviously, then, it would be revealing to get data on Italian railroad employees for comparison. Fortunately, it was possible to arrange for the collection of the necessary data in Italy at a small fraction of the cost of getting equivalent data in the United States. The first work on the Italian railroad men was aided by a grant from the American Heart Association. Later, to aid the follow-up, U.S.P.H.S. made the small grant criticized by the House Committee on Government Operations.

The answers from these studies will not be on hand for several years but already it seems that men in the same railroad jobs do have much less coronary disease in Italy than in the United States. The disease difference does not seem to be explained by occupation or by some other factors including smoking and obesity. Research at Harvard has shown that men of pure Italian ancestry in the Boston area are much like other Americans in being prone to coronary heart disease so ancestry is not the answer. Further data should help to indicate the roles of the diet and, within the Italian railroad industry, of differences in physical activity.

ONE PART OF A BIG STORY

The study of mortality among Italian railroad men will never come close to providing *the* answers about what promotes and what may hinder coronary heart disease. However, it is providing significant information; it is adding to the total picture emerging from parallel studies on groups of men in many areas. The control of coronary heart disease will not come from some spectacular "breakthrough." The necessary facts on which to build an effective program of prevention will come from much patient, hard work—studies over time of many contrasting samples of men, experiments on animals, trials of modifying the habits and diets of people.

The study of death rates of Italian railroad men is only one part, a tiny part, of a big story and the cost is an even smaller bit of the whole research effort. The suggestion that this represents a waste of money can only be based on ignorance or a very peculiar sense of priorities.—ANCEL KEYS, Director.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a tribute to our late beloved colleague, the Senator from New York, Mr. Kennedy, prepared for delivery by the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING].

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, Robert Kennedy had faith in the American people. He sought to bring out the capabilities of his fellow men so that together we might work toward a world in which full stomachs replace malnutrition, education replaces illiteracy, friendship and understanding replace discrimination and hatred. For such a world he devoted his energies. For such a world he gave his life.

Wherever he went, and he traveled far, he vividly illustrated what Aeschylus wrote more than 2500 years ago:

"It is not the oath that makes us believe the man, but the man the oath."

Robert Kennedy made us believe that oath.

He reached the unreachables.

He touched the untouchables.

He strove with endless determination and courage to attack our ghetto problem, and he helped give us hope for a world without flames, violence, and fear.

He showed compassion for mankind. All were his brothers. His unending drive to understand the problems of the discriminated caused increasing numbers to believe the plight of the depressed could be alleviated.

Bob Kennedy did not create a new world for us. He had time only to lead us one step further along the path to its gateway and shine a strong light through that entrance, brief though the ray shone. For that glimmer we all are a little wiser.

We can best honor him by correcting the senseless and ancient inequities which plague all nations. In America we can work more devotedly to feed and house the hungry and unsheltered, to educate those who would learn, and help those who would not to understand why they cannot prosper without the ability to read. We can fund the programs to construct houses and schools, and to rebuild our ghettos.

Overseas, we can bring economic and technical assistance to those who cannot yet help themselves.

Around the world we can perhaps rebuild our image. And we can start by ending a senseless war in a tiny land in Southeast Asia; a war which threatens to destroy us.

Robert Kennedy believed peace was not too distant. Let us prove him correct.

Dorothy and I extend our deepest sympathy to the entire Kennedy family. Their loss is ours.

DROPOUT PREVENTION AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, on July 1, the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] testified before the Senate Committee on Appropriations in support of his dropout prevention program and the bilinqual education program. Senator MURPHY sought to reverse the action of the House in failing to fund these two promising programs.

The Senate Committee on Appropriations added $10 million for both programs, and because of their importance, I ask unanimous consent that Senator MURPHY's persuasive testimony be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR MURPHY, REPUBLICAN OF CALIFORNIA, BEFORE THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE JULY 1, 1968

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before the committee today. I know the many important items that you must consider in making your funding recommendations to the full Senate. These are difficult decisions in any year, but both the fiscal troubles and the many needs of the country combine this year to make your task almost an impossible one.

I personally testify today because of my strong feelings on two problems and two promising programs that havė been enacted to deal with them. Unless this committee reverses the actions of the House Committee last week, two programs, the dropout prevention projects and the bilinqual school program will remain mere promises. I am hopeful that my testimony will convince this committee that these programs are urgent, and that the failure to fund them is shortsighted.

First, I wish to discuss the dropout program which was authored by me and is incorporated in Section 707 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The program attempts to deal with the critical problem of the school dropout in a practical way. The program has been endorsed at the authorized $30 million level by the President, both in his education and in his budget messages. Further, the Kerner Commission recommended that "this program be fully funded." Outside of government circles the program has generated a great deal of enthusiasm. I have heard from countless educators from all sections of the country, all of whom were very excited about the program's potential.

Now the dropout problem is not new. This nation has been concerned with the problem in the past. In fact, the efforts of our educational systems and others have resulted in more and more youngsters staying longer and longer in school. Some statistics might help to illustrate this.

At the turn of the century, approximately 80 percent of youngsters aged five through seventeen were in school. Last year's estimate for the same group was 97 percent, an improvement of 17 percent.

Further, of the 2.7 million ninth graders in 1956, 1.9 or 65 percent subsequently graduated from high school. Of the 3.8 million youngsters enrolled in the ninth grade in 1967, it was estimated that 2.9 million or 77 percent will ultimately graduate. Thus, in a little over a decade, the dropout rate has been reduced 12 percent.

This is a welcomed improvement. Yet if the projections for last year's ninth graders prove accurate, we will still face a dropout rate of 23 percent in 1970. Truly, as I said last year, the dropout problem is the Achilles' Heel of our educational system.

To translate these statistics to more understandable terms and to better picture the magnitude of the problem, I want to emphasize to the committee that there are approximately one million youngsters dropping out of school each year. In two short years the decade of the sixties will draw to a close. It is estimated, for this decade, that we will produce some seven and one-half million dropouts. I urge the committee to reflect on these statistics and to ponder these projections with all their implications. Dr. Conant in his 1961 book, "Slums and the Suburbs" warned that social dynamite was accumulating in our large cities. Much of this "social dynamite" results from those who have dropped out of school and are out of work. I asked the Library of Congress to provide me with the dropout rates in our Nation's fifteen largest cities. These percentages varied from a high of 46.6 percent to a low of 21.4 percent.

Dropout rates—Percent of September 1960 grade 10 class not graduating in June 1963

(Source: Library of Congress)

City:	
New York City	37.05
Chicago	33.95
Los Angeles	22.83
Philadelphia	46.60
Detroit	37.84
Baltimore, Md.	34.98
Houston	21.39
Cleveland	31.37
Washington, D.C.	29.61
St. Louis	24.70
Milwaukee	26.19
San Francisco	33.15
Boston	35.90
Dallas	27.74
New Orleans	27.10

We must keep in mind that these statistics reflect the dropout rate for the entire school system and if we were to focus on schools in the disadvantaged areas of the cities, the rate would be staggering. For example, the McCone Commission found that in three schools in a predominately Negro area of Los Angeles, two-thirds of the students drop out before completing high school. Probably similar projections would hold true in the other cities also. We are told that in the poverty neighborhood schools of our 15 largest cities, 70% drop out before completing high school.

These statistics show the extent to which we are allowing "social dynamite" to accumulate in our large cities, and demonstrate the need for the funding of my dropout amendment.

In addition to the personal tragedy that results in the failure of an individual to develop to his full potential, the dropout is also costly to society. For the dropout reappears in our spiraling crime statistics and our juvenile delinquency rolls, in our penal and corrective institutions, and on our welfare rolls.

Even then, one might ask, "Why all the alarm?" The dropout rate is serious, but we are making progress. "What is the urgency that justifies the commitment of funds in this difficult fiscal year?" To adequately answer these questions it is necessary to understand and to emphasize it is not the dropout rate so much as it is the rapid changes that are taking place in our society. We truly are in the midst of an "education explosion" and a "technological revolution." Too, the speed of these changes are revealed in figures indicating the accumulation of knowledge by mankind. We are told that mankind's knowledge doubled for the first time between the dawn of history and the year 1700. This knowledge doubled again by 1900. The third doubling occurred fifty years later, around 1950 and the fourth in ten short years, in 1960. So, we are living in a time when the world's supply of knowledge will double each decade and at the same time the jobs available for the unskilled, the dropout, shrink.

H. G. Wells' famous quotation, "that human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe" while conveying a general truth also has special significance for today's dropout and for our society. For both, society and the individual, the effect of youngsters leaving school today is "catastrophic." Society's stake, in short, is too high to allow a million youngsters to drop out of school annually, ill prepared to find employment and a useful place in our competitive society.

We have been aware for some time of the relationship between education and income. Dr. Harold Kastner, Jr. a consultant for the Florida State Department of Education, in the American School Board Journal a few years ago calculated the economic consequences to the individual and the country when a youngster drops out of school.

He determined that a young man's completion of eight grades of school would result in a mean lifetime income of $52,343 above the income of persons who did not complete the eighth grade. The completion of one to three years of high school would result in an additional $30,871 for those who had completed only the eighth grade. A male high school graduate would receive an additional $45,887 above that of one with one to three years of school. Thus, an individual with a high school education over his lifetime would earn over $120,000 more than an individual who left school without an eighth grade education.

As might be expected, cumulative economic loss to society is truly staggering. Dr. Kastner also calculated such losses. He divided individuals, based on the 1960 census, by levels of educational achievement as follows: Less than eight years, eight years, one to three years of high-school and four years of college. He then projected the aggregate income gain over a 40-year period to the nation if the individual had been able to complete the next educational level.

If all who had not completed the eighth grade, for example, had been able to do so, over a 40-year period national income would have increased by $954 billion.

If those who had completed the eighth grade had attained the next educational level, namely, the one to three years of high school, the national income over a 40-year period would have expanded by $380 billion.

The total loss over the 40-year period for these two groups would have totaled over one trillion dollars, a figure which Dr. Kastner says represents two and one-half times the national income of the United States in 1962.

For a single year if the two groups just mentioned had completed the next educational level, national income would have increased by six and one-half percent. A six and one-half percent increase in our gross national product for 1967 would have added $50 billion to our nation's wealth. Further, Dr. Kastner contends that if "the dropouts at the various levels had continued their education to the level commensurate with their abilities, the national income of the United States would be at least twice as large as its current level . . . the aforementioned increased incomes would increase the tax base. This could lead to an increase in government services and a redistribution of the current tax burden in such a manner as to reduce the current amount paid per taxpayer."

Because of the urgency of the dropout problem and the cost to the individual and to the nation, I persuaded the Senate Education Subcommittee, the full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and the Senate to accept my dropout prevention amendment designed to make a major concentrated attack on the dropout problem.

In shaping the amendment my staff and I discussed the problem and possible approaches with various experts. I am particularly grateful for the assistance Dr. James Conant of New York, Dr. Max Rafferty, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of California, Superintendent Jack Crowther of Los Angeles City School System, Dr. Ralph Dailard of the San Diego School System, Dr. Wilson Riles of the Compensatory Education System in California, and Dr. Jenkins of San Francisco have given.

At first, I considered spelling out in the statutes specific approaches such as reducing classroom size, providing remedial reading teachers for reading classes in the elementary grades and the use of teaching machines. School districts wanting to try a particular approach would have made application for federal funding. But Dr. Conant and others convinced me this was unwise. So, in its final form, the amendment gives maximum flexibility and freedom at the local and state level for experimentation. It is based on the premise that answers have not as yet been found which will make dramatic changes in poverty area schools. Under the program, local and state educational agencies will submit innovative proposals which zero in on a particular school or a particular classroom in an effort to have a major impact on the dropout problem. The amendment requires that eligible schools be located in an urban or rural area, have a high-percentage of children from families of low income, and have a high percentage of children who drop out of school.

Before approving projects conceived at a local level, the school district is required to identify the school dropout problem, analyze the reason for and tailor programs to meet it, provide effective procedures, including objective measurements of educational achievement for evaluating the program, and secure the approval and active participation of the state educational agency.

Members of the committee, as you well know, our society spends dollar after dollar on program after program to rescue the dropout. These rescues or educational repair jobs are extremely costly and equally difficult, often not successful—witness the Job Corps.

My amendment seeks to find and reach the root causes of the dropout problem. It provides additional resources. It throws a challenge to the educational community. Prevent dropouts. If our educational system can reduce and prevent the dropout problem, it will not only be a saving to society of the cost of the cure, but it also, if Dr. Kastner's calculations are correct, add billions of dollars to our economic growth. I hope that my testimony today demonstrates the unsoundness of permitting the dropout problem, the Achilles' Heel of the educational community, to continue. In terms of society, it is costly, dangerous and a tremendous waste of manpower. In terms of the individual, it is tragic.

In closing, I would once again like to quote Dr. Kastner who said: "the failure of society to allocate a few million dollars to solve adequately the dropout problem represents a cost of billions in economic growth."

Mr. Chairman, I do hope that despite the economic difficulties facing the nation that the Dropout Prevention Amendment which I offered last year, which has been endorsed by the President in both his budget and educational messages, and by the Kerner Commission Report and applauded by educators throughout the land will be fully funded. The amendment is in the best interest of the nation, and individuals, and makes sound economic sense.

BILINGUAL PROGRAM

The second program I wish to discuss and urge full funding is the Bilingual Education Act of 1967 which was also incorporated in the 1967 amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I was pleased to co-author the bill. As the members of the committee probably know, this program was conceived and initiated in the Congress and was enacted over the opposition of the Administration. The program has now been embraced by the Administration, but the level at which funds have been requested indicates that the Administration's endorsement lacks the enthusiasm which the program needs. For, like the dropout prevention program, the program is of little value unless it is given life by adequate appropriations. The House Appropriations Committee also refused to appropriate any funds for this much-needed program.

The magnitude of the problem is evident by the following appalling statistics:

(1) Of 1.6 million Mexican-American children entering the first grade in the five Southwestern States, one million will drop out before they reach the eighth grade. In my own State of California, I understand that 50 per cent of the Mexican-American children drop out by the eighth grade.

(2) Mexican-Americans in the United States have an average grade level of 7.1, compared to a grade level of 9.0 for Negroes and 12.1 for Anglo-Americans. Mr. Chairman, evidence and experience suggest that this need not be. Other countries have confronted the problems of educating bilingual children and some nations such as the United States and certain parts of Africa have insisted that instruction be in the national language only. Many countries have successfully solved the problem by instructing first in the youngsters' mother tongue and as soon as possible, instructing the youngsters in the national language. Last year, Governor Reagan of California signed into law legislation that would permit instruction in Spanish in California's public schools.

It would appear that even Russia has a more enlightened policy than the United States in its approach to the problem. I understand that approximately 50 per cent of the Russian population have a mother tongue other than Russian. In 1938, the Russian Government reversed its insistence that instruction be in Russian and permitted instruction in the mother tongue. As a result I am told there has been a great increase in literacy as well as the use of the Russian language. Similar experiences have occurred in Mexico, the Philippines and in Puerto Rico. In the latter case, the United States at one time insisted that the educational system in Puerto Rico instruct in English, notwithstanding the fact that the mother tongue of the children was Spanish. Mr. Bruce A. Gaarder of the Office of Education in testifying before the Senate Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, outlined the experience which was documented in a study by Columbia University that occurred in Puerto Rico as follows:

"The Columbia University researchers, explaining the astonishing fact that those elementary school children in Puerto Rico—poverty-stricken, backward, 'benighted', beautiful Puerto Rico—achieved more through Spanish than continental United States children did through English, came to the following conclusion, one with extraordinary implications for us here . . .

"The conclusion is, in sum, that if the Spanish-speaking children of our Southwest were given all of their schooling through both Spanish and English, there is a strong likelihood that not only would their so-called handicap of bilingualism disappear, but they would have a decided advantage over their English-speaking schoolmates, at least in elementary school, because of the excellence of the Spanish writing system. There are no reading problems, as we know them, among school children in Spanish-speaking countries."

A Florida effort points not only to substantiation of the Puerto Rico experience, but also to its expansion. In 1963, public schools in Dade County, Florida, embarked on a model bilingual education program. Although final statistical data is not available, preliminary reports are most encouraging. Perhaps even more significant are the results regarding the English-speaking children in the bilingual program. Amazingly, these English-speaking children are doing better in English than their counterparts who were instructed in English. Not only does the bilingual program have the potential and promise of successfully attacking education problems of youngsters whose mother tongue is other than English, but, apparently, if the Florida Study is correct, the "implications for education are extraordinary."

Mr. Chairman, I recognize the fiscal limitation under which we are laboring, but I urge you to see that these two important programs which will lay the groundwork for exciting breakthroughs in education be permitted to move ahead. Society can afford to do no less.

PEABODY CONSERVATORY'S PROGRAM AT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, with great pleasure I report on the promising inception of the Peabody Conservatory's program at the Catholic University of Puerto Rico, undertaken with funds granted through title III—Aid to Developing Institutions—of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Under this program the Peabody is lending both personnel and the experience gained during a century in the practice of musical education to a relatively new and rapidly growing institution of higher learning. The object of the grant is to strengthen the musical program of the university and with it both the quality of campus life and the students' appreciation of their cultural heritage as Puerto Ricans.

In pursuance of this aim, the Peabody Conservatory has assigned to the Catholic University a full-time faculty member for this semester. Mr. William Partridge, well known to Washington as a church musician and organist, and as conductor of the Converse College Choir, will be in overall charge of the program and the formation of three choral groups: a university chorus, a tour chorus to present concerts throughout the island, and a chapel choir. Mr. Partridge's initial request for an expression of student interest in these activities was answered by more than 400 inquiries, and if this momentum is maintained, he plans to present a performance of the Fauré "Requiem" in the beautiful university chapel later in the spring.

Mr. Partridge also will arrange six indigenous Puerto Rican folk songs for chorus, so that they can be presented in various parts of the island, and will help to train a conductor from the university, so that the choirs may become a permanent element of campus life.

He and other members of the visiting faculty will present recitals and otherwise enrich the musical life of the campus and community. Mr. Julio Esteban of our piano faculty, former director of the Conservatory of San Tomas in the Philippines, will conduct one of his well-known piano master classes. Dr. Dean Boal, dean of the Conservatory, will act as a piano clinician and present a piano recital; Mr. Carl Gerbrandt, our director of admissions, will work as a choral director and present a vocal recital, and Mr. Sidney Forrest, a leading woodwind clinician of the Baltimore-Washington area and a member of the Interlochen and Peabody faculties for more than a decade, will strengthen the university band program and also present a clarinet recital.

Mr. President, I submit this report to the Senate because I believe that the Peabody Institute has made imaginative use of title III funds and deserves the praise of music lovers everywhere for doing so.

FARM INCOME

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, it is encouraging to see metropolitan newspapers attempt to put the problems of farm income in their proper perspective. Far too few of our urban citizens are aware that farmers are not sharing fairly in America's prosperity.

Two days ago, the Washington Post published an informative editorial on the subject of farm income. In a quotation from a new book on agricultural policy, the point was made that our farmers are "rewarded less than their talents and capital deserve."

Mr. President, America's most astonishing achievement, in the eyes of most of the underdeveloped world, is her agriculture. Yet American farmers remain victims of their own fantastic successes. Prices for farm products have sunk to 20-year lows. Inflation has driven up the prices farmers have to pay for the things they buy. Speculators have utilized tax loopholes to stimulate nonfarmer ownership of farm land. An ever-tightening vise is squeezing our agricultural producers.

Commentary such as the July 31 editorial can help our urban colleagues understand the farmer's plight and help to contribute to workable solutions. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARM INCOMES

During the Poor People's Campaign there were many justified criticisms of the failure of the agricultural programs of the Government to do enough about rural poverty. But there was also some unjustified suggestions that the Department of Agriculture has been engaged mainly in a process of enriching very affluent farmers who do not deserve or need any help.

In a new book entitled "Policy Directions for U.S. Agriculture," Marion Clawson also disagrees with current farm policies in many ways. But his summary of income among the Nation's farmers eloquently discloses the injustice of the charge that the Government has been mainly engaged in subsidizing a rural Cadillac set.

He points out that in 1960 there were slightly more than 100,000 really large farms, each with more than $300,000 of assets, an average gross income of $100,000 and a net income of more than $17,000. These farmers had a bad ratio of expenses to gross income and some operated at a loss. There were 228,000 farms which had an investment of $69,000 each and gained an income of $400 a month. Clawson shows that about half of all commercial farms had net incomes below the $3000 poverty line. Relatively few farmers made as much as $10,000 a year and a much larger number between $6000 and $10,000. Clawson concludes his farm income summary with this sentence:

"All available data point to the existence of large numbers of very low-income farmers, along with a more moderate number of fair-income ones, and a few relatively good incomes—but even these latter may be rewarded less than their talents and capital deserve."

American farmers, generously and effectively assisted by the Government, have performed such miracles of production that Americans now have more food for a smaller percentage of income than ever before. But a great urban country should not become so complacent about what seems to be an inexhaustible food supply that it becomes indifferent to the fact that farmers are "rewarded less than their talents and capital deserve." And the failure of agricultural programs of the Federal Government to solve all the problems of rural poverty, exemplified in the plight of the poor people's march, should not be made the basis of a negative attack on our agricultural industry.

LEWIS G. ODOM, JR., LEAVES COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, an announcement has been made by Lewis G. Odom, Jr., that he is going to set up a private law practice in Montgomery, Ala., and will therefore be leaving his position as the staff director and general counsel of the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. Odom came to the Banking and Currency Committee as chief counsel at the beginning of this session, and when Matthew Hale left, he was appointed as staff director. In following Mr. Hale, Lewis Odom had some large shoes to fill. The committee jurisdiction spans many subjects, including housing and urban development, securities, financial institutions and their supervision, small business, and some aspects of international finance. A staff director must have or acquire knowledge in all of these fields to properly perform his responsibilities.

I am especially grateful that Mr. Odom has worked well with the minority staff. Differences of opinion have not resulted in difficult or strained relationships, and he has directed the affairs in the committee under our chairman ably and responsibly.

I am sure that Lew will be missed by many who have worked with him during his years of service in the Senate. He has gained many friends who hate to see him leave. Most of all, I am sure that he will be missed by the chairman, the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], under whom he has served for many years as his administrative assistant, as the staff director and general counsel of the Select Committee on Small Business, and now as the staff director and general counsel of the Banking Committee.

I join with the many others who wish him well as he returns to his home State to practice law. I hope that he will find happiness and satisfaction in this decision.

BIAFRA

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the war in Biafra is not only a great human tragedy but it calls for humane and moral action on the part of not only the United States but all free nations.

The present situation in Nigeria is a direct consequence of two serious mistakes made by Great Britain.

The first mistake dates back to the colonization era when Great Britain had colonized a vast region of the western African continent called Nigeria where three major tribes lived: the Muslim Ahoussas in the north and the animist Ibos and Yoroubos in the south—the Ibos living in the east and the Yoroubos in the west.

In the north, Great Britain was satisfied with the setting up of an indirect administration and left alone the feudal organization stemming from Islam. This organization was made out of Sultanates and Emirates, and a great majority of the people which nobody cared to educate was left prey to the exploitation of this feudal system. On the other hand, in the south, the Ibo and Yoroubo tribes assimilated very easily the western civilization and adapted themselves very easily to the new trends of economic and social evolution thus attaining the highest standard of living and culture in Black Africa. However, the demographic pattern performed by Great Britain, a little before the independence of that country, gave the north the opportunity to take over the Federal administration and this action was the source of the present unfortunate state of things. The numerous coups d'etats performed by the more advanced southern elements in order to take over the country were the only means at the disposal of these elements for all democratic processes to reach this end were inaccessible.

This situation then led to the several tragic consequences, the assassination of Sir Aboubakar Tafew and Ahmadou Bello, two prominent chiefs of the northern region. The coups d'etats brought forth also murderers' reprisals against the innocent population and particularly against the Ibos who suffered 30,000 dead throughout Nigeria and mostly those Ibos settled in the north of Nigeria. These Ibos were forced to take refuge in the eastern region from where they originated. Furthering this massive exodus toward the east, the Ibos refused to take part in the many conferences with the leaders of the other regions which were held at Lagos or elsewhere in Nigeria out of fear of being massacred or of receiving insufficient protection. This fear caused the conference of the Nigerian leaders to be held outside of their country in the Ghanean town of Abouri where an agreement was reached and accepted by all. Unfortunately, the Government of Great Britain, which enjoys a great influence in Nigeria, was unable to force the Federal Government of Nigeria to accept and respect them.

The second mistake was the direct cause of the bloody hostilities which have taken place in Nigeria for the past 14 months.

This barbarious and inhuman war in which there is no possibility to respect the most elementary laws of war caused the death of hundreds of thousands of people per day. These dead are not only the victims of direct hostility but they can also be attributed to hunger and disease which afflicts indistinctively men, women, and children.

The civilian population is submitted daily to bombings thanks to sophisticated armament openly supplied in great quantity by two great powers, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and by planes flown by Algerian and Egyptian pilots which take advantage of this opportunity to infiltrate and secure their fanatic Islamic Pan-Arabism.

These napalm bombs dropped on villages summarily built have the catastrophic effect which we would compare with the dropping of an atomic bomb in a city like New York because the planes that carry these death machines leave behind them no animal, vegetal, or human life. These villages obviously have no shelters.

In 14 months of war, the number of casualties has substantially surpassed the number of casualties in the Vietnam war. Furthermore, it is indeed very strange to witness that for once, in a civil war against a small population, the West, represented by Great Britain, and the Communists, represented by Russia, are both on the same side and stubbornly eradicate a small nation. It is very doubtful that the Russians and their allies, Egypt and Algeria, whose cooperation with the Communist states is well known, work in Algeria for the protection of the Western or the British interests.

We know the desires of Egypt and Algeria to introduce everywhere the Pan-Arabism and we equally know their allegiance and by consequence this war is an occasion for the Communists and fanatics to infiltrate Africa and accomplish their subversion that they could not conduct before this time, grace of the organization and vigilance of the African people.

To permit the continuation of this war and offer Egypt and Algeria this occasion, constitutes a grave error for the Occidentals because when they begin to realize their error, it will be too late. We are certain they will utilize every means to oust them. Africa will once again be transformed into a battlefield. Conventional arms will be inefficient, and as the proverb says, "forwarned is forearmed"; there is nothing that cannot be settled by honest negotiation and pacification.

The Occidentals on that which concerns South Africa for apartheid continue to employ the force in South Rhodesia where 200,000 whites rebelled and illegally proclaimed their independence. They have successfully mobilized the international organization, the United Nations, that it will interpose in Cyprus to avoid two communities that accuse each other, do not massacre each other. All this is noble, but that which can occur in Europe can equally occur in Africa.

Sometimes, we only see the racial problems and sordid interests of different countries but we must not forget the sufferings of all men as human suffering deserves to be abridged.

The warring factions should join together to cease the hostilities and return to the conference table. Once again the Security Council of the United Nations should measure up to its obligations to intervene whenever and wherever there is a threat to the peace. Unless the United Nations' members are willing to substitute the rule of law for the jungle law of military force, I fear that mankind is on the road to disaster through war. This war can and should be stopped by joint actions of nations pledged by their signatures to the United Nations Charter to enforce the peace whenever and wherever peace is threatened.

THE OIL SHALE CONTROVERSY, CONTINUED

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Nation's most important untapped fuel resource still remains locked underground in the vast oil shale reserves of Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming. The immense potential of shale oil for meeting the energy needs of the last decades of this century and the next will never be realized until Congress is willing to enact legislation for essential research and development of the Government's mammoth oil shale reserves.

I have introduced such proposed legislation. But Congress has failed to act. Appropriations for oil shale research and development were cut by almost 50 percent for fiscal 1969. It appears that this undreamed-of wealth in fuel and minerals, such as sodium and aluminum, will continue to languish underground until Congress wakes up to its enormous potential.

The August 1968 issue of Harper's magazine contains an excellent and enlightening article, written by Chris Welles, which delves into the promising potentialities and disappointing realities of the present state of oil shale development. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

OIL SHALE: HIDDEN SCANDAL OR INFLATED MYTH?

(By Chris Welles)

Several thousand square miles of arid, desolate, scrub-covered land in the northwestern United States contain, in the words of one geologist, "the greatest package of potential energy on the face of the globe." This treasure lies buried in the world's largest deposit of a dense, black organic mineral called "oil shale." The major known deposits are in Colorado, though there are others in Wyoming and Utah. When heated to about 900 degrees Fahrenheit, this rocky material releases a substance almost indistinguishable from crude oil. The shale in these three states potentially could yield as much as four trillion barrels of oil—ten times the world crude deposits, worth $10 trillion, or $50,000 for every person in the United States. At present 80 per cent of this shale is government-owned.

A number of experts believe that shale could be made to yield oil at cost well below that of domestic crude. If they are right, gasoline and fuel-oil prices would drop. We could cease worrying about our dwindling domestic crude reserves and be less dependent on supplies from politically unstable Middle Eastern countries. Even a partial cutback in oil imports could go a long way toward solving our balance-of-payments troubles (though large exporters like Venezuela would be hurt).

The location of this shale has been known for many decades. Yet it is still virtually untouched and unexploited. An extremely complicated and heated debate over this curious neglect has only recently begun to receive national attention. Senators William Proxmire, Philip Hart, and the late Robert Kennedy are among those who asked hard questions on the subject. The shale oil controversy has been enlivened by allegations of Teapot Dome-like scandals, gigantic giveaways, and even attempted murder. But unquestionably the major barrier to shale development has been the oil industry's historic opposition.

In their defense, oil men argue that the economic feasibility of commercial shale oil production has never been proved. They point to immense technological difficulties ahead involving mining, crushing, and heating quite alien to the drilling and pumping processes in which the oil industry has invested billions of dollars. Not the least of the problems is how to dispose of millions of tons of "spent shale" which could desecrate a now unsullied wilderness. They do not, however, openly discuss their very real fear that shale oil could someday become a dangerous competitor of crude. A flood of cheap shale oil could drastically weaken the carefully supported price of crude and might, as a respected energy expert put it, make "Texas and Oklahoma start looking like another Appalachia."

Given the financial and political muscle of the oil industry—which has managed through import quotas and depletion allowances to keep prices and profits high despite a world crude surplus—this prospect seems remote. But since it is a possibility, the oil industry has hedged its position by doing everything it can to keep the shale safely below ground. It has more or less dictated the federal government's do-nothing shale policy. It has either bought or acquired control of most of the privately owned shale land, and at the same time has refused to invest anything more than token amounts in shale research. And it has either squelched or gained a strong voice in the few serious shale-research efforts that have been mounted.

Thus, for example, in the early 1950s Union Oil of California, which had to buy most of the crude for its refineries from other producers, invested about $15 million in shale research. The company opened a small prototype plant to loud fanfare in 1957. "It looks like we're on the right track. It has tremendous possibilities," Union's president told a reporter. Another official said the plant was proving successful "beyond the highest anticipation" of the company's engineers.

Meanwhile, Gulf Oil had bought $120 million worth of Union's debentures—potentially a one-fourth interest in Union. (This was a first step toward a merger abandoned in 1961 after Justice Department protests.) Gulf also agreed to furnish Union with large quantities of Gulf's foreign crude supply. A little over a year after its opening, Union's shale plant was suddenly closed down. At the time, the Union engineer who had induced his company to begin the venture, charged in a letter published by the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly that "the actual and circumstantial evidence is strong that Gulf . . . did succeed in delaying the inception of an oil shale industry by making it appear more profitable for Union to accept Gulf's terms rather than continue development of oil shale." A few months ago, however, a Union spokesman told me that though the process was "commercial" it was still "not competitive with crude."

Tax-supported research efforts have been equally abortive. In 1945, responding to wartime fears of an oil shortage, the government opened a small research plant at Anvil Points in Colorado. By 1954, $17 million in public funds had been invested in the project, and reports of progress were encouraging. However, that year Interior Secretary Douglas McKay, never known as a foe of oil interests, asked the National Petroleum Council. An advisory group of oil and gas executives, to analyze the project's status. After an appraisal that could hardly be called agonizing, the NPC recommended that Anvil Points be closed down on the grounds that the government was duplicating research by private industry.

At hearings before the Senate Appropriations Committee, Colorado Senator Eugene Millikin protested: "It was a very nervy performance for people who were in the liquid-petroleum business to come in and suggest that this potential competitor of that industry be put out of business." The late Estes Kefauver put it even more bluntly in an angry speech on the Senate floor: "It is difficult to conceive of a more clear-cut case of oil-company domination of the policy of the United States government," he said.

Nonetheless, Congress cut off further appropriations and in 1956 Anvil Points was closed. The oil companies proceeded to hire most of the government shale engineers. The government later allowed Anvil Points to be reopened by a consortium of six large oil companies for, as one oilman told me candidly, "some cheap research just in case."

More recently, the Atomic Energy Commission and a nuclear-technology firm called CER Geonuclear Corp.—as part of a broad investigation of the peaceful uses of atomic energy—proposed using an underground explosion to crush shale rock. After being released by the injection of hot steam or gas, oil could then be pumped to the surface.

The AEC and CER in 1965 invited industry participation in the project. Fourteen large oil companies quickly signed up and became dominant in the resulting consortium. Progress since then has been slow: though an atomic shot to stimulate natural-gas recovery went off in 1967, the first shale shot, once scheduled for 1968, has been postponed at least until 1969. AEC officials say that it will then take four or five years to evaluate the test results. Back in 1966 M. A. Lekas of he AEC's special-products division said publicly that nuclear methods might produce shale oil for as little as one-tenth the cost of domestic crude. He is flatly contradicted by a CER spokesman who recently told me this estimate is "ridiculous" and that "shale will be one of those things that will work very slowly into the market."

The only other important research project now under way is an experimental plant in a steep, narrow canyon in northwest Colorado. There a small company, The Oil Shale Corporation (Tosco), has been producing 800 barrels of high-quality shale oil a day. By 1970 the firm expects to produce shale oil commercially at a cost which, according to one Tosco insider, might be less than $1 a barrel—approximately one-third the cost of regular crude. The company expects eventually to license its process at low royalties.

Most of Tosco's present financial backers have little connection with the oil industry—major stockholders include Lehman Brothers, the Rosenwald family, members of the du Pont family, and Huntington Hartford. Originally a 40 per cent interest in the research project was held by Standard Oil of Ohio (Sohio), which must buy most of its crude from other oil companies. However, after dragging its feet for months, Sohio abruptly withdrew from the project in 1966 and dumped its big block of Tosco stock. "They really tried to scuttle us, those ———," I was told by Herbert Linden, son of Tosco's founder and a big stockholder of the company. "They thought they could then take it over themselves." Tosco did indeed teeter toward bankruptcy but was saved by a $3.5-million loan from a French oil company. Sohio later reevaluated its position and is expected to purchase, with Atlantic Richfield, a majority interest in the Tosco research program.

TEMPEST IN INTERIOR

While the oil industry's attempts to dominate shale research are well documented, it is impossible to verify the recurrent allegations about a Teapot Dome-sized scandal—a gigantic giveaway mounting into the billions of dollars. Tidbits of information have circulated among journalists for months but proof of hanky-panky is scarce. What does emerge clearly is the fact that the government under dubious circumstances allowed oil companies and land speculators to gain ownership of many thousands of acres of rich shale land, and readily acquiesced to the oil industry's concept of a prudent federal shale policy.

The Interior Department administers the federal shale land, which was almost all government-owned until 1915. Then a sudden spurt of interest in shale prompted prospectors to stake claims on millions of acres of shale land. (In accordance with mining laws governing the exploitation of minerals, an individual prospector stakes a claim by physically discovering a valuable mineral on the land and pounding in boundary stakes. This gives him the right to dig up the minerals under the land—which he does not own. He can, however, apply for a "patent" and, for $2.50 an acre, acquire ownership of the land as well as the minerals under it.)

By 1920 so much land had been staked that Interior began to worry about complete loss of a valuable resource and halted further claiming. (However, claims already staked remained valid and patentable.) In 1930, President Hoover went a step further, decreeing that henceforth shale land could not even be leased.

Over the years the oil industry quietly bought up thousands of the existing claims. Between 1950 and 1960, especially, the industry obtained patents of land containing billions of barrels of oil. A substantial number of these claims had been declared null and void by the government during the early 1930s (most claimants to the canceled land were so notified and thus had few inhibitions about selling out to the oil companies). There was also strong evidence that many claims had been fraudulently staked in the first place. For example, one group of prospectors claimed 17,600 acres of remote land by alleging they had physically discovered shale—located hundreds of feet below ground—during a winter month when the land was covered with many feet of snow. A one-time oil man, when we discussed the routine case with which patents were granted on claims of dubious validity told me frankly, "When we had land up for patent, we'd visit with our friends on the Hill and then stop in to see the Secretary. He'd just tell his people to get a move on."

As speculation boomed, land that had been patented for $2.50 an acre was often resold for more than $2,000 an acre. In the mid-1950s a number of Interior Department employees quit the government to go into business for themselves. One was Tell Ertl, a top Bureau of Mines shale engineer, who went to work for Union and then struck out on his own. Not long ago, he leased a 21,000-acre plot to Shell Oil, which pays him $50,000 a year for it though nothing is being produced there. Shell also has an option to buy the land for $42 million.

Not all the government men watched this bonanza with equanimity. One who was much agitated was an obscure lawyer in Interior's Denver office named Fred March. He is a humorless, doggedly zealous man whose single-mindedness seems, to less determined individuals, obsessive. In 1960, alarmed by Interior's free and easy patenting policies, March with the help of a few like-minded colleagues managed to set up some impregnable legal roadblocks. The patenting process was halted and some test cases were brought to challenge the validity of many claims.

Outraged patent seekers countered by complaining to Congressmen, particularly Wayne Aspinall of Colorado. Aspinall, who heads he House Interior Committee through which most Interior legislation must pass, bombarded the Department with letters and phone calls, as did Colorado's Senator Gordon Allott. Interior officials responded by discretely urging March to ease up. He, in turn, loudly accused them of selling out and sent letters detailing the "giveaways" to Congressmen and the Justice Department. "Fred was one of those people," a friend of his told me, "who uses a little more dynamite to make a hole than he should."

Eventually, Interior tried to retire March involuntarily for psychiatric reasons. After long, complex proceedings during which March's friends allege Interior used blackmail and wiretaps to get evidence of his irrationality—he was judged "a normal superior person," and fit for duty. But he was banished to Portland, Oregon, and assigned to matters unrelated to oil shale. "I like dissenters," Interior Secretary Stewart Udall said when I questioned him about the episode. "But March's main problems were emotional." My own impression of March after several interviews was of a man who though given to wildly intemperate outbursts is exceedingly meticulous about the documentation for his beliefs.

In the past few years, March has been adopted as a kind of folk hero by a group of oil shale crusaders. Their chief spokesman is a thirty-four-year-old newspaperman, J. R. Freeman, who until recently owned the weekly *Farmer and Miner* in Frederick, Colorado (pop. 600), and is still its associate editor. Assisted by March's findings, Freeman, in the course of a two-year-long independent investigation, has published almost fifty articles on "The Multi-Billion Dollar Grab of Oil Shale Lands."

The articles eloquently report on the acquisition of shale land by the oil companies. But Freeman's attempts to create a national issue have been blunted by lack of hard evidence of an actual bribe or payoff and by the fact that in 1960 March's efforts terminated any fraud that might have been involved in prior patent-granting.

Freeman's car was shot at in May 1967 and he hinted darkly that oil interests were out to murder him. A more likely explanation is that some local residents, who have never loved the Texas-born newsman, were out to give him a little scare.

One man who does take him seriously is former U.S. Senator Paul Douglas. At Senate hearings last September, Douglas, his bearlike arm enveloping Freeman's narrow shoulders, introduced him to several astonished Senators as an "authentic American hero." Douglas, in what may be a slight flight of hyperbole, has described oil shale as "the most submerged issue in American domestic politics involving the greatest scandal in the history of our Republic."

UDALL IN THE MIDDLE

Along with Freeman, other zealous supporters of March are still hunting for evidence of scandal and are ready to brand as a "giveaway" almost any action the government takes to promote private shale development. Exploitation of shale is also bitterly opposed by increasingly powerful conservationist groups who sound the alarm whenever private industry gains access to public resources. They argue also that shale development, probably by strip-mining techniques, will irrevocably deface the landscape, gouging out mountains and filling valleys with slag. In a unique alliance, the oil industry, worried about its own profits, sides with the Sierra Club.

On the other side of the controversy, Congressmen, state officials, and land speculators from Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming are generally eager for quick shale development. So too are stockbrokers and investors in several small companies which own pieces of shale land. And speedy shale development is also supported by vocal groups of economists and government officials. One of them is former Interior Assistant Secretary John Carver, Jr., now a Federal Power Commissioner. "The real scandal," he told me recently, "is that the government has yet to receive the first dollar of revenues." These revenues in the perhaps grandiose estimate of Senator Douglas, could pay off the national debt.

Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, a man with an acute political instinct, has responded to these pressures and counterpressures by appearing to encourage shale development while actually accomplishing as little as possible. An especially useful tactic has been an earnest legal compaign—based largely on March's findings—to challenge the still unpatented claims, which Udall told me would be "time-consuming" but a "necessary prerequisite to shale development."*

Faced with increasing Congressional criticism of these stalling tactics, Udall in 1967 announced the first of a series of proposed programs to spur private shale research and development. The proposals have been positive enough to comfort the advocates of development, while tight federal control of technology has reassured opponents. Oil industry executives indeed have said that the "unthinkable" restrictions make private participation most unattractive.

Clearly Udall's proposals are a far cry from the broad-scale government-sponsored research effort needed to determine once and for all the economic feasibility of shale oil production, including the seriousness of problems like waste disposal. Recent discoveries indicate that the shale may also contain huge amounts of aluminum—perhaps worth even more than the oil in the shale.

Senator Philip Hart of Michigan sees shale oil development as a means of reducing the monopolistic power of the oil industry (which has lately been expanding into many other energy industries, including coal and nuclear power). Senators Robert Kennedy and William Proxmire—among others—sponsored legislation designed in part to accomplish this. Professor Morris Garnsey, who teaches economics at the University of Colorado, has proposed that a Comsat-type quasi-public corporation should be set up to develop oil shale. Such a corporation, Garnsey has pointed out, could coordinate the great technological effort needed, and avoid private monopoly while permitting "adequate return on private investment and maximum protection for and returns to the public."

There would, of course, be powerful political opposition to Professor Garnsey's plan. Indeed the current noise in Washington over getting action on shale has spurred Humble and several other oil companies into stepping up their shale research. They now propose open, competitive bidding for the government-owned shale land (few besides oil interests would have the resources or facilities to compete in such a contest). However, it seems certain that if development becomes inevitable, the oil industry will make a strong effort to dominate the field.

Their adversaries, on the other hand, are hopeful that the tiny Oil Shale Corporation—Tosco—may be the David to slay the oil Goliath. This might happen if Tosco's process turns out to be spectacularly inexpensive—so much so that the government would be forced into wide-open leasing of federal land and well-heeled corporations in other fields would risk a fight with oil interests. So far, Tosco's public statements about the oil industry—which will most likely be Tosco's future customers and partners—have been models of discretion. Marketing floods of cut-rate oil? The furthest thing from their minds, say Tosco executives. Theirs, they say, will be a small-potatoes operation for many years.

Still, they do show occasional glimmers of higher ambition. "What we'd like to do," one company officer said to me recently with a smile, "is make Humble Oil seem small and insignificant."

He seemed to be talking only half in jest.

---

*Udall last year came under fire for permitting prospectors, notably an Oklahoman named Merle Zweifel (who was grubstaked by some small-time Oklahoma politicians), to plaster millions of acres of government shale land with claims presumably for an aluminum-bearing mineral called dawsonite. (Udall admitted to me later he had made a mistake.) Though some speculated the claiming was an oil-industry maneuver to grab land, it was actually an attempt on Zweifel's part to require anyone desiring to develop the land to settle with him or risk a court fight; the government would have trouble leasing the land if Zweifel's claims were still in force. Last May, Interior ruled dawsonite is not a claimable mineral; however Zweifel told me he can support many of his claims with discoveries of other minerals. "They just can't snap their fingers and wipe my claims out," he said. "We'll fight them for thirty years if we have to."

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I have been disturbed by two developments in recent days in South Vietnam.

First was the action taken by the South Vietnamese Government against its domestic political critics.

Then came the action taken by our own military authorities in South Vietnam against Mr. John S. Carroll, the highly respected correspondent for the Baltimore Sun in Saigon.

Both of these actions, it seems to me, were directly contrary to the principles of freedom that have engaged us in the tragic conflict in South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese Government has given 5-year prison sentences to Truong Dinh Dzu, the lawyer who ran second in the presidential elections last fall, and to Nguyen Truong Con, the 23-year-old editor of the Saigon University student newspaper.

The "crime," if it can be called that, for which these men were convicted and sentenced, consisted of doing no more than expressing their own thoughts within their own country. Unfortunately for them, what they said was contrary to some of the views of some of their Government leaders.

In the United States, we welcome expression of differences of opinion. And nothing has brought about more differences of opinion in recent years than the war in South Vietnam.

The point to remember, however, is that nothing is healthier for freedom generally than the freedom to express differences of opinion within the framework of the law. Freedom of speech and of the press are among the basic foundations of a free people.

Since the United States is engaged in a major effort to preserve freedom in South Vietnam, it seems to me that it would be highly proper—indeed, incumbent upon our Government—to remind the Government of South Vietnam in no uncertain terms that freedom has these meanings.

The 60-day suspension of military accreditation imposed on Mr. Carroll also reflects a misunderstanding of the meaning of freedom—this time, by our own Government.

Mr. Carroll was punished ostensibly for violating a military rule of censorship when he wrote about the abandonment of the Marine base at Khesanh.

It seems more apparent, however, that Mr. Carroll was punished for writing quite accurately about a situation that possibly stood to embarrass the U.S. military authorities.

The accuracy of Mr. Carroll's story was never questioned. In fact, it was confirmed shortly after he wrote it.

Nor was the abandonment of Khesanh a secret. Mr. Carroll pointed out in his dispatch that even the enemy in nearby hills could watch the base being dismantled. The military never questioned that statement, either.

Instead, our authorities chose to punish Mr. Carroll for an exclusive product of fine journalistic enterprise that sought only to keep the American people fully informed about what was happening in the war.

Mr. President, I have asked the Secretary of Defense to undertake a full review of Mr. Carroll's case. I hope that the remainder of his suspension will be lifted quickly, and clearer guidelines will be established for both the press and the military in South Vietnam.

Freedom is precious. It is what we are fighting for. We must never forget what freedom means. And we must never hesitate to remind either the government of South Vietnam, or our own Government authorities in that country, that freedom is not subject to arbitrary and capricious restraints.

Mr. President, the Baltimore Sun, on July 28, contained an editorial about the incident involving Mr. Carroll. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

The Baltimore News American published an editorial on the Dzu trial on July 31. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD as well.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, July 28, 1968]

PUNITIVE

The American military command in South Vietnam, which on June 26 suspended for an indefinite period the accreditation of John S. Carroll, *Sun* correspondent, has now fixed the term of suspension at six months. It was the first time in the war that the credentials of a correspondent for a major publication had been lifted for more than 30 days. *The Sun* feels compelled to say that it considers this action altogether unwarranted.

The facts as we believe them to be are these:

On June 24 Mr. Carroll, in the field at the Khe Sanh combat base, filed a story reporting that the Marines were abandoning the position. The story, printed in our columns on June 25, reported further that the activity of bandonment, and of movement toward new positions, was no secret from the enemy on the overlooking hills. The next day Mr. Carroll's accreditation was suspended. Two days later an Army announcement confirmed the evacuation of Khe Sanh. Mr. Carroll meanwhile had informed his office that, being in the field, he had been unaware of a specific embargo in Saigon on the news of the evacuation, and he emphasized again his knowledge of the enemy's awareness of the move. The accuracy of his news report was never challenged.

At the time Mr. Carroll's accreditation was suspended *The Sun* did not complain, even though we inclined strongly to the conviction that the action was motivated not primarily, or perhaps actually at all, by considerations of military security: there is no need to recount here the story of the controversy over the stand at Khe Sanh, in terms of military wisdom and in terms of public pronouncements in defense of the stand.

However, we do feel now that the setting of a six-month term of suspension from military accreditation is excessively punitive, wholly unjustified by the facts or by any possible projection of the facts. It acts against full and responsible reporting of the military aspects of Vietnam.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, July 31, 1968]

DRUMHEAD DISGRACE

The Government of South Vietnam has done itself a grave disservice by its military court trial of Truong Dinh Dzu, 51, a prominent attorney who was the runner-up in the country's presidential election last fall.

Dzu, who received 17 percent of the votes, was found guilty and sentenced to five years at hard labor for publicly advocating—during the campaign—peace talks between Saigon and the Vietcong's National Liberation Front.

During the trial, which lasted just one hour and 25 minutes, Dzu was repeatedly cut short when trying to explain he had advocated talks only with non-Communist elements in the NLF. There is no appeal from his sentence.

Dzu's drumhead trial, and his Draconian sentence, is a severe black eye for the image of democracy intended to be created by the 1967 election. The military proceeding served notice that dictated official policies are not open to debate.

President Nguyen Van Thieu and the other generals still running South Vietnam should re-read their government's new constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech.

They also should have more confidence in the voice of their own people and less in their own infallibility. After all, the voters last fall rejected Dzu's unquestionably sincere peace proposals by a large majority.

Dzu's trial and sentence will provide fresh ammunition for Vietnam war critics the world over. Much harm has been done. President Thieu can and should repair some of the damage by at least suspending the sentence.

GOOD UNIONS DO NOT NEED COMPULSORY MEMBERSHIP—BAD UNIONS DO NOT DESERVE IT

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, on May 13, along with 18 other Senators, I introduced a bill entitled "The Federal Employees Freedom of Choice Act of 1968." The purpose of S. 3483 is to incorporate into Federal law the precise language of a 1962 Executive order issued by President Kennedy containing the following paragraph:

> Employees of the Federal Government shall have, and shall be protected in the exercise of the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal to form, join and assist any employee organization or to refrain from such activity.

There have been those who have questioned the need for S. 3483. The purpose of my statement, therefore, is to place in the RECORD evidence clearly indicating that organized labor is seeking a removal of voluntary unionism from the civil service. In its place a form of compulsory unionism has been recommended and has been considered by the Johnson administration. I feel the American people and Federal employees throughout the country have the right to know what is being considered in Washington regarding Federal employee unions. I am deeply convinced that S. 3483 had to be introduced for the following reasons:

ENDORSE RIGHT TO JOIN

The right to join a union, be it in the private sector of our economy or in the Federal service, is one which I fully endorse. On the other hand, I believe just as strongly that if an American citizen decides for any reason whatever that he does not wish to affiliate himself with a union, this freedom and this right to decide must be guaranteed and protected by law. It is presently guaranteed to the provisions of this Executive order 10988 issued by President Kennedy in 1962. The Executive order, however, unfortunately does not carry the force of law. The right to join and the right to refrain are consequently dependent upon the President of the United States and his successors. Consequently, I believe that Congress should act to incorporate the provisions of this Executive order into law.

The Federal Government is one of the largest employers in the State of Utah. Several hundred Government employees from my State have written me regarding the proposed change in Executive Order 10988. They have been almost unanimous in opposing compulsory unionism among Utah's 38,000 Federal employees. Like a large majority of Utah's population, they believe in preserving the right of each individual to choose for himself if and when he will join a Government labor union.

LIST OF EVIDENCE

Let me turn now to the evidence which clearly proves that organized labor and the Johnson administration are working for and have considered the matter of compulsory unionism.

September 8, 1967: President Johnson appoints Secretary Wirtz to head Review Committee. Wirtz had previously testified before a House subcommittee that—

> I hold strongly the views I represent. The argument that union shop agreements violate the freedom of individual employees has no substantial basis.

October 23, 1967: AFL–CIO President George Meany testifying before the Presidential Review Committee:

> Unions and management in Federal service should have the right to negotiate union security agreements.

April 2, 1968: B. A. Gritta, president of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Department, reporting on expected Presidential Executive order, at convention of Operating Engineers Union:

> I am confident that within the very near future we will be able to negotiate union security provisions in our contracts with the government . . . and then everybody would have to pay your organization.

April 28, 1968: The Washington Post:

> The panel's recommendations have been sent to the President and they will be made public shortly . . . the issue (of compulsory unionism) was considered by the panel and it isn't dead by any means.

May 6, 1968: The Washington Post:

> The Advisory Panel, headed by Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, sent its report to the President about two weeks ago, and it was supposed to have been released a week ago. Mr. Johnson is said to have taken a second look at it.

May 13, 1968: The Washington Evening Star:

> But the political implications in this election year of the Right to Work Committee's

> campaign has caused top Administration officials, including the President and his advisers, to take another look at the proposed order.

May 15, 1968: W. V. Gill, staff spokesman for the Review Committee:

> The Review Committee again is studying this question (compulsory unionism).

May 20, 1968: The New York Daily News:

> Union Chiefs have been quietly but persistently pressuring the Administration to grant them this bountiful bonanza for some time. It may be that LBJ is tempted to go along as a show of gratitude for solid labor backing during the past few stormy months.

May 29, 1968: The Washington Evening Star:

> Top Administration officials ackowledge that the new order is being held up because of the fear of a political back-lash as a result of a very intensive and effective campaign waged by the National Right to Work Committee.

June 6, 1968: B. A. Gritta, president of AFL–CIO Metal Trades Department:

> The unions are becoming "deeply concerned" over the delay in releasing and implementing the Review Committee's report.

June 20, 1968: Congressman Ben B. Blackburn releases letter from Secretary Wirtz promising that—

> The Committee will recommend that the freedom of choice provision of Executive Order 10988 be retained.

John Macy, Jr., Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and Cochairman of the Review Committee:

> The report will not be made public until it has been reviewed at the White House for changes to be incorporated in a new Executive Order.

Mr. President, I am convinced that the introduction of this legislation and the outcry which has been raised throughout the country by responsible editorial comment has convinced the Labor-Management Review Committee and Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz that the voluntary unionism provisions of President Kennedy's Executive order be retained.

LETTER FROM SECRETARY

I also submit a letter sent to me by Secretary Wirtz in reply to an earlier letter which I sent him, informing me that the Labor-Management Review Committee has recommended to the President that voluntary unionism in the Federal service be retained. The letter reads:

Hon. Wallace F. Bennett,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Bennett: This is in response to your letter of June 21, 1968, concerning the right of Federal employees to refrain from joining an employee organization.

There have been many speculative reports in the public press and rumors concerning the possible recommendations of the President's Review Committee on Federal Employee-Management Relations. These unfounded reports included speculation on proposed requirements for a union or agency shop for Federal employees.

The Review Committee in its deliberations did consider various proposals for union security arrangements in the Federal Service. But the Committee has not recommended and does not intend to recommend a union or agency shop for Federal employees. Furthermore, the Committee will recommend that the freedom of choice provision of Executive Order 10988 be retained.

Sincerely,

Willard Wirtz,
Secretary of Labor.

I commend the Secretary for this position. This does not, however, change my belief that this precious freedom should be preserved by law. I urge Congress to act upon the Bennett-Blackburn bills this year; and if this does not occur in the remaining days and weeks of this session, rest assured I shall introduce a new version of S. 3483 in the first session of the 91st Congress.

AMERICA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett] is necessarily absent from the Senate. On his behalf, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement he has prepared relating to two articles by news commentator, Eric Sevareid, which were published in the July 9 issue of Look magazine. I ask unanimous consent also that the complete text of the two articles be printed in the Record at the conclusion of Senator Bartlett's statement.

There being no objection, the statement and articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Eric Sevareid: Eloquent Patriot, Temperate and Reasonable Critic

(Statement by Senator Bartlett)

Mr. Bartlett. Mr. President, I have long been impressed by the sound reason, the accurate and comprehensive documentation, the articulateness, the eloquence, the persuasiveness which characterize every public utterance of Eric Sevareid. Two articles written by Mr. Sevareid, and published in the July 9 issue of Look, again confirm my opinion of the man.

These articles are particularly welcome ones. In a country disturbed by civil strife and made acutely aware of its shortcomings, they bespeak hope and echo a faith in this country which seems to have grown dim. In a country which probably has always been its own worst critic, these articles sound a word of caution, urging that we recount the virtues as we catalog the faults.

Eric Sevareid has been among those who have been most critical of things which have occurred in our country. He has been particularly critical of the war in Vietnam. He has been among those most vocal in the call for racial justice in America. He has not hesitated to criticize America whenever he believed she deserved criticism, but his faith in the American dream has never diminished, has never wavered. These articles are eloquent testimony to that.

The American Dream

(By Eric Sevareid)

"It is Europeans, for the most part, who have constructed these great ships, but without America they have no meaning. These ships are alive with the supreme ecstasy of the modern world, which is the voyage to America. There is no other experience that is remotely comparable to it, in its sense of joy, its exultancy, its drunken and magnificent hope which, against reason and knowledge, soars into a heaven of fabulous conviction, which believes in the miracle and sees it invariably achieved." So wrote Thomas Wolfe, himself drunk with the grandeurs and grotesqueries of America, in the 1930's.

What was the impulse that pushed and pulled those who came? It was, simply—change, and it is not given to human creatures in the mass to believe that change is going to be for the worse. There had been no change in the Old World; no essential, drastic change in the relations of man to man for centuries. "America," says Eric Hoffer, "is the only new thing in history."

What was the dream? It was rebirth, the eternal, haunting craving of men to be born again, the yearning for the second chance. The New World was the second chance. The most illiterate knew it in their bones, as we would all know the meaning, if, today, a new, rich, habitable planet were discovered within our common means of access. Our past would fade in significance, this life would become our prehistory, nothing more.

This is what happened when the great migration flowed to the West. In the end, it was discovered that the Europeans had not brought Europe with them; Europe's history became our prehistory. A rebirth had, indeed, occurred; and no place in the world, not Europe itself, has ever been the same.

There were a thousand varieties of finite dreams within the one encompassing dream. Many of the poor came dreaming to be rich; many of the rich, dreaming to be richer. The energetic came, eager to put their hands to work; the lazy, hoping to live with no work at all. The God-conscious came, expecting to find Him speaking to them directly, the message ungarbled by official interference. The weak were sure they would become strong, the fearful were certain of confidence. Thieves dreamt of easier thieving; roughnecks wanted more room to swagger; the sick sought health, and from the new air and light and waters and herbs and drugs, the ugly would surely be transformed with beauty. And the apostles of brotherhood came, ignoring the teachings of the sages about the dual, good and evil, nature of man, seized with the lofty and ludicrous notion of Jean Jacques Rousseau that civilization had corrupted man, instead of the other way around. And that, restored to a "state of nature," man would be automatically tolerant, loving and peaceable.

These are among the drives in men that produce revolutions. The migration was revolution. It was not recognized as such except gradually, as time wore on; its fuses were delayed. The first big fuse caught fire with Washington's war against British rule, which was political revolt and a new intellectual synthesis, but which charged the atmophere with the moral electricity that was to set off a long train of fuses as the migrants increased, pushed over the mountains, scattered far from authority and orthodoxy, made frontier life the typical American life and put in motion the true social revolution that has never stopped revolving and shows no signs of stopping.

Its coats of arms bore and bears only one word—Freedom. Not the freedom of a region or sect or point of view. Just freedom, the condition in which a man feels like a human being, like himself. It is the purpose, the definition and consequence of rebirth. It is The Dream.

The World Still Moves Our Way

(By Eric Sevareid)

There are those who say the dream is dead or dying, poisoned by self-interest, rotted by surfeit and indifference, maimed by violence. The great aspiration is ended, they tell us, and America is now only another crowded nation, not even able to maintain order; a Power, but not a society, not a culture. We have gone, almost directly, they would have us believe, from primitiveness to decadence, a far poorer record than that of Rome.

The fireworks of this July 4—which may well illuminate the scene, again, of whole urban blocks consumed by flames, from the Molotov cocktail, not the holiday sparkler—will give further force to this cry of the Cassandra.

But the cry is as old as the nation. It was sounded in Jefferson's time, when the states seemed ready to drift apart; in Lincoln's time, when they split apart; in Roosevelt's time, when, by the millions, husbands shuffled in soup lines; in Truman's time, when the Russians and Chinese were supposedly reordering the earth and Communist traitors were supposedly infesting the Government.

But this is not It—this is not our Armageddon, not the great day of judgment on America. For America is change, and the changes have come, often enough, in convulsive spasms. This country is the vast experimental laboratory in human relations for the twentieth century; it is, in a sense, defining and creating the twentieth century for much of the world.

Unless it is seen in this light, America cannot be understood at all. If many of our contemporary intellectuals, especially those communing with one another in New York City, almost a separate nation in spirit, do not understand it, this is partly because they do not understand themselves. As they attest in innumerable books, they do not know who they are. It may be news to them that the overwhelming majority of Americans *do* know who they are, do *not* feel alienated from their country or their generation.

This is not a "sick society." It is a deeply unsettled and bewildered society, and the reason is not merely the extraordinary changes in this last generation but the speed of these changes. It is the *rate* of change that is new. The life of Americans today resembles that of say, Grant's time, less than life in Grant's time resembled life in ancient China. The nation is not overpopulated, but the population has shifted out of balance. In the last 20 years alone, 18 million people, including, of course, the Negroes, have moved into the urban centers. This second industrial-scientific revolution has jammed us together, polluted much of our air and waters, smeared ugliness over much of our countryside, obliged us to work within greater economic units and increased the tensions of daily living.

Two other revolutions have been taking place in concert with the new industrial-scientific revolution. One is the communications revolution, which brings every social evil, every human tragedy and conflict immediately and intimately within everyone's ken. The other is the educational revolution, which adds millions every year to the ranks of those moved to add their investigation, articulation or actions to the processes of problem-solving and problem-creating.

We are not becoming less democratic but more democratic. It is not our individual freedom that is in jeopardy, in the first instance, but our public order. It could be argued that we are moving away from representative government in the direction, at least, of direct democracy, by no means an unmixed blessing. For the immediate future, the problem is not only the indifference or "apathy" of the much-abused middle class or any other group. It is also the problem of too many untrained cooks in the kitchen.

Many current phenomena to the contrary notwithstanding, Americans are the most natural workers-together in the world. We say we live by the system of individual enterprise, while we are the supreme cooperative society. Totalitarian countries say they are cooperative societies, while their regimes must coerce their people to work. It is absurd to believe that the races of men who turned an empty, forbidding continent into the most efficient engine of production and distribution ever seen, who created the first *mass* democracy with essential order and essential freedom will not solve the problems of crowding, poverty, pollution and ugliness. The solutions will create new problems, after which there will be new solutions, then new problems, and so our life will go on. Time is life. Were human problems ever totally solved, change would come to a stop, and we would begin to die.

American cynics and Cassandras see neither their own history nor the rest of the world with clarity. Violence? We have *always* had a high tolerance level for violence. Abraham Lincoln worried about what he called "the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions, in lieu of the sober judgment of courts; and the worse than savage mobs, for the executive ministers of justice."

It is even to be doubted that crime is more prevalent than it was in the nineteenth century. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., reminds us that a century ago, every tenth person in New York City had a police record.

Alienated and irreverent youth? To a degree, youth is always alienated and to a degree ought to be. More than 2,000 years ago, Plato wrote that in a democracy, the father "accustoms himself to become like his child and to fear his sons. . . . The schoolmaster fears and flatters his pupils . . . the young act like their seniors, and compete with them in speech and action, while the old men condescend to the young. . . ." This happens because democratic life carries the in-built impulse to wish to please and accommodate to others.

The alarm over drug-taking is also exaggerated. There is far less use of dangerous drugs today than a half century ago, before narcotics control, when about one American in every four hundred was an addict of some harmful drug, ten times the present rate.

Americans, of course, are not spiritually geared to the past but to the future. It is a reflection of what John Steinbeck, speaking of the onpushing, haggard "Okies" in the dust-bowl years, called the "terrible faith," that we are constantly seized with concern for our children more than for ourselves. Yet it is not possible to see our society in perspective without these backward glances to what we once were, with the consequent realization that we are using different scales of measuring well-being today.

At the turn of the century, a newborn could expect to live about to the age of 50; today, the expectancy is about 70. Once, a mother had sound reason to fear giving birth; today, death in childbirth is regarded as intolerable. Once, a full high school education was the best achievement of a minority; today it is the barest minimum for decent employment and self-respect. Once, the timber and mining barons stripped away the forests and topsoil wholesale; today, these companies are confronted by their communities at every other move.

One could cite hundreds of similar examples of how our standards of expectancy have risen, as they should, along with our standard of life. The truth is that we Americans are perfectionists, which simply means that we were not, are not and never will be satisfied either with the quantities or the qualities in our life.

By the year 2000, we will look back upon these present years not only as one of America's periodic convulsions but as a rather backward period. By then, the typical American family will have an income of around $20,000 a year or more; the typical American adult will have had at least two years of college, with far broader intellectual and aesthetic horizons. By then, the old urban centers will have been rebuilt, and many millions will live in satellite "new cities," part-urban, part-rural. The incurable diseases like cancer and arthritis will be under far better control.

The present explosion in books, theater, music and art will have transformed tastes and comprehension to an enormous degree. And already, according to the Englishman C. P. Snow, something like 80 percent of the advanced study of science in the Western world is going on in the United States of America. This is the heart reason for the "brain drain" from abroad to the U.S., not merely the higher pay. The facilities, the action, the creative excitement are increasingly here. None of this guarantees a single new Shakespeare, Rembrandt, Beethoven or Einstein, because genius is not developed (though even this may occur one day through selective breeding and cell transplant).

What it does guarantee is a great lifting of the massive center, of the "ordinary" people. This is the premise and the point about America—ours is the first organized dedication to *massive* improvement, to the development of a *mass* culture, the first attempt to educate *everyone* to the limit of his capacities. We have known for a long time that this can be done only through the chemistry of individual freedom. Soviet Russia is just now beginning to discover this for itself. I am unable to understand the thrust of the sufferings and strivings of Western man over the last thousand years save in terms of this kind of achievement.

The popular passion of Americans is not politics, baseball, money or material things. It is education. Education is now our biggest industry, involving more people even than national defense. The percentage of children in kindergarten has doubled in a rather short period; the percentage of youth in college climbs steeply upward. Today, even a Negro boy in the South has a better statistical chance of getting into college than an English youth. And there are about 44 million full- and part-time *adult* students pursuing some kind of formalized learning on their own!

Intelligent foreigners nearly everywhere understand the mountainous meaning of all this for the world as well as for America. They know that much of the world will be transformed in the American image, culturally if not politically. They know that struggle is really all over—it is the Western way of living and doing, our way and the way of Europe combined, that the world wants. It is North America and West Europe that make up the "in" world; Russia and China are still the outsiders trying to enter.

Communism already appears irrelevant, essentially passé. The more the Communist regimes educate their people, the more complex their life will become. They will struggle with the complexities the Western world confronts already, and they will discover that authoritarian direction from the top cannot cope with them. Only the essentially liberal society can manage twentieth-century life, even in practical terms. They will learn, as we have always known, that the effective, the lasting revolution lies in the West, particularly in America.

Why, then, are we in such a state of uproar in this year of Our Lord, and why is much of the world upset about the America of today? Because, as a philosopher once said, "nothing that is vast enters into the life of mortals without a curse," and America is struggling to rid itself of one old curse and one new one. The old curse is the Negro slavery Europeans fastened upon this land long ago, which continues in a hundred psychological, social and economic, if not legal, forms. The Negro Passion of today is a revolution within the continuing American revolution, and the one absolute certainty about it is that it is going to succeed, however long and distracting the agony for everyone. It will succeed not only because it has justice with it (justice has been suppressed before) but because there is a deep evangelical streak in the American people, a true collective conscience, and it has been aroused.

Racism exists in almost all societies on this globe, virulently so, incidentally, in Black Africa. It may be that race prejudice—the psychologists' "stranger hatred"—is an instinct tracing from our animal origins, and therefore ineradicable. Yet man is the only animal *aware* of his instincts; the only animal, therefore, capable of controlling, if not eliminating, his instincts. New law, enforced, compels new behavior. Behavior repeated daily comes to seem normal, and attitudes change. Illusions tend to vanish. The idea that a difference in skin color is an essential difference is an illusion.

I am struck by an observation of McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation. He said discrimination will end, partly because this college generation regards racial equality as natural, whereas the older generation regards it only as logical.

The twentieth-century war over racial injustice is now in its virulent stage. The nineteenth-century war in its virulent stage lasted four years. This one will last much longer because it is fought on a thousand narrow fronts, like guerrilla war, and because no grand climacteric is possible. But it is not going to "tear this country apart" or "burn America down" or anything of the sort. A tiny percentage of extremists among only 12 percent of the American population can do much, but they cannot do that.

The new curse has come with America's new military power. A form of Parkinson's Law operates here. The greater the power, the more the men who associate with it, extoll it and find needs, real or sophistical, for its use. The use of available, flexible force becomes easier than hard thought; and the worst aspect of the curse is the gradual, almost unconscious identification of power with virtue. John Adams said, "Power always thinks it has a great soul and vast views beyond the comprehension of the weak. . . ."

We have fallen into this trap with the Vietnam intervention. For the first time, we have misused our power on a massive scale. But it does not mean that we are a "Fascist" or aggressive people, any more than the racial mess means that we are a hating or oppressive people. Vietnam is not typical; it is a mistake, now recognized as such by most serious thinkers in this country. If millions of people in Europe (every province of which is soaked in blood) stand aghast at what we have done and reproach us bitterly, one unarticulated reason is that they *expect* the United States to act with humaneness and common sense. They do not shout advice to Russia and China, whatever their misdeeds, for the same reason that the crowd in the bullring does not shout advice to the bull but to the bullfighter.

The reassuring thing is not merely that we will get out of this trap and undo the damage as best we can but that we will do so because our own people demand it, not because the enemy is too strong, not because of foreign criticism. We could, if we would, lay North Vietnam totally waste. The American conscience will not permit it. We may not win a military victory in Vietnam, but we will win a victory in our own soul.

No—the humaneness of the American people is still here. The new problems have piled up too rapidly for our brains and our institutions to cope with at anything like the same rate, but the will for justice is as strong as ever—stronger, in my own belief, because thought and expression are freer today than ever before. This is why the Negro revolution has come now—not because conditions of life became worse, save for some, but because of a climate of free expression. In just such periods of great intellectual freedom have nearly all revolutions been generated.

It is a remarkable fact that great numbers of very ordinary people in distant lands understand all this about America better than some of our own intellectuals. If, by some magic, all barriers to emigration and immigration around the world were lifted tomorrow, by far the single biggest human caravan would start moving in one direction—our way.

One day recently, I asked a Cuban refugee why most Cubans like himself wanted to come to the United States rather than go to Latin American countries with the same language and the same general culture. Was it just the thought of greater economic opportunity?

"No," he said, "many of us would have an easier time, economically, in a Latin country. It's just that we feel better here. We can feel like a human being. There seems to be something universal about this country."

This is living testimony, not abstract argument, from men who know the meaning of America in their bones and marrow. Of course, it is the truth. Of course, the dream lives on.

Let those who wish compare America with Rome. Rome lasted around a thousand years.

HOW THE SUPREME COURT IS PERFORMING ITS ROLE AS THE INTERPRETER OF THE CONSTITUTION

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, the constitution of my native State of North Carolina has always contained a warning which all Americans would do well to heed. It is this:

> A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty.

Let us pause for a few moments, and recur to some fundamental principles.

The men who composed the Constitutional Convention of 1787 were wise men. They had read the history of the long and bitter struggle of man for freedom, and had found this shocking but everlasting truth inscribed upon each page of that history: No man or set of men can be safely trusted with governmental power of an unlimited nature. As a consequence, they were determined, above all things to establish a government of laws and not of men.

To prevent the exercise of arbitrary power by the Federal Government, they embodied in the Constitution the doctrine of the separation of governmental powers. In so doing, they utilized this doctrine in a twofold way. They delegated to the Federal Government the powers necessary to enable it to discharge its functions as a central government, and they left to each State the power to regulate its own internal affairs. It was this use of the doctrine of the separation of powers which prompted Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase to make this trenchant observation in *Texas* v. *White* (7 Wall. (U.S.) 700):

> The Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indestructible union, composed of indestructible States.

In their other utilization of the doctrine of the separation of governmental powers, the members of the Convention of 1787 vested the power to make laws in the Congress, the power to execute laws in the President, and the power to interpret laws in the Supreme Court and such inferior courts as the Congress might establish. Moreover, they declared, in essence, that the legislative, the executive, and the judicial powers of the Federal Government should forever remain separate and distinct from each other.

This brings me to my subject: "How the Supreme Court Is Discharging Its Role as the Interpreter of the Constitution."

In discussing this subject, I must tell you the truth about the Supreme Court.

I know it is not popular in some quarters to tell the truth about this tribunal. Admonitions of this character come to us daily from such quarters: When the Supreme Court speaks, its decisions must be accepted as sacrosanct by the bench, the bar, and the people of America, even though they constitute encroachments on the constitutional domain of the President or the Congress, or tend to reduce the States to meaningless zeros on the Nation's map. Indeed, the bench, the bar, and the people must do more than this. They must speak of the Supreme Court at all times with a reverence akin to that which inspired Job to speak thus of Jehovah:

> Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him.

To be sure, all Americans should obey the decrees in cases to which they are parties, even though they may honestly and reasonably deem such decrees unwarranted. But it is sheer intellectual rubbish to contend that Americans are required to believe in the infallibility of judges, or to make mental obeisance to judicial aberrations. They have an inalienable right to think and speak their honest thoughts concerning all things under the sun, including the decisions of Supreme Court majorities. It is well this is so because the late Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone spoke an indisputable truth when he said:

> Where the courts deal, as ours do, with great public questions, the only protection against unwise decisions, and even judicial usurpation, is careful scrutiny of their action, and fearless comment upon it.

As one whose major efforts have centered in the administration of justice, I have the abiding conviction that "tyranny on the bench is as objectionable as tyranny on the throne" and that my loyalty to constitutional government compels me to oppose it. In entertaining this conviction, I find myself in the company of such great Americans as Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln, who refused to accept in abject silence what they conceived to be judicial usurpations.

It is not easy for me to express my disapproval of Supreme Court action. I was taught in my youth by my father, a practitioner at the North Carolina bar for 65 years, to revere the Supreme Court as the guardian of the Constitution. When I was a small boy, he took me to the old Supreme Court chamber, pointed out the busts of great jurists of the past, and said with reverential awe:

> The Supreme Court will abide by the Constitution, though the heavens fall.

I regret to say, however, that the course of the Supreme Court in recent years has been such as to cause me to ponder the question whether fidelity to fact ought not to induce its members to remove from the portal of the building which houses it the majestic words, "Equal justice under law," and to substitute for the superscription, "Not justice under law, but justice according to the personal notions of the temporary occupants of this building."

The truth is that on many occasions during recent years the Supreme Court has usurped and exercised the power of the Congress and the States to amend the Constitution while professing to interpret it. In so doing, the Supreme Court has encroached upon the constitutional powers of Congress as the Nation's legislative body, and struck down State action and

State legislation in areas clearly committed to the States by our system of constitutional government. This action has been accompanied by overruling, repudiating, or ignoring many contrary precedents of earlier years.

A study of recent decisions shows that some Supreme Court Justices employ the freedom of speech, the due process, the self-incrimination, and the right of counsel clauses of the Bill of Rights, and the 14th amendment with ever-increasing frequency as mere vehicles for imposing their personal wills upon Congress, the States, and the people. In so doing, they repudiate or ignore the words and history of these provisions and the precedents interpreting them according to the intent of their framers.

In criticizing the Court on this score, I am not a lone voice crying in a legal wilderness. The concurring opinion of the late Justice Robert H. Jackson in *Brown* v. *Allen* (344 U.S. 443, 535), points out correctly that a substantial portion of the judges and lawyers of America believe the Supreme Court is not confining itself to its allotted constitutional sphere.

I quote these words from Justice Jackson's concurring opinion:

> Rightly or wrongly, the belief is widely held by the practicing profession that this Court no longer respects impersonal rules of law but is guided in these matters by personal impressions which from time to time may be shared by a majority of the Justices. Whatever has been intended, this Court also has generated an impression in much of the judiciary that regard for precedents and authorities is obsolete, that words no longer mean what they have always meant to the profession, that the law knows no fixed principles.

Justice Jackson closed his observations on this score with this sage comment:

> I know of no way we can have equal justice under law except we have some law.

Let us consider and weigh the reasoning of those who seek to justify the proposition that it is permissible for the Supreme Court to amend the Constitution under the guise of interpreting it.

They make these assertions: The Constitution must change to meet changing conditions. As its authorized interpreter, the Supreme Court has the rightful power at all times to make the Constitution conform to the views of the majority of its members. Since the doctrine of stare decisis—that is, the rule that judges stand by and follow the decisions of their own court, might handicap the Supreme Court in making the Constitution conform to the views of a majority of its members on some occasions, the Supreme Court is not bound by its own decisions on constitutional questions.

These arguments rest upon a wholly fallacious premise; namely, that the power to interpret and the power to amend are identical. The distinction between these powers is as wide as the gulf which yawns between Lazarus in Abraham's bosom and Dives in hell. The power to interpret the Constitution is the power to ascertain its meaning, and the power to amend the Constitution is the power to change its meaning.

It seems at first blush that those who advance these arguments overlook the significant fact that article V of the Constitution vests the power to amend the Constitution in the Congress and the States, and not in the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. But not so. They simply nullify article V with these neat assertions:

> The method of amendment authorized by article V is too cumbersome and slow. Consequently, the Supreme Court must do the amending. The alternative is to let the Constitution freeze in the pattern which one generation gave it.

To a country lawyer, this is merely a "high falutin" way of saying that the oath of a Supreme Court Justice to support the Constitution does not obligate him to pay any attention to article V or any other provision displeasing to him.

When all is said, the thesis that the Supreme Court has the rightful power to amend the Constitution under the guise of interpreting it is repugnant to the end the Founding Fathers had in mind when they gave this country a written Constitution.

The Founding Fathers were not mere visionaries toying with speculations or theories, but practical men, dealing with the facts of political life as they understood them. History reveals that they understood the facts of political life exceedingly well. Above all, they understood the lesson of history epitomized so well by Woodrow Wilson in these words:

> Liberty has never come from the government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of it. The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it. When we resist therefore the concentration of power, we are resisting the processes of death, because concentration of power, is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties.

In consequence of this understanding, the Founding Fathers foresaw that the fundamentals of the government they desired to establish and the liberties of the citizens they wished to secure would be put in peril in troublous times unless they protected such fundamentals of government and such liberties by "irrepealable law" binding equally upon the government and the governed at all times and under all circumstances. They knew that the surest way to protect the fundamentals of the government they desired to establish and the liberties of the citizen they wished to secure was to enshrine them in a written Constitution, and thus put them beyond the control of impatient public officials, temporary majorities, and the varying moods of public opinion. To this end, they framed and adopted a written Constitution, putting into form the government they were creating and prescribing the powers that government was to take.

The Founding Fathers knew, however, that useful alterations of some provisions of the Constitution would be suggested by experience. Consequently, they made provision for amendment as set out in article V. James Madison, whom historians rightly call the father of the Constitution, informs us that the Constitutional Convention preferred this mode for amending the Constitution because "it guards equally against that extreme facility, which would render the Constitution too mutable, and that extreme difficulty, which might perpetuate its discovered faults." The Federalist, No. 43.

Since the Constitution is a written instrument, its meaning does not alter, unless its wording is changed by amendment in the manner prescribed by article V.

> That which it meant when adopted it means now. . . . Those things which are within its grants of power, as those grants were understood when made, are still within them, and those things not within them remain still excluded (*South Carolina* v. *United States,* 199 U.S. 437).

This being true, it is as clear as the noonday sun that the role of the Supreme Court as the interpreter of the Constitution is simply to ascertain and give effect to the intent of its framers and the people who adopted it. Moreover, since the Supreme Court has no proper function except to decide cases and controversies committed to its jurisdiction, the Court acts as the interpreter of the Constitution only in a litigated case whose decision of necessity turns on some provision of that instrument. As a consequence, the function of the Supreme Court in the case is simply to ascertain and give effect to the intent of those who framed and ratified the provision in issue. If the provision is plain, the Court must gather the intent solely from its language; but if the provision is ambiguous, the Court must place itself as nearly as possible in the condition of those who framed and ratified it, and in that way determine the intent the language was used to express.

Since the meaning of a written Constitution is fixed when it is adopted and is not different at any subsequent time when a court has occasion to pass upon it, Judge Cooley was justified in declaring in his "Constitutional Limitations" that—

> A court . . . which should allow a change in public sentiment to influence it in giving to a written constitution a construction not warranted by the intention of its founders would be justly chargeable with reckless disregard of official oath and public duty.

In addition to being repugnant to the intention of the framers, the notion that the Supreme Court may change the meaning of the Constitution while professing to interpret it is incompatible with the primary object of all law. Laws are designed to furnish rules of conduct for government and people. As a consequence, a law is destitute of value unless it has sufficient stability to afford reliable rules to govern the conduct of government and people, and unless it can be found with reasonable certainty in established legal precedents. Justice Louis B. Brandeis had this in mind when he said:

> It is usually more important that a rule of law be settled, than that it be settled right.

If the Supreme Court is conceded the power to change the meaning of the Constitution under the guise of interpreting it every time a sitting Justice wavers in mind or a newly appointed Justice ascends the bench, the Constitution would become to all practical intents and purposes an uncertain and unstable document of no beneficial value to the country. More than this, it would become a constant menace to sound government at all levels, and to the freedom of the millions of Americans who are not at liberty to join Supreme Court Justices in saying that Supreme Court decisions on constitutional questions are not binding on them.

What I have said on this point is aptly summed up in the ringing words of Edward Douglas White, one of the ablest lawyers and wisest judges ever to grace the Supreme Court bench. He said:

> In the discharge of its function of interpreting the Constitution, this Court exercises an august power . . . It seems to me that the accomplishment of its lofty mission can only be secured by the stability of its teachings and the sanctity which surrounds them . . . The fundamental conception of a judicial body is that of one hedged about by precedents which are binding on the court without regard to the personality of its members. Break down this belief in judicial continuity, and let it be felt that on great constitutional questions this court is to depart from the settled conclusions of its predecessors, and to determine them all according to the mere opinion of those who temporarily fill its bench, and our Constitution will, in my judgment, be bereft of value and become a most dangerous instrument to the rights and liberties of the people.

What has been said does not deny to the Supreme Court the power to overrule a prior decision in any instance where proper judicial restraint justifies such action. A sound criterion for determining when proper judicial restraint justifies a judge in overruling a precedent is to be found in the standard which Judge Learned Hand says his friend and colleague, Judge Thomas Swan, set for his own guidance:

> He will not overrule a precedent unless he can be satisfied beyond preadventure that it was untenable when made; and not even then, if it has gathered around it the support of a substantial body of decisions based on it. (*The Spirit of Liberty*, 212).

In ending this phase of my remarks, I wish to emphasize that precedents set by the Supreme Court on constitutional questions must be considered to have been tenable when made, and thus not to be overruled, if they conformed to the intention of those who framed and adopted the constitutional provisions involved, no matter how inconsistent they may be with the views of Justices subsequently ascending the bench.

This brings me back to the argument that Supreme Court Justices must nullify article V and usurp the power to amend the Constitution while pretending to interpret it to keep the Constitution from freezing in the pattern which one generation gave it.

I assert with all the emphasis at my command that there is really no substantial validity in this argument. I take this position for three reasons:

First. Although the Constitution does not change its meaning in the absence of amendment under article V, the provisions of the Constitution are pliable in the sense that they reach into the future and embrace all new conditions falling within the scope of the powers which they in terms confer. Existing grants of constitutional powers are broad and flexible enough to enable the Federal Government to take action in virtually all new fields in which action on its part will be appropriate.

Second. As the possessor of all the legislative power of the Federal Government, Congress has complete authority at all times to make, amend, or repeal laws relating to all matters committed by the Constitution to the Federal Government.

Third. For these reasons, occasions which really call for amendments to the Constitution are comparatively rare and can be accommodated under article V. While it is frequently asserted that the method for amending the Constitution prescribed by article V is too cumbersome and slow for practical purposes, those who make the assertion furnish no satisfactory proof of its truth. To be sure, they cite as evidence the failure of Congress and the States to make constitutional changes they deem desirable. They overlook the fact, however, that the evidence they cite has just as logical a tendency to prove that the wisdom of Congress and the States exceeds theirs. Where Congress and the States have been united in the belief that a constitutional amendment was necesasry and advisable, there has been little trouble in utilizing the procedure of article V.

In the final analysis, those who contend that Supreme Court Justices are justified in changing the meaning of constitutional provisions while pretending to interpret them confuse right and power.

What Justice Cardozo said of the judge as a legislator in "The Nature of the Judicial Process" is relevant here.

He said:

> I think the difficulty has its origin in the failure to distinguish between right and power, between the command embodied in a judgment and the jural principle to which the obedience of the judge is due. Judges have, of course, the power, though not the right, to ignore the mandate of a statute, and render judgment in despite of it. They have the power, though not the right, to travel beyond the walls of the interstices, the bounds set to judicial innovation by precedent and custom. None the less, by that abuse of power, they violate the law. (*The Nature of the Judicial Process*, 1921 edition, 129)

What has been said makes it clear that the Supreme Court does not have the right to change the meaning of the Constitution. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing in the Constitution to deter them from exercising the power to do so. Although the Founding Fathers incorporated in the Constitution a system of checks and balances to deter the Congress and the executive branch from improvident and unconstitutional behavior, they did not devise a single positive provision other than the requirement of an oath or affirmation to safeguard the country against the danger that the Supreme Court might abuse its power to interpret the Constitution, and amend that instrument while professing to interpret it.

The omission of the Constitution to provide any real check upon unconstitutional behavior on the part of the Supreme Court was not overlooked during the contest over ratification.

Elbridge Gerry, George Mason, and others opposed ratification on this ground. Let me quote what they had to say on the subject.

Elbridge Gerry asserted:

> There are no well defined limits of the Judiciary Powers, they seem to be left as a boundless ocean, that has broken over the chart of the Supreme Lawgiver, *thus far shalt thou go and no further*, and as they cannot be comprehended by the clearest capacity, or the most sagacious mind, it would be an Herculean labour to attempt to describe the dangers with which they are replete.

George Mason made this more specific objection:

> The judiciary of the United States is so constructed and extended as to absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several states.

Others declared, in substance, that under the Constitution the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States would "not be in any manner subject to revision or correction," that "the power of construing the laws" would enable the Supreme Court of the United States "to mould them into whatever shape it" should "think proper"; that the Supreme Court of the United States could "substitute" its "own pleasure" for the law of the land; and that the "errors and usurpations of the Supreme Court of the United States" would "be uncontrollable and remediless."

Alexander Hamilton overcame these arguments, however, to the satisfaction of the ratifying States. In the Federalist, Nos. 78 and 81, he gave this emphatic assurance:

> The supposed danger of Judiciary encroachments . . . is, in reality, a Phantom.

He declared, in essence, that this was true because the men selected to serve as Supreme Court Justices would "be chosen with a view to those qualifications which fit men for the stations of judges" and that they would give "that inflexible and uniform adherence" to legal precedents and rules, which is "indispensable in the courts of justice." He added that these qualifications could be acquired only by "long and laborious study."

By these statements, Alexander Hamilton correctly declared that no man is qualified to be a judge unless he is able and willing to subject himself to the self-restraint, which is an essential ingredient of the judicial process in a government of laws.

Two questions arise. What is the self-restraint which constitutes an essential ingredient of the judicial process in a government of laws? How is it acquired?

Alexander Hamilton's statement furnishes answers for these questions.

Self-restraint is the capacity and the willingness of the qualified occupant of a judicial office to lay aside his personal notions of what a constitutional provision ought to say and to base his interpretation of its meaning solely upon its language and history. In performing his task, he does not recklessly cast into the judicial garbage can the sound precedents of his wise predecessors.

This self-restraint is usually the product of long and laborious legal work as a practicing attorney or long and laborious judicial work as a judge of an appellate court or a trial court of general jurisdiction. It is sometimes the product of long and laborious work as a teacher of law.

One does not come into possession of self-restraint, however, by occupying executive or legislative offices, or by rendering aid to a political party, or by maintaining a friendly relationship with a President, or by adhering to a particular religion, or by belonging to a particular race. And, unhappily, some men of brilliant intellect and good intentions seem incapable of acquiring it or unwilling to exercise it. Daniel Webster undoubtedly had these men in mind when he said:

> Good intentions will always be pleaded for every assumption of power . . . It is hardly too strong to say that the Constitution was made to guard the people against the dangers of good intentions. There are men in all ages who mean to govern well, but they mean to govern. They promise to be good masters, but they mean to be masters.

For several generations, the people of America had no reason to doubt Alexander Hamilton's assurance concerning the kind of men who would be selected to sit upon the Supreme Court. With rare exceptions, Presidents appointed to the Court men who had long and laboriously participated in the administration of justice either as practicing lawyers or as judges of State courts or as judges of Federal courts inferior to the Supreme Court, and who possessed and exercised the self-restraint which constitutes an essential ingredient of the judicial process in a government of laws. As a consequence, they performed their judicial labors in obedience to the principle that it is the duty of Supreme Court Justices to interpret the Constitution, not to amend it.

Candor compels me to say, however, that these things are no longer true, and that a substantial number of recent appointees to the Supreme Court are judicial activists who seek to rewrite the Constitution in their own images by adding to that instrument things which are not in it and by subtracting from that instrument things which are in it.

Time does not permit me to analyze or even enumerate all of the decisions which sustain what I have said.

I wish to cite at this point a few decisions which reveal that the Supreme Court has encroached upon the constitutional powers of the Congress as the Nation's legislative body.

Congress was told by the Court in the *Girouard* (328 U.S. 61) and *Yates* (354 U.S. 298) cases that it really did not mean what it said in plain English when it enacted statutes to regulate the naturalization of aliens and to punish criminal conspiracies to overthrow the Government by force. Congress was told by the Court in the *Watkins* case (354 U.S. 178) that its committees must conduct their investigations according to rules imposed by the Court which make it virtually certain that no information will ever be obtained from an unwilling witness.

Congress was told by the Court in the *Allis Chalmers* case (388 U.S. 175) that it practiced deceit on Americans who labor in industry when it gave them this assurance in section 7 of the Taft Hartley Act: "Employees shall have the right to refrain from any and all" concerted union activities. Moreover, Congress was told by the Court in the *Robel* case (389 U.S. 389) that the first amendment right of Communists to associate with each other for the purpose of proclaiming that the United States ought to be destroyed by force or other unconstitutional means disables the Congress of the United States to deny them employment in defense industries vital to the survival of the United States.

In the recent cases of *U.S.* v. *Guest* (383 U.S. 745) and *Katzenbach* v. *Morgan* (384 U.S. 641), however, the Supreme Court demonstrated a willingness to stretch the legislative powers of Congress far beyond their constitutional limits by attributing a newly invented meaning to section 5 of the 14th amendment. Section 5 confers upon Congress the power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provision of the first section of the 14th amendment, which forbids any State to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

A majority of the Supreme Court Justices gave Congress the gratuitous assurance by way of dicta in the Guest case that they would vote to uphold future congressional legislation making the acts of private individuals Federal crimes under this provision of the 14th amendment, notwithstanding the language of the equal protection of the laws clause applies only to State action, and notwithstanding the Court has held without variation in a multitude of cases that Congress has no power to legislate under that clause in respect to the acts of private individuals.

It is passing strange for judges to announce in advance how they will decide a case which may never arise under a law which may never be enacted.

The Court squarely held, however, in the Morgan case that the fifth section of the 14th amendment empowers Congress to supplant a nondiscriminatory State voter qualification with a newly created Federal voting qualification, notwithstanding the State voting qualification is in complete harmony with the equal protection of the laws clause, and notwithstanding articles I and II and the 10th and 17th amendments confer the power to prescribe voting qualifications upon the States and deny such power to the Congress.

Another recent case indicating the willingness of the Supreme Court, as now constituted, to stretch the powers of Congress far beyond their constitutional limits by devising new meanings for constitutional provisions is *South Carolina* v. *Katzenbach* (383 U.S. 301). In this case the Court held that in the exercise of its power to enforce the 15th amendment by appropriate legislation, Congress can condemn the election officials of six Southern States of violating the 15th amendment without affording them a judicial trial, and on that basis suspend the undoubted constitutional power of those States under article I, section 2, and the 10th and 17th amendments to use a nondiscriminatory voting qualification, notwithstanding the guaranty of due process of the fifth amendment, the prohibition upon congressional enactment of bills of attainder of article I, and the sound decision of ex parte Milligan that—

> The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people * * * at all times and under all circumstances and no doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government.

The novel method of interpretation by which the Court reaches its decisions in the Guest, Morgan, and South Carolina cases is without parallel in our judicial annals.

It belies the essential principle that all provisions of the Constitution are of equal dignity and none must be so interpreted as to nullify or impair the others. Instead of interpreting the Constitution as a harmonious instrument in these cases, however, the Court views it as a self-destructive document consisting of mutually repugnant provisions of unequal dignity. By so doing, the Court reaches the astounding conclusion that section 5 of the 14th amendment and section 2 of the 15th amendment authorize Congress to do these things: First, to nullify constitutional powers clearly allotted or reserved to the States by article I, and article II, the 10th amendment and the 17th amendment; and, second, to pass congressional acts which the provisions allotting or reserving those constitutional powers to the States and the substantive provisions of the 14th amendment forbid it to enact.

This method of interpretation, which sanctions the use of one provision of the Constitution to nullify some other provisions, may be pleasing to judicial activists. It bodes ill, however, for the future of constitutional government.

What the judicial activists on the Supreme Court have done to the powers allotted or reserved by the Constitution to the States beggars description.

A study of the decisions invalidating State action and State legislation compels the conclusion that these Supreme Court Justices now deem themselves to be the final and infallible supervisors of the desirability or wisdom of all State action and all State legislation.

This is tragic, indeed, because there is nothing truer than the belief attributed to the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis by Judge Learned Hand that—

> The States are the only breakwater against the ever pounding surf which threatens to submerge the individual and destroy the only kind of society in which personality can survive.

Time does not permit me to analyze or even enumerate the cases past numbering in which the Supreme Court, as now constituted, has struck down State action and State legislation in fields clearly committed to the States by the Constitution. Consequently, I shall mention only a few of them.

California was told by the Court in the *Lambert* case (355 U.S. 225), that it cannot punish its residents for criminal offenses committed within its borders if such residents are ignorant of the statutes creating such criminal offenses. California was told by the Court in the first *Konigsberg* case (353 U.S. 252), that it cannot resort to cross-examination to determine the fitness or qualifications of those who apply to it for licenses to practice law in its courts. New Hampshire and Pennsylvania were told by the Court in the *Sweezey* (354 U.S. 234), and *Nelson* (350 U.S. 497) cases that they cannot investigate or punish seditious teachings or activities within their borders. New York was told by the Court in the *Slowehower* case (350 U.S. 551), and the *Keyishian* case (385 U.S. 589), that the first and fifth amendments forbid the States to deny employment as teachers of their youth to Communists who advocate the overthrow of our Republic by violence or any other unconstitutional means. North Carolina was told by the Court in the first *Williams* case (317 U.S. 287), that it cannot determine the marital status of its own citizens within its own borders.

Twenty-four States were told by the Court in the *Mapp* case (37 U.S. 643) that the fourth amendment had somehow lost its original meaning 170 years after its ratification, and that in consequence they no longer had the power which they possessed in times past to regulate the admissibility in their own courts of evidence obtained by searches and seizures. Virginia was told by the Court in the *Button* case (371 U.S. 415) that the NAACP and its attorneys were immune to prosecution or punishment for violating its laws against barratry, champerty, and maintenance.

Virginia was told by the Court in the *Harper* case (383 U.S. 633) that its law requiring the payment of a poll tax as a qualification for voting violated the Constitution because it is more difficult for a poor man than it is for an affluent man to pay an annual tax equal to the amount which one can earn by working 72 minutes out of the entire year at the minimum wages established by the Fair Labor Standards Act. And California was told by the Court in the *Reitman* case (387 U.S. 369) that its new law repealing its open occupancy law and giving all Californians of all races freedom of choice in the sale or rental of their residential property constituted an unconstitutional discrimination against nonwhites.

For some reason too deep to fathom, the Supreme Court, as now constituted, has a solicitude for persons charged with crime which blinds it to the truth that society and the victims of crime are as much entitled to justice as the accused.

It has manifested this solicitude by repeatedly overruling State courts in criminal cases simply because it disliked their appraisal of facts on conflicting evidence. In so doing, it has ignored the obvious truth that the best judges of the trustworthiness of human testimony are the trial judges who see the witnesses, and that the evidence of a George Washington and that of an Ananias look exactly alike when reduced to cold print.

Other decisions of the Court sanction a practice by which the lowest court in the Federal judicial system; that is, the U.S. district court, by exercising its jurisdiction to issue writs of habeas corpus, can set at naught the decisions of the highest court of a State, even in cases where the Supreme Court itself has refused to grant certiorari to review the State court decisions. Under this practice the doctrine of res adjudicata is virtually abolished, and the States are unable to obtain judgments having finality insofar as the accused are concerned. To minimize the chaos which this practice entails, the States have been compelled to enact statutes providing for postconviction hearings which in plain English permit the accused to try State courts after State courts have tried them.

In addition to these things the Supreme Court has recently erected some new artificial rules of evidence which apply to criminal trials in both Federal and State courts, and which greatly handicap the efforts of the prosecution to procure convictions.

The self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment, which declares that "no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself," became a part of the Constitution on June 15, 1790. From that date until June 13, 1966, the U.S. Supreme Court interpreted these words to mean what they said; that is, to have no possible application to voluntary confessions made outside court.

On June 13, 1966, the Supreme Court handed down *Miranda* v. *Arizona* (384 U.S. 346), which held that the self-incrimination clause had suddenly acquired a new meaning, and by virtue thereof it was unconstitutional under such clause for either Federal or State trial courts to admit in evidence any confession made by a suspect to a police officer having him in custody, no matter how voluntary it might be, unless such police officer first gave the suspect certain warnings which did not even exist until the decision was made.

On June 12, 1967, the Supreme Court handed down *Gilbert* v. *California* (388 U.S. 268), *Stovall* v. *Denno* (388 U.S. 293), and *United States* v. *Wade* (388 U.S. 218). In these cases the Supreme Court held for the first time that a provision, which has been in the sixth amendment since June 15, 1790, made it unconstitutional for the victim or eyewitness of a crime to look at a suspect in custody for identification purposes at any time between the commission of the crime and the trial of the case unless an attorney representing the suspect is present, and that positive testimony given by the victim or eyewitness of the crime upon oath in open court at the trial on the merits to the effect that the witness saw the crime committed and based his identification of the accused as its perpetrator solely upon what he observed at that time, would have to be excluded from consideration by the jury or court trying the facts, unless the presiding judge conducted a preliminary inquiry, and ascertained by clear and convincing evidence that the psychological certainty of the witness that the accused was the person he saw commit the crime was not influenced in any way by the unconstitutional view he had of the prisoner.

For all practical purposes, the Supreme Court Justices who joined in the Miranda, the Gilbert, the Stovall, and the Wade cases made voluntary confessions that they were amending rather than interpreting the Constitution by holding that these decisions had no retroactive effect.

In the closing days of its last term, the Supreme Court made drastic new rulings. On May 20, 1968, it handed down Duncan against Louisiana and Bloom against Illinois. In these cases, the Supreme Court overruled scores of former well-considered decisions to the contrary and adjudged for the first time that the 178-year-old jury trial provisions of the sixth amendment apply to State prosecutions for crimes and criminal contempts.

On the same day the Supreme Court undertook to convert an illegal trespass of great antiquity into a newly created first amendment right. It did this in Amalgamated Food Employees against Logan Valley Plaza by holding that the freedom of speech clause vests in individuals acting in concert a constitutional right to invade the private premises of a businessman against his will for the purpose of urging his customers not to patronize him and by decreeing that no court in the land can now protect the businessman in any way against the unwelcomed invasion.

On May 27, 1968, the Supreme Court ruled in Green against the School Board of New Kent County that school authorities must rob schoolchildren of both races of the freedom to choose the schools they attend unless their exercise of this freedom produces a degree of integration satisfactory to Supreme Court Justices.

A few days later, the Supreme Court handed down Jones against Mayer Co., which is enough to make constitutional, historical, and linguistic angels weep. In this case, the Court solemnly adjudged that when it enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1866 Congress really adopted an open occupancy law, even though Congress did not know anything about open occupancy in 1866 and even though the Court's novel conclusion is utterly incompatible with the interpretation placed upon the act throughout the intervening 102 years.

There is, in truth, no relationship between the open occupancy concept and the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which is now codified as 42 United States Code 1982.

This act provides:

> All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property.

I digress to note that the act is not restricted to housing. It deals with all property be it real or personal, tangible or intangible.

In its decision in the Jones case, the Supreme Court assigns to the words of the act a meaning they do not have and a purpose they are not intended to achieve. Since a white citizen's right to purchase or lease property has always been subject to the condition that its owner must be willing to sell or lease it to him, the Court distorted the words of the act in holding that they confer upon a nonwhite citizen the power to compel an unwilling owner to convey or lease property to him.

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 is designed to secure to all Americans of all races the equal protection of the laws at the hands of States and territories in respect to rights in property. In other words, its sole purpose is to make all Americans equal before the law in respect to rights of property, and not to subject the rights of property of one individual to the demands of any other individual of any race.

To sustain the constitutionality of its distorted construction of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, the Court invoked the 13th amendment, and in so doing attributed to it a meaning unrelated to the language in which it is couched.

According to its wording, the 13th amendment does two things, and only two things. First, it outlaws slavery; and, second, it outlaws involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime. Not a syllable in it imports a purpose to subordinate the personal or property rights of one free individual to the demands of another.

Despite these things, Jones against Mayer Co. implies, in substance that the power of Congress to enforce the limited objectives of the 13th amendment vests in Congress the unlimited power to regulate the personal activities and property rights of all Americans in order to prevent them from practicing private discrimination against nonwhites, regardless of whether there be any State involvement and regardless of what other constitutional provisions may declare.

What a Pandora's box the Court opened in Jones against Mayer Co. This case represents judicial Constitution-amending in its most virulent form.

I forego discussing the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding States and municipalities constitutionally impotent to enact effective legislation prohibiting the peddling of pornography for filthy lucre.

In closing this phase of my remarks, I will take note of one other legal controversy which will certainly be familiar to the Philadelphians among us. I refer to the litigation involving Girard College in which the Supreme Court and the inferior Federal courts confiscated a private charitable trust for public use without any compensation by rewriting the will of Stephen Girard, who had slumbered in the "tongueless silence of the dreamless dust" since 1831, and who entertained the sound belief while he walked earth's surface that disposing of private property by will is rightly a matter for its owner rather than for judges.

In making the foregoing remarks, I have been conscious of the inadequacy of language. I have necessarily used the term Supreme Court or the term Supreme Court Justices to signify members of the Court who were responsible for the decisions I have mentioned. I have not overlooked the fact, however, that most of these decisions were handed down by a sharply divided Court, and that in many of them there were strong dissents by some of the Justices who asserted in no uncertain terms that the majority decisions were incompatible with the Constitution.

What has been said makes these things as clear as the noonday sun in a cloudless sky:

First. Apart from faithful observance of the Constitution by Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court, neither our country nor any human being within its borders has any security against anarchy or tyranny.

Second. The Supreme Court can compel Congress and the President to observe the Constitution. But no authority external to themselves can compel Supreme Court Justices to observe their constitutional obligation to base their interpretation of the Constitution upon its language and history.

Third. It is idle to suggest the Congress and the States can redress the consequences of judicial usurpations by exercising their power to amend the Constitution. In the first place, the Constitution cannot be amended fast enough to redress the consequences of wholesale judicial usurpations; and in the second place, it is absurd to expect that Supreme Court Justices who do not observe the language and history of existing constitutional provisions will abide by the language and history of newly adopted amendments.

Fourth. This being true, the only restraint on unconstitutional behavior on the part of Supreme Court Justices is their own sense of self-restraint.

Fifth. No matter how great his qualifications in other respects may be, no man is fit to be a Supreme Court Justice if he lacks a sense of self-restraint or is unwilling to exercise it. The presence of such Justices on the Supreme Court imperils our most precious right—the right to be governed by the Constitution. They are invariably judicial activists, who seek to rewrite the Constitution according to their personal notions while professing to interpret and love it. Unlike the foreign conqueror, they do not rob us of our rights in one fell swoop. No. They nibble them away one by one and case by case. But the end result is the same: The destruction of constitutional government.

In his Farewell Address to the American people, George Washington warned us not to travel the road which the judicial activists would have us take. He said:

> If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates . . . But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

I believe it is also clear from what has been said that the Court, as now constituted, has already taken us a long way down the road which George Washington told us not to travel. As a consequence, words of the Constitution no longer mean what they have always meant, history and precedents are disregarded, and decisions on crucial constitutional questions are based on personal notions which a majority of the Justices happen to share from time to time.

I shall not make any dogmatic assertion as to why this is so. But I will have the temerity to suggest that too many political appointments have been made of late to the Supreme Court. For this reason, I have introduced a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution establishing a new procedure for the appointment of Justices of the Supreme Court.

The procedure would be as follows:

First. Whenever a vacancy occurs in the office of Chief Justice of the United States or Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, the President shall convene a conference which shall be attended by the presiding judge of the highest appellate court of each State and the chief judge of each judicial circuit of the United States. The senior chief judge of a judicial circuit of the United States shall preside at the conference. By majority vote the conference shall designate, and the presiding officer of the conference shall transmit to the President in writing, the names of five or more persons deemed by the conference to be qualified to fill the vacancy.

Second. The President shall nominate one of the persons so designated to fill the vacancy.

Third. If the Senate advises and consents to the appointment of such person, such person shall be appointed to fill the vacancy. If the Senate does not advise and consent to the appointment of any person so nominated, the President shall nominate another person so designated to fill the vacancy.

I believe that my proposed amendment will make it as certain as possible that members of the Supreme Court will not be chosen on the basis of personal friendship with the President, political service rendered to the political party in power, or past association with politically potent groups. I also believe the amendment would insure, as far as humanly possible, the appointment to the Supreme Court of qualified persons who would be likely to possess the invaluable quality of self-restraint about which I have spoken at such length.

I believe also that those of us who love and revere the Constitution must continue to discharge our duty to carefully scrutinize the decisions of the Court and to comment fearlessly upon those decisions that we believe to endanger the continued existence of constitutional government in America. For I am convinced that a great Senator, Daniel Webster, who also loved the Constitution, spoke tragic truth when he said these things:

> Other misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous wars should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvests.
>
> It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All of these may be rebuilt.
>
> But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government?

Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of constitutional liberty?

Who shall frame together the skillful architecture which unites national sovereignty with State Rights, individual security, and Public prosperity?

No, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful and melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them than ever were shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the monuments of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw—the edifice of constitutional American liberty.

STEEL COMPANIES IGNORE OWN SELF-INTEREST

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, some of the Nation's great steel companies have just offered the Nation a midsummer's night nightmare. They have announced what amounts to a 5-percent across-the-board increase in the cost of steel. As the President has already pointed out, this increase—if allowed to stand—can only add to the danger of inflation. It can start a chain reaction which would warp our whole economy. It will almost certainly lead to further increases in imported foreign steel which the industry has been petitioning Congress to protect it from for many, many months.

The companies have chosen to do this, furthermore, at a time when Americans are risking and sacrificing their lives in Vietnam and when American industry is registering unheard of prosperity.

I call upon other leaders of the steel industry for an act of industrial statesmanship in refusing to imitate these unnecessary and unjustified price increases.

It is time to consider the larger national interest; to weigh the impact of unnecessary price action against the sacrifices of our men in Vietnam, against the Nation's export and balance-of-payments problems—and against the industry's own well-being, if it forces more and more of its customers to turn to foreign suppliers for low-cost steel.

POLITICAL REFUGEES FROM ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, beginning last summer, I had a series of discussions and correspondence with the Department of State in which I strongly protested the Department's implementation of section 203(a) (7) of the Immigration Reform Act of 1965—dealing with the conditional entry of 10,200 political refugees from Communist or Communist-dominated countries.

The establishment of refugee offices in six European countries—one in the Middle East, and one in Asia, and none in the Pacific—I pointed out in a letter on July 12, 1967, effectively barred the entry of such refugees from Asia and the Pacific under this provision of the law.

On July 25, 1967, I received an answer from the Department regarding my urgent request that refugee offices be established in at least two areas in Asia and the Pacific. I had suggested Hong Kong, Thailand, or Singapore. None of these was acceptable; indeed, the Department strongly opposed any action in this direction.

Then, on August 8, 1967, I wrote another letter to the Secretary of State, pointing out that I was "absolutely not satisfied" with the points raised by the Department's letter attempting to justify their position on this matter. I believe I effectively rebutted each argument, and I went on to charge that by refusing to designate refugee offices in Asia and the Pacific, the Department was guilty of gross discrimination—not by law, but by administrative fiat.

TRANSCENDENT PUBLIC POLICY

Moreover, I pointed out that existing departmental policy on conditional entry of political refugees patently flouted the transcendent public policy underlying every single aspect of the 1965 law—that race discrimination had absolutely no place in this country's immigration policies, whether carried out by statute or administrative decree.

Mr. President, I ask that the texts of my letter to Secretary Rusk of July 12, 1967, the Department's answer dated July 25, 1967, and my responding letter of August 8, 1967, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

July 12, 1967.

Hon. Dean Rusk,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary: It is my understanding that political refugees from Communist China escaping into Hong Kong may not enter the United States conditionally, as provided under Section 203(a) (7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, because as that provision is administered, political refugees from Communist nations must enter on a conditional basis from one of only seven countries—Austria, Belgium, France, West Germany, Greece, Italy and Lebanon. None of these nations, it should be noted, is in the Asia and Pacific areas, and all but Lebanon are in Europe.

This to me is a clear violation of the spirit of the Immigration Reform Act which the Congress passed in 1965, and which the Administration so strongly supported because it would eliminate racial discrimination from our basic immigration law. What we have eliminated by law is being restored by administrative decree. This is most unfortunate and smacks of racism.

I therefore urgently request that Hong Kong and another country in Southeast Asia—perhaps Thailand or Singapore—be added to the list of areas through which political refugees from Communist countries may be granted entry into the United States.

With aloha,

Sincerely yours,

Hiram L. Fong.

Department of State,
Washington, July 25, 1967.

Hon. Hiram L. Fong,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Fong: Secretary Rusk has asked me to thank you for your letter of July 12 in which you request that Hong Kong and another country in Southeast Asia be added to the list of areas through which political refugees from Communist countries may be granted conditional entry into the United States under Section 203(a) (7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act. The Department is glad to give you its views on this matter.

I should like to state at the outset that the Department of State shares your view that there should not be discrimination against refugees from Communist China. Indeed, the Department has consistently supported legislation and programs for help to Chinese refugees, including the Far East Refugee Program, which the Department administers, and the several immigration laws under which Chinese refugees have been and are being admitted to the United States. Under present circumstances, this is one of the few ways by which we can demonstrate that the historic friendship and humanitarian concern of the American people toward the Chinese people continues.

Several thousand Chinese refugees received visas under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 and over 2,000 more obtained special refugee visas under Section 15 of Public Law 85–316, the Act of September 11, 1957. Following the massive influx of refugees from Communist China in 1962, the President authorized the use of the Attorney General's parole power under Section 212(d) (5) of the Immigration and Nationality Act for the admission of Chinese from Hong Kong. As a result, during the period 1962–65 over 15,000 Chinese, most of them refugees from Communist China, were paroled into the United States. Many of these Chinese benefited from that provision of Section 203(a) (7), which permits the use of up to 5100 numbers annually for the adjustment of the status of refugees already in the United States.

More recently the removal of quota and other restrictions by the Act of October 3, 1965, which amended the Immigration and Nationality Act, has provided substantial relief for Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. In the quota year ending June 30, 1965, before the new Act had modified the national origins system and the discrimination of Asians associated with it, only 2,122 immigrant visas were issued by the Consulate General in Hong Kong. In the year ending June 30, 1966, the number of visas issued had risen to 6,911, and in the year ending June 30, 1967, the number is expected to reach about ten thousand, almost five times the number issued before the new law was enacted. In the last few years the number of Chinese immigrants has increased to the extent that voluntary relief agencies and others have reported that many of the Chinese are having difficulty in finding jobs and housing in the United States except under conditions which are substandard and not on a par with their skills and previous level of living.

With regard to the language of Section 203(a) (7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, the Department is in full agreement with you that the language of the statute would permit the conditional entry of refugees from Communist China. However, among the considerations involved in the implementation of Section 203(a) (7) was the position of the Congress as noted in the reports of Committees of the Judiciary of both the Senate and the House. These reports stated that the conditional entry of refugees as proposed in this bill was not unlike the parole procedure utilized during the existence of the so-called Fair Share Act and that it was intended that the procedure should remain the same. Public Law 86–648, the Fair Share Act of July 14, 1960, was enacted for the specific purpose of resettling the oveflow of refugees in Europe and the Middle East. In accordance with Congressional intent for the implementation of that law, the seven countries mentioned in your letter—Austria, Belgium, France, West Germany, Greece, Italy and Lebanon—were designated as centers for the parole of refugees. With the passage of the new Immigration Act, and in line with the language of the Congressional reports, these same countries have continued to be the only ones from which refugees are being processed for conditional entry.

As you know, Section 203(a) (7) provides that conditional entries shall be made available by the Attorney General to aliens who are examined by Immigration and Naturalization officers. Although this section of the law is administered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the Attorney General and the Secretary of State have agreed that the Department of State will designate the countries in which it is considered feasible and in the foreign policy interests of the United States for the Immigration and Naturalization Service to undertake the examination of applicants for conditional entry. Also involved are agreements with the countries of asylum to the arrangements necessary for INS to conduct these operations. These include the right of INS officers to interrogate applicants, the right of access to local government records on the refugees and the right to return refugees to the asylum country within a period of two years if they are found ineligible to remain in the United States.

The Department in consultation with the Immigration and Naturalization Service has given consideration to the possible extension of the benefit of Section 203(a)(7) to other areas. For example, in addition to the two million or so Chinese in Hong Kong who might qualify as refugees, the million and a half Palestine refugees in the Middle East pose a similar problem. However, under the law a maximum of only 10,200 refugees may be granted conditional entry annually and half of this total, or 5,100 numbers, may be made available for the adjustment of status of refugees already in the United States. Therefore, the numbers of Chinese who might enter the United States under these limitations would have relatively little impact on the total refugee situation in Hong Kong. Should Hong Kong (or the Middle East) be opened up for the implementation of conditional entry, the problem of administering the presumed huge number of applications, of making determinations as to the applicant's refugee status, and of trying to assign priorities among potential applicants far in excess of the numbers available would be most difficult. There would be a special problem in Hong Kong where the authorities consider persons entering the Crown Colony without legal documents as "illegal immigrants" rather than "refugees." Whereas in European countries, refugees apply for and receive asylum under definite standards related to the provisions of the United Nations Convention on Refugees, no such determinations are made in Hong Kong.

These are the considerations upon which the Department thus far has withheld designation of Hong Kong as an area for the examination of applicants for conditional entry. You may be assured, however, that the Department will continue to keep the question of enlarging the scope of the refugee program under serious consideration.

I appreciate the opportunity which your letter provides to explain the Department's position in this matter.

If there is any additional information which you believe we can furnish, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

AUGUST 8, 1967.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: This will acknowledge receipt of the response of the Department of State, dated July 25, to my letter concerning political refugees from Communist countries in Asia and the Pacific. I appreciate very much the extensive exposition of the Department's views on the matter.

I am well aware of the past efforts on the part of this country to assist refugees escaping communism from Communist China and other areas of Asia and the Pacific. The Department's support of these efforts is indeed commendable. But this should not excuse the full implementation of the spirit and intent of the law.

I am also fully aware of the language contained in the Reports of the Committees on the Judiciary of both Senate and House regarding the implementation of Section 203 (a)(7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 which was noted in the Department's letter. It is quite true that the Senate Report, for example, contains the following language: "The conditional entry of refugees as proposed in this bill is not unlike the parole procedure utilized during the existence of the so-called Fair Share Act . . . and is intended that the procedure remain the same."

This language of the Senate Report clearly indicates that procedurally it follows the Fair Share Act. But nothing in the Report says that the refugees should be only those covered by the Fair Share Act.

As you point out yourself on page 2 of your letter: "With regard to the language of Section 203(a)(7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, the Department is in full agreement with you that the language of the statute would permit the conditional entry of refugees from Communist China."

There is no question that the overriding public policy underlying every single aspect of the 1965 Law is the complete elimination of race discrimination from our basic immigration statute. This transcendent public policy is made abundantly clear in statements of President Johnson, when he submitted the bill to Congress and when he signed the measure into law, and in all the legislative history of the Law.

When that public policy is applied to statutory provisions dealing with political refugees, and fortified by what we all agree to be the meaning of Sections 203(a)(7), it is plain to me that such refugees in the Asia and Pacific areas should be placed on exactly the same footing as political refugees in Europe and in the Middle East.

I can understand the problems outlined in the Department's letter with respect to political refugees in Asia, particularly those in Hong Kong. But I am convinced these problems are exactly what you have had and are experiencing in most of the seven nations where you have established refugee offices.

To be sure, there is the "problem of administering the huge number of (Hong Kong) applications"—particularly in comparison with the small number of refugees to be admitted annually under the 1965 Law.

This again appears, however, to be a problem common to political refugees the world over—whether they may come from Europe, the Middle East, or Asia. The reason for this is the limited number the Congress has seen fit to allow into the United States each year.

The primary relevant criterion for considering their admission to the United States in this context is that all such refugees, although limited in number, be given an equal footing, regardless of race, color, or national origins.

As for foreign policy considerations, the establishment by the Department of refugee offices in Asia and the Pacific undoubtedly would greatly enhance America's image in that critical area of the world. By doing this, we would be demonstrating to the hundreds of millions of people in Asia and the Pacific that America does not discriminate against them—in favor of the peoples of Europe and the Middle East.

I am certain that the United States would encounter no difficulty in reaching agreements with the countries of asylum I have proposed to enable INS screening of applicants for conditional entry. The United Kingdom, and the sovereign states of Thailand and Singapore undoubtedly would be more than willing to extend their fullest cooperation to this country in this regard.

There appear to be no insurmountable obstacles to establishing refugee offices in the Asia and Pacific areas. It is therefore evident to me that the problems which are outlined in the Department's letter have been raised to avoid the full implementation of a law duly passed by the Congress.

All that is requested is that at least two refugee offices be established in the Asia-Pacific area. Only when this is done will the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 be fully implemented as to its basic underlying policy of complete eradications of race discrimination. Only then will America not be accused of reverting to the ill-advised policies of the past.

In view of the language of the Law and its overriding intent, the Asia-Pacific area has been grossly discriminated against—not by law, but by administrative fiat. It has not been placed on the same footing as Europe and the Middle East.

It is imperative that the language and spirit of the Law be fully implemented. This could be done by designating Hong Kong and another nation—Thailand or Singapore—as points through which refugees might be processed at the earliest possible date.

I look forward to your favorable reply.

Sincerely yours,

HIRAM L. FONG.

DEPARTMENT MORE RECEPTIVE

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, on August 25, 1967, the Department answered my letter of August 8, 1967, and appeared to be more receptive to my urgent request. I was assured that—

> The Department is continuing to keep the question of enlarging the scope of the refugee problem under serious consideration.

At that time I was told that the Department had requested from its missions in Asia "additional facts" and the "appraisals of the extension of the program" to Asia and the Pacific. The Department assured me that—

> The cogent points which are contained in your letter (dated August 8, 1967) along with the field evaluation of the matter will certainly receive our most serious study in our active review of this problem.

I ask that the text of the Department's letter of August 25, 1967, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 25, 1967.

Hon. HIRAM L. FONG,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FONG: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of August 8 concerning political refugees from Communist countries in Asia and the Pacific. As indicated in my reply of July 25 to your original inquiry of July 12, the Department is continuing to keep the question of enlarging the scope of the refugee program under serious consideration.

We have asked our missions in Asia for additional facts and for their appraisals of the extension of the program to Asian countries. The cogent points which are contained in your letter along with the field evaluation of the matter will certainly receive most serious study in our active review of this problem.

In the meantime, I wish to reiterate the Department's offer to discuss with you certain foreign policy implications which are inherent in this problem. I should be most happy to arrange for appropriate officers of the Department to meet with you at your convenience.

May I thank you for giving Secretary Rusk your views on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, in the meantime, the Department requested an opportunity to discuss with me "certain foreign policy implications which are inherent in this problem," and on August 29, 1967, I met with three of its representatives for nearly an hour.

These spokesmen for the Department were quite encouraging about the prospects for establishing refugee offices in the Asia and Pacific areas.

For nearly 10 months since the date of that meeting, I did not hear from the Department on this subject.

Then, on June 20, 1968, I finally received a report on the situation from the Department.

The Department wrote:

> It was our preliminary judgment that it would be desirable in our foreign policy interests and in keeping with public policy behind the amended Immigration and Nationality Act to provide for he processing of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong for conditional entry under seventh preference.

However, because of three factors, the Department refused to budge and indicated that at least for the foreseeable future, no refugee offices will be opened in any nation of Asia or the Pacific.

The Department contends that first, because the Immigration and Nationality Act imposes an annual limitation of 20,000 of visas and conditional entries for any single foreign state and 200 for a subquota area such as Hong Kong; second, because of the expectation that the number of visas to be issued to natives of China will reach the maximum limit of 20,000 in fiscal 1969, so that no visa numbers are expected to be available for seventh preference applicants born in China; and, third, because the small likelihood that seventh preference numbers would be available for qualified applicants in Hong Kong would have an "adverse public impact in the colony"—no refugee offices would be opened in this critical area of the world.

In other words, the Department is saying that it will continue to administer the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by the 1965 Reform Act, in a blatantly discriminatory way—favoring entry of political refugees from Europe and the Middle East, to the total exclusion of such entrants from Asia and the Pacific.

Mr. President, I have today written a very strong letter to the Secretary of State, responding to every objection raised in the Department's latest letter.

IRRELEVANT ARGUMENTS

As I have repeatedly pointed out in my discussions last year, the availability or unavailability of seventh preference numbers is clearly irrelevant to the overriding issue of the public policy enunciated by the Immigration Reform Act of 1965—the complete elimination of racial barriers from our immigration policies and law.

It is and has always been abundantly clear to me that the 1965 law requires that political refugees in Asia and the Pacific be placed on exactly the same footing as those in Europe and the Middle East—for which seven offices have been established. Yet, the Department to date has adamantly refused to open a refugee office in any area of Asia and the Pacific.

It might be true that for possibly a few years after any refugee office is opened in Asia and the Pacific there would not be a single entrant from any nation of those vast areas of the world. Even if this should be true of political refugees from Communist China, the Department clearly overlooks the fact that there might be political refugees from other nations in the Asia-Pacific area, for example, from Laos, or North Vietnam.

The Department also ignores the possibility that such political refugees may escape a Communist country, reach another country in Asia or the Pacific in which a refugee office has been established, and seek entry from that nation rather than from China or Hong Kong.

We are not speaking of the entry of a large number of political refugees. There is a statutory limitation of 10,200 annually, and this is worldwide.

Nor are we speaking of a burdensome expense in proposing the opening of refugee offices for Asia and the Pacific, where we already have established embassies and consulates. The opening of an office may be accomplished by simply designating a consular employee who is already employed in an American consulate.

I pointed these facts out in my reply to the Department. I also said that, assuming no visa numbers whatsoever are available under the seventh preference category in the next few years for any nation of Asia or the Pacific—if this situation should result from a fair, just, and completely equitable administration of American immigration policies mandated by the 1965 act, then there can be absolutely no basis for a charge that racist immigration policies were being perpetuated by the Department by administrative fiat.

RACE DISCRIMINATION BY DECREE

However, as our immigration laws and policies are now being carried out, I feel that the charge that racist immigration policies are being perpetuated by administrative decree is quite justified.

Section 203(a)(7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act provides that visa numbers for the conditional entry of political refugees "shall be made available to aliens who satisfy an Immigration and Naturalization Service officer at an examination." This section has been interpreted to mean that applicants for the 10,200 numbers set aside annually for such refugees are selected in the order in which they become qualified. In other words, the rule is—first qualified, first served.

Those qualified political refugees having earlier qualifying dates would therefore be considered first, and those having later qualifying dates would be considered later.

In the context of the situation in Asia and the Pacific, by not designating even one refugee office in those areas, the Department of State is denying all refugees from any Communist or Communist-dominated country or area any opportunity whatever of filing for future possible entry.

That is to say, how can anyone qualify when there is no office to receive his application? By refusing to open an office, we are refusing to qualify him for possible entry. Hence, by refusing to open an office we are in fact denying him consideration for entry. This is clear discrimination. Having opened offices in Europe and the Middle East, and refusing to do the same for Asia and the Pacific, we are favoring political refugees from Europe and the Middle East and discriminating against those from Asia and the Pacific.

Qualified Asia and Pacific political refugees are therefore effectively foreclosed from entry into the United States. Such race discrimination is so transparent. The law never intended this result.

I firmly disagree with the Department's assessment that the lack of conditional admissions of refugees from the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong for a few years would "have an adverse public impact in the Colony." On the contrary, the establishment of refugee offices in at least two nations of Asia and the Pacific would, without any doubt, enhance America's image in those crucially important areas of the world immeasurably.

DEPARTMENT IS SHORTSIGHTED

By opening refugee offices in those areas of the world, Asia and Pacific political refugees would at least be able to submit applications and to have a qualifying date recorded as a basis on which priority for future possible entry might be made.

Moreover, by merely opening refugee offices in such areas as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Thailand, we would be demonstrating to the hundreds of millions of people in Asia and the Pacific that the United States does not discriminate against them in favor of the peoples of Europe and the Middle East.

It would appear to me that the Department of State is extremely shortsighted in refusing, for more than 1 year—ever since I first raised the issue last July 12—and for continuing to refuse, to open any refugee office in Asia and the Pacific.

I call upon the Secretary of State to give this urgent matter his highest priority and his immediate personal attention in rectifying a patently unfair, unwise, and racialist policy—and to open, without any further delay, refugee offices in Asia and the Pacific.

Mr. President, I ask that the texts of the Department of State's letter of June 20, 1968, and my responding letter of August 2, 1968, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., June 20, 1968.

Hon. HIRAM L. FONG,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FONG: You will recall the correspondence and discussions which you had last summer with the Department of State on the question of whether Hong Kong should be declared a refugee area at which applications from Asian refugees from communism would be accepted for conditional entry under Section 203(a)(7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Since that time the Department has made a careful review of this matter which included appraisals and information from our missions in Asia. Despite the numerous policy considerations and practical operational problems involved, it was our preliminary judgment that it would be desirable in our foreign policy interests and in keeping with public policy behind the amended Immigration and Nationality Act to provide for the processing of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong for conditional entry under seventh preference. Before the Department would take a decision to advise the Attorney General that such a change should be made, it would wish to discuss it with the appropriate committees of the Congress, and agreement to the inauguration of the program would have to be reached with the Hong Kong authorities.

However, one of the various factors considered has now assumed overriding importance. This factor is the limitation imposed in Section 202(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act that the numbers of visas and conditional entries available to natives of any single foreign state shall not exceed 20,000 in any fiscal year. There have been large increases in the number of visas issued to persons born in China since the passage of the Act on October 3, 1965 and it is now expected that in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, the number of visas issued to natives of China will reach the maximum limit of 20,000. Moreover, the demand for the higher preferences is so heavy that it is quite possible that this maximum will be reached before the entire demand for sixth preference will have been satisfied. Consequently no visa numbers are expected to be available for seventh preference applicants born in China.

The Department considers it mandatory under the law that the demand for higher preferences within the limitation of 20,000 for each foreign state be satisfied before visa numbers may be assigned to the lower ones such as seventh preference and has concluded that refugee numbers cannot be made available to nationals of countries where the 20,000 ceiling has been reached by higher preference demand. This principle would exclude the assignment of seventh preference numbers, not only for persons born in China, but also for persons born in Hong Kong which is an area with a sub-quota ceiling of only 200.

Under the circumstances, while the Department favors designating Hong Kong as a refugee area where applications for conditional entry may be accepted, we feel that the initiation of such a program, where there is little likelihood that seventh preference numbers will be available for qualified applicants, would have an adverse public impact in the colony. Should future demand for higher preference visa numbers for persons born in China not be as great as now anticipated, this question would no longer be a problem and the Department would then reconsider its position.

I sincerely regret that we are unable to give a favorable reply at this time. We shall keep you informed should the situation change in the future. We appreciate the helpful contributions which you have made to the Department's consideration of this important matter.

Sincerely yours,

H. G. TORBERT, Jr.,
Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

AUGUST 2, 1968.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am writing in response to a letter from the Department dated June 20, relating to correspondence and discussions I have had with the Department concerning the question of opening refugee offices in the Asia and Pacific areas to allow the conditional entry into the United States of refugees from communism under Section 203(a)(7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

I recognize the fact referred to in the letter respecting the 20,000 ceiling of entrants from any single nation, and the expectation that the Chinese quota and the Hong Kong subquota will be exhausted by entrants from the first to sixth preferences categories, leaving no visa numbers available for the seventh preference category.

However, as I repeatedly pointed out in our discussions last year, the availability or unavailability of seventh preference numbers is clearly irrelevant to the overriding issue of the public policy enunciated by the Immigration Reform Act of 1965—the complete elimination of racial barriers from our immigration policies.

It is abundantly clear to me that the 1965 law requires political refugees in Asia and the Pacific to be placed on exactly the same footing as those in Europe and the Middle East areas, for which seven offices have been established.

It might be true that for possibly a few years after one or two refugee offices are opened in the Asia and Pacific areas (I had suggested Hong Kong, Singapore, and Thailand) there would be not a single entrant from any nation of Asia and the Pacific. Even if this should be true of political refugees from Communist China, the Department clearly overlooks the fact that there might be political refugees from other nations in those areas of the world; for example, North Vietnam and Laos. The Department's view also ignores the possibility that such political refugees might escape a communist country, reach another country in Asia or the Pacific in which a refugee office might be established, and seek entry from *that* nation rather than from China or Hong Kong.

We are not speaking of the entry of a large number of political refugees. The statutory limitation of 10,200 per year is worldwide.

Nor are we seeking of a burdensome expense in proposing the opening of such offices in Asia and the Pacific, where we already have established embassies and consulates. The opening of an office might be accomplished simply by designating a consular employee who is already employed in an American consulate.

Assuming that no visa numbers whatsoever are available under the seventh preference category in the next few years for any nation of Asia or the Pacific, should this situation result from a fair, just, and completely equitable administration of American immigration policies mandated by the 1965 Act, then there can be absolutely no basis for a charge that racist immigration policies were being perpetuated by administrative fiat—contrary to a clearly enunciated public policy of this country.

However, as our immigration laws and policies are now being carried out, I feel that this charge is quite justified.

Section 203(a)(7) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, providing for the conditional entry of political refugees, specifies that conditional entry numbers "shall . . . be made available . . . to aliens who satisfy an Immigration and Naturalization Service officer at an examination" that the applicant qualifies as a conditional entrant. This section has been interpreted to mean that applicants for the 10,200 numbers set aside annually for such refugees are selected in the order in which they become qualified. In other words, the rule is—first qualified, first served.

Those qualified political refugees having earlier qualifying dates would therefore be considered first, and those having later qualifying dates would be considered later.

In the context of the situation in Asia and the Pacific, by not designating even one refugee office in those areas, the Department of State is denying all refugees from any Communist or Communist-dominated country or area any opportunity whatever of filing for possible future entry.

This is clearly race discrimination: applications of qualified political refugees from Europe and the Middle East, all having qualifying dates, are given an enormous advantage over political refugees from Asia and the Pacific. Having no refugee office at which applications for conditional entry are accepted, political refugees from Asia and the Pacific are unable even to submit an application and thus would have no opportunity to become qualified.

Qualified Asia and Pacific political refugees, therefore, are effectively foreclosed from entry into the United States.

I firmly disagree with the Department's assessment that the lack of conditional admissions of refugees from the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong for a few years would "have an adverse public impact in the Colony." On the contrary, the establishment of refugee offices in two nations of Asia and the Pacific without a doubt would enhance America's image in those critical areas of the world immeasurably.

At the time the Department decides to open such refugee offices there, should visa numbers for seventh preference applicants born in China be unavailable, I suggest that the Department make the announcement publicly and to all applicants; the announcement might also state that such applicants would have to await the availability of visa numbers.

By opening refugee offices in those areas of the world, Asia and Pacific political refugees would be able at least to submit applications and to have a qualifying date recorded as a basis on which priority for possible future entry might be made.

Moreover, by merely opening refugee offices in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Thailand, we would be demonstrating to the hundreds of millions of people of Asia and the Pacific that the United States does not discriminate against them in favor of the peoples of Europe and the Middle East.

It would appear to me that the Department is extremely short-sighted in refusing—for more than a year, ever since I first raised the issue last July 12, and for continuing to refuse—to open any refugee office in any nation of Asia or the Pacific.

I call upon the Secretary of State to give this urgent matter his highest priority and immediate personal attention, to rectify a patently unfair, unwise, and apparently racialist policy.

Respectfully,

HIRAM L. FONG.

ARE CERTAIN HUMAN RIGHTS REALLY INALIENABLE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the question is often raised in discussions concerning the rights of men whether, in fact, there is such a thing as an inalienable right.

Those taking the affirmative say there are certain basic things due a man by the very fact that he is a man. He claims as his natural right: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the specific individual rights implicit in these general categories.

Those taking the negative say that there is no such thing as an inalienable right. They cite capital punishment as legal deprivation of the life of a convicted man. They cite incarceration as a legal deprivation of personal liberty. And, in a somewhat lighter vein they state unequivocally that the payment of income taxes deprives them of being able to pursue happiness in quite the style they would prefer.

Mr. President, it would seem that the controversy boils down to the ethical and even metaphysical determination of whether there is such a thing as a right that is absolute. On this point, doctores inter se disputant.

The doctors of philosophy may disagree on whether an absolute right exists. I believe, however, that all thinking men will agree that what we are striving for in our society and, indeed, in our civilization, is the fullest enjoyment, by every man, of every right, to the degree consistent with the enjoyment of those same rights by every other man.

Simply stated, it means that if we expect to enjoy our rights we must take great care to protect those rights not only for our own benefit but, in strictest self-interest, for the benefit of all others.

Clearly, the individual who insists on licentious exercise of all his rights, to the extreme, will quickly find himself an extremely unpopular minority of one, possessed of many rights but enjoying none.

Thus it is, Mr. President, that in our society we need mutual cooperation in safeguarding our rights. We need moderation in the exercise of these same rights. We also need to understand more fully that an enlightened self-interest demands extension of these rights to all men, simply because they are men.

Mr. President, a second look at this loosely formulated syllogism will make clear that what I am saying here is that the U.S. Senate, in enlightened self-interest, must engage the American people in cooperative efforts with other peoples in preventing abuse of rights, or license, by despots, and in extending these rights to all men.

This means the Senate must ratify the pending human rights conventions, beginning with the most basic one, the one that protects against genocide.

Ratification of these conventions will make the discussion on whether rights are absolute even more academic than it is now. We have had enough discussion; death by genocide is not remediable through debate, polite or otherwise.

We must ratify now.

THE FARM POLICIES

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, an item entitled "Color It Red," with reference to the Department of Agriculture's supply-management program, was published in the Review and Outlook column of the August 2 issue of the Wall Street Journal.

This article clearly sets forth the chaotic marketing conditions which result from the Government's farm policies, adding to the distress of our farmers who find it increasingly difficult to earn a living at all commensurate with their efforts or sufficient to support their families.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Color It Red

That new international wheat agreement, effective July 1, may be working out fine for somebody. However, it doesn't seem to be working out very well for the American farmer.

For perspective on the wheat growers' present problems you have to go back to 1967, when the Agriculture Department called for increased wheat production to meet world demand. The anticipated demand failed to develop, so the department asked for a 13% decrease in 1968 wheat acreage allotments in order to avoid a big bulge in production.

The farmers obliged with about a 9% decrease in wheat acreage, but production is estimated to be 4% above that of 1967. The Government's supply-management program now promises another record crop, while wheat prices are at a 26-year low.

Against that background the new international wheat agreement was sold to the Senate—and, to be truthful, to a good many farmers also—as a device to spur American wheat sales abroad and to raise the level of wheat prices world-wide. Today those farmers who long ago learned to be wary of the workings of fancy international commodity agreements and who opposed the wheat pact are having the dubious pleasure of saying, "I told you so."

The reason is that the new agreement, while raising prices abroad, placed U.S. wheat prices below the world minimum, requiring an "inverse subsidy" to bring American prices into balance. In other words, foreign nations now are paying the U.S. Government a subsidy in order to buy American wheat.

The result is about what could be expected by any realistic economist. In the first week after the new pact became fully operative, export sales of U.S. wheat dropped to less than one-third of the tonnage sold in the previous week. The outlook is equally gloomy; with the U.S. the only nation producing wheat under acreage controls, why should other nations buy our wheat when they can grow as much as they want?

Complicating the export market still further is the Agriculture Department's plan to encourage export sales of feed wheat for livestock, and not human, consumption. This wheat can be dumped (and that is the proper if unpleasant word for it) at prices below bread grains and still meet all provisions of the new international pact.

To make sure that this dumped grain will be used for livestock feed and will not turn up in some foreign country as bread, the Agriculture Department intends to tint it with a harmless vegetable dye. What color has not been disclosed. Perhaps the department ought to color it red, to match the ink in the farmers' ledgers.

STEEL

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "A Time for Toughness," published in today's issue of the Wall Street Journal.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 2, 1968]

A Time for Toughness

"The Bethlehem steel price increase is unreasonable and just should not be permitted to stand. The public interest must be recognized by the entire steel industry in its price decisions at this critical time."

Thus did President Johnson, in tough, schoolmasterish tones, take the steel companies to task. Though the lecture was scarcely unexpected, it still calls for a few comments.

To begin with, maybe it's mildly heartening that the Administration at least realizes that inflation has gone so far that it demands the toughest sort of counter-action. On the day that the President was censuring the steel men—without censuring the Steelworkers Union for its huge wage increase—the Bureau of Labor Statistics released the dreary news that consumer prices climbed in June at an annual rate of 6%, the fattest figure for any month since early 1966.

The Administration's approach, however, indicates once again that it fails dismally to grasp the economics of inflation. That is disheartening in the extreme, since effective control of inflation, if it's ever to come, demands intelligent action by Washington.

No one, and certainly no Administration official, knows whether an across-the-board steel price rise is "reasonable." (Reasonableness aside, it was probably bad tactics; a series of "selective" boost apparently could have achieved the same result without a White House explosion.)

The proper testing-place for price increases, in a free economy, is the market. It's quite possible that stiff import competition and declining demand, as users work off inventories piled up in anticipation of the strike that did not come, would in time prove a steel price rise to be unrealistic.

In any event, it's certainly unrealistic, in an economy as large and diverse as this one, to try to even slow inflation by rolling back prices of a single firm or industry. That's no more sensible than fighting a flood by plugging a single hole in a badly perforated dike.

The Government's toughness would be vastly more useful if it were directed toward lessening the pressure of the waters on the dike. After all, it's largely responsible for building up that pressure over the years. So far, there's scanty evidence that either the Administration or Congress sees their duty clearly, or even dimly.

Oh, they got tough with the taxpayers, all right; nearly everyone is taking home less cash these days to pay those spiraling prices. Put another way, the President just jacked up the cost of Government, so look who's complaining about steel prices. There has also been a lot of determined talk about trimming Federal spending, but the words up to now far outrun the action.

In the first place, Congress refused to face up to the task of setting priorities among the vast number of Federal programs it had sanctioned. Instead, it elected the blunderbuss approach, a $6 billion slash in spending somewhere, partly by forcing an across-the-board curtailment in Federal jobs.

Even then, it has shown a total lack of courage in its conviction. One by one, agencies have been exempted from the employment curb. Time after time the lawmakers have padded the Administration's spending requests.

The job of getting the runaway budget under control is by no means easy. Demands for continued or increased spending in many areas are strong, and especially persuasive in this election year. In certain cases, perhaps, spending boosts could be justified in any normal time.

But this is hardly a normal time. The Government, in trying to do too much too fast for too many, has sorely weakened its ability to do anything really useful for anyone. Some people are bound to be hurt if the Government finally takes effective action to stabilize the nation's currency, to clean up its badly muddled financial affairs.

It isn't going to help at all to chastise the steel companies. But it sure is a time for toughness.

THE INTERESTS OF AMERICA MUST PREVAIL OVER THE INTERESTS OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, one of the most sacred tenets of the American way of life is that we believe in the free enterprise economic system. But freedom carries with it responsibilities. True, the steel companies are legally free to set the prices of their products. No commissar sits at the board tables telling the steel executives what they must do.

But there is another party sitting at the table in the board room. That party is public interest. And it is the responsibility of the steel industry leaders to include consideration of the public interest in their deliberations.

The actions of certain steel companies in the past 2 days, however, indicate that when the decisions were made to put blanket increases into effect, the public interest was either asked to leave the room, or else was unceremoniously thrown out the window.

The reason for my comment is that the price increases are clearly contrary to the public interest. They will present a perhaps fatal shock to price stability in our own country, and they will have damaging repercussions for America throughout the entire free world economy.

Frankly, I am outraged at the attitude of the companies. All Americans are tightening their belts these days, what with a tax increase and reductions in important Federal programs. I do not recall any exemption from belt tightening granted to the steel industry. In my view, the appropriate congressional committees have a clear duty to examine the circumstances surrounding these blatant and irresponsible assaults on the stability of the American economy.

THE MUTUAL FUND LEGISLATION SHOULD BE ENACTED THIS YEAR

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, the action of the Senate last week in giving its resounding approval to S. 3724, the mutual fund bill, was a welcome move to those of us who have been following developments in the mutual fund industry with some attention.

Since Senate passage, a number of newspaper writers have commented upon the importance of passing this legislation for the sake of trying to provide safeguards for the millions of Americans who have invested in mutual funds.

I hope that, when Congress returns in September, the House of Representatives will find it possible to take affirmative action on S. 3724, so that this issue will be favorably disposed of and we will not have to start the entire legislative process rolling again next January. With the hope that the newspaper articles to which I have referred may help Senators understand of the need for action, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Mutual Fund Reform," published in the Washington Post of July 31, and an article entitled "GOP the Bad Guys in Senate Vote on Fund Reforms," published in the New York Daily News of July 29, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 31, 1968]

MUTUAL FUND REFORM

Some four million American investors, by recent count, have put their money into shares of mutual funds and thereby expanded this segment of the security industry explosively; total assets have swelled from $450 million in 1940 to $43 billion today. But the economies that have accompanied this great increase in volume, according to the Securities and Exchange Commission, have not been passed on to the customers, many of whom are small investors with little way of knowing what is a reasonable sales commission or a fair management fee. To curb what the SEC has held to be "excessive" charges of both kinds, a bill has been passed by the Senate and is now stuck fast in a House Commerce subcommittee headed by Rep. Moss.

Unless it is dislodged before the preconvention recess, either by the efforts of Mr. Moss or by a timely nudge from the chairman of the full committee, Rep. Staggers, chances of passage by this Congress are not good. If the bill can at least be moved along to the full committee before the recess, however, there is hope it could be reported out for floor action when the Congress reconvenes.

Busy as the gentlemen of the House may be in the closing rush, this is not too much to ask for the sake of trying to safeguard the interests of a great number of investors who, a lot of people seem to agree, are paying more than they ought to for what they're getting. The bill is scarcely punitive; it would set limits of a sort on management fees and sales commissions, and would also seek to control the initial commission cost to the buyer under a type of fund known as the "front end load." But the measure would only establish standards which would then be subject to enforcement, and appeal, in the courts. The bill is not as stringent a measure as had been originally proposed; its effect might well be relatively modest. But even modest government influence over the operations of the mutual funds, it seems clear, is far preferable to none at all.

[From the New York Daily News, July 29, 1968]

GOP THE "BAD BOYS" IN SENATE VOTE ON FUND REFORMS

(By William A. Doyle)

One thing must be said for the American political system. Economic philosophies and ignorances do cross party lines. That's the lesson being sounded—loud and clear—as the mutual fund reform bill wends it way (torturously) through the halls of Congress.

Suddenly the Democrats are the heroes of the capitalistic system. There may not be a Hopalong Cassidy in the group, but the "white hats" are riding donkeys.

And, over on the other side of the political canyon, the bad guys are lumbering along on their Republican elephants—at a pace certain to have them far behind in the race for the hearts (and votes) of the American investing public.

When the Senate finally voted approval of the fund reform bill last week, it was by almost straight party line vote—with the Democratic majority pushing it through.

DIRKSEN HEARD FROM

The opposition was led by Sen. Wallace Bennett (R-Utah) who tried to send the proposed legislation back to committee—where it had languished for a year and a half.

Even Senate Majority Leader Everett M. Dirksen got into the act. In his frog-throated tones the Illinois Republican opined that some regulatory provisions of the bill would be "comparable to converting the mutual fund industry to a public utility."

All indications are that debate and eventual vote on the bill in the House of Representatives will be along the same lines. The Republicans seem downright horrified by the specter of further government regulations.

Every company in the public utility industry, of course, is regulated—because it supplies electric, gas, telephone or water service under a franchise monopoly. The profits of utility companies are kept within limits, determined by federal and/or state regulatory authorities.

LAWMAKERS OFF BASE

In effect, government does wield a heavy hand determining what dividends are paid to utility company stockholders and, also, on the market value of utility company shares. Investors who put their money into utility company stocks are aware of this—even if they don't like it. The stockholders, as owners of their companies, are the industry.

And that is exactly where GOP lawgivers have gone off base, in their comparison of the utility and mutual fund industries. The mutual fund reform bill would not hurt the "mutual fund industry"—the close to five million investors who own mutual fund shares.

The legislation would save them money—big money. It has been estimated that, by reducing commission and management fees, the reform bill would cut charges to fund investors by up to $250 million a year.

On an individual basis, this means that the average mutual fund shareholder would have $50 more working for him every year. Compound that figure by the length of time most investors hold fund shares and it really adds up.

NO SHAREHOLDER LOBBY

To observers familiar with the mutual fund scene, these things are basic. But in Endsville-on-the-Potomac, many lawmakers are blissfully ignorant about the workings of the fund business.

Fund shareholders (the owners of "the industry") have no lobby. So, congressmen hear only from sales and management people—the hired hands of the fund business, whose chief interest is to keep charges high and their pay checks fat.

Based on past Republican preachments, on the subject of defending and spreading capitalism the GOP should be expected to support the mutual fund reform bill. But somewhere along the line, logic and economic reasoning got lost. Instead of supporting the legislation that aims to make ownership of American industry more attractive and less expensive, most Republicans have lined up against it.

THE HARD FACTS CONCERNING GUNS AND DEATHS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, an article published in last Sunday's New York Times concerning gun control legislation, accompanied by three charts, tells a story which I should like to describe to Senators.

The first chart compares the murder rate per 100,000 population for States with strong gun laws against the rate for States with weak gun laws. The strong gun law States are listed as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. The murder rates in these States are, respectively, 4.8; 3.5; 3.2; 2.4; and 1.4.

The weak gun law States are listed as Nevada, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and Arizona. The murder rates for these States, respectively, are 10.6; 9.9; 9.7; 9.1; and 6.1. There is quite a difference.

The second chart compares the rate of deaths by firearms in countries with strict gun controls as against the death rate by firearms for the United States. The chart breaks the deaths down into two categories—murder and suicide. In the case of murder, the rate for the United States is more than 3 murders per 100,000 population. For countries with strict gun controls, the rate in every country is much less than 1. These other countries are: Canada, Australia, Sweden, France, Denmark, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, and England. Again, quite a difference.

The final chart shows the increase in sales of firearms in the United States during recent years. From 1963 to 1967, sales of handguns, shotguns, and rifles more than doubled. They are now counted in the millions.

The lesson we can learn from these charts is all to obvious. Where there are many guns and weak gun laws, there will be more deaths. It is true for America. It is true for other countries.

There is one unanswered question. When are we going to do what the American people want us to do? When are we going to pass effective gun control legislation including registration of all firearms and licensing of gun owners?

THE CONSEQUENCES OF A STEEL PRICE INCREASE

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, the sinews of our civilization are built of steel. Machinery, automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, airplanes, trains, and buildings are just a few of the products that we depend on and that depend on steel.

Now, in one sudden action, a handful of companies threaten those sinews, and our Nation's economic security, by an arbitrary 5-percent, across-the-board hike.

Five percent more for the steel industry would harm our Nation in five ways:

First, American consumers would have to pay half a billion dollars more for the steel products they now buy.

Second, the national effort to stop inflation and achieve price stability would be derailed.

Third, a chain reaction of price increases would take place in all products made of steel—an addition $1.1 billion overall.

Fourth, our balance of payments would worsen as U.S. products became more expensive in foreign markets.

Fifth, the American steel industry itself would become more vulnerable to competition of foreign producers and to the substitution of other less costly metals.

Surely in view of these economic facts of life, the steel industry should restrain this obvious profit grab.

AIR TRAFFIC CONGESTION

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, the recent congestion of traffic in the air space over our major cities has brought into sharp focus how far behind the times our air transport system has become. Over the course of the past 10 years, both Government and private sectors of aviation have failed to plan adequately for the rapid expansion of the industry. Obviously, as growth in aviation continues ever more explosively, immediate, intelligent measures must be taken in order that the supply of facilities and personnel can overtake and go beyond the increasing demand.

In the dismal present picture, however, are a few bright spots. One of these is the airport in Huntsville, Ala. It is a thoroughly modern, more-than-adequate airport facility. The entire project is an example of what careful planning and intelligent action can accomplish.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "The Complete Jetport," published in the August issue of Signature magazine, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMPLETE JETPORT

Air travel is exhilarating. Airports too often are nightmares. Kennedy International was "obsolete" when it was still Idlewild, O'Hare is "hopelessly overcrowded." Not so the Huntsville Skycenter, Alabama's shining example of forward planning in a naughty jet-age world of too little and too late. The total concept is years ahead of its time and totally in keeping with Huntsville's self-awarded label of "The Rocket City" (population: 148,200).

Not only does the Skycenter sport 8,500-foot runways and a striking, up-to-the-minute control tower to handle any jet that is likely to be flying in the near future, it offers luxury facilities for private flyers.

Whether the traveler arrives by Piper Cub or 707 he need go no further for shelter, food, drink and recreation of a very high order indeed.

Opening this month, the Skycenter will offer "on campus" an 18-hole golf course and poolside cabana living. It already boasts an excellent hotel, carpeted corridors and gourmet dining.

In the planning stages Huntsville's airport commissioners assembled their collective courage, sold a 28-year lease for everything but the actual flying operations to Manhattans' efficient Hertz Corporation, turned the lease into a bond issue and went out to build themselves something that is a minor wonder in this day of grim, crowded, inhospitable ground facilities at jet terminals.

Since it normally takes people forever to get anywhere pleasant from the airport, the Huntsville Commission very wisely decided to bring everything pleasant to people already at the airport.

For dining the Skycenter offers a variety unique for a terminal serving a city the size of Huntsville. The Verandah Room offers first class cuisine and service with a Southern atmosphere. The Rib Cellar is small, secluded, served by white-gloved waiters in full livery.

For pub-style dining a visit to the Cap and Goggles is in order. A different kind of lounge, it features early aviation movies in a World War I decor and a first-rate oyster bar. Skycenter offices, for rent by the day, week or month offer a wide variety of business services.

The Skycenter Hotel, in the size and decor of its rooms, is several cuts above the typical motel adjoining an airport, and one need never leave the carpeted corridors of the terminal to reach it.

Another long-awaited first in airport living is a service that enables visitors to have the convenience of waiting in their rooms while hotel and airline personnel take care of the paper and leg work involved in checking out and boarding. Every effort has been made by Gen. Mgr. Bob Thurston and staff to avoid "motel modern", to build a measure of comfort and serenity into the Skycenter quite apart from the normal jet port. At long last a jet terminal has caught up with the jet.

JUSTICE DENIED

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], who is necessarily absent today, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement he had prepared for delivery.

There being no objection, the statement by Senator BARTLETT was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUSTICE DENIED

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, it has now been 14 years since our initial commitment was made to South Vietnam by President Eisenhower in 1954.

On Friday, July 26, 1968, Truong Dinh Dzo, a 50-year-old Saigon attorney, was sentenced to five years at hard labor by a military tribunal. His "crime" consisted of "acting against the anti-Communist spirit of the people and the armed forces." His "crime" was to state that the government of the Republic of Vietnam should seek negotiations with the National Liberation Front, and to suggest further that a coalition with the NLF would be a viable solution to achieve a settlement of the Vietnam war problem. His "crime" was to advocate that which has been advocated for the last four years by a growing minority of my colleagues. His "crime" has been to state a proposal recognized and suggested by our late colleague Senator Robert Kennedy, by Senator Eugene McCarthy, and by Vice President Hubert Humphrey. These three national leaders have all recognized that South Vietnam might have to form a coalition government with the NLF with the safeguard that such a coalition be decided democratically, not by force.

I will not address myself today to our commitment in Southeast Asia. I recognize this commitment and support the men who daily serve that commitment.

This commitment, this pledge, is not to maintain the status quo. As I stated on April 8, 1965:

"What we have pledged is considerably less and considerably easier of attainment: We are pledged to maintain the right of self-determination for the people of South Vietnam. We are pledged to insure to these people the right to choose their own form of government unimpeded by interference from their neighbors. We are not obligated to preserve a particular government in power or to support one clique over another. It is not for us to say who will make up the government of South Vietnam. That is for the South Vietnamese to say. It is certainly not for us to rule out the possibility of a coalition government, of a government wider in representation than the present regime."

On July 24, 1967, I stated:

"Our prime goal, hopefully, is still a stabilized South Vietnam, secure from the conflicts and the designs of world powers. The first step is still a cease-fire and negotiations. It is important that measured military activity be accompanied by renewed diplomatic initiatives, by an openness to and an encouragement of international efforts at mediation, by the consideration and the proposal, publicly and privately, of various alternatives for adjustment, compromise, stabilization and settlement, which we and other parties concerned might find acceptable or at least worth discussing. It is important that we give to the enemy positive as well as negative incentives for ending the conflict; the military logic at its best can deal with only half of that task. It is important that we not harden his position, but that we attempt to create a situation where matters of common interest can be recognized and pursued."

When we speak of the enemy, we speak not only of North Vietnamese, but of the rebels in South Vietnam as well. We speak of guerrilla-war, a guerrilla war that is, in the words of Secretary Rusk, "mean, difficult and frustrating."

I normally would not address myself to the issue of the internal affairs of a sovereign nation. However, the claim that the trial and sentencing of Dzo is an internal matter is totally unacceptable. We have committed our country to the proposition that South Vietnam should have the right to determine its own destiny. Can we now sit passively and without comment while the exchange of ideas as to what that destiny should be is preemptorily foreclosed by a military tribunal, and while an individual who advocates only peace is prevented from voicing his opinion? Will the open marketplace of ideas be closed down by a ruling elite? If this be the case, then I suggest that we are failing in South Vietnam.

I do not view the Dzo case on the basis of the procedural niceties of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Nor am I advocating that the history and tradition of dissent and protest that are explicit in our nation's philosophical background and experience be superimposed upon the South Vietnamese governmental structure.

I do condemn the willful action of a political elite that is abhorrent to our commitment in South Vietnam. I am dismayed at the perversion of justice that labels free speech as subversion and free thought as unpatriotic. It is only the anarchistic or the foolish who do not wish peace. It is only the non-thinking that do not doubt the price of war, who cannot or will not experiment with ideas to achieve a favorable settlement of a tragic and costly war.

I am informed that Truong Dinh Dzo is neither anarchistic or foolish. He is an advocate for the cause of peace. For this advocacy he has been stilled and sentenced to five years imprisonment at hard labor.

I regard this to be a tragedy and hope that this is not representative of the wages of war in South Vietnam.

STEEL HIKE TAKES MONEY FROM CONSUMERS

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, this is the time to speak up forcefully in the interest of the American consumer—the average citizen, who in the months ahead will buy a car or a refrigerator or any one of the many products which contain steel.

The price increase of more than 5 percent announced by certain major steel producers is going to cut deeply into the consumer's pay check.

The steel industry sells $16 billion worth of products every year. A 5-percent price rise means more than half a billion dollars in additional costs to the men and women of this country who depend on steel for the necessities and amenities of life.

This is an intolerable situation, unjustified by the economic circumstances, and harmful to our entire economy.

If the steel industry has any social conscience at all, the unwarranted increase will be rolled back immediately.

THE LATE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, one of the finest tributes to the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that I have seen was written by Kalvert Dewain Nelson, a 16-year-old junior at Douglas High School, in Oklahoma City. I was so struck by the pertinence and eloquence of his eulogy for that great man of peace and reconciliation that I feel sure other Senators will want to read what this young man has written.

Mr. Nelson says of Dr. King:

> He had a dream that every little black boy and black girl could look to the future with promise and say, "I am proud to be an American."

The real tragedy of Dr. King's death, Mr. Nelson says, in effect, is that "the dream that he had is left unfulfilled. His work is left unfinished." Nevertheless, Mr. Nelson says:

> Because of Dr. King's life, the future of my life has been changed—because of his life, your future should be changed.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this extraordinary eulogy of one of the greatest Americans of my generation be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TRIBUTE TO DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

(By Kalvert Dewain Nelson, age 16, 11th grade, Douglas High School, Oklahoma City, Okla.)

Today we mourn the death of a life—the death of a dreamer. A man who had a dream of an America—a dream of an America of justice for all men. An America of peace and an America, above all, of freedom.

On that day in Washington, he had a dream. He had a dream that every black boy and black girl and every white boy and girl, will join hands together in Alabama as brothers and sisters. He had a dream that every little black boy and black girl could look to the future with promise and say, "I am proud to be an American."

Martin Luther King fought for love, he died because of hatred. He fought for peace, he died in war. He fought for freedom, he died in the social bondage of inequality. He fought for justice, he died because of injustice. He went to Memphis to fight for the rights of others. He knew of the danger, but he no longer cared. He said, "I've been to the mountain top." He said, "I, like you, want to live a long life. But I am not worried now; all I want to do is God's will. God has given me the privilege to go to the mountain top, and I saw the promised land. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord."

The dream that he had is left unfulfilled. His work is left unfinished. Because of Dr. King's life, the future of my life has been changed—because of his life, your future should be changed.

"In spite of all the darkness," he said, "I can still hear that song, We Shall Overcome." We must overcome hatred with love. We must overcome war with peace, and finally, we must overcome ignorance with a good education.

Martin Luther King overcame—for he went to the mountain top and he saw all of God's children together, and now he is one of them. For he is now in the coming of the glory of the Lord.

Each of us should search our hearts today. We should search our hearts for love—love for our black brothers and sisters—love for our white brothers and sisters, and with this love in our hearts, there will be no riots, no discrimination, and no hatred. For love governs all. God is loved, and he fought for and died for God's will. His unfaltering voice shall remain hallowed in our hearts. So unbelievable today is his death. But let us here resolve that he did not die in vain. He died marching up the mountain of brotherhood and love.

Martin Luther King valued education highly—for an education means a lot to a Negro. I say to you young men and young ladies who walk the halls, who ditch classes, who don't come to school, who are thinking about quitting school—Stop it, don't do it. You will need an education, you will need it in life—for it is a rough world out there. Martin Luther King had a good education. For he knew that he would need it as a Negro and an American. So, let his life be an example for ours.

So, I engage each and every one of you as a Negro to go to the Freedom Center and become a member of the NAACP and become active and work for the cause that he gave his last full measure of devotion for.

I urge all of you to refrain from violence—for he did not like violence. He always wanted a peaceful demonstration. Many people laughed at him, many people scorned him, but he went on. He went on up the mountain of life. He went on up to success. He went on up to greatness, and this is what he would have wanted us to do. We must get an education, we must succeed. We must go on up the mountain of life despite the trails and tribulations that meet us. Today, we should mourn him and tomorrow we shall remember him. For he truly was a child of God.

COMMISSION ON DISEASE PREVENTION AND HEALTH PROTECTION

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I join the distinguished senior Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] in offering an amendment to the appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare. The amendment instructs the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to fund a Commission on Disease Prevention and Health Protection. Senator MAGNUSON is, characteristically, among the leaders in these vital areas of health maintenance and disease prevention, and I am delighted to join with him in this legislation.

Man is the "time-binder." Only man has the capacity to remember yesterday's mistakes, include the memory in today's discussions, and act on tomorrow's needs No other animal is capable of the sustained planning and preparing we human beings carry out almost as routine. Indeed, man's genius may well be his ability to look ahead.

We have used this ability very well, in some cases. We are preparing boldly for long-range urban developments, housing needs, facilities for education, and other complex facets of modern life.

In other matters, though, we have not done well. I am particularly concerned today about good health—or a lack of it—for our mushrooming population. Have we used our ability to forecast and prepare and predict, to bring better health to all Americans? The answer is, no, we have not. For far too long we have placed too heavy a reliance on the techniques of repair—and in the process, we have overlooked the arts and sciences of medical prevention.

Beyond the question of disease prevention and control, too many Americans are suffering because of accidental death, environmental pollution, or other clearly avoidable conditions. In fact, we rank only about ninth among low-mortality nations in aged-adjusted death rates. This means that we are not doing as good a job as many countries are now doing at maintaining health, productive, efficient, safe life for our people.

As chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, I have heard dozens of witnesses tell of the unusually heavy burden this health drain places on the older American. It is clear, from our hearings on health needs and services for the elderly, that America's 19 million senior citizens are suffering the most severe health problems.

Beyond age, though, the blight of chronic disease affects us all. Chronic illness costs the Nation about $57 billion annually, in lost productivity, medical expenses, and mortality. All Americans, young and old, ought to be outraged at the persistent losses we face due to disease and poor health.

The costs go deeper than dollars; we are suffering a tragic human waste because of our inadequate attention to preventative and protective medicine. More than 40 percent of the Nation's population suffers from at least one chronic condition; the figure jumps to 70 percent for those over age 45. More than 70 percent of deaths are now due to three chronic illnesses—heart disease, cancer, and stroke.

Dean Walter Beattie, of the School of Social Work at Syracuse University, told a Health Subcommittee of our Committee on Aging about the "tragic social consequences" wrought by chronic diseases. He said that long-term illness and lack of productivity erodes a man's independence, and that "when man thus becomes isolated from his fellow man, he loses that which makes him a human being."

To combat this tremendous drain on our national strength, we have mounted a massive campaign, but in the wrong direction. We have "imbalanced" our attack in favor of surgical correction. We are investing less than 8 percent of our total national health expenditure for prevention and early detection. We are, in short, trying mightily to stem the tide of disease after we have watched it grow, but we are obviously not working hard enough to head it off before it takes hold.

In recognition of this fact, I have been suggesting for some time that we consider a system of regional multiphasic health screening centers, which would supplement and expand the diagnostic capacity of the Nation's doctors. My "preventicare" proposal would provide grants to medical schools, hospitals, health departments, and other agencies, to establish and operate health protection centers. The Committee on Aging has held hearings on this matter, and has heard literaly dozens of witnesses conclude that preventive medicine, on a massive scale, is the only reasonable alternative to our present procedures.

A massive investigation into health protection is a project that I have supported for many years. I am encouraged, therefore, that this proposal for a Commission on Disease Prevention and Health Protection extends the philosophy behind my "preventicare" bill, into a wide-reaching investigation of our national health maintenance structure.

I am in favor of a comprehensive attack on the problem, and an attack that begins today. It seems apparent that unless we evolve some kind of large-scale master plan for health protection and disease prevention, we are bargaining for years and years of stop-gap therapeutic medicine. No matter how excellent the quality of treatment, no matter how competent the technicians of medical repair—we are still going to be acting after the fact.

Clearly, something more is needed. We must step back from the problem and approach it with new insights, new techniques, a new commitment to total understanding and implementation. The proposed Commission on Disease Prevention and Health Protection would provide us with the much-needed overview we must have if we are to come to grips with the threats to the Nation's health.

Mr. President, several statements on preventive medicine have been issued in recent years; many of these focus attention on the problem we are considering with this amendment—the challenge of health needs and available health resources. Two excerpts, in particular, ought to be included in a consideration of the Commission: a statement on "National Attention to Disease Prevention," from the report of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, "Developments in Aging 1967"; and a statement on "Health Needs" from the 1966 report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. I ask unanimous consent that these documents be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

National Attention to Disease Prevention

Concerned primarily about the need for health screening for early disease detection, the Subcommittee on Health of the Elderly conducted hearings[1] in 1966 that led to several more general conclusions, including:

1. Chronic disease costs this Nation approximately $57½ billion a year, and the elderly are its chief victims.

2. Despite this high cost, medical care in this Nation is geared primarily for action in the least productive field of medicine—*treatment* of illness. In terms of social good and reduction of suffering, *preventive* medicine offers much more potential long-range reward.

Since the time of that hearing, the committee and its Subcommittee on Health of the Elderly have received much additional commentary on the need for national action to promote greater awareness of the need for preventive measures. Health screening on a wide scale appears to be an appropriate means to begin such efforts.

A report from the Adult Health Protection and Aging Branch of the U.S. Public Health Service appears on page 213 of this report and gives details on four pilot programs now testing health screening under widely varying circumstances. Details on health maintenance programs are also given.

Such programs, while welcome, are not sufficient to correct what has been described as an "imbalance of attention"[2] which focuses Federal funds and widespread attention on the obviously ill person, while withholding the funds and concern needed for actions that will prevent such illness. The committee recognizes that illness must be treated, and it calls for high-quality treatment for all in need, but it also makes this finding:

"Greater emphasis and financial support must be provided for programs intended to promote preventive medicine. The committee reaffirms the 1966 finding, submitted by its Subcommittee on Health of the Elderly, that 'there is a great need for additional efforts to prevent chronic disease on a national scale. Federal legislation should be enacted to establish a multiphasic health screening program on a large scale with eventual expansion nationwide.'"

Health Needs[1a]

During the past few years, the Nation has taken important steps toward improvement of the health of the population. Especially important is the legislation enacted in 1965, including the Medicare program; the Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke Amendments; the Clean Air Act Amendments; the Solid Waste Disposal Act; the Water Quality Act; the extension of Hill-Burton programs for improving hospital facilities, equipment, and administration; the continuance of Federal support for expansion of medical research projects; provisions for training health manpower; support for local community health protection programs; and the development of health research and information services such as provided by the National Library of Medicine.

However, the medical system of the United States faces critical problems. As a nation, we have been devoting a rising percentage of our GNP to medical care, but the population per physician has remained essentially constant (790 to 780 per physician between 1950 and 1961). Medicare and other legislation will increase the demand for hospital services. There are still vast needs of other groups to be met. Many studies have shown that the socially deprived have poorer health than the rest of society; infant and maternal mortality are greater, life expectancy is less than the norm. The poor, the crowded, and ethnic and racial minorities tend to have the most illness. It is difficult to sort out the many reasons: lack of education, lack of opportunity, lack of access to medical care, inadequate housing and food—all these contribute to an environment conducive to disease, as well as to low income. One of our great lags is in maintaining the health of the people of working age as compared with other countries. The mortality rates for males in the working years in the United States is higher than those in Western Europe.

The tasks that lie ahead include not only the implementation of the programs recently passed, but a broader effort to achieve the following goals: (1) Fuller access to diagnostic and patient care facilities by all groups in the population; (2) broader and bolder use of the computer and other new health technologies; (3) increased spread and use of health statistics, information, and indexes; and (4) new program for training health manpower.

ACCESSIBILITY OF DIAGNOSTIC AND HEALTH CARE FACILITIES

If we want to make progress in providing the fundamentals of adequate care in the treatment of disease and disability, these

---

[1] "Detection and Prevention of Chronic Disease Utilizing Multiphasic Health Screening Techniques," hearings before the Subcommittee on Health of the Elderly (Senator Maurice B. Neuberger, chairman), U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging, held in Washington, D.C., September 20, 21, and 22, 1966. Report, "Detection and Prevention of Chronic Disease Utilizing Multiphasic Health Screening Techniques," Subcommittee on Health of the Elderly, December 30, 1966.

[2] Testimony by Herbert M. Domke, M.D., p. 130, hearings cited p. 39, footnote 2.

[1a] In relation to this section, see James Dickson, M.D., *The Life Sciences, Technology, and Unmet Human and Community Needs* (†). We are also indebted to George Reader, M.D., New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, and Michael E. DeBakey, M.D., Baylor University College of Medicine.

questions cannot be avoided: (1) Are there sufficient physicians, nurses, and other health workers? (2) Is adequate care available to all segments of the population? (3) Is there adequate emphasis on prevention of disease and maintenance of health at all ages? (4) Is there a properly staffed health department? (5) In each community, rural as well as urban, are there adequate numbers of hospital and nursing home beds? (6) Is modern equipment available for diagnosis and treatment? (7) Is there a coordinated effort to move patients through the health care process back to active life smoothly, economically, and efficiently? Regretfully, in most communities these questions must still be answered in the negative.

One major barrier to achieving more adequate health care is that there are not enough physicians and other health care personnel. It is possible, however, to develop technologically sophisticated ways of efficiently screening large numbers of people to detect certain abnormalities. An example is the automated multiphasic screen through which hundreds of patients can pass each hour, at a minimal expenditure of professional time. Patients found to have an abnormality can be referred to a planned program of study and followup where nonprofessional personnel under appropriate supervision can further analyze causes of disability. A voluntary medical diagnostic screening system, when further developed through research, has the potential of improving diagnosis of many illnesses and ensuring better use of medical manpower.

Although computer-aided diagnosis is primarily confined to research efforts at this time, the results give promise of providing a useful operational tool for the physician in the next decade. The computer will not replace the judgment of the physician. In fact, if we rely on medical technology alone medical care would be depersonalized. Rather the computer will be a valuable aid to the physician in arriving at a diagnosis, much like a consultant who suggests one or more tentative diagnoses. More important, in a program of preventive medicine and increasing medical care, the computer in the 1970's should be able to digest facts about the present medical status of individual patients (the majority of whom are healthy) and separate out those cases warranting the further attention of a doctor.

THE SPREAD OF HEALTH TECHNOLOGY

Substantial advances have been made during recent years in the development of new and advanced equipment for health technology. These include new laboratory and X-ray equipment for use in diagnosis, new operating room equipment to facilitate lifesaving surgery, new instruments for improved postoperative care, and electronic computers for use in the day-to-day operation of hospitals.

The use of computer systems promises considerable help both in reducing clerical loads and in aiding diagnoses. Today many hospital nurses spend as much as 40 percent of their time doing clerical work. Location of terminals at each nursing station and at other locations throughout the hospital connected to a central computer would allow for the rapid processing of admittance, pharmacy orders, laboratory tests, and medical records; this would not only reduce the clerical load of administrative personnel, but also of doctors and nurses. So far, these new technologies are available and in use mainly in large medical centers. The rate at which their adoption spreads will probably remain slow unless programs for promoting their widespread use are put into effect.

More could be done with larger information systems. Regional health computer centers could provide medical record storage for perhaps 12 to 20 million people and give hospitals and doctors in an area access to the computer's diagnostic and other capabilities via telephone line connections. Such regional health computer systems could provide regional data processing for automated clinical laboratories, automation of certain aspects of medical diagnosis, storing and rapid recall of individual health records, and collection and evaluation of important medical statistics. They could help provide better care to everyone regardless of geographic location, reduce unit costs, thereby relieving the economic load on the Nation, and provide for a more efficient use of manpower to alleviate the manpower problem that will be intensified by regional medical programs and Medicare.

Therefore, it would be desirable to undertake research and development to test the feasibility and cost of regional health computer systems. Centers could be integrated with individual hospital information systems and with the National Library of Medicine's system of national medical information retrieval and dispersal (MEDLARS).

INDEXES OF PROGRESS

It is important that we improve our health statistics and provide comprehensive indexes of progress. The most accurate measures we know have of progress in community health are infant and maternal mortality rates. Mortality rates for other age groups and causes of death also provide valuable information. Disease surveys may provide baselines, too, from which progress may be measured from year to year. Systematic and regular applications of these various indexes and accumulation of this information within a national institute would probably allow us to evaluate the progress toward health goals and help establish the relationship between improved medical diagnosis and care and better community health.

NEW PROGRAM FOR MANPOWER

The gap between the technological potential and our ability to apply it effectively is partly due to the lack of a significant improvement in the proportion of physicians to population. We have also not developed the proper manpower training programs for the new technologies. We have continued to hold on to our traditional and basic training programs in the various health and medical fields without analyzing the new technologies available and the real possibility of training new categories of manpower who can perform many of the functions now carried out by highly skilled and scarce professional personnel.

One solution lies in restructuring our training programs in accordance with current scientific and technological developments. The only solution, in the long run, is an increase in the number of trained medical personnel, physicians, nurses, and medical technicians in all categories. For this we need an extensive planned program of government support for the creation of more schools, expansion of enrollments, new methods of instruction, redefinition of how modern knowledge and technology can be most effectively applied, and, as seems likely, training of new categories of health personnel to supplement and complement those already in existence.

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 18037

Insert at end of title II:

"SEC. —. Appropriations in this title available for any of the health functions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare shall be available for the expenses of a fifteen-member President's Commission on Preventive Medicine the findings and recommendations of which are to be reported to the President by August 1, 1969, and the members of which are to be compensated while on business of the Commission, including travel time, at rates not in excess of the rate specified at the time the service is performed for grade GS-18 in 5 U.S.C. § 5332."

RETIREES NEED HIGHER INCOME

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Senate Special Committee on Aging—in its annual report issued earlier this year—described inadequate income as the number one problem facing most older Americans. The report gave several recommendations for immediate and long-range action on income and other matters.

Within recent days, Associated Press Columnist Martin Segal has written a valuable summary of several of the major points made in that report. As Chairman of the Committee on Aging, I welcome his appraisal of the problems described in that report.

His words will be of interest to everyone concerned about the elderly of our Nation. I ask unanimous consent that his column, which was published in newspapers throughout the Nation on July 29, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECURITY FOR YOU—RETIREES NEED HIGHER INCOME

(By Martin E. Segal, retirement consultant)

Most older Americans already have the problem of inadequate income. And the situation may get worse unless a comprehensive plan of federal action is undertaken.

That warning comes from the 20-member U.S. Senate Committee on Aging. The committee is calling for the setting up of an institute on retirement income. This would be the first step in finding out exactly where older Americans stand financially and what can be done about their economic problems.

The committee cited a study showing that, by 1980, half the elderly couples in the United States, and more than four-fifths of individual retirees will be receiving less than $3,000 a year in pension and Social Security income.

So, with one-fifth the population of the United States nearing or past the traditional retirement age of 65, the committee concluded:

"The time has come for a systematic reexamination of many public policies and programs that relate in one way or another to the well-being of older Americans, present and future."

Not only are present levels of retirement income low, but retirees are living longer now, which gives steadily increasing costs of living more time to erode benefits.

Even with a conservative 2 per cent increase in living costs per year, the value of fixed retirement incomes dropped by more than 20 per cent in 10 years.

And even if retirement income should keep level with rising living costs, it would not keep up with improvements in the standard of living, which has been rising steadily as wages and salaries increase.

The Senate Aging Committee lists nine federal units with jurisdiction over programs related to retirement income. But, says the committee, the federal government has no effective mechanism for really dealing with the whole problem.

To make up for this lack, the committee has recommended the establishment of an Institute on Retirement Income. This agency would be patterned on the one set up by President Johnson in 1967 to deal with urban problems.

The committee's recommendation was based largely on evidence that the governments, concern about future retirement income problems extends far beyond those dependent on public funds. These problems will strongly affect people we now think of as fairly well off. Expert witnesses before the committee saw major difficulties in balancing most retirement incomes against future living costs.

MONEY ISSUE BYPASSED

The idea of a think tank devoted to the economic problems of aging isn't as way out as it sounds. There are already many think tanks working on problems of war and defense. The Rand Corporation and the Institute for Defense Analysis are the best known, but are not the only ones. Why not, says the committee, put the same high priority on the economics of retirement? Why not funnel some of our money, and more of our great talents, into resolving these problems?

During the Sixties, the nation made many breakthroughs. Medicare was passed and implemented. It is now a taken-for-granted part of life for the over-65 population. Then there were new advances in housing, financing of nursing homes, senior centers, other facilities. These and other historic firsts took attention from the money issues that we now find are basic.

Moreover, elderly Americans, generally thought of as a problem group, are rich in talent, energy and wisdom. It is time they were freed and developed for public good and private satisfaction. A think tank could work on that, too.

The population 65-years-old and over will go over the 20 million mark in 1970, over 25 million in 1985. They are not going to be satisfied with a hand-to-mouth existence. They will want to share in the great economic advances that are taking place and will take place—and they are entitled to share in it.

The problem is how to apportion the nation's economic product so that the older members of the population get a fair share.

POULTRY INSPECTION

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I wish to congratulate the House and Senate conferees on the poultry inspection bill approved by the committee yesterday.

This measure represents a significant breakthrough in the consumer protection for all this Nation's citizens. The compromise worked out seems to me adequate and fair. I would have preferred stronger exemption provisions. However, much that is in the bill, including exemptions, is experimental. It will be important to have careful evaluation of all of the provisions before we render further legislative judgments.

I urge my colleagues in both Houses to confirm this measure quickly in order that it may be sent to the President for signature.

Added to the meat act, this bill takes us halfway to the goal of complete consumer protection in protein products. Even as we pass the poultry measure, let us resolve to work next session toward strong fish and egg inspection programs as well.

SAIGON REGIME JAILS PEACE ADVOCATE

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I was deeply shocked, as were many other Americans, by the jailing of a prominent candidate for President in the recent South Vietnamese elections. Truong Dinh Dzu has been sentenced to 5 years at hard labor for the commonsense recommendation that a coalition government be established in Saigon as a step toward peace.

It seems incredible to me that American young men are dying to preserve a dictatorial military clique in Saigon that imprisons a respected public leader for recommending the same steps that many thoughtful Americans, including some of our presidential candidates, have recommended.

This and other points were well made in a letter by Mr. William J. Vanden Heuvel, which was published in the New York Times of yesterday. I do not see how the brilliant logic of Mr. vanden Heuvel's letter can be answered.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Jailing Shows Moral Bankruptcy

New York, N.Y.,
July 29, 1968.

To the Editor:

Occasionally an event occurs which illuminates the moral bankruptcy of our position in Vietnam so that even those who want to believe the good intentions of the Administration must speak out in anguish. Such an event is the arrest by the Saigon government and conviction by a military court of Truong Dinh Dzu, now sentenced to five years at hard labor for the crime of advocating a coalition government as a step toward peace. [Editorial, July 27]

The Johnson Administration insisted that the elections last year in South Vietnam were a landmark in the evolution of democracy. Mr. Dzu was a candidate in that election. Much to the surprise of the military junta, he ran a strong second. He campaigned for peace, arguing that the Vietnamese must negotiate directly among themselves, North and South, to end the horrible war that was mutilating his people.

Since the day of that election, Dzu has been subjected to continual harassment—house arrest, frequent interrogation, threats to his family. Now sentenced to hard labor, he languishes in Vietnam's "Devil's Island" for the crime of proposing a program for peace while General Thieu goes to Honolulu to exact from an American President further commitments of support.

THE NATION'S CONSCIENCE

The conscience of our country and the credibility of the Johnson Administration are heavily burdened by the imprisonment of Mr. Dzu. Americans are capable of great sacrifice, incredible heroism, incomparable courage—but there is now a growing certainty that we are killing our young heroes and destroying another people's land in a war that has lost its purpose and its possibilities.

Our Embassy is quoted as saying "this is purely an internal matter—if the British arrest somebody, we don't comment on that, do we?" Those words are a petition of bankruptcy. The American Embassy in Hungary when Cardinal Mindszenty was threatened gave asylum to that brave man. Now our diplomats fawn upon tawdry tyrants who are corrupt beyond salvation.

The horror of what we have done is symbolized by the conviction of Mr. Dzu, who believed in America's principles apparently more, than those who pretend to speak for them. The outrage of this event is unacceptable. If the United States can accept the imprisonment of Mr. Dzu for advocating what our own major Presidential aspirants favor, how can we negotiate a settlement with honor in Paris?

William J. Vanden Heuvel.

CESSATION IN BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, for several days I have despaired at the administration's new hard line regarding the cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam and breaking the deadlocked negotiations in Paris. Today's New York Times lead editorial took the administration sharply to task for having "stiffened its conditions."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Once Upon a Time

"Once upon a time," Secretary of State Rusk told a press conference the other day, "the President said that if North Vietnam would do almost anything—."

The Secretary abruptly broke off his review of conditions the Johnson Administration has laid down in the past for halting the bombing of North Vietnam and moving to substantive talks on a political settlement of the Vietnam conflict. It is a review worth completing today in view of the continuing refusal of the Administration to stop the bombing and especially in light of the new, tougher conditions indicated by President Johnson and Secretary Rusk in the past few days.

Once upon a time in San Antonio—last September 29, to be exact—President Johnson said: "The United States is willing to stop aerial bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussions. We would assume that while discussions proceed, North Vietnam would not take advantage of this cessation or limitation."

On January 26, Secretary of Defense Clark M. Clifford amplified the President's San Antonio formula, saying: "I do not expect them to stop their military activities. . . . Their military activity will continue in South Vietnam, I assume, until there is a cease-fire agreed upon."

In his March 31 speech announcing a partial cessation of the bombing, President Johnson said: "Even this very limited bombing of the North could come to an early end—if our restraint is matched by restraint in Hanoi."

During the past six weeks there has been a dramatic drop in enemy activity in South Vietnam. As many as half of the North Vietnamese main-force units in the South are reported to have pulled back across the borders. Infiltration, which rose substantially in April and May, is reported to have dropped in June. Administration officials now say infiltration has risen again in July, but some sources contradict this assertion. At any rate, Pentagon figures showed no increase in total enemy strength in the South, even during the period of heaviest infiltration.

To support his contention that, so far from reducing strength, the enemy is building up to a massive new offensive, the President said Wednesday that infiltration last month hit a new high of 30,000. But on Tuesday, official American sources in Saigon had put the figure at 20,000. Some intelligence sources last week were quoted as estimating that infiltration had dropped to as low a rate as 2,000 a month. The figures have always been notoriously speculative and subject to wide interpretation.

Again, the Saigon command reported yesterday that North Vietnam had boosted its forces in the South from 51,000 last January 1 to 90,000 now. Saigon neglected to point out that 90,000 is the same figure for North Vietnamese strength in the South that the Pentagon was using last March 31 when the President announced his restriction on bombing. Since that time, the total of American forces in Vietnam has jumped from 516,000 to 540,000 and South Vietnam has launched an expansion program designed to increase its armed forces by 135,000 men by the end of this year.

Surely there are grounds for concluding that Hanoi has met the requirements of the San Antonio formula and Mr. Johnson's condition of last March 31. But the United States seems to have stiffened its conditions this week in mid-negotiations.

An American negotiator in Paris told Hanoi's representatives last June that Washington would be satisfied to see some battlefield response "in the direction of de-escalation." He added: "This could be done de facto, it could be done by some indication, either directly of indirectly . . ." But Secretary of State Rusk, who in the past often has called for deeds rather than words, now insists on a "responsible, authoritative" statement from Hanoi concerning Hanoi's response, not just for today, but for "tomorrow, next week, next month."

What Mr. Rusk is asking for, in effect, is a unilateral commitment by Hanoi to deescalate the war on its side without a comparable commitment from the United States and in the face of a continuing allied buildup and continuing aggressive action by allied troops throughout the South. This is an impossible demand that can only lead to the new enemy activity the President has predicted.

It is no doubt true that to stop the bombing entails risks. But the United States is strong enough to take such risks in the interest of peace. They are certainly preferable to the larger risks of another escalation of the war.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, the editorial documents well its indictment of the President's new stance on a halt to the bombing. I want to add just a few brief comments.

Lyndon Johnson said in San Antonio on September 29, 1967, that he would "assume" that Hanoi would not take advantage of a bombing cessation. Clark Clifford on January 25, 1968, also said we would "assume" that they would not take advantage of a bombing cessation. But on July 30, 1968, Dean Rusk asked for a virtual guarantee, in advance, of some reciprocal deescalation.

The Times editorial pointed out that the figures concerning infiltration rates are "notoriously speculative." I attempted to reduce the confusion of contradictory figures and on July 30 I had an assistant call the Pentagon. We asked what the infiltration rate was during June and July and what was anticipated for August. They told us the infiltration rate for June, July, and August was 20,000. But on July 31—the next day—President Johnson said the infiltration rate during July had been 30,000. We called the Pentagon back and asked which figures were correct. They said, in effect, that if the President said 30,000, he must be right. President Johnson evidently believes he can establish fact by proclamation. In another statement on July 31, Mr. Johnson said that the bombing of North Vietnam had been limited so as to affect only 10 percent of the population of the north. The President had used the same statistic in his March 31 address. According to the State Department and world census figures, however, nearly 20 percent, not 10 percent, of the North Vietnamese population lives in the area we have been bombing. I personally pointed out this fact to one of the President's White House aides—emphasizing that it is an error involving well over 1 million people—but Mr. Johnson continues to use this inaccurate figure with no explanation whatever.

Numerous reporters have pointed out that the 20,000-a-month infiltration rate for June, July, and August would merely represent replacements for those North Vietnamese regulars killed and would not necessarily indicate an escalation. Also, for the last month, Saigon has been spared enemy rocket attacks. There is, according to a New York Times article, a general lull in combat throughout Vietnam and Hanoi has made vague "but tempting" hints in Paris that there is a significance to this lull.

It appears to me that if the administration were sincerely pursuing all opportunities for peace, they would explore these possible signs instead of hardening their terms and harshly discounting what might be a genuine gesture by Hanoi.

After 4 years of watching the Johnson administration bungle attempts to establish negotiations, many people have developed a deep cynicism concerning the sincerity of its peace efforts. The administration's current hardening of its terms will only feed that doubt. Or could it be that Chalmers Roberts, the very respected reporter for the Washington Post, is right in his July 22 article:

The time element involved—

Says Mr. Roberts—

could be crucial . . . Perhaps by early October, which would be a month before the presidential election, Mr. Johnson will find conditions ripe for ordering a total end to the bombing.

Could President Johnson be playing politics with the issue of peace and the lives of American men?

THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the Arab-Israel conflict is a source of continuing concern to all of us who are interested in a secure and just peace in the Middle East. I believe, as I have stated before, that the continuing tensions in the Middle East must be resolved by good faith, face-to-face negotiations between the principals.

In this regard, I invite the attention of Senators to a most interesting and constructive Statement of Conscience issued recently by Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher and Rev. Edward H. Flannery, of the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall University. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the statement be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

A Statement of Conscience by Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher and Rev. Edward H. Flannery

Once again, the Arab-Israeli conflict is being discussed by the Security Council. Once again, there are charges and countercharges, invectives and threats. Once again, the Council seems to be unable to end the crisis. It is this unrelieved tension in the Middle East that compels us to take a public stand and plead with our fellow-Christians to make their voices heard, too. With this in mind, we make the following affirmations:

(1) No matter how often the Arab delegates have, with massive assistance from the Russian ambassador—whose country is largely responsible for the conflagration of last June—accused Israel, she is not the aggressor. Her strike at the Egyptian airforce in the early morning hours of June 5 was clearly an act of defense. For years, terrorists had entered her territory, hostile guns had shelled her settlements in the North. Before Israel made her move, Arab leaders had threatened to wipe her off the map; state controlled radios and street gatherings in Arab lands had clamored for a holy war; President Nasser had demanded that the United Nations Emergency Force, stationed in the Gaza Strip, be withdrawn from the Egyptian-Israeli border; hostile troops had been amassed at her borders; the nearby waterways had been closed to her merchant ships, all traffic vital to her economic life and thus to her very existence had been cut off. Her assault on Egypt's aircraft was, therefore, the action of a country that refused to be strangled to death.

(2) Israel came into being with the active support of the world community. We can think of no better title to her sovereignty than the sponsorship of a majority of nations at the time of her birth. Yet, her claim does not rest with international law alone; it is also based on the work of her hands. A former generation drained malaria-infested marshes, the former and the present ones have turned barren land into gardens. Not only has Israel made the desert bloom, she has created the economic, social, and cultural conditions for a just, a truly human society.

Israelis now have lived in the land of their forefathers—from which, incidentally, Jews were never fully absent—for almost twenty years. They have taken root there, children were born, men and women died, couples married, and soldiers fought. It seems to us that as a living person has a right to go on living—a right that no neighbor or society can deny him—so a commonwealth as alive as Israel has a right to peaceful existence. We thus affirm Israel's right to stay securely on the soil which her farmers, workers, thinkers, and teachers have reclaimed by the sweat of their brows. As Christians, we must go even further: The people of Israel not only have a right to live—they have a vocation to live for the Lord.

(3) There is still another matter: [Israel's] resolve not to relinquish the occupation ahead of face-to-face negotiations. The occupied territories are the only palpable argument by which she can hope to persuade the Arab States that they should come to the peace table. They are an assurance against the resumption of hostilities in the near future. They are a constant reminder that the former state of belligerency—which the Arab leaders considered, for 18 long years, the normal relationship between their states and Israel—must give way to one of peace, of friendly coexistence and fruitful cooperation. Now is the time for the U.N. to do its utmost that "swords shall be beaten into plowshares" (Is 2, 4; Mich 4, 3). The world community must try everything possible to induce the Arab governments and Israel, the foes of yesterday, to sit down as partners to a peace conversation so that they may be friends tomorrow.

(4) Linked to the problem of occupied territories is that of the city of Jerusalem, at least in the mind of outsiders. To the Israelis there is no problem: They are determined never to go back to a Jerusalem cut in two. The united city, a demand of history as much as of Jewish consciousness, is simply not a negotiable item for them. Moreover, when the Jordanians held the Old City, they closed the border so that no Israeli Jew or Arab could visit any of his holy places; they destroyed 35 out of 36 synagogues; they used tombstones from the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives to pave the footpaths and—latrines of the Arab legion camp in Bethany. To cede the Old City to Jordan would be for Israelis to participate in those acts of impiety.

We are certain that Israel would be a faithful guardian of all holy places. But Israel in no way insists on such a guardianship. In fact, she is willing, even eager, to turn the various sanctuaries over to accredited representatives of the respective religious communities and grant them extraterritorial rights. To our minds, her offer is clear evidence of her good will and desire to live in harmony with Muslims and all Christian Churches. Soon after the reunification of Jerusalem the Israeli Parliament passed a bill that promised protection of all sanctuaries from desecration and guaranteed unhindered access to them.

(5) Another critical question, perhaps the most critical one, is that of the Palestinian refugees. In discussing it, one ought to keep these points in mind: First, it is a gross misrepresentation to say that, at the time of the first armed Israeli-Arab confrontation in 1948, Jews drove their Arab neighbors out. Second, the shutting up of these refugees in camps is not a page of glory in Arab history—Germans, for instance, integrated their bretheren whom Poland and Czechoslovakia had expelled from their native soil into the economic, social, and cultural life of West Germany. Finally, Israel absorbed, in a kind of exchange, hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab countries. Still, for the sake of justice and peace Israel should again offer financial compensation to those who lost their houses and fields, also assistance in uniting families that had been forced apart. In addition, an international resettlement fund could be set up. Yet, the tragic lot of these refugees will in all probability not be ended prior to a peace treaty; their suffering will cease only as a result of, or concommitant to, a covenant between the present adversaries.

Though the final settlement of this intensely human problem will have to await the settlement of many others, its terms and methods could and should be prepared now. Statesmen with the help of scientists could draw up and disclose blueprints for the desalting of seawater and the irrigation of Arab and Israeli lands, as a promise of how all would prosper together. The possibilities of economic cooperation could be discussed publicly in order to show that the entire Middle East would benefit from an agreement among the armed camps that for the moment have stopped firing but are still confronting one another. The present cease-fire must be a gate to lasting concord.

TRADE PICTURES AFFECTED BY STEEL PRICE HIKE

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I am greatly concerned about how the recently announced price increases on steel will affect our country's international trade. Our economy is rippling with health. It is vital that we maintain this condition at home as well as staying competitive in the world markets.

For this reason, I am particularly perplexed by the announcements of some major steel companies regarding increased prices. This comes at a time in our history when—in the span of a decade—we have moved from a major exporter of steel to a sizable importer.

I find this confusing. If our price position in the international market was not strong enough to keep us on the seller—instead of buyer—side of the scale, why raise prices?

I have heard some of the excuses.

But are they really valid when we consider that some Americans are restricting their travels and making other sacrifices to improve our country's balance of payments.

For the sake of their own advantage in the world markets, I believe these producers should carefully reconsider their price increases. In addition, every product that America now exports which contains steel now will come under pressure of price increases.

I am deeply concerned about this turn of events in our trade picture.

PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, last May 24 and 25 representatives of the Inter-American Coordinating Committee of the Partners of the Alliance met in Salt Lake City to outline plans for the Fourth Inter-American Conference of the Partners, to be held at the Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City May 10–14, 1969.

The coordinating committee is made up of representatives from partner States throughout the hemisphere. Utah was selected as the site of the Fourth Partners Conference at meetings held in Lima, Peru, last April which brought more than 300 delegates from 15 countries together at the Third Inter-American Partners Conference.

Last month, President Rene Barrientos Ortuno of Bolivia visited Logan, Utah, where he was hosted by Utah State University and the Utah Partners of the Alliance. Bolivia is Utah's partner in this citizen-level program under the Alliance for Progress. At a luncheon meeting on July 7 at the university, Mr. Edward S. Marcus, chairman of the board of Neiman-Marcus, of Dallas, and president of the National Association of the Partners of the Alliance, made an address that reflects Utah's participation in the partners program. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Marcus' remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS AT LUNCHEON FOR PRESIDENT BARRIENTOS BY EDWARD S. MARCUS, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE, LOGAN, UTAH, JULY 7, 1968

The Partners of the Alliance was conceived to accomplish through the private sector projects which governments cannot do either because of size, legality or propriety. It is intended to involve many, many people of all ages and interests who can create thousands of threads of affiliation which ultimately will be woven into a strong fabric which can withstand the inevitable disagreements which must arise between governments. Today some 36 states of the United States are participating in programs in 15 Latin American countries.

We work in many fields: education, culture, medicine and public health, agriculture, private investment and special projects. As well as as outstanding leaders who are involved, there are many organizations such as the Jaycees, Rotary clubs, Women's organizations, student organizations at high school levels and many others.

The unique feature of this program is the putting together of States in the United States with areas of Latin America. We have found that this association of limited areas produces a greater degree of responsibility and action.

The partnership between Utah and Bolivia was one of the earliest to be organized in our program to link the private sectors of the United States and the nations of Latin America for mutual self help. Since 1964 the State of Utah has contributed projects with value of some $100,000. Bolivia has been the host to Utah teachers, technical experts and partners teams. A Bolivian art exhibit has been on tour here. 15 Bolivian students are currently in Utah schools.

But more important than the usual evaluations placed on mutual aid programs is the value in terms of mutual understanding between people that the partnership between Utah and Bolivia has produced.

Last spring at the Partners InterAmerican Conference in Lima I saw the enthusiasm with which the Utah delegation members presented their bid for the 1969 conference and the equal enthusiasm with which Utah and Salt Lake City were accepted as the conference site. About 300 delegates and observers will be in Salt Lake City next May.

And today, along with you, I see the President of Bolivia traveling several thousand miles to demonstrate his own affection and faith in the partnership program. I believe we may accept this act as a reflection of the attitude of the Bolivian people.

There are three States which are linked to Bolivia. While Utah is paired with La Paz and the Alto Plano of Bolivia, North Carolina and Arkansas have programs in other areas of the country. As President Barrientos will not have the opportunity on this trip to visit Arkansas and North Carolina, we would like to assure him that they share with Utah and with all the partners the convicition that in the effort of the private citizens of our Nation lie the hopes of all of the Americas to achieve more abundant lives including every aspect of human dignity.

The partners of the Alliance is a bipartisan, non-political, private sector approach to the problems of development in Latin America. Senators and Representatives from both sides of the aisle have supported the bill which supplies the travel funds so necessary to the progress of this organization. In these days of necessary budget cuts, it is my belief that an organization such as the partners will be defended even more as aid budgets are whittled. We can and will respond.

I would like to urge you Utah partners to broaden the scope of your activities by bringing more and more people into the program. Particularly, I refer to the traditional and the new leaders of the private sector— leaders of farm organizations, cooperatives, the natural leaders of small communities, the heads of service clubs, the leaders of local labor groups and more especially, the leaders of student associations.

I ask President Barrientos to carry this message back to Bolivia with him where the climate is equally fruitful.

FEDERAL AID HIGHWAY BILL: VICTORY FOR THE UGLIFIERS

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the Federal-aid highway bill as approved by the Senate earlier this week was a sorry compromise. It goes a long way toward wiping out many of the gains this country has made over the years in the attempt to institute programs designed to beautify our Federal highways and preserve our parks and recreation areas from encroachment by the highway engineers. I was an original sponsor of the bill which became the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 and I am deeply distressed at the way in which the Congress has now voted to cripple it.

The House of Representatives cut the heart out of the billboard control portion of the highway bill, but the House-Senate conference committee, in response to public demand, attempted to repair some of the mischief by restoring the authority of the Secretary of Transportation to set standards for the enforcement of billboard control. I was dismayed that many self-acclaimed friends of beautification in the House of Representatives voted to recommit the conference report. Had the move been successful it would have meant that the managers of the House bill would have had to "insist on deleting all program funds for highway beautification." It is perfectly clear to me that those House Members who voted to delete the highway beautification and billboard control provisions do not know the depth of the commitment of literally millions of Americans to keeping the countryside safe from desecration.

I have fought for years to prevent the highway builders and commercial outdoor advertising companies from pursuing the cheap and ugly road program which would lead to the creation of a coast-to-coast asphalt America surrounded by ugly bill boards. The original Senate bill, which I supported, provided safeguards for our rapidly dwindling areas of natural beauty. The final outcome, much to my regret, was a significant victory for the uglifiers.

Secretary of the Interior Udall said on Tuesday:

> Most Congressmen don't give a damn about conservation values.

Mr. President, the Philadelphia Inquirer of August 31, 1968, has an excellent editorial on the highway bill and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Strange and Costly Highway Bill

Congress has passed some peculiar legislation in its day but the omnibus highway bill just approved must have a place near the head of the list.

It makes the bulldozer king at a time when there is already precious little space preserved from its ravages. Legal protection for parks and wildlife refuges against the encroachment of the omnipresent throughway is dangerously enfeebled by the bill. The Secretary of Transportation could veto the building of a highway only when there might be encroachment on "significant" public parks. The veto does no longer apply to private lands, such as Audubon Society wildlife refuges, and, in any event, who is to decide what public park or historic shrine is "significant" enough to warrant its preservation?

Beautification and billboard control programs, such as those in which Mrs. Lyndon Johnson has displayed energetic interest, are virtually extinguished by the bill. But it manages to authorize, for no perceptible reason expect to please porkbarrel local politicians, 1500 additional miles of highway to the interstate system.

The bill confers remarkable authority on Congress by mandating the building of a bridge across the Potomac River which has been strongly criticized by persons trying to stave off ugliness along that historic stream. The cost of the whole program so blandly approved by Congress has been placed in the billions. Did somebody mention inflation, or deficits?

MILITARY PAY

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, Prof. Walter Y. Oi of the University of Rochester, has prepared a preliminary draft of a critique of the Department of Defense study entitled "Modernizing Military Pay." Professor Oi has well-established credentials to undertake an analysis of the Pentagon's report. From June 1964 to July 1965 he conducted a military manpower study for the Defense Department while serving as a consultant for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. Professor Oi later published a very detailed and authoritative analysis of the amount of salary increases necessary to sustain an all-volunteer military.

He is strongly opposed to the "Modernizing Military Pay" study group's recommendations dealing with noncareer compensation. He believes that "they perpetuate the financial inequity of coerced military service." I recommend Professor Oi's analysis to Senators who share my concern with improving the quality of our military forces and with preserving the maximum amount of individual liberty and equality of treatment in our military manpower procurement system. If we are ever to return our Nation to a volunteer-military system it is imperative that we provide adequate salaries at the lower military grades in order to induce the necessary number of men to enlist initially.

I ask unanimous consent that a preliminary draft of Professor Oi's analysis be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"Modernizing Military Pay": A Critique

(By Walter Y. Oi *)

The military compensation system that is recommended in this report contains two very important features.

1. It discriminates against the non-career enlisted man and recommends that he continue to be paid under the existing complex system of basic pay plus allowances; see recommendations 1 and 2.

2. It proposes the adoption of full parity military salaries (replacing five separate pay components) for the remainder of the active duty forces—the so-called career force; see recommendation 8.

The recommendations were designed to achieve two objectives, (1) a fair and equitable system of compensation and (2) a compensation system that can attract, retain, and motivate the career force. The non-career enlisted man is singled out as being somehow different, and the study indeed adopts a different standard by which to judge the equity and fairness of his pay. Interestingly enough, the non-career officer is *not* subjected to that different standard but is considered to be part of the career force. Although the policy guidelines explicitly state that the study is intended to deal with principles and concepts of compensation and *not* to justify a pay increase, the recommended schedule of full parity military salaries results in percentage pay increases for the enlisted career force ranging from a low of 5.2 per cent for an E6 with fourteen years of service to a high of 49.8 per cent for an E4 with two years of service. I basically endorse the adoption of a salary system but for slightly different reasons than those mentioned in this report. I strongly oppose the first feature which perpetuates the inequitable treatment of first-term enlisted men. In Part I of this review, I examine the justifications for singling out the non-career enlisted component from the rest of the active duty forces. Part II scrutinizes the dubious concept of *residual income* as the standard for pay comparisons of the non-career force. Finally, attention is directed in Part III to some particulars of the proposed salary system.

TWO PARTS OF THE FORCE: AN ARBITRARY DICHOTOMY

At the outset, the report argues that four relevant changes in military requirements must be considered in designing a pay package.

1. The smaller professional cadres of earlier years are out-moded, and larger and different kinds of forces are now required.

2. A desirable force structure requires three kinds of people, (1) short service consisting of those who serve for only one tour, (2) medium service of four to fourteen years, and (3) full career soldiers who remain to retirement. It is further asserted that military pay must be fair and equitable to all three groups and *attractive* to at least the last two.

3. The modern force demands a different mix containing more men with technical skills.

4. These changes have produced a military establishment that is now more similar to the the civilian labor force. Hence, it is alleged that pay comparisons are more frequently made today than they had been in earlier years.

In the light of these changes, the study concludes in their first finding (p. 9) that compensation principles and concepts must be separately evaluated for the two parts of the force, non-career and career. Recommendation 1 then sets forth a definition of "non-career" which was later modified because of the accelerated promotions due to the Vietnam War. Except for a few minor exceptions, the *non-career* component of the force consists of all first-term enlisted men. All others including first-term officers belong to the other part, the *career force*. The report justifies the adoption of different (and, as I shall argue later, discriminatory) standards for first-term enlisted men by appealing to the following arguments.

a. Military service is an obligation for all American youths. Many first-term enlisted men are involuntarily drafted, while many others are coerced to volunteer by the threat of being drafted.

(b) The vast majority of first-term enlisted men serve for only one term and separate from the Armed Forces. The average first-term reenlistment rate of regular enlisted men is slightly over 20 per cent.

(c) The military missions performed by first-term enlisted men are (it is alleged) similar to the functions served by the older and smaller professional cadres. Hence, it is desirable that they be housed in barracks, fed in mess halls, etc. Under these conditions, the existing compensation system is said to be preferable to a salary system.

(d) Fully 84 per cent of first-term enlisted men are single, and most are quite young; the median age of enlisted accessions is 19. The implication here is that because they are young and single, their "needs" for income are somewhat less than their older counterparts in the career force.

Although it is not explicitly stated in this report, the study appeals to the same argument which has prevented pay increases for men with less than two years of service; namely, why raise the pay of this group when the draft and the threat of being drafted can assure adequate supplies of recruits to meet any specified force strength objective. This principle has been espoused in most previous hearings on pay increases, and its consequences are clearly evident in the summary presented in Table 4.3 (p. 62) of this report. Finally, it might be argued that the pay system should be designed to encourage high turnover in the first term, but this argument is contradicted by comparing the actual and desired continuation rates for the force structure, Table 3.2 (p. 31). Suppose for the moment that these four reasons for differential and discriminatory standards of pay evaluation are accepted. Why is the special evaluation restricted to non-career *enlisted* men and not extended to *officers*?

---

* In this paper, I present my evaluation of the Report of the First Quadrennial Review of Military Compensation, Volume I, Active Duty Compensation (1, November 1967) prepared by the pay study group under the direction of Admiral L. E. Hubbell. The opinions expressed in this paper are solely mine, and I am responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation.

The first reason argues that the draft is directly or indirectly responsible for most accessions to enlisted ranks. The 1964 DOD draft study attempted to estimate the extent to which the threat of a draft influenced voluntary accessions to various components of active duty and reserve forces. An excerpt from the 1964 DOD survey is shown below.

PERCENTAGE OF DRAFT-MOTIVATED RELUCTANT VOLUNTEERS

Component and service	Percentage that definitely or probably would not have volunteered if there were no draft
1st-term regular enlisted men:	
Army	43.2
Navy	32.6
Marine Corps	30.4
Air Force	42.9
Total DOD	38.0
1st-term officers:	
Army	48.4
Navy	40.3
Marine Corps	27.0
Air Force	38.9
Total DOD	41.3
Enlistments to Reserves and National Guard Units	70.7

Source: "Review of the Administration and Operation of the Selective Service System", House of Representatives, June 1966, pp. 10038–10039.

The proportion of men who were coerced to volunteer because of their draft obligation is seen to be slightly lower for enlisted men, 38.0 per cent than for officer accessions, 41.3 per cent. Hence if pay should be separately evaluated because the first-term of service is a citizen's duty and obligation, first-term officers' pay should be judged by the same standards as those applied to first-term enlisted men. Notice that enlistments to reserve units requiring active duty only for basic training contain the largest fraction of draft motivated, reluctant volunteers.

The poor retention experience of enlisted men is cited as a justification for differential treatment presumably on the ground that these men regard military service as a transistory occupation, forced upon them by the draft. The average adjusted first-term reenlistment rate of regular enlisted men for the period 1957–64 was 20.3 per cent, while the retention rate of first-term officers over the period 1960–64 was 41.9 per cent.[1] The higher retention rate of officers can be attributed to two factors: (1) the exploitation effect which I shall discuss in **Part III** of this critique, and (2) officers' pay has been higher relative to alternative civilian salaries over this period. The officer retention rate of 41.9 per cent is still far below the desired rate for an optimal force structure as argued in Chapter 3 of this report. Many first-term officers clearly view military service as an obligation and elect to leave after completing their obligated tour of duty.

It is surely the case that first-term enlisted men are more heavily concentrated in the professional cadrys types of military missions, ground combat, airborne, and sea duty. Yet, a substantial number (I believe a majority) are assigned to logistical support missions, especially in the Air Force. The tasks performed by many enlisted men, do not require the mobility and readiness of the combat divisions. Moreover, the first-term officers are also liberally represented in these combat-oriented tasks. The difference between the non-career and career forces in this respect is one of degree, not kind. I do not believe that it constitutes an admissable reason for a separate standard.

The last argument that single and younger men "need" less income is diametrically opposed to subsequent arguments in Chapters 3 and 4 of this report. The report cites some notable examples in which career pay is unrelated to the work performed; e.g. single men with no dependents receive considerably less military income than their married counterparts because of the quarters and subsistence allowances. The report recommends that this income differential due solely to marital status should be eliminated to obtain equal pay for equal work. Yet, the same report recommends in Chapter 2 that a different pay standard be adopted for non-career enlisted men because *most* of them happen to be single and young. There is a fundamental contradiction in the reasoning followed by the pay study group.

To sum up, the first three arguments for establishment of a separate pay standard for non-career enlisted men apply equally well to first-term officers. Moreover, the pay philosophy for the career force that is articulated in Chapters 3 and 4 is inconsistent with the fourth reason. Comparability with full-time civilian salaries is adopted as the appropriate standard by which to judge the *fairness and equity* of career compensation, but the dubious concept of *residual income* is proposed as the standard for evaluating non-career compensation. Logical consistency demands that if a separate *equity* standard is justifiable for non-career enlisted men, that same standard should be applied to first-term officers.

The only explanation for the discriminatory treatment of non-career enlisted men is that of political expediency. There is no necessity to pay competitive wages to these men because the draft can assure adequate supplies of new recruits. Since the draft has the same coercive effect on officer accessions, one might ask why the pay study group recommended substantial pay increases for first-term officers? My answer to this query (and it is my personal evaluation) rests on the fact that the newly commissioned officer is typically a college graduate from a well-to-do family, while the enlisted man is usually a high school graduate whose family belongs to the lower—middle classes of the socio-economic ladder. There is likely to be far less organized political opposition to the draft and the system of military compensation from the latter group. The more articulate and politically powerful families from which the officers are drawn, have the ability to organize a politically meaningful opposition if the draft and military pay system become oppressive to their sons. So long as the draft is selective (and it is likely to become even more selective in the light of expanding population), is behooves the government either to place the burden of the draft on those with the least political power or to lessen the burden of the draft through better pay. I *do not recommend* that this discriminatory standard (based on the concept of residual income) be extended to first-term officers. I propose instead that the recommended salary system for the career force, together with its recommended pay line, be extended to the non-career enlisted men.

II. THE CONCEPT AND MEASUREMENT OF RESIDUAL INCOME

The concept of *residual income* (the money income remaining after allowances for taxes and certain basics—food, shelter, clothing, and medical care) is set forth in Finding 3 (p. 11) as the appropriate standard for evaluating non-career compensation. To insure that military service involves *no net economic penalty,* recommendation 2 proposes that minimum residual income be compared to two standards, (1) the minimum wage floor and (2) full-time civilian incomes of persons of comparable age and educational attainment. A fairly accurate measure of residual income for servicemen is provided by the existing concept of basic pay less taxes. The measurement of residual income for civilians is complicated by the task of estimating the cost of the "basics"—food, shelter, clothing, and medical care.

I have already stated my opposition to the residual income standard as the basis for evaluating non-career compensation. In this section, I propose only to examine the concept and the particular manner in which the pay study group estimated the residual incomes for the civilian sector. More precisely, I shall argue that:

1. the social security tax is improperly handled and leads to an underestimation of civilian residual incomes.

2. The "basic" consumption items of food, shelter, clothing, and medical care should be comparable for servicemen and civilians in arriving at the concept of residual income. It is surely unfair to include expensive restaurant meals and tailor-made clothes as necessary civilian outlays for food and clothing.

3. The use of BLS consumer expenditures data for urban single individuals under 25 years of age leads to a gross over-statement of outlays for the "basic" items since many youths in the 17–21 age bracket reside with their families or with other single individuals

These adjustments result in substantial increases in the estimates of civilian residual incomes which imply upward revisions in the basic pay of first-term enlisted men even when one accepts the residual income standard.

The measurement of civilian residual income for the minimum wage floor is described in Table 2.1 (p. 15) and is reproduced below.

(1) Income before taxes	$3,328.00
(2) Less income taxes	385.00
(3) Income after taxes	2,943.00
(4) "Basic" expenditures	1,813.00
(5) Income after taxes and basic expenses	1,130.00
(6) Less social security taxes	146.43
(7) Residual income	983.57

The expenditures for "basic" items is obtained by taking 61.6 per cent of "income after taxes", line (3). The 61.6 per cent figure was obtained from the 1960–61 BLS survey of consumer expenditures which is discussed below. Reference to the BLS survey reveals that the BLS concept of "income after taxes" differs from line (3). All personal taxes including social security contributions are deducted; i.e. the BLS concept corresponds to line (1) less lines (2) and (6). Hence, in this example, BLS "income after taxes" equals $2,796.57. If the 61.6 per cent figure is applied to this figure, the expenditures for "basic" items is only 1723, and residual income becomes $1,073.88. The subtraction of social security taxes at the very end thus results in a $90.31 under-statement of civilian residual income. The social security contributions should properly be deducted from income before taxes before estimating the cost of the "basic" items. If this adjustment is made to the civilian residual income estimates appearing in Table 2.3 (p. 17), we get the following comparison.

---

[1] Details of these estimates of retention rates can be found in my article appearing in *The Draft, A Handbook of Facts and Alternatives,* edited by Sol Tax, (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1967) see pp. 233–4.

ADJUSTMENT OF RESIDUAL INCOME ESTIMATES FOR SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES

	Original[1]	Adjusted[2]	Difference[3]	
			Amount	Percent
Minimum wage standard	983.57	1,073.88	90.31	9.2
Civilian income of high school graduates of age:				
18	1,100	1,202	102	9.3
19	1,198	1,309	111	9.3
20	1,296	1,417	121	9.3
21	1,393	1,524	131	9.4
22	1,471	1,611	140	9.5

[1] Obtained from tables 2.1 and 2.3 of the report.

[2] Social security taxes are deducted before applying the 61.6 percent figure to estimate the cost of basic items, food, shelter, clothing, and medical care.

[3] Figures represent difference of adjusted less original estimates.

The soldier who is provided with mess hall meals, quarters, uniforms, and medical care surely receives some income in kind. The pay study group recommends that because he is supplied with these "basic" consumption items, his basic pay less taxes constitutes a residual income that is available for discretionary expenditures on other consumption items like tobacco, transportation, and recreation. Hence in evaluating the adequacy of non-career compensation, military residual incomes should be compared to civilian residual incomes. The task of estimating civilian residual incomes is complicated by two empirical problems. One is that the investigator must specify a civilian bundle of these "basic" items [food, shelter, clothing, medical care] that is most comparable to the "basic" bundle supplied to the non-career enlisted man. Having specified a comparable civilian bundle, the other (and simpler) problem is to estimate the cost of purchasing it in the civilian economy.

It is an admittedly difficult job to specify the most comparable civilian bundle. Are military food and quarters comparable to room and board at a boarding house? Can a dress uniform be equated to a Nehru jacket and slacks? Faced with these kinds of difficulties, the pay study group arbitrarily assumed that *all* consumer expenditures for the four basic items by persons of comparable ages were equivalent to the value of the "basic" consumption items that are typically supplied to a non-career enlisted man. The estimated civilian costs for the four basic items were obtained from the 1960–61 BLS survey of consumer expenditures for urban single individuals under 25 years of age. The data which were used by the pay study group are reproduced in line 1 of Table 1.

To show how these expenditures vary across income classes and by marital status, I have presented corresponding figures for 10 income classes of "urban families and single individuals with household head under 25" in lines 3–12, and for all urban families in which the oldest child is over 18 years of age, line 14. The pay study group included *all* housing expenditures in their measure of "basic" expenditures which appears in Tables 1 and 2 as "Basic-A". The "housing" category in the BLS survey includes outlays for (a) rental or imputed rental value of shelter, (b) fuel, light, and water, (c) household operations including laundry services and domestic servants, and (d) household furnishings. "Basic B" provides an alternative measure in which the housing component contains outlays only for shelter and fuel, light, and water. The two measures of basic expenditures are expressed as percentages of "income after taxes" in Table 2.

A perusal of lines 3 to 12 of Table 1 reveal that consumer expenditures for all items tend to rise as incomes climb. The responsiveness of outlays to income is more readily seen by comparing expenditures for two widely separated income classes, "2.0–3.0" vs. "7.5–10.0"; lines 5 and 10 of Table 1; Incomes of families in the latter group exceeded those of families in the former by 226.7 per cent, and this income differential was associated with the following increments in consumer expenditures.

INCREMENTS OF CONSUMER EXPENDITURES FOR 2 SELECTED INCOME CLASSES[1]

Item	Dollar increment	Percentage
Food	850	134.5
Housing—A	1,333	172.2
Housing—B	720	135.8
Clothing	360	107.5
Medical care	336	247.1
Basic—A	2,879	153.3
Basic—B	2,266	138.8

[1] Obtained from lines 5 and 10 of table 1 for urban families and single individuals with head of household under 25 years of age.

These variations in expenditures across income classes suggest that *not all* expenditures for these four basic items are "necessary" to sustain, shelter, clothe, and care for the human body. In fact, one can safely conclude that there is a substantial discretionary element in these expenditure patterns.[2] Surely part of these expenditures should be considered as discretionary expenditures [meals at fancy restaurants, dress clothing, expenses for maid-service, rental of single-unit apartments instead of rooms at boarding houses] and not as equivalent civilian expenses to purchase a comparable bundle of these four basic items that is supplied to the typical recruit. Yet, the procedure followed in this report includes all outlays as equivalent to the civilian cost of these four questionable necessities. This fundamental conceptual error was even further compounded in this study when the civilian cost of these "basic" items was estimated by applying the 61.6 per cent figure to the 1966 civilian incomes after taxes. Since prices typically increase at a slower rate than money incomes, the money cost of any fixed bundle of consumer goods and services typically rises by a smaller proportion than the rise in money incomes.

In addition to these two errors, the pay study group imparted an upward bias in the civilian costs by examining data for only urban single unrelated individuals. A majority of youths in the military age group of 17 to 21 years of age reside at home or with room-mates. Indeed, reference to Table 1 (lines 1 and 2) reveals that single individuals accounted for only 17.1 per cent of all urban families and single individuals with head under 25 years of age. The expenditure pattern of urban families in which the oldest child is over 18 years of age provided us with an estimate of the cost for these four items; these data appear in line 14 of Table 1. The BLS survey showed that the typical family in this category contained 4.2 individuals. Hence, the per capita costs shown in line 15 were obtained by dividing line 14 by 4.2. The per capita costs for food and housing are sharply reduced when two or more persons share these expenses. In my opinion, a reasonable civilian cost for these four basic items should be an average of the per capita expenditures for single individuals (line 1) and for persons residing with their families, (line 15) adjusted for the rise in the consumer prices of these goods. These estimates of the average per capita costs for the four basic items in 1967 prices are presented in Table 3.[3] Given the high responsiveness of housing expenditures for operations (including domestic servants) and furnishings, I contend that only the expenses for rent and fuel, light, and water should be included in the civilian cost; i.e. Basic-B is the appropriate civilian cost corresponding to the basic items supplied to the recruit. For those who disagree with my judgment, I have provided the civilian residual income estimates corresponding to Basic-A in column (3) of Table 4.

A summary of four alternative estimates of civilian residual incomes is presented in Table 4. The four estimates correspond to different ways of measuring the civilian cost of the basic items [food, shelter, clothing, and medical care] that are provided to enlisted men.

(1) The original estimate developed by the pay study group was taken from pp. 15–17 of the report.

(2) An adjusted residual income measure subtracts social security taxes before applying the 61.6 per cent figure to calculate the civilian cost of basic items. This correction leads to a 9 per cent increase in civilian residual incomes.

(3) Residual income-A defined as total income less Federal income and social security taxes minus the civilian cost of the bundle implicit in Basic-A of Table 3. All housing expenditures including those for operations and furnishings are considered to be necessary expenses for shelter.

(4) Residual income-B is defined as total income less Federal income and social security taxes minus the civilian cost of the bundle implicit in Basic-B of Table 3. Only outlays for rent and fuel, light, and water are included in the civilian cost for shelter.

Finally, military residual income defined as basic pay less Federal income and social security taxes was estimated by the pay study group (Table 2.4 p. 18) and is reproduced in the last column of Table 4. The average annual differentials between military and civilian residual incomes corresponding to the four estimates of civilian residual incomes are shown below.[4]

(1) Original residual income	+439
(2) Adjustable residual income	+313
(3) Residual income A	−211
(4) Residual income B	−456

---

[2] In his economics text, Professor Stigler specifies a physiologically adequate diet consisting of 370 pounds of wheat flour, 57 cans of evaporated milk, 111 pounds of cabbage, 25 pounds of spinach, and 285 pounds of dried navy beans. This subsistence diet could have been purchased in 1950 for about 8 dollars a month or 96 dollars a year. If the cost is adjusted to 1967 prices, a single individual could have obtained this subsistence diet for only $129 a year in 1967. Most persons spend more than this in order to obtain a more palatable diet. See G. J. Stigler, *The Theory of Price*, (New York, The MacMillan Co.: 1952) revised edition, p. 2.

[3] The third column of Table 3 is an average of expenditures by single individuals and persons residing with their families. It is still an over-estimate of the civilian cost of the items supplied to enlisted men since it contains all expenditures. Hence, the residual income estimates shown in Table 4 can be considered to be lower bound estimates of civilian residual incomes.

[4] These averages assume that an enlisted man enters active military service at the age of 19 and serves for four years. If, however, an individual is drafted at age 20 and serves for only two years, the average annual differential is larger. From Table 2.4, we find that the average military residual income for Army enlisted men serving for only two years is $1,462. Hence, the differentials between military and civilian residual incomes for the draftee are:

(1) Original residual income	+118
(2) Adjusted residual income	−9
(3) Residual income-A	−540
(4) Residual income-B	−785

By using their measure of civilian residual income (1), the pay study group concluded that existing basic pay rates for the non-career force were *fair and equitable* since it produced a surplus of $439 per year. Even if we accept the dubious residual income concept as the appropriate standard for evaluating non-career pay, an altogether different conclusion is reached by estimating civilian residual incomes in a different (and I contend a more correct) manner. By subtracting the civilian cost of a fixed bundle of basic consumption items (instead of simply applying a fixed percentage), I obtained the residual income estimates shown in columns (3) and (4) of Table 4. Moreover, I have argued that Basic-B describes a consumption bundle comes closest to the bundle of basic items provided to enlisted men. This latter standard for comparison implies that the basic pay of first-term enlisted men must be increased by $456 per year in order to achieve parity with civilian salaries.

III. FULL PARITY MILITARY SALARIES

At the outset, it is observed that there is a mid-range deficit between the actual and desired force structures. The actual force structure has "too many" men in the first term (1 to 4 years of service), and "not enough" men in the range from 4 to 14 years of service. Moreover, finding 11 concludes that compensation is a major cause of inadequate retention. The report then identifies three deficiencies of the existing system of military compensation.

(a) Military pay is unduly complex.

(b) Military pay is inequitably distributed among the members of the force. It is alleged that only 58 per cent of pay is related to the work performed, and irrelevant considerations like dependency status produce wide differentials in military pay. Another "inequity" which is prominently mentioned throughout the report is that all career servicemen contribute to a non-vested retirement plan and only 37 per cent will receive benefits. Finally, allowances for quarters and subsistence have not kept pace with costs.

(c) Because of the complexity of military pay, there is no clear-cut basis for comparisons with civilian salaries with the result that military pay has lagged behind civilian salaries.

The report contends that the existing military pay system lacks *credibility,* and because of this, servicemen and others (notably banks and lending agencies) under-estimate the true value of military pay.

The key proposal of this study is contained in recommendation 8 in which it is recommended that a full parity military salary be adopted to replace five pay components for members of the career force. The five components are: (1) basic pay, (2) quarters allowance, (3) subsistence allowance, (4) tax advantage,[5] and (5) imputed value of retirement benefits. The recommended structure of full parity military salaries is summarized in Table 5.10 (p. 95). Many of the remaining recommendations of the report deal with bookkeeping details created by the switch to a salary system of compensation. I shall restrict my comments on the salary proposal to four items:

1. The fairness and equity of career compensation.

2. Longevity as the basis for in-grade pay increases.

3. Normal and variable re-enlistment bonuses.

4. Military estate program.

1. *Fairness and Equity of Career Compensation:* Although the study objectives were to design a pay system which was both (1) fair and equitable to all servicemen and (2) attractive to at least the career force, the proposed system of military salaries is primarily addressed to the first objective. I shall briefly comment on the study's shortcomings with respect to the latter objective in sub-section 3 below on re-enlistment bonuses. The full parity military salaries which are recommended in this report are intended to remedy some alleged and real shortcomings of the existing system of military compensation by,

(a) adopting the "work level" standard as the criterion by which to compare military and civilian salaries,

(b) eliminating the inequitable differential due to dependency status,

(c) lending credibility to military compensation.

The report enumerates other reasons for adopting the salary system, but these three are, in my opinion, the principal arguments.

It is alleged that the absence of a *standard* for comparing military to civilian salaries has led to inefficiency in the dispensation of pay increases, to a lag of military behind civilian incomes, and to ambiguities about whether existing pay levels are "fair and equitable". In previous pay studies, the concept of "tax equivalent military income" [consisting of basic pay plus quarters and subsistence allowances, plus the tax advantage] provided a military income measure that could be compared to civilian salaries. This concept, called "regular military income" in this report, differs in principle from the proposed military salary only through the omission of the retirement contribution of 6.5 per cent. There is one notable difference between "tax equivalent income" and "full parity salary"; namely, the former incorporates differential quarters and subsistence allowances according to one's dependency status. The differential due to dependency status could, however, have been removed without turning to the full parity salary. I wish only to point out here that we had an earlier standard albeit a discriminatory one favoring married career men with families. The "work level" standard which is recommended in this report (recommendation 12) attempts to link military pay grades and civil service positions. Hence, a second lieutenant, O–1 is equated to a GS–7, while O–8 is judged to be equivalent to GS–18. The links are established through a job evaluation of the tasks and responsibilities of the positions. The pay study group also examined the "cohort" standard wherein military incomes are compared to the civilian incomes of persons of similar age and educational attainment. The "cohort" standard more nearly approximates what the serviceman could earn if he were placed in the civilian labor force, and hence provides a better yardstick by which to compare incomes. Adoption of the "cohort" standard would, however, require more frequent studies to determine alternative civilian salaries. It is my opinion that the "work level" standard (which is inferior in concept to the "cohort" standard) was adopted as the criterion for establishing parity because of its administrative simplicity. I would recommend that in the quadrennial reviews, an attempt be made to estimate the "cohort" standard to insure that the two do not diverge in the future. Year-to-year pay revisions could be tied to the simpler "work level" standard.

Under the existing military pay system, as pointed out in this report, only 58 per cent of military pay is related to the work performed. The higher quarters and subsistence allowances which are awarded to married men with dependents seem to be especially aggravating to the pay study group. They argue that if a single enlisted man or officer performs the same work as his married counterpart, he *deserves* the same pay. I agree with this judgment and endorse this reason for the adoption of the salary system.

The report points with alarm to the fact that all servicemen implicitly contribute to a retirement program, but only 37 per cent ever realize benefits. However, this is *not* the only inequity of this type. In a sense, all servicemen implicitly contribute to life insurance; yet only those who die collect the benefits. The relevant issue is not that only 37 per cent receive benefits (while under the proposed vested retirement plan, every serviceman receives something), but rather, "What is an optimal military estate program from the viewpoint of attracting and retaining an efficient military force?" Many companies provide profit-sharing and retirement programs which are tied to length of service. If an executive leaves the firm before a specified period of time, he loses his retirement benefits. Such schemes are typically designed to reduce labor turnover. It is not obvious that a fully vested retirement plan is optimal from the viewpoint of retention. I do not share the pay study group's concern about the so-called inequity in retirement benefits when one finds that the early leaver is awarded a separation allowance equal to one month's pay for each year of service. Before making a recommendation about this so-called inequity, further research on the military estate program is needed; see sub-section 4 below.

Finally, an alleged merit of the salary system is that it will lend *credibility* to military compensation. It is argued that servicemen *underestimate* the true value of quarters and subsistence allowances and that they do not understand the tax advantage which accrues because these allowances are non-taxable. If these allegations are correct, it logically follows that if quarters and subsistence allowances were lumped with basic pay and the sum subjected to Federal and state income taxes, servicemen would consider themselves as well off as before. My casual conversations with career personnel contradict this *credibility* allegation. In discussing pay increases, servicemen argue that they prefer a 50-dollar increase in the quarters allowance to a 50-dollar increase in basic pay. Banks and consumer credit agencies may suffer from this illusion because of the complexities of military pay. Even if one ignores the credibility argument, the modest simplification which is achieved by a switch to salaries, is worthwhile.

2. *Longevity as the basis for in-grade increases:* In establishing a recommended pay line for the proposed salary system, the pay study group considered two bases for in-grade pay increases: (1) time in grade and (2) longevity meaning years of service for pay purposes from the time of initial entry into the Armed Forces. It is my opinion that the most persuasive argument for the salary system is that it creates a pay system more closely tied to the productivity or work performed by the individual. If experience is the justification for in-grade pay increases (and this is in accordance with pay related to productivity), then time in grade is a better measure of experience. However, the pay

---

[5] From the viewpoint of the Internal Revenue Service, quarters and subsistence allowances are non-taxable thereby imparting a tax advantage to servicemen. The tax advantage is the increment to basic pay that would have been required to yield the same "after tax" allowances for quarters and subsistence.

study group rejected this logical basis (time in grade) and recommended that longevity (total time in service irrespective of pay grade) be adopted as the basis for in-grade pay increases. The justification for the choice of longevity was that promotions are not always the results of merit but often reflect the availability of budgeted slots in the pay grade distribution for each Service. Put in another way, it is admitted that the existing promotion policies are highly imperfect thereby implying that time in grade is a poor measure of experience and productivity.[6] This is followed by an appeal to the doctrine that "two wrongs can sometimes make a right."

My recommendation would go to the heart of the problem; namely, review and rationalize the promotion policies. In passing, the Canadian Armed Services (an all-volunteer force) has adopted a pay system in which ingrade pay increases are tied to time in grade.

3. *Normal and Variable Re-enlistment Bonuses:* In Chapter 6, the report turns to a number of existing pay components which are categorized as non-salary compensation. It is stated that such compensation is only justified to (1) meet hard retention or manning requirements, (2) secure volunteers for special duties, or (3) compensate for arduous or dangerous duty. In line with the first two objectives, recommendations 21 and 23 respectively propose that the normal re-enlistment bonus be eliminated and that the variable re-enlistment bonus be continued. Without further specification, this pair of recommendations is consistent with the status quo since each re-enlistee could be awarded a variable re-enlistment bonus equal to what he could have received under the old system. I am in slight disagreement with the report since some re-enlistment bonus is, in my opinion, an efficient means of attracting men into the Armed Forces.

I believe that it is essential to recognize an important legal distinction between military and civilian employments. An enlisted man in his first two or three terms of service is *legally* committed to an obligated tour of duty. He must serve for a specified time period, and this contractual obligation is truly binding on the employee—the enlisted serviceman. In the civilian economy, labor contracts are rarely binding on the employee except in rare instances.[7] If a civilian worker is unhappy with his job, he can voluntarily quit even though he may have signed a five year contract; professors and schoolteachers often do this. The contract is binding on the employer, but not on the employee. In the light of this distinction, a soldier should, in my opinion, be awarded a bonus for his legal obligation to the Armed Services.

The report points to the fact that the proposed salary schedule involves a substantial pay increase for first-term enlisted men who elect to become members of the career force; confer Table 5 of this paper. Indeed, the entire career force will enjoy a 16 per cent increase in military compensation if the recommended pay schedule, Table 5.10, is adopted. Hence, the report argues that there is no need for a normal re-enlistment bonus. I wish, however, to raise the question, "Is the elimination of a normal re-enlistment bonus consistent with an efficient, economical pay system that can attract and retain a career force at least cost?". I cite an earlier finding of the report that enlisted men attach a high premium to current vs. future income. If one grants this fact, (namely, a recruit would prefer to receive $100 today rather than the promise of $120 a year from today), then a normal re-enlistment bonus coupled with lower military salaries could achieve the desired force structure at lower cost to the government.

Finally, one might question the desirability of the second and subsequent re-enlistments. It is somewhat demening to require that the enlisted man periodically renew his commitment to the Armed Forces. Why not adopt a system in which a soldier upon his first re-enlistment is regarded as a member of the career force until separation. The Services could still retain control over early separation, and the enlisted man is not compelled at four or six year intervals to reiterate his commitment to the Armed Services. I also agree with the variable re-enlistment bonus to retain men in the highly technical skills.

4. *The military estate program:* The imprecise language of Chapter 7 reflects the absence of any significant research in formulating recommendations for the military estate program. Given the higher proposed full parity salaries and the improvement in retention which it is anticipated to elicit, more men in the career force will receive retirement benefits. Yet, there is no calculation in the report to indicate whether the 6.5 per cent mandatory contribution to a vested retirement program will fully finance the actuarially expected stream of retirement benefits.

The report in Chapter 4 pointed to the fact that the present force structure had "too many" men with 15 or more years of service. The implication here is that for some servicemen, retirement at an earlier age (say after twelve years of service) is desirable. Under the existing military compensation system, an enlisted man who is separated after 12 years of service would receive a separation pay of roughly $5,300 on the basis of 1968 pay rates; this figure would be around $8,300 under the salary system. He would receive *no* retirement benefits because he has not completed twenty years of service. I presume that under the new salary system, this enlisted man would recapture his contributions to the vested retirement plan either in a lump sum or as an annuity. How will his annuity compare to the annuity received by a man with twenty years of service? There is no statement about revising the military estate program to permit retirement at an earlier date.

Some actuarial calculations must be carried out before one can evaluate the merits of the recommendations 27–30 of this chapter. Finally, the report implies that the "imputed value of retirement benefits" which is estimated for the entire force (even though only 37 per cent now realize benefits) is a bona-fide *cost* to the defense establishment. This is surely not the case since DOD pays benefits only to those reaching the retirement point of twenty years.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

To sum up, the report first recommends that a different and discriminatory standard should be adopted to evaluate the *fairness* and *equity* of non-career compensation for the first-term enlisted men. The report then proceeds to recommend the adoption of full parity military salaries for the career force including all first-term officers. If the existing pay system were continued, the career force would have received the regular military incomes [basic pay+quarters and subsistence allowances+tax advantage] shown in the middle lines of Table 5.10. The full parity salaries would produce an average pay increase of roughly 16 per cent. I have calculated these percentage increases in career compensation for the lower pay grades; these figures appear in Table 5.

If the proposed full parity salary system is adopted and applied *only* to the career force, the hidden tax of the draft (in spite of the arguments for the residual income standard set forth on page 14) will become painfully apparent. Consider two enlisted men in pay grade E4 with over 2 years of service, and performing the same military tasks in the Armed Forces. One may have elected to re-enlist thereby qualifying him for the full parity salary, while the other is still undecided. Even though both men have the identical rank, perform the same tasks, and experience identical living conditions, the first man would receive $465 per month while the second earns only $311. If $465 per month is the necessary sum to achieve fairness and equity for the career E4, why is $311 per month *fair* and *equitable* for the second man who is serving because of his draft obligation?

The profile of regular military incomes (tax equivalent income) clearly reveals the unfair treatment of first-term enlisted men. Table 6 presents estimates of annual tax equivalent incomes by years of service for pay rates as of 1 July 1968. The pay of enlisted men exhibits sharp discontinuities at the end of two years (the tour of duty for a draftee) and four years (the obligated tour for most Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps recruits). The pay of men with over four years of service has been regularly adjusted to encourage first-term re-enlistments. There is a myopia in this policy of suppressing pay in the first term (because the draft will assure enough recruits) and then offering sizeable bonuses and substantially higher pay to re-enlist. It is surely reasonable to suppose that there is an *exploitation effect* which operates to lower first-term re-enlistment rates. The recruit who observes that his pay is inordinately low because of the draft, may easily conclude that the Army is capable of wage exploitation. If upon completion of his obligated term of service, the Army offers him as much or even more income than he could earn in the civilian economy, the recruit may decide not to re-enlist because he had been exploited in the past and may fear future exploitation. It is extremely difficult to quantify the magnitude of this exploitation effect. One can, however, find several instances in which an employee has left a firm because he had been subjected to a discriminatory wage policy.

I strongly recommend that the salary system of compensation be extended to the *entire* force, and that the sharp discontinuities in the pay profile be eliminated. If these recommendations were adopted, the entry level pay of a new recruit to enlisted ranks would climb from a tax equivalent annual income of $2985 to $4800. The rise in entry level pay would not only eliminate the hidden tax of the draft, but would also encourage larger flows of true, non-draft-motivated volunteers who are far more likely to remain in the career force. The added budgetary cost of this pay system is only a reallocation from a hidden tax that is now placed on draftees and draft-motivated volunteers, to an explicit higher tax burden on all taxpayers.

---

[6] The reasoning of the pay study group on this issue of longevity vs. time in grade reveals another curious contradiction. Earlier, they strongly endorsed a salary system so that pay could be related to productivity. There, they argued that *pay grade* was a good indicator of productivity. Yet, in this part of the report, they state that existing promotion policies are not always related to merit and productivity. The "findings" of the report have a certain elusive quality, somewhat chameleon to suit the recommendation.

[7] Some exceptions to this rule arise when the particular employee is truly unique. Movie stars have been compelled to fulfill contracts because they were irreplaceable.

TABLE 1.—SUMMARY OF CONSUMER EXPENDITURES BY FAMILY TYPE, INCOME, AND AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD, 1960–61

	Estimated number of families (thousands)	Food	Housing–A	Housing–B	Clothing	Medical care
Urban families and single individuals under 25:						
1. Single	366	$669	$749	$505	$421	$105
2. Families	1,776	1,004	1,467	828	415	281
Urban families and single individuals under 25 by income class:[1]						
3. Less than 1.0	13	316	774	508	218	21
4. 1.0 to 2.0	190	530	674	453	243	96
5. 2.0 to 3.0	331	632	774	530	335	136
6. 3.0 to 4.0	481	845	1,170	731	365	219
7. 4.0 to 5.0	403	999	1,472	925	421	297
8. 5.0 to 6.0	386	1,160	1,678	973	466	305
9. 6.0 to 7.5	265	1,258	2,000	1,105	552	365
10. 7.5 to 10.0	62	1,482	2,107	1,250	695	472
11. 10.0 to 15.0	8	3,770	1,885	1,211	2,025	619
12. >15.0	3	782	2,599	1,616	390	148
13. All income classes	2,142	947	1,343	817	416	251
Urban families with oldest child over 18 years of age:						
14. Per family	3,836	1,959	2,010	1,243	1,013	486
15. Per capita[2]	3,836	466	481	296	241	116
All urban families and individuals:						
16. Average United States	40,132	1,311	1,589	992	558	355

[1] Urban families and single individuals with household head under 25 years of age were classified into 10 income groups on the basis of their income after taxes. Categories here are in thousands of dollars.

[2] The estimated 3,836,000 families in this category reported an average family size of 4.2 individuals of whom 1.3 were full-time earners. The typical family reported only 1 child under 18 years of age. The per capita figures of line 15 were obtained by dividing line 14 by the average family size of 4.2.

Source: "Consumer Expenditures and Income; Cross-Classification of Family Characteristics, Urban United States, 1960–61." Supplement 2—pt. A, to BLS Report 237–38 (July 1964); see especially tables 12A, 12B, 13A, and 14A.

TABLE 2.—BASIC EXPENDITURES AND INCOME AFTER TAXES, BY FAMILY TYPE AND INCOME

	Income after taxes	Basic-A	Basic-B	As percent of income	
				Basic-A	Basic-B
Urban families and single individuals under 25:					
1. Single	3,154	1,944	1,700	61.6	53.9
2. Families	4,528	3,167	2,528	69.9	55.8
Urban families and single individuals under 25 by income class:[1]					
3. <1.0	667	1,329	1,063	199.3	159.4
4. 1.0 to 2.0	1,586	1,543	1,323	97.3	83.4
5. 2.0 to 3.0	2,514	1,877	1,633	74.7	65.0
6. 3.0 to 4.0	3,529	2,599	2,160	73.7	61.2
7. 4.0 to 5.0	4,482	3,189	2,642	71.2	59.0
8. 5.0 to 6.0	5,412	3,609	2,904	66.7	53.7
9. 6.0 to 7.5	6,705	4,175	3,280	62.3	48.9
10. 7.5 to 10.0	8,213	4,756	3,899	57.9	47.5
11. 10.0 to 15.0	15,043	8,299	7,625	55.2	50.7
12. >15.0	18,640	3,919	2,936	21.0	15.8
13. All income classes	4,293	2,957	2,431	68.9	56.6
Urban families with oldest child over 18 years of age:					
14. Per family	9,455	5,478	4,701	57.9	49.7
15. Per capita[2]	2,251	1,304	1,119	57.9	49.7
All urban families and individuals:					
16. Average United States	5,906	3,813	3,216	64.6	54.5

Note: See table 1 for notes.

TABLE 3.—PER CAPITA CIVILIAN EXPENDITURES FOR 4 BASIC ITEMS IN 1967 PRICES (FOR INDIVIDUALS UNDER 25 YEARS OF AGE)

Item	Single individuals	Living with family	Average
1. Food	755	526	641
2a. Housing—A	827	531	680
2b. Housing—B	547	321	434
3. Clothing	468	268	368
4. Medical care	131	145	138
Basic—A	2,181	1,470	1,826
Basic—B	1,901	1,260	1,581

Source: Computed from lines 1 and 15 of tables 1 and 2. The per capita expenditures were inflated by the appropriate component of the Consumers Price Index as reported in the 1968 Economic Report of the President, table 45, p. 261. Each expenditure item was inflated by the ratio of the 1967 index to the average of the indexes for 1960 and 1961. The indexes and the ratios are shown below:

Component	1960	1961	1967	Ratio
Food	101.4	102.6	115.2	1.129
Housing	103.1	103.9	114.3	1.104
Rent	103.1	104.4	112.4	1.083
Apparel	102.2	103.0	114.0	1.111
Medical care	108.1	111.3	136.7	1.246

TABLE 4.—REVISED ESTIMATES OF RESIDUAL INCOME FOR CIVILIANS, 1966[1]

	Income before taxes	Alternative estimates of residual income				Military residual income[2]
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Minimum wage floor	3,328	984	1,074	971	1,216	...
High school graduates by age:						
18	3,756	1,100	1,202	1,303	1,548	...
19	4,111	1,198	1,309	1,583	1,828	1,202
20	4,465	1,296	1,417	1,862	2,107	1,522
21	4,820	1,393	1,524	2,141	2,386	1,985
22	5,175	1,471	1,611	2,371	2,616	2,403

[1] The incomes were taken from pp. 15 and 17 of the report. The 4 estimates of residual income correspond to—

(1) The original estimates presented in tables 2.1 and 2.3 of the report, see p. 15 and p. 17.

(2) Adjusted residual income after correcting for the erroneous treatment of social security taxes. It still assumes that the cost of basic items is 61.6 percent of income after taxes.

(3) Residual income—A assumes that the average 1967 cost of the basic items is $1,826 as shown in table 3 of this paper.

(4) Residual income—B assumes that the cost of the basic items is $1,581.

[2] Figures apply to total DOD and were taken from table 2.4, p. 18.

TABLE 5.—PERCENTAGE INCREMENTS OF FULL PARITY SALARIES OVER REGULAR COMPENSATION

Years of service	Pay grade					
	03	02	01	E6	E5	E4
0 to 1	...	25.8	24.7	...	...	...
1 to 2	...	29.9	28.6	...	...	...
2 to 3	16.2	18.8	23.4	...	18.9	49.8
3 to 4	14.6	7.0	8.0	...	17.8	47.0
4 to 6	9.7	7.6	11.1	8.0	16.9	17.3
6 to 8	9.3	8.9	14.2	7.7	14.0	16.1
8 to 10	9.6	12.0	17.3	7.2	13.2	18.4
10 to 12	8.3	15.1	...	5.6	12.4	20.6
12 to 14	7.1	...	...	5.4	11.7	20.6
14 to 16	8.0	...	...	5.2	12.5	20.6

Source: Computed from data in table 5.10, p. 95 of "Modernizing Military Pay." Figures represent the percentage increase resulting from the switch from tax equivalent regular military income (basic pay plus quarters and subsistence allowances plus tax advantage) to the proposed full parity military salaries.

TABLE 6.—TOTAL MILITARY INCOME BY YEARS OF SERVICE

[Total DOD enlisted ranks for pay rates as of July 1, 1968]

Years of service	Total military income		Basic pay		Basic pay as percent of total income
	Amount	Percent increase[1]	Amount	Percent increase[1]	
0 to 1	$2,985	...	$1,523	...	51.0
1 to 2	3,479	16.5	1,963	28.9	56.4
2 to 3	4,394	26.8	2,805	42.9	63.8
3 to 4	4,959	12.9	3,299	17.6	66.5
4 to 6	5,929	19.6	3,940	19.4	66.5
6 to 8	6,214	2.4	4,203	3.3	67.6
8 to 10	6,791	4.6	4,726	6.2	69.6
10 to 12	7,258	3.4	5,141	4.4	70.8
12 to 14	7,644	2.7	5,493	3.4	71.9
14 to 16	7,917	1.8	5,742	2.3	72.5
16 to 18	7,997	.5	5,822	.7	72.8
18 to 20	8,499	3.1	6,274	3.9	73.8
20 to 22	8,892	2.3	6,624	2.8	74.5
22 to 24	11,280	13.4	8,740	16.0	77.5
24 to 26	13,122	8.2	10,350	9.2	78.9
26 to 28	14,004	3.4	11,178	4.0	79.8
28 to 31	14,610	2.2	11,712	2.4	80.2
31 to 34	16,114	3.4	13,036	3.8	81.0
34 and over	16,164	.1	13,082	.1	80.9

[1] Figures represent the average annual percentage increases in pay.

ABSTRACT OF "MODERNIZING MILITARY PAY, A CRITIQUE"

The attached paper was written with two objectives in mind. It first summarizes those features of the report, "Modernizing Military Pay" which I felt to be important. It then proceeds to examine specific recommendations which I strongly feel are contrary to an equitable and efficient system of military compensation. This abstract enumerates the salient features of my criticisms.

1. The report concludes in Finding 1 that compensation principles and concepts must be separately evaluated for two parts of the force: (1) the non-career force defined as all first-term enlisted men who have not made a commitment to the career force, and (2) the career force defined as the remainder of the active duty forces including first-term officers. The report recommends the adoption of the *residual income* standard for

evaluating the fairness and equity of noncareer compensation, where residual income is defined as the income left after allowances for taxes and certain basic consumption items like food, housing, clothing, and medical care which are supplied in kind to many servicemen and to most first-term servicemen.

2. Three of the four reasons which are cited by the pay study group to justify this separate standard for first term enlisted men are found to be equally applicable to all men on their first tour of duty—officers and enlisted men. Acceptance of these three reasons logically implies that the same residual income standard should be adopted for evaluating the pay of first term officers.

3. The implication of the fourth reason for a separate standard is that because most first term enlisted men are single and young, their *needs* for income are somehow less than their older counterparts in the career force. This line of argument is, however, diametrically opposed to the pay philosophy espoused in Chapters 3 and 4 of this report in which it is argued that pay should be related to work performed and not based on such irrelevant "needs" criteria as the number of dependents.

4. Even if one accepts the *residual income* standard as the basis for evaluating the fairness and equity of first-term enlisted men's pay, the pay study group presents statistically invalid estimates of civilian residual incomes. A better approximation to a valid measure of civilian residual incomes is presented in column (4) of Table 4 in this paper. According to these estimates, basic pay after taxes must be raised by an average of 456 dollars per year to achieve parity with civilian residual incomes.

5. The key recommendation of the pay study group is to replace the existing system of military compensation by a system of full parity military salaries which are designed (1) to simplify the complexities of the existing system, (2) to provide a standard by which to compare military and civilian salaries, (3) to eliminate some inequities in the existing pay system, and (4) to lend credibility to military pay.

6. The "work level" standard is proposed in recommendation 12 as the appropriate basis for comparisons of military and civilian salaries. It is inferior in concept to the "cohort" standard but administratively simpler. It is my opinion that the pay study group in their quadrennial review of military pay should adopt the "cohort" standard as the benchmark for evaluating parity and use the "work level" standard for year-to-year adjustments in pay.

7. The lack of *credibility* in the existing military pay system is largely a myth. It is not pertinent to the reasons for switching to a salary system and should be largely ignored.

8. Recommendation 13 of the report proposes that in-grade pay increases be tied to longevity because present promotion policies are imperfect and do not always reflect merit or the quality of work performed. I would recommend that the preferable policy is to rationalize and perfect promotion policies and to adopt time in grade as the basis for in-grade pay increases.

9. Complete elimination of the normal re-enlistment bonus (recommendation 21) is *not* consistent with an efficient pay system designed to attract and retain qualified military personnel. In the light of the high time preference of most youths (who discount future income at very high discount rates) and the legal commitment associated with enlistment and re-enlistment in the active duty forces, the maintenance of some normal re-enlistment bonus (together with lower salaries) offers a more economical pay system for attracting and retaining qualified personnel.

10. I strongly recommend that the proposed system of full parity military salaries be adopted for *all* servicemen in the active duty forces—officers, career enlisted men, and first-term enlisted men. Failure to do so (meaning adoption of the two pay standards—residual income for first-term enlisted men and full parity salary for officers and career enlisted men) would lead to an embarrassing situation wherein men of the same rank, performing identical military tasks, and living in the same barracks could have vastly different pay. Consider for example, two men with over two years of service and in pay grade E4. If one re-enlists and becomes a member of the career force, his pay would climb from $311 per month to $465. The other man who may still be undecided will continue to draw the lower monthly pay of $311 even though he may be doing the same work, incurring identical risks, and suffering equally odious living accommodations as his colleague. Why is it that $311 per month is judged to be *fair and equitable* under the residual income standard, but under the full parity income standard, the E4 requires a monthly pay of $465 to achieve fairness and equity? The only explanation for the double standard is that the draft and the threat of being drafted assures adequate supplies of new recruits. Those who are drafted or who volunteer because of the threat of a draft must continue to bear the hidden tax of the draft if the double standard recommended by the pay study group is enacted into the next military pay bill.

Walter Y. Oi,
University of Rochester.

July 30, 1968.

ECONOMIC ANALYSIS SHOWS SST A POOR INVESTMENT

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the supersonic transport development program has been delayed because of the necessity for changes in its design—at least that is what the FAA says is the reason for the delay. But next year we will again be faced with the decision as to whether funds should be appropriated to continue SST development at taxpayer expense.

When we make that decision we would be wise to listen to the counsel of objective economic analysis. Such counsel was presented to the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee on August 1 by Dr. Laurence E. Lynn Jr., a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Economics and Resource Analysis.

Dr. Lynn demonstrated that by objective standards the SST represents a highly questionable financial undertaking for the Federal Government.

In his testimony, Dr. Lynn subjected the SST to rigorous financial analysis. And he came up with the conclusion that if the opportunity cost of funds is estimated at 5 percent, the SST program will lose a billion dollars by 1990 using Institute for Defense Analyses market projections.

Dr. Lynn was addressing himself in his appearance before the Subcommittee to the subject of discount rates for evaluating the return on investments in public programs.

Economists generally agree that the appropriate discount rate to use in evaluating public programs is the opportunity cost of capital in the private sector. In other words, the discount rate should reflect the rate of return that a given amount of resources employed by the Government could earn in the private sector.

There is wide agreement that the present opportunity cost of capital in the private sector is in the 7–10 percent range. When the Government uses a discount rate lower than the opportunity cost of capital in the private sector, there is a misallocation of resources from the private to the public sector, from a higher return use to a lower return use. This is exactly what we are doing in pouring money into the SST program.

Dr. Lynn's analysis shows that, using the overly optimistic FAA market projections, the SST program breaks even as far as the Government is concerned at a discount rate of 6.85 percent. Using the market projections of the Institute for Defense Analysis, which I regard as far more realistic than the FAA's projections, the breakeven rate is 1.33 percent. If a higher discount rate is used, the program will not break even.

Dr. Lynn's testimony makes it unmistakably clear that the SST project viewed strictly as a financial venture is a waste of public money.

I ask unanimous consent that the portion of Dr. Lynn's testimony dealing with the SST be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Supersonic Transport Program

The Department of Defense has in the past participated in economic analysis of the Supersonic Transport Program and has a continuing responsibility to review the program for potential military uses. The following table shows the potential profitability of the SST program purely as a financial investment: the present value of total program costs to the government is subtracted from the present value of the return flow of funds from the manufacturer. No attempt is made to pass on the merits of the non-financial aspects of the program. All SST costs prior to FY69 are considered "sunk", and the calculations assume a fresh decision can be made on whether to continue the program.

PRESENT VALUE OF SST INVESTMENT

[In millions of dollars]

	Discount rate		
	5 percent	10 percent	15 percent
SST market as calculated by Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA)	−344	−528	−579
SST market as calculated by Federal Aviation Administration (FAA)	218	−239	−421

Based on FAA estimated of the potential size of the SST market, the program breaks even as far as the government is concerned at a discount rate of 6.85 percent. If the opportunity cost of the program's funds is estimated at greater than 6.85 percent, the program will not break even. Using IDA estimates of market size (which assume that sonic boom restrictions will limit sales), the breakeven rate is 1.33 percent. If a higher discount rate is used the program will not break even.

The following table shows results from the same calculations but allowing interest charges to accumulate through 1990, rather than discounting program costs back to the present.

SST PROGRAM COSTS TO 1990 INCLUDING INTEREST CHARGES

[In millions of dollars]

	Interest rate		
	5 percent	10 percent	15 percent
IDA estimates of market size	−1,057	−4,370	−14,401
FAA estimates of market size	670	−2,143	−10,477

Thus, if the opportunity cost of funds is estimated at 5%, the program will lose a billion dollars by 1990 using IDA estimates of market size but will earn a return for the government of $670 million using FAA market estimates. At 10%, the program will cost the government $4.4 billion by IDA market estimates, $2.1 billion by FAA market estimates.[1]

STATEMENTS BY SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER IN SUPPORT OF THE NOMINATION OF GOV. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER AS REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement I made on July 2, 1968, in support of the nomination of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York for the Presidency of the United States by the Republican Convention.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement I made opening a press conference on July 24, 1968, in which Senators Javits, Morton, Brooke, Scott, and Pearson participated—all expressing specific reasons why Governor Rockefeller should be nominated for President by the Republican Convention.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a press notice issued by all the Senators who participated in the press conference.

I hope very much that the representatives of the Republican Party at Miami will consider the serious problems our country faces—the diverse views of the people of our country, the necessity for selecting as our party nominee the candidate who can best meet these problems and secure the cooperation and support of all elements of our people. These are the crucial needs of our time. The Republican Party must look to the future of our country.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Statement by Senator John Sherman Cooper in Support of the Nomination of Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller as Republican Candidate for President, July 2, 1968

The Republican organization and its delegates owe an obligation to its party membership and to the country not to foreclose an open convention at Miami. Its primary obligation is not to any candidate at this critical time, but to give the delegates and the party full opportunity to consider and to select the candidate who can manage the problems of our country—different and more difficult than ever before. It owes no debt to anyone; its duty is to the future of America.

First, everyone knows that the next Republican President must be able to deal effectively with the country's problems—both domestic and foreign. Governor Rockefeller is the only candidate of either party with executive experience. His proven success in New York—a State larger than most nations, and with problems paralleling those of the entire nation—is in the Eisenhower tradition marked by fiscal responsibility, progress and humaneness.

Abroad, Vietnam remains our chief concern, but other issues of foreign policy loom up. Governor Rockefeller is not locked in by old Vietnam policies of escalation, by rash statements or easy solutions. His wide experience in foreign affairs commands confidence and gives our country a greater assurance of judgment in the conduct of foreign policy.

A new and absolutely critical question arises in considering the selection of our nominee. Which candidate has the qualifications to assure the lawful and orderly processes of our country and at the same time to attract and hold the confidence and cooperation of the differing and sometimes alienated elements of our people? This quality of the next President requires firmness, understanding and the support and participation of all groups of our people.

I believe a majority of our party and a majority of the American people believe that Governor Rockefeller is best qualified for this task. We owe it to our party and all the American people to select as our nominee the candidate who can best govern and lead the country.

Statement by Senator John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, at Press Conference of Senators for Rockefeller S-207, the Capitol, July 24, 1968

The Senators who are here today are declared supporters of Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

We have called this meeting prior to the convening of the Republican National Convention to urge that the delegates to the Convention, our Republican leaders, and the broad membership of our Party continue to give the most thorough consideration to the qualifications of the candidates and their ability to manage the affairs of our country and to lead and bring together our people.

The people of the country are concerned—and properly so—with the critical problems—domestic and international—and with the divisions among our people, the latter a condition we have not known since the Civil War. The Republican candidate who has the recognized experience, qualification, and who can secure the acceptance of the various elements of our population will have the best chance of election and even of great importance for our country, the ability to lead it toward the solution of its problems and to effectively exercise his responsibilities as President. On this basis, we believe it evident that Governor Nelson Rockefeller has the best chance to be elected and is the best qualified to serve the country as President.

He has spoken on the issues—and alone on Vietnam—an issue which no candidate can avoid, and which our nominee must meet squarely in the coming campaign, if he is to be elected. As Governor of New York, he has dealt with problems paralleling the major problems of our country. He is the only candidate who has large administrative experience. He has the acceptance of all elements of the Republican Party and of the people of the country.

It is our view that at this critical time in our country, our Party organization, our leaders and the delegates to our Convention have an obligation to select as the Republican nominee the candidate who can best serve the future of America. We believe that it is Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

Senators for Rockefeller, Wednesday, July 24, 1968, S-207, The Capitol, 3:00 p.m.

Senator Edward W. Brooke, Mass., Senator John Sherman Cooper, Ky., Senator Jacob K. Javits, N.Y., Senator Thruston B. Morton, Ky., Senator James B. Pearson, Kans., Senator Hugh Scott, Pa.

We Senators who have called this press conference are all supporters of Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

We have called this conference for two reasons.

First, we are convinced that Nelson Rockefeller can win the Presidency as the candidate of our party. We are also convinced that he can—and will—win the nomination.

Second—and far more important—we are deeply convinced that Nelson Rockefeller is the only candidate of either party who can unite this divided and embittered country in a time of great danger.

Each of us has his own special field of interest; his own geographical and political point of view. Each of us will try to explain why, from his own point of view, the nomination and election of Nelson Rockefeller as the next President of the United States is a vital national need.

THE AVIATION CRISIS

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, the problems of air safety and congestion have once again been propelled into the forefront of public concern.

On this occasion the circumstances are somewhat different than in the past. Usually, such concern is voiced immediately following the tragic occurance of a major air disaster. Now, it takes place because our air traffic control system has been stretched to the limit, our major airports have become saturated, and the convenience of air transportation is rapidly disappearing because of inadequate air terminal facilities.

Under the present conditions it is most fortunate that we have not had a major air disaster. A great deal of tribute must be paid to the dedicated pilots and air traffic controllers who make this congested system work.

Last week, in an effort to rectify part of the problem, the Senate added funds to employ additional air traffic controllers. This was the second time in less than a year that the Senate felt compelled to provide the air traffic control operations of the Federal Aviation Administration with more money than originally requested.

While I am among the first to praise Federal agencies seeking to economize, I am frankly puzzled by the FAA's apparent failure to anticipate its manpower and facility needs in the area of air traffic control.

Obviously, the present crisis did not appear out of thin air. The warning flags of impending crisis have been flying for sometime, but apparently the FAA chose to ignore them. I believe it should have been possible for the FAA to foresee what was going to happen and thus have taken the steps necessary to avert the present crisis.

To imply that the crisis is primarily caused by a lack of funds would be an oversimplification. For example, it has recently come to light that needed air safety equipment at Baltimore's Friendship Airport has been sitting in crates, unused, for nearly two and a half years.

---

[1] If pre-1968 costs are included in these calculations, the government's cost is $6.5–$9.0 billion.

How, I ask, how, could an agency with an established reputation for efficient management permit such a situation to exist? Clearly, a public explanation is required and corrective action must be taken—not at the regular everyday pace, but working around the clock until the job is completed.

There are additional signs that the FAA is suffering from management problems. I believe it is no accident that the air traffic controllers are coming to the public and the Congress with their complaints and recommendations. It is apparent to me that there has been a serious breakdown in communication between the men on the front lines and the FAA's management. Controllers I have talked with inform me that their suggestions fall upon deaf ears; that promises of action were never implemented. Such reports have become too widespread to be ignored.

The situation is all the more critical in that it will take years to set the entire system straight—from top to bottom. And this task is all the more difficult because various segments of the aviation community are deeply divided as to how to proceed from where we are today.

Mr. President, it will take time to restore a sense of order and convenience to our air transportation system. The problems are too difficult to lend themselves to simple overnight solutions, but a start must be made. The system must be set right.

CONVENTIONS ALERTED TO PUBLIC DEMAND FOR GUN LAWS

Mr. **DODD**. Mr. President, I hope that as the national nominating conventions of the Democratic and Republican Parties sit to choose a candidate for President, and draw a party platform, they will not forget that the majority of the American people want strong firearms control laws.

Stronger firearms control laws should be a major plank in the domestic platforms of both parties if the people are to be served. Sane firearms laws should be uppermost in the minds and concerns of all legislators, Federal, State, and local, interested in reducing crime.

Our great political parties are seeking public support on the issues of our time. The public's wish on the matter of regulating firearms is clear.

Most of the public has consistently asked for the strongest kind of firearms control.

There is no real question of that.

I suggest, then, a plank in both party platforms calling for the immediate adoption by Congress of the kind of firearms regulations the public has so long sought.

And I suggest that when Congress reconvenes in September that the delay, the foot dragging, the open and outrageous attempts to compromise a strong and well-thought-out firearms law cease.

I suggest that a law be passed that serves the public interest, rather than the private interests.

Indeed, I plead with my colleagues to do the right thing and pass a law that will keep firearms out of the hands of those who should not have them.

It is not fair that the gun lobby wins every time.

Let us give the public a fair shake.

Let the 90th Congress pass the law we all know is needed.

As a reminder of this widespread support for strong firearms laws, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks a selection of editorials, by no means complete, reflecting public opinion from newspapers large and small, from rural and metropolitan areas and from every section of the Nation.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post-Intelligencer June 23, 1968]

TOWARD GUN CONTROL

There have been encouraging indications during the past week that Congress is about to enact important gun control legislation.

On Thursday, the House Judiciary Committee approved a bill which would place a strict ban on the mail order sale of rifles and shotguns. The full House is expected to vote on the measure this week. A companion bill in the Senate is scheduled to be acted upon by the Senate Judiciary Committee next Thursday.

The significant House action followed Wednesday's signing of an anti-crime bill by President Johnson. Among its provisions is a prohibition against the mail order sale of handguns. Thus, if Congress follows through this week with passage of the pending bills covering rifles and shotguns, all firearms purchases will be barred from the mails.

Still a possibility is legislation to require registration of all firearms and licensing of all gunowners.

Qualified persons who have legitimate reasons for wanting to own guns have nothing to fear from such legislation which would go a long way toward keeping firearms out of the hands of criminals and maniacs.

It is now up to Congress to move swiftly and surely toward passage of the pending bills. No one doubts that senators and congressmen will be strongly pressured, by such groups as the National Rifle Association, to kill or dilute gun control legislation. This pressure must be resisted, in face of the overwhelming lessons of tragedy and the fact that domestic firearms have caused the deaths of more Americans than all the wars America has fought.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union, June 21, 19668]

A START AGAINST CRIME

The omnibus crime control bill signed by President Johnson after days of hesitation falls well short of the mark in some instances and appears to overstep in others. This is the way with omnibus bills. They seldom make everybody happy, but it always seems a shame to sacrifice the good features unless the others are unthinkably bad.

The President took a particularly dim view of the measure's Title III, which permits police wiretapping and eavesdropping in the investigation of many types of crime. He had hoped to limit such practices to national security cases. But extending them to other categories of crime seems only in keeping with the need—if Massachusetts can be taken as an example. Most of what the authorities know about mob operations in this and neighboring states has not qualified as evidence because it has been learned by "bugging" techniques.

Title II of the bill runs smack into recent Supreme Court rulings in allowing confessions to be admitted as evidence if the court decides they were made voluntarily, regardless of whether the defendant was apprised of his rights to have an attorney and to remain silent. This and other Title II provisions will be fair game for appeals to the high court. Aside from what merit they may have, their inclusion in the bill is likely to generate confusion more than anything else.

Perhaps the most valuable parts of the crime bill are Titles I and IV. Title I authorizes federal grants of up to $100 million in the fiscal year starting July 1 and $300 million the following year to improve police forces and enforcement methods. One of the benefits of these grants should be a willingness, in turn, of cities and towns to pay their policemen more than most of them are getting. Title IV bans the interstate mailing of handguns and ammunition and bans the sale of handguns over the counter under certain circumstances.

Meanwhile, what ought to be done promptly, either as an amendment to the omnibus measure or as a separate bill, is to extend the ban on interstate mailing to rifles and shotguns, in addition to handguns. The President has proposed this, and the prospects are good for enactment by Congress.

[From the Albuquerque (N. Mex.) Journal, June 23, 1968]

TACTICAL BOO-BOO: CONTROL FIGHT BY RIFLE ASSOCIATION IS BACKFIRING

(By Bob Brown)

It is now obvious that the principal lobby against gun control legislation, the National Rifle Association, made a tactical boo-boo.

In opposing new laws down through the years, and in exaggerating potential effects of any such legislation, the opponents have virtually assured stronger controls than would have been acceptable in the past.

A few years ago advocates of controls would have settled for a couple of relatively harmless moves—strengthening laws to keep guns away from felons, mental defectives, juveniles and narcotics, addicts, and passage of a law requiring registration of all firearms.

But opponents would have none of this. They wanted no controls, other than those designed to keep handguns away from felons. They fought virtually all else, although NRA President Harold Glassen said the organization supported the mild bill signed by President Johnson halting the sale of hand guns by mail.

Generally a few basic arguments have been used to fight gun control laws, including the insistence that controls infringe upon an individual's constitutional right to bear arms.

Unfortunately, the anti-control people have quoted only the second half of the Second Amendment in the Bill of Rights and have ignored the first half. The full amendment reads: "A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." The courts have consistently interpreted this as referring to collective right, not an individual privilege.

Opponents have also argued that "guns don't kill people; people kill people." As guns are inanimate, this is true. But in the hands of people guns can be dangerous—either purposely or accidentally. The anticontrol group argues that if guns are to be registered then there should also be registration for knives, axes, clubs, beer bottles and other implements occasionally used to kill. Legislative bodies have recognized the danger of knives—as in New Mexico switch blade knives are outlawed. But records indicate that in areas where gun laws are weak—such as Mississippi, Texas and Florida, guns were used respectively, in 71, 69 and 66 per cent of all murders during the four years ending in 1965. Incidentally, in three states with strong laws—New Jersey, Massachusetts and New York—the comparable rate was 38, 35 and 32 per cent.

The NRA and its members have argued that any move toward gun control legislation means the eventual outlawing of guns. And they have insisted that when guns are outlawed, "only outlaws will have guns." They feel that if guns are ever taken away from the law-abiding citizen he will be left defenseless while the criminal will ignore the law and steal a gun—"as he usually does anyway." Actually, criminals have not needed to steal guns in many areas, including New Mexico. They have had no trouble purchasing them legitimately or through the mail. A 1965 study showed that nearly 25 per cent of 4069 mail-order guns shipped by two Chicago firms went to convicted criminals.

Some of our bigger mail-order firms—including Sears and Montgomery Ward—have stopped shipping guns but only legislation will stop this traffic by fly-by-night outfits.

There is nothing in the present batch of legislation designed to keep guns away from law-abiding adult citizens although criminologists wonder how good an idea it is for the average citizen to keep a pistol at his bedside for self-defense. Many fatal accidents occur through the use of "unloaded" guns; records indicate that two-thirds of criminal assaults and three-fourths of homicides result from quarrels among family or friends.

Actually it is this fear that the government will end all private ownership of firearms which underlies the NRA's opposition to registration of any weapons. The argument is that once local police were empowered to reject applicants for a permit to own a weapon, they would do so capriciously or on the basis of personal or political prejudice. In New Jersey, with a strong law, of 89,500 requests for firearm permits, 100 have been denied.

Another group opposes registration on the grounds invading Communists would merely have to get the lists from police to disarm the nation. In this nuclear age this contention does not seem valid.

At this time a considerably stronger gun control system seems likely from Congress. A House committee has approved—and a Senate group is expected to follow suit—a new bill to stretch the mail order ban of hand guns to cover rifles, shotguns and ammunition. The same measure limits over the counter sales to state residents who must be 18 years old to buy rifles and shotguns and ammunition, and 21 to purchase handguns. Also outlawed would be sales of weapons such as machineguns, mortars and anti-tank guns. Dealers would be required to keep sales records and the measure also prohibits purchase and transportation of firearms by felons, mental defectives, narcotic addicts.

Not in the bill, but still a possibility for inclusion, is a proposal that would require all privately owned guns to be registered and all gun owners licensed. The chief value of registration, along with ballistics test results which would be kept of all rifles and handguns, would be in tracing suspects in crimes.

Of course not even strong gun controls will stop crime or prevent all murders or accidents. But the statistics in this country and abroad show that regulation and registration markedly reduce the risks.

[From the Corsicana (Tex.) Sun, June 18, 1968]

GUN LAW IMPROVEMENT

The rising tide of violence in America, plus the shock of the second Kennedy assassination; seems to be breaking lobby-held logjam of stricter gun-control legislation.

Congress has passed a bill tightening the 1938 Federal Firearms Act, mainly by barring mail-order sales of pistols (as well as over-the-counter sales to state nonresidents). President Johnson has urged Congress to add rifles and shotguns to that regulation, a measure fought for seven years by the National Rifle Association, and popular pressure has begun to move the new bill.

The President further urged the states to tighten their own gun-control laws where they are inadequate. A movement is already under way to get stricter gun regulating legislation in Texas, as Gov. Connally unsuccessfully urged on the latest regular session.

Meanwhile, some gun manufacturers, distributors and retailers are voluntarily taking voluntary precautions in line with anticipated governmental restraints. And the influential American Bar Association is rising to offset the heretofore powerful pressure of the NRA-led anti-gun-control lobby.

All this makes sound sense. The NRA-espoused arguments against stricter gun-control laws are generally spurious.

Regulation and registration of gun sales and ownership will not seriously inconvenience sportsmen, collectors, or home protectors. Obtaining suitable guns for legitimate uses will not be impeded.

The constitutional right to "bear arms," originally intended to allow a "well-regulated militia," is a regulable right, as in the laws against concealed weapons and carrying loaded weapons on streets. And the fact that existing gun laws are unsatisfactorily enforced is no argument against better laws.

True, making it more difficult for the criminal, the irresponsible and the irrational to obtain and keep guns will not prevent crimes of violence, but it will help reduce them. Traffic laws do not prevent highway deaths, either, but who would repeal speed laws or abolish licensing of cars and drivers? As for other obtainable weapons for criminal violence, none is so dangerous and deadly as a gun.

Finally, comprehensive gun-control laws, especially registration, make it easier to detect, apprehend and convict in a criminal shooting. That has substantial deterrence value.

[From the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times, June 21, 1968]

GUNS THREATEN OUR SYSTEM: A LETTER FROM JACKSON YARBOROUGH

The most frantic and emotional argument put forth by the National Rifle Association and its adherents in opposing gun control legislation is the one which declares that such legislation is a prelude to a total disarming of the public, and is the first step toward tyranny in America. This argument is as unreasoned as it is emotional.

Its proponents are arguing that our Republic, our system of democratic government is so weak and uncertain that the only protection of the individual against governmental tyranny is a collective public armed to the teeth and ready to blast away when the first sign of tyranny appears. Presumably these individuals feel that the patriotism of the American people, and our constitutional processes, will be insufficient to deal with any threat of tyranny which may arise.

Presumably the "sheep" who support gun control legislation will be incapable of preventing governmental tyranny through normal constitutional means, so we will have to leave the job to those "real" patriots who will take up their guns and save us when tyranny threatens.

Those who oppose gun legislation constantly point to Nazi Germany to support their argument. They could not have made a worse choice. Mr. Hitler convinced the German people that it was safer to rely on the guns of his armed "patriots" than on laws to avert Communist tyranny. So they eschewed what faith they had in constitutional processes and chose to rely on Hitler's "patriots." They chose to rely on guns instead of laws.

In the last resort, the National Rifle Association evidently feels that we must rely on guns rather than constitutional law to preserve our form of government. And herein lies the danger inherent in the N.R.A. argument, for it is precisely when the people choose to rely, in the end, on guns instead of laws that tyranny is transformed from an unlikely possibility into a very real probability.

The N.R.A. argument presupposes that after two centuries our protection against governmental tyranny is not a Constitution founded upon law and the natural rights of man, but a Constitution founded upon an altar of rifles, pistols and shotguns.

It is founded in a belief that American constitutional government remains secure not because of the rule of law and reason, but because the American public has been permitted the unrestricted right to buy, sell and exchange firearms.

If the argument of the National Rifle Association is correct, then the greatest experiment in democratic government in history is a failure; it is a failure because the N.R.A. argument implies that there is such mistrust among Americans of our form of government, and the men we select to administer it, that we are unsafe from tyranny if even such a basic measure of any civilized democratic society as the registration of firearms is instituted.

Those who argue that gun control legislation is just another plot to weaken America would be well to remember one thing: disarming the public is a postscript of tyranny, not a prelude to it. Those tyrants who have seized governments in the 20th century have ridden into power on the backs of armed and organized segments of the public, paramilitary segments to whom firearms were freely available.

Gun registration will not produce tyranny, it is a means of preventing it; it will not take guns out of the hands of decent, honest people, but will prevent their sale to criminals and the mentally ill.

The greatest threat of tyranny in the United States—precisely because of our democratic heritage—lies in the anarchy which has come about because none are barred from free access to firearms: not even the demented, the addicts, or those who, advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government.

Any of these can buy firearms by mail with no questions asked. Any of these can buy firearms over the counter, even a bazooka, a mortar, or an anti-tank gun with no questions asked.

I am not fearful of gun registration, although I am a hunter and a sportsman; I am fearful when my neighbor who rails violently against numerous shadowy plots to take over the government is permitted, without question, to stockpile an arsenal in his basement.

What if a casual remark should one day lead him to believe that I am part of such a plot? Has he ever been institutionalized for mental illness? The gun seller has no way of knowing whether he has or not; under present laws, he has no reason to bother to find out.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Express, June 25, 1968]

CRIME RISE BLAMED UPON GUNS

San Antonio Police Chief George Bichsel Monday blamed the large increase in crime this year in San Antonio on guns, saying "there are too many guns. Guns are too accessible."

Bichsel said five-month crime figures compiled by local police show an even larger increase in crime than the 63.7 per cent shown in figures released in a FBI report comparing crime figures for the first three months of 1967 and 1968.

The FBI report showed a 20 per cent increase in crime in cities with 500,000 to one million population, compared with San Antonio's rate of 63.7 per cent.

In murder alone, San Antonio's rate for the first five months of 1968 is up 26.6 per cent over the number of murders committed in the same period in 1967, Bichsel said.

The FBI report indicated an 11.6 per cent increase in San Antonio's murder rate for the first three months of 1968. The national average for cities in San Antonio's population range in the same period was minus two percent.

Chief Bichsel blamed the high murder rate on guns, saying if they were less accessible the murder rate would be lower.

"There's nothing wrong with people having guns," he said, "we just want them to keep them at home."

Bichsel stated there were 38 murders committed in the first five months of 1968 as compared with 30 in the same period of 1967.

Bichsel added that 30 per cent of San Antonio murders happened in lounges or as a result of quarrels started in lounges. He pointed out that in other murders, drinking is often involved.

Commenting on gun legislation, Chief Bichsel said he would be in favor of a gun law prohibiting weapons being carried into places where alcoholic beverages are sold, such as the bill State Rep. Frank Lombardino is currently sponsoring.

Bichsel brought out that while he is not advocating citizens turn in guns to police, as they did in several cities following Sen. Robert Kennedy's assassination, they may do so.

Any gun turned into the police headquarters complaint desk would be eventually destroyed, he added.

Thursday, a student group asked the City Council to declare an amnesty period in which people could turn in their guns to police with no questions asked.

Bichsel said only one gun has been turned in so far, and that it was turned in to the city clerk by the students. He said it was in the police property office and would be destroyed.

The FBI report which prompted Bichsel's statement showed crime increases in San Antonio higher that national averages in all its categories, except robbery, which showed a 12.5 per cent increase for San Antonio and a 30 per cent increase in cities San Antonio's size.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) News, June 26, 1968]

CRIME'S STARK STATISTICS DEMAND EFFECTIVE ACTION

The statistics are overwhelming and the results are unacceptable in a civilized society: too many guns in the hands of too many people who use them against other people.

In San Antonio, where the rate of violent crimes tops the national average, some 30 per cent of slayings occurred in beer joints, Police Chief George Bichsel said. Easy access to guns is a major cause of many of these killings, he said.

Nationally, F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover cited the steady increase in criminal violence and called for local registration of firearms.

Capping a new drive to do something effective, President Johnson has asked for legislation that would require registration and licensing of firearms and for jail terms for violations. There would also be provision to attempt to keep guns out of the hands of unstable persons. Key to any legislation is enforcement, of course, and this includes realistic attitudes by judges and juries.

Hoover's endorsement of gun registration is a decisive bit of evidence on the side of Mr. Johnson's proposals. Hoover is probably the most-notable communist hunter in the country. The usual argument against registration—that it would provide communists with a ready-made list for firearms confiscation when they decide to take over the country—fails to persuade him. The argument lacks credibility.

It is ridiculous for Bexar County to tolerate as many slayings as many nations have. The age has passed when a man needs a pistol when he goes out with the boys on Saturday night. There is no basic abuse of civil rights in registering firearms.

[From the Parkersburg (W. Va.) Sentinel, June 28, 1968]

GUN CONTROLS NEEDED

The National Rifle Association continues to take the lead in fighting against strong gun-control laws. The Association has found it easy to whip sportsmen into a mild frenzy of opposition. So, when Congressmen say they are now receiving a flood of letters opposing gun-control laws, we have a right to suspect the Rifle Association of being the inspiration for those letters.

But there is no doubt of the need for the control of the sale and ownership of guns. Just last September J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation wrote:

"A firearm continues to be the instrument of death in virtually every murder of a law enforcement officer. Last year, 55 of 57 law enforcement victims killed in the line of duty died from gunshot wounds. These figures are in keeping with the trend since 1960 which reflects that firearms have been the murder weapons in 96 percent of the 335 police killings.

"There has been an increasing interest on the part of the public in this admittedly complex issue, I have publicly stated my view for many years that better control of firearms is not only desirable, but also necessary to public welfare. We have reached the point where the time for debate is past; the time for action is here.

"I think mail-order firearm purchases should be banned, interstate transportation of firearms controlled, and local registration of weapons required and enforced."

[From the Petersburg (Va.) Progress-Index, June 27, 1968]

WE LIVE TOO CLOSE TOGETHER

In spite of strong opposition by the National Rifle Association (NRA) indications are that Congress will soon pass a bill which will make possible some form of gun control.

There is no doubt that two assassinations have had their effect on the lawmakers, as well as the general public, but the consideration of the matter of gun control by Congress goes back several decades, and the present emphasis is not entirely owing to the assassinations. The characterization of the demand by many for a gun control law as hysteria is hardly justified. Sober thought will result in a realization of the need for such action on the part of Congress.

Reasons for gun control are numerous: murders in which guns were used, the many accidents caused by the careless handling of firearms by children and others lacking familiarity with deadly weapons, and, most important of all, the ease with which those who should not be allowed to have weapons can obtain them.

If no more is accomplished by the passage of a gun control law than making it impossible to purchase guns by mail order, that will be a step in the direction of safety. If the law goes further and imposes restrictions on buying firearms in person, that will be a second step.

The argument by the NRA that criminals will continue to obtain guns by various means while the law-abiding citizen may experience some difficulty in purchasing a gun for self-defense has some validity. On the other hand, the potential criminal may be prevented from purchasing dangerous weapons, an accomplishment much to be desired.

The reasoning that a gun law will not be obeyed might be applied to any law which may be passed now or in the future and consequently has little strength.

Requirements such as proof of good character before a gun purchase is allowed, registration of firearms and licensing the use of them may prove to be inconvenient and may cost the owner something, but the days of the Wild West are over. We live too close together today to allow indiscriminate and uncontrolled ownership and use of firearms.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star, June 26, 1968]

FIREARMS REGULATION IS INSPIRED BY DEEDS

This week the Senate juvenile delinquency subcommittee is holding hearings on bills to require the registration of firearms and tomorrow the Senate judiciary committee may act on a measure to prohibit mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns to individuals. President Johnson, in a special message, has asked Congress to move ahead with registration and to add licensing provisions as well.

The President has spoken on firearms control many times in the past. More than three years ago, in his first message to Congress on crime, he requested a strong law. Three years later, spurred by the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, Congress obliged with a grab-bag crime bill that almost incidentally put mild restrictions on the sales of pistols and revolvers.

Similar prohibitions on the sales of long guns would help. But increasingly, registration and licensing statutes are seen as effective means to slow the circulation of guns and to help keep them out of the wrong hands. Motor cars must be registered. Through that system the subdivisions of government have a good picture of the number of vehicles in use and where they are. At the same time, the drivers of vehicles must obtain a license to drive—whether he owns a dozen cars or one; whether he leases or rents. Persons who are too young cannot get a driver's license, nor can people who are physically unable to drive.

Surely it would be no great inconvenience for the owners of guns to register them and for people who want to shoot guns or own them for self-protection to obtain a license. The President has suggested that licensing might be accomplished by the states with a period of grace of several years before federal licensing became mandatory. We can see no reason to wait for the several years.

It is said by opponents of gun regulation that if Congress acts now it will be because of the fears aroused by the recent assassinations and that legislation ought not to be hasty. But none of the proposals for regulation is new. All have been around for a long time. Only when the public is alarmed over murder and assassination does Congress seem to find the inspiration to do anything.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Express, June 25, 1968]

SHOOTING SUBSIDY SHARPLY RESTRICTED

The Army has moved to give its gun-club support to those clubs whose members have their military service obligations ahead of them and to limit their guns to rifles.

The long-touted civilian marksmanship program has been largely a subsidized shooting club whose value is debatable. The worst feature is that it was an exclusive club, a quasi-official organization that held the rights to "surplus" Army guns and ammunition at taxpayer expense. The public was supposed to get the advantage of trained marksmen in time of national peril.

The place for the Army to train marksmen is in the Army. The Army will continue to help support shooting for youngsters in properly-certified clubs and for college clubs with proper affiliation. No pistols will be sold to the members and only excess rifles specifically designed for target shooting will be available.

Previously, the Army had withdrawn its support of the National Rifle Matches.

These are commendable changes.

[From the Parkersburg (W. Va.) News, June 28, 1968]

HARD LINE COULD CURB THE LAWLESS

Advocates of strict firearm control point to the shocking figures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's latest crime report as further evidence of the need for new and far reaching legislation.

The statistics are, indeed, disturbing. They record a 26 per cent increase in armed robberies during the first three months of this year over a corresponding period last year, and a 23 per cent rise in aggravated assault with a firearm. But they are only part of a very ugly picture. Serious crime as a whole—and the figures deal only with reported offenses—increased 17 per cent, with all population classifications—urban, suburban and rural—figuring in the upward spiral. Murder was up 16 per cent, forcible rape 19 per cent, robbery 24 per cent, burglary 15 per cent, automobile theft 17 per cent and larceny 19 per cent.

This newspaper is not among those who place great store by anti-gun legislation as a crime deterrent. It inclines to the belief that the several new legal approaches, already taken or proposed, represent an emotional rather than reasoned response to some recent tragic events. But for what good they may contain any or all of them probably are worth the inconvenience to which they would put many law abiding citizens. What we do believe the FBI report underscores is the need for a crackdown all along the line on law breakers of all kinds through the vigorous enforcement of the laws we already have on the books.

The time is long overdue for a maximum of hard nosed law enforcement, a minimum of rationalization of criminal conduct by those who seek to explain away misconduct as the product of environment, discrimination and police brutality.

[From the Beckley (W. Va.) Post-Herald, June 28, 1968]

FBI'S HOOVER SAID IT LAST YEAR

(By Emile J. Hodel)

Last Sept. 1 the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, John Edgar Hoover, made a statements in the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin which, if heeded, might have deterred the assassins of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Since the great debate on control of firearms and various proposed laws aimed at various degrees of control is going on apace, we feel it worth while to devote Top O' The Morning today to reprinting what Director Hoover had to say on Sept 1. It follows herewith.

"Each year, thousands of businessmen look up from their work into the menacing muzzle of a gun wielded by a trigger-happy robber. In recent months, murderous snipers have waged guerrilla warfare against law enforcement officers in our city streets. In 1963, our President was slain with a mail-order rifle. During the calendar year of 1966 alone, more citizens were killed or assaulted with guns in American streets and homes than were killed in battle during the entire Korean conflict.

"The use of firearms in crime is indeed a serious and major problem in our country today.

"A firearm continues to be the instrument of death in virtually every murder of a law enforcement officer. Last year, 55 of the 57 law enforcement victims killed in the line of duty died from gunshot wounds. These figures are in keeping with the trend since 1960 which reflects that firearms have been the murder weapons in 96 per cent of the 335 police killings.

"There has been an increasing interest on the part of the public in this admittedly complex issue. I have publicly stated my view for many years that better control of firearms is not only desirable, but also necessary to public welfare. We have reached the point where the time for debate is past; the time for action is here.

"I think mail-order firearm purchases should be banned, interstate transportation of firearms controlled, and local registration of weapons required and enforced.

"The primary thrust against this serious problem must be from the local level but federal assistance must strongly complement state gun legislation. While it is true a hardened criminal will obtain a gun regardless of statutes in force, most authorities agree that controls would make acquisition more difficult. With a large percentage of the murders in the United States occurring within the family or among acquaintances, the readily available lethal firearm, seven times more deadly than other murder weapons, becomes a major factor.

"Enforced controls at the local level provide the possibility of investigative leads in tracing stolen weapons and those used in crime. This possibility takes on added significance in view of the nationwide capabilities of the rapidly expanding FBI National Crime Information Center. Pertinent weapons information stored in this computer network is available to law enforcement throughout the country in a matter of seconds.

"Some states and jurisdictions have laws which allow courts to impose stiffer penalties for criminals who use firearms in the commission of felonies. A realistic application of these laws by the courts, plus the passage of similar legislation in areas where none now exists, together with mandatory prohibitions against suspended sentences in cases involving firearms, would certainly be a strong deterrent to those who contemplate using firearms for violence.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the easy accessibility of firearms is responsible for many killings, both impulse and premeditated. The statistics are grim and realistic. Strong measures must be taken, and promptly, to protect the public."

[From the New Brunswick (N.J.) Home News, June 27, 1968]

SO GUNS ARE OK?

Guns do not kill people; people kill people, the National Rifle Association has long contended in its argument against gun controls.

As a public service, we would like to reprint the first three paragraphs of a story appearing on the front page of Tuesday's Home News.

"FRANKLIN.—Three-year-old David Miller, son of Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe Miller of 27 Fuller St., shot himself in the chin yesterday with a loaded revolver left in a drawer in the home.

"He was rushed by his parents to Middlesex General Hospital in New Brunswick. The hospital reported this morning he was in good condition. The bullet was removed last night.

"The revolver, a .22 caliber, had been left fully loaded in a dresser drawer next to a bed on which the child was playing. Police said the weapon is owned by Sonny Depue, address unknown, who had left it there. . . ."

No further comment is necessary.

[From the Green Bay (Wis.) Press-Gazette, July 1, 1968]

WHO'S BEING HEARD FOR GUN CONTROLS?

Those citizens who believe that proper regulation of guns is going to be adopted by the Congress without their continued vocal and written support are just fooling themselves. They must face up to the fact that a vociferous, highly organized, demanding and extremely critical group being led directly or indirectly by the National Rifle Association will leave nothing undone to bring about defeat of gun controls above and beyond the minor ones contained in the anti-crime bill recently signed by the President.

It is no accident that the Senate Judiciary Committee last week voted to delay further consideration of weapons controls until next week. It is no accident that the tide of mail to congressmen is starting to turn against any further controls. It is no accident that the Congress, which had seemed ready after the assassination of Sen. Kennedy to move quickly to expand controls, has now slowed the pace on a measure to prohibit interstate mail order sales of all firearms and ammunition and to ban over-the-counter sales to nonresidents of a state. It is no accident that those who see in gun controls a usurpation of some fundamental and precious freedom are flooding the Press-Gazette with letters opposing controls while those who favor such controls are silent.

The critics of any gun controls repeat over and over again the arguments which have permitted the National Rifle Association to successfully stifle any, even reasonable, controls during the last several decades. The NRA theme is that gun regulation somehow violates individual and constitutional rights, that it will lead to a totalitarian state, that guns will be confiscated wholesale, that control is somehow tantamount to the first steps of Hitlerian regime, and that it will prevent hunters from their peaceful pursuits. These are scarce tactics at their worst. But they are effective in defeating legislation which, at worst, might cause some inconvenience and, at best, would eliminate what has become virtually no control whatsoever on firearms in the face of statistics showing the rising tide of homicides and other crimes with guns.

We believe gun control laws are necessary. We also believe that those who favor such controls don't stand a ghost of a chance to get such legislation adopted unless they make themselves heard by writing their congressmen demanding action so that controls would apply in all the states equally. The opposition to controls is making its voice heard. Who is hearing what the polls show are 70 percent of the citizens who favor gun controls?

[From the Stockton (Calif.) Record, June 21, 1968]

RULE OF REASON AGAINST GUNS

President Johnson signed the crime control bill with the weak indorsement that it contained more good than bad legislation. His signature is part of the price for future firearms control measures stronger than the bill's prohibition against the mail-order sale of handguns. Had he vetoed the bill, the current momentum in behalf of banning the interstate retailing of rifles and shotguns might have been lost in a congressional effort to override the veto.

Public sentiment in favor of stricter firearms measures is unquestionably in the ascendency. Responsively, the House Judiciary Committee has sent to the floor an extension of the mail-order provision applying to long guns, and the Senate Judiciary Committee is considering the same action.

The concept of registering firearms, almost unthinkable a month ago, has gained popularity, the polls show, since the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Several bills to this end are in Congress, there is continuing pressure in the California Legislature, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors has enacted a registration ordinance, and Sheriff Michael Canlis is encouraging voluntary registration.

The National Rifle Association by sheer weight of organized numbers has until now lobbied successfully against every gun control movement. This time conditions are different; the public outcry has not subsided in the face of the NRA campaign.

Much emotion has been generated on both

sides of the controversy. Gun buffs tend to talk hysterically about "taking our guns away," a distortion of all control efforts. Opposition to the generally liberal American attitude toward buying and possessing guns skyrocketed with the assassination, raising extravagant hopes for the preventive influence of controls. Other signs of violence in our society, reflected daily in crime reports, contribute to the public's outrage.

The fact is that some 20,000 Americans will be killed by gunfire this year, 6,000 of them murdered and the remainder by accident or suicide. All the nation's wars have killed fewer than 600,000 Americans, but 800,000 of us have died by gunfire in civilian life in this century.

The fact is that guns are much too easily obtained by criminals, mental incompetents, habitual drunkards, and children, and that J. Edgar Hoover has written that "Easy accessibility of firearms is a significant factor in murders . . ."

Also a fact is that gun controls will not quickly bring about a reduction in the wanton use of such weapons. But they will constitute an expression of public policy and opinions, and they will be a beginning of sensible restraint.

All is not emotion in the outcry against firearms that Congress, legislatures and local government are hearing. There is plenty of good reason, and reason should rule.

[From the Muskogee (Okla.) Phoenix, June 15, 1968]

A SENSIBLE COURSE ON GUN CONTROL

Gun control legislation is another one of those subjects it seems impossible to discuss dispassionately.

To some, loose gun control laws are solely responsible for, and stiff gun control laws are the only cure for, the problem of violence in America.

To others, restrictions over the purchase and ownership of guns is the first step toward disarming the American citizenry, which is the last step before the take-over of America by "them."

There would seem to be a middle position.

There would seem to be a solution somewhere between the absolutely free and unfettered sale of dangerous weapons and the confiscation of all that exist in the country. There would seem to be enough collective wisdom among the 535 members of the U.S. Congress to write a law which would protect the rights of law-abiding sportsmen and gun buffs while making it a bit more difficult for those who should not have guns to obtain guns.

Let it be granted immediately that laws mean little to the law-breaker. The man who needs a gun for an evil purpose will find a gun. But this no more argues against putting controls on guns than the high incidence of burglaries argues against putting locks on doors.

It is time to cease the weary refrain that "guns don't kill people; people kill people." Neither do automobiles kill people. Should we then do away with all controls over the ownership and operation of motor vehicles?

Forget the criminal. The fact is, guns may indeed kill people.

At least one psychological study has shown that, in tense emotional situations, such as an argument, the mere presence or accessibility of a weapon like a gun heightens aggressive feelings. The trigger, in a very real way, pulls the finger.

If a man under the influence of anger could not run down to the store and buy a gun at once, if he had to fill out an affidavit or go through a waiting period of a few days, lives might be saved.

If a mental defective or an underage youth could not send for a rifle through the mail, lives might be saved.

If a panicky homeowner had to go through a little red tape before buying a gun to defend his house against "them," lives might be saved.

Even if only one life could be saved because someone who might have bought a gun didn't bother because he didn't care to go through the legal rigamarole, and thereby an accident that might have happened didn't happen, surely the sportsmen of America would be willing to put up with one more annoying inconvenience in this crowded world where no one's "rights" extend very far any more without bumping up against somebody else's.

[From the Huntington (W.Va.) Herald-Dispatch, June 29, 1968]

GUN CONTROL LAW AT CROSSROADS

The Senate Judiciary Committee's decision to delay action on gun control bills raised the question of whether a militant minority can defeat urgently needed legislation by determined protests to members of Congress.

The omnibus crime bill containing a bar against purchasing pistols and revolvers through the mail passed the House of Representatives by a wide majority on the wave of public indignation over the assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

President Johnson said the gun provision was inadequate and asked for a prohibition against buying rifles and shotguns through the mail.

Later he urged legislation requiring the registration of guns and the licensing of users.

Meanwhile, the National Rifle Association told its million members that "The right of sportsmen in the United States to obtain, own and use firearms for proper lawful purposes is in the greatest jeopardy in the history of the country."

Alarmed by this charge and actuated by the pioneer spirit of freedom still strong in America, thousands of NRA members protested the proposed new legislation imposing tighter gun controls.

As a result, chances for approval of the bills at this session of Congress are sharply reduced.

The unfortunate development at a time of increasing crime calls for a clear and fair look at the problem.

First of all, opponents of the bill should realize that there is no intention in Congress or elsewhere to deprive sportsmen, gun fanciers or other responsible citizens of the right to own or lawfully use firearms.

The major purpose of proposed legislation is to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and other dangerous persons. The experience of states having strict gun control laws has already demonstrated that this would materially reduce crime.

Registration and licensing laws would also help in the investigation and solution of crimes. This was pointed out by Huntington Chief of Police G. H. Kleinknecht in connection with the effort to find the person who fatally shot a Kenova girl on the street here a week ago.

The urgent need of gun control legislation is further emphasized by the fact that the rifle with which President Kennedy was assassinated and the revolver with which a Dallas policeman was murdered were obtained by Lee Harvey Oswald through the mail.

A law requiring a license for the purchase of a gun should also have prevented escaped convict James Earl Ray from buying the rifle with which he is alleged to have killed Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Certainly these signal benefits far outweigh the slight inconvenience that gun control laws might cause.

But to get the benefits people who favor them are going to have to respond in far greater numbers than they have in the past by urging their senators and representatives to support the pending legislation.

[From the Mansfield (Ohio) News-Journal, June 24, 1968]

Congress recently passed a crime bill with an inadequate gun control provision. The House Judiciary Committee rejected a stronger gun control despite the public outcry for action.

But no matter what new legislation is proposed to register guns and license their owners, Congress will do nothing until and unless it is convinced that the people want such laws. We have fought for many years, without success, against the organized lobbies in Washington and their allies in the Congress.

I propose that each community in every hamlet and city in our country form a Citizens Committee for Proper Gun Control. Each Committee should advise its Representative and Senators in Washington that Congress should not adjourn this year until it passes proper gun control legislation.

[From the Springfield (Ohio) News, June 24, 1968]

NRA AMBUSHED

Whoops. Look who got bush-whacked for a change; the National Rifle Association, long-time and perhaps eternal foe of meaningful gun laws. The association traditionally has ridden shotgun for the interests of domestic arms-makers.

Now, however, five major manufacturers have bolted the industry's opposition to workable laws and have come out for the administration's proposed ban on interstate mail order sales of all guns. Chances are other manufacturers will tag along.

The NRA position is rapidly becoming isolated. There is apparent rising public demand for action. Already several congressmen who opposed gun laws in the past are rationalizing new positions.

There is no reason to believe the NRA won't fight to the last of its 900,000 members. Indeed, it is urging them to flood Capitol Hill with a-ginner mail. Clearly, however, the lobby is outnumbered and encircled. Gen. Custer, meet Sitting Bull.

[From the Florence (S.C.) News, June 24, 1968]

REGISTER EVERY FIREARM

Nothing short of the registration of every privately owned, commercially stocked and publicly assigned firearm in the United States can provide a gun control worthy of the name. To such a law must be attached drastic penalties for disobedience. If the Senate and the House of Representatives do not pass such legislation, they will be playing false with the safety of every man, woman and child in America and will be dishonoring the memory of those national leaders who, in recent years, have been brutally assassinated.

Notwithstanding reports that a wave of public sentiment is now increasing congressional willingness to pass strict legislation, we believe that only unremitting voter pressure can lead to any worthwhile remedial action. Congressional dislike of offending powerfully organized lobbies (in this case the National Rifle Association) is too well known to allow any complacency on this score.

We do not believe that the present administration bill now before Congress is enough. Primarily, it forbids the mail-order sale of rifles and shotguns. While this may be better than nothing, it is only barely so. What is absolutely required is a law requiring every last gun-owner and gun-buyer to register every old and new firearm. This would at least bring some measure of control over guns bought locally and not through the mail.

To this, as we mentioned above, must be attached severe penalties for the possession of any unregistered or incorrectly registered firearm. This law is necessary since it would place upon the gun-bearer or the gun-possessor the obligation of proving that he had come by the weapon lawfully. Failure to prove this would be prima facie evidence of quiet, subjecting one to the penalties which such a crime deserves.

For years, there has been an almost unanimous demand on the part of law enforcement officials, from the Federal Bureau of Investigation chief, J. Edgar Hoover, on down, that the gun traffic be brought under control. It is a national disgrace that only a series of assassinations has been able to move Congress to the point where it was willing to bother with firearm legislation.

The ridiculousness of the opposition to strict controls can be seen from the statements of Harold W. Glassen, the rifle association's president. He termed efforts to control guns childish and nonsensical, and then went on to say that Americans were being deceived on this issue in the same way that the Nazis deceived the German people.

If this is the level of the association's thinking, we cannot think of a better reason for disregarding its views.—*The Christian Science Monitor.*

[From the Athens (Ohio) Messenger, June 23, 1968]

Gun Legislation Utopia

The chance of effective legislation to halt the acquisition of guns runs against the cherished American tradition defined by Article 2 of the Bill of Rights, which states: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

The 900,000-member National Rifle Association, fighting rising public pressure for stricter gun controls, depends on this section to beat any effective legislation. Some day, that right may be attacked on the ground that it is extended to people who form the militia, not to every individual citizen.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, asked for his idea of ultimate legislation in this field, said that registration of guns would be utopia from a law enforcement viewpoint.

"You have to get a license for your dog," Hoover pointed out. "You have to get a license to drive your car. You have to get a license to go into various business ventures. I see no great problem to the individual in requiring all guns to be registered, if the owner has nothing to hide and if he is a law-abiding citizen."

The rifle association opposes registration as interfering with the constitutional right of sportsmen. More germane is the fear of being helplessly unarmed against criminals, or singled out for attention should a dictator come to power. However, no legitimate sportsman has any reason to fear registration. It is the hood and the triggerman who would not admit ownership of a lethal weapon for the tool of his trade. He could be isolated through registration and eventually dealt with. The huge annual casualty list by firearms in this country cries for a method of reducing the death toll, and of stopping illegal shipments here of firearms from abroad.

The mounting public outcry for stricter gun control laws moved the leading sports gun manufacturers of the country to favor a law that would ban the interstate mail order sales of rifles and shotguns.

This should be the breakthrough that will overcome opposition to this curb and make strict legislation possible. The public concern, which has been growing since the assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, also has made President Johnson confident that a uniform gun control law can and should be passed by the 50 states.

The public response has been extraordinary. Only a month ago, Congress refused to approve banning rifles and shotguns from interstate mails when it approved a law banning hand guns from sale through the mails. The Kennedy tragedy has changed this.

[From the Racine Journal-Times (Wis.), July 2, 1968]

Cliches Threadbare, but Still Used

How thoroughly the National Rifle Assn.—the gun lobby—has done its job in indoctrinating Americans against effective gun control was illustrated in some of the views expressed in interviews published in last week's Journal-Times Sunday Bulletin.

The quotations were replete with the cliches of NRA propaganda. In one way or another, all the NRA's old saws were repeated: It is people, not guns, who commit crimes; gun control would "harass" citizens but would not affect criminals; such laws threaten to "take away" or confiscate guns; the law would "penalize" sportsmen and gun collectors.

Every one of these cliches has long since been exploded. They are based on either downright untruths or half-truths which have been patiently drummed into the public and law-makers by years of NRA propaganda.

Ralph McGill recently wrote, "The cliche statement that guns don't kill but that people do is a specious one, unworthy of serious acceptance."

Of course it is. And, of course, people kill other people—and the killers do so because they are psychotic, or enraged, or jealous, or drunk. But guns are very handy to them, whoever and whatever they are; guns are available, to almost anyone. We cannot prove a negative; we cannot prove that a specific murder would not have taken place if the gun was not available. But we do not believe that the men who killed John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King could have thrown an ax that far.

How citizens would be harassed by having to register or license a gun doesn't come clear. A hunter gets his hunting license, gets into this licensed car with his licensed dog and goes hunting, perhaps on a licensed preserve, with an unlicensed gun. If it was for the greater public good, how much more would it inconvenience him to have his gun licensed, too?

The idea that the proposed legislation would "take away" or in some manner confiscate guns is made up out of whole cloth. There is absolutely nothing in any present or proposed legislation which would permit any agency of government to take guns away from anyone. Your automobile and even your business may be licensed; no governmental agency can seize it for that reason.

The hard facts on the availability of guns and crime in our own community are contained in the Police Department analysis quoted in last Sunday's story. In the past 3½ years 70 per cent of the murders in the community have been committed with firearms. Some of those murders may have been committed in other ways—but not all of them. The guns were there. They were handy at the wrong time. And they were used for the wrong purposes.

Legislation cannot control the passions that cause violent crimes. But it can make the most commonly used weapon less available, and thus make it less likely that the crimes will be committed.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, June 26, 1968]

President Johnson and Gun Controls

President Johnson, who three weeks ago called upon Congress "in the name of sanity . . . in the name of safety and in the name of an aroused citizenship to give America the gun-control law that American citizens need," has now put his name behind the kind of law his words described. This means a law covering registration of all firearms and licensing of those who use them. We commend the President.

Mr. Johnson's strong statement Monday reflects what appears to be a growing determination among the nation's previously-silent majority to achieve strong controls. This new national mood is apparent in Minneapolis, where a majority of aldermen now favor some kind of gun-control legislation. Donald Risk, leader of the council's Democratic minority and possible future mayoral candidate, is the latest alderman to favor a requirement of permits for carrying handguns in the city.

Elsewhere, former astronaut John Glenn has been named the leader of a nationwide campaign to demonstrate public support for registration and licensing through letters, telegrams, etc., to congressmen. Among those supporting the campaign are Gov. Rockefeller and Vice-President Humphrey. We regret that Sen. McCarthy does not favor acting on gun legislation at this time, although favoring stronger controls. The gun lobby uses delays to defeat legislation.

In addition to a letter-writing campaign now, there is a need for voters to keep the pressure on their elected officials by making it clear that the issue of gun legislation will be an important factor in determining how voters make their choices in coming elections. The once-silent majority favoring controls—three out of four voters or more in Gallup Polls over the years—must not lapse into apathy again.

There must be federal controls over the interstate sales of all guns, not just handguns, as legislated this month. There should be registration of all firearms at either the federal or state levels, and there should be licensing of all users, preferably at the state level but conforming to federally established minimum standards. There should be controls where needed at local levels, such as permits to carry pistols in Minneapolis.

President Johnson said: "Registration and licensing have long been an accepted part of daily life in America. Automobiles, boats, even dogs and bicycles in many communities, are commonly registered. Our citizens must get licenses to fish, to hunt and to drive. Certainly no less should be required for the possession of lethal weapons that have caused so much horror and heartbreak in this country. Surely the slight inconvenience for the few is minimal, when measured against protection for all."

We agree with the President.

[From the Green Bay (Wis.) Press-Gazette, July 2, 1968]

The Record of Other Countries: Tough Gun Laws Cut Homicides

(Note.—The following article by Lee Dirks is reprinted with permission from The National Observer.)

Tough gun-control laws reduce crime rate and the number of homicides in a society: True or false?

The question has long been posed; the answer, at least in America, still is in hot dispute, largely because the evidence seems to be inconclusive or, in the minds of some, mostly irrelevant. There's no paucity of facts and figures, however, and the assassination of Senator Kennedy compels a fresh look at the conclusions they point to.

Throughout Sirhan Sirhan's native Jordan, for instance, persons purchasing or possessing firearms risk severe punishment unless they receive permission from the authorities. Even the Bedouins, the desert nomads who traditionaly have carried weapons, must register them with a special desert police force.

Jordan's stringent firearms laws don't eliminate violence by gunfire, nor do they prevent some guns from circulating illegally. But they apparently do help keep crime rates down. In 1963, the year President Kennedy was assassinated, 2.25 of every 100,000 Jordanians were murdered, of whom a much smaller percentage died of bullet wounds. In the United States in the same year, 2.7 of every 100,000 Americans were murdered by firearms alone.

CONTRAST JORDAN AND JAPAN

But Jordan is not an industrialized, prosperous nation, those who deny the effectiveness of firearms legislation might argue, and besides, statistics from Jordan cannot really be trusted.

Then take Japan, an industrialized, densely populated nation with urban problems not unlike those of the United States. Japan has perhaps the most stringent firearms laws of any nation in the Free World, and crimes of violence are relatively low.

With rare exceptions, only police officers can carry pistols in Japan. Of the more than 100,000,000 Japanese, fewer than 100 have licenses permitting them to possess handguns; most of these are competitors in international shooting matches. Japan is a land of hunters, from the members of the imperial family who go duck hunting with nets to the sophisticated sportsmen who hunt game with the latest rifles, and some 500,000 rifles and shotguns are known to exist there. But anyone who is under 18, mentally deranged, without a fixed address, or potentially dangerous in the judgment of the authorities cannot get a gun permit. Even persons who pass these qualifications must take three hours of instruction and pass a written exam before they can receive a hunting license.

In 1966, firearms were present in only 99 crimes of all types—murders, rapes, assaults, robberies—in Japan. In the United States, which has twice as many people as Japan, firearms were used in more than 50 times that number of murders alone in 1966. The rate of murders in Japan runs about one-third that in the United States.

ACCIDENTAL DEATHS FEWER

Whether because of stringent gun-control laws or other reasons, the rate of accidental deaths involving firearms is sharply lower in Japan and every other large country than in the United States. In contrast to Japan's 500,000 firearms, some 50,000,000 to 200,000,000 firearms are estimated to exist in the United States, according to Senate testimony last year; the estimates vary so widely because of the general absence of registration requirements. For every 1,000 Americans, 1.3 die every year in gun accidents; in Japan the rate is .09.

But Japan is an Oriental land with a long tradition of firearms controls, skeptics of legislation might say, and besides, Japan has a heritage of rule by a strong central government that at times has trampled on the rights of individuals.

Then take Britain, defender of individual rights over the centuries and progenitor of the American system of law. Weapons laws in England date from the Statute of Northumberland of 1328, and the possession of firearms has been controlled by licensing since the Gun License Act of 1870.

No one under 14 is permitted to buy or possess any kind of gun in Great Britain. Almost all handgun permits issued authorize use only on pistol ranges. Genuine sportsmen can get licenses for the use of shotguns with little difficulty, however, and some 4,500 shooting clubs flourish in the British Isles.

In Britain, the homicide rate per 100,000 persons runs one-eighth the rate in the United States, the rate for robbery one-tenth the U.S. rate, and the rate for aggravated assault one-seventeenth. When 5,126 Americans were being murdered by firearms in 1963, 24 Britons were dying by the same means.

BRITISH ALSO BREAK LAWS

Not that Britons are more law-abiding than Americans; the larceny rate there runs three times the U.S. larceny rate. When a person uses a firearm in a homicide in Britain, however, he can be assured of headline treatment; the murder of three policemen in London not long ago received world-wide attention and incidentally resulted in a six-year prison sentence for illegal possession of firearms for the man who four months before the murder had sold the pistols to the murderers. Except for riot deaths and an occasional sensational murder, the more than 100 murders of policemen in the United States (more than 90 per cent by firearms) go largely unnoticed.

But Britain has no frontier tradition, and besides, British law has no equivalent to the Second Amendment's right to bear arms . . . (Question: Does the United States today have the "well-regulated militia . . . necessary to the security of a free State" upon which the Second Amendment predicates "the right of the people to keep and bear arms?")

Then take Hawaii, covered by the Second Amendment yet a state that requires a permit to purchase a handgun and requiring that handgun sales be reported to the police. Hawaii's rate for murder and non-negligent manslaughter by every means in 1966, the latest year for which figures are available, was 2.9 per 100,000 persons. Alaska, which became a state at about the same time as Hawaii but has far less stringent firearms requirement, had a rate of 12.9, more than four times Hawaii's.

HAWAII HOMICIDE RATE LOW

Urban conditions apparently have little effect on Hawaii's low standing among the states in homicides. Honolulu had fewer homicides (12) in 1966 than any of the four U.S. cities hovering closest to it in population. Miami recorded 53 homicides, Norfolk 20, Akron 17, and Omaha 13.

But Hawaii is not part of the continental United States, and besides, it's too small to be considered for an accurate sample of the effectiveness of firearms laws.

Then take New York, the mainland state with the most stringent gun controls. New York's Sullivan Law requires citizens to obtain a license to possess handguns even in their homes or places of business.

New York's homicide rate ranks among the lowest in the nation despite the state's dense population; at 4.8 per 100,000 citizens, it's less than half the rate of Alaska. The New York City rate is similarly low—half that of Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland, and one-third the rate of Houston. In Texas, as Frederick J. Ludwig, chief assistant district attorney of Queens, put it last year in testimony before the Senate: "To violate the weapons laws . . . the defendant must (1) carry concealed (2) away from his home (3) a pistol or revolver, (4) have been convicted of a felony (5) involving a crime of violence, and (6) the particular act of violence must have been committed, not with any weapon, but a firearm."

But New York City is not Houston, and besides . . .

COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION ACT

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, on July 24, Senators HARRIS, PERCY, JAVITS, and myself, along with a broad bipartisan group of 29 other Senators, introduced the Community Self-Determination Act of 1968, a bold new program to help poor communities lift themselves economically and socially. The bill would establish a program of Community Development Corporations, to be organized and wholly owned by members of the community—both urban and rural. The corporations would operate business enterprises and utilize profits for daycare, education, job training, and other social services.

In order to familiarize Senators with the concepts behind the community corporations and explain how these programs might work, I shall place in the Record several articles which I think are very informative: First, an article entitled "Are Community Corporations the Answer," by Gar Alperovitz, a former member of my staff who worked with members of the Congress of Racial Equality and residents at the Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard in developing with legislation; an article entitled "The Southern Roots of Urban Crisis," by Roger Bearwood, from the August issue of Fortune; an editorial from the New York Times, July 29, entitled "The Energies of the Slums"; and several articles which were published recently in the Boston Globe.

I ask unanimous consent that these pieces be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From Boston, June 1968]

ARE COMMUNITY CORPORATIONS THE ANSWER?

(By Gar Alperovitz)

There is one thing about which urban experts, responsible journalists, and anxious politicians tend to agree: solutions to urban decay and civil unrest will require that this country spend billions of dollars over the next few years.

The ironic thing is that some people still talk as if there were a possibility that large sums of money might, in fact, be forthcoming from Congress. Some assume that the war in Vietnam is the only roadblock. But a more realistic appraisal is that the war will not end soon and that poverty funds, meager as they now are, will continue to be cut back. In exchange for a tax bill, for example, the Congress recently demanded a $6 billion slash in expenditures.

A hard look at the political complexion of the leaders of Congress would also cast serious doubt on the notion that the gentlemen who control appropriations are likely to approve poverty fund expansion, war or not.

The simple truth is that under our present welfare and anti-poverty programs, the poor are dependent on the willingness of the middle class to support them—suburban Congressmen are continually asked to tax their *own* constituencies. Not surprisingly, when good will pales (as it has in the wake of rebellion and violence), welfare dries up.

There cannot be even marginal security for the poor as long as such a system prevails.

What's more, even were it secure, welfare is still a bad system. Not only the taxpayer recognizes this; men and women on welfare don't like it either.

Poor men, black or white, jammed into urban ghettos or abandoned in rural hollows don't want charity—even government charity. Welfare checks and food stamps do violence to a man, strip him of dignity, and breed in him a hatred of the total system. He goes about his daily life with nothing new or hopeful on the horizon, resenting handouts, resenting the overbearing institutions of our society, frustrated, alienated, angry.

The situation is tense. We wait for the nevt crisis while City Hall stumbles along with traditional rhetoric and piecemeal promises.

Quite obviously, we need a new approach. For one thing, we need a program for the poor which is not dependent on the failing largesse of Congress. But more fundamentally, we need a program which will foster economic development in the ghetto itself—which will offer jobs and dignity instead of handouts.

So much is common sense—and has been recognized by many. But there can be no economic development in the ghetto without stability.

Any realistic program for economic development must take into account the disorder, alienation, turmoil and despair that is the central fact of ghetto life today. Economic development through jobs and outside business investment is simply not sufficient; what is needed is *community* development, for stability can come about only through the responsible participation of community people in their own affairs.

But how is this participation to be achieved? Black people in the ghetto argue that, in general, democratically based community control is the only way to create respected, indigenous leadership which truly represents the community and which can sustain order. The demand for control sounds radical and revolutionary to some; but, stripped of its rhetoric it is quite simply one of the bases of community life; a community can never control itself until it is responsible for its own affairs.

Shrewd politicians are now beginning to understand that community control can also be sensible administrative practice. In fact, it can solve one of a mayor's biggest headaches; which among the many groups, projects, community leaders and would-be leaders should he support? If the community is in control, it can decide for itself—through the ballot box—who are its leaders and what are its needs.

This concept has been tested in practice. The best example is in Columbus, Ohio. There, a humane and intelligent Lutheran minister, Rev. Leopold Bernhard, worked to set up a "Neighborhood Corporation" in the Columbus ghetto with the help of the Washington writer Milton Kotler.

The Corporation is, in fact, little more than a simple legal line drawn around a neighborhood of 8,000 people. (Any good lawyer can draw up such an institution in a matter of hours.) All the stockholders live in this one geographic area. Anyone in the neighborhood can become a member in the Corporation simply by signing up. And, most important, the Corporation is controlled by the neighborhood on a one man, one vote basis.

The Columbus Office of Economic Opportunity and others working to fight poverty transfer funds directly to the Corporation to be used for social services—day care centers, job training, teen centers—as the community deems best for its *own* self-improvement.

Of course, mistakes are made—as they are in any organization (including the mayor's office). But in Columbus the Corporation must face the consequences of its mistakes in the open arena of neighborhood politics. There are regular neighborhood meetings and Corporation elections. And there are plenty of community groups and leaders to keep an eye on each other—just as in any other political institution.

The Columbus example has been tried in dozens of other communities—including New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant, in a project sponsored by Senator Robert Kennedy.

The Marshall Plan for European Reconstruction worked according to the same principle. Instead of trying to decide from Washington how to allocate funds, General Marshall told Europeans to get together and come up with their own plans.

In fact, local autonomy and private, decentralized decision-making—the antithesis of big government—are among the most traditional of American values. (People in Boston may recall that in the nineteenth century Roxbury was an independent town.)

The Community Corporation recalls the spirit of the New England town meeting—the people closest to a problem are responsible for solving it; local leadership is recognized and in control.

The strength of the idea is the old truth that the only way to achieve self-respect is to be responsible for one's life; its special value for us today is that it could provide the framework in which the energy of social protest can be channelled into constructive activity for community development.

But community control of *outside* resources—however great its value for stability—does not by itself solve our first problem of finding a source of funds for the transformation of the ghetto, besides a reluctant Congress.

Those who recognize that economic development is a good idea may, with a little imagination, also see that funds for community social services might be derived from the community itself. If the Community Corporation were not merely a conduit for outside funds—but instead were also a vigorous economic enterprise which purchased businesses—profits could be plowed back into the community for social services. We are talking about community control of economic development, in which a deprived community would provide its own anti-poverty funds and manage its own anti-poverty programs.

How can this come about? One result of the recent riots is that white businessmen in the ghetto are becoming more and more interested in selling their stores and factories. Loans are available, from insurance companies and from banks, which could be used to help the community buy these businesses at fair market value. Given the present business climate (and new government incentive programs) they should be relatively easy to arrange.

Ordinarily, and under Mayor White's recent proposals, a few enterprising black businessmen would buy these businesses; but there is no reason why a corporation representing the community could not do so—and use the profits for social services for thousands of ghetto residents.

The New York based National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO), a nonprofit corporation established by neurosurgeon Thomas W. Matthew, owns and operates a broad spectrum of highly complex enterprises. The corporation employs more than 600 people, has an annual payroll of over one million dollars, and has more than three million dollars in assets.

NEGRO businesses include the Interfaith Hospital in Queens, New York, a general hospital with 140 beds and potential to expand to 210;

The Domco Textile Co., which makes most of the uniforms worn by NEGRO employees, boutique clothes for singer Miriam Makeba's Caribbean shops, and lingerie sold in New York department stores;

The Domco Chemical Co., in Jamaica, Long Island;

A paint manufacturing plant;

Two 100-family apartment buildings in the Bronx, which were rehabilitated by NEGRO's Spartacus Co.;

And finally, two municipal bus lines, one operating 35 buses, in Watts, Los Angeles; another operating 30 vehicles in Harlem and Jamaica, Long Island.

NEGRO enterprises are financed by the sale of Economic Liberty Bonds, offered in denominations ranging from 25 cents to $10,000. The bonds are sold on the streets, by mail, and through payroll deductions. The first bond program in 1965 raised $400,000, all but $5,000 of which has been repaid.

Dr. Matthew is dedicated to the principle of Negro self-help; he turns down all offers of grants from the government and from foundations. "If they want to give us a million dollars," says Dr. Matthew, "let them buy a million dollars of our bonds."

In Boston, EG&G, Inc., a Bedford-based manufacturer of precision instruments, provides another example of new business in the ghetto. EG&G purchased the century-old E. Van Noorden Company in Roxbury, incorporated a new subsidiary, EG&G Roxbury, Inc., and embarked on a program to train neighborhood people to take over the operation and management of the new enterprise. The plan also offers employees equity in the company; over the next 20 years EG&G Roxbury will sell 35 per cent of its stock to neighborhood employees. (Another 20 per cent of the shares will be offered to the public, so it is conceivable that the Roxbury community could control the company at the end of the 20 year period.)

EG&G's training costs are partly offset by a contract from the Department of Labor; and management expects to be operating a profit-making business in little more than normal start-up time.

Avco Corporation has a somewhat similar program in Roxbury, although it does not include a plan for employees' equity. Last year, Avco set up a printing plant in Roxbury to provide jobs and training to Negroes. 137 people are presently employed as trainees—including management trainees. Avco expects this number to reach 232, and plans eventually to withdraw all outside training and supervisory personnel presently on loan from other Avco plants in the area.

And this spring, specialists from Avco-Roxbury joined in the formation of a new urban systems department to help other companies train hard-core unemployed through a new government-business jobs program.

The examples above all show the relevance of modern private enterprise to the problems of the ghetto. But they fail in two major respects: first, the profits from the industry benefit only a few shareholders (black and white); second, they provide only jobs—they do nothing at all to help provide services, a sense of community participation, and above all, the stability which is derived from vigorous broad-based local participation. (In fact, to the extent that the conventional business framework provides jobs and dividends for the few, it tends to increase the division in the ghetto between black haves and black have-nots.)

In short, we are back to our original problem: what is needed is a program that can combine the advantages of local control with the capacity to make a profit. The Neighborhood Corporation itself must go into business in a big way.

There is a precedent from which to work: EG&G Roxbury. Much of its stock will ultimately be sold to its employees: the parent company will be come a minority stockholder. If the EG&G example were taken one step further and, with the help of loans, the Community Corporation were to buy stock in the company, we would have a situation in which business profits could be used for the social services the community decides best for its own needs.

Creatively expanded, this concept, I believe, might help us see the beginning of an end to welfare—and the creation of true community participation and stability.

The approach could be started right now, within the framework of existing federal program. In fact, experiments of this kind are under way in other parts of the country—and Mayor White, for instance, could do much to make Boston a leader in this area, if he were to seize the initiative. But progress in the direction of viable Community Corporations could be hastened by minor administrative or legislative changes.

First, it would help if major companies moving into the ghetto could be assured a market for their products. At present, a share of government procurement contracts is set aside for small business. This program should be broadened to include new ghetto industry.

Second, it would help if we instituted an industrial "turnkey" program—a program of tax incentives to expand the EG&G model—to encourage business to come into the ghetto, to teach people to operate new enterprises, and to sell newly established businesses to the community at fair market value.

Third, there ought to be an increase in the federal funds available for technical assistance and training. A Community Point 4 program—something on the model of Point 4 aid abroad—would insure that all companies wanting to train an untapped portion of the labor market would have the resources to do so.

Fourth, the resources of the Economic Development Administration ought to be made more easily available. Under the present terms of the law, an area of 250,000 population must have above average unemployment in order to qualify for EDA technical assistance, grants, and low-interest, long-term development loans. If the poverty standard were applied to smaller population units (say units of 50,000), ghetto areas could qualify. Several Congressmen have proposed that this provision of the law be changed, but so far nothing has been done.

Finally, in a broader perspective, Congress could enact major new legislation to encourage and support local Community Corporations on a widespread basis. The major thrust of such legislation would be to provide for government subscriptions and government insured loans to community corporations to insure a flow of capital for new business. This, combined with tax incentives, training programs, *and local control*, might provide the impetus needed for a real transformation of our cities.

[From Fortune, August 1968]

THE SOUTHERN ROOTS OF URBAN CRISIS

(By Roger Beardwood)

The rural South is green, beautiful, and quiet. The ghettos of the North are grim and noisome stews that boil over when summer heat ignites old frustrations. Yet more than a million southern Negroes have taken the trail north in the past decade. This year alone, another 100,000 or so will arrive in the northern cities, packing the slums still tighter, and compounding America's interlocked fiscal and social urban problems.

Most of the migrants know that what awaits them in the urban North is little better than a rattlesnake's hole. Most of them arrive virtually penniless. Many are illiterate. Few have trades or skills that command more than the minimum wage. Some are doomed to search in vain for work.

Still they continue to migrate; indeed, they have little choice. For if good jobs are hard to find in Chicago, Detroit, and New York, there is no work at all back home. Since World War II, U.S. agricultural policy has encouraged the sweeping mechanization of farming in the South. On cotton plantations, tobacco lands, and cornfields, machines have been steadily replacing thousands of hired hands and sharecroppers. And as the large farmers become more efficient, small white and Negro farmers abandon their land because they lack the money and knowledge either to compete with their large neighbors or to switch to more profitable labor-intensive crops.

Forced to leave the shacks that were their homes, southern Negroes take to the road every year. Sometimes that road leads to a small town in the South; but many small towns are already overcrowded with people who have been forced out of farming and are unable to find other jobs. Sometimes the farm worker heads for a large southern city such at Atlanta, Memphis, or Birmingham. There, too, the going can be tough and hopeless. In some of the black neighborhoods of New Orleans, for instance, unemployment runs as high as 47 percent.

WHY NEGROES MOVE NORTH

Today's urban slums grew from sickly roots—the southern countries in which poverty, illiteracy, and bad health are endemic. The areas on this map with the highest percentages of Negroes and lowest measures of human well-being are in general those with the heaviest rate of emigration.

Squeezed between declining farm employment and racial and educational barriers that kept them from taking other jobs, 3,500,000 southern Negroes have fled north in the past generation. Their exodus has changed dramatically the ethnic composition of the U.S. In 1940 one Southerner in four was Negro; today only one in five is. Seventy-seven percent of all U.S. Negroes lived in the South in 1940; now just over half do.

About 100,000 southern Negroes still move north each year. One major migration stream runs from Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, to Philadelphia, New York, and beyond. Of the Negroes who lived in New York City in 1960 but were born elsewhere, 77 percent came from these states, plus West Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland. A second route runs from Mississippi and Alabama toward Chicago and Detroit. Nearly half the Negroes living in Detroit and almost 60 percent of those living in Chicago in 1960 who were born elsewhere came from Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, or Kentucky. Still another major migration stream runs from Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma westward to California; from those states came well over half of the Negroes living in Los Angeles in 1960 but not born there.

Because migrating Negroes are subjected to less study than migrating birds, nobody knows with certainty how many Negroes have moved out of the South since 1960, when the last census was taken. But there is fragmentary evidence to suggest that the migration is changing direction. As southern cities open up new jobs for Negroes, they are becoming final destinations instead of transit camps. Over half of southern Negroes are now in urban areas, compared to just over a third in 1940.

In the North about three-fourths of the Negroes live in the core cities of major metropolitan areas. But an increasing number of Negroes who move north appear to be heading for smaller cities and towns. Most of those who go north from Sanford, Florida, for instance, end up in Rochester, New York.

The biggest single age group in the Negro migratory stream has been people in their teens and twenties. They have left behind sizable concentrations of illiterate and sick people, and of the old and the very young. (Many of the children are living with grandparents, remnants of a family unit that has lost its wage earners through migration.) Thus the South has lost, and is continuing to lose, a high proportion of its younger, better-educated Negroes. That, in turn, makes the region less attractive to corporations planning new plants. And the lack of those new plants and the jobs they provide forces still more young Negroes to migrate.

More often, the migrant heads north, where there is at least a chance of a job, no men in hoods ride the streets, and there is a welfare payment to keep the migrant alive. For bad as it is, the northern slum is still preferable to what southern Negroes leave behind:

In 1966 the median income for Negro families in sixteen southern states and the District of Columbia was $3,422. In the rest of the U.S. median Negro family income was $5,746 a year.

Many southern Negroes are chronically hungry. A survey financed by churches and private foundations discovered 235 "emergency hunger counties" in the South, with a total population—black and white—of almost five million. There are heavy concentrations of Negroes in most of those counties; in some, children are literally starving.

Three houses out of four occupied by Negroes in small towns and rural areas of the South are without basic plumbing, or are dilapidated—or both. In the large cities of the North and West, only 15 percent of Negro homes are in such condition. (Unless otherwise stated, the South is defined as the eleven states of the Confederacy, plus Kentucky and Oklahoma.)

The southern educational system has left 33.5 percent of adult Negroes illiterate, and thus almost unemployable. In the rest of the nation, the illiteracy figure for Negroes is 23.4 percent.

LESS WORK, LOWER PAY

The malaise of the rural South and the resulting migration are inexorable results of policies and programs devised by the agricultural committees of Congress in which white Southerners have long had the dominant voice. Encouraged and financially aided by the Department of Agriculture, southern farmers are using modern technology that constantly raises the productivity of both labor and land. But abundance has produced surpluses. To reduce them, the department pays farmers not to cultivate some of their land.

On the land they do cultivate, white southern farmers need less labor each year. On the land they take out of production, they need almost none. For large farmers and for consumers, these policies have been beneficial. They have raised efficiency, kept prices stable, and enabled the nation to conserve arable land. For hired hands and sharecroppers, however, agricultural abundance has produced a dual problem. There is less work for them each year, and the excess of available labor has kept wages low.

Between 1950 and 1960, 493,000 Negroes and 1,024,000 whites lost their jobs in southern agriculture. In the coming seven years, at least another quarter of a million people, white and black, will be thrown out of work. This collision with agricultural economics has been disastrous for all farm workers. But it has been catastrophic for Negroes; they are confronted by almost insurmountable barriers of race as well as poverty in the South. Segregated schools have left them less educated than whites and most jobs are still closed to them because of their color. Thus the Negro's transition from farm to factory, from hoe to lathe, from tractor to office, lies over an obstacle course laid out by a society in which he has no voice.

For the dwindling number of Negroes who remain on the land, the problem is how to make a living wage. The U.S. Agriculture Department estimates that in 1964, the latest year for which figures are available, the average Negro farm worker in the sixteen southern states worked seventy-seven days a year and earned $353. He also spent twenty-four days doing nonfarming jobs—domestic, gardening, and laboring work, for example—and earned an additional $150, bringing his total annual income to $503. That official estimate conceals some wide variations. In 1964, wages on farms in the South ranged from a low of 65 cents an hour in South Carolina to a high of 99 cents in Florida. Moreover, some farm workers are earning less than 65 cents an hour, even in 1968.

AT THE MERCY OF "THE MAN"

Five miles south of Greenville, Mississippi, close to the Mississippi River, is a big flat cotton field owned by a white family. One day this summer, under a blazing sun, a group of Negro women and children were hoeing the weeds between the rows. Fifty yards away stood a row of wooden shacks, warping in the heat, alongside a sluggish creek, the only sanitary facility.

"The man pays but $3 a day," said one woman, hoeing as she spoke. "No, I don't know how much the children will get, but he said something. Maybe 60 cents the day, maybe more. It don't do to press him. We need the work, and he pays more than some people. Across there"—she waved toward a plantation on the far side of a highway—"the man pays $2.50 a day."

She and her husband have six children, five of them living at home, and one in Greenville looking for work. When the couple and their two sons, aged twelve and fourteen, are all working, the family's total weekly income may be $70, "but that is only at the planting and the harvesting, and maybe a few weeks of chopping in between." Otherwise, the family lives on the husband's wages—a maximum of $50 a week, earned when the farmer needs him. Some weeks the family has no income at all.

Agricultural workers in the U.S. are specifically excluded from most labor legislation. They do not have the right to bargain collectively, and only those who work for a farmer using more than 500 man-hours of hired labor in any quarter are entitled to the minimum wage—$1.15 an hour now and due to go up to $1.30 an hour next February. In 1967 fewer than one worker in three in the South was entitled to the minimum wage. Not all of those entitled to that minimum have been getting it.

Two months ago, Roy Flowers, who owns a plantation in the Mississippi Delta, was permanently enjoined by a federal judge from violating minimum-wage, overtime-pay, record-keeping, and child-labor regulations. Among other things, the court found that Flowers had been charging his Negro workers $70 a month for shacks that should have been rented for no more than $5. In the first recovery of wages under 1966 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, the judge ordered Flowers to pay 200 Negro employees $50,000. Last year, it should also be noted, the Agriculture Department paid Flowers $210,832 for not cultivating 4,000 of his 16,000 acres.

But while federal laws provide some protection for agricultural workers, plantations with large payrolls are now harder and harder to find in the South. The problem for many Negro families is not low wages, but jobs. Since big farmers need fewer and fewer workers, a family fired from one plantation has almost no chance of finding work at another one.

As recently as the late 1940's, for example, one hundred Negro families lived on Due West, a 3,000-acre plantation in Tallahatchie County, Mississippi. Due West has been owned by the Sturdivant family for nearly a century, and the present owner, Mike P. Sturdivant, is a believer in modern management and farming methods. In recent years he has almost totally mechanized Due West. He now needs only some casual labor to pick cucumbers and nine regular Negro workers who drive big, versatile tractors that traverse the rich earth planted mainly with cotton, wheat, and soybean.

Sturdivant is a good employer by Delta standards. He pays his drivers more than the minimum wage—between $1.25 and $1.45 an hour—and charges them no rent for their relatively well-kept houses. (He is now building nine comfortable houses, at a cost of about $8,500 each, for which he will charge his tenants only $12.50 a month.) Yet even the nine families that remain on Due West stand precariously on the edge of poverty. Sturdivant's tractor drivers earn less than $3,000 a year. On that they can eat adequately. In the future they will be well housed. And if they run out of cash, they can get an advance, interest-free, on future earnings. But it is difficult for them to save money, and illness could be a major financial disaster. Moreover, their jobs are far from secure. If surpluses of cotton and other commodities rise, the Agriculture Department will reduce the acreage on which Sturdivant is allowed to plant. In 1967 he received $122,640 for not planting some of his land.

FARMERS WITHOUT A LOBBY

Big farmers in the South not only make decisions that leave hired hands and sharecroppers jobless, homeless, and penniless. They also have a powerful voice in the formulation and execution of farm policies and programs that vitally affect the survival of independent Negro small farmers. In 1950 some 492,000 Negroes in the South were classified as farm proprietors and managers; by 1960 only 167,000 remained in that category. There are fewer now, and if the trend continues unabated, almost none will be left by 1975. Many of these small farmers and their families could be helped to stay on the land for at least another generation. But three things are against them: their farms are very small, they lack the money to mechanize, and they do not have a Washington lobby.

The big farmers' Control over small farmers' destinies rests on two facts of political life. First, the key agricultural committees in Congress are largely controlled by the Southerners; some of them, like Senator James Eastland of Mississippi, are farmers themselves. Second, the most important Agriculture Department programs are administered by state and county groups that are dominated by whites. The black farmer is helped where the administration is fair and unprejudiced, and hindered where it is not.

The Negro farmer's troubles frequently start with the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. The A.S.C.S. is at the very heart of the farm program, that complicated structure which supports prices, sets production and marketing quotas, conserves land by taking it out of intensive cultivation, and allots the number of acres on which farmers may grow crops such as cotton, tobacco, and corn.

By its very nature, the A.S.C.S. system works best for large farmers. For the land on which they do not grow crops, farmers are compensated according to their past production; large farmers have usually had a higher crop yield per acre than small farmers. Moreover, large farmers can take out of production their least fertile land; small farmers do not have that margin. And on the land they do continue to cultivate, large farmers can continue to increase income by using modern technology. Small farmers, in contrast, lack the capital and knowledge to mechanize, irrigate, or use the latest pesticides.

Theoretically, the A.S.C.S. is highly democratic, operating through a pyramid of state and local groups. At the top is the state committee, appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture after consultation with farm organizations, state directors of agriculture, deans of agricultural colleges, and political leaders. Under the state committees are three-man county committees that are elected by community committees chosen by farmers themselves.

But Negroes sit on only five southern A.S.C.S. state committees. And there are only 454 Negroes among the 37,000 community-committee members. Most important, no Negro sits on any county committee (four have been elected as alternate members). And it is these all-white county groups that hire the A.S.C.S. staff that administers the federal program. This year only 310 Negroes had permanent full-time jobs in 2,892 county offices in the entire nation, and no office had a Negro manager.

One measure of the Negro farmers' lack of power is provided by a 1964 A.S.C.S. list of "released allotments"—acres that farmers have decided not to plant, and are available for reapportionment among other farmers. In eight counties in four southern states, white farmers who had applied to A.S.C.S. offices for released allotments received disproportionately more of them than Negro applicants did.

COTTON RIGHT UP TO THE FRONT DOOR

Many small Negro farmers would do far better if they stopped growing cotton, corn, tobacco, and other crops in the allotment system. By concentrating on such other crops as cucumbers, squash, cabbage, and sweet potatoes, which are outside the quota system, they could cultivate all of their land instead of only part of it. Moreover, since the production of such crops has not yet been heavily mechanized, the small farmer could compete with his larger neighbors.

The Cooperative Extension Service is supposed to help farmers to make changes of this kind by advising them on which crops to grow, on cultivation methods, and on farm management. But the familiar southern pattern of separate but unequal facilities depreciates the Extension Service's value to Negro farmers. Until 1964 the service was completely segregated; the Negro extension staff worked out of separate offices. (Some of them lacked even a typewriter.) Now the formerly separate staffs have been merged; but many Negroes are still paid less than whites doing comparable work, and in only two counties do Negroes head the Extension Service. A number of white supervisors are less qualified than, and junior in service to, their Negro subordinates.

Furthermore the Extension Service lacks both vigor and imagination. Extension workers generally give advice only to those people who ask for it—although some of the people in greatest need, those living in remote areas, are unlikely to ask for it because they do not know it is available, or because they seldom go to the county seat and cannot write a letter. The service has also failed to encourage enough people to grow their own food. For generations, agricultural experts have urged farmers to buy less food at the store, and grow more on their own land. But in many parts of the rural South, most poor homes, black and white, have no vegetable gardens, partly because landowners have a vested interest in forcing workers and sharecroppers to buy at the company store; thus they insist that their people grow cotton and tobacco right up to the front door of their shack.

THE RIGHT TO BORROW

A third branch of the Agriculture Department on which black farmers should be able to lean is the Farmers Home Administration: it is empowered to lend small farmers money to build or improve their homes, buy or enlarge farms, buy machinery, start businesses that will increase nonfarm income, finance the raising and marketing of crops, and make loans to farmers' cooperatives. To obtain help, a farmer must be small—but not too poor. He has to convince the local office—staffed by federal employees—that he needs money for a good reason. Then a county committee of three must certify that he cannot get the money through commercial channels, but is nevertheless a good credit risk.

Because the Farmers Home Administration is a federal operation, it can impose federal standards more effectively than the A.S.C.S. or Extension Service can; in counties where 20 percent or more of the farmers are Negro, the state director appoints at least one Negro to the committee. More than 300 Negroes are on county committees in the South; nearly 200 are chairmen. This relatively large Negro representation is bringing promising results. Between 1964 and 1967 the number of loans to Negroes in sixteen southern states rose 108 percent, to 22,850; loans to whites rose 24 percent, to 67,425. But there is another side to the story. Although Negroes have a quarter of all loans in the South, they have received only a seventh of the funds: $71,200,000, compared with $436,700,000 borrowed by whites.

In the last several years there has been a slow, minimal improvement in the administration of Agriculture Department programs, brought about by pressure from the civil-rights groups, a firmer federal policy, and by Negro farmers themselves. Burke County, Georgia, is one of many places where the pressures are rising. The A.S.C.S. office is a small, red-brick building in the county seat of Waynesboro. Recently, while three Negro farmers waited to talk about crop allotments, the acting manager, Frank S. Cates, described things as he saw them. "I'll admit the small farmer is more vulnerable than the big one," he said, "but these minority people who live in these shacks don't want to work. They'd rather go off somewhere and get on relief. You know this white-black thing. We never had any problem until these outside agitators came in. I don't know what the younger generation will come to, but the older people get along just fine. There's nothing an ordinary man can do about the situation. J. Edgar Hoover knows it's the Communists."

That night, eleven black farmers drove in their pickup trucks to a former one-room school fifteen miles from Waynesboro, and apologized for being late. "We work on 'nigger time,'" said one. "Only show our faces after dark, 'cuz we don't want Mister Charlie see us getting together." After opening their meeting with a hymn and a prayer, the farmers got down to business; how to improve their condition.

"Now I want to tell y'all to tend your gardens," said the president, a gnarled, elderly man in faded denim coveralls. "I know you don't all do that, 'cuz you think you're too busy raising your cash crop. But that garden is good as cash any day, and gives you real tasty food, too. And you ladies, you start thinking about raising some chickens. If y'all do that, then you won't have to go running to that store, borrowing money while you're waiting for your cash crop."

Didn't the Extension Service show farmers and their wives how to grow vegetables and raise chickens? "Not that I ever heard of," said the president. "We don't hardly ever see those fellas from one year to the next."

One farmer complained that his cotton acreage had been cut again, although a white farmer in the same neighborhood had received an increased allotment. Surely, allotment reductions can be appealed, a visitor suggested. Broad smiles. "The appeals committee is white, too," said the chairman. The farmers then decided to nominate candidates for the next community-committee election, and to insist that a Negro be present at the counting of the ballots.

GETTING TOGETHER, PROSPERING TOGETHER

In many parts of the South, black farmers are beginning to band together in cooperatives through which they buy pesticides, machinery, and seed more cheaply than they could in the past and to which they are selling their crops at better prices. The black co-op movement, however, is young, underfinanced, and short of experienced management. And many farmers are reluctant to join up.

On a steamy summer evening, as dusk settled on the bayous of southwest Louisiana, a score of Negro farmers and their wives gathered in a white-painted church in Evangeline Parish to hear John Zippert, assistant director of the Southern Cooperative Development Program. The program, an affiliate of the Southern Consumers Cooperative, is funded primarily by the Ford Foundation; both groups help poor people to form co-ops. One of the beneficiaries is the Grande Marie Vegetable Cooperative in Sunset, Louisiana. Zippert's message to the black farmers that night stressed the advantage of membership in Grande Marie.

The farmers nodded approvingly when Zippert explained, "In a cooperative, the members are boss. You decide what is good for you. You make the decisions." But still there were doubts. Many in the audience wondered whether the co-op would survive. Grande Marie has had a tough time since it started in 1965. In its first eighteen months it could not pay members cash for their crops, because Agriculture Department money did not come through in time. Then the department funded a rival co-op, formed by a breakaway group of white members. Finally, a Chicago corporation to which Grande Marie sold sweet potatoes was unable to pay its bills. But Grande Marie is still in business; this summer it had more than 300 members.

Some of the Negro farmers' cooperatives in the South are still spindly growths. Others—like Grande Marie and the 1,875-member Southwest Alabama Farmers Co-operative in Selma—have grown sturdy enough to survive white opposition and attempts to control them. The Alabama co-op refused an $852,000 Agriculture Department loan because of stipulations that a department representative attend all board meetings, that full minutes of every meeting be sent to Washington, and that a department employee approve all expenditures from a supervised bank account. The members, who have an average income of $1,000, were determined to prove that they have the right to manage their own affairs. After nine months of negotiations, and a seventeen-hour meeting in Washington in June, the Agriculture Department conceded that point by dropping virtually all its stipulations.

By itself, the co-op movement will not cure the ailments of black farmers—small farms, lack of capital, white hostility, and a farm program that favors large farming operations at the expense of small ones. But the co-ops are raising their members' income, and are rapidly becoming pressure groups that can force the Agriculture Department into giving Negro farmers more aid.

STITCHING A FREEDOM PATTERN

A second type of co-op in the South is helping poor people to start their own businesses. Some members are wives and children of farmers. Others are people turned off the land, but still living in rural areas. Most of these organizations have been started with the help of "the Movement"—a portmanteau term for all those people, black and white, who work to improve the condition of the poor Negro. The Movement includes civil-rights workers, southern white liberals, ministers, atheists, left-wingers—anybody, in fact, who believes that the poor cannot be left to molder and has the courage to act on that belief. They need courage: the Movement is harried by the police, obstructed by officials, and harassed by the Klan. But it survives and, without it, many people would be even more impoverished than they are.

The Freedom Quilting Bee in Wilcox County, Alabama, is one example of a rural co-op founded with the help of a concerned outsider. The county's Negro women had for generations made quilts for their families. In 1965 the Reverend Francis X. Walter, a white minister who works in the area, encouraged them to form a cooperative financed with $7,000 from a private foundation. Working on piece rates, the hundred-odd members of the Bee averaged 25 cents an hour in their first year; now, again through Walter's efforts, they have a marketing consultant in New York, who has encouraged them to concentrate on five designs, use better fabrics, and raise productivity by improving their quilting techniques. In the future the members hope to average a dollar an hour. "But even the 25 cents was welcome," said one woman this summer as she sewed. "It was sometimes the difference between eating or not for me."

Another new co-op, with far-reaching hopes, can be found just outside Crawfordville, Georgia, in a schoolhouse made of rough-hewn wood. The school was built by the Negro community in the 1930's when the county refused to provide a school. Today, that humble monument to Negro self-help is the home of Crawfordville Enterprises, a cooperative that employs ninety-six black seamstresses and six men, and has a payroll of some $350,000 a year.

The co-op was set up without help or encouragement from local whites, and whites get little financial benefit from its growing payroll. Many Negroes in the area have been boycotting white-owned stores since 1965, when the school board refused to desegregate its schools. The board also fired Calvin Turner from his teaching job for fighting in the desegregation battle. Turner, an educated and energetic Negro, was thus free to become director of Crawfordville Enterprises when it was founded in 1966 with help from the Southern Rural Action Project, a privately funded antipoverty agency in Atlanta that got money for the project from the National Council of Negro Women and from the Stern Family Fund.

Sewing machines and silk-screen equipment were purchased from an Atlanta white man who was selling his textile business and agreed to train the co-op's workers. At the start, trainees got $20 a week; today, workers are on piece rates, and average $64 a week. This summer Crawfordville Enterprises is moving into a new factory built with a private loan, but will keep the schoolhouse as a center for silk-screen operations. By early next year, says Turner, the co-op will employ some 150 people, and have a payroll of over $500,000 a year.

Turner's plans go far beyond building a bigger and better manufacturing operation. His dream is to solve every problem of poverty in Taliaferro County. The cooperative already provides education for its workers and day care for their children. Next, it will use some of its profits and its business ability to start a housing project.

CATALOG OF PROMISES

The cooperative movement is half a step in the right direction. But the prospects are still grim for any southern black family that is forced off the land. The rural areas are crowded with black people without jobs and in desperate need of food and medical care, better housing, job training, and help with the transition from an agrarian to an industrial life. On paper, programs exist to remedy all these ailments. The Office of Economic Opportunity puts out a catalogue, fuller of promises than Sears, Roebuck's, listing every federal program available to the poor. It is a glittering array of Head Start, Mainstream, Upward Bound, Community Action, and other Washington slogans and acronyms. It has raised expectations in the South but has done little to fulfill them.

In theory, a community could thus feed the poor and offer a complete range of programs that would salvage destitute families—train the husband for a new job, teach the wife household management, put toddlers in day care and preschool classes, give the teen-ager a marketable skill, offer industry financial incentives to open a new plant, and finally rehouse the entire family in a home built with federal money. In practice, some communities may have one or two programs, others have three; but almost none has the full range. In too many counties, elected and appointed officials are hostile to antipoverty programs. Their reasons range from dislike of "federal interference" to overt racism.

Last year federal food programs reached only one poor person in five nationally, and fewer than that in the South. "It would just mean a lot of niggers lining up for food, and that's all there is to it," said the sheriff of Glascock County, Georgia, defending a county decision not to have a food program. Until the Poor People's Campaign camped in Washington and demonstrated at his office, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman had imposed a food program on few southern counties. Freeman then sent an ultimatum to the 1,000 poorest counties, asking them for their plans to start programs; fifty-one did not reply. Freeman then announced he would use his legal powers to distribute food in all 1,000 counties. He has always had those powers but has not used them because the department believes in working with local administrations, not against them.

Hunger sits at the table in many Negro homes. This year the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition published a report listing 235 counties in the South that meet at least three out of four criteria: the number of babies who die between the ages of one and eleven months is at least twice the national average; at least four people in ten are poor; and less than one poor family in four receives either welfare or food programs. These are among the poorest, worst-nourished counties in the U.S., but are far from the only ones in which hunger is endemic.

Some southern Negroes are actually starving. Six doctors who studied the health and living conditions in six counties of Mississippi last year said that they saw evidence of vitamin and mineral deficiencies and exhaustion in child after child. The doctors reported: "We saw children fed communally—that is, by neighbors who give scraps of food to children whose own parents have nothing to give them. Not only are these children receiving no food from the government, they are also getting no medical attention whatsoever. They are out of sight and ignored. . . . They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them—which is exactly what 'starvation' means."

Born into hunger, wretchedly educated in the South's separate but highly unequal school systems, taught to use only the simplest farm implement, and then replaced by machines, many hundreds of thousands of adult black people are adrift in the South. Nobody knows with any accuracy how large the Negro rural population is in 1968, what proportion is employed, or how many people are in each age group.

HEALING THE WALKING WOUNDED

The Delta Opportunity Corp., an antipoverty group that operates out of run-down offices in Greenville, Mississippi, specializes in helping these discards of the plantation system. A project of the Opportunity Corp.'s parent, the Delta Ministry, is the bravely named Freedom City, a group of shacks clustered round a sagging barn on a patch of land outside Greenville. About nine families, with a total of some thirty-five children, now live there. Out of its scanty funds, the Opportunity Corp. pays each adult in its training scheme a maximum of $30 a week.

Some did not escape the Delta plantations on which they once lived without a struggle. One man recalls, "I told the man I was going to leave. He was real cross, said I owed him money, said he would put me in jail. Well, I didn't recollect owing him no money, but I'd have gone to jail sure enough, 'less I had these friends to carry me away by night." That reject of southern farming is now learning to be a bricklayer at a class run by the D.O.C.; he is also learning to read and write. In a nearby shack is Walter Abney, who thinks he is thirty-five, but isnt sure: "My mammy, she didn't register me that I could find." Abney is learning the plumbing trade from a white instructor, a Northerner who went South to work on a defense project, and was stung to anger and action by the plight of the poor.

"A DIPLOMA IS UTTERLY IRRELEVANT"

As the exodus from rural areas continues, southern cities are starting to attract a larger share of the migrants. Atlanta is now 44 percent Negro, New Orleans 41 percent, Memphis 40 percent, and Houston 23 percent. Belatedly, a few cities are starting to tackle the intertwined and mounting problems of poverty and racial discrimination. Among them is Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Its efforts are real, determined, intelligent, and compassionate—models, indeed, of good intentions, if not yet of success.

The city's mayor, M. C. Benton, is that rare southern phenomenon, a liberal with political power. Moreover, he has powerful allies: R. J. Reynolds, Hanes Corp., the Wachovia Bank & Trust, Western Electric's local management, and most of the other big employers in the area. Benton and his committee of businessmen are learning fast. Says John Dawson, employment manager of Western Electric's factory in Winston-Salem, "I used to insist on a high-school diploma as a minimum qualification. Now I've learned that a diploma is utterly irrelevant for most jobs. I have to admit it—people like me have been screening applicants out for years, not screening them in." (Dawson was on loan to the mayor as a special assistant for manpower for six months. His successor is a Reynolds personnel expert.)

John Watlington, president of the Wachovia Bank & Trust, and another member of the mayor's committee, was shocked to discover the depth and extent of poverty in the Winston-Salem area. Says Watlington, "I just didn't realize we had these problems. I thought that by hiring Negroes and promoting them—we have a Negro assistant vice president, and a Negro personnel expert—we were playing our part. But now I realize that we as a bank must do more, not only in Winston-Salem, but also in the state." The Winston-Salem Urban Coalition will have funds of about $2 million—half of it pledged by Reynolds Tobacco. Benton is currently planning the next step in his plan to rehabilitate the poor: a housing program that will use some of the Coalition money.

Businessmen who are trying to bring southern Negroes into the industrial labor force face a tremendous task. The southern educational system has left most Negroes abysmally equipped for life in a sophisticated industrial society. Almost all Negro teachers, themselves products of a segregated school system, are paid less than their white counterparts. "I was half-educated myself, and now I'm half-educating the kids in my school," says a Mississippi Delta science teacher. Segregated schools are now illegal, to be sure, but segregation is still a fact of life. Only one Negro child in seven is attending a desegregated school.

Lower educational qualifications are one reason for the Negroes' low representation in better-paying jobs in the South. In 1960, the latest year for which figures are available, 23 percent of employed whites, but only 14 percent of employed Negroes, held jobs in manufacturing. In white-collar occupations the disparity was even greater: 44 percent of employed whites had white-collar jobs, but only 9 percent of employed Negroes.

But discrimination, as well as lack of education, keeps Negroes out of the better-paying jobs. A white high-school graduate is almost three times as likely as a black one to be working in an office. And, in virtually every occupation, a white is paid more than a Negro for doing the same work.

A growing number of businessmen in the South are trying to remedy the Negroes' educational deficiencies with basic education courses on company time, and with job-related training that upgrades Negro employees' skills. Top management's enthusiasm for such programs is not always matched at the supervisory level. But even at lower levels, attitudes are changing. "These are good guys, and they're going to make good workers," says a white foreman in charge of a batch of trainees at Tampa Electric Co. in Florida. "They want to learn, and once they get the message that we really want to help, they pitch in."

However, some national corporations with a reputation for equitable hiring and promotional policies in the North are still less than fair in the South. Richard Sobol, of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, a privately funded group with headquarters in New Orleans, contends that many corporations leave the management of their southern operations to executives who go along with local customs. The L.C.D.C. was founded to provide legal aid for civil-rights workers arrested in the South; recently its focus has shifted to fighting economic discrimination against Negro industrial workers.

One of its targets is the Crown Zellerbach plant at Bogalusa, Louisiana. Under pressure from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Crown Zellerbach merged its old separate job-progression lines for black and white workers—a system that had kept Negroes out of better-paying jobs. But the L.C.D.C. believed that the new arrangement was unfair. "The way it was working," says Sobol, "a Negro with many years of service who wanted promotion had to start right at the bottom of the merged progression line, along with kids of eighteen." Pressing for a seniority system based on time with the company rather than time on the job, the L.C.D.C. sued Crown Zellerbach and won. The decision is now being appealed.

"Actually, Crown Zellerbach is not the real problem," says Sobol. "It is the United Papermakers and Paperworkers [an A.F.L.-C.I.O. member]. It threatened to strike if we won the suit, but was enjoined from doing so. Crown Zellerbach is far from the worst company; it just happened to be the biggest employer in Bogalusa, which is the most active civil-rights area in Louisiana." L.C.D.C. has filed a similar suit against Continental Can's Louisiana plant, and is preparing suits against other corporations.

FEAR OF VIOLENCE

Civil-rights legislation and successive legal decisions have raised the hopes of Negroes throughout the U.S. But, especially in the South, their battle is far from over. White diehards still have many weapons, ranging from their control of jobs and farm and antipoverty programs to physical force. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported in May that widespread white resistance to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 took the form of discrimination in the electoral process, and actual or threatened violence. "The fear of physical violence is a real and ever present threat for Negroes in the South," says Dr. Daniel Thompson, professor of sociology at Dillard University, New Orleans. "It is one of the reasons that black people leave the South."

There is another kind of violence in the South, the kind that maims men's souls as well as their bodies. The men of Freedom City, the sharecroppers of North Carolina, the hungry children of Mississippi—all have been grievously wounded by a society in which they have no voice. Only a handful of people are binding up those wounds, and trying to make whole again the victims of a collision between economics and apathy.

Since 1940 millions of black people have left the South, searching for freedom. Some have found it; some have found only more unhappiness, more anguish. The economies of large-scale farming, and the thrust of farm policies, make a further loss of jobs inevitable. As things are today, most of those dispossessed workers and their families will either sink into deeper poverty in the rural South, or move to the cities. They are unequipped for urban life; the cities are ill equipped to cope with them.

Despite continuing migration, some 7,100,000 Negroes of working age will be living in the South in 1975—12 percent more than in 1960. About 3,900,000 will be in the labor force—working or looking for work. The challenge to the South's political and business leaders is threefold: to create new jobs, open a higher percentage of them to Negroes, and ease rural people's transition from one way of life to another with education and job training.

On past performance, southern institutions, both political and business, will need energetic prodding before they meet the challenges of the future. Much of that task falls to the federal government, and to national corporations. Both have the resources to undertake the role; both have the power, financial and legal, to ensure that their standards are met.

So far, government and business have focused their problem-solving powers on urban problems, and blinkered themselves to rural ones. But every additional migrant is another burden on the cities, and the urban crisis will not be cured, or even arrested, until the South becomes more attractive to its black population than the urban North. The slums are in large part a result of the malaise of the rural and smalltown South; the violence in northern streets is a product of frustrations born in southern fields.

[From the New York Times, July 29, 1968]

THE ENERGIES OF THE SLUMS

The most promising aspect of the proposal to establish community development corporations and development banks in the urban slums is the support it has received, cutting across both political and racial lines.

Two liberal Republicans, Senators Javits of New York and Percy of Illinois have in effect joined hands with Vice President Humphrey by co-sponsoring legislation with his spokesman, Senator Harris of Oklahoma. Informal political cooperation among men who are deeply concerned about urban problems and active in the quest for remedies is not at all surprising.

What is indeed surprising—and gratifying—is the support of Roy Innis, the director of the militant Congress of Racial Equality. The active participation of the CORE leader in framing this legislation raises the hope that many Negroes who are traversing the fine line between order and violence will now opt for solving their problems within the framework of legal processes.

The development corporations, stock in which would be owned by at least ten per cent of the adults in a local community, would conduct business enterprises, undertake housing projects and provide such social services as legal aid and vocational counseling. Most of the working capital would come from community development banks which would be empowered to sell stock or bonds in the money markets.

A successful program must be soundly conceived, and there are questions that should be resolved, either before the corporations are launched or in their formative period of trial and error. The first is whether it is in fact possible to attract anything but local service enterprises to slum areas through tax incentives. Manufacturing establishments are now located in the outer rings of metropolitan areas largely because of space requirements. It might require huge uneconomic subsidies in the form of tax exemptions to break that locational pattern.

A related issue is whether it would not be better, perhaps easier, to move the slum dwellers to new jobs rather than move jobs to the slums. There is nothing inherently desirable, foreordained or sacred about preserving dense concentrations of poor people in the central-city cores of urban areas. The possibilities of new towns that were opened up in Great Britain might be given a fair trial in this country.

The prospect of harnessing the restive energies of the slums to constructive purposes, of placing into the hands of people new tools for their own betterment, excites the hope for an eventual solution of the problems that are tearing at the social fabric of American life. No one can be so prescient as to lay out a precise blueprint for action. Yet the "Community Self-Determination Act," as it is called, would, with its emphasis on local control and local participation, appear to be a proper vehicle for embarking upon a most difficult journey.

[From the Boston Globe, May 26, 1968]

CONTROL THE ISSUE IN ROXBURY

(By David Deitch)

Should the black community in Roxbury be allowed to control its own destiny?

The question is ridiculous on the face of it, and demeaning. Nobody ever asked whether the Jews, Irish or Italians, who often lived apart in their own communities before dispersing, whether they were capable of ordering their own lives.

The question just never arose.

Yet white people insist on asking whether blacks should be permitted self-determination in the allocation of resources designed to help them. This "problem" of permitting the blacks to do it themselves has been raised throughout the United States and in Boston.

In one sense, the whole idea of black self-determination is part of a larger movement in many communities that "want to do it themselves," that want to see a decentralization of power in an era when government is getting bigger and bureaucracies stifle self-fulfillment. But when black people talk about self-determination the whole issue gets bogged down in the rhetoric of power and race.

Today in Boston there is a controversy between Mayor White and a few powerful business leaders on the one hand, and a confederation of militant black organizations in Roxbury called the United Front on the other. The Front, whose guiding principle is black self-determination, is incensed at the Mayor's refusal to endorse a black-controlled development corporation which would make use of funds raised mainly in the business and financial community.

Instead, Mayor White has come forth with a plan for a development corporation which would be responsible to the presently elected Model Cities Board that covers an area including Roxbury, North Dorchester and Jamaica Plain. Whatever the merits of the Mayor's plan, it clearly circumvents the black power groups under the United Front umbrella.

The United Front says it has no confidence in the Model Cities Board comprised of 11 black and seven white directors, who in any case are accused of lacking familiarity if not sympathy with the black community's problems, including its desire for autonomous development.

Close observers of the controversy claim that the Front is unable to budge an inch from its basic position of black community control over development funds, and that the Front will be compelled to form its own development corporation, raising funds as best it can. To back down over the issue of control would be to negate the Front's basic philosophy of self-determination for black people.

Obviously, some of the major contributors to the Mayor's development corporation proproposal are reluctant to let the blacks have the money to do with as they will. Some are said to be worried that the money won't be invested wisely, and some are believed to be hazily concerned about helping the blacks form a base for political power through control of development funds.

Gar Alperovitz, a fellow of the Institute of Politics at Harvard, sees the Boston controversy as "a long struggle for awareness by white people", part of a process changing white-black relations.

"The businessman's first impulse is to want to go in and help the blacks," says Alperovitz. "He gets slapped in the face and can't understand it. The realization sets in slowly that what the blacks want—must have—is self-help."

Alperovitz believes that the business community is split over what to do in Boston. There are many powerful business and financial figures around who still need to be convinced that self-help is crucial to black development. But there also exists a growing number of white business people who are beginning to see the necessity of letting the blacks go their own way and make their own mistakes.

Richard Nixon's celebrated speech endorsing the black community's desire for a "piece of the action" through what he considers to be an emerging black capitalism may prove to be a landmark of sorts. Even the Wall Street Journal endorsed this sort of self-help for the blacks.

Although the black activists in Roxbury want to use the development funds as they see fit, they have never suggested they could do without technical assistance. They want such assistance and have made arrangements to get it. What could be more racist than to automatically assume it, that the blacks would waste the money given to them for development? On the contrary the psychological problem exists that they might be more tight-fisted than white bankers.

Negotiations between Mayor White and the United Front are said to be in an extremely delicate phase, and could break down completely at any time. But Alperovitz is confident that the split, if it comes, won't be permanent because the evolutionary process is pulling things toward community control over resources.

[From the Boston Globe, May 30, 1968]

QUESTION OF POWER: WHO DEFINES "COMMUNITY"?

(By David Deitch)

How do you define a community? What boundaries should it have?

This is the second key question that must be answered by all cities who want to form community corporations—like Boston. But if Boston is typical of other cities who are painfully granting neighborhoods a bigger say in the conduct of their affairs, the question puts the cart before the horse.

The bigger question that must be answered first is whether City Hall is indeed interested in delegating responsibility to the neighborhoods. If this is so, then Boston and other cities won't have much trouble defining the limits of the community that wants more political control.

For instance, Boston is about to make its first stab at decentralizing a bit of City Hall power. Mayor White has proposed creation of a community development corporation to administer small business investment funds provided by local business leaders, the agency to be controlled through the 18-member Model Neighborhood Board which includes the area of Roxbury, North Dorchester and Jamaica Plain.

The United Front, a loose coalition of black groups, has denounced the Mayor's plan as sidestepping the main community grievances, most of which revolve around the desire for local autonomy. The Front wants the proposed community corporation to concentrate its efforts on Roxbury alone, and to be delegated the responsibility for administering the resources.

It is true that the United Front has never really proven that it most nearly represents the wishes of the Roxbury community. The outsider knows the Front as being the only group pressing for a measure of self-determination in Roxbury. It's impossible to say who ought to represent Roxbury until a referendum is taken.

But—and this is the main issue—any thought of a referendum is superfluous until City Hall agrees in principal to transfer some authority to the neighborhood. The boundaries of a community can be easily negotiated once "downtown" agrees to transfer some political power.

According to urban problems expert Milton Kotler, whose concept for the community corporation several years ago is now transforming local politics in America, "people are desperately trying to locate the neighborhood by sociometric measure and by numerous other artificial means. These are not the ways to find a neighborhood.

"A neighborhood will disclose its boundaries once it has some authority to govern."

The political argument in Boston over who should control the proposed community development corporation, the Model Cities Board or the United Front, is irrelevant because City Hall still has refused to respect the concept of the community as a distinct and meaningful entity. The Model Neighborhood Board which includes Roxbury, North Dorchester and Jamaica Plain doesn't represent a distinct community and nobody argues very hard that it does.

But Roxbury is a community and has been regarded as one since 1868 when its was annexed by Boston without consent. Kotler thinks that Roxbury's 1868 boundaries are still entirely feasible for a community corporation but, in any case, "only the people can tell you what the neighborhood is."

Kotler, who is writing a book on community autonomy in the United States, has found that the City Halls frequently have used the model cities boards to avoid handing over political control to the neighborhoods. The potential impact of community corporations on local politics could be tremendous.

If Roxbury ever got its own community corporation, can you imagine what Dorchester, would want? And Charlestown. And any other neighborhood that feels separated from the political process?

It's unfortunate that because Roxbury happens to be mostly black and the United Front a militant black organization the issue of community control has become obscured in a racial cloud. But white people also live in Roxbury and they also would be represented on a community corporation board elected through a referendum.

Who knows but that a Roxbury referendum wouldn't deny political power to the United Front? There's only one way to find out.

[From the Boston Globe, July 16, 1968]

Federal Lift in Sight for Urban Corporation

(By David Deitch)

Mayor White has refused to cooperate with the black leadership in Roxbury who want their own community corporation, but legislation introduced in Congress last week may make City Hall intransigence all but a dead issue.

Four Republican congressmen, three of whom are ranking minority members of their committees, sent to the floor H.R. 18460, a bill that would move black people (whites, too!) toward economic independence through the establishment of community-controlled development and service corporations.

What the legislation does in a nutshell is to make it financially attractive to establish a community corporation by granting Federal tax incentives and guarantees to both neighborhoods and corporations who want to help.

The germ of the idea came from Gar Alperovitz and John McClaughry, radical and conservative types, respectively, at the Institute of Politics of the Kennedy School of Government in Cambridge. Alperovitz held a long series of seminars with Roy Innis, the new national director of CORE, an organization still in the process of crystallizing its own ideas about community control.

CORE knew it wanted black self-determination in the local communities but hadn't made up its mind on the precise sort of public instrument that was necessary to carry out the goal with the essential support of the white power structure. CORE is now pitching for federal legislation to support community control of social services and economic development while offering in return an eventual end to welfare payments and the promise of profits to the corporations who get into the deal.

The total package of possibilities obviously convinced the bill's conservative sponsors who include Reps. William B. Widnall (R-N.J.) of the Banking and Currency and Joint Economic Committees; Robert Taft Jr. (R-Ohio), of Foreign Affairs; Charles E. Goodell (R-N.Y.) of Education and Labor; and Thomas B. Curtis (R-Mo.) of Joint Economic and Ways and Means.

Essentially, the bill defines the limits of the community corporation in its incorporated procedures. Any group of five people can petition for incorporation but must have the support of at least five percent of the over-16 population—which could be hard to get in a poverty-stricken community such as Roxbury. This could result in a referendum to decide the corporation's operating area. Once established and certified, the corporation would hold elections in the community to determine its governing body.

Mayor White has been urged to establish a community corporation in Roxbury through this basic procedure, but has refused, electing to work through the Model Cities Board which covers a much wider area. White's plan effectively sidetracks what the blacks want most of all: control over their own communities, which means that City Hall would have to give up some governing power.

The community corporation would own—sooner or later—the stock of businesses which establish in the area, and use the profits for social services and reinvestment. Alperovitz says the idea of self-generating growth is central to cutting the Gordian knot of appropriations in Congress.

The bill would also authorize a turn-key program where industrial corporations would have the tax incentive to establish subsidiaries in the ghettos, particularly those with growth technologies, and leave behind trained management, workers and the ownership of a viable concern in the hands of the community corporation.

There's some question whether industry would want to set up competing companies, but Alperovitz says it's possible to find noncompetitive markets. Another less preferable choice, as far as the idea of autonomy is concerned, is for industry to establish supplier companies in the ghetto.

Corporations such as EG&G, Xerox and Aerojet-General are among the major corporations which have established ghetto subsidiaries to be handed over in part to black management and workers.

A third feature of the legislation is that it would authorize a development bank system which would be locally controlled, but provide for Federal guarantees on investment money flowing into the financial arm of the community corporation.

The quality of the bill's present support leads Alperovitz to predict that "this program or something much like it will be a major attraction of the next Congress; everybody is moving in this general direction."

[From the Boston Globe, July 20, 1968]

Local Control Vital to Black Economic Development—Congress Does Something About It

(By David Deitch)

The military-industrial complex for a long time has been seen as a convenient form of socialism for the affluent millions who benefit from it. A big chunk of the national tax dollar goes to support the corporations working on military contracts and the salaries and stock options of the privileged.

One could always legitimately complain therefore at the double standard in this country which prevents a similar application of public funds being directed toward breaking the chain which regulates the ghetto life.

But the factors which control the ghetto are as institutionalized as the military-industrial complex and, as far as money is concerned, Congress will appropriate in one place but not in another. This is a fact of political life that shows no sign of becoming dislodged even by riots.

This is why it became necessary to devise legislation such as the Community Self-Determination Act (S. 3875) which would tackle the problem of ghetto economic development through an essential compromise between the needs of the black community leadership, which are still evolving, and the free enterprise, profit-making system.

The legislation would make it financially attractive for neighborhoods to set up community development corporations (CDC), controlled by local residents, as well as for outside corporations to create plants and facilities for later sale to the community. Total cost of the act is estimated to be under $1 billion for fiscal year 1970.

The CDC bill represents a conglomeration of radical and conservative thinking which seems to have crystallized around the advantages of decentralizing the political and economic decision-making process in the United States. This philosophy squares perfectly with the black power leadership which, despite many other differences, are solid when it comes to black control of black communities.

It was the logic and benefits to be gained from community control and decentralization that caused two fellows at the Harvard Institute of Politics with senatorial connections, Gar Alperovitz and John McClaughry, to develop initially the idea for legislative purposes with Roy Innis of CORE. The Community Self-Determination Act has since attracted a wide range of conservative-liberal sponsorship in Congress, and for some readily apparent reasons.

The CDC bill is implicitly a recognition that private enterprise can't be kept out of the slums because large amounts of public money won't be made available. It avoids the whole issue of making affluent whites pay for black development by concentrating on self-help and profit-making opportunities.

But while the Act formally recognizes the inevitability of profit-making in the slums, it at least regulates the terms of what has come to be known as "corporate imperialism for the poor". These terms insist that once established at a profit by outside corporations, businesses will be turned over to the people through their ownership in the community corporation.

This stipulation presumably goes far toward meeting CORE's requirement that black development won't effectively take place unless "capital instruments", that is, the means of production, are owned by blacks who never owned them before.

One of the most interesting parts of the bill is the democratic way in which the community corporation is to be formed, something that might influence the parochial mentality of local politicians. According to a joint statement by Senators Percy, Nelson, Javits and Harris, "the act's further organizational requirements can be best understood by observing that they are designed to permit the community to define itself and to create a CDC as it sees fit."

In other words, the backers of the legislation respect the meaning and worth of a community, by insisting that limits on the size and membership of the community should not be imposed from outside it. This automatically means that the community corporation will help the inner city discover its political identity despite the objections of City Hall.

[From the Boston Globe, July 30, 1968]

Local Control Vital to Black Economic Development—"We Are the Only People Without Capital"

(By Harold J. Samuels)

WASHINGTON.—The demand of the black community for a share in American business—not only as employees but as owners and managers—has been heard clearly by political leaders this year. The leading candidates of both parties are calling for new policies to promote black ownership.

In the inner city itself "a piece of the action" has become a symbol more potent that just an economic issue. "Jobs" still means working for whitey; "own your own" means a lot more.

A Negro business leader put the problem bluntly. "This is a capitalistic system," he said, "but we are the only people in it without any capital."

The Irish, the Jews, the Italians have always owned the businesses in their neighborhoods, and the grocer's son eventually made his way to college and into the "system." The blacks, for many reasons, have not been able to.

The facts are dramatic:

Minorities are 15 percent of the population but own only 1 percent of the businesses. One out of ten white families owns its own business, but only one out of 40 black families do.

Even in the ghettos, some 80 to 85 percent of the businesses are owned by whites. Certainly less than 10 percent of the retail volume moves through black stores in the inner city.

In Washington, where more than 60 percent of the population is Negro, blacks own 2000 businesses while whites own 28,000. One fourth of the businesses the Negroes do own are barber shops and beauty parlors. They own no manufacturing enterprises.

With little capital of their own, Negroes have a hard time walking into a bank and coming out with a business loan. And there are astonishingly few Negro banks to go to—only one in the whole of New York city, 17 in the entire United States.

The Johnson Administration has made a start, gaining some experience in how to help minorities and making some mistakes along the way. But it now has the tools and is ready to move in a much bigger way.

The critical problem of insurance for businesses in high risk areas will soon be resolved by the reinsurance bill Congress is expected to pass. The Small Business Administration has the authority to guarantee hundreds of millions of dollars worth of loans from the private banks. SBA can do for minority business development what Federal mortgage guarantees have done for housing. The agency can offer 100 percent guarantee on special "economic opportunity" loans for the poor—looking more at their personal potential as entrepeneurs than at their capital. Some $82 million has been loaned so far.

Acquiring some capital is only the start for the new class of minority entrepreneurs we want to help establish. They must also have training in management to succeed.

On both these scores there is a limit to what government can or should do. The private business community's participation is essential to provide not only capital—greatly leveraged with government guarantees—but management assistance.

Much more can and must be done by the retail and service businesses to offer franchise to minority entrepreneurs—auto dealerships, service stations, supermarkets. There is no better way for people with limited experience to develop managerial competence than by operating first under the umbrella of a successful corporation.

Trade associations should set up special programs to sponsor and train minorities to get into their fields, especially retail and service areas where entry is the easiest.

The President has given me the mandate as head of the S.B.A. to move forcefully in these new directions, and quickly. The leaders of the banking and business communities are being consulted and they understand this need. They see minority ownership as important to economic growth and a stable society.

A TIME FOR TOUGHNESS

Mr. **BENNETT**. Mr. President, everybody realizes that the problem of inflation is one of the most serious we face today, since it underlies so many others. It cannot be licked without imposing some hardship on everybody, and this is very hard to do in an election year.

I agree with the editors of the Wall Street Journal who published an editorial today entitled, "A Time for Toughness." I am afraid that reluctantly, I have to agree that we in Congress are among those who have failed to display this very necessary quality.

It is particularly disheartening when big labor can exact a 6-percent wage increase and have that increase approved by the administration as being well within the current allowable pattern, even though the increase is doubled by rate of productivity increase, and in the same breath condemn the steel companies, which have found it necessary to cover that increase with 5-percent price increases.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Time for Toughness

"The Bethlehem steel price increase is unreasonable and just should not be permitted to stand. The public interest must be recognized by the entire steel industry in its price decisions at this critical time."

Thus did President Johnson, in tough, schoolmasterish tones, take the steel companies to task. Though the lecture was scarcely unexpected, it still calls for a few comments.

To begin with, maybe it's mildly disheartening that the Administration at least realizes that inflation has gone so far that it demands the toughest sort of counter-action. On the day that the President was censuring the steel men—without censuring the Steelworkers Union for its huge wage increase—the Bureau of Labor Statistics released the dreary news that consumer prices climbed in June at an annual rate of 6%, the fattest figure for any month since early 1966.

The Administration's approach, however, indicates once again that it fails dismally to grasp the economics of inflation. That is disheartening in the extreme, since effective control of inflation, if it's ever to come, demands intelligent action by Washington.

No one, and certainly no Administration official, knows whether an across-the-board steel price rise is "reasonable." (Reasonableness aside, it was probably bad tactics; a series of "selective" boosts apparently could have achieved the same result without a White House explosion.)

The proper testing-place for price increases, in a free economy, is the market. It's quite possible that stiff import competition and declining demand, as users work off inventories piled up in anticipation of the strike that did not come, would in time prove a steel price rise to be unrealistic.

In any event, it's certainly unrealistic, in an economy as large and diverse as this one, to try to even slow inflation by rolling back prices of a single firm or industry. That's no more sensible than fighting a flood by plugging a single hole in a badly perforated dike.

The Government's toughness would be vastly more useful if it were directed toward lessening the pressure of the waters on the dike. After all, it's largely responsible for building up that pressure over the years. So far, there's scanty evidence that either the Administration or Congress sees their duty clearly, or even dimly.

Oh, they got tough with the taxpayers, all right; nearly everyone is taking home less cash these days to pay those spiraling prices. Put another way, the President just jacked up the cost of Government, so look who's complaining about steel prices. There has also been a lot of determined talk about trimming Federal spending, but the words up to now far outrun the action.

In the first place, Congress refused to face up to the task of setting priorities among the vast number of Federal programs it had sanctioned. Instead, it elected the blunderbuss approach, a $6 billion slash in spending somewhere, partly by forcing an across-the-board curtailment in Federal jobs.

Even then, it has shown a total lack of courage in its conviction. One by one, agencies have been exempted from the employment curb. Time after time the lawmakers have padded the Administration's spending requests.

The job of getting the runaway budget under control is by no means easy. Demands for continued or increased spending in many areas are strong, and especially persuasive in this election year. In certain cases, perhaps, spending boosts could be justified in any normal time.

But this is hardly a normal time. The Government, in trying to do too much too fast for too many, has sorely weakened its ability to do anything really useful for anyone. Some people are bound to be hurt if the Government finally takes effective action to stabilize the nation's currency, to clean up its badly muddled financial affairs.

It isn't going to help at all to chastise the steel companies. But it sure is a time for toughness.

NOMINATION OF JUSTICE FORTAS

Mr. **PELL**. Mr. President, I speak once again to support the nomination of Abe Fortas to be Chief Justice of the United States.

His qualifications are well known, and my reiterating of them will not add to their lustre.

It should be understood by the Nation that there are Senators who support the appointment of Justice Fortas, even though such support does not gain the publicity that opposition brings. As to personal probity, there is no question of fitness. As to the power of the President to appoint, need we really give this argument any credence? Suffice it to say, if the President were to bring about a settlement in Vietnam, nobody would argue against it on the grounds that he is going out of office.

I have not heard any serious question as to the ability of Mr. Justice Fortas. Therefore, it is quite evident that opposition to his nomination comes from a general distaste of the Supreme Court or from partisan politics. But whatever the reason, there would appear to be no excuse for subjecting Mr. Fortas to the personal abuse which has been directed at him. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article published in this week's New Republic.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Justice Fortas

On that day in February, 1952, the great marble Caucus Room was jammed. Pat McCarran was in the chair, swarthy Joe McCarthy led the Republicans and the man whom McCarthy denounced as a "Soviet spy," on whose conviction he said his whole case of conspiracy would stand or fall, was in the witness chair. For 12 days—the longest congressional interrogation of one man in congressional history—Professor Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins, a leading expert on the Orient, was pilloried. Sitting beside him as his counsel, giving his services free and advising his client to fight back, was Abe Fortas of the law firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter.

In the last fortnight, Fortas has himself sat in the same marble-columned room, in the same witness chair, before a Senate committee, defending himself. He is the first man nominated as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court ever to be thus questioned by the Senate.

Fortas got Lattimore off. "A more blatant invasion of the right of free speech has never occurred in our history," Thurman Arnold wrote later. As for Justice Fortas, the confirmation fight will be delayed till after Congress returns in September, where it will hit a filibuster; the result a toss-up.

It has been a strange experience. Fortas' testimony of closeness to Mr. Johnson did not aid him. But the thing that sticks in memory is a member of the great U.S. tribunal being taunted for his judicial decisions. Lattimore denounced in 1952 because he warned Red China was here to stay; Fortas badgered in 1968 because he believes police court defendants have a right to constitutional safeguards. At the end, Strom Thurmond (R, S.C.) invited the Justice back to see a display of girlie magazines filled with nude photographs which he wanted Fortas to view on the charge that court decisions have encouraged pornography. Fortas declined.

What is the real attack on Fortas? We believe it is an attack by obscurantists and those confused by modern complexities against liberals, intellectuals and the Supreme Court as a symbol—charging that the latter is somehow responsible for crime and lawlessness. Popular sentiment is 4 to 3 against the Court, according to Gallup. Nixon has put himself at the head of the attack against "the barbed wire of legalisms" erected by "the Supreme Court." Nixon will pick Justices, the inference is, who will shortcut legal niceties.

And what are these niceties? In 1963 a 50-year-old white man named Gideon who had been in and out of jail most of his life wrote a letter from a Florida prison telling the Supreme Court that he'd asked for legal counsel and been refused. Using its discretionary power, the Court named Abe Fortas to represent Gideon. The idea that busy Justices of the highest court would reach down into prison and review the case of a habitual prisoner was moving to some. *NYTimesman* Tony Lewis wrote a best-seller on it, *Gideon's Trumpet*. A TV network devoted an hour of prime time to recapitulate the case. And today *Gideon* v. *Wainwright*, argued by Fortas, means that all men, even the humblest, even habitual criminals, have the same rights before the Court.

That is what the Fortas case is really about. To Nixon these rights are a "barbed wire of legalisms." To the Court majority they are simply the safeguards habitually granted defendants in British trial courts. But in the marble-columned Senate Caucus Room the same wind of anger and resentment that blew against Lattimore, blows today against Lattimore's former counsel.

THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION'S 15 YEARS OF HELP TO AMERICAN BUSINESS

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, this week marks the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Small Business Administration. On July 30, 1953, the Congress enacted the Small Business Act which gave permanent and independent status to the Small Business Administration pursuant to the following strong mandate:

> It is the declared policy of the Congress that the Government should aid, counsel, assist, and protect, insofar as is possible, the interests of small business concerns in order to preserve free competitive enterprise . . . and strengthen the overall economy of the Nation.

This agency was designed to belong to the 5 million small businessmen of this country who produce 40 percent of our gross national product and fully half of all of the jobs in our economy. The Congress recognized that our smaller firms needed not only a voice in Washington, but a helping hand. This is because in the more remote regions of our country, far from the large money markets of the East, and particularly where agriculture predominates, bank lending is quite seasonal and capital is harder to come by at just about any time of the year.

SBA was made the lender of last resort for businessmen in these areas where bank credit, particularly medium-term loans and growth funds, was difficult to obtain. I was pleased that we were able to have a branch office established in Las Vegas in my State and, over the years, this branch has fully justified its existence by making the following loans to worthy Nevada businessmen: business loans, 175, totaling $9,947,000; equal opportunity loans, seven, totaling $58,000; development company loans, one, totaling $120,000; disaster loans, 77, totaling $474,000; other loans, five, totaling $81,000; for a total of 265 loans amounting to $10,680,000.

The Small Business Administration has also been active in the field of bringing management information to small businessmen. This is often equally or more important to a small company whose owners may be expert in some but not all of the skills required in this age of increasing specialization. Nationally, the agency has distributed more than 44 million management publications and held 11,000 courses, conferences, and workshops which have been attended by more than 450,000 business men and women. The agency estimates that 565,200 business people have received individual management counseling since 1960 under these programs, including the new SCORE program which has mobilized retired executives to go out to the factories and the stores and bring their accumulated wisdom to the companies that need it. I know that Nevada and the other Mountain States have benefited substantially from these programs.

Of special value to our smaller towns has been the local development company program, which was placed on the statute books in late 1958, and under which activity has picked up speed with every passing year. At first, it matched $4 of Federal loan money for each $1 raised by a local community to attract industry. In the past Congress, this was amended to increase the ratio to $9 to $1. The SBA has already made 1,805 of these loans, totaling more than $375 million, with 82 percent of them coming in the last 5 years. Nevada has received only one of this type loan so far, but I feel there is considerable potential for our communities in this area.

Many other actions of the Small Business Administration have an influence on the structure of our economy, which is harder to reduce to hard figures but, nevertheless, has a powerful effect on the climate in which small businessmen and farmers operate. The agency, together with the House and Senate Select Committees on Small Business, has fought hard year in and year out that the rules of competition were fairly drawn in order to resist the trend toward big business taking over a disproportionate share of the economy.

An example of this is in the field of procurement by the Federal Government of defense and other industrial materiel. The original Small Business Act declared Congress' intention that small firms get a fair share of this business. We went on to amend the law in 1963 to extend this fair share to the realm of subcontracting, and gave SBA the responsibility of carrying out these instructions on a day-to-day basis. The agency then developed subcontracting rules and applied them to the 39 largest Government prime contractors. An indication of the success of this program is that in fiscal year 1967 about $4.1 billion was subcontracted under these rules, which is almost double the level that existed prior to the legislation. I am glad to see that SBA is now practically doubling the scope of the subcontracting program to include the 75 top prime contractors. Some of these subcontracts have come into the Rocky Mountain area, and more will do so in the future.

In the field of agribusiness, also, the Congress and the Small Business Administration are working together. With my active support, the Senate Small Business Committee made a pioneer 3-year study between 1964 and 1967, exploring overseas potential for American livestock and beef products. We discovered and documented the existence of a $1 billion market in the Western European nations by 1970. Through legislation sponsored by myself and 26 other Senators, we are attempting now to mobilize industry and Government to take full advantage of these rich possibilities.

This study led us to considering some of the structural weaknesses of the livestock and meat industries, and to a subsequent study of a possible tax and other financial measures that might improve profitability and the long-term ability of our small livestock producers to capitalize fully on the future growth of both domestic and foreign markets.

Similarly, when the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967 imposed on members of the meatpacking industry a requirement that they upgrade their facilities to meet Federal standards within 2 years, my small-business-minded colleagues in the Senate were quick to support a resolution which I offered to study the possible hardships resulting from this act, and to suggest effective remedies. This legislation, Senate Resolution 290, now has 17 cosponsors and is presently pending before the Committee on Agriculture. We are working very hard to gain its passage by the full Senate, and if we are successful, the Small Business Administration will have an important role in studying and filling the needs of approximately 14,000 nonfederally inspected meatpackers who must comply with the Wholesome Meat Act.

It has impressed me that all of this activity on the part of the SBA has been at almost a negligible cost to the taxpayer. At its last report, SBA informed the Congress that it was returning 96 cents in loan repayments and interest for every dollar that Congress had appropriated to it, including for the maintenance of its Washington headquarters and many field offices. When the added taxes paid by SBA-assisted firms are added, it is probable that the SBA program has resulted in a profit to the Federal Treasury. This is a remarkable record for any Government agency.

Mr. President, it thus seems to me that the Small Business Administration has proven its worth, both to my State of Nevada and to the Nation as a whole. I have been pleased to be a part of these efforts since I came to the Senate in 1955 and as a member of the Select Committee on Small Business since 1957. I am proud of the accomplishments of the committee and of the SBA and take this occasion to heartily congratulate the Small Business Administration on its 15th birthday. I look forward to helping all I can so that the next 15 years can be equally as productive for our small businessmen and farmers in Nevada and across the country.

THE ADMINISTRATION IS ACTING RESPONSIBLY IN THE MATTER OF FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

Mr. **MONRONEY.** Mr. President, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Delaware, has said that the Johnson administration had "deliberately padded the Federal payrolls," by adding more than 95,000 employees just prior to the signing of the surtax law.

I take issue with the Senator. I believe that his statement is both inaccurate and misleading. For the fact of the matter is that he has lumped together full-time Federal employment and temporary summer employment—including the youth opportunity employees.

As we know, the tax bill specifically exempted up to 70,000 economically and educationally disadvantaged youth employees under the youth opportunity program.

This year, I am told there are 93,200 summer youth employees between the ages of 16 and 21 working for our Government. But the overriding fact is that full-time permanent Federal employment has increased only by 12,000 this June. This figure compares with an increase of under 18,000 last year and 16,000 a year before.

It is clear, I think, that the Johnson administration is exercising prudent restraint in Federal hiring. It has abided by the letter of the law passed by Congress with the surtax bill. Clearly, Federal agencies, acting under the watchful eye of President Johnson, have acted with restraint in their hiring practices. And since the tax bill has exempted youth opportunity participants, it seems to me that the distinguished Senator has erroneously calculated the true intent and purposes of this administration's desire to practice economy in government.

President Johnson, from the moment he took office, pledged to the American people that his administration would be prudent and thoughtful in spending the taxpayers hard-earned money. I think the record will show that the President has kept this promise. The American people are getting what they are entitled to: well-managed, streamlined Federal management under the programs that are helping to reshape modern America.

Mr. **KUCHEL.** Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thereupon (at 11 o'clock and 14 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 11:46 a.m. when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. BYRD of West Virginia in the chair).

NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE

Mr. **HILL.** Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 12843.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate the bill (H.R. 12843) to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health, which was read twice by its title.

Mr. **HILL.** I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of the bill.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. **HILL.** H.R. 12843 that would establish a National Eye Institute as part of the National Institutes of Health has been approved by the House of Representatives. The legislation is identical to S. 325 except that the bill as passed by the House was amended to substitute the term "Secretary" for the term "Surgeon General." This is merely a technical amendment. The legislation was unanimously approved by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The companion measure in the Senate, S. 325, has 51 cosponsors.

There are over 400,000 blind persons in the United States, and it is estimated that some 90 million Americans—nearly one-half of the entire population—suffer from some sort of eye disorder or impaired vision. More than 12 million schoolchildren require eye care; 3,500,000 people in this country have a permanent, noncorrectable, visual defect; and 1,500,000 are blind in one eye according to the legal definition of this condition. More than 32,000 Americans lose their vision each year, so that in the 20-year period from 1940 to 1960 the blind population in the United States increased by 67 percent while the general population increased by only 36 percent. Over one-half million Americans will become blind in the next 10 years if the present trend continues. The cost of blindness in addition to the human tragedy runs to more than $1 billion a year.

An expanded program of research to determine the causes of blindness and to develop effective prevention and treatment techniques, is essential.

In addition to research focused on the cause, cure, and prevention of eye diseases, the proposed National Eye Institute will also focus attention on the special health problems and other special requirements of the blind. For example, broad demographic studies designed to produce urgently needed comprehensive information about the health, age, distribution, economic, and social characteristics of blind persons, as well as public attitudes would be extremely useful in the development of governmental and nongovernmental service programs.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. **HILL.** Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. **HOLLAND.** I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. **HILL.** Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 11 o'clock and 48 minutes a.m.) the Senate took a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 12:09 p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. THURMOND in the chair).

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3095) to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill

(H.R. 18706) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and that the House receded from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, and 3 to the bill and concurred therein, severally with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18706) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the total sum approved by the conferees is $540,178,988. This sum is $8,014,822 under the Senate recommendation, $11,292,988 over the House bill, and $66,012,012 under the total revised budget estimates for fiscal 1969.

The Federal payment to the general fund of the District of Columbia was fixed at $79,000,000, a decrease of $1,000,000 below the Senate recommendation and $4,000,000 above the House allowance. The Federal loan authority was fixed at $66,473,000, a decrease of $4,000,000 below the Senate recommendation and $917,000 below the House allowance.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its action on certain amendments of the Senate to House bill 18706, which was read as follows:

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment, insert "$79,000,000".

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment, insert "$66,473,000".

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, to the aforesaid bill, and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum named in said amendment, insert "$57,223,000".

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Senate agree to the amendments of the House to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, and 3.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from West Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a summary table of the bill.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Summary of bill (H.R. 18706)

Item (1)	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968 (2)	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969 (3)	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in House bill (4)	New budget (obligational) authority, recommended in Senate bill (5)	New budget (obligational) authority recommended by conference action (6)
FEDERAL FUNDS					
FEDERAL PAYMENT TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA					
General fund	[1] $70,000,000	$70,000,000	$75,000,000	$80,000,000	$79,000,000
Water fund	2,205,000	2,098,000	2,098,000	2,098,000	2,098,000
Sanitary sewage works fund	1,294,000	1,184,000	1,184,000	1,184,000	1,184,000
Total, Federal payment to District of Columbia	73,499,000	73,282,000	78,282,000	83,282,000	82,282,000
LOANS TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FOR CAPITAL OUTLAY (FROM THE U.S. TREASURY)					
General fund	[2] 66,588,000	94,429,000	58,140,000	61,223,000	57,223,000
Highway fund	14,300,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000
Water fund	2,000,000	1,250,000	1,250,000	1,250,000	1,250,000
Total, loan appropriation to District of Columbia	82,888,000	103,679,000	67,390,000	70,473,000	66,473,000
Grand total, new budget (obligational) authority, Federal funds	156,387,000	176,961,000	145,672,000	153,755,000	148,755,000
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FUNDS					
OPERATING EXPENSES					
General operating expenses	*27,079,258*	*33,299,000*	*31,703,000*	*31,827,738*	*31,770,000*
Public safety	*98,988,276*	[3] *113,023,000*	*100,475,000*	*104,682,829*	*104,531,000*
Education	*103,021,900*	*112,314,000*	*108,400,000*	*108,969,385*	*108,676,000*
Parks and recreation	*15,473,900*	*19,044,000*	*17,041,000*	*16,983,988*	*16,983,988*
Health and welfare	*106,884,600*	*127,415,000*	*122,343,000*	*121,441,870*	*121,356,000*
Highways and traffic	*16,689,400*	*17,765,000*	*17,621,000*	*17,621,000*	*17,621,000*
Sanitary engineering	*27,441,930*	*31,207,000*	*30,7351000*	*30,735,000*	*30,735,000*
Metropolitan Police (additional municipal services, Imperial Shrine Convention)	*237,700*				
Metropolitan Police (additional municipal services, inaugural ceremonies)		*440,000*	*440,000*	*440,000*	*440,000*
Personal services, wage-board employees	*1,613,000*	*787,000*	*787,000*	*787,000*	*787,000*
Settlement of claims and suits	*36,800*				
Total, operating expenses	[4] *398,357,764*	[5] *455,294,000*	*429,545,000*	*433,488,810*	*432,899,988*
REPAYMENT OF LOANS AND INTEREST					
Reimbursement to the United States	*7,760,000*	*8,868,000*	*8,769,000*	*8,769,000*	*8,769,000*
CAPITAL OUTLAY					
Capital outlay	[6] *112,750,500*	[7] *142,029,000*	*90,572,000*	*105,936,000*	*98,510,000*
Grand total, District of Columbia funds	*518,868,264*	*606,191,000*	*528,886,000*	*548,193,810*	*540,178,988*

---

[1] Includes $6,020,800 contained in the second supplemental bill, 1968.

[2] Includes $3,688,000 contained in the second supplemental bill, 1968.

[3] Includes $11,529,000 submitted in H. Doc. No. 346.

[4] Includes $17,066,964 contained in the second supplemental bill, 1968, broken down as follows:

General operating expenses	$1,535,558
Public safety	6,466,076
Education	5,690,000
Parks and recreation	353,000
Health and welfare	2,214,000
Highways and traffic	62,100
Sanitary engineering	709,430
Settlement of claims and suits	36,800
Total	17,066,964

[5] Includes $2,288,000 submitted in H. Doc. No. 318, broken down as follows:

General operating expenses	$599,000
Education	902,000
Personal services, wage board employees	787,000
Total	2,288,000

[6] Includes $847,000 contained in the second supplemental bill, 1968.

[7] Includes a $1,531,000 reduction submitted in H. Doc. No. 318.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I note with interest a report in the New York Times this morning of a speech made by Chief Justice Earl Warren yesterday to the Conference of Chief Justices of the several States. The article is entitled "Warren Says All Share Crime Onus." The article is written by Fred P. Graham, and the article is stated to be special to the New York Times.

I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WARREN SAYS ALL SHARE CRIME ONUS, CHIDES "SELF-RIGHTEOUS" AND ASSERTS SLUM CONDITIONS HAVE LONG BEEN HIDDEN

(By Fred P. Graham)

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 1.— Chief Justice Earl Warren today chided persons who viewed rising crime with "self-righteous indignation" and "oversimplification."

"It is not so simple, and all of us must assume a share of the responsibility," the Chief Justice said.

Yesterday Gov. Ronald Reagan of California was applauded when he presented the Republican platform committee in Miami Beach with a ringing statement against rising crime. Before the same committee, Richard M. Nixon attributed some of the crime rise to the courts.

In his comments today, Justice Warren did not mention any specific critics of the Court, but he warned a meeting of state supreme court justices that the Supreme Court was facing increasing criticism over its liberal rulings on the rights of criminal defendants.

In an apparent reference to recent attacks on the Supreme Court in Congress, Justice Warren declared that no branch of the Government "can strengthen the democratic process by climbing over the weakened body of another."

Justice Warren attributed the crime rise to slum conditions, which, he said, "for decades we have swept under the rug." But he added that judges must shoulder some blame for the situation because of trial delays that leave accused criminals at large or in jail for as long as two years between arrest and trial.

CALLS COURTS SUSCEPTIBLE

Justice Warren did not mention specifically the anticourt statements made during last month's Senate Judiciary hearings on the nomination of Abe Fortas as Chief Justice.

But he warned that "if one out of three coordinate branches of government is discredited, the entire structure of government is weakened." He said the judiciary "is the most susceptible to attack, because it cannot enter the political arena and trade blow for blow with those who would discredit its work."

Justice Warren spoke to the Conference of Chief Justices at its annual meeting in the Warwick Hotel here.

It was the first time he had addressed the state chief justices group, which has frequently been critical of the United States Supreme Court.

It is customary for one or sometimes even two Supreme Court justices to attend conventions of the American Bar Association.

This year's convention will open at the Philadelphia Civic Center on Monday, and four Justices will attend.

A BIT OF FENCE-MENDING

The presence of the four—Justices Warren, Fortas, William J. Brennan Jr. and Byron R. White—indicates that the Supreme Court is mending its fences with the legal profession at a time when anticourt sentiment seems to be rising.

Justice Warren quipped during his speech that "circumstances over which I have no control" (the delay in Senate confirmation of Justice Fortas as Chief Justice) could bring him back to the high bench on October 3.

But he declined to elaborate to reporters, saying that he did not want to give the impression that he had "blacklisted the Senate" into choosing between Justice Fortas or him.

Justice Warren has announced his intention to resign but has said he will serve until a successor is nominated and confirmed.

Other annual meetings being held here now are the National Conference of Court Administrative Officers, the National Association of Bar Executives, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Law and the Traffic Court Program Seminar.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I wish to read two paragraphs from the article:

> In his comments today, Justice Warren did not mention any specific critics of the Court, but he warned a meeting of state supreme court justices that the Supreme Court was facing increasing criticism over its liberal rulings on the rights of criminal defendants.
>
> In an apparent reference to recent attacks on the Supreme Court in Congress, Justice Warren declared that no branch of the Government "can strengthen the democratic process by climbing over the weakened body of another."

Mr. President, I sincerely hope that by his quoted remarks the distinguished Chief Justice did not mean he does not approve the use of the checks-and-balances processes provided by our Constitution and the appropriate exercise of its powers and responsibilities in this matter by the Senate. I think that the Senate, always remaining decent in its comments, has a responsibility to use its checks-and-balances power, in making remarks and comments it thinks appropriate relative to the conduct of the Supreme Court.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CLARK in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HEALTH MANPOWER ACT OF 1968

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 3095.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3095) to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes, which was, strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert:

That this Act may be cited as the "Health Manpower Act of 1968".

SEC. 2. As used in the amendments made by this Act, the term "Secretary", unless the context otherwise requires, means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

TITLE I—HEALTH PROFESSIONS TRAINING

PART A—CONSTRUCTION GRANTS

EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATIONS

SEC. 101. (a) Section 720 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293) is amended by inserting after and below clause (3) of the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: "For such grants there are also authorized to be appropriated $170,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $225,000,000 for the next fiscal year."

(b) (1) Such section 720 is further amended by striking out "Sums so appropriated shall remain available until expended." and by adding at the end of such section the following: "Sums so appropriated for any fiscal year shall remain available for obligation through the close of the next fiscal year."

(2) The amendments made by this subsection shall apply only with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

FEDERAL SHARE

SEC. 102. (a) Subsection (a)(1) of section 722 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293b) is amended by striking out "such amount may not exceed 50 per centum" and inserting in lieu thereof "such amount may not, except where the Secretary determines that unusual circumstances make a larger percentage (which in no case may exceed 66⅔ per centum) necessary in order to effectuate the purposes of this part, exceed 50 per centum".

(b) The amendment made by this section shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

LENGTH AND CHARACTER OF FEDERAL RECOVERY INTEREST IN FACILITIES

SEC. 103. (a)(1) Clause (b) of section 723 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293c) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) the facility shall cease to be used for the teaching purposes (and the other purposes permitted under section 722) for which it was constructed, unless the Secretary determines, in accordance with regulations, that there is good cause for releasing the applicant or other owner from the obligation to do so,".

(2) So much of such section 723 of such Act as precedes clause (a) is amended by striking out "ten" and inserting in lieu thereof "twenty".

(3) Clause (A) of section 721(c)(2) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 293a) is amended to read: "(A) the facility is intended to be used for the purposes for which the application has been made,".

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) (1) and (2) shall apply in the case of facilities for which a grant has been or is in the future made under part B of title VII of the Public Health Service Act. The amendment made by subsection (a)(3) shall apply in the case of assurances given after the date of enactment of this Act under such part B.

GRANTS FOR MULTIPURPOSE FACILITIES

SEC. 104. (a) Section 722 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293b) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) In the case of a project for construction of facilities which are primarily (as determined in accordance with regulations of the Secretary) for teaching purposes and for which a grant may be made under this part, but which also are for research purposes, or research and related purposes, in the sciences related to health (within the meaning of part A of this title) or for medical library purposes (within the meaning of part I of title III), the project shall, insofar as all such purposes are involved, be regarded as a project for facilities with respect to which a grant may be made under this part."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made under part B of title VII of the Public Health Service Act from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

GRANTS FOR CONTINUING AND ADVANCED EDUCATION FACILITIES

SEC. 105. (a) Paragraph (3) of section 721(c) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 293a) is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: "(and, for purposes of this part, expansion or curtailment of capacity for continuing education shall also be considered expansion and curtailment, respectively, of training capacity)".

(b) Subsection (d) of section 721 of such Act is amended by inserting "(other than a project for facilities for continuing education)" after "an existing school" in paragraph (1)(A) and after "a school" in paragraph (1)(B).

(c) Section 724(4) of such Act is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof: ", and including advanced training related to such training provided by any such school".

(d) The amendments made by this section shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made under part B of title VII of the Public Health Serivce Act from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

PART B—INSTITUTIONAL AND SPECIAL PROJECT GRANTS FOR TRAINING OF HEALTH PROFESSIONS PERSONNEL

SEC. 111. (a) Sections 770 771, and 772 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 295f, 295f–1, 295f–2) are amended to read as follows:

"AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 770. (a) There are authorized to be apropriated $117,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $168,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, for institutional grants under section 771 and special project grants under section 772.

"(b) The portion of the sums so appropriated for each fiscal year which shall be available for grants under each such section shall be determined by the Secretary unless otherwise provided in the Act or Acts appropriating such sums for such year.

"INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

"SEC. 771. (a)(1) The sums available for grants under this section from appropriations under section 770 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for the next fiscal year shall be distributed to the schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, pharmacy, optometry, veterinary, medicine, and podiatry with approved applications as follows: Each school shall receive $25,000; and of the remainder—

"(A) 75 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of—

"(i) the relative enrollment of full-time students for such year, and

"(ii) the relative increase in enrollment of such students for such year over the average enrollment of such school for the five school years preceding the year for which the application is made; with the amount per full-time student so computed that a school receives twice as much for each such student in the increase as for other full-time students, and

"(B) 25 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of the relative number of graduates for such year.

In computing the increase under clause (a)(ii) of the preceding sentence for any school, there shall be excluded a number equal to the increase required by subsection (b)(1) (except in the case of a school to which the third sentence of such subsection applies).

"(2) For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1970, and June 30, 1971, only, the sum computed under paragraph (1) for any school which is less than the amount such school received under this section for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, shall be increased to that amount, the total of the increases thereby required being derived by proportionately reducing the sums computed under such paragraph (1) for the remaining schools, but with such adjutants as may be necessary to prevent the sums computed for any of such remaining schools from being reduced to less than the amount it received for such fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, under this section.

"(b)(1) The Secretary shall not make a grant under this section to any school unless the application for such grant contains or is supported by reasonable assurances that for the first school year beginning after the fiscal year for which such grant is made and each school year thereafter during which such a grant is made the first-year enrollment of full-time students in such school will exceed the average of the first-year enrollments of such students in such school for the two school years having the highest such enrollment during the five school years during the period of July 1, 1963, through June 30, 1968, by at least 2½ per centum of such average first-year enrollments, or by five students, whichever is greater. The requirements of this paragraph shall be in addition to the requirements of section 721(c)(2)(D) of this Act, where applicable. The Secretary is authorized to waive (in whole or in part) the provisions of this paragraph if he determines, after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance, that the required increase in first-year enrollment of full-time students in a school cannot, because of limitations of physical facilities available to the school for training, be accomplished without lowering the quality of training provided therein.

"(2) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, no grant under this section to any school for any fiscal year may exceed the total of the funds from non-Federal sources expended (excluding expenditures of a nonrecurring nature) by the school during the preceding year for teaching purposes (as determined in accordance with criteria prescribed by the Secretary), except that this paragraph shall not apply in the case of a school which has for such year a particular year-class which it did not have for the preceding year or in the case of Howard University.

"(c)(1) For purposes of this part and part F, regulations of the Secretary shall include provisions relating to determination of the number of students enrolled in a school, or in a particular year-class in a school, or the number of graduates, as the case may be, on the basis of estimates, or on the basis of the number of students who were enrolled in a school, or in a particular year-class in a school, or were graduates, in an earlier year, as the case may be, or on such basis as he deems appropriate for making such determination, and shall include methods of making such determinations when a school or a year-class was not in existence in an earlier year at a school.

"(2) For purposes of this part and part F, the term 'full-time students' (whether such term is used by itself or in connection with a particular year-class) means students pursuing a full-time course of study leading to a degree of doctor of medicine, doctor of dentistry, or an equivalent degree, doctor of osteopathy, bachelor of science in pharmacy, or doctor of pharmacy, doctor of optometry or an equivalent degree, doctor of veterinary medicine or an equivalent degree, or doctor of podiatry or an equivalent degree.

"SPECIAL PROJECT GRANTS

"SEC. 772. Grants may be made, from sums available therefor from appropriations under section 770 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for the next fiscal year, to assist schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, pharmacy, optometry, podiatry, and veterinary medicine in meeting the cost of special projects to plan, develop, or establish new programs or modifications of existing programs of education in such health professions or to effect significant improvements in curriculums of any such schools or for research in the various fields related to education in such health professions, or to develop training for new levels or types of health professions personnel, or to assist any such schools which are in serious financial straits to meet their costs of operation or which have special need for financial assistance to meet the accreditation requirements, or to assist any such schools to meet the costs of planning experimental teaching facilities or experimental design thereof, or which will otherwise strengthen, improve, or expand programs to train personnel in such health professions or help to increase the supply of adequately trained personnel in such health professions needed to meet the health needs of the Nation."

(b)(1) Subsection (a) of section 773 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295f–3) is amended by striking out "basic or special grants under section 771 or 772" and inserting in lieu thereof "grants under section 771 or 772".

(2) Subsection (b)(1) of such section is amended by inserting before "or podiatry" the following: "pharmacy, veterinary medicine,".

(3) Subsection (c) of such section is amended by striking out "National Advisory Council on Medical, Dental, Optometric, and Podiatric Education" and inserting in lieu thereof "National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance".

(4) Subsection (d)(2) of such section is amended by inserting "(excluding expenditures of a nonrecurring nature)" after "for such purpose".

(5) Subsection (e) of such section is amended to read as follows:

"(e) In determining priority of projects applications for which are filed under section 772, the Secretary shall give consideration to—

"(1) the extent to which the project will increase enrollment of full-time students receiving the training for which grants are authorized under this part;

"(2) the relative need of the applicant for financial assistance to maintain or provide for accreditation or to avoid curtailing enrollment or reduction in the quality of training provided; and

"(3) the extent to which the project may result in curriculum improvement or improved methods of training or will help to reduce the period of required training without adversely affecting the quality thereof."

(c)(1) Section 774(a) of such Act is amended by striking out "and podiatric education" and inserting in lieu thereof "podiatric, pharmaceutical, and veterinary education".

(2) Such section 774(a) is further amended by striking out "twelve" and inserting in lieu thereof "fourteen", and by striking out "National Advisory Council on Medical, Dental, Optometric, and Podiatric Education" and inserting in lieu thereof "National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance".

(3) The heading of section 774 is amended to read:

"NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE"

(4) Section 780(d) of such Act is amended by striking out "National Advisory Council on Medical, Dental, Optometric, and Podiatric Education" and inserting in lieu thereof "National Advisory Council on Health Professions Educational Assistance".

(d) The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

(e) Effective only with respect to appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, section 772 of such Act is amended (1) by striking out subsection (c), and (2) by inserting before the period at the end of subsection (b) the following: ", or (3) to plan for special projects for which grants are authorized under this section as amended by the Health Manpower Act of 1968".

Part C—Student Aid

STUDENT LOANS

Sec. 121. (a)(1) Clauses (2) and (3) of section 740(b) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 294) are each amended by inserting ", except as provided in section 746," after "fund" the first time it appears therein.

(2) Section 740(b)(4) of Such Act is amended by striking out "1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "1971".

(3) Section 741(c) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294a) is amended by striking out "three years" the first time it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "one year" and by adding before the period at the end thereof "; and periods (up to five years) of advanced professional training including internships and residencies)".

(4) Section 741(e) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(e) Such loans shall bear interest, on the unpaid balance of the loan, computed only for periods for which the loan is repayable, at the rate of 3 per centum per year".

(5)(A) Section 741 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(j) Subject to regulations of the Secretary, a school may assess a charge with respect to a loan made under this part for failure of the borrower to pay all or any part of an installment when it is due and, in the case of a borrower who is entitled to deferment of the loan under subsection (c) or cancellation of part or all of the loan under subsection (f), for any failure to file timely and satisfactory evidence of such entitlement. The amount of any such charge may not exceed $1 for the first month or part of a month by which such installment or evidence is late and $2 for each such month or part of a month thereafter. The school may elect to add the amount of any such charge to the principal amount of the loan as of the first day after the day on which such installment or evidence was due, or to make the amount of the charge payable to the school not later than the due date of the next installment after receipt by the borrower of notice of the assessment of the charge.

"(k) A school may provide, in acccordance with regulations of the Secretary, that during the repayment period of a loan from a loan fund established pursuant to an agreement under this part payments of principal and interest by the borrower with respect to all the outstanding loans made to him from loan funds so established shall be at a rate equal to not less than $15 per month."

(B) Subsection (b)(2) of section 740 of such Act is further amended by striking out "and (D)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(D) collections pursuant to section 741(j), and (E)".

(b)(1) The first sentence of subsection (a) of section 742 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294b) is amended by striking out "and" before "$25,000,000" and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", and $35,000,000 each for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year".

(2) The third sentence of such subsection is amended by striking out "1970" and "1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "1972" and "1971", respectively.

(3) The fourth sentence of such subsection is amended by striking out "and" before "(2)" and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", and (3) for transfers pursuant to section 746".

(c) Section 743 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 394c) is amended by striking out "1972" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "1974".

(d)(1) Section 744(a)(1) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294d) is amended by inserting "and each of the next three fiscal years," after "1968,".

(2) Section 744(c) of such Act is amended by striking out "$35,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$45,000,000".

(e) Part C of title VII of such Act (42 U.S.C. 294, et seq.) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNDS TO SCHOLARSHIPS

"Sec. 746. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriations for any fiscal year for Federal capital contributions under an agreement under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under part F of this title to be used for the same purpose as such sums. In the case of any such transfer, the amount of any funds which the school deposited in its student loan fund pursuant to section 740(b)(2)(B) with respect to the amount so transferred may be withdrawn by the school from such fund."

(f) The amendments made by subsections (a)(1), (b)(3), and (e) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969. The amendment made by subsection (a)(3) shall apply (1) with respect to all loans made under an agreement under part (C) of title VII of the Public Health Service Act after June 30, 1969, and (2) with respect to loans made thereunder before July 1, 1969, to the extent agreed to by the school which made the loans and the Secretary (but, then, only as to years beginning after June 30, 1969). The amendment made by subsection (a) (4) and (5) shall apply with respect to loans made after June 30, 1969.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Sec. 122. (a) Subsection (a) of section 780 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 295g) is amended by striking out "or pharmacy" and inserting in lieu thereof "pharmacy, or veterinary medicine". The heading of such section is amended by striking out "OR PHARMACY" and inserting in lieu thereof "PHARMACY, OR VETERINARY MEDICINE".

(b) Subsection (b) of such section is amended by inserting "and each of the next two fiscal years" after "1969," in the first sentence and by striking out "1970" and "1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "1972" and "1971", respectively, in the second sentence.

(c)(1) Paragraph (1) of subsection (c) of such section is amended by inserting "and each of the next two fiscal years" after "1969" in clause (D) and by striking out "1969" and "1970" in clause (E) and inserting in lieu thereof "1971" and "1972", respectively.

(2) The first sentence of paragraph (2) of such subsection (c) is amended by striking out "from low-income families who, without such financial assistance could not" and inserting in lieu thereof "of exceptional financial need who need such financial assistance to".

(d) Part F of title VII of the Public Health Service Act is further amended by inserting after section 780 the following new section:

"TRANSFER TO STUDENT LOAN FUNDS

"Sec. 781. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriations for any fiscal year for scholarships under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under part C for (and to be regarded as) Federal capital contributions, to be used for the same purpose as such sums."

(e) The amendment made by subsections (a), (b), (c)(1), and (d) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending June 30, 1969. The amendments made by subsection (c)(2) shall apply with respect to scholarships from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

Part D—Miscellaneous

STUDY OF SCHOOL AID AND STUDENT AID PROGRAMS

Sec. 131. The Secretary shall, in consultation with the Advisory Councils established by sections 725 and 774, prepare, and submit to the President and the Congress prior to July 1, 1970, a report on the administration of parts B, C, E, and F of title VII of the Public Health Service Act, an appraisal of the programs under such parts in the light of their adequacy to meet the long-term needs for health professionals, and his recommendations as a result thereof.

TITLE II—NURSE TRAINING

Part A—Construction Grants

EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION

Sec. 201. (a) Section 801 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 296) is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 801. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated, for grants to assist in the construction of new facilities for collegiate, associate degree, or diploma schools of nursing, or replacement or rehabilitation of existing facilities for such schools, $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971.

"(b) Sums appropriated pursuant to subsection (a) for a fiscal year shall remain available for obligation through the close of the next fiscal year."

(b) Section 802(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 296a) is amended by striking out "July 1, 1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1970".

FEDERAL SHARE

Sec. 202. Section 803(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 296b) is amended by striking out "may not exceed 50 per centum" in clause (B) and inserting in lieu thereof "may not, except where the Secretary determines that unusual circumstances make a larger percentage (which may in no case exceed 66⅔ per centum) necessary in order to effectuate the purposes of this part, exceed 50 per centum".

INCLUSION OF TRUST TERRITORY

Sec. 203. Section 843(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298b) is amended by striking out "or the Virgin Islands" and inserting in lieu thereof "the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands".

AMENDMENT OF DEFINITION OF COLLEGIATE SCHOOL OF NURSING

Sec. 204. Section 843(c) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", and including advanced training related to such program of education provided by such school".

EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 205. The amendments made by sections 201 and 204 shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

Part B—Special Project and Institutional Grants to Schools of Nursing

SPECIAL PROJECT AND INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

Sec. 211. Sections 805 and 806 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 296d, 296e) are amended to read as follows:

"IMPROVEMENT IN USE TRAINING

"Sec. 805. (a) From the sums available therefor from appropriations under section 808 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year, grants may be made to assist any public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution to meet the cost of special projects to plan, develop, or establish new programs or modifications of existing programs of nursing education or to effect significant improvements in curriculums of schools of nursing or for research in the various fields of nursing education, or to assist schools of nursing which are in serious financial straits to meet their costs of operation or to assist schools of nursing which have special need for financial assistance to meet accreditation requirements, or to assist in otherwise strengthening, improving, or expanding programs of nursing education, or to assist any such agency, organization, or institution to meet the costs of other special projects which will help to increase the supply of adequately trained nursing personnel needed to meet the health needs of the Nation.

"(b) In determining priority of projects for which applications are filed under subsection (a), the Secretary shall give priority in the following order:

"(1) the relative need of the applicant (if a school of nursing) for financial assistance to continue in operation or avoid curtailing enrollment or reduction in the quality of training provided;

"(2) the special need of the applicant for financial assistance in connection with its merger with a school of nursing;

"(3) the relative need of the applicant for financial assistance to maintain or provide for accreditation as a school of nursing; and

"(4) the extent to which the project will increase enrollment of full-time students receiving nursing training.

"INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

"Sec. 806. (a) The sums available for grants under this section from appropriations under section 808 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year shall be distributed to the schools with approved applications as follows: Each school shall receive $15,000; and of the remainder—

"(A) 75 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of—

"(i) the relative enrollment of full-time students for such year, and

"(ii) the relative increase in enrollment of such students for such year over the average enrollment of such school for the five school years preceding the year for which the application is made; with the amount per full-time student so computed that a school receives twice as much for each such student in the increase as for other full-time students, and

"(B) 25 per centum shall be distributed on the basis of the relative number of graduates for such year. In computing the increase under clause (A) (ii) of the preceding sentence for any school, there shall be excluded a number equal to the increase required by subsection (b) (except in the case of a school to which the third sentence of such subsection applies).

"(b) The Secretary shall not make a grant under this section to any school from any appropriation for a fiscal year ending after June 30, 1970, unless the application for such grant contains or is supported by reasonable assurances that for the first school year beginning after the fiscal year for which such grant is made and each school year thereafter during which such a grant is made the first-year enrollment of full-time students in such school will exceed the average of the first-year enrollment of such students in such school for the two school years having the highest such enrollment during the five school years during the period of July 1, 1963, through June 30, 1968, by at least 2½ per centum of such average first-year enrollment, or by five students, whichever is greater. The requirements of this subsection shall be in addition to the requirements of section 802(b)(2)(D) of this Act, where applicable. The Secretary is authorized to waive (in whole or in part) the provisions of this subsection if he determines, after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Nurse Training, that the required increase in first-year enrollment of full-time students in a school cannot, because of limitations of physical facilities available to the school for training, be accomplished without lowering the quality of training provided therein.

(c)(1) For the purposes of this part and part D, regulations of the Secretary shall include provisions relating to determination of the number of students enrolled in a school or in a particular year-class in a school, or the number of graduates from a school, as the case may be, on the basis of estimates, or on the basis of the number of students who were enrolled in a school, or in particular year-class in a school, or were graduates from a school in earlier years, as the case may be, or on such basis as he deems appropriate for making such determination, and shall include methods of making such determination when a school or year-class was not in existence in an earlier year at a school.

"(2) For purposes of this part and part D, the term 'full-time students' (whether such term is used by itself or in connection with a particular year-class) means students pursuing a full-time course of study in an accredited program in a school of nursing."

CONDITIONS OF ELIGIBILITY

Sec. 212. Part A of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"APPLICATIONS FOR GRANTS

"Sec. 807. (a) The Secretary may from time to time set dates (not earlier than in the fiscal year preceding the year for which a grant is sought) by which applications under section 805 or 806 for any fiscal year must be filed.

"(b) The Secretary shall not approve or disapprove any application for a grant under this part except after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Nurse Training.

"(c) A grant under section 805 or 806 may be made only if the application therefor—

"(1) is from a public or nonprofit private school of nursing, or in the case of grants under section 805, a public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution;

"(2) contains or is supported by assurances satisfactory to the Secretary that the applicant will expend in carrying out its functions as a school of nursing, during the fiscal year for which such grant is sought, an amount of funds (other than funds for construction as determined by the Secretary) from non-Federal sources which are at least as great as the average amount of funds expended by such applicant for such purpose (excluding expenditures of a nonrecurring nature) in the three fiscal years immediately preceding the fiscal year for which such grant is sought;

"(3) contains such additional information as the Secretary may require to make the determinations required of him under this part and such assurances as he may find necessary to carry out the purposes of this part; and

"(4) provides for such fiscal control and accounting procedures and reports, and access to the records of the applicant, as the Secretary may require to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant under this part.

"AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

"Sec. 808. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated $35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $40,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, for improvement grants under section 805 and institutional grants under section 806.

"(b) Of the sums appropriated under subsection (a) of this section $15,000,000 shall be available for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1970, and June 30, 1971, for grants under section 805."

CONFORMING CHANGE

Sec. 213. Clause (2) of section 843(f) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298b) is amended to read: "(2) in the case of a school applying for a grant under section 806 for any fiscal year, prior to the beginning of the first academic year following the normal graduation date of the class which is the entering class for such fiscal year (or is the first such class in such year if there is more than one);".

EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 214. The amendments made by the preceding provisions of this part shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

PLANNING FOR FISCAL YEAR 1969

Sec. 215. Effective only with respect to appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, section 805(a) of the Public Health Service Act is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Appropriations under this section shall also be available for grants for planning special projects for which grants are authorized under this section as amended by the Health Manpower Act of 1968."

Part C—Student Aid

ADVANCED TRAINING

Sec. 221. Section 821(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 297) is amended by striking out "and" before "$12,000,000" and by inserting "$15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $19,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971," after "1969,".

STUDENT LOANS

Sec. 222. (a)(1) Clauses (2) and (3) of section 822(b) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 297a) are each amended by inserting ", except as provided in section 829," after "fund" the first time it appears therein.

(2) Section 822(b)(4) of such Act is amended by striking out "1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "1971".

(b)(1) Section 823(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297b) is amended by striking out "$1,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$1,500", by inserting "to licensed practical nurses and" immediately after "preference", and by inserting after the first sentence the following new sentence: "The aggregate of the loans for all years from such funds may not exceed $6,000 in the case of any student.".

(2) Section 823(b)(2) of such Act is amended by (A) striking out "one year" and inserting in lieu thereof "nine months" and (B) striking "except that" and all that follows down to but not including the semicolon and inserting in lieu thereof "excluding from such 10-year period all (A) periods (up to three years) of (i) active duty performed by the borrower as a member of a uniformed service, or (ii) service as a volunteer under the Peace Corps Act, and (B) periods (up to five years) during which the borrower is pursuing a full-time course of study at a collegiate school of nursing leading to baccalaureate degree in nursing or an equivalent degree, or to graduate degree in nursing, or is otherwise pursuing advanced professional training in nursing".

(3) Section 823(b)(3) or such Act is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", except that such rate shall be 15 per centum for

each complete year of service as such a nurse in a public or other nonprofit hospital in any area which is determined in accordance with regulations of the Secretary, to be an area which has a substantial shortage of such nurses at such hospitals, and for the purpose of any cancellation at such higher rate, an amount equal to an additional 50 per centum of the total amount of such loans plus interest may be canceled".

(4) Section 823(b)(5) of such Act is amended by striking out everything which follows "3 per centum per annum" down to but not including the second semicolon.

(c)(1) Section 823 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(f) Subject to regulations of the Secretary, a school may assess a charge with respect to a loan from the loan fund established pursuant to an agreement under this part for failure of the borrower to pay all or any part of an installment when it is due and, in the case of a borrower who is entitled to deferment of the loan under subsection (b)(2) or cancellation of part or all of the loan under subsection (b)(3), for any failure to file timely and satisfactory evidence of such entitlement. The amount of any such charge may not exceed $1 for the first month or part of a month by which such installment or evidence is late and $2 for each such month or part of a month thereafter. The school may elect to add the amount of any such charge to the principal amount of the loan as of the first day after the day on which such installment or evidence was due, or to make the amount of the charge payable to the school not later than the due date of the next installment after receipt by the borrower of notice of the assessment of the charge.

"(g) A school may provide in accordance with regulations of the Secretary, that during the repayment period of a loan from a loan fund established pursuant to an agreement under this part payments of principal and interest by the borrower with respect to all the outstanding loans made to him from loan funds so established shall be at a rate equal to not less than $15 per month."

(2) Subsection (b)(2) of section 822 of such Act is further amended by striking out "and (D)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(D) collections pursuant to section 823(f), and (E)".

(d)(1) Section 824 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297c) is amended by inserting $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $21,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, after "1969," the first time it appears therein, by striking out "1970" and inserting in lieu thereof "1972", and by striking out "1969," the second time it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "1971,".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", and (3) for transfers pursuant to section 829".

(e) The first two sentences of section 825 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297d) are amended to read as follows: "From the sums appropriated pursuant to section 824 for any fiscal year, the Secretary shall allot to each school an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount so appropriated as the number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in such school bears to the total number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in all schools of nursing in all the States. The number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in schools of nursing for purposes of this section shall be determined by the Secretary for the most recent year for which satisfactory data are available to him."

(f) Section 826 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297e) is amended by striking out "1972" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "1974".

(g) Section 827(a)(1) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297f) is amended by inserting "and each of the next three fiscal years," after "1968,".

(h) Part B of title VIII of such Act (42 U.S.C. 297 et seq.) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFERS TO SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

"Sec. 829. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriation for any fiscal year for Federal capital contributions under an agreement under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under part D to be used for the same purpose as such sums. In the case of any such transfer, the amount of any funds which the school deposited in its student loan fund pursuant to section 822(b)(2)(B) with respect to the amount so transferred may be withdrawn by the school from such fund."

(i) The amendments made by subsection (b) (1) and (2) shall apply with respect to all loans made after June 30, 1969, and with respect to loans made from a student loan fund established under an agreement pursuant to section 822, before July 1, 1969, to the extent agreed to by the school which made the loans and the Secretary (but then only for years beginning after June 30, 1968). The amendments made by subsection (b)(4) and subsection (c) shall apply with respect to loans made after June 30, 1969. The amendment made by subsection (h) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years beginning after June 30, 1969. The amendment made by subsection (b)(3) shall apply with respect to service, specified in section 823(b)(3) of such Act, performed during academic years beginning after the enactment of this Act, whether the loan was made before or after such enactment.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Sec. 223. (a) So much of part D of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298c et seq.) as precedes section 868 is amended to read as follows:

"Part D—Scholarship Grants to Schools of Nursing

"SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS

"Sec. 860. (a) The Secretary shall make grants as provided in this part to each public or other nonprofit school of nursing for scholarships to be awarded annually by such school to students thereof.

"(b) The amount of the grant under subsection (a) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year to each such school shall be equal to $2,000 multiplied by one-tenth of the number of full-time students of such school. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for each of the three succeeding fiscal years, the grant under subsection (a) shall be such amount as may be necessary to enable such school to continue making payments under scholarship awards to students who initially received such awards out of grants made to the school for fiscal years ending prior to July 1, 1971.

"(c)(1) Scholarships may be awarded by schools from grants under subsection (a)—

"(A) only to individuals who have been accepted by them for enrollment, and individuals enrolled and in good standing, as full-time students, in the case of awards from such grants for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and the next fiscal year; and

"(B) only to individuals enrolled and in good standing as full-time students who initially received scholarship awards out of such grants for a fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1971, in the case of awards from such grants for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and each of the three succeeding fiscal years.

"(2) Scholarships from grants, under subsection (a) for any school year shall be awarded only to students of exceptional financial need who need such financial assistance to pursue a course of study at the school for such year. Any such scholarship awarded for a school year shall cover such portion of the student's tuition, fees, books, equipment, and living expenses at the school making the award, but not to exceed $1,500 for any year in the case of any student, as such school may determine the student needs for such year on the basis of his requirements and financial resources.

"(d) Grants under subsection (a) shall be made in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary after consultation with the National Advisory Council on Nurse Training.

"(e) Grants under subsection (a) may be paid in advance or by way of reimbursement, and at such intervals as the Secretary may find necessary; and with appropriate adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments previously made.

"TRANSFERS TO STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM

"Sec. 861. Not to exceed 20 per centum of the amount paid to a school from the appropriation for any fiscal year for scholarships under this part, or such larger percentage thereof as the Secretary may approve for such school for such year, may be transferred to the sums available to the school under this part for (and to be regarded as) Federal capital contributions, to be used for the same purpose as such sums."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

Part D—Miscellaneous

DEFINITION OF ACCREDITATION

Sec. 231. (a) Subsections (c) and (e) of section 843 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 298b) are each amended by striking out "an accredited program" and inserting in lieu thereof "a program".

(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended by striking out "an accredited two-year program" and inserting in lieu thereof "a two-year program".

(c) Such subsection (c) is further amended by adding before the period at the end thereof (and after the language added by section 205 of this Act) ", but only if such program, or such unit, college, or university is accredited".

(d) Such subsection (d) is further amended by adding before the period at the end thereof ", but only if such program, or such unit, college, or university is accredited".

(e) Such subsection (e) is further amended by adding before the period at the end thereof ", but only if such program, or such affiliated school or such hospital or university or such independent school is accredited".

(f) So much of subsection (f) of such section as precedes clause (1) is amended—

(1) by inserting ", or by a State agency," immediately after "accredited by a recognized body or bodies";

(2) by inserting "or State agency" immediately after "such a recognized body or bodies";

(3) by inserting after "Commissioner of Education" the first time it appears therein "and when applied to a hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof) means a hospital, school, college, or university (or a unit thereof) which is accredited by a recognized body or bodies, or by a State agency, approved for such purpose by the Commissioner of Education";

(4) by striking out "or a program accredited for the purpose of this Act by the Commissioner of Education";

(5) by inserting ", or a hospital, school college, or university (or a unit thereof)," immediately after "except that a program";

(6) by inserting ", or the hospital school college, or university (or a unit thereof)," immediately after "reasonable assurance that the program"; and

(7) by striking out "by the school which provides or will provide such program".

(g) Such subsection (f) is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "For the purpose of this paragraph, the Commissioner of Education shall publish a list of recognized accrediting bodies, and of State agencies, which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of training offered."

STUDY OF SCHOOL AID AND STUDENT AID PROGRAMS

Sec. 232. The Secretary shall, in consultation with the Advisory Council established by section 841, prepare, and submit to the President and the Congress prior to July 1, 1970, a report on the administration of title VIII of the Public Health Service Act, an appraisal of the programs under such title in the light of their adequacy to meet the long-term needs for nurses, and his recommendations as a result thereof.

TITLE III—ALLIED HEALTH PROFESSIONS AND PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING

EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF ALLIED HEALTH PROFESSIONS PROGRAM

Sec. 301. (a) (1) (A) Section 791(a) (1) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 295h) is amended by striking out "and $13,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "$13,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970".

(B) Section 791(b) (1) of such Act is amended by striking out "1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "1969".

(2) (A) Section 792(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295h–1) is amended by striking out "and $17,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "$17,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970".

(B) Section 792(b) (1) of such Act is amended by striking out "1969" and inserting ing in lieu thereof "1970".

(3) Section 793(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295h–2) is amended by striking out "and $3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "$3,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970".

(4) Section 794 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 295h–3) is amended by striking out "and $3,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969" and inserting in lieu thereof "$3,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969; and $4,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970".

(b) Such section 794 is further amended by—

(1) striking out "training centers for allied health professions" and inserting in lieu thereof "agencies, institutions, and organizations";

(2) inserting "and methods" after "curriculums"; and

(3) striking out "new types of".

(c) Part G of title VII of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"EVALUATION

"Sec. 797. Such portion of any appropriation pursuant to section 791, 792, 793, or 794, for any fiscal year ending after June 30, 1969, as the Secretary may determine, but not exceeding one-half of 1 per centum thereof, shall be available to the Secretary for evaluation (directly or by grants or contracts) of the programs authorized by this part."

(d) Such part G is further amended by adding after section 797 (added by subsection (c)) the following new section:

"STUDY

"Sec. 798. The Secretary shall prepare, and submit to the President and the Congress prior to April 1, 1969, a report on the administration of this part, an appraisal of the programs under this part in the light of their adequacy to meet the needs for allied health professions personnel, and his recommendations as a result thereof."

PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING

Sec. 302. (a) Section 309(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 242g) is amended by striking out "and" before "$9,000,000" and by inserting "$8,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $12,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971," after 1969.

(b) (1) Section 306(a) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 242d) is amended (1) by striking out "and" before "$10,000,000" and by striking out "the succeeding fiscal year," and inserting in lieu thereof "the two succeeding fiscal years, and $14,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971", and (2) by inserting "sanitarians," immediately after "nurses".

(2) Section 306(d) of such Act is amended by striking out "$50" and inserting in lieu thereof "$100".

TITLE IV—HEALTH RESEARCH FACILITIES

EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION AUTHORIZATION

Sec. 401. (a) Section 704 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292c) is amended by striking out "and" after "$50,000,000"; and by inserting "$20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and $30,000,000 for the next fiscal year," after "$280,000,000,".

(b) Section 705(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 293) is amended by striking out "1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "1970".

FEDERAL SHARE

Sec. 402. (a) Subsection (a) of section 706 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292e) is amended by striking out "except that in no event may such amount exceed 50 per centum" and inserting in lieu thereof "but such amount may not, except as provided in paragraph (2), exceed 50 per centum".

(b) Such subsection (a) of section 706 is further amended by inserting "(1)" after "(a)" and adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) The maximum amount of any grant shall be 66⅔ per centum instead of the maximum under paragraph (1) in the case of any class or classes of projects which the Secretary determines have such special national or regional significance as to warrant a larger grant than is permitted under paragraph (1); but not more than 25 per centum of the funds appropriated pursuant to section 704 for any fiscal year shall be available for grants in excess of 50 per centum with respect to such class or classes of projects."

ADVISORY COUNCIL COMPENSATION

Sec. 403. Section 703(d) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 292b) is amended by striking out "$50" and inserting in lieu thereof "$100".

EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 404. The amendments made by section 402 shall apply in the case of projects for which grants are made from appropriations for fiscal years ending after June 30, 1969.

Sec. 405. The clause of section 101(b) of the Joint Resolution of June 29, 1968 (Public Law 90–366) relating to activities of the domestic agricultural workers health program of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is amended by striking out ", other than grants,".

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, the Health Manpower Act of 1968, S. 3095, was reported by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, of which the distinguished occupant of the chair [Mr. Clark], is a member. It was unanimously approved by the Senate on June 24, 1968. It was approved with amendments by the House yesterday by a vote of 350 yeas and no nays.

This legislation would extend the Health Professions Education Assistance Act, the Nurses Training Act, the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act, the Health Research Facilities Act, and the public health training authorities of the Public Health Service Act in sections 306 and 309.

The enactment of this legislation is essential if we are to overcome the shortages that now prevail among all categories of health manpower. By the year 1975 we will need an additional 80,000 physicians, 25,000 dentists, 3,000 optometrists, 6,000 pharmacists, and 200,000 nurses according to the estimates of the Department of Labor. This legislation would assist in the expansion of our training capacity for health personnel through construction grants, institutional grants, special project grants, scholarships, and student loans.

As approved by the Senate the legislation authorized a 3 year extension of the programs, with the exception of the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act. The House approved only 2-year extensions with a total appropriation authorization of $531 million for 1970, as compared to a Senate figure of $542 million, and an appropriation authorization of $646 million for 1971, as compared to a Senate figure of $672 million.

Since the differences in the authorizations for appropriations are relatively small for the years 1970 and 1971, I move that the Senate concur in the House amendments to S. 3095 so that the legislation can be forwarded to the President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Alabama.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to.

Mr. THURMOND. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

(At this point, Mr. Mansfield assumed the chair.)

VIETNAM

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, last Wednesday President Johnson ruled out, for the time being, further deescalation of the war in Vietnam. He said we would not halt our bombing of North Vietnam, while there is danger of a major Vietcong offensive in the south. He went even further. He said that we might have to "act promptly on additional military measures if the enemy puts our men in danger."

Meanwhile, we read in the newspapers that 4,500 additional American troops have been rushed by air into frontline combat near the demilitarized zone.

Once again we are threatened with a new escalation of the war. Perhaps tomorrow or the next day a spokesman for the administration will deny that further escalation is contemplated.

One would hope that this time that denial would be correct, but I fear, if past performance is any indication, we will nonetheless further escalate under such circumstances. We will escalate when we should be doing just the opposite. We should—and I now call on the President to—stop the bombing of North Vietnam now. Stop the bombing now when the fighting has in fact subsided. Stop the bombing now while casualties are down. Stop the bombing now to show we are willing to take a further good faith step in an effort to get the Paris negotiations off dead center. Stop the bombing now as a first step in a general cease-fire to save the lives of American boys. If there is a new Communist offensive in the south—and we have cried wolf in that regard on several occasions, which did not eventuate—but if there is a new offensive in the south we can always resume the bombing of the north again, although I think most of us now know the bombing of the north is having very little impact on reducing the infiltration of North Vietnamese and supplies into the south.

With respect to the Paris negotiations, I believe we must work toward a South Vietnamese Government which truly expresses the will of the people. In my judgment, the recent action of the Thieu government in jailing Mr. Dzu for his peace-oriented views is a shocking example of how basically undemocratic the Saigon government is. The only kind of government which can survive in South Vietnam is a government which has the support of the people. The Thieu-Ky government does not have that support.

Let us make it quite clear now that we intend to come out of these negotiations with a representative government which has the support of the people of South Vietnam. Let us also make it clear that we are prepared to accept a role in that government for representatives of the NLF—the Vietcong—if that is the will of the people of South Vietnam. Let us further make it clear that we are prepared to accept an interim coalition government in South Vietnam which will replace the present corrupt, undemocratic, dictatorial regime, and that we would expect that the NLF would be represented in that coalition.

Mr. President, the American people are tired of this war. They want it over with. They do not and have never understood our objectives in being in it. They lack confidence in those presently in charge of our Vietnam policy—not their motives, but, because of their emotional commitments of their ability to make sound policy decisions.

Our next President, whomever he may be, must have the confidence and trust of the American people. He must be willing to accept the mistakes of the past, admit them, face up to them, and chart a course, with respect to Vietnam, which will lead us, with honor, off the mainland of Southeast Asia and enable us to meet the problems—the serious and critical problems which confront us at home, and which at the moment we have neither the fiscal will nor the fiscal ability to do, because of the huge cost of our Military Establishment and the war in Southeast Asia. I hope that course will be charted which I have just recommended by all serious presidential candidates, specifically and in detail before the nominating conventions are over. I suggest that the respective convention delegates make up their minds for whom to vote, on the basis of the candidates' positions on these critical, national issues of foreign and domestic importance, and on the basis of the candidates' potential for leading this country in the directions which it must take—both in our foreign and domestic policy if we are to restore health and well-being to America—which we all love.

I myself intend to do so as a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Democratic National Convention which meets at the end of this month.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** (Mr. CLARK in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE 90TH CONGRESS—ACCOMPLISHMENTS, HOPES, AND SUGGESTIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, today marks the 130th legislative day for the Senate this year. The total is the most numerous to date in any year, save one, during the last decade.

It was the hope of the leadership that adjournment sine die could have been achieved by this date. Every reasonable effort was made to that end. The Senate has been in session Mondays through Fridays, committees have worked hard, and legislation has generally been enacted in an orderly and timely manner. The recess schedule was limited to only 8 legislative days over five holiday periods.

During the first session of the 90th Congress, a concerted effort was also made on the part of the leadership, with the cooperation of the President, to manage the legislative program in such a manner as to permit adjournment sine die prior to Labor Day, 1967. Nevertheless, Congress was unable to adjourn until December 15 last year.

In an effort to improve the situation this year, the President directed Cabinet officers, agency heads, the Budget Bureau, and his own staff to aim at presenting all of his messages to Congress by the end of February. The last major message, in fact, was received by March 4, 1968. He further directed that any draft legislation that might be involved was to be submitted to the Congress on the same day as the message and that executive witnesses were to be available immediately to testify before the committees of Congress.

In the circumstances, it was possible for the Senate committees to move a great amount of authorizing legislation. The Senate's Committee on Appropriations has also acted as promptly as possible. Today, there are no appropriations bills which have been received by the Senate which the committee has not ordered reported. However, three appropriations bills have not yet been received from the House. These are the Department of Defense, foreign aid, and a final supplemental appropriations bill.

In spite of this exceptional effort, adjournment as planned has not been possible. It has not been possible, moreover, even though there were other factors working to encourage a timely termination of the session. It is, for example, a national election year and the pressures of politics are high. There is a strong desire on the part of Members to check personally with their constituencies. There has been no slowdown on the part of the administration, the Senate, or the committees.

That we could not complete the work as expected in these favorable circumstances seems to me to argue for taking a hard look at the adequacy of current legislative procedures and, notably, fiscal procedures, for meeting today's requirements. Is it reasonable to expect that in future years we will be any more able than we have been this year to end sessions in the early summer as contemplated under the La Follette-Monroney Reorganization Act of 1946? Experience indicates that appropriations actions seem destined for completion sometime in the fall of each year rather than by July 1, as is now theoretically required. Moreover, I do not think it reasonable to expect that, in the span of 5 months, Congress will be able to discharge its responsibilities effectively in authorizing and dispensing upwards of $186 billion.

It may well be time, therefore, to acknowledge that legislating is a year-round responsibility and to act according not only in Congress but throughout the Government. In this connection, perhaps, the most urgent requirement involves the Federal fiscal year which now begins on July 1. Why should the fiscal year not coincide with the calendar year, as was the case during the early years of the Republic?

As it now stands, the President submits the annual budget to Congress within 15 days of the convening of the Congress. There is, therefore, a maximum of 5½ months prior to the beginning of the new fiscal year for Congress to consider all budget requests. As I have already noted, the experience of recent years amply demonstrates that this is insufficient time.

Clearly, something is wrong with a system which decrees that a new fiscal year must begin on July 1, but, repeatedly, is unable to provide the appropriations in time to carry out the decree. Congress has attempted to bridge the gap between the decreed beginning of the fiscal year and the actual time of appropriation by restorting to the device of continuing resolutions. The arrangement is makeshift and wasteful. At best, it serves only to continue "business as usual." It generally fails to provide funds promptly for new programs. It fails to make efficient and effective adjustments in the funding of old programs. In addition, it leaves unresolved for prolonged periods many controversial issues which are sometimes best resolved without delay.

A change in the fiscal year so that it will coincide with the calendar year might well open up the possibility of much more orderly procedures not only in the Congress but in the executive branch of the Government. As it is now, the departments and agencies often must await appropriations by Congress until long after the start of the fiscal year. The resultant delay, uncertainty, and confusion could be reduced if Congress could complete appropriating actions prior to its beginning. Furthermore, the departments and agencies now begin their budgetary consideration for the next fiscal year during the spring months of the prior calendar year. Where appropriations bills have not been enacted by the time of this consideration, the executive branch faces great difficulties in attempting to plan rationally.

The present system also causes major problems for States and localities. Their difficulties arise because many programs of Federal assistance, as the Senate knows, require matching funds. The States and localities cannot sensibly make their own appropriations for any given year until after the Federal Government has acted. When Federal appropriations are delayed, however, State legislatures will have often adjourned and local budgets and programs will have already been set. In short, States and localities often guess at what Congress is going to do with the result that urgent undertakings may be delayed, distorted, or disrupted.

A 10 or 11 months Congress could also provide for a more orderly scheduling of its time and could include an appropriate summer recess, as many Members have suggested. That would be as possible as it is sensible, if the pressures of providing appropriations were not ever present and a resumption of the session in the fall were a certainty. With time to attend to legislation in a less harassed manner, the prospects for better legislation would be enhanced. Were Congress to plan on the basis of 11 months for authorization and appropriation instead of the present 7 months, it might well lead to a more searching scrutiny of requirements and a better understanding of issues.

The record seems to me clearly to indicate the need for a basic change. During the 22 years since World War II, Congress has adjourned only twice in July, five times in August, three times in September, six times in October, five times in December, and once as late as January. Various improvisations, in an attempt to secure an early adjournment, have failed repeatedly.

It is time to face up to the fact that the substantial growth of the Federal Government, the increased responsibilities of a Senator's office, and the multitude of complex problems preclude maintaining schedules which, however well they may have worked in the past, are no longer working.

Today, the Senate is a year-round job. Congress is a year-round job. For all practical purposes that year begins in January, not in July. It may be helpful as a first step, therefore, to adjust the Government's fiscal year to coincide with the calendar year. This change would not preclude early adjournments, if conditions warranted, but, I believe, it would result in more realistic and orderly fiscal practices with beneficial results accruing to both the legislative and executive branches and to the Nation.

I urge, therefore, that study be given to this matter by an appropriate commission or by committees of Congress. A so-called Hoover-type commission, as proposed by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] and passed unanimously by the Senate, might look into the question. It may be, too, that the Monroney Special Committee on the Organization of the Congress might also consider it. In one way or another, I believe that we must delineate effective adjustments in the current concept of the fiscal year and in the executive and legislative fiscal processes which derive from it.

Mr. President, contrary to the old French saying that the more things change, the more things remain the same, it is my very strong belief that the more things change, the more things change, and we ought to face up to these changing times.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I did not have an opportunity to hear all of the Senator's speech, but I think I got the thrust of it. I commend him for making the suggestions. I may say that each year I have introduced proposed legislation——

Mr. MANSFIELD. If the Senator will yield, I would like to say what I think the Senator is going to say, and that is that for more than two decades, to my knowledge, the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], whom I am now addressing, has introduced proposed legislation seeking to divide the year into two parts, one to consider appropriations, the other to consider authorizing legislation. No Member of either body has been more consistent or more devoted to that principle, because, I must say, he has recognized things as they are. He has been ahead of his time. I now only hope that the rest of us will be able to catch up with the Senator from Washington.

Mr. MAGNUSON. We have had lengthy hearings on the suggestion made by the Senator and my proposals—which were, of course, only proposals, with a great many suggestions in them.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield further, the genesis of what I have said is based on the Magnuson suggestions and proposals for legislation made by him year after year after year.

Mr. MAGNUSON. But surely we could at least do what the able Senator from Montana so ably stated at the end of his speech. One thing we could at least do is to change the fiscal year to conform with the calendar year. It would save a lot of money and would result in more efficiency, because all the corporations and those who work and who control a large part of the economy operate according to the calendar year. I think it would save untold millions of dollars if we did the same.

The Senator from Montana and I have sat in the Appropriations Committee room downstairs many a day, appropriating money, while up here in the Senate Chamber the Senate was working on legislation authorizing the program, and maybe changing it at the same time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes; many times.

Mr. MAGNUSON. It has happened many times. It seems to me that that is one thing we could do that would save much money and at the same time increase our efficiency. I think the distinguished occupant of the chair [Mr. CLARK] has joined as a cosponsor of the general idea that the distinguished majority leader has just mentioned.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CLARK in the chair). If the Senate will excuse the informality—the Chair realizes that he does not customarily comment in colloquy—the Senator is correct. The Chair would suggest that one of the difficulties with the suggestion of the Senator from Montana, with which I am in general agreement, is, What are we going to do about campaigning for election and reelection?

Mr. MAGNUSON. There are many difficulties in connection with the suggestion, but as someone has said, there must be a better way to run the Congress than the way it is run now. There has to be.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There certainly is.

I commend the Senator from Montana for what he has said here on the closing day of this part of this session of Congress.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, may I say that all I was doing, in effect, was repeating the thoughts expressed in the legislation introduced by the distinguished Senator from Washington.

As I have indicated earlier, for more than two decades, to my personal knowledge, both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, he has been doing this.

With respect to the question raised by the distinguished occupant of the chair, the Acting President of the Senate, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], I would say that as far as campaigning is concerned we would all have to take our chances under any new procedures, just as we do now.

But I do think we are reaching the point where we will have to operate on a year-round basis. I would hope the calendar year would replace the fiscal year, and I would hope, as many Senators have advocated, that it might be possible to bring about a recess of 1 month, preferably August, during each year. At least that would give Senators a chance to go home, spend some time with their families, and come back refreshed.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair makes one very brief comment. It might be worth consideration whether we could adopt by legislation something not unlike the British system, which does strictly limit the amount of time which can be spent in campaigning before an election.

UNLAWFUL SEIZURE OF FISHING VESSELS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 2269.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2269) to amend the Act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries, which were, on page 1, line 9, strike out "certified" and insert "certificated".

On page 2, line 10, strike out "from (A)" and insert "(A) from".

On page 4, lines 1 and 2, strike out "in an amount not to exceed $150,000 annually".

On page 4, strike out all after line 24, over to and including line 6 on page 6, and insert:

SEC. 5. The Secretary of State shall take such action as he may deem appropriate to make and collect claims against a foreign country for amounts expended by the United States under the provisions of this Act (including payments made pursuant to section 7) because of the seizure of a vessel of the United States by such country. If such country fails or refuses to make payment in full within one hundred and twenty days after receiving notice of any such claim of the United States, the Secretary of State shall withhold, pending such payment, an amount equal to such unpaid claim from any funds programed for the current fiscal year for assistance to the government of such country (as shown in materials concerning such fiscal year presented to the Congress in connection with its consideration of amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961). Amounts withheld under this section shall not constitute satisfaction of any such claim of the United States against such foreign country.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the House of Representatives amended the bill in several particulars, one of which would establish a mandatory deduction of foreign assistance funds from those nations which illegally seize American-flag vessels on the high seas. They also limited to $150,000 the Federal contribution to an indemnity program.

This is not a great deal of change from the Senate bill. The Senate agreed to an amendment providing that as to Chile, Ecuador, and other countries, we would withhold all foreign assistance in case they seized American vessels; but I think the House version meets the problem better.

I have cleared this matter with the distinguished acting minority leader and others, including the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], on the minority side, and with other members of the committee. We feel we cannot wait on this bill, and therefore, we bring it up now.

Mr. President, I well recognize the objections which are made to the House amendment to S. 2269. In many respects I am in agreement with them.

The original amendment adopted on the Senate floor in early April provided for a complete cutoff of foreign assistance to those countries which continue to harass and seize American-flag fishing vessels on the high seas. This amendment was proper and would give good notice that this Nation has respect for international law and expects other coastal nations to treat our citizens in the same manner.

The realities, however, Mr. President, clearly indicate that such an amendment might be near impossible to enact into law at this time. I do not think that a single American fisherman should wait 1 day longer than necessary to achieve the protection provided in S. 2269. It is for that reason that I seek concurrence with the weaker House amendment.

The senior Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT] joined with me in cosponsoring the stronger amendment with the senior Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], but I know that if Mr. BARTLETT could be with us today as he was during the discussion and passage of this bill last April, he would heartily concur with me that we must send this measure to the White House at the earliest possible moment. He would also wish for the stronger Senate amendment, but he would compromise along with me that American-flag fishermen might achieve the protection they deserve.

I would debate the principles in this bill and amendment, but the fact that one American-flag tuna vessel off Chile, Ecuador, or Peru might today be subjected to armed seizure 100 miles offshore and forced to submit to indignities of illegal arrest and financial loss in seizure, dictates that we must act today, not tomorrow.

Mr. President, I have read the affidavits of these men. The number of seizures off Latin America alone is astounding—121 U.S.-flag fishing vessels in the last 8 years alone. These men have paid illegal fines in excess of half a million dollars. Under the 1954 law they were repaid, although the delay in many cases compounded their losses. The payments under the 1954 act, however, applied only to actual fines, nothing for exorbitant license fees or the time away from the fishing grounds.

There is another reason for moving this bill toward law today. Traditionally, August has been a month of increased seizures. The yellowfin tuna quota as established by the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission was officially ended on June 17. Actually, however, boats at sea could continue fishing until completion of their respective trips, and many of them arrived in San Diego last week. Now, with the yellowfin fishing ended because of conservation controls, the risks will be higher. Our American tuna vessels now must seek skipjack, and to do so they must go southward. In the weeks ahead they will be subjected to an even greater degree to the illegal high seas harassment and seizure.

Mr. President, we have had eight of these illegal seizures already this year. In March the average was one seizure a week. We must not wait for a perfect measure. These men need this protection now.

For 14 years we have asked our fishermen to go to the high seas and have promised them the protection provided under the 1954 law. It is not enough, although, it has enabled our fleets to stay in business. These men are asserting our rights to the high seas by their peaceful pursuits. They are assuring that our American policy of freedom on the high seas be retained. They should not be asked to go one day further than necessary.

Again, Mr. President, I agree with those who seek a stronger bill, but I also rest with the conviction that not one additional day should pass unnecessarily without giving these men protection.

There are those who say that the cutoff amendment should be included, that the mere deduction from American foreign assistance is not enough. I would call attention, however, that for 14 years we have not collected a single dime in return for the reimbursement to fishermen for these illegal fines.

S. 2269, despite the weaknesses, now makes it mandatory that this Nation will get back dollar for dollar those funds which we spend in the future to assist the American-flag fishing vessel in putting some reality into this Nation's policy in relation to the oceans.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the bill before us has been amended by the House of Representatives to delete a very important aspect on which the Senate has insisted, not only in this legislation, but on a number of occasions in the past few years. S. 2269, as passed by the Senate, included an amendment, which I offered and which the Senate supported by an overwhelming vote, to provide for an absolute shutoff of all aid to any country which fails to make restitution for the cost and damages of seizure within 120 days after the act has been committed. It is my own firm view that this kind of total shutoff is a necessary, indeed a vital, auxiliary to our diplomatic efforts to make clear to certain Latin American nations that America will not tolerate further seizures.

I concede that the bill before us does have the virtue of providing for compensation for the costs of seizure to fishermen, who have been repeatedly subjected to these acts of piracy. It does additionally provide that funds to make these payments shall be taken from current aid programs. This compensation is important, and in the public interest. I shall support the House-amended bill on the theory, I suppose, that half a loaf is better than none.

Mr. President, in concluding my comments in the Senate on this subject, I wish to lay to rest one of the unfortunate fictions that has made our efforts in achieving effective legislation so difficult. We are not dealing with a well-heeled fishermen's lobby. We are not providing some kind of government relief for the rich. On the contrary, we are trying to sustain an industry composed of humble and courageous people who accept the risks of nature, as fishermen have done for thousands of years. In California these fisheries bring employment to many who otherwise would not find work.

We—a few of us—have carried on this fight against the conventional unwisdom that somehow American fishermen would not weigh heavily in the balance of national values when weighed against the vagaries of our diplomacy in Latin

America. I simply conclude by saying that there can be no national integrity—and therefore no effective diplomacy—unless we protect the rights of our own American people on the high seas.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, to be perfectly candid about it, when the bill was before the Senate, the Senator from Ohio made a strong plea against it. The bill, however, passed the Senate overwhelmingly, so I do not intend to move to reconsider at this time; thus if, after the adjournment, the Senator from Ohio wishes to discuss the bill, he will have the opportunity. I have tried to notify him that it would be taken up today, but I have not been able to do so.

PROTECTIVE EYEWEAR

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, technical advances are made so fast today that many of the real benefits derived from the improvement of items we use every day are overlooked by the average American.

Such is the case in what is termed "protective eyewear." For some time now, industrial safety glasses have been available and have been of great help in reducing the horrible eye injuries which occur to people in industrial occupations.

The average American, young and old, has not had such protection available for his eyes during normal activities until recently. I am told that within the last few years protective lenses, which are made from either hard resin or heat-treated glass, have become available for everyone who wears glasses.

These protective lenses will withstand an impact much greater than ordinary glass lenses. Even if they should break, they will not shatter into the hundreds of blinding slivers and jagged bits of razor-edged glass as ordinary crown lenses do.

The 500,000 eye injuries suffered each year by Americans—and more than 161,000 of those are children—could have been prevented or, at least, reduced in seriousness if the victims had been wearing protective eyewear.

A recent Gallup survey showed that Americans fear blindness second only to cancer. Yet, our people continue needlessly to endanger their sight if the lenses of their corrective eyewear or sunglasses are made from ordinary glass. I might point out that I am talking about more than half the entire population who do wear corrective lenses of some sort and about the many millions more who regularly wear sunglasses.

Personally, I do not believe that anyone would wear a dangerous piece of ordinary glass just a fraction of an inch away from his most valuable sense organ if he knew that a protective device is readily available.

The Guild of Prescription Opticians of America, Inc., is conducting the national protective eyewear program—PEP—to inform the general public of the availability of this protection. Dr. Arthur H. Keeney, the ophthalmologist in chief at the Wills Eye Hospital and Research Institute in Philadelphia, has pioneered the development and promotion within the medical profession of these protective lenses and is now serving as honorary chairman of PEP.

Dr. Keeney states:

> At my own institution, every lens prescribed for every patient under any circumstances—even if used only to read the Sunday paper—is a protective lens. In case of falls, car accidents, flying rocks and debris or other blows to the eye area, these protective lenses are safety shields for the eyes.

In an age full of so many hazards inherent in the products in daily use, the optical industry as a whole is to be commended for its genuine interest in developing products to save the eyes of our Nation. They have set an excellent example of public concern for all of the American industrial and business community.

Further, I would like to recognize and commend the members of the Guild of Prescription Opticians of America, Inc., for their efforts to inform their fellow Americans of this valuable advance in the eye safety field.

THE "PUEBLO" INCIDENT

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, during the last 2 or 3 days we have heard a great deal of discussion in the Senate about the *Pueblo* case. I think that I speak for the great majority of the Senate when I say that there is no body of persons anywhere more desirous for constructive action, and for the President of the United States and the State Department to accomplish something toward the return of the men and the ship—most particularly the men—from North Korea. I believe we all share the same hopes.

I voted with the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], and helped him cosponsor the amendment by which we tried to say it would be helpful if the Soviets and other countries, who would have a great deal to say about this matter, and who have great influence with North Korea, would aid us in the matter.

The Senate agreed to the Dominick amendment, which I heartily supported. But, Mr. President, the following morning, Mr. Chalmers Roberts who is a very distinguished correspondent, known to all of us in the Senate as a very fair and objective writer, had published in the Washington Post a résumé of what has happened up to date in the *Pueblo* case. I believe his article is well worth reading. It points out many facts that were not brought out on the floor of the Senate. It strongly endorses the main objective that we all have in this matter, but points out some of the problems involved.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "United States Weighs Price in the *Pueblo* Case," written by Chalmers M. Roberts and published this week in the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES WEIGHS PRICE IN THE "PUEBLO" CASE

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

Nothing was more excruciating for President Kennedy than the negotiations to rescue the Bay of Pigs prisoners from Cuba. It is very much the same with President Johnson and the men of the Pueblo now held in North Korea.

The White House has kept its public comments to a minimum but Mr. Johnson is known to have spent long hours trying to find a formula which would satisfy the Communist regime in Pyongyang without creating major repercussion here at home.

The President reportedly has rejected the idea of paying ransom as Mr. Kennedy did in the Cuban case. It appears open to question whether some form of payment, probably labeled an indemnification, might be coupled with some form of apology, however.

The problem is the form of apology and its relationship to release of the spy ship. One suggestion, that the United States apologize and then repudiate the statement after the crew is released, has been rejected by the President, officials say.

In the Cuban case President Kennedy felt responsible because he had approved the ill-fated Bay of Pigs adventure. In the Pueblo case the United States is firmly on record that as far as anyone here knows the spy ship never violated North Korean territorial waters.

The Koreans demand, and have continued to demand through 19 meetings with American officials on the Pueblo case, that Washington apologize for an intrusion, that it promise there will be no repetition and that it punish the guilty. As read here, Pyongyang has not clearly promised to release the crew even if this were done.

Efforts to win Korean approval for turning the case over to some impartial third party have not succeeded.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Winthrop G. Brown, whose area is Northeast Asia, has turned out a batch of possible scenarios but not yet the effective one.

As Secretary of State Rusk put it the other Day, the United States had "tried every facility that we can think of at our disposal." He meant that the United States had offered to have the issue settled by a third party tribunal with a pledge to apologize if the tribunal found that the Pueblo had indeed violated Korean waters. But Pyongyang rejected each approach.

There are others at work, too. The Soviet Union is known to have tried its hand in Pyongyang, reportedly arguing that the North Koreans have wrung all the available propaganda out of the case and now should accept a compromise settlement.

Even some of the members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission are known to have acted as intermediaries. Officials remain vague as to who has done what. The four are Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Some of these third parties have cited to the North Koreans the recent case of the American plane which the United States admitted had violated Soviet air space in the Kuriles. It has been pointed out to Pyongyang that Washington stuck to its apology even though the pilot, after the plane's release, denied such a violation.

According to some officials, the North Koreans referred the Soviets to the U-2 case for which the United States refused to apologize.

The trouble with both cases, however, is that neither is strictly analogous. Hence some new ground will have to be broken if the United States is to apologize for something it has said its ship did not do.

This brings the problem back to the potential repercussions in the United States. Very few now seem to be calling for the use of force to free the Pueblo but a good many people have indicated dissatisfaction with the Administration's failure to free the crew. Parents and other relatives of crew members, naturally, have been most vocal.

Secretary Rusk acknowledges "bitter disappointment" and he has promised to keep on trying to "to bring these men out safe and alive." But thus far there is no evidence that he has found a way.

The North Koreans sound totally intransigent: either apologize or we will hold, and probably try, the Pueblo crew. From past experience with North Korea, no one would be surprised if they do what they threaten.

The problem in the end is the President's. To win the crew's release he will have to pay some price, it appears. It is up to him to judge what is tolerable in terms of both public opinion and the national precedent that would be set.

That is not a happy choice at any time and the more so in a presidential election year. The Republican candidate can be expected to needle, at the least, his Democratic opponent on the Pueblo case. If the candidates are Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey, the Vice President will be on yet another spot as a member of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

Mr. **MAGNUSON**. Mr. President, I recommend this article to other Senators, for this reason: All of us have received a great deal of mail on the *Pueblo* case. We have answered it the best we knew how, consistent with the facts as we know them. Mr. Roberts, in his excellent article, brings the matter chronologically up to date, and the article would, I am sure, be of interest, not only to Senators, but to all Americans who write to them about this matter. Senators well might want to have reprints made of it to send to such people, particularly the kinfolk of the men now imprisoned in North Korea.

TO ATTRACT THE TOURIST

Mr. **MAGNUSON**. Mr. President, yesterday the Secretary of Commerce inaugurated a very worthwhile program designed to stimulate more interest, not only on the part of Americans in seeing the United States—"See the U.S.A." is the slogan—but also to welcome bona fide tourists from abroad.

The inequality of the tourist trade is one of the great problems in our balance-of-payments deficits. Americans traveling overseas probably spend $1.6 billion during the course of the year, whereas the bona fide tourists from other countries whom we welcome to our shores do not spend more than $300 million to $400 million. So the balance-of-payments deficit on this one item is well over a billion dollars.

The President has attempted to attack the problem. It has been difficult. Many of us opposed the so-called travel tax, because we did not think that was the way to go at it.

The basic problem, of course, is to boost our exports as against our imports, which are rising steadily. I am very optimistic about the relative levels of our imports and our exports.

So yesterday the Secretary of Commerce, with the U.S. Travel Service, initiated a very effective program to see what we can do to encourage visitors to this country. The State Department has cooperated, thank goodness.

The program would simplify passport and visa procedures. Hardly 7 or 8 years ago, it used to be said with some justification—I have said it on this floor many times—that for a bona fide foreign tourist to get into the United States is more difficult than to break out of jail.

Mr. President, we want them here. Free interchange of tourists adds much to our relations with other parts of the world. It eases tensions. People get to know one another. Moreover, to encourage tourists is in line with our person-to-person program, whereby many of our young men and women go abroad to live for 1 year during their school years, and then come back home.

Mr. President, they have even prepared a brochure about motoring in the United States. I can assure our foreign friends that it is somewhat dangerous, but not any more than in any other country. The big thing we have to overcome, almost universally, is the impression abroad that it is too difficult to travel in the United States.

It is not more costly. In many cases it is not as costly as traveling in a foreign country.

We have had the cooperation of many of the traveling agencies and transportation people. Bus line companies now give a monthly ticket to a bona fide foreign tourist. Local airlines do the same thing. It is possible for a bona fide foreign tourist to go any place he wants to go for a month.

European railroads have done this for years. I wish that our railroads would adopt the same plan. It would revive our passenger service. They have nothing to lose. If these tourists pay only $1, the railroads would be $1 ahead. And we could in this way revive our passenger service.

We even intend to welcome people who come to our country as tourists. I have in my hand a card reading: "The President and the people of the United States extend to you a most cordial welcome and sincere wish for a pleasurable and memorable visit."

We will have cards printed that tourists may carry to identify themselves as tourists. There will be a notice extending American courtesy to them and telling them where their language may be spoken, and giving them other valuable information.

Car rental agencies have a modified rate for bona fide foreign tourists.

I hope that through these means we will be able to close the gap existing now between our people traveling abroad and visitors to the United States.

It will take some campaigning and some advertising. Congress has been very skimpy in the amount of money it has appropriated for the Travel Service to operate. However, one thing that we have to make known is that this is one of the few countries in the world to which a visitor can come at any time of the year and find any kind of season he wishes. It is a country of all seasons. It is not seasonal as are most of the other countries in the world. Visitors can come here in January or in July and find any kind of climate or accommodations they wish.

Mr. President, I commend the distinguished Secretary of Commerce, Mr. C. R. Smith and the hard-working people in the U.S. Travel Service and the members of the Commerce Committee who have been so active in this matter.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

Mr. **ERVIN**. Mr. President, a few days ago the Senate held a memorial service for our departed colleague, Robert F. Kennedy, late a Senator from New York. On June 16, 1968, one of the late Senator Kennedy's close friends, Judge H. L. Riddle, Jr., of the North Carolina bar, delivered a eulogy upon Senator Robert F. Kennedy entitled "Young Man With a Purpose," which merits inclusion among memorial speeches recently made by Senators. For this reason, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of this eulogy be printed at this point in the body of the RECORD. I also ask unanimous consent that comments made upon Judge Riddle's eulogy by my friend, Saul R. Cheslock, entitled "Foreword" be also printed at this point in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the eulogy and foreword were ordered printed as follows:

FOREWORD

(By S. R. Cheslock)

"For thus hath the Lord said
unto me:
Go, set a watchman;
Let him declare what he seeth!"
ISAIAH 21:6.

"For it is a day of trouble, and of
trampling, and of perplexity"
ISAIAH 22:5.

Robert F. Kennedy, struck down by a hate filled, murderous act, brings to mind the role envisioned and assumed by the great Prophet of ancient days, who also declared what he saw. Without equating the two men, certain similarities are striking—both were men of high rank and position. Both championed the cause of the lowly and the oppressed. Both saw clearly the path to be taken, and fearlessly took it. Both of them suffered violent, tragic deaths.

When first I read this eulogy by Judge Riddle I sensed that he had produced a thing of value—I became convinced of this feeling when I read the final text. It was then that I encouraged him to have it prepared in its present format.

YOUNG MAN WITH A PURPOSE

We are drawn together here today to offer homage to our late departed friend, Robert F. Kennedy—a man of purpose and of peace. More so then the tragic anomaly that a mind so consumed with hate triggered the bullet that was to forever still such a young and gallant heart. With the impact of his loss still fresh within the depths of my mind, it isn't at all easy for me to convey what eight years of association with this extraordinary human being has meant to me. It will be due to the weakness of words that only a glimmering of what really cries out to be said, can be spoken.

A fatalistic belief that his life might be a short one may have been one of the factors which compelled Robert Kennedy to drive at such a tremendous pace. Then, too, he felt that in the tragic loss of two elder brothers, both in the service of their country, he could be expected to live up to the Kennedy standard of excellence. He knew that there was so much to be done in such a short time—short for the tasks at hand—even had he lived the Biblical three score and ten. He believed that every available moment must be used in his quest for a better life for his fellow man.

Compassion for the underprivileged and unfortunate combined with courage and boundless energy blended together into an eventful though tragically short life. He packed into his forty-two short years a fuller and more useful life than most attain who live much longer.

His intense concentration upon the job at hand was often mistaken by those who did not know him as "coldness." His grim and dogged determination to achieve his idealistic goals was sometimes mistaken for "ruthlessness". If he was cold it was only to indifference and apathy. If he was ruthless it was only in his fight against bigotry and intolerence. Those who knew him best never questioned his integrity nor sincerity of purpose.

Soon after finishing his college education one of his first important tasks in life was as counsel for the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field. The courage, energy and ingenuity he showed in this amazing exposure of organized crime was but a portent of yet greater things to come.

During the presidential campaign of 1960, Robert Kennedy, more than any other person was responsible for the nomination and subsequent election of his brother, John F. Kennedy, as President of the United States.

He served the administration of both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson as Attorney General of the United States, and he served that office with uncommon distinction. He was relentless in his fight against crime and vigilant in his crusade to secure to every citizen his rights under the Constitution.

As a United States Senator, he labored hard and long but was often frustrated by the Senate's habits of tradition, undue deliberation and delay. His temperament was that of an activist and he chafed at the bit to seek the solution to a vital problem delayed by legislative maneuvering and floundering. He craved action and knew that its seat lay in the office of the Presidency. And thus he took his campaign directly to the people in whose vineyards he strived so zealously to serve.

In his dealings with his fellow man he based his judgment not upon color, creed or race, but upon character, creativity and reliability. Social or economic status were not the yardsticks by which he measured a man. He judged the man by the good within him.

Civil rights, to him, was not some benevolent gift to be handed out by a kindly court or legislative body, but was the natural and God-given heritage of every citizen, both by moral and constitutional mandate.

He was not a politician in the strict sense of the word. More often than not he told the prospective voter what he did not want to hear. He emphasized the dangers of cigarettes to a South whose tobacco played a vital part in its economy—to a North and East he likened the plight of the Negro in the ghetto to that of his life on the southern plantation. He chided the Mid-West and Far-West for their discrimination of those of Indian, Mexican and Oriental extraction. All to him were but part of a pattern that must be changed if America was to survive. He could scold a minority group on the necessity for law and order only because they knew he was sincerely interested in removing the root causes of their lawlessness.

Welfare and the dole were repugnant to him as degrading to the dignity of man. And so he dreamed of a vast partnership of business and government to offer constructive jobs to those hitherto dependent upon alms and government handouts.

He served his country honorably as a sailor in time of war. And though his love for America was intense, he had a further sense of fellowship with the people of all nations. He visited abroad often, both the near and remote. He wanted always to see the people and listen to their problems. He did so with sympathy. And so he dared "the why not" that someday there might exist a brotherhood of nations under God, with peace and goodwill among men.

Robert Kennedy was keenly aware of the ever reaching tentacles of communism, yet during his latter years he realized with clarity that it would take more than war to stem its tide. Therefore, he resolved with all the passionate resolution of a Kennedy, to root out the real causes of war and to contribute his utmost to contain its spread. He believed that an America, with all of its peoples sharing in its blessings, would provide the best example to a world skeptical of our aims, both at home and abroad, thus providing democracy's worth over dictatorship. He would replace the destructiveness of the bomb with constructive ideas of the brain. He yearned for a world where the integrity of simple people would be beyond price and the daily toil of millions would be above pomp and power. The killing and maiming, not only of the military, but of innocent civilians, the wasteful and inhumane destruction of homes, fields, villages and cities—the ruinous desolation of war caused him to agonize toward a solution—communication and understanding, without which peace cannot prevail.

More and more he harkened to the cry of the prophets of old—to turn swords into ploughshares and let the people enjoy the fruits of their harvests. To me, this was his loftiest aspiration in his tireless quest "to seek a newer world."

His rare moments of relaxation were spent with his wife and children, whom he deeply loved. Together they climbed the rugged mountains, roared down the turbulent rivers and enjoyed nature to the fullest. He loved athletics. Dissipation to him was the waste of a body which he regarded as the earthly repository of the soul eternal.

Perhaps his greatest inner satisfaction was that he had run the good race. He strived to attain the excellence of a Kennedy. We believe he did.

He will be sorely missed around the hearth at Hickory Hill by a valiant widow and a band of brave little ones. Countless other little ones around the world will miss the hope he engendered in them.

May the Lord bess him and keep him,
May the Lord make his face to shine upon him, and be gracious unto him.
May the Lord lift up his countenance upon him,
And give him peace both now and evermore.

Nathan Hale said: "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country." Having given several of their own for America, to the Kennedy family I would offer this supplication:

O Lord, support them all the day long, until the shadows lengthen and the evening comes, and the busy world is hushed, and the fever of life is over, and their work is done.
Then, in thy mercy, grant them a safe lodging and a holy rest,
And peace at the last. Amen.

THE FORTAS NOMINATION

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on July 26, 1968, Jesse A. Helmes, the eloquent and forthright commentator of WRAL–TV, in Raleigh, N.C., made some illuminating comments upon my speech on the nomination of Justice Fortas for the chief justiceship of the United States. I ask unanimous consent that his comments be printed at this point in the body of the RECORD:

There being no objection, his comments were ordered printed as follows:

Nothing produces such great agony among political "liberals" as their being forced into confrontation with a fellow who knows something about the Constitution. The "liberals", in their determination to destroy the Constitutional processes of the country, sometimes appear to be pretending that the Constitution doesn't really exist. And they repeatedly insist that the document should not be permitted to stand in the way of the implementation of their pet projects and schemes.

That is what the great ruffle is all about concerning the joint efforts of Lyndon Johnson and Earl Warren to see that Abe Fortas is promoted to Chief Justice of the United States, to succeed Earl Warren, and to make room on the Court for another of Mr. Johnson's friends, Homer What's-His-Name of Texas.

North Carolina's Senator Sam Ervin decided that it was about time that the Senate explored some Constitutional questions with the two men proposed by the President for the nation's highest court. And Senator Ervin, Constitutional scholar that he is acknowledged to be, has been dismayed at the lack of Constitutional understanding possessed by the two proposed nominees. The country, if it wishes to retain any semblance of its original principles, had better share in the Senator's dismay at what he has been hearing—and not hearing—from Mr. Fortas and Mr. Thornberry.

Moreover, the country might well take note of the united propaganda assault launched against Senator Ervin. The liberal press, and radio and television, have assumed—perhaps correctly—that the average citizen knows little or nothing of the provisions of the Constitution, or the logic behind them.

One day last week, for example, Senator Ervin found it necessary to remind Homer Thornberry of a few simple facts about what the Constitution provides—and what it does not provide. At one point, the Senator was constrained to remind Mr. Thornberry—the man whom Lyndon Johnson would have sit on the highest court of the land—that "The Constitution of the United States doesn't give anybody the right to vote."

It was a simple statement of fact, as any schoolboy ought to know—but Mr. Thornberry has demonstrated that either he did not know it, or if he did, that it didn't make any difference to him in his performance as a federal judge.

The *right* to vote can be *given* only by the states. The Constitution provides only that the right to vote—and all other rights, for that matter—must be granted without discrimination—that they must be granted equally without regard to race, sex, or—as some of the Articles of the Constitution put it—"previous condition of servitude". But even this authority was granted by the states—and not by the federal government—in the form of amendments to the Constitution *ratified by the states!* Had it not been for such ratification, the provisions would not be in the Constitution.

So Senator Ervin had it right—as usual—when he reminded Homer Thornberry that "The Constitution of the United States doesn't give anybody the right to vote." Elections are still conducted by state and state and county boards of elections. It is the state legislatures which decide the qualification standards for voters—within the broad frame of reference *agreed to* by the states and by ratification by the states of amendments to the U.S. Constitution. It was, for example, the State of Georgia which decided to lower the minimum voting age for its citizens to 18, while North Carolina maintains its minimum of 21. The guarantees of the U.S. Constitution go no further than to insist that the "rights"—granted by the states—be granted to all on a non-discriminatory basis.

It may seem a small point to some, but it is in reality a vastly important one. For it spells out—or is supposed to spell out—the division of authority between the states and the federal government. Senator Ervin believes in the principles enunciated in the Constitution; he believes that the federal government should not intrude or trespass upon the authority and responsibilities of the states. The "liberals" feel differently about it; they want to centralize all powers and authority in Washington. That is why they so resent Senator Ervin's constant efforts to preserve the true meaning of the Constitution. That is why they are so shrill in their demands that Abe Fortas become successor to Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the United States.

Senator Ervin may lose this fight with the "liberals". If he does, the country will have lost also. There is more at stake in this matter than most Americans realize. Which is precisely as those who call themselves "liberals" want it to be.

THE TOBACCO ECONOMY IN THE SOUTH AND TRENDS AND FACTS AS TOBACCO IS RELATED TO HUMAN HEALTH

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, a short time ago Mr. William H. W. Anderson made a speech at the 1968 Tobacco Workers' Conference in Asheville, N.C., upon the subject "The Tobacco Economy in the South and Trends and Facts as Tobacco Is Related to Human Health."

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of this speech be printed at this point in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TOBACCO ECONOMY IN THE SOUTH AND TRENDS AND FACTS AS TOBACCO IS RELATED TO HUMAN HEALTH

Tobacco has an honorable heritage for English-speaking North America. It was the first successful agricultural enterprise of the Virginia Colony at Jamestown. It was our first successful agricultural export, with John Rolfe, later to be Secretary of the Colony, shipping some 2,300 pounds in the "Elizabeth" in 1614 to London for sale. The flavor of Virginia-grown leaf was distinctive, and its popularity caught on at once. By 1630—ten years after the Puritans touched on Plymouth Rock—Virginia tobacco was being sold to English and Scottish merchants in the amount of 1,500,000 pounds.

Fortunes were made from tobacco. It is a matter of record that Rolfe's efforts insured the "starving" Virginia colonists. More than that, it was the beginning of the British overseas empire. By the time of the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the tobacco growers in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Maryland were exporting to the European markets over 100,000,000 pounds annually.

Tobacco again had the opportunity to gain the center-stage spotlight during the efforts of the colonials to gain independence from Mother Britain. It was a tobacco trial, known to historians as the "Parsons' Cause", that first brought public attention to Patrick Henry, the famed schoolboy orator of the Hanover (Va. County) "Slashes". While Henry, who later was to gain fame for his remarks on "give me liberty or death," won the case from his former clients, he invoked the rancor of the Established Church (Anglican) clergy.

But tobacco had an even greater role in winning the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to the French and American troops at Yorktown, Va., Oct. 17, 1781. Note: Yorktown is less than 30 miles from where Rolfe "made" his first tobacco crop at Jamestown. When the colonials needed money to finance their effort, Benjamin Franklin, then serving as Ambassador to France, obtained a loan from France to the credit of the Continental Congress in the amount of 2,000,000 livres in gold—almost $10,000,000—in exchange for 5,000 hogsheads of Digges' best Virginia tobacco.

Tobacco today continues to share an important role in our nation's agricultural economy. It is the nation's fifth field crop in cash yield. It is one of five crops to exceed the billion-dollar mark in return to growers.

The national cash-crop leaders, as measured in terms of billions of dollars:

1. Corn	2.536
2. Soybeans	2.524
3. Wheat	2.000
4. Cotton lint and seed	1.600
5. Tobacco	1.326

Tobacco for many years has ranked among the first five most important agricultural crops in value of U.S. farm exports. It has been of great assistance in the balance-of-payments program. Tobacco exports last year totaled 642 million pounds (farm sales weight). This was 17,000,000 pounds above 1966 and our largest since 1946. Flue-Cured exports, at 528 million pounds, increased 19%. Burley shipments, at 55 million, were about the same as in 1966, which was the largest amount since 1927. Fire-Cured and Dark Air-Cured also had higher exports. Only Cigar Wrapper declined.

The major U.S. outlet for overseas sales was the United Kingdom, with 24% of the total. West Germany was second, with 20%, and The Netherlands was third, with 7%.

The overseas sales of U.S.-grown tobacco in 1967 was valued at upwards of a half billion dollars. U.S.-grown tobacco accounts for nearly one fifth of the world production. Note: our U.S. wheat crop accounts for about 12% of the world output.

The number of cigarettes manufactured and smoked obtained new highs last year in the United States. Output of cigarettes was put at almost 580 billion units by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Consumption by U.S. smokers (including our overseas forces) was set at about 522 billion. This is 11 billion units higher than in 1966.

Increase is largely the result of increased population, with more people reaching an adult age of smoking, higher levels of income, and the much larger shipments (about 22 billion) to armed forces overseas.

There are some 900 thousand retail outlets selling tobacco products. Cigarettes account for more over-the-counter retail sales (including vending machines) than any other product manufactured in the U.S.A.

Sales of all tobacco products amounted last year to $9.46 billion, with $8.45 billion being spent on cigarettes.

Certainly one of the major problems confronting all in the Tobacco Community is an upward spiral of excise taxes on tobacco products, particularly upon cigarettes. State tax rates on cigarettes have increased over 65% during he past seven years. More increases can be expected. Yet all in the Tobacco Community are convinced that tobacco products already are making tremendous contributions to revenue at all levels.

Figures for the latest calendar year show that over $3.789 billion in revenue was collected by Federal, State, County, and Municipal agencies from the sale of all tobacco products. Federal taxes on cigarettes and other tobacco products totaled $2.051 billion.

Thus, the combined State and Federal excise taxes on cigarettes in the various States ranged from 36% to 56% of the price that the consumer paid for his favorite smokes.

Tax revenue is converted into use for schools, roads, hospitals, and other community services, as well as the support for numerous other governmental department needs. No tobacco grower suggests that tobacco should not carry its fair share of the tax load. Yet, one must remember that tobacco is the most heavily-taxed farm crop in all history.

Total taxes on cigarettes bought in New York City now amount to 26¢, and this, the Tobacco Tax Council says, accounts for a large amount of illegal or "buttlegging". The Tax Council says that at least one in every five sales today in New York City is illicit, and the Council predicts further trouble, because of excessive taxes, in New Jersey and Florida.

SOUTHEASTERN STATES TAXING CIGARETTES AND OTHER PRODUCTS (FISCAL ENDING JUNE 30, 1967)

[Gross collections in thousands]

State	Total cigarette and other tobacco taxes	Cigarette taxes	Other tobacco taxes[1]	Other tobacco taxes collections	Percentage of total taxes from cigarettes
Alabama	$25,174	$23,496	C, S, Ch, Sn	$1,678	93.3
District of Columbia	5,327	5,327			100.0
Florida	63,113	63,113			100.0
Georgia	38,720	38,052	C	668	98.3
Kentucky	11,088	11,088			100.0
Louisiana	36,412	34,592	C, S	1,820	95.0
Maryland	26,383	26,383			100.0
Mississippi	20,359	18,437	C, S, Ch, Sn	1,822	91.0
North Carolina (does not tax any tobacco product).					
South Carolina	14,470	12,299	C, S, Ch, Sn	2,170	85.0
Tennessee	31,633	30,690	C, S, Ch, Sn	942	97.0
Virginia	14,149	14,102	C	[2] 47	99.7
West Virginia	12,227	12,227			100.0
Total	298,955	289,806		9,147	

[1] C—cigars; S—smoking tobacco; Ch—chewing tobacco; Sn—snuff.

[2] Virginia repealed cigar tax Sept. 1, 1966.

Congressman Watkins M. Abbitt, of Virginia, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Tobacco of the House Agriculture Committee, says that the taxes on tobacco, in a sense, would underwrite or offset the cost of all price support programs since 1933.

According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the wheat program has cost $3 billion; corn $3.2 billion; cotton, almost $4 billion, and flax, about $190 million.

The tobacco program has cost about $38 million. But during an almost 35-year period of support programs, tobacco taxes have amounted to over $52 billion. This is well over three times as much as the Commodity Credit Corporation has paid on all price-support crops.

CASH RECEIPTS FROM TOBACCO COMPARED WITH TOTAL CASH RECEIPTS FROM ALL FARM COMMODITIES, BY ALL TOBACCO-GROWING STATES, AVERAGE 1960-64, ANNUAL 1965-67

[Dollar amounts in millions]

	1967		
	Cash receipts		Tobacco as percentage of total
	Total	Tobacco	
North Carolina	$1,299	$540	41.6
Kentucky	764	285	37.3
South Carolina	415	110	26.5
Virginia	520	82	15.8
Tennessee	586	78	13.3
Georgia	1,029	102	9.9
Connecticut	160	29	18.1
Maryland	328	17	5.2
Florida	1,036	28	2.7
Pennsylvania	913	10	1.1
Massachusetts	159	10	6.3
Wisconsin	1,436	6	.4
Ohio	1,241	13	1.0
Indiana	1,350	10	.7
West Virginia	104	2	1.9
Missouri	1,365	3	.2
Total	12,705	1,325	

Tobacco is a relatively high-cost, high-labor crop. It requires about 425 hours "to make" an acre of tobacco. It requires from eight to 15 hours for wheat. It costs about $634 to produce an acre of tobacco. Cotton costs about $124; corn, $54; soybeans, $39; wheat, $33, and oats, $27.

The Southeastern States are the major tobacco-growing areas in this country. But other significant tobacco-producing States are Connecticut, Florida, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Maryland, and Indiana.

Expenses of the nation's 700,000 tobacco grower families amount to over a billion dollars annually. Here are some of the larger expense items:

[In millions of dollars]

Hired labor	185
Pesticide and sprays	25
Plant-bed cloth	10
Twine	3
Seed	2.25
Fertilizer and Lime	45.5
Fuel oil (curing)	75.8
Curer replacements	15
Plastic covers	3
Warehouse commissions	45

The above represents some of the principal costs for the tobacco grower. Yet these other astronomical items are involved in obtaining a finished tobacco product:

Transportation (U.S.A., only), $130 Million.

Cigarette Paper, $25.75 Million.

Packaging (Cartons, Containers), 62 Million Pounds of Light Paper; 103 Billion Square Feet of Paper Board.

One more item for our economic profile of the Tobacco Community—advertising. In order to market the U.S. tobacco products, some $311,733,000 is spent by the six major manufacturers on advertising, according to Advertising Age (June 24, 1968).

The expenditures are broken down in these principal outlets:

Daily newspapers	$114,626,000
Popular magazines	38,783,000
Farm publications	395,241
Business publications	509,500
Spot television	49,451,000
Network television	184,933,000
Spot radio	14,244,000
Network radio	6,643,000
Outdoor advertising	2,145,000

Changes occur slowly in the Tobacco Community. This obtains for the cultural practices of the grower, marketing procedures for the crop, or popularity shifts in the finished product of the manufacturer.

One historian suggested that major changes in the popularity of the use of various tobacco products, in some strange way, seemed to accompany or follow the nation's major wars.

A strong case can be made. Snuffing and pipe smoking certainly were popular at the time of our two wars with Great Britain. Cigar smoking and tobacco chewing were the vogue with our pioneers of the Great West—even past the Spanish-American War. It was not until World War I that cigarettes were acceptable by men—it was later, when this nation fought its war against The Depression of the 1930's that women smoked cigarettes in public.

About the time of the Korean conflict, less than 2% of U.S.-made cigarettes were filtered or capped. Today about 75% of our cigarettes are filters. It was a war that caused this change, but Korea has little to do with it. The switch to filter popularity was set off by a campaign of anti-tobacco forces, sparked by excellent publicity and attention given a series of articles in the *Reader's Digest*. This magazine carried charts on tobacco "tars" and nicotine contents of leading brands, and used statistical associations to allege that cigarettes caused lung cancer, respiratory trouble, heart disease, and many human ailments.

These charges by many health organizations encouraged many manufacturers to produce a milder cigarette, with less tar and nicotine. Filters were popular with many ladies—it didn't smear their lipstick. Manufacturers, quick to sense a new marketing trend, turned out many new brands. Instead of having a dozen or so major brands as in 1952, we today have over some 140 different cigarette products on the market.

More cigarette brands should have meant good news for the grower. But it did not happen quite that way. The filter blends required a lighter-bodied tobacco, lower in nicotine content. This meant an increased popularity in the "R" types of tobacco, as attested by favorable prices on the warehouse floor. This brought a change from the light, fluffy traditional varieties.

The switch in taste and popularity of the new cigarette brands provided many economies. Every manufacturer obtained much more for his purchases by employing a new process, processed sheet leaf or "homogenized" tobacco. The entire leaf, including stems which represented 20% of leaf weight, was utilized. Filters, although small in length were cheaper than tobacco. Some manufacturers made minute reductions in the circumference of the cigarette.

Therefore, while there has been an increase of about 50% since 1952 in the number of cigarettes smoked (387 billion units to 576 billion units), the use of tobacco in cigarettes dropped by about 25.5%. In other words, there were 107 cigarettes made from one pound of tobacco 16 years ago as compared to 192 cigarettes made from one pound of tobacco today.

While the marketing and production techniques of the manufacturers have improved, the advances in cultural practices of the tobacco grower also have been significant. All in the Tobacco Community seem to be smarter than they were in 1952.

For example, the per-acre yield in 1952 for Flue-Cured tobacco was 1,222 pounds; today it's about 2,023 pounds. Burley per-acre yields have jumped for the same period from 1,316 pounds to 2,345. This is a tribute to the advances in scientific learning, smarter farming practices, and research. Congratulations to you scientists who paved the way!

And it will be the research work of the scientists and physicians who will provide the medical answers to the tobacco-and-health problem. This will come through intensive work in the laboratories, not with statistical surveys or with computer-tape conclusions for a medical problem.

Our nation's No. 1 medical authority, the American Medical Association, has not accepted the conclusions of many zealots who would destroy the tobacco livelihood.

The AMA, at its annual meeting last month in San Francisco, stated firmly that research so far has failed to pin the blame on cigarette smoking for lung cancer, respiratory diseases, heart ailments, and many other human physical weaknesses.

After four years of no-strings-attached research—and with no preconceived objectives—The AMA made this statement:

"The problem related to establishing any kind of cause and effect relationship between tobacco and health are far *more complex* than has been supposed.

"*Many years* may be required to gather sufficient experimental facts and data to clear what is at best, a *muddied picture*. It is evident that we have a long road to travel, and this will be done slowly."

Thus, the AMA admits that while there *might appear* to be a relationship between cigarette smoking, as well as many human diseases, *nobody* has been able to prove it.

According to Dr. Gerald B. Dorman, Vice President of the AMA Educational and Research Foundation, research has "added significantly to the body of knowledge about the effects of cigarette smoking on health."

But Dr. Dorman adds: ". . . the answers to the major questions—what are the *scientifically-documented* effects of smoking on the human, and what—if anything—can be done to make smoking more safe are still *inconclusive*."

And Dr. John B. Hickam, Chairman of the Department of Medicine at the University of Indiana Medical School, told a recent joint meeting in Louisville of the Kentucky Thoracic Society and the Kentucky TB and Respiratory Disease Association:

"I have never contended that smoking 'causes' lung cancer. The word is 'promotes'.

"But the fact is that more people are smoking now than before the 1964 Report was made, and apparently they will continue to smoke, just as they will continue to drive automobiles, despite the high-injury-and-death rate on the highways."

Statistical associations "don't necessarily mean cause and effect", according to Dr. Dale Groom, of Charleston, S.C., in an April address to the American College of Cardiology at San Francisco.

"If they did," Dr. Groom observed, "one could argue that telephones cause heart attacks, because there is a direct association between the number of telephones in a community and the heart-attack rate in a community."

All should be proud of the conscientious efforts of the Tobacco Community, which is spending over $31 million to obtain the medical answers to the tobacco-and-health controversy. The Tobacco Community now is spending the major portion of research money—more than any other U.S. group, according to the *Tobacco Reporter*, an international publication which recently made independent surveys on the costs and kinds of research now being conducted in the smoking-and-health area.

Over $21.5 million has been pledged by the principal U.S. tobacco manufacturers to independent research conducted by the American Medical Association. An additional $10 million has been made available by The Council for Tobacco Research-USA to physicians and scientists in over 200 hospitals, universities, and research centers. This research is being conducted in this country and abroad.

Co-operative and co-ordinated research will take time, but tobacco leaders want these answers. If there is something in cigarettes that is harmful to humans, all in the Tobacco Community want to find out what it is—the sooner, the better—so it can be removed, curtailed, or corrected. The Tobacco Community has everything to gain, and nothing to lose from its quest through research to medical answers.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Thereupon, (at 12 o'clock and 54 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 1 o'clock and 12 minutes p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. MONRONEY in the chair).

ATTEMPT BY SOME SPECIAL-INTEREST GROUPS TO REWRITE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to make a few remarks about what I think is an ominous development concerning certain antilabor forces that are laying plans for next year for revisions of labor relations legislation on the statute books of this country. These revisions can best be described as antilabor in both their motivations and objectives.

Mr. President, although the major political parties have not yet named their candidates and the voters have not yet gone to the ballot box, some special interest groups have already begun to apply pressure for legislation next year in the 91st Congress under what they hope will be the leadership of a Republican President. They are also hoping for a more conservative Congress to reverse the wheels of history.

There is now emerging a well-financed public relations campaign to rewrite the Nation's basic labor relations laws, to abolish the National Labor Relations Board, and to substitute in its place a labor court or to transfer many of its functions to the Federal district courts. The protagonists of this campaign are the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers as the two bellwethers, but there are other employer organizations and employer-oriented organizations in this drive to strip the National Labor Relations Board of its statutory powers.

In fact, their purpose is to rewrite the National Labor Relations Act, to weaken it, and to make it more palatable to them, despite the public interest. They would erase much of the progress achieved in American labor-management relations in the last three decades by substantially revising the law and the procedures which have been the foundation for that progress.

But, in order to put a facade of respectability on their proposals, they have circulated far and wide a spurious claim that the NLRB is prounion, that it has distorted the law as Congress wrote it and that the Federal appellate courts have mindlessly rubberstamped the Board's decisions. They also make sweeping charges that labor unions have become excessively powerful in our society, and they assert that labor's power must be sharply curtailed to "equalize bargaining power" between labor and management.

These claims bear little, if any, relationship to reality. Scholars in this field regard these claims as self-serving hyperbole. The charges cannot withstand close scrutiny and legal analysis. Nevertheless, the claims are boldly made in the hope of influencing uninformed persons and of inflaming old passions and prejudices.

The time is not appropriate to answer these claims. But it is timely and appropriate to alert my colleagues and the American public to the fact that this regressive campaign is underway. Plans for its execution have been carefully laid during the last 4 years. It is now being gradually exposed to public view.

In 1965 the Chamber of Commerce and the NAM jointly appointed a "blue ribbon" committee of 150 management lawyers to draft what they regard as desirable changes in the National Labor Relations Act. Appointed to this committee were important corporation labor lawyers.

May I say, as a lawyer, I am not criticizing these lawyers in carrying out their professional responsibility to their clients. Their clients are entitled to their legal services, and their clients have, in my opinion, employed some of the most brilliant lawyers at the American bar.

Collectively they represent many major and minor employer interests. The central analytical and drafting responsibilities for this committee were, according to newspaper accounts, given to Guy Farmer, Gerard Reilly, and Theodore R. Iserman. This "blue ribbon" committee held a number of meetings and studied a number of draft memorandums. Their proceedings were conducted with great secrecy.

Mr. Farmer was Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, by appointment of President Eisenhower, for a brief period. Before and after he represented employers in labor matters. He is known, along with Mr. Reilly and Mr. Iserman, as being a member of the trio of most able labor-relations lawyers in the country. If I were an employer and wished to be represented in my relationships in negotiations with any union, I would not hesitate at all to decide to be represented by any one of these three employer-labor lawyers.

Mr. Reilly was a member of the Board, during the early forties, by appointment of President Roosevelt. He is a very able lawyer who well represents the employers who want to rewrite our labor laws in a manner that will make them employer slanted.

Mr. Iserman is a lawyer handling labor matters for employers.

In November of 1967, the chamber circulated the fifth revised draft of the "blue ribbon" lawyers' report. It is called "Labor Law Reform Study: Amendments to the Labor-Management Relations Act." It is a 167-page, section-by-section analysis of proposed amendments to the Labor Act, and it is punctuated by broadside attacks on the integrity of decisions of the NLRB and the Federal courts. It says flatly that "the legislative remedy should be aimed at the chief offender—the NLRB itself."

The "blue ribbon" lawyers have determined to abolish the Board and to make substantial changes in the law, but they appear to be divided as to whether the Board's unfair labor practice jurisdiction should be transferred to a national labor court or to the Federal district courts. Because of this difference of opinion, the "blue ribbon" committee report says that either solution would be satisfactory. The pitch recently made by the NAM to the GOP platform committee likewise plumps for transferring jurisdiction either to a new labor court or to the Federal district courts.

The Congress has consistently rejected such proposals as unwarranted and as dangerous to the administration of our national labor laws and policies.

They have likewise been rejected in the past by many management attorneys including both Mr. Farmer and Mr. Reilly, who evidently put no high value on consistency. In 1959, at the time the Landrum-Griffin bill was under consideration, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare appointed an advisory committee on the organization and procedure of the National Labor Relations Board.

Both Mr. Farmer and Mr. Reilly were members of this advisory committee. The report of this committee discussed proposals to vest jurisdiction of unfair labor practice cases in the Federal district courts or in a labor court and unanimously rejected both proposals.

Other members of that advisory committee were Prof. Archibald Cox, subsequently Solicitor General, Mr. Dennison Kitchel, a corporation lawyer who was Senator Goldwater's campaign manager in 1964, and Arthur Goldberg.

Many of my colleagues in the Senate will remember, and favorably, Prof. Archibald Cox. He was associated with our committee at the time Senator JACK KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, was one of our colleagues. Then Mr. Cox served as chief counsel to Senator KENNEDY in the handling of labor legislation on the floor of the Senate. He was Senator KENNEDY's chief legal adviser when the Senate put through the Kennedy-Morse labor law by a vote of 90 to 1 in 1959.

Mr. Cox, Mr. Kitchel, and Arthur Goldberg are lawyers of the same high repute and ability as the employer lawyers to whom I referred earlier in this speech.

My quarrel is not with the lawyers as lawyers. My quarrel is with the report of the NAM and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and others supporting this approach, seeking, if they were ever successful, to scuttle the National Labor Relations Board and the law, on which it operates. My quarrel is not with them as lawyers, but with their proposed program. Their legal advice to their clients carries out their clients' purpose, but in my judgment, it is a program that is not in the public interest.

Mr. President (Mr. Byrd of Virginia in the chair), the "ripper" amendments now circulated by the NAM and the chamber begin by deleting from the policy objectives in the law's present preamble any reference to protecting self-organization and freedom of association. They go from there to limit the scope of the bargaining obligation, to restrict the Board's power in unit determinations, to toughen a number of the sections limiting labor's conduct, to ease various restrictions on employers, to confine the Board's none-too-strong remedial authority within much narrower limits, to change the venue provisions for court review, and to reverse over a score of Supreme Court, courts of appeals, and Board decisions in leading cases. However profitable for lawyers, this wrecking operation, based as it is on faulty and distorted analysis, would undoubtedly produce new instabilities and conflicts which would severely damage our labor-management progress.

Although there has been an unbroken line of criticism of the NLRB and the courts in business publications over the years, the strategists of the new campaign appear to have selected 1968 as the year in which to mount a pervasive public relations drive against the Board and the law itself. The choice of 1968 was an obvious one because of its relationship in time to the forthcoming national elections. The strategists assume that the best hope for substantive, legislative changes will come early in the 91st Congress, if a change in the administration is accompanied by the election of a more conservative Congress. They made the same kind of efforts in 1953, the first year of the first Eisenhower administration.

In fact, hearings before the Republican platform committee in Miami during the last few days, when discussion was directed to the matter of labor legislation and labor policy, show clearly the designs on the part of some to carry forward the program of the NAM and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

I read a newspaper account—not in a Florida newspaper—of the testimony of one of the greatest labor leaders in our country's history, a very deserving successor to past leaders of the AFL, and then the AFL and the CIO combined; namely, Mr. George Meany. It makes perfectly clear that the examination to which he was put by members of the Republican platform committee bears directly upon some of the implications and warnings I am setting forth in this speech today as to the oncoming legislative contest that the next session of Congress will witness; the proposals I am talking about seek to weaken the legislation we already have on the books that pertains to the National Labor Relations Board.

In a speech in January of this year, William K. Zinke, a vice president for industrial relations of the NAM, opened the first act of the campaign to abolish the Board with a ringing denunciation of the Board, the courts and "the unrestricted power of organized labor," and with a call to action by all business groups.

In a February 2 column in the Northern Virginia Sun, syndicated writer Victor Riesel published a detailed background piece of the truly vast and unreported "management movement" to abolish the Board. He said:

> Management men have woven together the broadest united front of large and small businesses in history for the fight to revamp what they charge are pro-union federal labor relations laws and boards.

His article contains the full history of the "blue ribbon" committee, and he reports that the "campaign is guided by an informal steering committee which believes the time has come for the offensive in search of public opinion and Congressional support."

Hill & Knowlton, "the world's largest public relations firm" and a longtime publicist for conservative interests, has been retained to play an important role in the campaign's public relations program. This firm has obviously already earned a most generous fee, for, under its own name, Hill & Knowlton has prepared at least three documents, of roughly 40 pages each, which are the working tools for the public relations program of the propaganda effort.

The first document, entitled "U.S. Labor Legislation in Historical Perspective," is a simply written background study of the labor movement, the Labor Act, and the Board. Its point of view is that historical circumstances, economic survival, and social justice support the concerted drive to rewrite the Labor Act, to abolish the Board and thereby to curb the power of organized labor. The second document, entitled "Background Memorandum: The Need for Labor Law Reform," is a nonlegal summary of the report of the "blue ribbon" lawyers' committee. Written journalistically, it is a blistering and one-sided attack on the present Board with respect to a number of specific case decisions. The third document, which is untitled, contains 17 little vignettes dealing with individual Board decisions. It is intended to be used as a sourcebook for editorials in small newspapers, for columns by feature writers or like purposes. Each vignette is written in a homey prose style with the NLRB cast as the villain and individual workers and small employers as its victims.

Mr. President, much as I disagree with its motivations and its obvious purposes, it is a cleverly prepared journalistic document of propaganda against our labor laws and against the Board and, in effect, against the courts which, on the basis of the evidence in the record submitted to them, have carried out their judicial functions in the series of cases which are brought under attack in this propaganda treatise.

A recent article in Fortune describes Hill & Knowlton's broad operation through 16 offices around the world. It has become famous as an "image maker," representing not only specific corporate clients but also institutional interests such as members of the gun lobby, the tobacco lobby, the steel industry in the 1937, 1952, and 1959 strikes, the oil and gas lobby in the early 1950's when a scandal resulted from an oil company's attempted "campaign contribution" to Senator Francis Case just before a crucial vote on the producer exemption bill, and the Government of the Bahamas when a scandal resulted from gambling-gangster influences, and others.

If one is inclined to credit the revised aphorism that "where there is smoke, there is often a smoke machine," Hill & Knowlton seems to be one of the main smoke machines in this effort to becloud public understanding.

Since the beginning of 1968, an unprecedented number of feature articles and editorials have been written about the Board. Various themes have been stressed. An April 12 article in the Christian Science Monitor, for example, weaves together a story on the management campaign to rewrite the Labor Act and to abolish the Board with a story about the Ervin subcommittee hearings; it also quotes from the "blue ribbon" lawyers committee's labor reform study.

Now let me say a word about the Senate subcommittee hearings, for that committee is chaired by the distinguished Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], a former member of the North Carolina Supreme Court. In keeping with his judicial temperament and his judicial practice, he conducted the hearings in a judicial manner. I do not happen to agree with much of the record of the hearings, but it is a good thing to have those hearings, because then we get an opportunity to study the points of view of those on both sides of the issue. That is what Senate committee hearings are for.

My comments in criticism of the drive to emasculate our existing labor laws and to substitute for them what I have said earlier in this speech would be employer-slanted labor legislation bear no relationship whatsoever and bear no implication of criticism on my part in regard to the conduct of these hearings by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin].

In fact, I am glad we have the record of those hearings, because it will be on the record of those hearings, in part, if I am back in January as a member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, that I shall rely heavily in the preparation of amendments that may be needed in connection with existing labor legislation—but not to weaken the National Labor Relations Board, not to weaken the judicial processes of our country, but to strengthen both the Board and our judicial processes.

Articles with themes similar to those which I mentioned a moment ago appeared in the Wall Street Journal on March 29, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on May 19, in the Charlotte Observer on June 3, in the Houston Chronicle on June 30, and in the San Francisco Chronicle on May 11. Virtually identical editorials sharply critical of the NLRB have appeared at approximately the same time in three unrelated newspapers in different parts of the country, viz, the Macomb Daily of Mt. Clemens, Mich., the Northern Virginia Sun of Arlington, Va., and the Richmond Independent of Richmond, Calif. Not unexpectedly, the Reader's Digest comes front and center in this same drive in its August issue with an article repeating all the hackneyed charges against the Board and ignoring the preponderant testimony of scholars and other well-informed observers about the great contribution this law—and the Board and courts—have made to labor peace.

Mr. President, I believe that this campaign which I have described is both serious and dangerous. It is serious because those who are leading it have carefully laid their plans to arouse public opinion with distorted slogans and misleading arguments. It is dangerous because its purpose is to unstabilize a scheme of labor law administration which has largely succeeded in bringing labor peace to the Nation while at the same time promoting free collective bargaining. There are few countries in the world which have succeeded in achieving both of these goals, and there are many countries which both admire our success and hope to model their own laws and institutions on ours.

In fact, may I say that if I come back to the Senate next January and we proceed with hearings on the Taft-Hartley law, I shall give to employers in this country, many of whom have talked with me at great length, an opportunity to come forward and testify in support of the observation which I have just made; namely, not that the labor laws we have on the books do not need amending in some particulars—but not of the type of amendments the "blue ribbon" commission is contemplating—but amendments that will strengthen the objectives of sound labor legislation in this country.

I repeat, I shall give to those employers who have talked with me at great length about their satisfaction with the improvement in labor relations that has occurred in this country since the passage of this legislation, an opportunity to appear as witnesses. I think they are especially well qualified to clear up some of the propaganda that is being circulated in the material I have already discussed in this speech about the Board, the courts, and the soundness of existing labor legislation in the main.

I am also saddened by this campaign of propaganda against the Board, against existing legislation, and against the judicial process that has produced decisions involving labor law, for it comes at a time when the energies and resources of labor and management should be devoted to helping the Nation solve some of the real problems of our time at home and abroad. If this campaign succeeds, I fear that it will lead to a new era of labor strife which will merely add to our already lengthy list of national problems.

In short, I believe the time has long since come when labor and management should cease their name calling and should turn to the opportunities which they have to help the Nation survive during these difficult years.

Mr. President, it is not a labor war that we need in our country. It is not open economic warfare between labor and management that we need in this country, but a continuation of the strengthening of the collective bargaining process to which, I respectfully submit, the National Labor Relations Board has contributed so much in bringing about and improving, throughout its existence.

Let me also say that if I am back here next January, having already made it clear in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare that we ought to have the hearings, I shall urge early hearings by the committee on all the proposals for amendments to the Taft-Hartley law.

I shall also arrange separate hearings that I discussed some time ago on the Senate floor in regard to improvements in the pension system of our country. The sad thing is that a little over 50 percent of the workers of this country who contribute to pension funds and welfare funds never receive a dime of return from those pension programs. That is because of mobility. It is because people do not stay and work long enough for a single employer to collect benefits. It is typical of our American way of life, which is characterized by mobility.

So the pension authorities who have been writing on this legislation urge what is called portability, or vestment of pension rights; that those rights, to the degree that they have been earned under a given employer, follow the worker from employer to employer throughout his employable years. It is said by many authorities that, with the great strides we have made with our great computation system now, it is not difficult at all to set up a system under which it is possible for portability to occur and vestment of rights to be obtained.

I intend to hold hearings on that problem. It will be found that both management and labor are very much interested in the development of some such program. I happen to be the impartial member of a 25-member pension board, and have been for some years, which has jurisdiction over a pension fund for the electrical industry of this Nation. I happen to think it is one of the best of the pension and welfare funds.

It happens to deal in an industry in which there is a remarkably high degree of permanency of employment under one employer, the electrical industry of the country. That situation does not exist in very many industries.

But, Mr. President, even in this field, the electrical industry, I think legislation such as that to which I have referred, if it can be worked out on a scientific basis, ought to be worked out.

It is said by some authorities that it would really be the next step for the extension of the general welfare benefit objectives of our social security system. After all, we are able to handle a social security system, which has many problems in common with the type of pension program to which I have been alluding.

Mr. President, I happen to believe that if this attack upon the National Labor Relations Board and existing legislation and judicial processes continues and succeeds, it will lead to a new era of labor strife, which will merely add to our already lengthy list of national problems.

On October 19, 1967, under the heading "Labor Court Will Not Solve Labor Problems," I addressed the Senate as follows:

> Mr. President, yesterday, I had planned to testify before the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Committee on the Judiciary on S. 176, a bill for the settling of labor disputes that affect the vital interests of the public. It was introduced by the distinguished Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS].
>
> I had prepared my testimony for that hearing, and expected to be able to testify at 2 p.m. before the subcommittee; but the Senator from Florida became involved in other matters that necessitated a postponement of the hearing, which I fully understand and appreciate, and it is perfectly satisfactory to me. However, I, too, have a great many other responsibilities that are taking me away from the Senate from time to time these days, and I do not know how soon it will be possible for me to appear before the subcommittee; and I desire to have my views a matter of public record. Therefore, I intend to present a summary of my testimony at this time on the floor of the Senate. I shall be available to testify—in fact, I am requesting that I have the privilege of testifying—before the subcommittee at an early date, when the chairman reconvenes the hearings on S. 176. I will then be subject to examination by the subcommittee with respect to my views in regard to how I believe emergency labor disputes that imperil the health, safety, and security of the country should be handled.
>
> At this time, I wish to make this statement for the record.
>
> Yesterday, I sent to the press a mimeographed copy of the testimony I would have given before the subcommittee, and I shall use that statement as the framework of my comments at this time.
>
> The hearings that have been underway before the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Committee on the Judiciary deal with a bill introduced by Senator Smathers, S. 176, to establish a U.S. Court of Labor-Management Relations, referred to generally in the press as a court of compulsory arbitration. Generally, the hearings appear to date to be directed toward a solution of the problem presented by labor disputes that would adversely affect the public interest of the Nation. The bill is not—and it is my understanding that the hearings generally are not—intended to deal with any area of labor-management relations except for such disputes.
>
> I feel qualified to appear before the subcommittee and to make the speech today on this subject matter. I wish to point out, however, that I believe the subject matter is appropriate for the consideration of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, not the Committee on the Judiciary. The mere fact that the words "labor court" are used in the bill does not, ipso facto, automatically bring it within the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee.
>
> The bill deserves to be considered by the Labor Committee because, from time immemorial, the Labor Committee has had jurisdiction over legislation that deals with the regulation of labor disputes.
>
> In any event, I believe that the bill, after it is considered by the Judiciary Committee, should be referred to the Labor Committee for the consideration of the Labor Committee, before the bill comes to the calendar of the Senate.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> I have been on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare for many years, and measures always have been referred to the Labor Committee when they deal with any proposal that would regulate by legislation labor disputes in this country.
>
> It is self-evident that the purpose of S. 176 is not to establish or change judicial procedure, but to deal with big strikes.
>
> This is labor legislation. As such, it should have the review and consideration of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.
>
> In the meantime, this hearing record should show some of the basic objections to

this particular means of coping with national emergency disputes.

The present title II of the Taft-Hartley Act was passed by Congress in 1947. It was the result of the rash of strikes which followed the return of our country to a peacetime economy and the lifting of the wage-price controls which had been present during World War II. During that period there had been a voluntary agreement not to strike or lock out and the War Labor Board had adjudicated all requests for increases in wages. That was a wartime measure instituted to control the inflationary tendencies of a war economy. As a former member of that Board, I can say it worked and worked well.

It worked because it was based on a voluntary agreement entered into between labor and management that for the duration of the war they would suspend their right to strike and their right to lock out. It worked during the war period when all of us were willing to give up a portion of the usual freedoms we enjoyed.

Peacetime is quite different. In peacetime we traditionally do not want the Government to tell us what price to sell our merchandise at or exactly what the labor conditions of our employees should be. However, when the strikes during 1945, 1946, and 1947 appeared to disrupt our Nation's economy, legislation was passed in an attempt to solve the problem.

The 1947 legislation was not good legislation and very shortly thereafter Congress, or at least the Senate, attempted to devise some amendments to title II of Taft-Hartley in order to perfect the emergency dispute provisions of our labor laws. In 1952 the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported by bill S. 2999 of the 82d Congress. The report on that bill, which was recently reprinted in the committee print, "Federal Legislation To End Strikes: A Documentary History," published by the Labor Subcommittee during the recent railroad shopcraft dispute, clearly sets forth the various possible avenues of legislative action. It concluded that only minor revisions of the provisions of title II were possible; however, in the rush to adjournment that year the bill was never acted upon.

In 1952, the Labor Committee rejected the thought of instituting a system of compulsory arbitration for the settlement of emergency labor disputes. Since that time I have not seen any reason to change my judgment that the committee was correct in this conclusion.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS BASIS OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

The American system of labor-management relations is called collective bargaining. It proceeds upon the premise that given the time, management and labor have the ability to solve their own problems by sitting down across the table from one another and talking out their differences. Sometimes, and this is relatively infrequently, bargaining breaks down and resort is made to some sort of self-help to further the objectives of one side or the other and it also takes the form of lockouts or strikes. But this self-help is only for a limited period, because its only purpose is to induce the other side to agree at the bargaining table to the earlier demands which led to the use of self-help. The basic premise of the system is that the parties will be able to solve their differences between themselves without resort to outside interference or help. This means that neither side wants Government intervention because when the Government intervenes the parties lose control over the bargaining. They also lose control over the outcome. Of course the claim is made that weak industries are unable to hold their own against their workers and they need the counterbalance of the Government to stand against the might of unions that wish to drain all of the profits of the company to its workers, so it is alleged. Everyone knows that this is hypocrisy. Every union wants to continue a business which keeps its members' jobs healthy, for without a healthy business there are no jobs.

Moreover, the kind of dispute this bill would affect is hardly likely to be one involving small, weak companies or industries. There are those, however, who believe that the system which we have developed has developed middle-age spread. They believe that the strikes which occur causing inconvenience to the public should be eliminated. They therefore propose some sort of mechanism which they believe will deal fairly with both sides but will eliminate strikes. They seldom mention lockouts, but, of course, lockouts would be included. They propose a decisionmaking body of some sort or another which will settle the disputes which cause the strikes.

One commonly heard argument in support of the labor court concept is that it is used in other countries of the world. There are two fallacies contained in that argument. First is the conclusion that it has worked well, but the subjective conclusion that it has worked well is not justified, since our system has never been tried in those countries. Collective bargaining is desired by many of the labor experts of Australia and New Zealand.

Second, and much more important, is that while a system may be perfectly viable in a country with a population of 11,335,000, we have almost 200 million people in the United States and a regular work force of almost six times the entire population of Australia. We all know that the democracy as practiced in ancient Greece on a city-State level is not possible in our country today. It cannot be assumed that what is done in small, largely agricultural countries with small labor forces will work well for the greatest industrial nation in the world which is almost 15 times as large.

These things are seldom as simple as they appear at first glance. Of course, if a court or an arbitrator decides the matter in dispute, that dispute is gone and there will be no strike or lockout. But there will also be no collective bargaining because one side or the other will know that he can do better appealing to the independent third party than he can by means of bargaining. So he will sit tight and not bargain. So more and more the parties will just turn to that wonderful third party to tell them what to do.

When the Government tells you what to do, that is Government regulation. And when the Government can tell you what wages to pay your workers it is only one short step for the Government to tell businesses what prices they can charge and what profits they can make. Economic freedom, as we know it under our private enterprise system, goes out the window. Sure, it is much nicer and simpler not to have strikes, but how many of us want arbitrators, the courts, or the President of the United States to tell the country what wages the workers shall get, what profits the businessmen of the country shall make, and, of course, as we are so well aware right now, what the level of taxation of our citizens shall be?

Any solution to what can and must be described as basically a minor convenience should not destroy one of the things that has made this country's economic system so productive and so profitable—free collective bargaining.

You may ask, what about situations such as the recent railroad shopcraft dispute where you stated that the national welfare was being endangered? The Congress of the United States has done well to deal with each problem as it arises. We cannot use an atom bomb to kill one fly. No element in our entire private enterprise system is more basic to the system than is collective bargaining. I see no reason for Congress to shun its responsibility to protect the public interest through the commerce clause, by delegating this responsibility to another Government agency, on blanket terms to be applied to all disputes that meet the definition.

True, we have strikes of national impact from time to time. Where necessary, Congress has provided the machinery for terminating them. There is no evidence whatever that these disputes have unduly burdened the Congress, for this is one of the things we are here for.

I have been heard to say in past debates on this subject matter in the Senate that so long as the interstate commerce clause is in the Constitution, the Congress of the United States cannot and should not escape its responsibility to deal with an industrial dispute that reaches such a proportion that great jeopardy is placed upon the public interest. It is the Congress which has jurisdiction over interstate commerce, and the sole jurisdiction of Congress in the field of industrial relations stems from the interstate commerce clause. Oh, I know serious labor disputes are hot political potatoes. I understand politicians, I think, pretty well. They would rather not burn their fingers on them. But they were elected to office to carry out their responsibilities to every section of the Constitution of the United States, including the interstate commerce clause.

Let me say to the voters of this country, "Do not let your Congress ever duck its responsibilities in regard to great national emergency labor disputes. You elected them to protect you when you had a special situation that calls upon Congress for congressional action."

Now, they are few and far between, but that does not justify Congress seeking to pass a compulsory arbitration law and calling it under the very interesting label of "court of labor relations," and turning over the economic welfare of millions of workers and hundreds and thousands of employers to so-called judges who do not have the slightest background, training, or basis for handling questions of wages, prices, taxes, and profits.

We cannot separate those questions from the question of determining major labor disputes on a compulsory basis in this country. That is why I never have and never shall vote for a compulsory arbitration law. That is why I shall always be proud to have my record show that I was one of two Senators who voted against the only compulsory arbitration law ever passed by the Senate.

Thus, as one who has worked in this field for 32 years—for I arbitrated my first case 32 years ago and have been involved in many, many, in fact several hundred, major labor disputes in this country in the past 32 years—I shall never be a party to supporting compulsory arbitration legislation which seeks to substitute for that precious freedom, the freedom of employers and workers to iron out at the collective bargaining table their differences over wages, hours, and conditions of employment, the judgment of whatever number of men are placed on a so-called labor court to settle issues which are not judicial at all.

That is one of the basic fallacies in this whole issue. We are not dealing with litigious legal concepts. We are dealing with the basic economic rights of men and women among labor and among employers as to what their economic relations shall be in respect to the employer-employee relationship. That is why this proposal would establish a kind of statism in the American economy, a kind of collectivism in the American economy, a governmental dictation of the working relationships which are to prevail in a so-called democratic society between employers and employees. When we do that, we are not dealing with questions of legal rights. We are not dealing with questions of judicial problems. We are dealing with the economic relations between supposedly free employers and those free men and women who are the employees.

I will never cast a vote to enslave American employers and American workers under the arbitrary discretion of a so-called labor court. Because, when we do, we destroy the freedom of collective bargaining in this country.

Oh, the argument is made that I do go along with the exceptional cases. I shall cover those situations. They do not destroy free collective bargaining. We merely recognize that under our constitutional system that there is no absolute right to strike or lockout. It is a relative right. But it is a superior right in most instances, and becomes a subordinate right in few. When we get a great labor dispute which imperils—note my language—which imperils the health, safety, and security of the American people, then the superior right of the American people to governmental intervention subordinates the very precious right of management to lockout and workers to strike.

That is not the Smathers bill. The Smathers bill seeks to give jurisdiction to the court in a case in which they find it involves public interest.

What case does not? But they are altogether different from the emergency disputes which imperil the health and safety of the Republic under the Taft-Hartley law. How many such disputes have there been? Twenty-eight. Listening to some of my colleagues, we would think that a great strike peril was confronting us 24 hours a day because, from time to time, free men and women who are employees and free men and women who are employers exercise that precious freedom of the right to strike and lockout.

Well, let me say to those who are inconvenienced by strikes and lockouts, do not forget that the price of freedom comes high. But, it is worth it. It is worth all the inconveniences one has to suffer in the case of a strike or lockout, when that strike or lockout does not involve an imperilment of the health, safety, and welfare of the American people.

What does the Smathers bill propose to do? It proposes to take any labor case before an arbitration tribunal into a court for a compulsory decision, if it is alleged or a complaint is filed which claims the public interest is substantially involved. The public interest is involved in every labor dispute. That does not justify having the Government come in and dictate the terms of the economic life for the people involved in a good faith labor dispute.

If we do not understand that deep philosophical concept of the meaning of economic freedom for American workers and American employers, then we have not grasped the real meaning of the great strife which has occurred and developed in this country over the years for the rights of free men and women to bargain for the hours, wages, and conditions of employment in their relationships with employers.

We have fashioned specific machinery for specific disputes, in specific situations. By so doing, we have left collective bargaining as intact as it can be left after a national work stoppage. We have left the responsibility for wages and working conditions where it belongs—in the hands of union and management.

Once remove that responsibility from private hands—once put it in a permanent public agency—and we will have moved a long way toward the substitution of government fiat for private decisionmaking throughout our whole economic system.

Management has more to lose from this procedure than anyone else. Wages are one of its major costs, if not the major cost. Once this part of its business enterprise is turned over to a government agency for determination, management's operation of the enterprise is severely reduced. And that government agency is not going to be guided solely by what is good for management, but by its own charge to the public interest. Statism, collectivism, in labor-management relations is not going to benefit either party in the long run.

Congress, in short, is not too busy to deal with a national labor dispute of the proportions covered by this bill. Better that we should continue dong so on an ad hoc basis than turn over to a new bureaucracy so important a part of our economic life.

BILL IMPOSES NARROW SOLUTION ON ALL DISPUTES

Let me turn now to the terms of S. 176. I sympathize with what Senator SMATHERS is trying to do. He wishes to establish a course which would solve all emergency disputes. His bill has, however, only the most superficial relationship to the means provided under Public Law 90–54 which settled the railroad shopcraft dispute.

I do not agree with the principle of S. 176 that a court which must decide each case upon the record of evidence made before it is the best means of solving all national emergency disputes. Our recent rail board had no such constriction. Ours was not an arbitration board, as this court would be. Ours was a mediation board, empowered finally to propose a settlement within the bargaining history. That was our guideline; not the evidence subject to court rules, which so often can mean that the side with the best lawyers and best economists makes the best record. The arbitrator has no choice then, but to make his award on that basis.

The arbitrator is bound by the record. The arbitrator is bound by the preponderance of the evidence. The arbitrator is subject to reversal if his decision cannot be documented and the transcript of the record applied to the burden of proof and the preponderance-of-evidence rule. A mediator is not so bound. The mediator seeks only to bring the parties to a conscionable compromise of their differences irrespective of the evidence.

A mediator takes into account the economic position of the parties. In the railroad case, we took into account, for example, the fact that for every day of strike the railroad companies would have lost $12 million-plus per day in expense losses alone, plus every dollar, amounting to millions more, of income from the railroads.

We took into account the fact that the public, in time of war, if a railroad strike brought the economy of the country to its knees in the midst of a national crisis, would lose hundreds of millions of dollars a day. We took into account what, in the long run, the workers and their families would lose in dollars and in public good will. That was what the mediators took into account along with such factors as were presented. We took into account what was fair for the workers today by way of a concession to them here and to the carriers there. We considered what would be a fair, commonsense, equitable solution of their differences.

It is an entirely different process from arbitration. It is not understood, I know. It is not understood by many in the labor ranks in this country. How well I know. I have taken their criticisms. But their criticisms never have the slightest effect on me so far as fulfilling my responsibilities is concerned when I am in charge of a labor case. We protected the legitimate rights of the carriers and the workers in that case by holding within the framework, as Congress provided for in the statute it passed, through a mediation process, not an arbitration process.

What is more, we protected collective bargaining as an institution, in this and in all other industries.

Mr. President, should industrial relations be subjected permanently and by compulsion to the straitjacket of compulsory arbitration? Are wages and working conditions really an appropriate subject for the rules of courtroom law? I think not, as a general rule. How many other business contracts, mergers, and so forth, would businessmen care to see arranged exclusively under such rules?

Each dispute in the labor field is unique. A permanent court of five men will not necessarily make available the men who may be best qualified in a particular dispute, especially since those who serve on it would have very few cases to handle. Ad hoc procedures, on the other hand, allow the use of the individuals best qualified to contribute their talents to the given case. The type of court proposed in S. 176 would exclude some of the Nation's best qualified laymen in industrial relations from contributing to the solution of labor disputes.

BILL EXPANDS DEFINITION OF EMERGENCY DISPUTES

I have already noted that the bill changes the definition of emergency disputes under Taft-Hartley from disputes which "imperil the national health or safety" to those which would "adversely affect the public interest of the Nation." Under the Taft-Hartley definition, there have been roughly 28 disputes since 1947 which could have gone to the court provided for in the Smathers bill.

That is an average of 1.4 disputes a year. During 4 of those years, there were no emergency disputes at all.

On the basis of the Taft-Hartley definition, one must conclude that this five-man, permanent court would have almost nothing to do. But under the definition of the bill, it would appear that most disputes would come under its jurisdiction and would be settled by pure and simple compulsory arbitration.

So we have to ask ourselves, is not economic freedom worth something? Is it not worth inconvenience, is it not worth sacrifice; yes, is it not worth some of what S. 176 calls an adverse effect?

Remember that the dispute which "imperils the national health or safety" is a dispute so far reaching, so comprehensive, so vital that the national health and safety must come ahead of the interests of the parties. That was the situation we had in the recent rail dispute.

But the definition which changes "imperils" to "adversely affects" and changes "the national health or safety" to "the public interest" is going to turn over to compulsory arbitration the general, run-of-the-mill labor disputes anywhere in the country. The adoption of this bill would encourage one side or the other not to participate in good-faith collective bargaining, because they will sit down and see if they can gain more with the compulsory arbitration court. The Smathers bill would be an inducement to the breakdown of the precious right of freedom called free collective bargaining.

We still live in an economic and political democracy. There are no guarantees in a democracy; there are no guarantees of high wages or profits or success in the free enterprise system. We have thought the price of occasional inconvenience, of occasional loss of profits, of occasional loss of wages and family income was worth paying for the precious right of economic liberty.

ARSENAL OF WEAPONS APPROACH

Finally, I would elaborate on a point which I have already touched upon. I do not think there is one single solution which should be applied to all difficult labor-management disputes. That only complicates the situation. Everyone knows before the bargaining even begins how it will end if the parties do not make their own contract. The only permanent legislation in this area I have ever thought sound was the one that called for the so-called arsenal of weapons, which provided alternative solutions that could be applied depending upon the circumstances.

I think Public Law 90–54 was a sound solution for the recent rail dispute.

But who knows whether it would be appropriate for the next national emergency?

It may not be. Certainly I would hope it will have the effect of discouraging both parties to rail bargaining from seeking a publicly imposed solution again.

In labor relations, nothing is more important than that the options be kept open. Congress should keep its options open, too. I know the groans and moans that go up in this body when a major dispute appears to be headed for legislation. The cry is heard that we should rid ourselves of labor issues, because they bring political repercussions no matter what a Member of Congress does. Many bills are based upon the desire for a politically painless solution to labor disputes. There just are none.

LABOR NEGOTIATIONS WILL BECOME MORE POLITICAL, NOT LESS

No one knows better than I that legislation in this area can be politically painful. But no one should be deluded that labor relations can be removed from politics. I would serve notice upon every Member of Congress that you turn over to a public body the job of writing wage contracts, and you will plunge Congress into a political pit that will make you wish for the good old days when you only had to worry about one dispute at a time.

You will bring into politics the whole spectrum of wages and working conditions. The members of the court will have to be appointed and confirmed; the guidelines any such body applies will be subject to amendment. You will have Congress lobbied so hard from all sides that wage levels will become a major and direct political problem for every candidate for Congress.

We in Congress are in charge of establishing wages for postal workers and civil servants. What this bill, and others like it do, in effect, is not to remove Congress from the labor field, but to put the whole massive set of private labor negotiations right in our laps, along with civil service and postal wage scales.

Do you think the Mine Workers and the Auto Workers and the Longshoremen—to name just three unions—will leave us alone, once we assign contract writing to a labor court? To the contrary, they will hold us responsible for the men on the court, for each of their decisions, and they will seek to improve their economic position by further legislation.

General compulsory arbitration, as provided by S. 176, will, in my opinion, do more harm than good to industrial relations, and I do not believe Congress should turn to it.

Oh, I made this plea in 1963, when I pleaded against that compulsory arbitration bill which came out of the Commerce Committee urging compulsory arbitration for the settlement of the railroad dispute in 1963. I was one of two Senators who voted against it. If one will read the RECORD, he will find that, looking up at the front row of the gallery, where there were sitting some of those who had brought the pressure and the lobbying techniques to bear upon the Senate to pass that law, I said to them, pointing my finger at them, "You will rue the day that you brought the pressure on the Senate to pass this compulsory arbitration law, for you leaders will have to assume the responsibility of passing the first compulsory arbitration law ever passed by the Congress of the United States."

I want to say, in complete fairness to them, that many of them have told me since how right they considered I was in 1963 and how much they appreciated the position I took. Well, I have had some difficulty with some of them since, as I have participated in the solution of some labor disputes, including two east coast dock cases, the airlines case, and recently the railroad case. When I am put on a board that is in the middle and called upon to settle a labor dispute, I never permit my obligations to that board to ever mix with my political views.

But today I am discussing what I think are major tenets of our economic and political philosophy that ought to be considered by Members of the Senate before they vote on the Smathers bill, if it ever comes to a vote. In my judgment a vote for the Smathers bill will be as great a mistake as the Senate made in 1963, when it voted for the first compulsory arbitration law in the history of the Republic. I hope such a vote will never be cast again, because it is most important that we see to it that workers and employers in America remain completely free to participate in collecive bargaining between themselves for the determination of their wages, hours, and conditions of employment, and that no restriction ever be placed upon that freedom except in those rare and novel cases where a course of economic action on the part of workers and employers in a dispute imperils the health, safety, and security of the Republic. Even then, the Congress should assure that in protecting such a major, superior public interest, it does the least possible to interfere with collective bargaining.

Mr. President, I shall not insert in the RECORD the documents to which I have referred, and which deal with this subject. I only wish to have the RECORD show that my comments and criticisms in regard to this program of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers are based upon my analysis of the documents the propagandists are circulating. I also have before me the Reader's Digest article from the August 1968, issue, which I mentioned. I shall not ask to have it printed in the RECORD, but I want the RECORD to show that I had it before me at the time I prepared the speech I have just delivered, and that my criticisms of it in this speech relate to my analysis of the article at the time I prepared the speech.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 633) to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1504) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans for enterprises to supplement farm income and for farm conversion to recreation, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, establish a flexible loan interest rate, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10932) for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force (retired).

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 13781) to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16363) to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendments numbered 1 and 2 of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16027) to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes; and that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3 to the bill.

DEATH OF CONGRESSIONAL REORGANIZATION

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I rise on a somewhat sad occasion, to announce to the Members of the Senate the death of congressional reorganization, because the effort, as made by the Senate and by the Joint Committee on Reorganization of Congress, which started so bravely about 18 months ago, has been wrecked on the shoals of the inability of the Members of the House of Representatives to be permitted to vote on this very important piece of legislation.

No subject receives more of our attention and comment than "need for change." It has become almost trite to talk of the miraculous technological advances of this century, the changing demands of a pluralistic society, and the need for economic and social change to stay abreast of the times. Indeed, "change" has become the very fabric of our national character.

I regret to say that we have been particularly reluctant to apply this mandate for change to one major institution—the Congress itself. Over two decades ago, I was coauthor, with the late Senator Bob LaFollette, of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. That act—which provided our present committee system, professional staff, and other major internal reforms—has been the only comprehensive change in congressional machinery during the 20th century, and we are nearing the close of the 20th century.

Since 1965, it has been clear to me that the time for change has arrived again—that another major effort at congressional reorganization is needed. Since that time, I have had the honor to act as cochairman of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress—a special committee created by resolution of both Houses of Congress to study and recommend organizational changes. After months of hearings, hundreds of witnesses and thousands of pages of testimony, the committee made its recommendations in the summer of 1966.

I am proud to say that the Senate has responded to this call for reform. After extensive debate, S. 355—a bill based on the recommendations of the joint committee—passed the Senate by a vote of 75 to 9 in February 1967. At that point, it appeared that the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 would soon be law.

Sad to say, this has not been the case. Despite the fact that this bill was the product of 2 years of effort by a joint committee—despite the fact that the bill had passed the Senate by an overwhelming margin—the House of Representatives has not acted on it during the past year and a half following Senate passage. There is now no prospect that the House will act during the remainder of the session. Thus, S. 355 will die at the conclusion of this Congress.

There is a curious paradox here.

Congress complains about the growth of Executive power—but refused to consider legislation to redress the balance.

Congress frets about loss of legislative initiative—and blocks institutional reform to make those initiatives more likely.

Congress bemoans the fact that Government programs are becoming more complicated, more difficult to analyze, virtually impossible to oversee—but then refuses to admit that some of these difficulties lie within its own organization structure.

Let me recount briefly as what S. 355—the bill which was never permitted to reach the House floor—would have accomplished for Congress.

It would have made committee procedures more democratic so that all members of a committee—not just the chairman or the senior members—could play a significant part in the shaping and consideration of legislation.

It would have refined the jurisdiction of the standing committees—including the creation of a Senate Veterans Committee.

It would have improved our capacity to deal with the Federal budget by requiring more information from the Bureau of the Budget, a computer capability for budget analysis in the General Accounting Office, and a higher level of budget information from legislative committees and during the appropriations process.

It would have strengthened our sources of information by adding to permanent committee staff, providing minority staff as a matter of right, and enlarging the services of the Legislative Reference Service.

It would have encouraged better scheduling of legislative business through a firm adjournment date.

It would have removed the time-consuming and questionable task of patronage appointments and confirmations of postmasters.

It would have strengthened the lobby registration laws so that we could have better information about these people who represent special interests on pending legislation.

One fact is particularly significant. The House of Representatives did not vote down congressional reorganization. They were never able to consider it. In my judgment, a majority of the Members of the House—and I include both political parties—would have supported a reform bill had they had the opportunity to do so.

Mr. President, I do not wish to lay the blame at a single door. The facts speak for themselves. A year and a half after Senate action, the way was not clear for the Members of the House of Representatives to vote the bill up or down. Ironically, the fate of this bill illustrates most abundantly why congressional reform is so badly needed.

Some matters in S. 355 were an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate. I considered reintroducing those items as a Senate resolution—since the concurrence of the other body would not be required. But I would not want such Senate action to give the illusion of major reform when that reform had not been forthcoming. I do not think we should let Congress get off the hook with half a loaf.

For this reason, the fight for congressional reform must be carried on in both Houses. Although we are a bicameral legislature, it is the Congress—not just a part of it—that must keep pace with the times.

Sometimes I wonder how interested the public really is in the need for congressional reform. They have a vital stake in it—since the legislative branch is in fact the people's branch, their representative in the governmental process.

This much I know. Congressional reform will not come unless the public—and, I might add, the news media that inform the public—makes it crystal clear to their representatives in Congress that they will not tolerate blind adherence to hidebound tradition and outdated customs and creaky legislative machinery.

There are those who believe we can achieve "instant reform" by just eliminating one or two well-known abuses. It is a far more difficult task. True reform must be a mosaic of many changes. That is the reason why reorganization can only come as a comprehensive effort as we were able to achieve in 1946 and have attempted so hard to achieve these past 3 years.

I would like to think that an aroused public will help make this reform a reality. I would like to think that the leadership and the rank and file membership of both Houses will realize that we are falling behind—not keeping pace—in our capacity to deal with modern problems. I know that I intend to continue my efforts to rally support for this, the greatest institutional challenge of this age.

I call upon the Members of Congress to renew this effort with me next January.

While the road to congressional reform is a long and rocky one, we shall reach the final goal—a democratic, effective and well-informed legislative body—able to respond in every way to the challenges of these modern, exciting, and complicated times.

I want to pay tribute to my colleagues on the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress who have labored so long and so faithfully to make Congress more effective. They have my pledge that their labors shall not have been in vain.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, while I do not happen to be a member of the Senator's committee which has labored so hard and, I think, so usefully in this field of congressional reorganization, I am completely in accord with the views expressed by the learned Senator.

I regret deeply with the Senator the fact that the reorganization could not be finally accomplished. I do hope that the Senator will persevere in his effort.

I want the Senator to know that many of us who are not part of the active committee strongly believe in that effort and will continue to support him in it. The Senator from Florida will certainly do so.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I deeply appreciate those words. I know how strongly, firmly, and effectively the distinguished Senator from Florida carries on the myriad duties he has as one of our most distinguished Members.

We must join in the fight today. We are perhaps the only large-scale operation in the world that does not have computerization of the necessary facts available. Yet we have computerized many of our agencies that deal with fractional matters compared to what Congress deals with. We cannot even get budgeted information from the breakdown of the figures.

Modern business today has computerized information available to it. Yet, the U.S. Government—the largest volume business in the entire world today—does not have it. We will continue to try hard to modernize our recordkeeping.

I regret that due to circumstances beyond the control of the Senate, the matter is dead for this year. However, I surely hope to revive it when Congress meets next year, if I am fortunate enough to be a Member of the Senate again. I hope that we can take up the matter and get better results next year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I appreciate the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma. I have had the privilege of serving as a member of that committee on the reorganization of the Government. I am proud of the fact that the Senate acted on the matter quite promptly. I regret that the House has held up action. I share with the Senator the hope that we may secure better results next year.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator was a most effective and diligent member of the committee. I do appreciate the great efforts he made in this field.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A FOREIGN SERVICE INFORMATION OFFICER CORPS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 633.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 633) to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps which was on page 9, after line 14, insert:

TENURE OF FOREIGN SERVICE RESERVE OFFICERS

SEC. 15. (a) Any officer appointed as a Foreign Service Reserve officer after the date of enactment of this Act may serve as such for not more than five years. During such period (no sooner than the expiration of the third year but no later than the expiration of the fifth year) such Foreign Service Reserve officer shall be appointed as a Foreign Service officer, Foreign Service Information Officer, Foreign Service Reserve officer with unlimited tenure, Foreign Service Staff officer, or shall be terminated as a Foreign Service Reserve officer.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of sections 522 and 527 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, an appointment of any Foreign Service Reserve officer existing on the date of enactment of this Act may be extended, but not beyond the expiration of the five-year period beginning on such date of enactment.

RETIREMENT AND SEPARATION OF FOREIGN SERVICE RESERVE OFFICERS

SEC. 16. (a) In accordance with such regulations as the President may prescribe, any Foreign Service Reserve officer with unlimited tenure shall become a participant in the Foreign Service retirement and disability system and shall make a special contribution to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund in accordance with the provisions of section 852 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended. Beginning on the date of enactment of this Act, any Reserve officer referred to in the preceding sentence shall be mandatorily retired for age in accordance with the provisions of subsections (c) and (d) of section 9 of this Act.

(b) The provisions of sections 633 and 634 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, shall apply to Foreign Service Reserve officers with unlimited tenure.

PRESENT FOREIGN SERVICE RESERVE OFFICERS

SEC. 17. Any Foreign Service Reserve officer appointed before the date of enactment of this Act who has completed at least three years of continuous and satisfactory service as such on such date of enactment, or who will have completed at least three years of such service before the expiration of the three-year period beginning on such date of enactment, may be appointed as a Foreign Service Reserve officer with unlimited tenure.

LIMITATION ON EXTENSION OF FOREIGN SERVICE RESERVE OFFICER APPOINTMENTS

SEC. 18. Paragraph (3) of section 522 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: "; except that the authority contained in this paragraph relating to extending the appointment of any Reserve officer, and to continuing the services of any such Reserve officer by reappointment, shall not be applicable to the Department of State and the United States Information Agency".

EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN AGENCIES

SEC. 19. The provisions of sections 15, 16, and 17 of this Act shall not apply to officers and employees of the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The bill creates a career service for information officers of the U.S. Information Agency. The bill was introduced by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. The Pell bill—now the "Pell-Hays Act"—was the subject of hearings within the committee and was approved by the Senate on November 13, 1967.

When the bill was considered by the House of Representatives, it was approved with one amendment which I am sure the Senate will have no problem in accepting.

That amendment does away with an anomaly which has existed under the Foreign Service Act for many years, namely, that Foreign Service Reserve officers continue to have their periods of tenure extended by annual provisions in appropriations acts, thus circumventing the intent of the Foreign Service Act that their tenure be temporary.

The House amendment makes it clear that Foreign Service Reserve officers may continue as such for not more than 5 years. Thereafter, their service shall be terminated unless they have in the interim been appointed as career officers in the Department of State, as Foreign Service information officers, as a Foreign Service Reserve officer with unlimited tenure, or as a Foreign Service staff officer.

I ask unanimous consent that those portions of the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives dealing with this subject be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECTION 15

Subsection (a) provides that any officer appointed as a Foreign Service Reserve officer after the date of enactment of this act may serve in that capacity for no more than 5 years. Under the authority of section 522 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, such appointments may be made for an initial period of 5 years and extended for an additional 5 years—a total of 10 years. A provision in the annual appropriation acts of the Department of State and of USIA has permitted an annual extension for those whose appointments expired during the next fiscal year. Thus the Reserve category, intended to be one of limited duration, has gradually become one of indefinite duration.

The committee recognizes the need to obtain the services of specialists and technicians in each of the two agencies. But it is convinced that they should be temporary appointees. If their services are necessary, they should be given tenure; if not, they should be terminated. This subsection specifies that at any time after 3 years and before the end of 5 years the agency must determine whether to terminate a Reserve appointment or, in the discretion of the Secretary or the Director, give unlimited status to a Reserve as a Foreign Service officer, a Foreign Service information officer, a Foreign Service Reserve officer with unlimited tenure, or a Foreign Service Staff officer in accordance with provisions of a law applicable to those categories of officers.

Subsection (b) provides that Foreign Service Reserve officers holding appointments as such on the date of enactment of this act may be extended for a period not to exceed 5 years. This will permit an orderly phaseout of those officers who cannot, or do not wish to, secure an unlimited appointment.

SECTION 16

Subsection (a) provides that a Foreign Service Reserve officer who is given unlimited tenure shall become a participant in the Foreign Service retirement and disability system and shall transfer his contributions from the civil service or other retirement system under which he has been covered to the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund. The reference to subsections (c) and (d) of section 9 of this act makes applicable the provisions for mandatory retirement for age.

Subsection (b) makes applicable to Foreign Service Reserve officers with unlimited tenure those sections of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, that deal with separation and retirement benefits. These sections apply in the same manner and under the same general terms and conditions as now apply to Foreign Service officers and as will apply to Foreign Service information officers under other sections of this act.

SECTION 17

This section covers Foreign Service Reserve officers now on the rolls of the Department of State and USIA. It makes eligible for appointment of unlimited tenure such officers who have or will have completed at least 3 years of continuous and satisfactory service. Such appointments will be granted in the discretion of the Secretary or the Director.

SECTION 18

This section amends section 522(3) of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, by limiting to a maximum of 5 years the appointment of Foreign Service Reserve officers of the Department of State and USIA. Individuals from Government agencies other than the Department of State and the Agency are assigned to these two agencies as Foreign Service Reserve officers. They have reemployment and reinstatement rights in their employing agency and are in a sense temporary employees of the two agencies. The amendment continues the authority in existing law to extend the assignment of such individuals for an additional 5 years. It is expected, however, that this authority will be used sparingly. The committee recognizes the need for the continuation of the assignment authority but does expect the Department of State or the Agency to use this assignment authority to avoid granting career status to Reserve officers by assignment as such from within their own agency.

SECTION 19

This section excludes the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from the provisions of sections 15, 16, and 17 of this act.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, we are living today in the midst of what might well be called the age of communications. There are more ways for man to talk to his fellowman than ever before in history. Happily this country leads the world in development of communication devices employing all the latest mechanical and electronic inventions. This country also has no peers in its present great outpouring of literature, painting, sculpture, music—which can be described as artistic communication.

It is vital that as a Nation we speak to the people of other nations with our best communications foot forward. Since 1953 our Government has had the appropriate, independent mechanism for doing so—the U.S. Information Agency. Since that time the USIA has grown to be an important part of America's foreign policy community both in Washington and overseas. Its mission has been to use communications techniques to win understanding abroad for the United States, its foreign policies, its people, and its culture. Considering it has labored under one serious handicap, the USIA has carried out its assignment effectively.

This handicap has been the fact that the professional personnel of the agency have been denied a career service. Mr. President, it is self-evident that if we are to have the best possible information service to tell America's story to the world we must have the best communications experts to do the job. USIA's top professionals for 15 years have had to work as temporary employees. This condition has hurt morale and threatened the long-range excellence of the Agency's performance. It has also caused increasing difficulty in attracting young and able people into making USIA their career.

I am delighted that this day Congress has eliminated this longstanding deficiency in such an important agency of government by passing the Pell-Hayes bill, S. 633, for a career service for USIA.

I am confident that the USIA will move firmly within the provisions of this act to bring its service to the highest excellence. Young people with skills and background in all types of communications can look to the USIA as a place where they can practice their profession proudly. Year by year recruitment should now be greatly stimulated. Within the Agency, training measures can be employed to improve officers in the performance of the Agency's particular mission. And both in Washington and in the scores of overseas posts USIA officers can now work with the tranquillity that a rule career service affords the deserving professional who has earned a place in it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives to S. 633.

The motion was agreed to.

DISPOSAL OF BERYL ORE

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 14367.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its action on the Senate amendment to H.R. 14367, which was read as follows:

Resolved, That the House disagree to the amendment of the Senate to H.R. 14367, an act to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the National Stockpile and the Supplemental Stockpile.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, inasmuch as the stockpile disposal law already requires the use of sealed bids on a competitive basis in the disposal of beryl, it seems to me the amendment is redundant.

I move that the Senate recede from its amendment to the bill.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BENNETT. I yield.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, for the benefit of the Senate, the Subcommittee on National Stockpile and Naval Petroleum Reserves is in agreement with the position taken by the distinguished Senator from Utah, and we have no objection to this amendment being cleared at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Utah.

The motion was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OF CONSOLIDATED FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION ACT OF 1961

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 1504.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1504) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans for enterprises to supplement farm income and for farm conversion to recreation, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, establish a flexible loan interest rate, and for other purposes which was to strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert:

That the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, is further amended as follows:

The first sentence of section 303 is amended to read as follows: "Loans may be made or insured under this subtitle for (1) acquiring, enlarging, or improving farms, including farm buildings, land and water development, use and conservation, (2) recreational uses and facilities, (3) enterprises needed to supplement farm income, (4) refinancing existing indebtedness, and (5) loan closing costs."

Sec. 2. Section 304 is amended by inserting "(a)" after "subtitle", and by changing the period at the end of the section to a comma and adding the following: "not including recreational uses and facilities, and (b) without regard to the requirements of sections 302 (2) and (3), to individual farmowners or tenants to finance outdoor recreational enterprises or to convert to recreational uses their farming or ranching operations, including those heretofore financed under this title."

Sec. 3. Section 306(a)(2) is amended by changing "$50,000,000" to "$100,000,000".

Sec. 4. The last sentence of section 306(a) (3) is amended by changing "1968" to "1971".

Sec. 5. Section 306(a)(6) is amended by changinug "$50,000,000" to "$15,000,000".

Sec. 6. Section 308 is amended by striking the word "Loans" from the beginning of the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "Until October 1, 1971, loans" and by striking the comma after the word "Secretary" and the phrase "aggregating not more than $450,000,000 in any one year,".

Sec. 7. Section 309(f) is amended by changing "$50,000,000" to "$100,000,000".

Sec. 8. Section 312 is amended by (a) revising subsection (4) to read as follows: "(4) financing land and water development, use, and conservation,"; (b) inserting new items (5) and (6) to read as follows: "(5) without regard to the requirements of section 311 (2) and (3), to individual farmers or ranchers to finance outdoor recreational enterprises or to convert to recreational uses their farming or ranching operations, including those heretofore financed under this title, (6) enterprises needed to supplement farm income,"; and (c) by renumbering the present items "(5), (6), and (7) to "(7), (8), and (9)".

Sec. 9. Section 313 is amended by changing the colon after "$35,000" to a comma, and by striking the proviso in item (1).

Sec. 10. Section 316 is amended by (a) striking from the first sentence "at an interest rate not to exceed 5 per centum per annum," and (b) adding at the end of the section the following: "Loans made under this subtitle shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States with remaining periods to maturity comparable to the average maturities of such loans, adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum, plus not to exceed 1 per centum per annum as determined by the Secretary."

Sec. 11. Section 331 is amended by adding a new subsection (f) at the end thereof to read as follows:

"(f) Release mortgage and other contract liens if it appears that they have no present or prospective value or that their enforcement likely would be ineffectual or uneconomical."

Sec. 12. Section 333(b) of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 is amended by striking the word "farming".

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, this bill passed the Senate unanimously last year. It has just passed the House with minor amendments.

I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Am I correct in my understanding that this matter has been cleared with and approved by the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. AIKEN. Yes. I have discussed it with the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, the Senator from Louisiana, and also the Senator from Florida. I would appreciate the cooperation of both. The Senator from Louisiana said he had no objections.

The House did reduce the overall authorization from $150 million to $100 million for rural water and sewage plants.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator.

Mr. AIKEN. The amendments of the House are all minor and, in fact, improve the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INOUYE in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Vermont.

The motion was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the will of the Senate?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 1093.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House

of Representatives to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1093) to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, an for other purposes, which was, on the last line of the Senate engrossed amendment, strike out "459(g)" and insert "459".

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the House amendment to the Senate amendment is intended to correct a mistake in the Senate version of this bill. The mistake consisted of a reference to section 459(g) of title 50, appendix, United States Code, when the intention was to refer to section 459 of title 50 appendix, United States Code. The amendment merely strikes "(g)" to conform to the clear intent of the Senate report.

I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from West Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

THE COST OF RESURRECTION CITY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, few if any Americans were deluded by the initial claims that the costs of Resurrection City and the so-called Poor People's Campaign would be underwritten from private funds and that tax moneys would not be used.

It is clear that the true costs of this ill-fated pressure campaign will never be known. I have, however, sought over the past few months to report the dollar values assigned to the campaign by those Federal agencies which appeared to be most prominently identified with it.

For all practical purposes, I believe the figures are now final, and in order that the record be as complete and accurate as possible, I submit a table indicating that the total direct cost to the Federal Government and District of Columbia was in excess of $1,700,000. I ask unanimous consent that the table be printed at this point in the RECORD as exhibit A.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXHIBIT A

FUNDS EXPENDED IN CONNECTION WITH POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Department	Nature of last report	Amount expended
Agriculture	Final	$10,671
District of Columbia	do	805,682
Interior	Final [1]	277,165
Justice	do	476,533
General Services Administration.	do	44,573
Department of the Army	do	86,179
Total		1,700,803

[1] Subject to final cost determinations and settlement of claims, damage deposit, and suspense account.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Inasmuch as the Department of the Interior's report of July 19 contains information not previously available, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point in its entirety, as exhibit B.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXHIBIT B

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., July 19, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: We have previously furnished you the total costs to this Office of the Poor People's Campaign in connection with the occupancy of Resurrection City and the Solidarity Day March as $159,774.

The costs of dismantling structures, grounds cleanup, and restoration of turf were estimated at $61,000. Although the restoration of the turf is still in process we do have more accurate costs of this work.

These costs to date amount to $31,900. The estimated costs to complete the sodding of the area and repair or replace trees and shrubbery is $30,000, or a total estimated cost of $61,900.

In summary the costs are as follows:

Resurrection City through termination of permit	$145,167
Solidarity Day March	14,607
Dismantling of structures and restoration of area:	
National Park Service costs (includes estimated cost of unfinished work)	61,900
GSA costs (includes storage and transfer of real property)	29,482
District of Columbia Highway Department costs	26,009
Subtotal	117,391
Total	277,165

An agreement has been reached with the S.C.L.C. for them to sell the lumber stored at Fort Belvoir with the selling price to be approved by this Office, and the proceeds to be placed in a suspense account in the U.S. Treasury, to be disposed of along with the $5,000 deposit according to legal determinations to be made later.

We will be happy to provide further information regarding the actual restoration costs when completed, and also the final disposition of the initial deposit of $5,000, and amounts to be received from the sale of the lumber.

Sincerely yours,
RUSSELL E. DICKINSON,
Acting Regional Director.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, as exhibit C, a copy of a telegram dated May 21, 1968, which I directed to Mr. Nash Castro, National Capital Regional Director, National Park Service, questioning the adequacy of the bond obtained to restore to its former condition the national park lands used by Resurrection City.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXHIBIT C

MAY 21, 1968.

Mr. NASH CASTRO,
Regional Director, National Capital Region, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.:

Will appreciate your immediate advice as to whether or not guarantee required by section 8 of permit issued by you as Regional Director, National Capital Parks, to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on May 10, 1968, has been received and if so in what form. In view of present intensive usage will also thank you to advise me as to the sufficiency of this bond to "remove all facilities installed by or for it and shall restore the areas to their prior condition."

ROBERT C. BYRD,
U.S. Senator, Chairman, District of Columbia Subcommittee, Senate Appropriations Committee.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. At the time Mr. Castro appeared before the District of Columbia Appropriations Subcommittee, I inserted into the hearing record his reply to my telegram, and inquired again as to his opinion of the adequacy of the $5,000 bond.

I ask unanimous consent that a brief excerpt of these hearings be printed in the RECORD at this point, to be followed by a clipping from the Evening Star of Tuesday, July 30. These would appear as exhibits D and E.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXHIBIT D

Senator BYRD. I insert in the record at this point your letter to me of May 24 outlining the view that the $5,000 bond plus possible salvage rates would be sufficient to insure that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as permittee, would fulfill its obligation under the permit or to indemnify the National Park Service in the event the permittee should default in carrying out its obligations.

Is this still your view?

(The letter follows:)

MAY 24, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: By way of further follow-up to your telegram of May 21, we believe the $5,000 cash deposit made by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to conform to the requirements of the permit as sufficient to cover the removal of the facilities installed by them on park land in the District of Columbia. This represents the combined judgment of those who negotiated with the SCLC people on the permit.

On the basis of our discussions with their negotiators, we feel quite confident that SCLC will remove their installations, for they led us to believe they wish to recover their deposit.

Our judgment may be incorrect, but if it is we shall be much surprised. In any case, we consider the amount to be adequate if the responsibility should fall to us to remove or contract with others to remove the facilities installed by SCLC. Salvage value of the lumber is believed to be sufficiently high to attract private salvage firms. We believe that salvage could be contracted at little or no cost to the Government.

In respect to power lines and poles installed on the site by PEPCO for SCLC, a deposit of $7,850 was made by SCLC to the utility company. This amount includes the cost of removing the poles and lines.

Sincerely yours,
NASH CASTRO,
Regional Director.

BOND SUFFICIENCY

Mr. CASTRO. It is still my view, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BYRD. It is still your view that the $5,000 bond is sufficient?

Mr. CASTRO. Yes, sir, as of now it is. It depends on compliance we have with the permit.

My own impression of things is this: They have an investment of lumber in the site, I understand, in excess of $70,000. I don't feel they can afford to abandon it. If they did, I am sure any contractor would be happy to come in and salvage it and restore the site.

EXHIBIT E

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 30, 1968]

TENT CITY LUMBER SOLD FOR $5,500

The National Park Service today announced the sale of the lumber salvaged from Resurrection City to a Johnson City,

> Tenn., firm for $5,500. The agency had hoped to sell the lumber for $18,000 to $20,000. But, a spokesman said, the bid from the Greybeal & Smith firm was the only one and the lumber, now in storage at Ft. Belvoir, Va., is in danger of deterioration.
>
> As called for in an agreement with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, sponsors of the Poor People's Campaign, the money will go into a trust fund pending a legal determination of who gets it—the Park Service or the SCLC. The federal agency has sought the money to help pay costs of restoring the Resurrection City site.

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. This newspaper story relates that the salvaged lumber which was said to have cost in excess of $70,000 when new was sold last week for $5,500. This together with the $5,000 bond will be less than one-tenth of the costs incurred by the Government in dismantling the structures and restoring the area.

In reviewing my files on this subject, I note that in Mr. Castro's letter of May 10, 1968, granting the Southern Christion Leadership Conference a permit to utilize national park lands for the construction of "Resurrection City, U. S. A.," paragraph 8 reads as follows:

> Upon cessation of the use of the designated areas under this permit, Permittee shall remove all facilities installed by or for it and shall restore the areas to their prior condition, reasonable wear and tear of the turf excepted. To guarantee compliance with this requirement, Permittee shall deposit $5,000 in cash with the National Park Service or shall execute an undertaking in the amount of $5,000 with two sufficient sureties satisfactory to the National Park Service or to furnish a contractual commitment therefor satisfactory to the National Park Service.

I also note that the assurances contained in the paragraph set forth above were accepted and agreed to for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on May 10, 1968, by Mr. Bernard LaFayette, Jr., national coordinator of Washington Poor People's Campaign, and Mr. Walter E. Fauntroy, director, Washington bureau, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Clearly the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has an obligation to live up to its commitment, and I together with many other American taxpayers will look forward with interest as to how this account will be finally settled by those who have been charged with protecting the Government's interest in this matter.

CONGESTION AT NATIONAL AIRPORT

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. Mr. President, this morning's Washington Post carried an article by Richard M. Cohen concerning the serious and growing safety hazards resulting from the congestion of flights at National Airport.

Mr. Cohen reported that recently a Presidential support plane narrowly avoided a collision with a commercial jet over Mount Vernon when a tower controller became too busy directing other flights to contact the planes involved.

This incident emphasizes the dangerous conditions at National Airport.

The national president of the association representing the Nation's controllers—Kenneth T. Lyons—is quoted as saying:

> The safety factor at National has degenerated to a point that almost daily there are reported and unreported near-misses, averaging five a day.

Mr. President, must we wait for a major disaster before we take steps to correct this situation? Can we any longer avoid our responsibility to assure the safety of those who use National Airport and those who live in its vicinity?

I have warned many times in the past that air traffic at National Airport had passed the saturation point. It is not reasonable for the airlines to continue expanding their use of this facility.

Yet, these airlines have proposed major improvements at National, including the lengthening of its runway, in order to accommodate more and bigger jets. It may be possible to do this but it is not possible to expand the airspace above National Airport.

So, no matter what might be done to improve ground facilities at National, we will still have the safety problem which results from too many planes in the air at the same time over the same area.

The only solution is to divert some of these flights to other airports. The logical alternative is Dulles International Airport which was designed for this specific purpose. It is one of the most modern airports in the world, but it is also one of the most under utilized.

Mr. President, I call upon the airlines, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Aviation Administration, the Department of Transportation, and all other responsible parties to take immediate steps to alleviate congestion at National in the interest of public safety.

EARTHQUAKE IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, for some time now the news tickers have been carrying reports of an earthquake centering in Manila in the Philippine Islands. A number of Filipinos are dead and many more are injured because of this terrible catastrophe. Damage to buildings in Manila has been extensive and the cost cannot even be estimated.

Mr. President, the earthquake presents another difficulty to the Republic of the Philippines. It is one I am sure that the Filipino people under the leadership of President Marcos will face up to and surmount.

This castrophe has struck the Republic of the Philippines just as it was beginning to move forward rapidly in many fields—in agricultural production, the road building and schools as well as in social services. These advances will have strengthened the Republic to meet this natural calamity.

I wish to express through President Marcos to the people of the Philippines the great distress of the Senate at this catastrophe and to let them know that we feel for them, sympathize with them, and if there is any way we can be of service to these long-time friends and allies, we stand ready and willing to do everything we possibly can. The Senate, I know, joins with me in the hope and prayer that the damage, the deaths, and the injuries will not be overwhelming, that the losses will be kept to a minimum and that the recovery will be rapid.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 805—ADJOURNMENT FROM TODAY TO SEPTEMBER 4, 1968

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on House Concurrent Resolution 805.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate House Concurrent Resolution 805, as follows:

> *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That when the House adjourns on Friday, August 2, 1968, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian, Wednesday, September 4, 1968.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to House Concurrent Resolution 805 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

> In line 2, after the word "the", strike out "House" and insert "Congress".

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The House concurrent resolution (No. 805), as amended, was agreed to as follows:

> *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That when the Congress adjourns on Friday, August 2, 1968, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian, Wednesday, September 4, 1968.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask that the resolution as amended remain at the desk until everything is completed. I recall an incident 8 years ago when I was left holding the bag, because of being too eager to have approved a resolution of this sort. I do not intend to do that ever again, until the business of the Senate is completed.

AUTHORITY TO SIGN ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I submit House Concurrent Resolution 806, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The concurrent resolution will be read by the clerk.

The legislative clerk read the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 806), as follows:

H. CON. RES. 806

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That notwithstanding any adjournment of the two Houses until September 4, 1968, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate be, and they are hereby, authorized to sign enrolled bills and joint resolutions duly passed by the two Houses and found truly enrolled.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered and agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, soon after he came to Capitol Hill several years ago, I learned to know our late colleague, Robert Kennedy. From the first I recognized him as a man with a fine mind and rare talents. Later, I saw repeated evidences of his tremendous energy and complete dedication to his work.

I believe as fine a tribute as can be given a person is a frank appraisal of your impressions of him as he performs his duties, especially in public life.

From year to year, then, I viewed the fine contributions that he made to a major Senate committee as a highly valuable staff member. Later, I saw his talent for organization and the splendid overall job he did in managing the primary and presidential campaigns of the late President, John Kennedy.

Our late colleague became Attorney General and served with distinction for almost 4 years. He showed a mature, professional, and official judgment. I saw every evidence that he was dedicated to this job. Then, and later as a Senator, I learned firsthand that he was a man of tremendous capacity in his knowledge of our Government. I saw him as one who could quickly and readily make firm decisions of the most important nature. He was effective indeed in dealing with the many grave problems that confronted him. Certainly, he was highly attractive to millions of people in political as well as personal matters, and was a leader by force of intellect and willpower. I did not share his opinion in all questions but I recognized him as a very formidable leader and molder of opinion in many fields.

I look upon the manner of the passing of our late colleague and friend as a great personal and political tragedy. It was a personal tragedy for him to lose his own life, and for his family to lose him. It was a political tragedy for a forceful and fearless leader to be lost, when dedication and energy are so badly needed in our political life.

There were few times that he and I voted together except on matters of procedures and there were times when, frankly, I could not understand his position. At the same time, I realized there were times when he perhaps could not understand my position, but we could always deal with each other in confidence. While he was Attorney General and while he was a Senator, we were very often on opposite sides or pitted against each other in public matters. But on or off the Senate floor, he always told me the truth, and nothing but the truth, about every matter that we discussed. This was a cardinal virtue in which I can take pride as well as share with his other friends and with each member of his fine family.

As an American, as a former colleague and friend, I am thankful for the contribution that he made and shall cherish the memory of his virtues.

I mourn his untimely passing and the loss sustained by his family, his country and the Senate. To his surviving widow and to each of his children as well as his other relatives, Mrs. Stennis and I extend our heartfelt sympathy in their earthly loss and pray that God will sustain them now and in the years ahead.

May God rest the soul of our former colleague, Robert Kennedy.

RETIREMENT OF GEN. WILLIAM F. McKEE AS ADMINISTRATOR OF FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, on July 31, Gen. William F. McKee retired as Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration.

General McKee leaves that position after 39 years of Government service—35 years in the military, 4 years in Government—of which 3 were spent as the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration.

He leaves Government service after a very distinguished career that has been marked by highly effective service to his country.

During the period he was head of the FAA he faced some of the most pressing problems the country has faced since the beginning of aviation. Because of the fine work he has done, a solid foundation has been laid for outstanding progress in developing aviation and especially in safety in the air.

Under his direction many of the services of the FAA have been greatly improved. Long-needed services have been established, all of which have been of great value to all the people as well as to the aviation industry.

On his appointment as head of the Federal Aviation Administration, the President of the United States described General McKee as "one of the most knowledgeable and competent administrators in the Defense Department."

I know from my personal association with him in the military and while he was head of the Federal Aviation Administration that his work in whatever he has undertaken has been outstanding. He is imaginative, dedicated, wise, and industrious.

His leaving will be a loss, but he has helped to establish the Federal Aviation Administration as a continuing organization and has inspired the employees of that agency to continue their fine work and to carry on in the same manner as when he was in charge.

The remarks he made in saying farewell to his staff are typical of his fine spirit and of his dedication.

I ask unanimous consent that they be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENERAL McKEE'S FAREWELL REMARKS TO THE STAFF—JULY 31, 1968

First, I want to express to all of you my admiration and respect for a great job under quite difficult circumstances. The FAA operates around the clock, 24 hours a day, 365 days a year—with a tempo which increases each day.

All of you are well aware of the problems of yesterday and the problems of today—let us look at tomorrow.

The country will become each day more and more dependent on air transportation both:

For the transportation of people

For the transportation of cargo.

I have stressed to the Congress, to the Administration, to the public, and to the aviation community that the resources, from whatever source, must be provided in the interest of (a) The safety of the system, (b) The operational effectiveness of the system, (c) The economy of the country.

Failure to provide the people, the facilities and equipment, and the resources for research and development can only mean strangulation in the growth of civil aviation—with its disastrous effect on our economy and, I am afraid, on the safety of our operation.

We have laid this whole picture out before the Congress. I am convinced the leaders in the Congress understand and are willing to do what they can to help.

The President well recognizes the problem and, as you know, has submitted legislation to help provide the needed resources.

We in the FAA know what needs to be done and what it will cost over the next five years—and even beyond. The FAA—you people—have the capability and the talent to do it.

It is past time now for the aviation community to pull together and give us the support that we need to do the job for them and more importantly, for the country. Each day we wait is another day lost. We cannot afford to shove this problem under the rug for another year.

I know in my heart each one of you will continue each day to do the best job you know how—which reminds me of a famous sentence in the English language—"When you have done the very best you can the angels in heaven can't do better."

In conclusion, I want all of you to know as I leave that I will continue to support you wherever and whenever I can to my very utmost.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I would like to add that even though General McKee and I were friendly in our work and I appreciated what personal contacts I had with him, we were not what one might call close personal friends, and what I say about him here as an outstanding administrator is not based on any personal feelings. My attention was attracted to him even before I became a member of the Armed Services Committee. He has been an outstanding influence. He is industrious. He really has left a fine job done behind him.

This year I happened to handle the appropriation bill for the Department of Transportation, and felt there the influence of his fine work in that Department. I know how he responded to the grave emergency and really critical situation that has arisen with reference to overcrowded air travel, so far as controller problems are concerned, as well as some of the equipment. He has been outstanding in meeting that emergency as well as planning for the future. It was at his prompting that the Senate adopted an amendment to meet that problem. That amendment has been finally approved by both Houses in a bill that went to the President's desk yesterday.

THE BIAFRAN FAMINE A WORLD RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I know the hour is late and the Senate wants to recess and Senators want to get away. I shall detain the Senate but a few minutes, because this matter is terribly important.

Mr. President, although the hour is late, before we recess I want to call the attention of the Senate to the terrible famine in Biafra and to the bloody and merciless war which has cost the lives of more than 200,000 people over the past year in this small African country.

The photographs of starving children which have appeared in the American press tear at our heartstrings. And stories that have appeared in the press in the last few days indicate that the situation is getting worse by the hour. On this point I would like to quote from an article which appeared in the New York Times on July 30, 1968:

> Death strikes everywhere—in hospitals, in mission stations, even by the roadside. At the Okpala Mission 80 miles west of here, the Rev. Ken Doheny is close to weeping as 7,000 children assemble at dusk, their bony hands outstretched.
>
> "They used to come here every night for a little soup—milk or bean," he reports. "Now we have nothing left. This is a children's war. They're all doomed, the lot of them."

Despite incredible difficulties, a number of private organizations, mostly notably the International Red Cross, CARITAS, and Church World Service, have been doing their utmost to alleviate the suffering in Biafra. But a point has now been reached where nothing short of an international emergency effort can prevent the death and starvation of millions of civilians in Biafra.

The possibility of such an emergency action has been widely discussed. But it has proved impossible thus far to achieve an agreement on arrangements.

The Nigerian Government has offered to open us a land corridor for food shipment to Biafra. But the Biafrans have adamantly refused to agree to this, first of all, because the operation would be under the effective control of those whom they regard as mortal enemies, and second, because they fear the food will be poisoned. According to press reports these fears are not without foundation, because there have already been a number of instances of poisoned food reaching Biafra from Nigeria.

The Biafran authorities, for their part, have taken a stand in favor of an emergency airlift under international auspices. In this position, they are supported by the major international organizations engaged in relief activities in Biafra. Quoting unnamed officials of these organizations, last Tuesday's issue of the New York Times made the point that two American C-130 transports, flying a daylight shuttle from the offshore islands of Fernando Po and South Tome, would be able to take in the 200 tons of food a day necessary to prevent a major famine. The article said that there are some 2,000 tons of emergency food supplies already stored in warehouses in the offshore islands waiting to be transported.

Unfortunately, the proposal for a daylight air shuttle has been fought tooth and nail by the Nigerian Government, despite the fact that they would have nothing to fear if the operation were conducted under the control of the International Red Cross, or the Organization of African Unity, or the United Nations.

The State Department has shipped large quantities of food to nearby points, ready to be moved into Biafra as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. But it distresses me that the Department has thus far taken no action to break the political logjam which is preventing the delivery of food to the starving people of Biafra. Indeed, the only action that has been made public is an appeal to the Biafran authorities to accept defeat and come to terms with the Nigerians.

Since hundreds or even thousands are dying every day, I do not think that we can afford to postpone an effective international relief action until after an agreement is achieved between the Nigerian and Biafran authorities, or until all hostilities come to an end. Such a delay might very well cost the lives of millions of innocent civilians.

I believe that we should use our utmost influence to break this logjam and to persuade the Nigerian authorities to agree to the immediate establishment of an emergency airlift.

I realize the delicacy of the situation. But I am convinced that such an initiative would evoke the support of the Organization of African Unity, of the United Nations, and of civilized opinion the world over.

If two C-130 transport planes can save the lives of literally millions of people in Biafra, and, if we have the planes and the food to provide, then it would be nothing short of criminal if we failed to mount an airlift because of political bickering on the part of the combatants.

Quite apart from this, I strongly urge that we use all of our influence in favor of an immediate cease-fire. This is the position which would have the concurrence of important members of the Organization of African Unity, including some of the more radical members as well as some of the more conservative members.

It is a position moreover which would in no way conflict with our commitment to neutrality.

Regrettably, our neutrality thus far has been slanted in favor of Nigeria.

Both the British and the Russians have been sending large quantities of arms to Nigeria, and the Russian Ilyushin bombers have been used with devastating effect against the populated areas of Biafra.

Incidentally, there are persistent reports that, in return for the massive assistance they have given Nigeria, the Soviet Government will be accorded port facilities in Lagos for units of the Red Navy. I am disposed to believe these reports, first, for the reason that the Soviets do not do anything for nothing, and, second, because of the alarming influence of the hundreds of Soviet technicians, advisers, and teachers who now play so important a role in the Nigerian apparatus of government and education.

While all this has been going on, we have, in the name of neutrality, not merely abstained from shipping anything to Biafra that could be used to help the Biafrans defend themselves, but we have even sought to put obstacles in the way of individual Americans, who, out of an honest sympathy for the Biafran cause, have been seeking to assist them by flying in supplies.

Our position on the Biafran secession, like our position on Katanga in the Congo crisis of 1961-62, seems to spring from a blind and categorical opposition to any secession by any minority or grouping in one of the newly emerging nations of Africa. We tend to regard the arbitrary frontiers of colonialism as sacrosanct.

I do not understand the reason for this.

Perhaps it is because we tend to apply the lessons of our own history without discrimination to situations that are different in a hundred ways.

The American Civil War was fought to keep united a nation that, by and large, had common ethnic origins, shared a common culture, and had already been in existence as a political entity for almost a century.

The unity of Nigeria at the point where it achieved nationhood, on the other hand, was an essentially artificial geographic unity foisted on the Nigerian peoples by British colonialism.

The eastern Ibos, who have now set up their own state of Biafra, have virtually nothing in common with the northern Hausas. The Ibos are Christians. The Hausas are Moslems. They are different ethnically, they speak different languages and, overall, their cultures are far removed from each other.

When some 40,000 Ibos were massacred by the Hausa majority in northern Nigeria in September of 1966, and when the remaining Ibos were driven from the north as refugees, the fragile artificial unity that had been put together by the British came apart. On May 30, 1967, Biafra declared its independence.

So much blood has already been spilt between Hausas and Ibos that it is highly questionable whether a unified Nigeria can be put together again.

This has recently been recognized by France and it has also been recognized by some of the leading statesmen in Africa.

For example, Felix Houpouet-Boigny, the esteemed President of the Ivory Coast, said in a recent statement:

> I want . . . to cry out my indignation in the face of the inexplicable indifference—culpable indifference—of the whole world with respect to the massacres of which Biafra has been the theatre for more than ten months. I rejoin my country, pained, indignant, deeply upset and revolted by the prolongation of this atrocious war which rages in Biafra and which has already cost more than 200,000 human lives, not to count the immeasurable cost in destruction of all kinds, in a country definitely rich but still under-developed.
>
> Unity will be the fruit of the common will to live together; it should not be imposed by force by one group upon another.
>
> Insofar as we Africans form a part of the world, we could not but be astonished at how little we are valued; at the indifference with which people treat everything that concerns us.
>
> We must realize this ineluctable fact: even if, as a result of this military superiority in men and material, Nigeria succeeds in occupying the whole of Biafra, the problem of the secession will not be solved. There will, therefore, be no real peace in Nigeria as long as Biafra fights for its independence.

Kenneth Kaunda, the President of Zambia, spoke with equal eloquence in his statement of May 20, 1968, recognizing Biafra. This is what he said:

> The tragedy which has befallen the Federation of Nigeria is a most unwelcome event in this phase of Africa's development. The current war and the atrocious excesses committed in waging the war, the loss of human life and property, have shaken this continent and there are no prospects yet that Biafra can yield to what has almost become a war of attrition.
>
> This Government is convinced that the heritage of bitterness stemming from this horrifying war will make it impossible to create any basis for political unity of Biafra and Nigeria. The Zambian Government therefore has decided to recognize the Republic of Biafra as a sovereign and independent state.
>
> We hope that the establishment of this Republic will now allow Nigeria and the people of Biafra to work out a better framework for co-operation in order to ensure a better platform for more realistic unity among themselves in order to live in peace and to foster African unity in the spirit of brotherhood and mutual co-operation for the benefit of all the peoples of that region."

Mr. President, if there is to be a durable peace, there will have to be a ceasefire. If, on the other hand, the Nigerians insist on pushing their offensive until they have completely obliterated the Biafran resistance, this will rule out the possibility of a durable peace between Ibos and Hausas for a century to come.

But whatever our Government may decide to do politically, it is my earnest hope that it will move with the utmost expedition and without equivocation of any kind to mount the international emergency airlift which alone can save millions of Biafrans from an agonizing death.

WHOLESOME POULTRY PRODUCTS INSPECTION ACT—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16363) to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the Senate amendment to H.R. 16363 was a complete substitute for the House text, but it differed from the House text in only eight respects, as follows:

First, the Senate amendment omitted the word "knowingly" from section 9(a) of the Poultry Products Inspection Act as requiring too high a proof of violations of the act. This change conformed it to the corresponding provision of the Meat Inspection Act approved last year. The House conferees agreed to this change.

Second, the Senate amendment provided interested parties with an opportunity to present their views orally with respect to proposed rulemaking under the Poultry Products Inspection Act. The House conferees agreed to this provision.

Third, the Senate amendment expressed the intent of Congress that condemnation of poultry for disease be supported by scientific fact and be achieved through uniform inspection. The House conferees concurred in this provision.

Fourth, the Senate amendment prohibited the Secretary from requiring any change in the official inspection legend. The House conferees felt that this provision was too restrictive and that while no change in the inspection legend is now contemplated, the Secretary should be left free to change it if, after hearing the views of all interested parties, he determines that such a change is necessary. The conferees felt that such a hearing should be held before any change should be made. This prohibition is omitted from the conference substitute.

Fifth, the Senate amendment struck out a requirement of the House bill that labeling information be placed on both the carcass and the container in the case of nonconsumer packaged carcasses. The House conferees felt that the decision as to whether the labeling of carcasses, in addition to containers, was necessary for the protection of the public and was practicable should be left to the Secretary. The conference substitute makes it clear that such carcass labeling is to be required only when the Secretary makes such determination.

Sixth, the Senate amendment prohibited States from imposing storage or handling regulations which might act as trade barriers to interfere with the free flow of poultry products in interstate commerce. The conferees made it clear that this provision is intended to apply only to barriers which "unduly" interfere with such commerce. This was the intention of the Senate. The Senate amendment in conjunction with this provision extended the Secretary's authority to regulate storage and handling to retail stores and other establishments which make purchases in commerce, and the conference substitute accords with the Senate amendment in this respect.

Seventh, the Senate amendment differed in a number of respects from the House provisions with respect to exemptions for small producers and processors. The conference substitute is generally in accord with the Senate amendment. It provides for an exemption, subject to sanitary and similar requirements, for producers and processors slaughtering not more than 5,000 turkeys annually, or an equivalent number of other poultry—counting four birds of other species for each turkey.

The conference substitute provides, in addition, for an exemption from all provisions of the act for producers slaughtering not more than 250 turkeys annually, or an equivalent number of other birds on the basis of four other birds per turkey.

Eighth, the Senate amendment amended the provision of the Poultry Products Inspection Act dealing with imports to conform it to the corresponding provisions adopted last year in the Federal Meat Inspection Act. Under existing law, imports may be admitted only if the Department determines that the system of poultry inspection in the exporting country is the substantial equivalent of the U.S. system, and if other requirements are met. The Senate amendment did not differ greatly from this by imposing the same requirements for imports as domestic products. There is little substantive difference, but the House felt that the Senate provision might be regarded by other countries as imposing additional requirements that might serve as a basis for retaliatory action. Furthermore, the United States is a poultry exporter to a much greater extent that it is a poultry importer. Consequently the conference substitute omits this provision of the Senate amendment.

Mr. President, I move the adoption of the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 805—AUGUST ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest that House Concurrent Resolution 805, the adjournment resolution, now be sent to the House of Representatives, because there may or may not be only one more item for the Senate to consider.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, and he announced that the

President had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolutions:

On July 27, 1968:

S. 3102. An act to extend until November 1, 1970, the period for compliance with certain safety standards in the case of passenger vessels operating on the inland rivers and waterways.

On July 29, 1968:

S. 510. An act providing for full disclosure of corporate equity ownership of securities under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934;

S. 1299. An act to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to permit regulation of the amount of credit that may be extended and maintained with respect to securities that are not registered on a national securities exchange;

S. 2986. An act to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 160. Joint resolution to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to authorize an investigation of the effect on the securities markets of the operation of institutional investors.

On July 30, 1968:

S. 1941. An act to prevent, abate, and control air pollution in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 3456. An act to provide that the prosecution of the offenses of disorderly conduct and lewd, indecent, or obscene acts shall be conducted in the name of and for the benefit of the District of Columbia;

S. 3495. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Army to modify certain use restrictions on a tract of land in the State of Iowa in order that such land may be used as a site for the construction of buildings or other improvements for the Iowa Law Enforcement Academy; and

S.J. Res. 181. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the week of August 4 through August 10, 1968, as "Professional Photography Week."

On August 1, 1968:

S. 3497. An act to assist in the provision of housing for low and moderate income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 2468. An act for the relief of Dr. George S. Ioannides; and

S. 2488. An act for the relief of Dr. Raul Agustin Pereira-Valdes.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 3710) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes.

EARTHQUAKES IN THE PHILIPPINES AND MEXICO

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, earlier today I discussed the earthquake which had occurred in the Philippines, centering on the capital of that Republic, Manila. Since that time, I have noted that an earthquake also occurred in Mexico City. While the destruction apparently is not as severe as that which has been reported from the Philippines, the damage is nevertheless extensive, with some deaths and many injuries.

I extend on behalf of the Senate the understanding and the sympathy of the Senate to the Mexican people in their hour of difficulty and express to the administration of that great Republic under the Presidency of Gustavo Diaz Ordaz our feelings of regret and sorrow that such an event has occurred.

We stand ready to be of whatever assistance we can to the people of Mexico in this time of distress and express the hope that the affliction will be mitigated, the losses limited, and the recovery rapid.

CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT

Mr. **KUCHEL**. Mr. President, yesterday at long last an age-old water controversy was set at rest. A bitter dispute over the waters of the Colorado River in the Southwestern part of the United States was concluded.

During the last half century, while it raged, it saw occasional outbursts of gunfire across State lines, long periods of vituperation between public officials of some of the States, and somewhat rare moments of reason and lucidity during which public servants in that area of the country sought to find a way out of the morass.

Yesterday the Senate and House conferees agreed, one short of unanimously, to approve a compromise proposal which surely represents forward progress. The conference report will come to the Senate and to the other body when Congress reconvenes on September 4.

As a Senator from California and as a Senator of the United States, I am proud to have been a member of the conference and to have played a role in fashioning the conference agreement. The enormous problem of sharing the waters in this stream has confronted Arizona and California and Nevada and the four States in the Upper Colorado River Basin in every Congress in which I have served, and in many of those preceding my service.

In my view the interests of my State, as well as of our Nation, have been well served by the agreement which was reached yesterday. The conference report brings to a realistic and fair conclusion many of the disputes which have harried the States of the river basin since 1922, the year in which those representatives of those States signed an agreement called the Colorado River Compact.

Our proposal authorizes the central Arizona project, so vital to the State of Arizona, to keep vast areas of that State from returning to the desert.

It involves a $832 million reclamation undertaking providing for the construction of a system of aqueducts, dams, canals, and pumping stations which, when constructed, will transport water of the Colorado River to the areas of Phoenix and Tucson. But our conference report does far more than that.

The conference report recognizes that the fortunes of our fellow Americans who live in the Pacific Southwest are interdependent now, and will be independent, on the morrow and that we must face and solve the inevitable water shortages of that entire region before they arise in the years ahead. It stands for the proposition that together all of us who call the Pacific Southwest our home shall travel together in good comradeship, recognizing that every basin State faces essentially, if in varying degrees, the same specter of water shortage later on in this century.

Our proposal contains provisions which are most crucial to the State I have the honor to represent, the State of California. In 1928, Congress enacted the Boulder Canyon Project Act. It stands as a milestone in the superb career of one of my great predecessors, one of the true giants of the U.S. Senate and of American government, the late Hiram W. Johnson. That act provided for the construction of Hoover Dam, but as a precondition it required the people of California, acting through their legislature, to agree then and in the future to limit their use of Colorado River water apportioned to the Lower Basin by article III(a) of the compact to 4,400,000 acre-feet of water per year, plus one-half of any unapportioned excess.

Through the years, as my State has exploded in population to become the largest State of the Union, with 20 million and more people today, California was able to put to high, beneficial use nearly a million acre-feet in addition to that to which she was required to limit herself in 1929.

The report recognizes that a new Federal undertaking in Arizona should not supplant existing development in Arizona, Nevada, and California. It acknowledges the essential fairness of the time-honored doctrine of water law: "First in time, first in right." On that principle, for which we from California have been contending since the very beginning of this controversy, all existing uses in Arizona and Nevada will be protected, and 4.4 million acre-feet of California's existing uses are given priority over the uses created by the central Arizona project in the event of shortage. Thus, for California, not the amount of water my State has been using this year and last year and the year before is protected to her, but as to the reduced amount of 4,400,000 acre-feet my State is granted priority on the basis of "first in time, first in right" in perpetuity.

After the project costs of the Boulder Canyon project are repaid, sometime in the late 1980's, revenues will be available from the sale of electricity generated at Hoover, Parker, and Davis hydroelectric powerplants. Our conference report will divide those revenues.

It will allow Arizona to subsidize the central Arizona project through the use of revenues from the sale of power for use in Arizona. However, it will retain the revenues from the sale of power for use in California and Nevada to help finance works to bring more water into the river.

The conference report deals fairly with the complex question of an international obligation on the river. In 1944, the United States entered into a treaty with the Republic of Mexico by which the United States agreed to let 1.5 million acre-feet of Colorado River water flow into the arid lands of our sister republic each year. Unfortunately, it was subsequently discovered that there would not be enough water in the Colorado River to give Mexico 1.5 million acre-feet each year and to supply the amounts allocated to the States in both the Upper and Lower Basins by article III (a) of the compact.

In other words, Mr. President, the unhappy fact is that the early estimates of supply of water in the river were exaggerated. Recognizing that fact, the conference proposal makes the burden of building works to supply water to meet the Mexican treaty obligation an obligation of the entire Nation, which it is, and not simply an obligation of the water users of the Pacific Southwest, which it is not. The obligation arises by treaty approved by the U.S. Senate, and represents an assumed burden which runs to the country as a whole.

The report further provides for exhaustive studies of methods by which new water may be brought into the Colorado River. Inventories of the supplies and of the needs of the entire West may be made. The report, however, provides for a 10-year moratorium before transbasin diversion works from the Pacific Northwest to the Pacific Southwest can be studied.

By the most optimistic of water supply estimates, the crisis for a central Arizona project trying to supply Arizona's water needs will arise around the end of this century. At that time, under the most optimistic of estimates, unless we put more water into the river the central Arizona aqueduct will be less than half full. So that if we get along with the job and if, as I think is now going to happen, the conference report is approved and the President signs the bill and the central Arizona project begins to be constructed, 10 years is but as a nighttime in the development and progress of our country and represents no insurmountable burden on the Government of the United States in its duty to help provide sufficient water to sustain the life of the American people and their economy in the days ahead.

Years of work in the Western States and in Congress have now culminated, after more than a week of negotiating sessions of the Senate-House conference committee, in a document which I think reflects the highest degree of water statesmanship. Each State in the West may be proud of the conference legislative proposal, and every State in the Nation may applaud the kind of regional cooperation represented by this report.

I would be recreant to any sense of duty or of value if I did not first salute the dean of the Senate of the United States. In a real sense, Carl Hayden has been not simply a Senator from Arizona but a Senator from the Western United States, with an indefatigable devotion to duty. He has continued, over most of the last half century, in which he has nobly served his Nation and his State, to carry forward his concept for a central Arizona project for the benefit of his State; and in the give and take of the last week and of the last several years, Carl Hayden looms large as one who has contributed to the results we have obtained.

Mr. President, I am glad to have participated in a conference, the chairman of which was my good friend, the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. Jackson]. Surely I was delighted to see across the table the distinguished Representative from Colorado, the chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Representative Wayne Aspinall whose contribution in this instance and in the entire modern history of western development has been great. The State of California was served superbly in the conference by Representative Johnson and Representative Hosmer. I pay tribute to every one of my colleagues in the Senate and in the House of Representatives who were members of the conference committee.

I ask unanimous consent that the names of those who served on the conference committee be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the list of conferees was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Senate Conferees: Mr. Jackson, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Hayden, Mr. Church, Mr. Gruening, Mr. Kuchel, Mr. Allott, and Mr. Jordan; House Conferees: Mr. Aspinall, Mr. Saylor, Mr. Johnson of California, Mr. Edmondson, Mr. Udall, Mr. Burton of Utah, and Mr. Hosmer.

BIAFRA

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I know that for a number of weeks Senators have been concerned about news stories with respect to the mounting hunger and starvation in the area of Biafra, a part of the State of Nigeria, which has been gripped in a serious military and political conflict for a number of months.

Reports have come to me, which I believe to be well grounded, which indicate if the blockade that is now isolating 7 to 10 million people in Biafra is not penetrated in some fashion with food relief, as many as 2 to 3 million people may starve to death in the next few months. Already thousands of people have fallen victim to starvation in the situation that developed there this spring and summer.

To try to arouse some positive action on the part of our Government and other countries which must be watching the situation, I have this afternoon drafted a letter to the President which I am now circulating among Senators. It has been signed by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams] and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pell]. I hope we will have a number of other signers before the end of the day. I shall read the letter into the Record:

U.S. Senate, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry,
Washington, D.C., August 2, 1968.

Dear Mr. President: We are deeply concerned about the mass starvation that now threatens Biafra.

As you know, this area, which has attempted to secede from Nigeria, is now completely surrounded by Nigerian Federal Troops, and is under a blockade that can only be penetrated by aircraft. It contains seven to ten million people who are traditionally dependent on food imports. The present blockade and the exhaustion of their reserves has forced them into a state of acute hunger and starvation.

The complex political issues responsible for the blockade are currently being discussed by the parties involved, but it may be several months before these negotiations can resolve the issues and lift the blockade. Medical authorities estimate that by that time several million poeple will have starved to death. A large majority of these will be children, since chidren are far more sensitive to dietary deficiencies than are adults. Thousands have already died, and the starvation rate is increasing rapidly.

We wholeheartedly support our government's present policy of strict political neutrality in this civil war. At the same time, we believe firmly that the resulting starvation should not occur if it is within our power to prevent it.

Therefore, we urge you to offer assistance through the United Nations or voluntary religious and humanitarian organizations to enable them to deal with the food shortage that has resulted from this conflict.

We suggest that the relief operation be conducted according to the following general principles:

(1) Food should be brought into the impacted areas of Nigeria in sufficient quantity to sustain the population until normal food acquisition can be resumed.

(2) While it is probable that most of the assistance will be supplied by the United States, other advanced countries should be urged to contribute.

(3) Since the political situation may require that the relief operation initially be conducted by air, our Government and others should make appropriate arrangements to provide the distributing agencies with aircraft, pilots and supporting equipment.

We feel it is of paramount importance that America avoid partisan involvement in armed conflicts that do not significantly affect our national interests. Therefore, we urge that U.S. assistance be channelled entirely through international or private voluntary organizations.

All individuals participating in the relief operation shall do so at their own risk, and they and their sponsoring agency shall bear the entire responsibility for their safety.

The children and adults of eastern Nigeria must receive swift attention and assistance, or millions of them will die while many of the remainder suffer permanent mental or physical damage.

We urge that action be taken with all possible speed.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McGOVERN. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I have prepared a statement which I wish to deliver at this point in connection with this tragic condition.

STARVATION IN BIAFRA: A CALL TO ACTION

Mr. President, in a small corner of the vast African Continent, up to 6 million persons face death by starvation. The little children are the first to succumb. They are dying in substantial numbers now, and it is estimated that within a month 3,000 children may be dying each day. It is not impossible that within 6 months the 6 million persons who now live in that region, which the natives choose to call Biafra and which the Nigerians maintain is still Nigeria, may be very nearly wiped out. I have deliberately described the situation in this somewhat cumbersome manner because I do not want there to be any possibility of construing my statement as taking sides in the politics of this dispute. I am not taking sides.

Furthermore, it would be contrary to the policy of this country—as I understand that policy—to take up the political or military cause of either of the parties to this dispute. But, there is another national policy, one that has been stated and acted upon many times in our recent history. That is the policy of food for people. It is the policy under which we have sent millions of tons of wheat and other foodstuffs to India. It is the policy under which we have given help to the victims of famine or disaster in countries around the globe. It is the policy under which the overflowing granaries and storehouses of this fortunate Nation have been emptied of part of their surplus to provide the difference between starvation and an adequate diet for many millions of people.

Mr. President, I have been informed of all the political and logistical difficulties in mounting an airlift of sufficient size to bring to those who are starving and dying enough food and medical supplies to relieve the situation. Frankly, the logistical difficulties do not impress me as being insoluble. Difficult, yes—insoluble, no. If necessary, because of ground fire from the Nigerian forces or because of lack of landing facilities, an air drop operation might be required. The political difficulties I believe we should ignore, in the name of humanitarianism.

I know that there are those in official places who will cite endlessly the political difficulties and entanglements and nuances which, they say, render it impossible for us to act. They will say "wait for the parties involved to work out arrangements to permit a relief operation to be mounted." My answer to them is that we cannot wait. The parties involved have placed this third on an agenda on which there is no agreement in sight on the first two items. If we wait, we will lose a generation of children and perhaps a whole population of 6 million persons.

Mr. President, I believe we should begin today to mount an airlift or an air drop to relieve the deadly famine which is bringing death to the children who are the pawns in a mammoth and monstrous political chess game.

We should mount this relief effort multilaterally if we can—there are other nations which have indicated they may be ready to act—unilaterally if we must. And let the world judge whether we are taking political sides in a dispute or whether we are, in fact, simply taking the side of little children and adults who are starving to death daily.

Mr. President, ours is a land of abundance. So many have found it a hardship to have a surplus of food in this country. Many of us feel, and I am sure the Senator from South Dakota feels this way, too, that our abundance is a real treasure. We have found ways to use the abundance of food we have in countries of real hardship around the world.

This is one of the most deserving situations I can recall. There are complexities, I agree with the Senator, involving political considerations, which should not be our concern. However, the hunger of the people of Biafra must be our concern.

The Senator is correct in saying that young children are the first to suffer in this food shortage situation that has led to actual starvation.

There are complexities, as I understand the situation, in getting the food in. The matter has to be studied and worked out. We are able to airlift jeeps, trucks, and small tanks and drop them in by parachute. If we can do that with an airlift, consideration might be given to the feasibility of parachuting food to the people of this devastated area.

The Senator from South Dakota worked long and hard on a program which the Vice President, then a Member of this body, was a sponsor of—the food-for-peace program. In keeping with the spirit embodied in that program the Vice President issued a statement on this present situation. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement dealing with this situation which has been released by Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY today.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, AUGUST 2, 1968, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Most Americans—and most of mankind—are shocked at the horrible spector of starvation and suffering by innocent men, women, and children in Nigeria.

Regardless of the political issue in dispute, the nations of the world should not stand by and permit the children and helpless adults of Biafra to die.

We hope the violence will cease. We hope the fighting will stop soon. But meanwhile the maximum amount of food and medicine must be made available for those in need in the minimum amount of time.

It is morally intolerable to have innocent children and adults starving because of a political dispute.

The United States has already cooperated with other governments and with private organizations to provide needed food and medicine. But all available evidence indicates that more must be done by all parties, public and private.

For our part we should reiterate our willingness to support the International Committee of the Red Cross with additional food, funds and equipment. We should also lend our support to any efforts of the United Nations to get food and medicine to those in need.

Mr. **McGOVERN**. I believe the Senator's point is well taken.

I frankly sympathize with the administration's caution and reluctance to be drawn into the conflict in any fashion, particularly one as difficult as this one.

However, as the letter indicates, assistance could be channeled entirely through the United Nations or private agencies such as the World Church Organization, Catholic Relief Services, or UNICEF, agencies already making valiant efforts with limited resources to deal with this problem. Then we could avoid problems that are of legitimate concern.

The Senator's point is well taken that if we find the logistical skill to drop weapons, we should be able to find a way to drop some of our abundant food when there is starvation, particularly starvation of the innocent. It is the infants, the children, who are the first victims of dietary deficiency. I appreciate very much the Senator's strong support.

EIGHT PERCENT COST-OF-LIVING ALLOWANCE FOR VETERANS WITH SERVICE-CONNECTED DISABILITIES

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, on behalf, of, and at the request of, the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], chairman of the Committee on Finance, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 16027.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** laid before the Senate the message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 16027, as follows:

Resolved, That the House agree to amendments numbered 1 and 2 of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16027) entitled "An Act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes."

Resolved, That the House disagree to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3 to the aforesaid bill.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, this bill provides an 8-percent cost-of-living allowance for veterans with service-connected disabilities which are not totally disabling. Veterans who are totally disabled from service-connected causes are to receive a $100 a month increase in their benefit amounts.

These benefits passed the House and the Senate in identical form. The Senate added three amendments to the House bill. The House has agreed to two of them and has deleted the third. Let me describe them more fully.

The first Senate amendment terminated the $67 a month statutory benefit for arrested tuberculosis cases. We did this on a prospective basis so that veterans who are now receiving this allowance will not lose their benefits. The House agreed to the Senate amendment.

The second Senate amendment was also agreed to by the House. It provides relief to certain veterans in Tangipahoa Paris, La., who are being pressed by the Veterans' Administration for alleged overpayments made to them in the period 1958 to 1962 because of their participation in and on the farm training program which subsequent investigation showed was not properly qualified in that back period. This amendment will relieve those veterans who acted in good faith in believing the school was properly qualified to train them.

The third Senate amendment was not agreed to by the House. It would have enacted one of the President's recommendations to encourage veterans to become teachers, policemen, or firemen in ghetto areas or other deprived areas. I am advised that the House felt that this Senate amendment needed further study; and for that reason, they preferred not to act on it at this time. I believe that this program of extra educational allowances for veterans who are willing to serve in needed occupations in deprived areas is something we should adopt; but if the House desires to study it further before acting on it, then it should have that opportunity.

I move that the Senate recede from its amendment No. 3.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter addressed to the distinguished chairman of the committee, the Senator from Louisiana Mr. LONG, from the chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, the Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., August 2, 1968.

Hon. RUSSELL B. LONG,
Chairman, Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: A few minutes ago on my motion the House returned to the Senate the bill H.R. 16027 which provides for an increase in the rates of service-connected disability payments to veterans.

My motion provided that the House concur in two of the three amendments added to the bill by the Senate. These two amendments involved payments for tuberculosis and covered a special case of on the farm training in the State of Louisiana.

The third Senate amendment was disagreed to by the House, and this provided for the establishment of the so-called VIPS program—Veterans in Public Service. The program sought to be authorized by Senate amendment 3 is an entirely new concept. We have always provided under the various G.I. Bills of Rights education allowances to enable a man to train for whatever field he desired and to pursue whatever course of action he wished to take after the completion of his training. The concept embodied in Senate amendment 3 provided for incentive payments while the veteran was undergoing training and after the completion of training if he would serve in a "deprived" area as a teacher, fireman or policeman. As you can see, this is a radical departure in the veterans' program. It rewards veterans not for their experience and contribution on active duty, but rather for specific activity and contribution on their return to civilian life.

The proposal in Senate amendment 3 has never been considered or reported by a Committee in the Senate or in the House, and I hope you will agree with me that a matter so far reaching warrants detailed consideration. It is for the above reasons that I asked the House to disagree with amendment 3, and I hope that the Senate will concur in this action and speed the compensation bill to the White House.

Sincerely yours,

OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman.

TAKEOVER OF METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT BY BLACK UNITED FRONT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, unfolding before our eyes right here in the Nation's Capital are the beginning phases of an apparent plan for a black nationalist revolution in the United States.

The latest manifestation of this plan occurred on July 29 when Bruce Terris, chairman of the District of Columbia's Democratic Central Committee demanded, on behalf of the entire Central Committee, the ouster of Chief of Police John B. Layton. Terris was quoted as saying that Chief Layton does not understand the Negro community in Washington and "every effort should be made to find a black police officer in this or another city who is capable of assuming this important position."

Terris also said that a proposal of the Black United Front for community control over police should be tried in two of the 14 police precincts in Washington, D.C. Terris added that the Reverend Channing E. Phillips, a leader in the Black United Front, had approved these statements.

What is the story behind this effort to dismiss Chief Layton, a professional in the field of law enforcement and a man dedicated to his profession? What is behind the proposal of the Black United Front for community control over the police?

For the full story, we need look no further than the activities of Stokely Carmichael, former national chairman of the black extremist Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—SNCC—and one of the leading advocates of black power.

Carmichael arrived in this city soon after the first of this year. Prior to that time he had been on a tour which began about 1 year ago, in July 1967, and included visits to Cuba, North Vietnam, Guinea, Tanzania, Syria, Egypt, Algeria, Sweden, France, and other countries. During this 5-month tour, Carmichael met with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and other Communist leaders. In several public statements made during this tour, Carmichael praised the revolutionary aims of international communism, criticized the United States, and advocated a total black revolution in this country.

Soon after his arrival in Washington last January, Carmichael organized a secret meeting of approximately 100 leaders of Negro groups in this city for the purpose of forming the Black United Front, an umbrella organization. Attendance at this meeting, which was closed to the press, was limited to those invited by Carmichael. At this meeting, a board of conveners, or steering committee, was selected, with Carmichael as the temporary chairman. One of the members of this steering committee is Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, vice chairman, District of Columbia City Council. At the conclusion of this meeting, which was held on January 9, 1968, Carmichael announced that any organization desiring to be included in the Black United Front had to mail a prospectus and program of the organization to SNCC headquarters in Washington by January 15.

In establishing the Black United Front, Carmichael was faithfully following a SNCC plan for a black nationalist revolution. This plan of action was contained in a speech made in November 1967, by James Forman, international director of SNCC. This speech was the subject of a featured article in the January 7, 1968, issue of the Worker, east coast Communist newspaper which was replaced by the Daily World in July 1968. In this speech, Forman counseled that Negroes must link all militants into a confederation for protection against the FBI and congressional committees, increase their reliance on resistance, form independent political organizations, establish "inner city" newspapers, and keep their plans secret. Carmichael's activities since his arrival in Washington in January 1968, give clear evidence that he is following this SNCC plan of action.

Carmichael appeared on Washington radio station WOL just 5 days after the meeting to form the Black United Front. Following the SNCC plan of action, he advocated during this broadcast a "black takeover" in Washington. He asserted that Negroes in Washington must take command of the instruments of power, such as the police department, the school system, and the welfare department. One week later, Carmichael stated over this same radio station that Washington was selected as a target city because black people are in the majority, but the institutions of power are controlled and operated by whites for the benefit of whites. Thus, Carmichael contended, Washington typifies the black-and-white crisis in America.

Some of the recent statements made by Carmichael, the guiding hand behind the Black United Front, give an insight into his plans for the United States. He has maintained that "violence is inevitable in this struggle for Negro liberation" and has urged Negroes in the United States to prepare for a "bloody revolution." He has said that "True liberation cannot be accomplished without violence" and that Negroes must develop an army to win the revolution.

At a press conference in Detroit, Mich., in June 1968, Carmichael said that the death of Senator Robert Kennedy had hastened "the bloody confrontation between blacks and whites." He added that there is nobody now who can placate Negro anger, so the inevitable confrontation between blacks and whites will take place sooner. He did not say when that might be, but did rule out the possibility of white alliances when the armed confrontation he anticipates does come.

On July 3, 1968, citizens of this country were shocked when the Black United Front passed a resolution terming the killing of a white Washington, D.C., policeman on July 2, 1968, "justifiable homicide." What is not generally known is that this resolution was the brainchild and product of the efforts of Stokely Carmichael. It was Carmichael who urged that the Black United Front publicly endorse as heroic the actions of those individuals charged with the slaying of the policeman.

What connection is there between the Black United Front, particularly Carmichael, and the current efforts to oust

Chief Layton, who has served with distinction in this capacity for almost 4 years and as an efficient law enforcement officer in the Metropolitan Police Department for more than 32 years?

During July 1968, the steering committee of the Black United Front appointed a special committee, which included Mr. Fauntroy and Stokely Carmichael, to explore what steps the community could take to exercise more control over the actions of the Metropolitan Police Department.

Fauntroy is the pastor of the New Bethel Baptist Church. At a meeting held at this church on July 17, 1968, the Black United Front approved a 2½-page document drawn up by the special committee. This document contains a five-point legislative program for neighborhood control of the police in the black community. This program includes:

First. Elimination of the police chief's advisory council and the precinct advisory councils.

Second. Establishment by public elections of Precinct Citizens Selection and Review Boards in the second, ninth, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th precincts. These precinct citizens boards will have power to determine the criteria for policemen in their respective precincts, receive and pass on applications from the Metropolitan Police Department, and act as a complaint and review board on all occurrences between the police and citizens in each precinct.

Third. Establishment of a citywide District of Columbia Police Personnel Board composed of the chairmen of the Precinct Citizens Selection and Review Boards. This board will recruit, hire, process, and approve all police applications. It would have the power of dismissal. The power of the police chief to waive criminal records of potential applicants will be delegated to this committee.

Fourth. Selection by each Precinct Citizens Selection and Review Board of the precinct police captain from a list submitted by the Civil Service Commission.

Fifth. Prohibition of all-white police patrols in the black community.

At this July 17 meeting, Carmichael admitted that this five-point program was designed to permit the black community to take control of the Metropolitan Police Department. He added that it was necessary to take over the police department because the first step in a revolution is the taking over of the military apparatus.

At a meeting of the Black United Front held on July 25, 1968, Carmichael stated that the color of the policeman working in the neighborhood was not important. The important thing is control of the police who work in the neighborhood.

Carmichael makes it perfectly clear that the effort to oust Chief Layton, who really should be commended for the manner in which he is performing a difficult task, and to substitute a black police officer is the opening phase of Carmichael and SNCC's "bloody revolution."

What could be expected of a police department controlled by the Black United Front, which is dominated by Carmichael? Something like a preview was presented when Mayor Carl B. Stokes of Cleveland banned all whites and substituted black community patrols and black policemen in an area in which three policemen were killed the previous night. Although no one was killed during the second night, there was considerable looting. The third night Mayor Stokes restored heavy patrols, and incidents dropped almost to normal.

It is inconceivable, perhaps, that Carmichael could get control of the Metropolitan Police Department. If he were to do so, we could look for looting, theft of weapons, stockpiling of ammunition, and other preparations among black extremists for the next, or bloody, phases of the black revolution.

But any such brazen effort to take over the control of the police department of this city will be beyond the law and without authority in the law.

Nonetheless, District and Federal officials must not suffer themselves to be unaware of what is occurring in this city, and all citizens, Negro and white alike, should be concerned regarding the increasing activities and statements on the part of elements in the city calculated to undermine and weaken and ultimately destroy the morale and the effectiveness of the Metropolitan Police Department.

FBI PREPARES REPORT ON BLACK MILITANTS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "FBI Prepares Report on Black Militants," written by Drew Pearson, which was printed in the Washington Post for Wednesday, July 31, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FBI PREPARES REPORT ON BLACK MILITANTS

(By Drew Pearson)

The FBI has prepared a report on the underground black nationalist movement in the United States that may explain the sudden outbreak of violence in Cleveland. Under a Negro mayor, Carl Stokes, the city has been making great progress toward racial understanding. A handful of black nationalists began shooting police there last week who were merely towing away a parked car.

The report may also explain some of the moves by black militants in Washington.

Finally, it gives a key to the tremendous upsurge in the popularity of George Wallace, who represents a latent American fascism whose answer to Negro violence is white violence.

What the FBI has found in Washington is that black militants have worked out a plan to take over the Nation's Capital. The militants argue that Negroes are now in the majority and that given home rule they can take over the city.

At present, Washington is governed by a Negro mayor, Walter Washington, an able executive, who is supported by a city council, with five Negro and four white members. Mayor Washington is considered much too moderate by the black militants. They have worked out the following strategy, neighborhood by neighborhood.

First, they will try to persuade the moderates to become militant, and if they fail, then bury them with frustration and harassment. When the moderates hold meetings, the strategy is to break up the meetings or to be so unreasonable that the moderates will have to disassociate themselves from the meetings.

This was the explanation of the recent meeting to discuss neighborhood control of police, in an African Methodist Episcopal church where the black militants demanded that all whites leave. The whites present had been strong supporters of Negro progress. When they left, some moderate Negroes walked out with them.

Stokely Carmichael sat quietly in a back row of the meeting. He had been one of the architects of the new strategy. Another was Chuck Stone, former assistant to Rep. Adam Clayton Powell. Both militant and moderate Negroes are burnt up over the double standard of ethical conduct in Congress, whereby Powell, a Negro, was expelled while no action is taken against white Congressmen who misbehave.

This has caused far more resentment in the black world than Congressional leaders realize and appears to moderates to be a legitimate case against Congress.

Carmichael has been laying low following his subversive statements in foreign countries. He has been careful not to say anything publicly which would cause his arrest.

His operations, however, have been very carefully followed by the Justice Department, including some of his talks with the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who finally persuaded Carmichael to stay out of the poor people's march.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy seems more susceptible to Carmichael's persuasion than was Dr. King. Shortly before the start of the Poor People's march, Mr. Abernathy told the New York Times: " I love Stokely. He's a wonderful guy. I may disagree with individuals like him on strategy, but not on goals. All I know is that we will remain nonviolent."

Carmichael's real goal, however, is the overthrow of the United States government. He spelled this out last Aug. 18 in Hanoi at an Afro-American rally attended largely by North Vietnamese.

"We are not reformists," he said. "We do not seek to reform. We do not wish to be part of the U.S. government, of its system. We are revolutionaries. We seek to change the imperialist system of the United States. We will be satisfied with nothing less.

"We are comrades," he told the North Vietnamese, "because we seek to redeem humanity, because we seek to stop the greatest destroyer of humanity—the United States. When we succeed, and we will succeed, our blood, our lives would have been a little price to pay."

Probably Carmichael did not know that his words were picked up by powerful U.S. monitors. What he does know, however, is that his words in Hanoi cannot be used to prosecute him in the United States because the Justice Department can get no witnesses from Communist countries.

Back in the United States, Stokely is being very careful not to repeat these remarks.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE SENTENCING OF TRUONG DINH DZU

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks made on the floor of the Senate 2 days ago by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON], in which he was joined by the distinguished majority leader and by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG], deploring the arrest and sentencing to 5 years at hard labor of Mr. Truong Dinh Dzu. Our distinguished Vice President [Mr. HUMPHREY] has also spoken out eloquently on the arrest of Mr. Dzu. Mr. Dzu was, of course, the runner-up in the South Vietnamese presidential election last September.

Mr. Dzu's crime was simple. In an interview with the UPI and with the Times of London in April, he advocated that the Government of South Vietnam seek negotiations with the National Liberation Front in order to bring about a coalition government in that unhappy land. At his trial, according to a report in the Washington Post, Mr. Dsu said:

> I only expressed my ideas as a politician on how to put an end to this war. I only made constructive proposals. But I never had any activities harmful to the anti-communist spirit of the people and the armed forces.

As reported in the Washington Post, the judge of the military court replied:

> As a citizen of the Republic of Vietnam, you have no right to dissent on the policy of the Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Mr. President, if we are fighting to defend a government which allows no right of dissent we are not fighting to defend a democratic government or a government which believes in the concepts on which we believe democracy to be based. I question, in fact, whether we are fighting for a government which deserves our support—support which has been measured in terms of over 25,000 Americans lives and tens upon tens of billions of dollars. If the same rules were applied in the United States as the Government of South Vietnam has applied—rules prohibiting dissent and the expression of ideas as to how to bring the war in Vietnam to an end—many of us in this body would be sentenced to hard labor, I among them. The sentence meted out to Mr. Dzu should be a source of grave concern to us all.

SOVIET PRESS DISTORTIONS OF REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN CZECHOSLAVAKIA

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, it has been brought to my attention that the July 28 issue of the Soviet newspaper, Pravda, reported:

> The drama now being played out in Czechoslovakia not only has important political meaning, but in the final analysis, the Czechoslovak counter revolution may be far-reaching in the area of economics. The American Senator Pell already foresees the time when there will begin to develop in Czechoslovakia private enterprise on a scale large enough to threaten socialism.

It has also been brought to my attention that the July 27 issue of the other leading Soviet newspaper, Izvestia, in an article by M. Sturua, said:

> The local press is permeated with reports on the visit of Senator Claiborne Pell to Czechoslovakia. Mr. Pell was in Prague during the forties in some diplomatic position; now he has visited Prague as a senator. After he returned to Washington, Pell presented some very curious recommendations. He proposed that a highly placed "negotiator" should be appointed to "coordinate" American-Czech financial relations. Judging from Pell's statements, it is quite clear what he is aiming at. He dreams of economically realining Czechoslovakia to the capitalist way and joining it to the West.

I hope, Mr. President, that the Soviet press is not always this inaccurate and does not always distort the news. Pravda and Izvestia have not only put words in my mouth—words that I never said and never would say—but have also chosen to ignore the words that I did say.

To correct the record for any Soviet readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—and I am sure that there are some in the Washington press and the diplomatic corps—let me state categorically that I did not say that I could foresee the time "when there will begin to develop in Czechoslovakia private enterprise on a scale large enough to threaten socialism." Quite the contrary. I said that it seemed generally recognized in Czechoslovakia that there were very definite limits to the present reform movement, one of which is that—and I now quote from my report to the Committee on Foreign Relations published only last week:

> There can be no return to private ownership of the means of production and, thus, to a non-communist society.

As for the story by Mr. Sturua in Izvestia, perhaps Izvestia does not have available as accurate a Russian language translation of what I said as I have an English translation of what Mr. Sturua has said that I said. Mr. Sturua wrote that I had written that "a highly placed 'negotiator' should be appointed to 'coordinate' American-Czech financial relations" and that I was dreaming "of economically realining Czechoslovakia to the capitalist way and joining it to the West."

In fact, I did not recommend that a "negotiator" be appointed to coordinate American-Czech "financial relations" but that, if present negotiations do not yield results in the near future, a special Presidential "mediator" be appointed to examine the particular problem—and only the problem—of the claims of American citizens for compensation for property nationalized by Czechoslovakia.

Again, this point is made clearly in recommendation No. 1 of my report to the Foreign Relations Committee:

> The United States should bend every effort to resolve the problem of the claims of American citizens for compensation for property nationalized by Czechoslovakia. A resolution of this problem would enable the problem of the return to Czechoslovakia of its gold seized by Nazi Germany also to be resolved. If the present stage in the negotiations does not yield results in the very near future, the President should appoint a special mediator to examine the problem and to consult with the claimants, and with Members of Congress, in order to reach a compromise acceptable to both American claimants and the Czechoslovak Government.

I will not go on, Mr. President, because I do not want to belabor the point that my observations on the situation in Czechoslovakia have not been accurately reported. It is, of course, not surprising that there has been no mention in the Soviet press of some of my remarks on other than economic questions, such as my concluding observation which I would like to repeat at this time:

> The surrender of Czechoslovakia into Hitler's hands through the Munich agreement was the precursor to the Second World War. Czechoslovakia's conversion to communism in 1948 signaled the real beginning of the cold war. Now twenty years later, any attempt by the Soviet Union to use force to repress the efforts of Czechoslovakia's new leaders to reform the Communist system—to reform it, but not replace it—could revive the cold war and bring on a new ice age in Europe.

In conclusion, I thought it might be of some interest to insert in the RECORD the more objective news story of the same press conference written by Benjamin Welles and carried in the New York Times on July 14, 1968.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDIATOR URGED IN UNITED STATES-CZECH RIFT—PELL BIDS JOHNSON ACT ON DEADLOCKED NEGOTIATIONS

(By Benjamin Welles)

WASHINGTON, July 13.—Senator Claiborne Pell called on President Johnson this week to name a high-level Federal mediator to coordinate and lend new impetus to long-deadlocked United States-Czechoslovakia financial negotiations. These concern Czech gold here in the United States and mutually blocked payments and assets.

The Rhode Island Democrat, a former Foreign Service officer who served in Czechoslovakia in the late nineteen-forties, had just returned from a six-day visit to that country. He said at a news conference here that Czechoslovak leaders had expressed confidence that they could continue without serious risk of Soviet interference the democratization begun last January.

"They're going to have to show results—more production, more productivity and lower prices," Senator Pell said. "They want to reform industry, to scrap the white-elephant plants built for political reasons and turn to a market economy, but for this they need credits."

U.S. MOST LIKELY SOURCE

He said that the United States was the most likely Western source of credits for Czechoslovakia if protracted deadlock over rival claims could be broken.

Another reason for Prague's need for foreign credits, Senator Pell said, was the politically popular but expensive move toward a federation in which Bohemia and Slovakia would each be largely self-ruling. This, he said, will result in a duplication of services in the two ethnically and historically distinct parts of the country.

Since the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia in 1948, the United States, Britain and France have been holding in escrow $20.2-million worth of Czech gold whose return the Prague Government is demanding.

Britain and France are reported willing to return the gold but the United States insists that first its own citizens and corporations be reimbursed for losses said to total $72.6 million.

WANTS A MAN LIKE M'CLOY

"If we can get a top-level individual—someone of the prestige of John J. McCloy—named as Federal mediator, we can begin to get the claimants together and see if we can't work out some settlement to end the deadlock," Mr. Pell said. Mr. McCloy, former United States High Commissioner in occupied Germany and chairman of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has frequently served as a Presidential delegate for special tasks.

Mr. Pell's recent visit to Czechoslovakia was the first by any high United States official since the liberalization program began. He held interviews with leading Communist officials, with editors, academicians, journalists, and foreign observers.

Among the Communist officials were Frantisek Kriegel and Josef Smrkovsky, both members of the 11-man Presidium of the Communist party's Central Committee, Dr. Jiri Pelikan, chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Relations Committee, and Dr. Jiri Hajek, the Foreign Minister.

SEVEN ISSUES CITED

United States sources said that there were seven outstanding issues awaiting resolution between the United States and Czechoslovakia. They are: the payment by the United States of approximately $5-million in accrued Social Security and similar benefits to residents of Czechoslovakia; United States-held Czech national municipal bonds; mutually blocked accounts and assets in each country; surplus American property worth $5-million for which payment by Czechoslovakia has not been received; United States property nationalized by the Czech authorities, the Czechoslovak gold, and the ending by the United States of Czechoslovakia's most-favored-nation trading status in 1951.

State Department sources expressed little sympathy for Senator Pell's proposal. "He'd do better if he'd do some missionary work among his colleagues on Capitol Hill," commented one official. "That's where the resistance to an agreement is coming from; not from here."

VIOLENCE ON TELEVISION

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the President's new Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence is now beginning its work. I am sure that all Americans who have been witnesses to the horror of this past year will wish the Commission well.

But, Mr. President, there is also danger that we will feel that we have discharged our responsibilities and complacently wait for yet another report instead of doing something about those reports which we already have.

There is no one cause of violence, and certainly there is no sure cure. We do know that one major cause of unrest and violence in the streets is the existence of poverty and closed opportunity, the feeling that there is no justice in the law and no hope in the present condition of society.

I do not condone violence as a method of social change. But I can understand the temptation to violence if the situation referred to by Dr. Kenneth Clark, before the Commission on Civil Disorders, is permitted to continue. If I may quote his testimony, Dr. Clark, a distinguished psychologist and expert on the ghetto, said:

> I read that report . . . of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.
>
> I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission . . . it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland . . . with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, the same inaction.

I suggest, Mr. President, that we have sufficient knowledge of conditions in the ghetto to act upon them and that, if we fail to do so, no amount of studies and Commissions will stop the violence in the streets. I hope that the next session of the Congress will undertake as a matter of top priority, to enact the very excellent recommendations of the Commission on Civil Disorders.

Mr. President, I do not wish to anticipate the work of the new Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, but I would suggest that there is one area in which we are in need of further study, and that is the effect of violence in the mass media, and particularly in television. There have been hearings and studies on this subject, but I believe the time has come for a study in depth of this question, which would lead to some recommendaitons as to the responsibility of the television media for the vast power it exercises.

Television has given us a vast national and international theater. It is a theater which can be filled with the worst of our culture, or one which can be filled with the best. We all remember the malevolent but effective use of mass media and propaganda in Nazi Germany, and the purposes of state for which they are now used in Soviet Russia. It is interesting to note too, that behind the Iron Curtain television sets are sold at a discount to encourage access to this propaganda forum for the government. Is it then merely idealistic to suggest that the vastly greater potential of our television should be used for benevolent purposes; to portray the noblest of man in all his complexity? Aristotle described the Greek theater as a vast catharsis of emotion. Certainly that catharsis did not eliminate violence and murder; but violence and murder had reality in human experience and human anguish—a reality which still has meaning 2,000 years later.

Rather far from Greek drama, I noticed in the New York Times the other morning an article describing experiments with mice which demonstrate that constant exposure to violence causes aggressive reaction. I do not suggest that we are a nation of mice or that exposure to violence turns all of us violent. Clearly it does not. Yet the course of violence in our Nation is such that all of us surely ask ourselves how many Lee Oswalds, how many Sirhan Sirhans, how many Bonnie and Clydes, how many young people with unstable personalities or limited intelligence may yet seek fame at the end of a gun because they have seen fame portrayed at the end of a gun?

How many children react as did the child of one mother who testified at a hearing that, when she told her small daughter her grandfather had died, the child asked who shot him?

Mr. President, I am sure that any poll which asked the question would find that most Americans consider our country a civilized nation. We provide special police to see that our children get to school safely; we have promoted driving schools for teenagers; we spend vast amounts of money in all manner of programs for child care and welfare. Nor is it that we are concerned solely with the bodily safety of our children. We were the pioneers in universal education, and education is the focal point of our efforts to lift children out of the ghetto.

Yet, alone of the western nations, we have no effective control over access to guns. Alone, or almost alone, of western nations, we exercise no control over what our children see on television.

Yet at the present rate of school attendance and television watching, by the time a child of 2 is 18, he will have watched over 17,000 hours of television, or better than 60 percent more time than he spent in the classroom.

Are we parents not negligent when we take an active concern in the quality of our schools but none in the quality of the television our children watch so long as it keeps them occupied?

And what of the children in the black ghettos, the children who live in what the Kerner Commission called an institutional vacuum? What do they see but a world of the white man, a world which has no approximation to their own but where, too often, the fastest gun gets the girl—or the gold. And does not the success of Walt Disney suggest that violence is not the only good box office with children?

I am not speaking here of censorship. I am suggesting that neither we, the audience, nor the executives of the television industry, have faced up to the fact that the power of television is such that it cannot evade greater responsibilities, that it cannot hide behind the pressures of advertisers and the lure of purely commercial considerations. We no longer apply the doctrine of caveat emptor to the hapless purchaser of tainted goods. Should television be permitted to slough off its responsibilities by saying, in effect, "caveat spectator"—let the watcher beware?

I do not decry television as wholly a "wasteland." I would be the first to congratulate the networks for substantial contributions such as the recent series on Black America, for generally excellent news coverage, for TV specials on various countries of the world, and on our ventures into space and under the sea.

But what we are talking about is not the best of television but the day-to-day programing, the cheapies, the serials, the low-cost and regrettably highly profitable exploitation of the human penchant for vicarious living in a world of mobsters, gunmen of the wild west, and similar nonheroes.

Mr. President, an article in the New York Times a few days ago was headed, "84 Killings Shown in 85½ TV Hours on the Three Networks."

The story reported a survey done by the Christian Science Monitor, undertaken after the assassination of Senator Kennedy. That survey of programing in prime evening hours and on Saturday morning recorded 372 acts of violence or threats of violence, including 162 on Saturday mornings when the audience includes a great many children. In the early evening the survey showed that there was a murder or killing once every 31 minutes.

Mr. President, the figures speak for themselves. What I find equally appalling is the statement, in the same New York Times article that "all three networks declined to comment on the survey."

And a short while ago the government of Kenya banned one American TV show and shooting scenes in another in the belief that violence in TV programs was linked to a wave of armed gang raids.

Yet, we barely take notice when our major networks shrug off their responsibilities by declining to comment on the results of the Monitor's survey—or any other survey.

Mr. President, there is clearly a need, and now is the time for television to establish, and to enforce, codes and standards for the content of programs for children and programs shown in hours when children are watching television.

The National Association of Broadcasters has a code containing provisions dealing with the depiction of violence. All the major networks subscribe to the code. But the code's enforcement machinery operates only after the fact—after a program has been aired and a complaint received.

One official of the code enforcement office, when asked, could recall no specific instance in which sanctions were applied. This is not surprising, since it is known that the present so-called codes are more honored in the breach than in the observance. And even if they were observed, they are inadequate.

I would point out that in Great Britain the television industry undertakes, itself, to scrutinize all programs at all stages of production before air time, in accordance with a set of very specific standards of acceptability. And there, I might add, the rate of homicide per 100,000 of population is 0.7, compared to the United States rate of 5.1—more than seven times as great.

A British Independent Television Authority standard states that "great care should always be taken in the presentation of scenes in which easily acquired and dangerous weapons are used. It is a simple fact that guns and swords are not easily come by, while knives, bottles, bars, and bricks are. It is not good that children with a tendency to violence see them in frequent use." Unfortunately, in our country, guns are also easily come by and should not be seen in frequent use.

The British Independent Television Authority is now financing an extensive research program to inquire into the part played by television in "fostering attitudes with particular reference to the ways in which young peoples' moral concepts and attitudes develop." Part of the funds will be used to establish a university-based mass communications research center.

If I may cite another example, in Sweden—which is famous for its graphic portrayal of sex scenes in films—all films and all television programs are subject to review and approval of any scenes containing violence.

I do not think that our film industry has done all it might or all it ought to do about the content of films. But at least it is possible to establish and enforce an "adult only" admission policy on certain films. It is not so easy to control the television dial.

There will always be some senseless violence erupting from insanity in the common sense, if not the legal sense, of the word. I am not an advocate of collective guilt complexes. I do believe that, as citizens in a democracy, we have collective responsibilities; and, Mr. President, every time a student riddles a university campus with bullets, every time a derelict terrorizes innocent bystanders in a city park, every time a man with a gun and a distorted mind shoots a political leader, then every time all of us must look to our responsibilities as citizens. We are responsible for a society that enables such people to obtain guns so easily. And we are responsible—in that we have not demanded better—for their constant exposure to a television which portrays the possession and use of guns as a kind of gory glory symbol, a status symbol for the otherwise undistinguished.

We share, too, the responsibility that enables the television industry to blame the sponsors and the balance sheet, because all of us are the customers of those sponsors. Perhaps it is time for the forgotten American parent to engage in an economic boycott of the most offending sponsors.

Mr. President, control of scenes of violence is a relatively simple thing to do. Most countries are doing it. It is only for the networks to do it and for the rest of us to see to it that they do do it.

But there is another aspect of television to which I referred earlier and that is the question of what role it should play as a unifying force in our heterogeneous society. This vast national theater of television has been with us now for almost a generation.

Yet, in this day and time, our Nation is rent by divisive forces, by the gap between rich and poor, by the chasm between black and white, by increasing failure to understand or communicate about those things which divide us. With such a vast theater for human communication at our disposal, should not its failure to engender any sense of participation in the American adventure concern us?

By that I do not suggest that television should not portray the bad as well as the good, or cease to criticize that which is deserving of criticism. Certainly it is not the function of any of our information media to mold our society to the vision of any one person or group.

It is, however, unfortunate that the words "educational television" have acquired a somewhat distasteful connotation—a feeling that anything billed as educational is necessarily dull. This is an unhappy misconception, and I would like to take this opportunity to commend the work of National Educational Television and Channel 13 in New York. None of us would suggest that the tired housewife or businessman ought to be reading serious literature instead of relaxing with James Bond. The same applies to television. I also suggest, however, that many of the subjects now considered dull are so only because the best of our television writers and directors are engaged too seldom in giving dramatic life to them.

Audience reaction to programs such as those that have been produced by the National Geographic Society, among others, clearly indicate that exposure to the stage of the world need not be dull—and need not be poor box office.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PELL. I am glad to yield to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, we have joined together in introducing Senate Resolution 302 that would call on the various media of public expression to examine themselves in terms of what effect they might have on an atmosphere that tends to encourage violence. And in the view of the Senator from Rhode Island and the others who joined in cosponsoring the resolution, we think that would be a beginning point for an honest-to-goodness self-analysis.

I am interrupting only because I agree with everything that has been said, but particularly the last statement.

We do not have to put on rosy glasses to view and listen to the television, a movie production, radio broadcast, or whatever it is.

What was the Academy awarding film this year? Was it, "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner," or "In The Heat of the Night"?

Mr. PELL. I do not recall.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. These were great films, and they looked our society right in the eye, and truly reflected social problems, and yet they were not incendiary in terms of exciting through an escalation of violence.

Mr. PELL. I agree with the remarks of the Senator, and I commend him for the leadership he showed in introducing the resolution.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I thank the Senator.

Mr. PELL. Our space adventures need no added drama; but neither is drama lacking in the whole adventure of this past decade in all fields of science, in the explosion of drama and music and art, in successes of individual human beings in contributing to the betterment of our society. And all of us, rich and poor, black and white, urban and rural, are a part of this great adventure that is America in this time in history. Cannot television contribute something to a sense of common participation in that adventure? Is there not real drama in the forces in our society which have pioneered industrial and technological change and which have brought forth such prosperity?

We have, I believe, moved somewhat from the "wasteland." Television has been producing more of this kind of program. But need we be 20 years too late and 20 times too little?

I believe that one worthwhile accomplishment of this new Commission would be to come up with some recommendations which could serve as a focus for public opinion and for public pressure to demand that the television industry enforce codes which are not now enforced, to establish new and better standards, and to encourage their industry to use its best talent in the service of true drama.

I offer the suggestion that the television industry, and particularly the three major networks, contribute the money for a research program to study the influence of television in developing attitudes, to establish a research center such as that being created in Great Britain under university auspices which will be independent of network influences.

But, most important of all, this Commission can make an important contribution by focusing public opinion and arousing public pressure to demand that the television industry begin now to police itself.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PELL. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It seems to me that the television industry is the real black sheep of all American industry. When you really get down to it, a man cannot sit there and look at TV all afternoon without their showing ads urging a person to smoke cigarettes. Everyone knows that if you are a pack-a-day man, you probably will die 10 years sooner.

Mr. PELL. Exactly.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. You will get cancer. And if you smoke half a pack a day, you will get cancer and die 5 years sooner than otherwise. The Surgeon General's report indicates that if a man is just a regular smoker, he will probably not die of cancer because he will die of heart disease sooner.

In other words, if the cancer does not get you, the heart disease or the emphysema will kill you.

We have very fine, able people all over America, including in this body, who have suffered from those diseases because they smoked cigarettes.

I am willing for the TV people to make money. I would be willing to pay them to go out of business—and pay them a nice profit. But does not the Senator think it is a poor use of the information media, when people advertise something that is bad for health?

Mr. PELL. I agree with the Senator. It seems a shameful use of the public airwaves to advise people to find a pleasurable way of bringing on death at a sooner time.

I think many of the advertisements on how to avoid bad breath, or how to have shinier teeth, and things of that sort, are in very poor taste. It is very poor taste to bring them up on the floor of the Senate, but that is what these advertisements contain. I believe we should have some regulation in the industry.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It would not be much of a task for Congress to simply put a tax on aspirin tablets and use the money that is collected to help pay the expense of television, subsidize it if need be, and particularly subsidize it to put on something worth seeing—for instance, to advise drivers to be cautious.

I regret to say that my opponent for the Senate has been picked up three times on charges of driving while intoxicated, and he fell out of bed the other day and broke his leg.

Mr. PELL. Was he intoxicated?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I do not know. But he fell out of bed and broke his leg the other day. That is in addition to being picked up three times for driving while intoxicated.

It seems to me the TV people should not have advertisements for people to do things that are bad for their health, and they should not give publicity to things that are bad.

For example, you may turn on the television and hear somebody say his aspirin tablet is better. In fact, the Bayer Co. claims there is no better aspirin tablet than its product. And that is exactly right. There is none better and none worse. It is all exactly the same. It is all aspirin; that is all it is.

Then another fellow comes on and says his aspirin tablet has twice as much pain relievers as ordinary aspirin. That is because it is twice as big as the ordinary aspirin tablet.

Mr. PELL. It is like a cigarette. If you smoke twice as many cigarettes, it will speed up your death twice as much.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Someone advertises Bufferin. He says he has a buffered tablet. It gets into the bloodstream twice as fast. That is because he puts a little pinch of baking soda in it, approximately the same amount of baking soda and aspirin, and it gets into the bloodstream faster.

Some fellow says his aspirin tablet dissolves faster. That is because he did not make a tablet to begin with. He made a powder. If you make a tablet, it will take about a second to dissolve. But if you have a problem, just take a spoon and crack it up, and you get the same result the other fellow does.

Now, that is advertising a distinction without a difference, may I say to the Senator from Rhode Island, and it is information the public does not need to know. It is misleading; it is confusing. A person would be better off if he had not heard any of those advertisements and just bought aspirin, and whatever is cheapest would be the same thing.

Mr. PELL. And preferably under the generic name.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Yes. Because it is all the same thing, not a bit of difference between them. It is like buying sugar—mountain sugar, valley sugar, cane sugar, or beet sugar. It is all the same thing. It does not even taste different. They used to charge 10 cents more for cane sugar. That was a conspiracy, and I say that as one who represents a cane-sugar State. One cannot tell the difference, and it does exactly the same for you.

People are permitted to advertise on television things which hurt your health or misinform you or confuse you, and keep you from knowing what you can learn just as an ordinary citizen, as a person who can look at a label and read it. Read what it says on the bottle, and you will be better off than by hearing the ad.

Something should be done to clean up television and make those people quit confusing, misleading, and lying to the American public. We have this fine media, and it should be used to tell the truth and educate people.

Mr. PELL. I completely agree with the Senator.

Also, I think we have lost sight of the fact that they have access to the public domain and public property in the form of the airwaves and in using those airwaves—just as if we use public forests or public land—they have a responsibility. I do not believe they have lived up to this responsibility.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I think people sort of resent being taken for a ride, being misled, being the patsy for a confidence game. I think people would like to be told the truth.

The Senator recalls some time ago a television program called "The $64,000 Question." They would tell the man the answer to the question before the program occurred. He would sit there and think about matters, and they would play a lot of music to build up suspense and the drama. They told the man all the time what the answer was.

Mr. PELL. Did he not go to jail in the end?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I do not know. I think they put some of those people in jail, but not many. There are many people walking the streets who should be in the penitentiary for their part in that confusion. It was not that the public was deceived, necessarily, except that they advertised a product—I think the name was Revlon—that was not a bit better than any other product. The public would have been better to shop for a cheaper cosmetic, rather than to listen to all of that confusion, buy the product, and then find out they paid a higher price than it was necessary to pay.

The whole purpose of the program as far as I could see was to mislead the public and to take one's mind away from what was important, that is, the difference in two shades of face powder. The question was what color the person wanted her face to look when she put the powder on. That is all that was involved.

I recall one of the characters who was supposed to go on that program in connection with the category of history. He was supposed to go for the $64,000 question. His subject was to have been the history of the U.S. Senate. He called me and said he wanted John F. Kennedy to be his adviser. As the Senator from Rhode Island knows, inasmuch as he comes from a neighboring State, John F. Kennedy was an expert on the U.S. Senate. I talked about the matter with John Kennedy.

Mr. PELL. Did he not write that wonderful book "Profiles in Courage" which showed that the majority of people who vote their conscience vote themselves out of office?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator is correct.

I spoke about this matter to then Senator Kennedy and I told him, "This man would like you to go on the program with him when he goes for the $64,000 question, and I think it would be nice publicity."

So the Senator from Massachusetts said he would think about it. When he called back he said that he hated to disappoint me, but even though this man was from Louisiana, he would not go on the program. He said, "Suppose they ask the man the question and he cannot answer a question about the Senate, and then suppose he asks my advice and I cannot answer the question. I would look like a fool. That would not help me and I will not go on the program"

I called the man and he said, "I will answer the question for a certainty. I just wanted the candidate for President, John F. Kennedy, to help put some interest in the program."

I called John F. Kennedy and explained that to him and he said, "Thanks; no. The more I hear about it the less I think of it."

Then, the man called me from New York and asked me if John F. Kennedy would go on the program for the $64,000 question. He would promise that the man would win. He said I could be confident that the man would answer the question. I said, "How would you know?" He said, "I have worked with a number of these prospects for the $64,000 question and this man is as good a prospect as any of them."

In effect, what that man was saying was that they would tell the man the answer before they asked the question. He would go through the motions, thinking, meditating, and consulting with John F. Kennedy, and the drums would beat, and then this man would answer the question, as though John Kennedy had given him the assistance and consultation he needed, when all the time the man knew the answer.

Mr. President, that showed me that John F. Kennedy was qualified to be President because he refused to go on the program. I think he was right in refusing to go on the program.

Does the Senator agree that is misleading mischief to pull on the American public? Does it not treat adults as though they were children? Is it not a bad example for the young people to think that their mothers and fathers are not smart when they think that that fool knew the answer when, in fact, he had been told the answer beforehand?

Mr. PELL. The Senator is absolutely correct. But I understood that as a result of the scandals at that time this particular misuse of the television had been cleaned up.

Mr. LONG of Louisana. They made headway, but are they not still advertising cigarettes?

Mr. PELL. And face powder.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Do they not claim that a person has more sex potential if he smokes cigarettes than if he does not? Can the Senator give me any evidence that a man or a woman has more sex potential if he or she smokes cigarettes? I am told that is not true. However, look at the Salem advertisement in living color. One would think if he smoked cigarettes he would attract gorgeous women if he were 70 years of age. The Senator knows that is not true and that instead it will make him die sooner.

Mr. PELL. I agree.

If the industry fails to do so, then eventually an aroused public is going to demand that it be done by the Government. Perhaps the television networks should give some consideration to what would doubtless appear to them to be the lesser of two evils.

Such codes should, I believe, extend to the content of commercials as well as to program content. To cite the most obvious example, we spend millions of dollars on health programs; yet the power of the tobacco industry is such that they can—with impunity—sponsor endless commercials engaging in every artifice of psychology and suggestion to promote cigarette smoking which we know is a cause not only of cancer but of other ailments.

Such a theater would be a theater of the absurd—if it were not so permeated with the potential of tragedy.

I close, Mr. President, by commending to the television industry a comment of a fellow New Englander, Henry James:

> The anomalous fact is that the theatre, so called, can flourish in barbarism, but that any drama worth speaking of can develop but in the air of civilization.

This vast theater of television has flourished too long in barbarism and breathed too little the air of civilization.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, one of the grave crises in the world is in the Middle East. A year after the United Nations cease-fire ended fighting between Israel and the Arab States, little or no progress toward permanent peace has been made. Egypt and other countries have been heavily rearmed by the Soviets—and Cairo radio talks now of a "fourth round."

It is time that we reexamined our policy toward this critically important part of the world. It is time that we took steps to guarantee the integrity of Israel, one of the few firmly democratic countries in the Middle East.

The current issue of Prevent World War III contains a valuable survey of the issues involved, in an article entitled "Mid-East Peace Now—or Possible World War III?"

The article quotes with approval one of the last speeches of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, in which he directed the attention of our country to this question, and declared that "the United States should stand ready to sell Israel the aircraft and other arms needed."

This publication is issued by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, a 25-year-old research and educational organization of whose board of directors my father, Herbert C. Pell, a former Member of the other body, was for some years a member. The society is located at 50 West 57 Street, New York, N.Y. I ask unanimous consent that the article be published in the Record.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Mid-East Peace Now—Or Possible World War III?

In the year since a United Nations cease-fire ended major fighting in the Six Day War between Israel and the Arabs, the outlook for permanent peace in the Middle East has not improved.

Two major sources of potential conflict continue to trouble the world: first, the enormous escalation of Soviet penetration into the Middle East; and second, the lack of progress toward a peace settlement in the struggle between the Arabs and Israel.

The most ominous indication of trouble is the increasing polarization of the region into areas of pro-Soviet and pro-Western orientation.

SOVIET PENETRATION

The record of overwhelming Russian support for the United Arab Republic, Syria and Iraq was obvious, even prior to last June. During the twelve months since, the Soviet campaign against Israel, Zionism, and Jews as a group, has increased in virulence and has even been "exported" into other Iron Curtain countries.

Soviet policy seeks a constantly increasing Russian presence throughout the Middle East—an old Russian objective, which the Czarists were never able to achieve. Moscow regards Israel and the United States as the prime obstacles to such expansionism. Both of them are denounced as "aggressive" and "imperialist" powers.

Almost any day's report of the official Moscow news output will confirm this appraisal. On the day that this was being written, for example, Foreign Minister Gromyko, as quoted in Tass, (1) attacked the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, and (2) denounced Israel as a puppet of world imperialism. The Sixth Fleet, he said, "plays a special role in the implementation of aggressive imperialist plans . . . to hold and check the national liberation movement in the Middle East." Israel, he charged, "is only performing its role as a gendarme . . . trying to suppress the national liberation movement and eliminate the progressive regimes in a number of Arab states."

The facts of the matter, of course, are that Moscow has consistently strengthened her military and diplomatic support for Soviet client states in the Arab world, while at the same time pressuring Moscow-oriented rulers into increasingly anti-Israel, anti-American and anti-United Nations attitudes.

In practical terms, the USSR has increased its armament assistance for Egypt to the point where Nasser's military establishment probably holds a theoretical superiority over Israel in the ratio of about 4 to 1. This contrasts with a ratio of about 3 to 1 prior to last June.

The Russian re-arming of the Arabs has extended not only to air power and equipment for mechanized land warfare, but also to 'marine equipment. For example, the Soviets have lately supplied to Egypt 16 submarines, 18 missile crafts, 44 torpedo boats, 6 rocket assault vessels and a great assortment of other materiel for sea warfare.

Speaking at Cairo University on April 25, President Nasser said (quoting from the transcript of a Cairo broadcast intended for domestic listeners):

"Truly, I want to tell you, the Soviet Union has helped us to the maximum. We have made up for the arms we lost. . . . The Soviet Union gave us arms. We did not pay one single mil for these arms. . . . The Soviet Union sent us aircraft, tanks, and arms free of charge."

In the interim, America continues to restate her intention of supplying Israel in order to keep a balance—particulary in air power—but except for some anti-aircraft Hawk missiles no substantial new deliveries have been made: no "aircraft, tanks and arms" have arrived either "free of charge" or paid for. This stands in stark contrast to Soviet actions.

Israel is the only thoroughly Western-oriented country—and the only real democracy of any strength—in the Middle East. Although America has pledged to see that a military imbalance against Israel does not develop, such an imbalance has already become a fact. The time when we could hope for Middle East arms limitations agreements with the Soviets has passed, and the time when we should start delivering to Israel the long-requested supply of 50 Phantom jets is obviously at hand.

The great Russian military build-up in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Aden, plus the rapid enlargement of Soviet naval commitments in the Eastern Mediterranean, can only be viewed as exceedingly alarming, by anyone who believes that the security of the world depends upon a policy of balanced coexistence between the Soviets and the West. The cause of peace cannot stand for an outbreak of new "wars of liberation" in the Middle East.

In United Nations diplomacy the same dangers have been apparent. Soviet policy has been to give complete support to Arab positions, and to obstruct any actions which might be regarded as mildly pro-Israel, or even neutral. Moscow and her allies have supported every possible resolution against Israel, and by a posture of threatened veto have made it impracticable for other powers to press complaints against the Arabs.

Thus, although the Palestine Liberation Organization (an official agency of the Arab League states) has continued to train guerrillas, and although El Fatah terrorists have been maintained and encouraged, the UN has taken no purposeful action against the repeated incursions of these forces across the cease-fire lines. Conversely, when Israel retaliated, a censure motion was voted.

It is meaningless to argue that the Arab actions were relatively small while the Israeli retaliation was larger and better organized, because the total effect of the hundreds of guerrilla incursions was obviously greater, although of less sensational news value.

The same syndrome was apparent again at the International Conference on Human Rights at Teheran, where Soviet allies plus the Arab bloc pushed through an anti-Israel vote, while at the same time the presiding officer censured the Israeli delegate for directing attention to extensive violations of human rights affecting Jews and other groups within the Soviet area.

In short, Soviet policy presents several simultaneous dangers to peace: it threatens the fragile detente between East and West, it encourages military adventurism by Nasser and his ilk, and it subverts the possibilities of even-handed diplomacy within the United Nations, on whose proper functioning peace hopes must in large part be built.

Much more than the future of Israel is involved in these considerations. The whole future existence of Middle East security, including the "Northern Tier" agreements with Turkey and Iran, is also jeopardized. If Moscow is able to "jump over" the CENTO line, and achieve not only political influence but actual military foot-holds in the Arab-Eastern Mediterranean area, the stability of all peace-keeping arrangements depending upon mutual security pledges will be broken down, so far as the Middle East is concerned.

THE PROBLEM OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY

The problem of security is radically different in the case of a small state surrounded by enormously greater areas and numbers of potential enemies, than is the case between more equally balanced parties.

As Foreign Minister Abba Eban has pointed out, the Arabs can lose a war and live to fight again, by merely retiring into their vast, well-populated and potentially wealthy homelands.

Israel, on the other hand, cannot afford to lose a single war: as a small state (the size of New Jersey), with only 2.6 million population, a single defeat might well mean the end of her existence.

The question as to how far Israel can rely upon security commitments and international peace-keeping machinery therefore becomes—for her—a matter of life and death. With the Arabs, the same question is seen only as a matter of delay.

Under these circumstances, the policy of "bilateralism" which the United States long pursued—that is, dealing separately with each state in the area—becomes just another name for no policy at all.

It is time for America to fix upon definite policies and goals in the Middle East, and enunciate them in such terms that everybody concerned will know that we intend to act precisely as we talk. In the confrontation with Soviet expansionism, America should make it clear that we will not retreat and that we will uphold the independence of friendly states. In relations with Israel, we should make it clear that we intend to preserve absolutely the potentialities necessary for her defense.

At all times we should seek agreements for limitation and reduction of arms—but pending the mutual implementation of such agreements, a policy of supporting our friends must be clearly and promptly carried out.

The continued expansion of Soviet sea power in the Eastern Mediterranean is not a hopeful augury. Admiral John S. McCain, Jr., Commander in Chief of US Naval Forces in Europe, recently drew a startling picture of Moscow's naval abilities to "leap frog all over the world and build a bridge of ships to areas and countries formerly inaccessible to the USSR." The Russian merchant and fishing fleet has been tremendously expanded, and the presence of a vastly increased number of Soviet war ships in the Mediterranean area indicates that their navy also seeks to become global in its operations.

The question whether this build-up will imperil the precarious peace of the world remains to be answered—but it is clear that American interests in the Eastern Mediterranean have already been challenged in the most overt fashion. The urgent need for adequate and timely assistance to our allies and friends is thus again underscored.

NASSER MORE ANTI-AMERICAN

As the Russian build-up progresses, the attitude of Arab dictators such as President Nasser becomes more and more openly anti-American. Speaking at a peasants' rally at Al-Mansurah, April 18, Nasser declared a new crusade against Israel, Britain, the United States and "imperialism." "In 1967, US imperialism enabled Zionism to take possession of the remaining part of Jerusalem and helped Israel to implement a serious plot," he shouted, and in the next minute proclaimed anew his fealty to Moscow.

It is pointless for the Western world to look for any early friendship from Egypt, Syria or Iraq—just as pointless as it would be to look for a quick settlement of all major outstanding differences with the Soviet Union. The peace of the world must be based upon recognition of these facts, and upon the preservation of at least a balance of power until more permanent bases of peace can be devised.

DIRECT NEGOTIATION THE ONLY ANSWER

After three major wars in the Middle East, the United States is now determined to stand for a permanent peace based on actual agreements negotiated between the Arab states and Israel, rather than settling for another temporary respite. We continue to follow the policy laid down by President Johnson in his statement of June 19, 1967, when he said:

"Clearly the parties to the conflict must be the parties to the peace. Sooner or later it is they who must make a settlement in the area."

Reaffirming this position in an address on May 16, Assistant Secretary of State Lucius D. Battle added:

"Many countries, including our own, are determined to seek this time a lasting peace . . . but the optimism in the immediate aftermath of the war has been tempered by certain hard realities."

ARAB INTRANSIGENCE THE PROBLEM

The "hard realities" are, of course, the fact that the Arabs are now talking about a "fourth round" instead of about making treaties, while Soviet penetration into the area supports them in their intransigence. There are plenty of examples of the Arab view:

"We should not rely on a political solution. What was taken by force must be returned by force," declared President Nasser in a March 13, 1968, address.

"Terrorist raids will increase. Egypt will determine the time for attack"—wrote the official Egyptian paper Al Ahram on March 22.

And on March 17, the official "Voice of the Arabs" declared over Radio Cairo:

"The real problem of Palestine is Israel's existence. As long as there is Zionist presence even in a small part of the land, the occupation continues. The important thing is to eliminate the Israeli occupation, and there is no difference between territories conquered recently and those occupied in the past."

All this is not much different from typical Arab declarations a year ago, at the beginning of the war, when Jordan's official Radio Amman called upon its listeners in these words:

"O Arabs, wherever you are, hit everywhere and hit till the last. The end of Israel is in your hands."

There is not even a disposition to give lip service to the excessively moderate requests of the United Nations for settlement. "The Security Council Resolution on Middle East Crisis Wrote the Darkest Page in the History of the United Nations," blared a headline across the front page of the official New York publication of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in March of this year.

Lest anyone dismiss such statements as "mere propaganda," we remind our readers that the official map of "The Arab World"—as currently distributed by the Arab Information Offices in New York and many other cities—continues to show Israel only as "Israeli Occupied Territory of Palestine."

Here then is the heart of the question: Will the United States and the Free World stand firm behind the call for real peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries? Or will we again permit a postponement, with the inevitable result of a "fourth round"—this time with immensely strengthened Soviet participation and the imminent danger of a global conflict?

THE QUESTION OF BORDER RAIDS

If the present uneasy status quo is to be preserved long enough to lead to any kind of future peace agreements, certain dangers must be recognized, and guarded against.

The continued series of border incursions by Arab guerrillas is perhaps the most unsettling of all these local factors.

Shortly after last year's cease-fire, the executive body of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) met in Cairo and declared its intention of pursuing a policy of guerrilla fighting to the extreme.

Only last month, the PLO publication *in the United States* carried this front-page headline: "Hail to the Fidayeen, the Freedom Fighters." The fact that the PLO—an agency exclusively dedicated to ending the existence of Israel and establishing an Arab state in Palestine—has continued to exist at all, and to operate with the official blessing and financial support of the Arab League states, is in itself ominous, and is clearly in violation of the UN cease-fire resolutions. The fact that it maintains an office in New York, where it openly boasts of its activities, a year after the cease-fire, is an alarming indication of Arab intransigence and American laxity.

UNRWA resources and food meanwhile continue to be used, in some refugee camps, to sustain the personnel who make up these guerrilla bands. The United States has several times protested against this situation—but to no avail. A glaring example is that of Karameh, a refugee camp which was in fact being used as a base for El Fatah and PLO bands, and which thus became the center for

Israeli retaliation. But how about the original fault which was committed when UNRWA allowed its facilities to be taken over by terrorists?

If this situation is not promptly corrected, the United States should—as we suggested in the previous issue of this publication—put its UNRWA allocations on a conditional month to month basis, as the only available means of forcing troublemakers out of communities where the bills for food and shelter are mostly paid for by taxpayers in this country.

If Arab states themselves refuse to limit the actions of PLO's Fidayeen and the El Fatah groups, the United Nations ought certainly to take cognizance of this danger to peace. The trouble, however, is that the United Nations has two standards for dealing with Middle Eastern affairs, as we have pointed out above. Indeed, one can think of no greater departure from diplomatic protocol than the action of one of the Arab delegates in attacking Senator Robert Kennedy and Governor Nelson Rockefeller for attending a Jewish religious service in New York. Whenever Israeli delegates have attempted to direct UN attention to the sad state of Jews in Arab countries, they have been ruled out of order; yet, no one took notice of flagrant violations of protocol, when committed by Arabs. If the UN is to function as a real organ of world peace, it must begin to function with even-handed justice.

ONE HOPEFUL ASPECT

Meanwhile, substantial evidence of the ultimate possibility of peace has been developed by the Israelis themselves, in their administration of Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Although Jews were substantially excluded from Jerusalem during the twenty years of Jordanian cccupation, Israel has made shrines in that city openly accessible to pilgrims of all religions. Although for twenty years Jordan failed to pay compensation to the custodians of Christian shrines in Jerusalem, growing out of damage done there during the 1948 fighting, Israel has already arranged payment of $1.4 million in claims ensuing from the 1967 war.

The American position has been to say that the status of Jerusalem remained unsettled in 1948. According to the State Department's international lawyers, the Old City never "belonged" to Jordan, but was "administered" by the Jordanian government for twenty years. The Israelis seem to have introduced an entirely new approach, based upon recognition of international rights of access, and we believe that now is the time to recognize the permanent presence of Israel in Jerusalem.

There are other issues still to be settled—among them, the need for viable and defendable boundaries between all parties involved. These and similar matters can only be taken up at a peace table—and our objectives should be to get the parties to such a table quickly.

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, writing in the June 1968 READER'S DIGEST, correctly points out that real peace in the Middle East depends upon building close economic relationships among the countries of the area, so that the advantages of each may help all. To this end, he proposes an extensive project for using nuclear power to operate water desalting plants, the production of which could equal more than double the average daily flow of the Jordan.

Nuclear power could reduce the cost of desalinization to one-sixth the present expense of such production, and in addition to water these plants would produce great quantities of electricity, which would bring to the Middle East "vast new complexes of industries, just as it has to other parts of the world." The entire program could be administered by the International Atomic Energy Agency of the United Nations.

"I can think of no scientific success that would equal this in its boon to mankind," the former President writes. Because the opportunities which such a development could bring would be so great, "the hostile states of the Middle East simply cannot afford to withhold their cooperation," General Eisenhower predicts.

It is along these lines, certainly, that we must look for a hopeful and peaceful future in the Middle East.

Meanwhile, lest there be any misunderstanding in the Soviet Union or anywhere else, all four of the leading 1968 candidates for the Presidency of the United States have declared their support for the principle of early Arab-Israeli negotiations, their devotion to an American commitment to the preservation of Israel, and their resolve to see friendship between the United States and all the peoples of the Middle East. This should go far toward resolving any doubts as to our future course.

The immediate key to the problem, however, was stated by the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, in one of his very last speeches before his assassination, when he said:

"We cannot—and will not—permit the Soviet Union to achieve an imbalance in the Middle East. We can and will fully assist Israel—with arms if necessary—to meet this threat of massive Soviet build-ups."

To that end, Senator Kennedy said, *"the United States should stand ready to sell Israel jet aircraft and the other arms needed."* That is clearly the most urgent action for America.

Israel's request for 50 new Phantom jets makes the question immediate. A Congressional Resolution calling for the quick delivery of these planes already bears the signatures of 66 Representatives (22 of them added within the past fortnight alone). With such a clear indication of public support at hand, steps to meet Israel's urgent need should be taken, and taken at once.

Vague promises by leaders that they will not "let Israel be defenseless" do not deter the Russians from sending more and more sophisticated arms to the Arabs, accompanied by thousands of Soviet technicians and "advisors"—but American action in matching the Soviets weapon for weapon, in supplies to Israel, will prove to Moscow our determination to deter or prevent a new explosion, which might trigger World War III; and it might also encourage the Arabs to a final realization that it is hopeless to wait indefinitely before coming to terms with Israel—as they are required to do, under the clearly stated provisions of UN resolutions.

AUTHORIZATION FOR INSERTIONS IN THE RECORD FOLLOWING ADJOURNMENT UNTIL SEPTEMBER 4, 1968

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Members of the Senate may be permitted to make insertions in the RECORD following the adjournment until September 4.

As authorized by the Joint Committee on Printing, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is scheduled for printing August 8, 15, 22, and 29. Copy for printing in the Extensions of Remarks shall be submitted to the Government Printing Office or the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD clerk in the Capitol.

This order shall not apply to any subject matter which may have occurred, or to any speech delivered, after August 2, 1968.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTIONS 198 AND 199—THE INTRODUCTION OF JOINT RESOLUTIONS TO PROVIDE FOR THE STRIKING OF A GOLD MEDAL FOR JIMMY DURANTE AND GEORGE JESSEL

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I think it appropriate at this time, particularly after the discussion led by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] as to the contribution possibly being made by the TV media to violence, to introduce two resolutions at this time to strike medals for two men who have contributed nothing but pleasure not only to our society and the United States of America but also throughout the world.

Thus, I introduce two resolutions, for appropriate reference. One to strike a gold medal in honor of America's foremost entertainer, Jimmy Durante.

Jimmy Durante is more than a great entertainer; he is a great humanitarian and an outstanding American. For over half a century Jimmy Durante has been presenting his particular and unique talent to audiences on the stage, motion pictures, radio, and television. The American people have responded by making him without a doubt the most beloved man in show business.

Jimmy Durante was born in New York City February 10, 1893. He first worked in his father's barber shop. At the age of 17 he was a piano player on Coney Island. He organized his own five-piece band in 1916. He opened Club Durante with Eddie Jackson and Lou Clayton as partners. They later formed the comedy team of Clayton, Jackson, and Durante. He made his Broadway debut at Loew's State Theater in 1927. He had numerous Broadway musical hits and motion pictures during the thirties. He began in radio and had his own radio show until 1950 when he entered TV with his show the All Star Revue. He received the Peabody Award for radio-television performance in 1951.

Mr. President, I should like our country to show its appreciation to this great American by the presentation by the President of this gold medal.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Jersey yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Would the Senator explain to me what kind of medal he has in mind? Is this a decoration, or a medal of appreciation?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. It would be the same kind of medal authorized by the Committee on Banking and Currency, and passed by the Senate, for Danny Kaye, Bob Hope, and Walt Disney—those who contributed to the wholesomeness of life in America, not only for our people and our servicemen abroad, but also for people throughout the world.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I am not on the committee, but I think Jimmy Durante should have such a medal. He is a great American. What committee would have jurisdiction?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. The Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It occurs to me that perhaps if the Senator would discuss that now with Members on the other side of the aisle—although they are sparse at this moment—and he might be able to clear it for immediate consideration and call it up and get it passed. Does the Senator insist that it go to committee?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency. The chairman of that committee, of course, is the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] who, I think, would want to be a part of the passage of a resolution for such a medal for our great friend Jimmy Durante.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Can the Senator assure me, if the resolution is sent to the committee, that it will get to the floor of the Senate and will not be buried, or lost? I should like to vote for a gold medal for Jimmy Durante.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Just keep talking Senator. It makes our RECORD all the better. Let me say that in the waning hours of this session, with so many of our colleagues necessarily absent——

Mr. PELL. Not listening attentively? [Laughter.]

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Probably listening to someone in Miami.

I appreciate the help of the distinguished Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. In view of the extreme absenteeism on the minority side of the aisle, I suppose I will permit it to go to committee, but I want to assure the Senator that if he can get it back out of committee, it will have my support, because I think Jimmy Durante is one of our great Americans. He has done as much as any person alive to bring happiness to people.

So far as I know, he has never intentionally brought discomfort, misery, or heartache to anyone. He has brightened the lives of everyone in this country, so far as I know.

I think Jimmy is one of the greatest assets we have.

I admire and appreciate what the Senator from New Jersey is doing, that he would try to achieve this award for Jimmy Durante. People of that sort give so much and demand so little back from life that it should be recognized. I applaud the Senator from New Jersey for introducing the resolution.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I certainly appreciate those wise comments of my good friend, the Senator from Louisiana and, of course, I do agree with him.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It has not been my privilege to know men such as Bob Hope, Red Skelton, or Danny Kaye, as well as it has been my privilege to know Jimmy Durante. But I believe that those men have been properly recognized; have they not?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. They have. And Jimmy Durante certainly fits the great mold that these other men fit.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I have no doubt that this will be done, and I hope that the Senate can move expeditiously to adopt the resolution, because Jimmy Durante is somewhat advanced in years now, and it would be fine if someone like him could receive bouquets while living.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Yes. While Jimmy Durante is advanced numerically in years, I stood with him for 4 hours at Arlington Cemetery as we waited for the funeral services for our late colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and he is hale and hearty, even though he is, I imagine, 72 or 73 years old now.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. He is still young in heart.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Yes, he certainly is.

Mr. President, the other resolution I introduce for appropriate reference is one to provide for the striking of a gold medal in honor of America's "Toastmaster General," George Jessel.

At his best—

Wrote Brooks Atkinson—

> Jessel is a master entertainer. If there ever was a man born for the stage, it is Mrs. Jessel's comic and sentimental son Georgie, who can make an audience sit back and enjoy itself. Add skill and experience to magnetism and enthusiasm, and you have in George Jessel, a great theater performer.

George Jessel, showman, songwriter, dramatist, and producer, was born to Joseph and Charlotte Jessel in 1898. His father told him at the age of 7, "You'll never be an actor while I live." At 9, a year after his father's death, he was singing in the Imperial Theater in Harlem with Walter Winchell.

As a child, he went on vaudeville tours with Gus Edwards and Eddie Cantor, acted in a talking picture of Thomas Edison, and performed at the Victoria Palace in London.

When he was too old for "kid stuff," he developed his comic vaudeville routine and starred in the "Jazz Singer." He produced both Broadway musical shows and motion pictures, "The Dolly Sisters," "Dancing in the Dark," and more.

Jessel had a spontaneous humor and skill which made him a much-desired master of ceremonies. He acted as the official toastmaster to Mayor James Walker and became an official toastmaster of New York.

Mr. President, I should like our country to show its appreciation to this great entertainer by the presentation by the President of this gold medal.

Mr. President, the colloquy just had between the Senator from Louisiana and myself with regard to Jimmy Durante applies equally to George Jessel.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, it seems to me that somewhere along the line, it would be well for someone to undertake to provide for the RECORD the amount of income, after taxes, that these men have provided to entertain for free. So many times they entertain in good causes for nothing. Men of this sort have gone into the war zones many times. I know that, because I have been privileged on occasion, as a fighting man in World War II, to come back from battle and hear that one of these men was putting on a show somewhere for 15,000 or 20,000 soldiers, all sitting on the ground, and these men would entertain them, at no income for themselves, only an assumption of risk. Yet they were happy simply to entertain these men without pay. They have rendered many millions of dollars' worth of free services to their fellow man.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I have an idea—perhaps it is selfish, and I wonder whether it will work out—that when we go to the committee with the resolutions—as the Senator has suggested they will be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency—perhaps we should hold a hearing and invite Jimmy Durante and George Jessel to come in. We would certainly be entertained and enlightened by two magnificently wise men who happen to be entertainers.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. May I suggest that those men would not advocate that the resolutions be adopted, but after the Senate had voted for them, or after the committee had ordered the resolutions to be reported favorably, perhaps both of them would like to appear to express their gratitude that they had been recognized—as they should be—and on that occasion perhaps they would like to answer a few questions that Senators might wish to ask them.

I am a great admirer of Jimmy Durante. I think he is one of America's greatest entertainers of all time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. May I ask the distinguished majority whip—perhaps the announcement has been made—when the Senate will reconvene? Is it September 2?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. September 4.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Is there any speculation as to how long we will remain in session?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I heard the majority leader said it could be the rest of the year, but he could not really predict. As far as I am concerned, if the Senator wants to be here until January, he is welcome. I am going home. But we will be here for some time after we convene, and we will have occasion to consider other matters. So I hope this matter would receive the attention of the committee. It should be voted on.

In fact, if the Senator cannot get the Banking and Currency Committee to act, I happen to be chairman of a committee that does act. We have a way of moving bills. If some other committee will not do something about it, our committee will. If action is not taken, I suggest that the Senator prepare the matter in the form of an amendment and we can put it on a tax bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I have never had so much hope for any measure as I do for these two resolutions, because of the Senator from Louisiana's attitude.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolutions will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 198) authorizing the issuance of a gold medal to George Jessel, introduced by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 199) authorizing the issuance of a gold medal to Jimmy Durante, introduced by Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 5233) for the relief of Mrs. Sophie Michalowska.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 805) providing for adjournment of the House from Friday, August 2, 1968, until 12 o'clock meridian, Wednesday, September 4, 1968.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 3638) to provide indemnity payments to dairy farmers.

STEEL HIKES ARE WRONG

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the price increases announced by some steel producers are more dangerous perhaps, than most Members realize. The steel price increases are the largest increases in 10 full years.

The price hike will involve an increase in prices of at least $600 million. By the time that $600 million increase gets passed on to the consumer through the various levels of the marketplace, the cost will amount to well over a billion dollars.

Mr. President, it is not as if the steel industry were a sick industry, an industry that was having difficulty attracting capital. Quite the contrary, steel industry earnings during the second quarter were extremely high. Now, under the guise of increased costs due to a new labor contract, steel executives are trying to parlay a higher cost into higher profits. In doing so, they are serving neither the national interest nor their own.

I wish to go on record today, before our recess period, in condemnation of the senseless actions taken by several leading American steel producers. It seems to me that if these prices are not rescinded, this Congress ought to look into the full story of these increases, and follow such an investigation with appropriate recommendations to protect the American public in the future from such arbitrary action.

Mr. President, I have been aware of the problems of the steel industry for a great many years. When I was on the War Labor Board we handled both the big steel case and the little steel case in that war-torn era. That caused us to go into an analysis of the costs to produce steel, into their labor policies and their pricing policies. The interesting pattern has been one of constant repetition on the part of the steel companies. When they come out with a new collective bargaining unit, usually as the result of a threatened strike, they invariably increased their prices beyond any allegation they had to increase their prices because of the additional labor costs.

No one is quarreling with the policy of the steel companies to make adjustments in prices to meet increased labor costs, but they always—invariably—go far beyond that. They usually do what they are doing in this instance.

Bethlehem Steel has had an across-the-board price increase, promulgated in the last few days, more than twice the amount necessary to meet the extra labor cost produced by the new labor agreement. Whom do they think they are fooling?

This is simply a case where they want to put profits above the public interest. They have the patriotic duty, in this period of threatened inflation, not to increase their profits 1 cent above the amount necessary to take care of the increased labor costs produced by the new collective-bargaining agreement.

Instead of that, they are increasing it twice that amount. That is what ought to be prevented.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I am sure the Senator recalls that some years ago, it created great consternation and uproar in business and industry when John F. Kennedy was notified of a price increase of this sort, and he demanded a grand jury investigation of whether a conspiracy was involved.

Mr. MORSE. I do.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator well knows that this pattern is altogether too familiar; that when industry grants a wage increase, they usually make a tremendous price increase, usually about 3 to 1 over what is necessary to offset the wage increase.

Then they sit back arrogantly and say, "This is necessary to meet competition," and so forth; but they all advance their prices together. The Senator knows they could not get away with those price increases if all their competitors were not doing the same thing.

Mr. MORSE. Of course.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It is a conspiracy. These big price increases geared to wage increases are usually conspiracies. When John F. Kennedy called their hands, they backed off and did not raise their prices.

Mr. MORSE. That is right.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I believe, if I remember correctly, they backed off and took just enough of a price increase to cover the wage increase. That is not what they are doing now. This is a conspiracy; there is no question about that in my mind. I must plead guilty to being ignorant of the facts, but the truth is that what they are doing is raising them all at one time. They have done it many times in the past.

Can the Senator state what company if any, is holding out against this price increase?

Mr. MORSE. The information I have had in the last hour is that there will be a price increase all down the line. Some of them are going to hide behind selective price increases, but they are going to have so many selections among their products that it will amount, in effect, to a general price increase.

Of course, if they use the gimmick of selective price increases, they can take certain products and increase the prices of those substantially, so the income for the company as a whole would be the same as with an across-the-board increase of a certain percentage for all their products.

I do not know whom they think they are fooling by this gimmick of a selective price increase.

I know whereof the Senator from Louisiana speaks, but I know something else. I know of the record of the Senator from Louisiana while the two of us have served here in the Senate. He has had the courage to stand up to them again and again, against the powerful combines in this country; and also, when labor has been wrong, he has had the courage to stand up and speak up to protect the public interest, as he is doing this afternoon.

We hear a great deal in our country these days about crime in the streets. The Senator from Louisiana and I, and our fellow Senators, recognize that it is probably the major domestic issue in the country today. But, Mr. President, there are other ways to hold up the public besides the use of guns. The steel industry is committing a crime on the streets of America by this price holdup, at the very hour we speak, for this is truly a form of holdup of the American consumers, because they are not only going to get these price increases, but it is almost axiomatic that as steel goes, so goes the Nation. We have used that statement over and over again, throughout the years, in our discussions of the economic policies of the steel industry in relationship to the economic policies of the country generally.

We are not only going to have the steel increases, but this is going to be the inducement and the encouragement for a general price increase all along the line.

Can the Senator not hear the alibis, allegations, and rationalizations of one industry after another, saying, "Well, we are upping our repair costs of machinery and automobiles," for example, "because of the increase in the steel prices?"

But not only that. Then we are going to find that the grocer, while he does not sell steel, is nevertheless going to say, "I am confronted with an increase in costs as a result of the inflationary spiral, so I will have to increase the price of bread and other food products."

Once we let an industry like the steel industry get by with this holdup, then we are going to be held up by price increases all through our economy.

I agree with the Senator from Louisiana, and I commend him again for his courage in standing up here this afternoon and being counted against this shocking increase in steel prices.

I said yesterday we ought to have a Senate investigation. I say now that the Senate ought to go to work now, conduct the investigation, and bring out the facts of the conspiracy to which the Senator from Louisiana has referred.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield further, here we are, on the eve of the Republican National Convention, and we see the beginning of a whole series of price increases. I was one of those who voted against that big tax increase.

Mr. MORSE. So did I.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator voted against it also.

It is my firm belief that there are a lot of places we could save a lot of money, which had not been properly explored. One of them was the foreign aid field. I know how the Senator from Oregon tried to cut down waste in the foreign aid program.

The biggest single potential saving, however, would be through reducing interest rates. If we could stabilize the dollar, and cut interest rates, let us say, from 8 percent down to 4 percent, we could stop this thing of people having to pay twice as much for interest as they pay for their homes by the time they get through paying them out.

If I had found that my vote was required to pass the tax increase, I would have insisted on talking to Mr. Martin. He claims to be above politics, no matter whose witness he is. But if the Senator wants to go and address the New York economic group, or the American Bankers Association, they are willing to bring the house down to cheer for him.

On the national debt, this double-duty interest rate they are giving to that alone accounts for almost as much money as the tax increase. We were supposed to get some reduction in interest rates when the tax bill passed. I believe, in fact, that if some of us had played hard to get, had gone along and played the game and said, "We will not vote with you unless we get some reduction in interest rates," we might have prevailed.

May I suggest to our friends who are at this moment absent from the Chamber, so they can read it in the RECORD, particularly those on the Republican side of the aisle, where the Senator from Oregon once had a seat as one of the senior Members, that they take this matter and consider the record as they draft their platform.

As always they will say they are going to do what John Kennedy promised and did not do, what Lyndon Johnson promised and did not do, that they are going to cut these interest rates down, and be for the poor little fellow who owes all that money, the taxpayer, and fight for him on reducing these interest rates.

I would also bring this to the attention of the Democratic Party. In my opinion, the Democratic Party may very well nominate HUBERT HUMPHREY. If it does not, it will nominate GENE MCCARTHY. I personally would like to see HUMPHREY get the nomination, but I think either one of those men would do what they could to help people get lower interest rates, and would not put the interests of the members of this Board, who favor the vested interests, over the interests of the multitude of little people who have to pay their life savings out in interest rates, and, when they buy a home, have to pay three times as much in interest as they pay for the home.

It was once my privilege to have a fine, young, colored man working for me. His mother died, and he borrowed the money to give her a decent funeral. He has been paying on that debt for 10 years. He has paid the principal out in interest three times over, and owes more money than he did to begin with, because of the distorted interest rates.

If someone wants to help the rank and file people and help the little fellow get by, we could reduce those interest rates.

As the Senator so well knows, the public debt is only part of it. The public and private debt combined is roughly $1,700,000,000,000. Put two points on those interest rates—just 2 percent. They are at least two points too high. And two points multiplied by $1,700,000,000,000, if I calculate it correctly, works out to be $34 billion a year. That is the tribute that the poor pay for the benefit of the rich.

Why do things like that happen in a democracy? They happen because when we vote for a social security bill or a public welfare bill to help the poor, how many campaign contributions do we get? How many campaign contributions did the Senator get in return for his votes for such measures? The Senator just recently ran for office. I will bet that he did not have five people who benefited from his votes contribute to his campaign.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is completely right.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. So much of this mischief is built in by way of campaigns. It is the wealthy who contribute to finance the campaigns. It is the richer people who put up the money. About half of them are moneylenders, and about half of the remainder are interested in monopoly.

The Senator has voted against private patents on Government research. It is a fantastic waste of money. Somebody is able to take a private patent on public research and charge 100 times the cost.

I have worked on this, and so has the distinguished Senator from Oregon. I would think that when the Republicans get busy on their convention, they would do very well if they would take a look at these two issues. Both of them involve corruption—interest rates that are ridiculous and private patents on Government research.

The reason why we cannot do much about it is, is the way the campaigns are financed. The wealthy people finance them and put the money up. And they expect to be paid in ways in which they will not be embarrassed on the payoff.

If the Republicans want to do something to clean up the Government and correct what is wrong with it, I would urge that they consider doing something about private patents on Government research and something about high-interest rates and something about the way the campaigns are financed.

I will bet that they will not get as many votes in that Republican Convention to clean up that kind of corruption as they got on the Senate floor. Can the Senator recall how they voted when we tried to do something about those three matters? As I recall on those three issues, they were unanimous.

The Senator referred to the steel industry. I would refer to the "s-t-e-a-l" industry. They always seem to be the boys who really like to do business. I suggest that they take a look at these issues.

I cannot recall any of them voting against them.

Mr. MORSE. Not a one.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I refer to high-interest rates and private patents on Government research and the money that is going to finance campaigns. It should be made so that an honorable man seeking office would not become beholden to the money barons. That party holds a unanimous record. Nobody ever backed up or ran. They all stood up like men to be counted.

I suggest that it would be well for that party when they hold that convention to think about these matters and give a unanimous vote for high interest rates and monopoly power and the financing of the campaign by the money barons for whoever goes to the White House. That has been one of the things they have been consistent on.

Does not the Senator think it would be appropriate that they put in the party platform that they are in favor of the rich having it all of their way on this side of heaven, and on the other side if they can arrange to make a deal with the man topside?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, that would be very appropriate from the standpoint of public interest and very inappropriate from the standpoint of Republican philosophy.

Mr. President, it has been a great privilege for me to join the Senator time after time as he has led the fight on the issues he has raised and the remarks he has made.

I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield further, they put a plank in their platform about the drug industry. The Senator well knows that some of us have been trying to do something about this thing of being charged anywhere from 50 to 100 times too much for the drugs that one buys.

I am told that some of our Republican friends that had joined that solid party phalanx to protect the drug monopolists have now told them they cannot be counted on from now until after the next election to vote on a bill. They have asked to be forgiven if they defect.

I would think that they should put a plank in the platform.

Mr. MORSE. That is the test.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. They should say: "We are in favor of charging you 100 times the cost of production for drugs. We voted that way, and we do not intend to change."

The public could then know that is a fact, and I know that the drug manufacturers would contribute large amounts of money in advertising for the Republican side of the issue.

What benefit do the Democrats get from coming in and telling the truth? We could tell them that we do not think they should be charged 100 times the cost of production for these drugs.

As a matter of fact, the Senator will recall that I made a speech some time back saying that the five big companies that caused the poor people all over the world to pay $60 for drugs that were worth 50 cents should be prosecuted. They had a deal working in the Justice Department to drop the charges.

The Senator may recall that they prosecuted these boys and found them guilty in New York City. The Pfizer Co. is now appealing. The Pfizer Co. took a poll. And I could not for the life of me see why they wanted to take the poll. They took the poll in New York City. The poll said that 100 percent of all adult males agreed that the drug companies were robbing the public.

They have presented the results of that poll as evidence that the case should be tried somewhere else. They contend that poll would prove that they could not get a fair trial in New York City because everybody was prejudiced and that 100 percent of all adult males in New York thought they were robbing the public. But they did not tell the full result of the polls. The polls indicated that 100 percent of all adult males thought they were paying four times too much. And what Pfizer got convicted on was a conspiracy to charge them 100 times too much.

The polls indicated that the public was ignorant in the right direction. They did not know how much more they were being charged than they thought they were.

And in my judgment, that poll was poor public relations. I do not see why they should take a poll to prove that everybody in New York City thought they were crooks. However, they proved that 100 percent.

I think our good friends on the Republican side of the aisle should do something to put themselves on record that they are in favor of this kind of mischief. We could vote on it and perhaps get some drugs for the public at a reasonable price.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, one of the great legislative records made on the floor during my many years in the Senate has been the record of the Senator from Louisiana in his fight to protect the poor people in this country from drug gouging.

The drug companies have a very bad drug habit, and that is the shocking overuse of inflated prices on their products. That certainly should be brought into control.

We have made some progress, but not enough.

I want the Senator to know that if I am back in January, he can count on me to stand, as always, shoulder to shoulder with him in the fight he makes to try to bring the drug companies under reasonable price controls in this country, because that is what we will have to do in order to stop this price gouging by the drug companies.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I thank the Senator. I have known the Senator for 20 years in the Senate. And while from time to time I have crossed swords with the Senator, I am frequently on his side. The Senator is an able advocate and a very difficult man to contend with because of his tremendous ability and brilliant mind. But he has never taken a position that I could quarrel about for a moment on the issues of high interest rates and monopoly. On those issues and, in fact, on all other issues that have to do with the little people, the working folks, the Senator has never been lacking. He has never, in the 20 years I have observed him, backed off a half inch in his devotion to the interests of those who work very hard for what little they get.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator is kind. I refer to him out of his presence as in his presence—as one of my biased friends. And a biased friend is one who stands with you even when he disagrees with you. The Senator from Louisiana has always done that.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator from Oregon is like the Senator from Louisiana in the respect that we are very prejudiced in favor of what we believe in.

STRAWBERRY IMPORTS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on June 25, a very responsible constituent of mine, Mr. Robert E. Ward, was a witness before the House Ways and Means Committee. Mr. Ward is the assistant general manager of United Flav-R-Pac Growers, a grower-owned processing cooperative with plants in Gresham, Newberg, and Salem, Oreg.

He testified in behalf of the California strawberry industry, including growers, processors and shippers. His testimony presents a convincing argument and statistical data showing that U.S. strawberry growers and processors need the help of Congress in limiting excessive imports of strawberries, both fresh and processed.

Mr. President, the chief area from which we get unfair competition in regard to these imports is from our neighbor to the south, Mexico. In our last two parliamentary conferences with our Mexican congressional counterparts, we raised this matter—the U.S. delegation—and we had been given hope that they might take some necessary administrative steps to eliminate some of the justifiable charges we made. To date, they have not done so. I hope they will do so without very much further delay.

This strawberry season is practically over. I hope that between now and the next season, our Mexican neighbors will carry out what we understood was their good faith and intention to try to at least lessen the basis for misunderstanding between our two countries on this issue.

I believe that the material I shall ask to be printed in the Record—the testimony of Mr. Ward—will be of great help to Members of Congress. Also, I hope it will be called to the attention of at least the leaders of our parliamentary colleagues in Mexico, and I intend to send reprints of it to them.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Ward's testimony be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

TESTIMONY BY ROBERT E. WARD BEFORE THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 25, 1968

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, my name is Robert E. Ward. I am Assistant General Manager of United Flav-R-Pac Growers, a grower-owned processing co-operative with plants in Gresham, Newberg and Salem, Oregon. I am presenting this testimony in behalf of the California strawberry industry including growers, processors, and shippers; Northwest Canners and Freezers Association, a trade association of fruit and vegetable processing companies located in Oregon, Washington and Idaho; The Oregon Strawberry Council, representing the strawberry growers of the State of Oregon; and growers and packers in the states of Michigan and Tennessee. These growers and processors represent approximately 95% of the national pack of frozen and canned strawberries. In the three Pacific Coast states, where the largest percent of processed strawberries are handled, there are approximately 2,000 growers whose primary market is provided by processors. You will note in Table I that strawberries are grown commercially and are important to growers in 28 states.

This processing strawberry production represents approximately a 35 million dollar income to growers, and 3.8 million dollars to workers in processing plants. It is a significant part of both farm and processing diversification which is already seasonal and marginal. A major factor causing depression in these important industries is the increasingly large imports of frozen strawberries, principally from Mexico, and the potential for further growth in imports and disruption of dometic marketing. U.S. strawberry growers and processors need your assistance in limiting *excessive* imports if they are to continue in this business.

During the most recent 5-year period average total disappearance was somewhat less than during the previous five years, which measured against the substantial increase in population, indicates a declining per capita consumption. In the absence of market expansion potential, there is little or no room in the domestic market for a large volume of imports of this product, and any increase in such volume must be regarded as a replacement of domestic production, to the detriment of all segments of the domestic industry.

The U.S. grower over-produced strawberries in the period of 1956 to 1959 and then adjusted his planting to correspond with the market demand and a fair return. The success of this self-help program of acreage reduction was short-lived due to the beginning of a rapidly expanding strawberry industry in Mexico. Imports from Mexico moved from 14.2 million pounds or 5.3 percent of U.S. disappearance in 1959 to a high of 82.8 million pounds or 31.5 percent of U.S. disappearance in 1966. The 1966 imports of 82.8 million pounds was a 60 percent increase over the previous year. This has upset a balance needed by U.S. growers to keep producing strawberries economically.

Many growers and processors are small operators who have been able to compete effectively in normal domestic marketing, but are most severely affected when the supply is inflated by imported product and prices are depressed.

U.S. growers are unable to compete successfully in the domestic market with frozen strawberries produced in Mexico. The reasons are simple. Strawberry growing and processing has a very high requirement for labor, ingredients and supplies. Labor costs in Mexico, both on the farm and in the plant, are less than 10 percent of such costs in the United States. Mexican sugar prices are about 53 percent, and 30-pound containers are roughly 94 percent of current prices in the United States.

The direct result of these and other similar advantages has been the extremely rapid growth of a fledgling industry in Mexico based almost entirely on an export market, principally in the United States. Canada has also become an important export outlet for this production, and this export volume has almost completely replaced that formerly enjoyed by U.S. exporters.

The U.S. strawberry industry is not subsidized nor is it asking for a subsidy. It has made every effort to help itself, but it cannot control imports. The import duty has been lowered from 35 to 14% which encourages imports. Representatives of U.S. processors and growers met with Mexican processors and growers in 1963 and the Mexicans agreed to limit imports to quantities that would not unduly upset the balance of the U.S. market. However, this voluntary approach was not successful and imports continued to rise sharply.

This situation has resulted in instability in the American market, and uncertainty among growers.

This industry realizes that the U.S. must share its markets, but proposes that this share be limited to a formula based on a moving 5-year average of annual disappearance. The average disappearance in the U.S. for the most recent 5-year period, 1962–63 through 1967–68 is 273 million pounds. During this same period imports of frozen strawberries from Mexico has average 56.3 million pounds. In the light of these figures an annual quota of 20% for frozen strawberry imports would be reasonable (including fruit pastes and fruit pulps.)

We suggest that a quota of, say, 20% of annual domestic disappearance of frozen strawberries be established for imports, based upon the average disappearance for the last 5 marketing years. This sort of formula would enable foreign exporters to take advantage of increasing markets in the U.S. or conversely, it would hold them to reasonable levels in a declining market. [See Tables II and III].

The market prices of Mexican imports in Table III also reflect the growing problems of the U.S. strawberry growers and producers. These prices run 1 to 5 cents per pound below the U.S. market.

U.S. growers are faced with increasing demands for higher wages and benefits for farm labor. The grower is generally in favor of these increases, but grower returns are not sufficient to provide needed dollars without a higher market price.

Low prices of uncontrolled imported strawberries are a major factor in suppressing grower prices and the wages he can pay.

U.S. growers are being squeezed by rising costs of equipment and supplies as well as labor, plus demands from consumers for lower prices. This system will not work. U.S. citizens *can afford* products grown by U.S. growers.

We feel that H.R. 9071 using 20% of the 5-year average disappearance of the U.S. market gives ample room for imports and a healthy domestic market.

TABLE I.—STRAWBERRIES: ACREAGE AND INDICATED PRODUCTION, BY SEASON AND STATE, 1968 WITH COMPARISONS

Crop and State	Acreage			Production (1,000 pounds)		
	Harvested		For harvest 1968	Average 1962–66	1967	Indicated 1968
	1962–66	1967				
Strawberries:[1]						
Winter	2,380	2,000	1,800	20,906	17,600	14,400
Spring: California	9,080	8,000	8,500	212,978	208,800	238,000
Early Spring	5,660	4,400	3,800	16,460	13,280	11,200
Mid-Spring:						
Illinois	1,700	1,500	1,500	4,136	4,050	3,600
Missouri	1,040	800	750	2,567	2,080	1,950
Maryland	870	800	750	2,856	2,320	3,750
Virginia	2,000	1,400	1,300	5,408	4,200	3,900
North Carolina	2,040	2,000	1,900	5,736	4,200	6,650
Kentucky	1,380	1,000	900	3,888	3,000	2,340
Tennessee	4,040	2,400	1,700	10,087	6,720	4,250
Alabama	730	650	600	1,662	1,300	1,140
Arkansas	3,880	2,600	2,300	9,057	7,800	5,750
Oklahoma	1,160	900	900	2,886	3,600	3,600
Group total	19,120	14,050	12,600	48,880	39,270	36,930
Strawberries[1]—Continued						
Late Spring:						
Maine	360	350	320	1,109	1,155	960
Massachusetts	370	370	350	1,385	1,591	1,330
Connecticut	360	350	300	1,079	1,050	990
New York	2,780	2,400	2,100	9,660	6,480	6,720
New Jersey	2,520	2,400	2,500	11,840	9,120	11,000
Pennsylvania	1,540	1,800	1,800	4,934	5,040	5,040
Ohio	1,760	1,500	1,600	4,894	4,800	3,840
Indiana	1,200	1,100	1,300	3,756	4,620	5,850
Michigan	7,560	6,800	5,900	33,098	29,240	23,600
Wisconsin	1,920	1,900	1,900	5,000	4,940	3,990
Washington	6,180	5,600	5,300	42,004	35,840	34,450
Oregon	13,400	14,000	12,300	83,740	95,200	81,180
Group total	40,060	38,570	35,670	202,914	199,076	178,950
All States	76,300	67,020	62,370	502,138	478,026	479,480

Includes processing.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Statistical Reporting Service, Sacramento, Calif.

TABLE II.—STRAWBERRIES (FROZEN): U.S. SUPPLY AND DISAPPEARANCE, SEASONS 1942–43 TO 1966–67

[In millions of pounds]

Season (May–April)	Beginning stocks (May 1)	Pack	Imports	Total supply	Disappearance	Ending stocks (Apr. 30)
1942–43	25.9	63.8	0.1	89.8	74.4	15.4
1943–44	15.4	29.8	.1	45.3	33.8	11.5
1944–45	11.5	34.8	.4	46.7	34.0	12.7
1945–46	12.7	36.9	.2	49.8	33.0	16.8
1946–47	16.8	78.1	.1	95.0	77.3	17.7
1947–48	17.7	109.0	.2	126.9	111.0	15.9
1948–49	15.9	160.1	.8	176.8	140.4	36.4
1949–50	36.4	107.6	1.6	145.6	134.5	11.1
1950–51	11.1	192.7	3.6	207.4	156.8	50.6
1951–52	50.6	157.7	6.6	214.9	173.4	41.5
1952–53	41.5	200.3	5.4	247.2	201.8	45.4
1953–54	45.4	226.0	7.4	278.8	227.3	51.5
1954–55	51.5	221.4	8.9	281.8	241.2	40.6
1955–56	40.6	273.0	12.0	325.6	260.6	65.0
1956–57	65.0	312.3	12.3	389.6	287.3	102.3
1957–58	102.3	259.3	13.7	375.3	291.1	84.2
1958–59	84.2	261.5	16.3	362.0	273.3	88.7
1959–60	88.7	248.2	15.0	351.9	267.3	84.6
1960–61	84.6	217.5	33.5	335.6	246.1	89.5
1961–62	89.5	222.7	29.0	341.2	264.6	76.6
1962–63	76.6	234.6	34.5	345.7	266.3	79.4
1963–64	79.4	234.4	40.7	354.5	292.9	61.6
1964–65	61.6	252.6	42.9	357.1	272.4	84.7
1965–66	84.7	191.6	74.6	350.9	264.1	86.8
1966–67	86.8	213.3	76.5	376.6	269.3	107.3

Source: Annual reports of Foreign Agricultural Service, Agricultural Estimates Division, SRS, and National Association of Frozen Food Packers.

TABLE III.—STRAWBERRIES (FROZEN): IMPORTS FROM MEXICO; AVERAGE PRICES, UNITED STATES AND MEXICAN PRODUCT, YEARS 1957–67

Calendar year	Mexico imports (million pounds)	Average f.o.b. monthly price quotations (cents per pound)		
		California	Northwest	Mexico
1957	13.8	16.0	18.2	16.0
1958	14.4	17.0	18.0	17.0
1959	14.2	19.5	20.7	18.5
1960	24.9	20.2	20.5	19.0
1961	29.9	18.0	20.5	17.0
1962	32.3	17.0	19.0	17.0
1963	34.6	17.7	19.5	17.7
1964	39.7	20.5	20.7	19.0
1965	51.8	23.2	24.2	23.0
1966	82.8	23.7	25.0	20.0
1967	72.7	23.0	22.5	18.0
1968	[1] 44.3			

[1] Preliminary, through June 2.

Source: Mexico imports, U.S. Bureau of Census; California and Pacific Northwest price quotations, Quick Frozen Foods (monthly); Mexico prices, New York Journal of Commerce.

GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in the Portland Oregonian of June 17, 1968, was published a letter to the editor from Mr. Jim Winton of Cherry Grove, Oreg., dealing with the gun control issue.

I think Mr. Winton's views are very deserving of a reading by the Senate, and therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have his letter printed in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MORSE. In the same issue of the Oregonian was published a column by Mr. C. Norman Senior entitled, "Canada Favors Strong Gun Controls."

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CANADA FAVORS STRONG GUN CONTROLS

(By C. Norman Senior)

VICTORIA, B.C.—Tightening of already stiff Canadian laws for the control of firearms, long in the works at Ottawa, suddenly attained top priority following the assassination of Sen. Robert Kennedy. For several days news of the American tragedy completely overshadowed our own national election, then but three weeks ahead. Popular horror, shock and grief found official expression in the order lowering flags to half mast, a tribute normally reserved for deceased chiefs of state.

Political campaign committees demanded unprecedented security measures from the police for party chiefs. During the Sunday evening television debate by the four national leaders the public was excluded from Ottawa's Parliament Hill, a precaution more drastic than attended the Queen's visit. Prime Minister Trudeau on his "main-streeting" strolls through thronged shopping malls was thenceforward surrounded by a generous corps of security guards.

Although it is exactly 100 years since Canada's only political assassination, a few clumsy bombings and other deplorable demonstrations deny Canadians the right to make smug comparisons. Our authorities, well aware that psychopathic resentment of authority is not confined to one nation, were quick to profit by American experience. A glance at the Canadian situation may likewise yield possible suggestions helpful to others.

Canadians' first spontaneous reaction was overwhelming endorsement of President Johnson's demand for prompt legislative action curbing arms distribution. Simultaneously candidates in the Canadian election competed in the eloquence of their insistence that long incubating amendments to the Criminal Code be proceeded with at once.

Canadians are often amazed at the wide prevalence of hand guns in the homes and cars of their American friends. Canadian disinterest in possession of such weapons is not just due to restrictive legislation. They are not at all convinced by American protestations that such weapons are necessary for self defense. The pistol is not regarded as a defensive weapon.

President Kennedy was surrounded by a small army of men thus armed when he was shot down. It is assumed also that his brother's volunteer bodyguard was similarly equipped. But the robber or the assassin gives no time for the "defensive" weapon to be deployed. That he may be brought down afterwards in vengence does nothing for the original victim.

Nor are Canadians much impressed when American friends proudly assert that the United States Constitution gives every citizen the right "to keep and bear arms." History records that the American Bill of Rights was a modification of an earlier document wrested by the British Parliament from King William III in 1689. That bill (now absorbed into basic Canadian law) restrains the King from levying taxes or maintaining an army "without the consent of Parliament." It states also that "subjects . . . have arms for their defense . . . as allowed by law."

Supremacy of the people's Parliament was preserved. In Canada Parliament has acted. Possession of hand guns without a police permit has been made a crime. Furthermore, conditions for granting a permit are both strict and strictly enforced.

The American Bill of Rights on the contrary begins: "Congress shall enact no law . . ." contravening its provisions which include this clause: "A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

Two points in this document impress Canadians. The nation's democratically-elected Congress is debarred the right to act on a matter of the highest importance. Secondly, it was not the personal safety of the individual that inspired the authors of the legislation, but the right of "the people" collectively to safeguard the state.

American tourists who have their revolvers sequestered at the border are aware of the strict Canadian law. And in looking the other way few Canadians believe any American life will be endangered if law-abiding San Franciscans heed Mayor Alioto's appeal to deposit their small arms with the authorities.

EXHIBIT 1

ONE MORE LAW

To the Editor: The anti-gun group, including Sen. Tydings, Sen. Dodd and several others, are kicking around a figure of around 85 per cent of the people being in favor of their particular type of gun control legislation. I doubt that figure very much, but I will give them one figure they never use.

There are an estimated 20,000 federal, state and local laws already in effect that can be invoked in their respective localities to control misuse of firearms. Few of these laws are invoked.

In Portland a couple of weeks ago a judge gave 12 years to a man who robbed a store and fired several shots at passers-by who tried to prevent his escape. This was his second conviction for armed robbery. Oregon law says "—mandatory life sentence for armed robbery unless the judge has reason to be lenient." That's mandatory?

The robbery was in flagrant violation of Section 902 of the Federal Firearms Act. "—unlawful—for any person convicted of a crime of violence to be in possession of a firearm." Was any effort made to prosecute the culprit in a federal court? Nope.

Oregon and the rest of the nation need only one more law relating to firearms. That is a law with teeth against the criminal use of firearms: A mandatory minimum sentence for committing a felony with a firearm, this in addition to the sentence for the crime itself, armed robbery, assault with a deadly weapon, etc.

Such a bill would get the full support of more than 90 per cent of all the people and 100 per cent of every sportsman group in the United States including the "powerful gun lobby", the National Rifle Association. Such have been introduced in Congress, but the "anti-gun" group would not support them.

JIM WINTON.

CHERRY GROVE.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1968

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, House Concurrent Resolution 805 has been agreed to, has it not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I move, in accordance with the provisions of House Concurrent Resolution 805, as amended, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 noon on Wednesday, September 4, 1968.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 3 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned, in accordance with the provisions of House Concurrent Resolution 805, as amended, until Wednesday, September 4, 1968, at 12 noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate, August 2, 1968:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Clarence F. Pautake, of Washington, to be Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife, Department of the Interior, vice Stanley A. Cain.

THE JUDICIARY

David Stahl of Pennsylvania to be U.S. circuit judge, Third Circuit, vice a new position created under Public Law 90–347 approved June 18. 1968.

William J. Holloway, Jr., of Oklahoma, to be U.S. circuit court judge, 10th Circuit, vice a new position created under Public Law 90–347 approved June 18, 1968.

Lawrence Gubow, of Michigan, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Michigan, vice Wade H. McCree, Jr., elevated.

David G. Bress, of the District of Columbia, to be U.S. district judge for the District of Columbia, vice Joseph C. McGarraghy.

Samuel B. Sterrett, of Maryland, to be a judge of the Tax Court of the United States for the unexpired term of 12 years from June 2, 1958, vice John Gregory Bruce, retired.

George R. Gallagher of Maryland to be associate judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals for the term of 10 years, vice a new position created under Public Law 90–178 approved December 8, 1967.

Raymond H. Lapin, of California, to be President of the Federal National Mortgage Association.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate, August 2, 1968:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Joseph W. Bartlett, of Massachusetts, to be Under Secretary of Commerce.

Frederick Simpich, of the District of Columbia, to be General Counsel of the Department of Commerce.

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD

John H. Crooker, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board for the term of 6 years expiring December 31, 1974.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

Kenneth H. Tuggle, of Kentucky, to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner for the term of 7 years expiring December 31, 1975.

Wallace R. Burke, of Connecticut, to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner for the term of 7 years expiring December 31, 1974.

U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE

James L. Latchum, of Delaware, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Delaware.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

John A. Carver, Jr., of Idaho, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 22, 1973.

NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

Francis A. O'Neill, Jr., of New York, to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring July 1, 1971.

U.S. ARMY

The following-named officers, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grade as follows:

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. Beverley Evans Powell, O20237, U.S. Army.

Maj. Gen. Michael Shannon Davison, O22051, U.S. Army.

Lt. Gen. John William Bowen, O18904, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army), to be placed on the retired list in the grade of lieutenant general under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3962.

U.S. NAVY

Rear Adm. David C. Richardson, U.S. Navy, and Rear Adm. James W. O'Grady, U.S. Navy, having been designated for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

Vice Adm. Frederick L. Ashworth, U.S. Navy, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral on the retired list, in accordance with the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5233.

Vice Adm. John T. Hayward, U.S. Navy, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral on the retired list, in accordance with title 10, United States Code, section 5233.

Rear Adm. Richard G. Colbert, U.S. Navy, having been designated for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

Rear Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., U.S. Navy, having been designated for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

U.S. Marine Corps

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for temporary appointment to the grade of major general, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Robert G. Owens, Jr.
Earl E. Anderson
Michael P. Ryan
John R. Chaisson
Oscar F. Peatross
Edwin B. Wheeler

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for temporary appointment to the grade of brigadier general:

Robert F. Conley
Fred E. Haynes, Jr.
Lawrence F. Snoddy, Jr.
Ross T. Dwyer, Jr.
Samuel Jaskilka
Kenneth J. Houghton
Joseph C. Fegan, Jr.
Leslie E. Brown
Jay W. Hubbard

In the Environmental Science Services Administration

The nominations beginning Robert J. Barday, to be lieutenant (junior grade), and ending James P. Travers, to be ensign, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on July 25, 1968.

In the Coast Guard

The nominations beginning Alan F. Miller, to be lieutenant commander, and ending W. S. McClure, to be lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on July 24, 1968.

In the Air Force

The nominations beginning Raymond R. Flowers, Jr., to be 1st lieutenant, and ending Robert J. Wubker, to be captain, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on July 25, 1968.

In the Navy

The nominations beginning Rodger L. Alspach, to be captain, and ending John F. Wurzel, to be captain, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on July 25, 1968.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Friday, August 2, 1968*

The House met at 11 o'clock a.m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; for His mercy endureth forever.—Psalm 107: 1.

Eternal God, our Father, as we bring to a close this portion of the 90th Congress and look forward to a recess of a few weeks we turn again to Thee in prayer, as we have every day of this year, to acknowledge our dependence upon Thee and to offer unto Thee the devotion of our hearts. Thou hast been wonderfully good to us and our spirits rejoice, our minds give thanks, and our hearts take courage.

We thank Thee for the high privilege which has been ours to walk together and to work together in the service of our beloved country. We pray that our efforts may strengthen our Nation, improve the moral fiber of our people, increase law and order in our land, and meet the needs of all our citizens.

Now may the Lord bless us and keep us and return us with new vigor, new strength, and new enthusiasm on September 4.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks.

The message announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16361) entitled "An act to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 18785. An act making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 18785) entitled "An act making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes," request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. Bible, Mr. Russell, Mr. Ellender, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Yarborough, Mr. Hayden, Mr. Symington, Mr. Young of North Dakota, and Mr. Kuchel to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 15147) entitled "An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide for the naturalization of persons who have served in combat areas in active-duty service in the Armed Forces of the United States, and for other purposes," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. Eastland, Mr. McClellan, and Mr. Dirksen to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed joint resolutions of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S.J. Res. 191. Joint resolution authorizing erection of a statue of Benito Pablo Juarez on public grounds in the District of Columbia; and

S.J. Res. 197. Joint resolution to correct certain references in section 4(i) of the act entitled "An act to amend chapter 37 of title 38 of the United States Code with respect to the veterans' home loan program, to amend the National Housing Act with respect to interest rates on insured mortgages, and for other purposes," approved May 7, 1968.

THE CRISIS OF THE NATION'S AIRPORTS

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it is no secret that the Nation's airports face a congestion crisis that is fast approaching a catastrophe.

Mr. Speaker, it is entirely appropriate that the House acted yesterday during the consideration of the Department of Transportation conference report to exempt air traffic controllers from pending personnel cutbacks. But this is an emergency measure which can only stave off the likelihood of disaster. Unless more fundamental action is taken, particularly with respect to the lengthening of runways and the building of new airports, our air transportation system faces the danger of collapse.

Mr. Speaker, legislation has been introduced in both the House and the other body to place the burden of financing new airport construction more fairly on increased user charges.

I would like to commend West Virginia's senior Senator, Jennings Randolph, for his persistant efforts and his initiative in drafting such legislation. His bill, S. 3641, favorably reported by the Senate Commerce Committee, is deserving of strong support to meet this crisis before it overtakes us. I have introduced identical legislation, H.R. 19203, and other Members have sponsored similar legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I am disturbed that this legislation apparently will not pass in the current session, which simply means that the airport crisis is going to get worse. The conference report on the Department of Transportation bill included only $30 million for fiscal 1970 rather than $65 million for fiscal year 1969. To begin with, the sum of $65 million is inadequate and does not scratch the surface of the airport needs of the future. To cut this small amount over 100 percent seems to me to be sheer folly in the face of the stark facts of the crisis. It is true that Federal aid to airport funding is 1 year in advance—thus the $65 million is for the fiscal year 1969 and only $30 million for the fiscal year 1970. The purpose of forward funding is to enable communities throughout the Nation to plan ahead—yet the rising demands have so far outrun the supply of funds that advance planning can scarcely be carried very far.

This underlines the urgency of passing user charge legislation if we are to take any sensible steps to avert the crisis which is upon us.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 18706, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS 1969

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 18706) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

Conference Report (H. Rept. No. 1841)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18706) "making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 5, 6, 7, 10, 15, 16, and 17 and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 4: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposd by said amendment insert "$31,770,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 8: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$104,531,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 9: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 9, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$108,676,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 11: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$121,356,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$98,510,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 13: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$44,307,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "$7,046,020"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 1, 2, and 3.

William H. Natcher,
Robert N. Giaimo,
Edward J. Patten,
David Pryor,
George Mahon,
Joseph M. McDade,
Donald W. Riegle, Jr.,
Managers on the Part of the House.
Robert C. Byrd,
William Proxmire,
Ralph W. Yarborough,
William B. Spong, Jr.,
Roman L. Hruska,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

Statement

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 18706) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

Amendment No. 1—*Federal payment to the District of Columbia:* Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment appropriating $79,000,000 instead of $75,000,000 as proposed by the House and $80,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendments Nos. 2 and 3—*Loans to the District of Columbia for capital outlay:* Reported in technical disagreement. The managers on the part of the House will offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment providing loan appropriations of $66,473,000 instead of $67,390,000 as proposed by the House and $70,473,000 as proposed by the Senate, of which $57,223,000 shall be advanced to the general fund instead of $58,140,000 as proposed by the House and $61,223,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendments Nos. 4 and 5—*General operating expenses:* Appropriate $31,770,000 instead of $31,703,000 as proposed by the House and $31,827,738 as proposed by the Senate and provide that $2,500 of this appropriation may be available for unvouchered expenditures by the Chairman of the City Council as proposed by the Senate instead of $5,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendments Nos. 6 and 7—*Public safety:* Provide that this appropriation shall be available for the purchase of one hundred and eighty-four passenger motor vehicles (including one hundred and seventy-five for police-type use) as proposed by the Senate instead of one hundred and nine (including one hundred for police-type use) as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 8—*Public safety:* Appropriates $104,531,000 instead of $100,475,000 as proposed by the House and $104,682,829 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 9—*Education:* Appropriates $108,676,000 instead of $108,400,000 as proposed by the House and $108,969,385 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 10—*Parks and recreation:* Appropriates $16,983,988 as proposed by the Senate instead of $17,041,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 11—*Health and welfare:* Appropriates $121,356,000 instead of $122,343,000 as proposed by the House and $121,441,870 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 12—*Capital outlay:* Appropriates $98,510,000 instead of $90,572,000 as proposed by the House and $105,936,000 as proposed by the Senate. The increase over the House includes the following: Public schools, $3,116,000; Sanitary Engineering, $4,600,000; and renovation of old Emery School, $222,000.

Amendment No. 13—*Capital outlay:* Provides $44,307,000 of this appropriation shall not be available for expenditure until July 1, 1969 instead of $32,114,000 as proposed by the House and $46,995,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 14—*Capital outlay:* Provides $7,046,020 of this appropriation shall be available for construction services instead of $6,765,320 as proposed by the House and $9,472,020 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendments Nos. 15, 16, and 17—*General provisions:* Provide increases as proposed by the Senate in allowances for privately owned automobiles used for performance of official duties from 8 to 10 cents per mile and lifts the limit per month from $25 to $35 for each automobile and increases from $410 to $550 per annum the amount of allowances that can be paid Health and Welfare investigators.

William H. Natcher,
Robert N. Giaimo,
Edward J. Patten,
David Pryor,
George Mahon,
Joseph M. McDade,
Donald W. Riegle, Jr.,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the House considered budget estimates totaling $594,662,000 for the District of Columbia for fiscal year 1969 and approved the sum of $528,886,000. The bill provided for a Federal payment of $75 million which was $5 million above the budget estimate, but also $5 million below the authorization bill as it passed the House.

The Senate considered estimates totaling $606,191,000 and approved a bill containing the sum of $548,193,810, and the Federal payment approved by the other body amounted to $80 million. They also based their bill on the House version of the revenue bill. Since that time the conference agreement on the revenue bill sets the Federal payment authorization at $90 million.

The Federal payment approved in conference and now recommended to the House is $79 million. The total amount provided for in the conference report for the District of Columbia for fiscal year 1969 is $540,178,988. This is $8,014,822 below the amount approved in the Senate bill and $11,292,988 more than the amount approved in the House bill. At this point in the Record I will insert a tabulation showing the various stages of the bill by appropriations:

District of Columbia appropriation bill, fiscal year 1969 (H.R. 18706)

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

Item	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in House bill	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in Senate bill	New budget (obligational) authority recommended by conference action	Conference action compared with—			
						New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in House bill	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in Senate bill
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
FEDERAL FUNDS									
FEDERAL PAYMENT TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA									
General fund	[1] $70,000,000	$70,000,000	$75,000,000	$80,000,000	$79,000,000	+$9,000,000	+$9,000,000	+$4,000,000	−$1,000,000
Water fund	2,205,000	2,098,000	2,098,000	2,098,000	2,098,000	−107,000			
Sanitary sewage works fund	1,294,000	1,184,000	1,184,000	1,184,000	1,184,000	−110,000			
Total, Federal payment to District of Columbia	73,499,000	73,282,000	78,282,000	83,282,000	82,282,000	+8,783,000	+9,000,000	+4,000,000	−1,000,000
LOANS TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FOR CAPITAL OUTLAY (FROM THE U.S. TREASURY)									
General fund	[2] 66,588,000	94,429,000	58,140,000	61,223,000	57,223,000	−9,365,000	−37,206,000	−917,000	−4,000,000
Highway fund	14,300,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	−6,300,000			
Water fund	2,000,000	1,250,000	1,250,000	1,250,000	1,250,000	−750,000			
Total, loan appropriation to District of Columbia	82,888,000	103,679,000	67,390,000	70,473,000	66,473,000	−16,415,000	−37,206,000	−917,000	−4,000,000
Grand total, new budget (obligational) authority, Federal funds	156,387,000	176,961,000	145,672,000	153,755,000	148,755,000	−7,632,000	−28,206,000	+3,083,000	−5,000,000
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FUNDS									
OPERATING EXPENSES									
General operating expenses	*27,970,258*	*33,299,000*	*31,703,000*	*31,827,738*	*31,770,000*	*+3,799,742*	*−1,529,000*	*+67,000*	*−57,738*
Public safety	*98,988,276*	[3] *113,023,000*	*100,475,000*	*104,682,829*	*104,531,000*	*+5,542,724*	*−8,492,000*	*+4,056,000*	*−151,829*
Education	*103,021,900*	*112,314,000*	*108,400,000*	*108,969,385*	*108,676,000*	*+5,654,100*	*−3,638,000*	*+276,000*	*−293,385*
Parks and recreation	*15,473,900*	*19,044,000*	*17,041,000*	*16,983,988*	*16,983,988*	*+1,510,088*	*−2,060,012*	*−57,012*	
Health and welfare	*106,884,600*	*127,415,000*	*122,343,000*	*121,441,870*	*121,356,000*	*+14,471,400*	*−6,059,000*	*−987,000*	*−85,870*
Highways and traffic	*16,689,400*	*17,765,000*	*17,621,000*	*17,621,000*	*17,621,000*	*+931,600*	*−144,000*		
Sanitary engineering	*27,441,930*	*31,207,000*	*30,735,000*	*30,735,000*	*30,735,000*	*+3,293,070*	*−472,000*		
Metropolitan Police (additional municipal services, Imperial Shrine Convention)	*237,700*					*−237,700*			
Metropolitan Police (additional municipal services, inaugural ceremonies)		*440,000*	*440,000*	*440,000*	*440,000*	*+440,000*			
Personal services, wage-board employees	*1,613,000*	*787,000*	*787,000*	*787,000*	*787,000*	*−826,000*			
Settlement of claims and suits	*36,800*					*−36,800*			
Total, operating expenses	[4] *398,357,764*	[5] *455,294,000*	*429,545,000*	*433,488,810*	*432,899,988*	*+34,542,224*	*−22,394,012*	*+3,354,988*	*−588,822*
REPAYMENT OF LOANS AND INTEREST									
Reimbursement to the United States	*7,760,000*	*8,868,000*	*8,769,000*	*8,769,000*	*8,769,000*	*+1,009,000*	*−99,000*		
CAPITAL OUTLAY									
Capital outlay	[6] *112,750,500*	[7] *142,029,000*	*90,572,000*	*105,936,000*	*98,510,000*	*−14,240,500*	*−43,519,000*	*+7,938,000*	*−7,426,000*
Grand total, District of Columbia funds	*518,868,264*	*606,191,000*	*528,886,000*	*548,193,810*	*540,178,988*	*+21,310,724*	*−66,012,012*	*+11,292,988*	*−8,014,822*

---

[1] Includes $6,020,800 contained in the 2d supplemental bill, 1968.

[2] Includes $3, 688,000 contained in the 2d supplemental bill, 1968.

[3] Includes $11,529,000 submitted in H. Doc. 346.

[4] Includes $17,066,964 contained in the 2d supplemental bill, 1968, broken down as follows:

General operating expenses	$1,535,558
Public safety	6,466,076
Education	5,690,000
Parks and recreation	353,000
Health and welfare	2,214,000
Highways and traffic	62,100
Sanitary engineering	709,430
Settlement of claims and suits	36,800
Total	17,066,964

[5] Includes $2,288,000 submitted in H. Doc. 318, broken down as follows:

General operating expenses	$599,000
Education	902,000
Personal services, wage-board employees	787,000
Total	2,288,000

[6] Includes $847,000 contained in the 2d supplemental bill, 1968.

[7] Includes a $1,531,000 reduction submitted in H. Doc. 318.

A major increase over the House—$4,097,232—is for the employment of 1,000 additional policemen and 50 civilian positions for the Metropolitan Police Department to relieve police officers for police-type activities. The request for these additional policemen arrived too late for consideration in the House. Recruitment has been much more successful during recent months. As of this morning there were only 89 vacancies in the currently authorized strength of 3,100 and 35 recruits are awaiting appointment.

Another major increase that was presented to the other body pertained to the Fort Lincoln urban renewal area. This amount was $7,426,000, and was not presented to or considered by the House. It pertained to new schools, a recreation center, new library, and other facilities in that urban renewal area.

The conferees, on the other side yielded in conference on this amount. This $7,426,000 was the largest amount in controversy.

Other increases over the House bill include $276,000 for education, which provides additional instructional supplies and books, 10 additional librarians, and 10 teachers for the perceptually handicapped. An additional $3,116,000 has been allowed for public school construction—$615,000 for prekindergarten suites, $2,078,000 for the Benning School replacement, and $423,000 for equipment in schools due to be completed in November or December of 1969. Considerable leadtime is required for these items in order that they well be available by those dates.

The conferees have also agreed to the request of $4,600,000 for the conversion of the "O" Street incinerator to a bailing and barging facility to provide a substitute for the Kenilworth and Oxon Hill sanitary landfills which will be completely filled by May of 1969. This project was submitted to the Senate after the House had acted as was true of the conversion of the old Emery School into a community center. A total of $222,000 is included for this latter project.

Now, briefly, Mr. Speaker, these are the main items that were in controversy.

Mr. Speaker, I want you to know that down through the years it has been an honor for our committee to work with Senator ROBERT C. BYRD and the members of his subcommittee. He is an outstanding Member of the Senate and is a credit to his State. He is diligent, fair, and conducts good hearings on his bill, and, he and the members of his committee have presented a good bill for the fiscal year 1969. Our staff consultant Mr. Silsby and the staff assistant on the Senate side, Mr. Merrick, always have worked together well and for the best interest of the Congress of our Capital City.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend the adoption of this conference report.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I yield to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I have a couple of questions, perhaps three.

I note amendment No. 10 appropriates almost $17 million for parks and recreation.

Is the Recreation Department of the District of Columbia government to get $1,300,000, or approximately that amount, to buy a carbarn from O. Roy Chalk?

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, the answer to the gentleman's question is "No."

I want to say to my friend, the gentleman from Iowa, that this particular request, when presented to our committee, was given a priority listing of No. 1. Some 15 projects were requested for the Recreation Department, and this item of $1,302,000 to purchase this carbarn for a recreation center was No. 1.

I want the gentleman to know that we went into this matter carefully. I say to you quite frankly that I am surprised they sent it up here and expected us to accept it. We turned it down; and I want the distinguished gentleman from Iowa to know that the other body turned it down, too. It is not in the bill.

Mr. GROSS. I want to compliment the committee. I have seen this structure both from the inside and out, and while I am not expert on real estate value, it does not appear to me to be a $1,300,000 piece of property. I compliment the committee on its action in denying funds to purchase this one-time streetcar barn.

Now what happened, if I may ask the gentleman, with respect to funds for the rapid transit system in the District?

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I would like the gentleman to know that this conference report on this bill for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year 1969 contains no money for construction for the rapid transit system.

The amount requested of our committee at the time the bill was presented was $27,574,000. The amount as presented and approved by the Federal Government through another committee was reduced, thereby bringing the overall amount of the request for the District of Columbia down to $21,886,000.

Our committee, as the gentleman has heard me say on more than one occasion, believes that here in our Capital City there is a place both for rapid transit and for a freeway system. But under no circumstances would we recommend to the House a rapid transit system costing, under the authorization, $431,000,000 when they have stopped the freeway system. Both systems are important and will benefit our Capital City.

As soon as the freeway program goes underway, beyond recall then we will come back to the House and request that construction funds for rapid transit be approved.

There is no money in this bill for construction for rapid transit.

Since the gentleman has mentioned this, Mr. Speaker, I want to call to his attention one matter that I know he remembers well.

At the time the rapid transit system was authorized, the gentleman from Iowa was one of the Members who rose and asked about the total cost of this rapid transit system.

Those in charge of the bill explained that the amount would be $431 million for a 25.3-mile system with $100 million to come from the Federal Government, $50 million from the District of Columbia, and the balance of $181 million would be in bonds. The gentleman recalls that. That is the subway that was authorized by the Congress.

I want the distinguished gentleman from Iowa to know that on March 1 of this year this agency agreed to a subway that would entail a total cost of about $2.5 billion.

Mr. GROSS. Is that $2.5 billion?

Mr. NATCHER. It is $2.5 billion. That amount was not authorized by the Congress. It also provides for a system of 97 miles. The overall amount would be divided as follows. The gentleman from Iowa should know that as proposed now $209,000,000 would come from the District of Columbia and $850,000,000 would be represented by bonds; $575,000,000 would come from the local governments and the remaining amount of $1,150,000,000 would be discussed with the Transportation and Housing departments and the Bureau of the Budget to see if grants in this amount could be obtained.

At the time the legislative committee on the District of Columbia brought this bill out and it was authorized, the system provided for a total cost of $431 million. The gentleman asked questions at that time. I want the gentleman to know that our committee can recommend at the proper time, as soon as they start the freeway system, the amounts authorized by the Congress. But as far as this system involving $2.5 billion is concerned, I want the gentleman from Iowa to know that the Transit Authority must come back to Congress. With the permission of the gentleman from Iowa, I would like to yield to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON], a member of the committee.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make a comment on this point: The Interior Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee has appropriated—I do not remember how many, but many millions of dollars for the rapid transit system. Am I correct in assuming that, in view of the action today, the money the Interior Subcommittee appropriated will not be expended?

Mr. NATCHER. The gentleman is correct. Under the report accompanying the bill on the Interior appropriation for 1969 there was a stipulation to the effect that the share of the Federal Government would not be appropriated and would not be expended until the District of Columbia's share was forthcoming.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. NATCHER. I yield further to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. One final question, if the chairman will permit. Did any funds creep into this appropriation bill as a result of the conference to pay the expenses of the so-called poor march that was staged on Washington?

Mr. NATCHER. I want the distinguished gentleman to know that this bill does not contain one dime for that purpose.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman from Kentucky for his clear, forthright answer to this and the previous questions I have asked. I again want to commend him and the members of his subcommittee for their good work, especially in view of the pressures that have been exorted upon them.

Mr. NATCHER. I want to thank the gentleman for his assistance at all times on this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to yield to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from Kentucky and others who have worked with him for the good job they have done on the pending bill.

RÉSUMÉ OF THE APPROPRIATIONS BUSINESS

Mr. Speaker, since Congress will conclude its work for a time today, I thought it appropriate to briefly summarize the status of the appropriation bills.

The House and the Senate have completed action on eight of the 13 regular appropriation bills for fiscal 1969. In the eight bills on which action has been completed, we considered budget requests for new budget authority of $19.9 billion. We made reductions of $2.6 billion. That cut in new requests would translate into reductions from the 1969 budget estimates of expenditures in 1969 of about $1.1 billion. This would count toward the $6 billion expenditure reduction goal as provided in the tax-expenditure reduction bill.

There are five bills pending. Two are in conference—the independent offices—HUD bill and the military construction bill.

One of the five bills for labor-HEW, has been reported in the Senate.

The largest of the session, the Defense appropriation bill, is reported and is pending House floor action. We cannot proceed with that bill until the conference report on the defense authorization bill has been cleared.

One bill, foreign assistance, is yet to be reported. We are also awaiting clearance of the related authorization bill.

Of course, there will be a closing supplemental near the end of the session.

HOUSE ACTIONS ON APPROPRIATIONS

Taking House actions alone, I would like to make this statement. As to new budget authority requests for fiscal 1969, the House has cut $11.6 billion on 12 bills, including the reported version of the Defense bill—considerably above the $10 billion reduction goal in the tax-expenditure reduction bill.

The foreign assistance and the closing supplemental bills, when reported, will bring the total House reduction in new budget authority requests probably close to $13 billion—perhaps a bit less. That would be, roughly, $3 billion above the tax bill requirement of $10 billion in respect to new budget authority requests for fiscal 1969.

As to expenditures rather than new budget authority, our best estimate at this time is that in the 12 bills, the House will have reduced budgeted expenditures for 1969 by about $3.7 billion. That figure should approach $4 billion when the other two bills, foreign assistance, and the closing supplemental, are reported.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. RIEGLE].

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say to my colleagues that I think we have a good conference report here. Careful hearings were held by the subcommittee. I think a careful effort was made to recognize and to allocate dollars to the most pressing human needs in the District.

In the conference with the Senate, a reasonable balance was struck. I think we have a good report.

Speaking for myself, but knowing that I reflect the sentiments of the other Members on the minority side, I wish to commend the chairman for his leadership in drafting both the House version of the bill and also in reaching a good balance on the conference report. As a freshman member of the minority, I especially appreciate the chairman's wise counsel and support, and the courtesy he has extended to me in our work together.

I also want to commend Mr. Silsby of the committee staff for the fine job he has done this year in serving the committee and in preparing this bill and the conference report.

So I am pleased to recommend to my colleagues that we pass this report today and get on with doing the job here in the District of Columbia.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RIEGLE. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, it has always been my belief that in its capacity of promoting the general welfare the proper role of the Federal Government is to encourage, support, reinforce, and guarantee individual and mutual self-help efforts. As the people being helped approach self-sufficiency, the Government incentives should be correspondingly phased out and the investment repaid. Thus, the job of the legislator is to devise programs that will actually help people who want to help themselves and to insure that the incentives given can be phased out.

Yesterday I introduced a bill to establish community development corporations organized by the people of urban and rural communities to provide neighborhood service so needed by our urban and rural poverty areas. At the same time these stock corporations will give the people of the community a stake in that community. It will take the burden off of the back of the Federal Government to improve conditions in the ghetto areas. Instead the Federal Government would be supporting by guarantees and tax incentives—not cash—private corporations organized and supported by people in the community to improve that community.

This is a fine example of the new ideas that have been coming from the Republican Party over the past few years. I think this program is workable and I think it should be tried.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

AMENDMENTS IN DISAGREEMENT

The **SPEAKER.** The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Senate amendment No. 1: One page 1, line 9, strike "$75,000,000" and insert "$80,000,000".

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. NATCHER

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. NATCHER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$79,000,000".

The motion was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER.** The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Senate amendment No. 2: On page 2, line 11, strike "$67,390,000" and insert "$70,473,000".

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. NATCHER

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. NATCHER moves that the House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$66,473,000".

The motion was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER.** The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Senate amendment No. 3: On page 2, line 15, strike out "$58,140,000" and insert "$61,223,000;".

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. NATCHER

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. NATCHER moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$57,223,000".

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the votes by which action was taken on the conference report and on the several motions was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to extend their remarks on the conference report just passed.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 1282) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

> *Resolved,* That Robert O. Tiernan, of Rhode Island, be, and he is hereby, elected to the standing committee of the House of Representatives on Post Office and Civil Service.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

STEEL PRICE INCREASES ARBITRARY AND UNWARRANTED

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, Americans are currently enjoying the longest, continuous economic expansion in our history. Wages are high. Employment is rising, and unemployment is steadily declining.

Whether we continue along this prosperous road depends on whether we can maintain the great partnership of management and labor and government which has largely created the expansion. The sudden, arbitrary, and unnecessary price increase announced, first by Bethlehem Steel, and then by other steel companies—at a time when profits are already soaring—is a grave threat to the equilibrium of the American economy.

I hope that the officers of those companies will heed the pleas of President Johnson and the sound advice of the Council of Economic Advisers to rescind this inflationary increase. A return to the old cycle of boom and bust, of inflation and recession, will profit no one—least of all the management and stockholders of the Nation's steel companies.

As President Johnson said:

> The price increase is unreasonable and just should not be permitted to stand.

COMPLAINT DESK ANNOUNCED FOR GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call attention to the opening of a complaint desk at the Civil Service Commission to receive complaints from Federal employees and the public involving the Federal personnel system. This office, which will report directly to Commission

Chairman Macy, is an important development for two reasons. First, it is recognition that a governmentwide unit to consider greivances by public employees and private citizens is both feasible and a proper activity. The second is that there is a need for Civil Service Commission review of employee complaints implicit in the creation of this office.

This new channel for Government employees to express their problems, seek assistance, and determine their rights only partially covers problems about which a governmentwide complaint desk should investigate. Such a complaint desk should be created where Federal employees and other citizens can submit information about waste or inefficiency in the administration of Government programs. Management operations and expenditure of public funds are reviewed and audited by the General Accounting Office where this complaint desk should be formed. I have introduced H.R. 16754 which directs the Comptroller General to receive information and promptly investigate any statement, recommendation, or complaint submitted to him by any person concerning waste and inefficiency in the use of Government funds or property. I hope the House soon will give Government employees and concerned citizens their full opportunity to point out where problems exist so they may be ferreted out by the General Accounting Office and properly reported to Congress.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 305]

Ashley
Baring
Battin
Blanton
Bolton
Brock
Brown, Mich.
Burke, Fla.
Burton, Utah
Clancy
Collier
Conte
Cowger
Cramer
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dent
Devine
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Edwards, Calif.
Esch
Eshleman
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Feighan
Fino
Flood
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gardner
Goodell
Griffiths
Gude
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Hathaway
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Herlong
Holland
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
MacGregor
Machen
Mathias, Md.
Minshall
Moore
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Nix
Patman
Price, Ill.
Quie
Quillen
Rarick
Resnick
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roudebush
Schadeberg
Selden
Skubitz
Taft
Talcott
Waggonner
Waldie
Watkins
Watson
Wright
Wylie
Zion

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall, 346 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

THE STEEL PRICE HIKE MUST BE BLOCKED

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, certain steel companies seem to be acting as the bully boys of the American economy. They think that they are big enough to get away with economic aggression—to beat the consumer and the businessman and swagger off with the spoils of victory.

But this time they may be wrong. This time the greedy Goliaths will find millions of Davids united in their determination to keep prices down.

The people should refuse to be "patsies" for the profiteers of steel.

The consumer should refuse to buy the products that will cost him an extra $1.3 billion because of the steel price increase.

The homebuilder, the automaker, and the appliance manufacturer should all turn their irritation into counteraction—by adapting plastics, glass, concrete, aluminum, and other materials to their needs.

The Congress should refuse to offer protection from foreign competition to an industry that flouts the public interest at home.

The steel industry has played the bully boy long enough. It should learn to behave as a responsible sector of society. It should learn respect for the people and the Government—for the national interest that is now in jeopardy because the dollar may be weakened, the balance of payments threatened, the risk of inflation increased, the scales of price and wages upset, family budgets strained, and the tax bill made a mockery—all because some companies think they can walk over the rest of us.

It is time for us in Congress to stand up as elected leaders of the people—leaders who will do all in our considerable power to turn back this selfish and irresponsible action. The steel price increase must not be allowed to stand.

STEEL PRICE INCREASES ENDANGER THE NATION'S ECONOMIC WELFARE

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, the announced across-the-board price increases by several of the Nation's major steel companies pose a dire threat to the American economy and the security and welfare of all our people.

These companies have acted irresponsibly and without the slightest regard to the public interest. Their decision to increase prices is not justified by their profit statements, and is unacceptable by any reckoning of the state of the overall economy.

I urge these steel firms to immediately rescind this extremely unfortunate and unreasonable decision.

Certainly, as business leaders the steel company executives must realize that their actions could lead to a dreadful inflationary spiral that will cripple the economy, and cause terrible hardship and suffering for millions of Americans. As a bellwether industry, steel has the responsibility of acting with caution and concern in considering any price increase.

It is obvious that they have not done so. And an aroused Nation is right in demanding that steel executives go back to their conference tables and reconsider, and rescind their price increases.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS TO FILE CERTAIN INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS UNTIL MIDNIGHT, AUGUST 9, AND FOR SAID REPORTS TO BE PRINTED AS REPORTS OF 90TH CONGRESS

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the adjournment of the House until September 4, 1968, the Committee on Government Operations be permitted to file certain investigative reports with the Clerk until midnight, August 9, and that said reports may be printed as reports of the 90th Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

REQUEST FOR CONFERENCE ON H.R. 17126, TO AMEND THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ACT OF 1965

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 17126) to amend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

TO AMEND TITLE 38, UNITED STATES CODE, TO PROVIDE INCREASES IN RATES OF COMPENSATION FOR DISABLED VETERANS

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 16027) to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, concur in the Senate amendments Nos. 1 and 2, and disagree to the Senate amendment No. 3.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 4, after the line following line 3, insert:

"SEC. 4. (a) Section 314(q) and section 356 of title 38, United States Code, are hereby repealed.

"(b) The repeals made by subsection (a) of this section shall not apply in the case of any veteran who, on the date of enactment of this Act, was receiving or entitled to receive compensation for tuberculosis which in the judgment of the Administrator had reached a condition of complete arrest."

Page 4, after the line following line 3, insert:

"Sec. 5. Any veteran determined by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to have received overpayments of educational benefits under former chapter 33 of title 38, United States Code, in connection with the institutional on-farm training program conducted by the Tangipahoa Parish School Board, Amite, Louisiana, shall be relieved of all liability to the United States for the amount of such overpayment, remaining due on the effective date of this section, if he makes application for relief within two years following the date of enactment of this Act, and if the Administrator finds that such veteran—

"(1) owned, or operated under a valid lease, a farm which met the requirements of the law and implementing Veterans' Administration regulations;

"(2) was engaged in the cultivation of such farm and was not employed on a full-time basis in a non-farm occupation; and

"(3) participated in the institutional instruction furnished by the Tangipahoa Parish School Board in connection with the institutional on-farm training program, even though such instruction may not have met all of the requirements of the law and implementing Veterans' Administration regulations.

"In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this section."

Page 4, after the line following line 3, insert:

"Sec. 6. (a) Chapter 34 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof of a new subchapter V as follows:

" 'Subchapter V.—Incentive Benefits for Veterans Serving as Teachers, Policemen, and Firemen in Certain Areas

" '§ 1690. Purpose; definitions

" '(a) This subchapter is intended to furnish special encouragement, by the payment of incentive benefits and supplementary training allowances, to veterans who are willing to serve for a prescribed period of time as teachers in certain elementary and secondary public schools or as policemen or firemen in deprived areas of the United States.

" '(b) For the purposes of this subchapter—

" '(1) The term "qualified veteran" means a veteran who is an "eligible veteran" as defined in section 1652(a) of this title.

" '(2) The term "deprived area" means any political subdivision of a State which has a crime rate of more than 1,500 per 100,000 population, as determined by the Administrator from year to year on the basis of the Crime Index contained in the Uniform Crime Reports, compiled and published annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

" '(3) The terms "policeman" and "fireman" mean persons employed as regular full-time policemen or firemen, as the case may be, by a State or local subdivision thereof.

" '(4) The term "at least two years" means not less than two consecutive academic years in the case of a qualified veteran who agrees to serve as a teacher under this subchapter, and not less than twenty-four consecutive months in the case of a qualified veteran who agrees to serve as a policeman or fireman under this subchapter.

" '§ 1691. Public service incentive benefits

" '(a) The Administrator may, by regulation, provide incentive benefits for qualified veterans who agree to serve for a period of at least two years——

" '(1) as a full-time teacher in an elementary or secondary public school which is receiving assistance under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended;

" '(2) as a policeman in a deprived area; or

" '(3) as a fireman in a deprived area.

" '(b) Payment of incentive benefits under this section—

" '(1) may not exceed the rates set forth in section 1683 of this title and may not in the case of any qualified veteran be paid for more than twenty-four months;

" '(2) may not extend (A) over a period of more than three academic years in the case of a qualified veteran serving as a teacher, or (B) over a period of more than two years in the case of a qualified veteran serving as a policeman or fireman;

" '(3) may not be made to a qualified veteran serving as a teacher under this subchapter for any month or months following the end of the regular academic year of the school in which he has been teaching unless he is actually serving as a teacher in such school during such month or months; and

" '(4) may be paid only to a qualified veteran on the basis of his service as teacher, policeman, or fireman subsequent to the date of enactment of this section.

" '(c) The Administrator may continue to pay a qualified veteran incentive benefits under section 1691 of this title for the period covered by the agreement entered into between the Administrator and the veteran even though the school in which such veteran is teaching is no longer receiving assistance under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended, or the area in which such veteran is serving as a policeman or fireman is no longer a deprived area for the purposes of this subchapter, if (1) at the time such veteran began teaching in such school pursuant to an agreement entered into under section 1691 of this title such school was receiving assistance under such Act, or the area in which such veteran is serving as a policeman or fireman was a deprived area for purposes of this subchapter at the time such veteran began his service therein pursuant to an agreement entered into under section 1691 of this title, as the case may be, and (2) such veteran otherwise qualifies for such benefits.

" '§ 1692. Supplementary training allowance

" '(a) Any qualified veteran who is pursuing, on a full-time basis, as defined by the Administrator, a program of education (or a combination of education and training) which would qualify him for service as a teacher, policeman, or fireman and who agrees to pursue such service for at least two years after the completion of his program (1) as a teacher in an elementary or secondary public school receiving assistance under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended, or (2) as a policeman or fireman in a deprived area, as the case may be, may receive a supplementary training allowance of $50 per month while pursuing such program. Such supplementary training allowance shall be in addition to the educational assistance allowance to which the veteran is entitled under section 1682 of this title.

" '(b) No allowance authorized pursuant to subsection (a) of this section may be paid for any period of education or training longer than the period the qualified veteran has agreed to serve in a deprived area, and in no event shall a qualified veteran be paid a supplementary training allowance under this section for any period after his eligibility for education and training under this chapter has expired.

" '§1693. General provisions

" '(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a qualified veteran employed by the District of Columbia to serve as a teacher, policeman, or fireman may receive an incentive benefit or a supplementary training allowance under this subchapter in addition to his compensation for such service.

" '(b) In the event a qualified veteran breaches his agreement to serve in a deprived area, any amount paid to him by way of supplementary training allowance pursuant to section 1692 of this chapter shall be considered an overpayment and recoverable as a debt to the Government unless waived pursuant to section 3902(a) of this title.'

"(b) The analysis at the beginning of chapter 34, title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

" 'SUBCHAPTER V.—INCENTIVE BENEFITS FOR VETERANS SERVING AS TEACHERS, POLICEMEN, AND FIREMEN IN CERTAIN AREAS

" '1690. Purpose; definitions.
" '1691. Public service incentive benefits.
" '1692. Supplementary training allowance.
" '1693. General provisions.' "

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments Nos. 1 and 2 were concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the bill, as passed by the House unanimously on June 6, 1968, provided for an 8 percent cost-of-living increase in the rates of compensation payable to veterans with service-connected disabilities where the disability was 90 percent or less in degree, and a flat $100-a-month increase for those veterans rated totally disabled. The House version also provided for the furnishing of medical devices on an outpatient basis to totally disabled service-connected veterans in the same manner as veterans who receive such devices and are entitled to an aid and attendance pension on a non-service-connected basis.

The Senate version contains all of the features of the House bill plus three amendments. The first amendment carries out suggestions which have been in the President's budget message for the last 2 years and is recommendation 12 of the Veterans' Advisory Commission. The commission was composed of distinguished veteran leaders. This amendment provides for the discontinuance of the statutory award and graduated ratings for arrested tuberculosis. If this amendment is enacted into law it means that the $67-a-month rate for arrested tuberculosis will be abolished as well as the liberal graduated reduction formula which has been in effect since 1925. However, all those who are presently on the rolls or who go on the rolls prior to the effective date of this section will continue to enjoy the benefits of existing law. This provision was written into law when tuberculosis was treated on an entirely different basis and over a period of years and could not be promptly arrested as it is today with modern medicines and drugs.

The second Senate amendment would relieve of liability certain veterans in the Tangipahoa Parish, La., who participated in good faith in an on-the-farm training program which, through no fault of theirs, did not meet pertinent Veterans' Administration standards.

The third Senate amendment authorized a program commonly known as VIPS—veterans in public service.

In essence, this is a program of incentive benefits and under the Senate amendment would be limited to veterans returning from active duty who would be willing to serve in deprived areas as policemen, teachers, and firemen. Additional payments would be made during the period of the veteran's training as well as during the period of his service in one of these occupations.

I am asking that the House reject the third amendment because it has never been considered either in the House or Senate committees and, regardless of the merits or demerits of the issue, it does need further study. Lacking that study I do not believe we should concur in the Senate's action with regard to amendment No. 3.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 13781—AUTHORIZATIONS FOR THE SEA-GRANT COLLEGES AND PROGRAMS

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 13781) to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

Conference Report (H. Rept. No. 1837)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 13781) to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 1.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same.

Alton Lennon,
Paul G. Rogers,
Thomas N. Downing,
Charles A. Mosher,
Thomas M. Pelly,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Warren G. Magnuson,
Claiborne Pell,
Jacob K. Javits,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

Statement

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 13781) to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

Amendment No. 1: This amendment increases the authorization for the sea grant colleges and programs for the fiscal year 1969 from the $6,000,000 provided in the House bill to $15,000,000. The Senate recedes.

Amendment No. 2: This amendment increases the authorization for the sea grant colleges and programs for the fiscal year 1970 from the $8,000,000 provided in the House bill to $15,000,000. The House recedes.

Alton Lennon,
Paul G. Rogers,
Thomas N. Downing,
Charles A. Mosher,
Thomas M. Pelly,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement of the managers on the part of the House be dispensed with.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I trust the gentleman will take at least a brief time to explain the bill and to state whether any amendments to the bill are germane since the other body has become quite profligate on the matter of ungermane amendments to legislation.

I should like to know whether the bill has been amended in the conference and whether the amendments are germane.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. There are no amendments from the conference. Everything is germane to the bill.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. It was a unanimous conference without disagreement.

Mr. GROSS. Will the gentleman please explain the conference report?

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, this is a continuing program that the House and the Congress adopted in 1967. This is a program for sea-grant colleges, to try to increase the manpower in the field of oceanography. We went into conference on a House-approved bill of $6 million and $8 million for a 2-year continuation of the program. The Senate had approved a program of $15 million and $15 million for 2 years. The agreement we made was that we would take the House figure, which is a budgeted item for this year, of $6 million and accept the Senate figure of $15 million for the second year of this program.

Everyone was in agreement, and we recommended that the conference report be agreed to.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the conference report just agreed to.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

RELIEF OF COL. GILMOUR C. MacDONALD

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 10932) for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force, retired, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

Conference Report (H. Rept. No. 1821)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10932) for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, United States Air Force (retired) having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate; and agree to the same.

Robert T. Ashmore,
Herbert Tenzer,
Henry P. Smith III,
Managers on the Part of the House.

John L. McClellan,
Philip A. Hart,
Hiram L. Fong,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

Statement

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10932) for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, United States Air Force (retired) submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The bill, H.R. 10932 provides for jurisdiction in the U.S. Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon any legal claim of Gilmour C. MacDonald against the United States for compensation for the useage of a tubular caltrop tire puncturing device allegedly invented by him. When the bill was considered in the House, a new section 3 was added to the bill which would have limited any attorneys fee for services rendered in connection with the claim to 10 percent of any judgment entered by the court. The amendment of the Senate is to strike section 3. The limitation on attorneys fees is customarily added to bills authorizing the payment of sums of money in settlement of claims against the United States.

As has been noted H.R. 10932 is not such a bill, but is a bill permitting an individual to institute an action in the Court of Claims. Accordingly, in conference the House conferees receded from their disagreement to the Senate amendment.

ROBERT T. ASHMORE,
HERBERT TENZER,
HENRY P. SMITH III,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. **ASHMORE.** Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING THE CONSOLIDATED FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION ACT

Mr. **SISK.** Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1272 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1272

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 18209) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans to supplement farm income and to provide for additional recreation loans, extend the period for water and sewer grants prior to completion of a comprehensive plan, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit. After the passage of H.R. 18209 the Committee on Agriculture shall be discharged from the further consideration of the bill S. 1504, and is shall then be in order in the House to move to strike out all after the enacting clause of the said Senate bill and insert in lieu thereof the provisions contained in H.R. 18209 as passed by the House.

Mr. **SISK.** Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] and, pending that, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1272 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 18209 to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended. The resolution also provides that, after passage of H.R. 18209, the Committee on Agriculture shall be discharged from further consideration of S. 1504 and it shall be in order to move to strike all after the enacting clause of the Senate bill and amend it with the House-passed language.

Inadequate, polluted, and undependable sources of water, coupled with archaic waste disposal methods, not only blight the countryside but prevent its assimilation into growing national economy.

Once a program has begun providing healthful and sanitary water and sewer facilities for rural communities and the communities become aware of their need, a tremendous surge of activity is generated which must be supported, if the objectives are to be obtained, through the process of funding to a limited extent projects for sanitary facilities. Many applications have been accepted and are now in various stages of development. Over 1,700 applications for worthwhile projects have been rejected for lack of funds. These applications, with assistance on the average of 15 percent, could be accepted and the facilities constructed.

H.R. 18209 is intended to supplement farm income through enlargement, improvement, and acquisition of added land to form more economically sized tracts; development of recreational uses and facilities; conversion of land previously devoted to agricultural production to other pursuits; and the development of water resources, their efficient use and conservation. Secondarily, it is aimed at improving the environmental conditions prevailing in rural America, the orderly disposal of waste and the establishment of readily available clean water supplies.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1272 in order that H.R. 18209 may be considered.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. **SMITH** of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill is to amend the Consolidated Farmers' Home Administration Act of 1961 to: First, generally increase lending authority for a number of agency programs; and, second, broaden the scope of the agency's lending authority to include areas not directly farm related.

The act seeks to improve farm and rural life by encouraging larger farming units, conversion of marginal farm lands to other uses, such as recreational, and the development of water resources.

The bill also breaks new ground in an effort to upgrade and improve the environmental conditions of rural America by providing programs for waste disposal and improved clean water availability.

Annual development grant authority is increased to $100,000,000 from the current level of $50,000,000 annually.

The existing $450,000,000 annual ceiling on insured loans is removed. Loans will now be made to qualified borrowers without regard to any ceiling. At the same time the bill also doubles the amount of loans which may be held at one time in the agriculture credit insurance fund pending their sale; the total is increased from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000.

The individual loan ceiling to qualified borrowers is retained at $35,000 but the requirement that 75 percent of all approved loans be for $15,000 or less has been removed.

Finally, the bill removes the flat 5-percent maximum interest rate on operating loans. In its place, and in an effort to more accurately reflect actual cost of money, the bill provides for a rate equal to 1 percent above the current market yield of outstanding U.S. obligations.

The bill will actually make it possible for a farmer to convert his entire farm to recreational purposes using agency loan programs. This is supported by the agency and its parent, the Department of Agriculture. They cite the growing need for recreational facilities and the shrinking land available for such purposes.

There are no minority views.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of the rule.

Mr. **POAGE.** Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (H.R. 18209) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans to supplement farm income and to provide for additional recreation loans, extend the period for water and sewer grants prior to completion of a comprehensive plan, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 18209

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, is further amended as follows:

The first sentence of section 303 is amended to read as follows: "Loans may be made or insured under this subtitle for (1) acquiring, enlarging, or improving farms, including farm buildings, land and water development, use and conservation, (2) recreational uses and facilities, (3) enterprises needed to supplement farm income, (4) refinancing existing indebtedness, and (5) loan closing costs."

SEC. 2. Section 304 is amended by inserting "(a)" after "subtitle", and by changing the period at the end of the section to a comma and adding the following: "not including recreational uses and facilities, and (b) without regard to the requirements of sections 302 (2) and (3), to individual farmowners or tenants to finance outdoor recreational enterprises or to convert to recreational uses their farming or ranching operations, including those heretofore financed under this title."

SEC. 3. Section 306(a)(2) is amended by changing "$50,000,000" to "$150,000,000".

SEC. 4. The last sentence of section 306(a)(3) is amended by changing "1968" to "1971".

SEC. 5. Section 306(a)(6) is amended by changing "$5,000,000" to "$25,000,000".

SEC. 6. Section 306 is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(d) An applicant for a loan under this section for a water or sewer project to serve any area in any city or town shall, together with the Secretary, make all reasonable efforts to obtain private or cooperative financing of the project; and where such efforts are unsuccessful, the Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration shall personally so determine and furnish a report thereon prior to the approval of the loan to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate and the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives. Whenever, in the judgment of the Secretary, a sewer or water project can be financed through a grant under this section and a loan from private or cooperative sources as advantageously to the applicant and as economically to the Government as through financing by the Government under this section (taking an allowance to cover current administrative costs into account), the Secretary shall require the applicant to obtain such loan from private or cooperative sources.

"(e) Each department or agency of the Federal Government which is authorized to furnish financial assistance for any of the purposes for which financial assistance may be furnished under this section shall carefully review each application for such assistance received by it, determine whether the needs of the applicant may be better served by another department or agency, and, if so, advise the applicant and such other department or agency of such determination. The President shall issue such rules and regulations as he deems necessary or desirable to assure (1) the coordination of the program authorized by this Act with related programs of other agencies, including the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of the Interior; and (2) the availability to prospective applicants of information on the alternative programs available to them."

Sec. 7. Section 308 is amended by striking the word "Loans" from the beginning of the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "Until October 1, 1971, loans" and by striking the comma after the word "Secretary" and the phrase "aggregating not more than $450,000,000 in any one year,".

Sec. 8. Section 309(f) is amended by changing "$50,000,000" to "$100,000,000".

Sec. 9. Section 312 is amended by (a) revising subsection (4) to read as follows: "(4) financing land and water development, use, and conservation,"; (b) inserting new items (5) and (6) to read as follows: "(5) without regard to the requirements of section 311 (2) and (3), to individual farmers or ranchers to finance outdoor recreational enterprises or to convert to recreational uses their farming or ranching operations, including those heretofore financed under this title, (6) enterprises needed to supplement farm income,"; and (c) by renumbering the present items "(5), (6), and (7)" to "(7), (8), and (9)".

Sec. 10. Section 313 is amended by changing the colon after "$35,000" to a comma, and by striking the proviso in item (1).

Sec. 11. Section 316 is amended by (a) striking from the first sentence "at an interest rate not to exceed 5 per centum per annum," and (b) adding at the end of the section the following: "Loans made under this subtitle shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States with remaining periods to maturity comparable to the average maturities of such loans, adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum, plus not to exceed 1 per centum per annum as determined by the Secretary."

Sec. 12. Section 331 is amended by adding a new subsection (f) at the end thereof to read as follows:

"(f) Release mortgage and other contract liens if it appears that they have no present or prospective value or that their enforcement likely would be ineffectual or uneconomical."

Sec. 13. Section 333(b) of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 is amended by inserting "310," after "306," in both places and striking the word "farming".

With the following committee amendments:

On page 2, line 16, delete "$150,000,000", and insert "$100,000,000".

On page 2, line 20, delete "$25,000,000", and insert "$15,000,000".

On page 2, beginning on line 21, strike out all of Sec. 6. Redesignate Secs. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 as Secs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, respectively.

On page 5, beginning on line 22, strike out the words "inserting '310,' after '306,' in both places and".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, this bill contemplates a substantial increase in the services provided by the Farmers Home Administration. Farmers Home has made an enviable record. It has done for many rural areas many of the things we are doing for urban areas, and it has done these things with a minimum of cost to the Government.

This bill would increase the purposes for which loans could be made in rural areas so as to include enterprises which would supplement or even supplant farm income as such, including the conversion of farms to recreation without requiring the farmer to remain dependent upon agriculture. In other words, this would help certain farmers shift from agriculture to nonagricultural pursuits. This section involves no grants. It is entirely a loan program.

There is an increase in the authority to make grants for water and sewer systems. Under the Poage-Aiken bill, Farmers Home Administration makes loans for such systems in rural communities of less than 5,500 population and supplements them with grants. In the past the limit has been $50 million. We increase this limit to $100 million, with an additional $15 million for planning, and extend the time in which such planning may take place until October 1, 1971.

There are a number of what might be called "housekeeping" provisions.

First. We increase by $50 million the amount of loans which may be held at any one time in the agriculture credit insurance fund pending sales. This is simply to make the handling of these funds a little more efficient. It does not increase lending authority.

Second. We remove the proviso that 75 percent of the funds available for operating loans shall be restricted to loans of $15,000, or less. We do not remove the upper limit of $35,000 per loan. This is needed to care for the constantly increasing costs of making a crop.

Third. We give the Secretary of Agriculture authority to release valueless liens.

Then the bill does two more important things. It removes the annual ceiling on insured loans. This does not increase the obligation of the Government but it does allow us to bring more money in from private sources.

Finally, we remove the 5-percent maximum rate of interest on operating loans and establish a rate equal to 1 percent more than the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States, adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 percent.

This bill amends the provision of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, dealing with the interest rate on loans under subtitle B—operating loans. The current rate for subtitle B loans is 5 percent; but the law permits the Secretary to fix the rate at any rate up to 5 percent. The bill provides for an annual basic interest rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the Government with comparable maturities. That rate for fiscal 1969 would be 5⅜ percent based on the May 1968 Treasury yield. For fiscal 1968 it would have been 4¾ percent based on the May 1967 Treasury yield. The bill would authorize the Secretary to increase the annual interest rate to the borrower by not to exceed 1 percent per annum. The rate established for each loan would remain constant for the life of the loan.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that covers the matters included in the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this bill will be helpful to agriculture, and to the country, and I urge the passage of the bill.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been greatly concerned about the adequacy the Farmers Home Administration program in rural communities for the development of rural water and sewer systems. This program is rapidly becoming one of the most constructive and progressive programs ever devised by the Federal Government, and I feel that all possible haste should be made to expand and enlarge the program. No other program can do more in strengthening the rural economy of America than this, the FHA, water and sewer program.

H.R. 18209 increases the limit for grants for financing rural water and sewer projects from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000. I hope it is possible to permit full funding of the $100,000,000 as these grants many times are the determining factor in the establishment of modern water and waste disposal facilities in rural communities. Too many rural areas still labor under antiquated and primitive water systems and waste disposal which create real health hazards and contribute enormously to the Nation's serious water pollution problems. Certainly, these environmental conditions prevailing in some underdeveloped areas should be eliminated by first insuring a clear, clean, and healthful water supply and by providing for the orderly disposal of wastes. Increasing the FHA grant limitations is a gigantic step forward for rural America, and I enthusiastically support the provisions of H.R. 18209.

I am also glad to see that an increase in allowances for comprehensive planning grants is provided in this bill raising the limit from $5,000,000 to $15,000,000. It also extends the period of time under which grant assistance can be made to towns and cities developing comprehensive plans of community growth. These provisions will enable many of the towns and villages already working progressively toward rural area development to continue with their constructive programs. Self-help programs of this nature designed to promote and advance local rural economies through community development contribute many times over the initial cost to the national economy. The original outlay is returned to the Federal Government severalfold in the final analysis.

H.R. 18209 further strengthens the FHA water and sewer program by removing the ceiling on insured loans. It is a more realistic approach, I believe, to establish the flexible ceiling proposed in section 6, based on the demand for loans and the need for community facilities.

The rural water program, Mr. Speaker, is the greatest program for rural America since the establishment of REA in 1935. I have seen rural neighborhoods revitalized and the quality of rural living improved overnight with the establishment of water districts. New and better rural housing is immediately constructed along the waterlines. More people are attracted to rural living. I believe that this program has great potential to relieve the pressure on our overpopulated urban areas. H.R. 18209 should be overwhelmingly passed in order that the program may go forward.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Poage], chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, has done a good job in explaining the bill now before the House, H.R. 18209. This legislation amends the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act. There is great need for an agency of the Department of Agriculture to make available loans for various purposes to farm people. The Farmers Home Administration has filled this need.

I recall how difficult it was to obtain funds to finance the production of a crop during the depression years. Farm production loans were very difficult to obtain through private sources. The Farmers Home Administration makes operating loans or crop production loans to people who could not obtain financing from any other source. The operating loans go to the small farmer. Many of these farmers each year who have obtained these operating loans from the Farmers Home Administration find themselves in a position to qualify for loans from private sources. Their net worth has been increasing, their farm implements accounts are being liquidated and these borrowers through their successful efforts on the farm find ready credit from production credit associations, local banking institutions and other sources. All of which is due to the Farmers Home Administration giving them a start by financing their crop operations.

When calamity strikes in the form of excessive rainfall, floods, hailstorms, or other disasters making it impossible for producers to obtain financing from private sources, they are eligible for emergency crop loans through the Farmers Home Administration. This great organization has kept farmers farming, both through operating loans and disaster loans.

The repayment rate on these loans is miraculous. The evidence before our committee indicates that 98 percent of the crop production loans have been repaid. This is due to the fact that the Farmers Home Administration is administered by the highest type of dedicated and capable officials. The field forces consisting of county managers, committees, and the State office personnel play a major role in the most successful operation of the various programs falling under the jurisdition of the Farmers Home Administration. These people are familiar with the background of farmers as well as local problems generally.

I urge the approval of this sound and meritorious legislation. It is badly needed.

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 18209 is a very important bill for the thousands of smaller communities in our country, and for those farmers who may be considering other uses of their farmland rather than the producing of food and fiber.

The changes in the Farmers Home Administration found in H.R. 18209, will have a tremendously good effect on the development of our countryside. Under the law, farmers who had the opportunity of developing recreational resources on their farm for public use, were required to continue to farm in order to be eligible for such an FHA loan. This restriction is removed, and this act also will allow entire farms to be devoted to these commercial enterprises.

In addition, the bill increases the funds available for grants and loans to villages for construction of sewer and water systems or improvements. This should be of major benefit to those rural towns in their intensive efforts to attract and develop industrial interests. The present loan limitations have been raised considerably for rural businesses, and at the same time, some of the restrictive eligibility requirements have been loosened.

Section 5 of the bill raises the planning grant authority by $10 million. Testimony at our hearings indicated that applications at the rate of 65 per month had been received even after all funds were exhausted. This then should permit the very vital comprehensive planning for the most efficient and economical community development.

I encourage my colleagues who want to assist in establishing a balance in the urban-rural economy of our Nation to support this bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 1272, the Committee on Agriculture is discharged from the further consideration of the bill S. 1504.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. POAGE

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Poage moves to strike out all after the enacting clause of the bill S. 1504 and insert in lieu thereof the provisions contained in the bill H.R. 18209, as passed, as follows:

"That the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, is further amended as follows:

"The first sentence of section 303 is amended to read as follows: 'Loans may be made or insured under this subtitle for (1) acquiring, enlarging, or improving farms, including farm buildings, land and water development, use and conservation, (2) recreational uses and facilities, (3) enterprises needed to supplement farm income, (4) refinancing existing indebtedness, and (5) loan closing costs.'

"Sec. 2. Section 304 is amended by inserting '(a)' after 'subtitle,' and by changing the period at the end of the section to a comma and adding the following: 'not including recreational uses and facilities, and (b) without regard to the requirements of sections 302 (2) and (3), to individual farmowners or tenants to finance outdoor recreational enterprises or to convert to recreational uses their farming or ranching operations, including those heretofore financed under this title.'

"Sec. 3. Section 306(a)(2) is amended by changing '$50,000,000' to '$100,000,000'.

"Sec. 4. The last sentence of section 306(a)(3) is amended by changing '1968' to '1971'.

"Sec. 5. Section 306(a)(6) is amended by changing '$5,000,000' to '$15,000,000'.

"Sec. 6. Section 308 is amended by striking the word 'Loans' from the beginning of the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof 'Until October 1, 1971, loans' and by striking the comma after the word 'Secretary' and the phrase 'aggregating not more than $450,000,000 in any one year,'.

"Sec. 7. Section 309(f) is amended by changing '$50,000,000' to '$100,000,000'.

"Sec. 8. Section 312 is amended by (a) revising subsection (4) to read as follows: '(4) financing land and water development, use, and conservation,'; (b) inserting new items (5) and (6) to read as follows: '(5) without regard to the requirements of section 311 (2) and (3), to individual farmers or ranchers to finance outdoor recreational enterprises or to convert to recreational uses their farming or ranching operations, including those heretofore financed under this title, (6) enterprises needed to supplement farm income,'; and (c) by renumbering the present items '(5), (6), and (7)' to '(7), (8), and (9)'.

"Sec. 9. Section 313 is amended by changing the colon after '$35,000' to a comma, and by striking the proviso in item (1).

"Sec. 10. Section 316 is amended by (a) striking from the first sentence 'at an interest rate not to exceed 5 per centum per annum,' and (b) adding at the end of the section the following: 'Loans made under this subtitle shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States with remaining periods to maurity comparable to the average maturities of such loans, adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum, plus not to exceed 1 per centum per annum as determined by the Secretary.'

"Sec. 11. Section 331 is amended by adding a new subsection (f) at the end thereof to read as follows:

"'(f) Release mortgage and other contract liens if it appears that they have no present or prospective value or that their enforcement likely would be ineffectual or uneconomical.'

"Sec. 12. Section 333(b) of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 is amended by striking the word 'farming'."

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 18209) was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to extend their remarks on this subject.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

FOREIGN SERVICE INFORMATION OFFICER CORPS FOR U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1255 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. Res. 1255

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 633) to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the United States Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider without the intervention of any point of order the amendment recommended by the Committee on Foreign Affairs now printed in the bill. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the usual 30 minutes to the minority, to the gentleman from California [Mr. Smith]; pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1255 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of S. 633 to strengthen and improve the Foreign Service personnel system of the USIA through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps. The resolution also waives points of order against the committee amendment in the bill because the amendment would not be germane.

Since the U.S. Information Agency was established 15 years ago, its professional personnel have not been part either of the career Foreign Service or of the civil service. They have been "permanent temporary employees" whose tenure has been dependent upon an annual rider to an appropriation bill.

S. 633 would authorize a career system for the professional Foreign Service personnel of the Agency by creating the officer category of Foreign Service information officer that will parallel the Foreign Service officer category of the Department of State. It also authorizes Foreign Service staff personnel of the Agency with more than 10 years of service to participate in the Foreign Service retirement system. Also, it limits the appointment of Foreign Service Reserve officers in the Department of State and in the USIA to a maximum period of 5 years.

The authorization of a Foreign Service information officer category will not add any more individuals to the payroll nor will it confer any benefits in salaries or allowances not already authorized. The classes and salary scale of the new Foreign Service information officer category are identical with those of the Foreign Service officer and Foreign Service Reserve officer categories in which the Agency's career personnel now serve. The only additional cost will result from retirement under the Foreign Service retirement and disability system rather than the civil service retirement system.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1255 in order that S. 633 may be considered.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may use.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution, House resolution 1255, provides for an open rule with 1 hour of debate for the consideration of the bill, S. 633, the Foreign Service Information Officer Corps.

The purpose of the bill is to create a permanent career system for the Foreign Service operation of the U.S. Information Agency.

The U.S. Information Agency currently is conducting informational programs at 216 installations in 103 countries; its employees at foreign locations are under the direction of the chief of the U.S. diplomatic mission in each country. As of January 1, 1968, the USIA had over 2,150 employees engaged in foreign informational services.

The employees perform functions very similar to Foreign Service officers of the Department of State. However, Congress has not yet enacted legislation to authorize a career system similar to that created by State for its Foreign Service officers. This bill seeks to remedy this congressional oversight. The bill will authorize the creation of a career system for the professional Foreign Service personnel of the U.S. Information Agency which will parallel in tenure and benefits the Foreign Service officer category of the State Department. It also authorizes Foreign Service informational officers of the USIA with more than 10 years of service to participate in the State Department's Foreign Service retirement system.

All appointments to the Service will require Senate confirmation and will be under the direction of the Director of the U.S. Information Agency. The bill will not add any more personnel to the agency nor confer any salary or other benefits not already authorized.

There are no minority views.

I urge adoption of the resolution.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill (S. 633) to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I am a little puzzled as to why we take time to adopt a rule and then move to consider the bill on this basis. Perhaps it is all right if adequate time for discussion of the bill is provided.

Mr. HAYS. May I say to the gentleman we thought, in view of the crowded calendar this afternoon, we would save an hour of debate by proceeding in this manner. I have no inclination to try to cut off debate. I believe adequate debate can be had under the 5-minute rule. That is the intent.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for his statement.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 633

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established a category of officers of the United States Information Agency (hereinafter referred to as "the Agency") to be known as Foreign Service information officers.

STATEMENT OF POLICY

Sec. 2. It is the sense of the Congress that the establishment of a permanent career service for officers of the Agency who serve our country throughout the world in a vital function of the foreign relations of the United States is essential to enable the Director of the United States Information Agency (hereinafter referred to as "the Director") to carry out effectively such functions and responsibilities assigned to the Agency.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSES

Sec. 3. The Congress of the United States hereby declares that the purposes of this Act are—

(a) to provide a statutory basis necessary for a worldwide career officer personnel system designed to meet the continuing needs of both the Agency and those qualified citizens who shall serve as Foreign Service information officers in this vital activity;

(b) to give the Director the full range of personnel authority necessary to establish and administer the Foreign Service Information Officer Corps;

(c) to regularize the personnel system of the Agency by establishing a career service in which qualified Foreign Service information officers may be recruited, trained, and serve;

(d) to assure maximum efficiency and flexibility in the utilization of the talents of Foreign Service information officers; and

(e) to accord Foreign Service information officers the same rights and perquisites and to subject them to the same stringent judgment of performance as Foreign Service officers employed under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

AUTHORITY OF THE DIRECTOR

Sec. 4. Foreign Service information officers shall be under the direction and authority of the Director of the Agency. Authority available to the Secretary of State with respect to Foreign Service officers shall be available on the same basis to the Director of the Agency with respect to Foreign Service information officers, except as provided in section 11 of this Act.

POLICIES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 5. The Foreign Service information officer personnel system shall be compatible with the Foreign Service officer personnel system. Toward this end, the Director with respect to the Foreign Service information officer personnel system and the Secretary of State with respect to the Foreign Service officer personnel system, after consultation with such officials as the President may determine, shall promulgate policies and regulations governing such systems. Both systems shall be administered, to the extent practicable, in conformity with general policies and regulations of the Federal Government issued in accordance with law.

APPOINTMENT AND ASSIGNMENT

SEC. 6. (a) Subject to section 4, Foreign Service information officers shall be appointed and assigned at classes and salaries, and in accordance with requirements and procedures, which correspond to those classes, salaries, requirements, and procedures, except with regard to career ambassadors, prescribed by sections 412, 413, 421, 422, 431(c), 432, 441, 500, 501(b), 502(b), 511, 514 through 520, 571 through 575, and 578 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

(b) The President shall, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint Career Ministers for Information.

(c) The Secretary of State may, upon request of the Director, furnish the President with the names of Foreign Service information officers qualified for appointment to the class of Career Minister for Information, together with pertinent information about such officers, but no person shall be appointed into the class of Career Minister for Information who has not been appointed to serve in an Embassy as a Minister for Public Affairs or appointed or assigned to serve in a position which, in the opinion of the Director, is of comparable importance. A list of such positions shall from time to time be published by the Director.

(d) The per annum salary of a Career Minister for Information shall be the same as that provided by section 412 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, for the class of Career Minister.

PROMOTION

SEC. 7. Foreign Service Information officers shall be promoted in accordance with the provisions of sections 621 through 623 and 626 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, and shall receive within-class salary increases in accordance with section 625 of such Act.

SEPARATION AND RETIREMENT

SEC. 8. Foreign Service information officers shall be separated and retired in accordance with sections 631 through 637 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

PARTICIPATION IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE RETIREMENT AND DISABILITY SYSTEM

SEC. 9. (a) Foreign Service information officers shall be participants in and entitled to the benefits of the Foreign Service retirement and disability system under title VIII of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, on the same basis as Foreign Service Officers. Any such Foreign Service information officer who becomes a participant in such system shall make contributions to the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund on the same basis as Foreign Service officers.

(b) In accordance with such regulations as the President may prescribe, any Foreign Service Staff officer or employee appointed by the Agency who has completed at least ten years of continuous service, exclusive of military service, in the Foreign Service of the Agency shall become a participant in the Foreign Service retirement and disability system and shall make a special contribution to the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund in accordance with the provisions of section 852 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

(c) Any such officer or employee who, under the provisions of paragraph (b) of this section, becomes a participant in the Foreign Service retirement and disability system, shall be mandatorily retired for age during the third year after the effective date of that paragraph if he attains age sixty-four or if he is over age sixty-four; during the fourth year at age sixty-three; during the fifth year at age sixty-two; during the sixth year at age sixty-one, and thereafter at age sixty.

(d) Any officer or employee who becomes a participant in the Foreign Service retirement and disability system under the provisions of paragraph (b) of this section who is age fifty-seven or over on the effective date of that paragraph, may retire voluntarily at any time before mandatory retirement under paragraph (c) of this section and receive retirement benefits under section 821 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

(e) The provisions of paragraph (b) of this section become effective on the first day of the first month which begins more than one year after the date of enactment of this Act, except that any Foreign Service Staff officer or employee, who at the time this Act becomes effective meets the requirements for participation in the Foreign Service retirement and disability system, may elect to become a participant in the system before the mandatory provisions become effective. Such Foreign Service Staff officers and employees shall become participants effective on the first day of the second month following the date of their application for earlier participation.

OTHER APPLICABLE PROVISIONS OF LAW

SEC. 10. All other provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, or of any other law, which apply to Foreign Service officers and are not referred to above, shall be applicable to Foreign Service information officers.

COMMISSIONING AND ASSIGNMENT AS DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR OFFICERS

SEC. 11. (a) The Secretary of State may, upon request of the Director, recommend to the President that Foreign Service information officers be commissioned as diplomatic or consular officers, or both, in accordance with section 512 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

(b) The Secretary of State may, upon request of the Director, assign Foreign Service information officers, commissioned as diplomatic or consular officers, to serve under such commissions in accordance with sections 512 and 514 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

INTERPRETATION AND CONSTRUCTION

SEC. 12. For the purposes of this Act the term "Foreign Service officer" when used in the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, or in any other provision of law shall be construed to mean "Foreign Service information officer" and the term "Secretary of State" when used with respect to authorities applicable to Foreign Service officers shall be construed to mean the Director of the United States Information Agency with respect to Foreign Service information officers.

TRANSFER OF AGENCY FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS TO FOREIGN SERVICE INFORMATION OFFICER STATUS

SEC. 13. Agency Foreign Service officers on active service on the effective date of this Act shall, by virtue of this Act, be transferred from the classes in which they are serving on such date to the comparable salaries and classes of Foreign Service information officers established by this Act. Service in the former class shall be considered as constituting service in the new class for the purposes of determining (1) eligibility for promotion, in accordance with the provisions of section 622, (2) liability for separation, in accordance with the provisions of section 633, (3) continuation of probationary status pursuant to section 635, and (4) credit for time served toward in-class promotion in accordance with section 625.

VETERANS' PREFERENCE

SEC. 14. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 3320 of title 5 of the United States Code, the fact that any applicant is a veteran or disabled veteran, as defined in section 2108 (1) or (2) of such title, shall be taken into consideration as an affirmative factor in the selection of applicants for initial appointment as Foreign Service officers or Foreign Service information officers.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 9, after line 14, add the following:

"TENURE OF FOREIGN SERVICE RESERVE OFFICERS

"SEC. 15. (a) Any officer appointed as a Foreign Service Reserve officer after the date of enactment of this Act may serve as such for not more than 5 years. During such period (no sooner than the expiration of the third year but no later than the expiration of the fifth year) such Foreign Service Reserve officer shall be appointed as a Foreign Service Officer, Foreign Service Information Officer, Foreign Service Reserve officer with unlimited tenure, Foreign Service staff officer, or shall be terminated as a Foreign Service Reserve officer.

"(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of sections 522 and 527 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, an appointment of any Foreign Service Reserve officer existing on the date of enactment of this Act may be extended, but not beyond the expiration of the 5-year period beginning on such date of enactment.

"RETIREMENT AND SEPARATION OF FOREIGN SERVICE RESERVE OFFICERS

"SEC. 16. (a) In accordance with such regulations as the President may prescribe, any Foreign Service Reserve officer with unlimited tenure shall become a participant in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System and shall make a special contribution to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund in accordance with the provisions of section 852 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended. Beginning on the date of enactment of this Act, any Reserve officer referred to in the preceding sentence shall be mandatorily retired for age in accordance with the provisions of subsections (c) and (d) of section 9 of this Act.

"(b) The provisions of sections 633 and 634 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, shall apply to Foreign Service Reserve officers with unlimited tenure.

"PRESENT FOREIGN SERVICE RESERVE OFFICERS

"SEC. 17. Any Foreign Service Reserve officer appointed before the date of enactment of this Act who has completed at least 3 years of continuous and satisfactory service as such on such date of enactment, or who will have completed at least 3 years of such service before the expiration of the 3-year period beginning on such date of enactment, may be appointed as a Foreign Service Reserve officer with unlimited tenure.

"LIMITATION ON EXTENSION OF FOREIGN SERVICE RESERVE OFFICER APPOINTMENTS

"SEC. 18. Paragraph (3) of section 522 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: '; except that the authority contained in this paragraph relating to extending the appointment of any Reserve officer, and to continuing the services of any such Reserve officer by reappointment, shall not be applicable to the Department of State and the United States Information Agency'.

"EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN AGENCIES

"SEC. 19. The provisions of sections 15, 16, and 17 of this Act shall not apply to officers and employees of the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency."

Mr. HAYS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with and that it be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

I would like to speak to the committee amendment first. The committee amendment deals with people who are Foreign Service Reserve officers. The present law provides that they can be appointed for 5 years and then their appointment can be extended for another 5 years. By virtue of a rider in the Appropriation Act, their appointments have been continued on a year-to-year basis.

The committee amendment covers only people from State and USIA. We thought that if they should make up their minds by the end of 5 years whether they wanted to keep a fellow or not.

In effect, what the amendment would do is to tell them, "You make a decision on this fellow any time after the third year but before the end of his fifth year. If you do not want to keep him, let him go." In substance, that is what the amendment would do.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. That is the purpose of the bill and the sole purpose of the bill?

Mr. HAYS. No, I was talking first, if I may say to the gentleman from Iowa, about the amendment which the Clerk was reporting when I asked unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the amendment.

Mr. Speaker, I apologize to the House. This is a matter that is rather technical and it may be a little dry, but what I am trying to say to the gentleman from Iowa and the Members of the House is that many of the overseas personnel in the U.S. Information Agency are reserve officers. This bill is intended to give them tenure, such as people in the State Department have who are Foreign Service officers. These people will be called Foreign Service information officers, and they will have exactly the same rights and prerogatives as if they were Foreign Service officers, except they will be in this agency. They will come under the Foreign Service retirement system of the Joint Service retirement system and they will be subject to selection out, but it will give them career status, which up to now they simply have not had.

In 1965 these provisions were included as the gentleman may remember, in a bill which covered the Department of State, USIA and the Agency for International Development. That bill passed this body, but it was not taken up by the Senate. This bill has passed the Senate unanimously. While I am not very happy with a piecemeal approach in dealing with our Foreign Service personnel problems, I believe—and the subcommittee and the full committee believe—that the U.S. Information Agency is here to stay. Hence these people ought to have tenure the same as other Government employees.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, are these employees now Classification Act employees?

Mr. HAYS. No, sir, they are not. They are Foreign Service reserve officers. They are appointed by USIA as reserves under the authority of the Foreign Service Act.

As I said earlier in talking about the amendment, they are appointed for 5 years, and with a possible extension for another 5 years. After that they are on a year-to-year basis dependent upon a rider in the annual appropriation act.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I must explain that I serve on the Foreign Affairs Committee with the gentleman from Ohio, but unfortunately, I was in the Post Office and Civil Service Committee at the time this bill came up. Therefore, I must ask these questions, because I am unacquainted with the reasons for the legislation.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I understand that. The gentleman from Iowa is a very conscientious member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and attends more sessions than perhaps most of us. I do understand that the day this came up, the gentleman from Iowa was in another committee, so I will try to answer any questions the gentleman may have.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, approximately how many employees are there in the USIA?

Mr. HAYS. About 800 will be affected in the U.S. Information Agency.

Mr. GROSS. And they are not under any selection out authority as of now?

Mr. HAYS. Actually, they do not even have that protection, may I say to the gentleman. They are Foreign Service Reserve officers serving on a time-limited appointment as provided in the Foreign Service Act.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman that I have at hand two amendments to be offered to this bill by one of the Members who is unable to be here today. One deals with the selection-out procedure, and the other with veterans' rights. Is the gentleman acquainted with the amendments?

Mr. HAYS. I am acquainted with them. I will hope the gentleman will not offer them for the simple reason that we are giving these people much more protection than they have now. I do not know, if those amendments are adopted, whether we could get this bill through the other body or get the other body to accept it, and we would have to go to conference.

We have put in the bill that the Department of State and USIA shall pay attention in the selection procedures to the fact that the man may be a veteran. At the moment, as reserves, these people have no protection whatever, so there is nothing in this bill that is limiting their protection. This bill is giving them status; it is giving them tenure, and it is giving them protection.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. HAYS was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, with that assurance from the gentleman, I will not offer the amendments. I would not be able to articulate too well on behalf of the amendments with the limited knowledge of the bill that I have, so I am glad to have the assurance of the gentleman from Ohio that in his opinion the amendments are not necessary to the protection of these employees.

Mr. HAYS. Let me reiterate to the gentleman from Iowa, the USIA offices are getting some protection under this bill. As of now they have none. They will secure tenure subject, as are Foreign Service offices in the Department of State, to selection out. But the selection-out process is time-consuming procedure that is not exercised too often. There is a right of appeal.

Most of the people downtown have learned that if there is anything wrong with the procedure, and it is brought to the attention of the subcommittee, we take a look at it. We have been doing that, and, in a couple instances, we have called in the State Department and said that we think a mistake has been made, and they said they did make a mistake and rescinded the order.

Mr. GROSS. I know that is correct. The subcommittee, of which the gentleman from Ohio is the Chairman, has done that.

Mr. HAYS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for his response.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. ADAIR. In further response to the gentleman from Iowa, let me say—and I am sure the gentleman will recall this—we have been diligent in trying to protect the rights of veterans. Speaking as a member not only of the Committee on Foreign Affairs but also of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, I believe we have done all that we can in this legislation under the circumstances to protect the rights of veterans. It should be made abundantly clear that we wanted to do this. Certainly in good conscience I could support nothing less. We want veterans' rights and veterans' preferences as far as may be possible under the law to be maintained and extended whenever that can be done.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. HAYS was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. ADAIR. Some would say that in the course of the selection-out process it is true that veterans' preferences or veterans' rights may be to a degree limited. I could not argue with that point of view. At the same time, having in view the overall benefits in this bill as described very well by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Hays] and having in mind the greater benefits that individuals will receive if this bill becomes law, such as tenure, and retirement under the Foreign Service system, I believe that on balance the benefits far outweigh the few limitations as are necessarily imposed. We have protected the veterans as we want to do, I repeat, to the maximum extent possible.

I urge that the House pass this bill.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. HENDERSON. I would like to ask one question with regard to section 14 on the veterans' preference. Do I correctly understand that the language of the bill now applies the provisions of the Veterans' Preference Act to the selection; that is, when they are first selected, both into the Foreign Service Office and the Foreign Service Information Office?

Mr. HAYS. That is correct.

Mr. HENDERSON. I want to commend the committee for taking that action. I believe it is an extension that would presently apply without enactment of this bill to Foreign Service officers.

Mr. HAYS. There is no question about that.

Mr. HENDERSON. I commend the committee. In the future, as experience may warrant, it will be possible, if they do not comply with the request of the committee as stated in the report, to enact legislation that would further extend into this area.

The committee is commended not only for providing veterans' preference to the Foreign Service Information but also to the Foreign Service Office.

Mr. HAYS. I say to the gentleman, they had no protection at all in veterans' preference or anything else, without this bill. They will get a double protection, the protection of section 14 plus the career status.

Mr. HENDERSON. I commend the gentleman and the committee for writing into the law the veteran preference provision on the question of appointments, and expressing its intent regarding the selection-out process.

Mr. HAYS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I am reluctant to continue asking the indulgence of the House on time. Would the gentleman care to move to strike out the last word?

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, let me ask that the gentleman from Ohio be allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. I have one additional question.

Was the request for this legislation by the USIA or by the State Department, or both? From whence came the request?

Mr. HAYS. The request came from the U.S. Information Agency, and it was supported by the State Department.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. HAYS. I believe the State Department would be glad to have it. It would rather have Reserve appointments on a more regular basis.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Is my understanding correct that what this bill seeks to do is to make it possible for a Foreign Service Reserve officer presently a member of the USIA to become a Foreign Service information officer?

Mr. HAYS. That is correct.

Mr. REID of New York. But it does not, if I may ask further, permit a lateral transfer of such an officer into the category of Foreign Service officer itself? In other words, FSO's are not affected?

Mr. HAYS. That is correct. As the gentleman probably knows the Foreign Service reserve officers can be lateraled into the Foreign Service.

Mr. REID of New York. As the gentleman also knows, my only concern is that too much lateral transfer will occur without the requisite experience so as to dilute the FSO corps, and further that an embassy might be in the hands of somebody who is training and has not been principally in the diplomatic area.

Mr. HAYS. There is nothing in this bill that does that. There are arguments on both sides, I will say to the gentleman. There are a lot of people who think that the Foreign Service ought to be diluted by fresh blood, if you want to use the word "diluted," or the word "transfused." There are others who think that you ought never to get in unless you come in at the bottom. As the gentleman must know, the legislation which we are considering does not touch that but touches Foreign Service information officers. There is a provision in the Foreign Service Act for lateral entry—but it has nothing to do with this bill.

Mr. REID of New York. As the gentleman knows, I am strongly in favor of transfusion, but I think it is important for the protection of the morale of the service that we have men of professional character, and as regards senior appointments in an embassy of senior FSO's, it is desirable that they have quite broad experience.

Mr. HAYS. There is nothing in this bill that will touch that.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, would not the gentleman agree that what we are doing here is setting up a system of Foreign Service information officers parallel to Foreign Service officers?

Mr. HAYS. Exactly.

Mr. Speaker, if there are no further questions, I yield back the balance of my time and I move the previous question on the bill to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 16363, TO AMEND POULTRY PRODUCTS INSPECTION ACT

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 16363) to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Holifield). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

Conference Report (H. Rept. No. 1839)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16363), to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"That this Act may be cited as the 'Wholesome Poultry Products Act'.

"Sec. 2. Section 2 of the Poultry Products Inspection Act (71 Stat. 441, as amended; 21 U.S.C. 451) is hereby amended to read:

" 'Sec. 2. Poultry and poultry products are an important source of the Nation's total supply of food. They are consumed throughout the Nation and the major portion thereof moves in interstate or foreign commerce. It is essential in the public interest that the health and welfare of consumers be protected by assuring that poultry products distributed to them are wholesome, not adulterated, and properly marked, labeled, and packaged. Unwholesome, adulterated, or misbranded poultry products impair the effective regulation of poultry products in interstate or foreign commerce, are injurious to the public welfare, destroy markets for wholesome, not adulterated, and properly labeled and packaged poultry products, and result in sundry losses to poultry producers and processors of poultry and poultry products, as well as injury to consumers. It is hereby found that all articles and poultry which are regulated under this Act are either in interstate or foreign commerce or substantially affect such commerce, and that regulation by the Secretary of Agriculture and cooperation by the States and other jurisdictions as contemplated by this Act are appropriate to prevent and eliminate burdens upon such commerce, to effectively regulate such commerce, and to protect the health and welfare of consumers.'

Sec. 3. Section 3 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 452) is hereby amended to read:

" 'Sec. 3. It is hereby declared to be the

policy of the Congress to provide for the inspection of poultry and poultry products and otherwise regulate the processing and distribution of such articles as hereinafter prescribed to prevent the movement or sale in interstate or foreign commerce of, or the burdening of such commerce by, poultry products which are adulterated or misbranded. It is the intent of Congress that when poultry and poultry products are condemned because of disease, the reason for condemnation in such instances shall be supported by scientific fact, information, or criteria, and such condemnation under this Act shall be achieved through uniform inspection standards and uniform applications thereof.'

'Sec. 4. Section 4 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 453) is hereby amended to read:

"'Sec. 4. For purpose of this Act—

"'(a) The term "commerce" means commerce between any State, any territory, or the District of Columbia, and any place outside thereof; or within any territory not organized with a legislative body, or the District of Columbia.

"'(b) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the term "State" means any State of the United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

"'(c) The term "territory" means Guam, the Virgin Islands of the United States, American Samoa, and any other territory or possession of the United States, excluding the Canal Zone.

"'(d) The term "United States" means the States, the District of Columbia, and the territories of the United States.

"'(e) The term "poultry" means any domesticated bird, whether live or dead.

"'(f) The term "poultry product" means any poultry carcass, or part thereof; or any product which is made wholly or in part from any poultry carcass or part thereof, excepting products which contain poultry ingredients only in a relatively small proportion or historically have not been considered by consumers as products of the poultry food industry, and which are exempted by the Secretary from definition as a poultry product under such conditions as the Secretary may prescribe to assure that the poultry ingredients in such products are not adulterated and that such products are not represented as poultry products.

"'(g) The term "adulterated" shall apply to any poultry product under one or more of the following circumstances:

"'(1) if it bears or contains any poisonous or deleterious substance which may render it injurious to health; but in case the substance is not an added substance, such article shall not be considered adulterated under this clause if the quantity of such substance in or on such article does not ordinarily render it injurious to health;

"'(2) (A) if it bears or contains (by reason of administration of any substance to the live poultry or otherwise) any added poisonous or added deleterious substance (other than one which is (i) a pesticide chemical in or on a raw agricultural commodity; (ii) a food additive; or (iii) a color additive) which may, in the judgment of the Secretary make such article unfit for human food;

"'(B) if it is, in whole or in part, a raw agricultural commodity and such commodity bears or contains a pesticide chemical which is unsafe within the meaning of section 408 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act;

"'(C) if it bears or contains any food additive which is unsafe within the meaning of section 409 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act;

"'(D) if it bears or contains any color additive which is unsafe within the meaning of section 706 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act: *Provided*, That an article which is not otherwise deemed adulterated under clause (B), (C), or (D) shall nevertheless be deemed adulterated if use of the pesticide chemical, food additive, or color additive in or on such article is prohibited by regulations of the Secretary in official establishments;

"'(3) if it consists in whole or in part of any filthy, putrid, or decomposed substance or is for any other reason unsound, unhealthful, unwholesome, or otherwise unfit for human food;

"'(4) if it has been prepared, packed, or held under insanitary conditions whereby it may have become contaminated with filth, or whereby it may have been rendered injurious to health;

"'(5) if it is, in whole or in part, the product of any poultry which has died otherwise than by slaughter;

"'(6) if its container is composed, in whole or in part, of any poisonous or deleterious substance which may render the contents injurious to health;

"'(7) if it has been intentionally subjected to radiation, unless the use of the radiation was in conformity with a regulation or exemption in effect pursuant to section 409 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act; or

"'(8) if any valuable constituent has been in whole or in part omitted or abstracted therefrom; or if any substance has been substituted, wholly or in part therefor; or if damage or inferiority has been concealed in any manner; or if any substance has been added thereto or mixed or packed therewith so as to increase its bulk or weight, or reduce its quality or strength, or make it appear better or of greater value than it is.

"'(h) The term "misbranded" shall apply to any poultry product under one or more of the following circumstances:

"'(1) if its labeling is false or misleading in any particular;

"'(2) if it is offered for sale under the name of another food;

"'(3) if it is an imitation of another food, unless its label bears, in type of uniform size and prominence, the word "imitation" and immediately thereafter, the name of the food imitated;

"'(4) if its container is so made, formed, or filled as to be misleading;

"'(5) unless it bears a label showing (A) the name and the place of business of the manufacturer, packer, or distributor; and (B) an accurate statement of the quantity of the product in terms of weight, measure, or numerical count: *Provided*, That under clause (B) of this subparagraph (5), reasonable variations may be permitted, and exemptions as to small packages or articles not in packages or other containers may be established by regulations prescribed by the Secretary;

"'(6) if any word, statement, or other information required by or under authority of this Act to appear on the label or other labeling is not prominently placed thereon with such conspicuousness (as compared with other words, statements, designs, or devices, in the labeling) and in such terms as to render it likely to be read and understood by the ordinary individual under customary conditions of purchase and use;

"'(7) if it purports to be or is represented as a food for which a definition and standard of identity or composition has been prescribed by regulations of the Secretary under section 8 of this Act unless (A) it conforms to such definition and standard, and (B) its label bears the name of the food specified in the definition and standard and, insofar as may be required by such regulations, the common names of optional ingredients (other than spices, flavoring, and coloring) present in such food;

"'(8) if it purports to be or is represented as a food for which a standard or standards of fill of container have been prescribed by regulations of the Secretary under section 8 of this Act, and it falls below the standard of fill of container applicable thereto, unless its label bears, in such manner and form as such regulations specify, a statement that it falls below such standard;

"'(9) if it is not subject to the provisions of subparagraph (7), unless its label bears (A) the common or usual name of the food, if any there be, and (B) in case it is fabricated from two or more ingredients, the common or usual name of each such ingredient; except that spices, flavorings, and colorings may, when authorized by the Secretary, be designated as spices, flavorings, and colorings without naming each: *Provided*, That to the extent that compliance with the requirements of clause (B) of this subparagraph (9) is impracticable or results in deception or unfair competition, exemptions shall be established by regulations promulgated by the Secretary;

"'(10) if it purports to be or is represented for special dietary uses unless its label bears such information concerning its vitamin, mineral, and other dietary properties as the Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, determines to be, and by regulations prescribes as, necessary in order fully to inform purchasers as to its value for such uses;

"'(11) if it bears or contains any artificial flavoring, artificial coloring, or chemical preservative, unless it bears labeling stating that fact: *Provided*, That, to the extent that compliance with the requirements of this subparagraph (11) is impracticable, exemptions shall be established by regulations promulgated by the Secretary; or

"'(12) if it fails to bear on its containers, and in the case of nonconsumer packaged carcasses (if the Secretary so requires) directly thereon, as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe, the official inspection legend and official establishment number of the establishment where the article was processed, and, unrestricted by any of the foregoing, such other information as the Secretary may require in such regulations to assure that it will not have false or misleading labeling and that the public will be informed of the manner of handling required to maintain the article in a wholesome condition.

"'(i) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Agriculture or his delegate.

"'(j) The term "person" means any individual, partnership, corporation, association, or other business unit.

"'(k) The term "inspector" means: (1) an employee or official of the United States Government authorized by the Secretary to inspect poultry and poultry products under the authority of this Act, or (2) any employee or official of the government of any State or territory or the District of Columbia authorized by the Secretary to inspect poultry and poultry products under authority of this Act, under an agreement entered into between the Secretary and the appropriate State or other agency.

"'(l) The term "official mark" means the official inspection legend or any other symbol prescribed by regulation of the Secretary to identify the status of any article or poultry under this Act.

"'(m) The term "official inspection legend" means any symbol prescribed by regulations of the Secretary showing that an article was inspected for wholesomeness in accordance with this Act.

"'(n) The term "official certificate" means any certificate prescribed by regulations of the Secretary for issuance by an inspector or other person performing official functions under this Act.

"'(o) The term "official device" means any device prescribed or authorized by the Secretary for use in applying any official mark.

"'(p) The term "official establishment" means any establishment as determined by the Secretary at which inspection of the slaughter of poultry, or the processing of poultry products, is maintained under the authority of this Act.

" '(q) The term "inspection service" means the official Government service within the Department of Agriculture designated by the Secretary as having the responsibility for carrying out the provisions of this Act.

" '(r) The term "container" or "package" includes any box, can, tin, cloth, plastic, or other receptacle, wrapper, or cover.

" '(s) The term "label" means a display of written, printed, or graphic matter upon any article or the immediate container (not including packaged liners) of any article; and the term "labeling" means all labels and other written, printed, or graphic matter (1) upon any article or any of its containers or wrappers, or (2) accompanying such article.

" '(t) The term "shipping container" means any container used or intended for use in packaging the product packed in an immediate container.

" '(u) The term "immediate container" includes any consumer package; or any other container in which poultry products, not consumer packaged, are packed.

" '(v) The term "capable of use as human food" shall apply to any carcass, or part or product of a carcass, of any poultry, unless it is denatured or otherwise identified as required by regulations prescribed by the Secretary to deter its use as human food, or it is naturally inedible by humans.

" '(w) The term "processed" means slaughtered, canned, salted, stuffed, rendered, boned, cut up, or otherwise manufactured or processed.

" '(x) The term "Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act" means the Act so entitled, approved June 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 1040), and Acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto.

" '(y) The terms "pesticide chemical", "food additive", "color additive", and "raw agricultural commodity" shall have the same meanings for purposes of this Act as under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

" '(z) The term "poultry products broker" means any person engaged in the business of buying or selling poultry products on commission, or otherwise negotiating purchases or sales of such articles other than for his own account or as an employee of another person.

" '(aa) The term "renderer" means any person engaged in the business of rendering carcasses, or parts or products of the carcasses, of poultry, except rendering conducted under inspection or exemption under this Act.

" '(bb) The term "animal food manufacturer" means any person engaged in the business of manufacturing or processing animal food derived wholly or in part from carcasses, or parts or products of the carcasses, of poultry.'

"Sec. 5. Section 5 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 454) is hereby amended to read:

" 'Sec. 5. (a) It is the policy of the Congress to protect the consuming public from poultry products that are adulterated or misbranded and to assist in efforts by State and other government agencies to accomplish this objective. In furtherance of this policy—

" '(1) The Secretary is authorized, whenever he determines that it would effectuate the purposes of this Act, to cooperate with the appropriate State agency in developing and administering a State poultry product inspection program in any State which has enacted a mandatory State poultry product inspection law that imposes ante mortem and post mortem inspection, reinspection and sanitation requirements that are at least equal to those under this Act, with respect to all or certain classes of persons engaged in the State in slaughtering poultry or processing poultry products for use as human food solely for distribution within such State.

" '(2) The Secretary is further authorized, whenever he determines that it would effectuate the purposes of this Act, to cooperate with appropriate State agencies in developing and administering State programs under State laws containing authorities at least equal to those provided in section 11 of this Act; and to cooperate with other agencies of the United States in carrying out any provisions of this Act. In carrying out the provisions of this Act, the Secretary may conduct such examinations, investigations, and inspections as he determines practicable through any officer or employee of any State or Territory or the District of Columbia commissioned by the Secretary for such purpose.

" '(3) Cooperation with State agencies under this section may include furnishing to the appropriate State agency (i) advisory assistance in planning and otherwise developing an adequate State program under the State law; and (ii) technical and laboratory assistance and training (including necessary curricular and instructional materials and equipment), and financial and other aid for administration of such a program. The amount to be contributed to any State by the Secretary under this section from Federal funds for any year shall not exceed 50 per centum of the estimated total cost of the cooperative program; and the Federal funds shall be allocated among the States desiring to cooperate on an equitable basis. Such cooperation and payment shall be contingent at all times upon the administration of the State program in a manner which the Secretary, in consultation with the appropriate advisory committee appointed under subparagraph (4), deems adequate to effectuate the purposes of this section.

" '(4) The Secretary may appoint advisory committees consisting of such representatives of appropriate State agencies as the Secretary and the State agencies may designate to consult with him concerning State and Federal programs with respect to poultry product inspection and other matters within the scope of this Act, including evaluating State programs for purposes of this Act and obtaining better coordination and more uniformity among the State programs and between the Federal and State programs and adequate protection of consumers.

" '(b) The appropriate State agency with which the Secretary may cooperate under this Act shall be a single agency in the State which is primarily responsible for the coordination of the State programs having objectives similar to those under this Act. When the State program includes performance of certain functions by a municipality or other subordinate governmental unit, such unit shall be deemed to be a part of the State agency for purposes of this section.

" '(c) (1) If the Secretary has reason to believe, by thirty days prior to the expiration of two years after enactment of the Wholesome Poultry Products Act, that a State has failed to develop or is not enforcing, with respect to all establishments within its jurisdiction (except those that would be exempted from Federal inspection under subparagraph (2) of this paragraph (c)) at which poultry are slaughtered, or poultry products are processed for use as human food, solely for distribution within such State, and the products of such establishments, requirements at least equal to those imposed under sections 1–4, 6–10, and 12–22 of this Act, he shall promptly notify the Governor of the State of this fact. If the Secretary determines, after consultation with the Governor of the State, or representative selected by him, that such requirements have not been developed and activated, he shall promptly after the expiration of such two-year period designate such State as one in which the provisions of said sections of this Act shall apply to operations and transactions wholly within such State: *Provided*, That if the Secretary has reason to believe that the State will activate such requirements within one additional year, he may delay such designation for said period, and not designate the State, if he determines at the end of the year that the State then has such requirements in effective operation. The Secretary shall publish any such designation in the Federal Register and, upon the expiration of thirty days after such publication, the provisions of said sections of this Act shall apply to operations and transactions and to persons engaged therein in the State to the same extent and in the same manner as if such operations and transactions were conducted in or for commerce. However, notwithstanding any other provision of this section, if the Secretary determines that any establishment within a State is producing adulterated poultry products for distribution within such State which would clearly endanger the public health he shall notify the Governor of the State and the appropriate advisory committee provided for by subparagraph (a) (4) of this section of such fact for effective action under State or local law. If the State does not take action to prevent such endangering of the public health within a reasonable time after such notice, as determined by the Secretary, in light of the risk to public health, the Secretary may forthwith designate any such establishment as subject to the provisions of said sections of this Act, and thereupon the establishment and operator thereof shall be subject to such provisions as though engaged in commerce until such time as the Secretary determines that such State has developed and will enforce requirements at least equal to those imposed under said sections.

" '(2) The provisions of this Act requiring inspection of the slaughter of poultry and the processing of poultry products shall not apply to operations of types traditionally and usually conducted at retail stores and restaurants, when conducted at any retail store or restaurant or similar retail-type establishment for sale in normal retail quantities or service of such articles to consumers at such establishments if such establishments are subject to such inspection provisions only under this paragraph (c).

" '(3) Whenever the Secretary determines that any State designated under this paragraph (c) has developed and will enforce State poultry products inspection requirements at least equal to those imposed under the aforesaid sections of this Act, with respect to the operations and transactions within such State which are regulated under subparagraph (1) of this paragraph (c), he shall terminate the designation of such State under this paragraph (c), but this shall not preclude the subsequent redesignation of the State at any time upon thirty days' notice to the Governor and publication in the Federal Register in accordance with this paragraph, and any State may be designated upon such notice and publication, at any time after the period specified in this paragraph whether or not the State has theretofore been designated, upon the Secretary determining that it is not effectively enforcing requirements at least equal to those imposed under said sections.

" '(4) The Secretary shall promptly upon enactment of the Wholesome Poultry Products Act, and periodically thereafter, but at least annually, review the requirements, including the enforcement thereof, of the several States not designated under this paragraph (c), with respect to the slaughter, and the processing storage, handling, and distribution of poultry products, and inspection of such operations, and annually report thereon to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate in the report required in section 27 of this Act.

" '(d) As used in this section, the term "State" means any State (including the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico) or organized territory.' "

SEC. 6. Section 6 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 455) is hereby amended as follows:

(a) Paragraph (a) is amended to read:

“‘(a) For the purpose of preventing the entry into or flow or movement in commerce of, or the burdening of commerce by, any poultry product which is capable of use as human food and is adulterated, the Secretary shall, where and to the extent considered by him necessary, cause to be made by inspectors ante mortem inspection of poultry in each official establishment processing poultry or poultry products for commerce or otherwise subject to inspection under this Act.’

“(b) Paragraph (b) is amended by deleting the phrase ‘in, or for marketing in a designated city or area’ and substituting the phrase ‘otherwise subject to inspection under this Act’; by inserting the word ‘and’ before the word ‘reinspection’; and by inserting the phrase ‘capable of use as human food’ after the phrase ‘poultry products’ the first time the latter phrase appears in the paragraph.

“(c) Paragraph (c) is amended by deleting the phrase ‘unwholesome or’ and the phrase ‘not unwholesome and’ each time they appear therein; and by inserting the word ‘other’ before the phrase ‘poultry products’.

“SEC. 7. In section 7 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 456) paragraph (a) is hereby amended by deleting the phrase ‘in or for marketing in a designated major consuming area’ and substituting the phrase ‘otherwise subject to inspection under this Act’; by deleting the phrase ‘in a designated major consuming area’ and substituting the phrase ‘burdensome effect upon commerce’; and by deleting the phrase ‘unwholesome or’.

“SEC. 8. Section 8 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 457) is hereby amended to read:

“‘SEC. 8. (a) All poultry products inspected at any official establishment under the authority of this Act and found to be not adulterated, shall at the time they leave the establishment bear, in distinctly legible form, on their shipping containers and immediate containers as the Secretary may require, the information required under paragraph (h) of section 4 of this Act. In addition, the Secretary whenever he determines such action is practicable and necessary for the protection of the public, may require nonconsumer packaged carcasses at the time they leave the establishment to bear directly thereon in distinctly legible form any information required under such paragraph (h).

“‘(b) The Secretary, whenever he determines such action is necessary for the protection of the public, may prescribe: (1) the styles and sizes of type to be used with respect to material required to be incorporated in labeling to avoid false or misleading labeling in marking and labeling any articles or poultry subject to this Act; (2) definitions and standards of identity or composition or articles subject to this Act and standards of fill of container for such articles not inconsistent with any such standards established under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, and there shall be consultation between the Secretary and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare prior to the issuance of such standards under either Act relating to articles subject to this Act to avoid inconsistency in such standards and possible impairment of the coordinated effective administration of these Acts. There shall also be consultation between the Secretary and an appropriate advisory committee provided for in section 5 of this Act, prior to the issuance of such standards under this Act, to avoid, insofar as feasible, inconsistency between Federal and State standards.

“‘(c) No article subject to this Act shall be sold or offered for sale by any person in commerce, under any name or other marking or labeling which is false or misleading, or in any container of a misleading form or size, but established trade names and other marking and labeling and containers which are not false or misleading and which are approved by the Secretary are permitted.

“‘(d) If the Secretary has reason to believe that any marking or labeling or the size or form of any container in use or proposed for use with respect to any article subject to this Act is false or misleading in any particular, he may direct that such use be withheld unless the marking, labeling, or container is modified in such manner as he may prescribe so that it will not be false or misleading. If the person using or proposing to use the marking, labeling, or container does not accept the determination of the Secretary, such person may request a hearing, but the use of the marking, labeling, or container shall, if the Secretary so directs, be withheld pending hearing and final determination by the Secretary. Any such determination by the Secretary shall be conclusive unless, within thirty days after receipt of notice of such final determination, the person adversely affected thereby appeals to the United States Court of Appeals for the circuit in which such person has its principal place of business or to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. The provisions of section 204 of the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921 (42 Stat. 162, as amended; 7 U.S.C. 194) shall be applicable to appeals taken under this section.’

“SEC. 9. Section 9 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 458) is amended to read:

“‘SEC. 9. (a) No person shall—

“‘(1) slaughter any poultry or process any poultry products which are capable of use as human food at any establishment processing any such articles for commerce, except in compliance with the requirements of this Act;

“‘(2) sell, transport, offer for sale or transportation, or receive for transportation, in commerce, (A) any poultry products which are capable of use as human food and are adulterated or misbranded at the time of such sale, transportation, offer for sale or transportation, or receipt for transportation; or (B) any poultry products required to be inspected under this Act unless they have been so inspected and passed;

“‘(3) do, with respect to any poultry products which are capable of use as human food, any act while they are being transported in commerce or held for sale after such transportation, which is intended to cause or has the effect of causing such products to be adulterated or misbranded;

“‘(4) sell, transport, offer for sale or transportation, or receive for transportation, in commerce or from an official establishment, any slaughtered poultry from which the blood, feathers, feet, head, or viscera have not been removed in accordance with regulations promulgated by the Secretary, except as may be authorized by regulations of the Secretary;

“‘(5) use to his own advantage, or reveal other than to the authorized representatives of the United States Government or any State or other government in their official capacity, or as ordered by a court in any judicial proceedings, any information acquired under the authority of this Act concerning any matter which is entitled to protection as a trade secret.

“‘(b) No brand manufacturer, printer, or other person shall cast, print, lithograph, or otherwise make any device containing any official mark or simulation thereof, or any label bearing any such mark or simulation, or any form of official certificate or simulation thereof, except as authorized by the Secretary.

“‘(c) No person shall—

“‘(1) forge any official device, mark, or certificate;

“‘(2) without authorization from the Secretary use any official device, mark, or certificate, or simulation thereof, or alter, detach, deface, or destroy any official device, mark, or certificate;

“‘(3) contrary to the regulations prescribed by the Secretary, fail to use, or to detach, deface, or destroy any official device, mark, or certificate;

“‘(4) knowingly possess, without promptly notifying the Secretary or his representative, any official device or any counterfeit, simulated, forged, or improperly altered official certificate or any device or label or any carcass of any poultry, or part or product thereof, bearing any counterfeit, simulated, forged, or improperly altered official mark;

“‘(5) knowingly make any false statement in any shipper's certificate or other nonofficial or official certificate provided for in the regulations prescribed by the Secretary; or

“‘(6) knowingly represent that any article has been inspected and passed, or exempted, under this Act when, in fact, it has, respectively, not been so inspected and passed, or exempted.’

“SEC. 10. Section 10 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 459) is hereby amended by deleting the phrase ‘in or for marketing in a designated major consuming area’ and substituting the phrase ‘otherwise subject to this Act’.

“SEC. 11. Section 11 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 460) is hereby amended to read:

“‘(a) Inspection shall not be provided under this Act at any establishment for the slaughter of poultry or the processing of any carcasses or parts or products of poultry, which are not intended for use as human food, but such articles shall, prior to their offer for sale or transportation in commerce, unless naturally inedible by humans, be denatured or otherwise identified as prescribed by regulations of the Secretary to deter their use for human food. No person shall buy, sell, transport, or offer for sale or transportation, or receive for transportation, in commerce, or import, any poultry carcasses or parts or products thereof which are not intended for use as human food unless they are denatured or otherwise identified as required by the regulations of the Secretary or are naturally inedible by humans.

“‘(b) The following classes of persons shall, for such period of time as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe, not to exceed two years unless otherwise directed by the Secretary for good cause shown, keep such records as are properly necessary for the effective enforcement of this Act in order to insure against adulterated or misbranded poultry products for the American consumer; and all persons subject to such requirements shall, at all reasonable times, upon notice by a duly authorized representative of the Secretary, afford such representative access to their places of business and opportunity to examine the facilities, inventory, and records thereof, to copy all such records, and to take reasonable samples of their inventory upon payment of the fair market value therefor—

“‘(1) Any person that engages in the business of slaughtering any poultry or processing, freezing, packaging, or labeling any carcasses, or parts or products of carasses, of any poultry, for commerce, for use as human food or animal food;

“‘(2) Any person that engages in the business of buying or selling (as poultry products brokers, wholesalers or otherwise), or transporting, in commerce, or storing in or for commerce, or importing, any carcasses, or parts or products of carcasses, of any poultry;

“‘(3) Any person that engages in business, in or for commerce, as a renderer, or engages in the business of buying, selling, or transporting, in commerce, or importing, any dead, dying, disabled, or diseased poultry or parts of the carcasses of any poultry that died otherwise than by slaughter.

“‘(c) No person shall engage in business, in or for commerce, as a poultry products broker, renderer, or animal food manufacturer, or engage in business in commerce as a wholesaler of any carcasses, or parts or products of the carcasses, of any poultry, whether intended for human food or other purposes, or engage in business as a public warehouseman storing any such articles in or for commerce, or engage in the business of buying, selling, or transporting in commerce, or importing, any dead, dying, disabled, or diseased poultry, or parts of the carcasses of any poultry that died otherwise than by slaughter, unless, when required by regulations of the Secretary, he has registered with the Secretary his name, and the address of each place of business at which, and all trade names under which, he conducts such business.

"'(d) No person engaged in the business of buying, selling, or transporting in commerce, or importing, dead, dying, disabled, or diseased poultry, or any parts of the carcasses of any poultry that died otherwise than by slaughter, shall buy, sell, transport, offer for sale or transportation, or receive for transportation, in commerce, or import, any dead, dying, disabled, or diseasesd poultry or parts of the carcasses of any poultry that died otherwise than by slaughter, unless such transaction, transportation, or importation is made in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe to assure that such poultry, or the unwholesome parts or products thereof, will be prevented from being used for human food.

"'(e) The authority conferred on the Secretary by paragraph (b), (c), or (d) of this section with respect to persons engaged in the specified kinds of business in or for commerce may be exercised with respect to persons engaged, in any State or organized territory, in such kinds of businesses but not in or for commerce, whenever the Secretary determines, after consultation with an appropriate advisory committee provided for in section 5 of this Act, that the State or territory does not have at least equal authority under its laws or such authority is not exercised in a manner to effectuate the purposes of this Act, including the State or territory providing for the Secretary or his representative being afforded access to such places of business and the facilities, inventories, and records thereof, and the taking of reasonable samples, where he determines necessary in carrying out his responsibilities under this Act; and in such case the provisions of paragraph (b), (c), or (d) of this section, respectively, shall apply to such persons to the same extent and in the same manner as if they were engaged in such business in or for commerce and the transactions involved were in commerce.'

"SEC. 12. Section 12 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 461) is hereby amended as follows:

"(a) Paragraph (a) is amended by changing the first sentence to read:

"' Any person who violates the provisions of section 9, 10, 11, 14, or 17 of this Act shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both; but if such violation involves intent to defraud, or any distribution or attempted distribution of an article that is adulterated (except as defined in section 4(g)(8) of this Act), such person shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.'

"(b) Paragraph (b) is amended by deleting the phrase 'not otherwise eligible' and substituting the phrase 'otherwise not eligible'; by deleting the word 'slaughtered' each time it appears; and by adding the following before the period at the end of the paragraph: 'or unless the carrier refuses to furnish on request of a representative of the Secretary the name and address of the person from whom he received such poultry or poultry products, and copies of all documents, if any there be, pertaining to the delivery of the poultry or poultry products to such carrier'.

"(c) A new paragraph (c) is added to read:

"'(c) Any person who forcibly assaults, resists, opposes, impedes, intimidates, or interferes with any person while engaged in or on account of the performance of his official duties under this Act shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both. Whoever, in the commission of any such acts, uses a deadly or dangerous weapon, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both. Whoever kills any person while engaged in or on account of the performance of his official duties under this Act shall be punished as provided under sections 1111 and 1114 of title 18, United States Code.'

"SEC. 13. (a) Section 14 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 463) is hereby amended by designating the present provisions thereof as paragraph (b); by inserting the word 'other' before the word 'rules' in said paragraph; and by adding a new paragraph (a) to read:

"'(a) The Secretary may by regulations prescribe conditions under which poultry products capable of use as human food, shall be stored or otherwise handled by any person engaged in the business of buying, selling, freezing, storing, or transporting, in or for commerce, or importing, such articles whenever the Secretary deems such action necessary to assure that such articles will not be adulterated or misbranded when delivered to the consumer. Violation of any such regulation is prohibited.

"'(b) Section 14 of said Act is further amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"'(c) In applying the provisions of section 553(c) of title 5, United States Code, to proposed rule making under this Act, an opportunity for the oral presentation of views shall be accorded all interested persons.'

"SEC. 14. Section 15 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 464) is hereby amended as follows:

"(a) In paragraph (a), subparagraph (1) is deleted and subparagraphs (2), (3), and (4) are redesignated, respectively, as subparagraphs (1), (2), and (3);

"(b) In paragraph (a), in redesignated subparagraph (2) (formerly (3)), the date 'July 1, 1960' is deleted and the date 'January 1, 1970' is substituted therefor;

"(c) Paragraph (b) is redesignated as paragraph (e) and new paragraphs (b), (c), and (d) are added to read:

"'(b) The Secretary may, under such sanitary conditions as he may by regulations prescribe, exempt from the inspection requirements of this Act the slaughter of poultry, and the processing of poultry products by any person in any Territory not organized with a legislative body, solely for distribution within such Territory, when the Secretary determines that it is impracticable to provide such inspection within the limits of funds appropriated for administration of this Act and that such exemption will aid in the effective administration of this Act.

"'(c)(1) The Secretary shall, by regulation and under such conditions, including sanitary standards, practices, and procedures, as he may prescribe, exempt from specific provisions of this Act—

"'(A) the slaughtering by any person of poultry of his own raising, and the processing by him and transportation in commerce of the poultry products exclusively for use by him and members of his household and his nonpaying guests and employees;

"'(B) the custom slaughter by any person of poultry delivered by the owner thereof for such slaughter, and the processing by such slaughterer and transportation in commerce of the poultry products exclusively for use, in the household of such owner, by him and members of his household and his nonpaying guests and employees: *Provided*, That such custom slaughterer does not engage in the business of buying or selling any poultry products capable of use as human food;

"'(C) the slaughtering and processing of poultry products in any State or Territory or the District of Columbia by any poultry producer on his own premises with respect to sound and healthy poultry raised on his premises and the distribution by any person solely within such jurisdiction of the poultry products derived from such operations, if, in lieu of other labeling requirements, such poultry products are identified with the name and address of such poultry producer, and if they are not otherwise misbranded, and are sound, clean, and fit for human food when so distributed; and

"'(D) the slaughtering of sound and healthy poultry or the processing of poultry products of such poultry in any State or territory or the District of Columbia by any poultry producer or other person for distribution by him solely within such jurisdiction directly to household consumers, restaurants, hotels, and boarding houses, for use in their own dining rooms, or in the preparation of meals for sales direct to consumers, if, in lieu of other labeling requirements, such poultry products are identified with the name and address of the processor, and if they are not otherwise misbranded and are sound, clean, and fit for human food when distributed by such processor.

The exemptions provided for in clauses (C) and (D) above shall not apply if the poultry producer or other person engages in the current calendar year in the business of buying or selling any poultry or poultry products other than as specified in such clauses.

"'(2) In addition to the specific exemptions provided herein, the Secretary shall, when he determines that the protection of consumers from adulterated or misbranded poultry products will not be impaired by such action, provide by regulation, consistent with subparagraph (3), for the exemption of the operation and products of small enterprises (including poultry producers), not exempted under subparagraph (1), which are engaged in any State or Territory or the District of Columbia in slaughtering and/or cutting up poultry for distribution as carcasses or parts thereof solely for distribution within such jurisdiction, from such provisions of this Act as he deems appropriate, while still protecting the public from adulterated or misbranded products, under such conditions, including sanitary requirements, as he shall prescribe to effectuate the purposes of this Act.

"'(3) No exemption under subparagraph (1) (C) or (D) or subparagraph (2) shall apply to any poultry producer or other person who slaughters or processes the products of more than 5,000 turkeys or an equivalent number of poultry of all species in the current calendar year (four birds of other species being deemed the equivalent of one turkey).

"'(4) The provisions of this Act shall not apply to poultry producers with respect to poultry of their own raising on their own farms if (i) such producers slaughter not more than 250 turkeys, or not more than an equivalent number of birds of all species during the calendar year for which this exemption is being determined (four birds of other species being deemed the equivalent of one turkey); (ii) such poultry producers do not engage in buying or selling poultry products other than those produced from poultry raised on their own farms; and (iii) none of such poultry moves in commerce (as defined in section 4(a) of this Act).

"'(d) The adulteration and misbranding provisions of this Act, other than the requirement of the inspection legend, shall apply to articles which are exempted from inspection under this section, except as otherwise specified under paragraphs (a) and (c).'

"SEC. 15. Section 16 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 465) is hereby amended to read:

"'SEC. 16. The Secretary may limit the entry of poultry products and other materials into any official establishment, under such conditions as he may prescribe to assure that allowing the entry of such articles into such inspected establishments will be consistent with the purposes of this Act.'

"Sec. 16. Section 18 of said Act (21 U.S.C 467) is hereby amended to read:

"'Sec. 18. (a) The Secretary may (for such period, or indefinitely, as he deems necessary to effectuate the purposes of this Act) refuse to provide, or withdraw, inspection service under this Act with respect to any establishment if he determines, after opportunity for a hearing is accorded to the applicant for, or recipient of, such service, that such applicant or recipient is unfit to engage in any business requiring inspection upon this Act because the applicant or recipient or anyone responsibly connected with the applicant or recipient, has been convicted, in any Federal or State court, within the previous ten years of (1) any felony or more than one misdemeanor under any law based upon the acquiring, handling, or distributing of adulterated, mislabeled, or deceptively packaged food or fraud in connection with transactions in food; or (2) any felony, involving fraud, bribery, extortion, or any other act or circumstance indicating a lack of the integrity needed for the conduct of operations affecting the public health. For the purpose of this paragraph a person shall be deemed to be responsibly connected with the business if he was a partner, officer, director, holder, or owner of 10 per centum or more of its voting stock or employee in a managerial or executive capacity.

"'(b) Upon the withdrawal of inspection service from any official establishment for failure to destroy condemned poultry products as required under section 6 of this Act, or other failure of an official establishment to comply with the requirements as to premises, facilities, or equipment, or the operation thereof, as provided in section 7 of this Act, or the refusal of inspection service to any applicant therefor because of failure to comply with any requirements under section 7, the applicant for, or recipient of, the service shall, upon request, be afforded opportunity for a hearing with respect to the merits or validity of such action; but such withdrawal or refusal shall continue in effect unless otherwise ordered by the Secretary.

"'(c) The determination and order of the Secretary when made after opportunity for hearing, with respect to withdrawal or refusal of inspection service under this Act shall be final and conclusive unless the affected applicant for, or recipient of, inspection service files application for judicial review within thirty days after the effective date of such order in the United States Court of Appeals as provided in section 8 of this Act. Judicial review of any such order shall be upon the record upon which the determination and order are based. The provisions of section 204 of the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921, as amended, shall be applicable to appeals taken under this section.'

"Sec. 17. Sections 19 through 22 of said Act (21 U.S.C. 468, 469, 451 note) are hereby redesignated as sections 25, 26, 28, and 29, respectively, and new sections 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 27 are added to the Act to read, respectively:

"'Sec. 19. Whenever any poultry product, or any product exempted from the definition of a poultry product, or any dead, dying, disabled, or diseased poultry is found by any authorized representative of the Secretary upon any premises where it is held for purposes of, or during or after distribution in, commerce or otherwise subject to this Act, and there is reason to believe that any such article is adulterated or misbranded and is capable of use as human food, or that it has not been inspected, in violation of the provisions of this Act or of any other Federal law or the laws of any State or Territory, or the District of Columbia, or that it has been or is intended to be, distributed in violation of any such provisions, it may be detained by such representative for a period not to exceed twenty days, pending action under section 20 of this Act or notification of any Federal, State, or other governmental authorities having jurisdiction over such article or poultry, and shall not be moved by any person, from the place at which it is located when so detained, until released by such representative. All official marks may be required by such representative to be removed from such article or poultry before it is released unless it appears to the satisfaction of the Secretary that the article or poultry is eligible to retain such marks.

"'Sec. 20. (a) Any poultry product, or any dead, dying, disabled, or diseased poultry, that is being transported in commerce or otherwise subject to this Act, or is held for sale in the United States after such transportation, and that (1) is or has been processed, sold, transported, or otherwise distributed or offered or received for distribution in violation of this Act, or (2) is capable of use as human food and is adulterated or misbranded, or (3) in any other way is in violation of this Act, shall be liable to be proceeded against and seized and condemned, at any time, on a libel of information in any United States district court or other proper court as provided in section 21 of this Act within the jurisdiction of which the article or poultry is found. If the article or poultry is condemned it shall, after entry of the decree, be disposed of by destruction or sale as the court may direct and the proceeds, if sold, less the court costs and fees, and storage and other proper expenses, shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States, but the article or poultry shall not be sold contrary to the provisions of this Act, or the laws of the jurisdiction in which it is sold: *Provided*, That upon the execution and delivery of a good and sufficient bond conditioned that the article or poultry shall not be sold or otherwise disposed of contrary to the provisions of this Act, or the laws of the jurisdiction in which disposal is made, the court may direct that such article or poultry be delivered to the owner thereof subject to such supervision by authorized representatives of the Secretary as is necessary to insure compliance with the applicable laws. When a decree of condemnation is entered against the article or poultry and it is released under bond, or destroyed, court costs and fees, and storage and other proper expenses shall be awarded against the person, if any, intervening as claimant of the article or poultry. The proceedings in such libel cases shall conform, as nearly as may be, to the proceedings in admiralty, except that either party may demand trial by jury of any issue of fact joined in any case, and all such proceedings shall be at the suit of and in the name of the United States.

"'(b) The provisions of this section shall in no way derogate from authority for condemnation or seizure conferred by other provisions of this Act, or other laws.

"'Sec. 21. The United States district courts, the District Court of Guam, the District Court of the Virgin Islands, the highest court of American Samoa, and the United States courts of the other territories, are vested with jurisdiction specifically to enforce, and to prevent and restrain violations of, this Act, and shall have jurisdiction in all other kinds of cases arising under this Act, except as provided in section 8(d) or 18 of this Act. All proceedings for the enforcement or to restrain violations of this Act shall be by and in the name of the United States. Subpenas for witnesses who are required to attend a court of the United States, in any district, may run into any other district in any such proceeding.

"'Sec. 22. For the efficient administration and enforcement of this Act, the provisions (including penalties) of sections 6, 8, 9, and 10 of the Federal Trade Commission Act, as amended (38 Stat. 721–723, as amended; 15 U.S.C. 46, 48, 49, and 50) (except paragraphs (c) through (h) of section 6 and the last paragraph of section 9), and the provisions of subsection 409(l) of the Communications Act of 1934 (48 Stat. 1096, as amended; 47 U.S.C. 409(l)), are made applicable to the jurisdiction, powers, and duties of the Secretary in administering and enforcing the provisions of this Act and to any person with respect to whom such authority is exercised. The Secretary, in person or by such agents as he may designate, may prosecute any inquiry necessary to his duties under this Act in any part of the United States, and the powers conferred by said sections 9 and 10 of the Federal Trade Commission Act as amended on the district courts of the United States may be exercised for the purposes of this Act by any court designated in section 21 of this Act.

"'Sec. 23. Requirements within the scope of this Act with respect to premises, facilities and operations of any official establishment, which are in addition to, or different than those made under this Act may not be imposed by any State or Territory or the District of Columbia, except that any such jurisdiction may impose recordkeeping and other requirements within the scope of paragraph (b) of section 11 of this Act, if consistent therewith, with respect to any such establishment. Marking, labeling, packaging, or ingredient requirements (or storage or handling requirements found by the Secretary to unduly interfere with the free flow of poultry products in commerce) in addition to, or different than, those made under this Act may not be imposed by any State or Territory or the District of Columbia with respect to articles prepared at any official establishment in accordance with the requirements under this Act, but any State or Territory or the District of Columbia may, consistent with the requirements under this Act, exercise concurrent jurisdiction with the Secretary over articles required to be inspected under this Act, for the purpose of preventing the distribution for human food purposes of any such articles which are adulterated or misbranded and are outside of such an establishment, or, in the case of imported articles which are not at such an establishment, after their entry into the United States. This Act shall not preclude any State or Territory or the District of Columbia from making requirement or taking other action, consistent with this Act, with respect to any other matters regulated under this Act.

"'Sec. 24. (a) Poultry and poultry products shall be exempt from the provisions of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to the extent of the application or extension thereto of the provisions of this Act, except that the provisions of this Act shall not derogate from any authority conferred by the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act prior to enactment of the Wholesome Poultry Products Act.

"'(b) The detainer authority conferred by section 19 of this Act shall apply to any authorized representative of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for purposes of the enforcement of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to any poultry carcass, or part or product thereof, that is outside any official establishment, and for such purposes the first reference to the Secretary in section 19 shall be deemed to refer to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"'Sec. 27. The Secretary shall annually report to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate with respect to the slaughter of poultry subject to this Act, and the preparation, storage, handling, and distribution of poultry parts, poultry products, and inspection of establishments operated in connection therewith, including the operations under and the effectiveness of this Act.'

"Sec. 18. The heading 'Designation' preceding section 5 of said Act is hereby amended to read 'Federal and State cooperation'; the heading 'Labeling' preceding section 8 of said

Act is hereby amended to read 'Labeling and containers; standards'; the heading 'Records of interstate shipment' preceding section 11 of said Act is hereby amended to read 'Articles not intended for human food; record and related requirements for processors of poultry products and related industries engaged in commerce; registration requirements for related industries engaged in commerce; regulation of transactions in commerce in dead, dying, disabled, or diseased poultry and carcasses thereof; authority to regulate comparable intrastate activities'; and the heading 'Violations by exempted persons' preceding section 16 of said Act is hereby amended to read 'Entry of materials into official establishments.'

"Sec. 19. If any provisions of this Act or of the amendments made hereby or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the Act and the remaining amendments and of the application of such provision to other persons and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

"Sec. 20. This Act shall become effective upon enactment except as provided in paragraphs (a) through (c):

"(a) The provisions of subparagraphs (a)(2)(A) and (a)(3) of section 9 of the Poultry Products Inspection Act, as amended by section 9 of this Act, shall become effective upon the expiration of sixty days after enactment hereof.

"(b) Section 14 of this Act, amending section 15 of the Poultry Products Inspection Act, shall become effective upon the expiration of sixty days after enactment hereof.

"(c) Paragraph 11(d) of the Poultry Products Inspection Act, as added by section 11 of this Act, shall become effective upon the expiration of sixty days after enactment hereof."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Graham Purcell,
Frank A. Stubblefield,
Thomas S. Foley,
Catherine May,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Allen J. Ellender,
Spessard L. Holland,
Herman E. Talmadge,
Joseph M. Montoya,
George D. Aiken,
Milton R. Young,
J. Caleb Boggs,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

Statement

The Committee of Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16363) to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the Act agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in an accompanying conference report.

The House receded from its disagreement to the Senate amendment of Section 9(a), striking the word "knowingly" in order that the Poultry Act might conform to the corresponding section of the Federal Meat Inspection Act.

The Senate receded from its second amendment prohibiting the change in the official inspection legend for the reason that the Department had no present plans to change the same. It was the intent of the conferees and agreed in conference that the Secretary shall not require any change in the official inspection legend in use under this Act on the date of enactment of the Wholesome Poultry Products Act without reasonable notice to the processors and the opportunity for public hearing. If such change is made, ample time shall be provided for use by the processors of the supplies of labeling material on hand on the date of such change.

The Managers on the part of the House receded to the Senate amendment striking out the requirements that labeling information be arbitrarily placed on both the carcass and the container in the case of nonconsumer packaged carcasses. The conference language as agreed to would give the Secretary the discretion whenever such action was both practicable and necessary to require nonconsumer packaged carcasses leaving the processing plant to bear directly thereon any information the Secretary might consider necessary from paragraph (h) of Section 4 of the Act, but not necessarily all or even a major portion of such information. In practice, it might be possible to require only the name and address of the processor but the conferees intend that such requirement be minimal.

The Managers on the part of the House receded to the Senate amendment which would provide interested parties with an opportunity to present their views orally with respect to proposed rule making under the Wholesome Poultry Products Act.

With the addition of the word "unduly", the conferees agreed to the amendment by the Senate prohibiting a State, territory or the District of Columbia from imposing storage or handling regulations. It was agreed in conference that the Secretary needed such authority to dictate storage or handling requirements or the removal thereof only where those requirements unduly interfered with the flow of poultry products in commerce.

Managers on the part of the House receded to the omission by the Senate of the House language limiting the Secretary of Agriculture's authority to regulate storage and handling under Section 13 of the Act to permit the regulation by States rather than the Federal Government of these steps by local retail stores, restaurants and similar local enterprises. This was considered as being on consonance with the previous change.

The Managers on the Part of the House receded to the inclusion as a part of the declaration of policy a statement to the effect that scientific fact, information or other criteria must support the condemnation of poultry or poultry products because of disease.

The Managers on the part of the Senate receded to the language of the House bill and struck its amendment to the import poultry section of the Poultry Products Inspection Act. It was agreed that imported poultry constituted a very small segment of the industry and that it presented no problem requiring legislation.

The conferees agreed to a new exemption category by the inclusion in the conference report of a new section, 15(c)(4). This provides for a complete exclusion from the provisions of the Act of all poultry producers with respect to poultry of their own raising on their own farms if such producers do not buy or sell poultry products other than those produced from poultry raised on their farms, and if none of such poultry moves in interstate commerce so long as such producer slaughters not more than 250 turkeys, or not more than an equivalent number of birds of all species during the calendar year the exemption is determined. For the purposes of this Act four birds of other species are deemed equivalent to one turkey. This would enable the producer of this category to slaughter not more than 1,000 chickens and still be exempt from the Act.

Subsection 15(c)(3) was amended in conference to provide that poultry producers or processors of 5,000 turkeys or an equivalent number of other poultry in the current calendar year (four birds of other species being equivalent to one turkey) might, by the regulation of the Secretary of Agriculture, under conditions of sanitary standards practices and procedures that he prescribed, be exempt from specific provisions of the Act. It was agreed that the Secretary shall exercise such authority over this category of producer or processor as may be necessary to assure consumers of wholesome poultry products processed under sanitary conditions. The conferees by this action intended that the exemption granted producers slaughtering their own birds in small numbers, 250 turkeys or 1,000 other birds, be absolutely immune to this Act but that limited authority be extended the Secretary over processors, or producers slaughtering their own birds, in amounts from 250 turkeys, or their equivalent, up to but not more than 5,000 turkeys or the equivalent number of birds of other species.

Graham Purcell,
Frank A. Stubblefield,
Thomas S. Foley,
Catherine May,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. PURCELL (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement of the managers on the part of the House be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the gentleman from Texas would take some time to explain what is agreed to by the conferees in this report.

Mr. PURCELL. The members of the conference on this bill have agreed to certain changes in the poultry inspection bill. They agreed to strike out the word "knowingly" in regard to the truckdriver of a vehicle that would be moving poultry. This brings it into compliance with the red meat bill. We prohibit the Secretary from requiring changes in the inspection legend on the label that goes on first.

Mr. Speaker, the changes that have been included are, first, to strike out the word "knowingly." That has to do with the transporting of poultry. We further agreed that the Secretary is prohibited from requiring change of the inspection labels without notice and hearing as well as allowing the Secretary or giving the Secretary the opportunity to say that the suppliers can use up the supply of these labels.

Mr. Speaker, we grant the Secretary discretion to require a minimum of information on the labels on the carcasses of nonconsumer or packaged poultry where this is practicable and where it will be necessary.

Mr. Speaker, we give the interested parties the opportunity for public hearing in regard to rules and regulations that will be prescribed. We allow the Secretary to prescribe storage conditions only where they are imposed by the States which would unduly interfere with interstate commerce.

We agreed that the conditions prescribed by the Secretary would allow the time, where supported by scientific facts and information or certain criteria of diseases in trying to have standardization of inspection of the various plants.

We revised the exemption by establishing an absolute exemption from the use of producers in the slaughtering of their own birds where they are not engaged in interstate commerce and are not engaged in buying or selling other poultry.

Mr. Speaker, this exemption for the little farmer or the farmer housewife would provide other persons selling, persons who do not sell more than 250 turkeys or an equivalent number of birds are not killed. For this purpose there is prescribed that four birds other than turkeys or any other species are the equivalent to one turkey.

We agreed that the condemnation could only be done when supported by scientific fact, information or criteria in order to have a standardization of the inspection of the various procedures. We revised the exemption by establishing an absolute exemption from the act for producers slaughtering their own birds, where not in commerce and are not engaged in buying or selling of their poultry. This exemption is for the little farmer or the farmer housewife and particularly those persons selling who do not sell more than 250 turkeys or an equivalent number of birds in a calendar year and for this purpose we prescribed that four birds other than turkeys or any other species are the equivalent to one turkey. Then there is a permission or an exemption that covers all of those persons who are engaged in the processing of turkeys above 250 turkeys or not more than 5,000 would be granted by the Secretary under sanitary standards, procedures, and practices as he shall prescribe.

It is the intent of the conferees by this type of exemption to allow the Secretary only that authority as is necessary to assure the consumer of wholesome poultry produced and processed under sanitary conditions and in providing this type of exemption the conferees intend to minimize the expense and inconvenience to the small producer of the results of the enactment of this act.

Mr. Speaker, while the conferees intend to avoid unnecessary expense to the Government of inspection in the on-the-farm, or in-the-household operation, it is felt that the imposition only of reasonable sanitation requirements is in the best interest of the public.

This, Mr. Speaker, is the change or explanation of the changes that were made in this bill.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MAYNE. I would like to ask the distinguished gentleman from Texas a few questions to clarify the exemption language which is contained in the bill as recorded in the conference report, first, as to section 15(c)(4) which is printed in today's Record at page 25041.

This seems to use the same exemption approach as in section 14(c)(1) in the bill as originally passed by the House; that is, that those small operators were completely exempted from all provisions of the bill.

Of course, the measuring stick of the exemption is changed from dollars to number of birds, and there is a difference in the amount, but am I correct that this section 15(c)(4) is essentially the same in approach as was the exemption as contained in the bill as originally passed by the House?

Mr. PURCELL. The gentleman is correct, to this extent: That those producers of 250 turkeys or 5,000 other fowls are absolutely exempt from this act.

Mr. MAYNE. Excuse me, did the gentleman mean to say 5,000?

Mr. PURCELL. Pardon me; 1,000 fowls other than the turkeys. So to this extent the gentleman is correct, that these fowl producers—and I will say it again—of 250 turkeys or 1,000 other fowls other than turkeys, are exempt. And it was the full intent of the conferees, and I believe of this body, to totally exempt those processors from all provisions of this act.

Mr. MAYNE. So as far as this very small group is concerned, it is in effect an absolute exemption?

Mr. PURCELL. That is true.

Mr. MAYNE. Moving on to subsection 15(c)(3) in the bill as contained in the conference report, this I do not believe is quite so clear. This is substantially different from and a departure from the language which we had in the House bill; is that true?

Mr. PURCELL. This is substantially different than the House bill provided.

Mr. MAYNE. Does it not set up an entirely new category of producers and processors over whom the Secretary would have limited authority?

Mr. PURCELL. That is true.

Mr. MAYNE. As for this new category in subsection 15(c)(3), am I correct that it will include those processors and producers who slaughter more than 250 turkeys or 1,000 chickens per year, but not more than 5,000 turkeys or 20,000 chickens per year?

Mr. PURCELL. That is also correct.

Mr. MAYNE. I notice, and I call the attention of the gentleman from Texas to the final paragraph in the statement which the conferees filed with the report. I note there it expresses that the intention of the conferees was to give the Secretary such authority over this category of producers or processors in this larger number, such limited authority as may be necessary to assure consumers of wholesome poultry products produced under sanitary conditions.

The statement also says the Secretary may issue regulations under conditions of sanitary standards, practices, and procedures that he prescribes to exempt this category from specific provisions of the bill.

Mr. PURCELL. That is also correct.

Mr. MAYNE. Do I understand correctly from the language of this statement in the report, and from what the distinguished gentleman from Texas has already said in his explanation of this bill that the intent of this section is principally to insure that poultry be produced under proper sanitary conditions?

Mr. PURCELL. That is certainly the intent of the conferees, and of this body, I am sure.

Mr. MAYNE. And it is not the intent by this new exemption to burden small businessmen and farmers within the terms of this category with onerous recordkeeping or reports or bookkeeping procedures?

Mr. PURCELL. Our intent would be to burden the small commercial producer as little as would be possible to maintain the wholesome and clean conditions that have been referred to.

Mr. MAYNE. I thank the gentleman from Texas, and I ask, if the gentleman would yield further, that I may make a statement as to my position on the conference report.

Mr. PURCELL. I will yield to the gentleman from Iowa such time as he may consume for a statement.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I want to make it clear that I have no objections to this bill so far as large producers and processors are concerned; they are the ones who have made this type of legislation necessary.

There has been a dynamic revolution in the poultry industry since World War II, and tremendous poultry processing plants have sprung up that are super-automated which process up to 5,000 birds per hour, according to the testimony presented in the Subcommittee on Livestock and Grain which originally conducted the hearings on this legislation.

Now the Department of Agriculture officials made it clear in their testimony that it was these super plants and the dynamic changes in the industry that have required the kind of detailed regulation which is described in this bill.

Unfortunately, when the Department of Agriculture drafted the suggested bill, they made no provision at all for the little fellow. They drafted a bill that was all right so far as the big producers are concerned, but under their draft, there were going to be just as onerous requirements on the small farmer and the small processor who were conducting business on a small scale just as they always had.

In the Subcommittee on Livestock and Grains of the full Committee on Agriculture of this House, a determined effort was made by a number of members—and I may say on both sides of the aisle—to try to exempt the small businessman and farmer because we knew under this section the same kind of requirements imposed on them as on the large processors would for all practical purposes and effect drive them out of business altogether.

We were able to work out and agree in the committee, and that action was approved on the floor of the House, for a meaningful exemption which would exempt all producers and processors who did less than $15,000 worth of business a year from the provisions of this act.

Now the $15,000 a year of gross volume is small business these days and certainly these people are not the ones for whom this act should have been intended.

But this exemption which was crystal clear and which made no question about it, that the Secretary of Agriculture and his subordinates would not interfere in the business and in the lives of these small operators, it seems to me, has been surrendered in this new section 15(c)(3).

It is not as good an exemption. While it does limit the Secretary to such sort of regulation as will be required by proper sanitary conditions, still there is a possibility that that discretion on his part and that limited authority will be abused.

I regret very much that the conferees were not able to adhere to the $15,000 exemption which was in the House bill.

I therefore, as one of the conferees refused to sign the report and I want the RECORD to show that I am opposed to and will vote against this bill solely because of the weakening exemption provisions which are in the bill.

I think it is regrettable in this day and time when farmers and small businessmen and family farmers in particular are having a very difficult time even in surviving, to have any danger at all that the Secretary of Agriculture and the thousands of bureaucrats in that vast Department will have discretion to harass these people in this very small category.

I will, therefore, oppose the bill and ask my colleagues to vote against it when the matter comes to a vote.

I do not object to provisions of the bill other than the weakening exemption provisions. I commend the gentleman from Texas for the fine leadership that he has shown in guiding this bill through the House with respect to the other provisions. But I must, in all candor, say that I am very disappointed that the conferees were not willing to stand by the House version of the exemption, which in my earnest judgment is a much better provision and should have been upheld in the conference.

I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas for yielding.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I am glad to yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to say that I was one of the conferees who signed this report, and I did support it. I would also like to commend the chairman of the Subcommittee on Livestock and Feed Grains, for whom we all worked over long months trying to bring to the floor of this House a good, wholesome poultry inspection bill.

I would also like to say to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. MAYNE] that I think he did a great service in his long days within the subcommittee and the full committee trying to work out a good exemption. We all agree that this exemption was needed. I certainly understand his reservations. We were not able to hold all the provisions of that exemption. We won a few and lost a few. Overall on the conference report, I think your conferees managed to maintain very well the position of the House on all other points, and to win a few. I commend the chairman and all members of the conference on that conference report.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY]. I express appreciation to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. MAYNE]. I would like to express my appreciation to all members of this subcommittee who, on this and many other bills, have worked endless hours this entire year. I appreciate the support on both sides of the aisle that has been furnished so wholeheartedly for needed legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF S. 2484, AUTHORIZATION FOR EXTENSION OF NEW SENATE OFFICE BUILDING SITE

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1226 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 1226

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 2484) to authorize the extension of the additional Senate Office Building site. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Public Works, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The gentleman from California is recognized.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1226 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of S. 2484 to authorize the extension of the additional Senate Office Building site.

S. 2484 will authorize the Architect of the Capitol, under the direction of the Senate Office Building Commission, to acquire additional lots in square 725 on which the New Senate Office Building is located, and to request the closing of any alleys or parts of alleys or streets contained within the curb lines of square 725. It further authorizes the Architect of the Capitol, when directed by the Commission, to provide for the demolition of buildings or other structures on this property and, pending demolition, to use the property for Government purposes or to lease any or all of such property under such terms and conditions as he may deem most advantageous to the United States, and to incur any necessary expenses in connection with the demolition, use, or leasing of such property. The bill further provides that the property acquired shall become a part of the Capitol Grounds and extends the jurisdiction of the Capitol Police over the property.

The bill authorizes an appropriation of $1,250,000 for the purpose of the act.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1226 in order that S. 2484 may be considered.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I must ask my friend from California what kind of justification the Rules Committee had for even issuing a rule on this sort of thing at this time?

Mr. SISK. I might say to my good friend from Iowa, I suppose to some extent the same type justification we sometimes have when we act upon requests of the legislative committees. Our good friend on the Public Works Committee, the gentleman from Illinois, came before the Rules Committee, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] made his usual excellent speech to the committee—I mean this seriously, and not facetiously certainly, because the gentleman from Illinois does an excellent job—and he convinced a majority of the members of the Rules Committee that this was a matter that did deal with the housekeeping so far as the other body was concerned.

Generally, I know my good friend joins with me in resenting interference by the other body in our housekeeping affairs, and we, in turn, have some hesitance in getting involved in their housekeeping matters.

I will say to my good friend from Iowa, I think what this provides is serving notice that with respect to property in the vicinity of the Senate Office Building, the people who now own property should not put in any more improvements, and frankly we will save the Government money. It is not my understanding that this legislation authorizes construction of any building whatsoever. It simply serves notice, as I say, that in spite of the fact that there is a new visitors center going in down here in the old Union Station, as my good friend knows, and because of that, there is no question that property will become increasingly valuable, and there is no question that ultimately we will have to acquire this land, and we can acquire it now at one-tenth of what it will probably cost in 2 or 3 years. On that basis, I think it is a good and justifiable proposal.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I would hope the distinguished majority floor leader would put this over to some day when it is snowing so we would not have to be confronted with this sort of thing in the dying hours of this first session of the second session of the 90th Congress I can think of many things that would be more palatable, after coming in at 11 o'clock this morning, than considering this legislation this afternoon. If I have my way, we will certainly have a rollcall vote on this proposal.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the comments of my good friend, the gentleman from Iowa. I, too, am concerned with getting out as soon as possible. I would hope possibly we may discuss this as expeditiously as we can, and let the House work its will.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Pike].

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, I share the views of the gentleman from Iowa, and perhaps even more strongly, in that it was sort of indicted this would not be brought up today. It is not listed in today's Record as one of the bills which will be brought up today.

There are a great number of people who are very legitimately not here, who would take a sort of dubious view, I think, of this authorizing legislation. I will concede it does not call for or authorize the building of a building, but it does authorize $1.25 million to buy a lot for a building. It is obviously the first necessary step.

I would feel constrained to oppose the rule in this regard simply because I do not think we ought to be bringing it up under conditions where it was first indicated it would not be brought up, and certainly not at this time.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present. I think Members ought to be here to hear all the discussion in connection with this momentous proposition.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 306]

Anderson, Tenn.
Ashbrook
Ashley
Baring
Battin
Blanton
Bolling
Bolton
Bow
Brock
Broomfield
Brown, Mich.
Burke, Fla.
Burton, Utah
Cahill
Carey
Celler
Clancy
Collier
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Curtis
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dent
Derwinski
Devine
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Edwards, La.
Esch
Eshleman
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fascell
Fino
Flood
Ford, William D.
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gardner
Goodell
Griffiths
Gude
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Herlong
Holland
Horton
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Latta
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
MacGregor
Martin
Mathias, Md.
Meskill
Michel
Moore
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Nelsen
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
Patman
Poff
Price, Ill.
Quie
Quillen
Rarick
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rostenkowski
Roudebush
Sandman
Schadeberg
Skubitz
Steiger, Wis.
Taft
Talcott
Udall
Waggonner
Watkins
Watson
Widnall
Willis
Wright
Wylie
Zion

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Holifield). On this rollcall, 320 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF S. 2484, AUTHORIZATION FOR EXTENSION OF NEW SENATE OFFICE BUILDING SITE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. Sisk].

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman from New York [Mr. Pike] wish me to yield to him further for questions?

Mr. PIKE. I wish merely to say again, for the benefit of those who are now present who were not earlier, that I think after reading in today's Record what the program was, and not finding this particular measure in the program for today, with the fact that there are so many Members very legitimately not present who have some reservations under this legislation, in my opinion it is a very poor idea to bring it up today, and I shall oppose the rule.

Mr. SISK. I appreciate the statement of my good friend from New York. I must say that I am up here doing the best I can to do my job.

Mr. Speaker, unless someone else wishes me to yield, I reserve the balance of my time.

I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Anderson].

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Cleveland].

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, the reason I have taken this time on the rule is that, discussing this legislation with several Members of the House, I discovered they are not aware of the fact that on this legislation there are minority views signed by five Members, including myself. This is not a totally noncontroversial bill. I think that when we come to vote on the rule and on the bill itself, I want to call to the attention of the Members of the House that there are minority views and they are available at the usual place. Because they are brief I shall insert them at this point in the Record:

Minority Views on S. 2484

We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Public Works, believe that, at a time when our Nation is beset with so many problems—social, international and financial—it is particularly inappropriate to suggest authorization of funds for anything but necessities.

While it is true this property would be nice to have; and while it might cost less now than in the future; it is difficult to justify the cost at this time, especially in view of our pleas for economy in government.

We wish to make it clear that we are not sitting in judgment on the Senate of the United States regarding the stated needs of that body. But we have been told by that body in its report (S. Rept. 735) on this legislation:

"In view of the present heavy financial commitments of the U.S. Government, this is not the appropriate time to initiate construction of this badly needed addition. However, in order to have the necessary site available at such time as the addition to the New Senate Office Building can be constructed, and to reduce to the very minimum the cost of the site, the remaining lots in square 725 which would be needed as part of the site should be acquired immediately.

In other words, the Senate wants to acquire this property now because the price of the land might increase between now and the time when our financial condition will support the construction.

We do not argue with the Senate's need for more space. Nor do we question the fact that an addition to the New Senate Office Building will some day be needed.

We do question the wisdom of spending money on land acquisition now at a time funds are clearly needed for so many more urgent purposes and at a time when our Nation's financial resources are already seriously strained, with tax increases being asked to alleviate this strain.

We believe that adoption of this legislation would compound these financial difficulties and make a mockery of the many efforts to both Houses of the Congress and the Executive to cut expenses.

Therefore, we believe that passage of this legislation and acquisition of this land—admittedly not needed for construction at this time should be delayed until some of our more pressing fiscal problems have been resolved.

William H. Harsha.
Henry C. Schadeberg.
James C. Cleveland.
John J. Duncan.
Clarence E. Miller.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman not agree that this is a most inappropriate time to bring up a bill of this nature, a highly controversial bill, when many of the Members are gone from the city?

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the gentleman. This is particularly so, since there were several Members who signed the minority views, who, because of previous commitments, could not be here today. I know the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Harsha] and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Schadeberg] could not be here today, but they joined me and others in signing the minority views. I do think it is unfortunate to have a thing like this brought up under these circumstances.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. Berry].

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I asked for this time in order to ask a few questions. I direct them either to my friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. Sisk] or to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Anderson] or to the chairman of the committee who is bringing this bill to the House.

My question is: What is the emergency? Why do we bring it up here this afternoon, at the last moment?

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BERRY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the concern my good friend, the gentleman from South Dakota, has on the matter. We are all concerned, of course, about the timeliness of any legislation, particularly in these closing days, and also specifically with reference to expenditure of moneys that we must say otherwise would not be absolutely essential.

It is my understanding that a rather good case was made before the Committee on Rules that this bill is to take care of the situation where there is a substantially rapid appreciation of values of property in the general vicinity of this particular lot. As my good friend knows, the Visitors' Center has been authorized and will shortly be under construction. There is indication there is going to be a substantial commercial interest moving into this area.

At the present time, according to appraised figures, this property can be acquired at a fairly reasonable figure. I think the general feeling is that, say, within 2 or 3 years, the value could multiply by 10 times in cost to the Government.

Here again, if I may conclude, I will say to my good friend, the other body feels that in time they are going to need additional space and that they desire this for future expansion at some time in the future, and this would simply be a good investment. This does have to do, as I said earlier, with their housekeeping, and I have some hesitancy about getting involved.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman knows, I do not like to get involved in the housekeeping of the other body, but is there any intention of starting construction on this new Senate office building in the near future?

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, it is not my understanding there is any intention whatsoever in the foreseeable future. It is my further understanding that before any structure could be built, it would have to be authorized. This legislation does not authorize the building of a structure of any kind.

Mr. BERRY. That is correct, and the price is not going to go up a great deal between the 2d day of August and the 15th day of October; is it?

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I realize the point of the gentleman's question. I do not know how rapidly the values are going up. Perhaps the price might increase somewhat.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask another question.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BERRY. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Gray].

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to take any time on the rule. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the Committee on Public Works, I will say this bill came to us from the other body, where it was passed by a rollcall vote, and the other body assured us that if this House passed this legislation, the other body would not ask for one single dime as long as the tight fiscal policy prevails.

The only need and the emergency for this legislation now is to serve notice to the people who own this property not to make expensive improvements.

Mr. BERRY. They know that now. I have lived there for 13 years, and there has not been one dime spent on any improvements for 13 years.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, since the passage of the Visitors' Center legislation, there is now talk of a $250 million transportation center immediately behind the Union Station over the tracks. Already the Quality Courts has now started construction, a block away, of a $4 million motor hotel. I had the pleasure of turning the first spadeful of dirt.

Property has skyrocketed in this area in the last 30 days. There is an urgent need for this legislation to put these people on record. I reiterate, it will not cost the taxpayer a dime at this time.

We did not vote to authorize a new building, but merely to authorize purchase of $1,250,000 worth of property at this time, to put these people on notice.

This property is contiguous to the New Senate Office Building. It will have to be acquired, without question, so why not pay $1.25 million for it now, instead of paying $10 million or $20 million of the taxpayers' money later?

Mr. BERRY. Is there any intention of buying the Women's Club building on the other corner of this area?

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I would say to the gentleman the committee has an amendment to absolutely protect the preservation of the Belmont House, which is a historic building.

That will be taken out by an act of the committee.

Mr. BERRY. What kind of a building could the Senate put up without including——

Mr. GRAY. We are merely talking about the old large Belmont place and we would require two out of the three lots which comprise that place. There are three houses now located thereon, but we would leave the old Belmont house, the one which is of historical significance and take the two adjoining houses and lots.

Mr. BERRY. Yes, but if we wait——

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. BERRY. I respect the wishes and desires of the other body for having this bill under consideration and the necessity as they see it to buy it, but I do not understand why this great emergency has now arisen and why it has to be brought up today, especially in view of the fact when a great part of the Republican Members are gone. I do not see why we cannot wait until October to do this.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BERRY. I yield further to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. GRAY. The reason we are this late in getting this legislation to the floor of the House for consideration, in getting this legislation up today, is, I would say to the gentleman from South Dakota, that there has been a great effort to work out an agreement with the owners of the Belmont house. We reached that agreement only at 10 o'clock this morning. That is the purpose for the consideration of this bill at this time.

Mr. BERRY. You reached agreement on the bill before 11 o'clock this morning?

Mr. GRAY. As the gentleman from South Dakota knows, the Committee on Rules granted a rule on this legislation more than 3 weeks ago and the Speaker was willing to schedule it. We have been working feverishly upon this matter. We visited the site yesterday afternoon about 3 o'clock and worked out the agreement this morning which has led to the consideration of this bill. We have the agreement and that is the reason we asked the Speaker to schedule the bill for consideration today. This bill was not deliberately delayed until most of the Republican Members had left for their convention in Miami.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, during the entire 18 years I have been a Member of this body I have not opposed a rule. But I am going to oppose this rule and I hope to goodness there are enough Republicans around here to kill this rule.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Findley].

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if possibly this could be the logical explanation for the Senate's need for additional office ground: The Supreme Court back in June 1964 issued its famous one-man, one-vote edict. And as a result of that decision both houses of many State legislatures have been reapportioned, and the same edict has extended into so many other entities of government even to the county boards of supervisors and city councils. And, what could be more logical than for the Supreme Court to turn its attention to the U.S. Senate and require that it, too, be apportioned purely on a population basis? If this were done, this could likely lead to 400 or 500 or so additional Senators. So, I believe that might be a plausible explanation for these futuristic expansion plans.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Bennett].

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the question I have about this legislation has already been answered, but I did receive a telegram from the National Women's Party, signed by Emma Guffey Miller, president, and Alice Paul, honorary chairman, which reads in part as follows:

> We have very recently learned that lots 863 and 864 in square 725, owned by the National Women's Party and constituting part of the historic buildings known as the Alva Belmont House are in danger of being taken by Act of Congress through S. 2484, which is now on the House calendar to be taken up this week. We had no hearing by the committees of either House and I understand no public hearings were held.
>
> No notice was given us of any proposal to take this property, and we learned of it only by accident. We earnestly hope the House will postpone consideration of S. 2484 until we can be heard.
>
> If you find that consideration of S. 2484 cannot be postponed, will you not try to have it amended to exclude lots 863 and 864, as they have already been recognized by Congress as part of an historic monument?

Then I received another telegram signed by Joseph Prendergast, the director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, as follows:

> The national trust urges delay in vote on bill S. 2484 until a detailed documentary report prepared by L. Morris Leisenring, FAIA can be considered. The buildings on lots 863 and 864 in square 725 owned by the National Women's Party were placed in category 2 on the grounds of historical and architectural significance in the report to the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts by the Joint Committee on Landmarks which conducted a three year professional study. Leisenring, a distinguished government architect made exhaustive historical and architectural studies of the structures.

Mr. Speaker, it has already been stated here some sort of an agreement has been arranged, but I must say that it appears that these buildings should be preserved. It does not lie in the hands of a particular owner to dispose of them without consideration being given to their historical significance. Now, I am not an authority on the historical significance of these particular buildings, but they lie close to and are attached to the Belmont House. I am told that they date to 1700, and that they are ancillary buildings to some of the buildings which date back to 1600.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, I am no authority on these matters, either, but as a part of our committee duties and other factors I have been instrumental in getting the Department of the Interior to study the historic sites in the District of Columbia with an eye to making a blanket preservation of a large number of such sites. We already have the Landmarks Commission which has designated a number of these valuable buildings. Because of their history or their architecture they are of extreme value to the Nation. The buildings of which the gentleman from Florida speaks are included on all of those lists. They are indeed of value to the Nation because of their historic value. There is no question about that matter.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I will conclude my remarks by saying that I personally hope there will be no haste in the passage of this legislation so that people can present their views in documentary form about these buildings.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENNETT. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, is the gentleman contending that the building of which he speaks is of historic significance?

Mr. BENNETT. I am asserting that the National Trust for Historic Preservation outlined the reasons why they are.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. I am not saying that. I am talking about these buildings that will be demolished because of this legislation. Are you saying that they are of historic significance?

Mr. BENNETT. On the basis of the information given to me—and I am not an authority on this matter—I would say that the buildings on lots 863 and 864, in addition to the main Belmont House, are of historic significance.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Will the gentleman tell us why they are of historic significance?

Mr. BENNETT. The assertion made in regard to these particular buildings is that they were slave quarters and tobacco houses which were annexes to the plantation house. A portion of this building assertedly dates back to the 1600's. The major portion of the main facade that you see when you go by on the street dates from the 1700's. Here, allegedly, Thomas Jefferson signed the Treaty of Ghent and here rounds were received from the British in the War of 1812.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Not in the same building. You are not contending it was in this building, are you?

Mr. BENNETT. I have made a statement, and I will repeat it. There is on this land next to that to be taken a building which assertedly goes back to the 1600's. In front of that there is a very imposing building which is the Belmont House, which dates to the 1700's. In this Thomas Jefferson was supposed to have signed the Treaty of Ghent. At an angle from this there are some smaller buildings.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Florida has expired.

Mr. BENNETT. May I have 2 additional minutes?

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENNETT. I should like to complete a short statement.

In an L-arrangement in the back part of these buildings, the back part of the yard toward the Senate buildings, there are some low-lying buildings which allegedly are farm-type buildings dated from the 1700's. Obviously, if they are that, they are of historic significance, they should be retained, if it can possibly be worked out with the Senate to retain them.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENNETT. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. GRAY. I certainly share the gentleman's view that this historic place should be preserved. The committee is prepared to offer this amendment:

> Page 3, after line 19, insert the following:
>
> "SEC. 2. (a) It is the sense of Congress that the Belmont House and its ground located on lot 885 of square 725 in the District of Columbia should be preserved in private ownership as a historic landmark of national significance.
>
> "(b) Any office building which the United States may hereafter construct on the site authorized by the Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1948, and Public Law 85–591, and the first section of this Act shall be so designed and constructed as to preserve the unique characteristics of Belmont House and its grounds."
>
> Renumber the succeeding section accordingly.

We propose to write this safeguard into the legislation to protect the very thing the gentleman is interested in.

Mr. BENNETT. I regret to say I do not think that is so.

In the first place, that is a sense-of-Congress resolution, and not binding on the ultimate action.

In the second place, I do not believe, even though the owners are allowed tax exemption under legislation we passed for that specific house, so long as they preserve it as a historic site, that they should be allowed to determine whether historic buildings should be destroyed. They are an organization which might like to have funds. They are not primarily a historical organization.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Florida has again expired.

Mr. BENNETT. May I have 2 additional minutes?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENNETT. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Did the gentleman note, when the gentleman from Illinois read the proposed amendment with respect to the preservation of this historic site, so-called, that the word was "should" and not "shall"?

Mr. BENNETT. I did. I also noted it was a sense-of-Congress resolution.

I make the third point that I do not believe the present owner of this is a historical organization. It is an organization dealing with a political philosophy, and I do not believe it should be allowed to determine whether it is in the best interest of the country to decide something of historic significance to the city of Washington.

Mr. GRAY. Let me say to my friend from Iowa and my friend from Florida that the bill itself excludes square 725, which is the Belmont House.

Mr. BENNETT. It includes lots 863 and 864.

Mr. GRAY. But those lots were acquired many years after the Belmont House. They have absolutely no historical significance. They were not so designated by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. BENNETT. The gentleman's assertion is, I believe, contrary to the statement I received from the executive director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Mr. GRAY. If the gentleman will yield further, we visited there yesterday, and the directors of the Belmont House admitted that those two old houses have no historical significance. If the gentleman will look at them, he will see they are in a bad state of repair. In only a matter of a few years they will have to tear them down. They are not big, beautiful structures.

Mr. BENNETT. I do not imagine they are, if they were built in the 1700's.

Mr. GRAY. They will fall of their own weight in a few years.

Mr. BENNETT. Perhaps something should be done to preserve them, not to destroy them.

Mr. GRAY. From what I saw, they will be lucky to preserve the Belmont House itself. It needs work now.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENNETT. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. To further clarify this question, the landmarks group did present a list of about 208 historic sites in the District of Columbia. This list is being reworked and was reworked by the Interior Department. As I understand it, that list is now in the Mayor's office, so that the various appropriate District of Columbia agencies may also seek additions or deletions.

There would be no harm, certainly, in making sure that we are not destroying something of value, because this just is not in that big a rush.

Mr. BENNETT. That is my feeling. I do not want to preserve anything that is not worth preserving.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I was intrigued by the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY], with respect to the threat that something is going to happen to this property if it is not seized upon right now. This reminds me of the situation a few years ago when the proposal was brought to the House to acquire a parking lot for the Supreme Court because women employees of the Supreme Court were in danger of being assaulted when they left work and walked to their automobiles, or to other transportation. We were threatened then with the dire consequence that unless that lot was purchased an apartment building would be constructed on that overpriced site.

I cannot recall whether that proposition came from the gentleman's subcommittee, or where it came from but at any rate the lot is still there, and it is still a parking lot. No one has built an apartment on it, and that threat fell flat on its face.

Mr. Speaker, it seems that whenever the Government acquires a piece of property in the District of Columbia it digs a hole and puts a building on it. I am not going to be deluded in this instance, and I do not believe any other Member of the House is going to be deluded about this proposition. I venture to predict there will be a new Senate Office Building constructed on this property about as fast as they can get to it.

Two U.S. Senators have been added since the new Senate Office Building was built. I suppose that in the future and every time there are two additions to the U.S. Senate it will be necessary to have a new building constructed for them.

Mr. Speaker, how can we seriously consider a proposition of this kind, opening the door to the spending of millions of dollars, in view of the financial crisis that faces this country? The gentleman said that he will not ask for an appropriation for this purpose of acquiring the property this year. If that is true, what about the gentleman's argument that the value of the land is enhancing by the hour, every hour on the hour? If the land is enhancing in value so fast, then I should think the gentleman from Illinois would be in here asking for the money to buy the property.

The Senate now has two huge buildings to provide office space for only 100 Members. In all conscience, especially in this period of financial stress and strain, how much more of this costly space is needed?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, frankly, I have been a little disappointed by the spirit of acrimony that seems to have developed this afternoon over this legislation. I had hoped that in the waning hours of the afternoon we might depart for our recess in an atmosphere of peace and harmony.

I realize that any advice that I would undertake to give the distinguished leadership on the other side of the aisle would be rather gratuitous, but we do have a precedent of fairly recent origin. It seems to me, that when the Committee on Rules was chastised a few days ago for offering a resolution on the Department of Defense appropriation bill because the procurement bill had not cleared the conference committee, it was decided that we would adopt the rule and perhaps defer the actual consideration of the legislation until a later date. And I wonder if under the circumstances that prevail this afternoon if that would not be a happy solution to the difficulty in which we find ourselves. After all, I would hate to see the rule defeated. The rule itself is not defective in any respect that I know of.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] pointed out that it was back on the 25th day of June that the Committee on Rules acted in good faith, and on the basis of the report of the Committee on Public Works granted this rule, little knowing or realizing that this would come to the floor in literally the last hours of this session or, rather, this last meeting of the Congress prior to the August recess.

So, for this reason, because it is not the rule that is in question here, but rather the substantive legislation, on which there does not seem to be any extreme urgency, I would merely offer the thought as a hopeful suggestion to the resolution of our problem this afternoon.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute simply to join with my good friend, the gentleman from Illinois, in the statement he has made with reference to the fact that the Committee on Rules, I think, did act in good faith.

I, too, am inclined to feel that it might be advisable to take a bit more time for the consideration of this.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY].

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, when you serve on a particular committee and you have the honor of serving as a subcommittee chairman, you bring legislation here before this body by majority vote.

I have no personal interest in whether there is ever a new Senate office building built on the other side of the Capitol. I am sure most of the Members of this body could care less.

But let us reflect back, if we may. There are three distinct branches of the Federal Government—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. This Congress under the great Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds has approved over $400 million worth of post offices and Federal buildings all over the United States for the Members of this House since I have been chairman of the subcommittee the past 2 years.

We have approved additional judges and additional courthouses for the judiciary all over this country.

Now we come to what I consider is a very, very modest request by a coequal body of the legislative branch of the Government—the U.S. Senate. The $1,250,000 is an infinitesimal amount of money compared to what the other two branches of our Government have been getting for office space to conduct their own business.

I am surprised—I am shocked, I am appalled, Mr. Speaker, that any Member of this body regardless of which side of the aisle he sits on could come here today and criticize this proposal after the House of Representatives has received the approval of the other body for a $100 million-plus office building to conduct our business for our constituents—and after the other body has gone along with a new $12 million parking garage so that we can park our automobiles and can carry on and conduct our business, and has taken all this property immediately east of the three House office buildings for further expansion of the work of the House and of the Library of Congress and has bought the Congressional Hotel for the use of the House.

Here now all of these bleeding hearts come up saying—No, we do not even want the other body to have a little parking lot in order to park their automobiles, and hopefully to have an extension of their Senate office building to carry on their business.

I am appalled and shocked that any Member of the House knowing that we have comity between the two bodies could now say that this $1,250,000 is not justified—particularly when the other body has agreed that not a dime will be asked for until the tight fiscal situation eases.

The gentleman from Iowa raised the point—what is the urgency?

Let me tell you that on the 12th of March the President signed the Visitors' Center bill which is going to be one of the greatest projects that this Capitol has ever known. It is going to bring together 15 million people each year in one central area, and because of that—and you were right in voting for that—and because it is needed by the people of this great country—but because of that one act—a $4 million motor hotel is already under construction and you can walk out of the Capitol now and look at it—it is coming out of the ground within two blocks of these lots that we are proposing and trying to buy for the Senate. Since that time a $250 million Transportation Center has been talked about in the vicinity of the Union Station. This has caused the people in that particular area to know that land values are going up and up and up.

The land that we proposed to take in this particular legislation is immediately contiguous to the present Senate Office Building. How many of you believe, with an increase of 5 million people per year in this country, the Senate is not going to need additional space? We have given ourselves additional space.

How can we deny the small amount of $1 million in authorization to run the third and coequal branch of our Government. The legislative branch is being denied, when we have voted untold hundreds of millions of dollars all over this land for the judiciary and for the executive branch of the Government.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GRAY. I yield to my friend, the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. CLEVELAND. The gentleman has said that he is surprised and shocked.

Mr. GRAY. I am.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I have already pointed out that five Members of the House have signed minority views on this matter. I do not see how the gentleman can be so surprised in view of that fact.

Mr. GRAY. If the gentleman will read his own minority views, he will see the reason given in those views is the tight fiscal policy. I have answered that argument in the minority views. The Senators have stated publicly that they will not ask for a dime until that tight fiscal situation ceases. So the first argument advanced in the minority views has been negated by the later information that no funds will be used at the present time. We merely want the authorization to put the Congress on record so that those people who own the land will not modernize the buildings on it. We want to put the people who own those apartment buildings contiguous to the present Senate Office Building on notice that they should not put in new air conditioners, new wall-to-wall carpeting, or to make expensive repairs, so that your people from New Hampshire, my people from Illinois, and the people from Iowa and other States will not have to spend $10 million for what we today can have for $1 million. That is all we are trying to do.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GRAY. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. CLEVELAND. At the beginning of your remarks you pointed with great pride to the fact that we have authorized Federal structures all over the country.

Mr. GRAY. With the approval of the Senate.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Just a minute. In New Hampshire the Governor, the executive, has already cut back and canceled several of those construction projects. How do you explain the reasons for our going ahead and laying the groundwork for this proposed construction for the Senators when we are cutting back on Federal construction across the country? There is a tight fiscal situation in this country.

Mr. GRAY. Just a minute. The Congress authorized those structures in New Hampshire. They are still authorized to this day, August 2, 1968. Is that correct or not? Are they still authorized?

Mr. CLEVELAND. The Executive has ordered them not to be built.

Mr. GRAY. What we are attempting to do is to authorize this project, as we have authorized projects in New Hampshire. We did not deauthorize the projects in the gentleman's State, and he knows it.

Mr. CLEVELAND. The best way that I know to keep faith with the people in an attempt to strengthen our fiscal policy is to stop new authorization, and this is a good place to start.

Mr. GRAY. Could the gentleman go back to his constituents and say 2 years from now, "We may have to spend $10 million for a piece of property that we could have bought 2 years ago for $1 million"?

Mr. CLEVELAND. I would not say that because I do not believe it.

Mr. GRAY. I believe it. I am firmly convinced. Let me tell you why I believe it. We passed in March an authorization for the Secretary of the Interior to enter into a leasing arrangement for a Visitors Center at Union Station. They came before our committee and said they would lease the air rights over the Station at a set figure. Now the speculators have come in offering to use the air rights, saying, "I want to buy your air space." To this day they have not signed the lease. It appears we may be forced to hold a hearing before our committee to get the price that was promised.

So I can say that prices are going up day by day. This is not an hysteria plea I am making. It is using commonsense to save the taxpayers money.

Mr. CLEVELAND. I will say to you that a good deal of that is caused by inflation, and part of that inflation is caused by unrestrained fiscal policies that start right here. And this is a good place to stop it.

Mr. GRAY. Inflation is caused by many factors but notifying property owners not to gouge us is not one of them.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GRAY. I yield to the gentlewoman from Oregon.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. I do not want you to be surprised or shocked at my question. Could the gentleman advise what the vote on this bill was in the Senate? Was it a unanimous vote in the Senate?

Mr. GRAY. It was not a unanimous vote in the Senate. I do not have the exact count. I think it was something like 45 to 30.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. 45 to 30? It was not any closer than that?

Mr. GRAY. I do not have the exact vote of the other body, but it was a clear majority. I think it was 3 to 2, or something in that range.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. All right. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GRAY. But I also would like to point out that a Member of the other body does live in this area to be taken, and this generated some of the opposition to the bill, and it was not on the grounds that it was not needed.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, could we get a response from the chairman of the subcommittee to the rather solemn suggestion advanced by the gentleman from Illinois that this matter just might be held over?

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois for any response he might desire to make to this question.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, this has not been any great pleasure for me at all. I am in no rush to pass it; however, we had 17 letters from chairmen of Senate committees and subcommittees pointing out their need was great for additional space, and they knew they could not build another building now, but they did want us to take this first step in acquiring this property. All we are saying, when we put this off, is "No," to 17 chairmen on the Senate side. If we want to adopt the rule today, and debate the bill when we reconvene in September, that is all right with me.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois, were there any public hearings held on this bill on the House side?

Mr. GRAY. On the House side, no. We took the hearings of the Senate. Hearings were held on the Senate side.

As I explained earlier, this is a matter of comity between the two Houses. Why would we want to hold hearings on the matter when hearings were held by the Senate? They never look into our housekeeping affairs, and why should we into theirs? This would, I think, set a bad precedent.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. CLEVELAND].

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, information has been obtained by me on the vote in the Senate, on which the gentlewoman asked a question. I have been informed the vote was 42 affirmative and 33 negative.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that the gentleman from Illinois is agreeable to not call this bill up today. If we can go ahead and adopt the rule, then at some time later this year, or whatever time is convenient for the leadership, the bill will be called up.

After some discussion with my good friend from Iowa and some others, I would hope that, with that understanding, we might go ahead and adopt this rule, and then, at some later time, the matter will be considered for discussion or for calling up in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I merely want to congratulate my good friend, the gentleman from Illinois, for his great sagacity.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. GEORGE S. IOANNIDES

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 2468) for the relief of Dr. George S. Ioannides.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 2468

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. George S. Ioannides shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of January 18, 1957.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. RAUL AUGUSTIN PEREIRA-VALDES

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 2488) for the relief of Dr. Raul Augustin Pereira-Valdes.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 2488

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Raul Augustin Pereira-Valdes shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of July 10, 1961.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SUPPLEMENTARY AIR TRANSPORTATION

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1254 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. Res. 1254

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 17685) to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of "supplemental air transportation", and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce now printed in the bill, and such substitute for the purpose of amendment shall be considered under the five-minute rule as an original bill. At the conclusion of such consideration, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous quesion shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1254 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 17685 to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of "supplemental air transportation," and for other purposes. The resolution further provides that it shall be in order to consider the committee substitute as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

The need for this legislation arises from a decision of the Supreme Court in May of this year holding that the CAB did not have authority to authorize supplemental air carriers to conduct inclusive tour charter trips in international air transportation.

H.R. 17685 would amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize the CAB to grant supplemental air carriers authority to conduct inclusive tour charter trips; to clarify Congress intent that inclusive tour charter trips do not permit individually ticketed service by supplemental air carriers, and to validate and ratify existing certificates of public convenience and necessity authorizing inclusive tour charter trips and statements of authorization issued by the Board pursuant to its regulations, notwithstanding any contrary determination by any court.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill will be gone into fully during debate and I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1254 in order that H.R. 17685 may be considered.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this is a 1-hour open rule which makes in order the legislation which, as the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] has said, has the purpose of clarifying the legal status of the so-called supplemental air carriers with respect to the operation of inclusive tour charter flights.

There is some opposition, as I understand it, to the bill, principally from some of the scheduled airlines. However, it has the support of the Civil Aeronautics Board and of the Department of Transportation. There was no opposition in the committee to the bill. There are some additional views of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE] which accompany the report.

The purpose of the bill is to authorize the Civil Aeronautics Board to permit supplemental air carriers—nonscheduled airlines—to conduct inclusive tour charter flights both at home and abroad. At the same time, the bill makes clear that this authority does not include the right to sell individual tickets. Their authority is limited to group tours only.

Two recent court decisions have denied the right of the CAB to authorize such actions by supplemental air carriers on both domestic and foreign flights.

The bill clarifies the issue and resolves it in favor of the supplemental carriers permitting them to furnish the air transportation portion of inclusive tours through charters from tour operators who sell the whole package tour.

Both the CAB and the Department of Transportation support the bill which has the effect of overturning these two recent court decisions. Other interested agencies also support the legislation.

Additional views are filed by Mr. PICKLE. He supports the bill. He wants to be sure that nothing occurs to permit supplemental air carriers to handle individual ticket sales on tours they are carrying. He wants the CAB to be clear that such is not the intent of the Congress. Such carriers are to carry packaged tours set up by tour operators, not organize such tours themselves.

The bill is a committee substitute; the rule reflects this.

Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of the rule.

I have no further requests for time, and I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE].

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

I have taken this time to inform the Members of the House that at the appropriate time I intend to offer an amendment which would merely add an additional section to the bill which will be under consideration.

I have presented minority views in the report, and I wish to add one amendment, which would say that the certificated scheduled carriers would also be entitled to participate in inclusive tour charter trips under regulations of the CAB.

At the appropriate time I intend to offer that amendment, and I hope it will be agreed to.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 17685) to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of "supplemental air transportation," and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 17685, with Mr. ROGERS of Colorado in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS] will be recognized for 30 minutes and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS].

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself whatever time I might require.

Mr. Chairman, this bill will amend the Federal Aviation Act specifically to authorize the CAB to grant supplemental air carriers authority to furnish the air transportation portion of inclusive tour charter trips. The reason why this legislation is being brought to the floor today is as follows: It has quite a background and history. In 1962 we passed a bill which had to do with these supplemental carriers. At that time there had been a series of crashes all across America, and we found several of these carriers were unsafe and did not have the financial backing to pay off when an accident occurred or to keep up their equipment. We passed legislation at that time which actually led to the removal of some 17 of these carriers from further operations in the United States.

Today we have 13 supplemental carriers operating. They operate under the same safety standards as any regularly scheduled airline in the country. They have principally the same equipment. They are certificated and I think have been doing a good job for this land.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there have been some court decisions brought by the scheduled airlines against the supplemental carriers. In the first case the circuit court of the District of Columbia ruled in favor of the CAB and the supplementals insofar as domestic inclusive tour charters are concerned. Later the second circuit court of appeals ruled against the CAB and the supplementals as to international inclusive tour charters. The Supreme Court in a 4-to-4 decision upheld the second circuit. That is the reason why this bill is before us today. We were asked by the CAB and by others interested in it to do something about it. I believe most of us who know anything about the supplementals know that they do serve a constructive purpose in America. At the same time the scheduled airlines have done a magnificent job for America. They have carried the American flag to the furthermost parts of the world and have served this Nation in a distinguished way in carrying traffic and cargo across the Seven Seas. I believe, too, that supplementals have a place in our scheduled transportation system.

Mr. Chairman, we have tried to be fair. And, I might say this, one has to have the wisdom of Solomon in order to try to solve this matter. It came before the subcommittee and was voted out of the subcommittee and out of the full committee unanimously, because it was decided that it must be done, and if something is not done it is doubtful whether the supplementals will be able to continue to operate, especially in this field.

So, Mr. Chairman, we have brought this bill to the floor for the consideration of the Congress.

We hope that after all of the implications and ramifications have been aired before the Members here, that we can make a determination of what is fair and just. That is the sole purpose of this bill. There is no money involved, either in the form of an authorization from the Congress of the United States or an appropriation, or anything like that.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce yield?

Mr. STAGGERS. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I have two questions which I would like to propound to the chairman of the committee so that we may have of record the clearly stated purposes of the pending legislation.

I understand that the bill is intended to permit the supplemental air carriers to sell inclusive tours only through tour operators who are specifically authorized for this purpose by the Civil Aeronautics Board under rules it prescribes, and that it will not permit the supplemental air carriers to sell individually ticketed air transportation to members of the general public.

Mr. STAGGERS. That is correct; the gentleman is correct.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, if the distinguished gentleman will yield further, my second question is this: Also, I understand that the Civil Aeronautics Board prescribes rules that define the requirements for inclusive tours, such as the number of stops, the inclusion of land arrangements, the price in relation to scheduled air fares and the size of the group which must travel together throughout the tour, and that the Chairman of the CAB has given assurances that these rules will continue requirements for inclusive tours that will insure that they are not used as a device for selling individually ticketed passage to members of the general public and thus divert traffic from the scheduled carriers.

Mr. STAGGERS. The distinguished gentleman from Virginia is entirely correct and that is the intent of this bill, to see that this is done.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. The distinguished gentleman from West Virgina has stated that the bill is not intended to relax those requirements?

Mr. STAGGERS. That is correct. The provisions of the bill are intended to button it down specifically in the bill. To elaborate a little more upon what the distinguished gentleman from Virginia has said, the tour must stop at three intermediate points; the tour must last 7 days. The tour includes ground transportation at each stop. It includes hotel accommodations at each one of the stops and the package price must be at least, 110 percent of what a scheduled airline would charge for the air service between the points involved.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I thank the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia for that clarification.

Mr. STAGGERS. This, I think, Members of the Congress, is the intent of this bill. We leave it up to the wisdom of this Congress to decide what to do because as I said, it is a bill to determine between two interests the proper equities involved. The committee wanted to be entirely fair. I think it tried to be fair to see what should be done.

Mr. Chairman, we think that the supplementals should be allowed to operate. We do not want to infringe upon the rights of the scheduled air carriers in any way. However, we believe the supplemental airlines have a very firm place in the transportation system of America and are helping to build our transportation system. Further, there is the fact that the testimony which was presented before the committee indicated that many of the people who ride on the all-inclusive tours are people who ride for the first time.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinon the passage of this measure should be helpful toward the building up of our airlines instead of having the reverse effect of tearing down our airline system. Again say that in the wisdom of your committee this is the best bill we could bring of the committeee to the floor of the House and undertake to do something about this matter.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that first of all the House ought to have some kind of a picture of our supplemental carriers; and second, how many supplemental carriers are we talking about.

Mr. Chairman, supplemental air carriers are those 13 carriers specifically certified by congressional fiat some years ago to perform air transportation of passengers and freight apart from scheduled service. In these intervening years, under regulations promulgated from time to time by the CAB, the supplemental carriers have done a creditable job. They use good equipment and their safety record is commendable. Much of their heavy maintenance is done by the ships operated by the scheduled carriers. They carry a large proportion of our fighting men to Vietnam, but to qualify for this business they must do 40 percent of their business in passenger charters.

There are several kinds of charters and tours in which these carriers can engage. Best known are the group tours for clubs and groups such as bar associations or teacher organizations. Not as well known but widely used are the inclusive tours. These are somewhat different and can bear explaining here in order to avoid some confusion which is bound to enter this discussion eventually.

An inclusive tour is organized not by the air carrier but by a tour operator. He must offer a package which includes at least three stops, 7 days, land as well as air transportation, and cost at least 110 percent of the amount regular fares would be for the same hauls. In addition, the independent tour operator must get advanced approval from the CAB for such tours. The operator then charters an entire plane from whatever source he may, usually a supplemental carrier, and he is in business for that particular tour. The customers of the tour operator wishing to avail themselves of the trip need not be members of any identifiable group.

They can walk in off the street and buy a tour for themselves. To this extent and this extent only there is what might be called individual ticketing. But it is not—it is the sale of a complete tour for a total price and not by the air carrier.

Tours of this kind have done rather well and the Civil Aeronautics Board has allowed them. The language of former statutes has been rather vague on the point and lawsuits have dragged along disputing this authority in the Board. Lately the confusion was compounded when the Supreme Court split evenly on the question. The purpose of this legislation is to avoid further confusion and state as simply as possible that Congress wants CAB to have authority to allow inclusive-tour charter trips in the way they have been doing and with enough authority to be flexible in regulating the details thereof.

Scheduled airlines have broad authority to perform charter operations. Along their own routes they can do almost anything in the way of splitting up the available seats. In addition, any airline can accept charter trips off its own routes up to 2 percent of the miles flown per year. The committee report makes it very clear that whatever authorities scheduled carriers have concerning tours and charters will remain exactly as is. This was entirely intentional.

I hope that the House will accept this bill as it came from the committee, with perhaps a clarifying amendment. We feel that it retains a useful service for the traveling public and obviates further litigation and wrangling. It does not hurt the scheduled carriers and it helps immensely the very useful supplemental carriers. Any change or obfuscation could lead to new litigation. Also, the authority granted to the CAB is not unduly broad.

It is best that the Board, which watches over the economic well-being of the entire industry on a continuing basis, be allowed to change rules and regulations concerning tours in the light of possible changes in economic considerations not now foreseeable. These safeguards, and the explicit language in the bill to make sure that supplemental air carriers have no connection with the tour operators which charter their planes, should satisfy everyone. I hope the House agrees with me and passes H.R. 17685.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. When the gentleman refers to 110 percent of the scheduled rate, is that a minimum or is that an established figure of 110 percent?

Mr. SPRINGER. It must be that minimum.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. It must be at least 110 percent?

Mr. SPRINGER. That is right.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time, and reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] for the purpose of asking a question.

Mr. KORNEGAY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

As I understand it, under this bill supplemental carriers are prohibited from running, operating, or sponsoring inclusive tours.

Now my question, Mr. Chairman, is this. Is there anything in the bill that would prevent a supplemental carrier from opening its own tour office or buying out an existing tour office and thereby promoting its own interest in arranging inclusive tours?

Mr. FRIEDEL. Under our amendment, in the House bill, it makes it very clear that no supplemental carrier will be able to sell individual tickets, which may only be sold through a travel agency that is completely independent in every way from the supplemental carrier.

Mr. KORNEGAY. My question is whether or not a supplemental carrier which is denied the right to issue tickets or to run a tour could buy out a tour operator? In other words, could he operate a tour business as a subsidiary of his airline business?

Mr. FRIEDEL. It is very clear in this legislation that in no way, shape, or form shall they be connected, directly or indirectly.

Mr. KORNEGAY. They, directly or indirectly, could have no control over or have any interest in a tour operation?

Mr. FRIEDEL. That is correct.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Chairman. H.R. 17685, as amended, was reported unanimously out of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The bill would amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to make clear the authority of the Civil Aeronautics Board to grant supplemental air carriers authorization to conduct inclusive charter trips. It would also express Congress intent that inclusive tour charter authorizations shall not permit point to point individually ticketed services by supplemental air carriers.

I urge the adoption of H.R. 17685.

The urgency for this bill stems from a Supreme Court decision announced May 27, 1968, affirming by a 4-to-4 vote a judgment of the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit holding that the Civil Aeronautics Board did not have the authority to authorize supplemental air carriers to conduct inclusive tour charter trips in international transportation. Earlier, the Board's authority as to domestic inclusive tour charter trips had been upheld by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. This judicial impasse should be resolved.

The Civil Aeronautics Board, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Commerce, the Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, as well as the Bureau of the Budget, all support the position that the Civil Aeronautics Board should continue to be able to authorize inclusive tour charters, subject to regulation by the Civil Aeronautics Board. The report of the committee advises the Civil Aeronautics Board that any modifications to the present regulations defining inclusive tour charter trips must clearly maintain the distinction between the inclusive tour charter services of the supplementals and the point-to-point, individually ticketed scheduled services of the route carriers.

Inclusive tour charter trips are in the public interest. They benefit the traveling public, the supplemental carriers—and thus the national defense—and also the U.S. balance-of-payment system. Supplemental air carriers should have the authority to continue this service subject to the limitations of this legislation.

The committee considered and rejected several proposed amendments. In view of the technical nature of the bill and the long litigation which brought the matter before the committee, it is believed that the bill, as presently offered, should be adopted. Any amendments at this time may have the effect of inviting new litigation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding. The report states "no supplemental will be permitted to do indirectly what it is prohibited from doing directly."

My question is, How is that statement consistent with the practice of a tour operator or travel agent teaming up with a supplemental to set up tours and sell them through tour operators and other agents to individual members of the general public?

Mr. FRIEDEL. The tour operator must plan the whole trip. They have to designate three stops, and the trip must be no less than 7 days. The stops must be at least 50 miles apart. Then they go to the CAB and get permission. If they are granted that, then they go to the supplemental carrier and charter the plane. The supplemental carrier does not sell individual tickets. The tour operator may sell to the general public, but only under strict CAB approval.

These tours have encouraged many people for the first time to fly. I point out also that the people must always return to the place from which they originate.

Mr. GROSS. I know my friend from Maryland is an expert on air travel.

In what way does the sale by a travel agent of supplemental airline individual seats on an inclusive tour differ from sale by a travel agent or regular airline individual seats on an inclusive tour?

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Washington to answer that question.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, I answer the gentleman from Iowa by saying that when the tour operator establishes a tour, he then enters into a contract simply to charter an airplane. He could do this from the regular airlines as well as from the supplemental airlines or from someone else who owns an airline.

The tour operator is carefully regulated under the statute, and he is an individual certificated by the CAB in and of itself. In each one of these cases you must establish a tour, go to the CAB, have that tour approved by the CAB with the right of others to come in and criticize it before he can start with it at all. This is entirely different from a supplemental airline setting up a ticket counter or announcing that they are going to have a regular flight back and forth between two different points. Does that answer the gentleman's question?

Mr. GROSS. There is nothing in this bill which would in any way infringe upon President Johnson's statement that there should be no foreign travel this year; is that correct?

It should be reduced to the irreducible minimum.

Mr. ADAMS. One of the points made was that this will be helpful to the balance of payments, because it will allow our supplementals to stay in the business of bringing foreign travelers here. This is one of the things it can do.

Mr. GROSS. There is nothing in this bill that would infringe upon the joy and pleasure of the members of the Public Works Committee who will set out to tour the world this fall, including Czechoslovakia and Spain and Turkey and so on? There is nothing in this bill that would interfere with their pleasure in that?

Mr. ADAMS. There is nothing in this bill that has anything to do with the Public Works Committee.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. LEGGETT].

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Chairman, today this body is considering a bill, H.R. 17685, which should not be necessary at all. This bill does not provide new measures or new procedures, but merely reaffirms the power that the Civil Aeronautics Board has exercised for a number of years to authorize supplemental air carriers to provide inclusive tour charter trips.

The supplemental carrier is the generic term for the large number of unscheduled airlines founded after World War II, many of which have grown from owner-operated single airplane businesses to large and prosperous multi-airplane lines using the latest jet aircraft. The supplemental carrier has pioneered low fare accommodations, stimulated the movement of cargo by air and developed the potential of the commercial charter business.

In the area of national defense the supplementals have provided an extra pool of in-service aircraft available to the military in time of crises. During the Berlin Airlift the supplemental carriers moved 25 percent of the passengers and 57 percent of the cargo. During the Korean war they flew 50 percent of the commercial airlift.

In Vietnam the supplementals are providing a substantial percentage of the military airlift today.

These airlines must conform to the same Federal Aviation Administration operational safety requirements imposed on the scheduled airlines. How well they have done so is attested by the fact that, in their 6 years of certified existence, the carriers belonging to the National Air Carrier Association, the industry trade group, have flown 15 billion passenger miles without a passenger fatality.

The inclusive tour charter, the subject of this bill, was pioneered by the supplemental airlines. Under the ITC, groups can book an entire vacation—transportation, accommodations, and food, for a very reasonable rate—not available on the scheduled airline regular fare rates.

In 1966 the Civil Aeronautics Board authorized the supplemental air carriers to conduct the inclusive tour charter. The Board felt then, as it does now, "that inclusive tour charters fell well within the letter and intent of the Federal Aviation Act."

The reason for the authorization, according to CAB Chairman John H. Crooker, Jr., is that, "such tours first, would meet a substantial public need for low-cost pleasure air travel; second, would provide an additional source of revenue to strengthen the supplemental air carriers; and, third, would not have any real adverse effect on the certificated route carriers. Congress intended to strengthen the economic position of the supplemental carriers because of the public importance of their civilian and military operations and because of the relationship between economic stability and air safety."

In authorizing the ITC, the Civil Aeronautics Board was not unmindful of its responsibility to the scheduled airlines to insure that the ITC did not become a device whereby an individual could obtain point-to-point transportation at a cost lower than that of a scheduled carrier.

To that end, the CAB drew up strict regulations. First of all, the tour operator must convince the Board of his experience and financial fitness, and he must seek formal approval of each ITC. An ITC group must consist of at least 40 people and the price to each member of the group cannot be less than 110 percent of the lowest individual fare offered by a scheduled carrier for travel over the same route. The ITC must be sold as a roundtrip of at least 7 days' duration. It must encompass three or more overnight stops and these stops must be no less than 50 miles apart. And the tour price must include, in addition to air travel, hotel accommodations at each overnight stop and surface transportation between all places on the itinerary.

The low-cost package tours provided by these airlines have enabled innumerable American citizens to travel who could otherwise not afford to do so.

This group consists largely of students and teachers. The good will engendered by those students who have traveled in foreign countries in past years has been of great benefit to the United States. These student ambassadors with limited budgets cannot pay the cost of a scheduled airline fare.

The benefits to the teaching profession realized by the opportunity to take advantage of a low-cost tour is also clearly apparent.

A second and extremely powerful argument in favor of this bill relates to the balance-of-payments problem. In 1967 the American supplemental carrier flew 73 percent of the nonscheduled airline inclusive tour passengers, as opposed to 27 percent flown by the foreign nonscheduled airlines. If the Civil Aeronautics Board is not given the authority to continue this program, the foreign-based carriers will take the cream of the travel dollar. In conjunction with this program, the U.S. Government has promoted tourism in this country for a number of years. The nonscheduled airline group tours have made it possible for large numbers of foreign visitors to travel in this country who could not afford the scheduled airline rates.

It is beyond question that the supplemental air carriers have performed a valuable service to the public.

The only reason for our consideration of this bill today is that the Supreme Court in May 1968, held that the CAB had exceeded its authority in authorizing the ITC's. This bill will merely clarify the existing situation, allowing the CAB to continue to oversee the tour operations of the supplemental air carriers.

In closing, I urge the House to pass this bill so as to insure the continuance of a vital low-cost transportation system. We should remember that 60 percent of the American public have never been in an airplane; 94 percent of the public have never been outside the continental U.S. limit—mainly because travel is expensive. If we want to help the poor, let us help the poor traveler and pass the pending legislation.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from Hawaii.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 17685, which would amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of the term "supplemental air transportation."

It is not very often, in the consideration of air transportation legislation, that we are faced with a situation that H.R. 17685 brings before us. Nor is it very often that, based upon a study of that situation, the speedy enactment of such legislation is so clearly indicated as it is in this instance. H.R. 17685 would clarify a situation which has evolved from the enactment in 1962 of Public Law 87-528. The need for clarification is evidenced by recent U.S. circuit court and Supreme Court decisions which have beclouded the original legislative intent. We are told that the legislative intent was clearly manifested in the conference which led to the enactment of the 1962 law. Although it was not spelled out in the earlier law, it was intended that the authorization for the performance of inclusive tour charter trips would be left to the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The Nation's air traffic experience has shown that the public convenience and necessity requires the continued services of both the supplementals and the regular route carriers. The inclusive tour charters or "all-expense tours" involving the supplementals have brought modern jet travel within the financial reach of tens of thousands of Americans and foreigners who otherwise would have been deprived of this mode of vacation transportation. The growth of this business among the supplemental air carriers has taken place concurrently with tremendous expansion of the scheduled airlines, indicating that the traveling public finds a need for both types of air service.

Nowhere is this need more impressively illustrated than in the history of vacation travel to Hawaii. At one time, many years before statehood, Hawaii was generally thought of as a remote and romantic South Sea paradise, accessible only to the very wealthy among Americans and the international social set. There was, indeed, more truth than fiction in this view of the inaccessibility of Hawaii to the ordinary vacation traveler.

The extent to which all this has been changed in recent years is shown by figures recently released by the Civil Aeronautics Board, indicating that in 1967 over 50,000 air passengers traveled from the mainland to Hawaii on inclusive tour charters. Projecting ahead, almost three times that number are expected in 1968, barring complications such as the present uncertain situation this legislation is designed to clear up. This growth of business among the supplemental air carriers has taken place concurrently with an equally impressive expansion of passenger traffic on the scheduled airlines. For example, in 1966, 1,090,000 passengers traveled from the mainland to Hawaii on the scheduled lines. In 1967, the number had grown to 1,722,000; and the 1968 projected total is 2,066,000 passengers.

We in Hawaii have never regarded the greeting "aloha", or "welcome," as being reserved only for the affluent visitor. It has always been used as a greeting of equal warmth and friendliness to rich and poor alike, and the supplemental air carriers, participating in inclusive tour charters, have in a very real sense helped to fulfill the dream of a Hawaiian vacation to persons of modest means.

Before concluding, I wish to point out another aspect of the operations of the supplemental carriers which should not be overlooked: It is the role they play to help meet our national defense needs. During periods of emergency, such as that which we are experiencing in Vietnam, the supplemental carriers, to a very substantial degree, enhance the Nation's capability to transport troops and materiel to areas where they are needed. As Vietnam requirements are lessened, and we hope that this will take place to a marked degree in the near future, it is vital to the continued existence of our supplemental carriers that their continued and increased commercial operations are assured. The proposed legislation would help to insure the continued life of our supplemental carriers on a sound fiscal basis, so that their services would be available in future national emergencies.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge a favorable vote for the legislation on the floor.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the measure now before us. I am a cosponsor of this bill, H.R. 17685, which would authorize the Civil Aeronautics Board to continue to sanction inclusive air tour charters by supplemental air carriers.

Until stopped by a recent court decision, supplemental air carriers had been operating tours between three or more cities and including accommodations at a price of at least 110 percent of the commercial air fare between these points. They were hardly competitive with the regular point to point air service, though they were quite successful at providing low-cost package tour vacations, and in inducing new travelers to air travel.

The fact is that these tours offer the consumer an alternative for a reasonably priced vacation. They also provide the mainstay of the income of the supplemental air carriers which are otherwise largely dependent on Government business.

This is a worthwhile measure from the points of view of the consumer, the air travel industry, and the Government. I urge its adoption.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN].

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a couple of questions. Can the gentleman from Illinois advise me what effect the legislation might have on the parent large airline, the airtaxi operator, or some of the helicopter lines in this country?

Mr. SPRINGER. They are not affected. This bill does not cover them. It does not go to them.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Alaska such time as he may consume.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, I would ask the distinguished ranking minority Member if he could advise me whether, under the bill as it has been reported by the committee, a tour operator could sell individual tickets over a period of time until he has accumulated a sufficient amount of sales to form a tour flight?

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes, he can. Any tour operator can go out and solicit anybody, or have them walk in off the street for a tour he has organized.

Mr. POLLOCK. A supplemental air carrier could not do this?

Mr. SPRINGER. I thought the gentleman asked me about a supplemental air carrier.

Mr. POLLOCK. No. I asked if a tour operator or tourist agency could sell tickets individually over a period of time to the general public on an individual basis in order to accumulate sufficient passengers?

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes, that is individually ticketing them. He can do it in two ways, chartering a whole group or by individual ticketing of people who walk in off the streets, and he can lease his plane from either the supplemental or the regular carrier.

Mr. POLLOCK. Could a supplemental air carrier do the same thing? Can a supplemental air carrier sell individual tickets?

Mr. SPRINGER. A supplemental air carrier cannot sell any tickets at all. That all has to be done through a tour operator. That is the only way in which it could be done. The supplemental carrier cannot individually ticket.

Mr. POLLOCK. Are we not through this bill allowing a supplemental air carrier to accomplish indirectly what he cannot get accomplished directly?

Mr. SPRINGER. I do not think so. That is, the supplementals would be able to lease a plane to any operator who can bring forth a charter group, either ticketed as a group or individually, and he is not doing anything indirectly that he cannot do directly.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, I see an analogy here. I am an attorney, and I cannot go out and solicit business. But it seems to me under this bill it would be the same as if I were to hire an agent to go out and get law business to bring me, so I could have more work or make more money.

Mr. SPRINGER. Under the Bar Association rules, that is strictly forbidden, but this is different. The gentleman has people in Alaska, as I have in Illinois, who can get together people to make an individual flight, paying some operator who later leased a plane from a supplemental or regular carrier. This is for the purpose of serving the public. This is not the same as the doctor or lawyer soliciting business. They are serving the public by allowing a tour operator to get together people to make an individual flight to Mexico or some other place at a cheaper rate than a person can probably get it any other way.

That is the purpose of allowing them to do it. This is a service.

Let me say that the tour operator can go to the supplemental or to the regular airline for an airplane. He can lease from the regular airline just as he can lease from the supplemental.

Mr. POLLOCK. Is this not tantamount to the tour operator building up a flight which will undermine or undercut or take away business from the regular scheduled airline, which has to make the regular run along the same route?

Mr. SPRINGER. No. It does not cover the same subject, because as a tour it has to cover 7 days. It is not the same as a flight to Mexico City and return. There is a separate purpose, and it is not the purpose of the regular airline, which flies under a license from the Federal Government to fly over a regular route and to carry regularly scheduled passengers at regularly ticketed times.

Mr. POLLOCK. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. MILLER of California. For the benefit of the gentleman from Alaska I may say that what is being applied to the supplemental airlines here is the same as the tours applying to the regular airlines, for the same practices that have been carried on with respect to tours traveling by rail and steamship since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. The same theory is applied by the travel agents in their work.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I notice that the Secretary of the Treasury again yesterday called for restraint and a special tax on tourism. Does this not give a greater latitude in the area of encouraging foreign travel? While I believe it is desirable to encourage foreign travel, I am wondering how consistent it is with Executive policy at this time, in conjunction with the balance of payments, to put restraints on traveling overseas because of the dollar balance and the balance-of-payments problem.

Did the gentleman's committee get any information from the executive branch on that at all?

Mr. SPRINGER. No, because that is not our purpose, either to encourage or to discourage travel. Our promise is to provide service to the public which we believe the public needs. The discretion as to whether or not a tax is going to be applied resides with the gentleman's committee, not ours. That should be up to them.

Let me say that in my opinion the great majority of the supplemental travel would be on charter flights within the United States, just as I happen to know that tomorrow one is traveling from California to Miami, and another group of Republicans is traveling on another charter flight from New York to Miami.

The purpose is not necessarily to carry people beyond the limits of the United States. It is to serve the public. We have come to believe that the regular airlines can serve a part, but not all of it.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. In other words, the gentleman is saying this is not just a matter which relates to intercontinental travel but really involves, as much and perhaps more so, continental travel.

Mr. SPRINGER. I would say a very large part of the charter business is within the United States.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD].

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the committee for bringing this legislation to the floor.

There has grown up in our affluent America a tremendous number of groups of individuals, clubs, and organizations that desire the opportunity of going on tours and trips either in the western continent or across the sea. They have the right at this time, of course, to charter. Under this bill as I understand it they would have a right to charter those tours and trips, which have periodic stopping places. A complete tour ticket includes the hotel fares, transportation from the airport to the hotel, and back to the airport, for the next stop of the airline; is that correct?

Mr. FRIEDEL. That is correct.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I believe we gave them this right to purchase from the supplementals under the regulations of the CAB the same as they can from the major airlines. This is one way of giving the supplementals a part of the business. This is part of the competitive business of our country.

Mr. FRIEDEL. I should like to say, in answer, the airlines have been doing this business, and we are trying to clarify the language, to permit them to continue doing business, but not to give them any more rights than they have at the present time.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. That is right. A clarification is necessary because of some Supreme Court decisions in regard to the interpretation of the law. I believe the committee has moved expeditiously to make this clarification, and I compliment them on the language. I support the bill.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK].

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 17685, which would amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize the Civil Aeronautics Board to grant supplemental air carriers authority to conduct inclusive tour charter trips; and to validate and ratify existing certificates of public convenience and necessity authorizing inclusive tour charter trips and statements of authorization issued by the Board pursuant to its regulations, notwithstanding any contrary determination by any court.

This bill seeks to clarify the authority of the Civil Aeronautics Board in regard to inclusive tour charters in the wake of conflicting decisions by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit and, more recently, the decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court, World Airways, Inc., et al. against Pan American World Airways, in which, on May 27, 1968, by a split vote of 4–4 the Court affirmed the second circuit's holding that the Civil Aeronautics Board exceeded its statutory authority by authorizing supplemental air carriers to operate "inclusive tours"—"all expense" or "package" tours—between points in the United States and foreign points.

On June 21, the Supreme Court granted a stay of the issuance of any judgment until disposition of the petition for rehearing and, therefore, no further judicial action is expected until the Supreme Court reconvenes in October. Practically speaking, this gives Congress the opportunity to clarify the position of the supplemental air carriers with respect to inclusive tour charters.

I support H.R. 17685 in order to make clear the congressional intent with respect to the authority of the Civil Aeronautics Board to implement Public Law 87–528 affecting inclusive tour charters. The uncertainty resultant from the conflicting court decisions is manifested by a recent statement by John H. Crooker, Jr., Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board: "Only last week a tour operator canceled 19 tours to Hawaii and Mexico because of substantial uncertainty" of the legal status of Civil Aeronautics Board authority. This underscores the urgent need for congressional enactment of clarifying legislation in this area.

The use of inclusive tour charters by supplemental airlines will enable many of our low- and middle-income citizens to enjoy vacation travel by air which otherwise would be too costly for them.

Needless to say, the continued availability of inclusive tour charters will greatly benefit Hawaii whose third largest industry is tourism. Figures compiled for 1967 showed that 14 percent of all the travelers who visited Hawaii for pleasure were carried there by supplemental airlines using inclusive tour charter flights. As of April 30 of this year, inclusive tour charter flights have brought 14,794 travelers to Hawaii with the prospect that 17 percent of all visitors this year will use these economical flights.

In addition, these measures, if enacted, would allow U.S. airlines to favorably compete with foreign airlines which already have this authority in international air transportation. Also, continued employment of domestic and international tour charters by the supplemental airlines would assist in the balance of payments by bringing additional foreign visitors with a moderate income to the United States which is of critical importance at the present time.

For these reasons, I am hopeful that the Congress will give these beneficial proposals early and favorable consideration.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Chairman, the bill we are considering today would make clear the CAB's authority to authorize inclusive tour charter trips by supplemental carriers.

The Transportation and Aeronautics Subcommittee, as I have mentioned, held full and complete public hearings on the proposed bill at which all interested parties presented their views. The Civil Aeronautics Board, the Department of Transportation, the Office of the Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, the Department of Commerce, the American Travel Association and several Members of Congress, among others, all strongly supported the measure.

The testimony before the subcommittee showed that authority to perform inclusive tour charters was essential to the continued economic well-being of the supplemental air carriers. Since those carriers have an unparalleled record of service for the Military Establishment, it is evident that consideration of national defense warrant adoption of the pending bill.

In addition, the Department of Commerce has advised that "development of inclusive tour charters would have a useful balance-of-payments effect." If, however, Congress fails to act and the supplemental air carriers are deprived of the right to charter their aircraft for inclusive tour charters, the low-cost international tour business will be turned over by default to the foreign air carriers with a resulting adverse impact on our balance of payments. The inclusive tour charter authority of these foreign carriers is unaffected by the conflicting U.S. courts' decisions.

As chairman Crooker summarized in his testimony before the subcommittee:

> We feel that no positive gain to anyone—the supplementals, the scheduled carriers or the traveling public—will accrue from taking from the supplementals their inclusive tour charter authority. On the contrary, eliminating the inclusive tour charter authority will only serve to deprive the public of service, to take away the competitive spur which these charters have provided to the scheduled carriers, and to take away from the supplementals revenues which will help to sustain them and which is not diverted from the regular route carriers.

For these reasons, the subcommittee and full committee concluded that supplemental air carriers should be permitted to provide the air transportation part of an inclusive tour within the limits of the Board's regulations.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ADAIR].

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Chairman, the Department of State, while indicating no objection to the proposed bill, has raised a point which is of concern to me. It notes that "one consideration which might hamper the development of an extensive international inclusive tour program by the supplemental airlines is the reluctance which many foreign countries, particularly in Europe, have shown toward such charter services." The Department of State goes on to say that such "reluctance has been based on concern that this charter activity will divert traffic from their scheduled international carriers."

The Department of State's observations prompt several of my own. One, if foreign carriers are so concerned that inclusive tour charters will divert traffic from scheduled international air services, perhaps we should be similarly concerned about diversion from our own U.S. scheduled flag services. Two, if foreign governments feel so strongly on this matter that they are going to hamper any real development of inclusive tour charters by supplemental carriers, then I cannot understand the haste to pass this bill. It may well be that we should limit inclusive tour charters by supplemental carriers to interstate air transportation only. Such a procedure would allow us to gain some experience in this area, evaluate the diversionary impact of inclusive tour charters on scheduled services, and depending on the experience gained determined at a later date whether inclusive tour charter authority should be extended to foreign air transportation.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, I thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding.

I rise in support of this legislation. I believe it is a good bill. I believe the colloquy on the floor has been most healthy and clarifying and commend the committee for their diligence in bringing this bill to the floor.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Chairman, like other public utilities, scheduled air transport is a regulated industry. Carriers are certificated on the basis of the public interest, convenience, and necessity. Adequacy of service, reasonableness of rates, and operating performance generally are regulated in this context. Priority is given to the airlines' public responsibilities, to provide year-round services in accordance with schedules and tariffs subject to Federal authority and under constant scrutiny.

Such obligations understandably limit competition as well as the decision-making of management. Certificate holders must offer services on a nondiscriminatory basis and at common rates. This applies to periods when traffic is light and less than profitable, as well as to peak periods.

The system has worked well, by and large. Scheduled air transport in this country is the best in the world. The system has demonstrated that it has and will continue to insure better services at lower cost to the public. Gains have been especially spectacular in the nearly 10 years since the inaugural of jetliner service.

The operating certificate of a scheduled airline, as distinguished from a nonscheduled or supplemental carrier, obligates the industry to operate service of reasonable capacity at all times. The profitability of services varies. Some are profitable; others, unprofitable. The test of management is to provide the quality of service, sufficiency of capacity and marketing skills to generate profits that will more than offset unprofitable services.

Financial analysts and regulatory experts consider average seat factors attainable on scheduled airlines in the neighborhood of 58 percent. Higher average load factors on a year-round basis could be an indication that service is somewhat inadequate. A well-run scheduled airline is likely to fly about 50 percent of the time in a given year at less than break-even levels. This is particularly true in international service. International competition is vigorous, if not hectic, and U.S. carriers have to compete with foreign-flag rivals in terms of seating and cargo capacity and frequency of service. In a sense, U.S. lines also have to maximize sales in order to minimize the balance-of-payments deficit.

Supplemental air carriers are also under Government regulatory authority. Once called nonscheduled or irregular airlines, they are best known as charter carriers because charters are their chief commercial activity.

Scheduled airlines may also offer charters, but on a much more restricted basis. The Government limits the number of charters, and the places to which the charters can go outside the scheduled airline's basic route system. There is also a ban on charters that conflict with the airline's obligation to provide regularly scheduled service.

The supplementals, on the other hand, enjoy a kind of guaranteed profit and Government protection from all-out competition. They may offer all-inclusive round trips to planeloads of tour groups. Not having any problems involving load factors—the aircraft does not depart unless it is filled to capacity or is close to capacity—the supplementals provide inexpensive tours, on a highly profitable basis.

Total volume of the supplementals last year, according to Air Transport World, amounted to a quarter of a billion dollars. Much of this was contract work for the Military Airlift Command. The volume of commercial business is soaring, however.

The nature of the business is described in a friendly article in the New Republic of July 20. The article describes the "10 little airlines" as "trying to cash in on the commercial traffic" through packaged tours. The supplementals "charter their planes to travel agents who plan itineraries, book passengers, and charge little more for it than commercial airlines do for their cheapest round-trip air fare."

Now, it is explained, the supplementals are asking Congress to amend "slightly" the law authorizing the Civil Aeronautics Board to sanction their attempts to expand their charter operations.

Close examination of this request reveals a novel, far-reaching proposal. In effect, the supplementals seek to bcome competitors of scheduled airlines on heavily traveled routes, without taking on the public interest, convenience and necessity obligations of the scheduled carriers.

This would be achieved by soliciting the business of individuals directly or indirectly, as well as of groups. It would be permissible for many travel agents to sell tours to 165 individuals or more—up to the full seating capacity of an airliner. The carrier, treating the individuals as a group, could take off after the last passenger had enplaned.

This is a far cry from the concept of group tours to members of an organization on the same itinerary at the same time. Such passengers rightly share in the savings of reduced per person cost as members of a charter planeload.

What Congress is being asked to do is to enable supplementals to solicit individuals among the public. Once enough individuals are sold on the idea of a bargain-rate tour, the charter carrier would have the right to tell them they constituted a group or organization, departing at a specific time.

Consider the prospects. In the New York-Los Angeles, San Francisco-Honolulu, or Chicago-Honolulu market, an aggressive supplemental line could easily organize enough individually ticketed passengers, through direct solicitation or via tour operators, to make daily flights. These "charters" would in substance be competitive flights in high-density markets served by public utility-common carriers. The inroads by the supplementals on the latter's profitable services could result in higher costs for scheduled operations and, in consequence, higher fares. Adequate capacity at all times the year around on schedules the public has long used in planning of air carriage would necessarily be costlier to provide. It could be priced out of the market.

Government regulatory policy relates air fares to seat factors, the major principle underlying charter services. If the regular carriers had in self-defense to seek authority to compete for charter-type business at comparable fares, passengers holding reservations would have to wait until the plane was nearly filled or at full load before departure.

There would be no refund if the passenger changed his mind and deplaned. On the other hand, the individual holding a reservation on a plane departing on schedule would have to pay much more for traveling without benefit of full loads.

It was partly to avoid such drastic increases in operating costs and fares that scheduled airlines were placed in a public utility status. Their operating certificates required acceptance of responsibility and adherence to regulations which not only limit competition but the decisionmaking of management in terms of fares.

Any carrier wishing to compete in the scheduled air transport field may apply for a certificate which, if granted, will require acceptance of the same obligations. The supplementals seek to enter through the back door, on privileged terms, in the common carrier business. They ask to expand into the business without taking on the public responsibilities of a common carrier.

Their request is contained in the proposal to have Congress' blessing in skimming the cream—the profitable portions—of the airline business without being saddled with the requirements of a scheduled airline's operating certificate.

The obvious way to achieve this is to have legislation broadening the definition of what constitutes a charter. Thus an amendment providing authority for "inclusive tours" offers the opening needed to obtain entry into high-density markets on privileged terms.

The term "inclusive tours" should be defined to require truth-in-labeling for charters: A charter is a specific group organized for purposes other than travel. This clearly would put the travel industry on notice that any agent, or group of agents or other entity could solicit individuals for travel at a price based solely on full-capacity seat factors and operating costs, without regard to the expenses incurred in regularly scheduled service.

Throughout the 7 months of this session, the Congress has devoted long hours to matters involving the air transport system and related programs, ranging from the balance of payments to air traffic congestion over major cities, the revitalization of the postal service and the future of motor and rail as well as mass transit systems.

The economy of our country and the interest and necessity of our people are now built around the fact that our commercial airlines function as a public utility, offering the best and most convenient airlift at reasonable cost.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Chairman, on July 9 the Senate unanimously passed S. 3566, a bill quite similar to H.R. 17685. H.R. 17685, as amended, was unanimously passed by the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics and by the full Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

I am in support of this legislation which will allow the Civil Aeronautics Board to continue to authorize tour operators to charter the aircraft of supplemental air carriers for the air transportation portion of inclusive tour charter trips. However, I want to make certain that the record is clear that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce intends by this bill to clarify the Board's inclusive tour authority. It does not intend to enlarge the Board's authority.

Supplemental air transportation should not conflict with the air transportation provided by the scheduled air carriers. As Chairman Crooker of the CAB testified, the Board's present regulations require that inclusive tours "include at least all hotel accommodations and air and surface transportation between all places on the itinerary. Each tour must be performed on a round trip basis, last at least 7 days, and have a minimum of three overnight stops at least 50 miles apart. Such a tour may be operated only by a regulated tour operator, pursuant to prior approval by the Board of the tour prospectus. Prior to approval of a prospectus, scheduled carriers serving the points involved in the tour must be given notice of the tour operator's application and an opportunity to object."

Requirements are essential to preserve the distinctions between the supplemental air carriers' authority and that of the scheduled air carriers. I do not think that it would be appropriate to curtail the CAB's rulemaking insofar as inclusive tours are concerned, but I do emphasize, as does the committee report, that any substantial changes which are contemplated, particularly those which might diminish the distinctions between the two classes of air carriers under discussion, should first be brought to the attention of Congress and the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK] and I associate myself with his remarks. The scheduled airlines operating in Alaska—as well as the nonscheduled airlines who say they can bring many tourists to Alaska—have carefully and fully explained how this legislation would affect their respective operations. After weighing the evidence they have so abundantly supplied, I can only reach the conclusion that the pending bill, H.R. 17685, would not be to Alaska's best interests.

Alaska is not alone among the 50 States in experiencing a highly seasonal traffic flow. The summer is the time when our tourist industry flourishes—yet during the other seasons of the year we have the same critical needs for air transportation, expecially in the less populous areas of the State.

It is estimated that more than 20 percent of Alaska's residents are to a very large extent presently dependent upon air transportation for themselves and their day-to-day necessities. In southeastern Alaska there are cities which can be reached only by sea or by air. There are no railroads or highways. In the interior of Alaska many native villages are dependent upon air transportation alone. Often the nearest large community is hundreds of miles away.

Any change in the law that would allow supplemental air carriers to invade the transportation markets during the summer tourist season and figuratively speaking, skim off the cream and then disappear during the long winter months would be disastrous to us. At best many air routes are marginal on a year-round basis. What we need and what I urge this Congress to focus on is the strongest possible year-round air transportation system. This can only be provided by the scheduled air route carriers.

I am not in any way against the development of the supplemental air carriers, and they are prospering now under present regulations; however, I am against giving them the ability to capture the tourist market without shouldering the accompanying responsibilities for day-to-day scheduled routes.

Alaska needs the daily, continuing, dedicated air service we have today.

Therefore, I urge that we reject here and now this attempt by the supplemental air carriers to invade the scheduled airline market at the peak profit times, leaving critical areas high and dry during the off-season periods.

The role of the supplemental air carriers must be carefully defined to limit their activity to the development of group tours and charters. They must not have the authority to engage directly or indirectly in single-seat sales. Any other decision on our part would be ruinous to the development of sound air transportation in States that do not have major population centers to absorb the supplemental air carrier activity without invasion of the traffic of regularly scheduled airlines.

I urge, therefore, that the Members of Congress amend this legislation in the interests of a sound air transportation policy and reject the proposition that individual ticket sales may be made either directly or indirectly to members of the traveling public by the supplemental air carriers or by any person or organization or entity acting in their behalf.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further requests for time, pursuant to the rule, the Clerk will now read the substitute committee amendment printed in the reported bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That paragraph (33) of section 101 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 is amended to read as follows:

"(33) 'Supplemental air transportation' means charter trips, including inclusive tour charter trips, in air transportation, other than the transportation of mail by aircraft, rendered pursuant to a certificate of public convenience and necessity issued pursuant to section 401(d)(3) of this Act to supplement the scheduled service authorized by certificates of public convenience and necessity issued pursuant to sections 401(d)(1) and (2) of this Act. Nothing in this paragraph shall permit a supplemental air carrier to sell or offer for sale an inclusive tour in air transportation by selling or offering for sale individual tickets directly to members of the general public, or to do so indirectly by controlling, being controlled by, or under common control with, a person authorized by the Board to make such sales."

Sec. 2. Certificates of public convenience and necessity for supplemental air transportation and statements of authorizations, issued by the Civil Aeronautics Board, are hereby validated, ratified, and continued in effect according to their terms, notwithstanding any contrary determinations by any court that the Board lacked power to authorize the performance of inclusive tour charter trips in air transportation.

Mr. **FRIEDEL** (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the substitute committee amendment be considered as read, printed in the Record, and open to amendment at any point.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

Mr. **POLLOCK**. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman from Alaska will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. **POLLOCK**. Mr. Chairman, is the bill open to amendment at any point.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Yes.

Mr. **POLLOCK**. Mr. Chairman, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. **POLLOCK**. Was that a part of the unanimous-consent request of the acting chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce?

The **CHAIRMAN**. If the unanimous-consent request is adopted then the substitute committee amendment will be open to amendment at any point.

Mr. **POLLOCK**. I did not hear the acting chairman, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Friedel], make that as a part of his unanimous-consent request.

The **CHAIRMAN**. That was the understanding of the Chair of the gentleman's unanimous-consent request.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. PICKLE

Mr. **PICKLE**. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Pickle: On page 3, after line 10, add the following:

"Sec. 3. Section 401(e)(6) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 is amended to read as follows:

"'(6) Any air carrier, other than a supplemental air carrier, may perform charter trips (including inclusive tour charter trips) or any other special service, without regard to the points named in its certificate, or the type of service provided therein, under regulations prescribed by the Board.'"

Mr. **PICKLE**. Mr. Chairman, I am hopeful that this amendment might be considered as a clarifying amendment and that it might be accepted. The purpose of the amendment as I stated earlier is to provide that the certificated carriers might be able to participate in the inclusive tour charter trips on much the same basis as the supplemental carriers, provided that they comply with the rules and regulations of the CAB.

Mr. Chairman, your subcommittee held long hearings during the discussion of this bill and it was discussed over and over. This is one of these matters where you have two groups, each trying, of course, to protect his own interests.

However, we have come out with a bill that we hope will be fair to the supplementals who are now participating in these tours and at the same time will not be in any way discriminatory against the certificated carriers.

Mr. Chairman, the economics of the matter is that there is controversy. We are trying to give you a bill that both of the industries can live with. But this does produce controversial situations upon occasion.

Mr. Chairman, my amendment, if adopted, would clarify the statutory language and what I believe is its intent and the understanding of the CAB and the authorities at this time——

Mr. **ADAMS**. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me at that point?

Mr. **PICKLE**. I shall yield to the gentleman from Washington in just a minute.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the committee report on the bill before us states that, "nothing in this bill is intended to limit the inclusive tour authority of scheduled carriers."

This is specific language in the report and it gives some direction to the CAB to bring about a balance between these two sources of transportation.

So, Mr. Chairman, the bill now pending before us today seems to be needed to make the competitive forces equal.

In my opinion the amendment which I have introduced will equalize this effort.

In simplest terms, the amendment will say that when an independent tour operator has organized his trip, and is shopping around to find someone to provide the air transportation, he may purchase that service either from a scheduled airline or from a supplemental airline.

A lot has been said during the committee consideration of the bill about getting recreational travel available to the public at the lowest possible price. This amendment surely moves in precisely that direction.

I would like to point out that the amendment does not put scheduled, certificated carriers in the position of being able to offer inclusive tours on an unlimited basis, to points not named in their charter. Whenever a scheduled airline provides an inclusive tour to a location for which it is not certified for service it will always be subject to CAB regulation.

The present Board regulations on this point say that a scheduled air carrier may perform charter trips and special services without regard to the geographic locations named in its certificate only to the extent of 2 percent of its ordinary scheduled revenue mileage.

I would expect the 2-percent limitation would still apply under the new or amended regulations, but of course the Board will have authority to make such changes and adjustments as it deems necessary.

The point is that this amendment would make clear that a scheduled airline is given statutory authority to provide charter service. It is also intended that within CAB regulations they may also provide inclusive tours as defined by the Board.

Now, I repeat again that under the present regulations the scheduled carriers may give, first, regular airline service to points as certified on their certificate; second, another special service that scheduled airlines can give is that they may promote other charter operations if they abide by the 2-percent limitation of total mileage traveled as certified by the CAB, and if the charters provide that there is an affinity; that is, that they are handling groups that have a common trait, such as the Lions, Rotary, Kiwanis, the Elks, and those types of organizations.

My amendment simply goes one step further and says that under this legislation, the scheduled carriers could perform inclusive tour-charter trips subject to CAB regulations—including their 2-percent limitation, and all the other stipulations that the chairman of the committee has pointed out: the distance, the overnight lodging, and transportation. If these requirements were met, then the scheduled airline could provide inclusive tours to geographic points not on their particular charter.

There is some disagreement about whether this is needed. The CAB tells me that they do not know that this is necessary; that they think perhaps the language permits it now. Well, there is some disagreement, whether it is or it is not, and so I am saying we ought to say by statute clearly what we believe is the intent that regular carriers could do so.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

(On request of Mr. Kornegay, and by unanimous consent, Mr. Pickle was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. **ADAMS**. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **PICKLE**. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. **ADAMS**. Mr. Chairman, I might say to the gentleman in the well that we do not oppose this on its merits, the problem that we have is that it is new, we did not spend time on this. We are just trying to correct the problem of the Board decisions.

It is my impression, as the gentleman just mentioned, that the CAB can already do this, and that they have the authority to allow all types of charters within their regulations to the scheduled airlines.

So, Mr. Chairman, I would just like to make it clear that, while not opposing it, many of us on the committee are, first, a little hesitant because it is new, and second, our impression is that it is not needed because they already have the authority.

Mr. **PICKLE**. Since it is a clarifying amendment, according to my intent, I think we should add just those five words as I originally stated. My amendment simply adds the words "including inclusive tour charter trips."

That amends section 401 of the FAA act which applies to certificated carriers.

As I see it, it does no harm and I think it shows a clear intent that ought to be put into the law.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PICKLE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KORNEGAY. If I understand the gentleman's amendment correctly, it would merely place the scheduled carriers on the same basis with respect to inclusive tours as the supplemental carriers, subject, of course, to the rules and regulations of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Mr. PICKLE. That is correct. That last statement is important—it is subject to the regulation of the Civil Aeronautics Board. They establish these regulations now and if this is put in, they will still maintain and establish regulations pertaining to the supplemental carriers and the scheduled carriers.

Mr. KORNEGAY. That is as to the supplemental or the certificated carriers?

Mr. PICKLE. Yes; including the certificated carriers, of course.

Mr. KORNEGAY. And this is not giving the certificated carriers any advantage over the supplemental carrier?

Mr. PICKLE. That is right.

Mr. KORNEGAY. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PICKLE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman ought to be complimented on the amendment. The gentleman is placing into the law in effect what is written in the committee's report. Therefore, I want to associate myself with remarks of the gentleman and support his amendment.

Further, I believe it will also take care of the question raised by the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. POLLOCK].

Therefore, I urge the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. PICKLE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, the committee report on H.R. 17685 states:

> Nothing in this bill is intended to limit the inclusive tour authority of scheduled carriers.

Absent a clear statutory direction to the Civil Aeronautics Board I am concerned that the balance on which today's legislation is prefaced might or could get out of line.

The bill before us today is said to be needed in order to make the competitive forces equal. The amendment I am introducing will truly equalize the effort.

In simplest terms, this amendment will said that when an independent tour operator has organized his tour, and is shopping around to find someone to provide the air transportation, he may purchase that service either from a scheduled airline or from a supplemental airline.

A lot has been said during committe consideration of the bill about getting recreational travel available to the public at the lowest possible price. This amendment moves in precisely that direction.

I would like to point out that the amendment does not put scheduled carriers in the position of being able to offer inclusive tours on an unlimited basis to points not named in their charter. Whenever a scheduled line provides an inclusive tour to a location which it is not certified to serve, it will always be subject to CAB regulation.

Present Board regulations on this point say that a scheduled air carrier may perform "charter trips" or other "special services" without regard to the geographic locations named in its certificate, only to the extent of 2 percent of its ordinary, scheduled mileage.

I would expect that this 2-percent limitation will still apply under any new or amended regulations, but, of course, the Board will have authority to make such adjustments as it deems necessary.

The point is, that this amendment makes clear that when a scheduled airline is given the statutory authority to provide charter service, it is also intended that, within CAB regulation, they may also provide inclusive tours, as defined by the Board.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I want to make it very clear that I oppose this amendment because I feel the bill has a very limited objective.

The objective was simply to correct a situation which arose from conflicting court decisions, and the lack of resolving this, when the Supreme Court handed down a 4-to-4 decision to restore the situation that existed prior to the decision of the second circuit court. I do not believe we should go beyond that point at this time without further hearings.

I think the case for the supplementals to have the authority which many of us assume they had, which the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia said they have, is desirable. But I am wary of going further than that at this time.

I do not think the full measure of the possible impact of this amendment has been explored with sufficient thoroughness for us to know precisely what its effect might be.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Texas.

I find that we may have some opposition to it because of this court case. But carrying on, from the remarks made by the gentleman from Texas, if there is a right of the scheduled airlines in the present law, and I do not know why there should be any complaint or opposition to this, but I want to point to some of the wording of the committee report on page 4 in the middle paragraph which is as follows:

> It should be clear, and it is certainly the intent of the committee, that nothing in this bill is intended to limit the inclusive tour authority of scheduled air carriers.

All that we are doing here is adding five words—including inclusive tour charter trips.

I submit, based on the words of the report that all that is involved here is a clarifying amendment. If it is not needed, then certainly we are not doing any damage. But it certainly clarifies the situation and it should be adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BLATNIK

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. BLATNIK: On page 2, line 25, after the word "indirectly" insert the following: "or".

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Chairman, I hope I shall not need all the time allotted to me. I am sure I shall not. Briefly, may I make clear that I have been a strong supporter from the beginning of the effort to encourage the development of supplemental airlines. I still am. I agree with the committee that there is a need for clarification of the existing act, and I believe that the language is made clear in the bill. It took two court decisions contradicting each other further to confuse the average citizen.

So I commend the committee in its effort to clarify the situation through legislation. I think it has been clarified even more by the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE] which was just agreed to.

At the outset I wish to express my complete support for the supplementals. But to have a fair and clearly understood piece of legislation, I want to have the record show that I am in complete agreement with the committee's report. Certainly I have great respect for the distinguished chairman of the committee. But in reading and rereading the language at the bottom of page 2, I am not so clear that the language does what the report says it is supposed to do. See if I am correct: This bill by definition prohibits the supplemental from selling individual tickets to the public.

I think that language is clear, is it not?

But as drafted it does not prevent the supplemental from operating through a tour wholesaler or retailer who in turn does deal with individual members of the public. I am addressing my remarks to that point. The legal people—and some legal people have assisted in drawing up the amendment—assure me that by putting the word "or" at the point at which I propose, the phrase "or to do so indirectly" is isolated, which I understand would be defined as referring to a prohibition against a supplemental airline working with the general public indirectly through a tour operator or a package operator, who in turn would be selling individual tickets, which the report says should be prohibited.

So briefly reading the language at the bottom of page 2, line 22, this bill would prohibit a "supplemental air carrier to sell or offer for sale an inclusive tour in air transportation by selling or offering for sale individual tickets directly to members of the general public, or to do so indirectly" at that point I split the phrase by adding "or" making it crystal clear "or by controlling, being controlled by, or under common control with, a person authorized by the Board to make such sales."

I am certain the added word would clarify the language of that prohibition without any adverse effects to either the regular scheduled or nonscheduled airlines.

This bill by definition prohibits the supplemental from selling individual tickets to the public but as drafted does not prevent the supplemental from operating through a tour wholesaler or retailer who in turn deals with individual members of the public.

By putting the word "or" it isolates the phrase "or to do so indirectly" which the legislative history would have to define as referring to a prohibition against the supplemental working at the general public through the direct device of a tour operator or a package operator selling individual tickets.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLATNIK. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. ADAMS. I thank the gentleman. I am sorry to have to disagree with my very good friend from Minnesota. This is the precise point that was litigated in the two cases that went up to the Supreme Court with the Second Circuit being affirmed 4 to 4.

It was on the definition of what the word "charter" is, and what was meant by "indirectly". If we were to do this in this bill and say "or does so indirectly," we would go right back to litigation again as to whether or not a tour operator could sell tickets to the public and charter a supplemental airline, because we would have cut out the phrase "or to do so indirectly."

In the subcommittee this was the precise point that caused the argument and which was compromised by putting in the phrase on line 25, page 2, and continuing into lines 1 and 2 on page 3.

I would say to the gentleman, and refer to the CAB regulations, section 378, that the supplementals cannot sell a ticket anyplace.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

(On request of Mr. Adams and by unanimous consent, Mr. Blatnik was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, what these regulations provide is first, supplementals cannot sell tickets anyplace. They do provide for only a tour operator to do this, which is carefully defined and set up under a series of regulations. So this language is precisely drawn with the legal intent to be certain that the tour operator can sell, but there is to be no hanky-panky between the supplemental airline and the tour operator.

I would say to the gentleman each one of these tours must be passed by the CAB, so that if they are in collusion at any time, the scheduled airlines can come in to the CAB here and say, "There is collusion. These are indirect sales to the public by a supplemental airliner. Therefore prohibit the sale."

The CAB is in agreement with that principle.

The committee is—as represented by four Members on the floor, Mr. Broyhill of Virginia, Mr. Kornegay, Mr. Pollock, and later the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Pickle], and established the precise point the gentleman in the well is talking about, which is to have a prohibited indirect sale, but the language of the gentleman would prohibit the tour operator and, in effect, put us right back here where the second circuit was, and that is why we opposed the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

(On request of Mr. Andrews of North Dakota, and by unanimous consent, Mr. Blatnik was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLATNIK. I yield to the gentleman from North Dakota.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, is it the purpose simply to carry out the committee language on page 2, that no aircraft carrier will be permitted to do indirectly what it is prohibited to do directly?

Mr. BLATNIK. That is correct. We made it clear: What they cannot do directly, they also cannot do indirectly.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I think this is clear.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in full support of the amendment.

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLATNIK. I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, is it not the purpose of the amendment by the gentleman from Minnesota to make it abundantly clear what this Congress should be doing as a matter of policy, and that is whether it should be adopting a policy to allow supplemental air carriers to get business through individual solicitation by a tour operator? We have to decide whether this is right or not. Regardless of what was carried in the lawsuit, the supplemental air carrier has never been allowed to put together tours of individual people from different places. They are allowed to handle group transportation, special transportation flights.

This is to make it abundantly clear they cannot do it indirectly if they cannot do it directly. Is this not the case?

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman is correct. This only clarifies what the gentleman means and makes sure they will not either directly or indirectly control a person authorized by the Board to make the sales.

Mr. Chairman, with respect to the able gentleman from Washington, I am sure the gentleman is sincere, but what does the gentleman understand the word "indirectly" to mean?

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, the word "indirectly" is to see they cannot indirectly sell tickets through a tour agent or tour operator where, in other words, the supplemental has put a sham or somebody out in front and is selling the tickets. That is what this is for.

What the gentleman wants to do has been accomplished.

What I would say to the gentleman from Alaska and the gentleman in the well is, what they are seeking to do is precisely what was litigated in the Second Circuit. The policy was set in 1962 when the act was changed. We put the nonskeds out of business and created the supplementals and put the scheduled airlines into business, and as part of that the supplementals were to be able to have charters. They have to have charters from the Defense Department, and to have the charters from the Defense Department, the military requires 40 percent of their business to be civilian, and in order to have 40 percent of their business civilian, they have to have the ability to charter their equipment to tours and tour agents such as we have allowed for in the bill.

That was the precise thing, I say to the gentleman from Minnesota, which was before the committee. I believe we have accomplished exactly what the gentleman wants to do, whereas his amendment would put us right back into unfortunate litigation.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I said in addressing the Members when we started that this committee had a decision to make, and it was a decision to be fair. In my opinion this amendment is not fair, and I am not accusing the gentleman from Minnesota of offering anything that is not fair, but as I interpret the amendment, this will kill the intent of the bill, which is to be fair to both sides.

We have not done the precise things that either side wanted. We did what we thought was best for America, to keep the supplementals going under appropriate regulation.

I do believe this amendment would kill the inclusive tours for the supplemental airlines. I do not believe the word "or" ought to be in there.

I will say once more what I said before, the committee in its wisdom did not try to determine anything about which class of carriers should be favored. We said we wanted to be fair, and we wanted a strong transportation system in this land.

There is no one who has been a better champion of the scheduled airlines than I have been ever since I have been a member of the committee. I will be in the future, because I believe they have done a great job.

I stood against the supplemental air carriers in 1962, determined that those which were not safe and were not financially able should not fly through the skies to kill people. At the end of the conference, which was one of the longest conferences this House ever had, I was the only single Member who stood fast. I said that I would never allow it, and that I would take the floor of the House the first time an air crash came and accuse every Member of Congress who supported unsafe air service of perpetuating danger and killing people. For that reason 17 of the supplementals were put out of business. But I believe the remaining 13 do a good job. They mean nothing to me. They do not come into my territory. But I want to be fair to them. I believe Congress wants to be fair to them. I believe the bill is fair.

I do not believe the word "or" ought to be in here. I urge that the amendment be defeated.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I have asked for this time to oppose the amendment, and I do so reluctantly. I am in agreement with the intent of the gentleman who has offered his amendment.

I wish I could tell the gentleman how many drafts were made in the subcommittee in the attempt to find language we thought would be fair both to the supplemental and to the certificated air carriers. We have come before you today with what we believe is fair language.

I submitted additional views, still striving for what I thought was perhaps a better statement.

I believe the amendment we adopted earlier does clarify this to some extent.

I believe what we are trying to say by this bill is what we need to say in passing legislation. It is an involved subject. We need something to clarify it.

We would do two or three things in addition.

We would say to the supplemental air carriers, "You do not engage in this individual ticket selling, and you do not engage in these tour operations." We also would say to the tour operators, some of whom have become very bold in their offerings to the public, "You must offer these tickets strictly as outlined by the Civil Aeronautics Board."

But in my opinion we are also saying to the CAB, "You must establish rules and regulations for these tour operations, for these individual ticket sales, that will be fair to both."

If we adopt the language of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota, I am concerned this may greatly curtail the operations of the supplemental carriers to the extent they really would not be in business, or else it might throw the matter back into the court. We are not trying to do damage to either side.

It seems to me we can live with the language in the bill.

We are saying by this legislation that the CAB should keep within the mandate that the Congress intended. That is, that they are primarily to go to the supplemental carriers. Still, the scheduled carriers need consideration, and it is good policy to make the business as competitive as possible. This is an old fight. We heard evidence submitted to our committee by many groups. The boldest of the tour operators and the operators engaged in this field of activity testified on this, and some of the advertisements appear to violate what I think was their authority. I am trying to arrive here at what I think is a reasonable use of the sale of individual tickets. Although I am in sympathy with what the gentleman offered, I think this would go to an extreme that would not be desirable at this point, and therefore I oppose the amendment.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Gentlemen, it seems to me that we have one basic policy to adopt or reject, so far as this legislation is concerned. I do not know, whether you understand all of the words involved in this legislation or not. The question we have to determine today is whether or not we are going to allow supplemental air carriers to get business through individual ticket sales. That is all that is involved here. We have established that they cannot do this directly, but what this bill is going to do is authorize them to do it indirectly.

Now, I am just as much interested as the chairman in fair play. It was a beautiful speech he made a few moments ago, and I agree with what he says—that he wants to be fair to both sides. I do, also. The long-established practice has been that supplemental air carriers are authorized to handle group tours. They cannot handle flights by individual ticket sales. If we allow individual ticket sales to be made by a tour operator or by a travel agent until such agent can accumulate enough individual sales to put together a group tour, then we are defeating the very thing we have tried for so many years in this Congress to protect for the scheduled air carriers.

I do not see any other issue here. It is a question of whether you let the supplemental air carrier do indirectly what he is not allowed to be directly. The issue as I see it is whether or not you are going to allow the supplemental air carriers to put together tours through individual ticket sales.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POLLOCK. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I am going to ask a question for clarification. As I understand it, a tour operator or a travel agency in my hometown or yours, let us say, decides to arrange a tour to go from Los Angeles, Calif., to Miami, Fla. That travel agent or tour operator—whatever you might call him—contacts 100 people and sells them individual tickets for this specific tour. Now, this is what is meant, as I understand it, by the language. The supplemental air carrier cannot own that travel agency indirectly.

Mr. POLLOCK. That is correct.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. But the supplemental must deal with a tour operator or a travel agency, and the travel agency must sell those individuals tickets in order to get a group together. So it is not the supplemental air carrier selling the tickets individually but the tour operator or the travel agency getting the group together for the trip.

Mr. POLLOCK. If I may respond to the distinguished gentleman from California, what he has said is absolutely correct. What he has not done, though, is go far enough to see the evil in this proposal. When someone comes in who lives in San Francisco and he has to go to Miami, he goes in to the travel agent and the travel agent says, "There is no point in going to the regularly scheduled airline, because it will cost you x dollars and I am trying to put together a tour and we can save you $40 or $50 or $60 on it." So you are taking away the business of the regularly scheduled airlines. I happen to think it is wrong to take away the cream during the tourist season and let the regular scheduled airlines run the regular scheduled routes all year round.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POLLOCK. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. STAGGERS. The gentleman is talking about something else. He is not talking about inclusive tours.

Mr. POLLOCK. I think I am.

Mr. STAGGERS. The rules with reference to the inclusive tours state that there must be three stops, it must take 7 days, you must pay for the hotel reservations and ground transportation, and must pay 110 percent of what one riding the regular airlines would have to pay for air transportation to the same points.

I would ask the gentleman from Alaska is any man going to pay 110 percent for what he can get for 100 percent.

Mr. POLLOCK. Yes, I think he would, because this would include his ground transportation, his meals and lodging, in addition to the air transportation ticket.

Mr. STAGGERS. Well, unless you are going to Miami I do not think anyone would. You are talking about group charters. That is an entirely different thing. You can go from one point to another, but that would be an affinity group charter.

Mr. POLLOCK. I am talking about group tours.

Mr. STAGGERS. But you are not talking about inclusive tours. The supplementals do have the right to charter with groups and that is right, but that is not the fight which is involved on the floor of the House today.

Mr. POLLOCK. I will say to my dear friend from West Virginia you are correct, so far as you state the issue, but you are here authorizing the supplemental air carrier to pick off individual sales through an agent, and thus taking business directly away from the scheduled air carriers who have responsibility for year around transportation, not just during the lucrative tourist seasons. Some of these scheduled carriers have marginal operations at best so far as profits are concerned, especially in the more sparsely settled areas of the country, and I think its wrong to allow the supplementals to step in and skim the cream off, leaving only the skimmed milk, as it were, for those carriers with the continuing responsibility.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alaska has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota.

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ZABLOCKI

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ZABLOCKI: On page 2, line 15, after "trips", strike out the comma and "including inclusive tour charter trips,".

On page 2,, line 16, before "other", insert the following: "including inclusive tour charter trips in interstate and overseas air transportations,".

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Chairman, the amendment proposed can rightfully be called the balance-of-payments amendment to this legislation. I have carefully read the report, particularly the views of the Department of State as well as the comments of the Department of Commerce. I note that these two Departments are not in harmony. Of course, this is not unusual. But I do want to point out to the Committee that the Department of Commerce maintains that this legislation would be helpful and have a useful balance-of-payments effect. In other words, that inclusive tours in the continental United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, would be in line with the administration's efforts to reduce the travel gap by encouraging Americans to take vacations within the dollar area.

Mr. Chairman, my amendment would reduce the travel gap, because inclusive tour charters travel would be within the continental United States and territories of the United States.

Some will argue that this amendment will preclude inclusive tour charter trips abroad, thus discourage foreign tourists visiting the United States. I want to point out, however, that the State Department letter on page 6 of the committee report states—and the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ADAIR] raised this very interesting point—namely, the Department notes that one consideration which might hamper the development of an extensive international inclusive tour program by the supplemental airlines is the reluctance which many foreign countries, particularly in Europe, have shown toward such charter services.

Their reluctance has been based on their concern that this charter activity will divert traffic from their scheduled international air carriers. Should not we have the same concern as to what extent the supplemental carriers will divert traffic from our scheduled international air carriers?

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. If I may conclude.

I would further point out, Mr. Chairman, the Department of Commerce in its letter states that development of inclusive tour charters would generate a very useful balance-of-payments effect. Further, the Commerce Department letter states:

> The inclusive tour service is highly developed in Europe, and is particularly attractive to persons in the lower income groups who otherwise would be financially unable to visit this country.

Apparently Commerce is referring to charter services including inclusive tours within Europe. Therefore I believe, Mr. Chairman, I submit my proposal would enhance the administration's objectives to bring about a better balance-of-payments situation.

Mr. Chairman, I hope this amendment will be adopted.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. ADAMS. I would like to point out to the gentleman—and I understand the concern of the gentleman—but I believe that this would be the "reverse balance-of-payments" amendment. Because under this ruling that we presently have the same tour operator could charter a plane for Americans to go to Europe, but the money stays within the American system because the American tour operator receives the original payment, and the payment goes to an American charter, and therefore you have the funds staying here. If you cut off American competition then both American nationals going abroad and foreign nationals who wish to come to the United States must deal with the foreign tour operator, and with a foreign carrier, and therefore American funds go abroad and European funds are prevented from coming here.

The reason that they mentioned that certain European nations have been reluctant about this is for this precise point, many of them have monopolies as to their air carriers, and they do not want to see their money going to American carriers. That is why they are a little reluctant. But the State Department says from a foreign relations standpoint the Department of State has not objected to the proposed legislation on what I believe the gentleman is saying, and I hope the gentleman will bring this amendment back and let competition continue.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. ZABLOCKI was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. ZABLOCKI. The argument of the gentleman would have some credence, as far as the gentleman from Wisconsin is concerned, if the gentleman from Washington would document his claim with substantiating statistics.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ZABLOCKI].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. POLLOCK

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. POLLOCK: On page 2, beginning with line 14, strike out all material through page 3, line 2, and insert in lieu thereof the following:
>
> "(33) 'supplemental air transportation' means charter trips in air transportation, other than the transportation of mail by aircraft, authorized by a certificate of public convenience and necessity issued pursuant to section 401(d)(3) of this Act. The term 'supplemental air transportation' includes inclusive tour charter trips in air transportation, i.e., travel packages, including charter air transportation, lodging and such surface transportation and other land arrangements as are appropriate, offered at one all-inclusive price and sold by a supplemental air carrier or by a tour operator or travel agent to members of a specific group or groups organized for purposes other than for travel; however, nothing in this paragraph shall permit a supplemental air carrier to sell or offer for sale, directly or indirectly, any inclusive tour in air transportation or any other air transportation to individual members of the general public, except as provided in section 417, nor shall such supplemental air carrier accomplish same through a tour operator or travel agent, or by controlling, being contolled by, or acting in consort or under common control with a person authorized by the Board to make such individual ticket sales directly or indirectly to members of the general public. Nothing in this Act shall prevent a State, the District of Columbia or a possession of the United States from exercising jurisdiction of the sale of inclusive tour charter trips by supplemental air carriers."

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Chairman, I will try to be very brief.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment goes to the heart of the same problem that we were discussing a minute ago. I intended to offer this amendment if the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK] was not adopted by the conference, and it was not.

My amendment delineates the particular area or issue in this bill which is disturbing to me, and that is whether or not a supplemental air carrier shall have the right to put together tours by individual ticket sales—directly or indirectly.

They have not previously been able to do this. The bill authorizes them to do it unless this amendment is adopted.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the Members to adopt the amendment.

The last sentence in the amendment reads:

> Nothing in this Act shall prevent a State, the District of Columbia or a possession of the United States from exercising jurisdiction of the sale of inclusive tour charter trips by supplemental air carriers.

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of that provision is simply to allow a State to control supplemental air carrier operations within its own borders. I do not believe that just any company which is set up as a supplemental air carrier without adequate controls or safe aircraft or adequate financial basis should be able to go into any State and simply set up a business there utilizing a travel agent or tour agent to put together tour packages through individual ticket sales to people to go anywhere in the United States or elsewhere.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me it would give a State or the District of Columbia or a territory the right to determine whether or not those people were qualified to be in business in the first place. I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I am only going to speak briefly because I know the hour is late. But I would just say that this was not before the committee; it is not within the purpose of this legislation, and I think the amendment ought to be voted down.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. POLLOCK].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other amendments to be offered? If not, the question is on the committee amendment, as amended.

The committee amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. ROGERS of Colorado, Chairman, of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 17685) to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of "supplemental air transportation," and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 1254, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment to the committee amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole? If not, the question is on the amendment.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. POLLOCK. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Pollock moves to recommit the bill H.R. 17685 to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of a similar Senate bill (S. 3566) to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of "supplemental air transportation," and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

That was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 3566

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That paragraph (33) of subsection (a) of section 101 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 is amended to read as follows:

"(33) 'Supplemental air transportation' means charter trips, including inclusive tour charter trips, in air transportation, other than the transportation of mail by aircraft, rendered pursuant to a certificate of public convenience and necessity issued pursuant to section 401(d)(3) of this Act to supplement the scheduled service authorized by certificates of public convenience and necessity issued pursuant to section 401(d)(1) and (2) of this Act."

Sec. 2. Certificate of public convenience and necessity for supplemental air transportation and statements of authorization, issued by the Civil Aeronautics Board, are hereby validated, ratified, and continued in effect according to their terms, notwithstanding any contrary determination by any court that the Board lacked power to authorize the performance of inclusive tour charter trips in air transportation.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. STAGGERS

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Staggers moves to strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 3566 and to insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 17685, as passed, as follows:

"That paragraph (33) of section 101 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 is amended to read as follows:

" '(33) "Supplemental air transportation" means charter trips, including inclusive tour charter trips, in air transportation, other than the transportation of mail by aircraft, rendered pursuant to a certificate of public convenience and necessity issued pursuant to section 401(d)(3) of this Act to supplement the scheduled service authorized by certificates of public convenience and necessity issued pursuant to sections 401(d)(1) and (2) of this Act. Nothing in this paragraph shall permit a supplemental air carrier to sell or offer for sale an inclusive tour in air transportation by selling or offering for sale individual tickets directly to members of the general public, or to do so indirectly by controlling, being controlled by, or under common control with, a person authorized by the Board to make such sales.'

"Sec. 2. Certificates of public convenience and necessity for supplemental air transportation and statements of authorizations, issued by the Civil Aeronautics Board, are hereby validated, ratified, and continued in effect according to their terms, notwithstanding any contrary determinations by any court that the Board lacked power to authorize the performance of inclusive tour charter trips in air transportation.

"Sec. 3. Section 401(e)(6) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 is amended to read as follows:

" '(6) Any air carrier, other than a supplemental air carrier, may perform charter trips (including inclusive tour charter trips) or any other special service, without regard to the points named in its certificate, or the type of service provided therein, under regulations prescribed by the Board.' "

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 17685) was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 1239, 90th Congress, the Chair appoints as members of the Special Committee To Investigate Campaign Expenditures the following Members of the House: Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts, chairman; Mr. Smith of Iowa, Mr. Davis of Georgia, Mr. Devine of Ohio, and Mr. Kyl of Iowa.

MRS. SOPHIE MICHALOWSKA

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 5233) for the relief of Mrs. Sophie Michalowska, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 2, after line 14, insert:

"Sec. 3. Mrs. Sophie Michalowska is hereby relieved from any liability for payment to the United States of the amount of any income tax imposed under the laws of the United States on the sum referred to in the first section of this Act."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, did the gentleman from South Carolina discuss this with any of the members of the Committee on the Judiciary, or with any of the Private Calendar objectors?

I do not recall any conversation the gentleman had with me concerning this bill.

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, we have checked this with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Arends].

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. With Mr. Arends of Illinois?

Mr. ASHMORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, what is the nature of the bill? What does the bill do?

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Yes; I ask the gentleman to explain very briefly, because I have no desire to take time.

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, this is a bill for a private claim to this lady who worked for the American Embassy in Poland. Frankly, she was accused of doing underground work and spying for the U.S. Government.

Mr. GROSS. Has this bill previously been objected to?

Mr. ASHMORE. Not that I know of. It passed the House and the Senate, and the Senate put an amendment on to relieve her of having to pay any income tax on this money.

Mr. GROSS. It is all square, as I remember, with the bill as it was passed in behalf of a citizen of Hungary who worked for the American Embassy.

Mr. ASHMORE. There is precedent for it. One in 1965 and one in 1966.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING EXPENDITURES INCURRED BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES TO BE PAID FROM THE CONTINGENT FUND OF THE HOUSE

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House Resolution 1281.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 1281

Resolved, That the expenses of conducting the investigation authorized by H. Res. 1239, Ninetieth Congress, incurred by the Special Committee To Investigate Campaign Expenditures, 1968, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed $50,000, including expenditures for employment of experts, special counsel, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by said committee, signed by the chairman of the committee, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

Sec. 2. The official stenographers to committees may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia if not otherwise engaged.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill and a concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 12843. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health; and

H. Con. Res. 806. Concurrent resolution granting authority for the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate to sign enrolled bills and joint resolutions notwithstanding any adjournment of the two Houses until September 4, 1968.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 805. Concurrent resolution providing for adjournment of the House from Friday, August 2, 1968, until 12 o'clock meridian, Wednesday, September 4, 1968.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3638) entitled "An act to extend for 3 years the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers for milk required to be withheld from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government."

The message also announced that the Senate receded from its amendment No. 3 to the bill (H.R. 16027) entitled "An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate receded from its amendment to the bill (H.R. 14367) entitled "An act to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16363) entitled "An act to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1093) entitled "An act to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, and 3 to the bill (H.R. 18706) entitled "An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 633. An act to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps;

S. 1504. An act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans for enterprises to supplement farm income and for farm conversion to recreation, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, establish a flexible loan interest rate, and for other purposes;

S. 2269. An act to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries; and

S. 3095. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR THE BALANCE OF THE WEEK AND FOR THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 4, 1968

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader the program for the rest of this week and the program for when we reconvene on September 4.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the program for the rest of this week is to agree to a Senate amendment to the adjournment resolution.

I assume that the program for the gentleman is to head for Miami as soon thereafter as possible.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. And to have a very enjoyable and successful week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman has such.

Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of the gentleman about the program for next month, the House, of course, will adjourn until September 4, 1968.

The program for Wednesday and the balance of that week is as follows:

H.R. 14314, trust funds for educational scholarships and child care centers, with an open rule and 1 hour of debate;

H.R. 15045, amending the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, with an open rule and 1 hour of debate;

S. 2511, crude pine gum price support, with an open rule and 1 hour of debate; and

H.R. 10564, marketing orders on pears for canning or freezing, with an open rule and 1 hour of debate.

This announcement is made subject to the usual reservation that conference reports may be brought up at any time and that any further program may be announced later.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON SEPTEMBER 4

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule on Wednesday, September 4, 1968, may be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZATION FOR INSERTIONS IN THE RECORD DURING THE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Members of the House may be permitted to make insertions in the Record following the adjournment until September 4; and, Mr. Speaker, pursuant to that request I should like to advise, as authorized by the Joint Committee on Printing, the Congressional Record is scheduled for printing August 8, 15, 22, and 29. Copy for printing in Extensions of Remarks shall be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record clerk in the Capitol. The order shall not apply to any subject matter which may have occurred, or to any speech delivered after August 2, 1968.

Mr. Speaker, I renew my request that Members may be permitted to make insertions in the RECORD following adjournment until September 4.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT TO SEPTEMBER 4, 1968

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk House Concurrent Resolution 805, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

> Senate Amendment: On page 1, line 2, strike out "House" and insert "Congress."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AID TO IMPACTED AREAS

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, as I am sure my colleagues here in the House will recall, after a long, hard battle we were able to add $91 million to the second supplemental appropriations bill to provide full entitlement funding for the aid to impacted school areas program. However, the Bureau of the Budget and the administration apparently feel that it is not the Congress which is going to determine whether or not this program is going to be funded, but the executive branch.

The second supplemental specifically provided that the "funds were to remain available until July 31, 1968." That date expired last night, and the administration has seen fit to refuse to release this money for eligible school districts throughout the Nation. Mr. Speaker, I am sure many of my colleagues will agree that, in this instance, the administration has clearly and flatly failed to carry out the intent of the Congress.

I have long held the belief, and have so stated many times, that the Congress and the administration have a very basic responsibility here to provide assistance and relief to those school districts whose fiscal and programing problems are complicated by the fact that many of their students are from families connected with Federal and military installations. These families, of course, do not contribute to the local tax rolls. The problem of funding these schools have been increased, particularly on the west coast, by our commitment in Vietnam, where we have military installations serving our logistical needs in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the Pacific theater of operations. Loss of Public Law 874 funds in my own State of California by this action, for instance, amounts to over $15 million.

I believe the Congress has fulfilled its obligation in authorizing the necessary funds. Just yesterday, the Senate again indicated its support by approving an amendment to the foreign aid bill providing that all unobligated economic assistance funds, with the exception of Development Loan funds and Alliance for Progress loans, would also be frozen unless the administration funds the impacted areas program as specifically authorized by the Congress.

I cannot indicate too strongly the detrimental effect this refusal by the administration to release the $91 million provided by the Supplemental Appropriations Act will have on school districts serving large numbers of military and civil service families. Quite frankly, I am wondering just what priority the administration is willing to give to the education of the youth of America.

The matter, at least for the moment, appears to be out of the jurisdiction of the Congress. I make these remarks today merely as a statement of my own continued support for this program, and to express my great disappointment at the decision of the administration to withhold these funds which were authorized by the Congress to assist this important domestic education program.

Once again, we find the noble words of this administration unmatched by deeds.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON SIGNS PUCINSKI-CLARK JUVENILE DELINQUENCY BILL

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday at a very impressive ceremony at the White House, President Johnson signed into law H.R. 12120 which is the Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1968.

This was a particularly proud moment for me for with the President's signature, the Pucinski-Clark Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1968 formally came into being.

I know of no greater contribution that we in Congress can make toward bringing about law and order in America than to provide the communities with significant assistance to develop effective prevention programs to help young people avoid becoming young criminals.

H.R. 12120 provides meaningful assistance to local communities to develop preventive programs, rehabilitation programs, diagnostic facilities, trained personnel to deal with young people's problems, and encourages the States to develop a comprehensive plan to meet the problem of juvenile delinquency.

It should be a source of great concern to all of us that recent studies show 96 percent of those released from American prisons return to prison within a period of 36 months.

This staggering recidivist rate is really the shame of our Nation.

The record file shows that almost in each instance adult criminals start out as juvenile delinquents.

It should be a source of great concern to us that 8 out of every 10 automobile thefts in this country, 7 out of every 10 robberies, and 5 out of every 10 burglaries in America are committed by persons under 21 years of age.

Nor can we ignore the tragic fact that the single group in America, which accounts for the largest number of arrests, is the 15-and-16-year-old age group.

The legislation which President Johnson signed into law has as its main thrust the development of effective prevention facilities for those young people about to become delinquents and rehabilitative facilities for those who have strayed into lawlessness in an effort to save them before they become hardened adult criminals. Yesterday's ceremony at the White House, Mr. Speaker, was the high point in my legislative career for I know of no greater contribution that a man can make than to invest in the welfare of the young people of this Nation.

It is with great pride that I include in the RECORD today President Johnson's very inspiring message which he delivered as he signed this landmark's legislation.

H.R. 12120 now establishes partnership between the Federal Government and local communities to make a most significant contribution in the war on crime.

Mr. Johnson's excellent remarks follow:

> Mayor Washington, distinguished members of the Senate, and House of Representatives, ladies and gentlemen.
>
> It is very hard for us to think of two sadder words than juvenile delinquency. They speak of wasted youth and they speak of worried families. Too often they speak of reformatories that do not reform the child and do not resolve the problem.
>
> In 1964, 400,000 American boys and girls awaited trial behind bars. One of every six American boys will go to juvenile court before that boy is 18 years of age. About half of those arrested for major crimes of violence are now under 24 years of age.
>
> The bill that we will sign this morning promises a fundamental reform of this tragedy. This bill is designed to prevent juvenile delinquency.
>
> It is designed to save a youngster from committing his first offense.
>
> It gives funds to states and to cities for youth programs.
>
> It helps local communities to train experts on how to combat juvenile crime.
>
> This bill will rehabilitate life and renew hope.
>
> It offers funds for bold projects to help young lawbreakers.
>
> It will help build new facilities to help reclaim the delinquents, not just to punish the delinquents.
>
> It assists police and other public agencies to come up with modern and compassionate answers to the stubborn problems of juvenile crime.
>
> But this law is just the beginning. Crimi-

nals are made and not born. They are made by slums, they are made by bad schools, by bad health, by idleness and by despair.

And until we get around to curing those ills, we cannot cure crime and we cannot stop violence.

Anyone who promises a cheaper solution promises a fake and a false solution. We want to guarantee every young American a life of fulfillment, not violence.

The intelligence and moral energy of young Americans are greater forces today than ever before. They must be a force for good and not evil for constructive and not destructive ends.

This is the end of this bill. It serves the urgent aims and the highest hopes of all of our youth and all of our people.

I am very proud that some of the outstanding leaders of the Congress, in the Senate and in the House, have given years of dedicated effort to helping bring about this measure today that I am so proud to affix my name to.

Thank you very much.

DISCONTINUANCE OF RAIL PASSENGER SERVICE

Mr. **PICKLE.** Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **PICKLE.** Mr. Speaker, as the Members probably know, the House Commerce Committee is actively considering a bill concerning the discontinuance of rail passenger service. I have already expressed my support for taking a closer look at this matter, and making a strong effort to preserve our passenger system.

It is good to note that the editorial board of Life magazine has expressed this same view, and at this point in the Record, I ask unanimous consent to reprint the article from the August 2, 1968, issue of Life:

As the Iron Horse Heads for Pasture

At the rate the great long-distance trains are disappearing, scenes such as those on pp. 36D–50 may soon qualify as nostalgic memorabilia of a vanished age—like stereopticon views of horse-drawn trolleys. In the past 10 years, 858 intercity trains have disappeared, among them such reverberating names as the 20th Century Limited, the Lark and the Chief.

Oddly enough, the people now most eager to do away with the great trains are the railroad operators themselves. They say that they are losing a half billion dollars a year carrying passengers in a country where everybody wants to fly or drive his own car. Some experts argue that the loss is nowhere near that great, but everybody agrees that the railroads lose money on passengers. This being a free-enterprise country, the railroads say that if the demand is not capable of supporting the expense, they should be free to eliminate the service.

That may be simple marketplace economics, but there is nothing simple about the economics of transportation. The money that the consumer spends on tickets or tolls is only part of it. Think of the billions spent on superhighways and interchanges and those gasoline taxes that—unlike most taxes—can only be spent on roads. Think of the millions that must now be spent (and not just by air travelers) to improve airports to relieve the crowded air. The railroads, too, in the early days especially, had a preferred position at the public trough. But now they are less eager to be subsidized because they don't want to incur the public obligations that go with it. They want to be free to make money on freight alone. Commuter trains, perhaps with public funds, they might accept—but long-distance trains, no. It may be that the real interest of the country would dictate that some form of railroad passenger business coast to coast should be supported at the expense of a few interchanges or airport runways. We'll never know as long as we have no national transport policy.

Optimists thought we might get one with the creation of the new Department of Transportation, but its powers were seriously constricted in the very legislation that gave it birth. Now a cry for national transport priorities has come from a most unlikely source. The normally somnolent Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates the railroads, has petitioned Congress to study the future of railroad passengers.

Usually one more elaborate study of a problem is just what we don't need. But a study of their great trains. That makes sense, too. needs might just make good sense. The ICC has also asked Congress, at least for the duration of its own study, to give it power to deny the urge of the railroads to derail the last of their great trains. That make sense, too. By the time we find we need those trains, there may be none left to save.

OPPOSITION TO THE FREEZE ON IMPACTED AREAS SCHOOL AID FUNDS ANNOUNCED ON JULY 31 BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Mr. **ST GERMAIN.** Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Rhode Island?

There was no objection.

Mr. **ST GERMAIN.** Mr. Speaker, I rise today to voice my strong opposition to the action taken by the President on July 31 to freeze the impacted areas funds—funds which this body determined necessary if the Congress is to meet its commitment to the school districts across our land as expressed in Public Law 874.

On June 11, this body approved an amendment offered by the distinguished gentlelady from Hawaii [Mrs. Mink] to add an additional $91 million to the second supplemental appropriation bill. The amendment, identical to an amendment which I had also drafted, enabled this Congress to provide the funds necessary to meet entitlements under Public Law 874—a law passed by the Congress in 1950 to provide financial assistance to communities where the presence of Federal installations imposed special burdens on their schools.

On July 31, however, the President announced at his press conference that he will not spend the $91 million of impacted school aid money which we appropriated last month.

This action will mean a reduction of 20 percent in funds to which impacted schools are entitled under Public Law 874.

Mr. Speaker, the school districts formulated their plans for fiscal year 1968 based upon the reasonable assumption that the Federal Government would provide the necessary funds to meet full entitlements under this law. These plans have been implemented but the Federal Government, despite repeated efforts by many Members of the House and Senate, has failed to provide the necessary funds.

We have, in effect pulled the rug on our own schoolchildren, for it is they who must bear the brunt of our irresponsibility.

The action taken by the President on July 31 presents grave budget difficulties for the impacted school districts and as a representative of an impacted district, I do not intend to remain silent about this very crucial matter. I urge my colleagues, who have Federal installations in their districts, to join me in protesting and, hopefully, resolving this matter.

I am aware of the need to reduce Federal spending and am particularly cognizant of the $6-billion budget reduction voted by this Congress for fiscal year 1969. But I do not believe that we can afford to make a reduction in a program that involves not only the education of children whose parents live and/or work at Federal installations but involves all the children in our impacted school districts.

In an article that appeared in the June 28 edition of the Congressional Quarterly, it was eloquently noted that Defense experts, in and outside of the Government, informed the Congressional Quarterly that a reduction of $10.8 billion in the Defense budget could be realized without jeopardizing the current level of the Nation's defense.

I believe that this is the area in which we should seek reduction, not in the area of education which is the very heart of this Nation.

I will include the article in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

In his statements to the press on July 31, the President said:

> I would agree to pay for the full entitlement for "A" students [whose parents work and live at a federal installation] in fiscal years 1968 and 1969 if Congress decided in its wisdom that this was essential.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress in its wisdom, as I pointed out previously, voted to provide the necessary funds for the impacted areas program at a time when it sought, as it does now, to reduce Federal spending in all possible areas. We simply did not consider the impacted school program as an area in which reductions could be made when we voted in favor of the $91 million appropriation on June 11.

Why should we feel differently now?

Let us strive toward leanness but not cut out heart.

I will relate these remarks to the President and I urge that all the Members who are in accord with my views will join me in voicing their opposition to the freeze on impacted areas school aid funds.

The article referred to follows:

Defense Budget Cuts of $10.8 Billion Seen Feasible

Defense experts both in and outside the Government have told Congressional Quarterly that huge cuts can be made in the defense budget while retaining or even improving the current level of the nation's defense.

Highly placed sources in the Pentagon and industry told CQ that cuts totaling at least $10.8 billion could be made in areas they classified as "fat." None of the cuts would affect U.S. combat capabilities, they said. Instead only logistical elements they view as excessive and weapon systems they consider overlapping, unnecessary or of doubtful combat effectiveness would be cut back.

Although numerous officials in the Pentagon favor the massive cuts, the actual decisionmakers remain unconvinced. Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford told a June 20 press conference that the Administration probably would impose defense spending cuts of $2 to $3 billion as part of the $6-billion reduction ordered by Congress as the price of enactment of President Johnson's coveted tax increase. One Pentagon source who favors the higher cuts told CQ it was surprising that Clifford would accept any reductions at all, in view of "pressures from the military and defense industries to keep the budget intact."

In addition to the logistical support, the major areas cited by sources as "fat" include the new antiballistic missile system (ABM), "unnecessarily sophisticated" equipment in both Air Force and Navy aircraft, an expensive air defense system deployed against what sources see as "weak and outmoded" Soviet bomber forces, the Army's helicopter program and antisubmarine carrier task forces of high cost and, sources said, "dubious" combat effectiveness.

One Pentagon civilian said these areas tied down "fantastic amounts of manpower despite the generally low level of combat effectiveness they afford. Cutting them back in many cases actually would improve the nation's defense. Not only would additional manpower be freed for direct combat needs, but the mobility of U.S. forces would be enhanced by the lack of extraneous equipment and a sluggish logistical tail." By "deescalating sophistication," he concluded, "we could escalate combat effectiveness."

In view of the Government's financial crisis, another official said, it would "border on the irresponsible if these programs are not cut back. These areas should be cut anyway, but in view of the nation's other pressing needs, the case is overwhelming."

Another Pentagon civilian said other funds might be saved by deferring desirable projects until later fiscal years. The source said there were "a lot of nice things the military would like to have and probably should have under normal circumstances. But with the dollar under attack, we can't just go on with business as usual. For the next year, at the very least, we've got to drive a Volkswagen instead of a Cadillac."

Sources emphasized that the cuts not only would mean dollar savings but also balance-of-payments gains.. Cuts affecting overseas forces would be worth direct payments savings of almost $1 billion. As the spending cuts cool the economy, they said, there would be further payments savings due to returns of capital which had flowed abroad to escape the U.S. inflation.

Clifford has not yet spelled out which areas will be cut to make up the planned reductions of $2 to $3 billion. Sources told CQ, however, that the most likely action will be deferral of weapon systems rather than stripping programs they consider "fat." Some of the items Clifford reportedly is considering include the Navy's $1.7 billion shipbuilding program, the Air Force's military space project, formation of a new 6th Army division, and new air defense missiles.

What follows is a compilation of major areas in which substantial cuts are thought feasible without reduction in the country's military strength; it is the result of detailed interviews in each area with numerous defense industry experts, civilian and military officials. The Administration's justification for funding each program also is presented.

Breakdown of proposed cuts

Following is a compilation of cuts that a consensus of CQ's sources feel could be made in the fiscal 1969 defense budget without diminishing U.S. combat capabilities (*for details and Administration justifications, see text.*). Figures in parentheses are subtotals.

Item:	*Suggested cut*
Antiballistic Missile System (ABM)	$1. 1 billion
Bomber Defense System (SAGE)	1 billion
Surface-to-Air Missiles	850 million
Manpower	(4. 2 billion)
Army	2. 2 billion
Navy	900 million
Air Force	675 million
Marine Corps	400 million
Tactical Aircraft Programs	(1. 8 billion)
Army	510 million
Navy	635 million
Air Force	700 million
Antisubmarine Carrier Forces	400 million
Attack Carrier Forces	360 million
Amphibious Forces and Fast Deployment Logistic Ships (FDLs)	500 million
Manned Orbiting Laboratory	600 million
Total	10. 8 billion

STRATEGIC FORCES

ABM System. Probably one of the most clear-cut items of "fat," in the view of most of CQ's sources, was the ABM system, designed to protect the nation against an intercontinental ballistic missile attack. Currently programmed for a "thin" deployment (termed "Sentinel") to defend against a small attack, the ABM employs nuclear-tipped missiles to seek out and destroy enemy missiles in the upper atmosphere. CQ's sources doubt the system will have any chance of working against a realistic attack; consequently, they would cut the fiscal 1969 request figure of $1.2 billion for ABM deployment and development down to $100 million for further development work. In addition, they would cut back some $200 million more that was appropriated for ABM deployment in previous fiscal years but not yet spent. (About $200 million more in previously appropriated deployment money already is obligated.) The funds were the first installment on a total installation cost of $5 to $7 billion for the "thin" ABM deployment; subsequent expansion of the system to a "heavy" shield would cost an estimated $40 to $50 billion.

The sources listed several reasons for opposing the system: (1) because of the nuclear test ban treaty, the ABM has not yet been tested in the atmosphere; thus, they said, there is no assurance that the system's radars or its tracking and guidance systems will survive the first blast the ABM sets off; (2) counter-measures on the part of an enemy would be relatively simple; there are many devices to confuse a radar system, particularly the use of a number of dummy targets; and (3) thus far, the United States has been unable to attain acceptable reliability with far simpler missile systems designed for antiaircraft use. In simulated combat tests, these missiles have shown both a low level of readiness and a poor "kill" ratio. "With missile technology in its current state," one Pentagon civilian said, "an effective ABM would be worth almost any price we would have to pay for it. But for the present we can make greater strides in that direction by spending small sums of money to advance technology until we have a really useful capability, rather than spending a lot to produce hardware that we know won't work."

Administration position.—After opposing ABM deployment for years, then Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara late in 1967 gave in to pressure by Congress, the military and industry, and ordered the system deployed. In his speech announcing the deployment, McNamara said there were "marginal grounds for concluding that a light deployment of U.S. ABMs against (Red China) is prudent." McNamara warned, however, that "if we . . . opt for heavy ABM deployment—at whatever price—we can be certain that the Soviets will react to offset the advantage we would hope to gain." McNamara concluded that the nation must "resist that temptation firmly," because the "greatest deterrent against such a strike is not a massive, costly, but highly penetrable ABM shield, but rather a fully credible offensive assured destruction capability." (*For McNamara statement, see 1967 Almanac p. 966.*)

In recent weeks, McNamara's successor, Clark Clifford, has argued far more vigorously than McNamara for installing the ABM. Clifford June 19 sent a letter to Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Richard B. Russell (D Ga.) warning that it would be a "serious mistake" for the Senate to turn down the Sentinel deployment. Clifford's letter placed new emphasis on the potential of the system to protect U.S. offensive missile sites from Soviet attack or to limit damage from an accidental Soviet firing.

In a press conference, the following day, Clifford said the system now had "real significance" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Citing U.S. intelligence reports that the Soviets were installing such a system. Clifford said the United States would be "in a better position to reach agreement with them on an ultimate step toward disarming if we also go about the deployment of a system." Clifford did not spell out, however, whether that would involve escalation to the level of a "heavy" ABM.

Senate ABM Hassle.—The year's first skirmish over the ABM came in the Senate in April during consideration of the fiscal 1969 defense procurement bill (S 3293). By a 17–41 roll-call vote, the Senate April 18 rejected an amendment by Gaylord Nelson (D Wis.) to drop the bill's $342.7 million in Sentinel procurement funds. Later in the day, by a 28–31 roll-call vote, the Senate rejected an amendment by John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.) to prohibit deployment of an ABM system until the Defense Secretary certified that it was "practicable" and that its cost was known "with reasonable accuracy." (*See votes 81–82, Weekly Report p. 963; for story see p. 904.*)

Opponents of the system were encouraged several weeks later by press reports that the Administration intended to drop the ABM system as part of the $6-billion economy cut. The reports proved wrong, however, as Clifford launched his vigorous defense of the system. On June 24, the Senate by a 34–52 roll-call vote rejected an amendment by Cooper and Philip A. Hart (D Mich.) to add language to the defense construction authorization bill (HR 16703) prohibiting expenditure of any ABM funds authorized by the bill before July 1, 1969. The Senate then went on to reject, by a 12–72 roll-call vote, an amendment by Stephen M. Young (D Ohio) to delete the bill's authorization of $227.3 million in ABM construction money. It was expected that the anti-ABM group would renew its attacks on the system when the program later was considered in the appropriations stage.

At one point in debate, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D Wash.), the bill's floor manager, went beyond Clifford's statement in praising the anti-Soviet capability of the system. Jackson June 19 said some Senators apparently had "taken too literally the public rationale for the system previously given by officials of the Defense Department. As a result, these Senators have missed the most significant feature of the system: it will have definite capabilities for defense against the Soviet missile threat." Not only would the system defend U.S. missile sites against that threat, Jackson said, but it would also "provide a limited degree of protection of American cities and other strategic forces from Soviet attack, as well as improve our capacity to detect and assess any missile attack."

Bomber defense system

Another big item CQ's sources view as unnecessary is the complex warning and intercept system designed for defense against long-range bomber attack. Called SAGE for Semiautomatic Ground Environment, the system employs elaborate radars both to detect incoming bombers and to guide interceptors to shoot them down.

Sources said it was widely accepted in the Pentagon that the Soviet Union no longer could muster an appreciable bomber threat. "Despite intelligence reports that the Soviets have dropped their long-range bomber development effort," one military source told CQ, "we retain the SAGE system as a hedge that they might again shift course. It would make more sense to phase out the SAGE system now and then build up our air defense fighter forces later if the threat should reappear."

As in the case of the ABM system, CQ's technical sources in this area fear SAGE would be subject to a wide range of countermeasures which would render it ineffective against an enemy attack. A higher degree of effectiveness can be attained, these sources said, by phasing out the SAGE system and relying solely on Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) surveillance capabilities and normal U.S.-based fighter squadrons, combat training squadrons and the Air National Guard. One source said this would be a system "based on weapons and detection equipment that maximize kills, not automation." Savings from such a move would be an estimated $1 billion a year.

Despite the $18 billion cost of installing the SAGE system, one Pentagon civilian said, the Air Force had been aware of "crippling flaws" in the system ever since the outset of installation in the mid-1950s. "The Air Force apparently felt it should get the system first and then make it work," he said. "A number of costly modifications have failed, and so we're right back where we started." The source noted that the Air Force was about to embark on another costly modification program but predicted it would be no better than previous efforts. Designated AWACS for Airborne Warning and Control System, the project envisions an improved radar system that is claimed to track incoming aircraft at levels far below the present capability. CQ's sources said the AWACS radars would be just as unreliable and vulnerable to countermeasures as are those in the current SAGE system.

Administration Position.—McNamara in his 1968 defense posture statement said the Defense Department had conducted extensive studies of the antibomber defense problem and that in all the alternative force structures examined, the "indispensible element" was AWACS. If perfected, McNamara said, AWACS would be important for several reasons: (1) its ability to track aircraft at low altitudes; (2) its ability to provide detection at greater distances from the United States; and (3) its low vulnerability to missile attack compared with the SAGE system.

McNamara conceded, however, that the feasibility of AWACS depended upon the successful deployment of a "downward-looking" airborne radar. Although McNamara said the required technology was "within our reach," he did not comment on the over-all need for a bomber defense system or on the present level of effectiveness.

Surface-to-air missiles

CQ's sources said $850 million per year could be saved by phasing out "ineffective" air defense missiles and deferring heavy hardware development on new missiles. Sources said there was little reason to believe these missiles would work any better in combat than Soviet missiles used by the North Vienamese, stated in the May 6 issue of *Aviation Week* to have attained a kill ratio of less than 1 percent. According to one military source, "the North Vietnamese have apparently learned much more quickly than we have that their real defense against bombing rests on antiaircraft guns." The source said the current and planned antiaircraft gun units would be "more than enough" for good air defense.

The U.S. missiles, called Hawk, Nike-Hercules and Bomarc, are deployed heavily around U.S. forces in Vietnam, Korea, Europe, Alaska and the continental United States. Like the SAGE system, their performance tests have been so unsatisfactory that they have required constant programs of modification and improvement. Commenting on both the SAGE and the missile programs, one source said "large get-well programs are always a symptom of a basic blunder."

Administrative position.—Administration analyses indicate that the "get well" programs should yield substantial reliability improvements. Furthermore, it is felt that the guidance technology of at least the newer U.S. missiles is considerably more sophisicated and advanced than that of the Soviet missiles, even though the U.S. missiles have not yet been demonstrated in combat.

GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES

Manpower

Sources indicated that sums totaling a minimum of $4.2 billion could be saved by paring "fat" from logistical elements of all the services. (The cost savings of the manpower cuts were figured on the basis of an average annual cost of $10,000 per serviceman. The figure included the serviceman's salary and allowances, medical care, pension, food, billeting, training, supervision and other supporting expenses.) For each of the services, CQ's sources recommended cuts ranging from 10 to 20 percent, but among most sources, recommendations tended to cluster around the lower figure. For purposes of this study, CQ assumed the lower cut.

One Pentagon civilian told CQ that "anyone who's ever been in the service is aware of the tremendous wastage of manpower—the vast number of support troops who sit around with little or nothing to do. Beyond that, there are tremendous overlapping areas even in functions that keep people busy. By sensible reorganization, massive cuts could be made in the support area and we'd have a better, more streamlined force."

Army

Of the total Army strength of 1,550,000, about 360,000 are in combat units (divisions, brigades, artillery and missile units), 110,000 are transients (men en route between assignments) and 1,080,000 are in additional support roles beyond those already provided in the combat units. Sources agreed that the Army should not be allowed to carry the large transient category but, as a well-placed civilian put it, should have to "take it out of their hide just like a corporation would." Elimination of the transient figure plus a 10-percent cut in support would yield a reduction of 218,000 troops, worth estimated savings of almost $2.2 billion.

Navy

The Navy lists a total strength of 775,000, including 330,000 assigned to combat units, vessels or air wings, 50,000 transients and 395,000 in support. A reduction of 90,000 including, as a minimum, the elimination of the transient category and a 10-percent cut in support, would mean cost savings of $900 million.

Air Force

Of total Air Force strength of 900,000, the breakdown includes 270,000 in combat air or missile units, 5,000 transients and 625,000 in the support function. The minimum cut recommended by CQ's sources would mean reductions of 67,500 and savings of $675 million.

Marines

Current Marine strength is 300,000, with 120,000 in combat ground or air units, 25,000 transients and 155,000 in support. The minimum cut would amount to about 40,000 and savings of $400 million.

NATO Forces

CQ's sources said it would be desirable to cut back the U.S. commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), but most of the sources agreed that as long as the commitment remained, U.S. forces located in Europe added far more strength to the West's posture than they would if brought home and kept in reserve for possible redeployment. One former high-ranking Pentagon civilian told CQ, however, that the United States should press West Germany to provide full logistical support for the U.S. combat forces deployed on German soil. The source said this should be more desirable to the Germans than the present arrangement of German offset purchases of U.S. weapons and probably would mean an even greater balance-of-payments savings for the United States. The source estimated that such an arrangement would enable the United States to pull out an additional 95,000 troops (above the standard 10-percent cut discussed above) and would amount to cost savings of almost $1 billion a year and $600 million in balance-of-payments gains (CQ did not include this item in the value of over-all cuts, however, because it would necessitate an agreement with a foregin government while the other cuts could be undertaken by unilateral Pentagon or Congressional action.)

Administration position.—The Administration has contended that manpower allotments are the results of intensive studies on the requirements of all the forces. Present strength levels, it contends, provide optimum combat support.

Tactical aircraft

Aviation experts interviewed by CQ said cuts totaling $1.8 billion could be made in the next fiscal year's aircraft procurement programs, primarily by dropping "elaborate and impractical" electronics systems and buying more austere versions of the craft.

Air Force

Cuts of at least $700 million could be made in the Air Force program, sources said, by purchasing simpler versions of the $2.5 million F–4E, the $8 million F–111D, and dropping production of the $2.6 million A–7D in favor of the A–37, which costs only $350,000. Despite their high costs, sources said, the F–4 had failed to provide clear superiority over Soviet fighters and the F–111 was too vulnerable to enemy fighters and antiaircraft defenses to be useful, consequently, these aircraft should be prime candidates for further cuts. One civilian expert said the A–7 was "neither accurate nor maneuverable enough to be effective in its assigned role of close air support." In the interim, he said, the highly maneuverable, combat-proven A–37 could serve effectively in the close-support role until a new generation of attack aircraft more appropriately tailored to the mission could be built.

Shifting from production of the A–7D to the A–37 would save about $210 million if the same number of aircraft budgeted for fiscal 1969 were bought. Sources said an additional $30 million could be saved by dropping the F–4E's "long list of combat-inessential" equipment such as sophisticated navigation and fire control systems. Another $350 million or more in research and procurement money could be saved, they said, by dropping the $2-million Mark II electronics system in the F–111D (thus leaving the plane in effect an F–111A). One civilian official said the sophisticated electronics gear in each of the two latter craft would be "highly unreliable, contribute little or nothing to combat effectiveness, and decrease aircraft performance and daily utilization rates." Likewise, $110 million could be saved by continuing A–7A production rather than introducing the substantially more expensive A–7E, an aircraft termed by one civilian source as "90-percent goldplate."

Several sources also emphasized that great scrutiny should be placed on the F–111A program, which has encountered extensive problems in recent combat tests in Vietnam. Unless the plane begins showing "marked improvement," they said, the program should be cut back until a better aircract can be developed.

Navy

By applying the above austerity program to the even more complex Navy F–4J electronics systems, sources said fiscal 1969 savings of $50 million could be attained. They applauded the Senate Armed Services Committee's recent action in denying a $585 million authorization request for the controversial F–111B program, but they said the Committee committed "the worst possible error" in providing $287 million for accelerated development of a substitute craft, the VFX–1. A military source termed the VFX a "warmed-over version" of the F–111 which will cost substantially more and perform only slightly better than the plane it would replace. (*For story on the VFX and F–111B, see Weekly Report, p. 1007.*)

Army

An area of increasing "fat," sources said, was the Army's helicopter program, and particularly the Hueys and Chinooks that are prevalent in Vietnam. "There are so many of those things in Vietnam," one military source said, "that even a sergeant complains if he has to ride in a truck." Sources recommended that the approximately $600 million request for helicopters in fiscal 1969 (excluding the Cheyenne helicopter which they would drop) should be scaled back to attrition levels—an approximate buy of 650 helicopters. Savings would be an estimated $360 million, including $300 million on the helicopter buy and $60 million in helicopter operating costs.

Several civilian and military sources said the helicopters had presented a "tremendous logistical burden in Vietnam in terms of fuel, ammunition, spares and manpower." One Pentagon source said the limitations of helicopters had "influenced us heavily toward short one- or several-day operations to the extent that the Army in Vietnam has largely abandoned the mission of holding and patrolling territory."

Sources also recommended dropping the new Cheyenne helicopter—an advanced craft based on a complex missile/gun fire control system, which they say is now slipping badly. One former Pentagon official said the Cheyenne, which costs $3.1 million, was "the biggest boondoggle the Army ever got dragged into—a complete waste." In a close support attack, he said, it would take the helicopter a minimum of 16 seconds to home in and guide its missile to target. In the meantime, he said, "you'll be blasted out of the sky by every weapon from small arms to tank or antiaircraft fire. This concept might work if you were up against a single tank in the desert. But if you're in the midst of a Soviet division, there's just too much around that they can throw back at you." Dropping the Cheyenne program would mean fiscal 1969 savings of about $150 million in costs of procurement and continuing R and D.

Administration position—Aircraft Electronics Gears. A military spokesman told CQ that in every case, the aircraft under discussion were equipped with gear "necessary for them to meet their assigned combat roles. Sure, you might gain a maneuverability advantage by removing gear from a plane. But you also pay a penalty. And in these cases, the penalty would far offset the gains.

Helicopters.—The Administration has maintained that more helicopters are necessary to increase U.S. mobility in the war in Vietnam. In the months ahead, it is estimated that helicopters sorties in the war will double to the level of almost 1 million a month.

With regard to the new Cheyenne helicopter, studies have shown that the predicted accuracy of the craft's gun and missile guidance systems add so much to combat effectiveness that they more than compensate for the cost and logistics burdens. Despite the slips, the Administration argues that over-all program risk is so low that the recent production go-ahead is justified.

Antisubmarine forces

Another area where a consensus of CQ's sources would make substantial cuts is in the Navy's antisubmarine warfare (ASW) force. Sources said they would eliminate the entire fleet of eight ASW aircraft carriers, whose planes have never been effective in locating or destroying modern submarines in simulated combat exercises. The sources would leave the job to existing attack submarines, destroyers and high-endurance land-based patrol aircraft. These forces, one military source said, "should be more than enough to carry the full load."

Mothballing the entire ASW carrier force, sources said, would mean savings of at least $400 million, including $160 million in carrier operating costs, $110 million on the 32 other ships associated with ASW carrier fleet, $100 million in operating expenses of the ASW aircraft and a large classified allotment for development of a new ASW plane of unprecedented complexity and sophistication—the VSX. Eventual costs of the VSX program have been estimated at $2.5 billion.)

Administration Position.—McNamara in his defense posture statement conceded that the present ASW carrier force was a "relatively high-cost system in relationship to its effectiveness." McNamara added, however, that intensive studies had determined that "advantages and flexibility inherent in such a force would marginally warrant its continuation in the 1970s—provided that its effectiveness could be greatly improved." To make these improvements, McNamara said, would entail "a very expensive undertaking"—the development of "a new and much more capable aircraft," the VSX.

Attack carrier forces

Another large sum of money could be saved· CQ's sources said, by changing the concept of deployment of attack carrier forces.

Sources said that by counting on carriers only for quick reaction and an initial power surge, then substituting land-based aircraft for the long haul, it would be possible to mothball three of the 15 carriers currently in use and still meet all the nation's worldwide commitments. The sources added that cutting the force down to 12 carriers also would mean that construction could be deterred on three expensive nuclear-powered carriers programed for construction over the next six years (estimated total cost: $2 billion) and that two air wings of the oldest aircraft could be phased out. Savings would amount to $360 million for the 1969 fiscal year, including $120 million in carrier operating costs, $130 million in costs of operating escort ships, $27 million in air wing operating costs, and about $85 million in fiscal 1969 advance funding toward the first of the three additional nuclear carriers (plus an unexpended $50 million for this purpose from fiscal 1968).

CQ's sources said one illustration of "irrationality" in carrier deployment was the current stationing of three carriers in the waters off North Vietnam. One Pentagon source said that "no other aircraft deployment could be more expensive, because we have to keep two carriers in support for every one on line—a total of nine attack carriers tied up in the war. We could phase out six of those carriers by pulling only two out of Vietnam, leaving one there for the purpose of keeping Naval Air current in combat experience. Then, at far less cost, we could achieve the same aircraft strength by redeploying land-based aircraft from areas throughout the Pacific."

Since the role of the carrier is to support rapid force buildups rather than sustained operations, another source told CQ, proper utilization would mean "instant availability" of the entire carrier force. "If you keep your carriers ready for quick reaction rather than long deployments," he explained, "you can put almost all of them in action because there's no requirement for support." Noting that chances were "remote" that the United States might invade Russia or China, the source said it was "impossible to dream up enough other contingencies to justify retention of all 15 carriers."

Administration position.—The Administration has not evolved any specific justification for carrier employment concepts or Naval Air force levels. The last change in position was in 1962, when the 15 wings attached to the 15 carriers were reduced to 12, since three carriers were normally in overhaul at any one time.

Amphibious forces

Because of the lack of real or potential island powers, officials interviewed by CQ think substantial cuts should be made in the number of amphibious assault vessels. One official said "the Soviets are no amphibious power to speak of and neither are the Chinese. Who else could you be fighting that would necessitate a World War II-type landing operation? Although it is clear that our concept of employing the Marines has changed radically, we still maintain a huge amphibious fleet."

Of a total amphibious force of 142 ships, CQ's sources recommended mothballing 50 of the most obsolete, without making any change in the composition of Marine combat forces. Savings would be worth about $100 million. In addition, they were agreed on dropping $216 million in the fiscal 1969 budget for a new type of assault ship—the LHA.

In a related matter, sources said they also would drop a new procurement request for fast deployment logistic ships (FDLs)—a mammoth military warehouse designed for deployment off potential trouble spots for possible fast deployment of heavy combat equipment. (Unlike the LHA, the FDL was not an assault vessel but a type of cargo ship. It was designed to support Army forces, whereas the LHA was for the Marines.) Fiscal 1969 savings from eliminating the FDLs would be $184 million.

Sources said the cuts envisioned in amphibious force strength would leave the capability of simultaneously assaulting with one division term in the Pacific and one brigade in the Atlantic. The lower level of strength, one source said, would be sufficient to stage "a strong show of landing assault force in any island crisis or even a good-sized war."

Administration position.—As in the case of carrier force levels, there appears to be no specific set of situations which form a basis for assault transport requirements. There has only been a general increase in assault shipping to improve the mobility of the Marines.

MOL

A final area deemed ripe for cuts in the Manned Orbiting Laboratory project (MOL)—the Air Force's probe into the military uses of space. One Defense Department official said the Air Force at this stage "has no more idea what they'll do with men floating around in space than NASA (the National Aeronautics and Space Administration) does with its Apollo Applications program. This is one activity that can wait." Postponing MOL would mean fiscal 1969 savings of $600 million.

Administration position.—The Administration maintains that possibilities still are strong that space may be put to military advantage. McNamara in his defense posture statement said he had insisted that space projects undertaken by the Defense Department "must hold the distinct promise of enhancing our military power and effectiveness" and that they "mesh in all vital areas" with those undertaken by NASA.

OUTLOOK

Sources emphasized that the areas probed by CQ were only the "most glaring examples" of Defense Department "fat." According to one Pentagon source, "A really detailed probe by the Congressional Appropriations Committees would reveal millions if not billions in other possible savings."

Because of political realities, however, most of CQ's Capitol Hill sources thought the defense budget cutters faced a stiff uphill fight. This theme was sounded by Republican Presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon June 23 when he warned it would be "irresponsible and potentially dangerous" for the Administration to consider any defense budget cuts.

Congress' hesitance to question major Pentagon programs was seen June 24 when the Senate voted to proceed with full funding of the ABM. In doing so it went against the advice of Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D Mont.), among others. Mansfield told his colleagues before the vote, "I think it is up to this institution (Congress) to fulfill its responsibilities to check, to recheck, and not be taken in by what the Joint Chiefs of Staff or the Secretary of Defense . . . say they must have, because we never can satisfy them."

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, the date, August 1, 1968, will mark and be remembered as a day of historic importance in our efforts to eliminate slums, improve our cities, and help low-income families obtain decent housing. For it was on that date that the President signed the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, one of the most forward-looking measures ever enacted in the field of housing and urban development legislation. The Congress has not only reaffirmed the national goal set forth in the Housing Act of 1949 of "a decent home and suitable environment for every American family," but has provided a sound and forward-looking program to make that dream a reality.

The problems of housing and urban development were recognized over 30 years ago. The first step taken to solve those problems was the enactment of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, which launched the public housing program. Twelve years later, with the Housing Act of 1949, we started the urban renewal program and pledged ourselves to a national housing goal.

Over the past 4 years we have approved proposals to:

Establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development to bring scattered housing and urban development programs together and give the American city the Cabinet role it deserves.

Begin a new program of rent supplements to increase the housing supply for needy families. Built and operated by private enterprise, the portion of rent paid by the Government declines as the tenant's income rises.

Inaugurate the model cities program, the first effort to attack blight on a massive scale and renovate entire neighborhoods, by providing special supplementary grants to those cities that concentrate the entire array of Federal, State, and local programs, from health to housing, in the worst slum neighborhoods.

Every woman's dream is a decent, adequate home for her family and children; and, high among the unquestionable values of the American way of life, is the ideal of homeownership. As chairman of the Housing Subcommittee, I realize that the values of homeownership go beyond the special reward of security and satisfaction to the family—they go to the entire community as well, since ownership of a home gives a family a special stake in the community and special involvement in the life of the neighborhood and the city.

In recognition of these facts, a principal aim of the work of the Subcommittee on Housing is to make homeownership as widely available as possible. This new law provides the greatest breakthrough, in my judgment, to aid in obtaining that objective. Particularly, it provides a greatly expanded approach to homeownership through interest subsidies that will help hundreds of thousands of lower income families become homeowners. A similar program will make decent rental housing available to families in the lower income levels.

In addition to addressing itself to the most urgent problem confronting us today—that of providing decent housing in wholesome neighborhoods for all of our citizens by creating new desirable environments—this new law also seeks to provide the dignity and security to our underprivileged citizens through new job opportunities, and by doing a better job under our existing housing programs.

New housing, the creation of wholesome neighborhoods and desirable environments, will greatly assist in the overall efforts and aims of the Congress to improve conditions for the American people. We have acted upon proposals to lessen crime on our streets and to provide education, training, and employment. In the past 2 years more laws have been enacted for the benefit of the consumer than ever before. We have proposed to expand the food-stamp program, which has been so successful in the effort to provide a balanced nutritional diet for those who do not have the money to buy the necessary foods and to provide for its extended operation. Much also has been done in the fields of health and welfare for the people.

It is our fervent hope and prayer that these efforts by the Congress, on behalf of the people of this great Nation, will make this a better and happier land.

IMPORTS EXCEED 1 MILLION BALES OF COTTON

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the magazine Progressive Farmer is one of the leading voices of agriculture in the country. It speaks for and to the farmer, and certainly has as a foremost consideration the well-being of our agricultural economy. This responsible voice of agriculture in a recent issue had a most interesting editorial commenting on import controls and agricultural exports.

During recent months, we all have heard a great deal of comment and discussion about import controls and how import controls on commodities such as textiles or steel will automatically result in "retaliation" against our farm exports. We are told that if we negotiate quotas on textile imports, the exporting countries of the world will stop buying our raw cotton. The patterns of trade in recent years show clearly that this simply is not so. Countries who need raw cotton buy it where they can get the best price without regard for whether the cotton supplying countries also purchase finished textiles.

Japan's trade in raw cotton and textiles is a case in point. The United States is the largest supplier of raw cotton to Japan. We also purchase one-third of the textile products Japan sells throughout the world. Mexico is Japan's second largest supplier of raw cotton, accounting for about 25 percent of her purchases. But Mexico has an almost complete ban on imports of cotton textiles from all countries, including Japan. There simply is no corollary between raw cotton exports and textile imports.

The actual relationship between cotton exports and textile imports was explained in simple, direct terms in the Progressive Farmer editorial.

The editor emphasized that there is room for both a liberal trade policy, which will encourage purchases of our farm exports, and reasonable textile quotas which will slow down the growing flood of imports entering this country and hurting not only the textile industry and its 975,000 employees but hundreds of thousands of cotton farmers.

I include the editorial from the May issue of Progressive Farmer in the RECORD at this point:

REASONABLE IMPORT QUOTAS FULLY JUSTIFIED

Cotton goods imported into this country have tripled during the last six years. Fifteen years ago the equivalent of only 67,000 bales entered the United States as manufactured cotton goods. But in 1966 cotton textile imports passed the million-bale mark. Last June a Kennedy Round reduction of 21% on an already moderate U.S. tariff on cotton textiles was made. So an even greater flooding of the American market with foreign-made cotton textiles can be expected.

Goods made from cotton grown in The Progressive Farmer territory are being pushed out of our own markets by foreign textiles. And the most irritating aspect of the situation is that the greatest increases in textile imports are from countries that produce their own cotton. Obviously any lessening of the domestic market for textiles made from U.S. cotton restricts the cotton acreage we can profitably grow in this country. It is apparent that something should be done to correct the situation.

But the remedy isn't as simple as you might think. Cotton is an important export crop. If we expect to sell raw cotton in world markets, we must in turn be willing to accept a reasonable importation of cotton textiles. As has been so often said, trade must be a two-way street. Those who don't buy shouldn't expect to sell.

The answer to the problem is a reasonable quota on cotton textile imports. To ardent freetraders, "quota" is a dirty word. But quotas serve a useful purpose. As a nation that sells more commodities than it buys, the United States must support liberal world trade. It must open its doors freely to imports. But it has a right to protect those of its native-grown commodities that are being overwhelmed with imports. The quota system is the best way to do it.

Moreover, we already have a quota system in this country. We are holding dairy imports to less than 1% of U.S. production, and beef imports to 6.7%. Cotton textile imports are now coming in at the rate of 12% of our domestic production. Certainly a mandatory quota allowing a fair but not disruptive share of our market to foreign textiles would not be unreasonable.

As a whole, our import restrictions are generous compared to the trade barriers erected in the European Common Market.

As Secretary Freeman commented recently, "For 35 years, we've taken the lead in trade liberation. If the commodities we give duty-free treatment are included—products such as coffee, cocoa, tea, and bananas—our overall (duty) rate is less than 5%. When nontariff trade barriers are compared, the United States is among the least restrictive."

Reasonable quotas that share our markets fairly with foreign producers are fully justified.

PRESIDENTIAL DISREGARD OF THE CONGRESSIONAL MANDATE ON IMPACT AID

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alaska?

There was no objection.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, at midnight, July 31, 1968, the President acted in complete disregard of the congressional mandate and the overwhelming desire of the American people that education be given the highest priority. Specifically, the President refused to allocate the $91 million appropriated by the Congress to fully fund the federally impacted school districts throughout the Nation under Public Law 874. On June 26 the Members of this House by a rollcall vote of 228 to 172, adopted an amendment to fully fund the vital 874 program as part of the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act of 1968.

The President's freeze on Federal school funds resulted in a loss of $2.4 million for Alaska's schools during the last fiscal year. In anticipation of the promise of full funding by the Congress, the Alaskan school districts borrowed the $2.4 million from funds needed to finance the school program beginning this fall. This does not mean that the Alaskan schools were derelict in borrowing moneys but took into consideration the fact that this body had twice made rollcall votes which provided substantially more funds for this program than requested by the President.

If the administration continues the freeze on Federal education funds for this coming year, Alaskan school districts will lose an additional $12 to $13 million, which will bring the Alaskan school deficit to more than $15 million for the 1968–69 school year. This would be an intolerable burden. Such a loss is not only highly discriminatory against Alaska, but absolutely catastrophic for our State.

Mr. Speaker, if the parliamentary rules would permit it, I would offer a motion to instruct the House conferees on the foreign aid bill, H.R. 15263, to:

First. Agree to the Senate amendment contained in section 304 which provides that all carryover funds in the foreign aid program shall not be available for obligation unless the Public Law 874 funds are allocated;

Second. Extend that provision to cover the foreign aid moneys authorized for the fiscal year 1969; and

Third. Extend the July 31, 1968, deadline for allocated 874 funds as provided for in the Second Supplemental Act of 1968 to September 15, 1968.

Since such a motion is not proper at this time. Mr. Pettis, Mr. Brinkley and Mr. Steiger of Arizona are joining me today in the introduction of a resolution which would express the sense of the House of Representatives that the managers of the part of the House conference do these things anyway.

I urge all Members who are concerned about education to join me in this or similar resolutions. It is imperative that the Congress compel the administration to give education the highest priority. This resolution would accomplish this. At such time as it is appropriate I feel that we should give very serious consideration to entertaining a motion to recommit the foreign aid conference report with instructions to the House conferees to do the very things we are talking about today.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members be permitted 5 legislative days to include their views on this important matter.

THE WAR AND THE MIDSOUTH

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, it has certainly been an honor in the last decade to represent the Eighth Congressional District of Tennessee.

A few days ago the Memphis Press-Scimitar, an outstanding newspaper of this Nation, had an excellent article written by Miss Margaret McKee on how the people of Ripley, Tenn., felt about the war in Vietnam. The article is so outstanding I felt that it should be brought to the attention of the Congress.

The article follows:

The War and the Midsouth: Ripley, Tenn.—Most Townsfolk Feel We're Doing Right Thing in Vietnam and Accept Decisions of U.S. Leaders

(By Margaret McKee)

Ripley, Tenn.—The bench sitters on the courthouse lawn move with the weather, basking in the sun on coolish days, moving to the shade under the old trees when the sun heats up. But the conversation goes on.

Bench sitting is a talker's pastime—the weather, the crops, the new mayor, all come in for their share.

But the talk slows almost to a halt when two strangers begin asking questions about the war in Vietnam. Dee Winbush shifts his unlit cigar from one hand to the other. "I don't quite understand it," he says. "The way I feel about it—it's just bad."

"That money could be spent better to help people over here," Searcy Thompson chimes in. "I worked all my life in construction and I ought to be getting more pension than I am, seems like."

POLITICS

Johnny Moore's truck is parked on the square, and he sits drowsily on the back end with the baskets of vegetables, rousing to sack up peaches and squash and potatoes and string beans for occasional customers.

He pulls his straw hat farther down on his forehead and rubs his jaw with its stubble of whiskers. "I don't have nothing to do with that war," he says. "I don't pay too much attention to it. It's a lot of politics. I don't know nothing about politics."

Hal Wilson has a little bit of everything in his store on the square, metal toys, bird seed, cameras, and the Western Union office. "One person I heard was strong about it," he said, between tending to customers and answering the phone. "He said that it was just a political war. I hear people fuss about the war. A lot of people are like me. They're confused."

The confusion, bewilderment, even indifference in the faces of Ripley have their reflections in other faces in other towns. But, for most residents of this Tennessee hill country town built on farming and small factories, a heritage of patriotism and confidence in the country's leaders is as much a part of life as church on Sunday and prayer meeting on Wednesday night. A stars-and-stripes sentiment comes through as Ripley talks.

"I wasn't fortunate enough to be in service," says J. T. Denison, his haircut short as a Marine's, a patch with "shop foreman" sewn on his Carlton Chevrolet shirt. "I tried to enlist after I married, but I had too many dependents.

"I think we're obligated, in a sense, to those people over there.

"We know what freedom is all about. When we see a country that wants freedom from Communism, it's up to the United States to help them any way we can. If it's war, that's the price we have to pay."

In 1963 and 1964, when Doyle Davis served 13 months in Vietnam, it was a different war. "Lots of snipering, that was about all we had then," Davis says, pumping gas and wiping car windows at the Chevrolet dealership while body repair work is slow. "It's gotta be," he says. "If we weren't there, they would be here. I think we should go on, knock out every ammunition dump, block them off from China by the sea, and get it over with."

Upstairs in the bookkeeper's office, Jim Giles looks up from his ledgers: "I got back from Vietnam in November, after a year. It's gonna be a long, drawn-out war, but I think we're doing right over there, stopping the Communists."

RIDICULOUS

Across the street at the Blue and White Cafe, Anna Marie Moss is having the $1.50

lunch buffet—country fried steak, crowder peas, squash, cornbread. "It's ridiculous," she says, her blond hair bouncing on her shoulders as she tosses her head. "I think we should be there, but dragging it on and on is ridiculous.

"It's like playing a football game. The coach tells the team not to play hard enough to win—but not to let the other side win."

Again and again comes the statement that Ripley accepts the decision of the experts, the leaders, those who are calling the shots.

"People want their sons home, naturally," says William Klutts, in his shirt sleeves as he makes up the week's edition of his paper, the Lauderdale County Enterprise, in his basement office. "But as long as the President and Congress feel we should be there, the people around here accept their decision."

The mayor of this town owns a furniture store, the Rozelle Crimer Furniture store, on the square. Mayor Crimer threads his way through the narrow path between chairs and sofas, bedsteads and dressers and bureaus crowded together, to talk to the strangers. At first he is reticent, but then he begins to talk. "The people here want something done. They feel not enough effort is being done.

"But I wouldn't criticize. I don't know all of their problems. I don't have all of the facts."

Brooks Adams, the chairman of the Ripley Red Cross, owns the Family Shoe Store on the other side of the square. "All the people I talk to say they think we're doing the right thing by being in Vietnam," he says, waiting behind the check-out counter for women to finish opening boxes and trying on shoes. "I don't oppose the policies. I would like to see it finished. I'm not that smart to know how to finish it."

SON RETURNS

"I've got a boy who came back from over there the 13th day of May," says Norman A. Shands, who rents out his farm land outside town and so has time to stand by Moore's produce truck, talking to the people buying vegetables. "He said he didn't see nothing over there worth fighting for.

"I don't feel like we should be in any foreign country. If we have our boys and power at home, I think we could defend ourselves here. That's what we ought to do, not kill our boys up overseas.

"But we have a government that's supposed to know all about our business. I don't argue with them, it may be necessary that our boys are there."

In the new Office of Economic Opportunity, wood-paneled with a black-and-white vinyl floor, seven girls—four Negro and three white—are chatting and laughing. Pauline Adams, 18, just out of high school and working this summer for O.E.O. before starting college in the fall, is one of them.

FOR THE OLDER

To Pauline, the war is something for somebody older. "The young people's don't keep up with the latest events of the war," she says, doodling on her notepad. "They don't really know what's happening. I know I don't like it.

"I don't think teen-agers should be sent to Vietnam after just six weeks training. I think the older ones should go, who've had experience."

Her boss, Levi Moore, finds time to answer questions between conferences on Head Start and the new VISTA workers for Lauderdale County. A tall, very dark man with big hands, he taught high school history in Ripley before taking the O.E.O. job.

"Personally I feel that we should be there. I have a son who is draft age. I will encourage him, if he has to go, to do his part," Moore says. The resentment expressed by some Negroes that their people are bearing too much of the load in Vietnam finds little expression in Ripley, he says.

"They resent the war in the sense they resent all wars, not so much in the fact that they have a disproportionate number of people there.

"I believe this country has certain commitments to our own international prestige. If we do not stay behind our commitments, it will make it difficult for other nations to commit themselves to us."

HER WISH

The commitment of nations, international prestige matter little to Mrs. Addie Bell Reed, her hair rolled up in pink curlers, bouncing a neighbor's child on her knee. "I would just like for it to be ended," she says. "Our boys are over there, putting up their lives. They should be home with their wives and children.

"Just bring them back home. The mothers need their sons. The wives need their husbands, war over or not."

A minority voice in patriotic, expert-trusting Ripley, but a voice that has echoes in other towns, in other counties, in other states. A voice that could be drowned out by martial music—or a voice that could grow louder.

ACTION NEEDED ON CARMICHAEL CASE

Mr. **BUCHANAN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. **BUCHANAN**. Mr. Speaker, a number of my constituents have expressed to me their grave concern about the continuing reports of flammatory speeches made by Stokely Carmichael in praise of such civil disturbances as the recent one in Cleveland and apparently urging more such activity, in clear violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Consequently, I have urged the Attorney General to act and to act now in the following letter:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 2, 1968.

Hon. RAMSEY CLARK,
Attorney General of the United States,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CLARK: A number of my constituents have expressed to me a concern which I share about the continuing words and actions of Stokely Carmichael, such as those reported in the enclosed press clippings, in apparent violation of the anti-riot provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. It was my earlier understanding that Carmichael was already under investigation by the Justice Department for alleged violation of the District of Columbia Crime Act in connection with the recent riots in Washington.

I urge your regular energetic, thorough investigation of activities of Stokely Carmichael and other revolutionaries in possible violation of federal law and the same zeal in enforcement of such law as has been demonstrated by your Department in the enforcement of other civil rights legislation. I specifically request whatever information you can give me about the disposition of the aforementioned Stokely Carmichael investigation in connection with the Washington riots, as well as an immediate and exhaustive investigation of Carmichael's apparent call for further riots and civil disturbances in the recent speech reported in the enclosed clippings.

Please do not neglect the rights of the law-abiding majority of Americans, including the many Negro citizens whose income, property, and lives are most threatened by riots and civil disturbances. They need and must have your protection from the unlawful actions of a criminal and lawless minority.

Sincerely,
JOHN H. BUCHANAN, Jr.,
Member of Congress.

Enclosures.

[From the Birmingham News, July 27, 1968]

CARMICHAEL TELLS NEGROES TO "GET GUNS"

(By Ted Pearson)

MOBILE.—Stokely Carmichael came to this racially tense Alabama city Friday night and for two frenzied hours urged Negroes to get guns and take rights and property from the white community by force.

He declared that Negroes should consider themselves "black people" instead of Americans because this country "has only taken from the Negro and given him nothing."

The fiery black power zealot also attacked the U.S. as "an imperialist nation," exhorted all Negroes to unite in taking over the country, and said Negro soldiers in Vietnam should learn "to fight the correct enemy."

Carmichael flew into Mobile on a commercial flight from Balitmore, Md., in mid-afternoon, accompanied by two associates—a leader of the Black Panther Party in California and an officer of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, of which Carmichael is former chairman.

He spoke at a meeting hall near downtown Mobile used frequently by militant Negro groups. His local sponsor was Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW), which has staged several marches and demonstrations here in recent months.

Police estimated the overwhelming Negro crowd which overflowed into the barricaded street outside the hall at about 700.

[From the Birmingham Post-Herald, July 27, 1968]

CARMICHAEL URGES ARMED TAKEOVER

MOBILE.—Black Power advocate Stokely Carmichael urged a crowd of Mobile Negroes Friday night to take political power away from the whites with a gun.

"Don't pray for power, don't beg for power, take it with a gun barrel," he shouted. The Negroes applauded enthusiastically.

He referred to the armed state of the black revolution, citing such places as Watts and Detroit, praised the Negroes who had died there and said, "Look at Cleveland two days ago and that was even better wasn't it?"

"To destroy this country we must have an underlying love for each of our fellow black men," he declared.

VIETNAM

Mr. **RYAN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. **RYAN**. Mr. Speaker, as the House is about to recess for the conventions of the two major political parties, I think it is appropriate to remember that the war in Vietnam has not recessed—even for the Paris talks. Rather, it is as intense as ever.

Today, 11 Members of the House have joined in a statement reaffirming our opposition to the administration's policy in Vietnam and its underlying assumptions. We have pointed out that, as long as the administration is unwilling to accept at least the participation of the National Liberation Front, and the possibility of their winning political control, in a future South Vietnamese Government, then the negotiations initiated in Paris are meaningless.

We have urged:

First. A total and permanent end to the bombing of North Vietnam.

Second. A cessation of offensive search and destroy missions and the bombings of populated areas in South Vietnam while the negotiations are progressing.

Third. An acceptance of NLF direct participation in negotiations and their right to participate in the future political life of South Vietnam.

Our full statement follows:

> The announcement last March 31 by President Johnson that he would not seek re-election and that he would attempt to begin negotiations on the Vietnam war has had the effect of muting much of the public debate over the war. Nevertheless, despite the initiation of preliminary negotiations in Paris, the war is no closer to ending.
>
> We must speak out at this time in this election year to reaffirm our fundamental opposition to the Administration's policy in Vietnam and to the misconceptions upon which it is predicated.
>
> Despite the beginning of negotiations, the war has continued to escalate. Since March 31 American combat deaths have averaged about 200 per week. May was the most costly monh of the war, with more than 2000 American lives lost. On June 11, the House appropriated an additional $6.1 billion to pay for increased war costs which were not anticipated a year ago. Although the area of bombings in North Vietnam has been circumscribed, the intensity of bombings and the total tonnage dropped has continued to increase.
>
> Despite the much heralded elections, the Saigon regime continues to lack rapport with the Vietnamese people. The Tet offensive showed the failure of its citizens to inform it about NLF troop movements. The recent penetration of the NLF into Saigon calls into further question the position of the Thieu-Ky regime and the American presence in Vietnam. The latest example is the imprisonment of Truong Dinh Dzu, the runner-up in the 1967 election, for the crime of urging a negotiated settlement.
>
> Despite repeated claims that the tide is turning, we must recognize that the United States cannot win the war in a military sense except at an unjustifiable economic, human, and moral cost. The pacification program is hardly viable; the countryside is open to NLF penetration. Saigon itself is riddled with NLF forces. A guerilla operation capable of this degree of success against the world's mightiest military machine dose not lack popular support.
>
> Large-scale military operations have alienated support among non-Communist Vietnamese, rendering large masses of people homeless, with a devastating effect on the culture and the economy of a small, fragile country.
>
> It is time that the war be ended promptly, so that its dire consequences upon Vietnam and upon our own society may cease.
>
> The Administration must be willing to recognize that the NLF has a substantial popular following, and that any negotiated settlement will involve at least their participation, and the possibility of their winning political control, in some future South Vietnamese government. If the Administration categorically rules out this possibility in advance, then the negotiations are meaningless.
>
> Therefore, we urge:
>
> 1. A total and permanent end to the bombing of North Vietnam.
>
> 2. A cessation of offensive search and destroy missions and the bombing of populated areas in South Vietnam while the negotiations are progressing.
>
> 3. An acceptance of NLF direct participation in negotiations and their right to participate in the future political life of South Vietnam.
>
> There is little hope for an early termination of the war as long as our policy makers continue to cling to the illusions which caused our original involvement. We hope that this Administration and its successor will negotiate in good faith and accept the political realities in South Vietnam in order to finally bring this disastrous war to an end.
>
> George E. Brown, Jr., Phillip Burton, John Conyers, Jr., John G. Dow, Don Edwards, Donald M. Fraser, Henry Helstoski, Robert M. Kastenmeier, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Edward R. Roybal, William F. Ryan.

SPECIAL ORDER VACATED

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to vacate the special order heretofore granted to me for today.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

NACO OPPOSED TO TRUCK BILL

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Schwengel] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, a powerful voice has been added to those who are seeking to deny the passage of S. 2658, a bill to increase the size and weights of trucks.

The National Association of County Officials, meeting in Washington this week, adopted a resolution which opposes any increase in the "current maximum truck sizes and weights."

The complete text of the resolution is as follows:

> The National Association of County Officials is concerned about legislative efforts which would permit trucks with heavier weights and greater lengths and widths to use the Interstate System.
>
> The Association is opposed to any increase in current maximum truck sizes and weights.

This declaration by county officials is very significant. These officials are responsible for the maintenance and construction of thousands of miles of roads in our Nation. They know what the results of increased size and weights of trucks would be for them. Construction costs would go up. Needless to say, local taxes needed to pay for the construction and maintenance of these roads would also increase.

The National Association of County Officials' positions is a valid one. It should be sustained here in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, for several days now I have tried to point out that the provision in S. 2658 purporting to limit its coverage to the Interstate Highway System is meaningless. Time and again our attention has been called to the simple fact that our highway system does not begin and end with the interstate. As AASHO has stated:

> The matter of containing trucks to the Interstate System is, in our opinion, an impossible one. Practically all vehicles have to enter and leave the Interstate by some road not a part of the Interstate System . . . Simply stated, these new heavier loads would be using all highways.

With trucks needing the use of State primary and secondary roads to gain access to the Interstates, pressure soon will build on State and local governments to permit heavier and wider vehicles on their road systems, too. Although the trucking industry denies even contemplating pressing the States for similar legislation, it is simply beyond my grasp to comprehend any explanation for them not doing so. Just a short while ago they succeeded in gaining access for triple-trailer combinations on the Massachusetts Turnpike. This was achieved despite the vehement protests of Massachusetts registrar of motor vehicles, Richard McLaughlin, who warned against the increased safety hazards such a move would create. If anyone does not believe that the trucking industry, once successful in Congress, would not carry their lobbying to the statehouses, I suggest they look closely at this advertisement by Pullman Inc., taken from the August issue of Dun's Review. This advertisement, I believe, reflects the true disposition of the trucking industry. Simply stated, that is to get the biggest and widest vehicles on as many roads as possible as quickly as possible. Mr. Speaker, I include this advertisement in the Record at this point:

> WHAT WE'RE TESTING IS ILLEGAL IN 47 STATES
>
> Eight short years ago, only 8 states allowed you to haul doubles over their highways. Today the number is 34.
>
> But faster, more economical over-the-road hauling can't wait. That's why our Trailmobile Division is already hard at it testing triples . . . not just two trailers hitched together . . . but three.
>
> We don't know when this new transportation efficiency will be legalized in all 50 states, but when it is, Trailmobile will know more about it than anyone else.
>
> Solving problems that haven't come up yet is standard practice with the divisions of Pullman Incorporated. For example, ceramic processing equipment that is now producing 90% of America's sparkplugs . . . new ideas for ammonia production that are now responsible for a third of the world's recent nitrogen fertilizer output . . . a new rail car that unloads 100 tons of coal in 9 seconds.
>
> All around the world, strange new questions are being asked about transportation, about production, about profits. We already have strange new answers to many of them.
>
> What's your question?
>
> Pullman Inc.

Mr. Speaker, today I want to talk again about the problems hasty consideration of S. 2658 would bring. Let me make it clear that this bill places no additional taxes on the trucking industry to make it pay its fair share of the additional costs S. 2658 would create. Before we even consider the problem of truck weights and lengths, we should first make sure that heavy trucks are now paying their equitable share of taxes for road construction and maintenance. Before we consider any measure which would add to highway costs for the benefit of the larger trucking firms, we must see to it that the truckers who gain from this measure are paying their fair share of its costs. Thus, we should commit the measure to the House Ways and Means Committee if, after further study in the Public Works Committee, it on balance seems in the national interest. The Ways and Means Committee could determine whether heavy trucking interests are presently paying their fair share of taxes and what additional burdens they should assume to meet new costs generated by the increase in gross weights and truck lengths.

It is my feeling, however, that if we allow the trucking industry to reap the gains of increased weights and lengths, we will have great difficulty trying to get them to pay their fair share afterward. We must combine both measures and consider them at the same time to insure that heavy trucks do not escape from paying for the benefits they receive. A quick look at the history of the trucking lobby makes it crystal clear that they want all the benefits of greater widths, weights, and lengths that they can squeeze out of the Congress. Another look will make it equally clear that they have no intention nor any interest in paying for their ratable share of the maintenance, safety, and construction costs. That this is so is most easily ascertained by looking at a dialog between Senator COOPER and Mr. Bresnahan, managing director of the American Trucking Association:

> Senator COOPER. I am assuming there is a valid ground for asking for this increase in the size and weight limits . . . But would you admit, though, that if this is done it would require increased expenditures in the construction of the Interstate Highway System—that part which is not yet constructed—and of the regular Federal-aid system? Would it not actually require increased expenditures for stronger road surfaces, and perhaps wider road surfaces, than is now being done?
>
> Mr. BRESNAHAN. We don't think so, Senator.

That Mr. Bresnahan, the spokesman for the big truck lobby, could even make this statement in the face of overwhelming logic, evidence, and experience to the contrary is quite incredible. It certainly indicates the dangers of giving the truckers their cake before making them pay for it. I hope Congress will be cognizant of the cost responsibility that must be assigned to the trucks for the added costs of construction for pavings capable of absorbing the tremendous pounding of these added weights. That this bill will in fact generate substantial additional costs can hardly be disputed. Dr. Fuller, whose doctoral dissertation on S. 2658 has been inserted in the RECORD chapter by chapter over the last week and a half, estimated that the yearly cost of the measure would be about $382 million in added maintenance and construction expenses and another $640 to $880 million to nullify the greater risk of accidents. Some of the reasons Dr. Fuller itemized to support his cost figures, are as follows:

> Wider trucks may lead to excessive use of highway shoulders.
>
> Wider bridges may also be necessitated.
>
> Very long vehicles may be unable to negotiate turns at street intersections and on interchanges due to excessive offtracking. In order that longer vehicles do not reduce highway capacity or make the highways less safe than they currently are for other traffic, it may become necessary for extensive widening of lanes and realignment of roadbeds to be undertaken.
>
> Heavier vehicles (with no weight-to-horsepower ratio required) may lead to poorer acceleration forcing the building of longer acceleration lanes on freeways at increased public cost.
>
> Heavy trucks and combinations may necessitate public expenditure for special truck lanes or grades or additional cutting and filling on grades to reduce their severity (especially on two-lane highways); these efforts to alleviate the hazard, inconvenience, and congestion will be in direct proportion to the performance deficiencies of these larger and heavier vehicles.
>
> Because of greater distance required for braking when axle weights and gross weights are increased, higher public costs for improved sight distances would result.
>
> Due to insufficient braking ability of these very heavy combinations, additional emergency escape turn-offs could be needed on down grades for their benefit (especially on two-lane highways); this is especially so since even the American Trucking Association's Engineering Department has been quoted as saying braking systems for currently operating heaving combinations are inadequate and that better brakes are required for safety.
>
> Even with careful maintenance, the increase in stress resulting from heavier weights may lead to early retirement of bridge capital costing enormous sums.
>
> These are just some of the problems: Fuller also notes that much of the periodic maintenance undertaken between major resurfacings and bridge revitalization is related to the travel of heavy vehicles, that heavier axle weights require thicker pavement surfaces and bases, the bridge design is responsive to axle weights and repetitions of heavy gross weight on superstructure spans, that road widths are responsive to vehicle widths, etc.

Dr. Fuller summarizes his cost estimates for S. 2658 in this way:

> In short, almost every major cost-occasioning item of highway design would be affected, in greater or lesser measure, by an increase in the sizes and weights of vehicles utilizing the public highways.

And Dr. Fuller is not alone in his feelings. The Virginia State Highway Department authorities have found with regard to pavements that passage of S. 2658 would "increase the maintenance cost on interstate pavements and would result in an approximate 15-percent increase in cost for all interstate pavements not yet constructed." Against this overwhelming foundation of fact, experience, and simple logic, Mr. Bresnahan and the rest of the trucking lobby remain adamant in their stanch refusal to believe that this bill would increase the cost of maintaining our road system. It is this same dogged determination to avoid paying their fair share of highway expenses that has characterized the trucking industry during the last several decades. And it is for this reason that I feel it is an unwise practice for the Congress to expand the financial inequities and let the truckers get more of the benefits of our Interstate Highway System without first making them come to grips with the little item of paying for the benefits.

If you will remember, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson long lobbied for increased fees for trucks under existing weight limits. On May 17, 1965, President Lyndon Johnson recommended to the Congress increases in the Federal highway user taxes paid by commercial operators. In particular, he singled out for congressional attention and strenuously urged action for the imposition of "immediate additional user taxes on heavy trucks estimated to yield $200 million annually until 1973." He urged the increases, as follows:

The excise tax on highway diesel fuels be raised from 4 to 7 cents per gallon;

The present truck use tax be increased from $3 to $5 per thousand pounds on trucks having a taxable gross weight of more than 26,000 pounds; and

The tax on tread rubber, largely affecting heavy trucks be increased from 5 to 10 cents per pound.

President Johnson pointed to a new cost estimate for completing the National System of Interstate Highways and said that existing Federal highway user taxes would yield almost $2 billion of the $5 billion which must be provided by the Federal Government leaving the highway trust fund about $3 billion short of needed funds. And at that time, he said:

> Extending the completion data and the existing user tax program will meet most of the increased costs of the Interstate System. But unless we enact some increase in current revenues to the Highway Trust Fund, a number of States will be required to cut back sharply on their construction program.

To justify his position that certain Federal highway user taxes should be increased, the President reported:

> In its extensive study of highway costs and cost responsibilities—submitted to the Congress in preliminary form in 1961 and final form this year—the Bureau of Public Roads has carefully allocated cost responsibilities among the various classes of highway users. The Bureau's studies clearly show that heavy trucks are not paying fully for the additional cost of heavier pavement and other design features needed to carry them.

He then stated:

> I have carefully considered proposals for an increase in the limits on sizes and weights of trucks that may legally operate on the Interstate System. As I have noted, substantial under-taxation of heavy trucks now exists. This inequity would be further aggravated if increases in size and weight limits were to be made without imposing the additional user charges. I should not and must not approve legislation to relax these limits for vehicles on the Interstate System unless the Congress imposes these additional user charges. I will promptly recommend that the size and weight limits on trucks using the Interstate System be raised as soon as just and appropriate user charges are enacted.

While we certainly do not see the wisdom in raising the weight, width, and length limits on the basis of the evidence thus far presented, we certainly do see the wisdom in enacting laws which make the trucking industry assume its fair share of the burden for road costs before giving it new benefits. For 3 years since the President made this statement, the trucking industry has successfully battled to avoid paying their fair share of highway costs. Now they indicate that they do not feel S. 2658 would add any new costs to the highway system—an indication that strongly suggests they will vigorously oppose any new measure to increase user and gasoline taxes on heavy vehicles. It seems the height of folly to reward the stanch opposition to fair taxes by giving them greater weights and lengths for their heavy vehicles. It seems unfair to the 14 million other truck owners and the tens of millions of automobile owners to enact legislation which will reduce pavement serviceability and benefit only 250,000 trucks without first assuring that they will have the proper costs assigned to them for the added expenses their increased weights and lengths will generate. Mr. Speaker, if we enact S. 2658 without first assigning the trucking industry its fair share of the costs, we may never be able to do so. I do not think we should let them come to us with an open hand for beneficial legislation when they hold the other closed behind their back when we ask for just and equitable payment of user taxes to support our highway system. Mr. Speaker, let us, after we have studied the bill further in the Public Works Committee, heed the words of President Johnson and send the bill to the Ways and Means Committee to guarantee that those who benefit from this legislation will pay for its added costs. The President's advice has never been more compelling and urgent. Let us heed it. Let us not give another handout to the trucking industry.

AIDS FOR YOUR EDUCATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEPPER). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, shortly, millions of young people across the Nation will be returning to schools and colleges for another year of education. In our highly complex society, education largely shapes an individual's role in life, and the quality and extent of the education of America's citizens is the best index of the Nation's strength.

I have long supported legislation in Congress which would improve the quality of the Nation's education and ease the financial burden to families of providing higher education and training.

To provide higher education and training for its children, a family must begin planning and saving when the child is still quite young. My office has available upon request information on how to establish an educational trust fund as well as current Internal Revenue Service rulings on tax treatment for expenses incurred in educating the mentally retarded and the physically handicapped.

I have prepared, in table form, a quick description of all the major programs financed by the Federal Government which assist students in obtaining college, vocational, health professions, and military training. For more information on these programs, the student or interested family can write to my office, 2463 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C., 20515, or to the school they are interested in.

Title	Eligibility	Assistance	Notes
A. COLLEGE ASSISTANCE			
1. National defense education loan	Enrolled students in good standing carrying at least ½ normal load, needing a loan to continue study.	$1,000 per year for undergraduates, $2,500 per year for graduates; total NDEA loan for student may not exceed $10,000 for undergraduate-graduate study.	Terms: 3 percent interest, repayable over 10 years, starting 9 months after graduation (later if in military, Peace Corps, etc.). Those who become teachers can write off 50 to 100 percent of loan.
2. Insured student loans	Same as NDEA, minus statement of need of loan.	$1,000 per year for undergrads, $5,000 total; $1,500 per year for graduate students, $7,500 total.	Terms: United States covers interest during study and part of the interest during loan repayment, which begins 9 months after graduation for students whose adjusted family income is less than $15,000 per year. Students whose adjusted family income exceeds $15,000 per year may borrow under the program, but they must pay all of the interest.
3. College work-study	School selects students	School decides rate of pay, type of job	Students work up to 15 hours per week during school, 40 hours when classes are out. United States pays most of the wages of students working at needed jobs which would not otherwise get done without Federal assistance.
4. Educational opportunity grants	Enrolled students in good standing in such need that they could not continue study without the grant and a combination of other assistance.	$200 to $800 1st year; if in upper ½ of class, $200 more.	School selects students and size of grant.
B. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION TRAINING			
1. Student loan and insurance	Students who have completed secondary school and have enrolled in vocational education training.	$1,000 per year for 2 years. The United States pays interest charges on loans during the period of study, part of interest during repayment, which begins 1 year after study.	This program allows State or private agencies to guarantee bank loans to vocational education students. If no bank loans available, the United States may supply loan directly.
C. HEALTH EDUCATION ASSISTANCE			
1. Loans	Full-time students of good standing enrolled in accredited schools of nursing, medicine, denistry, osteopathy, optometry.	$1,000 to $2,000 per year, repayable over 10 years at 3 percent or the current Federal interest rate, whichever is higher. Repayment begins 1 to 3 years after graduation.	Part of loan can be written off by service in public agencies.
2. Special assistance	Students from low-income families enrolled in schools of medicine.	$2, 500 per year	
3. Health traineeships	Graduate nurses and public health students in advanced courses.	Covers all or part of education expenses	
4. Nursing opportunity grants	Full-time students working for a first professional degree in nursing. Students must be of exceptional financial need and unable to continue training without assistance.	Same as A4 above, educational opportunity grants.	Selection of students and size of grant is determined by school of nursing.
5. Military medical education assistance	Senior medical and vet students	2d lieutenant pay and allowances while in school.	Student incurs 3 years' military service obligation after graduation.
6. Military nursing programs and assistance to dietetic and occupational and physical therapists.	Students of nursing or other specialized health profession schools.	Various levels of assistance	Student incurs 1 to 3 years' military obligation after graduation.
D. MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE SCHOOLS			
1. Military academies: Army, Navy, Air Force	Single males, 17 to 22, high school graduates, meeting various physical and qualifying test requirements.	4-year courses leading to B.S. with tuition, room, board, and salary supplied.	There is a 5-year service obligation after graduation. Note: Although not military academies, the Coast Guard and merchant marine have similar institutions.
2. Reserve Officers Training Corps: Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine.	Meet age, physical, and qualifying test requirements.	The student receives $40 to $50 per month plus uniform and text allowances. A number of full scholarships are available especially for those interested in science.	During normal course of study, student takes a number of military science courses during a 2-year or 4-year program, and attends 1 summer camp, and at graduation is commissioned a 2d lieutenant. Obligation is up to 6 years' service in Active and Reserve units.

Title	Eligibility	Assistance	Notes
D. MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE SCHOOLS—Con.			
3. Enlisted men education programs	Those serving in armed services		All the services have programs to financially support college study and degree completion of personnel who will continue in the military.
4. Armed Forces tuition assistance	All personnel	The services offer up to 75 percent of bachelor and advanced degree tuition fees for off-duty study.	Obligation: 2 years further service for officers; enlisted men none.
5. U.S. Armed Forces Institute	do	Provides reduced fees for extension and correspondence courses up to 2d-year college level at all bases.	
E. VETERANS ASSISTANCE			
1. VA orphan's education assistance	Students between 18 and 26 who are children of service-connected deceased veterans or 100-percent disabled veterans.	$130 per month for full-time study; $95 for ¾ time study; $60 for ½ time study.	
2. Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966	(1) Anyone serving 180 days, part or all after Jan. 31, 1955, discharged on conditions other than dishonorable; or (2) released from active duty after Jan. 31, 1955, for service-connected disability; or (3) any person in service 2 years and continuing on active duty.	1 month of assistance for each month of service on active duty after 1955, but not more than 36 months' assistance. Allowance: $60 to $175 per month, depending on hours of attendance and number of dependents of student.	

AMERICANS CONCERNED OVER THREATENED MASS FAMINE IN BIAFRA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, we here in the Congress are deeply concerned over the threat of mass famine in Biafra. Our mail indicates that concern is shared by millions of Americans.

Our Government is prepared to move immediately to assist in an international effort to relieve the situation. The U.N., the Organization of African Unity, the Nigerian Government, and the Biafran leadership are all agreed that the International Committee of the Red Cross is the organization which should be in charge of administering this relief program in the field.

Large food supplies are stocked in locations adjacent to Biafra. But, tragically, due to local problems resulting from mutual suspicion and distrust between the Federal military government and the Biafrans only a trickle of food has gotten through to the starving. All parties concerned are urging that agreement be reached immediately so that this international humanitarian effort may proceed to deliver food to the starving. The alternative may be a disaster of mass starvation on a scale heretofore unknown.

This problem is forcefully outlined in an editorial appearing in the Washington Post of August 1 which I offer for inclusion in the RECORD. I also am including a summary of recent statements by U.S. Government officials on this problem.

The material follows:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 1, 1968]

BIAFRA HAS LOST

The central fact of the Nigerian civil war is that Biafra has failed in its yearlong effort to set up a viable secessionist regime. But, tragically, Biafra does not accept this fact. It holds on, mistaking Nigeria's military moderation for weakness and hoping that the spectacle of its starving citizenry will attract world sympathy and political support. This hope is cynical as well as illusory; it rests on the deliberate manipulation of suffering for political ends. The real issue before Biafra no longer is independence or reintegration into Nigeria. It is whether reintegration, which cannot be prevented, will be done with more or less sacrifice and death. If Biafra fights on, there will be more. If it accepts the reality of Nigerian victory, there will be less.

The leading purpose of world statecraft now should be to bring Biafra to accept its loss and to remove from the Ibo leadership all reasonable grounds for expecting that it will succeed if it will only endure. The first responsibility falls on the Lagos government, which must be willing in fact as well as word to consider serious Ibo proposals for reentering the Nigerian federation on a basis of self-respect. Then the international agencies must make available observers to see that Ibos in retaken areas are fed and treated well; it is the Ibos' fear of poisoning and genocide that, in large measure, makes them fight on.

RECENT STATEMENTS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ON THE PROBLEM OF NIGERIA

July 30: *Secretary of State Dean Rusk*, in his press conference:

"We continue to be deeply concerned over the suffering of the civilian victims on both sides of the civil war in Nigeria. A major relief effort has been mounted by the International Committee of the Red Cross. We are cooperating fully in that effort, along with many other governments and a large number of voluntary agencies.

"The U.S. contribution to this relief effort has now reached some $7.3 million, including estimated donations of some $2 million from private American sources. The dispute over how to get supplies through the lines of fighting has thus far permitted only small amounts of assistance to reach the areas of actual suffering. The Red Cross has been working urgently with both sides and with the Organization of African Unity to find a means of breaking that bottleneck.

"As President Johnson stated on July 11, 'we do not believe innocent persons should be made the victims of political maneuvering.' The spirit of humanity in every part of the world has been deeply moved by the suffering in Nigeria. We therefore urge all those in positions of responsibility to allow this international effort to move forward.

"We have noted with satisfaction that agreement has been reached on an agenda for peace negotiations beginning no later than August 5 in Addis Ababa. These talks are sponsored by the Nigerian Consultative Committee of the OAU under the chairmanship of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia. We join with all friends of the people of Nigeria in expressing the hope for the success of these talks under this wise and distinguished leadership and for the earliest possible negotiated settlement of the civil war. We hope that both sides will show the utmost restraint in their military operations so that the peacemakers will have a full opportunity to find a basis for agreement in this tragic fractricidal strife."

July 23: *Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Joseph Palmer 2nd*, in a statement before the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, in which he reported on his recent trip to Africa:

"My visit to Lagos, July 4–8, as well as brief stops in Paris, Geneva and London en route to the United States at the end of my trip, permitted me to gauge more accurately the dimensions of the tragic problem which besets Nigeria and to talk with officials—such as those of the International Committee of the Red Cross at Geneva—concerning methods of rapidly extending humanitarian help to those who are innocently suffering as a result of the hostilities. I return from this trip even more impressed both by the seriousness of the problem, the necessity of reestablishing peace in this war torn country and the urgent need for immediate humanitarian assistance to its civilians, especially its children.

"General Gowan emphasized to me his strong desire to reach a peaceful settlement and his willingness, which was subsequently communicated to the Red Cross and OAU, to facilitate the movement of humanitarian supplies to the affected areas. It is my strong hope that Colonel Ojukwu will respond to the Red Cross and OAU urgings to make this possible.

"The tragedy of the civil war which continues to rage in Nigeria, and particularly the suffering of innocent civilians on both sides, was the source of great concern among virtually all the African leaders with whom I talked. Their overwhelming desire, like ours, is for the earliest possible end to the war and the suffering. Many of them have been working behind the scenes toward that goal for some time, and now the efforts of the Consultative Committee on Nigeria of the Organization of African Unity, composed of the heads of state of Cameroon, the Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia and Niger, appear to have made significant progress.

"We are of course greatly encouraged by the news from Niamey over the weekend that both sides have now agreed to resume negotiations to end the war. Preliminary discussions are to take place in Niamey, with President Diori of Niger as chairman. Then, when the details are worked out, substantive talks are to follow in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the OAU Committee, of which Emperor Haile Selassie is chairman. Although serious differences continue, we are hopeful that these talks will fare better than those earlier and bring an end to casualties and destruction.

"This will require a high degree of statesmanship, tolerance and realism. I found everywhere on my trip a growing alarm over the Nigerian conflict, however, and a growing conviction that Africans must help solve it. We share that view and believe that the talks scheduled in Addis Ababa are an important step in that direction. We hope fervently for the success of these talks.

"Of even more immediate urgency is the problem of getting relief supplies to the suffering on both sides. Although the political impasse which prevents free movement of relief supplies into the secessionist area has not yet been fully overcome, a major relief effort by the International Committee of the Red Cross is under way. That effort has the full cooperation and support of the United States Government, as well as many other governments and private voluntary organizations. As the President made clear in his statement of July 11, our intention is not to interfere in Nigerian military or political affairs, but to alleviate the suffering of innocent persons on both sides.

"The need is great and urgent. We are far from satisfied at the amounts of relief supplies which thus far have reached the suffering, but are working urgently with the ICRC and other governments to find a means of breaking the bottleneck now caused by the failure to reach agreement on how to get supplies through the lines of fighting. In the meantime, ICRC stockpiles are growing, and we are hopeful for an early agreement among all concerned which will permit adequate supplies to flow to the needy wherever they are.

"The U.S. contribution to Nigerian relief, including estimated donations of $2 million from private sources, has now reached $7 million, including a Government donation of 5500 tons of food worth $2.7 million to UNICEF approved in July. In addition, Secretary Rusk has informed the ICRC that we are providing a reserve fund of $1 million for that body to draw on in meeting Nigerian relief needs. This contribution should be particularly useful in giving the ICRC flexibility to procure vehicles, charter ships and aircraft, and purchase or lease other equipment for rapid deployment to the areas of need.

"We recognize that the implementation of an effective relief program in Nigeria is an enormous enterprise. The ICRC is expanding its organization to carry out such a program and has just named Mr. Auguste Lindt, the Swiss Ambassador to Moscow and formerly UN High Commissioner for Refugees, as the High Commissioner of Nigerian relief operations.

"A truly effective relief effort requires the full cooperation of both federal and rebel officials, for there are thousands of desperately needy people in both areas. I am confident that such cooperation will be forthcoming, for, as the President said on July 11, 'mass starvation that can be prevented must not be allowed to go on.' We shall continue to cooperate in every way possible with the ICRC emergency relief effort to achieve this result.

"Mr. Chairman, I have given special attention to the Nigerian question, since it is one which concerns us all deeply and in which the Committee has a special interest. We should all work to mitigate the effect of civil war on the innocent and to bring hostilities to an end."

July 18: *State Department Spokesman Robert J. McCloskey*, in his daily briefing of the Press:

"You will recall earlier statements expressing our deep concern over the problem of relief to the peoples of Nigeria, peoples affected by the civil war. We are gratified at the action being taken by the International Committee of the Red Cross, with whom foreign governments and private organizations are cooperating in bringing relief to the victims on both sides of that civil war.

"In order to assist in the planning and execution of that humanitarian mission, the Secretary of State, on behalf of the United States Government, has made available to the ICRC a guaranteed reserve fund of one million dollars derived from AID funds. The reserve account may be drawn upon for immediate requirements to accompany anticipated pledges of assistance from other nations and private organizations."

July 12: *State Department Spokesman Robert J. McCloskey*, in his daily briefing of the Press:

"The United States Government today approved the donation of 5000 tons of food to UNICEF, which will be made available to the International Committee of the Red Cross to further the relief effort for all the victims of the Nigerian conflict. The dollar value of the food amounts to $1.3 million. UNICEF is now making arrangements to ship the donated foods. Distribution will be by the ICRC."

July 11: *President Lyndon B. Johnson*, in a statement issued by the White House:

"The American people have watched with growing grief and horror the terrible loss of life and suffering in Nigeria.

"The war in that politically divided nation is daily becoming more costly. Civilian inhabitants are threatened, not just with violence, but with starvation.

"Normal supplies of food have been cut off by the fighting. With foods containing protein increasingly unavailable, the lives of children are particularly endangered.

"The United States has cooperated with other governments and private organizations in efforts to provide needed food and medicine. We stand ready to support the International Committee of the Red Cross with additional funds, supplies and equipment.

"Relief efforts thus far have been frustrated by disputes on how to 'get supplies through the lines of fighting.

"While we have no intention of interfering in Nigerian affairs, we do not believe innocent persons should be made the victims of political maneuvering.

"Deaths caused by warfare are tragic enough. But mass starvation that can be prevented must be prevented.

"We urgently appeal to all those responsible to allow supplies to get to the people who so desperately need them."

July 11: *State Department Spokesman Robert J. McCloskey*, in his daily briefing of the Press:

"Yesterday we discussed the problem of relief to the peoples of Nigeria, on both sides of the present battle line. I was asked about the physical location of our aid to the refugees.

"With respect to the dollar assistance furnished directly to the ICRC, that agency has spent it in support of its operations on both sides. Now as to food supplies, we understand that the ICRC has stockpiled some supplies on the Spanish-owned island of Fernando Po (capital and airport at Santa Isabel), from which it has chartered some flights into Biafra. Other foodstuffs, including the $1.1 million we have furnished under the Food For Peace Program, are being positioned in places in Nigeria (Enugu, Calabar and Benin) from which truck convoys could move the food into Biafra when a land route can be arranged between the opposing forces. In addition, the ICRC and agencies associated with it are carrying out relief operations in Federal controlled areas.

"Now, the question arises as to the matter of land transport versus airlift from outside Nigeria into Biafran airstrips. You will have seen the statement in Geneva yesterday by the U.N. Secretary General on this point. We are also persuaded that delivery of food and other relief supplies by air into Biafra during the rainy season to improvised airstrips would be hazardous, costly and insufficient by far to meet the dimensions of the famine and relief problem there. We believe that the only feasible alternative is a land route into Biafra through Nigeria. Biafran-held territory is now completely surrounded by Federal-held territory. The Federal Military Government has long publicly agreed to allow such use of its territory under International Red Cross auspices and supervision. We understand that the International Red Cross is awaiting the approval of the Biafran authorities for such an arrangement. Under the circumstances, we can only associate ourselves with the hope expressed by the International Red Cross and others that such an arrangement can be reached.

"In view of our concern over this problem, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Joseph Palmer, who is now concluding a visit to Africa, will go to Geneva within the next few days to consult with the officials of the ICRC on the matter of Nigerian relief."

July 3: *State Department Spokesman Robert J. McCloskey*, in his daily briefing of the Press:

"Question: Is the United States getting involved in the relief efforts in Biafra?

"Answer: We have made certain contributions in that connection. AID donated $100,000 to the American Red Cross as a contribution to the International Committee of the Red Cross. This was as of June 24, and it was designed or intended for victims on both sides in the civil strife in Nigeria.

"More directly, AID has made available $100,000 in disaster relief funds to the U.S. Mission in Lagos. Some of that direct $100,000 contribution has been used for the purchase of trucks and distributing supplies and other items. It paid for the cost of the airlift of 60 tons of International Red Cross supplies from Frankfurt, Germany, to Lagos. That was at a cost of $27,000.

"AID has already shipped $1.1 million worth of food that was authorized in March of this year. The items included are flour and dried milk.

"This is a subject, I must emphasize, of some concern here. And we will continue to keep this very prominently before us to see what else can appropriately be done."

STEEL PRICE INCREASES ARE A THREAT TO OUR ECONOMY

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has been prudent, thrifty and responsive to the needs of our economy. I believe our actions have been judicious and in the best interest of our Nation's welfare.

But the main purpose of our austerity program was to stop inflation.

In light of this, I wish to express my alarm that certain steel companies have decided to greatly increase their prices.

I can think of nothing that would heat the fires of inflation more. A rise in the price of such a vital and basic product as steel can easily nullify all of the savings this Congress has managed. For increasing the cost of steel will trigger many more price hikes.

I am surprised by this action. Who should understand better than steel executives that inflation must be halted?

There are many sidelights and ramifications to such increases. But the main factor is that our economy is due for difficult times because of steel's decision.

I believe the announced price increases are wrong. I think the companies should reconsider them. And, by all means, other steel producers must not be tempted to raise their prices.

GONZALEZ REFUTES SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ON WAR PROFITEERING

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **GONZALEZ**. Mr. Speaker, I have on two previous occasions taken issue with the public letter of the Secretary of Defense that those of us "who express alarm about profiteering are making assumptions as to the future without a factual basis." I have expressed my incredulity at the Secretary's conclusion. I have charged that he ignores the bulk of available evidence. I have charged that the data he uses to make his point is insubstantial or misleading. At this time I wish to be specific in my objections to the data in the Secretary's letter.

RENEGOTIATION DATA

The Secretary begins his statistical manipulation with figures taken from the Renegotiation Board. He concludes that "based upon the above data, I find no grounds for concluding that a sharp increase in defense profits has occurred." But the figures the Secretary uses are so misleading and so irrelevant that a close look at the information available from the Renegotiation Board demonstrates the opposite conclusion.

I am reprinting below the renegotiation data the Secretary used with, however, more descriptive headings and with further data from the Board. Columns A, B, and C were used by the Secretary to try to show that profits are not increasing. I have added columns D, E, and F which, while mirroring the ups and downs of the defense procurement level since Korea, tend to indicate that profits have recently risen.

The table follows:

DATA FROM RENEGOTIATION BOARD REPORTS

Year ending June 30	(A) Renegotiable sales [1] (billions)	(B) Renegotiable profits [1] (billions)	(C) Profit on sales [1] (percent)	(D) Voluntary refunds of contractors [1] (millions)	(E) Determinations of excessive profits [2] (millions)	(F) Number of determinations of excessive profits
1956	$28.2	$1.8	6.5	149.4	152.6	498
1957	27.7	1.6	5.8	302.9	151.0	395
1958	26.6	1.3	4.9	176.1	112.7	254
1959	26.3	1.1	4.2	215.6	60.8	141
1960	28.5	1.1	4.0	77.8	52.7	108
1961	25.1	.9	3.6	31.5	17.2	68
1962	29.3	.9	3.1	17.8	7.8	41
1963	31.2	.9	2.9	28.0	10.1	48
1964	39.3	1.1	2.9	41.1	24.1	56
1965	34.8	1.0	3.0	16.4	16.1	52
1966	31.8	1.0	3.0	23.2	24.5	21
1967	33.1	1.2	3.5	30.3	16.0	18
1968	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	23.1	46

[1] Largely 2–3 years after the awarding of the contracts.

[2] Largely 3–4 years after the awarding of the contracts.

[3] Unavailable.

I have several observations to make on this expanded table:

First. Columns A, B, and E contain figures reported to the Renegotiation Board by certain defense or space contractors. They are prior to any determinations of the Board of excessive profits within them. The Board in no way certifies the accuracy of these figures.

Defense and space contractors with over $1 million worth of "renegotiable" Government contracts in a year are required to file with the Board. They lump together receipts and disbursements from all renegotiable contracts. To the great majority of the contractors' filings, the Board gives letters of clearance after a simple review. With less than 180 total employees over the last several years, the Board does not have enough auditors to check any but a small portion of the profit data filed with it. It has been the intent of Congress in the Renegotiation Act that Board should accept a contractor's filing if it conforms with "generally accepted accounting practices," and should not bother the contractor further unless his own figures reveal a blatant profit. It is therefore highly spurious for the Secretary to pretend that these unchecked figures are authoritative.

Second. The Renegotiation Board has never compared renegotiable sales and renegotiable profits for different years as the Department of Defense does in columns A and B. And the resulting column C—rate of profit on sales—is entirely a stepchild of DOD. The Board has specifically warned against the value of such a profit rate. Their 1967 annual report reads:

> Renegotiable business, as a whole, is composed of manufacturing, construction, service, and other activities connected with the national defense and space programs, often undertaken on contract terms which differ from terms used in commercial business, and under different circumstances. These activities are carried on by a variety of companies that are either wholly, partially, or only nominally in the defense or space fields. The commercial operations of such companies may or may not be comparable to their renegotiable business. Moreover, the statutory floor and various exemptions in the Act annually exclude several billions of dollars of defense sales from renegotiation. These factors, together with the great diversity of profit experience among contractors—ranging from losses to excessive profits—limit the validity of generalizations about the profitability of defense business as a whole, or of the $33.1 billion of renegotiable sales reviewed in fiscal 1967.

Third. In using his data from renegotiation, the Secretary neglected to note that the figures in columns A and B are 2 or 3 years behind the date the contracts were awarded. The Board's determinations run 3 or 4 years behind the awards. This would seem to be an unimportant oversight, except that it means the lowest profit rates in column C are pre-Vietnam. I wish to remind the Secretary that I have never claimed that pre-Vietnam profiteering was increasing. The only figure in column C which significantly reflects Vietnam profits is the one for 1967, which does increase over previous years.

Fourth. It is true that the profit rate figures for 1962 through 1966 are the lowest in the table. But is this trend bad? As profit rates get bigger going back toward Korean war expenditures, so do excessive profit determinations and so do the amounts which contractors voluntarily return to the Government as unfairly earned. In lamenting low profit rates during peacetime when competition is more effective and procurement more orderly, is the Secretary advocating a return to the hectic Korean procurement buildup when profiteering was proven to be rampant?

Fifth. I have included in the table the figures for fiscal 1968 which the Renegotiation Board has released on its 46 determinations of excessive profits in the amount of $23,069,748. These excessive profit figures are the first which reflect a full year of review by the Board of Vietnam procurement. Thus the number of companies caught with excessive profits and the total amount of those excessive profits have increased sharply for Vietnam procurement over the previous, mostly non-Vietnam year. Is this not solid evidence, Mr. Secretary, that profiteering is increasing due to the Vietnam building?

THE LMI DATA

The only other data the Secretary presents to show that defense profits are declining comes from the LMI study. I have several observations on this study:

First. The LMI study is based on voluntary, unverified figures offered by certain defense manufacturers. In 1966 the Department of Defense succumbed to the cries of the defense industry that profits were too low. A study to gain statistics on this premise was commissioned from the Logistics Management Institute, whose Board of Trustees and Logistics Advisory Council is a miniature complex of military-industrial-educational figures. Using uncertified data given it by the defense contractors, the LMI study showed remarkable statistical sophistication is verifying what the contractors wanted to prove.

An independent study was necessary because DOD does not have comprehensive data on realized profits. Firm fixed price contracts have become the majority of negotiated defense contracts and since by their very nature post-award audits are not required, no data exists on realized profits for FFP contracts. I find it incredible that the Department of

Defense does not have a good idea what it costs to produce defense material and what it is really paying in profits. It is even more incredible that DOD is content to accept the filmsy LMI Study as "the best data available."

Because no one can say with authority what defense profits the American taxpayer is paying for, I have called for a full-scale congressional investigation of defense spending. Further, I have contended that the absence of uniform standards of accounting makes it impossible to determine a defense producer's actual costs and profits without spending months reconstructing his books.

Second. The Secretary states that the 40 high- and medium-volume defense companies in the LMI table he uses "represents a significant sample." This is understandable loyalty to a report that has cost the Government $105,000. But I think it is more accurate to call the sample selective than significant. Of the 111 corporations which were asked to submit data for the LMI study, only 65 complied. Fifteen of the 65 were low-volume defense companies, which were thrown out of the data used in the Secretary's table as insignificant. I suspect we can assume that the 56 who did not cooperate with the study were the least public spirited whose data would not support the public cries of defense industry spokesmen that their profits were at rockbottom.

Third. Although the Secretary's LMI table proports to show that defense earnings are getting lower, especially in comparison to commercial earnings, there is another private study of defense earnings which reaches an opposite conclusion. Prepared by Dr. Murray Weidenbaum, professor of economics at the University of Washington in St. Louis, it concludes that—

> The differences between the profitability of defense firms and nondefense firms widened over the past decade, in favor of the military contractors.

Dr. Weidenbaum compared six corporations whose DOD and NASA contracts make up three-fourths or more of their total sales, with six nondefense firms. He explained his findings thus:

> Defense companies operate on much smaller profit margins (profits as percent of sales) than do typical industrial corporations. However, as a result of the large amounts of government-supplied capital, which are not reflected on the books of these companies, the defense contractors report a far higher ratio of capital turnover (dollars of sales per dollar of net worth). The higher turnover rates more than offset the lower profit margins. Hence, the defense companies' return on net worth (net profits as a percent of stockholders investment) is considerably higher—17.5 versus 10.6 percent during 1962–65.

How can two private comparisons of selected defense companies with nondefense companies—both using profit figures as a rate of capital employed—arrive at diametrically opposed conclusions? It is not easy to say. I certainly wish that DOD had seen fit to gather authoritative data on an issue of this importance.

One reason for the different conclusions of the two studies is probably inherent in the differing methods of selection. By comparing companies which were largely defense oriented or largely nondefense, Dr. Widenbaum escaped the problem of how to segregate the figures for costs incurred and for capital employed between defense and commercial work—a segregation which LMI made in a way which somewhat understated their defense profits.

My best explanation about the opposite conclusions in the two studies is a more unhappy one. Dr. Weidenbaum based his figures on the corporation's annual reports, while LMI used figures given to it for purposes of this study. I wonder if differences in motivation—to prove to stockholders that profits are up while proving to DOD that profits are down—does not account in the underlying differences in the contractor's data upon which the two reports are based.

Defense contractors have been known to produce figures proving all sorts of advantageous propositions without once violating that all-forgiving sibboleth, "generally accepted accounting principles." As Adm. Hyman Rickover told Congress:

> It is my experience that the data reported by contractors are generally quite different than the actual data found on Government audit.

He presented to Congress the following examples of his experience:

[In percent]

Contractor	Profit reported	Actual profit by Government audit
A	4.5	10.0
B	12.5	19.5
C	11.1	16.9
D	–2.0	15.0
E	21.6	32.7

FIRM FIXED PRICE CLAIMS

The Secretary admits in his letter that "going-in" profit rates have increased sharply since 1964 over the 1959–63 period. He insists that this "going-in" rate—the profit negotiated for the contract before it is awarded—has increased 22 percent, not 25 percent as claimed by some. Actually, I have been claiming that going-in profits between this general period have increased 26 percent, which is the conclusion of a report to Congress by the Comptroller General dated April 27, 1967.

But the Secretary claims the admittedly improved opportunities lately are not being realized because of the increased use of the type of contract which is riskiest to the contractor: firm fixed price. This claim is preposterous. DOD has nothing to base this claim on except the sorry and overworked LMI study.

The Secretary is trying to pretend that there is something magical about the risk in firm fixed price contracts because it is greater than for other contracts—because the FFP award cannot be adjusted by postaward audit as in "cost-plus" contracts if the contractor's costs turn out to be higher than he expected. Basically, the risk factor in FFP contracts means that DOD and the contractor will negotiate higher profits into a contract to offset the contractor's greater assumption of risk. This is as it should be. But the risk factor does not necessarily have a bearing on the contractor's ability to realize the higher profit rate on the riskier type of contract.

The Secretary's letter actually says this:

> Despite the fact that we are allowing higher profits to be negotiated on $45 billion worth of procurement, we think industry is right that profits are still very low and not rising. Since Firm Fixed Price contracts are the riskiest, and since we do not have data on the earned profits of this type of contract, and since the reliance of FFP contracts has increased rapidly, then profits must be getting lower of FFP contracts because of the risk.

We are being taken around and around in the dark.

This underlying argument of the Secretary is doubly amazing because it violates DOD's own studies. I include below in its entirety a table prepared by the DOD profit review system concerning realized profit rates of 1,842 contracts. I call attention to the "no data" designations about firm fixed price contracts, and to the footnote:

DOD PROFIT REVIEW SYSTEM—REALIZED PROFIT RATES ON COMPLETED CONTRACTS

DOD DATA SYSTEM—CONTRACTS AWARDED JULY 1, 1958 TO DEC. 31, 1963 (PREWEIGHTED GUIDELINES)[1]

Type of contract	Number of contracts	Total costs (millions)	Average negotiated profit, Percent of cost [2]	Average earned profit	
				Percent of cost	Percent of sales
Firm fixed price				(2)	(2)
Fixed price redetermination	351	$2,346	9.3	8.6	7.9
Fixed price incentive	311	3,883	9.3	9.2	8.4
Cost plus incentive fee	75	331	6.4	7.2	6.7
Cost plus, fixed fee	1,105	4,689	6.4	6.1	5.7
Total completed, contracts reported	1,842	11,249			

[1] Contracting officers have not yet submitted sufficient data on completed contracts which were placed under the weighted guide lines (1964–67) to permit a meaningful presentation.

[2] No data.

The negotiated profit rate and the comparable earned profit rate for fixed price redetermination and fixed price incentive contracts are reasonably close. This means that contractors have been very successful in earning profits on FPR and FPI contracts at the negotiated going-in rates.

There are of course differences in the three types of fixed price contracts. Firm Fixed Price contracts are slightly riskier than FPR and FPI contracts. FPR and FPI contracts provide for postaward audits, while FFP do not, by definition. But these differences have little bearing on a contractor's ability to more correctly estimate his costs during the negotiation stage on any one of the fixed price contracts over another. It is the validity of the cost estimate, not the risk involved, that primarily determines a contractor's actual profits. Thus, there is every reason to believe that contractors are just as successful in earning profits at the rate negotiated for firm fixed price contracts as they are for the comparable fixed price audit contracts.

Further, the claim that profits on FFP contracts are at lowest ebb is belied by the recent findings of the Renegotiation Board. Of the 88 companies against which the Renegotiation Board issued findings of excessive profits in fiscal 1965, 1966, and 1967, all but 13 were totally or overwhelming recipients of FFP contracts.

And this question of whether the increase in negotiated profits is offset by the increase in higher risk contracts has also interested the General Accounting Office. In the study of "going-in" profit rates referred to earlier, the GAO found that "the average profit rates were two percentage points higher than they were in the 5-year-period—1959–63—prior to the establishment of the weighted guidelines." They also found that a comparison of the same type of contract for similar items showed profits about 1 percentage point higher than in the period preceeding the use of the weighted guidelines. Thus, at least half of the profit increase is directly due to higher profits under weighted guidelines rather than the shift to higher risk contracts.

CONCLUSION

The Secretary of Defense has stated in a public letter that we who are concerned about war profiteering are without "factual basis." I have just presented my factual data. If there is error in my data, I would like to know about it, for I will be happy to make corrections.

The Secretary states that excessive defense profits are not increasing, for he has "examined the best available data on this matter."

If the Secretary examined the best available data, he did not present it. He presented instead misleading data from the Renegotiation Board, with a deeper look into the Board's data shows that profits are increasing. He presented instead the flimsy, unverified LMI study. He presented instead an unsubstantiated claim about the magic of the risk factor in firm fixed price contracts in keeping profits low.

Every bit as disturbing is the data which the Secretary ignored. His Department has ignored the unanimous congressional findings that the defense policies are not adequate to prevent faulty procurement.

DOD has largely ignored the increasing examples of exhorbitant profits revealed by GAO and Congress. Defensively, the Defense Department has replied that even if it were 99 percent perfect in its procurement transactions, there would be 150,000 errors a year. This is a frivolous response to situations which should never have happened and can be prevented. Public letters and the numbers racket of averages and statistics should not be used to whitewash real problems.

When I juxtapose the criticisms of defense procurement practices and studies indicating higher average profits against the increasing examples of exhorbitant profits, I find plenty of reason to be concerned about war profiteering. I suspect that the examples revealed to us so far are like the tip of an iceberg—only a fraction of what exists in the chilling waters below.

And the Department of Defense has ignored the lessons of history. I am still looking for a report of a war on which some did not get wealthy. This country has certainly never been fortunate enough to escape the war profiteer. But it is not simply the dislocations of wartime that present gold-plated opportunities for profiteering. The history of the present Renegotiation Board shows that their ability to find excessive profit rises and falls with the increase or decrease in the level of procurement.

The aim of the Secretary of Defense in providing for the common defense is in order to establish a more perfect union. To me, this entails the notion of equality of wartime sacrifice. Our soldiers and their families should not have to face the ultimate tragedy of war while the same situation which deals blood and carnage to some deals excess war profits in arm-chair safety to others.

In promoting the common defense, the Secretary of Defense has three basic constituencies: the taxpaying citizenry, the soldier in the field, and the manufacturer who supplies the defense material. Our citizens know that some of their defense dollars are being squandered on Vietnam procurement. Our soldiers know from the M–16 affair that support in the field can be very bad. Has the defense manufacturer run into equal adversity at the hands of the Defense Department? I have to agree with Admiral Rickover; the Department of Defense is "too much influenced by an industry viewpoint."

If the Department of Defense continues to shirk its duty to the American taxpayer and the American soldier, I must continue to plead with Congress to impose the traditional wartime controls: a strong Renegotiation Board, a corporate excess profits tax and a full-scale, comprehensive congressional investigation of defense procurement.

EVIDENCE OF THINGS NOT SEEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, among a number of statements relevant to our age, St. Paul once remarked that faith is the evidence of things not seen. In support of his premise, he cited the adventurous careers of a long list of patriarchs of old, who, he said, "through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens."

Their achievements were paralleled at no great distance by those of the hardy pioneers who crossed the wide seas and fought for a new home in a wild and unmapped wilderness. For these latter also, like the ancients, "looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." In them, persuasion and belief that a life fairer and freer and richer than any they had known awaited a strong hand and a brave heart had ripened into faith, and that faith had become a passionate intuition. They risked all that they might win all. They and their descendants, and those who followed the gleam after them, built on this continent a mighty Nation which even the heights of faith could scarcely envision.

There may be some now who might have lost faith. Those who take this view of things must spend too much time looking at television. They fail to see the real world all about them. They fail to note that nearly 80 million Americans are going to work every morning and coming back to the circle of their respective families every night. They don't read the reports that the annual product of these workers is valued at nearly $800 billion. Everywhere builders are covering the earth with imaginative structures designed to house industry and business and the arts, and especially that stable institution we call the home. In various institutions scientists are digging deep into the mysteries of nature and bringing out treasures of transportation and communication and medicine and gadgetry which alleviate toil and hunger and pain, and make life ever more agreeable. Does this indicate that the joy of living and growing has gone out of America? Does that indicate a loss of that vital force, that elan vital, which built America?

In this age, no one will claim that perfection has been reached anywhere. Improvement is possible in government, in economic machinery, in institutions, just as it is possible in respect to individual human lives. The constant search is for a better machine, a more serviceable social organization, a nobler life. Progress means improvement, and progress has been going on since time began. Sometimes progress has been slow, and in these periods customs and practices and institutions tend to crystallize in set forms. This is one period in which change proceeds at a pace almost too rapid for adjustment. Society is in ferment—is boiling hotly. In such a condition, the froth, the scum, rises to the surface, and is hurtfully visible.

It is in this froth that we find the noxious substances which trouble us today, and which cannot, or have not been as yet assimilated into the wholesome social entity beneath. Here are the disaffections, the rejections, the revolts against what is, and from them arise crime and disorder and a demand for such changes as will make the world conform to the wishes of the malcontents.

In time, the speed of change will slow down. Indeed, it is appreciably slowing. We can never get away from realities, and when confronted with hard facts, human beings invariably tend to adjust themselves to what must be. It is a fact that we cannot eat without producing food. It is a fact that society cannot endure without order and system and law. It is a fact that the permissiveness which has been the goal of reformers in the last few decades does not work. A writer predicts that the present generation of children, reared on permissiveness, will make parents to whom permissiveness is anathema. It is a safe prediction, because in all history a swing of the social pendulum toward liberalism has always been offset by a similar swing toward conservatism.

A resistance to fundamental change is found in the political world also. Our organic law, as embodied in the Constitution, has been widely criticized as being out of date, irrelevant to present day conditions and needs. There is attempt to change it by judicial interpretation. Where changes are impossible by these means, the process of amendment is invoked. Few of the proposals gain public acceptance. In all our history, only some two dozen amendments to the Constitution have been made, and 10 of these were put into effect before the ink was dry on the original, and merely asserted rights which were implied in the first draft.

The several States of the Union likewise experience difficulty in trying to modernize basic law hoary with age. At least four States, in the immediate past, have written brandnew constitutions to meet the demands of would-be liberalism, and have seen them rejected by the body of the electorate.

Apparently, then, it is the deliberate judgment of the people who do the work of this country and who control its destinies that our Government is organized on dependable principles. These principles have worked in the past, and they promise to be as good a hundred years from now as they are today.

And so it is in the moral world. It is complained that the ancient virtues have lost their hold. But on every side there is effort to reassert the practical value of honor and integrity and compassion. Big business studies ways to meet its social obligations. Industries are concerned with their public images. The churches stress with unremitting vigor the need of lives dedicated to service to our fellow men. Someone has said remuneration for most of human activity fluctuates widely, but the wages of sin remain unchanged.

It is this sort of faith with which I face the problems of the Nation, Mr. Speaker. It is the sort of faith which should enable us to strive valiantly to move forward, to correct errors, to cling to the right, to persevere until breath shall be no more. When faith cannot see, it must summon the evidences of intuition, and intuition informs us that there is order and purpose in the universe, purpose which moves forward irresistibly toward a perfected social organization, which is the city of God.

It is this faith, I believe, which impelled the President of the United States to say, in an address at Johns Hopkins University some time ago:

> We often say how impressive power is. I do not find it impressive at all. The guns and the bombs, the rockets and warships, are all symbols of human failure. They are necessary symbols. They protect what we cherish. But they are witness to human folly. A dam built across a great river is impressive. . . . I have seen the night illuminated, the kitchens warmed and the homes heated, where once the cheerless night and the ceaseless cold held sway.
>
> A rich harvest in a hungry land is impressive. The sight of healthy children in a classroom is impressive. . . . This generation of the world must choose: destroy or build, kill or aid, hate or understand.

ARE WE BECOMING A NATION OF NONREADERS?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, District of Columbia residents have awakened in astonishment at the latest news concerning their public schools. Three-fourths—a full 75 percent—of District youngsters have fallen below the norm on standardized reading achievement tests.

Only six of Washington's 176 public schools showed any significant improvement in reading test scores this year. As deplorable as the District situation may be, however, the more basic question is, how widespread is this reading deficiency throughout the Nation?

Are we becoming a nation of nonreaders?

In June 1966, I was chairman of a special task force of the House Committee on Education and Labor which conducted an extensive investigation of the District of Columbia school system and issued a report of findings and recommendations. At that time, we found that 33 percent of third graders and 55 percent of eighth-grade students were one or more years below grade level in reading. Apparently, the reading achievement picture has markedly deteriorated since then.

The tragedy of our report in 1966 showed that the longer a student remained in the school system, the further behind he fell in reading skills.

The following table of reading skills in the District schools in 1966, I fear, is typical of what we would find in most urban schools in America:

Grade	Read at grade level	Read at 1 or more years below grade level
At grade 3	67.2	32.8
At grade 4	37.3	62.7
At grade 5	50.6	39.4
At grade 6	54.6	45.4
At grade 8	45.5	54.5

Dr. Harry Levin, chairman of the department of psychology at Cornell University, estimates that a quarter of our population—and even more in inner city schools—is below grade level in reading achievement.

What do these scores signify? How should we interpret them?

I have been trying to find out. For a great deal of emotionalism surrounds the subject of reading education. We are embroiled in constant battles over the look-say versus the phonics aproaches to teaching reading without addressing the real issues.

At present we have only limited information on the reading achievement of our school population. No single test has been administered to all, or even a majority of our youngsters.

As a result, every school district can choose to test or not to test. And it can select from a wide variety of instruments—each competent to measure most aspects of reading ability.

But these test results do not go far enough. They do not equip us to make sophisticated judgments about the accomplishments—and the shortcomings—of our educational system. Because the results do not reflect a nationwide sampling of our students.

A test tells us just one thing. It lets us know how well a particular student is doing—relative to a norm.

The word, norm, is important here. Because in the District we are talking about students who score above or below a norm on a standardized test.

A norm, I have learned, is a statistical concept. It refers to an average—a mean score for a sample population which has already taken the test.

Therefore, when we compare our youngsters to a norm, we are saying that they score high or low—compared to the average score of a sample population of school-age children.

We are not saying, "This is the minimum level of reading comprehension necessary to succeed in college." Nor, "This is the basic skill required to read a newspaper."

In other words, we have not been measuring our students against a definite standard of quality. We have merely showed, for example, how one sixth grader looks, compared to the average of a sample group of sixth grade pupils.

For some purposes, this may be a useful index. But it does not tell us what we really ought to know, in order to judge the quality of our educational system. For if the sample population—in fact, if all of us—are actually deficient readers, then it matters little whether we fall above or below the norm. We are all just poor readers.

We have some information to substantiate the notion that a sizable portion of our population cannot read. From July 1950 to December 1967, 16 percent of all draftees failed the AFQT—the Army's test of reading and verbal intelligence. Another 3 percent were classified as questionable or "trainability limited."

Should we discard these failures as hopeless cases? On the contrary. Because the Army's Project 100,000 has shown that with proper training these men can be reclaimed for society.

As chairman of the General Subcommittee on Education, I find this situation very perplexing. My colleagues on the committee and I are continually being called upon to make judgments. We have the responsibility to ascertain national needs for elementary and secondary education. And to translate those estimations into viable legislative policy.

Yet, we have no objective yardsticks—no baseline data—to indicate where the problems lie across the Nation.

At this moment, we are faced with questions regarding the future of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Our attention is now focused on the latest report of the U.S. Office of Education—regarding the operation of title I for the 1966–67 school year.

By definition, the child served by title I comes from a family in the lowest income level in the community and is least able to suceed in school.

The report paints a bleak picture of reading achievements for title I pupils. A 21-State survey showed that about 40 percent of the children in title I projects scored in the lowest quarter on standardized tests. And only a handful scored in the upper quarter.

The TEMPO division of the General Electric Co., in a study for the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, made another analysis of a sample of schools in 11 districts. They concluded that no change in average pupil achievement had occurred in the schools studied from 1965–66 to 1966–67.

The data did show slight improvement among pupils who scored in the lowest 10 percent of the sample. But the other groups studied—students in the lowest quarter as well as the top quarter—showed slight negative changes in achievement tests scores between the pretest and posttest periods.

Just as discouraging were the Office of Education's problems in gathering accurate data for evaluation. USOE commissioned a broad-scale examination of title I's effects, particularly on reading, in large center cities.

However, many of the Nation's 100 largest central city systems—including Chicago—had to be eliminated. They used different types of standardized tests which could not be equated. Or their data and evaluation reports were too dissimilar. Or they had not provided for control of nontitle I groups with which to compare results in title I schools.

USOE concluded, "to establish truly equivalent scores would require a massive testing effort."

I have already made my position on title I clear. I believe that priority in title I programs should be placed on reading and language arts. In fact, title I moneys should only be used for nonreading purposes if all eligible pupils can be demonstrated to be reading at least on grade level.

Therefore, I am very gratified that the national assessment project will finally begin moving next January. It will inaugurate our first major, nationwide effort to answer an important question: How well can our youngsters read?

More specifically, the assessment will measure a variety of skills. Reading comprehension of material like a newspaper story. Ability to interpret reading material. And the capacity to handle special kinds of reading, such as poetry.

Why have we, as a nation, been so sluggish in initiating this significant program?

Unfortunately, too many school administrators have been fearful of evaluation. They have not wanted to face the public—and be judged on the basis of their products.

Too often they have displayed only their best output. The prize winners. The national merit scholars. The candidates for prestige colleges.

Seldom have we heard about the others. About the 15 to 20 percent who emerge from school, illiterate. Who enter adulthood, unable to read.

Fortunately, the American Association of School Administrators has taken a constructive approach to the National Assessment. Two of its members now sit on the Permanent Exploratory Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education, which will guide this mammoth undertaking.

I congratulate them—and the National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers, National School Boards Association, the elementary and secondary principals, PTA, Catholic schools, and the National Association of State Boards of Education—for their enlightened participation.

And I urge all school administrators throughout the Nation to welcome the national assessment. It offers a unique opportunity to gather information which has tremendous potential value for them.

At the same time, however, I want to express some reservations concerning certain aspects of the national assessment.

For the assessment will be accomplishing just a part of its mission. Its activities will be confined to a relatively small sample—only 1½ to 2 million, out of a total 37 million elementary school children and 13.7 million high school students in this country. And that sample includes adults, as well.

This may constitute a valuable beginning. But it will tell only part of the story.

I would urge that the national assessment be expanded as soon as possible to encompass the entire school population of our Nation.

I am also concerned about a second aspect of this project. I sincerely regret that reading will have only a minor place in the total evaluation instrument. It will have to share the spotlight with nine other subject areas—science, math, social studies, writing, citizenship, vocational education, literature, music, and the fine arts.

I certainly recognize the value of all of these fields. But I believe that reading is the fundamental key to academic success—and to vocational success, as well.

We are a verbal society. And until we alter this major means of communication, we will be responsible for passing on the proper verbal skills to each new generation. So they, too, can share in the benefits of education, employment, and leisure-time fulfillment through effective reading.

Therefore, I strongly recommend that the national assessment assign top priority to the evaluation of reading skills. And that it reserve a major portion of its resources for this important purpose.

Third, I would remind educators—and the public—that national assessment results will provide only a basic foundation for further analysis of our educational system.

These figures will tell us what our students—and adults—as a whole now know.

We will have this information by socioeconomic level. By geographic area—Northeast, Southeast, Central, and West. By age and sex. And by type of community.

But two types of data will not emerge from this study:

We will not know how any individual community has scored in the tests.

The assessment is not intended to embarrass a single school system. Or to compare one school district with another. Nor is it an attempt to clamp national controls on local, autonomus schools.

Only the local school superintendent will determine how the assessment information is utilized. I would hope that he will conduct an evaluation of his own pupil population. And compare the results with the national statistics.

The assessment results will tell us nothing about the quality of the school's educational program.

From looking at the assessment data we will not know which reading programs have been most or least effective. Nor how competent the teachers have been. Nor the condition of the school buildings. Or the amount of money spent per pupil.

Therefore, assessment statistics will provide only a "first thrust" in the direction of improving American education. Each individual school system will then have a responsibility of moral conscience to look within itself. And to determine for itself what remedies must be applied.

Finally, I would remind you that reading comprehension is a product of many experiences—in the home, the neighborhood, the peer group, as well as the school.

If our pupils read well, their schools may not deserve all the credit. Particularly if the students come from advantaged circumstances—with parents who read to them frequently and have books in their home.

On the other hand, if pupils read very poorly, we may not be able to place total blame on the school, either. For pupils without advantages require a basic restructuring of their environment. And the school, as presently organized, may very well not be able to provide this.

In either case, reading is a complex subject. We must beware of the dangers of oversimplification when discussing it.

We as a Nation should welcome this opportunity to take inventory of ourselves. We are a moving Nation. Approximately 20 percent of our population moves each year.

This means that the reading problems of one area belong to all of us. Each community and State is absorbing the product of another. Therefore, we need to know as a Nation where we stand.

The time has come for a "national inventory" on education: The forthcoming assessment is a healthy beginning—for all of us.

As the Exploratory Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education has stated:

> It is amazing that an enterprise as large and as essential as the American educational system has had no satisfactory mechanism for evaluating its product or its progress. As Sputnik spurred change in the areas of

mathematics and science by fear, national assessment has the potential of encouraging change in many more areas by informing educators and laymen of the true levels of attainment of American youth.

BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE TO MRS. GEORGE WASHINGTON HEAD

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BUCHANAN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to rise in tribute today to a truly great lady of my city of Birmingham, Ala., who celebrated her 101st birthday this week. As she begins her 102d year, Mrs. George Washington Head remains a source of joy and inspiration to all who know her. Mrs. Head came to Birmingham some 55 years ago. The mother of four fine children, three sons and one daughter, she became a widow when the eldest was 16 years of age, and the youngest only 4 years of age. Perhaps the greatest measure of her stature is the fact that in rearing these four children alone, she instilled into them qualities which have made each a leader in his or her community. George Washington Head, Jr., is a very prominent civic leader in Dayton, Ohio, Edward J. Head has demonstrated like qualities of civic leadership in Lebanon, Va. Her daughter, Mrs. Ernest M. Henderson, has, with her husband, not only achieved success in business, but has contributed much in other ways as a citizen of Birmingham. Her son, James A. Head, is a successful businessman of my city who has, for many years, distinguished himself in civil affairs. He is past president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, past president of the Committee of One Hundred, former president of the Birmingham Rotary Club, former member of the Jefferson County Personnel Board, member of the Samford University Board of Trustees, member of the Advisory Committee of the Alabama Civil Rights Commission, Birmingham's Man of the Year in 1949, and was appointed chairman the fund-raising campaign for the Alabama Chapter of Arthritis Foundation.

Mrs. Head has 10 grandchildren and 50 great- and great-great-grandchildren. At the tender age of 101, her mind is so clear that she can name each of them. She is a gallant, remarkable woman that everyone regards with fondness and admiration. Everyone who visits her walks a bit taller after being with her.

Mr. Speaker, as the whole is equal to the sum of its parts, the Nation is equal to the sum of its people. Through all the days of her life, Mrs. George Washington Head has demonstrated herself to be a part of the hope and the strength of this Republic, and upon the sound foundation of such lives as hers, our Nation can stand forever secure.

Mr. McCORMACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I gladly yield to the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. McCORMACK. I have listened with great interest to the remarks of my friend from Alabama concerning Mrs. George Washington Head, and would like to join the gentleman in expressing my warmest best wishes to this sweet, unusual, and distinguished lady.

Mrs. Head has been an inspiration not only to her family, but to countless of thousands of persons everywhere. I join in expressing gratitude for all that she has contributed, not only in her own life, but through her children. It is my prayer that God will continue to bless her for many, many years to come.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I glady yield to the distinguished minority leader of the House of Representatives.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I commend the gentleman from Alabama for bringing to the attention of the House the inspiring example of fruitful citizenship manifested in the life of Mrs. George Washington Head. She has obviously exemplified qualities of courage and character which make her a credit not only to her family, but to her Nation as well.

I join in expressing my sincere best wishes that her 102d year shall prove even better than the ones which have gone before.

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank my colleague, Congressman JOHN BUCHANAN, for giving me this opportunity to join in paying tribute to Mrs. George Washington Head on the occasion of her 101st birthday. She has been an inspiration to her family and her community, and it is only fitting that on this observance we commend her for her service and devotion. To Mrs. Head I wish many more happy birthdays and offer my congratulations and good wishes.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I want to join in the salute to Mrs. George Washington Head of Birmingham, Ala., on the occasion of her 101st birthday.

Few of us are privileged to see this many years on this earth. I know that Mrs. Head and her family take pride in her long and active life.

I extend my greetings to her on the celebration of this remarkable anniversary and I hope that she continues to enjoy many more such occasions.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleague from Alabama [Mr. BUCHANAN] in extending my very best wishes to Mrs. Mary E. Head of Birmingham on her 101st birthday.

Mrs. Head, mother of four outstanding citizens, has 10 grandchildren and over 50 great- and great-great-grandchildren. She has lived a long and fruitful life in our State, and it is indeed an honor to join in extending felicitations to her on this occasion.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have the opportunity to join with my colleague and good friend, the Honorable JOHN BUCHANAN, in paying tribute to Mrs. George Washington Head, of Birmingham, Ala., who just recently observed her 101st birthday. It is my hope that Mrs. Head will enjoy many more meaningful and pleasurable years with us.

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleague, Mr. BUCHANAN, in wishing Mrs. George Washington Head, of Birmingham, Ala., a very happy 101st birthday, which she celebrated this week. Mrs. Head is truly a remarkable woman, and even at the young age of 101, she is able to readily recall the names of her 10 grandchildren and 50 great- and great-great-grandchildren. Not only is her son, James A. Head, one of the leading Alabama citizens, she also has two other sons, George Head, Jr., and Edward Head, whom I understand are very outstanding. I feel it is appropriate to honor this great lady today.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my sincerest good wishes to the many given here today to Mrs. Head, of Birmingham, Ala., on her 101st birthday. She is certainly an outstanding person, of commendable spirit and zealous love for life, and certainly she has been blessed with a wonderful family and the many enjoyable experiences that such a fine family would bring to life from day to day. My most heartfelt wishes for many, many more happy years and birthdays I extend to this gracious lady on this day of special tribute and remembrance of her 101st birthday celebration.

ESTABLISHMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, once again I rise to address the House on one of the subjects closest to my heart: Peace in the world in which we live. The time has come for a reevaluation of the processes by which true peace may be achieved, and today I propose that the 90th Congress move in this direction by authorizing the establishment of a Department of Peace and ask that the next President name a Secretary of Peace as one of his first official acts.

I am presently drafting legislation toward this end, which I will introduce when we meet again in September.

Mr. Speaker, it is time that we focus our attention upon the means whereby establishment of a permanent peace be given the utmost priority in the highest levels of our Government.

The Department of Peace will be charged with this responsibility. Among its responsibilities will be the coordination of many diverse and often self-duplicating efforts being carried on by Government agencies and private institutions, organizations, corporations, foundations, and individuals. A whole host of efforts must be coordinated by this new Department, but the end result will be a solutory one.

Imagine, if you will, the sum total of the coordinated efforts of millions of Americans working together with one common objective under a well-coordinated leadership.

A prime purpose of this legislation will be to funnel some of the many millions of dollars being spent on peace efforts throughout the country into this new Department's budget, with a view toward keeping Federal spending at a low level, eliminating duplication of expenses in the private sector, and by far most important, engendering a spirit of enthusiastic cooperation from the American public.

The bill I will introduce calls for the transfer of the Peace Corps, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and other similar agencies and governmental functions to the Department of Peace. I envision substantial savings as a result of these changes.

But the purpose of the Department of Peace is not to save money; its purpose, on the contrary is to make peace, and to bring many of our dreams into reality through practical, pragmatic steps in this direction.

The Department of Peace will call attention to the absolute necessity of devoting more time and thought and effort to the establishment of peace, rather than to the building of bigger and better and more expensive weapons of war. It is a continuing source of incredulity to me when I see multibillion-dollar defense budgets calling for the utmost in sophisticated destructive power pass smoothly through the Congress, and then observe the economy-minded wielders of the pruning shears using their sharp cutting edges to pare to the bone the most modest efforts toward achieving this most elusive of all goals, peace.

The President has a Secretary of Defense, a National Security Council, Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, all of whom are associated with some acts of war. But there is no one responsible for pursuing at the Cabinet level, on a continuing basis, the possibility of peace.

And the same is true in the Congress. We have an Armed Forces Committee, a Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, a Joint Committee on Defense Production, but no means set up whereby we can study and develop programs for lasting peace in the world and America's role in achieving that peace.

We can no longer tolerate a situation in which so much attention is focused upon the military and its might, while at the same time the idea of working toward a permanent peace is dismissed as illusory.

It is my belief that such action by the Congress as I propose would help to bring about an atmosphere for peace.

God knows that we desperately need such an atmosphere.

Peace will not come simply by the pious proclaiming that there is "peace in our time," but by the concerted effort of every man, woman, and child among us who believe as the late John F. Kennedy believed:

> Mankind must either put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind.

When so much of our time in this body is given over to the discussion of war and the weaponry of warfare and the vast sums of money which such attention ultimately demands, could we not for a little while think and talk about peace and its possibilities?

I believe it is of the utmost importance that the United States, the greatest single military power in the world, have a Department of Peace, a Secretary of Peace and a Joint Committee on Peace. This is not an entirely new concept, for, in fact, Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, proposed an Office of Peace in 1799, and the late Adlai Stevenson called for a similar creation shortly before his death.

Peace will not just happen. We must work toward and plan for it. We must devote as much time and energy and resources for peace as we do for war.

THE 275TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE "OLD FIRST" REFORMED CHURCH

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, in these days when many of our institutions and traditions are being questioned, it is reassuring to note the 275th anniversary of a church which has served so well and faithfully. I am referring to the 275th anniversary of the "Old First" Reformed Church of Passaic, N.J.

The "Old First" is actually the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church at Acquackanonk, Passaic, N.J. In 1686, 14 God-fearing men from Holland received the Acquacknonk patent—deed—from William the Third and Mary the Second, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith. The deed confirmed the patentees' honorable purchase of the fertile tract from the original holders, the Lenni-Lenape Indians, in 1679 at their own price of "several coats, blankets, muskets, handfuls of powder, and strings of wampum."

The oldest written record in the possession of the church is 12 sheets of unruled paper folded over and stitched in the middle to make 48 pages, which dates back to June 12, 1693. On this day the first service was held and "the sum of 18 stivers—$1.80—was received as the offering."

There have been 16 ministers during the 275 years of the Church's existence. The present magnificent church, built of marble, located on the corner of Paulison and Passaic Avenues was completed in 1901 with the cornerstone being laid June 1, 1901.

I am pleased to congratulate Rev. Gordon Phillip Alexander and all the parishioners of the "Old First" Reformed Church on this inspiring occasion. I strongly hope that the church will continue to serve its fine parishoners for many years.

WHY DON'T THE RAILROADS WAKE UP?

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial deals with only one regional aspect of passenger train travel, but it does illustrate once again the sleepy torpor into which the railroad management of this Nation has fallen. Thick-headed, hard-headed attitudes, coupled with head-in-the-sand approaches to suggestions for improvement, have led to the decline of the passenger train. When is railroad management and the Interstate Commerce Commission going to wake up? Fortunately, there are encouraging evidences that certain members and staff of the ICC are stretching their limbs and rubbing their eyes, which the American people trust is a precursor to awakening completely to the crisis which faces passenger travel.

> AIR OR RAIL
>
> Current difficulties for the airlines at New York's congested airports present a golden opportunity for the railroads to attract customers to their potentially profitable, middle-distance runs in the busy Northeast corridor.
>
> Although the flight time from New York to Washington is under an hour, air travelers between this city and the nation's capital normally have to figure on two hours from center city to center city. With the current delays for aircraft stacked up over airports and waiting for runway clearances, the air time from Manhattan to Capitol Hill is beginning to approach the fastest train run of three hours and 35 minutes.
>
> The trouble is that trains are frequently behind schedule also, and that the railroads have become notoriously contemptuous of passenger comfort. Furthermore, rail schedules frequently ignore passenger convenience. For example, the two early morning trains from New York to Washington make numerous stops and take almost four hours for the trip. The 8 A.M. President out of Pennsylvania Station doesn't reach Washington until 11:50—when it's on time—and that's only seven minutes ahead of a bus that leaves New York at the same hour.
>
> Surely the railroads can do better than that, even without the new high speed equipment that has been subject to such inordinate delays. The railroads could also attract and hold more passengers by improving the cleanliness of their cars and the quality of dining-car and other services. A little effort in these areas would go a long way toward changing the don't-give-a-damn-for-the-passenger image of railroad management.
>
> Switching more Atlantic corridor passengers to the rails won't solve the airport congestion problem, but it could help. Currently, some 12.8 percent of all scheduled flights in and out of New York's airports originate in or are destined for Boston and Washington. This traffic could be served almost as quickly and perhaps more efficiently on the ground if the railroads would make the effort.

A TRIUMPH OF SMALL BUSINESS

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, when President Johnson proclaimed American History Month, he said:

> The history of the United States is not a record of blind forces sweeping human beings relentlessly along to an unknown destiny. It is the story of countless individuals whose success and sacrifice converted an idea into a free Nation.

I feel this is particularly true of the people of my State of West Virginia. Our State motto is "Montani Semper Liberi"—mountaineers are always free. West Virginians are fiercely individualistic, and in this climate free enterprise can thrive.

Long in the position of having an economy based almost completely on the coal industry, the State is changing rapidly. New industry demanding supporting goods and services is providing new opportunities for the independent small businessman.

Small Business Administrator Robert C. Moot said recently, "SBA's one desire is to help." The Small Business Administration has vigorously pursued a policy of offering all possible help to qualified small businessmen who want to be their own boss. Through programs of financial assistance, training management assistance, SCORE volunteers, lease guarantee, and conferences, SBA carries out the intent of the Congress that created enterprise.

In the case of one small business I am familiar with, SBA has carried out its mission, and I want to share the story with you.

The success of an SBA borrower, the State Electric Supply Co. in West Virginia, is just one sample of the success stories SBA is helping to write in all our States.

This small electric wholesale supply business was started in 1952 by Arthur Weisberg, joined later by a partner, his brother Fred. A few months after starting the business in St. Albans, W. Va., they moved the company to a small rented building in Huntington and hired one employee.

In January of 1954, the business was incorporated. Their sales for the year amounted to $196,984; net income was $3,743; net worth came to $22,620. By the end of fiscal 1960, sales were more than $1 million, net income was $27,166, and net worth had increased to $115,623. By 1963, they had passed the $2 million mark in sales and were employing 25 people with a payroll of $160,000 a year.

By the end of 1964 the Weisbergs were faced with financial problems. Their business was growing too quickly to be financed out of their business profits. Because of insufficient working capital, the Weisbergs were unable to maintain a large enough inventory, and they were losing about $5,000 a year because they were unable to take advantage of cash discounts offered by their suppliers. Worse, a redevelopment project forced them to look for a new location for their business.

After failing to find financing at local banks, the Weisbergs came to the Small Business Administration. A loan of $200,000 was approved by SBA and the 20th Street Bank of Huntington, which participated 25 percent in the loan.

With the help of this loan, the Weisberg brothers were able to move their business to another location, not too far from their previous site. Their new store gave them more space, and room for further expansion. They were able to take care of current financial obligations and increase their inventory to give better service to their customers.

By the end of fiscal 1965, the sales of State Electric Supply Co. had surpassed $3 million; 1966 saw their sales climb to more than $4 million, with 30 people on the payroll.

The end of fiscal year 1967 shows continued success. Gross sales were $4,668,000. Their net profits after taxes amounted to $87,447. They now have 48 employees, and an annual payroll of $295,762.

The success that Arthur and Fred Weisberg have achieved is a source of pride, not just for them and their family, but to the city of Huntington, the State of West Virginia, and to me as their Congressman. Most certainly the Small Business Administration can take pride in their success.

State Electric Supply is just one of many small businesses in West Virginia that has profited through the assistance of the Small Business Administration. This assistance coupled with individual initiative, pride, and the desire to be one's own boss make an unbeatable combination.

THE CRISIS FACING AIR TRAVEL

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I commented on the congestion crisis facing the airports of our Nation. This situation demands action by the Congress to provide an adequate financing plan to meet the Nation's air transportation needs in the future. The dimensions of the problem are rather graphically set forth in the following article in the August 5 issue of U.S. News & World Report:

CRISIS FACING AIR TRAVEL

Air travel in this country has run head on into a major crisis—one that gives every sign of growing more severe before being eased.

On recent days, airliners have been stacked up over many major U.S. cities, waiting in some cases as long as two to three hours for their turn to land. On the ground, other airliners line up in elephantlike procession—nose to tail—waiting their turn to take off.

Airline schedules often turn out to be meaningless. Businessmen and high Government officials miss appointments. Tourists miss plane connections and spend precious vacation time pacing congested terminals.

In some cases the traffic jam has become so chaotic that scores of flights have been canceled outright. Passengers are left to shift for themselves.

The growing crisis in air travel is causing deep concern in high places. Business in the U.S. moves increasingly on wings. Today, 7 out of 10 people using commercial transportation from one city to another go by air.

Dimensions of the problem are seen in official facts and figures: Between 1963 and 1967, air traffic in the U.S.—as measured by total landings and takeoffs—increased by nearly 65 per cent. A further increase of 74 per cent is forecast for the period between 1968 and 1973.

U.S. airliners are putting an average of one new jetliner into service every day. These new aircraft carry more passengers and deliver them faster than the planes they replace. Another 15 to 20 business and private planes are added to the nation's fleet every day.

Present airport runways and parking ramps are not adequate to handle this added traffic. Air-traffic controllers in major centers—now working six days a week at top speed—are unable to keep up with the planes that come hurtling down the airways. Result is many days when the air-traffic system in parts of the nation becomes completely saturated.

AN AIRLINE VIEWPOINT

The nation's airlines are losing millions of dollars as costs mount while aircraft circle for hours in the air or idle their engines on the ground. Said Charles C. Tillinghast, Jr., president of Trans World Airlines, in a letter to the Civil Aeronautics Board made public on July 24:

"The airlines, the Government and the public face a crisis in air transportation unequaled, save for strikes, in our nation's history. . . . Not only is the quality of service to the public seriously impaired but the increase in costs to the airlines attributable to this congestion is staggering. Most carriers are currently being subjected to excessive costs totaling many thousands of dollars a day."

The crisis in the skies, on airport runways and in terminal building has built up with surprising speed in the past two to three years. Officials of the Federal Aviation Administration concede that they underestimated the growth in air traffic. An airline official in New York City said:

"Everyone was guilty of underestimating the great growth in air travel. It was running along at 10 per cent a year, then suddenly shot up to 15 to 20 per cent."

Now some steps are being taken to remedy the situation. The Senate on July 23 approved an increase of 15.75 million dollars in the budget proposed for operation of air-traffic centers and other facilities of the Federal Aviation Administration. The money was earmarked for hiring and training of 1,996 more air-traffic controllers.

But it takes two years to train a controller to handle air traffic in an airport of medium size. Before he is ready for the "big time"—an airport, for example, at New York or Chicago—three to four years' experience is required.

The Senate has also voted to provide, for new facilities and equipment for the FAA, 120 million dollars more than was originally planned. Much of this will go for improved radar in traffic-control centers. It will take months to get the new equipment in place.

New airports and additional runways for existing airports also are seen as long-range improvements. Experts say that it takes from five to seven years to build an airport and get it into operation from the time planning is begun.

For the present, from every indication, the public will continue to face delay and inconvenience when traveling by air between major cities. There will probably be some easing of the crisis after Labor Day when tourist travel usually slackens.

On July 24, regional directors of the federal air-traffic-control system met in Washington to discuss ways of limiting air traffic at peak hours into the nation's busiest airports. Airline executives are talking about the possibility of shifting and limiting schedules to offer some relief from delays.

Any industrywide rescheduling of flights by airlines, however, would require approval of the Civil Aeronautics Board and involve weeks or months of negotiation among the airlines and with the Board.

BUSINESSMAN'S COMPLAINT

While officials in Government and industry talked, the crisis in air traffic continued. A businessman traveling from Washington to New York City reported:

"I boarded a flight scheduled to leave Washington National Airport at 7:30 in the morning. We sat on the ground an hour before taking off because, said the pilot, there was no use getting into the air until word came that our plane could be assigned a landing slot in New York.

"This was nothing compared to what happened the next day, when I tried to return to Washington. I boarded the 4 o'clock shuttle flight. We taxied out for takeoff, but there were at least 30 planes ahead of us. We sat there an hour and a half. Finally, the pilot announced that all flights had been canceled and our plane returned to the terminal. I went into the city, got on a train, stood up all the way to Baltimore, and arrived in Washington at midnight, seven hours behind schedule."

This man's conclusion: "Apparently, we are on the verge of a transportation collapse along the East Coast. The airways are clogged and the railroads aren't equipped to handle more passengers when flights are canceled."

Effects of the air-traffic crisis in the U.S. are being felt as far away as Europe. A flight leaving Amsterdam for New York City may land first at London or at Shannon Airport in Ireland and wait a few hours on the ground, rather than fly across the Atlantic and spend two to three hours circling until cleared to land at Kennedy International.

Chicago's O'Hare Airport, which has more runways and a less complicated traffic pattern than that of the New York City area, apparently faces a worsening situation. A key runway there now is closed until November for resurfacing. On July 24, the "U.S. News & World Report" bureau in Chicago reported:

"Inbound and outbound flights at O'Hare today were as much as two hours behind schedule. Passengers complained bitterly. One airline pilot described the traffic saturation as extreme.

"Planes were jammed around boarding gates. Those that made it to taxi strips were lined up 19 deep waiting for takeoff clearance. A flight from Battle Creek, Mich., normally taking 40 minutes, was three hours and 15 minutes late.

"One passenger, trying to get to New York, said that he had waited an hour and 20 minutes at the departure gate for his flight without any indication that it would leave. A New York City businessman reported he had lost 24 hours in the past week due to delayed flights.

"The afternoon before, O'Hare was closed for an hour when thunderstorms closed in. The result was chaotic, with flight delays running 90 minutes or more when traffic resumed."

You get a picture of the impact of the air-traffic crisis across the U.S. from the chart on page 29 showing the 30 airports that handled the greatest volume of aircraft in 1967. On peak days, however, most of these airports are trying to cope with far more flights than the daily averages shown.

Chicago's O'Hare Airport, for example, averaged close to 1,600 takeoffs and landings a day in 1967. This year, during the week of July 15 to 21, more than 2,100 aircraft movements were recorded at O'Hare on each of five days out of the seven. In peak periods, planes were moving at the rate of 130 an hour.

The New York City area is a nerve center of air traffic that can send trouble rippling along the airways in every direction across the U.S. This area has three major airports: Kennedy International and La Guardia on Long Island, and Newark in nearby New Jersey.

The control center for air traffic into the New York City area can handle about 120 incoming planes an hour. In recent days, many more than that number of planes have been on the airways nearing New York City. Controllers have had no choice but to shut off the flow of incoming traffic.

When this happens, airliners begin to sit on the ground at Washington, Atlanta, Miami, and other Southern cities. To the west, the traffic jam backs up through Cleveland to Chicago and on to San Francisco and Los Angeles. All this is not to say that air travelers everywhere in the country are going to run into long delays and inconvenience.

A person traveling by air from Los Angeles to New York City may find his flight delayed. At the same time, though, a traveler flying from Los Angeles to Denver, or a number of other cities, may well find his flight right on schedule.

But if the air congestion worsens, there is worry that effects will spread to areas not now in difficulty. The reason, say aviation authorities, is that a plane grounded in Chicago could fail to get to Denver, Dallas or some other point in time to make a scheduled flight from there or to receive maintenance. In this way, dislocations could become more widespread.

"Hold over Cleveland." Comments from a veteran airline captain help put the air-traffic crisis in perspective. This pilot flies regularly into many of the nation's major airports. His report:

"You could see the trouble building up around New York for the past two or three years. Coming in from Chicago between the hours of 4 and 8 in the evening it was routine to be told to hold over Cleveland. You make two or three circles and they let you head on in. Next, you may get a hold around Erie, Pa. Finally, they bring you into the pattern for New York. Total delay would run anywhere from 20 minutes to an hour.

"O'Hare is the next worst. But until they closed that runway you were usually able to get in there without as much delay.

"Atlanta is another spot where you can expect trouble. Noon is the worst time there. Delays have been running 15 or 20 minutes. I was called in to make a run on July 23 because so many pilots have used up their allotted flying time for the month. When I got over Greenville (South Carolina), control told me to hold. That was 10:30 in the morning and awfully early to start that kind of business. My flight was an hour late.

"Pilots consider New York and Chicago the two most congested areas. But trouble there can back up and hit you all the way to the West Coast. We bid for runs on the basis of seniority, and I bid like crazy to avoid both of them."

"Juggling a dozen planes." Asked if the current congestion in the air is a safety hazard, this pilot said:

"I would say it is, in this respect: These controllers are juggling a dozen or more planes at one time. But when they have to work long hours, days on end, they are bound to lose some of that alertness."

Air-traffic controllers have moved to ease the pressure on themselves. Many have joined the Professional Air Traffic Controller Organization—PATCO. This group, which is not a union, claims at least 5,000 members out of the nearly 15,000 controllers.

PATCO is urging its members to slow down the flow of air traffic "to protect the public from unnecessary hazards." Actually, say FAA officials, the controllers are now "going by the book." This means, for example, holding a 3-mile separation between planes under radar control rather than bringing them somewhat closer to speed the flow of traffic.

The controllers' slowdown, in the view of FAA officials, is only a minor factor in the current crisis. They say that the American public must realize that any marked improvement in the flow of air traffic in congested areas is going to take considerable time.

WHERE AIRLINE TRAFFIC IS HEAVIEST—NATION'S 30 BUSIEST AIRPORTS

	Airliner landings and takeoffs	
	1967 total	Daily average
Chicago—O'Hare	573, 506	1, 571
New York—Kennedy International	403, 981	1, 107
Los Angeles	384, 656	1, 054
Atlanta	273, 903	750
San Francisco	268, 486	736
Washington, D.C.—National	238, 529	654
Miami	230, 997	633
Dallas—Love Field	221, 934	608
New York—La Guardia	205, 492	563
Newark	192, 891	528
Boston	186, 491	511
Detroit—Wayne	185, 576	508
Philadelphia	168, 908	463
St. Louis	145, 911	400
Cleveland—Hopkins	145, 660	399
Pittsburgh	145, 293	398
Denver	129, 141	354
Kansas City, Mo	119, 685	328
Minneapolis-St. Paul	107, 912	296
Honolulu	107, 199	294
Houston	103, 976	285
New Orleans	96, 810	265
Baltimore	92, 403	253
Cincinnati	88, 373	242
Seattle-Tacoma	88, 174	242
Portland	80, 851	222
Tampa	80, 632	221
Indianapolis	80, 631	221
Memphis	78, 906	216
Buffalo	74, 903	205

Note: In addition major airports handle tens of thousands of landings and takeoffs by private and military planes each year.

Source: Federal Aviation Administration.

TRADE LEGISLATION

Mr. **BERRY**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. **BERRY**. Mr. Speaker, no trade legislation has come before us on the floor before the recess that begins today.

The Ways and Means Committee held a full month of hearings on trade legislation, ending a month ago. The hearings, from all accounts, were well attended and numerous witnesses thoroughly covered the subject. Many industries and farm and labor groups made their views known in great detail.

The number of industries that showed great concern over the import problem was larger than ever, with the addition of some industries that had previously been indifferent or even appeared in support of further tariff reduction. Imports had meantime penetrated their domestic market so deeply and rapidly that alarm spread about the future. Foremost among these was the steel industry, which in the past 10 years has shifted from the position of a net exporter of steel to one of importing five times as much steel as is exported.

The meat industry, among others, has in recent years also become gravely concerned over the effects of rising imports on its future, no less than on its present operations.

Mr. Speaker, after more than 30 years of a trade policy that has ended by cutting the tariff to a mere shadow of its former self, the time has indeed come for a complete reappraisal of the policy. A brief review of this subject was recently presented before the Republican resolutions—platform—committee at its meeting in Miami Beach by O. R. Strackbein of the Nation-Wide Committee on Import-Export Policy.

His account shows clearly that with the disappearance of the tariff as a means of regulating the flow of imports, a substitute must be found.

It is my hope that on our return from the recess the Ways and Means Committee will report a bill for action. There is great need for such action, as the third successive monthly deficit in our foreign trade this year clearly indicates. I believe that a reading of Mr. Strackbein's paper will reinforce this need.

Under leave to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD I include his statement:

TARIFF AND TRADE POLICY

(Statement before the platform committee, Republican National Convention, by O. R. Strackbein, chairman, the Nation-Wide Committee on Import-Export Policy, Miami Beach, Fla., July 30, 1968)

After 34 years of a trade policy under which our tariff has been virtually dismantled, a re-examination of that policy is overdue.

During this period the average tariff on dutiable items has been reduced some 80%, and further reductions are in the offing under the Kennedy Round.

Unfortunately the problem at which the tariff was aimed has not disappeared. In the past year or two this country has experienced a deficit in our private competitive trade. More and more of our imports, moreover, are taking the form of finished manufactured goods. These incorporate the greatest amount of labor and therefore offer us the best bargains. In our exports, on the other hand, the principal growth has been in agricultural products and raw materials, which, of course, contain the least amount of labor.

In terms of employment our foreign trade is therefore a losing game, contrary to the official statistics, which have been showing an export surplus of $4 to $7 billion annually in the past ten years. Such a surplus has been achieved by including in our exports the shipments made under foreign aid, Public Law 480, subsidized agricultural products, etc.; and, further, by tabulating our imports on their foreign value rather than on their cost landed at our ports. The difference is in the magnitude of $4–$5 billion.

With such a handsome surplus to point to, the further sharp tariff reductions under the Kennedy Round were justified by its supporters.

Now numerous industries are feeling the impact of rising imports and there is little to halt the flood. Industries that were formerly net exporters have shifted to a net import position, such as steel, textiles, oil, sewing machines, portable typewriters, automobiles, household electronic goods, footwear.

There is no mystery about the foreign competitive advantage over our producers. It is a matter of labor compensation. Ours is by all odds the highest in the world. Canada comes closest to our level.

We have one indisputable measure of relative costs. It is in shipbuilding and ship operation. On the basis of actual Federal surveys made both here and abroad, our costs in ship construction and operation are a little more than double the foreign. This represents a formidable and in fact an insuperable handicap. But for the subsidy in both shipbuilding and operation U.S. flag ships would disappear from the seas.

While the cost disparity is most visible in the merchant marine, it is not at all confined to this segment of our industry.

Economists will say that our inability to compete is the result of relative inefficiency. This is an obviously false assessment. In the steel industry, for example, we lead the world in output per man-year by a good margin. Yet, because our employee compensation is so much higher we experience a higher cost per ton. The same observation would apply to virtually all other industries.

Our noncompetitiveness is not the result of relative inefficiency. We out-produce the world in man-hour output in nearly all competitive lines.

Obviously, to right the real deficit, we must either increase our lead over our foreign competitors in man-hour output or hold down our wages while those of our competitors come up.

Taking the last alternative first, it is preposterous to talk of wage reduction. (1) Labor organization is strong enough in this country to stall any move in that direction. (2) Our mass-production of goods demands an equal volume of consumer demand to absorb the output. If this is not forthcoming our economy stalls and stagnates. Yet, what but high wages and full employment can provide the needed massive purchasing power?

As for increasing our lead in output per man-hour, this can only be accomplished by the massive displacement of labor. Since employee compensation in 1967 represented 80% of income originating in corporate business, it is clear that no meaningful headway can be made toward cost reduction without displacing labor with machines or labor-saving processes.

The best example of such an undertaking was supplied by the coal industry, which, pressed lethally by oil and gas competition, succeeded in becoming competitive anew. The cost was the job of two coal miners out of every three, the employment level dropping from 480,000 in 1950 to 142,000 in 1965. How many Appalachian problems can our economy stand?

The upshot is that some new economic thinking is necessary and a complete reassessment of our foreign trade policy. We have sung the beauties of free trade for over 30 years as if it were the national anthem, baring our heads and closing our eyes; and now the moment of truth as represented by our balance of payments difficulty has arrived.

What should be done?

Obviously if we are to have a merchant marine greater assistance must be provided. Here there is no alternative. It is a clear choice, a matter of national policy.

As for a substitute for the virtually discarded tariff on imports we need an instrument to counteract the weak position of this country resulting from the high costs that we as a people, as voters, have saddled on our producers through legislation adopted by heavy majorities. We cannot afford the resultant import bargains in a form that will undermine our industries and drive them overseas.

We can enjoy and use imports of a high level; but in a controlled economy we cannot afford an exception that will topple the remainder of our economy that is under control—and that is about all of it.

The most suitable instrumentality that recommends itself is a system of individual ceilings on imports that have made a deep penetration of our market and demonstrated the unfair competitive advantage enjoyed by them.

Provision should be made to allow imports of particular products that have been made subject to a ceiling to expand in equal proportion with domestic consumption of the product. This approach would not unwisely or unreasonably restrict trade. No other country has an equally liberal instrument for the regulation of imports.

We are under no obligation to let imports run rampant merely because they enjoy an advantage that is prohibited in this country under penalty of law, in the form of minimum wages, etc. At the same time we can and should recognize the need for and value of imports for our economy. The market-sharing approach embodied in the import ceiling proposal would preserve both a liberal volume of imports and remove their destructive aspects while preserving their benefits.

THE LAPSING OF SCHOOL FUNDS

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and dismayed this week when I learned that the President has ordered the lapsing of $91 million in funds the Congress recently approved to more fully implement Public Law 81–874, which provides aid to federally impacted school districts.

This unwarranted and unprecedented action by the administration will deprive thousands of school districts throughout the Nation of funds which they have in good faith budgeted and expected. But even more important, it will deprive them of funds to which they are clearly entitled.

Money provided under this law is by no means a giveaway program. Rather it is an attempt by the Federal Government to compensate and reimburse school districts for expenses incurred in educating children brought into these districts by installations of the Federal Government.

At best, the funds provided are far from full or just compensation for the disruptions and added expenses caused by the installations. But by his action this week, the President has further aggravated an already unsatisfactory situation.

Unfortunately, as shocking as the action was, I am afraid it cannot be said to have been totally unexpected. Rather it adds to an all too familiar pattern.

When the Congress calls for economies; when it points to the vast billions being spent in efforts to conquer space, or to aid unfriendly nations continents away, or to construct unwanted and unwelcome dam projects, the immediate reaction of the administration has too often been to chastise the Congress by instead, deleting or cutting some vital and necessary program and, in effect, saying, "There. You want economy. Try that on for size."

This is just another example in a long, sad series.

ETHICS

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there

objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, governments have wrestled with the problem of ethics for hundreds of years. There have been uncounted attempts to deal with it long before we began to include the matter as a part of general congressional reform.

On June 2, 1965, I testified before the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, as follows:

> I am hopeful that the committee will consider some plan providing for annual public disclosure of the financial affairs and business connections of candidates for Congress, Members of Congress, and staff members receiving in excess of possibly $10,000 annually, and the possibility of an Ethics Review Committee for the conduct of Members and their staffs, or a Joint Committee on Ethics. I have introduced a resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 260, for this purpose. Public confidence in Congress requires high moral and ethical standards by elected Representatives. House Resolution 773, which I introduced during the 88th Congress and which would enable the House Administration Committee to investigate financial, business, and campaign fund activities of Members and their employees, might be a step in the right direction. Also, I will be interested in your recommendations on possible revision of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act.

As Members of this body know well, the joint committee included in its final recommendations not only the creation of an Ethics Committee for the House, but an entire section of measures to improve the Lobbying Act. Additional recommendations dealing with campaign contributions may be found in the supplemental views of Senator CASE and those of the minority members of the Joint Committee from the House of Representatives.

The Senate, after extensive debate early in 1967, passed the reorganization bill by an overwhelming vote of 75 to 9. That bill has been pigeon-holed in the House Rules Committee ever since.

It is true that the House—it was inevitable at that point—did later create a Special Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. I am sorry that the reason the separate action was necessary was because the Rules Committee refused to report out the reorganization bill which would, in so many ways, help to repair the poor public image of the Congress. But I am pleased, of course, that we do finally have an official committee to investigate such matters.

It seems most reasonable to me that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL] recently requested the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct to look into the allegations which have been made in the press concerning lobbying and campaign contributions by representatives of the trucking industry. I disagree completely with the unkind and inaccurate remarks which have been directed at the gentleman from Iowa.

It is my view that the Congress owes a debt of gratitude to the gentleman. He understands that the committee has a dual function and that in addition to monitoring conduct it can and should examine matters of this nature to determine the facts and then establish proper guidelines for both lobbyists and Members. The committee should be available for any Member to clarify such matters, and there remain many difficult grey areas in need of clarification. He did not, nor do I, suggest any knowledge of the facts in this matter or agreement with the press allegations. Rather he sought clarification of the matter by the appropriate committee.

The gentleman from Iowa has long been one of the leading proponents of congressional reform. Even before the creation of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, back in the 87th Congress and before, he was waging what was then a little understood battle for increased committee staffing for minority Members of the House so that all sides of the issues that come before Congress could be made known to the people we serve. He has introduced a number of bills designed to improve the Congress and make it a more responsive, efficient and better-understood instrument for dealing with the Nation's problems.

The gentleman from Iowa has taken a special interest in other aspects of the operations of Congress. I point particularly to his efforts to bring about a greater utilization of the Library of Congress, and its Legislative Reference Service. The gentleman has not hesitated to wade in waist high to a tall elephant to the baffling, complex, brain-bending world of automatic data processing and the problems and promises it holds for support of congressional information handling.

The gentleman from Iowa, as much as any other individual Member of the Congress, has helped to preserve the proud history of Congress as a living part of our heritage through his stewardship as president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from Iowa for his integrity, his courage, and his unflagging dedication to the proposition that this House, and all of us who serve in it, can do a better job to build a better America if only we will not neglect to do the necessary things that must be done, first, to bring about a better House of Representatives.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1968

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the legislation passed this last week represents a recognition of the crisis which exists in our national educational system that has grown increasingly in magnitude in the past decade and has continued to grow since the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965. H.R. 15067, to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 and other related acts, will aid in redressing imbalances which today are straining the financial and intellectual fabric of our public and private institutions of higher education.

For example: title III of this bill, which seeks to strengthen developing institutions; title VI, which provides financial assistance for the improvement of undergraduate instruction; title IX, which provides incentives for the exchange and sharing of educational resources among the institutions of higher learning; and title XI, which extends and broadens the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1965, deal with fundamental problems of higher education that are similar to those which have been the subject of intensive hearings during the past month by the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics. H.R. 875, which was the subject of these hearings, deals with institutional grants in the area of the sciences; but the same basic problems exist in the bill which the House has considered and passed.

It is trite to say that there is a crisis in higher education in the United States. Nevertheless, the crisis is real. In testimony before the Science, Research, and Development Subcommittee on H.R. 875, Dr. John N. Hobstetter, dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania on the 10th of last month stated:

> When we extrapolate our growth in cost and income for the past five years to some five years in the future, we find ourselves faced with an annual deficit gap of close to $10 million (at the University of Pennsylvania). It is clear that the pattern of the past simply cannot be permitted to prevail in the future.

Dr. Philip Handler, chairman of the National Science Board and chairman of the Department of Biochemistry of Duke University Medical School, further pointed out on July 17:

> Even as we discuss these matters, many universities, particularly those under private auspices, are finding an increasing disparity between their financial resources and the expectations of American society. A few are approaching insolvency. A half dozen, reportedly, are considering closing their medical schools unless public funds of substantial order become available.

Truly we have reached a crisis in American higher education. The rising cost of general operations and the rapid growth of undergraduate enrollment are matters of statistical record. Superimposed on this has been an even more rapid growth in graduate enrollment, reflecting the increasing complexity and specialization of our society. Statistics show that both operating costs and enrollment have been doubling approximately every 10 years for a century, and that graduate study today represents almost one-half of the total costs for higher education in our Nation.

In the area of higher education in the sciences—including the social sciences—H.R. 875 proposes to attack several of these underlying problems that we face in higher education. First, it provides continuing and predictable support for a 5-year period of institutional grants. The bill proposes $150 million for each of 5 years, to be distributed by a three-part formula. One third, or $50 million, would be distributed to institutions in proportion to the project awards made by the National Institutes of Health, the U.S. Office of Education, and the National Science Foundation in the preceding year. A second one-third—or $50 million—would be distributed each year on the basis of the number of high school graduates in a State as a proportion of the total high school graduates in the United States. That fraction of the total $50 million would be distributed within a State on the basis of the total number of credit hours taught in the sciences in an institution in proportion to the total number of credit hours taught in that State in the sciences. The final third—or $50 million a year—would be allocated on the basis of earned master's and doctor's degrees in the sciences awarded during the immediately previous 3 years by institutions of higher education.

Under this arrangement, for example, it has been estimated that institutions in my own State—Connecticut—would receive approximately $1,500,000 annually for both public and private institutions of higher learning, based on statistical information over the past several years. A larger and more populous State such as California, using the same statistical basis, would receive approximately $10,865,000 each year for the 5-year period of the bill. All of these funds would flow directly to the individual institutions, and as pointed out by the majority of the witnesses on H.R. 875 would provide a supplement to the project grant system which has been the backbone of institutional science support since World War II.

The nature of H.R. 875 is such as to provide a "pilot" or experimental program in institutional grants for the sciences. Conceivably it could serve as a model which could later be expanded to aid in meeting the needs, not only of the sciences and science-related programs, but also of the arts and humanities. Without exception the witnesses who testified before our subcommittee spoke to the needs of strengthening both the sciences and the humanities so that young men and women who are the product of our educational system will be, in fact, versatile and well-rounded citizens.

Dr. Harvey Brooks, dean of engineering and applied physics at Harvard University and a member of the faculty of public administration, aptly pointed out:

> My own belief is that a combination of many mechanisms will be required, and the sooner we start experimenting with several mechanisms the better position we will be in within a few years to decide the best mix.

Indeed, I must agree with Dr. Brooks in that the bill which was passed this last week, H.R. 15067, and H.R. 875, which is under consideration by the Science, Research, and Development Subcommittee, are each a part of that mix.

The project grants and grants-in-aid system which has flourished in science and science-related Government-support programs has allowed our institutions of higher learning to meet the evergrowing scientific and technological demands of our society. However, it is clear from the testimony that a supplement to the project grant system is needed by those institutions in their scientific programs to provide institutional flexibility and balanced growth.

Dr. Fred Harvey Harrington, president of the University of Wisconsin, in testimony on H.R. 875 pointed out that the project grant system has served well and continues to serve well the functions of demonstration and innovation in our institutions of higher learning, but that it serves less well the function of continuing support. It is in this area that the institutional grants can serve an important function. This is true not only of H.R. 875 which limits itself to the sciences, but it is also true of the bill, H.R. 15067 passed this last week.

Our institutions of higher learning, from the community or junior college level, to the graduate level face a rapidly changing world. Our society is placing greater and greater demands on our colleges and universities. New emphasis and new directions are being determined for the solution of old problems, and new problems are developing which will require not only the disciplines now existing but the development of new disciplines and knowledge for their solution. As the record shows in the subcommittee's consideration of H.R. 875, it is essential that science and science-related efforts in our institutions of higher learning receive support on a broader institutional basis, if we are to cope with our societal changes of today and tomorrow. The need for new emphases and new directions has been recognized by the President in a committee which is now preparing a study of strategies for higher education and which should report its activities this fall. The recent hearings on H.R. 875 should serve to contribute to this study which is now underway and represents, in reality, a forerunner to that study in defining some of the problems that are extant in higher education today.

H.R. 15067, which has been passed by the House this last week, reflects the growing needs in education and reinforces the conviction that the crisis in education is real.

CROPLAND ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM AIDS FARMERS, TOWNSPEOPLE

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, the cropland adjustment program has provided significant assistance in my congressional district and in the country, not just to farmers but to rural and urban residents alike.

It is time the Congress recognized that on-again, off-again farm programs cannot solve what has come to be a continuing problem of threatened overproduction resulting from our achievements in agricultural technology. Our productive capacity is greater than we can efficiently employ now and for a number of years to come, and a failure to exercise adequate voluntary controls can only further depress already dangerously low farm prices.

And lower farm prices seriously and adversely affect not just farmers but our entire interdependent economy, which is based on the strength and stability of agriculture.

There are close to 450 million acres of cropland in this country, a little more than 300 million of which are presently required to produce an abundant supply of food and fiber for the American people and our friends abroad. The poverty and hunger which continues to exist in our Nation and the world are not the result of the failure of American agriculture to produce enough, but of a variety of other factors including efficient distribution and effective use of the food that is available.

I am convinced that we need long-term cropland diversion programs as an integral part of national agricultural policy so that farmers and the entire agribusiness structure can plan meaningfully and gear their operations to long-range objectives and goals.

Such programs are particularly meaningful for farmers who may wish to shift their farming operations, but cannot under their present circumstances. And they give older farmers who are finding it difficult to continue crop production a chance to retire, or turn to other agricultural enterprises.

Finally, diverted acres need not be idle land merely representing stored up agricultural productive capacity for future use. They can provide increased recreational opportunities for both rural and urban residents.

During the 2 years that the program was operational, more than 65,000 farmers placed over 4 million acres of cropland in the program, and some 12,000 opened more than a million diverted acres to the public for hunting, fishing, hiking, and trapping, free of any charge to the users.

Under Greenspan, State and local public agencies received assistance to acquire cropland for permanent diversion to recreation, open space, natural beauty, air and water pollution control, and wildlife benefits.

That program has been particularly meaningful in the Second District of Iowa, which received the first Greenspan funds and was one of the largest participants in the entire country. Awards totaling more than $116,000 have been made for the development of 1,400 acres in four counties—for community and county parks and recreation areas and for school playgrounds as well.

Nationally, 135 public agencies including school districts, conservation boards, recreational authorities, and city and county governments in 27 States applied for and received grants for playgrounds, picnic areas, ponds for fishing, boating and swimming, nature trails, wilderness camps, parks, golf courses, baseball and softball diamonds, and water pollution control areas.

The record gives evidence of the significance and value of the cropland adjustment program, which benefits wide segments of our population beyond the farmer himself.

It enables farmers to retire or shift their farming operations; it provides outdoor recreational areas for our growing population; and it helps to keep crop production in balance with market demands, contributing total economic stability for the American free enterprise system.

In my judgment, Congress has been mistaken in refusing funds for the program. The House has affirmed its belief in the program by enacting H.R. 17126, which extends it under title VI, and I hope that full funding will be forthcoming at the earliest possible time.

A GUARANTEED MINIMUM INCOME FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation designed to permit our senior citizens to earn whatever they can in their retirement years, if they wish to continue and are able to continue working; and to guarantee them a minimum income of $100 a month for an individual and $200 a month for a couple, if they are unable to work or do not wish to work beyond the age of 61 years. The text of the section of my bill dealing with the guaranteed minimum income is as follows:

The Social Security Act is amended by adding after title XIX thereof a new title XX as follows:

"TITLE XX—GUARANTEED MININMUM ANNUAL INCOME BENEFITS FOR THE AGED

"ELIGIBILITY FOR BENEFITS

"Sec. 2001. Every individual who—

"(1) has attained age 62,

"(2) is a resident of the United States (as defined in section 2009),

"(3) has an annual income (as determined pursuant to section 2004) of less than $2,400, in the case of an individual who is married and living with his spouse, or $1,200, in the case of any other individual,

"(4) has filed application for benefits under this title,

shall (subject to the succeeding provisions of this title) be entitled to guaranteed minimum annual income benefits for the aged.

"PAYMENT OF BENEFITS

"Sec. 2002. (a) Benefits under this title shall be paid on a monthly basis, except that, if the benefit payable to an individual for any month is less than $5, such benefit may be paid on such other basis (but not less often than semiannually) as the Secretary shall by regulations provide.

"(b) Benefits under this title shall be payable to any individual only for months (1) after the month in which his entitlement thereto is established pursuant to an application therefor filed under section 2001, and (2) prior to the month in which such individual dies.

"(c) No married individual who is living with his spouse for any month shall be entitled to a payment under this title for such month if the spouse of such individual receives such a payment for such month.

"AMOUNT OF BENEFITS

"Sec. 2003. The amount of the monthly benefit of any individual under this title shall be equal to one-twelfth of the amount by which $2,400 (in the case of a married individual living with his spouse), or $1,200 (in the case of any other individual), exceeds the amount of such individual's annual income (as determined under section 2004) for such year.

"DETERMINATION OF ANNUAL INCOME

"Sec. 2004. (a) For the purposes of this title, the term 'annual income' means, in the case of any individual, the total amount of income (other than income derived by reason of benefit payments under this title) from all sources received in the calendar year with respect to which a determination of annual income is made, except that, in determining the annual income of any individual who, during the calendar year, engaged in any trade or business, there shall be deducted any expenses incurred in carrying on such trade or business, and except that, income derived from the sale or exchange of property shall be taken into account only to the extent of the gain derived therefrom.

"(b) In determining the amount of the annual income, for purposes of this title, of any individual who is married and living with his spouse, the annual income of such individual shall be regarded as the sum of the annual income of such individual and of the spouse of such individual.

"REPORT OF INCOME TO SECRETARY

"Sec. 2005. (a) Any individual applying for benefits under this title shall submit with his application for such benefits and thereafter reports to the Secretary of his income and of any other matter which is relevant to his entitlement to receive, or the amount of, any benefit payable under this title. Such reports shall be filed at such time, in such form, and shall contain such information as the Secretary shall by regulations prescribe.

"(b) Benefits otherwise payable to an individual for any month shall be suspended until such time as any report required pursuant to subsection (a) to be filed prior to such month shall have been received and evaluated by the Secretary.

"SUSPENSION OF BENEFITS FOR MONTHS WHEN INDIVIDUAL IS ABSENT FROM THE UNITED STATES

"Sec. 2006. Any benefit otherwise payable to an individual under this title for any month shall not be paid if such individual is physically absent from the United States (as defined in section 2009) during all of such month, or if such individual is not, during all of such month, a resident of the United States (as so defined).

"OVERPAYMENTS AND UNDERPAYMENTS

"Sec. 2007. Whenever the Secretary finds that more or less than the correct amount of payment has been made to any individual under this title, proper adjustment or recovery shall be made in accordance with regulations of the Secretary patterned so as to conform, to the maximum extent feasible, to the provisions of section 204 (relating to overpayments and underpayments of benefits under title II).

"ADMINISTRATION

"Sec. 2008. This title shall be administered by the Secretary by and through (to the extent feasible) the organization and personnel engaged in the administration of title II.

"DEFINITION OF UNITED STATES

"Sec. 2009. For purposes of this title, the term 'United States' means the fifty States and the District of Columbia.

"APPROPRIATION

"Sec 2010. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title."

There are many reasons why a guaranteed annual income for the senior citizens of the United States is necessary. It is necessary because they form a substantial part of our population. It is necessary because they are past the age when they can be expected to earn an adequate income. It is necessary because present programs are not doing the job of providing adequately for the income needs of the elderly. It is necessary primarily and above all because the present income of most of our senior citizens is far too low—because most of them do not and without a guaranteed income cannot have their decent share of this country's abundance.

In 1900 there were slightly more than 3 million people in the United States who had passed their 65th birthday. By the time of the 1960 census, there were more than 5 million who had celebrated their 75th birthday, and the number of people over age 65 was more than 16 million. In this decade the number of senior citizens has continued its growth until today the number of people in the United States who are 65 or over stands at about 19 million. Thus, in this country of 200 million, we have almost reached the point where one out of every 10 citizens is a senior citizen, Indeed, if the more than 4 million people aged 62 to 64 are included in the definition of "senior citizens," we have passed that point. In either case, our senior citizens comprise a large segment of our population—far too large a segment to be denied at least a minimal participation in this country's prosperity.

There have been proposals to guarantee a minimum annual income for all people in this country and not for just the aged. Whatever their merits, these proposals face opposition on the grounds that those who can earn their own way should earn their own way. Such arguments do not, however, apply in the case of senior citizens. For health reasons alone, many senior citizens would be unable to hold a job—or to do so safely. Others are required by mandatory retirement policies to leave their jobs even if they are willing and able to continue working. That such persons would find it difficult—in many cases impossible—to get another job is almost self-evident. Indeed, the unavailability of work for older Americans is such that Congress found it necessary to enact the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967. This act prohibits employers from firing or refusing to hire people over the age of 40 solely on the basis of age. Even so, this act recognizes that there is a time when people may be simply too old to be considered employable; people over age 65 are accordingly excluded from the protection it affords. The Social Security Act recognizes that those over 65 and in need cannot be expected to provide for themselves and authorizes grants-in-aid to help States provide assistance to such individuals; the same Social Security Act provides that old-age insurance benefits can be paid as early as age 62 to those who have worked under social security. Thus, while it is true that some of our senior citizens can and do continue to work, this country does not expect them to do so. There is no shame attached to retirement in old age whether such retirement be because of health, because of an employer's retirement policies, or for no other reason than the attainment of an age which is generally accepted as sufficient justification for those who are so inclined to lay down the burden of work which they have carried for many years.

While our senior citizens cannot be expected to earn their way in their old age, there does seem to be more justification for expecting them to have provided for their retirement income during the years when they were working. But a man who is 65 today had to provide for his old age out of his share of the national productivity at a time when that productivity was much less than it is today. When he was 37 years old, the gross national product of the United States was—even on a per capita basis—about one-sixth of what it is today. As recently as 1950, when this man would have been 47 years old, per capita productivity was only at about one-third of its 1968 level. From another viewpoint, more than half the men who worked with any degree of regularity under the social security system in 1940 earned less than $1,360 a year. In 1950, more than half of them earned less than $3,215. Even in those years, that was not a great deal of money. To expect people earning at these levels to have supported themselves and their families and to still have been able to put away a significant amount of savings for their old age is expecting a good deal indeed. Moreover, the effects of inflation on whatever savings our senior citizens did manage to accumulate cannot be overlooked. By 1967 price increases had eroded away nearly 60 percent of the value of every dollar saved in 1940 and more than one-fourth of the value of every dollar saved in 1950. Thus, because of inflation, which has lessened the worth of money, and because of increased productivity, which has tended to raise the standards by which we judge a level of living as adequate or inadequate, it is hardly more reasonable to expect of today's senior citizens that they support themselves entirely from their savings and investments than it would be to expect them to return to work in their old age.

If this country's senior citizens cannot have saved and cannot now earn enough to enable them to live at an adequate level, one would think that private pensions, social security, and—where necessary—public assistance would take up the slack. This, however, does not appear to be the case. In 1966 only a little more than 3 million people received benefits from private pension plans. Even for these 3 million the average amount of benefits was something under $100 a month. The scope of social security is broader, paying benefits to more than 12 million retired workers, to close to 3 million widows and widowers, and to something over 3 million other people age 62 or over—wives of retired workers and uninsured people over age 72. Though more people get benefits under social security than under private pensions, the average social security benefit amount is also under $100 a month—$98 for retired workers, $86 for widows. Public assistance payments to the aged average even less than payments under private pensions or under social security. In July 1967 some 2 million senior citizens received payments averaging $69 under the old-age assistance program. At least in terms of averages, therefore, neither private pensions nor the main public income-maintenance programs are meeting the task of providing the senior citizens of the country with an adequate income.

The case for a guaranteed annual income for our senior citizens does not, however, rest on the fact that they make up about 10 percent of our population. Their inability to earn this income by working is important but incidental. That they were in no position during their working years to make adequate provision for their retirement is worth noting, but is, at this date, unchangeable. That other programs do not by themselves provide an adequate income is of secondary importance.

What now needs to be asked is whether those senior citizens whose hard work during this country's less prosperous days laid the foundation for today's prosperity are able to enjoy a decent share of that prosperity.

Whether there is a need for a guaranteed minimum annual income for senior citizens depends on whether their income without such a guarantee meets a minimum standard. Just what the minimum standard should be is a matter for discussion and will probably always be open to differences of opinion. Whatever the standard, however, it appears clear that a significant number of our senior citizens will fall below it. By the standards of the Social Security Administration, 5.4 million people over age 65 were poor and another 2.3 million were "near poor" in 1966. For a couple over age 65, "near poor" to the Social Security Administration means an income of less than $2,700. According to the figures of the Bureau of the Census, 56,000 men age 65 and over had no income at all in 1966. Fifteen percent of those with incomes had incomes of less than $1,000; 46 percent had incomes under $2,000; and 67 percent had incomes under $3,000. The incomes of women age 65 and over were even smaller. In a country where the Federal minimum wage is $1.60 per hour—more than $3,300 per year on a full-time employment basis—it seems clear that the present incomes of our senior citizens would not meet anyone's minimum standards.

GUN LAW

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the gun bill, I stated, in effect, that these proposals were not an answer to crime, looting, and rioting, about which people are so vitally concerned and disturbed, but were advanced for the purpose of throwing sand in the eyes of the American people, so as to divert them from their extreme concern about crime and riots. If we are to believe the allegations of the antigun lobby, we would be led to the conclusion that had there been a gun law in the Garden of Eden, Cain would not have killed Abel.

In the July 25 issue of the Kountze, Tex., News, a similar idea is expressed in the byline column of Gordon Baxter. I include the item as a part of my remarks, as follows:

GUN LAW

(By Gordon Baxter)

One of the cruelest and most misleading farces being played out before the American people is The Great Gun Law Hoax. Played on the heartstrings of an emotional public by politicians, played to the tune of cash register bells by the nation's news media, that great hue and cry, that great fallacy, that a good gun law will stop all this killing and redeem our guilty consciences.

President Johnson breathes it like a prayer of benediction after each fresh rattle of gunfire. Commentators, otherwise respected for their common sense, wrap themselves in the purple cloak of crying out for a holy gun law to end all this shame in America.

The National Rifle Association, that fuddy, stuffy bunch of middle aged hand loaders and duck hunters, caught surprised in the act of recommending a sane gun law, and surrounded by the lynch mob so desperate to blame anyone but themselves for the American penchant for murder.

There you have it, all the elements of this tragi-comedy. "A good gun law will stop all this" cry the voices of reason, but what of the 100 million guns already in private hands? A hundred million of the most durable, longest lasting items ever made, a gun. And what of the strongest gun law ever written, and broken every day since it was writ by God; Thou Shalt Not Kill? Now will you disarm the just?

STATEMENT OF MRS. JOAN ABBOTT, PRESIDENT, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE WIVES ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE HOUSE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE DISTRICT COMMITTEE ON CRIME IN WASHINGTON, AUGUST 1, 1968

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, our District of Columbia Investigating Subcommittee has been holding hearings on the crime and riot situation in the District. Yesterday, Mrs. Joan Abbott, who is president of the District of Columbia Police Wives Association, appeared before the committee in behalf of the safety of their husbands, the police of this city, as they go about the discharge of their duties.

I feel her statement will be of interest to all our colleagues, as will an open letter she wrote to Chief of Police John B. Layton, both of which I ask to be incorporated as part of my remarks in the RECORD.

STATEMENT OF MRS. JOAN ABBOTT, PRESIDENT, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE WIVES ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE HOUSE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE DISTRICT COMMITTEE ON CRIME IN WASHINGTON, AUGUST 1, 1968

It is a privilege to be here this morning, because the members of the D.C. Police Wives

Association know that all the members of the House D.C. Committee share our alarm and concern over the rising flood of crime in Washington. Four policemen have been killed in Washington in line of duty in the past 7 months. A number of the members of the D.C. Police Wives Association are constituents of Congressman Hervey G. Machen of Maryland's 5th congressional district and all of the members appreciate the concern he has shown while in Congress in support of the Metropolitan Police Department and the individual police officers. We support H.R. 14430 and H.R. 14448.

Chairman John Dowdy of this subcommittee, together with Congressman Durward Hall and Congressman Donald E. Lukens, included in the Congressional Record, when the Poff-Casey amendment was being debated, the letters the D.C. Police Wives Association wrote to President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey and City Council Chairman John W. Hechinger in support of the Casey Amendment. We are proud of our contribution to the adoption on July 24, 1968 of the Poff-Casey amendment by the House of Representatives by an overwhelming vote of 412-to-11. We are going to work very hard to get the Senate to accept the Poff-Casey bipartism amendment, and we think it will be adopted.

Speaker after speaker made it clear during the House debate that it wasn't the severity of the punishment, but only the certainty of punishment which deterred criminals, and the Poff-Casey amendment deals directly with this basic issue.

It is high time that the Congress wrote the mandatory provisions of the Poff-Casey amendment into law. President Johnson in his March 13, 1968 message to Congress called on the Congress to enact a D.C. Gun Control Act which would include a mandatory provision to "add 10 years imprisonment to the regular penalty when a firearm is used in a robbery or an attempted robbery." In adopting the Poff-Casey amendment, the House of Representatives has magnificently responded to President Johnson's call for mandatory sentences to prevent a reocurrence in the District of Columbia of what President Johnson condemned as last years' "2500 major crimes committed in the Nation's Capital at gunpoint—murders, assaults and robberies."

On July 19, 1968, during the House Debate on Gun Legislation, Congressman Fisher of Texas pointed out that "records reveal that some 80 percent of major crimes are committed by those with prior criminal records, many of them favored with light sentences and manifestly injustified probationary treatment." This is the problem in Washington. For instance, on June 26, 1968, Congressman Paul Rogers of Florida denounced 17 sentences handed down in a 2 week period by District Courts here in cases where guns were used. 6 of these cases were suspended, 4 were given light sentences under the Youth Corrections Act even though the criminals involved were 18, 19, 20 and 21 years of age. In a case of first degree murder the criminal was given a 1 year sentence. Judges who hand down such ridiculous sentences should be removed from office. The Bail Reform Act must be revised and drastcially amended to keep the repeaters from committing new crimes. These are essential steps to make our streets and our homes safe for law-abiding citizens. In some states, judges hand down stiffer sentences for killing game out of season than some D.C. judges give criminals in cases where guns are used. It is time to stop making excuses for criminals and to recognize crime for what it is, a plague of destruction that knows no barrier of race, color, or creed or financial status. From 1960 to 1966, 335 policemen in our Nation were killed, 322 died by guns in the hands of criminals. 242 Metropolitan Policemen have been assaulted this year in the District as compared to 193 combined assaults on Metropolitan and Park Police last year. Nation wide last year, guns were used in more than 125,000 assaults, rapes and robberies.

The House wisely rejected the licensing and registration amendments which would have penalized law-abiding citizens. The amendment offered by Congressman McClory, for instance, called, in one section, for "imprisonment not to exceed 2 years, or a fine not to exceed $2,000 or both." Another section called for "imprisonment not to exceed 5 years or a fine not to exceed $10,000 or both." These were aimed at the law-abiding citizens.

The D.C. City Council under Chairman John W. Hechinger, who sold guns in the Hechinger's stores for many years, has adopted gun registration and licensing provisions which were rejected by the House of Representatives. The D.C. City Council's new gun regulations provides penalties for failure to comply of $300, or 10 days in jail, or both. Is it realistic to expect such minor offenses to deter criminals from killing another policeman, from committing another rape or another robbery or another assault? The Washington Post, which generally favors the criminal and gives major headlines to everyone who attacks police, either verbally or by guns, and feels that it is white people and white policemen, and society in general and not the criminally-inclined individuals, who are responsible for crime, was predictably enthusiastic in its support of the farcical gun control regulations backed by Mr. Hechinger and adopted at his insistence by the D.C. City Council.

We hope this committee will take action against the Hechinger gun control regulations—now that the House of Representatives has decisively rejected the McClory amendment by a vote of 168 to 89, in view of the fact that the McClory amendment and Mr. Hechinger's gun control regulations are aimed at the law-abiding citizen rather than the criminal. As the House of Representatives pointed out, criminals ignore such weak-kneed laws. The Supreme Court in the case of Haynes against the United States has encouraged criminals to ignore the Hechinger-McClory approach by ordering that the defendant be released. The famous, or infamous opinion—depending on how you look at it, and whether you are a criminal or a law-abiding citizen—was written by Justice Harlan and it declared "we hold that a proper claim of the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination provides a full defense to prosecutions either for failure to register a firearm under section 5841 or for possession of a unregistered firearm under section 5851."

A sound constitutional basis does not exist for the D.C. Gun Control Regulations which Mr. Hechinger insisted on pushing through the D.C. City Council with the backing of the *Washington Post* which, in it's editorial pages, is as hazy, uninformed, and heedless about basic constitutional provisions as Mr. Hechinger is. This committee should take a long hard look at the D.C. Gun Control Regulations, with the Constitution in mind and particularly with Justice Harlan's opinion in the case of Haynes against the United States in mind.

Some of the things which policemen have to put up with when they go before courts in connection with cases in which they have made arrests are unbelievable. It is no bed of roses to be a policeman. The discouragements are great. The lack of support by the City Council under Mr. Hechinger and the Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy and Mrs. Polly Shackleton is growing day by day. We agree with Congressman B. F. Sisk that members of the D.C. City Council, "have not given effective, firm support and backing, I feel the members of the Police Department are entitled to." In our discussions with members of the Policeman's Association we believe that this is the overwhelming view of the members of the police department. We support Congressman Sisk in calling for a thorough questioning of the members of the City Council by the House District Committee. The former District Commissioners gave much more support to the police than the present D.C. Council. We think the D.C. City Council should be abolished and that the adoption by the Congress of the present plan for the District Government was a sad mistake which the police are paying for with *their* lives. The situation is getting worse day by day. John Harrington of Philadelphia, National President of the 137,000-member fraternal order of police has called for a national 2 day police walk out. Police leaders across the country and in the District of Columbia have become embittered by what they consider lack of support in dealing with crime and racial violence. Mr. Harrington's comment, that "when police are being shot like fish in a barrel, it's time we do something," certainly applies in the District of Columbia. Bruce Terris, chairman of the Democratic Central Committee has called for the dismissal of Police Chief John B. Layton. The Reverend Channing E. Phillips, D.C. Democratic National Committeeman wrote the resolution adopted by the Black United Front which declared that killing white policeman was "justifiable homicide." We request this committee as well as the Democratic National Convention to bring Bruce Terris and the Reverend Channing E. Phillips before them, by subpoena if necessary to investigate completely the question of whether killing white policemen is "justifiable homicide." We think the members of the Metropolitan Police Department are entitled to an answer to this question. The D.C. Police Wives Association will exert every effort to bring these matters before the Credential and Platform committees at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, because we believe the American people are entitled to know where the Democratic party stands on the question as to whether it is "justifiable homicide" to kill white policemen. We have not been able to get an answer to this question from the D.C. City Council, although we tried several times. When we objected to our husbands being killed, and when we said, we would urge our husbands to go fishing if the D.C. City Council did not condemn the view that it was "justifiable homicide" to kill white policemen, which had been adopted by the Black United Front and supported by the D.C. Democratic Central Committee, Mr. Hechinger denounced us as being as "incendiary" as the Black United Front.

The Sunday Star in its letters column of July 28, 1968 performed a great public service in printing 3 letters on the Black United Front and the control of the police, which it is demanding. One of the letters pointed out that the policy of the control of the police was first unveiled on October 22, 1967, by the Communist Party, U.S.A., in a position paper which declared:

"We believe that under all circumstances black people not only have the right but the responsibility to defend their persons, their homes and their community. And in line with this position we support the view that black people police their own community . . . There can be no question of the right of black people in the United States to use violence to achieve change."

The letter in the Star went on to say: "it is not surprising to find this line being echoed by the BUF, which has Stokely Carmichael as one of it's leading members, or by Arthur Waskow, who only last year attracted attention for his role in the ill-fated National Conference for New Politics convention in Chicago. That meeting was so dominated by the Communists and Black Power Extremists that its more naive and innocent participants were nauseated."

The D.C. Democratic Central Committee is zeroing in on Chief of Police John B. Layton and has called for his dismissal, as the first step in carrying out the policy announced by the Communist Party last October. We are very grateful indeed that the Senate of the United States, in adopting on Tuesday of this week, July 30, 1968 the $548.2 million dollar district budget for the current fiscal year, gave its support to the report of the Senate Appropriations Committee which raised questions about the constitutionality of a citizen "take-over" of the police department. The Senate report noted that the Constitution gives Congress "exclusive jurisdiction over the district" and that the Congress has conferred its powers over the police on the Mayor. The Senate report said these powers cannot legally be delegated to "private groups or individuals." It added that it "would view with much concern any action on the part of any governmental officer or an employee encouraging or assisting any such group or person" to obtain control.

This subcommittee will certainly want to give all the support it can to this view which has been so ably expresesd in so timely a fashion by the Senate of the United States.

We wish to commend all those individuals and groups who have rallied to the support of Police Chief John B. Layton. Among these are D.C. Republican National Committeeman Carl L. Shipley who attacked as "reverse racism and demagoguery" the demand that Chief Layton be dismissed which was voiced by Bruce Terris," is a violation of of the federal civil rights laws." Shipley pointed out that the demand for Chief Layton's dismissal disregards questions of merit and competence. Shipley added "it is regrettable that the Democratic chairman would exploit racial tensions and appeal to any of our citizens on the basis of race at a time when our business community is suffering serious losses as a result of the April riots and the Resurrection City episode in June."

We agree with Mr. Shipley and we feel confident that the fine citizens of the District of Columbia, who elected the members of the D.C. Democratic Central Committee on May 7, this year, did not vote for them, and do not favor now, the calculated, cruel and heartless attacks on the police and on Chief Layton which have their origin in the policy formulated and announced by the Communist party in its position paper of October 22, 1967. I would like to include as part of my remarks a column by Drew Pearson published in the Washington Post, July 31, 1968, entitled "FBI prepares Report on Black Militants" because of the light it sheds on the black militant movement in the United States today.

We thank you for your consideration you have shown us this morning and we want you to know that we deeply appreciate the sympathetic understanding and support which the members of this committee and of the Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike have always given the Metropolitan Police Department of this great city.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE WIVES
ASSOCIATION, INC.,
July 30, 1968.

JOHN B. LAYTON,
Chief of Police, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHIEF LAYTON: On behalf of every member of the District of Columbia Police Wives Association we want you to know you have our unanimous and whole hearted support in your difficult post as the head of one of the most outstanding police departments in the nation. We know that this is the feeling of the 4300 members of the Policeman's Association of the District of Columbia.

As recently as July 3, 1968, President Johnson said "Washington's Policemen are among the Nation's finest. In the critical hours of unrest and violence which gripped the city they performed most difficult missions . . . the backbone of law enforcement in each of our communities is the policeman on the beat. In no city of America is this more true than in the District of Columbia." Mayor Walter E. Washington and Public Safety Director Patrick V. Murphy, have been unstinting in the praise of the Metropolitan Police Department and your leadership of it.

The Metropolitan Police Department is one of the finest in the nation. It has been unmarked by the scandals which have racked the police departments in other cities. This is to your credit.

You have broken new ground in race relations. 10 years ago 10 percent of the police force were Negroes. Today the figure is 23 percent. Police Captain's Owen W. Davis, Robert N. Hough—have been made Inspectors, the first time that Negroes have been given this high rank. Acting Captain Herbert S. Taylor, a Negro has been appointed head of the community relations division and will shortly be given the permanent rank of Captain in the police force. Police Captain Tilmon B. O'Bryant was raised from the rank of Detective and made head of the 13th police precinct.

In the fact of the brilliant leadership you have given the Metropolitan Police Department, the attacks upon you by the members of the Democratic Central Committee of the District of Columbia, elected May 7, 1968, have reached incredible heights, culminating in (one) the resolution written by the Reverend Channing E. Phillips, that the killing of white policemen is "justifiable homicide" and (two) the call by Bruce Terris, the chairman of the District of Columbia Democratic Central Committee yesterday for your dismissal.

We are astounded that at no time has Bruce Terris and the Reverend Channing Phillips praised you or mentioned one word about your leadership of the finest police force in the nation.

The Negro Community as well as the White community did not vote the members of the Democratic Central Committee into office on May 7, 1968 to wage a campaign of harassment, intimidation and hysteria against the Metropolitan Police Department of which our husbands are members.

The D.C. Police Wives Association hereby publicly announces that we will raise with the credential and platform committees at the Democratic National Convention, basic questions regarding the qualifications of the members of the Democratic Central Committee and their campaign of harassment, intimidation and hysteria against the Metropolitan Police Department and you personally.

President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, Senator Eugene McCarthy, and the Democratic party have always stood for law and order, and for support of the police.

On October 22, 1967, the Communist Party, U.S.A., issued a position paper which laid down the line that Negroes should "police their own communities." As reported in the New York Times from the Daily Worker, the position of the Communist Party was "we support the demand that black people police their own community . . . there can be no question of the right of black people in the United States to use violence to achieve change." (See letters column, Sunday Star, July 28, 1968).

There is a startling similarity between the position of the Communist Party and the positions which have been adopted by the Democratic Central Committee under the Reverend Channing E. Phillips, D.C. Democratic National Committeeman and Bruce Terris, chairman of the D.C. Democratic Central Committee.

We believe the Democratic convention must answer this question, "Is it 'justifiable homicide' to kill white policemen?"

Respectfully,
(Mrs.) JOAN ABBOTT,
President, District of Columbia Police Wives Association, Inc.

THANKS FOR THE TRIBUTES AND GOOD WISHES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HOLLAND] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, on July 30, a number of my good friends and distinguished colleagues extended to me, through speeches on the floor of this House, their good wishes for the years of retirement which are about to begin for me.

It is difficult to talk about an experience like that, Mr. Speaker. It is a very moving moment in a man's life to have his colleagues in his chosen profession tell him, in effect, that his efforts have not been entirely in vain, that he has, in essence, not disgraced the House which has been, for so many years, his home. No one can, I believe, ask for a more gracious farewell than the Members of this House have seen fit, in their generosity, to extend to me.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you, and thanks, too, to my colleagues—those who are here today, and those who have served here and left the service of this House in previous years. It has been a high privilege and an honor beyond anyone's deserving to be able to stand in this Chamber and speak and vote for or against the critical legislation which has been acted upon here in the 14 years of my service here.

The people of my district, my colleagues in the House, the great and the unknown people I have worked with in the other branches of Government—all these people have allowed me to enjoy what must be one of the most exciting and challenging careers open to any free man. To them I owe a very deep debt of gratitude.

I cannot single out those of my colleagues to whom I owe special thanks, though there are many to whom special thanks are due. I cannot single out one or two names from among those really great Americans whom I have been privileged to know and to work with in this House. But the Presidents, the Speakers, the committee chairmen, the Cabinet members, the Senators, the Representatives, the Governors, and mayors—and, above and beyond them all—the constituents, for whom we all work—these are faces and voices I shall never forget.

I leave with regret, Mr. Speaker, because, in spite of the exciting years just passed, I am convinced we stand on the threshold of even more exciting times. In a moment of great national tragedy a few weeks ago, I stated that the Nation was coming apart at the seams. I was wrong. That the Republic can come apart at the seams, I do not doubt. But that it is, is an unwarranted conclusion. We have survived great crises before, and we can survive those we face now, and those that loom just beyond the horizon, if we have the will.

In the next few years, Mr. Speaker, the just demand of millions of Americans that they be treated like Americans, without regard for, and without apologizing for, their skin color, will be met. I have a serene faith that this House in its wisdom will find a way to meet that demand within our constitutional structure. But it will be met.

The demand of our younger people that old habits be changed, and that new ways of doing things be developed will also be met. And I have a deep faith that this House will be able to do that, too, without abandoning the best of the traditions that have sustained this House since the earliest days of the Republic.

Mr Speaker, the times through which I have served have been exciting and rewarding. I leave them with reluctance, but with the warmest of memories. The days before you will be exciting and challenging, and also rewarding. I wish I could be with you then. I cherish the past, I envy the future. I thank this House.

A BILL TO ASSIST VIETNAM VETERANS TO FIND EMPLOYMENT

Mr. **ASHLEY**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. **ASHLEY**. Mr. Speaker, today I have joined my colleague from Missouri, Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS, in sponsoring the Veterans' Employment and Relocation Assistance Act of 1968, a measure designed to help Vietnam veterans in finding job opportunities to match their skills and to provide financial assistance where relocation is necessary.

The bill, which has been cosponsored in the Senate by Senators JACOB K. JAVITS, of New York, and GAYLORD NELSON, of Wisconsin, is particularly aimed at assisting veterans returning to areas in which there is no market for the skills they have acquired while in military service. It would direct such veterans away from areas of high unemployment, whether in central city slums or depressed rural areas.

Mr. Speaker, the need for this legislation is already pressing and it will become critical in the weeks and months ahead. More than 800,000 men will be discharged in 1968 and the Department of Defense estimates over 400,000 returning servicemen will need some type of assistance in obtaining employment in civilian life.

While many veterans will take advantage of the GI Bill of Rights to complete their schooling and others may find job training or local employment through private employment agencies or the local U.S. Employment Service, there will remain a substantial number who will be returning to areas where training and jobs are less available.

The Veterans' Employment and Relocation Assistance Act of 1968 would:

First. Require the U.S. Employment Service to establish a national center for the compilation and matching of employment opportunities obtained from USES offices throughout the Nation with the skills of veterans.

Second. Allow a veteran who is unable to find suitable employment in his home area to take advantage of openings anywhere in the country for which he is qualified by—

First. Providing a small expense allowance through the Veterans' Administration to travel for the purpose of interviewing a prospective employer recommended by USES, and

Second. Providing, as a GI benefit, a moving allowance if the veteran took the job as the result of such an interview.

It is estimated that the program could assist as many as one-third of the 33,000 veterans who will be discharged each month during 1968. Although the exact maximum interview and relocation allowances would be left to the discretion of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, the amounts should not exceed $100 for each interview and $300 for relocation.

While the principal purpose of this bill is to assist veterans who have served their country under the most difficult and dangerous of circumstances, a corollary aim is to take advantage of acquired skills and resources which otherwise would remain unproductive. Many of our returning servicemen are from urban ghettos and from rural communities where employment is hard to come by at best, let alone a job which takes advantage of the capability and interests of the individual.

This bill would take advantage of veterans' potential mobility, where job skills cannot be taken advantage of locally, and by so doing will provide an incentive for relocation in sections of the country where useful and relevant employment is assured. Finally, Mr. Speaker, the bill seeks to demonstrate in a concrete way to returning veterans, regardless of the color of their skin, that in the United States opportunity exists for the individual to make use of his talents and to lead a constructive and productive life.

TO LIMIT MANDATORY REPLIES TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE DECENNIAL CENSUS TAKING

Mrs. **MINK**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Hawaii?

There was no objection.

Mrs. **MINK**. Mr. Speaker, I believe that all of us are becoming increasingly concerned about the growth of government and its power over the lives of each of our citizens. We have been advised of the forthcoming computer data bank which will collect and permanently record on tape every minute detail of our lives from the dates of our small pox immunizations to the time, date, and place of each parking ticket—every minor and major infraction of our lives, which, when recorded on our individual spool, will condemn us all for being the imperfect men and women that we are. The realization that we are moving rapidly toward such a day is frightening and I believe it most urgent that we take immediate steps to curb the ever-increasing appetite of government to pry into each nook and cranny of the personal lives of our citizens.

Our citizens' right to privacy has been upheld in numerous decisions by the U.S. Court. Perhaps the clearest enunciation of the doctrine and its constitutional basis was in the *Griswold* v. *State of Connecticut*, 85 S.Ct. 1678 (1965) where Justice Douglas, speaking for the court, said:

> In other words, the First Amendment has a penumbra where privacy is protected from governmental intrusion.

The opinion went further in delineating several constitutional sources for the right of privacy:

> The foregoing cases suggest that specific guarantees in the Bill of Rights have penumbras, formed by emanations from those guarantees that help give them life and substance. Various guarantees create zones of privacy. The right of association contained in the penumbra of the First Amendment is one, as we have seen. The Third Amendment in its prohibition against the quartering of soldiers "in any house" in time of peace without the consent of the owner is another facet of that privacy. The Fourth Amendment explicitly affirms the "right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures." The Fifth Amendment in its Self-Incrimination Clause enables the citizen to create a zone of privacy which government may not force him to surrender to his detriment. The Ninth Amendment provides: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."
>
> The Fourth and Fifth Amendments were described in *Boyd* v. *United States*, as protection against all governmental invasions *"of the sanctity of a man's home and the privacies of life."* (emphasis supplied)

Accordingly, I have joined in the sponsorship of a bill which will rationally limit, in the forthcoming decennial census, the questions which require responses under penalty of criminal prosecution. I have long been concernd about the increasing invasion of our lives by government and, while I agree that census takers should have a relatively wide latitude within which to propound necessary and proper questions, surely the law should provide that questions which are nonessential to the purposes of the census need to be answered only voluntarily.

This bill would require citizens to answer only those questions falling within seven essential categories, that is name and address; relationship to head of household; sex; date of birth; race or color; marital status; and visitors in the home at the time of census. The answers to all other questions would be on a strictly voluntary basis.

As the law presently stands, our citizens are faced with a $100 fine or 60 days in jail, or both, if they decline or willfully neglect to answer any of the numerous questions contained in the U.S. Census form and they may be imprisoned for 1 year and fined $1,000, or both, if they directly or indirectly, render to any employee of the Department of Commerce or bureau thereof engaged in making an enumeration of population, any suggestion, advice, and so forth, with the intent or purpose of causing an inaccurate enumeration.

What is particularly repugnant in this regard is the fact that these criminal provisions apply equally to all of the questions contained in the census questionnaire. This is verified in a letter to me dated July 19, 1968, by A. Ross Eckler, Director of the Bureau of the Census in which he stated:

> You will note in Sections 221, 222, and 223, which deal with the mandatory aspects, that all questions in the questionnaire are equally subject to the penalties.

Among the dozens of questions asked are ones relating to income; value of property or amount of rent paid; educational, marital, employment and military history; with whom bathroom and kitchen facilities are shared; questions relating to household items such as dishwashers, television, radios, automobiles, and second homes; and questions as to where each person residing in the home was born and where his or her parents were born. To require, under criminal penalty, mandatory replies to such a plethora of questions, which are purely subsidiary, constitutes, in my opinion, a serious and profound invasion of the individual citizens' right to privacy. I believe that only questions that are clearly germane and relevant to the reasonable purposes of the census should be subject to criminal sanctions. I propose this measure to give our citizens a choice as to whether or not they wish to answer all other questions, except those enumerated in this bill.

I urge my colleagues to study this matter carefully, and join in this effort to protect the people of this country from unnecessary intrusions upon their privacy.

STEEL PRICE HIKE WILL HURT AMERICA

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Hawaii?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, 2 days ago, in the wake of major steel price increases by a leading producer, the President made this statement:

> If this action were followed by the rest of the steel industry, it would have dire economic consequences for our Nation.

The President went on to note those consequences:

Price increases reflected in products using steel; a half billion dollar burden on the American consumer; a body blow to our campaign to curb inflation; an erosion of our world competitive position and the balance-of-payments situation.

Yet despite the President's serious warning of the consequences, and despite the grave concern of responsible economists and other observers, several other producers proceeded to raise their prices.

The issues involved in this episode are, no doubt, many and complex. It may be that some of the subtleties are beyond the understanding of laymen not versed in economics. But one thing is perfectly clear and simple, and it should be stressed: This action by the producers is inflationary. It will lead, inevitably, to price rises in consumer goods—automobiles, electrical appliances, hardware and other products. Thus it is a cruel tax imposed upon the average American citizen.

I oppose the price increase. I deplore it. I hope the producers can be persuaded to reverse this unfortunate decision. If they do not, we will be forced to witness an unhappy episode for the American economy.

HAWAII STATE STANDARDS PRESENTATION

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Hawaii?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that on this date Governor John A. Burns, of Hawaii, is accepting a new set of weights and measures standards for the State from the U.S. Commerce Department's National Bureau of Standards. This is part of the Bureau's program to provide updated standards of both the customary and metric measurement systems to all 50 States, and Hawaii is the 11th to have this technical resource of the Federal Government made available to it.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to call the attention of my colleagues to this example of cooperation between the Federal Government and the States in a program mandated by the U.S. Congress, and I insert in the RECORD the presentation speech delivered today by Mr. I. C. Schoonover, Deputy Director of the National Bureau of Standards, who is in Hawaii to turn the new standards over to Governor Burns:

HAWAII STATE STANDARDS PRESENTATION

(By I. C. Schoonover, Deputy Director, National Bureau of Standards, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.)

Governor Burns, Chairman Otagaki, distinguished guests and fellow citizens, today provides an opportunity for me to participate in a memorable event. This occasion also gives Mrs. Schoonover and me an opportunity to express to all of you our heartfelt "mahalo" for all that you have done to make our visit to these beautiful Islands a truly memorable experience. All my life I have heard and read of the beauty and charm of these Islands and its people, but I assure you that one can only appreciate the true extent of this beauty and charm by having the opportunity to visit with you as we have—even though it's been all too short a visit. We particularly wish to take this occasion to express our deepest gratitude and appreciation to Mr. George Mattimoe and all of his staff for the efforts they have made on our behalf. Governor Burns, I have heard it said that the Hawaiian greeting "Aloha" immediately makes a stranger a friend, and our experience in the past few days can only attest to the trueness of this. We would suggest, Governor Burns, that you urge your fellow governors to adopt the word and spirit of "Aloha" and make it the official national greeting for all guests coming to our country.

Officially, my responsibility today as a member of the staff of the National Bureau of Standards is to participate in the dedication of your new Weights and Measures Laboratory and to present to the State of Hawaii the new weights and measures standards and instruments; as prescribed for in the adoption by Congress, in 1836, of a Joint Resolution which reads as follows:

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he hereby is, directed to cause a complete set of all weights and measures adopted as standards and now either made or in progress of manufacture for the use of the several custom-houses and for other purposes, to be delivered to the governor of each State in the Union, or such person as he may appoint, for the use of the States, respectively, to the end that a uniform standard of weights and measures may be established throughout the United States."

I feel certain that the legislators involved in promulgating this resolution were fully aware of the need for providing for a means of assuring uniformity and compatibility of measurement for conducting trade and barter throughout the States. They could not, however, have been aware of the important role that uniformity and compatibility of measurement would play in the development of this country's economy—an economy based on mass production of interchangeable parts that has become a recognized world trade-mark of the technology of our country. In fact, Eli Whitney was the pioneer in interchangeability of parts. In 1798, he demonstrated that rifles could be assembled from a random selection of identical parts, rather than having to be individually handcrafted and specially fitted.

It is estimated today that this Nation makes in the order of 30 billion measurements daily. More than 25 billion dollars worth of measurements instrumentation is involved and more than four and a half billion dollars is added to this inventory yearly. In addition industry spends almost thirteen billion dollars annually in using these instruments. It is significant that the major part of these expenditures is in the most rapidly expanding sectors of our industry. An essential feature of this growing dependence on measurement is the need for more sophisticated and accurate measurements and associated standards and for the extension of measurement technology into new areas. If we were to look only within our own borders assuring uniformity and compatibility of measurement it would be no small job. Limiting ourselves in this manner is not possible, however. We are a part of a world and as this world grows smaller through better communication and transportation and the attainment of other goals of a society, our dependence on the compatibility and uniformity of measurement on a worldwide basis becomes increasingly important. Furthermore, as man becomes more reliant on instruments and machines to relieve him of the drudgeries of the past he must develop greater assurance that he can rely on his measurement capability. For example, it is imperative that the instruments used to provide landing information at the Honolulu International Airport be compatible with the information furnished at Tokyo International Airport and all other airports around the world.

Although uniformity and compatibility of measurement of today has assumed far wider significance than the concept which initiated the original act for state standards, the need for which the act was established has not lost any of its original importance. With the growth of a world society dependent on the exchanges of goods for its existence, measurement becomes the basis of the language for the exchange of goods in commerce. Think of the enormous faith that each of us has:

When we buy gasoline and the pump indicates that we have received so many gallons of gasoline, even indicating measures down to fractions of gallon, and we accept this as a true measure, or

When we do not have to question the grocery store scales, but can feel assured that the scale provides a true measure of weight, or

When we do not fear that our lives might be in jeopardy when we take medicine because of inaccurate proportions of the ingredients.

So much has been done to create an environment of confidence in our ability to measure and our capability for assuring uniformity and compatibility of measurement that we as individuals seldom need to question measurement reliability.

The greatest factor in creating this state of confidence has been the result of the continuing effort of a dedicated group of states weights and measures officials who have quietly and without fanfare worked together to produce a workable system of interchangeable weights and measures throughout the states. The initial impetus for this effort was the result of a meeting of state officials called in 1905 by Dr. Samuel W. Stratton: This meeting was the first National Conference on Weights and Measures.

The first National Conference was attended by 11 persons; at the 50th Anniversary meeting of the National Conference in 1965, there were over 1,000 persons present. With 50 separate weights and measures regulatory agencies in a single Nation, the importance of the National Conference cannot be over-emphasized. Some of the Conference's major achievements have been the drafting of model laws and regulations; the establishment of uniform specifications, tolerance, and technical requirements for weighing and measuring devices throughout the United States; and, perhaps above all, the providing of an annual national forum for discussion of commercial weights and measures processes and problems. Chairman Otagaki, recognizing fully the significance to all citizens of measurement control, has sponsored and supported the splendid growth of your weights and measures activity. The head of your weights and measures program, Mr. George Mattimoe, has been very active in National Conference work, and was, this year, appointed to serve on the Conference Education Committee and, last year, addressed the Conference, describing Hawaii's weights and measures program to the delegates. In fact, Mr. Mattimoe and Mr. Robert Nagao have written an excellent history of weights and measures in Hawaii.

The cooperative effort in weights and measures administration over the years has worked well. Recognizing this fact, in a message to the 50th National Conference President Johnson said, "Weights and measures administration in the Untied States, as represented by the local, State, and Federal officials gathered here, is one of the finest examples of the creative Federal system we are trying to foster. It is an eloquent proof of the vitality and effectiveness we can achieve in any program when we utilize the full talents and capabilities of all levels of government."

Recently the National Bureau of Standards which has the responsibility for providing the physical standards to the states requested and was granted by the Congress funds to provide new, modern standards for all the states. The order of priority for selection of States to receive these new standards is in part based on the state having provided appropriate laboratory facilities and well-trained personnel, so as to assure the full use of these fine instruments. The high position of Hawaii on the list is eloquent testimony of the quality of its weights and measures officials and their program.

Hawaii, although the last State added to the Union and therefore the last state to receive the old standards, is now the 11th State to receive the new standards.

Governor Burns, it is my privilege and my pleasure now to present to you offically in behalf of the Government of the United States the standards and the instruments which provide the basis for measurement for your State, and which are symbolized by this plaque and by these certificates.

THE FUTURE FARMERS OF AMERICA HAS A PROUD EMBLEM

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, not very long ago it was my privilege to be invited to a breakfast here on Capitol Hill sponsored by the Future Farmers of America.

When I arrived I learned I was not a run-of-the-mill guest among some of my colleagues but even some of the distinguished Members of the other body. I was permitted to sit at the speakers table because one of my constituents, Paul Diehl of Butler, Mo., is the national secretary of the Future Farmers of America.

Paul has served the past year as an able and excellent secretary of that great organization. More than that, he was an eloquent speaker at the breakfast. In fact, he was the principal speaker. His remarks were so well received by the Members of Congress that they sat with close attention as he continued through his speech. To demonstrate the effectiveness of my constituent as an orator it should be remembered some of those listening regard themselves as outstanding public speakers.

In the case of the breakfast speech, it was not only an instance of good delivery and top quality presentation but it was the thoughts which were contained in his remarks. For this reason I asked leave to incorporate his remarks in the Record in order that they may be shared by all of our colleagues as an example of what the Future Farmers of America have accomplished in terms of developing leadership among these young ruralists. Let us not forget these are the ones we must depend upon to feed America in the years ahead.

We in the FFA have a rich and glorious heritage. In fact, our entire program is built around the idea of improvement through competition. We as young men have the opportunity to accept challenges and take advantage of the many opportunities that are ours. As FFA members we wear he emblem of our organization and in this emblem are many symbols of the challenges we see in the world today. I would like to mention a few of these challenges that every Future Farmer proudly wears on his jacket.

The two most prominent words on this emblem are "vocational agriculture" and this is the key to our entire program. The vocational education program was started with the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917. From the very beginning these students of vocational education felt a sense of togetherness and comradeship due to their common background and experiences. This is also symbolized on our emblem by the cross section of the ear of corn, since corn is a crop grown in every State.

The integral part of this vocational agriculture, which vitalizes and rounds out the educational program is symbolized on our emblem by the letters "FFA." The FFA was organized in 1928 by progressive men and students who felt they were not obtaining maximum results from their classroom instruction. At the first national convention in Kansas City only 33 delegates were in attendance but last October over 12,000 FFA members crowded into Kansas City for this glorious event. Hence, our organization has grown and prospered because it provides challenging opportunities for youth.

As you know from reading the newspapers and magazines, there are many people who feel youth are not living up to their responsibilities and doing their share of the work. But we in the FFA believe in hard work, and this is represented on our emblem by the plow, which stands for labor and tillage of the soil. FFA members appreciate work and are willing to put in a good day's work for a day's wage. This we believe is the backbone of our American way of life.

Another criticism of most of today's youth is that they have little respect for their elders. But we as FFA members wear an owl on our jacket, which symbolizes our respect for adults. We believe that our contributions can be more valuable if they are enacted while considering the advice that we receive from adults concerned in our behalf. We recognize that adults possess this knowledge that can be gained only through experience. Also, this owl symbolizes our desire to strengthen our mental abilities by emphasizing good scholarship traits.

Another symbol on the background of our emblem which seems to illuminate the other parts of the emblem is the rising sun. This rising sun is a token of a new era in agriculture and a new day that will dawn when we are trained for our occupations and have learned to cooperate. We are concerned about our future and rightfully so, because as young people we will be spending most of our lives there. As young people we are enthused about the future and concerned as to how we will be able to make our best contribution to the American way of life.

The final part of our emblem that I would like to discuss is the American Eagle, and this represents the most exciting area to me. We wear the American Eagle because we believe in the United States of America and are proud to be citizens of this country. The FFA organization is 100% American in its ideals and purposes. We say the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag at all of our meetings, and are proud of our American heritage.

This eagle also represents something else to me. Although I have a farm background, I have had no experience with poultry. However, I am told when a storm comes up, a chicken can muster up all of its strength and fly for a few short yards until it reaches shelter. It then hides until the storm blows over. Another bird, the turkey, behaves differently when a storm arrives. I am told turkeys crowd together during a storm and that many times they often suffocate as a result of this. The eagle, however, performs quite differently under these circumstances. Although engineers cannot explain why, the eagle flies to the fiercest part of the storm. It then positions its body in such a manner that it is able to soar above the turbulence. As Future Farmers we can draw many parallels from this illustration. Unlike chickens, FFA members do not hide when the going gets rough, but willingly face the challenges of life. Also, we shun from behaving like a turkey. We try to avoid being such a part of the crowd that we suffocate all talent that we might have to offer to our country. But we try to pattern our actions after that of the eagle—in this case, the American Eagle. We look upon our FFA participation as an opportunity to prepare ourselves so that we will be able to soar above the difficulties and obstacles that may confront us. In this way we can play our part as productive American citizens.

I stand before you representing 443,000 young men from all corners of our great land.

We are aware that there are many problems confronting us today, but through the FFA we turn these problems into opportunities—the challenging opportunities such as maintaining farming and ranching as a way of life, developing our God-given talents and determining how we might make our best contributions. We are proud of our organization and eager to accept the challenge offered to us as youth to keep the United States of America the greatest nation in the world.

CURTAILING CREDIT FINANCING OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, recent enactment of legislation curtailing credit financing covering sale of military equipment to underdeveloped countries has set the stage for a more comprehensive look at the entire military and commercial sales picture and the effect it will have on the United States, both on a long- and short-range basis. At all levels of government a carefully devised pattern for sale of this equipment—which plays so essential a role in the U.S. economy—seems to be taking shape. Since the Soviets have left no doubt they intend to supply weapons to aggressive Communist pockets in both large and small countries, it would seem highly essential that every thinking person study this complicated and intricate subject. Interavia Publications through its French, English, German, and Spanish editions has presented a meticulous status report on the legislative and administrative factors that figure in the U.S. developments. Harry L. Tennant, Interavia's correspondent, outlined the factors that producers of military and commercial equipment must cope with in continuing the industry at the high productive rate while remaining within the guidelines of U.S. policy. Not the least of these factors is the balance-of-payments deficit. I am hopeful that a realistic and effective long-range financing plan will emerge from a significant conference scheduled for my district in October when top defense and commercial aerospace producers meet with leaders of the banking industry to search for satisfactory avenues for financing these and allied products. Certainly such troublesome areas as the balance-of-payments deficit will figure in these and other discussions in the near future.

The entire picture is summed up by Mr. Tennant when he quotes Mr. Karl Harr, president of the Aerospace Industries Association, who believes that the balance-of-payments problem should not supersede the Defense Department's balance-of-power criteria.

The material referred to follows:

INTERAVIA AIR LETTER, THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1968

GENEVA.—It is apparent that decisive changes in pace and direction loom ahead for the programme governing sale of U.S. military and commercial products abroad. Equally significant, is the fact that U.S. defense and areospace manufacturers have chosen the present time to confront the Administration and Congress with a description of the dilemma experienced by U.S. business in meeting friendly and not so friendly competition. Their argument is that unless U.S. policy guiding military exports is revised and the aircraft commercial financing programme is improved, the present and future Administrations will encounter considerable barriers to any permanent solution to the present balance of payments deficit, if and after it has been corrected.

The view expressed to the Washington Air Letter Correspondent by top level government officials, as well as industry representatives is that the visible shift of the political-economic picture in the U.S. and abroad leaves the country no choice but to find an amicable and early solution to its own foreign sales dilemma.

A few days ago top level defense men urged the aerospace industry to support the 1969 Foreign Military Sales Act. This group, the Committee on Military Exports (COME) is the Subcommittee of the Defense Industry Advisory Council. The plea for support came from Henry J. Kuss, Jr., chief arms salesman for the U.S., officially known as Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs. Kuss insisted that the revised measure had full approval of the State Department. It had adequate built-in provisions to satisfy those in Congress who historically oppose the U.S. role of selling weapons abroad.

Simultaneously, a long string of industry areospace experts has been pleading with the U.S. Trade Information Committee for the past few weeks to reverse the very apparent trend towards retreating behind protection walls. These industry men have assembled illuminating data spelling out developments in the military sales picture abroad and just how it can affect the U.S. This task has been doubly difficult because many U.S. firms manufacturing comercial products entirely, have been successful in convincing some influential quarters in Congress as well as the U.S. Tariff Commission that restrictions are a "must" to protect domestic employment rolls. Aerospace sources are also aware that mounting support for return of a more conservative government in the November elections would most certainly mean a more favourable reception in administration circles for higher tariffs. This will become more pronounced as the election nears even though none of the presidential candidates, including the late Robert Kennedy, advanced any impressive thoughts on the sale of equipment abroad.

Another factor defense manufacturers have been studying carefully is the French overseas sales picture and the effect domestic turmoil will have. Privately, some U.S. experts have told the Washington Air Letter correspondent they think the French disorders may have thrown French aircraft production behind a year.

There is no question that military sales optimists in the U.S. hope for a better climate both in and out of Congress and are fairly confident that an improved and meaningful financing system will come about as result of all the top level reviews now underway, especially since the U.S. Export-Import Bank has been relieved of its practice of lending money to underdeveloped countries to buy equipment. Commercial bankers have been rigidly opposed to getting themselves involved in financing this equipment. This was sternly brought home to those pushing for just such a money source very recently in a high-level manufacturer-banker conference. They agreed to become involved only in financing certain trainer aircraft and other less direct military ventures. There still is some thought that Defense Department policy-makers feel the bankers will agree. This view was advanced at the hearings only a week ago on the 1969 sales bill. One glimmer of hope also lies in effects of the recently voted increase in income taxes. Some think the tax increase will make it possible to borrow money at a lower interest rate. This most certainly could come about in the commercial sales picture but it could not materialize in military sales.

Some knowledgeable aerospace men insist that nothing can change much until after the autumn elections and the best they can do is push for reduced tariff restrictions. This group is behind the industry's team of aerospace men who are hammering away at U.S. trade policies and is made up of the industry's leading trade officials. They are: Karl Harr, President of the Aerospace Industries Association; C. James Reeves, International Director AIA; Robert G. McCune, Lockheed Aircraft Corp.; Ronald C. Cox, McDonnell-Douglas Corp.; Frank E. Hederick, Beech Aircraft Corp.; G. W. Taylor, Boeing Co.; Arthur J. Burrows, Avco Corp.

McCune, Chairman of the group, says it appears to the industry that miscalculations concerning balance of power judgments are difficult to avoid and with the fluidity of the political climate in certain areas of the world, must be expected. But the current mood of Congress is to ensure that, wherever possible, only the economically viable nations have clear-cash credit access to the U.S. aerospace defense hardware. The less developed nations, regardless of sovereign decisions made towards air force modernisation, would have to submit to a Congress-improved eligibility check list. Earlier, Harr, told the trade information group that the restraint which the Department of Defense imposes on manufacturers and on itself in measuring the propriety of selling military hardware abroad is significant. He says that DOD approves only one in three sales requests from abroad. Harr does not think the balance of payments argument should supersede DOD's basic criteria of balance of power considerations, the economic dependability for purchase and long-term capability of maintenance of expensive equipment and political stability.

The Trade Information Committee, which advises the White House, received the most complete analysis to date on financing aerospace products sales abroad. Eighty percent of foreign airlines are equipped with U.S. manufactured equipment despite the fact that the U.S. was not first on the market with jets. According to Cox a recent study by the Bankers Association for Foreign Trade forecast an export total for U.S. commercial jets of above $13,000 m in the next decade. This, of course, creates an impressive demand for export credits. This demand, he added, coupled with the serious balance of payments problem and a prolonged tight money situation causes serious concern for our business.

In the recent past, foreign customers of the aerospace industry have relied heavily on Export Import Bank assistance in obtaining part of the funds for their purchase. During the period when commercial bank funds were available, this assistance was provided in the form of 100% guarantees. When these funds were no longer available—at least at Eximbank's regular export loan rates—Eximbank undertook the job of funding aircraft purchases, just as they made funds available for other U.S. exports. The Bank now says that for the time being it will fund a portion of the financing of each approved transaction but will require commercial banks to take the balance—without Eximbank's guarantee. This participation on Eximbank's part will be limited to individual airlines analysed on a case-by-case basis. It follows that much larger funds must be found, at reasonable rates and on longer terms from Eximbank's current seven years. Undoubtedly this will have to come partly from institutional investors such as insurance companies, who until now have not been active in this trade.

INTERAVIA AIR LETTER, JULY 5, 1968

Part 1 of this article appeared July 4, 1968, and dealt with the U.S. aerospace industry's concern about the Government's attitude to aircraft sales abroad. This second part deals with industry fears of competition from the Soviet Union and also with the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee's views.

The U.S. Trade Information Group has been thoroughly orientated on the competition from U.K., France, Belgium, West Germany and others and is now taking a close look at the activities of the Soviet Union. In the past, the U.S.S.R. has sold largely to the bloc countries and to developing African nations. Dissatisfaction with their equipment has centered around low utilisation, excessive ton-mile costs, high depreciation, scarcity and extremely high costs of spare parts and engines, shortness of engine life and the Soviet Union's reluctance to release performance and operating data. Another significant deterrent has been the lack of service facilities outside the U.S.S.R., making it necessary in many cases to return equipment to the Soviet Union for major overhauls and repairs.

More recently the Soviet Union has taken steps to correct these shortcomings by studying methods used by world airlines, according to U.S. trade officials. In addition the Soviet Union and the U.K. have signed a five-year technological and scientific cooperation agreement with activities during the first year centred around the exchange of statistics on Soviet and British engine service life and operation failures. Reports also indicate that the Soviets have signed an agreement with the French to advise them on service and maintenance of their commercial aircraft. U.S. aerospace officials contend that these agreements would assist them materially in avoiding complaints about their commercial products.

More important, the White House has been told through these trade conferences, that the Soviet's promotion of aircraft exports is a means to achieve political ends, and various strategems are used to stimulate export sales. Generous terms are offered, usually more favourable than those offered by Western salesmen. The Fairchild Hiller Co.'s experience in Brazil is a prime example. There the Soviet Antonov-24 aircraft was offered in competition with the FH-227, the HS.748 and the NAMC YS-11 at approximately half the price of the U.S., U.K., and Japanese aircraft, while interest rates as low as 3.5% were quoted. Obviously, no U.S. company could stay in business for long if it tried to match these terms and conditions and it is pointed out that the Soviets have only just begun their attempts to penetrate the western commercial markets.

The aerospace team has formally ended its appeal to the government on the threatened trade restrictions and has submitted a three-point proposal which would go a long way toward aiding the industry. It is as follows:

(1) The balance of payments plight makes it necessary to find foreign money. The U.S. Government can help by working to develop long-term capital markets in Eurodollars by finding ways to cut unattractive high rates which these funds now command, and by providing guarantees;

(2) Make it clear to prospective purchasers that if the US industry cannot show them specifically where they can find foreign financing, adequate financing is available in the U.S. Here the industry spells out what "adequate financing" should be: It means financing which is competitive and which provides debt-servicing reasonably covered by aircraft revenues. Seven-year terms for new commercial jet aircraft are not adequate (a fact of no assistance in the balance of payments crisis where an extension of the payment period is hard to approve);

(3) Early implementation of the $500m Special Purpose Fund Bill just passed by Congress. This would enable the industry to recoup orders which may be lost to U.K. and French firms.

Other proposals advanced are: changes in aerospace tariff nomenclatures and changes in US customs procedure to allow certain innocuous substitutions of aerospace components under temporary bond; the inclusion of senior aerospace executives in negotiations vital to the industry; and elimination of any thought of a foreign travel tax.

Some of the non-tariff barriers are: the unpredictability of customs treatment; various types of subsidies; export rebates; and the use of foreign government pressure in instances where the prospect intends to purchase US products.

Unquestionably the most optimistic sign in the entire outlook crops up in the somewhat unexpected view coming from Congress itself, the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. Headed by Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul C. Warneke, a team of DOD sales experts unfolded the complete picture a few days ago. The committee showed exceptional interest in the provisions as rewritten in the Fiscal Year 1969 Foreign Military Sales Act. Sen. Stuart Symington drew from the witnesses, which included Deputy Assistant Kuss, the most clear-cut picture yet drawn for Congress. Some sharp questioning indicated a Senate Floor debate may arise when it comes to a vote but it seems certain the measure will go through pretty much as it is written.

Secretary Warnke told of the new ceilings proposed for sale of equipment to Africa ($40m) and Latin America ($75m). The areas Congress has been most concerned about seem to have been taken care of in the new defense version. These included such points as executive branch control, regional ceilings, foreign military expenditures, prohibition on so-called "country-X loans," abolishing the revolving funds, termination of the "multiplication factor", credit limitation and reports to Congress. He stressed at length the point that a great majority of foreign military sales go to economically developed countries which have not for many years been the recipient of economic aid from the US.

Perhaps the point finding most favour in Congress came in the revision calling for a semi-annual report on all credits and guarantees to less developed nations. Also reports will be made to Congress annually on the dollar value of sales, both cash and credit, of all foreign military sales orders, commitments to order and estimated future orders, as well as estimated commercial orders and commitments to order.

Except for Sen. Albert Gore, the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee seemed satisfied, although Gore left no doubt that his views had not changed. One missing factor was most noticeable in this hearing. Sen. John Fulbright, Chairman was not present. But many persons close to the long disputed sales picture contend that he may be restudying developments in recent months. Certainly if he disagreed with the rewritten version he could have used this hearing as an opportunity to air his views widely. It was an open hearing, and any testimony in recent years directed at the arms sales picture has produced widespread headlines.

This hearing delved deeply into the foreign sales picture and it was well attended by newspapermen. Unlike earlier testimony, the subject held closely to the merits of the newly proposed act and it seemed to have been favourably received by nearly all the legislators. The House hearings are in session and they have evoked little more than normal attention.

PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to establish a House Select Committee on Public Opinion Polls.

Yesterday, three pollsters saw fit to issue a joint statement in which they proceeded to contradict the findings which each had made individually between the period of July 8 and July 29. At the time of their joint statement, the pollsters called 1968 the "year of the unexpected in politics." I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that more unexpected than the politics of 1968 is the behavior of the pollsters in 1968. Although I must confess that during each preceding year the pollsters have continually proven only one thing—and that is the inconsistency of their sample and the unreliability of their results. Unfortunately, the American people have come to rely heavily and place great emphasis upon the findings of their pollsters, likewise, those candidates who are favored by published polls have seen fit to praise the objectivity of the pollsters, while the trailing candidate has proceeded to disavow the validity of the statistics. Our political history is replete with examples of the misleading polls which have been forced and cast upon the American people.

The time has come for someone to step in and investigate the polling practices; the unprecedented act of the Nation's two largest pollsters combining in a common effort to correct their previous positions underscores that need. The measure which I am introducing provides for a select committee of 10 Members, five including the chairman, to be of the majority party, while five are to be appointed from the minority.

The committee will be required to report its findings to the Congress upon the 15th day following the convening of the 91st Congress. The committee, additionally, will be empowered to subpena such persons and records as may be necessary for the completion of the investigation and may transmit interim reports to the Congress prior to their required submission of a final report and recommendations.

I am introducing the legislation today prior to our recess for the national conventions in the hope that immediately upon return the resolution can be favorably acted upon. The problem is serious and I hope that my colleagues will feel that action is required.

I am pleased, Mr. Speaker to be joined in this resolution by the Honorable WILLIAM SPRINGER, of Illinois, the Honorable LUCIEN NEDZI, of Michigan, the Honorable BROCK ADAMS, of Washington, the Honorable JOHN DINGELL, of Michigan, the Honorable MARK ANDREWS, of North Dakota, the Honorable DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois, the Honorable JOHN ANDERSON, of Illinois, the Honorable H. R. GROSS, of Iowa, and the Honorable CHET HOLIFIELD, of California.

STEEL PRICE INCREASES MUST BE RESCINDED IMMEDIATELY

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, a large part of our steel industry is doing nothing less than gambling recklessly with the welfare of the American economy in announcing across-the-board price increases.

These actions are absolutely unacceptable to the American people. We simply cannot afford such arbitrary and unnecessary increases by the key industry in our economy.

Statesmanship, commonsense, responsibility and—yes—patriotism is called for by steel executives to reconsider and rescind these dangerous price increases.

Steel is doing very well in our economy. Industry sales total some $16 billion. Sheer avarice cannot be ruled out as the motivation for this irresponsible decision. But what is at stake is so much more important to the Nation than the judgment or ethics of steel company officials that it seems unnecessary to note that there can be no other alternative than immediate rescinding of this price hike.

We cannot afford the terrible toll of inflation posed by these increases. Nor, may I add, can our entire balance-of-payments situation withstand the pressures of this action.

These steel firms must act immediately to rescind their price increases.

HOUSE ACTION ON HIGHWAY TRUCK WEIGHTS

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in defense of the Congress. The integrity of several of our Members, both Republican and Democrat, has been called into question by one of our colleagues.

Although when confronted here in this Chamber our colleague responded:

> I have never, and I do not now, point a finger at any Member of this body as having done anything wrong.

Statements which he has made publicly have resulted in sensational headlines impuning the integrity of our colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

"I am not leveling any accusation at any Member of the House," our colleague said, "I have no proof—," but his public statements led to distortions and outright lies in the press media. Slanderous news stories were printed in many papers but, to my knowledge, these papers did not print a report of the confrontation on the House floor and the admission by our colleague that he would not here accuse any Member of this body.

Mr. Speaker, those of us who have been so vaguely and maliciously charged know how distorted and slanderous this attack was.

A check of the official and public record of contributions to my campaign which was made available to the secretary of state of Montana shows that John M. Kinnaird, special counsel, American Trucking Association, Inc., did contribute $500 to the Olsen for Congress Club. His donation was for five tickets to a testimonial reception and buffet in my honor.

Mr. Speaker, I daresay there is not a Member in this body, regardless of personal wealth, who would be here today if it were not for freely given contributions from a variety of sources. Both Republicans and Democrats in this Chamber know it is a political fact of life that campaigns are necessary and that they must be financed by freely given contributions from individuals and organizations who—and I want to emphasize this point—who are not trying to buy a vote or sway a position, but who believe that the individual Member, whether he is ultraconservative, ultraliberal or moderate, is truly representing the best interests of this country in the Congress.

Surely it is unlikely that my campaign committee would receive a contribution from the John Birch Society or any such similar organization. If I respect these groups for nothing else, I respect their right to make a judgment regarding who they believe are properly representing the best interests of our Nation.

And, just as I have not and would not question the integrity of Members of this House who have received contributions from such organizations, I submit it is not too much to expect the same consideration and common decency from each of us in this body.

I want to review briefly the legislation which led to these charges.

To state my position on the legislation briefly, I voted in favor of the establishment of weight standards on Federal interstate highways which are identical to the standards already established in my State of Montana. If I had voted in favor of standards which would have been at variance with the standards already established in my State, I would expect that some might question my judgment. When this issue was raised some time ago it was my position that it would benefit my State of Montana if Federal standards were in agreement with the State standards already in effect. That was my conviction and that was my vote.

I did not confer with the American Trucking Association except in committee hearings. I did confer with Montana State highway officials and members of the Montana State Legislature. Their advice agreed with my position.

The weights legislation (S. 2658) was introduced in the Senate by 22 of our colleagues in the Senate. It passed without a dissenting vote. Legislation identical to S. 2658 was introduced in the House by 11 Members and underwent 8 days of hearings. The only major change here on the House side was to apply to new truck weights and widths only to the Interstate System.

The standards for which I voted: 34,000 pounds for tandem axles; 20,000 pounds for single axles; 102-inch width.

Montana standards already established: 34,000 pounds for tandem axles; 20,000 pounds for single axles; 102-inch width.

Regulations regarding length of vehicles has been and will continue to be left up to the States.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday I spoke here in support of the establishment of a Special Committee To Investigate and Report on Campaign Expenditures of Candidates for the House of Representatives. We simply must have the protection which such a committee would provide.

False charges have been made against me personally and against several other Members of Congress, Republican and Democrats. I would welcome the opportunity to call upon an investigative committee to show these charges for what they are.

Obviously slanderous charges or legitimate charges should be followed by an investigation not only to detect any wrongdoing, but to protect the innocent.

Furthermore, I urge that we go another step and strengthen our Committee on Standards of Official Conduct by establishing a precise and specific code of ethics.

At the present time, in the absence of such a code, any $1 campaign contribution is subject to "bribe" charges. I do not believe this overstates the situation, and I think it dramatizes the need for a specific code of ethics to protect all Members of the Congress.

STEEL PRICE INCREASE

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Pentagon reaffirmed its policy of buying at the lowest competitive price. I support that policy. The policy statement followed an announcement that one of the major steel producers would increase prices by 5 percent across the board.

An increase in the price of steel of this character would tend to reduce defense strength by reducing the buying power of funds available for defense.

The total military procurement of hard goods—products incorporating metals—is about $25 billion annually. An across-the-board increase of 5 percent would cost the Government $1¼ billion in Defense alone. Reductions in military readiness should not be required by virtue of unwarranted price increases which ignore actual cost and competitive position as between types of consumers.

The major economic objective of the administration and the Congress in enacting the tax increase and expenditure reduction bill was to blunt inflationary pressures and bring more stability and confidence to the buying power of the dollar. It would be highly counterproductive to that effort if unwarranted wage and price increases result in higher, inflation-feeding prices and costs in defense and other areas.

In the overall best interests of all segments of our economy— private consumers, workers, business, and government alike—inflation must be kept to a minimum insofar as it is reasonably possible for business, labor, and the government, working together, to do so.

I would regret to see the efforts of Congress in passing the tax and expenditure limitation bill offset by capricious inflation resulting from excessive and irresponsible increases in prices for the goods that the Government and private consumers alike must buy.

I do not presume to sit in judgment as to wage settlements and price increases, but for the sake of our defense generally, and the welfare of the country generally, I earnestly hope that a maximum of restraint will be exercised in these matters.

STATUS OF THE APPROPRIATION BILLS—CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS ON THE BUDGET

Mr. **MAHON**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter and tables.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. **MAHON**. Mr. Speaker, since Congress will conclude its work for a time today, I am including for the information of Members and others, in both summary form and on a more detailed basis, data on the status of the appropriation bills of the session and congressional actions on them. I am also appending certain overall information as to congressional actions on other features of the President's budget, involving not only appropriations but also certain legislative bills and revenue matters that affect the budget picture.

RÉSUMÉ OF THE APPROPRIATION BILLS FOR 1969

By way of summary, the House and Senate have completed action on eight of the 13 regular appropriation bills for fiscal 1969. These are: Treasury-Post Office; Interior; Legislative; Public Works; Agriculture; State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary; Transportation; and District of Columbia.

In the eight bills, we considered budget requests for new budget authority of $19.9 billion. We made reductions of $2.6 billion. That cut in new requests would translate into reductions from the 1969 budget estimates of expenditures in 1969 of about $1.1 billion. This would count toward the $6 billion expenditure-reduction goal as provided in the tax expenditure reduction bill.

There are five bills pending. Two are in conference, the independent offices—HUD bill and the military construction bill.

One of the five bills, for Labor-HEW, has been reported in the Senate.

The largest of the session, the Defense appropriation bill, is reported and is pending House floor action. We cannot proceed with that bill until the conference report on the defense authorization bill has been cleared.

One bill, foreign assistance, is yet to be reported. We are also awaiting clearance of the related authorization bill.

Of course, there will be a closing supplemental near the end of the session.

HOUSE ACTIONS ON APPROPRIATIONS

Taking House actions alone, I would like to make this statement. As to new budget authority requests for fiscal 1969, the House has cut $11.6 billion on 12 bills, including the reported version of the Defense bill—considerably above the $10 billion reduction goal in the tax expenditure reduction bill.

The foreign assistance and the closing supplemental bills, when reported, will bring the total House reduction in new budget authority requests probably close to $13 billion—perhaps a bit less. That would be, roughly, $3 billion above the tax bill requirement of $10 billion in respect to new budget authority requests for fiscal 1969.

As to expenditures, rather than new budget authority, our best estimate at this time is that in the 12 bills, the House will have reduced budgeted expenditures for 1969 by about $3.7 billion. That figure should approach $4 billion when the other two bills, foreign assistance and the closing supplemental, are reported.

THE APPROPRIATIONS BUSINESS OF THE SESSION

BILLS TO DATE IN THE HOUSE

The House has considered at this session, including the Defense bill, pending floor action, 17 appropriation measures—five supplementals for the fiscal year 1968 and 12 regular annual bills relating to fiscal 1969, as follows:

Supplemental measures for fiscal 1968: Urgent supplemental, in conference, lapsed; unemployment compensation, House Joint Resolution 1229; claims and judgments, House Joint Resolution 1268, which also carried $400 million highway trust fund "liquidation cash"; Secret Service, House Joint Resolution 1292; and second supplemental.

Bills for fiscal 1969: Treasury-Post Office; Agriculture; Independent Offices-HUD; Interior; State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary; Public Works and AEC; Labor-HEW; Legislative; Transportation; District of Columbia; military construction and defense—reported awaiting authorization.

Only the foreign assistance bill for 1969, awaiting authorization, and the closing supplemental bill remain to be reported to the House.

SESSION TOTALS, HOUSE

In the 17 measures of the session, including the reported version of the Defense bill, the House has considered new budget—obligational—authority requests of $140,138 million; approved $127,948 million; with consequent aggregate reductions of $12,190 million, including $2,685 million related to participation sales authorizations. This includes both fiscal 1968 and fiscal 1969 bills, which are reported on separately below.

BILLS FOR FISCAL 1968 IN THE HOUSE

The five measures for fiscal 1968 processed through the House involved requests of $6,796 million of new budget—obligational—authority and requests for release of $2,976 million of reserves under Public Law 90–218 of last December. The House approved $6,426 million, plus release of $2,675 million of such reserves. Thus the House reductions were $370 million against new budget authority requests and $301 million against the reserve release requests.

None of these actions on 1968 measures counts against the "not less than" $10 billion reduction figure in title II of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 since that reduction is directed not to 1968 but to the fiscal 1969 new budget—obligational—authority requests.

BILLS FOR FISCAL 1969 IN THE HOUSE

In the 12 bills for fiscal 1969, including the Defense bill pending floor action, the House has made reductions of $11,577 million in new budget—obligational—authority relating to fiscal 1969. In addition, $242 million was cut from the $1,200 million advance fiscal 1970 request for elementary and secondary education considered in connection with the Labor-HEW bill. The totals involved on this basis are: Requests, $133,342 million; approved $121,523 million; reduction, $11,819 million; $242 million against the 1970 item, and $11,577 million against the 1969 requests, the latter amount including $2,685 million relating to participation sales authorization.

EXPENDITURE CONTROL PROVISIONS FOR 1969

It is easy to make a precise comparison of House actions on new budget—obligational—authority in the 12 appropriation bills for 1969 in relation to the "not less than" $10 billion reduction figure in title II of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968, since the budget requests and the bills are stated on the basis of "new budget authority." But for several reasons it is virtually impossible to make a precise translation of the effects of those actions on the budget estimates, not "requests," of 1969 outlays—expenditures and net lending. There are several imponderables not within the scope of the bills that can and do affect expenditure—disbursement—rates and timing. Carryover balances are involved. Uncertainties of deliveries; unforeseeable administrative changes; construction schedule changes; lag of expenditures behind obligations for various research and other grants; and so on. All that can be done is to undertake reasonable approximations of the expenditure reductions.

Specifically, as to House actions in the 12 appropriation bills for 1969—again, including the reported version of the Defense bill pending House floor action:

First, $11,577 million has been cut by the House from new budget—obligational—authority requests—considerably above the $10 billion reduction goal. And this will be added to when the foreign assistance and closing supplemental bills are processed; and

Second, $3,768 million, based on tentative approximations, of the $6 billion outlay—expenditure—reduction goal has been achieved by the House. And this will be added to when the foreign assistance and closing supplemental bills are acted upon.

SENATE ACTION ON 1969 BILLS

The Senate has passed 10 of the appropriation bills for 1969. In those 1969 bills, amounts of new budget—obligational—authority approved were below the budget requests for 1969 by $5,495 million. They were $2,766 million above the House totals, partly accounted for by the fact that some budget amendments were sent directly to the Senate and, importantly, that the Senate considered several items that had been deferred by the House for lack of legislative authorization. A large portion of the increase above the House totals relates to advance 1970 appropriations, not to fiscal 1969 amounts.

The Labor-HEW bill is reported from committee in the Senate, awaiting floor action. As reported, it is $1,255 million above the House bill, but the far greater portion of that increase relates to budget items on which the House took no appropriation action for lack of legislative authorization.

FINAL ACTIONS ON 1969 BILLS

Eight appropriation bills have been cleared to the President, summarized as follows:

NEW BUDGET AUTHORITY

[In millions]

	Budget request	Enacted	Reduction
Total, 8 bills	$19,934	$17,273	−$2,661
Deduct advance amounts relating to fiscal 1970	−295	−205	−90
Total, 8 bills (1969 amounts only)	19,639	17,068	−2,571

The $2,571 million reduction in new budget authority in the eight bills, relating to 1969 amounts, would count toward the $10 billion reduction goal. On a budget outlay—expenditure—rather than new budget authority basis, the tentative estimation is that the cuts would translate into expenditure reductions of approximately $1,095 million from the January budget estimates of expenditures for 1969. This would count toward the $6 billion reduction goal.

A summary of the grand totals of new budget—obligational—authority on the appropriation bills to date follows:

ACTIONS ON BUDGET ESTIMATES OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY IN APPROPRIATION BILLS, 90TH CONG., 2D SESS., AS OF AUG. 2, 1968

[Does not, of course, include any "back-door"-type budget authority; or any permanent (Federal or trust) authority, under earlier or "permanent" law,[1] without further or annual action by the Congress]

Bill and fiscal year	House actions		Senate actions		Enacted	(+) or (−), latest action compared with budget requests
	Budget requests considered	Approved	Budget requests considered	Approved		
Bills for fiscal 1969:						
1. Treasury-Post Office (net of estimated postal revenues appropriated)	$1,959,535,000	$1,777,800,000	$1,959,885,000	$1,781,053,000	$1,780,653,000	−$179,232,000
(Memorandums: Total, including authorizations out of postal funds) [2]	(8,337,359,000)	(8,155,624,000)	(8,337,709,000)	(8,158,877,000)	(8,158,477,000)	(−179,232,000)
2. Agriculture	6,923,979,800	5,523,635,500	6,923,979,800	5,540,550,300	5,531,296,650	−1,392,683,150
3. Independent offices-HUD (including 1970 advance)	16,570,580,300	13,670,636,000	18,353,717,300	15,505,214,000		−2,848,503,300
(Fiscal year 1969 amounts only)	(16,570,580,300)	(13,670,636,000)	(16,953,717,300)	(14,255,214,000)		(−2,698,503,300)
4. Interior	1,410,342,300	1,280,880,300	1,432,342,300	1,284,372,800	1,284,989,300	−147,353,000
5. State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary	2,203,820,900	1,794,981,500	2,291,993,900	2,000,944,000	1,986,721,500	−305,272,400
6. Public works (and AEC)	4,908,657,000	4,499,223,000	4,908,657,000	4,727,622,500	4,608,421,000	−300,236,000
7. Labor-HEW (including 1970 advance)	18,205,261,000	17,224,771,000				−980,490,000
(Fiscal year 1969 amounts only)	(17,005,261,000)	(16,267,057,000)				(−738,204,000
8. Legislative	257,162,531	247,497,349	308,897,533	298,151,396	298,151,396	−10,746,137)
9. Transportation (including 1970 advances)	1,620,832,000	1,353,391,000	1,932,032,000	1,788,411,000	1,634,266,000	−297,766,000
(Fiscal year 1969 amounts only)	(1,620,832,000)	(1,353,391,000)	(1,637,032,000)	(1,523,411,000)	(1,429,266,000)	(−207,766,000
10. District of Columbia (Federal funds)	176,961,000	145,672,000	176,961,000	153,755,000	148,755,000	−28,206,000)
(District of Columbia funds)	(594,662,000)	(528,886,000)	(606,191,000)	(548,193,810)	(540,178,988)	(−66,012,012)
11. Defense	77,074,000,000	[3] 72,239,700,000				[3]−4,834,300,000
12. Military construction	2,031,500,000	1,765,019,000	2,031,500,000	1,744,936,000		−286,564,000
13. Foreign assistance	(3,654,711,000)					
14. Supplemental						
Total, these bills—						
As to fiscal 1969	132,142,631,831	120,565,492,649	38,624,965,833	33,310,009,996	17,068,253,846	[4]−11,129,065,987
As to fiscal 1970	1,200,000,000	957,714,000	1,695,000,000	1,515,000,000	205,000,000	−482,286,000
Total, 1969 bills	133,342,631,831	121,523,206,649	40,319,965,833	34,825,009,996	17,273,253,846	[4]−11,611,351,987
Bills for fiscal 1968:						
1. Urgent supplemental	[5](1,216,020,863)	[5](1,214,780,863)	[5](1,216,020,863)	[5](1,405,445,863)	([5])	([5])
2. Unemployment compensation (H.J. Res. 1229)	28,800,000	28,000,000	28,800,000	28,000,000	28,000,000	−800,000
3. Claims and judgments (H.J. Res. 1268, which also carried $400,000,000 highway "liquidation cash")	50,980,863	50,980,863	50,980,863	50,980,863	50,980,863	
4. Secret Service (H.J. Res. 1292)		400,000		400,000	400,000	+400,000
5. 2d supplemental	6,716,514,679	6,346,283,924	6,738,311,393	6,373,735,498	6,295,831,498	−442,479,895
Release of reserves (under Public Law 90-218)	(2,976,051,100)	(2,674,902,800)	(2,976,051,100)	(2,687,902,800)	(2,674,902,800)	(−301,148,300)
Total, 1968 bills	6,796,295,542	6,425,664,787	6,818,092,256	6,453,116,361	6,375,212,361	−442,879,895
Cumulative totals for the session:						
House	140,138,927,373	127,948,871,436				[4]−12,190,055,937
Senate			47,138,058,089	41,278,126,357		[4]−5,859,931,732
Enacted			26,752,840,789		23,648,466,207	[6]−3,104,374,582

[1] In round amounts, the January budget—for fiscal 1969—tentatively estimated total new budget (obligational) authority for 1969 at $214,581,000,000 ($201,723,000,000 net of certain offsets made for budget summary purposes only), of which $73,085,000,000 would become available without further action by Congress and $141,496,000,000 would require "current" action by Congress.

[2] These figures assume the January budget estimate of 1969 postal revenues will hold.

[3] Committee bill as reported (subject to floor action).

[4] Includes $2,685,000,000 related to participation sales authorizations (Agriculture, $425,000,000; VA and HUD, $2,110,000,000; State-Justice bill, $150,000,000).

[5] Not added in totals, because every budget request and every item otherwise involved has been dealt with in other supplementals for 1968 listed herein.

[6] Includes $575,000,000 related to participation sales authorizations (Agriculture, $425,000,000; State-Justice bill, $150,000,000).

NEW 1969 BUDGET—OBLIGATIONAL—AUTHORITY TOTALS TO BE CONSIDERED

Under the new unified budget concept, the tentatively estimated total new budget—obligational—authority proposed in the 1969 budget, and relating to fiscal 1969, is $214,581,000,000, gross, and $201,723,000,000 net of certain transactions treated as offsets for budget summary presentation purposes only—the latter figure is the one used in title II of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968. Most of this would be in the technical form of what has always been known as appropriations.

The 1969 budget also proposes $2,895,000,000 in advance new budget—obligational—authority for fiscal 1970 for title I elementary and secondary education grants, for urban renewal grants, for mass transit grants, and for airport aid grants.

The $214.6 billion breaks down as follows:

Grand total, gross amount	$214,581,000,000
Deduct amounts that arise from previous permanent-type legislation that does not require action in bills this session (interest, social security and other trust funds, etc.)	−73,085,000,000
Portion requiring action in bills	141,496,000,000
Amount acted upon by House in the 12 appropriation bills	−$132,142,000,000
Remainder to be considered	9,354,000,000
Amounts presently involved in specific budget requests, pending	−5,322,000,000
Remainder	4,032,000,000
Consisting of:	
Amounts relating to backdoor-type legislative bills (mostly contract authorities in highways)	1,248,000,000

Amounts shown in the budget as being for "later transmittal" (the $1.6 billion July 1968 pay cost items; contingencies allowance; etc.)	2,784,000,000

SUMMARY OF OVERALL CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS TO DATE AFFECTING THE BUDGET TOTALS

While the appropriation bills reflect the great bulk of congressional actions on the outgo side of budget recommendations, there have been several legislative bills dealing with new budget—obligational—authority or that mandate expenditures that must be entered in any comparison with overall budget totals. Some of these actions call for expenditures above the January budget estimates. And, of course, actions on budget revenue recommendations affect the picture.

Periodic budget "scorekeeping" reports are now being issued by the staff of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures. These reports are designed to keep tabs, currently, on what is happening in the legislative process to the budget recommendations of the President, both appropriationwise and expenditurewise, and on the revenue recommendations, and not only from actions in the revenue and appropriation bills but also in legislative bills that affect budget authority and expenditures—backdoor bills, bills that mandate expenditures, and so on.

For general information of Members and others, the following summaries, dealing with both sides of the budget, are taken from the latest joint committee staff report—July 30, 1968. It should be mentioned that the report, being dated July 30, does not include a few actions of the last 3 days. Another staff report is to be issued next week.

BUDGET SUMMARY

A SUMMARY OF FISCAL YEAR 1969 AND FISCAL YEAR 1968 FEDERAL BUDGETS—REFLECTING CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS AFFECTING THOSE BUDGETS DURING THE 2D SESS. OF THE 90TH CONG.

[In millions of dollars]

Summary totals	Budget authority (obligational and lending authority) (1)	Budget outlays (expenditures and net lending) (2)	Budget receipts (3)	Budget deficit (4)
Fiscal year 1969:				
Net total budget estimates as submitted in January	201,723	186,062	178,108	−7,954
Net total budget estimates, as revised	201,723	[1]188,663	178,108	[1]−10,555
Adjustments for interfund and intragovernmental transactions and applicable receipts	+12,858	+12,615		
Total gross budget estimates:	214,581	[1]201,278		
Budget estimates not requiring further action by Congress:				
Prior year's budget authority		58,868		
Current (1969) budget authority	73,085	52,208		
Budget estimates requiring action by Congress at this session	141,496	90,202	13,157	
Effect of congressional action on budget estimates, to July 30, 1968 (net changes):				
House	−11,430	−3,705	+2,258	−5,963
Senate	−5,906	−1,578	+2,163	−3,741
Enacted	−1,683	−752	+2,163	−2,915
Separate effect of Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (full-year application)	−10,000	[2]−6,000	[3]+2,163	−8,163
Net total 1969 revised budget estimates as changed by congressional action to July 30, 1968:				
House	190,293	184,958	180,366	−4,592
Senate	195,817	187,085	180,271	−6,814
Enacted	200,040	187,911	180,271	−7,640
Separate effect of Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (full-year application)	191,723	182,663	180,271	−2,392
Fiscal year 1968:				
Net total budget estimates as submitted in January	186,499	175,635	155,830	−19,805
Net total budget estimates, as revised	[1]190,102	[1]177,574	155,830	[1]−21,744
Net total budget estimates, as changed by congressional action	189,674	177,164	153,030	−24,134
Actual net total as enacted by Congress and reported by the Treasury	189,674	178,892	153,485	−25,407

[1] Figures have been revised to reflect the effect of supplemental requests and budget amendments and the estimated increase in defense spending of $2,500,000,000 in 1968 and $2,600,000,000 in 1969, as indicated by the President in his Mar. 31 address to the Nation.

[2] Except for increase in social security benefits which are reflected on the Senate and enacted action lines.

[3] Reflects slippage from fiscal year 1968 to fiscal year 1969 resulting from the delay in enactment of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968.

TABLE NO. 1.—ACTIONS ON INDIVIDUAL BILLS AFFECTING BUDGET AUTHORITY AND OUTLAYS (EXPENDITURES) (AS OF JULY 30, 1968)

[In thousands of dollars]

Items acted upon	Congressional actions on budget authority (changes from the budget)			Congressional actions on budget outlays (changes from the budget)		
	House (1)	Senate (2)	Enacted (3)	House (4)	Senate (5)	Enacted (6)
Fiscal year 1969:						
Appropriation bills:						
Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office (H.R. 16489)	−181,735	−178,832	−179,232	−132,206	−129,230	−129,430
Agriculture and related agencies (H.R. 16913)	−1,400,344	−1,383,429	−1,392,683	−414,114	−331,114	−339,114
Independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development (H.R. 17023)	−2,899,944	−2,698,503		−360,000	−343,245	
Interior and related agencies (H.R. 17354)	−129,462	−147,970	−147,353	−83,000	−103,000	−103,000
State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies (H.R. 17522)	−408,839	−291,050	(1)	−136,620	−76,511	(1)
2d Supplemental Act, 1968 (H.R. 17734)				−186,352	−120,601	−210,874
Public works and atomic energy (H.R. 17903)	−409,434	−181,035	−300,236	−255,000	−101,870	−178,300
Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies (H.R. 18037)	−738,204	[2]−623,539		−341,250	[2]−263,900	
Legislative branch (H.R. 18038)	−9,665	−10,746	−10,746	−9,833	−10,900	−10,900
Transportation Department (H.R. 18188)	−267,441	−113,621	(1)	−304,830	−224,930	(1)
Department of Defense (H.R. 18707)	[2]−4,834,300			[2]−1,700,000		
District of Columbia (H.R. 18706)	−31,289	−23,106	(1)	Nil	+5,430	(1)
Military construction (H.R. 18785)	−266,481	−286,564		−32,000	−36,000	
Subtotal, appropriation bills	−11,577,138	−5,938,395	−2,030,250	−3,955,205	−1,735,871	−971,618
Legislative bills with spending authorizations (changes from the budget):						
Service-connected compensation increase for veterans (H.R. 16027)	+117,350			+98,000		
Education assistance to veterans' widows (H.R. 16025)	+7,625	+16,125		+7,625	+16,125	
Nursing care for certain veterans (H.R. 7481)	+3,551	+3,551		+3,551	+3,551	
Care and treatment of veterans in State homes (H.R. 16902)	+4,098	+4,098		+4,000	+4,000	
Social security benefits (H.R. 15414)		+134,000	+132,000		+134,000	+132,000
Railroad retirement and unemployment insurance benefits (H.R. 14563)				+88,000		+88,000
Land and water conservation fund (S. 1401)	+30,000	+30,000	+30,000			
Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968 (S. 3418 and H.R. 17134)	−15,000	−155,000	+185,000	−51,000		
National School Lunch Act amendments (H.R. 17872)				+100,000		
Subtotal, legislative bills	+147,624	+32,774	+347,000	+250,176	+157,676	+220,000
Total, fiscal year 1969	−11,429,514	−5,905,621	−1,683,250	−3,705,029	−1,578,195	−751,618

See footnotes at end of table.

TABLE NO. 1.—ACTIONS ON INDIVIDUAL BILLS AFFECTING BUDGET AUTHORITY AND OUTLAYS (EXPENDITURES) (AS OF JULY 30, 1968) —Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

Items acted upon	Congressional actions on budget authority (changes from the budget)			Congressional actions on budget outlays (changes from the budget)		
	House (1)	Senate (2)	Enacted (3)	House (4)	Senate (5)	Enacted (6)
Fiscal year 1968:						
Appropriation bills:						
Urgent supplemental (H.J. Res. 1229)		−800	−800		−800	−800
Protecting Presidential candidates (H.J. Res. 1292)	+400	+400	+400	+200	+200	+200
2d Supplemental Act, 1968 (H.R. 17734)	−370,231	−364,576	−442,480	−394,000	−426,228	−424,465
Legislative bills with spending authorizations:						
Social security benefits (H.R. 15414)		+15,000	+15,000		+15,000	+15,000
Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968 (S. 3418 and H.R 17134)	−85,000					
Total, fiscal year 1968	−454,831	−349,976	−427,880	−393,800	−411,828	−410,065

[1] Enacted subsequent to date of this report.

[2] Committee action only.

TABLE NO. 2—ACTION ON REVENUE PROPOSALS AFFECTING THE BUDGETS FOR FISCAL YEARS 1968 AND 1969

[In millions of dollars]

Type of revenue proposal	Estimated new receipts for fiscal year 1968	Congressional action on fiscal year 1968 revenue proposals, to July 30, 1968			Estimated new receipts for fiscal year 1969	Congressional action on fiscal year 1969 revenue proposals, to July 30, 1968		
		House	Senate	Enacted		House	Senate	Enacted
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Income taxes (H.R. 15414):								
Proposed surcharge:								
Individual income taxes	930		680		6,920		7,070	7,750
Corporation income taxes	970		970		2,880		2,880	3,850
Acceleration of corporate tax payments	800	800	680		400	400	280	960
Exempt organizations							−15	
Subtotal, income tax proposals	2,700	800	2,330		10,200	400	10,215	12,560
Excise taxes—extension of present rates (H.R. 15414):								
Automobiles	190	190	190	90	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,600
Telephone service	116	116	116	116	1,160	1,160	1,160	1,160
Subtotal, excise tax extension	306	306	306	206	2,660	2,660	2,660	2,760
User charges					297			
Tax on transportation, customs rules for tourist exemptions, etc. (H.R. 16241)						95		
Total, new receipts	3,006	1,106	2,636	206	13,157	3,155	12,875	15,320

THE SECOND SESSION OF THE 90TH CONGRESS: PROGRESS TO DATE

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, as we are about to recess for the national nominating conventions in this presidential election year, let us take some time to review the record of the second session of the 90th Congress. What have we accomplished? What remains to be done?

In January, President Johnson outlined his program for the second half of the 90th Congress. He challenged the Members of this body to determine "not how we can achieve abundance, but how we shall use our abundance." He asked us to continue our efforts to close the gulf "between the promise and the reality of our society" for millions of Americans. And the Congress has gone a long way toward meeting the challenge of creating a better America for every citizen; it has recognized its responsibilities and it has taken steps upon which we can build for the future.

In brief: the President called for thousands of new housing units for low- and middle-income families this year, and we have approved one of the biggest housing bills in our Nation's history; he asked for a major study of automobile insurance, which was authorized by Public Law 90–313; he called for protection against hazardous radiation from television sets and other electronic equipment, provided in a bill passed by the House; and he requested completion of congressional action on legislation for truth-in-lending, fire safety, and pipeline safety, two of which are public law and the third of which is awaiting conference approval by the Senate. President Johnson urged the Congress to raise taxes to ease the inflationary squeeze, to adopt gun-control legislation, to approve a drug-control act to provide stricter penalties for persons who traffic in dangerous drugs, and to act on civil rights guarantees, and the House has taken action on all of these measures. Significant proposals in the fields of education, conservation, and crime control, requested by the President, have also been approved by the second session of the 90th Congress.

This has been an active, concerned Congress. We cannot expect the problems of a country as complex as the United States, accumulated over two centuries of growth and expansion, to be solved in one Congress, in two Congresses, or even in three or four such 2-year periods. We can only show our willingness and our resolve to tackle the issues that confront our society and our Government year by year, and to build for a better America. This, we in the Congress have done; and we will continue to press forward in the years ahead.

At the end of the last session, I stated that the 90th Congress had a proud record of achievement. Today I am pleased to say that that record, began so well during the first session, is coming to an equally creditable conclusion in the second. Let's look at the legislative record in detail.

Departmental authorizations and appropriations are well on the road to completion as we recess for the conventions. The House has acted on all regular authorization measures, and has approved all but two—foreign aid and Defense—of the appropriations bills. Because of the dual problems of inflation and a balance-of-payments deficit, brought on in large part by the war in Vietnam, we have tried to pare down the spending proposals to the minimum level necessary. Although our economy is strong and our resources are great, we must take care that our actions do not have an adverse effect on world monetary policies. A strong dollar is more essential today than ever before, and the 90th Congress has taken prudent steps to safeguard the keystone of the world monetary system.

The Tax Adjustment Act, signed into law by the President in June, was perhaps the most important of these steps. Its main provisions call for a 10-percent income tax surcharge on individual incomes—retroactive to April 1, 1968—and on corporate incomes—retroactive to January 1—which will remain in effect until June 30, 1969; a $6 billion reduction in Federal spending in fiscal 1969; a $10 billion reduction in new obligational and loan authority below fiscal 1969 budget estimates; legislative recommendations by the President to rescind $8 billion of unobligated balances of obligational and loan authority approved prior to fiscal 1969; and extension of present excise tax rates on automobiles and communications through December 31, 1969. In addition the Congress enacted legislation to repeal the gold cover for Federal Reserve notes and to provide for security measures for banks and other financial institutions.

Consumer protection was a matter to which the 90th Congress gave a great deal of attention—and if the 89th Congress will be remembered as the "education Congress," the 90th Congress deserves equal recognition as the "consumer Congress." Capping a campaign that was begun by former Democratic Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois and ably carried through by Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE and Congresswoman LEONOR SULLIVAN, a bill requiring disclosures of credit, and annual as well as periodic disclosure of charges on revolving credit accounts was enacted in May. The truth-in-lending law, which also provides for reporting of interest on mortgages, will mean a great deal to millions of Americans, who, because of their limited incomes, end up paying more than necessary as a result of deceptive, or at least confusing, credit practices.

Another major new law resulting from the second session's activities, which is aimed at protection of the American consumer, directs the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a comprehensive study of all relevant aspects of the existing automobile insurance system. And a third proposal, the Fire Research and Safety Act, provides for a national fire research and safety program, and establishes a National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control to study the problem and report to the President and Congress. With the loss of hundreds of lives and the destruction of millions of dollars worth of property each year, the area of fire prevention and control is one on which we need to bring to bear the knowledge of a broad-based investigation. Two other consumer protection measures are currently pending before House-Senate conference committees: one provides criminal penalties for the manufacture, advertisement for introduction or introduction of motor vehicle master keys into interstate commerce; and the other authorizes a more adequate program of poultry inspection in the United States. One further proposal, incorporated in the Housing and Urban Development Act, would prevent fraudulent land sales by regulating the sale of land through the mails.

In taking up the cause of the consumer, the second session of this Congress has not overlooked its continuing responsibilities in the areas of health and education. Since the beginning of the Kennedy administration in 1961, Congress has taken giant strides forward in opening up educational opportunities for children who had been too long neglected, and in improving medical services for families unable to pay for proper medical care. The 90th Congress has continued this effort. Public Law 302 expands the National School Lunch Act by establishing a program of child-care institutions, either public or private nonprofit, in areas where poor economic conditions prevail or where there are large concentrations of working mothers, and extends the school breakfast program through fiscal 1971. Other House-passed legislation would authorize supplementary funds for the formulation and implementation of programs to improve nutrition for needy children, a necessary step when one considers that the school breakfast or lunch may prove to be the most balanced meal of the day for many disadvantaged children.

The Higher Education Amendments of 1968, now in conference, continues and amends several ongoing educational programs which have provided vital assistance to our Nation's students over the years. The Higher Education Facilities Act, the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act, and the National Defense Education are all extended by the 1968 bill. The measure also consolidates the NDEA student loan, educational opportunity grant, and work-study programs, which have assisted thousands of qualified students to work their way through institutions of higher learning. Vocational education programs which provide important assistance to another segment of our youthful population, were continued and expanded by H.R. 18366, also in conference. This measure provides in addition for the consolidation of the Vocational Educational Act of 1963 with two other laws, the end result being a more comprehensive and unified approach to vocational education aid. The bill also authorizes new programs to improve the quality of vocational training, particularly for handicapped young people.

In the area of health, several important proposals are well along in the legislative process. One measure, passed by the House and Senate, extends the authorization of grants initiated in 1965 to establish regional medical programs, and continues for 2 years the health services program for domestic agricultural migratory workers. It incorporates the alcoholic and narcotic addict rehabilitation amendments, and authorizes grants for construction of facilities for the prevention and treatment of alcoholism, along with funds to provide for the staffing and maintenance of such facilities. It is time the Congress took special steps to help these unfortunate people to become productive members of society once again. Bills to provide for the protection of the public health from radiation emissions from electronic products, such as television sets, and for grants to construct medical and dental teaching facilities and to build or rehabilitate facilities for nursing schools have been approved by the House and Senate respectively. The latter proposal, the Health Manpower Act, which also extends the authority for nurse traineeships and authorizes scholarship grants for needy students, is pending on the House Calendar.

One of the most important pieces of legislation to gain the approval of the 90th Congress is the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. In January the President said:

> Surely a nation that can go to the moon can place a decent home within the reach of its families.

The 1968 housing bill, the first major overhaul of the housing program since 1949, is the Congress' response to the President's challenge. One of the most innovative parts of the bill, now awaiting the President's signature, would provide aid in the form of reduced interest costs on mortgages to low- and moderate-income families trying to buy a home. This would afford many American families the opportunity, for the first time, to own their own home. Title II of the bill would help to provide additional rental housing for low- and moderate-income families and increase authorizations for public housing. Other principal sections would: First, provide guarantees for financing the development of new communities; second, amend and improve the urban renewal program and authorize additional funds for rehabilitation; third, broaden and extend urban planning assistance programs; fourth, increase the authorization for urban mass transportation; fifth, authorize the creation of private profitmaking corporations to encourage maximum participation of the private sector of our economy in building low- and moderate-income housing; sixth, provide direct and insured loans in rural areas where other aid is not available; seventh, provide for reinsurance coverage by a government corporation for insurers against property losses resulting from riots or civil disorders; eight, authorize a national flood insurance program for one- to four-family homes through the cooperation of the private insurance industry and the Federal Government; ninth, increase the authorization for the model cities program, which holds so much promise for the rehabilitation of vital portions of our Nation's cities; and finally 10th, direct the President to report to the Congress no later than January 15, 1969, on housing construction and rehabilitation goals and plans for the next 10 years. This measure is not the product of a "know-nothing, do-nothing" Congress—as some have seen fit to label the 90th Congress; rather it bears witness to the fact that the legislative branch of the Government recognizes the problems of the sixties—and is trying to do something about them.

Other measures to assist individuals who have not had an equal opportunity to share in the fruits of the richest country in the world are the extension of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, which provides grants to States for vocational rehabilitation services for handicapped persons, and the continuation of the food stamp program. The Railroad Retirement Act and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act Amendments of 1968, Public Law 257, liberalize the monthly benefits received by railroad retirees, financed in large part by actuarial gains from the 1967 social security amendments.

The record of the 90th Congress on civil rights is a proud one indeed. The 1968 Civil Rights Act, Public Law 284, can take its place on the statute books alongside the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, each of which is a milestone in the continuing effort to guarantee Negroes and other racial minorities a real stake in American life. Principal among the provisions of Public Law 284 are the protection of persons exercising their legal and civil rights by the Federal Government; the establishment of national fair housing standards to prevent racial discrimination in the rental or sale of housing; the extension of Federal jurisdiction to riots and other acts of civil disobedience which threaten interstate commerce; and the protection of the basic rights of American Indians. Another measure which will help to insure justice for members of racial minorities is Public Law 274, the Jury Selection and Service Act. It requires that jury selection in Federal courts be random, and precludes discrimination of any kind.

Crime in America is no longer just a shocking statistic one reads about in the morning paper. It is increasing at an alarming rate, it affects every law-abiding citizen, and it must be controlled before it threatens the very fabric of our society. This is another area in which the 90th Congress has acted; the Omnibus Crime Control Act, Public Law 351, was given final approval in June. The most notable features of this new law are the following: First, authorization of Federal grants to States to aid State and local law-enforcement agencies combat crime and prevent or control riots; second, permission, under certain circumstances, to admit into evidence voluntary confessions of crime even when the suspect was not advised as to his constitutional rights; third, permission for wiretapping and electronic surveillance by police under certain conditions; and, fourth, regulation of over-the-counter sale of handguns. Other bills aimed at controlling or preventing crime and its tragic side effects are: the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act, providing assistance to courts, correctional systems, and community agencies to help deal with troublesome youthful criminals; drug use legislation, which provides for increasing penalties for illegal manufacture of and traffic in LSD and other dangerous drugs; and a gun-control bill, which, as approved by the House, regulates the interstate sale of rifles and shotguns.

While approving these measures to help control the criminal element in America, we must acknowledge at the same time that it is the root causes of crime—poverty, aimlessness, lack of education—to which we must direct our never-failing attention. For it is only in that way that we will ever succeed in making people obey the law because it is in their best interests. We want to reduce crime, but as a free society, we don't want to have to put a policeman on every corner.

The second session of the 90th Congress has compiled an admirable record in the field of conservation and natural resources, approving some measures that had been stalled in previous Congresses. The Redwood National Park bill, for example, has been passed by both Houses of Congress and is awaiting final conference action. Proposals for a national trails system, to promote public access to, travel within, and enjoyment of National and State parks, forests, recreation areas, and historic sites, have also been approved by both the House and the Senate. Our natural heritage is one we should take care to protect and preserve so that future generations of Americans can also enjoy the varied beauties of our country. In a more practical vein, water is a precious resource we must conserve if we are to survive. Legislation enacted this session, or close to enactment, relating to the protection and use of water resources provides for investigation of certain water resource developments in North Dakota, Arizona, and Oklahoma; for expansion of the salt water conversion program; for construction of improvements for watershed protection and flood prevention; and for a National Water Commission to conduct a comprehensive review of water resource problems and programs. And amendments to the land and water conservation fund, Public Law 401, provide additional funds to carry out the purpose of the original act. Finally, authorization of the central Arizona project, which is aimed at aiding and relieving water-deficient areas in the Southwest United States, has been approved by the House and Senate.

Two major bills in the transportation area have been cleared by the second session of the 90th Congress. One empowers the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe rules and standards to regulate aircraft noise, Public Law 411, and the other, not yet signed by the President, authorizes additional roads in the U.S. Interstate System.

And Congress has indicated its continuing concern for the welfare of those who have defended their country. The House approved a resolution expressing the sense of Congress that each Federal department and agency should try to provide employment for veterans returning from duty in Vietnam, and that they should assist such veterans in obtaining priority employment with private enterprise. Another measure passed by both the House and Senate would extend educational assistance to widows of veterans killed in the course of military service, and a third would increase compensation for disabled veterans.

Voting is on everybody's mind this year, with the selection of the next President to be determined in November. The Congress acted to facilitate voting for certain American citizens by amending the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 to: First, encourage States to alter absentee registration and voting procedures in order that citizens temporarily residing overseas may vote in elections, Public Law 343; and second, assist armed services personnel to vote in Federal elections, Public Law 344. And after the tragic shooting of former Senator Robert Kennedy in June, the Congress acted quickly to approve legislation providing Secret Service protection for all major presidential and vice presidential candidates.

In accordance with the authority of the Reorganization Act of 1949, which gives the President power to propose certain organizational changes in the executive branch of the Federal Government, four reorganization plans were submitted to the Congress in 1968. None was rejected, and all are now in effect. Reorganization Plan No. 1 provided for creation of a single Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in the Department of Justice, thus consolidating the old Bureau of Narcotics in Treasury and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control in HEW, and enabling the Federal Government to deal more efficiently and effectively with the problems of drug abuse. Reorganization Plan No. 2 transferred to the Department of Transportation from the Department of Housing and Urban Development urban mass transportation programs and unified these activities in a new Urban Mass Transportation Administration within the Department of Transportation. Reorganization Plans No. 3 and No. 4 both dealt with the District of Columbia government; No. 3 with recreation activities, and No. 4 with the Redevelopment Land Agency.

Another organizational change approved by this Congress was Public Law 90–407, which changes and improves the organization and operation of the National Science Foundation, established in 1950. New emphasis is thereby given to the Foundation's basic missions, and its organization and structure are streamlined for more effective operation.

Both the House and the Senate took steps to establish procedures for looking into the official conduct of their Members. The House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct was made a permanent standing committee with designated investigatory and jurisdictional powers, and the Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct established by resolution guidelines for official conduct of Members of the Senate.

For the District of Columbia, the Congress approved legislation authorizing the popular election of the school board. This, together with the reorganization of the District's government effected by the Congress last year, will go a long way toward providing more responsive government for the residents of the Nation's Capital City.

The second session of the 90th Congress has met its responsibilities in the field of foreign affairs as well as on the domestic front. Vietnam, of course, remains our principal concern, but we are all hopeful that the Paris peace talks will lead to an honorable resolution of that conflict. The foreign aid authorization bill is now making its way through the Congress, with the appropriation legislation to come after the recess. The food for peace program, which authorizes $6.2 billion in food aid to less-developed countries, was signed into law by the President earlier this week. This is an important way in which we can contribute some of our abundant food supplies to help the needy in other parts of the world, and it has, in the President's words, given "life to millions of people" across the globe.

This is the record of the second session of the 90th Congress to date. It speaks for itself. A great deal of significant legislation has been approved, and I fully expect that those measures on which action is almost completed will be cleared before we adjourn sine die in the fall. We have not answered all the questions, we have not provided all the solutions—and we never will. The steps we have taken over the past 2 years aim at a better life for all Americans, but it takes more than statutory law to reshape the profile of American society. We have provided the framework for change; it is now up to all of us to see that that framework is filled out with the detail of human respect and cooperation essential for any meaningful progress.

I submit that the 90th Congress has compiled a proud record of achievement.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. O'Hara of Illinois, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. Gonzalez, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. Staggers, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. Pucinski, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. Buchanan (at the request of Mr. Wyatt), for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Halpern (at the request of Mr. Wyatt), for 20 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Roush in four instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. O'Hara of Illinois in five instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Findley in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Mahon to revise and extend his remarks and to include tables and material in more complete elaboration on congressional action on the budget.

Mr. Dulski and to include an editorial in two instances.

Mr. Cleveland and to include extraneous material, immediately following his remarks earlier today.

Mr. Rumsfeld and to include extraneous matter in two instances.

Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts and to include extraneous matter in five instances.

Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin in two instances.

Mr. Fountain to extend his remarks in the Record of August 1 after the remarks of Mr. Laird on the National Eye Institute bill (H.R. 12843) and to include extraneous matter and a table.

Mr. Randall in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Wyatt) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Broomfield in five instances.

Mr. Fulton of Pennsylvania in five instances.

Mr. Quillen in five instances.

Mr. Pelly in five instances.

Mr. Ruppe in two instances.

Mr. Blackburn in four instances.

Mr. Hall in three instances.

Mr. Morse of Massachusetts in two instances.

Mr. Gerald R. Ford.

Mr. Schadeberg.

Mr. Wyman in two instances.

Mr. Scherle.

Mr. Brotzman.

Mr. Buchanan in five instances.

Mr. Cunningham in five instances.

Mr. Ashbrook.

Mr. Harsha.

Mr. Keith in two instances.

Mr. Reid of New York.

Mr. Mize.

Mr. Button.

Mr. Price of Texas.

Mr. Chamberlain in three instances.

Mr. Bow.

Mr. Andrews of North Dakota.

Mr. Schweiker.

Mr. Myers.

Mrs. Reid of Illinois.

Mr. Adair in two instances.

Mr. Springer.

Mr. Roth.

Mr. Kleppe.

Mr. Mailliard.

Mr. Esch.

Mr. Michel in three instances.

Mr. McCloskey in two instances.

Mr. Nelsen.

Mr. Snyder in two instances.

Mr. McClure.

Mr. Bray in four instances.

Mr. Thompson of Georgia.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Charles H. Wilson) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Ottinger.

Mr. Corman in two instances.

Mr. Farbstein in two instances.

Mr. Fisher in four instances.

Mr. Edwards of California in two instances.

Mr. Podell in two instances.

Mr. Ryan in four instances.

Mr. Brown of California in five instances.

Mr. Eilberg in three instances.

Mr. Murphy of Illinois in three instances.

Mr. Irwin in three instances.

Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts in three instances.

Mr. Monagan in three instances.

Mr. Minish.

Mr. Olsen in two instances.

Mr. Brooks.

Mr. Vanik in two instances.

Mr. Willis.

Mr. Dingell.

Mr. Zablocki in two instances.

Mr. Gibbons.

Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania in six instances.

Mr. Long of Maryland.

Mr. Kyros.

Mr. Bingham in three instances.

Mr. Udall in four instances.

Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. Kornegay in two instances.

Mr. Cohelan in four instances.

Mr. Machen in five instances.

Mr. Roybal in five instances.

Mr. Hagan in two instances.

Mr. St. Onge in two instances.

Mr. Friedel.

Mr. Pickle in two instances.

Mr. Evans of Colorado.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson.

Mr. Andrews of Alabama in two instances.

Mr. Downing in two instances.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTIONS REFERRED

Joint resolutions of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S.J. Res. 191. Joint resolution authorizing the erection of a statue of Benito Pablo Juarez on public grounds in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on House Administration.

S.J. Res. 197. Joint resolution to correct certain references in section 4(1) of the act entitled "An act to amend chapter 37 of title 38 of the United States Code with respect to the veterans' home loan program, to amend the National Housing Act with respect to interest rates on insured mortgages, and for other purposes," approved May 7, 1968; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 10864. An act authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forests, Inc., and for other purposes;

H.R. 15794. An act to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16361. An act to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16729. An act to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 3638. An act to provide indemnity payments to dairy farmers;

S. 3710. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes; and

S. 3865. An act to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 16361. An act to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16729. An act to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning, evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message from the President of the United States informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On June 27, 1968:

H.R. 17320. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to grant an easement over certain lands to the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Co.

On June 28, 1968:

H.R. 4961. An act for the relief of Donald E. Crichton;

H.R. 6305. An act for the relief of Claud Ferguson;

H.R. 6890. An act for the relief of Lester W. Hein and Sadie Hein;

H.R. 9568. An act for the relief of Lucien A. Murzyn;

H.R. 15414. An act to increase revenues, to limit expenditures and new obligational authority, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 15951. An act to provide for uniform annual observances of certain legal public holidays on Mondays, and for other purposes.

On June 29, 1968:

H.J. Res. 1368. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1705. An act for the relief of Sophie Stathacopulos;

H.R. 5199. An act for the relief of James E. Denman;

H.R. 6157. An act to amend section 3620 of the Revised Statutes with respect to payroll deductions for Federal employees;

H.R. 10058. An act for the relief of Mrs. Esther D. Borda; and

H.R. 10135. An act to provide for the expeditious naturalization of the surviving spouse of a U.S. citizen who dies while serving in an active duty status in the Armed Forces of the United States.

On July 1, 1968:

H.R. 2270. An act for the relief of Capt. David Campbell;

H.R. 2455. An act for the relief of Dean P. Bartelt;

H.R. 2688. An act for the relief of the estate of Charles C. Beaury;

H.R. 5854. An act for the relief of Mrs. E. Juanita Collinson;

H.R. 8088. An act for the relief of Willard Herndon Rusk;

H.R. 10050. An act for the relief of Capt. Russell T. Randall;

H.R. 10199. An act for the relief of Lloyd W. Corbisier;

H.R. 11166. An act for the relief of Earl S. Haldeman, Jr.;

H.R. 12073. An act for the relief of John Allunario;

H.R. 15216. An act to authorize the Bureau of Prisons to assist State and local governments in the improvement of their correctional systems; and

H.R. 17268. An act to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950, and for other purposes.

On July 2, 1968:

H.R. 1655. An act for the relief of Clara B. Hyssong;

H.R. 4566. An act for the relief of Mary F. Thomas; and

H.R. 10655. An act for the relief of Arthur Anderson.

On July 3, 1968:

H.R. 15856. An act to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes.

On July 5, 1968:

H.R. 1884. An act for the relief of Virgile Posfay;

H.R. 3931. An act to amend the act of April 3, 1952;

H.R. 5783. An act to amend titles 10, 14, and 37, United States Code, to provide for confinement and treatment of offenders against the Uniform Code of Military Justice;

H.R. 7882. An act for the relief of certain individuals employed by the Department of the Navy at certain U.S. naval stations in Florida;

H.R. 8481. An act for the relief of Richard Belk;

H.R. 8581. An act to amend section 11-341(b) of the District of Columbia Code which relates to the sales price for the reports of the opinions of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia circuit;

H.R. 10003. An act for the relief of John M. Stevens;

H.R. 10480. An act to prohibit desecration of the flag, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11959. An act for the relief of Robert E. Nesbitt;

H.R. 13050. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize an increase in the numbers of officers of the Navy designated for engineering duty, aeronautical engineering duty, and special duty;

H.R. 13315. An act to amend section 127 of title 28, United States Code, to define more precisely the territory included in the two judicial districts of Virginia;

H.R. 13373. An act for the relief of Richard C. Mockler;

H.R. 13593. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to increase the number of congressional alternates authorized to be nominated for each vacancy at the Military, Naval, and Air Force Academies;

H.R. 14907. An act to amend the Federal Credit Union Act;

H.R. 14910. An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, to give the Federal Communications Commission authority to prescribe regulations for the manufacture, import, sale, shipment, or use of devices which cause harmful interference to radio reception;

H.R. 15789. An act to amend section 2306 of title 10, United States Code, to authorize certain contracts for services and related supplies to extend beyond 1 year;

H.R. 16127. An act to increase the limitation on the number of officers for the Coast Guard;

H.R. 16429. An act to provide for the conveyance by the Secretary of the Interior of certain lands and interests in lands in Grand and Clear Creek Counties, Colo., in exchange for certain lands within the national forests of Colorado, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17002. An act to amend the tobacco marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938; and

H.R. 17024. An act to repeal section 1727 of title 18, United States Code, so as to permit prosecution of postal employees for failure to remit postage due collections, under the postal embezzlement statute, section 1711 of title 18, United States Code.

On July 6, 1968:

H.R. 16451. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the several governments of Central America in the prevention, control, and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease or rinderpest.

On July 7, 1968:

H.R. 15345. An act to provide security measures for banks and other financial institutions, and to provide for the appointment of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation as receiver.

H.R. 16162. An act to enable the Export-Import Bank of the United States to approve extension of certain loans, guarantees, and insurance in connection with exports from the United States in order to improve the balance of payments and foster the long-term commercial interests of the United States; and

H.R. 16819. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to extend the authorization of grants to States for rehabilitation services, to broaden the scope of goods and services available under that act for the handicapped, and for other purposes.

On July 11, 1968:

H.R. 6279. An act to provide for the collection, compilation, critical evaluation, publication, and sale of standard reference data;

H.R. 15979. An act to amend section 2 of the act of August 1, 1958, as amended, in order to prevent or minimize injury to fish and wildlife from the use of insecticides, herbicides, fungicides, and other pesticides; and

H.J. Res. 1111. Joint resolution granting the consent of Congress to certain additional powers conferred upon the Kansas City Area Transportation Authority by the States of Kansas and Missouri.

On July 13, 1968:

H.R. 3639. An act to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to consolidate certain provisions assuring the safety and effectiveness of new animal drugs, and for other purposes.

On July 18, 1968:

H.R. 5404. An act to amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950 to make changes and improvements in the organization and operation of the Foundation, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 1302. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating the week of October 13, 1968, as "Salute to Eisenhower Week."

On July 21, 1968:

H.R. 3400. An act to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to require aircraft noise abatement regulation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4739. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to grant long-term leases with respect to lands in the El Portal administrative site adjacent to Yosemite National Park, Calif., and for other purposes;

,H.R. 10773. An act to amend section 1730 of title 18, United States Code, to permit the uniform or badge of the letter-carrier branch of the postal service to be worn in theatrical, television, or motion-picture productions under certain circumstances;

H.R. 13402. An act authorizing the use of certain buildings in the District of Columbia for chancery purposes;

H.R. 16065. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States conditions in deeds conveying certain lands to the State of Iowa, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16703. An act to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes.

On July 23, 1968:

H.R. 4544. An act for the relief of Giovanna Ingui Dallara;

H.R. 11287. An act for the relief of Amir U. Khan;

H.R. 13301. An act to confer United States citizenship posthumously upon Pfc. John R. Anell;

H.R. 18038. An act making appropriations for the legislative branch for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 18203. An act to increase the size of the Board of Directors of Gallaudet College, and for other purposes.

On July 24, 1968:

H.R. 1879. An act for the relief of Stanislaw and Julianna Szymonik;

H.R. 2756. An act for the relief of Arley L. Beem, aviation electrician's mate chief, U.S. Navy;

H.R. 4976. An act for the relief of Theofane Spirou Koukos;

H.R. 5704. An act to grant minerals, including oil, gas, and other natural deposits, on certain lands in the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, Mont., to certain Indians, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9063. An act to amend the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, as amended, to provide for the timely determination of certain claims of American nationals, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16024. An act to extend for 2 years the Act of September 30, 1965, relating to high-speed ground transportation, and for other purposes.

On July 26, 1968:

H.R. 272. An act to extend the period during which amounts transferred from the employment security administration account in the unemployment trust fund to State accounts may be used by the States for payment of expenses of administration.

H.R. 2695. An act for the relief of Donald D. Lambert;

H.R. 3681. An act for the relief of James M. Yates;

H.R. 7481. An act to amend section 620, title 38, United States Code, to authorize payment of a higher proportion of hospital costs in establishing amounts payable for nursing home care for certain veterans;

H.R. 8087. An act for the relief of Henry Gibson;

H.R. 8809. An act for the relief of Maj. Hollis O. Hall;

H.R. 14323. An act for the relief of Mrs. Elise C. Gill;

H.R. 14954. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to improve vocational rehabilitation training for service-connected veterans by authorizing pursuit of such training on a part-time basis;

H.R. 15562. An act to extend the expiration date of the act of September 19, 1966;

H.R. 16902. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to promote the care and treatment of veterans in State veterans' homes; and

H.R. 17354. An act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

On July 27, 1968:

H.R. 18340. An act to amend section 212 (B) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended.

On July 30, 1968:

H.R. 18065. An act to amend the Foreign Service Buildings Act, 1926, to authorize additional appropriations.

On July 31, 1968:

H.R. 10673. An act to amend title III of the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended;

H.R. 12120. An act to assist the courts, correctional systems, community agencies, and primary and secondary public school systems to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; to support research and training efforts in the prevention, treatment, and control of juvenile delinquency; and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 1420. Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1969, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. **CHARLES H. WILSON**. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. In accordance with House Concurrent Resolution 805 of the 90th Congress, the Chair declares the House adjourned until 12 o'clock noon, Wednesday, September 4, 1968.

Thereupon (at 4 o'clock and 23 minutes p.m.), pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 805, the House adjourned until Wednesday, September 4, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2103. A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting the 16th annual report on the extent and disposition of U.S. contributions to international organizations, pursuant to section 2 of Public Law 81–806 (H. Doc. No. 375); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

2104. A letter from the Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting copies of the Air Force report entitled "Semiannual Experimental, Development, Test, and Research Procurement Action Report," for the period January 1 through June 30, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2357; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2105. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Installations and Logistics, transmitting notification on the proposed transfer of the submarine *Drum* (AGSS–228) to the U.S.S. *Alabama* Battleship Commission, pursuant to section 7308(c) of title 10, United States Code; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2106. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on improvements achieved in the management of supplies by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2107. A letter from the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, transmitting a report for the period of January 1 to June 30, 1968, pursuant to section 105 of Public Law 88–454; to the Committee on House Administration.

2108. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders suspending deportation, together with a list of the persons involved, pursuant to the provisions of section 244(a)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2109. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the annual report of the National Park Foundation, pursuant to section 10 of Public Law 90–209 (81 Stat. 656); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2110. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders suspending deportation, together with a list of the persons involved, pursuant to the provisions of section 244(a)(2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2111. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of need for improvements in management of the excess property program, Agency for International Development, Department of State; to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows.

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Privacy and the National Data Bank Concept" (35th report by the committee) (Rept. No. 1842). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WATTS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 11394. A bill to amend certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 relating to distilled spirits, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1843). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MILLS: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 7567. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the definition of compensation for purposes of tax under the Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1844). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. H.R. 18826. A bill to achieve the fullest cooperation and coordination of activities among the levels of government in order to improve the operation of our Federal system in an increasingly complex society, to improve the administration of grants-in-aid to the States, to permit provision of reimbursable technical services to State and local government, to establish coordinated intergovernmental policy and administration of grants and loans for development assistance, to provide for the acquisition, use, and disposition of land within urban areas by Federal agencies in conformity with local government programs, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1845). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PERKINS: Committee on Education and Labor. H.R. 15990. A bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended; with amendment (Rept. No. 1846). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. H.R. 18033. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States a condition in a deed conveying certain land to the State of Ohio, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1847). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. H.R. 18207. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release, on behalf of the United States, a condition in a deed conveying certain lands to the South Carolina State Commission of Forestry so as to permit such commission, subject to a certain condition, to exchange such lands; with amendment (Rept. No. 1848). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHLEY:

H.R. 19312. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide employment and relocation assistance for veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 19313. A bill to amend the Hazardous Substances Act to provide safe packaging of toxic household substances in order to protect children; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CUNNINGHAM:

H.R. 19314. A bill to provide for a study of the need for increased expenditures for public works in smaller urban areas as a means of reversing the migratory trend toward large metropolitan areas; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HALEY:

H.R. 19315. A bill to establish the quantity of unprocessed timber from certain Federal lands which may be sold for export during the calendar years 1968 through 1972; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PETTIS:

H.R. 19316. A bill for the establishment of a Civilian Aviation Academy; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 19317. A bill to cause a study to be made on the advisability of connecting Lake Pontchartrain, La., with the Gulf of Mexico; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mrs. REID of Illinois:

H.R. 19318. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code, to prohibit the assignment of a member of an armed force to combat area duty if certain relatives of such member dies while serving in the Armed Forces in Vietnam; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ROUSH:

H.R. 19319. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H.R. 19320. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to prohibit the assignment of a member of an armed force to combat area duty if any of certain relatives of such member dies, is captured, is missing in action, or is totally disabled as a result of service in the Armed Forces in Vietnam; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BROWN of California (for himself, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Rees, and Mr. Roybal):

H.R. 19321. A bill to establish the U.S. Section of the United States-Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friendship, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H.R. 19322. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the harassment of relatives of members of the Armed Forces serving in Vietnam; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 19323. A bill to extend benefits under section 8191 of title 5, United States Code, to law enforcement officers and firemen not employed by the United States who are killed or totally disabled in the line of duty; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.R. 19324. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to prohibit the assignment of a member of an armed force to combat area duty if certain relatives of such member died while serving in the Armed Forces in Vietnam; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mrs. MINK:

H.R. 19325. A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 19326. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to present a gold medal to the widow of Robert F. Kennedy; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RIEGLE:

H.R. 19327. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide that a court may detain or impose conditions on the release of a person who poses a danger to any other person or the community, to permit the compelling of testimony and the granting of immunity in connection with certain judicial proceedings, to provide for the abolition of the rigid two-witness and direct-evidence rules in perjury cases, and to provide for the prosecution of contradictory statements made under oath without proof of the falsity of one of the statements; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19328. A bill to provide for the investigative detention and search of persons suspected of involvement in, or knowledge of, Federal crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of New York:

H.R. 19329. A bill to amend the act of March 3, 1905, relating to the dumping of certain materials into the navigable waters of the United States; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 19330. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to strengthen and clarify the law prohibiting the introduction, or manufacture for introduction, of switchblade knives into interstate commerce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VANIK:

H.R. 19331. A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 19332. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to remove the limitation upon the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiving benefits under title II of such act, and to add thereto a new title under which aged individuals are guaranteed a minimum annual income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DORN:

H.J. Res. 1437. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution relating to the appointment of members of the Supreme Court of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.J. Res. 1438. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide a method for nominating and electing judges of the Supreme Court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WINN:

H.J. Res. 1439. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States wtih respect to the appointment of members of the Supreme Court of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.J. Res. 1440. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim October 26, 1968, as the date commemorating the 50th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Czechoslovakia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIESTER:

H. Res. 1283. Resolution that it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States enter into an agreement with the Government of Israel for the sale of military planes, commonly known as Phantom jet fighters, necessary for Israel's defense to an amount which shall be adequate to provide Israel with a deterrent force capable of preventing future Arab aggression by offsetting sophisticated weapons received by the Arab States, and on order for future delivery, and to replace losses suffered by Israel in the 1967 conflict; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Messrs. MOSS, SPRINGER, NEDZI, ADAMS, RUMSFELD, DINGELL, GROSS, ANDERSON of Illinois, HOLIFIELD, and ANDREWS of North Dakota:

H. Res. 1284. Resolution to create a Select Committee on Public Opinion Polls; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. PETTIS:

H. Res. 1285. Resolution expressing the sense of the House with respect to certain actions which should be taken by the House conferees at the conference on H.R. 15263; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. POLLOCK (for himself, Mr. Pettis, Mr. Brinkley, and Mr. Steiger of Arizona):

H. Res. 1286. Resolution expressing the sense of the House with respect to certain actions which should be taken by the House conferees at the conferences on H.R. 15263; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 19333. A bill for the relief of Michele Montalbano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 19334. A bill for the relief of Juan Del Rosario; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURLESON:

H.R. 19335. A bill for the relief of John A. Avdeef; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DELANEY (by request):

H.R. 19336. A bill for the relief of Costas Sotirios Manos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19337. A bill for the relief of Pedro Lu Wong and Jovita Wong; to the Committee on the Judicary.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.R. 19338. A bill for the relief of John T. Anderson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.R. 19339. A bill for the relief of ToppSav, Inc., formerly known as the Topp-Cola Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KYROS:

H.R. 19340. A bill for the relief of Sylvia Z. Sison; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 19341. A bill for the relief of Juan Ananos Ananos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19342. A bill for the relief of Guillermo Fernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19343. A bill for the relief of Juan Jose Goicoechea Landia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19344. A bill for the relief of Francisco Javier Larramendi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19345. A bill for the relief of Jose Antonio Oiz Loidi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19346. A bill for the relief of Juan Vidart Mendiberri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19347. A bill for the relief of Alfredo Alvarez Rodriguez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATHIAS of California:

H.R. 19348. A bill for the relief of Juan Andres Jaurena Aincinena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19349. A bill for the relief of Valentin Cenoz Aldaya; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19350. A bill for the relief of Felix Arraztoa Apeceche; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19351. A bill for the relief of Miguel Arrechea Apezteguia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19352. A bill for the relief of Juan Echenique Arburua; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19353. A bill for the relief of Josemarie Arregui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19354. A bill for the relief of Bautista Irisarri Arrijuria; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19355. A bill for the relief of Joaquin Elicegui Arrijuria; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19356. A bill for the relief of Joaquin Echenique Arrijuria; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19357. A bill for the relief of Miguel Segundo Arraztoa Arrupea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19358. A bill for the relief of Javier Arizcurren Burusco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19359. A bill for the relief of Fernando Arraztoa Echartea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19360. A bill for the relief of Martin Jose Legarrea Echeverria; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19361. A bill for the relief of Manuel Irigoyen Echeverria; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19362. A bill for the relief of Francisco Anabitarte Errea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19363. A bill for the relief of Louie Etulain; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19364. A bill for the relief of Manuel Rin Fernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19365. A bill for the relief of Vicente Simon Fernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19366. A bill for the relief of Clemente Mendiburu Gortari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19367. A bill for the relief of Mateo Mendiburu Gortari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19368. A bill for the relief of Ignacio Maisterrena Huarter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19369. A bill for the relief of Juan Bautista Picabea Iceaga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19370. A bill for the relief of Martin Villanueva Ilarregui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19371. A bill for the relief of Javier Garro Iparraguirre; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19372. A bill for the relief of Jose Gamio Irigoyen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19373. A bill for the relief of Jose Lorenzo Rementegui Irisarri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19374. A bill for the relief of Jose Luis Rementegui Irisarri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19375. A bill for the relief of Julian Maisterrena Iturralde; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19376. A bill for the relief of Angel Maria Lopez Izaguirre; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19377. A bill for the relief of Jose Lizaso Juaregui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19378. A bill for the relief of Trinidad Lizaso Juaregui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19379. A bill for the relief of Marcelino Urresti Lamiquiz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19380. A bill for the relief of Jesus Esclarin Larraz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19381. A bill for the relief of Jose Aleman Larregui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19382. A bill for the relief of Luis Maria Elizaincin Larregui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19383. A bill for the relief of Juan Vidart Mendiberri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19384. A bill for the relief of Francisco Iglesias Mendioroz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19385. A bill for the relief of Javier Recarte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19386. A bill for the relief of Jose Maria Garde Saharrea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19387. A bill for the relief of Juan Sein Sansinena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19388. A bill for the relief of Joaquin Elizalde Sanzberro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19389. A bill for the relief of Estaban Sarratea Sarratea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19390. A bill for the relief of Juan Mariezcurrena Tellechea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19391. A bill for the relief of Eugenio Arrechea Vertiz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19392. A bill for the relief of Leoncio Irigoyen Vicondoa; to the Committee on the Judiciary

H.R. 19393. A bill for the relief of Jose Luis Uranga Vizcaya; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 19394. A bill for the relief of Friederich Peter Ott; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PELLY:

H.R. 19395. A bill for the relief of Maurice W. Campton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19396. A bill for the relief of Elenita Sandil Policarpio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19397. A bill for the relief of Concordia Alcaraz Sandel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PODELL:

H.R. 19398. A bill for the relief of Marta Elena Alvarez Flores; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19399. A bill for the relief of Chin Lin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RESNICK:

H.R. 19400. A bill for the relief of Stephen Shung-Tsit Chan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19401. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jose Martin Hipolito; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19402. A bill for the relief of Johanna Hermine Schwarz Verbeek; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19403. A bill for the relief of Shih-Lo Yeh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 19404. A bill for the relief of Hsian Rong Tzen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 19405. A bill for the relief of Abraham Glick; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19406. A bill for the relief of Edwin Haile Harris; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19407. A bill for the relief of Chul Kio Suh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19408. A bill for the relief of Fabian Tolete and his wife, Paz D. Tolete; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALKER:

H.R. 19409. A bill for the relief of Mr. George F. Scott and his wife, Margaret Ann Scott; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WATSON:

H.R. 19410. A bill for the relief of Rainer Johannes Kronenfeld; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

In compliance with Public Law 601, 79th Congress, title III, Regulation of Lobbying Act, section 308(b), which provides as follows:

> (b) All information required to be filed under the provisions of this section with the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall be compiled by said Clerk and Secretary, acting jointly, as soon as practicable after the close of the calendar quarter with respect to which such information is filed and shall be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate jointly submit their report of the compilation required by said law and have included all registrations and quarterly reports received.

QUARTERLY REPORTS

A. Charles D. Ablard, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Magazine Publishers Association, Inc., 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $92.05.

A. AFL-CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $16,549.41. E. (9) $8,082.62.

A. John R. Ale, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Herbert F. Alfrey, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $404. E. (9) $21.50.

A. American Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $4,476.92. E. $4,476.92.

A. American Dental Association, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $5,645.61. E. (9) $5,645.61.

A. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. American Humane Association, 5351 South Roslyn Street, Englewood, Colo.

E. (9) $1,500.

A. American Landowners Association, Post Office Box 294, Route No. 1, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

D. (6) $33. E. (9) $406.14.

A. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $515. E. (9) $23.76.

A. American Vocational Association, Inc., 1025 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $750.

A. Robert E. Ansheles, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Consolidated International Trading Corp., 180 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $400. E. (9) $81.62.

A. The Arthritis Foundation, 1212 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $1,227.76.

A. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $25,468. E. (9) $25,584.91.

A. A. V. Atkinson, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Communications Workers of America, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $3,981.57.

A. Robert C. Barnard, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Davis M. Batson, 611 Madison Office Building, Washington, D.C.

B. The Ethyl Corp., 611 Madison Office Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $900.

A. Ernest H. Benson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $6,000.

A. Helen W. Berthelot, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Communications Workers of America, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $4.413.21.

A. W. G. Blewett, 301 North Memorial Drive, St. Louis, Mo.
B. Peabody Coal Co., 301 North Memorial Drive, St. Louis, Mo.

A. Bloch, Hall, Hawkins & Owens, Post Office Box 4349, Macon, Ga.
B. Burtz-Durham Construction Co., Inc., East Point, Ga., Continental Casualty Co., Atlanta, Ga.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $20.

A. J. Wiley Bowers, 325 Pioneer Building, Chattanooga, Tenn.
B. Tennessee Valley Public Power Association, 325 Pioneer Building, Chattanooga, Tenn.

A. E. Fontaine Broun, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $27.19.

A. James E. Bryan, 2000 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Blue Shield Plans, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,626.96.

A. Bulgarian Claims Committee, 2 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $110. E. (9) $25.46.

A. Dr. Lowell A. Burkett, 1025 15th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Vocational Association, 1025 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Charles S. Burns, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $584.50. E. (9) $651.36.

A. Dan L. Butler, 400 Walker Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Harold K Howe, on behalf of the National Automatic Merchandising Association, 400 Walker Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Dan L Butler, 400 Walker Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Harold K. Howe, on behalf of the Outdoor Power Equipment Institute, Inc., 400 Walker Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Monroe Butler, 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
B. The Superior Oil Co., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Donald E. Channell, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Bar Association, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $30.

A. Albert T. Church, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of American Steamship Lines, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $239.34.

A. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $104.38.

A. Coles & Goertner, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of American Tanker Owners, Inc., 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. James F. Collins, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Iron & Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $125.

A. The Committee for Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 55 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $18,000. E. (9) $13,169.57.

A. Bernard J. Conway, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
B. American Dental Association, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,750.03.

A. Allan D. Cors, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Corning Glass Works, Corning, N.Y.
D. (6) $125.

A. Council of Profit Sharing Industries, 29 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. Paul L. Courtney, 1725 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. P. H. Croft, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $77.42.

A. Francis D. Cronin, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. H. C. Crotty, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

A. J. A. Crowder, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Wool Manufacturers, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. John R. Dalton, 1508 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
B. Associated Railways of Indiana, 1508 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

A. Michael P. Daniels, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington. D.C.

A. Charles A. Darnell, 3129 Brereton Court, Huntington, W. Va.
B. Sheet Metal Workers International Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. F. Gibson Darrison, Jr., 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pennsylvania-New York Central Transportation Co., 230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. D.C. Transit Systems, Inc., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,250.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Guild of Prescription Opticians, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Oceanic Properties, Inc., Post Office Box 2780, Honolulu, Hawaii.
D. (6) $3,750.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,800.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. C.I.T. Financial Corp., 650 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $7,500.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Indian Sugar Mills Association, Export Agency Division, Calcutta, India.

A. Vincent A. Demo, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. New York Committee of International Committee of Passenger Lines, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $5,000.

A. Ray Denison, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,108. E. (9) $441.35.

A. Franklin W. Denius, Post Office Box 1148, Austin, Tex.
B. Texas Electric Service Co., Post Office Box 970, Fort Worth, Tex.; Dallas Power & Light Co., Dallas, Tex., and Texas Power & Light Co., Post Office Box 6331, Dallas Tex.
E. (9) $353.24.

A. Henry I. Dworshak, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $553.14.

A. Alfred Edwall, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,124.98.

A. George V. Egge, Jr., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Carl Elliott, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Vocational Association, Inc., 1025 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. Myles W. English, 202 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Highway Users Conference, Inc., 202 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Ethyl Corp., 611 Madison Office Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,996.25.

A. William J. Fannin, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America.

A. Arthur Fefferman, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Firearms Lobby of America, 415 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Morley E. Fox, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

B. Central Arizona Project Association, 1124 Arizona Title Building, Phoenix, Ariz.

E. (9) $135.50.

A. Charles A. Francik, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Corning Glass Works, Corning, N.Y.

D. (6) $420.

A. Robert W. Frase, 1820 Jefferson Place NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Book Publishers Council, Inc., 1 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. and American Educational Publishers Institute, 432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $4,125. E. (9) $4,265.

A. Owen V. Frisby, 821 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Chase Manhattan Bank, 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $215. E. (9) $356.05.

A. Ernest Giddings, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Association of Retired Persons and National Retired Teachers Association.

E. (9) $2,145.48.

A. Royce L. Givens, 224 Seventh Street SE., Washington, D.C.

B. International Conference of Police Associations, 224 Seventh Street SE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,542. E. (9) $2,357.06.

A. John Goldsum, Post Office Box 1148, Austin, Tex.

B. Texas Electric Service Co., Post Office Box 970, Fort Worth, Tex.; Dallas Power & Light Co., Dallas, Tex., and Texas Power & Light Co., Post Office Box 6331, Dallas, Tex.

E. (9) $180.17.

A. William G. Greif, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Meade, Johnson & Co., Evansville, Ind.

A. Fred J. Greiner, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Evaporated Milk Association, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John F. Griner, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $7,579.94. E. (9) $2,655.77.

A. Hoyt S. Haddock, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $600. E. (9) $418.65.

A. Wilfred H. Hall, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Oil Jobbers Council, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $437.50.

A. William B. Harman, Jr., 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $270.

A. F. Donald Hart, 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Clifford J. Harvison, 1616 P Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Tank Truck Carriers, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Eugene B. Hayden, Jr., 828 Midland Bank Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

B. Crop Quality Council, 828 Midland Bank Building, Minnapolis, Minn.

D. (6) $4,800. E. (9) $759.60.

A. Robert B. Heiney, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $875. E. (9) $1,890.69.

A. Noel Hemmendinger, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $45.

A. Hill & Knowlton, Inc., 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Hill & Knowlton, Inc., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Carey W. Hilliard, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $404. E. (9) $24.

A. Harold K. Howe, 734 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Automatic Merchandising Association, 400 Walker Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Harold K. Howe, 734 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Outdoor Power Equipment Institute, Inc., 400 Walker Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Philip A. Hutchinson, Jr., 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $2,472.

A. Insurance Company of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $10,667.63.

A. Ralph K. James, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Committee of American Steamship Lines, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $440. E. (9) $25.20.

A. Philip F. Jehle, 300 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Smith, Kline & French Laboratories, 1500 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Francis M. Judge, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A.

A. Jerome J. Keating, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Letter Carriers, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,125.

A. George J. Knaly, 1200 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 1200 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,000.06.

A. Keith R. Knoblock, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $300.

A. John H. Kostmayer, 120 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

B. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. John J. Long, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,950. E. (9) $2,330.87.

A. Mrs. Judith Nies McFadden, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $32,275.34. E. (9) $12,263.01.

A. John S. McLees, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. U.S. Chamber of the U.S.A.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. The Coca-Cola Co., Post Office Drawer 1784, Atlanta, Ga.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Estate of Lenora B. Hopkins, Security Trust Co., Security Trust Building, Miami, Fla.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. International Packers, Limited, 410 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $100.17.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

A. Mrs. Barbara D. McGarry, 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Parents Committee, Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C. and the subcommittee Bipartisan Citizens Committee for Federal Aid for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, 2107 Davenport Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Ian R. MacGowan, 1001 RCA Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Insurance Association, 1001 RCA Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $250.

A. William F. McManus, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $875. E. (9) $325.

A. Ben J. Man, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,153.92. E. (9) $180.68.

A. Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $2,610.77.

A. Albert E. May, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Committee of American Steamship Lines, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $436. E. (9) $17.81.

A. Arnold Mayer, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America, 2800 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $4,615. E. (9) $490.

A. Anthony Mazzocchi, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union, 1840 California Street, Denver, Colo.

D. (6) $1,750. E. (9) $227.50.

A. Carl J. Megel, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Teachers, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $8,800.

A. Ellis E. Meredith, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Apparel Manufacturers Association, Inc., 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $2,950.

A. Lawrence C. Merthan, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Hill & Knowlton, Inc., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Midland Cooperative Dairy Association, Shawano, Wis., and Box 128, Cazenovia, N.Y.

A. Midwest Federal Savings & Loan, Minneapolis, Minn.

A. Miller Associates, Inc., 2011 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Music Publishers' Association, Inc., 460 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $425.

A. Lester F. Miller, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $404. E. (9) $23.40.

A. Robert H. Miller, 402 Solar Building Washington, D.C.

B. Tenneco, Inc., Post Office Box 2511, Houston, Tex.

E. (9) $76.58.

A. Thomas F. Mitchell, 1735 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Georgia-Pacific Corp., Box 311, Portland, Oreg.

E. (9) $229.87.

A. Mobilehome Dealers National Association, 39 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $2,142.95.

A. Joseph E. Moody, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $625.

A. Carlos Moore, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,750.

A. Jo V. Morgan, Jr., 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Humane Association, Post Office Box 1266, Denver, Colo.

D. (6) $1,500.

A. Curtis Morris, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. John J. Murphy, Jr., 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers International Union of America, 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,925. E. (9) $367.13.

A. Michah H. Naftalin, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Ethyl Corp., 611 Madison Office Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $750.

A. John J. Nangle, 811 Watergate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Independent Insurers, 30 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $775.

A. National Association of Blue Shield Plans, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $1,626.96.

A. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $12,728.45. E. (9) $14,403.67.

A. National Association of Insurance Agents, Inc., 96 Fulton Street, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $459.97.

A. National Association of Letter Carriers, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $557,401.27. E. (9) $11,051.23.

A. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior Street, Chicago, Ill., and 1300 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $10,679.20.

A. National Association of Social Workers, Inc., 2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,826. E. (9) $2,826.

A. National Audio-Visual Association, Inc., 3150 Spring Street, Fairfax, Va.

E. (9) $424.58.

A. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $431,867.71. E. (9) $11,689.34.

A. National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $5,072.45.

A. National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation, 202 East 44th Street, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $833.33.

A. National Farmers Organization, 720 Davis Avenue, Corning, Iowa.

E. (9) $7,697.59.

A. National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., 2012 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $27,205.50. E. (9) $1,970.08.

A. National Oil Jobbers Council, 1701 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,546.26. E. (9) $4,384.59.

A. National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $960. E. (9) $8,778.

A. John A. Nevius, 1000 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $8,310. E. (9) $268.52.

A. Stanley D. Noble, 29 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

B. Council of Profit Sharing Industries, 29 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. John A. Overholt, 10400 Connecticut Avenue, Kensington, Md., and 1106 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1909 Q Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,125.

A. J. Allen Overton, Jr., 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200.

A. Walter Page, Box 128, Cazenovia, N.Y.

A. The Potomac Basin Federation, in care of John R. Moulton RFD 1, Charles Town, W. Va.

D. (6) $297.50. E. (9) $317.09.

A. James H. Rademacher, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington D.C.

B. National Association of Letter Carriers, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,500.

A. Ragan & Mason, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Sea-Land Service, Inc., Post Office Box 1050, Elizabeth, N.J.

D. (6) $900. E. (9) $348.

A. Ragan & Mason, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. South Atlanta & Caribbean Line, Inc., 250 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $200.

A. Ragan & Mason, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Stimson Lumber Co., Post Office Box 68, Forest Grove, Oreg.

D. (6) $1,000.

A. James A. Ransford, 1706 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Getty Oil Co.

A. Sydney C. Reagan, 6815 Prestonshire, Dallas, Tex.

B. Southwestern Peanut Shellers Association, 6815 Prestonshire, Dallas, Tex.

D. (6) $150.

A. Recreational Vehicle Institute, Inc., 62–A Keeler Building, Grand Rapids, Mich.

E. (9) $1,675.40.

A. Retired Officers Tax Credit Committee, Post Office Box 1965, Annapolis, Md.

D. (6) $40. E. (9) $119.80.

A. Theron J. Rice, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Continental Oil Co., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. John Riley, 1625 L Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $600. E. (9) $15.76.

A. Carl Roberts, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Association of Retired Persons, National Retired Teachers Association, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $750

A. John P. Roche, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $210.

A. Nathaniel H. Rogg, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $53.98.

A. John F. Rolph III, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $500.

A. James S. Rubin, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Association of Retired Persons and National Retired Teachers Association.

E. (9) $663.80.

A. Robert A. Saltzstein, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Business Press, 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $1,168.49.

A. William H. Scheick, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $50.

A. Stanley W. Schroeder, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. Ronald C. Seeley, 1357 Nicolet Place, Detroit, Mich.

A. James R. Sharp, 1108 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Fur Merchants' Association, 224 West 30th Street, New York, N.Y., and Scandinavian Fur Farm Organizations, Langagervej 60, Olostrup, Denmark.
D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $2,865.36.

A. Laurence P. Sherfy, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $575.

A. W. A. Smallwood, 1925 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Communications Workers of America, 1925 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $4,508.81.

A. James E. Smith, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $550.

A. Milan D. Smith, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Marvin J. Sonosky, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. W. Byron Sorrell, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mobilehome Dealers National Association, 39 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,025. E. (9) $117.95.

A. W. Byron Sorrell, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Recreational Vehicle Institute, Inc., 62–A Keeler Building, Grand Rapids, Mich.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $175.40.

A. Southern Pine Industry Committee, 520 National Bank of Commerce Building, New Orleans, La.
D. (6) $550. E. (9) $423.29.

A. Southwestern Peanut Shellers Association, 6815 Prestonshire, Dallas, Tex.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $150.

A. Chester S. Stackpole, 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Roy H. Stanton, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,909.10. E. (9) $125.30.

A. Melvin L. Stark, 1001 RCA Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Insurance Association, 1001 RCA Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $250.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. World Trade Committee of Parts Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,350. E. (9) $7.80.

A. Nelson A. Stitt, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW. Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $50.

A. Philip W. Stroupe, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $450.

A. C. Austin Sutherland, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Tank Truck Carriers, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Rev. Charles C. Talley, 3 High Street, Waterford, Va.
B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. William C. Taylor, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Southern Pine Industry Committee.
E. (9) $152.24.

A. Tobacco Associates, Inc., 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,453.

A. Trustees for Conservation, 251 Kearny Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $4,874.40. E. (9) $4,451.38.

A. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $675. E. (9) $675.

A. John M. Vansant, Jr., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Mrs. Lois W. Van Valkenburgh, 1673 Preston Road, Alexandria, Va.
B. Citizens Committee for UNICEF, 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $52.50. E. (9) $8.

A. Richard E. Vernor, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $245. E. (9) $23.76.

A. Veterans of World War I, USA Inc., 40 G Street NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Wald, Harkrader & Rockefeller, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Insurance Company of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Harold S. Walker, Jr., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. American Gas Association, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Washington Consulting Service, 1435 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Occupational Therapy Association, 251 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,749.99. E. (9) $1,487.

A. E. E. Webster, 400 First Street NW, Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $4,068.05.

A. Western States Meat Packers Association, Inc., 604 Mission Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $126,117. E. (9) $176.65.

A. Don White, 3150 Spring Street, Fairfax, Va.
B. National Audio-Visual Association, Inc., 3150 Spring Street, Fairfax, Va.
D. (6) $1,031.25. E. (9) $76.40.

A. Thomas D. Wilcox, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific American Steamship Association, 635 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $549.50.

A. World Trade Committee of Parts Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,357.80. E. (9) $1,357.80.

A. Robert C. Zimmer, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

QUARTERLY REPORTS

The following quarterly reports were submitted for the second calendar quarter 1968:

(NOTE.—The form used for registration is reproduced below. In the interest of economy in the RECORD, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective letter and number.)

FILE ONE COPY WITH THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE AND FILE TWO COPIES WITH THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

This page (page 1) is designed to supply identifying data; and page 2 (on the back of this page) deals with financial data.

PLACE AN "X" BELOW THE APPROPRIATE LETTER OR FIGURE IN THE BOX AT THE RIGHT OF THE "REPORT" HEADING BELOW:

"PRELIMINARY" REPORT ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"QUARTERLY" REPORT: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19_______ ◄

REPORT

PURSUANT TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th
(Mark one square only)				

NOTE ON ITEM "A".—(a) IN GENERAL. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:

(i) "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)

(ii) "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".

(b) SEPARATE REPORTS. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:

(i) Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.

(ii) Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL FILING:

1. State name, address, and nature of business.

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

NOTE ON ITEM "B".—*Reports by Agents or Employees.* An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (*a*) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (*b*) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. EMPLOYER.—State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

NOTE ON ITEM "C".—(*a*) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).

(*b*) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).

(*c*) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS, AND PUBLICATIONS in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have terminated, ☐ place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports.

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the *specific* legislative interests by reciting: (*a*) Short titles of statutes and bills; (*b*) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (*c*) citations of statutes, where known; (*d*) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (*a*) Description, (*b*) quantity distributed; (*c*) date of distribution, (*d*) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out item "D" and "E" on the back of this page. Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly" Report.◄

AFFIDAVIT

[Omitted in printing]

PAGE 1◄

NOTE ON ITEM "D."—(*a*) *In General.* The term "contribution" includes *anything of value.* When an organization or individual uses printed or duplicated matter in a campaign attempting to influence legislation, money received by such organization or individual—for such printed or duplicated matter—is a "contribution." "The term 'contribution' includes a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution"—Section 302(a) of the Lobbying Act.

(*b*) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN EMPLOYER.—(i) *In General.* Item "D" is designed for the reporting of all receipts from which expenditures are made, or will be made, in accordance with legislative interests.

(ii) *Receipts of Business Firms and Individuals.*—A business firm (or individual) which is subject to the Lobbying Act by reason of expenditures which it makes in attempting to influence legislation—but which has no funds to expend except those which are available in the ordinary course of operating a business not connected in any way with the influencing of legislation—will have no receipts to report, even though it does have expenditures to report.

(iii) *Receipts of Multipurpose Organizations.*—Some organizations do not receive any funds which are to be expended solely for the purpose of attempting to influence legislation. Such organizations make such expenditures out of a general fund raised by dues, assessments, or other contributions. The percentage of the general fund which is used for such expenditures indicates the percentage of dues, assessments, or other contributions which may be considered to have been paid for that purpose. Therefore, in reporting receipts, such organizations may specify what that percentage is, and report their dues, assessments, and other contributions on that basis. However, each contributor of $500 or more is to be listed, regardless of whether the contribution was made solely for legislative purposes.

(*c*) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE.—(i) *In General.* In the case of many employees, all receipts will come under Items "D 5" (received for services) and "D 13" (expense money and reimbursements). In the absence of a clear statement to the contrary, it will be presumed that your employer is to reimburse you for all expenditures which you make in connection with legislative interests.

(ii) *Employer as Contributor of $500 or More.*—When your contribution from your employer (in the form of salary, fee, etc.) amounts to $500 or more, it is not necessary to report such contribution under "D 13" and "D 14," since the amount has already been reported under "D 5," and the name of the "employee" has been given under Item "B" on page 1 of this report.

D. RECEIPTS (INCLUDING CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOANS):

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "None" in the space following the number.

Receipts (other than loans)

1. $--------Dues and assessments
2. $--------Gifts of money or anything of value
3. $--------Printed or duplicated matter received as a gift
4. $--------Receipts from sale of printed or duplicated matter
5. $--------Received for services (e.g., salary, fee, etc.)

6. $--------TOTAL for this Quarter (Add items "1" through "5")
7. $--------Received during previous Quarters of calendar year

8. $--------TOTAL from Jan. 1 through this Quarter (Add "6" and "7")

Loans Received

"The term 'contribution' includes a . . . *loan* . . ."—Sec. 302(a).

9. $--------TOTAL now owed to others on account of loans
10. $--------Borrowed from others during this Quarter
11. $--------Repaid to others during this Quarter

12. $--------"Expense money" and Reimbursements received this Quarter

Contributors of $500 or more
(from Jan. 1 through this Quarter)

13. Have there been such contributors?

Please answer "yes" or "no": --------

14. In the case of each contributor whose contributions (including loans) during the "period" from January 1 through the last days of this Quarter total $500 or more:

Attach hereto plain sheets of paper, approximately the size of this page, tabulate data under the headings "Amount" and "Name and Address of Contributor"; and indicate whether the last day of the period is March 31, June 30, September 30, or December 31. Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	*Name and Address of Contributor*
	(*"Period"* from Jan. 1 through ----------------, 19----)
$1,500.00	John Doe, 1621 Blank Bldg., New York, N.Y.
$1,785.00	The Roe Corporation, 2511 Doe Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
$3,285.00	TOTAL

NOTE ON ITEM "E".—(*a*) *In General.* "The term 'expenditure' includes a payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make an expenditure"—Section 302(b) of the Lobbying Act.

(*b*) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE. In the case of many employees, all expenditures will come under telephone and telegraph (Item "E 6") and travel, food, lodging, and entertainment (Item "E 7").

E. EXPENDITURES (INCLUDING LOANS) in connection with legislative interests:

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "None" in the spaces following the number.

Expenditures (other than loans)

1. $--------Public relations and advertising services
2. $--------Wages, salaries, fees, commissions (other than item "1")
3. $--------Gifts or contributions made during Quarter
4. $--------Printed or duplicated matter, including distribution cost
5. $--------Office overhead (rent, supplies, utilities, etc.)
6. $--------Telephone and telegraph
7. $--------Travel, food, lodging, and entertainment
8. $--------All other expenditures

9. $--------TOTAL for this Quarter (Add "1" through "8")
10. $--------Expended during previous Quarters of calendar year

11. $--------TOTAL from January 1 through this Quarter (Add "9" and "10")

Loans Made to Others

"The term 'expenditure' includes a . . . *loan* . . ."—Sec. 302(b).

12. $--------TOTAL now owed to person filing
13. $--------Lent to others during this Quarter
14. $--------Repayment received during this Quarter

15. Recipients of Expenditures of $10 or More

In the case of expenditures made during this Quarter by, or on behalf of the person filing: Attach plain sheets of paper approximately the size of this page and tabulate data as to expenditures under the following heading: "Amount," "Date or Dates," "Name and Address of Recipient," "Purpose." Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	*Date or Dates—Name and Address of Recipient—Purpose*
$1,750.00	7-11: Roe Printing Co., 3214 Blank Ave., St. Louis, Mo.—Printing and mailing circulars on the "Marshbanks Bill."
$2,400.00	7-15, 8-15, 9-15: Britten & Blaten, 3127 Gremlin Bldg., Washington, D.C.—Public relations service at $800.00 per month.
$4,150.00	TOTAL

PAGE 2

A. Charles D. Ablard, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Magazine Publishers Association, Inc., 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $331.44.

A. Ad Hoc Committee of the Construction Industry Advancement Funds, 1016 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Clarence G. Adamy, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Food Chains, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500.

A. Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc., 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,812.50. E. (9) $5,812.50.

A. Air Traffic Control Association, Inc., ARBA Building, 525 School Street SW., Washington, D.C.

A. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $13,173.46. E. (9) $13,173.46.

A. John R. Ale, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $210.

A. Mrs. Donna Allen, 3306 Ross Place NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Committee to Abolish HUAC, 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $1,040. E. (9) $1,505.17.

A. Kenneth D. Allen, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Health Insurance Association of America, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $16.50. E. (9) $4.19.

A. Louis J. Allen.
B. Tennessee Railroad Association, 916 Nashville Trust Building, Nashville, Tenn.

A. Nicholas E. Allen & Merrill Armour, 444 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Music Operators of America, Inc., 228 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $225. E. (9) $58.84.

A. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. American Aniline Products, Inc., 25 McLean Boulevard, Paterson, N.J.
E. (9) $2,007.35.

A. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. The American Beekeeping Federation, Minco, Okla.
D. (6) $3,695.82. E. (9) $4,477.46.

A. American Cancer Society, 219 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $8,099.19.

A. The American College of Radiology, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,027.92. E. (9) $2,027.92.

A. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. American Farm Bureau Federation, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill., and 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $37,624. E. (9) $37,624.

A. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $38,528.27.

A. American Hospital Association, 840 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $13,912.88. E. (9) $13,912.88.

A. American Hotel & Motel Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. American Humane Association, 5351 South Roslyn Street, Englewood, Colo.
E. (9) $1,500.

A. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,650. E. (9) $1,650.

A. American Insurance Association, 85 John Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $10,593.63. E. (9) $10,593.63.

A. American Israel Public Affairs Committee, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,263.51. E. (9) $3,123.60.

A. American Justice Association, Inc., Defense Highway, Gambrills, Md.
D. (6) $2. E. (9) $2.

A. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $721.50. E. (9) $38.96.

A. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $15,685.84.

A. American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc., 11 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $3,577.54.

A. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $340.

A. American National Cattlemen's Association, 801 East 17th Avenue, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $56,379. E. (9) $6,153.

A. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $10,791.90 E. (9) $10,791.90.

A. American Optometric Association, care of J. C. Tumblin, O.D., 8436 Broadway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $4,541.43. E. (9) $4,541.43.

A. American Paper Institute, Inc., 260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. American Parents Committee, Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C. and the subcommittee Bipartisan Citizens Committee for Federal Aid for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, 2104 Davenport Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,632.25. E. (9) $537.91.

A. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,171. E. (9) $10,623.

A. American Podiatry Association, 3301 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,459.72

A. American Pulpwood Association, 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $600.

A. American Society of Travel Agents, Inc., 360 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $5,908.67.

A. American Stockyards Association, 1712 I Street NW, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,350. E. (9) $900.

A. American Textile Machinery Association, in care of E. C. Connor, 224 Ellington Road, Longmeadow, Mass.
D. (6) $80.61.

A. American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc., 1501 Johnston Building, Charlotte, N.C.
D. (6) $14,612.76. E. (9) $14,612.76.

A. American Transit Association, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $6,461.

A. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $10,290.06. E. (9) $26,052.18.

A. American Veterinary Medical Association, 1522 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $285.

A. The American Waterways Operators, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,455.58. E. (9) $3,455.58.

A. Walter M. Anderson, Jr., Montgomery, Ala.
B. Alabama Railroad Association, 1002 First National Bank Building, Montgomery, Ala.

A. William C. Anderson, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,687.50. E. (9) $83.40.

A. Arkansas Railroad Association, 1100 Boyle Building, Little Rock, Ark.
B. Class one railroads operating in and through the State of Arkansas.
D. (6) $187. E. (9) $842.96.

A. Carl F. Arnold, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,125. E. (9) $2,231.50.

A. The Arthritis Foundation, 1212 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1,299.52.

A. Associated Railroads of New Jersey, Pennsylvania Station, Newark, N.J.

A. Associated Third Class Mail Users, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $287.50. E. (9) $287.50.

A. Association of American Railroads, 929 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $11,574.02.

A. Association on Broadcasting Standards, Inc., 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Association on Japanese Textile Imports, Inc., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $2,000.

A. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $19,524.50. E. (9) $15,297.26.

A. Association of Oil Pipe Lines, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $335.

A. The Association of Western Railways, 224 Union Station Building, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $350.

A. A. V. Atkinson, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Communications Workers of America, 1925 K. Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $4,173.79.

A. Atlanta Committee for Democratic Republican Independent Voter Education, 2540 Lakewood Avenue SW., Atlanta, Ga.
D. (6) $13,155. E. (9) $10,736.88.

A. Atlantic Richfield Co., 260 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
E. (9) $300.

A. Robert L. Augenblick, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $75. E. (9) $4.

A. Richard W. Averill, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Optometric Association, care of J. C. Tumblin, O.D., 4836 Broadway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $800. E. (9) $301.

A. Michael H. Bader, 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association on Broadcasting Standards, Inc., 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harry S. Baer, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Aerospace Services Association, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $3,338.36.

A. John C. Bagwell, 723 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Honolulu, Hawaii.

A. Donald Baldwin, Cafritz Building, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Northern Pacific Railway Co., St. Paul, Minn., Great Northern Railway Co., St. Paul, Minn., and Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co., Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $326.12.

A. Ernest L. Barcella, Washington, D.C.
B. General Motors Corp., 3044 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

A. John Barnard, Jr., 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert C. Barnard, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Arthur R. Barnett, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Co's., 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $265. E. (9) $17.19.

A. Irvin L. Barney, Room 820, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, 4929 Main Street, Kansas City, Mo.
D. (6) $3,600.

A. A. Wesley Barthelmes, 2133 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Insurance Company of North America and Life Insurance Company of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
D. (6) $468.80. E. (9) $354.48.

A. Eugene T. Bartkowiak, 3829 W Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Association of Polish Americans, Inc., 3829 W Street SE., Washington, D.C.

A. James P. Bass, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Airlines, Inc., 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Ross Bass Associates, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Record Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,250.

A. Roy Battles, 917 Cafritz Building, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Clear Channel Broadcasting Service (CCBS), 917 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Mrs. Dita Davis Beard, ITT Building, 1707 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., ITT Building, 1707 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,850. E. (9) $5,815.

A. Donald S. Beatie, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. John H. Beidler.
B. Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,135. E. (9) $467.26.

A. James F. Bell, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $937.50. E. (9) $315.85.

A. Ernest H. Benson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $6,000.

A. Reed A. Benson, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The John Birch Society, Inc., 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont, Mass.

A. Berlack, Israels & Liberman, 26 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. General Public Utilities Corp., 80 Pine Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $10.70.

A. Helen W. Berthelot, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Communications Workers of America, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $3,997.18.

A. Andrew J. Biemiller, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,785. E. (9) $386.75.

A. Walter J. Bierwagen, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Sidney W. Bishop, 85 John Street, New York, N.Y.
B. American Insurance Association, 85 John Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $400.

A. John H. Bivins, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $690.

A. Wm. Rhea Blake, 1918 North Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $403.86. E. (9) $336.02.

A. Joel D. Blackmon, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Mailers Union, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $500.

A. William Blum, Jr., 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee for the Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 55 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,620. E. (9) $2,529.27.

A. Blumberg, Singer, Ross, Diamond & Gordon, 245 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Cigar Manufacturers Association of America, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,250.

A. Eugene F. Bogan, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investment Co. Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Book Manufacturers' Institute, Inc., 161 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Lyle H. Boren, Seminole, Okla.
B. The Association of Western Railways, 224 Union Station Building, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $350.

A. Robert T. Borth, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Avenue, New York.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $132.25.

A. G. Stewart Boswell, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Textile Manufacturers Institute, 1501 Johnson Building, Charlotte, N.C.
D. (6) $1,116.67. E. (9) $136.02.

A. Samuel E. Boyle, 428 South Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
B. The Christian Amendment Movement, 804 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $1,360.11. E. (9) $262.88.

A. Col. A. A. Brackett, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Charles N. Brady, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph E. Brady, Room 122, Sheraton Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.
B. National Coordinating Committee of the Beverage Industry.

A. Charles R. Bragg, 90 Stony Corners Circle, Avon, Conn.
B. Northeast Utilities Service Co., 176 Cumberland Avenue, Wethersfield, Conn.
E. (9) $1,955.55.

A. A. Marvin Braverman, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Motors Corp., 14250 Plymouth Road, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $66,666.66.

A. Parke C. Brinkley, The Madison Building, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Agricultural Chemicals Association.

D. (6) $25. E. (9) $5.50.

A. Wally Briscoe.

B. National Cable Television Association, Inc., 1634 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $135. E. (9) $16.50.

A. Florence I. Broadwell, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,326.40. E. (9) $494.46.

A. David A. Brody, 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) app. $250.

A. W. S. Bromley, 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. American Pulpwood Association, 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Milton E. Brooding, 215 Fremont Street, San Francisco, Calif.

B. Del Monte Corp., 215 Fremont Street, San Francisco, Calif.

D. (6) $500. (9) $50.

A. Joseph P. Brosnan, 9160 Springhill Lane, Greenbelt, Md.

B. Air Force Sergeants Association, 1501 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

D. (6) $20,880.94. E. (9) $20,880.94.

A. E. Fontaine Broun, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $44.47.

A. J. D. Brown, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $300.

A. Brown, Lund & Levin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Ebasco Industries Inc., 2 Rector Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $812.50.

A. Brown, Lund & Levin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. General Public Utilities Corp., 80 Pine Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $450.

A. Robert J. Brown, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $47.

A. Robert W. Bruce, 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

B. The Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co., 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

D. (6) $306. E. (9) $272.

A. Lyman L. Bryan, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $6.95. E. (9) $24.42.

A. George S. Buck, Jr., Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

A. Bulgarian Claims Committee, in care of Chaco Chace, Dreyfus & Co., 2 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $34.32.

A. George S. Bullen.

B. National Federation of Independent Business, 921 Washington Building, 15th Street and New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. George J. Burger, 250 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

B. Burger Tire Consultant Service, 250 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. George J. Burger.

B. National Federation of Independent Business, 921 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Burley & Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Association, Post Office Box 860, Lexington, Ky.

D. (6) $14,654.03. E. (9) $425.

A. Mrs. Margot Burman, 100 Seventh Street NE., Washington, D.C.

B. National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles. Calif.

E. (9) $14.

A. George B. Burnham, 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.

B. Numerous stockholders of the Burnham Chemical Co., 132 Third Street NE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $240. E. (9) $240.

A. George Burnham, U.S. Steel Corp., 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. U.S. Steel Corp., 525 William Penn Place. Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $875. E. (9) $585.

A. David Burpee, Fordhook Farms, Doylestown, Penn.

A. Hollis W. Burt, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $75.

A. Herbert H. Butler, 438 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Independent Telephone Association, 438 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $150. E. (9) $406.

A. Monroe Butler, 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.

B. The Superior Oil Co., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Robert B. Byrnes, 1514 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Railroad Pension Forum, Inc., 2403 East 75th Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Charles G. Caffrey, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Textile Manufacturers Institute Inc., 1501 Johnston Building, Charlotte, N.C.

D. (6) $760.20. E. (9) $160.

A. Gordon L. Calvert, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Investment Bankers Association of America, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $890.

A. Donald L. Calvin, 11 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

B. New York Stock Exchange, 11 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Carl C. Campbell, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

D. (6) $175.38.

A. Charles A. Campbell, 1615 Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Marvin Caplan.

B. Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,002. E. (9) $109.43.

A. Ronald A. Capone, room 505, the Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Committee of European Shipowners, 30–32 St. Mary Ave, London, E.C. 3, England.

D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $348.48.

A. Michael H. Cardozo, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Law Schools, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Philip Carlip, 650 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

B. District 2, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, 650 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $103.40.

A. Philip Carlip, 675 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

B. Seafarers International Union, 675 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $1,320.

A. Col. John T. Carlton, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Braxton B. Carr, 1250 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. The American Waterways Operators, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,917. E. (9) $149.25.

A. Robert S. Carr, 1220 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Hiram Walker & Sons, Inc., 8323 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

A. Blue Allan Carstenson.

B. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo., 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,846.27. E. (9) $223.06.

A. Eugene C. Carusi, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $100.

A. Ralph E. Casey, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc., 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 11 Broadway, New York N.Y.

D. (6) $2,875. E. (9) $702.54.

A. E. Michael Cassady, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mississippi Valley Association, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

A. Francis R. Cawley, 15th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Agricultural Publishers Association, 15th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $50. E. (9) $100.39.

A. Central Arizona Project Association, 1124 Arizona Title Building, Phoenix, Ariz.

D. (6) $9,509.40. E. (9) $32,170.79.

A. Col. Joseph L. Chabot, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. International Association of Game, Fish and Conservation Commissioners, 5727 Blake Road, Minneapolis, Minn.

D. (6) $900. E. (9) $202.65.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. The National Committee for the Recording Arts, 9300 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, Calif.

E. (9) $43.38.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Newspaper Committee for a Free and Competitive Press, 33 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $63.96.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Strohmeyer & Arpe Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,031.25. E. (9) $58.72.

A. James W. Chapman.

B. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,625.

A. A. H. Chesser, 400 First Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

E. (9) $200.

A. The Christian Amendment Movement, 804 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $3.146.41. E. (9) $5,309.14.

A. Edwin Christianson.

B. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo., and 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $35. E. (9) $155.35.

A. Lowell T. Christison, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Optometric Association, care of J. C. Tumblin, O.D., 4836 Broadway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.

D. (6) $259. E. (9) $134.08.

A. Cigar Manufacturers Association of America, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $31,736.96. E. (9) $47.

A. Allen Clark, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Shipbuilders Council of America, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Earl W. Clark.

B. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,294. E. (9) $61.15.

A. James E. Clark, Jr., 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Fleet Reserve Association, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert M. Clark, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., 80 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

A. Clay Pipe Industry Depletion Committee, Post Office Box 13125, Kansas City, Mo.

D. (6) $175. E. (9) $3,298.53.

A. Clear Channel Broadcasting Service (CCBS), 917 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $89.85.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Tobacco Co.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Philip Morris, Inc.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc.

A. David Cohen.

B. Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,718. E. (9) $267.15.

A. Edwin S. Cohen, 26 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $15.

A. Coles & Goertner, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Committee of American Tanker Owners, Inc., 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. William J. Colley.

B. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Collier, Shannon & Rill, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Broiler Council, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $600.

A. Collier, Shannon & Rill, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Footwear Manufacturers Association, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $750. E. (9) $275.

A. Collier, Shannon & Rill, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Tool and Stainless Steel Industry Committee, in care of the Carpenter Steel Co., Reading, Pa.

D. (6) $1,250. E. (9) $450.

A. James F. Collins, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Iron & Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $125.

A. Colorado Railroad Association, 702 Majestic Building, Denver, Colo.

D. (6) $650. E. (9) $1,446.82.

A. Committee for Automobile Excise Tax Repeal, Farragut Building, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $211.07.

A. The Committee for Broadening Commercial Bank Participation in Public Financing, in care of John M. Maxwell, 50 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Committee for a Free Cotton Market, Inc., 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $1,309.90.

A. Paul B. Comstock, 1812 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Broadcasters, 1812 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Raymond F. Conkling, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Texaco Inc., 135 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $240. E. (9) $176.85.

A. Howard M. Conner, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 245 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

D. (6) $1,042.50. E. (9) $1,085.67.

A. John D. Conner, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Book Manufacturers' Institute, Inc., 161 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert J. Connor, Jr., 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Chrysler Corp., 341 Massachusetts Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $450. E. (9) $230.

A. Paul R. Conrad, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Newspaper Association, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $230.47.

A. Harry N. Cook, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The National Waterways Conference.

A. Eileen D. Cook, 200 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.

B. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $62.24.

A. Edward Cooper.

B. Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., World Center Building, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. Milton Cooper, 1000 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., Winston-Salem, N.C.

A. Joshua W. Cooper, 626 South Lee Street, Alexandria, Va.

B. Portsmouth-Kittery Armed Services Committee, Inc., Post Office Box 1123, Portsmouth, N.H.

D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $1,309.67.

A. Mitchell J. Cooper, 1101 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Council of Forest Industries, 1477 West Pender Street, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

D. (6) $3,000.

A. Mitchell J. Cooper, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Footwear Division, Rubber Manufacturers Association, Inc., 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $6,000. E. (9) $62.45.

A. Darrell Coover, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $587.61.

A. Allan D. Cors, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Corning Glass Works, Corning, N.Y.
D. (6) $125.

A. Thomas A. Cosgrove, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $78.

A. Council for a Livable World, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $28,779.29. E. (9) $30,704.20.

A. Council of Profit Sharing Industries, 29 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. Council of State Chambers of Commerce, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $480.47. E. (9) $480.47.

A. Counihan, Casey & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Linen Supply Association of America, 975 Arthur Godfrey Road, Miami Beach, Fla.

A. Donald M. Counihan, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. American Corn Millers Federation, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Donald M. Counihan, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Classroom Periodical Publishers Association, 38 West Fifth Street, Dayton, Ohio.

A. Paul L. Courtney, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Machine Tool Distributors' Association, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Eugene Meyer III, Katharine Graham, Frederick S. Beebee, and American Security & Trust Co., as trustees under an agreement, dated April 25, 1963, between them and Agnes E. Meyer.
D. (6) $700.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. A. P. Moller, 8 Kongens, Nytorv, Copenhagen, Denmark.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Machine Tool Builders' Association, 2139 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Tool, Die & Precision Machining Association, 1411 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The Wisconsin Corp., Route 3, Box 3747, Bainbridge Island, Wash.

A. Cox, Langford & Brown, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Collegiate Athletic Association, Midland Building, Kansas City, Mo.

A. W. J. Crawford, Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co. (a Delaware Corp.), Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.

A. P. H. Croft, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,174.72. E. (9) $1,174.72.

A. H. C. Crotty, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

A. J. A. Crowder, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Wool Manufacturers, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Michael B. Crowson, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Distilled Spirits Institute, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

A. J. Steele Culbertson, 1614 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Fish Meal & Oil Association, 1614 20th Street, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $87.90.

A. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $1,849.53. E. (9) $665.50.

A. John T. Curran, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Laborers' International Union of North America, 905 16th Street NW., Washington D.C.
D. (6) $5,700. E. $2,542.17.

A. John R. Dalton, 1508 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
B. Associated Railways of Indiana, 1508 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H. Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Importers Association, 111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $513.81. E. (9) $513.81.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japan Chemical Fibers Association, 3, 3-Chome, Muromachi, Nihonbashi, Chuo-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japan Woolen & Linen Textiles Exporters Association, 4, 4-Chome, Bingomachi, Higashiku, Osaka, Japan.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Vorort des schweizerischen Handels- und Industrie-Vereins, Borsenstrasse 26, Zurich, Switzerland.

A. Charles A. Darnell, 3129 Brereton Court, Huntington, W.Va.
B. Sheet Metal Workers International Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

A. John C. Datt, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,062.50. E. (9) $44.91.

A. Aled P. Davies, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. American Meat Institute, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $249.76.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Chicago & North Western Railway Co., 400 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Inland Steel Co., 30 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $426.61.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. D.C. Transit System, Inc., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,500.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Guild of Prescription Opticians, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington, Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $600.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington, Building, Washington, D.C.
B. C.I.T. Financial Corp., 650 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Indian Sugar Mills Association, Export Agency Division, Calcutta, India.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. V. I. Gift & Fashion Shop Association, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands.

A. Charles W. Day, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
D. (6) $209. E. (9) $168.35.

A. Michael B. Deane, 611 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Meat Importers Council, Inc., 26 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Debevoise, Liberman & Corben, Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Northeast Utilities Service Co., 176 Cumberland Avenue, Wethersfield, Conn.
D. (6) $2,457. E. (9) $22.84.

A. Tony T. Dechant.
B. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo., and 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $204.48.

A. L. E. Deilke, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
B. The Interstate Manufacturers Association, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. L. E. Deilke, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
B. National Association of Direct Selling Co's., 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
D. (6) $3,000.

A. John deLaittre, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,250. E. (9) $3,492.

A. James J. Delaney, Jr., 1003 Lancaster Drive, Anchorage, Alaska.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Richard A. Dell, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Ronald W. DeLucien, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $225.

A. Vincent A. Demo, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. New York Committee of International Committee of Passenger Lines, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $5,000.

A. Ray Denison, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,108. E. (9) $462.24.

A. Franklin W. Denius, Post Office Box 1148, Austin, Tex.
B. Texas Electric Service Co., Post Office Box 970, Fort Worth, Tex., Dallas Power & Light Co., Dallas, Tex., and Texas Power & Light Co., Post Office Box 6331, Dallas, Tex.
E. (9) $914.96.

A. Max A. Denney, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $900.

A. Leslie E. Dennis, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $2,375. E. (9) $717.45.

A. Steven B. Derounian, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Courier Corp., 222–17 Northern Boulevard, Bayside, N.Y.
D. (6) $125. E. (9) $140.

A. Steven B. Derounian, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amperex Electronic Corp., 230 Duffy Avenue, Hicksville, N.Y.
D. (6) $240. E. (9) $217.

A. Steven B. Derounian, 815 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Town of Hempstead, Town Hall, Hampstead, N.Y.
D. (6) $325. E. (9) $210.

A. Lloyd J. Derrickson, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Russell C. Derrickson, 4000 Cathedral Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Responsive Environments Corp., 1707 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,400. E. (9) $320.

A. Cecil B. Dickson, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $360. E. (9) $67.29.

A. George S. Dietrich, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association on Broadcasting Standards, Inc., 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Timothy V. A. Dillon, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Department of Water Resources, State of California, Post Office Box 388, Sacramento, Calif.
D. (6) $2,182.93. E. (9) $157.93.

A. Timothy V. A. Dillon, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sacramento Municipal Utility District, Post Office Box 15830, Sacramento, Calif.
D. (6) $1,082.79. E. (9) $32.79.

A. Timothy V. A. Dillion, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Yuba County Water Agency, Marysville, Calif.
D. (6) $1,219.87. E. (9) $19.87.

A. Disabled American Veterans, National Service Headquarters, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Spring, Ky.
D. (6) $13,153.83. E. (9) $2,022.74.

A. Robert H. Distelhorst, Jr., 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 211 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $487.50. E. (9) $5.25.

A. William H. Dodds, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $179.96.

A. Paul R. M. Donelan, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. C. L. Dorson, Room 1128,, Warner Building, 501 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retirement Federation of Civil Service Employees of the U.S. Government, Room 1128, Warner Building, 501 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,233.38.

A. David L. Dougherty, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $12.75.

A. Leonard K. Dowiak, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Hotel & Motel Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $175.

A. Franklin B. Dryden, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc.

A. Evelyn Dubrow, 1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,715.44. E. (9) $1,773.23.

A. William DuChessi, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Textile Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO, 99 University Place, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $918.74. E. (9) $75.

A. J. D. Durand, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $335.

A. Robert G. Dwyer, 1511 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Anaconda Co., 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $250.

A. William B. Edgerton, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,100.

A. Alfred Edwall, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,124.98.

A. George V. Egge, Jr., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Milton Eisenberg, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Dominium International, Inc., 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. John Doyle Elliott, 5500 Quincy Street, Hyattsville, Md.
D. (6) $2,730.69. E. (9) $3,124.51.

A. John M. Elliott, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Warren G. Elliott, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,354.38.

A. Dorothy A. Ellsworth, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $2,855.70. E. (9) $641.13.

A. Perry R. Ellsworth, 1025 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retail Jewelers of America, Inc., 1025 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,100.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Coachella Valley County Water District, Coachella, Calif.
D. (6) $1,290.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Department of Water and Power of the City of Los Angeles, 111 North Hope Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $1,600.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. East Bay Municipal Utility District, 2130 Adeline Street, Oakland, Calif.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Imperial Irrigation District, El Centro, Calif.
D. (6) $2,100.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Six Agency Committee, 909 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $4,890.

A. James C. England, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $21.30.

A. Myles W. English, 202 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Highway Users Conference, Inc., 202 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Grover W. Ensley, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $3,640. E. (9) $278.

A. John D. Fagan, 200 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $22.50.

A. Clinton M. Fair, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,108. E. (9) $211.78.

A. William J. Fannin, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo., and 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $47,245.99. E. (9) $27,183.74.

A. Joseph G. Feeney, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. REA Express, 219 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $300.

A. Arthur S. Fefferman, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, Davis Building, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Taxpayers Committee to End Foreign Aid.

A. Maxwell Field, 4575 Prudential Tower, Boston, Mass.

B. New England Footwear Association, Inc., 4575 Prudential Tower, Boston, Mass.

D. (6) $400.

A. Herbert A. Fierst, 607 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Council of Forest Industries of British Columbia, 1477 West Pender Street, Vancouver 5 B.C., Canada.

D. (6) $7,200. E. (9) $185.

A. Herbert A. Fierst, 607 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Joint Committee of Printing and Publishing Industries of Canada, Fourth Floor, 117 Eglinton Avenue East, Toronto 12, Canada.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $39.05.

A. William J. Flaherty, 122 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Spring, Ky.

D. (6) $3,983.07. E. (9) $304.20.

A. Roger Fleming, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,450. E. (9) $6.27.

A. Frank U. Fletcher, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 45 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Fletcher, Heald, Rowell, Kenehan & Hildreth, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 45 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Floyd O. Flom, 260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. American Paper Institute, Inc., 260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Gene Fondren, Post Office Box 192, Taylor, Tex.

B. Texas railroads.

D. (6) $2,222.08. E. (9). $617.46.

A. Gordon Forbes, 207 Union Depot Building, St. Paul, Minn.

D. (6) $500.

A. James W. Foristel, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,762.50. E. (9) $196.90.

A. Frederick W. Ford.

B. National Cable Television Association, Inc., 1634 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $417. E. (9) $18.

A. Charles E. Foster, 900 17th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Kaiser Industries Corp., 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $275. E. (9) $404.22.

A. Ronald J. Foulis, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $180.

A. John G. Fox, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $132.80.

A. Morley E. Fox, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

B. Central Arizona Project Association, 1124 Arizona Title Building, Phoenix, Ariz.

D. (6) $113.68. E. (9) $57.75.

A. Charles A. Francik, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Corning Glass Works, Corning, N.Y.

D. (6) $420.

A. Walter L. Frankland, Jr., 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Silver Users Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $450. E. (9) $100.63.

A. Robert W. Frase, 1820 Jefferson Place NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Book Publishers Council, Inc., 1 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., and American Educational Publishers Institute, 432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $4,125. E. (9) $3,786.95.

A. R. Frank Frazier, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Broiler Council, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $900.

A. James O. Freeman, 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,562.50. E. (9) $87.70.

A. James H. French, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Book Manufacturers' Institute, Inc., 161 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Joseph Freni, Jr., 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $750.

A. Philip P. Friedlander, Jr., 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, Inc., 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $61,863. E. (9) $14,397.

A. Frank W. Frisk, Jr., 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $375.

A. David C. Fullarton, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $422.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Anchor Corp. et al.

D. (6) $3,375. E. (9) $431.76.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp., Bethpage, Long Island, N.Y.

D. (6) $450. E. (9) $141.94.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Royal Crown Cola Co., Columbus, Ga.

D. (6) $250. E. (9) $52.19.

A. William B. Gardiner, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Spring, Ky.

D. (6) $3,365.38. E. (9) $35.55.

A. Marion R. Garstang, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Milk Producers Federation 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $200. E. (9) $2.60.

A. Gas Appliance Manufacturers Association, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Gas Supply Committee, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Aubrey D. Gates, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $170.

A. General Public Utilities Corp., 80 Pine Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Ernest Giddings, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Retired Teachers Association and American Association of Retired Persons.

E. (9) $1,341.94.

A. Arthur P. Gildea, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

B. International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

A. Joseph S. Gill, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.

B. The Ohio Railroad Association, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.

D. (6) $1,375. E. (9) $164.63.

A. Jay W. Glasmann, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Employee Relocation Real Estate Advisory Committee, Inc., 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $1.50.

A. Glassie, Pewett, Beebe & Shanks, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Eastern Meat Packers Association, Inc., 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5. E. (9) $3.58.

A. Glassie, Pewett, Beebe & Shanks, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The National Independent Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington,D.C.

D. (6) $225. E. (9) $44.26.

A. Glenn F. Glezen, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Fleet Reserve Association, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John Goldsum, Post Office Box 1148, Austin, Tex.

B. Texas Electric Service Co., Post Office Box 970, Fort Worth, Tex.; Dallas Power & Light Co., Dallas, Tex., and Texas Power & Light Co., Post Office Box 6331, Dallas, Tex.

E. (9) $457.48.

A. W. S. Gookin, 112 North Central Avenue, Phoenix, Ariz.

A. John A. Gosnell, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $2,562.52.

A. Edward Gottlieb & Associates, Ltd., 485 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Florists' Transworld Delivery Association, 900 West Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

A. Jerry Gould, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $127.33.

A. Government Employes' Council, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $12,241.87. E. (9) $4,927.37.

A. Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $21.

A. Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, 15401 Detroit Avenue, Lakewood, Cleveland, Ohio.

D. (6) $8,171.34. E. (9) $8,171.34.

A. Cornelius R. Gray, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. George O. Gray, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Legislative Committee, International Economic Policy Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $3,714.41.

A. James A. Gray, 2139 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Machine Tool Builders' Association, 2139 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert K. Gray, Sr., 1735 W Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Hill & Knowlton, Inc., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Mrs. Virginia M. Gray, 3501 Williamsburg Lane NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Citizens Committee for UNICEF, 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $93. E. (9) $161.21

A. Samuel A. Grayson, 611 Idaho Building, Boise, Idaho.

B. Union Pacific Railroad Co., 1416 Dodge Street, Omaha, Nebr.

A. Clifford P. Greck, 1826 Jefferson Place NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Educational Publishers Institute, 432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $250.

A. Ben H. Guill, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Automobile Dealers Association and American Zinc Co.

D. (6) $4,100. E. (9) $1,800.

A. Jerome R. Gulan.

B. National Federation of Independent Business, 921 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Lester M. Haddad, 5005 Wickett Terrace, Bethesda, Md.

B. Committee for the Evaluation of Industrial Aid Financing, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $11,600. E. (9) $1,017.98.

A. Hoyt S. Haddock.

B. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C

D. (6) $1,294. E. (9) $73.39.

A. John M. Haire, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $69.14.

A. Hal H. Hale, 421 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

A. J. G. Hall, Detroit, Mich.

B. General Motors Corp., 3044 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

A. E. C. Hallbeck, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Federation of Postal Clerks, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $7,403.83.

A. Norman S. Halliday, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $825. E. (9) $225.81.

A. Thomas A. Halsted, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Council for a Livable World, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,000.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National School Supply & Equipment Association, 79 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Tejon Ranch Co., Post Office Box 1560, Bakersfield, Calif.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Student Aid Funds, Inc., 845 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $450. E. (9) $20.

A. Carlton B. Hamm, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Oceanography Association, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $121.94.

A. Robert N. Hampton, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,549.98. E. (9) $120.06.

A. Edward F. Harding, 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

B. The Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co., 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

E. (9) $140.

A. Franklin Hardinge, Jr., 1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, Calif.

B. California Savings & Loan League, 1444 Wentworth Avenue, Post Office Box R, Pasadena, Calif.

D. (6) $1,800. E. (9) $1,069.24.

A. William E. Hardman, 1411 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Tool, Die & Precision Machining Association, 1411 K. Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Edgar J. Hardy, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Manufacturers, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Bryce N. Harlow, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Procter & Gamble Mfg. Co., 301 East Sixth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

E. (9) $180.

A. Mrs. Mildred B. Harman, Warner Building, Washingtn, D.C.

B. National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Ill.

D. (6) $825. E. (9) $185.39.

A. William B. Harman, Jr, 1701 K Street NW., Washingtn, D.C.

B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $325. E. (9) $23.76.

A. L. James Harmanson, Jr., 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $6,624.96. E. (9) $238.05.

A. Herbert E. Harris II, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,650.

A. David Hartsough, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $668.

A. Clifford J. Harvison, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Tank Truck Carriers, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Paul M. Hawkins, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Health Insurance Association of America, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Eugene B. Hayden, Jr., 828 Midland Bank Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

B. Crop Quality Council, 828 Midland Bank Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

D. (6) $4,800. E. (9) $14.19.

A. Kit H. Haynes, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,593.75. E. (9) $82.70.

A. Hays & Hays, Warner Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Motor Commerce Association, Inc., 4004 Versailles Road, Lexington, Ky.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $2.

A. John C. Hazen, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $32.70.

A. Health Insurance Association of America, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $61.96. E. (9) $61.96.

A. Patrick B. Healy, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $170.45.

A. George J. Hecht, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Parents Committee, Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C., and the subcommittee Bipartisan Citizens Committee for Federal Aid for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, 2107 Davenport Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert B. Heiney, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $875. E. (9) $1,810.23.

A. Kenneth G. Heisler, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,000.

A. Phil D. Helmig, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Atlantic Richfield Co., 260 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

D. (6) $150. E. (9) $150.

A. C. O. Henderson, Post Office Box 381, Washington, D.C.

B. National Federation of Professional Organizations.

A. Christopher O. Henderson, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Organization of Professional Employees of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1341 G NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $550. E. (9) $25.

A. Mrs. Elizabeth S. Hendryson, 6303 Indian School Road NE., Albuquerque, N. Mex.

A. Edmund P. Hennelly, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

B. Mobil Oil Corp., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $440.20.

A. John K. Herbert, 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Magazine Publishers Association, 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $957.85.

A. Maurice G. Herndon, 801 Warner Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Insurance Agents, 96 Fulton Street, New York, N.Y., and 801 Warner Building, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $459.97.

A. Clinton M. Hester, 432 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Football League, 1 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. Clinton M. Hester, 432 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Savage Arms, Westfield, Mass., et al.

E. (9) $173.08.

A. Hester & Stone, 432 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Brewers Association, 535 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $189.68.

A. George T. Higgins, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Chrysler Corp., 341 Massachusetts Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $100.

A. John W. Hight, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Legislative Committee of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. Eldred Hill, Jr., 720 Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C.

B. Unemployment Benefit Advisers, Inc.

D. (6) $2,000.

A. Lawrence S. Hobart, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $500.

A. Claude E. Hobbs, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Westinghouse Electric Corp., 3 Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $900. E. (9) $195.

A. Ralph D. Hodges, Jr.

B. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $73.42.

A. Irvin A. Hoff, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Cane Sugar Refiners Association, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $26.40.

A. Lee B. Holmes, 829 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $156.75.

A. John W. Holton, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $6.90.

A. Edwin M. Hood, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Shipbuilders Council of America, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harold A. Hosier, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.

B. International Mailers Union, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.

A. Thomas B. House.

B. National Association of Frozen Food Packers, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. Joe L. Howell, 1710 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Allstate Enterprises, Inc., Allstate Plaza, Northbrook, Ill.

A. Joe L. Howell, 1710 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Allstate Insurance Companies, Allstate Plaza, Northbrook, Ill.

A. Charles L. Huber, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Spring, Ky.

D. (6) $5,865.38. E. (9) $1,862.99.

A. Edward W. Hummers, Jr., 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 45 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert R. Humphreys, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $320. E. (9) $152.70.

A. Elmer P. Hutter, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.

B. Alfred T. Eisinger, Washington, D.C., Radio & TV Service, et al.

E. (9) $439.

A. Elmer P. Hutter, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5.

A. Frank N. Ikard, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. Illinois Railroad Association, 135 East 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $1,794.50.

A. Bernard J. Imming, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,175.

A. Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $11,893.84. E. (9) $11,893.84.

A. Institute of Scrap Iron & Steel, Inc., 1729 H. Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $34.50.

A. Insurance Company of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

E. (9) $200.

A. International Armament Corp., 10 Prince Street, Alexandria, Va.

E. (9) $1,500.

A. International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $6,649.12.

A. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $11,130.61.

A. International Mailers Union, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.

E. (9) $500.

A. The Interstate Manufacturers Association, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.

D. (6) $2,975. E. (9) $9.75.

A. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $5,788.40.

A. Iron Ore Lessors Association, Inc., 1000 First National Bank Building, St. Paul, Minn.

D. (6) $1,286.93. E. (9) $9,850.51.

A. Rear Adm. Alexander Jackson, Jr., 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Charles Jackson, Jr., 82 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert C. Jackson, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Textile Manufacturers Institute, 1501 Johnston Building, Charlotte, N.C.

D. (6) $2,750. E. (9) $288.56.

A. Walter K. Jaenicke.

B. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $700. E. (9) $200.

A. Japanese American Citizens League, 1634 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif.

E. (9) $200.

A. Daniel Jaspan, Post Office Box 1924, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Postal Supervisors, Post Office Box 1924, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $35,000. E. (9) $12,088.53.

A. Chas. B. Jennings, 1712 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Stock Yards Association, 1712 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $400.

A. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Gene Johnson, 814 Fleming Building, Des Moines, Iowa.

B. International Mailers Union, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.

A. Reuben L. Johnson.

B. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo.; 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,084.48. E. (9) $56.20.

A. Spencer A. Johnson, 1025 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Retail Furniture Association, 1150 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $800.

A. Elmer A. Jones, 1145 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Lead-Zinc Producers Committee.

D. (6) $750. E. (9) $348.95.

A. Geo. Bliss Jones, Montgomery, Ala.

B. Alabama Railroad Association, 1002 First National Bank Building, Montgomery, Ala.

A. Oliver H. Jones, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6)$3,750. E. (9) $691.

A. Francis M. Judge, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A.

A. Karelsen, Karelsen, Lawrence & Nathan, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $41.42.

A. Gerald M. Katz, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Gerald M. Katz, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, care of Mercantile-Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. William J. Keating, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $25.

A. Howard B. Keck, 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.

B. The Superior Oil Co., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.

E. (9) $300.

A. W. M. Keck, Jr., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.

E. (9) $275.

A. Charles C. Keeble, Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.

B. Humble Oil & Refining Co. (a Delaware Corp.), Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.

E. (9) $12.09.

A. Thomas John Kehoe & Associates, 1904 Rookwood Road, Silver Spring, Md.

D. (6) Less than $100. E. (9) $600.

A. James C. Kelley, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Machine Tool Distributors' Association, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.

A. Harold V. Kelly, 720 Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C.

B. Unemployment Benefit Advisors, Inc.

D. (6) $1,000.

A. John T. Kelly, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association.

A. Thomas A. Kelly, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $593.75.

A. Edward F. Kenehan, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 45 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. I. L. Kenen, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Israel Public Affairs Committee, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $360.

A. Harold L. Kennedy, 420 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Marathon Oil Co., Findlay, Ohio.

E. (9) $110.45.

A. James J. Kennedy, Jr., 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

D. (6) $3,075. E (9) $1,046.93.

A. Edward F. Kenney, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

B. Mississippi Valley Association, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

A. William F. Kenney, New York, N.Y.

B. Shell Oil Co., 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.,

A. Thomas P. Kerester, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $600. E. (9) $150.

A. J. Don Kerlin, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Letter Carriers, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $200. E. (9) $50.

A. J. Don Kerlin, 100 Indiana Avenue Washington, D.C.

B. Time, Inc., Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $118. E. (9) $75.

A. Kenneth L. Kimble, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $683.68. E. (9) $2.58.

A. Joseph T. King, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Associated Equipment Distributors and Sprinkler Irrigation Association.

E. (9) $1,281.98.

A. T. Bert King, 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $825.

A. Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Kingman, 535 San Luis Road, Berkeley, Calif.

D. (6) $2,280. E. (9) $2,280.

A. John M. Kinnaird, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $519.74.

A. Kirkland, Ellis, Hodson, Chaffetz & Masters, 800 World Center Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. A. R. Kirkley, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $343.75. E. (9) $17.11.

A. Clifton Kirkpatrick, 1918 North Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis Tenn.

D. (6) $690. E. (9) $95.73.

A. Ernest A. Kitler, 901 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.

B. Pennsylvania Power & Light Co., 901 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.

D. (6) $115.60. E. (9) $125.89.

A. Robert E. Kline, Jr., 430 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Fishing Tackle Manufacturers Association, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. Robert E. Kline, Jr., 430 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Bowling Proprietors' Association of America, Inc., West Higgins Road, Hoffman Estates, Ill.

D. (6) $1,250. E. (9) $59.68.

A. Robert M. Koch, 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Limestone, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $25.15.

A. William L. Kohler, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Trucking Associations, Inc.. 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $290.15.

A. June Kysilko Kraeft, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Maurice Kramer, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,462.50. E. (9) $200.

A. Germaine Krettek, 200 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.

B. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $490.23. E. (9) $3.20.

A. Lloyd R. Kuhn, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc., 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,064. E. (9) $681.65.

A. John R. Kupferer, 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Labor Bureau of Middle West, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $8,706. E. (9) $7,343.

A. Laborers' International Union of North America, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $10,117.17.

A. Laborers' Political League, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $8,544.73. E. (9) $17,050.

A. Richard H. Lane, 1511 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Committee for Broadening Commercial Bank Participation in Public Financing.

A. Ronald A. Lang, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Albert Lannon, Jr., 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Longshoreman's and Warehousemen's Union, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.

D. (6) $2,599.98. E. (9) $1,376.42.

A. Glenn T. Lashley, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. D.C. Division, American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dillard B. Lasseter, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $525.

A. George H. Lawrence, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $360.60. E. (9) $114.75.

A. John V. Lawrence, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.G.

D. (6) $1,200.

A. Robert F. Lederer, 835 Southern Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Association of Nurserymen, Inc., 835 Southern Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $40. E. (9) $342.84.

A. Legislation for Animal Welfare, Inc., 3045 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Legislative Committee of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,057.75. E. (9) $455.92.

A. Legislative Committee, International Economic Policy Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $3,714.41.

A. Robert J. Leigh, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $96.

A. Richard Leighton, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

A. G. E. Leighty, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Railway Labor Executives' Association.

A. Nils A. Lennartson, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Railway Progress Institute, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $9,999.96.

A. Kenneth D. Lester, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $510.

A. Roy T. Lester, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $437.50. E. (9) $18.45.

A. Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Committee of Producers of Ferroalloys and Related Products.

A. Marx Leva, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Arden Publishing Co., Tucson, Ariz.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,500.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Pennsylvania Central, 6 Penn Center Plaza, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Liberty Lobby, Inc., 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $15,149.59. E. (9) $18,588.40.

A. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,379.65. E. (9) $7,449.74.

A. L. Blaine Liljenquist, 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Western States Meat Packers Association, Inc., 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $6,562.50.

A. Donald O. Lincoln, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. World Trade Committee of Parts Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $425. E. (9) $6.

A. Lester W. Lindow, 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $10.63. E. (9) $3.50.

A. Lindsay, Nahstoll, Hart, Dafoe & Krause, Ninth Floor, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.

B. Master Contracting Stevedore Association of the Pacific Coast, Inc., San Francisco, Calif.

A. Lindsay, Nahstoll, Hart, Dafoe & Krause, Ninth Floor, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.

B. National Maritime Compensation Committee, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,450. E. (9) $1,160.36.

A. Charles B. Lipsen, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Retail Clerks International Association, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $10,500. E. (9) $1,317.65.

A. Robert G. Litschert, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $795. E. (9) $108.88.

A. John J. Long, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,950. E. (9) $2,030.54.

A. Paul H. Long, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $48.30.

A. Harold O. Lovre, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $197.

A. Otto Lowe, Cape Charles, Va.

B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,500.

A. Otto Lowe, Cape Charles, Va.

B. Norfolk & Western Railway Co., Roanoke, Va.

D. (6) $600.

A. Scott W. Lucas, Friedman & Mann, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mobile Homes Manufacturers Association, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. Scott W. Lucas, Friedman & Mann, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Western Medical, 415–423 West Pershing Road, Chicago, Ill.

A. Milton F. Lunch, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $750.

A. John C. Lynn, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.,

D. (6) $2,850. E. (9) $53.10.

A. LeRoy E. Lyon, Jr., Eleventh and L Building, Sacramento, Calif.

B. California Railroad Association, Eleventh and L Building, Sacramento, Calif.
D. (6) $534.72. E. (9) $498.01.

A. Breck P. McAllister, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. William C. McCamant, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. John A. McCart, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Government Employees' Council, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,827.78.

A. Alfred R. McCauley, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Consumer Products Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $139.71.

A. Alfred R. McCauley, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Magnavox Co., 270 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. The Coca-Cola Co., Post Office Drawer 1734, Atlanta, Ga.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. International Packers Limited, 410 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $458.34.

A. McClure & Trotter, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Mobil Oil Corp., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. E. L. McCulloch, 814 Railway Labor Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, B. of L.E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
D. (6) $284.60. E. (9) $81.50.

A. Albert L. McDermott, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Hotel & Motel Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $200.

A. Angus H. McDonald.
B. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo.; 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,869.31. E. (9) $139.10.

A. Joseph J. McDonald, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $3,625. E. (9) $646.25.

A. Joseph A. McElwain, 40 East Broadway, Butte, Mont.
B. The Montana Power Co., Butte, Mont.
E. (9) $478.65.

A. Mrs. Judith Nies McFadden, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $45,094.11. E. (9) $13,171.49.

A. Paul J. McGowan, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Virgin Islands Legislature, Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, V.I.
D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $474.48.

A. F. Howard McGuigan, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,394.

A. Clarence M. McIntosh, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $2,624.58. E. (9) $510.69.

A. William F. McKenna, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $256. E. (9) $1.95.

A. Marvin L. McLain, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,475. E. (9) $54.28.

A. John S. McLees, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. C. W. McMillan, 801 East 17th Avenue, Denver, Colo.
B. American National Cattlemen's Association, 801 East 17th Avenue, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $5,250.

A. Ralph J. McNair, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $396.95. E. (9) $1.67.

A. Charles R. McNeill, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,300. E. (9) $445.95.

A. Robert L. McNeill, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich., and Emergency Committee for American Trade, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $171. E. (9) $111.30.

A. Shane MacCarthy, 20 Chevy Chase Circle NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Printing Industries of America, 20 Chevy Chase Circle NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $475. E. (9) $800.

A. William P. MacCracken, Jr., 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Optometric Association, care of J. C. Tumblin, 4836, Broadway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $2,000.

A. Ian R. MacGowan, 1001 RCA Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Insurance Association, 100 RCA Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $350.

A. George E. MacKinnon, 800 Investors Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
B. Investors Mutual, Inc.; Investors Stock Funds, Inc., and Investors Variable Payment Fund, Inc,
E. (9) $805.84.

A. Macklin, Hanan & McKernan, 99 John Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Fred Alger & Co., Inc., and Falco Associates, Inc., 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $335.51.
A. Jos. R. MacLaren, 4 Linden Drive, Hudson Falls, N.Y.
B. Potlatch Forests, Inc., Post Office Box 3591, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $536.

A. H. E. Mahlman, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Optometric Association, care of J. C. Tumblin, 4836 Boardway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $968.75. E. (9) $78.60.

A. Don Mahon, 703 LaSalle Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $2,571.28.

A. Robert L. Maier, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Kaiser Industries Corp., 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $75. E. (9) $6.

A. Carter Manasco, 5932 Chesterbrook Road, McLean, Va.
B. National Coal Association, Coal Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,750.01. E. (9) $124.05.

A. Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $2,183.29.

A. Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $3,000.

A. Mrs. Olya Margolin, 924 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Jewish Women, Inc., 1 West 47th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,475. E. (9) $160.65.

A. Rodney W. Markley, Jr., 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
D. (6) $450. E. (9) $209.60.

A. Raymond E. Marks, 65 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
B. Southern Pacific Co., 65 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Edwin E. Marsh, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
B. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
D. (6) $3,417.75. E. (9) $289.82.

A. Michael Marsh, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $503.96.

A. Winston W. Marsh, 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, Inc., 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. Paul Marshall, 925 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $204.04. E. (9) $177.80.

A. Thomas A. Martin, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association, 300 Tulsa Building, Tulsa, Okla.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $110.

A. Mike M. Masaoka, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Mike M. Masaoka, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association on Japanese Textile Imports, Inc., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $2,000.

A. Mike M. Masaoka, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Japanese American Citizens League, 1634 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif.

D. (6) $200. E. (9) $200.

A. Walter J. Mason, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,499.91. E. (9) $1,782.

A. P. H. Mathews, 925 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $789.96. E. (9) $473.94.

A. Charles D. Matthews, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,150. E. (9) $176.01.

A. Charles E. Mattingly, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

D. (6) $2,925. E. (9) $54.14.

A. C. V. and R. V. Mauldin, 1111 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Georgia Power Co., 270 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Ga.

A. Anthony Mazzocchi, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union, 1840 California Street, Denver, Colo.

D. (6) $1,750. E. (9) $227.50.

A. James E. Meals, 1143 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Air Line Pilots Association, 55th Street and Cicero Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $100. E. (9) $100.

A. John S. Mears, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

D. (6) $3,291. E. (9) $28.79.

A. Medical-Surgical Manufacturers Association, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $1,375.94.

A. Carl J. Megel, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Teachers, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $8,800.

A. Kenneth A. Meiklejohn, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,394. E. (9) $612.75.

A. R. Otto Meletzke, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $75.15.

A. Lawrence C. Merthan, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Hill & Knowlton, Inc., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. George F. Meyer, Jr., 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $562.50.

A. Midland Cooperative Dairy Association, Shawano, Wis., and Box 128, Cazenovia, N.Y.

A. Capt. A. Stanley Miller, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $100.

A. Miller Associates, Inc., 2011 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Music Publishers' Association, Inc., 460 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $425.

A. Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

B. Dallas, Tex., Chamber of Commerce.

D. (6) $1,650.

A. Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

B. Gulf Intracoastal Canal Association, 2211 South Coast Building, Houston, Tex.

D. (6) $2,625.

A. Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

B. Texas Gulf Sulphur Co., Newgulf, Tex., and New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,250.

A. Edwin Reid Miller, 1815 Capitol Avenue, Omaha, Nebr.

B. Nebraska Railroads Legislative Committee, 1815 Capitol Avenue, Omaha, Nebr.

D. (6) $3,900. E. (9) $1,222.45.

A. Luman G. Miller, 912 Failing Building, Portland, Oreg.

B. Oregon Railroad Association, 912 Failing Building, Portland, Oreg.

E. (9) $62.86.

A. Luther L. Miller, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,330.40. E. (9) $22.80.

A. Robert H. Miller, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Tenneco, Inc., Post Office Box 2511, Houston, Tex.

E. (9) $83.92.

A. Jack Mills, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Tobacco Institute.

A. Marion Daniel Minchew, 610 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

D. (6) $176.25. E.(9) $15.24.

A. Othmer J. Mischo, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Amalgamated Transit Union, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Missouri Railroad Committee, care of W. W. Dalton, Law Department, Frisco Lines, 906 Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo.

E. (9) $152.06.

A. Clarence Mitchell, 422 First Street SE., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Carl A. Modecki, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Willis C. Moffat, 525 First Security Building, Boise, Idaho.

A. G. Merrill Moody, 925 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $21.63. E. (9) $19.78.

A. Joseph E. Moody, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $625.

A. Carlos Moore, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,998.

A. Jo V. Morgan, Jr., 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Humane Association, Post Office Box 1266, Denver, Colo.

D. (6) $1,500.

A. Morison, Clapp, Abrams & Haddock, The Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. The Sperry & Hutchinson Co., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. James G. Morton, 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Manufacturing Chemists Association, 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) under $50.

A. Lynn E. Mote, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., 320 New Center Building, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $500.

A. Motor Commerce Association, Inc., 4004 Versailles Road, Lexington, Ky.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $377.

A. Jane Muller, 5921 Ramsgate Road, Bethesda, Md.

B. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,232.70.

A. T. H. Mullen, 4301 Columbia Pike, Arlington, Va.

B. Union Camp Corp., 233 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. C. Pat Murphy, 324 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C.

B. National Star Route Mail Carriers' Association, 324 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $260.05.

A. John J. Murphy, 2794 Wilelinor Drive, Edgewater, Md.

B. National Customs Service Association.

A. William E. Murray, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Kenneth D. Naden, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $8,791.68. E. (9) $724.93.

A. Augustus Nasmith, Pennsylvania Station, Newark, N.J.

B. Associated Railroads of New Jersey, Pennsylvania Station, Newark, N.J.

A. The Nation-Wide Committee on Import-Export Policy, 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $7,125. E. (9) $8,481.89.

A. National Agricultural Chemicals Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $30.50. E. (9) $30.50.

A. National Associated Businessmen, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,206.09. E. (9) $1,097.33.

A. National Association of Direct Selling Companies, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
D. (6) $15,000. E. (9) $125.

A. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $708.59. E. (9) $16,539.46.

A. National Association of Food Chains, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $500.

A. National Association of Frozen Food Packers, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $62,776.23. E. (9) $1,333.30.

A. National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

A. National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,763. E. (9) $6,763.

A. The National Association of Polish Americans, Inc., 3829 W Street SE., Washington, D.C.

A. National Association of Postal Supervisors, Post Office Box 1924, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,770.51. E. (9) $58.75.

A. National Association of Travel Organizations, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $30,276.15. E. (9) $682.50.

A. National Automobile Dealers Association, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $8,962.05. E. (9) $8,962.05.

A. National Broiler Council, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $1,500.

A. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $619,290.65. E. (9) $17,400.36.

A. National Coal Association, Coal Building, Washington, D.C.

A. National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $6,054.18.

A. National Commission to Abolish HUAC, 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $1,700.17. E. (9) $1,700.17.

A. National Conference of Non-Profit Shipping Association, Inc., 2309 Fannin, Houston, Tex.
D. (6) $2,375.

A. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. National Cotton Compress & Cotton Warehouse Association, 1085 Shrine Building, Box 23, Memphis, Tenn.

A. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $6,368.12. E. (9) $6,368.12.

A National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $20,837.88. E. (9) $16,398.04.

A. National Council, Junior Order United American Mechanics, 3027 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
E. (9) $17.50.

A. National Council of Naval Air Stations Employee Organizations, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $502.30.

A. National Council of Technical Service Industries, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $950.85. E. (9) $1,069.52.

A. National Counsel Associates, 421 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Cenco Instruments Corp., 2600 South Kostner Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $137.58.

A. National Counsel Associates, 421 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee for the Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 55 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $132.42.

A. National Counsel Associates, 421 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Railroad Passengers, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $684.76.

A. National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation, 202 East 44th Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $2,000.

A. National Electrical Manufacturers Association, 155 East 44th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. National Farmers Organization, 720 Davis Avenue, Corning, Iowa.

A. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $176,041.59. E. (9) $13,455.48.

A. National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., 920 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $23,027.74. E. (9) $23,027.74.

A. National Federation of Professional Organizations, Post Office Box 381, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $200.

A. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $241.82. E. (9) $310.08.

A. National Housing Conference, Inc., 1259 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $10,381.15. E. (9) $30,477.62.

A. National Independent Dairies Association, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $153.04.

A. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,664.30. E. (9) $1,462.

A. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,395.15. E. (9) $1,395.15.

A. National Livestock Feeders Association, Inc., 309 Livestock Exchange Building, Omaha, Nebr.
D. (6) $6,796. E. (9) $6,796.

A. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,551.23. E. (9) $4,551.23.

A. National Parking Association, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $854.56.

A. National Reclamation Association, 897 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,905. E. (9) $6,868.97.

A. National Retail Furniture Association, 1150 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $1,576.30.

A. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $6,138.77.

A. National Small Business Association, 1215 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $2,562.52.

A. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington. D.C.,
D. (6) $263,803. E. (9) $2,865.

A. National Tax Equality Association, Inc., 1000 Connecticut Avenue Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $10,184.24. E. (9) $11,474.16.

A. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $565.

A. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
(D) (6) $3,581. E. (9) $4,952.70.

A. Alexander W. Neale, Jr., 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,427.87.

A. Alan M. Nedry, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Southern California Edison Co., Post Office Box 351, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $2,734.59.

A. Samuel E. Neel, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $2,767.

A. Frances E. Neely, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,320.

A. George R. Nelson, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $689.12.

A. Ivan A. Nestingen, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $300. E. (9) $341.

A. Louis H. Nevins, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior, Chicago, Ill. and 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,166.67. E. (9) $46.25.

A. John Nevius, 1000 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $5,750. E. (9) $369.94.

A. New England Footwear Association, Inc., 4575 Prudential Tower, Boston, Mass.

D. (6) $400. E. (9) $400.

A. Sarah H. Newman, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Consumers League, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,650.

A. Patrick J. Nilan, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Federation of Postal Clerks, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,384.61. E. (9) $875.36.

A. Stanley D. Noble, 29 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

B. Council of Profit Sharing Industries, 29 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. Robert W. Nolan, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Fleet Reserve Association, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. Charles M. Noone, 410 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Small Business Investment Companies, 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $463.23.

A. Northeast Utilities Service Co., 176 Cumberland Avenue, Wethersfield, Conn.

E. (9) $4,435.39.

A. Graham T. Northup, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,625. E. (9) $8,400.

A. Michael J. Norton, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $200. E. (9) $382.40.

A. Ira H. Nunn, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Restaurant Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 1530 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $3,125. E. (9) $250.

A. Seward P. Nyman, 3301 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Podiatry Association, 3301 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $650.

A. Leo O'Brien, 99 Hawthorne Avenue, Albany, N.Y.

B. Home Rule Committee, Virgin Islands Legislature, Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, V.I.

D. (6) $1,875.

A. Richard T. O'Connell, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,899.96. E. (9) $223.08.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvaia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Transit Association, 815 Connecticut NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $211.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Barden Investment Management Corp., 18610 James Couzens Highway, Detroit, Mich.

E. (9) $105.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Fingerhut Manufacturing Co., 3104 West Lake Street, Minneapolis, Minn.

D. (6) $750. E. (9) $141.27.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Investors Diversified Services, Inc., Investors Building, Minneapolis, Minn

D. (6) $2,560. E. (9) $460.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Upper Mississippi Towing Corp., 7703 Normandale Road, Minneapolis, Minn.

E. (9) $82.

A. John B. O'Day, 11 East Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

B. Insurance Economics Society of America, 11 East Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $6,748.57.

A. John A. O'Donnell, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200.

A. Jane O'Grady, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,275. E. (9) $251.07.

A. Richard C. O'Hare, 1120 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Harness Tracks of America, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. The Ohio Railroad Association, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.

E. (9) $1,664.44.

A. Alvin E. Oliver, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $48.04.

A. Robert Oliver, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. L. T. Barringer & Co., 161 South Front Street, Memphis, Tenn.

A. Robert Oliver, 400 First Street, Washington, D.C.

B. The Sperry & Hutchinson Co., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Samuel Omasta, 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $15.

A. Jerry H. Opack, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen, O.A.C. & B. Building, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

E. (9) $6,144.63.

A. Organization of Professional Employees of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Post Office Box 381, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $461. E. (9) $1,183.53.

A. Morris E. Osburn, Central Trust Building, Jefferson City, Mo.

B. Missouri Railroad Committee.

A. Kermit Overby, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $185.

A. John A. Overholt, 10400 Connecticut Avenue, Kensington, Md., and 1106 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,125.

A. Raymond S. Page, Jr., Mill Creek Terrace, Gladwyne, Pa.

B. Campbell Soup Co., 375 Memorial Avenue, Camden, N.J.

A. Walter Page, Box 128, Cazenovia, N.Y.

A. Norman Paige, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Distilled Spirits Institute, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Lew M. Paramore, Post Office Box 1310, Kansas City, Kans.

B. Mississippi Valley Association, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

A. J. D. Parel, 244 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $258. E. (9) $157.

A. Michael L. Parker, 1910 Russ Building, San Francisco, Calif.

B. Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, 300 Lakeside Drive, Oakland, Calif.

D. (6) $3,086.83. E. (9) $1,986.83.

A. Geo. F. Parrish, Post Office Box 7, Charleston, W. Va.

B. West Virginia Railroad Association.

D. (6) $6,000. E. (9) $244.88.

A. Robert D. Partridge, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $138.65.

A. Perry S. Patterson, 800 World Center Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Automatic Phonograph Manufacturers.

A. Lynn C. Paulson, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Independent Dairies Association, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $336.

A. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

E. (9) $2,535.24.

A. D. V. Pensabene, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Standard Oil Company of California, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $50. E. (9) $25.

A. J. Carter Perkins, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Shell Oil Co., 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Kenneth T. Peterson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Aldens, Inc., 5000 West Roosevelt Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $2,500.

A. Kenneth T. Peterson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. District of Columbia Psychological Association, Post Office Box 8227, Southwest Station, Washington, D.C.

A. Kenneth T. Peterson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, 6 East Fourth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $2,499.99.

A. Michael Petresky, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $736.67.

A. Walter T. Phair, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Kaiser Industries Corp., 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $350. E. (9) $225.

A. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph D. Phelan, 485 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Colorado River Association, 417 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $3,525. E. (9) $500.

A. John P. Philbin, 1100 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Mobil Oil Corp., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $276.14.

A. Albert Pike, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Bruce O. Pike, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $625.

A. James F. Pinkney, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $164.60.

A. T. E. Pinkston, 101 East High Street, Lexington, Ky.
E. (9) $363.68.

A. James H. Pipkin, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Texaco, Inc., 135 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $700. E. (9) $1,550.

A. J. Francis Pohlhaus, 422 First Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Joseph M. Pollard, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. County of Los Angeles, State of California, Hall of Administration, 500 West Temple Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $2,550. E. (9) $1,500.

A. Robert R. Poston, 908 Colorado Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $311.07.

A. Ramsay D. Potts, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,499.99. E. (9) $2,134.17.

A. William J. Potts, Jr., 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association on Broadcasting Standards, Inc., 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C., Haley, Bader & Potts, 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Richard M. Powell, 1210 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Refrigerated Warehouses, 1210 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Graydon R. Powers, Jr., 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William C. Prather, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $450.

A. Forrest J. Prettyman, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Registered Bank Holding Companies, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $218.75.

A. William H. Press, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,500.

A. Jerry C. Pritchett, 59 Ivy Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Plumbing-Heating-Cooling Contractors, 1016 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $750.

A. Earle W. Putnam, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William A. Quinlan, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,148.11. E. (9) $493.69.

A. Luke C. Quinn, Jr., 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Cancer Society, New York, N.Y., et al.
D. (6) $9,249.97. E. (9) $8,636.67.

A. Thomas H. Quinn, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Committee for Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 55 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,440. E. (9) $261.50.

A. Alex Radin, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $161.60.

A. Edward F. Ragland, 6917 Marbury Road, Bethesda, Md.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Railway Progress Institute, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Alan T. Rains, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William A. Raleigh, Jr., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,375.

A. Carl R. Ramsey, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.
B. National Council of Naval Air Stations Employee Organizations, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.

A. James A. Ransford, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Getty Oil Co.

A. Record Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $12,991.99.

A. Robert E. Redding, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Transportation Association of America, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Geo. L. Reid, Jr., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $799.98.

A. Reserve Officers Association of the U.S., 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Ronald E. Resh, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Wyatt & Saltzstein, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $416.66.

A. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,781.25.

A. Retirement Federation of Civil Service Employees of the U.S. Government, 13th and E Streets NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,450. E. (9) $7,194.93.

A. William L. Reynolds, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $128.

A. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, care of Mercantile Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. Theron J. Rice, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Continental Oil Co., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. James W. Richards, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,207.70. E. (9) $11.97.

A. Harry H. Richardson, 335 Austin Street, Bogalusa, La.
B. Louisiana railroads.
D. (6) $25.50. E. (9) $45.25.

A. Stert F. Riepma, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

A. William Neale Roach, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. William Neale Roach, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Armament Corp., 10 Prince Street, Alexandria, Va.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Paul H. Robbins, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $250.

A. Austin L. Roberts, Jr., 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $875.

A. Carl Roberts, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Association of Retired Persons and National Retired Teachers Association.

E. (9) $750.

A. Kenneth A. Roberts, 423 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Animal Health Institute, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,000.

A. Kenneth A. Roberts, 423 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

B. College of American Pathologists, 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $3,750.

A. Charles A. Robinson, Jr., 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperation Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $185.

A. John P. Roche, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

B. American Iron and Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $210.

A. James A. Rock, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $162.50. E. (9) $3.

A. Donald L. Rogers, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Association of Registered Bank Holding Companies, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $562.50.

A. Frank W. Rogers, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Western Oil and Gas Association, 609 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.

D. (6) $526.

A. Walter E. Rogers, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,024.65. E. (9) $824.65.

A. Michael J. Romig, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.

D. (6) $553.38. E. (9) $72.

A. Robert J. Routier, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Royall, Koegel, Rogers & Wells, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Great Salt Lake Minerals & Chemicals Corp., 579 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Royall, Koegel, Rogers & Wells, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Power Authority of the State of New York, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $26.11.

A. James S. Rubin, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Association of Retired Persons and National Retired Teachers Association.

E. (9) $838.58.

A. Albert R. Russell, 1918 North Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

D. (6) $459. E. (9) $632.35.

A. J. T. Rutherford & Associates, Inc., 1555 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American College of Radiology, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $750. E. (9) $1,277.92.

A. J. T. Rutherford, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $162.50.

A. Mrs. Edward F. Ryan, 110 Bridge Street, Manchester, Mass.

B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $234.83.

A. William H. Ryan, Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.

B. International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $480.

A. Francis J. Ryley, 519 Title & Trust Building, Phoenix, Ariz.

B. Standard Oil Company of California, San Francisco, et al.

A. Carl K. Sadler, 400 First Street NW., Washingon, D.C.

B. American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,635.80. E. (9) $691.92.

A. Robert A. Saltzstein, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Business Press, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $3,125. E. (9) $2,200.64.

A. Charles E. Sandler, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., 320 New Center Building, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $500.

A. Jacques T. Schlenger, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Jacques T. Schlenger, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, in care of Mercantile-Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. Hilliard Schulberg, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Washington, D.C., Retail Liquor Dealers Association, Inc., 1900 L Street NW., Washington D.C.

E. (9) $319.29.

A. Scribner, Hall & Casey, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. New Process Co., Warren, Pa.

A. Scribner, Hall & Casey, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Record Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Durward Seals, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Hollis M. Seavey, 1812 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Broadcasters, 1812 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Ronald C. Seeley, 1357 Nicolet Place, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $7,500.

A. W. O. Senter, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Gas Supply Committee, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Theodore A. Serrill, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Newspaper Association, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $127.76.

A. Leo Seybold, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $288.60.

A. Robert L. Shafer, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., 235 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $800. E. (9) $450.

A. Arnold F. Shaw, 503 D Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The National Committee for the Recording Arts, 9300 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, Calif.

A. Kenneth D. Shaw, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

D. (6) $750.

A. Shaw, Pittman, Potts, Trowbridge & Madden, Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Doubleday & Co., Inc., 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. John J. Sheehan, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $4,300. E. (9) $1,701.17.

A. Ira Shesser, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Max Shine, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Technical Engineers, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $992.50. E. (9) $20.

A. Alvin V. Shoemaker, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Investment Bankers Association of America, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $750. E. (9) $940.

A. Robert L. Shortle, 1147 International Trade Mart Tower, New Orleans, La.

B. Mississippi Valley Association, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

A. George Shuff, 916 Nashville Trust Building, Nashville, Tenn.

B. Class I railroads in Tennessee.

A. Charles B. Shuman, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $938.

A. Sidley & Austin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,300.

A. David Silver, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $265.38. E. (9) $291.28.

A. Silver Users Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $10. E. (9) $1,338.23.

A. Six Agency Committee, 909 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.

D. (6) $5,890. E. (9) $4,890.

A. Carstens Slack, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Phillips Petroleum Co., Bartlesville, Okla.

A. Harold Slater, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $360. E. (9) $32.50.

A. Stephen Slipher, 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $3,125. E. (9) $50.90.

A. Jonathan W. Sloat, 1632 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Donald E. Smiley, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Humble Oil & Refining Co. (a Delaware Corp.), Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.

E. (9) $95.04.

A. T. W. Smiley, 135 East 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.

B. Illinois Railroad Association, 135 East 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $1,794.50.

A. Gordon L. Smith, 1145 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Edward Gottlieb & Associates, Ltd., 485 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $93.47.

A. Irvin A. Smith, 418 East Rosser Avenue, Box 938, Bismarck, N. Dak.

E. (9) $59.25.

A. James E. Smith, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $550.

A. Milan D. Smith, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert W. Smith, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.

D. (6) $988. E. (9) $177.

A. Robert B. Smith, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $150.

A. Wallace M. Smith, 829 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $183.25.

A. Wayne H. Smithey, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.

D. (6) $1,224.60. E. (9) $778.80.

A. Lyle O. Snader, 244 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $251.75. E. (9) $121.

A. Frank B. Snodgrass, 1726 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Burley and Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Association, Post Office Box 860, Lexington, Ky.

D. (6) $425.

A. Society for Animal Protective Legislation, Post Office Box 3719, Georgetown Station, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,895.47. E. (9) $4,648.19.

A. Carl A. Soderblom, 1 East First Street, Reno, Nev.

B. Nevada Railroad Association, 1 East First Street, Reno, Nev.

A. J. Taylor Soop, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 330 South Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $833.33.

A. Southern Pine Industry Committee, 520 National Bank of Commerce Building, New Orleans, La.

D. (6) $650. E. (9) $404.29.

A. William W. Spear, 214 Fremont National Bank Building, Fremont, Nebr.

B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,065.40. E. (9) $5.26.

A. Melvin L. Stark, 1001 RCA Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Insurance Association, 1001 RCA Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $350.

A. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Pan-American Coffee Bureau, 120 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $118.

A. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Sindicato da Industria de Cafe Soluvel, Sao Paulo, Brazil, Rua 7 de Abril 252, 10 andar, Sao Paulo, Brazil.

A. Samuel E. Stavisky, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Newton I. Steers, Jr., 4419 Romlon Street, Beltsville, Md.

A. Mrs. Neil May F. Stephens, Post Office Box 6235, Northwest Station, Washington, D.C.

A. Steptoe & Johnson, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. California Olive Growers and Canners Industry Committee, 1868 East Lindmore, Lindsay, Calif., and Green Olive Trade Association, Inc., 80 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $500.

A. B. H. Steuerwald, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, 2247 West Lawrence Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. American Aniline Products, Inc., 25 McLean Boulevard, Paterson, N.J.

D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $7.35.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,775. E. (9) $25.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. World Trade Committee of Parts Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $6.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Kennedy, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Imported Footwear Group, American Importers Association, New York, N.Y.; Japan General Merchandise Exporters Association and Japan Rubber Footwear Manufacturers Association, Tokyo, Japan.

D. (6) $400. E. (9) $330.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Kennedy, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Japan Iron and Steel Exporters' Association, Tokyo, Japan.

E. (9) $25.

A. Sterling F. Stoudenmire, Jr., 61 St. Joseph Street, Mobile, Ala.

B. Waterman Steamship Corp., 61 St. Joseph Street, Mobile, Ala.

A. William M. Stover, 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $195.15.

A. Ronnie J. Straw, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Herald E. Stringer, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

D. (6) $4,675.98. E. (9) $728.22.

A. William A. Stringfellow, 6004 Roosevelt Street, Bethesda, Md.

B. National Association of Mutual Insurance Agents, 520 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $160.

A. Norman Strunk, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $442.21.

A. Walter B. Stults, 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Small Business Investment Companies, 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $600.

A. Frank L. Sundstrom, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

B. Schenley Industries, Inc., 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. C. Austin Sutherland, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Tank Truck Carriers, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Noble J. Swearingen, 224 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C.

B. National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, 1740 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $400.

A. John R. Sweeney, Solar Building, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Bethlehem Steel Corp., 701 East Third Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

A. Russell A. Swindell, Post Office Box 2635, Raleigh, N.C.
B. North Carolina Railroad Association, Box 2635, Raleigh, N.C.
D. (6) $346.14. E. (9) $296.91.

A. Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $469.12.

A. Gary Tabak, 200 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Charles P. Taft, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Legislative Committee, Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $100.

A. Russell D. Tall, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Rev. Charles C. Talley, 3 High Street, Waterford, Va.
B. National Congress of Parents & Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Clarence M. Tarr, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,884.80. E. (9) $531.74.

A. Warren G. Taylor, 301 Central Trust Building, Jefferson City, Mo.
B. Missouri Railroad Committee, 301 Central Trust Building, Jefferson City, Mo.

A. William C. Taylor, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Southern Pine Industry Committee.
E. (9) $121.30.

A. Taxpayers Committee to End Foreign Aid (Citizens Foreign Aid Committee), Davis Building, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. L. D. Tharp, Jr., 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. Evert S. Thomas, Jr., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $996.15 E. (9) $252.50.

A. Clark W. Thompson, Tenneco, Inc., 402 Solar Building, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Tenneco, Inc., Post Office Box 2511, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $73.50.

A. Julia C. Thompson, 1030 15th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,074.28.

A. Wm. B. Thompson, Jr., 244 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $238.50. E. (9) $141.

A. William H. Tinney, 1223 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Penn Central Co., 6 Penn Center Plaza, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Tobacco Associates, Inc., 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $1,614.

A. H. Willis Tobler, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,000.

A. John H. Todd, Post Office Box 23, 1085 Shrine Building, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Compress & Cotton Warehouse Association, 1085 Shrine Building, Box 23, Memphis, Tenn.

A. David R. Toll, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Cos., 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,192.50. E. (9) $1,241.46.

A. F. Gerald Toye, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $55.16.

A. Transportation Association of America, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dwight D. Townsend, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cooperative League of U.S.A., 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $3,500. E. (9) $4,390.

A. Richard S. Tribbe, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Trans World Airlines, 10 Richards Road, Kansas City, Mo.

A. Matt Triggs, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,137.50. E. (9) $54.93.

A. Glenwood S. Troop, Jr., 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $129.10.

A. Joel B. True, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Paul T. Truitt, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Plant Food Institute, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Galen Douglas Trussell, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Dick Tullis, 607 Maple Terrace, 3007 Maple Avenue, Dallas, Tex.
B. Superior Oil Co., Houston, Tex., and Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $125.

A. William S. Tyson, 821 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Western Range Association, 375 North Fulton Street, Fresno, Calif.
E. (9) $96.75.

A. United Cerebral Palsy Association, Inc., 321 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1,443.90.

A. United Federation of Postal Clerks, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $625,438.97. E. (9) $30,663.90.

A. United States Cane Sugar Refiners' Association, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $228.61.

A. United States Savings and Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $27,716.99.

A. Charles R. Van Horn, 17th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co., and Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co., Charles and Baltimore Streets, Baltimore, Md.

A. Mrs. Lois W. Van Valkenburgh, 1673 Preston Road, Alexandria, Va.
B. Citizens Committee for UNICEF, 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.75.

A. John A. Vance, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 245 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $1,440. E. (9) $1,821.66.

A. Theodore A. Vanderzyde, Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, AFL–CIO.
D. (6) $1,791.66. E. (9) $480.

A. John M. Vansant, Jr., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John Robert Vastine, Jr., 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Emergency Committee for American Trade.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $927.11.

A. G. W. Vaughan, Union Camp Corp., 233 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Venable, Baetjer & Howard, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Venable, Baetjer & Howard, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, in care of Mercantile Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. Richard E. Vernor, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $186.50. E. (9) $15.20.

A. L. T. Vice, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. of California, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $155.

A. Volume Footwear Retailers Association, Inc., 51 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $2,087.61.

A. E. R. Wagner, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Technical Service Industries, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $207.31. E. (9) $26.16.

A. Richard B. Walbert, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc.

A. Wald, Harkrader & Rockefeller, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Insurance Company of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

D. (6) $200. E. (9) $200.

A. Wald, Harkrader & Rockefeller, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Edward Weck & Co., Inc., Subsidiary of Standard International Corp., 49-33 31st Place, Long Island City, N.Y.

A. Charles E. Walker, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $34,568.41.

A. Paul H. Walker, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $233.50. E. (9) $1.13.

A. Reno F. Walker, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $15.75.

A. Franklin Wallick, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Solidarity House, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $4,172.48. E. (9) $1,184.72.

A. Thomas G. Walters, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,474.03. E. (9) $10,914.57.

A. William A. Walton, Garlinghouse Building, 820 Quincy Street, Topeka, Kans.

B. Kansas Railroad Committee, Garlinghouse Building, 820 Quincy Street, Topeka, Kans.

A. Washington Consulting Service, 1435 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Occupational Therapy Association, 251 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,749.99. E. (9) $1,487.

A. Washington Consulting Service, 1435 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Rehabilitation Institute of Chicago, 401 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $4,125. E. (9) $1,850.

A. Herbert A. Watkins, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $53.91.

A. Charles A. Webb, 839 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Motor Bus Owners, Association of Intercity Bus Operators, 839 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. E. E. Webster, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $4,230.58.

A. E. Jerome Webster, Jr.

B. National Association of Frozen Food Packers, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. Edward Weck & Co., Inc., subsidiary of Standard International Corp., 49-33 31st Place, Long Island City, N.Y.

A. Clarence M. Weiner, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Cigar Manufacturers Association of America, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $8,000.

A. Dr. Frank J. Welch, 3724 Manor Road, Chevy Chase, Md.

B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph E. Welch, 1630 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

B. Wellington Management Co., 1630 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

E. (9) $196.50.

A. Wenchel, Schulman & Manning, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Motors Corp., 14250 Plymouth Road, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $66,666.66.

A. Robert L. Weneck, 9121 West 73d Street, Shawnee Mission, Kans.

B. Weneck International Marketers, Inc., 2 East Gregory Street, Kansas City, Mo.

A. John L. Wheeler, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. John C. White, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Private Truck Council of America, Inc., 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Whitlock, Markey & Tait, Shoreham Building, 15th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Institute of Laundering, Joliet, Ill., and National Institute of Drycleaning, 909 Burlington Avenue, Silver Spring, Md.

D. (6) $500.

A. Louis E. Whyte, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William E. Wickert, Jr., Solar Building, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Bethlehem Steel Corp., 701 East Third Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

A. Leonard M. Wickliffe, Eleventh and L Building, Sacramento, Calif.

B. California Railroad Association, Eleventh and L Building, Sacramento, Calif.

D. (6) $2,062.50. E. (9) $2,079.43.

A. Claude C. Wild, Jr., 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $250.

A. Billy Glen Wiley, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $692.30. E. (9) $4.18.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Society of Travel Agents, Inc., 360 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $63.10.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Arapahoe Indian Tribe, Fort Washakie, Wyo.

E. (9) $3.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Mont.

E. (9) $5.16.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

B. KSL, Inc., 145 Social Hall Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.

E. (9) $3.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. J. Ray McDermott & Co., Inc., Oil Division, Houston Club Building, Houston, Tex.

E. (9) $24.01.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Congress of American Indians, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Quinaielt Tribe of Indians, Taholah, Wash.

E. (9) $1.40.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, New Town, N. Dak.

E. (9) $1.40.

A. John C. Williamson, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior Street, Chicago, Ill., and 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $215.11.

A. Kenneth Williamson, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Hospital Association, 840 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,608.92. E. (9) $387.50.

A. E. Raymond Wilson, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,737.

A. Earl Wilson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

D. (6) $2,624.58. E. (9) $822.60.

A. Frank J. Wilson, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc.

A. W. E. Wilson, 623 Ockley Drive, Shreveport, La.

B. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $535.24.

A. J. Sam Winters, 1708 Windsor Road, Post Office Box 1148, Austin, Tex.

B. American Insurance Association, RCA Building, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $710.97.

A. Richard F. Witherall, 702 Majestic Building, Denver, Colo.

B. Colorado Railroad Association, 702 Majestic Building, Denver, Colo.

D. (6) $650. E. (9) $1,446.82.

A. Peter L. Wolff, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Law Schools, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Nathan T. Wolkomir, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,531.20. E. (9) $1,724.64.

A. Russell J. Woodman, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Transportation-Communication Employees Union, 3860 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.

A. James Woodside, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Technical Engineers, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $240. E. (9) $20.

A. Perry W. Woofter, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $510.60.

A. World Trade Committee of Parts Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,937. E. (9) $1,937.

A. Hal J. Wright, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. John H. Yingling, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. First National City Bank, 399 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $200. E. (9) $15.

A. John H. Yingling, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Holly Corp., 1111 West Foothill Boulevard, Azusa, Calif., et al.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $75.

A. J. Banks Young, Ring Building, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $356.25.

A. Kenneth Young, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,394. E. (9) $354.97.

A. Zimring, Gromfine & Sternstein, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

REGISTRATIONS

The following registrations were submitted for the second calendar quarter 1968:

(NOTE.—The form used for registration is reproduced below. In the interest of economy in the RECORD, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective letter and number.)

FILE ONE COPY WITH THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE AND FILE TWO COPIES WITH THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

This page (page 1) is designed to supply identifying data; and page 2 (on the back of this page) deals with financial data.

PLACE AN "X" BELOW THE APPROPRIATE LETTER OR FIGURE IN THE BOX AT THE RIGHT OF THE "REPORT" HEADING BELOW:

"PRELIMINARY" REPORT ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"QUARTERLY" REPORT: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19______ ◄

REPORT

PURSUANT TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th
(Mark one square only)				

NOTE ON ITEM "A".—(a) IN GENERAL. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:

(i) "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)

(ii) "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".

(b) SEPARATE REPORTS. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:

(i) Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.

(ii) Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL FILING:

1. State name, address, and nature of business.

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

NOTE ON ITEM "B".—*Reports by Agents or Employees.* An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (*a*) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (*b*) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. EMPLOYER.—State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

NOTE ON ITEM "C".—(*a*) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).

(*b*) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).

(*c*) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS, AND PUBLICATIONS in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have terminated, ☐ place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports.

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the *specific* legislative interests by reciting: (*a*) Short titles of statutes and bills; (*b*) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (*c*) citations of statutes, where known; (*d*) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (*a*) Description, (*b*) quantity distributed; (*c*) date of distribution, (*d*) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out item "D" and "E" on the back of this page. Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly" Report.◄

AFFIDAVIT

[Omitted in printing]

PAGE 1◄

A. Clayton L. Burwell, 1815 H Street NW., Post Office Box 3247, Houston, Tex.

A. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Edward T. Anderson, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Mac Asbill, Jr., 1200 Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.

B. The Travelers Corp., 1 Tower Square, Hartford, Conn.

A. Bebchick, Sher & Kushnick, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Saturn Airways, Inc., Post Office Box 2426, Oakland International Airport, Oakland, Calif.

A. Bell & Howell, 7100 McCormick Road, Chicago, Ill.

A. Berlack, Israels & Liberman, 26 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. General Public Utilities Corp., 80 Pine Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Sidney W. Bishop, 81 John Street, New York, N.Y.

B. American Insurance Association, 85 John Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Bloch, Hall, Hawkins & Owens, Post Office Box 4348, Macon, Ga.

B. Burtz-Durham Construction Co., Inc., East Point, Ga.

A. Brown Lund & Levin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. General Public Utilities Corp., 80 Pine Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Mrs. Margot Burman, 100 Seventh Street NE., Washington. D.C.

B. National Committee To Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Mrs. Vincent Burnelli, 309 West Neck Road, Huntington, Long Island, N.Y.

A. Clayton L. Burwell, 1815 H. Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Trans International Airlines.

A. Charles Argyll Campbell, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Francis R. Cawley, Room 1015, Shoreham Building, 15th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., Room 1015, Shoreham Building, 15th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Richard E. Chesney, Post Office Box 523, Bowie, Md.

B. International Business & Equipment Exchange Corp., Post Office Box 523, Bowie, Md.

A. Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Chattem Drug & Chemical Co., 1715 West 38th Street, Chattanooga, Tenn.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Ready Mixed Concrete Association, 900 Spring Street, Silver Spring, Md.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Truck Mixer Manufacturers Bureau, 900 Spring Street, Silver Spring, Md.

A. Francis D. Cronin, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Culbertson, Pendleton & Pendleton, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Canned Meat Importers Association, care of Transmundo Co., Inc., Time-Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y.

A. Dawson, Quinn, Riddell, Taylor & Davis, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

B. V. I. Gift & Fashion Shop Association, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands.

A. W. Donald Dobbs, Post Office Box 72, Fairfax, Va.

B. The American Real Estate Owners Association, Post Office Box 72, Fairfax, Va.

A. W. Donald Dobbs, Post Office Box 523, Bowie, Md.

B. International Business and Equipment Exchange Corp., Post Office Box 523, Bowie, Md.

A. Elsie L. Doering, 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

B. Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. David L. Dougherty, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Alfred Edwall, 25 Louisiana Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 25 Louisiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Macon T. Edwards, 1918 N. Parkway, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

A. Elliott & Naftalin, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Bell & Howell, 7100 McCormick Road, Chicago, Ill.

A. James C. England, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Firearms Lobby of America, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Frank U. Fletcher, 1023 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 45 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Fletcher, Heald, Rowell, Kenehan & Hildreth, 1023 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 45 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp., Bethpage, Long Island, N.Y.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Royal Crown Cola Co., Columbus, Ga.

A. General Public Utilities Corp., 80 Pine Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Frederick D. Goss, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Matthew Hale, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Bankers Association, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C., and 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Edward F. Harding, 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

B. The Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co., 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Bryce P. Holcombe, 1925 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America, AFL–CIO, 217-19 North Sixth Street, Lafayette, Ind.

A. Edward W. Hummers, Jr., 1023 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 45 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Dr. Oliver H. Jones, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Edward F. Kenehan, 1023 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of FM Broadcasters, 45 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Kenyon & Kenyon, 59 Maiden Lane, New York, N.Y.

B. Bert N. Adams et al.

A. Keith R. Knoblock, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Mining Congress, Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Ronald Kolodziej.

B. The Related Organization, 887 Wentworth Avenue, Calumet City, Ill.

A. Ronald A. Lang, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, 330 Madison Avenue, New York N.Y.

A. Donald Lerch, Jr. & Co., Inc., 1522 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Japan Chemical Fibers Association, 3, 3-Chrome, Muromachi, Nihonbashi, Chuo-Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

A. Donald Lerch, Jr. & Co., Inc., 1522 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Swiss Union of Industry & Commerce, Borsenstrasse 26, Postsach 235, Zurich 22, Switzerland.

A. Patrick J. McCaffrey, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William P. MacCracken, Jr., 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mrs. Vincent Burnelli, 309 West Neck Road, Huntington, Long Island, N.Y.

A. William C. Martin, 1261 Coral Way, Coral Gables, Fla.

B. City of Island, Fla., 1022 Dupont Plaza Center, Miami, Fla.

A. Edward L. Merrigan, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Aris Gloves, Inc., 10 East 38th Street, New York, N.Y., and 140 Geary Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Edward L. Merrigan, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Secondary Material Industries, Inc., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Jim M. Milligan, 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. C. Pat Murphy, 324 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C.

B. National Star Route Mail Carriers' Association, 324 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C.

A. National Air Carrier Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Counsel Associates, 421 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Railroad Passengers, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. National Farmers Organization, 720 Davis Avenue, Corning, Iowa.

A. Robert Oliver, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Central Arizona Project Association, Phoenix, Ariz.

A. Michael L. Parker, 1910 Russ Building, San Francisco, Calif.

B. Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, 300 Lakeside Drive, Oakland, Calif.

A. Michael Petresky, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

A. Carlton H. Power, 1918 North Parkway, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

A. N. Thompson Powers, Steptoe & Johnson, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Insurance Association, 110 William Street, New York, N.Y.

A. William W. Rayner, Crowell, Collier & Macmillan, Inc., 1501 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington, Va.

A. John T. Reggitts, Jr., R.D. No. 2, Boonton Avenue, Boonton, N.J.

A. The Related Organization, 887 Wentworth Avenue, Calumet City, Ill.

A. Ronald E. Resh, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Wyatt & Saltzstein, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Mark Richardson, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. National Footwear Manufacturers Association, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Richard N. Rigby, Jr., 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Wilson E. Hamilton & Associates, Inc., 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Roberts & Holland, 1301 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

B. Trustees of the Bernice P. Bishop Estate, 519 Halekauwila Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

A. Robert J. Routier, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Life Convention, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Edward J. Schmuck, 1200 Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.

B. The Travelers Corp., 1 Tower Square, Hartford, Conn.

A. Scribner, Hall & Casey, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. New Process Co., Warren, Penn.

A. Ronald C. Seeley, 1357 Nicolet Place, Detroit, Mich.

A. Lana H. Sims, 1003 Security Federal Building, Columbia, S.C.

B. South Carolina Railroad Association, 1003 Security Federal Building, Columbia, S.C.

A. Myron W. Solter, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Imported Hardwood Products Association, Inc., World Trade Center, Ferry Building, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Pan-American Coffee Bureau, 120 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Samuel E. Stavisky, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John T. Sun, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Surrey, Karasik, Gould & Greene, 1116 Woodward Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Friends of the Hebrew University, 11 East 69th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Surrey, Karasik, Gould & Greene, 1116 Woodward Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Central Aguirre Sugar Co., 1818 Banco Popular Center, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, and 301 Park Avenue, Waldorf Astoria Hotel, Suite 667, New York, N.Y.

A. Surrey, Karasik, Gould & Greene, 1116 Woodward Building, Washington, D.C.

B. South Puerto Rico Sugar Co., 5 Hanover Square, New York, N.Y.

A. William A. Sutherland, 1200 Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.

B. The Travelers Corp., 1 Tower Square, Hartford, Conn.

A. Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. H. William Tanaka, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Paul M. Davidson, International Importers, Inc., Chicago, Ill.

A. Clark W. Thompson, 402 Solar Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Tenneco, Inc., Post Office Box 2511, Houston, Tex.

A. John M. Vansant, Jr.

B. Clery, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Washington Consulting Service, 1435 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Rehabilitation Institute of Chicago, 401 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Merrill A. Watson, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. National Footwear Manufacturers Association, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Laurens Williams, 1200 Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.

B. The Travelers Corp., 1 Tower Square, Hartford, Conn.

A. J. Sam Winters, 1708 Windsor Road, Post Office Box 1148, Austin, Tex.

B. American Insurance Association, RCA Building, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Ernest Wittenberg Associates, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Clay B. Wolfe, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE HOUSE SHALL CHOOSE

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, as the coming presidential election dominates more and more of our attention, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a timely and enlightening book written by one of my constituents. The book is called "The House Shall Choose" and the author is a former congressional aide, Ted Venetoulis. The subject of this book is the dramatic narrative of the occasions in American history when in 1800 and 1824 no presidential candidate received a majority of electoral votes—as required by the Constitution—and Congress actually picked the President. In his intriguing book, Mr. Venetoulis ponders the possibility of history repeating in 1968.

We do not have to agree with Mr. Venetoulis' prediction to realize he has done the Congress and the Nation a great service by bringing together in one forceful and gripping volume, the drama and intrigue that marked the elections of 1800 and 1824. This book should be examined by all of us who are interested in understanding the contemporary scene and the provocative possibilities that lie ahead.

Mr. Venetoulis has served as a staff aide to our distinguished colleague, JIM WRIGHT, of Texas, and he was the administrative assistant to former Congressman Carlton Sickles, of Maryland. Ted holds masters degrees from both the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore and the American University of Washington. A graduate of Towson State

College, he is presently the director of community services at the excellent institution, Essex Community College.

The foreword to "The House Shall Choose" was written by our distinguished colleague from New York, JONATHAN BINGHAM. There is no question that Mr. Venetoulis' book is compelling reading for all of us. He has performed a great public service by frankly and with an excellent sense of timing, explored the fascinating possibilities that may lie ahead. I commend it to all of my colleagues and include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following articles:

[From the Baltimore (Md.), Sunday Sun]

Books and Authors

(By James H. Bready)

Ted Venetoulis hasn't run into Russell Baker since it all happened. But one or another Washington hostess will no doubt bring them together soon, and some keen conversation should follow. It's hardly a first-time thing, that two young men who know each-other should, unknowingly, have written fiction with an identical theme. But for their projections of November's vote—an Electoral College stalemate, throwing the election into the House of Representatives—to have hit the newsstands just two days apart is the kind of coincidence that could cause, on Capitol Hill, a whole new credulity drain.

Of the two, Baker's "Our Next President" was out first; it had the further advantage of *Saturday Evening Post* distribution and rapid soft and hard-cover publication. And the author, a former Baltimorean whose thrice-weekly column is syndicated by the New York *Times*, was already a national-byword name. Venetoulis's "1968: The Year No President Was Elected" is the cover piece in *The Washingtonian* magazine's current issue; Elias Press will be bringing out the book version of it toward June 1. Venetoulis will at least be able to make his plot conform with actuality much farther on into the primaries than Baker could do.

One other difference is that while both futurists pick Johnson, Baker has Lindsay opposing him and Venetoulis' Republican candidate is Nixon. Wallace's southern votes, in each guess, prevent the major-party nominees from getting the necessary majority. Twice in United States history the Constitution's creaking form of runoff has had to be used: Venetoulis, tentatively entitling his book "And the House Shall Choose," devotes the first part of it to a nonfictional account of the elections of 1800 and 1824.

His research into those harrowing impasses began three years ago, when Venetoulis was administrative assistant to Representative Carlton R. Sickles, when the Library of Congress was close by, and when the subject looked like a good one for a Ph.D. dissertation at American University. In 1968, when Venetoulis is a new member of Essex Community College's administrative and teaching staffs, he may have scooped himself, academically speaking, by thus turning his material into a general-reader book. Or perhaps the book is the most compelling of ways in which Venetoulis can express his support of the current proposal by Representative Jonathan Bingham of the Bronx for revisions in the outdated runoff system.

A man who at 33 has already managed or helped manage six major-office election campaigns, winning some and losing some, instinctively addresses the large audience. Venetoulis is already at work on a second book, a light-hearted guide for political amateurs wanting to turn professional. Odd-moment book-writing at his home in Stevenson steps up the pace only a little for a man whose brother, Nick Venet, after a career as pop-music singer, is a vice president at Capital Records—at age 29; whose brother Steve is on the Island of Rhodes (where their parents were born) writing a play; whose sister Kathie is still a Baltimorean; whose father Gus presides over the Custom Sandwich Shop on South Gay street. Ted Venetoulis originally thought to be a sports coach at Patterson Park High and then as basketball and baseball captain at Towson State College; he concentrated on teaching, while getting master's degrees at both Johns Hopkins and American; lately, Democratic colleagues read in his eye a mounting desire to run for elective office—but no clear indication yet whether, he is a Lyndon, a Robert or a Eugene man.

Come August, Venetoulis and his Cyprus-born wife Eleni expect to go to both Chicago and Miami Beach. Presumably having no official status, for the first time since the 1950's, Venetoulis can nonetheless rely on friends to get him past the party convention door-guards and badge-inspectors. Next winter's spectator gallery is another and more somber matter. Venetoulis is in unhappy earnest when he predicts that for the first time in more than a century the House of Representatives, counting 1 vote per state delegation, will have to try to elect the next President; when he foresees the Wallace men offering their support for sale, with an impossible price set upon it. Ted Venetoulis reads now and then that the line between fiction and nonfiction grows less and less distinct, and as he looks over towards Washington it worries him.

[From the Northwest Star, July 11, 1968]

Ted Venetoulis Publishes Book on Politics

This week a timely book was published that will make a noteworthy contribution to the literature of American politics: "The House Shall Choose" by Theodore G. Venetoulis, a 33-year-old resident of Stevenson.

Here, for the first time, Americans will learn what happens in the Making of a President, House-of-Representatives style. Mr. Venetoulis tells about the political maneuvering on the choosing of a President, 1800 and 1824, on the basis of historical fact and documentation.

In a dramatic Epilogue, Theodore Venetoulis presents a brilliant political scenario of a deadlocked 1968 national election because of the candidacy of former Alabama Governor George C. Wallace. The title of the drama, "The House Shall Choose." At the center of the stage, the House of Representatives. Waiting in the wings, for one to get the cue to come on, the two major party candidates. Standing behind them, the playwright, Wallace. Watching, the audience: America itself.

Mr. Venetoulis, a new breed of author, served as Administrative Assistant to former Maryland Congressman C. R. Sickles, during the Kennedy years. He also served as Legislative Assistant to Congressman James Wright of Texas. Currently, Mr. Venetoulis is Director of Community Services, Essex Community College, and was recently elected President, Maryland Partners for the Alliance Program.

MR. MARIO T. NOTO

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to be able to pay tribute to my friend, Mario T. Noto, Associate Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. In a few days Mario will assume his duties as executive director of the Airport Security Council in New York City.

Mario Noto has been an outstanding public servant for the past 26 years, including 3 years with the U.S. Air Force during World War II.

He has discharged his heavy responsibilities in a most exemplary manner and has always maintained a feeling of deep compassion for his fellow man. He leaves behind him a record of which he can be proud.

As a New Yorker, I am happy to know that he shall be returning to his native State. I join his many friends in wishing him success in his new position and an abundance of good health and happiness.

RAY KROC, PRESIDENT, McDONALD'S CORP.—A LESSON IN LEADERSHIP

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in its July 1968 issue, the Nation's Business magazine carries an excellent article about Mr. Ray Kroc, president of McDonald's Corp., who through outstanding leadership and faith in the free enterprise system has built one of the biggest business establishments in America.

Mr. Kroc is a Chicagoan who has given living meaning to the American dream of opportunity.

From humble beginnings, he has become one of the Nation's top business leaders whose carryout chain has sold enough hamburgers to reach up to the moon.

As Nation's Business article points out, Americans eat billions of hamburgers—a national delicacy. And Mr. Kroc's high standard for quality has found its way to most of them.

I am pleased to place in the RECORD today this excellent article because it demonstrates so graphically what faith in our Nation has done for one individual and what opportunity lies ahead for those who would follow his faith.

Mr. Kroc epitomizes the very heart of the American spirit—I would hope that every young American would read this article to see what great opportunities lie ahead if you but believe in America—the greatest success story ever told.

This article, which is part of Nation's Business "Lessons of Leadership" series follows:

Appealing to a Mass Market

Americans eat billions of hamburgers—a national delicacy.

But none can boast the unique relationship with this tasty dish that Ray A. Kroc enjoys.

He is the only man who made $100 million out of the ubiquitous beef patty.

He also lavishes on it as much research, romance and tender care as Escoffier expended on an entire menu. It's the foundation on which he has built a far-flung, international restaurant chain—McDonald's Corp.

It was founded in 1955. That year, it grossed $235,000. Last year, it grossed $266 million.

Today there are more than 1,000 McDonald's carry-out restaurants, about 15 per cent of them owned by McDonald's Corp., the others owned and run by its franchisees.

Mr. Kroc, founder of the McDonald's chain, was 52 years old when he hit on his formula for success. At that time, he was head of a small Chicago firm that distributed a multimixer for malted milks. Thanks to experience and research, he saw a golden opportunity others didn't. In the spirit of the true entrepreneur, he acted on it.

Now he is a multimillionaire, and has made millionaires out of more than a dozen others.

Interviewed by a Nation's Business editor, at his corporate headquarters in Chicago, he tells how he built the McDonald's empire and what he learned while doing it.

Mr. Kroc, when did you open your first hamburger restaurant?

In 1955, in Des Plaines, Ill.

How come the chain isn't called Kroc's, instead of McDonald's?

Because the formula didn't originate with me. I borrowed it from two McDonald brothers, Mac and Dick. They had opened a barbecue parlor in San Bernardino, Calif. They had pork, beef, ham and chicken on the menu. But they said Mrs. Jones, who was a real good customer, would say:

"Mac, that pork is awfully greasy today."

Or, "The barbecue beef is stringy," or "It's tough."

Mac and Dick said to each other: "Some day we are going to find a food item that is the same every day of the year—never tough, never too tender, never dry, never greasy, never stringy—always just the same. An item we can sell for 15 cents, and make a profit."

Finally, they hit on it—the hamburger.

How did you run into the McDonalds?

At the time, I was selling a multiple malted-milk mixer. I had exclusive distribution of it. It was a revolutionary mixer, invented by a friend of mine, Earl Prince.

It mixed five malts at a time—and it never broke down.

The McDonalds had eight of my multimixers in one store. I didn't have another customer with that many.

I said, "This I have to see."

So I went to San Bernardino. It was terrific. They had people standing in line clamoring for more.

"You are doing marvelously," I said. Why don't you put these stores up all over?"

I figured that if every McDonald's hamburger place had eight multimixers, I would get rich.

But they said, "No, we don't want to branch out. We're happy and satisfied." They were doing fine and didn't want any new headaches.

What did you do then?

I thought, "Well, jeepers, maybe the way for me to sell multimixers is to open up these sure-fire hamburger units all over the country myself. So I signed a 99-year contract with the McDonald brothers to represent them exclusively.

I agreed to pay them one half of one per cent of all gross receipts from the units.

Remember, I wasn't trying to sell hamburgers. I was trying to sell multimixers.

Later, the hamburger business mushroomed, and I realized where the big money was.

Where was your first unit?

In Des Plaines, Ill., a suburb of Chicago. It was opened April 15, 1955.

I opened the second place in Fresno, Calif., in August or September, 1955, the third place, in Reseda, Calif., in November or December.

How did you do the first year?

The total dollar volume in 1955 was $235,000. But, I had my problems.

What kind of problems?

I had a contract with the McDonald brothers that said that I could not change one thing they did.

The intent was that the new McDonald's units wouldn't change the original menu, the prices, the quantity or the quality of the food served. That was fine; I had no intention of changing the product.

But the contract covered a lot more than that. For example, it included every detail of construction.

I could ask for any exceptions I wanted. But under the contract, I had to get the McDonald's written okay by registered letter.

This all sounds fine when you're sitting in a lawyer's office. But then I'd call them up and say, "Help, fellows. Know what I have to put in? A basement in the first building."

They said, "So what, put it in."

I said, "I can't according to the contract. Write me a registered letter giving me your acceptance."

And Mac McDonald would say, "We don't have a secretary and we're not going to hire one. And we're not going to run down to the post office and wait until a letter is registered.

"Don't pay any attention to those lawyers; put in a basement."

My own lawyer quit me because he couldn't protect me. I was in default constantly, not only with the first building, but with every building thereafter.

How did you solve that one?

One day in 1960, on an impulse, I picked up the telephone and called Dick McDonald. I said, "Dick, I have an idea. Sell me back the contract."

He said, "Oh, yes? For how much?"

I said, "How about half a million dollars?

It seemed like all the money in the world—a half a million dollars. And whatever he asked, I knew I would have to go and borrow it somewhere.

They deliberated for some time, then they called back, and said: "We have a price. Take it or leave it—$2.7 million."

I said, "Well, thanks for the compliment. I will see you later."

Finally I got hold of a company in New York that invests endowment funds for a great many universities. They paid the McDonald brothers $2.7 million.

With this I took over the ownership, the name McDonald's, all trademarks, copyrights, formulas and everything else, about January, 1961.

Now we are paying off this loan at the same rate that we did to the McDonalds, one half of one per cent of our gross.

Was your first store in Des Plaines franchised?

No, I opened the first restaurant myself.

What was your first franchised restaurant?

In Fresno, Calif.

Does the man who franchised it still run it?

Yes, his name is Art Bender.

And the man who was my first manager in Des Plaines, Ill., is Ed MacLuckie.

They are both millionaires today.

Ed MacLuckie has four stores in Lansing, Mich., and Art Bender has four stores in Fresno, Calif.

How many men became millionaires through McDonald's franchises?

I would say, conservatively, 15. Maybe more.

Do you have the formula down pat now, for the building, the products, the location?

Yes, we have the right formula, but we don't feel that we have reached perfection. You know, as long as you are green, you are growing. And as soon as your are ripe, you start to rot.

Things change and so do we. For instance, we have some McDonald's restaurants that have seating inside.

We keep refining and adjusting as the automobile people do.

Back in the early days of the hamburger business, the days of the roadside stand, it would be inconceivable that you needed a research laboratory, with an engineer in charge of it, and a research kitchen under a food technologist. All you needed was a frying pan and some heat underneath it, and some meat in the icebox.

What else is there to the hamburger business? But we have a research lab and a research kitchen.

How about your early life?

I was born in Chicago, Oct. 5, 1902. I went to school in Oak Park. I left high school as a sophomore and enlisted as an ambulance driver in World War I. I was in the same company with Walt Disney.

He was 16 and I was 15. We labeled him as the guy most unlikely because he was sitting there with his pencils, drawing, and we were all looking for girls.

When the war was over, I came home and went back to high school. But I wanted to get out and do something, so I left school.

I had taken classical piano from the time I was six. My mother had been a piano teacher. So I started playing with orchestras and bands. Small bands, then bigger hands and finally the best, like Isham Jones and Harry Sosnik, leader of the Hit Parade band.

When I was 18 or 19, I was making as high as $150 a week.

But when I was 20, I got married. About that time I decided that, although music was great and I loved it, I didn't want any part of the kind of life musicians lived, working nights and sleeping days. This was no good.

So, I went to work for Lily-Tulip Cup Co.

But after my daughter was born I needed more income.

I took a job as a musical director for a pioneer radio station in Chicago, WGES. It was owned by Telfer MacArthur, brother of the famous playwright, Charles MacArthur, husband of Helen Hayes.

This was the day of earphones in radio, real pioneer days.

I played the piano, arranged the musical program accompanied the singers and things like that.

There were a couple of fellows in Chicago in those days, a song and patter team, called Sam and Henry.

One of them played the piano, the other sang. Then they made a few little quips and they both sang.

I hired and paid them $5 apiece. But they were awful. They couldn't sing or play the piano, and they couldn't patter.

Know who they became? Amos and Andy.

How long did you stay in radio?

For about a year and a half; then I went down to Florida to sell real estate. The Florida boom was on and I was doing beautifully.

My company was a real big one. It had 22 Hudson sedans, limousines with a chauffeur in each one.

The height of a salesman's success was to have one of them assigned to him to take out prospects.

The property we were selling was in Ft. Lauderdale. It was nothing but swamp.

My commissions were piling up—but I didn't get any money.

Apparently, the deals weren't being closed.

Buyers made a deposit after our spielers got them worked up on the future of Florida and the opportunity for investment.

But when they got back home, their enthusiasm cooled. Then the bubble burst, and not a single one of my sales went beyond the deposit.

What did you do then?

I sent my wife and daughter home on the train and I drove back to Chicago in a Model T Ford. I left in late September, 1926. I will never forget that drive as long as I live. I was stone broke. I didn't have an overcoat, a topcoat or a pair of gloves.

I drove into Chicago on icy streets. When I got home, I was frozen stiff, disillusioned and broke.

Did you stick with real estate?

No, I began selling again for Lily-Tulip and became Midwestern sales manager. Then I discovered the multimixer in 1937 and went into business for myself. I was in the business until I sold it to raise money for my hamburger venture.

I think it's important that almost everything I had done, from the time I started with Lily-Tulip, was in the food and beverage field.

I decided that someday I wanted to be in the food or restaurant business myself. And if I did, I wanted to have a product I could be sure would please the customer day in and day out. That turned out to be the hamburger.

How do you pick your franchisees?

We prefer someone with a business background—and ambition. We are also interested in his character, his attitude toward family life, his level-headedness and whether he can stand prosperity.

Some people reach their level of expectations pretty quickly.

We want someone who will get totally involved in the business. If his ambition is to reach the point where he can play golf four days a week, or play gin rummy for a cent a point, instead of a tenth, we don't want him in a McDonald's restaurant.

Is previous business experience a must?

No, we put our franchisees through a training school. Then we open the store for them, help them get it going and do everything under the sun to help them boost their sales. We have fun in this business. Our operators eat and sleep it.

We insist on all of our people, whether they be franchisees or company personnel, being dedicated to what we call "QSC"—that is, quality, service and cleanliness. The best advertising and public relations are meaningless without these three fundamentals. We at McDonald's believe in these fundamentals and really live by them.

Sure, there is competition, but if we stick to these basics and do everything else right, the way we have been doing for the past 13 years, we know we will stay on top.

Do you have any trouble getting applicants?

No, we have a permanent waiting list of about 100 applicants. We keep it at that level. They come from all walks of life—former dentists, retired Navy officers, and a former Assistant Secretary of Labor, John Gibson.

What was your early goal in life?

When I was a kid, I saw my dad struggling to make ends meet on a meager salary and I thought, "If I could get a job that would guarantee me $10,000 a year, I'd sign a life contract." Of course, things change, and so do our goals.

Is there a danger that you will run out of places to build restaurants or people to eat McDonald's hamburgers?

I don't think so.

We have more than 1,000 units now, and are growing fast. In 1967, these units grossed over $266 million. In 1960, we grossed $6 million.

We have sold more than four billion hamburgers. My publicity men tell me it would take one man 40,000 years to eat them all—if he ate one every five minutes.

It took 400,000 head of cattle to produce the top quality beef for those hamburgers.

Most of them were served with catsup, mustard, pickles and onion. The catsup and mustard alone would fill the Mississippi River.

As we build up consumer acceptance, we have a broader and broader market.

What's your goal now?

We're shooting for 2,000 units. About 15 per cent of them are owned by the McDonald's Corp., the rest by franchisees. The average unit grosses about $297,000 a year.

What's the secret of McDonald's success?

Several things. For one, it's largely a franchise operation. That permits you to grow fast, because much of the capital for expansion is put up by the franchisee.

Then we have worked the business out to a science.

It takes an average of 50 seconds to serve a hamburger, a milk shake and an order of French fries in a McDonald's restaurant.

We've worked out the precise formula for making a hamburger to the public's liking, down to the exact size of the bun, three and three-quarter inches, and how much onions go on it—one fourth of an ounce.

And then we supervise all units carefully to insure quality.

For example, French fries are thrown away if they are seven minutes old. That's long enough for them to get stale.

Hamburgers are discarded for the same reason.

Whom do you cater to?

We aim at the local family trade.

When we look for a site, we count church steeples, rather than autos, signs of substantion family neighborhoods. That's where we get 90 per cent of our business.

We try to build up that image, too. That's why we never allow a jukebox, a cigarette machine, a vending device, a pinball game or a telephone in a McDonald's restaurant.

What did your friends think when your gave up a successful multimixer business to take a flyer in the restaurants?

At the country club I belonged to for a good many years, in a suburb of Chicago, they said: "Do you think Ray is going through a change of life? Or has he lost his mind?

"I hear he is going to open up a 15-cent hamburger stand! Can't imagine it.

"He always seemed a pretty high-class fellow."

What made you so sure this venture would succeed?

Well, I suppose we are all gamblers, to a certain extent.

If I am convinced of something beyond a question of doubt, and I have complete convictions in my own mind, then I am going to go ahead. And I had that feeling about the McDonald's hamburger restaurant formula.

Remember, I saw the operation in San Bernardino and I researched it.

Didn't you have any doubts at all?

Yes, I wasn't too sure whether we could stay open in winter.

I remember a telephone call from a fellow in Minneapolis. He owned a drive-in theater and he was interested in a McDonald's franchise.

He said, "Of course, you would open about April 1 and close about the end of November."

I said, "No, no. This is based on a year-round operation."

"You must be nuts," he replied.

I wasn't too sure I wasn't. So this was the only question I had—what about the bad weather? But I went ahead.

When did you discover your misgivings were groundless?

After the first winter in Des Plaines.

What I didn't realize was that there are nice winter days, when the wind isn't howling and the streets are dry. And there are always people out at noon, like salesmen, who are in a hurry, and they want a hamburger and a cup of coffee and some French fries. They can take the food into their car and the car is warm.

And people in the neighborhood send over for hamburgers and French fries and shakes. One person might bring back $4 or $5 worth.

After the first winter I had no doubts.

Despite the misgivings of the country club set, I gather you have done all right selling hamburgers?

Yes, I own about two million shares of McDonald's Corp. stock. It's selling for about $50 a share.

You have done more for the American hamburger than the Cordon Bleu may have done for gastronomy. Have you ever had a cooking lesson yourself?

No, but I can cook. Although my wife says that I am the greatest guy to walk around the kitchen and issue orders and do less work than anybody she ever saw.

CONGRESSMAN WYDLER'S 1968 QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, it has become a tradition in the "Fabulous Fourth" Congressional District to send reports to my constituents of my activities and once each year to ask them for their views on important current national issues by means of a questionnaire.

The questionnaire is now in its fifth consecutive year. I send the questionnaire to every resident who lives in the Fabulous Fourth Congressional District regardless of party. In this way I can truly test the prevailing opinion on great national issues.

Once again thousands of the people of the Fourth Congressional District have answered the questionnaire. The results have been carefully tabulated and I am still busy answering the many comments that have been made to me on the questionnaires. The enthusiastic response once again proves that people do care about their Government.

I am now sending each home in the Fourth Congressional District a copy of the results of the questionnaire. These results show the prevailing opinions in our congressional district.

As to the results, the largest number of people responding want to achieve a military victory in Vietnam. It must be kept in mind, however, that the questionnaire was mailed in February and most people answered it during that month and during the month of March. On March 30, President Johnson announced his bombing halt and change in policy. An analysis of the results must keep this in mind.

It is clear, however, that 96 percent of the people wanted a change in the conduct of the war and only 16.7 percent were in favor of a unilateral withdrawal.

The majority also favored the exclusion of Communist China to the United Nations and a decrease in American military commitments in Europe.

On the President's tax proposals, only 13 percent were in favor of the surtax, which the administration proposed. Even less, 7 percent, favored the administration's travel tax proposals.

The emphasis on solving the urban crisis leaned heavily toward use of the private enterprise system; while a sizable number of people wished to increase the number and power of the police.

The questionnaire results follow:

RESULTS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL "FABULOUS FOURTH" QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, NASSAU COUNTY

A. FOREIGN POLICY

	Percent
1. The war in Vietnam should be:	
Prosecuted more vigorously than it is at present to produce military victory	44.7
Conducted at the present level	2.3
Brought to an end by gradual, negotiated withdrawal	34.8
Ended by U.S. withdrawal now	16.7
Undecided or no opinion	1.5

2. The admission of Communist China to the United Nations should be:

	Percent
Prevented absolutely	36.5
Postponed for now	23.5
Favorably considered	23.7
Arranged as soon as possible	12.8
Undecided or no opinion	3.5

3. American military commitment in Europe should be:

	Percent
Increased	2.3
Maintained at present levels	25.6
Reduced without being abandoned	57.0
Eliminated completely	13.1
Undecided or no opinion	2.0

B. DOMESTIC POLICY

4. The anticipated deficit in the Federal budget should be:

	Percent
Eliminated by reducing Government expenditures in civilian but not in military functions	35.4
Eliminated by reduction in military expenditures primarily or exclusively	15.6
Eliminated by cutting military and civilian functions of the Federal Government	27.4
Eliminated by adding the surtax of 10 percent as desired by President Johnson	13.0
Left standing as a debt against the future	3.6
Undecided or no opinion	5.0

5. The "urban crisis" should be dealt with by:

	Percent
Increasing the number and power of the police	29.6
Letting private enterprise provide jobs, housing, etc. through business activities	44.6
Reducing the role of Government generally	5.2
Increasing State and Federal expenditures for public housing, jobs, slum clearance, and welfare aid	17.9
Undecided or no opinion	2.7

6. Excessive outflow of the American dollar should be dealt with by one of the following primarily:

	Percent
Restriction of American investments abroad	18.3
Restrictions of foreign travel of Americans	7.1
Reduction of military budgets	21.2
Reduction in nonmilitary foreign aid	49.5
Undecided or no opinion	3.9

C. INDEX OF IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC ISSUES

7. Listed below you will find a number of issues currently being debated widely. You can help me evaluate their significance by telling me how important they are to you. In the space next to each item please place a number indicating the seriousness of the questions to you: (5), if extremely critical; (4), if serious; (3), if important but not serious; (2), if significant but not important; (1), if noteworthy but not significant; (0), if of no concern.

Taxes	3
Vietnam war	5
Urban crisis	5
Civil rights struggle	4
Public education	2
Crime prevention and control	5
Inflation	4
Aid to foreign nations	1
Public or low rent housing	1
Care for the aged	2
Congressional reform	2
Federal-State revenue sharing	1
Tax deduction for political contribution	1
Tax deduction for college tuition	2
Use of drugs	5

SIXTH DISTRICT CITIZENS SPEAK

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I recently mailed an opinionnaire poll to citizens of Louisiana's Sixth Congressional District, which I am privileged to represent.

I thought the Members of this body would be interested in the results of this opinion poll, as compiled from the more than 30,000 responses received.

The results are being made available to Sixth District constituents in my August newsletter.

Mr. Speaker, I include the August newsletter containing the opinion poll tabulation, as follows:

REPORT FROM CONGRESS OF JOHN R. RARICK, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, SIXTH DISTRICT, LOUISIANA, AUGUST 1968

DEAR FRIENDS: Here's another report from your voice and your office here in Washington. Today's report covers the results of your recent Sixth District opinionnaire and other information, which I know you will want to have.

THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES—$320 MILLION

During my first year as your Congressman, our district received more than $320 million in federal funds—which is substantially higher than any previous year in our history. I am pleased to have been able to play such an important part in helping secure these funds for our citizens.

These federal returns of your tax dollars have helped provide highway construction and other public works and economic development; education improvement grants and assistance programs; health programs such as cancer control projects, aid to the aged and infirm, mental health research and air pollution control; land and water conservation including flood control; small business loans; improved agricultural services; and increased postal facilities.

I thought perhaps you would be interested in how your tax dollars were distributed in the district. 1967 figures reflect additional programs, which have resulted in more money returned as well as more services to the Sixth District.

(Figures are compiled from "Summary of Federal Programs" of the Federal Information Exchange System and can be obtained by writing to Room 206, 1200 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506).

Parish	1967	1966
Ascension	$8,800,328	$4,432,965
Livingston	7,884,203	3,910,873
St. Tammany	19,396,994	6,128,873
Tangipahoa	22,289,773	8,526,537
Washington	15,374,465	5,291,320
East Baton Rouge	247,207,973	131,818,415

CONSTITUENT OPINIONNAIRE RESPONSE GREAT

I am proud to report that more than 30,000 of you took time to give me your opinions and views regarding major legislation facing Congress. Such a heavy response is a healthy indication that our people are genuinely interested in good government.

Here are the results of the opinionnaire as submitted by you:

[In percent]

1. Do you approve of the Administration's conduct of the war in Vietnam?

Yes	12
No	88

1a. Regardless of your answer to the above question, which course of action would you recommend in Vietnam?

(*a*) Step up military pressure to achieve peace	75
(*b*) Cease all military activity pending peace talks	6
(*c*) Maintain current pace of military activity	2
(*d*) Immediate U.S. withdrawal	8
(*e*) Other	9

2. Should the United States continue to trade with countries aiding Communist North Vietnam?

Yes	11
No	89

3. Do you approve of U.S. handling of the Communist seizure of the *Pueblo*?

Yes	7
No	93

4. Do you think the 10-percent Federal tax increase (surtax) is necessary?

Yes	19
No	81

5. Do you favor a guaranteed minimum wage?

Yes	33
No	66

5a. Do you favor a guaranteed wage regardless of whether a person works or not?

Yes	1
No	99

6. Is a greater Federal Government role needed in the area of agriculture and farm product support?

Yes	15
No	85

7. Do you favor Federal control over the manufacture and sale of firearms?

Yes	28
No	72

8. What, in your opinion, is the primary cause of increased riots, crime and violence?

(*a*) Supreme Court decisions	33
(*b*) Poverty, unemployment	4
(*c*) Disrespect for law and order	34
(*d*) Communist infiltration and agitation	25
(*e*) Other	4

9. Do you believe stricter handling of rioters and criminals by the courts and law enforcement authorities would reduce riots and crime?

Yes	95
No	5

10. Should foreign aid spending be reduced?

Yes	97
No	3

11. Do you think that more civil rights laws are needed?

Yes	5
No	95

CONGRESSMAN BOB SIKES

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with my colleagues I wish to join in paying my respects and a tribute to Congressman BOB SIKES on having served longer in the House of Representatives than any other Member from the great State of Florida.

It has been my privilege to serve in this historic body for nearly 20 years. During that time I have known Bob Sikes as a most able and dedicated Representative, serving his State and his country with honor and distinction.

He is a man of the highest integrity, enjoying the respect and confidence of his colleagues, his constituents, and all who have had the pleasure of his association.

Mr. Speaker, I want to extend to Bob Sikes and his wife my best wishes for good health and continued success for Bob as a Member of the House of Representatives.

SLEEPING BEAR DUNES—A LAST CHANCE?

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, last Monday I was privileged to appear before the National Parks and Recreation Subcommittee, of which I am a member, to urge action on the proposed Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in Michigan.

In urging favorable action on H.R. 6616—my bill to establish this much needed conservation project—I pointed out that this proposal has been on our congressional agenda since 1961. In my words to the committee I tried to convey the deep sense of urgency which I feel:

> I must tell you as emphatically as I can that in those seven years, Sleeping Bear has been going, going, and if Congressional action is not forthcoming soon, it will be gone, forever denied to our people as a public recreation area.

I rise today, Mr. Speaker, to inform the House of the threats which are encroaching on our last opportunity to save this remarkable area along the Lake Michigan shore. In recent communications with citizens in the area I have learned that the situation is even more urgent than I had previously stated. The blunt truth is that private development now threatens the viability of Sleeping Bear as a national lakeshore.

Development and the objections of owners of developed properties already have reduced the potential mainland acreage suitable for lakeshore purposes by some 31,000 acres. This is the amount by which the original 1961 proposal has been reduced. The loss is partially offset by the addition, in recent versions, of a large island just offshore—but the basic point remains that, in 7 years, 31,000 acres of lands with prime natural values and recreational potential have been lost to public enjoyment.

Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to private development of vacation cottages and the like. But this kind of development cannot be allowed to displace public access and public enjoyment of natural areas which are among the most superlative on this continent. I feel most strongly that there are places in this Nation of such unique and spectacular natural beauty that they should be in public ownership to be enjoyed by everyone. Sleeping Bear is such an area.

The owners of residential and vacation developments in the Sleeping Bear Dunes area have objected to the condemnation of their property by the Federal Government. Insofar as established developments are concerned, I have made every effort to meet these objections and to protect the rights of property owners—but also to assure the public access to this area and protection for its special features.

As was noted by the committee members at the hearing, the provisions in my bill for the protection of private property owners are as strong and secure as any similar legislation this Congress has ever enacted. I have previously noted these provisions in detail at page 22425 of the Record for July 19.

What I am concerned about, and what the senior Senator from Michigan, Senator Hart, and all who support this measure are concerned about, is equally strong and secure protection for the rights of the public.

This area is simply magnificent. It displays geologic features unsurpassed for scenic beauty or scientific interest in the entire Midwest. It has fauna and flora which grace the area with great beauty, changing with the seasons. It harbors a fund of opportunity for outdoor recreational experiences which is greatly needed in the highly urbanized Midwest.

But, I must report that the public is losing its chance to save Sleeping Bear. While the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore bill languishes in Congress, the land speculators and subdividers are proceeding at an intensified pace. Property values are soaring and lots are being sold and developed with little or no thought given to desirable densities or to locating access roads when they will not destroy the natural environment.

The scenic beauty and ecological interest of a shoreline such as that of lovely North Bar Lake is being lost as 41 lots are sold—each with a beach on the lake maintained by frequent drainage. The Sleeping Bear Dune, focal point of interest and beauty for the entire area, is being strangled by 14 miles of roads for dune buggies and other vehicles.

Mr. Speaker, we are losing Sleeping Bear as a public resource, and we are losing it rapidly.

As members of the committee pointed out during the hearing, the situation is reminiscent of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore proposal. By the time Congress finally took action to authorize that area, much of the land originally proposed—including some of the most beautiful areas—had already been privately developed and could no longer be considered for public use and enjoyment. What we finally authorized there was simply too little and too late—it is a badly needed recreation area and it does protect some areas of important values, but we had an opportunity earlier to do a much more complete job.

Let us not repeat that mistake.

The residents and property owners of the Sleeping Bear area are adequately protected by my bill. Let us move now, before it is too late, to give equal protection to the interests of the public in this area.

I urge my colleagues on the subcommittee and on the full Interior and Insular Affairs Committee to take prompt action. It is still possible to enact this bill in this 90th Congress. It is still possible to save Sleeping Bear. But there is not much time.

I include the testimony I gave before the National Parks and Recreation Subcommittee on Monday in full at this point in the Record:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES G. O'HARA BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON PARKS AND RECREATION

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, I am here to testify today in behalf of my bill, H.R. 6616 to create Sleeping Bear National Lakeshore in Benzie and Leelanau Counties in Michigan.

Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore has been on the Congressional agenda since 1961. I must tell you as emphatically as I can that in those seven years, Sleeping Bear has been going, going, and if Congressional action is not forthcoming soon, it will be gone, forever denied to our people as a public recreation area.

I hope my words convey the deep sense of urgency which I feel. The blunt truth is that private development now threatens the viability of Sleeping Bear as a national lakeshore.

Development has already cost the park more than 31,000 acres which were included in the original lakeshore proposal. Extensive building on this land made it impractical to include it in the park, and it was cut away in revised park proposals.

This proposed national lakeshore has been the subject of extensive hearings in the past, both in the House and the Senate and in Washington and in Michigan.

I will not repeat the familiar descriptions of the spectacular beauty of the lakeshore's soaring dunes, bluffs, islands, forests and lakes and the many recreational opportunities available there.

The Senate has acknowledged the desirability of federal protection of this area and twice in successive congresses has approved legislation to establish the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

In the 89th Congress legislation identical to my bill under consideration today was approved by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, but failed to get a rule from the Rules Committee. That legislation died with the conclusion of the 89th Congress.

I want to emphasize that the bill before you today is exactly the same as that which won committee approval two years ago. Not a word, comma or period has been changed.

We can still save Sleeping Bear. We must act quickly. Time is running out. Every day of delay takes its toll on the park.

The Lake Michigan Coast, within a day's drive of 20 million persons, is a popular recreation area, blessed with beautiful scenery and temperate summer weather. Over the years a number of vacation homes have been built in the area. After a period of quiescence, private development within the proposed park boundaries has resumed at an accelerated pace.

Recently this area of the Lake Michigan coast has become afflicted with what Michiganders term "Coho Madness". The introduction of Coho salmon into the Great Lakes has drawn even more people into the area and given new impetus to private subdivision of the land.

Let me make it clear that I am not opposed to vacation homes or fishermen. Tourism is an economic mainstay of much of northern Michigan. Residents of the area want the national lakeshore because they know it will attract tourists and benefit the area economically.

But I strongly feel that there are places in this nation of such unique and spectacular natural beauty that they should remain in public ownership, to be enjoyed by everyone. Sleeping Bear is such a place. But not for long.

Subdivisions, with quarter acre, 100-foot frontage lots, are eating into the vitals of the park, and may well consume a major portion unless Congress acts.

Recently I sent members of this committee a copy of an article by Mr. John Peterson, Editor of the Benzie County Patriot of Frankfort, Michigan. Frankfort is located at the southern boundary of the proposed lakeshore.

Mr. Peterson reports in that article that "building is going on in an ever-increasing pace within the planned boundaries (of the Lakeshore) and the Platte River, which once offered a delightful wilderness canoe trip to Lake Michigan is now so completely developed that it is much like taking a ride down a busy residential street."

He adds this ominous note: "unless it (the lakeshore) is brought under federal control in the very near future there will be very little left of the original wilderness character of the area to preserve."

It is impossible to emphasize this point strongly enough.

I have mentioned the loss of 31,000 mainland acres, contained in the original proposal, which were lost because of extensive development.

Now let me briefly describe what is now going on in the Park area, as reported to me by people who know Sleeping Bear well.

Sleeping Bear Dune, the focal point of the Lakeshore, is being strangled by a system of roads for dune buggies and other vehicles being built by a commercial developer.

North Bar Lake, south of Sleeping Bear Point, is being subdivided and lots are up for sale along its shoreline. The lots are small, I am told, and development densities will be high.

The Platte River cuts through the center of the southern portion of the proposed lakeshore. I am told that the entire shoreline has been sold; no more lots are available.

On South Manitou Island, a half-dozen miles offshore, a motel has been built, presaging future commercial construction on this small island.

Along the Lake Michigan shoreline between the mouth of the Platte River and Benzie State Park are fifteen homes, with three more under construction near the state park.

With the pressure for development, land prices are soaring at a fantastic rate. I think you realize the implications this has for future federal purchase of land.

Real estate men in the area report that a lot that sold for $4,000 a year ago is now priced at $8,000. I am told that teams of brokers are rushing in from Detroit, finding landowners and offering prices that are difficult to refuse.

This is the threat—it is clear, immediate, and it could be fatal to the lakeshore.

There are persuasive reasons why this lakeshore should be established.

Past hearings have heard extensive testimony on the splendid recreational opportunity available and the unique beauty which should be preserved. This has been covered at length.

Testimony has also touched upon the economic benefits that would accrue to the immediate area, to northern Michigan, and to the entire Upper Great Lakes Region.

I would like to discuss this briefly.

The economic advantages of the lake shore were documented by Michigan State University's Institute for Community Development and Services, which estimates that creation of the Lakeshore would inject $20,000 million annually into the local economy.

The attraction of additional tourists into the entire Upper Great Lakes region is anticipated by the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission. Accordingly, the commission has endorsed this Lakeshore because it would be an economic stimulant to the entire region. I would point out that three Republican governors—Romney of Michigan, LeVander of Minnesota and Knowles of Wisconsin—have signed this resolution.

This proposal also has the endorsement of the Michigan Conservation Commission.

Gentlemen, this could be our last opportunity to establish a meaningful national lakeshore.

In the poignant old Indian legend of Sleeping Bear, the mother bear lay down atop the bluff to wait for her two cubs who never arrived.

The mother became the highest dune, the cubs the two offshore islands.

Mr. Peterson has given the legend a modern twist, appropriate for the preseint circumstances.

He writes: "The bear still lies atop the bluff watching and waiting, but whether she will be doomed forever to view her lair surrounded by private development, or whether she will soon see thousands of happy visitors enjoying the beauty she has so long delayed, remains to be decided in faraway Washington, where our lawmakers have the power to rewrite a tragic Indian legend giving it a happy ending."

Mr. Chairman, if we do not write the happy ending we will be derelict in our responsibility to conserve the best of our land for all our people to enjoy.

I would like to submit for the record Mr. Peterson's article and resolutions from the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission and the Michigan Conservation Commission.

CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, as I am certain most of my colleagues know I have been in the forefront of the movment to establish a Permanent Ethics Committee for the House and a permanent code of ethics. I am pleased that we are partly on our way.

I think the essential enforcement of any code of ethics lies in the election process where issues of what is or is not ethical is related to specific actions of the Members of Congress or those who aspire to be Members of Congress. The essence of maintaining good ethics in performing one's duties as a Congressman as well as in campaigning for election to that position lies in the fullest amount of disclosure.

The attainment of the fullest amount of disclosure rests upon two professions, the political profession and the reporting profession. I have always maintained that whenever an issue arises in this area it is important to clear it up. If it is not cleared up then there is reason for the people to believe that a cleanup is needed.

A new book has recently been published entitled "The Case Against Congress" by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson. The publishers are Simon & Shuster. In the June issue of True magazine appeared an article which consisted of excerpts from this book. The article was headlined as follows: "The Case Against Congress—You Couldn't Get Away With It—But Your Congressman Can."

I believe around 19 Members of the House and Senate are mentioned in this book. I think it is important for each person mentioned to clear up for the public record just what the facts are in respect to the allegations made in the book and in the article.

Now I appreciate that many Members will take the position that these allegations and innuendoes do not deserve to be dignified by a rebuttal and if a rebuttal is made this just gives further dissemination of the libel. However, I believe it is important that any time allegations of this sort are made by whomever that they be cleared up as best they can, at least by publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The responsible reporters and news media I know understand the dilemma facing a Member falsely charged of impropriety and will not resort to apophasis.

Here follows the excerpts from the book and the news article about myself:

> To Rep. Thomas Curtis, a Missouri Republican, it isn't glass so much as lumber that seems essential to the national welfare. There are no virgin forests in the St. Louis suburbs from where Curtis comes, and no big-muscled, hard-swearing lumberjacks among his constituents. Yet when the domestic timber industry was threatened by Canadian imports, Curtis joined in sponsoring a bill to curtail lumber imports, an issue that would not win him any glory in St. Louis. But it should have pleased two of his law clients: J. R. Perkins Lumber Company and Egyptian Tie and Timber Company. The congressman's law firm—Biggs, Hensley, Hughes, Curtis and Biggs—also represents the American Urological Association, Inc., whose members were opposed to Medicare. Curtis led the fight inside the House Ways and Means Committee against Medicare.

There are some basic truths in this excerpt. I am a lawyer. I am a member of the law firm of Biggs, Hensley, Curtis & Biggs, which I helped to establish in 1940. My law partner Davis Biggs did represent the Egyptian Tie & Timber Co. for a number of years before and after I came to Congress in 1951. The company, a small, local enterprise, family owned and operated was sold upon the death of its founder in 1959. Egyptian Tie & Timber Co. is not now, and has not been a client of Mr. Biggs or of any member of Biggs, Hensley, Curtis & Biggs since 1959.

A law partner no longer with the firm did represent the American Urological Society. The society is no longer represented by our firm. The law firm does represent the J. R. Perkins Lumber Co., and has for many years before I came to the Congress. As a Congressman I was strongly opposed to medicare as an overly expensive and ineffective way to improve health care for the aged.

What the excerpt does not say but which is also true is as follows: Neither the Egyptian Tie & Timber Co., nor the J. R. Perkins Lumber Co., has ever had any interest in Federal legislation. The essential business of one was selling railroad ties to the railroads, the other is a sales agent and lumber jobber with no timber holdings.

I have never introduced or sponsored legislation in the Congress in respect to the timber or the lumber interests. I specifically did not introduce or sponsor legislation described in the article. I think I have finally traced the germ of truth which inspired the false report. I did take the floor of the House on May 24, 1962, Congressional Record, volume 108, part 7, page 9135, to take part in a colloquy being conducted by my colleague the Honorable E. Y. Berry in which he was complaining about Canadian imports of lumber. I was quite interested in the subject matter as it pertained to the work I was doing on international trade matters then pending before the House Ways and Means Committee of which I am a member. I am inserting at the end of my remarks my full statement on this occasion.

The article seems to be making a strange point when it criticized me for taking a position on a matter when the interests of my own district were not involved. The usual criticism of a Congressman comes when he is so parochial that he puts the interests of people and groups within his district ahead of the national interest.

The American Urological Society being composed of physicians undoubtedly the majority of its members were opposed to medicare. I do not think the society ever took a position on the matter, however, or a position on any political matter. I have never had any dealings with the society of any sort that I can recall. I had nothing to do with the society employing a member of my law firm for the specific problem it had nor did I have anything to do with the case. When the member of the firm representing the society left the law firm the client went with him.

I have not shared in fees with my firm other than on matters which pertained to my own clients. I certainly have not shared fees with anyone outside my law firm. Having served in the Congress for almost 18 years my income from my law practice has dwindled to the point that I received $2,000 last year and $2,000 the year before. I have had no new clients and very few specific matters referred to me since I began to serve in the Congress in 1951. My law income today is almost entirely related to personal and family matters and serving as trustee and executor under trusts and wills written before I came to the Congress. I have never appeared in court or before a public tribunal as a lawyer since serving in Congress, as a matter of personal decision. I have never participated in a fee in any matter which had anything to do with my duties as a Congressman.

I think it is appropriate to mention that several years ago the same authors, Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, in their news column listed Congressmen who had interests in radio and TV stations. The tone of the article suggested that a conflict of interests existed. To my amazement I found my name listed. Then I recalled that ownership of the student radio station at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., was listed, as FCC regulations required, in the board of trustees of Dartmouth College. I have been a member of this board since 1951 and I am still listed as one of the owners of this nonprofit college-subsidized radio station.

I wrote to Messrs. Pearson and Anderson and one or two other publications in which this misleading article was printed calling to their attention the facts of the matter. No one troubled to correct the false impression created. How indeed do you correct such things? Every once in a while my attention is directed to an article which discusses Congressmen who have interests in radio and TV stations and there is my name. I was pleased that in this new book of Messrs. Pearson and Anderson this innuendo was not repeated.

Now I have not spread these matters on the Record primarily out of concern for myself. I think my reputation in the Congress and in my community is such that it will stand up against this kind of innuendo. I am concerned about the responsibility the reporters and the news media have for improving the ethical standards of the Congress. If they report unchecked gossip or incomplete information as fact and put it into the context of allegations and innuendoes such as comprise the main thrust of the Pearson-Anderson book and the True magazine article this does inestimable damage in two ways: First. It renders those falsely charged somewhat less effective in moving to improve the ethical standards of the Congress. Second. It blunts the thrust against those who might be guilty of improper conduct.

This does overall damage to improving the caliber of representative government.

The colloquy from the Congressional Record follows:

[From the Congressional Record, vol. 108, pt. 7, p. 9135]

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. Berry. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have the privilege of extending their remarks on this subject at this point.

The Speaker. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. Curtis of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berry. I yield to my colleague from Missouri.

Mr. Curtis of Missouri. I had not known that the gentleman from South Dakota and his colleagues were going to take the floor on this very important subject, but I am happy that he is. I would simply like to comment that this matter became of concern to the Ways and Means Committee in our public hearings on the President's proposal on H.R. 9900 to extend the reciprocal trade act; and this specific problem of lumber, recently Canadian and our domestic lumber industry, became a point of illustration that I used myself to try to demonstrate that when we talk about increasing foreign trade we have to talk about fair trade, which means reciprocity, which means that if another nation uses licenses, or quotas or monetary exchange, or governmental subsidies, that that becomes an issue in itself. It is not fair trade to expect American industry to compete with that kind of operation from a foreign competitor. One of the things I think we must bear in mind if we are going to have a reciprocal trade bill on the floor in the ensuing weeks is whether or not enough attention has been paid to this very important factor of fair trade. It seems quite clear in the instance of lumber that Canada in effect has a governmental subsidy on the lumber products that are then turned over to the private concerns. In our own country we run into the same proposition, but any time that occurs it is a fact that must be weighed.

I will follow this particular problem of the lumber industry with a great deal more interest than I have previously shown because of the fine work the gentleman from South Dakota has done in bringing this out more clearly. I was using it as an example without having gone into the matter in full detail. Having listened quite closely to the gentleman's remarks, I am convinced this is even more of an example of what I was trying to demonstrate. There is no sense in putting straitjackets around our people if they are going to permit foreign competition to be conducted in a manner which really is not fair.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from Mr. Jacob Clayman, administrative director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL–CIO, enclosing a summary of the world status of various United Nations conventions. This summary, prepared by the United Nations Association of the United States of America, reminds us that in 1963 the U.N. General Assembly, with strong support from the United States, designated 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights; in 1965 the General Assembly urged that all member nations ratify nine important U.N. conventions before 1968.

The conventions listed embody the the ideals of our own Constitution, restate our national goals, and capture the very spirit of our country. Yet I find, sadly, that the United States has ratified only one of the conventions.

Mr. Speaker, I think all thoughtful Americans, and particularly those of us who have positions of political leadership, should give careful attention to this convention and should, with renewed determination, encourage their ratification by our Nation. With your permission, I will insert at this point, Mr. Clayman's letter and excerpts from the enclosed summary:

Industrial Union Department,
AFL–CIO.
Washington, D.C., July 3, 1968.

Dear Member of Congress: Enclosed we are sending you a descriptive up-to-date chart published by the United Nations Association of the United States of America which graphically portrays the world status of the various United Nations Conventions.

Almost inconceivably, the United States has *approved only one Convention*. This places us at the very bottom of the roll among the larger nations of the world.

Significantly, the United Nations Conventions are the very embodiment of the United States constitution, our native traditions, our national customs and indeed, the basic spirit of America. Yet ironically, we have refrained from publicly proclaiming to the world community our adherence to these principles by adopting the United Nations Conventions.

Is it not time that the United States Senate ratify the United Nations Conventions and thereby certify to the world that those truths which we hold to be self-evident in our own land are worthy of world emulation?

We commend this pamphlet to your thoughtful perusal.

Sincerely,

JACOB CLAYMAN,
Administrative Director.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS 1968

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Preamble

We the Peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of internaitonal law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

And for these ends . . . to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims . . . Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

In 1963 the General Assembly of the United Nations, with strong support from the United States, designated the year 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights. In 1965 the General Assembly called upon all Member States to ratify before 1968 the following nine Conventions:

(1) *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.* This convention was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948, with strong United States support. President Truman submitted it to the Senate in 1949, and a report suggesting several understandings and a declaration was prepared by a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations but no final action has been taken by the full Committee.

(2) *Convention concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize.* This Convention was adopted by the International Labor Conference of the ILO in 1948, as a result of an American initiative and in response to a suggestion by the United Nations. President Truman submitted this Convention to the Senate in 1949, but no action has been taken with respect thereto by the Senate.

(3) *Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery.* This Convention was adopted by a special conference convened at Geneva by the Economic and Social Council in 1956. President Kennedy submitted this Convention to the Senate in 1963, and hearings were held concerning it by a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1967. The United States ratified in 1929 a Convention to Suppress the Slave Trade and Slavery, concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations in Geneva in 1926; and in 1956 the United States ratified a 1953 Protocol amending the 1926 Convention. Ratified Nov. 2, 1967 by unanimous Senate.

(4) *Convention on the Political Rights of Women.* This Convention was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1952. President Kennedy submitted this Convention to the Senate in 1963, and hearings were held concerning it by a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1967.

(5) *Convention concerning the Abolition of Forced Labor.* This Convention was adopted by the International Labor Conference of the ILO in 1957, as a result of an American initiative and in response to an invitation by the United Nations. President Kennedy submitted this Convention to the Senate in 1963, and hearings were held concerning it by a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1967.

(6) *Convention concerning Discrimination in respect of Employment and Occupation.* This Convention was adopted by the ILO in 1958, in the light of the consideration that "discrimination constitutes a violation of rights enunciated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." It has not yet been submitted to the United States Senate.

(7) *Convention concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value.* This Convention was adopted by the International Labor Conference of the ILO in 1951, as a result of a suggestion made by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. It has not yet been submitted to the United States Senate.

(8) *Convention against Discrimination in Education.* This Convention was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1960, in the light of the consideration that "discrimination in education is a violation of rights enunciated in" the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has not yet been submitted to the United States Senate.

(9) *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.* This Convention was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1965. The United States signed it in 1966, with the following reservation: "The Constitution of the United States contains provisions for the protection of individual rights; such as the right of free speech, and nothing in the Convention shall be deemed to require or to authorize legislation or other action by the United States of America incompatible with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States of America." It has not yet been submitted to the United States Senate.

	Genocide	Freedom of association	Slavery supplement	Political rights of women	Forced labor	Employment discrimination	Equal remuneration	Discrimination in education	Racial discrimination
Afghanistan	X		X	X	X				
Albania	X	X	X	X			X	X	
Algeria	X	X	X				X		
Argentina	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	
Australia	X		X		X			X	
Austria	X	X	X		X		X		
Barbados		X			X				
Belgium	X	X	X	X	X		X		
Bolivia		X							
Botswana		X			X				
Brazil	X		X	X	X	X	X		
Bulgaria	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
Burma	X	X							
Burundi					X				
Byelorussia	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
Cambodia	X		X						
Cameroon		X			X				
Canada	X		X	X	X	X			
Central African Republic		X		X	X	X	X	X	
Ceylon	X		X						
Chad		X			X	X	X		
Chile	X		X	X					
China	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Colombia	X				X		X		
Congo (Brazzaville)		X		X					
Congo, Democratic Republic	X								
Costa Rica	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Cuba	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Cyprus		X	X		X	X			X
Czechoslovakia	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Dahomey		X			X	X		X	
Denmark	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Dominican Republic		X	X	X	X	X	X		
Ecuador	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
El Salvador	X				X				
Ethiopia	X	X				X			
Federal Republic of Germany	X	X	X		X	X	X		
Finland	X	X	X	X	X		X		
France	X	X	X	X			X	X	
Gabon		X		X	X	X	X		
Gambia									
Ghana	X	X	X	X	X	X			X
Greece	X	X		X	X				
Guatemala	X	X		X	X	X	X		
Guinea		X			X	X	X	X	
Guyana		X			X				
Haiti	X		X	X	X		X		
Honduras	X	X			X	X	X		
Hungary	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Iceland	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
India	X		X	X		X	X		
Indonesia				X			X	X	
Iran	X		X		X	X			
Iraq	X		X		X	X			
Ireland		X	X		X				
Israel	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Italy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Ivory Coast		X			X	X	X		
Jamaica		X	X	X	X				
Japan		X		X			X		
Jordan	X		X		X	X	X		
Kenya					X				
Kuwait		X	X		X	X		X	
Laos	X		X						

	Genocide	Freedom of association	Slavery supplement	Political rights of women	Forced labor	Employment discrimination	Equal remuneration	Discrimination in education	Racial discrimination
Lebanon	X			X				X	
Lesotho		X							
Liberia	X	X			X	X		X	
Libya					X	X	X		
Luxembourg		X	X		X		X		
Madagascar		X		X		X	X	X	
Malawi			X	X		X	X		
Malaysia			X		X				
Maldive Islands									
Mali		X			X	X			
Malta		X	X		X			X	
Mauritania		X				X			
Mauritius									
Mexico	X	X	X		X	X	X		
Monaco	X								
Mongolia	X			X				X	
Morocco	X		X		X	X			
Nepal			X	X					
Netherlands	X	X	X		X			X	
New Zealand			X					X	
Nicaragua	X	X		X		X	X		
Niger		X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Nigeria		X	X		X				X
Norway	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Pakistan	X	X	X	X	X	X			X
Panama	X	X			X	X	X	X	X
Paraguay		X				X	X		
Peru	X	X			X	X	X	X	
Philippines	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Poland	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Portugal			X		X	X	X		
Republic of Korea	X			X					
Republic of Vietnam	X					X			
Romania	X	X	X	X			X	X	
Rwanda					X				
Saudi Arabia	X								
Senegal		X		X	X		X	X	
Sierra Leone		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Singapore					X				
Somalia					X	X			
South Africa									
South Yemen									
Spain			X		X	X	X		
Sudan			X						
Sweden	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Switzerland			X		X	X			
Syria	X	X	X		X	X	X		
Thailand				X					
Togo		X							
Trinidad and Tobago		X	X	X	X				
Tunisia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Turkey	X		X	X	X	X			
Uganda			X		X				
Ukraine	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
U.S.S.R	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
United Arab Republic	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
United Kingdom		X	X	X	X			X	
United Repbulic of Tanzania			X		X				
United States			X						
Upper Volta	X	X				X			
Uruguay	X	X							
Venezuela	X				X				X
Yemen									
Yugoslavia	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Zambia					X				
Total ratifications	71	76	72	57	80	64	60	40	19

AN ENVIRONMENT FIT FOR PEOPLE

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, last week there was reprinted in the RECORD, at my request, the most recent Ford Foundation statement on its efforts in behalf of the quality of our environment. I have just received a small pamphlet from the Conservation Foundation, written by Dr. Raymond F. Dasmann, which deals with the same general problem, and adds new insights to the effort which must be made if we are to retain an environment in which men can live safely and sanely.

Dr. Dasmann's statement bears careful reading and rereading, and I will not attempt to paraphrase his paper. I do feel, however, that his closing paragraph sums up our position today very well:

> Once you could run away from the problems that seemed to confound and confuse life in the places where people congregated. You could go back to the farm and forget the city. You could go off to the colonies and forget the home country. You could head for the South Seas. But today the mushroom clouds from atomic blasts climb into the air not far from Tahiti. Bulldozers and chain saws roar in the upper Amazon. There is no place left to hide. If you want a world fit to live in, you must fight for it now.

The handwriting is on the wall. Let us hope that our vision is not so obscured by the smog that we cannot read it.

The article follows:

AN ENVIRONMENT FIT FOR PEOPLE—THE NEW MEANING OF CONSERVATION

(By Raymond F. Dasmann)

(NOTE.—Raymond F. Dasmann is Director of Environmental Studies for The Conservation Foundation. He has worked with universities, foundations, and UNESCO on a variety of conservation problems and has written often for both scientific and popular magazines, in addition to books such as The Destruction of California and A Different Kind of Country.)

Too rapidly for most of us to follow, the world that we know and have known is changing. In America and in some other advanced countries, more people are living more comfortably, more securely, and for a longer time than ever before in history.

We have made spectacular gains in our methods for producing the needs and luxuries of life. But technological advances are being bought at the cost of increasing deterioration of the environment, pollution of air and water, crowding and congestion, loss of living space and of wild nature. There is worry that even if man's material needs can be satisfied, the world he lives in will be less suited to maintaining those human qualities that make men fit company for one another.

A concern for keeping the world a fit place for people is the basis for the social movement known as conservation. Like our environment, the meaning of conservation has been changing. It has necessarily become broader, its concerns reach more deeply into human experience. The conservationist was once involved mostly with the natural world and the rural scene—with wildlife and fisheries, forests and rangelands, soils and river basins, or with the minerals and fuels available for man's use. He was concerned with these things because their care was usually neglected by a human society bent upon growth and material advancement. The natural world and the raw materials upon which man depended were exploited with no thought for tomorrow: forests went up in smoke, or fell before the indiscriminate axe; soils blew or washed away; wildlife vanished from the land. The attention of the conservationist was rarely directed toward the towns and cities where people were concentrated; the dangers of pollution were at worst local and seemed a small price to pay for progress; the population explosion was unheard of in a world that seemed large, mostly untamed, and with room for many kinds of people and many ways of life.

But today the world is small, shrunken by the rapid expansion of its population, tied in a tight web by networks of transportation over which people and goods move in greater speed and greater volume. Human increase and unchecked exploitation threaten the most remote corners of the earth. Cities have become focal points in a threatened decline in the quality of human life. Pollution spreads everywhere. The conservation movement has therefore shifted its emphasis. The old problems remain, but the new ones become more acute.

The meaning of conservation

Conservation is now defined as *the rational use of the environment to achieve the highest quality of living for mankind.* Such a definition, however, requires explanation. What is meant by *rational use?* What is meant by *quality of living?*

Rational use of the environment takes the future into account. It is based on an understanding of the continuing long-term needs of humanity. It involves consideration of the natural laws that govern man's occupancy of the planet. It will involve at times nonuse of resources, if these happen to be scarce and their preservation of importance. It will at all times be based on a consideration of tomorrow's requirements as well as today's necessities.

It is non-rational to use a forested area, for example, for the production of some immediate food crops if this involves destruction of the forest, loss of soil, and a loss of the long-term productivity of the area. It would be rational to use the area in such a way that its productivity of wood, water, wildlife, and other forest products would be sustained into the distant future.

It is non-rational to destroy a living species or to shatter the last remnant of a living community in order to make way for some marginal expansion of some already abundant crop or a misplaced suburb. But what is non-rational for society in the long run may seem entirely rational to an individual or to a social group with short-term objectives. Furthermore, ignorance of the interrelationships among living things and their environment may often lead to unexpected damage when a resource is exploited in a superficially rational way.

The term *quality of living* is more elusive, since people differ in their wants and aspirations. Conservation, however, seeks to maintain the highest quality of environment, meaning an environment that is healthy, esthetically appealing, and diversified.

It is a goal of conservation to maintain wild species and natural communities on earth, so that man will always find present the natural variety that accompanied his own long course of evolution. Conservation's goal is also to encourage the building of diversified and pleasing man-made environments, from farmlands to cities, so that nobody need live in a monotonous and ugly world. Another goal is to use the living resources of the earth in such a way that they will continue to yield, as well-cared-for farmlands have yielded, through the centuries to come. Conservation seeks also to avoid those uses that lead to the degradation of the earth, through pollution, poisoning, or the loss of productive capacity. It is a responsibility of those concerned with conservation to seek to maintain human populations at such a level that all may enjoy a rich and varied life, and not to allow human population increase to endanger the future of mankind.

Ecology and conservation

Life on earth exists in a thin layer of soil, water, and atmosphere near the surface of the planet. This layer and the life it contains, form the *biosphere,* the sphere of life, upon earth. As our knowledge of the biosphere grows, our knowledge of the intricate ways in which all parts of it are related to one another also grows. Thus air pollution from California's coastal cities affects the health of pine trees in the distant Sierra Nevada. Radioisotopes from atomic explosions in central Asia can appear in alarming concentrations in Alaskan caribou. Pesticides from the factories of America or Europe appear in the tissues of Antarctic penguins. A decision made in Washington, D.C., can affect the conditions of life for creatures in remote Amazonian jungles. Security and prosperity in the United States may depend on the balance of food and population in southern Asia.

We are unaware of all of the consequences of our activities. We depend for oxygen upon the activities of green plants on the land and in the ocean. We produce carbon dioxide through combustion of fossil fuels and many other activities that promote oxidation. When do we reach the danger point in the oxygen-carbon dioxide balance of the atmosphere? At what point does the accumulation of atmospheric carbon dioxide bring about potentially disastrous changes in the earth's climates—melting polar ice caps perhaps and raising sea levels dangerously high? Our activities proceed faster than our knowledge of their consequences.

The great numbers of living species on earth, hundreds of thousands of kinds of animals and plants, are arranged over the planet, not at random, but in organized and structured communities of living things, the *biotic communities.* Each community is distinct. The species within each are tied together in intricate networks of energy flow or pathways of chemical raw materials from soil, air, and water through various plants to various animals. Disturbance of any part of a community affects all parts.

Each community in turn forms the living portion of an *ecosystem,* built up of soil, air, water, the energy from sunlight, the physical characteristics of earth and atmosphere, all interacting with life. The resistance of ecosystems to disturbance varies enormously. Some, the more complex systems of the warmer and more humid regions, show a strong ability to rebound from outside interference: the forest clearing is soon grown over and reclaimed by forest. Others, the more simple systems of arid or cold regions may be easily shattered by man's influence or natural disturbance, and take decades or even centuries to recover. Complexity adds stabitily to natural communities. Simple communities tend toward instability.

Man's tampering may produce unexpected side effects. In the tropics it may seem common sense to control a crop pest with an insecticide. Yet such common sense can lead to new and more destructive pests previously held in check by predators or parasites that the insecticide has destroyed, which call in turn for new insecticides that may in turn produce greater damage. Simplification of complex natural systems has been the basis for man's agriculture and cannot be abandoned. Yet extreme simplification, as exemplified by single-crop cultures (monocultures), leads always to a precarious balance between crop plant and an unstable ecological system. Perhaps a general guideline for man's use of the natural world, based upon our present knowledge, would be: *The disturbance of any natural environment should not exceed the minimum needed to accomplish its rational use for worthy human goals.*

It is difficult to know to what extent man's future may depend upon the continuance on earth of some other species. Many of our great gains in science and medicine have come from research upon some previously unnoticed species of plant or animal. The rhesus monkey brought us greater understanding of human blood groups. Foreknowledge of the *Rh* (rhesus) factor in blood has saved countless lives. The sea urchin brought new knowledge of problems of growth and development. A simple mold gave birth to our families of antibiotics. Thus, for our own welfare, if for no other reason, we ought to maintain on earth adequate samples of all of the profuse diversity of living things, unmodified by man.

Population and environment

Without control over human population increase, all other efforts at conservation must inevitably fall short. The concept of "standing room only" for man on earth has been raised as a nightmare to call attention to the dangers of our present rate of population growth. This is, of course, a level of population that cannot be reached since catastrophe would intervene long before such a level had been attained.

Unfortunately, at present levels of population, catastrophe has already intervened. Thousands die of starvation each day. Still more are killed in riots and revolutions, major and minor wars, waged by or on behalf of people who are dissatisfied with their share of the earth's blessings. With present levels of population we are as yet unable to provide anything approaching "quality of living" for all. As inevitable growth occurs, our environmental problems and human problems grow less easy to solve.

A major question of population policy must be faced in every community and nation: how many people can be supported without loss of the quality and diversity in the human environment? Some nations and regions behave as though their policy was to maintain maximum numbers of people at a minimum subsistence level. Technologically advanced nations seem to feel that no problem exists so long as economic gain exceeds population growth. But the growth of gross national product can conceal loss of those qualities in living that add color and meaning to existence, that give hope for the future and joy to daily living. The question of how many people can have an opportunity for living a full and satisfying life, is one we have hardly begun to explore. Yet in area after area, growth is proving disastrous, whether it be growth of subsistence populations in an impoverished country or the unplanned spread of middle class suburbs in a wealthy land blotting out natural diversity and creating a world of uniformity and discontent.

The question of what kind of an environment people do prefer is one that deserves far greater and much more searching study than it has yet received. One knows that people will differ and can hope that these human differences can be maintained and satisfied in a world that still has room for diversity.

CONSERVATION IN THE CITIES

At present some 70 per cent of America's population live in urban areas. The decisions made by city dwellers determine and will continue to decide the fate of the American environment. It is impossible in the long run to preserve wild nature unless the urban voter desires to preserve it. The future of the American land no longer rests in the hands of the rural population, as it did only a few decades ago. Rural people may own land, but the ultimate decisions about land use in a democracy will be made by the urban majority.

Although only one-third of Americans live in the larger cities, the problems of these cities are the outstanding environmental problems of today and affect virtually all Americans, directly or indirectly. We read much about the slums and "ghettos" of the big cities in which the underprivileged minority of the American population is forced to dwell under conditions far below generally accepted living standards in the United States. The underprivileged minority expects more and is beginning to demand more from the richest nation in the world.

The environmental problems of the cities are conservation problems. Along with economic and political problems, they include the nature and arrangement of living space as such; the problem of transportation; the provision of essential water, materials, and energy; the availability of outdoor recreation space, including areas in which some appreciation of wild nature can be obtained; and, perhaps most compelling of all, the problem of pollution. The latter has become all-pervading: the air in many regions of the country is reaching a degree of pollution that threatens the health and welfare of the people; water pollution is present in all urbanizing areas and much of our surface water is unfit for recreational use and can only be used for water supply after expensive purification; land pollution through solid wastes, the garbage and junk of an industrial society, is growing more severe and its effects range all the way from serious health hazards to the psychological hazard represented by "uglification" of the landscape and cityscape. Pollution by increasing levels of noise at times threatens our hearing and may have broad effects on our health.

Air pollution

Air pollution, the presence in the air of concentrations of particulate, liquid or gaseous materials at levels that are esthetically displeasing or physically harmful to man and his environment, is not new. It can arise from natural causes: dust storms, forest fires, volcanic eruptions. It has, however, become increasingly a problem of urban-industrial communities that derive heat and power from combustion of fossil fuels. In recent decades it has been the cause of illness and death in some of our cities. It is a constant physical nuisance in others.

Although some of the most severe and annoying forms of air pollution derive from chemical processes used in certain industries, the most prevalent pollutants are those derived from the burning of coal, fuel oil, and gasoline. Although pollution sources are many, the most common and serious source is the automobile. Efforts at pollution control that do not include control of automobile exhaust fumes will necessarily be ineffective. Among the larger cities, Los Angeles has had the most rigid controls over most sources of pollution. Yet the smog problem grows more severe because of the millions of motor vehicles within the city.

Efforts are being made today to develop new means for propelling automobiles other than gasoline, internal-combustion engines. Much, however, can be done through better city planning, planning that discourages the use of the private motor vehicle in congested city areas and provides fast, efficient, and acceptable forms of transportation as an alternative.

Pollution control is a local community problem, a state problem and a national problem. It must be fought at all levels if success is to be achieved. Some of our major cities, New York included, await only the proper combination of weather conditions to bring on an air pollution disaster.

Water pollution

The greatest advances in sanitation and improvement of the human environment have been associated with the use of running water to carry away and dilute to tolerable levels the waste products of man, his communities, and his industries. The construction of a sewage system was once a major environmental advance, and in places it still is. But today the outpourings of the nation's sewers and the waste runoff from industries are contributing to a growing environmental disaster and an increasing menace to man's health and survival. All of the streams and rivers associated with the nation's urban areas are to some degree polluted. The lakes and estuaries into which they empty are daily growing less fit for human use.

The task of cleaning up water pollution will require the spending of billions of dollars. We can no longer expect in the foreseeable future to restore our surface waters to their pristine condition of purity, but as a nation we have indicated that we intend to restore waters to a level suitable to outdoor recreation, to boating, swimming, and fishing. In the long run the answer to pollution will require the reclamation of waste products and their re-use so that effluent water that leaves an industry or sewer system will be no more polluted than that which enters the water system of the city. This can be done now on a small scale in pilot projects. To put it into effect on a large scale will require an expensive reorientation of a number of our past patterns of production.

Solid wastes

The disposal of solid wastes has always presented a problem for mankind. The bones of our big-game hunting ancestors are mingled in their cave homes with the bones of their prey. The locations of old Indian villages are indicated by their garbage dumps, the shell mounds. Ancient cities are built on the ruins and debris of earlier cities or villages. No longer is the simple solution of burning garbage possible in most urban areas because of the air pollution danger that it involves. Disposing of debris through bay or marsh fills becomes no solution at all when the area of available bay and marsh becomes inadequate for recreation and wild area conservation. Some cities seek to fill in deep and unwanted canyons with their junk; others build artificial hills and cover them with soil; but the pile of rubbish grows ever higher, and the more advanced the technology, the greater the amount of garbage and solid waste.

As with air and water pollution, we must look beyond the immediate palliative measures—the screening of junk yards or the removal of eyesores to some more distant disposal area—to the long-term solution. This means reclamation and recirculation of the materials now tossed wastefully aside.

The idea that parks and cities go together is not new in America. The first colonial towns, whether of English or Spanish origin, had their town commons or their central plazas. In Philadelphia, for example, a city park system was established by the city's founder, William Penn. However, as most American cities grew, crowding became prevalent and the concept of preserving open space to enhance the cityscape or provide recreation space was often forgotten.

Urban open space

There is no question of the value of many city parks to the people of the city. There is also no question that many parks and other open spaces are used very little and may actually be sources of urban disruption and centers of delinquency and crime. Much depends on the arrangement of the parks, their adaptation to the recreational needs of the surrounding public, their management, and their policing. Jane Jacobs, in her *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, has provided a critical analysis of city parks and open space systems, in which the necessity of locating and planning parks so that they become an integral part of neighborhood life is stressed.

The planning of open-space systems, however, is not entirely related to the question of recreation planning. Some areas need be kept in natural or planted vegetation because their soils and topography are unsuited to building. Some areas require protection as open space because they are essential for maintaining water flow in streams or underground channels. Some areas are vitally important as natural reserves for scientific research or as educational areas for school use.

For recreational uses some areas are obviously more valuable than others. The high demand for water-based recreation makes ocean front, lake front or stream front land of unusual value as park and recreation space. Areas suitable to hiking, horseback riding, or other special recreational uses require special environmental qualities.

Each city must plan its open-space system carefully if it is to be of lasting value. Open space should not be the random bits of ground left over when all other urban uses have been satisfied, nor should it be considered a convenient space for the placing of future highways. A park and recreation system demands at least equal priority with all other urban uses. Some would say it demands first priority if a city is to be considered a pleasant place for people to live.

City planning

The modern industrial city has grown first of all as a work center, and much of the building and planning of the past has been done for the convenience of business and industry. Thus city waterfronts have too often been taken exclusively for the use of transport and industry; city neighborhoods have been arranged to provide housing close to the factories where people worked. Such emphasis may have contributed initially to industrial efficiency. With changing patterns of transportation and industry, however, it has often given rise to urban confusion and decay.

Today cities remain the leading work centers of the nation. It is employment, or the hope of it, that draws people from the countryside. But cities are today regarded primarily as places where people live, and increasingly the emphasis of city governments and city planners has been toward making them pleasant, attractive, and interesting places for people.

We are faced today with a major task of rebuilding our old cities and building the equivalent of an entire new system of cities to accommodate the expected growth in urban populations. Urban renewal goes on in almost every city and town. Unfortunately it often proceeds at the cost of disruption and displacement for many years of the lives of those who had occupied the areas to be renewed. Reshaping our cities has not kept pace with demand. Urban sprawl into the countryside in the form of ever-spreading, look-alike, suburban housing has not provided the quality of urban living that people desire.

The planning of cities must start from the realization that a city is a complex *system* that cannot be planned for or managed on a piecemeal basis. Air, water, food, industrial materials, and fuels move into the city to keep it functioning. Wastes must be removed or processed. Transportation systems must be arranged to provide for an efficient flow of materials and of people moving to and from the places where they work, play, or live. Housing must be planned in relation to water systems, power systems, sewer systems, and transportation systems. Industrial and business locations must take into account the convenient flow of raw materials, finished products, and people. Cities do not exist in isolation, but in intimate relation with surrounding lands, whether these be sources of food, raw materials, water, or simply recreational space. Cities must be planned therefore in relation to total regional systems.

There is a danger that we will build uniform housing for uniform people because it is easy and less costly to do so. But people are varied in tastes, and would like to remain so. Cities must provide diversity if human differences are to be maintained.

There are many who feel that increasing urbanization in America must be met, not by additional increments to our existing cities, but by the creation of entirely new cities. Steps toward this have been taken in the "new town" program that is now well advanced in America. Reston, Virginia; Columbia, Maryland, and the Irvine Ranch in California are all representative examples of new communities. Each is intended eventually to be a largely self-contained small city. Each represents a new approach to urban design and urban functioning and is to be commended for its efforts.

They are not, however, in the category of new cities since all are already parts of existing metropolitan areas or will become such parts in the immediate future. The "experimental city" program being conducted through the University of Minnesota represents a different approach, the creation of an entirely new city of 250,000 located well apart from any existing urban complex. The creation and success of such new cities, however, will require the full support of federal and state governments, and as yet this support has not been forthcoming. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has strongly urged a major national effort toward rebuilding and strengthening the rural towns and villages of America as a partial answer to urban sprawl and congestion in existing cities. Such a program appears to hold much hope, but again depends on a willingness by government to look beyond the immediate urban crisis toward longer-range solutions.

CONSERVATION AND RURAL LANDS

It is easy in an urbanized society to forget the rural lands. Meat, plastic-wrapped on a supermarket shelf, seems to bear little relationship to cattle on a western range; bread is distant from the wheat lands of the Dakotas; furniture shows little resemblance to trees in a mountain forest. People can be quite indifferent to the realities of sun, soil, and water interacting with plant life to sustain the life of man. But our dependence upon the productivity of our rural lands remains. We can synthesize proteins in chemical laboratories, but most proteins that we eat will continue to come from soil or sea.

Human life represents the final link in a food chain that reaches back to where sunlight impinges on a green leaf in a field or forest and the process of photosynthesis takes place. Carbon dioxide from the air, water from the soil, energy from sun combine in simple sugar in the leaf of the plant, and then through the chemical process within the plant are recombined into starches, proteins, or oils. From plants these may be transferred directly to man, or they may be processed through a wild or domestic animal to end up on the meat counter. The number of links in the chain becomes important, since each step brings some loss of energy. In a country short of calories, this loss of food energy cannot be afforded. In a more wealthy country people can afford longer food chains and feed on meat.

The rate at which energy is transformed from sunlight into the chemical energy in green plants represents the *productivity* of the land and vegetation.

The productivity of any area of land depends upon the chemical nutrients that are present in the soil and the ability of these to go into solution in water and move with water into the roots of plants. The availability of these nutrients in the soil is expressed as the *fertility* of the soil. It is influenced by the physical *structure* of the soil, the availability of channels and air spaces through which water and nutrients can move. This in turn relates to the *texture* of the soil, the size of the particles, sand, gravel, etc., that make up the soil. Water and air must be available throughout the soil in order for its potential fertility to be realized in actual productivity of green plants.

The fertility of soil may be maintained in part by the simple chemical weathering of the rock particles from which the soil is derived. Soil, however, is a complex substance of which part is formed by living organisms: soil bacteria, fungi, one-celled animals, plant roots, and larger animals up to the size of burrowing mammals such as the gopher and mole. All these act to maintain both the structure of the soil, through churning, mixing, and chemical action, and the fertility of the soil. Soil nitrates, for example, are essential to plant growth. In some soils the nitrates are maintained largely through the action of nitrogen-fixing bacteria that take nitrogen from the air and convert it into soil nitrates. Thus the maintenance of soil fertility and productivity may depend as much upon the living plants and animals of the soil as upon the existence of inorganic minerals within the soil. The breakdown and decomposition of dead plant and animal material, which circulate minerals back through the soil and into living organisms once more, are largely the work of soil bacteria and fungi. Without this action some soils would quickly become infertile.

Soil erosion

Soil conservation depends first of all upon keeping the soil in place by preventing erosion by wind or water. Erosion has been and remains a serious problem throughout the world. If allowed to continue unchecked, it can lead to complete loss of soil. This has happened in many areas where only barren, rocky subsoil or bedrock remains. Such areas necessarily lose their productive capacity for centuries until new soil can form.

In the United States the problem of soil erosion received major federal attention during the droughts of the 1930's. At that time large areas of the Middle West were converted into a Dust Bowl and great numbers of farm families were forced to abandon their lands. The federal government took action by forming a Soil Erosion Service, later to become the Soil Conservation Service.

Working through soil conservation districts, the SCS was able to institute conservation practices throughout great areas of American farmland. Nevertheless the erosion problem remains in America, and results in part from an attitude toward land of exploitation rather than of careful management and husbandry. Elsewhere in the world, particularly in arid and tropical lands, soil erosion is a major threat to the present economy and future survival of hundreds of millions of people.

Farming in the United States depended initially upon the natural fertility of soils. On the formerly forested farmlands of the East and South this fertility was often short-lived, since its maintenance was dependent upon the continued recirculation of minerals through forest food chains. On the deep grassland soils of the Middle West, fertility was long-lived and provided for several generations of farmers. Even on the best soils, however, it was realized that fertility could be maintained in the long run, and yields increased in the short run, only if fertilizers were added to the soil, particularly nitrates and phosphates, or in areas of more acid soil, calcium.

Starting with World War II the story of agriculture on America's farms has been a success story. Greater care of the land, use of balanced combinations of fertilizers, use of herbicides and pesticides, and development of new breeds of crop plants have all combined to produce enormous yields of food, enough to meet all of our own needs and provide some relief to the undernourished majority of mankind.

Not all the problems of soil conservation on farming lands have, however, been solved. Some fear that the continued use of chemical fertilizers, through interfering with the soil biota may be building a physical and chemical imbalance in the soils that will lead to future trouble. The excess of fertilizer on farmlands is already causing difficulty, as it flows in runoff into streams and lakes. There it causes undesirable growth of algae followed by exhaustion of oxygen supplies in these fresh-water habitats. The use of chemical pesticides has had a wide range of undesirable consequences, from damage to valuable insects and soil organisms to serious damage to wildlife and fisheries, and to some degree to man himself. We cannot afford to rest on our laurels because agricultural yields remain high.

Although there are many local exceptions, farming has been concentrated in those areas of moderate rainfall, deeper soil, and warm summer temperatures. In cooler, more moist regions, forest cover predominates. In drier regions or areas of shallow soil a native cover of grass or shrubs persists. These regions are the centers of forest and forage production that produce the forest products, meat, and animal fiber for our economy. As we depend on the farms for our basic food supply, we continue to depend upon the productivity of these wilder lands for many of our needs. Because their productivity is necessarily less, we cannot afford the intensity of care and management that farmlands normally receive. Conservation problems are therefore more likely to be severe.

Conservation of rangelands

Perhaps more than any other category of land, the rangelands of America have suffered from destructive exploitation. Located for the most part in arid lands, they are naturally subject to periodic droughts. Productivity therefore varies, being high during wet periods, sometimes falling off to very low levels during dry years. Even if stocked with a proper number of livestock in the wet year, they will be seriously overstocked in the dry year. When this happens, overgrazing takes place. Range grasses and other plants are eaten back to a point where they cannot store the reserves in seeds and roots necessary for their health or survival in the coming year. With continued overgrazing range plants are killed out or replaced by less palatable plants that often are less suited to covering the soil and holding it in place. An overgrazed range therefore becomes increasingly unsuited for supporting livestock, requiring more and more acres per animal. It also becomes subject to soil compaction, which further reduces productivity, or soil erosion, which removes the means for support of any productivity.

In many parts of the American West productivity was reduced an estimated average of 50 per cent in five or six decades of livestock use. Erosion was a serious problem and some areas of formerly productive land had been reduced to barrenness when the first general surveys were made during the 1930's. Since then, through a major effort on the part of government, and an increased awareness on the part of livestock owners, the situation has improved. However, in the 1960s, rangeland conservation remains a major problem in America. In other nations the rangelands have sometimes reached a disastrous level of abuse. The Sahara Desert continues to extend into once productive lands. The deserts of western and southern Asia have become more extensive and more barren. The ability of great acreages of land to support human beings has been impaired or destroyed by failure to manage grazing animals on the drier lands of the world.

Forest conservation

The destructive spread of forest exploitation and the fires that burned in its wake aroused an interest in conservation in America. The pioneer woodsman regarded the forests as endless. They were cut and burned without thought for their regeneration in the belief that there was plenty of wood up north and out west.

The first check to this process came during the presidency of Grover Cleveland in 1891 when federal forest reserves were first authorized by Congress. Under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt these became the extensive national forest system of western America. The national forests were removed from destructive exploitation, but not removed from production. Instead the concepts of forestry, learned from Europe, and fostered by Gifford Pinchot, were to be used on these lands. It was expected that they would produce timber for use, but that proper care would be given to them, so that after logging they would grow back into new forests, producing a new crop of wood for future use. This concept of "sustained yield" applied to the forests was based on the idea of continuous cropping accompanied by continuous regrowth.

The foresters of the federal government and of the forestry schools of the nation advanced the concept that forests were to be "farmed" rather than "mined"; that they could be managed to produce forest products in the same way that farms could be managed to produce continuous crops. In time the commercial timber companies were to accept this principle, particularly as forest land grew more limited and expensive, and as individual "timber barons" were replaced by corporate ownerships.

Today, most of our forests are managed, with greater or less success, for sustained yield. However, the best of management programs can be threatened or destroyed by uncontrolled forest fires, or by the spread of insect pests and disease. Despite the increasing use of other materials, the demand for forest products remains high and the incentive to keep forests in a productive state, yielding continuous crops is also high.

The United States Forest Service, charged with managing the national forests, is committed to a policy of "multiple use" for these public lands. This means that the forests are not to be considered as exclusively for the purpose of timber production, but are to serve other uses as well. Among the other recognized uses are watershed protection, wildlife and fisheries production, range management, and recreation. Depending on the nature of the area and the productivity of the site, one or more of these other uses may be far more important than that of timber production.

WILD CREATURES AND WILD PLACES

Game laws were our first conservation laws. The reasons behind this legislation were various. Some valued wildlife mostly as emergency rations, a means of subsistence when crops failed. Some who shared the aristocratic traditions of the Old World wished to preserve the sport of hunting. Others valued wild animals as creatures deserving of a place in the sun. Despite early efforts at protection, however, wild animal life was the first of America's natural resources to show serious signs of depletion.

Unrestricted killing of animals by subsistence farmers and market hunting by professionals played a role in the destruction of wildlife. Most important, however, was the destruction of wildlife habitat: the plowing of grasslands, the clearing of forests, the draining of marshlands. Those animals that could adapt to habitat changes survived. Others, requiring large areas of natural vegetation, could not fit in with the new land-use patterns, and dwindled in numbers. A few species like the passenger pigeon became extinct. Still others, camp-followers of man, increased enormously in the man-made habitats that were being created. The starling and English sparrow, introduced from Europe, were typical of these.

By the late 19th century, legal protection for wildlife was provided in most parts of America by federal and state legislation. By the 1920's and 1930's an increase in wildlife began to take place in many areas. By the 1940's most states and the federal government were actively engaged in wildlife management, protecting habitat, rebuilding damaged habitats, controlling the levels of game populations by the manipulation of food supplies, water, and cover. By the 1950's, wildlife management could be considered a successful endeavor. However, it was directed for the most part only to species of value as game or to large and conspicuous forms of animal life. Most species of animals had received little protection, no management, and survived mostly by their own ability to adapt to the changes that successively took place on the land.

An interest in the conservation of undisturbed areas of natural vegetation and animal life grew out of the movement to establish national parks in the United States. Although originally set aside as recreation grounds, the parks were not intended to be modified by such use. It was recognized early that to fulfill their role in the future, parks must be preserved "unimpaired" for the use of future generations. The national parks thus became our first major wilderness reserves and natural areas at a time when the need for such reserves was by no means generally obvious.

As America's population grew, as more and more of its lands were used for the production of the necessities of life, it became aparent that the old natural scene was disappearing throughout the country. The need to preserve fragments of the old wilderness, where people could seek solitude in entirely natural surroundings, did not become obvious until well into the 20th century. In the 1930's primitive and wild areas were set aside in the national forests, areas from which roads, logging, and most other commercial uses were to be excluded. In the following decades large sections of national forest land were placed in this category and increasing degrees of protection were offered to these areas. Such lands, however, were set aside by administrative decree, and it was felt by some that they could just as easily be placed back into commercial use by similar decree. A move to establish full legal protection for them was therefore started. This bore fruit in 1964 with the passage by Congress of the Wilderness Preservation Act. It established a major national system of protected wilderness areas. Although initially these included only the existing wilderness areas of the national forests, in the late 1960's Congress was acting to add areas under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service and other federal agencies to the wilderness system.

National parks and wilderness areas are a major step toward maintaining large areas of land in a natural state for the recreational use of those who seek primitive outdoor experience. There are, however, hundreds of different kinds of natural communities in the United States. Many of them are still without any form of protection and are endangered by spreading urbanization and by the tendency to use all lands for increasingly more intensive forms of production. It has been recognized, somewhat belatedly, that all of these communities are of interest and value to science. It is realized that all can make contributions now and in the future to scientific knowledge if they are preserved in an unimpaired state. Some may hold clues to techniques for managing lands that must be used for productive purposes. Others may hold species that can contribute eventually to human health and welfare. All are of value to developing an understanding of the biosphere, as well as to maintaining its proper functioning. A major task in conservation in the immediate future will be the delineation and preservation of representative samples of all natural communities. This has been emphasized through the creation in the 1960's of the International Biological Program, which through its section on Conservation of Environments is working to establish a worldwide system of scientific reserves.

The United States has led the way for the world in both the conservation of wildlife and the protection of natural areas through a national park and wilderness system. Outside of this country, however, and most markedly in the developing nations of the world, the future of wildlife and natural areas is greatly endangered. Since many developing nations lack both the finances and the trained personnel needed to do an effective job of conservation, the work of such organizations as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the various United Nations agencies that take an interest in conservation, has become all-important.

THE MARINE ENVIRONMENT

Except for the protection of sports fisheries in inland waters, and the recent efforts directed toward the control of water pollution, most conservation activity has been directed toward the land. Yet the aquatic environments of the earth, the oceans in particular, occupy most of the earth's surface and represent conservation problems more acute than most that confront us on land. The oceans are the great regulators of the world's atmosphere and climate. They are the producers, through their green plant inhabitants, of much of the oxygen in the air; the absorbers of much of the excess of carbon dioxide. Their water temperatures and patterns of circulation determine whether the climates and weather of the continents will be wet or dry, stormy or calm, with or without typhoons and hurricanes. The productivity of the oceans is enormous, and man has been taking advantage of it through the centuries in his fisheries. Fish are major sources of protein for millions of people.

Unlike the lands, which have been staked out by the various peoples of the world through the creation of national boundaries, the oceans belong to everyone and to no one. The effective conservation and management of the resources of the ocean depend upon international agreement. To date this has been difficult to achieve and has been largely inadequate.

Although the productivity of the oceans is great, it is dependent upon the continual renewal of nutrients of the same kinds as are needed for soil fertility. Phosphates, nitrates, calcium and potassium salts, and other elements must be present in the upper layers of ocean water in order for plant growth to take place. Plant growth can only occur where sunlight can penetrate. Hence the deeper layers of the ocean depend upon the productivity of the surface waters, upon the living or dead organic material that has grown in the surface layer of water. This in turn depends upon the available nutrients which must be renewed on the surface either by being added from the land, or being brought up from the ocean depths by vertical currents (upwelling). The productivity of the entire ocean depends, therefore, in large degree on those areas close to the continents, the estuaries, bays, and shallow water of the Continental Shelf, to which nutrients are added from the land, and on those areas, also close to the land, where upwelling brings nutrients from the ocean depths to the surface. Since the areas close to shore are those most subject to human interference, the vast size of the world's oceans is in itself no protection. The future of life in the oceans depends on the care that man takes of the areas close to shore.

The vulnerability of the oceans to human interference was emphasized in 1967 by the *Torrey Canyon* disaster, when a giant oil tanker broke up off the coast of England and spread petroleum over the coastal waters and beaches of southern England and northern France, and by similar disasters off Puerto Rico and the Bahamas in 1968. As Lamont Cole, a Cornell University ecologist, has pointed out, if the tankers had been loaded with herbicides, they would have killed off the plant life of major oceanic areas, with results that would have been an even greater disaster. Yet the waters near the shore receive most of the pollution, the pesticides, the poisons that wash down the rivers and streams of the continents.

Today we look to the oceans to provide a far greater share of man's food needs, to supply mineral resources of various kinds, to add to human living space. Yet for years we have overexploited many of the ocean's resources and have driven some marine species to near extinction. As we step up our utilization of the marine environment we must take much greater care than in the past that its resources be exploited with proper care for their conservation under effective international control. We need to start now to set aside new national parks and reserves in the marine environment so that some portions will remain unmodified for future enlightenment and appreciation. We need to make the rules that will provide for rational use of all ocean resources. Otherwise the great potential of the oceans may soon be exhausted.

OUTLOOK AND ACTION

We move into the last few decades of the 20th century with greater technological skill than could have been dreamed of in years past. The rates of change we have experienced are slow compared to those about to take place. Yet we are only groping to understand the significance of technology, energy, and population growth to the quality of our human environment. Once we could make mistakes in using our environment that made entire regions uninhabitable. Today we are capable of making the entire world uninhabitable.

We have on the drawing boards the plans for projects that could remake the surface of the earth: plans for modification of weather, for reshaping the river and lake systems of North America or the Amazon Basin, for blasting interocean canals with nuclear explosives. We are already engaged in building supersonic transport planes that will jeopardize the mental and physical well-being of the many to enhance the speed with which a few may travel. We defoliate large areas in the name of military expediency. We detonate atomic explosions. We pursue everywhere single-purpose, expedient, supposedly practical programs whose far-reaching effects can cause immeasurable damage. Nowhere do we seem to pay adequate attention to the environment, nor do we support the studies that would provide the basis for sound judgment about the long-range effects of our activities.

Perhaps our greatest need is for control of our technology so that it may be used for man's benefit and not his detriment, so that it may serve the welfare of all and not just the profits of a few. Congress in 1968 gave consideration to the need for a Council for Environmental Quality, a commission of ecological advisers, at the highest administrative level of the federal government. Such a council presumably could play a watch-dog role, evaluate the environmental consequences of the activities of our road-builders and dam-builders, weather modifiers, defense agencies, and others, and warn the government and the public of potential dangers. But we need also some similar agency within each state, county, and municipality to play a similar role at the local level and prevent unwarranted environmental damage.

Much still depends upon the individual citizen. On most environmental issues it is a minority that carries on the fight for conservation. No one person can even be aware of the changes that go on or the dangers that these may represent. But acting together those who have the future of the human environment at heart can become a force that no legislator can afford to ignore.

Once you could run away from the problems that seem to confound and confuse life in the places where people congregated. You could go back to the farm and forget the city. You could go off to the colonies and forget the home country. You could head for the South Seas. But today the mushroom clouds from atomic blasts climb into the air not far from Tahiti. Bulldozers and chain saws roar in the upper Amazon. There is no place left to hide. If you want a world fit to live in, you must fight for it now.

WHAT TO READ

Carson, Rachel, *Silent Spring.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.

Dasmann, Raymond F. *Environmental Conservation.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959.

Dasmann, Raymond F. *A Different Kind of Country.* New York: Macmillan, 1967.

Fraser, Darling F. and Noel Eichhorn. *Man and Nature in the National Parks.* Washington, D.C.: The Conservation Foundation, 1967.

Fraser, Darling, F. and John P. Milton, *The Future Environments of North America.* New York: Doubleday, Natural History Press, 1966.

Gruen, Victor. *The Heart of Our Cities.* New York: Simon and Shuster, 1964.

Hall, Edward T. *The Hidden Dimension.* New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966.

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* New York: Random House, 1965.

Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961.

Train, Russell E. *A New Revolution.* Washington, D.C.: The Conservation Foundation, 1966.

Udall, Stewart, *The Quiet Crisis.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1963.

MAIL CARRIER CREDITED WITH SAVING LIFE

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Daniel Sadler, of Churchville, Md., a mail carrier in the Edgewood area, recently saved the life of a handicapped woman on his route. I would like to commend Mr. Sadler on his outstanding action by including the following article in the RECORD:

MAIL CARRIER CREDITED WITH SAVING LIFE

An Edgewood mail carrier, Daniel Sadler of Churchville, has been officially commended for his actions of about one month ago which may have saved the life of an infirm woman on his route.

Mailman Sadler, who has been carrying the mail in Edgewood since 1964, this week received a Superior Accomplishment award from the U.S. Postal Dept. and a check for $100. He was recommended for the honor by Postmaster Herschel Blackburn.

Mr. Sadler makes it a point to put the mail inside of one particular house on Hanson road, the home of a woman who is forced to use a wheel chair.

One day last month, he was placing the mail inside of the woman's door, when he noticed her empty wheelchair nearby. Hearing a moan, he discovered she had fallen to the floor and was bleeding badly.

He quickly summoned an ambulance crew and then stayed at the house to comfort and assist the woman. She was later rushed to the hospital and was under care there for some time. One ambulance crewman said the mailman Sadler's actions may have saved the life of the woman, Mrs. Margaret O'Connor.

CONGRESSMAN BENNETT HAS BEST VOTING RECORD IN HISTORY OF CONGRESS

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as the second session of the 90th Congress goes into recess, it is fitting that we recognize the Member who holds the longest uninterrupted voting record in the history of Congress.

He is our distinguished colleague, Congressman CHARLES E. BENNETT, of Jacksonville, Fla., who has the all-time record in Congress for not having missed a record vote in 17 years. This record, starting on June 4, 1951, has not been equaled in history by any Member of either the House of Representatives or the Senate.

The voting record is of particular importance to Congressman BENNETT because of his handicap and stellar war record. He enlisted in the Infantry on March 13, 1942, and served 58 months, fighting in New Guinea and the Philippines. He was awarded the Silver Star for gallantry in action and also the Bronze Star and Combat Infantryman's Badge by the United States. He led 1,000 guerrillas in northern Luzon mountain and jungle fighting, during which time he contracted polio. For many years, Congressman BENNETT walked with two canes. He still uses one cane now. For his valor in World War II, the Philippine Government recently awarded him the Gold Star and the Legion of Honor, the highest award given to persons not of Philippine nationality.

To gain this all-time record of 17 years without missing a record vote, he has overcome snowstorms, grounded airplanes, slow trains, broken legs, and recently, a fractured knee.

In the 179-year history of the U.S. Congress, there has been only one other Member who has achieved a 16-year record of not missing a record vote. He was the late, able, and distinguished Georgian, Congressman Paul Brown, who served in the House from July 5, 1933, to January 3, 1961, when he retired from office.

The record of Congressman Brown was for 16 years, 7 months, and 27 days. It is documented in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD when his retirement was announced on August 29, 1960.

Congressman James C. Davis, of Georgia, led off the remarks on that day in praise of Congressman Brown:

> During the time he has served here he has been, I believe, the only member who has throughout that period answered every rollcall, and every yea-and-nay vote except for one time. That was an occasion when he was stricken with a serious illness. He stayed at his post of duty here in the House of Representatives until the doctor ordered him removed from the floor and carried to the hospital in an ambulance. Seldom does a member establish a reputation of that kind. I know of no other member of whom this could be said.

Prior to this occasion, Congressman Brown had not missed a yea-and-nay vote from the time he entered Congress, July 5, 1933, to January 31, 1950, when he was not present to vote on a record vote. This was his record of over 16 years of not having missed a record vote.

Mr. Speaker, the all-time record holder for answering yea-and-nay votes, Congressman CHARLES E. BENNETT, of Florida, deserves this recognition and I am proud to make these remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

KIWANIS RESOLUTIONS

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, Kiwanis International was founded more than 53 years ago in response to the principle that—

> The greatest progress in a free society has resulted when men have accepted their true role working individually and through voluntary organizations.

Today one such man, a constituent of mine, a resident of Encino and a citizen of the State of California, Harold M. Heimbaugh, takes office as president of this distinguished organization which has rendered outstanding service through its 5,500 clubs around the world.

Mr. Heimbaugh has been a Kiwanian for 24 years. Prior to becoming president of Kiwanis International he served as president-elect, treasurer, and member of the international board of trustees. He has also served as president of the Kiwanis Club of West Hollywood and as lieutenant governor and governor of the California-Nevada-Hawaii Kiwanis District. He has been both a member and chairman of a number of district and Kiwanis International committees as well. His record of service, however, does not end with this impressive list. He is also director of the Kiwanis Crippled Children's Foundation of West Hollywood and is active in the Hollywood YMCA.

The organization's outstanding contributions of charitable work with crip-

pled children and community programs for high-school-aged boys extends throughout the United States, Canada, Mexico, the Caribbean, the Far East, Western Europe, South and Central America, New Zealand, and Australia.

At the Kiwanis' 53d Annual Convention in Toronto, Canada, where Mr. Heimbaugh was elected on July 3, members adopted a number of resolutions which I would iike to bring to the attention of my colleagues. They are:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE DELEGATES TO THE 53TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL, TORONTO, CANADA, JULY 3, 1968

REAFFIRMATION OF FAITH IN A SUPREME BEING

Progress of civilization in all ages has been most fruitful where men have sought power beyond themselves to accomplish the seemingly impossible. This Power we call God. Each man has his own impression of God's form but each recognizes that He embodies life, love, light, justice and righteousness. With a constant seeking of God's power, these qualities flourish in a community, a state, a province, and a nation.

People, especially Kiwanians, are demonstrating by their daily living that God is not dead. The God of our fathers is more than adequate to provide for all the needs of this space age.

Therefore, be it resolved that Kiwanis International publicly and proudly express its belief in a living, constant and loving God and challenge every Kiwanian to activate his faith in all of life's relationships.

RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER

Governments of free men have through the years been founded upon the rule of law, with a consequent respect and adherence to law and order. No free nation can long endure where the rule of law is made secondary to unrestrained action by the mob and the criminal. An increasing lack of respect for law and order, threatened anarchy, and a soaring general crime rate have caused grave concern in all right-thinking men.

In a free society each individual must obey law and foster order. This responsibility cannot be delegated solely to the elected and appointed leadership. Each Kiwanian must become personally involved.

Therefore, be it resolved that

1. Kiwanians become informed as to the causes which create disorder in our society and be active participants and constructive leaders in removing the causes of such disorder and the disruption of public services.
2. Kiwanis Clubs and all Kiwanians, by precept and example, become involved in an aggressive campaign to restore respect for law and order; to support and commend enforcement agencies, public officials and individuals charged with enforcing the law; to be vigilant and interested in both the election and the appointment of members of the judiciary who enforce our laws and interpret our constitutions; to demand and aid in the prosecution of those who under existing laws would create anarchy and generally flout the law; and further work toward the strengthening of our laws to preserve our heritage of freedom.

RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP

A virile society requires an informed citizenship. Kiwanians, by heritage and through their well respected motto, "We Build," are actively involved in maintaining and strengthening our democratic society.

Since the foundations of our democracy and of the governments of the rest of the free world are under attack today as never before, and since Kiwanians are dedicated to the increase of righteousness, justice, patriotism and goodwill.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that Kiwanians—

1. Conduct and support non-partisan programs whose sole purpose is to fully inform the voter concerning each issue and each candidate, and oppose any tactic that appears to encourage uninformed voting;
2. Personally obey all laws and stress obedience of the law in all our relationships;
3. Actively participate to the fullest of our ability in community affairs.

DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Every person has the capacity to make some contribution to others, yet some individuals lose their incentive early and go through life with little or no purpose. Kiwanis has long accepted the fact that "no man is an island." Although we need continuing programs designed to show we care, we believe that a successful future depends on people solving many of their own problems rather than looking completely to others for solutions.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that Kiwanis—

1. Emphasize the importance and value of every individual in all stations of life.
2. Encourage other organizations, businesses and professions to develop programs of incentive and opportunity which emphasize the dignity of the individual.
3. Apply and use the truth that free men must be challenged to care for their families and neighbors and never to accept a guaranteed existence.
4. Recognize that man needs to work, and encourage each citizen to take pride in all vocations necessary for our life.

DEFENSE AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

For many years the forces of communism have directed their insidious efforts toward the destruction of the free way of life of peoples of the earth. They have succeeded in many countries, and have taken away the processes of democracy and the liberties to which free men have become accustomed. Today the military forces of the United States and of other free nations are engaged in armed conflict with the forces of communism who continue their efforts to spread their ideology and destroy the freedom of more people.

Be it resolved that it should be the solemn duty of the governments of free people of the world to prosecute this or any such conflict with vigor and determination so as to secure a speedy and honorable conclusion.

Be it further resolved that it should be the solemn duty of the individual to support the active struggle against communism at home and abroad.

ILLEGAL DRUG TRAFFIC

The use of habit-forming drugs and those upon which a person unwittingly becomes dependent is increasing at a dangerous rate.

Many of these drugs are useful under adequate supervision and with due precautions. However, the habit-forming properties or the illusions of grandeur which some drugs produce lend themselves to exploitation by unscrupulous vendors. National and international crime syndicates prey on those who become addicted to and dependent upon one or more of these chemicals.

Therefore, be it resolved that we—

1. Utilize all of the methods available to combat the unprescribed use of narcotics, sedatives, tranquilizers and hallucinatory drugs;
2. Support rigid legislation to prevent their unauthorized sale;
3. Demand the strict enforcement of laws designed to stop vicious and illegal traffic in dangerous drugs;
4. Initiate the use of educational programs to parents, schools and colleges in order to alert our young people to the dangers of starting on a course of drug use which will lead to addiction or dependence and ultimate deterioration.

FAMILY REUNION DAY

The family is the fundamental unit of society.

To combat an increasing tendency to fragment the family, we agree with Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge that a Family Reunion Day is necessary to help preserve and strengthen the family unit in order to reaffirm its role in maintaining national morality and strength.

Therefore, be it resolved that Kiwanis International joins with Freedoms Foundation in the designation of a day each year to be known as Family Reunion Day, and asks each Kiwanis Club to promote its observance within its community and urges all Kiwanians to participate in the celebration of this day with their families; further that Kiwanians everywhere invite all people to join with us in the observance of Family Reunion Day.

Be it further resolved that Kiwanis International commends and thanks the Congress of the United States for its expression of support of Family Reunion Day through the unanimous passage of Senate Joint Resolution 165 by both the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives, authorizing the President of the United States to proclaim August 11, 1968, as Family Reunion Day and calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day appropriately; further that Kiwanis International particularly commends the sponsors of S.J. Res. 165, two past District Governors of Kiwanis International, U.S. Senators Karl Mundt and John Sparkman, and the cosponsors, Senators J. Caleb Boggs, Frank Carlson, Everett M. Dirksen, Paul J. Fannin, Roman L. Hruska, Jennings Randolph, and John Tower, as well as the sponsors of identical House resolutions, Representatives James F. Battin, Harley O. Staggers, Page Belcher, Kenneth J. Gray, Jack Brinkley, William Broomfield, James C. Gardner, Edward R. Roybal, Glenn R. Davis, Del Clawson, John R. Dellenback, Edward Derwinski, Robert Dole, John J. Duncan, Glenard P. Lipscomb, Garner E. Shriver, Sam Steiger, Seymour Halpern, Lloyd Meeds, Paul G. Rogers, George E. Brown, Jr., J. Herbert Burke, Frank Stubblefield, Edward G. Biester, Jr., Melvin Price, E. Ross Adair, John Dowdy, William D. Hungate, Robert L. Leggett, Samuel S. Stratton; and further that copies of this Family Reunion Day resolution be sent with an appropriate letter from Kiwanis International to each of the above named Senators and Representatives.

PRACTICE AND PROMOTE SAFETY

Accidents continue to take a terrific toll of life and result in permanent injuries, as well as untold suffering to many of our citizens.

Therefore, be it resolved that we appoint ourselves a committee of 275,000 Kiwanians to live safely and urge the practice thereof:

First: In our homes by such measures as installing needed safety bars in our bathrooms, providing extra stair rails, fastening down rugs, replacing cracked or broken window panes, clearing all stairways to eliminate hazards, and by safely storing dangerous drugs, medicines, poisons and firearms, especially beyond the reach of children.

Second: On the highways by lawful, careful, defensive and courteous driving on the part of ourselves and our families.

Third: In our occupational pursuits by the elimination of hazardous conditions and practices.

Fourth: In recreation by the exercise of care and good judgment on land, water and in the air.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION WITH YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

The interdependence of age groups in a free society is an accepted fact.

Kiwanis recognizes its responsibilities to youth organizations by furnishing manpower and fiscal guidance. Although great contributions have been made in the past, we must make an even greater personal effort with our own Circle K and Key Clubs, as well as Boy Scouts, Boys' Clubs, 4-H Clubs and other organizations that properly mold the fiber, character and goals of our youth.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that—

1. Every Kiwanis Club evaluate its sponsorship of youth programs as to its local community's needs, capacity and ability.

2. Each Kiwanian determine what he can personally give in time, talent, effort, friendship and guidance to Kiwanis-sponsored organizations.

3. Kiwanians, individually and collectively, encourage young people to take an active role in youth organizations that inculcate moral and spiritual values and develop responsible, serviceable citizens.

4. Kiwanians recognize our sponsored youth programs to be examples of superior activities and leadership and publicly acknowledge and proclaim the "good" of our youth.

CONSERVATION OF HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Human and natural resources are God-given. However, in today's society both are being dissipated and abused.

Kiwanis Clubs and modern technology have made great progress in combating this problem, but conservation of these resources is still the key to survival.

Therefore, be it resolved that—

1. Kiwanis Clubs continue to explore all means for effectively using the accumulated and potential skills of citizens of all ages.

2. Kiwanians serve as an example by obeying all conservation laws and encouraging their strict enforcement.

3. Kiwanis Clubs publicly recognize individuals, industries and institutions for initiating and participating in programs designed to reduce or eliminate land, air and water pollution.

WELCOME TO KIWANIS

Since last we met in Houston, Texas, Kiwanis Clubs have been organized in Panama, Italy, Taiwan, Korea, Trinidad, and Sweden. These have joined the Kiwanis family and now Kiwanis International extends into twenty-eight countries of the free world.

Therefore, be it resolved by the delegates assembled at Toronto, Ontario, at the 53rd Convention of Kiwanis International, that we welcome the countries of Panama, Italy, Taiwan, Korea, Trinidad, and Sweden into the Kiwanis family. We reaffirm our welcome to the other countries that have become a part of Kiwanis since we met in Convention assembled at Toronto, Ontario, in 1961.

WORLD PEACE

The blessings of peace are paramount in the thinking of freedom loving peoples. Today we have war and threats of war in several parts of the world.

Lasting peace will come, not when fighting ceases but when the causes of war are both understood and removed, and men of all nations are willing to treat each other as brothers.

Therefore, be it resolved that Kiwanians—

1. Present programs of education that will personally involve them in a cooperative endeavor for peace.

2. Acquire, individually and collectively, a greater knowledge of every nation's history, language, political organizations, sports, customs and ideals.

3. Become personally involved in the rehabilitation of victims of war—especially children, both at home and abroad.

4. Make full use of Canada-United States Goodwill Week to dramatize the manner in which two nations can live together in peace.

KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL—EUROPE

We, the delegates to the 53rd Annual Convention of Kiwanis International, take great pride and joy in welcoming Kiwanis International—Europe to our growing Kiwanis family. Under the strong leadership of its own officers and Council of Founders, Kiwanis International—Europe is bringing to the countries in its territory the benefits of Kiwanis public service and personal involvement. By strict adherence to our six objects and continuing devotion to our motto "We Build," we are confident that Kiwanis International—Europe will carry the banner of Kiwanis into an ever increasing number of communities in the years ahead.

As the concept of service to others has brought an acceptance and appreciation for Kiwanis to the founding countries—the United States and Canada—we have every confidence that this same concept will serve to enhance the stature and prestige of Kiwanis International—Europe throughout the countries it will serve.

Therefore, be it resolved that the delegates assembled at this 53rd Annual Convention of Kiwanis International warmly welcome Kiwanis International—Europe and direct that this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this convention and a copy be forwarded to the officers and Council of Founders of Kiwanis International—Europe.

VISTA

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, at the present time, when we are beset with problems at home and abroad, it is encouraging to know that the youth of our Nation is responding to the challenge these problems present.

Seven years ago President Kennedy founded the Peace Corps; almost 4 years ago, President Johnson founded VISTA. In so doing, both men showed the insight that is one of the marks of a great leader. They saw in the young people of America a great untapped resource. Their ability, their energy, their enthusiasm needed only to be channeled through effective organization.

So they provided the organization: the Peace Corps for those who wished to serve abroad; and VISTA for the increasing number who wished to serve at home. VISTA, though younger than the Peace Corps, has shown remarkable growth under the extremely capable guidance of Mr. William H. Crook, retiring director. In the face of increasingly complex and increasingly pressing domestic issues, which require all the talent that can be mustered to face them, VISTA deserves every encouragement and support.

At this point I would like to include in the RECORD the following article:

VISTA GAINS RECRUITS AS THE PEACE CORPS LAGS—OUTGOING CHIEF OF VOLUNTEERS SAYS YOUTH IS CONCERNED WITH DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

(By Joseph A. Loftus)

WASHINGTON, July 3.—The Peace Corps' recruiting lag apparently reflects a sharpened awareness of challenges to be met at home rather than a cooling of youths' desire to serve.

Some of the evidence supporting that analysis is the surge of applicants to joint Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), a program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The program has more volunteers than its budget can absorb.

VISTA is in many respects the domestic counterpart of the Peace Corps. Its volunteers not only deal with poverty and ignorance, as Peace Corps volunteers do; their task is complicated as well by racial discrimination.

"It's a great generation," said William H. Crook, VISTA's retiring director, discounting reports that disillusionment with the Vietnam war had "turned off" young people with respect to all Government service.

"This is the first year we have not only met but exceeded our goals," Mr. Crook said. He is about to go overseas himself as Ambassador to Australia.

RESULTS OF POLLING

The Peace Corps's recruiting goals for the coming year are lower than they were a year ago, and the agency foresees greater recruiting expense to meet the lower goals.

For this condition the corps has borne a variety of criticisms, but professional polling on the campus suggests that the causes of the lag lie beyond the Peace Corps control.

The chief causes appear to be a combination of antagonism toward Vietnam policy and a looking homeward at events such as Negro protests and the slaying of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"The pendulum of history has swung from Africa, Asia and Latin America to Harlem, Hough and Appalachia," said a VISTA official. "It is becoming increasingly difficult for college students to concentrate on youth in Malawi when they know children are starving in Mississippi, or to focus on Latin-American problems when Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans are rejected by racists in our own land."

Hough is a Negro section of Cleveland.

Jack Hood Vaughn, the Peace Corps Director, while not conceding any long-term decline in volunteers during recent testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that in travelling around the United States he found "a detectable move for isolation."

"An increasing number of people are saying, 'since we do not or have not been able to solve our own problems, perhaps we had better focus more attention and resources on our own problems at home before we continue our effort to save the world,' " he said.

These comments stirred the interest of the committee chairman, J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, who is a friend of the Peace Corps and a foe of the war. He wanted to know if the war was the basic cause of a change in attitudes of the American people.

"I think," replied Mr. Vaughn, "they are just as disturbed by the racial problems in our society. Certainly, the people I talked to are, the volunteers are, and more especially in the past few weeks. . . ."

COLLEGE STUDENTS' VIEWS

The exchange took place at a hearing on April 23, just 19 days after the murder of Dr. King in Memphis.

A recent Gallup Poll of college students, conducted under contract with the O.E.O., reported:

"Racial problems are regarded by half of the nation's college students as the greatest social challenge their generation will face between now and the year 2000.

"When students who expressed an interest in either VISTA or the Peace Corps were asked which program they would prefer, both programs scored equally well.

"A majority of those students whose parents' annual income exceeds $10,000 indicate a preference for the Peace Corps, while a majority of students whose parents earn less than $10,000 prefer the VISTA program.

"Students who expressed an interest in serving VISTA and the Peace Corps were asked why they preferred the program they did. Three-fourths of the VISTA group said that 'it helps the United States first.' Among those who preferred service in the Peace Corps, the largest single reason mentioned was that it provided 'an opportunity for travel.'"

The Louis Harris polling organization, under a contract with the Peace Corps, asked some questions inspired by published criticisms of the corps. After a poll of a thousand college seniors last December, it reported:

"The Peace Corps itself has been successful in not equating its existence with support or opposition to Vietnam. By 64 per cent to 18 per cent, the seniors reject the idea that: 'If you really are strongly opposed to the war in Vietnam, the Peace Corps is probably not interested in having you join.'"

INEVITABLE FALLOUT

However, the Harris organization also concluded that "the inevitable fallout of an anti-government position on the war has had an impact on attitudes toward the Peace Corps.

"One-quarter of the seniors agree that 'a lot of people who might have joined the Peace Corps a few years ago are staying away because of their opposition to United States policy in Vietnam,'" it said.

There are contributory causes to the Peace Corps' recruiting problem.

"One of them is age," said the Harris report. "The Peace Corps has been in existence for seven years; and, even with all the good things it has done, it would be difficult to say the world situation has greatly improved in this period."

"While no fault of the Peace Corps, of course, this sense of discouragement is bound to gradually dim the excitement and high expectations for an organization that began with such high hopes for change."

VISTA is not yet four years old. It has room for only 5,000 volunteers, less than a third of the Peace Corps capacity, but it has been getting more applications than the Peace Corps.

VISTA put 1,900 persons into training in June. Its June applications were 120 per cent over last June's.

"We can fill our scheduled training classes through next December with no new applications at all," a VISTA official said.

AN 18-MILE ROAD FOR JUST $197

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, incredible as it may sound, 18 miles of road were constructed linking the community of Navan, Peru, with farmers in the nearby countryside. The $197 was supplied through the Partners of the Alliance program, that unique people-to-people program that more and more is being acclaimed as the best bargain in foreign aid.

Under the partners program, 35 States of the United States have joined with similar areas of South and Central America to work on mutually beneficial projects. The State of Texas has joined with Peru, and in this case the $197 was supplied by the Texas AFL–CIO to buy picks and shovels and wheelbarrows to construct the road. It is more in the long list of outstanding accomplishments of the partners program and its able director, Mr. James H. Boren.

The following editorial which appeared in the Sunday Gazette-Mail in Charleston, W. Va., explains this amazing achievement in detail. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues at a time when the Congress is completing work on the fiscal 1969 foreign aid authorization:

GREAT GOOD AT LITTLE COST, SPRINGS FROM "PARTNERS"

A few days ago the State Road Commission received a bid in excess of $4 million for construction of a little more than three miles of highway in Greenbrier County.

But what would you think of 18 miles of road for $197? Incredible? Certainly. But the 18-mile road was built—and it cost only $197.

The SRC bid, of course, was for a section of highly expensive, modern interstate highway. The other job was quite different—yet, whoever heard of building 18 miles of any kind of road for $197 in this day and age?

This seemingly miraculous accomplishment was the product of a unique undertaking known as "The Partners of the Alliance," a close relative of the Alliance for Progress which President Kennedy started in 1961 for the social and economic development of Latin America.

Under the Partners program—which operates within the U.S. Agency for International Development (Aid) but is primarily a people-to-people undertaking for the mutual benefit of citizens of the U.S. and Latin America—the state of Texas is a partner of Peru.

And, because of this, that 18 miles of road was built for $197.

Somewhere in Peru there is a village called Navan. And somewhere outside of Navan there was a valley of good farm land—but inaccessible. It was a natural problem for the Partners of the Alliance Committees in Texas and Peru, and it was solved.

The Texas AFL–CIO contributed $197 for the purchase of picks, shovels and wheelbarrows. This equipment gave the people of the farm valley the equipment they needed to turn a foot trail into a farm-to-market road, 18 miles to the nearest public road to Navan.

It was hard work and it took them nearly a year to complete the job. When it was done they turned over the picks, shovels and wheelbarrows to the people of Navan, and the result was two new schools and a community market.

Everybody benefited. The farm people achieved a way to get their produce to market, and the people of Navan had a source of supply. A whole area was transformed—and it cost only $197. The people in Texas must have been pleased, too—but, and this is important, the basic plan was developed by the partners in Peru.

But this is a two-way street: the people of the U.S. benefit just as much as the people of Latin America.

Just one example: In Oregon, 15 public school districts and Costa Rica have been linked in a double-pronged program providing in-service training for Costa Rican public school administrators and teachers, while at the same time affording Oregon schools the opportunity to utilize the Costa Ricans as experts in Spanish language programs and Latin American social studies activities.

There is something else remarkable about The Partners of the Alliance program—the federal government has spent less than $1 million on it in the four years it has been in operation, while it has attracted more than $10.5 million in private funds plus inestimable services.

This should be a refreshing interlude for a Congress wrestling over billions to kill people, and perhaps even inspire it to take a friendlier look toward an inexpensive program that is making friends among people and a lasting contribution to peaceful progress.

West Virginia, the 35th state in the union, last week became the 35th state to join in the Partners of the Alliance. Its partner state is Espirito Santo on the Atlantic coast of Brazil. We trust the partnership will be mutually beneficial.

BISHOP WILLIAM M. COSGROVE, AUXILIARY BISHOP OF CLEVELAND

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 3, a distinguished churchman and community leader, Msgr. William M. Cosgrove, will be consecrated Auxiliary Bishop of Cleveland in St. John's Cathedral. The entire community shares pride in the elevation of Bishop Cosgrove.

Bishop-elect Cosgrove is a remarkable man who has spent his whole life in service to God in the Cleveland area. Born in Canton, Ohio, he attended Cathedral Latin and St. Ignatius High Schools in Cleveland. He went to college at John Carroll University and studied theology and philosophy at St. Mary Seminary.

After ordination in 1943, Father Cosgrove served at St. Ignatius in Cleveland and then in Akron's St. Vincent parishes. For 13 years, he served at Borromeo Seminary in Wickliffe, Ohio, a suburb of Cleveland, as a history professor and spiritual director to young men studying for the priesthood.

On September 29, 1966, Monsignor Cosgrove was named as pastor of St. Henry, my family parish, and later that year he was elected first president of the Priests Senate.

As the Cleveland Plain Dealer on June 20, 1968, pointed out in an editorial upon the announcement of Monsignor Cosgrove's designation as a bishop-elect.

> Another unusual aspect of the new bishop's appointment is that he has never held a chancery office and none of his education was received in Rome. His only post outside of the parishes was a professorship at Borromeo Seminary.
>
> All of his work has been at the parish level or with the training of priests, a circumstance that should be invaluable to him in his new responsibility.

On June 19, 1968, the Cleveland Press quoted Bishop-elect Cosgrove at his Chancery press conference, as follows:

> I deeply appreciate this opportunity given to me by Pope Paul to serve in a position somewhat frightening because of the complexities and challenges of today's world.
>
> I dedicate myself to working for better understanding among the races and, with the priests' assistance, to bring the Christian gospel to the entire community.

The whole Cleveland community appreciates this honor to its native son and is thankful for his elevation to leadership in the diocese.

Bishop Cosgrove is vitally concerned with the day-to-day problems of the people of the parishes. He is concerned about the quality of urban life and has been a member of the Bishop's Committee on Urban Affairs since it was founded 2 years ago. This concern was evidenced in Bishop Cosgrove's remarks at a press conference held in connection with the announcement of his appointment:

> I am especially interested in making whatever contribution I can to the priests of our diocese, and through them to bring the Christian gospel to the entire community, Christian and non-Christian.

Bishop Cosgrove comes from a family that is remarkable for its service to God. Seven cousins are priests in three different orders in several dioceses. An aunt is Sister M. Basil, Secretary of the Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine, and in addition, another seven cousins are sisters.

For such a man and such a family we are thankful and pray that God will support them in the tasks ahead.

I would like to include in the Record at this point an article which appeared in the Catholic Universe Bulletin, the official publication of the Cleveland Catholic Diocese, describing the elevation of the Parish Priest of St. Henry's to auxiliary bishop of Cleveland:

Monsignor Cosgrove Is Named an Auxiliary

Pope Paul VI reached into a parish this week to appoint Msgr. William M. Cosgrove auxiliary bishop of the Cleveland diocese.

Usually bishops are named from the chancery or seminary staffs, but the pope tapped the pastor of the racially-mixed St. Henry Parish to help Bishop Clarence G. Issenmann administer the diocese.

Though the bishop-elect will not be consecrated until later in the summer, Bishop Issenmann lost no time in putting him to work. Less than two hours after the appointment became known, Bishop Issenmann had named him vicar general of the diocese.

Msgr. Cosgrove, 51, is an affable, approachable priest—popular with the clergy and laity alike.

In December 1966 he was elected chairman of the Senate of Priests, a post he has held since. He is familiar with the aspirations of priests, their problems and capabilities.

Since January 1966 he has been diocesan moderator of the Cursillo movement. In this post he learned, first hand, the aspirations—and sometimes the impatience—of the laity.

Appointment of Msgr. Cosgrove comes just two weeks after the appointment of Auxiliary Bishop Clarence E. Elwell as bishop of the Columbus diocese. Bishop Elwell, present vicar general, will be installed there Aug. 22.

Cleveland's second auxiliary—Bishop John F. Wheaton—left Cleveland in February 1967 to become bishop of Erie.

Before becoming the second pastor of St. Henry Parish on Cleveland's Southeast Side, Msgr. Cosgrove has been spiritual director and history professsor at Borromeo Seminary for 13 years.

At a press conference in the bishop's office Wednesday, the bishop-elect seemed embarrassed by the attention of reporters, television cameras and tape recorders.

He laughed heartily and often and several times passed questions back to the interviewers, saying he just wasn't an expert in education and other fields mentioned.

In a brief statement, Msgr. Cosgrove indicated his special interests: the priests of the diocese, the problems of the city and the need for a greater understanding among the races.

He said:

"I deeply appreciate the opportunity that Pope Paul has given me to work as an assistant to Bishop Issenmann in the pastoral care of the people in the Diocese of Cleveland.

"I am somewhat frightened by the complexities of the office of bishop, especially in an age which offers such great challenges to the Church, but I trust that the Holy Spirit will supply for my ignorance.

"I am especially interested in making whatever contribution that I can to the priests of our diocese, and through them to bring the Christian gospel to the entire community, Christian and non-Christian.

"I am also deeply interested in the problems of the city, especially the need for a greater understanding among the races, and I shall dedicate myself to doing whatever I can in this area.

"I ask the prayers of all the people of the greater Cleveland community to assist me in my ministry."

Bishop Issenmann, obviously delighted with the appointment, issued this statement:

"Our joy is double, both that the Diocese of Cleveland has a new auxiliary bishop, and that Our Holy Father's appointment is the Rt. Rev. Msgr. William M. Cosgrove, presently pastor of St. Henry Parish, Cleveland.

"Bishop-elect Cosgrove brings a rich experience in his 25 years as a priest of the diocese to his new responsibilities as a bishop and as auxiliary bishop. He will be 25 years a priest on Dec. 18, of this year.

"Bishop-elect Cosgrove is familiar with parochial life, for he has served as assistant in parishes both in Akron and in Cleveland, and as pastor of St. Henry's. He was, in the intervening years between 1953 and 1966, the spiritual director at Borromeo Seminary. In that office he had the responsibility of the spiritual formation of the seminarians as future priests.

"He has the confidence of the priests of the Diocese, evidenced by their choice of him as the first president of the Senate of Priests.

"Personally I am delighted to have Bishop-elect Cosgrove in this closer relationship as auxiliary bishop, for our mutual spiritual guidance of the Church of our diocese. He has been very helpful and always generously cooperative in the several offices which he has held, especially so, since the formation and development of the Priests' Senate.

"I am pleased to take this opportunity to name Bishop-elect Cosgrove as vicar general of the diocese. We ask the prayers of priests, Religious and laity for God's blessings upon him and the guidance of the Holy Spirit upon our mutual concerns."

It was not known where the bishop-elect will live. Bishop Elwell lives in a suite at the cathedral rectory. Msgr. Cosgrove could maintain his residence at St. Henry Parish.

Msgr. Cosgrove's statement was in a way a statement of his philosophy—one that he has been following as pastor, educator and priest's representative.

He has been a member of the Bishop's Committee on Urban Affairs since it was founded two years ago.

Last summer he was the first Catholic voice to support the strikers in the 11-month strike of St. Luke Hospital employes.

His statement quoted the Vatican II documents and encyclicals about the overall principle of unionization and he urged Catholic hospitals not to fight union efforts if attempts were made to organize them. He testified for legislation to end the strike at City Hall.

Shortly after going to St. Henry Parish, he encouraged parishioners toward a more active parish life by asking them in a survey, since copied widely, what they had to contribute to the parish and what they thought the parish should contribute to their lives.

He emphasized personal contact there.

Just this week, it was announced that St. Henry would contribute its parish convent for use as a multi-service community service. The Dominican Sisters will move to the convent of the adjoining Hoban-Dominican High School and the emptied convent will be operated by the Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers Association.

In April Msgr. Cosgrove represented the Priests Senate at the formation of the National Federation of Priests Council in Des Plaines, Ill.

He referred to it during the press conference Wednesday saying that he believed the new federation would look outside of itself, unlike many unions which too often look inside themselves. He repeated that theme, that priests are intensely interested in what they can do in the world, several times.

The bishop-elect has been active in ecumenical programs in his neighborhood. In April he took part in a memorial service for the assassinated Dr. Martin Luther King at Aldersgate Methodist Church in Warrensville Heights.

Msgr. Cosgrove will be the 22d priest from the Cleveland diocese to become a bishop.

He was born in Canton and attended St. John School there one year before his family moved to Cleveland. Here he attended Cathedral Latin School for one year, St. Ignatius High for his last two, John Carroll University and St. Mary Seminary. He received a master's degree in history from Carroll in 1959.

He was ordained Dec. 18, 1943, by Archbishop Edward F. Hoban. His first assignment was as assistant at St. Vincent Parish, Akron. After that he was assistant at St. Ignatius Parish here until Sept. 17, 1953, when he was named spiritual director and professor at Borromeo Seminary. In 1960 he was named a papal chamberlain by Pope Paul VI.

In January 1966 he was named a domestic prelate.

Less than a year ago at St. Henry's he introduced a series of special "neighborhood Masses," with groups of about 100 people all from the same neighborhood assisting at a community-atmosphere Mass.

His mother, Margaret, has been living with him at St. Henry's for about a year. His father, William, died when he was about a year old during the influenza epidemic of 1917. He has a brother, Joseph, who lives in Elyria.

Msgr. Cosgrove has "at least" seven cousins who are priests, in three orders and several dioceses. Cousins here include Father Bernard V. Brady, pastor of St. Gabriel, Mentor; Father William J. Englert, assistant at St. Felicitas, and Jesuit Father Eugene F. Hattie, Patna Jesuit Mission procurator here.

An aunt is Sister M. Basil, secretary of the Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine at St. Augustine. He has seven cousins who are Sisters.

The appointment of Msgr. Cosgrove was announced in Washington by Archbishop Luigi Raimondi, apostolic delegate in the U.S. Along with his appointment as Cleveland auxiliary, he was named titular bishop of Trisipa.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, HERE AND ABROAD

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, although the so-called good as well as bad Communists clamor for the elimination of Captive Nations Week, the 1968 observance was conducted successfully both here and abroad. From Philadelphia to Chicago to Los Angeles and over to Taipei, Free China, rallies were held to signify the dedication of free men to the freedom and independence of all the captive nations, including those in the Soviet Union. We can thank God that there are millions in the free world who are not deceived by the propaganda of "peaceful coexistence" emanating from Moscow and its syndicate members.

The success of the 10th observance of Captive Nations Week can be gleaned from the following examples of national and international activity: First, proc-

lamations by Gov. John A. Love, of Colorado, and Mayor George G. Seibels, of Birmingham, Ala.; second, news reports of the week in the Sunday, July 21, Chicago Sun-Times, and in the July 19–20 issues of the Chicago Tribune; third, an excellent syndicated column by Edgar Ansel Mowrer; fourth, the messages of President Chiang Kai-shek on the observance in the Republic of China; and, fifth, the address by Vice President Yen Chia-kan at the Taipei rally on July 19:

Proclamation: Captive Nations Week, July 14–20, 1968

Whereas, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, and many other nations throughout the world have been made captive by the imperialistic and aggressive policies of the spreading Russian Communism; and

Whereas, the freedom loving people of these captive nations having a great historical past of self government, are continuing their struggle for national independence and individual liberties; and

Whereas, principles of freedom and justice are the cornerstones of our American democracy; and

Whereas, it is vital to the national security of the United States and the whole free world that the freedom of the captive nations should be restored;

Now, therefore, I, John A. Love, Governor of the State of Colorado, do hereby proclaim the week of July 14 through July 20, in the year 1968, as Captive Nations Week in Colorado, and urge our citizens to join a common effort to assist the captive nations of the world in their struggle for national independence.

Given under my hand and the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado, this Fifteenth Day of July, A.D., 1968.

John A. Love,
Governor.

Proclamation

Whereas, the republican form of government—based upon 'the consent of the governed'—which has existed in the United States of America for 192 years, has resulted in the development of a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations for freedom of peoples everywhere and in the recognition of the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas, the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful co-existence between nations and constitutes an impediment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas, since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of the vast military despotisms of International Communism have resulted in the creation of a constant threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas, the imperialistic policies of the Communist regimes have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Cuba and others; and

Whereas, it is vital to the national security of the United States and the other free nations of the world that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive:

Now, therefore, I, George G. Seibels, Jr., Mayor of the City of Birmingham, Alabama, do hereby designate the week of July 14–20, 1968 as Captive Nations Week and urge that all citizens support this annual recognition of the intent and purpose of the Communist dominated and oppressed peoples of the world to regain their freedom.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the City of Birmingham to be affixed this 17th day of July, 1968.

George G. Seibels,
Mayor.

[From the Chicago Sunday Sun-Times, July 21, 1968]

Captive Nations Parade in Loop

Chicagoans of 15 nations now ruled by Communist governments paraded on State Street Saturday to open Captive Nations Week.

About 25 floats and marching units joined the procession, paced by the music of seven bands.

Many of the marchers wore native costumes, and foreign flags flew on both sides of the street.

The march began at Wacker and ended at Van Buren, passing a stand at Madison, where the parade was viewed by Mayor Daley, Gov. Shapiro and Cook County Board President Richard B. Ogilvie.

Viktors Viksnins of the Chicago Latvian Assn. served as general chairman of the parade, held annually.

Police estimated the crowd at 15,000, many of them State Street shoppers who paused to watch the marchers and floats.

The biggest applause went to marchers who carried signs saying, "Russians! Don't Commit Another Murder. Leave The Czechoslovakian Border."

About 20 persons carried signs reading, "Remember the Maine. Remember the Pueblo."

The Illinois Sesquicentennial Commission had a float with trained doves flying over it.

Seven women at State and Madison passed out leaflets supporting Dr. Benjamin Spock, convicted of violating draft laws in his fight against the Vietnam war.

Others persons circulated petitions for the presidential campaigns of New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Minnesota Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy.

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 19, 1968]

Captive Nations Week

Mayor Daley yesterday proclaimed the present week as Captive Nations Week in Chicago. He handed the proclamation to 30 representatives of groups with origins in 28 captive nations and congratulated them for efforts to keep before the public the issue of nations held captive by the Communists. A Captive Nations parade along State street is scheduled to begin at noon tomorrow.

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 20, 1968]

News Briefs

(By John R. Thomson)

Nationality groups representing 20 nations under the thumb of communism will hold a 90-minute parade beginning at noon today in State street as part of the city's observance of Captive Nations week. Lamp posts along the parade route, from Wacker drive to Van Buren street, will be decorated with hand-sewn flags of the captive nations.

Russia's Captives Ignored This Captive Nations Week

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

This has been Captive Nations Week.

We Americans are slow to believe that what happens outside our frontiers (or, if you prefer, outside the Western Hemisphere) can affect our own safety.

In World War I, Wilson waited until German submarines sank too many of our ships to enter a war whose real purpose was to prevent the Kaiser from dominating Europe and destroying Britain's naval supremacy. Even then he believed, or tried to believe, that our aim should be "making the world safe for democracy" and when that failed, many innocent citizens considered we had been duped or even—yes, really—"fighting on the wrong side."

In World War II until Pearl Harbor, a majority insisted that "t'aint our war" and later that the Soviet Union had been a "wonderful ally" (it had helped Hitler start the war) and that our President could "handle Stalin" and make him a reliable ally "for peace." Only in the late fifties President Eisenhower reluctantly conceded that to be safe the United States was interested not merely in containing our major opponent but in liberating his internal colonies.

TO DRESS UP FAILURE

Then, to lessen criticisms of his failure to assist the revolting Hungarians, he proclaimed a Captive Nations Week and since then each President has followed his example.

How far they meant it is open to argument. It seems to me that any American administration really committed to the freedom of the captive nations would not only have refused to recognize Soviet seizure of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and to give some support to the "idea" of liberating the other East European satellites but would have extended our anticolonialism to the only remaining colonial empire in the world, namely, to the Soviet Union.

I refer of course to White Russia, the Ukraine, Soviet Georgia, Armenia, etc. etc., whose combined populations are greater than the number of genuine Russians.

Yet in spite of some talk in the early days of the first Eisenhower Administration no American President has yet had the wisdom and the courage to do this.

And today, less than ever. For, as the National Captive Nations Committee sadly reports, although the majority of the House Rules Committee favors creating a special Congressional Committee on the Captive Nations, the proposal never somehow gets to a vote.

BOWING TO RUSSIA, DEEPLY

Lest it spoil the administration's enthusiasm for political cooperation with Moscow, lest the Kremlin refuse to help us end the war in Vietnam! Or to ratify the nuclear non-proliferation treaty that would disarm our allies Italy and Germany!

Nonetheless, each Captive Nations Week does warn the public concerning the risk involved in our gamble on cooperation with the Soviet Union.

This week's official themes are: Achieving total victory in Vietnam; scrapping our antiquated policy of wooing the Soviet Union; recognizing Moscow, not Peking, as our chief enemy; creating a special House committee on the captive nations to make clear our aims in this respect; establishing a government freedom academy to train our own political warfare experts; and, finally, reviewing our policy toward the USSR, with emphasis on the unilateral concessions we have made.

Short of something like this we must, I fear, expect the next President to continue imagining that further communist expansion in odd spots like the Far East, the Middle East and even Latin America is no danger to the United States—until the day when from a world-dominating U.S.S.R., we having lost our allies, receive an ultimatum—stand and deliver or else.

What a pity that two world wars have taught us so little!

[From the Free China Weekly, July 21, 1968]

Chiang Urges United Front To Free Captive Nations

President Chiang Kai-shek has issued a call for "like-minded and benevolent people" to join the Anti-Mao National Salvation United Front in order to hasten the downfall of the Peiping regime.

"Communism is the root evil and Mao Tse-tung is the archcriminal of aggressive war throughout the world," he said. "There will be no peace until Communism is eradicated from the Chinese mainland."

Therefore, the President declared, "Mao's fall will advance the date for the delivery of all captive peoples and assure the blessings of peace for humankind."

The President's call was contained in a message read to a Taipei rally on July 19 in observance of the Captive Nations Week initiated by the United States in 1959.

More than 2,000 people attended the mass rally which was part of a week of activities in support of the nations held captive behind the Iron Curtain. Among the participants were anti-Communist leaders from foreign lands, freedom seekers who had fled from mainland China, former Korean War POWs, and representatives from Communist-controlled countries.

U.S. Congressman Horace R. Kornegay (Democrat-North Carolina) and Jay Field, executive vice president of the Hawaii Foundation For America Freedoms, Inc., came to Taipei for the occasion.

Vice President and Prime Minister C. K. Yen addressed the rally as guest speaker. He called for greater efforts to help free the enslaved masses behind the Iron Curtain. (See texts of the Presidential message on Page 4 and the Vice President's address on Page 2.)

The Taipei rally was organized by Ku Cheng-kang Council chairman of the World Anti-Communist League and director of the China Chapter of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League.

[From the Free China Weekly, July 21, 1968]

President Chiang Kai-shek's Message to the Taipei Rally Supporting Captive Nations Week

Ever since 1959, the United States has been marking the third week of July as Captive Nations Week in order to support the aspirations of people all over the world for national independence and individual freedom. This movement, which has been enthusiastically supported in the Republic of China, will grow stronger and stronger until freedom and independence are restored to all the captive nations. The free world has shown profound sympathy and strong support for the people of the captive nations during this last decade. These people have been encouraged to rise up against the slavery and despotism that obtains behind the iron curtain. Solidarity of the anti-Communist forces has reached new fulfillment in the establishment of the World People's Anti-Communist League. Internal weaknesses of the international Communist bloc are gradually coming to light. The contradictions and conflicts among various Communist regimes have become acute. The internal disruption and international isolation of the Mao Tse-tung regime—hated by all the people of the Chinese mainland—have become especially conspicuous. The importance of the Captive Nations Week movement is increasing; the movement should be expanded.

As I have repeatedly pointed out, Communism is the root evil and Mao Tse-tung is the archcriminal of aggressive war throughout the world. There will be no peace until Communism is eradicated from the Chinese mainland. Mao Tse-tung is trembling in fear at the sight of adverse domestic and international developments. He is accelerating internal exploitation. persecution, class struggle and purges. He is making war in Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia so as to undermine Asian security and threaten world peace. At the same time, he is instigating an anti-war movement in many parts of the world. International appeasers have been mobilized to give credence to factual distortions and to create an atmosphere and environment suitable to Peiping's purposes. These developments are part of Mao's death agony. The flames of anti-Communist and anti-Maoist undertakings are rising higher and higher throughout the mainland. Bodies of the victims of armed struggle have been washed down China's rivers to Macao and Hongkong, attesting to the fierceness of the fighting and the extent of the turmoil. The Peiping regime is a decaying organism that soon will fall apart in all its rottenness. This collapse can be expedited with a fatal thrust from the forces of freedom waiting on the mainland periphery.

In commemorating this 10th anniversary of support for the captive nations, we are attesting to our faith that freedom will triumph over slavery and that justice will assure the termination of violence. Our supreme confidence in anti-Communism will help us unite anti-Communist forces so as to take advantage of the divisions and the confusion in the Communist camp. We shall provide active support for the revolutions against despotism that are sweeping through the Communist world like a typhoon. We are determined to rally the free world so that all its strength will be concentrated on disposing of Mao Tse-tung and his cohorts, the cruelest and most wicked of all the Communists.

All like-minded and benevolent people—intellectuals, workers, farmers and reformed Communists—will be welcomed to participate in our Anti-Mao National Salvation United Front. Our cultural and political offensive will be followed by military action. With the Mao regime destroyed, the world will be freed of its gravest danger. Mao's fall will advance the date for the delivery of all captive peoples and the blessings of peace for humankind.

[From the Free China Weekly, July 21, 1968]

Vice President Yen Chia-kan's Address at the Taipei Rally Supporting Captive Nations Week

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Anti-Communist Fighters, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This occasion marks the start of the 10th year of the Captive Nations Week movement initiated by the U.S. Congress in 1959. Many countries have responded to the call of the American Congress during the last decade.

The movement seeks to tear down the iron curtain and help the captive peoples regain their freedom. Consequently, free world support has been forthcoming from the very beginning. This 10th year has special significance because of the backing accorded the movement by the first conference of the World Anti-Communist League. The members of WACL voted unanimously to urge large-scale action in response to the call of the Captive Nations' movement.

People behind the iron curtain are crying out against enslavement and persecution. They are struggling harder and harder for survival and a new birth of freedom. The collapse and final downfall of the Communist bloc is drawing steadily closer. At such a moment, this worldwide anti-Communist movement have a great impact and profound influence. It is an integral part of the struggle to uphold justice and safeguard human rights.

TRAGIC CALAMITY

Communist tyranny has threatened human dignity and man's freedom ever since its emergence in Russia more than half a century ago. As the Red poison and miasma of evil spread across the world, the Chinese mainland was locked behind the iron curtain. More than 1,000 million people of the world have been shackled and cast into Communist enslavement. This is a tragic calamity without precedent in the history of man.

Thousands upon thousands of people have shed blood and given up their lives in order to protect the most basic rights of man. This is a struggle of humanity against bestiality, of freedom against slavery. Tragically, the fact of a world half free and half slave has not been changed. Wars against Communist aggression and for the freedom and independence of Vietnam are raging now on Asian battlefields. I know that those of you present at this rally today awaits the opportunity to complete unfinished tasks. The sacred mission of Captive Nations Week movement is still ours to accomplish.

CHAOS, TURMOIL

Looking at events happening behind the iron curtain, we can see that the currents of anti-Communism are spreading in every direction. In desperation, the Communist tyrants are tightening their controls, hoping to alter their destiny and forestall their inevitable collapse. Chaos and turmoil within Eastern Europe are reflected in Czechoslovakia's "liberalization" movement, anti-Communist demonstrations in Poland and Romania's centrifugal tendencies. The Russian Communists are attempting to control this situation by dispatching troops under the cover of military exercises.

The Chinese mainland is a shambles as a consequence of the long, cruel control of the Mao Tse-tung regime. Anti-Mao and anti-Communist revolutionary movements of the people have reached a new peak of intensity. Mao is responding with increased brutality and even massacre. The bodies of those dying in this violence have been washed down mainland rivers and have reached Macao and Hongkong. This is truly hell on earth. The occasion of Captive Nations Week should concentrate attention on this tightening of Chinese Communist enslavement, on this brutal lashing out in the Red regime's dying hour.

Maoist persecution of the people has been increasing through the last 10 years and more. These Mao Communists have antagonized the mass, purged the dissident and massacred the innocent. Ignorant Red Guards have been made into tools to commit murder and arson and bring about a reign of terror. These barbarous actions have made a black hellhole out of the whole of the Chinese mainland. Now the outcry of the people is rising to a roaring torrent and the anti-Communist movement against Peiping is spreading everywhere. The bodies washed all the way to Macao and Hongkong point the finger of accusation at the Chinese Communists. No evidence of Maoist crimes could be more convincing than that of these silent witnesses.

WORST GANG

The Maoists are the worst of the Chinese Communist gang. They are the ringleaders who have cruelly persecuted the 700 million people of the mainland. They have dreamed by day and by night of communizing all the world and enslaving mankind through tactics of infiltration, subversion and armed aggression. We have repeatedly warned that the Maoists are not only doing historic violence to the Chinese nation but also are to be regarded as the most vicious of humankind's enemies. Today the Maoists are trying to speed the development of nuclear weapons in preparation for a war that would destroy civilization everywhere. The fate of mankind hangs in the balance. We must stress once more that if the free world continues to appease rather than punish the Maoist perpetrators of violence, the 700 million people of the mainland will remain in a furnace of fiery purges and the world will be unable to escape a holocaust. Disasters without end will pursue mankind.

ROOT AND SOURCE

A Chinese proverb says: "To fell a tree pull out its root; to eliminate evil find and eradicate the source." The Peiping regime is the principal source of all the evil in the world. The biggest iron curtain known to man is found on the Chinese mainland. Actions in support of captive nations and enslaved peoples must be taken everywhere. Emphasis should be placed on the tearing away of the Asian iron curtain.

Destruction of the Peiping regime so as to eliminate the principal source of evil from the world is the solemn obligation of the Chinese people. We are currently engaged in reconstructing Taiwan on the basis of the benevolent doctrines set forth in *San Min Chu I* (the Three Principles of the People of Dr. Sun Yat-sen) so as to help fulfill our missions of mainland recovery and national reconstruction. We have no doubt that the righteous can never be vanquished and that tyrannical rule will surely collapse. This is the prescription of history. We cannot fail to recover the mainland and deliver our compatriots.

COMMON RESPONSIBILITY

However, the anti-Communist struggle is not the mission of any single nation or region. Anti-Communism is the common responsibility of all the free world and of the whole of humankind. Our interest is a common one. We hope in all sincerity that all of the freedom-loving democracies will act together and give us the moral support required for the early accomplishment of our mission. At the opening of the first WACL Conference last year, President Chiang Kai-shek told anti-Communist leaders from all over the globe: "Our soaring anti-Communist morale and dauntless confidence in victory deserve your special attention. Guided by this great spiritual force, we shall consummate our sacred mission of national recovery and triumph in our struggle for freedom against enslavement." Elimination of the Maoist oppressors and aggressors will solve the largest part of the anti-Communist problem.

People of the mainland are continuing to risk their lives in their determination to gain freedom. Another large-scale mainland exodus may be expected at any moment. Free governments everywhere should give sympathy and humane support to Chinese refugees who are opposing slavery and seeking freedom. The free world's support of the enslaved who strike off their chains and struggle to be free will write a shining new page in human history. I thank you.

TIME TO REPLACE WELFARE

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker There is really nothing good to be said about the welfare system in the United States today. It subjugates and demeans the recipients. It is self-perpetuating, drawing an ever-increasing number of people into a state of dependency, despondency, and frustration. The demoralizing effect upon the adult recipients visits itself upon their children. The system creates generation after generation of hopeless and helpless outcasts from society.

SKYROCKETING COSTS

The costs of today's welfare system are staggering in monetary as well as human terms. The costs have skyrocketed from $2½ billion for 6 million recipients in 1950, to $7.7 billion for almost 9 million recipients in 1967.

Furthermore, the system is notoriously inefficient. Millions of dollars are squandered on administrative costs to investigate recipients, check on individual items of clothing and furniture, ascertain if there is a man in the house, and so forth. In 1966, costs of administration amounted nationally to $164 million. This represents a staggering 110,000 employees.

The distribution of costs is highly inequitable. Four urban States—New York, California, Illinois, and Pennsylvania—account for nearly half of all welfare payments. Furthermore, inadequate programs in rural areas have contributed to the massive flow of poor people to our cities. This is a major source of our urban unrest and deterioration.

PROGRAM RESENTED

The welfare situation has become so bad that average middle income families have developed deep resentments against the program, feeling they are being forced into poverty to support an outrageous and self-defeating effort. The poor themselves are equally resentful against the program. It is past time that it be replaced.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME REJECTED

It does not seem feasible to me to approach a solution of our welfare problems through any program of income subsidization, whether it be in the form of a guaranteed annual income, family allowance or otherwise. The American public just isn't going to accept the idea of income subsidization, particularly that a person who chooses not to work should be sustained on the public dole. Indeed, there are isolated cases now where people on welfare earn more than those who earn a living by hard labor. And there are many cases where, because of our critical shortage of low-income housing, welfare subsidizes recipients to live in apartments that working people cannot afford. We read all too frequently of cases like the well-publicized Yonkers family for whom welfare was paying $600 per month rent to live in a local motel. These situations, while not typical, are exasperating to the average family.

The solutions I recommend are as follows:

1. JOBS AND TRAINING

The first need to correct the present welfare situation is to provide jobs and job training to all in our society capable of working.

While the number of "employable unemployed" is only a minute 4 percent of the total national welfare population, even that small 4 group is unacceptable. It is this group by which the entire welfare program is characterized in the public mind as a bunch of lazy people who would rather receive public largesse than work. There is really no excuse, however, for requiring the public to support anyone capable of supporting himself.

2. PRIVATE SECTOR EFFORTS HAILED

Current efforts to involve the private sector in recruiting, training, and employing the so-called hard-core unemployed are particularly laudable, as are the self-help efforts in the deprived communities. Greater emphasis should be placed on making available the capital, credit, and insurance needed to help disadvantaged people get on their own feet, start their own businesses and become self-sustaining. The National Urban Coalition and the National Alliance of Businessmen offer particularly encouraging avenues of approach to this aspect of the problem.

Another spur to employment would be passage of legislation I have authored to establish a nationwide system of computerized placement centers which would be capable of quickly matching available job skills with job openings anywhere in the United States. To make this truly effective, the costs of moving in connection with employment should be tax deductible and I think legislation authorizing this is long overdue.

3. GOVERNMENT AS EMPLOYER OF LAST RESORT

To the extent that private efforts and Government-financed job training programs fail to give employment to all those capable of working, the Government should become an employer of last resort. The need would not be great in times of high employment like the present; but should a sharp recession occur later this year, as many economists predict, unemployment could become a problem of major proportions.

I believe it is far better for the Government to provide useful work for those unable to obtain jobs than to maintain them on relief. There is plenty of worthwhile work in our society that needs doing. In a time of unemployment, many of these people could be placed on public works projects where they would learn valuable skills that would lead them to become self-sustaining. They could and should be involved in rebuilding their own slum neighborhoods, for example.

Anyone capable of working who refuses to work, should receive no public payment. This is presently the law in New York and in most States, but it is inadequately enforced. The problem of ascertaining the facts and enforcing the law would, of course, be greatly simplified if the Government were to be available as an employer of last resort.

This leaves two serious problems in the employment area: First, the vast number of underemployed, who must be given opportunities for training and job improvement; and, second, maintenance of the families of men who refuse to work. It seems quite clear to me that you can't visit the sins of the father upon his wife and children and let them starve to death. They must be permitted to share in whatever program is provided for other unemployable dependents.

4. DIRECT LUMP-SUM PAYMENTS TO UNEMPLOYABLES

The vast majority of people presently on welfare are essentially unemployable: 3,986,000 dependent children, 45 percent; their 1,257,600 mothers, 9 percent; the 2,073,000 aged, 23 percent; and 1,511,000 people who are blind, sick, handicapped or otherwise disabled, 19 percent. In all, these categories of unemployables constitute 96 percent of present welfare roles. There are 65,400 fathers who could be employed.

One of the indices of our level of civilization is that unemployable people in these categories should not be left to starve in the United States. Tragically, at the present time several States and counties are failing to provide even such a minimal survival level of help for these people. There is extensive hunger and malnutrition in our country today, shameful in the midst of general affluence.

For most of these unemployable dependents, the best answer in my opinion is a direct lump-sum payment, cutting out the multimillion dollar administrative costs of the present welfare system and many costly specialized programs for the poor. This payment could well be administered through the income tax laws with an incentive provided for those who can work, such as has been proposed under several negative income tax plans. But, unlike these negative income tax plans, no payment should be made to those capable of employment, only to those who are genuinely unemployable.

The level of payments should be carefully calculated to be enough to provide the necessities of life in the area where the recipient resides, but less than the recipient could expect to earn in that area. A strong incentive to work should never be destroyed by welfare.

It is interesting to note that at the Governors' Conference on Public Welfare, the panelists went well beyond this to recommend a full negative income tax plan. This was endorsed by panelists who are the leading business executives of the country: the chairman, Joseph C. Wilson, chairman of the board of Xerox Corp.; Arjay Miller, then president of Ford Motor Co.; Joseph C. Block, chairman, Inland Steel; Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, chairman, Metropolitan Life; Albert L. Nickerson, chairman of the board, Mobil Oil; Alfred C. Neal, president, Committee for Economic Development.

5. NATIONAL STANDARD TO HALT URBAN MIGRATION

Payments to unemployables must be established by the Federal Government on a national basis, uniform except perhaps to allow for varying costs of living in different regions.

At the present time rural and urban welfare standards are grossly uneven. The range of payments for dependent children varies from approximately $8 to $60 per month, and for the aged from about $40 to $140 per month.

If we are to stem the flow of disadvantaged people into our cities, already so overcrowded and ill equipped to deal with their problems, national minimum standards are essential. This would not only distribute the burdens of welfare costs equitably, but as well would relieve the tremendous pressures on our cities that has been spurring urban violence, crime, and unrest.

National standards might be effected by direct Federal payments, by setting minimum standards for the States or by a combination plan which provides for Federal intervention where State plans do not meet established Federal standards.

6. DAY CARE TO BREAK POVERTY CYCLE

One of the best ways to get dependent mothers off relief rolls and on to our payrolls is to provide adequate free day-care facilities for their children. On a recent tour with the Yonkers Welfare Department, I found that virtually all the mothers we saw had been employed in the past and were eager to get back to work. They were prevented from doing so by their responsibility for their children.

Day care is both financially and socially advantageous. It takes mothers off relief rolls and makes them taxpayers instead of taxtakers. It permits them to regain self-respect.

Day care is equally important for the children, taking them from squalid surroundings that are training grounds for delinquency. Day care gives them vital preschool preparation, exposing them to learning and their own potential. Indeed, I think we might even consider extending universal compulsory education to preschool children.

We are far behind other advanced countries in providing free day-care facilities to permit mothers to work. In the Scandinavian countries, virtually every factory has day-care facilities attached and there are public day-care centers in almost every town and village. This is an area where both private and public sectors in the United States could do much more.

Statistics cited by the Governor's Conference on Public Welfare indicate that day care could eliminate one-third of the mothers—441,000—from the welfare rolls, and that these mothers finding work would take with them off the welfare rolls an average of two children, for a total saving of 1,323,000 recipients.

The conference further suggested that an additional one-third of the mothers on welfare could be trained and employed to supervise the day-care centers, which would eliminate another 441,000 people from welfare.

If we are to break the cycle of poverty that produces ever bigger new generations of youngsters growing up in an atmosphere perpetuating dependency, the best hope is by educating the children of poverty and qualifying them to play a constructive role in our society. Many of the adults are beyond repair, but their children can be salvaged, if only they are reached in time.

7. FAMILY PLANNING

Another recourse for reducing our welfare problem is to help deprived families who want it, to obtain the information and medical facilities necessary to help them prevent having unwanted children they cannot support. A vast expansion of voluntary local family planning services is called for.

8. TRAINING AND EMPLOYING THE AGED AND HANDICAPPED

Lastly, many of the aged and handicapped can be trained for useful and productive roles in society. We have barely scratched the surface of their potential. Many can be equipped for private employment. For others, the Government could well find useful and productive work. In either case, the rolls of dependency could be reduced.

9. COMPUTERIZATION OF PAYMENTS

The Governor's Conference on Public Welfare estimated that one-third of the 110,000 employed in administering welfare could be eliminated by computerizing payments, for a saving of about $54,600,000.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, our present costly and demeaning welfare systems must be replaced. Those who can work should be required to do so. The private sector should be involved as much as possible in job recruitment, training, and placement efforts. For people private enterprise cannot absorb, the Government should become an employer of last resort.

The huge administrative costs of payments to the 96 percent of welfare recipients who are unemployables—dependent children, mothers, the aged and the infirm—should be eliminated by a computerized system of direct lump sum payments, with incentives to obtain employment for those who can find work. National standards should be adopted to stop the migration of the poor to our overburdened cities. Day care should be provided to enable mothers to work and help break the cycle of poverty among their children. Training and placement should be provided the aged and handicapped to help get them off relief rolls.

This kind of direct, coordinated attack is vital if we are to break the ever-increasing rate of dependency in our country, provide adequately for the genuinely needy who cannot help themselves and eliminate the huge inequitable welfare costs that are breaking the back of middle-income Americans in our urban States.

CLEAN UP LAKE ERIE

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill designed to halt the dumping of polluted material in Lake Erie. Since taking office last year I have been working with many local officials and concerned community groups both in my district and in the State of Ohio to resolve this grave issue. While some headway has been made, it is clear that only an act of Congress will prevent the continued and unwarranted destruction of this great natural resource.

It is the height of irony that, with all the public attention focused today on the need to clean up our waters and the various programs enacted by the Government to meet this need, we still find extensive manmade pollution filling up Lake Erie. What is more, this deplorable situation appears to have Federal Government approval. Members of the House and indeed the citzens of this Nation will be alarmed to learn some of the following facts. Last year some 5.5 million cubic yards of polluted material from Lake Erie harbors was dredged and dumped into the lake by the U.S. Government. This year according to the Army Corps of Engineers an equal amount is planned. Last year Federal permits for private dredging and dumping allowed 185,000 cubic yards of waste to be added to the lake and already this figure has doubled for 1968.

I am somewhat sympathetic wth navigational interests of the Army Corps of

Engineers and the interests of private business in maintaining their operations. Yet I cannot in the least condone their actions when they jeopardize the people's interest and threaten the continued existence of one of our Great Lakes. It should also be noted that pollution of Lake Erie apparently is in direct violation of a treaty signed with Canada in 1909. So, Mr. Speaker, we are not only concerned with something that is unhealthful and undesirable but something that is illegal as well.

The Army Corps of Engineers is not wholly unaware or unsympathetic to the problems of lake pollution. In 1967 the Army entered into an agreement with the Department of the Interior which brought the Department into an advisory role about the content of dredged materials. The agreement also foretold of a future arrangement which hopefully would eliminate the problem altogether. Although the consultation function of the Interior Department appears to have had some effect, dumping of definitely polluted material continues and the prospects for a total halt are extremely dim.

Certainly dumping is not the only factor which is causing Lake Erie to die an early death. Sewage draining from the many rivers that run into the lake from port cities is another large contributing factor. I am encouraged that the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration is continuing its efforts to control this type of pollution at its source and urge that these attempts be intensified with rigorously enforced deadlines. I am also encouraged by the action of the Michigan Legislature paving the way for the type of enormous financing that will be needed to clean up my State's lakes and rivers. Certainly this represents a realistic approach to the problem especially when compared to the relatively meager Federal financial commitment to this essential concern.

Yet despite these encouragements and my protests and those of other officials and community groups widespread pollution of Lake Erie continues. While this may also be the case in other lakes, it is particularly critical to Lake Erie because of its unique characteristics. Shallow, warm, with a large surface area, Lake Erie cannot withstand high pollution levels to the extent that the other Great Lakes can. Thus, it is more necessary than ever that immediate steps be taken to halt any and all pollution as soon as possible.

Evidence of continued dumping clearly illustrates that the Army Corps of Engineers lacks either the power or the will to do the job alone. I am, therefore, recommending that the following steps be taken:

First. The passage of the bill I introduced today which has been introduced by well over 100 other Congressmen. This measure will formalize the 1967 agreement between the Secretaries of the Army and Interior and forbid the further dumping of pollutants into any navigable water.

Second. An immediate investigation by the House Public Works Committee into the Army's dumping projects and staff research projects to develop and recommend alternative dumping arrangements which will not add to existing pollution.

Third. Investigation by the Department of Justice to determine whether the Army ought to be ordered to refrain from dumping in light of the 1909 treaty with Canada.

Fourth. Intensified efforts by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and similar State agencies to halt all pollution at its source.

Fifth. More realistic Federal appropriations to all agencies working against pollution.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear to me that we are not really going to do a job to wipe out pollution until we secure genuine commitments from all levels of Government and the people. There are encouraging signs, but we are in danger especially in the case of Lake Erie of accomplishing too little, too late. The time has come for immediate congressional action.

CONGRESSMAN MACHEN CONDEMNS IMPACTED AID CUT

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the action of the President in freezing funds for the impacted areas program, directly contrary to the clear and unequivocal mandate of the Congress, is unconscionable.

When we considered the legislation to provide this money, we were all well aware of the President's desire to cut the program. We evaluated the arguments made by the administration and we decided it was in the best interests of the Nation that this program be continued at 100-percent entitlements for both the 1968 and 1969 fiscal years. The mandate of the Congress in this matter is clear and it should have been respected by the President.

Cuts in education programs represent the height of false economy. Our educational programs must have the highest domestic priority. Education is the long-range solution to many of our most pressing social problems. The President, by refusing to spend the money so clearly earmarked for the continued educational advancement of children in school districts which have either Federal installation or military bases, has disregarded the will of Congress and has struck a body blow to the cause of American education.

When I was advised last week that the President had not released the funds we worked so hard to get for the impacted areas program, I immediately wrote him and pointed out clearly that the human cost involved in education program budget reductions just is not worth it.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to insert in the RECORD a copy of my July 25, 1968, letter to the President on this matter.

The President has every right to ask the Congress to cut any program. However, I believe that, when the Congress decides against his suggestions, he should accept our decision and abide by it. The principle of special financial assistance to federally impacted school districts has been tested over a period of years. It has proven successful and the funds it provides are absolutely essential to the schools in my congressional district. I am alarmed and dismayed at the President's complete disregard for the educational needs of the Nation's children. Fiscal stability assumes fiscal responsibility and I believe the action of the President in refusing to spend the money we appropriated for the impacted areas program is irresponsible.

The letter follows:

JULY 25, 1968.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have been advised that the supplemental appropriation authorized by the Congress pursuant to Public Law 90–392 for the Public Law 874 Program of Federal Aid for Impacted School Districts must be obligated before July 31, 1968, or the money will revert to the Treasury.

It appears as though the Treasury Department has ruled that the impacted aid funds provided under Public Law 90–392 shall be considered as 1969 fiscal year expenditures and, as such, shall be subject to the expenditure limitations imposed by Public Law 90-364. When legislation to extend the Public Law 874 program was considered, we were well aware of your desire that the Impacted Areas Program be cut back. We evaluated your position carefully and decided this program should be continued at 100% entitlements for both the 1968 and 1969 fiscal years. Therefore, I urge you to respect the mandate of the Congress on this matter.

I realize full well that there must be budget reductions made, even though I did not support the tax surcharge package, if we are ever to achieve fiscal stability. However, I believe the human cost involved in educational program budget reductions just is not worth it. As you know, I have consistently stated that education must have the first priority of all our domestic expenditures. If the fiscal year 1968 money provided by the Congress in Public Law 90–392 is not allocated, my congressional district alone will lose over $1.3 million in money these school districts must have to maintain the quality of education in their schools.

The principle of special financial assistance to federally impacted school districts has been tested over a period of years. It has proven most successful in helping meet absolutely essential common school requirements in local areas which otherwise would be severely hampered by the existence of a military installation or other Federal facility. Therefore, I urge you to authorize the Bureau of the Budget to release the funds for this program provided by Public Law 90–392 before July 31, 1968. Our schools need this money.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

HERVEY G. MACHEN,
Member of Congress.

VIETNAM

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 31, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Marriner Eccles, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has long been a prominent critic of administration policy in Vietnam.

Mr. Eccles' latest major statement on Vietnam in his June 25 speech before Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace is a cogent prescription for peace in Vietnam.

I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

VIETNAM: POLITICS AND HYPOCRISY—A TRAGEDY OF ERRORS

(By Marriner S. Eccles, before Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace)

A great sense of relief swept the country when President Johnson announced that the United States would reduce the bombing of North Vietnam and increase efforts to end the war, in response to communications with Hanoi. But when he announced that he would not be a candidate in this year's political battle, many felt an even greater relief because it added assurances that the peace movement in this country had won out, and sooner or later this country would extricate itself from a war that it cannot win, that has been from the beginning a senseless, tragic and massive blunder.

I believe that the President has withdrawn to avoid a defeat. The tide has been running heavily against him and his administration as it has become increasingly apparent that the tolls of the war were getting beyond our willingness and ability to endure.

Look at the record: As of June 8, 24,744 young Americans dead, approximately 153,000 wounded, and more than eleven hundred missing in action or captured, and even more South Vietnamese casualties.

During the four years of the Johnson Administration ending this year, at our present rate of expenditures, this country will have squandered on the Vietnam War the unbelievable sum of approximately $100 billion—$40 billion more than the government deficit for the past seven years.

The costs of war do not end with the cessation of hostilities. There are approximately twenty-two million veterans. Veterans' benefits paid to the end of 1967 were estimated to be $147 billion. We are spending approximately $7.5 billion per year for veterans' benefits. And the Korean War alone is still costing more than $700 million a year. In the financial sense, a war is never over.

The real tragedy is not financial, it is the useless suffering of the millions of our people whose sons, husbands and brothers are drawn into this conflict unwillingly and are killed and maimed for life—not in defense of our country—but because of our incompetent and ill-advised leadership.

The Vietnam War is responsible for the most serious economic, financial and political problems this country has ever faced. It has caused a huge Federal deficit and even with the surtax increase and the $6 billion reduction in expenditures, there will continue to be a large deficit. This creates a serious inflationary situation: the cost of living going up 4% to 5% a year, a great shortage of skilled workers, increasing strikes and exorbitant wage demands, and a shortage of credit with record high interest rates in all categories.

The labor union leaders who are strong supporters of the Vietnam war are losing for their members all the gains they have won in their collective bargaining as a result of war inflation. People living on fixed incomes, from pensions or investments, are the real losers.

The world needs a smoothly operating monetary system to support a growing world trade, which would result in a world at peace. The basis for such a system is gold and the dollar, plus drawing rights from the international monetary fund. The gold supply is limited so an acceptable dollar is of paramount importance. The dollar is needed as the connecting link between all other currencies, so the threat to our world leadership caused by our involvement in Vietnam is serious.

It is directly causing an explosive increase in the deficiency in our international balance of payments, which is already very critical, as we are by far the world's largest short-term debtor, now owing about $34 billion. Since last October, when the British pound devalued, until March 20 we lost $2.6 billion in gold. The international monetary crisis at that time was brought to a head by these developments, resulting in the closing of the London gold market and a disbandment of the gold pool which resulted in the new financial arrangements of a two-price gold system. This action, and that taken by our own country to curb foreign investments and foreign loans and to discourage foreign travel, is only a stopgap solution to the run on the dollar, giving us time to eliminate the deficiency in our international balance of payments and further reduce the federal deficit. This cannot be accomplished so long as we continue to waste $2½ billion a month on a futile war in Vietnam. It is very apparent we cannot be both the world's policeman and the world's banker.

America has become great in world affairs because of its economic power and not because of its military strength. The military has proved to be a burden and is sapping our strength. Military muscles have never been able to preserve any world power, and they never will. If we have to depend on killing and the waste of war to maintain prosperity it is an indictment of our capitalistic system.

While we've been spending tens of billions on Vietnam, our cities are exploding in violent protest as a result of our injustice, and neglect, and failure to fulfill promises. The Vietnam debacle, tragic as it is, may yet be a blessing in disguise if it forces us to recognize our staggering failures at home. Runaway crime, delinquency, the riots in our cities, loss of respect for law and order and the rebellion of frustrated youth—all spring in part from this.

How can we reconcile what we are doing to the South Vietnamese under the guise of saving them from communism? We have destroyed vast areas of their country—the very country we profess to save. We have killed, wounded or burned tens of thousands of children, as well as countless parents, brothers, husbands and sons.

Our leaders want the public to believe that our destruction of Vietnam is lofty in purpose, and that our motive is to bring democracy and freedom to that tiny nation. Nothing could be further from the truth. The fact is that this whole involvement is a result of our conviction that it is up to us to control the development of Asia and contain China.

We have not only ignored the charter of the International Military Tribunal which conducted the Nuremburg Trials, but we are in Vietnam as an aggressor in violation of our treaty obligations under the United Nations Charter. This is the first time that we have been the aggressor before we have been aggressed against.

China and Russia have publicly announced they would give all the military and economic aid necessary to North Vietnam in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors. As a result, we have continued to have aligned against us these two powerful countries as well as the rest of the communist world.

Early this year, in a private interview with Editors of Life Magazine, Premier Kosygin said:

"The U.S. wants to dictate its terms to Vietnam, but Vietnam is not a defeated country, and it will never be defeated. The U.S. cannot defeat Vietnam, and we, for our part, will do all we can so that the U.S. does not defeat Vietnam."

In a recent address at Glassboro, Johnson appealed for Soviet-U.S. cooperation. In response, the Sovit Union said that its relations with the U.S. were frozen until the Vietnam War was settled.

I believe our critical situations in the Middle East, Berlin and Korea which have been encouraged by Russia would not have developed if we were not at war in Vietnam.

It is quite apparent that neither Russia nor China are willing for the United States to achieve a victory over the communists and to establish a powerful military base on the mainland of Asia.

A recent statement by Senate Majority Leader, Mike Mansfield, indicates we cannot win when he says:

"We are in the wrong place, and we are fighting the wrong kind of war . . . I happen to feel that our policy represents the most unfortunate miscalculation in our national history . . ."

George Kennan, our distinguished former Ambassador to Russia, said: Vietnam is a massive miscalculation and an error for which it is hard to find any parallel in our history."

June 10, on leaving Saigon, General Westmoreland said:

"A military victory in the classic sense is impossible in Vietnam because of our national policy of not expanding the war. . . ."

"The only real military hope is to wear the enemy down through attrition." This means "it is unrealistic to expect a quick and early defeat" of the enemy.

It is reported that the North Vietnamese have committed less than 100 thousand troops out of 474 thousand at their disposal.

Under these circumstances, how could we expect a military victory?

The alternative is to make the best terms we can, and get out, or we will be forced to greatly increase our military forces and expenditures. This could entail price controls, wage controls, rationing and greatly increased taxes, with the prospect of no victory and a more catastrophic ending.

The Wall Street Journal says:

"The whole Vietnam effort may be doomed . . . No matter what the government does . . . The government should recognize that no battle and no war is worth any price."

I regret to say the peace conference in Paris offers no early hope of peace. Our intention may be to use it to justify escalating the war. We went to the conference knowing and accepting the basic proviso that first the bombing and all war-like activity must stop before negotiations would begin. Not only did we not stop the bombing, but we took the occasion to call up 24,500 additional troops and conduct the heaviest bombing and fighting of the war.

The United States, which is doing the only aerial bombing and also uses mortars, and rockets, has not hesitated during the past three years to kill and wound tens of thousands of civilians and destroy the villages in both North and South Vietnam by such bombing. We have dropped more tons of bombs on the little country of Vietnam then we dropped during all World War II. Now that the Viet Cong with the help of the North Vietnamese are effectively attacking Saigon and other South Vietnam cities with mortars and rockets, we are adopting a threatening and belligerent tone toward Hanoi at the peace conference.

We are also requesting that the North Vietnamese agree to stop sending troops into South Vietnam to aid the Viet Cong as a condition to our stopping the bombing of the North. For Hanoi to comply would mean surrender of the Viet Cong, as they have less than one-fourth as many troops as the United States and South Vietnam. However, we are not proposing to stop sending U.S. troops to help the South Vietnamese.

The duplicity of our behavior at the conference leads me to believe that our presence there is a deception.

Every effort should be made to hasten the conclusion of negotiations and bring the war to an end. We should not rely entirely on the hard liners, Messrs. Rusk and Rostow, General Taylor and their team—there should be added to the negotiators military and Asian experts such as General Gavin and former Ambassadors Kennan and Reischauer to make it representative.

As a matter of protection of our own troops, pending a conclusion of the negotiations, we should take immediate steps to reduce the killing by stopping our aggressive policy of search and destroy. We should further protect our troops by withdrawing them from exposed positions and consolidating them in coastal centers we can defend and supply.

The United States cannot through negotiations create strength for any future segment of government in South Vietnam. The presence of the United States can only distort the true balance of forces, and only a settlement which represents this balance can bring about a stable government.

It is hopeless to try to force upon Asians—as we are now trying to do—a way of life and a government which do not conform to their beliefs and customs.

For the past twenty years our government has believed that communism intends to conquer the world—by force, if persuasion does not succeed—and that it is the duty of the United States to save the world from that fate. The American picture of aggressive communism is unreal because communism is not a monolithic world power. Communist countries are as intensely nationalistic as others, they crave independence and resent interference. They will fight against domination by foreigners—whether they be capitalist or communist.

The administration sees every rebellion as the result of a deep plot out of Moscow or Peking, when it usually is the result of crushing poverty, hunger, intolerable living conditions, and domination by a small ruling class. The aim of revolution, no matter what its ideology, is to achieve self-determination, economic security, racial equality and freedom.

We might as well face it: there may be more communist countries in the world. But why should we panic at this? Communist nations vary widely; each has a different version of communist theory to fit its own problems. The more of these countries there are, the greater their diversity. Our hostility helped solidify the Soviet Union and build it into a world power. We're now doing the same for China.

Getting out of Vietnam will enable us to re-establish a friendly relationship with Russia and thereby bring about a balance of power in the world—which would tend to deter any aggressive policy on the part of China.

We should also recognize China diplomatically, open our doors to trade and travel, and bring them into the United Nations. We should no longer ignore one-fourth of the world's population as though it did not exist.

Our foreign policy, including economic and military, is unrealistic and obsolete. It is geared largely to fight communism and resist the recognition of China, a game in which we cannot succeed.

Democracy demands a high degree of literacy and takes generations to develop. Only in a small part of the world is there any present capacity for democracy.

Why should we undertake the impossible task of trying to quarantine the communist world? Should the blood of American youth be shed in efforts to preserve the status quo throughout the world? To what extent should we maintain military dictatorship or governments of privileged cliques in the various nations of the world? By what right do we take it upon ourselves to act as the world's policeman?

We, especially, constituting an island of abundance in a sea of poverty, cannot hope to maintain our position alone. This great disparity tends to turn much of the world against us.

I believe that Russia is prepared to make every effort to get along with the West when we get out of Vietnam. Together we can end the cold war, discontinue further testing and work effectively toward a world-wide disarmament. Only in this way can we release the vast and ever increasing human energies and material resources that are engaged in war and a world-wide armaments race. These wasted resources and energies can then be channelled toward the education and the development of the backward countries of the world, as well as helping us to meet the tragic and deplorable situation in our own cities—which will take a generation, increased taxes and hundreds of billions of dollars.

Our country is the most powerful nation in the world. Its responsibilities, both for the present, and future, are vast. They are far greater than those of any other nation, especially in this nuclear age. We must provide a leadership the world can trust.

Such is not the case today. The hypocrisy of our leaders, especially those in politics, is perhaps the deepest corroding influence in our society today. As evidence of this hypocrisy, only recently, consider the nationwide climax of grief over the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. Walking with bowed heads in the vast funeral procession were state and national dignitaries and public officials—who just the day before his death, had considered Dr. King a revolutionary, a troublemaker, a communist and a traitor.

And now the nation is rocked by the shocking assassination of Robert Kennedy. The loss of this young leader is a tragedy too monumental to now fully comprehend.

Many felt he was too young; too arrogant; too privileged; to ambitious and too sure of himself. But all knew that he held high the light of promise—the promise of change. His enormous influence was not a matter of youth and good looks. It was the force of courage, energy and purpose directed with clarity at the problems of our time. No wonder the established order feared him. His threat was to the status quo. And the status quo is the victory of yesterday. His was the voice of tomorrow, and tomorrow is change.

We are asked to look at dishonesty, misrepresentation, stupidity and greed—and to see goodness, generosity and wisdom. And if we cannot accept this we are often considered disloyal and unpatriotic. How can intelligent and inquiring youth see in the carnage in Vietnam an undertaking of lofty purpose, as the administration claims? How can young Americans consider the poverty-stricken, uneducated and underprivileged Vietnamese as the enemy? Why should they, in the name of patriotism, be willing to go 10,000 miles away to kill and be killed?

How can our President justify calling upon us to remove violence from our hearts and minds when our hearts and minds are soaked in it daily? Violence is a way of life in the United States. Killing in its most revolting forms is nightly fare on television. It is totally unrealistic to rise up in wrath at a single shooting when we remain relatively unshaken at mass killing. In the week of Senator Kennedy's assassination, 430 Americans died in Vietnam (less than in some previous weeks). Why is the nation not in mourning over this?

We have handed over our youth to the military to be dehumanized—and to be turned into killers. By what process, then, can we expect them to become rehumanized and to forget their familiarity with violent death and their casualness towards it.

Our national policy of relying on military power primarily to solve political problems, breeds violence everywhere, and if long continued, will destroy the foundations of our republic. It should, therefore, come as no surprise to us that individuals and groups at home and abroad attempt to solve political problems by violence.

And finally, the most startling of all challenges to credibility has been asked of us. We are expected to regard the withdrawal of the President from the coming race as the noble gesture of a selfless leader—when, in fact, it is the logical political move, in lieu of probable defeat. Nor does this step change a man from a war-maker into a peace leader.

It would be most unfortunate if a candidate of either party feels obligated to defend the record of the past, which, in every particular, cries for rejection. Politically speaking—I would hope that the electorate would support those candidates who recognize the crises this country faces, both domestically and internationally, and who have the integrity, ability and courage to act promptly.

If it is true that the younger generation will soon control elections, it may well be that that eventuality will be our salvation. They could hardly create a more staggering, tragic, blundering mess than the older generation is making of this great country.

Youth is not a matter of years; it is a quality of mind. It is energy, imagination and readiness to leave the familiar past and strike out into the unknown future. Youth is an absolutely irresistible force—and it cannot be denied. It must have confidence in and be satisfied with our leadership or the country may see turmoil such as it has not known.

Let us not overlook the fact that the combined vote, as indicated by the polls, given to McCarthy and Kennedy would determine the Presidency. And this vote—this demand for change—must be accommodated.

The core of the problem is Vietnam. We must get out—making the best arrangement we can. Kennedy preached this and McCarthy still does. Rebellious students demand this. The plight of the underprivileged masses cries for it. Our rapidly worsening financial situation requires it. Our plummetting image in the world makes it essential.

We must prepare for change, change at a more rapid rate than this country has ever before experienced. This is not as simple as another President or another party. It must be a total change of concept: a world concept is a must today! This requires: a change of goals; a change in temper; a re-education of our people.

Let us hope to again demonstrate what a wise, great, and good nation can do for its own people and its neighbors in the world. And let us close the door forever on this black chapter in which we used our tremendous wealth and power to shatter, crush and destroy, and with humility and energy turn our gaze in new directions, putting our vast resources to work in the world to house, educate, build, heal and inspire.

DR. GRONOUSKI RESIGNS U.S. POST IN WARSAW

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year the Honorable John A. Gronouski, former Postmaster General of the United States during the administrations of President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson, resigned as our Ambassador to Poland, where he served with great distinction for the past few years.

Shortly after his resignation was announced, the Times Leader Evening News of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., the largest newspaper in my congressional district, commented editorially on Ambassador Gronouski's resignation in Warsaw.

As a member of the Pulaski Foundation's board of directors, it gives me especial pleasure to insert in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the aforementioned editorial.

Editorial follows:

DR. GRONOUSKI RESIGNS U.S. POST IN WARSAW

Resignation of Dr. John A. Gronouski as United States ambassador to Poland to campaign for the nomination of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket indicates he will continue in public life, especially if his candidate wins.

A former member of the cabinet, as well as a diplomat in the sensitive post at Warsaw, he demonstrated his ability as Postmaster General in the administrations of the late President John F. Kennedy and of the incumbent, President Johnson, who sent him to Poland.

At the time of his present assignment, many believed he was being demoted because he was leaving the cabinet. Such, however, was not the case because he possessed special qualifications to serve in the land of his forefathers. His grandparents were Polish immigrants.

The only member of the cabinet to have an earned doctorate (in philosophy), the Wisconsin native was a college professor before he went to Washington where he acquitted himself creditably in the Post Office Department and in politics.

In Warsaw, he not only was a popular figure because of his ancestry, but for his country. Natives acclaimed him upon his arrival, accepting him as a friend as well as an envoy. The only trouble he had was with the Red regime, a high compliment in itself. One of the highlights of his stay was his contact with Red China as the American representative in endless talks.

He has been a familiar figure in Northeastern Pennsylvania, visiting Wilkes-Barre and Scranton. He was in this city for a testimonial for Representative Daniel Flood and for the ground-breaking exercises for the new post office. He is a personal friend of Joseph Lester, national president of the Pulaski Foundation, of which Dr. Gronouski is a director.

Vice President Humphrey is widely known among Americans of Polish extraction for his activities, so it is not surprising to hear that Dr. Gronouski is going to be associated with the Vice President's campaign, although he was a backer of the late President Kennedy previously. He knows his way around politically as well as diplomatically.

HANOI SHOWS RESTRAINT

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, in recent days an increasing number of articles have been appearing in the press calling attention to what appear to be significant steps on the part of the Hanoi government to deescalate the war.

Our American officials are surely aware of these developments, yet they continue to put forth as their explanation a contention that this merely is a regrouping of enemy forces for a large offensive.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most concise analyses of this apparently conciliatory move on the part of the North Vietnamese appeared as an editorial in the New York Times of July 29, 1968. I take this opportunity to call it to the attention of the Members.

The editorial follows:

HANOI SHOWS RESTRAINT

When President Johnson announced that he had ordered curtailment of the bombing of North Vietnam last March 31 as a step toward peace, he declared: "Even this very limited bombing of the North could come to an early end—if our restraint is matched by restraint in Hanoi." During the past month there have been a number of signs that Hanoi not only has matched American restraint but has gone considerably further than the United States toward de-escalating the war.

The number of American combat missions flown against North Vietnam actually has increased since the President limited the area of attack. Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford said recently that "concentration of our efforts on a more limited target has in some respects produced more dividends and rewards than if the bombing were spread over a larger area." The Allies have continued to reinforce and re-equip their forces and have followed what American officers have described as a "fight hard" strategy. On the other side, however, according to official American sources:

The rate of infiltration has dropped to approximately the pre-March 31 rate in the past two months and is perhaps much lower.

One-quarter to one-third of the estimated 80,000 North Vietnamese main-force troops in the South have been pulled back across the border.

Enemy forces have sought to avoid combat, leading one American officer to comment a few days ago: "We can't find the war. We can't find the enemy."

The number of terrorist attacks has dropped sharply, to less than one-half the recent weekly figure.

American casualties have dropped substantially.

Rocket and mortar attacks against Saigon have been suspended for more than a month and enemy forces threatening the capital have been withdrawn.

In the face of this amazing transformation, it is puzzling that Presidents Johnson and Thieu should have concluded in their Honolulu communique that "there had been no response to the major limitation of bombing put into effect on March 31." The explanation of American officials has been that the enemy is merely regrouping for further assaults.

This may be true. But it is inevitably a self-fulfilling prophecy since the other side obviously cannot afford to remain passive for long in the fact of the persistent buildup and aggressive posture of allied forces. The only way to test the authenticity of Hanoi's apparent restraint is to stop the bombing as the President has indicated he would do.

BILL SCOTT REPORTS

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, each month I send a report of congressional activities to constituents who request the newsletter and enclose a copy of the August issue for the information of the Members:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN, BILL SCOTT REPORTS

HOUSE RECESSES

As you probably know, the Congress is recessing from August 2 to September 4. This will permit members from both parties to attend political conventions, but it is not known how long we will remain in session after reconvening. The Rules Committee has indicated that it will not consider any regular legislative proposals but only emergency and procedural matters which should limit legislative business in the House. However, the Senate will be considering the nominations of the President for appointment to the Supreme Court and if a filibuster develops we could be in session for a long period of time. In that event I would expect the House to have a series of recesses while the debate continues in the Senate.

POSTAL POLITICS

The Postmaster General announced a cutback of postal services and his intention to further restrict service in the future. However, he later stated that if the Congress would exempt his department from the spending limitation and manpower cutback ordered by the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968, he would cancel plans for curtailment of service. The expenditure reduction was agreed to by the President in order to obtain passage of the surtax and the two were coupled together in one bill. In order to assure a reduction in expenditures, the act requires government agencies to fill only three out of four vacancies as they occur until employment is reduced to the level existing in June 1966. Discretionary authority, however, is given to the Director of the Budget in the Office of the President, to assign cuts to agencies in such a manner as to have the least disturbing effect on the public service. No employee is removed from office. As we know, mail delivery is very close to the people, and the Administration, recognizing the sensitivity of the Department, exerted pressure upon the Congress to exempt the Post Office Department. Under the circumstances, Congress had little choice and did agree. Obviously we couldn't permit the mail service to be curtailed to such an extent as was threatened. In the past threats have been made to cut back road construction money, paid out of trust funds, and even school lunches two years ago. However, it seems ironic to talk about restricting such vital activities while at the same time urging full funding of the Office of Economic Opportunity which operates questionable programs in our big cities and foreign aid. It seems time to take the Post Office Department out of politics and not use it as a lever to thwart Congressional efforts to reduce spending and balance the budget.

ACADEMY NOMINATIONS

Nominations for the service academies are now required to be in the appropriate offices by the first of December. This makes it necessary for me to have all applications for nominations by September 1 in order to schedule the Civil Service Designation Examinations for Saturday, October 5, 1968. The results of the tests will be used as the basis for nominations to the classes beginning in July 1969 and anyone who would like to be considered should request an application form from the office at this time to avoid the possibility of missing the time limitation. We expect to have three vacancies in the Air Force Academy, two in the Navy and two at West Point. Our District is also allowed ten applicants for the Merchant Marine Academy exam. The Coast Guard Academy does not require a Congressional nomination but we have information and applications available which will be furnished you upon request. Those who get their applications in by September 1 will be notified of the time and place to report for the examination on October 5th.

POHICK CREEK WATERSHED

The House Agriculture Committee has approved the Pohick Creek Watershed Project under the Small Watersheds Conservation Act. This approval makes available over $900,000 or about one-half the cost of constructing a series of small dams and channel improvements on Pohick Creek in southern Fairfax County. With completion of the Pohick Interceptor Sewer next year this part of the county can be expected to undergo rapid urbanization. County officials estimate that the population of the Watershed will exceed 84,000 by the year 2000. The approval of this project insures against the threat of the stream becoming filled with silt and the natural beauty becoming destroyed during the period of development.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

Among the individual projects for which funds were appropriated last week in the military construction bill was $500,000 for the construction of an enlisted men's barracks and mess hall at Camp A. P. Hill; $468,000 for a geoballistics facility at Dahlgren; $156,000 for additional classroom space at Quantico and a little under $2.2 million for improvements at the air field, a mobile assault bridge building, power station training building, an addition to the calibration shop and a 30 chair dental clinic, all at Ft. Belvoir.

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY

At the request of the Board of Supervisors last week I introduced a bill to authorize the District of Columbia to sell 350 acres of land it owns along the Potomac River to Prince William County. The measure has been approved by a sub-committee of the House and will probably be further considered in September when Congress re-convenes. When passed the bill will grant permission to the D. C. Government to convey the land upon such terms as are agreed to by it and Prince William County. It is my understanding that a portion of the land in the Woodbridge area will be used for recreational purposes, a portion for a modern sewage treatment plant for the Garfield, Occoquan and Woodbridge areas and the remaining marsh land for a land fill by both the District of Columbia and Prince William until the level is raised sufficiently and thereafter for recreational purposes.

DAM AUTHORIZED

Congress has passed the Public Works Bill of 1968 which includes authorization for the construction of the Salem Church Dam and Reservoir. Let me thank the various citizens and public officials of our District for their assistance and cooperation in obtaining passage of this long sought project.

BILL TO ESTABLISH A CRIME STATISTICS CENTER

After hearing testimony of law enforcement officers, government officials and criminologists, I joined with four other members of the House Subcommittee on Census and Statistics in introducing a bill to establish a National Crime Statistics Center. Although law enforcement and the certainty of punishment in my opinion are the most effective deterrents to crime, experts in the field told us that records showing convictions, paroles, the number who repeat similar offenses and other statistics would be helpful in finding ways to reduce soaring criminal activity in the country. Since we spend billions of dollars fighting crime annually, and the loss from crime far exceeds this expenditure it is to be hoped that their opinions proved valid.

CUSTOM SERVICES

Dulles International Airport received another boost when the Federal Aviation Administration announced that customs clearance service would be moved from National to Dulles, effective September 1. About a year ago, at my request, the Bureau of Customs, and other affected agencies promised to cooperate and investigate the reasons for continuing to retain the customs facility at National in view of the extremely congested conditions and establishment of Dulles as the international point of entry into the Nation's Capital.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

A recent edition of one of our county newspapers contained a satire entitled, "Everybody's His Own Congressman," and referred to my practice of seeking the views of constituents, following their advice and being relieved of any obligation to think for myself. The life of a Congressman would be easier if this were possible, but it is essential in representative government to have the benefit of the views of constitutents on major issues facing the country. Certainly I intend to continue to solicit your opinions by questionnaires whenever possible and appreciate your letters and visits. Our views generally coincide, and perhaps close contact makes this possible. Be assured I also endeavor to obtain the essential facts and to exercise my best judgment in each instance.

VOTING STATISTICS

You may be interested in knowing that a recent check of my attendance record indicates that I have been present and voting more than 95% of the time for the two sessions of the 90th Congress.

MINISTER VISITS

It was good of the chaplain of the House of Representatives to permit the minister of my church to open the House with prayer last week. Dr. John H. Blakemore of Fairfax Methodist Church only recently came from the Conference Board of Education to Fairfax, and I was glad he could be here with us.

SOMETHING TO PONDER

More than 50 years ago Lenin predicted: "Germany will militarize herself out of existence, England will expand herself out of existence, and America will spend herself out of existence." This is particularly disturbing when we realize our national debt is more than seven times that of all countries of the free world put together and that it increased more than $25 billion last year.

AID TO FEDERALLY IMPACTED SCHOOL AREAS

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I strongly protest the administration's stand against releasing $91 million in fiscal 1968 supplemental appropriations for federally impacted school districts.

The appropriations, of course, lapsed yesterday because the White House refused to lift a Budget Bureau freeze on the $91 million before the July 31 deadline for obligating the money. This means that thousands of school districts throughout the United States—school districts struggling to escape a financial squeeze of almost unprecedented severity—will be denied the financial assistance they are entitled to under the law. The administration's decision to withhold these funds—or, more appropriately, the administration's whim—flouts the provisions of Public Law 874 and challenges the will of the Congress. One of several historic laws enacted to help schools achieve the educational standards demanded by this new age of cultural and technological sophistication, Public Law 874 provides grants to the financially pressed school systems charged with educating the children of Federal employees and military personnel. The Congress, aware that these school systems face steep enrollment increases that far outstrip revenue increases, has voted to honor its commitment to them. Yet the administration, acting aloofly and arbitrarily, refuses even to recognize that commitment.

The need for aid to federally impacted school districts, Mr. Speaker, is startlingly obvious. Government civilian personnel and military personnel are often transients living in apartments or on federal installations, contributing little or nothing to a community's tax base. Yet, ever since the Vietnam War has begun expanding the Armed Forces and the defense industry's these personnel have been sending more and more children to tax supported public schools. The schools, as a result, have been pushed into a financial morass virtually unparalleled in their history. Expecting the Federal Government to honor its pledge to them, federally impacted school districts have drafted budgets that hinge upon the availability of Public Law 874 funds. Failure to provide the funds would cause administrative chaos in these schools, forcing them to rework their budgets and educational programs. And, even more significantly, an absence of Public Law 874 funds would erode away their educational standards in an era that calls for the best possible school system. Community leaders in Chicopee, Mass., a city in my congressional district that educates children from nearby Westover Air Force Base, have pointed out that their school system would be severely jeopardized if Public Law 874 funds are not made available this year. Chicopee would be shortchanged by about $300,000—a budgetary deficit large enough to significantly inhibit this community's ability to educate its children. Other cities and towns in my congressional district would be similarly hurt.

The administration's adamant posture against releasing Public Law 874 appropriations, Mr. Speaker, is false economy of the most foolish and shortsighted kind. It threatens an educational system of inestimable value merely to save an amount of money that is quite trivial in comparison.

We in the Congress have an opportunity to restore only a portion of the $91 million appropriation that lapsed yesterday—the $22 million portion earmarked for aid to the category A school districts that educate children who reside on military installations.

The President made clear at his news conference yesterday that he would release this $22 million fiscal 1968 appropriation if it is made part of the fiscal 1969 HEW appropriations bill now before the Senate.

I most vigorously urge the Senate Appropriations Committee—and the Senate as a whole—to make the necessary amendment in the HEW bill.

If the Senate accedes, I, as a member of the House Appropriations Committee, will exert every effort to see that the $22 million remains in the bill when it goes to House-Senate conference before a final vote.

A COMPUTER STUDY OF TAX DEPRECIATION POLICY

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most valuable tools in the development of equitable tax policy and in equitable tax administration is the computer.

I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a recent address by Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Stanley S. Surrey in which he outlines some specific areas in which computer technology will provide better service to American taxpayers and more effective tax policy decisions.

The address follows:

A COMPUTER STUDY OF TAX DEPRECIATION POLICY

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(Remarks by the Honorable Stanley S. Surrey, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, before the Computers and Taxes Conference of the National Law Center, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., June 18, 1968)

The Treasury Department in its tax activities has been steadily expanding the use of computer technology.

Over the years speakers from the Internal Revenue Service have discussed with you in considerable detail the use of computer technology for handling upwards of 100 million taxpayer accounts and for matching tax returns with information documents.

The computer is also being extensively used to develop estimates of the characteristics of our taxpaying population, which estimates must necessarily be an important background to tax policy decisions. At one level this has meant a mechanization of the process of developing Statistics of Income. At another level, it has involved the creation of models to simulate the taxpaying population under alternative tax laws. On a previous occasion I discussed with you our individual income tax model, which provides a flexible tool of analysis for investigating how tax burdens would be altered throughout the whole population of taxpayers under alternative changes in the tax law. Similar tax models have been created for the estate tax population and the corporation tax population. They have been of great assistance in our research on tax policy issues.

In another area we have become more deeply involved in the use of econometric models for forecasting the aggregate economy. Many of you are generally aware of the work done in this field as it has been carried forward through successively complex models, such as the Brookings-SSRC model. Our experience to date indicates the desirability of developing a family of relatively smaller models each designed to answer specific policy questions.

If econometric models are to be used for policy making, they must have the capability of providing results quickly for a variety of policy inputs and for changes in exogenous variables. They also must be designed to produce quarterly data since policy positions must be reviewed and formulated more frequently than once a year.

Under these circumstances, very large econometric models which run into 100 equations or so appear to involve quite substantial technological problems in providing the necessary flexibility. Also, policy makers do tend to focus on a relatively limited set of variables that might be important to a particular policy problem, and we believe that somewhat smaller models adapted to specific problems seem to offer a greater prospect of providing the flexibility and the short turnaround time necessary for practical policy making. Thus, in a particular situation where decisions about the investment credit might be pertinent, a model involving rather specific investment behavioral equations may be necessary. In other situations, a model which treats investment as largely exogenous might be quite satisfactory.

All of these areas emphasize in one way or another some aspects of the aggregate economy, and it is this multiplicity of circumstances in the real world that drives us to using computers.

DEPRECIATION STUDY

General summary

I would like to talk today primarily about a use of computer technology to investigate in detail a more specific kind of tax policy issue, namely, depreciation for tax purposes. We are now preparing for publication later this year our three-year study of this subject.

This study is of particular interest for several reasons. The subject matter itself, tax depreciation, has been a remarkably persistent discussion topic in tax policy. The methodology of the study represented, for us, a new kind of application of the computer. Finally, we think the study reaches a clear conclusion, something that cannot always be said about research.

We can pick up the perpetual debate on depreciation as of 1962. In that year the Treasury announced its depreciation guidelines, which provided suggested depreciation lives for business assets grouped into about 75 classes. These lives were considerably shorter than the lives most business firms had been taking for tax purposes under prior administrative practices and procedures.

Another part of the Treasury announcement in 1962 was the reserve ratio test, an administrative technique to determine that the tax life used by the taxpayer, even if it came from the depreciation guidelines, was realistic *for him,* that is, generally corresponded to his actual replacement cycle.

At all times during the Treasury consideration of this matter, the necessity for realism in tax depreciation write-offs was always insisted upon for the long run. Nevertheless, in 1962 a three-year moratorium on the application of the reserve ratio was provided, and in 1965 a tapered application of the reserve ratio test was allowed. In effect, taxpayers were given the temporary opportunity to lower their taxes by using the shorter guideline lives without a full application of the reserve ratio test. This opportunity was in the longer run conditioned on their using these tax savings, and the savings from the investment credit, also adopted in 1962, to increase their rate of modernization and thereby come into conformity with guideline lives. These lives were never intended to be provided or available to taxpayers without the *quid pro quo* of those taxpayers keeping actual replacement cycles commensurately short or reducing them accordingly. Tax depreciation was intended to be realistic. The reserve ratio test was designed to achieve this end, while avoiding the administrative difficulties prevalent prior to 1962.

In the last six years discussion about depreciation has focused on the Treasury's emphasis on realism in depreciation as implemented by the reserve ratio test. On one hand, that test was criticized as inefficient and capricious in its results. On the other hand, it was argued that in principle realism should not be a standard and that the guideline depreciation lives ought to be available to a taxpayer even if his own actual replacement cycle was considerably longer.

This two-handed assertion deserved serious investigation. A project was developed within Treasury to investigate this issue and in particular to focus on two basic questions:

First, does the need for tax equity and neutrality between similarly situated taxpayers justify a serious effort to keep depreciation deductions realistic?

Second, is the reserve ratio test an efficient indicator of the realism of the depreciation life for a particular taxpayer?

This study was carried out by Richard Pollock of the Treasury's Office of Tax Analysis with the assistance in model design of the Consad Research Corporation of Pittsburgh and New York. The study is now complete and will be published later this year as another in the series of Treasury Tax Policy Research Studies.

The study—in summary—confirmed the expectations and analysis behind the original 1962 depreciation reform. The answers that were reached on the above two questions are:

(1) Realistic tax depreciation is important from an equity point of view, in that a tax depreciation policy which does not insist on linking tax lives to actual replacement lives could result in an intolerable cost in terms of inequities between similarly situated taxpayers. This clearly suggests that the tax depreciation provisions of the Code should not be utilized for implementing tax incentive programs, since unrealistic depreciation would in turn result in the creation of unrealistic taxable income measurements.[1]

(2) The existing reserve ratio test does serve as a fair and efficient administrative technique to enforce the correspondence between *actual* depreciation lives and *tax* depreciation lives which is necessary for the realistic and meaningful determination of taxable income. The study disclosed some relatively minor situations where this would not be the case, and these are now being remedied as a result of the study.

The conceptual issues

Tax depreciation attempts to reach the same goal which good accounting depreciation seeks, namely, a reasonable and realistic distinction between the return *of* capital and the return *on* capital, so that income of a year can be meaningfully described. If, over the life of an asset, the excess of receipts over operating costs that is generated covers no more than the initial capital cost, then the asset has not generated net income.

But more detail is necessary. Both tax depreciation and accounting depreciation must spread the charge for depreciation over a number of years. Very clearly, a taxpayer obtains an advantage if he can obtain his depreciation deductions, that is, his tax-free income from the asset early in time rather than later. The reason for this is at the heart of the tax depreciation issue: *time is money.*

Obviously, you would not lend somebody a dollar today as a business arrangement if he promised to return only the same amount to you one year from now. You would not make an arm's length, interest-free loan. In effect, early depreciation—depreciation that is more rapid than realistic depreciation—is like an interest-free loan from the government. As the result of being able to pay lower taxes in the early years of the asset's use in return for paying more taxes in the later years, the taxpayer taking depreciation early will have more funds available to him to invest in his business without any interest charge for those funds.

A taxpayer who actually replaces his equipment on a 10-year cycle would get the advantage of early depreciation if, say,

---

Footnotes at end of article.

a 7-year tax life was available to him without regard to that replacement cycle. He would have an artificial, tax-generated financial advantage over another taxpayer who replaces on a 10-year cycle and uses a tax life of 10 years.

But *how much* better off would he be? The measurement of this advantage over the long run under each of the many options for calculating depreciation and the different ways of measuring profits and effective tax rates is one main objective of the depreciation study.

Assume for the moment that these two taxpayers with 10-year actual lives are using straight-line depreciation and have a before-tax internal rate of return of 15 percent. In the case of the taxpayer who is conforming, i.e., actual 10-year life equal to 10-year tax life, his after-tax rate of return will be 7.3 percent. But the taxpayer who is using the 7-year tax life would thereby increase that 7.3 percent after-tax rate of return to 8.5 percent, a 16 percent increase in the after-tax rate of return.

The percentage increase in the after-tax rate of return resulting from a shortening of the appropriate tax life will vary with the circumstances. The greater the shortening, the larger the resulting percentage increase in the after-tax rate of return. The change illustrated here was a 30 percent reduction from 10 years to 7 years. While illustrative, it might be considered fairly representative of the difference in lives that would develop between identical taxpayers in a system of arbitrary depreciation lives unrelated to actual lives.

This analysis of the point that the timing of depreciation deductions can make an important difference in tax payments, and hence in financial consequences, is standard in the economic literature. The analysis is typically worked out, however, in terms of simple models of one asset which entails only a few desk calculations. The more important conceptual issue that we needed to explore is how much of a difference in after-tax profits the timing of depreciation would make, *in the long run*, in typically *complex business situations* if the taxpayer's tax depreciation differed significantly from his actual replacement cycle. In the long run is this advantage largely washed out as taxpayers go through later years with largely depreciated assets?

Closely related to this question is the question of *how will we in fact know* whether the tax life and actual life match or not. The reserve ratio test was designed to answer this question and to give us this information. That test has been criticized, however, on the grounds that in typically complex business situations involving things like irregular growth, retirement dispersion, and the like, the test will give a large number of wrong signals and assert that a taxpayer is failing the test when actually his replacement cycle does in fact match his tax life. It was also argued that on occasion the reserve ratio test would pass a taxpayer when in reality he should have failed the test.

The exploration of these assertions—the testing of the reserve ratio test itself—is the other main objective of the depreciation study.

The computer study of depreciation

The focus, then, of both of these issues come down to: "How will things work out in typically complex business situations in the long run?" To investigate these issues, we had Consad Research Corporation design a business simulation model. It was designed to describe the experience of a business firm over a period of 50 years. The program was structured to permit the introduction of a large number of characteristics of this business firms, so as to give us some confidence that we had investigated our basic questions in all kinds of complex business situations.

The program calculated and printed out the actual reserve ratio for the firm year by year in a form that would indicate whether it passed or failed the reserve ratio test. It also printed out the yearly profitability of the firm on a before-tax and after-tax basis on a variety of profitability measures.

The study consisted of multiple runs of the model in differing situations to answer the two questions cited earlier: Does the absence of realism in depreciation tax lives generate serious inequities between taxpayers, and does the reserve ratio test accurately test the realism of a taxpayer's depreciation tax life?

Some descriptive detail on the business simulation is here appropriate to determine whether it captured the complexity of the real world.

Our business is first assumed to use a *tax life* equal to the *actual life* of the asset, and then the tax life can be set shorter than the actual life. Also, we have to assume some *retirement dispersion*. While, say, 10 years may be the average life, there may be only 30 percent or 40 percent of the assets—say, machine tools—acquired in any year which actually drop out after a 10-year period, with the other machine tools dropping out sooner or later than 10 years depending upon the nature of the retirement dispersion assumed. It is also necessary to assume various *growth rates* and *growth patterns*, and to assume various levels of estimated and realized *salvage*.

This information is required to simulate over time the depreciation base of a firm. But in the complex reality of the tax system there are many ways to compute the depreciation deduction from this base.

There are approximately eight different depreciation strategies involving different mixes of write-off and asset grouping techniques that can be used by the taxpayer. The taxpayer could use *item accounting*, which is the form that usually shows up in illustrations, together with either the straight-line or double declining balance methods of write-off. Or he could use *closed-end multi-asset accounting*, with straight line, double declining balance, or sum-of-the-years digits methods of write-off. Or, he could use *open-end multi-asset accounting*, with any one of the same three general write-off patterns.

The model also needed to be endowed with assumptions that would permit it to generate a *gross income* against which to use the depreciation deductions. The particularly important set of assumptions here was a set which described alternative ways in which the productivity of each asset declined or remained stable during its useful life. Other assumptions specified debt-equity ratios, the cost of capital, and the like.

Such was the analytic model. Let me turn now to the answers that this model gave to our two main questions, starting with the question of the reliability of the reserve ratio test.

USE OF COMPUTER MODEL TO TEST VALIDITY OF RESERVE RATIO TEST

Feasibility of the test

The feasibility of the reserve ratio test can be evaluated in terms of the number of, or the absence of, *unwarranted failures*—that is, a failing under the reserve ratio test by a simulated taxpayer whose tax life is in fact equal to his actual life, i.e., a conforming taxpayer, and therefore one who should not have failed the test. Similarly the test should not permit *unwarranted passes* for non-conforming taxpayers. If a comparison of the actual reserve ratio with the permissible reserve ratio generated over the period of simulation for any defined investment situation does not reveal any unwarranted failures, and few unwarranted passes, the reserve ratio test can be deemed to be a feasible and workable test, assuming that the range in variety of investment situations examined has been sufficiently wide and diverse to make that examination really meaningful.

One issue investigated therefore was whether a taxpayer whose replacement cycle corresponded to his tax life for depreciation would pass the reserve ratio test through all of the 50-year simulation period *without suffering any unwarranted failure*.

The rather mechanical and straightforward comparison of the array of actual and permissible reserve ratios in a particular simulated business investment situation could be obtained under the model as many times as was needed to investigate the possibility of unwarranted failures being generated by some combination of assumed real investment characteristics. For example, the assumed retirement dispersion and the assumed degree of irregularity in the growth pattern could be changed, alone or together, to determine if either one alone or in operation with the other could in fact generate unwarranted failures, as some of the critics of the reserve ratio test have maintained. Once the assumptions were changed and fed into the computer, a new array of actual and permissible reserve ratios would become available, thus permitting a new comparison. These comparisons were also varied to determine if there was some interaction between the length of actual life and the degree of retirement dispersion and degree of irregularity in growth pattern.

All these comparisons showed that *unwarranted failures* of the reserve ratio test *never occurred* after the build-up period of a closed-end multi-asset account. That test proved throughout all of the comparisons to be a reliable indicator of whether tax lives were conforming to actual lives.

Failures did occur when an apparently "conforming taxpayer" was using the open-end SYD method of depreciation. The factor here that triggers a failure of the reserve ratio test is that depreciation has been excessive because of a defect of this grouping method rather than because of an incorrect tax life. The reserve ratio failure is in fact warranted, because the grouping method provides excessive depreciation even when the tax life is correct. We are considering this problem, but as it stands at the moment, the benefits of the new guideline lives are being denied to any taxpayer using either the straight-line or SYD open-end methods, so that this aspect of the reserve ratio test is irrelevant to the operation of the guidelines.

Additional information relevant to the operation of the reserve ratio test

A point that deserves comment here is that under present rules the reserve ratio test is structured to provide a leeway of about 20 percent. This means that a taxpayer does not fail the test until his reserve ratio exceeds the value that it would be *expected* to have if the actual life was 20 percent longer than the tax life being used. As a consequence, if a taxpayer uses a 10-year tax life, the question arises whether he could deliberately and consistently take advantage of the 20 percent leeway by purposely keeping his replacement cycle at 12 years and still pass the test. The study indicated that in such cases it would be quite possible that the reserve ratio test would be failed. However, the failure would not be unwarranted since the taxpayer was *in fact* not conforming; i.e., he did *in fact* have an actual life which was 20 percent longer than his tax life. This means simply that the leeway should be used for its intended purpose of taking care of mechanical or random variations in the data, rather than being regarded as an invitation to stretch non-conformity as far as possible.

If a taxpayer doesn't abuse this leeway provision and instead uses a tax life approximately equal to his actual life, then the study shows he would not have to worry about suffering an unwarranted failure of the reserve ratio test even under some of the more severe combinations of irregular growth and retirement dispersion. The leeway here serves its intended purpose of protecting the *conforming* taxpayer from an unwarranted failure. And the actual simulations indicated not only that unwarranted failures do not occur, but also that the conforming taxpayer has an average margin of passage of the test which even exceeds the average leeway by an appreciable amount.

Finally, as respects the validity of the reserve ratio test, the study showed that a non-conforming taxpayer whose tax life is more than 20 percent shorter than his replacement cycle will rarely pass the reserve ratio test—that is, the test essentially *does not permit unwarranted passes.*

USE OF COMPUTER MODEL TO INVESTIGATE THE EQUITY ISSUE

Extension of single asset analysis to a multi-asset growth situation

We saw that in a simple 10-year life single asset situation the reduction of the tax life from 10 years to 7 years could increase the after-tax internal rate of return from 7.3 percent to 8.5 percent (assuming that the before-tax rate of return was 15 percent). This improvement in the rate of return is related only to this single asset, and would occur if the firm acquired the asset and bought no other asset either before or after this particular asset was retired.

Our problem here, again, was how does this single asset analysis work out in the long run in complex business situations? Many people approaching the depreciation issue have intuitively assumed that in the long run a taxpayer who uses up his depreciation rapidly will have to pay the piper. His depreciation basis will largely be gone and his depreciation deductions will quickly decline. These people therefore conclude that in the long run the tax advantage of rapid depreciation cannot be very great. Whether it is or not—whether this intuitive assumption is really correct—is the question we wanted to investigate in a systematic and thorough way.

The heart of a long run analysis of this question must be situations involving *multiple assets plus growth.*

One can obtain some feel for the impact of growth by considering our simple example in the context of a multi-asset growth situation. That is, assume that one taxpayer has a stock of 10-year assets whose total amount was growing at about 5 percent a year. Assume also that he was depreciating these assets at the appropriate 10-year life and using straight-line depreciation. This conforming taxpayer's actual reserve ratio at the end of any year after the build-up period would be 51 percent (the build-up period refers to the first replacement cycle, when those machines bought initially would be expected to need replacement). That is, 51 percent of the taxpayer's total asset cost—his depreciation base—at any time would be represented by the accumulated depreciation deductions that had been taken on the assets on hand.

By way of contrast, take a taxpayer in an identical asset situation—namely, a stock of 10-year assets growing about 5 percent a year—but assume that this taxpayer is using a 7-year tax life for these assets, on the straight-line method. After the build-up period, his actual reserve ratio will be 65 percent at the end of any particular year. The difference in reserve ratio in these two cases amounts to 14 percentage points.

Even before the rate of return implications in the two situations are discussed, the continuing benefits going to the taxpayer using the 7-year tax life are obvious. The 14 percentage point difference in the actual reserve ratios means that the taxpayer using the 7-year tax life has recovered that additional amount of capital tax free. For him, the capital cost represented by his depreciation base is 65 percent recovered, while the depreciation base and related capital of the conforming taxpayer are only 51 percent recovered at any given time. An additional tax-free recovery of capital amounting to 14 percent of one's capital cost is significant on its face. With approximately a 50 percent corporate income tax rate the cumulative tax savings resulting from the rapid depreciation and consequent faster tax-free recovery of capital amount to about 7 percent of the capital cost.

We can see in this multi-asset growth situation a new factor—a permanence to the advantage that persists over the life of the business. In the single-asset case the tax-free recovery created in the early years of the asset's life must be repaid in the later years. The recovery is thus in essence a *loan*—which is interest-free and hence an advantage—but this loan will have to be repaid later in the life of an asset as depreciation deductions decline. But in the multi-asset case, especially with growth, the tax-free recovery and additional capital are in effect permanent, as long as the stock of assets remains at least the same size or grows. The loan description does not really fit this permanent addition to capital, unless one wants to call it a "permanent loan".

The explanation of this effect is straightforward: The pattern observed for the single asset case still persists for any single asset in the multi-asset situation. However, in the multi-asset situation at any given time there are always at least as many assets in their loan creation stage as there are assets in their loan repayment stage. And in a *growth* situation the assets in their loan creation stage outnumber the assets in their loan repayment stage. Thus, the more growth there is the larger this permanent tax-free recovery, expressed as a *percentage of the firm's investment in depreciable assets.*

It is obvious from this illustration that a relatively small amount of non-conformity has produced a relatively large advantage to the non-conforming taxpayer. This, on its face, suggests the need to enforce a rather close conformity by all taxpayers between tax lives and actual lives.

The 7 percent advantage illustrated in this particular example is by no means an extreme case. While we cannot here review the full array of results obtained in the study, in many cases the percentage was considerably higher.

Even if one is not concerned with the horizontal equity effects of such large permanent tax-free recoveries of capital accruing to some taxpayers while they are not accruing to others, the revenue effects for the Government should be a concern. Viewed from the aspect of Government revenues, that permanent tax-free recovery is a permanent grant—or loan if one prefers that term—out of Government revenues. The larger the tax-free grant going to some taxpayers, the less money a given tax rate structure is going to produce for the Government. This means that other taxpayers have to pay more taxes or the Government has to borrow more money.

Tax advantage expressed in terms of effective tax rates

It would be helpful in placing this advantage of rapid depreciation in perspective if we could express the *recovery of capital cost* in terms of its impact on *effective tax rates.*[2]

The model indicates that over the long run, as well as the short run, the use of non-conforming tax lives can have a large impact on effective tax rates. Very commonly the opportunity to use a tax life shorter by 30 percent than the actual life will produce an effective tax rate, on the income from the assets, which is lower by as much as 15 percent. Thus, a 48 percent effective income tax rate can be reduced to a 41 percent effective rate. Or, put another way, the use of the shorter tax life means in effect a doubling of the investment credit for the non-conforming taxpayer.

If realism in depreciation tax lives is not enforced, it will not be at all uncommon that one taxpayer will be replacing at the guideline tax life but a competitor will be using a tax life only 70 percent as long as his actual life. If so, the benefit that would be conferred on the non-conforming taxpayer would be a reduction in its corporate tax rate on the profit from the assets twice as large as the tax rate reduction granted all corporations in the 1964 Act.

The study examined this difference in effective tax rates in a wide variety of situations.[3] Some range of difference was apparent, but the basic pattern was quite clear. Very rarely did 30 percent non-conformity produce a tax benefit as small as a reduction of 5 percent of the tax, and under some combinations of fact situations and profitability definitions the difference was over 20 percent—which would mean a tax rate of 38 percent.

Thus, *non-conformity in depreciation lives does not catch up with itself.* The intuitive assumptions described earlier about the long-run effects are not valid. Instead, such non-conformity in realistic business situations is a continuing source of different tax treatment and the differences do not wash out over time. These calculations regarding effective tax rates described those rates *over a 50-year period.*

The study thus furnishes a measure of the tax advantage derived over the long run by using tax lives at variance with actual lives and thus securing rapid depreciation. Moreover, it permits this measure to be expressed in terms of effective income tax rates on the profits earned by the assets involved. This enables us to describe the advantage in terms of subjecting one taxpayer to a 48 percent tax rate, and another to a 41 percent tax rate, and still another to a lower rate, and so on. No one has advocated that we draw up a corporate tax rate schedule which would so capriciously subject identical taxpayers to such differences in tax rates. The study shows that this would be the actual, albeit hidden, result of permitting non-conformity in depreciation tax lives.

There appears to be no reason to support the discriminatory reduction of taxes for particular taxpayers by such large amounts. Since we have better ways of implementing fiscal policy, tax depreciation policy should not vary with business cycles.

A fair measure of taxable income in a recession is a fair measure in an inflation, as well as being a fair measure when the economy is in equilibrium.

CONCLUSION

Future study and use of the depreciation study computer model

It can be a great advantage for an income tax structure to have a rational method of handling depreciation that provides both great flexibility to taxpayers in choosing tax lives that they consider realistic, under their attitudes as to asset use and obsolescence, and a reliable objective technique by which taxpayers and administrators may measure the conformity of those lives to the actual replacement policies of the taxpayer so that enforcement of realistic depreciation can be readily secured. This study points to the conclusion that the guideline life approach coupled with the reserve ratio test are techniques which meet these standards for a rational depreciation policy.

It must be noted that this study—as do the guideline lives and the reserve ratio test to which this study relates—deals with depreciable lives. The study does not tell us whether, in a given situation, accelerated depreciation or straight-line depreciation more properly measures the allocation of depreciation deductions over the tax life. It

---

Footnotes at end of article.

would be helpful to continue this research in the depreciation area by studying certain aspects of these accelerated methods. For example, is accelerated depreciation a proper method in a lease situation, in which the taxpayer has himself chosen a stream of receipts to provide a recovery of capital whose timing is clearly at variance with the timing of capital recovery which the accelerated methods presuppose?

This brief review of the Treasury depreciation study may help to indicate something of the diversity and the complexity involved in quantifying some of the issues being discussed in the tax depreciation field. The data that I have referred to today, and even the data that are summarized in the depreciation study itself, are only examples of the types of quantifications that can be produced by this model of business behavior and the computer program which implements that model.

After the study is published, we would appreciate any evaluation of the methodology or of the particular conclusions drawn from the results presented in the study. The detailed study, when it is available, will provide quite specific explanations which other researchers can use to extend the analysis. The tax depreciation area is one of the more technical and involved areas that policy officials, tax analysts and practitioners have to deal with. Research and analysis will continue—and the model could be made available for those interested in the depreciation area. We feel that this study is a suitable guide for policy making at this time. It will have served an equally important purpose if it raises the level of the dialogue in this difficult analytic and policy area.

We should always strive to pinpoint the crucial questions in policy areas by scraping away the slogans and mythology which can so completely obscure the essentials of the issues. It is our hope that this particular tax policy research study will help to define the real issues in the depreciation area as well as to supply, at least partially, an adequate answer to those issues. The very effort of providing more quantitative and objective answers to difficult but necessary questions may assist or stimulate others in providing even better answers. The quality of the answers, as in the case of the Treasury Tax Policy Research Studies, should be judged on the basis of the acceptability of the research methodology and the adequacy of the analysis rather than the support they provide to any preconceived positions, including those of the Treasury Department.

FOOTNOTES

[1] We may note, as an aside, that this undesirability of the use of the depreciation deduction for investment incentive purposes does not mean that a tax system cannot involve such incentives if they are thought desirable. Under our present rules, the investment credit operates as an inducement to modernization and expansion of machinery and equipment. The difference in effect and operation of such a device from the use of depreciation policy to the same end is clear. The investment credit does give Taxpayer A who has purchased a new machine a tax rate lower than that of Taxpayer B who has not purchased a new machine, and it does so because it is designed to serve the national goal of expanding and modernizing our productive capacity through new machines. If Taxpayer B purchases a new machine, he also would get the credit. Unrealistic depreciation, however, would mean that if both taxpayers had bought new machines and both had the same actual replacement cycles—and thus had equally contributed to that national goal—still Taxpayer A by using an unrealistic shorter tax life would pay lower rates than Taxpayer B. Or, if both are using the same tax life, but Taxpayer A's actual replacement life is longer than that but Taxpayer B's is the same as the tax life, then here also Taxpayer A would be receiving a lower tax rate without any larger contribution to the national goal.

[2] It may be helpful here to describe generally the methodology used in the study to develop the impact on effective tax rates. To do so we will first have to consider the effect on after-tax profit rates or rates of return. In the simple single asset case, we made assumptions about profitability and cash flow. Once such a rate of return assumption was explicit, it was then possible to calculate a stream of before-tax cash flow and a description of how the more rapid depreciation deduction and the applicable tax rate affected the after-tax rate of return. Let us turn now to the matter of after-tax profit rates in the multi-asset case.

At this point it is important to note that tax rates measured in the usual accounting sense are not helpful to determine the measure of this tax advantage obtained by the non-conforming taxpayer. According to the books of account, corporations pay in tax 48 percent of their *taxable income* (before credits). If one relates the *total tax payment* to the *taxable* income, as determined by whatever tax depreciation is used, then, of course, there would be no difference in tax rates so expressed between our two taxpayers—for each the tax rate is 48 percent. But this identity in tax rates as so described obviously obscures the fact that the two taxpayers who are identical except for the tax lives that they use, will actually be reporting different taxable incomes because of differing depreciation deductions. As an aside, as the Treasury has pointed out before, this effect of current accounting practice to make it appear that every corporation pays a 48 percent rate of tax when in fact corporations are actually paying at vastly different—and often quite lower—effective rates in terms of their actual profits, as a result of a variety of tax preferences, has become a serious obstacle to an awareness of the actual structure of our tax system.

To get away from this inadequacy of accounting practice to furnish realistic effective rates for purposes of comparison, it is necessary first to ascertain the *before-tax* and *after-tax cash flows* and from these to determine profit rates.

Before-tax cash flow is the total amount of cash available to the firm, after all the out-of-pocket expenses have been paid. (Thus, in conventional accounting terms, it is the sum of before-tax profits plus any allowance for depreciation; sometimes this total is referred to as quasi-rents.)

To determine *after-tax cash flow* we must calculate each year the depreciation deduction, and then by subtracting this deduction from before-tax cash flow we can derive the taxable income. Given this stream of taxable income over each of the years being simulated, together with the selected tax rate, enables us to determine the annual tax payments to be made. We then subtract those payments from taxable income to obtain the after-tax cash flow available to the firm. Any changes in tax depreciation will, of course, change the taxable income and thus the resulting after-tax cash flow. There can therefore be as many different kinds of time streams for after-tax cash flow as there are for depreciation deductions, namely, about eight.

From this information we have cash flows for taxpayers who are identical except for their using different depreciation lives for tax purposes. From these cash flows we want to calculate for each taxpayer a *profit rate before* and *after tax*. The difference between the profit rate after tax for any taxpayer and his profit rate before tax would be his *effective tax rate*.

Profit rates can be calculated from cash flows in different ways, and the study involves all the commonly used methods of determining profit rates. One of the important methods used in the study involves a comparison of before-tax and after-tax *internal rates of return*. An internal rate of return can be defined as that rate of discount which sets some stream of cash flow over time equal to some fixed amount of dollars at some starting point. As a start this concept is most easily considered in terms of a single asset. That is, assume an asset which costs a dollar and which generates or throws off a certain amount of *cash flow before tax* over a *10*-year period of time. Some discount factor, such as 15 percent for instance, might be the internal rate of return before tax which sets that before-tax stream of cash flow equal to the one dollar initial acquisition cost.

Suppose that the same calculation applied to the *cash flow after tax*, determined by using actual taxes paid, shows that the internal rate of return after-tax was 7.8 percent. Since 7.8 percent is exactly 52 percent of the before-tax internal rate of return of 15 percent, the calculation indicates that the taxpayer has paid an effective tax rate of 48 percent. Put differently, his before-tax rate of return was reduced by 48 percent as a consequence of the tax payment. Thus a comparison of before-tax rates of return with after-tax rates of return determined by actual tax payments made, enables us to derive the actual effective rates of tax for the varying depreciation situations.

A taxpayer using a depreciation tax life shorter than the actual life will find less difference between his before and after-tax rates of return, i.e., he will have a lower effective tax rate than will the conforming taxpayer. This difference in the effective tax rates of these two taxpayers is the measure of the tax advantage that would go to the non-conforming taxpayer, in the absence of the enforcement of a link between tax lives and actual lives, and hence is the measure of tax inequity in non-conforming depreciation.

[3] The study also tested the difference on the basis of alternative definitions of profitability. Some businessmen for example calculate the profitability of an investment in terms of the number of years it will take for the cash throw-off to equal the capital outlay. Effective tax rates were also computed by comparing this profitability measure, called the pay-off period, on a before and after-tax basis.

THE HELPING HAND OF JIM REDDING

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I insert in the Record an article which appeared in Reader's Digest regarding the beneficent work of Rev. James Redding, which he undertook after the 1966 riots in Cleveland. To Members who represent urban areas and who may anticipate similar problems to those which Cleveland has experienced, I believe this article will be most interesting and helpful, and I commend it to their attention and reading:

THE HELPING HAND OF JIM REDDING

(By Vernon Pizer)

(NOTE.—For convicts, ex-convicts and prisoners of Cleveland's slums, this man who became a minister at 44 builds bridges to responsibility and self-respect.)

Sirens wailed, blotting out the intermittent crackle of gunshots. Overhead, the evening sky glowed red from the flames of a score of fires. In a pause between the shrieks of the sirens, the Rev. James Redding, peering out of his window, heard the drum roll of pounding feet. A band of youths swept into view, carrying gasoline cans and bottles—the materials for firebombs.

The madness had begun—the four days of arson, sniping, rock-throwing and looting that last July ripped the Hough area of Cleveland, a two-square-mile Negro ghetto. The riots would leave four dead, more than 50 injured, and dozens of buildings gutted.

The pastor, a six-foot Negro with close-cropped graying hair, swiftly moved to his telephone to dial people familiar with all the twists and turns of the jungle of Hough. "Put out the word," he begged them. "I'm pleading with the rioters to come to see me with their complaints. I have the ear of the authorities. I promise to get their message across. But they've got to stop burning and looting, and start talking—that's the only way they can win."

It was late the next day before the first knock came on James Redding's door. Then, by ones and twos, people whom he had never seen before ducked in from the street. And as their story spilled out, the dimensions of Hough's bitter wrath took form: the poverty, the intolerable housing, the gouging by unscrupulous shopkeepers. It was not a new story, but there were grim details that even the minister had not known.

Far into the night the people came, and again in the morning. Later that day, Redding and other Negro ministers spoke over television and radio and through the newspapers, bluntly making all citizens of Cleveland aware of the cancer they had permitted to afflict their city. Redding spoke directly to Mayor Ralph S. Locher, and to the people of Hough he said, "You cannot evade all responsibility for these conditions. You cannot shut your eyes to your own laxity in fighting the filth and the vice of Hough. You cannot restore pride and dignity with guns and firebombs."

Then, unafraid, he went back into the inferno of Hough. Rioters, looters, men enraged to the point of madness suddenly found the tall, burly minister looming beside them. They saw the hurt on his face, saw the plea in his eyes. Finally, the riots ground to a halt.

Not many people could have got away with it, could have made themselves so clearly heard and heeded on both sides. Says Mayor Locher, "James Redding can cut straight to the heart of a matter. He is a rare combination of man-of-action and dreamer, of do-gooder and good doer." Louis B. Seltzer, former editor of the Cleveland *Press* and foreman of the grand jury called to investigate the riots, says, "Jim Redding is unique. He is a bridge—one of the few I know of—between all the elements of the human equation here."

LOST TIME TO MAKE UP

To appreciate the minister and his role in Hough, one must turn back to 1950. James Redding was 40 years old that year and had reason to be content. He had come far since his early years in Tennessee and Georgia. From his hardworking father he had learned pride in laboring diligently, from his mother compassion, and from both of them he had acquired a rock-firm faith in God. He had come to Cleveland, found work in an industrial plant and begun the slow upward climb from unskilled to semi-skilled work. Encouraged by his wife, Margaret, a quiet, gentle woman, he concentrated on learning all he could about plant operation and on refining his capabilities. Ultimately he became a highly skilled machinist. But instead of enjoying the comfortable life, he now found himself deeply troubled. "In church one Sunday the answer hit me," he says. "I had been so concerned with myself that I had skimped on serving God and my fellowman. At 40 I had a lot of lost time to make up for. I decided to study for the ministry."

It wasn't easy to be a machinist by day and a divinity student by night, but Redding embraced his heavy schedule enthusiastically. Only one thing disturbed him: ordination was four years in the future. Wasn't there some way to begin serving now?

On the outskirts of Cleveland is a group of fortess-like buildings that compose the House of Correction. Surely here, among the hundreds of men and women who had run afoul of the law, he could render help. Redding offered his services. Harried and short-handed, the chaplain was delighted to accept the offer. Jim became a volunteer assistant prison chaplain on weekends.

"I found myself in a new and dehumanizing world," Redding says. "In the beginning I simply immersed myself in the atmosphere, learning the mechanics of life behind bars and letting the convicts get used to me. I promised them nothing except to listen, to offer any help I could and to respect their confidences. Slowly, they began to come to me. Some were merely curious, some were seeking ways to take advantage of me, but most were genuinely searching for guidance."

THE NEW MANAGER

In 1954, Jim Redding was ordained a Baptist minister. He switched from his machinist's job to office work, which paid less but permitted him more time with his convicts. He became a familiar figure in penal institutions all around Cleveland. Even prisoners who scoffed at religion came to chapel when he held services. As one put it, "He doesn't talk at you but with you. He makes you think there might be some hope for you."

Then as now, Redding always gave his home address to prisoners whose terms were about to expire. Often weary and wanting only a shower and his bed, he would come home to find his wife cheerfully cooking a meal for an ex-convict who had arrived unexpectedly, hopeful of help in finding a job and a place to live.

He became gifted at levering these men back into the community as responsible, contributing citizens. Probing adroitly, he uncovers the ex-convict's talents, skills and hopes. He searches out the most likely prospective employer and briefs the ex-convict on that company's products and operations. Then, making sure that the man is neatly barbered and well pressed—usually at Redding's expense—he goes with him to see the boss. Because Redding speaks with persuasive logic and has prepared the applicant well for the interview, the employer generally discovers, often to his surprise, that he has added a new name to his payroll.

A smile lights up Jim Redding's face when he speaks of his effort on behalf of Bob, a man fresh from jail. "I hit up the absentee owner of a gas station in Hough for a job for Bob. The owner's eyes bugged out. 'Me hire an ex-con?' he said. 'My men are holding out $100 a week on me as it is. If I put on an ex-con to show them the ropes, they'll take over the whole station!'

"'You'd be doing yourself a favor by hiring Bob,' I said. 'He knows he would be the first suspect.'

"I talked so long and so hard that the man finally agreed to hire Bob. Two weeks later, I went back to find out how he was getting along. 'I have to admit he's a good employe,' the owner said. 'The stealing is still going on, but it hasn't got any worse, so I know nothing is sticking to Bob's fingers.'

"I looked the boss straight in the eye and said, 'There's only one way to stop the stealing—make Bob the manager. He knows all the tricks, so nobody will be able to put anything over on him.' Well, the owner just stood there sputtering, but finally he gave Bob a shot at the manager's job. And you know what? The stealing ended, just like I said it would."

REDEMPTION POINT

Over the years, ex-convicts from all across the country have called on Redding for help. Some have learned of him via the prison grapevine; others have been referred by judges, social agencies, penal-authorities. From his experience the minister has become convinced that, except for a small core of chronic incorrigibles, every lawbreaker has his "redemption point," a time when he recognizes the futility of crime and hungers for escape. "If you don't throw him a life preserver when he is reaching out for it," Redding says, "he will fall back into a sea of sin that will surely drown him."

By 1965, the minister's case load had grown so heavy that he resigned his job to establish Helping Hand Halfway Home, Inc. With a group of Cleveland's leading citizens on the board, and Louis B. Seltzer as president, the corporation spearheaded a citywide fund-raising campaign. Redding bought a place in Hough, once a millionaire's mansion, where 22 ex-convicts could live temporarily while rebuilding their lives. While he was getting this operation under way, a woman deeded over to him a nearby house to establish a Halfway Home for women. It now has a capacity of 14.

Mac, the first resident of Halfway Home for men, arrived nearly a year ago. His reaction: "After 15 years in jail, you have to be taught all over again how to live on the outside. In jail you get orders. Here you get encouragement, explanations. In jail everything has a lock on it. Here you're trusted. Not that Mr. Redding is a pushover—he makes you measure up. But he has love in his voice; you discover you mean something to him. I'm not ashamed to say that I cried my first night here. I hadn't cried in 15 years, and it felt wonderful."

Mac had become an expert sewing-machine operator in the penitentiary tailor shop. Persuasive as always, the minister talked a company into donating a heavy-duty machine to Halfway Home for Mac's use in teaching unskilled ex-convicts, male and female to become proficient operators. Employers have learned that Mac's "alumni" are well schooled, and are glad to hire them.

A PLACE TO BE HEARD

By July 1966, when Hough's four-day trial by fire began, Jim Redding was ready for the role he was to assume. His long, untiring efforts to build bridges between the rejected and the rejectors had convinced both sides of his selfless sincerity. Every step he had taken since 1950 had been leading him to that moment.

When the last shots had been fired in Hough and the flames had flickered out, the minister realized that this could be merely a pause. "It is not enough simply to stop the rioting," he warns. "If fundamental change does not come, violence will erupt again—perhaps worse."

Even while National Guardsmen still patrolled, the minister and residents of the area—some of them rioters a day or two earlier—were out on the streets in a massive clean-up campaign.

Redding's recommendations for corrective action by authorities have been outlined to a Cleveland grand jury. And he has stimulated public contribution toward purchase of an abandoned theater to serve as Hough's first community center. After refurbishing, it will become a focus for community and cultural activities, a place where residents can bring complaints and know that they will be heard. It is the minister's hope that the center will be a spot where the seeds of civic pride, dignity and self-respect can take root.

ESPERANTO AND HUMAN COMMUNICATION

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the contents of an important editorial, which has recently come to my attention. One of the great tragedies of today is the utter breakdown in human communication. This tragedy is intensified by the swiftness with which the electronic communications media transmit messages and is further compounded by the need for immediate understanding which must accompany this almost instantaneous interchange of ideas.

Since its introduction by L. L. Zamenhoff in 1887, Esperanto has gained considerable prestige as an international language. Today, the Universal Esperanto Association is represented in 85 countries, with some 50 national Esperanto organizations and 20 professional international Esperanto associations in existence. As many as 8 million people today speak the language, in which a not inconsiderable body of literature—both poetry and prose—has been written. More than 100 magazines, including literary, scientific, and religious periodicals are now published in Esperanto. Best estimates are that it takes from one-twentieth to one-fifth of the time required to learn a national language to develop a proficiency in Esperanto.

I therefore submit the following editorial, which I have received from the Esperanto League of North America, in the belief that the information it contains is of positive value to society:

A BREAKTHROUGH FOR SCOUTS

Thanks to the vision of Tom Parrinder, O.B.E. Organising Commissioner for the Essex International Jamboree 27 July–3 August, Scouting has laid an axe at the root of its language problem. Teachers are doubly involved in this new development: some as Scouters and others as tutors for Scouts going to this and, we imagine, future international jamborees. This writer is on the general staff of the Jamboree *and* a teacher of Esperanto in school. The official languages of the Essex Jamboree are to be Esperanto and the language of the host country—what a sensible arrangement and one that could be so easily adopted at the meetings of *all* international bodies. On three previous occassions this writer, attending an international meeting of Scouts has witnessed the isolation of Scouts from countries whose language nobody ever learns. It is fitting that in Human Rights Year linguistic discrimination against these Scouts should cease.

Despite a recommendation in the original edition of "Scouting for Boys" by Lord Baden-Powell that Scouts should learn Esperanto in 1934, the Scout World Committee passed the following resolution:

"The Committee does not approve the study of Esperanto by Scouts, as it has no practical value." Undaunted by this apparent setback the Scout Esperanto League continued to work for linguistic equality in Scouting through the use of a neutral language; and twenty years later, out of the blue, as it were, the Director of the World Scout Bureau wrote to the League:

". . . I am pleased to inform you that at their last meeting, the World Committee resolved: 'Esperanto . . . has proved its use in many spheres and in several Scout Associations it is permitted for the Interpreter Badge, *The Committee revokes its Resolution of 1934* . . . .' ."

That is ten years after Unesco's Montevideo Resolution praising Esperanto's contributions to international culture and understanding. Scouting shows new sympathy for an idea which had had the full support of the Movement's Founder. A curious anomaly in Britain was the fact that whilst Scouts have always been able to take the Interpreter Badge in Esperanto, the wording of the Guide equivalent badge was such as to exclude the language. It is to hoped that the discrimination against Guides wanting to use Esperanto will have been removed when the new Guide P.O.R. appears in the very near future.

In 1966 Mr. Douglas Murphy F.B.E.A., Assistant County Commissioner for Suffolk, and President of the Scout Esperanto League, reported to the Chief Scout on his contacts with Japanese Scouts through Esperanto.

When, in 1967, International Commissioners were appointed to every Scout County, B.E.A., with permission from the Scout Association, and indeed with their co-operation, sent copies of "Freedom of Speech" and other literature to each commissioner. In the autumn of 1967 the official organ of the World Scout Committee published a letter in favour of Esperanto, and another appeared in the following issue. In the current issue is an article by a Belgian Scout Commissioner about Esperanto, and enquiries are reaching the Scout Esperanto League from all over the world. In April, Douglas Murphy has been invited by the Scout and Guide Associations to talk about "Esperanto for Scouts and Guides" at the select Scout and Guide Club in London. Tom Parrinder will support Douglas Murphy at the meeting. The Warden of Roland House, the Scout Settlement in the East End which caters for foreign visitors, has joined the SEL and is learning Esperanto. Finally, in this recital of developments in favour of Esperanto as the language which Scouts should learn after their own, came a letter to Douglas Murphy from the new Secretary-General of the World Scout Bureau in which he said: "I have carefully read all these brochures and I feel sure that Esperanto has a future in our Movement".

IMPORTANT EXPERIMENT

Now, as a culmination of the events described above, came the far-sighted decision by Commissioner Tom Parrinder that Esperanto should be widely used at the Essex Jamboree, His letter to Scouts attending the Jamboree reads as follows:

"I have always thought that either English or French would some day become the world's international language, but now I have come to doubt whether national prejudices will ever allow this to happen and believe a language without any national traditions is needed. The answer seems to be Esperanto and with the help of the Scout Esperanto League I have arranged for this language to be used as much as possible at the Jamboree . . . Will you please try to get all your party to work for the Interpreter Badge in Esperanto so that they can really help in this important international experiment."

Mr. Parrinder and many of his committee members are already making good progress with the language, and extensive use is being made everywhere of George Rust's excellent course book for Scouts "The International Language for Scouts" 2/- post free from B.E.A.

Douglas Murphy has adapted the song "Esperanto, jen estas la lingvo por ni", which he wrote over 30 years ago, for use as the Jamboree Song. It begins:

"Britujo alvokas la skoltojn
El lokoj trans blua la mar'
Por veni kaj vivi komune
En Internacia Tendar'.
Rekantajo: Jamboreo,
Gi estas la loko por ni, por ni, Jamboreo,
Gi estas la loko por ni."

It is expected that church services will be held in Esperanto.

GREAT NEW POSSIBILITIES

The implications of the above developments are clear. Not only is the Scout Movement pointing the way for all other international organisations with a language problem (and which international organisation hasn't such a problem?) but it is opening up great new possibilities in realm of international visits and exchanges at individual scout and troop level rather than at international commissioner level. This writer who has been scouting on and off most of his life has always envisaged a new pattern of international scouting, following upon and dependent entirely upon the Movement's adoption of Esperanto, rather than English or French, as its official language. Visualise, for example, the possible contribution to education for international understanding of an arrangement in which groups of three or four troops of scouts or guides become linked: a) on a world-wide basis for purposes of correspondence, the exchange of tapes, etc., (A good basis of selection would be to have contact with one troop in each continent so far as this is possible), b) on a regional basis for the purposes of camping exchanges. In this case it could be agreed that e.g. two of the three troops would camp each year in the country of the third, with the third as hosts. But on arrival at camp the boys would subdivide into special international patrols with which they would remain throughout the camp. This sort of development was in the mind of the author of *"Ni Parolu Esperanton"* when he wrote Chapter 9, "Skoltoj en la Arbaro." After three years either the same contacts could be maintained or new ones formed. Whatever happens, the individual friendships between the scouts would remain and probably continue long after the boys have left the troops concerned.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE WIVES SPEAK OUT AGAINST CRIME

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, this morning the House District of Columbia Subcommittee on Special Investigations held a hearing on the crime situation in the District. Testimony was heard from many witnesses who have been innocent victims of this disgraceful situation in our Nation's Capital. Mrs. Joan Abbott, president of the District of Columbia Police Wives Association, appeared before the committee. Mr. Speaker, I include her statement to the subcommittee in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT OF MRS. JOAN ABBOTT, PRESIDENT, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE WIVES ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE HOUSE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE DISTRICT COMMITTEE ON CRIME IN WASHINGTON

It is a privilege to be here this morning, because the members of the D.C. Police Wives Association know that all the members of the House D.C. Committee share our alarm and concern over the rising flood of crime in Washington. Four policemen have been killed in Washington in line of duty in the past 7 months. A number of the members of the D.C. Police Wives Association are constituents of Congressman Hervey G. Machen of Maryland's 5th congressional district and all of the members appreciate the concern he has shown while in Congress in support of the Metropolitan Police Department and the individual police officers. We support H.R. 14430 and H.R. 14448.

Chairman John Dowdy of this subcommittee, together with Congressman Durward Hall and Congressman Donald E. Lukens, included in the Congressional Record, when the Poff-Casey amendment was being debated, the letters the D.C. Police Wives Association wrote to President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey and City Council Chairman John W. Hechinger in support of the Casey Amendment. We are proud of our contribution to the adoption on July 24, 1968 of the Poff-Casey amendment by the House of Representatives by an overwhelming vote of 412 to 11. We are going to work very hard to get the Senate to accept the Poff-Casey bipartisan amendment, and we think it will be adopted.

Speaker after speaker made it clear during the House debate that it wasn't the severity of the punishment, but only the certainty of punishment which deterred criminals, and the Poff-Casey amendment deals directly with this basic issue.

It is high time that the Congress wrote the mandatory provisions of the Poff-Casey amendment into law. President Johnson in his March 13, 1968 message to Congress called on the Congress to enact a D.C. Gun Control Act which would include a mandatory provision to "add 10 years imprisonment to the regular penalty when a firearm is used in a robbery or an attempted robbery." In adopting the Poff-Casey amendment, the House of Representatives has magnificently responded to President Johnson's call for mandatory sentences to prevent a reoccurrence in the District of Columbia of what President Johnson condemned as last year's "2500 major crimes committed in the Nation's Capital at gunpoint—murders, assaults and robberies."

On July 19, 1968, during the House Debate on Gun Legislation, Congressman Fisher of Texas pointed out that "records reveal that some 80 percent of major crimes are committed by those with prior criminal records, many of them favored with light sentences and manifestly unjustified probationary treatment." This is the problem in Washington. For instance, on June 26, 1968, Congressman Paul Rogers of Florida denounced 17 sentences handed down in a 2 week period by District Courts here in cases where guns were used. Six of these cases were suspended, four were given light sentences under the Youth Corrections Act even though the criminals involved were 18, 19, 20 and 21 years of age. In a case of first degree murder the criminal was given a 1 year sentence. Judges who hand down such ridiculous sentences should be removed from office. The Bail Reform Act must be revised and drastically amended to keep the repeaters from committing new crimes. These are essential steps to make our streets and our homes safe for law-abiding citizens. In some states, judges hand down stiffer sentences for killing game out of season than some D.C. judges give criminals in cases where guns are used. It is time to stop making excuses for criminals and to recognize crime for what it is, a plague of destruction that knows no barrier of race, color, or creed or financial status. From 1960 to 1966, 335 policemen in our Nation were killed, 322 died by guns in the hands of criminals. 242 Metropolitan Policemen have been assaulted this year in the District as compared to 193 combined assaults on Metropolitan and Park Police last year. Nation wide last year, guns were used in more than 125,000 assaults, rapes and robberies.

The House wisely rejected the licensing and registration amendments which would have penalized law-abiding citizens. The amendment offered by Congressman McClory, for instance, called, in one section, for "imprisonment not to exceed 2 years, or a fine not to exceed $2000. or both." Another section called for "imprisonment not to exceed 5 years or a fine not to exceed $10,000. or both." These were aimed at the law-abiding citizens.

The D.C. City Council under Chairman John W. Hechinger, who sold guns in the Hechinger's stores for many years, has adopted gun registration and licensing provisions which were rejected by the House of Representatives. The D.C. City Council's new gun regulations provide penalties for failure to comply of $300, or 10 days in jail, or both. Is it realistic to expect such minor offenses to deter criminals from killing another policeman, from committing another rape or another robbery or another assault? The Washington Post, which generally favors the criminal and gives major headlines to everyone who attacks police, either verbally or by guns, and feels that it is white people and white policemen, and society in general and not the criminally-inclined individuals, who are responsible for crime, was predictably enthusiastic in its support of the farcical gun control regulations backed by Mr. Hechinger and adopted at his insistence by the D.C. City Council.

We hope this committee will take action against the Hechinger gun control regulations—now that the House of Representatives has decisively rejected the McClory amendment by a vote of 168 to 89, in view of the fact that the McClory amendment and Mr. Hechinger's gun control regulations are aimed at the law-abiding citizen rather than the criminal. As the House of Representatives pointed out, criminals ignore such weak-kneed laws. The Supreme Court in the case of Haynes against the United States has encouraged criminals to ignore the Hechinger-McClory approach by ordering that the defendant be released. The famous, or infamous opinion—depending on how you look at it, and whether you are a criminal or a law-abiding citizen—was written by Justice Harlan and it declared "we hold that a proper claim of the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination provides a full defense to prosecutions either for failure to register a firearm under section 5841 or for possession of an unregistered firearm under section 5851."

A sound constitutional basis does not exist for the D. C. Gun Control Regulations which Mr. Hechinger insisted on pushing through the D. C. City Council with the backing of the Washington Post which, in it's editorial pages, is as hazy, uninformed, and heedless about basic constitutional provisions as Mr. Hechinger is. This committee should take a long hard look at the D. C. Gun Control Regulations, with the Constitution in mind and particularly with Justice Harlan's opinion in the case of Haynes against the United States in mind.

Some of the things which policemen have to put up with when they go before courts in connection with cases in which they have made arrests are unbelievable. It is no bed of roses to be a policeman. The discouragements are great. The lack of support by the City Council under Mr. Hechinger and the Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy and Mrs. Polly Shackleton is growing day by day. We agree with Congressman B. F. Sisk that members of the D. C. City Council, "have not given effective, firm support and backing, I feel the members of the Police Department are entitled to." In our discussions with members of the Policeman's Association we believe that this is the overwhelming view of the members of the police department. We support Congressman Sisk in calling for a thorough questioning of the members of the City Council by the House District Committee. The former District Commissioners gave much more support to the police than the present D. C. Council. We think the D. C. City Council should be abolished and that the adoption by the Congress of the present plan for the District Government was a sad mistake which the police are paying for with their lives. The situation is getting worse day by day. John Harrington of Philadelphia, National President of the 137,000-member fraternal order of police has called for a national 2 day police walk out. Police leaders across the country and in the District of Columbia have become embittered by what they consider lack of support in dealing with crime and racial violence. Mr. Harrington's comment, that "when police are being shot like fish in a barrel, it's time we do something," certainly applies in the District of Columbia. Bruce Terris, chairman of the Democratic Central Committee has called for the dismissal of Police Chief John B. Layton. The Reverend Channing E. Phillips, D. C. Democratic National Committeeman wrote the resolution adopted by the Black United Front which declared that killing white policeman was "justifiable homicide." We hereby request this committee as well as the Democratic National Convention to bring Bruce Terris and the Reverend Channing E. Phillips before them, by subpoena if necessary to investigate completely the question of whether killing white policemen is "justifiable homicide." We think the members of the Metropolitan Police Department are entitled to an answer to this question. The D. C. Police Wives Association will exert every effort to bring these matters before the Credential and Platform committees at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, because we believe the American people are entitled to know where the Democratic party stands on the question as to whether it is "justifiable homicide" to kill white policemen. We have not been able to get an answer to this question from the D. C. City Council, although we tried several times. When we objected to our husbands being killed, and when we said, we would urge our husbands to go fishing if the D. C. City Council did not condemn the view that it was "justifiable homicide" to kill white policemen, which had been adopted by the Black United Front and supported by the D. C. Democratic Central Committee, Mr. Hechinger denounced us as being as "incendiary" as the Black United Front.

The Sunday Star in its letters column of July 28, 1968 performed a great public service in printing 3 letters on the Black United Front and the control of the police, which it is demanding. One of the letters pointed out that the policy of the control of the police was first unveiled on October 22, 1967, by the Communist Party, U.S.A., in a position paper which declared: "We believe that under all circumstances black people not only have the right but the responsibility to defend their persons, their homes and their community. And in line with this position we support the view that black people police their own community . . . There can be no question of the right of black people in the United States to use violence to achieve change."

The letter in the Star went on to say: "It is not surprising to find this line being echoed by the BUF, which has Stokely Carmichael as one of it's leading members, or by Arthur Waskow, who only last year attracted attention for his role in the ill-fated National Conference for New Politics convention in Chicago. That meeting was so dominated by the Communists and Black Power Extremists that its more naive and innocent participants were nauseated."

The D.C. Democratic Central Committee is zeroing in on Chief of Police John B. Layton and has called for his dismissal, as the first step in carrying out the policy announced by the Communist Party last October. We are very grateful indeed that the Senate of the United States, in adopting on Tuesday of this week, July 30, 1968 the $548.2 million district budget for the current fiscal year, gave its support to the report of the Senate Appropriations Committee which raised questions about the constitutionality of a citizen "take-over" of the police department. The Senate report noted that the Constitution gives Congress" exclusive jurisdiction over the district" and that the Congress has conferred its powers over the police on the Mayor. The Senate report said these powers cannot legally be delegated to "private groups or individuals." It added that it "would view with much concern any action on the part of any governmental officer or an employee encouraging or assisting any such group or person" to obtain control.

This subcommittee will certainly want to give all the support it can to this view which has been so ably expressed in so timely a fashion by the Senate of the United States.

We wish to commend all those individuals and groups who have rallied to the support of Police Chief John B. Layton. Among these are D.C. Republican National Committeeman Carl L. Shiply who attacked as "reverse racism and demagoguery" the demand that Chief Layton be dismissed which was voiced by Bruce Terris, "is a violation of the federal civil rights laws." Shipley pointed out that the demand for Chief Layton's dismissal disregards questions of merit and competence. Shipley added "it is regrettable that the Democratic chairman would explicit racial tensions and appeal to any of our citizens on the basis of race at a time when our business community is suffering serious losses as a result of the April riots and the Resurrection City episode in June."

We agree with Mr. Shipley and we feel confident that the fine citizens of the District of Columbia, who elected the members of the D.C. Democratic Central Committee on May 7, this year, did not vote for then, and do not favor now, the calculated, cruel and heartless attacks on the police and on Chief Layton which have their origin in the policy formulated and announced by the Communist party in its position paper of October 22, 1967. I would like to include as part of my remarks a column by Drew Pearson published in the *Washington Post* July 31, 1968, entitled "FBI prepares Report on Black Militants" because of the light it sheds on the black militant movement in the United States today.

We thank you for your consideration you have shown us this morning and we want you to know that we deeply appreciate the sympathetic understanding and support which the members of this committee and of the Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike have always given the Metropolitan Police Department of this great city.

I would like to include, as part of my remarks, with your approval Mr. Chairman, an article from today's *Washington Post* (Aug. 1) reporting that President Johnson regards Police Chief John B. Layton, "very highly" and sees "no justification for the removal of Chief Layton."

I would like also to include the tough statement by former vice president Nixon to the Republican Platform Committee in Miami on crime. Mr. Nixon said, "it is too late for more commissions to study violence; it is time for government to stop it. We can not *accept* a wave of crime as the wave of the future."

Thank you very much.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 31, 1968]

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND: FBI PREPARES REPORT ON BLACK MILITANTS

(By Drew Pearson)

The FBI has prepared a report on the underground black nationlist movement in the United States that may explain the sudden outbreak of violence in Cleveland. Under a Negro mayor, Carl Stokes, the city has been making great progress toward racial understanding. A handful of black nationalists began shooting police there last week who were merely towing away a parked car.

The report may also explain some of the moves by black militants in Washington.

Finally, it gives a key to the tremendous upsurge in the popularity of George Wallace, who represents a latent American fascism whose answer to Negro violence is white violence.

What the FBI has found in Washington is that black militants have worked out a plan to take over the Nation's Capital. The militants argue that Negroes are now in the majority and that given home rule they can take over the city.

At present, Washington is governed by a Negro mayor, Walter Washington, an able executive, who is supported by a city council, with five Negro and four white members. Mayor Washington is considered much too moderate by the black militants. They have worked out the following strategy, neighborhood by neighborhood.

First, they will try to persuade the moderates to become militant, and if they fail, then bury them with frustration and harassment. When the moderates hold meetings, the strategy is to break up the meetings or to be so unreasonable that the moderates will have to disassociate themselves from the meetings.

This was the explanation of the recent meeting to discuss neighborhood control of police, in an African Methodist Episcopal church where the black militants demanded that all whites leave. The whites present had been strong supporters of Negro progress. When they left, some moderate Negroes walked out with them.

Stokely Carmichael sat quietly in a back row of the meeting. He had been one of the architects of the new strategy. Another was Chuck Stone, former assistant to Rep. Adam Clayton Powell. Both militant and moderate Negroes are burnt up over the double standard of ethical conduct in Congress, whereby Powell, a Negro, was expelled while no action is taken against white Congressmen who misbehave.

This has caused far more resentment in the black world than Congressional leaders realize and appears to moderates to be a legitimate case against Congress.

Carmichael has been laying low following his subversive statements in foreign countries. He has been careful not to say anything publicly which would cause his arrest.

His operations, however, have been very carefully followed by the Justice Department, including some of his talks with the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who finally persuaded Carmichael to stay out of the Poor People's march.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy seems more susceptible to Carmichael's persuasion than was Dr. King. Shortly before the start of the Poor People's march, Mr. Abernathy told the New York Times: "I love Stokely. He's a wonderful guy. I may disagree with individuals like him on strategy, but not on goals. All I know is that we will remain nonviolent."

Carmichael's real goal, however, is the overthrow of the United States government. He spelled this out last Aug. 18 in Hanoi at an Afro-American rally attended largely by North Vietnamese.

"We are not reformists," he said. "We do not seek to reform. We do not wish to be part of the U.S. government, of its system. We are revolutionaries. We seek to change the imperialist system of the United States. We will be satisfied with nothing less.

"We are comrades," he told the North Vietnamese, "because we seek to redeem humanity, because we seek to stop the greatest destroyer of humanity—the United States. When we succeed, and we will succeed, our blood, our lives would have been a little price to pay."

Probably Carmichael did not know that his words were picked up by powerful U.S. monitors. What he does know, however, is that his words in Hanoi cannot be used to prosecute him in the United States because the Justice Department can get no witnesses from Communist countries.

Back in the United States Stokely is being very careful not to repeat these remarks.

MISS MARGARET A. KILGORE ELECTED PRESIDENT OF WOMEN'S NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, my congressional district has been honored with the election of a former resident as president of the Women's National Press Club here in Washington.

The club's new president is Miss Margaret A. Kilgore, a respected congressional reporter for United Press International. Miss Kilgore is well known to the House of Representatives and highly regarded by the Congress.

Miss Kilgore's home is Westfield, N.Y., in my home county of Chautauqua.

A recent article in the Jamestown, N.Y., Post Journal told of her election as president of the club. I am pleased to place this article, which appeared in the July 29, 1968, edition of the Post Journal in the RECORD at this point:

WASHINGTON.—Miss Margaret A. Kilgore of Westfield has taken office as president of the Women's National Press Club.

Miss Kilgore is a Congressional reporter for United Press International, having served in the UPI Washington Bureau for the past five years.

The daughter of Mrs. Harold T. Hall of Westfield and of La Jolla, Calif., she is a member of the family which owns the Dix chain of newspapers, radio and TV stations in Ohio.'

The Women's National Press Club has a membership of more than 500 and is a vigorous competitor for the men-only National Press Club in capital political-social affairs.

Like the men's club, the women's group provides a frequent forum for national and world leaders in politics, also those in the professions and the arts. Miss Kilgore has been active in club affairs, particularly the Congressional Dinner Committee of which she was chairman in 1966. She has been club secretary and a board member.

Miss Kilgore joined UPI upon graduation from Stephens College, Columbia, Mo., and Syracuse University where she was a member of Delta Delta Delta social sorority. She worked in the UPI statehouse bureau at Columbus, Ohio, and Newark, N.J., and in 1959 became head of the statehouse bureau at Trenton, N.J.

She was the first woman to head that bureau and later became the first woman to be admitted to membership in the New Jersey Legislative Correspondents Association. She was also a member of the New Jersey Newspaperwomen's Association.

Miss Kilgore's late stepfather, Harold T. Hall, was a former mayor of Westfield and treasurer of Growers Cooperative Grape Juice Co.

Her stepbrother, Alfred H. Hall, is general manager of Growers and a member of the village board of trustees. With his brother, James T. Hall, they operate Concord Stables in Westfield.

Her mother resides in the summer at 11 Third St., Westfield, and winters at La Jolla, Calif., where she is on the staff of the Bishop's School.

A sister, Mrs. Norman C. Rice, lives in New York City. The four children were educated at Westfield Academy and Central School.

"I've traveled over much of the United States, Mexico and Europe and I still like Western New York best," said Miss Kilgore.

"I go back every chance I get. You have everything going for you: Nice people, lakes, hills, skiing, swimming, fishing, boating, golf, Chautauqua . . . and, as I said, nice people.

"I am delighted to see promotion of the area nationally. There should be more of it.

"I used to tell people that I was 'from Western New York, near Buffalo,' because I figured that they had never heard of the place.

"Now, I just say: 'I'm from Westfield, New York'. And you would be amazed at how many faces light up in recognition."

JOINT COMMISSION ON CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER AND TRAINING

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, this Congress is well aware that crime is fast becoming our major domestic problem. Much of our time and energy has been devoted to discussion, analysis, and action on legislative proposals to combat crime and delinquency. Many of us, however, are aware that we have only made a beginning, that much work lies ahead.

One aspect of the problem has been particularly perplexing, not just for this generation, but for many generations. It is the problem of the repeat offender. As stated in the President's Crime Commission report last year:

> Arrest, court, and prison records furnish insistent testimony to the fact that these repeated offenders constitute the hard core of the crime problem. . . .

Because of inadequate information it has been virtually impossible to arrive at a national statistic as to the rate of recidivism among those convicted of serious crime. Many experts set the rate of recidivism at about 50 percent—that is, at least half of those convicted of a serious crime in any one year will eventually be rearrested and convicted of another serious crime. Specific studies in individual metropolitan areas suggest that this assessment is too low. A study made of 932 felons convicted during 1964 and 1965 in Washington, D.C., for example, showed that 80 percent of this group had prior records. More than half of them had six or more prior arrests, and 65 percent had previously been confined in some type of juvenile or adult institution.

The sad and appalling fact is that our corrections system does not correct. Rather, it is little more than a revolving door through which criminals pass on their way into and out of society.

Since almost every lawbreaker eventually returns to society—either as a probationer, a parolee, or by completing his sentence—it is of critical importance in our attack on crime that we develop the means by which the correctional system and its diverse institutions can dramatically improve their effectiveness.

I am encouraged therefore to learn that searching inquiry into the correctional field, funded in part by Federal grants, is making significant progress toward pinpointing the causes for failure of the corrections system. This inquiry is being carried on by the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, a nonprofit corporation comprised of 96 national associations and organizations. The joint commission was directed to make a 3-year study of the corrections field and report its findings and recommendations to Congress by March, 1969.

Thus far in its work-filled 2-year existence, the joint commission has probed deeply into the functioning of the corrections field. Scientifically conducted national surveys; private seminars in which corrections practitioners and educators have participated, and special consultant studies have produced a wealth of information never before available.

Now, as the joint commission staff is engaged in analysis of the data, the raw material of this original research is being given wide circulation in a series of publications entitled "Correctional Briefings." This series provides new insights into the magnitude of the corrections problem, revealing the extent of, and some of the reasons for, the critical shortage of workers in the field; exposing the inadequacies of present university and college programs in preparing those desiring to enter the field; reemphasizing the failure of traditional rehabilitation concepts and the resistance of many in the field to the use of new techniques which show promise of greater success.

In a first-of-its-kind public opinion survey, the joint commission uncovered the intensity of public concern and fear over crime and recidivism and the failure of the diverse elements of the corrections system to respond effectively to the challenge of lawlessness. During the joint commission's recent annual meeting here in Washington, D.C., a major portion of the 2-day program was devoted to review of these findings, and their implications for the future. In an effort to inform a broad cross-section of the American public, the joint commission has circulated a newsletter reporting on the highlights of that meeting. The first article in that newsletter, published in July 1968, provides an indication of the intensity of public feeling that something must be done to stop the revolving door of recidivism. Under unanimous consent I place this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as indicative of the important work the joint commission has undertaken.

The article follows:

HARRIS SAYS CORRECTIONS CAN BENEFIT FROM PUBLIC CONCERN OVER CRIME

A sensitive analysis of the implications of public attitudes toward crime and corrections and a preliminary report on the attitudes and perceptions of correctional workers were presented by a nationally recognized opinion researcher Louis Harris during the recent Joint Commission annual meeting.

Mr. Harris augmented his survey findings on public attitudes (conducted in November, 1967) by citing additional information gleaned in later surveys performed by his firm.

In March, 1968 he said, 39% of the public felt "something was deeply wrong in American society. But by June, this had risen to 66%, and 76% felt that our system of government is in deep trouble when candidates for office cannot campaign for fear of assassination."

After briefly reviewing the findings of his Joint Commission survey on public attitudes, in which he found the public to be critical of the law enforcement and corrections systems, but unwilling to pay higher taxes to make improvements in corrections programs or approve use of such new techniques as Halfway Houses, Mr. Harris declared:

"One must ask, are we prepared as a society to abridge violence or are we going to continue to be abhorred, shocked and dismayed—always claiming it is someone else who is the violent transgressor . . . It is obvious that crime and violence cannot be stamped out by law enforcement alone. The roots of crime lie in the community. Basically only the community can solve the crisis . . . through public resolve to attack the underlying causes of crime: poverty, discrimination, broken homes, and mental illness.

"The offender can be rehabilitated if the community will accept him and help him with severe problems of reintegration into open society," Mr. Harris said.

When the Harris firm did its study for the Joint Commission in November, 1967, he said, it was found that public apathy was the root cause for lack of positive action in the fields of law enforcement and improved corrections.

"Now the public is bitter, alarmed and fighting mad," he told the annual meeting. "Two political assassinations later, faced with rising crime, with 52% afraid to walk the streets at night, with raw nerve ends on the eve of another hot summer, one must ask: How much more, America, do we wait to galvanize our know-how into believing it can be done? Can we afford any longer for it to get worse before it gets better?

"My own view is that it is possible for American society to blow apart at the seams. The late 60's are the turning point. The privilege of an affluent society allows us untold options: including to survive or to perish . . . the time is now to connect pious wish with fulfilled act, knowledgeable understanding with the sure remedy," Mr. Harris declared.

Preliminary findings of the survey conducted during April-May, 1968, in which perceptions and attitudes of 1,870 correctional personnel were sampled, revealed that the majority agree with the public and rate the system of criminal justice as no better than "somewhat effective."

"It is a strange situation where the public has relatively good knowledge and correctional personnel want community involvement, but the link of succeessful reentry fails. The time to strike is now. The jaws of consent are wide open, both inside and without."

Real job satisfaction for those in the corrections field is in seeing positive results of their work, through successful rehabilitation of offenders. They realize that corrections generally has not been highly successful and believe that more community-oriented programs, more special treatment programs, better education and training of staff, and reduced caseloads would improve effectiveness.

DEPARTURE OF MARIO T. NOTO

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, his countless friends and admirers in Washington, in Government and out, have mingled feelings at the departure of Mario T.

Noto, the Associate Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to accept the post of executive director of the Airport Security Council in New York. We rejoice in the challenging assignment that has been given him, but we regret the loss of his splendid talents to the Government. From the day he entered on duty in July 1942 as a U.S. naturalization examiner until now, Commissioner Noto has been a public servant of the highest order. With the exception of 3 years' service with the Air Force in World War II, his whole career has been spent with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in increasingly responsible positions. Appointed Associate Commissioner for Operations in February 1962, he has been responsible for the operations and activities of approximately 4,500 employees who carry out the patrol, investigative, inspection, and adjudicative responsibilities of the Service. Since June 1963, the Commissioner has also served as consultant to the Secretary of State in matters relating to exchanges and cultural presentations and student exchanges with other foreign countries, with particular emphasis upon Italy.

Commissioner Noto has exercised his exacting duties with unflagging zeal, judgment, compassion, and integrity. He has been a most worthy representative of the United States in dealing with peoples from other nations, and he has reflected great credit upon our Nation.

I commend Commissioner Noto for his brilliant record and I wish him continued success and achievement in his private career.

LATIN AMERICA MAKES PROGRESS BUT U.S. CONGRESS MUST KEEP COMMITMENT TO ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Galo Plaza, Secretary General of the Organization of American States has made some very important observations about progress in five South American nations he has visited recently: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

In spite of the progress being made toward the goals of the Alliance for Progress, Secretary General Plaza sees signs of "a crisis of confidence among the Latin American nations about the willingness of the United States to honor its commitments under the Alliance for Progress."

We in the Congress must take seriously the observations of the Secretary General and do our best in the future to contribute to sound development and growth in our hemisphere.

I have unanimous consent to quote his remarks in full for the RECORD:

> On my recent trip I learned that there is an immense commitment in Latin America to the goals of the Alliance for Progress. The nations I visited are making heroic efforts to keep up the momentum of development, by investing about nine dollars for each dollar of economic assistance received from abroad—every South American dollar representing more human sweat and toil than the one received from the United States.
>
> As Secretary General, I am proud to cite this and some other examples of a deep commitment to the Alliance:
>
> Argentina is waging a successful struggle against inflation.
>
> Uruguay is making substantial long-term investments in its human resources, through educational, public health, and social welfare programs.
>
> Paraguay is intensifying its efforts to increase its food production through the utilization of modern and improved varieties of wheat and corn. With the assistance of the Inter-American Development Bank, Paraguay will soon put an impressive hydroelectrical complex at Acaray into operation.
>
> Brazil is advancing dramatically in the field of regional development planning. In the impoverished Northeast, an area twice the size of Texas with more than 25 million people, Brazil has adopted a timetable calling for the completion of a factory a day over the period of a year. Through thoroughgoing university reform, Brazil plans to quadruple the number of students receiving a higher education over the next three years, making it possible for one million students to receive advanced education.
>
> Chile is moving ahead on all development fronts at once, and making the needed structural changes in spite of inflation and the worst drought in a century. Drought losses over a 600-mile zone stretching north and south of Santiago have already cost the nation more than $100 million.
>
> In addition to these and other tangible signs of meeting national commitment, in every nation I found faith in the multinational approach—working together—toward a common market, the building of roads to span the continent, and shaping of political unity. The leaders and the peoples of these nations want a vigorous OAS, willing and able to support the great multilateral movements of our times.
>
> But in spite of this, I feel it my duty as Secretary General to report frankly certain danger signs. As I repeatedly said during my trip to South America, this OAS administration will attempt to reflect as accurately as possible the sentiments of the peoples and the leaders of the 22 nations now represented in the OAS in matters affecting their collective interest.
>
> First of all, there is a growing crisis of confidence among the Latin American nations about the willingness of the U.S. to honor its commitments under the Alliance for Progress. This crisis has been precipitated by recent actions of the U.S. Congress in reducing Alliance appropriations, and by the widespread Latin American fear that Congress does not seem favorably disposed toward a further extension of the level of commitments made by the U.S. in signing the original Charter of Punta del Este and the Declaration of Presidents.
>
> And may I say that any further decline in international aid, coupled with already diminishing earnings that the Latin American nations are realizing from their exports and heavy outlays by the world's great powers for armaments, which have the direct effect of diverting resources from the urgent business of development, could spell disaster.
>
> For there are signs that the peoples of Latin America, who have looked to the Alliance for salvation, are beginning to despair. Youth is growing restless and impatient at the growing gap between the have and have-not nations, in terms not only of income but also of scientific and technological advance.
>
> This is a time in which all of us must rally to the cause of the Alliance. The price of indifference may well be disaster.

WHITHER AMERICA

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, occasionally a statement is called to my attention that rings so clearly with the truth that I feel compelled to share it with my colleagues. Such a statement is the one given by Ernest L. Wilkinson, the distinguished president of Brigham Young University, before the Kiwanis Club in Salt Lake City.

Entitled "Whither America," Mr. Wilkinson points out:

> Democracy will have availed us little if in rescuing us from the despotism of kings, it hands us over to the tyranny of a majority who are willing to accept the shackles of a welfare state.

Because it is thought provoking and inspiring; because it says so many things that have long needed to be said, I include the text of Mr. Wilkinson's speech as a part of my remarks, as follows:

> WHITHER AMERICA
>
> (Address to Kiwanis Club in Salt Lake City, by Ernest L. Wilkinson, Feb. 1, 1968)
>
> I speak today on my own responsibility as a citizen of a country I love and want to survive, and not as President of Brigham Young University. I come before you with a message so serious that in view of the limitations of time, I am going to forget the usual warming-up stories and get right to my message. I realize it may not be popular, but that is often the case with truth. I propose to discuss with you the decline and, unless we abandon many of our present policies, the fall of the American Republic.
>
> If that statement seems abrupt or shocking to you, may I remind you that as Benjamin Franklin was emerging from the Convention which brought forth our Constitution, some women tugged at his coat and asked him what had been proposed for the American people. He replied: "A Republic, if you can keep it."
>
> Later on, the wise Franklin said that he thought the government they had given to the people would "likely . . . be well administered for a course of years, but that it can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government."
>
> A hundred years ago Lord Macaulay in writing to an American friend, predicted that in the mid-20th century (which is the period in which we are living) America would be plundered by vandals and Huns just as Ancient Rome was in the fifth century, A.D., but with this difference: in Rome's time the vandals and Huns came from without; in our time they would come from within. He probably had in mind the theory of Professor Alexander Frazer Tytles, "That a democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government. It can only exist until the voters discover they can vote themselves largesse out of the public treasury. From that moment on, the majority always vote for the candidate promising the most benefits from the treasury with the result that democracy always collapses over a loose fiscal policy, to be followed by a dictatorship." (Vital speeches of Ronald Reagan, September 1, 1965, p. 681 ff)
>
> The great French soldier-statesman, deTocqueville, who after visiting America about 130 years ago and studying what was then called our "Noble Experiment in Government," wrote that if the time ever came when the people were permitted to vote themselves

monies out of the public treasury, self-government by responsible men would become an impossibility (Democracy in America, Vol. I, p. 217. American Institutions and their Influences, p. 227). That time, gentlemen, is here, for our Supreme Court, by reversing over 150 of its prior decisions, now permits us, contrary to those decisions, and the intent of our Constitutional fathers, to appropriate money out of the public treasury for almost anything we want.

Some weeks ago I heard an address by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, distinguished Editor of the Tulsa Tribune, in which he said that "while Uncle Sam now stands tall, he will not stand forever. Nations, like their inhabitants, are mortal. Some day the tide of history will leave us on the beach."

Now, if you think these prophecies of Franklin, Macaulay, deTocqueville, Jones and others are too fatalistic, let me remind you that in the recorded history of our world we have had approximately 20 civilizations which have come and gone, and most of them have perished, not because of conquest from without but because of decay and demoralization from within, and that this decay and demoralization has consisted in the people substituting the false God of Government for individual effort and individual responsibility. In short, it occurred in each civilization when a large segment of the people came to believe that instead of relying on themselves for their living, they could live off the government.

Further, if you think what I say is too partisan and too critical of our National Administration, let me say that I was a Democrat a good part of my life and would still vote for some Democrats. In the words of a Southern editor, my justification for speaking forth boldly is that: "Things have come to a hell of a pass, if a man can't wallop his own Jackass."

I should add, however, that what I shall say is not directed solely against policies of the Democratic Party, for in the tempting quest for votes, rather than a search for what is right, the Republican Party has at times also contributed to our present critical crisis. I intend to predicate my remarks on principle rather than party. I will, therefore, quote largely from those who have been recognized leaders of the Democratic Party.

In the short time at my disposal I propose to outline:

1. The political and economic philosophy which created the American Republic and has made this nation the greatest in the world;
2. The political and economic philosophy which is changing it into a welfare state and which will, unless changed, cause its downfall; and
3. Reforms that are indispensable if we are to survive as a free people.

This country was founded on the cornerstone of individual liberty and personal responsibility. You cannot have one without the other. Realizing this, our Constitutional Fathers set up a government dedicated to the proposition that we as individuals are to provide for our own welfare and not be *dominated by or dependent on government.*

Their dislike of government domination was expressed by none other than George Washington, the father of our country, in these words: "Government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is a force. Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master."

James Madison, a Democrat, the main father of our Constitution, in explaining its safeguards against the loss of liberty, warned us of the peril of our own time in these words: "I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachment of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations."

Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and founder of the Democratic Party, advised us not only that the government governs best which governs least, but warned against the dangerous situation which haunts us today. He said: "I place economy among the first and most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. . . . To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. . . . We must make our choice between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude. . . . If we run into such debts . . . we must be taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and our comforts, in our labors and our amusements. . . . If we can prevent the government from wasting the labors of the people, under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy."

Grover Cleveland, another Democrat, when he was presented with a legislative bill providing for a very modest federal gift of a small packet of seeds to farmers, vetoed it on the ground that "though the people should support the government, the government should not support the people."

Woodrow Wilson, the last of our Constitutional Democratic Presidents, warned us that "the history of liberty is the history of limitations of governmental power, not the increases of it." Therefore, he never wanted to see the little red schoolhouse subordinated to the political thinking of Washington; nor did he, in his own language, "want a group of experts sitting behind closed doors in Washington, trying to pray Providence to the American people."

The same philosophy was expressed by Herbert Hoover when he said: "Freedom conceives that the mind and spirit of man can be free only if he be free to pattern his own life, to develop his own talents, free to earn, to spend, to save, to acquire property as the security of his old age and his family."

Even Franklin Delano Roosevelt, before he became President, recognized and applauded the limitations on our federal goverment that our Constitutional Fathers intended. As Governor of New York he publicly declared:

"The Constitution of the United States gives Congress no power to legislate in the matter of a great number of vital problems of government, such as the conduct of public utilities, of banks, of insurance, of business, of agriculture, of education, of social welfare, and of a dozen other important features. Washington must never be permitted to interfere in these avenues of our affairs."

And more recently, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in somewhat the same language of George Washington, concluded: "Every step we take toward making the State the caretaker of our lives, by that much we move toward making the State our master."

Finally, as late as 1950, a Senator from Massachusetts by the name of John F. Kennedy (Boston Post, April 23, 1950) expressed the American ideal in these words:

"The scarlet thread running through the thoughts and actions of people all over the world is the delegation of great problems to the all-absorbing leviathan—the state . . . Every time that we try to lift a problem to the government, to the same extent we are sacrificing the liberties of people."

The same philosophy was expressed by President Kennedy in his inaugural address when he said: "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can for your country."

Until the advent of the New Deal in 1932, this political philosophy of freedom from government was uniformly followed by all presidents, regardless of party. The one great exception was the enactment of the graduated income tax law in 1913, which is the most significant legislation of this century. It came into being only by virtue of a Constitutional amendment, the Supreme Court having held that such a concept was unconstitutional. And even then, a review of the debates in Congress shows, that the proponents of the income tax law were laboring under the honest delusion that in peace time the tax would not exceed 2 percent, but in times of war it might "soar" to 5 percent. Instead, it has now pyramided to extremes beyond the wildest dreams ever envisioned by Karl Marx in his Communist Manifesto, having pyramided until the recent tax cut to 91 percent for the federal income tax alone, and still stands at 70 percent. While the income amendment did not in itself change the function and scope of our government, it nevertheless gave Congress such a new, vast and dangerous taxing power, that Congress now finances programs which have changed the original scope and purpose of our government.

With his New Deal program, President Roosevelt, for instance, and despite his pre-election promise that he would never permit Washington to interfere in certain "avenues of our affairs," had the government invade every one of them; namely, public utilities, banks, business, agriculture, education, social welfare as well as many others.

And, immediately after President Kennedy's inaugural address in which he urged that we not ask what the country can do for us, he proposed a long list of governmental programs all designed, not to see what we can do for our government, but what our government can do for us.

I have time to enumerate only a few of them; such as a massive and expensive program of federal aid to education, to so-called "depressed areas," medicare through Social Security, a broad, new federal housing program; a new cabinet post for federal urban housing; a vigorous policy of government intervention and unconcealed bias in labor-management disputes, public power in preference to private power, which pays the taxes; a fantastically irresponsible agricultural program providing government control over the farmer, while still offering him the juicy bribe of price supports, and dozens of other so-called welfare plans.

While President Kennedy was unsuccessful in persuading Congress to pass most of these socialistic measures, his successor, President Johnson, has prevailed upon Congress to pass practically all of them, together with others, so that today we have joined most other socialistic governments and have largely turned our backs on the Republic of our fathers which was founded upon personal liberty and individual responsibility.

If you think I am too harsh in characterizing our government as a socialistic or welfare state, let me quote from the President's own words in 1964, stating what he intended to do if elected President, I quote him word for word:

"We are going to take all the money we think is unnecessarily being spent, and take it from the 'haves' and give it to the 'have nots'." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 110, pt. 2, p. 2311, White House Speech of Jan. 15, 1964.)

Let me contrast this philosophy with the immortal words of Abraham Lincoln who said:

"Any society that takes away from those most capable and gives to those least capable will perish."

These two statements bring into sharp contrast the self-reliant political philosophy that made us a great nation and which caused us to be revered throughout the world, and the welfare state which is fast destroying our Republican form of government (a government in which even the majority were restricted by Constitutional limitations). Oh, I know that politicians of both parties in Washington continually foam at the mouth in favor of free enterprise, but at the same time they continuously vote for Santa Claus.

In the words of Dean Inge: "History seems to show that the powers of evil have won their greatest triumphs by capturing the organizations which were formed to defeat them, and that when the devil has thus *changed the contents of the bottles, he never* *alters the labels. The fort may have been captured by the enemy, but it still flies the flag of its defender.*" (As quoted by Admiral Ben Moreel, November 22, 1963. Found in Prophets, Principles, and National Survival, Jerreld L. Newquist, p. 339.)

The new cancer of thinking that the government exists to guarantee our economic welfare has developed the tendency of nearly all segments of our economy to run to the government for help every time they are in need. In the words of Admiral Ben Moreel:

"Each person denounces special privilege and government largesse—when the other fellow gets it. But when his own interests are involved, he rationalizes his project as being for the general welfare.

"Businessmen look for government subsidies or loans when we cannot obtain funds from private sources. The farmer demands a guaranteed income, subsidized electricity, irrigation, and tools. The doctor is opposed to these socialistic measures and to socialized medicine, but wants subsidized training, research, and laboratories."

And, since some of the doctors are now getting fat on medicare they now no longer oppose it. Union officials want nearly every large company prosecuted for violation of anti-trust laws but want their unions to have complete immunity from the same laws.

"The educator points out the deplorable lowering of moral standards which results when a person is deprived of the responsibility for his own welfare—and then asks for free tuition for his students and large grants to his university." (Admiral Ben Moreel.)

I submit that if the hippies, beatniks, sophisticated intellectuals having no moral criteria and other irresponsible malcontents had to pay for their education instead of it being paid for by you and me, there wouldn't be as many sit-ins, lie-downs, sleep-ins, dropouts, flunk-outs, student riots, and university revolutions as there are today.

Again, in the words of Admiral Ben Moreel:

"If we were to take a man's belongings by stealth or violence, it would be theft—an immoral act for which the law would punish us. But by some strange mental process we have rationalized a code of ethics which provides that if we vote away a portion of another man's property and use it for the special benefit of ourselves or others, we have merely to call it 'promoting the general welfare' in order to remove all taint of dishonesty . . . The Welfare State is just this kind of thing written large, and yet there are some who would excuse the immorality of these political redistributions of property on the ground that they are legal!"

What has happened to our country as a result of this complete change of political philosophy? My limited time will permit me to mention only a few of the changes.

Let me start with the *growth in the number of governmental employees.*

1. You will recall that one of the complaints of those who wrote the Declaration of Independence was that His Majesty's Government had: "sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and to eat out their substance." May I now suggest that King George was a "piker" compared with the number of government employees we have today.

In the first half of this century federal employment increased ten times while the population only doubled. There are some, however, who claim that in terms of recent growth in population, or the gross national product, the percentage of growth in the number of employees has ended. This is simply not the fact. Although between 1955 and 1965 *employment* in the Defense Department did decline by 13 percent, employment in the rest of the executive establishment *jumped* 31 percent. Since then it has been increasing faster than ever.

And, when we classify federal, state and local employees together we arrive at the alarming fact that total governmental employment *jumped 46 percent over the past ten years while U.S. population grew only 18 percent, and private employment 16 percent.* In other words, governmental employment grew three times faster than population growth. In 1955 there was one person on the public payroll for every 8.1 in private employment; by 1965 the ratio was down to one to 6.2 and still falling. Over 40 million Americans now get checks directly or indirectly from our Federal Government.

2. Let me go next to the *spending record of our government.* One of the great authorities in this country on governmental expenditures is Dr. Roger Freeman of the Hoover Institute for War, Revolution and Peace.

He points out that whereas it required 160 years—from 1789 to 1949—for federal expenditures for *civilian purposes* to reach a level of $10 billion, it took only another seventeen years, to fiscal 1966, to lift them from $10 billion to over $54 billion. On a per capita, constant dollar basis, governmental spending (federal, state, local) for domestic purposes, grew at three times the rate of personal consumption between 1954 and 1964.

And, if you analyze the President's budget proposal to the present Congress for 1968, you will find that governmental expenditures for other than national defense and the war in Vietnam, now exceeds $100 billion dollars.

3. Let me go next to the *cost of government,* which is one of the most alarming events in our present culture. When President Roosevelt came into power the budget of our country was only $5 billion. On the basis of the President's budget it is now $186 billion. This represents an increase of over 100 percent per year on the 1932 base since Roosevelt was elected President.

Dr. Colin Clark, a celebrated Australian economist, has pointed out that socialism is inevitable in any country which, over a substantial period of time, takes 25 percent or more of the national income.

Well, at the present time our total governmental expenditures (federal, state and local) are in excess of 40 percent of the national income. And let me point out that this comparison is in the first place a socialistic concept for its assumes the government can take everything you have; unfortunately, in a welfare state it can.

4. This leads me to a discussion of our *public debt.* Since President Roosevelt came to power (and he ran on a platform which promised to reduce our national debt) our national debt has increased from $16 billion to an admitted $350 billion. This is the amount presently owed by the United States to creditors. If to this be added accrued liabilities payable in the future for services already rendered or goods already delivered, our real indebtedness exceeds $1 trillion. I repeat—$1 trillion. I give this on the authority of Honorable Maurice Stans, Director of the Budget in the Eisenhower Administration, and Honorable Otto E. Passman, a Democrat, who is Chairman of the House Sub-Committee in charge of Foreign Appropriations. This represents a terrible and tragic average indebtedness of over $5,000 for every man, woman and child in the United States. We now pay more interest on our national debt each year than it took to completely run our government in 1932. Should we now get into a global war, with this debt already in existence, it is not at all unlikely that national bankruptcy would be inevitable.

5. Now let's look at our *public welfare programs.* Some years ago the Federal Congress and the State Legislatures were promised that if we had an increased number of social workers we could "get people off the welfare rolls." So we appropriated huge sums for additional staff. But since then, although the number of all families with a cash income under $3,000 (in constant 1964 dollars) fell from 27 percent to 18 percent, the number of children on the Aid to Families with Dependent Children rolls doubled. The sad story is that every time we have instituted new welfare programs (and we now have hundreds of them), the number on public relief has shockingly increased so that today, in an era of so-called unprecedented prosperity, we have 7,800,000 people on public relief—more than the entire population of Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma.

Every increase in welfare has been accompanied by an increase in discontent. Even those who are the beneficiaries generally have a complete contempt for the Great Society, as witness the fact that over 100 American cities have been the scenes of riots and revolutions.

In 1965, Cecil Moore, a Negro lawyer and head of the NAACP in Philadelphia, wrote for the Reader's Digest:

"Go down into the area of my city where most of the relief people live. Hardly anyone there has any pride in himself. That's what public assistance has done for them. To me, relief is a self-perpetuating degradation, the worst thing that could have happened to my race." (Why the Dole Doesn't Work, *Reader's Digest,* March, 1965, p. 83)

Disrespect for our social institutions is even expressed by an abuse of dress, drugs and drivel, as in the case of the "hippy." I assume you have all heard Governor Reagan's definition of this modern example of our affluent welfare state—the hippy. He says it is a person who has "hair like *Tarzan;* walks like *Jane,* and smells like *Cheeta.*" He carries a sign, "Make love, not war" and appears to be incapable of either.

To repeat a comparison made by Paul Harvey—back in the twenties or thirties the Big Rock Candy Mountain was a hobo's dream of paradise, which promised:

"Free lunches, free handouts in bunches,
And milk and honey,
Where a bum can stay for many a day
And he won't need any money."

Did you ever hear that? I hear it every time I listen to the President give an address on the State of the Union. The only difference is the price tag for the taxpayer is much higher now and the recipient gets not only milk and honey, but cigarettes, medicare, social security, television and the "pill." Upton Sinclair with his $30 a week and his compatriots Dr. Townsend and George McLain were pikers compared to what the government now does.

6. Let's look at our *Agricultural Policies.* "At the rate we are going," says Freeman, "the U.S. government will, within a few years, have poured the astronomical sum of $100 billion into farm price supports. But we are farther from a solution than ever and in spite of all attempts at control, had another record farm crop last year. Suggestions by the country's largest farm organization that government prepare to get out of the program and ease into a free market are being cold shouldered."

7. Let me go next to Social Security. According to Dr. Freeman, "When the Social Security Act was proposed, thirty years ago, Congress and the public were told that old age and survivors and unemployment insurance would slowly but surely diminish the need for the dole (whose ill effects President Roosevelt decried), and it would reduce crime and juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy, family break-up and numerous other social ills. Coverage and benefits were later expanded several times, disability insurance was added, but public assistance rolls kept growing at a rapid rate through periods of rising income—as did the rates of crime, juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy, desertion and the other evils which the welfare programs were supposed to cure or at least improve."

8. The *Urban Renewal Program* is another example of our welfare state. In a speech on

May 27, 1962, New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner, one of the leading liberals and proponents of Federal spending, made this public confession:

"Once upon a time, we thought that if we could just bulldoze the slums and build shiny new public housing for low-income people, all social problems involving these people would virtually disappear. This has turned out to be not so.

"Once we thought that if we built enough playground and other recreational facilities, juvenile delinquency would disappear. This turned out to be not so.

"Once we thought that having discovered a magic bullet to kill the micro-organisms that cause venereal disease, we had conquered venereal disease. That turned out to be not so.

"In these and many other instances, we solved one problem and uncovered two others."

In commenting on this Roger Freeman says, "Too often, well-intentioned governmental action did not just uncover two new problems for one old one. It *created* them."

9. Let us now notice the *slum clearance program*. According to Dr. Freeman, "In its 13 years it destroyed more than four times as many dwellings as it constructed. Moreover, nine out of every ten of the new apartments were beyond the reach of the poverty families whose housing had been torn down. Civil rights groups now call it the "Negro Removal Program." It is clear "it should be abolished because the promises held out for it proved to be a mirage, and the job could more effectively be done by private action."

10. Now let's look at the *anti-poverty programs*. The elimination of poverty is a noble but certainly not a new idea. Our forefathers struggled with it from the beginning and many of us have carried on the battle. But, in the words of Roger Freeman: " . . . the theory that underlies the present federal programs is that poverty is a deficiency which is bound to perpetuate itself through generations unless eradicated by governmental action of the type now being initiated. If that hypothesis were true, most of America's 200 million residents would still be poor, ignorant and unemployed, as their ancestors were when they landed on these shores. The American record suggests that the condition of poverty is not so much a cause but a result, and that it can best be remedied—in cases where it can be remedied—by the individual."

In Detroit over $200 million was spent on the anti-poverty program. The recipients expressed their gratitude by destroying property worth from $200 million to $500 million.

I merely remind you that the Master in his majestic wisdom informed us that the poor will always be with us. I do not believe that our political leaders have the superior wisdom to create a society which the Savior of the world himself said could not be created. Of course, we want to eliminate as much of poverty as we can but the solution is that of individual effort, not governmental "handouts." In the words of a modern slogan: "I fight poverty—I work!"

CAUSE OF FAILURE OF GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS

Now, why is it that these huge governmental spending programs are not successful? The reason is so simple that it generally escapes our notice. The reason, in the words of Roger Freeman, is that:

"There is no limit to human wants or desires."

But in a private economy we can only have what we pay for; in a governmental economy, on the other hand, we live under the delusion that public services and goods "come 'for free' with the cost borne by somebody else or by that distant abstraction, 'the government'. And as long as services or goods can be had gratis or below cost, demand will always exceed supply," and the government will never be able to keep up with the demand.

The sad part also is that these huge spending programs can seldom be remedied or terminated.

"A faulty governmental program that does not involve the spending of huge amounts *is* remediable.

"We repeal the law, as we did in the case of prohibition. But when a program involves the expenditures of large sums of money, and we get an army on the public payroll, it is extremely difficult to repeal it. According to their advocates, there is nothing ever wrong with a public program that could not be corrected by doubling appropriations and staff, extending its coverage and boosting salaries." (Roger Freeman)

According to Jenkins Lloyd Jones, it is the theory of the liberals—

"That the cure for crime is better schools.

"And more public housing.

"And a more equitable racial mix to be achieved by integrating neighborhoods and crosshauling children.

"And giant infusions of federal money into so-called depressed areas.

"And persuading the drop-outs to stay in.

"And hiring only those cops who will promise to behave like benevolent big brothers.

"And more relief and more social workers and more youth clubs.

"Oh, yes, and because a number of dope addicts have robbed in order to find money to support their habit, it has been seriously suggested that the government supply the drugs free so that its users may float around the streets in narcotic euphoria, paid for by the squares who work."

Editor Jones then points out that in the past five years the population of the United States has risen eight percent; that during the same time despite all our welfare programs "the incidence of major crime in America has gone up 40 percent," or 5 times the increase in population. The number of serious offenses committed against American citizens last year was around 2¾ million. Last year you had one chance in 70 of being murdered, maimed or robbed; whereas you had only one chance in 100 of dying from all causes, including accidents.

It has now been reported that bank robberies for the first 9 months of last year increased 40 percent over the year before—in one year.

After giving these comparisons, Editor Jones raised these questions: "Now if poverty is the root of crime, how does it happen that crime has increased most rapidly in a period in which the general per capita income has increased more rapidly?" (I suggest that crime, and especially juvenile delinquency, seem to flourish more in our so-called affluent society where our youngsters are not permitted to work, than it did in days of so-called poverty where they, as most of us here, had to work.)

"If ignorance is the root of crime, why does the crime rate rise at a time when there has never been so much free schooling and trade training offered and when the national index of illiteracy is at its all-time low?

"If lack of social services and relief are responsible, how does it happen that crime is most out-of-hand in those cities filled with recent migrants from rural areas who were attracted to those cities for the plain reason that work was no longer necessary and relief was available to all?"

Editor Jones concludes that: "There are deeper reasons for this national malaise than can be cured by the simple outpouring of more public funds. And it is time that people of good will and intelligence recognized that, unless the rewards for gross irresponsibility can be diminished and unless the wages of sin can be cut, the overwhelming majority of law-abiding Americans of all races are going to be increasingly victimized by the unprincipled and vicious minority." (Taken from an article by Jenkin Lloyd Jones appearing in Deseret News of August 10, 1957.)

I submit that it is time the Supreme Court began to give the same consideration to the victims as it does to the vicious.

Now I don't say that all social legislation has been bad, but I do say that in attempting to improve society by substituting the false God of Government for the supreme power of individual effort we have substituted the welfare state for our individual responsibility and God-given freedom, and that this is the path that has meant the end of about twenty civilizations in the past.

Well, then, what is the remedy? To me the answer is obvious. As I see it, it is merely that of moral and political repentance, and the assumption of individual responsibility. And that has to be done by you and me—and by others in every hamlet of this country, and by both political parties.

As to political repentance, I summon as my witnesses the first and the last great leaders of the Democratic Party, Thomas Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson. Others since Wilson's days have claimed to be Democrats, but Wilson was the last to follow the philosophy of our Constitutional Fathers. And even in his time the seeds of socialism were germinating.

Thomas Jefferson gave us the great political concept that a nation governs best which governs least. Oh—how far we have abandoned that philosophy today. And the party which he founded, but which has apostatized from his faith, makes a mockery of his name by having Jefferson Day Dinners.

Woodrow Wilson, in addition to pointing out that the history of liberty is "the history of limitations of governmental power, not the increases of it" also observed that the things that had made America great were not the things which it did under compulsion of law, but of its own volition.

He further stated: "When we resist the concentration of power, we are resisting the powers of death because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberties."

The great Frenchman, Alexis deTocqueville, who came to America in the 1830's to study what was then described as a "noble experiment" in government, summarized his findings as to the existing and the future status of America in the following words:

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her commodious harbors and her ample rivers, and it was not there; in her fertile fields and boundless prairies, and it was not there; in her rich mines and her vast world commerce, and it was not there. Not until I went to the churches of America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the secret of her genius and power. *America is great because she is good*, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

My prayer at this time for you and all of America (and I do not have time to properly brief it) is that through a return to faith in God, restored confidence in the supreme *worth of individual effort*, and a greater devotion to our Constitution, America may continue to offer the same blessings of liberty and opportunity to our posterity as it gave to our immigrant forefathers, and to ourselves. Democracy will have availed us little if in rescuing us from the despotism of kings it hands us over to the tyranny of a majority who are willing to accept the shackles of a welfare state.

POST-VIETNAM BUDGET

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, one of the most pressing demands facing our Nation is that of stretching our resources to meet our needs, both at home and abroad. It is also vitally important that we give careful consideration to the financing of national priorities at the end of the Vietnam war, and especially to the question of whether the transition to a peace budget will make more money available for domestic programs.

In a provocative article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, Richard L. Strout previews the post-Vietnam budget and describes two predominant schools of thought on its composition—one hopeful that defense spending will be cut back and domestic spending increased, and one foreseeing no sizable reduction in defense expenditures. Among those who fear that the military-industrial complex will claim all the cash benefits from peace in Vietnam is my friend and colleague, the Honorable HENRY S. REUSS. Mr. REUSS is a bold and imaginative thinker whose solution to the problem of reordering our national priorities when the Vietnam war ends is brought out in the article. I should like to bring this article to the attention of my colleagues, and I place it in the RECORD at this time:

POST-VIETNAM BUDGET WEIGHED

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—There are two views of financing national priorities if and when the Vietnam war ends.

Put in budget terms, one of them goes like this:

	Billions
Saved by Vietnam peace, yearly	$23
Automatic increase, U.S. revenue, yearly	12
Total extra for urgent domestic needs	35

The foregoing looks fine on paper.

Every year the expanding United States economy just naturally puts $12 billion more into the Treasury, the hopeful argue, if present taxes are unchanged.

Furthermore, American military expenditures have risen from $50 billion annually in 1965 to $83 billion today. Surely, the hopeful here say, these Pentagon costs could be cut back to $60 billion if the $30 billion-a-year Vietnam cost is eliminated and even if some new weapons were required.

If accurate these figures mean a fine, big bankroll for financing vitally needed domestic programs.

SAVINGS RIDICULED

Not so! says another Washington school.

The second viewpoint is far less cheerful. Pentagon costs are going to increase greatly over the next few years, they argue. Half the United States budget goes to defense costs now and the proportion is likely to continue, war or no war.

Furthermore, the new 10 percent surtax is temporary, they point out. Take that away and the Treasury will splash into red ink again.

Here's the situation as the second school sees it:

	Billions
New Pentagon costs (funded over years):	
Antiballistic-missile system	$40
Air Force: new strategic bomber	8
F-12 interceptor (2,200 m.p.h.)	6
New Pentagon costs alone	54
Lost by ending 10 percent surtax	10

The spokesmen for the second school don't try to put these figures into an exact annual budget. But what they say in effect is: "Savings from ending the Vietnam war? Ha! There aren't going to be any savings!"

Now come Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D) of Wisconsin of the Joint Economic Committee, and Dr. Arthur F. Burns, chairman of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, 1953–1956, who declare in so many words that what General Eisenhower called "the military-industrial complex" must be curbed.

Both authorities anticipate that cash benefits from peace in Vietnam will be less than expected, and that something must be done lest the Pentagon take it all. Mr. Reuss wants present tax loopholes stopped, for one thing.

A speech by Undersecretary of the Treasury Joseph W. Barr, made in Los Angeles June 25, gives a bleak prospect:

"If the Defense Department is to maintain its current mission in the world—a mission that is defined by our diplomatic objectives—I would seriously doubt that any sizable reductions can be made in the defense budget in the foreseeable future."

Social reformers, Negro leaders, urbanologists have all assumed that when spending stopped for Vietnam more money would be available for desperate needs at home.

But Dr. Burns recently declared:

"The scale of defense expenditures has, to a significant degree, become a self-enforcing process. . . .

"With a large part of our economy devoted to defense activities, the military-industrial complex has acquired a constituency including factory workers, clerks, secretaries, even grocers and barbers. . . .

"The vested interest that numerous communities have acquired . . . may therefore continue to run up costs on top of the rising budgets generated by the momentum of competing military technologies."

In a House speech, Mr. Reuss warns that the military "are out to claim" all the savings from ending the war. His solution: don't "surrender" to the military-industrial complex, and plug tax loopholes.

Here is the Reuss budget:

Hold Pentagon spending to $60 billion a year, saving $23 billion from the war budget.

Add the $12 billion "fiscal dividend" (from annual automatically increased federal tax revenue).

Plug tax loopholes (oil depletion allowance, capital gains device, and municipal bond exemptions) saving $7 billion.

Total—$42 billion.

The federal red ink budget could be absorbed with this sum, says Mr. Reuss, and urgent domestic priorities met. "Somebody will have to stand up to the military spenders and the tax avoiders," he says.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, some 10,000 residents of the 6th District of Wisconsin have replied to my annual survey on some of the vital problems of our time.

The questionnaire was mailed on a postal patron basis and dealt with Vietnam, taxes, budget deficits, Federal spending, priority use of our fiscal resources, the war on poverty, agriculture subsidies, and the balance of payments.

There was no single majority answer on a course of action in Vietnam. Thirty-seven percent said take whatever action is necessary to achieve a decisive military victory, and an equal percent said keep up our present military effort in order to bring about a negotiated settlement. Twenty-four percent favored withdrawal, and 66 percent favored negotiating with all combatants including the Vietcong.

Fifty-eight percent favored a tax increase in order to reduce the budget deficit if the President and Congress agreed to cut Federal spending by the same amount the tax would raise.

Top priorities were assigned to job training, air and water pollution, and aid to education.

The complete results of the questionnaire survey follow:

1. Which course of action do you favor in Vietnam?

a. Withdrawal, 24%.

b. Take whatever military actions is necessary to achieve decisive military victory, 37%.

c. Keep up our present military effort in order to bring about a negotiated settlement, 37%.

d. Concentrate on defending major population centers (Enclave concepts), 1%.

(1% did not answer.)

[In percent]

2. Do you favor negotiating with all combatants in vietnam, including the Viet Cong?

Yes	66
No	29
Did not answer	5

3. Would you favor a tax increase in order to reduce the budget deficit if the President and Congress agreed to cut federal spending by the same amount the tax would raise?

Yes	58
No	36
Did not answer	6

4. Assuming limited government resources require establishing priorities for federal government spending, how would you rate the following programs in order of their importance for the nation? (Rate priority by number.)

Fourth: Anti-poverty programs.
First: Aid to education.
Eighth: Foreign aid.
Ninth: Supersonic transport.
First: Water and air pollution.
Seventh: Space exploration.
Sixth: Public works.
First: Job training.
Fifth: Highway construction.
Other.

(NOTE.—Aid to education, water and air pollution, and job training were tied as the highest priority programs. There were a variety of programs suggested under "other.")

[In percent]

5. Do you think the war on poverty has been successful in helping the disadvantaged?

Yes	16
No	76
Did not answer	8

6. Would you favor limiting agriculture subsidy payments to a maximum of $10,000 per farm?

Yes	74
No	14
Did not answer	12

7. Which of the following proposals for improving our balance of payments do you favor?

Fifth: Tax foreign travel.
Sixth: Raise income taxes.
Fourth: Limit capital investment abroad.
First: Reduce federal spending.
First: Reduce foreign aid.
Third: Reduce U.S. troop commitment in Europe.

(NOTE.—Reduce federal spending and Reduce foreign aid tied as first choices.)

FEDERAL LAND ACQUISITION POLICY REFORM

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a package of bills designed to revise and reform the policies and practices followed in acquiring real property for Federal and federally assisted projects.

The need for reform of the present policies has been made abundantly clear by my work with residents of Colorado whose property is being acquired under the doctrine of eminent domain. Though the enactment of this legislation will not help people who have litigation pending, it will help, in the future, thousands of people across the country similarly faced with the difficulties of the present antiquated policies. Under these policies people indicate they cannot replace their property with the dollars they are offered by the Government. They are caught in the middle having to sell on terms prescribed by the Government, and having to buy on terms prescribed by the free market.

The provisions of my first bill—the primary part of this three-part proposed legislation—would assure fair compensation to owners and tenants of property acquired for public programs for their property and for other losses and necessary expenses incurred. Congress would establish a uniform policy to guide the land acquisition practices of all Federal agencies in order to assure consistent and equitable treatment. Every reasonable effort would be made to acquire real property by friendly negotiated purchase to insure bargain and barter. Congress would provide a definition of "market value standard" to serve as a basis for government acquisition of land that assures compensation shall be the highest price which the property could reasonably be expected to bring if exposed for sale in the open market for a reasonable time, unaffected by the project.

My second bill would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide for more equitable treatment of persons affected by capital gains caused by involuntary sales of real property through eminent domain to the Federal Government or for federally assisted programs. The bill provides that an owner of property taken for public use may defer any recognition of gain on the transfer if he reinvested the compensation received for the property in, first, any interest in real property; second, any property used in trade or business; and, third, any property to be held by the taxpayer for investment.

The third and final bill of this package is an amendment to the Small Business Act to provide assistance for owners and employees of small business concerns displaced or injured by Federal or federally assisted programs. This assistance would take the form of loans, information, and other aid.

Much of the legislation which I am proposing is based on a 3-year study by the staff of a select subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee. This intensive study was completed at the end of 1964 and its basic recommendations have not been implemented. But the growing number of Federal and federally assisted programs requiring the acquisition of real property under the present problematic policies presents a growing emergency situation that can no longer be ignored.

GRATITUDE TO THE SBA

HON. JOHN YOUNG

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, although the well-known proverb, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," may apply to many of our domestic problems, no amount of precaution can prevent the damage inflicted by natural disaster. Floods, hurricanes, and earthquakes victimize many Americans annually, leaving most of them without adequate capital to reestablish their damaged homes and businesses. For this reason, the Small Business Administration's disaster loan program was created.

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Burnett, of Dinero, Tex., suffered extensive damage to her home as a result of Hurricane Beulah. SBA came to her rescue with a loan, which allowed her to move her home to higher ground. In a letter to SBA, she expressed her gratitude with these words:

> I do appreciate the help from your organization. I don't know what I would have done without it. All the gentlemen I worked with in securing the loan were so nice and so helpful and I do want you all to know how grateful I am.
>
> If ever any of you are in this neighborhood I do wish you would stop and see me and have a cup of coffee at least. It is so delightful here and now that my house has been moved up so high I'm sure I'll never be in flood waters again. It really is pretty awful.

Mrs. Burnett was not the only victim of Hurricane Beulah to benefit from SBA's disaster loan program. Immediately after the storm, which hit a large region of southern Texas in mid-September 1967, SBA came to the aid of many of my constituents, rendered helpless by the storm.

Through July 24, 1968, SBA made 7,718 loans to Texan homeowners for a total of $14,862,100. Owners of businesses who suffered losses from the storm received 1,346 loans for a total of $18,162,611. Mrs. Burnett's letter was only one of many written by my fellow Texans to thank SBA for its helping hand.

SBA charges a disaster victim only 3 percent interest on its share of a disaster loan. Funds at such a low cost enabled residents of my district, as well as many individuals throughout the Nation annually, to repair and replace damaged property and get back on their feet as quickly as possible.

Since Congress authorized the creation of SBA in 1953, the agency has offered loans to the private sector of the urban economy, suffering losses from natural disaster, for physical rehabilitation. In addition it can make economic injury loans to small businesses when there has been a major disaster declaration by the President or a natural disaster declaration by the Secretary of Agriculture. Economic injury loans may be used to provide working capital and pay financial obligations—except bank loans—that the borrower would have been able to meet if not for the disaster. The interest rate on SBA funds here is 3 percent.

The disaster loan program is only one of SBA's many programs which carry out the intentions of Congress, as stated in the Small Business Act of 1953, as amended:

> It is the declared policy of the Congress that the Government should aid, counsel, assist, and protect, insofar as is possible, the interests of small business concerns in order to preserve free competitive enterprise.

During the first 11 months of fiscal year 1968, SBA participated in a total of 13,649 disaster loans. SBA's share of these loans totaled $107.8 million. Like all of SBA's financial assistance and management programs, disaster loans guarantee the health of our small business community. SBA helps the little man to recover from the damages of disaster in order that he may continue to contribute productively to our expanding economy.

REESTABLISH PRIORITIES

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very thoughtful, in depth commentary on the future of the foreign aid program appeared in the Saturday, July 27 South Suburban News, a Negro-oriented weekly serving the Chicago area.

Since we must still process the conference report for aid authorization, the thoughtful comments in this editorial merit review:

> REESTABLISH PRIORITIES
>
> The House approved a sharply reduced foreign aid bill sent down by the administration. The final figure agreed upon by the House was $1,993,925,000. This represents nearly a one billion dollar cut from what the administration had requested. More funds could be cut from the program when a separate bill comes out of the House Appropriations sub-committee.
>
> We are pleased to see that the House has taken it upon themselves to insure the public that the administration keeps its promise to cut back in expenditures. The public has been hit with a 10% surcharge and now it appears a cutback in mail services. It is about time that the administration cut back in some of its unnecessary spending abroad.
>
> Certain foreign aid programs have been beneficial to our image abroad. However, to a great extent we have sent funds to many countries and have received nothing but abuse in return. At times there is no doubt that this abuse was warranted.
>
> What this administration and any future administration must realize is that if we are to continue to send aid abroad we must do so intelligently and not aimlessly. Although we supposedly send aid for humanitarian

reasons it boils down to the establishment of markets and in effect colonies in certain regions. The result has been the growth of the United States as an Imperialist nation.

The corruption which is involved in the distribution of our aid products when they arrive in the Middle East, Latin America, and Southeast Asia has caused the people of these areas who need the aid but are not getting it or have to pay more for it, to resent us rather than to be grateful. We can hardly blame them. In addition, through our aid program we are attempting to force the American way of life upon other people. People who are in another world culturally, economically and whose ancestral history and attitudes are diametrically opposed to ours.

The time has come when we must establish our priorities and guidelines for domestic and foreign spending. First of all we must recognize the fact that as Karl Marx once observed, that the destruction of the American system will come about from within not from outside. This fact seems more evident now than perhaps at any time since the Civil War. Because of this we must recognize that we have just so much money on hand. The problem at the top of the totem pole is the establishment of good education, housing and jobs for all the deprived people in this country be he white, black, red or yellow. In turn the ability of people to walk the streets of their communities free from the fear of attack or being shot by a sniper will come about. This factor would in turn become our best propaganda tool. The fact that people in the United States are truly safe and happy.

Once this monumental task has been undertaken and thrust along towards success, then, we can turn our attention to the International picture. In establishing priorities on the International level we must do so with the thought in mind of enabling countries to become self sufficient. We must not force our will upon these countries for in doing so we could in effect win the battle for a short period of time but in turn lose the country's support in the future. Our past policy of, do as we say or we will cut off aid, has proven disastrous. In addition we should not foment trouble in a given area by supplying arms to both sides in a struggle. The real issue calls for intelligent leadership in the White House and in the State Department (also known as Foggy Bottom). We must formulate intelligent policies that are workable and can be made subject to change, rather than stumbling over our every move every time the situation becomes muddled.

SAFETY IN THE AIR

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, all of us in this House are deeply concerned about the problems of airport congestion. I think the Committee on Government Operations should be congratulated on the leadership and initiative it has taken in resolving this very significant problem. In connection with the hearings, I would like to bring to the attention of the House my own statement and proposals for resolving these issues at the public hearing of the Subcommittee on Government Activities.

The text of my statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, the sudden concern over the crisis at our airports is a serious indictment of the Federal Aviation Administration, the airlines, and the airports for their negligent disregard over the years for passenger safety and comfort. They have been criminally negligent not only by permitting hazardous flying conditions to worsen, but have compounded the evil by covering up conditions which were known to the airline executives, the airport managers, pilots, flight controllers, and to everyone else experienced with the industry. Now that the facts are in the open, this conspiracy of silence will set back the industry for many years to come.

Yet the problems before us are by no means insolvable. The following steps should be taken immediately:

(1) General aviation aircraft should be barred from major airports during peak traffic conditions, to give top priority to the commercial airlines. At both LaGuardia and Newark Airports more than 50 percent of the flights at peak hours involved general aviation flights as distinguished from commercial planes.

(2) An immediate crash program should be taken to train air flight controllers. The employment of air flight controllers for as long as 65 hours a week is an affront to common sense and decency. Sudden death will remain an unlogged passenger on every flight, so long as air controllers are compelled to work beyond the point when fatigue overcomes vigilance.

(3) Salary schedules for air flight controllers should be promptly adjusted to conform to their training and skills. In addition, these schedules should be so revised to put an end to the present nonsense where hourly pay is reduced the longer they work.

(4) Modern flight control equipment should be installed at every airport to replace outmoded equipment currently in use. It is high time we brought airport technology up to the technological standards of aircraft design. With respect to airport technology we are still at the Kitty Hawk stage.

(5) The power to establish flight schedules should be taken from the airlines and delegated to the Federal Aviation Administration and to airport management. Mr. Austin Tobin, the Executive Director of The Port of New York Authority, has asserted that Kennedy, LaGuardia, and Newark Airports cannot possibly handle airline flight schedules during the peak hours. In the establishing of flight schedules airlines greed will have to give way to the primary needs of passenger safety.

"From a long-range point of view, we must:

(1) Develop regional airports for the primary use of general aviation,

(2) Establish at Welfare Island, which is just moments from the center of Manhattan, a heliport and a STOL port to serve as a connecting link with the regional airport and with Kennedy, LaGuardia, and Newark Airports. Such a development at Welfare Island will avoid the delays incident to surface transportation from the city's center to the airports.

(3) Aircraft engineering and design should move from bigger and faster aircraft to the elimination of aircraft noise. For ten years, we have been unable to find a site for a fourth jetport in our region. We will be unable to find such a site for ten more years, until aircraft is designed to function so quietly that the only sound from above heard by a person on earth will be the fluttering wings of a hummingbird in flight. Up to the present time the carrot of huge airport payrolls has not been sufficient to overcome community fears of the jet swoosh and the sonic boom. Nor is it likely to do so in the future.

Proposals by some of the airlines to establish fare differentials to discourage passenger traffic at peak hours in favor of traffic at off-peak hours are an insult to the intelligence. The indignities to which passengers are now exposed need no further embellishment to discourage use of the airplane. Indeed, the suggestion of the airlines amounts to nothing more than a proposal to saddle the passenger with highest fares for the worst service. In fact, it is unlikely that underrate differentials, the airlines will find it more profitable to transfer off-peak flight to peak hours schedules. A little more of this nonsense from the airlines will certainly evoke among Americans a yearning for the return to luxury travel by covered wagons.

The late Robert Young, of the New York Central Railroad, once said that the railroads were more solicitous for the transportation of pigs than for transportation of people. The airline executives show no such refinement of taste. The boycott by trucking firms of Kennedy Airport because the airlines bring in more freight than the airport can handle indicates that they treat freight and passengers with like contempt.

The program I have spelled out here is a minimum one, urgently necessary to assure passenger safety and comfort.

RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the News of Greece, a publication of the U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece, tells in its July issue of yet another atrocity imposed on the people of Hellas by the military junta. The News documents several recent political trials, including those of the leaders of the Organization for Democratic Defense and the Union of National Salvation, and a plethora of army officers and journalists who have dared speak out against the tyrannical Greek regime.

Senator EUGFNE MCCARTHY has said:

> We are wounded (with the Greeks) in the bitterness of harbors when every ship is gone, in the beauty of the colored ships sailing on the Aegean Sea. We are wounded by the blackness of burned villages and by the brightness of flowering almond trees. We are wounded by the glory of Greece through the ages, and especially today wounded by her sadness and distress.

We must recognize the fact that by building up military machineries throughout the world, often at the expense of civilian government, we endanger the freedom of our allies. Greece is no accident. Nor is Spain. Nor Vietnam. And we can no longer hide our heads in the sand and blindly cry "It can't happen here."

I commend the Committee for Democracy in Greece, and recommend this article, "Resistance and Repression," to my colleagues:

RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION: TRIAL OF DEMOCRATIC DEFENSE

On July 3 the Athens court-martial opened the trial of five civilians and fifteen petty officers of the Navy. They were charged with committing, as members of the Center Union resistance organization Democratic Defense, "subversive acts for the purpose of overthrowing the government by force." In particular, they were accused of having planned to sabotage four ships and the naval base at Scaramanga, near Athens. The defendants had been imprisoned since October 1967, and some of them had been tortured. (See our May issue.)

Democratic Defense reports that one petty officer, C. Paleologos, died as a result of the tortures inflicted on him.

The best-known defendants were the sociologist and historian Gerassimos Notaras; Haralambos Protopapas, President of the Democratic Socialist Union of Greece and Deputy Secretary of the Greek section of the International League for the Rights of Man, and Constantine Sophoulis, an economist whose grandfather had been Prime Minister during the Greek civil war. Another defendant named in the indictment but not brought to trial was the economist Vassilis Filias; he was officially described as a fugitive but had in fact been arrested at the time the trial opened. Members of the British Parliament who asked to be permitted to see him were told that he was being held incommunicado because he was "under interrogation"—often a euphemism for torture.

During the trial both Notaras and Protopapas testified as to the tortures to which they had been subjected. Notaras repudiated a confession which the prosecution had introduced in evidence, telling the court it had been extracted from him by force. He testified that he had been subjected repeatedly to severe electric shocks, and deprived of water. Protopapas told the court that he had been beaten on the soles of the feet and kept without water until he lapped up the water the cleaning woman left on the floor of his cell. The prosecution did not attempt to challenge this testimony, and neither the court nor the prosecutor commented on it.

The defendants called a number of prominent political figures as character witnesses. Former Premier Stephanos Stephanopoulos and Panayotis Papaligouras, Minister of Coordination under Premier Constantine Karamanlis, were among the defense witnesses. Another witness called was former Premier Panayotis Kanellopoulos, at present under house arrest. When his name was called, an official answered "Absent"; the government had not allowed him to be present in court to testify.

Ten year prison sentences were imposed on Notaras and Andreas Politis, a second mate accused of being the leader of the naval men involved. Sophoulis was sentenced to six years in prison, and Protopapas and George Sophos, another civilian defendant, received four-year suspended sentences. Two-year suspended sentences were given to three navy men; the others were acquitted at the request of the prosecutor, who said that they had not understood what they were doing. The comparatively light sentence received by Protopapas—in contrast to the extremely severe tortures to which he had been subjected—may be a result of the international interest in his case; thus on the day before the trial the British Labour Party sent a telegram to the Greek government calling for his immediate release.

TRIAL OF THE UNION OF NATIONAL SALVATION

On June 27, a group of army officers went on trial before the Salonika courtmartial on a charge of plotting to overthrow the junta. The chief prosecution witness, Captain George Kyvelos, testified that he had been recruited into a secret military organization, called the Union of National Salvation, and had been told "The King is with us." The defendants, who had been imprisoned since March, denied that the King had been involved and claimed that their acts had been covered by the amnesty of December for participants in the King's attempted coup. The court rejected this claim.

Major Angelos Pnevmatikos, who had been dismissed from the army after the failure of the King's coup, was sentenced to ten and a half years in prison as the leader of the group. He was charged with conspiring and inciting revolt and disobeying military orders—a charge which would appear to apply only to acts before his dismissal from the army, in a period covered by the terms of the mini-amnesty. (He admitted sending a circular letter to officers on the day of the coup, but denied the other charges against him.) His brother, Captain Constantine Pnevmatikos, was sentenced to four years imprisonment; a civilian, Nikalaos Xenopoulos, received three and a half years for violating martial law regulations; two defendants received suspended sentences for failing to report the plot, and three were acquitted.

ARRESTS OF OFFICERS

The junta is apparently increasingly nervous about opposition from supporters of King Constantine; this may indicate that such opposition is becoming more active, or it may simply reflect an expectation that the provisions of the new draft constitution will arouse resentment among royalists. In any case, the government has engaged in a renewed crackdown on active and retired officers believed to support the King. On July 10 another fifty-eight high-ranking officers were dismissed from the much-purged army; they included three major generals, sixteen brigadier-generals, fourteen colonels, and twenty-five lieutenant-colonels. The days preceding and following this purge saw the arrest of a number of prominent officers who had been dismissed from the army for supporting the King in December. They included Lieutenant-Generals Constantine Peridis and Constantine Kollias, both former Army Corps commanders, and Brigadier-General Ioannis Demestichas.

AND JOURNALISTS

The latter part of June and the beginning of July also saw the arrest of a number of prominent journalists. George Cavounidis, who had been appointed in 1947 as head of the government's foreign press office, and had served under every subsequent government until the coup, was arrested on or about June 20 and exiled to an island some ten days later. On June 28 Constantine Kalligas, a member of the editorial staff of the leading Athens daily *Vima* (a Lambrakis publication), was also arrested; he was a correspondent for the French newspaper *Paris-Presse*. About the same time Miss Lena Doukidou, a member of the editorial staff of Eleni Vlachou's picture magazine *Eikones*, was also arrested. So was Constantine Hadjiargyris, formerly on the staff of the Center Union organ *Ethnos* and for many years a correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*. In none of these cases have any charges been announced. But Takis Desalernos, sports editor of *Vima*, was arrested on the charge that he had said publicly—which presumably means in the presence of one of the junta's agents or informers—that the government was incapable of dealing with the country's problems and was leading it to bankruptcy.

AND OTHERS

Another of those arrested was Professor Dimitrios Evrigenis, a distinguished authority on international law, who had held various posts under conservative governments. Meanwhile the usual arrests of less prominent citizens, individually or *en masse*, continued. Thus in the first several days of July, it was reported that forty persons were arrested in Kalamata; this number, in a town of about 32,000 people, is the equivalent of ten thousand arrests in New York. At the same time a large number of arrests were reported from Salonika; in both cases most of those arrested seem to have been supporters of the Center Union. Other arrests, including a number of students belonging to the organization Rigos Ferraios, took place in Athens. A mass trial of persons accused of belonging to the Patriotic Front was expected in Salonika later in the month.

Retired Admiral Athanasios Spanides, former director-general of the rightist National Radical Union (ERE), and Harry Karatzas, former leader of its youth group, are also among those recently arrested. Admiral Spanides has at various times headed the Greek Naval Academy and represented Greece in SHAPE; he was also for many years head of the Greek Atomic Energy Commission. Others arrested, reportedly as supporters of the King, include several high officers of the navy, air force, and police.

GUN CONTROL

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly disappointed that the House of Representatives has rejected strong and effective gun control legislation. True, the ban on mail-order sales of most guns and some ammunition contained in H.R. 17735 is at least a first step toward halting our country's dangerous traffic in death and destruction. However, much more is required if the Congress is to recognize that our laws should realistically meet the problem of guns in a modern, industrial, and urban society in the second half of the 20th century.

The essential means of controlling the indiscriminate sale and use of firearms is through the registration of all guns and the licensing of all gun owners. Gun registration would impose no great hardship on the citizen who possesses firearms for legitimate purposes such as hunting or target shooting. On the other hand, registration would enable law-enforcement officials to trace weapons involved in crimes and account for all firearms in a particular locality. Requiring an individual to meet certain standards prior to obtaining a license to purchase a gun would assist in preventing firearms from falling into the hands of persons whose age, criminal record, or mental instability disqualifies them as competent to possess guns.

Mr. Speaker, every poll indicates that the overwhelming majority of American citizens favor strict gun laws. In fact, a recent Gallup survey found 73 percent of all Americans in favor of gun registration. Moreover, according to a Harris poll, conducted before the tragic assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, 65 percent of America's gun owners favor the registration of all firearms.

With the rejection of amendments to H.R. 17735 requiring registration and licensing, the National Rifle Association and similar groups have again worked their will on the Congress of the United States despite the overwhelming public outcry for stringent gun control. Through distortion and innuendo, the NRA has successfully opposed each and every attempt over the last several years to introduce a measure of sanity to our Nation's gun laws. Reportedly the NRA found it could "live with" the legislation passed by the House of Representatives on July 24. No wonder. One amendment to the mail-order measure, approved by the House by a vote of 225 to 198, exempts people, organizations, and institutions engaged in firearms competition from most of the provisions of the bill.

reasons it boils down to the establishment of markets and in effect colonies in certain regions. The result has been the growth of the United States as an Imperialist nation.

The corruption which is involved in the distribution of our aid products when they arrive in the Middle East, Latin America, and Southeast Asia has caused the people of these areas who need the aid but are not getting it or have to pay more for it, to resent us rather than to be grateful. We can hardly blame them. In addition, through our aid program we are attempting to force the American way of life upon other people. People who are in another world culturally, economically and whose ancestral history and attitudes are diametrically opposed to ours.

The time has come when we must establish our priorities and guidelines for domestic and foreign spending. First of all we must recognize the fact that as Karl Marx once observed, that the destruction of the American system will come about from within not from outside. This fact seems more evident now than perhaps at any time since the Civil War. Because of this we must recognize that we have just so much money on hand. The problem at the top of the totem pole is the establishment of good education, housing and jobs for all the deprived people in this country be he white, black, red or yellow. In turn the ability of people to walk the streets of their communities free from the fear of attack or being shot by a sniper will come about. This factor would in turn become our best propaganda tool. The fact that people in the United States are truly safe and happy.

Once this monumental task has been undertaken and thrust along towards success, then, we can turn our attention to the International picture. In establishing priorities on the International level we must do so with the thought in mind of enabling countries to become self sufficient. We must not force our will upon these countries for in doing so we could in effect win the battle for a short period of time but in turn lose the country's support in the future. Our past policy of, do as we say or we will cut off aid, has proven disastrous. In addition we should not foment trouble in a given area by supplying arms to both sides in a struggle. The real issue calls for intelligent leadership in the White House and in the State Department (also known as Foggy Bottom). We must formulate intelligent policies that are workable and can be made subject to change, rather than stumbling over our every move every time the situation becomes muddled.

SAFETY IN THE AIR

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, all of us in this House are deeply concerned about the problems of airport congestion. I think the Committee on Government Operations should be congratulated on the leadership and initiative it has taken in resolving this very significant problem. In connection with the hearings, I would like to bring to the attention of the House my own statement and proposals for resolving these issues at the public hearing of the Subcommittee on Government Activities.

The text of my statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, the sudden concern over the crisis at our airports is a serious indictment of the Federal Aviation Administration, the airlines, and the airports for their negligent disregard over the years for passenger safety and comfort. They have been criminally negligent not only by permitting hazardous flying conditions to worsen, but have compounded the evil by covering up conditions which were known to the airline executives, the airport managers, pilots, flight controllers, and to everyone else experienced with the industry. Now that the facts are in the open, this conspiracy of silence will set back the industry for many years to come.

Yet the problems before us are by no means insolvable. The following steps should be taken immediately:

(1) General aviation aircraft should be barred from major airports during peak traffic conditions, to give top priority to the commercial airlines. At both LaGuardia and Newark Airports more than 50 percent of the flights at peak hours involved general aviation flights as distinguished from commercial planes.

(2) An immediate crash program should be taken to train air flight controllers. The employment of air flight controllers for as long as 65 hours a week is an affront to common sense and decency. Sudden death will remain an unlogged passenger on every flight, so long as air controllers are compelled to work beyond the point when fatigue overcomes vigilance.

(3) Salary schedules for air flight controllers should be promptly adjusted to conform to their training and skills. In addition, these schedules should be so revised to put an end to the present nonsense where hourly pay is reduced the longer they work.

(4) Modern flight control equipment should be installed at every airport to replace outmoded equipment currently in use. It is high time we brought airport technology up to the technological standards of aircraft design. With respect to airport technology we are still at the Kitty Hawk stage.

(5) The power to establish flight schedules should be taken from the airlines and delegated to the Federal Aviation Administration and to airport management. Mr. Austin Tobin, the Executive Director of The Port of New York Authority, has asserted that Kennedy, LaGuardia, and Newark Airports cannot possibly handle airline flight schedules during the peak hours. In the establishing of flight schedules airlines greed will have to give way to the primary needs of passenger safety.

"From a long-range point of view, we must:

(1) Develop regional airports for the primary use of general aviation,

(2) Establish at Welfare Island, which is just moments from the center of Manhattan, a heliport and a STOL port to serve as a connecting link with the regional airport and with Kennedy, LaGuardia, and Newark Airports. Such a development at Welfare Island will avoid the delays incident to surface transportation from the city's center to the airports.

(3) Aircraft engineering and design should move from bigger and faster aircraft to the elimination of aircraft noise. For ten years, we have been unable to find a site for a fourth jetport in our region. We will be unable to find such a site for ten more years, until aircraft is designed to function so quietly that the only sound from above heard by a person on earth will be the fluttering wings of a hummingbird in flight. Up to the present time the carrot of huge airport payrolls has not been sufficient to overcome community fears of the jet swoosh and the sonic boom. Nor is it likely to do so in the future.

Proposals by some of the airlines to establish fare differentials to discourage passenger traffic at peak hours in favor of traffic at off-peak hours are an insult to the intelligence. The indignities to which passengers are now exposed need no further embellishment to discourage use of the airplane. Indeed, the suggestion of the airlines amounts to nothing more than a proposal to saddle the passenger with highest fares for the worst service. In fact, it is unlikely that underrate differentials, the airlines will find it more profitable to transfer off-peak flight to peak hours schedules. A little more of this nonsense from the airlines will certainly evoke among Americans a yearning for the return to luxury travel by covered wagons.

The late Robert Young, of the New York Central Railroad, once said that the railroads were more solicitous for the transportation of pigs than for transportation of people. The airline executives show no such refinement of taste. The boycott by trucking firms of Kennedy Airport because the airlines bring in more freight than the airport can handle indicates that they treat freight and passengers with like contempt.

The program I have spelled out here is a minimum one, urgently necessary to assure passenger safety and comfort.

RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the News of Greece, a publication of the U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece, tells in its July issue of yet another atrocity imposed on the people of Hellas by the military junta. The News documents several recent political trials, including those of the leaders of the Organization for Democratic Defense and the Union of National Salvation, and a plethora of army officers and journalists who have dared speak out against the tyrannical Greek regime.

Senator EUGENE McCARTHY has said:

> We are wounded (with the Greeks) in the bitterness of harbors when every ship is gone, in the beauty of the colored ships sailing on the Aegean Sea. We are wounded by the blackness of burned villages and by the brightness of flowering almond trees. We are wounded by the glory of Greece through the ages, and especially today wounded by her sadness and distress.

We must recognize the fact that by building up military machineries throughout the world, often at the expense of civilian government, we endanger the freedom of our allies. Greece is no accident. Nor is Spain. Nor Vietnam. And we can no longer hide our heads in the sand and blindly cry "It can't happen here."

I commend the Committee for Democracy in Greece, and recommend this article, "Resistance and Repression," to my colleagues:

RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION: TRIAL OF DEMOCRATIC DEFENSE

On July 3 the Athens court-martial opened the trial of five civilians and fifteen petty officers of the Navy. They were charged with committing, as members of the Center Union resistance organization Democratic Defense, "subversive acts for the purpose of overthrowing the government by force." In particular, they were accused of having planned to sabotage four ships and the naval base at Scaramanga, near Athens. The defendants had been imprisoned since October 1967, and some of them had been tortured. (See our May issue.)

Democratic Defense reports that one petty officer, C. Paleologos, died as a result of the tortures inflicted on him.

The best-known defendants were the sociologist and historian Gerassimos Notaras; Haralambos Protopapas, President of the Democratic Socialist Union of Greece and Deputy Secretary of the Greek section of the International League for the Rights of Man, and Constantine Sophoulis, an economist whose grandfather had been Prime Minister during the Greek civil war. Another defendant named in the indictment but not brought to trial was the economist Vassilis Filias; he was officially described as a fugitive but had in fact been arrested at the time the trial opened. Members of the British Parliament who asked to be permitted to see him were told that he was being held incommunicado because he was "under interrogation"—often a euphemism for torture.

During the trial both Notaras and Protopapas testified as to the tortures to which they had been subjected. Notaras repudiated a confession which the prosecution had introduced in evidence, telling the court it had been extracted from him by force. He testified that he had been subjected repeatedly to severe electric shocks, and deprived of water. Protopapas told the court that he had been beaten on the soles of the feet and kept without water until he lapped up the water the cleaning woman left on the floor of his cell. The prosecution did not attempt to challenge this testimony, and neither the court nor the prosecutor commented on it.

The defendants called a number of prominent political figures as character witnesses. Former Premier Stephanos Stephanopoulos and Panayotis Papaligouras, Minister of Coordination under Premier Constantine Karamanlis, were among the defense witnesses. Another witness called was former Premier Panayotis Kanellopoulos, at present under house arrest. When his name was called, an official answered "Absent"; the government had not allowed him to be present in court to testify.

Ten year prison sentences were imposed on Notaras and Andreas Politis, a second mate accused of being the leader of the naval men involved. Sophoulis was sentenced to six years in prison, and Protopapas and George Sophos, another civilian defendant, received four-year suspended sentences. Two-year suspended sentences were given to three navy men; the others were acquitted at the request of the prosecutor, who said that they had not understood what they were doing. The comparatively light sentence received by Protopapas—in contrast to the extremely severe tortures to which he had been subjected—may be a result of the international interest in his case; thus on the day before the trial the British Labour Party sent a telegram to the Greek government calling for his immediate release.

TRIAL OF THE UNION OF NATIONAL SALVATION

On June 27, a group of army officers went on trial before the Salonika courtmartial on a charge of plotting to overthrow the junta. The chief prosecution witness, Captain George Kyvelos, testified that he had been recruited into a secret military organization, called the Union of National Salvation, and had been told "The King is with us." The defendants, who had been imprisoned since March, denied that the King had been involved and claimed that their acts had been covered by the amnesty of December for participants in the King's attempted coup. The court rejected this claim.

Major Angelos Pnevmatikos, who had been dismissed from the army after the failure of the King's coup, was sentenced to ten and a half years in prison as the leader of the group. He was charged with conspiring and inciting revolt and disobeying military orders—a charge which would appear to apply only to acts before his dismissal from the army, in a period covered by the terms of the mini-amnesty. (He admitted sending a circular letter to officers on the day of the coup, but denied the other charges against him.) His brother, Captain Constantine Pnevmatikos, was sentenced to four years imprisonment; a civilian, Nikalaos Xenopoulos, received three and a half years for violating martial law regulations; two defendants received suspended sentences for failing to report the plot, and three were acquitted.

ARRESTS OF OFFICERS

The junta is apparently increasingly nervous about opposition from supporters of King Constantine; this may indicate that such opposition is becoming more active, or it may simply reflect an expectation that the provisions of the new draft constitution will arouse resentment among royalists. In any case, the government has engaged in a renewed crackdown on active and retired officers believed to support the King. On July 10 another fifty-eight high-ranking officers were dismissed from the much-purged army; they included three major generals, sixteen brigadier-generals, fourteen colonels, and twenty-five lieutenant-colonels. The days preceding and following this purge saw the arrest of a number of prominent officers who had been dismissed from the army for supporting the King in December. They included Lieutenant-Generals Constantine Peridis and Constantine Kollias, both former Army Corps commanders, and Brigadier-General Ioannis Demestichas.

AND JOURNALISTS

The latter part of June and the beginning of July also saw the arrest of a number of prominent journalists. George Cavounidis, who had been appointed in 1947 as head of the government's foreign press office, and had served under every subsequent government until the coup, was arrested on or about June 20 and exiled to an island some ten days later. On June 28 Constantine Kalligas, a member of the editorial staff of the leading Athens daily *Vima* (a Lambrakis publication), was also arrested; he was a correspondent for the French newspaper *Paris-Presse*. About the same time Miss Lena Doukidou, a member of the editorial staff of Eleni Vlachou's picture magazine *Eikones*, was also arrested. So was Constantine Hadjiargyris, formerly on the staff of the Center Union organ *Ethnos* and for many years a correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*. In none of these cases have any charges been announced. But Takis Desalernos, sports editor of *Vima*, was arrested on the charge that he had said publicly—which presumably means in the presence of one of the junta's agents or informers—that the government was incapable of dealing with the country's problems and was leading it to bankruptcy.

AND OTHERS

Another of those arrested was Professor Dimitrios Evrigenis, a distinguished authority on international law, who had held various posts under conservative governments. Meanwhile the usual arrests of less prominent citizens, individually or *en masse*, continued. Thus in the first several days of July, it was reported that forty persons were arrested in Kalamata; this number, in a town of about 32,000 people, is the equivalent of ten thousand arrests in New York. At the same time a large number of arrests were reported from Salonika; in both cases most of those arrested seem to have been supporters of the Center Union. Other arrests, including a number of students belonging to the organization Rigos Ferraios, took place in Athens. A mass trial of persons accused of belonging to the Patriotic Front was expected in Salonika later in the month.

Retired Admiral Athanasios Spanides, former director-general of the rightist National Radical Union (ERE), and Harry Karatzas, former leader of its youth group, are also among those recently arrested. Admiral Spanides has at various times headed the Greek Naval Academy and represented Greece in SHAPE; he was also for many years head of the Greek Atomic Energy Commission. Others arrested, reportedly as supporters of the King, include several high officers of the navy, air force, and police.

GUN CONTROL

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly disappointed that the House of Representatives has rejected strong and effective gun control legislation. True, the ban on mail-order sales of most guns and some ammunition contained in H.R. 17735 is at least a first step toward halting our country's dangerous traffic in death and destruction. However, much more is required if the Congress is to recognize that our laws should realistically meet the problem of guns in a modern, industrial, and urban society in the second half of the 20th century.

The essential means of controlling the indiscriminate sale and use of firearms is through the registration of all guns and the licensing of all gun owners. Gun registration would impose no great hardship on the citizen who possesses firearms for legitimate purposes such as hunting or target shooting. On the other hand, registration would enable law-enforcement officials to trace weapons involved in crimes and account for all firearms in a particular locality. Requiring an individual to meet certain standards prior to obtaining a license to purchase a gun would assist in preventing firearms from falling into the hands of persons whose age, criminal record, or mental instability disqualifies them as competent to possess guns.

Mr. Speaker, every poll indicates that the overwhelming majority of American citizens favor strict gun laws. In fact, a recent Gallup survey found 73 percent of all Americans in favor of gun registration. Moreover, according to a Harris poll, conducted before the tragic assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, 65 percent of America's gun owners favor the registration of all firearms.

With the rejection of amendments to H.R. 17735 requiring registration and licensing, the National Rifle Association and similar groups have again worked their will on the Congress of the United States despite the overwhelming public outcry for stringent gun control. Through distortion and innuendo, the NRA has successfully opposed each and every attempt over the last several years to introduce a measure of sanity to our Nation's gun laws. Reportedly the NRA found it could "live with" the legislation passed by the House of Representatives on July 24. No wonder. One amendment to the mail-order measure, approved by the House by a vote of 225 to 198, exempts people, organizations, and institutions engaged in firearms competition from most of the provisions of the bill.

The most prominent, perhaps the only, "organization" which qualifies for exemption under this amendment is the National Rifle Association.

Mr. Speaker, surely in the last analysis the public interest must triumph over the narrow special interest of the gun lobby. We need a gun control law which will give all our citizens the kind of protection that has been too long denied them. I shall continue to devote my energy to the passage of legislation providing for the meaningful control of firearms.

APPEAL FOR AID TO BIAFRA

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in Biafra, death strikes everywhere—in hospitals, in mission stations, even by the roadside. At the Okpala Mission, the Reverend Ken Doheny is close to weeping as 7,000 children assemble at dusk, their bony hands outstretched.

> They used to come here every night for a little soup—milk or bean.

He reports.

> Now we have nothing left. This is a children's war. They are all doomed, the lot of them.[1]

At the same time, Col. Benjamin Adekunle, the commander of the Nigerian Army of invasion, called the idea of massive relief for the starving Biafrans "misguided humanitarian rubbish." The colonel said, "if children must die first, then it is too bad, just too bad."[2]

The American people are perhaps the most humanitarian known to history. We have always been quick to share our material abundance with the people of other lands who have suffered such catastrophes as famines, floods, and fire. The refugee, whether he be in Europe, Asia, or Africa, has always received a sympathetic helping hand from the American people. We have proven in countless instances that we are ready and willing to be our "brother's keeper." Today, America is better equipped than ever before to aid the millions of hungry, homeless, and destitute people of the world. Unfortunately, at no time in history has our assistance been so urgently required.

I refer specifically to the plight of the starving populace and, more especially, the children of Biafra. Although located in one of the richest areas in all of Africa, the people of Biafra are faced with mass starvation, which will claim 2 million lives by the end of August. This very day, over 3,000 people, most of them little children, will die from starvation in Biafra.

Food is available, but that is not the problem. Charitable relief organizations stand ready to provide the 200 tons of food and nutrition the Biafran people need daily to stave off starvation. But, a political impasse between the two sides has ruined arrangements for its delivery. Meanwhile, 1 million children, such as the ones Father Doheny must face each evening with empty hands, will die before the end of this month.

The Biafrans fear poisoning and thus refuse to accept food brought through unprotected land corridors. At the same time, the Nigerian Government refuses to allow an airlift to Biafra, even if given the opportunity to inspect the cargo before delivery.

I say there is no longer time to argue about the means of delivering the food to these starving people. The civilized world, and the United States in particular as the international defender of life and liberty, has a moral and ethical obligation to overcome the thorny problem of political nonintervention and to act immediately to see that food is taken into the area by a massive air and sea lift and by overland relief columns.

The Nigerian and Biafran Governments must be urged to accept the establishment of demilitarized land, sea, and air corridors for the shipment of food and medicine both to Biafra and to the neighboring territories under Nigerian control.

The United States must endorse and strive to achieve the implementation of a demilitarized zone that would be policed by an international force, preferably supplied by the United Nations.

As a neutral nation, the United States can provide food by guaranteeing the Nigerian Government that no military supplies will be included in shipments and by seeing that food shipments will be internationally supervised to insure Biafrans against poisoning. We can make available both food and transportation facilities to international and charitable relief organizations.

If Congress is going to act on this matter as it, in all conscience, should, it must be before the August 2 recess date. By September 4, any action would come to late for 2 million dead Biafrans. As the New York Post stated in an editorial on July 13:

> From time to time the universal consience of mankind is aroused by something as tersible as what is happening in Biafra. The universal conscience must be brought full force upon both sides in the Nigeria (/Biafra) struggle. Events in Nigeria (/Biafra) have reached the stage where there is only one side and one recourse: the name of humanity . . .

The editorial goes on to say that humanity demands that we all work for the "purpose of getting the desperately needed protein into those tiny bodies with the swollen bellies."

SOVIET THREATS OF ARMED INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA EXPOSE SOVIET HYPOCRISY

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the recent threats by the U.S.S.R. to intervene militarily in the affairs of Czechoslovakia lay bare the hyprocrisy of Soviet statements about U.S. policy.

While many elements of U.S. policy are justly called into question by citizens of the United States, statements of criticism by the Soviet Union have a hollow ring when measured against the blatant threat to employ military force against Czechoslovakia, a neighbor who offers no military threat to the U.S.S.R.

Some weeks ago, under the pretext of Warsaw pact maneuvers, thousands of Soviet troops moved into Czechoslovakia where some of them apparently still remain in spite of repeated Czech requests that they be withdrawn.

As if that were not enough, the Soviets have now commenced a new series of massive maneuvers placing Soviet, East German, and Polish troops in the vicinity of Czechoslovakia's eastern borders.

The proximity of these troops to Czech territory, combined with the steady stream of invective from Soviet newspapers, cannot be construed as anything else but a brazen attempt to intimidate the Czech Government.

These actions belie the assertions of the Soviet Union about the rights of other nations to peacefully pursue their own affairs.

Mr. Speaker, I am relieved that the news today offers some hope that active intervention by military forces of the Soviet Union will not occur in Czechoslovakia. The U.S.S.R., however, will spend many years overcoming the effect of its actions of the past few weeks. Every neighbor of the Soviet Union can now recognize that respect for the rights of other nations is conditioned by the ideological rigidity which apparently marks current Soviet attitudes.

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, in common with all the Members of this House, I deeply regret the departure from the House at the end of this session of our wonderful, outstanding friend, one of the of the most colorful Members of our great legislative body, and a truly celebrated colleague and beloved friend, the Honorable Barratt O'Hara.

No words of mine could ever portray the outstanding qualities, the superlative dedication, the magnificent achievements of this great leader of our great democracy, not only during his service here, but throughout his life.

His entire career has been profoundly dedicated to the public interest, to his district and State, and to this great Nation, which he has served with all his heart and every ounce of energy and ability.

Barratt O'Hara is a man of great impetus and compassion for the weak, the forgotten and the downtrodden. Truly, he has given his life's work to the uplift of those who cannot help themselves, and to the perpetuation of the ideals and security of our great free Nation.

---

[1] New York Times, July 30.

[2] New York Times, July 14.

I had heard of this great American long before he or I ever came to the Congress. The late and very great Chicago lawyer and philosopher, the noted Clarence Darrow, during my early youth, my close personal friend, used to talk to me of BARRATT long before I had the honor and privilege of meeting this gifted, devoted, humanistic leader.

The great Clarence Darrow once said to me of BARRATT: "He is the outstanding liberal in our city and State and one of the great leaders of true democracy in this country. We must be thankful to him for his many battles for the common people."

We will miss him here but he has left with us a great legacy of honest, enlightened public service, warm, unselfish friendship, loyalty and inspired leadership that will be a source of strength and a guide to us in our endeavors.

His great achievements in this body will be inscribed and gratefully remembered in this body for many years to come by a truly appreciative Nation which recognizes the debt it owes to this unflinching battler for social justice.

I wish for BARRATT, and all his dear ones, continued good health, success in their undertakings, and choicest blessings of real happiness, contentment, and peace for many years to come.

THE CAPTIVE NATIONS STILL CAPTIVE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, among the many themes sounded this past Captive Nations Week was the one underscoring the continued captivity of all the captive nations. An erroneous and dangerous impression has spread in some circles of our country that because of squabbles and rifts between various dominating Communist Parties, the captive nations—the peoples themselves—are no longer captive. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The peoples and nations of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, and others are under totalitarian Communist Party domination and far from the goal of genuine independence and freedom. This truth cannot be emphasized too often, and the 10th observance of Captive Nations Week served a major purpose by doing so.

Reports on the successful week have been flowing in steadily. Some examples of the week's activity are as follows: First, proclamations by Gov. Philip H. Hoff of Vermont and commissioners of Allegheny County, Pa.; second, a National Captive Nations Committee release on His Eminence Josyf Cardinal Slipyi; third a release by the county of Allegheny commissioners and news and radio items on the week in both the Pittsburgh Press and the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette; and fourth, a letter to the editor in the Washington area:

A PROCLAMATION BY PHILIP H. HOFF, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF VERMONT

Whereas, the imperialistic policies of Russian Communists have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation and enslavement of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and others; and

Whereas, the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of peoples in these conquered nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to any ambitions of Communist leaders to initiate a major war; and

Whereas, the freedom-loving peoples of the captive nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom and to the people of the United States as leaders in bringing about their freedom and independence; and

Whereas, the Congress of the United States by unanimous vote passed Public Law 86–90 establishing the third week in July each year as Captive Nations Week and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate prayers, ceremonies and activities; expressing their sympathy with the support for the just aspirations of captive peoples for freedom and independence;

Now, Therefore, I, Philip H. Hoff, Governor of the State of Vermont, do hereby proclaim that the week commencing July 14th, 1968 be observed as "Captive Nations Week" in the State of Vermont, and call upon the citizens of Vermont to join with others in observing this week by offering prayers and dedicating their efforts for the peaceful liberation of oppressed and subjugated people all over the world.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the State of Vermont at Montpelier, this first day of July, A.D. 1968.

[SEAL] PHILIP H. HOFF,
Governor.

By the Governor:

———— ————,
Secretary of Civil and Military Affairs.

PROCLAMATION OF THE BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PA.

Whereas, by a joint Resolution of the Congress of the United States, and by Proclamation of the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, the third week of July has been designated as "Captive Nations Week"; and

Whereas, the people of the County of Allegheny are linked to the Captive Nations through bonds of family, religion, and the belief in democratic principles; and

Whereas, these nations have been made captive by the imperialistic, aggressive and heartless policies of Soviet Russia, which has deprived them of their national independence and their individual liberties; and

Whereas, it is in the American tradition to advocate the dignity of man, his freedom from tryanny, and his right to self-determination of the form of government he prefers,

Now, therefore, we, the Commissioners of Allegheny County, do hereby join with the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, in designating the week of July 14, 1968, as "Captive Nations Week."

And we further urge the people of Allegheny County to join with the Captive Nations Committee of Allegheny County in observing the plight of the communist-dominated nations and in support of the just aspirations of the people of the captive nations.

And we especially encourage everyone to manifest his or her interest in the people imprisoned in the captive nations by their attendance at the civic observance of Captive Nations Week to be held at the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall on Tuesday, July 16, 1968 at 8:00 p.m.

CERTIFICATE

I, Thomas B. Carpenter, Chief Clerk for the Board of County Commissioners of the County of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true and correct copy of a Certain Resolution duly adopted by said Board at a regular meeting thereof duly held on July 9, 1968, as the same appears in the Minutes of said meeting duly recorded in said Board's Minute Book Vol. 49.

Witness my hand and the seal of said County of Allegheny hereto affixed this 9th day of July, 1968.

[SEAL]

T. B. CARPENTER,
Chief Clerk.

UKRAINIAN CARDINAL'S VISIT VIEWED AS CLIMAX TO U.S. CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

The arrival yesterday of His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyj for a short visit in the United States was welcomed as "a fitting climax to Captive Nations Week." Addressing a banquet audience of over a thousand in Philadelphia's Sheraton Hotel, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee, greeted the Ukrainian Cardinal, who survived 18 years in Russian prisons and slave camps, as "a living symbol of Ukraine's anguish and pains under Soviet Russian colonialist domination, Russification, and genocide." The Cardinal was released by Moscow five years ago and advanced to his present position in the Vatican by Pope John XXIII.

President Johnson proclaimed the Week on July 10. It is the 10th observance which is being celebrated in all sections of the country and in foreign lands, such as Free China, India, and West Germany. The U.S. Congress held a special observance last Wednesday.

Dr. Dobriansky, who is also a professor at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, assured the visiting dignitary that "we Americans are expending every effort to impress on our fellow citizens the crucial importance of all the captive nations, particularly Ukraine, in the Free World's struggle against Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism." Since 1959, when Congress passed the Captive Nations Week resolution (Public Law 86–90), Moscow and its Red dependencies have been angling to have the annual week eliminated in the name of "peaceful coexistince."

Referring to Cardinal Slipyj's "illustrious presence in this homeland of the American Revolution," the professor held, "It is a personified reminder for all free men, especially in this International Human Rights Year, that colonialist Moscow continues its genocide of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Ukraine, its suppression of Ukrainian intellectual and religious development and, basically, its imperialist domination over 45 million people who strive for national independence in the best tradition of our own American Revolution." He praised the Cardinal's recent pleas for unity in Canada and beseeched him to exercise his every influence "to advance the just aspirations of the captive Ukrainian nation for independence, without which religious and other forms of freedom cannot fructify in Russia's inner empire."

The captive nations chairman expressed the hope that the dignitary's visit would include the Shevchenko Memorial Statue in Washington, which Congress made possible in 1960 as a dedication to the liberation of all the captive nations. Taras Shevchenko, the 19th century poet laureate of Ukraine, called for Washington's law and justice in his native Ukraine. "The same creative and principled American impulses that honored Shevchenko in this way," said the professor, "are growing impatient with the confetti diplomacy of our Government which tries to conceal the harsh realities of Russian imperio-colonialism behind a cascade of paper treaties that are basically meaningless in the current struggle." His committee is urging the first, complete review of U.S. policy toward the U.S.S.R., with concentration on the latter's captive non-Russian nations.

NEWS RELEASE OF THE COUNTY OF ALLEGHENY, PA., JULY 10, 1968

The Allegheny County Commissioners have proclaimed the week of July 14 as Captive Nations Week. Weeklong observances have been planned by Captive Nations Committee of Allegheny County, whose secretary, Michael Komichak of radio station WPIT, witnessed the signing of the proclamation by Commission Chairman Leonard C. Staisey. Commissioners Thomas J. Foerster and Dr. William R. Hunt supported the resolution. They asked county residents to observe the plight of captive nations people who are being oppressed by Communists.

John Noble, an American who spent 9½ years in a Soviet slave labor camp in Siberia, will be the principal speaker at a Captive Nations rally in Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall, Tuesday, July 16, at 8 p.m. And on Wednesday, July 17, Mr. Noble will address the luncheon meeting of the Pittsburgh Rotary Club at the William Penn Hotel.

[From the Pittsburgh Press, July 18, 1968]

EX-SOVIET PRISONER URGES "PUEBLO" ACTION

An appeal for U.S. pressure to release the 83 men taken prisoner aboard the USS Pueblo in North Korea was urged by a former Soviet labor camp inmate.

"The voice of the Pueblo captured in January is asking fellow Americans to do something," declared John Noble to Rotary Club members yesterday at the William Penn Hotel.

Mr. Noble who spent 9½ years in a Soviet labor camp asserted that "nobody in America is concerned with what's going on because they are too occupied with their individual existences to worry about their fellow Americans."

Then he added, "most Americans are too busy to do something about the events that are making America the laughing stock of the world."

"The Pueblo," he remarked, "is just like the 5000 Americans still in Soviet labor camps today. Only 12 have managed to escape since World War II."

"Slave camps do exist today, contrary to what many Americans, such as Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey have thought," Mr. Noble said.

Mr. Noble was imprisoned at the end of World War II with his father in a Soviet labor camp. He had been studying in Dresden, Germany, at the outbreak of the war.

Michael Komichak, secretary of the Captive Nations Committee of Allegheny County, also spoke at this luncheon about the Captive Nations and introduced John Noble. There were about 250 Rotarians in attendance. They gave John Noble a standing ovation. The attendance at the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall was about 300.

[From the Pittsburgh Press, July 15, 1968]

RADIO HIGHLIGHTS

8 p.m.—Captive Nations Week—1968. Michael Komichak, secretary of the Captive Nations Committee of Allegheny County, will speak on the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals by the Russian Communists. WPIT, AM–FM.

[From the Pittsburgh Press, July 16, 1968]

RADIO HIGHLIGHTS

3:15 p.m.—Captive Nations Week—1968. Guest: John Noble. WPIT, AM–FM.

[From the Pittsburgh Press, July 17, 1968]

RADIO HIGHLIGHTS

7:45 p.m.—Captive Nations Week—1968. The Rev. Richard Wurmbrandt talks about his experience in a Communist Rumanian prison. WPIT, AM–FM.

[From the Pittsburgh Press, July 18, 1968]

RADIO HIGHLIGHTS

7:45 p.m.—Captive Nations Week—1968. The Georgetown University Forum will discuss the subject "Are Captive Nations Still Captive?" WPIT, AM–FM.

[From the Pittsburgh Press, July 19, 1968]

RADIO HIGHLIGHTS

8 p.m.—Captive Nations Week—1968. Dr. Petras Dozvartas, Consul-General of Lithuania, speaks on "Captive Lithuania." WPIT, AM–FM.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The week of July 14–20, 1968—Captive Nations Week—should especially mark a time of reflection and serious consideration for all Americans. Established by a joint resolution of Congress in July 1959 (Public Law 86–90), the third week of July has been set aside by Congress to commemorate the nations that have been forcibly and ruthlessly subjugated by Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, more popularly known as "Communism."

Beginning with the conquest and forced incorporation into the Soviet Union of a dozen non-Russian nations by Soviet Russia between 1920 and 1940, and continuing to this very day, repeated attempts are being made by Moscow to subvert other free nations.

Billions of American dollars and thousands of American lives have been lost in attempting to prevent other nations from being added to the list of twenty-seven captive nations.

In line with our own Declaration of Independence, Public Law 86–90 as well as the yearly Presidential Proclamations, indicate the support of the government and the people of the United States for freedom and national independence for all peoples.

If we were to maintain this principle as the fixed star of our foreign policy rather than waste our energy on paper treaties and confetti diplomacy, immeasurably more could be accomplished toward preserving our own freedom and promoting a lasting peace among nations.

As an alternative to the continued squandering of American lives and tax dollars to prevent the spread of "Communism," let us counter the extremely successful policy of direct aggression and psychopolitical action directed by Moscow for the subversion of nations with psycho-political action for freedom for all nations.

In this International Human Rights Year, a logical start in this direction would be to implement the themes of the Week on this Tenth Observance; namely, debate in the U.N. the subject of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, protest the persecution of the various religions and intellectuals in the different nations within the USSR and let's, for the first time, review U.S. policy toward the USSR.

WALTER PRETKA.

HON. MARIO T. NOTO

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, to me one of the great strengths of our system of government is that it continues to attract outstanding individuals from the private sector into public service. I am equally reassured, however, when a top Government official elects to utilize his talents and experience in a nongovernmental capacity.

Following 26 years of truly distinguished and dedicated Federal service, Mario T. Noto will soon assume new duties as executive director of the Airport Security Council, an airline-industry organization established earlier this year to combat and prevent crime at major airports in the New York metropolitan area.

Born and educated in New York City, Mr. Noto was engaged there in private law practice from 1940 to 1942, when he joined the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice as an examiner. Except for a 3-year tour of wartime duty in the U.S. Air Force, his employment with the Immigration and Naturalization Service has been continuous to this date.

Through the years Mr. Noto assumed posts of increasingly greater responsibility with the INS, and in 1962 he was appointed Associate Commissioner for Operations, his present position. Since 1963, he has also served as consultant to the Secretary of State in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

My responsibilities for immigration and naturalization matters in the House Judiciary Committee brought about an early and close association with Mr. Noto. He is a man of integrity and compassion, and has demonstrated remarkable administrative skills.

His myriad friends and associates in Washington will miss Mario. We wish him continued success as he undertakes new and challenging responsibilities in his native New York City.

HENRY GONZALEZ WARS ON PROFITEERS

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that the excellent work of our colleague and good friend from Texas, HENRY GONZALEZ, in combating war profiteering has not gone unnoticed in my home city of New York. The New York Post of July 9 ran an editorial entitled "One Man's War" in recognition of Congressman GONZALEZ' efforts.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Post, July 9, 1968]

ONE MAN'S WAR

This, also, is where we came in, courtesy of Rep. Henry D. Gonzalez (D-Tex.):

"Is it somehow okay for some defense suppliers to reap extraordinary profits from this [Vietnam] war amid the safety and affluence of home while thousands of American men are called upon to make the supreme sacrifice for their country in the Far East?"

Rep. Gonzalez, with no assistance from the Administration, has been pushing a quiet, courageous war of his own against the latest (and greatest) generation of war profiteers, a breed which is always with us, like the locusts, and which unlike the locusts always thrives, in season or out. "Merchants of Death," they called them in the 1930s—and who of that era can forget the vivid advertising campaign against them featuring a diapered baby on a chopping-block? Harry Truman rose to prominence investigating them in World War II. Arthur Miller wrote a play entitled "All Our Sons."

But nothing much has changed except volume of business and "sophistication," as it is termed, of weaponry—the kind that can sophisticate the planet out of existence.

For his part Rep. Gonzalez is urging the House to reestablish a war investigating committee such as the one Truman led as a Senator. He is calling for a law on uniform accounting systems. He has managed to secure passage in the House of a bill, now lying before the Senate, to extend the life of the watchdog Renegotiation Board for three years; the board has already recaptured almost $2,000,000,000 in excess profits, and extension of its life was opposed by the National Assn. of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, the wild blue yonderers of the Aerospace Industries Assn.

No doubt there was a nettlesome Rep. Gonzalez back in the days of Napoleon Bonaparte, Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great. He didn't get into the history books. It's time one did.

PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, on July 24, 1968, Maine's outstanding Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis delivered a statement on the National Association of the Partners of the Alliance to the National Governors' Conference at Cincinnati, Ohio.

Governor Curtis led the program development team that over a year ago visited Maine's partner State, Rio Grande de Norte in northeast Brazil. Since that time Maine has sent a number of technicians in various fields to assist in the development and education of its Brazilian partner, while Rio Grande de Norte has made many contributions to Maine in the areas of culture and language.

I am fully in support of this program, and am proud that Maine is among the leading States in the broad range of activities undertaken by private groups and organizations under the Partners of the Alliance program. At this time I wish to insert in the RECORD Governor Curtis' statement for the attention of my colleagues:

> I am pleased to take this opportunity to let you fellow Governors know how I feel about the work the Partners of the Alliance are doing in cementing strong and worthwhile relationships between private citizens of the U.S. and Latin America. Let me tell you a little about it:
>
> The State of Maine joined the partners movement almost a year ago, pairing with the State of Rio Grande do Norte in Brazil. We have done great things for them and have received cooperation from them. One of the most important results has been stimulating personal relationships between New Englanders' and Brazilians'. I found it very satisfactory and rewarding to personally visit with our partners in Brazil and to take part in planning the partnership program. It was a great thrill to me to experience for myself the warmth of these friendships developed through the partners activities.
>
> Knowing the fine results of the Maine partners, I enthusiastically endorsed the partners of the Alliance concept, which now includes similar partnerships in 35 other U.S. States with counterpart partnerships in 15 Latin American countries.
>
> I sincerely commend the Partners of the Alliance program to you and hope you will encourage the partners in your home States and give them strong backing from your respective offices. Believe me, they are making a splendid contribution to hemispheric harmony and richly deserve your help.

THE ADMINISTRATION: LACK OF EFFORT, LACK OF SUCCESS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to juxtapose several statements which pointedly show the lack of effort on the part of the administration to carry out its political promises.

In the annual message on the state of the Union, January 8, 1964, President Johnson addressed the Congress and the American people and promised that all his grandiose programs could be accomplished without an increase in spending; in fact, they could be brought to pass with a reduction in spending.

Here is the actual statement, taken from the Public Papers of the Presidents:

> All this and more can and must be done (he refers to the poverty war, unemployment, health needs of the elderly, transportation and transit problems, foreign aid, housing, library facilities, and hospitalization in the previous paragraph). It can be done by this summer, and it can be done without any increase in spending. In fact, under the budget that I shall shortly submit, it can be done with an actual reduction in Federal expenditures and Federal employment.

In 1965 the budget was in deficit $3.4 billion at $97 billion. The press has just this week reported that the budget for fiscal year 1968 was out of balance by some $25 billion and that rather than cut Federal expenditures by the $6 billion required under the provisions voted under the tax increase, the administration has increased expenditures by $2.5 billion.

And for Federal employment the story is the same. In June 1964 there were 2,481,582 persons on the Federal payroll. In 12 months the number had increased by 22,582 and as of June of this year there were over 20 percent more persons on the public dole; the figure was 3,026,376.

There has been a lack of effort even at being sincere, let alone at carrying out these administrative promises.

On top of it all, the President stated in this 1964 address that "for his part" he promised "a progressive administration which is efficient, and honest and frugal."

So there will be no doubt, I submit the full text for the RECORD:

> ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, JANUARY 8, 1964
>
> (As delivered in person before a joint session)
>
> Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the House and Senate, my fellow Americans, I will be brief, for our time is necessarily short and our agenda is already long.
>
> Last year's congressional session was the longest in peacetime history. With that foundation, let us work together to make this year's session the best in the Nation's history.
>
> Let this session of Congress be known as the session which did more for civil rights than the last hundred sessions combined; as the session which enacted the most far-reaching tax cut of our time; as the session which declared all-out war on human poverty and unemployment in these United States; as the session which finally recognized the health needs of all our older citizens; as the session which reformed our tangled transportation and transit policies; as the session which achieved the most effective, efficient foreign aid program ever; and as the session which helped to build more homes, more schools, more libraries, and more hospitals than any single session of Congress in the history of our Republic.
>
> All this and more can and must be done. It can be done by this summer, and it can be done without any increase in spending. In fact, under the budget that I shall shortly submit, it can be done with an actual reduction in Federal expenditures and Federal employment.
>
> We have in 1964 a unique opportunity and obligation—to prove the success of our system; to disprove those cynics and critics at home and abroad who question our purpose and our competence.
>
> If we fail, if we fritter and fumble away our opportunity in needless, senseless quarrels between Democrats and Republicans, or between the House and the Senate, or between the South and North, or between the Congress and the administration, then history will rightfully judge us harshly. But if we succeed, if we can achieve these goals by forging in this country a greater sense of union, then, and only then, can we take full satisfaction in the State of the Union.
>
> II
>
> Here in the Congress you can demonstrate effective legislative leadership by discharging the public business with clarity and dispatch, voting each important proposal up, or voting it down, but at least bringing it to a fair and a final vote.
>
> Let us carry forward the plans and programs of John Fitzgerald Kennedy—not because of our sorrow or sympathy, but because they are right.
>
> In his memory today, I especially ask all members of my own political faith, in this election year, to put your country ahead of your party, and to always debate principles; never debate personalities.
>
> For my part, I pledge a progressive administration which is efficient, and honest and frugal. The budget to be submitted to the Congress shortly is in full accord with this pledge.
>
> It will cut our deficit in half—from $10 billion to $4,900 million. It will be, in proportion to our national output, the smallest budget since 1951.
>
> It will call for a substantial reduction in Federal employment, a feat accomplished only once before in the last 10 years. While maintaining the full strength of our combat defenses, it will call for the lowest number of civilian personnel in the Department of Defense since 1950.
>
> It will call for total expenditures of $97,900 million—compared to $98,400 million for the current year, a reduction of more than $500 million. It will call for new obligational authority of $103,800 million—reduction of more than $4 billion below last year's request of $107,900 million.
>
> But it is not a standstill budget, for America cannot afford to stand still. Our population is growing. Our economy is more complex. Our people's needs are expanding.
>
> But by closing down obsolete installations, by curtailing less urgent programs, by cut-

ting back where cutting back seems to be wise, by insisting on a dollar's worth for a dollar spent, I am able to recommend in this reduced budget the most Federal support in history for education, for health, for retraining the unemployed, and for helping the economically and the physically handicapped.

This budget, and this year's legislative program, are designed to help each and every American citizen fulfill his basic hopes—his hopes for a fair chance to make good; his hopes for fair play from the law; his hopes for a full-time job on full-time pay; his hopes for a decent home for his family in a decent community; his hopes for a good school for his children with good teachers; and his hopes for security when faced with sickness or unemployment or old age.

III

Unfortunately, many Americans live on the outskirts of hope—some because of their poverty, and some because of their color, and all too many because of both. Our task is to help replace their despair with opportunity.

This administration today, here and now, declares unconditional war on poverty in America. I urge this Congress and all Americans to join with me in that effort.

It will not be a short or easy struggle, no single weapon or strategy will suffice, but we shall not rest until that war is won. The richest Nation on earth can afford to win it. We cannot afford to lose it. One thousand dollars invested in salvaging an unemployable youth today can return $40,000 or more in his lifetime.

Poverty is a national problem, requiring improved national organization and support. But this attack, to be effective, must also be organized at the State and the local level and must be supported and directed by State and local efforts.

For the war against poverty will not be won here in Washington. It must be won in the field, in every private home, in every public office, from the courthouse to the White House.

The program I shall propose will emphasize this cooperative approach to help that one-fifth of all American families with incomes too small to even meet their basic needs.

Our chief weapons in a more pinpointed attack will be better schools, and better health, and better homes, and better training, and better job opportunities to help more Americans, especially young Americans, escape from squalor and misery and unemployment rolls where other citizens help to carry them.

Very often a lack of jobs and money is not the cause of poverty, but the symptom. The cause may lie deeper—in our failure to give our fellow citizens a fair chance to develop their own capacities, in a lack of education and training, in a lack of medical care and housing, in a lack of decent communities in which to live and bring up their children.

Bt whatever the cause, our joint Federal-local effort must pursue poverty, pursue it wherever it exists—in city slums and small towns, in sharecropper shacks or in migrant worker camps, on Indian Reservations, among whites as well as Negroes, among the young as well as the aged, in the boom towns and in the depressed areas.

Our aim is not only to relieve the symptom of poverty, but to cure it and, above all, to prevent it. No single piece of legislation, however, is going to suffice.

We will launch a special effort in the chronically distressed areas of Appalachia.

We must expand our small but our successful area redevelopment program.

We must enact youth employment legislation to put jobless, aimless, helpless youngsters to work on useful projects.

We must distribute more food to the needy through a broader food stamp program.

We must create a National Service Corps to help the economically handicapped of our own country as the Peace Corps now helps those abroad.

We must modernize our unemployment insurance and establish a high-level commission on automation. If we have the brain power to invent these machines, we have the brain power to make certain that they are a boon and not a bane to humanity.

We must extend the coverage of our minimum wage laws to more than 2 million workers now lacking this basic protection of purchasing power.

We must, by including special school aid funds as part of our education program, improve the quality of teaching, training, and counseling in our hardest hit areas.

We must build more libraries in every area and more hospitals and nursing homes under the Hill-Burton Act, and train more nurses to staff them.

We must provide hospital insurance for our older citizens financed by every worker and his employer under Social Security, contributing no more than $1 a month during the employee's working career to protect him in his old age in a dignified manner without cost to the Treasury, against the devastating hardship of prolonged or repeated illness.

We must, as a part of a revised housing and urban renewal program, give more help to those displaced by slum clearance, provide more housing for our poor and our elderly, and seek as our ultimate goal in our free enterprise system a decent home for every American family.

We must help obtain more modern mass transit within our communities as well as low-cost transportation between them.

Above all, we must release $11 billion of tax reduction into the private spending stream to create new jobs and new markets in every area of this land.

IV

These programs are obviously not for the poor or the underprivileged alone. Every American will benefit by the extension of social security to cover the hospital costs of their aged parents. Every American community will benfit from the construction or modernization of schools, libraries, hospitals, and nursing homes, from the training of more nurses and from the improvement of urban renewal in public transit. And every individual American taxpayer and every corporate taxpayer will benefit from the earliest possible passage of the pending tax bill from both the new investment it will bring and the new jobs that it will create.

That tax bill has been thoroughly discussed for a year. Now we need action. The new budget clearly allows it. Our taxpayers surely deserve it. Our economy strongly demands it. And every month of delay dilutes its benefits in 1964 for consumption, for investment, and for employment.

For until the bill is signed, its investment incentives cannot be deemed certain, and the withholding rate cannot be reduced—and the most damaging and devastating thing you can do to any businessman in America is to keep him in doubt and to keep him guessing on what our tax policy is. And I say that we should now reduce to 14 percent instead of 15 percent our withholding rate.

I therefore urge the Congress to take final action on this bill by the first of February, if at all possible. For however proud we may be of the unprecedented progress of our free enterprise economy over the last 3 years, we should not and we cannot permit it to pause.

In 1963, for the first time in history, we crossed the 70 million job mark, but we will soon need more than 75 million jobs. In 1963 our gross national product reached the $600 billion level—$100 billion higher than when we took office. But it easily could and it should be still $30 billion higher today than it is.

Wages and profits and family income are also at their highest levels in history—but I would remind you that 4 million workers and 13 percent of our industrial capacity are still idle today.

We need a tax cut now to keep this country moving.

V

For our goal is not merely to spread the work. Our goal is to create more jobs. I believe the enactment of a 35-hour week would sharply increase costs, would invite inflation, would impair our ability to compete, and merely share instead of creating employment. But I am equally opposed to the 45- or 50-hour week in those industries where consistently excessive use of overtime causes increased unemployment.

So, therefore, I recommend legislation authorizing the creation of a tripartite industry committee to determine on an industry-by-industry basis as to where a higher penalty rate for overtime would increase job openings without unduly increasing costs, and authorizing the establishment of such higher rates.

VI

Let me make one principle of this administration abundantly clear: All of these increased opportunities—in employment, in education, in housing, and in every field—must be open to Americans of every color. As far as the writ of Federal law will run, we must abolish not some, but all racial discrimination. For this is not merely an economic issue, or a social, political, or international issue. It is a moral issue, and it must be met by the passage this session of the bill now pending in the House.

All members of the public should have equal access to facilities open to the public. All members of the public should be equally eligible for Federal benefits that are financed by the public. All members of the public should have an equal chance to vote for public officials and to send their children to good public schools and to contribute their talents to the public good.

Today, Americans of all races stand side by side in Berlin and in Viet Nam. They died side by side in Korea. Surely they can work and eat and travel side by side in their own country.

VII

We must also lift by legislation the bars of discrimination against those who seek entry into our country, particularly those who have much needed skills and those joining their families.

In establishing preferences, a nation that was built by the immigrants of all lands can ask those who now seek admission: "What can you do for our country?" But we should not be asking: "In what country were you born?"

VIII

For our ultimate goal is a world without war, a world made safe for diversity, in which all men, goods, and ideas can freely move across every border and every boundary.

We must advance toward this goal in 1964 in at least 10 different ways, not as partisans, but as patriots.

First, we must maintain—and our reduced defense budget will maintain—that margin of military safety and superiority obtained through 3 years of steadily increasing both the quality and the quantity of our strategic, our conventional, and our antiguerrilla forces. In 1964 we will be better prepared than ever before to defend the cause of freedom, whether it is threatened by outright aggression or by the infiltration practiced by those in Hanoi and Havana, who ship arms and men across international borders to foment insurrection. And we must continue to use that strength as John Kennedy used it in the Cuban crisis and for the test ban treaty—to demonstrate both the futility of nuclear war and the possibilities of lasting peace.

Second, we must take new steps—and we shall make new proposals at Geneva—toward the control and the eventual abolition of arms. Even in the absence of agreement, we must not stockpile arms beyond our needs or seek an excess of military power that could be provocative as well as wasteful.

It is in this spirit that in this fiscal year we are cutting back our production of enriched uranium by 25 percent. We are shutting down four plutonium piles. We are closing many nonessential military installations. And it is in this spirit that we today call on our adversaries to do the same.

Third, we must make increased use of our food as an instrument of peace—making it available by sale or trade or loan or donation—to hungry people in all nations which tell us of their needs and accept proper conditions of distribution.

Fourth, we must assure our pre-eminence in the peaceful exploration of outer space, focusing on an expedition to the moon in this decade—in cooperation with other powers if possible, alone if necessary.

Fifth, we must expand world trade. Having recognized in the Act of 1962 that we must *buy* as well as *sell*, we now expect our trading partners to recognize that we must *sell* as well as *buy*. We are willing to give them competitive access to our market, asking only that they do the same for us.

Sixth, we must continue, through such measures as the interest equalization tax, as well as the cooperation of other nations, our recent progress toward balancing our international accounts.

This administration must and will preserve the present gold value of the dollar.

Seventh, we must become better neighbors with the free states of the Americas, working with the councils of the OAS, with a stronger Alliance for Progress, and with all the men and women of this hemisphere who really believe in liberty and justice for all.

Eighth, we must strengthen the ability of free nations everywhere to develop their independence and raise their standard of living, and thereby frustrate those who prey on poverty and chaos. To do this, the rich must help the poor—and we must do our part. We must achieve a more rigorous administration of our development assistance, with larger roles for private investors, for other industrialized nations, and for international agencies and for the recipient nations themselves.

Ninth, we must strengthen our Atlantic and Pacific partnerships, maintain our alliances and make the United Nations a more effective instrument for national independence and international order.

Tenth, and finally, we must develop with our allies new means of bridging the gap between the East and the West, facing danger boldly wherever danger exists, but being equally bold in our search for new agreements which can enlarge the hopes of all, while violating the interests of none.

In short, I would say to the Congress that we must be constantly prepared for the worst, and constantly acting for the best. We must be strong enough to win any war, and we must be wise enough to prevent one.

We shall neither act as aggressors nor tolerate acts of aggression. We intend to bury no one, and we do not intend to be buried.

We can fight, if we must, as we have fought before, but we pray that we will never have to fight again.

IX

My good friends and my fellow Americans: In these last 7 sorrowful weeks, we have learned anew that nothing is so enduring as faith, and nothing is so degrading as hate.

John Kennedy was a victim of hate, but he was also a great builder of faith—faith in our fellow Americans, whatever their creed or their color or their station in life; faith in the future of man, whatever his divisions and differences.

This faith was echoed in all parts of the world. On every continent and in every land to which Mrs. Johnson and I traveled, we found faith and hope and love toward this land of America and toward our people.

So I ask you now in the Congress and in the country to join with me in expressing and fulfilling that faith in working for a nation, a nation that is free from want and a world that is free from hate—a world of peace and justice, and freedom and abundance, for our time and for all time to come.

KAIMUKI HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I have received numerous requests for copies of a speech I gave to the graduating class of 1968, Kaimuki High School, Honolulu, Hawaii. In the hope that this speech will also have some interest to my colleagues of the House, I submit it for the RECORD.

SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE PATSY T. MINK TO THE KAIMUKI HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATING CLASS OF 1968, JUNE 7, 1968

To the graduating seniors, your parents, teachers and friends: I am calling you tonight from my hotel room overlooking Fifth Avenue, just a few blocks from St. Patrick's Cathedral where the body of our beloved Senator Robert F. Kennedy lies. I went to the Cathedral this evening to pay my last respects to this man that I admired and respected so very much. Thousands upon thousands have filed past his bier today in silent homage to this young man who symbolized for us the hope and dreams of a better America in Peace and where human dignity became a way of life.

When he was alive thousands sought just to touch him as though to do so would in some way transfuse our bodies with new vigor and our minds with greater courage to continue working for the betterment of humanity, for the poor and the less fortunate in our society.

When Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated, I thought, then, that the grief we were being asked to bear was more than we could suffer; but now with Robert Kennedy gone, too, it seems for me at least that we have been cast adrift; and with the tears turned to a numbing pain, I wonder why we are being punished almost beyond endurance. Why must the good be trod upon and placed beneath the sod into eternity when the good is yet to triumph in this land? Why must our inspiration come from those who lie as our fallen heroes? Why does it seem that only the bland, the simple, the unexciting, the mediocre live unendangered?

It is so difficult for me to try, at the moment of my personal agony, to translate this grief into a lesson which you might carry with you and which might strengthen your resolve to carry on the work of Robert Kennedy each day of your lives as you grow to love your country and to have the warmth and compassion for all of its people, as he did.

It is not enough to grieve his death, for to do only that is to fail to understand why his life was so important. As we mourn with this shattered and shocked nation and, for that matter, with the world because he was loved by everyone who came to know him, we must see what it was that he was trying to do that so deeply moved and inspired the millions who became his admirers.

I believe that there is still hope in our country; that we do not need to be content with mediocrity; that we do have the right to hitch our stars to the heavens and strive for excellence; that we do have the innate goodness to recognize evil and demagoguery and to see that right shall overcome all obstacles and succeed.

I believe all this because you are and you must be that hope if this nation is to resemble in your future what it set out to be 200 years ago.

Your work and mine is, doubtless, more difficult today than it was yesterday, for in the yesterday we could so easily forfeit our roles as citizens in a democracy by simply saying to ourselves that our leaders could guide us over the rough and troubled waters and gain for us the progress that each new generation demands.

Today we know of the fraility of our bodies that one simple bullet could end its throbbing vitality forever. We cannot, therefore, believe in only one man and expect that he alone has the burden to correct all the wrongs still perpetrated upon our fellow citizens. For if we did that, his death would bring to an end the direction which was his claim to greatness.

It isn't easy to understand what is happening to America, or to try to appreciate the importance of these events which have stirred this nation. But I want you to know that from where I stand there is nothing more important to you and I, as Americans, than the course that we shall take to preserve our freedoms, to make this society more just, and to save the future generations from the ravages of war and internal strife.

You have labored long at your studies, and I know that you are impatient to leave and to continue on your separate ways. I hope that you will accept what I have to say here today as a simple message of hope from one who has felt that life can be more meaningful when dedicated to the pursuit of an ideal.

Your commencement is a time for beginning. It is a time for renewal. It is a time to make decisions about the course of life that each of you will pursue. I am confident that your decisions respecting your personal lives will be well-made. I am equally confident that these decisions will include a role for yourselves in the shaping of our country's destiny. To this end I want to discuss with you the "star" to which I have set my goals and hope that you will do the same.

Some of you will be immediately entering military service. I hope and pray that you shall never see battle or know the agony of combat; that somehow before your time we shall be able to bring this destructive war to an end and achieve the peace which no one faithful to our sons would deny is the priceless gift of a compassionate world.

Some of you will be soon seeing the cities and slums of America. I hope and pray that you shall have your eyes opened to the suffering and despair that is still part of our America and find room in your hearts to feel the need to do something to correct these appalling conditions which the apathy of our existence has permitted to grow and fester and to diminish the quality of our life.

A war being fought by a half million of our bravest, 10,000 miles distant; a turmoil on our college campuses churned by students whose militancy belies their pacifist views anxious for a new order of priorities in their confused lives; a social upheaval in our cities driven by the widening disparities of the have and have nots of our society where destruction seems to symbolize for the miserable a new hope, and a last chance to be free!

How many of you will forge ahead, determined to accept the challenges of the modern world, dedicated to finding solutions to our problems. How many will choose to ignore the complicated and disturbing issues that face our country, and choose comfort over participation and personal involvement.

As America is at its crossroads so you are in the midst of making momentous decisions about your future. The process of learning and of growth is a lifelong process, and often times it is an agonizing experience. How you shall live your life in large measure will decide the direction that America will go.

As you think and question and decide what you want to do * * *, surely there must be time for justice and equality. The foment of our nation is not for charity nor for pity; but rather it is for simple justice and equality required for dignity and self-respect.

Youth is disillusioned about the great and obvious inconsistency of our national goals; how can it be right to go to war to liberate the poor and wretched of Asia and sacrifice the lives of tens of thousands of our youth and 100 billions of our dollars; and yet be unable to see the suffering of our own people, thousands of our babies whose brains and bodies are permanently damaged for lack of food and for lack of medical care; children whose bodies are chewed at night by rats; homeless, jobless, poor people who want only a chance to be freed from the chain of the ghettos.

As parents, we all know that our smallest children ask so many questions which are difficult to answer; and how so often we hid the truth because it is easier to make up a nice answer because we want to protect the innocents from the hard, cruel realities of life. Perhaps for a time there is justification in this but surely as we have succeeded in hiding anything from their penetrating eyes, we have made the discovery of truth a far more traumatic experience.

It is this awakening to a desperate need for moral values in our life, that we find the basis for the unrest in our young people today.

So, to whatever degree each of you here today acknowledges a sense of individual responsibility for the common good and for the welfare of others less fortunate than you, I urge you not to lose it, to cherish it and to make that sense of purpose your higher goal for life so as to give it greater dimension and meaning.

Good luck in all you do!

God speed wherever you might go!

And congratulations to you and to your parents for whom this is a proud and exciting moment.

Aloha!

L. B. J. ORDERS AID FOR NEGRO BUSINESSES

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, we are all fully aware of the economic problems that exist among minority groups particularly in our inner cities.

Yesterday, I had the opportunity to study an approach to these problems that was like a breath of fresh air. I refer, Mr. Speaker, to an article by the Honorable Howard J. Samuels, Administrator-designate of the Small Business Administration, in the Washington Post. I commend this article to my colleagues as well worth reading, because I believe it not only clearly enunciates an imaginative course of action which I believe promises real progress, but also clearly shows the drive and vigor that Howard Samuels will bring to SBA to achieve the objectives given to him by President Johnson at the time of his appointment. I know Howard Samuels, and I am delighted that he is to have the opportunity to dedicate his considerable talent and know-how to this pressing national problem.

As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, I know of the desperate need to help our disadvantaged help themselves, and really share in this unprecedented land of plenty. Mr. Speaker, I request that the article from yesterday's Post be included at this point in the RECORD:

ECONOMIC IMPACT: L. B. J. ORDERS AID FOR NEGRO BUSINESSES

(By Howard J. Samuels)

(NOTE.—Mr. Samuels is guest columnist today for Business and Financial Editor Hobart Rowen, who is on vacation.)

The demand of the black community for a share in American business—not only as employes but as owners and managers—has been heard clearly by political leaders this year. The leading candidates of both parties are calling for new policies to promote black ownership.

In the inner city itself "a piece of the action" has become a symbol more potent than just an economic issue. "Jobs" still means working for whitey; "own your own" means a lot more.

A Negro business leader put the problem bluntly, "This is a capitalistic system," he said, "but we are the only people in it without any capital."

The Irish, the Jews, the Italians have always owned the businesses in their neighborhoods, and the grocer's son eventually made his way to college and into the "system." The blacks, for many reasons, have not been able to.

The facts are dramatic:

Minorities are 15 percent of the population but own only one percent of the businesses. One out of ten white families owns its own business, but only one out of 40 black families.

Even in the ghettos, some 80 to 85 per cent of the businesses are owned by whites. Certainly less than 10 per cent of the retail volume moves through black stores in the inner city.

In Washington, where more than half the population is Negro, blacks own 2000 businesses while whites own 28,000. One fourth of the businesses the Negroes do own are barber shops and beauty parlors. They own no manufacturing enterprises.

Other ethnic groups came to this country from Europe with some merchant experience to exploit. The road up from slavery has been tougher. Negroes have simply not been a part of the economic system, except as workers: Few have acquired management experience because only recently have white businesses begun to move them into top jobs.

The brightest and most ambitious blacks have gone into law, medicine, teaching or politics where the barriers have not been so formidable. In addition the Negroes have little capital. The black community, at the bottom of the economic heap, has been unable to develop the savings essential to capital formation.

With little capital of their own they have a hard time walking into a bank down town and coming out with a business loan. And there are astonishingly few Negro banks to go to—only one in the whole of New York City, 17 in the entire United States. The assets of all the Negro banks in the country add up to one half of one per cent of the assets of the Bank of America alone.

This Administration has made a start, gaining some experience in how to help minorities and making some mistakes along the way. But it now has the tools and is ready to move in a much bigger way.

The critical problem of insurance for businesses in high risk areas will soon be resolved by the re-insurance bill Congress is expected to pass. The Small Business Administration has the authority to guarantee hundreds of millions of dollars worth of loans from the private banks. SBA can do for minority business development what federal mortgage guarantees have done for housing. The agency can offer 100 per cent guarantee on special "economic opportunity" loans for the poor—looking more at their personal potential as entrepreneurs than at their capital. Some $82 million has been loaned so far.

As a matter of principle, I believe a man taking a Government loan should have a little of his own money in the venture. Trying to put a man with nothing into business would be both bad business and a disservice to him. The philosophy of the free enterprise system requires that an entrepreneur take some personal risk.

But acquiring some capital is only the start for the new class of minority entrepreneurs we want to help establish. They must also have training in management to succeed.

On both these scores there is a limit to what government can or should do. The private business community's participation is essential to provide not only capital—greatly leveraged with government guarantees—but management assistance.

Much more can and must be done by the retail and service businesses to offer franchise to minority entrepreneurs—auto dealerships, service stations, supermarket. There is no better way for people with limited experience to develop managerial competence than by operating first under the umbrella of a successful corporation.

Trade associations should set up social programs to sponsor and train minorities to get into their fields especially retail and service areas where entry is the easiest.

The minority community must get involved too, through participation in local development corporations and by helping find potential business owners and educate them to the opportunities. The government role should be that of catalyst, organizer, planner, and guarantor of the financing. Our most important role now is to galvanize private sector involvement.

The President has given me the mandate as head of the SBA to move forcefully in these new directions, and quickly. The leaders of the banking and business communities are being consulted any they understand this need. They see minority ownership as important to economic growth and a stable society.

In their active participation lies the single best hope for giving the nation's minorities a stake in the free enterprise system.

GREECE'S FIGUREHEAD CABINET MEMBERS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the latest issue of News of Greece, newsletter of the U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece, contains a short article about the new Cabinet appointed by the Greek military junta. One apparent certainty, the article says, "is that, unless the junta disappears very quickly, one can expect it to announce a good many further Cabinet changes." The article concludes:

By and large, however, the changes do not seem likely to have much significance; most of the civilian ministers are mere figureheads, while the ministries are actually run by army officers installed as secretaries-general, directors-general, or simply as political commissars.

The complete article follows:

THE NEW CABINET

It was said of the first cabinet installed by the colonels after their coup that most of its members were so obscure that they had not even heard of one another. But the junta's latest cabinet, appointed on June 20, contains some names which are even to be found in one or another Who's Who. Two of these are holdovers, Panayotis Pipinelis as Foreign Minister and Theophylaktos Papaconstantinou as Minister of Education and Religion. Pipinelis, a veteran diplomat and political manipulator, was brought into the cabinet to save the pieces when the Cyprus crisis got out of hand; his role in the present regime has been essentially that of a diplomatic technician. He has been described as the junta's Von Papen for his past and present roles. Papaconstantinou, a former Communist theoretician, has at one time or another been on almost every political side. At the time of the coup he was a columnist for one of Eleni Vlachou's papers. When she ceased publication rather than submit to the junta's censorship, Papaconstantinou distinguished himself by being one of a small group of her employees to bring suit against her for wages. Four-fifths of his colleagues refused to join in the suit although the government penalized them by cutting off their unemployment benefits. He got his pay and a bonus in the form of an appointment as Under-Secretary for the Press; more recently he was promoted to his present post.

Dimitrios Patilis, the new Second Deputy Premier, is a retired general and long-time military politician. Two of the new appointees, Minister of Trade Epaminondas Tsellos and Under-Secretary to the Premier's Office Constantine Vovolinis, have fairly long political histories. Tsellos was Secretary-General of the Unionist Party of John Metaxas in 1935. was a deputy minister in the government-in-exile, and served as Director-General of the rightist National Radical Union in 1956. For this he was rewarded with the post of Director-General of the Communications Administration. Vovolinis was Secretary of the Piraeus City Council during the Metaxas dictatorship. After the war his political fortunes were closely allied with those of Spiros Markezinis. He ran unsuccessfully for Parliament on the ticket of Markezinis's New Party in 1950 and that of the Papagos-Markezinis Greek Rally in 1951, and was finally elected on the Rally ticket in a 1953 by-election. When Markezinis split with the Rally and formed the Progressive Party, he joined that and was a candidate on its ticket in 1956. His presence may presage an increasingly open role for Markezinis, who has reportedly been advising Colonel Makarezos ever since the coup. Indeed, there was some expectation that Markezinis would enter the cabinet in this reshuffle; he may have asked more power than the junta was willing to grant.

One thing that seems certain is that, unless the junta disappears very quickly, one can expect it to announce a good many further cabinet changes. Indeed, two of the new appointees—Minister of Justice Ioannis Triandaphylopoulos and Under-Secretary for Education and Religion Dmitrios Koutsoyannopoulos—resigned less than three weeks after their appointment. By and large, however, the changes do not seem likely to have much significance; most of the civilian ministers are mere figureheads, while the ministries are actually run by army officers installed as secretaries-general, directors-general, or simply as political commissars.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Robert Kennedy will always be remembered as a champion of human rights. He was one of the few Americans who realized the bearing that Africa's racial problems had on the United States and on the world.

Recently, Wayne Fredericks wrote a tribute to the late Senator which appeared in the Los Angeles Times. The article is a portrait of a sensitive human being deeply involved in the world struggle for racial equality.

Wayne Fredericks served from 1961 until 1967 as deputy assistant secretary for African affairs. Subsequently, the State Department presented him with its Superior Honor Award. This past May, I had the pleasure of attending the Anglo-American Inter-Parliamentary Conference on Africa with Mr. Fredericks. His grasp of Africa's problems made him an invaluable asset to the Conference. The article provides a glimpse of the magnitude of these problems and points up a need for more to follow in Senator Kennedy's footsteps. I include it in the RECORD, as follows:

KENNEDY IN AFRICA: ONE MAN'S FAITH IN A CONTINENT

(By Wayne Fredericks)

On June 6 two years ago, Sen. Robert Kennedy said to the students of the University of Cape Town in South Africa: "At the heart of Western freedom and democracy is the belief that the individual man, the child of God, is the touchstone of value—and all society, groups, the state, exist for his benefit. Therefore, the enlargement of liberty for individual human beings must be the supreme goal and the abiding practice of Western society." His speech was made in the course of a journey which took him and Mrs. Kennedy to the Republic of South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia.

Robert Kennedy's interest in Africa goes back at least as far as the "Kennedy airlift" of 1960, when the Kennedy Foundation provided charter flights for a number of students from East Africa who had scholarships at various American colleges but did not have funds to get to this country from Africa.

Robert Kennedy remained especially interested in the role of youth and students throughout the world, including Africa, and was conscious of the great impact which would be made in Africa as more and more young and increasingly better educated Africans assumed positions of responsibility. When he reached Ethiopia on his 1966 African trip, he spoke to several thousand students in a hall normally holding one-third that number, and referred to youth and students as the elite of their country and told them it was their responsibility to strive for the betterment of their own people and "to promote a dialogue between young people of all nations."

His interest in Africa grew during his years as attorney general and as senator. He asked for and received regular briefings on African developments from State Department officials and others.

He had often expressed to me a desire to visit Africa and was pleased when he received an invitation in the autumn of 1965 from the president of the National Union of South African Students to speak to a student audience in Cape Town. Delays in obtaining visas and in finding a mutually acceptable time caused the trip to be postponed until June 1966, a time which was not convenient to Sen. Kennedy because of the political campaign of 1966. Nevertheless he proceeded.

An impressive amount of time and energy went into the preparation of the trip. Information was requested, not only from official sources, but from universities and a wide variety of private sources of knowledge on southern and eastern Africa. The senator held discussions with scholars, officials, businessmen, churchmen, journalists, authors, Africans, South Africans, representing a wide range of views on developments in Africa and on race relations.

Particularly useful were a series of Saturday morning discussions beginning with breakfast at the senator's home at Hickory Hill. During these and other discussions, Sen. Kennedy formulated and refined the principal themes of his speeches in the four countries he was to visit.

In the case of South Africa, whose policy of apartheid was repugnant to most of the world community and whose racial problems were very difficult, he was anxious to set forth for *all* South Africans, regardless of race, his own views of the basic values of Western democracy. (It was from a speech in South Africa that Sen. Edward Kennedy quoted in his eulogy to his brother in St. Patrick's Cathedral on June 8.)

Although he was ignored by South African officials, his speeches, his visits to universities, to African townships, to the late Chief Albert Luthuli, and to industrial leaders were widely reported. And Kennedy, too, was impressed, not only by modern technological achievements—but by Chief Luthuli, a modest African Nobel Peace Prize winner under restriction on his farm and of whom Sen. Kennedy said, "He is one of the most impressive men I have ever met. His compassion, understanding, and tolerance were most impressive."

As Kennedy departed, the Rand Daily Mail, an English language Johannesburg paper, said "Sen. Robert Kennedy's visit is the best thing that has happened to South Africa for years. It is as if a window has been flung open and a gust of fresh air has swept into a room."

Although the South African portion of the journey was controversial both inside and outside South Africa, the visits to Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia took the form of a homecoming. President Kenyatta, President Nyerere, and His Majesty Haile Selassie and their people accorded him a reception usually reserved for a visiting chief of state. Both President Nyerere and the Emperor had met Robert Kennedy during their state visits to this country in 1963 when he was attorney general.

Robert Kennedy was one of those few Americans in high places who early felt the growing importance of Africa and who saw the importance of the issue of race and color for Africa, for the United States, and for the world. He saw danger in the minority regimes throughout Southern Africa based solely on race and in the potential opportunity they afforded communism. "The denial of freedom," he said in Africa, "in whatever name, only strengthens the very communism it claims to oppose."

He was concerned at the low level of U.S. economic assistance to Africa and called for an increased flow of economic aid and private investment from the richer to the poorer nations.

He had the ability to communicate with Africans—both about their problems and ours—and was always ready to receive African visitors when they came to Washington or New York on official or private visits. One

African leader's comment to me was typical, "Sen. Kennedy certainly has an understanding of the problems of Africa."

I was in Kenya when the shattering news of the shooting and then of the death of Sen. Robert Kennedy came. President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, who has led his people through periods of stress and difficulty to racial accommodation and tolerance, summed it up for himself and for Africa when he said on June 6, 1968, "America and indeed the world has lost a courageous, liberal, and far-sighted personality. The ideals for which he strived will live on and inspire people the world over to live in understanding, respect, and love."

THREE MORE MARYLANDERS KILLED IN VIETNAM ACTIONS

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Cpl. Thurman W. Winston, Pfc. Wayne A Keller, and Cpl. Lance B. Tilghman, three fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their courage and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

THREE MORE MARYLANDERS KILLED IN VIETNAM ACTIONS

Three more Maryland servicemen have been killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Reported killed were:

Cpl. Thurman W. Winston, son of Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm B. Winston of route 2 box 99, Trappe.

Pfc. Wayne A. Keller, son of Mrs. Edith B. Keller, of 12910 New Hampshire avenue, Silver Spring.

Cpl. Lance B. Tilghman, husband of Mrs. Benjamin Tilghman, box 168, Deal Island.

Corporal Winston, who was 21, was killed July 25 when the truck in which he was riding was struck by an enemy grenade.

A 1967 graduate of Easton High School, he entered the Army in September of that year. After receiving his basic training at Fort Meade he was sent to Vietnam in the fall.

Beside his parents, survivors include two brothers, Charles L. and Douglass M., both of Trappe; and four sisters, Hosanna E. of Trappe, Mary, of Easton, Md., Eleanor of New York city, and Martha, of Los Angeles.

Private Keller, who was 22, had been in Vietnam since May and was killed July 25.

A graduate of Springbrook High School, he had worked for the E. F. Hauserman company as a carpenter until he was drafted last October. He intended to return to the company when he completed his military service.

He was a paratrooper in A Company, 4th Platoon, 2d Brigade, 506th Infantry Group, 101st Airborne Division. He had volunteered for airborne duty.

Survivors besides his mother include two sisters, Mrs. Joyce K. Habecker, of Kensington, Md., and Miss Cynthia A. Keller, of Silver Spring; and two brothers, Carlton A., with the United States Army in Bamberg, Germany, and Gilbert A., serving with the Navy in Jacksonville, Fla.

Corporal Tilghman, who was 19, was killed July 23 in Quang Tri province when he was struck by enemy mortar fire.

After graduating from Somerset High School in June of last year he joined the Marines in August. After completing basic training at Parris Island, S.C., he went to Camp Lejeune, N.C., and Camp Pendleton, Cal. for further training. He went to Vietnam on January 20.

Survivors, besides his wife, include two children, Valeria and Amy, of Deal Island.

THE 24TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW UPRISING

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the 24th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, the courageous attempt by the brave Polish patriots of Warsaw to break the tyrannical bonds of Nazi occupation which began on the first day of August in 1944 and lasted for 63 bloody days.

This heroic effort by the Polish people to liberate their capital was costly; almost the entire city was destroyed and some 200,000 people—men, women and children—gave their lives for freedom, while the Soviet Army watched from the outskirts of Warsaw.

Four years ago President Johnson commemorated the 20th anniversary of this struggle for freedom by issuing a special proclamation, in which he said this anniversary should be remembered "as an exceptional demonstration of man's courage and devotion in the long and continuing struggle for human freedom."

The President's words are no less significant today. As a free nation we must never forget the value of our freedom, and we must never forget that, while freedom is an American way of life, it is little more than a dream for millions of people throughout the world who live under the tyrannical heel of dictatorship.

The brave Polish uprising is part of history now, but the chains of Nazi occupation have been replaced by the harsh totalitarian rule of Communist Russia; oppressor followed oppressor, and for the Polish people freedom is still the dream and not the reality.

But while the Iron Curtain still casts its dark shadow across Poland, the light of freedom still flickers in that shadow. Communism can physically restrict the right to worship, the right to speak freely, and the right to assemble, but freedom is more than a physical act; it is a condition of the human spirit, and no manmade power can ever restrict such a basic human longing.

As long as the flame of freedom continues to flicker in the dark shadow of Russian domination we must not turn our backs on the Polish people. Their cause must be our cause, and we must do whatever is possible to help them attain their freedom.

Commemorating this 24th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising today is the kind of recognition that should be given to this heroic struggle, but we should also use this occasion to reaffirm our dedication to the principle of freedom and justice for all.

CHICAGO PLANS AIRPORT IN LAKE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Chicago's plans to build the first major airport in a huge body of water got a big boost in the July 22 issue of American Aviation.

Mr. James E. Skinner, writing for this magazine quite properly predicts that Chicago will build an airport in Lake Michigan.

The article by Mr. Skinner described plans for construction of the airport on the floor of Lake Michigan about 5½ miles offshore.

I do not know as yet what method will be used. Recently I proposed we go further out into the lake—at least 10 miles—and build a floating airport.

While it is too early to tell which method will be used, I do hope plans for an airport in Lake Michigan will succeed. I am certain that only by building out in a large body of water can we protect our citizens against the growing menace of jet noise.

Mr. Skinner's article follows:

CHICAGO PLANS AIRPORT-IN-THE-LAKE

(By James E. Skinner)

CHICAGO.—Here is a prediction: The Windy City will build an airport on the floor of Lake Michigan, centered about five-and-a-half miles offshore from the Loop.

Reason for the prediction? An engineering report shows it can be done. A second report shows the lake site is the preferred location, ranking above a group of possible land sites. It has been recommended by the Chicago Department of Aviation, the Chicago Department of Public Works and the Chicago Planning Department. The Federal Aviation Administration has approved it. It is the choice of Chicago Aviation Commissioner William E. Downes Jr.

A study shows that by 1980, the lake site will save Chicago passengers more than $50 million a year in ground transportation costs as compared to far-out land sites. The same study shows it would attract passengers on about a 50–50 basis with O'Hare, whereas a remote land site would have far less attraction for passengers. Because of its location, it would be a business asset to downtown Chicago. If it is advantageous to business and political Chicago, which reports indicate it is, Mayor Richard J. Daley will fight for it. He already has come out in favor of the airport-in-the-lake.

The report favoring the lake site was prepared by Real Estate Research Corp. and was released only recently. Mayor Daley has called for additional studies into the effect of the airport on the lake's water currents and water pollution, and on the effect of the lake's fog and icing on the airport.

When these new reports are filed, a decision will be made by the city administration.

Although no timetable has been set, the decision should not be too long in coming because Chicago, the transportation hub of the country, is rapidly running out of airport space. In fact, the same report that indicated that the airport-in-the-lake would be the most practical immediate solution also stated that a fourth major Chicago airport will be required, and that planning for this fourth airport should begin now.

As projected, the lake airport would be centered almost directly east of downtown Chicago's Meigs Field. Its closest point to land would be about three-and-one-half miles off-shore. This location could be shifted about three miles north or south along the shoreline without materially affecting the cost, according to an engineering report.

The airport would be built by the polder-dike system, in which a circular cofferdam is fashioned and water is pumped out to expose the lake bottom, on which the landing field and terminal buildings will be constructed.

Depth of the lake in this area is 35 to 55 ft. The dike, built of sand with stone facing, would crest between 18 and 24 ft. above the water, with the highest portion on the north and northeast where the highest waves are generated. The dike and access roads would require 59.2 million cubic yards of fill, and when completed would contain 400,000 acre feet of water that would have to be pumped out. Engineering reports show the lake bottom is a hard clay, which would make a suitable base for landing strips.

Although present projections show that the dike will be circular with a four-mile diameter and an area of about 11,000 acres, the actual design will be altered to fit the final airport configuration more suitably.

As planned, the airport will have four sets of parallel runways extending NW-SE and NE-SW. There would be a 15,000-ft. separation between the sets of runways. Inner take-off runways would be 12,000 ft. long expandable to 15,000 ft., and outer landing runways would be 10,000 ft. expandable to 12,000 ft.

The airport would be connected to the lakeshore by a 3,000-ft. causeway extending eastward from the beach, an additional 2.7 miles of bridge, and a final 400 ft. of tunnel going underneath the dike and opening into the airport on the lake bottom. As planning progresses, this connection could become one long tunnel or could become several tunnels connecting with both north and south Chicago in addition to the downtown business district. Cost for clearing the site and building access roads has been projected at from $247 million to $284 million, with the total cost of the complete airport to be about $423 million.

The engineering report termed this method of constructing a new airport feasible and practical. It said work to clear the lake bottom site would take about four years, but could be done three years with an increased-cost, rush effort. Actual construction of the airport after the land is cleared would take another four years. When told that it would take eight years for Chicago to build a new airport, the mayor, in a typical Daley statement, said, "Do it in four."

Downes, who has the job of keeping Chicago aviation facilities in step with the burgeoning growth of the industry, said of the airport-in-the lake: "Technically, there is nothing in our way. I think it has to be built. I have a fond hope it will be built."

Downes listed the following advantages of the lake airport that can be offered by no other site:

Approaches are clear and will remain clear.

The airport can be expanded at any time. Engineering reports say it is just as practical to enlarge the diked area as it is to do the original construction.

There will be no noise problem for adjoining residents.

It is a downtown airport located only minutes away from the center of the city.

Local opposition to the airport-in-the-lake has centered primarily around the fact that it may upset present lake currents and increase offshore water pollution. These possibilities are being considered in the current studies. Aviation opposition is concentrated on the possibility of fog over the airport area and on possible ice-covered runways during the winter. To this, Downes answers: "Category II and III landings will be common when this airport is completed. If it is necessary to heat the runways, we'll heat them."

Real Estate Research Corp. studied about 15 possible airport sites before it made its report, which pinpointed three land areas located to the southwest of Chicago as the most desirable. The possible land sites are located along the perimeter of metropolitan Chicago, about 25 miles from the business center of the city. "All four potential sites are compatible with metropolitan development objectives," the report stated.

In comparing the lake and land sites, the report said: "If a land site is selected, it would generate relatively little effective demand, and the contribution to the relief of pressure on O'Hare would be disappointing. If sites farther out had been tested, this imbalance would be further aggravated. On the other hand, the table indicates a balance of demand if a lake site is selected. Analysis of passenger demand and ground trips shows actual distribution of passenger volumes between O'Hare and a new land airport would heavily favor O'Hare, whereas a lake airport would achieve about 50–50 balance."

Because of the lake site's location, the report also stated that this site would result in commuting savings for passengers on the order of $50 million to $98 million a year by 1980.

The FAA, in a conclusion that accompanied the report, said that site A, the one farthest south and the greatest distance from O'Hare, was the most preferable of the land sites: "The lake-site airport would provide essentially the same capacity as that by a land site and would assure the same degree of safety of aircraft operations which would be provided by a land site operated jointly with O'Hare Airport. Under adverse weather conditions and/or heavy traffic, capacity of the lake site and O'Hare Airport would be reduced below the capacity of site A and O'Hare due to the interaction between O'Hare and the lake site."

The FAA said site A was the most desirable land location because the distance from O'Hare provided for a greater degree of independence of operation, thereby providing greater utilization of airspace.

Even though the land sites were deemed potentially usable, all had approach zones that would conflict with residential use of surrounding land. Site A has four of its eight approach zones over incompatible residential land use areas, one containing a mental health center.

The $423 million expected cost of the airport-in-the-lake can be compared with the projected cost of the three land sites: site A—$236 million, site B—$209 million and site C—$443 million.

The proposed airport is part of a three-step plan to relieve the burden at O'Hare, where passenger traffic and aircraft operations are increasing at a phenomenal rate:

	Operations	*Passengers*
1962	416, 991	13, 525, 955
1963	426, 098	16, 163, 414
1964	458, 460	18, 394, 126
1965	509, 621	20, 998, 325
1966	543, 500	23, 589, 683
1967	643, 787	27, 552, 816

First step was reactivation of Chicago Midway so it could relieve the pressure for medium-distance travel in and out of Chicago. With a new terminal and two rebuilt runways—6,520 and 6,104 ft.—airline operations at Midway were resumed last Dec. 15. Rehabilitation cost about $10 million.

Projections were that Midway operations would reach 10,000 by the middle of this year and go up to 35,000 by the end of 1968. These forecasts are holding, according to Ferd F. Rosa, Chicago aviation department administrative engineer. It is expected that Midway will hit its limit of about 180,000 operations early in the 1970s. This would be about 6,000 operations a year for each of the 28 Midway gates, about the same level of activity that O'Hare has with each of its 70 domestic gates.

Second step in the three-phase program is modernization of O'Hare so it can handle more passengers. The 27.5-million passengers at O'Hare last year pushed it close to the saturation point. Airline reports show that, contrary to general belief, the schedules are fairly evenly distributed throughout the day. "We don't have peaks in arrival and departure operations," said Downes. "We have a plateau."

The O'Hare work, which is expected to cost about $300 million, calls for increasing the capacity of both the landing field and the terminal area. The first step, which will be completed with an $18 million bond issue, includes reconstruction of the main NW-SE 11,600-ft. runway and construction of two new taxiways, one E-W and one NW-SE.

Also in the planning stage is a new NE-SW runway to the south of the field, which will give O'Hare three sets of parallel runways with 6,000-ft. separation between each pair.

Under present plans, terminal area at O'Hare will be doubled. With larger aircraft expected to go into service late next year, Chicago planners do not expect many more operations, but they do expect the passenger volume to double or triple. Terminals two and three, on the SW and SE corners of the O'Hare terminal complex, will be doubled in size. Walkways connecting the gate positions with the terminal will be placed underground so that large Boeing 747-type aircraft will not be trapped in the blind cul-de-sacs that are now formed by concourse connecting above ground with the terminal. The international gates at terminal No. 1 on the west side will be moved to the east side of the airport and this terminal will be enlarged for domestic use.

Also being planned is a new five-level garage that will increase the parking capacity of the terminal area to 12,500 cars, and some type of people mover that would transport passengers from the parking area to gates.

Time schedule for the O'Hare improvements now rests with the airlines. As projected, the cost will be paid by the airlines under an agreement similar to that through which the airlines now support O'Hare.

"This work should be ready by the early 1970s," says Downes. "Otherwise we will be in great difficulty."

Concerning the entire Chicago airport improvement program, the Real Estate Research report stated: "All projections of future airline travel clearly signify a need for substantial expansion of capacities beyond the limits of O'Hare and Midway. The new airport should be in operation, even with the expansion of O'Hare facilities, by the mid-1970s. The need for the third airport is obvious, and its creation should not be delayed."

H.R. 13806

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, time is waning in the 90th Congress; and we are busily trying to clear up loose legislative ends prior to recessing for the two national conventions. But, as we prepare for the conventional recess, I would remind the membership of this body that there will still be time left when we return in September to give further consideration to a measure I proposed last November.

If the bill I proposed at that time had been enacted into law, it would have saved the taxpayers of this Nation an untold number of dollars.

The bill I have reference to is H.R. 13806, which I introduced on November 1, 1967, a bill to require persons holding demonstrations on Federal property or in the District of Columbia to post a bond to cover certain costs of such demonstration. This bill still resides in the Committee on Public Works.

I humbly submit that it would be in the best interest of all Americans if it were reported from that committee and enacted into law before our taxpayers are presented with other due bills that they must pay, merely because a group wants to protest the policies or the practices of our Government.

Only this week the Dallas Morning News published an editorial in favor of my proposal. I ask that the editorial, entitled "Protest Deposit," be printed at this point in the Record. The editorial follows:

PROTEST DEPOSIT

When an organization rents an auditorium for an event, it ordinarily posts a deposit to cover possible damage. The purpose is twofold: It protects the owner and it encourages the lessee to take care of the property.

This principle forms the basis for a proposal that, henceforth, those planning demonstrations or protest marches post bond with the proper public authorities.

The National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., recently posed this prospect to its membership. Nationwide, 86 per cent were in favor, 11 per cent were opposed, and 3 per cent were undecided. In Texas the figures were 91, 7 and 2 per cent, respectively.

The poll was inspired by a bill sponsored by Rep. Horace Kornegay of North Carolina. It would require that demonstration groups planning to use federal property post a bond sufficient to pay whatever is necessary to restore the property to its original condition.

The proposal comes a bit late for that once-beautiful span of greenery beside the Reflecting Pool, which became a squalid shantytown called Resurrection City in our nation's capital. The taxpayer at large is paying for rehabilitation of the area, not those who reduced the turf to dust and mud.

It was another clash between right and responsibility. The demonstrators embraced the right to protest. But they left for others the responsibility to pay for their damage.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial comment points out that "the proposal comes a bit late for that once beautiful span of greenery beside the Reflecting Pool, which became a squalid shantytown called Resurrection City in our Nation's Capital." However, if my bill had been enacted into law prior to the ill-advised and malconducted Poor People's Campaign in Washington, it would have saved our taxpayers from paying a bill for something they did not order.

I introduced this proposed legislation following the sordid spectacle of the antiwar demonstration and the "march" on the Pentagon last year. This gathering of hippies, malcontents, and war protesters cost those who did not participate more than $1,000,000.

What did the so-called Poor People's Campaign cost the taxpayers? No one, I am sure, will ever be able to make an accurate cost analysis, but surely the final figure will run into many millions of dollars when the loss of business because of the event in the metropolitan area of Washington is taken into account.

The distinguished and able Senator from West Virginia, the Honorable Robert C. Byrd, a knowledgeable person in financial matters of the District of Columbia and other aspects of our Federal budget, inserted figures in the June 28, 1968, Congressional Record which showed the total cost of the Poor People's Campaign to the District of Columbia to be almost $500,000. Senator Byrd, in the July 1, 1968, Congressional Record placed information in that journal that showed a preliminary estimate of an additional $160,000 cost to the National Park Service for the ill-fated event held here this spring. This included an estimate of more than $61,000 just for restoring the site of the eyesore called Resurrection City. But this figure certainly was a conservative one, for workers are still busy today attempting to resurrect some of the beauty of that once-beautiful vista.

Mr. Speaker, as I asked last November, is it fair to ask our Nation's taxpayers to clean up after somebody else's mess?

Apparently, from the mail and conversations I have had since the introduction of my bill, I am not alone in my view that those who mess up should be required to either clean up or pay up.

Recently, the National Federation of Independent Business polled its 253,000 independent business proprietors to find out their reaction to my bill. The results showed that 86 percent favor a legislative proposal, 11 percent are opposed, and 3 percent are undecided.

All I ask, Mr. Speaker, of this body is that the bill be brought to the House for discussion and debate and to let the representatives of the people decide on the merits of the proposal. I have no doubt as to what the majority of this body will do. They will vote in the interests of the people, and pass this bill.

REMEMBER THE "PUEBLO"

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, last week many of us expressed deep concern over the serious implications of the seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* by North Korea on January 23, 1968. Throughout the week, numerous newspapers across the Nation carried noteworthy editorials about this incident.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to call attention to a timely editorial appearing in the July 24, 1968, edition of the Aurora Beacon-News, Aurora, Ill.:

IT'S TIME TO GET TOUGH

The weak response of the United States of America to the seizure of the intelligence ship Pueblo by North Korea and to the capture of American tunaboats by Latin American countries seems to have emboldened Cambodia to the point it felt it could seize an American ship and hold the men for ransom.

The failure to act firmly in other incidents appears to have created the impression in Cambodia it could do what it wanted and without endangering itself.

The more countries which get away with taking American ships and men, the more other countries will begin to think along similar lines.

The situation along the Vietnam-Cambodian border—a poorly defined and disputed line—lends itself to border violations, or permits one side to claim a border violation and leaves the other side hard pressed to argue the case.

There seems no immediate solution to the disputed location of the border, but there needs to be an immediate answer to the problem of captured American men and ships.

Cambodia is asking a tractor or a bulldozer for each American as the price for the return of the men. Eleven Americans and one South Vietnamese were taken with the ship.

No mention was made of the South Vietnamese in the Cambodian ransom demand. If he was working with U.S. forces on a U.S. vessel, then the U.S. has an obligation to see to his safe return along with the safe return of the American men.

No one says the lives of the men aren't worth the tractors or bulldozers, but where do things stop once you start paying ransom?

If Cambodia can turn this seizure into a profit, it will be tempted to try the tactic again. Prince Norodom Sihanouk needs to be impressed with the determination of the U.S. not to tolerate such action.

We might add that our government needs to be impressed with the fact that the American people are getting tired of having their men and their vessels seized by other nations.

Our government has not shown, by act or word, the indignation many Americans feel over this matter. Until the government starts standing up to these pirates, our men run the risk of more and more such incidents.

WARSAW UPRISING DAY

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, today marks the anniversary of one of the most remarkable events of modern history—the Warsaw uprising. On August 1, 1944, Polish patriots rose up in arms against the hated Nazi ruler. They hoped to wrest control of the city from German forces before the Soviet Army might arrive and take over. They knew the risk they were taking was a very dangerous one and that the odds against success were high. Nevertheless they were willing to accept any sacrifice for the cause of Polish freedom. For 63 days the Polish Home Army fought against overwhelmingly superior German forces. It did not surrender until German artillery and tanks had reduced Warsaw to rubble and almost 200,000 Poles had been killed.

The slaughter and devastation endured by the Poles before surrender defy human comprehension. Meanwhile, Soviet troops, although only a few miles from Warsaw, offered no assistance. They remained outside the city while their Polish allies fought alone against the common German enemy. We know today that the purpose of the Soviet inaction was to enable Soviet troops to seize control of the subdued city as the Nazis retreated westward. As soon as the Soviet Army reached Warsaw, it installed a Communist puppet government which had been carefully groomed for a possible takeover.

Those Polish patriots who had survived the fighting in the city were denied a just reward for their heroic struggle against the Nazis. For them liberation never came. To this day, Warsaw and all of Poland remain under Communist rule. It has suffered the fate of those other nations of Eastern Europe which unfortunately lay in the path of the victorious Soviet Army. Its people do not enjoy any of the privileges and rights that we in the Western World take for granted every day.

Although they have lived under a dictatorship for almost three decades, their traditional love of freedom has never been extinguished in the hearts of the Polish people. They have been renowned for their resistance to oppression down through the centuries. Their willingness to die for the right to be free men has been exhibited throughout their long history as it was in the Warsaw uprising in 1944. The courage and dedication to the cause of liberty which they displayed in superhuman measure in that rebellion are an inspiration to men everywhere.

All people who love freedom may be heartened by the Warsaw uprising. Although it did not succeed, it proved once again that, no matter how downtrodden a people may be, and no matter how long they endure oppressive rule, the spirit of men eventually rebels against tyranny. It cannot be suppressed forever. Thus, on the anniversary of the Warsaw uprising, let us relay to the people of Poland our confidence that their freedom-loving spirit will one day again emerge triumphant and that Poland will join the ranks of the free and independent nations of the world.

DEDICATION OF LAKE VIEW MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the Hill-Burton hospital and construction program has been so successful in maintaining the health of our Nation I would like to include the remarks of Representative John A. Blatnik at the dedication of a nursing home annex to the Lake View Memorial Hospital in Two Harbors, Minn. These remarks by a longtime supporter of the Hill-Burton program reflect the vast impact that this program has had, not only on Minnesota but on the Nation:

Blatnik Praises 22-Year Success of Hill-Burton Health Improvement Programs

(Remarks at dedication for Lake View Memorial Hospital, Two Harbors, Minn., by Congressman John A. Blatnik, August 4, 1968.)

It is indeed a privilege to be here today to participate in this dedication ceremony and to extend my best wishes to the many individuals and groups whose vision and hard work have made this occasion possible.

Many of you here today—hospital trustees and administrators, staff, volunteers, local townspeople, citizens from other parts of the State, and representatives of the City and the State Health Departments—may well take pride in your foresight and cooperative effort which bring us to this final phase of a construction effort which has special meaning for the people of Two Harbors and neighboring communities.

This half million dollar nursing home addition marks another milestone in the history of this fine institution. Founded in 1957, Lake View Memorial Hospital has, since its inception, directed its efforts at providing hospital care for the people in this area. Now, with the addition of long-term care facilities, the hospital will be able to expand its service to include skilled nursing care for the chronically ill and aged. This 50-bed nursing home unit will be operated in conjunction with the hospital providing one more link in the chain of comprehensive health services—our ultimate goal.

Most of the funds required for this ambitious program have come from local sources, including the generous contributions of many dedicated citizens. The Public Health Service, however, through the Hill-Burton program, provided $200,000 in financial assistance to help make this building program a reality.

Many of you are familiar with the Hill-Burton program which is now in its 22nd year of operation, approximately the same length of time that it has been my privilege to serve the people of the 8th District of Minnesota in the United States Congress. And I have worked closely with Hill-Burton through the years to help improve the health resources available to our citizens. Every State in the Nation has reaped countless benefits from this program. For example, assistance has been given in adding more than 409,000 beds to our health facilities; approximately 9,500 projects providing health facilities to serve some 3,600 communities; more than $3 billion—about one-third—in Federal funds which when combined with local resources will finance construction costing a total of $9.8 billion.

This is the picture for the Nation as a whole. In the State of Minnesota, the Hill-Burton program has aided 189 projects over the 22 years with contributions of more than $65 million to build or remodel health facilities costing a total of over $120 million. These funds have provided 9,231 beds in hospitals and nursing homes and 23 other health facilities such as public health centers, diagnostic or treatment centers, rehabilitation facilities, and State Health laboratories.

And in the 8th District, more than $6.6 million in Hill-Burton funds have helped 25 projects for health facilities costing nearly $25 million. In fact, the Lake View Memorial Hospital was funded in part by a Hill-Burton grant of more than $315,000 approved in 1955.

But the most gratifying thing about the Hill-Burton program is not that so many hospitals and other health facilities were built, but the way they were built. The initiative has been left with the local community and the State officials. Federal assistance has been given—but the decision on where it was needed has been made in the community, not in Washington. This has been a partnership where you in the community, in consultation with the State Hill-Burton agency, have taken the leadership. That is the way the program was envisaged, and that is the way it has worked.

Hill-Burton has also had bipartisan support since its inception. Senator Lister Hill, Democrat of Alabama, was joined by the late Harold Burton, then Republican Senator from Ohio, in sponsoring the original Hill-Burton Act of 1946. Subsequent amendments which broadened its scope through the years have also had support from both sides of the aisle.

All of us who are concerned with the provision of health care for all our citizens had occasion to be thankful for the Hill-Burton program when the Medicare program became effective. Many people, in and out of Government, feared that we would not have enough hospital beds to meet the needs of those over 65 who would seek hospitalization as soon as Medicare benefits were available. These fears proved groundless, thanks in great measure to the hospital beds provided by the Hill-Burton program.

As you may have gathered, I feel a sense of pride in the Federal Government's contributions to better health services and facilities. I can well understand, therefore, the feelings of the hospital administrators and staff, the community of Two Harbors, and officials of the City and State as you dedicate this modern structure designed for the ever-increasing application of medical knowledge and skill toward restoring the health of the chronically ill, contributing to the well-being of our older citizens and improving health care for all of our people.

I congratulate you especially on the progress you are making toward comprehensive health care. We are coming more and more to realize the need for developing comprehensive health planning and services on the State and the community level, as well as on the national scene. To meet the health needs of all segments of our population requires the cooperation and coordinated effort of many agencies, institutions, and experts—both in and out of government.

With this goal in view, the Congress has enacted a program of grants to enable States and communities to plan the better use of manpower, facilities, and financial resources for comprehensive health services. This program is commonly referred to as the "Partnership in Health" program.

The goal is to achieve interrelated consideration of health services, health facilities, and health manpower as they are being provided by both private and public sectors of the community. Then, after considering needs, available resources, and possible assistance from community sources, planning officials map out an action program that is appropriate to the local area.

Many of you are aware, of course, that planning for hospitals and health facilities has been under way for some time. Under the Hill-Burton program, a State Plan is developed each year for the entire State. Also, there are areawide health facility planning agencies—Minnesota has three such agencies and I am happy to know that the project we are dedicating today had the approval of the Arrowhead Region Planning Council for Health Facilities and Services in Duluth. Throughout the Nation there are some 80 areawide health facility planning agencies.

Both the Hill-Burton State agencies and the areawide planning agencies have done excellent work in helping communities locate hospitals and health facilities in the places where they are needed most. But the goal now is to go further. We hope, with the Partnership in Health Program, to be able to reverse the trend toward fragmentation of health services.

But, you may say, the success of a program is not measured by the legislation passed by Congress—no matter how forward-looking; nor by the Federal funds provided; nor even by the number of hospitals built. The real test is How many lives have been saved? How many sick people have been healed? How many broken bodies have been rehabilitated? How many oldsters have been given new hope through improved cases? How many babies have received a healthy start in life?

All these things happen because health facilities and services—and people dedicated to healing—are ready when they are needed. You who work in the hospital or who sup-

port it with your contributions of time or money, know that these are the real accomplishments. That knowledge should make you doubly proud of your part in the efforts that paved the way for today's dedication ceremonies.

In closing, I would like to emphasize that our goals for better health are the same. We, in Federal Government, pledge you our full support, interest, and cooperation. By working together, we can speed this Nation's progress toward the high level of health and wellbeing which is the birthright of every American.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to present a first report on a questionnaire sent to 40,000 of my constituents, inviting them to share with me their views on national policies and problems. A summary of 7,500 replies to date reveals an unmistakable desire on the part of my constituents, in both urban and nonmetropolitan communities, for greater economy in Federal spending.

A summary of the replies is as follows:

I. On income tax increase:

Opposed to any tax increase, 52 per cent.

For surtax of 10 per cent with no budget reduction, 3 per cent.

For surtax of 10 per cent only if accompanied by $6-to-$10 billion budget reduction, 45 per cent.

II. On federal expenditures:

Defense: 48 per cent favor present level, 29 per cent increase, 23 per cent decrease.

Health: 57 per cent favor present level, 26 per cent increase, 17 per cent decrease.

Public Works: 50 per cent favor present level, 25 per cent increase, 25 per cent decrease.

Foreign Aid: 4 per cent favor present level, 3 per cent increase, 93 per cent decrease.

Space Program: 34 per cent favor present level, 13 per cent increase, 53 per cent decrease.

Farm Aid: 30 per cent favor present level, 23 per cent increase, 47 per cent decrease.

Education: 40 per cent favor present level, 45 per cent increase, 15 per cent decrease.

War on Poverty: 21 per cent favor present level; 14 per cent increase, 65 per cent decrease.

Anti-Pollution: 39 per cent favor present level, 54 per cent increae, 7 per cent decrease.

Highway Beautification: 30 per cent favor present level, 8 per cent increase, 62 per cent decrease.

Transportation: 51 per cent favor present level, 14 per cent increase, 35 per cent decrease.

Peace Corps: 36 per cent favor present level, 8 per cent increase, 56 per cent decrease.

III. War on Poverty (constituents were asked especially about effectiveness in their own counties): Effective, 16 per cent, not effective, 45 per cent, undecided, 39 per cent.

Community Organization Program: Favor, 19 per cent, do not favor, 40 per cent, undecided, 41 per cent.

Headstart: Favor, 47 per cent, do not favor, 26 per cent, undecided, 27 per cent.

Upward Bound: Favor, 17 per cent, do not favor, 36 per cent, undecided, 47 per cent.

Low Income Housing: Favor, 39 per cent, do not favor, 33 per cent, undecided, 28 per cent.

Job-Training: Favor, 64 per cent, do not favor, 10 per cent, undecided, 26 per cent.

Teacher Corps: Favor, 35 per cent, do not favor, 28 per cent, undecided, 37 per cent.

IV. Law Enforcement in Civil Disorders, Riots: Enforcement too lenient, 97 per cent, too strict, 1 per cent, just right, 2 per cent.

V. Law to Curb Power of Supreme Court in Setting Aside Court Cases Involving Confessions: Favor, 78 per cent, do not favor, 22 per cent.

VI. Guaranteed Annual Income: Favor, 11 per cent, do not favor, 89 per cent.

VII. Law to Lower Voting Age to 18: Favor, 40 per cent, do not favor, 60 per cent.

VIII. Import Quotas: Favor some quotas, 44 per cent, oppose any quotas, 24 per cent, undecided, 32 per cent.

IX. Tax Credit for College Tuition: Favor, 68 per cent, do not favor, 32 per cent.

NEGATIVE INCOME TAX

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in the past few months there has been a growing interest in a negative or credit income tax as a means of alleviating some of the problems of our present transfer payment systems including welfare and food stamps.

The Joint Economic Committee has been holding hearings on the various credit income tax proposals. One such proposal was presented by Prof. Earl R. Rolph, an eminent economist of the University of California at Berkeley.

I think Professor Rolph's presentation will be of interest to the Members of this body as a whole, and I submit this presentation for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROPOSAL FOR A CREDIT INCOME TAX

(Statement before the Fiscal Policy Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, by Earl R. Rolph, professor of economics, University of California, Berkeley, June 13, 1968)

Various negative-income plans that have been proposed, whether called negative rates, income maintenance, or guaranteed annual income have, as their presumed goal, the alleviation of poverty. A credit income tax also has this goal; in addition, it has the goal of improving the federal individual income tax.

A credit income tax applies the following formula to a person: $T=Yr-C$ where T is the tax liability plus or minus, Y is annual income as defined for tax purposes, r is the (single) rate of tax, and C is the annual credit per person.[1] According to this plan each person domiciled in the United States is liable to income tax and each person is also entitled to the credit. The tax liability of people whose income times the tax rate is less than the credit will be paid the difference by the Treasury and those whose income times the rate is greater than the credit will pay the difference to the Treasury. The credit income tax design consists of a proportional income tax and flat sum credits.

From the point of view of public policy, the critical issues in the practical administration of a credit income tax are the definition of income for tax purposes, the tax rate, and the size of the credit. On the assumption that the tax base has been properly defined, the tax rate and the credit must be made consistent. This feature means that the tax rate r must be set so as to recover the total credit ΣC and provide the desired net yield to the Treasury, R, given the total of personal income, ΣY.

To illustrate, if $R=\$80$ billion, $C=\$500$ per capita, and $\Sigma Y=\$600$ billion, then $r=80+100/600$ or .3 when the population is taken at the round number of 200 million people.

One of the most important issues in connection with a credit income tax is the restructuring of the definition of Adjusted Gross Income in the tax code. There are certain obvious types of incomes that would have to be included, such as veteran's benefits, unemployment insurance benefits, and old age retirement benefits, to make the credit income tax equitable and also to hold down the rate. In addition, the much discussed problem of broadening the tax base would need to be tackled anew. Many people with large incomes are presently paying little or no tax. In fact, for a person with a large property income, payment of the federal individual income tax has become almost a voluntary contribution. Over the years tax shelters have multiplied and the number of people with high incomes who are comfortably ensconced in them has been increasing. To eliminate these tax shelters, we should stop the pretense that high income groups can be taxed at high marginal rates. It is mainly for this reason that I suggest one rate be applied to all income no matter how large. Not only must the notorious percentage depletion allowances be eliminated, but all capital gains must be brought into the tax base and taxed at full rates. Constructive realization is imperative if high income groups are to pay the same rate of tax as many middle class families. I personally would favor full inclusion of transfers at death in the income tax base of recipients, recognizing, however, that this is a much disputed question.

The credit income tax could be labeled simply a progressive income tax. It has the effect of being progressive from the first dollar of income and approaches proportionality at the limit as does existing law. Unlike the present law that taxes income below the exemption limit at a zero rate, it would be progressive in the regions of low income.

The design being suggested is a powerful device to redistribute income in the egalitarian direction. The amount of redistribution depends on the height of the tax rate and the size of the credit. A credit tax rate combination of $400 per person per year and a rate of 25 per cent can be expected to approximately double the income share of the lowest fifth of the income distribution where the poor are found. If the public wants greater redistribution, the credit and the tax rate can be further increased.

The system also has the property of permitting the Congress to make specific, unambiguous provisions for people who for one reason or another are believed to merit special treatment. For example, people who are blind may be given an extra credit as may the totally disabled; I would hope that no extra credit would be given to a person merely because he has reached a certain age in life such as 65 years. It is also feasible to install a general and comprehensive plan of medical protection. Incremental credits could be given as a percentage of medical expenses above some cutoff such as $100 per person per year.

SOME COMPARISONS WITH OTHER PLANS

Of the many and various other plans of redistribution that I have examined all have the characteristics of being truncated. There is to be one income tax for the people wtih low incomes and the existing federal individual income tax for people above some level of income. In my opinion, these plans are certain to lead to large-scale administrative complications and may even turn out to be simply another grandiose public assistance device. Among the difficulties of a two-income-tax system is the problem of fragmentation. As a matter of literal fact, there are more people who receive zero income than any other amount of income simply for the reason that women and children in households commonly have a zero income. A truncated plan invites people with low legal incomes to split off. For example the father might separate from the family, report his income for tax purposes as under present law, and the wife and children would classify as poor and qualify for the credit. Less dramatic illustrations are young people, including college students, who could report low incomes and qualify for the credit even though their parents are above the $20,000 bracket. If we are to start on the path toward systematic redistribution of income, it is important that we get off on the right foot, and in my view these various truncated schemes would start us off on the wrong foot.

---

[1] For a family, the tax liability (plus or minus) is $T=\Sigma Yr-\Sigma C$, where ΣY is the total income of the family, and ΣC is the sum of the family credits.

ADMINISTRATION

A credit income tax would according to my proposal be administered by the Internal Revenue Service. The principle of collection at the source should be pushed just as far as it is practical to do so. Taxpayers could be given an option, if their estimated income for a year is below some number, of receiving the credit monthly or quarterly installments. People above that line would apply the credit to that portion of their income that would not receive collection-at-the-source treatment. In the simple case where a person's total income is subject to tax at the source, his tax liability at the end of the year would be zero and he would be entitled to a Treasury check for the amount of the credit. The main administrative difficulty that the Revenue Service would encounter is collection of tax from people with low incomes. All plans have this difficulty. Many poor people are marginal farmers who have little skill at record keeping, and many of the urban poor have casual earnings. Imaginative efforts would need to be made to effectively enforce the tax law for low income groups.

RELATION TO OTHER PROGRAMS

If a credit of about $400 per year and a tax rate of 25 per cent are internally consistent and become the law, there are many existing programs that would need to be modified and many that might be altogether abolished. There are the farm programs whose only excuse for being is to provide some farmers with higher income. If the Congress is willing to treat a credit income tax as the redistribution device, the farm program might be largely or altogether abolished. Clearly public assistance could be radically curtailed and the present financial load on state and local governments arising from public assistance and other forms of welfare payments could also be curtailed. The several hundred new programs aimed at the urban ghettos should be carefully examined to see if they would be necessary. In fact, if a credit income tax is installed with a reasonably generous credit, the federal establishment other than the Defense Department could be substantially curtailed.

THE "COST" OF THE PROGRAM

In Washington it is customary to make estimates of the numbers of billions of dollars that a program will cost. In my view, if a credit income tax is found to be acceptable, there should be no budget item to be labeled "net credit." The credit might be reported as a total sum such as $80 billion if the credit is $400 per person. It would be simpler if the Treasury reported the net yield of the income tax as it now does. We do now show, for example, carrybacks in the expenditure budget.

In an economic sense, the cost of a redistribution program will be negative by a large sum. Poverty is not only ugly, it is grossly inefficient. If people are to break out of the poverty trap, their children, to take one large group, must have a sufficiently high quality of home care including adequate diets, medical attention, and decent housing to permit them to perform effectively in school. If parents are provided with more ample financial means, they can provide for their children more effectively and many more of these children can then break out of the vicious circle of poverty.

No longer would there be incentives for poor people in Mississippi and Alabama and in many other states to migrate to the large cities in the often forlorn hope of improving their condition. They will be made better off right where they are. By having more financial means, they would be able to make their moves out of unpromising environments on the basis of the genuine prospects for work in small communities and cities instead of moving to qualify for relief. If urban poverty is to be alleviated, poverty generally must be alleviated. The cost to our large central cities in attempting to cope with large numbers of poor people unaccustomed to city life is large indeed. These costs could be cut and cut substantially by an even-handed system that provides credits generally, regardless of where a person lives.

CONCLUSION

There have been pockets of persistent poverty in American life since the founding of the country. There is nothing new about the fact of poverty. What is new is that many poor people in this country have become tired of being poor. They are tired of noble words and ineffective programs. Who can blame them? The time has now come to establish an efficient program of systematic redistribution, one that will work, one that carries no stigma, and one that will substantially improve the economic condition of millions of our poor people. I am convinced and I hope I have convinced you that a credit income tax is the effective means to achieve these ends.

REPELLING THE PRIVACY INVADERS

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy is now completing its 4th year of service to the American people. As chairman, I feel it is in order to review the record we have made.

Our achievements have been in the interest of all Americans; we have helped guarantee each citizen his basic right to be let alone and have reasserted the paramount importance of the priority of privacy.

The following excerpts from newspaper stories, editorials, and columns sketch the activities of the special subcommittee and give strong testimony to the effectiveness of our efforts:

[From the Jersey Journal, Apr. 26, 1968]

GENERAL WHEELER IMPRESSED—GALLAGHER FOR U.S. PRIVACY BUT GETS VIET CONG BUGGED

Rep. Cornelius Gallagher has been fighting long and hard to protect Americans against snoopers invading their privacy, but when it comes to the Viet Cong he's all for eavesdropping anywhere and anytime.

Gallagher has presided over many meetings of a House Government Operations subcommittee in which unsettling news of highly sophisticated "bugging" devices has come out. He is also a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and recently he questioned the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on how we could tell if our B–52 raids were killing the enemy or just making holes in the jungle.

The chairman, Gen. Earle Wheeler, admitted that it was hard to be sure about bombing results since the raids were aimed at spots we hoped the enemy was near.

"Couldn't you use the modern listening devices we are now developing to locate the enemy?" Gallagher asked.

The general was surprised and asked how they might work.

Gallagher told of testimony before his committee about a super-sensitive "bug" the size of a marble which could be dropped by a plane and transmit conversations for as much as 50 miles.

"Couldn't they be dropped along the trails and in spots the V.C. and North Vietnamese are using so their own voices and noises would give away their exact locations?" Gallagher asked.

Gen. Wheeler was impressed with the idea and ordered the Pentagon to give it a try.

A small observation plane dropped hundreds of the marvelous marbles on a mountainside where intelligence reports indicated the Viet Cong had an artillery battery that was battering the Marine base at Khe Sanh.

Nothing could be seen—no guns, no soldiers—but the tiny transmitters gave the operation away when hundreds of voices were heard. B–52s promptly knocked out the base with their bombs.

The test was so successful that many thousands of them are being dropped in strategic spots in uneasy Laos as well as South Viet Nam.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 7, 1968]

DATA BANK: A THREAT TO YOUR PRIVACY?

(By Nan Robertson)

WASHINGTON, January 6—Do you drink heavily at home?

Have you been married more than twice?

Are your sexual preferences exotic?

How are you and your wife getting along?

All these questions are of interest to numerous Government agencies, and the answers, or what purports to be the truth about millions of Americans in these intimate matters, are tucked away in official Washington dossiers.

Take the question about how you and your wife are getting along.

It might seem at first blush that the Federal Housing Administration could not care less about the marital stability of potential home buyers.

Yet according to Prof. Alan F. Westin of Columbia University, author of the most important study to date on privacy, the F.H.A. has private agencies conduct investigations into the marital status of applicants for Government-insured home loans.

The F.H.A. explains:

"The reputation and marital amicability of an applicant for a mortgage loan are a vital part of our risk determination. One of the leading causes of foreclosures is divorce."

A national data center has been proposed to pull together the scattered statistics in Government files on citizens and provide instant, total recall—and exposure.

The names of most Americans appear repeatedly in Government files—Social Security records, police records, medical and psychiatric histories, court actions, security reports and others, including personnel and job files—for a total of 2.8 billion listings.

The Defense Department has 14 million life histories in its security dossiers, the Civil Service eight million. Nobody knows how many are stored at the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but it acknowledges files on 100,000 "Communist sympathizers."

The Budget Bureau, which would run the national data center, would begin by pooling and standardizing statistics now dispersed in 20 Federal agencies such as the Census Bureau, the Internal Revenue Service, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Office of Business Economics, the Federal Reserve Board and the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance.

These Government agencies have 100 million punch cards and 30,000 computer tapes containing information about people and companies. The center would allow the agencies to share information with one another. Scholars, businesses and state and local officials would also have access.

But the idea for the central data bank appears to have run into a wall of hostility, and the biggest reason is Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher of New Jersey.

ALARM GENERATED

Mr. Gallagher, a Democrat from Bayonne, has held a series of hearings and made many speeches in Congress on the subject, invariably generating public alarm that the proposals would lead to an invasion of privacy.

The stalemate has resulted despite five Government reports in the last two years, all of them favorable to a bank. One report was commissioned by the White House. Following hearings last May and June, a congressional joint subcommittee insisted that work begin at once on the statistical bank.

* * * * *

The computers are getting smarter, faster, cheaper to operate and—because of miniaturization—capable of storing mountains of paper statistics in mousehole repositories.

They said that such a data center could regularize information from many sources and thus make it accurate. They said it would be of immense help to the Government in all kinds of research and planning * * * complete Bible can now be reproduced on a sheet of plastic less than two inches square.

The facts-and-figures men at the Budget Bureau insist that they want a purely statistical data bank rather than an "intelligence" center, and that they would deal with statistical summaries and sampling based on individuals rather than with individual case files.

The civil libertarians say that central data banks pose an Orwellian threat to personal privacy.

Professor Westin says that "the trend toward greatly increased collection of personal data, exchange of information among the collectors and consolidation of such personal information into central data banks represents by far the most serious threat to privacy in the coming decade."

His book, "Privacy and Freedom," published last September, is the result of a four-year study sponsored by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. It was financed by the Carnegie Foundation.

Vance Packard, who has written extensively on the erosion of privacy, sees four major dangers in data banks.

PACKARD CITES DANGERS

First, he says, a central data file can absorb great amounts of statistics, but it is "ill-equipped to correct errors, allow for extenuating circumstances, for redemption is likely to be incomprehensible to a computer."

Other critics, including Mr. Westin, have written and testified before Congress that small transgressions committed earlier in life can be "petrified" by central computers and haunt a man's entire career. Computers, they say, cloak even the most casual rumor or unimportant fact with formal authority.

Second, Mr. Packard and others say, is the amount of power that can be put into the hands of people who will push the buttons of these centralized brains—power that could be used responsibly and benevolently, or power that could be greatly abused.

Third, opponents believe the public's distrust of the Government will grow as they sense a Big Brother in Washington with an eye on all of them. This may lead to wholesale lying or evasion on forms, they say.

Fourth, Mr. Packard says, "Americans, increasingly and rightly, resent their being numbers, controlled by a computer," and the accelerating depersonalization of individuals.

GALLAGHER SPEAKS OUT

Representative Gallagher made another point recently before Congress:

"In order to create more benefits, governments think they need to know more about their pople," he said.

"The more Government knows, the less the individual has left of himself which is his own. The more the Government accumulates data on the individual, the more the Government feels it needs to know."

The urge to know more and more is a common phenomenon among people who collect, process and dispense information, according to experts on privacy.

Testimony before Mr. Gallagher's subcommittee in July of 1966 and the attendant publicity temporarily dashed the hopes of the statisticians.

Mr. Gallagher's group, unanimously hostile to a data bank, is called the "Special Subcommittee on the Invasion of Privacy."

The Congressional joint panel sympathetic to the statisticians, headed by Senator Herman E. Talmadge, Democrat of Georgia, is entitled the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics.

In February of 1967, Mr. Gallagher met with Charles L. Schultze, the Budget Bureau's director, and announced he had obtained promises that the center would contain only statistical summaries and samplings.

Despite the time that has elapsed since, little or nothing has happened at the Budget Bureau. Raymond T. Bowman, director of its Office of Statistical Standards, says he and his aides are baffled at how to build specific privacy safeguards into a centralized computer system—while agreeing they should be there.

SAFEGUARDS DRAFTED

Mr. Bowman began a few weeks ago to try to draft careful proposed legislation that would provide such safeguards. He does not expect it to be submitted to Congress for perusal until near the end of its upcoming session, if then.

That could mean in the late summer or early fall. The technical and legal problems in the way look enormous, even to the experts.

Mr. Gallagher has specified that he wants Congress to have the financial whip hand over the data bank. He also wants the proposed law to include yearly or semi-yearly reviews of its functions, perhaps by an independent "public interest" group.

During Congressional testimony, most Government statisticians seemed astonished that anyone might question their motives or doubt that they had the public's best interests at heart.

To this Charles A. Reich, professor of constitutional law at Yale University, replied:

"I believe that the real protection in this comes not from people's good intentions but from laws."

[From the Hagerstown (Md.) Mail, May 13, 1968]

National Data Center Would Keep Dossier on Every U.S. Citizen

New York.—"Big Brother Is Watching You" warn the banners emblazoned on every building in novelist George Orwell's frightening, futuristic world of "1984."

But there are many in the United States today who glance uneasily over their shoulders toward Washington, D.C., and say 1984—and the omniscient, omnipotent Big Brother—will be here in much less than 17 years.

The computerized analysis of income tax—which has made possible the electronic auditing of every return in the nation—is seen by many political conservatives as Big Brother Washington's first attempt to hover solicitously but menacingly over his 200 million children.

The second step, a step that alarms conservatives and liberals alike, is the federal government's proposed $3.5-million National Data Center, a facility criticized by one congressman as "an octopus, a monster, a great, expensive, electronic garbage pail."

The center, as envisioned by the U.S. Bureau of Budget, would pool and computerize all statistical information now guarded by more than 20 separate agencies. It would give the government a complete dossier on every man, woman and child in the United States.

Proponents of the data center say it would facilitate government studies and research, and provide instant answers to what they term "an infinite range of significant questions."

But would these gains be worth the risk that the computerized dossiers might some day fall into the wrong hands? How can the government be certain? Congressman Cornelius Gallagher asks.

Gallagher, a New Jersey Democrat who chaired 1966 House hearings on the invasion of privacy, was appalled when he heard witnesses calmly suggest individually computerized dossiers containing tax returns, census responses, Social Security data, military records, School records, security files, fingerprints, mortgage guarantees, police files, driving records, property holdings and, perhaps, bank accounts and credit ratings.

Warning that such a data center would "provide the means by which federal officials can intrude improperly into our lives," Gallagher told his fellow committee members:

"If safeguards are not built into such a facility it could lead to the creation of the computerized man . . . stripped of his individuality and privacy, his status measured solely by a computer."

Business leaders are talking more and more frequently about the equally dangerous computerized employment dossier—records on every job a man has held, his references and an evaluation of his performances.

At first, this may seem a sound concept. The computer, as an instant and all-inclusive encyclopedia of knowledge, can be a tremendous benefit to many of man's endeavors. The computerized employment dossier would seem to mutually benefit the employer and the employe.

But what of the employe who made one mistake 10 years ago? What of the employe who lacks one characteristic considered important to a particular job?

"How," asks computer researcher M. R. Maron, "does an individual tell the system its selective criteria, however carefully programmed, do not apply to his special case?

If an individual does not have the opportunity to be judged on the basis of his own individual situation, then he is being treated as a machine," Maron says.

Chaytor Mason, a university psychologist who helps evaluate computer-devised and computer-graded psychological tests for many businesses, thinks Maron's dismal forecast is premature. But he admits it may eventually come true. Says Mason:

"My only fear is that we do not yet know enough about man to properly assess the information we get from these computerized efforts."

Mason foresees a race between the sciences—psychology and cybernetics—in the last third of the 20th century. If psychology wins, if man learns to understand man, computers will "benefit humanity as no invention in history has done." If cybernetics wins, if the computerization of statistical data outstrips man's ability to interpret that data intelligently . . . Mason shrugs and throws up his hands.

"Man is doomed."

[From the Dallas Morning News]

A Monster Memory

The determination of one man has tied at least a temporary kink in Washington's plans to create a monster memory capable of keeping track of every citizen in the country.

Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher and his special subcommittee on the invasion of privacy have so far been able to block administration efforts to build a national data center.

Any American who has filed an income tax return, filled out a Social Security form, sought a home loan insured by the Federal Housing Administration, served in the military, worked for the government or talked to a census-taker could end up on a computer punch card.

Rep. Gallagher, a Democrat from New Jersey, contends that such centralized information would put tremendous power in the hands of a few federal employees hired to push the computer buttons. Supporters of the proposal say it would give the government a single, efficient source of information that would greatly improve Washington's ability to plan for the country.

Democratic government is not noted for its efficiency or ability to act quickly. This "weakness" is its beauty. It renders national government incapable of totally controlling the people.

A national information center would surely be more efficient. It could be abused to create a society like that painted in George Orwell's frightening book, "1984." Like Rep. Gallagher, we are willing to sacrifice a bit of efficiency for the sake of guaranteeing the freedom of the individual.

[From the Government Employees' Exchange]

Budget Bureau Puts Off Data Bank, Gallagher Reveals

Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher, Chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy, on March 29 announced that the Bureau of the Budget had assured him that it is doubtful whether a plan to establish the National Data Bank would be presented to the 90th Congress.

In a letter of March 21, 1968 from Charles Zwick, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Congressman Gallagher noted the following key paragraph:

"In our study of the data center idea, we are proceeding along the lines we discussed when Director Schultze and I met with you over a year ago; that is, we will prepare a specific, concrete plan which could be exposed to the critical review of a group representing the broad variety of interests in the matter. Only after that would we consider that we had a 'proposal' for appropriate consideration by the Congress. In view of the priorities which we must give within the total program of the Bureau, it is doubtful if we will reach this latter stage in time to make a formal presentation to this Congress."

Congressman Gallagher said that he was "frankly delighted" at this further postponement. "When we held hearings in the summer of 1966 on this proposal, the Special Subcommittee received the impression that the National Data Bank was to be established in the near future and without Congressional authorization. Our hearings created a climate of concern which has expanded into a full scale national debate. I am pleased that the Bureau of the Budget is proceeding slowly, for the scope and content of a National Data Bank have a potentially damaging effect on privacy in America. Privacy is highly vulnerable to the growth of computer technology and I am frankly delighted that a National Data Bank will not soon be added to forces already at work in America which tend to inhibit personal dignity and individual freedom," Congressman Gallagher said.

Congressmen Benjamin S. Rosenthal and John W. Wydler are also members of the Special Subcommittee in Invasion of Privacy of the House Committee on Government Operations. The Chairman of the House Government Operations Committee is Congressman William L. Dawson.

[From the Newark (N.J.) News, Apr. 29, 1968]

No Hurry

The Bureau of the Budget has decided it has more urgent things to do than draft, at least for the present Congress, detailed plans for a national data center. This is just as well, for the center—or data bank—is no project to try to hurry past already alarmed defenders of individual privacy.

The proposed bank carries the innocent purpose of integrating a vast quantity of federal, state and local statistics. But it also carries the potential of becoming an intelligence center on personal lives.

The latter need not happen but a special House subcommittee on invasion of privacy, under Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher, Democrat of New Jersey's 13th District, has properly demanded a code of safeguards to make sure it doesn't. These safeguards must be thoroughly thought out, and adopted, before a data center is even begun. The statisticians can wait.

[From the Bayonne (N.J.) Times, Mar. 8, 1968]

Gallagher Hits Computer Plan Over Privacy

"Shared values of Americans are more vital than methods to share time in a computer."

Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher of Bayonne expanded on that theme today in a luncheon address at an American Management Association's conference. As chairman of the special subcommittee on invasion of privacy, Gallagher was invited to explore the relationship of privacy to the rapidly expanding procedure of multi-access, time sharing computer systems before a distinguished group of data processing executives at New York's Americana Hotel.

Gallagher pinpointed transmission lines as the single most vulnerable part of such far flung systems. Because experienced computer communications experts have stated ". . . that they cannot absolutely guarantee the integrity of transmission lines containing information vital to the national security must make us highly dubious of the claims about the confidentiality of lines carrying information that affects personal security."

Gallagher predicted that the suggested National Data Bank would be accessed from many terminals. He repeated his long held opposition to the current concepts of the Bank: "The national scope and explosive content of the National Data Bank may greatly reduce privacy in America."

"If we are to avoid creating an anti-hill society—a society which is organized in the most efficient and intelligent manner but which does not contain free beings—we must not program out human values . . . We have created powerful tools to liberate man from drudgery and mind-numbing repetition during our working days, but does this tonic contain a toxic which will kill privacy?" he concluded.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, Mar. 15, 1968]

Gallagher Raises Question: No Privacy in Credit Bureaus?

Washington.—The policy of credit bureaus to permit free access to privileged, confidential information about an individual's financial standing, long after he has gotten a loan or mortgage, could be unconstitutional, Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher (D-N.J.) said yesterday.

It certainly represents a shift toward "a total-surveillance society," he said. Gallagher cited need for reforms in concluding a three-day hearing of his special subcommittee on invasion of privacy.

WILL DRAFT RULES

Representatives of the credit bureau industry, Gallagher announced, have agreed to draft self-policing regulations, and to adopt them within the next four months.

Gallagher said the Associated Credit Bureaus of America showed federal and state investigators "practically anything" in an individual's file.

Although an applicant for credit might consent to a personal investigation of his background, said Gallagher, the applicant is often unaware that information gathered about him is transferred to a permanent, central repository. Employes of credit bureaus often gossip about information in the files, he declared.

TOTAL SURVEILLANCE

"As more credit bureaus benefit from computerization, and the files on more than 116 million Americans become increasingly accessible," said Gallagher, "we may be moving toward a total surveillance society."

In testimony Wednesday, a credit bureau president charged the Internal Revenue Service with invading personal privacy by trying to get information on taxpayers from such bureaus.

The subcommittee also heard allegations that credit bureaus keep incomplete records and, in too many cases, disclose information about individuals to anyone who wants it.

[From the Elizabeth (N.J.) Daily Journal Mar. 15, 1968]

Gallagher Urges Individual Freedom From Computerized Credit Data

Washington.—Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher, chairman of a special House subcommittee on invasion of privacy, suggested Thursday legislation is needed to protect individuals whose credit backgrounds are being fed into computers.

The New Jersey Democrat said there should be a law to prevent information that is placed in a computer storage center for use by credit granters from falling into the hands of unscrupulous persons.

He said the law should carry with it criminal penalties.

"Just about every community has laws governing the transfer of a dog from one person to another," he said during a hearing of his committee. "But there are no federal, state or local laws regulating the transfer of personal information used in the granting of credit."

NO PROTECTION

Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal, D-N.Y., a member of the committee who has expressed fears about the growing use of computers by the credit industry, said: "We have millions of regulations controlling all kinds of inconsequential events, but here we have none and yet the information affects all our lives, our borrowing power.

"Technology has outpaced social responsibility."

Gallagher's subcommittee is investigating data-gathering organizations and the dangers of unauthorized access to potentially damaging information.

The congressman's remarks were made during testimony given by John L. Spafford, executive vice president of the Associated Credit Bureaus of America, a trade association for the industry.

EASY ACCESS

On Tuesday, Alan F. Westin, a Columbia University law professor, told the subcommittee he obtained credit information on one of his employes simply by writing a letter to a New York credit bureau.

The bureaus have maintained that no one but bona fide credit granters can receive such information.

Spafford read a telegram from the bureau in which it defended its action, saying it thought it was providing a service to Columbia University and the employe since it was told the employe was in line for an appointment.

"That's the point," said Gallagher. "The firm thought it was being helpful. Suppose some one else called and the firm again wanted to be helpful?"

"Why would a credit bureau make such a decision when it knows Columbia University doesn't give credit? It leads this committee to wonder just who does get this information.

"And it also makes me wonder if legislation is not necessary to prevent such things from happening without the individual's permission."

[From the New York American Banker Mar. 14, 1968]

GALLAGHER SAYS GROWTH OF CREDIT BUREAU DOSSIERS REQUIRES FEDERAL SUPERVISION

(By Phillip Brooke)

WASHINGTON.—Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher, D., N.J., charged Wednesday that there is an "appalling possibility" that Credit Data Corp. in five years will have the "equivalent of a private national dossier bank."

Mr. Gallagher, said that the growth of such a credit information organization "lays the groundwork for regulation—if not legislation—in the area of credit bureaus."

Mr. Gallagher's statement came after the opening testimony of Dr. H. C. Jordan, president, Credit Data, before the House Subcommittee on invasion of privacy.

Mr. Jordan said that Credit Data currently has credit information on 20 million individuals, and within a five-year working period, could have a credit record on all Americans.

Credit Data, with offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York and Detroit, currently has over 1,000 subscribers in California, and 300 in the New York metropolitan area, the latter including some 130 commercial banks.

Mr. Jordan also acknowledge that Bank of America NT&SA, San Francisco, turned over 8 million credit records to Credit Data in 1962, when the corporation set up its West Coast operation.

Maintaining that Credit Data uses precautions to protect the privacy of individuals, Mr. Jordan said the company "permits a complete exchange of credit information among a finite number of subscribed companies" who are "bona fide" credit grantors.

These credit grantors, many of whom are commercial banks, "have agreed to conditions restricting their access to and use of the information," he stated.

"No one else is permitted access for any reason whatsoever," Mr. Jordan said.

He emphasized that Credit Data does not place personal, non-credit information about individuals in its files.

He said that Credit Data does not permit access of information to local, state or general policing agencies, or to any government agency "unless it also happens to be a grantor of credit." Such credit-granting agencies include the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration.

Mr. Jordan said the corporation will only give out credit information to its subscriber-customers, and only for the subscriber's use to evaluate an application for credit, to review the credit performance of one of the existing customers, or to collect its own accounts, as well as providing credit information to a subscriber (if he requests it), concerning an individual who is seeking employment with that same subscriber.

He added that Credit Data does not sell lists of names "to anyone, including our subscribers."

On the subject of controls in the system, Mr. Jordan said: "I must say, quite candidly, that neither Credit Data nor its computer is perfect."

Mr. Jordan recommended that legislation be enacted which would impose criminal penalties upon those who gain unauthorized access to data banks—either privately owned or those of government agencies.

He further recommended legislation that would prevent any government agency, other than those who are credit grantors, from obtaining information from privately developed and operated data files, "except upon a prior showing that national security is affected, and then only after the issuance of a search warrant in accordance with proper judicial procedures to be established."

Mr. Jordan will be questioned by the subcommittee again Thursday. Also scheduled to testify is John L. Spafford, executive vice president, Associated Credit Bureaus of America, Houston.

[From the Elizabeth (N.J.) Daily Journal, Mar. 25, 1968]

BIG BROTHER COMPUTER WARNING BY GALLAGHER

The United States is becoming a total surveillance society as credit bureaus give away confidential financial data to federal agents in violation of the U.S. Constitution.

That is the contention of Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher of Bayonne, who spoke at a three-day congressional hearing into commercial credit bureaus.

The congressman named the Associated Credit Bureau of America as having "a long standing policy of showing federal and state investigators practically anything they want to see." However, he said that another bureau, the Credit Data Corp. "is resisting efforts to yield information from their files."

Gallagher said that "while an applicant for credit may give an implied consent to have his economic history carefully scrutinized he is not informed that he is also transferring financial records into a central repository which has demonstrated no great regard for the nature of privacy."

The congressman also cited "many cases of gossiping between employes of credit granting firms with employes of credit bureaus" uncovered by his committee's investigation.

"As more credit bureaus benefit from computerization, and the files on more than 116 million Americans become increasingly accessible, we may be moving toward a total surveillance society," he said.

If the U.S. becomes "data rich by becoming privacy poor," Gallagher said, "it would seem that fundamental guarantees to the citizen by the Bill of Rights may be violated."

[From the Bayonne Times, Mar. 15, 1968]

CREDIT INDUSTRY PLANS REFORMS, GALLAGHER SAYS

Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher, chairman of a special House subcommittee on invasion of privacy, said today that representatives of the credit bureau industry have agreed to undertake reforms and establish self-policing regulations.

Speaking at the conclusion of three days of hearings into commercial credit bureaus, Gallagher said the industry's representatives have agreed to meet with his subcommittee again in four months.

The intervening time will be spent in industry-wide meetings dealing with reforms, the congressman said.

The Bayonne Democrat said he expects the industry's representatives to return with plans to correct violations of privacy, provide greater protection for the consumer and increase the accuracy and reliability of their procedures.

"I was encouraged by the cooperative spirit shown by the representatives of the industry in undertaking such internal reforms. I also think they took a positive step when they agreed to reconsider their former policy of non-disclosure of credit reports," Gallagher said.

Speaking yesterday on the final day of hearings, Gallagher suggested legislation is needed to protect individuals whose credit background are being fed into computers.

The congressman said there should be a law to prevent information that is placed in a computer storage center for use by credit granters from falling into the hands of unscrupulous persons.

[From the Hickory (N.C.) Record, May 8, 1968]

PRODDED CREDIT BUREAUS MOVE TO PROTECT PRIVACY

(By John Cunniff)

NEW YORK.—Prodded by public criticism and the prospect of legislation, the nation's credit bureaus are working on guidelines to protect the privacy of those whose financial histories they compile.

Within a few days, industry sources say, an advisory committee will be named to hammer out standards for the larger credit bureaus, most of which are members of the Associated Credit Bureaus of America.

These bureaus maintain files on a person's economic status and credit history for use by members in deciding whether to sell him goods or services on terms.

QUESTIONS CONSIDERED

Among the questions to be considered by the bureaus:

—Should an individual be shown his own credit report?

—Should information in the files be given on request to government agencies?

—What information should be put in files?

—How long should derogatory information be maintained?

The action follows hearings by a special House subcommittee headed by Rep. Cornelius Gallagher, D-N.J. Following an agreement on guidelines, the credit bureaus then will submit their thinking to the subcommittee.

Some of the industry's stand apparently has already been agreed upon following a meeting just concluded in Chicago. Many of those attending, it was learned, feel an individual should be permitted to see his file on request.

CONTROVERSIAL AREA

This already is standard procedure for some credit bureaus. Others decline to show a person the information in his file but will dicuss specific information contained in it.

Less agreement was reached on some other areas in which guidelines will be sought. One of the most controversial areas concerns the release of information to other than credit grantors.

Some bureaus believe they have a patriotic obligation to work with government agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation. An industry source, who asked to remain unidentified, put it this way:

"It is a serious philosophical question that is not completely resolved. Do we have a moral obligation to the country? Well, we're trying to face this question now and it's a damn serious one."

DANGERS POSED

Another guideline will establish specific standards for the type of information to be placed in files. Data concerning a person's moral character generally is not now included in files. But beyond this point, the issues are less clear.

For example, if a credit bureau places the filing of a suit in a person's file, does it obligate itself to place the disposition in the file also? In current practice this is not always done, posing dangers to both the credit bureau and the credit seeker.

Here is an extreme case:

An individual denied credit in a large Eastern city inquired at the credit bureau for the reason why. He was told that a court suit was recorded against him.

"But this was a technicality involving health insurance," he answered, "and it was settled long ago."

FRUSTRATION

"Then bring in the information and we'll correct the files," he was told.

"But this is your obligation, not mine," the credit seeker said. "Certainly I am not guilty until I prove my innocence, am I?" The credit bureau insisted on its point of view and the frustrated individual hung up.

Cases such as this very likely will be eliminated under the upcoming guidelines and legislation. Retailers are simply too eager for sales, too conscious of image, too wary of restrictive laws not to upgrade and modernize credit files. And that's what they're doing.

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 17, 1968]

INTELLIGENCE DATA FIRM TO REVIEW RULE CLIENTS PLEDGE SECRECY—RETAIL CREDIT CO. TELLS CONGRESS UNIT PUBLIC PROBABLY NEEDS A GREATER ACCESS TO REPORTS

WASHINGTON.—Retail Credit Co., an Atlanta-based supplier of intelligence data on applicants for jobs, credit and insurance, told a Congressional subcommittee it will "reconsider" its requirement that clients keep secret the source of their information.

The company has been criticized by some for not allowing subjects of unfavorable reports to rebut charges against them, partly because they sometimes aren't aware of either the accusations or their source.

W. Lee Burge, Retail Credit president, told a special House subcommittee on invasion of privacy chaired by Rep. Gallagher (D., N.J.) that "We think the public probably needs to have greater access" to such reports. But he stressed that any change in the contract provision on secrecy would come only "if this proves to be practical."

The main reason for the stipulation, Mr. Burge said, are that it protects the sources of Retail Credit's information, and that there might otherwise be "an indiscriminate flow of people to the company to clear up problems of one kind of another." It also could "result in suppression of information if each individual sought to correct his record in detail," Mr. Burge said.

Mr. Burge said Retail Credit, which has 308 branch offices and 1,300 suboffices, developed about 35 million reports last year on individuals and businesses. The company considers about 5% of these unfavorable to those investigated, he added.

Rep. Gallagher said that "while we certainly are considering legislation, if any reforms are going to develop they should be from within the industry itself."

[From the Los Angeles Times, May 16, 1968]

CREDIT RATING ERRORS DAMAGING, PANEL FINDS—BAD REPORT, TRUE OR NOT, CAN COST JOB OR LOAN WITHOUT APPLICANT KNOWING WHY

(By Robert L. Jackson)

WASHINGTON.—Congressional investigators are finding that persons may be slandered without their knowledge through careless practices of some credit bureaus and credit reporting agencies.

Derogatory information, even though it may be untrue, can plague a person for years, they have concluded. It can wash out a job offer, cause denial of a federally insured home loan or force a person to pay higher auto insurance rates.

About 24,000 credit bureaus and credit reporting organizations are operating in the United States. They gather financial or personal information on individuals, and disseminate it to their clients—including a number of government agencies—as guidelines for hiring or insuring people, lending them money or selling them merchandise on time.

The main problem is the anonymity of much credit rating information. Since it could come from one of thousands of agencies or bureaus, a person unfairly damaged through mistaken identity or neighborhood gossip may be unable to correct the record, congressional investigators contend.

SOUTHLAND OFFICES

To learn more about the practices of large credit reporting firms, a House government operations subcommittee will take testimony today from the president of an Atlanta-based firm with a dozen offices in Southern California.

AGENCIES' EFFORT

"Credit reporting agencies are anxious that nobody be done an injustice," Burge said. "Everything reasonable is being done within the practical limits of economics."

Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher (D–N.J.), whose subcommittee on invasion of privacy is conducting the investigation, says an erroneous credit report may have far-reaching effects.

"An error in a report from a credit bureau may become an error in a file at the Federal Housing Administration and it may be the reason for denying a deserved mortgage," Gallagher said.

Charles Witter, who heads Gallagher's subcommittee staff, cited the case of a Korean war veteran—a former Army lieutenant—who saw a fellow officer go berserk under fire. With the concurrence of another officer, the lieutenant shot the man.

NOT EXPLAINED

Although this decision was upheld by the Army, the lieutenant later discovered that a commercial credit report said simply he had "shot a fellow officer under fire."

The report caused cancellation of his auto insurance policy, allegedly for instability, long before he learned of it, the veteran told Gallagher's committee staff.

Many credit bureaus take information from court records, such as the filing of tax liens, without updating their files when the cases are resolved. This often leaves the impression that a businessman is financially unstable.

The firm, known as Retail Credit Co., is the largest of its kind in the nation. It issued 35 million reports to subscribing companies last year on credit seekers, job seekers and persons applying for auto and life insurance policies. The company has information on more than 45 million persons.

Its president, W. Lee Burge, said in a telephone interview Wednesday that inaccurate reports are "relatively minor."

Burge said his firm, which had revenues of $134 million last year, attempts to minimize errors by personally interviewing most subjects involved.

Gallagher said some credit reporting practices deny a basic constitutional right—the right to face one's accuser. He also noted that credit bureaus are operating with virtually no government regulation.

[From the Trenton (N.J.) Trentonian, May 17, 1968]

TRENTON GOES TO WASHINGTON—WAGING THE WAR ON BIG BROTHER

(By Cyril J. O'Brien)

WASHINGTON.—There's a lot more affecting you in the computerized data banks of the big credit agencies than your ability to buy a color television set on the installment plan.

In fact, what goes into the electronic dossiers of the credit snoopers could influence your getting an FHA loan, a job, or insurance. Some day your whole social and economic existence could be influenced by what adroit investigators and sophisticated gadgets get on you, and that very fact has one New Jersey lawmaker pretty concerned.

He is Rep. Cornelius Gallagher (D-NJ) head of the subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy of the Committee on Government Operations. It was Gallagher who actually sparked the whole concern over the influence of science upon the average human being. He found unbelievable surveillance techniques that could monitor your every move from afar, even when you are in bed. He found psychological testing to expose every fiber of the total man, and bureaucrats who would make every man a dossier and expose him, heart and soul, by the push of a button. Storing and using it all are great computers that can manage 200 billion calculations in a single day.

Before it was over, Gallagher had gotten Chairman John Macy, Civil Service Commission, to say he'd stop psychological testing, and had the polygraph thrown out for most government testing and filed under snake oil. Most important, Gallagher's hearings, essentially by publicity, nixed the Budget Bureau data bank with a dossier on everybody compiled from the information on 20 federal agencies.

Significant also, is the fact that Congress got such a scare at what was creeping up on us that there are now at least six House and Senate committees investigating the impact of science upon the individual.

Stop and think of the myriad of information you've provided already. Think of the forms you filled out in the Army. How about the numerous papers you've prepared since for memberships, for employment, for credit, for a credit card, even when you paid your income tax. You don't know the times you were photographed when you cashed a check at the bank, or when you entered an unfamiliar apartment building.

The techniques are not bad, but somebody has got to watch or you'll wind up losing your individuality and freedom just as sure as if the government changed. Some lawmakers think the danger to freedom in the burgeoning of scientific techniques is about as important as the problems of our cities.

Dr. Donald R. Horning, director, Office of Science and Technology, told Congress earlier, "If history can be relied upon, we must guard lest we pay heavily for the boon conferred upon mankind by the computer. The potential losses to privacy as a consequence of an extremely powerful and flexible system of record keeping on individuals cannot be ignored."

Now, Rep. Gallagher is conducting hearings on the Credit Bureaus. Here is a whole industry holding millions of files on millions of Americans. If you've ever sought credit, chances are you are listed. Problem is, says Gallagher, there are no regulations on the agencies or in the way they handle, get or give out information.

Worse, the government itself uses their files. One, the Retail Credit Co. in Atlanta, Ga., gave out 35 million credit reports last year. The Wall Street Journal reported earlier that Retail Credit has files on at least 45 million Americans.

There is a major problem in that these files cannot be checked and you could well wind up with an adverse comment or even gossip in your dossier. It could follow you for life, petrify in a computer, as Gallagher notes, and damn you to the grave.

CRIME CONTROL CONFERENCE

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, plans are now finalized for the crime control conference I am cosponsoring with the

State University of New York at Buffalo which will take place on August 8 in Buffalo. I am very pleased at the wonderful community cooperation we have had in planning this conference, and at the ability and excellence of those participating in the conference.

In connection with this, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD a press release put out by the State University of Buffalo, which outlines the program and describes some of the panelists who will take part in the conference. The statement follows:

The Office of Urban Affairs, in conjunction with the State University of New York's Law School and the Office of Representative Richard D. ("Max") McCarthy, is sponsoring a conference on crime and how to control it on Thursday, August 8 at the Cordon Bleu Restaurant near the Buffalo International Airport. The conference will begin at 10:00 A.M. and continue through the day. The public is invited to attend.

The program will be introduced by Congressman McCarthy, after which the problem of crime and its causes will be discussed by the keynote speaker, Mr. Peter Preiser of the New York State Crime Commission. The remainder of the day will be devoted to panels concerned with the various aspects of crime and law enforcement.

Mr. Richard L. Braun, Esq., Executive Assistant in the Criminal Division of the United States Department of Justice, will be coming from Washington to discuss the recently enacted Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 and its ramifications regarding federal assistance for local law enforcement agencies. Mr. Braun will also participate in the panel discussing the gaps in the resources of law enforcement agencies.

Panel participants will include Judge Charles S. Desmond, Judge Raymond R. Neimer, Judge William J. Heffron, Judge Mary Ann Killeen, Commissioner Frank Felicetta, Msgr. Dino J. Lorenzetti, Dr. Joseph Manch and other outstanding members of the community.

ACCIDENT RATES GOING UP SHARPLY—INDUSTRY SAYS SO

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, throughout the consideration of the Occupational Safety and Health bill, H.R. 17748, we have been told again and again that "industry is getting steadily safer." Almost to a man, the witnesses before our committee hearings, and the form letters we have been getting from businessmen cite National Safety Council statistics over a 40-year period to show that 1946 was safer than 1926, and 1966 was safer than 1946, in terms of accident frequency rates—disabling injuries per million man-hours worked.

The response to that argument has been to point out the careful selection by the lobbyists of 20-year periods as their standard of comparison, and to show from the very same tables, that industrial accident frequency rates have not significantly lowered in over 10 years now.

But I have facts, from an unimpeachable industrial source, that accident frequency rates have been going up in at least one industry at an even more alarming rate than I had thought was the case. I think this material should be brought to the attention of Members who believe that there is no need for concern over industrial safety and disease.

The source to which I refer is a handsome and well-written brochure provided by the Master Builders Association of Western Pennsylvania, which sent me a copy stating that it "demonstrates how the construction industry is policing its own safety problems which precludes the need for any further controls, Federal or otherwise."

Not quite, Mr. Speaker.

I am afraid that what this very well-done brochure demonstrates is quite the opposite. It shows, in a very simple chart, that while members of the Master Builders Association of Western Pennsylvania have indeed, by virtue of setting standards and rules and abiding by them, reduced their own accident frequency rates in the period from 1964 to 1967, the accident frequency rate on a national basis for all members of the Associated General Contractors has risen in those same 3 years from a 1964 level of 32.7 disabling injuries per million man-hours to a 1967 level of 60.8—very nearly twice as high.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that these figures, coming to us from an opponent of the occupational safety bill, should be doubly effective in proving that indeed industry is not getting safer all the time—that, in fact, the problem is getting worse, and the need for legislation growing greater while we delay and defer action. On the brief submitted by the industry itself, I am happy to rest my case.

The rules preclude the reproduction of the graph in its original form in the RECORD, but, translated into tabular form, the graph shows the following:

ACCIDENT FREQUENCY RATE

[injuries per million man-hours]

	1964	1965	1966	1967
Master Builders Association of Western Pennsylvania	30.2	22.8	15.7	13.7
AGC national average	32.7	53.8	44.4	60.8

The text of the brochure of the MBA reads as follows:

Four consecutive 1st place national safety awards, 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967, have been presented the Master Builders' Association for maintaining the best accident prevention record for Associated General Contractors of America chapters from 50 to 100 members.

A record like this is the result of a carefully thought-out program which functions through the cooperation of both labor and management. The program, which operates on the principle of self discipline by the General Contractors, has proven itself many times. For example, there has never been a rule dispute by either labor or management due to the concise wording of the rules established by the jointly-administered Safety Committee. Work stoppages due to unsafe conditions are a thing of the past. From its beginning in 1963, it has been evident that the Master Builders' Association's Accident Prevention Program was designed to benefit the entire building construction industry in the area.

Recognizing an obvious need for planned controls to eliminate the high accident rate, MBA commissioned the Construction Industry Advancement Program (CAP) to develop an effective accident prevention program.

Operating on the principle that best results can be obtained through the joint efforts of both labor and management, a six-point Building Construction Industry Safety Policy was enacted.

POLICY

1. A joint Labor-Management Safety Committee shall be formed to develop an Accident Prevention Program in the Building Construction Industry of Western Pennsylvania.

2. The Accident Prevention Program developed by the Labor-Management Safety Committee shall not conflict with the Pennsylvania State Code or any safety rules now in effect by virtue of any of the existing collective bargaining agreements between building construction industry employers and the various building trades unions.

3. The Joint Labor-Management Safety Committee will consist of four representatives appointed by the Construction Industry Advancement Program and four representatives appointed by the Pittsburgh Building Trades Council.

4. All employing contractors will appoint, from their management, a representative who will have the duty and responsibility of promoting and enforcing the Accident Prevention Program in their respective organizations as developed by the Joint Labor-Management Safety Committee.

5. When the project contracts are over $1,000,000, each prime contractor, each craft, and each principal subcontractor employing more than six employees on the project, shall provide a representative to attend safety meetings in order to coordinate their combined efforts in compelling the employees to comply with the Accident Prevention Program.

6. The safety meetings shall be conducted by the general contractor's safety representative, or his nominee, and the craft's elected representative shall record the minutes.

People who work in the building construction industry in Western Pennsylvania do so in a comparatively safe atmosphere. Impressive statistics back this statement, and it is the most important result that can be achieved from any accident prevention program.

An area that can boast an outstanding safety record . . . a record that shows a disabling injury frequency far below the national average . . . naturally appeals to men who earn their living working in construction. A good safety record helps to keep the good, local area journeymen on the job year after year.

Manpower is an especially important benefit of an effective safety program in these times when the current labor shortage looms over the construction industry from coast to coast.

SAFETY MAKES DOLLARS AND SENSE

You save directly on insurance costs. In Western Pennsylvania, over 82% of the eligible Master Builders' Association membership receive a direct insured credit on their workman compensation premiums. That is a direct, tangible savings. During the past four years, these MBA member firms have saved $182,556 because of their experience credit. And the National Safety Council has facts and figures that show direct costs are just ⅕ of the total cost of accidents.

So by saving on insurance costs through a good safety program, you are just scratching the surface of the "iceberg" of the tremendous costs borne by construction firms across the country.

Remember, too, reduced insurance premiums can provide definite advantages in competitive bidding.

All facts considered, it is no surprise that the Western Pennsylvania general contractor takes accident prevention seriously. The surprise comes in noting the national statistics which show that, apparently, not all construction firms do the same.

While the entire program was conceived by management and its continuing implementation is primarly carried out by members of the management team, the General Safety Rules provide the nucleus of the program. These rules place a share of accident prevention responsibility on everyone concerned. They are required to be posted on all construction sites and by virtue of labor contracts, compliance is mandatory.

1. Accidents or injuries, regardless of their nature, shall be reported to the supervisor for immediate attention.

2. Projecting nails shall be turned down or removed from lumber by all employees who are responsible for eliminating this hazard.

3. Safety goggles or face shields shall be worn by all employees when exposed to flying objects.

4. Safety helmets shall be worn in all posted hard hat areas or when employees are exposed to falling or flying objects.

5. "Men Working Above" signs shall be posted at the lower levels by the employees working above other workmen who may thus cause them to be exposed to falling objects.

6. General excavation and trench construction, in soils other than rock, shale or consolidated slag, shall be shored and/or braced if over five feet in depth and not cut to the natural angle of repose of the surrounding material.

7. Floor openings shall be planked over or barricaded, and slab edges of an open building protected by rope or rail and toe boards. Employees shall maintain these protective barriers and shall not disturb or remove them except as directed by the supervisor. If temporary removal is required, employees removing these barriers shall be responsible for their replacement as soon as circumstances permit.

8. Scaffolding shall be constructed of metal or lumber free from apparent defects that would impair the structural strength. The platform shall be a minimum of two planks wide with guardrails or ropes on all open sides and ends.

9. Ladders shall be constructed of metal or straight-grained lumber, with the maximum length of a single ladder not to exceed thirty feet. Fixed ladders shall have side rails extending three feet above landings and shall be securely fastened at the top. No ladder shall be used that has a broken rung or any other apparent defect.

10. Hand tools shall not be used for any other purpose than that intended, and all damaged or worn parts promptly repaired or replaced.

11. Power tools shall be operated only by authorized personnel, with guards furnished by the manufacturer "in place," and if electrical shall be grounded.

12. Approved powder actuated tools shall be used by licensed personnel only, and operated in compliance with the regulations set forth by the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry.

13. Compressed gas cylinders shall be chained or otherwise secured in an upright position, and shall be placed in cylinder carts whenever being transported to different locations on the project.

14. Sources of ignition shall be prohibited from areas where flammable liquids or explosives are stored or issued, and appropriate warning signs shall be posted at these locations.

15. All posted Safety Rules shall be obeyed and shall not be removed except by Management's authorization. Violation of these Safety Rules, may be cause for immediate dismissal of any employee.

16. All employees will report any infraction of the Safety Rules to their immediate supervisor for correction. In the event that the violation is not corrected within a reasonable length of time, the complaint should be appealed to the following in the order stated:

(a) Management's Job Safety Representative.

(b) CAP's Safety Engineer and Chairman of the Building Trades Safety Committee.

(c) Joint Labor-Management Safety Committee.

Field Safety Inspections by the CAP safety engineer help to insure that safe working conditions and safe working practices are maintained in the industry. He personally inspects building projects at least four days each week. His report is discussed with the superintendent on the job. Any needed corrective action is suggested at that time. Copies of his report are given to the superintendent and sent to the general contractor, the building trades and a copy is filed in the CAP office.

A "Hard-Hat" Program was developed, with full cooperation of the unions, which enables management to insist that all employees wear hard hats while on the job working under "hard hat" conditions.

An Eye Conservation Program was also developed by the committee which permits employees to purchase prescription safety glasses through their contractor employers. The cost to the employee is nominal.

Safety Seminars: Superintendents and foremen attend a minimum of two accident prevention meetings a year. These CAP-sponsored affairs are both informative and enjoyable. Prominent safety lecturers point to the important part played by supervisors in the overall safety picture. Special incentives such as dinner, sporting events, and special awards add interest to these meetings and insure excellent attendance. As many as 450 supervisors have attended these meetings.

Special Publications, highlighting the latest safety information, are distributed by the CAP Office. The booklet, "The AGC Manual of Accident Prevention in Construction" is sent to supervisors by CAP, free of charge. Also distributed is a safety booklet "Your Guide for Greater Safety", which depicts the potential danger in performing construction work near public utility facilities.

A safety program, no matter how good it might be, must be a continuing, living thing. It can never presume to exist on past efforts and accomplishments. The Master Builders' Association and the Construction Industry Advancement Program of Western Pennsylvania aren't about to let this happen.

An aggressive accident prevention campaign has recently begun which involves several thousand pieces of hard-hitting safety material and is now being distributed to contractors and their employees. This takes the form of a monthly "Safety Package" which consists of:

Safety Posters—to be placed on all jobs sites.

Safety Messages—designed for placement in employee pay envelopes.

Brief Safety Talks—for use by project supervisors as a starting point from which to build interesting safety meetings.

Each item in the package, which is mailed to all CAP-contributing firms, correlates a central safety topic which is being stressed each particular month. A sample mailing package is available on request. Write to: Construction Industry Advancement Program, Suite 650, Two Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222.

These mailings, coupled with the frequent personal visits to job sites by the CAP safety engineer, go a long way in personalizing for each construction employee in Western Pennsylvania, an ever-increasing awareness of safety precautions. It is the feeling of the Accident Prevention Committee that in this way . . . with a constant assault on unsafe practices and unsafe conditions . . . the disabling injury frequency in the Western Pennsylvania area will continue its downward search for that illusive goal of all accident prevention programs—the zero disabling injury frequency.

Much has been said about the CAP participation in the safety program. In addition to administrating the program, CAP also pays for it. And this is as it should be.

The expenses incurred by the Accident Prevention Department of the Industry Advancement Program are approximately $27,000 per year. The dues structure of the Master Builders' Association of Western Pennsylvania would prohibit such a large expenditure on a safety program. CAP is a service organization that functions to benefit the entire construction industry in Western Pennsylvania. In addition to the accident prevention program, CAP also serves the industry in the areas of education and apprenticeship, industry relations and public relations. CAP funds are derived from assessed contributions from contractors employing carpenters, cement masons, laborers, operating engineers, pile drivers and truck drivers. These contributions are paid to the Construction Industry Advancement Program Fund by virtue of provisions in labor agreements with the respective unions, usually in the amount of 2½¢ per hour.

WARSAW UPRISING DAY, 1968

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues, and indeed all Americans in heralding the exceptional demonstration of man's courage and devotion in the long and continuing struggle for human freedom that took place 24 years ago today in Warsaw, Poland.

In this International Human Rights Year, it is especially significant that we take full notice of the determination of the Polish people to attain their inalienable human rights so strongly evidenced that day. Rising to challenge the Nazi invaders, the valiant citizens of captive Warsaw attempted to break the shackles of oppression. Within 3 hours after the start of this uprising, the flag of the Polish Republic was flying over the heart of Warsaw for the first time in 5 years.

The grim history of the next 63 days saw the Poles fight bravely to liberate their capital from the Nazis. Unfortunately, the sheer strength of numbers and supplies of the Germans finally overwhelmed the freedom fighters, but can never dim the principles for which these patriots fought and died.

Rather, it should serve as a reminder of the steadfast faith of the Polish people in the principles of human freedom and justice and a cause for rededication of all peoples to the struggle for the attainment of basic human rights for all mankind.

Mr. Speaker, even the continued foreign presence of Poland's political stage does not mean that the Warsaw heroes fought to no avail in 1944. The traditional spirit and courage of the Polish people can never be defeated. The world would do well to note this proud spirit of dedication to freedom in this International Human Rights Year.

CRIME CONTROL AND CONGRESS

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of controversy has arisen over the recently passed omnibus crime bill, signed by President Johnson on June 19. The bill is by no means perfect, and to what extent it will help solve one of our Nation's most serious problems remains to be seen. However, we must caution against excessive pessimism. The provisions of the latest anticrime measure, when put in the context of other recent and pending anticrime legislation, indicates that, in fact, our Government is responding to our crime problems in a positive manner fully consistent with a commitment to the preeminence of local law enforcement.

LAW ENFORCEMENT—WHO'S RESPONSIBLE?

Before going further, let us dwell for a moment on the Federal role in law enforcement. The fears of the Constitutional Fathers of broad, uncontrollable Federal powers in a vast number of areas occasioned the very language of the 10th amendment which declares that:

> The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

We might go so far as to hypothesize that the Founding Fathers, in their ultimate wisdom, clearly foresaw some of the very same controversies in which we are presently embroiled. They, as we now should, thus deemed it in the Nation's best interests to place the far greater part of jurisdiction over our penal laws in the hands of the States. Technically, the Federal Government's domain in criminal activity includes only crimes against the U.S. Government, and those which are interstate in nature. Consequently, and justifiably so, State and local law enforcement agencies must bear the greatest financial, technical, and administrative burden in crime control and reduction. They must serve as the real cutting edge.

Nonetheless, the Federal Government does have a clear responsibility of supporting State and local efforts and insuring that no unreasonable restraints are placed on law enforcement officials provided that the requisites of our constitution are met.

An examination of Congress most recent effort in the fight against crime reveals that it has made significant progress in a number of crucial areas, while remaining faithful to this all important principle of State initiative.

THE OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1968

Title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 authorizes the establishment of a three-member Law Enforcement Assistance Administration within the Department of Justice to administer grant programs to States and units of local government in order to strengthen and improve law enforcement. Planning grants of up to 80 percent, action grants of up to 60 percent, grants of up to 75 percent to combat organized crime and to prevent and control riots and other civil disorders, and grants of up to 100 percent for research, education, training, and demonstration projects are all authorized under this law.

This would include money for improving facilities, equipment, and methods designed to reduce crime. Grants for public education relating to the prevention and control of crime and riots and for the organization and training of special law-enforcement units and regular law-enforcement officers are also included. Furthermore, the FBI is authorized to establish and conduct training programs for State and local law-enforcement personnel. A National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice is created to encourage research and development in this area. This will be along the lines of the National Institute of Health. Finally, money can be allocated for loans and scholarships for law-enforcement officers enrolled in college courses. Congress has authorized appropriations of more than one-half billion dollars over a 3-year period for this law-enforcement assistance title.

One of the major questions before Congress, related to this section, was the method of allocating these funds. The question is closely alined to the problem of finding the best way, amongst a number of alternatives, of insuring the finest local control in the anticrime area. Normally, Federal funds are allocated in direct grants to local governments. Under the block grant procedure, funds are given to States to be allocated to the communities in each State under a statewide plan. The funds are to be administered by a planning agency appointed by the Governor. All of the planning grants and 85 percent of the action grants will take this form.

Well-established cooperative ties between State and local agencies in my home State, California, will insure that the block grant system will work quite well. Many other States lack such a pattern of cooperation. It is my hope that the block grant approach will serve to strengthen State-local cooperation in law enforcement.

Another section of the crime bill will substantially change American criminal law. It will provide that a confession be admissible in evidence, if voluntarily given, as determined by certain flexible procedures, without any single factor being considered conclusive on the issue of voluntariness. It will also permit the police to hold a suspect in custody up to 6 hours—more in certain circumstances—before arraignment, and still obtain an admissible confession. Finally it provides for the admissibility in evidence of eyewitness testimony, even if the suspect had not had a lawyer when he was identified in a police lineup. As you may know, this may well be the most controversial provision of the bill, in that it purports to overturn three Supreme Court decisions: Miranda against Arizona, 1966; Mallory against United States, 1957; and United States against Wade, 1967.

The present state of criminal law, with respect to the rights of the accused is substantially different from that of a short while ago. In essence, what must be realized, is the tender partnership between law and justice that must remain paramount in dealing with citizens accused of crimes. Supreme Court decisions which on the surface would seem to be a definite attack on efforts to apprehend and convict wrongdoers must also be closely examined in terms of the individual constitutional guarantees which they seek to protect. The aim of these decisions is not to coddle the accused. No one can rightfully assert that the highest tribunal in our land wants to see the guilty freed. Like other law-abiding citizens who inhabit this country, the nine men sitting on that bench wish to see justice served. But, my friends, this is exactly the point. For justice to be insured for both the guilty and the innocent certain precautions must be taken, certain rules followed. For law and order to flourish in a free society, the guilty, the man who may very well have committed the crime, must be afforded the same rights as the innocent. Every citizen should, for a moment, place himself in the imaginary position of a man accused of a serious crime. Think for a moment of the protections you would want to insure that you were not unjustly convicted. Surely, as we all know so well, in our country, until an individual is found guilty in a court of law, he is presumed to be innocent, be this at the time a law-enforcement official is conducting his investigation or during the time the accused is awaiting trial. Furthermore, to insure the continuance of this free society, in line with the "innocent until proven guilty" postulate, the burden of proof must necessarily remain on the accuser, rather than the accused. Finally, the complaining party must prove the guilt of the accused beyond a reasonable doubt.

These stipulations and requirements may surely appear to be a large order to fulfill, and it is, but justifiably so. We all must recognize that the very bulwark of democracy, as opposed to the totalitarian system against which we fight on so many fronts, lies in the concept of due process of law, a concept which establishes certain immutable requirements—jury trial, the presumption of innocence, right to counsel, and several others. Any chipping away at due process thus tends toward the destruction of the safeguards which protect individual rights. It is the role of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution and laws of the land and strike a balance between rules which protect human rights and those which facilitate law enforcement. Its most recent search and seizure decision is an example of the Court giving the need for effective law-enforcement precedence.

While I can appreciate the concerns of citizens who believe that the Supreme Court has impaired the effectiveness of crime agencies in the apprehension and prosecution of criminals, I do not believe that the Miranda, Mallory, or Wade decisions entirely warrant the interpretations or the accusations which have been generated against the Court. Some people have been far too hasty in concluding that the nature of the line of decisions of our Nation's highest tribunal will severely hamper law enforcement. The latest decisions of the Court have made clear the fact that the courts do not possess an unawareness of the problems of law-enforcement agencies of the strength or magnitude of criminals. Certainly, it is no easy chore to balance the rights and freedoms that our great Nation provides. The courts' chore must be approached from the position that it is their chore, and overreaction or oversimplification does not further the positive aspects of our system. Clearly recent legislation and some of the recent Supreme Court decisions have granted the police extraordinary powers, powers and authority which appear to be more than necessary in the fight against crime.

Title II of the omnibus crime bill permits police wiretapping and bugging in investigations of a variety of specified crimes. The area of wiretapping is one of the most sensitive in this balance of rights, liberties, duties, and responsibilities of both governmental agencies and citizens. Surely the sophistication of criminals must be matched by that of the police. However, we must be careful to avoid developing a calloused attitude to the right of privacy, or to other personal guarantees. I would not like to see short-term crime problems be utilized as an excuse for pulling down the great protections which we have labored so hard to build. Certainly, under the provisions of this section of the bill, law enforcement agencies would be wise to exercise an extreme degree of care, discretion, and caution in exercising their newly approved powers.

I voted for the omnibus crime bill because, especially in the area of training, significant positive steps were taken at a most critical time, and these outweighed any objections which I might have raised. I am convinced that my constituents are opposed to any massive Federal police force which might intrude upon them or their local law enforcement officials, yet they demand Federal awareness, sympathy, and responsiveness to the problem. The measure does insure that local control will remain preeminent.

The omnibus crime bill should be looked at in the context of other legislation which has recently been passed. Congress' all-out assault on crime thus becomes evident.

The National Crime Commission, appointed in 1965, played a most important part in national crime control strategy. Its report, published in February 1967, was a document of historic importance, raising such sensitive issues as the quality of police forces and the connection of organized crime and local politics. It contained the raw material for our anticrime program, both nationally and at the State and local levels.

Passage of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act—LEA—of 1965 began the first major program of Federal aid to local law enforcement by providing valuable assistance in demonstration programs, training, and research. Projects carried out under its auspices helped foster new approaches, new resources, and new capabilities for dealing with crime and criminals. Specifically, in California, LEA projects included:

First. Development of a noncomputerized data processing system to handle criminal records, patrol, traffic, and other information—directed by the city of Redondo Beach—North American Aviation.

Second. Establishment of a commission to review salary structures as well as selection, promotion, and training procedures for law enforcement personnel.

Third. Establishment of a fellowship program to enable officers to obtain advanced degrees in law enforcement—University of California at Berkeley.

Fourth. Experimental helicopter patrol program for Los Angeles County for crime observation.

Aside from the measure just passed, other legislation has been proposed and some of it has been enacted or stands a good chance of enactment during the 90th Congress. Together these measures will hopefully turn the tide back to lower crime rates and a healthier society as a whole.

The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968 has passed both the Senate and the House in slightly different forms, and is now in conference. This measure will help in achieving substantial reductions in juvenile delinquency and youth crime. Though linked to broad preventive measures, the legislation is primarily aimed at strengthening the juvenile justice system and meeting the special needs of youth on the edge of trouble.

Another advance is the establishment of a Federal Judicial Center in the Administrative Office of the United States Courts to undertake analysis, research, and planning to improve the efficiency of the Federal court system.

In the area of organized crime, the President has recommended allocations of additional resources and, as a result, the organized crime and racketeering section of the Department of Justice has enlarged its legal staff to make it the largest in history working exclusively on organized crime. Its budget has also been enlarged. The Department of Justice has a new strike force team, staffed with section attorneys and selected Federal investigators from several agencies—all coordinating with State and local law enforcement agencies. The strike force's function is to find and prosecute organized criminal conduct. Both the House and the Senate have passed legislation to protect informants in Federal investigations. The Senate has passed legislation granting immunity from prosecution to witnesses in return for testimony or documents which they were compelled to produce in Federal grand jury or court proceedings. The measure is now before the House Judiciary Committee.

The number of racketeers indicted in criminal cases handled by the Justice Department's organized crime section rose from 19 in 1960 to 1,198 last year. Between fiscal years 1964 and 1967, convictions of organized crime and gambling figures resulting from FBI investigations have risen 300 percent, from 64 to 197. Of 182 Federal indictments and convictions of known members of the Cosa Nostra in the last 12 years, 66, more than one-third, have come in the last 12 months.

It should also be noted that it is State and local laws that are violated by most organized crime activity. It is the duty of local police to enforce those laws; therefore, the key to reduction of organized crime will be the professionalization of local law enforcement: raising standards, training officers to meet the varieties of criminal conduct committed, paying salaries that will attract the best, providing adequate force, research and development organization and leadership to bring excellence to local law enforcement, all of which will be upgraded through the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

Finally, in the area of narcotics control, the Senate at the urging of the President ratified the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, proposed by the United Nations in March 1961. Under this convention, amended to add marihuana to the list of proscribed narcotic drugs, an International Control Board was established. Congress passed a bill authorizing civil commitment of narcotics addicts, and, most important, perhaps, Congress has increased by some 40 percent the appropriations of the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control which controls the distribution of stimulant and depressant drugs—pep pills. In addition, a bill recently passed the House to prescribe stiffer penalties for the manufacture and sale of LSD and other stimulant depressant and hallucinogenic drugs.

I have taken a firm stand against the proliferation of drug abuse both in California and throughout the Nation, and will continue to do so.

Thus, Federal legislation over the last few years, taken, in toto, suggests a pattern and a train of development which demonstrates that, in fact, "eternal" progress is being made. The positive reaction of the 90th Congress to an anticrime program has certainly been one of its major achievements and I am proud to have played a part in those accomplishments.

SERGIO MENDES: THE MAN FROM IPANEMA

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, one of the world's foremost musical entertainers, Sergio Mendes, is now in the Nation's Capital, and I would like appropriate recognition of his services to our country entered into the RECORD.

In 1962, at the age of 21, Sergio Mendes went to New York, where he took part in a "bossa nova" concert at Carnegie Hall. For the next few years, he led various instrumental and vocal combos in South America, Europe, and Japan, and in 1964 he was asked to form a special group to play Brazilian music for North Americans. He was catapulted to world fame with Brazil "66". His musical "Bossa Rio Sextet" from Ipanema established him as the legend of bossa nova.

Although not a citizen of the United States, Sergio Mendes, who is the good will ambassador of Brazil, our partner in the Alliance for Progress, has given unstintingly of his time and talent in serving the needs of our country. Under Herb Alpert's sponsorship in 1966, on records and as a supporting act for the Tijuana Brass concert tours, his combo has been musically and commercially successful. In 1967 he was in the forefront of entertainers who volunteered their services for the President's Council on Youth Programs. Last year here in our Nation's Capital, he went out to the depressed areas to entertain during the summer youth opportunity and recreation program.

At the request of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Sergio Mendes interrupted a nationwide tour to appear at a concert for the Ambassador of the Organization of American States which was part of a 2-day salute in our Capital to "creative Latin America." Currently he is entertaining residents at our Capital nightly at Carter Barron Amphitheater, a Government facility operated by the Feld Brothers, Israel and Irving, who now rank in stature with such show business greats as P. T. Barnum and Ziegfeld. On Saturday, August 10, in Anaheim, Calif., he will join Bob Hope in presenting a benefit program to raise funds for the USO, which has been of inestimable value to our troops through World War II, the Korean conflict, and to this day while our soldiers are serving their country in Vietnam.

To Sergio Mendes, let it be known that Americans of all cultures are appreciative of his efforts in their behalf.

AMERICA'S POLICEMEN DESERVE SUPPORT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO FORM AN ALLIANCE IN DEFENSE OF LAW AND ORDER

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an article by Mr. Robert Wiedrich in his column Tower Ticker which appears in the Chicago Tribune points out that 50,000 policemen in Chicago, New York, Boston, Los Angeles and Cleveland are forming an alliance in defense of law and order.

Mr. Wiedrich has performed a notable public service by calling attention to the national movement. I believe it deserves the whole hearted support of the entire Nation and I hope that police forces in every single community will join in the much needed effort.

I know of no better way that we can marshall the forces against crime in our streets than to get behind these policemen in their efforts to form this alliance and then give the alliance our unyielding support.

The policeman too often is America's forgotten man. He is the one who risks his life time and again to protect society but time and again society turns its back on his needs.

I hope this alliance will become the biggest movement in America. I hope that every citizen will get behind it because only then will we be able to make some significant contributions toward restoring law and order in this Nation.

I hope this policemen's alliance will become the biggest and most effective lobby in the land for law and order and only through their collective strength can these policemen get the tools they need to carry out their missions.

Only through collective efforts can they get the judiciary to discharge its responsibility when these brave policemen apprehend the criminals.

I hope policemen from all over the land will join this much-needed alliance.

Mr. Wiedrich's excellent article follows:

TOWER TICKER

Discontent: More than 50,000 policemen in Chicago, New York City, Boston, Los Angeles, and Cleveland are forming an alliance in defense of law and order in America. Representatives of police groups in these major cities are scheduled to meet here soon with President Red Herrick, of the Chicago Patrolman's association, to map plans to force city governments to back up their police in times of mass civil disobedience. "We're sick and tired of being political footballs," an insider in the movement told us. "The men are fed up. We've got to take a stand. The law must be strictly enforced. If this is the law of the land, everyone must obey it." The deaths of three policemen in the Cleveland rioting and injuries to others in Peoria and elsewhere prompted the alliance. We're also told Peoria police have asked to join the group.

CHARLES EVERS' ELOQUENT STATEMENT

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I include an eloquent statement by civil rights leader Charles Evers, reprinted from the Amsterdam News of July 13. Mr. Evers is the chairman of the Mississippi NAACP and the brother of the slain leader, Medgar Evers. Mr. Evers' statement on the civil rights movement was taken from a television interview. I strongly commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

CHARLES EVERS' ELOQUENT STATEMENT

(NOTE.—The following statement was made by civil rights leader Charles Evers on the ABC–TV "Joey Bishop Show" Tuesday, June 18. It was repeated later on several shows.)

"To be a Negro is something that no one can understand but us. I know you can't understand why we're sometimes impatient now, and why we sometimes say things that you don't really understand.

"But I remember when Medgar and I were boys, we all long wanted to become men so we could help to change things because when we were boys, Joe, we had to walk to school on the dusty roads, and I remember how the white kids would drive along in their shiny buses, and the bus driver so mean he'd cut at us and make us jump in the ditch—just because we were Negroes.

"I remember how we'd go to this great big old one-room country shack, and how we had one teacher to teach one through eighth grade, and we all sat in this big, big room . . . and we'd all try to get our lesson. We didn't have a desk to write on, we didn't even have a crayon to write with. We didn't have a blackboard.

BRING PENNY

"I remember, the teacher used to tell us, she said, Charles, ya'll bring a penny tomorrow so we can buy some paint to paint the walls," so we can have a blackboard. And then just down the road a piece was a great big brick steam-heat building with a classroom and a teacher in each classroom. And they were being prepared to become the citizens of tomorrow, and we were—right there in the same community, in the same system—being denied the right to even go to school.

"We had to go four months out of the year. That's all we had. And then knowing that ten or fifteen years later we were going to be turned loose into this world, to go out and try to mave a living for our families. And then you wonder why we are like we are?

DENIED TOO LONG

"Our white friends have got to understand that we have been denied too long. We've been denied the right to even exist. We don't want you to give us anything. Just give us a chance. Use justice equally and fairly. If I slap you, you slap me back. Come into court, judge us equally. Not Charles Evers the Negro, but Charles Evers the man who slapped somebody, and do the same thing to our white brother.

"We don't have that in courts. Our judges, our military forces, our employment in Mississippi (which is the greatest agricultural state in the Nation).

The Department of Agriculture spends most of its—I guess—money there.

"We don't have a single Negro—not one Negro county agent. Now, the county agent job is very simple, teaches you when to plant corn, when to plant cotton, how much to plant. The Federal Government hasn't allowed us one in the whole state.

"We don't have a single Negro in the Post Office (other than some "flunky" like the postal clerk).

NINETY DRAFT BOARDS

"We have ninety draft boards in Mississippi, and we don't have a single Negro on the draft board. How wrong can you be? And they send my people off to the war, and we fight for this country; we die for this country. But no one cares enough to give us a chance.

"You see, this is what we're trying to tell our white friends. How could you continue to do this to us? People who have worked for you, who have taken care of you, who have washed your clothes, made your beds, taken care of your children.

"While you go play bridge, we stay at home and watch over your children and keep them safe. And then they say we're lazy—and we go out—and we worked and laid crossties, and cutsplit rails, and cleared forests all over this land and got no pay.

"Yes, our white friends, it's up to you really. To help us to help this country, because we've done all that we know to do but with all the hate, and with all the misuse and abuse we've had from you, we're not going to hate you. We're going to continue to do what we know is right because someday God is going to help us."

DEFENSE CONTRACT PROFITS

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD a letter addressed to me some time ago by the Secretary of Defense in regard to profits on defense contracts.

Defense spending is very high, and there are many urgent reasons why every effort should be made to get a dollar in value for every dollar expended, not only for defense but in other areas of Government.

When Congress resumes in September, we will have before us the $72 billion defense appropriation bill, and the subject of defense spending will be before the House for consideration. The Secretary's letter relates to some of the problems which will confront us.

The letter is as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., June 13, 1968.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: During recent weeks there have been several Congressional and press comments implying that there has been a sharp increase in profits on Defense contracts—or expressing concern that the increased volume of Vietnam procurement has given rise to "war profiteering".

I have examined the best available data on this matter and do not find a basis for such conclusion. I would like to report to you on the data which this Department has available.

We continue to strive for maximum effective competition in procurement, at minimum costs possible. I acknowledge that some mistakes are inevitable, but the facts tell a story of significant progress in military procurement.

The Defense Department is now processing approximately 15 million purchase transactions annually. While most of these are small, we entered into more than 229,000 transactions last year with a face value of $10,000 or greater. In such numerous transactions, spanning purchases ranging from simple parts and services to the most complex weapon systems, there will always be a range of profit results—from occasional substantial losses to occasional instances of relatively high profits. To protect the public against any abnormal trend to high profits, Congress has established the Renegotiation Board. We support the continuation of the Board.

Permit me now to relate to you the factual data which are available.

PUBLISHED REPORTS OF THE RENEGOTIATION BOARD

As you know, the Renegotiation Act of 1951 provides that the Renegotiation Board is to review the total profit derived by a contractor, during the year, from all of his renegotiable contracts and subcontracts in order to determine whether or not this profit is excessive. Each year the Board reports the total sales contained in the filings it receives, and the total profit on these sales. The tabulation below, from the Renegotiation Board reports for 1956–1967, shows sales and pretax profits, and the over-all percent of pretax profit on sales.

[Dollar amounts in billions]

Year ending June 30	Renegotiable sales	Renegotiable profits	Profit on sales (percent)
1956	$28.2	$1.8	6.5
1957	27.7	1.6	5.8
1958	26.6	1.3	4.9
1959	26.3	1.1	4.2
1960	28.5	1.1	4.0
1961	25.1	.9	3.6
1962	29.3	.9	3.1
1963	31.2	.9	2.9
1964	39.3	1.1	2.9
1965	34.8	1.0	3.0
1966	31.8	1.0	3.0
1967	33.1	1.2	3.5

It is reported that, due to Vietnam, the number of filings with the Renegotiation Board has begun to show an increase. This, of course, is to be expected. The number of contract awards with a face value of $10,000 or greater has increased from 149,700 in 1963 to 229,400 in 1967. During the same period, the net value of Defense awards increased from $29.4 billion to $44.6 billion.

Based on the above data, I find no grounds for concluding that a sharp increase in Defense profits has occurred. To the contrary, Department of Defense officials frequently have expressed concern with the steady decline in profit rates between 1956–1963. This was one of the factors that led us to conduct a—

SPECIAL STUDY OF PROFITS EARNED BY FORTY DEFENSE HARDWARE CONTRACTORS.

Two years ago, the Defense Department determined that more detailed information was required on profit trends related to sales, capital invested, and type of contract—especially among companies engaged in the development and production of military hardware. We obtained the assistance of a research organization (the Logistics Management Institute) to gather such detailed information on a confidential basis from a number of medium volume ($25-$200 million annually) and high volume (over $200 million annually) Defense contractors. The survey covered 40 companies (23 high volume and 17 medium volume). This group represents a significant sample, since its aggregate Defense sales have ranged between $13–$15 billion annually since 1958. Thus far, sales and profit data have been obtained and analyzed for the calendar years 1958 through 1966. We are currently in the process of obtaining data covering earnings through Calendar Year 1967.

The following summary shows the profit performance, before taxes, for this group of Defense companies, compared with 3,500 durable goods companies reporting to the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

[In percent]

Year	40 defense companies		3,500 FTC/SEC companies	
	Profit to sales	Profit to total capital invested	Profit to sales	Profit to total capital invested
1958	5.4	20.4	7.1	14.1
1959	5.1	19.1	8.9	18.8
1960	4.5	17.0	7.8	15.9
1961	4.3	14.6	7.7	15.1
1962	4.2	14.3	8.9	18.5
1963	3.9	12.5	9.1	19.2
1964	4.0	12.2	9.5	20.4
1965	4.8	14.3	10.4	23.1
1966	4.5	13.0	10.0	22.6

As the above data show, the trend in Defense companies' earnings has been downward, while that of the commercial companies has steadily increased. The Logistics Management Institute has also obtained data on Defense company profit trends by type of contract. These show that the lowest profit rates since 1963 have been earned on firm-fixed-price contracts, and on those awarded under competitive conditions.

A copy of the study containing the above data is enclosed. When this report is supplemented to show 1967 data, we will be pleased to furnish you a copy if you wish.

TRENDS IN "GOING-IN" PROFIT RATES ON NEGOTIATED CONTRACTS

A misunderstood and misinterpreted profit statistics which has been discussed recently is the negotiated "going-in" profit on noncompetitive contracts. Some people apparently assume that this profit is a guarantee of what the contractor will actually earn when the contract is completed. This is not the case. It simply means that if the contractor's actual costs are the same as the estimated, allowable costs established by negotiation—then he can expect to earn the profit percentage which is negotiated. However, costs incurred above the negotiated estimate, (1) either do not change the amount of profit negotiated, or (2) decrease the amount earned—depending on the type of contract. Hence, the contractor's profit percentage can be expected to decrease to the extent that his actual costs are higher than negotiated at the outset—a very frequent occurrence on development and initial production of complex military items.

Furthermore, by law and regulation there are many contractor costs which are not allowed on Government work and which thus must be paid by the contractor out of his profits. These unallowable costs include interest on borrowed capital, donations and contributions, advertising, and others; in the aggregate such unallowables average in excess of 1.5% of the contractor's actual costs.

The statement has been made that since 1964 "going-in" negotitated profits have increased 25% over the 1959–1963 period. The actual increase from January 1, 1964 through December 31, 1967 has been 22%. A principal reason for this increase in "going-in" profit rates is the fact that we have consistently increased the use of firm-fixed-price and incentive type contracts, while reducing the use of cost-plus-fixed-fee (CPFF) contracts. This shifts responsibility and risk from the Government to the contractor, and provides an incentive for better management. Our experience shows that the *total cost* to the Government is thereby reduced. Hence, it is sound practice to share the cost savings with the contractor.

Since 1961 the percent of awards based on firm-fixed-price contracts has increased from 31.5% to 56.3% of all awards; incentive contracts have increased from 14.4% to 26.1%; while the percent of CPFF awards has dropped from 36.6% to 10.4%. We would indeed be exacting unreasonable penalties if such dramatic shifts in risk were not accompanied by improved profit *opportunities*. As a consequence the average negotiated "going-in" profit has increased from 7.7%, on estimated cost, to 9.4% since January 1964—a 22% increase.

Despite this apparent improvement in profit opportunities, the limited data available to us thus far on completed contracts show no improvement in realized profits—that is, they are remaining at the 1959–1963 level. We are currently examining why the anticipated improvement has not occurred, because we cannot properly expect industry to accept greater risks, and to apply an ever larger share of their own financial resources to the performance of complex military undertakings, without a valid opportunity to obtain profit results commensurate with the lower cost to the Government. Unless such improvements do occur in the future, we can only expect strong pressures to revert to much greater use of CPFF type contracts. I am sure that you will agree, as I find industry leaders do, that this would be a retrogressive step.

CONCLUSION

In the light of the above evidence, I can only conclude that those who express alarm about "profiteering" are making assumptions as to the future without a factual basis. Of course, no one can predict future results in each individual contract or company. It is possible that the high volume, long production runs, which characterize some Vietnam procurement programs, may produce different patterns of profits from those of the past seven years. Again, it should be noted that the Renegotiation Board has been established to protect the taxpayer against any individual instances of excessive profits.

I can assure you that we will continue to keep Defense costs and profits under the closest scrutiny; that we will continue to pursue the objective of wisely using the profit motive and competition to attract the best industrial capabilities to Defense work, and reward contractors appropriately for their performance as measured by on-time performance, technical achievements, and cost.

Sincerely,

CLARK H. CLIFFORD.

IS THE NATION SICK?

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I bebelieve the average American has reached the point of nausea in reaction to the liberal trends in our country toward all-powerful centralized authority, lack of respect for our country and the views of others, coddling of criminals by the courts and general disrespect for the principles, virtues and personal characteristics which made this country the greatest Nation in the world.

In an excellent editorial, Mr. Tom O'Connor, editor of the Allendale County Citizen, says with reference to America being sick:

> While I can't speak for America, I am ready to admit that I am sick.
>
> I'm sick of persons of high and low degree who denigrate the United States and the system of government under which they are allowed wide freedom when too many of them use that freedom as irresponsible license.

Mr. O'Connor goes on to say:

> I'm sick of the prominence given to a mere handful of dirty, even evil-minded, youth, while in the United States millions of our young lead circumspect lives facing with courage the disappointments and frustrations with which all men must learn to live.
>
> I'm sick of those who think opportunity is a gift within the power of governments to bestow or withhold.
>
> I'm sick of lawmakers whose solutions for every problem is another law. I'm sick of legislation which ignores the Constitution and the significance of the 14th Amendment, guaranteeing to every citizen equal rights in all fields of human endeavor, if he has what it takes to make the grade.

Mr. President, I recommend this fine editorial to Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS NATION IS SICK?

(An editorial by Tom O'Connor)

I've read what all the so-called experts, who shoot from the lip, have to say about America being sick. While I can't speak for America. I am ready to admit that I am sick.

"I'm sick of persons of high and low degree who denigrate the United States and the system of government under which they are allowed wide freeedom when too many of them use that freedom as irresponsible license."

I'm sick of a leadership which lacks the guts to place first things first, which calls for disarming citizens, while doing nothing to prevent arms from reaching criminals, men and nations.

I'm sick of puling infants who fear the draft and will take any dodge to keep from serving the nation. I am also sick of parents who inculcate that fear and who, by hook or crook, see to it their sons never become the men they could be.

I'm sick of the exploitation of a hopeful, wishful minority which has been led to believe that the abundant life can be handed out in government checks. I'm sick of the fat cats who shout civil rights and freedom, in a nation where they are more free than men anywhere. I'm sick of the high living confidence men who dupe the poor and use the poor for their own purposes.

I'm sick of hearing on television and reading in the papers the nonsense of loud-mouthed, insignificant characters who couldn't butter their own bread if it were not for unwarranted publicity.

I'm sick of newsmen who build of ready mouths and half-baked ideas, monsters of mob action, by giving the credence of print to utterances of unprincipled men of no real value to anyone.

I'm sick of the criticism poured on the United States from other nations for whom the United States has sacrificed the blood and bone of its youth, as well as every resource at its command.

I'm sick of the wheelers and dealers who pussyfoot about in the United Nations and in foreign capitals, taking all kinds of abuse from two-bit dictators, spear shakers and every crum bum with a sceptre in his hand, when a firm "Shut up or put up," would settle matters once and for all.

I'm sick of the weeping and wailing about the dead of Hanoi, when daily scores are killed by indiscriminate shelling of Saigon. I'm sick of a war which isn't called a war and which no one plans to end anytime soon.

I'm sick of people, who have grown and prospered under our system of government, sounding off about the merits of systems which have proven only a vast ability to enslave the minds and bodies of men.

I'm sick of the prominence given to a mere handful of dirty, even evil-minded, youth, while in the United States millions of our young lead circumspect lives facing with courage the disappointments and frustrations with which all men must learn to live.

I'm sick of those who think opportunity is a gift within the power of governments to bestow or withhold.

I'm sick of lawmakers whose solutions for every problem is another law. I'm sick of legislation which ignores the Constitution and the significance of the 14th Amendment, guaranteeing to every citizen equal rights in all fields of human endeavor, if he has what is takes to make the grade.

I'm sick of political cant and hyprocrisy and patently false promises of candidates, who say what they will do when the jobs they seek do not carry the power to do it.

I'm sick of those who in the guise of liberal thought and enlightened understanding publish magazines and books which, by whatever name they are called, are in reality products of panderers and pornographers.

I'm sick. . . . Oh, brother, am I sick!

CONFERENCE FOR THE AGING IS SUPPORTED

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, it has been nearly a decade since we took a concentrated look at the problems facing the aged and the aging.

At that time a serious look was taken at the problem. Now is time to plan another serious look at where we stand in solving the problems of the aged.

I strongly support the measure which the House adopted to convene a White House Conference on Aging and the similar bill passed by the Senate.

The 1961 White House Conference of Aging brought together the best thinking at that time.

It laid the foundation for meeting the needs of the older persons. That conference was a great success. Virtually all the major recommendations resulting from the conference were put into effect either through legislation or other means.

Since 1961 the number of persons 65 and over has climbed from 17 million to 19 million. By 1980 it is expected to jump to 25 million and by the year 2000 we can expect to have 65 million at the retirement age.

From the floor of this House we heard my colleague from Illinois, JOHN ERLENBORN, use the phrase "retirement revolution."

That is exactly what we are going to be faced with—a revolution. Medical science has learned effectively how to extend man's life. But man has done little to learn what to do with those extra years.

I am pleased to note here that one of my constituents has been one of the foremost leaders in solving the problems of the aging. Garson Meyer, of Rochester, serves as vice chairman of the National Republican Task Force on the Problems of the Aging, which I helped establish.

Mr. Meyer has been active in housing, employment, health care, and other of the complex problems facing the elderly. He has shown the concern that must spread across the Nation for those whose only disadvantage is that they are old.

We cannot ignore the welfare of the elderly. We cannot blind ourselves to their adversities.

One defect in the measure which the House adopted is that we failed to provide funds to help the States finance their participation.

The Senate was farsighted enough to include these funds and it is essential that these funds be maintained in the measure when it comes through the conference.

The time has come for us to review the progress of the 1961 conference proposals. A White House conference will also provide us the opportunity to move forward and formulate broad national goals for the next decade.

HIGH-SPEED RAIL PASSENGER SERVICE

HON. JOHN O. PASTORE

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, many of us are very much interested in the development of a high-speed train. We are somewhat disturbed over the delays in the past and are eager to have the Department of Transportation pursue this development with all expedition.

An article on this subject was written by reporter Lewis W. Wolfson of the Providence Journal and Evening Bulletin. The article, in my opinion, is objective and constructive. It may be critical in spots and I believe justifiably so, yet overall it is well done, and I recommend its reading by Senators.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Providence Journal-Bulletin, July 10, 1968]

SPEEDY RR, REMEMBER?

(By Lewis W. Wolfson)

WASHINGTON.—Tests of the response to high speed rail passenger travel on the New Haven Railroad may begin early this fall, but no definite date has been set for the inauguration of service that already is 15 months overdue and still is plagued with problems.

Most of the difficulty has been due to a serious miscalculation by United Aircraft Corp. of Connecticut of how long it would take to build and put into service a gas turbine propelled train that could go 160 miles an hour, and be designed to take the New Haven's curves without too much loss of time of discomfort to passengers.

The error is made more glaring because travelers in the Northeast Corridor have encountered growing inconveniences in air and highway travel in the last year, but have yet to board the two three-car fast demonstration trains promised by the federal government.

In the meantime, for more than three years the public has been hearing glowing reports by United Aircraft and federal officials in anticipation of the start of the demonstration—through news conferences, previews of models, press visits to the Pullman plant outside Chicago where the trains were built and fitted out, a dedication ceremony for the maintenance building at Fields Point, and a number of showings and train trips for reporters and dignitaries.

FAVORABLE NOTICES

The public relations campaign has been carried on in New York, Boston, Providence, Washington and other cities in the Northeast Corridor, and it was stepped up last month as the trains were completed.

As a result, the firm continues to get good notices for its project and little attention is paid to the long delay and unfulfilled predictions.

Last month, Sen. Gordon Allott, D-Colo., held a one-day probe by an appropriations subcommittee of the delay in building 50 Budd Co. "metroliner" electric trains which were supposed to have gone into service between New York and Washington last October, and now may be delayed until sometime in 1969.

Senator Allott said he would not look into the Boston-New York project because "at no time, to my knowledge, did United Aircraft Corp. or the Department of Transportation (D.O.T.) set a specific date for beginning service."

While a specific date never has been set officially, United Aircraft and federal officials kept making estimates about when the demonstration would begin—and revising them—until the program began to lag way behind their predictions.

Now, Ed Ward, director of engineering for the high speed ground transportation program, will say only, "We've gotten burned badly enough that we're not estimating any more."

And Leonard Horner, who took over direction of the train program for United Aircraft's Sikorsky division in a "managerial realignment" in January, says he is being deliberately non-committal because "adverse situations have developed" in the past whenever they made predictions.

OK'D IN 1965

The high speed program was approved by Congress in 1965 and as early as April of that year, federal officials indicated that a gas turbine train would be used on the New Haven project and that United Aircraft was ready to develop it out of its turbine program for aircraft and other land and water vehicles.

The government and United agreed to a contract Jan. 21, 1966, with the first train to be delivered on Nov. 21 and the second on Dec. 1. Program officials then expected about a month to elapse between delivery and the start of service.

In June, Robert A. Nelson, director of the federal high speed ground transportation program which runs the project, told the Journal-Bulletin that the start of passenger service had been put off to late February or early March, 1967, because of a 56-day delay in the delivery of aluminum extrusions for the car body because of Vietnam war production demands.

At the dedication of the Fields Point depot in October, Robert H. Schatz, then director of the project but later to be replaced by Mr. Horner, announced that the first train would be delivered Dec. 15, and he said passenger operations would begin before the end of March, 1967.

In December, Mr. Nelson gave a new estimate that passenger operations were expected to begin later, on July 1, 1967.

Now, a year later and 15 months after the original date, the turbine-powered trains finally have been completed.

But it still is not certain when they will start running in the two-year federal project which is supposed to determine whether travelers between Boston and New York, and intermediate points, will return to the New Haven if provided with fast, convenient service.

ADJUSTMENTS REQUIRED

Mr. Ward, D.O.T.'s engineering director, said last week that the trains, in effect, were delivered to the government on June 17, but minor adjustments, had to be made in a number of things, including the air conditioning and operation of the doors.

Up to that point, the delay had been in United's manufacture of the equipment. Now, the situation is complicated by one more holdup caused by a New Haven union requirement that a fireman's seat be installed. This means removal of two passenger seats from each train.

In addition, D.O.T. dawdled about ordering a custom-built transformer which must be used to supply electrical services while the train is sitting in Grand Central Station because the law forbids use of a gas turbine there.

Mr. Ward said it would take most of July and August to install the seats and the transformer, and he thought it might take up to another month more "before everything is ready on both trains" for them to go into full service.

During that time D.O.T. will be running the trains on the New Haven to test their capability to meet schedules before it finally accepts them.

The department also will supervise arrangement of schedules and training of the New Haven crews, and try to complete negotiations with the New Haven and rail unions which will operate the trains.

Mr. Nelson, the program director, has promised that the public will be informed of the inaugural date and the train's schedule six weeks before the service starts. Excursion trips from cities along the way may be conducted this summer.

ADMIRES INITIATIVE

By now, Mr. Nelson and Mr. Ward have had a good look at United's history of trial and error in building these prototype trains, and they feel that "the probabilities are very low we will not accept the equipment."

But, Mr. Nelson adds, "Something might happen to that equipment tomorrow. Problems happen all the time because of unforeseen mechanical and electrical failures. Things could happen that we don't anticipate."

Mr. Nelson speaks as a man who has been burned.

He admires United Aircraft's initiative in investing a lot of money in developing and building a largely new piece of equipment.

But he concedes that United, with the well-intentioned complicity of D.O.T. officials, get too caught up on a dream of a quick, smooth application of space-age techniques to railroad manufacture.

"I think United Aircraft really believed it could do it (in the time predicted) and that seems to reflect the naivete of a sophisticated firm," he says.

"They were overconfident. They felt they could deal with this problem without losing a step after their experience with space and aircraft, programs, and it turned out to be much more complicated than they thought it to be."

The Boston-New York high speed rail project is a very modest one by the standards of the billion-dollar federal air and highway programs, so that the mistakes made by United Aircraft and Department of Transportation (D.O.T.) officials were not magnified publicly as with experiments like the supersonic transport.

The project promises no futuristic quantum jump in travel such as trains shooting along on cushions of air, or by linear inductions motors (although the high speed program also is researching these ideas).

The federal government so far has limited its scope to leasing the two new trains from United to see whether passengers will come back to the New Haven if given a shorter travel time and more comfortable ride.

But, as time goes on, the pressure is on D.O.T. officials to relieve some of the intercity traffic congestion in the Northeast Corridor. And the delays in the demonstration have put off the time when harassed D.O.T. officials could make a sound evaluation of this option.

D.O.T. program director Robert Nelson thinks that fast trains are "the quickest way" of increasing the capacity of intercity transportation in the corridor.

"TOUCH AND GO"

He says there is no question about this between New York and Washington, but calls it "touch and go" whether it now seems wise to make a major investment of money in this kind of service between Boston and New York.

There probably will be a lot of people in and near Providence and the other intermediate stops who will see it as the best way to go to New York and Boston, Mr. Nelson feels, but the question is whether they will generate enough traffic to make the service viable.

He feels the public in Rhode Island and the other states along the New Haven in part have already shown their support of passenger services through the state subsidy of New Haven operations.

But Congress, he notes ruefully, has made "no clear commitment," and he himself will "make no commitments whatsoever until the demonstrations are over" about how the New Haven service might be reshaped.

United Aircraft hopes to use the experiment as a selling point for building more trains for the New Haven and other rail operations, and such a program no doubt would require some kind of additional federal aid.

SIZABLE INVESTMENT

United has made a significant investment in the success of these trains and it has borne the financial penalty for the errors in judgment.

The company will not give out figures on its investment. But D.O.T. officials estimate that United has put a minimum of 7.5 million dollars into the New Haven trains to date, and that the entire United program—which also includes five, slower seven-car turbine trains for Canadian National Railways—already runs to at least 15 million dollars.

The federal government expects to invest about nine million dollars in the Boston-New York demonstration before it is completed.

This includes about 4.5 million dollars for leasing and maintenance of two three-car United trains, about three million for operation of them by the New Haven, and 1.2 million for upgrading its roadbed (supplemented by $500,000 from the state of Connecticut).

So far the public has lost no money on the project. Transportation Secretary Alan Boyd told the House commerce committee on June 12 that the delay in delivery of the equipment "has been completely without funding costs to the government."

But, despite the modest government investment, federal railway administration officials have made a commitment to this idea of high speed ground travel now, and a good part of their entire program's success and its acceptability to Congress and the White House, is invested in the New Haven experiment.

ANTE RAISED

The ante has been raised for them by an even more embarrassing delay in the New York-Washington electric train demonstration, and by the programs's vulnerability to attack by powerful air and highway interests.

Thus, as often happens with ventures that are billed as a limited partnership between government and private business, both parties have developed a stake in the project, and they have found that nursing along a not entirely happy marriage is preferable to having the mistakes on both sides end in a more costly and shattering divorce.

Director Nelson recently wrote a member of the advisory committee to his program that the demands for high speed in the gas-turbine train especially on curves "has required a greater amount of engineering development than was anticipated at the time the procurement contract was let."

Mr. Nelson can put it more simply: "I guess all of us let our enthusiasm for getting on with the project run away with our idea of what was involved.

United Aircraft, confident from its experience in making Pratt and Whitney aircraft engines and Sikorsky helicopters, had "a lack of appreciation of the technical problems" in Mr. Nelson's words.

MUM ON PROBLEMS

They had to design and build a new train powered by gas-turbine engines similar to those used in aircraft, and to develop a suspension system that would enable it to take the New Haven Railroad's many curves at high speed.

United officials are vague about what went wrong with their predictions.

Leonard Horner, the project's director, says that "as with anything that is new there were many small problems" in the engineering, manufacture and testing of the vehicle. But he would not discuss what the problems were.

Mr. Nelson, who will be responsible for the trains' performance after they are accepted by the government and put into service, thinks United seems to have licked the problems.

He says the main problem was that the firm had to go back and redesign parts of the gearboxes "extensively."

The gearboxes are crucial to the transmission of power from the turbine through the drive train to the wheels. These were similar to those used in helicopters, but there were problems with the reversing gear and oil leaks which had to be worked out by the subcontractor, Western Gear, of Washington.

Mr. Nelson says there also was a problem of lateral sway at low speeds, largely because of the shortness of the cars.

He says United has pretty much eliminated this, although the cars will have to be watched more than routinely for adjustments to the sway dampers when they return to the Fields Point shed at night.

Passengers will find United Airlines turbined-powered trains faster and more comfortable when measured against today's conventional trains.

To this reporter, who took a brief ride on it from Washington to nearby Bowie, Md., the train was comfortable at a speed of 110 miles an hour, the highest in the short run, and it seemed to have less sway than conventional trains except when it crossed switches in the Washington yard and accelerated in the lower speed ranges.

It is outfitted with some of the conveniences found in a jet airliner—two-abreast seating in large reclining seats with high backs and good leg room, a fold-down table for serving and writing, a ventilation system that dispels that railroad car smell of smoke, disinfectant and old banana peels, and air conditioning that works.

Seats in the domed propulsion-observation cars at either end of the three-car trains will give a new perspective to train travel on the New Haven.

But passengers have scant room to squeeze by one another in the aisle in these cars, and the noise of the turbines—four in one domed car and two in the other—makes conversation difficult, and could be wearisome on a long trip.

DOT officials have even stricter demands—"It's not a super ride. It's very good. It's better than conventional trains, but it's not twice as great," says high speed program director Robert Nelson.

They are very pleased with the trains speed capabilities.

TESTED AT 170 MPH

According to United, it probably will run at a top speed of 120 miles an hour when it first goes into service on the New Haven, but it already has tested out at 170 miles an hour, 10 miles an hour faster than the DOT contract specifies.

Company officials expect no problem in meeting DOT's required running time between Boston and New York of three hours and 15 minutes with four intermediate stops.

Alan R. Cripe, chief engineer for United's project, says that a run has been made from Boston to Woodlawn, N.Y., in two hours and 36 minutes with the four stops in between Woodlawn is about 20 minutes from Grand Central Station.

What federal officials are concerned about before they finally accept the trains is the quality of the ride, and they are not entirely happy with the end product of 2½ years of work.

They had wanted to make a leap ahead in steel-wheel-on-rail travel. Mr. Nelson says they made "an improvement" over conventional trains in ride quality, but had hoped for "a very substantial improvement."

He says the average passenger probably won't notice the shortcomings much, the way professional railroad men will, but he adds that United has "conscientiously tried to overcome deficiencies."

He says that "the suspension system is not as good as we had hoped for," and people may get jostled by a swaying at low speeds. This is only likely to be noticeable when the stabilizing equipment is out of adjustment, and even then it will "clearly not be any worse than the average New Haven Railroad equipment," he says.

A good part of the problem is the quality of the railroad itself since it would take a much bigger budget than D.O.T. has to upgrade the New Haven to take greater advantage of the train's higher speeds.

The noise level inside the cars also is "somewhat higher" than the government specified.

Mr. Nelson says United "was not able to deal completely with the noise problem because it would have taken extensive redesign and rebuilding."

The seats in the domed cars "will be quite a bit noisier than planned," but he feels that the noise is no worse than in the rear seats of today's jetliners.

A United Aircraft news release states that "the quietness of the engine, plus the elimination of virtually all metal to metal contact in the train's suspension system and other special acoustical approaches, minimizes interior and exterior noise."

United's Leonard Horner, the program director, when asked if he feels there is a problem with the noise level, said, "I'm not going to answer that one."

Mr. Nelson concludes that the differences between the high speed program's standards and what United has done "is not enough to jeopardize the project for the government's purposes."

He lauds United for what they have accomplished—"if you compare the time it takes to design a new piece of equipment like this, build it and run it through a shakedown period—United has done a pretty good job."

PELL HAS PRAISE

Sen. Claiborne Pell, often called "the grandfather of the high speed program" for his work to promote it, also praises United, and feels it is far more important to have reliable service than to meet project deadlines.

"We must not forget that this is a new advance in railroad design and engineering, and that there are bound to be changes and modifications that have to be made as the project progresses," he told the Senate appropriations committee in June.

In the end, United and the federal government cannot be faulted for ignoring the program's handicaps, only for underestimating their impact.

The firm set out to design and build an inventive piece of equipment without the right backlog of technology and with only a handful of technicians and railway suppliers who had shed their traditional conservatism about experimentation.

They also ran into an unforeseen delay due to the Vietnam war, although the two-month holdup in aluminum deliveries was far less telling in the long run that United officials make it out to be (but it led D.O.T. officials to drop a clause which could have penalized United up to $50,000 for late delivery only six months after the contract was approved).

For their part, program officials have had to worry through the inroads that an axe-swinging Congress might make in their modest demonstration budget, and to arrange to run the experiment on a bankrupt railroad that wanted to unload its passenger service, not improve it.

Federal program director Nelson says, "If we were to start over again, we'd be a lot more realistic about the schedules and about the penalty for delays."

United Aircraft executive Horner says, if they had it to do over, "I don't think we would have done it very differently. The basic concept is sound."

Even if this is the case, United created its own credibility gap by not being as ready to talk about mistakes and delays in the design and production of the train as it was to overpromote its virtues.

And both D.O.T. and United might have restrained themselves until they saw what they had, and not raised the expectations of a lot of unhappy travelers who are willing—but still waiting—to board that high speed train.

THOUGHTS ON SCIENCE TODAY

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, in the July 19, 1968, issue of Science magazine, I notice two articles on science in the universities. The first article, entitled "The Paradox of Science in the Universities," suggests a change in viewpoint of the universities on the proper role or a sound strategy for science, especially for research in the universities. The scientists "must seek a clearer understanding of the role of basic research" relating to the present and future priorities and communicate this role to the Congress.

The second article, "A Point of View," is an excerpt from the address by Donald F. Hornig, Presidential Science Adviser, upon receipt of the first Mellon Institute Award, May 10, 1968. Dr. Hornig acknowledges the financial crisis in science but calls upon the scientific community to define its priorities and communicate these to the Congress and to the taxpaying public.

I believe that the approach taken in these articles is a valid one. Indeed, in this day and age of drastic Federal science research budget cuts which many of us deplore, I am heartened that leaders of the scientific community are suggesting an increased dialog between scientists and legislator to delineate the scientific researcher priorities of our times. I insert these articles in the RECORD at the end of my remarks, as follows:

THE PARADOX OF SCIENCE IN THE UNIVERSITIES

Educational institutions are facing severe, unsettling effects as a result of changing patterns in federal funding. Many have concluded that this state of affairs is due to mounting government expenditures arising principally from the Vietnam war. The war has brought us to this confrontation earlier than might have been expected otherwise. Nonetheless it must be recognized that the pace of growth of R and D support over the past 20 years has been far greater than the rate of increase in the gross national product, a situation which could not long endure. An inevitable decline in the rate of growth of funds for science has been accentuated by heavy competition from other claimants on the national budget.

A principal difficulty is that we have arrived at this state of affairs without a clear picture of the proper role or a sound strategy for science, especially for research in the universities. Confusion and what can be called the paradox of science are resulting. We view modern science as one of mankind's most remarkable intellectual attainments. We recognize its contributions to economic growth, national security, health, and general well-being. At the same time, we are bombarded with questions and statements such as: "Is science misshaping our world?" "There is danger in growing technology." "Science, the pursuit of truth, is in serious trouble."

This paradox and the present pattern of government funding of science have come about as a result of many different, and often independent, decisions, not as the intended result of coordinated planning. Mission-oriented agencies needed research support and wanted to maintain contacts with academic laboratories. Funds for education were justified on defense grounds. Fellowship programs were designed to help meet national shortages. We have benefited from a multiplicity of programs, but we have not established priorities or paid sufficient attention to the best means of achieving our primary goals.

It is no longer adequate to ask support for basic research largely on faith. In these troubled times, the less friendly members of Congress look at many types of basic research with suspicion. There is real danger of overreaction. Accordingly we must seek a clearer understanding of the role of basic research as it relates to our present and future priorities.

In making such an assessment one has little difficulty in recognizing that the acquisition of new knowledge is only one of the values of basic research. It also makes important contributions to teaching and especially to the development of trained scientific manpower. Here the needs are great indeed for burgeoning education programs; for public sector programs in health, transportation, environmental control, and many others; and for the maintenance of a strong and viable industrial community, without which there would be no support for any of these activities.

Does this not suggest a need for change in viewpoint as well as in emphasis on the role of research in our educational institutions? The oft-repeated question of recent months, "What is going to happen to my research program?" has not stirred the Congress and is addressed to only one of the values of basic science. On the other hand, it is doubtful if even the most hostile members of Congress would quarrel with the real purposes of education, question our enormous requirements for trained scientific manpower, or argue that research is not essential to the education of future scientists. Is the academic world thinking as well as telling the Congress the right things?—Milton Harris, Chairman of the Board of Directors, American Chemical Society, and Dael Wolfle.

A POINT OF VIEW

(Excerpt from the address by Donald F. Hornig, Presidential science adviser, upon receipt of the first Mellon Institute Award given at the Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pa., on 10 May.)

Why then do I ask, "Is there a crisis in science?" To judge by my correspondence, there is surely a financial crisis in our universities as science budgets have leveled off in the last few years and are now threatened with decline. But the question I'd like to ask is whether there is something deeper? After two decades of adventurous progress, the Congress and the public ask whether we can afford it after all. We now find ourselves pulling back from the exploration of space, slowing down on the development of universities, and even holding back on health research. . . .

Congressmen look at this violent expansion of the last two decades and ask "Where will it ever end?" I should mention that at the rate of expansion of the 1950's and early 1960's one could have predicted that it would have ended with every man, woman and child in the United States doing research. But now many Congressmen and members of the public are more immediately concerned with possible overlap, duplication and proper accounting procedures, than they are with the quality and vitality with which the frontier is explored. They see a scientific community which, insisting on its purity, will not deign to communicate with the public and justify itself, but prefers to believe that its virtues are so self-evident that a right-minded society must necessarily support it on its own terms. They see a community which, in industry, government laboratories and the universities, consumes ¼ of the disposable Federal budget (the manageable part, not counting the interest on debt, veterans' payments, etc.) and takes it for granted that the question is "what are the needs of science?" rather than "what are the nation's needs for science?" This blithe spirit leads mathematicians to seriously propose that the common man who pays the taxes ought to feel that mathematical creation should be supported with public funds on the beaches of Rio de Janeiro or in the Aegean Islands. I don't doubt for a minute that mathematical creation is possible under those circumstances; it may even be improved. But the public which pays the bill is not in tune with such colossal intellectual conceit.

In short, the scientific community has done much to alienate itself from the society which supports it.

WHICH OF TWO THINGS WILL GO FROM UNITED STATES?

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Which of Two Things Will Go From United States?" published in the Mobile, Ala., Register, June 1, 1968.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHICH OF TWO THINGS WILL GO FROM UNITED STATES?

That may not have been a sonic boom that rattled the rafters. It may have been the combined voices of Lyndon Johnson, Earl Warren and HEW thundering dissent to these words of Sen Harry F. Byrd Jr., of Virginia:

"I feel strongly that the closer we can keep the schools to the people, the more effective school system we will have.

"That is the reason I want the federal government to keep its hands off the operation of the schools in the various localities. It is one reason I oppose the so-called guidelines handed down by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

"I do not want control of the schools to be shifted to Washington, D.C."

These sound sentiments obviously are not shared by Lyndon Johnson, Earl Warren and HEW.

Control of the schools is being thrust more and more into the callous hands of federal dictation, and every step of the process has been accomplished by invasion of states' rights and usurpation of authority.

Thomas Jefferson developed a farsighted and prophetic fear of a federal judiciary installed for life by political appointment and answerable to no source.

He became so concerned that in December, 1821, he suggested "future commissions to judges for six years (the senatorial term) with a reappointability by the President with the approbation of both houses (of Congress)."

Jefferson declared it a "misnomer to call a government republican in which a branch of the supreme power is independent of the nation." Again, he called it "a solecism, at least in a republican government," for the judiciary to be independent "of the will of the nation."

On still another occasion, Jefferson declared in referring to federal judges "installed for life, responsible to no authority:"

"That there should be public functionaries independent of the nation . . . is a solecism in a republic, of the first order of absurdity and inconsistency."

A wiser nation than the United States has been since the days of Jefferson would have felt impelled to move by sensible means toward "curbing the judiciary in their enterprises on the Constitution."

"Enterprises on the Constitution" in recent years have not been confined to the judicial branch of the federal government, of course. The dangerous and damaging centralization trend in offense to the constitutional intent has also been aided and abetted by the White House and Congress.

It is inevitable that one of two things will go from the United States. Shall it be the centralization trend or shall it be government of the people, by the people, for the people?

CONGRESSMAN SAM M. GIBBONS' OPINION SURVEY

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, when Congress reconvenes after the recess there will be many important matters facing us. In order to get an accurate, up-to-date position of the voters in the Sixth Congressional District of Florida, I am sending them the following questionnaire and letter:

Do you favor:

1. A negotiated settlement of the Viet Nam War? Yes—No—Undecided—.
2. Remaining in Viet Nam until a complete military victory has been achieved? Yes—No—Undecided—.
3. Removing restrictions on earned income for Social Security beneficiaries? Yes—No—Undecided—.
4. Electing the President by popular vote instead of through the present electoral college system? Yes—No—Undecided—.
5. The "Head Start" child development program? Yes—No—Undecided—.
6. Reducing substantially the 27½% income tax depletion allowance permitted oil and natural gas producers? Yes—No—Undecided—.
7. Legislation licensing gun owners, prohibiting use by insane, felons, and alcoholics? Yes—No—Undecided—.
8. Additional U.S. assistance for schools? Yes—No—Undecided—.
9. For President: Humphrey, McCarthy, Nixon, Rockefeller, Wallace. (Optional—indicate preference.)

Personal characteristics.—Your answers will be more helpful if you complete this portion of the card:

1. Sex: Male——Female——.
2. Age: 21–29, 30–49, 50–65, 65.
3. Party Pref: Dem——Rep——Ind——.
4. Registered to vote? Yes——No——.

Name --

Address ---------------------------------------

Occupation ------------------------------------

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 1968.

DEAR FRIEND: Congress is in recess for the National Conventions. When we reconvene we will be considering some of the crucial issues facing the nation.

Your opinions on these issues will be helpful to me as your Congressman.

To record your opinion, please take a sharp pencil and push out the "yes" or "no" or "undecided" block next to each question on the reverse side of this card. (Be sure to remove punched tabs from back of card.) Then enclose the card in a stamped envelope and mail to:

Congressman Sam M. Gibbons (Opinion Survey) House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515

I am in the process of revising the office mailing list. It would be helpful to have your name and address. This, of course, though is strictly optional. Your personal answers will be confidential.

Thank you for giving me your views. If you wish to comment on these or any other issues, I hope you will write.

Sincerely,

SAM.

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, now that the 90th Congress is preparing to recess I would like to report to the people of the Seventh Congressional District of Maryland on our accomplishments and my record as their Representative in the House of Representatives. As in the past, I have vigorously supported all progressive legislation of social and economic importance.

As the ranking member of the very important Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and chairman of its Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics, I have been instrumental in obtaining the passage of legislation of importance to all Americans. This is true because my committee has jurisdiction over interstate and foreign transportation, civil aviation, inland waterways, railroad retirement and unemployment, railway labor, interstate and foreign communications, the weather bureau, petroleum and natural gas, interstate electric power, public health and quarantine, food and drugs, hospital construction, mental health and research, air pollution, interstate and foreign commerce generally, securities and exchanges, motor vehicle safety, newsprint, pulp, paper, and brand names, trading with the enemy and war claims, as well as travel and tourism.

Transportation facilities must constantly be improved in order to harmonize the economic interests of the private sector with increased public demands for safety, convenience, and service. My own city of Baltimore is a major terminal for air, rail, sea, and truck transportation, and I have consistently supported legislation to improve and expand our port facilities as the very spine of our economic progress. It is my hope that the port of Baltimore will continue to grow so that it can handle an ever-increasing volume of interstate and international trade.

I have also supported legislation to improve our railroads through the high-speed ground transportation system and the mass transportation system for our cities, as well as improved highways which are used by ever-increasing numbers of commuters.

Improvement and expansion of Friendship International Airport has been of particular concern to me, and I have worked for and supported legislation which has resulted in more than $2.5 million in Federal funds being allotted for construction and expansion at this great air terminal. Because of my close personal contacts with members of the Federal Aviation Agency and the Civil Aeronautics Board, as well as the major airlines, I am proud to say that the number of flights in and out of Friendship has increased during the past year from 220 to 330 daily.

Public health services must also be constantly modernized so that the benefits of modern science and technology may be made available to all of our citizens at the lowest possible cost to them. Perhaps the most important of these services has been increased hospital construction, and facilities for mental health treatment and research. Legislation to improve these programs has emerged from my Commerce Committee with my stanch support.

Air pollution is another health problem and I have worked for the enactment of legislation to assist our cities in solving this menace through the Clean Air Act handled by my committee.

In the field of traffic safety, I have long advocated that everything possible be done to reduce the slaughter on our Nation's streets and highways. As far back as 1956, I introduced legislation in the House to establish a Special Traffic Safety Committee charged with the responsibility of recommending ways to prevent traffic accidents, which took more than 50,000 lives last year. Perhaps the most important legislation to come out of this committee's recommendations is the requirement that seat belts be made standard equipment on all cars and that the National Highway Safety Bureau, under the Department of Transportation, set minimum safety standards for all cars and trucks.

In addition to my work on the Commerce Committee and the matters under its jurisdiction, I have actively supported many landmark measures recently enacted into law in our never-ending battle against poverty, privation, and hunger which plague millions of our citizens. My voting record will show that I firmly supported such programs as urban renewal, low-cost housing, the food stamp program, the national school lunch program to provide food for children and to strengthen and expand these programs through the food service programs, as well as emergency assistance to provide meals for needy children where schools do not participate in other authorized programs. I have also introduced legislation to establish a Commission on Hunger.

In our fight against poverty, I have also supported programs administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity such as the Job Corps, VISTA volunteers, Operation Headstart as well as work study and training programs. All of these laws will help to insure that every man can find a decent job, have a decent and sanitary home for his family, and that his children will grow in an environment of hope and promise for a better future and not as a family dependent for the rest of their lives on welfare.

The job training program is of particular importance because it has already enabled 532,588 of our citizens to obtain good jobs and become taxpayers, rather than a burden on their fellow citizens.

No one will deny that a good education is an absolute necessity in these rapidly changing times and I have supported programs to accomplish this purpose through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Adult Education Act, the Higher Education Act, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, the Nurse Training Act, the National Defense Educational Assistance Act and the Vocational Education Act.

I have supported all these programs because I feel that together they constitute the beginning of an economic and social bill of rights for all Americans regardless of their race, religion, or national origin.

However, I feel very strongly that in order for all of us to enjoy rights, we must also have responsibilities and our first responsibility is to obey the laws of our land. We cannot tolerate crime and violence if we are to realize the full promise of our American civilization. Therefore, I have consistently voted for every measure that will give the Federal Government a role in helping our States and cities to improve law enforcement. This year we have enacted one of the most comprehensive laws ever to attack the problem of crime, the so-called Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

Another aspect in the war against crime is effective gun-control legislation, which I have advocated ever since the 1940's when I served as a member of the Baltimore City Council. Faced with the statistics showing that private firearms were involved in some 20,000 deaths and more than 100,000 injuries in 1966 alone, I voted for legislation to control the sale and use of firearms, especially through the mails. I firmly believe that these restrictions will reduce the needless loss of life caused by the misuse of these weapons. I also introduced legislation to strengthen and clarify the law prohibiting the introduction, or manufacture for introduction, of switchblade knives into interstate commerce.

For the benefit of our senior citizens living on a fixed income, I also supported increased social security benefits, including medicare because I feel that we must bring these benefits into line with the ever-increasing cost of living. I have also introduced and supported legislation to increase the amount of outside earnings social security annuitants can have without losing their benefits. And I introduced legislation to give retired railroad employees a comparable increase in benefits.

I am only too well aware that the most important issue of our time is the war in Vietnam. In this connection, I have repeatedly written to the President, the Secretary of State, and our Ambassadors to the United Nations urging that they do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful settlement of this war. I have even recommended to the President that we stop the bombing in Vietnam in order to bring the parties involved to the peace table. Since that time, there has been a 90-percent cutback in the bombing of North Vietnam and peace talks are underway in Paris.

While we in the Congress are not directly responsible for the conduct of foreign policy—and we in the Congress did not commit American troop strength to the Vietnamese struggle, I am convinced that the decision of three Presidents to engage in this war is based upon their unshakable belief that we are resisting a Communist takeover in Southeast Asia in our own best interest. We all hope and pray that the Paris peace talks will soon result in an end to the Vietnam war.

In the meantime, I have introduced legislation calling upon the United Nations to establish a permanent international peacekeeping force to prevent Communist-inspired wars from erupting in the future and threatening the world with a nuclear holocaust.

The problems in the Middle East are also of grave concern to me and I have communicated with the State Department on a number of occasions objecting to the sale of arms to the Arab Nations and urging that our Government sell Phantom jets and other military equipment to Israel to counteract the Russian shipments to Arab Nations. I introduced resolutions to serve these purposes and I am pleased to report that we were successful in amending the foreign aid bill to authorize and require the President to negotiate an agreement with Israel for the sale of not less than 50 F–4 Phantom jet fighters.

Israel is our best ally in the Middle East and I will continue my efforts to insure that our Government continues to support her efforts against Arab aggression.

Our sessions have been long and trying and we have dealt with an enormous number of problems so it is not possible for me to include all the 426 laws already enacted by the 90th Congress. However, I believe the following brief list contains those most important to the majority of the people and which I have supported:

I sponsored the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act as well as the Firearms Control Act;

Sponsored and supported the heart, cancer, and stroke amendments, legislation to establish a National Eye Institute, supported all health legislation, including the Clean Air Act;

Supported social security amendments increasing benefits and extending the period of enrollment for supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged;

Sponsored and supported increased benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act;

Supported legislation to make it unlawful for private industry to discriminate against individuals because of age;

Supported legislation to increase veterans' benefits and pensions;

Supported increased pay for members of Armed Forces and improved services to their dependents;

Sponsored legislation to extend Arms Control and Disarmament Act;

Sponsored Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968;

Sponsored bill to extend National Foundation on Arts and Humanities;

Supported all bills to improve educational programs;

Sponsored bill to increase educational radio and TV broadcasting facilities under Public Broadcasting Act;

Supported Economic Opportunity and Economic Development Act to provide additional funds to carry on the war against poverty and provide new industry and permanent jobs in areas where most needed;

Supported foreign aid bill, 97 percent of which is spent in the United States. Maryland firms have received over $34.9 million under this program for goods and services, which creates jobs in our State; and

Supported all civil rights legislation and introduced legislation to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture.

The unique system of seniority under which the Congress operates enables men with ability and experience to become chairmen of the various standing committees which provides them with the power to direct the course of major legislation. After many years of dedicated service to my constituents, I have had the high honor of being appointed chairman of the House Administration Committee and vice chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing, and the Joint Committee on the Library.

In the past I have always maintained an open-door policy and have served each and every one of my constituents faithfully, openly and well. I sincerely hope that my constituents in the Seventh Congressional District will take advantage of my seniority and allow me to continue serving them in a liberal and progressive spirit so that I may do my part in working for an America dedicated to justice and prosperity at home and peace and freedom in the world.

LAS VEGAS HELPS STRICKEN ENTERTAINER

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, a popular Las Vegas entertainer, Cuban-born Alfredo Reyes, recently was involved in a tragic highway accident which left him permanently paralyzed and ended his career as a partner in a highly successful hand-balancing act.

While Mr. Reyes, married and the father of two small children, remained hospitalized with critical injuries, a group of concerned southern Nevada citizens quickly organized a special benefit showing of Producer Frederic Apcar's "Casino de Paris" at the Dunes Hotel.

Their efforts raised a cash fund of more than $11,000 for Mr. Reyes and his family, a good part of which will be needed to meet rapidly mounting medical expenses.

Mr. President, I commend the many residents of the Las Vegas area who generously contributed time and effort to insure the success of this spontaneous and worthwhile endeavor. Special credit should go to Producer Apcar, "Casino de Paris" star Line Renaud, "Vive les Girls" star Jerry Antes, and the entire management and personnel of the Dunes Hotel, as well as members of the general public who attended the benefit performance.

A TRIBUTE TO REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM V. ROTH, OF DELAWARE

HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, on Monday, July 29, 1968, Mr. Joseph McCaffrey, speaking over WMAL in Wilmington, Del., paid a well-deserved tribute to Delaware's lone Member of the House of Representatives, Hon. WILLIAM V. ROTH.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEET THE MEMBER WITH JOSEPH MCCAFFREY, JULY 29, 1968

Good Evening. Perhaps no freshman Member of Congress has left his mark in this 90th Congress as has Delaware's William Roth. He became known in the final days of the second session when he talked about his fruitless effort when he tried to find out just how many aid programs the Federal government was financing and how much they totaled. He found after almost two years in office, that the Federal government itself didn't know nor did it have a catalog of all the aid programs. His efforts attracted other Members of Congress and 102 of them joined him in introducing a bill calling for a Hoover commission-type study group to dig into the billions of dollars the government is pouring out to see whether many of these programs couldn't be consolidated. Not only that, but the group would put out a catalog of all the programs. "It's almost impossible," says Roth, "for a local government to find out just what programs it might be eligible for." Congressman Roth, a conservative on fiscal issues, thinks that a detailed study would save the American taxpayers billions of dollars. The study conducted by the Congressman and his staff found that 1090 grants programs exist today although the most recent complete Federal catalog lists only 530.

Another of the Congressman's interests since coming to Congress is the big farm subsidy program. Congressman Roth feels that farm subsidies should be cut. He says that if the subsidy were limited to $5,000 per farmer, we could save at least a bilion dollars a year. He is also a strong believer that State programs can be stretched and that the Highway Beautification program should be dropped at least until the Federal budget is in better shape.

A Member of the Judiciary Committee and the Merchant Marine Committee, the quiet, thoughtful Roth was a practicing attorney in Wilmington until his election, but he was long active in politics having served as Republican State Chairman. He met his pretty wife Jane at a Republican National Committee meeting in 1956 in San Francisco. His wife is also a practicing attorney. A native of Montana, Roth moved to Delaware in 1950 as an attorney for Hercules Corporation which is headquartered in Wilmington. The Congressman feels that Delaware is the United States in microcosm because it has such a wide-ranging economy. The lone Delaware House Member says it's a challenge to represent the diversified interests of the State. It's the chemical capital of the world, also the broiler capital. It not only has great industry, but great agriculture and its resort areas qualify it as a summer capital.

The Roths play golf, enjoy swimming and gardening. While Mrs. Roth stays in Wilmington with son Bud, the Congressman stays in an apartment here in Washington during the week while Congress is in session, returning home when the House wraps up for the week.

In less than two years, William V. Roth has made his mark on Capital Hill and in big letters.

A "COOL" PRIEST

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Archbishop Terrence J. Cooke has appointed Father Harold A. Salmon as vicariate delegate for Harlem as well as pastor of the largest Roman Catholic parish in Harlem, St. Charles Borromeo. In announcing the appointment of the first Negro pastor in the archdiocese of New York, Archbishop Cooke said that Father Salmon would coordinate "the overall planning and efforts of seven Harlem parishes so that they may better serve the total community."

Father Salmon has made clear his commitment to the role of the church as one of education and leadership for the benefit of the total community. His emphasis on education is not surprising, for Father Salmon is an educator, having taught religion and English at Cardinal Hayes High School. An accomplished athlete, he also coached basketball and tennis.

The archbishop's appointment of Father Salmon is of great significance for all New Yorkers.

I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues two profiles of Father Salmon—one from the New York Times of July 3, the other by Barry Cunningham from the New York Post of July 6, as follows:

[From the New York Times, July 3, 1968]

A "COOL" PRIEST: HAROLD ANTHONY SALMON

Knowing the Rev. Harold Anthony Salmon's absorption in athletics, a fellow priest yesterday found the sports idiom fitting to sum up his impression of the man.

"Father Salmon's role in life is like playing ball. If he makes a great play, he'll turn and walk away cooly as if undoubtedly more of the same will be coming." The new deputy vicar of Harlem and first Negro pastor in the archdiocese of New York has the disciplined physical bearing of an athlete, which he is, and the cool, even shrewd image of a man who plays his cards close to the vest.

During a recent discussion of social and poverty problems by a large group of priests at the archdiocesan chancery, Father Salmon, the only Negro present, remained long silent. At the end of the debate he spoke up, recommending that the clergy approach the black community for an "orientation" as to its needs. The black community should say what it wanted and should not be treated in a condescending or paternalistic way, he advised.

PENCHANT FOR ATHLETICS

In a sense, some of his associates are discovering him for the first time. They know well his penchant for athletics—that he excels in basketball and track and field—and his passion for tennis, which some of his closest friends tease him about.

But not until recent years, as the interest in the black community began to gain attention and more of his associates began to question him about it did they learn of some of his opinions.

Generally, he has been regarded as friendly and sociable. Mrs. Roger Rudd of Hastings, N.Y., who, with her husband, has been among the priest's friends for five years describes him as "very warm and outgoing."

"At a party he always seems like he's enjoying himself," she added. "He always has a smile on his face. He never hurries, he is never noisy."

One associate spoke of him this way:

"He's a shrewd guy. He plays it cool. He never wastes his time getting angry."

Father Salmon was born on Nov. 27, 1929. At 38, he is considered young to be appointed a pastor. He grew up in the Bronx, attending Public School 23 and later St. Anthony of Padua.

From 1943 to 1950 he attended Cathedral High School and College, where he was a member of the junior varsity and varsity basketball teams. He also attended St. Joseph's Seminary and Georgetown University, where he studied Spanish. He has completed 30 credits toward a master's degree at St. John's.

His first assignment was as chaplain at Father Drumgoole's Home for Orphans and Neglected Children. After several years there, he was assigned to Cardinal Hayes High School, where he taught English and religion. He was also a basketball and tennis coach and moderator of the Afro-American Club.

Father Salmon said his first mass in St. Anthony of Padua, his family's church. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Harold Salmon, and his sister, Miss Irene Salmon, now live in Jamaica, Queens.

WIDE VARIETY OF FRIENDS

Another sister, Joan, an Olympic track candidate, died in 1949 at the age of 18.

Because of Father Salmon's teaching background, some observers have felt he was too academic for his new job, according to Mrs. Rudd. "But he is not an academic kind of person," she said, adding that he is the kind of person that makes you feel as if he is your good friend.

Father Salmon draws his friends from a wide cross-section of people. Sports is one means by which he meets people, but he has other interests.

The story is told of how he tried to cram a self-taught course in piano into his busy schedule. He found himself sleeping at the keyboard during practice and realized that he was beginning to venture into a few too many endeavors.

[From the New York Post, July 6, 1968]

THE REVEREND HAROLD SALMON: THE FIRST VICAR OF HARLEM

(By Barry Cunningham)

The handshake was an important sign. It wasn't the greeting of a man who holds out a limp fish for you to squeeze. And it wasn't like a tiger going after raw meat.

The Rev. Harold Salmon extended an upraised palm, the fingers squeezed tight. A young Negro named Tom Henderson reached out with an arm showing lots of scar tissue healed after knife skirmishes. He slapped at the priest's hand with his own flattened palm.

It was the official "soul" greeting in Harlem. And the handshake said something that the muscular young street black could understand about the muscular young black just appointed Roman Catholic Vicar of Harlem.

"Beautiful!" said Father Salmon's newfound friend, complimenting the 39-year-old priest on becoming the first black pastor of a Catholic church in the New York Archdiocese.

The priest moved along a row of tenement stoops facing his new parish, St. Charles Borromeo, at 213 W. 141st St. A parishioner, Mrs. Rosa B. Lewis, came out on the street with her two sons, one of them sucking juice from a lemon with a hole in the top. The boy washed down each mouthful with swigs from a glass of ice water.

On the steamy asphalt landing, Father Salmon gathered the idle youths into a semicircle and held the aging woman in the crook of his arm.

"It's been a long time coming. But this is just the first step," he told her, and Mrs. Lewis latched on the Baptist-preacher cadence in his voice.

"The first step," she sort of hummed back at him, "We've got to pull together, now. Just the beginning . . ."

"Just the beginning," repeated Father Salmon, and the kids were picking it up now, quietly, with respect for the lean handsome Negro in the Roman collar: "Just the beginning . . . Just the beginning . . ."

The priest glided back across the street to the rectory. His expressive hands and veiled eyelids conveying the poise and hip racial pride of a midnight saxophonist taking scattered applause from an after-hour crowd.

He left behind the impression that Tom Henderson and his friends with switchblade smiles and unfrocked beliefs would see more of him—perhaps even in church.

That would please the new pastor, who has pledged to make the Catholic Church more relevant to Harlem's poor and jobless, regardless whether they belong to the faith.

In a religion whose pastoral mission often takes a back seat to secular affairs, Father Salmon's role has been that of placing social action above church dogma all along, say his friends.

"He's not a theologian," says one white priest who has known him well. "And he's not a scholar either. But he's the wisest person I know. He's a swinger in a way that will win him a lot of popularity in Harlem. He knows what his people think of the church and how they can benefit from it as well."

The young churchman's goal is to give approximately 108,000 Negro Catholics, some 9 per cent of the city's 1,200,000 Negroes, more guidance through local parish councils and lay leadership.

The point of view he brings to the task reflects a liberal spectrum of change sweeping through the Catholic Church since Pope John's call for *aggiornamento* and Vatican Council II. Nevertheless, he hesitates to offer solutions or even strong public viewpoints on such issues as birth control and divorce reform, saying merely, "I don't know what the solutions are."

There is one proposed reform he does speak out on, but with a shy hesitation in the voice, regarding the celibacy vows of priesthood:

"I feel there may come a new day when priests should be allowed to marry."

The son of a Bronx chauffeur, Harold Anthony Salmon was a fifth-grader at PS 23 when his parents converted to Catholicism. They enrolled him in St. Anthony of Padua, where a sense of strangeness at being one of the few Negroes enrolled there grew into an obsession.

"Being constantly aware of being black made me more aware of sports," Father Salmon reflected. "I went out for track and played basketball with a vengeance, just to prove I was as normal and regular as anybody else."

It was hardly a contest making the varsity basketball team at Cathedral High School and College, which he attended from 1943 to 1950, commuting from the integrated backyards of South Ozone Park.

His decision to study for the priesthood was influenced by what he took to be "the peacefulness and happiness of priests." He entered St. Joseph's Seminary; the second Negro ever enrolled there.

At about the same time his brother and sister, 18-year-old twins, both died of polio a week apart. In accepting their deaths, he recalled, "I began to find a great deal of strength in my faith. My parents said that in a family of priests there always seems to be some kind of tragedy, as if God were demanding some sacrifice of us. I couldn't accept their reasoning, but I accepted their emotions."

He explained the evolution of his religious faith at St. Joseph's, and later at Georgetown University, where he studied toward a master's degree. "It's a process," he said, "that changes as your personality changes and your whole concept of the priesthood takes on a different shape."

Back in his rectory office, Father Salmon leafed absent-mindedly through a book of Baptist spirituals, *Gospel Pearls*, while reflecting on his new neighbors across the street.

"The new blacks haven't been through what these people from the Deep South have experienced," he said, facing up to the task of reconciliation that awaits him in a Harlem grown increasing militant this summer.

Being a Catholic makes him even more vulnerable to the radical blacks who speak disparagingly of the Catholic Church in Harlem as part of the despised "white power elite."

But the quiet-voiced cleric is quick to dismiss anyone, black or white, who cannot respect him as a man—and as a man of the cloth.

"If Rap Brown calls me a 'pasteurized Negro,' I can't change his feelings," said Father Salmon. But he points out that he's never been called anything by Rap Brown and that the two men have never met.

"But I understand what he's trying to say," said the priest. "Not everything, of course, but when I hear these people speak out, I know they're expressing my own frustrations. "I'm happy to hear them say it because I know they're pushing other people to understand them."

For nearly seven years, young white priests in Harlem's seven parishes, whose combined congragations number about 5 per cent of the population there, have been saying essentially what unchurched Negro radicals have been saying.

White pastors have devoted 30 years of missionary zeal toward building up the predominantly black parishes. But often they have been accused of being patronizing.

But when letters arguing the need for a black spiritual leader in a black community were sent to the late Cardinal Spellman, say the young parish priests, the reply was that a Harlem vicariate would also serve to "fragment" the archdiocese.

Unlike his predecessor, Archbishop Terence Cooke has espoused a team leadership approach to the problem of giving the needs of the Harlem "kingdom" a greater voice in the Chancery on Madison Ave.

As Vicariate Delegate for Harlem, Father Salmon will coordinate, in the Archbishop's words, "the overall planning and efforts of the seven Harlem parishes so that they may better serve the total community."

Father Salmon said that to keep such lines of communication open with respect to the educational and employment needs of his Harlem flock, the lines must be opened first.

He is openly apprehensive about the possibility, saying that, despite the compatability he has with other Negroes, "I tend to undersell myself in most cases. People say, 'Look, don't sell yourself short. Look at what you've accomplished already."

A white classmate from his seminary days, Father Christopher Kennedy, now Catholic chaplain for students at the University of Pittsburgh, recalled that there were only 40 students in the class at the time of their ordination.

"There were only about two or three of us who were his close friends," the priest remembered. "I think the fact that he was black made more difference to the rest of them than they realize. But he always played it with a straight face, even when he placed fourth in the high jump at a Travers Island track meet and ended up being served sandwiches in the boiler room."

Though the young Hal Salmon kept his own bitter counsel at the time, his friend recalled, the Negro priest has been more outspoken lately. "There were times when we thought of having our class reunions at the N.Y. Athletic Club or the Westchester County Club—what with all those Irish priests around—but he wouldn't set foot inside those places.

"At our last reunion, the priests were asking him questions about race that they never asked in the 12 years they lived with him, and I think it surprised them that now he was saying what the Negro's attitude to the church really is."

At 39, Father Salmon is regarded as exceptionally young to win a pastoral appointment in a diocese where few priests become pastors until they are in their 50s. But he is acutely aware that he is being appointed as a representative of his race.

"Even in the seminary, people treated me with special consideration to make sure I'd succeed," he said. "It was well-meaning, but I became very sensitive to it. The result is that I haven't been close to that many white priests.

"In becoming a priest, I didn't request an assignment. I tried to find out whether the church was going to let the Negro priest go into an ordinary assignment."

His first assignment was as chaplain at Father Drumgoole's Home for Orphans and Neglected Children in Staten Island.

Afterward, he was assigned to Cardinal Hayes HS in the Bronx, where he has taught English and religion for eight years. He was also a basketball and tennis coach, and moderator of the Afro-American Club.

This last affiliation shows the new pastor's innovative spirit, according to his friends. Father Salmon was among the first priests at St. Anthony of Padua, his family's church, to introduce jazz masses. Friends point out that musically he also grooves with Aretha Franklin.

The new pastor says his reading is confined to church literature and scripture. His friends say that his style in the pulpit defies comparison with the Baptist preacher mood he generated on the street. "It's just straightforward and simple; a homily based on the gospel," explained Father Salmon. "Talk for the sake of talking never interested me much. Unless I'm assured that what I say is going to help somebody, I tend to keep silent."

His dynamic spirit finds expression in tennis, a game in which he has risen to tournament level competition in the American Lawn Tennis Assn. His sharpest Central Park competitors, cannonball servers like television actor Byron Sanders, have also become his closest friends.

The priest was recently seeded seventh in a TV-sponsored park tournament, but had to default because he was entered in an ALTA tournament the same week.

He plays a fast, aggressive net game, say those who've been aced by the fast-moving Father Salmon. But he's not the type to slam his racket against the wall after missing a shot.

Friends say he'll make a blistering backhand, win the point then turn on his opponent like a matador turns on a tranced bull and walk calmly back to the base line for another serve.

BALTIMORE UMW AND AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE URGE EFFECTIVE GUN CONTROL

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I have been notified by two Baltimore constituent groups of their desire for passage of effective gun control. These are only two of many that have come across my desk.

I ask unanimous consent that a resolution passed by the officers of the International Union of District 50, United Mine Workers of America, and a telegram received from David Hirschhorn, chairman of the Baltimore chapter of the American Jewish Committee, informing me of their committee's desire, for strong gun controls, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution and telegram were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION: ENDORSEMENT OF FEDERAL AND STATE GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION

Whereas, Recent tragic events which have taken the lives of public officials and private citizens are causing great demand from the citizens of our Country for an immediate and strict gun control law requiring registration of all firearms to curb violence in America, and,

Whereas, The most recent Gallup Poll taken throughout the Country regards registration of all firearms as the best means of controlling violence in our society, as was emphasized on "Meet The Press" by U.S. Senator Joseph Tydings from the State of Maryland: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the officers of local unions of the International Union of District 50, United Mine Workers of America, from throughout the State of Maryland, endorse Senator Tydings objectives for a strong Federal Gun Control Law; and, be it further

Resolved, That we assembled here today, on this 11th day of June, 1968, in the City of Baltimore, Maryland, at the Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, further communicate on behalf of the membership of our respective local unions with each and every United States Congressman from the State of Maryland, United States Senators Tydings and Brewster, and also Governor Spiro Agnew, to support Federal and State Gun Laws legislation in an effort to bring about a cessation of violence which will otherwise plague the future of our society. Copies of all communications to United States Senators, members of the United States House of Representatives and Governor Agnew should be transmitted to International Headquarters.

BALTIMORE, MD.,
June 14, 1968.

Senator JOSEPH B. TYDINGS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

By unanimous resolution of our board we urge immediate enactment of strong gun control legislation. Such legislation should include at least the outlawing of the mail order sale, and the registration of weapons; the requirement of permits for weapon ownership and provisions for the denial of permits to unqualified perosns. Let's not wait for more shameful tragedies before Congress acts.

DAVID HIRSCHHORN,
Chairman, Baltimore Chapter,
the American Jewish Committee.

THE SIXTH DISTRICT SPEAKS OUT

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, my public opinion poll for 1968 generated a higher percentage of returns and more additional comment on the questions than ever before. This year, in addition to giving the results, I am supplementing them with additional material showing what actions have been taken recently by the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Federal Government on the matters covered in the poll. A brief description of each follows the poll return figures.

The returns themselves, in percentages, of those who answered the questions, are as follows:

In negotiating with North Vietnam, 90 percent want terms insuring South Vietnam's freedom from further Communist aggression. 10 percent feel the Communists might be trusted.

During negotiations, 46 percent say cease fighting; 54 percent say fight while negotiating.

If negotiations fail, 90 percent favor immediate, all-out offensive for military victory; 8 percent favor immediate withdrawal; 2 percent favor a return to limited-war policies.

In dealing with major civil disorders, 96 percent say proper officials should stop trouble with whatever force necessary; 4 percent say "go easy" to avoid brutality charges or possible escalation of violence.

More massive Federal spending programs for cities? Ninety-four percent are opposed; 6 percent favor them.

Should there be Federal registration and control of privately owned firearms? Sixty-eight percent say no and 32 percent say yes.

A federally financed guaranteed annual income for all? Ninety-four percent opposed; 6 percent in favor.

Recognition of and admission of Red China to the U.N.? Eighty-four percent no; 16 percent yes.

Increase trade with Communist countries? Eighty-eight percent no; 12 percent yes.

Recognize Castro's Cuba? Ninety-one percent, no; 9 percent, yes.

Withhold foreign aid to countries supplying North Vietnam? Ninety-four percent yes; 6 percent, no.

Punish U.S. citizens giving aid and comfort to the enemy? Ninety-three percent, yes; 7 percent, no.

On Vietnam negotiations: Work for guarantees of South Vietnamese security? Fight while negotiating? If negotiations fail, then what? How can the security and freedom of South Vietnam be guaranteed if the United States ever agrees to a "coalition government?" Approval would only mean a matter of time until the Communists took over the entire country.

We have continued to fight while negotiating, and our troop strength is now 540,000. We also continue to take casualties; measured since December 22, 1961, when the first American was killed, almost 27,000 have been killed and over 165,000 wounded.

What do we do if negotiations fail? At this time, the outlook for success at the Paris peace talks is not good. Ho Chi Minh has flatly refused to reciprocate in any way for U.S. bombing limitations and has exhorted his people to "push up" the war.

The following is some recent pertinent commentary on the war:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Aug. 2, 1968]

Preparing for an offensive that may open this month, North Vietnam has built up its forces in South Vietnam at five times the rate of the United States in the past four months, a U.S. command source said Thursday. . . . North Vietnamese infiltration into South Vietnam which soared to 20,000 a month earlier this year, hit about 30,000 in July and the flow continues rapidly.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 2, 1968]

Before the United States restricted its bombing the logistics center of North Vietnam was in the Hanoi-Haiphong area. The warehouses, fields, and in many cases the streets of those cities were piled high with tires, crates of ammunition, drums of petroleum and stacks of weapons. Over the last four months . . . a new supply center has been established about 90 miles south.

Imports at Haiphong in June rose to a record of nearly 250,000 tons. The two rail lines from China to Hanoi, as well as those linking Hanoi with Haiphong and points south, all have been repaired.

All major bridges north of the 20th Parallel have been rebuilt . . . twelve principal rail centers and freight yards, considered key targets in the past, have been rebuilt.

During the height of the bombing North Vietnam had to use 7,000 to 8,000 trucks about two-thirds of its fleet, to shuttle war supplies around damaged rail lines, roads, bridges and freight yards. These have now been freed and have gone south to run between the 19th and 17th Parallels, where American bombers are now concentrating.

About 300,000 of the 500,000 people who were assigned to repair and protect the transportation system have been released for similar work to the south or to fill up army training centers.

About 25 per cent of the air defenses guarding the north portion of the country have been shifted into the south, including both surface-to-air missiles and radar-guided antiaircraft artillery.

All jet airfields north of the 19th Parallel have been repaired and scores of planes have been moved back into North Vietnam from China and are actively training.

Tens of thousands of 55-gallon drums of fuel, far above North Vietnam's normal requirement, have been rushed in over the last few months and stacked along highways, in bomb craters and in the centers of towns and villages all the way from Haiphong to Vinh.

The Vietnam war became the longest in U.S. history on June 22, 1968. The cost is $10,000 per second, and rising. The responsibility for this, and for the tactics that have allowed the incidents cited in the newspaper accounts, rest squarely upon the administration.

The U.S. Congress has the constitutional power and responsibility to raise and support armies, and support and maintain a navy, but the President is Commander in Chief. The Congress cannot change the assignment of one man; it cannot dictate one single strategic or tactical move.

And neither the Congress nor the American people have been able to instill into the administration the will to win—the one thing that would have ended this war long ago. The United States has paid, is paying, and seemingly will continue to pay the heavy price this lack of will has forced upon us. With our present policy, the future of the United States in Vietnam appears dim.

In dealing with major civil disorders in the United States, more extensive and better training in riot control tactics and methods has been given to increasingly larger numbers of Army reservists, National Guardsmen, and Regulars. Contingency plans to send troops, on request, into any city or area where widespread violence threatens, have been drawn up. It seems the lesson from last summer's riots has been partially learned: An immediate show of force will quiet things in a hurry

Just a few days ago the House voted to cut off Federal loans and grants to students taking part in campus insurrections. Over 1,400,000 students, one-fourth of the total college enrollment, receive $1 billion a year in various Federal programs.

One of the best commentaries on violence I have read appeared recently in the regular column entitled "Reflections," written by that remarkable American, the author-philosopher-longshoreman Eric Hoffer:

> There is a cult of violence in the land. Whereas in former times violence in everyday affairs had been a characteristic of the uncivilized and the brutalized, we now find scholars, writers, poets, artists and students glorying in the apocalyptic spectacle of burned and looted cities, in the anarchic turmoil on the campuses, and in the general disruption of law and order.
>
> My feeling is that if the majority does not deal forcefully with those who mistake our forbearance for weakness we shall be trampled underfoot by an unholy alliance between the extremists of the left and of the right.
>
> We need mayors of cities and presidents of universities who will delight in battle and will make it impossible for cowardly rowdies to win easy victories over tame enemies on tame battlegrounds.

MORE FEDERAL SPENDING FOR CITIES?

Very close to $100 billion has gone to cities and States from the Federal Government in the last 12 years; $21 billion is now floating around the Department of Housing and Urban Development, unspent, because of redtape. The President has signed a bill containing provisions for spending $5.3 billion on over 1.7 million housing units in the next 3 years. However, also contained in the same bill, are provisions that could run to $250 billion total.

The first deals with Government assistance to 300,000 to 500,000 low-income families to help pay mortgages on homes. A family may earn as much as 30 percent more than the maximum allowed to be eligible for public housing. In New York City a family of six could make as much as $9,750 and qualify; in Toledo, Ohio, $7,150. The administration did not want any limit on eligibility, but the House refused this and inserted the income ceiling. Estimates of the cost to the Government to subsidize these mortgages over 40 years run to at least $50 billion.

The President's goal is 6 million housing units for poor and moderate-income families. This is about five times the number authorized in the present bill; this cost, over the next four or five decades, could be in excess of $200 billion.

There is probably more danger in hasty legislation in this field than in any other. "Don't just stand there, do something," seems to be the cry of those who call for more spending on cities. However, there is a great deal in past experience to justify standing back for a moment and organizing what we have, before another stack of expensive programs that are virtually impossible to administer is added to the files.

FEDERAL REGISTRATION AND CONTROL OF PRIVATELY OWNED FIREARMS?

The omnibus crime bill, already signed into law, bans interstate mail-order sales of handguns, limits over-the-counter sales to persons 21 years old who live in the same State as the dealer; bans importation of foreign weapons not suitable for hunting; prohibits traffic in mines, hand grenades, and machineguns; forbids possession, receiving, or transporting handguns and rifles by convicted felons, veterans who did not get honorable discharges, judicially determined mental incompetents, illegally settled aliens, and persons who have renounced their U.S. citizenship.

Another bill has already passed the House and is pending in the Senate. Its main provision is banning interstate mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns.

There are no provisions for registration of guns, or licensing their owners, in either measure, although it is a prime objective of the administration.

A FEDERALLY FINANCED GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME FOR ALL?

The President appointed a Commission on Income Maintenance in January 1968, to "examine any and every plan, however unconventional, which could promise a constructive advance in meeting the income needs of all the American people." The Commission is not due to report for 2 years.

However, on September 1, 1967, the Office of Economic Opportunity announced a pilot project to try out the guaranteed annual income proposal. The first test began last spring in New Jersey. Scheduled to last for 3 years, 1,200 families will be included by the end of the summer. The income floor will probably be, for example, $3,300 for a family of four; such a family, making less, would receive money from the Government to bring it up to that level.

Estimates of the cost of a nationwide, full-scale guaranteed annual income program run to $30 billion annually. What effect this would have on the economy if those receiving it quit work is not known. Also to be answered is whether or not money received under such a plan would be subject to Federal income tax. The idea is strongly opposed by the country at large—a nationwide poll earlier this year showed 48 percent against, 33 percent for, 19 percent unsure—and in the Congress it meets heavy opposition from Members of both parties.

RECOGNIZE AND ADMIT RED CHINA TO THE UN?

This is a matter of foreign policy, and the ultimate determination is the sole prerogative of the executive branch of the Government. Congress has no say in the matter, but congressional sentiment is strongly against it. Any treaties, of course, must be made with the advice and consent of the Senate, but recognition could come without consulting Congress.

In 1967 the administration said it would allow exports of drugs to Communist China, if Peking wanted them. Peking never responded to this. In 1966 President Johnson said:

> A misguided China must be encouraged toward understanding of the outside world.

And in 1967 it was reported the President was once again trying to signal Peking of his interest in reducing tensions between the two countries.

In January 1968, the President said the Government would be willing to talk about exchange of food materials with China. In April of this year, Vice President HUMPHREY proposed building "peaceful bridges to mainland China." In May, Under Secretary of State Katzenbach hinted quite broadly the administration would like to end the trade embargo with Peking. In June and July, the Vice President once again spoke of the need to establish contact with Red China, and open up trade in nonstrategic goods.

All that has come from Peking is unvarnished abuse and incredible vilification. There is not the slightest sign Peking is willing to establish any sort of contact, or make any sort of reciprocal action.

INCREASE TRADE WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES?

In 1966, the administration expanded Export-Import Bank authority to finance trade with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria. Rumania and Yugoslavia were already covered. The commodity control list was revised to allow around 400 nonstrategic items to go to Eastern European countries—except East Germany—and asked for new legislation to give the President authority to grant tariff reductions to Communist European countries in return for other concessions.

Congress did not go along with this. The trade bill died in a House committee and this year the new Export-Import Bank bill in effect forbids the United States to finance exports from the United States to Eastern Europe as long as the Vietnam war lasts.

What is nonstrategic? Metalworking machines for Russia; data for steel mills to Rumania; a complete aluminum tube and coil mill to Czechoslovakia; data for design and construction of a glycerol plant to Russia. Glycerol has many uses; one of the major uses is manufacture of explosives.

These same countries continue to furnish North Vietnam with all sorts of materials, including the tools of war. North Vietnam could not hold out without European Communist aid and supplies, which they are furnishing, thanks to the materials the administration has allowed them to buy.

RECOGNIZE CASTRO'S CUBA?

In September 1967, Castro told a British reporter:

> After trying by every possible means to destroy us, Washington is now slipping us messages about forgetting the past if we become "moderates." In other words, they'll coexist with us if we advise all of Latin America to accept the established order. Well, we have no contact with the United States and we don't want any.

No one knows for certain what the administration is doing about Cuba. Earlier this year, a report that the United States had approached Castro about resuming diplomatic relations was denied by the Department of State. Then another report appeared in July that the President had asked the National Security Council to review U.S. policy toward Cuba. A few weeks ago the Vice President said he thought the present trade embargo against Cuba "ought to be examined" in consultation with members of the Organization of American States.

Castro has shown no sign whatever of letting up in his attempts to start trouble in Latin America. In addition, there is very solid evidence of strong ties between the Castro government and "black power" leaders H. Rap Brown and Stokley Carmichael. Brown took refuge in the U.N. Cuban Mission last January; Carmichael was in Havana in August 1967, and Radio Havana quoted him as saying:

> The new name—Black United Front—will have a decisive influence on the attitude of the Afro-Americans to fight with arms.

Castro still plays host to an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 Soviet "advisers and technicians." He is actively engaged in promoting subversion throughout all Latin America. At this time there is absolutely no reason to believe he wishes anything for us but trouble.

WITHHOLD FOREIGN AID TO COUNTRIES SUPPLYING NORTH VIETNAM?

In late 1967 the Congress wrote into the foreign aid authorization bill the following:

> No loans, credits, guarantees or grants or other assistance shall be furnished under this or any other Act, and no sales shall be made under the Agriculture Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, to any country which sells or furnishes to North Vietnam, or which permits ships or aircraft under its registry to transport to or from North Vietnam, any equipment, materials, or commodities, so long as the regime in North Vietnam gives support to the hostilities in South Vietnam.

However, enforcement of this is left up to the discretion of the President. Language which would have directly prohibited any transactions involving military equipment or supplies with countries permitting their ships and planes to trade with North Vietnam had originally been included in the House version of the bill. The administration opposed this on the grounds it would hinder the President in his conduct of foreign affairs. In Senate-House conference on the measure, the direct prohibition was removed, and the above language, allowing Presidential discretion in the matter, was retained.

When the conference report came back to the House, an attempt was made to put the direct prohibition back in, but it was defeated by only four votes.

The opinion of the people on this matter, as on many others, is running ahead of the Government. There is absolutely no reason why indirect subsidies should be given to any country that is rendering assistance, however slight, to North Vietnam, and so contributing to its war potential.

PUNISH U.S. CITIZENS GIVING AID AND COMFORT TO THE ENEMY?

The Communist world in recent years has taken a good deal of aid and comfort from protest demonstrations, draft card burnings, and the like, and there is good reason to believe they have read this wrong and in so doing prolonged the war in Vietnam, believing our will to fight was nearly gone.

In 1965 Congress passed a law prohibiting burning draft cards; in 1968 the Supreme Court upheld the law, and rejected the free speech defense.

Also, this year, a Federal court jury found Dr. Benjamin Spock and three others guilty of conspiring against the Selective Service System. The verdict is being appealed, but it does seem to draw a line at some point where words become illegal actions.

Also, in 1968, the President signed into law a bill making it a crime to desecrate the flag. The sick spectacle of flag burnings and mutilations had aroused the country, and the Congress responded.

STEEL INCREASE MEANS INFLATION

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest struggles we have had in this Nation is to hold off the spectre of inflation. In this Chamber, we fought for months to put across a tax increase to preserve the soundness of the American dollar.

It was not pleasant. Every one of us wished that it were not necessary. But a tax increase was in the national interest, and it had to be done.

The American people accepted the burden in that spirit.

But now certain steel companies threaten to destroy the benefits which that tax increase should bring to our economy. They are raising prices more than 5 percent. If the rest of the steel industry follows suit, the dollar will be subjected to new trouble. And the American people will be facing an ever greater threat of inflation.

This is a time, if ever there was one, for restraint. The action of the steel companies is certainly not an exercise in restraint. It is not an exercise in responsibility. It is a narrow and shortsighted action, which can only bring grief to this Nation.

I believe that the Congress has a duty to speak out on this threat to the stability of our economy. And if speaking out is not enough, then we must consider other steps.

VARDIS FISHER: MAN OF RARE TALENT

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the literary world recently lost one of its most discerning authors in the death of Vardis Fisher, of Idaho, on July 9.

Vardis Fisher, born of pioneer Mormon parents in 1895, was an amazing human being by any standard. Prolific, he averaged nearly a book a year for 35 years. An individualist in the best tradition of the Old West, his opinions were sometimes acidic, usually controversial, and always his own.

As an author, his talents ranged from works of fiction and nonfiction to poetry and even a weekly newspaper column.

But Vardis Fisher was best known for his monumental 12-volume "Testament of Man" series and his volumes—both fiction and nonfiction—on the American West. As the Caldwell News-Tribune editorialized after his death:

> Vardis Fisher . . . awakened Idahoans to their heritage. He awakened the rest of the United States to his fabulous West.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that editorials from the Idaho Daily Statesman, Boise; the News-Tribune, Caldwell; the Lewiston Tribune; the Times-News, Twin Falls; and the Statesman, of Boise, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Idaho Daily Statesman]

GEM WRITER, V. FISHER, DIES AT 73

(By Betty Penson)

Death halted the career of Idaho's most famous writer, Vardis Fisher, 73, late Tuesday night, only a few days after he had started on his 37th and 38th books, but his wife Opal Laurel Holmes Fisher, said Wednesday night their longtime plans for a Fisher memorial, possibly a room in the new Boise library, will be continued.

Fisher had been stricken suddenly and rushed by ambulance from his Hagerman home to St. Benedict's Hospital in Jerome, where he was pronounced dead on arrival Tuesday at 11:30 p.m.

An autopsy was performed Wednesday at the Magic Valley Memorial Hospital in Twin Falls and results were expected today.

CREMATION PLANNED

The family said there will be no services and that cremation will take place in Boise. Leeper's Mortuary in Wendell is in charge.

Fisher's hard-hitting controversial works had earned him many national literary awards including the Harpers Prize in 1939 and his latest work "Gold Rushes and Mining Camps of the Early American West" had sold over 5,000 copies since its publication May 1 by Caxton's of Caldwell.

He had been reported in good health and spirits and in a letter received Tuesday by Caxton's he had said some 3,000 words had been completed on his new book, "The Western United States, the World's Greatest Physical Wonderland." He and his wife had planned to go East in the fall gathering material and photographs in libraries in New York and Washington. He also had started, two weeks ago, his autobiography, and at the same time was revising an unpublished novel.

TAUGHT AT HOME

Born March 31, 1895, in Annis, Idaho, to Mormon pioneers, Temperance Thornton and Joseph Oliver Fisher, the author received his first education from his mother who taught her three children in their remote mountain home. He left home at 16 to attend a distant high school, then attended the University of Utah and went on to a master's degree at the University of Chicago in 1925 and to a Ph. D. (magna cum laude) at the University of Chicago.

He taught at several universities including the University of Utah and New York University, where he became a friend of Thomas Wolfe, but in 1931 he turned his back on cities and returned to the Rocky Mountains to devote full time to a writing career.

He had first made his mark in 1928 with "Toilers of the Hills," a serious novel of the Rocky Mountains and then in 1939 with the Harper prize of $10,000 for his chronicling of the Mormon saga in "Children of God." He had previously struggled through five unpublished novels, earning critical acclaim but little money, and had directed the WPA Writer's Project in Idaho, authoring almost entirely by himself an Idaho Guide, Idaho Encyclopedia and Idaho Lore.

BOOK A YEAR

He had published on the average a book a year for over 35 years.

In 1966, he was given the Wrangler trophy for the outstanding Western novel of 1965, "Mountain Man". But he was best-known among other writers for his massive "Testament of Man," a series of back-through-history novels about mankind.

An unusually energetic writer, he wrote several kinds of novels, as well as short stories, poetry, non-fiction, a handbook for writers of fiction, many essays and for many years a controversial weekly newspaper column.

In the biograph, "Vardis Fisher" by Joseph Flora, he was called, "A pioneer in producing lasting literature for the Far West . . . also pioneering in . . . one of the most ambitious of modern literary undertakings to show the past in the present by tracing the development of man's religious conscience throughout the ages.

CALLED REMARKABLE

He was described in 1963 by Clark Kinnaird of King Features Syndicate as "one of the most remarkable of American authors."

Sen. Frank Church's statement on his death said Fisher was "not only Idaho's foremost literary figure but an individualist in the best traditions of the Old West. We have lost a citizen of rare distinction and discernment."

Other survivors include a sister, Mrs. Viola Irene Mead of Boise; and three sons by previous marriages, Thornton Roberts Fisher, a research physicist at Stanford University, and Grant Fisher, of San Jose, Calif., and Wayne Fisher of Oregon.

[From the Caldwell News-Tribune, July 12, 1968]

HE AWAKENED IDAHOANS

Vardis Fisher could wake you up.

He woke up a good many people. Most of them didn't like being awakened, but this didn't bother the Idaho writer in the least. Vardis Fisher, who died unexpectedly Tuesday night, awakened Idahoans to their heritage. He awakened the rest of the United States to his fabulous West.

And he awakened the intellectual sluggard to truth and reason.

The late and great writer was controversial to the core. It is our opinion that he never was quite sure exactly why he should be considered controversial when all he was doing was telling it like it is.

He had a vast appreciation for thinking and hard work, a combination that saw him through 73 years of productive living. Fisher didn't demand agreement, but he wasn't slow to react sharply to opposition offered on a platter of emotion.

His contribution to the knowledge of man; to the enjoyment of the reader will be better assayed than we are capable of, but we feel completely qualified to say without reservation that Vardis Fisher, over and above his intellectually stimulating abilities as an author, told a good story.

His death is Idaho's loss—particularly Idaho's loss. He loved the state, and many in the state loved him. Many were violently opposed to him, too. But that's the way it is with men of action.

An internationally famous writer of great versatility is dead, but his works live on. We have little doubt that they will grow in stature, and that the legend of Vardis Fisher, already extensive, will become an Idaho heritage.—Pete Hackworth.

[From the Twin Falls Times News, July 16–17, 1968]

VARDIS FISHER

Vardis Fisher, during his 73 years of life, was a controversial person who, through the magic of his pen, managed to leave something behind him that will be enjoyed by generations to come. His loss is being felt throughout the academic and literary world.

Mr. Fisher was a dynamic person with not only a great knowledge but a great gift to express himself in words.

It was only this spring that he finished one of his greatest works, "Gold Rushes and Mining Camps of the Early American West."

And at the time of his death he was working on another such book. His works range from fiction to historical pieces requiring patience and a tremendous amount of research.

Mr. Fisher was a big man in a field where big names are common. It was once said of him that if he had limited himself, he could have been as great as Ernest Hemingway or John Steinbeck.

But Mr. Fisher, a holder of a PhD degree, was not a man to limit himself in scope. His quest for knowledge and his desire to share that knowledge with the world continued far past an age that sees most people resting.

Mr. Fisher probably was more widely read in Europe than in America, and in Idaho many had never heard of Vardis Fisher until his death last week.

But his name in the halls of literary fame has been established. Especially with his latest book, which should be required reading in every high school in the state.

Mr. Fisher will be missed.

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune, July 11, 1968]

THE LOSS OF A LITERARY LUMINARY

Vardis Fisher, celebrated in the literary world as a prolific author of great substance, but not well known in his native state of Idaho, died Tuesday at 73.

Fisher was one of Idaho's most accomplished and least appreciated citizens. In the literary world, he was known for *The Testament of Man* series, including 12 full-length books, *The Vridar Hunter Tetralogy,* 10 individual novels, five non-fiction books and a volume of short stories. Many of them have attracted critical acclaim and world-wide readership.

In Idaho, Fisher may have been better known as an acidic columnist, roasting politicians weekly in the style of an old-time Populist.

In addition to his significant work as an author and his relatively insignificant but entertaining work as a columnist, Fisher will be remembered in this state for the *Idaho Guide,* a reference book on Idaho history and a geography published during the depression as a federal writers project program with Fisher as it director. Out of the boondocks of Idaho came what was generally recognized as one of the best efforts of those federal work programs for writers.

Fisher won the praise of major literary critics, but during his lifetime he failed to earn broad acclaim among those who mattered most—his fellow Idahoans. Understandably, it rankled him, and he made no secret of it. He told a reporter from the *Twin Falls Times-News* earlier this year that if it hadn't been for Mrs. Betty Penson, women's editor of the *Idaho Daily Statesman* at Boise, Nancy Stringfellow of the Boise Bookstore and Sallie Turner, manager of a Twin Falls bookstore, "no one in Idaho would know who I was." Those three Fisher partisans stubbornly persisted in advancing his books and his reputation in this state, but with no great amount of success.

There is reason to believe, however, that succeeding generations in this state will pay better attention, that Idahoans will one day boast that Fisher lived and worked here, as they now recall in the same fashion Ernest Hemingway, who was only a sporadic visitor to Idaho and for whom the state deserves little credit. Vardis Fisher was home grown. He was born at Annis on March 31, 1895, took his early schooling here and did most of his writing in this state.

Acceptance of his work, here and elsewhere, is certain to grow. His writing will be remembered after his death, even if he was not accorded celebrity status during his lifetime. And, after all, what more can an author ask than to know, as surely he must have, that his contribution to literature is more durable than his mortal presence?—B. H.

[From the Idaho Daily Statesman, July 13, 1968]

FISHER'S WORK WILL LIVE ON

He will be missed, sorely missed. And he will be remembered not only by those who were able to see him for the literary giant he was, and by his critics whose vision so often stopped short of four-letter words and universal wonderings, but he will be remembered by the yet unlettered or unborn students who someday will be following into his valleys of vision.

The death of Vardis Fisher robbed the American West, the nation, the literary world and even mankind, whose most ruthless prober he was. But let none forget he also enriched us, more than any other Idaho-born writer.

His work commanded the attention of the literary world, but if he stood less tall at home in earlier years, as the literary world would have expected, this was not true in the later years, a reversal only partly due to the writer, himself, for his work had made an important place for itself since his first novel in 1928.

Few realized he was his own most ruthless critic. And he, perhaps most of all, realized he often wrote before his time.

He was not fit for mediocre times nor mediocre readers.

The title he gave his major work, "The Testament of Man," tells both his purpose and his magnificent achievement.

What stories he told, with his unique power as an interpreter, in his scholarly, eminently readable volumes. His gifts were many.

What made him the writer that he was?

Extraordinary talent? Sheer devotion to his work? Unusual intelligence and iron self-discipline?

All these, surely, and many more. There was a critical quality built right into the focus of his writer's eye. And there was also a rare elusive quality that defies labelling and analysis.

Many thoughts have been expressed by Idahoans in the last few days since his death Tuesday night, most of them betraying a reluctance to accept the cessation of literary wealth that poured so long from a seemingly inexhaustible Vardis Fisher.

Others mourn his "knife." Said Louis Attebery, head of the College of Idaho English Department: "Now that he is gone, we can only wonder where we shall find our puncturer of political windbags, our passionate judge of parties and churches."

Let the rest of us not mourn. The departure has been only physical, for his name and his work will live on to influence many generations.

Let the rest of us be glad for what he left us. This is Idaho's gold today.

IS THIS WHAT OEO IS FOR?

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, two things that are of concern to all of us are:

First, what is done with the people's money, the money they appropriate through us for various Federal undertakings; and

Second, what we might call official hate, the doctrinal or organized hatred of races, religions, and nationalities taught by certain movements and groups. Hitler taught us the danger of this.

In the course of its inquiry into subversive influences in riotings, looting, and burning, the Committee on Un-American Activities has run into some disturbing facts about what has been done, in some cases, with the peoples' money through OEO. It discovered that there have been instances where it has actually been used to promote racial hatred and violence.

On June 19 of this year, the committee received testimony on the other subject I have mentioned—official or doctrinal hatred. Two rabbis testified at length on Soviet and Communist persecution of Judaism.

Yesterday I received from one of these witnesses, Rabbi Meir Kahane, an editor of the Jewish Press which is published in New York City, a statement containing further disturbing evidence of how the peoples' money has been used to promote subversion, violence, and racial hatred.

Under unanimous consent I place Rabbi Kahane's statement in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT OF RABBI MEIR KAHANE RE INCIDENTS JULY 23, 1968

An incredible example of the takover of a poverty program and agency has been uncovered in Brooklyn, N.Y. At 2727 Mermaid Avenue, in the Coney Island section of the borough (an area that was, incidentally, rocked by rioting recently), there stands a storefront with a large sign "Coney Island Community Family Center."

A subsequent check revealed that the above named agency claimed to have moved from that address and had not removed its sign. Instead, these premises were now occupied by the Coney Island Neighborhood Program, an Office of Economic Opportunity funded project.

Acting on information received, I went down with another Jewish Press editorial staff member, Mr. Arnold Fine, and found the following things:

Inside the store, in the most prominent places available were huge photos of Ho Chi Minh, North Vietnam dictator; H. Rap Brown, incendiary SNCC racist leader, and the late Malcolm X, former Muslim racist.

In the windows itself were anti-war cartoons including one that showed a white recruiting sergeant telling a black volunteer: "Sign here for Vietnam—stupid."

Mr. Fine and myself began taking notes when we were surrounded by six blacks, two of whom were wearing buttons with the green, red and black colors of the Black nationalist movement.

We were shouted at and warned to leave. When I stated my purpose and showed my press card I was confronted by a man who waved a card bearing the clear notation of the Office of the Mayor of New York.

This man made no attempt to prevent the pushing and shoving that followed. The crowd began to get larger and when I again stated that I had come down to find out about the photographs, I was told:

"They're our heroes."

Another person made reference to a picture of Hitler ("How would you like us to put up a picture of Hitler") and still a third advised me to investigate the local Young Men's Hebrew Association.

During this whole period of time, not a policeman was to be seen despite the fact that the block had been the heart of the riots the previous three nights and the Mayor was in the area. This absence of police undoubtedly supports the widely felt belief that the Mayor had told them to 'cool it.'

I might also add that the previous night had seen a molotov cocktail thrown into the Jewish Press by a Negro man who had, allegedly, attempted to do the same thing on two other occasions. There were 4 persons arrested for this.

The Jewish Press has been an outspoken, vigorous opponent of the Black Nazi and Left movements in the United States and it is not surprising that these groups should wish to silence it.

The incredible takeover by Black Nazis and leftists of a New York City poverty program and the virtual unimpeded looting that went on in the same area may be laid directly to the permissive attitude of John Lindsay and his ideological partners.

SPACE SYMPOSIUM

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, on July 15, 1968, I had the very great pleasure of attending and actively participating in a space symposium, sponsored by the American Astronautical Society, in Denver, Colo. Many worthwhile contributions were made at that symposium, but far and away the most oustanding address of the day was that of NASA's Administrator, James E. Webb. So that it will receive the wide readership which it deserves, I ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPACE PROJECTIONS FROM THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION

(Address by James E. Webb, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, American Astronautical Society Symposium, Denver, Colo., July 15, 1968)

Mr. Chairman, Senator Allott, Governor Love, Governor Hathaway, Governor Williams, Mayor Currigan, Distinguished Guests, Friends.

It is a great pleasure to be in Denver and to see so many friends from industry and the universities in the Rocky Mountain area who have been working with us in NASA in the advancement of research and development in aeronautics and space. I must confess that I feel a little like "this is where I came in". Just about 30 years ago I was here at the Brown Palace with many leaders in aviation like Jimmy Doolittle, Tom Morgan, Casey Jones, Roscoe Turner, John Victory and Bill Enyart, trying to find ways to get the country to move faster in aviation. World War II was approaching. The occasion was the Annual meeting of the National Aeronautic Association. Just as in aviation 30 years ago private citizens and public officials had to work together to build centers of power for good governmental decisions, but outside the formal institutions of government, so must we today in both aeronautics and space. So again we meet at the Brown Palace as members of the American Astronautical Society.

In 1961, when the Twentieth American Assembly met at Columbia University's Arden House on the subject of outer space Dr. Henry Wriston, the American Assembly's President, called that Assembly a "Non-partisan venture in space education". The Assembly's report gave strong support to "the national space program as an intrinsically valid enterprise" and stated: "Space technology promises to bring about revolutionary changes in man's life on earth".

In 1961 the American Assembly recognized that at the start of the space age the United States did not have the organizational and management capabilities or the disciplinary and technical capabilities required for success. Large efforts in science, in technology and in their application and use were needed.

Today, as we meet in Denver in 1968 the work of the Twentieth American Assembly is being brought up to date in this just-issued volume: *Outer Space, Prospects for Man and Society—Revised Edition*. This meeting in Denver and this revised report come at a time when the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has passed the peak of its first decade of effort. A research and development work force that totaled over 400,000 men and women was built up and used to apply our large accumulation of aeronautical knowledge to space work, to expand vastly our base of space competence, and then to feed back much of the resulting know-how into aeronautics. One-fourth of this work force has already been disbanded as projects such as Ranger, Lunar Orbiter, Surveyor, Mercury and Gemini were completed. A group of 10,000 men and women—scientists, engineers, teachers, and students have been oriented toward space science and engineering, and most of these are currently at work under NASA funding at about 200 universities. The Department of Defense has developed and operates its own satellite communications and other space systems. Our leaders can now call on a well-established and versatile national capability in aeronautical and space-related science, engineering and administration and expect their questions to be answered. We now can point to the profound influence that our space efforts have had on the geosciences, are having on astronomy, and are beginning to have on the life sciences.

Ten years ago, we were looking forward hopefully to space applications in meteorology, communications, navigation, and geodesy. Today, there are satellite systems and their earth-based components in operation for all of those areas, while still other possibilities are becoming apparent, for example, in earth-resource surveys or world-wide data collection and dissemination.

Dr. Homer Newell, NASA Associate Administrator, has expressed our position in these words:

"In science we are well on our way toward establishing the basis for investigating major areas of natural phenomena that characterize the universe in the places in space where measurements can best be made with a power and an intensity hitherto unavailable to the researcher. A new generation of researchers who, during their formative years, watched the Space Age unfold are entering the scene. They are caught up in the excitement that space represents. They will undoubtedly bring their enthusiasm to bear not only upon space, but also upon the great challenges of today here on our planet earth, such as the problems of oceanography, earth resources, the cities, transportation, population, pollution, and food. They are likely to oppose efforts to delay or sidestep any of these challenges."

This new generation of researchers is reading and studying volumes like this: "Social Indicators" the second in a series prepared by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences under a NASA grant. In this series Raymond Bauer and his colleagues examine the impact of the space program on American Society in a time dominated by rapid technological change. They examine in depth the need to anticipate the effects of that impact. The new generation senses that as the space program changes, so will its impacts change, and that the need to anticipate them remains important.

Continuing with Dr. Newell's words:

"Ten years ago, the atmosphere, the oceans, and space were more often thought of as separate rather than as closely related media. Today, these three are beginning to be viewed as an inseparable continuum open to human activity, engendering a broader and more cohesive view of our natural environment, and forcing a reassessment of the dimensions of our political environment."

Because we meet in Colorado, and for many other reasons, I am especially glad that Senator Gordon Allott could be here to give us his views. As an outstanding senior member of Congress, he has devoted careful, detailed and constructive consideration and leadership to the problems and potentialities of the nation's aeronautical and space programs. We in NASA have high respect for his perception, his judgment and fairness. We appreciate the large investment of his time he puts into the Congressional review of our program.

It has also been valuable on Saturday and yesterday to have the opportunity to meet with Chancellor Mitchell of the University of Denver, President Morgan of Colorado State University, President Childs of the Colorado School of Mines, President Carlson of Wyoming University and other university officials. Here in Colorado, NASA has been working closely with the University of Colorado, the University of Denver and with Colorado State University in a wide range of multi-disciplinary efforts for a number of years. The University of Denver has shown outstanding leadership in providing a focus for bringing together in fruitful collaboration the efforts of industry and academic institutions in the area of the advancement of science and technology generally and in the understanding of their applications and meaning for the broader problems of our society.

To speak of Denver in aerospace matters is to speak of Martin Marietta, a great company that gave the United States the Titan Booster. Not only has Titan contributed greatly to National security but it flew 20 astronauts in 20 months and they all came back safe and sound. Ball Brothers and other Rocky Mountain companies have also made important research advances. To be in Colorado is also to be reminded of that great organization, the United States Air Force. While we all know that the Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs is the mainstay of Air Force education, we also know that the Headquarters of the North American Air Defense Command at Cheyenne Mountain is a mainstay of our national security. We must also recognize that Colorado is the home of the Environmental Science Services Administration and the National Center for Atmospheric Research. We will hear more of these institutions through papers given at this Symposium.

Accompanying me here today is Mr. James Beggs, who has recently assumed the duties of Associate Administrator for Advanced Research and Technology at NASA and Mr. Frank Smith, Assistant Administrator for University Affairs. I am sure that many of you have known Mr. Beggs through his work as Vice President of the Westinghouse Defense and Space Center, but this may be your first opportunity to meet him in his capacity as the man we look to in NASA to take the leadership in the planning and execution of our work in advanced research and technology. You also have known Frank Smith as a leading engineer and administrator at our Langley Laboratory and as the Director of our 1965 Future Programs Task Force. In the months ahead when we will be flying fewer missions we will be giving our most careful consideration to the research and development efforts needed to provide the concepts, components, and systems that must be built for the future. The work of our office of OART under Mr. Beggs and of University Affairs under Mr. Smith thus assume special importance. At the very heart of the process of technological advance is assurance that research on components, materials and techniques which is focused on the areas of greatest need and promise is not unduly constrained by specific and item system requirements. This is a field and a national necessity on which the industrial and academic institutions of the Rocky Mountain Region might well focus as that in which they can perhaps make their greatest contribution in the years immediately ahead. Mr. Beggs and Mr. Smith are prepared to work with you in this.

As this American Astronautical Society symposium begins its consideration of the future course of the space program and those elements of greatest interest to the Rocky Mountain Region, it may be well to review some of the elements of the general situation today as it affects aeronautics and space.

These are uncertain and unusual times, not only for the space program and for our work in aeronautics but for almost every other important national activity.

The war in Vietnam, the peace talks in Paris, the problems faced by our cities, the economic problems of inflation, of balance of payments, and the uncertainties of an election year—taken together and interacting—place us all in a position from which it is most difficult to chart a clear and certain course for the future. Almost every important national and regional enterprise is proceeding through a series of adjustments and readjustments as our economic, political and social systems move to resolve the problems with which we are faced. And most local enterprises cannot make plans independent of national and regional conditions.

In NASA's aeronautics and space activities adjustments to the needs of these times have taken the form of sharp reductions in our programs and budget. We are conducting the tests and flying out the missions started in the build-up period since 1961 but are not starting new ones, with a very few exceptions. It is already clear, as I have testified in Congress, that with the budget levels we now face for FY 1969, production of the Saturn IB will have to be terminated and that a significant gap in the production of Saturn V will almost certainly be required. It may even be necessary to terminate Saturn V production. I have also testified that it is doubtful that we will be able to proceed with the development of a flight-qualified nuclear rocket engine. We are doing all we can to avoid terminating completely such important activities as the unmanned planetary exploration program, but it is not likely that we will be able to proceed with the Titan/Mars 1973 missions.

We do expect to carry our one flight of the Saturn I Workshop but on a delayed time-table. For a number of years to come, missions to use the manned space flight capabilities developed in the Apollo program will be very limited and Apollo spacecraft production will be curtailed. In aeronautics, the X–15 and B–70 experimental test flights will be terminated, and a number of development projects in short and vertical take-off; supersonic and hypersonic fields will be phased down to an experimental engineering status.

These reductions to a budget which has already been sharply reduced will have many very serious effects on the U.S. position in aeronautics and in space. They are only the most recent in a series of cutbacks and in effect, constitute something like final ratification of a decision that has been in the making since 1966, the decision that the United States will not, at this time, take the steps necessary to continue the advances of recent years. By the end of FY 1969, the work force on NASA projects will be down to just over 200,000, a level ½ that of 3 years ago. As you know, these are not government employees—over 90% of them are in industrial plants and laboratories, so that effects will be widely felt. The totality of the problems our nation faces reaches far beyond NASA. As responsible government officials, we in NASA accept the result of our nation's decision-making processes. We must now direct our leadership and our managerial abilities toward the successful run-out of the programs approved in past years and now nearing completion. We must at the same time adjust our organization, programs, contracts, university grants, and facilities to meet the reductions that have been decided on, and in the process, do all we can to lay a sound foundation for the future.

While no one should minimize the serious consequences that will flow from the decisions that have been made, it is also important as we assess our situation that we recognize a number of significant elements of strength.

One element of strength is that the events of the past few months, while they have not led to levels of support needed in aeronautics and space, have nevertheless shown that there does exist a strong continuing core of important support for research and development in both these fields.

Another element of strength is that the U.S. can now count on a facilities base in the NASA complex valued at over four billion dollars and a know-how in industry and a competence in science that can be put to work again when the time comes. We now have a management competence in large scale space development that can restore these assets to operational status with a high degree of efficiency.

In the Executive Branch, the NASA budget that was approved for FY 1969, while reduced below previous years, provided support for the essential features of a strong and continuing program. The amount was $4,370,000. The President, in submitting this budget made it clear, as he had when he agreed to the FY 1968 reductions made by the House Appropriations Committee last year that he was doing so reluctantly, that he still believed strongly in the need for a more vigorous program in aeronautics and space, and that his actions were based entirely on the over-riding financial necessities related to passage of the tax bill and to efforts to control inflation.

In the Legislative Branch, the Senate will consider our FY 1969 budget this week. Reductions of $362 million have already been made and the President has accepted these, as he did those of FY 1968. These actions bring NASA down to the $4 billion level. At this point there seems to be resistance to further reductions and a feeling that we should be permitted to move ahead with as effective a program as possible at this $4 billion level. I believe that this view will prevail as Congress takes the final major actions on our budget this year.

When one considers the whole array of problems now facing the Congress and the nation, and the fact that all national programs, needs, and priorities are being adjusted, I think it is significant that the Congress is standing firm at the $4 billion level for the NASA 1969 budget. I think it shows a recognition of the necessity for the country to stay in business in aeronautics and space research. Senator Allott may have more to say on this.

Among thoughtful people in the country at large, I do not find that public support for the space program is declining. Rather we are in a period in which many have been forced by events to focus on other serious needs and problems to a greater degree than in the past. The problems of how we stand in the world, including our position in Southeast Asia, and the problems faced by our cities, have been with us for many years; but it was not until these approached or passed major points of crisis that there was a general recognition that they demand major commitments of resources and attention on a continuous basis over a long period of years. We in space have seen the same thing happen with Sputnik and with Gagarin. This phenomenon has been called "government by crisis". The result is that many people who in the years following 1961 ascribed to the space program a separate, special, top priority status are now realizing, as the national leadership in the space program has understood all along, that the space program must be regarded as only one of a number of essential activities of high priority to which the country must devote substantial resources. In my opinion, what may appear to some to be a decline in public support for the space program is not a changed attitude, but is a reflection of a new awareness of other high priority problems and requirements. This may well lead on to the recognition that many of the other newly-seen problems can only be approached and actions to solve them taken within the framework of NASA's experience with the organization of large scale scientific and engineering efforts. The investments made in NASA may well add greatly to the value of investments we will have to make in these other fields.

Let me make it very clear that NASA is still very much in business, and it will stay in business. We are accepting the challenge of the time and will continue a hard-hitting, technically sound program aimed at the most important objectives of the future. At the same time that we are making the necessary internal adjustments, we will also make every effort to prepare for the longer term future.

Perhaps, now we should take a look at some of the things we will be doing in the next twelve months.

The Apollo program is moving forward toward the first manned flight, Apollo 7, this fall. We are confident that the vibration and other problems encountered on the second Saturn V test flight last spring will be solved and that we will be able to fly men on the third Saturn V. With success in these two flights, we will proceed down the home stretch toward the end of the decade with a series of Saturn V flights that should enable us to attempt the first manned lunar landing mission by December of 1969.

In space sciences, we anticipate exciting additions to our knowledge of new elements and regions of the universe from the Radio Astronomy Explorer satellite launched on the 4th of July, and also from the Orbiting Astronomical Observatory to be launched this fall. In both cases we will be making for the first time extended astronomical observations in regions of the electromagnetic spectrum which cannot be effectively made from the earth. This is scientific exploration of the universe in a manner uniquely possible in the space program. It is man reaching out by means of rocketry to learn much that he has been unable to see, and measure, and use in all his past history.

In our steady progress toward connecting such new knowledge to practical use, we will shortly be launching the Applications Technology Satellite. Unlike its predecessors in this series, this satellite will be stabilized by gravity gradient devices. Like the others in this series, it will carry advanced experiments for improving communications, meteorological, and spacecraft technology.

Last June, the Nimbus B meteorological satellite had to be destroyed because of a launch vehicle malfunction. This was a stern reminder of the small margin between failure and success in the use of rockets. Because of the importance of the experiments that were destroyed and because there would be a gap of almost two years in our advanced meteorological program we have decided to repeat the Nimbus B mission in the spring of 1969.

In our continuing planetary program, we will be launching two fly-by missions to Mars in the first part of 1969. Hopefully, these will achieve the kind of success we had with Mariner IV in 1965 and give us valuable close-up looks at this planet. These 1969 flights are now largely paid for and are the next steps in a program for the systematic exploration of the planets. Even at our reduced levels, I believe we can follow the 1969 missions with two orbiter missions in 1971, but will probably have to postpone for another year the start of work on the two Titan-launched oribter and lander missions which we had hoped to fly in 1973.

The examples I have cited will show that NASA will still be in business in FY 1969. But I am sure I do not have to emphasize that the missions we will be flying were initiated three or more years ago. We are approaching the end of our approved flight programs. The number of new projects started each year has sharply dwindled since 1966 and we will soon see years go by when we will have the very few flights. We may see a gap of 2 years in our manned flight program after the landing on the moon, and a second gap, equally long, after the Saturn I Workshop.

Perhaps the most fundamental decisions ahead lie in the field of large launch vehicles. Can we gap production of the Saturn V or will we have to terminate it? We and the DOD are looking carefully at the entire national launch vehicle program to make sure that both NASA and Defense essential needs can be met. This includes re-examination of ways in which NASA can utilize the Titan III in both unmanned and manned programs of the future. We are also examining all factors involved in the development of new and less costly launch vehicles. We will undoubtedly have to consider whether large launch vehicles like the Saturn IB and the Saturn V have served their purpose and to take as a major task for the next period the development of a simpler and less costly launch vehicle for repetitive use. In these considerations we will have to balance the funding requirements for spacecraft to fly on the large boosters we will have in storage against the initial cost of developing new launch vehicle systems that will be more economical in the long run.

Most important of all, in this period we will have to establish as clearly as we can the facts and assumptions on which our executive and legislative leaders can base decisions as to the future course the program should take. In each major area of both aeronautics and space, I believe we must now think *not* in terms of commitments to particular accomplishments by particular dates, but of so structuring our plans and programs that we can make steady and sure progress toward important goals at rates that can be adjusted to the level of budgetary support that can be provided. This is not the most economical approach; we could accomplish any specific goal more economically if it were possible to have a commitment to support a specific objective and a specific schedule. But in the present national situation it is not reasonable to expect commitments of this type. It is reasonable and essential that our total program receive continuing support at an adequate level. And it is reasonable for the Congress and the public to expect us, with such support, to be able to plan and conduct an effective program over a period of years, and accomplish significant objectives.

In a period of relatively low flight activity it is especially important that we continue a broad program of advanced research to provide the technology required to support the programs that will be required to meet future national needs in aeronautics and space. I believe that there is a need to reconsider our national policies as they affect the research and educational activities of universities. As one aspect of this, the policy of recent years that university programs of agencies like NASA could be reduced in the expectation of equivalent or increased support from other sources has not yet yielded the needed results. NASA's programs with universities have been broad and varied in nature, and have in sum represented a series of important experiments in government-university and government-scientific community relationships. I believe careful assessment of the results of these experiments will show the merit of continuing in the years ahead the important elements of this kind of broad program of interactions between the universities and NASA.

It is my hope that in the sessions to come this symposium will help us all place in perspective the necessary elements of future aeronautics and space research and development program.

Let me emphasize our final thought. I do not regard the space program as competitive with other national needs or endeavors. The space program has important roles to play in the affairs of our nation. We in NASA in my view, have a dual responsibility. We must make clear and speak out strongly for the needs of the nation in aeronautics and space. We must also do all we can to take our share of the responsibility for the totality of the problems which our nation faces.

These are difficult and challenging times. I want you to know that we in NASA will continue to give these problems our best efforts.

REPORT ON THE 90TH CONGRESS

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, at the end of each Congress, I summarize my legislative activities for the purpose of keeping my constituents advised of my voting record. As we will recess this second day of August 1968, and reconvene at a latter date this fall, this report will not be a complete report for the second session of the 90th Congress. However, this report will cover most of the legislation that I am certain will be of interest to my constituents of the First Congressional District of Montana. The report follows:

REPORT ON THE 90TH CONGRESS

BILLS SPONSORED OR COSPONSORED BY OLSEN WHICH HAVE BECOME LAW

H.R. 5086 Amends Social Security Act to include prescribed drugs among items and services covered under medical insurance program for the aged.

H.R. 8502 Increases the amount of monthly social security benefits, raises the wage base, provides cost-of-living increases, increases benefits payable to widows, eliminates retirement test, provides for contributions to social security trust funds from general revenues, and otherwise extends and improves the old age, survivors, and disability insurance system.

H.R. 3383 Reclassifies certain key positions and increases salaries in the postal field service.

H.R. 7345 Provides land value compensation to the Salish and Kootenai Tribes.

H.R. 10010 Provides additional free letter mail and air transportation mailing privileges for members of the U.S. Armed Services in danger zones.

H.R. 2871 Establishes Redwood National Park in California.

H.R. 14846 Regulates and restricts mailing of master keys for motor vehicle ignition switches.

H.R. 7978 Represents the largest rate increase ever for "junk mail."

H.J. Res. 1363 Creating a Joint Committee to Investigate Crime.

H. Con. Res. 705 Assists veterans of the Armed Forces who have served in Vietnam and other danger zones in obtaining suitable employment.

BILLS SPONSORED OR COSPONSORED BY OLSEN WHICH HAVE PASSED THE HOUSE

H.R. 13780 Provides for sale or exchange of isolated tracts of tribal lands on the Flathead Reservation.

H.R. 16460 Amends the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

BILLS SPONSORED OR CO-SPONSORED BY OLSEN NOW PENDING BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEES

H.R. 2124 Authorizes appropriation of funds for construction, reconstruction and improvement of Alaska Highway.

H.R. 2121 Amends Grain Standards Act to permit the inspection of certain grain on the basis of submitted samples.

H.R. 12833 Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to construct the Jefferson-Whitehall unit of the Missouri River Basin project (Reichle Dam).

H.R. 15695 Agriculture Bargaining Act of 1968.

H.R. 16547 Designates a portion of the Gallatin National Forest as Spanish Peaks Wilderness.

H.R. 16548 Designates the lake formed by the waters impounded by Libby Dam as "Lake Koocanusa".

H.R. 15398 Amends National School Lunch Act to strengthen and expand food programs for children.

H.R. 16939 Provides $6 Billion in federal assistance to secondary and elementary education, including teachers' salaries, WITHOUT federal control.

H.R. 16584 Establishes a strategic reserve of agricultural products.

H.R. 15799 Provides a fair and random system for the military draft, provides fair and equal deferment policies, and authorities an investigation of the feasibility of a volunteer army.

H.R. 16329 Provides for the regulation of political activities of public employees. (Revises the Hatch Act.)

H.R. 16524 To provide for the appointment of postmasters on a merit system. (Removes appointments from politics).

H.R. 16811 To permit a State to increase the mileage of its Federal-aid primary system when provision is made for the completion and maintenance of 75 percentum thereof.

H.R. 16910 To amend the Flood Control Act of 1950 relating to Libby Dam, Montana. (Railroad workers mileage adjustment bill).

H.R. 17413 To authorize the addition of certain Federal reclamation projects in the Pacific Northwest to participate in assistance from the Federal Columbia River power system, and for other purposes.

H.R. 17723. To amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, for the purposes of authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 30, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes.

H.R. 17748. To authorize the Secretary of Labor to set standards to assure safe and healthful working conditions for working men and women, to assist and encourage the States to participate in efforts to assure such working conditions; to provide for research, information, education, and training in the field of occupational safety and health; and for other purposes.

H.R. 18767. To require Congressional approval before a license may be granted for the construction of any facility for the commercial generation of electricity from nuclear energy.

H.R. 18846. To license the export of softwood logs from Federal lands. (Particularly seeks to restrict sale of logs to Japanese mills).

H.R. 18897. To amend title 5, United States Code, to facilitate the collection of statistics with respect to the incidence of crime and to provide for the establishment of a National Crime Statistics Center, and for other purposes.

MAJOR "SCOOPS" NOT ENOUGH

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, from time to time, I have had occasion to recommend to the Senate various articles written by Mr. Edward Hunter, the editor and publisher of Tactics magazine. Mr. Hunter has a unique approach to journalism in that he is not only interested in uncovering stories which have been ignored by the press generally, but also in that he analyzes the reasons why these stories have been ignored. Mr. Hunter has been a special consultant to various committees of Congress as an acknowledged expert in propaganda warfare, and he has an unusually sensitive approach and understanding of these matters.

In the current issue of Tactics, Mr. Hunter discusses the case of the columnist Paul Scott. Mr. Scott needs no introduction, since for years his columns have appeared regularly in the pages of over 175 newspapers. He is one of the hardest working columnists I know, in a field where hard work is the indispensable minimum. His dogged approach to searching out news and the news behind the news has paid off in his career, for he has published many major scoops on some of the most important events in current history. However, it seems that he has been too persistent, too honest, and too courageous in his exposures. After a change of ownership, his syndicate apparently decided that Mr. Scott's best accomplishments were not needed. First they tried to censor significant items. Then, after more than a decade of his being in the first rank of Washington newspapermen, his column was dropped.

Not surprisingly, however, Mr. Scott is now syndicating his own work and is attracting an unusual amount of interest and support. The story of his career and his current situation is discussed by Edward Hunter in the June 20 issue of Tactics, and I recommend it to all my colleagues.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Major 'Scoops' Not Enough," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXPERIENCE OF A COURAGEOUS COLUMNIST: MAJOR "SCOOPS" NOT ENOUGH

Paul Scott, as a columnist, successfully broke through the hush-hush on Moscow's creation of a nuclear arsenal against the United States in Cuba. He was first to disclose the red bugging of our Moscow embassy. These are but two of an electrifying number of old-fashioned newspaper "scoops" he put into the column, that appeared in more than 175 papers around the country.

One might expect, therefore, that he has been the recipient of a roomful of awards and an upward spiraling income. The opposite is the case. He has been dropped by his syndicate. He now is writing the column, distributing it, too, with his wife as secretary, while she handles five children, including a daughter about to marry. The column now appears under his own name alone.

This upside-down state of affairs makes this case study of Paul Scott, an indomitable newshawk and a pithy writer, an appropriate subject for TACTICS. Why does Paul Scott's column not appear in one of the major New York or Washington newspapers, for example? Surely he has all the professional qualifications. The reason is simple. He is digging out important news at a time when the communists are engaged in a conspiracy to destroy the United States, and his journalistic ethics does not allow him to go along with the current hush-hush on it in most of the press. Some day, maybe, a psychiatrist will analyze this situation.

HIS ROLE IN THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

The book, "The Missile Crisis," by Eli Abel, NBC correspondent then covering the State Department, says the President told press secretary Pierre Salinger "to say there was 'nothing to' " rumors "about troop movements in the direction of Florida. . . . The Pentagon, fending off queries later in the day about a published report by Paul Scott and Robert S. Allen about missiles in Cuba, took the occasion to issue a two-in-one denial. It said the government had 'no information indictating the presence of offensive weapons in Cuba,' adding that no alert had been ordered or 'any emergency measures' set in motion against Cuba. The alert, in fact, had just been ordered."

Actually, this contained three falsehoods, not two. The third was subtle, in line with Defense Secretary McNamara's unilateral disarmament intrigue. The Administration merely applied the term, "defensive," to the communist missiles, and on this misleading basis, told the same lie to the American people as Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko had told John F. Kennedy. This policy of covering up for the Soviet Union continues to this day, now extended to the Kremlin's strategy for a nuclear attack against the United States from submarines that can come up closer to their targets than is Red Cuba. Such news exploits as Paul Scott's could save the United States.

The book, "With Kennedy," by Pierre Salinger, more picturesquely reports (pages 250 to 252): "It was dark and a light rain was falling when Air Force One landed at O'Hare International Airport in Chicago. Despite his successes of the day—and it was vital that he increase his Congressional majorities in the approaching election—JFK was gloomy as we drove from O'Hare to our hotel, the Sheraton-Blackstone. An anti-Castro picket in front of the hotel, carrying a sign, 'Less Profile—More Courage,' did nothing to improve his mood.

STATE DEPARTMENT GOT TIP ON SCOTT'S STORY

"I wasn't in my suite more than a minute before I had a call from Washington. It was Richard Phillips, second in command to Bob Manning in the State Department Public Affairs Bureau. He said the President should be told that Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott were soon to go out with a story that we were preparing to invade Cuba." The President, when informed, instructed Kenneth P. O'Donnell, an assistant, "You call McNamara and tell him to straighten out Allen and Scott."

O'Donnell told Salinger later, "The President may have to develop a cold somewhere along the line tomorrow. If he does, we'll cancel out the rest of the trip and head back to Washington." The President simplified (page 252) Salinger's task by improvising a medical bulletin. "He took out a piece of Sheraton-Blackstone stationery and wrote: '99.2 degrees temperature. Upper respiratory infection. Doctor says he should return to Washington.'"

Thus glibly was the American nation news-managed successfully to vote a desired way and for the secret deal by which we promised, treaty-like, to prevent outside attack upon Castro. This was particularly callous because not long before, President Kennedy had rode a white auto, like a white charger, into a stadium in Florida where he promised to hand the flag of a liberated Cuba to its freedom fighters who had been so pathetically defeated at the Bay of Pigs.

Scott's breakthrough that sent Kennedy scurrying back to the White House had historic importance to us that hardly can be doubted. The building of the Berlin Wall could have been prevented, we now know, if our press had forced Kennedy to act in time. If the story about Cuba had been delayed only a short time, so Kennedy could have completed his political tour conveniently, the Kremlin would have had its missiles in place, pointing upwards, too late for us to do anything about the fait accompli. Paul Scott came out with what he had while the emplacements still were being completed. His story about "Soviet arming of Cuba" referred to big bombers "now being assembled," adding: "They have long been classified by the U.S. and NATO as 'offensive type weapons.'" He smoked out the essential facts.

He anticipated the Tet offensive in Viet Nam in one column. "Aren't you getting awfully strong," the syndicate representative admonished him. Finally he received orders. He was to stop this focus on communism. This brought on the definitive break. An editor who inquired what had happened was informed by the syndicate that Scott "had gone all out against communism" and that this "was detrimental to the column."

HIS "SCOOP" ON THE TET OFFENSIVE

The damage inflicted upon the nation by the harassment and suppression of columnists and other writers who have achieved a remarkable record for accuracy and judgment is incalculable. The public is deprived of basic material on which to make up its mind, the Congress is deprived of essential background with which to check up on what it is fed by the Executive Offices that nowadays have to proceed on the "one voice" premise that came in with the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, and a steady attrition of our society is made convenient for the enemy by default.

Paul Scott's column scheduled for last Jan. 5 is an instance. How tragically we were caught off base by the Tet offensive! But here is what this column contained:

"A diplomatic-military-propaganda offensive similar to the one that led to the overthrow of the pro-American government of President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963 is being launched by Hanoi against Nguyen Van Thieu's government . . . a three-pronged assault against Thieu will begin early in February. . . . Already additional North Vietnamese divisions are being sent south to put new pressure on U.S. troops and keep them occupied so Viet Cong guerrillas can concentrate their assault on the cities. A step-up of rocket fire and mortar attacks against South Vietnamese government facilities and U.S. air and supply bases is also expected in the coming months. The terror campaign will be closely linked with a worldwide propaganda drive . . ."

How more accurately could an article call the turn on such a development? American intelligence had all of this, but apparently the use of intelligence nowadays must accord with the "one voice policy," too, as well as speeches and statements by Pentagon generals and others who are knowledgeable. The press gradually is being brought into the same "one voice" framework, too, so far as pressure can accomplish it.

FIGURATIVE "MURDER" OF A GOOD CORRESPONDENT

This writer was sitting in the offices of the Senate press gallery a short time ago, chatting with Willard Edwards, the outstanding reporter and columnist of the Chicago Tribune, when Paul Scott passed by. Pointing to him, Edwards remarked, "There goes a good columnist who is being murdered." He was speaking figuratively, of course. How many of his papers will stand by him during the switch from his old syndicate to his own efforts, temporarily anyway, to handle the voluminous amount of clerical work involved, only time will tell. But this much is sure. Those who do run his column will be rewarded by high-powered "exclusives" and "scoops" produced by a real professional.

Just before the break, one of his columns just was not sent out. He had made a fast trip to South Africa to obtain his own impression of that controversial area. The column that was spiked (journalistic language for a story that isn't used) told of a Soviet espionage base in that area against the United States. The excuse given him for not sending it out was that he was back in the United States, and so should no longer write any articles which had a foreign country as its locale. Obviously, this was only an excuse for suppressing it.

Paul Scott is known in the press community in the national capital as an indefatigable worker who prefers to dig out the news rather than trust to handouts. He, therefore, has the fear as well as the respect of news sources. Although he has been writing under a byline for many years, treating delicate and hot issues, he has never been involved in any serious complaint or libel case, for instance. Official spokesmen have been upset over his revelations, but that is to his credit.

His column now is entitled "The Scott Report," distributed under the name of the Washington News-Intelligence Syndicate, 7508 Elmhurst St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20028. The news sources he has developed over a period of 20 years or so in the national capital are a resource that few in Washington can equal.

THE NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE: A VITAL STEP TOWARD BLINDNESS PREVENTION

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I wholeheartedly support H.R. 12843 which would establish a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health.

For many years there have been programs to give help to the blind. But for too long we have neglected the causes of blindness. An Eye Institute will coordinate research activities and provide the initiative for possible cures.

Eighty percent of cases of visual impairment are caused by diseases rather than accidents. This fact alone indicates to me that there is a serious deficiency in our present programs to prevent and treat blindness and blinding diseases.

For 3 years I have been urging legislation to establish a National Eye Institute. I have had strong support from such organizations in my district as the Rochester Eye Bank and the western New York area Lions Clubs.

At the present time, the leaders in visual research are private groups, such as the Lions International. Seventy-five percent of the 80 eye banks throughout the United States are operated by Lions Clubs.

We can no longer afford to bury our heads in the sand. The Federal Government has a responsibility in the area of visual research. The sight of many thousands of people could be saved through effective and progressive initiative.

Such initiative has been demonstrated by my good friend and constituent, Peter J. Ruffino, of Rochester. He underwent a cornea implant in 1961. Since that time he has been actively striving for eye bank pledges.

He was recently honored by the Rochester, N.Y., Times-Union, and I would like to share with my colleagues the newspaper's tribute to Mr. Ruffino, as follows:

TIMES-UNION SALUTES: PETER J. RUFFINO

(By Phil Currie)

In 1961, Peter J. Ruffino received a new cornea for his right eye in a delicate operation. His sight improved and, right then, Ruffino decided to help others who face similar eye problems.

He set for himself the goal of signing up 1,000 persons who would pledge to donate their eyes, at death, to the Eye-Bank of Rochester. Encouraged by his employer, General Dynamics-Electronics, Ruffino personally contacted hundreds of workers at the plant as well as people outside.

By June, 1966, he had his 1,000 pledges, mostly from General Dynamics employees (his two grandchildren signed numbers 999 and 1,000). Still he didn't stop, and he now has nearly 1,100 pledges.

Ruffino's enthusiasm for the project is catching. His wife, Stella, occasionally "recruits" for him, and so do his friends at the plant. Persons often seek him out with signed "donor" cards.

During the Arab-Israeli war last year, Ruffino arranged to have a pair of eyes sent for wounded soldiers in Israel, with a promise of more to come if needed. He first suggested to the secretary of the International Eye Foundation that eyes be provided for U.S. soldiers wounded in Vietnam.

Eyes donated to the Rochester Eye-Bank were the first sent to a special hospital outside Saigon, and Ruffino was later praised in a letter from Gen. William Westmoreland.

Recently Ruffino was among the nominees for the Volunteer of the Year honor given by Rochester's Volunteer Bureau of the Council of Social Agencies.

Through all this, the Irondequoit man's own eyesight has worsened. Stricken by an eye dystrophy, he has lost all sight in his right eye despite eight corrective operations. Vision in his left eye is poor. He will retire soon.

"It's only a matter of time before I'll be blind," says the courageous Ruffino. "But that doesn't mean I'll quit the Eye-Bank. If I go blind today, I'll keep working so others can see tomorrow."

HOW LONG FOR GUN CONTROLS

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, to some observers, the high peak of public interest in effective gun-control legislation may appear to have passed. I can assure Senators that there is widespread and continuing support among the general public for the enactment of effective gun-control laws. The Nation is eagerly awaiting to see what legislation is passed by Congress when we return after the political conventions.

This support is reflected in newspaper editorial opinion in all sections of the country. I should like to quote from a few recent editorials that have come to my attention:

From the Milwaukee Journal:

> The United States homicide rate with guns, per 100,000 population, is seven times that of Australia, Canada and Italy. It is 35 times that of Denmark, England and West Germany.

From the Houston Post:

> What in the name of conscience will it take to pass a truly effective gun control law?

From the Philadelphia Inquirer:

> It is hard to say what will finally move the great brains in the Capitol to take the elementary action that will help insure that "law and order" they all espouse so loudly.

I ask unanimous consent that these and other editorials be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, July 24, 1968]

THE GUN RECORD

These figures have been released by the justice department:

An estimated 50 to 100 million firearms are in private hands in the United States. Last year 4.5 million were bought for private use, an increase of 132% over 1963. More than 1.2 million guns are being imported each year, or 46% more than in 1963.

Four United States presidents have been assassinated by gunfire. So have two mayors, two United States senators and a congressman. So, since 1963, have eight major civil rights leaders, including the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

From 1900 to 1966, bullets have killed 767,000 people—269,000 murdered, 360,000 as suicides, 138,000 in firearms accidents. Last year, 7,700 people were victims of homicide by firearms and 55,000 more were the subjects of assault by guns.

From 1960 to 1967, a total of 411 law enforcement officers were slain in performing their duties, 96% of them by guns. Nationally, 60% of all murders are by firearms. Nearly 30% of all homicides by firearms are committed with rifles and shotguns, normally considered "sporting" weapons.

The United States homicide rate with guns, per 100,000 population, is seven times that of Australia, Canada and Italy. It is 35 times that of Denmark, England and West Germany.

How much more bloodletting will it take to demonstrate the singular ability of the gun to kill and maim? How much more of this mindless national obeissance to firearms will we tolerate before enacting meaningful controls on guns, and on those who use them?

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, July 27, 1968]

WHAT WILL IT TAKE?

Last May in a letter to the Senate majority leader President Johnson asked: "What in the name of conscience will it take to pass a truly effective gun control law?"

That's still a valid question in view of the watered-down version of Mr. Johnson's gun-registration proposal the House has just passed. Ironically, the action came while police and National Guardsmen still were patrolling the riot torn streets of Cleveland after armed snipers attacked police and set off a battle which left 10 dead and 18 wounded. The rifle and carbine fire against police at times grew so intense many thought automatic weapons were being used. Two of the slain attackers were found to be well supplied with cartridge belts.

"What in the name of conscience will it take?"

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, July 26, 1968]

MORE GUN CONTROL FIASCOS

The actions of the House of Representatives and the Senate Judiciary Committee on alleged gun-control legislation at least indicate that mail-order sale of rifles and shotguns will be curtailed somewhat. And that's all they indicate.

The House bill has been riddled with so many exceptions and dodges—such as $10 fees for "collectors" who can then buy all the guns they want anywhere—that it is all but meaningless. The Senate Committee's measure, stripped of all pretense at licensing and registration, still must go over another committee hurdle before Senate action, now expected after Labor Day.

Possibly the legislators in Washington hope their volume of angry mail will have subsided by then. It is reported that more than a million letters have been received, most of them demanding stiffer legislation. On the other side, however, is the fearsome lobby of the National Rifle Association and its allies, including some Congressmen, and it plainly has prevailed.

This in spite of another summer that has already shown signs of getting "long and hot" by its first manifestations in Cleveland which left 10 persons dead by gunfire. This in spite of the long and dishonorable list of assassinations of public figures. This in spite of all common sense and decency in a country where rough-tough, frontier antics have long since gone down in disrepute except for this vestigial "hang-up" on anonymous gun ownership.

It is hard to say what will finally move the great brains in the Capitol to take the elementary action that will help insure that "law and order" they all espouse so loudly. Sooner or later licensing and registration must come, perhaps when the realization dawns that we are the last modern, industrialized nation on earth not to insist upon it.

But, in the meanwhile, to pamper the NRA and it cohorts, the feeblest of gestures toward gun controls are in the works and we can expect more thousands of Americans to die—by intent or accident—as a result. It is too high a price.

[From the New York Times, July 25, 1968]

GUNS OUT OF CONTROL

What will it take to arouse Congress to pass a real gun-control law? A few hours after the crack of rifle and automatic weapons fire had resounded over Cleveland and police had fallen dead from sniper bullets, the House and the Senate Judiciary Committee in Washington were doing all they could to weaken the gun bills. If the purpose of legislation is to insure "law-and-order," how can legislators fail to back up the strongest possible controls that would help to end these deaths in the streets?

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported out what can only be branded a phony bill. Although there is a ban on mail-order sales of long guns and a limitation on over-the-counter sales to out-of-state residents, the crippling amendments to the bill in effect say, "We really didn't mean it."

Example 1: Any person who says he intends to go into business as a "dealer" can pay the Treasury Department $10 for a license and exempt himself from the supposed law, then purchase lots of guns.

Example 2: Any person who says he is a "collector" can pay a $10 license fee as such—and buy himself some old Thompson submachine guns, then put them in working order.

Example 3: Worst of all, although interstate mail-order sales of ammunition is forbidden, an exception is allowed for rifle and shotgun ammunition—which takes the bill two steps backward because only handgun ammunition is controlled.

The Senate Judiciary bill in this form now goes briefly to the Commerce Committee, where it is possible, some of the damaging amendments can be modified.

Meanwhile, the House yesterday approved its version of the same bill, with its own weakening provisions—enough of them to make National Rifle Association advocates say they "can live with it." To which one Congressman rightly added, "Tens of thousands of Americans can die with it."

[From the Plain Dealer, July 22, 1968]

IRRESPONSIBLE GUN CONTROL ACTION

The House of Representatives has acted irresponsibily and has been unresponsive to the public by overwhelming defeating legislation to require federal registration of all firearms.

Surely congressmen eventually will come to their senses in this matter, but we wonder how many more tragic incidents must occur before they see what a majority of citizens long have seen—that the need for more gun control is very real.

Last Friday's House vote of 172–68 against the registration proposal was an unexpectedly severe blow to advocates of strong gun control. It was a tremendous victory for the National Rifle Association which exerts an influence disproportionate to the number of its members.

Still to be voted in the House, probably today, is the question of requiring federal licensing of all gun owners. That proposal, like the registration proposal, is in the form of an amendment to the pending bill to ban interstate mail order sale of long guns as well as hand guns.

In view of what happened Friday to gun registration, very little if any chance is seen for the licensing amendment.

What remains is only a hope for passage by the House of the mail order sale restriction. That is the least the House can do.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, July 27, 1968]

A Victory of Sorts

The U.S. House of Representatives has passed and sent to the Senate a bill which will tighten up federal control of firearms. For this—in view of the 17,000 Americans killed each year by firearm accidents, murders and suicides—we can be thankful.

If approved by the Senate, the bill will make some major improvement in firearms legislation. It will expand the federal prohibition on the mail-order sale of handguns to include rifles and shotguns. It will prohibit some over-the-counter sales of firearms. It will prohibit the mail-order sale of most handgun ammunition. It will prohibit the sale of long guns and ammunition to persons under 18, and of handguns and ammunition to persons under 21. The sale of firearms also will be banned to fugitives, felons, persons indicted for crimes, mental defectives, and narcotics users. All this is good.

What is bad about the bill are the huge loopholes which have been placed in it by opponents of gun regulations. For example, the over-the-counter ban on firearms sales will not include persons from contiguous states. Nor will the ammunition-sale ban include .22 caliber pistol shells nor any rifle or shotgun ammunition. Thus, the legislation falls woefully short of the need for something really effective.

Nor will the over-the-counter ban affect those who sign affidavits that their firearm was lost, stolen or inoperative. That's a loophole big enough to drive a tank through.

And most amazing of all, the bill will not apply to the National Board of Promotion of Rifle Practice, a civilian-military group closely allied with the National Rifle Assn. The NRA, of course, is the chief opponent to the whole campaign to bring firearms under closer regulations.

The way this bill was watered down from the original plan of tight control and registration of all firearms is a tribute to NRA's political potency.

Public opinion polls consistently show that two thirds of the American people favor tighter regulation of firearms. A Gallup Poll last year showed that 85 percent of all adults favor registration of all handguns.

The National Rifle Assn. has some one million members out of the nation's total population of more than 200 million. Yet once the NRA's letter-writing campaign gets going, it seems to paralyze Congress.

NRA's Secretary Frank C. Daniel once remarked that an NRA appeal could generate a half-million letters. We believe it.

Immediately after Sen. Robert Kennedy's assassination, alarmed Americans sent a flood of spontaneous letters to Congress demanding stricter gun laws. But the trend began to change after a June 15 letter from the National Rifle Assn. went out urging members to write their senators and representatives in opposition to gun legislation. As an aide to Sen. Mike Mansfield reported, first there was a deluge one way, then there was a deluge the other way. Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana, who said his mail was running 10 to 1 against the gun bills, noted that much of the mail used the same style and in some cases identical wording. Thus, the NRA once again effectively has thwarted measures which most Americans want to see enacted into law.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, July 23, 1968]

Ban Arms to Fanatics

If Congress, preparing to re-examine the gun control question, needs a fresh object lesson in the need for such controls, it should consider the case of Pennsylvania State Rep. Herbert Fineman.

Fineman has been the leader of a group of Pennsylvania legislators trying to win passage of a gun licensing and registration bill supported by Gov. Raymond P. Shafer. There seems to have been no real danger of the bill's getting adopted over the violent protests of the Pennsylvania gun lobby. Nevertheless, Fineman has received threats on his life, both by mail and by telephone.

To make it harder for crackpots to get hold of the weapons to fulfill such threats is one of the principal aims of legislation still before Congress. With hopes for registration of weapons virtually dead for this session, attention this week is focused on measures to expand the mail-order ban already on handguns to include rifles, shotguns and ammunition.

Such legislation would impose no severe hardship on any legitimate sportsman; it would merely put a brake on the now unimpeded mail traffic in long guns. Every recent test of popular sentiment indicates that at least three-quarters of the nation's voters favor such controls. We believe that such sentiment is durable enough to make itself felt at the November polls.

Fun and Games

You may have missed a little story buried inside the paper the other day about an heiress, 23 years old, who was killed at her family's Adirondack Mountain retreat when a revolver which had just been placed on the table by a close friend went off accidentally, putting a bullet into her back. And did you happen to see the little item about the Newport News man who testified some days ago that he accidentally killed his roommate in a "play session" with a .38 caliber revolver he thought was unloaded? He said they had played with the toy many times without any unfortunate consequences.

Well, so it goes. Some people are just unlucky. Pistols are great fun, of course, and everybody loves to play with them. But would it really be unbearable for the more fortunate among the sportsmen—that is, those who have been fortunate so far—to forgo this pleasure for the sake of their more foolish fellow citizens? Couldn't they have almost as good a time pointing cap pistols or water pistols at each other and saying "Bang, you're dead?"

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, July 25, 1968]

"Sportsmen" on the Rooftops?

With its head buried under a mountain of gun lobby mail, the U.S. House of Representatives continues to weaken an already too weak gun control bill.

One wonders what it will take to get Congress to lift its head and look around, say to Cleveland where a hail of sniper and police fire Tuesday night left 10 dead, three of them policemen, and scores wounded. Or to Cincinnati where a man with a concealed revolver followed Gov. Lester Maddox most of the day, a man described by his grandmother as "a sick boy since he was three years old" who had been in a mental hospital.

There are hundreds of other places congressmen could look—at a modest northwest Atlanta home that same day, for example, where an obviously mentally distraught young mother fired shot after shot at her husband and police before tear gas and a brave policeman finally subdued her. Or they could examine hospital records in cities throughout the country which, without exception, show an alarming increase in gun deaths and maimings.

They could also examine irrefutable evidence that Americans are arming themselves as never before in history, and that racists, both black and white, are caching arms and ammunition in abundance.

But most of our congressmen are not looking. They are listening to Gov. Lester Maddox, who for all anyone knows came within an instant of death Tuesday afternoon, describe reasonable gun controls as un-American and Communist inspired. They listen to Rep. Jamie Whitten, D-Miss., protest that "We'll be disarming the law-abiding citizens and allowing the criminal to go free," and to the National Rifle Association which trumpets: "We will be creating a bureaucratic gun czar to harass hunters and sportsmen."

But those snipers on Cleveland rooftops were not sportsmen, nor was that disturbed Atlanta housewife. Neither was the armed young man, "sick since he was three years old," who followed Gov. Maddox Tuesday and came as close to him as this paper you're holding in your hands is to you.

COMMEMORATING THE 24TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW UPRISING

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the 24th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising, the courageous attempt by the brave Polish patriots of Warsaw to break the tyrannical bonds of Nazi occupation which began on the first day of August in 1944 and lasted for 63 bloody days.

This heroic effort by the Polish people to liberate their capital was costly; almost the entire city was destroyed and some 200,000 people—men, women, and children—gave their lives for freedom, while the Soviet Army watched from the outskirts of Warsaw.

Four years ago President Johnson commemorated the 20th anniversary of this struggle for freedom by issuing a special proclamation, in which he said this anniversary should be remembered "as an exceptional demonstration of man's courage and devotion in the long and continuing struggle for human freedom."

The President's words are no less significant today. As a free nation we must never forget the value of our freedom, and we must never forget that while freedom is an American way of life, it is little more than a dream for millions of people throughout the world who live under the tyrannical heel of dictatorship.

The brave Polish uprising is part of history now, but the chains of Nazi occupation have been replaced by the harsh totalitarian rule of Communist Russia; oppressor followed oppressor, and for the Polish people freedom is still the dream and not the reality.

But while the Iron Curtain still casts its dark shadow across Poland, the light of freedom still flickers in that shadow. Communism can physically restrict the right to worship, the right to speak freely, and the right to assemble, but freedom is more than a physical act; it is a condition of the human spirit, and no manmade power can ever restrict such a basic human longing.

As long as the flame of freedom continues to flicker in the dark shadow of Russian domination we must not turn our backs on the Polish people. Their cause must be our cause, and we must do whatever is possible to help them attain their freedom.

Commemorating this 24th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising today is the kind of recognition that should be given to this heroic struggle, but we should also use this occasion to reaffirm our dedication to the principle of freedom and justice for all.

THE INTERMOUNTAIN OBSERVER

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. **CHURCH.** Mr. President, the current issue of the Columbia Journalism Review, a publication well noted for the service it provides the journalistic community and its friends, contains an excellent article about the Intermountain Observer, one of the Nation's liveliest weeklies, and certainly one of the best.

It is well that the story of the Observer should be told in the national forum which the Columbia Journalism Review provides.

The authors of the article—John Stevens, assistant professor of journalism at the University of Michigan, and Bert Cross, chairman of journalism at the University of Idaho—sum up the Observer in these words:

> The Intermountain Observer claims to be written by opinion makers for opinion makers. Even its critics agree that it comforts the afflicted and afflicts the comfortable.

This remarkable weekly newspaper is the product of three remarkable people. Wes Whillock, general manager of KBOI in Boise, who owns the Observer, is deeply committed to filling the public need which the paper provides. The Observer editor is Sam Day, a veteran of Idaho journalism who has made the Observer the voice of change and progress which it is. Perry Swisher, whose own weekly, the Intermountain, was merged with the Idaho Observer to form the Intermountain Observer, edits a page of comment and opinion well noted for its style and relevance.

Mr. President, I commend this article to Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE INTERMOUNTAIN OBSERVER

(By John Stevens and Bert Cross)

No state has been worse served by geography and economics than Idaho, conceived and born through political accident. Its 700,000 citizens really look to three capitals. Although the seat of government is Boise (population 72,000), Spokane dominates the Panhandle and Salt Lake City the southeastern corner. Fifteen hundred miles of border separate Idaho from six other states and Canada. In fact, you can't drive far on major highways without going through either Washington or Montana.

Idaho's twelve dailies, forty radio stations, six television stations and all but one of its seventy weeklies have limited reach. The exception is *The Intermountain Observer,* a Boise opinion weekly that is the state's most strident liberal voice. Stranger than its political stance is its corporate structure: it is a wholly owned subsidiary of KBOI, a broadcasting property in Boise.

Subsidized papers are nothing new, of course. Many chains support weak sisters. While many publishers own stations, the Boise operation apparently is the only one where a station publishes a regular newspaper.

Like most television stations, KBOI is turning a handsome profit, a record $4.02 a share in 1966. It has published the weekly newspaper since 1961, and although the monthly subsidy averaged $1,200 a few years ago, the paper now is in the black. When the conservative directors of the broadcasting company have made noises about discontinuing the paper, the station manager, Wes Whillock, has kept them in line by threatening to move his CBS affiliation (his personal property) to nearby Caldwell.

Whillock is deeply committed to fulfilling his licensee's obligation to serve "public interest, convenience, and necessity." Supporting the opinion weekly is one way to do this, he believes:

"Our television coverage appeals to a mass audience, and our newspaper coverage appeals to a select audience. Print is the best medium for expressing editorial opinions and for providing depth coverage."

His station editorializes only rarely, and then on some pressing issue such as a bond referendum. Whillock considers most broadcast editorials pap.

In September, 1967, KBOI purchased a Pocatello opinion weekly, *The Intermountain,* and merged it with its own, then called *The Idaho Observer.* As a result, circulation topped 3,000 for the first time. In its second issue after the merger, the *Observer* showed that its spunk had not been diluted. It demanded an inquiry into the summer's multimillion dollar forest fires. It accused the governor of firing the former state forester because he warned of the inadequacy of the fire protection being provided by a private association. The paper accused both the incumbent administration and its predecessors of handing out porkbarrel grants to the protective association.

The *Observer* has sounded off in recent months against the Boise police force's tactics, the politicking on the state arts council and the state's policies on migrants and Indians. It probed the hippie "movement" in Boise and discovered three hippies in town, deeply split about their philosophical position. Repeatedly, it has taken on the utilities.

Sam Day, the editor, insists that the paper maintain a statewide oulook, although he is sure that circulation could be boosted by publishing more Boise Valley area news. Although the paper is housed in the KBOI building, Day is free to establish his own editorial course. While the editor makes some attempt to keep his readers informed about major statewide news, he feels the paper's primary role is to voice liberal opinion in a region that often does not hear it.

Like Senator Frank Church (an avid reader), Day is a "dove" on Viet Nam; unlike the state's senior senator, Day favors gun registration laws. Gun regulations are anathema in Idaho.

Day never has been one to duck a fight. He almost was run out of Salmon, after a brief tenure as editor of that town's weekly, for tangling with Idaho Power Company. A Swarthmore graduate, Day has been in Idaho fifteen years, first with The Associated Press and then with papers in Lewiston, Salmon, and Boise.

"I hope eventually our publication will be an Idaho version of *Time, Ramparts,* and *The New Yorker,* all rolled into one," Day says. He even talks about starting similar regional journals in Montana, Wyoming, or eastern Washington.

The John Birch Society has chapters in almost all Idaho communities, and the *Observer* has been a favorite right-wing target, but attempts to boycott those who advertise in the paper have died aborning. Advertising revenue has been climbing.

The *Observer's* associate editor is Perry Swisher. Until the merger, Swisher published his own journal, *The Intermountain,* for fourteen years. He now runs the Pocatello office and edits the page opposite the editorial page and writes two columns there. He is glad to be free of desk chores, especially since he is working for a college degree. At 43, he is older than Day and more of a pragmatist. He was elected six times as a Republican to the state legislature, where he was the only representative to vote against a loyalty oath for state employees. In 1966 he ran as an independent for governor. He insists he is through with the political wars and now shuns a party label. He is as dovish on Viet Nam as Day.

Most of Day's editorials and Swisher's columns are political. In addition, the weekly publishes columns by the editorial page editors of the Lewiston and Pocatello dailies. Several regional writers appear regularly, as does Ed Eline, an inmate at the Idaho State Penitentiary.

The Intermountain Observer claims to be written by opinion makers for opinion makers. Even its critics agree that it comforts the afflicted and afflicts the comfortable.

GREEK REGIME PLEDGES EARLY RETURN TO DEMOCRACY

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. **PUCINSKI.** Mr. Speaker, the United Press today carried a report from Athens, Greece, in which it quoted Prime Minister George Papadopoulos as promising an early release of politicians now in detention in Greece and pledging that democracy will be restored in Greece "sooner than you think."

The Prime Minister issued this assurance to a group of visiting German Members of Parliament representing the Christian Democratic and Liberal Parties.

I hope that this reassurance from Prime Minister Papadopoulos will serve to place into proper perspective the efforts being made by the present Government of Greece to restore parliamentary rule to that country as quickly as possible.

The present administration in Greece has been in power now almost 18 months and despite those in this country who have done everything to besmirch and undermine American relations with the Government of Greece, the fact remains that this Government has kept its pledge to the people of Greece.

When the present administration took over on April 21 in 1967, it pledged the people of Greece would have an opportunity to act on a meaningful and democratic constitution. That pledge is being fulfilled on September 29.

Greece needs a great deal of help in order to fortify herself against the current threat of her Communist neighbors, In view of what happened Friday to gun registration, very little if any chance is seen for the licensing amendment.

What remains is only a hope for passage by the House of the mail order sale restriction. That is the least the House can do.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, July 27, 1968]

A Victory of Sorts

The U.S. House of Representatives has passed and sent to the Senate a bill which will tighten up federal control of firearms. For this—in view of the 17,000 Americans killed each year by firearm accidents, murders and suicides—we can be thankful.

If approved by the Senate, the bill will make some major improvement in firearms legislation. It will expand the federal prohibition on the mail-order sale of handguns to include rifles and shotguns. It will prohibit some over-the-counter sales of firearms. It will prohibit the mail-order sale of most handgun ammunition. It will prohibit the sale of long guns and ammunition to persons under 18, and of handguns and ammunition to persons under 21. The sale of firearms also will be banned to fugitives, felons, persons indicted for crimes, mental defectives, and narcotics users. All this is good.

What is bad about the bill are the huge loopholes which have been placed in it by opponents of gun regulations. For example, the over-the-counter ban on firearms sales will not include persons from contiguous states. Nor will the ammunition-sale ban include .22 caliber pistol shells nor any rifle or shotgun ammunition. Thus, the legislation falls woefully short of the need for something really effective.

Nor will the over-the-counter ban affect those who sign affidavits that their firearm was lost, stolen or inoperative. That's a loophole big enough to drive a tank through.

And most amazing of all, the bill will not apply to the National Board of Promotion of Rifle Practice, a civilian-military group closely allied with the National Rifle Assn. The NRA, of course, is the chief opponent to the whole campaign to bring firearms under closer regulations.

The way this bill was watered down from the original plan of tight control and registration of all firearms is a tribute to NRA's political potency.

Public opinion polls consistently show that two thirds of the American people favor tighter regulation of firearms. A Gallup Poll last year showed that 85 percent of all adults favor registration of all handguns.

The National Rifle Assn. has some one million members out of the nation's total population of more than 200 million. Yet once the NRA's letter-writing campaign gets going, it seems to paralyze Congress.

NRA's Secretary Frank C. Daniel once remarked that an NRA appeal could generate a half-million letters. We believe it.

Immediately after Sen. Robert Kennedy's assassination, alarmed Americans sent a flood of spontaneous letters to Congress demanding stricter gun laws. But the trend began to change after a June 15 letter from the National Rifle Assn. went out urging members to write their senators and representatives in opposition to gun legislation. As an aide to Sen. Mike Mansfield reported, first there was a deluge one way, then there was a deluge the other way. Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana, who said his mail was running 10 to 1 against the gun bills, noted that much of the mail used the same style and in some cases identical wording. Thus, the NRA once again effectively has thwarted measures which most Americans want to see enacted into law.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, July 23, 1968]

Ban Arms to Fanatics

If Congress, preparing to re-examine the gun control question, needs a fresh object lesson in the need for such controls, it should consider the case of Pennsylvania State Rep. Herbert Fineman.

Fineman has been the leader of a group of Pennsylvania legislators trying to win passage of a gun licensing and registration bill supported by Gov. Raymond P. Shafer. There seems to have been no real danger of the bill's getting adopted over the violent protests of the Pennsylvania gun lobby. Nevertheless, Fineman has received threats on his life, both by mail and by telephone.

To make it harder for crackpots to get hold of the weapons to fulfill such threats is one of the principal aims of legislation still before Congress. With hopes for registration of weapons virtually dead for this session, attention this week is focused on measures to expand the mail-order ban already on handguns to include rifles, shotguns and ammunition.

Such legislation would impose no severe hardship on any legitimate sportsman; it would merely put a brake on the now unimpeded mail traffic in long guns. Every recent test of popular sentiment indicates that at least three-quarters of the nation's voters favor such controls. We believe that such sentiment is durable enough to make itself felt at the November polls.

Fun and Games

You may have missed a little story buried inside the paper the other day about an heiress, 23 years old, who was killed at her family's Adirondack Mountain retreat when a revolver which had just been placed on the table by a close friend went off accidentally, putting a bullet into her back. And did you happen to see the little item about the Newport News man who testified some days ago that he accidentally killed his roommate in a "play session" with a .38 caliber revolver he thought was unloaded? He said they had played with the toy many times without any unfortunate consequences.

Well, so it goes. Some people are just unlucky. Pistols are great fun, of course, and everybody loves to play with them. But would it really be unbearable for the more fortunate among the sportsmen—that is, those who have been fortunate so far—to forgo this pleasure for the sake of their more foolish fellow citizens? Couldn't they have almost as good a time pointing cap pistols or water pistols at each other and saying "Bang, you're dead?"

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, July 25, 1968]

"Sportsmen" on the Rooftops?

With its head buried under a mountain of gun lobby mail, the U.S. House of Representatives continues to weaken an already too weak gun control bill.

One wonders what it will take to get Congress to lift its head and look around, say to Cleveland where a hail of sniper and police fire Tuesday night left 10 dead, three of them policemen, and scores wounded. Or to Cincinnati where a man with a concealed revolver followed Gov. Lester Maddox most of the day, a man described by his grandmother as "a sick boy since he was three years old" who had been in a mental hospital.

There are hundreds of other places congressmen could look—at a modest northwest Atlanta home that same day, for example, where an obviously mentally distraught young mother fired shot after shot at her husband and police before tear gas and a brave policeman finally subdued her. Or they could examine hospital records in cities throughout the country which, without exception, show an alarming increase in gun deaths and maimings.

They could also examine irrefutable evidence that Americans are arming themselves as never before in history, and that racists, both black and white, are caching arms and ammunition in abundance.

But most of our congressmen are not looking. They are listening to Gov. Lester Maddox, who for all anyone knows came within an instant of death Tuesday afternoon, describe reasonable gun controls as un-American and Communist inspired. They listen to Rep. Jamie Whitten, D-Miss., protest that "We'll be disarming the law-abiding citizens and allowing the criminal to go free," and to the National Rifle Association which trumpets: "We will be creating a bureaucratic gun czar to harass hunters and sportsmen."

But those snipers on Cleveland rooftops were not sportsmen, nor was that disturbed Atlanta housewife. Neither was the armed young man, "sick since he was three years old," who followed Gov. Maddox Tuesday and came as close to him as this paper you're holding in your hands is to you.

COMMEMORATING THE 24TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW UPRISING

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the 24th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising, the courageous attempt by the brave Polish patriots of Warsaw to break the tyrannical bonds of Nazi occupation which began on the first day of August in 1944 and lasted for 63 bloody days.

This heroic effort by the Polish people to liberate their capital was costly; almost the entire city was destroyed and some 200,000 people—men, women, and children—gave their lives for freedom, while the Soviet Army watched from the outskirts of Warsaw.

Four years ago President Johnson commemorated the 20th anniversary of this struggle for freedom by issuing a special proclamation, in which he said this anniversary should be remembered "as an exceptional demonstration of man's courage and devotion in the long and continuing struggle for human freedom."

The President's words are no less significant today. As a free nation we must never forget the value of our freedom, and we must never forget that while freedom is an American way of life, it is little more than a dream for millions of people throughout the world who live under the tyrannical heel of dictatorship.

The brave Polish uprising is part of history now, but the chains of Nazi occupation have been replaced by the harsh totalitarian rule of Communist Russia; oppressor followed oppressor, and for the Polish people freedom is still the dream and not the reality.

But while the Iron Curtain still casts its dark shadow across Poland, the light of freedom still flickers in that shadow. Communism can physically restrict the right to worship, the right to speak freely, and the right to assemble, but freedom is more than a physical act; it is a condition of the human spirit, and no manmade power can ever restrict such a basic human longing.

As long as the flame of freedom continues to flicker in the dark shadow of Russian domination we must not turn our backs on the Polish people. Their cause must be our cause, and we must do whatever is possible to help them attain their freedom.

Commemorating this 24th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising today is the kind of recognition that should be given to this heroic struggle, but we should also use this occasion to reaffirm our dedication to the principle of freedom and justice for all.

THE INTERMOUNTAIN OBSERVER

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the current issue of the Columbia Journalism Review, a publication well noted for the service it provides the journalistic community and its friends, contains an excellent article about the Intermountain Observer, one of the Nation's liveliest weeklies, and certainly one of the best.

It is well that the story of the Observer should be told in the national forum which the Columbia Journalism Review provides.

The authors of the article—John Stevens, assistant professor of journalism at the University of Michigan, and Bert Cross, chairman of journalism at the University of Idaho—sum up the Observer in these words:

> The Intermountain Observer claims to be written by opinion makers for opinion makers. Even its critics agree that it comforts the afflicted and afflicts the comfortable.

This remarkable weekly newspaper is the product of three remarkable people. Wes Whillock, general manager of KBOI in Boise, who owns the Observer, is deeply committed to filling the public need which the paper provides. The Observer editor is Sam Day, a veteran of Idaho journalism who has made the Observer the voice of change and progress which it is. Perry Swisher, whose own weekly, the Intermountain, was merged with the Idaho Observer to form the Intermountain Observer, edits a page of comment and opinion well noted for its style and relevance.

Mr. President, I commend this article to Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE INTERMOUNTAIN OBSERVER

(By John Stevens and Bert Cross)

No state has been worse served by geography and economics than Idaho, conceived and born through political accident. Its 700,000 citizens really look to three capitals. Although the seat of government is Boise (population 72,000), Spokane dominates the Panhandle and Salt Lake City the southeastern corner. Fifteen hundred miles of border separate Idaho from six other states and Canada. In fact, you can't drive far on major highways without going through either Washington or Montana.

Idaho's twelve dailies, forty radio stations, six television stations and all but one of its seventy weeklies have limited reach. The exception is *The Intermountain Observer,* a Boise opinion weekly that is the state's most strident liberal voice. Stranger than its political stance is its corporate structure: it is a wholly owned subsidiary of KBOI, a broadcasting property in Boise.

Subsidized papers are nothing new, of course. Many chains support weak sisters. While many publishers own stations, the Boise operation apparently is the only one where a station publishes a regular newspaper.

Like most television stations, KBOI is turning a handsome profit, a record $4.02 a share in 1966. It has published the weekly newspaper since 1961, and although the monthly subsidy averaged $1,200 a few years ago, the paper now is in the black. When the conservative directors of the broadcasting company have made noises about discontinuing the paper, the station manager, Wes Whillock, has kept them in line by threatening to move his CBS affiliation (his personal property) to nearby Caldwell.

Whillock is deeply committed to fulfilling his licensee's obligation to serve "public interest, convenience, and necessity." Supporting the opinion weekly is one way to do this, he believes:

"Our television coverage appeals to a mass audience, and our newspaper coverage appeals to a select audience. Print is the best medium for expressing editorial opinions and for providing depth coverage."

His station editorializes only rarely, and then on some pressing issue such as a bond referendum. Whillock considers most broadcast editorials pap.

In September, 1967, KBOI purchased a Pocatello opinion weekly, *The Intermountain,* and merged it with its own, then called *The Idaho Observer.* As a result, circulation topped 3,000 for the first time. In its second issue after the merger, the *Observer* showed that its spunk had not been diluted. It demanded an inquiry into the summer's multimillion dollar forest fires. It accused the governor of firing the former state forester because he warned of the inadequacy of the fire protection being provided by a private association. The paper accused both the incumbent administration and its predecessors of handing out porkbarrel grants to the protective association.

The *Observer* has sounded off in recent months against the Boise police force's tactics, the politicking on the state arts council and the state's policies on migrants and Indians. It probed the hippie "movement" in Boise and discovered three hippies in town, deeply split about their philosophical position. Repeatedly, it has taken on the utilities.

Sam Day, the editor, insists that the paper maintain a statewide oulook, although he is sure that circulation could be boosted by publishing more Boise Valley area news. Although the paper is housed in the KBOI building, Day is free to establish his own editorial course. While the editor makes some attempt to keep his readers informed about major statewide news, he feels the paper's primary role is to voice liberal opinion in a region that often does not hear it.

Like Senator Frank Church (an avid reader), Day is a "dove" on Viet Nam; unlike the state's senior senator, Day favors gun registration laws. Gun regulations are anathema in Idaho.

Day never has been one to duck a fight. He almost was run out of Salmon, after a brief tenure as editor of that town's weekly, for tangling with Idaho Power Company. A Swarthmore graduate, Day has been in Idaho fifteen years, first with The Associated Press and then with papers in Lewiston, Salmon, and Boise.

"I hope eventually our publication will be an Idaho version of *Time, Ramparts,* and *The New Yorker,* all rolled into one," Day says. He even talks about starting similar regional journals in Montana, Wyoming, or eastern Washington.

The John Birch Society has chapters in almost all Idaho communities, and the *Observer* has been a favorite right-wing target, but attempts to boycott those who advertise in the paper have died aborning. Advertising revenue has been climbing.

The *Observer*'s associate editor is Perry Swisher. Until the merger, Swisher published his own journal, *The Intermountain,* for fourteen years. He now runs the Pocatello office and edits the page opposite the editorial page and writes two columns there. He is glad to be free of desk chores, especially since he is working for a college degree. At 43, he is older than Day and more of a pragmatist. He was elected six times as a Republican to the state legislature, where he was the only representative to vote against a loyalty oath for state employees. In 1966 he ran as an independent for governor. He insists he is through with the political wars and now shuns a party label. He is as dovish on Viet Nam as Day.

Most of Day's editorials and Swisher's columns are political. In addition, the weekly publishes columns by the editorial page editors of the Lewiston and Pocatello dailies. Several regional writers appear regularly, as does Ed Eline, an inmate at the Idaho State Penitentiary.

The Intermountain Observer claims to be written by opinion makers for opinion makers. Even its critics agree that it comforts the afflicted and afflicts the comfortable.

GREEK REGIME PLEDGES EARLY RETURN TO DEMOCRACY

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the United Press today carried a report from Athens, Greece, in which it quoted Prime Minister George Papadopoulos as promising an early release of politicians now in detention in Greece and pledging that democracy will be restored in Greece "sooner than you think."

The Prime Minister issued this assurance to a group of visiting German Members of Parliament representing the Christian Democratic and Liberal Parties.

I hope that this reassurance from Prime Minister Papadopoulos will serve to place into proper perspective the efforts being made by the present Government of Greece to restore parliamentary rule to that country as quickly as possible.

The present administration in Greece has been in power now almost 18 months and despite those in this country who have done everything to besmirch and undermine American relations with the Government of Greece, the fact remains that this Government has kept its pledge to the people of Greece.

When the present administration took over on April 21 in 1967, it pledged the people of Greece would have an opportunity to act on a meaningful and democratic constitution. That pledge is being fulfilled on September 29.

Greece needs a great deal of help in order to fortify herself against the current threat of her Communist neighbors, and I believe the time is long past due when the free nations of the world ought to recognize the efforts of Prime Minister Papadopoulos and Deputy Prime Minister Pattakos to restore democratic rule to Greece and help this nation on this course, rather than sit back on the sidelines and undermine her efforts.

I believe that more Members of Parliament ought to visit Greece to see for themselves the efforts that are going on to restore democracy.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, I have prepared a special report to my constituents regarding recent legislation and the results of our districtwide opinion poll which I would like to share with my colleagues. It follows:

REPORT NO. 4, SECOND SESSION, 90TH CONGRESS

DEAR FRIENDS: Congress is in recess until after the political conventions when we will return to complete work on a number of important measures before adjournment.

Judging by the volume of mail (and it has arrived by the bag recently) and the comments we hear on our frequent trips into the district, the people are uneasy about a great number of problems which beset our nation and the world.

More than 15,000 of you have thus far responded to our questionnaire. The results appear elsewhere in this report. If you have not answered, please do so soon.

The tax increase and gun control bills temporarily replaced Vietnam as the subjects most discussed in your letters. However, the war, which now has claimed more than 30,000 young men, continues to be the dominant issue. While the Paris peace talks thus far have produced no significant results, we all pray that the Administration will be able to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

By the time you receive this newsletter, the impact of the recently enacted surtax requested by the President will reflect itself in most of our pay checks. On the basis of my continuing objection to vast federal spending with little proof of results, I opposed the tax increase. My fears were substantiated recently when an Administration official admitted that the so-called "temporary" tax surcharge may have to be extended past the next June 30 deadline.

It is obvious the tax increase will be used to increase the high spending of the present Administration, which this past year spent $25.4 billion more than it took in—the largest deficit since World War II.

Prompting more mail than any other issue during the 90th Congress was the proposed gun control legislation. I could not support the Administration's request for national registration and licensing, and we were able to block any effort to add these provisions to the House bill which passed just prior to the recess.

The bill does stop the interstate mail order sale of firearms and ammunition and prohibits sale to addicts, the mentally incompetent and fugitives. The House bill does not include registration and licensing and therefore, in my opinion, will not interfere with legitimate recreational and self-protection uses of firearms by law-abiding citizens.

A most important House amendment to the Firearms Act provides stiff penalties for those convicted of using firearms to commit a crime. Strict enforcement of this provision and already existing laws will do more to deter the use of firearms than any of the proposals for registration and licensing.

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

In June we sent a questionnaire to every residence and business in the 7th Congressional District and asked for your opinion on many of the major issues facing Congress this year. To date, more than 15,000 of them have been completed and returned to me. The following are the results of the poll:

[Results in percent]

1. What kind of Vietnam peace settlement should the U.S. seek?

Guaranteed political independence of South Vietnam and its freedom from attack	56.4
Coalition government including the Saigon regime and National Liberation Front	15.4
Unconditional withdrawal of allied forces	15.2

2. Should the present negotiations fail to produce a meaningful peace, would you favor:

Gradually decreasing U.S. troop commitments and shifting more responsibility to South Vietnam forces	45.0
Resuming and intensifying full-scale air attacks	33.7
Increasing U.S. troops to insure military victory	9.4

3. Should the United States continue to trade with nations that aid North Vietnam?

No	72.4
Yes	12.4
Undecided	5.8

4. Do you believe the American people are receiving sufficient information from the Government on vital foreign and domestic issues to allow them to vote intelligently?

No	67.3
Yes	15.8
Undecided	7.6

5. Do you support the administration's increase in taxes?

No	57.3
Yes	26.7
Undecided	6.7

6. Do you believe Federal spending on domestic programs should be reduced?

Yes	56.9
No	27.4
Undecided	5.7

7. Should industries which install equipment to reduce air and water pollution be granted tax credits to offset part of the expense involved?

Yes	48.9
No	34.1
Undecided	7.1

8. Do you favor returning a percentage of the Federal tax money to State and local governments to be used as they see fit?

Yes	60.2
No	22.0
Undecided	7.7

9. Has the war on poverty been successful in helping the poor?

No	72.3
Yes	8.6
Undecided	10.1

10. Which, if any, of the President's farm proposals do you favor?

Establish national food reserves	36.2
Establish Federal bargaining authority	15.3
Permanent extension of price supports	9.8

11. Would you permit the police under court supervision to use wiretapping and other electronic devices to solve crimes of violence and subversion?

Yes	76.5
No	10.7
Undecided	3.3

12. In dealing with civil disorder, which do you favor?

Stricter handling of rioters and demonstrators by police and courts	66.1
More programs for improvement of slum areas	13.5
Enforcement of existing laws by the administration	10.4

SERVICE ACADEMY APPOINTMENTS

Each member of Congress has the privilege of nominating a very small number of candidates each year for entrance into the U.S. Service Academies. We are proud to note that this year seven young men from the Seventh District have entered the academies.

Roger Aldrich, Terre Haute, and Brian Borders, Washington, have been admitted to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. William Bellinger and Thomas Mancuso, both of Terre Haute, have entered the U.S. Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs. William Kendall, Clinton, and Michael Lundblad, Bloomington, have reported to the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis. Jeffrey Hill, Terre Haute, was selected as a cadet to the U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

We have good reason to take pride in the calibre of these young men. We can take heart also from the patriotic fervor that motivates and inspires these men to want to serve our country in the Armed Forces.

These times demand great sacrifices from all Americans. Let us hope that our nation's school system will continue to produce young people of this high quality. If we succeed in doing this, we need have no fear for our country's future.

If you know of any high school boy who will graduate by June, 1969, and is interested in applying for one of the academies, please have him contact our office as soon as possible.

VISITORS

Normally, the City of Washington is filled with visitors at this time of year. However, because of the civil disorders, the number of persons has not been as great as had been expected.

Many persons from the district have indicated they are planning a trip to Washington before the start of the new school year. If you are among these, please let us know, and we will be happy to do all we can to make your trip more enjoyable.

Best wishes,

JOHN MYERS.

COST: $200 A YEAR AND WORK—A DIFFERENT KIND OF COLLEGE

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the House to an article which appeared recently in the U.S. News & World Report, July 22, 1968, entitled "Cost: $200 a Year and Work—A Different Kind of College." The article relates to a school without riots, a school where the poor can earn a college education. We, in the Missouri Ozarks are proud of what this college has done for the ambitious youth of our area who cannot otherwise afford a college education.

The article from the U.S. News & World Report follows:

COST: $200 A YEAR AND WORK—A DIFFERENT KIND OF COLLEGE

POINT LOOKOUT, Mo.—There are no anti-war protests, hippies or campus rebels at the School of the Ozarks.

The 800 students at this small accredited liberal-arts college—all from poor families that can't afford other colleges—work 20 hours a week all year long on college projects as varied as printing, furniture making and stone quarrying.

They do this while studying chemistry, history and other academic subjects around the calendar in this college founded by the Presbyterian Church. They come to school without cars and almost without cash. All get by on less than $200 a year, some on no money at all, thanks to scholarships. They buy their books and pay only a $10 activity fee. Working in one of 30 job classifications they earn board, room and tuition.

"You won't find any beards or longhairs here," says Dr. M. Graham Clark, president since 1952. "Our students have an identity because they have a job. They are somebody. They are not just numbers. They learn not only the discipline and dignity of work, but have the satisfaction that they have worked for what they have received."

Every student at the college recently signed a pledge of loyalty to U.S. troops in Vietnam. It was forwarded to Gen. William C. Westmoreland.

Mostly these students come from the hill country of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas. They come from families with an average income of about $3,000, some as low as $1,800. Financial need is the main requirement for admission, though 84 per cent of the incoming freshmen last year were in the top 50 per cent of their high-school graduating classes.

"We've turned down a lot of rich kids, including children of alumni and friends who have donated to the school," says Dr. Clark, whose college is not unlike the much older Berea College in Kentucky.

HARD TIMES

Students have come to Point Lookout from log houses and leantos, some even with dirt floors. Sometimes they're too embarrassed to tell of the poverty in which they have lived. Many come from homes devoid of books, newspapers or pictures on the wall.

Some arrive penniless. One boy received a total of $16 from home in three years at the school.

"We haven't had a dime from the Appalachia programs," says Townsend Godsey, the school's director of information services and assistant professor of English. "We have had a poverty program going for years with the help of thousands of small contributors."

Self-help has been the philosophy of the school since it was founded as a high school in 1906. Students have always spent part of their time in classrooms, part in duties assigned to them. The school became a junior college in 1956 and began phasing into a four-year institution in 1965. It awarded bachelor of arts or science degrees to 69 in 1967, to 86 in 1968.

About 70 per cent of these graduates have become teachers, mostly in the Ozarks area, at salaries of $4,800 to $5,800 a year.

Though some find life at Point Lookout tough, the college regularly gets 800 to 1,200 applications a year for 200 freshman-class openings—and dropouts are few.

At the School of the Ozarks, every student works—male and female. They punch time clocks. They don't get to go home between school terms or during Christmas vacations unless they are up on their work hours.

AROUND THE CLOCK

Because of the school's unique projects, there are some students working every hour of the day and night.

Students maintain the power plant around the clock. They begin milking the prize dairy herd of 80 cows at 1:30 a.m. In the summer, crews of young men may work all night moving irrigation sprinkler pipes.

Students drive trucks and tractors and do other tasks on a 1,200-acre farm that producers chickens, eggs, hogs and beef, most of it for the school dining hall. They operate the college slaughter plant, laundry, print shop, machine shop, hospital and bakery.

They make doll furniture and playground equipment for commercial sale. In the past they have made pews for 250 churches, including the school's new 2.5-million-dollar Gothic chapel.

They dig stone from the school's own quarry, make cast stone and do much of the labor in constructing the campus buildings, presently valued at 30 million dollars.

They run a radio station, operate a summer theater that brings outside dollars to the school, and do all campus-maintenance work.

Co-eds make candles and fruitcakes. They weave rugs, placemats and blankets. They work in the kitchens, wait on tables, do secretarial work and other traditional women's tasks.

This summer, School of the Ozarks men are operating big earth-moving machines building a 3,600-by-75-foot airstrip north of the campus after voters turned down several local airport bond issues. After the airport is finished, students will operate it.

OUTPUT GROWS

Production from school industries is substantial. In 1967, for example, it included:

Nearly 17,000 jars of jellies and preserves, a production the school expects to double this year with new cookers installed.

One million cans of beans and tomatoes processed in the school cannery. Canning has been discontinued because beans and tomatoes are no longer grown in volume in the area.

28 railway carloads of knocked-down doll furniture shipped for commercial sale.

1,200 woven articles.

22,864 pounds of fruitcake, an output that will be substantially increased this year with new equipment.

1,182,755 pounds of milk, about half of it sold in Arkansas.

125 head of beef, 500 hogs and 296 turkeys slaughtered and processed for the dining room.

For their work, students get a bookkeeping credit of $1.60 an hour. They can work extra hours and earn credit for medical and dental care and clothes. However, students' work accounts for only about half of the $3,000 annual cost per student.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Other help comes in the form of individual gifts. Some funds are received from the Presbyterian Church, and the income from 46 million dollars in endowment funds donated by various benefactors over the past 20 years.

Tourists often write out donation checks, sometimes for as much as $500. One Missourian, miffed by his own alma mater's apparent lack of appreciation for past favors, gave $10,000 for a temporary field house.

The school has no paid fund raisers, but does circulate a monthly magazine, printed by students, to 155,000 persons over the country who have shown interest in the Point Lookout campus.

Contributors receive fruitcake made by students as Christmas gifts each year—a total of 10 or 11 tons.

The School of the Ozarks has thus far remained free of bonded debt. Since 1960 it has added the 1,000-seat Gothic chapel, dominating the campus, also a library building, women's dormitory, swimming pool, and classroom-auditorium building. A men's dormitory, science building, student union and other buildings are under construction or to be started immediately. A field house is to be begun before the end of the year.

IMPROVING SCHOLARSHIP

The school is trying to improve its academic program, accredited in 1961 and 1965. One third of the faculty now have Ph.D. degrees, and by 1970 the hope is that this figure will reach one half. Several new courses are being added.

About half of the faculty members live in school-owned ranch-type houses provided at the nominal rental of $50 a month, including utilities. Staff members get other fringe benefits such as one free meal a day in the school dining hall—and milk and other items at reducd prices. One new faculty member figures these "fringes" are worth $2,500 a year to him.

Many like the Point Lookout campus because it offers good fishing and other nonmonetary advantages.

Dr. Paul D. Hines, associate professor of history who just joined the faculty here after resigning his post at Indiana University, said he went trout fishing in Lake Taneycomo at the western edge of the campus during five of his first seven days at Point Lookout.

Though the college is rather isolated geographically—located 50 miles south of Springfield, Mo., just north of the Arkansas line—and salaries are not as high as in many other institutions, it has been able to attract a faculty of varied backgrounds.

PERSONAL TOUCH

School officials know many students by first names. They take personal interest in students, often know a lot about their backgrounds and their jobs on campus.

All faculty members with academic rank serve as counselors—on the average to about 16 students. One student found counseling sessions so exciting he could hardly wait for his next appointment with his adviser—Dr. James F. Findlay, academic vice president of the School of the Ozarks, who came to Point Lookout after retiring as president of Drury College, Mo.

However, there are student gripes.

Some say work and study keep them so busy there's no time for fun, though the college has a variety of social and recreational activities, including square dancing, summer theater, intramural sports and formal dances.

The college also has intercollegiate basketball and track teams, but not a football team—because scrimmage would interfere with work. Some complain that they can't be off campus enough.

Two years ago students staged a sit-down protest outside the chapel, campaigning for more liberal hours and permission to bring cars on campus. Now students can be off the campus until 10 p.m. instead of 9:30. They must be in their dorms by 10:30 p.m. But the ban on cars remains.

Carol Clinton of Willow Springs, Mo., editor of the school yearbook and senior English major, says students' main gripe is:

"They don't really listen to what we want. There's a pretty strong feeling among students that they are not as important as they should be. The college is run on donations. Tourists are always coming through. . . . [Students] feel they are being put on display when they shouldn't be."

"PRETTY ROUGH"

This is the way Francis Wheeler, student-body president and senior speech major from Emmetsburg, Iowa, sums up the situation:

"When I first came here I felt the administration was pretty rough on students. But more and more they're giving students freedom, helping us to earn these freedoms.

"More and more we see they are trying to help us. Dr. Clark is behind the students all the way. On the whole, kids are pretty happy. They have their gripes and complaints, but this is a normal thing in life. If it hadn't been for School of the Ozarks, I wouldn't be in college."

LET'S ENFORCE OUR LABOR LAWS FAIRLY

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the August edition of the Reader's Digest contains an interesting and provocative article by Mr. George Denison and Mr. William Schulz, entitled, "Let's Enforce Our Labor Laws Fairly" and I include the article in the RECORD at this point:

LET'S ENFORCE OUR LABOR LAWS FAIRLY

(By George Denison and William Schulz)

Unions have rights. So does management, and the individual worker himself. But the National Labor Relations Board, in judging between them, displays such flagrant bias that our free-bargaining system is seriously threatened.

Late last March, members of a Senate subcommittee filed into a hearing room on Capitol Hill to open a long-overdue investigation. Their task: to probe the increasingly powerful "administrative agencies" that constitute what subcommittee chairman Sam J. Ervin, Jr., terms the "headless fourth branch of government." Examined first was the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), the little-publicized agency which exerts far-reaching influence over the entire economy.

Sen. Robert Griffin, co-author of the Landrum-Griffin Act and a top labor expert, was the subcommittee's lead-off witness. Citing case after case to demonstrate the unabashed pro-union bias of many NLRB decisions, he said: "Those who suffer from the Board's twisted and distorted rulings are individual workers, small businessmen and the public at large." Such criticism is by no means isolated. Even the federal courts, which traditionally defer to the Board's "expertise" in labor matters, have become alarmed.

Created by the Wagner Act 33 years ago, the NLRB is supposed to promote industrial harmony by administering statutes designed to protect workers' rights and equalize the bargaining powers of labor and management. It is headed by five members, Presidentially appointed for five-year terms, who act as judges, ruling upon "unfair labor practice" complaints filed by employers, unions, or workers themselves. The NLRB's 2333 employees, scattered in 43 offices from Washington to San Francisco, handle 30,000 cases annually, ranging from a nationwide copper strike to a minor squabble in a small-town bakery.

During its early years, when the preponderance of power was clearly on the side of management, the Board firmly established the right of collective bargaining—safeguarding union members from harassment, reprimanding anti-labor employers. Under its protection, organized labor grew from struggling infant to strapping adult, with muscle enough to overpower management. So in 1947 and again in 1959, Congress enacted legislation (the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts) to restore the balance of power. These laws outlawed some of big labor's most powerful weapons—the closed shop, secondary boycotts, blackmail picketing—while reestablishing the rights of management and of the individual worker.

Double Standards. But the record shows that the intent of Congress has been systematically thwarted. In case after case the NLRB has demonstrated what its former chairman Guy Farmer terms a "dual standard"—sanctioning union abuses, but restricting management rights. In fact, says Farmer, the delicate balance between labor and management has been so altered that "the process of free collective bargaining is rapidly approaching a complete breakdown."

So flagrant is the Board's bias that, frequently, the courts are overturning its decisions. Consider these recent cases:

Pickets of the United Mechanics Union engaged in repeated violence during a New York strike. They assaulted non-strikers and beat elderly Emanuel Lipetz, the employer, so savagely that he was incapacitated for five and a half months. Was the union disciplined, then? No. The NLRB minimized the attacks as mere "outbursts," while finding *Lipetz* guilty of an unfair labor practice for refusing to bargain. This was too much for the U.S. Court of Appeals, which reversed the Board on these points.

The owners of a bathing-suit-manufacturing company in New York sold the business and shipped its machinery to a Florida firm they had just formed. The International Ladies Garment Workers, who represented the New York employes, complained to the NLRB that the sale was a deliberate company attempt to avoid dealing with the union. The Board agreed. But whom did it punish? Not the company but the Florida workers, whom it forced to join the ILGWU—depriving them of any choice in the matter. A federal court reversed the Board's action, with a sharp rejoinder that the NLRB is by law bound to protect the "rights of the workers to choose" their own unions.

A Michigan firm was found guilty of an unfair labor practice in opposing an organization drive of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. But the NLRB went far beyond the usual cease-and-desist order. It required the employer to assemble his employes and to read them a "confession of sins" written for him by NLRB staffers. A U.S. court of appeals overruled this as "ignominy, incompatible with the democratic principles of the dignity of man."

Concern over the Board's deep-seated bias is widespread. "In its zeal to enhance the power of no-longer-struggling unions, the Board has ignored basic justice and trampled cherished freedoms," declares Dr. Herbert R. Northrup, industrial-relations professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. Television newsman David Brinkley adds, "It is supposed to be an unbiased adjudicating body. It usually behaves like a department of the AFL–CIO, and is about as neutral as George Meany."

CONSUMER COSTS GO UP

NLRB interpretations of the law have a pervasive effect on the national economy. For example, a Philadelphia contractor thought he could save time and money by purchasing 3600 prefabricated doors for a large housing project. But union carpenters balked, insisting that ready-made doors were barred under their contract. The contractor had no alternative but to purchase blank doors, which the carpenters then cut and finished themselves—at an additional cost of thousands of dollars.

Such boycotts were thought to be outlawed by the Landrum-Griffin Act. But the Board legitimized the carpenters' action on the ground that unions have an inalienable right to "preserve" their work. The Supreme Court upheld the Board in a 5–4 decision, thus legalizing similar boycotts and featherbedding from coast to coast.

In Minneapolis, plumbers and pipefitters prevented builders from using factory-assembled boilers until all of the controls, gauges and valves had been removed and had been reassembled by them as specified in their contract. In New York, sheetmetal workers refused to handle any air-conditioning equipment that was not manufactured by local union members. Carpenters in another Midwestern city want to restrict the use of all prefabricated items in home construction. Such restrictions can add from $3000 to $6000 to the cost of a $25,000 home. "Housing costs may well climb out of the reach of the mass market," warns Prof. Sylvester Petro of New York University. "Underemployment will plague not only the construction industry but many related areas of the economy."

FREE SPEECH HAS TWO SIDES

Although he later denied it, President James Carey of the International Union of Electrical Workers was quoted in the summer of 1959 as saying, "I owe General Electric a strike." A year later Carey made good his vow, pulling out 70,000 employes and shutting down the nation's third-largest firm. When GE fought back, launching a massive campaign to explain its side of the dispute and its settlement terms to the union rank-and-file, Carey's strike collapsed. IUE members accepted the company offer by an overwhelming vote.

Four years later, however, the NLRB ruled GE's campaign illegal decreeing it an unfair labor practice to convince workers "that the employer rather than the union is the true protector of their interests." Though finding nothing "coercive," it condemned GE for attempts to "disparage" the union. Yet it saw nothing wrong with an IUE campaign which systematically slandered GE as "greedy," "arrogant" and "ruthless." Commented the Tulsa *Tribune*: "In one of its most lopsided decisions, the Board has apparently decreed that while union leaders may lie as they choose about the boss, the boss is engaged in an 'unfair labor practice' if he defends himself."

High-handed as it was, the GE decision came as no surprise. In a whole series of rulings dealing with union representation elections, the Board has in effect forbidden employers from giving workers the full side of their story. Former NLRB member Gerard D. Reilly says, "Such rulings not only demonstrate the Board's double standard but have made a mockery of the free-speech guarantees of Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin."

WHO IS THE MANAGER?

The Fibreboard Paper Products Corp. discovered that it could cut costs by 30 percent at its Emeryville, Calif., plant by "contracting out" the maintenance operations to another firm. Fifty union workers were laid off as a consequence. The steelworkers union which represented them appealed to the NLRB, charging that Fibreboard had committed an "unfair labor practice" by not conferring with the union first. The Board rejected the argument.

That was March 1961. But one year later, after a change in its membership, the Board reconsidered. This time it found the action of the company illegal. It ordered Fibreboard to reinstate its inefficient maintenance operation, rehire the 50 employes and *then* bargain over the decision to contract out the work.

Similarly, an automobile manufacturer was slapped down for "unilaterally" changing the method of moving cars off the assembly line. And in an even more ridiculous case, the Board ruled that an employer must bargain with the union over a one-cent increase in the price of coffee at the company cafeteria. (The last decision was thrown out by the courts.)

As NLRB member Ray Rodgers, dissenting in the Fibreboard case, pointed out, such rulings wreak havoc with management's right to manage. "It is difficult to foresee any economic action which management will be free to take of its own volition—whether it be the discontinuance of an unprofitable line, the closing of an unnecessary facility or the abandonment of an outmoded procedure." The disturbing implications for our entire economy cannot be exaggerated.

BLACKMAIL MAKES A COMEBACK

A decade ago, millions watched on television as Congressional investigators led by Sen. John McClellan uncovered case after case where labor-union racketeers had forced weak-kneed employers to deal with their union—robbing the workers of any choice in the matter. A favorite tactic: have pickets block deliveries and choke off business, then demand that the owner impose the union on his men as the price for having the sign carriers removed.

Congress, in the Landrum-Griffin Act, thought that it had outlawed this "blackmail picketing." But since 1961, NLRB rulings have allowed picketing for the purpose of "truthfully advising the public" that a certain place is "non-union." Exploiting this loophole, "blackmail" pickets now march again in front of businesses across the country.

Jesse Stephens' troubles began in February 1967, when the International Association of Machinists lost a representational election at his Orange, Texas, auto agency. "I'll get you one way or another," warned a union leader, and a month later he threw up a picket line accusing Stephens of anti-union discrimination. The NLRB found that the union charge was baseless; nonetheless, it refused to stop the picketing, terming it "informational." Finally, after 76 days, a Texas court issued an injunction against the picketing. (The union is appealing, claiming the state court has no jurisdiction.) "I lost $25,000 which I'll never recover, and was forced to lay off loyal employees," Stephens says. "Doesn't the NLRB realize that *we* have some rights, too?"

PUSHING THE WORKER AROUND

The bedrock philosophy underlying the nation's labor-relations law is that every workingman should be protected in his right to join—or not to join—others in union activity. But the NLRB undercuts this principle by repeatedly placing the claims of labor unions ahead of the rights of individual workers.

Consider the treatment meted out to a group of United Auto Workers members at Milwaukee's huge Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. On February 2, 1959, thousands left their plant to attend a strike-vote meeting, only to see pickets marching. "The strike was already on," recalls UAW member Harvey Bolton (not his real name). "The meeting was a sham; anyone opposed to striking was hooted down."

Incensed at being pushed around, Bolton and 170 other union members refused to strike, faced jeers and threats to cross picket lines and keep working. The UAW tried the dissenters, slapping them with fines of up to $100. They brought charges against the union for violating their rights, and in 1964 the Board conceded that the union action was "coercive." Nevertheless, it upheld the fines as an "internal union matter."

The Board's decision—subsequently upheld 5 to 4 by the Supreme Court—has given other union officials the go-ahead. In Kansas City, Mo., six members of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists handed in their resignations and crossed a picket line to continue working at TV station WDAF. Union officials arbitrarily rejected the resignations, then socked the six with fines ranging from $10,000 to $20,000. When the embattled workers appealed to the NLRB last year, it refused even to consider their case, citing Allis-Chalmers as precedent.

"Individual workers have increasingly been ignored by the very Board set up to protect them," says onetime NLRB general counsel Theophil Kammholz. Consider the case of steelworker Dick Price, 34, part Oklahoma Indian, who began working as a helper at Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel's Santa Clara, Calif., plant in 1951. He joined the United Steelworkers Union, advanced one rung at a time, finally became a crane operator. But as the years passed, he became disillusioned with the union. "It didn't fight for us," he says. He voiced his criticisms—and soon found himself bypassed when better jobs at the plant opened up. So in 1964, Price—after getting NLRB assurance that he had every right to do so—led a group seeking to replace the Steelworkers with a more aggressive union by circulating a decertification petition.

Leaders of the local reacted immediately. They put Price on trial for undermining the union. At a specially called meeting, they gaveled down a request for a secret ballot and (with less than a third of the membership present) Price was convicted 20–15. Suspended from the union, hit with a $500 fine, he was even charged the cost of his "trial."

After Price asked the Labor Board for protection, his fine was dropped. Meanwhile, he was the target of continued harassment. When he left work for an operation for a back injury sustained in an automobile accident, the company refused to take him back, claiming he couldn't do the work. Then in August 1965 came the crushing news: the NLRB stated that the union's "disciplinary action" against Price was permissible because his petition threatened the union's "very existence."

"The NLRB listened to the company and to the union," Price says. "They paid no attention to me."

Time to Move. Obviously, reform is desperately needed, to restore the balance of power so essential to industrial peace. As former NLRB chairman Farmer warned recently: "The public interest, which stands above the interest of either labor or management, demands that a climate be recreated in which the negotiations of settlements can be carried out by management and labor on terms of approximate equality."

Three steps must be taken:

1. Congress must immediately indicate that it will no longer tolerate the Board's blatant disregard of its legislative will. All provisions of the labor law must be enforced, and workers' rights protected.

2. Both houses of Congress should begin a full-scale review of the labor law to determine how it can more effectively protect the public interest. Senator Griffin would replace the NLRB with a Labor Court, its judges appointed for 20-year terms. Others would turn labor cases over to the U.S. district courts. Both proposals have merit.

3. Meanwhile, the White House must act to restore judicious, nonpartisan administration to the Board. One member's term expires this August, another's expires in December, 1969. By filling these vacancies with men who will enforce the law as it is written, the President can go a long way toward curbing abuses.

"Something must be done, and soon," says Senator Griffin. "The NLRB story is a chilling case history of what can happen when a federal agency arrogantly thwarts the law."

DEMOCRATIC STUDY GROUP REPORTS PROGRESS OF MAJOR LEGISLATION TO AUGUST 1, 1968

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD a summary of the major legislation considered by the 90th Congress to date. The summary was prepared by the staff of the Democratic study group, as follows:

REPORT ON STATUS OF MAJOR LEGISLATION, 90TH CONGRESS

This report summarizes the major legislation enacted or pending before the 90th Congress. It includes a Congressional Boxscore giving the status of legislation as of August 1, a brief summary of major bills enacted or awaiting further action, and a summary chart of the appropriation bills.

CONGRESSIONAL BOXSCORE

Bill	House	Senate	Status
Civil rights and civil liberties:			
Civil Rights Commission, (Public Law 90-198)	Passed July 11, 1967	Passed Nov. 1, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 14, 1967.
Federal Jury Reform Act of 1968 (Public Law 90-274)	Passed Feb. 26, 1968	Passed Dec. 8, 1967	Signed into law Mar. 27, 1968.
Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Public Law 90-284)	Passed Aug. 16, 1967	Passed Mar. 11, 1968	Signed into law Apr. 11, 1968.
Congressional matters:			
Standards of official conduct (H. Res. 1099)	Passed Apr. 3, 1968		In effect.
Standards for congressional district (Public Law 90-196)	Passed Oct. 17, 1967	Passed Nov. 8, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 14, 1967.
Special Committee To Investigate and Report on Campaign Expenditures of Candidates for the House of Representatives (H. Res. 1239).	Reported from Rules Committee July 10, 1968.		
Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 (S. 355)	Pending in Rules Committee	Passed Mar. 7, 1967	
Election Reform Act (H.R. 11233)	Reported from House Administration Committee June 27, 1968.		
Conservation:			
Air Quality Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-148)	Passed Nov. 2, 1967	Passed July 18, 1967	Signed into law Nov. 21, 1967.
Nuclear desalting plant (Public Law 90-18)	Passed Apr. 20, 1967	Passed Feb. 6, 1967	Signed into law May 19, 1967.
National Trail System Act (H.R. 4865)	Passed July 15, 1968	Passed July 1, 1968	
Redwood Park bill (S. 2515)	do	Passed Nov. 1, 1967	In conference.
National Water Commission (S. 20)	Passed July 12, 1967	Passed Feb. 6, 1967	Do.
Scenic Rivers (H.R. 18260)	Failed of passage under suspension of the rules (Sept. 15, 1968).		
Colorado River Basin project (S. 1004)	Passed May 16, 1968	Passed Aug. 7, 1967	Conference report filed.
Consumer:			
Consumer Credit Protection Act (Public Law 90-321)	Passed Feb. 1, 1968	Passed July 11, 1967	Signed into law May 29, 1968.
Clinical Laboratories Improvement Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-174)	Passed Sept. 20, 1967	Passed Nov. 6, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 5, 1967.
Flammable Fabric Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-189)	Passed Nov. 27, 1967	Passed July 27, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 14, 1967.
Fire Research and Safety Act (Public Law 90-259)	Passed Feb. 8, 1968	Passed Aug. 16, 1967	Signed into law Mar. 4, 1968.
National Commission on Product Safety (Public Law 90-146)	Passed Nov. 6, 1967	Passed June 6, 1967	Signed into law Nov. 20, 1967.
Wholesome Meat Act (Public Law 90-201)	Passed Oct. 31, 1967	Passed Nov. 28, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 15, 1967.

CONGRESSIONAL BOXSCORE—Continued

Bill	House	Senate	Status
Consumer:—Continued			
Automobile insurance study and investigation (Public Law 90-313)	Passed May 7, 1968	Passed Apr. 10, 1968	Signed into law May 22, 1968.
Interstate land sales full disclosure (Public Law 90-448)		Passed May 28, 1968	Signed into law Aug. 1, 1968.
Wholesome Poultry Products Act (H.R. 16363)	Passed July 1, 1968	Passed July 29, 1968	
Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968 (S. 1166)	Passed July 2, 1968	Passed Nov. 9, 1967	Awaiting President's signature.
Crime:			
Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act (Public Law 90-351)	Passed Aug. 8, 1967	Passed May 24, 1968	Signed into law June 18 1968.
Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials (Public Law 90-100).	Passed Aug. 7, 1967	Passed May 11, 1967	Signed into law Oct. 3, 1967
Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act (Public Law 90-445)	Passed Sept. 26, 1967	Passed July 8, 1968	Signed into law July 31, 1968.
State Firearms Control Assistance Act (H.R. 17735)	Passed July 24, 1968		
Joint Committee to Investigate Crime (H.J. Res. 1)	Passed July 12, 1968		
Drug Abuse Amendments (H.R. 14096)	do	Referred to Committee	Awaiting Senate action.
Economic development:			
Appalachian Regional Development Act (Public Law 90-103)	Passed Aug. 14, 1967	Passed Aug. 27, 1967	Signed into law Oct. 11, 1967.
Education training and antipoverty:			
Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-129)	Passed Sept. 21, 1967	Passed May 17, 1967	Signed into law Nov. 7, 1967.
Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-247)	Passed May 25, 1967	Passed Dec. 11, 1967	Signed into law Jan. 2, 1968.
Teacher Corps Extension (Public Law 90-35)	Passed June 27, 1967	Passed June 28, 1967	Signed into law June 29, 1967.
Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-99)	Passed Aug. 21, 1967	Passed Sept. 20, 1967	Signed into law Oct. 3, 1967.
Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1968 (Public Law 90-391)	Passed May 6, 1968	Passed June 24, 1968	Signed into law June 25, 1968.
National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act Amendments of 1968 (Public Law 90-348).	Passed Feb. 27, 1968	Passed May 7, 1968	Signed into law June 18, 1968.
Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-222)	Passed Nov. 15, 1967	Passed Oct. 5, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 23, 1967.
Higher Education Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15067)	Passed July 25, 1968	Passed July 15, 1968	In conference.
Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 18366)	Passed July 15, 1968	Passed July 17, 1968	Do.
Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15045).	Reported June 27, 1967	Reported July 20, 1967	
Guaranteed Employment Act of 1968 (H.R. 12280)	Hearings in progress	Hearings in progress	
Federal employees:			
Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-206)	Passed Oct. 11, 1967	Passed Nov. 29, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 16, 1967.
Federal employee protection against invasion of privacy (S. 1035)		Passed Sept. 13, 1967	
Removal of Federal or District of Columbia employees committing unlawful acts related to riots and civil disorders (H.R. 17267).	Reported May 23, 1968		
Foreign and defense policy:			
Peace Corps authorization (Public Law 90-175)	Passed Oct. 23, 1967	Passed May 15, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 5, 1967.
Arms Control and Disarmament Act (Public Law 90-314)	Passed Mar. 6, 1968	Passed Apr. 22, 1968	Signed into law May 23, 1968.
Emergency food assistance to India (Public Law 90-7)	Passed Mar. 9, 1967	Passed Mar. 20, 1967	Signed into law Apr. 1, 1967.
Inter-American Development Bank Act amendments (Public Law 90-88)	Passed July 26, 1967	Passed Aug. 24, 1967	Signed into law Sept. 22, 1967.
Export-Import Bank Act extension (Public Law 90-267)	Passed Feb. 7, 1968	Passed Aug. 11, 1967	Signed into law Mar. 13, 1968.
Export-Import Bank (Public Law 90-390)	Passed June 12, 1968	Passed June 18, 1968	Signed into law July 7, 1968.
Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-40)	Passed May 25, 1967	Passed May 11, 1967	Signed into law June 30, 1967.
Uniform Services Pay Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-207)	Passed Oct. 26, 1967	Passed Nov. 29, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 8, 1967.
Military construction authorization, 1969 (Public Law 90-408)	Passed Apr. 25, 1968	Passed June 25, 1968	Signed into law July 21, 1968.
Foreign Assistance Act of 1968 (H.R. 15263)	Passed July 18, 1968	Passed July 31, 1968	
Military Procurement Act (S. 3293)	Passed July 11, 1968	Passed Apr. 19. 1968	In conference.
Foreign Military Sales Act (H.R. 15681)	Reported July 3, 1968		
Health and welfare:			
Social Security Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-248)	Passed Aug. 17, 1967	Passed Nov. 22, 1967	Signed into law Jan. 2, 1968.
Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-42)	Passed June 19, 1967	Passed June 28, 1967	Signed into law July 1, 1967.
Mental Health Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-31)	Passed May 17, 1967	Passed June 8, 1967	Signed into law June 24, 1967
Mental Retardation Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-170)	Passed Sept. 20. 1967	Passed Nov. 6, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 4, 1967.
Partnership for Health Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-174)	do	do	Signed into law Dec. 5, 1967.
National Eye Institute (H.R. 12843)	Passed Aug. 1, 1968		
Health Manpower Act of 1968 (H.R. 15757)	do	Passed June 24, 1968	
Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1968 (H.R. 17748)	Reported July 16, 1968		
Public Health Service Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15758)	Passed July 12, 1968	Passed June 24, 1968	In conference.
National School Lunch Act Amendments (H.R. 17872)	Passed July 1, 1968	Passed July 17, 1968	Do.
National School Lunch Act (H.R 17873)	do	do	Do.
Housing:			
Housing and Urban Development Act, 1968 (Public Law 90-448)	Passed July 10, 1968	Passed May 28, 1968	Signed into law Aug. 1, 1968.
Labor:			
Monday holidays (Public Law 90-363)	Passed May 9, 1968	Passed June 24, 1968	Signed into law June 28, 1968.
Situs picketing (H.R. 100)	Reported May 4, 1967		
Coverage of agricultural workers under the National Labor Relations Act (H.R. 16014).	Reported Apr. 3, 1968		
Public Works:			
Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968 (S. 3418)	Passed July 3, 1968	Passed July 1, 1968	Awaiting President's signature.
Rivers and Harbors Flood Control Act, 1968 (S. 3710)	Passed July 15, 1968	Passed July 2, 1968	Do.
Accessibility of Federal buildings to the physically handicapped (S. 222)	Passed June 7, 1968	Passed Aug. 25, 1967	Do.
Taxation:			
Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (Public Law 90-364)	Passed Feb. 23, 1968	Passed Apr. 2, 1968	Signed into law June 28, 1968.
Interest Equalization Tax (Public Law 90-219)	Passed Mar. 15, 1967	Passed July 25, 1967	Signed into law July 31, 1967.
Investment Tax Credit (Public Law 90-26)	Passed Mar. 16, 1967	Passed May 9, 1967	Signed into law June 13, 1967.
Interstate Taxation Act (H.R. 2158)	Passed May 22, 1968		
Foreign Travel Tax (H.R. 16241)	Passed Apr. 4, 1965		
Veterans:			
Veterans Pensions and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967	Passed Mar. 20, 1967	Passed Feb. 7, 1967	Signed into law Aug. 31, 1967.
Veterans Mortgage Insurance Act (Public Law 90-301)	Passed Mar. 26, 1968	Passed Apr. 19, 1968	Signed into law May 7. 1968.
Service-Connected Compensation Increase for Veterans (H.R. 16027)	Passed June 6, 1968	Passed July 31, 1968	

AGRICULTURE

Awaiting further action

Extension of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 (H.R. 17126): As passed by the House, this measure extends for one year, through 1970, the basic Administration farm policy. The act provides supports for corn, wheat, feed grain, milk, wool and mohair. In addition, it provides for voluntary crop reduction programs for wheat, cotton and rice. A crop adjustment program provides payments to farmers who divert their entire crop and take conservation steps. By floor amendment the House limited total payments to any one farmer to $20,000.

Extension of the Food Stamp Program (H.R. 18249): As passed by the House, this measure provides a four-year extension of the Food Stamp Program, through fiscal year 1972. It authorizes funds as needed to carry out the program and prohibits participation by strikers or students unless they were eligible for Food Stamps before striking or entering college.

American Hunger Commission Act (H.R. 17144): As passed by the House, this measure would establish a Commission on Hunger to undertake a complete study of the unfilled needs of persons suffering from hunger, it would recommend measures (1) to secure greater use of federal food programs by state and local agencies and (2) to establish a coordinated program to insure the fullfillment of the basic hunger needs of every American. The Commission would be composed of eleven members appointed by the President and would have subpoena power. Its report would be due January 1, 1969.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Enacted

Civil Rights Commission (P.L. 90-198): P.L. 90-198 extends the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission through January, 1973. The Commission, which conducts studies and prepares reports on civil rights problems, would have gone out of existence at the end of January, 1968.

Federal Jury Reform Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-274): The Federal Jury Reform Act requires that jury panels from which federal juries are drawn be selected at random from a "fair cross section of the community" in which they are empaneled. The Act also specifically prohibits discrimination in jury selection on account of race, color, religion, national origin or economic status.

Civil Rights Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-284): The Omnibus Civil Rights Act contains fair housing and civil rights protection guarantees, an Indian bill of rights and antiriot provisions.

The fair housing provisions, when fully effective in January, 1970, will prohibit discrimination in the sale or rental of about

80 percent of all housing. The provisions cover all multiple-unit dwellings of two, three and four units which are not owner occupied. They also cover most single family housing and most federally assisted housing. Exempted from coverage by the fair housing provisions are some 5.5 million owner-occupied multiple dwellings (often called "Mrs. Murphy" units) which have four or less units and 7.6 million owner-occupied single-family homes sold or rented without the services of a real estate agent.

The civil rights protection provisions of the Act provide federal protection for persons exercising such rights as voting, jury duty, school attendance, employment or use of public facilities and accommodations. The Indian bill of rights provisions guarantee Indians the full protection of the Constitution.

The anti-riot provisions establish federal penalties for crossing a state line or using the facilities of interstate commerce to incite a riot, and for teaching the use, application or making of a firearm or explosive with the intent that the firearm or explosive would be used in a riot. They also make it a federal crime to interfere with a law enforcement officer or fireman performing his official duties during a riot.

The major House vote on the legislation was taken on April 10, 1968, when the House voted to agree to the Senate version of the bill and send the legislation on to the President. The original House version of the bill contained only the rights protection guarantees, while the Senate version contained these guarantees plus the fair housing, Indian rights and anti-riot provisions.

Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–202): The Age Discrimination in Employment Act makes it unlawful for an employer of 25 or more persons, an employment agency or a labor union to (1) discriminate against an individual between the ages of 40 and 65 because of his age or (2) publish a notice or advertisement indicating any preference, limitation, specification or discrimination based on age. These prohibitions are not applicable, however, in cases where age is a bona fide qualification for employment.

CONGRESSIONAL MATTERS

Enacted

Standards of Official Conduct (H. Res. 1099): This resolution amends House rules to: 1) Establish a Code of Official Conduct; 2) Require disclosure of certain outside income and investments; and 3) Make the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct a standing committee with investigative and enforcement powers.

The eight-point code of conduct—which applies to both members and employees—forbids accepting "gifts of substantial value" from parties with a direct interest in legislation; receiving compensation as a result of using their official position to exert improper influence; accepting an honorarium in excess of what is "usual and customary;" keeping anyone on the public payroll "who does not perform duties commensurate with the compensation he receives;" and converting campaign funds to personal use except as reimbursement "for legitimate and verifiable prior campaign expenditures." The code requires that campaign funds be kept separate from personal funds, and that all proceeds from events such as testimonials be treated as campaign contributions unless donors and participants are given "clear notice in advance . . . that the proceeds are intended for other purposes."

The financial disclosure provision—which covers Members and officers of the House, their employees and professional committee staff members—requires disclosure of major outside sources of income or investments. The basic information on income and investments would be open to public inspection. Details, however, would be filed with the Standards Committee on a confidential basis.

Standards for Congressional Districts (P. L. 90–196): This Act bans at large elections in all states having more than one Representative. Hawaii and New Mexico are exempted from this ban in 1968.

Awaiting further action

Special Committee to Investigate and Report on Campaign Expenditures of Candidate for the House of Representatives (H. Res. 1239): This legislation creates a 5-member Committee to be appointed by the Speaker to investigate the extent and nature of expenditures made by candidates for the House of Representatives in connection with their campaigns. The Resolution authorizes the Committee to investigate all contributions and expenditures by individuals, groups, businesses, and labor unions on behalf of candidates. The measure is scheduled to come up on the House floor during the week of July 29.

Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 (S. 355): This Senate-passed bill provides for changes in committee procedures and certain operations of Congress and for a broader application of the lobby registration law.

Election Reform Act (H.R. 11233): This measure as reported overhauls the Federal Election laws pertaining to campaign fund raising and spending in Federal elections. The bill requires full disclosure of political contributions and expenditures by candidates and political committees. A five member bipartisan Federal Elections Commission is established. Honorariums in excess of $100 would be required to be reported to the Commission and all reports filed would be open for public inspection and copying.

CONSERVATION

Enacted

Air Quality Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–148): The Air Quality Act provides for: (1) the designation of air quality control regions by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; (2) the expansion of existing programs for the development of air quality criteria; and (3) the publication of the control techniques used to achieve various levels of air quality.

The legislation authorizes $428 million for federal air pollution efforts over the three year period, fiscal 1968–70. Of this amount, $140 million is a reauthorization of previously unappropriated funds.

Nuclear Desalting Plant (P.L. 90–18): This legislation provides for the construction of a nuclear power and desalting plant in Southern California, and authorizes $57.2 million as the Interior Department's share of the estimated cost of $444.3 million. The plant is to be built in cooperation with the Atomic Energy Commission, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, and three public utility corporations. Congress has already appropriated the AEC's $15 million share of the project. This plant will be the first large scale application of nuclear energy to the desalting process. It is expected to produce 150 million gallons of fresh water daily by 1977.

Awaiting further action

National Trail System Act (H.R. 4865): This act establishes a national trial system composed of National Recreation Trails near urban areas and National Scenic Trails in more remote areas. Both systems will be linked into the national system.

Redwood Park Bill (S. 2515): S. 2515, as passed by the House, establishes a Redwood National Park of approximately 28,400 acres in Northern California. The park would incorporate 24 miles of coast line and 4 miles of scenic corridor. The Senate-passed Redwood bill provides a park of 61,600 acres.

National Water Commission (S. 20): The legislation creates a non-federal National Water Commission to review such U.S. water resource problems as future supply and pollution.

Scenic Rivers (H.R. 18260): H.R. 18260 establishes a national scenic rivers system composed of six rivers: the Rogue in Oregon, the Clearwater and the Middle Fork of the Salmon in Idaho, the Rio Grande in New Mexico, the Wolf in Wisconsin, and the St. Croix in Minnesota and Wisconsin. It provides that the rivers included in the system are to be preserved in their natural state and used for æsthetic and recreational purposes. The legislation also lists twenty-eight river sections as potential additions to the system and forbids federal licensing of power or water resource projects on the parts of the rivers designated for a period of five years following passage of the act, and three additional years if a study of the river is being made. If the Secretary of the Interior determines that the river should not be included in the system, the limits will not apply. The measure has not passed either House.

Colorado River Basin Project (S. 1004): S. 1004 authorizes construction of the Central Arizona project and five other water projects in the Colorado River Basin. The Central Arizona project is aimed at increasing the supply of water to Arizona, both for irrigation purposes and for use of growing metropolitan areas. The project includes a complicated water supply system, but will not include dams in the Grand Canyon. The conference report is awaiting House and Senate approval.

CONSUMER PROGRAMS

Enacted

Clinical Laboratories Improvement Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–174): This measure authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish minimum performance standards for all clinical laboratories engaged in interstate commerce and permits the Secretary to bring court action against any licensed laboratory that represents an imminent danger to public health.

Consumer Credit Protection Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–321): This measure requires lenders and retail creditors to provide full disclosure of the terms and conditions of finance charges in most credit transactions and offers to extend credit. The new law requires disclosure of interest rates on all revolving charge accounts on both a monthly and annual basis where the monthly charge is over $.50, imposes a federal limit on garnishment of wages and prohibits the discharge of a worker based on a single garnishment, provides a strict federal anti-loan sharking provision, and creates a bipartisan National Commission on Consumer Finance to study the consumer finance industry and report its findings to the President and the Congress.

Flammable Fabrics Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–189): This measure extends the 1953 Act to cover all items of wearing apparel and fabrics used in household furnishings. It empowers the Secretary of Commerce to issue basic standards for the flammability of fabrics when he determines the standards are necessary to protect the public interest. The measure authorizes $1.5 million for fiscal 1968 and $2.3 million for each of the fiscal years 1969 and 1970.

Fire Research and Safety Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–259): This measure authorizes the National Bureau of Standards to conduct studies into the causes of fires and the methods of controlling them and directs the Bureau to establish programs to educate the public on fire hazards and fire safety techniques.

National Commission on Product Safety (1967, P.L. 90–146): This measure provides for a seven member Commission appointed by the President and directed to identify categories of household products which may represent an unreasonable hazard to consumers. The Commission is also directed to determine the effectiveness and extent of state and local product safety laws and to report to the President and the Congress as to its findings and recommendations. The measure authorizes $2 million over the two-year life of the Commission.

Wholesome Meat Act of 1967 (P.L. 90-201): The Wholesome Meat Act provides federal aid to states which upgrade their meat inspection procedures. It updates and strengthens federal inspection standards and requires states to meet standards "at least equal to" the federal standards within two years. If a state does not do so, the Secretary of Agriculture is empowered to assume all inspection and enforcement duties within its borders. The measure also grants the Department of Agriculture authority under court order to seize and detain the illegal sale of meat from diseased, dying, dead or disabled animals.

Automobile Insurance Study and Investigation (P.L. 90-313): This measure authorizes the Department of Transportation to conduct a comprehensive study of the auto insurance industry and, in particular, the existing compensation system for motor vehicles.

Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act (P.L. 90-488): This provision of the Housing and Development Act of 1968 is designed to prevent fraudulent interstate sales of subdivided but undeveloped land. Developers would be required to file with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development a statement of record as to the title to the property, its physical characteristics and its accessibility to roads and utilities. A property report including much of this information would have to be presented to any prospective buyer who does not visit the property. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development would be empowered to seek injunctive relief to prevent violations of the Act.

Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968 (S. 1166): The Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act directs the Secretary of Transportation to establish minimum safety standards for the transportation of gas by pipeline, for gas storage, and for pipeline facilities used in the transportation and treatment of gas. The bill requires persons engaged in the transportation of pipeline to comply with the standards, to file a plan for inspection, make accident reports and access to records. The standards apply to existing pipeline only if the Secretary of Transportation finds that a "particular hazard" exists. The Secretary would enforce the Act with respect to interstate lines. All other enforcement would be undertaken by the state either by agreement or upon certification by the state that its standards are as stringent as the federal standard.

The legislation cleared Congress on July 31, and is awaiting the President's signature.

Awaiting further action

Wholesome Poultry Products Act (H.R. 16363): As passed by the House, H.R. 16363 would require states to implement within two years—and in certain cases three years—inspection programs which are at least equal to the federal poultry inspection program. The federal government would contribute up to 50% of the cost of running the state inspection programs. If a state did not adopt an effective inspection program within the time limit provided, federal inspectors would assume the inspection functions. In most respects, H.R. 16363 parallels the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967. Passed by the Senate and sent to conference on July 29.

CRIME

Enacted

Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act (P.L. 90-351): The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, the major anti-crime bill enacted in the 90th Congress, authorizes $100.1 million in fiscal 1969 and $300 million in fiscal 1970 for grants to aid state and local police in planning and carrying out law enforcement programs and to enable them to develop training and research programs. The Act also includes provisions (1) permitting wire tapping in a wide variety of state and federal crime cases, (2) attempting to overturn controversial Supreme Court decisions on the rights of defendants and (3) prohibiting the interstate shipment to individuals of pistols and revolvers and the over-the-counter purchase of handguns by individuals who do not live in the seller's state.

Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials (P.L. 90-100): The Obscenity Commission is to study existing laws relating to obscenity, recommend definitions of obscenity and pornography, determine the effect of such materials on the public, and recommend possible controls which would not infringe constitutional rights. The Commission is directed to report in 1970.

Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act (P.L. 90-445): The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act which has been reported by the conference committee, authorizes federal grants to states to assist them in developing programs to prevent juvenile delinquency and to rehabilitate delinquents. The Act authorizes $25 million for grants in fiscal 1969, $50 million in fiscal 1970; and $75 million in fiscal 1972.

Civil Rights Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-284): See Section on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties for anti-riot provisions.

Awaiting further action

State Firearms Control Assistance Act (H.R. 17735): As passed by the House, this bill bans the interstate mail-order sale of rifles, shotguns and handgun ammunition. It also bans most over-the-counter sales of rifles and shotguns to non-residents of the seller's state. The legislation is a supplement of the gun control provisions of the Omnibus Crime Control Act. Registration and licensing amendments were defeated on non-record votes. The legislation is awaiting Senate action.

Joint Committee to Investigate Crime (H.J. Res. 1): As passed by the House, this resolution creates a joint House-Senate Committee to investigate crime. The Committee is to study the abuses and effects of crime, law enforcement operations, rehabilitation and juvenile delinquency programs and the administration of justice.

Drug Abuse Control Amendments (H.R. 14096): As passed by the House, this bill provides criminal penalties for the possession of illegally obtained stimulant, depressant or hallucinogenic drugs (categories including amphetamines or "pep pills", barbituates and LSD). The penalties are graduated in such a fashion as to distinguish between "pushers" of drugs and mere users of drugs. Pushers are subject to penalties ranging from a $10,000 fine and up to 5 years in prison for first offenses to $20,000 fines and 15 year prison terms for subsequent offenses. Users are subject to $1,000 fines and one-year jail terms for first offenses and $10,000 fines and three-year jail terms for subsequent offenses. The Amendments also authorize judges to set aside convictions of first offenders, a provision designed to keep young people experimenting with drugs from having a criminal record.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Enacted

Appalachian Regional Development Act—Public Works and Economic Development Act Amendments (P.L. 90-103): P.L. 90-103 extends, through fiscal years 1968 and 1969, all of the programs originally authorized in the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and the nonhighway programs authorized in the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. It authorizes a two-year total of $75 million for the programs under the Public Works and Economic Development Act and $170 million for the Appalachian Development Act programs.

P.L. 90-103 also extends, through fiscal years 1968, 1969, 1970, and 1971, the highway construction programs authorized in the appalachian Development Act. It authorizes a two-year total of $715 million for these programs.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act is designed to provide special federal aid to economically depressed areas in Appalachia to help construct public facilities needed for economic growth and to restore natural resources which were damaged through neglect and growth. The Public Works and Economic Development Act provides for the creation of multi-state regional commissions to plan economic development in other depressed regions of the country.

EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND ANTIPOVERTY

Enacted

Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 (P.L. 90-129): The Public Broadcasting Act authorizes federal grants to assist educational radio and television broadcasting and establishes a nonprofit, nongovernmental corporation to channel private financial assistance to educational radio and TV. The Act authorizes appropriations of $38 million to be used for grants in fiscal years 1968-70, and for establishment of the corporation.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90-247): The 1967 Elementary and Secondary Act Amendments extend the 1965 Act for two additional years—through fiscal year 1970—and authorize a total of $9 billion for the operation of ESEA programs during that period.

The measure also creates several new ESEA programs and amends existing ESEA programs. The new programs include a bilingual education program for school districts having large numbers of non-English speaking students, additional grants for special education of handicapped children and studies of urban school dropouts and school bus safety. Amendments to existing ESEA programs include conversion of the innovative education grant program from a categorical grant program to a block grant program. Another prohibits the federal government from cutting off funds to a local school district because of civil rights violations unless there is a finding on the record that the district has violated the law.

Teacher Corps Extension (P.L. 90-35): This legislation extends the life of the Teachers Corps by authorizing $135 million for its operation during fiscal years 1968-1970. The legislation also authorizes $435 million during fiscal years 1969-1970 for graduate fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers, grants to colleges and universities to help them improve graduate education facilities, and four new teacher training programs.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90-99) and Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1968 (P.L. 90-391): These two measures, taken together, extend all of the major programs included in the Vocational Rehabilitation Act through fiscal year 1972. They authorize appropriations totalling over $3.6 billion for the four-year period.

Both measures also make some substantive changes in vocational rehabilitation programs. The major change, included in the 1968 Amendments, is the addition of a new program of federal support for state vocational assistance programs for disadvantaged—as opposed to handicapped—persons.

National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act Amendments of 1968 (P.L. 90-

348): This measure extends the life of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities until June 30, 1970, and authorizes the appropriation of $47.5 million to the operation of the Foundation in fiscal years 1969 and 1970.

Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–222): The 1967 Economic Opportunity Act Amendments extend the antipoverty program for two years by authorizing appropriations of $1.98 billion for fiscal 1968 poverty programs and $2.18 billion for fiscal 1969 poverty programs.

The Amendments also attach a number of amendments, stipulations and conditions to the Economic Opportunity Act. These include (1) a provision for the participation of local elected officials in the operation of community action agencies; (2) consolidation into a single comprehensive work and training program of such programs as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the "new careers" program and Operation Mainstream; (3) establishment of a special impact program to alleviate chronic unemployment and rising community tensions in urban neighborhoods and to stem emigration to the cities from rural neighborhoods; (4) a provision stressing the importance of developing programs to deal with long-term unemployment among persons 55 years of age and older; (5) a day-care program to aid working mothers and (6) a ban on political activity by anti-poverty workers during working hours.

Awaiting further action

Higher Education Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15067; S. 3769): The 1968 Higher Education Act Amendments will extend, through fiscal year 1972, the programs originally authorized in the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Higher Education Act of 1965 and the National Vocational Student Loan Act of 1965. Both the House and Senate have passed the 1968 Amendments and a conference committee is attempting to iron out differences between the two versions.

The chief difference between the House and Senate bills lies in the sums authorized. Generally, the Senate bill authorizes slightly more for most programs than the House bill. The total authorization in both bills, however, runs well over $3 billion a year.

Both bills contain several new programs, including a public service education program, a Commission on University Education, and a program to encourage universities to share resources. Both also transfer the Upward Bound program from OEO to the Office of Education.

Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 18366; S. 3770): These Amendments will extend the programs included in the Vocational Education Act. Versions of the Amendments have passed the House and the Senate and a conference committee is to resolve the differences between the two versions.

The Senate-passed bill authorizes continuation of vocational education programs through fiscal year 1972 and authorizes a total appropriation of $2.7 billion. In addition, the Senate bill, in a provision totally unrelated to vocational education, transfers the Head Start program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education and converts it into a block grant program.

The House-passed bill authorizes continuation of vocational education programs indefinitely and authorizes total appropriations of $1.3 billion for fiscal years 1969 and 1970 and an annual appropriation of $565 million for each succeeding year.

Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15045; S. 2938): The 1968 Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments extend the expiration dates contained in the present Manpower Development and Training Act from 1969 to 1972.

The Amendments have been favorably reported from both the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and are awaiting flood action in both chambers.

Guaranteed Employment Act of 1968 (H.R. 12280; S. 3063): The Guaranteed Employment Act would establish a program to use federal funds to provide public service employment jobs for unemployed young people. The House version would attempt to create up to one million jobs in its first year of operation, at a cost of $4 billion. The Senate version would create 450,000 in its first year, at an estimated cost of $2 billion.

Subcommittees of the House Education and Labor and Senate Labor and Public Welfare have held hearings on these bills, but have not taken further action.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Enacted

Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 (P. L. 90–206): This legislation, approved December 16, 1967, provides a 6% raise in the salaries of 725,000 postal employees and provides a 4.5% raise for 1.3 million classified workers, retroactive to October 1, 1967. The Act also provides for gradual increases in federal salaries to bring them to the level of pay in private employment. The legislation establishes a Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries whose function will be to review salaries of federal executives and report its findings annually to the President.

Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–364): See Tax section for material on federal employee reductions.

Awaiting further action

Federal Employee Protection Against Invasion of Privacy (S. 1035): This legislation, approved by the Senate on September 13, 1967, prohibits federal officers from requiring or requesting federal employees or applicants to disclose their race, religion, national origin, financial position or to take psychological or polygraph tests concerning family relationships, religious beliefs, or sexual matters. Federal officials are further prevented from requiring attendance at meetings or participation in activities which are unrelated to the individual employees' work. The bill gives employees the right to counsel at hearings which could result in disciplinary action, and establishes a Board of Employees' Rights to consider complaints. The CIA, NSA, and FBI are exempted from the provisions of the bill regulating polygraph and psychological tests, and financial disclosure.

Removal of Federal or District of Columbia Employees Committing Unlawful Acts Related to Riots or Civil Disorders (H.R. 17267): This proposed legislation provides for the immediate dismissal from government service of any employee of the federal government or the District of Columbia government who is convicted of committing an unlawful act directly or indirectly related to a riot or civil disorder. It also provides that such persons be debarred from further government employment for a period of five years. It has not been considered by either House.

FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

Enacted

Consular Treaty (Executive Document, Exec. Rept. 4): This treaty provides for the establishment and operation of consulates in the United States and the Soviet Union. It accords diplomatic immunity to consular officials and employees and provides that each country will promptly notify the other of the arrest or detention of a citizen of the other country. This is the first bilateral treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Peace Corps Authorization (P.L. 90–175): This measure authorizes appropriations of $115.7 million for the Peace Corps for fiscal 1968, a figure $3 million below the Administration request, but $5.7 million above the amount authorized in fiscal 1967.

Arms Control and Disarmament Act (P.L., 90–314): This measure extends the life of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for two years, through June 30, 1970, and authorizes $18.5 million for the agency's activities during the two-year period.

Emergency Food Assistance to India (P.L. 90–7): The Emergency Food Assistance Act provided an additional 3 million tons of food aid to India in 1967 at a cost of $190 million. It also recommended that the President provide an additional $25 million to be used to provide emergency food to be distributed by CARE and other voluntary American agencies.

Inter-American Development Bank Act Amendments (P.L. 90–88): This measure authorizes additional United States contributions of $900 million to the Inter-American Development Bank Fund for Special Operations over fiscal 1968–70 to implement hemispheric agreements made at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in April of 1967.

Export-Import Bank Act Extension (P.L. 90–267): This measure extends the life of the Export-Import Bank for five years until June 30, 1973. It increases the Bank's authority to issue export credit insurance, make loans, and extend loan insurance. The measure prohibits: (1) Bank transactions in connection with exports to nations in armed conflict with the United States, or countries trading with such nations; (2) Financing export purchases to "Communist" nations unless the President determines that such transactions are in the national interest; (3) Bank credits for military equipment sales to less developed countries unless the President determines that such sales are in the national interest.

Export-Import Bank (P.L. 90–390): This Act broadens the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank by permitting it to make high-risk loans to foreign borrowers who, under existing standards would be ineligible for credit.

Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–40): This measure extends the military draft 4 years through June 30, 1971. While it bars the use of a lottery selection system, it does not oppose the President's plan to reverse the order of induction from the age of 26 to the age of 19. It continues student deferments until graduation from college at the age of 24. It also changes the test for exemption based on conscientious objection to require that a claim for exemption be based on reasons of "religious, training and belief" rather than belief in a "Supreme Being."

Uniform Services Pay Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–207): This measure increases monthly pay of servicemen effective October 1, 1967. The pay raise is computed at a rate of 4.5% for regular compensation which includes basic pay, quarters and subsistence allowance. The measure also provides automatic pay raises in the future corresponding to pay increases for civilian federal employees.

Military Construction Authorizations, 1969 (P.L. 90–408): This measure authorizes $1.8 billion for construction at U.S. military bases in the United States and abroad, and for construction and maintenance of military family housing. The Act includes $1.7 billion for new construction and $17.3 million in deficiency funds to cover higher costs of projects authorized in previous years. Authorization of $227.3 million to develop sites for the anti-ballistic missile system is included.

Awaiting further action

Foreign Assistance Act of 1968 (H.R. 15253): This measure, as passed by the House, authorizes foreign aid appropriations of $2 billion for fiscal 1969, a figure $950 million below the Administration's request and $700 million below 1968 authorizations. This figure is the lowest in the twenty-year history of the program. The authorization includes $1.6 billion for economic aid and $390 million for military aid. The latter does not include military aid for Southeast Asia. The Senate, in floor action, cut the authorization by an additional $20 million. The measure is now in conference.

Military Procurement Act (S. 3293): This measure, as passed by the House, authorizes $21.6 billion in appropriations during fiscal year 1969. The amount authorized by the House is $758 million below the Administration request and $285 million more than approved by the Senate. Both the House and Senate eliminated funds for the production of the F–111B aircraft and voted to retain funds for the Sentinel system. The measure, which contains the largest amount authorized in a single bill this year is in conference.

A similar measure authorizing appropriations of $21.2 billion for fiscal 1968 was enacted last year.

Foreign Military Sales Act (H.R. 15681): H.R. 15681 authorizes the President to sell defense articles and services to friendly foreign countries. It sets a limit of $296 million in fiscal 1969 on all credit sales and guarantees and requires a report be submitted to the Speaker of the House and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The sales must be consistent with the foreign policy of the United States and a recipient country must indicate its ability to pay.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Enacted

Social Security Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–248): The Social Security Act Amendments provide a 13% across-the-board benefit increase for all beneficiaries of the old-age, survivors and disability insurance program. The increase, which was effective on February 1, 1968, raises the average monthly benefit paid to a retired worker and his wife to $165, from $145 per month before the increase. The minimum benefit for a worker retiring at age 65 is now $55 a month, as opposed to $44 previously.

The Amendments include several other provisions designed to update the Social Security system. Most important of these is an increase in the amount of permissible outside earnings for OASDI beneficiaries from $1500 to $1650 a year.

To cover the cost of the increased benefits, the Amendments include provisions to raise the wage base subject to the payroll tax from $6,600 to $7,800. The Amendments, however, do not change the tax rate.

The 1967 Amendments also include a controversial provision freezing the number of children receiving aid to dependent children assistance and requiring welfare mothers to work. (The 1968 Revenue and Expenditure Control Act contained language postponing the AFDC freeze from 1968 to 1969.)

Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–42): The measure extends the Older Americans Act for five years, through fiscal 1972, and authorizes appropriations of $17 million in fiscal 1968 and $26 million in fiscal 1969 to operate the research, demonstration and training programs included in the Act.

Mental Health Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–31): The 1967 Mental Health Act Amendments extend federal grant programs for the construction and staffing of community mental health centers through fiscal 1970, they authorize total appropriation during that period of $180 million for construction and $58 million for staffing.

Mental Retardation Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–170): The Mental Retardation Act Amendments extend—through fiscal 1970—two grant programs for the construction of mental retardation facilities, extend for an additional year—also through fiscal 1970—an existing program for training teachers of the handicapped, and initiate a new program for training teachers in physical education and recreation for the handicapped. The authorizations contained in the Amendments total $281 million for fiscal 1968–1970.

Partnership for Health Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–174): This measure authorizes $589 million in fiscal 1968–1970 for grants to states to assist them in developing comprehensive health planning and services. The measure includes $40 million intended, though not specifically earmarked, for rat control projects.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–99) and Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1968 (P.L. 90–391): See Education Section.

Awaiting further action

National Eye Institute (H.R. 12843, S. 325): As passed by the House, this legislation establishes a National Eye Institute within the National Institutes of Health. The Institute will be responsible for the conduct and support of research for new treatment, cures and training relating to blinding eye diseases.

Health Manpower Act of 1968 (H.R. 15757, S. 3095): The Health Manpower Act of 1968 extends the five major health programs provided in the Public Health Service Act, the Health Research and Facilities Act, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, the Nurse Training Act and the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act. These programs provide training grants for medical and allied health personnel, construction and improvement grants for medical training and research facilities, and health student loan and scholarship programs.

The legislation has been passed by the House and Senate. The Senate version of the bill provides a three-year extension for the programs, through fiscal 1971, while the House version provides a two-year extension. The measure is in conference.

Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1968 (H.R. 17748, S. 2864): The Occupation Health and Safety Act authorizes the Secretary of Labor to establish safety standards for working conditions; provides support for safety research and training programs; establishes standard procedures for reporting industrial accidents and injuries; delineates state and federal responsibilities relating to occupational health and safety; and provides assistance to states to help them meet their responsibilities under the Act.

The legislation has been reported by the House Education and Labor Committee, but has not seen floor action. The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has completed hearings on the measure.

Public Health Service Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15758; S. 15758): Amendments to the Public Health Service Act which extend for two years, through fiscal 1970, several major health programs and which create one new health program have passed both the House and the Senate.

Both the House and the Senate versions of the Amendments extend the program of regional medical centers for heart disease, stroke, cancer and related diseases and the program of grants for health services for domestic agricultural migratory workers. Both versions create a new program providing for the construction and staffing of facilities for the rehabilitation of narcotics addicts and alcoholics.

The Senate version also contains language extending the Hill-Burton Act and the solid waste disposal program. This language is not included in the House bill. The measure is in conference.

National School Lunch Act Amendments (H.R. 17822): Both the House and Senate have passed National School Lunch Act amendments which are designed to make available nutritious meals to needy children not now being reached by federal programs providing free or reduced price meals. The House passed the amendments as a separate bill. The Senate included the amendments as a rider to the Vocational Education bill.

The amendments attempt to achieve their goal by changing section 32 of P.L. 74–320 to authorize funds ($100 million a year in the House bill, $50 million a year in the Senate bill) for fiscal years 1969, 1970 and 1971 to expand the school lunch, school breakfast and similar programs. The supplementary money is to be used to provide free or low cost meals to children who are unable to pay the full cost of meals now provided under these programs and to establish such programs where they are not currently operating.

The conferees on the Vocational Education bill are attempting to iron out the differences between the House and Senate versions of the amendments.

National School Lunch Act Amendment (H.R. 17873): This legislation, a companion measure to the bill described above, amends the National School Lunch Act to (1) require that a percentage of the non-federal share necessary for federal grants under the Act come from state tax revenues and (2) amplify the present language of the Act which requires meals to be served without cost or at reduced cost to all children unable to pay the full cost of the meal, by making clear that this is an absolute requirement. The first amendment is designed to prevent the practice, currently followed in some states, of raising the entire non-federal share from charges made to pupils for their meals and from local funds.

This legislation passed the House as a separate bill and the Senate as a rider to the Vocational Education Act Amendments. It is expected that the conferees on the Vocational Education Act will include it in the conference report on that bill.

HOUSING

Enacted

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–448): This measure authorizes $5.3 billion over a three-year period for new and ongoing programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The omnibus bill includes several new programs to provide housing for low and moderate income families. In addition, it extends and revises existing programs.

Among the significant new features of the bill are interest subsidy programs for homeownership and rental and cooperative housing, new approaches to urban renewal, grants for college housing, flood and riot reinsurance programs, National Housing Partnerships to encourage private investment in the building of low and moderate income housing, federal guarantees for new community financing, and the Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act.

The Omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–284): See Civil Rights section for discussion of the fair housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

LABOR

Enacted

Monday Holidays (P.L. 90–363): This legislation changes the observance of Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day and Veterans' Day so that each of these national holidays falls on a Monday. In addition, Columbus Day is declared a national holiday to be celebrated on the second Monday in October. The Act applies only to federal workers, but others are expected to follow the federal practice. The changes will become effective in 1971.

Awaiting further action

Situs Picketing (H.R. 100): This bill, as reported from the House Education and Labor Committee, amends the National Labor Relations Act to provide that the secondary boycott provision shall not prohibit picketing or strikes on construction sites in the course of lawful labor disputes. Such boycotts are now illegal. The measure does not permit strikes or picketing a construction site in breach of an existing collective bargaining agreement.

Coverage of Agricultural Workers under the National Labor Relations Act (H.R. 16014): This measure expands the definition of employee under the NLRA to include farm workers. The bill provides that agricultural employers and unions may make agreements which require as a condition of employment union membership after the seventh day of work. For most types of employment union shop agreements such as envisioned here cannot require union membership before the end of 30 days of employment. The measure also provides that priorities for opportunities for employment may be based on length of service with the employer, in the industry, or in the geographic region.

Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1968 (H.R. 17748, S. 2864): See Health and Welfare Section.

Age Discrimination Act of 1967 (P.L. 90-202): See Civil Rights section.

Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15045, S. 2938): See Education, Training and Anti-Poverty section.

Guaranteed Employment Act of 1968 (H.R. 12280, S. 3063): See Education, Training and Anti-Poverty section.

PUBLIC WORKS

Enacted

The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968 (To be signed by the President): This measure, as approved by both the House and Senate, authorizes appropriations for the Interstate highway system for four years, through fiscal 1973, and authorizes appropriations for other federal highway programs for two years, through fiscal 1971. The total authorization included in this bill is over $20 billion. Of this amount, $12.3 billion is new obligational authority. The remainder is also included in other authorization bills.

The legislation also provides several new highway programs including a three-year experimental program to provide fringe parking along federal highways, a program to improve the traffic flow on existing city streets and a mandatory program to make relocation assistance available to persons displaced from their homes and businesses by highway construction.

The measure also requires construction of the controversial Three Sisters Bridge and several freeways which are part of the Interstate system in the District of Columbia. In addition, it bars the Department of Labor from applying equal employment opportunity requirements to highway contractors unless the requirements are specifically set forth in advertised specifications for bids on highway contracts.

Appalachian Regional Development Act—Public Works and Economic Development Act Amendments (P.L. 90-103): See Economic Development section.

Design and Construction of Buildings Financed With Federal Funds To Be Accessible to the Physically Handicapped (To be signed by the President): This measure requires that all buildings financed by the federal government be constructed in such a manner as to be accessible to the physically handicapped. The Administrator of General Services or the Secretary of Defense may waive the standards specified in the bill in such cases as they may deem necessary.

Rivers and Harbors Flood Control Act of 1968 (Awaiting the President's Signature):

This measure, as adopted by both Houses, authorizes $1.7 billion for the construction, repair, and preservation of public works on rivers and harbors fo navigation, beach erosion, flood control, and other purposes.

Awaiting further action

Colorado River Basin Project (S. 1004): See Conservation section.

TAXATION

Enacted

Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-364): The two most important provisions of the tax bill are a temporary tax increase in the form of a surcharge at an annual rate of 10% on personal and corporate taxes and a $6 billion expenditure reduction for fiscal year 1969. The surcharge is retroactive for corporations to Jan. 1, 1968, and for individuals to April 1, 1968. It will expire on July 1, 1969, for both.

Other major provisions of the bill are a $10 billion reduction in new obligation and loan authority requested by the President for fiscal 1969, and rescission of $8 billion in unobligated balances of outstanding obligational and loan authority which was approved before fiscal 1969.

The Act also sets a ceiling on the number of federal civilian employees equal to the number of full-time permanent employees on the rolls on June 30, 1966. This will require the elimination of 244,000 existing jobs which will be accomplished by filling only three of every four job openings resulting from retirement, resignation, or death. Exempt from this provision are persons appointed by the President with the advice of the Senate, employees serving without compensation, and some 70,000 summer employees between the ages of 16 and 22 who are economically or educationally disadvantaged.

The Bureau of the Budget is authorized to reallocate positions among government agencies and departments in the interest of efficient government. H.R. 15387, adopted by both House and Senate, would exempt the Post Office Department from the restrictions. Excise taxes on telephones and automobiles are to continue at existing rates with scaled reductions aimed at their eventual elimination by January 1, 1973.

Other provisions of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 provide for: acceleration of corporate tax payments by increasing the percentage of the estimated tax paid from 70% to 80%; an alteration of the tax exemption schedule for industrial development bonds; tax deductions for advertising in national political convention programs; tax exemptions for joint hospital facility services; public assistance amendments relating to the Medicaid, Social Security, and AFDC programs; and a requirement that the President submit a program for future tax reforms.

Interest Equalization Tax (P.L. 90-59): This measure extends for two additional years, until July 31, 1969, the Interest Equalization Tax (IET) aimed at relieving the chronic U.S. balance-of-payments deficit by making foreign borrowing from U.S. sources more expensive. It grants the President discretionary powers in varying the tax level within specified limits. The most significant of the many modifications made in the original law is a provision requiring American sellers of foreign securities to secure certificates validating their payment of the IET or the tax exempt status of the transaction.

Investment Tax Credit (P.L. 90-26): This measure restores the temporarily suspended 7% investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation allowances nine months ahead of the December 31, 1969 date provided for in the 1966 suspension. It amends the 1966 law to establish a higher tax credit ceiling and also allows for retroactive claims. A rider makes the 1966 Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act inoperative until guidelines are established for the appropriation and distribution of funds and for the $1 income tax checkoff system.

Awaiting further action

Interstate Taxation Act (H.R. 2158): This bill, as passed by the House, would limit the taxing power of the states over small (average annual income under $1 million) out-of-state firms doing business within their boundaries. It also provides for a uniform method of apportioning income and capital for firms doing business in more than one state.

Foreign Travel Tax (H.R. 16241): This measure would set a 5% tax on air travel to points outside the United States and reduce temporarily from $100 to $10 the value of purchases a United States citizen may bring back duty free from abroad. Other provisions of the bill set 10% duties on various large value purchases and alter the duty free allowances for goods from American possessions. As reported, the bill is a weakened version of the Administration proposal to reduce the balance-of-payments deficit by restricting travel through the taxing of daily expenditures above $7. The Administration proposal also applied to water travel outside the Western Hemisphere.

VETERANS' MEASURES

Enacted

Veterans' Pensions and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967 (P.L. 90-77): This bill provides veterans benefits to all servicemen in uniform since August 5, 1964, and increases veterans educational allowances and pension payments. It is expected that in the first year of operation the bill will cost $285.6 million. The measure includes a cost of living increase in pensions for veterans and their dependents. It also provides full wartime rates of compensation for veterans injured during the Vietnam era. Allowances under the Cold-War GI Bill are also increased.

Veterans Mortgage Increase (P.L. 90-301): This measure, which went into effect May 7, 1968, increases GI home loans from $7,500 to $12,500. The act also eliminates the $7,500 ceiling which had been in effect since 1950 by authorizing 60% coverage on loans as high as $20,833 and 50% on $25,000 mortgages. Also included are provisions whereby a veteran may pay more than the VA appraised value, although the loan cannot exceed the appraised value. A veteran may also be reimbursed by the VA for the cost required to make a home structurally sound, durable, and livable, this latter provision applying only to loans made after May 7, 1968.

Awaiting further action

Service-Connected Compensation Increase for Veterans (H.R. 16027): As passed by the House, this measure provides across the board increases in compensation for the 1.8 million veterans with service-connected disabilities. The monthly compensation for veterans with 100% disability is increased from $300 to $400, while the increase for veterans with less than a complete disability is 8% a month. The increases would become effective as of January 1, 1969.

STATUS OF APPROPRIATION BILLS, 90TH CONG., 2D SESS.

[In millions of dollars]

	Requested	Passed House	Passed Senate	Final
Agriculture	6,923.0	5,523.0	5,540.0	5,531.0
Independent offices, HUD, NASA	16,570.0	13,670.0	15,505.0	
Interior	1,432.0	1,411.0	1,402.0	1,415.0
Labor-HEW	18,205.0	17,224.0		
Legislative	308.0	247.0	298.0	298.0
Public works	4,908.0	4,499.0	4,727.0	4,608.0
State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary	2,203.0	1,794.0	2,000.0	1,986.0
Transportation	1,637.0	1,353.0	1,523.0	1,429.0
Treasury, Post Office, Executive offices	8,337.0	8,155.0	8,158.0	8,158.0
Candidate protection	.4	.4	.4	.4
Urgent 1968 supplemental	1,216.0	1,214.0	1,405.0	
Second supplemental	6,738.0	6,346.0	6,373.0	6,295.0
Urgent supplemental for Bureau of Employment Security	29.0	29.0	28.0	28.0
1968 supplemental (highways and claims)	51.0	51.0	51.0	51.0
Defense	77,074.0	72,239.0		
Military construction	2,031.0	1,765.0		

AMERICA HONORS FATHER MARQUETTE

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the Pere Marquette Tercentenary, 1968 to 1973, commemorates the life and, in particular the explorations of the renowned Jesuit missionary-explorer.

The Pere Marquette Tercentenary Commission, of which I am proud to be a member, has been responsible for planning and implementing numerous activities honoring the tercentenary of Fr. Marquette's explorations.

In order to further acquaint my colleagues with the tercentenary activities and with the life of Pere Marquette I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an article from the 1968 summer issue of the Marquette University magazine, "America Honors Father Marquette":

AMERICA HONORS FATHER MARQUETTE

(NOTE.—The Jesuit missionary-explorer made history 300 years ago; a 5-year commemoration is underway.)

The United States this year opened its five-year commemoration of the exploration of the man for whom Marquette University is named. Father Jacques Marquette, S.J., famed French Jesuit missionary and explorer, stepped into American history in 1668 when he established the mission of Sault Ste. Marie. He ensured his lasting renown in 1673 when he accompanied French trader Louise Joliet in an epic voyage through Lake Michigan and several Wisconsin waterways to discover the upper Mississippi River. Joliet's records of the expedition were tragically lost, and only Father Marquette's journal survived to tell of the pair's discoveries.

The Pere Marquette Tercentenary (1968 to 1973) commemorates his life and, more particularly, the events of those five years, 1668 to 1673. The observance became official nationally when Congress in 1964 established a commission to direct it. James C. Windham, President of the Pabst Brewing Company in Milwaukee, and a member of the Marquette Board of Regents, was named Chairman of the National Tercentenary Commission by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Wisconsin Representative Clement J. Zablocki of Milwaukee, a Marquette alumnus, introduced the bill to establish the Commission and now serves as its Vice-Chairman.

Windham noted that Father Marquette's work had impact for the entire nation. "It is indeed fitting that the entire country join in this effort to honor Father Marquette, a gentle and courageous missionary-explorer. He ventured into the unchartered wilderness, and through his journal, made known to the world the beauties and vast potential of the Mississippi River valley and the Great Lakes basin. His discoveries marked a crucial step in opening the door to the West."

While the National Commission develops events nation-wide in scope, local and statewide commemorations are being planned in states affected by the explorers' travels—Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri, and Tennessee. And at Marquette University, itself a memorial to the Jesuit explorer, plans are being made for a variety of commemorative events which would involve both the University and other interested groups.

During the course of the Tercentenary, Father Marquette will be honored by memorials as diverse as a full-scale symphony composed in his honor, a six-cent commemorative stamp issued by the U.S. Post Office, and locally-staged re-enactments of his arrival at the sites of several Midwest towns. Many of the memorials established during the Tercentenary will be lasting ones: commemorative parks, monuments, and, at the University, a proposed week of major speakers and events designed to be held annually.

The man whose life is the focal point of these celebrations was a member of a prominent French family who left home to become a priest, developed a great desire to enter the Indian missions, and died at the age of thirty-eight doing the work he loved. Jacques Marquette was born in Laon, France, on June 1, 1637, and at seventeen went to the neighboring city of Nancy to study for the priesthood in the Society of Jesus. During his twelve years there, he read eagerly of the developing Jesuit missions in New France (Canada) and America. Twice he requested assignment to these missions and was refused because he had not yet completed his study requirements. Finally in 1666, as an ordained priest, he won permission and left France for Quebec.

A brief stay at Quebec was followed by two years of missionary training at Three Rivers, a Canadian town about seventy miles from Quebec. As a student, Father Marquette had always had a facility for languages, and he mastered very quickly the Indian tongues. In a few years he became proficient in six Indian dialects.

INDIANS TELL OF "GREAT RIVER"

Father Marquette's first independent assignment was among the Chippewa at Sault Ste. Marie in 1668. He was received with enthusiasm and happily undertook his work of teaching and explaining the ways of Christianity. A year later, his knowledge of the Huron language took him to nearby La Pointe Mission to work among the Hurons there.

It was at La Pointe during 1669 and 1670 that Father Marquette first heard tales of the Mississippi River. Visiting tribes known as the Illinois spoke of the "Great River" in their homeland to the south—a river nearly a league wide and so long that they had never met anyone who knew of its mouth. Father Marquette wished to establish a mission in the homeland of the Illinois, if possible, and he grew increasingly curious about the great river. Its exploration could open the way for further missionary work. Moreover, he believed that the river emptied into the "South Sea," as the Pacific was known; it might provide the long-sought trade route to the Orient.

Meanwhile, the imagination of the young Louis Joliet was being stirred by stories of the same mighty river, told to him by Indians he met while seeking copper mines along Lake Superior. In 1672 Joliet won authorization from French officials to explore the river territory. His expedition would, of course, include a priest to spread the faith among the natives. Father Jacques Marquette, S.J., was selected.

By this time, roving bands of Sioux had frightened the Hurons away from La Pointe, and Father Marquette had accompanied the Hurons back to their home at Mackinac and the Mission of St. Ignace. In December, 1672, Joliet arrived unexpectedly at St. Ignace and announced to Father Marquette that he had been selected for the exploration of the great unknown river. The two spent the Winter in preparation, and on May 15, 1673, accompanied by five companions, they set out in a pair of birch canoes. Father Marquette was then thirty-six years old, Joliet twenty-eight.

The party traveled through the straits of Mackinac, across the northern shore of Lake Michigan to Green Bay, and into the Fox River. They stopped briefly at the Mission of St. Francis Xavier (near De Pere, Wisconsin) among the Mascouten Indians. In his journal, Father Marquette wrote, "Here is the terminus of previous French explorations. They have gone no farther than this place."

Father Marquette and Joliet held council with the Mascoutens and asked for guides. Father Marquette's journal continues: "The following day, which was June 10 (1673), two Miami who were assigned us as guides embarked with us in the presence of a throng of Indians who stood dumbfounded by the spectacle of seven Frenchmen in two canoes undertaking what seemed to them such an extraordinarily hazardous expedition.

"We were led to believe that about nine miles up the river we could cross to a stream which emptied into the Mississippi. Furthermore, we were pretty sure that we had to travel west southwest, but the route was so cluttered with swamps and small lakes that it is easy to go astray, especially since the river is so full of wild rice that is is difficult to determine the channel. That is why we needed the two guides. They served us well, and led us to the portage (Portage, Wisconsin), which is only two and one-half miles long.

"After the Indians helped up carry the canoes over to the river, they left us to the care of Providence, alone in this unexplored land."

EXPEDITION ENTERS THE MISSISSIPPI

The narrative continues with simply stated, detailed descriptions of the untamed Wisconsin River, which Father Marquette calls by its early name, "Meskousing." The journal tells the story of the party's arrival at the great river: "A hundred-twenty miles of paddling brought us to the mouth of our river at forty-two and one-half degrees north latitude. On the 17th of June, with a joy that I cannot express, we floated out upon the Mississippi River."

For eight days they traveled downstream seeing no one; then, spotting a path on shore, they followed it to a village. To their relief, the inhabitants were the friendly Illinois Indians. The Illinois warned the party of the dangers of the river and hostile tribes ahead, but Father Marquette and Joliet were not to be dissuaded from their journey. It was here that Father Marquette received the calumet of peace—a symbolic feather pipe so respected by the Indians that at the sight of it warring bands laid down their arms. Farther down the river, amid less friendly tribes, the calumet held aloft by Father Marquette delivered the party safely through an attack.

However, the increasing hostility of tribes became evident as the party continued south, and was but one of many discouraging notes. The explorers realized that the route of the river led not to the Pacific Ocean but the Gulf of Mexico. They learned that the Indians were trading with white men who controlled the mouth of the river, and determined from goods displayed by the Indians that the white men were Spanish. Since the French and Spanish were then at war, capture would mean imprisonment or death.

Near the mouth of the Arkansas River, the party was told by friendly Akansea Indians that just ahead was a tribe with firearms who surely would stop them. The Akansea believed that the mouth of the river was only five days away. Thinking they had nearly reached their destination, the explorers decided that in the face of mounting risks it would be most prudent to return to Canada to report what they had learned. They were hopeful of returning later to complete the voyage. And so, on July 17 one month after entering the Mississippi, the group began the difficult upstream journey.

Instead of retracing their path, they ascended the Illinois and Chicago Rivers to Lake Michigan, becoming the first white men to stand on the site of the city of Chicago. From there they returned to the Mission of St. Francis Xavier at De Pere, where they arrived in September, 1673, four months and two thousand miles after beginning their voyage. Joliet went on to Canada, but enroute his canoe overturned and all his maps, journals, and equipment were lost. Thus Father Marquette's records became the only surviving firsthand account of the expedition.

ILLNESS TAKES HIS LIFE

Seriously weakened in health, Father Marquette remained during the Spring and Summer of 1674 at De Pere and then in the Fall of that year set out to establish his promised mission among the Illinois Indians. Severe weather and his precarious health forced him to camp in the Chicago area during the Winter, but in April he completed his journey. However, Father Marquette had spent only a few days teaching and instructing at the Illinois village when he realized that his failing health would not improve. He set out to return to the Mission of St. Ignace at Mackinac, three hundred miles away.

On May 17, 1675, near Ludington, Michigan, Father Marquette told his companions to put ashore and instructed them in preparation for his burial. He died the next day in the wilderness among his Indian friends, as he always had wished. A year later the Indians from St. Ignace, returning from the Winter's hunting, discovered his grave. They removed the body, cleaned and dried the bones according to their custom, and carried them to the Mission of St. Ignace where they were placed in a small church vault. Father Marquette had died at the age of thirty-eight, after only nine years of labor in his chosen field.

The story of Father Marquette's life has been portrayed often in painting, sculpture, and literature. As part of the Pere Marquette Tercentenary celebration, it also is being told musically, in a full-scale symphony commissioned by the National Tercentenary Commission. The first half of the work was given its world premiere by the Milwaukee Symphony Orchestra in Milwaukee as the opening event of the Tercentenary celebration. The symphony is by noted composer Roy Harris, who directed its premiere performance. The event drew dignitaries from across the nation and helped focus national attention on the Tercentenary.

Harris describes the Pere Marquette symphony as a kind of biography. "The completed first part starts, traditionally, with a cradle song to denote the infancy of the future priest. Then it becomes playful and boisterous, indicative of youth, and goes into a long prelude descriptive of Marquette's struggle for identity, his plans for a missionary's career of adventure and sacrifice. This first part ends on a high threshold of ecstatic expectancy." Harris is now completing the second part of the symphony and the entire work will be heard in Fall, 1969, in Milwaukee's new Center for Performing Arts, now in the final stages of construction.

Another major commemoration sponsored by the National Tercentenary Commission was a symposium held this Spring. Scholars of many fields discussed "The Contribution of Religion to the Life of Man in Society." The symposium was attended by over sixty theologians and scholars from throughout the nation and received national attention through religious publications. Marquette University and the Johnson Foundation of Racine co-sponsored the symposium together with the National Commission. A separate story in this issue describes some of the ideas presented by the speakers.

A memorial which will come to the attention of people of all walks of life is the Pere Marquette commemorative stamp, which will be issued September 20. The six-cent stamp depicts Father Marquette, fellow explorer Louis Joliet, and two guides traversing the waters of the Mississippi. Its colors will be brown, green, and black on white. An artist's rendering of the stamp was unveiled at Marquette University this Spring in a ceremony attended by members of the National Tercentenary Commission and representatives of the U.S. Post Office Department. The stamp is one of about thirty-five commemorative stamps issued each year.

A commemorative medal, authorized by Congress, was struck at the federal mint in Philadelphia and became available in June. On one side of the medal is a representation of the missionary in a canoe, with the dates of his explorations. The other side shows a map of his travels and the dates of the Tercentenary. Five copies of the medallion were produced in gold and will be presented to prominent persons. In addition, two hundred silver and two thousands bronze medals were cast. These will be made available to collectors and persons interested in them as mementos.

COMMEMORATIVE PARKS PROPOSED

In addition to planning these nationwide memorials, the National Tercentenary Commission is working with state commissions which have been set up in areas visited by the explorers. The National Commission has charged these groups to work toward the establishment of commemorative parks in their states. The groups are suggesting that some of the parks re-create the route of the voyage with hedges and artificial streams. Among the most recently dedicated parks are in Ste. Genevieve and Perryville, Missouri.

In Wisconsin, park sites are being proposed at the Milwaukee lakefront and other locations. The Wisconsin Commission is headed by Eliot G. Fitch, Chairman of the Board of the Marine National Exchange Bank and Chairman of the Marquette Board of Regents. Similar to commissions in other states, it is working with communites to promote and coordinate local celebrations, and is seeking other ways in which state memorials may be established.

At Marquette University, a committee headed by Father John F. Snyder, S.J., Associate Director of Development, is actively considering diverse proposals for Tercentenary events to include a canoe trip, a World Congress of Jesuit scholars, a continuing lecture series, and an annual Pere Marquette Week on campus. Proposals for University participation are still tentative. The program of diversified events scheduled throughout the years until 1973 is designed to build impetus and impact for the Tercentenary.

Of particular appeal to the adventuresome is a canoe trip, tentatively planned for the Summer of 1969 or 1970. The trip is proposed as a re-creation, as authentic as possible, of Father Marquette's journey. Participants would follow an historically accurate route and wear authentic costumes. Although the entire trip is projected as a fourteen-week venture, each participant would spend only a portion of that time with the group, allowing several hundred people to take part. These would include members of the Marquette community and civic leaders, who would be transported by expert canoeists.

A committee is developing proposals to involve communities along the canoe route. They will enlist the cooperation of Marquette alumni groups, State Tercentenary Commissions, Chambers of Commerce, groups interested in canoeing and history, and civic officials. The visits of the modern-day voyageurs also might be coordinated with dedications of commemorative park sites and monuments or other community celebrations.

Another proposal calls for a Jesuit World Congress to be held at Marquette. Father Snyder describes the proposed conclave as an attempt to assemble at Marquette "the best Jesuit minds in the world, to express, as far as possible, Jesuit thinking on significant problems of the twentieth century—racism, poverty, philosophy, private education, everything that is relevant."

UNIVERSITY PLANS MEMORIAL

Committees also are looking toward the establishment of a continuing lecture series and the development of an identifying symbol for Marquette. Father Snyder said there was interest in establishing on campus a symbol that would be easily recognized and immediately associated with the University.

The lecture series would be established during the Tercentenary and continue annually thereafter. Father Snyder said a committee would be formed to include persons from throughout the country who could help bring prominent speakers to the University.

The final important event currently under consideration is the initiation of an annual Pere Marquette Week, a campus event of major significance designed to attract national interest. The observance would be planned to bring world scholars to the University and also would tie in with some events already being held.

An important new feature of the observance would be the recognition of world renowned "explorers"—men who have advanced the frontiers in various fields of learning and achievement. Lectures by eminent scholars would be scheduled throughout the week. Programs to recognize scholastic achievement by students and to honor selected faculty members for excellence in teaching—currently held at other times of the year—probably would be rescheduled within the week.

Before any of these proposals go into effect, innumerable details will have to be worked out. Most likely, before the five-year observance has run its course, many additional events will have been proposed, planned, and staged. The combined efforts of the National and State Tercentenary Commissions, Marquette University, and many individual groups will have resulted in a memorial of national, even international, proportions.

It is a fitting tribute to the mission priest who, at the age of thirty-eight, died a solitary death in the untamed forests of Michigan.

RECENT TRENDS IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, early this week at the President's Cabinet meeting a report of greatest significance was presented. It is entitled "Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States" and it details some surprising and extremely encouraging facts about black Americans.

It seems to me that at this tense summer season the facts presented in this report should be called to the attention of Members of Congress and to the attention of the American people.

One set of statistics in the report may be of particularly great import. As you know, the recent trend in America has shown a great influx of Negroes into the central cities.

In 1940 there were 4 million Negroes in central cities, and by 1966 that number had grown to 12.1 million. With that growth there developed what we now think of as the "ghetto problem." In the new data released by the Census Bureau in conjunction with this report it appears as if a new and very heartening trend may be developing.

From 1966 to 1968 the Negro population in the central cities declined from 12.1 million to 11.8 million. If this proves to be the beginning of a new trend—a trend that shows the leveling off of the Negro population in the central cities and a relieving of population pressures in the ghettos—I think this is heartening news, indeed.

Mr. Speaker, following the release of this significant report, President Johnson made a major address about it to the members of the National Bar Association, meeting at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

The conclusion of that address is most eloquent, I believe. The President states:

> I know that Americans, black and white, will prove they can be real soul brothers.

Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD the text of the new report, and the text of the President's remarks:

RECENT TRENDS IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

PREFACE

This report is the joint work of the Bureau of the Census and Bureau of Labor Statistics staff. Herman P. Miller of the Bureau of the Census and Dorothy K. Newman of the Bureau of Labor Statistics directed the project and prepared the text.

We wish to acknowledge especially the contributions of Mrs. Nampeo D. R. McKenney of the Census Bureau and Mrs. Sylvia S. Small of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Some of the material in this report was assembled from the Department of Defense and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, whose personnel contributed willingly and with the exercise of outstanding professional judgment. The Southern Regional Council, a respected and knowledgeable private source, provided information on registration. To all of these and others who provided guidance we wish to express appreciation.

BEN BURDETSKY,
Acting Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics.
A. ROSS ECKLER,
Director, Bureau of the Census.

(NOTE.—In this report data are shown for both the "Negro" population and for the "nonwhite" population as a whole. In both text and tables the term "Negro" is used only when the relevant data are available exclusively for Negroes. The term "nonwhite" is used whenever data for Negroes alone are not available or not available over the period of time shown. Generally, statistics for the national nonwhite population reflect the condition of Negroes, since about 92 percent of the nonwhite population is Negro.

(The figures based on the March 1968 Current Population Survey are preliminary and, as customary, may be revised in later reports.)

INTRODUCTION

Last year following the summer civil disturbances, the President asked the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of the Census to prepare a statistical report on the social and economic conditions of Negroes in the United States. That comprehensive report, which involved 78 separate statistical tables, was published in October 1967.

The present, shorter, publication shows the most important new data which have become available during the intervening months. The most significant of these new figures involve year-end total for 1967 or mid-year 1968 data, which, of course, were unavailable when the first document appeared.

In most instances the new data show important gains in the level of living for Negroes in the United States.

Typically Negroes are more likely than ever before to be earning decent incomes, holding good jobs, living in better neighborhoods, and completing their education. In many cases not only have Negro achievements reached all-time highs, but the relative gap between whites and Negroes has also diminished. In one important area—the Negro population in the central city—a new and positive trend is discernible (see item 2).

Despite these gains, in some instances striking gains, it should be noted—and stressed—that Negroes generally remain very far behind whites in most social and economic categories. Compared to whites, Negroes still are more than three times as likely to be in poverty, twice as likely to be unemployed and three times as likely to die in infancy or childbirth. In large cities, more than half of all Negroes live in poor neighborhoods.

Among the most noteworthy developments revealed in the new data are these:

(1) Poverty and income—About one million nonwhites rose above poverty levels last year according to the poverty standard of the Federal Government. This sharp reduction in poverty and the reduction of a similar magnitude in 1966 constitute the largest annual movement above poverty levels during the period for which these data have been published. In the past two years the percentage of nonwhites in poverty has declined from 46 percent to 35 percent, while the rate for whites has declined from 13 to 10 percent.

Negroes are also proportionately less likely to live in "poverty areas" of large cities than before. In 1960, 77 percent of all nonwhite families living in large cities resided in the "poverty areas" of these cities. In 1966, the percent was 62. In 1968, this proportion was down to 56 percent.

The data on income for 1967 confirm the sharp increase in the ratio of Negro median family income to white family income first seen last year. It was 59 percent in 1967 and 58 percent in 1966—constituting all-time highs—compared to 54 percent in 1965 and 1964.

Negro median family income is about half the white level in the South, about two-thirds the white level in the Northeast, and about three-fourths of the white level in the North Central and Western States.

Last year, 27 percent of the nonwhite families had incomes over $8,000 (approximately the national median income) up from the 23 percent figure for 1966 and 19 percent for 1965, after adjusting for changes in the cost-of-living. Outside the South, 37 percent of the nonwhite families made over $8,000.

(2) Residence and migration—The number of Negroes living in the central cities of metropolitan areas had grown steadily and sharply until very recently—an increase of 5½ million occurred between 1950 and 1966. However, between 1966 and 1968 the increase stopped, and there is some evidence to indicate an actual decline—constituting a sharp change in recent trends. To some extent, this change may be accounted for by a sharply decreasing number of Negroes leaving the South. There is also some evidence that the number of Negroes living in the suburbs has increased during the past two years, although the proportion in the suburbs has remained consistent at 5 percent.

(3) Jobs and unemployment—In 1967, for the first time, substantially more than half of all nonwhite workers had white-collar, craftsman, and semi-skilled jobs. Last year there was a net gain of about one-quarter of a million nonwhite workers in these jobs that tend to have good pay or status.

Nonetheless, unemployment and low-paying jobs are still far more prevalent among nonwhites than among whites. While the nonwhite unemployment rates in 1968 are at the lowest levels in 15 years, they continue to be double the white rates.

The unemployment rate for nonwhite married men is down to 3.3 percent. However, nonwhite teenage unemployment remains very high at 24.7 percent.

The subemployment rate—that is, the proportion of persons who have experienced extended periods of unemployment or who worked year-round full-time at low wages—is down for both whites and nonwhites, according to the indicators for 1967. One out of every five nonwhite men in the labor force in 1966 was subemployed. The comparable ratio for white men was 1 out of every 13.

(4) Education—The education gap between young whites and nonwhites has been reduced to about one-half year—12.2 years of schooling for nonwhites compared to 12.6 years for whites. In 1960, the nonwhite me-

dian was only 10.8 years compared to 12.3 for whites—a gap of one and one-half years.

Today, 58 percent of the young nonwhite adults are high school graduates as compared with only 50 percent two years ago and 39 percent in 1960.

(5) Family composition—There is some evidence that the proportion of nonwhite families headed by women rose last year to about 26 percent as compared with 24 percent in 1967 and 22 percent in 1960.

The percent of Negroes in the total population has remained about the same since the turn of the century.

TOTAL AND NEGRO POPULATION, 1900, 1940, 1950, 1960, AND 1966–68

	Population (millions)		Percent Negro
	Total	Negro	
1900[1]	76.0	8.8	12
1940[1]	131.7	12.9	10
1950[1]	150.7	15.0	10
1960	179.3	18.8	11
1966	194.0	21.5	11
1967	195.8	21.6	11
1968	198.1	22.0	11

[1] Data exclude Alaska and Hawaii.

Note: Data exclude Armed Forces overseas. Data for 1966–68 also exclude Armed Forces in the United States living in barracks.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Nonwhites continue to leave the South, but in decreasing numbers. New data show that average annual out-migration in recent years is about half of what it was in the forties. Despite migration, the number of Negroes in the South has increased.

NEGRO POPULATION AND ESTIMATED NET OUTMIGRATION OF NONWHITES FROM THE SOUTH,[1] 1940–68

[In thousands]

Negro population in the South:	
1940	9,905
1950	10,222
1960	11,312
1965	[2] 11,233
1968	[2] 11,573
Nonwhite, average annual net out migration from the South:	
1940–50	159.7
1950–60	145.7
1960–65	94.6
1965–68	80.3

[1] The South includes the States of the old Confederacy as well as Delaware, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

[2] Excludes Armed Forces living in barracks.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

More than half of all Negroes still live in the South although the proportion is declining.

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, BY REGION,[1] 1940, 1950, 1960, 1966, AND 1968

	Negro				
	1940[2]	1950[2]	1960	1966	1968
United States	100	100	100	100	100
South	77	68	60	55	53
North	22	28	34	37	40
Northeast	11	13	16	17	18
North central	11	15	18	20	22
West	1	4	6	8	8

[1] Except where noted, when data for regions are shown in this and succeeding tables, the standard census definition for each region is used. In that definition, the South includes the States of the old Confederacy as well as Delaware, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

[2] Data exclude Alaska and Hawaii.

Note: In this report, numbers or percentages may not always add to totals because of rounding.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

During the past two years, the Negro population in central cities leveled off, a change of past trends. The number of Negroes in the suburbs continued to increase. However, since 1950, generally, most Negro population increase has occurred in central cities and most of the white increase has been in the suburbs of metropolitan areas.

POPULATION CHANGE BY LOCATION, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1950–68

[In millions]

	Total population						Population change, 1950–68					
	Negro			White			Negro			White		
	1960	1966	1968	1960	1966	1968	1950–60	1960–66	1966–68	1950–60	1960–66	1966–68
United States	18.8	21.5	21.9	158.1	170.9	173.7	+3.8	+2.6	+.4	+23.7	+12.8	+2.6
Metropolitan areas	12.2	14.8	15.0	99.2	109.3	110.7	+3.8	+2.6	+.2	+19.3	+10.2	+1.3
Central cities	9.7	12.1	11.8	47.5	46.6	45.8	+3.2	+2.4	−.2	+2.2	−.8	−.8
Suburbs[1]	2.5	2.7	3.2	51.7	62.7	64.9	+.6	+.2	+.4	+17.2	+11.0	+2.2
Smaller cities, towns, and rural	6.7	6.7	7.0	58.9	61.6	63.0	(2)	(2)	+.2	+4.3	+2.7	+1.5

[1] Comprises the part of metropolitan area outside central cities.

[2] Less than 50,000.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

In the central cities of metropolitan areas, Negroes today are 20 percent of the total population, compared to 12 percent in 1950. In the cities of the largest areas with 1,000,000 or more people, they are a fourth of the total, compared to 13 percent in 1950. Since 1960, the percent of Negroes in metropolitan areas, as a whole, has leveled off. Negroes have remained about 5 percent of the suburban population since 1950.

NEGROES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION BY LOCATION, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE METROPOLITAN AREAS, AND BY SIZE OF METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1950, 1960, 1966, AND 1968

	Percent Negro			
	1950	1960	1966	1968
United States	10	11	11	11
Metropolitan areas	9	11	12	12
Central cities	12	17	20	20
Central cities in metropolitan areas[1] of—				
1,000,000 or more	13	19	[2] 26	25
250,000 to 1,000,000	12	15	[2] 20	18
Under 250,000	12	12	[2] 12	12
Suburbs	5	5	4	5
Smaller cities, towns, and rural	11	10	10	10

[1] In metropolitan areas of population shown as of 1960.

[2] Percent nonwhite; data for Negroes are not available.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

The rise in the ratio of nonwhite to white family income has increased sharply during the past two years. The ratio is still only 62 percent for all nonwhite families, and 59 percent for Negro families separately.

Median income of nonwhite families as a percent of white family income, 1950–67

	Nonwhite	*Negro*[1]
1950	54	----
1951	53	----
1952	57	----
1953	56	----
1954	56	----
1955	55	----
1956	53	----
1957	54	----
1958	51	----
1959	52	----
1960	55	----
1961	53	----
1962	53	----
1963	53	----
1964	56	54
1965	55	54
1966	60	58
1967	62	59

[1] The annual figures shown are based on the Current Population Survey. The percent of Negro to white median family income (instead of the percent of nonwhite as shown) is available from this survey only from 1964.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

The greatest disparity between Negro and white family income is in the South. In recent years, Negro median family income has ranged from about one-half of the white median in the South to about three-fourths of the white median in the North Central and West.

FAMILY INCOME IN 1967, AND COMPARISON OF NEGRO AND WHITE FAMILY INCOME, 1965, 1966, AND 1967, BY REGION

	Median family income, 1967		Negro income as a percent of white		
	Negro	White	1965	1966	1967
United States	$4,939	$8,318	54	58	59
Northeast	5,764	8,746	64	68	66
North central	6,540	8,414	74	74	78
South	3,992	7,448	49	50	54
West	6,590	8,901	69	72	74

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Latest data show that nonwhite families continue to move into the middle-income groups in large numbers. The proportion of nonwhite families with incomes of $8,000 or more was 3 times greater in 1967 than a decade ago. Outside of the South, 37 percent of nonwhite families had $8,000 income or more in 1967, compared to 33 percent in 1966.

Percent of families with income of $8,000 or more,[1] 1947–67 (Adjusted for price changes, in 1967 dollars)

	Nonwhite	*White*
1947	5	18
1948	3	16
1949	3	16
1950	4	17
1951	3	18
1952	4	20
1953	7	23
1954	6	23

See footnote at end of table.

Percent of families with income of $8,000 or more,[1] 1947–67 (Adjusted for price changes, in 1967 dollars—Continued

	Non-white	*White*
1955	6	27
1956	8	31
1957	9	29
1958	8	30
1959	11	34
1960	13	36
1961	14	38
1962	13	39
1963	15	42
1964	18	44
1965	19	47
1966:		
United States	23	50
South	13	42
Other regions	33	54
1967:		
United States	27	53
South	15	45
Other regions	37	56

[1] A $8,000 income today was equivalent in purchasing power to about $5,400 in 1947. The proportion of families with incomes of $8,000 and over in 1947 was 1 percent for nonwhite families and 6 percent for white.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

The number and percent of nonwhites in poverty dropped sharply last year. However, 8 million nonwhites and 17½ million whites were still poor in 1967.

PERSONS BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL,[1] 1959–67

	Percent		Number (in millions)	
	Non-white	White	Non-white	White
1959	55	18	10.7	28.2
1960	55	18	11.4	28.7
1961	55	17	11.6	26.5
1962	54	16	11.6	25.4
1963	51	15	11.2	24.1
1964	49	14	10.9	23.4
1965	46	13	10.5	21.4
1966	41	12	9.6	20.1
Based on revised methodology:[2]				
1966	40	12	9.3	19.5
1967	35	10	8.3	17.6

[1] The poverty definition (as developed by the Social Security Administration) is based on the minimum food and other needs of families, taking account of family size, number of children and farm-nonfarm residence. As applied to 1967 incomes, the poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of 4 was $3,335.

[2] Reflects improvements in statistical procedures used in processing the income data.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration.

Welfare recipients have increased over the past year among both nonwhites and whites, but their percent in the total population has remained about the same.

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL AND OF PERSONS RECEIVING WELFARE, 1967 AND 1968

[Numbers in millions]

	Nonwhite		White	
	1967	1968	1967	1968
Total population	23.2	23.7	170.2	172.0
Below poverty level[1]	9.3	8.3	19.5	17.6
Percent of total population	40	35	12	10
Receiving welfare	3.2	3.4	4.5	5.0
Percent of total population	14	14	3	3

Based on revised methodology, see notes. The poverty level refers to the previous year.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Both white and nonwhite unemployment rates have been decreasing steadily since 1961. The rate of nonwhite unemployment continues to be double the white rate.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES,[1] 1948–67, and 1968 (1st 6 Months)

	Nonwhite	White	Ratio, nonwhite to white
1948	5.2	3.2	1.6
1949	8.9	5.6	1.6
1950	9.0	4.9	1.8
1951	5.3	3.1	1.7
1952	5.4	2.8	1.9
1953	4.5	2.7	1.7
1954	9.9	5.0	2.0
1955	8.7	3.9	2.2
1956	8.3	3.6	2.3
1957	7.9	3.8	2.1
1958	12.6	6.1	2.1
1959	10.7	4.8	2.2
1960	10.2	4.9	2.1
1961	12.4	6.0	2.1
1962	10.9	4.9	2.2
1963	10.8	5.0	2.2
1964	9.6	4.6	2.1
1965	8.1	4.1	2.0
1966	7.3	3.3	2.2
1967	7.4	3.4	2.2
1968 (1st 6 months, seasonally adjusted)	6.8	3.2	2.1

[1] The unemployment rate is the percent unemployed in the civilian labor force.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Married men—the largest component of both the nonwhite and white labor force—have the lowest unemployment rates. Unemployment rates for nonwhite married men have been declining more rapidly than those for white married men. However, the nonwhite rate is still double the white rate.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR MARRIED MEN, 1962–67, AND 1968 (1ST 6 MONTHS) (20 YEARS OLD AND OVER)

	Nonwhite	White	Ratio: Nonwhite to white
1962	7.9	3.1	2.5
1963	6.8	3.0	2.3
1964	5.3	2.5	2.1
1065	4.3	2.1	2.0
1966	3.6	1.7	2.1
1067	3.2	1.6	2.0
1st 6 months:			
1967[1]	3.6	1.8	2.0
1968[1]	3.3	1.7	1.9

[1] Average, not seasonally adjusted.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Nonwhite teenagers have the highest unemployment rates in the labor force. The total unemployment rate among nonwhite teenagers was 24.7 percent in 1968, about double the white teenage rate.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND AGE, 1967 AND 1968 (1ST 6 MONTHS)[1]

	Nonwhite		White	
	1967	1968	1967	1968
Total	7.3	6.8	3.3	3.2
Adult men	4.5	4.0	2.1	2.0
Adult women	6.9	6.4	3.7	3.4
Teenagers[2]	26.4	24.7	10.2	10.9

[1] Average, seasonally adjusted.

[2] Teenagers include those 16 to 19 years old.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The unemployment rate in the 20 largest metropolitan areas is much higher for nonwhite than for white persons in both the central cities and the suburban areas. Nonwhite-white unemployment rate differences are greatest among teenagers in the central cities.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN CENTRAL CITIES AND SUBURBS OF THE 20 LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS,[1] 1967

	Unemployment rate			Number unemployed (in thousands)	
	Non-white	White	Ratio: Non-white to white	Non-white	White
Central cities	7.6	3.7	2.1	222	332
Adult men	4.9	2.8	1.8	75	148
Adult women	6.6	3.5	1.8	76	109
Teenagers	31.6	11.5	2.4	71	73
Suburbs	7.0	3.1	2.3	53	407

[1] In the 20 largest metropolitan areas in 1960.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In 1967, for the first time, substantially more than half of all nonwhite workers held white-collar, craftsmen, or operative jobs. Employment of nonwhites in these occupations increased 47 percent between 1960 and 1967, compared with 16 percent for whites.

EMPLOYMENT BY BROAD OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1960, 1966, AND 1967[1]

	White-collar workers, craftsmen, and operatives		All other workers	
	Non-white	White	Non-white	White
Number[1] (in millions):				
1960	3.0	46.3	4.1	13.3
1966	4.0	52.4	3.9	12.6
1967	4.3	53.6	3.7	12.7
Change, 1960–67:[1]				
Number (in millions)	1.4	7.3	−.4	−.6
Percent	47	16	−10	−4

[1] The 1966 and 1967 data pertain to persons 16 years of age and over, while in 1960 the age cutoff was 14 years. Since 14- and 15-year-olds make up less than 2 percent of total nonwhite employment, it can be assumed that they have almost no effect on the 1960–67 occupational change.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In 1967, for the first time, substantially more than half of all nonwhite workers held white-collar, craftsmen, or operative jobs. Employment of nonwhites in these occupations increased 47 percent between 1960 and 1967, compared with 16 percent for whites.

EMPLOYMENT BY BROAD OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1960, 1966, AND 1967

	White-collar workers, craftsmen, and operatives		All other workers	
	Non-white	White	Non-white	White
Number[1] (millions):				
1960	3.0	46.3	4.1	13.3
1966	4.0	52.4	3.9	12.6
1967	4.3	53.6	3.7	12.7
Change, 1960–67:[1]				
Number (millions)	1.4	7.3	−.4	−.6
Percent	47	16	−10	−4

The 1966 and 1967 data pertain to persons 16 years of age and over, while in 1960 the age cutoff was 14 years. Since 14- to 15-year-olds make up less than 2 percent of total nonwhite employment, it can be assumed that they have almost no effect on the 1960–67 occupational change.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

There were three times as many nonwhite as white men who were subemployed in 1966. Preliminary 1967 data indicate an improvement in both groups. The subemployed include those who had worked a full-year full-time for low earnings or who had been unemployed for at least 15 weeks during the year.

Subemployment indicators[1] for men, 1966 and 1967

[Numbers in thousands]

	Nonwhite	*White*
Subemployment rate:[2]		
1966	21.6	7.6
1967[2]	([3])	([3])
Indicators of subemployment:[2]		
Number of low earners:		
1966	635	1,417
1967	505	1,176
Percent change	−31	−17
Monthly average number unemployed 15 weeks or more:[2]		
1966	69	255
1967	53	202
Percent change	−23	−21

[1] *The Manpower Report of the President,* issued April 1968, published a new national subemployment measure for 1966 (pp. 34–36). This measure includes (1) workers unemployed 15 weeks or more and (2) workers who made less than $3,000 in 1966 for year-round full-time work (taken as a proportion of the entire labor force with a week or more of work experience during the year). This indicator is, therefore, on an annual basis and considerably different from the subemployment rate in a specific week, arrived at last year for workers in urban slums (See page 97 in *Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States,* October 1967, BLS Report No. 332 and Current Population Reports, Series P–23, No. 24.)

[2] Annual data for those unemployed 15 weeks or more in 1967 are not yet available; therefore, a rate is not computed but two subemployment indicators are presented. These are not precisely the same as those required for the national subemployment rate published for 1966.

[3] Data not available.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

During the past two years the proportion of nonwhites completing high school has increased sharply; the white rate has remained about the same. In 1960, the education gap between nonwhite and white young men was 2 years of school experience. Today the gap is less than one-half year of school experience.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PERSONS 25 TO 29 YEARS OLD, BY SEX, 1960, 1966, AND 1968

	Nonwhite			White		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Median years of school completed:						
1960	10.8	10.5	11.1	12.3	12.4	12.3
1966	12.0	12.1	11.9	12.5	12.6	12.5
1968	12.2	12.2	12.2	12.6	12.6	12.5
Percent completing 4 years of high school or more:						
1960	39.0	36.0	41.0	64.0	63.0	65.0
1966	50.0	53.0	49.0	74.0	73.0	74.0
1968	58.0	60.0	56.0	75.0	75.0	75.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

The proportion of nonwhite households living in housing that either is dilapidated or lacks basic plumbing facilities decreased sharply since 1960 in all areas, especially large cities. Yet about 3 in 10 nonwhite households still live in such dwellings, compared to less than 1 in 10 of the whites.

PERCENT OF OCCUPIED HOUSING NOT MEETING SPECIFIED CRITERIA,[1] BY LOCATION, 1960 AND 1966

	Nonwhite		White	
	1960	1966	1960	1966
United States	44	29	13	8
Large cities[2]	25	16	8	5
Suburbs	43	29	7	4
Smaller cities, towns, and rural	77	64	23	14

[1] Housing is classified as "not meeting specified criteria" if it either is dilapidated or lacks one or more of the following basic plumbing facilities: hot running water in the structure, flush toilet for private use of members of the household, and bathtub or shower for private use of members of the household.

Housing is reported as "dilapidated" if defects are so critical or so widespread that the structure would require extensive repairs, rebuilding, razing, or was of inadequate original construction. Information is collected also on housing condition rated as "deteriorating," that is, having one or more defects of an intermediate nature that require correction if the unit is to continue to provide safe and adequate shelter.

Based on these classifications, deteriorating and dilapidated housing for nonwhite households in the Nation as a whole was 45 percent in 1960 and 39 percent in 1966.

[2] Of 50,000 population or more in metropolitan areas.

Source: U.S Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Data for 1966 are preliminary.

Life expectancy of nonwhite persons in 1966 was lower than for whites in all age groups in the prime working years. The differences were slightly greater than in 1960.

LIFE EXPECTANCY[1] IN PRIME WORKING YEARS, 1960 AND 1966

[In years]

	1960			1966		
	Nonwhite	White	Difference	Nonwhite	White	Difference
At age—						
25	43.1	48.3	−5.2	43.1	48.6	−5.5
35	34.3	38.8	−4.5	34.4	39.1	−4.7
45	26.2	29.7	−3.5	26.4	30.0	−3.6
55	19.3	21.5	−2.2	19.4	21.8	−2.4

[1] Additional years of life expected.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Mortality rates have dropped sharply during the past 2½ decades among both nonwhite and white mothers and infants. However, the nonwhite maternal mortality rate was over 3 times the white rate in 1966. Nonwhite infant mortality rates are also much higher than for whites.

MATERNAL AND INFANT MORTALITY RATES, 1940, 1950, AND 1960–66

	Maternal[1]		Infant[1]			
			Less than 1 month old		1 month to 1 year old	
	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White
1940	7.7	3.2	39.7	27.2	34.1	16.0
1950	2.2	.6	27.5	19.4	17.0	7.4
1960	1.0	.3	26.9	17.2	16.4	5.7

See footnotes at end of table.

MATERNAL AND INFANT MORTALITY RATES, 1940, 1950, AND 1960–66—Continued

	Maternal[1]		Infant[1]			
			Less than 1 month old		1 month to 1 year old	
	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White
1961	1.0	.2	26.2	16.9	14.5	5.5
1962	1.0	.2	26.1	16.9	15.3	5.5
1963	1.0	.2	26.1	16.7	15.4	5.5
1964	.9	.2	26.5	16.2	14.6	5.4
1965	.8	.2	25.4	16.1	14.9	5.4
1966	.7	.2	24.8	15.6	14.0	5.0

[1] Per 1,000 live births.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The proportion of nonwhite families headed by a female has increased since 1960, continuing the trend observed during the fifties. About 70 percent of all nonwhite families are headed by a man with a wife present, compared to 90 percent of white families.

COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES, 1950, 1955, 1960, AND 1966–68

[In percent]

	Husband-wife		Other male head		Female head[1]	
	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White
1950	77.7	88.0	4.7	3.5	17.6	8.5
1955	75.3	87.9	4.0	3.0	20.7	9.0
1960	73.6	88.7	4.0	2.6	22.4	8.7
1966	72.7	88.8	3.7	2.3	23.7	8.9
1967	72.6	88.7	3.9	2.1	23.6	9.1
1968	69.1	88.9	4.5	2.2	26.4	8.9

[1] Female heads of families include widowed and single women, women whose husbands are in the armed services or otherwise away from home involuntarily, as well as those separated from their husbands through divorce or marital discord. In 1968, divorce and separation accounted for 47 percent of the nonwhite female family heads and 34 percent of the white.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Estimates show that a much larger proportion of nonwhite than white babies are illegitimate—28 percent compared to 4 percent. The latest data show that the percent of estimated illegitimate births has been increasing among both groups.

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS,[1] 1940–66

	Number (thousands)		Percent illegitimate of all live births	
	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White
1940	49	40	16.8	2.0
1945	61	56	17.9	2.4
1950	88	54	18.0	1.8
1955	119	64	20.2	1.9
1960	142	83	21.6	2.3
1965	168	124	26.3	4.0
1966	170	133	27.7	4.4

[1] As stated in the source cited, "No estimates are included for misstatements on the birth record or for failure to register births. * * * The decision to conceal the illegitimacy of births is likely conditioned by attitudes in the mother's social group toward her and toward children born out of wedlock. Also, the ability (economic or otherwise) to leave a community before the birth of the child is an important consideration. These factors probably result in proportionately greater understatement of illegitimacy in the white group than in the nonwhite * * *."

34 States and the District of Columbia report legitimacy status on birth certificates. For the remaining States the illegitimacy ratio is estimated from the reporting States in each of the 9 geographic divisions. The following States do not report legitimacy: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Vermont, Georgia, and Montana. The last 2 States reported before 1957.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Birth rates are higher among nonwhite than among white women. In recent years both nonwhite and white birth rates have dropped sharply.

Fertility rates, 1955–66 [1]

[Births per 1,000 women age 15–44]

	Nonwhite	*White*
1955	155	114
1956	161	116
1957	163	118
1958	161	115
1959	162	114
1960	154	113
1961	154	112
1962 [2]	149	108
1963 [2]	145	104
1964	142	100
1965	134	91
1966	126	86

[1] Births 1955–59 adjusted for underregistration.

[2] Excludes data for New Jersey.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The proportion of nonwhite families in large cities living in "poverty areas" has declined during the past two years. Although the total number of nonwhite families in large cities has increased since 1960, there is some evidence that the number living in poverty areas has declined. The proportion of nonwhite families living in poverty areas is lowest for the cities within the largest metropolitan areas.

PERCENT OF NONWHITE FAMILIES IN POVERTY AREAS [1] OF LARGE CITIES, 1960, 1966, AND 1968

	Nonwhite families (in thousands)			Families in poverty areas [1] as a percent of nonwhite families		
	1960	1966	1968	1960	1966	1968
All large cities [2]	2,024	2,558	2,543	77	62	56
Central cities in metropolitan areas of—						
1,000,000 or more	1,392	1,770	1,816	76	59	53
250,000 to 1,000,000	633	788	728	79	69	63
New York City	260	388	406	77	62	59
Chicago	187	239	247	80	54	48
Los Angeles	100	128	150	61	47	40

[1] Poverty areas were determined by ranking census tracts in metropolitan areas of 250,000 or more in 1960, according to the relative presence of each of the following equally weighted poverty-linked characteristics: (1) family income below $3,000, (2) children in broken homes, (3) persons with low educational attainment, (4) males in unskilled jobs, (5) substandard housing. It includes an adjustment for changes brought about since 1960 by urban renewal. In general, the lowest 25 percent of census tracts are included.

[2] In metropolitan areas of 250,000 or more in 1960.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Most nonwhite families in poverty areas of large cities are not poor. In 1968, roughly one-third of the nonwhite families living in poverty areas had incomes below the poverty level.

PERCENT OF NONWHITE FAMILIES LIVING IN THE POVERTY AREAS OF LARGE CITIES WITH INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL,[1] 1960, 1966, AND 1968

	1960	1966	1968 [2]
All large cities [3]	38	36	30
Central cities in metropolitan areas of—			
1,000,000 or more	34	34	30
250,000 to 1,000,000	45	40	30
New York City	28	35	31
Chicago	33	37	35
Los Angeles	32	29	33

[1] The poverty level relates to the previous year. The poverty definition (as developed by the Social Security Administration) is based on the minimum food and other needs of families, taking account of family size, number of children and farm-nonfarm residence. As applied to 1967 incomes, the poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of 4 was $3,335.

[2] Based on revised methodology, see notes on p. 9.

[3] In metropolitan areas of 250,000 or more in 1960.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Nonwhite unemployment rates are much higher than the white rates both inside and outside urban poverty areas.

LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN AND OUTSIDE THE POVERTY AREAS IN LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS,[1] 1967 AND 1968 (1ST 6 MONTHS)

[In thousands]

	Nonwhite		White	
	1967	1968	1967	1968
In poverty areas:				
Civilian labor force	2,747	2,713	3,856	3,831
Unemployed	241	217	212	199
Unemployment rate (percent)	8.8	8.0	5.5	5.2

See footnote at end of table.

LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN AND OUTSIDE THE POVERTY AREAS IN LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS,[1] 1967 AND 1968 (1ST 6 MONTHS)—Continued

[In thousands]

	Nonwhite		White	
	1967	1968	1967	1968
Outside poverty areas:				
Civilian labor force	2,691	2,951	33,688	34,324
Unemployed	167	172	1,110	1,053
Unemployment rate (percent)	6.2	5.8	3.3	3.1

[1] In the 100 largest metropolitan areas in 1960.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics

Negroes make up 9 percent of the Armed Forces in 1968, 10 percent of those serving in Southeast Asia and 14 percent of those who have died in Southeast Asia.

MEN IN THE ARMED FORCES, 1968 [1]

[Numbers in thousands]

	Total	Negro	Percent Negro
Total	3,459	312	9
Outside Southeast Asia	2,863	253	9
In Southeast Asia	596	59	10
Deaths in Southeast Asia	22	3	14

[1] As of Mar. 31, 1968, for Armed Forces and through Apr. 30, 1968, for deaths. Data are preliminary, subject to revision when final reports are received from the various armed services.

Source: U.S. Department of Defense.

In the past four years, Negro voter registration in the South has increased by almost 1 million.

Negro voter registration in the South [1] *March 1964, June 1967, and May 1968*

[Numbers in thousands]

March 1964	2,164
June 1967	2,819
May 1968	3,072

[1] In Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Source: Southern Regional Council.

TEXT OF THE REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION AT THE WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL, AUGUST 1, 1968

Yesterday, along with my Cabinet, I heard a fascinating report about what is really happening in America today. The report came from a document entitled "Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States." (The government, you know, is famous for these catchy titles.)

What we heard was a remarkable story. Tonight, I want to share it with you and the American people.

The report we heard does not say that everything is wonderful for black people, or that they never had it so good. The report does not attempt to gloss over the gap that still separates white and black in this Nation. That gap does exist—and it is wide.

But what we heard gives clear evidence that our society is on the move—that the gap is narrowing—that in the midst of crisis, encouraging changes are taking place.

Almost unnoticed, large numbers of American Negroes, for the first time in our history, have begun to enter the middle class. Almost unheard of, large numbers of black American citizens—dramatically large numbers—are breaking the old fetters of poverty and deprivation.

This remarkable story is told in statistics—in numbers which represent people.

Fact Number 1: The median income in America today is a little over $8,000. In 1962, only 13% of Negro families in America earned $8,000 a year. But last year, the percentage of Negroes at that income level had doubled—to 27%. Outside the South you can add 10%: that means 37% of Negro families now earn $8,000 a year or more.

Fact Number 2: Let's look at the numbers in education: in 1960, only 36 percent of all young Negro men had finished high school. The typical young Negro did not complete his junior year. Today he finishes high school and goes beyond. Today, six out of ten finish high school—nearly double the 1960 rate—and the rate is still climbing fast.

Fact Number 3: Let's look at jobs. In 1960, there were 329,000 Negro and other nonwhites employed in professional and technical jobs. By last year, that number too had almost doubled—to 592,000; teachers, lawyers, doctors, clergymen and other highly trained workers.

And what is true for Negro professionals is also true at another level—among white collar workers, skilled craftsmen, and semiskilled workers. Last year, for the first time in history, there were significantly more Negroes in these good jobs than in the menial, low-paying jobs.

Fact Number 4: What about the figures on poverty? Last year alone, one million Negroes and other non-whites lifted themselves above the poverty line. That is the largest exodus from poverty that has ever been recorded. In the past two years, more Negroes and other nonwhites rose above poverty than in the previous six years combined.

Now, you may be asking some questions—What is the President trying to prove?—Is he unaware of the grim conditions of life in black America?

My friends, I am only too deeply aware of those conditions tonight. I cannot ignore them. It has been my constant purpose during the past five years to change those conditions. But tonight I think it is important, in the midst of deep concern about our difficulties, to put all the facts in perspective. I think it is important for the white American to see his Negro neighbor in some light other than by the glare of crisis.

The facts show that the typical Negro in America today—the typical Negro—is a hard-working citizen, eager to take his full place in American life: deeply concerned about the education of his children; determined to have for them a safe and decent environment.

The facts, I think, hold three lessons: First: This is a time for black Americans to be proud of their achievements; proud of their great progress.

The facts tell a story of millions of mothers and fathers working hard to give their children more education than they had.

The facts tell a story of hundreds of thousands of men working to qualify for better jobs—and succeeding.

The facts show enormous achievement—against enormous odds.

We hear a great deal today about "Black Pride." Certainly this data gives ample cause for Black Pride—and for white pride, too, in what Negroes are accomplishing.

The second lesson is this: That our great social programs of the past five years, are working—and working well. I can't think of a more important message for America tonight: it works! Six million Americans, black and white, up from poverty in the past two years: it works!

I hope, in this political year, that all those who have opposed these laws—all the naysayers, the stand-patters, and the pooh-poohers—I hope that they will study this report and learn its lessons.

The third lesson is this: Because we know our system works—because so much has been accomplished—we now must finish what remains undone.

Tonight, too many Negroes in America still live in bad housing; earn meager wages—or no wages; suffer from bad health and bad education—because they are black.

The gap between Negro and white income has narrowed. But still, Negro income is only three-fifths of white income.

Tonight, a Negro is three times as likely to be poor as his white neighbor.

In America tonight, a Negro is twice as likely to be unemployed as his white neighbor; he is three times as likely to live in a broken down house. And his baby is three times as likely to die in infancy.

That is why Negroes today all over America seek parity—quite properly; parity of income, parity of employment, of housing, of education; parity in the right to participate in their own communities.

The America I see tonight is not a sick society—but a troubled, restless people, yearning to solve their problems. We are a nation of doers, not of doubters. We will match our record with any people—any time in history.

The question we all face, black and white, is this:

Are we ready to get on with the job? Are we ready to show—black and white—that we can live together and build together a land of spacious liberty and ample opportunity?

The facts say that we can. I believe we can. I know that Americans, black and white, will prove they can be real soul brothers. With that knowledge behind us, let us now move on.

HELP FOR BIAFRA

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, I would like to again direct the attention of Congress to the problem of Biafra. In that country, some millions of people are starving as a result of the war there.

Last month, I received the State Department reply to my inquiry into their activities for aiding Biafra. Their answers relate to the International Red Cross, and are generally concerned with the technical objections. The State Department is aware of the magnitude of the need, but seems unlikely to take much action.

I have been consistently opposed to the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, because I feel the foundation for our actions there is indefensible. However, I could express countless arguments for the United States to involve itself in Biafra by providing food for starving Biafrans.

I suggest that several ways must be immediately explored. Exerting the great power of the United States over objections of Nigerians who are fighting Biafrans is one way. Second, this could be a project of the United Nations. Further, I do believe that if the United States were to ask Soviet Russia to join with us in the use of such force as may be necessary to break the barriers and open the road for an adequate flow of food to the starving children in Biafra, that these two great nations would go forward immediately to give the help so necessary for survival of the Biafrans.

ELMER HOLLAND

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to salute my friend and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Holland]. Like other Members of this House, I feel a mixture of pride and affection at having this opportunity to praise my friend Elmer Holland, and regret that he has decided to retire from the service of the Congress.

His service in this House has been effective, it has been dedicated, it has been unselfish. It is hard to catalog all the legislation on which the gentleman from Pennsylvania has left his mark, but none is so surely "Elmer Holland's bill" as the Manpower Development and Training Act, which has meant so much to millions of Americans faced with the prospect of unemployment, or the even more discouraging prospect of continuing underemployment.

In my own congressional district, after the closing in 1963 of the Studebaker plant in South Bend, the operations of the Manpower Development and Training Act served to bring new hope and new prosperity to a community which was haunted with justified fears of massive economic dislocation. MDTA did not "save" South Bend. The people of that city saved the city. But MDTA, along with other Federal legislation in the manpower field, gave them the tools with which to do the job. And for that, the people of my district share with me a deep debt of gratitude to Elmer Holland.

We will miss our quiet colleague from Pennsylvania. We will miss him in the Education and Labor Committee, and on the floor of the House. And, what is more important, the people of this country, who owe so much to his efforts to develop a national manpower policy, will miss him, too.

A friend of Elmer's has given me copies of two letters which he recently received—one from the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Bertrand Harding; one from John T. Dunlop of Harvard University, a distinguished economist and chairman of the National Manpower Policy Task Force. These letters testify to the high regard those on the front lines of the fight for a better America have for Elmer Holland. I share that regard, Mr. Speaker, and insert these letters at this point in the Record:

Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C., July 30, 1968.
Hon. Elmer J. Holland,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Holland: It was with considerable regret that we learned of your decision to retire from the Congress.

With your leaving, the nation will lose a dedicated public servant; the poor will lose an effective advocate.

Your concern for the poor, the unemployed and the unemployable has been manifested throughout your service in the House of Representatives and in the Pennsylvania Legislature. For that, in behalf of the poor, we thank you.

We thank you also, however, and more particularly for your unfailing support and assistance to this Agency since its very beginning.

All of us at OEO extend to you our heartiest congratulations and best wishes for a long and happy retirement.

Sincerely,

Bertrand M. Harding,
Acting Director.

National Manpower Policy Task Force,
Washington, D.C., July 30, 1968.
Hon. Elmer J. Holland,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Holland: We have followed with great interest your efforts to shape a constructive manpower policy for the nation and your announced retirement from Congress is a source of concern to us. We will miss your active leadership on the legislative front.

Thousands of working men and women do you honor through their more productive lives made possible by the legislation you have shaped and sponsored. Their contributions to improving the quality of life in our nation express better than we can in words the product of your efforts.

We wish you every success in the causes which you will continue to champion as a private citizen.

Sincerely,

John T. Dunlop.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE PROVIDED BY H.R. 12843

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Members of this body and to congratulate my colleagues on the passage yesterday of H.R. 12843, to provide for the es-

tablishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health.

I have had deep interest in such legislation over the past several years and joined with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Hon. FRED B. ROONEY, and others, in introducing bills in the 89th and 90th Congress to accomplish this worthy objective.

The National Eye Institute would, under the legislation, be responsible for all of the programs of the National Institutes of Health relating to blindness and vision disorders. It would serve as the principal focus for Federal research and training activities concerning vision problems.

By establishing a National Eye Institute, we can begin to conduct a concentrated attack against the sight-destroying diseases.

VOTING RECORD

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, in this report I have set forth my vote on issues of major consequence during the second session of the 90th Congress.

The information does not of course itemize each of the hundreds of votes and motions in which I have participated this year, and I am glad to supply further details on request.

H.R. 11601, a bill to safeguard the consumer by requiring full disclosure of the terms and conditions of finance charges in credit transactions. Yes.

H.R. 6649, to extend authority of Export-Import Bank. Yes.

HR. 11284, to authorize a fire research and safety program. Yes.

H.R. 14743, to eliminate reserve requirements for Federal Reserve notes. Yes.

H.R. 15398, to strengthen and expand food service programs for children. Yes.

H.R. 14940, to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act. No.

H.R. 10790, to provide for the protection of public health from radiation emissions from electronic products. Yes.

H.R. 13541, to prohibit unfair trade practices affecting producers of agricultural products and associations of such producers. Yes.

H.R. 15414, to impose a 10-percent surcharge on taxes and reduce Federal spending by $6 billion. Yes.

H.R. 11816, to provide benefits for law enforcement officers not employees of the United States who are killed or injured while apprehending violators of Federal law. Yes.

H.R. 15979, to minimize injury to fish and wildlife from use of insecticides, and so forth. Yes.

H.R. 15190, investigation to determine a site for a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Yes.

House Resolution 1100, agreeing to open housing provisions, and to penalties for acts of violence or intimidation. Yes.

H.R. 15856, to authorize appropriations for the space program. No.

H.R. 16819, to extend Vocational Rehabilitation Act, to broaden scope of act. Yes.

H.R. 16729, to extend for 2 years assistance to students at institutions of higher learning, and to modify such programs. Yes.

H.R. 16911, to authorize U.S. participation in special drawing rights of International Monetary Fund. Yes.

H.R. 16165, to extend Public Law 480—food for peace—including Findley amendment. Yes.

H.R. 2158, to provide a system for the taxation of interstate commerce. Yes.

H.R. 16027, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans. Yes.

House Resolution 1197, to assist in reducing incidence of crime by provisions relating to electronic eavesdropping, confessions and police lineups. Yes.

H.R. 15087, to extend authority for Peace Corps. Yes.

H.R. 15414, to continue excise tax rates on communication services and automobiles. Yes.

H.R. 17873, to increase school funds and provide nondiscriminatory allotment of free and reduced-price meals. Yes.

S. 1166, setting safety standard for gas pipelines. Yes.

H.R. 17989, to provide Federal assistance for homeownership for low-income families, reinsurance for insurance industry riot control, extend and expand housing and urban development programs. Yes.

H.R. 15263, to authorize $1.9 billion for foreign aid. No.

H.R. 17735, prohibiting the interstate shipment of rifles and shotguns and handgun ammunition and restricting out-of-State purchases of rifles and shotguns. Yes.

H.R. 17126, to extend present programs for feed grains, wheat and cotton. No.

On appropriation bills, I supported all motions to cut—almost without exception, and where the final figure was above the executive request, I usually voted negative. Details on request.

STEEL PRICE RISE OPENS NEW INFLATION THREAT

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, portions of the steel industry may be heading our country's economy into the worst round of inflation that we have faced in a decade. It must be stopped.

There are strong indications that steel could restrain itself and avoid the big, blanket price increases that have been announced this week. But some of our Nation's leading companies are choosing instead to use the psychological advantage of recent wage increases to justify price hikes that appear out of proportion.

There is no excuse for these sudden moves. They come at a time when other businessmen and wage earners are tightening their belts to curb inflation and to improve our balance-of-payments position.

Steel, which we all recognize as the pacesetter in our economy, may be moving contrary to the best interests of our Nation. These companies could take the time and patience to weigh the impact of increased wages upon production. But, instead, they chose the magic figure of 5 percent and arbitrarily raised prices.

The immediate problem is that the inflation which we have all been combating now has new freedom to assail our economy. I call upon the steel companies to reconsider and rescind these blanket increases and join those who are trying to take the pressure off the economy and stop inflation.

AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, during the past month the Nation has witnessed an unprecedented delay in air travel, especially around the New York area.

The air traffic control situation is an exceedingly complex and difficult problem, but a prompt solution is imperative if air travel is not to be hampered even further in the future.

While those of us on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee are still studying the problem, I feel that the many meritorious suggestions contained in a letter sent to me by Mr. Robert E. Peach, chairman of Mohawk Airlines should be brought to the attention of all the Members.

Therefore, under unanimous consent, I include Mr. Peach's letter in the RECORD:

MOHAWK AIRLINES, INC.,
Utica, N.Y., July 25, 1968.

Hon. HASTINGS KEITH,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KEITH: The grave effects on Mohawk Airlines of the air traffic control situation caused me to call a special meeting of the Mohawk Board of Directors to review with them the critical situation. At the meeting, held Tuesday, July 23, the Board asked that their grave concern and their support of management's program for coping with the problem be transmitted to members of Congress for consideration and support.

I am, therefore, outlining what we in Mohawk, and members of our Board (among whom are several nationally-recognized aviation figures) believe to be solutions.

(1) That the research and development of the long-term plans for the air navigation system of the United States be assigned, at the urging of the Congress, for expeditious exploration and conclusion to an organization such as the Rand Corporation.

(2) That the administration of the air navigation system by action of the Congress be placed in the hands of a non-profit corporation, independent of direct government control.

(3) For the short term, that all segments of private aviation operating in high density areas be diverted by the Federal Aviation Administration to alternate but suitable airports, or alternatively, where this is not possible, that their movements be sharply cur-

tailed during peak periods. This can be done by administrative methods available to the FAA. (Aircraft of scheduled carriers cannot operate—safely or not at all—from small airports; private aircraft can in most instances, hence, this suggested solution.)

There is ample precedent for each of these solutions and there is factual and/or logical justification for each. In the interest of conserving your time, I have given you summary solutions only, and ask that you call on me or any member of Mohawk's top management if you would like to be exposed to some of the voluminous background material available.

May I close by saying that the congestion delays in June cost Mohawk $165,000 in added costs; for the month of July that figure will be $275,000 at the current rate. Solutions to this grievous situation must be arrived at and implemented expeditiously. We strongly request your consideration of and support for our conclusions.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. PEACH.

AMERICAN LARD MARKET AND THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the June 1968 issue of the Fats and Oils Situation Report of the Department of Agriculture brings out some startling statistics which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues. These have to do with the export subsidy operations of the European Economic Community and the resultant effect on our country's lard prices.

Lard is one commodity which is being depressed exportwise and pricewise by an increasing export subsidy in the EEC. This is destroying our United Kingdom market—a dollar market.

On November 13, 1967, Ray Ioanes, FAS Administrator, stated:

> Exports of lard are facing stiff competition, particularly in the U.K. market, where larger supplies are coming out of the EEC.

The Fats and Oils Situation Report states at one point:

> U.S. lard exports face strong competition from EEC lard, especially since the EEC export subsidy of 2.7¢ per pound was imposed on July 1, 1967. Since then, it has been raised 3 times, the latest on May 27, 1968, when it was boosted to 3.35¢ per pound ($73.85 per metric ton). For the 1967–68 season, U.S. lard exports and shipments are estimated at around 250 million pounds, or near the level of last year.

The 250-million-pound figure includes 65 million pounds shipped to territories.

Lard prices are currently 5.375 cents per pound, compared to 7.50 cents a year ago. Actual exports have dropped from 637 million pounds in 1963–64 to an estimated 180 million pounds in 1967–68. The drop in the price of lard due primarily to the United Kingdom market losses is costing hog producers at least $50 million—in just 1 year.

Concurrently, the low price of lard is forcing a sharp reduction in the domestic use of soybean oil in the production of shortening and margarine. Domestic disappearance of lard has been rising each year since 1964–65. It is continuing to increase.

What we are witnessing is a displacement of U.S. soybean oil in the domestic market by excessively cheap lard—at the expense of hog and soybean producers. The large increase in the U.S. soybean carryover is partly due to this substantial EEC export subsidy on lard. It is depressing soybean prices.

We can do something about this. We can do for lard what we are doing for tobacco, peanuts, tung oil, wheat and flour, and several other commodities—namely, announce an export subsidy. No additional authority is necessary.

Concurrently, we should demand that the EEC eliminate its lard subsidy. It is a violation of the GATT.

DR. BRYSON: COLORFUL COUNTRY DOCTOR

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I have just learned that Dr. J. Gordon Bryson, Bastrop, Tex., passed away today. We have all lost a wonderful friend, and the people of Bastrop County have lost their elder statesman and human benefactor.

I wish the Members of this body had the opportunity to read "Reminiscences of a Country Doctor." This is a delightful, spirited, invigorating description of the life of this dedicated man who had the nerve to open up a practice in small town, build a hospital, and to serve its people as personal physician and civic leader. Whatever "Doc" Bryson did, he did with great enthusiasm and spirit, almost as if it were a challenge and if indeed he might be challenging the challenger. Naturally, he was sometimes a controversial figure, but he never ran from a fight and never ducked a controversy. Perhaps that is because of his own stubborn yet wonderful character inherited from his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth E. Bryson, and shared by his sweet wife Lily Bryson who lives in Bastrop now. In the dedication of his book, Dr. Bryson made an observation that many of us sometimes overlook. That is, how much we owe to the women folks of our life, and I would recall to the House these words:

> This book is dedicated to the three women who have most influenced my life: Amelia Edwards Bryson, my grandmother, and her fortitude and courage. Elizabeth E. Bryson, my mother, for the spiritual warmth and devotion that began with my earliest memories and ended with her death. Lily (Shudde) Bryson, my wife, whose collar was never cold nor traces slack during our team performance of over half a century.

A few days ago, I attended the dedication of a new hospital in Bastrop, Tex.—a beautiful structure that replaces the hospital that Dr. Bryson provided back in 1924. It was quite appropriate at that time that people paid their respects to Dr. Bryson and to express their appreciation for what he has meant for that community. The new hospital in effect brought about by the untiring work of local citizens—Mayor Benton Sims, Cal Long, Judge Jack Griesenbeck, Dr. Wells Lovelace—and governmental officials is a living memorial to the good work which Dr. Bryson carried on through a lifetime.

May the time never come when we are without services of country doctors such as our friend Dr. James Gordon Bryson. He made life meaningful and good for many, many people because he had faith in people and fought for causes of little people. His spirit was indomitable which probably motivated him after his medical retirement to enter the University of Texas as a student. Though he was in his seventies, he kept apace with the young students and was able on a give-and-take basis to not only hold his own, but surpass his liberal-minded students.

Our State is better for the life of Dr. J. Gordon Bryson. There was never one quite like him, and there will never be another. Life has performed the last operation for Doc Bryson, but our Heavenly Father will put him to work anew—even to improve life in Heaven, if that is possible.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON PRESENTS A CHALLENGE TO THE NATION'S GOVERNORS

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, last week, President Johnson addressed the annual meeting of the Nation's Governors in Cincinnati. His remarks were completely nonpartisan. Earlier, the Governors had passed a resolution in the same spirit, commending the President for his efforts to strengthen the Federal Government-State relations.

In his speech, President Johnson challenged the Governors to participate even more vigorously in finding solutions for the enormous problems facing the country today. He stated that either the problems will be solved by the States working with the Federal Government, "or the National Government is going to have to do it alone."

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, commenting editorially, agreed with the President that—

> Many of the current Federal programs were forced upon the National Government because the people demanded them and the States either could not or would not act.

I agree with this analysis, and I believe that if State governments are to become stronger, they must become more responsive to the people's needs.

The President asked the Governors to support and help move important legislation still pending before the Congress.

The editorial concluded:

> His attitude was that of the warrior who was soon to leave the battlefield forever but wanted all the help he could get to accomplish the utmost in the time remaining.

I insert the full text of this editorial in the RECORD:

The Governors Get a Challenge

President Johnson's farewell message to the nation's governors in Cincinnati last night stressed an important fact of political life that all the state leaders could well take to heart.

It is that the multiple problems of today and of the next decade will be solved, either by the states working in partnership with the federal government "or the national government is going to have to do it alone."

The President correctly pointed out that many of the current federal programs were forced upon the national government because the people demanded them and the states either could not or would not act.

Johnson made clear his belief that "the answer must never lie entirely with the federal government." In this, we are sure, not one of the governors present disagreed.

But there is still a mammoth job to be done, in Ohio and elsewhere, toward getting states to face up to the great problems of the era: the saving of the cities from decay and deterioration, and the providing of economic as well as civic justice to the Negro, the bringing to a halt of fouling of air and water.

In his brief remarks about the war in Vietnam, the President added nothing to what he had said before but presented once again the dilemma of a man who wants peace but has been unsuccessful in getting the enemy to meet him halfway.

"We do not get peace just because we wish for it," he said.

The President also used the occasion of the National Governors' Conference to say that more than 50 major bills are still pending before Congress and to seek the help of the governors in moving the measures.

His attitude was that of the warrior who was soon to leave the battlefield forever but wanted all the help he could get to accomplish the utmost in the time remaining. The man the governors saw was a fighter still, who will battle for what he believes right for the nation until the privilege and responsibility of his office are passed on to a successor.

CYNICAL STEEL PRICE RISE

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, this session has seen a determined effort by the President and the Congress to strengthen the dollar, and to reinforce our trade position in the world market. For 17 of the last 18 years, our balance of payments has been running against us. We had just begun to see signs of improvement—and with the tax bill we had hopes of great improvement—when several of our largest steel producers announced they were raising prices by 5 percent.

It is impossible to overstate the damage this will do to our country's trade. American steel will be even less competitive than it has been—and last year we had a trade deficit in steel of $700 million.

American buyers will turn to foreign producers. Foreign buyers will have little reason to purchase American steel products.

The industry claims that its profits are too low to allow it to absorb even a fair share of the rising labor cost. I think the public should know that Bethlehem's second quarter profits were up 47 percent from last year, and United States Steel's were up 79 percent.

This price rise is purely cynical. I think it is an outrage.

HANOI NEGOTIATIONS PROGRESSION

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, if Governor Harriman and Ambassador Vance were today to resign from their posts as American negotiators in Paris, they would be justified.

Because of their devotion to their country and their loyalty to the President, they will probably not resign, but must be sorely tempted.

Inch by inch, our negotiators in Paris had been making progress, even though the Hanoi negotiators, for their own political reasons, had seen fit to deny it. First, Governor Harriman's persistence in the opening sessions succeeded in driving the Hanoi representatives off of their untenable position of denying that Hanoi had forces in South Vietnam. This was not only important, it was essential, as Harriman pointed out, to any meaningful negotiations whatsoever.

Second, the indiscriminate shelling of Saigon stopped. Whether or not this was the result of the Paris negotiations, Harriman was in a position to say that this was a good sign.

Third, just last week the Hanoi negotiators distinctly retreated from their previous insistence that the NLF program must be the basis for any settlement in the South. This, it should be emphasized, had occurred after both Harriman and Vance had made a concession by saying that some de facto deescalation by Hanoi might make it possible for the United States to stop all bombing of North Vietnam.

In the light of this, it seems absolutely incredible to me that Secretary Rusk at his press conference should have once again hardened the U.S. position and insisted that assurance of deescalation by Hanoi must precede the bombing halt.

Hanoi has responded, as was to be expected, by an angry return to their own hard line, and today the President warns that Hanoi is preparing for a new offensive against South Vietnamese cities. What else could he reasonably expect Hanoi to do, after the Secretary of State has virtually derailed the Paris negotiations?

The fact that Hanoi and the Vietcong may have been making preparations for new offensive action does not prove that such action was going to be taken regardless of what happened in Paris. On the contrary, such preparation was a perfectly natural precaution. If we had seized the opportunity to interpret Hanoi's action in the best light—as President Kennedy did in regard to the Soviet Union in the Cuban missile crisis—we would have stopped all bombing of North Vietnam. That would truly have put Hanoi to the test. If they had then launched major attacks in South Vietnam they would have demonstrated bad faith. As even Prince Sihanouk said the other day, in that circumstance the United States would have been justified in any retaliatory action. As matters now stand, the expected attacks, if they materialize, will simply be a meaningless continuation of the tragedy, and representatives in Paris will have to start their patient efforts all over again.

IMPROVED CONDITIONS AT BYBERRY

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, there are great things happening at the Philadelphia State Hospital at Byberry, which in the past has been something of a "hell hole." I am especially concerned because this largest of the Pennsylvania State hospitals is in my congressional district. Pennsylvania is indeed fortunate to have Dr. Daniel E. Blain as the superintendent of this hospital. He has in fact brought a breath of fresh air to the hospital and the southeastern Pennsylvania area.

It is my pleasure to place in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Philadelphia Inquirer on August 1, 1968, which summarizes what is happening. The Philadelphia Inquirer performs a real public service in bringing this subject matter to the attention of the public.

The editorial follows:

Improved Conditions at Byberry

The report that 1700 patients have been removed from the Philadelphia State Hospital at Byberry in the past two years, reducing the patient population to 4300, a longtime low, is good news insofar as it promises better care of those remaining.

Those who have left the facility have done so largely under Medicare provisions and the Federal Community Health Center Act of 1966, which prescribes care—for senility cases, above all—in smaller, neighborhood institutions.

However, it needs noting that Byberry still is carrying a 20 percent overload and Dr. Daniel E. Blain, the superintendent, hopes that within another two years the patient population will be only 2000. Dr. Blain also believes his $19.6 million budget should be increased to around $24 million in order to increase the staff to 2900.

If this seems paradoxical in a day when, at last, the patient load is being reduced, one need only remind oneself of the tragic insufficiency of the institution in past years, when even criminals feigning insanity were sent to Byberry almost in carload lots. (Court-referred cases now go to the psychiatric unit at Holmesbury prison.)

We are much relieved that good care now seems probable for those at Byberry who can profit from it and that conditions are continuing to improve. It is a little puzzling that Byberry's patient reduction amounts to nearly the whole amount of the drop in State figures over the past two years—a Statewide reduction of 2000 to 33,171—but it may be that Philadelphia has been quicker than usual to benefit from Federal assistance.

However it was done, the former infamous "snake pit" seems well on the way to redemption, for which we should all be thankful.

JESSE JAMES WAS A PIKER

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, it makes you wonder when you hear that a man making $6,000 a year in 1967 paid $480 in taxes, while another who earned $6 million paid none. But that's not the half of it.

One large corporation in 1962, despite a net income of over $36 million, not only failed to pay any taxes that year but actually received a $2.2 million tax credit from the Government.

Nor are these exceptional cases. Of 482 millionaires in 1964, 19 managed to pay no taxes at all. Yet, with our graduated income tax one would have expected them to fork up 89 to 91 percent of their income in taxes. The income tax is supposedly based on both the ability to pay and equality before the law. The higher the net income, the higher the rate of tax, for everybody. Often the reverse is true.

These facts indicate that our tax laws do not reflect any equality of opportunity and that wealth is not necessarily the product of hard work, but often the effect of tax avoidance.

What you have here is what has been aptly called "the great Treasury raid"—an open, nonchalant, efficient operation by which the American Treasury, and the American taxpayer, lose billions of dollars of tax money yearly, with no interference from anyone; with the assistance of lawmakers, lobbyists, and tax attorneys.

More amazing yet, this raid is strictly legal, that's why I did not say tax evasion. And that's the whole point. How can this be so? The answer lies in our tax laws, in certain provisions which create exemptions, exceptions known as "loopholes," which are actually broad avenues of escape from taxation enjoyed almost exclusively by the well to do.

Here's how it works.

Let us start with the so-called charitable deductions. For example, a person owning a valuable painting can donate this to his private foundation—possibly founded exclusively for that purpose and serving none other—and thereby write this off, while the painting still hangs over his mantel, courtesy of the foundation.

Such charity costs the donor nothing; he deducts it from his income tax; saves himself hundreds—perhaps thousands—of dollars and in effect deducts that amount from the U.S. Treasury.

By stratagems such as this, billions of dollars are lost to the Treasury in the greatest raid in history. No one raises a cry, or the few who try are not heard by those who count.

Another line of attack is by way of "capital gains," a luxury indulged in heavily by a small percentage of the American public. Where capital gains are concerned the taxpayer has to report only 50 percent of such gains or pay a tax amounting to only 25 percent of the total gain.

In addition the law permits capital gains to go completely free of income tax if transferred from one generation to another. The taxpayer who buys stock for $5,000 and sells at $20,000 would ordinarily pay a tax of $3,750. But, if he dies and passes this on to his children, they pay no income tax on that accrued value. Again, the Treasury loses and with it the American taxpayer.

Dividing a single business for tax purposes is a convenient and profitable "loophole." Corporations can conveniently spilt into smaller companies, "subsidiaries," and take advantage of a lower rate on the first $25,000 of profits. Corporations can also deduct 7 percent of the cost of new machinery and depreciate the value of new buildings at a rapid rate.

Many corporations give certain executives stock options. Actually a kind of supplement to their salaries these options have the advantage of not being considered as income until disposed of and then taxed at the capital gains rate rather than as ordinary income. The capital gains rate is a lower rate. You know who is the loser in the long run. Somebody has got to provide the funds necessary for the domestic and international expenses of the U.S. Government.

Private profitmaking corporations are taking advantage of the municipal and State bonds that bear tax-free interest, for commercial purposes, rather than the public welfare services they are intended to provide. Rich widows find these bonds, which are free of Federal taxation, convenient and lucrative investments.

The most infamous resort to special treatment before the law in terms of tax privilege is the depletion allowance which compensates the oilman for the depletion of his capital. He pays no tax on the first 27½ percent of the gross income from his oil fields, so long as this does not exceed 50 percent of his net income.

The arguments supporting this preferential treatment are that every gallon he takes out of the ground is 1 gallon less of his property; and that defense needs require additional incentives to insure that national needs for oil are met.

Incentives and profit seem in no way lacking. The Treasury Department has computed that on the average, the cost of an oil well is recovered 19 times over by the depletion allowance. This is not to mention at all the additional deductions after that first slice of 27½ percent in the form of intangible drilling and development costs, operating costs, depreciation, et cetera. As a result of this provision—among others—three of the largest U.S. oil refiners in 1966 paid the following percentages of their incomes in Federal income taxes: 6.3 percent, 3.8 percent, 4.4 percent. Hardly equitable.

Such strategems have resulted in the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many taxpayers not so favored by the tax laws. This erodes the income tax base. Billions of dollars are being lost by these exemptions yearly. We could use that revenue to reduce the heavy tax load paid by the middle-income group, who proportionately bear the heaviest tax load.

The "loopholes" favor those with large amounts of accumulated wealth to pass on to the next generation. The real injury affects the middle-income group—the group with an annual income of $12,000 to $15,000. Below that financial level the family allowance deductions make a dent in taxes; above that there are the "loopholes."

The middle-income group can ill afford to give large donations to charity; they have few, if any capital gains, less stock options, and no oil to speak of. That "forgotten man" in the middle of the economic scale makes too much and yet too little. Particularly for this segment of the population we need to stop this drain on the U.S. Treasury.

HON. ELMER HOLLAND

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with those of my colleagues who have bid their fond farewells to the able and distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [ELMER HOLLAND]. ELMER HOLLAND is the chairman of one of the subcommittees on which I serve, and it has been a privilege and a pleasure to serve under him on that subcommittee. He has been a colleague and a friend on the Committee on Education and Labor, and it has been an inspiration to see a man whose whole legislative life has been dedicated to the best interests of working men and women, and to the interests of the poor and friendless. ELMER HOLLAND has had a very clear and very sound idea of how the great public interest can best be served, and he has been neither bashful nor ineffective in pursuing the goals which that clarity of vision helps him perceive.

I will miss ELMER HOLLAND, as a faithful ally, as a courageous leader, and as a good friend. The House will miss him, and millions of Americans who have benefited from his legislative efforts will be the poorer because his voice will not be there to be raised on their behalf.

Mr. Speaker, ELMER HOLLAND was never speaker, or a chairman of a standing committee, and I doubt that one of the rooms in the Capitol where Congressmen meet to confer with important constituents will ever be dedicated to his memory. But I wonder if we couldn't take one of the rooms in the basement of the Capitol, or the office buildings—some room where working people—electricians or plumbers or carpenters gather when their hard day's work around these buildings is done, and name that room after ELMER HOLLAND.

A simple, unadorned room where hard-working, sweaty, hourly workers get together to cool off after a hot day in the Washington sun, and maybe drink a glass of beer before they go home—that would be the kind of memorial ELMER HOLLAND ought to have around here. It has been to that kind of American that he has dedicated his entire long legislative career. He and they understand each other. He has fought all his life for men and women like that, and they have sustained him.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my thanks to ELMER HOLLAND for his unfailing courtesy to me, as a member of his subcommittee, and his example of unswerving loyalty to the principles for which he stood.

ENDANGERED SPECIES: CONSERVATION AND AMERICA'S FUTURE

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of conservation of our ever-decreasing natural resources constitutes one of the greatest challenges ever to face the American people. Since the historic administration of Theodore Roosevelt, the Congress has often addressed itself to the solution of problems of fish and wildlife preservation, soil and forest conservation, and, more recently, air and water pollution. But for all our efforts, the problems continue to multiply. Today, more than ever, we need to reaffirm our commitment to an America which is beautiful as well as strong, and dedicated to the preservation of our own God-given treasures.

It is for this reason that I support H.R. 11618—a bill to protect endangered species of wildlife by prohibiting their importation or interstate transport. Simple statistics belie the importance and gravity of the problem. It is a relatively easy matter for international organizations to tabulate the number of species of wildlife which are now extinct or are rapidly decreasing in the face of man's meddling with his environment. It is by no means so easy to calculate the losses mankind will suffer in terms of an environment that can no longer boast of the teeming forests and seas which have long served as the focus of his desire for relaxation and for freedom from the concrete jungles of his civilization.

H.R. 11618 should, therefore, be only a very minor part of our search for new ways in which we can reconcile our thirst for progress—progress measured, to be sure, in miles of concrete and acres of asphalt—with the preservation and enrichment of our natural wealth.

To appreciate the magnitude of this task, we must first recognize that it is no longer possible to think of such traditional areas as soil conservation separately from water pollution, or air pollution apart from fish and wildlife preservation. Man is part of a closed system—a system in which the actions of any single element will ultimately have ramifications for every other element. Thus, progress in soil management can result in decreased water pollution as silt levels in our Nation's rivers are lowered. This decreased water pollution will then prevent the eradication of many species of wildlife threatened by poisoned water. We must therefore approach the challenges of resource conservation with vision broad enough to foresee all consequences and examine all alternatives, and with a program versatile enough to embody solutions consistent with the full range of problems now outstanding.

A small sampling of the tasks now confronting the conservationist is represented by the serious problems of water pollution. Next to air, water is our most plentiful resource, but more than any other of our natural resources, we have systematically subjected our water supply to the evils of pollution. With approximately 4,300 billion gallons of fresh water falling from U.S. skies every day, a continuing supply of clean drinking water for most parts of the country is not a major problem, if we use it wisely. It is especially troubling, however, to note the foul state of our streams, lakes, and seas. Pressures built up in urban life can find release along our Nation's waterways only if they are clean and attractive. Yet 5,800 miles of streams and 29,000 acres of reservoir surface have been lost to fisherman simply because freshwater fish cannot live in waters tainted by acid mine wastes. And this is only a fraction of the problem. Sludge from oil tankers and processing plants befouls our Nation's beaches. Overflows from combined storm and sanitary sewers in 1,900 communities threaten our streams and lakes with the steady dumping of raw human wastes. Industrial byproducts both discolor and pollute our vast bays, while discharges from riverside manufacturing plants have severly disrupted the normal balance of life in our watercourses.

All this, along with the closely allied problems of wildlife, soil, and forest conservation and air pollution, is the result of man's natural hunger for "progress." But true progress must be alined with wise and economic use of our increasingly scarce resources. America's countryside, long a haven of repose and recreation, is being sorely threatened by the taint of ill-conceived technological advances, the consequences of which are rarely sufficiently considered. Some steps are being taken now to meet these threats. In the field of water pollution, the administration of the Water Quality Act of 1965 and the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 has laid the foundations for a coordinated effort by all levels of government to maintain the quality of our existing waters and begin the cleanup of polluted streams.

I have long supported such activity, and will continue to press for effective solutions to these and all other problems of resource conservation. H.R. 11618 should represent no more than a small step forward. For true progress must be measured by man's ability to control his total environment, not destroy it; to adapt what Nature has given us so that progress may be served, not to permit technology to so torture our natural wealth that, for lack of foresight, we shall suffer, not profit.

PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL AWARD MADE TO THE LATE HONORABLE EMMET O'NEAL

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as many of you know, I have been a Member of this body for 22 years and over that span of time have met a multitude of people. I can think of no one single person whom I most admired or enjoyed during that time than the late Honorable Emmet O'Neal, former Member of this body and a former U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines.

During the latter period of his life, he served with distinction as chairman of the U.S. Corregidor-Bataan Memorial Commission, and in this capacity was most instrumental in the establishment of this memorial. Recently, the memorial was turned over to the Philippines and during the course of the ceremonies, a posthumous citation was conferred on Emmet O'Neal. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this citation:

CITATION

The President of the Philippines hereby confers the Order of Sikatuna (rank of Datu) (posthumous) upon the Honorable Emmett O'Neal, former U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines, Chairman, United States Corregidor-Bataan Memorial Commission, for distinguished services rendered to the Republic of the Philippines in various capacities, the last of which was as Chairman of the United States Corregidor-Bataan Memorial Commission.

During his term as American Ambassador to the Philippines, the Honorable Emmet O'Neal contributed immeasurably to the further strengthening of the bonds of friendship between the government and people of his country and those of the Republic of the Philippines. An exemplary statesman, Ambassador O'Neal embodied in all of his official actions the meaning of fraternity, freedom and democracy.

As Chairman of the Corregidor-Bataan Memorial Commission, until his untimely death, the Honorable Emmet O'Neal was the prime mover behind the proposal to put up a fitting war memorial on Corregidor Island in honor of the gallant heroes who fought and died for the ideal of freedom and human dignity during World War II. His untiring and dedicated efforts culminated in the passage of Public Law 88–240 by the 88th U.S. Congress, leading to the realization of the Pacific War Memorial which now stands, and will continue to stand, as a living symbol not only of the valor of the Filipino and American fighting men during the last World War, but also of the continuing special relationship between the two countries and their freedom-loving peoples.

Through his untiring and dedicated efforts to promote the mutual interests of and goodwill between the United States and the Philippines, the late Honorable Emmett O'Neal brought much credit and distinction upon himself, his beloved family and his country.

The people of the Republic of the Philippines and their government proudly confer this honor in grateful recognition of the distinguished services he had rendered.

Done in Corregidor Island, Philippines, on this 22nd day of June in the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and sixty-eight.

F. E. MARCOS.

FROM CIERNA TO BRATISLAVA

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. REID of New York. The tension of the obviously critical situation which presently exists between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union has been eased somewhat by the talks which have just ended between the Czech Presidium and the Soviet Politburo at Cierna. The people of Czechoslovakia have responded to pressure exerted by the Soviet Union with a courageous, united support of the Dubcek government. This is a heartening sign to those who cherish freedom, and it has greatly contributed to the negotiating strength of the Czechs at Cierna, offering hope that Dubcek's liberal reforms will be preserved through the talks with the Warsaw pact nations which are to begin August 3 in Bratislava.

The Soviet willingness to hold discussions at Cierna with Czech leaders on such basic ideological issues as freedom of the press from censorship indicates an element of restraint in the Kremlin's policy which hopefully will continue. The Soviet Union must not try to suppress the right of members of the Warsaw pact to make internal reforms. In Czechoslovakia the independent spirit of patriots like Thomas Masaryk and Jan Masaryk is too strong to be stifled by thinly distinguished displays of force like the recent maneuvers of Russian troops along the Soviet Union's frontier with Eastern Europe. It seems that the Soviet Union has wisely realized this, and it is my devout hope that the new Czech freedoms of Dubcek's government will be preserved.

I would like to call to the attention of the Members an editorial on this subject which appeared in today's New York Times. Under unanimous consent I am including it in the RECORD at this point:

FROM CIERNA TO BRATISLAVA

After four days of apparently hard bargaining, the Soviet-Czechoslovak confrontation at Cierna appears to have ended in a compromise settlement. It is presumably to gain ratification of this bargain that Czechoslovak party chief Alexander Dubcek and his colleagues agreed to the six-power meeting at Bratislava. There the men from Prague will come face to face with those who last month began the current crisis with their accusations against Czechslovakia.

President Svoboda and Mr. Dubcek have already begun the effort to mobilize Czechoslovak support for the bargain struck at Cierna. Their public statements yesterday implied strongly that Czechoslovakia's national interests and aspirations were successfully defended these past four days. If that claim proves correct when the full nature of the compromise is disclosed, then the negotiations just concluded will have proven to be truly historic.

Even in our present state of ignorance, one probability emerges from the language of the otherwise uninformative communique. The Soviet Union is not about to invade Czechoslovakia.

The evidence suggests that the courage and unity of the people of Czechoslovakia have paid off in these negotiations. It is only because he had a united nation behind him that Mr. Dubcek was able to deal with the Russians as equals and to demand as well as to offer concessions. The lesson will not be lost on other peoples in Eastern Europe.

IN APPRECIATION OF DR. ELVIS J. STAHR

HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, the Bloomington Sunday Herald Times, of Bloomington, Ind., recently printed an article which expresses appreciation to Dr. Elvis J. Stahr, who after 6 years of devoted service, has resigned as president of Indiana University. I include this article in the RECORD for the interest of my colleagues:

DR. ELVIS J. STAHR, LEADER

Dr. Elvis J. Stahr has resigned as president of Indiana University in the same manner that he led it to the heights as one of this nation's great institutions of higher education.

He was honest, he was open, he was candid, he was dedicated and he was self-sacrificing.

Dr. Stahr, realizing the fantastic pace at which he was driving himself would, sooner or later, render him ineffective, decided to step down.

No one, not even Dr. Stahr himself, will ever fully realize the tremendous daily demands upon a man in the position of Indiana University president, especially in these days of campus turmoil and complexity.

But Dr. Stahr is not leaving Indiana University's highest job because he "can't stand the heat." No, it is not that.

Anyone who has seen Dr. Stahr handle a delicate, pressure-packed situation knows he is a man capable of leadership of the highest quality.

It is the pace—the 80-hour weeks away from his family, the constant daily drain of energy that no man can withstand continually—that has caused Dr. Stahr to reach his decision.

Recognizing the shortcomings of a man—any man—trying to govern Indiana University's vast educational functions, Dr. Stahr reorganized the administration of the University and the plan was approved.

"Perhaps," Dr. Stahr said, "the greatest favor I will have done for my successor as president of Indiana University will be the administrative reorganization adopted by the board of trustees last month that will to some degree ease the pressures on the office of president."

Perhaps this is true, and the next president of Indiana will never experience the pressures that bore so heavily on Dr. Stahr.

Perhaps, too, even without the reorganization of administrative duties, no successor will feel those pressures, because it is unlikely that our nation's campuses will ever again experience the turmoil of recent months.

And, if you will, think for just a moment about how Dr. Stahr's leadership during these difficult times spared Indiana the fate that befell many other universities across the country.

Dr. Stahr's position sometimes was controversial, but these are controversial times. But thinking people will recognize that the president of Indiana University set an example for all to see.

Dr. Stahr's words during some of our difficult periods reflect a feeling for his fellow man that few among us have. Only a few men in our nation have been able to verbalize the complexity of our day, to cut through the maze of social confusion and dig deep at the core of the problem.

Dr. Stahr has been one of those men.

Dr. Stahr's loss to Indiana University is cushioned by the knowledge that Chancellor Herman B. Wells has consented to serve as interim president.

We appreciate Dr. Stahr's desire to remain in the University family, to remain as a teacher.

But all of us should understand that a man of his ability will be sought out. He will be recruited for larger tasks than those he handled so well at Indiana University.

We respect the sincerity of his decision, but we do not expect that he will remain long from a position of leadership.

We can ill afford to be without men of his caliber at the forefront.

PRODUCT SAFETY COMMISSION ACTS

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the National Commission on Product Safety has this week released a list of 263 types of familiar household products it will review as a part of its effort to develop more effective means of protecting the American consumer from unnecessary injury and even death.

This is an ambitious undertaking—and well it might be. The Public Health Service figures show that more than 250,000 Americans are injured annually in this country by only four familiar types of household items—heaters, stoves, power mowers, and washing machines. Each year clothes wringers crush the limbs of 100,000 little children. Each year some 40,000 persons are cut in accidents involving glass doors.

These figures represent just a few of the household-type products which cause injuries, and even then we do not know the true toll such products exact. Only the more serious injuries are actually reported. Many painful and wholly unnecessary wounds are treated at home and never enter the records.

Under the chairmanship of Arnold Elkind, a distinguished New York lawyer who I am proud to say is a constituent of mine, the seven-member Commission has embarked upon a very important study. More effective means of protecting the American consumer will not only reduce the national toll of suffering and death but will have important economic benefits as well. Fewer injuries mean fewer medical bills, fewer days lost from work and a healthier and more productive society.

It is particularly heartening to me to note that the Commission has begun this ambitious study even though Congress has not yet made available the funds that will be necessary to carry it to completion.

This Commission, whose members have been working without recompense since they took the oath of office on May 15, 1968, and whose skeleton staff consists largely of people borrowed from other agencies has nonetheless already made impressive advances.

When he signed the legislation establishing this Commission, President Johnson said "I don't want just another statistical study group." He directed the Commission "to make recommendations that are solid, that are solutions."

Under Chairman Elkind the Commission has clearly demonstrated its intention to do just that.

I believe the following report filed by the distinguished Scripps-Howard writer Wauhillau La Hay gives a clear understanding of the concern and quality of leadership that Mr. Elkind is bringing to the Commission on Product Safety:

A REPORT BY WAUHILLAU LA HAY, SCRIPPS-HOWARD STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON, July 19.—A 16-month-old boy was playing with a Japanese-made toy. His mother, thinking the child was safely occupied for a moment, left the room. Seconds later she returned to find he had removed a leg from the toy—a leg fastened with a sharp, two-inch spike.

A plumber, following directions on the package, poured a commercial solvent into a drain pipe. Then he prodded the pipe with an instrument. The solvent spurted out, inflicting severe burns on his face and eyes. Plastic surgery was required.

These and other stories of injuries, or potential injuries and even fatalities that can be caused by some products used at home, are told by Arnold B. Elkind, a New York attorney who has just been appointed to his first Government job.

Elkind has been named chairman of the new National Commission on Product Safety, established by Congress to make a two-year study of ways to protect consumers from potentially dangerous products used around the house. The post now requires him to be in Washington two days a week.

"It sort of seems I've been preparing for this job for years," Elkind said. "As a trial lawyer, many of my cases have centered on injuries caused by commercial products."

The young plumber was one of his clients. Research showed the solvent had important variations that made the written directions totally wrong. The plumber won a "substantial settlement" from the solvent manufacturer, Elkind noted.

"I realized there was an element of dramatic appeal in having an injured consumer sue the manufacturer and I also recognized the public service aspect a trial lawyer could perform," he said.

Elkind started lecturing to law groups across the country and in 1958 organized an exchange service among trial lawyers. There was very little information available among attorneys who specialized in consumer protection, so a clearing house headquarters was set up in Boston.

The project interested Elkind so much that he served as chairman of the Consumer Protection Committee of the American Trial Lawyers Ass'n for six years. His appointment by President Johnson to head the Federal study commission was a natural follow-up.

Since his appointment, Elkind has turned over all his trial cases concerning product safety to other lawyers.

"Even one case on appeal," he said. "Attorney General Ramsey Clark said to turn that one over to someone else, so I did."

Elkind says he still has nightmares about one of the cases he handled. A two-year-old girl contracted lead-poisoning from a coloring pencil and suffered extensive brain damage.

"You just can't let things like this happen," he said. "Do you realize the greatest killer in the United States today is not disease? It is accidents—most of them suffered by persons between the ages of one and 36."

Elkind is optimistic that manufacturers will co-operate with his study group, which has no enforcement powers but will submit reports to the Administration and Congress.

"We hope for voluntary improvements on the manufacturers' part," Elkind said. "I think that in the past few years they have learned something. They're sensitized to their vulnerability thanks to our Government's protection laws and to people like Ralph Nader who stir things up."

The Commission will have more than 200 categories of products to study, though it is not expected to review food, drugs and other products already examined by Federal agencies.

"Machines used in and around the house, toys solvents, cleaners—sometimes I think the list is endless," Elkind said. "But remember, we're not prosecutors, we are learners. We're bent on finding out what's safe and, more important, what isn't."

Serving with Elkind on the Commission are Michael Pertschuk, general counsel to the Senate Commerce Committee; Emory J. Crofoot (cq), Senior Deputy City Attorney of Portland, Oreg.; Hugh L. Ray, director of the Merchandise Development and Testing Laboratory, Sears Roebuck Co., Chicago; Henry Aaron Hill, president of the Riverside Research Laboratory, Haverhill, Mass.; Dana Young, technical vice president, Southwest Research Institute, San Antonio, Texas and Sidney Margolius, a columnist on consumer subjects.

HON. ELMER HOLLAND—LABOR'S CHAMPION

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride, but also personal regret, that I join my colleagues in honoring an old friend—my fellow Democrat and fellow Pittsburgher—ELMER HOLLAND—who will be retiring at the end of this Congress.

ELMER HOLLAND has served our Commonwealth of Pennsylvania with loyalty, dedication, and distinction in both houses of the State legislature, and in these Halls for eight terms.

Although it is generally known that he helped to organize the United Steelworkers of America, and is a charter member, I wonder how many people realize that he enjoys the prestige of holding card No. 2 in local 1272 of the United Steelworkers.

A veteran of both World Wars himself, ELMER HOLLAND has long been a defender of veterans' causes, and as a spokesman for the workingman, he has left a lasting mark on such social legislation as manpower training, automation, minimum wage, and disability benefits for workers. His efforts in pioneering legislation to fight the war on poverty and to provide breakthroughs in vocational education are well known by all of us, and will remain as lasting monuments to his foresight and achievements. He has never hesitated to take a stand for a cause which he felt was right, and his candor and integrity have earned universal respect.

Besides being a friend, ELMER HOLLAND has been a great teacher and counselor to me. His counsel and leadership will be missed in the Congress and especially by me, but I wish him and his wife, Emily, the best of health and happiness in the years ahead.

MORE EFFECTIVE APPLICATION OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, recently, I arranged an ad hoc congressional hearing in the cities of Albany and Schenectady for the purpose of bringing together city, county, and private officials, with representatives of Federal departments. This effort was an attempt to determine more effective application of Federal programs for both the public and private sectors as they relate to the local community.

Some 24 officials from the 29th District presented statements at the hearings and discussed programs and problems with Federal representatives from the Office of Economic Opportunity; Justice; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; Interior; and Commerce.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, the exchange of ideas and the dissemination of information that resulted from this 1-day meeting will help the Federal Government be more responsive to the needs of the 29th District, and, at the same time, will give local leaders a better understanding and perhaps help them become more enterprising in their relationship with various Federal departments.

I deeply share the concern felt by many of my colleagues who are increasingly disturbed by the trend toward an impersonalized Federal Government. There is surely a need to humanize the working operations of our National Government.

Mr. Speaker, many decisions critically affecting the lives of every American are made by civil servants working for huge and seemingly distant agencies. Their identities are often obscure and they are not subject to the elective process. Rules are formulated only to be reformulated and the citizen apparently cannot influence what is being done.

A Congressman can to some extent be effective in this regard. He can serve as a spokesman for his constituents in Washington, D.C. His petitions on their behalf are not limited to the floor of the House of Representatives where laws are being fashioned, but may extend to the agencies and departments of the executive branch.

There has been a great deal of discussion recently, Mr. Speaker, about the value of creating the office of ombudsman in an effort to strengthen the representative form of government that we are fortunate to have in this country. I am of the belief, however, that the ombudsman's role of handling various citizen compliants and inquiries is a role that should properly be carried out by the elected legislators of the country at whatever level. The idea of closer association between local and Federal representatives is not new. It rather suggests a return to the traditional idea that a public official is a public servant, who should be responsive to his constituency in such a way as to preclude the necessity for creating the position of the ombudsman.

In order to facilitate the proper lines of communication between electorate and office holder, I have spent every spare minute in the district during the last year and a half. Well over 3,000 people have personally asked me to assist them with some problem relating to the Federal Government. I am happy to say that in many instances, our mutual efforts have met with success.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that grassroots hearings or conferences such as were held in my district, also provide another avenue of communication which should not be overlooked.

Unfortunately, because of the legislative session that day, I was not able to be present to moderate the hearings that were held on Friday, July 19. I asked, however, Mr. Paul Van Buskirk, who served as coordinator for the hearings, to conduct the session as my authorized representative. The participants felt, I am told, that a full and free discussion was had by all.

Mr. Speaker, because I believe certain insights will be gained by my colleagues into the methods and means that experienced people at the local level believe can make Federal programs more effective, I am placing in the RECORD, at this point, the formal statements made during the hearings by the local officials of the 29th District.

The statements follow:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

From DANIEL E. BUTTON, Member of Congress
To: Paul Van Buskirk.

Regrettably and under circumstances that were impossible to anticipate, I will not be able to be on hand in Albany and Schenectady on Friday to conduct the Congressional hearings which I had called on the more effective application of federal programs at the local level.

As you know, of course, it has not been customary for the House of Representatives to sit on Fridays, but a session has been scheduled for this week, with the question of firearms controls on the calendar for Friday. I have no alternative but to remain in Washington, but rather than postpone the hearing, I am taking the liberty of asking you—as the coordinator for these hearings—to conduct each session in my name and as my authorized representative. I am asking you to please outline the conditions under which witnesses will be heard and statements received. You will please explain the intent of placing these statements in the Congressional Record to make them generally available to my colleagues who are concerned about the effectiveness of such programs and are interested in the views of experts and citizens as to how to improve the operation of the programs.

Finally, I wish to note that today's sessions will adjourn to a subsequent date, to be arranged as soon as possible consonant with the Congressional calendar. At that time we shall elaborate on the statements received today, with an informal discussion between me and the witnesses.

STATEMENT BY U.S. REPRESENTATIVE DANIEL E. BUTTON IN OPENING CONGRESSIONAL HEARING ON FEDERAL PROGRAMS AT ALBANY AND SCHENECTADY, N.Y., JULY 19, 1968

The United States is experiencing a growth rate faster than that ever realized by any other contemporary society. Each year the population increases and the national wealth spirals to new peaks. This overwhelming expansion brings new problems and new social questions emerge and demand answers. New York has become a key center of growth and progress. The 29th Congressional District has the potential to emulate this growth and progress, as the Crossroads of the Northeast. Correspondingly, our State and region has evolved into focal points for an unending stream of social and economic problems which challenge all of us to find new, constructive solutions. State and local governments have had to grow at an unprecedented rate just to keep up the normal services expected by every community. Oftentimes, however, they alone have not been able to meet these pressing needs without help from the federal government. Thus, more emphasis has been placed upon developing a strong, cooperative effort by the state and local authorities on one hand, and the federal government on the other, to uniformly and jointly tackle the immense domestic problems such as poverty, inadequate educational facilities, slum housing, unemployment, and poor health conditions.

Through meetings such as this, where Federal and local leaders meet together, the benefit lies not only with the participants but also with the communities they serve.

The real success of this meeting will be shown by keeping open the channels of communication between all of us so that the people of the 29th District may be served in the best manner possible.

Personally, I hope for and expect that insights will be gained—both by me as your Representative to the federal government (where the authorizing laws are established, the enabling appropriations are approved, the operating regulations established and the grants approved) and by all the concerned people of our District, whose interests are so widely and so well represented at this hearing.

Let us now resolve to make the most of this unusual opportunity to inform the Congress and the Federal Executive Departments of the methods and means that experienced people believe can make the federal programs more effective at the local level.

This opportunity may result in new legislation or the amending of existing legislation in order for more programs to be more effective.

May I express my thanks to all those who are taking part in the hearing, and especially those who are making statements.

Hon. DANIEL BUTTON,
House of Representatives,
Congressman, 29th Dist., N.Y.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BUTTON: I am Mayor of the City of Cohoes, New York. This city in the early part of this century was an industrial giant. Its output of textile material was in excess of all that was produced by Manchester, England, the home of the industrial revolution. Along the canals of Cohoes is the largest industrial building in the world, the Harmony Mills. With the advent of electricity, Cohoes lost its natural economic advantage, to wit: water power. The depression of the '30s was the death blow to the economy of my city.

From the depression until 1964 there was no new building to speak of in the city, no new industry; but rather, 19.4% of the families in Cohoes had an income less than $3000.00 annually; 9.7% of males over 14 years of age were unemployed; 67.3% of the housing units are substandard; 36.5% of persons 25 years and older have less than eight years of education.

To rectify these crippling conditions, the City of Cohoes immediately applied for assistance from the Federal and State Governments. To date, the following programs have been developed to aid our city:

The Model Cities Program, sponsored by HUD.

Neighborhood Youth Corps, sponsored by the City of Cohoes and funded by the Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Work Programs.

Child Development Center (CAP), sponsored by Y.W.C.A. and funded by OEO.

Housing, Environmental, Rehabilitation, Development Center (CAP), sponsored by Cohoes Housing Authority and funded by OEO.

Nelson-Scheurer Amendment Work Training Project, sponsored by Cohoes Recreation Commission and funded by the Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Work Programs.

Legal Aid (CAP), sponsored by Albany County.

Neighborhood Center, Sponsored by Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Albany. (Includes Senior Citizen Program, funded through New York State Office of the Aging.)

Land and Water Federal Conservation Fund Act.

Neighborhood Facilities Grant—Community Center.

Approved Workable Program.

Emergency Operating Center.

These programs have given Cohoes a second chance. There is an air of excitement and expectation in our city. We no longer look to the past but await the future. In five years, we plan to have rebuilt a great part of our city.

If all the above programs are to become more effective for the City of Cohoes and for other municipalities, I recommend that there be increased cooperation and coordination among the federal agencies in determining which localities receive the benefits from the various existing programs.

I would also strongly recommend that more authority be given to the localities involved in these programs. It is my belief that local public administrators are more cognizant of the problems of their municipalities than someone far removed in Washington. Other communities have seen social action programs established for them, had the programs funded by the Federal Government, and then dropped for lack of funds, regardless of the degree of their success. If more authority is given to the localities involved, insurmountable red tape will be abolished, and private industry can be encouraged to participate.

There is no doubt in my mind that the localities will do an efficient and expeditious job, for you just have to remember that I, as Mayor of the City of Cohoes, periodically stand for reelection. However, the administrator in Washington is not known and he does not have to stand in the glare of public scrutiny. Therefore, if the local elected administrators are delegated the authority, they shall handle this authority with prudence for their own political future.

Respectfully submitted,
JAMES E. MCDONALD,
Mayor of the City of Cohoes.

STATEMENT OF LAWRENCE C. BURWELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, URBAN LEAGUE OF THE ALBANY AREA, INC.

1. Development of the inner city. The inner city is inhabited to an excessively high degree by the dispossessed. Having been divested of an agricultural pattern of life which provided a limited continuity of existence in poverty without the advantage of the possibility of ownership, the residents, forced from the land, gravitate to our cities and with equal regularity to the low rent or inner-city areas. Ownership of anything for such residents is elusive if not impossible and thus, the

potential social therapy of having a stake in the city increasingly escalates frustration and adds to the abundance of problems related to the age of the inner city alone.

Suggested here is that programs devoted to housing, economic development and employment be addressed to increasing the ownership base of residents. Such an orientation entails, (1) a complete reversal of the use of the Federal dollar in the production of actual housing units in consultation with potential customers and in relationship to their desires, ambitions and abilities.

2. The Federal dollar designed to stimulate business must be shared to meet inner-city needs for ownership, employment and habits of consumption. To this end, the Small Business Administration has never been relevant.

Testimony by Lawrence F. Klepper, Executive Director, Legal Aid Society of Albany, a Legal Service Program Funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity

KLEPPER'S LAWS FOR THE ALLOCATION OF FEDERAL RESOURCES

Congressman Button and members of the panel. I wish to direct my remarks this afternoon to the effectiveness of Federal Programs in coping with the problems of poverty in our community.

My expertise and the importance of my conclusions are based on the fact that I have had the longest tenure of any living American to head an anti-poverty agency in Albany, without having been arrested, picketed or hung in effigy.

At the community level we often observe federal policies being applied in a manner reminiscent of Parkinson's Law. As you recall this law is based on the brilliant observation that work expands in direct proportion to the amount of time in which we have to do it. In an effort to eradicate the causes of poverty, I have often noted that Federal Programs and policies fall far short of accomplishing their objectives. The reasons for such failure I wish to set forth under the broad title of "Klepper's Laws for the Allocation of Federal Resources".

1. Respond to catastrophes in an inverse ratio to the length of time in which the catastrophe develops

In short, respond to short term immediate catastrophes, but tend to ignore those which evolve over long periods of time.

An earthquake in Alaska will justifiably produce a response measured in hundreds of millions of dollars. This is as it should be. Unfortunately the 200 year tragedy of the American negro as a second class citizen has evolved slowly, and we are barely coming to grips with the necessity for housing, rehabilitation, job training, and education programs.

Programs were quickly and effectively implemented to assist millions of returning veterans at the conclusion of World War II. Federal Benefits for mortgage insurance, educational assistance and small business loans were some of the benefits which helped the returning GI adjust to civilian life. Contrast this response with the relative inaction in meeting the problem of the deterioration of the innercore of most urban cities; a slower but equally as important problem, certainly calling for a response as effective as our mobilization and demobilization programs of the past.

2. Favor technology over social problems

We have committed 1½ billion dollars to the development of a supersonic transport which will get us to Europe several hours faster. We have allocated for 1968—5.3 billion dollars for space research. While our heads are in the stars—our feet are in the mud. For the same period of time, less than 2 billion dollars has been allocated to the War on Poverty. Man's conquest of space and the unknown may be an exciting challenge, but just try to explain that to some of the local residents of our deteriorating slums. Obviously, our value judgments as to priorities differ somewhat.

3. Perpetuate with one set of programs the evils you are trying to eradicate with other programs

Since World War II FHA insured mortgages have enabled millions of middle-class citizens to leave the innercity for the suburbs. As low-income groups, especially negroes, moved into the scarce housing, no programs comparable in scope were available for the individual slum resident to purchase and rehabilitate his home.

The Federal Reserve Bank assures a steady and available supply of funds for local commercial banks so that persons and business firms with good credit ratings can borrow funds. Unfortunately, low-income families in slum areas must rely for their credit needs upon commercial finance companies whose interest charges are often more than twice that of commercial banks. The Federal mechanism which is so effective for middle class America has never expanded to fill the needs of the slums.

The low-income senior citizen, attempting to live on social security, until the age of 72, is still prohibited from seeking full time employment, unless he is prepared to accept a reduction in his meager social security payments. Of course, dividend income is still not regarded as income within the contemplation of the social security law. The retired middle income executive with income from pensions or security investments need not be concerned about any reduction in his social security payment.

4. Favor status-quo over the creative

Our Federal appropriation for maintaining the welfare system in 1968 is 3 billion dollars. It is conceded by most authorities that the concept of welfare is bankrupt, demeaning and ineffective in helping indigent persons become economically self sufficient.

We are maintaining a farm subsidy program, or as it is more gently referred to; as "Farm Income Stabilization Program," of 2.5 billion dollars. This program involves direct payments to farm owners for the purpose of having them not produce. We have tolerated this agricultural give away for decades although the concept of a negative income tax or a guaranteed annual wage fills many Americans with horror.

Despite the desperate employment problems in ghetto areas among young men who are under educated and unskilled, and not withstanding the nationwide problem which now exists in the U.S. Postal Department, Daniel B. Moynihan's suggestion of training 50,000 letter carriers from the ranks of slum youths was never seriously considered.

5. Dismember the Office of Economic Opportunity

OEO has been a dynamic vehicle for concentrating the nation's attention on the problems of poverty, yet it has continually been threatened with dismemberment of programs.

The Community Action Program of OEO is the major tool for mobilizing poverty areas and attempting to implement the substitute programs which emanate from Congress. CAP has never been able to function to its maximum effectiveness because the substitute programs have not been available. For example, organizing slum tenants to work for better conditions is a frustrating experience when there are no available programs for home ownership or rehabilitation of individual homes in slum areas. Substantive programs in housing depend upon State and Municipal efforts. The individual resident is virtually powerless to affect his own destiny.

OEO now faces the loss of its Headstart Program, Manpower programs, and Adult Education programs. A vote in Congress this week threatens to make the Community Action Program a hollow shell.

The functioning of Klepper's Laws for the Allocation of Federal Resources is not immutable. A constituency, composed of urban interests, minority groups, youth, and the intellectuals in society, can save vital and meaningful Federal Programs.

It is difficult to dream the impossible dream and to beat the unbeatable foe while Klepper's Law is in operation. I, therefore, urgently call for its repeal.

Statement by James P. Heron, Council of Community Services

Congressman Button and Ladies and Gentlemen: I am James P. Heron, Executive Director of the Council of Community Services in Albany, New York. Our organization has been active in planning, coordination and creation of new services in Albany County for forty-one years.

We could comment extensively on the need for improvements in present federally funded programs, and the need for new programs. We choose not to do so, but rather to direct our comments to one need alone: better use of what we have.

In this one county alone, some $70,000,000 at minimum are spent each year through the 150 or more public and voluntary administrations and organizations providing health, welfare, recreation and educational services.

The majority of these programs have either direct, or indirect (through the State and municipalities) federal funding.

A recent major characteristic of our local picture has been the proliferation and profusion of local programs, direct from Washington (as with the Office of Economic Opportunity), or through the State (as with Comprehensive Health Planning). There is great overlap in these programs (e.g. Health Planning, Mental Health Planning, Rehabilitation Planning), which promises to lead to great confusion.

It is our view that these programs should be coordinated at the Regional and/or local level to eliminate confusion and duplication.

Some approaches have been made in this direction in physical planning through federal encouragement to regional physical planning boards, and planning boards at the municipal level.

Similar federal encouragement should be given to the localities and the States for a single instrumentality at the state, regional, and local levels to coordinate all physical and social planning, with this instrumentality to include local public and voluntary leadership in meaningful roles which will allow creation of programming which permits flexibility of response to the needs particular to each locality.

We are a wealthy nation. It is doubtful however if even we can continue the cost of internecine budget warfare between the various Departments and Bureaus of the Federal Government, and of the State governments, for funds and programs. It is time we created an instrumentality which can concentrate on the problem—the needs of our citizens—and can then in a coordinated fashion obtain maximum mobilization of the public and voluntary resources available for our citizens.

Statement by Abraham Bolgatz, Director, State University Urban Center

The State University of New York Urban Center in the Capital District is one of four tuition-free centers, funded by the State University of New York and operated by Hudson Valley Community College, providing educational opportunities, counseling, and occupational skill training for the educationally disadvantaged. The center was created to serve the educational and occupational needs and/or interests of anyone 18 years of age or over, unemployed or underemployed.

As Director of the program, I have found that it is of the utmost importance that our students be treated as total human beings who fulfill various functions as well as being students. We have found that, in order to adequately meet their learning problems, we have to sincerely work with them in meeting their other problems in the areas of employment, housing, health, social welfare, etc. If we really care, we have to make clear that caring does not stop at the front door of our institution.

In order to implement this philosophy, we have on our staff, vocational teachers, academic teachers, outreach workers, student personnel advisors, administrators, etc. All of these staff members have, in the past year, worked very closely with the representatives of the existing agencies in the community in our effort to complement and supplement the already existing resources in order to meet the very great needs that we find in the communities we serve.

Among the experimental innovative programs which we have launched have been cooperative programs with private industry and governmental agencies. We find that one of the most difficult aspects of these and other programs is the need to meet inflexible guidelines which will often mitigate against success.

Another problem we encounter is a lack of meaningful, cooperative consideration by the federal government of local activity. While I believe that activities such as CAMPS are a step in the right direction, much of the force is vitiated when there is no attention paid to the efforts of the local area.

I, also, very strongly believe that locally-initiated efforts such as the State University Urban Center program should be encouraged by supplementary support from federal agencies. I believe that programs such as these should be given priority consideration when application is made for federal supplementation, and that they should be taken into account when planning federal programs for the local area.

In conclusion, I would like to say that, while it is of the utmost importance that federal programs that are significant to urban areas be continued and expanded, it is also important that this be done in such a manner that local conditions are recognized, local activities are supported, and local initiative is encouraged.

I feel that this can best be done by fairly allocating the resources available through the various federal departments to the specific localities, and then having federal personnel assist the local personnel in utilizing these resources. The present system of competitive activity on the part of local areas makes for waste, frustration, disillusionment, and bitterness.

STATEMENT OF LEON VAN DYKE REPRESENTING THE BROTHERS, A SOCIAL ACTION ORGANIZATION IN ALBANY

Gentlemen, we would like to thank you for allowing us to express out opinion. The philosophy of O.E.O. is supposed to be Maximum Feasible participation of the Poor. In actual practice we have found this not to be true. Under Sec. (211176) it states that ⅓ of the members of the governing or administering board shall be "public officials."

It also states that, "at least ⅓ of the members are persons chosen in accordance with democratic selection procedures adequate to assure that they are representative of the poor in the area served, and that the remainder of the members are officials or members of business, industry, labor, religious, welfare, education, or other major groups and interest in the community.

It is our feeling that the make-up of the board puts the poor in the minority and puts the politician in business, who exploits them, in the majority.

Recommendation: that at least ⅔ of the board shall be the poor and *not* "representatives" of the poor. To the Brothers, this is maximum feasible participation of the poor.

2. One of O.E.O.'s most popular slogans is that they are waging a war on poverty. In actual practice, we have found this not to be true, or at its best, half-heartedly. It is our belief that the war on poverty in this country, if it is to be successful, must have four fronts. Social action, direct action, legal action and political action. For the most part, this war is only being waged on one front, and that is social action: Headstart programs, playgrounds, taking people down to the welfare department and holding meetings.

Recommendation: We believe that the poor should hire all staff personnel and determine what qualifications are needed for specific jobs.

3. Hatch act for federal employees.

It is our feeling that with such national groups such as Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student-Non-Violent-Coordinating committee, National Association for the Advancement of coloured people and the Congress of Racial Equality getting involved in the political system of our country, it is absolutely necessary for O.E.O. to stop hiding behind the Hatch act, and let its employees support the poor in political issues and candidates.

In closing, we would like to say that O.E.O. has played a significant role in helping to eliminate poverty, but it can be much more effective if its restrictions are not so rigid, that it prevents the poor from saying how this war is to be fought.

Once again, I thank you gentlemen very much for allowing us to express our opinion.

JOINT STATEMENT OF MRS. STANLEY P. MAYERSOHN, ALBANY CITIZENS AGAINST POVERTY, AND REV. DAVID R. CODDINGTON, CAPITAL AREA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION

Purpose: To register opinions concerning the acquisition and use of federal monies on the local level in funding programs to meet community needs.

I. FUNDING LOCAL PROGRAMS

Some problems.

A. At present, it is evident that one of the problems regarding funding local programs with federal monies is the need for a system whereby grants from the federal government are processed with a minimum amount of time between approval and the actual receiving of funds. Too often a delay in receipt of monies for program and staff causes:

1. loss of interest in the community.
2. loss of vital personnel.
3. waste of effort on the part of staff members attempting to secure funds when their time could be better spent on program.
4. loans of monies through the payment of interest on loans for interim financing.

B. *Established Programs* (receiving federal monies): Programs already established and receiving federal support have, it seems, a two-fold problem. They have difficulty being refunded and the upgrading or enlarging of an existing program is difficult because of lack of knowledge about future funds.

C. *Summer Programs:* Advance funding or positive information about funding is vital to summer programs using federal monies. There is a need to hire qualified personnel for a short period of time (9 weeks) and if there is any doubt about funding, effective staffing of a program becomes almost impossible because qualified people find something else.

D. *New Programs:* There is a decided need for help in securing money for new programs. Where does one go for help in a community which may be apathetic or even antagonistic to the correction or amelioration of social problems which are not being attacked with sufficient vigor?

II. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUNDING PROCEDURES

A1. Is it not possible to continue automatically the funding of an approved, existing local program for a specified time beyond the funding period? If the funding period is for one year but the program is an on-going one, why can't funds automatically be carried over until the new application for funds is approved?

2. There ought to be a readily accessible person who has knowledge of the local area to whom one can go for information and funding regarding programs for social action. It is possible to bring into existence a kind of local federal *"Ombudsman"* or *"Board of Creative Projects For Social Action"?* The duties and powers of such a person or board would include the pre-screening of new applications for funds and the granting of immediate funding for those programs whose presentation, documentation and urgency seemed to merit an immediate response. Such an approach would allow a program to begin with little or no delay.

Such an office, close to the local scene, ought also be required to visit the programs within its purview, Then when applications for refunding are submitted the office possesses an intimate knowledge and understanding of the request.

Specific and up to date information regarding federal programs is often difficult to obtain and action on requests sometimes excessively slow. Difficulties such as these can be overcome by the federal office coming closer to the local problem. It seems not an insurmountable problem.

III. SUGGESTED NEW PROGRAM—TEEN-CENTERS

A. It is to our "Teen-Ager" and "Teeny-Boppers" to whom we must look for the shape of things to come—frightening as it may be! If we are to fulfill our duty to them in a full measure we must expend more energy and money than we are at present.

Obviously the greater concern must be to the nation's underprivileged and disadvantaged children of the poor. These poor in our great urban centers are for the most part black and because of their blackness they have been almost excluded from the affluent society in which whites participate. The gap in opportunity available to Black youngsters as compared to whites is disgracefully wide and really not enough is being done to remedy or even halt the widening of the gap. There are comparisons available which are illustrative.

1. Black infant mortality in 1940 was 70% higher than the white rate. In 1960 it was 90% higher.
2. A Black male child born in 1962 had as much chance of surviving to 20 as a white boy had of reaching 37. A black female child could look forward to reaching 20 as confidently as a white girl to reaching 42.
3. In 1960, the percentage of male college graduates aged 25 to 29 was 15.6 for whites and 5.3 for blacks.
4. The Selective Service Mental Test points up the gap. For the country as a whole the failure rate is about 25%. Between June 1964 and December 1965 the rate for whites was 19%, for blacks 67%.

(Figures taken from the *Third Annual Report Of The National Advisory Council on The Education of Disadvantaged Children of Title I, E.S.E.A. (1965)* pp. 27–7.)

There is a need for a program to attack the gap. We suggest "Teen Centers". We propose the establishing of "Teen-Centers" in and around the city of Albany as a pilot project for "reaching and teaching" young people disadvantaged by circumstances.

The term "Teen-Center" usually connotes a place for recreation, for dancing for eating together and for "just hanging around". The centers would be all these and more. All of the equipment purchased would be selected by the young people themselves. The uses of and programs in the building would be in a large measure determined by the young people and their needs. They would be members of the policy-making board of the over-all program.

Further, the concept of "new careers" could be introduced by using neighborhood people to staff and run the centers.

The whole gamut of social services available to neighborhood people could be focused through such centers. Communication between city administrations and neighborhoods would be increased. The whole process could be one of a healing nature. Competent personnel directing such a program could directly affect the lives of not just "teen-agers" but families and neighborhoods. The real purpose of the program would be supplied by relationship of the Group worker or institutional director to the young people. From this relationship would come information as to needs and concerns in the total community. We think they are worth a try.

Statement of Mrs. Mamie Holt, President, Clinton Square Civic Association

We, in this area, need more money so we can have more effective programs for the poor people and year round programs for our youth. If programs are begun, they should be sure there is enough money to see that they operate correctly. You do not need programs for they create more trouble if you promise people something and fail to produce what you promise.

You need to rewrite the applications for Federal funds so they can be understood and used by poor people. As they are written now, many well educated people find it difficult to understand them. Also, it makes it difficult for poor people to do things for themselves. This means that we still have to depend on other people to do things for us. We feel very strongly that we are tired of this situation. If we have to continue to depend on other people, we will never be able to become a true citizen of this Country. We are no longer willing to let other people do things for us.

Clinton Square Civic Association is interested in Urban Renewal. We believe that Urban Renewal should first begin with the people who live in the area. It should be done only when they decide that they want Urban Renewal. All plans should be made with local officials and the people who live in the area. Since high use apartments have been so unpopular, they should not be included in Urban Renewal programs unless the people ask for them.

The Federal Government should make sure that the people approve all plans before they grant any money to any Local Government. The Federal Government should make sure that all officials who work for Urban Renewal are not "Slum Lords" and do not have conflicting interest with the process of Urban Renewal.

Statement by William C. Thomas, Progressive Community Association, July 26, 1968

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

On crime and delinquency, with money available we believe we could overcome some of the problems that plague our city.

To have a better understanding of how the law works by having a teenage court run and guided by a judge. A teenage jury, teenage lawyer to try a teenager accused of a crime. We believe there is no stricter punishment than another teenager issuing it.

A junior police force trained to work with and help the local police in combating destructiveness, harassing and annoying delinquents. They could also help in the field of traffic, such as drag racing or just getting license numbers of these cars and issuing tickets when no policemen are available. They could help in so many ways.

In the problem of delinquency, if a school program was made interesting enough there would be none. This means in our area we would like to hire the teachers who would be interested in helping the problem of a child by helping to solve it rather than telling him to take it back home. Of the teachers we now have, some are not wanted by other systems—the young who want to hurry and have no time, or are just plain leftovers.

With money available to make a school program this interesting and by giving the pupil attention and personal contact to encouragement rather than discouragement this program a pupil would not want to miss a day of school.

DAY CARE

One of the greatest needs in the South End, and specifically in the area between Morton Avenue and Second Avenue above South Pearl Street, is for the provision of adequate care for children on a full day basis.

Individuals and groups within this area are interested in getting such a service in operation. Others, private groups and individuals have expressed support for efforts to establish day care. In addition, public funds in the form of re-imbursement are reportedly forthcoming.

In view of this, the greatest obstacles to the establishment of such a Day Care unit is the lack of an adequate physical facility. The question then: what can be done to alleviate this barrier to day care.

Statement by Rev. Herman A. Rhodes, Director, S.E.N.C.A.P., July 19, 1968

I believe that I have been invited here to talk about the South End, Its people and problems. The area I am talking about is east of Madison Avenue and south of Delaware Avenue to the Hudson River. This broadly described geographic dimension of the Census Tract 23, 24, 25, is the assigned area of the South End Neighborhood Community Action Project, commonly called S.E.N.C.A.P. I speak of an area where 14,000 people sleep, dream, hate, love, eat, bear babies and die. 40% of these people never move beyond the fence of want. You ask me to come here to this hearing as their spokesman. Who are they? What are they like? What do they want?

I. WHO ARE THEY?

This 40% longs for an escape from the poverty trap. 82% of them are black, and also face discrimination to their skin color. The other 18% are white. Most of them have less than a 7th grade education. Most of the blacks are first generation from the plantation who are seeking the promised land of the northern city and the fulfillment, "All Men Are Created Equal".

II. WHAT ARE THEY LIKE?

They are tall, short, fat, skinny, bald, and with hair. They have all the human qualities found in all human beings. They have seen dreams shattered, they have had their hopes always flee before them like an elusive dream, and yet they keep the faith.

III. WHAT DO THEY WANT?

Now I approach the core of the matter. They want to share in the building of the greatest society ever known to man. That is a general conception, but there are also specifics. Our chief concern are in four areas:

a. Day care for infants and children.

b. Model city program

c. Cut back of red tape in the funding of government program, especially Community Action.

d. Proper communication with our elected official.

Our latest MIS report shows that we work with 112 female heads of households. Of this group 30% are unwed mothers, and the remaining 70% are women whose husbands have deserted them. All of these women express a desire to improve their condition by going to school in order to upgrade their job skills or seek new jobs that are not dead-end employment. Yet the greatest roadblock of all these women seems to be inadequate day care facilities for their children. Let it be crystal clear that when I speak of day care, I am not seeking to have the standards lowered, but I am saying that methods and means should be discovered whereby every able-bodied mother who desires to become an active participant, and not a spectator living on welfare, will have a day care center. This would not be merely a baby sitting drop-off, but a center that will be involved not only with the welfare of the child but also with the welfare of the mother. The type of day care center I visualize would be one with a bright atmosphere, proper food for the child, exposure to early learning experiences, and proper health services provided by a full-time nurse. The day care center should also be an adequate social welfare center with a social worker who would go into the home, if the mother needed new career training, job improvement, etc., the day care center would offer the total environment factor which would gear not only the child to stretch forth toward its total development but the mother also. In regard to the child, it is a fact of life that early surroundings make indelible impressions upon the personality.

It is imperative that needless red tape be scratched so that those who desire to open a meaningful day care center may do so. It is imperative that local, state, or federal agencies have some pilot funds available for reputable institutions, whereby these institutions could overcome financial hang-ups which prevent the opening of day care centers with competent staff. It is my belief that if it could be demonstrated to many of these young people who are caught in the web of failure that someone cares they would become active participants in our society.

Where a man lives and the kind of roof he has over his head has a lot to do with his total outlook. People who have to live in a rundown, dilapidated, substandard house can hardly call this house a good shelter, and surely the children would rather stay in the street than in the house. It seems that the Model Cities Program envisioned by the Urban Redevelopment Commission will be an answer to the cries of many. We have been told that the program has been shelved for the present time, and we appeal to the hearing to seek out for us what the red tape and roadblocks are that prevent this program from becoming a reality. It is our belief that it was Congress who created the red tape and roadblocks and thus it should be Congress who removes them.

The majority of the people who work on the local level of the Community Action Program are indigent people who have lived and are living most of their lives on a day to day existence. It is their responsibility to work for maximum feasible participation of the poor. None can or should be expected to do an effective job when their pay is sometimes in question. That is to say our own program, S.E.N.C.A., has been late in receiving its notification of refunding for the past two years. People who work in these programs are always wondering at funding time whether they will be with or without a job.

This leads into our last point. I believe that some of the above is caused by poor communication. The people in the disadvantaged area need a voice to keep their elected representative ever alert of their dreams and desires. The liaison between the representative and the people must have genuine rapport with the people. It is not enough to only report on television and in the newspaper. Often you have a communication blackout because these media most of the time do not relate the true feeling of the people.

We want to be heard. We are talking. Are you listening?

Statement of Opinion From George C. Morris, Executive Director, Albany County Opportunity, Inc., and Albert Fenster, President, Board of Directors, Albany County Opportunity, Inc.

1. ACOI (Albany County Opportunity, Incorporated) feels strongly that the bureaucratic hang-up in funds disbursement hampers the effectiveness and reduces the efficiency of the local Community Action Agencies below desired operating levels of administration capabilities. We recognize the need of Congress to guarantee maximum return for the OEO investments. In return, we feel that we would be better able to make these maximum returns with prompt funding for program operations.

2. We feel that ACOI is in an enviable position in regard to communications with our congressional representative. It is our strong position that adequate information through our congressmen should insure efficiency in meeting the needs of the community in which the Community Action Agency operates.

Capital District Regional
Planning Commission,
Albany, N.Y., July 10, 1968.

Mr. Paul G. VanBuskirk,
Coordinator for Congressional
Hearing on More Effective Programs,
Cohoes, N.Y.

Dear Mr. VanBuskirk: This is in response to your July 1 letter of invitation to attend and/or submit a statement at the Congressional Hearings scheduled for July 19 in Schenectady and Albany.

The Capital District Regional Planning Commission does not meet until July 25 and, therefore, out of courtesy to the members of the Commission, I must indicate that the following observations and comments are my own and should not be construed as a policy statement of the Commission.

My comments will not be directed towards specific programs of Federal agencies. Perhaps subsequent or periodic Hearings could be sponsored to probe into more specific aspects of the various Federal programs. You may have already considered this Hearing as a first step in a series of local Hearings to explore on a continuing basis the need for a constant examination of the structure, direction and thrust of Federal programs.

There is no question concerning the validity of the often repeated plea for the elimination of federal constraints and the development of more effective control at the local level. The major question is to develop an attitude or response at the Federal level which would permit this type of valued flexibility. Working with Federal programs can be, and frequently is, a hazardous, complex, and uncertain relationship. It has reached a point where the administrative ability to extract Federal funds commands a high respect and market value in the various professions associated with the social, economic and physical development of the community.

Perhaps the basic deficiency in the overall character of the Federal departmental structure is the tendency for the various Federal agencies to duplicate programs which they discover in other Federal agencies. The net result, for example, is that five or six Federal Departments may provide piecemeal financial assistance for various types and segments of sewer and water programs, each with its own body of administrative regulations and criteria. The real lack, furthermore, of sufficient funding of these programs merely compounds the confusion and frustration.

There are no simple solutions to this complex question of Federal-State-Local interrelationships and I do not propose any. However, it does seem that substantial, multiple purpose and long ranging benefits could be achieved if the current trend could be accelerated to group or to consolidate similar functions and programs in a single Federal Department or to utilize the technique of the Appalachia Commission, which has, as its basic premise, the adding of additional Federal funds to an existing Federal Program, and, in effect, reducing the local share cost to a level which would make the program more accessible to those communities which are hard pressed to meet the ever mounting costs of providing municipal services.

In addition, further Federal efforts in strengthening local governments' ability to deal effectively with the problems of change and growth can be achieved by strengthening the administrative and financial capacity of counties to serve as the coordinating agent for local governments in the utilization of programs to solve area-wide problems. Further financial incentives should also be provided for citizens and local officials to cooperate on a regional basis.

A great deal more than is often realized can be done to resolve urban area problems by local governments working together. Further emphasis on the need for intermunicipal cooperation should be reflected in Federal programs so that the problems associated with the declining fiscal capacity of cities to provide new and expensive services and with the great fiscal burden of building new public facilites in suburban towns can be resolved.

Thank you for the opportunity to present these comments and observations for consideration. Attached are ten copies as requested.

Sincerely yours,

Louis Lex, Jr.,
Executive Director.

Testimony by Arthur T. Lawrance, President, Schenectady County Chamber of Commerce, Inc.

I will state what we believe to be some major factors which are necessary for the successful application of federal programs at the local level and also cite recent experiences of the chamber of commerce as examples.

Federal programs must encourage the involvement of the business community in problem solving. Without further developing the resources of the private sector in combination with those of the public, federal government spending in search of solutions cannot help but continue its upward spiral.

An example of this kind of effort is the combination of federal and local government resources with the ability of business to assume risk for the purpose of housing large, low-income families. Realizing after study that one of the two major areas where the chamber can assist the disadvantaged is housing, we formed the Schenectady County Housing Development Council, Inc. to build for the Schenectady Municipal Housing Authority 60 three, four and five bedroom townhouse units. These units will be purchased upon completion by the MHA with funds from the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development, and will be constructed with interim financing secured by the Council on the basis of a letter of intent which we hope to secure shortly from HUD. The major advantage which we see in this "turnkey" method of construction is time. By contracting with a national construction firm which can have the first units ready for occupancy 90 days after the start of construction, the Housing Council hopes to have families moving in this year. With over 800 families now on the Municipal Housing waiting list that will be none too soon.

We are confident that this program will be successful and our request of the federal government is that everything possible be done to encourage similar utilization of business resources in this and other problem areas.

The second major factor which I see as vital to the success of federal programs at the local level is the need for agencies to be action-oriented. Federal agencies should be able to work with local groups to solve problems as soon as they are identified. This is the best time to meet the needs of those concerned, and excessive delays breed hardship and frustration. Toward this end decision making and approvals should take place at the lowest level possible within the agency structure.

The third element which I would stress is the need for flexibility to meet local needs. My next example points this out and also emphasizes the advantages of prompt action and business involvement.

In addition to housing, the chamber's study of ways which business could effectively help the disadvantaged in Schenectady identified jobs as a second area of responsibility. As a result of this study, we have entered into a contract with the Division of Manpower of the New York State Department of Labor for a unique kind of on-the-job training program. The key element of this OJT program we believe is its provision for an individual rather than a group approach to training, and it is this element which gives us high expectations for a success in reaching the most difficult employment cases.

The contract calls for pre-job training to be provided by the Schenectady City School District, with the object being preparation for the on-the-job phase of trainees accepted from the Division of Employment and local community action agency referrals. A Chamber Coordinator is responsible for overall supervision of the program and for negotiating sub-contracts with local business and industrial firms for the actual OJT. These agreements call for payment by the firm of an entry wage to those candidates declared job-ready, with reimbursement by the State for instruction expense. When the employer feels that the trainee should graduate from the OJT phase, which may last up to 20 weeks, he is guaranteed a job at the place he received his training.

We believe that this pilot program, financed entirely by the State of New York, will demonstrate the need for more flexibility on the part of the federal government in the OJT programs which it finances through the Manpower Development ad Training Act.

From the time that the Chamber Board of Directors gave the go-ahead to the program until a signed contract was received from the State less than six months elapsed, and the bulk of this time was taken up in careful consideration of the legal problems of an almost totally new form of program. Federal MDTA OJT programs in the state have taken much longer, in the order of 13 months to over 2 years for contract signing.

The federal definition of a disadvantaged person qualified to participate in the federally financed training limits participants by age to 22 years old or younger, or 45 years old or older. The bulk of the applicants accepted into the chamber-state program so far fall between the ages of 22 and 45. For federal financing, definite, inflexible ceilings are also set on the amount of money earned by applicants who hope to qualify.

Another major advantage of our program, and we feel that this is very important, is that through the participation of the Chamber a high degree of interest has developed among the local firms which are the source of the actual jobs. We are less than a month into actual operation, but already we have a number of jobs available which we can point to when working with applicants for training. To insure the continued interest of the business community, the program is directly responsible to an advisory board made up of business leaders and community action agency personnel, all appointed by myself as president of the Chamber.

Major elements of our experience which I believe the federal government should consider carefully in revising its own programs include the time factor, the need for flexibility and the ability to adjust to the individual, the need for participants to know what they are training for, better communication with all elements of the community and broader avenues of recruitment, and most important of all, full involvement of the business community.

Statement of John P. Terry, Project Director, Project Upward Bound, Union College, Schenectady, N.Y.

Upward Bound, and/or a similar replacement program, is necessary in that it relates itself directly to the so-called "urban crisis." The program at Union College is dedicated to the belief that education is an important method of interrupting the "cycle of poverty" and that the project is a viable vehicle in which youth may move from the slum to the college campus. Specifically, it attempts to orient the student and his parents to a more positive attitude toward education in order to provide a viable alternative to a continuous life of poverty and avert an expensive dependency on community, in terms of welfare, unemployment, and delinquency, etc. No less importantly, properly programed projects will return to the community, in particular to the poverty community, well trained, articulate, and professional leaders to deal with the critical urban problems.

Upward Bound provides an adequate transitional vehicle in that it motivates and prepares for college entrance young people from poor and minority backgrounds who have the ability but who, in all probability, would not continue education beyond high school without massive intervention. It facilitates interracial and group communication thus providing young people with the social and psychological skills necessary to overcome the alienation and frustration that is the tinder for riots and social unrest.

Specifically, the methods used to bring about the above include: 1. Small classes, not in excess of fifteen, taught by well-trained and experienced teachers who are sensitive to the problems. 2. Communications groups specifically designed to constructively confront the problems unique to the urban youth and to provide him with the necessary understanding in order that he may cope with and change his environment within the democratic system. 3. Exposure to a variety of cultural experiences designed to enrich the knowledge of minority group cultural contributions as well as the exposure to the more traditional cultural experiences. This includes Negro culture and history, immigrant group contributions and assimilation, theater, art, photography, weaving, ballet, and music. 4. Developing an understanding of and a facility with the American democratic system as an effective process of reducing conflict and bringing about change. Included with a social studies course developed around issues in American political history is student government, tailored after the American federal system.

Upward Bound provides a family service that attempts to support the student and goals of the project through the parents. It provides a model for other children in the family and the community. The program gives parents a meaningful role in the development of the project policies, curriculum development, and their own children's education. It develops community involvement and continuing education programs in areas of specific interest. This is done through weekly meetings, conducted by a trained psychologist. Suggestions and recommendations made during these meetings are subsequently integrated into the academic program and project policies.

For the community, Upward Bound is a direct supplement to the educational programs provided by that community through its cooperation with the high schools. It is a liaison between the poverty community and existing educational institutions. It provides the community with an important vehicle for creating leadership in a necessary and positive manner, making time work creatively for young people for whom it might otherwise be destructive. The project gives the poverty community a means to develop its own mechanism for social change and supplements the Community Action Agencies.

An extensive research project is underway in the elaborate field laboratory provided by Upward Bound. Interim data suggests that individuals in the program have become much more internally controlled in terms of articulating their own destinies through the development of skills in opposition to the determination of life or behavior patterns by luck or chance. The development of the empathetic or reciprocal attitudes, as opposed to an egocentric approach to human interaction, has occurred. There has been an increase in positive attitudes toward, as well as a measurable improvement in, academic skill achievement.

GENERAL CRITICISMS REGARDING THE LACK OF COMMITMENT TO UPWARD BOUND NATIONALLY

The lack of congressional understanding of and commitment to Upward Bound manifests itself in the funding of the program nationally. Little additional money has been made available to expand programs despite the recommendation made by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder that "the program (Upward Bound) has been effective. Of the 23,000 students covered in 1967 (52% of whom were Negro), 83% went on to college. However, the size of the program is far short of the need. Estimates indicate that some 600,000 poverty-area students could usefully be helped. We believe the Upward Bound concept is sound and recommend that it be substantially expanded."[1] This year federal funding enables the program to support only some 30,000 students out of a pool of 600,000 qualified candidates. In the cities of Albany, Schenectady, and Troy alone, according to statistics collected for the State of New York Education Department for the purposes of Title IV of the Education Act, in 1966 1300 public high school students were classified as coming from poverty homes. In my opinion, 700–800 of these young people could benefit from Upward Bound. Only sixty such youngsters are now being affected.

Union College operates the only Upward Bound project between Poughkeepsie and Utica, New York. It directs itself to Amsterdam, Schenectady, and Troy and, despite appeals for additional federal support, has an enrollment of only sixty students. Because of earlier recommendations made to us by the Office of Economic Opportunity, Albany was not included in our target area despite the fact that the above mentioned statistics record Albany public high schools as having 596 students living in poverty. The real point, however, is that only 12% of those who need help are currently receiving it. Substantial progress could and must be made in this whole area of providing equal educational opportunities both nationally and locally. The federal cost, based on my estimate of $1,600 per student, would, for this area, range from $1,120,000 to $1,280,000. Sharing the financial support and responsibility among the six major four year colleges in the area an adequate job could be done.

Among other financial matters that plague operations are: 1. the per capita rate of $1,300 is far too low to adequately provide the services and skills necessary to perform the job well. 2. funding on a year to year basis exposes the precariousness of the projects and has a detrimental effect on the morale of the staff and students. 3. late notification, coupled with #2, of funding inhibits adequate program planning, severely hampers recruitment and generally creates an atmosphere of disorganization and discord between the project and the community and schools it serves.

There is, in my opinion, a general lack of understanding of the role and goals of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the so called "war on poverty". This is observable not only in the lack of financial commitment but also in recent, and fortunately to date unsuccessful, attempts to package off the functions of the Office of Economic Opportunity into other "old line agencies". It is also manifest in the Green Amendment which in effect gives option of control of Community Action Programs to local political officials.

Statement by John R. Wolf, Director, Department of City Development and Property Management, City of Schenectady, N.Y.

I wish to thank Congressman Button for the invitation which I have received to attend the hearing in the City of Schenectady on Friday, July 19th, to determine a more effective application of Federal programs as they relate to the local community. My comments represent my own opinions and not those of the City government. It seems to me that the idea of such local hearings is an excellent one and I hope that this is only the first of a series of such hearings which can go into the many phases of this very important subject.

Because of the shortage of time available for statements, it does not seem to me to be advisable to spend much time on generalizations. However, two general comments which are most often made in this field must be repeated again because of their overwhelming importance.

The greatest need in all urban areas is that sufficient funds be placed at the disposal of programs for various types of assistance to cities and other urban areas. It seems to me that a different set of priorities should govern the dispension of Federal funds. I can see no sense, for example, in the expenditure of billions of dollars in subsidies by the Department of Agriculture to curb agricultural production at a time of worldwide food shortages and of starvation in many parts of the United States. This is only one of the many instances in the Federal budget where the priorities can be criticized. The fiscal problems of the cities are a matter of common knowledge and it seems apparent that only the Federal Government is in a position to really change this situation but to do this will require money and lots of it.

The other general comment comes under such headings as "too much red tape", "too much bureaucracy", "over-centralization of government", etc.; these headings are interrelated. All critics of the present Federal urban programs agree that too many departments in the Federal Government are involved, that there is not enough integration of one program with another, that goals for the various programs often conflict so that one program undoes what another program is supposed to accomplish, etc. The enormous amount of time it takes to process applications for programs and to obtain decisions on important matters and the rigidities which are built into the system are proverbial.

It seems quite obvious that this problem of "red tape" is certainly not independent of the money problem; where $10.00 have been requested by cities and $1.00 is available, it seems obvious that Federal agencies are spending great proportions of their time deciding who is to get the $1.00 among the dollars requested. If programs were adequately funded, I believe that a great deal of the "red tape" would simply disappear.

---

[1] *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,* Bantom Books, New York, 1968, p. 452.

The suggestion which has been made that possibly more opportunities might be given to exercise judgment at the local level seems a very valid one. The lack of flexibility in the administration of Federal programs and the rigidity which is built into them through laws and regulations could be considerably alleviated if more room were given to making decisions in the various regions concerned. Just how this should be done cannot be adequately covered in a statement of this sort. However, there might be some possibility, perhaps, of establishing regional councils of officials in the various regions of the country which could make detailed decisions as to how Federal funds should be spent. The Federal Government might make block grants to each region (such as the Albany, Troy, Schenectady region) for general subjects such as transportation, housing, etc. and then local officials could determine in detail under generalized Federal and State controls how these would be spent. However, it would be a matter of the utmost importance that this not be the opportunity for the growth of still another giant bureaucracy without reduction in the existing ones so that cities would have to contend with three great bureaucracies: a Federal one, a State one and a regional one.

A few comments are in order with respect to local problems which affect the City of Schenectady at the present time.

The City has been zealously cooperating with the local non-profit organization, Better Neighborhoods, Inc., which is attempting to assist low income and middle income housing in this area. Better Neighborhoods, Inc., has been invited to this discussion and this organization will comment on certain difficulties which have arisen in its operations.

However, there is one problem involving this organization which I should comment upon. Here in Schenectady, as well as in most other cities, there is a tremendous shortage of housing for large, low-income families and it has occurred to many persons that some of this housing might well be built outside the city. Better Neighborhoods, Inc., is interested in this possibility; unfortunately, the Federal programs which would assist Better Neighborhoods Inc., to do such construction outside the city, such as the 221-d-3 Mortgage Program, cannot be utilized outside of Schenectady boundaries because of the requirement of a Workable Program certification by the Federal Government in any area where these mortgages are to be used. This essentially prevents Better Neighborhoods, Inc., from utilizing such Federal programs outside the city; this seems to me a most unfortunate circumstance, especially when it is considered that the requirement that a Workable Program be in effect is part of the effort by the Federal Government to improve housing conditions. The need that such certification be in effect in this instance seems to have an opposite effect and tends to prevent the type of action which is desirable. It does not make much sense to expect center cities to solve all the problems of the central city within their boundaries, especially when such solutions require reduction in taxes and the provision of sites which are often in short supply. One solution for this particular problem might be a Federal requirement for a Workable Program certification as a prerequisite for all Federal grants, such as for subsidies for highway construction: this would probably induce all county governments to obtain such certification.

The City of Schenectady proposes to enter into another urban renewal project in the near future. This fact calls to mind a situation which does not help Schenectady meet the needs of its residents. According to Federal regulations, the City of Schenectady may not undertake many types of improvements in areas of future Federal projects and hope to obtain non-cash credit from the Federal Government until an application for an urban renewal project has been accepted and a "letter to proceed" has been obtained from the Federal Government. This means, for example that the City cannot immediately demolish derelict buildings in such areas and hope to obtain credit for the cost from the Federal Government. This is at a time when the cities are under tremendous pressure to act immediately to alleviate local conditions. As a result of this, the City of Schenectady is now being forced to demolish substantial numbers of derelict buildings at its own expense without hope of reimbursement through urban renewal grants. This seems to make very little sense, either locally or on the national scene.

The City is desperately attempting to save time on this urban renewal project in the Hamilton Hill area. A time limit on which non-cash credits from the local schools can be obtained by the City to help finance this project is written into the Federal law. Why this three-year limit exists and what constitutes the sacredness of a three-year period are not easily ascertainable. This, of course, is simply another aspect of the problem referred to in the previous paragraph. It seems to me that the Federal Government should do everything it can to encourage cities to build schools and to make other improvements as soon as possible, providing adequate planning has been done for these improvements. This three-year problem could be alleviated in a number of ways; the three-year limitation might be extended to a longer period of time: the suggested Neighborhood Renewal Program contained in the Housing Act of 1968 is another possibility.

In conclusion, I would once again like to thank Congressman Button for this opportunity.

Statement of Gertrude A. Keefe, Executive Director, Carver Community Center, Schenectady, N.Y.

I am Gertrude A. Keefe, Executive Director of the Carver Community Center, 816 Hamilton Street, Schenectady, N.Y. The Carver Community Center is a neighborhood center serving Schenectady's largest target area for the antipoverty program, an area of 352.8 acres with a population of 10,636 people. This agency was incorporated in 1955 and is a member of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers.

The greatest need in this area is for housing. Living conditions for the majority and for large families in particular are deplorable. Many houses are beyond repair. Families continue to exist in them because there is no alternative. We implore you not to weaken the housing bill #HR17989 any more. We urge you to restore to that bill the provision for social services which was unwisely deleted.

We deplore that fact that Head Start has been "spun off" from OEO to the Department of Education. The operation of Head Start on a state rather than on a national basis is bound to result in weakening programs where the needs are greatest. Under the education bill, we urge more money for school lunches and school breakfasts.

Carver Community Center is the delegate agency for an all-day Head Start program for sixty children. The federal guidelines for the program are excellent but impossible to achieve with the money provided. The capricious way in which our grant was cut this year by $19,000 on very short notice almost destroyed the program. We decided it would be wrong to decrease the number of children served, thereby upsetting the job training or employment of several mothers and interrupting the progress which individual children were making. This decision meant that none of the personnel working directly with the children could be eliminated. As a result, the social worker was fired. In addition, other services were necessarily curtailed in order to cut back $19,000, but the loss of the social worker struck the hardest blow to the program. Work with the families, work on the elimination of environmental problems, coordination of other social services needed in the area are all an important emphasis of the Head Start Program. If one aim of the program is to get at the root causes of poverty, a social worker is mandatory. We hope that the funds will be increased at least to the previous level so that the federal guidelines can be met.

We also suggest that the establishment of poverty level income on a regional basis be considered. Under the present national standards, many families considered needy by local standards are ineligible for services.

We protest the recent social security legislation which reflects an intent on the part of American society to punish the poor instead of eliminating the causes of poverty. ADC mothers should have the same rights as any other mothers to choose between going to work or staying home with their children. In addition, we urge Congress to continue explore methods for implementing a guaranteed income for all.

On behalf of the Carver Community Center and the 10,636 people of our neighborhood, I would like to praise the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the way in which they processed our application for a Neighborhood Facilities Grant. The personnel at the regional office was extremely helpful at every step. Red tape was kept to a minimum. Our only complaint is that it took a long time to be processed, but we can understand the "growing pains" involved in this new program and the shortage of personnel. We appreciate the way consultants from the New York Office made time available to us whenever requested and kept in close touch with us during the entire process.

The concerns which I have mentioned today are not our only concerns, but they are our primary ones. I congratulate Congressman Button for making possible the opportunity for the problems of our area to be brought to your attention.

Schenectady's Neighborhood Youth Corps Report—Its Functions, Operations and Suggestions for Better Utilization of Available Resources—By Louis Mauro, Project Director

Before I get into the purpose of my being here, I would like to thank this committee for giving me the opportunity to show the truth and value of the Neighborhood Youth Corps. So often, the public hears the sensational aspects of a program, especially one funded with the taxpayer's dollar.

The majority of today's adult Americans grew up during the Depression and knew what poverty was at a time when most of their friends, relatives and neighbors were in the same condition. But now, those in poverty live among the middle class and affluent. Being poor today is harder to live with than in previous years.

Too often, misappropriations of Federal funds, or leaders of Poverty Programs involving themselves in violent action, bring adverse public attention to the Poor and to the O.E.O. Programs.

The news media and the nature of the public feed on the sensationalism. Who wants to know of a program that is plodding along, trying to get a job done? Who reads, in the back section of the paper, the diverse, valuable aspects of these programs? But let one of these programs go astray; then it will appear on the front page.

So, again I thank you for this opportunity to bring the Neighborhood Youth Corps program to the public's attention.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is a work training program, funded by the O.E.O. and is administered by the U.S. Department of

Labor, Bureau of Work Training Programs. From June, 1965 to August, 1968, $600,501.22 has been granted to Schenectady by the Federal Government for the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The City of Schenectady is our sponsor. We received official Federal approval to initiate a program on May 10, 1965. The first advance funds arrived on June 11, 1965. (The program could now begin). The first enrollees started work on June 21, 1965. Since October, 1967, the Neighborhood Youth Corps has expanded its geographic boundaries to include the entire County. However, this unfortunately, was done with no additional funds or job slots.

I am proud to say that, to date, there has been complete cooperation with the City of Schenectady and the social services agencies within our community. There has been no political interference. (See attached sheet for Youth Corps job listings) Since June, 1965, when our program began, 357 Out-of-School, 253 In-School, and 60 MDTA enrollees have participated. These figures don't always tell an accurate story, since many of our enrollees have enrolled, left and returned more than once.

Many youth only needed a chance to succeed. Others needed much guidance, counseling, and understanding. Many of our youth were on the Welfare rolls when they began our program, but soon left them, hopefully never to return. Others went right back where they were and had another failure attached to them. In some cases the cycle of generation upon generation of Welfare within a family was broken. (See attached report of the Out-of-School Terminations from June, 1965–June 30, 1968. I'm sure the record speaks for itself).

AREAS OF CONCERN AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

A. Since this program began in June, 1965, the monthly narratives of each of the three Project Directors reiterated the same pleas, suggestions, and frustrations:

1. Delays in Contract approval and last minute notifications. For example:

a. On June 19, 1968, we received official approval for our Summer program that was to start June 24. Youth placement on jobs and additional summer staff had to be hired on anticipation of final approval.

b. On July 11 we received a telephone call informing us of 60 additional summer jobs to begin on July 15, using MDTA funds. We had one day to prepare the necessary papers. We did it, so 60 disadvantaged youngsters would have an opportunity to work at least 7 weeks of this summer.

2. Delays in advance monthly funding. From March 12 to May 16, 1968 there were no monthly checks received from Washington. The City of Schenectady came to our aid, as an emergency measure, so we could meet our payroll and not have to tell our enrollees that there was no pay check for them. In fact, on May 20, 1968, the City Council passed an ordinance authorizing the Director of Finance to use City funds to cover our payroll if such an emergency were to happen again.

3. Numerous extensions and delays. The following list are the dates to which the present contracts have been extended:

In-School Contract, R1–7196–34, October 15, 1966 to October 6, 1967; 1st extension, Oct. 6, 1967–Dec. 30, 1967; 2nd extension, Jan. 30, 1968–Mar. 30, 1968; 3rd extension, Mar. 30, 1968–Apr. 20, 1968; 4th extension, Apr. 20, 1968–June 22, 1968; 5th extension, Sept. 2, 1968–Sept. 30, 1968.

Out-of-School Contract, R1–7195–34, November 21, 1966 to November 18, 1967: 1st extension, Nov. 18, 1967–Mar. 2, 1968; 2nd extension, Mar. 2, 1968–Apr. 20, 1968; 3rd extension, Apr. 20, 1968–July 7, 1968; 4th extension, July 7, 1968–Oct. 31, 1968.

4. Last minute delays on proposals. New proposals are submitted by a deadline well before the present contract is to run out. But, too often it is not until the last minute that we hear of new changes and modifications.

5. Changes in existing contracts are done by a mere phone call followed by a telegram. On March 29, 1968 the Bureau of Work Training Programs sent us a telegram which in effect did the following:

a. Cut our Out-of-School and In-School programs by 20% on the number of enrollees we could place on our program.

b. Froze any new recruits to our Neighborhood Youth Corps program until we got down below this 80% of our contractual number of job slots.

6. The financial criteria set by the Federal government is unrealistic for this geographic area. Since the standard of living is higher here than in many other areas of our country, income figures don't represent the entire story. Income status is a relative figure. You are either rich, middle income, or poor, depending upon those around you. So, $3,200.00 gross income for a family of four has no meaning if other factors aren't taken into consideration. Using a gross income is unfair since rising costs make the usable dollar, in effect, much less. The minimum wage increase has made some individuals financially ineligible. The increase in our taxes and social security payments affects the take home pay even though the gross earning may be too high.

To Summarize—I am truly aware that our regional office in New York City is only a link in the long chain from here to Washington, and it is trying to do its job too. But, plans must be formulated and kept. Changes must be kept to a minimum. And, when Congress makes a commitment to fund and operate a program it must not fail its people.

The Press has a responsibility of bringing all the facts, good and bad, to the people. If this is done, possibly public opinion can generate enough power to guide our Congressional leaders.

The following points have been brought to your attention. Any changes in these areas can only bring about an improved program:

A. Delays in Contract approval and last minute notification.

B. Delays in advance monthly funding.

C. Numerous extensions and delays.

D. Last minute delays on proposals.

E. Changes in existing Contracts.

F. Unrealistic financial eligibility criteria.

My sincere thanks for your time and attention.

AGENCY AND JOB CATEGORY LIST

American Cancer Society: Clerical, 2.

American Red Cross: Custodial Helper, 1; Clerical, 1.

Animal Protective Foundation: Animal Attendant, 1.

N.Y. State National Guard: Telephone Operator, 1; Mechanic's Helper, 2; Office Worker, 2; Building Custodian, 1.

Better Neighborhoods, Inc.: Carpenter's Helper, 2; Electrician's Helper, 2; Painter's Helper, 2.

Boy's Club of America: Maintenance Worker, 2; Clerical, 2; Locker Room Attendant and Games Clerk, 2; Games Room Supervisor, 1; Craft Instructor, 2; Library Assistant, 1; Physical Director's Assistant, 2.

Carver Community Center: Artist, 1; Book Clerk, 1; Office Worker, 1; Games Clerk, 1.

Carver Day Care Center: Cook's Helper; Child Care Worker.

Child Guidance Center: Research Assistant, 2; Maintenance, ½.

Children's Home: Chef's Helper, 1; Office Helper, 1; Laundry Helper, 1; Sewing Helper, 1.

City of Schenectady:

Police Department: Custodian 2 (If able, can participate in local training programs.)

Dept. of Parks and Recreation: Recreation Helpers, 27; Landscaping, 6–10.

City Hall: Maintenance, 2.

Health Department: Clerical 1.

Finance Department: Tab. Machine Operator, 1; Key Punch Operator 1.

Dept. of Signal Control: Telephone Operator, 1.

Dept. of Engineering and Public Works: Mechanic's Helper, 2.

Community Welfare Council: Clerical, 1.

Ellis Hospital: Central Supply, 2; Clerical, 1; Hospital Custodian, 2; Stock and Delivery, 2.

County Health Association: Clerical, 1.

Family and Child Service: Clerical, 1.

Humane Society: Ass't. Child Care Worker, 4; Maintenance, 1; Cook's Assistant, 1.

Internal Revenue Service: Clerical, 1.

Municipal Housing Authority: Landscape and Grounds, 8; Maintenance, 8; Office Worker, 4; Recreation (Summer), 2.

Neighborhood Action Committee: Playground Attendant, 2.

Notre Dame High School: Clerical, 2; Maintenance, 2.

Old Ladies Home: Maintenance, 1.

Refreshing Springs Day Care Center: Child Care Assistant, 4; Cafeteria Helper, 1.

St. Clares Hospital: Orderly, 4; Cook's Helper, 1; Nurse's Aide, 2; Laundryman, 1.

St. Columba's High School: Office Work, 2; Maintenance, 2.

St. Michael's Day Nursery: Child Care Worker, 2; Cook's Assistant, 1; Sewing Assistant, 1.

Schenectady City School District: Electronic Repairmen's Ass't, 1; Audio-Visual Aide, 2; Cosmetology Lab. Ass't, 1; Cafeteria Helper, 2; Laundry Aide, 1; Custodial Helper, 4; Teacher Aide, 15; Landscape and Greenhouse Ass't, 1; Clerical, 20; Librarian Helper, 10.

Schenectady Community Action Program: Clerk-Typist, 1; Neighborhood Worker Aide, 6.

Schenectady County:

Board of Elections: Clerical, 2.

Extension Service: Clerical, 1.

Highway Department: Mechanic's Helper, 1; Laborer, 2.

Library: Page Trainee, 3.

Schenectady Museum: Student Aide, ½.

Schenectady Turn-Verein: Clerical, 1.

Senior Citizens Center: Clerical, 1.

Schalmont School District: Teacher Aide, 12; Library Aide, 2; Cafeteria Aide, 2; Clerical, 5.

Social Security Administration: Clerical, 1.

Sunnyview Rehabilitation Center: Dietary Aide, 2; Maintenance, 2.

Town of Rotterdam: Clerical, 1.

U.S. Air Force Recruiting: Clerical, 1.

U.S. Air Force Recruiting Service, Detachment 102: Clerical, 1.

U.S. Army Recruiting Office: Clerical, 1.

U.S. Marine Corps Recruiting: Clerical, 1.

U.S. Naval Correspondence Ctr.: Mail Clerk, 1; Stock Clerk, 1.

U.S. Navy Recruiting Station: Clerical, 1.

U.S. Naval Reserve Training Center: Equipment Mechanic's Helper, 1; Office Worker, 1; Building Maintenance, 1.

Union College: Clerical, 2.

VITA: Clerical, 5; Technology Assistant, 1.

United Cerebral Palsy: Kitchen Aide, 2.

United Fund: Clerical, 2.

U.S. Post Office: Apprentice Mechanic's Aide, 2.

Public Welfare: Clerk, 2; Laundry, 2; Maintenance, 2; Dietary, 4.

WMHT, ETV–17: Clerical, 1; Maintenance, 1; Darkroom Assistant, 1; Graphics Assistant, 1; Production Trainee, 1; Photographic Assistant, 1.

YWCA: Housekeeper Aide, 1; Custodian, 1.

SCHENECTADY NEIGHBORHOOD
YOUTH CORPS.

To: All Neighborhood Youth Corps Advisory Committee Members:

The enclosed material is the result of a study done on all the Out-of-School enrollees who terminated from the Schenectady Neighborhood Youth Corps from June, 1965 through June 30, 1968. There were 336 youths that the Neighborhood Youth Corps worked with during this time.

The List of Terminations is divided into three areas. One area concerns those enrollees who terminated for other employment, further training, or who returned to school after their work training program with the Youth Corps. The second concerns terminations which our staff had no control over; such as not being financially eligible, marriage, maternity, etc. The last area concerns what we consider inability on the part of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program to meet all needs of these enrollees. It is here that our enrollees did not gain the successes we would hope our program could provide.

Of those enrollees who had terminated more than once, the final reason for termination is the only one included in this report.

It may be noted that the total number of enrollees worked with on our Out-of-School program is much greater than the 336 individual cases shown. Many in this total have been on and off our program two or three times.

Sincerely,

LOUIS MAURO,
Project Director.

Out-of-school terminations

[From June 1965 through June 30, 1968]

Other employment	149
MDTA training	5
Job Corps	8
Military service	6
Return to school	7
Referred to other agencies	3
Total	178
Medical	10
Maternity	9
Care of family	14
Marriage	5
Left area	25
No longer financially eligible	8
Insufficient pay	3
Institutionalized	3
Total	77
Lack of interest	31
Poor adjustment	9
Failure to attend remedial education	41
Total	81
Total terminations	336

Out-of-School Terminations Due to Other Employment—From June 1965 Through June 1968

(Employer and type of employment)

New York State: Motor vehicle, Key Punch Operator; State Campus, Stenographer; State Campus, Typist (5); State Campus Clerk; Dept. of Health, Clerk.

Wetson's: Counter Worker.

Cornell's Restaurant: Dishwasher.

Kar-Glo Car Wash: Car-washer (2).

Vic's Restaurant: Kitchen Help.

Hotel VanCurler: Busboy (2), Kitchen Help.

Hallmark Nursing Home: Nurses Aide Trainee (2) Orderly.

General Electric: Typist, Factory Worker (5), Fork-Lift Truck Operator, Clerk (3), Clerk-Typist (2), Maintenance.

Shop-Rite: Cashier (2).

A & P Super Market: Stock Clerk.

Montgomery Wards: Order Clerk.

Humane Society: *Child-Care Worker.

Cottage Nursing Home: Nurses Aide.

The Big N: Clerk.

J. C. Penney: Clerk.

Grand Cash Super Market: Stock Clerk.

S.C.A.P.: *Typist.

Atlas Pools: Construction Worker.

Wine Merchants Ltd.: Office Clerk.

Lewis Collections: Office Clerk.

Mohawk National Bank: Key Punch Operator.

J. M. Fields: Stockboy.

Turner Floor Sanders: Sander.

Doctor's Office: Receptionist.

Schdy. County Library: *Typist.

Self-Employed: Mover, Carpenter.

Almart's: Clerk.

Abelove's Laundry: Laundry Worker (2).

Danny's Floor Care: Sander.

Child's Guidance: *Assistant Secretary.

Sam White Construction: Construction Worker.

Websters Motors: Car Polisher.

Y.W.C.A.: *Maintenance.

Holiday Inn: Busboy.

Rocket Car Wash: Car Washer.

Atlantic Gas Station: Attendant.

Municipal Housing Authority: Maintenance, *Clerk.

Aristocrat Homes: Construction Worker.

Stardust Motel: Maid.

Pleasant Valley Meat Co.: Meat Packer.

City of Schenectady: *Waste Collector, Sewer Department, *Mechanic.

The Mansion: Hotel Worker.

Automatic Canteen Co.: Counter Worker.

St. Clare's Hospital: Supply Clerk, Nurses Aide (6), *X-Ray Tech, Aide (2), *Laundry Worker.

W.M.H.T.: Artist, *Photographic Assistant, *Assistant Traffic Director.

Two Guys Dept. Store: Clerk, Cashier.

Colonie Restaurant: Waitress.

Saveway Super Market: Cashier.

D'Jimas: Seamstress.

DeWitts Restaurant: Dishwasher.

Luigi's Restaurant: Kitchen Helper.

John's Bargain Store: Clerk.

N.Y. Telephone Co.: Operator.

Diner: Kitchen Help.

Industrial Uniform Co.: Supply Clerk.

Pete's Auto Parts: Mechanic.

Glendale Home: Matron, Kitchen Help (2), Cook's Helper, *Laundry Worker (2).

Lerner's: Credit Clerk.

Campbell's Plastic Co.: Machine Operator.

Mohawk Golf Club: Grounds Keeper.

Ellis Hospital: *Nurses Aide.

Schenectady Concrete Co.: Maintenance.

Union College: *Office Clerk.

A&B Restaurant: Waitress.

Sunnyview Hospital: Construction.

Schenectady Union-Star: Copyboy.

GPS Products: Maintenance.

Carver Day Care Center: * Child Care Worker.

Wallace's: Beautician, Stock Boy.

John Hancock Insurance Co.: Clerk.

Willis Gas Station: Mechanic.

Red Barn Restaurant: Counter Worker.

Marsh-Hallman Motor Co.: Car Jockey.

Company not known: 24.

Statement by Donald Wilson, Better Neighborhoods, Inc.

Mr. Chairman: Better Neighborhoods, Inc. is a nonprofit housing corporation operating in Schenectady County. It was organized in December 1966. Since then it has operated in a variety of ways to help low to moderate income families find adequate housing. We are currently involved in a privately financed renovation project tailored to meet the needs of Schenectady.

We have investigated several state and federally financed programs. For various reasons we have found them *not* suitable for the immediate needs of Schenectady. We do, however, anticipate that we will be in a position to use these programs in the future.

It would be easy at this point to criticize the federal programs for what seems to be excessive paper work and extensive delays. However, I'm sure that this criticism has been heard before and that it would serve no useful purpose here. Instead we would like to explore means whereby paper work and delays can be minimized so that federal programs can be administered more efficiently and their benefits can be realized sooner.

To this end we would like to propose a federal expediter, a go-between, an ombudsman or some other appropriate title for a government employee who has knowledge of all federal programs applicable in his district and who is responsible for expediting the application of these programs. This person would not be an employee of any of the agencies responsible for administering these programs but would have access to administrative directives and guidelines generated by these agencies. His primary responsibility would be to the district in which he operates.

Such a person could aid in more effective application of federal programs in several ways. First of all he could insure the fullest flexibility that the law would allow in adapting the programs to local situations. He would know which restrictions were directed by law and which were dictated by agency administrators. For example, Better Neighborhoods is involved in a FHA 221(h) project under which we renovate and sell single-family houses to qualified low income families. We were not allowed to act as our own general contractor in the renovation work. Instead we had to hire a general contractor who tacked his profit on top of the subcontractor's bids. The result was excessive renovation costs. A federal expediter would have recognized this FHA requirement for a general contractor as an administrative restriction and would have been able to help us circumvent the problem. Such inflexibility in administering programs makes the programs inefficient and sometimes useless. A federal expediter could maximize the flexibility of a program.

A second benefit of a federal expediter would be in fostering poorly financed organizations such as Better Neighborhood was in its early days. We could not afford the high priced "consultants" who would "package" a federal program for us. A federal expediter would have provided much of the advice and information necessary for us to realistically evaluate the suitability of some of the FHA programs for our requirements. We could have avoided some of the pitfalls we have encountered. Such "grassroots" organizations as ours often provide more direct benefits to the community than well financed, top heavy organization that can afford the paper work and delays. A federal expediter would encourage these "grassroots" efforts.

A third benefit of such a federal expediter would be in the flow of information from the local districts to the Congress so that the laws would be written in such a way that they could be more effectively applied. In Schenectady for example the two-family house is a real bargain in some areas. However, two-family houses are not allowed under FHA 221(h) and FHA 221(d)3 allows only for rentals. A federal expediter would carry this information to Congress along with suggestions on how to include this kind of property in programs allowing its sale to qualified families.

There are several ways in which such a federal expediter system could be implemented. We would like to suggest one implementation which would avoid the entrenched inflexibility of many federal agencies. That is by utilizing the local staff that most Congressmen already have. For example, Congressman Button has a very able representative in Schenectady, Joe Parillo. If federal agencies were to hold frequent seminars for these people with the specific objective of preparing them for the role we have described, the federal expediter system could be effective in a short time with a minimum of expense. In fact, the local congressional staff is no doubt already asked to perform this kind of function in many instances. What we are suggesting is a means of better preparing them for the task.

---

*Hired by Agency where first worked as a NYC Enrollee.

In summary, Mr. Chairman, we feel that the ability to adapt federal programs to local situations is a key to their effective application and that a well informed federal representative in each district is one way to insure the kind of flexibility necessary for the adaptation of these programs. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY CARL VALENTINE, DIRECTOR, SCHENECTADY COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM, INC., SCHENECTADY, N.Y.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak with you this morning, as the new Director of the Schenectady Community Action Program, and a community action worker of three years' standing.

I have been particularly impressed with the dedication, the zeal, and the commitment of the SCAP staff in their efforts to assist the poor in this city. I am impressed with the many neighborhood groups springing to life in the City. I see this as a sign of hope, that poor people are daring to believe *their* neighborhood, *their* city can become a better place to live through *their* efforts.

But, I am also *deeply disturbed*, for I am afraid the signs of hope may fade, to be followed by bitterness and frustration. I am afraid we may not be able to keep the promises that have been made—that the opportunity for a radical, healthy change in the life of our city will be missed.

SCAP's charge is to mobilize the resources of this City for an attack on the root causes of poverty. But federal limits are now threatening the viability of SCAP and thereby placing in jeopardy the success to date of the anti-poverty efforts in Schenectady.

1. If the SCAP Staff is to assist with the mobilization of the community around the elimination of poverty, *they must have time to move out to assume this role.* But, each week a new OEO Guideline arrives requiring increasingly detailed reporting. No added funds arrive with the guidelines to hire staff to perform this increased work! I am afraid the current overconcern with administrative controls may kill the spontaneity—the beauty of this Program.

2. If the agency is funded on a month-to-month basis, as has occurred this year, and is faced with periodic cuts during the year, the agency cannot even plan one year at a time. This year, Day Care sustained a 14% cut and the neighborhood service center sustained an 8% cut. We were forced to close three neighborhood service centers and leave several critical staff positions unfilled. This agency has uncovered needs far beyond our ability to render services in the first two years of operation. Our program and related antipoverty programs need to be increased if we are to maintain the momentum of the antipoverty movement. Our own SCAP staff did not receive any salary increases this year due to the financial crisis placed upon us by uncertain federal funding. This poses a severe threat to staff morale so essential to the projects success.

The uncertainty of funding has also had a disasterous effect on the Regional OEO office. The agency responsible for assisting local CAP's has not been able to retain highly-skilled, experienced personnel. SCAP has had four field representatives in less than two years, due to OEO resignations. The uncertain future of the agency has severely undermined the agency's morale.

The uncertainty of OEO funding and OEO future as an agency has also made OEO vulnerable to other established agencies. Thus program spin-off has been occurring for the past year. *SCAP is responsible* for coordinating all economic opportunity efforts initiated by the federal government in Schenectady, the SCAP is held responsible by the community for the success or failure of these projects; and yet these programs are no longer responsible to SCAP. Neighborhood Youth Corps, Work Experience programs of the Welfare Department, Job Corps—all are funded through agencies other than OEO. There is danger that Head Start and Day Care will be taken from OEO. This would be a severe blow to the total community action efforts in the nation and in this City.

The uncertainty of congressional funding of the OEO program, certainly brings into question the nature of the commitment of the nation's leaders to the war on Poverty.

Congress has further limited the work of SCAP by preventing any OEO activity in the area of voter education and registration. If OEO commitment to grass-root democracy and community action is sincere, this limit cannot remain a part of future legislation.

If Congress must allocate funds to special projects, then increased funds to the legal services project is most necessary here in Schenectady. To date, we have been unsuccessful in obtaining funds for this critical need.

Finally, CAP income eligibility guidelines need revision. They should be adjusted based on regional cost of living. The current national index, which may be adequate in another section of the country, is totaly inadequate here. Welfare payment standards in Schenectady are higher than current OEO national guidelines. Many receiving welfare are currently too affluent to qualify for neighborhood Youth Corps.

Moving beyond the poverty program for a moment, into fields with related antipoverty programs. The real involvement of the poor in the design and implementation of these federal programs is most critical for the success of the projects. The poor must be involved in the planning of urban renewal, not just a Citizens Advisory Committee, but a Citizens Advisory Committee that must have substantial number of poor who will be affected by the project. The same holds true for the Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act—the Public Housing Authority, the Welfare Department. Only if the poor are *true partners with power* to determine the nature of the services they receive—only then are we going to be able to rid our cities of the colonialism of a social welfare—educational-professional establishment operating on the poor, not developing programs *with* the poor.

All social welfare, antipoverty legislation should include the provision for significant participation of the poor in the planning of the service, if that service is to be truly effective.

I would like to make one specific suggestion in a related field—*Education*. We need a massive "G-I Bill" for mature adults from poor families. We have found many mature individuals with family support responsibilities who desire to return to school. No current federal programs provide scholarships for this student. Funds earmarked for the education of the mature adult are most essential if the new careers programs are to attract some of the most able residents of the low income neighborhoods.

I would now like to ask Mrs. Virginia Enous, one of the SCAP neighborhood workers, to comment on areas where federal legislation could be of greater assistance in the War on Poverty.

STATEMENT BY SIMEO J. GALLO, MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, SCHENECTADY COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM, INC.

For over two years I have been counsel to and a member of the Board of Directors of the Schenectady Community Action Program, Inc., the local OEO agency. For approximately the same period of time, I have been chairman of the Schenectady City Council Committee on Youth Guidance, which organized the Neighborhood Youth Corps program in Schenectady and which supervises that program through its Neighborhood Youth Corps Policy Committee of which I am co-chairman. As a practicing attorney, I have also had experience with federal agencies concerning various federal programs including urban renewal, water pollution control and health.

I would like this morning to direct my comments, in particular, to the poverty program. The three problem areas I plan to discuss are funding, the role of the local community and administrative efficiency.

The funds which have been appropriated for the war on poverty are woefully inadequate. The same thing is true with respect to the various programs to revitalize our cities. One may wonder what relevance the lack of funds has to the concern of this meeting, which as I understand it, is the effective application of federal programs in local communities. In any case, I cannot allow the opportunity of this hearing to pass without expressing the need for additional funds. Moreover, I do believe that this problem contributes to the other concerns I wish to express.

Even if all the money necessary were available, the war on poverty will not succeed if it fails to recognize and provide for local differences, and if the administration of the program is trapped in a mire of bureaucratic red tape. One of my chief concerns is that the original concept of the poverty program which was to provide for action at the local level and to make use of the understanding and knowledge of local residents has been lost sight of. In spite of rhetoric about local initiative and decision-making, the decisions have been made and imposed from above.

Let me give you some examples. An organization like SCAP does not come into existence overnight. Many people and organizations worked long and hard to create it and get it funded. As part of the energy generated by this process, many groups drew up plans and programs they felt would help alleviate poverty in this community. These plans were drawn up with the participation of the poor after many meetings in poverty areas and after soliciting the opinions of residents of these areas. After SCAP was funded, most of these proposals were never even submitted to the regional OEO office. This was not done because that office indicated to us which proposals would receive priority and its lack of interest, or at least its lack of time, to study proposals which did not fit the categories it had listed.

I have often wondered how the regional office was able to determine the needs of this community without the benefit of the information gathered, the plans and the recommendations made by our own residents. The responsibility for this approach rests with Congress, however, as much as with the OEO. The earmarking of funds by Congress for particular programs and its failure to leave sufficient funds in general categories has limited the flexibility of OEO and the ability of local communities to obtain funds for programs other than those which fit precisely the categories for which Congress has appropriated funds.

Even with respect to programs which have received approval from on high, such as Neighborhood Youth Corps, Headstart and Day Care, local initiative and imagination have been stifled rather than promoted.

The regional office has told the local community what programs will be funded without ever first learning what programs it would like funded. It has told the local community the amount of funds it would have for a program without ever first learning how large a program the local community felt it needed. It has frequently told local communities on one day that a certain amount would be available for a particular program and required that the proposal be submitted immediately. After making a grant it has not followed up with evaluation of the program's operation.

I can recall SCAP being required to submit its initial Day Care Program for approval within a few days time. I can recall visiting New York City after being told the number of boys and girls for which our Neighborhood Youth Program was to be submitted.

I wanted to submit a program which reflected the number of boys and girls our committee felt ought to participate in the program so that we would have an opportunity to state officially what we believed our needs were. The regional office indicated that such action would delay our funding and would not result in any changes in the decisions it had already made.

My understanding of the philosophy of the poverty program is that local communities were to assess their needs, draft proposals to meet these needs, obtain funding and then operate the programs. The role of the regional office in such a scheme would be to evaluate the relative needs of local communities, the relative merits of their proposals and to make grants on this basis. Certainly, standards would have to be imposed. After making the grant, the regional office should evaluate the operation of the programs regularly. It should act as a clearing house to provide local communities with information about methods that have been particularly successful and it should have available qualified consultants to work with and advise the local communities about operation of their programs.

This was my vision of the way the poverty program would operate, and it still is my opinion of the way it should operate. As I have illustrated, it is not the way it has operated.

This situation involves more than administrative procedures. It results in decisions made without real consideration of local needs and the opinions and ideas of local residents. It destroys the incentive of local residents to attempt to formulate programs and to lend their time and energy to the war on poverty. Moreover, it flies in the face of the basic philosophy of the poverty program. It should be corrected.

Additional funding, of course, would also help. I believe more money can and should be appropriated for these programs. I recognize, however, that governmental funds are limited. The scope of the problems of poverty and the revitalization of our cities requires the assistance of private enterprise, as well. The laws, to date, have failed to stimulate private enterprise to play a major role in solving these problems. Laws which make use of matching grants and tax incentives to stimulate the participation of business in these areas are essential.

The problems I have already mentioned go to the heart of the program. There are other procedures, too, which indicate that better administration is essential. Time will not permit me to cite numerous examples. I will state only three.

At least three times within the last two years the Neighborhood Youth Corps has been left without funds to pay its enrollees because the New York office has failed to forward our monies on time. The New York office has not been able to understand why we could not take care of this situation locally by borrowing money from a bank without interest or by obtaining the money from the city government. The borrowing it suggests is illegal. The city does not always have funds at its disposal which it can turn over on short notice. In at least one instance, the regional office indicated that the delay was due to its failure to process vouchers because it was busy with other matters. I have been unable to understand how an administrative office can become so bogged down with other matters that it fails to process vouchers to keep its finances in order.

Only last Thursday, the regional Neighborhood Youth Corps office called to indicate that we could have funds for a summer program involving 60 additional boys and girls. It said the proposal would have to be ready the next day. We were happy to have the additional funds. We already had a waiting list of boys and girls for the program. But, how easy is it on July 11 to find qualified counselors to work in a summer program beginning immediately and lasting only seven weeks?

The last time we had an annual contract for the Neighborhood Youth Corps program was for the period November, 1966 to November, 1967. Rather than proceeding on an annual basis, since last November, we have had five extensions of our in-school contract and four extensions of our out-of-school contract. Each of these extensions requires new budgets and much paper work. These short extensions also create constant concern about the continued existence of the program and make staff recruitment difficult. With these problems to deal with, how much time does the director have left to devote to the development and quality of the program, which should be his chief concern.

At SCAP we have been spending countless hours revising our Constitution, most recently to comply with the Green amendments. Our draft was submitted to the state OEO office for review at the direction of the regional OEO. After approval of it by the state office, it was adopted by the membership. A few days later a letter came from the regional OEO suggesting numerous changes. The SCAP membership is more interested in alleviating poverty than in writing and rewriting Constitutions. We wish the State and regional OEO offices had coordinated on what they thought was acceptable.

Each of these examples may seem petty, and if they were isolated instances, perhaps, they would be. However, they are typical of day to day operations of the programs and illustrate the need for better administration. Moreover, each of them indicates the extent to which local initiative and decision making is hampered.

The government has promised much more than it has been willing to produce in the poverty program. As a result, the frustration of disadvantaged people has increased rather than decreased. I know that there are problems at the local level too. There is a need for changes in the attitudes and operations of local government, local residents concerned with these problems and even of the disadvantaged. However, before we can hope to see these improvements locally, we need the changes I have mentioned at the federal level to set an example for and give incentive to the local communities. We must have forthrightness in terms of what is promised and what is produced. We must have provision for real participation of the local community and we must have more effective administration.

Statement of Ralph F. Boyd, President, Schenectady Chapter, NAACP

Mr. Chairman, Congressman Button, Members of the Committee, Distinguished Guest, Ladies and Gentlemen: The racial ghettos of America, spawned by a wide array of forces both govenmental and private, now constitute the major domestic crisis confronting the nation . . . Despite the gains Negroes have made in the recent past in public accommodations, education, voting, job opportunities, etc., the racial ghettos of America continue to expand in a wasteland of physical blight and deterioration.

In view of our nation having for the first time in history, a national fair housing law, it's becoming increasingly important that better neighborhoods and better housing be provided to all people without regard to race or economic status. The NAACP has contributed in the past in attacking problems where they have existed . . . in slum neighborhoods.

Better housing in the inner city is just part of the job. We must make our neighborhoods attractive places to live in, a visible part of community life, an area of clean, healthy, and sanitary conditions; one which creates pride in its occupants and motivates people to seek a better life.

The purpose of this presentation to you today—to let you know that our local NAACP Chapter has been in the forefront for a better community and continues to work to reflect the feeling, aspiration and needs as they become evident.

We recognize that the model cities' program, which is administered by the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development, is aimed at developing a "total attack on the social, economic and physical problems in slum and blighted areas and to make them into 'model neighborhoods.'"

It is intended to inspire cities to try new approaches to solving the problems of their neighborhoods.

This program idea is based on the fact that the need for housing, education, social sciences and jobs are all related problems and must be dealt with in a related way.

Therefore, Mr. Congressman, in order to take advantage of federal programs such as model cities and the community renewal program, the city of Schenectady needs to become better organized in the area of responsibility to the citizenry and to bring forth an adequate staff of competent people as required by the federal guidelines.

The city has, for many months, refused to pass a law legally establishing a department of City Development and Planning. The idea behind this department is to join together functions of planning, renewal, code enforcement and property management, which are closely related to the various federal renewal and redevelopment programs. This procedure is a good one and has been followed by numerous progressive cities all over the country. Former city manager, Peter Roan, had a sound advice when he started this department more than a year ago; we should pass a law establishing this department legally, at once, if we are to move ahead.

The need for staffing of the planning bureau of this department is equally great. It is nothing short of criminal that a city the size of Schenectady should limp along without a planning staff equal to the job of planning the future development of the city. This planning job is one that the city must do for itself; we cannot forever rely on consultants or the county as in the past. It just doesn't make sense to think that the federal government would be willing to give us a model city grant unless we show the capacity to use the money properly, with an adequate staff and with the right kind of organization of the city government.

The city is operating without a real sense of direction as far as establishing the forces to do the job which is necessary. More than two hundred cities in the United States have taken the real giant steps to eliminate slums and blighted areas, while we move at a snail pace.

Thank you.

Statement of Freeman Robinson, Schenectady Action Committee

THE APPLICATION OF MONEY

1. The government has spent half a billion a week in Vietnam while millions of Americans need mental, physical, educational and vocational assistance. They are ignored by the government and they are suffering. We should be spending that half billion right here.

The government appropriates so many millions of dollars for projects but when the poor get a job with the projects they get the lowest salaries while the professionals get the best jobs and good salaries.

2. The community worker who serves the poor has his hands tied by the guidelines set up by the government.

1. They cannot speak for any group.

2. They cannot be on any board even if the job requires it.

3. They cannot take any action for voter registration.

4. They don't get paid for the work they have to do.

3. To hold certain positions in OEO certain degrees are mandatory whether the position holders are otherwise qualified or not, while there are other people who are qualified for the job who will not be accepted because they do not hold the degrees.

4. The OEO should appropriate money for local grassroots groups or organizations that are working for the good of the community—with no strings attached.

The funding program is so inconsistent that no one can take it seriously or put faith in it.

Too much politics have come into the OEO program, until the poor have no control.

5. There is no money for low income housing in the urban renewal project. There is no money for legal aid.

6. The people have no way of expressing dissatisfaction with such projects as urban renewal, welfare, low income housing. The poor should have representatives on all of the boards.

7. Project to come—Senator McCarthy supports the guaranteed national income. Where do you stand on this question, Mr. Button?

Statement by Donald Schein, Executive Vice President and General Manager, WMHT Channel 17

My name is Donald Schein. I am executive vice-president and general manager of WMHT, the Capital District's non-commercial, public television station.

Although I speak primarily for channel 17 I am expressing the concern of 160 non-commercial stations across the country, for we are all dedicated to the proposition that the health, education and welfare of our nation depend upon the ever-increasing enlightenment of our people. We public television stations, when we are properly funded, have the capability of informing and educating all of our people. In addition we can provide the civilizing voice both in this unsettling period of national tragedy and in its aftermath of regrowth, but we need the technical capability and staff to do this.

I come to you today not to help you determine a more effective application of a federal program to aid public television but to plead that the federal program get started. Educational or public television simply cannot move ahead without it.

Viewers of channel 17 know the value of public broadcasting. They know that we have made them increasingly aware of the problems we face nationally and locally: the problems of race, poverty, pollution of our air and water, urban decay, politics, consumer economics, population, health, and the withering away of our national resources. They know we have lifted their sights and enriched their lives with fine music, ballet, drama and opera. They have increased their skills and understanding through a wide variety of televised courses not only at high school and college levels but also in the important area of continuing education.

In their desire to help channel 17 grow these viewers have become members at $10 or more, supporting the station this year at a level of slightly over $50,000. Yet this sum amounts to less than ten percent of our annual budget of over $500,000. And this $500,000 is less than half of what is needed to properly serve New York State's Capital District and to provide important programs about activities in the Capital for the rest of the State by means of the New York Network.

For six years WMHT has operated in the basement of Riverside School, crowded into about three classrooms of space—space that is totally inadequate to the purpose and scope of a station like this. Through the efforts of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare we expect soon to be given a surplus property warehouse building in the Roterdam Army Depot. This will provide us with the space we need and we are grateful for this. But recently completed estimates indicate that it will cost us over a half-million dollars to convert this building into a suitable studio building for WMHT.

Public television needs to provide its viewers with the same technical quality as the commercial stations and networks do. Yet we have no equipment for originating color programs. Proper color originating equipment would cost a half million dollars and that is only part of the technical problem for our transmitter is a second-hand transmitter that is geting close to fifteen years old. Moreover it provides only about an eighth of the power we should be putting out. A new one would cost about $600,000. Actually we need two such transmitters so that we can provide the full range of formal courses day and night and still present the kinds of public service and cultural programs that are so valuable.

What is needed immediately is full authorization of the public broadcasting act of 1967. We need funds for facilities and new construction. We need operating funds to bring us up to a production level that makes ETV's technical program quality as good as its commercial counterparts.

Even though no federal monies have been appropriated, the $9 million "seed money" for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is totally inadequate for the job.

When we compare the more than $2 billion that is spent each year for TV advertising with this non-existent "seed money" we must conclude that business values the televised message a great deal more than the Congress.

The Carnegie Commission recommended at least four times the $9 million authorized but not appropriated for Public Broadcasting's first year. At this rate we wonder how long this country must wait for Congress to provide a first rate Public Broadcasting service.

There is hardly a man, woman or child who has not succumbed to the vast power of television. If we can harness the power of nuclear energy to work for us surely we can do the same with television. It takes money and dedication, brains and imagination. The last three are available but Congress must act before we can have the money. Somehow Congress can be counted on to find the monies to fight our nation's enemies from without. In some respects we have even more formidable enemies within gnawing away at our nation's fabric. Public Television has shown its capability, only Congress can make it a reality.

TRIBUTE TO HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join with the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Morgan] in this expression of appreciation and farewell to Elmer J. Holland, a distinguished Member of the Pennsylvania delegation.

The Congress and the Nation have benefited from Elmer Holland's 12 years of distinguished service in this body. His knowledgeable counsel has earned the esteem and respect of his colleagues and helped to shape much of the important work done in the last six Congresses. The Congress will miss his valuable service as a member of the Committee on Education and Labor.

The late Speaker Sam Rayburn once said, "'Service' is the most beautiful word in the English language." I think the word "service" best characterizes Elmer Holland's career in the House. He has served the 20th District of Pennsylvania as an able representative, the Congress, as a distinguished legislator and esteemed colleague, and the Nation as a public servant of high integrity and ability. I know that I speak for all the Members of the House when I wish Elmer Holland many long years of happiness after his distinguished career.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was privileged to attend the bill-signing ceremony of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

Present at the ceremony were Mayor Harry Akin and City Manager Bog Tintsman, both of Austin.

Mr. and Mrs. Lupe Arzola of the Santa Rita housing project in Austin were also present, and perhaps on a nostalgic note, I would mention that the Santa Rita public housing project was started in 1938, under the auspices of the then 10th District Congressman, Lyndon Johnson. It was one of the first such projects in the country, and it was indeed warming to see the Arzolas witness the ceremony.

Also present were Mrs. Louise Adcock, a Representative of the Austin Housing Authority, and Mr. Sam K. Seymour, Jr., of Columbus, Tex., a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board of Little Rock.

Mr. Speaker, the housing bill which was signed into law was very broad and encompassed many programs. But one which has been of particular interest to me concerns homeownership. I have said many times before that the bedrock of much of our American heritage is the civic spirit and pride which results from owning one's own home.

In my district, there is a particular need today for homeownership programs in rural areas. The housing bill contains a special program to promote modernization and new construction in rural areas, but perhaps of even greater hope is the provision calling for experimentation of new technologies in home construction. I have noticed that the President has called upon the Department of Housing and Urban Development to find ways to obtain a sound, durable home for rural areas for less than $5,000.

If this goal were achieved, I believe it would be the greatest ray of hope seen in our small communities since the days the railroads first laid tracks. I believe it will revitalize hope in these areas, and I would certainly like to see the program started quickly.

Mr. Speaker, as is revealed by my remarks, I support the housing bill. I regret that I was unable to be on the floor to vote for it, but when the bill was initially considered, I was out due to illness and indicated my support by a live pair. On the conference report, I was at an appointment downtown with a Cabinet member and returned just after the vote was concluded.

I support the bill and wish to record my favor for it in this way.

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION: THE TORCH OF LIFE

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, herewith, from a high school senior in Monett, Mo., named Gary Klingsporn, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Urban Klingsporn of Monett, Mo., an oration entitled "The U.S. Constitution: The Torch of Life." It is proper that we should all re-read this, an rededicate ourselves, as Gary does on each delivery. Note its bipartisanship, and know also, Members of the Congress, that this was the winning oration in the Missouri State American Legion oratorical contest, and entitled Gary to compete in the regional contest in Iowa on April 1. He has subsequently visited the Nation's Capital City as a result of an essay with the REA cooperatives district contest level. In addition, he has been awarded other high honors for prior publications, including one in this RECORD to say nothing of his essay entitled "Where Have We Failed?" about our Nation's riots of last summer. He won the State contest in Jefferson City, and friends and people for whom he worked, Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Dawson of Monett, accompanied him on the trip. He has been presented a $400 college scholarship as a result of his wins. He also won an additional State contest of the Knights of Pythias for the second year in a row. He is a busy young man, and as a junior in the Monett high school system made straight A's. He serves on the Seventh Congressional District of Missouri's Youth Advisory Council. The local American Legion even held a "Gary Klingsporn night" in honor of his many accomplishments. With all of this, he is not "stuffed," he is thoughtful, interested, sincere, loyal, and will make a great leader of tomorrow, as anyone can see from the touch he brings in "The Torch of Life."

The address referred to follows:

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION: THE TORCH OF LIFE

"Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage . . ." Thus, the late President John F. Kennedy, spoke in his 1961 Inaugural Address, of a new generation of Americans with a bright future of hope and peace before them. The words and the man who spoke them symbolized the beginning of a fresh, new struggle for the success and survival of liberty. A struggle which would not be finished in the first one hundred or one thousand days, nor even perhaps within our lifetime. Nevertheless, the torch was passed, and the plea was set forth, that all Americans should begin that rededicated struggle toward upholding the principles of freedom and democracy.

Today, more than 7 years later, we can truly begin to realize the grave challenge and magnitude of those words. For today, we, as Americans, face perhaps the darkest hour this nation has ever faced. The turmoil and the dangers of our times are all about us, threatening to devour our sacred freedoms and our sacred way of life.

In this hour of turmoil and challenge, it is wise for us to ponder upon what torch and what heritage has been passed on to us. We should remember that brave Americans down through the history of our nation have faced these same challenges, as well as much greater ones. We should contemplate the great challenge which faced those men on Lexington Green, 192 years ago, as the first blood of freedom was shed. We can hardly imagine the thoughts of those ragged, emaciated mortals at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777, as death and despair lurked in the darkness and bitter winds. In a larger sense, we cannot comprehend the tremendous pain, anxiety, and doubt in the hearts of thousands of Americans who have faced the same questions which you and I face today. The torch that led them through the long nights of peril, was their fervent belief in the principles of freedom and democracy, and a sincere willingness to die for that freedom.

192 years ago, as the first colonist fired the shot heard round the world, he also kindled into life the bright flame of freedom and democracy, which has grown into a huge torch of life with its rays extending over the entire world!

The basis for that torch of life is the faith, hope, and belief of the people in freedom. That faith, hope and desire is expressed in one of the most amazing documents ever written, "The U.S. Constitution." Written in a time of unrest, alarm, skepticism, and criticism, 180 years ago by a group of men trying diligently to organize a government in a new land, it has endured the pains of growth, war, destruction, and opposition, which have plagued it. As all other aspects of our country have changed and expanded beyond our comprehension, this stalwart document has remained basically as it was, with but 25 amendments.

The U.S. Constitution enshrines many basic principles for the American people. The idea of popular sovereignty, "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is of primary importance. That people should choose their own representatives; personal rights must be secured; government should be limited; and powers may be divided between state and federal governments, are also important principles.

The right to govern comes from the people, and the Constitution is an evidence that they delegated powers to a government. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and as such, its powers and limitations must bind the government in the people's interests.

These facts clearly reveal unto us the true brilliance of our Constitution. It is more than a document; it is a way of life, for all to uphold unto death, who seek the way of freedom and democracy. In doing so, thousands have died, but not in vain; they have upheld the torch of life.

Today, in a world of many different people and ideologies, we find much darkness threatening to snuff out this torch of life. The giant arms of Communism are slowly closing in around this, our last stronghold of democracy. Evil forces and disturbances threaten to corrupt our nation from within; and the greatest principles of our American heritage appear facing inevitable decay.

The famous American philosopher, Will Durant, once said, "No great nation has ever been overcome until it has destroyed itself!" Throughout the history of mankind, there is no sadder story than the fall of great nations and civilizations. In these civilizations, we learn that the recurrent reasons for their downfall were ones of moral and spiritual decay. The people abandoned their faith and they no longer had the will to struggle and to die for those principles which had made them great. As huge stone towers whose foundations had slowly crumbled and withered away, piece by piece, the nations awkwardly toppled to the ground. They were overcome and conquered, only after they had first destroyed themselves!

Today, a rising crime rate of 88% at nearly 9 times our population growth, since 1960, bears testimony to the internal moral and spiritual deterioration which threatens America. The raging flames of civil disorder, lawlessness and immorality threaten to consume the torch of life, and with it, the greatest principles of our American heritage. We struggle upon a vast sea of doubt and uncertainty, fearful of the conflict tomorrow may bring.

What, then, is to save America from destroying itself and falling victim to the same fate as that of great nations and civilizations of the past? The answer to this question lies within the heart and mind of each of us as Americans.

The most important element in the greatness of this nation is its people. They have made it what it is; we must determine what it will be. We must in this hour of darkness and in the future, remember that the torch of life has been passed on into our hands. The burden of defending it and the principles in which we believe, has now fallen upon our shoulders. "We the people", under this democratic government, must continue to strive for the highest goals of mankind; freedom, justice, and truth. We must accept the duties and responsibilities of Americanism, and we must daily strengthen our faith in those principles of liberty and equality for which we stand. We must strive to maintain eternal vigilance against those forces which seek to overcome us. In doing so, we will often be confronted with the greatest challenges of mankind, for freedom is not easily won, nor is it easily maintained. The road is bitter, dark, and weary, but the goal of freedom is the most priceless and cherished possession of mankind.

From Lexington and Valley Forge, down the long path of this great nation, Americans have had to make the decision as to whether they would be so daring as to set their beliefs down and fight for that freedom. So today, is each of us confronted with a similar decision and challenge. That supreme decision lies within the hands of each of us, and the fate of a nation and of a people rest upon it.

I ask you to consider it sincerely. The torch of life has been passed into our hands, a new generation of Americans, proud of our ancient heritage. Can we live up to those words of honor? Will we allow this torch of life to be cast out, and let our lives be darkened forever? or will we raise it high into the darkness, valiantly defend it unto death, and keep its light of freedom and democracy burning forever?

A serious decision and challenge indeed; but it must be met; What will your decision be?

VETERANS' ASSISTANCE CENTER IS SUCCESS

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, in his January 30 message to Congress on veterans' affairs, President Johnson announced that 20 veterans' assistance centers would be established in key cities throughout the United States. The Philadelphia center is designed to better serve the needs of recently separated veterans in the 40-county eastern Pennsylvania area and was opened to the public on February 19.

The veterans' assistance center is a multiagency, one-stop center to help veterans make a smooth adjustment to civilian life. Assistance counselors from the Veterans' Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Pennsylvania State Employment Service, and the U.S. Civil Service Commission staff the veterans' assistance center and in Philadelphia is located in the same building as the Veterans' Administration Center.

Emphasis at the veterans' assistance center is directed toward expediting service on Veterans' Administration benefits, job counseling, and assistance. Attempts are made to seek out educationally disadvantaged veterans and to convince them to continue their schooling.

On March 8 it was my pleasure to participate in the ceremonies dedicating the new Philadelphia center at which time after a ribbon-cutting ceremony I delivered some remarks at the luncheon which followed.

Because of my interest and enthusiasm over this program, I recently wrote to S. W. Melidosian, manager of the Philadelphia Veterans' Administration Center for a report on what has happened since the center opened. It is my pleasure indeed to place in the RECORD Mr. Melidosian's report, which indicates just how successful the program has been. I am satisfied that without the assistance of Mr. Melidosian and his very fine staff that the program would not be nearly so successful. Mr. Melidosian's letter follows:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION CENTER,
Philadelphia, Pa., August 1, 1968.

Hon. JOSHUA EILBERG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. EILBERG: As I promised in my letter of July 24 I am supplying you with a current summary of information on our U.S. Veterans Assistance Program.

Your keynote address at the dedication ceremony on March 8th marked the formal beginning of the USVAC program in Philadelphia. The Center actually opened for service to Vietnam Era veterans on February 19. Since that time we have provided counseling and assistance to over 2300 recently separated veterans.

Primary emphasis in the USVAC program is locating the veteran who has not completed requirements for a high school diploma and encouraging him to return to school. We are attempting to convince the veteran that additional formal education and job training is necessary to compete successfully in today's world.

Veterans who have completed high school are welcomed at USVAC and given complete benefits information and counseling on education, training and employment. However, we do not seek out the high school graduate as we do the man who has dropped out of school.

The Veterans Assistance Center receives a record of all educationally disadvantaged, recently separated veterans in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. Assistance counselors attempt to contact each veteran by phone and urge him to visit the USVAC for a complete counseling interview. If the veteran cannot be reached, a letter is sent to him suggesting a time and date for him to visit USVAC. If both of these methods fail to get the veteran to the office, a VA counselor visits the veteran's home and discusses his VA benefits with him. If the veteran is interested in job placement he is encouraged to visit USVAC to discuss job possibilities with either the representative of the U.S. Civil Service Commission or the Pennsylvania State Employment Service interviewer.

More than 500 educationally disadvantaged veterans have been counseled and advised of their educational entitlement and urged to enroll in a high school course to complete the requirements for a diploma.

Most veterans interested in going to school are planning to begin their courses in the fall semester. USVAC will maintain a diary control and follow up with each veteran to see if he actually enters school.

Three hundred veterans have filed applications for schooling or vocational training. Over 250 veterans have applied for VA sponsored professional guidance counseling to help them determine a vocational or educational goal.

Almost 1100 veterans have filed applications for other VA benefits such as: Compensation for service-connected disabilities; outpatient medical and dental care; and Eligibility Certificates for VA guaranteed housing.

Four hundred and sixty-five veterans who held jobs prior to entering military service were counseled by a representative of the U.S. Department of Labor's Re-employment Rights Division. These men were given advice on their entitlement to pay rate, seniority, vacation time, and various fringe benefits when returning to their former employers.

A total of 206 veterans have been placed in jobs. The salaries in these positions range from $1.65 per hour to $3.20 per hour. The average starting salary for these jobs was $2.36 per hour.

The Philadelphia Post Office has hired 34 USVAC referred veterans. Eight of these men are mail handlers ($2.72 per hour). The remaining 26 are either clerks or carriers ($2.92 per hour).

Fourteen other federal agencies accounted for the hiring of an additional 54 veterans, several in positions at the GS-4 and 5 levels or equivalent blue-collar jobs.

The USVAC representative of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service has initiated action leading to the placement of 118 veterans in private industry and in state and local government positions.

Twelve veterans were hired as corrections officers at the Pennsylvania State Corrections Institute.

Five veterans were hired (4 as security guards; one as a gardener) by St. Joseph's College. Their jobs entitle them to free tuition while employed by the college.

Other veterans have been placed in such jobs as: truck driver, machine operator, inventory controller, drill press operator, accounting clerk, bus driver, clerk-typist, electronics assembler, material handler, stock control trainee, liquor stork clerk, pipesetter trainee, baker trainee, private investigator.

The attached case histories may give you a better idea of the service we are providing to the veteran as an individual.

We feel the USVAC program is fulfilling its early promise. The educational opportunities, the job assistance and benefits counseling are providing further evidence to the veteran that the Federal Government is interested in his future.

I hope this information will give you a clear enough picture of what the U.S. Veterans Assistance Center has accomplished over the past five and one-half months. I appreciate your interest in USVAC's progress.

Sincerely,

S. W. MELIDOSIAN,
Manager.

U.S. VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION CENTER CASE HISTORIES

CASE NO. 1

This 21 year old veteran visited USVAC and had all VA benefits explained. He had dropped out of high school at the end of ninth grade but his Army position, Stock Control Specialist (Sgt. E-5), showed very good ability. The veteran was assisted in filing applications for a possible compensable disability to his left hand and for dental treatment at a VA Outpatient Clinic.

The veteran was escorted to the federal Civil Service Commission representative at USVAC. The Civil Service Commission placement specialist explained Federal employment possibilities and determined that the veteran would be a good candidate to take the Junior Federal Assistant examination. The application for the examination to be given in nine days was completed before the veteran left the office.

The veteran passed the examination and was hired by the Defense Personnel Support Center as a Computer Operator, GS-4. Three days before he began his new job the veterans returned to USVAC to file an application for a high school correspondence course offered by La Salle Institute of Chicago, Illinios.

CASE NO. 2

This 25 year old veteran first appeared at the U.S. Veterans Assistance Center seeking education benefits and employment.

Prior to service the veterans had completed two years of college at Florida A & M.

Since his return from service the veteran was utterly confused about re-entering college at Florida A & M. There had been changes in his family structure and he did not wish to burden his parents for financial assistance while attending school.

He was made aware of the Veterans in Public Service Program (VIPS) administered by the College Bound Office. The veteran was interviewed by College Bound officials but decided to seek other employment.

Three weeks later he returned to USVAC. He was escorted to the Pennsylvania State Employment Representative for aid in getting employment immediately. The Pennsylvania State Employment Service interviewer referred the veteran to the Commercial Plastics Co., 2001 W. Clearfield St., Philadelphia, Pa., as a shipper; starting salary was $2.00 per hour. When the veteran reported for his interview he so impressed company officials, that the job of shipper was forgotten and he was hired instead as an Inventory Controlman at a starting salary of $2.60 per hour.

The Plastic Co. official called the Veterans Assistance Center the next morning to thank USVAC counselors for referring such an outstanding worker.

CASE NO. 3

This 21 year old veteran visited USVAC because of his interest in employment. He is currently attending Lincoln College Preparatory to complete his remaining two years of high school work. All VA benefits were completely explained and the veteran was referred to the U.S. Civil Service Commission representative. After learning of federal employment opportunities the veteran elected to try for a job as a mail carrier with the Philadelphia Post Office. The Commission placement specialist scheduled the veteran for the Post Office examination to be given the following Saturday morning. The veteran passed the Post Office examination and was hired as a carrier. He has successfully completed his first semester at Lincoln Prep.

CASE NO. 4

This 25-year-old Army veteran visited USVAC specifically to inquire about his reemployment rights. The veteran had been employed by a local food company as a commissary machine operator for four and one-half years prior to entering service. When he entered the Army he was earning $2.10 per hour. When the veteran was reinstated on June 4 his salary was set at $2.27 per hour. The veteran claimed that other commissary machine operators who worked with him prior to his Army duty, and who themselves did not go into military service, were now earning $2.50 per hour. After hearing the veteran's story the U.S. Department of Labor representative initiated a letter to the employer asking for information and records relating to the veteran's reinstatement. The day after the letter was mailed to the employer the veteran was informed by his shop steward that his pay was being increased to $2.37 per hour. Two weeks later the veteran again contacted the DOL representative and told him he had not received the increase in his last paycheck and that $2.37 per hour was still fifteen cents an hour below his contemporaries. A phone call by the DOL representative brought a promise by the employer that the veteran's rate of pay would be increased to $2.50 per hour and made retroactive to the veteran's date of reinstatement. The retroactive increase was received by the veteran in his July 20th paycheck.

CASE NO. 5

This 22-year-old high school graduate was encouraged to seek additional education or training when he visited USVAC. The veteran is married and has two children so he felt that his first and primary objective was obtaining employment. He is a five-year Navy veteran, having served in Vietnam. He was a boilermaker in service.

The veteran was introduced to the Pennsylvania State Employment Representative who found a job opening at Yarway Manufacturing Company (Steam Power and Equipment) in Bluebell, Pa., as a laboratory technician boiler trainee. The veteran's experience was what Yarway was looking for and he was hired at $115 per week and began work on March 28, eight days after separation from service. The potential salary the veteran can anticipate after two years on the job is $150 a week.

CASE NO. 6

This 22-year-old veteran did not respond to either phone calls or a letter urging him to visit the USVAC. A VA assistance counselor visited the veteran at his home and found him recuperating from a severe beating he had suffered at the hands of a gang since returning from his Marine Corps service. The assistance counselor helped the veteran prepare and file a claim for injuries he had incurred while in service. A claim form was also submitted for outpatient dental treatment. The veteran was not in condition to hold a job at this time but was encouraged to come to the USVAC and talk with the employment specialists when he was ready to go to work. When the veteran did not visit USVAC after a reasonable time he was called by an assistance counselor on three different occasions before visiting the office. The Civil Service Commission representative explained job opportunities with the Federal government and helped the veteran prepare a job application for a Civil Service rating as general worker. The veteran was encouraged, by everyone who spoke with him, to return to school after he found employment. While the veteran's application for general worker was pending the Civil Service Commission specialist referred the man to Bers & Co., Inc., manufacturers of lead and lead alloys. This job listing was obtained through the CSC representative's working relationship with the Philadelphia Urban League. The veteran was hired on July 19 as a laborer with Bers & Co. at $2.61 per hour. A USVAC counselor will follow up with the veteran to help him enter high school training this September.

NATIONAL NEED FOR EXPANDED VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my stanch support of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 as passed by the House of Representatives in July. This bill contains many features that hold great importance for the future of vocational education in the United States. The Congress of the United States has shown a continuing interest in vocational education over the years. The Smith-Hughes Act, which was passed in 1917, the George-Barden and subsequent vocational education laws which contained important amendments passed during the 1940's, and the Vocational Education Act of 1963 are evidence of this great and abiding interest. Through legislation, we have sought to adapt vocational education to the changes in manpower demands of our rapidly expanding society. The first law, the Smith-Hughes Act, was passed to fill the educational and manpower needs of our Nation at a time when we stood on the threshold of change from an agricultural to an industrial nation. It reflected the obvious lack of scientifically trained farmers and of expertly trained industrial technicians in the Nation at that time.

Later vocational education laws reflected the increasing need for office and clerical help, for nurses, for nutrition and home economics experts, and for scientific technicians.

Our record is one to be proud of as far as legislation which has truly benefited the Nation and helped it rise to the heights of industrial, technological, and scientific progress that we have reached today.

In the eighth district of Minnesota, the Federal Government invested nearly $350,000 last year for vocational education. With those funds we supported courses in office occupations, trades, and industrial occupations, home economics, and agriculture. The State of Minnesota also benefited greatly from the vocational education program; programs to train young persons and adults in health occupations and for certain technical careers were in operation on a base of Federal support amounting to $5,344,159. In the Nation, more than $255 million was expended on vocational education in the Nation's high schools, area vocational schools, junior colleges, community colleges, and in a host of programs at various universities. These programs of research and vocational education training covered the range of secondary through postsecondary level course work.

Yet, our society and our Nation are not stagnant—we have not reached a plateau where progress is no longer possible. Technologically, industrially, and scientifically we continue to take great steps forward. And each time we take such a step, we develop new careers and new manpower shortages that must be filled.

The Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 contain proposals for programs which will attempt to meet the present vocational education and training needs of cities, rural areas, and suburbs across the Nation. First of all, the new bill establishes the means by which State boards of vocational education may be strengthened in order to meet the increasingly complex administrative demands of vocational education programs. The bill authorizes a permanent National Advisory Council appointed by the President, which will advise the Office of Education on policies and procedures concerning State plans for vocational education. The House bill also authorizes a separate vocational education State advisory committee to assist the State board in designing the State plan for vocational education. Each State and territory will, therefore, have a committee of educators, businessmen, and other lay persons who will assist the State boards in designing the best possible vocational education programs for the needs of towns, States, and the country as a whole. As a former teacher, myself, I realize the value of getting all persons in a community and in a State together to advise each other of their particular educational and training needs and then to design courses and overall program objectives which will fill those needs. As a teacher, I know that each school district, and indeed, each school within the district is only as strong and as effective as each individual teacher, parent, principal, businessman, school board member, college professor, superintendent, craftsman, and State board members and labor union members. In other words, each school is only as strong as the individuals in a community working together to make it strong.

I think that the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, with the establishment of a National Advisory Council plus a network of State advisory committees which combine all the cultural, educational, and professional resources of the various communities within a State hold forth the greatest promise for change and progress in vocational education.

For these reasons, I urge that my colleagues on the House Committee on Education and Labor stand firmly behind the bill (H.R. 18366) passed by the House of Representatives. I urge that my colleagues bring this bill to conference in September. I assure my colleagues that I will strongly support swift passage and implementation of the conference bill. I think that all my colleagues should join with me in insisting that a bill, containing provision of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, with far-reaching administrative improvements and the establishment of highly representative advisory committees, be enacted this session of the 90th Congress.

CLEAN LAKES

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and colleague, Congressman Bill Steiger, from the Sixth District of Wisconsin, has done an outstanding job of compiling a series of articles on the parallel and spiraling problems of water pollution and lake eutrophication and the urgent need for an immediate counterattack to insure clean lakes.

I would like to share the following reports with my colleagues, and I feel sure they will be of interest:

Clean Lakes—I

(By Representative William A. Steiger)

(Editor's Note.—Through excessive abuse of our lakes and streams, Americans may lose the freedom of choice which so long has been theirs—to use the waterways as recreational, domestic, agricultural and industrial tools. Representative William A. Steiger, Republican of Wisconsin, is the author of legislation, the Clean Lakes Act, to preserve this freedom. The Sixth District Congressman has written an eight-part series of articles detailing the parallel and spiraling problems of water pollution and lake eutrophication, and the urgent need for an immediate counterattack to insure clean lakes.)

For generations, Americans have used the natural resources of this nation as if they were inexhaustible.

This applies no less to water than to our forests, land and air.

Unfortunately, these valuable gifts of nature are being abused, polluted and destroyed. They are being exhausted.

There are more than 100,000 lakes in America. Wisconsin is blessed with an abundance of these lakes.

Right in the heart of our own district we have Lake Winnebago, the largest lake in Wisconsin. Nearby Green Lake is the deepest lake in the state. The chain of Lakes Poygan, Winneconne and Butte des Morts are among the 34 largest of the many hundreds of lakes in Wisconsin.

And, of course, there is Lake Michigan, one of the five Great Lakes.

A lake is a special entity—it has been described as "a little world within itself—a microcosm within which all the elemental forces are at work and the play of life goes on in full but on so small a scale as to bring it easily within mental grasp."

As a body, a lake is born, achieves maturity and dies. Scientists describe these processes, less poetically but more technically, as passing through oligotrophic, eutrophic, and dystrophic stages.

In the oligotrophic stage, a lake is nutrient poor, is generally deep, clear blue-green in color, and is oxygen rich.

A eutrophic type is nutrient rich, is more shallow, and green to brown in color and is oxygen poor because of its abundant plant life.

A dystrophic lake is one passing into extinction; it is typically characterized as a bog.

This is a description of an entirely natural process which will occur over eons of time.

But in recent times, lakes have aged prematurely; eutrophication has been speeded by a new element in the "little world" of the lake. The new element is man.

The natural process of lake aging has been altered and as a result eutrophication has become a phenomena with daily impact upon the lives of Americans.

What eutrophication means to the layman is that some use of the water is lost to him. It is ugly, smelly and biologically impure.

It is no longer useful for boating, fishing, swimming, or even pleasant picnics by the wayside.

To some people it means an economic loss as well; tourists don't visit a eutrophic lake, commercial fishing fails and navigation is impeded.

This is a definition after the fact: the lake has been altered by pollution, perhaps permanently.

Clean Lakes—II

(By Representative William A. Steiger)

We have come to realize that water is available in limited supply, and some priority of use may be needed—every use of water limits to some degree the additional uses it can meet.

With increased technology, it is possible that water can be reused indefinitely. That is not now possible.

It is interesting that clean water, including clean lakes, has become a national goal as defined by legislation. Yet there is no legislative definition of pollution.

Perhaps this is an indication of past approaches that have been made to the problem. When a lake is obviously ugly, it is apparent that something must be done.

But, too often, the slow progress toward uselessness goes unnoticed.

The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration has drafted a definition for adoption in state water pollution control acts. It is this:

"Pollution means such contamination, or other alteration of the physical, chemical or biological properties of any water of the state, including changes in temperature, taste, color, humidity, or odor of the water, or such discharge of any liquid, gaseous, solid, radioactive or other substance into any water of the state as will or is likely to create a nuisance or render such waters harmful, detrimental, or injurious to public health, safety, or welfare, or to domestic, commercial, industrial, agricultural, recreational, or other legitimate beneficial uses, or to livestock, wild animals, birds, fish or other aquatic life."

Essentially, all climatic, physical, chemical, and biological factors have an influence on the eutrophication process, particularly as they relate to the distribution, availability, and utilization of the nutrients required by the algae in their metabolism.

We are discussing the intrusion of man and his society into the cycle of the lake and the effect this has. We know that it speeds the process of eutrophication; but to use that term describes a very complex event.

A eutrophic lake already has been described briefly as a maturing lake, rich in plant life and poor in oxygen.

Within a 25-mile radius of Oshkosh lies 20 per cent of all the water in Wisconsin. Sixteen per cent of the total acreage of the 6th district is water.

The fact that so many of Wisconsin's lakes are shallow has helped to exaggerate the problem of eutrophication that we are concerned about.

For example, Lake Winnebago is only 21 feet deep at its deepest point. Other lakes are as shallow as six feet.

The impact of nutrient enrichment is therefore greater, and the usual symptoms of eutrophication, such as rooted plants and algae, are much more evident.

Eutrophication is accelerated when nutrients from farms, towns, and other activities of man, drain into relatively shallow lakes. These lakes can be rejuvenated or restored at considerable cost.

With more emphasis on research, these costs might be greatly reduced, or new technology may be developed to offset aging.

Clean Lakes—III

(By Representative William A. Steiger)

Considerable attention has been directed at the major sources of nutrients in lakes, and domestic pollution is certainly among them.

Sewage treatment has become a minimum expectation, but the variety of methods and fluctuation in results shows that sewage treatment can mean entirely different things.

There are standards set forth in public health terms, but they do not meet the threat posed to lake waters in terms of eutrophication—the process whereby a lake becomes rich in plant life and poor in oxygen.

Domestic waste is an important, if not the major source, of nitrogen and phosphorus; yet, few standards have been adopted to regulate these nutrients.

Phosphorus in particular is heavy in domestic waste.

The leafy green garbage contributes part of the total as phosphorus is concentrated in green plants. The huge consumption of milk and milk products by the American public and its heavy content of phosphorus makes that another important contributor.

But probably the biggest offender is the detergent. Estimates vary, but as much as four billion pounds of synthetic detergent are used in the Nation's households. Most of this chemical detergent has a phosphorus base which means that detergents contribute from 30 percent to 50 percent of the total phosphorus content of domestic sewage.

Although the detergent industry was able to adjust to the foam problem by an alternative chemical arrangement, at present this does not appear to be possible to avoid phosphorus use.

The solution of course, would be to emphasize phosphorus and nitrogen removal methods. At present some experimental plants are in operation.

By present methods of secondary treatment, however, the average removal of phosphrous is probably about 10 per cent. Nitrogen removal is somewhat higher, averaging about 50 per cent.

Considering the very small amounts of these nutrients required for algal development, the dimension of the problem of domestic treatment becomes clear.

In addition to the problems of treated wastes, there is considerable debate on the advisability of storm-sewer separation. The issue is that in the event of a heavy storm, the sewage drains are flooded and overflow into rivers without treatment.

The debate centers on the cost of separation as compared with the benefits to be derived.

Another domestic pollution issue particularly relevant to small fresh water lakes is the gathering around their shores of tourist camps, cabins, and very small communities.

The standards of acceptable septic tanks are often not met by these builders. In addition, a considerable portion of the soil in this country is simply not suitable to this method of disposal.

At present, however, there are few economical alternatives to septic tanks.

Related to domestic pollution is watercraft wastes.

The lakes of the Great Lakes system are used extensively by commercial watercraft. But the problem also extends to small lakes in the form of eight million recreational craft in use today.

Only 29 states currently regulate watercraft in any way, and these laws usually apply only to recreational craft.

Watercraft waste, discharged directly into the water system, must be controlled because it escapes any measures of treatment.

CLEAN LAKES—IV

(By Representative WILLIAM A. STEIGER)

The total portion of lake pollution attributable to industrial sources is difficult to estimate.

The industrial contribution varies regionally, but where industry is heavily concentrated, it must be considered a major source of a variety of pollution problems.

Many of the inorganic pollutants originate in industrial operations. Organic wastes often originate from processing plants—typical are paper mills, potato processors, milk companies, or meat packers.

Another result of some industrial operations is the temperature change of the water—thermal pollution.

Industrial waste management practices can be divided into four categories.

Facilities may modify manufacturing procedures to alter or decrease in some way the polluting effect of plant discharges.

The second category is provided by some plants to reduce waste discharges with treatment internally before the effluent is released to the municipal plant or into a stream or other surface water.

The third possibility is to run the effluent through the city sewage system and the municipal treatment plant.

The final alternative is the release of the wastes directly into the waters.

This last case is, of course, most objectionable and results in great damage. However, the same inadequacies which apply to treatment facilities for domestic sewage apply when this treatment is extended to industrial waste.

The special nature of some industrial wastes constitutes a particular danger in terms of the fish population. More than twice as many fish are reported killed annually due to industrial waste than to the domestic waste and agricultural operations combined. The chemicals involved have not yet been subject to control by techniques currently available which could reduce or eliminate such destruction of aquatic life.

It may very well be that no more difficult question faces the researcher than the exact contribution of agricultural runoff to pollution and lake eutrophication.

The rate of surface runoff itself depends upon many factors including soil texture, slope, moisture content, cover and other things which affect infiltration into a soil. But one of the most important factors is the physical character of the soil surface.

The rate of infiltration and subsequent evaporation vary principally depending upon the type of land cover.

Nitrogen and phosphorus, the nutrients of primary concern, are carried by surface runoff and by percolated water in the ground water. The contribution of nitrogen and phosphorus from various sources also varies considerably.

Organic matter decomposition, animal manure, legums and commercial fertilizer contribute nitrogen in approximately that order. The rank of contribution of phosphorus is manure, commercial fertilizer, and organic matter decomposition.

These are findings of a study conducted in Wisconsin which might not apply in other areas in as much as the computations depend so much upon the regional variables.

It should be emphasized that the total impact of agricultural pollution varies and is generally not as great as other sources. This is encouraging because agricultural pollution is difficult to control. Holding ponds and lagoons are suggested for treatment, but there use has not yet been demonstrated as economically or technically feasible.

CLEAN LAKES—V

(By Representative WILLIAM A. STEIGER)

Efforts to control eutrophication have had a slow start compared to the rate at which pollution is flowing into America's streams and lakes.

In part, the explanation lies in the fact that eutrophication has only been recognized as critical in relatively recent times—at least within the last quarter century.

And research to identify causes or to treat them is costly.

Even federal allocations were slow with the first comprehensive water pollution research and development programs approved in 1956 with the passage of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

It is probably safe to say from a technical standpoint, that pollution control is possible.

But it is equally true that currently we are building—often with the aid of federal subsidies—sewage treatment plants which, technically speaking, could have been built in 1936 or perhaps in 1906.

This means two things: One, we are not applying past developments made in the laboratory, and two, we are continuing to make investments which, in the long run, may not be economical.

The Department of Interior has estimated that capital outlays of $122.4 million would have to be made in Wisconsin over the five year period of 1969–73 to obtain adequate municipal waste treatment in the state.

Of the $122.4 million figure, $47 million would go for upgrading of facilities, $3.5 million for constructing facilities for wastes now going untreated, $42 million to take into consideration the increases in urban populations, and $29.9 million for depreciation.

According to the Department of Interior this year, Wisconsin has 2,804,000 persons in its total urban population. Of that figure, 2,049,000 have adequate treatment facilities and 689,000 have less than adequate treatment facilities.

There are 66,000 persons in the state's total urban population with no treatment facilities. This means that 26.9 per cent of Wisconsin's total urban population now has less than adequate or no treatment facilities.

But, without the proper research and demonstration for control of pollution in lakes, Wisconsin could very well wind up not having a proper job done by 1973 even though $122.4 million might be spent to obtain adequate municipal waste treatment for the state.

This is the importance of the Clean Lakes Act—to move ahead on sufficiently funded research and demonstration programs. The cost in fiscal 1969 would be $5 million. Although some pollution control is now available, it is not always the most economical control when it is transferred to the municipal plant from the laboratory.

CLEAN LAKES—VI

(By Representative WILLIAM A. STEIGER)

To this point, emphasis on clean lakes has been upon federal legislation, programs and authorizations.

Equally important, however, is the realization that state and local governments in a variety of inter-governmental combination among themselves and with federal agencies are engaged in the fight to preserve water resources.

A logical place to begin a description of these activities is one level of cooperative action: State Water Quality Standards.

The Water Quality Act of 1965 provided for the establishment of standards through state action, or failing state action, to be set by the Secretary of Interior. Standards adopted by states also require approval by the Secretary.

The theory behind standards is that water has many uses; its minimum quality may vary with choices among alternative uses.

The act specifically recognizes the "use and value for public water supplies, propagation of fish and wildlife, recreational purposes, agricultural, industrial and other legitimate uses."

Uses are to be the most "appropriate" and to give consideration to economics as well as esthetics, and the social as well as the commercial use.

Standards are envisioned as more than maintaining the status quo; "there ought to be constant effort to improve the quality of the water supply, it being recognized that the improvement of the quality of water makes it available for more uses."

Standards are two things at once; they must recognize reality but they also must be future oriented goals. This helps to explain some requirements which otherwise are confusing.

For example, the federal guidelines say that "in no case will standards providing for less than existing water quality be acceptable." This seems worthy on the face, but it may not really be practical.

Water uses may change completely due to population movements, industrial growth or other factors and as use changes, quality will, in fact, be affected.

At another point, the federal guidelines require that no standard allow "wastes amenable to treatment or control to be discharged into any interstate water without treatment or control regardless of the water quality criteria and water use or uses adopted." Furthermore, the treatment must be "the best practicable treatment."

It is unfortunate but true that this criteria is unmet.

It was estimated by the Conference of State Sanitary Engineers that in 1965, there were 1,694 communities across the country discharging untreated or inadequately treated wastes. Even minimum treatment is not provided everywhere much less is the best treatment available.

Surveillance and enforcement are major requirements if the Water Quality Act is to approach any high degree of effectiveness. This will be a significant drawback in many states even when assistance from the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration is provided as authorized in the act.

Cost is the stumbling stone.

First priority has been put upon construction and research: a water pollution police force ranks relatively low. Standards will not be an immediate cure-all to pollution for these and many other operational reasons.

CLEAN LAKES—VII

(By Representative WILLIAM A. STEIGER)

Wisconsin is a state abundantly provided with lakes and streams as well as people who are industrialists, farmers and outdoor enthusiasts.

Accepting responsibility for the protection of water quality, Wisconsin, like many other states, began soon after statehood to legislate for clean water.

But, by 1965, a former commissioner of the Wisconsin Conservation Commission described the situation in the state "as a good example of administrative confusion, conflicting authority and lack of direction."

At least 12 agencies had staffs which were involved in the water problem. Activities overlapped in at least 14 categories such as long-range planning function, groundwater survey, enforcement of quality laws, basic research, responsibility for water purity, irrigation and flood control.

Confusion, duplication and waste typify many states were a multitude of agencies are engaged in water problems.

But Wisconsin has taken important steps forward from this chaos.

A Department of Resource Development was created in 1965 under Gov. Warren P. Knowles which coordinated water resource development under one roof. This department is now a division in the new Natural Resources Department which developed from executive branch consolidation in 1967.

The authority given to the Division is comprehensive. Included is a directive to formulate a plan for a long-range program which would guarantee the future quality of water in the state.

The concept of water quality standards for intra-state water is included in the delegation of authority which is nearly parallel to the federal legislation. The public interest is emphasized throughout the delegation.

The Division may issue orders to control specific sources of pollution even to the extent that it may "designate changes in operation, and if necessary, alterations or extensions."

Orders may be prosecuted by the attorney general and offenders deemed a public nuisance or the Division may take action and charge the cost to the offender.

This can reduce unnecessary delay. Within the past year, all across the state, the Division stepped up the issuance of and compliance with pollution abatement orders.

A program of state assistance is authorized to financially promote local construction of pollution prevention and abatement facilities. The Division reviews applications to judge that they meet the criteria and establishes priority among applications.

Liberal depreciation and tax write-off provisions allow the Division to offer real incentives to industrial cooperation in the control of pollution.

Zoning provisions are designed to provide technical and financial assistance to local governmental zoning authorities, but if ordinances are not adopted, the state may act.

At least a limited research program is authorized to find new methods of pollution control using the state facilities and under state programs with other units. The state program is designed to coordinate the research activities and make new findings and techniques more readily available to the public.

Wisconsin has begun what every state should do—mount a coordinated attack on water pollution.

CLEAN LAKES—VIII

(By Representative WILLIAM A. STEIGER)

Dr. William E. Sloey of the Department of Biology at the Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh says Lake Winnebago and its associated upriver lakes represents one of the largest shallow "hypereutrophic" pools to be found anywhere.

When I held informal hearings earlier this year at Neenah on my Clean Lakes Act, he said such lakes are common throughout the mid-region of our country.

Frequently these lakes appear as reservoirs near our larger cities, and because of their accessibility, they are of major economic and recreational value.

Yet, Dr. Sloey tells us, these Lakes remain unstudied from a limnological standpoint in comparison to the deeper lakes such as Lake Mendota at Madison.

As the term hypereutrophic denotes, such lake are extremely fertile and contain quantities of decaying organic materials as well as living organisms at every level of the trophic scale far in excess of that present in the more studied lake types.

Dr. Sloey says it is apparent that little is known concerning the rates and changes in rates of nutrition, aging and sedimentation of shallow, highly fertile lakes.

Cost benefit analysis has had only limited application to government financed projects, especially those which are involved in the public interest.

Traditionally, the objective of cost benefit anaylsis has been to measure economic efficiency. But, many government programs involve other factors.

Thus, cost-benefit analysis may be largely irrelevant as it is now applied. But that need not persist.

It remains simply to develop the means to specify the goals of a program and then measure the accomplishments against the cost.

The political process is also involved in this operation and so must be considered as an input into the system.

The intricacies of welfare cost-benefit analysis need not be fully explored here, but they should be pursued to give meaning to the claims of those who argue that it is going to be more costly to neglect our water resources than to save them.

Alternative nutrient removal and treatment facilities should also come under this kind of analysis before any programs are initiated. Complete studies of the impact of various arrangements of intergovernmental activities in the water resource field would also contribute to the analysis.

Attention must be given to economic and political aspects of water resource management because they are fundamental to successful scientific programs conducted in the public interest.

Research needs and the ways to meet them must be considered with all levels of government working in cooperation. In fact, it seems desirable to encourage inter-level cooperation to take advantage of the characteristics of various participating bodies which make them uniquely suited to deal with special needs, such as the "hypereutrophic" pools describing Lake Winnebago and its associated upriver lakes.

Part of the need for increased research must be met by the designation of funds for lake eutrophication by the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

Although the FWPCA currently does carry out research in the area of eutrophication, it is inadequate to meet the needs.

The facilities and assets of the state and local governments, as well as in the many interstate river basin compacts, are inadequate to carry out this type of research activity.

H.R. 13312, my Clean Lakes Act, is a bill designed to focus attention and direct funds toward a program of research and demonstration in lake eutrophication.

This step, taken in concert with the many other advances through public and private interest and concern about water pollution could bring control through research closer to achievement.

It will help to answer in the negative the question, will we lose our freedom of choice in water use?

REGISTER MATCHES?

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 10, 1968

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Tallahassee Democrat recently carried in its "Letters to the Editor" column a suggestion which makes interesting reading. If the powers that be are determined to register guns, they should not entirely disregard this letter:

REGISTER MATCHES?

QUINCY.

I think all matches should be registered. Everyone knows that arson, fire bombs, etc. are caused by matches and not by those who strike them. Registration of matches would absolutely stop all such violent crimes. Further, I'm sure all honest and law-abiding citizens will want to turn in their matches to the government and requisition one when they can prove a legitimate need for it. Of course, it would only be reasonable to expect such a requisition to be accompanied by a promise to return the burned match to the government together with a sworn statement by two honorable witnesses that the match was used according to law. Failing this, the only thing that I can see left for the government to do is confiscate all matches.

MITCHELL N. DREW.

If matches are registered, the Government can also strike a blow for health by refusing permits for matches to light cigarettes.

HIGHER EDUCATION COST TAX CREDIT

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, the bill I introduce today would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing higher education. The bill provides an income tax credit on the first $1,500 of tuition, fees, books, and applies to anyone who pays these expenses for a student at an institution of higher learning.

The number of students in our colleges and universities is at an all-time high. In 1955 there were 2,260,000 college students working toward degrees. Today there are almost 7 million and by 1975 there will be almost 9 million. Meanwhile college costs continue to mount. In 1955 the annual tuition cost per student was $139 at public institutions and $438 at public colleges. By 1965 these figures had risen to $200 and $812 respectively. Similarly the total cost per student is rising. The total cost per student in a public college in 1965 was $1,560 per year, in a private school it was $2,370. By 1970 the total cost will be $1,840 and $2,780.

As more and more students enter college and vocational and technical schools more and more middle- and lower-income families are trying to send their children on for higher education. A family can expect to spend almost $10,000 to educate one of their children over a 4-year college career. In the United States there are 34,500,000 families with an income under $10,000. For such a family, sending their children to college can mean a financial crisis if they are sending more than one student through school during the year. Half or more of the family's income may go to their children's education. The amount of the tax credit declines on incomes over $15,000 and the credit would not be paid to families earning over $20,000, who can better afford these costs. At least three-fourths of the tax credit aid would go to families whose income is less than $10,000 a year.

This proposal is for the average family in America. It is for the people who constitute the backbone of America—the blue-collar workers, the white-collar workers, the wage earners, and salaried persons of the lower- and middle-income group who are struggling to pay their bills, buy their homes, and educate their children. They work hard for their wages or salary—and it is all taxable.

Our income tax is a graduated tax. It is based on ability to pay. If they pay a $1,000 medical bill, they get some tax relief. If a tornado or flood causes them $1,000 of damage, they get tax relief. But if they pay $2,000 a year for 4 years to send their sons and daughters to college, they bear that burden with no help from our tax laws.

The time has come to recognize that these Americans are entitled to relief. When they pay large sums to provide themselves or their children with a college education, they are spending money in the national interest and it is entirely fair, equitable, and appropriate for the Nation to ease their burden through the tax laws.

THE IMPROVED ORDER OF RED MEN: PRESERVERS OF HISTORY

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, traditions and customs have a way of being relegated to the backroom in these days of rapid change. It is necessary to reflect and give recognition to those groups which take pride in preserving our national heritage.

As the original sponsor of House Joint Resolution 1248 in the 89th Congress, I am again offering a House joint resolution which would designate the week of December 16 in each year as "National Improved Order of Red Men Week" throughout our land.

This special week would note the historic contribution of the Red Men, an organization of some 400,000 members, and the role of its members in advancing patriotism and American democracy.

BEGINNINGS IN BOSTON HARBOR

December 16 is a significant date in American history and it is a fitting one to honor the Red Men. On that day in 1773, a band of bold patriots disguised themselves as Indians, boarded British ships in Boston Harbor and dumped cargoes of tea overboard. The Boston Tea Party was one of the principal events which led to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

The band of patriots who assumed Indian identity for the "tea party" were the founders of the order that later became known as the Improved Order of Red Men. They first began meeting in the Boston area to rebel against the curse of taxation without representation.

This was early in 1765. Their gatherings were in the back rooms of inns, in barns, and in the forests. Later on, some of the very men who were the founders of this patriotic fraternity added their signatures to the Declaration of Independence.

CONGRESSIONAL CHARTER

The actual name, Improved Order of Red Men, first was used by Tribe No. 1 of Baltimore, Md. The Maryland State Legislature granted its charter on March 14, 1835.

Today, the Improved Order of Red Men operates under a charter granted by special act of the Congress of the United States. President Theodore Roosevelt approved the act of April 17, 1906. He later became one of several American Presidents to join the order.

Other members include U.S. Senators, Congressmen, Governors, judges, members of the Armed Forces, bankers, lawyers, clergymen, mechanics, clerks, salesmen, laborers—in fact all classes of self-supporting and respectable citizens.

The order, by adoption of unique figures of speech, nomenclature, and rituals, serves as a permanent repository for Indian legends and customs. Mr. Speaker, the Improved Order of Red Men is effectively serving our Nation.

We can all profit from the knowledge and appreciation of that which has gone before us. Our American history holds much that can be of use and inspiration to us in this complex and troubled age.

The story of the earliest days of our Nation is found in the speech, the ceremony, and the life of the American Indian. Our living history is told in the exploits of daring men and women who saw fit to make this Nation free.

A TRIBUTE AT ARLINGTON

My good friend, Theodore Schoonmaker, Jr., of Rochester Tribe 579, told me that last October the Improved Order of Red Men placed a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery.

My friend and colleague, Congressman HENRY SMITH, participated in this somber occasion. He, like myself, has high praise for the patriotic motives of the Red Men. Seven members of the Rochester zone have given their lives in the service of their country.

The preamble of the Red Men's constitution is worth quoting here:

> We, citizens of the United States and members of the Improved Order of Red Men, in Great Council assembled, in order to perpetuate the principles of free government, to instill into the hearts of our members a higher love and holier veneration for the Flag of our country, to inspire a greater love for our country, to advocate and exemplify the dignity of man, to cultivate a spirit of fraternal and brotherly love, to care for the sick members and to provide for the widows and orphans of our deceased members, humbly invoking Divine guidance of the Great Spirit, do ordain and establish this constitution and General Laws for the government of this Order.

NEW STRUCTURE IN ROCHESTER

The Red Men are an active and vibrant organization operating to keep patriotic ideals and institutions before the American people. I believe that passage of this resolution will be an altogether proper tribute to this worthy organization, represented in my 36th New York Congressional District by 3,000 Red Men in the tribes of Wahbe, Wahoo, Tecumseh, Nonon, Ontario, and Rochester in Wayne and Monroe counties.

I am pleased to note that on June 22 a new Red Men building was dedicated at 1001 Lexington Ave., in Rochester. I was pleased to attend the dedication, and to arrange for a speaker from the Bureau of Indian Affairs who, himself, was an Onondaga Indian—a tribe of the Iroquois Nations of the western New York area.

It is fitting that we constantly remind ourselves of our heritage to prevent the past from gradually fading into a vague memory found only on the written pages of history books.

To this end, Mr. Speaker, I urge the week of December 16 be designated as National Improved Order of Red Men Week.

ESCH PROPOSES FLOODING AND POLLUTION CONTROL

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, the Congress and the administration have always been quick to react to major natural disasters, floods, hurricanes, tornadoes, and earthquakes. We have been willing to provide extensive assistance to great numbers of persons left homeless and jobless because of such disasters. Our record in disasters of this type is excellent and one of which we can be justly proud.

Unfortunately, however, we have not given close attention to the problems caused by small disasters, especially the comparatively minor floods which affect only a few people at any one given time. Yet, throughout the Nation each year there are several hundred such floods which cause many millions of dollars of damage. I believe it is now time that we give our attention to this problem and work for a solution which involves Federal, State, and local forces working in close coordination.

Southeastern Michigan, this June, experienced its worst flooding in many years. Though the flood was classified as a "minor disaster," the damage was extensive and costly, to Government and private individuals alike. The city of Ann Arbor, for example, suffered damages of $350,000 to public property, including the city dam and sewage treatment plant. Additionally, 37 families suffered flood damage amounting to over $45,000 on their homes and three apartment complexes reported a loss of $170,000. Similar damage occurred throughout the Huron River watershed, and the total damage amounted to well over $750,000.

Since the first day of the flooding, I have been in contact with officials in a number of Federal agencies, including the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, Department of the Interior, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and the Small Business Administration.

I am continuing my communications with Federal officials, but, as my fellow Members are aware, the bulk of this type of Federal assistance is only directed to cases which have been declared a "national disaster" by the President.

While the total loss of over $750,000 cannot be termed a "national disaster," it clearly places a severe financial strain on countless individuals and local units of government. It is a problem which requires the full cooperation of all levels of government to seek a solution. It is important that the Federal Government join in this cooperative effort.

Mr. Speaker, the old adage that an "ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" is certainly applicable in this situation. We must continue our strong efforts to assist those who were hurt in the recent flooding, it is more important that we join together to prevent the possibility of such damage in the future.

I had the pleasure of meeting in my Washington office recently with officials of the Huron River Watershed Council to plan a local, State, and Federal effort to deal with these flooding problems and efforts to contain them in the future. I was happy to work with John Dillon, past chairman of the council, and Jerome Fulton, its executive secretary, in developing a five-part program to control the extent of flood damage in the future.

First. A warning system must be developed. It must be a cooperative communications system involving local radio and television stations, police, and sheriff departments, local officials, and Federal weather officials. Such systems have worked effectively in a number of Western States to alert communities of rising flood waters.

Second. There should be public identification of the flood plain. This might involve a marking system, analogous to that used on roads and highways to warn citizens of deer crossings or falling rocks. Its utility would be principally to notify prospective property purchasers that their property is located in a potential flooding area.

Third, flood plain zoning must be encouraged by local units of government along the entire area of potential flood damage. It is interesting to note that this was one of the major proposals contained in the Federal Flood Prevention Act which the House of Representatives approved last year.

Fourth, efforts should be made by local governments, in cooperation with Federal park and recreation programs, to acquire property in the flood plain area to be used for open space, park and recreation purposes. Federal-State-local cooperation is particularly important in this area.

Fifth, there must be additional efforts to improve the structural facilities for flood prevention—such as channel improvements, upstream dams, levees, floodproofing, and so forth. Again, cooperation between local government agencies, State conservation and highway officials, and the Federal Corps of Engineers and Interior and Housing and Urban Development Departments officials is very important.

Each of these proposals will require full cooperation of all levels of government and study of their economic and engineering feasibility. It is also vital that citizen participation and discussion be encouraged since broad cooperation would be necessary to implement some of the recommendations. It is particularly important that the views of all persons in the community be solicited and needed before action is initiated.

There is also a need for long-range study and planning of the entire question of water quality, availability and flooding potential. I have actively cooperated with the Huron Watershed Council and Federal officials to develop a comprehensive study of this problem. It is clear that the growth of population density, along the shore line and within the area of the inland lakes of the upper Huron River Watershed, is exerting increasing pressures upon the character and quality of these natural resources.

A comprehensive program is necessary to maximize the utilization of all available government and private resources to meet these problems. It is essential that extensive information and research be collected which will delineate the nature of the damaging forces as well as action that can be taken to check further damage. I have indicated my strong support for this concept with officials of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. It is my strong hope that coordinated Federal, State, and local action can be initiated in the near future to prevent further deterioriation and start improvement of the lakes in our area.

This situation is by no means unique, Mr. Speaker. It is being repeated throughout the Nation. It is late, but not too late, to begin a vast conservation program similar to that outlined here. It is now time for the Federal Government, with State and local cooperation, to provide assistance to areas where minor disasters have occurred and to support short- and long-range programs to prevent further deterioration of our natural resources.

THE INCREASE OF STEEL PRICES

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, no voices among the leadership of American industry have been more vigorous in condemning governmental policies which might have an inflationary impact upon the economy than those of the spokesmen for the great steel producing companies of this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, one is shocked, therefore, to learn of the actions taken within the past few days by those same individuals who so vocally expressed their dissent with governmental policies. They have taken the Nation a long way down the road to serious and disruptive inflation by their unreasoned demands for price increases:

Increases far in excess of the gross cost of the employee benefit package recently negotiated.

Increases far in excess of any demonstrated need to attract equity capital.

Increases far in excess of any requirement to increase profits to meet the reasonable demand of the stockholders.

Mr. Speaker, one is reluctantly forced to conclude that these giants of American industry preach but do not practice policies of restraint and fiscal responsibility. One hopes for evidence of industrial statesmanship. Apparently that hope, at least in the steel industry, appears to be in vain.

THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE HEARD

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. DON EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, I place at this time in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a most thought-provoking article, "The People Should Be Heard," by Jack Anderson, as it appeared in the nationwide weekly, Parade magazine on July 28, 1968.

Mr. Anderson details in this article the inner workings of our presidential nominating conventions, describing the delegate system—who they are, how their support is sought, how they become committed to the candidate they choose to represent their party in November's presidential election. We are becoming increasingly aware of the operations of the electoral system and the deficiencies being revealed by such articles as Mr. Anderson's seem even more aggravating and distressing in this year of political surprises. To allow this kind of system to continue unchallenged is to seriously strain the quality of our democracy. I urge that every American deeply reflect and consider this whole question of ideal and practice in our electoral system.

The article follows:

THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE HEARD

(By Jack Anderson)

As we head into the political conventions, Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey are far ahead in the scramble for delegates. But do the delegates really represent the rank and file of their parties?

If more Democrats want Eugene McCarthy than Humphrey to run for President, if more Republicans prefer Nelson Rockefeller to Nixon for the same office—is there any procedure in the American political system which assures that the voice of the majority will triumph or even be heard?

The answer at this time is a big fat no. Politicians will choose the presidential candidates next month—and the people be damned.

That is the sad truth. It has been the truth too long. It is time to change the election system. There is a better way.

After 192 years as a free people, the time has come for Americans to reclaim their birthright. They should no longer permit the party bosses to bargain away their franchise every four years at a political carnival. This precious power should be taken back from the bosses, and the people should select their own presidential candidates.

Political conventions have become a blot on the American system, and they should be abolished! All the nation's registered voters should participate in choosing the candidates. A national primary should be held a few weeks before the election—say in September, after most people have come home from their vacations. This would serve the dual purpose of introducing more participatory democracy into the nominating process and at the same time shortening the too-long election campaign.

One leader already is thinking in such terms—Sen. Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) has called for abolition of the conventions and institution of a nationwide primary to eliminate what he called "America's drawn-out political extravaganzas that are more like circuses." Mansfield also called for lowering the voting age to 18, limiting the President to one six-year term, and abolishing the electoral college. Others have also proposed reforms.

The nation changed its system of picking candidates once before. In early times, presidential candidates were chosen by Congressional caucuses. President Andrew Jackson, seeking to broaden the base of the presidential process, introduced the convention system.

There are no laws to govern conventions; their operation is still left to the party leaders. It is completely legal, for example, to "buy" a delegate or to make a deal for an entire delegation. It is, in fact, a hallowed American tradition.

COURTING DELEGATES

The Republican Convention begins Aug. 5, the Democratic Convention, Aug. 25. But the bidding for convention votes started months ago. Each candidate has been courting delegates, assiduously and systematically, by mail, by phone and in person. On their political barnstorming tours of key states, the candidates meet the delegates in hotel suites where the liquor flows and deals are made.

Big unions and big corporations, interested in the candidacy of Vice President Humphrey, have set up hospitality suites at key points on his itinerary to help him entertain Democratic delegates. Republican delegates have been offered free trips to Albany to meet Governor Rockefeller.

Other candidates have used even more gross approaches. A Wyoming senator told me that one delegate in his home state was offered a scholarship and another was promised a better job by representatives of one candidate. Other delegates have been offered "expense money" with the privilege of keeping their own books.

The 1333 delegates who will assemble in Miami for the Republican Convention and the 2622 who will go to Chicago for the Democratic Convention can expect the time of their lives. They will be showered with gifts and favors. In some hotels, every other door will be a hospitality suite.

Most of the delegates, of course, are committed to a boss, who pledges their votes as a bloc and often sees that they are cast that way in the balloting. Some, however, have managed to stay uncommitted, others are committed only for the first ballot, and some can be wooed away from their pledges.

Of course, not all delegates are really for sale, although they have come to expect favors from all the candidates as routine.

Still, almost all are vulnerable, and the candidates invariably prepare for a convention by compiling dossiers on the delegates. Each file contains almost everything there is to know about the delegate's personal life, political connections and financial affairs. His social, business and religious preferences are listed, together with information on the best approaches to use in influencing him. He might be reached through his banker, doctor, minister or relative. To the cynical, these delicate details might seem to be blackmail information.

Richard Nixon keeps his information on delegates in a series of looseleaf notebooks, one for each state, which are guarded under lock in his New York headquarters.

Both Humphrey and McCarthy have sent operatives to inquire discreetly about the delegate "research" that the late Senator Kennedy kept on gray file cards and stored in open boxes in what his staff called "the boiler room."

During the 1964 campaign, Governor Rockefeller compiled 25 big, black delegate notebooks, each with its separate lock and key. These are being revised into a 1968 edition at his New York headquarters.

COMMUNICATIONS GAME

Sophisticated radio communications will be used at the 1968 conventions where the rival forces, using walkie-talkies, will maneuver with all the precision of a military operation. Other equally sophisticated machines will be used to locate the frequencies and crack the codes of the enemy camps. Aides within eyesight of one another sometimes find it safer to use a special sign language. When a floor manager scratches his head or tugs his left earlobe, it may have a secret meaning.

While these shabby operations are going on behind the scenes, the movers and shakers will select the candidates in hotel hideaways. The decisions in both parties will be made by a handful of men who wield the real power.

Candidates aren't always selected for their beliefs or their ability but rather for their willingness to promise pork barrel projects and patronage jobs to the bosses. While the bands play and speakers harangue the crowds with brave words about democracy, the bosses will do what they can to insure that democracy does not prevail. The people who think the choice is theirs to make in November will be fed the political pablum of resounding platform planks and heavy praises for "the man who . . ."

The delegates will be courted until the last roll call, for the bosses will be trying to steal votes from one another. There may also be enough independent delegates to keep the outcome in doubt. But many delegates who arrive in Miami and Chicago believing they are part of the democratic system will return home disillusioned, having watched the important decisions being made for them by men they never met.

The nationwide presidential primary would return the choice of candidates to the people, and move the process closer to democracy. Of course, arguments have been raised against the idea. To participate in such a primary, for instance, one would have to be a registered member of a party—to eliminate the "crossover" votes that cause problems in state primaries—and thus there would be no participation by the independents, who today cannot be ignored, since the bosses must choose a candidate who can win their votes.

OTHER ARGUMENTS

It is also argued that a convention serves other purposes than selection of candidates—the hammering out of a party platform, for example. But in fact the platform committee might be better off to report after the candidate is chosen; he would thus have more voice in the platform planks, and the nation would be spared the spectacle of a candidate repudiating his party's platform, as has happened in the past.

Another argument is that of multiple candidates. Suppose no one received more than half the votes on the first ballot? A runoff election would be required, preferably one week after the first. It is feared that in such a case, the losers might gang up and pool their votes to thwart the frontrunner. But this, of course, happens now in the stop-the-leader drives before the convention.

A more telling criticism is that a primary might divide a party so bitterly that it could not unify behind a candidate in November. Conventions, this reasoning goes, allow for public discussion of differences and in the end consolidate the party behind one man. But anyone who recalls the Democratic Convention of 1948 or the Republican Convention of 1964 knows better.

Since election regulations are left to the states, a change to a national primary would call for a Constitutional amendment, unless all 50 states agreed voluntarily to adopt a uniform, national primary law. But some such change is necessary so that the registered voters rather than the bosses make the choice.

Political conventions are fun. The razzle-dazzle and the oompa-oompa bands and the pretty girls are pleasant diversions on hot summer days. The bands play most of the old songs, but they avoid tunes like "see what the boys in the back room will have." That comes too close to the truth.

EULOGIES TO A GREAT MAN

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the citizens of communities I represent joined with the Nation in paying tribute and expressing their sorrow.

On June 9, in a number of churches in the 15th Congressional District, special memorial services were conducted in tribute to Senator Kennedy. These services reflected the tragedy encompassed in knowing that yet another prominent American leader, one who might have been destined for even greater roles in our National Government, had been cut down by an assassin.

I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point the words of two clergymen—one Protestant and one Catholic—during a memorial service at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church in Easton, Pa.:

STATEMENT OF THE REVEREND JOHN R. WEILER, PASTOR, ST. MARK'S UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, EASTON, PA.

(NOTE.—Read on Sunday afternoon, June 9 at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Easton, Pa., on the occasion of a memorial Mass for the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.)

Dear Friends:

If I had been told a week ago that I would be standing here in St. Joseph's Church this afternoon at a Memorial Mass for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, I would never have believed it. But the course of events moves swiftly today. Within a matter of hours the life and career of one of our young, vigorous national leaders was brought to an end tragically. Momentarily at least, this loss blots out the ordinary distinctions of religious denomination, race, educational and economic status which usually divide people in a country as diverse as ours. A common sorrow draws us together. We sense our common humanity in a way which is often absent in more peaceful times. No matter what our background or beliefs we are forcefully reminded that life is brief and filled with unexpected sadness. Men's best laid plans and noblest desires are often not fulfilled but must be laid aside at the direction of a higher than human power.

I stand before you as a representative of the Christian congregations of this city which are not united in matters of faith with the Roman Catholic Church of which most of you are members. Yet all of us are brethren. We have all been baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity. We all bear the name Christian as a sign of our faith in Jesus Christ. We all rejoice in the hope of eternal life. Therefore, in a spirit of brotherly love, I bring the condolences and sympathy of members of the non-Catholic denominations to the Roman Catholic community upon the death of one of its most distinguished sons, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Let this Memorial Mass be one of many ways by which we can share not only a common national loss but be drawn closer together as Christian brothers. In the political realm Senator Kennedy worked very hard to increase unity and good will among all races and conditions of men. Those of us who are more directly concerned with the welfare of the Church must work and pray for greater unity among the Lord's followers. I'm sure this goal is one of which Senator Kennedy would most most heartily approve.

As the Christian Church is more conformed to the image and teaching of her Divine Lord her influence should permeate more deeply into all levels of society. God willing, her mission can help men be healed of their diseases, and forgiven of their sins. Hatred and violence will diminish and the sad events of the past week, too often repeated during recent years, may cease to disfigure our national and private lives.

STATEMENT OF REV. FRANCIS X. CONNOLLY, PASTOR, ST. BERNARD'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ADMINISTRATOR, ST. MICHAEL'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

(NOTE.—Read on Sunday, June 9th, at St. Joseph's R. C. Church, Easton, on the occasion of the memorial Mass for Senator Robert F. Kennedy.)

My dear brothers and sisters, we have gathered here this afternoon to honor the memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. We do so in a state of being emotionally drained. The sights and sounds that have bombarded our senses via the TV screen over the last four days—all of the circumstances; horrible, tragic, touching, unforgettable, have left us numb.

Our reaction is a truly human one for the emotions are an essential part of our human nature. God has created us with the capability of deep emotion, and that is good. There is a danger here, however. We are not merely emotional creatures. We are creatures capable of thinking and reasoning and making decisions.

In all of the sad events of the past four days, the greatest tragedy of all would be that the death of Senator Kennedy become for us, as individuals or as a nation, merely or only an unforgettable emotional experience. I ask each of you here this afternoon to give the most serious consideration to this danger. I would ask each of you to react not merely emotionally but with all of the human powers that God has given to our human nature. I would ask you to think soberly and with deep reflection not about how Senator Kennedy died, or why he died, but most important of all how he lived.

In the eulogy given by his brother, Senator Ted Kennedy, before the funeral Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, there was quoted a speech given two years ago by Senator Kennedy to a group of young students in South Africa. In the words and text of this brief speech, we find the answer to how this man lived and perhaps to why he died. The words are as follows:

"There is discrimination in this world and slavery and slaughter and starvation. Governments repress their people; and millions are trapped in poverty while the nation grows rich; and wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere.

"These are differing evils, but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfection of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, our lack of sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows.

"But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life; that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

"Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men. And surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

"Our answer is to rely on youth—not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease.

"The cruelties and obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. They cannot be moved by those who cling to a present that is already dying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger that come with even the most peaceful progress. It is a revolutionary world we live in; and this generation at home and around the world, has had thrust upon it a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived.

"Some believe there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man.

"A young monk began the Protestant reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the New World, and the thirty-two-year-old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal.

"These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history itself, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped.

"Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

"Few are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world that yields most painfully to change. And I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the globe.

"For the fortunate among us, there is the temptation to follow the easy and familiar paths of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who enjoy the privilege of education. But that is not the road history has marked out for us. Like it or not, we live in times of danger and uncertainty. But they are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history.

"All of us will ultimately be judged and as the years pass we will surely judge ourselves, on the effort we have contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which our ideals and goals have shaped that effort.

"The future does not belong to those who are content with today, apathetic toward common problems and their fellow man alike, timid and fearful in the face of new ideas and bold projects. Rather it will belong to those who can blend vision, reason and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals and great enterprises of American Society.

"Our future may live beyond our vision, but it is not completely beyond our control. It is the shaping impulse of America that neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our own hands, matched to reason and principle, that will determine our destiny. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but there is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live."

My dear brothers and sisters, I would ask your permission to indulge for a few moments in a bit of speculation. This is sometimes a dangerous thing to do. The realities of life are usually sufficient and difficult enough. However, I think it would be helpful in this case to speculate for a few moments. Suppose Senator Robert Kennedy had known with certainty from some reliable source that to follow his political career, to continue to speak out for the rights and dignity of man, would one day result in the kind of violent and tragic death which did in fact occur. Do you think after hearing the words we have just read that he would in fact have abandoned his career and set aside the goals he outlined? I do not think so. For the attitude, the philosophy of life which he described, he prized as the only way to live. And he is right. To live in any other way, to run away from or to deny the realities of life, to compromise the highest ideals and dreams of free men, is not to live at all. To be unwilling to accept the challenges of life is merely to vegetate, merely to exist, merely to put in time for a brief while on this planet of ours.

The task that lies before us as individuals and as members of the human race is not an easy one, but it is a work that does not belong to us alone. No one expressed this better than the brother of Senator Kennedy, President John F. Kennedy, when he said, "God's work here on earth must truly be our own." Our task then is difficult but clear—to spend ourselves, and our lives if necessary, in the accomplishment of the work and the attainment of the goals established by our Creator. How, we may ask ourselves, is this possible? How can we, within the limitations of our humanity, accomplish a work that seemingly can be fulfilled by God alone?

The answer, I believe, is found woven in the fabric of the life of this man and his entire family—the thread of a deep faith and trust in God. This thread of faith is many times a hidden thing, but there are times and occasions when it stands in bold relief to be clearly seen by all.

In the last four days our whole nation has been a witness to the source of the energies and ideals of this man's life—his faith in God, a deep faith instilled in the earliest years of his family life. He was a man who took to heart the words spoken by Christ himself in the text of today's Gospel, "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the end of the world."

All of you may agree with the thoughts and the sentiments I have just expressed. All of you have been deeply moved by the life and death of this man. But let us not permit his life and death to be wasted by reacting only emotionally. Let us pause here and now for a moment of silent, personal prayer—each in our own words asking God to give us the wisdom, the courage and the faith to live as he did. (One minute pause.)

O, Lord, help us to live what we have promised. Amen.

PRICE OF LAWLESSNESS

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the Tidewater Review, a weekly newspaper published at West Point, Va., within my congressional district, contained an editorial this week entitled, "Price of Lawlessness," and concludes that the permanent solution to the widespread disorder and permissiveness is reestablishment of law and order in the land. It is a good short editorial and I commend it to the membership, as follows:

PRICE OF LAWLESSNESS

Tolerance of violence and property destruction may diminish when the price of our "permissive anarchy" hits home. An inkling of that price has been given by a spokesman for the insurance industry. He says, "No business . . . can continue to operate in a society where order, reason and confidence do not prevail. The insurance business alone cannot continue to offer security to property owners when these spasms of lawlessness which at times seem to approach insurrection become so widespread and frequent. . . ."

No business or industry can turn a wheel without insurance. Legislation is now pending in Congress for the federal government—the taxpayers—to provide reinsurance. However much one may deplore further involvement of government in the financial and economic life of the nation, the alternatives in this instance are even more grim. Excessive riot losses could bring about a total collapse of insurance coverage in metropolitan centers. Whether the taxpayers could then be expected to assume the awesome cost of rebuilding and insuring our cities is doubtful.

Reestablishment of law and order in the land is the only permanent solution. On this depends our survival as a nation. We should not lose sight of the fact that a subsidy for anarchy in the form of taxpayer guaranteed insurance coverage for the uninsurable risk of urban warfare is a stopgap measure. It will ease for the time being the pain of the disease, but it most surely will not cure the malady that afflicts this nation.

THE "PUEBLO" REMEMBERED

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday thousands of Americans all across the Nation flew their flags in solemn tribute to the officers and crewmen of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* taken captive by North Korea 6 months ago on January 23, and I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Members of this body and the citizens of your respective districts who joined with me in this salute. The response was indeed most gratifying and, to me, it was a positive indication of the deep concern the people of America feel in this matter.

I know that this display of confidence by so many was immensely reassuring to the families of the men of the *Pueblo*—and that it was reassuring, too, for the families of our servicemen everywhere. Certainly we owe a debt of gratitude to all of them.

But we know, too, that we must not forget the *Pueblo* in the days ahead—that we must continue to remember these courageous men in our hearts day by day—that we can never rest until they are returned and reunited with their families.

NEWTON ROTARY CLUB ADDRESS

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD I include therein my remarks in part on Monday, March 11, 1968, before the Rotary Club in Newton, Mass.

I more than enjoyed my visit to this outstanding club which is comprised of spiritual leaders, educators, businessmen and professional men of practically every calling.

The meeting was held at the famous Brae Burn Country Club in Newton and the program was conducted in a very effective manner by the chairman and his assistants.

Naturally, I am very grateful to this fine club for the kind invitation and the warm hospitality and reception accorded me at this very interesting meeting.

The address referred to follows:

There is no way we could possibly intensify our efforts to secure the peace in Vietnam that would be too great.

Unhappily, every move we make in this direction is checkmated and rejected.

We cannot unconditionally withdraw from the area without having clear understandings concerning many important questions including the security of our own forces and the area, our pacification program, our treaty obligations and the procedures and machinery necessary to carry out any agreements that are reached.

This means, of course, that our adversaries must of their own volition come to the peace table, and enter into a general discussion with an honest, whole-hearted view to establishing and preserving the peace.

I think the record clearly shows that our Government has made every possible effort, many of them, to bring about a peace conference, and is prepared to meet with the parties involved at any time.

Regarding violations of previous truces, it should be noted in this connection that we have had a rather unhappy experience during various truce periods we arranged with Hanoi, specifically, those of the Christmas New Year periods of 1966 and 1967, and the Lunar Tet truce period just passed.

These truces were designed to observe certain holidays but there is definite, irrefutable evidence that the enemy utilized all these periods, contrary to agreements, to move large numbers of men, weapons and materiel into several combatant areas.

I am not in a position to speak for the State Department or the government, but I think that the door to the peace conference is wide open, and has been wide open, for anyone to enter, who is sincerely and honestly interested in establishing the peace.

On the other hand, if the enemies are more interested in gaining propaganda advantages, that is quite a different matter.

Regardless of the conditions facing us, it is of utmost urgency that this government should press for a just peace in every way that is given to it, and I am convinced we will continue to do so.

This country is based on equality under the law for all people and these individual rights must be guaranteed to all in every respect. There has already been most regrettable delay in this area.

Congress has done a great deal, insofar as the government can act, to insure civil rights across the board to all groups and all peoples, and we expect the enforcement officials of the government to implement these programs in every way necessary to achieve the ends of true equality for all.

The collapse of the British pound had serious reprecussions throughout this country and the world, which will be felt for some time.

It should serve notice on this government that we must have a sound, monetary policy and as soon as possible, a balanced budget.

There should be an immediate re-evaluation of current, trade policies to assess and correct their current impact upon current gold imbalances and the threatened weakness of the dollar, and pending proposals to restrict and tax the travel of American citizens should be indefinitely deferred.

Every thoughtful citizen is understandably concerned by the growing crime and violence on our streets these days, and by the shocking conditions that exist concerning the use of drugs and the behavior patterns of many Americans, young and old.

The Congress will no doubt consider massive urban programs to provide training, guidance, jobs and necessary social and economic adjustments in our cities and these must not be delayed.

I would make this observation: that law and order is a condition precedent to any kind of government, whether it be democratic or absolute.

People must be secure and safe in their homes, on the streets and elsewhere in our society. And if we do not make sure that law and order is maintained, at all costs, in our local communities and every other place, we should not be surprised, if disrespect and contempt for the law grows and spreads in this nation and gravely compounds our current problems.

To my mind, this is one of the most compelling issues facing the country today, and we must resolutely pursue it, until violence and disorder are banished from our streets and lawlessness of all kind is discouraged and suppressed.

OKMULGEE OPTIMIST CLUB HAS OUTSTANDING SERVICE RECORD

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, this Nation is blessed with many outstanding service clubs and community organizations, and most of the achievements of these organizations receive little notice. We take for granted the many fine things that are done in every community, by citizens who work tirelessly and at great personal sacrifice to make our country a better place in which to live.

Recently I read the outstanding report of the Okmulgee Optimist Club, covering the past year's work on programs to benefit the boys of this fine city.

Although club membership is only a little over 50, more than 54,000 hours had been given to Optimist Club programs for boys.

A great percentage of this time was spent in the baseball program, but many additional hours were devoted to sponsorship of the youth appreciation program; oratorical contest; punt, pass, and kick program; rifle training; and other worthwhile activities.

The slogan of Optimists International is "Friend of the Boy".

Okmulgee Optimists are proving to be friends of the boys who work at the job.

AUGUST NEWSLETTER

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the readers of the RECORD and my colleagues my August newsletter to the good people of Kentucky's Fourth District:

DEAR FRIENDS: Even though Congress is in recess, there is much going on in the country today of great national importance. The two major parties are conducting conventions to select their nominees for President and Vice President in the shadow of the third party candidate who is causing both parties alarm as his popularity continues to rise. His candor on his positions, whether agreeable or not, is impressive to many voters and could well be a lesson to the major candidates to speak directly to the issues in the campaign days ahead.

While the Congress is scheduled to reconvene September 4, it is expected that the attendance rate will be poor should the session last very long as most Congressmen and one-third of the Senators will be campaigning.

The inflationary result of the 10% surtax that was supposed to stop inflation is beginning to be felt. You will recall that I spoke to this issue on several of my weekly radio reports and wrote to you on the inflationary results of the tax increase in my June newsletter.

While the President and the "high powered" economists were proclaiming the virtues of a tax increase to "curb inflation," I said and I repeat today—there is absolutely nothing the President or the Congress could possibly do which would be more inflationary than to raise taxes.

When taxes are increased, labor's take-home check is decreased—labor then demands and gets wage increases which at least offset the tax increase, which will result in price increases.

There is a tremendous amount of confusion about taxes and who pays them. Some of the confusion is very, very real in the minds of some very sincere people. There are literally thousands of people who believe that "tax money" is something special or extra that just "comes from the blue" and doesn't cost *them* anything.

Sometime ago, George Meany said in Washington that he would have to go along, reluctantly, with the President's suggestion that taxes be raised, but he proposed that they be raised more on corporations and less on individual incomes.

It may come as a great shock to you but *corporations do not really pay taxes at all, people pay taxes! Corporations only collect taxes from the people as designated and instructed by the government. Every single penny's worth of so-called corporation tax comes out of the pocket books of men and women in the streets and it is time they understood this!*

The competitive situation in the United States is great enough so that if so-called "corporation taxes" were entirely removed tomorrow, prices would fall sharply because *all* of the money that is now paid by corporation treasurers in the sum of so-called "corporation taxes" to the federal government is *in the price of every single item or service that you buy!*

I do not believe we can take *one single intelligent* step toward the correction of our tax structure until *everyone* in this country understands that there is no such thing as "their money and our money."

It is an evil and sinister thing to try to convince the hard-pressed, unskilled and semi-skilled worker in this country *that he can be relieved of one penny of the total, enormous, staggering cost of running our government by the simple expediency of lowering his tax rate and increasing the corporation tax rate. The poor guy will pay this total bill whether he pays it at the rate of 40% as a deduction from his income at the pay window or whether he pays it without any deduction at the pay window and has to pay it all in the price of the product! He'll pay it, one way or another!* No one else *can* pay it!

As soon as the millions of honest, conscientious, sincere workers with which this wonderful country is so tremendously blessed *understand* this about taxes, I predict they will *do something about it*—and the something will *have* to start with their electing candidates who will *stop spending money like it was going out of style*. This is enough now about taxes.

I will be writing to you again when Congress reconvenes.

Thanks a million for being my friend.

Sincerely,

M. GENE SNYDER.

FRIEDEL WINS NEW POSITION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD a news item which appeared in the Baltimore Sun on July 31, announcing the election of the Honorable SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL to the chairmanship of the Committee on House Administration.

This election is a well-deserved honor to an energetic and hard-working Congressman, and a landmark for the State of Maryland. Maryland is only the eighth State in recent congressional history to have three of its Representatives chairing committees at the same time, and is the only State with three committee chairmanships, except for Texas which has four. A great majority of the States have no committee chairmen at all, and I am particularly pleased that Maryland now has three, more than much larger States, such as California, New York, Colorado, and Ohio.

Mr. FRIEDEL has served the people of his district and the Nation well during his years in the House of Representatives. I am proud of the new chairman of the House Administration Committee, and I hope that he will continue at this post for many years. The article follows:

FRIEDEL WINS NEW POSITION—WILL HEAD COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

(By James Macnees)

WASHINGTON, July 30.—House Democrats elected Representative Friedel (D., 7th) today as chairman of the Committee on House Administration.

Mr. Friedel had been ranking majority member of the committee and was moved up to the chairmanship when Representative Burleson (D., Texas), resigned to go on the House Ways and Means Committee.

This was one of a number of shuffles which the Democrats are undertaking to give their party members added seniority when the new Congress is organized in January.

This year marks the first time any state has held three committee chairmanships since the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 pared down the number of standing committees of the House from 48 to 21.

Maryland becomes only the eighth state in recent congressional history to have three or more of its representatives holding committee chairmanships at the same time, and virtually all those seven previous states had much larger congressional delegations than does the Free State.

The Committee on House Administration is primarily responsible for the housekeeping functions of the House of Representatives. In the last Congress it reported out 203 pieces of legislation.

Mr. Friedel is also ranking Democrat on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and chairman of its subcommittee on transportation and aeronautics.

THE STOKELY CARMICHAEL PASSPORT

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the press reports that the Department of State has returned to Stokely Carmichael the passport which was taken from him on December 11, 1967.

In my judgment Carmichael was not entitled to this consideration at the hands of our Government. It should be remembered that this man is an anarchist, a dedicated enemy of the United States, and a man determined to overthrow the Government by force and violence.

Only last year this renegade insurrectionist toured the Communist world, from Havana to Hanoi, spewing lies and distortions about the United States. If anyone has any doubts about who paid for that expensive trip, he should open his eyes. That was a Communist-paid and Communist-sponsored mission, designed to stir up anti-American sentiment and advance the cause of the Communist aggressors in Vietnam.

This character toured the United States urging young men to violate the laws of the land by refusing to serve in the Armed Forces. This was a criminal act, so described by Joseph O'Meara, dean of the Notre Dame Law School, as reported in the December 1967, issue of the American Bar Association Journal. But unfortunately, the young Attorney General did not see fit to tangle with Carmichael.

Stokely Carmichael is a dangerous criminal at large. He incites riots and he promotes racial hatred. By his own conduct, and under the terms of existing law, he should be in prison today. Yet, he is running loose, avoided by the Department of Justice and favored by the Department of State.

Mr. Speaker, I deplore the action of the State Department in restoring to this public enemy the passport which was previously taken from him because of his misconduct. Carmichael is entitled to no consideration and no compassion at the hands of a government which he is committed to destroy.

JIM BATTIN REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

HON. JAMES F. BATTIN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Speaker, I include my newsletter in the Extensions of Remarks today, Friday, August 2, 1968, as follows:

AUGUST 2, 1968.

DEAR FRIENDS: The ink had barely dried on President Johnson's signature on the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 when pressure began to have Congress exempt certain agencies from the cost reductions required by the new law. *Despite the misleading title, this Act is simply the 10% tax increase and $24 billion decrease in federal spending.* You will recall this was the bill that the Ways and Means Committee refused to pass without strict limitations on federal spending for the next two years. President Johnson had asked for the tax increase provision that was included in the final bill, but he had actively opposed and reluctantly accepted the spending reduction provisions. Well, the Administration has now given notice that the part of the Act requiring restraint in government spending will not be enforced to the letter of the law.

The first agency to begin fighting the austerity requirements was the Post Office Department under the new direction of LBJ's fellow Texan, W. Marvin Watson. Postmaster General Watson notified Congress and the public that he would immediately begin reducing postal service if he were forced to comply with the new tax law. Watson is in a position to put extreme pressure on the Congress through public reaction because he is the head of the federal department which provides the most direct service received by the citizens of the United States. His claim that mail service would have to be cut back, first, to five days a week and eventually to four days, grew out of the Congressional requirement that federal employment levels be reduced to the level of June 30, 1966. *But Mr. Watson had evidently not read the full text of the law.*

Watson claimed the law required him to trim 83,000 employees from the ranks of postal employees to meet the law's requirements. As a member of the House Ways and Means Committee which drafted the bill, I knew that Congress had granted the Administration authority to make employment reductions in non-vital and indirect service agencies. Last week I sent a letter to Postmaster General Watson outlining a section of the bill that he had ignored when he asked Congress to exempt his Department from the employment cutback. That section, quoted directly from the law, says, "The Director (of the Budget Bureau) may reassign vacancies from one department or agency to another department or agency when such reassignment is, *in the opinion of the Director*, necessary or appropriate . . ." The underlining was added by me to emphasize the open-ended authority Congress gave the Budget Bureau.

Under the provisions of this law, Watson should have applied to the Bureau of the Budget for exemption from the requirements, not Congress. Congress included that provision to avoid a meat-ax approach to employment reduction and not cause drastic cutbacks in public service. The Administration chose to apply the law across-the-board rather than making reductions in agencies that could well afford to reduce the number of employees. By the way Watson announced the change in postal service it appeared that Congress had directed federal agencies to immediately fire 180,000 employees. *But what Congress required was that agencies not fill one job out of every four vacancies that occurred under normal operating procedures.* It was to be a gradual process that would allow agencies ample time to absorb the losses.

Taxpayers have already started paying their portion of the bill with the larger payroll deductions that began July 15. The federal government has not begun to fulfill its part of the bargain. *A report issued by the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures on July 31, 1968, indicated that federal employment increased 95,350 in the past month.* Federal employment is now at 3,026,376. The Post Office Department after making the most noise over decreased employment actually hired 20,358 additional employees. Other increases were noted in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 7,107; Interior Department, 5,309; and Transportation Department, 2,959. While taxpayers are being forced to trim back their spending, the federal government is hiring new employees at an increasing rate.

The threat of cutting back postal service was most effective and Congress is moving to exempt the Post Office Department from the requirements of the 1968 Tax-Spending Law. The reason this move was used and the reason it was so effective is that the post office in local communities is often the only thing that people see for the money they pay the federal government. The first post offices that would have been eliminated in Watson's pressure politics were the third and fourth class offices that serve rural areas. *Montana would have been hard hit.* Although I agree that postal service should not be reduced, I feel that Congress should direct the Budget Bureau to make up those reductions in other agencies such as the Office of Economic Opportunity, Space Agency, Health, Education and Welfare and any other agency that isn't involved in direct day-to-day service to the taxpayers of the United States. We pay for the mail with every six and ten-cent stamp we use and again each time income tax is withheld from our paychecks. We have a right to expect the mailman at our door every day but Sunday, even if he's just bringing more bills.

Sincerely,

JIM BATTIN.

MONEY FOR PUBLIC TV

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, many people see great possibilities in the field of education and service through television under the Public Broadcasting Act which was previously passed by Congress and recently extended. Those interested in this program should be interested in a good editorial on the subject matter which appeared in the Des Moines Tribune and is as follows:

MONEY FOR PUBLIC TV

The Public Broadcasting Act was passed by Congress last year to support and expand noncommercial broadcasting. It extended for three years legislation passed in 1962 that provided for grants from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to public TV stations for new broadcast and production facilities. The Act also established the nonprofit Public Broadcasting Corp., an autonomous agency which will produce cultural and public affairs programs for use by public TV stations.

Little progress has been made in putting the Act into effect. Congress authorized $9 million in "seed money" for the corporation and $12.5 million for broadcast facilities for local stations. None of this money has been appropriated.

A decision on how to provide long-range financing for the corporation has been delayed for at least a year. A secure source of funds is needed to assure that programs can be produced without threat of political pressures or retaliation. Proposed financing methods include an excise tax on TV sets, revenue from communications satellites, license fees on commercial broadcasting or a percentage of the total TV advertising outlay.

The needs of public television have been well documented by the National Citizens Committee for Public Television. In a recent survey of Public TV stations, the committee found that station managers felt 25 percent of their programing should be locally produced. In all but the eight largest stations, there is now an average of only 4.5 hours of local programs weekly. The need for larger budgets, more promotion of public television programs and expanded facilities also was cited.

Typical of the replies to survey questions was that of John Montgomery, manager of station KDPS in Des Moines. He said the most pressing needs here are a tall tower, stronger transmitter and more studio and office space.

Montgomery would increase the station's annual budget from $675,000 now to $1 million, double the 2.5 hours of locally originated public affairs programs weekly and tripled the half hour of cultural affairs programs.

The objective of public television is to offer a lively alternative to the too-often bland fare of commercial TV, and to explore controversial public issues often ignored on TV today. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 provides the structures for reaching that goal. Congress should now provide the means, by appropriating the money authorized in the Act.

HONORARY DEGREE TO SIDNEY G. TICKTON

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, last month, on June 16, Keuka College of the State University of New York, in recognition of many contributions to American education of Sidney G. Tickton, conferred upon him the honorary doctor of laws degree. I have been aware of Sidney Tickton's unusual competence as an adviser in the field of education since 1963 when he directed an excellent study which showed the need for expanding medical school facilities for northern Indiana.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD, the citation honoring Sidney Tickton:

SIDNEY G. TICKTON

Few men achieve the distinction in their lifetime of having their names turned into a part of speech; and those who do seldom appreciate the distinction. But in the counsels of higher education, "Ticktonizing" is a known and lauded process. Your pioneering of Long Range Planning for colleges and universities has marked you as one of the outstanding, and influential, and significant leaders in higher education in America. As a colleague of the late Beardsley Ruml, a staff member at the Ford Foundation, a sought-after consultant in the economics of government, and presently as vice-president of the Academy for Educational Development, your breadth of influence and your range of competence has been astonishing. Those who know you well celebrate other qualities: your unfailing loyalty, your thorough craftmanship, your unaffected generosity, your expert ability to evoke the best effort from your colleagues. If you demur from these accolades, you only demonstrate another quality for which we honor you: the rare grace of so high a respect for your fellows that your own life is lived selflessly. Therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York and by the Board of Trustees of Keuka College, I confer upon you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws with all the rights, privileges, and immunities thereunto pertaining; and I cause you to be invested with the symbol appropriate to this degree.

G. WAYNE GLICK,
President.

Commencement, June 16, 1968.

NLRB HANDLING OF A UNION REPRESENTATION DISPUTE REGARDING NATIONAL CASH REGISTER EMPLOYEES

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, the National Labor Relations Board, due to incredible ineptness, has precipitated an economic crisis and created serious frustration among hundreds of families in the Washington Courthouse area, besides thousands in the Dayton area.

Here is the history of unbelievable bungling by that Federal agency.

For approximately 30 years employees of the National Cash Register Co. have been represented at the bargaining table by the Employees' Independent Union. On September 1, 1966, as a result of union-management negotiations, NCR workers received a wage increase. For the reasons outlined below, this is the last economic improvement accorded NCR employees.

On September 1, 1967, the then current collective-bargaining agreement between the company and the Employees' Independent Union expired. Approximately 3 months prior to this contract's expiration—on June 5, 1967, to be exact—the United Steelworkers—USW—filed a representation petition with the ninth region, National Labor Relations Board. In this petition the USW asked the Board to conduct an election among production and maintenance employees at NCR plants in Dayton and Washington Courthouse, Ohio.

At the time this petition was filed the company was preparing for the commencement of negotiations leading to a new collective-bargaining agreement with the Employees' Independent Union. Under existing law, the filing of this representation petition by USW precluded further contract negotiations.

The NLRB held a hearing on the USW petition at Dayton, Ohio, beginning July 12 and concluding on July 17, 1967. At the commencement of this hearing—July 12, 1967—the International Union of Electrical Workers — IUE — intervened and became a party to the proceeding.

The Board did not issue its decision directing an election until December 15, 1967, 5 months after the hearing was concluded and 3½ months after expiration of the existing union-management contract. Federal statutes provide that, until a bargaining agent is certified, employees and management cannot engage in wage negotiations.

The election at NCR, pursuant to the December 15, 1967, NLRB decision, was held in the Dayton and Washington Courthouse plants on January 19, 1968. Employees had five options. They could vote for the Employees' Independent Union, the United Steel Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, or "no union."

The tally of ballots issued by the Board at the conclusion of the election showed 13,569 valid votes cast. The Independent Union polled 6,760 votes. The IUE was second with 4,867 votes. The Steelworkers received 1,719 votes. The Bookbinders received 64 votes and there were 113 challenged ballots.

On January 26, the regional director for the ninth NLRB region announced that he was issuing a corrected tally of ballots which reduced the Independent Union vote from 6,760 to 6,660 ballots. He said that 100 IUE votes had been counted for both the IUE and the Independent Union.

Not only had the NLRB created an unnecessary delay in holding the election, but, if the regional director is correct, also mishandled the actual conduct of the election.

The Independent Union and the company immediately filed objections to the issuance of this corrected tally of ballots. On March 11, 1968, the regional director issued a report on election, objections to election, challenged ballots, and recommendations to the Board. In this report, he overruled the objections to the issuance of this corrected tally of ballots, ordered the entire election set aside, and ordered a new election.

On March 21, 1968, the company and the Employees' Independent Union filed exceptions to this report. These exceptions were sustained by the Board by order dated April 10, 1968. The Board thus rejected the recommendations of the regional director and ordered the regional director to hold a public hearing on the issues presented by the various objections. This hearing commenced in Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 14, before Trial Examiner Ramey Donovan and was concluded in Dayton, Ohio, on May 24, 1968. The briefs of the company, the IUE, and the Employees' Independent Union were received by the trial examiner on Monday, June 24. A decision is now awaited from the trial examiner.

It is evident from the aforementioned facts that the Board, and not the company and the three competing unions, must accept responsibility for the long delays which have occurred in the processing of this election.

In summary, the National Labor Relations Board:

First. Took 5 months to decide to call a bargaining election.

Second. Set the dates of the bargaining election 3½ months after the expiration of the existing union-management contract.

Third. By its own admission, miscounted 100 votes cast during the certification election.

Fourth. After 6 months, still has not determined the outcome of that election.

The effect of this ineptness upon thousands of NCR employees and their families has been:

First. Failure to receive a wage or benefit increase since September 1, 1966.

Second. Consequent loss of buying power in the wake of ever-advancing prices since that date.

Third. A feeling of hopelessness regarding the prospects of any future salary settlement.

This dilatory attitude and failure to come to a decisive, expeditious conclusion is costing these employees and their families the very necessities of life and is not to be condoned under any circumstances.

I have today written the President asking for his intervention in this affair. The NLRB is an administrative board under the jurisdiction of the Johnson-Humphrey administration and they should demand a final determination forthwith. These people have been denied the fruits of their labor too long because of this ineptness and this lack of decisive action is inexcusable.

FEDERAL AVIATION REGULATION PERTAINING TO SECRET SERVICE AGENTS

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, a number of airline pilots have been in contact with me concerning a special Federal aviation regulation which became effective July 26, 1968. This regulation provides that any Secret Service agent who is assigned to protect one of the presidential candidates may at his request occupy one of the observer seats on the flight deck in aircraft of the commercial passenger airlines when the presidential candidate is on board.

Mr. Speaker, in that the only persons on the flight deck are the pilots, engineers, and possibly other crewmembers, it seems somewhat ridiculous to provide that a Secret Service agent may sit among them and possibly distract the crew from performing their duties in a most efficient manner. I can see no valid reason for this regulation inasmuch as no members of the public are admitted to the flight deck and the Secret Service agent could only be a distracting influence with regard to the safe and efficient operation of the pilots and crewmembers.

For this reason I have today written the Acting Administrator requesting the logic behind this regulation and in absence of a reply giving a substantial reason for its enactment, I have urged that the regulation be revoked.

A NEW SOCIAL PROGRAM

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I revise and extend my remarks and include therein a recent article entitled, "United States Accused of Ignoring Older Jobless" based on an interview with Director Joseph Vilimas, Jr., of the Kennedy Family Service Center of Charlestown, Mass.

I believe that this article and the comments of Mr. Vilimas stress several problems that certainly should have more attention from government at every level and the Congress.

There are areas, of course, at the local level that are in large measure the problems of local and State governments and business. However, there is an undeniable relationship between these problems and the duty of the Federal Government to step up its contributions to try to solve them.

As outlined by Mr. Vilimas, who advocates an integrated program with many facets, these problems relate to unemployment, training programs, counseling and job placement, and the need for closer cooperation and greater effort by Government, business, and labor, also social security studies to find new answers.

Actually, these comments relate to the whole system we have established and devloped since the 1930's to try to help people get jobs, provide them with benefits when they are jobless, furnish them with social security when they are retired, and otherwise arrange for government support across a wide spectrum for social needs, health, welfare, and the like.

It is my view that our entire national and social program, including social security, must be reevaluated and reshaped.

The fact that this is a massive job is no reason why it should be deferred. In fact, it requires and deserves the immediate attention of Congress.

I will not discuss the questions involved in depth at this time, but it suffices to say that the waste of human resources entailed in requiring people to retire before their time, and while they are still well able to work, is producing hardship, frustration, maladjustment, and abnormally low standards for many people who should be, can, and want to provide for their own needs on a much more generous basis than current social programs can do.

The idea of forcing people out of work when they are 45 years of age is a monstrous thing, and in fact forcing them out at any age while they are still able to work and desirous of working is not conducive to sound economic or sound social policy.

It is something that is very harmful to the people concerned, to the economy and to the Government itself. Obviously, we must find time to improve the efficiency and adequacy of this system as fast as we can and there should be no delay.

Our studies in this regard should also include medicare and medicaid where the situation is shifting so rapidly and where Congress should take the leadership in making adjustments and providing the funds, where necessary, to do the job that has to be done across the board in the interest of the public health and the general well-being of many people.

I think that many of these social programs are suffering from the ills of abnormal bureaucracy, of huge, sprawling agencies that are required to assume burdens that they cannot possibly carry, and solve questions that are beyond their knowledge and expertise.

I think that we must develop an entirely new approach—one that will cut redtape, integrate services where possible, stop retiring people before they need to be retired.

We must find ways and means of improving across-the-board medicare, medicaid, and tie in these programs with others that are designed to promote, on a grand scale, the construction of hospitals, sanitariums, remedial and domiciliary places for the handicapped, the chronically sick, persons of advanced years, the handicapped young, and other unfortunates who really are our wards, as well as our neighbors and friends, and must be helped by this Government in some substantial manner that goes far beyond the present perfunctory, surface approach. Not only individuals, but entire families carry appalling burdens of caring and providing for these classes, and their burdens must be lightened and transferred to government experts at every level.

I hope and urge that Congress can give more intensive attention to these problems in the immediate future, and step up ways and means of combating and strengthening social programs to make them truly adequate.

The article referred to follows:

UNITED STATES ACCUSED OF IGNORING OLDER JOBLESS

(By Earl Marchand)

America is failing its middle-aged and older unemployed workers, the executive director of the Kennedy Family Service Center of Charlestown charged yesterday.

"The nation is neglecting the problems of the over-45 unemployed worker," said Joseph Vilimas Jr., whose organization is now completing a three-year study into the problem.

"Some of these people are being doomed to a later life of poverty because adequate measures for them just aren't being taken," Vilimas said.

He said that job placement and social security were not satisfactory answers.

"This nation, unfortunately, has a system of forcing some older workers into a retirement of poverty," Vilimas noted. "People can't live adequately on social security alone."

Vilimas said that the problem was even more serious in the Boston area than in the nation as a whole. Here, more than 50 per cent of men and women receiving unemployment benefits are over 45 years of age. Nationally, some 40 per cent of the unemployed are over 45.

He said an integrated program with many facets is needed, including:

A permanent multi-service approach to the problem, providing the unemployed, over-45 worker with training programs to teach the worker additional skills, vocational counseling, and even "some morale boosting."

"Closer cooperation and greater effort" by government, business and labor.

"Realistic" social security benefits.

A continuing study by government, business and labor to ferret out new answers to the problem.

Vilimas said the war against unemployment is not being won because America is not waging a vigorous-enough campaign.

But he feels the battle could be won, basing his contention on the findings of the Kennedy Center over the past three years.

The study, besides making findings, served the practical purpose of placing workers. Of 1100 workers who applied to the Kennedy Center, 816 were placed after they were given the necessary training or counseling.

The center kept in communication with some 500 businesses in the area, serving as a liason between employer and employe.

"The job can be done if we really work at it," said Vilimas.

The reason these older workers lose their jobs include age discrimination, automation, mergers or plant closings, physical and mental competition with youth and unwillingness to train for new jobs, Vilimas said.

And once the older worker loses his jobs, the statistics are against him.

"Less than 20 per cent of those unemployed will find a job through state agencies, and less than nine per cent will find employment through private employment agencies," said Vilimas. "These figures dramatize the fact that manpower programs emphasizing job placement cannot realistically cope with the problem."

In recent years, the government has been taking a few steps to ease the problem. But Vilimas contends that these steps fall far short.

In opening the Kennedy Center and seven other similar centers around the country, the federal government made a move for the older worker. However, in the next few months, the older-worker program at the Kennedy Center will conclude, eliminating a local source of hope for the older worker.

The older workers are not without their champions in Washington, D.C., however. One of them is Charles E. Odell, national director of the United States Employment Service.

At a Boston College conference last month, called "Ability is Ageless," Odell stated, "Every person should be allowed to work as long as he is willing and able. The choice should be up to the individual. I don't believe in forced retirement."

Asked if he thought such an ideal would ever be possible, Odell said, "I think we can design our society to have a part in it for everyone."

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 193d day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

YOUTH RECOGNIZES FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, recently I had an opportunity to attend a dinner sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars District 20, comprised of VFW units in Carbon, Monroe, Northampton, and Pike Counties. Guests of honor at this event were area high school students who were contestants in the VFW-sponsored "Voice of Democracy" essay contest.

It always is reassuring to me to read the thoughts of young Americans such as these contestants and realize what high regard they have for the freedom we in America enjoy.

I am pleased to include in the RECORD the essays by individual school finalists which were considered in the final judging. Each is based on the theme, "Freedom's Choice."

The finalists are Thomas A. Reiser, Notre Dame High School, Easton, whose essay was selected as the first place winner; Anne McCafferty, Bethlehem Catholic High School, Bethlehem; Christopher J. Wright, Bethlehem Catholic High School, Bethlehem; Elaine Robbins, Easton Area High School, Easton, and Jay Feinman, Wilson Borough Area High School, Wilson Borough. The essays follow:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Thomas A. Reiser, Notre Dame High School, Easton, Pa.)

America, the land of the free, has tasted the bitterness of race riots, antiwar demonstrations, and campus revolts. Human behavior never has been and never will be regulated by laws or edicts. The complexities of public problems find their solutions in the willingness of citizens to accept the challenge of freedom—a challenge unmet by many of our ancestors, a challenge unmet by the Greeks in the latter years of their reign and, perhaps, ultimately responsible for the collapse of the empire.

The challenge of freedom is the challenge of responsibility. That responsibility includes adherence to all just laws, not simply laws which satisfy individual preference. That responsibility includes a recognition of the right to enjoy personal freedoms without infringing on the rights of others.

Freedom is ordinarily accepted as a birthright by people in America. Its benefits are readily accepted by all. Yet birth rights and benefits involve principles. Principles cannot be upheld without sacrifice.

It is often a sacrifice for the citizen to acquaint himself with both sides of those questions vital to national, state or local interests. Too often the voting public is swayed by a loquacious speaker, who fails to take issue with current problems.

Neglected voting privileges and rejected jury duty may illustrate how some Americans fail to meet the challenge of freedom. It is sad to hear that large or small attendance at the polls rests on whether voting day will be warm or cold, sunny or rainy, rather than on the importance of issues debated. Likewise, it is sad to recall the constant excuses offered to judges by proposed jury members.

In the limited democracy of America, representatives are elected from each particular area to speak the voice of the people from within that area. This makes it totally necessary that these leaders truly depict the feelings of their constituents. The obligation does not stop at interest but goes on to sacrifice.

Much hesitation is shown by some to fight against the injustices threatening freedom. The cliche, "Let George do it", cannot be the answer. The liberties are used by all, and not handed to "George", therefore, the sacrifice must be met by all—even if sacrifice of life is required.

By showing responsibility in the use of freedom, by demonstrating interest in the welfare of government, and by making sacrifices to maintain the legacy of America, the challenge of freedom will be met.

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Anne McCafferty, Bethlehem Catholic High School)

To me as a citizen, freedom presents a four-fold challenge. The first and most basic challenge is that of responsibility. This is the foundation upon which the remaining challenges build themselves. Responsibility demands good solid citizenship—a citizenship that does not waver in times of political crisis or succumb to subversive influence. Responsible citizens inevitably create a responsible society, which, as in the case of our nation, advocates freedom to the fullest extent of the word. We hold the keys which keep the door of democracy open and the door of communism locked. One important key is the democratic vote. In school, Student Council elections provide me with the opportunity to express my choice and voice my opinion. I have seen the results of poor voting habits and swayed voters; this has convinced me that I will be staunch and stick to my well-guided convictions. In school, as in our American society, if the majority continues to perform their voting duty with foresight and care, the irresponsible minority will be overshadowed. However, the danger lies in the fact, that in time, the minority may grow and a reversal of positions could occur.

This possibility leads to the second of freedom's challenges—that of vigilance or alertness. It is virtually impossible for an irresponsible minority to gain a foothold if the citizenship keeps a constant eye on the various aspects of political life. A citizen acquires this trait through active participation in the functions of his respective party organizations. He acquaints himself with current issues, obvious loopholes and pressing bills. Equipped with such knowledge, legislators find it quite difficult to pull the wool over the eyes of the voting public. Under our watch, government continues to act as a tool, strengthening freedom and underaiming the opponents of freedom. These facts may be applied to our own student government.

The third challenge results from the question, "Why are citizens responsible and alert?" The simple answer contains three words—they are patriotic! Much has been written concerning patriotism but few defitions really capture the whole meaning. To me, patriotism means love for one's country—a love so intense that one is willing to make sacrifices for its sake. Patriotism demands self-sacrifice. Fortunately, most people agree that patriotism is a very special spirit that carries over to even a student's idea of school spirit. A patriotic citizen has loyalty and a loyal student has school spirit. I consider myself a loyal student when I support school policies and engage in extracurricuar activities; I consider myself patriotic when I have a zealous love for my country, when I cultivate that pride that makes me unashamed to display my feelings when our basic freedoms are at stake.

Patriotism means different things to different people. To the Democrats in this pre-election year, it means rallying to the support of the President; to the Republicans it means agitating for a change of policy in the national scene. This variation is good and healthful to thriving nations. Men may have different ideas but they are united in the fact that views are directed towards maintaining a strong, free government.

Freedom's greatest challenge is that of survival itself. Combating communism is the greatest task facing our nation. Our leaders attempt to do this by insuring a free press and by providing communication to Radio Free Europe. Note the importance of the word "free". Freedom resembles a premature baby—it must be handled carefully, guarded constantly, and strengthened gradually, Freedom is America's heritage and it must be kept alive.

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Christopher J. Wright, Bethlehem Catholic High School)

"What have you given us?" a woman asked Ben Franklin at the close of the Constitutional Convention. "A Republic", he answered, "if you can keep it . . ."

Franklin, like the other founding fathers, had learned an important lesson from history. He knew that throughout the ages the main instruments for depriving men of their freedom had been their governments. He also understood that it had proven and would prove difficult to prevent governments from stripping freedom from the people. He realized this would be hard because he understood some of the basic principles regarding men and governments. Namely, the following: 1. the fact that government represents power in the hands of some men to control and regulate the lives of other men. 2. The natural tendency of men who possess some power to acquire more power. 3. The fact that power corrupts. He knew that the only way to preserve freedom is to restrict government, because if the government has no restraints on its powers or if the only restraints it has are its own, then the day is not far off when the government will have absolue power, and whether absolute power is in the hands of a king, dictator, or congress the resulting loss of the people's freedom will be the same.

The question arises: Have we kept our republic? According to the Chicago Tribune the U.S. Government is the "biggest landowner, property manager, renter, mover and hauler, medical clinician, lender, insurer, mortgage broker, employer, debtor, taxer, and spender in all history." The resulting loss of freedom of the American people is fantastic. Almost one-third of the earnings are taken as taxes. On top of this, government interference in our everyday lives is rampant. Businessmen are told by the government whether they can raise prices, farmers are told how much they can grow, and as a result of federal legislation, wage earners are compelled to join unions whether they want to or not. Social security taxes force citizens to invest their earnings the way the government has imposed mazes of regulations.

I feel that these facts show clearly that we have not kept our republic. We have allowed the government to grow to the point where there are far too few restrictions on its powers. We have allowed the freedom of every American to be sacrificed a little here and there in order to try to achieve various forms of "security". This loss of freedom disturbs me greatly. Thus I think that the greatest challenge facing the citizens of our country today, not forgetting even the Communist threat, is the restoration in toto of the American peoples freedoms. I do not pretend that this will be an easy task, but it can be done. Furthermore, I believe that many people in this country today also deem a reduction in governmental size necessary. But simply deploring the situation will not end it. The Republic will not be restored, and the rights of the populace will not be regained, until we have put out of office those men who promise new welfare programs and more "free" money, and until the leaders of both parties and the members of Supreme Court attain a healthy respect for the Constitution. This lack of regard for the Constitution is at the very heart of the problem, for the Constitution is above all a limiting document, and if it would be enforced many of the so-called "progressive" and "welfare" programs, which in addition to being unconstitutional also fail to produce their desired result and place more burdens upon taxpayers, would have to be curtailed. These unconstitutional programs, namely those dealing with public utilities, banks, insurance, business, agriculture education and social welfare, are illegal because of the tenth amendment. Federal interference in these areas has to be ended and the programs will either be dropped or resumed at the state level, where there is no danger of a great accumulation of powers. Since there is not too much hope for the conversion of many of the national leaders of both parties and the leading members of the Supreme Court to the principle of limited government, it is necessary that the voters in our country who are concerned about their freedom replace these men. I believe that the greatest challenge facing us today is the problem of returning to the people those freedoms which have been confiscated from them. I think that the people of this nation are equal to the task, and I look forward to the day when the conditions which I have stated are adhered to, and the freedom of all in this great land is abundant.

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Elaine Robbins, Easton Area High School, 12th grade)

What is freedom's challenge?

Since the beginning of time wars have been fought, lives have been lost, and blood has been spilt all over our world. This will continue to be the crisis until people learn to live peacefully among themselves. Is this freedom's challenge?

When a child is born, he is born with love not knowing about hatred. As he matures, conflict arises within him causing a feeling of mixed emotion labeled hate. Soon a boy becomes a man and he has a difficult decision to make, to fight or to fail in his duty to God and his country. He then wonders "Why should I go to war with people I don't know, needlessly killing strangers just because they are opposed to my way of thinking?" It doesn't make sense does it? Still, ever since a child he has been told it's a man's duty to serve his country and protect his family against harm. So off he goes into a branch of the service where they teach him to defend himself sneak, lie, spy, kill, and hate. Yes hate, hate people whom they never met, yet whose lives they will claim on the hellish battlefields of war. They are sent off with the slogan "Kill or be killed." Knowing that they may never see the ones they love again.

Our American boys who believe in what they are fighting for go off to war to fight for us. All of us whether we're worthy of it or not. They fight for cowardly draft card burners who protest out of fear. Protesters who protest for peace yet do so through violence. How can we hope to settle world conflict when we can't settle conflict on our own shores? Is violence the answer? Does might make right? This you'll have to answer for yourself. My answer is no! Peace can be obtained only thru understanding. An understanding of everything, draft card burners inclusive. They are brave enough to stand up and say they will not serve a country who has cared for them and protected them yet they are cowards because they will not fight to save her from oppression.

All this is America, the good as well as the bad. Isn't it a shame that our children must grow up with a narrow understanding of some freedom groups because their parents and grandparents don't fully understand things themselves. When America was established it was built on the grounds of love, understanding, peace, security, liberty, equality, and freedom for all. As Francis Scott Key once said "Land of the free and home of the brave." It's our duty as Americans to bring this understanding to all the world. Only when this is satisfactorily done can we truthfully say we have completely fulfilled our forefathers dream of world peace and understanding. This is freedom's challenge!!!

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Jay Feinman, Wilson Borough Area High School)

Freedom's challenge is greater today than ever before. We are summoned to build, to serve, to achieve as no other nation has been in the history of the world. We are urged to meet freedom's challenge by our past, our present, and our future. Let us listen to those voices and learn what freedom's challenge is—and how we may meet it.

The spirit of freedom's past—I was created in ancient Greece, but forsaken in the ensuing centuries. I was reborn in a new, exciting form only a short time ago with the founding of the United States of America. I was the driving force behind the only new idea in centuries—a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. My existence was defended at Lexington, at Gettysburg, in Belleau Wood, at Iwo Jima, on the beaches of Normandy, in Korea, and in Vietnam. With the voice of a million Americans who shed their blood in my defense, I, the spirit of freedom's past, urge you to meet freedom's challenge: to uphold the ideals of your forefathers, to be proud of your American heritage, to assure that those who came before shall not have lived—or died—in vain.

The spirit of freedom's present—I am troubled and endangered by those who have never enjoyed my benefits as well as those who would abuse their liberties. I am threatened by ignorance, by violence, by hate, and by apathy. I call to you with the voice of a Negro in the poverty-ridden slums of our cities, the voice of a peasant in Vietnam, the voice of a family trapped behind the wall in East Berlin. I, the spirit of freedom's present, urge you to meet freedom's challenge: to free the oppressed, to halt Communist aggression wherever it strikes, to assure that all Americans have their full rights as citizens.

The spirit of freedom's future—I am unsure, uncertain. I do not know if I will exist or be annihilated. I call to you with the voice of your children and your children's children. I urge you to meet freedom's challenge—to deal with the obstacles that confront you today, to live in strife if necessary so that your descendants may live in peace, to keep freedom pure and intact for all times.

Thus we are challenged: by freedom's past, to remember and preserve; by freedom's present, to be just and to have courage; by freedom's future, to fight and to purify. These, all of these, constitute freedom's challenge, the duties and responsibilities of being free that we owe to our ancestors, ourselves and our descendants.

We in this nation today have opportunities beyond the limits of the imagination. With our vast natural, economic, cultural, and human resources we can build a society unparalleled in the history of the world. The dreams of millions of enslaved, oppressed and impoverished people throughout history for a country where all may be free and none need starve can be realized in the United States—if only we are wise enough, brave enough, and strong enough to use all our energies toward this goal. We stand on the threshold of true greatness, and the decision is ours and ours alone whether or not we will take the giant step.

We must now heed the voices of the past, the present, and the future to meet freedom's challenge. This, then, must be our course: to look back with pride, to give thanks with humility, to serve with honor, and to go forward with courage, working with patience and devotion in the service of the people of the United States and around the globe, and, in this way, God's work shall truly be our own.

CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON SUPPORTS CONSERVATION

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, in recent years more has been done to preserve and restore the natural resources of this Nation than in any comparable period in the Nation's history.

The 89th and 90th Congresses have clearly placed conservation of our natural resources at the top of the Nation's agenda for action. I have been pleased to support and vote for landmark legislation to maintain and expand the Nation's natural heritage.

The distinctive contribution of these Congresses to conservation has been the total approach, using comprehensive, coordinated action to attack foul air, dirty water, mountains of waste, and congested land. This is the new conservation. It is defined by the President like this:

> Our conservation must be not just the classic conservation of protection and development, but a creative conservation of restoration and innovation. Its concern is not with nature alone, but with the total relation between man and the world around him. Its object is not just man's welfare, but the dignity of man's spirit.

To give substance to this new conservation there has been a cascade of legislation to clean the water and cleanse the air, to preserve the wilderness, to create open space, and to establish scenic rivers. Thirty-five new units have been added to the national park system, the refuge system for wildlife has been expanded by three-fourths million acres, and a Redwoods National Park has been created.

Major legislation like the Air Quality Act of 1967, the Water Pollution Control Act, the Water Quality Act of 1965, and the Clear Water Restoration Act of 1966, commit this Nation to clean air and pure water.

These are a few of the highlights:

First. Water: The Federal Government has set up $4 billion worth of waste treatment facilities for local communities, which serves approximately 66 million Americans, helping clean up 67,000 miles of streams and rivers. This action came as a result of the hazards of filthy and unsanitary water conditions that had plagued Americans over the past years.

A study of desalting enough water daily for practical purposes is underway. This is being done in hopes that the 1961 authorization of $75 million for research and development, plus the 1965 expansion of this authority to $200 million for 5 years, will provide for economically feasible desalting of sea and brackish water.

This research will lead to the construction of the world's largest desalting plant, capable of desalting 150 million gallons of water per day.

Second. Air: The Air Quality Act provides us with a blueprint for a systematic national attack on air pollution. Under this act, air quality control regions will be designated, pollution criteria will be developed, and the States will be required to develop air quality standards and measures to achieve these standards.

Third. Parks and recreation: Nearly 1 million acres of land, since December 1963, were authorized for addition to the national parks system. State, local, and Federal Governments are now preserving for the enjoyment of our own and future generations, more land than is given up to construction and resource extractions.

Fourth. Fisheries and wildlife: Since 1961 nearly 1 million acres of land have been set aside by the Federal Government for the breeding, nesting, and feeding of various wildlife species. Of this 1 million acres, 114,000 have been added permanently to the national wildlife refuge system.

For the fiscal year of 1968, the Federal Government will spend a substantiated sum of $35.6 million for fish and wildlife management.

Fifth. Public lands: There was a revegetation of public range totaling 467,169 acres during 1967. Reforestation projects by the Bureau of Land Management lands totaled 37,595 acres during 1967—73 percent more than in 1960.

Much has been done to conserve our country's natural resources. More must be done in the years ahead. No longer will our approach be fragmented. From this day forward, we focus upon a sane environment for man—clean rivers, tall forests, and clean air.

STEEL "FRONT LOADING" NATION'S ECONOMY

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to point out that the term "front loaded" is apparently being used in a brandnew context this year. Ordinarily, the term means that the first year of a new wage contract will bring about a larger pay increase than following years.

I believe certain steel companies are trying to "front load" the Nation's economy by raising prices sharply, and using the new wage contracts as an excuse.

There are some fallacies in this thinking that I wish to point out.

First, the steel price hikes are way out of proportion to the wage agreements.

Second, labor becomes increasingly efficient each year and the new prices of steel do not reflect the savings achieved through increases in productivity.

Third, companies have already been raising their prices—selectively—over the past year.

Finally, we cannot ignore the fact that steel's current profits are very good.

For these reasons, I fear our economy will be hurt by the announced steel price increases. It appears the companies are "front loading" their profits when they should be trying to keep prices in competitive ranges with imports and with other materials.

In the public interest, the companies should roll back their price hikes.

DISASTROUS DECLINE IN BARLEY PRICE CALLS FOR USDA ACTION

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, as the new crop harvest begins in North Dakota, the price of barley has tumbled to a ridiculously low price of 50 cents per bushel. Failure of the Department of Agriculture to include barley in the feed grain program is, in part, responsible for this situation. Following is the text of a letter I have sent to Secretary Freeman today in connection with this matter:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 2, 1968.

Hon. ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary, U.S. Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Over the last weekend, the price of barley in Western North Dakota tumbled by 10 to 15 cents per bushel. Even before this disastrous break, barley was selling at a firesale price that could be matched only by going back to the 1930's.

On Monday, July 29, the Mandan (N. Dak.) Farmers Union Grain Association quoted a card price of 50 to 51 cents per bushel for barley. On July 26—just three days earlier—the same buyer offered 60 to 65 cents per bushel.

Failure to include barley in the 1968 feed grain program is in large part responsible for this situation. Over the last year, I have referred to you numerous complaints from North Dakota farmers concerning discrimination against inclusion of barley in the feed grain program. On February 21, 1968, Mr. John A. Schnittker, serving then as Acting Secretary of Agriculture, wrote me as follows in response to complaints of several North Dakota farmers which I had referred to you:

"Under the terms of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, barley is to be included in the annual feed grain program only when it appears that the supply of that grain would otherwise be excessive. *For the 1968 crop year, it does not appear that this would be the case.*"

Mr. Secretary, this was a disastrous miscalculation, as the present supply situation and the ruinous market price for barley amply demonstrate.

I quote further from Mr. Schnittker's letter:

"The 1967 harvested barley acreage in the U.S. was down about one million acres or 10 percent from the year before and, consequently, production was down by about 23 million bushels; that is, down to a level less than total needs for the 1967–68 marketing year. *Accordingly, carryover stocks of barley on July 1, 1968, will likely be down from a year earlier.* Hence, based on the planting trends of recent years, our best estimate was that barley plantings in 1968 without acreage diversion would not exceed future use and reasonable carryover requirements."

It is incredible that USDA's appraisal could be so wrong. This inaccurate guess emphasizes again the unreliability of the Department's estimates and the urgent need for a thorough overhaul of its crop and livestock reporting system.

Instead of barley stocks being "down from a year earlier", as Mr. Schnittker predicted in late February, USDA's report of grain stocks on July 1 showed a total of 136,067,000 bushels of barley as compared with 121,772,000 bushels a year earlier. The 1968 barley crop is estimated at 406 million bushels, up 10 percent over a year ago. The department's optimistic estimate of the supply outlook undoubtedly led many growers to plant barley which is now bringing the ridiculous price of 50 cents a bushel in my area.

North Dakota alone had 44,577,000 bushels of barley in store on farms and commercial warehouses as of July 1, 1968. Add to this a new crop estimated at 90,270,000 bushels for the State (and it may go higher) and you have the worst barley glut in history, as the price situation shows. Storage will be a problem for many farmers who are also about to harvest a record wheat crop.

I urgently appeal to you to undertake two immediate steps which would help to ease his disastrous situation:

1. An announcement that barley will be included in the 1969 feed grain program.

2. Emergency purchase of barley by Commodity Credit Corporation in North Dakota and other distressed areas. As you know, such an emergency purchase program has been ordered for grain sorghums in South Texas.

The time is short. The emergency is now. Without positive action, barley producers will lose millions of dollars as a result of depressed prices.

I am enclosing a copy of Mr. Schnittker's letter of February 21, 1968, to me, as well as newspaper report on the wide-open break in barley prices from The Fargo Forum of July 30, 1968.

Sincerely,

TOM KLEPPE,
Member of Congress.

JOHN PETER LEACACOS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on occasion one has the pleasant opportunity to discuss matters with a person one admires as a scholar, and may wonder why this person does not write a book so that others may share his wealth of information and benefit by his keen observations and sharp critical analyses of current events, and prognostications for the future. One of my friends has met this challenge—John Peter Leacacos—in his book, just published, "Fires in the In-Basket—The ABC's of the State Department." Mr. Leacacos is presently in charge of the Washington Bureau of the Plain Dealer, our morning newspaper in Cleveland. I have read this book with interest and found it to be most revealing. Jack Leacacos has a sententious, scholarly writing style, but his book is generously woven with humor and zest.

Last March Mr. Leacacos was elected to membership in the Gridiron Club. The election to this elite club of 50 journalists is the highest honor that can be paid to a Washington correspondent. It is the pinnacle of the profession, and to be elected to membership in the Gridiron Club a man must be a gentleman, a journalist, and he must conduct himself in the highest traditions of the craft. Jack Leacacos is a scholar who possesses all of these qualities.

FIRST PENNSYLVANIA BANKING & TRUST CO., OF PHILADELPHIA, SHOWS WHAT PRIVATE ENTERPRISE CAN DO ABOUT URBAN MANPOWER PROBLEMS

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, one of the major banks in Philadelphia, the First Pennsylvania Banking & Trust Co., has become a first-class example of how private enterprise can attack basic social and economic problems in our cities.

First Pennsylvania, under the dynamic leadership of its president, William B. Walker, has been putting its resources to work to upgrade job skills and business opportunities in Philadelphia's black community.

It has used its resources as a large-scale employer to recruit and train black men and women, from high school age through adults, who were previously unskilled for bank employment. In general the bank has placed a high emphasis on hiring black employees since 1966, when only 3 percent of the bank's personnel were nonwhite. Today the percentage is 11 percent.

Along with its employment programs, the bank has been using its financial resources to make some 100 loans to black-owned small businesses in the last year and a half. The Small Business Administration, which has been cooperating with First Pennsylvania on many of these loans, earlier this year presented the bank with the SBA Administrator's Award, in recognition of this achievement. It was the first time that a bank had received this Federal award.

Mr. Speaker, I have long advocated that Federal manpower and economic aid programs for the cities utilize the energies and resources of private firms on the scene. I can only be highly encouraged by the accomplishments of the First Pennsylvania Co.

It is important to note just why the First Pennsylvania Co. has set out to work in the fields of job training and small business loans in the black community. Mr. Walker, in a recent article in American Banker, explains the bank's reasons:

> The threat of riots and the desire for good public relations are not really the best justifications for a long-term commitment to work extensively in the non-white community, at least not for a profit making enterprise.
>
> A sound business reason is preferable, and we think we have one in the growing scarcity of "qualified" people. . . . If a skilled workforce is essential to a business, and if unskilled people abound, then one way to reach the company's objective is to teach unskilled people to be efficient employees.

Mr. Speaker, I believe Mr. Walker is to be commended for his fresh, clear thinking on the reasons why private enterprise should be interested in job training. And I wish to commend the First Pennsylvania Co. for taking the lead in this vital work.

I wish to insert in the RECORD Mr. Walker's article in American Banker, of May 29, 1968, entitled "Manpower Development—A Difficult and Important Task," in which he describes what First Pennsylvania has been doing to increase job skills and business opportunities in the black community:

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT—A DIFFICULT AND IMPORTANT TASK

(By William B. Walker, president, First Pennsylvania Banking & Trust Co., Philadelphia)

The attentions of those concerned with "industrial development" today seem to be increasingly directed toward "manpower development." Wherever industry exists in Pennsylvania, our future prosperity will turn on the ability of our working population to keep up—and in too many cases to catch up—with the job demands of our times.

The task will be as difficult as it is important.

Over the past 20 years, industrial development in Pennsylvania has come a long way thanks to genuine cooperation between public and private sectors. However, this progress has been oriented mostly toward changes in state and local laws which gave simple economic incentives to companies.

On a statewide level, reform of the Workmen's Compensation law and the work of the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority have put us in a much more competitive position to attract industry when compared to our sister states.

Also, the reforms growing out of the recent Constitutional Convention will bring the benefits of modern government to the Commonwealth for years to come.

Our cities have done their part as well. In Philadelphia, for example, the entire face of center city is being re-made on a carefully planned basis. Tax incentives, low cost land, and transportation and utilities improvements have all been pursued as means of making the city attractive to commerce and industry.

These programs are successful, are necessary, and will continue to receive our support. It is plain to see how aggressive the banks in Pennsylvania have been to finance industrial development, not only in direct loans to business, but also in financial support of the multitude of quasi-public agencies involved in this work.

Manpower development is another matter. Until recently, it would not have occurred to many bankers or businessmen that they had a direct and important stake in upgrading the quality of the manpower in their respective communities. We simply hired "qualified" people and let it go at that. Now, with a surprising suddenness, we are rethinking those simple assumptions.

In Pennsylvnia, there are two broad types of manpower problems; one is the large group of people who have been left behind in the wake of technological change, as for example, the anthracite coalminers.

The other group is the non-white city dweller. Of course, it is this latter problem which most concerns bankers in Philadelphia, and we shall describe here some of our bank's experiences in working on it.

The threat of riots and the desire for good public relations are not really the best justifications for a long-term commitment to work extensively in the non-white community at least not for a profit-making enterprise.

A sound business reason is preferable, and we think we have one in the growing scarcity of "qualified" people. Until now, business has used that term when what it really meant was "pre-qualified" people. We believe the skilled labor market of the future will probably continue to be chronically tight.

If a skilled workforce is essential to a business, and if unskilled people abound, then one way to reach the company's objective is to teach unskilled people to be efficient employees.

WORKABLE APPROACHES

About 11% of our employees today are non-white, compared with approximately 3% in 1966. Many of these new non-white workers were introduced to the bank through a series of small group programs. This has been a workable approach, and tends to prevent what can be the traumatic confrontation of business life by an unsophisticated and unskilled person.

The Business Experience-Education Program began last September with 26 young men selected with the help of the Philadelphia School Board. The "BEEPS" are juniors and seniors in five public high schools where the drop-out rate is 40%. They have attended school regularly this year, and report daily to various bank departments for part-time work. They work from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. and are paid $1.75 per hour.

On Fridays they attend a seminar for training in language and mathematics skills as well as lectures and individual counseling. A feature of this program has been the assignment of three young management trainees to work with the "BEEPS," both individually and as program co-ordinators.

The Secretarial Training Educational Program began last January for 12 high school girls. Through part-time clerical, typing, and stenographic work, we plan to bring up their skills to a point where they will become permanent employees after graduation.

"Project 35" is a program for employing chronically unemployed adults. Last summer 35 men and women were hired, without the usual personnel tests, as temporary workers. For five months, in addition to their regular jobs, these people attended evening classes in remedial English and arithmetic.

After this period, they were tested and most of them promoted to permanent employees status. A second "Project 35" group was hired last winter, and seems to be working well. Our retention of those originally hired is about 80% to date.

Planned Accelerated Career Training is a new program under which we plan to support the higher education of perhaps a dozen young male employees. "PACT" men will work full time at the bank and attend evening college with full reimbursement for tuition. After four or five years, the employee will take a leave of absence to complete college as a full time student.

He will be paid full salary and will have full tuition refund on condition he will work for the bank for at least two years following graduation. By that time most of these men should achieve officer status.

FINANCING ENTERPRISES

An entirely different area of work is in the financing of non-white business enterprise. There is clearly a tremendous potential for industrial development in our own back yards. In the past year and one half, a special staff in our bank has made and is administering more than 100 loans to Negro busniessmen.

One characteristic common to most of these situations is the need for the banker to help the borrower learn management skills. The relationship can be time-consuming for the banker, but our experience thus far has been quite satisfactory.

In summary, these programs are only examples of how one institution is attempting to work in the field of manpower development. What success we have enjoyed is in large part due to two factors:

Dealing with non-white employees in small groups has enabled us to respond to the special characteristics and needs of those people with carefully designed programs. It has also given them a sense of pride and responsibility toward their respective groups.

We have relied strongly upon existing agencies, public and private, for assistance in the referral of people to us, both as employees and as commercial customers. There is no substitute for the indigenous knowledge of these agencies in their local communities.

We have not enjoyed perfect results in our programs, and know we have much to learn. On the other hand, it is gratifying to see so many banks and companies actively involved in similar ways: the future economic health of Pennsylvania will hinge on the success we all have in this work.

SBA: CAN AID THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, redevelopment and renewal of depressed areas in our cities are surely a step in the right direction.

But in many cases, federally sponsored redevelopment can cause hardships.

Small stores—the corner grocery, the jewelry shop, the drugstore—are major victims.

And this is where the Small Business Administration can offer a helping hand. SBA was created for the purpose of helping America's small businesses, now numbering some 7.4 million.

One of SBA's financial assistance programs deals directly with the problem of relocating businesses affected by Federal programs.

SBA made 331 displaced business loans for $45.2 million to small firms displaced by urban renewal and highway construction projects during the past fiscal year.

In one case, an SBA loan put a small grocery store back on its feet, and helped the store to meet increasing competition and consumer demand.

When several square blocks of houses in a low-income vicinity of New York City were razed for redevelopment by the housing authority, the small dairy and grocery store in the neighborhood seemed doomed to bankruptcy.

The threatened store was the AA Dairy & Grocery, purchased by Abraham Cherkin in 1949. The store was located in a low-income neighborhood and business fell off when several blocks of houses were demolished.

To get new customers from the middle-income housing development which was taking shape in the cleared area, Mr. Cherkin decided to expand.

Unable to obtain financing from local sources, however, he turned to SBA for help. The Agency rapidly approved a $10,000 regular business loan in March 1964. In addition to allocating funds for renovation, inventory and working capital, SBA offered management advice and counsel.

Since the SBA financing, the grocer has nearly doubled his business and has prepaid the SBA loan through March 1969.

This is just one case where SBA has stepped in to help the small businessman. SBA's assistance goes to retailers, wholesalers, manufacturers, and businessmen in the service trades. In addition to its financial assistance, the Agency gives procurement help and management aid.

In his state of the Union message President Johnson reminded Americans that we are in "our eighth year of uninterrupted prosperity. The economic outlook for this year is one of steady growth—if we are vigilant." SBA's interest in the welfare of the small business community and its efforts to help the small businessman contribute to economic expansion are proof that SBA has heeded the words of our president.

In New York state alone SBA approved 701 loans for $27.1 million in calendar year 1967.

HON. TOM MORRIS—TRUE FRIEND OF THE VETERAN

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable TOM MORRIS, of New Mexico, has served in this body for close to 10 years and during that period of time he has manifested a great interest in and concern for the veteran program of this Nation. As a veteran himself of over 6 years of service in the U.S. Navy, he is a life member of the Disabled American Veterans, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and the American Legion.

Not only has Congressman MORRIS sponsored pieces of legislation through the House Veterans Committee, but as a Member of the House Committee on Appropriations he has maintained keen interest in the operations of the Veterans' Administration and in particular their medical program.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a brief résumé of Congressman MORRIS' activities in the field of veteran affairs:

A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

In the 86th Congress, Representative Morris supported the proposal to increase pensions of World War veterans, and of their widows and orphans. Also, he supported the plans to extend the time limit of the veterans home loan program, to provide direct loans to veterans in areas where housing credit is not available, and to extend the period for National Service Life Insurance one year. Along with these proposals, he advocated that veterans domiciliary facilities be established in each state. Of these bills, the only one acted upon during that Congress, was the one for extending the time for granting National Service Life Insurance.

In the 87th Congress, besides continuing to urge that pension be increased, he sought enactment of the provisions that disabilities of veterans who had been imprisoned by the Japanese be considered service-connected. These exact bills were not enacted. However, very recently Congress has extended the presumption of service-connection in many instances, and of course has liberalized the pension.

In succeeding Congresses, Representative Morris continued to urge passage of a veterans pension increase, and of increased medical assistance to seriously disabled veterans even if their disability did not result from injury incurred in Service. Enacted legislation in this area is now part of our accomplishment. He supported legislation for expansion of veterans health facilities, and in particular urged that the number of nursing care beds in New Mexico and throughout the United States be increased. During the 88th Congress, he spoke for the proposal for construction of a 500 bed hospital in Albuquerque.

During the present Congress, Representative Morris supported the increase of educational allowance provided by the G.I. Bill of Rights of 1966. This increase, enacted in 1967, resulted from a determined effort to insure that Vietnam veterans are granted assistance which is commensurate to assistance provided all other veterans. Further educational legislation which he has sponsored would provide an educational allowance for widows of veterans killed in service. Also, during the 90th Congress, his proposal for a veterans pension increase was enacted.

From this résumé of the veterans legislation sponsored by Representative Morris since he entered Congress ten years ago, we see that he has been in the vanguard of the struggle for more equitable treatment of our Nation's veterans. From the outset he has given wholehearted support to the cause which, especially in recent years, has secured outstanding legislative accomplishments.

A "MANHATTAN PROJECT" FOR U.S. SUPREMACY AT SEA

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, on June 11, 1968, I entered into the RECORD a statement by Mr. Charles F. Duchein, president of the Navy League of the United States, on "Maritime Day Has Special Meaning for Boston"—page 16765. Among other things, Mr. Duchein asserted that, to help meet the mounting Soviet challenge at sea and establish a program for restoring our sadly deteriorating merchant marine, the United States should "establish a major center of oceanic advancement under the aegis of the consortium of Boston universities and colleges to advance the American maritime renaissance."

The Navy League president, who is a major general in the Marine Corps Reserve, has now developed the basic concept of that proposal into a broader plan which he likens to a "maritime Manhattan project," similar to the one we had to perfect the atomic bomb in World II, whereby resolute research will "give our Navy-Marine Corps team the wherewithal to rule the waves proudly and assuredly."

Decrying the "lack of direction and national policy" for a coordinated maritime program, both military and merchant marine, Mr. Duchein in his editorial in the July issue of Navy magazine calls for "a control-of-the-sea concept of oceanic research." He stresses:

> Control of the seas is the crux of the competition with the Soviet Union and its burgeoning maritime power. Manifestly, an expanded program of ocean research is the starting point in maintaining a modern fleet and a competitive merchant marine. New ideas must translate into superior fighting power to guarantee surivival at sea.

With this and related statements and proposals in mind, the Boston Sunday Herald-Traveler of July 28, 1968, devoted its entire editorial column to "Our Stake in and on the Sea." To emphasize the importance of this subject, I wish to urge careful reading of that editorial, as follows:

[From the Sunday Herald-Traveler, Boston, July 28, 1968]

OUR STAKE IN AND ON THE SEA

Even as exploration of space continues, it becomes more and more apparent that the next or perhaps even the present great frontier of man is the sea. And just as Sputnik I accelerated this nation's concern with its educational adequacy, the growing awareness of Russian advances in naval and merchant power, fishing and oceanography have prodded this country into a critical reappraisal of its own marine resources.

Rep. Robert L. Leggett (D-Calif.) has urged enactment of a major shipping and oceangraphy program of the same magnitude as the nation's space program. His slogan, although perhaps too long for lapel buttons, nevertheless makes the point: "It's probably more important to explore the ocean's bottom than the moon's behind."

Among measures proposed to improve our nation's position on the sea through a stronger merchant marine and in the sea through increased oceanographic rseearch are two that could secure for New England a place of preeminence in both areas.

MARITIME RESEARCH

Last week Charles F. Duchein, president of the Navy League, outlined the need for the U.S. to establish a maritime research center in order to cope with the Soviet Union's growing sea power. Now sixth to our country's fifth position as a maritime power, the Russians are adding rapidly (about 100 flag merchant ships a year) to an already modern fleet (80 per cent of their ships were built in the last decade). In contrast, 70 per cent of U.S. flagships are more than 20 years old and we are adding only about 15 a year.

On Maritime Day last May, Vice President Hubert Humphrey noted that "The U.S. must have a maritime policy if it is to remain a maritime power." Just such a policy was promised by President Johnson in his 1965 State of the Union message but has not yet arrived. A jumble of maritime proposals made recently by Transportation Secretary Alan Boyd certainly does not qualify as a national maritime policy for the U.S. for the '60's, much less the '70's.

But assuming that the U.S. commits itself to maritime excellence, the blueprints for such a policy will still have to be drawn. And what better place to locate what Mr. Duchein calls a "Maritime Manhattan Project" than in the Boston areas with its unique concentration of intellectual resources in maritime and maritime-related fields, from Cambridge to Woods Hole?

The establishment of such a center and its location in New England is a proposal that the New England Congressional delegation, representing an area sharing more than 6,000 miles of tidal shoreline, should carefully consider.

AND OCEANOGRAPHY

The sea, of course, is more than a medium for commerce and defense, and the New England area is already involved in the wide range of studies grouped under oceanography.

As Prof. Jonas Moore of Salem State College pointed out at last year's Governor's Conference on Massachusetts' Stake in the Ocean, the study and development of marine resources is being carried on by a number of private and public agencies in Massachusetts in private laboratories, by the Department of Natural Resources, by the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute, by a number of colleges and by private industry. Just a few days ago Gov. Volpe announced that a Cambridge firm had been awarded a government contract to study the commercial marketing possibilities of fish protein concentrate. A New Bedford firm is under contract to produce FPC, also called fish flour.

But the competition is getting hot. Gov. Rockefeller of New York has convened a conference on oceanology in New York City, and Govs. Kirk of Florida (a state whose climate gave it the edge over Massachusetts for the ESSA Oceanographic Research Center) and Reagan of California are actively promoting the growth of such research in their states. Gov. Kirk even made a dive to a sunken treasure ship.

Prof. Moore proposed linking the various and largely uncoordinated efforts in marine science in Massachusetts and in its sister states through the establishment of a marine science center. Such a center would not only coordinate research, but foster the application of science to technology and technology to our resources. It would also attract federal funds budgeted for further development of marine science.

The creation of such a center should be a high priority item on the agenda of the next New England Governors Conference.

A PROPOSAL FOR A POOR CHILDREN'S BILL OF RIGHTS

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I would further like to call to the attention of the House the August issue of Psychology Today magazine which is devoted to a study of our modern American cities. It contains some provocative ideas concerning our urban crisis. As a member of Congressman CULVER's city visit program, I found the article on New Haven's experiences particularly informative as well as one entitled "A Proposal for a Poor Children's Bill of Rights." The latter article is set out, as follows:

A PROPOSAL FOR A POOR CHILDREN'S BILL OF RIGHTS

(By Theodore Sizer and Phillip Whitten)

Reliance on formal education as a significant vehicle for social mobility is an unpopular article of faith these days. There is not now, nor has there ever been, an American "equality of educational opportunity." That is historically evident. It is equally clear that there might be. Few other social institutions offer potentially so much as schools, and ingenious men must make them work.

Very simply, we are involved in a struggle by the poor to catch up. But thus far the rich, at a time when the gross national product rises to over $800 billion, become further enriched and the poor get poorer. It is obvious that the poor, particularly the minorities, no longer are willing to accept this state of affairs. That they have abandoned placid tolerance gives us some hope, but only if we correct this disparity. To do otherwise, general society assumes a perilous risk.

Given the general conviction about the urgent need to solve the problem, what does society do?

Our is a simple proposal: to use education—vastly improved and powerful education—as the principal vehicle for upward mobility. While a complex of strategies must be designed to accomplish this, we wish here to stress one: a program to give money *directly* to poor children (through their parents) to assist in paying for their education. By doing so we might both create significant competition among schools serving the poor (and thus improve the schools) and meet in an equitable way the extra costs of teaching the children of the poor.

The idea of such tuition grants is not new. For almost two centuries variant proposals for the idea have come from such figures as Adam Smith, Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill and more recently from Milton Friedman, the conservative University of Chicago economist. Its appeal bridges ideological differences. Yet it has never been tried, quite possibly because the need for it has never been so demonstrably critical as now.

Before we discuss the economics and details of our proposal, it should be emphasized at once that an open society cannot be constructed by good schools alone. As Paul Goodman has warned:

". . . There is plenty of social mobility, opportunity to rise—*except precisely for the ethnic minorities* (our emphasis) who are our main concern . . . but the statuses and channels are increasingly stratified, rigidified, cut and dried. . . . By plain social justice, the Negroes and other minorities have the right to, and must get, equal opportunity for schooling with the rest, but the exaggerated expectation from schooling is chimera—and, I fear, will be shockingly disappointing."

Even as we educate our poor and equip them with the skills necessary to hold responsible and meaningful jobs, we must insure absolutely that, once the requisite skills have been acquired, jobs will be available. To fail here will assure a social explosion unlike any we have experienced thus far.

There are two reasons why equality of educational opportunity does not, in fact, exist in the United States. First, there is the simple fact that the schools and the children who attend them differ in many respects. Second is the fact that since the time of Thomas Jefferson we have misconstrued the phrase—equality of educational opportunity—as meaning equality of *opportunity*. Thus *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896) established the concept of *separate but equal* facilities. It was not until 1954, in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, that the Supreme Court reversed this principle.

What, then, is meant by equality of educational opportunity? We feel that the stringent demands of our modern industrial society call for an *equality of attainment*. This does not mean that the schools should be attempting to make everybody the same; that is *prima facia* absurd. What it does imply, however, is that we should make the schools appropriate for people with respect to their environment. That we are not doing that at the present time is quite evident.

James Coleman has reminded us that "home" also educates. Homes also *differ*. Schools, rather than being alike ("equal"), must differ just as homes do. In short, education must be planned for the child in his complete milieu, not just within school.

The concept of equality of educational opportunity, then, concerns the *relative intensity* of two sets of influences—school, and home and neighborhood.

Coleman, writing recently in the *Harvard Educational Review*, elaborated on the nature of the problem: "If the school's influences are not only alike for the two groups, but very strong relative to the divergent influences, then the two groups will move apart. Or more generally, the relative intensity of the convergent school influences and the divergent out-of-school influences determines the effectiveness of the educational system in providing equality of educational opportunity. In this perspective, complete equality of opportunity can be reached only if all the divergent out-of-school influences vanish. . . . Given the existing divergent influences, equality of opportunity can only be approached and never fully reached. The concept becomes one of proximity to equality of opportunity. This proximity is determined, then, not merely by the *equality* of educational inputs, but by the *intensity* of the school's influence. . . ."

What all this boils down to is that *we must discriminate in education in favor of the poor*. We must weight the education scales in favor of the poor for the next generation and commit a major share of our resources to providing superior educational programs for them. The U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe, supports this view: "My plea in this regard is not for *equal* education but for *better* than equal." Howe, quoting President Johnson, writes that "you do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and say 'you're free to compete with the others' and justly believe that you have been completely fair."

A POOR CHILDREN'S BILL OF RIGHTS

We proposed a Poor Children's Bill of Rights which will frankly discriminate in favor of poor children. It would be based on a "free enterprise" approach to education and would be patterned after the G.I. Bill of Rights following World War II and the Korean War.

It would, quite simply, give money in the form of a coupon to a poor child who would carry the coupon to the school of his choice where he would be enrolled. The school chosen could use the sum as it saw fit. And the supplementary grant which the child would give to his school must be large enough to motivate the school to compete for it. Our judgment is that a grant of $1,500 per child per year (about three times the current per-pupil national expenditure) is a necessary figure.

Our research suggests several alternative patterns which provide sliding scales—allowing for the allocation of different amounts of money proportional to family income and numbers of school-aged children. For practical political purposes, as well as equity, it might be better to employ a scheme based on a sliding scale rather than one that would simply provide $1,500 for each child defined as poor. As an example, the accompanying charts [*see illustrations, page 60*] show how the two different sliding-scale formulae would work for a family of four. For families of five, six, seven or more, appropriate adjustments in the formulae in income relative to a given subsidy would, of course, be made. Regional equalization formulae necessarily would be employed to deal with such problems as the one inherent in the fact that New York, for example, spends $912 per child per year while Mississippi spends only $315.

The charts show what the educational grant—under each of the formulae—would be to each school-aged child in a family of four, depending on the level of income. The chart shows quickly the maximum family income level that would be subsidized.

The estimated total cost of the various plans we have considered ranges from appromixately $11 to $17 billion per year, depending on the formula and on the number of families served. If families with incomes up to $10,000 per year are included, up to half of the population with school-age children would receive an education subsidy. Generally speaking, for the Poor Children's Bill of Rights, formulae that are linear functions (such as A) are cheaper than exponential functions (such as B). However, exponential functions have the advantage of decreasing more slowly than linear functions (as income increases) until the maximum subsidized income is approached. At this point exponential functions rapidly—and, from an administrative point of view, neatly—approved zero.

AN INVESTMENT THAT WOULD REPAY ITSELF

For political reasons it might be necessary to include a large proportion (up to 50 per cent) of the nation's children: one guesses that much of the political opposition to the Poor Children's Bill of Rights would come from upper-lower- and lower-middle-class groups. (Or, put more graphically, from some of the people who stoned Martin Luther King in Chicago.) However, if the children of these people were also included under the program, it is reasonable to expect opposition to diminish in some degree.

There are some 10 million children now growing up in what the Johnson Administration has defined as poverty (approximately $4,300 per year for a family of four). Our simplest plan, that of providing a $1,500 subsidy to each poor child, would cost about $15 billion per year, less than the current expenditure for highways and about half the annual cost of the Vietnam war. In straight fiscal terms this would not place much of a strain on a well-managed economy. However, even the $15 billion figure is deceptively inflated. Christopher Jencks points out that "in the long run there is abundant evidence that this investment would repay itself by raising taxable income and by cutting expenditures for welfare, unemployment, police and other slum symptoms." Michael Harrington elaborates on the expense of maintaining poverty:

"The tensions, the chaos, the dislocations . . . are a major item in the budget of every municipality. In some cities a quarter of the annual funds are devoted to taking care of the special fire, police, and health problems created by the slums. The cost of keeping these people at the bottom year in and year out (rather than making an investment in real change once for all) is considerable."

And British educational economist Mark Blaug writes:

"A number of studies, in such diverse countries as the United States . . . Israel, Mexico . . . India . . . and Uganda, have all shown that both social and private rates of return on investment in all levels of formal education are typically positive, meaning that *the lifetime earnings of educated people more* than recoup the cost of their education."

One of the principal advantages of the proposed system is that it would give to the parents of poor children the power to choose the kind and quality of education their child will receive (a not inconsiderable benefit as we shall later see), and it would foster competition between schools, public and private, with the inferior institutions eventually being eliminated.

Milton Friedman, who proposed a system similar to the Poor Children's bill of Rights in 1955, recognized these advantages. "Parents," he wrote, "could express their views about schools directly, by withdrawing their children from one school and sending them to another to a much greater extent than is now possible." Further, he notes that "here as in other fields, competitive private enterprise is likely to be far more efficient in meeting consumer demands than either nationalized (publicly run) enterprises or enterprises run to serve other purposes."

One can only disagree with Friedman in his emphasis on *private* enterprise. Competition between *public* school systems, or even between public schools within a system, easily can reach the same desired ends.

The allowance scheme here presented is seen erroneously by all too many as *new* and a *most radical* form of conservatism. It was in 1776 that Adam Smith wrote:

"The public can facilitate this acquisition (of reading, writing and arithmetic among children of the poor) by establishing in every parrish or district a little school, where children may be taught for a reward so moderate, that even a common labourer may afford it; the master being partly, but not wholly paid by the public; because, if he was wholly, or even principally paid by it, he would soon learn to neglect his business."

Tom Paine, writing in the 1790s protested, with relevance for today, that "it is monarchical and aristocratical Government only that requires ignorance for its support," and proposed the distribution of four million pounds to working-class families according to the size and the age of the family. The government was to pay:

". . . to every poor family, out of the surplus taxes, and in room of poor rates four pounds a year for every child under fourteen years of age; enjoining the parents of such children to send them to school, to learn reading, writing and common arithmetic."

In the 19th Century John Stuart Mill endorsed a similar idea, and in 1926 Francis Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, proposed that each poor parent ". . . would receive an annual . . . coupon for the cost-per-child amount, entitling the child to a place in any recognized school. . . ." He stated that " . . . the adoption of this novel project would . . . relieve poor parents of a social disability and would vivify Education by a spirit of wholesome rivalry. . . ."

In spite of its ideological antiquity, there are a number of advantages inherent in our proposed scheme: it would concentrate dolars on the children who need it most. By taking her child to school X, the mother gives to that particular school as a supplementary grant three times the amount of money spent on the average per student for education.

Accordingly, this provides an incentive to middle-class schools to take in poor children.

It would give to the poor some power to choose and control their own destinies. Many believe that the sense of powerlessness and inability to choose and control one's destiny is a major factor in perpetuating poverty. Writing in *The New York Times*, Floyd McKissick bluntly puts the problem:

"Public education is a monopoly. Black people have no alternative to public education. They are trapped in public schools until they are old enough to drop out. . . . Boards of Education . . . are not responsible to the community in black areas." Analyzing the "Coleman Report," Michigan psychologist Irwin Katz writes in the *Harvard Educational Review:*

"For Negro students, sense of control was clearly the most important attitude. . . . Moreover, the relation of Negroes' sense of control to achievement was considered stronger than that of any family-background factor . . . or objective school characteristics. . . ."

Mario Fantini of the Ford Foundation adds:

". . . a 'parents' lobby' with unprecedented motivation and commitment might arise. Nor should the possible effects on parents in their own right be overlooked. Few people can engage in a social cause and not themselves be transformed."

Fantini predicts that parents may even be stimulated to enlarge their own education, but, most important, it would mean for the parents ". . . a tangible grasp on the destiny of their children and (the) opening to richer meaning for their own lives." The ability to control their own destinies definitely will instill in poor people a necessary pride and dignity of which they have been cheated.

Competition will be developed between schools, public and private. Not only between existing schools, but between present institutions and new schools, which there is ample evidence to believe The Poor Children's Bill of Rights will promote. Responsive to the communities they serve, particularly in black urban areas, they also will compete.

Those who would argue that our proposal would destroy the public schools raise a false issue. A system of public schools which destroys rather than develops positive human potential now exists. It is not in the public interest. And a system which blames its society while it quietly acquiesces in, and inadvertently perpetuates, the very injustices it blames for its inefficiency is not in the public interest. If a system cannot fulfill its responsibilities, it does not deserve to survive. But if the public schools serve, they will prosper.

The plan could cause a kind of decentralization which would promote diversity, pluralism, responsiveness to the needs of the community being served and, indeed, even greater efficiency. Henry Levin, in "The Failure of the Public Schools and the Free Market Remedy," points out that under a market system, the motive for success among schools would require that the school meet the needs of its students better than its competitors for any given cost. "Under such a system," says Levin, "the massive inefficiencies and rigidities which currently exist in the public schools would have to yield to more rational use of resources, flexibility, and innovation. In particular, the schools would have to be more responsive to the needs of their particular students in order to retain them and to attract new pupils."

SOME ANTICIPATED PROBLEMS

There are, of course, problems. By giving power to parents, with all its attendant virtues, one loses some power to enforce integration by race and class. We hypothesize that parents will send their children to the "better" schools and that better schools are by definition integrated by class and race. We concede that this is an hypothesis of high faith.

Congress must build in a requirement of equal access to any school receiving children's allowances (parallel in kind to the affidavits required of universities receiving government contracts under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964). This requirement would prevent the use of allowances to support *de jure apartheid* schools, white and black. But the requirement would have to be policed assiduously—no easy task! Allowances still could create more "separate" schools than we want or need. Further, by giving power to parents, one asserts trust in them for the welfare of their children. Anyone who has taught in any school knows of the scandal of parental indifference or worse. Then, why build on this pile of sand?

We feel, unhappily, that giving parents more power can only be seen as the least of evils. We trust them little, but still more than we trust the present monopoly of lay boards and professional schoolmen.

The latter two entities have power and resources now and will retain most of these. Parents will get significant *new* power under our scheme and will thus have more leverage than before. Power will be better balanced—and it *is* a balance that is required. We favor no one's monopoly: parents', teachers', or the state's. All have rights and obligations, but all have weaknesses. Wholly parent-run schools will be too parochial and their power base shifting, as children come and go. Domination by teachers has its obvious flaws, as does "state" control, the present system. Parents, teachers and the state all have stakes in the schools, but the stakes are *different*. The child will be best protected if these stakes are balanced off, one against the other.

PLAN A PART OF BIGGER PACKAGE

Under our plan, new schools would spring up to receive the new bounty, much as they did in higher education after World War II. There would have to be some form of quick but fair accreditation by regional professional groups and the states to prevent fly-by-night enterprises from fleecing unwitting parents. The last thing that American slums need is Dickensian proprietary schools.

Such accreditation is as tricky to plan and administer as it is necessary. It will require courage and imagination on the part of regional accrediting authorities, and new mechanisms to judge the quality of the "output" of the schools (rather than merely to judge the visible attributes of institutions doing the educating). We operate now on a system that decides which educational car to buy by examining the factory which makes it. Yes, this assessment will be difficult—but it *must* be done. Perhaps the National Assessment Project, launched several years ago under the leadership of Ralph Tyler, can give direction—eventually—to those who will accredit.

And, finally, the plan, even cloaked with a politically classy title such as "Poor Children's Bill of Rights" must be part of a package, one which surely must include some form of guaranteed annual income and the provision for health and welfare services at a level of accommodation far higher than at present. And, as we have said, relevant education will demand relevant careers for its graduates. Brutally put, educated unemployed are considerably more dangerous than uneducated unemployed. This nation can afford neither.

Freer enterprise in education will provoke high quality *only* if there is a new breed of professionals to make it happen in the various competing schools. Drastically more powerful and flexible curricula will be needed—and these will be costly to develop. The costs of improving education in the purely technical-pedagogical sense to a point where it does become an effective means of social mobility will be immense.

Racial and class mixing promoted by the scheme will result *only* if there are school buildings available to hold more and varied children: a federal school-building program established to house imaginative and integrated educational programs is essential. And the public, the parents, will have to be informed about education as never before. Our limited trust of parents might be increased if public information about schooling were better and fad separated from fancy more often. (This will be difficult as the education profession itself is notoriously prone to fads.)

If we do all this we will, perhaps, double the costs of elementary and secondary education. Such would be a social reform of considerable consequence and would vault the federal government centrally into support of the schools. We propose that half of this increase be in the form of allowances for a Poor Children's Bill of Rights. The use of these allowances would be free, virtually, from federal (or state or local) control. And the total increase would be less than a year's cost of the war in Vietnam.

It can be done. It must be done.

REMEMBER WHEN?

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I read a very meaningful and inspiring editorial in the Pilot Tribune published in Blair, Nebr., which is in my congressional district. This editorial certainly points out the contrast with conditions as they exist today. The editorial follows:

REMEMBER WHEN?

You're old enough to remember the real America if you can remember when you never dreamed our country could ever lose. When you left the front door open. When you went to church and found spiritual consolation. When people knew what the Fourth of July stood for. When you took it for granted that women and the elderly and the clergy were to be respected. When a girl was considered daring if she smoked in public. When a girl was a girl. When a boy was a boy. When they liked each other. When you didn't feel embarrassed to say that this is the best damn country in the world. When socialist was a dirty word. When liberal wasn't.

When the poor were too proud to take charity. When you weren't afraid to go out at night. When Protestants and Catholics thought enough of their beliefs to argue about them. When ghettos were neighborhoods. When you knew that the law meant justice, and you felt a little shiver of awe at the sight of a policeman. When young fellows tried to join the army or the navy. When songs had a tune. When you wrote love notes. When criminals went to jail. When you could get away from it all for a while. When you bragged about your home state and your home town. When politicians proclaimed their patriotism. When clerks and repairmen tried to please you, or else. When a Sunday drive was an adventure, not an ordeal. When you had to be brave to fly. When you could always find someone willing and able, whenever you wanted something done. When riots were unthinkable. When the clergy talked about religion. When you took it for granted that the law would be enforced, and your safety protected. When Christmas was merry, and Christ was kept in it.

When the flag was a sacred symbol. When our government stood up for Americans, anywhere in the world. When a man who went wrong was blamed, not his mother's nursing habits or his father's income. When everyone knew the difference between right and wrong, even Harvard professors. When things weren't perfect, but you never expected them to be. When you weren't made to feel guilty for enjoying dialect comedy. When people still had the capacity for indignation. When you considered yourself lucky to have a good job. When you were proud to have one. When sick meant you weren't feeling well. When a complaint could accomplish something. When people expected less, and valued what they had more. When everybody wasn't entitled to a college education. When college kids swallowed goldfish, not acid. When America was the land of the free, the home of the brave.

BEAUTIFUL KANSAS—STATE ON THE MOVE

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, Southwestern Bell Telephone Co. in its new Telephone Talk publication has summarized why Kansas occupies such a unique place among the 50 States of the Union. I am sure my colleagues will be interested in this capsule recital of our areas of greatness. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place this issue of Telephone Talk in the RECORD:

From the green, fertile hills of the east, to the golden seas of wheat in the west, Kansas is moving forward. And although the usual image of being the nation's breadbasket still holds true, today's Kansas is many other things.

For instance, did you know Kansas is first in private aircraft production?

Or that the state now ranks fourth in cattle ranching?

Or, and this'll make you pause, Kansas has enough salt reserves to supply the U.S. for the next 375,000 years!

A LAND OF LAKES AND SUN

Part of Kansas' dramatic growth can be placed at nature's address. The elements give the state sunshine for two-thirds of the daylight hours—and the average temperature is 55 degrees.

In becoming known as the Land of Lakes, the state has 20 federal water reservoirs completed or under construction, 35 state lakes, and 145 city or county lakes along with a vast network of rivers and streams. Fishing and hunting are two favorite sports.

EDUCATION FOR ALL

A state's growth also depends on educated people. With 46 colleges and 80,000 students, it ranks fourth in homestate students attending homestate universities. And only eight other states have more daily newspapers.

THE BUSINESS OF BUSINESS

People, climate and hard work combine to make Kansas a leader in industry. One out of every eight of the largest U.S. corporations has its headquarters or branch plants within the state.

Kansas is second in helium production, fourth in producing oil wells, fifth in natural gas production, seventh in crude oil and eleventh in overall mineral production.

PAST AND PRESENT

All this progress, however, only emphasizes the significance of Kansas' past. Abilene's Eisenhower Center, Dodge City's Front Street replica and Coffeyville's Dalton Defender's are only a few of the state's historical spots. There are 11 state historical sights, ten nationally registered historic landmarks and many public and private places of interest. Along the highways are 160 of the nation's finest safety rest areas.

BEAUTIFUL STATE, BEAUTIFUL PEOPLE

And by no means last, Kansas is the home of beautiful girls. The 1968 Miss America is Debbie Barnes of Moran. The 1966 Miss America was Debbie Bryant of Overland Park. The 1967 Mrs. America was Mrs. John R. Cochran of Shawnee. And the 1967 Homemaker of Tomorrow was Karen Pesaresi of Manhattan.

KANSAS MOVES ON

Historically, Kansas is where the West began. Today it's no exaggeration to say that Kansas is where the future begins.

WASHINGTON REPORT

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, each week, I send a newsletter to newspapers, radio, and TV stations in my district and to others who request it.

In these reports, I have expressed my position and views on what I consider the most critical issues with which the Nation and Congress are faced.

I have just summarized several of these reports into a report on four of these issues with which my constituents of the 18th Congressional District of Texas are especially concerned.

Under unanimous consent I place the report in the Extensions of Remarks:

WASHINGTON REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN BOB PRICE

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

A U.S. Naval commander said that from a purely tactical military viewpoint, he saw no point in resuming the bombing as before, under the same target restrictions. "Of course, if we were allowed to take out Haiphong, that would be a different matter," he added. "But that is a political decision."

And that is a decision I advocated more than two years ago and still do. Haiphong is North Vietnam's principal port and main supply point for Soviet and Red Chinese war materials entering the country. As a fighter pilot in the Korean war, I know the frustration of allowing the enemy a sanctuary for supply and troop concentrations.

CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS

The real solution lies with the individual American and a return to respect for law and order. This new direction must come from the White House through insistence on law enforcement at the Federal level before the nation degenerates further into a complete state of anarchy.

Washington, D.C. should be a model city rather than a national disgrace. Continued tolerance of violence as now exists in the Nation's Capital, a Federal city, and other cities could spell the end of democracy in America and would most surely result in one form or another of dictatorship which is unthinkable.

Crime is an issue in 1968 because the President did not make it an issue in 1967 or 1966 or 1965 or 1964. Since 1960, the reported rate of crime has increased over 88%. There has been an obvious failure during this period in the administration of justice and the day of reckoning is now here.

INFLATION AND TAX INCREASE

The tax increase that we are now faced with is the direct result of excessive spending by this and the preceding Administration. The result has been a tremendous rise in the cost of living, the highest interest rates in 100 years, a crisis in our balance of payments, a growing threat that we might have to devalue the dollar and a general weakening of the American economy.

So where is the fiscal responsibility to stop the endless government spending and halt inflation? I have voted and will continue to vote for spending cuts, but I could not see my way clear to take another $10 billion away from people already overtaxed and run the risk of that amount being added to needless government spending that is the real cause of inflation.

THE FARM PROBLEM

As the cost of living continues to rise, workers in major industries demand and usually receive wage increases to match. Most everyone, it seems, manages to add higher wages and other costs into the price of goods and services we buy. Most everyone, that is, except the farmer. Net farm income for 1967 was actually down from the year before by $1.9 billion. Farm income statistics published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in February show that realized net farm income last year declined from $16.4 billion to $14.5 billion, while farm production expenses increased $1.1 billion, and cash receipts from farm marketings declined from $16.4 billion to $14.5 billion. That represents a drop in realized net farm income of 11.5% in one year.

SYSTEMS STUDIES: VIEWS FROM WASHINGTON

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, with the permission of the House, I would like to take this opportunity to include in the RECORD the remarks of Dr. T. W. Adams, a congressional fellow and a senior policy analyst at NASA's Office of Policy, which were made at the 15th International Technical Communications Conference held in Los Angeles on May 8–11, 1968. In his talk, Dr. Adams discusses the implications that systems technology has in Federal Government operations.

As a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I am vitally interested in the applications of technology in this important area, and I am sure that my colleagues will benefit from Dr. Adams' statement of the problems and possibilities of systems studies today:

SYSTEMS STUDIES: VIEWS FROM WASHINGTON

(By Dr. T. W. Adams)

Current discussions in the Executive and Legislative branches at best reflect cautious optimism about the general applicability of systems analysis to non-space and non-defense problems. Nevertheless, there is a growing desire to learn about and try out any new techniques which might improve quantitative measures of the effectiveness of Federal programs and develop better alternatives. One example is the expanded application of the PPB concept in government agencies. Government administrators responsible for preparing requests-for-proposals for comprehensive studies of social problems face considerations different from those involved with the more familiar procurement actions. For instance, most systems studies require unusual arrangements for government-industry-university cooperation in order to bring into play the total range of skills needed for accomplishment. Likewise, with such studies, there are special requirements for the technical writer and publisher to translate relevant scientific and engineering findings into information useable by government decision-makers.

The Federal Government has felt an impact from all the positive and negative opinions so far expressed about the promises (or risks) in applying systems analysis beyond the national defense and space efforts. While cautious Washington does not expect the systems approach to be the panacea for solving the nation's social and economic problems, there is at least a respectable number of people in government who are convinced the field is worthy of serious exploration.

The explanation for this growing belief may be sheer frustration. When one considers the past expenditures of billions of dollars and the emergence of numerous new programs, comparatively little has been done to alleviate America's basic domestic problems. The reason for this dire predicament can no longer be attributed to the intransigence of Congress or the hopelessness of the bureaucracy, since great progress has been made with both conditions in recent years! Rather, one might make a good case that the cause lies in a traditional attitude toward public problem solving—an approach which has survived too long and now may be in need of a thorough overhaul.

Customarily, big government approaches programs such as urban renewal, transportation, pollution abatement, education and welfare, to cite but a few, on a project-by-project basis. That is, programs are usually broken down into wieldy, discrete, and uncoordinated packages, which often reflect the interests or capabilities of functionaries residing somewhere in the bowels of the agency in charge. On this issue, Representative F. Bradford Morse (R-Mass.), in remarks on the floor of the House, looked at the situation in these caustic terms:

"Appropriating money and shuffling papers in the bureaucracy should not be confused with problem solving. The traditional government approach to a complex problem is to divide it into manageable parts and to treat each of them separately. A comprehensive solution is thus impossible. The bureaucracy simply does not have the capacity to solve today's or tomorrow's problems—but private industry with the new approach [systems analysis] is rapidly developing that capacity."

Congressman Morse feels the way to cure the malaise is to instill an "entirely new departure in American political thinking," by farming out public problems to the private sector for solution. Last year, in the 90th Congress, 1st Session, Morse introduced for the second time a bill (H.R. 20) calling for the establishment of a National Commission on Public Management "in order to study and recommend the manner in which modern systems analysis and management techniques may be utilized to resolve national and community problems in the non-defense sector." The bill was referred to the House Government Operations Committee where it now resides with meager support and little chance of action.

But this is not the only sign of Federal interest in this area. The potentialities of applied technology and the resulting advanced management techniques has officially been recognized. For example in 1963, Public Law 88–444 was passed to create the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress. In its first report, three years later, the Commission stressed the interaction between technology and the needs of society:

"Technology has the potential, whose bebeginnings we already see, to realize a persistent human vision: to enlarge the capacities of man and to extend his control over the environment."

The attendent problem of careful determination of priorities as to how precious resources—human, material, financial—are to be allocated to control the environment, however, remains a continuing concern of governmental leaders.

Responding to the dilemma, Senator Gaylord Nelson, as Chairman of the Special Subcommittee on the Utilization of Scientific Manpower, introduced in the 89th Congress a bill (S. 2662)—reintroduced as S. 430 in the 90th Congress—to "mobilize and utilize the scientific and engineering manpower of the nation to employ systems analysis and systems engineering to help to fully employ the nation's manpower resources to solve national problems." In 1967 hearings held in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere in the United States, Senator Nelson endorsed the position that the expertise developed within the scientific community on space and defense-related projects must now be applied on the other problems of our society. He concluded that not only must the Federal Government increase its expenditures to combat pollution, urban sprawl, and natural resources decimation, but the State and local governments must do likewise.

Apparently, one significant respect in which applying the modern systems approach to socio-economic and human environmental problems may differ from its application to defense and space problems lies in the fact that, of necessity, the chief public authority will have to be a governmental entity nearer the scene. In other words, rather than Washington, it will be the lower echelons of our Federal structure—the State and local governments, along with help from private institutions—which will have to demonstrate their creativity and adaptability. American intergovernmental relations, thus, will be tested in a new way.

The need for a joint government-industry-university attack on domestic problems has been identified and is being examined across the nation. In a few cases, the States are already taking the initiative in supporting systems engineering studies such as those widely publicized ones performed for the State of California by aerospace companies in 1965. Regardless of how one views the methodology and results of such studies or the requirement that management of such programs should devolve to State and local authorities, it is clear that the greater portion of the financial burden connected with any follow-on work rests with the Federal government.

Possibly influenced by some of the favorable press the California studies received, Representative George E. Brown, Jr. (D-Calif.) introduced H.R. 312, the Scientific Manpower Utilization Act in January 1967. This bill, similar to the Nelson bill, would authorize $125 million for grants to "the States and arrangements with institutions for the purpose of utilizing systems analysis and systems engineering approaches to national and local problems which have a substantial relevance to problems in other States." The Brown proposal has been referred to the House Government Operations Committee, where no significant action on it has thus far been taken in this Congress.

Certain Congressional optimism for the role of systems analysis in one area of the public domain is also to be found in the following recommendation by the House Subcommittee on Science Research and Development (Rep. Emilio Q. Daddario, D-Conn., Chairman):

"To place pollution abatement on a comparable basis with other national technology programs, systems analysis and management capability should be established within the Federal Government. This approach should be used along with the planning programming, budgeting technique to organize both near and long term Federal research and operational efforts in pollution abatement."

The interest of the Congress in the promise of the systems approach was additionally reflected in Senator Edward M. Kennedy's sponsorship of S.J. Res. 110 last year, which would authorize the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to undertake a study and the subsequent design of a "national information system utilizing advanced informational technology." This system would be capable of providing local and State officials with requisite information on Federal programs and assistance. In commenting on the measure on the floor of the Senate, when first introduced in 1966, Senator Kennedy said:

As I visualize this system, it would also provide the kind of systems analysis and information data necessary to enable both Congress and the administration to oversee the enactment and administration of Federal programs.

Realizing that new technology could also bring about adverse consequences, Senator Edmund S. Muskie introduced S. Res. 68 in the 1st Session of the 90th Congress. This resolution provides for the establishment of a Senate select committee to study the problems of technology and the human environment, giving particular attention to the hazards and the potential benefits of technological change during the next fifty years. The proposed select committee could well encourage application of the "systems" approach to human and environmental problems—in some cases, perhaps on an experimental basis.

Thus, a genuine concern has developed on the part of government officials both in the Legislative and Executive branches that the monetary and human technological resources of the nation can and should be applied judiciously to the problems of our age. Debate goes on, however, as to validity of the direct transfer of systems analysis, as developed in defense and space programs, to the social sciences.

Whatever the degree of optimism existing in the Federal Government that systems techniques offer a glint of light through the stormy clouds over basic social problems, public officials can never be relieved of the responsibility for knowing what kind of help they hope to obtain from such studies. Those who are accountable to the taxpayer must clearly state the objectives desired from the expenditure of public funds in social areas. This phase of planning is not the role of the external researcher or consultant. As stated by Karl G. Harr, President of the Aerospace Industries Association:

"Those responsible to the public must put the rabbit in the hat. Otherwise the system breaks down. Not only is it inappropriate for the private contractor to go beyond a certain point in this part of the act, but it is also beyond his scope and undesired by him. We have seen in the defense and space business that independent nonprofit think groups can effectively *supplement the government's in-house analysis capabilities,* and that private industry can contribute by expanding and sharpening alternatives by "selling" privately sponsored technological advance, by advising and critiqueing, and by aiding in the production of tools and techniques for systems analysis."

Therefore, the primary job of systems analysis, i.e. the formulation of objectives before the weighing of alternatives, must be wholly and closely under the control of the user, in this case the Federal Government. In short, the government cannot relinquish decision-making responsibility to outside experts; governmental bodies must retain the luxury of making its own gains, as well as mistakes, in these program areas.

One innovation which should aid government officials in the specification of goals and objectives is the Planning-Programming-Budgeting System (PPB). The three primary characteristics of PPB, in one writer's opinion, are:

"1. It calls for an identification of the fundamental objectives of the government;

"2. It requires explicit consideration of future year fiscal implications; and

"3. It calls for systematic analysis of alternative ways of meeting the governmental objectives."

To repeat, the selection of appropriate criteria for evaluating each alternative against relevant objectives is the crux of PPB and is also the most difficult aspect. After 1960, under the skeptical eye of other agencies, Department of Defense elements proved they could incorporate such systems techniques into many facets of their operations. As a result in 1965, it was determined at the highest levels of government that PPB should be placed in effect in all Executive agencies and establishments. The latest endorsement, in the Fiscal Year 1969 Budget Message, was the Presidential promise to "extend the application of PPB during the next year and strengthen it where it has already been introduced."

Strides have been taken to orient and educate managers, staff, and line personnel in the Executive Branch regarding the use and characteristics of PPB. The United States Civil Service Commission sponsors a continuing series of seminars for selected personnel, and individual agencies undertake special in-house training. Actually the rudiments of program and performance budgeting have been applied by a number of government agencies since 1949, when the Hoover Commission strongly recommend their use. Hence, many senior government officials see PPB as simply older techniques and procedures presented under a new name. Equally important, most of them wisely recognize that political considerations must always be taken into account when either short or long-range governmental planning, programming, and budgeting is undertaken seriously.

Oversight of the criteria and procedures used in expending Federal funds is a responsibility which holds no end of fascination for Congress. Since the PPB has influenced this area, it too is being looked at by Congress.

Active in exploring the PPB area with the Budget Bureau and the Defense Department was the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. In opening the hearings in August 1967, Chairman Henry M. Jackson stated that ". . . our Senate subcommittee has had a continuing interest in the budgetary process in helping plan and control national security policy." He then went on to say that the subcommittee could assist in a "frank stocktaking of the benefits and costs of the planning-programming-budgeting system."

The testimony provided explicit responses to questions on PPB policy, control, evaluation criteria, and particular agency experience.

In September of 1967, the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee convened a series of hearings. The Chairman, Senator William E. Proxmire, described the concern of his group in improving management in government. Noting that Federal components are responsible for handling approximately $175 billion annually, he went on to say:

"Certainly at a time when approximately 30 percent of our national income flows through the public sector, it is of the utmost importance that our policymakers be armed with the best possible tools for evaluating the effectiveness of our public programs and expenditures."

Proxmire's hearings featured testimony by representatives of Federal civilian agencies, while State and local officials discussed applications of PPB, e.g. New York City, Wisconsin, California, and Vermont. Also future applications and potentialities of the PPB approach were noted by government and university witnesses. It was pointed out that the intrinsic worth of PPB is open to controversy, with proponents of the system claiming "that for the first time it provides decision-makers with a rational basis for choosing between alternative policies" while critics "view PPB advocates as a new breed of technocrat who think the computer can take the politics out of decision-making."

The ultimate impact of PPB on Congressional authorization and appropriation will not be apparent immediately. Yet, there are obvious evidences that the members of the Congress and the Administration are becoming more and more aware of the importance of systems, technology within government as well as on the private sector. In both the public and private sectors, decision-makers realize that today's unprecedented challenges demand creative, farsighted solutions. Consequently, the growing national consciousness of social problems and the willingness to apply available technology to solve them, is bound to yield several types of profit in future years.

Now what job is there for the nongovernment consultant or researcher? Representative Henry S. Reuss (D.-Wis.) made the following recommendation in a recent report on the Federal R. & D. decisionmaking process:

"Both to identify and to suggest remedies for R. & D. deficiencies, outside expert analysts as well as those within the Federal Government should be regularly utilized to analyze Federal civilian sector areas of responsibility, to formulate alternative R. & D. plans, and to present information on their respective probable costs and benefits to Federal programs."

The National Academy of Sciences concurred in this recommendation. Although warning that good outside advice is not a substitute for competence in government, the Academy offers six reasons for using outside experts:

"1. It brings to major problems a fresh viewpoint less encumbered by previous commitments and assumptions of government policy.

"2. It taps a much wider range of skills, knowledge, and experience than the government could tap through its own employees alone.

"3. It helps to enlist the interest of outside expert communities in thinking about the government's problems, and provides a basis for scholarly thinking that takes better account of political realities.

"4. It makes it much less likely that important factors and considerations will be overlooked in the decision-making process.

"5. It can help identify potential participants and leaders for the government's program.

"6. It can bring confirmation and moral support to government staffs on issues that are finely balanced or difficult politically."

People in and out of government are just beginning to understand how technology works and what kinds of technology society wants and is willing to pay for. The man in the street is told that systems analysis has made possible all the great accomplishments in America's space and defense efforts. Is it unreasonable for him to ask why comparable approaches cannot be used to improve the quality of his own life on earth?

In response, the outside expert, who claims the specialized knowledge of systems analysis, must be prepared to demonstrate the efficiency and efficacy of this approach to nonspace and nondefense projects. The results heretofore shown, as well as those forthcoming, from social engineering programs already initiated by the Federal and some State governments should help establish how the systems approach can be incorporated in the massive effort to rescue society—a future market which must surely be measured in the trillions of dollars.

Further, it is the task of scientific communicators to make technology understandable to government officials as well as the public at large. The procedure and language of systems analysis must be known to the technical writer and editor since they are the ones who often must make everyday sense of what scientists and engineers give them. Moreover, if technical writers do not really understand the social problems being systematically studied, they are destined to fail in forging their vital communication link between relevant information and the appropriate users. All is not rosy, however. One critic of systems analysis, the President of Southwest Research Institute, said this:

"Another disturbing characteristic of the systems approach is its tendency to converge toward a solution which, while workable, is unnecessarily complex and costly for the purpose at hand. This is largely a consequence of the emphasis on logical procedure, at the expense of the shortcuts which come from intuition. In problems where cost is secondary to an assured solution, such as in military areas, this drawback is not fatal. In civilian matters, however, excessive cost and undue sophistication usually restrict the proposed solution to the real of the theoretical."

He concluded his attack by stating: "Because of the great emphasis currently being placed on "the system" in government planning circles, I feel compelled to offer these words of warning. Nor is my concern reduced by the standard slogan of the systems analyst to the effect that he does not reach definite conclusions, he merely clarifies the nature of the problems. For a study to be worth doing in the first place, there must be a reasonable degree of confidence that its finding will be realistic and meaningful."

The writer, a trained engineer turned research administrator, feels systems analysis has shown no real value in areas where social values are important, and will not do so in the foreseeable future.

From the viewpoint of sociology, on the other hand, Dr. Ida Hoos has found reason to express hope that "if channels of inquiry can remain open . . . there may develop the methodological and conceptual mutations needed in order to make this technique [of systems analysis] a more helpful tool in social planning." She goes on to say that some lessons have already been learned by government officials:

"Public administrators seem universally to regard operations research, program budgeting, cost-effectiveness, and systems analysis as the storehouse of intellectual technology from which they can improve their decision-making. From their experience with these techniques, they have already learned some important lessons: (1) that they must either learn to identify their objectives and define their problems or abdicate this vital responsibility to others, who may be less familiar with and understandably less committed to their goals; (2) intelligent, active, well-informed participation in the process of systems analysis, whether performed by experts in-house or outside, may have the beneficial feedback effect of improving both the methodology and the quality of public service."

Naturally, all the lessons to be learned have not yet emerged—and may never—in so dynamic an enterprise as matching the accomplishments of science and technology to human needs and wants. In preparing requests-for-proposals, the government administrator has the responsibility and obligation to state as clearly as possible his objectives and expectations for contract or grant research. Fulfilling such a requirement in the non-technical area of the "soft-sciences," is difficult at best, particularly if the government monitor insists all proposals utilize a systems analysis approach. Furthermore, the situation is especially compounded if the same monitor knows little or nothing of what systems analysis is all about.

In pending legislation, through testimony, with speeches and articles, the members of the Congress and the Executive Branch have demonstrated a thorough awareness of the domestic problems which plague our country. An incessant search goes on for effective weapons with which to fight the brooding omnipresence of air and water pollution, slum expansion, transportation chaos, natural resources desecration, and many other man-made problems.

One technological advance which is offered for meeting present social ills is the interdisciplinary, multi-faceted systems approach. Broadly speaking, this includes: management sciences, program budgeting, econometrics, operations analysis and research, simulation and modeling, symbolic logic, queueing theory, and the many forms of automatic data processing. How these techniques are to be used is still a matter of individual preference, if not a matter of politics.

Currently, government specialists compete with academic researchers, and in turn with industrial engineers, for the right to promote any given approach. The human environment, with its array of challenges remains fluid and changes are demanded. Federal, State, and local officials now understand that multi-jurisdictional problems often require intergovernmental planning for correctional action. Big and small businesses are acknowledging their public responsibilities.

and in some localities are furnishing leadership so that community health and well being may be maintained or restored.

Systems technology is no panacea, but when properly applied could assist public decision-makers to plan for improvements in our life as well as for generations yet unborn.

LAUNCHING OF THE "INDIAN MAIL"

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, the Honorable Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington, was in my district last week. He spoke at the occasion of the launching of the *Indian Mail*, another fine vessel of the American Mail Line built by the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.

Senator Magnuson is well known as a most able advocate for the cause of the American merchant marine and I am pleased to offer his remarks for inclusion in the Record in order that all of the Members might have the benefit of his wisdom:

It is surely a pleasure for me and Mrs. Magnuson to participate in the launching of the *Indian Mail*. I love a ship launching. I have had the good fortune to witness a considerable number of ship launchings, and on each such occasion there is something always thrilling.

There is the acute awareness of courage and accomplishment. The courage to undertake a bold and costly venture that is of immense benefit to the public at large and the accomplishment of making that bold and courageous dream a reality.

Today, the bold and creative undertaking of the American Mail Line to build the *Indian Mail*, and her four sister ships, has reached the stage of considerable fruition. In a moment, the second of those five vessels will slide down the ways, and begin a service of immense importance to the nation, and particularly to the State of Washington—which has the great fortune to serve as the home of the American Mail Line.

I am sure that Worth Fowler knows how very proud Washington State is of his company. And if the launching of the *Indian Mail* is an occasion for compliments and recognition of accomplishment—then Donald Holden and the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company must receive their share.

A few months ago I had the pleasure of presenting Mr. Holden with the Maritime Man of the Year award. The accomplishments of this fine shipyard under his leadership are legion, and enhanced even more with the launching of the *Indian Mail*.

It is this courage and foresight and great skill which has given the United States' Flag Fleet the most modern and efficient general cargo and container ships in the world. And in a period when our merchant fleet has been the subject of neglect and disregard by some, it is this skill and foresight which have kept us upon the seas with the finest ships the world has known.

Some now seek to destroy this great tradition, skill and attribute. There has been proposed to the Congress a plan to export the building of United States ships to foreign shipyards. That is a polite way of saying that the government wants to back out of the partnership established by law in 1936 between the merchant marine and the citizens of the United States.

I am not about ready to dissolve that partnership. We are ready to enhance our commitment.

As you may know, there is a counter proposal to that of the Administration. It is a specific proposal that I and others in the Congress—including Virginia's outstanding Congressman Town Downing, who has taken a leading role in this effort as a Member of the House Merchant Marine Committee—have sponsored to put the United States back in its rightful place upon the high seas.

And not just because we love a launching, but because a strong merchant marine is essential to the economy and defense of the United States.

It is absolutely essential that this nation expand its trade and commerce throughout the free world. There is upon this earth a bitter and deadly serious controversy as to how men should govern themselves. It is a battle of ideas even more than of violence. And knowledge and communication are far more the ultimate enemy of a dangerous and ill-founded idea than are bullets.

Expanding trade and showing the world the wondrous productivity of democratic processes is essential to the future of our nation and the major hope of the emerging nations of the world. It is the merchant marine that carries America to the rest of the world. It is the merchant marine that makes American products available to people subjected to un-truths and distortions as to our role in the world.

Surely it is one of the great and tragic paradoxes of our history that the very existence of our merchant marine is threatened at the time our need to communicate effectively with the nations of the world is at a most critical stage.

The *Indian Mail* and her sister ships will, in every sense, be modern and effective additions to the United States Flag Fleet. These beautiful vessels, designed by J. J. Henry, Naval Architects, will have a utility that is almost staggering in comparison to the level of technology utilized only a few short years ago.

The *Indian Mail* with its great speed and rapid turn-around time will have a cargo handling capacity with 13 units of heavy-lift gear, one of which can handle up to 70 tons. And the versatility of this ship is tremendous. It can carry more than 400 20 ton containers as well as bulk grains and other dry, and refrigerated cargoes.

We have come a long way since 1917 when the first American Mail Line vessel ventured into the Far East trade. At that early time a 750 ton sidewheeler—named interestingly enough, *The Senator*—was the pride of American Mail. How do we account for the almost overwhelming advance in maritime technology since that early date?

To me, the answer is clear. It is good old yankee know-how and the courage and foresight to risk immense sums of capital on the strength of that attribute.

The importance of the U.S. Merchant Marine to the economic health of the nation cannot be overestimated. A little over two years ago, President Johnson noted that even at its current level of operation the United States Merchant Marine earned or conserved over one billion dollars in our balance of payments annually.

Now we are carrying only 5.6% of our total water-borne exports and imports. If we increased that figure to only 20% we would have no balance of payments deficit and would perform great service to our international objectives as well.

I believe it is a matter of special pride to American Mail Line, and the State of Washington, that our current balance of payments deficit is in spite of the great trade flourishing in the Pacific Northwest. In fact, the State of Washington has done much to correct that deficit, through its favorable trade balance.

The *Indian Mail* will be serving one of the most vital and fastest-growing trade areas in the United States. Last year, the State of Washington realized a trade surplus of over half-a-billion dollars—or one-sixth of the total national surplus.

Washington accounted for 30% of the total Pacific Coast exports by exporting $2,580 worth of products every minute!

The fact that our state is now one of the three fastest growing exporting states in the nation is a matter of pride—not only to the state, but unmistakable evidence of the great service and commitment of American Mail Line.

With the addition of the *Indian Mail* and her four sister ships we shall reach even greater heights as a trading nation, and I pledge for my part to continue to do all in my power to see that the federal commitment to a strong and modern United States' citizen-owner, built and operated fleet is renewed, and enhanced.

There is just one further comment I would like to make before we reach that great moment of the launch. When the first of these five new vessels, the *Alaskan Mail*, was launched April 16th of this year. you had the good fortune to hear the remarks of an outstanding Senator, and a most beloved, and respected colleague, and friend of mine. I feel deeply the loss to this day that Senator Bob Bartlett is unable to be with us on the occasion of the launching of the *Indian Mail*. As you know, Bob has been ill, but is now recuperating and coming along fine.

I hope the two of us can attend the launching of the next American Mail Line ship together. I am sure Bob will be present at that next launching, for no man has a greater interest, or deeper concern for the merchant marine. As Chairman of the Merchant Marine Subcommittee, he has been a most effective and respected leader, and will most assuredly return with new vigor and great hope for American Merchant Marine.

THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF EVERGREEN PARK, ILL.

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Evergreen Park, Ill., a suburb of Chicago which I have the honor to represent in U.S. Congress, is celebrating its 75th anniversary August 9 through August 17. Under the leadership of Mr. Anthony Vacco and the able assistance of John Leo, Bill Perry, and Marin Ozinga, Jr., the 75th Anniversary Corp. of Evergreen Park has planned a great parade for Saturday, August 10. Also, the residents, merchants, and civic leaders of Evergreen Park have cooperated with the 75th Anniversary Corp. in such a way that celebrations during anniversary week promise to be a memorable series of events.

I sometimes find it hard to believe that a city of such youthful vigor and dynamic promise could be approaching the 75th anniversary of its incorporation. It is an acknowledged fact that the village of Evergreen Park is a municipality of unequaled achievements. It can claim as its own one of the largest and most beautiful shopping centers in the Nation. Its school system is one of the most highly respected in the suburban area.

Moreover, the diversity of churches serving peoples of all faiths, Little Company of Mary Hospital, the new Little League Field and Evergreen Aqua Park are just a few of the dramatic accomplishments which serve to underscore the determination and progressive foresight of the residents of Evergreen Park. Yet, the achievements of the past 75 years will not mean an end of growth but rather the beginning of a new phase of creative planning and development during which the village of Evergreen Park will continue to be a great place to live.

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY EXPANDS OPPORTUNITIES FOR DISADVANTAGED

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, unlike the secluded "ivory tower," once the symbol of American colleges and universities, Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pa., has entered its second century of service dedicated to several principles, one of which is interaction with the American society it serves well in many ways in Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, and in the United States.

Lehigh, distinctly a university with a purpose since its founding in 1865 by the Honorable Asa Parker, 19th century industrialist and philanthropist and former U.S. Congressman from Mauck Chunk, now Jim Thorpe, Pa., has taken several recent steps to make the university a dynamic force in helping to solve some of the national problems plaguing the United States.

One of these is the expansion of its center for business economics to include research and instruction in urban studies. This center, one of eight interdisciplinary centers at Lehigh, will now include research and academic programs relating to such problems of American cities and urban areas as design of cities, regional transportation systems, civil disorder, political structure, air and water pollution, and all the processes that take place within the inner core and suburbs of cities.

A second recent step is the doubling of admission of black students to Lehigh. In September of 1968 the university will admit twice as many Negro freshmen among its 800-man class which is deliberately maintained at that size under a very selective admission policy.

Among the selected black students will be some who are disadvantaged, and these students not only will receive financial aid but also will be tutored and assisted socially by fellow white and black students already enrolled at Lehigh. Though the black students are eligible for any academic scholarship at Lehigh, there are several specific scholarships recently made available just for Negroes. These new academic scholarships are sponsored by students, trustees, and friends of the university.

Though the practice of welcoming applications of underprivileged students from disadvantaged backgrounds is not new at Lehigh, the university has recently made a more concerted effort to seek them out. Lehigh recognizes the need and responsbility of the university to seek out qualified students, no matter what their race, creed or color may be.

Lehigh, which has enjoyed considerable reputation in the United States and abroad for its educational programs, at the outset in 1865 became one of the earliest leaders, if not the first in America, to uniquely combine engineering and science education with that of the liberal arts and humanities. This hallmark in American education has been widely adopted since.

As a result of this foresight, Lehigh, at its founding, over 100 years ago, was singularly different from the other new private colleges, of which there were only a handful at the time, and was also different from the many land-grant colleges opened right after the Civil War.

From its very beginning engineering, science, liberal arts, and business programs were integrated in Lehigh's successful approach to educating young men. The university's concept and practice was surprisingly modern for its time and has been increasingly successful today with modifications only made to keep Lehigh on the frontiers of knowledge.

Lehigh alumni continue to distinguish themselves and their university. A recent national survey dramatically shows that the university is among the top 1 percent of the Nation's colleges who produce the leaders in American industry. Of the other top 20, prolific producers of leaders, Lehigh is the youngest institution on the list. The university today has some 22,000 alumni.

The current acceleration of Lehigh's physical and academic growth and the extension of its varied curriculums are intended, in the words of Dr. W. Deming Lewis, president of the university, "to confront the problems caused by the spiraling increases in knowledge, population and human needs in our modern world."

Lehigh will remain on the forefront of these frontiers to help solve these problems.

SPEAKING OUT

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I send newsletters, entitled "Speaking Out" to the residents of Michigan's 11th Congressional District, which I represent here in the House of Representatives. These newsletters involve Federal activity in northern Michigan as well as reports on issues facing the Congress. Following is the text of my August newsletter:

SPEAKING OUT

(By Congressman PHIL RUPPE)

LAMPREY EEL, SALMON AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

High hopes for large scale restoration of sports and commercial fishing in the Great Lakes were threatened this year when funds for control of the life sucking lamprey eel in Lake Huron were eliminated.

Through assistance from the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission, the State government and private groups we were able to restore funds for lamprey control, and now the Coho and Chinook Salmon programs hold real hope for an economic bonanza in Northern Michigan. I am indebted to our Michigan Senators, Griffin and Hart, and Congressman Al Cederberg for their cooperation in our successful Congressional fight to raise the level of funding for lamprey control.

The tolls are coming down on the Mackinac Bridge, highway and road planning is underway, and the Federal Aviation Agency is helping prepare many of our airports for jet traffic. Through the help of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, senior citizen housing projects are beginning to appear, and Hill-Burton funds are upgrading some of our hospitals. The Great Lakes Regional Commission, and the Economic Development Administration are assisting with many projects. Examples include the Copper Peak Ski Flying Hill near Ironwood, which as a unique attraction in the western hemisphere should bring thousands of tourists and skiers and the new industrial park in Sault Ste. Marie.

I have worked on hundreds of these projects, and support the concept of government stimulating economic development. The return to the taxpayer can be enormous in terms of the solid development that will enable our communities to meet their own futures.

THE FIGHT TO HALT INFLATION

Deficit spending is putting pressure on the economy and the rising prices that result cut your earning power at a rate of better than 4.5% a year. The last Congress, the 89th, adopted a policy of "guns and butter," initiating a number of domestic spending programs in the midst of an enormously expensive war.

This placed the nation in financial jeopardy, and the 90th Congress has had to face realities. Billions have been cut from the budget, domestic programs, and the space program and some military and foreign aid programs are under serious review. Recently Congress increased revenues and reduced spending by another $6 billion to further hold the line on the deficit.

While we are taking large steps toward fiscal responsibility, we cannot ignore the tremendous problems this country faces. As I have said before, we must reorder our spending priorities, slash away nonessential spending, and redirect our resources to meet urgent human needs and to stimulate real economic development so our communities can prepare to meet the future.

SENIOR CITIZENS FEEL THE PINCH

Those on small fixed retirement incomes are among the hardest hit by rising prices. To ease the burden, I have introduced, legislation that grants automatic increases in Social Security annuities when the cost of living goes up.

SERVICE ACADEMY OPENINGS

This year I have openings in the Military, Air Force and Merchant Marine Academies. The deadline for applications in October 1. If you are a young man between the ages of 18 and 21, and are interested, please write me: Congressman Phil Ruppe, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

[In percent]

	Yes	No	No response
Late in the spring I sent a questionnaire to you and asked for your opinions on some of the major issues facing us this year. My thanks to the many thousands who responded. Here are the results:			
1. Do you approve of the President's order for a limited bombing pause over North Vietnam?	51.5	41.1	7.3
2. Should this bombing pause not produce meaningful peace negotiations would you favor—			
(a) Resuming and intensifying full-scale air attacks	30.2		
(b) Increasing U.S. troop commitments to insure a military victory		8.2	
(c) Gradually decreasing U.S. troop commitments and shifting more responsibility to South Vietnam forces			53.9
3. Should the United States continue to trade with nations that are aiding North Vietnam?	15.2	78.3	6.5
4. Do you believe the American people are receiving sufficient information from the Government on vital foreign and domestic issues to allow them to vote intelligently?	22.6	70.5	6.9
5. Do you support the administration's proposed increase in taxes?	32.1	62.0	5.9
6. Do you believe that Federal spending on domestic programs should be reduced?	59.0	33.8	7.2
7. Should industries which install equipment to reduce air and water pollution be granted tax credits by the Federal Government to offset part of the expense involved?	55.5	37.6	6.9
8. Do you favor returning a percentage of the tax money collected by the Federal Government to State and local governments to be used as they see fit?	67.7	25.2	7.1
9. Several gun control bills are pending before Congress. Do you believe there is need for greater control over sale and possession of firearms?	48.9	45.3	5.8
10. Would you favor an expansion of private industry involvement, through Federal tax incentives, in programs to train unemployed for jobs?	70.3	23.3	6.4
11. Should the major emphasis for highway development in northern Michigan be on—			
(a) Improvement of existing primary and secondary highways	58.0		
(b) Construction of limited access interstate highways		21.2	
(c) Construction of scenic tourist highways			14.5
12. Do you favor abolishing the electoral college system and allowing voters to cast their ballots directly for the President and Vice President?	84.1	10.2	5.7

CONSERVING OUR RESOURCES

Meeting the future in Northern Michigan means utilizing our great bodies of water, and keeping them clean. I have introduced anti-pollution bills, and we look forward to a ten month shipping season. It also means total development of our mining and woods industry and other resources. The forestry lab at Michigan Tech and several new industries give promise. It also means preserving natural areas like the Sylvania Tract and Pictured Rocks for future generations. I was most gratified when the entire Michigan delegation co-sponsored my bill to protect the Seney Wildlife Refuge and the Huron and Michigan Islands for ourselves and our children.

FAIR PACKAGING AND LABELING ACT OF 1966—PROGRESS REPORT

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, one of the major pieces of consumer legislation enacted by the 89th Congress was the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act of 1966. We who were involved in the progress of this bill through Congress were then, and continue to be, convinced of its merits. Yet at the time of the act's passage much concern was expressed over, first, the problems which would arise in its implementation by the regulatory agencies; second, the extent to which industry would cooperate, and third, the speed with which consumers would realize the benefits provided by the act.

As a member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce who participated actively for many years in formulating the act, I have maintained a continuing interest in its progress since enactment. Last May, in a statement before the Briefing Conference on Packaging and Labeling sponsored by the Federal Bar Association, I reaffirmed the determination of Congress and of our committee to have the act implemented in the manner and to the full extent that we intended. At that time I also warned industry that we in the Congress would keep a watchful eye on how industry positions itself with respect to the act and on its willingness to comply with the provisions of the act and regulations thereunder.

To ascertain industry and government progress I recently wrote to Dr. James Goddard, then Commissioner of the FDA, and Paul Rand Dixon, Chairman of the FTC, asking for a report on implementation of the act and also the extent to which industry is meeting its responsibilities under it. Then reports are highly illuminating, and copies of the correspondence are enclosed for inclusion in the RECORD.

On the basis of these reports, the FDA and FTC are to be commended for the way they have moved ahead. As noted in the FDA reply, regulations for food products were proposed in March 1967 after consultation with representatives from both industry and State governments. A proposed final order was issued on July 21, 1967, and after further modification, the regulations were issued in final form in September 1967. I am particularly encouraged by the statement in Dr. Goddard's reply that "the record shows a very large percentage of food labels already changed and in use or in the hands of the printers." After noting the results of a label-change survey by the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., Dr. Goddard concludes:

> We believe the food industry is to be complimented for the way in which it has undertaken to meet the spirit and letter of the new statute.

Proposed regulations covering drugs, cosmetics and devices were issued by the FDA in January of this year and were reissued in final form in the June 28, 1968 Federal Register. The FDA regional meetings to seek the active cooperation of State and local weights and measures officials in effective and uniform enforcement of the act are also to be commended.

The response from FTC Commissioner MacIntyre as acting chairman of the commission responded that the FTC's regulations—covering consumer products other than foods, drugs, cosmetics, and devices—were issued in proposed form in June 1967 and in final form on March 19, 1968. Involvement of the Liaison Committee of State Officials in the development of these regulations and the continuing efforts to involve State officials through regional meetings parallels the work of the FDA and appears essential for effective and uniform enforcement of the law.

As to industry's cooperation, Commissioner MacIntyre reports that "industry as a whole is accepting the act and is bringing labeling into compliance with it." Previously, Chairman Dixon had praised the food industry, during Senate hearings last October, for its "excellent cooperation" in getting the truth-in-packaging enforcement under way. The demands this has placed on industry should not be underestimated. The Wall Street Journal, May 23, 1968, estimated that the changes will mean $500 million of new labels this year alone. Such changes of course also take time, since new labels must be designed and prepared, and existing inventories used up. In spite of these problems, at this time industry appears to be well on its way to meeting the labeling requirements.

The Fair Packaging and Labeling Act also dealt with the problem of apparent proliferation of the number of package-sizes in which some products are marketed, and it provided for a voluntary system, under the aegis of the Department of Commerce, for setting standards to reduce the number of package sizes where such proliferation exists. Despite skepticism expressed by some as to the likelihood of effective action under such a voluntary system, I am pleased to note that on June 27 of this year Under Secretary of Commerce Howard J. Samuels announced "remarkable progress" in this area and issued a detailed statement showing that "in 14 basic items industry has taken steps to cut the number of package sizes" and that "sixty-five other industries have informed the department they are working on plans to consolidate package sizes." He praised industry for its "spirit of cooperation and speedy action" in developing voluntary standards.

The Fair Packaging and Labeling Act represents the enactment by Congress of a timely and significant law, and both the responsible agencies and the grocery manufacturing industry deserve commendation for the work they have done thus far in its implementation. The changes that the act has brought about are already being manifested on grocery shelves throughout the United States. It is an encouraging example of thoughtful legislation and of the way in which Congress, Government agencies, and industry can work together for the benefit of consumers.

But while the efforts of the agencies and industry to date deserve our praise, this is not to imply that the concern and interest of Congress in this legislation will in any way diminish. Labels still remain to be changed and packaging standards to be developed. I am confident that my colleagues in both Houses join in my expectation that future progress will match the progress of the past, so that the full benefits of the act ultimately will be realized by all consumers.

Under unanimous consent I submit several letters for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
June 28, 1968.

Hon. PAUL G. ROGERS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ROGERS: This responds to your letter of June 24, dealing with implementation of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act of 1966, which was scheduled to become effective on July 1, 1967, with proviso for a one-year extension.

Immediately following the enactment of this statute, we concluded that the major item for consideration under the mandatory sections would be to issue good regulations in the food area. In order to try to get the best regulations possible, I met personally with dozens of individual firms, trade associations, lithographers and State officials, who provided many helpful suggestions. This enabled us, in March of 1967, to publish proposed regulations with opportunity for comment. We received more than 300 responses (some of which claimed we had no legal authority to issue the proposals before the effective date of the statute), and a final order was issued on July 21, 1967.

As provided in the statute, 30 days were given for filing of formal objections and call for a public hearing. We received almost 50 of these and after evaluation, we concluded that the objections should be rejected, although some changes in the regulations were made. These were published in September 1967, and while there were some who considered court action to force us to a public hearing, this did not materialize, mainly because the great majority of the members of the food industry took the position that, after all, the regulations were reasonable and the best course would be to comply.

It was well recognized that the final effective date of the regulations, July 1, 1968, just could not be met when the available plate-making and printing facilities were considered in the light of the thousands of labels which needed to be changed to meet the law.

We therefore established a system providing for administrative authority to continue to use current labels where it could be shown that the labels were not in conflict with the basic law and the owner of the labels had proceeded in good faith to make the necessary changes.

As anticipated, we have issued a good many of these authorizations, to continue (but not beyond July 1, 1969). The record shows, however, a very large percentage of food labels already changed and in use or in the hands of the printers.

The attached letter just received from Mr. George W. Koch, President of the Grocery Manufacturers Association, is of interest along these lines.

We believe the food industry is to be complimented for the way in which it has undertaken to meet the spirit and letter of the new statute.

As provided in the statute, we have received a number of requests for exemption from some of the mandatory provisions of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act. We set up a procedure to deal with these whereby, if they appear to be based on reasonable grounds, we publish them, with opportunity for comment, not only by industry but by consumer groups and State officials as well. These have involved mainly products sold in well-standardized containers, such as ice cream, milk, coffee, flour and corn meal, and deal generally with placement of the net weight statement and the dual declaration requirement. We have granted one exemption for soft drinks and others are pending. In one case, involving a petition for packaged apples, the comment which we received clearly showed that the requested exemption was not in the public interest.

As soon as the food regulation work was underway, we started on the drug, device and cosmetic regulations. Following publication of proposals, evaluation of comment and issuance of the regulations, here again we received a number of objections and calls for public hearing.

These did point out some difficulties which we had not anticipated and we concluded that we should make some changes. We therefore commented on the objections, pointed out the changes we were making, and today's Federal Register carries a new final order which, of course, gives 30 days for filing of new objections and call for public hearing. We are hopeful a hearing will not be necessary.

Meanwhile, we have worked with various State and local weights and measures officials looking towards their assistance in the enforcement of this statute, and we are holding regional meetings throughout the country to discuss the various features involved in this operation. As might be expected, many of the weights and measures people are most unhappy about the Federal preemption clause in the statute.

We have not had any opportunity at all to work on the other sections of the statute dealing with cents-off labeling, functional slackfill and the establishment of size designations, and we cannot now forecast when this will be possible. We have, however, an informal arrangement with the Department of Commerce whereby some of the information which is received by them in connection with their voluntary standards to cut down on the proliferation of packages will be submitted to us so that we can use this in the development of size designation material.

I hope this discussion will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES L. GODDARD, M.D.,
Commissioner of Food and Drugs.

GROCERY MANUFACTURERS
OF AMERICA, INC.,
June 27, 1968.

Dr. JAMES GODDARD,
Commissioner,
Food and Drug Administration,
Arlington, Va.

DEAR JIM: I am pleased to reply to your letter of June 26 and supply the following information as to the progress being made by the members of our Association in changing their packages and labels to comply with the requirements of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act and the implementing regulations issued by the Food and Drug Administration.

First, let me say that the requirements for label changes have posed challenges not only for our industry, but also for the printing and packaging industries who have been under constant pressure from our members during the past year to expedite their production processes to get the new labels and packages ready as soon as possible. In order to accomplish this, hundreds of thousands of plates have had to be modified and gravure packaging cylinders remade, thus casting an overwhelming burden on this small and highly specialized industry. Nevertheless, our industry has had an outstanding cooperation from the printing and packaging industries in our joint efforts to effectuate the label changeovers as expeditiously as possible.

In order to obtain a better picture of the overall progress which the companies in our industry have made in completing the necessary redesigning and processing of new labels for compliance with the new law and regulations, we sent out on two occasions a questionnaire to our members asking for specific progress data. Tabulation of the replies received to date on the most recent survey reveals that most of our companies have had to change over 90 percent of their labels. These changes have been necessitated primarily by (1) the new type size specifications and (2) the requirement of the law that the "net contents" declaration must appear in a uniform location on all packages. The best estimates received from representatives of the printing and packaging industries indicate that the total label changeover for all products subject to the FPLA (i.e., not just food products, but also drugs, cosmetics, and packaged products subject to the FTC regulations) cannot be completed for approximately 2–3 years. Nevertheless, with respect to food products, our survey tabulation shows that 75 percent of those labels requiring change either have already been changed, are at the lithographers awaiting processing, have been exempted by FDA or have been given FDA extensions beyond the July 1, 1968 deadline because of lithographer delays and in order to use up existing stocks of labels.

The total cost of making the label changeovers is hard to determine precisely because of the difficulty of separating out the costs normally incurred or expected for label changes from the additional costs incurred to comply with the new Act and regulations. Our survey shows, however, that the total cost to the 24 companies who were able to provide figures for such incremental costs will be $2.45 million, or an average of more than $100,000 per company. Thus, it is apparent that this Act has had a substantial financial impact on our industry. As for the total industry cost, you may have noted the *Wall Street Journal* front-page item of May 23, 1968 stating that "the switchover alone will mean $500 million of new labels this year."

I trust our response will convey to you the efforts which the grocery industry has made and the speed with which it has progressed in meeting the requirements of the Act.

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. KOCH.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., July 23, 1968.

Hon. PAUL G. ROGERS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROGERS: This will reply to your request of June 25, 1968 (File: A&C–3), acknowledgement of which was made on June 28, 1968. Your request was concerned with the implementation by the Commission of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act.

Initially may I state that a detailed report to the Congress is being prepared for submission to the Congress in the immediate future. At that time, I shall be pleased to make a copy immediately available to you. In the meantime, I will report the following.

The proposed regulations were promulgated by the Commisison on June 27, 1967. As anticipated, comments were received from varied industries and from all over the country. In view of the preemption provisions of Section 12 of the Act, the Commission solicited and obtained the constructive criticism of a Liaison Committee of State Officials prior to issuing the regulations on March 19, 1968.

Meanwhile, the Commission directed the staff to arrange for, and to hold a series of regional meetings with Weights and Measures Officials representing all the State Governments. Designed to create an effective and uniform enforcement of FPLA, the staff and representatives of the Food and Drug Administration have already held two such meetings. The first in May of 1968 was held at Trenton, New Jersey, and was attended by representatives from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and the District of Columbia, together with officials from the metropolitan areas of New York City and Philadelphia. A second meeting was held in Charleston, West Virginia for state officials from West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. The third such meeting will be held on July 23, 1968 for representatives of the state governments of Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, and Louisiana. These meetings will continue through the balance of 1968.

Also planned are meetings with consumer group representatives across the nation to encourage active participation of consumer representatives in the success of FPLA. The first such meeting is scheduled in San Francisco in August.

Another activity of the Commission, and this is partially responsive to your concern regarding industry response to FPLA is the almost daily Washington conference between staff and the business community. Hardly a day passes without trade association or industry representatives conferring with the staff on matters of interpretation of regulations and the means of implementing the Act relevant to the requirements. A variation of this is to be found in the speaking engagements of the staff upon the invitation of trade groups. The attached Food-Drug-Cosmetic Law Journal of June 1968 includes a talk given by a staff member, and is indicative of the desire of industry, in this instance, the Chemical Specialities Manufacturers Association and the National Paint, Varnish, and Lacquer Association, to develop an awareness of, and compliance with the intent of FPLA. The staff is accepting these opportunities to meet in public with affected industry, to the extent that time permits.

I am advised by the staff that industry as a whole is accepting the Act and is bringing labeling into compliance with it. Obviously the effect of FPLA is being felt by industry as a whole because of the tremendous number of consumer commodities subject to the Commission's jurisdiction under FPLA. Literally thousands upon thousands of packages must experience labeling changes and time must be granted the affected parties to effect these changes. However, I am happy to report these changes are in fact being made.

Most recently, the Commission promulgated on June 15, 1968 a statement of policy which interprets the "consumer commodity" status of a number of items, which is indicative of the philosophy of the Commission regarding the nature of what constitutes articles subject to the Act, at the same time proposing partial or complete exemptions from mandatory requirements where the practicability of the situation warrants. A copy of the June 15, 1968 publication is enclosed.

I trust the above is completely responsive to your request. However, if any additional comment is desired, I will of course make every effort to respond to those points.

With best wishes, I am
Sincerely yours,
EVERETTE MACINTYRE,
Acting Chairman.

THE 1965 AMENDMENTS TO THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, throughout the world, the peoples of the United States are viewed as a "melting pot" of diverse national origins. Perhaps the greatest strength of this Nation is derived from the ability of these multi-origin peoples to live together and to pull together a majority of the time, but especially when the Nation's interest calls for unified action.

In order to perpetuate the diverse character of our population, the United States has long pursued immigration policies to continue the stream of immigrants to our shores. However, prior to the enactment of the 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act—Public Law 89-236—the national origins quota system unduly discriminated against persons from certain countries seeking to immigrate to the United States. Therefore, the 1965 amendments were adopted in an attempt to remedy this problem by providing for the issuance of visas on a worldwide first-come, first-served basis, within the various visa preference categories. Unfortunately, due to unforeseen circumstances, the 1965 amendments, while curing some inequities in our immigration laws, created certain other areas of discrimination, which was not the intent of Congress.

For example, prior to the 1965 amendments, most Western European nations had sufficient annual quotas to meet the needs of their nationals wishing to immigrate to the United States. While at the same time, the Eastern European nations, whose annual quotas were smaller and where living conditions were less desirable, accumulated long waiting lists.

Under the 1965 amendments all of those presently on waiting lists must be granted visas before a visa can be issued to current Western European applicants in the same preference category.

The result of this change, which became effective July 1, 1968, prevents the entry into the United States of third, fifth, and sixth preference and nonpreference immigrants from Ireland, England, Germany and the Scandanavian countries for the next 2 or 3 years. While some persons may take the position that these countries previously enjoyed a most-favored-nation status, and that this justifies the complete preference which the Eastern European nations will enjoy for the next 2 or 3 years, I do not subscribe to this view. We cannot afford to discourage immigration to the United States from these nations, nor can we say that the United States does not require the varied skills that so many of these immigrants can contribute to this Nation. Therefore, I believe that we must temporarily make visa numbers available to the people of Western Europe during this transitional period and until the worldwide immigration picture equalizes itself.

To accomplish this, I cosponsored H.R. 16593 with the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] and others to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to make additional immigrant visas available for immigrants from certain foreign countries, and for other purposes. This legislation, which must be passed, would set a minimum number of visas each year to those countries of Western Europe whose citizens are adversely affected by the 1965 amendments. This number would be fixed at 75 percent of the Nation's average annual immigration for the 10-year period of 1956 to 1965. In no case would this floor exceed 10,000 for any one nation. Operationally, this procedure would affect only those nations standing to lose by the 1965 amendments. Enactment would, at the most, according to the Department of State, result in the admission of an additional 41,500 immigrants over the 170,000 presently provided for by statute.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the early consideration and enactment of H.R. 16593 so that the flow of immigrants from Western Europe is not completely cut off. I hasten to point out that this measure need only remain in effect for the transitional period of 2 or 3 years.

An additional problem that has resulted from the 1965 amendments is that it is impossible for religious organizations to secure the prompt admission into the United States from Western Europe of teachers, nuns, Brothers, Sisters, missionaries, and other full-time religious workers. With the increase in enrollment in parochial schools and the natural attrition of many of those teaching in such schools, it will soon be impossible, because of a lack of teaching personnel, for these schools to meet their continuing obligations. To fill the need and to help alleviate the shortage of such personnel, I introduced H.R. 15274 on February 8, 1968, to amend section 101(a)(27)(D) of the Immigration and Nationality Act by placing missionaries, Brothers, nuns and Sisters of religious denominations in the category of special immigrants. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN] who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality of the House Committee on the Judiciary, subsequently introduced H.R. 15450, a bill similar to mine. In this category, as special immigrants, religious could enter the United States expeditiously, outside of any numerical limitation. Without the passage of my bill, these religious workers would have to compete on their third or sixth preference categories with persons in other countries who have had visa applications pending for many years. As a matter of fact, the Department of State pointed out during the committee hearings on this legislation, that religious workers who are natives of Ireland, England, Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, Greece and Portugal will have to wait a very long time to enter the United States unless my bill or similar legislation is enacted.

I firmly believe, as I am sure you do, Mr. Speaker, that all persons of a religious order who enter the United States do so with a firm conviction to assist others. Again, I urge the Congress not to delay, but to enact this bill, during this session of Congress.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following report to my constituents:

MEMO

RECESS . . . Congress goes into a month-long recess this week and will return in September to wind up its business. That business may drag on and on if an effort is made to convert the session into a political circus during the height of the campaign. The plain facts are that a legislature in its dying days, most of whose members are engaged in election campaigns, is not in a position to legislate effectively. The tragedy of the 90th Congress, indeed of the whole Administration, is that its leadership never developed a program based on priorities. If such a program had been developed, and leadership exerted to insure its consideration, there would be no need for the post-convention session.

PERSONAL PLANS . . . I am looking forward to returning to the district during August. After the Republican National Convention which I will attend as a delegate from Wisconsin, I will return briefly to Washington to clean up odds and ends and then head for Wisconsin. I will be in the district for the entire last half of August. Among other things, I will conduct office hours during that time. A detailed schedule will be announced later.

LEGISLATION . . . Both House and Senate have been holding long sessions acting on a large number of bills. Here are some of the major actions during the last two weeks in the House:

GUN CONTROL . . . The House passed and sent to the Senate a bill banning mail-order and most out-of-state purchases of rifles and shotguns (such purchases of handguns had been banned earlier), prohibiting the interstate shipment of handgun ammunition and providing mandatory prison sentences for federal felonies committed with a gun. Amendments to provide federal registration and licensing were defeated. I voted against the amendments and for the bill.

FOREIGN AID . . . The foreign aid authorization was passed by the House after cuts of almost $1 billion from the Administration's request were approved. I supported the cuts and voted for the bill on final passage.

FARM PROGRAM . . . The House voted to extend present farm programs for one year. There is a great need to reexamine our whole approach to the farm program and this should be done, as a matter of high priority, by the next Congress. The one-year extension will provide time to make this reappraisal. I voted for the extension for that reason.

SPENDING AND PRICES . . . The Administration is fighting tooth and nail against putting into effect spending reductions ordered by Congress. It should instead be working *for* reductions. The federal deficit for Fiscal 1968 was over $25 billion! Ominously last week, the cost of living took its biggest jump upward in more than two years. We will either get our financial house in order, or we will pay the cost of large federal deficits through higher prices for everything we buy, through still higher taxes, or both.

A SCHOOL THAT ENUNCIATES A FIRM, BUT REASONABLE POLICY

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in these days when so many of our colleges and universities are being beset by student revolts, it is refreshing to find a school that enunciates a firm, but reasonable policy. In this respect, I refer to my alma mater, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich., whose president, J. Donald Phillips, sent the following letter to the students. I wish that more of our institutions of higher learning and their administrative officers would demonstrate the same attitude:

HILLSDALE COLLEGE,
Hillsdale, Mich., July 12, 1968.

To Our Hillsdale College Students:

We are looking forward to greeting you in September and hope that the summer has been good to you.

The following expression is probably quite unnecessary for any of our students and is not made because of any special knowledge or expectation. But, these increasingly tense and complex times seem to require that we know in advance what the college position will be in certain areas.

Attendance at Hillsdale College is a privilege and not a right!

Hillsdale College is dependent financially on the philanthropy of alumni, business and industry, trustees and friends. Their support comes from knowledge and approval of the college's purposes, methods and products. It is this philanthropy which has paid the difference between the actual cost of your education and the amount which you pay.

Such historical support must identify, even to a casual observer, certain continuing moral obligations. Futhermore, there is a legal continuing obligation to the State which gives our college the corporate right to exist.

These obligations can only be fulfilled if the administration of the affairs of the college remains with the duly nominated officers and offices: The Board of Trustees, the President, other administrative offices and the faculty.

Wisdom would direct that in these fast-changing and complicated times, and with the improved preparation of young people for college, their ideas, suggestions, and desires should be sought and should be thoughtfully considered. But, organized society calls for the use of representatives by reason of the fact that insufficient time would be available to deal with each student separately on each idea that may develop.

Therefore, the Student Federation is the vehicle through which students should typically find the means of having their ideas heard, discussed and transmitted. In addition, many faculty and administrative committees, where appropriate, will invite student representation in order to give greater assurance that the ideas of students get into the main stream of thoughts for the management of the college. Nor will any individual student be denied access to a hearing of his ideas within available time.

The author of this statement has been a national spokesman in defense of the good intent and high purposes of today's youth. No one believes more strongly nor deeply in the intelligence, the high ideals, and the good objectives of youth. But, this conviction does not accept anarchy as a solution, nor does it permit turning over the authority of the campus to youth or adults who lack the experience to carry out the avowed purpose and responsibility of Hillsdale College.

The right of dissent has been an honored American tradition. That privilege has always been and will be respected at Hillsdale College.

But, the administration may never deny the rights of those students whose principle objective is the peaceful and orderly use of the resources of personnel and facilities of the college for gaining their formal education. Nor has the administration the legal or moral right or privilege to delegate governance of its institution to students whose intelligence and creativity is earnestly respected but whose perspective for and experience in organizational management is yet far too limited to take on the management of affairs of the college.

Therefore, let it be known that any act of violence or intimidation, any seizing of any portion of property or any unauthorized activity which prevents the normal operation of the college in any way by any individual or groups of individuals will be considered in direct opposition to the necessary operation of the college, and action sufficient to the cause will be taken immediately, including the possibility and probability of suspension or expulsion, regardless of the number involved. Similar action will be taken against those who advocate such described activities.

This statement is made to clarify any remaining doubt of what our policy shall be regarding this phase of our relationships. It is submitted now in order that any student may still have adequate time to select another college if the above terms are not acceptable. Moreover, the college shall use its offices to help such a student find a college or university more acceptable to his or her personal purposes.

Cordially,

J. DONALD PHILLIPS,
President.

VALLEY FORGE GENERAL HOSPITAL

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise in these closing hours of this session of the House of Representatives to pay tribute to the U.S. Army's Valley Forge General Hospital which in 1968 is observing its Silver Anniversary of service to the Nation.

This great military-medical center has been lauded and honored throughout the year by its neighboring cities of Phoenixville and Allentown. It has been cited by the distinguished Governor of the Commonwealth and by the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.

Our Nation owes a great debt of gratitude to the present commanding officer and his staff and to all preceding commanders and their staffs for their skill, knowledge, and compassion in treating more than 190,000 patients since the hospital was dedicated on Washington's Birthday 25 years ago.

Valley Forge General Hospital through World War II, the Korean war and now in Southeast Asia has gained an international reputation as a distinguished medical center. It has built, over these years, an enviable reputation for achievement in the care and treatment of those who defend our country and our national interest. Their superb record of accomplishment testifies to our determination to care for our own and to return them to active participation in our society.

I, therefore, salute Valley Forge General Hospital on the occasion of its silver anniversary. I congratulate the Surgeon General of the U.S. Army, the commanding officer and his staff on this auspicious occasion and wish them continued success and strength in carrying out their mission.

SIR ANDREW BENJAMIN COHEN

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with heavy heart to advise my colleagues of the Congress of the United States of the death on June 17 of a distinguished Englishman, Sir Andrew Cohen.

I speak not only for myself, but for those of us who have been privileged to participate in the Anglo-American Parliamentary Conferences on African Affairs, to which Sir Andrew contributed so very much: In the Senate, the Honorable Clifford Case, Republican of New Jersey, the Honorable Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, the Honorable Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, the Honorable Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, and the Honorable Frank E. Moss, Democrat, of Utah.

And in the House, the Honorable Jonathan B. Bingham, Democrat, of New York, the Honorable John Brademas, Democrat, of Indiana, the Honorable John C. Culver, Democrat, of Iowa, the Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Democrat, of Michigan, the Honorable Donald M. Fraser, Democrat, of Minnesota, the Honorable Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, Republican, of New Jersey, the Honorable William S. Mailliard, Republican, of California, the Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Democrat, of Massachusetts, the Honorable Ogden R. Reid, Republican, of New York, the Honorable Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Democrat, of New York, the Honorable John V. Tunney, Democrat, of California.

Sir Andrew's was a light too soon extinguished, but it leaves a memorable glow as, by example, by precept and in memorable achievement, his labors live enduringly after him.

At the time of his death Sir Andrew held the position of Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Overseas Development, having previously served as Director General of the Department of Technical Cooperation—1961–64.

He was born in 1909 at Amersfort, Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire, and was educated at Malvern and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1932 he entered the civil service as an employee of the Inland Revenue Department, but transferred to the Colonial Office the following year.

He was named Assistant Secretary in 1943, Superintending Assistant Secretary in 1947, Assistant Under Secretary of State—1947–51. From 1952–57 he was the Governor and Commander in Chief in Uganda. Notably, Sir Andrew was the Permanent British representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council—1957–61.

He was married for many happy years to the former Helen Donington, a union that produced a fine son. In 1959 Sir Andrew published a book entitled "British Policy in Changing Africa," a volume of unusual insight analysis, and value to the peoples of East and West.

But no recital or transcript of his official and professional achievement can ever record satisfactorily the depth and dimensions of this truly great man. In his personal relationships he was warmly human, perceptive, and understanding, and in his aspirations admirable, though he would have been the very last to consider them so. A loving husband, a devoted father, a public servant of ability and integrity with few peers, Sir Andrew Benjamin Cohen represented the very best of Britain in every splendid sense.

Sir Andrew is gone now, gone on just a bit ahead of the rest of us to join a blessed procession, in neither doubt nor fear, and it is probable that we shall not see his like again. He kept his feet firmly on the ground in this most practical of worlds, yet, while so doing, ever kept his eyes on the heavens that he might never lose sight of the stars.

My colleagues of the Anglo-American parliamentary group join me in extending our deepest sympathy to Lady Cohen and to his son on their grievous loss.

I include selected tributes to Sir Andrew, which appeared in the British press, at this point in the Record:

[From the Sunday Times, London, June 23, 1968]

Sir Andrew Cohen: New Africa's Architect

(Note.—A. L. Adu, a former Ghanaian official who is now Deputy Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, here pays an African tribute to Sir Andrew Cohen, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development, who died last week.)

Andrew Cohen came to the African scene in the period immediately after the last war. He and Sir Hilton Poynton are regarded by many Africans as the architects of the new policy for African constitutional advancement. It is a tribute to the far-seeing vision of these two men that they saw that the inevitable consequence of past British policy was that independence should come to the African dependencies sooner rather than later and that therefore it was in the vital interests of Britain to give impetus to this development.

Andrew Cohen's greatest contribution to Commonwealth Africa came during his period of Under-Secretaryship for the African Division in the Colonial Office, which started in 1947. He believed in the cause of African self-government and he believed also in the ability of the African to measure up to the responsibilities of independence.

It was in this faith that he proceeded to spearhead the formulation of policies for accelerated constitutional advancement in consonance with, or sometimes ahead of, African nationalist aspirations.

As seen from Africa, Andrew Cohen made an impact in three broad fields. Firstly, he supported a policy for associating African views and interests with the programme of advancement to political independence. Secondly, he believed in, and positively encouraged, policy for economic and social development as prerequisites to the stable and progressive future of African states. And thirdly, he gave impetus to the programmes for Africanisation and localisation of the public services as essential for the establishment of the infrastructure administration for independence.

ERROR ADMITTED

His ability to adjust to changing constitutional and political circumstances enabled Andrew Cohen to make an easy transition from the Colonial Office to the Governorship of Uganda. The evidence of his progressive policies is still plain to see in that country.

That he recovered the full confidence of the people of Uganda after the tragic episode of the banishment of the Kabaka was due to his willingness to accept that he had made a mistake and to adopt remedial measures. He, through it all, succeeded in making people believe in the sincerity of his policy for their progress and well-being.

His great success at the Ministry of Overseas Development is another tribute to his capacity for adjustment to the changed circumstances of the relations between Britain and her former dependencies. His new Ministry was inspired to come to terms with the problems of underdevelopment in Africa and elsewhere.

ACCEPTED IDEAS

Andrew Cohen will be remembered in Africa as an intensely human personality. He saw people as they were, talked to them readily, and had no problem of communication. Although, on first acquaintance, he was disconcerting to talk to because of his appearance of not listening, it soon became clear that he had taken in every point and his quick and intelligent remarks, which showed no sign of arrogance, soon established rapport with his new acquaintance. His eccentricities could not hide his eagerness to accept bright ideas from any source.

One of his greatest gifts was his ability to see ideas through to the formulation of practical policies, and to apply his great force to ensure follow-up action. He was a large man with a large mind which conceived progress of mankind in a large context.

He will be remembered also for his warm and spontaneous friendship, his complete colour blindness, his infectious and spontaneous generosity and his lofty spirit.

[From Law Report, June 18, 1968]

Sir Andrew Cohen, Outstanding Civil Servant Who Helped Prepare Africa for Independence

Sir Andrew Cohen, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., O.B.E., died on Monday at the age of 58. He had been Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development since its creation in October, 1964.

He was previously, from July, 1961, Director-General of the Department of Technical Co-operation, and before that, from the beginning of 1957 until May, 1961, he was permanent United Kingdom representative at the Trusteeship Council of the United Nation. Cohen's earlier career was in the Colonial Office and from 1952 until 1957 he was Governor of Uganda.

Andrew Benjamin Cohen was born in October, 1909, the son of Walter Cohen, sometime director of the Economic Board for Palestine, and of his wife, Mattie Cobb, sometime headmistress of Roedean and later principal of Newnham College, Cambridge. He was educated on the classical side of Malvern College, and proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge.

In 1932 he passed into the Civil Service and was assigned to the department of Inland Revenue. It was the late R. V. Vernon, then serving in the Colonial Office, who suggested to Sir Charles Jeffries, then establishment officer, that it would be a good idea to try to get young Cohen transferred there. The transfer was arranged and Cohen's real career began in 1933.

He went through the usual training, including a spell as Private Secretary to Lord Rugby (then, as Sir John Maffey, Permanent Under-Secretary), and a visit to Central Africa as Secretary to a financial commission. He was selected for a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship to visit America, but his programme was cut short by the outbreak of war in 1939. In 1940 he was seconded to Malta, where he remained until 1943 organizing with great efficiency the supply of food and necessaries to the beleagured island.

His return to the Colonial Office as head of one of the African departments was an important milestone in his life and indeed in the history of the African colonies. In 1947 he was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State in charge of the African Division of the Office. As such he was in a position to wield great influence, and his strong personality, high intellectual ability, and progressive outlook ensured that that influence would be felt, not only on the African territories but in the higher reaches of Whitehall and Westminster.

Many observers have been justly impressed by Cohen's dynamism and administrative efficiency; but his character had many sides and at least as important was his passion for digging out the essential questions of principle on which administrative action should be based and for encouraging the free play of ideas.

The turning point of post-war British Colonial policy is to be found outside Africa. It was the grant of independence to Ceylon in 1948 which made it only a matter of time before the African and other Colonial dependencies would follow the same road. But how much time? Many people regarded the matter as outside the "foreseeable future". Not so Cohen. He realized that the drive for independence was imminent and gave all his energies to helping the African colonies and protectorates to prepare themselves for it, so that when politicial advance became inescapable, economic and social advance would not lag too far behind. In pursuing this line, he was fully in accord with the approach of his Secretaries of State, Mr. Creech-Jones and, later, Mr. James Griffiths. The latter was so strongly impressed with Cohen's ability and outlook that he decided, in 1951, to transfer him to the field, and recommended his appointment as Governor of Uganda.

At first the new Governor was very successful. Drastic reforms were introduced and swift progress made on both the political and economic fronts. Unhappily his conception of a unitary State of Uganda conflicted with the aspirations of Buganda political leaders, headed by the reditary Kabaka, for separate independence. A clash of wills developed as a result of which the British Government, on Cohen's advice, withdrew its recognition of the Kabaka and removed him from the country at the end of 1953.

Cohen came under strong criticism from many quarters for this action, but he continued to serve as Governor and gradually regained much of the confidence he had lost. Reforms went forward, and the wisdom of Cohen's aims was increasingly recognized by the local public. With a change of Colonial Secretaries, it became possible for the Kabaka to return on mutually acceptable conditions, and when Cohen eventually left Uganda in January, 1957, the foundations of future independence were firmly laid.

Cohen's next assignment was the diplomatic post of permanent United Kingdom representative on the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Here, as in the Colonial Office and in Africa, his personality made itself powerfully felt, but undoubtedly a better use of his abilities was offered by the creation in 1961 of the new Department of Technical Cooperation to take over most of the non-political functions of the old Colonial Office and to develop the organization of technical and financial assistance to countries in need of it, irrespective of their political status.

Appointed as Director-General of the new Department, Cohen set about organizing it with his customary "whirlwind" enthusiasm, and substantial practical progress was made even during the early years when the arrangements were necessarily makeshift and the staff, gathered from a number of sources, was learning to settle down as a team. It was not until the Department was able to move into its present accommodation in Eland House that it could begin to work out its own tradition and corporate outlook. Transformed into the Ministry of Overseas Development, the new organization rapidly established itself, especially during a partnership between Minister and Secretary irreverently described as "the Elephane and Castle" phase, as a very efficient and effective machine for carrying out an extremely important aspect of the British Government's overseas policy in the post-colonial period.

A man so "big" in all sense as Andrew Cohen was bound to become a legend. Many years ago a journalist recorded a vision of him rushing down the Colonial Office stairs two or three at a time, with a bundle of files under each arm and his hat brim held between his teeth. It was his habit to pace the room while dictating, and an endearing recollection is of an occasion when he quite unconsciously strode out of the room whose door had been inadvertently left open, and was last seen disappearing round the corner of a long corridor still talking and followed by an anxious secretary feverishly taking his words down on her pad as she strove to keep up with him.

It is said that on one occasion in Malta, when a delegation had called to complain about the bread, Cohen was found, during the conversation, to have eaten the sample which had been produced as a basis for discussion.

In 1949 he married Mrs. Helen Donington, by whom he had one son. He was a warm and affectionate father to his child and to his three step-children, and an immense favourite with their many friends.

[From the Guardian, June 19, 1968]

Sir A. Cohen—Architect of Overseas Aid

Sir Andrew Cohen, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development, and a former Governor of Uganda, died suddenly on Monday night.

He was Governor of Uganda from 1952 to 1957, when he became permanent British representative on the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. In 1961 he became Director-General of the newly-formed Department of Technical Cooperation, and went to the Ministry of Overseas Development in October, 1964. He was knighted in 1952 and made KCVO in 1954.

Sir Andrew Cohen was the main architect of British political withdrawal from Africa, and later of British economic assistance to Africa and the rest of the developing world.

His drive and energy as the administrator of food supplies in beleaguered Malta during the war first attracted attention to him, and by 1946, at the early age of 37, he became an Assistant Secretary of State in charge of African Affairs.

His five years in Uganda were memorable and in some ways highly effective, but not always successful. He was led into a clash with the conservative traditional forces represented by the Kabaka of Bugunda, whom he summarily deposed and exiled. A year later, under Whitehall pressure, Cohen had to receive him back—restored to power. This is the well-known side of his governorship. What is less well known, outside Uganda, is his work on political, economic and educational reform. Uganda became a model of how a poor agricultural country could start to move forward comparatively fast.

Britain and the poorer members of the Commonwealth, especially in Africa, owe a greater debt than they know to a man who fought throughout his lifetime for a political and economic relationship between rich and poor countries that was both more free and more just.

AVOWED LOBBYIST

Patrick Keatley, our Commonwealth Correspondent adds:

The choice of successor to Sir Andrew Cohen will be taken by governments in developing countries as an important indication of the policy of the British Government towards overseas aid.

Sir Andrew was an avowed lobbyist for the idea of expanding Britain's aid programme. He was one of a group of economists and administrators who had worked behind scenes to establish the Overseas Development Institute as an unofficial centre for the study and promotion of aid policies. The setting up of the Ministry in 1964 led to the creation, in turn, of the Institute of Development Studies in conjunction with the University of Sussex.

Cabinet Ministers of many Commonwealth Governments, as well as governors of central banks and senior officials, passed through these institutions as guests over the years, and came to know Sir Andrew Cohen as an adviser and friend. The choice of his successor will indicate the priority Mr. Wilson intends to give to overseas aid in the future.

Sir Andrew Cohen

Mr. Fred Mpanga writes.—When a friend of mine took a photograph of Sir Andrew and myself a few months ago, my friend said I should never show the photograph to the Baganda. He was wrong; the Baganda forgave Sir Andrew for the exile of the Kabaka in 1953.

It will be remembered that when Sir Andrew realized that the solution to the Baganda situation did not lie in the continued exile, he worked hard for the Kabaka's restoration. He stayed on as Governor from the Kabaka's return in October, 1955, until he left for the United Nations in 1957. Within that period of 15 months Sir Andrew did not show any sign of bitterness or rancor.

That is why, when he eventually left, the people of Uganda, including the Baganda, felt that loss of a Governor who genuinely cared about their progress.

Many of the leading politicians in Uganda today owe a lot to Sir Andrew's drive, especially in the field of education. One of those politicians is Mr. Abu Mayanja, a member of the opposition in the Uganda Parliament. He was a founder-member Secretary of the Uganda National Congress, the parent party of the present ruling Uganda People's Congress; he was also Uganda's "Cohn-Bendit" in the 1950s. He was sent down from Makerere for his vehement opposition to bad food, among other things. The Government did not care much for him either as he was very articulate. Characteristically, Sir Andrew sent Mr. Mayanja to King's College, Cambridge, so that the Government should have well-informed critics.

On Sir Andrew's departure the Kabaka presented him with a silver cigarette case with "Frederick" inscribed on it. Sir Andrew once left this case in a flat where I was staying in London. His frantic search for it indicated to me how much he valued the little present.

THE RESULTS OF CONGRESSMAN ROTH'S 1968 CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE IN DELAWARE

HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice since coming to Congress to send my constituents in Delaware a questionnaire asking their views on the important foreign and domestic issues of our time.

I am pleased to report that more than 30,000 Delawareans answered, and for the benefit of our colleagues I insert at this point in the RECORD the results of my 1968 congressional questionnaire.

DEAR FRIENDS: Returns—nearly 30,000 in number—to the second annual questionnaire were excellent. The tabulated results are most informative and, as in last year's poll, reflect no wide differences of opinion between counties. Highlights include: Civil disorders and Vietnam are of the greatest concern to the people responding. Our combatting inflation, 53% would cut Federal spending, yet a surprisingly large percentage failed to respond as to where specific cuts should be made.

On Vietnam, 52% (compared with 54% last year) favor all-out military effort if negotiations fail, while the number favoring de-escalation or withdrawal has increased, from 26% to 36%. 56% of those responding believe our military presence in Asia is in our national interest.

On the draft, 35% would favor universal military training. 64% favor the holiday changes allowing 3-day week-ends; and 72% are not satisfied with the information supplied them by the government. As a result of my eight-month study on Federal assistance programs, 121 Congressmen, both Republicans and Democrats, have co-sponsored my bill requiring the government to publish full, up-to-date information on its programs designed to help our State and local communities.

I appreciate the interest the citizens of Delaware have shown in my questionnaire.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM V. ROTH, Jr.

Which two of the following do you consider to be the most important?

[Figures in percent]

Civil disorder	71
General rise in crime rate	20
Gold outflow, balance of payments	18
Rising cost of living	23
War in Vietnam	56
Other	5
No response	7

Which one of the following do you favor as the best way to reduce inflation?

Cut federal spending	53
Enact the President's surtax proposal	7
Establish wage and price controls	12
Raise taxes and cut spending equally	23
Other	4
No response	1

If our present attempts to negotiate in Vietnam should fail, which one of the following would you then favor?

All-out military effort	52
Further de-escalation	13
Resume previous course of war	8
Withdrawal	23
No response	4

Concerning the Selective Service System (draft) would you prefer to:

Keep present system, but draft oldest men first	12
Keep present system, but draft 19-year-olds first	13
Use lottery system, pool all men, start with oldest men first	7
Use lottery system, pool all men, start with 19-year-olds first	9
Universal military training for all men	35
No draft—have sufficient pay and incentives for volunteer force	21
No response	3

Do you favor draft deferments for:

Graduate college students:	
Yes	37
No	52
No response	11
Undergraduate college students:	
Yes	53
No	36
No response	11

If it becomes necessary for congress to make cuts, would you like to see cuts made in:

Agriculture:	
Yes	41
No	26
No response	33
Aid to cities:	
Yes	29
No	33
No response	38
Aid to the poor:	
Yes	27
No	36
No response	37
Education:	
Yes	9
No	50
No response	41
Foreign aid:	
Yes	84
No	7
No response	9
Health:	
Yes	10
No	48
No response	42
Public works:	
Yes	37
No	26
No response	37
Space:	
Yes	55
No	23
No response	22

Do you believe American military presence in Asia is in our national interest?

Yes	56
No	37
No response	7

Do you believe the Federal Government gives you enough reliable information on what it's doing?

Yes	22
No	73
No response	5

Would you favor celebrating Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Columbus Day and Veterans Day on a Monday to allow for more three-day weekends?

Yes	64
No	32
No response	4

Do you prefer this type of questionnaire to the IBM punch-card type I sent you last year?

Yes	77
No	7
No response	16

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE HONORABLE MARK A. HOGAN, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, STATE OF COLORADO, TO THE WESTERN STATES DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, JUNE 15, 1968

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to a speech made by Colorado's Lieutenant Governor, Mark Hogan, at the Western States Democratic Conference in Phoenix, June 15. Although the remarks are admittedly partisan and were expressed at a partisan meeting, I believe that Mark Hogan most perceptibly discussed some of the major problems of our day. I commend this speech to my colleagues' attention, as follows:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE HONORABLE MARK A. HOGAN, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, STATE OF COLORADO, TO THE WESTERN STATES DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, JUNE 15, 1968

I think you can tell my mood today, and I hope yours too, is not to be a somber one.

Yes, I have some serious things to say; things I hope you will find of some merit—but it occurs to me that *someone* has the responsibility here to try and shake off this dreadful depression that each of us has felt during the recent event.

And because I suggest this—believe me it does not mean that I loved Robert Kennedy less—but because I sincerely believe that this dynamic young leader would say to us today that he would not change his destiny if he could. He died, loved by his family and by millions of Americans. He died doing what he believed he should be doing. He died with the full sacraments of his Church—a Church which was an integral part of his existence.

And because I believe these things, I also believe the Senator would say to us here in Phoenix—come out of it!!

This is a nuts and bolts meeting of people in the party—the nation I died for! You won't show respect for my cause if you spend these vital hours, these days of destiny between now and November in inactivity. You'll turn the country over to the people I was fighting. Get with it! Let's have a few good Democratic infights while we're here! Let's have a drop of intrigue—a dose of interparty rivalry—we're Democrats—let's get started.

I think that's what we'd better do.

While we strive for victory in 1968, we Democrats must think further and deeper about the demands for 1970–1972—the next decade.

In fact, victory in 1968 is only a part of the challenge ahead. We Democrats have a way of binding our wounds, forgetting our differences, revitalizing our activities, and forging ahead, whatever the handicaps we face.

The Republicans have a way of being so unresponsive to public demands that they frequently hand elections over to us by default.

Whatever our weaknesses, we Democrats have been consistently more responsive to the public will and to changing times than have the Republicans. That is why we have won so many elections during the past 36 years.

But it is a pallid compliment to say only that we are better than the Republicans.

We must think above and beyond victory, for merely to win is not enough. We must think of a new responsiveness to changing times because America needs this. The situation is so grave that I believe the survival of democracy as we know it depends on this.

Many believe that America now faces the gravest crisis since the reconstruction period. We are in danger of making errors as great as those of the Reconstruction—errors which plague this nation today, after a hundred years.

I say that this is the case because there is a broad scope of misunderstanding and tension between various elements of the society. The riots, terrible as they are, are only symptoms of the division in our country.

We have a racial conflict which is frightening beyond comprehension. While the minorities demand assistance to overtake the hundred-year backset they have had, the white backlash is growing in scope and viciousness.

Shockingly evil reactions to the minority efforts are heard from the most unexpected quarters—from among elements of the society that we though to be gentle, genteel and progressive on this issue.

We have an increasing tension between rich and poor. Wealth alongside poverty is not new in human history but the peculiar line between the two was never so sharp as today—at least not in a viable democracy.

In most of recorded history in most nations there have been a few very rich and many very poor people. Democracy has flourished, however, only in the presence of a substantial middle class and we all know that throughout American history our political stability has been based on the predominance of the middle-class as a percentage of the total population.

We always have had rich and poor in America, but the lines between rich and middle-class and between middle-class and poor have been fuzzy and ill-defined. More significantly, there always has been in America an almost unlimited opportunity to move upward through the strata.

We still remain a predominantly middle-class people, except that much of our middle-class has become wealthy by the standards of the very poor. The poor are more visibly surrounded by wealth today, because many people have at least some of the luxuries of wealth. Because this prosperity is so conspicuously visible, the poor are more resentful than before.

Conversely, the middle-class has adopted many of the attitudes formerly held only by what we used to call "propertied" people. The working man making payments on a modest home has become almost as capitalistic in his political attitudes as the wealthy man who actually has investment capital to manage.

This explains much of the white backlash. The lower middle income citizen with an equity in a home is more afraid of open housing than the multimillionaire owning a variety of properties.

The wage or salary earner paying heavy taxes on his income and on his home often is more selfish about programs to help the very poor than is the man in the higher tax brackets.

I know that thoughtful people in the labor unions are gravely concerned about this. They don't want the labor unions, which originally were instruments of protest and champions of the underdog, to become defenders of the status quo and resistors of the aspirations of the poor.

The break between the generations is equally disturbing. Certainly the generation gap always has existed, but in the past it has been a more fluid thing . . . a sort of passing state of rebelliousness as the young went through the peccadilloes of youth; this soon faded as the young assumed mature responsibilities.

But in recent years it has become a more definite break. I have a feeling that many of today's alienated young people will never assume the postures of their parents. Even after they have matured and assumed the responsibilities of making a living, they will continue to demand a new politics.

The demands of today's youth have to do with the quality of life, and the quality of the body politic.

We who are older may think that today's young people are immoral in some phases of their personal lives. We may think they are irresponsible in such matters as the business of making a living for the family.

But they think we are immoral in our public postures. They think that there is much phoniness in our political stands. They think we are unduly materialistic.

We may brush off youth protests as being irresponsible. But when we talk even with the more conservative kids on campus we find that the sitins and violent or semi-violent rebellions are only the visible part of the iceberg.

The kids who are more conservative in behavior are critical, too, and you find nearly all of them interested in the new politics.

The lesson we learn from this, I think, is that the old guidelines don't apply anymore. Old mottos, old slogans and old phrases commonly used in politics are no longer relevant.

Definitions of the past no longer apply. The word "conservative" and the word "liberal" don't mean the same things they used to mean.

The reasons given for—"this or that"—governmental action—reasons which most Americans considered perfectly valid a few years ago—no longer are accepted as valid.

Today, pronouncements which a few years ago would be labeled as "conservative" draw applause from groups which we used to tag as "liberals". For example, the liberal has somewhat turned against yesteryear's necessary and inevitable centralization of government in Washington and speaks today of decentralization and creative federalism.

And recently we have heard statements of a so-called "liberal" or even "radical" nature which have brought out support in primary elections in neighborhoods we have been labelling as "conservative".

Politics—as usual has been turned topsy-turvey. To be a candidate or a campaign manager today is a nightmare, for the old yardsticks don't measure right any more.

The time was when a perceptive politician could go into a small town, speak to the barber, the Methodist minister, the Catholic priest and the bartender and come out with a reasonably accurate analysis of the political trend. You can't do that today.

I'm not convinced that the scientific pollsters can predict the course of politics today either, for the pollsters today are not sure even how to phrase their questions. The very language of politics is changing.

No matter which of the candidates one may support for President—and I happen to support Hubert Humphrey—there are lessons to be learned from the recent primaries and from the large attendance to precinct caucuses in the convention states.

A friend of mine who is an experienced politician and a district captain in Denver, and who happens to be a supporter of Senator McCarthy, told me ruefully after the precinct caucuses that he had miscounted his district. "Precincts I thought my side would carry were lost," he said, "and precincts I thought were lost, we carried."

His point was that, this year, we don't know how to count; people are thinking differently.

Some say that this topsy-turvy condition is due simply to an outpouring of so-called new people. They say that the strange faces appearing at this year's precinct caucuses have been those of "one-shot Charlies" who won't be around two years from now, or in the fall if their man doesn't prevail.

This may be partly true, but it is not the full answer. There is a deeper change, a change of attitude at the grass roots among previous political participants as well as among newcomers.

In the long run, this change can be beneficial. In the short run and in the long run, it challenges us to learn to re-read the political signs and to develop new methods of political measurement.

There is a broad and deep concern by people concerning processes of government; there is a revolutionary re-evaluation of old positions and convictions; there is a determination by many highly-motivated people to make a new effort to do something about the problems of America.

This has brought conflict between some of the established leaders of the party and the so-called newcomers to politics. By established leaders I refer not so much to the holders of public office as to the state, county, district and precinct party officials.

There are some who are unduly critical and resistant to the newcomers; by the same token, some of the newcomers are excessively critical of faithful party leaders who know that in the long haul steady application of work does more to bring good government than does the occasional flurry of enthusiasm for this or that particular candidate of today.

But while we may charge some of the newcomers in politics with lack of understanding, we must recognize that they are sincere in their efforts.

More important, we must recognize that many of them are trying to deliver a message that needs to be heard if our political party is to meet the new challenges.

These strange faces which appeared at so many Democratic party caucuses in various states this year are the faces of people trying to help make democracy work.

We need to keep these people active in the party. We need their help in understanding the demands of today and tomorrow.

This is not to suggest that any one of us need bend his convictions to coincide with the convictions of others. This is only to say that we must keep our ears open to what others are saying.

We must encourage broad participation in the party, not just because we want our party to win elections but because we want democracy, small "d" democracy to work.

If our parties fail to produce public officials essentially in tune with new demands, our way of government is in danger.

If we do not reverse crime and violence through democratic procedures which protect civil liberties, the public is likely to become receptive to police state practices.

If the yearnings of the minorities and of the poor do not receive prompt and constructive responses, we face a grim future of disorder.

If we fail to respond to the idealistic appeals of youth, many young people may be permanently alienated from our system of government.

Our system can fail if people lose faith in the democratic processes. We know—that, with all its faults, the democratic political process is far better than any other alternative form of government. There are only two alternatives—anarchy and totalitarianism.

There is a real and present danger that people may throw up their hands in despair and accept, as the easiest way out, an authoritarian form of government—a government which promises them a measure of order and a crust of bread. After all, that's how Hitler established the 3rd Reich.

However, it is a picture which can brighten, which will brighten, if we throw ourselves into challenge.

At this cross-roads, we can take the better turning and, within a decade, achieve a harmony among people, a prosperity and a felicity greater than known before.

We can do this if we open our eyes and ears, abandon the old cliches, abandon—"politics-as-usual", and work harder than ever before.

As political leaders we have to assume a new measure to humility. This means that we will have to do much more listening and somewhat less talking. Much of the political oratory heard these days is totally irrelevant to modern conditions.

The means of taking this new turning are not easy. I have a few tentative ideas.

First, the remaining vestiges of the smoke-filled rooms must be eliminated. Those of us in this conference know that the smoke-filled room syndrome is over-exaggerated, but we also know that the very inertia of the party discourages the infusion of new blood and new ideas.

A major step toward modernizing our party establishment should be the clarifying, streamlining and simplifying of party rules so that participation is simple and easy. The inherent advantage now enjoyed by the old-timer in politics because of his knowledge of the complexities of rules must be eliminated. New participants deserve an equal chance.

Second, a new political language must be coined. It is absurd and irrelevant to use 1950 phrases to discuss 1968 affairs, both foreign and domestic.

This is not to say that those phrases and slogans of 1950 were not valid at that time; it is only to say that there have been vast changes in nearly 20 years.

Youth will respond and will join our ranks if we talk about today's challenges. Young people demonstrated this in their genuine response to the Peace Corps and to Vista.

Today's youth is patriotic, draft-card burners notwithstanding.

Today's youth wants constructive, not destructive, challenges to its patriotism.

Old ideas and old phrases have become obsolete in domestic affairs, too. Old approaches to welfare are inadequate. Old approaches to economic prosperity—bring general prosperity but leave millions of poor in our midst.

The very structure of our government is obsolete, especially at city and state levels.

The emphasis of thoughtful people has shifted from quantity to quality. New America is jaded with superlatives; New America is not impressed with the word "billions". The Cadillac no longer is a status symbol.

The coming generation thinks more about how good something is than how big it is.

And, frankly, my fellow Westerners, many people are more concerned with how clean the rivers are than with how many acres they irrigate or how many kilowatts of power they generate.

It is true that many people remain essentially selfish and self-centered, concerned more with present comforts than with tomorrow's ideals. But in the new politics idealists do count; even though they are sometimes impractical and often clumsy in political participation.

The idealists may be brushed aside by the cynics as mere dreamers of dreams, but I say that they are the people who are motivated to work hard to improve the political process. They give unselfishly of their time and energy and money.

And I think that often they light the candle of higher inspiration for those who have been selfish and who have not participated before.

There is heard across this land this year a clear call for change.

The call comes from youth—and from older people who recognize that present trends must be improved upon.

It comes from the poor, the minorities, the dispossessed.

It comes from older people who know that old cliches just don't apply any more.

It comes from a middle-class—restless because there seems to be no cohesive national purpose.

The Democratic party must respond to that call if the Democratic party is to prosper. More important, it must respond if our political system is to survive against the threats of widening alienation among so many elements of our society.

The things which demand to be done cannot be achieved overnight. And new problems will arise while the old are being solved, for the human condition is like a flowing river—you can never step into it twice at the same place.

What we can do immediately, in June, 1968, is to recognize the new political situation and make an immediate start toward answering the call for change.

A start—a vigorous and credible start—at this time will restore confidence to the people and will give hope to those who are drifting into alienation.

It can renew hope that our democratic processes can meet the challenges of the day.

The Democratic party has survived and prospered, and under its leadership the nation has survived and prospered, because of its willingness to hear the people and to recognize changing circumstances.

The Democratic party—historically has always been the party of hope.

The Democratic party—always has been and is the party to accept challenge.

The Democratic party—consistently is the party willing to innovate.

The Democratic party *can* answer the call. I think it will!

COOPERATIVE ACTION URGENT IN BIAFRA

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention here to delve into the short but tragic relationship between Nigeria and Biafra, formerly part of Nigeria and since July 1967, claiming its independence as a separate state. As everyone knows, the immediate and urgent problem at the moment is the supplying of ample relief supplies to the Biafrans to prevent widespread starvation.

Just recently, the National Press Club here in Washington was the scene of a press conference which featured a missionary priest, Father Fintan Kilbride, recently arrived from Biafra, who had a specific recommendation for expediting the shipment of the huge quantities of supplies now so urgently needed by the Biafrans. For reasons of their own, each side in the conflict cannot agree on overland routes to transport the supplies. As Father Kilbride describes the problem, it is not the availability of food, but the logistics of transporting it in a way satisfactory to the contending parties that is the problem.

The Catholic Standard of Washington, D.C., in its July 18 issue, detailed the proposal advanced by the missionary priest:

As a way out of the impasse, Father Kilbride suggested that food now stockpiled on the Spanish island of Fernando Po, off the Nigerian coast, be landed at the Nigerian-controlled port of Calabar and transported under the control of the International Red Cross 80 miles to Biafran territory. Biafrans, he said, would be likely to accept the food if they knew that it came from Fernando Po under the auspices of the Red Cross. He added that the Nigerian government could be satisfied by permitting its forces to inspect the shipments.

As I have stated above, the main consideration at the moment is the preventing of widespread starvation. Whatever the political intricacies of the case, both sides to the conflict must make concessions to insure that relief supplies start on their way immediately. Surely, concerned nations such as the United States, Great Britain, and others, in conjunction with the United Nations and the International Red Cross can persuade both sides to accept a plan such as the one proposed by Father Kilbride to stop the starving of helpless people. One thing is certain: if this tragic situation is allowed to deteriorate any further and increased numbers of Biafrans are permitted to starve, those, who by either omission or commission, are responsible for this outrage stand a good chance of doing themselves irreparable harm in the eyes of the concerned peoples of the world.

I include the article, "Starvation Is Imminent for 2 Million Biafrans," by John Maher, appearing in the Catholic Standard of Washington on July 18, 1968, in the RECORD at this point:

STARVATION IS IMMINENT FOR 2 MILLION BIAFRANS

(By John Maher)

On the same day that President Johnson made a similar plea, an Irish missionary priest urged international action to overcome the crisis that threatens two million Biafrans with death by starvation by the end of August

The priest, Father Fintan Kilbride, a Holy Ghost missionary stationed in Port Harcourt, Biafra, spoke at a press conference held in the National Press Club.

Father Kilbride came to the United States at the request of Archbishop Francis Arinze of Onitsha and the bishops of the Onitsha ecclesiastical province which corresponds roughly to Biafra, on a mission seeking medical aid and food for the people of Biafra.

Biafra declared its independence from the other four regions of the Nigerian Federal Republic on May 30, 1967. Civil war broke out between it and the federal government in July, 1967. Biafra's leaders have accused their opponents of genocide particularly against the Ibos, the dominant ethnic group in Biafra. Many of the Ibos are Christian and Catholic.

The federal government, which now occupies large sections of the secessionist region, had agreed to permit relief supplies into Biafra, but only by overland routes from entry points it controls. Biafra leaders have objected to this procedure, reportedly saying that it opens the way to diversion of the supplies or even poisoning of the food.

With its armed forces surrounding and blockading Biafra, the Nigerian government has announced its determination to include relief shipments in the blockade. Attempts to airlift such shipments directly into Biafra will be met by force, the Nigerian authorities have asserted.

Father Kilbride said that, in any case, landing facilities in the Biafran area are inadequate to handle the number of aircraft that would be necessary for relief of the proportions necessary to cope with the crisis. Construction of adequate facilities is not possible, he said, within a short time.

The priest stressed the immediacy of the problem. Three thousand Biafrans a day are starving to death, he said.

As a way out of the impasse, Father Kilbride, suggested that food now stockpiled on the Spanish island of Fernando Po, off the Nigerian coast, be landed at the Nigerian-controlled port of Calabar and transported under the control of the International Red Cross 80 miles to Biafran territory. Biafrans, he said, would be likely to accept the food if they knew that it came from Fernando Po under the auspices of the Red Cross. He added that the Nigerian government could be satisfied by permitting its forces to inspect the shipments.

Although the food stockpiles at Fernando Po amount to only several thousands tons and its is estimated that more than 1,000 tons a day would be necessary to meet the crisis, Father Kilbride said that it is not the availability of food, but the logistics of transporting it in a way satisfactory to the contending parties that is the problem.

The priest said that he had proposed his solution to Biafran representatives in New York, who conveyed it to the Biafran leader, Gen. C. Odumegwu Ojukwu. Father Kilbride said that he also had spoken to the director of internatonal relations of the American Red Cross, Samuel Krakow, who was going to convey the suggestion to the International Red Cross in Geneva.

Father Kilbride rejected the suggestion that Gen. Ojukwu is playing politics with the lives of his people. He said that he knows the Biafran leader personally and that his impression of Ojukwu, an impression supported by that of others, is that he is sincerely interested in his people.

Biafrans, Father Kilbride emphasized, fear that if they lay down their arms, they will be massacred. This, he said, has happened in some Biafran towns that were overrun by federal forces who machine-gunned the entire populations, men, women and children. In Calabar, several thousands Biafrans were machine-gunned, he said and added that Nigerian officers have admitted their inability to control their troops in such situations.

TRANSCONTINENTAL FLIGHTS TO SAN JOSE, CALIF.

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, August 20 of this year will be a significant day for air transportation in the San Jose, Calif., area for on this day United Air Lines inaugurates the first direct jet service between San Jose and major cities in the East, the Midwest and the Rocky Mountain region.

This scheduling by United will make San Jose the third major bay area city with direct flights to the east coast.

In response to a marketing analysis indicating continued strong development in the south bay area, United is scheduling two nonstop trips to and from Chicago, and one nonstop to and from Denver.

One Chicago flight continues on to Dulles International Airport at Washington, D.C., while the other will go to LaGuardia Airport in New York.

This major improvement in air service stems directly from the spectacular growth of the San Jose area.

An April 1968 survey shows San Jose to be the fastest growing major city in the Nation—having increased its population by 99.8 percent in just the past 8 years. In terms of rank, San Jose has surpassed such cities as Louisville, Ky., Oakland, Calif., Portland, Oreg., Newark, N.J., Long Beach, Calif., Toledo, Ohio, and Oklahoma City, Okla., to become the 31st largest city in the country.

Its expanding economy and thriving metropolis have generated significant air traffic needs which will now be met with this new flight schedule by United Air Lines. It will, indeed, be another great boost forward for our beautiful and prospering Santa Clara Valley.

THE PULSE OF AMERICA IS STRONG

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on June 13, the Honorable Arthur Levitt, Comptroller of the State of New York, delivered the commencement address at Yeshiva University. Without minimizing the seriousness of the problems that confront us in all areas of our lives, Mr. Levitt's remarks, entitled "The Pulse of America Is Strong," were directed at that which is strong in our society.

Proclaiming the three requisites for the fulfillment of man's higher destiny as education, law, and faith in that destiny, Mr. Levitt finds much evidence of the essential vitality in our Nation despite the ills of our strife-torn world.

I include the full text of his address at this point in the RECORD so that our colleagues may have the benefit of his wisdom:

THE PULSE OF AMERICA IS STRONG

(Address by State Comptroller Arthur Levitt, Commencement, Yeshiva University)

My theme this morning may be somewhat out of keeping with this fateful June of this tragic year 1968. My theme is not the reputed sickness of America; rather, it is the essential vitality of the condemned patient. I find the pulse very strong.

To be sure, the shock of the past week has echoed from commencement platforms across the entire nation. Some of the speakers have been apologists for the older generation, others have been analysts of the younger generation, and many have been both. We can agree with much of what has been said—and we can wonder what more there is to say, so far as the malady of society is concerned. The symptoms have all been documented, the diagnosis has been made, and the remedies have been prescribed.

I do not underestimate the challenge of these dark days in our history. But what we have really learned, or should learn, is as old as the wisdom of the ancient prophets. The ills of the world are the ills of man himself, and the only hope for man is a living faith in his higher destiny. This is the one great cure, from which all other remedies are derived. In this sense, there is nothing new in the trauma of the year 1968, although it is newly and terribly significant.

And if we go back into history a bit, there is nothing new in revolt on the campus, although the targets have changed radically. The great medieval schools, which sprung up as man emerged from the dark ages, had their greatest growth where the municipalities were freest and most vigorous. And so were the students: they finally revolted against the faculties, and established certain rules which sound downright revolutionary even by today's standards. Listen to a few of them:

All classes were to be regulated according to the instructions of the students' officers.

No member of the faculty could be absent, even for a day, without leave of the students.

It was required that every lecture begin and end punctually.

And it was required that each course be so arranged as to cover the ground at a proper rate, without evading difficulties or omitting anything.

These ideas do not seem to be medieval at all. And in later ages, students have revolted against various establishments, whether of the faculty, of society, or even of the State. The fact is that early revolt is a normal stage in the development of a mature person, provided that the revolt is not against responsibility—this could never be tolerated, whether in the home, on campus, or in the community.

Indeed, if I were a college student today, faced with the tensions and injustices of the age, then I too would want to find my own place, my own destiny, my purpose in such a turbulent world. This yearning would not be satisfied by all the ivy on the old walls, all the courses in the catalogue, nor by all the names of illustrious alumni on plaques and monuments scattered around the campus.

There can be no quarrel, then, with the desire of a student to assert his own individuality. There can be no quarrel with the right of any citizen in a democracy to challenge the establishment, provided he presses his cause by regular and legal means. But revolt for the sake of revolt is not a true cause; it is a malignant disorder. And it is this disorder, wherever it exists, which we must root out of the academic and civil world.

Having said these things—having acknowledged the ills of mankind in a strife-torn world, in our disturbed nation, and even in our colleges and universities—just how do we achieve the higher destiny I mentioned earlier? Where is this essential vitality I proclaimed at the beginning of my remarks? The answer is to be found in the three attributes of every truly civilized man: education, respect for law, and faith. And I submit that most Americans—certainly you who are graduates this morning, your parents, your friends, and your teachers—have these attributes in abundance.

Civilized man must begin, then, with education. This brings our focus a little stronger on the ceremony of this morning, which also had its origin in the history of the great medieval colleges and universities. In those days a commencement, or an "inception" as it was then called, was the occasion on which a bachelor candidate gave his first lecture or disputation. It was the beginning of his productive life as a scholar, the commencement of his further progress toward becoming an actual master or doctor. By an unfortunate evolution, you modern graduates sit mute and silent while the disputation, if we may call it that, is given by some interloper, such as I am today.

There was point to the medieval custom. The student emerged from his books, his lectures, his examinations, to demonstrate before the faculty of the university, or to try to demonstrate, that he was capable of doing original work. It was no longer enough that he have learning, now it was required that he have mastery of the tools of knowledge.

He was to be part of the intellectual world, not just an observer of it.

In spanning the eight centuries from the rise of European universities to the rise of the great municipal colleges of our own day, we witness the one common theme: knowledge is never ending, and education is among the first concerns of the community. There is discipline for teacher and student alike, and even a higher discipline once the student emerges from his books.

The challenge is to make our knowledge productive of a meaningful life, but our tendency is to confuse productivity with utility. We look to the degree itself to be useful in gaining employment and social acceptance, forgetting the greater endowment of a life enriched by philosophy and art if we but pursue them. We want education to amuse us, not discipline us. Cardinal Newman warned of this a century ago: "Recreations are not education," he wrote, "Accomplishments are not education. Do not say, the people must be educated, when after all you only mean amused, refreshed, soothed, put into good spirits and good humor, or kept from vicious excesses. I do not say that such amusement, such occupations of mind, are not a great gain; but they are not education." And there is a more recent precept that "Education consists essentially of preparing man for what he must be." I fear that today we expect education to prepare us, not for what we must be, but for what we must get."

Then there are those who go the other extreme and worship education as an end in itself, an honorable escape from usefulness, a life dedicated to footnotes and bibliographies. The very name of education becomes sacred, the scholar sacrosanct. Listen to G. K. Chesterton who wrote: "No man who worships education has got the best out of education; no man who sacrifices everything to education is ever educated . . . What is wrong is a neglect of principle, and the principle is that without a gentle contempt for education, no gentleman's education is complete." Albert Einstein, in a celebrated epigram, said much the same thing when he defined the education of a man as "that which remains, when he has forgotten everything he learned in school."

But your belief in the education of the whole man is the very reason you have attended Yeshiva. And, in such a university as this, we indeed find the basic vitality we seek in our society today. I refer not only to the fact that you have sought a deepening of our particular faith and cultural heritage, through four years of Jewish studies, but to the fact that the curriculum is designed to prepare any student for a meaningful life.

Some of the critics of the academic world should read through the catalogue of such an institution as Yeshiva, young as it may be in years. Aside from the more technical disciplines, the course descriptions in such fields as history, political science and sociology reflect the very search our whole nation is making for an understanding of our age. Let me list at random just a few of the fields most of you have covered in your studies:

"Outline of the cultural and material development of mankind from the dawn of history . . . evolution of the political, economic, social and intellectual life of the world . . . aspects of American history which have contributed to the shaping of American culture . . . political history of cities and suburbs; role of parties, bosses, elites, racial and religious minorities; reform movements, accomplishments and failures . . . ethnic and religious composition of the American population; adjustments of minority groups to the dominent culture; intergroup relations and tensions . . . social, educational and political opportunities for Negroes, Jews and others; nature and source of prejudice, public policies and proposed solution of ethnic problems."

Your studies, then, have already prepared you for the next attribute of civilized behavior I mentioned: respect for law. Indeed, you have had the opportunity to study the development of the great Hebraic tradition of the law, as well as systems of modern jurisprudence. Proud as we are of the special emphasis which Yeshiva places on the historical discipline of the law, in its broadest sense, it is fitting to acknowledge that on campus after campus in America there is scholarly attention to man's search for universal justice.

In this, we again find vitality. I do not say that all is well, merely because we have some course descriptions which should teach respect for law. The fact is a course description can sometimes be as inflated as a commercial—something only the students can tell. But much as we have talked about a climate of lawlessness in America, there is also a climate of sincere concern; and our schools and colleges share that concern in large measure. So do our religious institutions, our governmental agencies, and our communities throughout the nation.

Law is both the guarantor and—to use a phrase one commencement speaker suggested last week—the gyrator of freedom. Much of our society has confused freedom with self-determination of the law. The truth is that no man is free if his neighbor is completely uncontrolled. Surely this is the lesson from history—for man himself, for groups of men, for nations, and for the world. Our law, then, guarantees each man his freedom to live and act within a democratic society with the same rights and duties as any other man; but, by this very definition, no man's freedom may invade the rights of other citizens. That would be the end of freedom, not its exercise. And that is why the violence we have witnessed is not only criminal, it is treasonable to the very causes the perpetrators so loudly proclaim.

But I do not despair of the law, nor respect for the law. It seems to me that our revulsion for what has happened is now turning into national reappraisal—a reawakening, let us hope, to the basic endowments we have as citizens of the greatest nation on earth. I confess we do not see the way clearly, and I cannot tell you that you are about to emerge in a bright well-ordered world, but I can tell you—as a lawyer and as a public officer—that there is strength, great strength, in the law by which most of our citizens live and live in peace.

The third attribute I mentioned—the one on which all other quests in life should depend—is faith, faith in a higher destiny for man than his day-to-day contentions. Today, the expanding frontiers of our knowledge reveal the limitless wonders of creation. But in all the universe the human mind finds no wonder as great as the mind itself, no mystery as deep as the human spirit. Through mind and spirit man reaches out to seek the true purpose, the true meaning of what we know as life. As our minds are enriched, as we are lifted up in spirit, so do we come nearer to a perception, however dim, of eternal truth. There is no greater knowledge.

Now I know that it is not intellectually fashionable in certain circles these days to speak of the spirit or the soul. The analyst can't measure them, the biologist can't dissect them, the lawyer can't put them on the witness stand. But some things will remain forever beyond the scope of the computer, or the laboratory, or the rules of evidence. As the physical limits of the universe are pushed beyond millions of light years, so does the mystery of life, the wonder of creation, deepen. Thinking scientists bear witness to this today as readily as do philosophers.

It may seem strange that a speaker with a background primarily in law and government should be saying these things to you this morning. But intellect, self-discipline and faith should be part of every walk of life. I go further and say to you that never before have we so needed in government men and women of intelligence, of conviction, of vision and culture. A republic is truly representative only when it is responsive to all interests, all the aspirations of a free society. Here is the hope of America and here is your place in this remarkable age of growth and opportunity.

I have a last word for the young ladies in the graduating class this morning, as I have had at two other commencements in recent years. I do not know if we men will ever improve enough to right what is wrong in the world. But this is precisely where the educated women of the world have both opportunity and responsibility. You bring up the young men of the world, you are the life partners of the mature men of the world, you nurse the old men of the world. President Edward D. Eddy, Jr., of Chatham College had this in mind when he declared that: "The educated woman can keep the male eye from trivia, and the male mind from preoccupation with immediate effects. The educated woman can encourage a man to rise above self and can make community service something more than a hollow status race." You may particularly like what James Reston of the New York Times suggested a few years ago: "Somebody has to find a new way to get around old men and old problems, and since women have been doing precisely that for several thousand years, why not pass the problem to them?"

If I had not used up my last remarks for the young ladies, I would have addressed them to the long-suffering parents who at this point are rather anxious to make sure the diplomas are genuine. I will not detain you further. But let me say just this: your sons and daughters will honor the land we have known and loved, but they will improve America because they are not blind to her faults. They will resurrect her strength. The truth will indeed march on.

INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND PEIPING

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Chinese Information Service, a daily newspaper from Taipei, has called attention in the most interesting way to a recent editorial entitled "Insurmountable Obstacles Between Washington and Peiping." I think it is sufficiently important to justify reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and I submit it for that purpose:

CHINESE PAPER HERE SEES OBSTACLES IN WASHINGTON-PEIPING RAPPROCHEMENT

NEW YORK, July 1.—The Chinese-language *United Journal* of New York, in an editorial last Saturday entitled "Insurmountable Obstacles Between Washington and Peiping", scored some "White House aspirants" for their irresponsible advocation of better relations between the United States and Communist China. The paper has often been critical of the government of the Republic of China in the past.

A gist of the editorial follows:

"In recent years, some American politicians have come up with a myriad of measures and policies regarding the improvement of relations between the United States and Red China. While their real aim is to win votes and they will not necessarily translate their words into action once they are elected, their remarks tend to mislead and confuse the public opinion, and draw unfavorable reactions both at home and abroad.

"These so-called 'doves' invariably criticize the current U.S. policy of isolating Red China, and brag about their own plans of building bridges between the United States and the Chinese mainland.

"The common mistake committed by these doves is that they have not made a penetrating study of the background of the problem before they come up with their 'solution.' They would not hesitate to twist a fact in order to make an impression. For instance, these people blame the U.S. government for isolating the Peiping regime. They say the U.S. policy of trade embargo, refusal to make more contacts with Peiping, and denying Peiping diplomatic recognition and a seat in the United Nations are responsible for Peiping's hostility toward the United States.

"This is a twist of the fact. Red China's isolation is the result of its own foreign policy. Since its establishment in 1949, the Chinese Communist regime has adopted a policy of standing against all neighbors. Their bellicosity has become worse since the 'proletarian cultural revolution' began some two years ago. Red China has struck out at friends and foes alike. The United States, especially, has been regarded as its 'public enemy number one,' and a 'hate America' campaign has been pushed all over the Chinese mainland. At Warsaw, the Americans have been trying for the past 13 years to talk to Peiping representatives in the hope of improving relations between the two countries. But after more than 140 meetings, the result is nil. Isn't 13 years long enough to set up a normal relationship between Washington and Peiping, if this is possible? But Peiping's hostility toward the United States has not at all been modified. So, is it the United States who is trying to isolate Peiping, or vice versa?

"Another question the American doves should ponder before clamoring for improved Washington-Peiping relations is what price the U.S. is ready to pay to solicit Peiping's favor. Can the United States afford to disregard the strategic value of Taiwan and meekly submit it to Peiping? Taiwan has long been regarded as an important link of the chain of U.S. defense in the Pacific which stretches from Alaska to the Philippines. Upon the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, President Truman ordered the defense of Taiwan by U.S. Seventh Fleet. Since then, this island has become an indispensable shield of the Ryukyus in the north and the Clark Base in the south. Should Taiwan fall into the hands of the Chinese Communists, the whole West Pacific would become an inland lake of the Communist bloc and American bases in Japan and the Philippines would be directly exposed to Communist threat. The result would be the eventual withdrawal of all U.S. troops from East Asia. In other words, U.S. defense of Taiwan is for its own good.

"The White House aspirants, therefore, should pause to ponder the insurmountable obstacles—such as the question of Taiwan—on the road to a Washington-Peiping rapprochement, before making any more irresponsible remarks."

AN AMERICA TO BUILD

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with you a moving letter which appeared in one of my district newspapers. At a time when one is constantly barraged with the wrongs of society, a young man, Mark Gottwald of Liberty High School, Bethlehem, Pa., has written an inspiring message to which all Americans should take heed. With young men such as Mark working toward a better America, I am hopeful of its, theirs, and our success in shaping tomorrow.

The letter follows:

BUILD AMERICA

To the Editor:

Hippies! Shed your beads, cancel your "trip", trim your flowing locks, meditate on Americanism, hold your sickening tongue. We've an America to build.

Blacks! Retreat from Washington, spare our cities, true integration is a long, time consuming process. Promote Americanism and you will attain Black Power. We've America to build.

Protesters! Silence your mouths. Do not hinder the efforts of our soldiers and leaders. At present, your cowardice outshines your patriotism. Make an about face. Attack the Carmichael's and the Rap Brown's. We've an America to build.

Students! Respect authority. If there are changes to be made, don't throw rocks or capture university buildings. There are more intelligent means for change. School is an institution where students are taught, not where students teach. You are the leaders of tomorrow, and we've an America to build.

Assassins! Lay down your death-dealing guns. We've already lost too many good leaders. We need excellent men, for we've an America to build.

Americans! Show your colors, support our country, salute the Flag, sing the Star Spangled Banner. Unite, we've an America to Build.

MARK GOTTWALD.

A STRONG PLEA FOR AN INDEPENDENT MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the Record the text of an address by our very able and distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, the Honorable James A. Byrne, before the AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Department on Wednesday, July 31, 1968.

Congressman Byrne makes a strong plea for an independent Maritime Administration as one of the surest ways to revitalize our merchant marine and regain our maritime strength. He has for many years been a fighter for the strong maritime program so vital to this country's security, as demonstrated by problems created by the Vietnam war.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Congressman Byrne's address to the attention of all of our colleagues. It is as follows:

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES A. BYRNE, DEMOCRAT OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO AFL–CIO MARITIME TRADES DEPARTMENT, JULY 31, 1968

I appreciate your very kind invitation to come here today to discuss some important maritime matters with you.

As you know, I come from a maritime state. The Port of Philadelphia is important to the economic viability of a large area of Eastern Pennsylvania—and so are the nearby shipbuilding facilities. Together, they provide jobs for seamen and dockside workers; for skilled craftsmen in the shipyards and in supporting trades and industries.

But my concern about maritime problems is larger than just the problem that lies at my own doorstep. I am equally disturbed as an American citizen—about the continuing decline of our fleet because of the serious implications of this decline on our defense and our balance of payments.

Our fleet has declined in size, it has grown old in the service of our country, and it has been outpaced by the modern fleets of other nations. Whether you measure our maritime posture by the number of ships we have on the high seas, by the amount of cargo that they carry, or by the relative output of our shipyards—by any measure, we have lost our position as the world's leader—a position which we enjoyed just 20 years ago. Today we're sixth in shipping and we're fourteenth in shipbuilding. We can't slip much lower.

Stating the dimensions of the problem is one thing; finding solutions is something else. For several years, Congress and the maritime industry have been struggling with various proposals for revitalizing our merchant fleet. Most of these proposals are valid, and should be enacted into law. But to my way of thinking, none of the steps that has been suggested will produce the kind of maritime activity that our commerce and defense demands until we take one other basic step.

The most important need that the merchant marine has is to reconstitute the Maritime Administration as a totally independent agency.

With an independent agency, there is a chance for our merchant fleet; without it, there is very serious doubt that we can move fast enough or far enough in the utilization of public and private resources to get the job done.

This is not guesswork. History supports the conclusion that an independent agency provides the best possible road to success in maritime affairs.

When Congress passed the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, it created an autonomous U.S. Maritime Commission. During the next 14 years, this independent agency initiated a long-range shipbuilding program which produced the vessels which today still constitute the nucleus of our present fleet. This imaginative ship construction program made it possible for us to meet the monumental task of providing the huge convoys that were required in World War II—for if our merchant fleet hadn't been expanding in peacetime, it never would have been in position to serve as our fourth arm of defense in wartime.

Shipbuilding was only a part of the successful activity that took place while our merchant marine affairs were being guided by an autonomous federal agency. The vigorous promotional activities of the autonomous U.S. Maritime Commission resulted in a significant increase in the carriage of American import-export cargoes aboard U.S.-flag vessels.

In other words, Congress had enunciated a policy for our merchant marine—that it should be composed of American-built, American-owned and American-manned vessels; that the fleet should be adequate to carry a significant amount of our commercial cargo; and that it should be strong enough to serve as a wartime military auxiliary. And we had an independent agency which carried out that policy to the letter.

The reason was simple: The independent commission was an agency with a mission, and an agency with a voice. It had the ear of the White House and the ear of the Congress. It wasn't caught up in any bureaucratic snarl, and so it was able to make progress—and it did.

Unfortunately, this situation changed in 1950. The government went through one of its periodic reorganizations and in the process two things happened:

The maritime agency lost its independent status; and

The fortunes of our merchant marine went into a decline.

In 1950, when the maritime program was absorbed by the Department of Commerce, we were carrying more than 41 percent of our imports and exports in American-flag ships. Within four years, our share of the cargo had declined to less than 28 percent. By 1964, we were down to 8.3 percent of our cargo. Two years ago, we were carrying only 7 percent of our imports and exports—and today, our share of this nation's waterborne commerce is down to about 5.5 percent.

In other words, the decline that began in 1950—at the time that maritime lost its independence—has continued unabated down to today.

At the time of the reorganization in 1950, Congress may have felt there was some merit in putting maritime into the Department of Commerce. It may have seemed like a sensible thing, in line with the recommendations of the Hoover Commission and others who advocated streamlining government. But at least as far as maritime was concerned, it was a grievous error.

It superimposed another level of bureaucracy on our maritime program. The agency charged with promoting and developing our maritime affairs to the fullest was made subservient to a Cabinet-level Department with a larger, and infinitely more diverse, mission. The recommendations of maritime experts were repeatedly overruled by a higher authority—by someone with less expertise, and less concern, for our maritime position.

The situation was further distorted by the fact that other agencies in the Executive Branch asked for—and were given—an opportunity to meddle in maritime affairs. At one time or another, the Department of State, Defense, Agriculture and Interior have made decisions directly affecting maritime—and usually affecting it adversely. This is not surprising, for these agencies serve other constituencies; their first loyalty and their first concern was for their primary constituencies; and nobody was there to speak up for maritime.

I certainly wouldn't have enjoyed being the Maritime Administrator under those circumstances. Just look at what happened on ship construction funds—to cite only one example—and you'll see how frustrating it must have been to any Maritime Administrator charged with the responsibility for developing our fleet, but denied the opportunity to function without interference.

In 1956, for example, the Maritime Administration asked for $492 million for construction subsidies. The Secretary of Commerce cut that figure nearly in half—to $259 million. And the Budget Bureau slashed it still further—to $175 million.

Or take 1961. The Maritime Administration recommended spending $344 million for ship construction. The Department of Commerce cut the figure to $250 million. And by the time it had passed through the Budget Bureau meatgrinder, the figure was down to $129 million.

Or take 1963. Maritime asked for $344 million, only to have the Department of Commerce cut the figure by two-thirds—to $98 million. The Budget Bureau didn't help, either, because it reduced the request to $50 million—just about one-seventh of what the Maritime Administration felt was needed to do the job.

I cite these three years as examples—there are many others. They show that this has been a consistent pattern, irrespective of which party controlled the Administration—demonstrating that this has been a direct byproduct of the reorganization plan under which maritime lost its independence.

In 1966—and you know, this, because you were active in opposing it—the Administration recommended that the Maritime Administration be swept into the Department of Transportation which Congress was in the process of setting up. Congress acted wisely, I think, in rejecting that move—because it would have done nothing more for maritime than transfer it from one bureaucratic overlord to another.

History has proven it was a mistake to put maritime into the Department of Commerce where it had to compete with the Department's big business programs. It would be equally shortsighted to put this agency into the Department of Transportation where it would have to compete for attention and for money with domestic modes of transportation. This is a Department which, by its very nature, is dominated by the well-endowed aerospace industry, by the well-protected railroad industry, and by the well-endowed trucking and highway industry.

So we were successful, two years ago, in keeping maritime out of the Department of Transportation. But it still resides in the Department of Commerce, and its fortunes continue to decline.

I don't need to remind you that last year the House of Representatives voted by a substantial margin to give the Maritime Administration its long-sought-after independence. I am proud to have been a co-sponsor of that legislation, and I am equally proud that the vote in favor of the bill was so overwhelming—326 to 44.

It's been a long time since the House vote, but we're finally beginning to see some action on this measure. As you know, the Senate Commerce Committee last week voted unanimously to report the maritime independence bill to the Senate. So the bill is now one step closer to enactment.

This weekend, Congress will go into a month's recess while the two major parties hold their national conventions. In the course of those conventions, both parties are reasonably certain to adopt strongly worded planks about the need for regaining our maritime strength.

Well, when Congress reconvenes in September, we'll have an opportunity to test the sincerity of those maritime planks—and the test will come on the Senate vote on maritime independence.

Creating an independent agency—concerned solely with the development and promotion of a full-scale merchant marine, freed from the veto power of another federal agency, and endowed with a voice of its own—constitutes our best hope for regaining our supremacy on the high seas.

Frankly, I'm optimistic about the independent agency bill's prospects in the Senate. This is not a partisan issue—it's an American issue. The vote in the House proved that. Members on both sides of the aisle stood up and were counted in favor of this bill—and I'm sure they'll do the same thing in the Senate.

When we reconvene, there will be a lot of important unfinished business. I count the bill to establish a Maritime Administration as one of the vital pieces of legislation calling out for prompt action.

I hope that the Senate will give top priority to the measure—for our national defense, our international balance of payments, and our domestic economy all are dependent on its passage.

THIS WE BELIEVE

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to share with the Members the conclusions of the American Government class at Hoover High School, North Canton, Ohio, on various foreign and domestic policies of the United States. You will find them in sharp contrast with the opinions we usually hear from the campus, and reflect some sound ideas about the federal system:

This We Believe

FOREIGN POLICY

Section A. We propose to arrange foreign aid more to the advantage of the United States of America.

Section B. We shall stop paying the dues for other nations in the United Nations. We will continue to pay our own, but only our own, assessment.

Section C. We propose to make the following treaties:

Article 1. Incorporate Israel into the now-existing Central Treaty Organization if she wishes this. If Israel doesn't want to be admitted, we shall offer to form a private treaty with her.

Article 2. We shall attempt to reach an agreement with Great Britain concerning her colonial claims east of the Suez Canal and the protection, and aid to, these areas.

Section D. We plan to mobilize to victory if there is no significant accomplishment at the discussion table in an allotted time.

Article 1. We suggest blockading the harbor and prevent trade with North Vietnam.

Article 2. We suggest bombing more strategic places.

Article 3. We shall not however, just "pull out" after securing victory, but shall fully keep our commitments to South Vietnam, concerning help in rebuilding and helping the new government get a start.

FISCAL POLICY

Section A. We, determining fiscal spending of the United States of America, firmly believe that we should reduce non-defense federal spending. We propose to do this in the following ways:

Article 1. We propose to eleminate unnecessary federal agencies.

Article 2. We will encourage private enterprise to assume responsibilities which they are capable of assuming, and which government agencies have previously and unnecessarily assumed.

Article 3. We wish to gradually allocate funds and the administration of funds for certain (federal) programs to the State governments.

CIVIL RIGHTS

We believe in the principles expressed by our forefathers as to equal rights for all. We also believe in *relative, not absolute civil rights.* If a citizen infringes upon the rights of another, however, we believe the law enforcement agencies of the State should take due action. Also we believe the State police power should protect in accordance with public health, morals, safety, and welfare.

However, we also believe that:

1. Rioters and looters should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

2. The owner retains the right to sell his property to whomever he wishes.

3. The handcuffs should be taken off of the police.

4. The free enterprise system is the backbone of the nation. We do not believe in the break-down of this system by a handing-out of dole to those who refuse to work. We believe that the present welfare program should be reformed and that the State should administer the welfare.

5. The States hold and have held a very important position in the growth of this nation. Therefore, we believe in the rights of the States to run more of their own affairs, however, rather than federal control, the nation may allocate money to States to be used in programs as they see fit. (welfare and education)

Constitutional changes

We propose an eight year term for a Supreme Court Justice after which Congress shall approve if he stays on.

URBAN AFFAIRS

Crime

1. Inform the public through communication meetings by television and newspapers.
2. Delinquents and other misdemeanor criminals should be made to perform public labor, wearing designated clothing when appearing in public.
3. In any situation, those looting should have *stronger* law enforcements placed upon them.

Example: A 5 year sentence with *no* probation.

4. Increased national guard power.

Transportation

Government subsidizes railroads

a. Channel funds previously used for highways.

b. Reduce taxes by setting ceilings and reduce taxes on land holdings by railroads.

Housing

1. Set up maintenance code.
2. Conform to maintain or building will be demolished.
3. *New Program*—Clean-up cities and when they would meet government inspection they would receive a check paying for the previously maintained system.

Government operation

Committee of investigators, investigate State and Federal government bureaucracy.

SHOULD WE LICENSE PLEASURE BOAT DRIVERS?

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, during the summer months this year more people than ever before are taking to the water for recreational purposes. The Coast Guard estimates that there will be more than 8 million boats and 40 million boaters on the lakes, rivers, and coastal waters of the United States this year.

Unfortunately, the dramatic increase in recreational boating has been paralleled by a concurrent increase in accidents afloat, and boating safety has become a major problem. Agencies at all levels of government are concerned over the dangers caused by congestion and unsafe operations afloat.

Because operator licensing might aid in promoting recreation boating safety, an article in the August issue of the VFW magazine is of particular interest, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

SHOULD WE LICENSE PLEASURE BOAT DRIVERS?

(By Ray Schuessler)

Four vacationers in a motorboat cruised pleasantly down Niagara River on a sunny afternoon some distance from the Falls when suddenly to their horror, the engine began to sputter and die. Frantically they attempted to start the motor as the boat drifted perilously close to the Lorelei Falls of Niagara. "Toss the anchor!" one screamed hysterically. But there was no anchor; not even a rope. Hopelessly the boat drifted to the edge of the precipice with its paralyzed human cargo and vanished in a veil of moaning spray. "The boat could have been held upriver with an anchor and sufficient line," said the U.S. Coast Guard.

This was just one of thousands of needless boating accidents each year which is beginning to plague America's top family sport of boating with its 40,000,000 participants and 7,000,000 boats.

Three million new boating enthusiasts will be attracted to the water this summer. Accidents are rising at a much more rapid rate than that of boat ownership.

Last year more than 1,400 persons died in 4,300 boating accidents, more than all types of airplane accidents which hit the headlines so sensationally, and also greater than the toll from most communicable diseases.

The U.S. Coast Guard alone averages some 800 rescue calls a month during the summer season. In some states there are more deaths from weekend water accidents than on the highway.

The problem is bound to compound. More Americans are buying and using boats than ever before. Recreational boating has, in the space of a few short years, passed from a sport enjoyed by a privileged few (in 1947 when there were 8,000 pleasure craft, someone wrote: "The motor boat has become the safest form of modern relaxation and travel") to a major sport for millions. In one state (California) in 1955 there were 95,000 pleasure boats; in 1962 there were 283,000, and economists have projected a total of 557,000 boats in this one state alone by 1975.

A review of boating fatalities shows that just plain inexperience causes most of the accidents. At this moment a person of any age or experience, even if he has failed an auto driver's test, can go right down to a boatyard in any state (only one state has a sort of "test") and take out any craft not classified as commercial. There is no minimum age limit, no liability insurance requirement and no licensing of the operator.

Actually, it is more difficult to maneuver a boat than an automobile. A boat has no brakes. It rides on a fluid, no-contact surface susceptible to wind and waves. There are no familiar traffic signs, no signals, no center-lined highways. The buoy system of marking the waterways is not understood by an overwhelming majority of pleasure boat operators.

Yet some "road rules" must be learned by boaters. For instance, one boater towing a water skier failed to yield the right of way, and crashed broadside into a motorboat hurling a 12-year-old occupant to her death. A boat speeding at night without lights ran down and killed a 16-year-old bather.

One beginner didn't know enough to slow down when a larger ship passed him. He struck the large boat's wake bow first. The smaller craft was tossed so violently that he lost his grip on the wheel. His wife fell overboard and the boat's propeller passed over her.

Actually, in few other sports can accidents so surely and completely be avoided by simple precautions. The deadliest error for boaters is to neglect life preservers. If the hundreds of persons who are thrown overboard every year were wearing a life-saving device, 97% of them would survive. Often boaters sit on the preserver thinking it is "sissy" to wear them.

Statistics show that a life-saving device was not used by 666 of 757 drowning victims of boating accidents last year. Yet 55% of those who did not use a device had one readily available in the boat.

Overloading is another fatal error. According to a study published by the U.S. Coast Guard, about 40% of all boating fatalities occurred because of capsizing; 20% of the fatalities from persons falling overboard, and 10% from sinking, making a total of 70% of the fatalities related to the stability of the vessel.

Certainly, the four men who went out on a fishing trip in a 14½ foot boat with a 25 horsepower engine were ignorant of good boatmanship. The men's weight was close to 800 pounds. As the boat moved along, the keel was so deep that water surface lapped just 5 inches from the gunwale. Soon they met a slight wind that sent waves up over the bow. They swamped and sank. Two of the men drowned. Common sense should have dictated that only 5 inches of freeboard was dangerous.

Many boaters get caught in storms because they don't keep an eye on changing weather. Worse, many start out when bad weather is predicted. Take the youngster who took his two friends for a ride in a new boat despite the fact a small craft warning flag was out. Ten minutes after he left, a gale warning signal was hoisted. Seventeen hours later his boat was discovered on a beach. All the occupants were dead.

Horseplay is a major contributor to boating accidents. A 14-year-old boy who was racing around the harbor miscalculated the speed of another boat. His 18-foot speedboat literally climbed aboard the second boat. Luckily no one was hurt, although the struck boat sank quickly.

In Colorado, a college student drowned after being thrown from his boat while making a sharp turn. The driverless boat then whipped around and struck the skier inflicting painful injuries.

A boy while buzzing a boat lost control and rammed it, hurling a 7-year-old girl to her death. Another skipper drove his outboard into a buoy, catapulting a passenger out who was slashed to death by the propeller.

The old drinking and driving adage applies equally to a boat as to a car. For example, three men anxious to start a fishing vacation were delayed by bad weather. They started drinking and they became so brave they decided to buck the weather. They launched their boat and roared across the rough lake. They were never seen again.

Don't think that just because you simply go fishing in a boat that you are not vulnerable. According to the Outboard Boating Club of America over 50% of small boat accidents involved fishermen.

Until the time that every boater must learn the rules of boating and seamanship, here are boating rules which can save your life:

1. Check the boat for leaks and other defects before leaving shore. Be sure there is an extra oar and a bailing can aboard. If you use a motor have it checked regularly. Carry tools for minor repairs.

2. Carry an emergency fuel supply in an approved container. Fuel only in daylight, except in emergency. If the fuel is spilled on the motor, dry it completely before starting. A spark from a short circuit may ignite the fuel. When fueling, all doors, hatches and ports should be closed to prevent heavier-than-air gasoline vapors from settling below deck. In addition to strict no-smoking rules, galley fires and pilot lights should be extinguished. Keep filling nozzle in contact with fill pipe to prevent static spark.

3. Learn channel markings, anchorages and use of lights thoroughly. Check weather and tides before setting out. Fix permanent landmarks that will help you in locating your position at night. Investigate local sources for any information on reefs, tide rips, buoys and local customs.

4. Life preservers should be readily available. They go on easier and better before, not after a crisis. Provide proper-size life belts and jackets for children since youngsters can easily slip through an adult-sized one.

5. Overloading is extremely dangerous. The number of seats in a boat does not indicate the number of passengers the craft can safely carry. Many major boat manufacturers display a seal on each boat certifying the craft

as to horsepower and load capacity. Do not exceed either limit.

6. Passengers should never sit or stand on stem, stern or gunwales. In rough weather, passengers should sit low to keep the boat stable sidewise and away from the ends to give bow and stern buoyance so the boat will ride over and not bury itself in the waves.

7. Falls cause more injuries afloat than anything else. Eliminate tripping hazards and wear non-slip shoes.

8. If one person rides a boat he should keep away from the ends, especially in a canoe. Do not sit in the rear seat of an empty canoe, especially in a strong wind.

9. Be watchful in swimming areas. Avoid all such areas if at all possible.

10. Watch your wake. It can capsize a small craft.

11. If caught in rough water turn your boat so the waves are received at a 45-degree angle to either the left or right side of the bow. Throw out luggage if necessary. Keep bailing.

12. In a canoe, get off the seats and kneel on the bottom just back of the middle. It is better on a small lake to drift across it rather than try to fight against the wind and current.

13. Know the distress signals. Trouble on small boats is signaled by slowly raising and lowering your outstretched arms to each side.

14. Teach at least one other person on board how to operate the boat in case you are disabled.

15. The majority of fatal boating accidents occur because the person or persons involved could not swim. However, if there are non-swimmers aboard find out at once who they are and assign a good swimmer to stand by them if an emergency should develop.

There are two organizations active in most parts of the country which are doing an excellent job in the interest of boating safety: the U.S. Power Squadron and the Coast Guard Auxiliary. The former conducts classes open to the public in elementary boating. All you pay for is your instructional material. Those who pass their exam are considered for membership.

The Coast Guard also conducts free public instruction classes and exams in seamanship and boat handling. They require certain equipment to be aboard and certain construction features designed to keep you out of trouble. If you pass the exam you get a sticker.

Your local marine dealer or boating club can put you in contact with either the Coast Guard Auxiliary or the U.S. Power Squadron. If such information is not available in your community, write to Boating Industry Association, 333 North Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60601.

These safety habits are worthwhile learning until such time as a license will be required and all boat drivers are tested for driving and seamanship. By our actions we can spread this knowledge among the many new boating devotees every summer and help aviod needless tragedies.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES FREEDOM OF CHOICE ACT

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Employees Freedom of Choice Act has been a topic of great discussion for the past several weeks.

My office has been flooded with numerous calls from fellow Congressmen's offices concerning this act. It is quite interesting to point out that the President's Federal Employees Labor Management Review Commission has still not issued its report.

Furthermore, we were informed that the report would be issued in May and then sometime in early June.

Two very poignant articles have been printed concerning the Freedom of Choice Act. For the reference of my colleagues I am inserting the articles into the RECORD:

[From the Savannah Morning News, June 24, 1968]

RIGHT TO REFRAIN

Former President John F. Kennedy has been praised often and criticized often for the executive orders he signed during the short time he was in office. His orders, however, have no particular permanency past his own term. They can be ignored or reversed by future Presidents.

One of those orders signed by President Kennedy involved the President's affirmation of a cherished right of many Americans who work for the federal government for a living.

As President Kennedy said it, "Employes of the Federal government shall have, and shall be protected in the exercise of, the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist any employe organization or to refrain from such activity". (Jan. 17, 1962.)

Since last September, however, a commission created by President Lyndon B. Johnson has been studying government policy toward its own workers. The commission, which will report shortly, is expected to omit President Kennedy's mention of the "right to refrain," meaning that federal employees could now be forced to join a labor union in order to work or to keep their jobs.

Georgia Rep. Ben B. Blackburn, however, believes President Kennedy's executive order on the "right to refrain" is important enough to be made permanent. He is sponsoring a bill to make it so, and nearly two dozen congressmen from all parts of the nation have joined him.

Persons who either work now or in the future may work for the federal government, and who would object to compulsory union membership as a condition of working, should encourage passage of Rep. Blackburn's bill. We urge its passage, and commend him for sponsoring it.

[From the Phoenix, (Ariz.) Republic, July 18, 1968]

FEDERAL RIGHT-TO-WORK LEGISLATION TO BECOME NATIONAL ISSUE NEXT YEAR

(By Reed Larson)

The battle cry of 14(b) has been raised once more in the halls of Congress, and the results are sure to reverberate through the nation's polling places in November.

Union leaders are again on a collision course with advocates of employe freedom, this time as a result of the nearly-successful grab for a compulsory union dues check-off from the paychecks of 3 million federal employes.

In the 1966 elections, bosses of organized labor suffered what Al Barkan, national director of the AFL–CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), described as "a terrible belting" when union political favorites were saddled with the impossible task of defending forced union membership.

During 1965 and 1966, salaried AFL–CIO officials almost succeeded in pushing through Congress a bill repealing Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, thereby legalizing compulsory unionism in all 50 states.

Their bill passed the House, but was later killed in the Senate.

Now history is repeating itself—and union strategists are understandably scared.

Salaried union officials have long wanted to force all 3 million employes of the federal government to pay union dues in order to keep their jobs—just as many thousands of the 9 million state and local government workers are already being forced to do.

It doesn't take any deep thinking to figure out why the union bosses put compulsory membership at the top of their want lists.

At just $5 a month in compulsory fees, the 3 million federal employees represent a $15 million-a-month war chest.

The evidence is strong that a political deal to pave the way for forced unionism was already well underway when the public became aware of what was going on—as a result of warnings sounded by columnist Ralph de Toledano and other alert observers.

It was disclosed that a Presidential Review Committee, set up by President Johnson last September to recommend changes in the 1962 Kennedy executive order, was considering a plan which would force government employes to pay money into union treasuries—and the machinery was geared to implement that plan.

The public outcry that followed this disclosure forced union bosses and administration officials into a hasty retreat. The revised executive order has been postponed indefinitely.

While this flood of public protest has delayed plans for forced dues check-offs, it provides the federal employe no lasting protection.

The threat of compulsory unionism continues to hang, like the sword of Damocles, over the head of every federal worker.

Recognizing the urgent need for more substantial protection of this precious freedom, a bipartisan group of some 40 representatives and senators, led by Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah) and Rep. Ben B. Blackburn (R-Ga), have proposed the Federal Employes Freedom of Choice Act of 1968.

This legislation features the language of the 1962 Executive Order by then President John F. Kennedy, which said:

"Employes of the federal government shall have, and shall be protected in the exercise of, the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist any employe organization or to refrain from such activity."

In introducing the House counterpart of the Bennett bill, Representative Blackburn commented: "The right of federal employes to join or not to join a union is too valuable to be subject to the whims of whoever might occupy the White House."

Although time ran out before the bill could be enacted in this Congress, the issue will be renewed early in 1969.

THE 10 PILLARS OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Ralph Smeed of Caldwell, Idaho, recently sent me a list of principles entitled "The 10 Pillars of Economic Wisdom." At a time when our economic freedom is challenged both at home and abroad, I think these words speak more commonsense in just a few short sentences than most of the documents produced by the various Government agencies combined.

I want to thank Mr. Smeed for sending me the 10 Pillars of Economic Wisdom, and I commend them to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress:

> 1. Nothing in our material world can come from nowhere or go nowhere, nor can it be free: everything in our economic life has a source, a destination, and a cost that must be paid.
>
> 2. Government is never a source of goods. Everything produced is produced by the people, and everything that government gives to the people it must first take from the people.
>
> 3. The only valuable money that government has to spend is that money taxed or borrowed out of the people's earnings. When government decides to spend more than it has thus received, that extra unearned money is created out of thin air, through the banks, and, when spent, takes on value only by reducing the value of all money, savings, and insurance.
>
> 4. In our modern exchange economy, all payroll and employment come from customers, and the only worthwhile job security is customer security; if there are no customers, there can be no payroll and no jobs.
>
> 5. Customer security can be achieved by the worker only when he cooperates with management in doing the things that win and hold customers. Job security, therefore, is a partnership problem that can be solved only in a spirit of understanding and cooperation.
>
> 6. Because wages are the principal cost of everything, widespread wage increases, without corresponding increase in production, simply increase the cost of everybody's living.
>
> 7. The greatest good for the greatest number means, in its material sense, the greatest goods for the greatest number which, in turn, means the greatest productivity per worker.
>
> 8. All productivity is based on three factors: 1) natural resources, whose form, place, and condition are changed by the expenditure of 2) human energy (both muscular and mental), with the aid of 3) tools.
>
> 9. Tools are the only one of these three factors that man can increase without limit, and tools come into being in a free society only when there is a reward for the temporary self-denial that people must practice in order to channel part of their earnings away from purchases that produce immediate comfort and pleasure, and into new tools of production. Proper payment for the use of tools is essential to their creation.
>
> 10. The productivity of the tools—that is, the efficiency of the human energy applied in connection with their use—has always been highest in a competitive society in which the economic decisions are made by millions of progress-seeking individuals, rather than in a state-planned society in which those decisions are made by a handful of all-powerful people, regardless of how well-meaning, unselfish, sincere and intelligent those people may be.

REPORT ON THE 90TH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, AT THE AUGUST RECESS

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during the August recess of Congress for the national conventions, it is important to review the present accomplishments of this session of the 90th Congress and to determine what remains to be accomplished on the agenda of unfinished business when Congress reconvenes in September.

CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

The safety of our streets and communities is one of the most important problems of our times. Citizens cannot live in either fear or danger. There must be order and complete respect for the law.

As a former judge for almost 8 years, I have had a wide experience with the many and special problems of law enforcement. The police and the courts cannot do this job alone; every citizen must help.

There are those who endeavor to make political gain on the crime issue. Some of these same advocates of law and order oppose measures on the Federal level which would help alleviate the climate for crime and the disrespect for the law.

In the final analysis, effective law enforcement and crime control must take place on the local level. As a local judge, in the real hot seat of the whole issue of crime control and law enforcement, I found out very quickly that nothing can replace firm, swift, and just application of the law.

Neither the community, the victim of violence, nor the individual charged with crime should suffer inadequate police crime investigation techniques because of lack of funds, training, or countywide cooperation.

The local courts in our community for years have begged for more adequate, modern facilities, higher pay for our local police, and modern investigative forces. As a lawyer, judge, and Congressman, I have fought to enable local law enforcement agencies to carry out their duties swiftly, fairly, and equally.

The one thing we must remember is that the respect for the law on the local level is determined by the effectiveness with which the law is applied and administered by the local police, prosecutors, and courts, each of whom must be assisted to modernize their procedures.

In this connection, Congress has been deeply concerned about the present level of crime and violence in America. Between 1961 and 1966, Congress passed a total of 17 measures dealing with the problems of crime and law enforcement. The most important of these measures was the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965, which was designed to provide training and technical assistance to local law enforcement bodies.

The second session of the 90th Congress will long be remembered for enacting into law two major and significant pieces of anticrime legislation—and it will also be remembered for failing to take adequate action against the easy flow of firearms into the hands of criminals.

After a year and a half of consideration and delay, the House and Senate finally agreed to an Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act in June of this year. Basically, this legislation authorizes $400 million in law enforcement assistance grants to States and local communities. The first $100 million will be funded for fiscal 1969, and $300 million for fiscal 1970. This law should be of great assistance to many local communities in providing funds for improved training, better equipment, and communications networks.

I testified on this legislation last year before the House Judiciary Committee, urging increased funding levels and greater emphasis toward assistance for metropolitan areas. I pointed out:

> In city after city across the country, dusk brings a curfew to honest citizens who are afraid to venture out at night, who are afraid to ride the buses, and who are afraid of every stranger on the street and every knock on the door.

I urged the inclusion of provisions providing grant assistance for urban communities like ours in Cuyahoga County:

> Other grants should be made to encourage the establishment of metropolitan or areawide consolidation of essential police functions, such as a common crime laboratory, confinement areas, an automatic data record system, and a consolidated dispatch system. Crime never stops at the city limits.

The bill which passed met many of my recommendations.

The second major area of crime control considered by this session of the 90th Congress related to gun control. Originally, a measure was passed which regulated the interstate sale and shipment of handguns—pistols, revolvers, and small automatics. In a second bill, the House has just approved the extension of such controls to long guns, such as shotguns and rifles. The Senate is presently considering the measure.

There has been a great deal of confusion and distortion over what these measures would do. These provisions would not take any law-abiding citizen's firearm away from him. The right to possess firearms is protected by the second amendment of the Bill of Rights, which is, of course, an integral part of the Constitution.

These measures would make firearms more difficult for criminals to obtain. If such controls had been in effect earlier, the assassination of two leading Americans, one a President, would have been much more difficult.

In addition, I supported further gun control measures which were advocated by the administration. These measures would have provided for very simple licensing and registration of guns. Such licensing and registration, which to the law-abiding citizen would be no more troublesome than renewing one's driver's license, would make it much easier for police authorities to keep guns out of the hands of the irresponsible.

Such registration and licensing laws are in effect in a number of States and have made a significant difference in the level of violence and fatal crimes. In October of 1966, the Federal Bureau of Investigation issued a Law Enforcement Bulletin which pointed out that the national average of murders per 100,000 was 5.6 and that States with strong firearms laws tended to have lower overall murder rates. The following table is reprinted from FBI Bulletin:

	Percent of murders by firearms	Overall murder rate per 100,000
Strong gun law States:		
Pennsylvania	43.2	3.2
New Jersey	38.6	3.5
New York	31.8	4.8
Massachusetts	35.5	2.4
Rhode Island	24.0	1.4
Weak gun law States:		
Arizona	66.4	6.1
Nevada	66.9	10.6
Texas	68.7	9.1
Mississippi	70.9	9.7
Louisiana	62.0	9.9

The column at the right shows that States with weak gun laws have almost three times the murder rate of States with strong gun laws.

SCHOOL LUNCH

In the field of education and education services, I was very pleased that the House of Representatives considered and passed a bill which I originally introduced on October 3, 1967. This bill extended the provisions of the very successful school lunch program to children attending preschool programs and summer educational activities. This bill, which the President signed on May 8, will utilize surplus foods to provide nutritional meals for thousands of children at a minimum of cost.

VOCATIONAL AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The House has just passed major amendments to the higher education programs of the Federal Government. The Senate passed a different version of the education bill earlier. It is imperative that the House and Senate get together and iron out the differences between their two versions as soon as possible, since final education plans for both college administrators and thousands of students are dependent on the outcome of this legislation.

Basically, this year's amendments will extend, and in ways improve, the operation of the Higher Education Act, the National Defense Education Act, and the Higher Education Facilities Act. For the last several years, these programs have meant over $2.6 million annually for Cuyahoga County students and schools. In addition, $7.6 million has been spent in the last 2 years in the construction of facilities for area colleges and universities. The continuation and consolidation of these programs by the 90th Congress will be a major accomplishment.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Perhaps the most far-reaching and significant legislation which the 90th Congress will have considered was sent to the President on July 26. It was the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. I supported this legislation on the floor of the House of Representatives, and called special attention to the importance of title V of the legislation which dealt with urban planning:

> One ot the crucial needs of the communities I represent is the need for truly coordinated, advanced planning for urban development among Cleveland's suburbs. These communities have shown a fantastic and accelerating population growth over the last 15 years. As a result, they are today faced with major problems of insuring an adequate and healthy water supply, of obtaining and maintaining adequate sewage treatment and planning for future sanitary districts.
>
> Title V of the bill before us provides for supplementary grants for planned area-wide development. In the last several weeks, federal approval and financing was given to a planning agency composed of seven northeast Ohio counties, including Cuyahoga County in which Cleveland is located. Title V will help provide for continuing, strong support of this planning agency which is seeking to solve the problems of my area before they become critical. Title V also provides for advance acquisition of land and continuation of authorization of appropriation for water and sewer facilities grants, neighborhood facilities funds, and other programs vital for urban planning and development.

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

This year's activities in Congress have again seen significant gains made in consumer protection legislation.

This spring, after nearly 8 years of intense legislative struggle, the Congress passed and sent to the President a Consumer Credit Protection Act. The provivisons of the new law, which go into effect July 1, 1969, provide that charges for most consumer credit must be revealed both in dollars of cost and in terms of approximate annual interest rate on the declining balance of the loan. The disclosure of these items would have to be made to the consumer in writing before a sales or loan transaction is completed. I have supported this legislation over the years, and hope that now that it is enacted, it will encourage a greater degree of fairplay in the credit industry.

A second major piece of legislation which has passed the House is the Wholesome Poultry Products Act of 1968. This act essentially extends the provisions of the Meat Inspection Act, which was strengthened last year, to the processing of fowl. Presently, some 1.6 billion pounds of poultry is slaughtered and processed each year without Federal inspection—and in most cases, without State inspection. Recently, a sample of 316 pieces of noninspected poultry sold intrastate in 16 different States was examined. Only 18 percent of the carcasses examined appeared satisfactory and one out of five should have been condemned outright as unwholesome. There were no problems with a similar testing of federally inspected poultry. It is shameful that such products are sold in our markets in the year 1968. This poultry inspection law is a must, especially since Ohio has no specific poultry inspection laws.

Another consumer protection bill which is still pending before Congress is the pipeline safety bill. This bill has been passed by both the House and the Senate, but in different versions. The House and Senate have to agree on identical versions before the bill goes to the President. The House measure asks the Department of Transportation to establish in the next 2 years engineering and structural standards designed to prevent gas pipeline explosions. The need for such legislation has been highlighted by recent severe explosions in Indiana and a borough of New York City. And, of course, we cannot forget the devastating gas explosion which Cleveland suffered many years ago.

It is my hope that complete protection will be given the American public in the installation of all new pipelines and in the proper maintenance of existing lines.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE CONTROL ACT OF 1968

The other remaining major piece of legislation enacted by this session of the 90th Congress is, of course, the surtax.

I recently made a speech on taxation which explains my reasons for opposing the surtax. In addition, I discussed the need for tax reform and explained a number of proposals which I have introduced which would provide reforms and tax adjustments. Copies of this speech are available from my office, 2463 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

LEGISLATION FACING CONGRESS IN SEPTEMBER

A number of the pieces of legislation which I have described have reached the final stages in the legislative process. Yet final action on them will not be able to be taken until September. In addition, five appropriations bills, involving over $90 billion, still have to be approved by Congress.

This month of recess will enable Members of Congress to return to their districts and find out what remaining legislation the American people want passed this year, as well as what changes and amendments are required in present laws.

I am hopeful that the September session will be a productive one so that the challenging and continuing problems of America will be met without delay or interruption.

IMPRISONMENT OF TRUONG DINH DZU

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the recent imprisonment of Truong Dinh Dzu, the runner-up in the South Vietnamese elections of 1967, for the "crime" of advocating a negotiated settlement, is another event in that sad country which exposes the claim that democratic progress is being made there. Our ally has imprisoned a major political leader for advocating an objective which is supposed to be the justification for our presence there.

I include editorials from the New York Times and the New York Post of July 27, and an article from the New York Times on the military trial which convicted Mr. Dzu:

[From the New York Times, July 27, 1968]

SAIGON IS EXPECTED TO SEND DZU TO PRISON ISLAND

(By Bernard Weinraub)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, July 26.—The South Vietnamese Government is expected to move Truong Dinh Dzu to an island for political prisoners this weekend to start five years of hard labor for having urged peace talks with the Vietcong.

Mr. Dzu, the 51-year-old peace candidate and runner-up in the presidential elections last year, was sentenced to prison this morning. At the end of the three-hour military trial Mr. Dzu shouted, "I am not guilty, I am not guilty!"

The trial, which was believed to have embarrassed the United States Embassy, was marked by sharp exchanges between Mr. Dzu and the military court in a packed room that swarmed with South Vietnamese soldiers who carried M-16 rifles and surrounded the thin, rumpled politician.

Mr. Dzu was charged with "actions which weakened the will of the people and army of South Vietnam to fight against the Communists." It was the first time that a major political figure had been tried under a 1965 decree that provides for the prosecution of any citizen whose activies "interfere with the Government's struggle against Communism."

The verdict cannot be appealed.

DENIES ANY CRIME

During the trial, Dr. Dzu told the five-man court: "I did not commit any acts harmful to the struggle of the people. I have committed no crime. I have only expressed my own thoughts on how to end the war."

The charge, which was disclosed Tuesday, cited numerous public statements by Mr. Dzu, who had said that "the formula of a coalition government is a formula you cannot avoid" as a solution to the war.

Following his defense before the III Corps military tribunal in a building facing the Saigon River, Mr. Dzu sat in a steamy courtroom 65 minutes while the five officers deliberated in a back room.

Shortly after 12:30 P.M., the officers returned. Mr. Dzu moved to the center of the court and faced the presiding officer, Maj. Trinh Khac Huynh.

Major Huynh said in a loud voice that the court had confirmed the Government's charge and condemned Mr. Dzu to five years of hard labor. The sentence, he said, should be carried out according to "emergency procedures," meaning that Mr. Dzu would be taken to prison within 24 hours.

M.P.'S SURROUND HIM

Mr. Dzu paled and bit his lip. As military policemen surrounded him, he waved to his wife and two teen-aged children, Ellen and Phillipe, who pushed through the police guard to embrace him.

As the police led Mr. Dzu through a swarm of relatives and reporters, he cried in English: "I am not guilty, I am not guilty."

Then, as several soldiers gripping machine guns moved through the crowd and hoisted Mr. Dzu into a truck, he turned to his wife and shouted in Vietnamese: "I will not run any danger!"

The truck sped off. Mrs. Dzu and the children leaned against a wall and wept.

The United States Embassy declined to comment on the trial, although officials said privately that the mission was embarrassed and annoyed. "We regret that this came up now and we let the Government know it," a prominent official said.

In the last two days, the United States mission sought to delay the trial or shift the case to a civilian court. Several corruption charges, which would be handled by a civilian court, have been levelled against Mr. Dzu.

"Some of this certainly does take the sweetness out of Honolulu," said an official, referring to the recent talks between President Nguyen Van Thieu and President Johnson.

There was some speculation that the military trial had been ordered at the highest levels of the South Vietnamese Government to placate fears in some quarters that the Thieu regime was planning to deal with the Vietcong or accept a coalition government.

Some Vietnamese and Americans even felt that the sudden announcement of the trial was designed to embarrass the United States. "It's quite possible that Thieu wants to show that he's independent of the United States and didn't knuckle under to Johnson as the newspapers here are saying," an observer said. "They certainly know that this type of trial would embarrass the United States after all the talk of democracy and freedem in Vietnam."

CLASHES ARE FREQUENT

At the trial, in an old military courtroom with peeling white walls and drowsy ceiling fans, Mr. Dzu, who is a lawyer, clashed repeatedly with Major Nuynk, the president of the court.

"Do you know that President Thieu has always said that the National Liberation Front is only a tool of the Communist North?" the hefty major asked. "Why do you advocate coalition?"

"I said this would be a necessary consequence of negotiations," Mr. Dzu said.

"Do you realize that South Vietnam is being invaded, that we have to fight in self-defense?" the major asked in a rising voice.

"That is a doctrine . . ." Mr. Dzu started to reply.

"That is the truth, not just a doctrine! Do you agree with that?" the major said.

Mr. Dzu began to reply, "That is the position of the Government . . ."

The major interrupted, ". . . of the Government and the people of South Vietnam. You are expressing the ideas of a reactionary then. What is your conception of this war?"

"I only had some constructive proposals," Mr. Dzu replied. "I accept the position of the Government that South Vietnam must play the main role in negotiations. I never said the N.L.F. was a legal organization. I said we should be practical and realistic and talk with those fighting against us."

Mr. Dzu was defended by Tran Ncoc Lieng, a former Minister of Social Welfare who said that the charge violated his defendant's freedom of speech.

Mr. Dzu was expected to be transported to Conson Island, off the south eastern coast.

[From the New York Times, July 27, 1968]

THE SENTENCE OF MR. DZU

In an act of political reprisal, the Saigon Government has revealed its basic lack of understanding of democratic processes by sentencing the peace candidate who ran second in last fall's Presidential election to five years at hard labor.

Truong Dinh Dzu, a lawyer, emerged as an important force in Vietnamese politics when his "Ticket of the White Dove" finished a strong second with a "Negotiate Now" platform. His 800,000 votes clearly indicated that even if the military regime felt otherwise, many South Vietnamese were willing to begin talks with Hanoi and the National Liberation Front, political arm of the Vietcong, and so marked their ballots.

The Thieu-Ky Government did not even seek a pretext for its "trial" of Mr. Dzu. He was found guilty because of "his statements during the election campaign," when he supported talks with the N.F.L. and the formation of a coalition. The regime also sentenced Nguyen Truong Con, a young student editor, for the same "crime" of advocating discussions.

The effect of this phony trial of a peace candidate is to undermine the impact of last fall's elections, which had been looked at as a landmark in the democratization of the South Vietnamese Republic. This must be a signal to democratic elements in the country—candidates, students, editors—that serious dissent is likely to be rewarded by a prison term.

In the United States, the conviction of Truong Dinh Dzu can only result in embarrassment, intensified by the fact that this military trial came almost immediately on the heels of the friendly meeting in Honolulu between Presidents Johnson and Thieu. It was an action that Mr. Johnson could hardly have foreseen and would certainly not have condoned. We are confident that the American embassy in Saigon will do all in its power to see that Truong Dinh Dzu remains a free man.

[From the New York Post, July 27, 1968]

THE MEANING OF THE DZU CASE

Nothing that has happened until now so clearly defines the futility and disingenuousness of the Johnson Administration's line on Vietnam as the Thieu-Ky government's harsh disposition of the case of Truong Dinh Dzu.

Dzu is the 51-year-old Saigon lawyer who, running on a "Negotiation Now" platform in last year's much-advertised South Vietnamese elections, startled the world by coming in second with 800,000 votes, just half the dubious 1,600,000 votes amassed by the Thieu-Ky military ticket. For his pains the peace candidate was thereupon subjected to a year of harassments, jailings, house arrests, on non-political charges—until last May, when, on leaving a hospital bed, he was arrested for "actions harmful to the anti-Communist spirit of the people and the army." In fact what he had done was to urge, a step toward peace, the formation of a coalition government including the National Liberation Front.

Yesterday he was convicted and sentenced by a military court to five years at hard labor, as was a 23-year-old student editor named Nguyen Truong Con who had also denounced the war and urged a coalition.

These are outrages, but they are more parochial outrages than the large deceit perpetrated all these months and several years by American advocates of the war, up to and lamentably including the President. Their argument has been that "our boys" must die over there to prevent the *imposition* of a coalition government on South Vietnam. In reality that is the opposite of the case, as the fate of Truong Dinh Dzu—with 800,000 votes behind him—clearly reveals. The true question is whether, with all our obsequious toadying to the Thieus and Kys and Khanhs and Diems, the U.S. salesmen of the Vietnam war have ever, anywhere along the line, been willing to allow the people of South Vietnam to achieve a coalition government if they wanted it. The answer, now as before, is apparently negative, and it is the heart of the matter.

AFTER THE LIBERALS, WHAT NEXT?

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, writing in the July issue of the Washingtonian, Milton Viorst has noted that:

> Conviction was once such a simple thing for the American liberal. He was sure that the decent society meant racial integration, civil liberties, democratic government, equal opportunity, and a system of free enterprise that guaranteed prosperity and precluded exploitation. The liberal was buoyed by the battle against the status quo and doggedly hopeful of overcoming it. . . .
>
> Not until the 1960's did frustration replace anticipation. The shift has not, as some maintain, been simply a consequence of "rising expectation." It appears, rather, to lie in the observation that the tinkering of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations has fallen far short of the liberal promise. The young, impatient members of the coalition could hardly be blamed for reasoning that if this was liberalism at its best, then it was

not nearly enough. Now, in the wake of the disillusionment has come a sudden quest for a new system, one that will offer both new techniques and new goals.

Mr. Speaker, I am encouraged by the new trend in liberal thinking away from the Federal Government as a solution to all of the Nation's problems and toward a strengthening of State and local government to meet many of these problems closer to home. At the same time, given the tendency of opinion on important issues to polarize, I think we must be careful of returning to the old-fashioned type of city hall politics as the logical alternative to problem-solving from Washington. The following paragraph from an article in the July issue of Fortune magazine succinctly summarizes the paradoxical success of Chicago in assuming a new look:

> Daley's accomplishment, in fact, is essentially that he has made Chicago a more pleasant place for middle-class whites to live. He has changed *their* part of the city from a stagnant, run-down, demoralized community into one that is handsome, booming, and proud of itself. That was no mean achievement. But in a city that is almost 30 percent black, and growing steadily blacker, it is by no means enough.

Mr. Speaker, we really should not be perplexed at the increasing number of our citizens who are finding avenues of escape from the anxieties and pressures of American society today. The feeling, particularly among our young people, that government is not working efficiently and responsively at either end of the line, locally or in Washington, produces a kind of bitter, cynical frustration that is not going to be dissolved in a malted milkshake and a good night's rest.

The worst of it is that some of these disaffected young people—although the feeling is certainly not the sole property of the young—are seeking wildly untraditional methods to convey their message to those who are in positions to do the things that will have to be done if we are to make governmental institutions, at all levels, once again capable instruments of dealing with human as well as scientific problems. The communication gap is threatening to harden attitudes at both ends, and this can only prolong and further compound the overall problem.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include below the essay by Mr. Viorst entitled "After the Liberals, What Next?" together with the article in Fortune magazine called "Mayor Daley Battles a New Chicago Fire":

After the Liberals, What Next?

Conviction was once such a simple thing for the American liberal. He was sure that the decent society meant racial integration, civil liberties, democratic government, equal opportunity, and a system of free enterprise that guaranteed prosperity and precluded exploitation. The liberal was buoyed up by the battle against the status quo and doggedly hopeful of overcoming it.

But now all that seems to be over. Recent events have made the American liberal uncertain not only of his methods but also of his objectives. Perhaps one of the significant—and unfortunate—changes of our time will prove to be the decline of the liberal vision for creating the decent society.

In looking back, it seems the trouble started four of five years ago, at a moment when liberalism was winning unparalleled successes. In those days, a wide coalition—from weathered New Dealers to suburban housewives to militant black collegians—shared the vision. It was easy for all of them to focus energy on, say, the public accommodations bill. Lunch counters were an identifiable targets and filibusters were obvious blackguards. The rhetoric, brimming with indignation, promised so much and when the bill was finally passed, there was exultation. But there is exultation no longer. Just this spring, Congress passed an open housing law—which four or five years ago seemed like a dream—and hardly anyone paid attention. Even the most orthodox liberal had become too cynical to rejoice. The very success that liberalism had enjoyed seemed to have prepared the groundwork for its disrepute.

Perhaps this should not be surprising. The seeds of the Goldwater phenomenon lay not in Truman's Fair Deal but in Eisenhower's Modern Republicanism which, conservative as it was, failed to achieve the ideological goals of the right. But under Eisenhower the liberal vision thrived, presumably because it was like an oasis in a sandstorm, only an election away from being redeemed. Not until the 1960's did frustration replace anticipation. The shift has not, as some maintain, been simply a consequence of "rising expectations." It appears, rather, to lie in the observation that the tinkering of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations has fallen far short of the liberal promise. The young, impatient members of the coalition, could hardly be blamed for reasoning that if this was liberalism at its best, then it was not nearly enough. Now, in the wake of the disillusionment has come a sudden quest for a new system, one that will offer both new techniques and new goals.

Perhaps the collapse of the liberal vision came too suddenly, rushed to a climax by the Vietnam war. There was no time for alternative ideas to mature. Young leaders, ready to be revolutionaries, were caught short by the anger of their followers. They were no more interested in Marx than in Adlai Stevenson, and if Che Guevara became their hero, he had left behind a quality of romance but very little doctrine with which to guide them. Surely these young people have been groping for a way. In semi-violent strikes against university institutions they seem to have acquired a method. But they scarcely seem to have found a goal in a revolt, conducted in the name of greater democracy, for "filthy speech" in Berkeley, overnight visiting privileges for female guests at Harvard, or even the cancellation of plans to build a gym at Columbia. One theorist has said that there is no need for a goal, that the revolution will somehow create its own. But this is a fanciful contention, if not an abdication of responsibility. A movement that cannot articulate its objectives loses much of its claim to have them taken seriously.

It is shocking to find one plan of the current revolution is the resegregation of American society. Young black leaders, appalled at the nation's default on its commitments to end segregation, have responded—paradoxically—by demanding that the Negro community close its ranks against white outsiders. Under the slogan "self-determination for black America," they have already driven most white volunteers, no matter how decently motivated, out of the Negro ghettos. They are seeking to expel white merchants, too, though there is no evidence that black merchants are less venal. Insofar as their aim is to develop black skills and institutions, the conception of a community run by and for Negroes has merit. But its logical conclusion is frightening. Nothing would give greater pleasure to the white supremacists than the return to a formal system of segregated schools, recreation, housing, travel. Certainly the old "separate but equal" rule, whose nullification in 1954, inspired the black revolution, would be administered with no greater justice in the new society than in the old. Segregation would not give the black community the money and power it currently lacks. It is ironic that black militant and white racist seem ready to team up to create an American system of apartheid. Even the old liberalism made more sense than that.

Another proposal with which the young revolutionaries have been flirting—in the name of democracy—has been a limitation in the exercise of free speech and assembly. Herbert Marcuse, one of the few theoreticians of the revolution, has called for a "discriminating tolerance" of ideas, with the suppression of advocacy of racism and chauvinism, as well as opposition to medical care and social security. It is "objectively demonstrable," he says, that such ideas are socially destructive. Though it seems odd that young people, who are clamoring for freer expression, should be tempted by such notions, so dear to the Salazars and the Stalins, their passions sometimes suggest an alarming contempt for dissent. Even the most naive of liberals recognizes that "discriminating tolerance" is a fraud, striking inevitably at all but the blandest orthodoxy. It is absurd to contend that suppression of diverse ideas can freeze social justice into permanence.

But having failed himself to create the just society, the liberal is on the defensive. The young revolutionaries call him a front man for the establishment, if not the establishment itself. The charge contains much truth, in that the liberal has not despaired of the system. But what does it mean? The liberal has taken great pride—perhaps too much pride—in persevering to upset the status quo. To be sure, he has been compromised by political considerations. He has allowed himself to be distracted by a disgraceful adventure in Vietnam. He has misunderstood the urgency and, more important, underestimated the magnitude of his task. But if the instruments he has devised—public housing, poverty programs, voting rights laws, welfare, urban renewal—have been a delusion, he has acquired new perceptions from them. He has developed an awareness of problems that he never suspected existed. He takes a perplexing phenomenon like Resurrection City to mean that he still has more to learn, just as he takes an uprising, whether of the campus or the ghetto variety, as a warning.

Truly, he is abashed that the term "liberal" now connotes to so many young people someone who is behind the times, even a reactionary. But he is not yet ready to surrender the conviction that there are still important remedies within the system. Loyalty to the liberal vision is, after all, no disgrace, despite the young people—black and white—who have abandoned it. Certainly, the revolutionaries have offered nothing better in its place.

[From Fortune Magazine, July 1968]

Mayor Daley Battles a New Chicago Fire

Alighting from his helicopter after viewing Chicago's devastated Negro districts several weeks ago, Richard Joseph Daley confessed in misery and bewilderment: "I never believed that this would happen here." The remark has become something of a stock official reaction to racial rioting, but coming from the most knowledgeable, most powerful, most effective big-city mayor in the U.S., it was especially poignant.

His accomplishments in thirteen years of running Chicago are visible and important. A whole new generation of architecturally distinguished buildings dots the downtown Loop. Tall new apartment houses line the lovely lakefront parks. Miles of new expressways speed traffic across the city. Most neighborhoods are clean, well lighted, well policed. His record as mayor, together with his political prowess, has made Daley a figure of tremendous influence on the state and national scene. Indeed, only his devotion to his city and his lack of personal ambition has kept Daley from higher office.

In spite of Chicago's impressive bricks-and-mortar performance, however, something important has been missing. The April explosion was dramatic evidence of that. And Daley's genuine shock demonstrated that the city's shortcomings had not been recognized by him or those around him, in spite of four less serious disturbances in the last five years. To anyone with Daley's omnipresent political network, the riot should have come as no surprise. There was no dearth of warnings from well-informed Chicagoans, no lack of signals from crowded black neighborhoods. All were overlooked, or ignored, or disbelieved, or explained away. In fact, the mayor's failure to recognize the explosive racial situation—and to take effective steps to defuse it—was surely one important reason why violence finally broke out.

Daley's attitude since the rioting, moreover, demonstrates a lack of comprehension of Chicago's racial problem and how to solve it. Immediately afterward, he startled the nation by bitterly attacking his own police commissioner for pursuing a policy of restraint toward the rioters. He publicly ordered Chicago law officers to "shoot to kill any arsonist or anyone with a Molotov cocktail" and to "shoot to maim or cripple anyone looting." The appalled reaction was not long in coming, starting with local Negroes and extending to Mayor John Lindsay of New York and U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Obviously taken aback by the widespread censure, Daley attempted to soften the effect of his outburst. He labeled stories about his "shoot to kill" order a "fabrication," though millions of people had heard him make his statement on TV. But he never rescinded the controversial order.

The mayor also asserted there was "no reason" for the eruption, and insisted it was the product of a conspiracy—notwithstanding the contrary belief of city police, National Guard, and Justice Department officials. He appointed an eleven-man investigating commission, nine of whose members are lawyers or actively associated with law enforcement and crime-fighting agencies. Civil-rights leaders charge that the commission is seeking culprits, not causes of the riots. Finally, the men in city hall remain belligerently defensive about their past policies. They deny that their failures had anything to do with the violence and say that they will pursue the same course in the future. As a consequence, the potential for further violence in Chicago remains high.

Dr. John P. Spiegel, director of Brandeis University's Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, recently told the American Psychiatric Association, "The chances for riots are least likely in cities in which there is 'sincere recognition' of ferment, more likely where there is 'insincere recognition,' and most likely where there is 'massive denial' [that a serious racial problem exists]." Chicago, he added, lies "between massive denial and insincere recognition"—whereas Mayor Lindsay's efforts put New York in the "Sincere recognition" category. The danger, of course, is enhanced by the scheduled gathering in Chicago late next month of the Democratic National Convention. Negro militants are only one of several groups that have threatened to disrupt the convention to embarrass both Mayor Daley and the dominant Democratic party in which he plays such a prominent role.

Some white Daley backers, previously confident that their mayor had been making progress in the field of race relations, have been shaken by recent revelations of the dimensions of the trouble he faces. And many black Chicagoans view Daley's intemperate remarks and his intransigence as further evidence of his insensitivity to and ineptness in handling the city's racial problems. The Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, twenty-six-year-old Chicago civil-rights leader who was with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. when he was shot in Memphis, says of the Daley record, "When one argues the success of Chicago statistically and in terms of new buildings, it compares with the very best. But when you try to put flesh and blood, compassion and humanity into that skeleton, it's a stale, sick, angry city."

Jackson may state his views somewhat more forcefully than most of his black brothers. But his assessment of the Daley administration is no harsher than that of many others. Only a small minority of Chicago's Negroes took part in the rioting, but discontent, anger, and despair are rife. The mood is reflected in the new militancy of scores of welfare unions, neighborhood councils, and other grassroots organizations scattered throughout the South Side and West Side black sections. It has even made itself felt politically, in spite of the overwhelming power of the Democratic political machine. In the 1967 election for city council, two independent Negroes were elected aldermen—in each case upsetting an organization Democrat. In another ward, the machine candidate squeaked through only because two Negro independents split the black vote.

"THE GREASY PART OF THE ENGINE"

Chicago Negroes have legitimate grievances against the Daley machine's performance in the areas of jobs, housing, schools, and health facilities. "Chicago," as one national Negro leader puts it, "has done less with more than any other city." City officials steadfastly refuse to make a racial head count of government jobholders in spite of repeated requests by the Urban League. (Private employers with more than fifty workers are now required to make such counts and some cities, including New York, have also done so.) An aide of the mayor guesses that about 25 percent of city workers are black, but he has no evidence to support his estimate and some knowledgeable critics believe the figure is too high. In any case, Negroes are grossly underrepresented in important, influential, visible posts. "We never get to be the fenders, hubcaps, steering wheel [of the machine]," one complains. "We're always in the greasy part of the engine."

Although Negroes make up almost 30 percent of Chicago's population, there is not a single Negro among the twenty-four department heads. There is only one Negro among Chicago's nine Congressmen, the eighty-two-year-old South Side political boss, William L. Dawson. Ten of the fifty members of the city council are black, but two Negro wards on the West Side, where the worst violence took place in April, are still represented by white machine aldermen. Until after the riots, there were but two Negroes on the school board, whose eleven members are appointed by the mayor, even though more than half the city's school children are black. Daley then named a third Negro to the board.

In 1963, after seven years of pressure, Daley backed, and got, a fair-housing ordinance for Chicago (such cities as New York and Pittsburgh had taken action much earlier). But it was a relatively weak law, which has never been strengthened. Meanwhile, in spite of a stated policy of encouraging integration, the city's housing has become more segregated than ever. In the 1960 census 85 percent of Chicago Negroes lived in neighborhoods that were overwhelmingly black. That figure had climbed from 79 percent a decade earlier and from 45 percent in 1920. The Urban League's research director says the black concentration has not eased since 1960, when sociologists Karl and Alma Taeuber found that Chicago was the most segregated of all large northern cities. The problem cannot any longer be blamed primarily on the influx of southern Negroes. During the 1950's these poor rural blacks poured into Chicago at the rate of 15,000 a year. But since 1960 the figure has fallen to about 8,000 or 9,000 annually.

Overcrowding has accompanied the change in complexion of large sections of the city. Sociologist Pierre de Visé of De Paul University, who once studied Chicago population patterns as a city official, says that in a typical area turning from white to black the number of residents per housing unit rises 25 percent. The population density of half a dozen of the poorest Negro sections averages more than 30,000 persons per square mile, compared with 15,000 for the city as a whole. And in the ten poorest community areas (all of them black), one-third of the dwelling units are classified as overcrowded, against 12 percent for the city.

Although Daley has boasted in the past that Chicago would eliminate all of its blighted residential buildings by the end of 1967, there are still many wretched slums. Local officials offer a bewildering variety of estimates of the number of "substandard" buildings, ranging from 30,000 down to 250 (from Buildings Commissioner Sidney Smith). Private housing experts scoff at this latter figure. Some 1,500 buildings are so bad that the county welfare department has received authorization from the city Buildings Department to withhold rent money from their owners and it wants to take such action in the case of 3,200 others. There are chronic public complaints about the city's building-inspection program; the independent Metropolitan Housing & Planning Council recommends the department's modernization and reorganization. Recently, two white inspectors had to be suspended and another resigned when a newspaper revealed that they were themselves owners of Negro slum property.

For Negroes, Chicago's extensive urban-renewal program has offered almost no improvement in the housing situation. The twenty-seven urban-renewal projects completed or underway in 1966 displaced 10,000 low-income black Chicagoans. More than three-fourths of the land sold to developers through 1965 was used for nonhousing purposes (e.g., creation of a Chicago campus for the University of Illinois). The middle- and upper-income apartments constructed by private builders on the remaining land were far too expensive for the poor blacks displaced. Except for public housing, which has been put up not on this cleared acreage but on less desirable land, there has been very little low-income housing built. A welfare official estimates the city now has a shortage of 50,000 low-income units. As for public housing, the program of the Daley-appointed Chicago Housing Authority is faulted on three major points: not enough has been built; the restrictions on tenants' incomes are unrealistically low; and it has been put up in the worst possible locations. According to Visé, "Chicago's urban-renewal program has been tearing down low-rent units for the poor on prime real estate while the public housing program has been building low-rent units on land nobody wants."

Placement of public housing has effectively reinforced residential segregation in Chicago. Ninety percent of the family units built during Daley's tenure have gone up in black neighborhoods. Critics argue that they should have been scattered throughout the city. This was one of the major demands made by Dr. King and his supporters in 1966. Officials promised to comply in the "summit agreement" they made then, but the promise has not yet been honored. The American Civil Liberties Union is now engaged in a suit against the Chicago Housing Authority charging discriminatory practices in site selection and tenant assignment. And in Chicago, as elsewhere, while public housing projects frequently represent a physical improvement over the hovels in which residents were living before, they sometimes make social problems even worse. One development, the Robert R. Taylor Homes on South State Street, has become a symbol for all that is wrong with the city's public housing. In its twenty-eight high-rise buildings, a Chicago *Daily News* reporter wrote, live 27,200 people, "all of them poor, grappling with violence and vandalism, fear and suspicion, teen-age terror and adult chaos, rage, resentment, official regimenting. They're second-class citizens living in a second-class world, and they know it, and hate it." A spokesman for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing calls Chicago's program "perhaps the most stunning example of misuse of federally aided public housing—a major tragedy."

The dispute over Chicago schools has been raging for years. It follows the same lines as that in many another big city. Warren H. Bacon, a Negro executive of Inland Steel Co. and a member of the school board since 1963, charges that although the system is adequate for middle-class children, it does not respond to the special needs of disadvantaged black pupils. Instruction in basic skills such as reading is inadequate. Because of seniority rules governing teaching assignments, the least experienced and least qualified instructors usually end up in Negro schools. Academic standards are low, classrooms woefully overcrowded.

Negroes have long complained about these conditions. For years their charges were rejected by the man who was then superintendent of schools, Dr. Benjamin C. Willis. A highly qualified but arrogant man, Willis came to symbolize school board intransigence toward Negro demands. Daley refused to intervene, justifying his inaction on grounds that he did not wish to "mix politics with education." It was a plausible excuse in Chicago, where once school jobs were political plums and favored contractors got rich by building schools. But the mayor's critics felt he was abdicating his responsibility to give policy guidance to the school board. The result was hopeless division and a long, bitter public wrangle.

After Willis retired two years ago, his successor proposed an ambitious program of educational improvements. Little progress has been made in implementing its more important features. Daley infuriated Negroes by failing to endorse the school board's decision to bus children from overcrowded Negro schools to previously all-white schools. When he did break his silence it was to make remarks widely interpreted as sympathetic to white opponents of the busing program. After the April riots, moreover, he reappointed to the school board two aging, conservative men who had been staunch Willis supporters and busing opponents—against the recommendations of the blue-ribbon nominating committee whose proposals he had publicly promised to follow. The modest busing program implemented last March satisfied nobody.

FEW DOCTORS, POOR CARE

The low state of health facilities and medical care for Chicago's black population has been under examination for two years in the Chicago Regional Hospital Study, financed by the National Institutes of Health and directed by Pierre de Visé. Initial findings include such facts as these: The infant mortality rate of Chicago Negroes has risen by one-fourth since 1958. (It is 28 percent higher than that of black New Yorkers.) The Woodlawn area has "one of the worst death rates in the Western world." The Oakland section has but five doctors to serve 26,000 persons; the neighborhood of Altgeld has only one for its 11,000 residents. Negroes must travel, on the average, twice as far as whites to reach a hospital. Forty percent of all black hospital patients are treated at Cook County Hospital, where, according to the recent findings of a citizens' committee, they receive inferior care. More than half of the government-supported medical care given welfare recipients (over 80 percent of them Negroes) is supplied by seventy "production line" doctors—some of them earning more than $100,000 a year on welfare cases alone.

Plainly, Daley does not have the power to solve all these problems overnight, although he is better equipped to deal with them than almost any other big-city chief executive. But what is maddening to black Chicagoans is that he does not seem to recognize how serious and important they are. In fact, he and his associates tend to minimize them. Where they do acknowledge a problem, they insist that their current efforts are adequate and need only the enthusiastic cooperation of the black community. A top aide of the mayor insists that "we have more programs than any other city." There is a germ of truth in this numbers game. Over the years Chicago has launched many projects, largely paid for by the federal government. But they have frequently been attacked as ill-conceived or "token" efforts, and the city has displayed little discrimination in deciding which ones to concentrate on. Recently several of the better ones have been dropped. In May, moreover, the U.S. General Accounting Office accused the city's poverty program of bad management and misrepresentation of both local financial contributions and the number of poor Chicagoans served by its programs.

The most persistent complaint of Chicago Negroes about city programs, however, is that they are paternalistic, tightly controlled by City Hall, and allow no effective voice to blacks. When Daley does take action (e.g., his announced plan to build some twenty swimming pools in Negro neighborhoods this summer), he does so belatedly, in response to irresistible pressure—in this case, youthful violence—and without consulting the residents of the area. Even in the poverty program, where grass-roots participation is required by law, community representatives are picked by the program's hierarchy, not elected by the poor. The Daley-selected head of the program, Dr. Deton Brooks, is a Negro—but one with many black detractors. Thus many Chicago Negroes feel alienated from their city government.

IN AND OUT BY CADILLAC

Some of their frustration could be relieved by a mere gesture of goodwill and interest on the part of the mayor. But unlike New York's Mayor Lindsay, who helps cool black tempers with his walking tours of Harlem and Brooklyn, Daley is not at home in Negro sections. He seldom visits them, and when he does is whisked quickly in and out in his Cadillac limousine. He relies for information on a police intelligence network and on Negro politicians beholden to the machine and often discredited in their own communities. He ignores the advice of those outside his official family. City officials frequently complain that they cannot locate non-organization leaders in the black community. But in the wake of the rioting, City Hall pointedly did not seek the counsel of such men as William Cousins and A. A. Rayner Jr., the independent Negro Aldermen, or of nonpolitical leaders like Jackson (who leads a highly effective economic-pressure group called Operation Breadbasket) and Reverend Arthur Brazier, head of the Woodlawn Organization. (Woodlawn, significantly, was relatively free of violence during the recent outbreak.)

The April uprising thus merely revealed a fundamental weakness long present in the Daley regime. That flaw, if uncorrected, could tarnish permanently the mayor's bright reputation and make of his final three years in office a sad anticlimax. It has already raised a serious question about how long Daley can maintain his tight grip on the reins of power in Chicago—and another about what will happen to the machine when he departs.

"THE GREATEST MAYOR"

Outside the black community, Daley doubters are few. And the true believers, who number among them most of the city's top business, labor, educational, and cultural leaders, are frequently lyrical in their praise. Mike Royko, sardonic Chicago *Daily News* columnist, and a sardonic dissenter, cites what he calls "the Mayor Daley his most ardent admirers describe: This mayor, legend has it, first appeared during the Chicago fire of 1871. He doused the fire with one hand and milked Mrs. O'Leary's cow with the other. Before the ashes cooled, he hired Frank Lloyd Wright to redesign the city, dug Lake Michigan to cool it, organized the White Sox and set aside land for two airports in case airplanes were ever invented. More restrained admirers say he is simply the greatest mayor Chicago ever had, which is like singling out the best player the New York Mets ever had."

Daley's accomplishment, in fact, is essentially that he has made Chicago a more pleasant place for middle-class whites to live. He has changed *their* part of the city from a stagnant, run-down demoralized community into one that is handsome, booming, and proud of itself. That was no mean achievement. But in a city that is almost 30 percent black, and growing steadily blacker, it is by no means enough.

Daley's defenders protest that nobody has yet dealt successfully with the problem of poor urban Negroes. Ben Heineman, chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway and former chairman of the President's White House Conference on Civil Rights, argues that "there is no large city where the combination of federal, state, and city attention has been adequate. The problem is national and intense, and Chicago is probably as good as or better than most." On the other hand, no other mayor enjoys Daley's lustrous reputation as a doer. It is reasonable to expect more from him. And to assert that other cities have racial problems that are as bad as Chicago's—as his defensive subordinates frequently do—is not an adequate defense for the mayor's failure to ameliorate the largest problem that confronts him.

The problems of poor urban Negroes are admittedly complex, inadequately understood, and not susceptible of quick, tidy solutions. Many suggestions coming out of the black neighborhoods are neither helpful nor constructive, and there *are* limits to Daley's ability to deal with the city's current racial difficulties. But he wields more political power than any other big city mayor. It is hard to escape the conclusion that he has not exercised it as vigorously as he might to deal with the racial crisis. Heineman, an unabashed Daley admirer, concedes, "I don't think he's done all he can." But he adds: "A mayor, like anyone else, has a whole series of problems and assigns priorities. You have to look at him in the round. You can't take any one problem and ignore the others and their interrelationships."

WORKING CLASS, CATHOLIC, POLITICAL

To see Daley "in the round," it is necessary to try to understand the man, for to an astonishing degree, Daley and the city government are the same. Daley's attitudes, insights, motivations, convictions, emotions—even his fears and prejudices—are almost inevitably reflected at some point in the policies and practices of a city government that more nearly approximates one-man rule than any other in the U.S. In a sense, moreover, Daley is the typical Chicago Democratic ward politician on a colossal scale. He is smarter, more talented, more energetic than the others, but he springs from the same soil and was nurtured by the same atmosphere. Most of the same forces that shaped Dick Daley's character, intellect, understanding, and taste also shaped those of the men who act as lieutenants, corporals, or privates in his Chicago political machine.

Those forces can still be seen today in the neighborhood known as Bridgeport, hard by Chicago's now largely idle stockyards, where Daley was born sixty-six years ago and where he still lives in a modest brick bungalow on a street of inexpensive, nondescript houses. In his youth the neighborhood was working class, Catholic, and political. It remains so to this day. The typical resident has a ninth-grade education, a family income of about $7,400, and lives in a house worth about $12,000. Almost 43 percent of the population are immigrants or the children of immigrants—most from Poland, Lithuania, Germany, Italy, or Ireland.

Bridgeport people retain, as do the residents of many other Chicago neighborhoods, a highly developed sense of community and ethnic identity. Some ethnic groups in the neighborhood harbor prejudices against one another, but they are united in implacable hostility to Negroes as neighbors. For almost thirty years there has been a black community half a dozen blocks to the east, yet Bridgeport remains lily-white. In 1966 there were about eighty-five Negroes in a community of more than 38,000. Even in a Bridgeport public housing project with 565 residents, and in spite of federal regulations against discrimination, there were no Negro residents for twenty-five years; one family was admitted late last year. When civil-rights activists picketed the mayor's house three years ago, they were greeted by a barrage of eggs and tomatoes. Only the intervention of political precinct workers prevented further violence against the demonstrators. His critics see a contradiction, and even hypocrisy, in the mayor's public espousal of open housing and his failure to take any action to open up his own neighborhood to Negroes.

One of his closest advisers asserts that Daley's religious attitudes provide an important key to understanding him. The mayor is a lifelong Roman Catholic who attends Mass daily. But his religious beliefs also reflect the influences of time and place. John McDermott, director of the Catholic Interracial Council (who asserts wryly, "I can speak with some authority about Irish Catholics"), says that the mayor "comes out of the times when the social concerns of his faith were not discussed. He has no real concept of an open, unsegregated society." And a close collaborator observes that, although the mayor believes in the reality of sin, he regards sin as a personal matter. He feels no responsibility for the misdeeds of those around him; they must answer to God for themselves. Thus he can and does ignore matters within his political domain like questionable election practices, petty corruption, and connections between organized crime and his Democratic machine. (There are limits to this tolerance. Disloyalty to the organization, "getting caught" in acts that publicly embarrass the organization or its leader, and sexual immorality are all grounds for punitive action.)

Second only to his family and his church, Daley's loyalty and devotion go to his political party and its local organization. That, too, was drummed into him as a boy. Bridgeport was—and still is—a cradle of traditional machine politics. All three Chicago mayors of the past thirty-five years have come from Daley's neighborhood. As columnist Royko observes, "All this political clout means nearly every family has got somebody on a government payroll. In the East, some families register a newborn son at Harvard or Yale. In Bridgeport, they sign him on with the city water department."

Daley's father did not have a city job, but he was a member of the party organization. Like many another ambitious lad from the neighborhood, Daley was doing minor political chores by the age of twelve and moved into a political job as soon as he got his law degree from Chicago's De Paul University in 1933. He advanced from state legislator through deputy county controller and state director of revenue to county clerk before becoming mayor. And always he paid close attention to his ward organization and took care of the old neighborhood. Other Chicago politicians, in fact, frequently grumble about the volume of patronage and public works that pour into Daley's own Eleventh Ward.

ALL THE POLITICAL VIRTUES

This background has molded a man of many virtues that contribute directly to his political effectiveness. Daley almost totally lacks the capacity for conventional social conversation. Yet his open, engaging manner makes him well liked even by his political enemies. He is plainly honest. His personal integrity is unchallenged even by his most vociferous detractor. He is a devoted family man who, in spite of the heavy demands of his schedule, almost unfailingly goes home for dinner with his wife, Eleanor, their four sons, and daughter (two older daughters are grown and no longer live at home). He has an obvious, sentimental love for the city that endears him to others who care for it and immediately attracts their sympathies. He is loyal to a fault to his friends and political associates. His word is absolutely reliable. And he is little burdened by ideological dogma. Daley believes in pragmatic solutions to problems, in consensus, and in compromise to attain it.

The mayor has also grown in his job. When he was elected in 1955, he was widely regarded as a hack politician, the epitome of the machine's final product. Notwithstanding his native intelligence and college education, he was inarticulate and ungrammatical, a man who talked about the city's "nort' side" and "sout' side." Because he was a product of the machine, his opponents warned he would turn the city over to gangsters and grafters. Now even those who fault his judgment acknowledge his ability and sincerity. He is still something less than a sparkling public speaker, is uneasy in public, and blurts out an occasional malapropism—some say for effect. But when he keeps his temper under control, he projects a certain innate personal dignity, and certainly does not disgrace his constituents. While crime and corruption are still part of the civic scene in Chicago, moreover, the public treasury has not been plundered; gangsterism and vice still flourish, but discreetly.

ALSO PARTY CHAIRMAN

Daley resents references to him as "the last of the old-time political bosses." He prefers to think of himself as the first of a new breed of pragmatic urban executives. This may be a harmless illusion, but his favored label won't stand up under close examination. Daley has done a better job than other bosses. But this is simply because he is smarter, with perhaps a livelier understanding of the *physical* needs of modern city life, and because he cared to direct the essentially amoral power of the machine to good ends. Other bosses cared only about boodle. Daley wants to do what he thinks is best for the city. The basis of his power, however, remains just what it always was for any old-line machine: an undemocratic, tightly knit professional political organization whose concern is less with the general welfare than with the delicately balanced interests of the groups that support it.

To an unprecedented degree, Daley has strengthened the machine by combining the leverage potentials of two important offices: mayor of Chicago and chairman of the Cook County Democratic Central Committee. As mayor, he appoints not only the policy-making officials of the city administration but the members of more than two dozen governmental and quasi-governmental boards and agencies as well. Through these officials, he can award thousands of patronage jobs to faithful party workers. During his thirteen-year tenure, according to the nonpartisan Civic Federation, the number of patronage jobs within the city administration alone has risen from 6,000 to 9,000. That is only the beginning. Leon Despres, an independent Democratic alderman, estimates that Daley and his satraps control 35,000 governmental jobs at the city, county, and state levels. Daley, of course, has an absolute veto over federal appointments in Illinois as well.

As party chairman, he awards many of these jobs, especially at the lower levels, to the professional vote hustlers who enable the Democratic party to roll up its impressive vote margins in Chicago. Those margins have frequently been pivotal in elections at both the state and the national level. Illinois' electoral votes were vital to John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential victory. And Dick Daley's machine furnished the ballots that gave Kennedy his 9,000-vote edge in Illinois. Some of the organization's foot soldiers are none too careful about how they get their victories. In some sections of Chicago, votes are still bought—and at bargain prices. Other are obtained by threats, particularly effective with welfare recipients and residents of public housing. Mostly, the old familiar ward-heeler tactics are still effective. Small and entirely legitimate favors and services can be performed for citizens who are happy to show their gratitude by voting for the candidates favored by the organization.

Maintaining control of the organization is made easier for Daley by the peculiar state laws that prescribe the structure of the party in Cook County. They could hardly have been better designed to ensure perpetuation of those in command. The county committee is made up of eighty members, one for each of the city's fifty wards and thirty suburban townships. These ward (or township) committeemen are elected once every four years. Eligibility requirements for getting on the ballot are incredibly difficult, and challenges are settled by the board of election commissioners—also control by the organization. If a dissident manages somehow to get on the ballot in opposition to the incumbent, he faces an all but impossible task in the election. For a Chicago ward is a large political subdivision; it contains typically 35,000 voters. Reaching them requires money and workers. The organization has both. The ward committeeman is empowered to appoint his precinct captains, who are thus personally loyal to him, and he can place his political subordinates in jobs that will not interfere unduly with their electioneering duties.

BUSINESS LOVES A "DOER"

Obviously, a well-entrenched organization like this can only be effectively opposed by another strong independent group. But in Chicago, Daley has brought the two strongest—big business and big labor—into his coalition. Labor, of course, was no problem. Its leaders are Democrats by instinct. Daley has merely ensured their fealty by high-level appointments to prestigious boards and committees and by seeing to it that the unions' interests are protected. The astonishing thing is the way in which the mayor has brought the top leaders of Chicago business into his camp. In the last three campaigns he has enjoyed the financial support and public endorsement of a substantial majority of the city's most important executives, many of them ardent Republicans in state and national elections.

Businessmen's enthusiasm for Daley, however, is not too hard to understand. He is above all else a "doer." And the things he does, almost without exception, are the things businessmen regard as important. The physical rehabilitation of the downtown area is a case in point, as is the expressway network. Daley has also delivered more directly to business in many entirely legitimate ways. His Committee for Economic and Cultural Development is a model of a problem-solving service organization dedicated to the task of keeping business from fleeing to the suburbs and attracting still more. The committee's small professional staff acts as coordinator, using its power as a direct agent of the mayor to get the active cooperation and help of any city agencies that can help ease the way for business expansion or eliminate a problem. When additional space is needed, the committee arranges for streets to be closed. The committee can get zoning rules changed, parking provided, streets repaved or closed, even run-down nearby houses cleaned up or unwanted bars shut down. The committee's director explains that "they come to us and we know just where to go, instead of their going to six different people."

REPUBLICAN INROADS

Notwithstanding its apparent strength, the machine was starting to display flaws even before the racial confrontation. The population of Chicago's suburbs for years has been growing much more rapidly than that of the city, and the organization has been a complete failure there. Its old-fashioned, patronage-oriented appeal is ineffective among issue-conscious suburban voters. By 1972, according to some analysts, the suburban Republican majority will be great enough to offset Democratic margins in the city and the G.O.P. will take permanent control of the important county offices. It already holds three, including the presidency of the county board of commissioners. Even more important, if the Democrats can no longer carry Cook County decisively, they are certain to lose statewide races in the face of Republican dominance downstate. This will not only cost them control of the state house, but will weaken the national political influence of Daley or his successors. Daley's importance in Washington derives from his ability to deliver Illinois' electoral votes. Once the machine cannot do so, it will have to fall back into a last-ditch defensive position inside the city limits of Chicago.

Daley has also offended many younger liberal Democrats by permitting the party's slate makers to deny Adlai E. Stevenson III nomination as either a candidate for governor or U.S. Senator. Instead, the party has put up for both posts men who are relatively unknowns. The ticket has been labeled, both in Chicago and Washington, the weakest in Illinois memory.

Finally, the mayor has failed almost entirely to nurture able men to replace him. Those mentioned as possible successors are an undistinguished lot. Daley has been careful not to designate an heir apparent. He will be nearly seventy when his current term expires in 1971, and it is difficult to picture him seeking another term. When he leaves the scene, there will be nobody who can command the allegiance of all important segments of the party. The result is likely to be a long period of bitter intraparty strife, at a time when the organization will already be in trouble. If by then the G.O.P. has strengthened its organization, there is a possibility the Democrats can even be turned out of City Hall.

But the racial situation poses a much more immediate problem. Negro leaders are anything but optimistic. "I have serious doubts that anything meaningful will come out of [the riots]," says the Reverend Brazier of the Woodlawn Organization. "I think they are going on 'business as usual.'" And that, to Brazier, is not good. A few days before the April violence broke out, he warned a visitor: "There is a sort of foreboding that really worries me. I'm not a purveyor of gloom and doom, nor a prophet of riots. But I know there is a feeling in the community I've never felt before and I'm worried."

CAN THE COURTS FIND IMPROVEMENT THROUGH SCIENCE?

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, Judge Walter Ely, U.S. Court of Appeals, Los Angeles, brought to my attention a speech made at the Judicial Conference of the Ninth Circuit in San Francisco on July 18, this year, by Mr. John Sutro, a distinguished San Francisco lawyer.

Mr. Sutro's discussion of the application of system analysis and computerization to Federal judicial administration is extremely interesting and timely. I commend his remarks to the attention of my colleagues, and under unanimous consent insert them in the RECORD:

CAN THE COURTS FIND IMPROVEMENT THROUGH SCIENCE?

The subject which Mr. Robert Carter and I have been asked to discuss during this period of the conference appears on the program in the form of a question: Can the courts find improvement through science? I am going to take the liberty of rewording the question without altering its meaning in order to emphasize the points I especially want to make. I am going to address myself to the question: Can the judiciary *by its own efforts* improve its own administration through Science?

I will not discuss improving judicial administration by measures imposed from the outside.

I think at the outset I should also say something about the word "science" in the context I will use it. Science is a broad word with many meanings. I am using the word here to refer to that method of approaching and solving practical problems known as experimental research. Experimental research is the most characteristic of scientific methods. Its most famous exponent, though not originator, is the great Elizabethan chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon. Experimental research, as developed by Bacon, is the means by which knowledge and the solution of problems is achieved through the slow and laborious methods of observation, hypothesis, deduction and experimental verification. This is the method of science that has been so productive in physics, chemistry and even in sciences of living things, such as biology. It involves systematic recordation of facts observed, the deduction of hypotheses from the facts, and a deliberate alteration of contributing factors in an effort to verify the hypotheses through practical experiment.

It is somewhat curious that, while it was Bacon, one of the greatest of jurists, who did as much or more than any one person to bring this type of scientific method into use, the approach to practical problems which he so well understood and so effectively utilized has almost never been applied to judicial administration or any of the problems of the courts. There has been a reason for this which I shall discuss later.

Certainly I run no risk of being in contempt by suggesting that the Federal judicial system needs improvement. The Chief Justice of the United States last May in his annual address to the American Law Institute described very frankly and vividly the conditions which exist in the Federal court system, conditions which he said are presently bad and which are ominous for the future. With respect to the United States Courts of Appeals, the Chief Justice pointed out that for the 11 circuits the number of appeals filed this past year is 88 per cent above the number filed in 1961, and the number pending is 143 per cent of the number pending at the end of 1961. Just during the one-year period from March 31, 1967, to March 31, 1968, the growth of backlog of appeals in the system amounted to a growth of almost ten additional cases for each United States circuit judge.

According to the Chief Justice, there are equally difficult problems in the United States district courts. More than half of all the criminal cases in the Federal courts take more than ten months to reach a jury trial; and in one district, Eastern New York, the median time from indictment to jury trial has risen to 20.3 months. If the normal pre-indictment time is added to these figures, it means that the lapse of time from apprehension to trial is two years in the Eastern District of New York and not less than one year in most other metropolitan districts. At a time when the continued increase in crime has become a major national problem these delays in administering criminal justice are indeed a cause for alarm.

The civil dockets in the district courts are also constantly falling behind. According to the Chief Justice, in broad terms, the disposition rate in civil cases has dropped during the past year by more than 1,500 cases, a 3 per cent decrease, when under all standards there should have been an increase in the disposition rate. It is clear that, speaking generally, the Federal district courts have lost ground when they should have been gaining. These conditions have developed notwithstanding very substantial increases in the number of judgeships at both the appellate and trial levels.

There have been many plausible reasons advanced for the administrative condition thus described by the Chief Justice, but I do not intend to discuss them here, except to point out that the problems of administering the Federal judicial system have never been the subject of scientific study and experiment in the true Baconian sense. The result is that today, no one can give demonstrable proof as to what really is the combination of factors which are the cause of the condition which the courts face today.

Certainly, there has been no lack of awareness on the part of Federal judges of the unhappy condition of judicial administration. Over many years we have heard distinguished speakers from both Bar and Bench describe the growing seriousness of congestion and delay in the Federal system and express in most emphatic terms the need for a solution. Most of these discussions have ended in strong appeals, but in fairly general and vague terms, for the development of new methods and procedures and the sharpening of old administrative tools. Yet nothing much has come from all this, for the rather obvious reason that no one is able to say with any real conviction or assurance what new methods or procedures will work or need to be tried or what old tools need sharpening; and no one is able to predict with any certainty what the results would be of particular innovations or changes in processing judicial business. This all comes back to the present lack of basic information about the factors contributing to administrative congestion and this comes from a lack of carefully controlled, observed and recorded experimentation with procedures and processes. Experimental science has simply not been applied to any noticeable extent to the problems of the courts.

A year ago, if this question had been raised for discussion, "Can the judiciary by its own efforts improve its own administration through Science?" I would have thought that it could only be answered with a "no." How could judges, either as individuals or organized as courts, committees or conferences, engage in experimental science? How could they approach the processing of civil cases, the effectiveness of our criminal procedures or evaluate our correctional practices by the slow and laborious method of observation, hypothesis, deduction and experimental verification, which is the true Baconian scientific method? Yet today I believe one can give a confident "yes" in answer to the question "Can the judiciary by its own efforts improve its own administration through Science?" What has happened to make this possible?

The development responsible for the change is the enactment by the Congress in December of last year of a well-conceived, far-sighted proposal emanating from the Judicial Conference of the United States for the creation of an organization of Federal judges, to be known as the Federal Judicial Center, charged with the duty and provided with all necessary authority to engage in experimental research on the problems of judicial administration.

The passage of this legislation, Public Law 90-219, on December 20, 1967, made no headlines in any newspaper. While this is understandable, I nevertheless believe that the future will prove that the establishment of the Federal Judicial Center is the most important legislative development with respect to the judiciary in many, many decades.

The unique organizational nature of the Center and its great potential for engaging in true scientific experimental research on the practical problems of administration in the Federal courts warrant a brief summary of how the Center is organized and what it is charged and authorized to do. While the Center is established within the judicial branch of Government and is controlled and directed exclusively by Federal judges, it is not another judicial committee or conference or council. In some respects the Center is organized much like a corporation, and it has the organizational characteristics which have made the corporation so efficient and effective in many nonjudicial activities, both private and public.

The statute provides that the activities of the Center shall be supervised by a board of seven members with the general authority, like a corporate board, to appoint and fix the duties of an executive officer and his staff. The executive officer of the Center carries the title of Director and has the salary and official status of a judge. The Chief Justice of the United States and the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts are permanent members of the board of the Federal Judicial Center. The other five members are required to be United States judges, two of whom are from the Courts of Appeals and three of whom are from District Courts. The judge members of the board are elected by vote of the members of the Judicial Conference of the United States and serve for staggered terms of four years with provision that judges so elected shall not be members of the Judicial Conference of the United States, and having served a four-year term shall not be eligible for re-election.

The board has the authority, of course, to conduct many activities on its own and through its own staff, but also has the very unusual and important authority to contract with governmental and private agencies or persons for research projects and other services.

The statute charges the Federal Judicial Center with a number of important functions, such as organizing and carrying on programs of training and continuing education for all persons in the judicial branch of Government, judges as well as nonjudicial personnel. This is not the time to discuss all the functions of the Center, but I think it significant that the first function described in the statute is "to conduct *research and study* of the operation of the courts of the United States, and to stimulate and coordinate such *research and study* on the part of other public and private persons and agencies." It is this provision which, in my judgment, makes the Federal Judicial Center quite unique and which provides a potential for improving judicial administration in a practical way which has not previously existed.

When the statute charges the Center with conducting "research," it is not talking about legal research of the kind to which lawyers and judges are accustomed. It is not referring just to the examination of books and the search for precedent. The context in which the word is used in the statute clearly indicates that the Center is charged and authorized to engage in experimental research of the Baconian type. This is fully substantiated by the testimony taken at the hearings on the bill, if further substantiation is needed; and it is gratifying to see that this has been fully appreciated by the judges who have been concerned with bringing the Center into being since the enactment of the statute.

At its meeting in Washington last February, the Judicial Conference elected the first board of judges for the Federal Judicial Center. The two circuit judges who were elected are the Honorable James M. Carter of our own Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, and Judge Wade H. McCree, Jr., of the Court of Appeals of the Sixth Circuit. The three district judges elected were Judge Edward J. Devitt of the District of Minnesota, Judge Harold R. Ryler, Jr., of the Southern District of New York, and Judge William A. McRae, Jr., of the Middle District of Florida. These five judges, together with the Chief Justice of the United States and Mr. Ernest C. Friesen, Jr., the newly appointed Director of the Administrative Office, compose the board.

The board met and went about its business at once. The board selected as the first Director for the Federal Judicial Center the Honorable Tom C. Clark, retired Justice of the United States Supreme Court. No selection could have been more promising. In describing this development to the American Law Institute last May, Chief Justice Earl Warren said of Mr. Justice Clark: "No person of our nation is better qualified to form such a Center. It is almost as though his entire career had been preparing him for the mission of the Center. A private practitioner in Texas, a prosecutor and Attorney General of the United States, the Justice of the Supreme Court, an organizer and chairman of the massive operations of the Joint Committee for Effective Justice, President of the Institute of Judicial Administration and Chairman of the Board of the American Judicature Society, he has for many years devoted himself to improving the administration of the courts. The Center under Mr. Justice Clark is guaranteed the finest possible leadership."

The board, working with its newly selected Director, next undertook a very significant step. It determined to broaden its base of understanding of methods of research and training by reaching outside the Federal judiciary to obtain the finest possible advice on all elements of its mission. The board has authorized and organized four advisory committees, the membership of which includes, besides a number of judges, certain nonjudges who are particularly distinguished and expert in the methods of experimental research, in training and continuing education and even in budgeting practice. The contributions of these men will be most important. Each is outstanding in his own field.

By enlisting advisors such as these, the board has indeed tapped the best experience and thinking in the country in areas of experimental research and well as continuing education and training.

In the past, we have not lacked brilliant scholars in the legal field. We have not lacked ingenious, farsighted, innovating judges. What we have lacked is organized experimental research, carried on with consistency and persistence over a long enough period to obtain significant results. The Federal Judicial Center has been created in major part to meet this need, and its structure is well adapted for the purpose. The problems of modern courts are not simple, but experience in other fields has shown that even the most stubborn and difficult problems of processing and procedure will yield eventually to this kind of organized attack.

If there is any single thing lawyers and judges need to learn from nonlawyers, it is the value and importance of experimental research in solving administrative problems. This is the unique contribution which can be made to the Center and to the administration of justice by the Center's nonlawyer advisors.

It is really not surprising that Sir Francis Bacon's method of scientific research has in the past been so little utilized in studying the problems of administering justice. In Bacon's day, or even 100 years ago, there were no problems of administering courts that are at all comparable to our modern difficulties. The problems that have arisen and which we now face are the results of growth—growth of all kinds—growth in population, growth in human contacts and relationships, growth in the size and jurisdiction of courts and, in general, a tremendous increase in the number and complexity of matters which must be taken to courts for decision.

Problems like ours did not arise in the days when the Chief Justice of the United States and the five associate justices rode circuit, trying cases personally as well as hearing appeals. Since that time, the Federal judiciary have become a very large system indeed. Today the system includes 7,000 employees. It is manned by 500 judges who hold hearings in 417 places and operate 93 district offices with 155 divisions, as well as 11 circuits for cases on appeal. The nation's entire bankruptcy system, with 200,000 bankruptcies a year, is administered within the Federal court structure. The Federal courts are presently supervising more than 37,000 probationers and parolees, almost twice the population of all the Federal penal institutions.

It is worth observing that most of our Federal circuits are organized into court systems as large as those of the majority of the states. The Fifth Circuit, as an example, has 53 district judges and the Court of Appeals 13. Our own Ninth Circuit, which covers an even larger geographical area, has 50 district judges and may soon have 13 judges on its own Court of Appeals. Only 11 states have judicial structures larger than these. The Federal judicial system is supported by an annual budget which this year is approaching one hundred million dollars. Size such as this, without anything more, is bound to create management problems that simply did not exist in earlier days.

It is quite evident that the board of the Center will conclude, if it has not already concluded, that the largest and most pressing problem facing the Federal courts is the delay in the disposition of cases and, no doubt, research into the causes of congestion and the development and testing of hypotheses for its elimination will be undertaken as the first order of business. I do not suggest that it should be otherwise. However, among the many other projects for research, there is one that I particularly wish to mention because of its special interest to the district courts in the Ninth Circuit and particularly the District Court of Northern California, and also because so much has already been done, with such promising results. This is a piece of research which could be brought to final conclusion within a short time and with the expenditure of very little additional money and, if its conclusions which have already begun to take form are established as valid, they will improve the administration of criminal justice in every district court in the country and will probably save the United States million of dollars every year.

I am referring, of course, to what is known as the San Francisco Project. The San Francisco Project was initiated by the judges of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California and their talented Chief Probation Officer, Mr. Albert Wahl. It has been in progress since April, 1965. It is an attempt to evaluate, through study and practical experiment, the effectiveness of probation and parole as presently administered in the Federal courts when measured against the standard of recidivism. It has undertaken to study and analyze the case loads of Federal probation officers and the nature, use and necessity for the presentence reports which they prepare. The method of the Project has been to develop facts by observation, hypothesis and experimental verification, that is, by the method of science in the Baconian sense.

The Project has been financed by a grant of public funds made by the National Institute of Mental Health and has been administered under the auspices of the School of Criminology at the University of California at Berkeley. The research has been carried on under the immediate direction of Mr. Robert Carter, who is on the program with me. Mr. Carter will tell you more about the Project but I feel I must mention some of its results because I am much concerned about the Project's future.

The research has established quite clearly that a number of assumptions which have been universally considered to be basic to effective probation administration are myths. It has, for example, always been assumed that the fewer cases an officer had to supervise and the more intense and frequent the supervision of the cases that he did have, the better the results would be when measured in terms of recidivism. The Project has demonstrated that this is simply not true.

It has been asserted in correctional circles for 20 years or more that the ideal case load for a probation officer is a 50-unit work load based on a formula of one unit for each case under supervision and five units for each pre-sentence investigation. The research has demonstrated that there is no foundation for the formula or for the idea.

It has been widely proclaimed by Federal judges and chief probation officers that a pre-sentence report should be prepared prior to sentence in every case. The preliminary studies of the Project give strong indication that somewhere between 25 per cent and 30 per cent of the pre-sentence reports could be eliminated without affecting the sentences in the slightest. Since the cost of pre-sentence reports is between $200 and $500 per report, the elimination of unnecessary reports would not only improve the efficiency of the Federal Probation Service but would also save the Government and the taxpayers something between one million two hundred thousand and three million dollars a year.

While these conclusions have emerged from testing in the Northern District of California, some quite positively and others more tentatively, if they are to be generally accepted as proved and valid, they must first be carefully tested in a number of other Federal districts with conditions as different as can be found from those in Northern California.

The practical problem about additional testing for the final proof of these results is that the money for the Project has run out. The particular results of the Project which I have mentioned are of administrative interest, but have not much bearing on mental health. It was the National Institute of Mental Health which provided the original financing of the Project, but the interest of the doctors has now been satisfied. It is understandable that the National Institute of Mental Health has proved unwilling to provide additional funds for research which may be important to administering the probation system but which does not relate to problems of mental health.

There are other difficulties in carrying on this work. The Project recently lost its top administrator, Dean Joseph Lohman of the School of Criminology, through sudden death, and Mr. Carter, who has supervised the research from the beginning, has accepted a permanent position with the Government of the State of Washington beginning in August. As a consequence, this research project, initiated by the district judges of this district with such important tentative results, is in danger of not being carried to the conclusion which it deserves, of being tested by experiment in other dissimilar districts.

I feel sure that this situation has not escaped the notice of the board of the Federal Judicial Center or of its distinguished Director but, in view of the importance of the matter, I feel bound to express the hope that the board will somehow find the ways and means of carrying this important research to its ultimate conclusion.

At this moment the Center has no funds at all for research or anything else. There has not yet been time for its inclusion in the appropriation for the judiciary. No matter how well conceived the Federal Judicial Center may be, and no matter how distinguished and able its board members and Director, it cannot possibly make its contribution to solving the problems of judicial administration without adequate financing. Let us hope that the board will make no small plans for the Center and will from the beginning seek enough money to do the job that needs so badly to be done.

In connection with its budget the board might well consider the example of modern industry and business. In the last twenty-five years or so, scientific research and development has played an ever-increasing role in all large-scale industry and business. Experience there has developed the principle of budgeting for research and development as a percentage of sales. The percentage will vary, of course, from industry to industry and business to business, but the principle of budgeting on the basis of an appropriate percentage of sales or gross income is now well established as the most satisfactory way of determining the amounts that should go each year into research and development. If this principle is applied to the Judiciary, the annual budget for the Federal Judicial Center should be an appropriate percentage of the total appropriation to the judicial branch of Government. There is good reason to expect that this principle will be followed in budgeting for the Center since its nonlawyer advisors include men with great experience in financing research as well as in its conduct.

Now that the Federal Judicial Center—in reality a research and development organization in the judicial branch—is in being, and if it is financed with an appropriate percentage of the total Judiciary Budget each year, one can indeed be confident that now, at last, the Federal judiciary can indeed improve its own administration through science and by its own efforts.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS CONFERENCE REPORT

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I have received several hundred expressions of concern from my constituents in northern Virginia regarding deletion of the construction funds for the planned subway system for Washington from this measure.

At the time the District appropriations bill was being debated the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. NATCHER] was very emphatic in making the point that these funds were deleted only due to the fact that the proposed subway system was being used by some to delay construction of the greatly needed highway system in the District of Columbia. The gentleman from Kentucky made it abundantly clear that as soon as firm assurances can be obtained that the highway and freeway construction program will not be delayed and that agreement has been reached that the actual construction will commence he will promptly support restoration of these funds.

The fact that administrative funds in excess of $1 million were appropriated is further assurance that the Committee on Appropriations was recognizing the need for the subway system and wanted to continue with its plans pending solution of the highway dispute.

I have had many conversations with the gentleman from Kentucky concerning this matter and have been personally assured by him that there will be no delay in appropriating funds for the subway system once this highway conflict has been resolved.

Mr. Speaker, as our colleagues know, the Congress has just recently expressed its concern over the highway dispute by writing into the highway bill we just sent to the President words which direct the proper officials to proceed with the construction of the Three Sisters Bridge and certain other segments of the District of Columbia highway system without delay. As further evidence that the gentleman from Kentucky had cause for concern, several groups within the District of Columbia, in addition to the Secretary of Interior, have already asked the President to veto the highway bill in order to prevent construction of these roadways.

Mr. Speaker, as all Members of this House know, I am a strong supporter of the area subway system and, in fact, I was the sponsor of the original bill which created the agency which planned the system. I naturally would oppose any needless delay of the prompt construction and completion of the system. On the other hand, however, I also recognize the vital need for a balanced transportation system in the Washington area, and I realize the fact that any further delay in construction of other needed transportation facilities will result in traffic chaos in the Washington metropolitan area.

I, therefore, feel that with the assurances I have received from the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. NATCHER] that there will be no needless delay in appropriating the funds for the subway system once the highway program is underway, I must support him in his determination to see that one transportation program is not used as an excuse to prevent completion of another equally vital transportation program.

GEN. BRUCE PALMER, JR.

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud that the No. 2 man in the U.S. Army, the Vice Chief of Staff, is a man whose residence is in Florida's great First District. His home address is Fort Walton Beach, Fla., and his wife, Mrs. Kay Sibert Palmer, is the daughter of an outstanding soldier, Maj. Gen. Franklin C. Sibert, who also is a resident of Fort Walton Beach.

General Palmer assumed the responsibilities of the office of Vice Chief of Staff early this week. This office is one of tremendous importance and requires a man of the highest integrity and fortitude. He is the principal assistant and adviser to the Chief of Staff. By delegation he has the statutory authority to perform the same duties which the Chief of Staff performs. Orders issued by the Vice Chief of Staff have the same effect as those issued by the Chief of Staff. The man who fills this position must be equal in experience, dedication and soldierly expertise to the Chief of Staff. A dedicated patriot-leader possessing these required qualities of trust and confidence was sworn in as Vice Chief on the 18th of July and received his fourth star on the first of August. Son of a famous soldier, this man is Gen. Bruce Palmer, Jr.

Graduating from West Point in 1936, Bruce Palmer held successive positions of importance commencing with an assignment in the operations division on the then War Department General Staff, less than 6 years after being commissioned. Later, in July 1964 to be exact, he was appointed the Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and promoted to lieutenant general.

He gained international prominence in May 1965 when he assumed command of the U.S. forces and U.S. Army forces in the Dominican Republic. On the 23d of May 1965 he signed for the United States the act creating the first Inter-American Forces later renamed the Inter-American Peace Force.

In January 1966 General Palmer returned with the XVIII Airborne Corps to Fort Bragg. In the spring of 1967 he again distinguished himself while in command of the II Field Force, Vietnam. During this period his command conducted Operations Junction City and Manhattan, the largest operations of the Vietnam war. A further qualification for his present position is his last assignment as deputy commanding general, Vietnam.

In an article in Army magazine in November 1965, General Palmer stated:

> The American people can be proud of the conduct of their servicemen in the Dominican Republic. Many a young 82d trooper, perhaps less than a year ago, was more concerned with his best girl and the hit tune of the week. Many had never been away from their home towns before entering service.
>
> One thing is certain. They can hold their heads high in the knowledge that their remarkable courage, their restraint, their prompt obedience to orders and their profound respect for human rights have planted another marker along the uphill road to freedom and the dignity of man.

When the Senate approved the appointment of Bruce Palmer, Jr., to the position of Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, it assured the citizens of the United States that the best man available for the job was selected. He deserves the respect of the American public. Bruce Palmer possesses all the qualities he attributed to the American soldier he commanded so admirably in the Dominican Republic.

FEDERAL LAND ACQUISITION POLICY REFORM

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a package of bills designed to revise and reform the policies and practices followed in acquiring real property for Federal and federally assisted projects.

The need for reform of the present policies has been made abundantly clear by my work with residents of Colorado whose property is being acquired under the doctrine of eminent domain. Though the enactment of this legislation will not help people with pending litigation, it will help, in the future, thousands of people across the country similarly faced with the difficulties of the present antiquated policies. Under these policies people indicate they cannot replace their property with the dollars they are offered by the Government. They are caught in the middle having to sell on terms prescribed by the Government, and having to buy on terms prescribed by the free market.

The provisions of my first bill—the primary part of this three-part proposed legislation—would assure fair compensation to owners and tenants of property acquired for public programs for their property and for other losses and necessary expenses incurred. Congress would establish a uniform policy to guide the land acquisition practices of all Federal agencies in order to assure consistent and equitable treatment. Every reasonable effort would be made to acquire real property by kindly and friendly negotiated purchase to insure bargain and barter. Congress would provide a definition of "market value standard" to serve as a basis for Government acquisition of land that assures compensation shall be the highest price which the property could reasonably be expected to bring if exposed for sale in the open market for a reasonable time, unaffected by the project.

My second bill would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide for more equitable treatment of persons affected by capital gains caused by involuntary sales of real property through eminent domain to the Federal Government or for federally assisted programs. The bill provides than an owner of property taken for public use may defer any recognition of gain on the transfer if he reinvested the compensation received for the property in, first, any interest in real property; second, any property used in trade or business; and third, any property to be held by the taxpayer for investment.

The third and final bill of this package is an amendment to the Small Business Act to provide assistance for owners and employees of small business concerns displaced or injured by Federal or federally assisted programs. This assistance would take the form of loans, information, and other aid.

Much of the legislation which I am proposing is based on a 3-year study by the staff of a select subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee. This intensive study was completed at the end of 1964 and its basic recommendations have not been implemented. But the growing number of Federal and federally assisted programs requiring the acquisition of real property under the present problemmatic policies presents a growing emergency situation that can no longer be ignored.

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS REPORT ENROLLMENTS ROSE A MILLION

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times this morning carried an article which I think should be of great interest to the Members of Congress, particularly since, in both Chambers, we have just recently unanimously enacted major changes in the vocational education program.

The New York Times quotes Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur J. Cohen as reporting that vocational school enrollments increased by 1 million during the past year, bringing to a total more than 7 million young people and adults who are taking vocational education courses in America.

This large increase in vocational education enrollment demonstrates how responsive this Congress is to the needs of young people and how every Member of this Congress recognized the great opportunities that vocational education offers the young people of our Nation.

I am sure this article should be of great comfort to every Member of this House who voted for the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968.

The New York Times article follows:

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS REPORT ENROLLMENTS ROSE A MILLION

WASHINGTON.—More than 7 million young people and adults took vocational education courses in more than 17,000 public schools during the school year that ended in June, 1967, Wilbur J. Cohen, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, reported.

An increase of nearly a million students over the previous year's enrollment of 6.07 million was handled in part by an additional 335 vocational schools and other facilities. More than $193-million was expended for these new facilities, including $64.5-million in Federal funds allocated to the states.

The nation invested a total of $972.3-million in Federal, state and local funds in vocational education during the 1966–67 school year, almost 22 per cent more than the $799.8-million figure of the previous year. The Federal share was $257.4-million, up $23.7 million from the previous year.

The largest enrollment increase was at the secondary school level.

A TIME FOR REASON AND RESTRAINT AND A TIME FOR RESPONSE

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, as I felt the text of the speech by Mr. Winton M. Blount, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, to the Rotary Club of Atlanta, Ga., on May 27, 1968, is addressed to all Americans, I would like to use this means to share it with my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD.

Mr. Blount expresses so well the situation that exists in our country today and offers us challenges on how to meet our problems. For your information and consideration, I insert the speech herewith:

A TIME FOR REASON AND RESTRAINT AND A TIME FOR RESPONSE

(Remarks of Winton M. Blount, president, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, before the Rotary Club of Atlanta, Ga., May 27, 1968)

As a representative of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, I am delighted to be with you today.

I think I can safely say to you that never before has the leadership of the national chamber—its officers, directors and staff—been so aware of the responsibility for assuring that the measure of this organization's effort be sufficient for the challenge of our times.

America today is a nation of conflict—conflict of *ideas,* conflict of *ideals,* and conflict of *identifications.* But as we look at the conflict in our cities, on our campuses, and all across the Nation, we need to put this conflict in proper perspective. It is the perspective of a growing, prosperous nation struggling with the problems of success, and not a nation coming apart at the seams and on the brink of disaster.

We have our share of problems just as we always have. Emerson observed slightly over one hundred years ago—"These times of ours are serious and full of calamity, but all times are essentially alike." How appropriate that statement is in helping us keep proper perspective.

We have the problem of how to bring gainful employment to 4 per cent of our working population. But remember we have 96 per cent at work. We have the problem of how to bring better housing and a better way of life to a relatively small part of our population. But *remember* at the same time, the vast majority of Americans who live rich and rewarding lives. I do not mean to discount the tragedy and degradation of those who live in squalor, despair, and hopelessness, but I submit our system has provided for the vast majority of our people a way of life unparalleled in the history of the world.

Today we are faced with international problems such as Vietnam and the worth of the dollar in the world markets; national problems related to an economy beset by inflation, urbanization and industrialization; human problems of race and poverty; and spiritual problems of dissension, distrust and violence. These problems must be met and must be solved.

This is a time in America for *reason* and *restraint.* But this is also a time in America for response—restraint from emotionalism and radicalism of the left or the right, but *response* toward finding solutions to these major problems facing us. This climate of unrest and uncertainty in this nation have placed, as never before, new demands upon the business and professional community for leadership and constructive action.

In assuming the presidency of the chamber of commerce of the United States last month, I found the nation's largest business organization deeply involved in all the problems of present day America. It is my personal belief that the business community has a tremendous input to help solve the problems facing our country. Traditionally the business community has proven its talent for problem solving, for decision making, for creativity and for innovation. And these are the kinds of talents so desperately needed as we face up to modern day America.

Business is responding by bringing its leadership and management abilities to bear on these matters, invading areas which have been traditionally left to government. We are seeking out dark corners and moving into the social problem backwaters where politicians have been making too many of the decisions for too long. The business community must continue to encourage and lead this effort, and determine the most effective channels for its expression.

Government cannot solve these problems alone, as it has sometimes tried to do in the past. Rather, it must be a joint effort of the national government, the local and state governments, the business community, other organizations, and private citizens—a total effort on the part of all—and business has a key role to play.

I am an optimist—you have to be in my business. And I am optimistic that America will solve its problems. Our background and heritage have not prepared us for defeat. Our resiliency as a nation has been demonstrated time and time again.

But as we progress and change and move forward into the exciting world of the future, we must preserve and strengthen the essential institutions and values which have provided the vitality and inner strength of this great nation.

Gentlemen, it is up to the vast majority of Americans who are responsible, reasonable and restrained citizens to insure that our progress is responsive, sound, and intelligent.

What is our role? I believe the nation needs to hear from us.

It needs to hear from us about preserving the vitality of our economic system. We must tell the story to *every citizen* of the vital role of *capital, incentive,* and *profits* in our free enterprise economy.

My very first act as the national chamber president was to establish a committee to consider the problems of the dollar. We have an outstanding committee of business, financial, and technical experts headed by Archie K. Davis, former president of the American Bankers Association and chairman of the board of the Wachovia Bank & Trust Company of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Our committee met for the first time about ten days ago and will meet a second time next week. I am enthusiastic and excited about the prospects of this important group.

I would like to deal with one aspect of our financial situation and that concerns pending legislation regarding a tax increase and a decrease in federal spending.

Every American's well-being, his plans and protections, the ways in which we hold our economic society together by performing useful services for one another, all depend on the soundness of the dollar. The hopes, the aspirations, the opportunity and, yes, the promise of America depends on a vibrant and viable monetary system.

When the dollar gets into trouble, other problems fade in comparison. Uncertainty creeps into decision making. Political promises become hollow. This is what is beginning to happen to us now.

The President started this year by asking unions and business firms to use "rigorous restraint" in their wage determinations this year. He also asked Congress again to enact his tax surcharge bill, and Congress in turn asked the President to cut his $186 billion budget.

Meanwhile, the economy has continued to pick up pace in the face of serious danger signals, the cost of living has continued to edge up and the balance of payments position is further deteriorated. The American people are ready for some decisions to be made.

As you well know, during this decade America has enjoyed unprecedented economic expansion and prosperity. Starting from a slack in 1960, the economy climbed at a fairly steady pace through 1964, with prices moving up at about one per cent per year.

An upsurge of military spending in mid-1965 upset this balance and increased the demand on the economy and this is where the action should have been taken *but wasn't!* The labor market got tighter and prices started moving up at the rate of 2 to 3 percent. The demand eased off in the first six months of 1967, but since then—for the last three quarters—it has moved ahead with tremendous momentum, breaking records left and right, and prices have been climbing at the rate of 4 percent.

The excessive demand which in 1965 initiated the acceleration, has created a climate of market power for unions and business, and excessive high wage settlements have created a wage-price spiral which threatens to continue for several years to come.

Higher wages tend to push up prices. Higher prices in turn, reinforce demands for higher wages. And so the spiral can continue on its own momentum even when the demand moderates.

A further complication which arises from inflation is that the prices of our goods in the world market also creep up and hurt our competitiveness in the world market. Imports on the other hand, become more attractive. Exports have fallen off in recent years and our traditional trade surplus of exports over imports had deteriorated, further damaging our balance of payments position.

Even if the tax increase and spending reduction serve to dampen the demand factor, the momentum of the wage-price spiral could continue, with its adverse effects, well into the future. Thus, the need for more moderate wage settlements.

But as we near the half-way point of the year, there is no indication that unions are responding to such appeals. George Meany told the AFL–CIO convention in Miami, in effect, to get all they can while they can, because wage-price controls may be on the way. In the face of the current economic situation, this sort of attitude is sheer folly and irresponsibility of the highest order, and both business and labor will be feeling the effect of it for years to come.

We have abused the dollar by acting as though we had all the money in the world and now the consequences have caught up with us. Excessive national deficits and uneconomic wage increases have led us into inflation which the housewife knows about as well as anyone else, and still our national policies have shown no sign of restraint.

This nation now faces a financial crisis. Essentially, this crisis has arisen because of the enormous deficit spending by the government. Under present circumstances, the government may spend at least $24 billion more in fiscal 1969 than it collects in taxes. This, on top of an estimated deficit for the current fiscal year of $23 billion.

Deficit spending of this magnitude does irreparable harm. It breeds intolerable inflation. It compels abnormally high interest rates. It reduces the competitiveness of American products, making our balance of payments all the more critical. It shows irresponsibility that undermines international confidence in the dollar, and in the self-discipline of the American people. It raises the possibility, if not the probability, of wage and price controls and devaluation of the dollar, which could set off a series of international and domestic repercussions leading to an end of the present era of international economic stability.

The action needed to deal with our fiscal crisis is bitter medicine. To bring our Federal expenditures and our Federal revenues into a better balance, we need both an increase in taxes and a reduction in spending. H.R. 15414, as agreed upon recently by a joint House-Senate conference committee, is a compromise between earlier House and Senate bills. It provides a ten percent tax surcharge on both individuals and corporations, a reduction of six billion dollars in Federal spending plans for fiscal 1969 and several other means of increasing tax revenue.

Congress is hesitating, perhaps feeling the hesitancy of the American people. Some legislators feel the proposed six billion dollars in spending cuts is too severe. Some think it is too little. Few appear eager to pass a tax increase in an election year, and this Congressional hesitancy is nurtured by the fact that the President has not yet offered his support to the compromise bill. Although he has repeatedly asked for a tax increase, he apparently does not wish to cut spending as much as the bill would require.

Why, it's ridiculous to say that you cannot cut a $186 billion dollar budget more than $4 billion, you could cut it $18 billion and not really harm any vital program. What we need is a setting of national priorities. We should add up our needs on the one hand and lay them down against our income on the other and decide which ones we want to pay for and not do the rest. In fact, I believe we need a law that would require that we have a balanced Federal budget and this would force the discipline of priorities on the government.

This is not the time, however, to seek reasons for opposing this spending cut-tax increase legislation. It is not a perfect bill nor a permanent solution to our fiscal problems. It is a compromise. Almost anyone can find some features that he would oppose; certainly, the national chamber does.

Despite this, it is time to recognize that this bill, whatever its shortcomings, does provide for cutting the 1969 deficit to a more manageable, less inflationary level, and to understand that its passage is in the national interest. It's a step in the right direction. It is on this basis I ask your active assistance in urging prompt enactment of H.R. 15414.

Unless the business community shows its concern about the economic crisis facing this country and its willingness to pay the price for helping to restore our national fiscal integrity, it is entirely possible that this corrective legislation will not be passed. Because this bill is the product of a Senate-House conference committee, it will not be subject to amendment on the House and Senate floor; it can only be passed as is, or rejected. Of course, it could be returned to the committee for consideration of further changes; however, if that is done, it would probably signal the death of the bill.

In the final analysis, the Congress faces two choices—pass H.R. 15414 and *begin* to restrain inflation, or defeat or ignore the bill and let inflation continue to run rampant.

I believe the Nation's businessmen care enough for the well-being of this country to insist upon prompt congressional enactment of H.R. 15414. Therefore, I urge you immediately to encourage your Representatives and Senators to give this legislation their support, and to do everything they can to bring it to an early vote. This type of personal appeal by you and thousands of other businessmen is imperative if we are to restore order to the national economy.

The Nation also needs to hear from us a reaffirmation of the democratic process as the proper and most effective expression of the public will. Politics is too important to leave to the politicians alone; businessmen *must* become involved.

In this regard, I am pleased to tell you that the former Governor of Texas and my immediate predecessor as President of the United States chamber, Allan Shivers, is serving in this important election year as chairman of the new individual political action program developed by the national chamber. I hope each of you will join Gov. Shivers and local chamber people to insure the success of this significant program at every level in this year of decision.

Finally, the Nation must hear from us a reaffirmation of our moral strengths—our belief in individual rights, and the preservation of those rights through obedience to the law.

At the time of the chamber's annual meeting last month, I visited the rubble and ruin of the recent riots in Washington. While I had seen this destruction on television and through other news media, I was utterly shocked and yes, dismayed, by what I saw—parts of our Capital laid waste as a Berlin or a London of over two decades ago. This . . . in the Capital of the United States, a Nation of dedication to great principles and progress—not to destruction.

I say to you that the business community has a deep and compassionate concern for people of all races who live in poverty in the slums of our cities, the disadvantaged, the hard-core unemployed, and the undereducated. We are deeply concerned over all the problems of the urban areas of our country and the business community *must* and *will* redouble its efforts everywhere to open wide the doors of opportunity and to lend a helping hand to those who will take advantage of these opportunities.

While we feel all of these things, it is outrageous to enunciate a policy which essentially encourages and escalates riots and lawless acts. We cannot abide lawlessness, nor can we justify short-run violations of the law in hope that it will bring about peace in the long run. Human rights cannot exist in a chaotic and disorderly society. They are assured and preserved only by prompt and reasonable enforcement of the law.

Riots are started by lawless hoodlums and the disruptive elements in our society. They are not started by the innocent bystanders or the children. But if we have a national policy of withholding authority and letting the arsonist burn and the looter steal, then you can be certain that seeing this example, the surrounding community will join in. We must have a national policy that says as soon as riots threaten, at the very first hour there must be an appropriate and overwhelming show of force and *determination* by all those in authority to insure that these criminal acts are stopped in their tracks.

I have heard it said that the business community has lost the initiative in this area. I do not believe this is the case and in fact the matter of *who has* the initiative is not the point. Rather we must work together with *respect* and *understanding* toward successful solutions. The work of Paul Austin, national co-chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen, in combating hard-core unemployment and the Savannah plan of Mills Lane and others are outstanding examples of business ingenuity in solving problems.

I commend to you also the forward America program, developed by the national chamber, for bringing together all the groups willing to cooperate within the community—business, government, labor, civil rights, religious, educational, and the leaders of the ghetto areas—to establish communications, to set goals and priorities, and to initiate programs of action. Here is a method for responsible Americans to make themselves heard.

The task for responsible Americans, then, is to help the Nation find solutions to the great and compelling problems of our times—and to insure that those solutions are within the context of our beliefs and principles.

Ours has always been a country typifying opportunity. It has not been a country whose government could guarantee prosperity and well-being for every citizen; but rather a country whose government was established to provide a climate in which every citizen has the *opportunity* to prosper. We must strengthen the principles of opportunity, of individual initiative and individual destiny, and we must make sure that these principles of America are available to *all* Americans *whatever race or circumstance.*

Gentlemen, these are the challenges and promises before us. And the business community must not only use its many talents in solving existing problems, it must carry it one step further in the anticipation of problems as well. We in the business community have often had to respond to ill conceived but politically appealing solutions proposed by government and this has sometimes placed us in a negative position. What we need to do is to set up a mechanism for anticipating the problems of this country and to propose sound business oriented solutions to these problems and this will put us in a positive and forward looking posture in helping to solve America's problems. Let's accept these challenges with new determination, new confidence, and a deep personal commitment. Your country is in great need of your devotion, your loyalty, and your leadership ability.

THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF ELECTION OF FIRST AMERICAN NEGRO, HON. JOHN WILLIS MENARD, TO U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 30, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join our distinguished colleague from Michigan [Mr. DIGGS] in taking note of the 100th anniversary of the election of Congressman John Willis Menard, of Louisiana, the first Negro Member of Congress. His election in 1868 marked the beginning of the participation of black Americans in our political system through elections at the national level. Since that time there have been 28 Negro Representatives and three Negro Senators. Today five distinguished Negro

Representatives serve in the House and one in the Senate. It is a privilege to serve with each of them, and they are making major contributions to the Congress.

I commend the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DIGGS] for reserving this time to observe this significant anniversary. It also affords us the opportunity to reflect upon the fact that full equality in the political process for all our citizens has yet to be achieved—100 years after the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution.

The limited number of Negroes who have served in the House of Representatives and Senate, and in State and local elective office as well, is not reflective of the number of Negroes in the general population. The crisis which America faces today is the legacy of years of denied participation or token participation by black Americans in the political system.

Today New York City with a black population of 1 million has no black Representative. Moreover, the people of Harlem are not represented at all, the House having refused to seat their duly elected Congressman—the denial of a basic principle of representative government. In effect, the House disenfranchised some 440,000 citizens.

If the crisis confronting our society is to be resolved, then there must be greater minority representation at all levels of government and a realization that, as other ethnic groups have organized politically, so must blacks and Spanish speaking Americans if they are to achieve full recognition. But it is not enough to gain full ethnic recognition. We must work for the day when America has reached the point where political leaders are chosen on the basis of their merit, and black legislators are proportional to black population simply in the natural course of events.

CAPTIVE NATIONS RALLY IN TAIWAN

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, to observe Captive Nations Week July 14–20, the people of the Republic of China held a mass rally at Taipei, Taiwan, with our colleague, Congressman HORACE R. KORNEGAY, as principal speaker. In addition to Mr. KORNEGAY's speech which appeared in the RECORD last week, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members the program of the Captive Nations Rally in Taiwan, and, under unanimous consent place it as part of my remarks in the RECORD:

PROGRAMME OF MASS RALLY BY THE PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN SUPPORT OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS AND PEOPLES FOR FREEDOM

1. Address by Chairman Ku Cheng-kang.
2. Message from H. E. President Chiang.
3. Address by H. E. Vice President C. K. Yen.
4. Adoption of Declaration and Resolutions.

ADDRESS BY KU CHENG-KANG, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE

Mr. Vice President, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the 10th anniversary since the "Captive Nations Week" was first observed in the United States of America. Around us we witness the growth of the forces of freedom and a shrinkage of the powers of enslavement. But the Communist powers are still there, causing troubles and danger to mankind. We have to work yet harder to attain our objectives.

About us are important developments to our advantage, increasing our faith in the final victory of freedom.

Firstly, there has been a general awakening and resistance among the people under Communist subjugation, ranging from mainland China to the countries of Eastern Europe.

Secondly, many free nations have realized that freedom and enslavement cannot coexist, and action is necessary to repel the forces of Communism. Outstanding examples are the despatch of armed forces to protect other countries' freedom and independence by the U.S., Korea, Thailand, Australia, and others; Vietnam's firm stand against Communist aggression; the Republic of China's unyielding national policy to destroy the Communist regime and restore freedom to the mainland.

Thirdly, the free world is coming to realize that joint effort is required to cope with the Communists threat, which view has been advocated by many great statesmen throughout the world. The birth of many regional organizations and the forming of the World Anti-Communist League are the first steps in their right direction.

Unfortunately, a strong countercurrent of appeasement is retarding the progress of freedom. The appeasement attitude is partly the product of mankind's instinct to shun difficulties and seek self-preservation even it be only temporary. But the organized designs of the Communists are also responsible for this frame of mind. Every idea and trick has been exploited to create misconceptions and illusions about Communism. Appeasement policy has now become the sharpest implement for Communist expansion.

Appeasement movement has forced the free world to abandon her policy of liberating the enslaved and adopt a spectator attitude towards the capitive peoples' struggle for freedom. It has tied the hands of those fighting Communist aggression by forfeiting victory as the aim of military operations, as seen in Vietnam. It has caused the further concession of the free world in the form of Paris peace talks. It has blocked and sabotaged the forming of a joint front, thus subjecting all the free nations to the danger of defeat in detail. These are the insidious gains of the Communist exploited appeasement movement.

In reality we are facing two enemies in our fight for freedom. The Communists are on the second line and the appeasement advocates are on the forefront fighting as vanguard. And we have to fight both of them. Without defeating appeasement we cannot win victory in this fight. The appeasement movement is not only blocking our liberation of the enslaved but are also trying to cast the free nations and peoples into the lion's den. Rationality and moral conscience forbid us to permit the further Communist capture of another person or an inch of ground.

I call on the representatives of all civic organizations of the nation meeting here today and appeal to all who love justice in the world, to fight the fallacy of appeasement under the banner of freedom. Let us strive for the following objectives:

First of all, reaffirm the policy of liberation of the enslaved in the spirit of the Captive Nations Week movement. Enslavement of half the world is no longer tolerable. Give all necessary support, moral and substantial, to all the movements against Communism and slavery behind the Iron Curtain in Europe and Asia. Give aid to the anti-Mao and anti-Communist struggle on mainland China. Support the liberalization movement in Eastern Europe.

Second, take every action to prevent the appeasement advocates from selling out the free nations and peoples. We will not yield any further to Communist power through their use of fake peace, a principle that should be observed at the Paris peace talks. We must make every effort to expose Communist manipulation of the appeasement movement so that all nations will be warned in time.

Third, strong international cooperation in combating Communism is vital. There is not only the need for collective security in the Asian and Pacific region, but also for a joint international front against Communism.

History moves sometimes on a smooth road and other times over difficult terrain. Appeasement movement is the roadblock ahead and its removal will reveal a wide avenue on which we will march towards victory over Communism and enslavement.

PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S MESSAGE TO THE TAIPEI RALLY SUPPORTING CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, JULY 19, 1968

Ever since 1959, the United States has been marking the third week of July as Captive Nations Week in order to support the aspirations of people all over the world for national independence and individual freedom. This movement, which has been enthusiastically supported in the Republic of China, will grow stronger and stronger until freedom and independence are restored to all the captive nations. The free world has shown profound sympathy and strong support for the people of the captive nations during this last decade. These people have been encouraged to rise up against the slavery and despotism that obtains behind the iron curtain. Solidarity of the anti-Communist forces has reached new fulfillment in the establishment of the World People's Anti-Communist League. Internal weaknesses of the international Communist bloc are gradually coming to light. The contradictions and conflicts among various Communist regimes have become acute. The internal disruption and international isolation of Mao Tse-tung's regime—hated by all the people of the Chinese mainland—have become especially conspicuous. The importance of the Captive Nations Week movement is increasing; the movement should be expanded.

As I have repeatedly pointed out, Communism is the root evil and Mao Tse-tung is the archcriminal of aggressive war throughout the world. There will be no peace until Communism is eradicated from the Chinese mainland. Mao Tse-tung is trembling in fear at the sight of adverse domestic and international developments. He is accelerating internal exploitation, persecution, class struggle and purges. He is making war in Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia so as to undermine Asian security and threaten world peace. At the same time he is instigating an anti-war movement in many parts of the world. International appeasers have been mobilized to give credence to factual distortions and to create an atmosphere and environment suitable to Peiping's purposes. These developments are part of Mao's death agony. The flames of anti-Communist and anti-Maoist undertakings are rising higher and higher throughout the mainland. Bodies of the victims of armed struggle have been washed down China's rivers to Macao and Hongkong, attesting to the fierceness of the fighting and the extent of the turmoil. The Peiping regime is a decaying organism that soon will fall apart in all its rottenness. This collapse can be expedited with a fatal thrust from the forces of freedom waiting on the mainland periphery.

In commemorating this 10th anniversary of support for the captive nations, we are attesting to our faith that freedom will triumph over slavery and that justice will assure the termination of violence. Our supreme confidence in anti-Communism will help us unite anti-Communist forces so as to take advantage of the divisions and the confusion in the Communist camp. We shall provide active support for the revolutions against despotism that are sweeping through the Communist world like a typhoon. We are determined to rally the free world so that all its strength will be concentrated on disposing of Mao Tse-tung and his cohorts, the cruelest and most wicked of all the Communists.

All like-minded and benevolent people—intellectuals, workers, farmers and reformed Communists—will be welcomed to participate in our Anti-Mao National Salvation United Front. Our cultural and political offensive will be followed by military action. With the Mao regime destroyed, the world will be freed of its gravest danger, Mao's fall will advance the date for the delivery of all captive peoples and assure the blessings of peace for humankind.

VICE PRESIDENT YEN CHIA-KAN'S ADDRESS AT THE TAIPEI RALLY SUPPORTING CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, JULY 19, 1968

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Anti-Communist Fighters, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This occasion marks the start of the 10th year of the Captive Nations Week movement initiated by the U.S. Congress in 1959. Many countries have responded to the call of the American Congress during the last decade.

The movement seeks to tear down the iron curtain and help the captive peoples regain their freedom. Consequently, free world support has been forthcoming from the very beginning. This 10th year has special significance besause of the backing accorded the movement by the first conference of the World Anti-Communist League. The members of WACL voted unanimously to urge large-scale action in response to the call of the Captive Nations movement.

People behind the iron curtain are crying out against enslavement and persecution. They are struggling harder and harder for survival and a new birth of freedom. The collapse and final downfall of the Communist bloc is drawing steadily closer. At such a moment, this worldwide anti-Communist movement must have a great impact and profound influence. It is an integral part of the struggle to uphold justice and safeguard human rights.

Communist tyranny has threatened human dignity and man's freedom ever since its emergence in Russia more than a half century ago. As the Red poison and miasma of evil spread across the world, the Chinese mainland was locked behind the iron curtain. More than 1,000 million people of the world have been shackled and cast into Communist enslavement. This is a tragic calamity without precedent in the history of man.

Thousands upon thousands of people have shed blood and given up their lives in order to protect the most basic rights of man. This is a struggle of humanity against bestiality, of freedom against slavery. Tragically, the fact of a world half free and half slave has not been changed. Wars against Communist aggression and for the freedom and independence of Vietnam are raging now on Asian battlefields. I know that those of you present at this rally today await the opportunity to complete unfinished tasks. The sacred mission of the Captive Nations Week movement is still ours to accomplish.

Looking at events happening behind the iron curtain, we can see that the currents of anti-Communism are spreading in every direction. In desperation, the Communist tyrants are tightening their controls, hoping to alter their destiny and forestall their inevitable collapse. Chaos and turmoil within Eastern Europe are reflected in Czechoslovakia's "liberalization" movement, anti-Communist demonstrations in Poland and Romania's centrifugal tendencies. The Russian Communists are attempting to control this situation by dispatching troops under the cover of military exercises.

The Chinese mainland is a shambles as a consequence of the long, cruel control of the Mao Tse-tung regime. Anti-Mao and anti-Communist revolutionary movements of the people have reached a new peak of intensity. Mao is responding with increased brutality and even massacre. The bodies of those dying in this violence have been washed down mainland rivers and have reached Macao and Hongkong. This is truly hell on earth. The occasion of Captive Nations Week should concentrate attention on this tightening of Chinese Communist enslavement, on this brutal lashing out in the Red regime's dying hour.

Maoist persecution of the people has been increasing through the 10 years and more. These Mao Communists have antagonized the masses, purged the dissident and massacred the innocent. Ignorant Red Guards have been made into tools to commit murder and arson and bring about a reign of terror. These barbarous actions have made a black hellhole out of the whole of the Chinese mainland. Now the outcry of the people is rising to a roaring torrent and the anti-Communist movement against Peiping is spreading everywhere. The bodies washed all the way to Macao and Hongkong point the finger of accusation at the Chinese Communists. No evidence of Maoist crimes could be more convincing than that of these silent witnesses.

The Maoists are the worst of the Chinese Communist gang. They are the ringleaders who have cruelly persecuted the 700 million people of the mainland. They have dreamed by day and by night of communizing all the world and enslaving mankind through tactics of infiltration, subversion and armed aggression. We have repeatedly warned that the Maoists are not only doing historic violence to the Chinese nation but also are to be regarded as the most vicious of humankind's enemies. Today the Maoists are trying to speed the development of nuclear weapons in preparation for a war that would destroy civilization everywhere. The fate of mankind hangs in the balance. We must stress once more that if the free world continues to appease rather than punish the Maoist perpetrators of violence, the 700 million people of the mainland will remain in a furnace of fiery purges and the world will be unable to escape a holocaust. Disasters without end will pursue mankind.

A Chinese proverb says: "To fell a tree pull out its root; to eliminate evil find and eradicate the source." The Peiping regime is the principal source of all the evil in the world. The biggest iron curtain known to man is found on the Chinese mainland. Actions in support of captive nations and enslaved peoples must be taken everywhere. Emphasis should be placed on the tearing away of the Asian iron curtain.

Destruction of the Peiping regime so as to eliminate the principal source of evil from the world is the solemn obligation of the Chinese people. We are currently engaged in reconstructing Taiwan on the basis of the benevolent doctrines set forth in *San Min Chu I* (the Three Principles of the People of Dr. Sun Yat-sen) so as to help fulfill our missions of mainland recovery and national reconstruction. We have no doubt that the righteous can never be vanquished and that tyrannical rule will surely collapse. This is prescription of history. We cannot fail to recover the mainland and deliver our compatriots.

However, the anti-Communist struggle is not the mission of any single nation or region. Anti-Communism is the common responsibility of all the free world and of the whole of humankind. Our interest is a common one. We hope in all sincerity that all of the freedom-loving democracies will act together and give us the moral support required for the early accomplishment of our mission. At the opening of the first WACL Conference last year, president Chiang Kai-shek told anti-Communist leaders from all over the globe: "Our soaring anti-Communist morale and dauntless confidence in victory deserve your special attention. Guided by this great spiritual force, we shall consummate our sacred mission of national recovery and triumph in our struggle for freedom against enslavement." Elimination of the Maoist oppressors and aggressors will solve the largest part of the anti-Communist problem.

People of the mainland are continuing to risk their lives in their determination to gain freedom. Another large-scale mainland exodus may be expected at any moment. Free governments everywhere should give sympathy and humane support to Chinese refugees who are opposing slavery and seeking freedom. The free world's support of the enslaved who strike off their chains and struggle to be free will write a shining new page in human history. I thank you.

DECLARATION OF MASS RALLY OF THE PEOPLE OF REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS AND PEOPLES FOR FREEDOM, ON JULY 19, 1968

Ever since the Captive Nations Week was first proclaimed by the United States in 1959, the movement against enslavement and for freedom has been intensified in all parts of the world and has become the main current of historical progress. In holding this Mass Rally in the Republic of China in support of the enslaved peoples of the world, we participants are deeply gratified at the remarkable achievements that have been made in the struggle for freedom on the one hand, and, in view of the fact that the forces of enslavement are yet undefeated and that human freedom and security are still being subject to continual threats, we are so much the more determined than ever before and are convinced that all the forces of justice and fair play must be solidified and present a united front in order to gain an overall, complete and permanent victory for human freedom, on the other.

We believe that the disintegration and downfall of the forces of enslavement and the simultaneous victory of the forces of freedom are not far distant. All evidences point in this direction: intensification of the anti-Communist and anti-Mao Tse-tung movement on the Chinese mainland, the mounting liberalization movement in East Europe, the inevitable internal conflicts and dissensions among the Communist camp, the awakening of not a few Asian and African countries which have formerly fallen victim to Communist propaganda and come under Communist influence, and the electoral defeats the Communist parties have suffered in one country after another in recent months. All these facts are positive evidence that the Communist slave-drivers are being spurned by all peoples of the world and that the dictatorial Communist regimes are being shaken to their foundations.

However, the forces of enslavement will not willingly accept defeat. They will fight back and struggle to survive and will intensify their efforts to menace human freedom. It is perfectly clear that their basic strategy, particularly that of the Chinese Communists, consists in making use of the international fellow-travelers and innocent and unsuspecting intellectuals to bail them out of their present dilemma and in encouraging the forces of appeasement by taking advantage of their psychology of self-complacency. They fondly hope that under the protective cover of the forces of appeasement their weaknesses will be concealed, the critical situation they are facing will be reversed, and the prospects of imminent defeat will again be turned into success. We may, therefore, say that in the struggle against enslavement and for freedom the forces of appeasement have become the principal accomplices of the enemy. For this reason, we must first of all eliminate the forces of appeasement before the victory of freedom can be assured and come at an early date.

The best example is found in developments of the Vietnamese situation. Though that war-torn country is one of the main battlefields in which the forces of freedom and those of enslavement are joined in a life-and death struggle, and though the forces of freedom have every reason to emerge triumphant there, the manipulations of the forces of appeasement have made it impossible for the cause of freedom to win out and have led to the farce of the Paris peace talks, in which the enemy hopes to win on the conference table what he cannot win on the field of battle. We are convinced that the United States and her allies will not fall into the Communist booby trap and that once enemy designs are fully exposed, they will immediately adopt a more correct and positive political and military strategy. Therefore, in view of the critical situation in the fight between the forces of freedom and those of enslavement, we participants at this mass rally should like to make the following appeal to all champions of freedom and justice to join forces with us in order to frustrate the Communist designs.

First, we must insist on the policy of liberating the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain and must never allow any land or people that are now still free to fall into the clutches of the Communists. This should be our basic objective in coping with the current situation in Vietnam.

Second, we must be on the alert for the new infiltration intrigues and aggressive designs of the Chinese Communist regime against many Southeast Asian countries. In order to consolidate the forces for common defense and plan for concerted action against the enemy, the establishment of a system of collective security for the Asian and Pacific region is an urgently necessary task. We earnestly hope that the Asian and Pacific Council to be held in Australia later in this month will take upon itself the responsibility of creating such a regional system of collective security.

Third, we hereby call upon the United States and all other free nations to translate the spirit of the Captive Nations Week into action and to give positive and effective support to the anti-Mao Tse-tung and anti-Communist movement on the Chinese mainland and to the gradually expanding liberalization movement as exemplified by Czechoslovakia in East Europe.

Fourth, we must make it perfectly clear that under present circumstances no encouragement or assistance whatever should be given to the forces of enslavement, that all pro-Communist utterances and actions should be immediately stopped, and that all foolish ideas of recognizing or admitting the Chinese Communist regime to the United Nations must be abandoned for good.

Fifth, we are convinced that in order to insure the victory of the anti-enslavement campaign, all forces of freedom throughout the world must be united more closely than ever before. The World Anti-Communist League inaugurated in Taiwan, the Republic of China, last year has laid a good foundation for such a task. We hereby call upon all free peoples of the world to rise up to the occasion and to work hand in hand with the World Anti-Communist League.

Lastly, let us assure all peoples of the world that the Republic of China under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek will stand at the forefront of the anti-Communist struggle not only for the liberation of the Chinese people on the Chinese mainland but also for the cause of freedom, peace, and security of humanity at large.

MESSAGE TO U.S. PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

To His Excellency President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States:

In holding a mass rally today to celebrate the Captive Nations Week initiated by the United States in 1959, we, representing various walks of life in the Republic of China, should like to pay our highest respects to the U.S. forces fighting in Vietnam for the preservation of human freedom and against the armed expansionism of the Communists and to Your Excellency for your leadership of the great American people in this heroic fight for the cause of freedom. We should also like to assure you once more that the people in the Republic of China will give unstinted support to the United States and join forces with her to deter Communist aggression.

We understand that one of the basic principles for which the United States stands is that the dignity of man is inviolate. This principle is also shared by the Chinese people. But the challenge presented to the Chinese and American Governments and peoples by the Communists is their wicked design to destroy all human dignity and enslave humanity at large. As is well known, the Chinese Communist regime has openly proclaimed its readiness to transform the entire world by armed might by stirring up a so-called "people's war of the world." That regime not only has been doing its best to isolate the Republic of China and the United States so that it will be impossible for the Government and people of the Republic of China to liberate their enslaved brethren on the mainland, but also has avowed that it will drive all American influence from the Western Pacific and bury the United States. For the Peiping regime well knows that as long as the anti-Communist forces of the United States and the Republic of China exist, they will give encouragement to all peoples of the free world and strengthen their determination to champion the cause of freedom and resist Communist aggression and, consequently, the tyrannical regime that has been imposed upon the people on the Chinese mainland will sooner or later be overthrown.

The Captive Nations Week sponsored by the United States is a potent force and a clarion call to the free peoples of the world to support the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their efforts to resist their Communist oppressors. The disintegrating process that has been going on in the Communist camp, the rise of the liberal elements in Soviet Russia and the Communist countries of East Europe, and, particularly the spread of the anti-Mao Tse-tung and anti-Communist movement on the Chinese mainland are clear evidence that the anti-enslavement and anti-tyranny movement of the free world has exerted a far-reaching influence on the Captive Nations.

Knowing all this, the Communists have been trying hard to extricate themselves from their impending doom, as evidenced by their desperate efforts to create a reign of terror in Saigon by indiscriminate firing and bombing, by the Communist-inspired student and labor riots in Western Europe, and by the Peiping regime's call on the American negroes to rise up in armed rebellion against the American Government. At the same time, the North Vietnamese Communists are taking advantage of the Paris peace talks to damage the prestige of the United States, to destroy the morale of the American, Vietnamese, and allied troops fighting in Vietnam, and, ultimately, to attain their objective of the spiritual disarmament of the free world.

The United States has been noted for her brilliant achievements in protecting human freedom and preserving the common security of the free peoples. We firmly believe that, in spite of the Communist trick of fighting and talking peace at one and the same time and the further trick of stirring trouble both within and without for your great country, the United States will see through the intrigues lurking behind the facade of appeasement and will remain firm and assume her leadership of the free world's anti-Communist movement. It is earnestly hoped that she will aim at the achievement of a glorious victory in the Vietnamese war and enable the Vietnamese people to be forever free of Communist aggression and enjoy the blessings of everlasting and genuine peace. We hope, in particular, that in view of the rising tide of the anti-Mao and anti-Communist movement on the Chinese mainland, the United States will take advantage of the current favorable situation to support the free Chinese to destroy the tyrannical Peiping regime. In this way, she will make it impossible for that regime to incite a people's war of the world and to fish in the troubled waters of racial conflicts in the United States.

It is with such convictions and hopes that we are celebrating the Captive Nations Week in common with all other free peoples. We avail ourselves of this auspicious occasion to extend to Your Excellency our highest respects.

KU CHENG-KANG,
Chairman, Mass Rally of the People of the Republic of China in Support of the Struggle of the Captive Nations and Peoples for Freedom.

MESSAGE TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM

To H. E. President Nguyen Van Thieu, H. E. Vice President Nguyen Kao Ky, and the People of the Republic of Vietnam:

As the people of the Republic of China meet in a mass Rally in Taipei to commemorate the Captive Nations Week Movement, we salute your determined efforts against Communism, enslavement and aggression.

Your heroic efforts are assuring the downfall of the Viet Cong insurrection aided by the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Russians despite the Viet Cong's desperate attempt at talk-talk, fight-fight tactics by escalating the war and attacking Saigon while embarking on peace talks. Your Excellencies and the people of South Vietnam have seen through the Communist plot and stand firm against any threat to the independence of the Republic or to the freedom of the people. While waging war against the enemy, you have built up a constitutional government and developed social welfare. The spirit of Your Excellencies and the people of South Vietnam has won the admiration and respect of all people in the free world.

The World Anti-Communist League will meet in Saigon as planned for their second conference as a demonstration of its support to your anti-Communist struggle. We the people of the Republic of China pledge our support to you. We stand ready to cooperate with you in destroying the Communist plague. We wish you early success in your fight to free the enslaved people of Vietnam.

KU CHENG-KANG,
Chairman, Mass Rally Of The People of the Republic of China in Support of the Struggle of the Captive Nations and Peoples for Freedom.

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLES OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

To Our Dear Friends Behind the Iron Curtain:

We the people of the Republic of China are meeting in Taipei to commemorate the Captive Nations Week, a movement proclaimed by the United States of America. We are meeting here to voice our support to you who are fighting enslavement and struggling for freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

We call on all people of the free world to unite in support of your struggle. The Communists have as their ultimate goal the communization of the world and the enslavement of mankind. For this reason, our struggle against Communist enslavement goes beyond the barriers of nationality, race, religion, political parties, or regional divisions. Ours is a worldwide struggle to uphold the freedom and dignity of mankind.

Although there are instances in history of mankind retrogressing from freedom to oppression, these instances invariably have resulted in the final victory of freedom and righteousness over tyranny. The Communist movement is but a momentary phase in history that will soon pass. At the moment, on the Chinese mainland, in North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and even in Soviet Russia, the captive peoples are unceasingly striving to attain freedom. The anti-Mao, anti-Communist revolution on the mainland of China is especially strong and has already developed into allout warfare. The captive nations stand diametrically opposed to Communist tyranny and have already instigated splits and chaos within the Communist bloc to assure its destruction. This is a phenomenon that has occurred in the past at the eve of the downfall of tyranny and it proves indisputably that Communism will soon meet its fate.

However, we must not be complacent and the struggle against enslavement must not let up for a second. All our friends behind the Iron Curtain must grasp the opportunity presented to them by the division within the Communist bloc and build a more solid foundation to tear down the Iron Curtain at a propitious moment. You must proceed more boldly toward a struggle of greater scope. You must intensify your struggle, though assuming the guise of retreat, to penetrate the Communist plot before dealing the Communist slavemasters a final, fatal blow.

Dear friends, let us demonstrate that people behind the Iron Curtain are one in heart with us who are outside of the Iron Curtain. Let us form a common crusade against enslavement and Communist tyranny.

We salute you and wish you good health and final victory in your struggles.

KU CHENG-KANG,
Chairman, Mass Rally of the People of the Republic of China in Support of the Struggle of the Captive Nations and Peoples for Freedom.

MESSAGE TO THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES, KOREA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, THE PHILIPPINES, AND THAILAND IN SOUTH VIETNAM

To General Creighton W. Abrams, Commander of U.S. Forces in South Vietnam and the Armed Forces of the United States, Korea, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Thailand in South Vietnam:

We the people of the Republic of China meet in Taipei to commemorate the Captive Nations Week proclaimed by the United States of America. We salute your heroic efforts in Vietnam against Communist aggression and the enslavement of the people of the world.

The Viet Cong insurrection is not a localized revolt, but part of the Communist plot to communize the world. The enslavement of the free peoples of Southeast Asia is a link in what the Chinese Communists call the "world people's war". A blow against the Viet Cong is a blow against Communist enslavement and for freedom, security and human dignity. By standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the armed forces and people of South Vietnam, you demonstrate a laudable spirit of the strong aiding the weak. You also provide an example of the unity and collective security system of the free world forces. History will prove the merit of your noble contribution to the greater freedom and happiness of humankind.

We the people of the Republic of China are engaged in a struggle to free the 700 million enslaved people on the mainland of China. We are fighting the same enemy on a different battlefield. As such, we salute our comrades-in-arms and hope for an early victory in our common fight to deliver the enslave peoples of the world.

KU CHENG-KANG,
Chairman, Mass Rally of the Peoples of the Republic of China, in Support of the Struggle of the Captive Nations and Peoples for Freedom.

HOW FUTURE PRESIDENT COULD BE HANDPICKED

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of Nation's Business carries an excellent article by Mr. Vernon Louviere, associate editor, on what effect the 25th amendment will have in possibly selecting a future President.

The 25th amendment received relatively little attention both by Congress and by the respective legislatures of the States that ratified the amendment. Most of the attention was focused on the provision of the amendment dealing with the disability of a President to carry on his functions.

Very few legislators, and I suspect not too many Congressmen, are aware of the fact that under the 25th amendment we have also provided that a Vice President who succeeds to the Presidency shall then handpick his own candidate for his successor as Vice President—subject to approval by both Houses of Congress.

This means that a Vice President who succeeds to the Presidency because of the death of a President, conceivably can appoint a Vice President who has never run for any public office and has not had a single vote cast for or against him by any voter. This individual, under a certain set of circumstances, involving the death of a President, could subsequently become President of the United States without ever having one American voter casting a vote for or against him.

Mr. Speaker, this provision of the 25th amendment will come home to haunt this Nation someday, and it was for this reason that I opposed it at the time the legislation was before the House of Representatives. But you will recall that in this Chamber the emphasis was on the disability clause and you will recall that the Speaker himself strongly supported enactment of the 25th amendment and for that reason it sailed through the House.

I can appreciate the dilemma of the Members of this Chamber because we did recognize the need to once and for all effectively deal with the ambiguous language of the American Constitution dealing with disability and as Mr. Louviere points out in his article, the lack of an effective formula for declaring a President disabled has created extremely serious problems in this country.

Like so many others, I had to choose the lesser of two evils and I supported the 25th amendment because I believe it will prove helpful in this particular aspect of disability. But it is my hope that Congress will address itself to the dangerous possibilities of the succession provision and give serious consideration to finding a more effective way of doing this.

I, personally, prefer having the Speaker of the House be the third in succession if for no other reason than because the Speaker must first be elected a U.S. Representative by his constituency and then he is elected Speaker by the majority of Representatives serving in Congress. Certainly the Speaker of the House represents a greater cross-section of the American people than any other elected official, except the President himself.

I hope that Mr. Louviere's excellent article will dramatize the need for careful scrutiny of any potential Vice President because of the impressive new powers that he has been given in the 25th amendment.

Mr. Louviere's article follows:

HOW FUTURE PRESIDENT COULD BE HANDPICKED

When the two political parties meet in convention this month they will set the stage for the election of the first Vice President in history who may be able to practically handpick a future President.

This results from the ratification last year of the Twenty-fifth Amendment to the Constitution setting up machinery to handle Presidential disability and for filling a vacancy that may occur in the Vice Presidency.

Here is why the man elected Vice President in November assumes a role never accorded any of his predecessors:

Let us say John Smith is that man and he takes office along with the new President in January. Some months pass and the President dies, resigns or is removed from office. John Smith ascends to the Presidency. Up to this point it always has been done this way.

Now, under the new system, President John Smith is permitted to name a Vice President who must be confirmed by a majority of the House and Senate. If tradition follows, the new President has no trouble getting almost anything he wants from Congress and the nomination of his handpicked Vice President sails through handily. He then could well succeed to the Presidency as have others when the President has died in office.

The importance of this was brought home vividly in recent times. Of the four Presidents immediately preceding Lyndon Johnson, Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy did not live out their terms. Dwight Eisenhower was stricken with a serious heart attack. And Harry Truman was the target of an attempted assassination.

Eight of our 35 Presidents have died in office. On 16 different occasions, spanning more than 37 years, we were without a Vice

President. Eight Vice Presidents moved up to the Presidency. Seven Vice President died in office and one resigned. By sheerest chance there has never been a simultaneous vacancy of the two offices during a single four-year elective period.

Under the Twenty-fifth Amendment the United States can now also come to grips with another ambiguity in the Constitution—what to do when a President is obviously incapable of continuing in office. This may take the form of a serious physical infirmity or even mental illness. But in this age of push-button warfare, Presidential "inability" takes on other dimensions. As modern Presidents travel more and more abroad, the question naturally arises: Is he able to carry out fully the duties of office half a world away?

Because of the vagueness of the Constitution Vice Presidents in the past have been reluctant—some adamantly opposed—to take over in instances of Presidential inability.

In 1881, President James Garfield was shot by a deranged office seeker. He lingered for 80 days and at no time was able to perform his Presidential duties. Vice President Chester A. Arthur refused to act to succeed Garfield for fear he would be accused of usurpation.

In 1901 the government again came to a standstill when an assassin's bullet cut down President William McKinley. McKinley lived for eight days and here, too, his Vice President did not assume control of government.

But the most dramatic instance occurred when President Woodrow Wilson suffered a series of strokes in 1919 as he campaigned for the Versailles Peace Treaty. During the 18 months the President was seriously ill, the affairs of state were actually conducted by his wife, his personal physician and the Cabinet. Mrs. Wilson largely decided whom the President might see and for how long, and she screened state papers intended for Mr. Wilson's attention.

During the President's extended illness he did not meet with his Cabinet for eight months. Twenty-eight bills became law by virtue of his failure to act on them. Nor was he able to receive new foreign ambassadors as provided for in the Constitution. Some historians believe the Versailles Peace Treaty might have been ratified if President Wilson's physician had not blocked a visit of Senate leaders who felt they had worked out a compromise with Senators opposed to the treaty.

Vice President Thomas R. Marshall, urged to take on the President's "powers and duties," refused to do so. Despite prodding from White House advisers and the Cabinet, Marshall declined to declare Woodrow Wilson disabled. And so the government struggled along without leadership until March, 1921, when Warren Harding became President.

Provisions are now available to solve the Presidential inability question in two ways.

The first of these is simple. If the President becomes incapacitated because of illness or other reasons he can declare his inability and the Vice President automatically becomes "Acting President." When the President wants to resume his powers he merely transmits a declaration of ability to Congress and immediately resumes his office.

But what of a President who will not or cannot indicate his ability to continue in office? In this case the Vice President and a majority of either the principal members of the Cabinet or of some group designated by Congress notifies the leaders of the House and Senate that the President no longer can discharge the powers and duties of office and the Vice President immediately takes over as Acting President.

No longer is the office of Vice President the subject of ridicule it once was. He now is selected with the thought that he could at any moment become President.

ADDRESS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL W. MARVIN WATSON

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent speech delivered by Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson on the occasion of dedicating a stamp honoring Henry Ford.

I commend this speech to every American, for it vividly portrays the real contribution to his country made by Henry Ford, shows him to be one of the great men of our history, a man who tremendously influenced our institutions, and a man who not only built as well as he could but who, in fact, "builded better than he knew."

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL W. MARVIN WATSON AT THE DEDICATION OF A 12-CENT HENRY FORD STAMP, DEARBORN, MICH., JULY 30, 1968

Thank you, Fred Belen, Reverend Clergy, Congressman Dingell, Mayor Hubbard, Dr. Shelley, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentleman.

I am very pleased that I can be here with you today and—in particular—I am happy that Mr. Henry Ford II is here.

For this is an historic day for him, as well as for us of the Post Office Department.

There is a tradition—a fine and noble tradition—of honoring, through postage stamps, those men and women who have shaped the land in which we live.

We have so honored poets, politicians, and painters. It is only proper and fitting that we now honor a man whose imprint on American life and thought was as profound as it is indelible.

There is not a single American . . . and indeed a single person in the civilized world . . . whose life, whose ways, whose patterns of thought have not been changed, and changed for the better, because of the life and work of Henry Ford.

Mark Twain once observed that thunder is loud but lightning does the work.

Well, far too often today Americans seem to be fascinated by the producers of thunder, and to overlook the generators of lightning.

Henry Ford's career was one of repeated, brilliant, productive flashes of lightning.

His formal education stopped early in life, but he never stopped learning and he never adopted the attitude that he knew too much to bother learning more.

Certainly, every American knows who Henry Ford was, and a little about his contribution. Usually that little can be summed up in the words, "Inventor of the motor car."

Well, I decided to discover a little more about this great man.

And in that process, I not only learned . . . I also found inspiration.

For it is impossible to be unmoved by the achievement of this man.

He was far ahead of his time, seeking the impossible and making it reality.

Ideas that even today are accepted as novel were the product of his great mind and imagination.

I wish every American could pause and review the life and accomplishments of Henry Ford, as I have done. Words fail to express the kind of pride . . . yes, pride in being a fellow American . . . that one gains from that experience.

And of course, that is one reason why we have issued this stamp: to remind our fellow American who will use this stamp that here, in this man, lies not only greatness—but also a fragment of the American Dream, also a piece of the secret of what has transformed this land of ours from a land of frontiers and farms to the greatest, most creative, and most compassionate nation on earth.

Let us look at some of the main features of his career, which I think can only be described as the footprints of genius.

I think one of his more remarkable traits was unusual courage.

His first gasoline engine was built in the kitchen sink of his home.

That first engine worked.

It worked for just 55 seconds.

It stopped working because he turned it off.

Henry Ford didn't sit back and admire his handiwork.

Once a device worked, he immediately began to improve on it.

That he had enormous power of imagination is obvious. But this was imagination coupled with drive and energy. One of the products of that imagination always interested me through my own background in the steel industry.

He learned that a French racing car was using a new kind of steel. After a mishap turned the French racer into instant junk, Mr. Ford walked over to the wreck and picked up a valve. He had it analyzed, and learned it contained vanadium. Discovering that no American steel mill could produce this kind of steel—he started his own.

Pressing this discovery to its conclusion, he discovered that different parts of a car should use different kinds of steel, with different quantities of vanadium. This, too, was a great innovation, universally adopted many decades ago.

Another characteristic was his belief in himself and his work.

All his early experiments and initial inventions occurred while he was holding down a responsible, full time job. You might say that the American automobile industry as we know it today is the product of America's most creative "moonlighter."

Certainly, that belief in his vision was needed in those early days.

There was no demand for a low priced automobile.

There was no faith in what was considered a toy.

There were no financial resources.

There were no decent roads.

But there was a man with a dream in his head . . . courage in his heart . . . skill in his hands.

I think every one of us can take inspiration from what a man, armed with conviction, courage, and skill can accomplish, even against the kind of odds that Henry Ford faced.

Actually, the true nature of the man is sometimes obscured by popular mythology. In believing him to be the only inventor of the automobile, we downgrade his true achievement.

For any man who has a field entirely to himself has a comparatively easy road. And his product doesn't have to be outstanding or even necessarily good.

But during those early days European inventors and manufacturers were far ahead. Other Americans were making primitive automobiles.

So, Henry Ford faced competition from the beginning.

He began from far behind.

Also, he had handed to him a perfect excuse for discouragement. Since others were ahead, he could have used this as an excuse and dropped out of the race.

But, as the world knows, he didn't drop out. He worked and perfected and worked and added further perfections.

And to the mechanical product, he added other features, features that placed him ahead of his time and on top of the pyramid of automobile manufacturers.

He thought the car should be a tool of every man, and he strove to drive his prices down through efficiencies.

He insisted that his dealers provide service and not just abandon the buyer when the sale was made.

He created, in a real sense, his own market by paying his workers a minimum wage unheard of. With higher wages, working men could afford a model T . . . which, incidentally, casts its famous silhouette in the background of this postage stamp.

He again and again proved that he was interested in both performance and permanence.

The durability of those Model T's became legendary. Henry Ford, indeed, would have looked on the words "planned obsolescence" as a kind of lower blasphemy.

He refused to permit the scoffers and the pessimists to deter him from employing standardization and mass production in a field where experts said, as they do too often, "it can't be done."

In short, he created an entirely new order of democracy—the democracy of transportation. Almost any man could own a car.

Where once a journey of 50 miles required a whole day's exhausting travel, now men and women could become acquainted with their own country and learn of the splendor of their land and its traditions.

Inventor, innovator, manager extraordinary, combination of the visionary and the highly practical, he also showed great concern for society generally.

He was decades ahead of his time in the idea of decentralizing industry, of bringing new life to rural areas through small factories.

He also advanced the social consciousness of the country with the Henry Ford Hospital, again years ahead of similar institutions.

And in the Ford Museum here in Greenfield, we see another evidence of his vision come true—a village where over a million visitors a year gain a new insight into three centuries of American dreams and accomplishments.

And, during the first World War, he did all that he could to bring about peace, including chartering of the famous "Peace Ship."

There are many other examples of the concern felt by Henry Ford for a better nation and a better world.

Perhaps the best example of the power of his spirit is the fact that it has been carried intact through the generations of the Ford family.

Certainly Henry Ford II deserves the highest commendation for his leadership of the National Alliance of Businessmen in opening doors to opportunity through the American way—by jobs and work.

When I mentioned this ceremony to the President before I left Washington, he asked me to give you his own welcome and to tell you that "America has a rich and often overlooked resource, a resource beyond price and beyond measure, in the captains of industry who are also deeply committed to our democratic way. Henry Ford II is such a man, and I think every American owes him and his colleagues a debt of gratitude for the direction he has given the National Alliance of Businessmen."

My friends, in issuing this postage stamp, the nation is in effect thanking Henry Ford—and all other men of vision who have made dreams into reality and who have contributed so much to the America we know.

Together, each of these men in his own way, has created an industrial statesmanship for which we can all be thankful.

And that is why we honor Mr. Henry Ford here today.

DRIVE BEGINS FOR POSTAL CORPORATION

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, if anyone were to suggest that business efficiency could be enhanced by hiring 535 busy people and asking them to manage the enterprise, fix salaries, determine prices and decide on capital outlays while giving most of their attention to 10,000 other matters, we would wonder if he had lost his senses. And yet that is essentially the way the Post Office Department is being managed today. Decisions which only a sound business management should make are being made every year by you and me and all of our colleagues amid a thousand and one political and other pressures having nothing to do with efficiency or economy.

In light of this situation there should be little wonder why it is that the Post Office Department has made a profit only 17 out of the last 130 years.

With 716,000 employees the postal service is one of the largest employers in the Nation, yet 85 percent of these employees are in the five lowest pay grades, and over 80 percent finish their careers at the same grade at which they entered.

With revenues of over $5 billion the Post Office Department is one of the Nation's largest enterprises, but with expenditures of over $6 billion, it also has the distinction of being, I presume, the Nation's worst-run business year in and year out.

To change all of this, Mr. Speaker, our former Postmaster General, Lawrence F. O'Brien, proposed last year that the Department be made an autonomous Government corporation, owned by the Government but free to make its own decisions and to institute modern business methods. That recommendation has now been endorsed by the President's Commission on Postal Organization in a report submitted to the President recently.

I am happy to say that this proposal is getting significant support throughout the country. In my own district a poll of my constituents reveals substantial support, even though the idea is so new that many people have not yet heard about it.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the fact that legislation is now being prepared to implement the recommendations of the President's commission. I intend to join with two of my colleagues on the Post Office Committee, and such other colleagues as wish to be cosponsors, in introducing this legislation before the close of this Congress. It is our intention to press for early consideration of the legislation in the next Congress.

Joining me in this effort are my colleagues, Jerome R. Waldie, of California, and Lee H. Hamilton, of Indiana.

Mr. Speaker, we are making an announcement today of our plans in this regard. Without objection I shall insert at this point in the Record the text of a news release on this subject and a number of newspaper editorials supporting such a change:

House Members Start Drive for Post Office Corporation

Washington.—Three members of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee announced today they intend to introduce legislation, when ready, to establish the Post Office Department as an autonomous government corporation free to run the nation's postal system with modern management methods.

Starting a drive for such a sweeping change in the nation's postal system are Reps. Morris K. Udall, D-Arizona, Jerome Waldie, D-California, and Lee H. Hamilton, D-Indiana.

The proposal, originally made by former Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien, was endorsed recently by the President's Commission on Postal Organization, headed by Frederick R. Kappel. The Administration has had no comment since submission of the Kappel report.

Massive breakdowns in mail operations, occurring with increasing frequency in recent years, were cited in the commission report as dramatic evidences of the need for revamping of postal operations. However, the case for such a change was based principally on the cumbersome nature of the existing postal organization and its failure to keep pace with modern business methods.

The congressmen said they expect to have a postal corporation bill drafted and ready for introduction before close of the current congressional session.

As chairman of the subcommittee on compensation, Udall said he sees such a change as offering the prospect of better working conditions and career opportunities for employees in the Post Office Department.

"Some people in employee organizations seem to think it would be damaging to them to have the post office move into the 20th Century," Udall said. "I think this is faulty reasoning. I believe the people who work for the Post Office Department can only benefit from changes that will make their jobs more productive, meaningful and efficient.

"The Post Office as it exists today is an anachronism—a throwback to the 19th Century. What future is there for any ambitious person in such an organization?"

Udall said he recently polled his own constituents in Arizona on the question, and the response was 57 per cent in favor, 40 per cent opposed, the rest undecided.

"Considering what a new idea this is, and how little discussion there has been on it, I would say this showing of support is highly significant," Udall said. "I think we're going to see strong support developing throughout the country for this needed change."

[From the New York Times, July 24, 1968]

Race With Catastrophe

With its technological and managerial sophistication, this country ought to be able to provide the best, rather than one of the worst postal services in the world. That dream probably could be realized if Congress enacted the substantive recommendations of the President's Commission on Postal Organization as set forth in the splendid report *Towards Postal Excellence*.

There is no secret about the fact that the United States Post Office is in a "race with catastrophe." In 1963 and again in 1966, to cite the most egregious examples, operation of the Chicago Post Office—world's largest postal facility—came to a complete halt.

The increasing volume of mail in this country, about 80 billion pieces this year, is moving more slowly than ever; fewer home deliveries are contemplated; postage rates go higher. The crisis is graphically summarized in the commission's statistics on postal productivity. In the private sector of the economy, a unit capital and labor in 1967 produced 34 per cent more output than it did in 1958. But over the same 1958–67 period, the increase in mail service per unit of capital and labor was only 2.5 per cent.

Why did the efficiency of the private economy grow nearly fourteen times faster than that of the Post Office? The answer lies in the massive capital investments that embody new technology, the rising educational attainment of the labor force and advanced managerial practices. While the private sector forged ahead, the Post Office, with some notable exceptions, continued to operate very much as it did a century ago. It is at this point, the failure to exploit new technology, that one comes to the heart of the problem.

The man charged with managing the postal service exercises virtually no managerial control; his title of Postmaster General carries with it powers that are about as circumscribed as those of a company commander. He has little or no power over the hiring or firing of personnel, the rates that are charged for postal services or over spending for new capital equipment.

The commission's solution is to vest a single authority with the powers necessary to provide an efficient postal service. It proposes the chartering of a Government-owned Postal Corporation empowered to hire and promote personnel on a nonpolitical basis, to determine rates of compensation according to competitive standards, to set postal rates, subject to Congressional veto, and to borrow money in the private capital markets for new postal facilities.

The commission's proposal that postal rates reflect the true cost of service would not necessarily preclude subsidies that may in fact be socially desirable. But if subsidies are to be granted, they should be through direct Government subvention, not by setting charges below the incremental cost of the service. The advantage of subvention is that it would be open to public scrutiny and be periodically subject to Congressional review.

Does the goal of postal efficiency conflict with the need to provide employment for people with little education and few skills, especially members of the disadvantaged, nonwhite minorities who are now attracted to the postal service? Not if the costs of sorting and transporting mail are drastically reduced through automation. The labor that is thus saved in post offices should make it economically feasible to employ more postmen for more frequent home deliveries.

The need to vest the power to manage the Post Office in a single authority is clear, and the Postal Corporation proposal advanced by Frederick R. Kappel and his colleagues seems promising. Instead of the non-committal comment it received from the President, it deserves strong support from the Administration, Congress and a public suffering under the intolerable postal system of today.

[From the Wall Street Journal, July 25, 1968]

THE STAMP OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Now that the report of the President's Commission on Postal Organization has been given a lukewarm reception by both President Johnson and Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson, it is pretty plain that Congress is not likely to act on its recommendations any time soon. Still, a few rosy clouds can be discerned on the horizon.

To avert what former Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien called his department's "race with catastrophe" the commission (it was headed by Frederick R. Kappel, former board chairman of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co.) proposed a number of moves. Congress should set up a Government corporation to carry the mail and set postal rates, subject to Congressional review; appointment of postmasters and rural mail carriers should be made nonpolitical; and "immediate steps" should be taken to improve the quality and kinds of postal service.

In view of the unlikelihood of speedy action, a couple of possible portents may be noted. An outfit called the Independent Postal System of America was formed in Oklahoma City last February with three clients, its aim being to deliver material handled by post offices as third class mail at rates lower than those charged by the Post Office Department. It now has 75 clients, including department stores, a large mail order house and a bank.

Moreover, the independent system is extending its service to Dallas and St. Louis, and in September plans to go into business in Canada. There, incidentally, the firm will be allowed to put the advertising matter or magazines it delivers into mail boxes; in the U.S., postal laws bar its use of mail boxes, and it makes deliveries in plastic bags hung on door knobs.

U.S. postal laws, however, are more lenient in another area. The Post Office Department's general counsel has ruled that it is permissible "to establish a service for collecting letters from firms or individuals for delivery to a post office" and for collecting for the addressees letters received at the post office, providing the letters remain unopened.

As a result, private mail services have sprung up in several large cities—one in New York has 80 trucks operating around the clock—and these transport a client's mail to and from post offices. The client thus can set his own internal mail schedules and does not have to gear his operations to post office schedules. For service between one post office and another he remains dependent on the whims of the postal system.

It was the increasing availability of savings banks that finally put the Postal Savings System out of business; maybe if operations bearing the stamp of private enterprise keep chipping away at the postal service, some day in the future the whole system gradually will come to be business-run. Unless, of course, the Post Office Department loses its race with catastrophe, in which case some sort of corporate takeover could happen a lot sooner.

[From the Tucson (Ariz.) Daily Star, July 21, 1968]

TIME FOR A CHANGE IN POSTAL SYSTEM

(By William R. Mathews)

It is high time that something be done about the entire postal system. It is sorely penalized by politics and politicians, and has a habitual operating loss of $1 billion a year.

For a century the postal service has been a political institution, with its director, the postmaster-general, always a top-flight politician. His extra duty has been to be the political organizer of his party. That has been reflected throughout the country, down to the small fourth-class post offices.

For instance, every postmaster in Tucson for the past half-century has been an active politico in his previous life. Although examinations are required, it always happens that the political favorite has come out on top. Most of the time when there has been a change in the party in the White House, there has been a change in the postmasterships throughout the country. The long-established custom of political appointment prevails today. Every congressman exercises enough influence to pick the postmasters in his district.

This kind of political activity does not contribute to efficiency. There is another political activity that leaves to Congress the sole right to determine all postal rates.

The post office department faces increased costs not merely in wages and salaries, but in everything in the way of physical equipment and transportation of the mails. Unlike other businesses, it cannot raise its rates until it goes to Congress and gets specific permission on every class of mail. Too often Congress allows political pressure of all kinds to prevail, and particularly on what is called "junk mail" whose enormous volume travels at a small fraction of the rate that prevails for first class mail.

The President's committee has in its report gone to the heart of the matter. It proposes to eliminate politics by organizing a government corporation. It would have a president as chief executive officer, and a board of directors appointed by the president of the United States. This board would run the entire department just as it would be done in private business. The post office has a good product to sell, which is in universal demand. The American people want only the best mail service, and they are willing to pay for it. But they do not want slow, sloppy service at any price.

This corporation would have the right to charge enough by raising rates instantly if necessary to meet increased costs. With a free hand, it should see to it that the market for its product would produce a profit after a fair depreciation charge. In order to provide for future growth, it would have to earn a profit in order to have the funds to meet capital expenditures that continuous growth requires.

The record of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, with its nationwide telephone and other communications services, is a model of how to provide the good postal service which the people of the country want. Long-distance telephone service has become so efficient and easy to use, that many families and businesses the country over use the telephone rather than the mails.

This service will provide the necessary competition to keep the post office corporation on the alert. The post office will find out that there is a point where all classes of mail can price themselves out of the market. The postal service could do that unless it constantly shows its administrative wisdom in setting prices on different classes of mail to maintain the best of service.

The proposal for a postal corporation presents an interesting challenge to the fabled American ingenuity in administration of large-scale business enterprises.

THE "PROS" LEND A HAND IN THE INNER CITY

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, it is my distinct pleasure to call the attention of the House to a group of young Rochesterians who are participating in a self-organized and self-activated urban renewal project in Rochester, N.Y.

Distressed by the news that a family of disabled members might lose their home of 20 years unless it could be brought up to urban renewal safety and housing code standards, a group of Penfield High School teenagers organized themselves into the Penfield Renovation Organization—PRO.

Debbie Miller, president; Mark McMillen, vice president; Dale Pensgen, and Judy Snyder, cotreasurers; and Gail Grooms, secretary, were determined to rennovate the house so the family could retain it. After selecting as their adult adviser, Mrs. Mary Grooms, who is actively involved in renewing houses and providing decent low-rent housing to inner city residents, PRO attacked the problem squarely.

A leaflet was sent out to adults and teenagers. Aid, supplies and volunteer labor were solicited.

> If you really want to help solve the inner city problems—

The leaflet stated—

> here's your chance: Let's do something—not talk about it!

PRO is getting the job done. It took four Saturdays to scrape the house, and then it had to be painted inside and out. The leaky roof was fixed and the porch replaced. Other renovation work has also been done.

This spontaneous determination to help, this cooperative effort and initiative are the ingredients needed to involve citizens of all metropolitan areas in solving the problems of our inner cities.

I think that PRO should serve as an example to all Americans who are looking for a way to help in our quest to upgrade the living conditions of underprivileged Americans everywhere.

The house that PRO rennovated is only one house in the city of Rochester. This example can be repeated in every city throughout the United States many times over. With determination and vigor, Americans who are earnest about inner city problems, can help to solve them.

EXPLANATION OF DIVISION VOTE IN FAVOR OF AMENDMENT TO ELIMINATE FUNDS FOR ABM DEPLOYMENT FROM MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATION BILL

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I should like to take this opportunity to explain my position on the division vote in favor of the amendment to eliminate funds for the ABM or Sentinel antiballistics program from the military construction appropriation bill.

First of all, I wish to make it crystal clear that I most strongly favor that our country should have the very best and most powerful and effective national defense possible. At all times I have voted for and urged that our servicemen be supplied with efficient and powerful weapons and be given every support in their valiant fight against Communist aggression. I fully adhere to and advocate the principle that we should be the most powerful, effective, and at the same time democratic nation in the world.

It is because I am firmly committed toward all efforts to make our defense one of strength that I favor the deletion of the present ABM item from the bill. This is the largest single item and amounts to $263,300,000 for fiscal year 1969 which should for the present be eliminated as unnecessary because it has been considered ineffective.

In the light of the Government's financial position when a 10-percent surtax is levied on all taxpayers, it becomes increasingly important to expend funds in such a manner that the money will be efficiently and effectively used and that taxpayers not be excessively burdened. Heavy taxation has been proven to be a drag on the economy and if we can save over $263 million, the people and our country are bound to benefit.

Defense experts have maintained that cut can be made in the defense budget without impairing our defense capability and that our defense posture could even be improved. We also should not lose sight of the fact that the nuclear test ban treaty is now a reality.

Specifically, the reasons for my vote are as follows:

The ABM has not as yet been tested in the atmosphere and it is my understanding countermeasures on the part of an enemy would be relatively simple since there are many known devices to confuse radar systems. The United States, thus far, has been unable to attain acceptable reliability with much simpler antiaircraft missile systems. It, therefore, seems to me that it would be far wiser to spend this money on further research to advance the technology of a really effective ABM system than to waste such a large amount of money on an ineffective system that may become obsolete even before it becomes operational. If the system is not proven to be effective, there is a question if it can really save lives.

It is for these reasons that I voted for the amendment to delete this particular item.

Of course, after the defeat of this amendment, I voted for the bill because I believe in a strong and well protected America.

MOBILE OFFICE TOUR

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, during the 2 weeks between the national conventions I plan an eight-stop mobile office tour of my congressional district. My "office on main street" will be open from 2:30 until 6 p.m. on the days indicated below. I am also maintaining office hours from 9 to 11 a.m. in my Eastbrook office in Grand Rapids. No appointment is necessary and all are welcome at either the mobile office or at Eastbrook. We will be pleased to discuss issues before the Congress or any personal problems involving the Federal Government.

In addition, I have scheduled a number of noon and evening speaking engagements, all of which are mentioned in the schedule below:

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13

Noon: Rockford Rotary.
Mobile Office: Rockford (Don's Pharmacy).
Evening: Sparta Lions.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14

10:00: Dedication—Belding Senior Citizen Home.
Noon: Ionia Rotary.
Mobile Office: Cedar Springs (Main and Ash Streets).
Evening: Kent County Convention.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 15

9:00–11:00: Eastbrook Office.
Noon: Grand Rapids Rotary.
Mobile Office: Sparta (Village Parking Lot on East Division).
Evening: West Walker Sportsman's Club.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16

9:00 Eastbrook.
Noon: Grand Rapids Roundtable.
Mobile Office: Caledonia (Wenger's Standard Service).

SATURDAY, AUGUST 17

9:00 Rockford Quasquicentennial

MONDAY, AUGUST 19

9:00 Eastbrook.
Noon: Belding Rotary.
Mobile Office: Lowell (City Hall).
Evening: Lowell Showboat.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20

9:00 Eastbrook.
Noon: Wyoming Rotary.
Mobile Office: Lake Odessa (Village Parking Lot).
Evening: Standale Lions.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21

9:00 Eastbrook.
Noon: Cedar Springs Rotary.
Mobile Office: Ionia (Main Street; front of Penney Store).

THURSDAY, AUGUST 22

9:00 Eastbrook.
Noon: Comstock Park Rotary.
Mobile Office: Belding (City Hall).
Evening: Lyon-Muir Civic Club.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23

9:00 Eastbrook.

DODGE CORPORATION SPONSORS OPERATION D.E.—STRESSING THE NEED FOR DRIVER EXCELLENCE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 4 of this year I had the pleasure of delivering an address for the Second Annual National AMVETS–Dodge Driver Excellence Finals in Chicago, Ill., at Soldiers' Field.

The event was the culmination of nationwide teenage competitions with the finalists reaching the top through local and State elimination contests. From eligible high school students candidates were picked by local high school driver education instructors, with elimination contests conducted under the direction of local AMVET and police and traffic authorities. The winners then competed with from 30 to 60 top driver education students in the State elimination.

The contestants on the State as well as the national level, drove a complicated driver excellence course designed to test driving skills and containing a variety of emergency stops, handling, braking, and maneuvering situations conducted on an elapsed time basis.

AMVETS and the Dodge people have given the pilot program national status to point up the need for the greater preparation of new drivers to face emergency situations that confront them in the day-to-day operation of a motor vehicle on interstate highways and local streets.

Dodge General Manager McCurry emphasized the importance of the long association that has been developed by Dodge and AMVETS, as they worked together on the problem of highway safety prior to its recent rise to national prominence.

McCurry said:

> It is important to recognize a problem and plan an active program in advance of national pressures. Having the national spotlight draw attention to a problem is important to have a constructive, corrective program in the works, so that rash reaction and indirection does not hamper a good, workable solution.

I feel that we owe AMVETS and the Dodge people a debt of gratitude for doing what no law can do, by creating awareness and understanding of the national danger that in 1 year was responsible for the death of 44,000 and the injuring of 1 million Americans in automobile accidents.

With 55 million automobiles on our highways, there has got to be instilled in every auto worker the pride in workmanship that will insure that no mechanical defect can be responsible for adding to the death and carnage we now observe on the highways. And in every driver, the awareness that he has an awesome responsibility in driving a car.

As in the past, each finalist was accompanied to Chicago by a chaperone and in addition to the first three prizes awarded, each contestant received a 17-jewel self-winding watch from Dodge, along with a plaque, citation, driving jacket and a now famous "Good Guy" hat.

Seventeen-year-old James Baddeley, of Sebring, Ohio, a senior at McKinley High School, was the first place winner and received a reward for his efforts by way of a New Dodge Dart and a $1,000 scholarship.

Second place winner was Frederic Goodson, 17, of Hanley Hills, Mo., and third place went to Russell A. Strine, 16, of Harrisburg, Pa. Each received a $1,000 scholarship. My congratulations to these fine young people. No juvenile delinquency here.

AMVETS and Dodge are to be highly commended for, indeed, a job well done. The promotion of youth is one of the most outstanding accomplishments of our day; for they are our citizens of tomorrow.

CAMPBELLSBURG: A RURAL COMMUNITY WORKING FOR A FUTURE

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the revitalization of this country's small, rural communities is an essential part of any campaign to improve the economy of the country as a whole and to begin an approach to the problems of the burgeoning cities.

I am pleased to point to Campbellsburg, a rural Indiana community in the Ninth Congressional District, where concerned residents have begun their own revitalization campaign. Their aim is to attract tourists and new industry and to keep the people they have now. It is a campaign—as described by the Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal—to keep a small town from dying.

All of us can benefit from this example of local concern and local action initiated by one individual. This excellent article describing the community improvement campaign reads as follows:

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal, July 28, 1968]

GROUP DYNAMICS BEING PUT TO WORK—CAMPBELLSBURG: A SMALL TOWN TRYING NOT TO DIE

(By Brenda Tirey)

CAMPBELLSBURG, IND.—Campbellsburg is putting on a new face.

The town's business district, which hasn't been too busy the past few years, now is dotted with daisy-patterned trash cans. Petunias bloom in big kegs along the streets forming the main intersection. And some of the prominent buildings, plus several homes, are being spruced up with fresh coats of paint.

All this beautification is more than skin deep. It's a reflection of what's going on inside Campbellsburg, a small town that is trying not to die.

Not too many years ago, the town had an industry—a tomato canning and wood products plant. The vacant buildings still stand near the Monon Railroad tracks, which bisect the small business district.

A young man recalls that when his family moved here seven years ago, every downtown business building was occupied. Now there are many empty storefronts. Two grocery stores, a barbershop, a hardware store, a cafe, a bank, and an insurance office remain.

MANY RESIDENTS RETIRED

The school closed its doors to students for the last time in May. The Campbellsburg youngsters all will be attending the nearby consolidated West Washington community schools next fall.

Many of the 600 or so residents are retired. The locally operated businesses employ only a few persons, and everyone else of working age commutes somewhere else to earn his livelihood—some as far as Louisville 45 miles away.

William Lewis, a guidance counseling consultant and research specialist for the South-Central Education Service Unit (SCESU) headquartered at Bedford, grew up in Campbellsburg and moved back last year after a 17-year absence.

"I found the town had deteriorated when I came back. It had lost businesses and lost its industry," he said.

Lewis is interested in "group dynamics"—getting individuals to interact and express ideas and opinions in group situations—because of his work as a guidance counselor. He knows the value of small-group discussions in helping people identify and solve problems. He said that when he saw what had happened to Campbellsburg he wondered if group dynamics could be applied to a community as well as to smaller groups.

COUNSELOR DIRECTS EACH GROUP

Last April, he approached the town board and presented an approach to solving community problems.

The board bought the idea. The first step was to invite the leaders of all organizations in the community to a meeting. About 28 persons came. Lewis divided them into small groups, each directed by a counselor brought in from SCESU. They tried to identify the town's problems, then came back to a larger group to share ideas. After that they went back to the smaller groups and talked solutions, then came back to the large group again.

The basic idea that came from that meeting was to involve a larger portion of the community, Lewis said.

A letter was sent to every home, along with a survey sheet asking the residents to identify the problems of the community.

This was followed by a town meeting. Local people were phased-in as leaders of the small discussion groups.

The three most obvious problems discussed were:

The need for an industry.

The need to beautify the town.

The need for recreation for the young people and for the older, retired persons.

For a while the community meetings were held every week. Definite goals were set at each meeting for accomplishment by the next session, he said. Committees were established on beautification, industry and recreation.

Beautification was tackled first. Discarded metal barrels were requisitioned for trash cans. A Campbellsburg woman designed the stencil for the yellow, white and green daisy that decorates them. Paint and labor were donated.

SHOW INTEREST IN LAKE

On the batter of recreation, the town meetings turned attention to the Twin-Rush conservancy district flood-control lake being built a little more than three miles from the town. Lack of interest previously had let the project be planned without recreational facilities included.

Lewis said that at the meetings, a strong interest developed in getting recreation facilities for the lake. A delegation from the town went to the Washington County Park and Recreation Board and the County Council with the request. The ultimate result was the appropriation of funds to make the lake suitable for recreation.

From time to time, guest speakers and advisers—"resource people" Lewis calls them—were asked to attend the meetings. The townspeople learned that tourists could bring in as much money as an industry. Lewis' wife, Muriel, said one speaker told them that a tourist who stays overnight is equal to a $300 payroll and 190 who stay are worth a $100,000 payroll.

Attracting a manufacturing industry still is a goal. An industrial committee is preparing a brochure describing advantages at Campbellsburg. The possibility of forming a local corporation to help finance an industry also has been discussed.

The town is also bounded on three sides by tourist attractions—Spring Mill State Park, the Twin Rush Lake and the privately operated Cave River Valley Park.

From the community meetings came the idea of having an arts and crafts festival—Aug. 3–11.

Any profits derived from the festival will go into the town treasury for the community development fund.

The attendance at the community meetings that are working on the plans for Campbellsburg's future averages 40 to 50 persons, the Lewises said. Only July 12, the group got around to naming itself—The Campbellsburg Community Betterment Association.

The road to improvement is not all smooth. At a recent meeting, some persons complained that supplies for putting on the festival weren't being purchased from Campbellsburg merhcants.

Some of the women complained that they were doing all the work—the painting, cleaning up, and fixing and planning—while the men refused to assume responsibility.

And one man reported the response of some of the older residents when he asked them to help fix up the town before the festival:

"They said, 'We don't want to work to beautify the town. We're about to die. Let the young people beautify it.'"

Joe Gili, principal of the West Washington High School, reported that the Lions Club had offered to straighten, replace or repair the town's battered street markers.

And all of the discussion, even the negative, showed that this is a town that is trying to squarely face its problems and, on its own initiative, do something about them.

STATEMENT OF THE AFL-CIO MARITIME COMMITTEE BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM COMMITTEE

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, as you know, the Platform Committee of the Republican National Convention has been holding hearings in Miami for the past few days, and the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee presented a statement for their consideration. That statement urges the Republican Party to adopt a platform plank designed to revitalize our American-flag merchant marine.

I believe that their proposal is worthy of every Member's attention, and therefore, I insert their proposal into the RECORD at this time:

STATEMENT OF THE AFL-CIO MARITIME COMMITTEE BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM COMMITTEE

My name is Hoyt S. Haddock. I am the Executive Director of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee which consists of approximately 80 percent of American maritime labor. The unions affiliated with the Committee are: the National Maritime Union; International Longshoremen's Association; American Radio Association; Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America; National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association; International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots; and the Great Lakes Seamen, Local 5000, of the United Steelworkers of America.

Mr. Chairman, we appreciate the opportunity to appear before your Committee to present our views.

An adequate American flag merchant Marine is needed to carry our commerce during peacetime and to serve as a military auxiliary in time of war. There has never been any question about our Government recognizing the need of an American flag merchant marine in war time; there has been less clarity of intent in peace.

There is no need to go into the *details* of the World War I shipping crisis. However, we almost lost the war because we had permitted our merchant marine to wither and almost die.

We entered World War II slightly better prepared with a merchant fleet because of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. However, the then *new* 1936 Act could not have done a complete revitalization between its passage and the outbreak of the war in September 1939. Consequently our Nation engaged in a crash shipbuilding program which cost over $20 billion. Because of this "crash" aspect, most ships built in World War II were obsolete even before leaving the drawing board.

The above-mentioned obsolete ships now comprise approximately two-thirds (⅔) of our present merchant marine.

Our merchant marine today has declined from first place to sixth place in the world. In 1947 we had over 2,100 active merchant ships, of over 23 million deadweight tons, as compared with today's less than 1,000 ships, of under 15 million deadweight tons. In 1947 we carried just under 58 percent of our nation's foreign waterborne commerce as compared to less than 6 percent today.

Russia is now engaged in a merchant ship program announced "to sink the United States on the high seas." Their plan, as being carried out, is to build 125 ships a year with the intention of carrying 70 percent of their waterborne foreign trade by 1970. They *now* carry well over 50 percent of this trade in a merchant fleet of which over 80 percent of its ships are under 10 years of age.

Russia has openly bragged that it will sink us on the high seas and then beat us to the vast wealth of the oceans' bottom. Also they are far outstripping us in the fishing industry with a total fish catch of approximately 2½ times ours.

We respectfully urge your Committee to adopt a platform plank designed to revitalize our American flag merchant marine, including our fishing industry. This might be as follows:

AMERICAN-FLAG MERCHANT MARINE

"The United States of America is bounded on its four sides by great bodies of water, which includes the great waterways to the north—the Great Lakes. Our Nation has achieved first class status by becoming a great maritime power. However, we are now sinking rapidly despite the need for an American flag merchant marine, a fishing industry, and a broad base for oceanography.

"This American flag merchant marine shall be built up so that our ships carry at least 50 percent of our foreign waterborne commerce. This requires a shipbuilding program of a *minimum* of 40 ships a year.

"Our fishing and oceanographic industries must be assisted and developed in order to maintain our status as a first class nation."

THE SILLY SEASON IN WYOMING POLITICS: OUTRAGEOUS CAMPAIGN ATTACKS ON WYOMING'S CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that our respective party campaign committees might well organize courses of instruction in the rules and procedures of the House of Representatives for the benefit of those who aspire to serve here.

Some of the outrageous mistakes that are made in campaign attacks upon incumbents must create real embarrassment for these candidates, and we ought to do something to spare them. The only cure for ignorance is instruction, hence my suggestion.

These remarks are prompted by a news report that a Wyoming candidate believes all Democrats in the House are senior to all Republicans, so that even the youngest freshman in the majority party outranks the most senior man on our side.

I take some personal umbrage about this charge because it is leveled against the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. HARRISON] in the allegation that he is not an important member of the Appropriations Committee on the Republican side, but only No. 47 among 51 members of the committee.

I am very happy to be the senior minority member of the Committee on Appropriations, and I feel certain that the work I do and the responsibilities I carry are not those of one who is nothing more than No. 31 among 51 in this group.

My feelings are further aroused by this candidate's disparaging remarks about the importance of the Appropriations Committee. He believes that it is of no importance to his State. I doubt that there is any present Member of the House who holds us in such low esteem. Most people here and throughout the country are of the opinion that those who control the purse strings are a force with which to be reckoned, a lesson that is learned by most people in early childhood when they ask daddy for a nickel for an ice cream cone.

I am reminded of a candidate in Idaho a few years back who attacked a former Member for failing to state his views. This candidate had been reading voting records where, as almost everyone knows, a rollcall for the purpose of establishing a quorum is recorded "absent" or "present." The candidate accused the incumbent of cowardice for failing to vote yes or no on 89 consecutive quorum calls.

Mr. Speaker, this is the silly season in politics and all of this will be long forgotten when we meet in January. Nonetheless, some of these things must and should be clarified. Citizens should have the facts when they go to the polls. They should reject candidates who deliberately or through ignorance distort the role and responsibilities of a Member of Congress.

STEEL PRICE INCREASES MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO STAND

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I have just read a letter from the President of the United States to the congressional leadership and membership which deserves the most careful consideration.

Writing yesterday, the President told Congress and the people what dire impact the recent steel price hikes can have on the American economy. He said:

> This action of a single industry could injure all Americans by weakening the dollar at home and abroad.

It is deeply discouraging that these increases should be considered by the steel industry. It will be disheartening—perhaps even tragic—if the increases stand.

The effect, in short, would be to sabotage the earnest efforts of Congress and the President to stem inflation. The effect, in short, would be to impose a $600 million tax on the American people. The effect, in short, would be to set off a series of price increases which will be felt throughout our economy.

That, I believe, is simply too high a price to pay for the irresponsibility—the shortsighted profitseeking—of one segment of industry.

The steel companies of the United States have a much greater constituency, it seems to me, than just their stockholders. The American people are also their clients; the actions of the companies affect us all—and so they should be in the public interest.

I hope that the companies will consider that overriding public interest. And I hope that then, the companies will voluntarily rescind these obnoxious price increases.

Thank you.

TRIBUTE TO ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 17, 1968

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed emotions that I rise on this occasion. I am very happy and pleased to add my voice in honoring and paying tribute to our distinguished colleague and good friend, ARMISTEAD INGE SELDON, JR. On the other hand, I am saddened that ARMISTEAD will be leaving us at the end of this session of Congress.

ARMISTEAD SELDEN was first elected to the House of Representatives on November 4, 1952. He came to us at that time with an excellent background in terms of education, experience, and proven ability. His fine formal education included a degree from the University of the South and a law degree from the University of Alabama. His background of experience included a distinguished record of service in the Navy in World War II, a career as a practicing lawyer in Greensboro, Ala., and a period of service in the legislature of the State of Alabama.

It was obvious, and it was inevitable, Mr. Speaker, that ARMISTEAD SELDEN would succeed in building in the Congress of the United States a splendid record of devoted and dedicated service to his district, his State, and the Nation. He has done just that in his 16-year tenure here in the House. From the inception of his service right up to the present time, he has been given and discharged with singular distinction positions of responsibility and importance here in this body. Loyal, determined and effective service to his constituency has been characteristic and, indeed, a hallmark of ARMISTEAD's labors on behalf of his district, his State, and this country.

We shall miss his good counsel, his keen insight, his broad knowledge, and sound legislative judgment, Mr. Speaker. We regret that he did not seek reelection to the House, but we are grateful for the years he has served with us here.

We wish him and his lovely family the best in his new endeavor and interests, and we know he will be as outstanding and successful in these activities as he has been here in the Congress of the United States.

VIETNAM

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, today's New York Times carried an editorial which cogently recited the difference between the administration's rhetoric and the reality of its position with respect to the negotiations to obtain a political settlement of the war. I call it to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

ONCE UPON A TIME—

"Once upon a time," Secretary of State Rusk told a press conference the other day, "the President said that if North Vietnam would do almost anything—."

The Secretary abruptly broke off his review of conditions the Johnson Administration has laid down in the past for halting the bombing of North Vietnam and moving to substantive talks on a political settlement of the Vietnam conflict. It is a review worth completing today in view of the continuing refusal of the Administration to stop the bombing and especially in light of the new, tougher conditions indicated by President Johnson and Secretary Rusk in the past few days.

Once upon a time in San Antonio—last September 29, to be exact—President Johnson said: "The United States is willing to stop aerial bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussions. We would assume that while discussions proceed, North Vietnam would not take advantage of this cessation or limitation."

On January 26, Secretary of Defense Clark M. Clifford amplified the President's San Antonio formula, saying: "I do not expect them to stop their military activities. . . . Their military activity will continue in South Vietnam, I assume, until there is a cease-fire agreed upon."

In his March 31 speech announcing a partial cessation of the bombing, President Johnson said: "Even this very limited bombing of the North could come to an early end—if our restraint is matched by restraint in Hanoi."

During the past six weeks there has been a dramatic drop in enemy activity in South Vietnam. As many as half of the North Vietnamese main-force units in the South are reported to have pulled back across the borders. Infiltration, which rose substantially in April and May, is reported to have dropped in June. Administration officials now say infiltration has risen again in July, but some sources contradict this assertion. At any rate, Pentagon figures showed no increase in total enemy strength in the South, even during the period of heaviest infiltration.

To support his contention that, so far from reducing strength, the enemy is building up to a massive new offensive, the President said Wednesday that infiltration last month hit a new high of 30,000. But on Tuesday, official American sources in Saigon had put the figure at 20,000. Some intelligence sources last week were quoted as estimating that infiltration had dropped to as low a rate as 2,000 a month. The figures have always been notoriously speculative and subject to wide interpretation.

Again, the Saigon command reported yesterday that North Vietnam had boosted its forces in the South from 51,000 last January 1 to 90,000 now. Saigon neglected to point out that 90,000 is the same figure for North Vietnamese strength in the South that the Pentagon was using last March 31 when the President announced his restriction on bombing. Since that time, the total of American forces in Vietnam has jumped from 516,000 to 540,000 and South Vietnam has launched an expansion program designed to increase its armed forces by 135,000 men by the end of this year.

Surely there are grounds for concluding that Hanoi has met the requirements of the San Antonio formula and Mr. Johnson's condition of last March 31. But the United States seems to have stiffened its conditions this week in mid-negotiations.

An American negotiator in Paris told Hanoi's representatives last June that Washington would be satisfied to see some battlefield response "in the direction of de-escalation." He added: "This could be done de facto, it could be done by some indication, either directly or indirectly . . ." But Secretary of State Rusk, who in the past often has called for deeds rather than words, now insists on a "responsible, authoritative" statement from Hanoi concerning Hanoi's response, not just for today, but for "tomorrow, next week, next month."

What Mr. Rusk is asking for, in effect, is a unilateral commitment by Hanoi to de-escalate the war on its side without a comparable commitment from the United States and in the face of a continuing allied buildup and continuing aggressive action by allied troops throughout the South. This is an impossible demand that can only lead to the new enemy activity the President has predicted.

It is no doubt true that to stop the bombing entails risks. But the United States is strong enough to take such risks in the interest of peace. They are certainly preferable to the larger risks of another escalation of the war.

DEFICIENCIES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF NIH GRANTS

HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, I was unable to be on the floor yesterday during the debate on H.R. 12843 because I was presiding at the time over hearings held by the Near East Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Consequently, I did not hear the colloquy between the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] concerning a report issued last year by the Committee on Government Operations on the basis of studies conducted by the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, which I have the honor to chair. The report (H. Rept. 800) is entitled "The Administration of Research Grants in the Public Health Service" and is quite critical of NIH and other units of the Public Health Service for their performance in administering grants for the support of health research. Previous reports on NIH grant administration were issued by the Committee on Government Operations in 1961 and 1962.

Had I been on the floor at the time the gentleman from Wisconsin made his remarks, I would have vigorously challenged his derogatory statements concerning the work of the Committee on Government Operations and its Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee. The gentleman has impugned an investigative report that was adopted unanimously by the Committee on Government Operations.

I am authorized to say that the distinguished gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER], who serves as the ranking minority member of both the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee and the full Committee on Government Operations, joins me in these remarks.

Contrary to the assertions of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD], the findings in House Report No. 800 were thoroughly documented and are valid in every respect.

It is hardly surprising that the gentleman obtained defensive responses in the course of his interrogation of the NIH Director—responses which he obviously accepted as gospel—since he was questioning the very official directly responsible for many of the weaknesses and irregularities brought out in the committee's report.

I am astonished that the gentleman from Wisconsin would continue to spread misinformation about the highly irregular administration of the Health Sciences Advancement Awards and other NIH programs, inasmuch as I personally sent him and all other members of the Labor-HEW Appropriations Subcommittee a copy of my April 2, 1968, letter to Secretary Cohen pointing out the errors and misleading statements contained in the Department's 98-page booklet of February 1968 relating to the committee's report.

It is unfortunate that the gentleman from Wisconsin continues to circulate erroneous information from that booklet when the facts have been brought to his attention. Yesterday he inserted in the RECORD the large segment of that HEW booklet which appears in the hearings of the Appropriations Subcommittee. For the information of my colleagues and in order to set the RECORD straight, I will include, following these remarks, my April 2 letter to HEW Secretary Cohen. I will also include a brief summary of the findings and recommendations of the Committee on Government Operations in House Report No. 800.

While I would prefer to include in the RECORD the entire 113-page report, with its complete documentation, I will not do so in the interest of economy. I earnestly and sincerely hope however, that those of my colleagues who have not read this report will do so. I am confident my colleagues will find it an objective and factual presentation of the weaknesses which must be corrected in NIH and the Public Health Service if the tremendous amounts of money that we appropriate each year for health research and training are to be effectively and prudently spent.

The House has assigned the responsibility for examining the economy and efficiency of these programs to the Committee on Government Operations. Within the committee, the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee has continously conducted intensive studies of the NIH and other Public Health Service grant programs during the past 8 years. I believe the subcommittee is well informed in this area and has conducted its investigations searchingly and objectively.

The subcommittee does not follow the practice of accepting the assurances of bureaucrats that their programs are well managed. Rather, we have always followed the more difficult course of probing for the facts, with the result that our findings are often embarrassing to those whose performance or conduct does not measure up.

I am sure my colleagues will be interested to know that the subcommittee has received a very large volume of mail from the scientific community supporting the committee's criticism of the management of NIH grants. Many of these scientists are and have been NIH grantees.

One of the programs most severely criticized by the Government Operations Committee was the Health Sciences Advancement Award program. This program was initiated without adequate study, without a public announcement, and without open competition for the available funds. As a matter of fact, the first awards were given to two handpicked institutions in a thoroughly irresponsible manner.

I am glad to report that Secretary Cohen has assured me that in the future no HEW programs will be initiated in this manner and that no awards will be made under new programs until a public announcement of the criteria for eligibility has been made. I am pleased to note that Secretary Cohen, also in response to the committee's report, is establishing new regulations which will limit the continuous service of consultants on advisory councils and other final review bodies. In addition, the Department has agreed to modify major policies governing the general research support program, as well as policies in other grant areas, in order to correct weaknesses brought to its attention by the Government Operations Committee.

These actions surely confirm that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare now recognizes the validity of the committee's findings and the need for strengthening the management of grants in the health field.

The concern of the committee and of its Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, as I have stated many times, is to help assure that the highest possible standards are maintained in the administration of Federal research grants so that our health programs achieve their maximum productivity. The committee has consistently taken the position that good management is essential for, not in conflict with, program effectiveness.

Health research today is big business. It is estimated that more than $2 billion annually is spent in the United States for health research alone, exclusive of training, facilities construction, and medical services. The Public Health Service spends well over $900 million of this total.

Because of the tremendous importance of health research both in social and economic terms, the Public Health Service bears a heavy responsibility for achieving the proper and efficient administration of the grant programs under its jurisdiction. Similarly, the committee has a special responsibility to call attention to conditions which impair the efficiency and economy or otherwise detract from the effectiveness of these programs.

When administrative weaknesses result in low-quality research, or in waste and inefficiency, these are conditions which must be identified and promptly corrected. Otherwise the American people will surely suffer not only monetary loss, but also the deprivation of medical discoveries and therapies which might have been made available to them.

The information referred to above follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
Washington, D.C., April 2, 1968.

Hon. WILBUR J. COHEN,
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I was pleased to learn from former Secretary Gardner's letter of February 26 that your Department agrees in substance with 14 of the Committee's 17 major recommendations in House Report No. 800, which deals with the research grant programs of the Public Health Service. However, a close reading of the accompanying 98-page booklet, entitled "The Research Grant Programs of the Public Health Service," discloses that this document addressed to the report is not fully responsive to the Committee's findings and recommendations in a number of important respects. Moreover, by skillful use of language, it seeks to portray some weaknesses as virtues.

I will not consume your time or mine with an item by item discussion of HEW's reply to the Committee report. I believe you should know, however, in what respects the Department's reply cannot be considered reliable. First, it contains some statements which are untrue and others which are likely to mislead the reader. To cite a few examples:

(1) In speaking of the quality of supported research projects, HEW states, "There is no valid basis for equating the 100–500 priority scores with such value words as 'excellence,' 'very good,' 'good,' 'fair,' and 'poor.' " (p. 40)

This statement is categorically and demonstrably false. Until recently all new Study Section members were given an information sheet, identified as "Numerical Rating Procedure," which instructed the consultants to use the following rating symbols for all applications recommended for approval:

1. Excellent.
2. Better than Average.
3. Average.
4. Below Average.
5. Poor.

AB. Abstention.

The 100–500 scores are obtained by multiplying the average of all ratings for each application by 100. Because NIH, for whatever its reasons, has recently adopted a policy of denoting the quality of projects by numerical ratings only, does not alter the fact that consultants think in qualitative terms and have been instructed to do so in the past.

(2) The HEW reply is not responsive to the Committee's recommendation No. 1. The Committee recommended that the Surgeon General make suitable arrangements to assure the uniform *application* of the Department's indirect cost rate information by all granting units of the Public Health Service. More specifically, it was recommended as a first step that PHS's Division of Grants and Contracts be adequately staffed for effective surveillance on a current basis to ascertain that indirect cost rates and policies are properly and uniformly implemented after they are adopted. The Committee found, in this connection, that PHS often failed to obtain

compliance with its grant policies and permitted unjustifiable variations among and within the bureaus in the interpretation and application of agency policies. HEW carefully avoids this central issue and claims compliance with the recommendation on the basis of having established arrangements to assure the *availability* of indirect-cost information and uniform policies for application throughout the Department. (p. 18)

(3) With reference to NIH's large overpayments to Health Research, Inc., for indirect costs, the HEW document states that this grantee's indirect cost rates have recently "increased greatly due to the inclusion of State-owned facilities and resources now paid for and recorded on the books of HRI. . . ." (p. 66)

The Subcommittee questioned the accuracy of this statement and was advised by your Office that the statement is incorrect. HEW wrote on March 11: "To our knowledge HRI has neither billed for State services nor made any payments to the State Treasury."

In addition to finding untrue or misleading statements in HEW's reply, I am astounded that the Department has seen fit to endorse the flagrantly irresponsible way in which NIH granted the first Health Sciences Advancement Awards.

Not only does HEW fail to provide any additional facts or information to justify the manner in which this program was initiated, but the response itself is contradictory.

HEW describes "the articulation of a proposal for the use of funds for significant institutional advancement" as a major undertaking costly in terms of time, energy and money. The Department concludes that "To attract a large number of institutions into embarking on such an exercise, when the funds available were barely sufficient for an experiment on a very small scale (2–4 awards during the first year), seemed tantamount to raising false hopes (and when these were dashed, as inevitably most would be, to inviting enmity) and to encouraging on a major scale an investment of university funds, energy, and time that would, at least in the short haul, be almost totally unproductive."

Yet this is precisely what NIH did following public announcement of the HSAA program in 1966. In response to the announcement, 128 institutions prepared and submitted proposals in competition for 5 awards.

Moreover, it is absurd to talk of an "experimental approach" and a "high return of information" in attempting to rationalize non-competitive awards to two handpicked schools. These grants were awarded as of June 1966—only three months after the first announcement of the program and its policies. Clearly nothing of substance could possibly have been learned from this so-called "pilot program" other than the mechanics of helping a few chosen institutions to write proposals acceptable to NIH.

I would readily agree that pilot studies are highly desirable as a management tool when starting a new program. It is unfortunate that such studies were not done before committing $2 million of public money in this case.

It is evident from the Committee's report that no meaningful guidelines for institutional eligibility resulted from NIH's "pilot grants." This is borne out by the fact that a number of the 128 schools that prepared proposals in good faith on the basis of NIH's 1966 policy statement were disqualified on the grounds that they were too good for consideration.

The National Science Foundation, in contrast, began its similar University Science Development Program in March 1964 with a public announcement following more than a year of program development. Only then were proposals received and conferences held with about 165 interested institutions. The first grants were awarded on a competitive basis a full year after the program was announced.

I have discussed this matter in some detail because HEW has evidently missed the whole point of the Committee's recommendation—the establishment of a regularized procedure for the objective and fair distribution of public funds. Administrative flexibility is unquestionably a valid need in the administrative process, but it cannot legitimately be extended in a democratic society to embrace favoritism and dispensation of special privilege. We cannot agree that the principle of fair and open competition for public funds may be dispensed with except under the most urgent of circumstances, and most certainly not under circumstances such as those that prevailed when the HSAA program was inaugurated.

HEW claims Public Law 86–798 as the statutory authority for the HSAA program. It is clear from the legislative history of this Act that grants for general research support were to be "determined in accordance with a formula to be developed after consultation with the National Advisory Health Council" (House Report No. 2174, to accompany H.R. 10341, 86th Cong., 2d Session, p. 3). Not only are HSAA grants *not* determined by a formula, but the Advisory Council was not consulted in the development of this program. The Council was called upon only to approve the applications placed before it—a legal requirement for making any grant. And even then, the grants were awarded in the face of strenuous Council criticism of NIH's arbitrary and undemocratic procedures.

It is significant, also, that the Council reluctantly agreed to the initial grants after being informed that the existence of the HSAA program was well known, even though no public announcement had been made. The Council was told by the NIH Director that between 15 and 20 institutions had approached NIH concerning the suitability of their situations for the initial grants. I want you to know that NIH was unable to provide the Subcommittee with records of any kind to indicate that any such approaches had taken place.

I sincerely hope you will take prompt steps to implement the Committee's recommendations for appropriate formal procedures governing the initiation of new grant programs. I believe it would be greatly to the advantage of your Department to accomplish this by administrative means.

Your Department's explanation of the single-instrument support grants to the Sloan-Kettering Institute also requires special comment.

I am sure that the members of the Government Operations Committee are fully cognizant of the dreaded nature of cancer and the fact that man's capability of dealing with this complex disease is extremely limited. We are also aware, as your document points out, that many of the broad problems in cancer may not be amenable to solution by individual and independent scientists. Indeed, NIH has been supporting a number of sizeable program-projects to Sloan-Kettering and other institutions in recognition of this.

It does not follow, however, that, because research at Sloan-Kettering is directed wholly to cancer, all such research is closely interrelated or part of a grand design. Quite the contrary. It is my understanding that the Institute has both individual investigators and teams pursuing many different approaches to cancer, including chemotherapy, immunology, radiology, virology, and others. I do not see why it is any more advantageous to the Government to support this effort by a single sustaining grant than it would be to support the cancer research component of a medical school or other institution devoted to the spectrum of disease problems.

It seems to me that highly important policy considerations are glossed over in your Department's discussion of this matter. These include:

(1) Whether institutional grants can be used as the primary support mechanism, in lieu of rather than as a supplement to project grants, without eroding, or at the least compromising, the study section method of evaluating research quality by peer judgment. The answer is obviously "no" if single-instrument support grants are made to additional institutions as, according to some reports, NIH intends. It is important to remember that 41 percent of Sloan-Kettering's research grant applications were disapproved by NIH's scientific review bodies in 1964 and 1965. If study sections are a valid and reliable mechanism for evaluating scientific quality, it necessarily follows from the high proportion of disapproved applications that the Government will be supporting less quality through the single instrument grant. This conclusion can be avoided only if NIH exercises control over the programs of private institutions—and this would be a most dangerous course.

In this connection, I am impressed by the observation of an expert panel, upon reviewing a large program-project grant at another institution, that the research activity was a collection of disparate projects of varying quality. It was noted that several of the individual projects supported by the overall program-project grant would not have received study section approval on their own. This is a serious weakness of large-scale funding which allows the grantee to determine what research will be supported by Federal money.

(2) Money has in fact been removed from the competitive pool by the Sloan-Kettering grant. It is misleading for HEW to say that "funds for single-instrument support are in full competition with other support mechanisms at the Council level." This refers only to a one-time action by the Council which approved the grant for a five-year period. During this period the approved amount is the *minimum* Sloan-Kettering will receive. Unlike other institutions whose investigators must compete with all other applicants whenever their grants expire, Sloan-Kettering has been granted a guaranteed annual income from which it may support new projects, at its discretion, as the particular projects approved by NIH expire. Such an arrangement takes on added significance at a time when NIH will undoubtedly have to tighten its belt along with all other Federal agencies. The question of equity is obvious, especially when you consider that grant money will be even more restricted for new applicants because NIH first funds grants which it has previously approved for long-term support before it even considers the support of competing applications.

(3) While technically the Surgeon General may have the power to make a grant of this kind, the propriety of doing so under the broad and general authority used for this purpose was questioned by our Committee. As the Committee has pointed out, Section 301(i) of the Public Health Service Act, enacted many years ago under very different conditions, was never intended as an authorization for a program of institutional support. Section 301(i) empowers the Surgeon General to "adopt . . . such additional means as he deems necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section" (relating to the conduct and encouragement of research).

Section 301(i) was used in this instance as a last resort after HEW's Assistant General Counsel had ruled that the proposed Sloan-Kettering grant did not qualify as a "project" or a "general support" grant—the only types of research grants specifically authorized by the Public Health Service Act. Your Department did appropriately request an amendment to the Public Health Service Act in 1960 when it desired authority to make "general support" grants as a supplement to "project" grants.

Our point is not that the concept of "single-instrument support" is inherently good or bad, but rather that such a major departure from previously authorized forms of support should be formally acted on by the Congress so that the broader policy questions may be considered and all interested parties may have an opportunity to be heard.

This is not the first time that Section 301 (i) has been used to afford selected institutions more attractive grant conditions than are generally available. It was in this light that the Committee recommended clarificaion by the Congress of the section's intent. I note, however, the Department's agreement that there is need for appropriate restraints on the use of this broad authority. I will appreciate your informing me what restraints the Department proposes for this purpose upon the completion of your review.

I should like to comment briefly on the practice of using the services of some individuals for very long periods on Advisory Councils. As you know, this Committee had called attention in an earlier report to the desirability of the broadest possible representation on advisory bodies.

This same position was expressed most forcefully in 1964 by the Kistiakowsky Committee of the National Academy of Sciences. The Academy warned:

"When some individuals serve too continuously on the panels of one or several agencies, and when a few universities are regularly overrepresented, the burden is too concentrated on the individuals involved and the system is open to the charge of favoritism in judgment."

I am persuaded by the Academy's report that there is a large and expanding pool of highly qualified individuals from which advisers may be drawn. The Academy said in this connection:

"The burdens on individual advisers must be kept to a minimum, by using more advisers and rotating them often. The pool of competent scientists from which panels can be drawn is not only large but expanding.

"Every effort should be made to give younger scientists their turns on panels, both to spread the work and to infuse new points of view."

I believe the merit of this position is obvious. The record will show that the National Academy's advice has not been sufficiently heeded in Advisory Council appointments.

HEW now proposes to remedy this situation by revising the selection and appointment procedures for the Councils to provide for special review of all reappointment recommendations.

It is impossible to say from the information provided the Committee how meaningful such a review procedure would be. The Government Operations Committee, on the other hand, has proposed an unambiguous and objective way of handling this problem—limiting Council appointments to one 4-year term, with a member ineligible for reappointment for a period of four years following the completion of his term. I will appreciate your providing me a detailed explanation of the special review contemplated by your Department, including the criteria that will be used for determining when "there is clear evidence that the national interest is served" by a reappointment, so that we might ascertain whether or not the proposed approach will accomplish the objectives sought by our Committee and by the National Academy of Sciences.

I have brought some of these problems to your personal attention in the hope that you will take prompt corrective action. It is evident from our studies that management must be considerably strengthened and certain safeguards established if the health research programs are to be effectively and responsibly administered. Reorganization of the Department's health activities, however meritorious such structural changes may be, will not in itself remedy the serious administrative defects pointed up by this Committee. Neither will they be remedied by defensive expositions, nor by promises without performance.

I want to assure you that we are just as interested as NIH and your Department in the conquest of disease through high quality research. At the same time, this Committee has a special responsibility for ascertaining that these vital programs are administered efficiently and economically. We are particulary concerned that they be administered fairly, objectively, and in accordance with the intent of the Congress. Accordingly, we shall closely monitor the health research programs until such time as your Department takes decisive action to remedy the weaknesses disclosed by the Committee.

I would be pleased to discuss this matter further with you at any time. It will be appreciated if you would keep me informed of the specific steps you intend to take to comply with the Committee's recommendations.

Sincerely,

L. H. FOUNTAIN,
Chairman.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF RESEARCH GRANTS IN THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE (H. REPT. NO. 800)

On October 19, 1967, the Committee on Government Operations approved and adopted a report entitled "The Administration of Research Grants in the Public Health Service." The chairman was directed to transmit a copy to the Speaker of the House.

I. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of principal findings

The Committee's examination of several important research grant programs administered by the Public Health Service disclosed that the agency—and particularly its principal research bureau, the National Institutes of Health—has made relatively little effort to improve its administration of grants since the Committee's previous reports on this subject in 1961 and 1962. Inadequate administrative performance is demonstrated, for example, by the inept handling of payments for the indirect research costs of grantees and the extremely poor administration of the General Research Support and Health Sciences Advancement Award programs.

NIH and other PHS bureaus were found to have made excessive indirect cost payments to grantees. Excessive payments resulted from their practice of paying the maximum indirect cost rate permitted by law, contrary to the intent of Congress that only a grantee's actual indirect costs should be allowed if less than the statutory maximum. In many instances NIH paid the highest permissible indirect cost rate even when it had negotiated research contracts with the same institutions providing for lower rates determined through Government audits.

In the case of one research organization, NIH's overpayments for indirect costs were found to total almost a half million dollars for grants awarded through the 1963 fiscal year. Moreover, in this and other cases NIH continued to make overpayments to these same grantees for almost 2 years *after* the Surgeon General had initiated action in 1963, at the urging of the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, to recover the excessive payments previously made.

Within NIH itself, the individual institutes used different indirect cost rates when dealing with the very same grantee institutions. The failure of the individual institutes to follow uniform policies and practices was found to be largely the result of weak and ineffective central management in the National Institutes of Health.

Weak central management has been characteristic also of the Public Health Service. PHS has consistently failed to obtain compliance with many of its grant policies, and it has permitted unjustifiable variations among and within its bureaus in the interpretation and application of agency policies.

Research projects supported by grants from NIH and other units of the Public Health Service have, according to the agency's own ratings, declined in quality over a period of years. A large proportion of the projects now being supported by PHS were rated lower than good quality by the agency's expert consultants.

The Committee believes high quality should be the principal criterion for PHS support of research projects which meet program requirements. National objectives other than the support of meritorious work, such as strengthening the capability and resources of academic institutions and manpower training, should be accomplished through programs designed specifically for these purposes rather than through the project system.

The Committee is concerned by the tendency in the Public Health Service to use the services of a small group of individuals for long periods on advisory councils and other major advisory bodies. When some of the same individuals who have served on advisory councils for many years receive substantial NIH grants, and also testify before the Congress in support of the agency's appropriations, the appearance of favoritism is unavoidable. The Committee endorses the view expressed by the National Academy of Sciences that the Nation's manpower resources for advisory purposes are large, that more advisers should be used and rotated more often, and that younger scientists should be afforded an opportunity to serve on PHS panels.

The Committee found serious weaknesses in the several types of institutional grants administered by the National Institutes of Health.

NIH entered into an unusual cost-sharing agreement with a large research institute to underwrite approximately one-half the latter's total operating expenses. This arrangement has the effect of: (1) substituting the grantee's own judgment for that of the PHS's scientific review committees with respect to the merit of the research projects supported, and (2) removing from national competition, over an initial 5-year period, approximately $23 million of health research funds. This unusual commitment was made without first developing workable methods for the comprehensive scientific and administrative review of a large institution's total program. Furthermore, it was made even though the grantee's success in competing for NIH grants on the basis of merit was not better than average, and NIH had been advised by the HEW General Counsel's Office that the grant could not legally be awarded either as a "project" or as a "general support" grant—the two types of awards specifically authorized by the Public Health Service Act.

The procedure used in initiating another new institutional grant program—the Health Sciences Advancement Award—was found to be irresponsible, unscientific, and contrary to the best interests of the academic community and the Government. The first awards under this program were made:

(1) without adequate study of the needs of various types of institutions for development funds;

(2) without careful formulation of program objectives and policies;

(3) without a prior public announcement of the new program and its eligibility conditions;

(4) without open competition for the available funds; and

(5) without clear statutory authority.

Moreover, it is apparent from NIH's recent handling of the second group of HSAA awards that the purpose of this program is still unclear. The Committee believes that a Federal agency should have a mature and defensible plan for a new grant program before commencing it. NIH should not be "fumbling around," as one of its officials expressed it, when awarding substantial amouts of public money.

The Committee found NIH's administration of the General Research Support program surprisingly casual, with policies and procedures inadequately developed for the equitable and uniform treatment of grantees and with management indifferent to the waste of program funds.

The General Research Support program is intended to provide institutions already substantially engaged in NIH research some relatively unrestricted funds to help correct the imbalances in their total research and training activities created by Federal support of individual research projects. The amount of each grant is determined by a formula which takes into account the grantee's health-related research expenditures from both Federal and non-Federal sources, with the latter counting twice as much as the former.

Large amounts of GRS funds were paid to one private research organization by including State appropriations for two research divisions of a State health department in the grant computation. The GRS grants were computed in this manner, contrary to program policies, even though the research funds taken into account were not the grantee's and were not intended for it.

In addition, separate grants were made in some years to each of this organization's two branches, thereby giving the organization a larger total amount than it would have received from a single award because of a limitation in the grant formula. One branch received approximately as much in GRS funds, by counting State research expenditures as its own, as the total amount it received in NIH project grants. This is obviously a gross distortion of the purpose for which the GRS legislation was enacted.

The Committee found the premium given for non-Federal funds under the General Research Support formula difficult to administer and wasteful of Federal research money. The Committee does not believe this premium operates as a meaningful incentive for institutions to seek private funds. The premium, on the other hand, favors research organizations over institutions of higher education—for whom the program was primarily intended—and favors wealthier institutions over poorer ones.

PHS research grants continue to be highly concentrated in a relatively small number of institutions. Moreover, the gap between the "rich" and the "poor" schools appears to have widened in recent years in the biomedical sciences. Although this disparity largely reflects the capacity of institutions to perform research, the Committee found that some PHS policies discriminate against smaller and less wealthy schools because they do not already have extensive research programs.

While the Committee recognizes the importance of increasing the number of first-rate universities, it believes it equally important that weak institutions be improved. It is inadvisable for NIH and other Federal agencies to award "development" grants to help already good schools achieve "excellence" in absolute preference to aiding the Nation's weaker institutions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Indirect costs

Recommendation No. 1.—The committee strongly recommends that the Surgeon General make suitable arrangements to assure the uniform application of the Department's indirect cost rate information by all granting units of the Public Health Service. With respect to the use of off-campus rates, which are normally lower than on-campus rates, the committee recommends that the Public Health Service obtain sufficient information in grant applications and in subsequent reports to identify the locations at which the research is performed (p. 20).

Recommendation No. 2.—The committee endorses the concept of assigning Government-wide responsibility for establishing indirect cost rates with all institutions of a given type to a single Federal agency, with each type of institution audited by one Federal agency only. The committee recommends that this concept be vigorously pursued by the Bureau of the Budget and other interested agencies so that a final Government-wide plan covering all institutions will expeditiously be established (p. 22).

General research support grants

Recommendation No. 3.—To eliminate some of the abuses that have developed in the general research support program, the committee recommends that program policies be changed immediately to:

(1) Determine each GRS grant on the basis of the recipient institution's research expenditures from Federal sources alone. The committee does not believe the premium given for non-Federal research funds under the existing formula operates as a meaningful incentive for institutions to seek private funds. Rather, this premium favors research organizations over institutions of higher education, and has been difficult to administer and wasteful of Federal research money, and

(2) Exclude from the computation base for a GRS grant all Federal payments for research which include fees above actual research costs (p. 28).

Additional recommendations concerning the GRS program appear below.

Health sciences advancement award

Recommendation No. 4.—The committee strongly recommends that no future grant programs be initiated by NIH or the Public Health Service without fair and open competition after the purpose and the policies of the program have been carefully developed and publicly announced (p. 32).

Recommendation No. 5.—The committee further recommends that before any new grant program is started, or a major change is made in an existing program, the proposed regulations for the program be published in the Federal Register so that interested parties may have an opportunity to express their views. The final regulations should be approved by the Secretary before issuance (p. 33).

Recommendation No. 6.—The committee recommends that before any new program is initiated in the Public Health Service without specific statutory authorization, the program should be formally reviewed by the Department and the Executive Office of the President to determine its conformance with national education and science policies. Also, a written opinion concerning the legality of any such program should be obtained in advance from the HEW General Counsel (p. 37).

Recommendation No. 7.—The committee further recommends that no additional HSAA awards be made unless and until PHS obtains specific legislative authorization for this program (p. 37).

Sharing any institution's total research costs—the Sloan-Kettering grant

Recommendation No. 8.—In view of the manner in which section 301(i) of the Public Health Service Act was used as a last resort to justify the Sloan-Kettering grant, and in view of the size and complexity of the Government's existing health research programs, the committee recommends that the Congress amend this provision of the act to clarify and limit the Surgeon General's blanket authority to adopt "such additional means as he deems necessary or appropriate" for the conduct and support of research (p. 41).

Sharpening the instruments of support

Recommendation No. 9.—The committee recommends that the Surgeon General establish a high standard of quality as the basic qualification for research project support, and that he develop adequate procedures for the uniform maintenance of that high standard by NIH and other bureaus of the Public Health Service. The confinement of research grants to projects in the range of excellent to good should not be breached except in special circumstances where the reasons for supporting a lower quality project are fully documented in a written record (p. 47).

Recommendation No. 10.—The committee recommends that the Public Health Service's responsibility for programs designed to develop or improve the capability and resources of educational institutions be limited to medical and other health professional schools. The general research support program is not included in this category since the Congress authorized these grants, permitting broad discretionary spending, specifically to supplement project grants. The committee recommends that the responsibility for grants intended to strengthen educational institutions other than health professional schools be confined to the National Science Foundation and/or the Office of Education—the two Federal agencies broadly responsible for strengthening basic science and education (p. 52).

Recommendation No. 11.—To provide for more equitable treatment of the smaller and less wealthy institutions, the committee recommends the following changes in PHS policies:

(1) Qualification for a general research support grant should be based on a school's receiving $100,000 or more annually in research project grants from all units of the Public Health Service combined, rather than exclusively from NIH. Moreover, HEW should consider broadening the general research support program, with appropriate legislative authority, to include health-related research grants made by other units of the Department in such programs as vocational rehabilitation and maternal and child health. Eventually, a single general research support grant for each eligible institution, administered on a Government-wide basis, would be most efficient and desirable.

(2) The same general research support eligibility requirements should be applied to health professional schools as to other institutions. To the extent that health professional schools require assistance in developing a research capability, this should be accomplished by a separate program of technical and financial assistance tailored for the purpose.

(3) The separate biomedical sciences support grant should be discontinued, and the general research support grant awarded to graduate schools on the same terms as to professional schools, hospitals, and research institutions.

(4) Until such time as a single general research support program may be established on a Government-wide basis, the NIH program and NSF's institutional grants program should be closely coordinated to avoid duplication. Some institutions presently receive general research support from both NIH and NSF computed on the basis of the same research projects; this occurs because NSF bases the amount of its award exclusively on the research (as well as some research training) grants it makes, while NIH includes these same NSF research grants in the computation for general research support awards (p. 52).

Recommendation No. 12.—The committee recommends, further, that the Secretary of HEW review the numerous NIH and other PHS training grant programs to determine if they are effectively organized to serve national manpower needs and objectives. This review should be concerned particularly with ascertaining if the institutions which receive large amounts of training funds are making a proportionate contribution to the nation's manpower supply. Conversely, the Secretary should determine if training grant policies discriminate against schools which award graduate degrees in the biomedical sciences but receive little or no PHS training support (p. 53).

Recommendation No. 13.—The committee recommends that the President designate one or more Federal agencies to provide technical assistance, upon request, to help institutions plan for the improvement of their science education and research programs. It would be logical for the Public Health Service to be concerned with the health professional schools; other groups of institutions in which the biomedical sciences are taught might be made the responsibility of the National Science Foundation and/or the Office of Education (p. 55).

Recommendation No. 14.—The committee recommends that the President give early attention to the problem of improving the academic quality of weaker graduate institutions and that a unified and coordinated Federal assistance program be developed for dealing with this matter. The committee believes the present piecemeal uncoordinated approaches of Federal agencies to institutional improvement are competitive, wasteful, and frequently not directed to the heart of the problem (p. 57).

Some special management problems

Recommendation No. 15.—The committee recommends that the Surgeon General (1) establish in PHS, and in each of the bureaus which administer grant programs, a single grants management office to provide uniform interpretations of policies and procedures, and (2) provide adequate staffing for PHS's Division of Grants and Contracts to enable this unit, on a current basis, to maintain surveillance over and liaison with the several bureau grants management offices to assure that policies are being properly and uniformly implemented (p. 61).

Recommendation No. 16.—The committee recommends that appointments to advisory councils be limited to one 4-year term, with members ineligible for reappointment, or appointment to other advisory councils, for a period of 4 years following the completion of their terms.

The committee recommends, further, that consideration be given in the selection of advisory committees to obtaining a balanced representation of geographic regions and educational institutions. To the extent possible, consultants should be drawn from among qualified scientists who are not themselves recipients of PHS grants (p. 62).

Recommendation No. 17.—The committee recommends that the percentage of grant funds allocated to the general research support program not be increased, and no new forms of institutional support be initiated, until (1) PHS has modified GRS policies for a more equitable and efficient distribution of these funds, as recommended earlier in this report, and (2) PHS or HEW is prepared to promulgate grants management standards and to determine that institutions wishing to be eligible for research support are in compliance with those standards (p. 69).

FINANCIAL STATUS OF CONGRESSMAN HERVEY G. MACHEN OF MARYLAND

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, today I am again inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a full statement of my financial status. I submit this statement voluntarily and I urge every person seeking congressional office this year release for the public's information a similar statement. I know that some persons seeking public office claim that they have made full disclosure, but it has been directed in secret form to judges and the like. I believe that full disclosure, must be public and anything less is to be considered an insult to the American voter.

The following is my statement of financial status which I present in the identical form I used for my disclosure in 1966:

Hervey G. Machen and Marian D. Machen, his wife, statement of financial condition, July 31, 1968

Assets:		
Cash (see schedule "A")		$12,353.75
Investments (see schedule "B")		186,121.00
Notes receivable		1,528.10
Real estate (see schedule "C")		171,000.00
Automobiles:		
1968 Lincoln	$5,500	
1967 Mustang	1,800	
Total		7,300.00
Household furnishings		4,000.00
Law books and office furniture		4,896.20
Total assets		387,199.05
Liabilities:		
Notes payable—unsecured		10,000.00
Notes payable—secured		91,250.00
Mortgages (see schedule "D")		61,092.66
Total liabilities		162,342.66
Net worth		224,856.39

SCHEDULE "A"—CASH

Citizens Bank of Maryland, savings account	3,725.32
Citizens Bank of Maryland, checking account	3,275.36
Suburban Trust Co., checking account	1,017.62
Sergeant at Arms checking account	4,335.45
Total	12,353.75

SCHEDULE "B"—INVESTMENTS

	Market value
Maryland Home Title Co., acquired in August 1954, 1 share	50.00
Suburban Trust Co., initial purchase in August 1946, purchases since then have been limited to stock options and stock dividends when capital was increased by the bank, 520 shares	34,320.00
Citizens Bank of Maryland, initial shares acquired in 1955, for the last four years additional purchases have been limited to stock options and stock dividends when capital was increased by the bank, 2594 shares	129,700.00
Metromedia, acquired January 1960 and increased by stock dividend, 404 shares	15,251.00
Unitec Industries, Inc., acquired October 2, 1967, 200 shares	6,800.00
Total	186,121.00

SCHEDULE "C"—REAL ESTATE

Farm, 120 acres at Horsehead, Prince Georges County, Md., acquired August 1957	80,000.00
Personal residence, 4107 Hamilton Street, Hyattsville, Md., acquired December 1951	$32,000.00
Summer Home, Broomes Island, Calvert County, Md., 2 acres and house, inherited from father in 1933	22,000.00
Unimproved land, 28 acres, one-third interest with sister and brother, inherited from father in 1933, one-third of the value	2,000.00
Office building and lot, 4328 Farragut Street, Hyattsville, Md., joint ownership with brother, part law offices and part engineering offices, acquired December 1954, one-half of the value	35,000.00
Total	171,000.00

SCHEDULE "D"—MORTGAGES

Horsehead farm	45,575.00
Personal residence	6,762.00
Office buiding and lot, 4328 Farragut Street, Hyattsville, Md., one-half of balance	8,754.39
Total	61,092.66

NOTES

Stocks are listed at their market values.

Real estate holdings are listed at their estimated current market values.

I have several group life insurance policies that have no surrender value in the Maryland Bar Association and a $10,000 GI life insurance policy that has never been converted.

At the present time, I am and have been a director of the Citizens Bank of Maryland, having been elected to the board in January 1960.

I am also a director of the Maryland Home Title Co.

I am the senior member in the law firm of Machen and Brooks, located at 4328 Farragut Street, Hyattsville, Md. Until October 1964, I practiced law as an individual. Having received the Democratic nomination for Congress, I formed a partnership with Thomas R. Brooks. This was with the understanding I would be a full-time Congressman and would not actively participate in the activities of the law firm.

(NOTE.—Congressman Machen's net worth listed in his 1966 disclosure was $254,601.94, with schedule "A" cash listed at $10,295.99; schedule "B" investments listed at $236,040; schedule "C" real estate listed at $155,000, and scheduled "D" mortgages listed at $36,189.04.)

DEPARTURE OF ROBERT C. MOOT AS ADMINISTRATOR OF SBA

HON. JOHN SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I want to extend my own best wishes, and those of my distinguished colleagues of the Senate to an outstanding public servant who is now taking up a new assignment.

Mr. Robert C. Moot is relinquishing the position of Administrator of the Small Business Administration to become Assistant Secretary of Defense. We shall sorely miss the considerable personal contacts we have had with him during the past year.

The Nation is fortunate that it is not losing his services but is only assigning him to another challenging, and important post of duty.

As chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee I have enjoyed a close relationship with him and his agency in our common goal of supporting, strengthening, and encouraging small business.

I watched him using his very considerable ability to involve more of the private sector of our economy in making additional funds available to the small businessmen. With considerable pleasure I saw him succeed in this expanded effort as in so many other actions he took.

There has not been a time when he has not been immediately available, and extraordinarily helpful in the deliberations of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee or its Select Committee on Small Business.

Innovative, cooperative, helpful, imaginative, he has helped the millions of people in the small business community to make significant contributions to the economy of the Nation.

Simultaneously, he and his agency have helped us move further along the road toward greater social and economic security for a vast portion of our population.

One characteristic was always apparent in speaking to him or in examining his record as SBA Administrator—his restless dissatisfaction with the idea that anything was "good enough." Perhaps a little more study, a little more effort, a little different approach would yield better results? It would and it did.

To him his agency was not an isolated bureaucracy staffed with gnomes and cut off from the world. It meant 83 field offices filled with sympathetic persons, a place where any small businessman, or person who might want to become a businessman, could come and not only be treated with the utmost courtesy, but would never go away with anything less than could be done for him.

The staff he leaves behind is an enthusiastic, dedicated group which by association and example exhibits the same kind of willingness to serve that he always exhibited.

I am sorry that I will not have the opportunity to have as close contact with him as I have in the past year, but I feel better that we have public servants such as he—kind, tolerant, understanding, and dedicated.

The best wishes of all of us, I am sure, go with him in his new assignment.

HORTON BILL EXTENDS 1967 SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASE TO THE POOREST OF THE POOR

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, approximately 1.2 million social security beneficiaries also receive welfare payments. When the Social Security Amendments of 1967 were passed, the vote did not insure an increased income for all beneficiaries as was originally intended. This important omission centers around the fact that the States, under the Federal Social Security Act, are required to consider all sources of income, including social security benefits.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, a decrease in welfare payments results when the States compute the increase in social security benefits which became payable last March. This means that, although we have voted an increase in social security payments, some 1.2 million people actually receive no increase at all.

Remedial State action does not seem to be forthcoming. All the 1967 amendments mean to these 1.2 million people is that their social security checks went up, and their welfare payments went down. Although the States are permitted to exclude up to $7.50 a month in other income in determining a person's welfare payment, most have not done so.

The Social Security Amendments of 1967 guaranteed everyone but the poorest of the poor—the aged, the disabled, and the blind who get welfare payments—an increased income.

The bill which I am introducing today, Mr. Speaker, gives us a chance to look anew at the provision that now only offers a State the choice to disregard up to $7.50 a month in other income in determining a person's need for welfare payments.

My bill would require the States, starting next July, to adjust their welfare programs so that the standards of need and the amounts of individual payments under the programs providing aid to the aged, the blind and the disabled would be increased by an average of $7.50 a month.

States would be required to exclude $7.50 in social security benefits from their computation of welfare payments. Some savings to the States could be expected from social security benefit increases in excess of $7.50 a month but in the long run the States would be faced with increased costs.

To help the States meet this extra cost, my bill would provide for a payment by the Federal Government of all the extra cost for the 2 years starting July 1, 1969, and ending June 30, 1971.

I urge your support of this worthy legislation.

IMPRESSIVE REMARKS OF REV. RICHARD S. KNIGHT

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include herein the address given by the distinguished, beloved rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Clinton, Mass., the Reverend Richard S. Knight, at the baccalaureate exercises of the Clinton Junior-Senior High School seniors in Mitchell Memorial Auditorium of the Clinton Town Hall on June 9, 1968.

This address was one of the finest baccalaureate addresses that has ever come to my attention. Reverend Knight summarized admirably some of the most significant issues of our times, and put his finger on basic problems facing us in this great crisis of human affairs, and the part which our young people will play now and in the future, in preserving our freedom and civilization and the foundation values upon which our entire system rests.

Earlier on the same day, I had the high privilege, honor, and real pleasure of talking briefly to this year's Clinton High School graduates at the Old Timer Restaurant in my celebrated hometown of Clinton, Mass.

It has been my good fortune to know most of these young graduates and their families. Seeing them, and meeting them, served to confirm what I had observed before, that they are, indeed, a wonderful, intelligent, enlightened, well balanced and loyal group of young Americans, of whom we of the distinguished town of Clinton have reason to be very proud.

Members of the class of 1968 have been well trained, are exceptionally well motivated, and capable of facing up with courage and firmness to their own personal problems and to the weighty problems which will face their generation in the time to come.

I have great confidence in these fine, young people, and am convinced that they will give an excellent account of themselves in the future.

In congratulating them and their parents upon their graduation, I wish them every success and good fortune and hope they may enjoy all choicest blessings of good health, success in all their endeavors, happiness and peace for many years to come.

Such beautiful young ladies and handsome young men, bright, well poised, eager, friendly, and good humored are indeed a great credit to their community and their country, and I hail and salute them all.

I especially hail and salute the distinguished Reverend Knight for his fine, inspiring address. It hit the nail right on the head and will be a great inspiration to all. We need more like it to spark public reaction and participation in the great tasks of building and strengthening the national purpose and morale to tackle fearlessly and courageously the grave problems of the hour and sustain and support those of us who are charged with fighting this epochal battle for freedom, peace, and public order and decency.

Best always to Clinton High's outstanding graduates of 1968.

The address follows:

[From the Clinton (Mass.) Item, June 10, 1968]

CHS BACCALAUREATE EXERCISES HELD SUN.

Every milestone in human achievement, as meager as it seems to be, has helped to forge the way ahead for a more perfect society, the Rev. Richard S. Knight told the Clinton Junior-Senior High School seniors at Baccalaureate exercises held in Mitchell Memorial auditorium yesterday.

As the introduction to his address, the rector of the Church to the Good Shepherd used the words written on a Civil War monument in a neighboring town, recalling for succeeding generations the securing of the unity of the nation and the freedom of an oppressed race.

He pointed out that the persons who erected the monument and wrote the inscription could not know that even one hundred years later the nation still would be cripled by disunity and division, and the oppressed race still would be in bondage.

MOB SHOULD ASSEMBLE

"Some men will say, because those words on that monument do not ring true, a mob should be assembled and go to that park. These extremists will want the mob to pull down the bronze figures of the Civil War veterans and to break up the stone pedestal on which the inscription is written. This is what has happened throughout human history when the impatient minority is allowed to direct the emotions and intellects of the vast majority of rational men and women.

"Reacting to past failures, these few extremists are like children, filled with disappointment and frustration. They believe that a totally new structure can be built on the smouldering embers of the former structure. They do not understand that every milestone in human achievement, as meager as it seems to be, has helped to forge the way ahead for a more perfect society. And that the pages of civilization's record are filled with untold heroes who have helped succeeding generations to reach toward perfect truth.

CHANCE FOR FAILURE

"Thinking men and women understand that for every dream, there is the chance of a nightmare. That for every victory, there is the chance for failure. That for every glory, there is the chance for tragedy.

"Some men declare that we are on the threshold of a new era. It is for contemporary men and women to painfully and laboriously move mankind from a pre-human era to what hopefully will be a human era. To move civilization from the former times of war and disease and poverty and hunger to the future time when every man will live with dignity, as a principal citizen, having all his physical and spiritual needs fulfilled.

"To destroy heedlessly the moral and intellectual foundations upon which this new era must stand would be the greatest human tragedy that could befall us. For thousands of years men have held out their hands longingly toward the achievements that we now take for granted.

"Let us not stand aside complacently while the few extremists act to loosen the bonds that hold our social order together. Let not the demand for permissiveness destroy the laws which have kept us from a jungle society. Let not the demonstrations against free speech and free assembly suffocate the rights, not only of the minorities, but the rights of all men. Santayana has written this warning: 'Those who refuse to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.'

HANGS IN BALANCE

"It is evident that civilization hangs in the balance, to be molded or destroyed in our time. May we have the wisdom and intelligence to become active participants, to overcome complacency, to counteract the destructive forces of extremists, to take our rightful places as contributors toward human achievement, and not as spectators, of the demise of the dreams toward which men in all generations have given their lives."

Howard Sylvetsky, president of the Class of 1968 gave the introduction and Miss Elaine Specian sang a solo, "He", accompanied by Bruce Vitone.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, on June 18, 1968, the Governor of New York, Nelson A. Rockefeller, made an address advocating a new type of private corporate approach to the matter of urban blight. The Governor's proposals represent fresh thinking on housing problems which Congress has tried unsuccessfully to solve for over 30 years. For this reason, I place the full text of Governor Rockefeller's address in the RECORD at this point, expressing the hope that it will furnish additional evidence for a new philosophy of attack in future years, based on the premise that the Federal Government's proper role is to stimulate and motivate free enterprise system efforts to solve the problems of our cities, rather than to operate costly and cumbersome programs of the Government itself. The address follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER JUNE 18, 1968

Seven out of ten Americans now live in or near our cities. By the end of the century, eight out of ten Americans will live in metropolitan areas.

Yet the conditions of urban life are fast becoming unbearable. Blight—the physical decay of urban core areas—is the most obvious symptom of this sickness of our cities.

An estimated one-quarter of the people now in our cities live in blighted housing or in blighted areas, and blight is spreading.

For two decades, the Federal government has been trying, without major success, to combat blight through ambitious urban renewal plans. Too often, the bulldozer has been seen as the automatic cure for urban blight. Huge areas of central cities have been razed, without adequately relocating former residents in decent housing or meeting other community needs.

Impenetrable layers of bureaucratic red tape have slowed Federal urban renewal programs to a snail's pace with the average project taking ten years to complete. Because of the delays and risks involved, qualified private firms have been less and less willing to act as sponsors of urban renewal projects—that is, to undertake to develop the land after it has been cleared. A fresh approach is needed for rehabilitating the core areas of our cities.

In New York State, we have recently developed a revolutionary new technique for rebuilding cities in cooperation with private enterprise—the Urban Development Corporation (UDC). The UDC is a public corporation, created by the state to assume the initiative in planning, building, and developing needed urban facilities. It can sponsor urban renewal projects. It can build low and middle-income housing, and industrial, commercial, and civic facilities. It cooperates closely with potential investors in planning its projects. And it sells its equity in such projects to these investors at the earliest feasible time.

The UDC is a completely new concept in urban development. For the first time, a government agency—in cooperation with private enterprise—will take an active role in reconstructing urban core areas. Thus the UDC can assume the initial risks of a project during planning, land acquisition and building so that investors can put their funds into ready-made functioning projects without having to incur the risks and delays of development.

When the UDC sells its projects to private investors, it frees up its funds to initiate new projects. It can also lease back projects it has sold, manage them and assure the purchaser a fixed return on his investment.

The UDC has special statutory powers to cut through bureaucratic red tape. It can, for example, cut through archaic building regulations which often create lengthy delays. The UDC is a State corporation—not another cumbersome Federal agency. As such, it can be expected to be more responsive to local problems and it can have greater sensitivity to state-wide or area-wide needs than a municipal agency.

The UDC is organized like a business, not like a bureaucracy. It must exercise the same care in planning and budgeting as a modern business corporation.

The UDC is not a new type of government spending program. The initial equity capital, contributed by the state, amounts to less than 2% of the UDC's authorized debt; this is sufficient to commence operations and provide a "cushion" against losses.

I would strongly urge other states to create similar urban development corporations to rebuild their core cities and halt urban blight.

The Federal government can assist this urban reconstruction effort by supporting state urban development corporations in three ways:

1. *Technical assistance.*—A vigorous program of Federal technical assistance would help states plan and organize UDCs. The Federal government can help draft model UDC legislation and organization plans; study feasibility of proposed UDC projects; conduct research in materials, construction methods and project design; and provide financing advice to UDCs on marketing their bonds.

Federal guaranty.—A Federal guaranty of the bonded debt of state UDCs would assure the marketability of the securities of these corporations, by eliminating the risk of loss to the purchasers of UDC bonds. By assuring marketability, the Federal guaranty would create a broader market for state UDC bonds; permit a state UDC to finance socially desirable projects in high-risk urban poverty areas; permit state UDCs to operate with a smaller state-supplied equity capital; and make it possible, to some degree, for state UDCs to finance their projects at lower interest costs, thus reducing the rents in their projects.

The Federal guaranty program would involve no cost to the taxpayer as the entire cost of the program would be financed out of premiums charged to state UDCs. The premiums would be included in project costs at the time of sale.

The proposed Federal guaranty program is, in important respects, similar to the existing FHA mortgage insurance program which has vastly increased the supply of private credit for building new housing. The proposed guaranty program for state UDC bonds will help greatly to expand the supply of credit for rebuilding the core areas of our cities.

3. *Federal tax treatment.*—The income on state UDC type bonds are now exempt from Federal income taxation. This tax exemption is essential to the marketability of UDC bonds at a reasonable interest rate since it enables these bonds to provide yields which are competitive with other higher-cost securities.

Proposals are being considered in Congress for a blanket denial of tax-exempt status to state industrial revenue bonds—regardless of whether these bonds are used to finance essential urban redevelopment projects or are used primarily to benefit private companies in constructing plants in outlying areas.

Withdrawing the tax exemption would

greatly reduce the ability to attract private capital into urban core areas and thereby require a greater public commitment of funds. In addition, serious consideration should be given to allowing purchasers of UDC projects a faster tax write-off in the early years, when vacancies tend to be higher and risks greater.

While one single approach cannot solve all the problems of the city, either physical or social, the proposals I have just outlined illustrate the sort of thing that can be done to improve our cities—and done without new Federal spending programs.

We must take this type of positive approach to our urban problems. We can rebuild and revitalize our great metropolitan centers. We can stop the spread of urban blight. We can make our cities safe, decent places to live.

We are up to the task, if we make intelligent and effective use of our public and private resources. The issue is not of our capacity, but of our imagination and our will.

CONGRESS AT THE RECESS

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, as we recess now for the national party conventions, it strikes me as appropriate to present a very brief summary of our legislative achievements during this session of the Congress. I hope that this will prove of value to those Members attending one of the conventions. I would remind my colleagues that a full report of the achievements of the first session of the 90th Congress is printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 27, pages 37354–37382.

I must observe that this has been a highly productive session and that in the House, at least, we came close to completing work prior to the national conventions. Some of our committees have completed the bulk of their work for this session and, as you know, the Rules Committee is sitting only as required. Upon our return following Labor Day we will be engaged for the most part in acting upon conference reports. A substantial number of bills are, or will be, in conference upon recess.

The speed with which the House has acted is attributable to much hard work and diligence on the part of Members on both sides of the aisle and it would be remiss of me not to thank one and all for his cooperation.

APPROPRIATIONS AND AUTHORIZATIONS

The House has passed all but two—foreign aid and Department of Defense—appropriation measures as we move into the August recess, and has acted upon all regular authorization measures. Conference action is pending on several of these bills, and, in some instances, the Senate has yet to act. I shall not here elaborate each authorization or appropriation but rather mention that a concerted effort has been made to reduce expenditures in order to stem inflation and to economize. The financial drain accompanying our efforts in South Vietnam has strained the economy and particularly continued our adverse balance-of-payments situation. Accordingly, the Congress has endeavored to pare expenditures elsewhere whenever possible and without damaging important programs.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The third major civil rights bill of the Johnson Presidency was passed this year. Together with the 1964 Public Accommodations Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, Public Law 90–284—H.R. 2516—goes far to insure that our Negro citizens shall know the full measure of being an American. The fundamental object of all these bills has been to eradicate arbitrary and discriminatory legal barriers to full participation of Negroes and other racial minorities in the processes of democracy and the fruits of a free society. In time to come, the measures will be viewed historically as among the most important actions taken by the Congress during the years of Lyndon Johnson's Presidency. While they represent, perhaps, but a beginning in the effort of the Nation to reverse a regrettable historical pattern, they do represent a vital series of first steps.

Among the most notable features of H.R. 2516 are: First, the protection by the Federal Government of persons exercising their legal and civil rights; second, the extension of Federal jurisdiction to riots and other acts of civil disobedience which threaten interstate commerce; third, the establishment of national fair housing standards to preclude racial discrimination in the rental or sale of housing and the provision of penalties for the use of force or threats to obstruct fair housing safeguards; and fourth, the protection of the basic rights of American Indians as afforded the individual in the Constitution.

Congress also passed S. 989 this session, which establishes procedures to guarantee that jury selection in Federal courts shall be random and shall preclude discrimination of any variety. Passage of Public Law 90–274 is in keeping with the guarantee to any American that he shall be judged by a jury of peers and shall be afforded the full measure of due process of law.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

Never prior to this Congress has so much attention been devoted to protecting the consumer against fraudulent business practices or danger from products on the market.

Public Law 90–313—Senate Joint Resolution 120, House Resolution 958—directs the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a comprehensive study and investigation of all relevant aspects of the existing motor vehicle accident compensation system.

S. 1124—Public Law 90–295—engages the National Government in research and safety programs to curb the damage to property and loss of life which accompany fires. Public and private agencies will cooperate in examining the causes of fires and methods for preventing and fighting them. A National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control will conduct a study and submit its findings to the President and the Congress within 2 years of establishment.

A provision of the Housing and Urban Development Act, S. 3497, requires disclosure of land sale plans by promoters to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in order to deter or prohibit the sale of land by use of the mails or other channels of interstate commerce through misrepresentation of material facts relating to the property.

S. 1166, the Gas Pipeline Safety Act, provides for safety standards to prevent dangerous leaks or explosions in the interstate transport of natural gas.

During the first session, Congress enacted the Wholesome Meat Act—Public Law 90–201—to foster better meat inspection standards at the State level. This session the House passed a companion measure, H.R. 16363, which will provide for Federal-State cooperation in insuring adequate inspection and production safeguards for poultry and poultry products. Together, these two acts will guarantee the American housewife clean meat on the dinner table.

Finally, note must be made of the landmark Truth-in-Lending Act—S. 5, Public Law 90–321—which, beginning July 1 of next year, will require the disclosure of annual rates of charges on loans and installment credit both in dollars and cents and percent. Perhaps one of the most unfortunate aspects of the loan and credit business in this country has been occasional misrepresentation and the failure to inform the consumer fully of the cost to him of loans or credit. This act will protect the consumer against misrepresentation. It will further require the disclosure of interest on first mortgages, permit a person to exempt himself from a fraudulent second mortgage, restrict the practice of wage garnishment, and provide penalties against the evil practice of loan sharking, a despicable enterprise of organized crime. Public Law 90–321 is a truly significant item of consumer protection legislation and it is to be hoped that it will be an effective instrument in curtailing practices which heretofore have brought the loan industry into disrepute with too many of our people.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Among the legislation passed this year for the governing of the District of Columbia, special mention should be made of H.R. 13042—Public Law 90–292—which provides for the popular election of the School Board in the District. Previously, members of the School Board were appointed by the Federal court in the District. The provision for popular election marks the second important change in the government of the District during the 90th Congress. Last year, as you will recall, the President's reorganization plan for the District eliminated the three-man commission form of government and replaced it with a single Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, and appointed City Council.

EDUCATION

Very important actions have been taken by the Congress to continue, to expand, or to improve the education programs launched during or prior to the 89th Congress.

Public Law 90–302—H.R. 15398—expands the National School Lunch Act by establishing a program of child-care institutions—public or private nonprofit—in areas where poor economic conditions exist or where there are high concentrations of working mothers. In addition, it extends the school breakfast program through fiscal 1971.

H.R. 17872, which has passed the House, authorizes the appropriation of supplementary funds for the formulation and implementation of programs to improve nutrition for needy children, a compassionate improvement in the National School Lunch Act.

H.R. 17873 will insure that children receiving free or reduced-price lunches under National School Lunch Act programs will not be singled out or identified in any way. While a seemingly small gesture, the psychological stigma removed by this action is very important to the needy child.

S. 3769—H.R. 15067—the Higher Education Amendments of 1968, will continue and amend several important education programs, including the Higher Education Facilities Act, the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act, and the National Defense Education Act. These programs have provided vital assistance to institutions of higher education in improving their physical plants, in improving faculties and curriculums, and in affording loans to needy students. They represent an intelligent investment in our most precious national resources: our young people. The bill also consolidates the NDEA student loan, educational opportunity grants, and work-study programs; and it establishes specialized library and computer networks between institutions of higher education.

The Congress has passed H.R. 18366, which is in conference, to continue and expand the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and to consolidate with that act the provisions of the George-Barden Act. In fiscal 1970, the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act will also be consolidated with these two acts to provide a comprehensive and unified approach to vocational education assistance. The authorization for basic programs is raised and extended through at least 1970. Matching requirements for grants are simplified and new programs are authorized to improve the quality of vocational training, in particular for the handicapped. All in all, this consolidation and expansion will do much to strengthen vocational education programs throughout our 50 States.

Public Law 90-348—H.R. 11308—continues and expands the programs of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. The efforts of the Foundation during its brief lifetime have been directed toward helping the artists of our Nation—in painting, literature, sculpture, and music—to improve and develop their talents. Its programs represent a worthy investment by the Government in cultural and artistic development.

Public Law 90-407—H.R. 5404—amends the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, changing and improving the organization and operation of the Foundation. This includes: First, giving new emphasis to the Foundation's basic missions and effecting several reorganization plans in regard thereto; second, strengthening and adding to the functions of the National Science Board; third, unifying and augmenting the operational authority of the Foundation's Director; and fourth, modifying and streamlining the Foundation's organization and structure.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

During this session of Congress we have continued to meet our responsibilities to our fighting men in Vietnam. Moneys have been or will be appropriated to support our military operations in Southeast Asia. Irrespective of individual opinions on the war, this is a duty no Member of the Congress can shrink or has shrunk from.

S. 2986—H.R. 16165—continues the food-for-peace program, one of our important foreign policy programs in that it provides food for those in need of it. S. 2986 extends Public Law 83-480 through December 1970 and, significantly, encourages purchasing nations to carry out voluntary birth-control programs in order to alleviate their population problems. Another noteworthy provision of S. 2986 requires the President to take steps to assure that the United States obtains a fair share of any increase in commercial purchases of agricultural commodities by those nations benefiting from Public Law 480 food sales.

Congress has been exceptionally prudent in authorizing foreign aid for 1969. A feeling has prevailed that investment in the economic development of allies and underdeveloped countries, while a sound concept, must not strap this country economically and that in recipient nations there should be signs of definite progress. Congress has shown increasing reluctance to provide or augment military assistance abroad because of the danger of feeding the potential for military conflict. Accordingly, the foreign aid authorization—H.R. 15263—this year has been pruned back in both Houses though it has yet to be firmed up in conference. In the House a total of $1,993,850,000 was authorized of which only $390 million was for military assistance. The figure authorized by the Senate was lower still.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Several bills in the area of general government merit comment. The Senate has passed S. 3640 which would provide for a study and report on the organization and management of the executive branch of the Government. The last such comprehensive review of the operations of the executive branch occurred in 1955. The House has yet to act on this measure.

Both in the House and the Senate resolutions were adopted to assist Members in avoiding conflicts of interest and other thorny ethical predicaments. House Resolution 1099 invested the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct with the authority to render advisory opinions to Members of the House and to receive evidence and make recommendations in instances when a Member has been accused of misconduct.

The tragic death of Senator Robert Kennedy as he campaigned for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination precipitated the passage of House Joint Resolution 1292—Public Law 90-331—which authorizes Secret Service protection for major candidates for President and Vice President. It is regrettable that such an action proved necessary in our society, but the President prudently advised and requested that this authorization be enacted by the Congress in order to reduce the chances of a repetition of the Kennedy assassination.

Congress passed S. 2884—Public Law 90-343—to encourage the States to take action in providing absentee voting privileges to residents temporarily residing overseas. Public Law 90-344—S. 1581—amended the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955, to assist armed service personnel to vote in Federal elections.

HEALTH AND HEALTH INSURANCE

Congress has enacted several important measures to date to improve the health and safety of Americans.

The House has passed H.R. 10790, to protect the public from radiation emissions from electronic products.

H.R. 15758 has been passed in both Houses. Upon becoming law it will continue those regional medical programs initiated in 1965 by the Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke Amendments Act—Public Law 89-239. In addition it extends health services programs for domestic agricultural migratory workers and authorizes the construction of facilities for the treatment of the alcoholic, a commendable program.

Both Houses of Congress have passed a comprehensive Health Professions' Training Act—S. 3095, H.R. 15757. This bill continues grants for the construction of medical and dental teaching facilities and extends grant authority for additional kinds of assistance to institutions which train medical personnel.

Of noteworthy inclusion in this Health Manpower Act are provisions to authorize appropriations for the construction or rehabilitation of nurse training facilities and to provide additional assistance to nursing students.

HOUSING

The most comprehensive housing bill since 1949 has been enacted this session by the Congress. Among the many significant aspects of S. 3497—H.R. 17989—are: first, assistance to low- and moderate-income families in purchasing homes; second, assistance to low- and moderate-income families in renting housing; third, strengthening amendments for various FHA mortgage insurance programs; fourth, FHA assistance to new community developers in financing and constructing developing communities; fifth, improved urban renewal programs; sixth, extension of urban planning assistance to include nonmetropolitan areas; seventh, an increased fund authorization for urban mass transportation assistance and extension through June 1970 of the emergency mass transportation program; eighth, conversion, in part, of FNMA—Fanny Mae—into a private, second mortgage institution while retaining Government administration of special assistance, management, and liquidating functions; ninth, programs to encourage private industry construction of low- and moderate-income housing through Government-supported profitmaking corporations; tenth, housing loans for rural residents if other assistance is unavailable; eleventh, a National Insurance Development Corporation to provide Federal-State reinsurance coverage for insurers against property loss resulting from various criminal acts, including rioting or civil disorder; twelfth, a 10-year housing program requiring the President to submit a report on goals and plans and requiring periodic annual reports thereafter; and thirteenth, increased authorization for the model cities program and other extensions or modifications of the National Housing Act.

In addition, the bill includes a national flood insurance program which will provide insurance coverage to families in areas prone to floods. Private insurance industry has been unable or unwilling to insure many families living in such areas, which leaves them at the mercy of fate. Under this new program the Federal Government will support the private insurance industry in protecting these families' homes and property.

Finally, the bill contains provisions to prevent fraud in mail-order land sales. I previously mentioned this in the section on consumer protection.

This omnibus housing measure is one of the landmark acts of the 90th Congress. It affirms the goal set forth in the Housing Act of 1949: to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for American family."

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL PROCEDURES

The widespread concern over breakdowns in law and order is reflected in the work of Congress this year.

In the Civil Rights Act—Public Law 90-284—for example, Federal jurisdiction was extended to riots and other civil disturbances. Congress passed an omnibus crime control bill this session—Public Law 90-351, H.R. 5037—which will render much needed assistance to police forces throughout the Nation in improving their capacities for preventing crime and protecting the public. In addition to the allocation of funds through the States for police training, other aspects of the crime bill are intended to assist in criminal investigations and prosecutions.

The Omnibus Crime Act also prohibits the interstate shipment of handguns to anyone other than a licensed dealer, and regulates the over-the-counter sale of handguns, including prohibiting their sale to juveniles and any person not a resident of a dealer's State.

Widespread use of hallucinogenic drugs—LSD—and other dangerous drugs among the Nation's youth has commanded Congress' attention this year. A new Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs was created, under the President's reorganization power, early this year. Composed of the Bureau of Narcotics, Treasury Department, and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control, HEW, it is now within the jurisdiction of the Justice Department. By coordinating the efforts of these two agencies, it is hoped that the expanding traffic in drugs can be curbed.

Congressional concern with drugs is further reflected in the passage by the House of H.R. 14096 which establishes stiff legal penalties for trafficking in LSD, stimulant, or depressant drugs. It also provides penalties for possession of such drugs. This is a very difficult area in which to legislate because the bulk of such drug use occurs among the young. While it is imperative to curtail the spread of these very dangerous drugs it is equally important not to ruin a youngster's future irreparably. Accordingly, latitude has been authorized for our courts in dealing with first offenders brought to trial for possession of these drugs. They may be placed on probation and their records wiped clean of criminal conviction if they do not violate that probation.

A very significant Juvenile Delinquency Act has emerged from Congress this year. H.R. 12120 authorizes assistance to courts, correctional systems, and community agencies engaged in the prevention, control, and treatment of juvenile delinquency. The consequences of such assistance are immeasurable for with adequate treatment the juvenile offender can be steered away from the path of crime. The terrible lure of criminality can be blunted at an impressionable age, thereby diminishing the probability of adult criminality which so often marks the career of the juvenile offender.

One further effort to stem crime has been passed so far this year by Congress. When it becomes law, H.R. 14935 will curtail the indiscriminate mailing of master automobile keys or other devices which are an open invitation to car theft. Henceforth, the mailing of such devices shall be in accordance with Post Office regulations and they may be sent only to certain authorized dealers.

MANPOWER TRAINING

The creation of jobs and the training of persons for holding jobs is everywhere trumpeted as a vital element in overcoming the slough of poverty in the Nation. Surely, there is much sense in this as jobs are a far better solution than the dole.

Accordingly, Congress has focused attention on various proposals to augment existing manpower training programs. As of the recess, action has been completed only to extend and expand vocational rehabilitation training grants to the States—H.R. 16819. Such programs are particularly aimed toward the handicapped to provide them with the means by which they can enter the job market and earn a living. Effective fiscal 1970, the Federal share of rehabilitation grants will increase to 80 percent, as contrasted with the present 75 percent.

MONETARY AND FISCAL POLICY

Clearly, the most important fiscal action taken by the Congress this session was passage of H.R. 15414—Public Law 90-364—a Tax Adjustment Act. The highlight feature of this measure was the 10-percent surtax requested by the President. This extra tax on individual incomes is effective as of April 1, 1968, and on corporation incomes as of January 1, 1968. It will remain in effect through June 30, 1969. During 1968 the actual percentage increase in the tax bill of 82 million taxpayers will be about 7.5 percent. Sixteen million low-income taxpayers will not be affected by the increase. During its application, the surtax is expected to net an additional $15.6 billion in revenues. While it is always regrettable to have to raise taxes, the economic situation of the Nation required that this action be taken and the Congress met that responsibility.

Other provisions of H.R. 15414 are: First, extension of existing excise taxes on automobiles and telephone service; second, limitation on civilian employment by the executive branch to June 30, 1966, levels; third, requirement that corporations become more current in their payments of estimated taxes; fourth, postponement of the effective date of restrictions voted by Congress last session on the aid to families with dependent children program; fifth, reduction of Federal spending during 1969 to $180.1 billion—a $6 billion cut; sixth, reduction of new 1969 obligational authority by $10 billion and recission of $8 billion in unused prior authorizations; seventh, a request for tax reform proposals from the President by the end of December 1968; and eighth, other proposals which affect tax exemptions for advertising in national political party convention programs and certain cooperative organizations which serve tax-exempt hospitals.

Congress passed a bank protection measure—H.R. 15345, Public Law 90-389—which directs Federal agencies, having responsibilities over banks and savings and loan institutions, to issue rules and regulations requiring the installation, maintenance, and operation of security devices and other procedures to discourage robberies and burglaries. These actions will also assist law enforcement agencies in the identification and apprehension of those who commit bank theft.

At the request of the President the gold cover for certain Federal notes was terminated by the Congress—Public Law 90-269, S. 2857. The drain on the Treasury's gold reserves required that this release be made as we were approaching a minimum reserve level.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONSERVATION

Despite a busy agenda, the Congress has continued work to preserve our natural beauties and to conserve our scarce resources.

Among the many bills affecting our national parks none is of more note than that—S. 2515—which will establish a Redwood National Park in California. This action will guarantee to future generations of Americans the privilege of enjoying the wondrous sight of these magnificent trees.

An equally noteworthy measure is S. 827—H.R. 4865—which will initiate a nationwide system of trails, thereby affording millions of Americans greater pleasure in the use of our national parks.

In the conservation field there are several important acts which have issued from this Congress. A fantastic new river basin project will be launched on the Colorado River—S. 1004, H.R. 3300. Its benefits will be manifold, including adequate water supply for deficient areas in Arizona and western New Mexico and the construction of dams and hydroelectric plants to benefit the several States through which flow this river and its tributaries. Care has been taken, I might mention, to insure that the States served by the Colorado River will not be adversely affected by this basin project.

Public Law 90-254—S. 1788—authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to engage in feasibility studies of various water resources projects in North Dakota, Arizona, and Oklahoma; yet another step in the effort to insure the development of American land and water resources.

In passing Public Law 90-297—S. 2912, H.R. 15002—the Congress has continued Federal Government support for saline water conversion programs. The benefits to be realized from cheap salt-water conversion methods are considerable, and could go far in diminishing anxiety over adequate water supplies in the future.

Congress completed action this session on S. 1401—Public Law 90-401—to continue and alter the land and water conservation fund, established in 1964 to finance acquisition of parks and recreation areas.

Revenues for the fund have fallen short of expectations. Accordingly, S. 1401 provides that the annual level of the fund shall be at least $200 million and that either direct appropriations by the Congress from general tax revenues or, if necessary, receipts from Federal gas and oil leases on the Outer Continental Shelf shall be used to supplement the usual sources of revenue for the fund. Additional provisions of S. 1401 repeal in 1970 the uniform system of admission and user fees at Federal recreation areas and authorizes certain land transactions by the Secretary of the Interior.

As we enter recess, the other body has completed action on S. 3206, the Water Quality Improvement Act, which amends the Water Pollution Control Act respecting the construction of waste treatment facilities and the conduct of water pollution control research. Final passage of this measure will expedite efforts to control the water pollution which plagues our Nation.

Congress has also enacted S. 2276—Public Law 90-361—which amends the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act by permitting the Secretary of Agriculture to contract for the construction of works of improvement upon request of local organizations.

In discussing the Housing Act I have made mention already of the important flood insurance act incorporated in that measure.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PENSIONS

During the first session of the 90th Congress, we passed numerous amendments to the Social Security and Medicare Acts. This session we enacted similar benefit increases for those persons covered only by the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. Persons receiving benefits under both social security and railroad retirement will receive an adjusted increase in their railroad retirement benefit. Increases in unemployment and sickness benefits were also enacted in Public Law 90-257—H.R. 14563. In my final report to Members, I shall explain in detail all these increases.

H.R. 272—Public Law 90-430—extends for 5 years the period during which Reed Act funds previously transferred from the employment trust fund may be used by the States for the payment of administrative expenses.

TRANSPORTATION

Mention has already been made of the continuation in the Housing Act of the mass transit program, including its emergency program.

Other achievements in the transportation field this session include H.R. 3400—Public Law 90-411—which empowers the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe rules and standards to regulate aircraft noise. Modern jetcraft often emit deafening sounds and it seems reasonable to impose regulations to abate such noise to a tolerable level.

Divergent Federal Aid Highway Acts—S. 3418, H.R. 17134—have passed the Senate and the House and differences remain to be resolved in conference as we move into the recess. The final version of this measure will authorize appropriations for the construction of highways for fiscal years 1970 and 1971.

VETERANS

Several items affecting veterans or veterans' survivors deserve to be mentioned.

House Concurrent Resolution 705, which has passed both Houses, expresses the congressional policy that returning Vietnam veterans should be accorded employment preference in the Federal Government and that the Government, through its procurement operations, shall encourage the same on the part of private industry. This seems an appropriate gesture of gratitude toward those who have fought in that faraway place.

H.R. 16025 will, as law, extend educational assistance to widows of veterans killed in service, thereby availing them the opportunity to increase their knowledge and their ability to compete for decent-paying work. Certainly, this option should be available to those women who have suffered the loss of their husbands.

H.R. 16027, which the House has passed, would increase the basic compensation rate for totally disabled veterans from $300 to $400, and adjust compensation rates for partial disability to increased costs of living.

H.R. 12555—Public Law 90-275—increases the income limitations used in determining the amount of disability pension for an eligible veteran. Pensioners will now be able to receive greater amounts of income, such as from social security benefit increases, without incurring disability pension reductions.

WELFARE

I have already mentioned the postponement of the freeze on the proportion of children on AFDC in each State. This freeze was included in the Social Security Amendments of 1967—Public Law 90-248—to become effective July 1, 1968. Subsequently, a good deal of opposition arose to this deadline. Consequently, the Congress advanced it to July 1, 1969, in the Tax Adjustment Act—Public Law 90-364—passed during this session.

Differing versions of the Food Stamp Act authorization have cleared each House and will be resolved in conference. The other body passed a 1-year authorization with a $245-million ceiling—S. 3068. The House, by amendment on the floor, passed an open-ended 4-year authorization. H.R. 18249 authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to authorize such sums as may be necessary for implementation of the food stamp program in the States. If the House version becomes law, this will mark an important alteration in the method for determining the food stamp authorization. Congress, of course, ultimately determines actual expenditures for the program in the Agriculture Appropriation Act.

And there, Mr. Speaker, you have it. In retrospect I think it is apparent that much has been done this year by the Congress for the benefit of all the American people. Despite the President's so-called "lame-duck" status, he has not hesitated to request of the Congress necessary and vital new programs, as well as the continuation and improvement of existing ones. For the most part, our response has been positive. Many of the items noted here are of major significance, the Housing Act being a prime example.

We can take satisfaction in the record to date. Upon conclusion of the 90th Congress we are going to show an even better record. Here I have mentioned but the more notable achievements. These indicate, may I say, "what Congress has been all about" in 1968.

LEGISLATION: PAST AND PRESENT

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the month of July was a hectic month for most of our colleagues here in the Senate and for our friends across the Capitol in the House of Representatives.

As we worked toward what we hoped would be adjournment, our legislative workload was heavy and much legislation was either enacted or progressed toward enactment during July. However, we did not meet the deadline, and the Congress must reconvene in September to resume the legislative session which was recessed so that members of both parties could devote some time to political activities.

I felt the press of legislative duties very strongly during July, as many bills of keen interest to my Oklahoma constituents came under consideration. However, I also had several opportunities during July to host Oklahomans who visited my Washington office. Among my visitors were many young 4-H members, students representing the Oklahoma Association of Electric Cooperatives, delegates to Boys Nation and Girls Nation, and others. I enjoyed visiting with these young people and hearing their ideas on the problems of today.

I have also had several young Oklahomans serving as summer interns in my Washington office. My interns have learned a lot by having a firsthand role in the workings of their Government.

The Congress completed action during July on many bills of importance to Oklahomans. Among these were the public works appropriations bill, the Federal aid to highways bill and a bill which prevented drastic cuts in mail delivery and the closing of hundreds of rural post offices. Final action on several other measures is near, and will be completed when the Congress reconvenes in September.

An Oklahoma newspaper recently referred to our public works projects as "pork barrel." Sometimes they call it "reckless spending" or "waste in Washington," but when their neighborhood needs such a program, they no longer call it pork barrel. This is a problem which all your public servants face. We seek to guide Government spending so the money—your tax dollars and mine—is used to best advantage. For instance, the Crutcho Creek project will cost well over $2 million, but when completed it will prevent more than $100,000 in flood damage each year in parts of Oklahoma City, Del City, Midwest City, and Tinker Field.

Best known of Oklahoma public works programs is the Arkansas navigation project. Here, through wise investment, the Congress is greatly enhancing Oklahoma's economic future. The criteria are simple. We invest in our resources today, and realize the returns tomorrow. Nearly $53 million will go into Oklahoma public works projects this year, with funds for the Broken Bow, Candy, Clayton, Hugo, Kaw, Lukfata, Oolagah, Optima, Pine Creek, Shidler, and Waurika Reservoirs, the Crutcho project, and the Webbers Falls and Robert S. Kerr locks and dams on the Arkansas navigation channel.

The omnibus rivers and harbor bill, guided through the House by Congressman Ed Edmondson, forbids collection of admission fees to Corps of Engineers recreation areas after March 1970. Members of the Congress from Oklahoma have long sought this prohibition, and our efforts have paid off. Too, this bill provides for projects leading to water navigation on the Red River below Denison Dam, a benefit to all Oklahomans—particularly those in the south-central and southeastern portions of our State.

The Federal aid to highways bill included my amendment prohibiting future toll road construction on the Interstate Highway System. This serves the best interest of the motoring public by avoiding double taxation on toll roads designated as Interstate Highways.

I was pleased with Senate passage of the 1968 agriculture bill as it met with the satisfaction of most of the farmers and ranchers with whom I talked about the bill, as well as most of the major farm organizations. However, I was quite disappointed with the opposition's 26-to-1 partisan vote which aided defeat of my strategic commodity reserves amendment, an amendment which would have been of immediate benefit to the Nation's—and Oklahoma's—wheat farmers.

My constituents often write to plead for reduced governmental costs. In a well-intentioned, but unrealistic, effort to cut Federal expenses, the Post Office Department was ordered to fill only 3 of 4 jobs until the payroll fell to the June 1966 level. The idea sounded good at first, but soured with the realization that the Post Office could not handle a volume of mail that has increased by 8.4 billion pieces since 1966 while faced with a future shortage of 83,000 mail handlers. So, Congress had to decide whether to respond to the pleas for reduced costs or to the very urgent pleas for continued mail delivery services.

Many Oklahoma newspapers charged the Post Office with "blackmail" after announcement of plans to curtail delivery services and close hundreds of rural post offices. But, faced with fewer workers and more mail, there was no alternative. Congress reversed the job reduction order, insuring that mail-handling personnel will remain adequate to continue service.

Future legislative action on the appropriations bills for military construction and for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare are of interest to Oklahoma.

The military construction bill includes plans for new programs at Fort Sill, Altus Air Force Base, Vance Air Force Base, and Tinker Air Force Base, valued at $5.8 million.

Under the second measure, Oklahomans are concerned with continuation of elementary and secondary school programs, help for college students, and the federally impacted school districts and vocational training programs. The Headstart program, which has proven most helpful in preparing our underprivileged youngsters for school, depends on funds in this bill as do most other areas of our national war on poverty and hunger.

I continue to get mail about proposed gun-control legislation. I still believe that it is in the best interest to stop mail-order sales of all guns in order to make it more difficult for the lethal weapons to get into the hands of children, the mentally incompetent, and criminals. I do not favor and will not support proposals for Federal registration of firearms. Any such registration should be strictly a State or local matter, as should any requirements for gun permits or gun licensing.

I strongly reject efforts by many people to make the nomination of a Chief Justice to the Supreme Court a matter of politics. Justice Fortas has proven himself acceptable to the Federal Judiciary Committee of the American Bar Association and to the leaders of both the Republican and Democratic Parties in the U.S. Senate. His nomination requires Senate confirmation, and, when his name is brought before the Senate, each Member will weigh carefully the recommendations of the Judiciary Committee which has held extensive hearings on Justice Fortas' qualifications for office. Politics will carry no weight in my decision, and it should not have any effect on the minds of others in this matter.

As Congress is in recess for the month of August, I will be able to spend most of my time in Oklahoma, before returning to resume my legislative workload in September.

THE LIGHT INTRATHEATER TRANSPORT

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to serve as chairman of the Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee which is concerned with matters relating to airlift within the armed services. We have been much interested lately about the progressively deteriorating capability of the Air Force in the area of short-range transport. The present tactical airlift fleet, made up of C–7's, C–123's, C–124's, and C–130's, will reach retirement age all too soon, and thus far, appropriate progress has not been made in arriving at decisions leading to replacements for this aging fleet of tactical transport airplanes.

The Air Force and the Defense Department have done well in developing and pushing forward the C–5 concept and airplane, and the usefulness of this airplane is obvious to everyone. With C–141's and C–5's it will be possible for the armed services to meet their strategic airlift requirements, but the intratheater transport requirement has not been solved.

We are indebted to the Air Force Association for an excellent article in the July issue of Air Force and Space Digest which outlines this problem, and I am putting it in the Record so that my colleagues can read the article in its entirety:

The Light Intratheater Transport—Flexible Airlift for the Front Lines

(By Edgar E. Ulsamer)

One of the most important lessons being learned in Vietnam is the need for better intratheater airlift, beyond the capability of the contemporary tactical airlift fleet, made up of C–7s, C–123s, C–124s, and C–130s, many of which will have reached "retirement age" by 1975 or before.

To meet this requirement, a light intratheater transport (LIT) is currently in concept formulation. LIT is described by Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown as "a very advanced aircraft with a range of 500 nautical miles, a speed of between 350 and 400 miles," and either V/STOL or STOL capability. If the C–5 can be said to handle the "wholesale" side of airlift, LIT-will do the "retail" job. In the view of the Department of the Air Force, this means rapid deployment, resupply, and emergency supply.

Secretary Brown recently elaborated on the requirement:

"In any situation, airlift must move cargo as close to the battle lines as possible, in appropriate amounts, and with the most efficient use of our equipment. (Supplying a large fraction of a theater's requirements by parachute can be expensive.) To complicate the problem, often the cargo is delivered to a fluid front line, and our supply system must expand and contract while it efficiently funnels cargo to the user.

"We have under study a number of methods to accomplish initial deployment of units by air and then replenish them. For example, satellite supply areas can be established around a major airfield and serviced by new light intratheater transports—the LIT—with either a vertical or short takeoff capability. The FY 1969 budget has funds for contract definition, a major step in development of the LIT. This aircraft, to be available in the

'70s, will be able to make short takeoffs and landings, and may be capable of vertical takeoffs. As in the case of the C–5, our technology will result in a very advanced aircraft. Composite materials, for example, show great promise in both airframe construction and propulsion."

FIRST FLIGHT IN 1973

First flight of the LIT is expected in 1973. The LIT requirement was formally set forth by the Tactical Air Command two years ago. Differences of opinion quickly developed, with some planners favoring STOL designs and others the V/STOL approach. Complicating the issue further were such crucial questions as to whether LIT should be small enough for actual retail delivery almost to the foxholes or whether it should be completely tied in with the C–5, which might require the LIT to have substantially greater range.

Further, in order to set definitive LIT specifications in terms of size, payload, range, and other performance criteria, it is necessary to determine just what aircraft types currently in the inventory the LIT is to replace. The intratheater tactical airlifters, excluding the Army's helicopters, range from the 5,000-pound-payload, 240-mile-range C-7A Caribou to the 45,000-pound, 2,587-mile range C-130 Hercules. While it is possible to design and build an LIT with such broad range capabilities, any one design cannot meet all mission requirements. In addition, many Air Force planners feel that the C-130 offers certain unique capabilities and has a useful service life that will extend well into the 1970s so that its replacement is not necessarily urgent and, under certain conditions, not even desirable. If the C-130 is not to be replaced, however, either its production line must be reopened or an extensive modification and repair program would have to be undertaken, because of high use and high attrition rates in Southeast Asia.

To get the answers to such questions, a number of in-house DoD, USAF, and independent industry studies have been made. Principal among them was a seven-month study program completed by the Air Force in August 1967. It examined the most promising V/STOL technologies and associated design, cost, and schedule factors as applied to a C-123 replacement cargo aircraft. United Aircraft Corporation's Sikorsky Aircraft Div., Lockheed-Georgia Co., Lockheed-California Co., LTV's Vought Aeronautics Div., Boeing's Vertol Div., and McDonnell Douglas Corp. participated. V/STOL technologies examined included tilt-wing, lift-jet, stowed rotors, lift-fans, and air deflection and modulation (ADAM). In May 1968 this study was extended to include designs for a STOL version of LIT by Boeing's Vertol Div., LTV, and McDonnell Douglas.

FINDINGS INTO RECOMMENDATIONS

While some elements of this broad study effort are still continuing, the Air Force Systems Command (AFSC) and the Tactical Air Command (TAC) have condensed the principal findings into specific recommendations. They center on a "truly light" V/STOL assault transport with a 250-nautical-mile mission radius, a payload of five tons in vertical takeoff mode and eight and a half tons in STOL mode (hot-day takeoffs over a fifty-foot obstacle in 800 feet or less), and a cruise speed of 350 knots or more. The aircraft could be deployed direct from the continental U.S. by virtue of a ferry range of 2,600 nautical miles.

In "overload condition," meaning longer STOL takeoffs and restriction to 2.5 G maneuvers (MAC standards) rather than the full 3 G design capability, the payload capability could be increased to seventeen tons. Boeing's Vertol Div. studies indicate that a five percent increase in aircraft empty weight might furnish seventeen-ton payloads with normal STOL takeoffs without sacrificing the combat (3 G) capability.

Gross takeoff weight of the light intratheater transport is to be below 100,000 pounds, preferably at the 85,000-pound level. With these basic specifications, LIT will be able to supply all standard U.S. Army equipment, except tanks, up to battalion level (infantry and airborne battalions), and do so in pallets compatible with the C–5 Galavy, LIT could also accommodate fifty combat troops and their equipment. Further, it would furnish a substantially improved successor system to the C–123 and eliminate the need for airdrops—an expensive, difficult, and at times when the supplies fall into enemy hands) "counterproductive" logistics method.

An LIT meeting these specifications, Air Force Planners say, will have two overriding advantages. Its V/STOL capability would substantially enhance its survivability in a combat environment over STOL designs, and its relatively high cruise speed would provide productivity and ton-mile costs that are fully cost-effective. One-way block time for the standard 250-mile radius mission would be fifty minutes.

Air Force planners say that the importance of survivability was underscored during the recent aerial supply campaign to Khe Sanh in Vietnam. "Vertical" aircraft are more difficult to intercept, and their ground exposure time is shorter than those of "conventional" aircraft because they need follow no set landing pattern. Further, LIT will be able to reap the benefits of low-level cargo extraction without special containers and with pinpoint accuracy. LIT will be able to move along only inches off the ground while the crew pushes the cargo out of the aircraft, cutting exposure time and offering the enemy a moving target.

Both Systems Command and TAC agree that, to realize the advantages of the STOL mode, a V/STOL aircraft should include high-flotation landing gear to permit STOL operations from unprepared sites. By combining the advantages of both modes in one vehicle, far more versatility can be attained than with a mixed fleet of STOL vehicles and helicopters.

TILTWING TECHNOLOGY

Concurrent with the crystallization of the LIT concept, certain technical determinations were made by the Air Force and industry, focused on comparable effectiveness of individual designs as well as availability and risk of the underlying technology. With LIT's relatively high cruise speed and extended range requirement calling for good aerodynamic efficiency (lift/drag ratio), the helicopter approach showed little promise, in spite of its unmatched hover efficiency.

At the other end of the spectrum, the lift-jet, while ensuring excellent cruise capability, was deemed severely limited in the hover mode because of inherently high fuel consumption. In addition, the high-velocity downblast from lift engines militates against their use in LIT. In the trade off necessary to provide LIT with two such divergent capabilities as prolonged hover over unprepared sites and sustained fast cruise, the turboprop tiltwing approach emerged as the most efficient technology available at this time.

Propulsion and fuel efficiency in hover is determined principally by the disk loading (pounds per square foot) of the propulsion device. In this area, the helicopter rotor scores highest, in the ten pounds per square foot range, and the direct-lift jet lowest at about 1,000 pounds per sq. ft. A properly sized turboprop tiltwing furnishes about forty pounds per square inch disk loading, which permits efficient hover as well as very good cruise efficiency at speeds up to 400 knots. (While other designs offer greater cruise speed, the 250-mile mission radius limits the value of higher cruise speeds.)

In addition, this technology has the virtue of extensive test; the first tiltwing completed successful transition from hover to forward flight ten years ago. Further, in case of a four-engine design, which is rated best, there is a good margin of safety in case of engine failure because of cross linkage between powerplants and propellers. Three tiltwing designs—the CL–84 of General Dynamics' Canadair subsidiary, LTV's XC–142A, and Boeing Vertol's VZ–2—have proved the feasibility of the concept in hundreds of flight-hours.

The principle is simple. In hover, the wing and propellers are tilted to the vertical position. In this position, the propellers provide the lift in the same way as do the rotors of a helicopter.

As the wing is tilted down for transition and forward flight, the slipstream from the propellers keeps the airflow over the wing at a reasonable angle, precluding airflow separation and wing stall. As the tilting action continues, the wing begins to contribute to lift at low airspeed since it is completely immersed in the propeller slipstream.

As the wing is tilted further down and speed is increased, the wing picks up more of the lift until the tiltwing flies like a conventional, fixed-wing, propeller-driven airplane.

A recent refinement of this concept resulted in the elimination of the tail rotor, which had previously been necessary for hover stability and which proved extremely vulnerable. Tests by NASA-Ames and Boeing's Vertol Div. have proved the potential of a special aileron system combined with the so-called monocyclic pitch technique to furnish effective control of roll, pitch, and yaw for a tiltwing aircraft in hover.

STOL VERSUS V/STOL CONTROVERSY

The normal cost-effectiveness yardstick in airlift is "the-bigger-the-better." On a ton-mile-per-dollar basis, the argument is unassailable. It is less convincing when applied to tactical airlift, which is sporadic in nature and often revolves around relatively small payloads that have to be rushed to the battle area. Because of these random conditions, for example, the average payload for intratheater operations in Vietnam is substantially less than half of full capacity.

Payload size is a significant criterion in the choice of either a STOL or V/STOL approach for LIT. A large STOL aircraft with moderately short takeoff and landing capability (2,000 feet or more) presumably can be built for less money, and represents less of a technological risk than an aircraft of equal size and payload which also includes the vertical flight feature. In addition, a large STOL aircraft might even reap the benefits of technological fallout from commercial aviation programs. Boeing, for instance, is currently examining the possibility of building a special STOL version of its short-haul twin jet, the 737, according to a Boeing vice president. Also it appears likely that a larger STOL aircraft could perform so-called "multiple address" missions—that is, take off from a main terminal and in one sortie deliver cargo to two or three destinations.

A smaller V/STOL design, on the other hand, could unload at only one destination per sortie. On the average, it would get there faster since its loading would be confined to one delivery and it would fly a direct route. As a result, the small V/STOL is presumed to permit more flexibility.

Obviously crucial to the decision between STOL or V/STOL is the question of systems cost and total costs. Given air superiority and the availability of an adequate number of runways of more than 1,500 feet in length, STOL is more cost-effective. Most Air Force planners, however, do not consider these conditions realistic in future conflicts, especially in the light of experiences in Vietnam, where less than ten percent of the existing runways are available at any given time.

The alternative is the willingness to pay what Air Force calculations determine as a "moderate premium" for the V/STOL system. Tentative studies place this premium at about fifteen percent. V/STOL proponents suggest further that in terms of total costs this premium might be wiped off the books completely.

While it is difficult to establish costs of securing airstrips, of providing the combat troops necessary to protect the construction crews, and of building, repairing, and maintaining airstrips under different climatic and geographic conditions, these considerations obviously favor the V/STOL method which, in the forward areas, needs few or none of these facilities and services. Finally, it would be difficult to put a price tag on a mission that could only be flown by V/STOL aircraft, because no airstrip is available or because weather conditions do not permit STOL operation.

The Air Force V/STOL advocates base their case also on technological grounds. To build a truly sophisticated STOL aircraft with landing and takeoff capabilities below 1,000 feet appears to be as difficult and possibly as costly as building a V/STOL aircraft.

If such a STOL aircraft is to have a payload of twenty to twenty-five tons (as would seem necessary for STOL), the control and inertia problems may well exceed the present state of the art. By way of a benchmark, landing such a STOL aircraft would require a landing speed of about fifty knots, or half the aerodynamic stall speed, which means that the propulsion unit would have to be tapped for powers to maintain a continuous, artificial airflow over the wings, high-lift segmented flaps, and controls. Engine failures under such conditions could be fatal.

Finally, a V/STOL LIT would furnish concomitant capabilities unattainable through STOL. Foremost among them would be an improved stopgap air rescue and recovery capability, including recovery of MOL crews. And in terms of national resources, it would revitalize the badly stalled V/STOL development program that will be needed to meet commercial aviation requirements of the decades ahead.—END

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S CENTRAL AMERICAN TRIP AN OUTSTANDING SUCCESS

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, President Johnson's recent trip to Central America was a personal triumph, a diplomatic success, and an outstanding example of how an American President can make a positive contribution to hemispheric unity of purpose.

We hear a great deal of serious debate these days about whether the United States has been paying too much attention to Asia, at the expense of our ties with Europe and Latin America. There are suggestions that we should now shift our thoughts and our energies back toward Europe, in the interests of our long term national security.

As far as I am concerned, we have both immediate and long-range vital interests in the future of Latin America. Can we be so naive as to imagine that the United States can prosper if hundreds of millions of people in Latin America see their most basic needs unmet and their basic strivings for the future ignored?

President Johnson clearly sees our interests in Latin America. Latin Americans themselves, as reflected in newspaper reaction to his trip, see Lyndon Johnson as carrying on and adding new dimensions to the enlightened good neighbor policy originated by another great American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

I should like to quote briefly from newspapers in Central America, the scene of the President's trip, and also from newspapers in other Latin American countries.

San Salvador's Diario de Hoy:

> An event of great historic importance that has paved the way to the solution of the multiple problems facing these countries. From the first moment, the Johnsons won the admiration and friendship of the people for their simplicity and their democratic spirit.

Prensa Grafica of San Salvador:

> This summit meeting is one of the greatest events in the history of El Salvador and of Central America. All of the American hemisphere has its attention fixed on Central America because, although it is a meeting of a regional nature, its outcome may have repercussions throughout the hemisphere.

Radio Reloj of San Jose, Costa Rica:

> The trip was virtually a personal victory for President Johnson. . . . Johnson's arrival was a pleasant moment for us because we greeted upon Costa Rican soil the leader of a people familiar with democracy, a president elected democratically in honest elections, the representative of a friendly people with a political and social organization from which we have much to learn.

The Costa Rican newspaper, La Republica:

> The presence of the U.S. President constituted an incentive and a stimulus.

La Prensa Libre of San Jose found Costa Rica's public reaction, "particularly heartening as it did not result from anyone's orders, but was born of a profound democratic sentiment."

Novedades, a newspaper in Nicaragua, wrote of the "jubilant and glowing welcome" accorded President Johnson and said:

> The U.S. President sensed the warm response of the people, and of a well-behaved and friendly student population that rejected the attitude of certain agitators who attempted to detract from the luster of the visit.

El Pueblo (Honduras):

> The visit of the head of the richest nation in the world may bring hope of relief to the poorest peoples of the hemisphere.

Diario del Norte:

> The visit of President Johnson to the Central American countries is an event of great historical importance, because it strengthens faith in the destiny of democracy and opens up new prospects for the development of the means of production.

The newspaper Prensa Libre of Guatemala City termed President Johnson's announcement of a $65 million loan to the Central American Common Market nations "a magnanimous gesture," adding that "his interest must be appreciated and the nobility of his objective acknowledged."

Prensa Libre praised the "courage and spirit of sacrifice" of President Johnson in participating in the talks despite the "demonstration which he must have suspected might occur. Yet he made the trip to San Salvador, demonstrating his strong character and sincere desire to help. His words on arrival 'the unity we seek is above all a state of mind' conveyed a tangible truth and sought to avoid any suggestion of sounding overbearing."

El Grafica editorialized:

> The Johnson visit appears to have achieved its primary objectives—concord among the five brother nations.

El Imparcial of Guatemala City viewed the meeting as not merely ending the crisis of the common market, but also as a positive step toward opening a new period of more active cooperation. The paper added that, in President Johnson's words "much remains to be done" and noted:

> These eloquent words are the most realistic and carry the greatest impact of any spoken during the summit meeting.

Mexico City's newspaper Novedades stated that the "Central American nations are in the red over balance-of-payment problems" and:

> Johnson's visit to the El Salvador summit is a hopeful sign toward a more solvent future.

The English language News (Mexico City) said:

> Central Americans may be short on cash, but they might make up for it by pulling together.

And stated:

> Lyndon Johnson, in such a situation, could do little but go to Central America to show he cares. He cares a great deal. We can only hope that the Central American leaders show they care as much.

El Tiempo of Bogotá said Johnson's participation was "very important in the solution of this crisis, because the Central American Common Market constitutes an important experiment, and it would be absurd for it to fail due to regional jealousies."

THE HONORABLE HORACE R. KORNEGAY

HON. FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is with a profound sense of regret that I remark upon the retirement of the Honorable HORACE KORNEGAY from this body. For 8 years, Congressman KORNEGAY has served the Sixth District of North Carolina with ability and distinction. We will miss both his outstanding example and his positive contributions as a legislator.

The personal qualities of HORACE KORNEGAY are those we can all admire. Awarded the Combat Infantryman's Badge, the Bronze Star, and the Purple Heart for his service in World War II, he returned to the United States to pursue a distinguished career in the law. As a member of the Greensboro Bar Association, the North Carolina Bar Association, and the American Bar Association, he has consistently brought both honor and integrity to the legal profession. He is, furthermore, a member of the board of visitors of the Wake Forest Law School, of which he is a graduate.

Since his election to the House of Representatives, HORACE KORNEGAY has served as a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, as well as the Veterans' Affairs Committee. His active and enlightened concern in working for these committees will be sorely missed by his colleagues. It is always gratifying to work with a man so enlightened and so astute as is HORACE KORNEGAY.

Mr. KORNEGAY's devotion to his family is commendable, and his desire to spend more time with them is understandable. Pointing out that "for the past 7 years I have been deprived of the normal relationship with my family and with my growing children," he underscored the warm and human nature which is his special characteristic. I know his family will be grateful for his decision, even as we, his colleagues, are saddened. And yet, he must know best the course he must follow. I extend to my esteemed friend and coworker, HORACE KORNEGAY, my sincere best wishes in the future. I know he will benefit whatever endeavor he may now undertake.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA INSURANCE PLACEMENT ACT

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. Speaker, on August 1, 1968, the President signed into law the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. Title XII of that act is the District of Columbia Insurance Placement Act which I introduced into the Senate as S. 3556. I ask unanimous consent that the text of title XII be reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, title XII was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

TITLE XII—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA INSURANCE PLACEMENT ACT

SHORT TITLE

SEC. 1201. This title may be cited as the "District of Columbia Insurance Placement Act".

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 1202. The purposes of this title are—

(1) to assure stability in the property insurance market for property located in the District of Columbia;

(2) to assure the availability of basic property insurance as defined by this title;

(3) to encourage maximum use, in obtaining basic property insurance, of the normal insurance market provided by authorized insurers; and

(4) to provide for the equitable distribution among insurers of the responsibility for insuring qualified property in the District of Columbia for which insurance cannot be obtained through the normal insurance market and to authorize the establishment of a joint underwriting association in the District of Columbia to provide for reinsuring of basic property insurance without regard to environmental hazards.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 1203. As used in this title, unless the context otherwise requires—

(1) The term "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of the District of Columbia or his designated agent.

(2) The term "basic property insurance" means (1) insurance against direct loss to property caused by perils as defined and limited in the standard fire policy and extended coverage endorsement thereon, as approved by the Commissioner, and (2) such other insurance (including insurance against the perils of vandalism, malicious mischief, burglary, theft, and robbery) as the Commissioner may designate (under regulations adopted or made under section 1205 of this title) from those lines of property insurance for which reinsurance is available for losses from riots or civil disorders under part B of title XII of the National Housing Act.

(3) The term "environmental hazard" means any hazardous condition that might give rise to loss under an insurance contract, but which is beyond the control of the property owner.

(4) The term "inspection bureau" means any rating bureau or other organization designated by the Commissioner to perform inspections to determine the condition of the properties for which basic property insurance is sought.

(5) The terms "Industry Placement Facility" and "Facility" mean the facility consisting of all insurers licensed to write and engaged in writing basic property insurance (including homeowners and commercial multiperil policies) within the District of Columbia to assist agents, brokers, and applicants in securing basic property insurance.

(6) The term "premiums written" means gross direct premiums charged with respect to property in the District of Columbia on all policies of basic property insurance and the basic property insurance premium components of all multiperil policies, less all premiums and dividends returned, paid, or credited to policyholders or the unused or unabsorbed portions of premiums deposits.

(7) The term "property owner" means any person having an insurable interest in real, personal, or mixed real and personal property.

INDUSTRY PLACEMENT FACILITY

SEC. 1204. (a) Within thirty days after the date of the enactment of this title all insurers licensed to write and engaged in writing in the District of Columbia, on a direct basis, basic property insurance or any component thereof in multiperil policies, shall establish an Industry Placement Facility. The Facility shall formulate and administer a program, subject to disapproval by the Commissioner in whole or in part, to seek the equitable apportionment among such insurers of basic property insurance which may be afforded applicants in the District of Columbia whose property is insurable in accordance with reasonable underwriting standards and who individually or through their insurance agent or broker request the aid of the Facility to procure such insurance. The Facility shall seek to place insurance with one or more participating companies up to the full insurable value of the risk, if requested, except to the extent that deductibles, percentage participation clauses, and other underwriting devices are employed to meet special problems of insurability.

(b) The Facility may, subject to the approval of the Commissioner, provide as part of its program for the equitable distribution of commercial risks and dwelling risks among insurers.

(c) Each insurer licensed to write and engaged in writing in the District of Columbia, on a direct basis, basic property insurance or any component thereof in multiperil policies shall participate in the Industry Placement Facility program in accordance with the established rules of the program as a condition of its authority to transact such kinds of insurance in the District of Columbia, except that, in lieu of revoking or suspending the certificate of authority of any company for any failure to comply with any of the established rules of the program, the Commissioner may subject such company to a penalty of not more than $200 for each such failure to so comply when in his judgment he finds that the public interest would be best served by the continued operation of the company in the District of Columbia.

FAIR ACCESS TO INSURANCE REQUIREMENTS

SEC. 1205. (a) The Industry Placement Facility shall on its own motion, or within thirty days after a request by the Commissioner, submit to the Commissioner such proposed rules and regulations applicable to insurers, agents, and brokers deemed necessary to assure all property owners fair access to basic property insurance through the normal insurance markets, including rules and regulations concerning—

(1) the manner and scope of inspections of risk by an inspection bureau;

(2) the preparation and filing of inspection reports and reports on actions taken in connection with inspected risks, and summaries thereof;

(3) the operation of the Facility, including rules and regulations concerning—

(A) the basic property insurance coverages to be provided through the Facility;

(B) the reasonable effort to obtain insurance in the normal commercial market required of an applicant before recourse to the Facility; and

(C) the appeals procedure within the Facility for any applicant for insurance regarding any ruling, action, or decision by or on behalf of the Facility.

(b) The Commissioner may adopt such of the rules and regulations submitted pursuant to subsection (a) of this section as he approves. If the Commissioner disapproves any proposed rule or regulation submitted, he shall state the reasons for so doing, and he shall require the Facility to submit a revision thereof within such time as he may designate, but no less than ten days. During such designated time, the Commissioner and the Facility shall consult regarding any such disapproved rule or regulation. If the Facility fails to submit a proposed rule or regulation, or revision thereof, within the designated time, or if a revised rule or regulation is unacceptable to the Commissioner, the Commissioner may make such rules and regulations covering the proposed general subject matter as he shall deem necessary to carry out the purposes of this title. Any rule or regulation adopted or made under this section shall be consistent with the requirements of part A of title XII of the National Housing Act.

JOINT UNDERWRITING ASSOCIATION

SEC. 1206. (a) The Commissioner is authorized to establish by order a joint underwriting association if he finds, after notice and hearing, that such association is necessary to carry out the purposes of this title. Such joint underwriting association shall consist of all insurers licensed to write and engaged in writing in the District of Columbia, on a direct basis, such basic property insurance as may be designated by the Commissioner or any component thereof in multiperil policies.

(b) Every such insurer shall be and remain a member of the association and shall comply with all requirements of membership as a condition of its authority to transact such kinds of insurance in the District of Columbia, except that in lieu of revoking or suspending the certificate of authority of any company for any failure to comply with any of the requirements of membership, the Commissioner may subject such company to a penalty of not more than $200 for each such failure to so comply when in his judgment he finds that the public interest would be best served by the continued operation of the company in the District of Columbia.

(c) (1) Within sixty days following the effective date of the order of the Commissioner under this section the association shall submit to him a proposed plan of operation, consistent with the provisions of this title, which shall provide for economical, fair, and nondiscriminatory administration of the association and for the prompt and efficient provision of reinsurance, without regard to environmental hazards, for such basic property insurance as may be designated by the Commissioner. The plan of operation shall include provisions for—

(A) preliminary assessment of all members for initial expenses necessary to commence operations;

(B) establishment of necessary facilities;

(C) management and operation of the association;

(D) assessment of members to defray losses and expenses;

(E) commission arrangements;

(F) reasonable underwriting standards;

(G) assumption and cession of reinsurance; and

(H) such other matters as the Commissioner may designate.

(2) The plan of operation shall not take effect until approved by the Commissioner. If the Commissioner disapproves the proposed plan of operation (or any part thereof), he shall state the reasons for so doing, and the association shall within thirty days thereafter submit for his review on appropriately revised plan of operation. During such time, the Commissioner and the association shall consult regarding the disapproved plan or part thereof. If the association fails to submit a revised plan of operation, or if the revised plan so submitted is unacceptable to the Commissioner, the Commissioner shall promulgate a plan of operation.

(3) The association may, on its own initiative, amend such plan, subject to approval by the Commissioner, and shall amend such plan at the direction of the Commissioner if he finds such action is necessary to carry out the purposes of this title.

(d) All members of the association shall participate in its writings, expenses, profits, and losses, or in such categories thereof as may be separately established by the association, subject to approval by the Commissioner, in the proportion that the premiums written by each such member during the preceding calendar year bear to the aggregate premiums written in the District of Columbia by all members of the association, or in accordance with such other formula as the association may devise with the approval of the Commissioner. Such participation by each insurer in the association shall be determined annually on the basis of such premiums written during the preceding calendar year as disclosed in the annual statements and other reports filed by the insurer with the Commissioner.

(e) The association shall be governed by a board of eleven directors, elected annually by cumulative voting by the members of the association, whose votes in such election shall be weighted in accordance with the proportionate amount of each member's net direct premiums written in the District of Columbia during the preceding calendar year. The first board shall be elected at a meeting of the members or their authorized representatives, which shall be held within thirty days after the effective date of the order under this section establishing the association, at a time and place designated by the Commissioner.

EXAMINATION BY COMMISSIONER

SEC. 1207. The operation of any inspection bureau, the Industry Placement Facility, and the joint underwriting association shall at all times be subject to the supervision and regulation of the Commissioner. The Commissioner shall have the power of visitation of and examination into such operations and free access to all the books, records, files, papers, and documents that relate to such operations, may summon and qualify witnesses under oath, and may examine directors, officers, agents, employees or, any other person having knowledge of such operations.

WAIVER OF LIABILITY

SEC. 1208. There shall be no liability on the part of, and no cause of action of any nature shall arise against, insurers, any inspection bureau, the Industry Placement Facility, the joint underwriting association, the agents or employees of such bureau, Facility, or association, or any officer or employee of the District of Columbia, for any statements made in good faith by them concerning the insurability of property (A) in any reports or other communications, (B) at the time of the hearings conducted in connection therewith, or (C) in the findings with respect thereto required by the provisions of this title. The reports and communications of any inspection bureau, the Industry Placement Facility, and the joint underwriting association with respect to individual properties shall not be open to inspection by, or otherwise available to, the public.

ANNUAL REPORTS BY JOINT UNDERWRITING ASSOCIATION

SEC. 1209. The joint underwriting association shall file with the Commissioner, annually or on before the 1st day of March, a statement which shall contain information with respect to its transactions, condition, operations, and affairs during the preceding year. Such statement shall contain such matters and information as are prescribed by the Commissioner and shall be in such form as is approved by him. The Commissioner may at any time require the association to furnish him with additional information with respect to its transactions, condition, or any matter connected therewith which he considers to be material and which will assist him in evaluating the scope, operation, and experience of the association.

APPEALS

SEC. 1210. (a) Any applicant for insurance and any affected insurer may appeal to the Commissioner within ninety days after any final ruling, action, or decision by or on behalf of any inspection bureau, the Industry Placement Facility, or the joint underwriting association, following exhaustion of remedies available within such bureau, Facility, or association.

(b) All final orders or decisions of the Commissioner made under this title shall be subject to review by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals under section 11–742 of the District of Columbia Code.

REIMBURSEMENT FOR REINSURANCE PROVIDED UNDER NATIONAL INSURANCE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

SEC. 1211. (a) In order to carry out the purposes of this title and to make available to insurers who participate hereunder the reinsurance afforded under part B of title XII of the National Housing Act against losses to property resulting from riots or civil disorders, the Commissioner is authorized to assess each insurance company authorized to do business in the District of Columbia an amount, in the proportion that the premiums earned by each such company in the District of Columbia, on lines reinsured in the District of Columbia by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, during the preceding calendar year bear to the aggregate premiums earned on those lines in the District of Columbia by all insurance companies, sufficient to provide a fund to reimburse the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the manner set forth in section 1223(a)(1) of such part B. Such fund may be added to or such fund may be created by moneys appropriated therefor by the Congress.

(b) Insurers shall add to the premium rate an amount, to be approved by the Commissioner, sufficient to recover, within not more than three years, any amounts assessed under subsection (a) of this section during the preceding calendar year. Such amount shall be a separate charge to the insured in addition to the premium to be paid and shall be reflected as such in the policy of insurance. No commission shall be paid thereon to any agent or broker producing or selling the policy of insurance wherein such amount is added.

DELEGATION

SEC. 1212. The Commissioner is authorized to delegate any of the functions vested in him by this title.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 1213. Section 11–742(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended (1) by striking out "and" immediately following paragraph (10); (2) by striking out the period following paragraph (11) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and (3) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(12) final orders and decisions of the Commissioner of the District of Columbia under the provisions of the District of Columbia Insurance Placement Act."

A MESSAGE FROM VIETNAM FOR AMERICANS

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, the thoughts of one of America's brave fighting men set forth in a poem he wrote in Vietnam before making the supreme sacrifice were contained in an article appearing recently in the Mission Sun of Mission, Kans.

This brave young soldier, a casualty of man's inhumanity to man, depicted in graphic lines the agony and hell of war. This thought-provoking poem written by marine Pfc. Michael F. Dalton was submitted to the Mission Sun by his aunt, Mrs. S. E. Underwood. I request it be inserted in the RECORD at this point:

Take a man, put him alone
Put him 12,000 miles from home,
Empty his heart of all but blood,
Make him live in sweat and mud.
This is my life I have to live,
Then why my soul to the devil I give.
You peace boys are not in your easy chair,
Because you don't know what it's like over here.
You have a ball without even trying,
While over here boys are dying,
Plant your signs on the White House lawn
All you want is to ban the bomb.
You burn your draft cards and march at dawn,
Tell us all, get out of Vietnam
There is nothing else for you to do,
And I'm supposed to die for you.
They will hate you till the day they die.
You make them hear their buddies cry,

I saw his arm a bloody shred,
Then I heard them say this one's dead.
Isn't it a large price to pay, so that you will
live another day.
He had the guts to fight and die.
He paid the price but what did he buy?
Not a thing except to die.
But who do you think cares about a Marine?
His wife, his parents and his sons.
But they're about the only ones.

THE NOMINATION OF ASSOCIATE JUSTICE FORTAS TO BE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, below is a copy of a letter which I wrote to the editor of the Washington Post on August 2, 1968. Since this letter is relevant to the nomination of Justice Fortas for the post of Chief Justice of the United States, I request that it be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., August 2, 1968.

The EDITOR,
The Washington Post,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The Washington Post of August 2, 1968, contained an editorial entitled "The Least Effective Branch", which described the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee who believe that Associate Justice Fortas ought not to be made Chief Justice of the United States "as its nastiest and least respectable members."

Since I am unable to fathom why a newspaper of standing indulges in a verbal tantrum on its editorial page, I ignore the vituperation except to observe that it shed no light whatever on the only important issue, i.e., whether Justice Fortas' nomination for the post of Chief Justice should be confirmed by the Senate.

I am one of the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee who is convinced that the right of the American people to be governed by the principles of their written Constitution rather than by the arbitrary, inconsistent and uncertain notions of Supreme Court Justices will be best served by denying to Mr. Fortas the office of Chief Justice of the United States.

As a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I merely undertook to perform forthrightly my obligation as a member of the Committee and the Senate to make known the qualifications of Mr. Fortas for the post of Chief Justice. This obligation arises out of Article II of the Constitution which provides that the President appoints Supreme Court Justices "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

The gravity of the obligation which this constitutional provision imposes on a Senator is clearly revealed by the nature of the office a Supreme Court Justice occupies and the awesome power he exercises in it. Supreme Court Justices hold office for life, and are not responsible in any way to the people. After they ascend the bench, no authority external to themselves can control their official conduct or make them keep their oaths to support the Constitution.

As Chief Justice Stone declared in the Butler Case: "While unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the government is subject to judicial restraint, the only check upon our exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint."

Since Mr. Fortas has been a Supreme Court Justice for about three years, the important question confronting the Senate is whether he ought to be elevated for life to the more prestigious office of Chief Justice—an office more powerful than that of the Presidency in its impact upon constitutional government.

The reason why it is essential for Supreme Court Justices to abide by their oaths to support the Constitution is clearly disclosed by Justice Benjamin N. Cardoza in his book, "The Nature of the Judicial Process." In disapproving the theory that judges are privileged to substitute their individual sense of justice for established rules of law when they decide cases, Justice Cardoza said: "that might result in a benevolent despotism if the judges were benevolent men. It would put an end to the reign of law."

Let me recount my actions at the hearing on the Fortas nomination.

I questioned Justice Fortas for a comparatively short time concerning general matters relating to the Constitution and his extra-judicial activities, and he freely responded to my questions.

I then informed Justice Fortas that I did not think it proper to put to him any questions relating to his future judicial actions and would not do so.

I informed him, however, that I did wish to make inquiry of him concerning past decisions in which he had joined in his capacity as an Associate Justice. The objective of my proposed inquiry was to ascertain whether he could reconcile those decisions with the words of the Constitution and the numerous prior decisions of the Court placing contrary interpretations upon them.

Upon being advised by Mr. Fortas that he did not feel free to answer questions relating to past decisions in which he has participated, I informed him I would not insist on his doing so, and that I would state my interpretation of those cases myself for the hearing record and then insert all the opinions filed in them in the hearing record so any interested person could thereby determine whether I had interpreted the cases correctly. Incidentally, a committee hearing record is made for the information of the Senate when it passes on committee recommendations.

Before stating my interpretation of the cases and inserting the opinions in them in the record, I advised Justice Fortas that as far as I was concerned he was at liberty to depart from the hearing. I added, however, that in the event he elected to remain he would be at liberty to make any comments he desired respecting the accuracy of any interpretation I placed upon any of the cases. Justice Fortas voluntarily elected to remain while I was stating my interpretation of the cases for the record and inserting the opinions in them in the record. My performance of this task necessarily consumed much time because the cases were numerous and the opinions in them rather lengthy.

Let me assure you that I was courteous to Justice Fortas throughout the hearing and treated him just exactly like I would have liked to have been treated had our positions been reversed.

In my deliberate judgment, the cases make it plain that in the performance of his work as an Associate Justice, Mr. Fortas has undertaken to carry into effect the words he spoke at American University on March 20, 1968. At that place and time he declared:

"But the words of the Constitution were not written with a meaning that persists for all time. Words are not static symbols. Words may be carved in impervious granite, but the words themselves are as impermament as the hand that carved them. They reflect light and shadow, they are modified by rain and sun, they are subject to the changes that a restless life brings upon them. So the specific meaning of the words of the Constitution has not been fixed and unchanging. They never will be fixed and unchanging. The Constitution is not static. But the changes in those words—changes in the meaning of those words—have not, as one might think, been arbitrary or haphazard."

After reading these words of Justice Fortas I wondered why George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and the other good and wise men who framed the Constitution put provisions in that document requiring Supreme Court Judges to take oaths to support a Constitution whose words Justice Fortas says have no fixed meaning, and specifying that the Constitution can be amended, i.e., changed, only by the joint action of Congress and the States.

When all is said, America's greatest jurist of all time, Chief Justice John Marshall, said all that can be soundly said on the subject in *Marbury v. Madison*. After declaring that the principles of the Constitution "are designed to be permanent", he added:

"From these, and many other selections which might be made, it is apparent that the framers of the constitution contemplated that instrument as a rule for the government of courts, as well as the legislature. Why otherwise does it direct the judges to take an oath to support it? This oath certainly applies, in an especial manner, to their conduct in their official character. How immoral to impose it on them, if they were to be used as the instruments, and the knowing instruments, for violating what they swear to support! * * * Why does a judge swear to discharge his duties agreeably to the Constitution of the United States, if that Constitution forms no rule for his government? * * * If such be the real state of things, this is worse than solemn mockery."

I close with this observation: If its words have no fixed meaning, the Constitution is indeed a "solemn mockery", and furnishes "no rule for (the) government" of Supreme Court Justices.

Please publish this letter on your editorial page. It may convince some of your readers that those who advocate the confirmation of Mr. Fortas do not have complete possession of all the truth.

Sincerely yours,
SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.

REPORT TO THE 13TH DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, under general leave to extend remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the text of my latest report to the 13th Congressional District of Illinois, volume 3, number 6, dated July 1968.

The report follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Few issues during my six years in the House of Representatives have brought as much mail as the Firearms Control Assistance Act which passed the House of Representatives, with my support, in late July. I had previously supported, in June, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, which contained provisions to control the interstate sale of handguns. Following enactment of that legislation, I urged prompt consideration of additional Federal gun control legislation including problems of the interstate sale of long guns and the interstate shipment of ammunition.

While the basic responsibility for public safety rests in State and local governments, it was clear that Federal regulation over the indiscriminate sale and shipment of firearms and ammunition was necessary so that each State would be capable of enforcing its firearms laws. Only the Federal Government has the power to legislate in the area of interstate commerce.

It is true that Federal restrictions on the sale and purchase of firearms and ammunition are not a complete answer to the problems of violence and crime in our society. However, through the enactment of reasonable controls it should be possible to prevent the acquisition of firearms by at least some of those more likely to misuse them and thereby help to reduce crimes of violence involving guns. While the legislation passed by the House of Representatives falls short of what could have been achieved, on balance, it is a meaningful step forward.

As passed by the House, the measure makes it unlawful for a person not in possession of a Federal license: (1) to manufacture, import, or deal in any firearms or ammunition (with the exception of certain ammunition commonly used by sportsmen); (2) to ship firearms or ammunition by common carrier without prior notice; (3) to knowingly transport or deal in any way with stolen firearms or ammunition; (4) to transport or receive a firearm with obliterated or altered serial number; or (5) with certain exceptions granted by the Secretary of the Treasury, to import firearms or ammunition into the United States.

Provisions applicable to those licensed to deal in firearms or ammunition govern the ways in which they may be sold and shipped, and set up categories of persons to whom they may not be sold or shipped. Minimum age requirements are established by law, and prohibitions placed on sales to felons, fugitives, narcotics users, and the mentally ill. While the act provides that a nonlicensed person may not transport, send, or receive a firearm across state lines, an exception is provided so that sportsmen will not be unduly inhibited in the legitimate enjoyment of their sport.

In addition, the bill was amended to provide mandatory penalties for persons who carry firearms while committting Federal felonies. As passed by the House and sent to the Senate, the bill does not provide for registration of firearms or licensing of firearm owners. Detailed information on the provisions of H.R. 17735, the Firearms Control Assistance Act, or P.L. 90–351, the Omnibus Crime Control Act, is available on request from my office.

Lake Michigan problems: In early July, the House approved legislation consenting to the Great Lakes Basin Compact. For a variety of reasons, it has taken twelve years to achieve House passage of this resolution, which I have sponsored in two successive Congresses. The Compact will permit the orderly development and conservation of the water resources of the Great Lakes by those states bordering the lakes, including consultation and communication with the government of Canada.

In July, I introduced legislation to prohibit continued pollution of the Great Lakes and other navigable waters by Federally-authorized dredging activities. Unless we are willing to find one day that we have passed the point of no return in our efforts to control pollution of the Nation's waterways, such measures and more are necessary.

Postal problems: My mail continues to reflect the continuing deterioration of our postal service, despite increased postal rates, ZIP codes, automation, and other devices aimed at improving postal service. This has been a matter of concern to me since coming to Congress, and I have spoken on the Floor repeatedly pointing out the need for a new and business-like approach to the problems of moving the mail. Recently I restated my support of the proposal for a Government-owned, self-supporting postal corporation to replace the present archaic postal system. It is not likely that action will be taken before Congress adjourns this fall; however, there is encouragement in the fact that it is now the formal recommendation of the President's Commission on Postal Organization, and as such, may well be achieved in the next Congress.

In the meantime, legislation to remove Postmaster appointments from the political area and place them under the Postmaster General on a competitive civil-service basis, has been reported by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. I have introduced this legislation in two Congresses, and included this recommendation in my testimony before the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress in 1965. Hopefully the time is arriving when politics will be taken out of the Post Office Department.

Vietnam: Debate continues over U.S. policies on Vietnam. The war continues with no end in sight. Evidence to date indicates that the North Vietnamese are unlikely to allow real progress in the Paris talks at this time, and perhaps not until after the November elections. This is a tragic prospect, in a tragic war, marked by a series of tragic mistakes.

One would think, hope and trust, after five years of repeated failure to accurately assess, evaluate, and report on the situation in South Vietnam, that the Administration might alter its approach. It should now be clear, even to those who made the decisions, that it was a mistake to commit hundreds of thousands of Americans to a land war in Asia under the circumstances which existed.

Clearly it has proven to be a mistake to have assumed that a series of governments, weakened by corruption, ineptness, and unresponsiveness would or could marshall the support of the people of South Vietnam to the degree necessary to achieve the stated goals.

Once free of the rhetoric of the last five years and free of the tendency to want to justify or "prove out" theories long since demonstrated to have been erroneous or inapplicable, the U.S. must and can find an acceptable way to de-Americanize the conflict in Vietnam as so many of us have been urging. The cold hard fact is that the only reasonable route open to the U.S. at this point is in negotiations. Thus while the prospects in Paris may not be bright at the moment, the discussions there, as well as other diplomatic contacts, remain our best hope for a sensible solution.

Congressional reform: Three years ago, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress was formed. After holding extensive hearings on Congressional reorganization it reported a modest bill aimed at updating and improving the functioning of the Congress. It has been languishing for over sixteen months in the House Rules Committee. Despite constant prodding, there seems little likelihood that this much-needed attempt to modestly modernize the national legislature will be considered in this Congress. The House leadership has strongly intimated that if any Congressional Reform Bill is considered, it will be an even weaker "compromise" vension which will carry the title of Congressional Reform and yet do little to implement the recommendations of the Joint Committee. It is my hope that the bill will be brought to the Floor, under an open rule permitting amendment, before the 90th Congress adjourns.

Express your views: Your comments and views on matters before the House of Representatives are always welcome. My Washington office is open throughout the year and your letters, requests, and problems will be given attention as promptly as possible. All communications should be addressed to: Hon. Donald Rumsfeld, 506 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. I look forward to hearing from you.

THE FARMER'S STRUGGLE TO MAKE A FAIR RETURN

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, last month the Senate voted 48 to 26 to turn its back on the critical problems of America's wheat farmers and other feed grain producers. Thanks to this action, the price of wheat today remains at a 26-year low.

That vote revealed, with one exception, that the minority party has no intentions of seeking solutions to the problems that face our Nation's farmers. The rollcall showed our Republican colleagues voting almost as a bloc, 26 to 1, against passage of the amendment.

The farmer's cost of living continues to rise each day. The cost of his equipment increases each year. The cost of farm labor has climbed steadily. Yet, the Senate voted to force the 1,704,000 wheat farmers of this Nation to labor under a crop investment return that is nearly three decades old.

How many other occupational groups in our prosperous Nation would be willing to swap today's earnings for the income received in 1942?

In a recent edition of the Evening Star, columnist Sylvia Porter—a lady with years of credentials and experience as a commentator on our financial affairs—reviewed the sad tale of the farmer's struggle to make a fair return on his investment in land, equipment, crops, and labor.

Miss Porter drew these conclusions: In 1947 the average price of a loaf of bread was 12.5 cents and, for his wheat, the farmer got 2.9 cents per loaf. Today the average price of bread is 22.2 cents per loaf, and the farmer receives 2.6 cents per loaf for his wheat. In other words, today the farmer receives three-tenths of a cent less for his wheat while the consumer pays nearly a dime more every time he buys a loaf of bread.

The most ironical twist in this predicament, is that the farmer must also give his grocer a dime more for a loaf of bread. The grocer and his employees make a little more profit. The elevator operator, the miller, the combine manufacturer, the truck driver, and the fertilizer salesman all make a little more profit. And the farmer loses money.

Mr. President, in addition to offering relief to the wheat farmers, the emergency agricultural reserve stock program which was defeated by this body would have provided insurance for the people of our Nation, insurance against years of drought and food shortage; insurance against urgent food needs during increased military activities.

I do hope the Senate will look further into this severe problem, and perhaps persuade the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to examine closely three bills which have been offered to help solve the problems I have mentioned here today.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Miss Porter, entitled "Bread 'Gap' at Record" be inserted at this point in the RECORD so our colleagues may share this insight into the problems which confront our Nation's 1,704,000 wheat farmers.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 22, 1968]

BREAD "GAP" AT RECORD

(By Sylvia Porter)

A one-pound loaf of bread costs an average 22.2c at the local supermarket today, an all-time high price.

Of this 22.2c, the farmer gets an average 3.3c for all his ingredients and 2.6c for the wheat alone, both close to record low prices.

The spread between what we pay for bread and what the farmer gets for his grain is at a new peak of 18.9c for processing, packaging, transportation, distribution and marketing.

Since the summer of 1965 the retail price of bread has risen 1.4c. But the farmer is actually getting 1-10c less for all his ingredients and for wheat alone "Marketing" is absorbing more than the entire price increase.

Since 1947, the price of bread has jumped from 12.5c, a rise of almost 10c. But the farmer is getting 3-10c less than he was getting roughly 20 years ago.

Farmers again are being forced into an intolerable squeeze. While the number of farmers is shrinking each year and they are steadily becoming less politically powerful, the farmer still is a potent as well as a vital force in the economy.

As matter shape up now, the "farm problem" is sure to be an issue in the 1968 elections.

MIDDLEMEN GAINERS

It's not difficult to explain the rising price of bread at the retail counter. All the processes involved in transforming this staple to bread on the supermarket shelf are becoming more expensive. Labor costs are soaring. More costly every year are the steps of handling, packaging, transporting, distributing, etc. Bread-making also is a complicated procedure: after the wheat has been grown, harvested, stored and processed in flour mills, it goes through more than a dozen separate steps at the bakery before it is bread ready for slicing and wrapping.

But the farmer's position is dramatically different. Weather in the wheat-growing areas has been excellent, farmers have expanded their ability to produce per acre, production curbs aren't working out as planned and a record harvest is on the horizon. Nearly all over the world, weather has been good and ample wheat harvests are in prospect.

Wheat now averages about $1.25 a bushel and in some regions, the price is below that.

At the same time, the farmer is caught in the rising cost of living and operating bind. His costs for machinery, equipment and labor are climbing as much as 10 percent a year; his cost of living is rising at the 4-percent rate of everyone else.

While the politicians struggle with a farm "solution," you must struggle with your food budget. Bread is an impressively large item in the food market basket. Consumption is estimated at 82.4 one-pound loaves per person per year, amounting to billions of dollars for bread alone.

HOW TO CUT COSTS

What, then, can anyone do to cut bread costs?

1. Buy bread on the basis of weight, not loaves, and tailor purchases to your family's eating habits. A 20-ounce loaf may cost more than a 16-ounce loaf but the larger loaf may be far more economical if your family eats a lot of bread.

2. Buy day-old bread on sale. It's no different from the bread bought yesterday you now have in the breadbox, and it's considerably cheaper.

3. Test out lower-priced brands and if they please your taste, buy them. You may find as many as 20 varieties of bread at the supermarket, priced from less than today's average 22.2c to double this figure.

4. Buy bread during the advertised specials and freeze loaves for use later.

5. Buy double-wrapped bread or double-wrap it yourself to keep it fresh for longer periods of time.

Here are Agriculture Department figures which tell the tale of a one-pound loaf of white bread over the years.

[In cents]

Date	Store price	Farm price, wheat	Farm-retail spread
1947	12.5	2.9	8.9
1957	18.5	2.5	15.3
July 1965	20.8	2.7	17.4
May 1968	22.2	2.6	18.9

REMARKS ON THE CURRENT SESSION OF CONGRESS

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I recently prepared a number of remarks on the current session of the 90th Congress for distribution among my constituents. I would also like to share these remarks with my colleagues, and therefore insert my remarks of August 2, 1968, at this point in the RECORD:

DEAR FRIENDS: As this was written, Congress was preparing for a 30-day recess during the National Political Conventions. We will reconvene after Labor Day. It is unfortunate that this Congress could not have completed its work earlier instead of prolonging an already cumbersome session.

By now most of you will have felt the first effect of the 10-percent surtax on your income taxes. At the same time, the Government is supposed to trim spending by $6 billion. However, controversy surrounds such budget cutting, as you undoubtedly gathered from the hue and cry that came up when certain agencies and departments were faced with trimming payrolls. "Legislative blackmail" was charged by some Congressmen when the Post Office Department threatened to curtail deliveries and close post offices if that Department was not exempt from the budget-cutting provisions of the law.

Meanwhile, interest rates have gone up again, the cost of living has increased, and our people are caught in the ever-widening inflationary spiral. We are over a month into the new fiscal year that began July 1, and in case you missed it, the Federal Government went in the hole $25.4 billion during the last fiscal year. No wonder the administration had to have more of your tax dollars.

Most appropriations bills have now passed the House, but some await Senate action. Only one regular appropriation bill remains to be considered by our House Appropriations Committee. It is the foreign aid spending bill. However, it is obvious that the funds for foreign aid will be the lowest in many years. The House and Senate conferees have already agreed, in the authorizing bill, to cut nearly a billion dollars from the President's request of $2.9 billion.

Defense spending is the biggest item considered by the Congress, running over $70 billion for military procurement. Spending by the military has never been adequately questioned by the Congress under the faulty assumption that you cannot cut spending for the defense of our Nation. However, waste can be found there as well as in other areas of Government. For instance, Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, in a published report, noted that $8 billion a year goes to the military for research and development. Rickover stated: "This vast and ever-expanding research program for the Defense Department has enhanced its political power while decreasing its efficiency. Very few of these programs contribute significantly to the primary task of the Defense Department—to insure the security of the Nation."

Rickover noted that one "vital" study involved a look at submarine sailors "to determine the psychological differences between sailors who had been tattooed once, sailors who had been tattooed more than once, and sailors who never had been tattooed but wished they had."

Meanwhile, the negotiations go on in Paris and the hot war continued in Vietnam. It is interesting to note that on June 22 of this year the Vietnam war became the longest in American history, now over 6½ years. What started with 685 U.S. advisers in 1961 has now grown to over a half million Americans. More than 30,000 of them have now died in Vietnam with over 160,000 wounded.

The guest book in your Washington congressional office reads like a foreign travel brochure following the recent visit by high school exchange students. These young people spent the last school year in the Minnesota-North Dakota area, each living with an American family. Many of our students also go abroad for a year, staying with families in the host countries.

The countries represented by the young people include Ethiopia, Japan, Norway, Germany, Costa Rica, Thailand, Chile, Argentina, France, England, Peru, Panama, India, Sweden, Brazil, Malaysia, and Portugal. These were fine young people who have learned much about America and have given many American families a chance to learn about them.

Legislation moves along: Dozens of bills have been rushed through the House as members prepared for the August recess. The House approved the Higher Education Amendments of 1968, extending existing programs such as vocational education and student loan programs.

A housing bill passed that calls for 1.7 million homes and apartments over the next 3 years. Congress must still appropriate the $5.5 billion needed to start construction.

Gun control legislation banning mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns and over-the-counter sales of these weapons to out-of-State residents and persons under the age of 18 cleared the House. Similar restrictions are already in effect for handguns. Voted down were amendments providing for registration and licensing of firearms. The Senate has yet to act, finding itself bogged down over consideration of the President's nominations for the Supreme Court.

The House approved a $21 billion highway bill which all but plows under Lady Bird's straggling beautification program.

A compromise bill carrying $4.6-billion in public works appropriations, including funds for water projects in most states, has passed the House and is now in the Senate.

The House also has agreed to set new standards for gas pipeline safety.

House-Senate Crime Committee: I was pleased that my bill calling for a House-Senate Committee To Investigate Crime passed the House. Now that the omnibus crime bill has become the law of the land, and other legislation dealing with lawlessness is either on the books or about to be considered, it is time that the Congress take a long, hard look at the overall direction we are going. Through this joint committee the Congress can effectively analyze present laws, evaluate new suggestions, and fulfill its lawmaking responsibilities.

Food and Agriculture Act: The House of Representatives has voted to extend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 for an additional year. The Senate previously passed an extension for a period of 4 years, so the differences in the two measures will eventually have to be resolved.

Fair Farm Price Achievement Act: While it is necessary to extend the present farm program for an additional year, I believe we must consider better programs for the future. That is why I have introduced in the Congress my Fair Farm Price Achievement Act. Under it, farmers of America would increase their income by over $3 billion a year and the taxpayers of America would save another $2½ billion a year through reduced Agriculture Department expenditures. My bill would guarantee our wheat and feed grains farmers full parity in return for voluntarily withholding a modest acreage from production, would give the farmer bargaining power to assure a fair market price, and would take the Federal Government out of much of his planning while providing a food reserve and necessary import controls.

We need this new program, since it is obvious that the farmer is falling further behind than ever under present programs. Wheat prices are at the lowest level in 26 years. Commodity prices dropped even further during the first six months of this year. If these low prices continue throughout the year, our farmers will lose another $260 million of income in just wheat, corn, and soybeans, based on production equal to last year. Under my bill, farmers could voluntarily achieve 100 percent parity by withholding 20 percent of his acreage base.

The farmer's plight was outlined in recommendations I sent to the Republican Convention platform committee as chairman of the House minority task force on agriculture. As I told the committee, the recommendations were aimed at restoring the economic level of rural America through the expediency of adequate farm income. A political party's primary objective must be an adequate price for the farmer's commodities to stabilize farm family income and subsequently provide the economic stimulation so badly needed in rural America.

While at the Miami convention it was my privilege to address the delegates briefly on the importance of improving the rural economy.

Overheard over the back fence: A Midwest farmer who has been in business since the 1930's says: "For the first time in my memory a bushel of wheat won't buy you a haircut." That one sentence tells you more about the rural economy than a whole book of farm statistics.

Coauthor of book: Some of my views on agriculture and world food needs are contained in a new book now on newsstands entitled "Republican Papers." The book, simultaneously published in hard cover and in paperback, is a unique collection of 29 papers in which Republican Members of the House join some outstanding members of the academic community to discuss past, present, and future approaches to dealing with the urgencies of poverty, crime, education, hardcore unemployment, and agriculture in today's America. My contribution is entitled "The Future of Agriculture."

Voyageurs Park bill in hopper: I joined with the other seven U.S. Representatives from Minnesota and the State's two Senators in introducing a Voyageurs Park bill to authorize the establishment of a national park in northern Minnesota. The park, if approved, would include the Kabetogama Peninsula, Kabetogama Lake, and portions of Rainy, Namakan, and Sand Point Lakes, and lands and waters generally north of, but excluding Crane Lake. About 211,000 acres would comprise the new national park, including 139,000 acres of land and 72,000 acres of water.

Mrs. Langen's corner: Lillian accompanied me to the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach, and I am sure she will have a report on her activities next month.

The big news in the Langen family is the addition of our third grandson. James Odin was born to Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Langen, our son and daughter-in-law. They now have three sons and a daughter.

Lillian had the privilege of entertaining an old friend of ours who was visiting in Washington for a few days. She is Mrs. Arthur (Virginia) Anderson of St. Petersburg, Fla. Her husband is originally from Kittson County in Minnesota, was the former Treasurer of the Export-Import Bank of the United States and is currently President of the Florida National Bank.

As you undoubtedly know, I have filed for reelection for a sixth consecutive 2-year term as your Congressman. I am most grateful for the support received over the years, and especially appreciate being the recipient of many kind expressions favoring my efforts in behalf of better Federal fiscal management, wiser spending policies and greater opportunities for rural America.

It is not known just how much time I will have to actively campaign, since the Congress will again be in session after Labor Day, but Mrs. Langen and I intend to visit every community in the entire 23-county District before the November election. We look forward to visiting with you and discussing the problems of the day.

Your Congressman,

ODIN LANGEN.

FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on August 2, Commissioner Joseph Moore of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of the Interior Department spoke to the Portland City Club on the subject of water pollution. His remarks are so useful a summary of the whole issue of pollution control that I ask to have them printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY JOE G. MOORE, JR., COMMISSIONER OF THE FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ADMINISTRATION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BEFORE THE PORTLAND CITY CLUB, PORTLAND, OREG., AUGUST 2, 1968

I appreciate this opportunity to discuss some of the facts of life about water quality management and what is at stake in some of the decisions that will be made in this field in the next several years, even in the next several months. Sound water quality management has become a matter of immense importance in this country, not only in areas of limited water supply but in areas richly endowed with good water. We are already paying heavily for water quality mismanagement and nonmanagement, but this price may be negligible compared with what is at stake in the increasingly crowded world that lies ahead.

Here in the Pacific Northwest you still have time to escape some of the consequences of gross and prolonged water misuse that now weigh so heavily on the great urban and industrial areas of our Nation that came into being earlier in our history. But that fact should in no way lessen the urgency of plans and programs now under way to restore, protect, and enhance the quality of your priceless water resources. On the contrary, the history of water pollution in more highly developed sections of the country should give a sense of added urgency to your search for safe and sound water quality management decisions in the Columbia and Willamette Basins and throughout the Pacific Northwest.

With that as a premise, I should like to talk with you for a few minutes about the economics of water pollution versus the economics of water pollution control—whether control is regarded as corrective or preventive action. I think it is fair to say that the relationship between water quality management and economic growth is not yet well or widely understood. There is much concern about the costs of water pollution control and other aspects of water quality management, and I fully share that concern. There is no gainsaying the fact that water pollution control is expensive. But there is another side to that coin. The costs of uncontrolled pollution are also high.

And the costs of pollution will mount higher and higher as our population grows and our economy expands. The dollar costs alone, if they could all be added up, probably would make a convincing case for pollution control. The loss of commercial and sport fishing, the deterioration and destruction of water-front property, the damage to boats, the filling of costly reservoirs by silt from land erosion, the choking of rivers and lakes by algae, the expense of dredging in order to maintain navigation, water of inadequate quality for industrial and agricultural uses—these and a host of other consequences of uncontrolled or inadequately controlled pollution add up over time to very large dollar costs.

But these are not the only costs of pollution even in a stable society, let alone in an expanding one. Perhaps in the long run the greatest cost will be the cumulative effect on the concentration, distribution, tone and temper of our society, the persistent drag on the quality of our total national life. One reason the relationship between the condition of our environment and our overall economic growth is not yet well or widely understood may be that economic growth is sometimes viewed too narrowly. The Gross National Product is a useful index of economic growth, but it is only an index. There is more to sustained economic growth than the payroll and the product, vital as these are.

The output of goods and services, after all, is but an end result of our commercial and industrial activity for a given period. It does not necessarily reflect our potential as a Nation. The GNP does not, for example, reflect the current state of our educational system. Or the condition of our cities. Or the extent of our remaining natural resources. Or the condition of our environment. Or many other aspects of our national life.

In other words, we could be heading for serious trouble—or even be in serious trouble—in one or more aspects of our national life long before it would have any measurable effect on the Gross National Product. The story of the frugal farmer who started mixing sawdust with the grain he fed his mule is on the point. Since a little sawdust didn't seem to make any difference, he increased the mixture. And it still didn't seem to have any serious effects—until one day the mule dropped dead.

To come back to water quality management and economic growth: there is probably no question that the United States could continue to function—even prosper—for a considerable period of time if all water-oriented sport and recreation, for example, were eventually made impossible by pollution. There are lots of people who never go boating, or fishing, or swimming—lots of people who seldom if ever lay eyes on a free-flowing stream or a lake shimmering in the sun. But then, there are lots of other people who place great stock in such things.

On balance, what would be the ultimate effect of consigning our rivers and lakes—either frankly and deliberately or through half-hearted pollution control measures—for use as sewers and sinks for our wastes? We have in fact done this to a considerable extent already, and we continue to prosper as a nation. But what if we were to let this trend continue its course indefinitely into the future? What if we were to decide once and for all that pollution control is too costly, a luxury that we cannot afford? What would the effect be on the future quality of life in this country? And if that were of no concern, what of the ultimate effect on our economic growth?

The chilling prospect of a great nation whose rivers are open sewers, devoid of all desirable living things, whose lakes by the tens and hundreds are dead or dying—that prospect is, of course, largely hypothetical at this point. But it is not wholly hypothetical. Thanks to modern science and technology, it is now possible to produce potable water out of almost any kind of raw water, out of almost anything that's wet, and everybody knows it. So no one is really worried about ever dying of thirst in this country. Yet the fact is we already *have* substantially curtailed desirable water uses in many areas rather than spend what it takes to prevent or control pollution.

It is also a fact that all through history, highly sophisticated societies have come into being, have prospered for various periods of time, and then have disappeared from the face of the earth—some so ancient that the fragmentary but persuasive evidence of their once-flourishing existence is only now coming to light out of the dust and rubble of unwritten history.

I do not mean to suggest that these ancient societies came to an end because of short-sighted and deliberate abuse of their environment. From the vantage point of present-day science and technology, one would assume that those that were not destroyed by earthquake, volcano, fire or other natural disaster probably didn't know at what point or even in what way things started going wrong. But it is true that those ancient societies did exist as part of a total ecosystem, as does our American society in the year 1968. And it is true that somewhere along the way something did go wrong, that those long-gone societies did in fact get out of phase with their environment, so out of phase as to have been separated from their environment completely and in a very final way—by decay, disappearance, and ultimate death.

This vastly over-simplified and obviously non-expert observation on both written and unwritten history is simply to make the point that up to now no society has ever had a lock on the future. In the absence of such a precedent, it would appear that we Americans would be well advised to ponder the possibility that we don't have a lock on the future, either. This would then lead, logically, to the conclusion that unless we watch what we are doing to the environment on which our national health and well-being depend, we just might be sowing the seeds of our own decline and ultimate destruction without quite realizing what we are doing.

Here at the gateway of the valley where the Willamette meets the great Columbia, you know the value of ample supplies of good water. You have also had enough experience with pollution to know something of its costs to both social and economic well-being.

The early development of acceptable water quality standards and the Willamette River Greenway undertaking are also evidence that Oregonians appreciate the relationship of water quality management to social and economic progress. The eventual restoration of the Willamette from its serious yearly pollution problems of the past now seems assured, and that is a development of far-reaching significance to this prosperous, livable—and growing—area. And, for that matter, it is a development of far-reaching significance to the whole country; for we are an intricately interwoven, interdependent society.

Having said that, however, there is no escaping the fact that there are some hard decisions ahead that will affect the future of both the Willamette and the Columbia—and, for that matter, the Nation. In the first place, population and industrial growth generate ever-increasing volumes of wastes—solid, liquid, and gaseous. And the Willamette and Columbia Basins are manifestly a growth area. Generally speaking, as treated wastes increase in volume, higher and higher degrees of treatment are needed just to keep even. For example, a city whose waste waters are receiving a fairly high degree of treatment may be causing more pollution today than the same city did a few decades ago when it had much lower degree of treatment, simply because it was much smaller.

I do not have a crystal ball marked "Oregon," but I think it is safe to predict that the time will come when your State must require considerably higher treatment for both municipal and industrial wastes than is now considered necessary. That, however, is a bridge that I am sure the people of Oregon will cross when they come to it.

A second urgent pollution problem facing the Willamette and Columbia Rivers is water temperature. I am sure you are aware of the differences over water temperature standards for the Columbia River. Sicentists say we lack the precise information on the temperature tolerances of your unique Columbia River fishery, and Secretary Udall has directed intensified studies of the biological effects of temperature changes in the Columbia.

The thermal pollution problem has gained its national immediacy because of the shift to nuclear power production, a trend which you know is now beginning in the Northwest. The discharge of heated water from nuclear energy power plants holds the potential for further complicating the varied pollution problems we have already committee ourselves to eliminate. The preservation of the Columbia as the historic birthplace of the migrating salmon will require not only the answers to delicate scientific questions regarding the fishery requirements, but also a resolute reaffirmation that economic progress must not mean environmental decay.

As you know, the first of several proposed Northwest nuclear plants will be located on your Columbia River estuary. In any river, such a location can only be viewed as another potentially damaging pollution source. But on the Columbia River estuary the damage can be "doubled in spades." For your estuary is the doorway to existence for the Pacific salmon fishery: The fish must pass through it to reach their traditional spawning grounds.

Just recently, there is added yet another complicating factor: the unfortunate fish kills on the Columbia in the past few weeks, reportedly the result of fish passage problems at the new John Day Dam coupled with unprecedented outbreaks of a relatively new problem—the so-called "gas bubble disease," which the experts say results from nitrogen supersaturation. Recent studies have shown that nitrogen from the air is absorbed to higher and higher levels as water is spilled over the dams on the Columbia. An additional stress has been added to the fishery. This becomes particularly disturbing since we have learned that the effect of high nitrogen levels are compounded by temperature increases. It has been shown, for example, that if the temperature of water which is supersaturated with nitrogen is raised by only 3 degrees, juvenile salmon will die in about 90 seconds from the gas bubble disease. With little imagination, we can envision the substantial risk involved in discharging heated effluents into the Columbia estuary, when nitrogen levels are reaching unprecedented levels.

In view of the urgent need for a greatly increased electric power production, we could be faced with the discouraging prospect of pollution losses—but for one critical blessing. Fortunately, the means exist for treating the heated effluents so that they do not raise the water temperatures. Cooling devices at the plants can help us avoid the classic "fish versus power" conflict, and they have been found to be both technically and economically feasible elsewhere in the country and the world. The people of the Northwest are lucky enough to still have a choice. In my view, common prudence and overall self interest would lead you to the use of available treatment methods to avoid unnecessary temperature stresses in the Columbia River.

Admittedly, additional or more sophisticated waste treatment facilities will cost money—and someone has to pay the bill. We should not be misled into believing that clean water is cheap. We hear a great deal of discussion as to whether municipalities, industry, the States, or the Federal Government should bear the cost. Arguments as to "who should pay what" really beg the fundamental fact. The bills are paid by people; and we—you and I here today—are the ones that will provide the money. Thus we have to be willing to pay for what we want. While someone else may temporarily absorb the cost of keeping water clean, ultimately the cost will come out of our pockets. We will get whatever level of water quality we are willing to buy. We engage in a useless exercise if we insist that the water be clean and, at the same time, argue that the other fellow should bear the cost.

And the cost, whatever it is, would ultimately become merely a part of doing business in this country—a cost we are willing to pay in order to surround ourselves with the goods, services, the recreational opportunities and aesthetic environment which we are willing to buy.

In conclusion, may I repeat my conviction that the preservation and enhancement of water quality is not, as some imply, a deterrent to national growth. Construing water pollution control programs as a "hindrance to progress" serves only to cloud the real issue: that the future development of the Nation and the quality of American life will depend upon adequate supplies of clean useable water. We cannot have unlimited national growth without it.

THE FAILURE OF "GRADUALISM" IN VIETNAM

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, this month's issue of Reader's Digest contains a condensation of a widely acclaimed report by the Republican Task Force on National Security, originally entitled, "Gradualism—Fuel of Wars."

In brief, concise terms, this report shows how the administration's policy of "comparable force reaction" has bogged this Nation down in the most frustrating war in its history. The report noted:

> We have escalated, through gradualism, a minor engagement into our fourth largest war.

Since I was one of the authors of the task force report, and because of the national attention it is getting, I am bringing the condensed Reader's Digest version to the attention of my colleagues. The report follows:

THE FAILURE OF "GRADUALISM" IN VIETNAM

Peace is poorly served by those who shrink from the steps necessary to ensure it.

In the past quarter century, the possibility of self-destruction through nuclear war has profoundly influenced U.S. strategic policies, and has given rise to two sharply differing approaches to our security requirements.

The first—a cardinal feature of the Eisenhower years—was to ensure peace through an unmistakable determination to protect vital U.S. interests anywhere in the world. This determination was made plainly evident to all through Administration statements and deeds. It was a policy of credible firmness, which retained initiative and freedom of action in American hands. There was no apology for strength, and no mistaking the sternness of the national will.

And America stayed at peace.

Beginning in 1961, however, two new doctrines began to evolve that have radically altered our nation's defense planning. One is known as "flexible response"; the other is called "gradualism." Both doctrines de-emphasize our strength, leash our power and replace our superiority with "parity," all in the euphoric hope that through demonstrations of peaceful purpose and restraint, America would entice her sworn enemies away from aggression.

However well intended, these departures have been tragic for our country. Prudent firmness was displaced by extreme caution, then hesitancy, then indecisiveness. As doctrines of response, not of initiative, they have created a worldwide crisis of confidence in U.S. deterrence, undermined our alliances and divided the nation. In place of peace they have actually fostered aggression and escalated a war.

Flexible response, in the current thinking, does not mean, as it has historically meant, the capability to respond to a variety of threats with applicable and sufficient force to crush them. It now means that an aggressor's military excursions will initially encounter only *comparable force—i.e.,* it is a deliberate policy of reaction, leading to stalemate.

Thus war is *invited,* as aggressors are given freedom to choose the time, place and means of doing battle, all with an acceptable risk. Assured that America's crushing force will be dribbled into battle, the military marauder is encouraged to believe that even a protracted conflict will be pursued on his terms.

As this new version of "flexible response" invites war, so "gradualism" escalates a war once it has begun. The policy says that, just as with our first reaction to aggression, subsequent U.S. reactions will also be cautiously phased to prevent overapplication of force. The process can hardly fail to nourish a skirmish into a major war. Moreover, after each carefully restrained escalation there will be a "pause." This ingenuous stratagem provides in effect a one-sided military recess during which the enemy is importuned to recalculate his risks and contritely review his indiscretions as his own depredations continue. The "pause," occurring when the aggressor's force has been at least temporarily stalemated by our military effort, actually enables the enemy to recoup his strength at his most vulnerable moment. Thus rejuvenated by successive pauses, he continues and intensifies the struggle.

America's laboratory for testing gradualism has been in Vietnam. There it has failed—it has prolonged and escalated the war. It has permitted North Vietnam to acquire the weapons, supplies and training from the Soviet Union and Communist China needed to maintain and expand its war-making capability, and to withstand punishing attacks. It has preserved the sanctuaries in which the communists can safely regroup and reinforce. It has denied our own military the strength and decisiveness the circumstances have required.

So completely has the Administration applied this policy of gradualism that we actually give advance warnings to the enemy of steps to augment our forces or otherwise strengthen our military position. The professed object has been to prevent "overreaction" by the enemy or his allies. The result, however, is that the enemy has been allowed to phase his buildup with our own. We have escalated, through gradualism, a minor engagement into our fourth largest war.

The shackling of our air power in Vietnam affords us a striking exhibition of gradualism in action. An obsession with preventing escalation has led the Administration to transfer approval of attacks on specific targets from field commanders and even the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the President himself. Operational decisions reached far away in Washington have prevented some attacks altogether and in other instances have so delayed them as to forfeit precious military advantage.

During the long intervals between target recommendation and approval, the enemy scattered his targets, moved many of his vital operations underground. With Soviet assistance he multiplied his air defenses. In the 18 months prior to August 1967, the number of antiaircraft guns deployed in North Vietnam increased 250 percent. Surface-to-air missile sites doubled. Radar early warning capability tripled, and radar fire-control capability increased at an even faster rate. U.S. losses in pilots and equipment soared. Surveying this appalling sequence, the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee reported: "The cold fact is that this policy has not done the job and it has been contrary to the best military judgment."

A similar pattern has marked the prosecution of the ground actions of this solicitous war. For many months, the military leadership vainly pressed the Administration for a substantial increase of ground forces for Vietnam. Again, in the long interval that elapsed before these recommendations were approved, the enemy gained time to increase his own strength.

Gradualism in Vietnam has restrained us from applying enough pressure, in adequate time, to convince the enemy of the futility of his effort. This has imposed immense costs upon the American people. The war has already caused more than 150,000 U.S. casualties, consumed some 50 billions of dollars. Continued adherence to the doctrine promises not only more disappointments, but also an escalating risk of world war.

"Flexible response" is not regional in scope. In December 1967, NATO announced that it, too, was adopting this policy. (In fact, U.S. commitment to this doctrine left NATO no alternative.) Now, the Soviet Union can reasonably conclude that if it attacks from the east it will be initially opposed only with commensurate force.

For NATO, however, conventional (non-nuclear) response to a major conventional military thrust in Europe would be unrealistic. The conventional forces of East European communism are too huge. Thus, if it dictates an initial reliance on conventional defense, "flexible response" concedes the loss of the forward areas in Europe early in any conflict. Then, with enemy forces occupying allied territory, our own military options would become critically restricted. Expecting an enemy to desist after initial success is at best a deadly gamble.

For the new "flexible response" to become credible for Western Europe, a major increase of conventional forces would be required, an increase so great as to be economically and politically impracticable. Therefore, we view the incorporation of this new doctrine into NATO security planning as a new "open door" policy for Soviet expansion.

In contrast to the Administration's premises, we are convinced that these judgments must underpin America's security policy:

1. Our defense posture must confront any enemy aggression with a clearly unacceptable risk. Otherwise, it invites political opportunism and aggression.

2. Our policies in the course of a conflict must not allow an enemy to control the level and nature of the U.S. military response, or allow him to disengage at will. Otherwise, they invite a continuing escalation of the conflict.

3. Our policies must not publicly proclaim that America will withhold any element of her might to prevent or repel aggression; otherwise, this nation will be stripped of those military and diplomatic options indispensable to the attainment of her national goals and to her influence for peace. Instead, we should announce the resumption of a national security policy under which, once this nation resorts to arms to stem aggression, force will be applied quickly and decisively to bring the conflict swiftly to an end. And, once committed to military action, we must no longer merely respond, we must achieve and maintain the initiative.

These criticisms in no way diminish our concern for safeguarding against irresponsibility in the use of military force. In a world of nuclear peril, application of direct military force must always be a last resort. Rather, we are convinced that an intensive re-examination of this country's national security policies is long overdue. A reappraisal of our strategic policies for countering aggression has become critical in the light of our mismanagement of the Vietnam conflict.

A LETTER TO THE KENTUCKY DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I have received a letter from Mrs. Lettie Bryant of Lawrenceburg, Ky., which was sent to me and to the Kentucky delegates and their alternates at the Republican National Convention in Miami.

In her letter, Mrs. Bryant puts forth cogent and thoughtful reasons why the Republican Party should make Gov. Nelson A Rockefeller its nominee for President. Mrs. Bryant has served as Republican chairwoman for Anderson County, Ky., and speaks with a practical knowledge of Republican politics and political matters. Her views should be of interest to Republicans everywhere. I ask unanimous consent to insert the letter in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAWRENCEBURG, KY.

DEAR FELLOW REPUBLICAN: I have never written a delegate or alternate to a Presidential Convention before, but I feel we have never before had so much at stake.

The false economy here at home boosted by war after war and no hope in sight for anything different unless America wakes up and decides we may be using the wrong approach and the wrong people, to ever right so many of our wrongs.

It may be we have already waited too long to see ourselves as other countries of the world see us, but I pray not. When Abraham Lincoln came to us, I would imagine the people felt about as hopeless as I feel right now. But God has never failed to send us a leader if we are willing to open our eyes to the needs of our country and the world around us. We are also given the wisdom to choose our leaders if our own selfish interests could be put aside.

I hear people say, and I listen, wherever I go (What would we do with all these boys, coming back and no job, or opportunities for a future?) It's a sad state of affairs when we lack leadership and initiative in the greatest nation on earth to provide anything but war from now on to provide jobs for our youth.

I wholeheartedly agree with Governor Rockefeller when he states we must do something about the cause of these uprisings in our country. I believe the young of America are sick and tired of relief and handouts two generations have watched. No wonder they have no pride or self respect as they continue to increase.

I believe what young people want today is an opportunity to work out for themselves some of the problems they are faced with. They do not all want to go to college or even be anything greater than a small business man or a small farmer, but if that is what he wants, encourage him to do so. Maybe they want to use their hands again for some things. Automation may in some cases create too much idleness. I was never idle very long in my life from childhood and I didn't get into trouble. I think everybody enjoys some kind of work. We have too many doing the wrong thing, because it pays more, but money isn't everything. But every kind of work is important. I really don't believe there is such a thing as a lazy person. They, for some reason, are doing the wrong work. We should find out what they can do best and encourage them to do it.

Each of us has been given a talent of some kind to be used, not to placed upon a shelf to pity ourselves all our lives and say I would have done so and so, if, if, if . . .

I have nothing whatever against Richard Nixon, and if the delegates at this convention choose him I will do all in my power to see him elected. But we may pass the last opportunity we would ever get to elect Governor Nelson Rockefeller and pay for our mistake for many years to come.

Small people can say what they want for political purposes against big business men getting into politics, but where could a small business get if there were no big businesses. After all the biggest business in this country requires executive experience to run it and I for one would love to live to see Governor Rockefeller given a chance. I believe that is all he needs.

I think Nixon would be a great Secretary of State or Defense. But if we had a President of Rockefeller's ability to steer this country into a full stable economy, we would see our involvement in foreign affairs automatically fade away.

Other countries will never take us seriously until we can handle our problems at home more intelligently.

I don't think Communism could be fed on anything as nourishing as all these riots in our streets, and poverty talked on every newspaper or newscast we hear.

Maybe I have said too much, but little nobodies like me have our opinions anyway. I think one more thing lacking in our school system is that the very young should be taught that initiative is also as important as the opportunity to do what we want.

I'm not giving up on our young. It's my generation that has failed them and set a bad example.

Respectfully submitted,

LETTIE BRYANT,
Former Republican Chairwoman,
Anderson County.

IMPORT RESTRICTIONS—NO WAY TO TREAT A NEIGHBOR

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the dominant position of the United States in the world economy has been an established fact for four decades. Excluding the Soviet countries, the United States produces about one half the total world industrial output, generates more than half of world investment, creates about 40 percent of world money income, and accounts for approximately 16 percent of international trade.

Clearly, then, the United States exerts a powerful influence on the economic destiny of all countries throughout the world. For our border states—Canada and Mexico—this impact is particularly strong and widespread; historical tradition and intimate economic ties bind us closely to our two neighbors and burden us with a special responsibility for their economic well-being.

It is a matter of empirical record that, over a substantial period of Canadian history, the predominant external influence on Canada originated in the United Kingdom; however, World War I marked the beginnings of a discernible shift in favor of the United States. This process of shifting orientation continued almost without interruption during the interwar period. Yet it was World War II, with its sharply differential impact on the economic fortunes of the leading industrial nations, which initiated the emergence of an unprecedented range intensity of economic ties between the United States and Canada.

Our economic dealings, as well as our historical circumstances, maintain the particularly close relationship between the United States and Canada. First, with regard to international commodity trade—unquestionably one of the central links in an economic union—the United States currently provides a market for about three-fifths of Canadian exports and a source of supply for almost three-quarters of Canadian import requirements. This compares with an export ratio of some 17 percent and an import ratio of 9 percent for the United Kingdom. By contrast, the trade position in 1939 was quite the reverse: the United States took about 40 percent of Canada's exports and provided about two-thirds of Canadian imports, while corresponding figures for the United Kingdom were 36 percent and 15 percent, respectively.

Accompanying these revolutionary changes in the volume and direction of trade have been equally significant shifts in its composition. In terms of exports, the most notable change has been the declining relative importance of agricultural products and the expanded proportion of forest and mineral products. In the case of imports, the changes have involved a rising proportion of industrial machinery and equipment and durable consumer goods.

Investment ranks with trade as one of the key determinants of Canadian economic activity, and, again, a brief examination of the U.S. role in this area reveals the tremendous impact that our economic policy has on the Canadian scene. Americans currently hold more than three-quarters of total foreign investment in Canada, and the U.S. share has been growing steadily throughout the century. Closely associated with this expansion has been the remarkable growth of U.S. direct involvement in Canadian industry, largely through American subsidiaries engaged in manufacturing, mining, and petroleum operations. An integral feature of this American contribution to capital investment has been the special quality of much of the capital inflows: accompanying U.S. investment in Canadian industry, and intrinsically related to it, have been important market connections and the uniquely heavy inflows of technology, entrepreneurial and managerial skills, and ideas and designs developed by American research. Thus, inevitably, the United States has served to shape a large part of Canadian industry in its own mold.

Apart from close contact through corporations and business enterprises generally, there are many other institutional links bridging the two economies. In this connection, the international trade union is of great importance and long-standing. Also worthy of attention are a rich complex of organizations ranging from the purely economic, for instance, stock exchanges, trade associations, and investment funds, to the broadest forms of social organization, for example, universities, nonprofit research institutions, and medical facilities.

Certainly, not to be forgotten as a set of crucial links in the Canada-United States relationship is the mass communication media, that is the press, television, radio, and the film industry. Ready Canadian access to, and widespread use of, these American facilities necessarily involve the rapid transmission to Canada of America tastes, standards, and customs.

Reinforcing this process of communication are the personal links between Americans and Canadians. The great majority of Canada's population, distributed along a narrow band parallel to the U.S. border, live within easy reach of American metropolitan centers, and through family, business and professional ties, as well as large-scale travel and migration, have frequent and extensive contact with their American neighbors.

It is this transference of ideas mainly from south to north, together with the similarity of problems and responses in a common North American setting, which impart to Canada-United States relations a quality and cohesiveness which it would be difficult to find elsewhere in the world.

The overwhelming fact which emerges from a study of economic relationships between the United States and Canada is that both countries are operating within the framework of a North American economy embracing strikingly similar institutions, attitudes, technology, and patterns of behavior. The implications which this intimacy has upon our economic policies are vast; by virtue of historical tradition on one hand and the tie of our current economic situation on the other, Canada deserves and demands special consideration in the formulation of U.S. economic policy.

Our economic relationship with our neighbor to the south—Mexico—is just as intimate as our relationship with Canada, yet the character of our economic involvement in the Latin American sphere is quite different. Whereas the United States-Canada ties exist between two very similar nations, in Mexico one observes the relationship between a less developed nation and its wealthy neighbor.

In such a relationship, the dilemma facing the growth-conscious developing nation is the much-discussed "trade-gap" problem, whereby there is a conflict between the acceleration of internal development and the maintenance of external balance. Then suggested methods for coping with the problem tend to place the burden of adjustment on the advanced country; such adjustment is most often discussed in terms of broad global trade reforms, a greater volume of less expensive aid and more extensive grants.

While this provides, very simply, a profile of the type of responsibility a rich nation assumes for the development of relatively poor countries, the implications are particularly great in the case of the United States and Mexico.

A study of Mexican history reveals that the United States has long occupied first place in Mexico's foreign trade, both as a supplier and as a purchaser. In 1966, Mexico held the most prominent position in U.S. trade with Latin America, and sixth place in U.S. trade with the world. In the same year, the United States purchased about 63 percent of Mexico's total exports while supplying 64 percent of its total imports. These figures, like those documenting Canadian-United States trade, dramatize the special economic ties we have with our border states.

The investment factor is again an important consideration in assessing both the current impact and the potential for impact on the Mexican economy. A special policy of the Mexican Government is encouraging foreign-company investment along the border, and many U.S. firms are opening plants in the border towns. Most are light manufacturing industries, including textiles and electronics, that use much hand labor. So long as the finished products of these companies are not sold in Mexico, the firms are permitted to bring in materials duty-free. The hope obviously is to compete with Hong Kong and other centers in Asia. Labor costs are one-third to one-half those in the United States, and while these costs are much higher than Hong Kong's, the cost of transportation to the American market is far lower. The incentives for American investment in Mexico, as well as the opportunities for such investment, are keen.

Certainly the tourist trade, especially in recent years, provides a strong link between the United States and Mexico, with U.S. visitors to Mexico numbering over 1.5 million and spending over $860 million last year alone. Related industries, such as the airline establishment, profit tremendously from this trade and serve to bring the two countries into increasingly closer contact with one another.

Because Mexico, sharing a common border, has so many close trade, financial and other ties with the United States, the growth-conscious country's continued economic expansion with stability is of special interest. It follows, then, that the United States must not only be wary of discrimination against border nations in its commercial policy, but also must do all that is possible to strengthen the relationships with our neighbors and recognize the distinctive intimacy that marks our economic ties.

Mr. Speaker, my intention thus far has been to elaborate upon the fact that while the United States exerts a powerful influence on the economic destiny of all countries throughout the world, Mexico and Canada are subject to an impact that is particularly strong and widespread. The historical facts and the economic figures, in addition to common geographical borders, document the uniquely close relationship between the United States and Canada and Mexico.

Furthermore, while it has been pointed out that the flow of our own economic current sends strong ripples in the direction of our immediate neighbors, it must also be remembered that the relationship between the United States and our border nations is a reciprocal one; that is, we most certainly will feel the influence of their economic progress—not only in the area of our domestic economy, but also in the political and social sectors where repercussions are most easily felt.

Having established the fact that our relationships with our border nations have a special character that allows our economic destinies to be closely intertwined, it then follows that each of us should give careful consideration to the impact on the other in the formulation and execution of economic policies. Given the fact that our economic policies have the greatest effect on those nations which are commercially most intimate with and dependent upon us—along with the additional awareness that our own fortune is wrapped up in theirs—one should logically conclude that the United States must give special treatment to the border zones of Canada and Mexico in the determination of U.S. commercial policy.

I make this point in special reference to the various bills enacted by Congress, both in the field of textiles and apparel specifically, and to general quota bills which would restrain the entire U.S. import trade. These blanket policies, first, disregard the special obligations to our border nations who, naturally, are discriminated against most heavily in the instrumentation of U.S. import quotas, second, are not justified by the economic facts, third, will not solve the problems for which import protection is claimed to be a solution, and fourth, do little but to enlarge the capacity of entrenched protectionist groups to sustain their positions of power in the formulation of U.S. commercial policy.

First. Blanket policies are inequitable and discriminate unfairly against our border zones.

A most dramatic example of such discrimination may be seen in the effect that U.S. embargoes are having upon Mexico's border industrial development program. Here, in an area where the United States would like to help Mexico develop its economy as rapidly as possible, the enactment of a blanket policy is having drastic effects.

Under the Long-Term Agreement on Cotton Textiles, the United States insisted that Mexico negotiate a bilateral arrangement limiting annual shipments; last March the United States embargoed certain Mexican textile shipments entirely, since they have already soared past the yearly quota. The problem here is that the border factories, which are working with materials imported from the United States under the program, were not included in the original quota. Apparently, they were regarded as American factories, not liable to limitation. Now, our Department of Commerce holds that cotton goods assembled abroad, in whole or in part, with products of the United States are treated as foreign articles. The results are harmful to both the United States and Mexico: American firms have learned that all their items in Mexico must sit in bonded warehouses, and, according to the Mexican textile industry, 17 firms have already had to close or drastically cut back due to the embargo.

Thus, by not recognizing the intimate ties between our own firms and the border zones and by refusing to make the exceptions that might not only rescue the floundering border industries but our own interests as well, we enact a blanket policy that inflicts a dual injury to ourself and our neighbor.

Second. Blanket import restriction is not justified by the economic facts.

The 1967 report of the Tariff Commission concludes:

> The domestic producers, have, by most broad measures, enjoyed a period of unparalleled growth since the early 1960's—

And continued—

> Along with increased output, there was also a marked expansion in sales, employment, and new investment in plant and equipment during this period.

Even in those particular areas where domestic production has declined, the Commission concluded:

> In relatively few instances do imports appear to have been a major factor.

The Tariff Commission report thoroughly documented the pattern of growth in both the textile mill products and apparel products industries and compared the performance of imports: A marked pattern of growth was demonstrated by the industries commencing in 1961 and continuing uninterrupted through 1966. The credit squeeze and the resulting downturn in the economy generally in 1967 reversed the trend, however the industries involved reversed this movement and today have recovered fully enough to surpass previous peaks in 1966. During this period imports also grew, yet this growth was commensurate with the growth in the domestic industries and reflected the increased demand for textile and apparel products. Imports reached a height in 1966, in order to supply the high demand of that year, but fell off sharply in 1967 with declines greater than those for shipments of the domestic industries. Along with the recovery in the domestic industries in the last part of 1967 and first months of 1968, imports have also resumed their growth, but this has been a growth comparable to that of the domestic industries. In summation, over the last 7 years, the textile industry has been well able to withstand import competition.

Third. Import restriction will not solve the problems for which it is claimed to be a solution.

While I do not deny that there exist, both at present and in the future, important problems facing the domestic industries, import quotas that block the relations between the United States and her border nations are not the answer to problems of employment, the dilemma of the smaller plants in the industry that must withstand the competition of the larger units, or the balance-of-payments problem.

As for the present question of employment, particularly in the sensitive areas of the unskilled minority groups, there has been increasing, rather than decreasing employment in both the textile and apparel industries. This has been particularly true in the South and particularly true among Negroes. In the future, it appears that if the work which we are doing ourselves can be better and more cheaply done elsewhere—that is, the issue of the wage differential between labor in the United States and the border nations in particular—then the answer lies in efforts to retrain our working forces and locate them in other economic areas where there is a need for their energies. Rather than negative programs such as import restrictions, the solution to the employment problem lies in more positive programs such as an adequate program of worker training.

Import protection would also seem to fail to alter meaningfully the fierce competition from the industry giants that threaten the life of the smaller firms. The real problem of the smaller plants are technological developments and the competitive strength of the larger units, and it would appear that investment, modernization of facilities, research and development in new product lines, improved inventory control and promotional efforts are needed, and not import quotas. The solution to the problem of smaller marginal firms certainly lies either in an increase in their efficiency or in merger with organizations which can supply the financial strength, marketing, or managerial skills necessary to sustain a viable economic unit.

Finally, the domestic industries have claimed that our balance-of-payments problem would be solved by import quotas. Fundamentally, our balance of payments has suffered because our economy is inflationary and because of overseas military expenditures. Imports are attracted, and exports discouraged under these conditions. General measures to remedy our internal situation are what would constitute constructive and meaningful responses to our current balance difficulties. Quota restrictions, and certainly blanket restrictions, would not curb this problem in the least; quite the opposite. To give an example of how such measures might have adverse effects, one might look at the situation cited earlier of the present block in sending our cotton goods to Mexico for assembly. The full picture must be seen before trying to justify such embargoes: The full story is that the choice is not between having the goods assembled in Mexico or the United States, but rather whether we have them assembled in Mexico or in the Far East where labor is cheaper even than in Mexico but where U.S. cotton will not be used. Again, it appears that, if we were to take exception to our border zones in the formulation of our commercial policies and strengthen rather than weaken our ties, we would improve the health of our economy instead of endangering it.

Fourth. Enacting blanket policies under pressure only enlarges the capacity of entrenched protectionist groups to sustain their positions of power.

In dealing with this issue, we deal with the operation of two sets of countervailing forces: on one hand, the widespread American acceptance of the general objectives of the reciprocal trade agreements program, as well as current U.S. policy of promoting world economic expansion; and on the other hand, the sustained vigor of protectionist pressure groups in the United States, along with the fact of availability to them of such potent protective instruments as the escape-clause system and informal controls. At any particular time, the direction taken by U.S. commercial policy might be more or less liberal, depending upon the relative intensity of the opposing influences.

At this time, continuing criticism from labor and a chorus of vociferous complaints has put the U.S. Government in a difficult position. The administration would like to help Mexico develop its economy as rapidly as possible and keep all sources of friction between the two countries to a minimum. However, this is an election year, when political pressure by an influential labor organization can obtain maximum mileage. In these circumstances, the political force and efficacy with which private pressure groups push their demands for increased protection is greatly strengthened, and the opportunity for a carefully reasoned appraisal of the economic situation—including a serious consideration of the position of our border areas—is lessened.

Under the pressure of self-interest groups, the crucial questions are not raised. One hears the call to protect our own workers and preserve our domestic industries, but one fails to consider the question of whether such measures will penalize the consumer by higher prices and restricted choice in style, fashion, and variety. After all, do we buy for patriotic value, for instance, looking at labels to detect the American-made product, or do we buy for value, in terms of cost and quality? Also yet to be fully considered is the question of why we are subsidizing old inefficient industries, like the American steel industry, which are trying to perpetuate themselves. Thus, under the label of "protection" we are hasty to enact economic measures without evaluating the worth of what we are protecting and without asking whether such forms of "protection" only feed one illness and encourage others while assuming the guise of a cure-all.

Mr. Speaker, when we deal with the matter of maintaining and improving the relations, in particular the economic relations, between the United States and her geographical neighbors and when we explore the issue of import restrictions we deal with two very closely related problems as I hope I have made clear. If one recognizes the ties between the United States and Mexico and the United States and Canada, and if one realizes that these relationships are reciprocal and thereby vital to the economic well-being of all three nations, then one must agree that the border zones must be given special treatment in the formulation and instrumentation of our commercial policy.

Given the overwhelming economic power of the United States and an understanding of the political and economic facts of international life it is difficult to see how we can afford not to ease the conditions of access to the American market and the freer entry of foreign goods or foreign-processed goods into the United States.

Moreover, given an understanding of our ties with Mexico and Canada and the unique situation that makes our interchange with them so vital, it follows that it is these areas more than any other that depend upon and deserve our special consideration.

INDIANAPOLIS HOUSING AUTHORITY DEDICATES NEW 248-UNIT RESIDENCE FOR ELDERLY AND HANDICAPPED PERSONS

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, on July 20, 1968, the housing authority of the city of Indianapolis, Ind., dedicated the new John J. Barton Apartments, a 248-unit high-rise tower for housing elderly and handicapped persons. This magnificent new 21-story senior citizens' residence, which was designed by Evans Woollen & Associates to meet the special needs of older and handicapped individuals, is only the first in a series of housing facilities which has been planned for construction in the near future by this agency.

Although the Indianapolis Housing Authority was first established in 1950, a decision was made 3 years later to liquidate its operations and it was completely shut down in 1958. During the administration of former Mayor John J. Barton, however, the agency was reestablished in 1964, and since that date it has made steady progress.

At present the housing authority of Indianapolis has developed plans for 3,000 new units of housing, 750 of which will be for the elderly, at a total expected cost of $50 million. In addition it is seeking approval for 2,000 more units costing some $35 million more.

The planning for these various housing facilities indicate not only considerable variety but also much ingenuity. Adjacent to the just-completed 21-story apartment tower, two other buildings will be constructed utilizing air rights over streets and other property. Also, a former downtown hotel is now being rehabilitated for use by older tenants. A total of 2,250 townhouse family units will be built on 17 different sites scattered throughout the city, each with a community building and supervised recreation activities.

Mr. President, I am pleased to note the excellent progress which the Indianapolis Housing Authority has made since its reactivation only 4 years ago and wish to commend those who have been in charge of the forward-looking program which has been developed. I ask unanimous consent that a statement describing briefly the future plans and the accomplishments of this agency be printed in the Record at the close of my remarks.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Résumé of the Plans, Programs, and Accomplishments of the Housing Authority of the City of Indianapolis, Ind., June 1968

The Housing Authority of the City of Indianapolis, Indiana ("Authority") was originally founded in 1950, and was ordered to cease operations and begin relocation of 738 resident families in 1953. This relocation was completed, along with demolition, and the Authority's office closed on June 30, 1958. The Authority was reactivated by former Mayor John J. Barton in March of 1964.

The Authority's present Program Reservation is for 3000 units—750 units for the elderly and 2250 family units. The total cost of the 3000 units will exceed $50,000,000. A future Program Reservation for an additional 2000 units is now in Washington and approval is expected shortly. This will mean an additional $35,000,000 in construction funds.

The 750 units for the elderly will be comprised of the following:

(1) The present 21-story 248 unit tower located at 555 Massachusetts Avenue. In this structure we have incorporated all possible safety measures for the protection of the tenants, including grab bars installed in each unit, and an electrical alarm system which summons aid by showing on a master board in the custodian's quarters. A bell and red light is located over each unit door and when the alarm is activated it automatically opens the unit door so that assistance may enter immediately. On the 15th floor of the tower we have provided community space and a recreation area with a community kitchen. Residents also have the benefit of an exterior promenade deck at this level, from which the surrounding areas of the city can be seen. Future plans include clinics for both medical and dental care.

(2) Two buildings containing 256 units, to be constructed just east of the present 21-story tower. In this project the Authority will use air rights for construction, which represents the first such construction in the City of Indianapolis. One of the proposed structures will span North East Street from east to west, with connections at the west end of he building to the present tower structure.

(3) Rehabilitation of the twin-tower former Continental Hotel located at 410 North Meridian Street, to provide for 246 Units. This rehabilitation program is now in process, and the general administrative offices of the Authority will also be located in this structure. Upon completion, modern, completely renovated units with all facilities for both comfort and safety will be provided for elderly tenants.

At the present time the 750 unit allotment for Senior Citizens' housing is a small percentage of the number of units needed in the City of Indianapolis.

The 2250 family units will be constructed on some 17 different sites. Each project will consist of two-story town-house apartments, which present a more home-like appearance and give each tenant the privilege of both a front and back yard area. All family units (as well as all elderly units) will be equipped with new ranges, refrigerators, garbage disposals and built-in cabinet units. All family projects will also have the benefit of a Community Building for indoor and outdoor recreation, supervised by personnel from the Metropolitan Park Department. These Community Buildings will also be available for general meetings, consultation and management and maintenance meetings.

Following is a breakdown of the projects, showing location, size and cost of construction:

ELDERLY HOUSING SITES

1. *The 21-story Senior Citizens' Tower, 555 Massachusetts Avenue*—248 units built at a cost of $3,689,000.00.

2. *The new Senior Citizens' site, adjacent to the tower*—256 units to be built at an estimated cost of $4,069,000.00.

3. *The former Continental Hotel, 410 North Meridian Street*—246 units to be rehabilitated at an estimated cost of $2,000,000.00.

FAMILY HOUSING SITES

(All to be of 2 story town-house construction and units in each project to range in size from one through five bedrooms.)

4. *Tibbs and Cossell Road*—110 units to be built at an estimated cost of $1,935,000.00.

5. *Michigan and Holmes*—200 units to be built at an estimated cost of $3,878,599.00.

6. *19th and Hillside*—a proposed Redevelopment area for 250 units to be built at an estimated cost of $4,369,871.00.

7. *24th and Hillside*—250 units to be built at an estimated cost of $4,273,432.00.

8. *28th and Rural Streets (East)*—110 units to be built at an estimated cost of $2,000,000.00. This area is to be part of a major Model Cities Program.

9. *30th and Baltimore*—250 units to be built at an estimated cost of $3,975,000.00.

10. *32d and Emerson*—164 units to be built at an estimated cost of $2,750,000.00.

11. *Earhart and Prospect Streets*—A Redevelopment area for Public Housing for a proposed 250 units to be built at an estimated cost of $4,000,000.00.

12. *Raymond and Perkins Streets*—250 units to be built at an estimated cost of $4,035,700.00.

OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE PEOPLE

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, law and order has consumed as much time and attention by this 90th Congress as any other issue. Many have lashed out to accuse the police of being responsible for many of the problems which have made crime and lawlessness of paramount concern to all Americans.

It was most refreshing and encouraging to come across an article in the July issue of the VFW magazine which gives the overworked police forces of this Nation full credit for the tremendous job they are doing for the law-abiding people of this Nation. It is an article by the commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Joseph A. Scerra, entitled "Of the People, by the People, and for the People."

To paraphrase Commander in Chief Scerra:

> Whatever one chooses to call the police, this Nation cannot survive without them. And this Nation is "The People."

I place the full text of the article in the Record at this point:

Of the People, by the People, and for the People

(By Joseph A. Scerra, commander-in-chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States)

Let's go "cop" hunting. Why not? It's open season on law enforcement officers. The audible portion of the American public has turned its back on law and order. Even J. Edgar Hoover, whose name is synonymous with integrity, is being snapped at by jackals.

In a large metropolitan city the other day, a young police officer was brutally murdered on the public sidewalk by a gang of criminals. A thousand policemen from a score of cities attended his funeral, but the only private citizens there were the widows of other murdered officers. "The People" for whom he kept the peace, and gave his life, scarcely heeded his passing. To them he was just a "Cop." And "Cops" aren't really human beings.

He was just a "Cop." And yet the Police Department Chaplain said of him:

"He performed an act of heroism equal to any this city has ever seen. He, too, had a dream . . . he had a zest for life. He looked forward to advancement. His goals were set extremely high. He had ambition . . . What is heroism? What is dedication? A young officer, deciding to give up his dream so you and I might have ours."

He was just a "Cop"! He was 26. He was an ex-marine. He was an honorable, law-abiding citizen. He was a patriotic and dedicated public servant. He was a great American. He was also a Negro. He was proud of both his race and his country—proud enough to die for them—and for "The People."

Yet none of that vast majority of silent "fellow citizens," whose burdens and responsibilities he carried, cared very much. He was just a "Cop" to them. Not a fellow human being. Not a person with normal feelings of pain and pride and anger. Not a sorrowing mother's only son. Not even a courageous and unselfish fellow citizen doing his duty, and theirs, to uphold their law—to preserve their "government of laws." No, he was just a "Cop," the "Fuzz," a "Flatfoot," a

"Harness Bull"—a despised creature apart and far below their gay and irresponsible social whirl.

"You will never respond to verbal abuse." This was the firm admonition of a Police Chief to a graduating class of 39 young policemen recently—in a great city which has vacancies for at least 500 more and a need for several thousand.

Why only 39, when so many people are clamoring for jobs? How much abuse are you willing to take from total strangers? How much abuse are you willing to take from any man? How much verbal abuse can you take without "responding"?

It is growing more and more difficult to induce young men in this country to enter the field of law enforcement. Why should they?

Read the newspapers. Listen to the radio. Watch television. There is a firmly established group of newscasters and reporters who regularly indoctrinate you with the anti-law-enforcement mania of our times. In their subtle, "completely impersonal," but degenerating way, they are chipping away at the very foundation of American democracy. They routinely suggest and produce alleged "evidence" to prove that policemen represent no one but themselves; that individual officers are sadistic in their treatment of persons accused of crime—who are always "innocent," of course, or "justified" in breaking the law.

The "heroes" of these monsters of the media are the criminals—because "society made them so." They are the "users," the "pushers," the narcotics peddlers, the rioters, the destructive demonstrators, the anarchists and the Communists. Never the policeman. He is the villain.

It has been said over and over again that ours is a "government of laws and not of men." Yet no law is self-operative. Enforcement is not inherent in the words of any statute. Men enact our laws. Men interpret and apply them. And men enforce them.

Who are these men? They are policemen. They are official representatives of "The People." The trouble with us today is that we have forgotten who "The People" are.

They are not the criminals. They are not the anti-American demonstrators or the draft dodgers. They are not the destructive and militant dissenters who hate all things American. They are that vast and silent majority of decent human beings who pay pyramiding taxes to support these drones. These are "The People" for whom policemen daily risk their lives to provide protection under the law.

This hard-working, tax-paying, law-abiding majority *is* this nation. It is they who have the greater right to be heard—and the greater duty to speak out. It is "of them," "by them" and "for them" that this government exists. One of the most essential functions of any government is to protect decent citizens from those who violate their laws.

Police officers are the official agents of "The People" to carry out this purpose of self-government in their behalf. Abuse them and you abuse the nation.

It is not always easy to draw a line of demarkation between conflicting rights. It is even more difficult for partisans to recognize and honor that line once it is drawn. Beyond that, there are always persons who refuse to respect either the line or the rights. Thus, if civilization is to continue to progress, we must have laws and they must be enforced.

To accomplish this we must have a police force, and this police force makes up the very foundation of our government. Upon their courage and integrity; upon their good judgment and loyalty to principle; upon their unselfish devotion to duty rests the superstructure of justice. Our form of government must stand or fall upon the quality of that structure.

When a police officer seeks to arrest one charged with crime he is not acting in self-defense or for any selfish motive. He acts in defense of the State—and the State *is* "The People."

Since the early attempts of man to govern himself and his neighbors, certain individuals have been selected, prevailed upon and appointed to assume the burdens and the risks of providing protection under the rules adopted for that purpose by the majority of those concerned. Whether frontier marshals, county sheriffs, town constables or city police, they have always been official representatives of "The People." They have served no private purpose. They have served "of the people, by the people and for the people."

Historically, they are underpaid. Traditionally, they are something less than socially acceptable. Officially, they have always been fair game for persons with ulterior motives. Judicially, they are routinely ridiculed, maligned and insulted.

They go their quiet way, serving "The People"—sometimes in the dark recesses of the night; often in the nervous tenseness of the pre-dawn hours; in the sweltering heat of the day in heavy woolen uniforms; in the rain and snow of winter, harassed, imposed upon, slandered and abused by the benefactors of their dedicated service.

They are unfairly criticized by every disgruntled citizen. They are threatened, insulted, falsely accused, sued, condemned and suspended without pay upon any man's allegation. Every day and every night, somewhere in this nation, a police officer is being cursed, assaulted, beaten and murdered.

Their grieving families suffer in silence and alone, except for the sympathy extended by their fellow officers. None of them ever leaves enough money to care for those families. Yet "The People" simply shrug and call them "fools" for ever having entered the profession.

"Honest and upright citizens" threaten each day of their lives, on some pretext of righteous anger, to "get their jobs." They are invariably presumed to be at fault by elected officials.

Let a police officer shoot an escaping or attacking felon, caught in an act of vicious depredation, and the headlines scream, "Policeman Kills Young Boy."

Let a police officer fail to arrive in time to prevent a crime and listen to the tirade of the "taxpayer."

Let a police officer be beaten by demonstrators who are violating the law and "it was good enough for him for interfering with their civil rights."

Let a police officer be mauled to the point of death, and even murdered by rioters, and what private citizen will come to his assistance?

Let a police officer be brutally slain in the process of preventing a robbery, a burglary, arson or rape and what paper will give him sympathetic headlines?

On every hand the false claim of "police brutality" is aflame throughout the land. It has become the standard banner of defense in every criminal trial. The criminal is "presumed to be innocent," and the arresting officer's character is routinely made the "defendant" in every court room. Lawyers deliberately and painstakingly misrepresent the facts to blacken the good name of every officer. Judges tolerate it and even encourage it. The news media lend "sob sister" credence to it. And "The People" continue to believe only "what they read in the papers." All of the brutalities of life are currently marshalled against law enforcement.

What difference does it make? After all, they are only "Cops." But whatever you choose to call them, this nation cannot survive without them. And this nation is "The People."

THE MIDWAY AIRPORT PROPOSAL

HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, at frequent intervals during the life of this 90th Congress, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD has carried statements commenting on the proposal to construct a new airport facility in southern West Virginia. This facility has been referred to as "Midway Airport" and is proposed to be located about equidistant from the two cities of Charleston and Huntington.

No doubt some curiosity has been aroused by the fact that all statements placed in the RECORD have come from one source only, and all have featured praise of the Midway proposition. Actually, there is far more to the proposal than has been brought to the attention of the Members of this House, and developments have reached a stage which suggest that certain of these developments should be called to general attention.

The Midway proposal is the outgrowth of a recommendation by the Federal Aviation Administration in May 1967, announced by FAA Administrator McKee. In substance, General McKee stated that FAA recommended a Midway Airport be built rather than improve the airports now serving the two separate cities.

No supporting data of a technical or engineering character was offered to bolster this decision and no Federal funds were pledged or committed. A month after the announcement on June 16, 1967, Mr. Chester G. Bowers, speaking for the Federal Aviation Administration, discussed the decision widely in a television interview and stated that it was essentially an "investment decision" governed by a judgment as to where the agency could best apply its limited resources to assist the State and its communities. However, Mr. Bowers made it plain that implementation of the recommendation was predicated on the development of unified local support from among the communities to be served. From the very beginning many experienced persons held reservations about this recommendation because they doubted that the proposed goal could actually be attained. It was quite obvious that adequate local matching funds would be difficult to obtain in quantities sufficient to meet the requirements of title 49 of the code which stipulates the terms under which FAAP grants may be committed.

However, for more than a year this issue has been the source of controversy in the area and has reopened many old wounds between the several communities. It has disrupted efforts toward cooperation in other areas of joint concern. The passage of time has demonstrated clearly that what was first greatly feared by informed persons has actually come to pass.

The application for Federal funds filed in support of the Midway Airport proposal is clearly inadequate from the standpoint of local matching fund totals available. During the past year, however, the matter has passed beyond the stage of community development or public improvement and it has become a largely charged emotional issue involving many public officials. It has aroused growing distrust of Government programs among many citizens who were led to believe that they would receive massive Federal grant funds to build a $20 million airport if only they approved relatively small local bond issues.

Some of these persons now question the integrity and good faith of those who were active in the Midway promotion. Others, realizing the truth have fallen to name calling and blame fixing.

This whole affair should be an object lesson to every Member of the House whose district consists of small- and medium-sized communities. It should serve as a strong reminder to never permit FAA to require that two or more jurisdictions combine sponsorship as a price for FAA funding support, unless it is clearly established in advance that the principle is acceptable to all parties concerned.

A questionable and unpopular Federal agency decision, unsupported by any significant data, announced in May 1967, has now reached a stage at which it has resulted in unwarranted reflections being cast on the work and career of one of the outstanding men in American public life, Senator Jennings Randolph, chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, who is an acknowledged expert in airport and airways matters with credentials in that field extending back over more than 20 years.

Those who were warned in the very beginning of certain fiscal pitfalls built into the Midway proposal are now attempting to fasten the blame for their shortsightedness on Senator Randolph, and we see the spectacle of businessmen delivering speeches before luncheon clubs in which they refer to Senator Randolph as the enemy of a Federal-aid project in his own home State. In point of fact, the record of the Congress since 1960 will reveal no Member in either body who has pressed to conclusion broad public works programs with greater vigor and skill than Senator Randolph. Every one of the 50 States today contains roads, public buildings, and community betterments which were the outgrowth of programs he brought to successful conclusion through tireless effort and skillful maneuvers.

I will say no more on the subject at this juncture, but to demonstrate the manner in which an ill-conceived Federal agency decision can create threatening conditions for an elected Federal official whose accomplishments are internationally recognized, I ask my colleagues to ponder and reflect on the text of a letter written on July 29, 1968, by Senator Jennings Randolph, which follows:

U.S. Senate,
Committee on Public Works,
Washington, D.C., July 29, 1968.

Mr. R. O. Robertson, Jr.,
President, Southwestern Airport Authority of West Virginia, Huntington, W. Va.

Dear Mr. Robertson: The Huntington Publishing Company's newspaper accounts of your speech to the Huntington Rotary Club on Monday, July 22, 1968, have been read.

I note the following press reference to your comments:

"He said Sen. Jennings Randolph is 'our strongest and most dangerous foe. But for him, the May, 1967, FAA decision which endorsed the midway proposal would have been final.' "

That statement is not factual. I am not "dangerous." I am not a "foe." And it is not true that, but for me, "the May, 1967, FAA decision which endorsed the midway proposal would have been final." If I were your "most dangerous foe", I would not be working for legislation in the Congress to help make much easier the financing of projects such as the midway proposal.

The Federal Aviation Administration has stated *a position* with reference to the midway (between Huntington and Charleston) airport site—a position favoring it as a long-range goal. But FAA has never made *a decision* on the proposition other than to help finance the Preston and Associates preliminary engineering study.

The truth is that, until the Preston report was completed and your Authority filed a request last month for an FAAP land acquisition grant, FAA did not have anything valid before it on which to base *a decision*. The FAA *decision* must comport with provisions of the Federal Airport Act. The midway proposal must overcome conditions of extreme competition for funds which are in very short supply. It must compete at a time when the government is in the grips of an austerity program which includes mandatory expenditure reductions imposed by a new law. And the midway proposal must not preempt Appalachian funds intended by Congress for health and education purposes.

After detailed study, I am convinced that the barrier against an immediate favorable *decision* by the FAA on the midway airport proposal is the finance plan you announced to the Huntington Rotary Club. The barrier is *not* Jennings Randolph. When the midway finance plan is compared with the realities of Federal appropriations and Federal expenditures authorized and/or restricted by Federal law and Federal policy there is a substantial degree of incompatibility. This is not a condition for which I am responsible. *I am the member of the West Virginia delegation in the Congress who has been offering legislation and working to overcome the conditions of incompatibility between the midway airport finance plan and the fiscal stringencies surrounding the Federal Aviation Administration in its management of the national airport/airways system.*

The budget squeeze and the battle for appropriations are annual conditions. They are with us more than usual this year. Superimposed atop them, and overriding both budget and appropriations problems, is the mandatory provision now in law requiring that *expenditures be reduced by $6 billion* to help our country ease the dollar and gold crisis. My efforts are associated with plans to mitigate against the insufficiency of annual appropriations for airport aid and to overcome in substantial degree the effects of forced expenditure reductions on already inadequate aid for airport appropriations and expenditure authorizations. I offered legislation toward this goal. I have been consistently advocating creation of an Airport Development Trust Fund and special financing to nourish it.

The legislation which I introduced (S. 3641) would establish a new program under a proposed Federal Airport Development Act consistent with ideas on the subject advanced by all of the air carrier members of the Air Transport Association of America excepting only two companies which do not favor any Federal airport aid programs. Several facets of my measure were retained in the revised bill the Senate Commerce Committee filed with a favorable report to the Senate. The Committee-amended version of S. 3641 is a good bill which, if enacted into law, would be most helpful to the advancement of aviation and the development of the airport/airways system. It most certainly would be a means by which some of the fiscal hurdles of the midway airport project could be overcome. That bill needs help and vigorous support to get on the Senate calendar, to be passed by the Senate, and to have consideration and action in the House of Representatives.

It would be far more pertinent and logical if you and your associates in the midway venture would stop blaming Jennings Randolph for lack of progress, and, instead, take the affirmative step of going to work for the Senate Commerce Committee substitute for the Randolph bill (S. 3641). If legislation of that type is not passed by this Congress, or by the 91st Congress early next year, I fear the midway airport project applications will have to overcome hurdles as high in 1969 and 1970 as those now prevailing. I have not placed those hurdles in the midway path, but they are there. The fact is that I have been working closely with my friend, Senator Monroney of Oklahoma, to have them removed as obstructions to airport and airways development so vitally necessary in this country, and certainly in our State.

Your delineation of the midway finance plan sets land acquisition estimates at $285,000, site preparation at $8,038,000, and landing facilities at $4,463,000. These are the costs, I believe, which qualify for matching under the FAAP, and they total $12,786,000. The "Navaids" costs are estimated at $2,870,000 and should qualify for FAA assistance under the airways portion of the program. Terminal area costs, for which there is no matching under the existing Federal Airport Act, and none under Appalachia, are estimated at $3,404,000. There is added an item of $40,000 for engineering. Thus, the estimated costs of the landing area, "Navaids," and the terminal area are $19.1 million, to which is added $1.5 million for access roads subscribed by the State Road Commission. Hence, the overall total costs are estimated at $20.6 million. I do not dispute these costs, although I know that there are serious questions in some quarters concerning the adequacy of the site preparation estimates, in particular. The history of airport construction reveals few instances where preliminary cost estimates held firm through the design engineering and construction stages. Underestimating has been the almost totally prevailing practice, whether intentional or otherwise.

But, assuming the $20.6 million cost estimate is not exceeded by the costs in fact, it is noted in your finance summary that the "local share" of costs would be met by $3.5 million of bond issue authorizations by participating units of government; $5,349,000 would be issued in revenue anticipation bonds; and $1.5 million represents the State Road Commission access road commitment. These items aggregate $10,340,000, leaving an almost equal amount as the expected Federal grant total at a time in the life of the Federal Aid Airport Program when the average Federal participation in airport projects stands at approximately 25 percent.

Your group's finance plan anticipates $7,690,000 from the Federal Aviation Administration. And there is the listing of $2,562,000 as the expected supplemental grant from the Appalachian Regional Commission.

Let us look realistically at the hurdles which must be surmounted to achieve such goals as $7,690,000 from FAA and $2,562,000 from the Appalachian Regional Commission:

The Appalachian Regional Development Act—and its Section 214, whcih is the source of authority for any Appalachian Commission aid for airports—will expire within less than a year, on June 30, 1969, unless Congress acts very early in 1969 to vote new appropriation and expenditure authorizations.

Mr. Robertson, if we were to press for such authorizations in this Congress we would not succeed and the Applachian program would be a shadow of that of the past and would die next June 30. *In a House-Senate conference as this is being written is the last Applachian program appropriation authorized by law,* and the total cannot be more than the $178,600,000 voted by the Senate (and probably will be several million dollars less because the House voted $168,600,000 as the upper limit for the Appalachian Commission). The budget request and statement of estimated needs by the commission and the President was $213,600,000. So, there will be an Applachian program appropriation for this last year amounting to something on the order of *$40 million less* than was estimated to be needed.

Because I am chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Works, and because this committee has jurisdiction over the field of regional development legislation, and because I authored the original and extended Appalachian Regional Development Acts of 1965 and 1968, I am expected to be the prime mover for further extension and amendment of the act—including new appropriation and expenditure authorizations.

I expect to serve in that role. But I must state to you factually that there is opposition building among West Virginians and in the Congress to an inordinately large portion of our State's or any state's Section 214 allocation being siphoned off for a single airport project at the expense of many, many requests from communities and units of government seeking legitimate shares of Section 214 for health, education, and welfare projects.

The further fact is that the Senate Appropriations Committee report recommending $178,600,000 for the Appalachian program distinctly declares that greater emphasis should be placed on health and other high priority programs rather than on highway and other extremely high-cost construction projects. So, we must face the inescapable fact that the whole Appalachian program will be in jeopardy and will face death if the Governor of West Virginia and your group press for the taking of $2,562,000 out of the Section 214 allocations this year—an amount which is more than five-sixths of the total Section 214 money expected to be apportioned to West Virginia in this final fiscal year for which expenditures under that section are authorized. *Rather than permit this type of situation to jeopardize the future of the Appalachian program, I feel sure that the Appalachian Act will be amended to place a dollar ceiling on the amount which any project, and especially an airport project, can receive as Appalachian supplemental aid.* There have been proposals to the Appalachian Commission that such a policy be adopted, and now there are strong possibilities that such a policy will be enforced as a firm provision in the basic Act, even as an amendment applicable to this last year of Appalachian fund expenditures.

There is no reason for the Governor of West Virginia and your group to anticipate, therefore, that $2,562,000 of funds hang on the Appalachian tree—ripe for picking in this fiscal year, or in the future. The fact is that the future seems to be more bleak than the present, insofar as procuring large sums of Appalachian funds for airport construction is concerned. We know that there is a going Appalachian program—even though its appropriations are limited and even though its expenditures must be reduced. But there is no certainty that there will be one beyond June 30 which would provide uncurbed aid for airports in Appalachia. We can hope that there will be new authorizations—and we can and we will work for them—but we cannot program a major airport development on speculation and the unknown.

Governor Smith and you and your associates must know that which I am certain is a fact, namely, that sponsors of many projects all over West Virginia—projects for vocational education facilities, for hospital facilities, for nursing homes and facilities for the elderly, for higher education facilities, for libraries, and centers for rehabilitation of mentally disturbed children—will not stand by and applaud the destruction of their chances to procure supplemental Appalachian grants while a single airport project seeks as much as possibly five-sixths of all Section 214 funds to be available to our State.

Nor will the sponsors of sewage and watershed projects—denied access to the benefits of that section of the Appalachian program—feel that there is any justice in their being relegated to a non-participation status while an airport project devours an overwhelming part of the total money available.

We saw this same airport issue seriously damage educational progress in Kanawha County last year. This must not happen in both health and education all over West Virginia in the sense that a single airport project would take precedence over a substantial number of health and education projects for supplemental Appalachian program assistance. Those who seek to set that kind of a priority are in error and I can assure them that, as the principal sponsor of the Appalachian Act and as its floor manager in the Senate, *I know* that it was never intended to be used in that fashion. I doubt if such a priority would be sanctioned by West Virginians over the State as a whole—and I fear that such a priority would spell disaster for the Appalachian program in the Congress.

There are better ways—such as S. 3641—to achieve the development of airports—in Appalachia or elsewhere—than to burden the taxpayers generally or to relegate such basic needs of our region as health and education to a subordinate or non-participating status in the competition for limited funds.

You know that an independent Appalachian supplemental grant cannot be made to midway or any other project, unless funds have been subscribed by the agency handling the basic program. This means, in your case, that any Appalachian grant must follow and be supplemental to the grant which the Federal Aviation Administration would make under authority of the Federal Airport Act. Hence, until FAA actually makes a land acquisition and construction grant to be applied to help finance landing facility portions of the proposed midway airport costs, the Appalachian Commission cannot act to commit or grant a dollar for midway. There are many citizens who are not aware that this is a condition imposed by law.

Concerning the grants in money and equipment aggregating $7,690,000 which your Authority expects from the Federal Aviation Administration airport/airways program—approximately $4,820,000 under the FAAP and $2,870,000 for Navaids—the following are facts and conditions which also constitute hurdles and challenges to be overcome before midway applications can progress:

1. Although the Appalachian program is scheduled to expire June 30, 1969, the Federal Airport Act authorizations terminate June 30, 1970.

2. The 1969 FAAP already has been announced. Many of the awards made for airport projects under it are subject to withholding or cancellation. This is because it has been determined that only the air traffic control portion of the FAA program has been excused from coming under the share of the mandatory $6 billion in government-wide expenditure cuts which will be fixed on FAA by the Bureau of the Budget. So a project involving $7,690,000 of expected airport aid and Navaid equipment obviously cannot get into the 1969 program when it already is not in that program.

3. For the 1970 airport/airways program, Congress will be making appropriations within the next few days, and, as mentioned in item one, it will be for the last year the Federal Airport Act authorizes appropriations and expenditures. The FAA appropriations are in a Senate-House conference, and the maximum that can come out of the conference and be passed by Congress for fiscal 1970 airport aid will be $65 million. FAA has had an annual request for over $350 million in airport project aid, and a higher figure may logically be expected in fiscal 1970, with only $65 million or less available. Under these conditions, and with many millions of dollars of 1969 expenditure cuts, and their effects, running into fiscal 1970—and with no appropriation or expenditure authorization in law beyond fiscal 1970—the prospect that FAA could fund any part of the midway project in fiscal 1969 or fiscal 1970 is very bleak.

But the situation could be very different if: Before the 90th Congress adjourns this year, or, early next year in the first session of the 91st Congress, a new airport development program is enacted or the old airport aid program is extended and receives new authorizations by act of Congress for fiscal years beyond June 30, 1970.

A grant of $300,000 or even a lesser amount, for land acquisition would be difficult for FAA to make and for the Comptroller General of the United States to justify if there are no airport aid program appropriations and expenditure authorizations in the statute or definitely in sight in the legislative process for the years beyond July 1, 1970. Yet, your finance plan projects into years beyond that date and contemplates receipt of funds from programs which are not even authorized in those years. It is not illegal on your group's part but it is of doubtful legality under Federal laws.

Surely, you should not characterize me as "a dangerous foe" because I am aware of these facts and conditions and forthrightly state that they are obstacles to be overcome before a midway project can be moved from a "talk" status to an "action" stage—from a "paper" status to that of an operable airport. To hide these obstacles and pretend they do not exist would be more than unrealistic. It would be heinous.

And surely you should not consider a Senator to be "a dangerous foe" when he has helped develop and supports specific legislation to overcome the fiscal hurdles in front of the midway airport proposal.

Is it because I have seen the stated facts and conditions developing and in being; is it because I have raised cautionary signals; and because I have supported efforts to improve the usability and safety of existing airports *in the several years that will pass before there could be an operable midway airport,* that I am considered to be "a dangerous foe" of the proposed midway facility? If these are not the reasons, and if you have others for considering me "a dangerous foe", I ask you to apprise me of them.

In spite of the incorrect characterization in which you indulge and notwithstanding the almost habitual and impetuous abuse heaped on me by slanted news coverage, gross omissions, and editorialization by invective in the Huntington newspapers and elsewhere, I will continue to work in the Senate for a better program and fiscal base for the airport/airways. If legislation establishing such a program base is not soon passed by Congress, the lack of it will, I repeat, stymie the midway proposal and many other worthy projects in the United States. If passed by Congress, progress toward a midway airport in West Virginia, and others in this country which are equally as worthy, will be substantially enhanced.

This is a subject on which I have benefitted from long study and much experience. I authored the original Federal Airport Act in 1946, and worked for aviation progress in other ways for years prior to that Act.

If the real goal is better airport and airways facilities in West Virginia, the way to achievement is in working with us for the legislation that is essential. Stop the slander; stop dealing in innuendoes; look at facts and conditions as they are; cooperate with us realistically; let us not waste time on the impossible; let us engage in practicing the art of the possible.

The impossible is trying to work a midway airport project to a successful conclusion under old laws which are soon to expire; the possible, is a new legislative base for both the airport/airways program and its financing—the only realistic way to achieve major airport development in West Virginia or any other state or area needing Federal assistance in a degree that is beyond reach under existing laws and appropriations.

Truly,

JENNINGS RANDOLPH.

A BUSINESSMAN LOOKS AT RIOTS AND CRIME

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, law-abiding Americans are becoming more and more concerned with lawlessness that is rampant in our country today. In the 25 years I have been in Congress, I have never known our country to be in such a critical state and we are in great need of unselfish leadership dedicated to the principles of constitutional government.

Such leadership was exhibited by Mr. Winton M. Blount, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in his speech before the National Press Club, here in Washington, on June 27. I commend this informative speech to the attention of my colleagues and to all readers of the RECORD:

A BUSINESSMAN LOOKS AT RIOTS AND CRIME

(By Winton M. Blount, president, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, before the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., June 27, 1968)

It is a real pleasure to be with you today. I am especially grateful to you, Mr. President, for your introduction.

I would like to discuss with you today a new phenomenon in our society—the emergence of mob action as a tolerated instrument for political, social and economic change.

It is tolerated primarily for political reasons, and also in the name of social progress. Many intellectuals and opinion leaders, interpreting mob action as an expression of progress, have given their blessing to this phenomenon.

We need only to look about us to determine that it is not progress but regression.

It is regression symbolized by the spectacle on television several months ago of some small businessmen from the national capital going before a Congressional investigating committee wearing hoods for their own protection. By telling publicly how organized bands of thieves were looting their stores almost regularly, these businessmen were putting themselves in danger of violent revenge. Their identities had to be hidden.

It is regression symbolized by reckless opportunists and extremists who, in such a lenient atmosphere, are able to slip freely into leadership roles for purposes of making trouble. There are divisive and demagogic elements of leadership in our society today—both on the left and on the right, both white and black—and they are doing irreparable harm to this nation. They arouse vast passions, both of support and opposition, and out of these passions comes the present atmosphere of violence and anarchy.

It is regression symbolized by an exploding crime rate. The Supreme Court is making landmark decisions that permit confessed criminals to go free, sometimes to continue their crimes.

And it is regression when the times tempt politicians to carelessly promise the world to the disadvantaged and uneducated—promises which they know cannot be fulfilled. This is a callous and tragic way to treat innocent people who deserve better. Their expectations are being raised, not only beyond any possibility of attainment, but also, in many instances, even beyond the intentions of those making the wild promises. This is a basic cause of much of the mob action, because when these hopes are dashed on the rocks of reality, frustration sets in and the extremist takes over. When this happens, the justifiable needs of these people become latched together with totally unreasonable demands, and it becomes more difficult to do what we should do to help the poor.

To be sure, we are in the midst of a truly significant social revolution and we can expect some of the old patterns to go out of style, and some traditional standards to slip off balance for a while.

But undisciplined and untutored tolerance can lead to anarchy. It has already led us to a point where I think it is reasonable to fear for the Constitutional rights of all Americans, and I say this with careful deliberation.

I am not the first businessman to complain about these problems and there may be a tendency to write it off as another voice attempting to buttress the status quo. So let me at this point try to get you a little better acquainted with the business community of 1968.

I would like to sketch for you the businessmen's participation in the social reform movement, and I hope you realize that we are deeply involved and are not just bystanders. If we in the business community had disassociated ourselves from the human concerns of society generally, it would be easier to understand why businesses are targets for so much of the protest and violence. But the business community is waging aggressive war against the root causes of poverty and unrest.

We do much in cooperation with government, and we do still more voluntarily, working mostly with all kinds of local groups. The businessman has the same reasons as everyone else, and additional ones of his own for being genuinely concerned about the problems of the unproductive poor.

Our self-interest in disadvantaged people becomes more enlightened all the time.

Seven of the 10 forum sessions at the National Chamber's recent annual meeting were devoted to urban problems. Efforts to get businessmen more involved in these problem areas have top priority in the National Chamber's work program. Typical of these efforts is a study conducted for the Chamber by Seymour L. Wolfbein, of the School of Business Administration at Temple University, showing the economic impact of helping the poor.

This study demonstrated that one effect would be significant decrease in the manpower shortage that is throwing a cloud over the economy. It has been estimated that by 1975 there will be a need for 14,000,000 more workers than are likely to be available, unless, in the meantime, the unskilled are upgraded and large numbers of the hard-core unemployed are brought into the job force.

Another economic gain would be a dramatic increase in consumer spending associated with a rising standard of living. Professor Wolfbein estimated that if the incidence of poverty could be reduced by one-third, which is certainly a feasible goal, since only five per cent of the population would be affected, the increase in consumer spending would be 21 per cent. This is a feasible reduction in poverty when you remember that between the years 1959 and 1965 there was a 20 per cent decline in the number of Americans living under the poverty level, as estimated by Dean George P. Baker, of Harvard Business School, and this was done without the massive concentration on the problem that occupies 1968 America.

We hope you will believe that the businessman, in his concern for the ghettoes, has the same human motives as everyone else, in addition to his own far-sighted economic reasons for wanting to help. And if you will keep in mind that the businessman is a realist through economic necessity, you can expect him to be more inclined than some others—the politician, for example—to seek out the most practical remedies and goals. Management skills, problem-solving ability, creativity and innovation—these are what businessmen have to contribute to the great public problems we have in this country.

Getting needy people into jobs, so that they can lead more useful, more self-respecting and more enjoyable lives, is where the business stress is being applied. We are trying not only to provide more job opportunities, but to deliver them to the doorstep of the hardcore unemployed.

In large city ghettoes, coordinated, business-sponsored programs of basic education and training, backed up by job guarantees, are now commonplace. The helping hands are often stretched a long way out to relieve such problems as transportation to the job, arrest records, and poor social habits of those willing to work.

All kinds of companies are lowering their hiring requirements by such means as breaking down more difficult jobs so that part of the work can be handled by the lesser skilled. Through industry generally there is a search for better ways to encourage, and use, and improve the capabilities of persons who heretofore have been unable to find a place in life.

Yes, businessmen are meeting new times with new measures. Actually, business is in charge of a technological revolution that is changing men's lives faster and more fully than all the new social attitudes are doing. Our problems arise because this change has come so fast—so blindingly fast—that we have not been able to develop the new kind of human relationships that our material progress calls for.

Nevertheless, our whole way of life is improving, and technology is bringing vast social as well as material gains. For all its ugliness, the ghetto problem is a by-product of the progress that has relieved hundreds of thousands of women, children and men from back-breaking toil and drudgery on the farms and in menial tasks in the factories. While many of these persons may not seem to have gained much yet in the exchange of rural poverty for urban poverty, they are no longer forgotten people, and that's putting it mildly.

In sketching out for you the businessman's relevance to the times, as I am trying to do, we come now to the argument that while free enterprise provides a better living, it still has a backward way of putting material values above human values. We hear it said that no matter how much the businessman cares for people, he cares for profits more. This really is the springboard for the notion that human rights are separate and apart from property rights. Here is the thinking that breeds street and campus riots, and it needs careful attention.

You can look to business, and nowhere else, for material progress. And whether you credit the businessman for it or not, the fact is there will not be much social progress unless there is economic progress first. This is the problem of the underdeveloped countries around the world. And in stronger countries the problem still is to keep social gains in balance with economic growth. A sagging economy, brought about in part by an unrealistic social program, recently forced Great Britain to cut back on its national health program, and our own government's excessive spending, in a time of major military engagement—has led us into a fiscal mess with world-wide consequences.

The American free enterprise system is the biggest and best fighter that has ever gone to war against poverty anywhere on earth.

Yes, we have 3.5 per cent of our labor force unemployed, but don't forget that we have 96.5 per cent at work.

Yes, we have a relatively small per cent of our population living in squalor, degradation, hopelessness and despair in the slums, and we can, we must, we will do something about this. But don't forget that the vast majority of Americans lead satisfying and rewarding lives.

We are dealing with problems of success, and not to defeat. Air and water pollution, the blight of our cities, mass transportation needs, traffic and highway problems, crowded schools and colleges, all are problems which can be traced to our tremendous growth and success as a nation.

Poverty, slums, under-education and hard-core unemployment are not new—they have always existed. What brings them into such prominence now is that we have achieved such affluence that for the first time in history a nation is almost within range of eliminating them.

And so, as we watch politicians tinker with the rights of all in order to win favor with the few, we ask: Is this building a better America?

The 14th Amendment guarantees us the right not to be deprived of property without due process of law. Yet that right is so far gone it is not even insurable in parts of many cities.

It's gone because government will not adequately defend it against pillage masquerading as protest, or even against day-to-day robbery, arson and vandalism going on in many areas of our cities.

The various levels of government have all the armed force necessary to protect ghetto stores and housing; all they need is the will to use it. The decision to hold back authority is essentially political judgment on the part of a few. It has not been submitted to any test of public sentiment.

What is the full meaning of this? If it takes the permission of mobs to operate a business or rental housing property in one location, on what basis is property safe anywhere else? If extortioners can prey on businessmen in riot-prone areas, on the pretense of selling them protection, what's to prevent a threat of riots and attendant extortion from spreading throughout the land?

How is the civil rights cause served by driving businessmen out of ghettoes because they are white, or because they are Jewish, or because they are called Uncle Toms? How many wrongs make a right?

We are asked to take it for granted that human rights are on a higher plane than property rights, but when we look around the world at those whose property rights are restricted, we find them without much personal freedom of any kind. Basic rights can't be divided. Indeed, the very thing the Negro is reaching for is property of his own. If he can't be secure in his ownership, what has he to gain? Human rights cannot exist in a chaotic and disorderly society.

Now having reached the point where a Constitutional right is abridged for political expediency, what do any of us have left? This time it happens to be the right to hold property and the right of protection of the law. What will it be next?

It may be true that only an alarmist would consider our right to life or our right to liberty to be in any present danger, but the fact remains that if it ever became politically advantageous to take those protections away from us, a precedent has been made available.

Business has fallen victim to political appeasement of riot and crime, and what has been gained by it? Are minority rights any more secure? Has the moral tone of the country been improved? Have such cities as Washington, Detroit, and Newark been purged of prejudice by all the blood and fire? They certainly don't look any better for their experiences.

We are told that lives were saved by withholding force during the riots in April following Dr. King's murder. This is presented to us as a wise and successful policy—not just an exception that was made once and that future rioters had better not count on, but rather as a noble experiment worthy of national adoption.

The political argument is that all the property destroyed in riots is not worth one human life, and while that may be true, it is not the relevant point. We tend to forget that riots are not started by innocent bystanders or children. They are started by lawless hoodlums and the disruptive elements of our society. If we have a policy of withholding authority and letting the arsonist burn and the looter steal then you can be certain that seeing this example, the surrounding community will join in. We must have a policy that says that as soon as riots threaten, at the very first hour, there must be an appropriate and overwhelming show of force and determination by all those in authority to insure that these criminal acts are stopped in their tracks. We saw this tactic used here in Washington on Monday night and we saw it work. It is important to note that the number involved in these riots and destruction is very small and does not involve the majority of those who live in the ghetto area. And it's a crying shame that all who live in those areas get blamed for the lawless acts of a few who are not restrained.

But the main point to remember about riots is that there is a principle to be defended in property rights. A man who wouldn't sell his life for a million dollars will sometimes risk it—and with the odds heavily against him—trying to protect $20 in his wallet from a robber. The ownership principle is what is being tossed aside for the benefit of rioters, and this is far more important than the value of the property destroyed.

Are they really trying to tell us that we should be ready to surrender anything we own without a fight? The politicians preach this, but if you put them to the test, you find it is not what they really mean.

Ask them whether they think the police should also stand aside for a gang of bank robbers, rather than risk human lives in a gun battle, and they will say "No". If you asked what's the difference between crimes by bank robbers and crimes by looters, they would say that the looting is a form of protest against social injustice. Of course, the bank robber might also have a grievance against society but he's just one vote. He's expendable.

I don't know what kind of treatment would be recommended for looters who managed to get inside a bank during working hours. But, I somehow feel that this would be looked upon a little differently than raids on liquor and television and grocery stores, but I don't know why it should be.

The reason why so much of what is going on fails to make sense is that the standards we are trying to live by have been thrown off balance. I mentioned earlier that we are told to expect temporary imbalances, while old wrongs are being remedied, but what we see now is that imbalances in the people's rights are not controllable.

We see in practice that over-emphasis on minority rights means neglect of majority rights. Courts began extending the legal rights of persons accused of crimes, and the streets became unsafe for everybody. College authorities became unreasonably permissive with small, loud-mouthed and even anti-American campus elements, and the education of tens of thousands of young persons has been violently disrupted.

Neither in the courts nor in the college administrative offices have the rights of the majority been controlling.

We really don't know where we stand until further tests come. If it is reasonably safe to riot in ghettoes and on campuses, then how far removed are we in America from riots on jobs, or at political meetings?

Events have gone much too far in our country but they would still respond to a simple remedy. All it takes to re-establish order is government's will. The forces of violence and crime can't begin to match us in armed strength. We need only to deal with them as we of the majority deal with each other.

Impose on the rioter the same likelihood of punishment that you or I would face for committing the mischief, and the riot fever would be hard to arouse.

Bend the law back to where the victim of crime has a rightful advantage over the criminal and we wouldn't have to be afraid to go out-of-doors at night.

Our marble statues still shows Justice wearing a blindfold, but the smart lawbreaker knows she is peeking, watching for political signals, ready to press her thumb down on the side of the scales opposite majority rights.

So it goes with our symbols and so it goes with our Constitutional guarantees.

The businessman alone cannot win the struggle for property rights. The whole law-abiding majority will have to stir itself before this trend will change, and this will have to be done while there is still a majority abiding by the law.

Politicians know how to defeat majority rule by dividing it against itself.

It should not be too difficult at this point for public opinion to calm down the cities by demanding the same kind of law enforcement we saw here in Washintgon on Monday night.

I believe that the question involved is whether America is to have a free society or not.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I support House Joint Resolution 1360, the resolution introduced in the House of Representatives proclaiming October 26, 1968, as the date commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

In the half century of her existence, Czechoslovakia has enjoyed only 20 years of peace and freedom, but in this short time, Czechoslovakia has proved her right to independence by becoming the most prosperous and progressive democracy in Central Europe. Today, the Czechs and Slovaks are showing wisdom, courage, and determination in their struggle for national liberation and personal freedom.

Here in the great United States, Americans of Czechoslovak origin have been following Czechoslovakia's tragedy with deep anxiety. This resolution deserves the support of the Congress of the United States as a demonstration of our determination that all peoples of the world should enjoy personal freedom from government oppression.

DOIN' IT UP BROWN

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Wichita Falls Times in Wichita Falls, Tex., has consistently shown leadership in presenting items of interest to the farmers and ranchers of the Texas and Oklahoma areas. This is a most valuable function of journalism, and deserving of praise from all those who rely on strong agricultural reporting to inform themselves of farm and ranch news.

The farm editor of the newspaper, Mr. Joe Brown, has the ability and clarity of thought to carry messages in his column of more than a little interest to the rest of the Nation. Consistently, I have been impressed with his ability to take a local article and create from it an issue of which the entire Nation should be made aware.

This is particularly the case in a recent column, describing his reactions to a series of articles that have been appearing in Life magazine dealing with certain examples of the activities that today's youth are engaged in. While the column itself is self-explanatory, I think it deserves as wide an audience as possible. Both the young man who is described in the articles, Bill Sarpalius, and the author of the article, Mr. Joe Brown, deserve the broadest possible recognition for their constructive efforts on behalf of Texans and American youth. Accordingly, I submit the newspaper column "Doin' It Up Brown" for inclusion in the RECORD at this point:

DOIN' IT UP BROWN

(By Joe Brown)

Perhaps you'd like to look over my shoulder and peek at the mail. Saturday I wrote a letter to Life magazine and as they often say in Ann Landers "you'll never publish this." But the farm desk figures you might be interested in the contents since you are bound to be interested in agriculture if you're reading this weekly farm column.

"DEAR LIFE EDITORS: What the heck's going on? This week you do a cover picture in Life magazine, and a story with pictures of some oddball characters from the U.S. who are living in Greek caves. Last week it was on another equally freakish side of American youth involving 'way out' music.

"Where was Life during the Texas Future Farmers of America convention? Delegates, representing 49,000 FFA members participating in vocational agriculture in Texas, gathered in Lubbock at the 40th annual convention to elect Bill Sarpalius, who was reared through his teens at Boys Ranch near Amarillo, as their new president.

"A cleaner cut youth you couldn't find. He was neat, polite and according to an interview on Lubbock television the morning before election, he was interested in any work 'that would help kids' once he graduated from college.

"Young Bill, who just completed his freshman year at Clarendon Junior College, made an acceptance speech that was humble, honest and sincere. You Life people keep using the word 'rebellious' . . . but here I am writing about FFA boys and I had to look up the spelling. It just isn't needed when describing boys like Bill Sarpalius.

"I remember the paragraph from your July 19 issue: 'I am 22 years old and I'm tired,' he said flatly. 'America has worn me out. I don't believe in God, and I don't believe that America is the golden center of the universe. You can get away with not believing in one of these, but not both.'

"Let's compare this with what Texas' new FFA president said back in the press room after his election. There were five people standing in the room while an Amarillo farm announcer was being sought on the telephone. The new FFA president was holding a pair of $40 boots he had been presented after being named president. He felt of them carefully and said softly to no one in particular: 'This is the first pair of boots I've ever had.'

"Now you Yankees might not see the point of this, but let me explain that my own boys are five and six and they are already on their third pair of boots. For a young man to have lived on Boys Ranch and to have worked with livestock like Bill has done and still never to have had a pair of cowboy boots is something special and perhaps only a Southwesterner can fully comprehend.

"I asked you where was Life magazine when the convention took place, but come to think of it where the heck was the agriculture industry. Bill will be required to drop out of school for a year and travel the state representing the Texas Future Farmers of America Association. He will visit two and three FFA chapters a day, speak at district, area and out of state meetings to boost the Future Farmers program.

"For this he will be provided the use of an auto and travel expenses. He won't be paid a salary and after completion of his year's work will only be given a $2,000 college scholarship.

"All of us familiar with the FFA program know he will benefit from this and will—like all past FFA state presidents—become a leader in his field since he has already proved himself in merely getting elected.

"The farm desk sometimes wonders in cases like Bill's . . . where in the devil is the agriculture industry? They are always seeking new men and advertising how badly they want good people. Well, why aren't they helping now??

"Perhaps it was all topped off on my way back to Wichita Falls from the convention in Lubbock when I stopped off in Seymour for gas. The station operator recognized me and said, 'I understand a Boys Ranch boy was elected president.' I replied yes and wondered to myself how he could know since I had driven straight from the noon election.

"He further explained: 'A group of colored fellows came in a while ago and said they had attended the convention with their boys. One of them told me about it . . . saying you couldn't help but be touched by what he had said.'

"Well let me tell you people at Life magazine that I couldn't help but be touched . . . but it was by the thousands of delegates to the convention. They listened to the speeches of the 10 candidates and selected their choice. He earned it, and I sincerely believe that once he loses his natural shyness he will be one of the outstanding presidents Texas FFA has had.

"But to conclude this letter I have to ask where was Life magazine? Maybe you were listening to the boy over in the cave who was saying he was there since the restaurant he and three others had opened went broke after one of the four was busted for smoking grass. 'They took our liquor license and the restaurant folded.'

"Young Sarpalius was busted way back there or he wouldn't be at Boys Ranch, but there was something American about Bill . . . he sprang back. Where was Life when it happened?"

THE 1960'S: DECADE OF THE AGED

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, during the past decade, we have acquired a substantial body of knowledge in meeting the challenge of the aged, a body of knowledge which is of great significance to all who will one day join the ranks of the elderly. We have all heard it said that "nothing in life is certain but death and taxes." But now, for millions of our citizens, another certainty has been added, the certainty of growing old.

Never before in our history have there been so many older Americans. There are 19 million people in the United States today who are aged 65 or over—nearly 10 percent of the total population. This number increases by more than 800 every day. By 1980, it is estimated that there will be nearly 25 million older Americans.

This large older population is one of the unique characteristics of 20th century America. Earlier societies were not without their old men, of course: Plato lived to be 81, Michelangelo to be 89. But it has only been in the last few decades that a whole society has come anywhere near approaching the Biblical promise of three score years and 10. Advances in nutrition, medical care, and overall living conditions have made this modern "miracle" possible. Viewed in terms of sheer numbers, the increase in longevity does seem miraculous. In 1900 life expectancy at birth was 47 years for men, and slightly more than that for women. Today life expectancy is 67 for men, and 74 for women.

This is an accomplishment of which we may be justly proud. But pride, in this case, must be tempered by an understanding of the additional problems longevity creates. Blessings, we have discovered, rarely come unmixed. The years we have added to our lives have posed problems which were heretofore unknown. Basically these problems are of two types: biological and social. We need to know much more about how and why the human body ages; and we need more careful and thorough definition of the needs of the old, and how these needs may best be met.

In seeking to answer these questions, we must resist the impulse to consider the old in terms of stereotypes. The old have too often been characterized as lonely, sick, garrulous, or grouchy. For too long they have been referred to as a minority group in the strictest sense. And, like other minorities, they have suffered the unfortunate consequences of such stereotyping. They have been variously pictured as ill, poverty-stricken, and hopeless; as forgotten members of the society they helped to build; as traumatized by retirement; as leading lives of silent resignation, waiting only for the release of death.

As with all stereotypes, there is perhaps a small element of truth in each of these generalizations. Yet for millions of old people, life after 65 is neither bitter nor bleak. If the process of growing old presents any one picture, it is that of a total absence of uniformity. Reaction to this process is a very individual affair. It is doubtless this very complexity which has led to the stereotyping of the old. Their problems seem earlier to solve, somehow, if the old are no longer considered as individuals, but are lumped together under some convenient, if misleading, label. Many of their problems are, in truth, persistent—and even often overwhelming. But this does not mean that we should think of our older citizens solely as a "problem group." Many of them in fact enjoy good health and a decent income. Many are rich in talent, in energies; in wisdom. Our task is to find ways in which to free such resources for private satisfaction as well as for public good.

The Federal Government has clearly shown increasing concern for the problems of older citizens. Since 1960, several new programs have been created to insure greater participation of the elderly in the Nation's social and economic life. If the sixties may be called the "decade of the aged," then 1965 was surely a landmark year. The historic legislation enacted in 1965 included: First, the social security amendments, which made medicare and medicaid programs a reality; and second, the Older Americans Act, creating the Administration on Aging and providing grants to the States for community planning and service, and for training and research. Taken together, these laws represent the greatest step forward in social legislation since the enactment of the original Social Security Act in 1935. Since enactment of the Older Americans Act, 44 States have established commissions on aging, and have developed plans to administer some 650 service projects, including a foster grandparent program that is operating in 38 States. At least 8,000 retarded and disadvantaged children are benefiting from this program. In addition, this act has also been of great benefit to senior citizen centers, in providing educational, recreational, and cultural activities, as well as consumer counsel, to older people.

One measure of the Nation's commitment to its older citizens may be taken in terms of dollars and cents. From $13 billion in 1960, Federal expenditures for programs on behalf of older people had increased to $18.7 billion by 1965. For fiscal 1968, more than $29 billion have been estimated under the President's budget recommendations.

The Social Security Act of 1935 has been called the cornerstone of the Federal role in the task of creating a life of dignity for older Americans. This role has been extended over the years by periodic improvement in the social security system. In the past 3 years alone, the value of social security benefits, including medicare, has been increased by almost 35 percent. The Federal role has been further broadened to include activities concerned with housing; improved nursing homes and other long-term care facilities; and public welfare services to help restore older people to self-support and self-care.

Special efforts have been directed at the manpower problems of the middle-aged and older American; and additional emphasis is being placed on research in gerontology. Legislation to implement these goals was enacted in 1966 and 1967. The regional medical program is leading the attack on heart disease, stroke, and cancer—diseases which take a heavy toll among the elderly. Efforts to cope with the problems of older workers were crowned with success in 1967 with the passage of a law which prohibits discrimination in employment because of age. The provisions of this law make it possible to work toward the full and effective use of all workers between the ages of 40 and 65.

Federal investment in special housing programs for the elderly has more than doubled in the last 3 years, totaling some $3 billion. The administration housing bill now before Congress would further increase this investment. The bill, known as the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, has passed both the Senate and the House, and there is every reason to believe that a final bill will be enacted before Congress adjourns. Several provisions of this act will affect the elderly, including rent and mortgage subsidies for those on reduced incomes; the model cities program which will rebuild familiar homesites; and the urban renewal program which will assist older people in moving to suitable locations at rents they can afford.

The legislation enacted during this decade reflects an awakening concern for the human problems of the old in our youth-centered Nation. More and more we are beginning to realize how much we need the wisdom, the maturity, the balance and the perspective of our older citizens. We cannot, in fact, do without them. No Nation in history ever could. The great Roman, Cicero, 20 centuries ago, wrote:

> Intelligence and reflection and judgment reside in old men, and if there had been none of them, no state could exist at all.

That statement is just as true today as it was then.

The progress made in creating a better life for older Americans has indeed been great. Nevertheless, we are also aware that this is only a beginning. We must do more, and we will do more. New and imaginative approaches must be found to meet our obligations to these members of our society who have contributed so much to the Nation. To resolve the problems of income, health, and housing, for all our citizens—and especially the elderly—will require the best efforts of us all. Longevity, after all, is not a major preoccupation either of society or of the individual. It is the quality of life that matters. Independence, health, security, and usefulness; these are the basic ingredients of the good life.

THREE MARYLAND MEN DIE IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Nathaniel Buggs, Jr., Sgt. Stephen L. Havas, and Lance Cpl. James H. Jones, three fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend their bravery and honor their memories by including the following article in the RECORD:

THREE MARYLAND MEN DIE IN VIETNAM—VICTIMS LIVED IN BELTSVILLE, OXON HILL, AND BALTIMORE

Three more Maryland service men have been killed in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Reported killed were:

Pfc. Nathaniel Buggs, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Buggs, Sr., of 1233 North Ellwood avenue.

Sgt. Stephen L. Havas, son of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen J. Havas of 5831 Fisher road in Oxon Hill, Maryland.

Lance Cpl. James H. Jones, son of Mr. and Mrs. James H. Jones of 12501 Gunpowder road, Beltsville, Md.

Private Buggs, who was 24, died as a result of wounds he received when he was hit by fragments from a military aircraft which crashed and exploded.

A 1961 graduate of Dunbar High School, he entered the Army in August of last year. After completing basic training at Fort Bragg, N.C., and further training at Fort Jackson, S.C., he went to Vietnam in February of this year.

He was a member of Troop B, 1st Battalion, 5th Cavalry Regiment, 1st Air Cavalry Division (Airmobile).

SOUGHT TO CURB WORRY

In his letters, his mother said, "he seemed healthy and he seemed to like what he was doing. He tried to keep his mother from worrying."

Besides his parents his survivors include two sisters, Miss Evelyn Buggs and Miss Geraldine Buggs; and a brother, George E. Buggs, all of Baltimore.

Corporal Jones, who was 21, died August 1 when he was struck by enemy rifle fire and an enemy grenade while he was on patrol in Quang Nam province.

He was assigned to E Company, 1st Platoon, 1st Marine Division.

HIGHPOINT GRADUATE

A 1965 graduate of Highpoint High School, he also attended the University of Maryland for two years before he entered the service in June, 1967. He received basic training at Parris Island, S.C., and further training at Camp Lejeune, N.C., and Camp Pendleton, Cal., before going to Vietnam last November.

His father said yesterday that in his letters home he "always spoke very well of the Marines and he wanted to fight and get everything over, over there so everybody could come back home."

PREVIOUSLY WOUNDED

Besides his parents, survivors include two brothers, Timothy, who is a Marine corporal stationed at Camp Lejeune, N.C., and Michael, of Beltsville; sister, Miss Patricia Ann Jones, of Beltsville; and his grandmother, Mrs. Alma B. Green, of Beltsville.

Sergeant Havas, who was 21, died last Saturday as a result of wound received while fighting the enemy. He had been wounded in April and had been sent to Japan for two months to recover from shrapnel wounds in his right leg. He had been back in combat for three weeks.

He was a team leader for his platoon.

He attended Crossland High School in Oxon Hill and entered the Army in May of 1966. After completing basic training and advanced infantry training at Fort Gordon, Ga., he graduated from paratrooper school at Fort Benning, Ga. in November.

He went to Panama in that November and stayed there until September, 1967. He went to Vietnam last December.

He was a member of Company C, 1st Battalion, 501st Infantry Regiment, 101st Airborne Division.

Survivors besides his parents include a brother, Richard, also of Oxon Hill.

ASSISTING THE GUARD

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, in view of our direct experience on the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, I call attention to the following editorial appearing in the August 2, 1968, edition of the Dayton Journal Herald. The suggestions made in the editorial are pertinent to the problem of civil disorders and in the light of experience appear to be constructive. I recommend these ideas for the attention of every responsible administrator of criminal justice and law enforcement officer in America, as follows:

ASSISTING THE GUARD

A judge advocate for the Ohio National Guard has suggested some sensible changes to help the Guard be even more effective in coping with riots.

James J. Hughes urges a state law that would automatically require a halt to all sale of liquor in an area where the guard has been called in. In other words, don't let anybody pour fuel where there's fire.

Hughes also wants a state curfew law that city governments could invoke when needed. The surprising fact is that Cleveland didn't have a curfew law on its books when one would have been useful during the recent trouble. (Under Dayton law, local officials may proclaim an emergency, declare a curfew and ban sale of liquor.) Curfews, a potent force for restoring order, are, too, an infringement of individual freedom not to be casually imposed. However, the weapon must be instantly available. If there still are cities lacking the foresight to have a curfew law, perhaps a state law is in order.

Hughes' other points seem well taken—permit the state highway patrol to join riot-control forces on nonstate property; buy the guard adequate communications equipment; write a new minimum pay scale for the guard that would assure that a quality force would be maintained.

At its best the National Guard can't prevent riots, of course, but if we are to rely on them to restore order once a situation reaches riot proportions, we must insure that the proper tools, legal and otherwise, are available to support their efforts.

LEAVE THE SUPREME COURT ALONE

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, an organization called SCALE—Supreme Court Amendment League—has been circulating material urging a radical alteration of the constitutional provisions governing the Supreme Court on the grounds that the Court is engaged in "unbridled, anticonstitutional activities."

Recently, I received a copy of a letter one of my constituents had sent to one of the officers of SCALE in response to the group's request for his views. The letter, written by Mr. Stuart A. Arnheim of the Pittsburgh firm of Arnheim & Neely, Inc., is an eloquent answer to those who would tamper with the highest tribunal of our land.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert Mr. Arnheim's stirring letter at this point in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of all my colleagues concerned with preserving our great system of government:

ARNHEIM & NEELY, INC.,
Pittsburgh, Pa., July 17, 1968.

Thank you very much for your recent letter concerning SCALE. I certainly agree that "something is radically wrong" in America. I was raised with a great feeling of patriotism. I get a lump of pride in my throat when I see the Star Spangled Banner pass in parade. I believe that no country has ever offered her people as much opportunity for personal growth and development as we enjoy. I am one hundred percent behind the Constitution and our great forefathers who had such brilliant insights into the minds and hearts of men and the problems of governing so vast a nation. I believe wholeheartedly that if we Trust in God and work hand in hand towards the goal of all Americans having equality before the law that this great country which I love so dearly shall not perish but shall continue to be a Statue of Liberty holding forth the light of hope to all who are oppressed.

I wholeheartedly agree that all Justices and Judges should be subject to a mandatory retirement. I would suggest age 80. I also believe that this restriction should apply to Congressmen and Senators as well. There is no rational reason why a man must retire from business at 65, from the Judiciary at 75 or 80, and yet may remain in Congress making the laws that regulate business and form the basis of our judicial system when he is 80, 85 or 90 years old.

I am afraid that is the only change I would make in our system. As a businessman I see our nation growing and prospering. As a citizen I see equality of opportunity being extended to more and more Americans. I am not afraid of Communism or beatniks or hippies. I believe Thomas Jefferson was correct when he said, Democracy isn't worth preserving if its preservation means limiting someone's right to free speech. Obviously no one has the right to yell "Fire" in a theater as Justice Holmes once said, nor has he the right to incite a crowd to riot. Americans are rational people. Given all the facts they will vote for decency and Democracy every time. Nuts like Stokely Carmichael, the late George Lincoln Rockwell or any other advocate of Communism and/or facism upset me. Yet I believe that when the majority of Americans are exposed to their ramblings they will reject extremism every time.

I believe you and those who are advocating major changes in our Constitutional system have little faith in the common man's native intelligence. He may not be correct every time but he is correct the majority of the time. In giving Communists the right of free speech the Supreme Court followed Jefferson's own convictions. Leave the Supreme Court alone. Time will show that we, the average American, whether we are rich or poor, white or black, Protestant, Catholic, or Jew, are capable of weeding out extreme ideas from any side. Our common goal is to assure our children and our grandchildren the opportunity to grow up free in a strong America. If we learn to love and trust each other, this goal shall be accomplished without threatening to destroy our Grand System of Government and its checks and balances which would be the result of many of your proposals.

Sincerely yours,
ARNHEIM & NEELY, INC.
STUART A. ARNHEIM.

NOT THE AMERICAN WAY

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, we sometimes become so positive we are achieving unparalleled successes in our attempts to infuse in other peoples of the world the American way of life, that we are shocked by instances that portray a complete disregard and apparent lack of understanding of the constitutional rights of the individual, we so deeply cherish. One such instance is the subject of an editorial appearing in the August 2, 1968 issue of the Sacramento, Calif., Bee.

The editorial follows:

SAIGON POLLUTES FREEDOM'S NAME

Gather around, all lovers of freedom. Gather around and heed well the kind of government America has given the lives of more than 25,000 young men to defend—in the name of freedom.

Last week the Saigon government sentenced to five years' imprisonment Truong Dinh Dzu.

What ghastly crime had he committed?

He had urged the Saigon government to negotiate with the National Liberation Front. He had exercised what is regarded under the American Constitution to be the right of freedom of speech.

The "felon" just happened to be a runner-up in last fall's presidential elections.

After the election Dzu accused the military junta of stealing the election. In the intervening time up until his conviction Dzu has been held again and again in detention on one pretext or another.

At his trial Dzu was accused of telling American and British newsmen Saigon should form a coalition government which included the Communists. Dzu said he had proposed only that non-Communist members of the NLF should be in the coalition government he was proposing.

Contrary to the belief of many outside Vietnam some of the most substantial, non-Communist patriots are in the NLF.

It took the government of President Nguyen Van Thieu only one hour and 25 minutes to convict and sentence Dzu, less time than it ordinarily takes to impanel a jury in the United States.

The whole shoddy business was no surprise since the Saigon government had just completed sentencing to five years a 23-year-old student for publishing matter the government called pro-Communist.

DAY CARE CENTERS

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, 4 days of public hearings have been conducted by the House Select Subcommittee on Education in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Los Angeles on my bill, H.R. 10572, which authorizes Federal assistance to improve the educational services in public and private nonprofit day care centers.

While it may not be possible for Congress to approve this legislation this year, I am hopeful that approval will be made in the very near future.

To cite the importance of this legislation, I will at this time submit my statement made at the public hearings:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE PATSY T. MINK, OF HAWAII, IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 10572

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, as a member of this Select Subcommittee on Education, I am pleased to be the chief sponsor of H.R. 10572, a bill to provide Federal assistance to improve the educational services in public and private non-profit day care centers. The 24 co-sponsors of my bill and the many other bills introduced into the House and Senate providing in various ways Federal assistance and a multitude of services to day care centers is convincing evidence of the public interest in improving these services to pre-school children.

I consider day care centers as one of the chief services which a community must provide. The need to place youngsters of tender age in a place which is both safe and sanitary and which offers educational programs, has been cited by labor and industrial leaders. City and state tax experts see available centers as the answer to placing mothers in jobs and thereby reducing the welfare rolls. And, finally and most importantly, educators believe that day care centers can be the first step up the ladder of proper physical and mental development of our pre-school age children.

Our own President took note of the social ills of our society in a message on education last year which, in effect, pinpointed the need to guide our students along the right path from an early age. President Johnson said:

"In education, in health, in all human development, the early years are the critical years. Ignorance, ill health, personality disorders—these are disabilities often contracted in childhood: afflictions which linger to cripple the man and damage the next generation."

H.R. 10572 seeks as its goal, Federal aid as a helping hand to public and private nonprofit day care centers. It would authorize $300 million a year to be distributed among the states according to the number of working mothers in each state. I believe that this kind of program would encourage existing centers to improve their facilities and to orient their activities around educational enrichment; and secondly, would encourage the opening of many new public and non-profit private centers because of the expectation of receiving Federal assistance once they were opened.

I believe this bill has the potential of being the core around which communities will design day care programs of high standards, provide for staff training, improve their educational curricula, and provide for more stringent licensing requirement not only for health and safety but also for educational criteria and staffing.

At present, the Headstart classes are the best known and largest effort in the field of efforts to aid pre-school youngsters. But these are limited by regulation to children of families whose annual income is at a level of ecomic disadvantage. In addition, the Social Security Amendments of 1967 authorized the establishment of day care centers in association with work-training programs to be established for mothers receiving welfare. Federal funds may pay up to 85 per cent of these costs until July 1, 1969, and 15 per cent thereafter. Children at these centers again will be limited to those whose mothers require public assistance. The smallest number of day care centers are those established for pre-school age children of working parents or mothers whose income can bear some of the cost of operation.

In addition to Headstart and the Social Security amendments, Congress has also approved amendments to the School Lunch Act to include day care centers among those places eligible to qualify for surplus foods and milk and supplemental payments for hot lunches for the youngsters.

This extension of the School Lunch Act may become a major accomplishment of the 90th Congress in this area of national concern!

I would like for the moment, to review the history and development of day care centers. In this country, they became best known during World War II when our country underwent its most severe national emergency. Our government appealed to mothers to staff the shipyards and the other essential posts which their husbands had to leave to fill the ranks of our military services. With Federal assistance, local communities hastily arranged to have small children of these working mothers housed in vacant stores, private homes, churches and in a strange assortment of dwellings. Here, older women who were retired and could not do the physical labor in the shipyards and elsewhere cared for these youngsters, keeping them amused with games and cookies. It was a temporary arrangement—and like many other things of World War II, it succeeded by the sheer willingness of all the participants.

At the end of World War II, the Federal government expected working mothers to return to their homes. Aid was withdrawn and most of the centers closed their doors.

Since 1945, however, the picture has changed again. I believe the present situation has been best described by Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling, Director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. She has placed the number of working mothers currently at between 31 million and 33 million and adds:

"The number will be even greater this year. Our economy would fall apart without them. They are responsible for 37 per cent of all the goods and services currently being produced. And more than one third of them, over 10 million women, are working mothers with children under 18 years of age. Nearly 4 million have children less than 6 years old—4 million! While the number of all women who work has doubled since 1940 the number of mothers in the labor force has increased more than sixfold—more than sixfold increase in less than 27 years."

Mrs. Keyserling said her study revealed that less than half of the children of working mothers are cared for in their homes, usually by the father or another relative, but in a great many instances care was provided by youngsters under 16 years of age or someone else in the household who was not competent to provide the kind of care a child needs. More worrisome was the finding that among the children under 6 years of age, one third were cared for in the homes of others and much of this care was very poor indeed. Mrs. Keyserling believed that in instances where 3 or 4 children are cared for in a neighbor's house, they are receiving merely custodial care. She also learned that some 1.5 million tots were looked after by the mother while she was working at her place of work and that 40,000 children below the age of 6 were on their own trying to fend for themselves. She added:

"The problem isn't going to go away if we continue to ignore it. As a nation we can afford to do a better job. We can no longer afford not to. Our children pay the price for the inedaquate care so many now get. When their health development and welfare are neglected, their futures are undermined. Our children are our most precious asset. We owe them the best our affluent nation can provide. The time is long since overdue for every force in our great United States to rally to meet child care needs."

There have been various estimates on the number of children attending public or private day care centers, but they all place the total number at fewer than 400,000. How are communities meeting the needs? The Labor Department found the picture acutely distressing. The Welfare Council in one large city made a neighborhood by neighborhood survey and found 7,000 children in need of day care in one low-income area. To meet the need, the Labor Department said there were four licenesd day care homes and one commercial day care center with a combined capacity for 87 children.

Furthermore, one city has submitted a plan for Federal assistance where the target area for future action has been clearly identified. In that target area alone, there is an established need for places for 5,000 children in day care. And the Labor Department asked, "What does the plan call for?" It calls for doubling the city's present day care facilities from places for 25 children to places for 50.

Today, when the number of working women exceeds the World War II total by 6 million, licensed public and voluntary day-care centers have shrunk to one-sixth of their wartime capacity. They have also changed their orientation. Instead of opening their doors to all, they tend to concentrate on families with serious emotional or social problems. Their waiting lists are staggering.

A giant assist was given to day care centers by the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962. Just after they became law, the total amount of funds spent for direct care of children from Federal public child welfare sources was about $200,000. In 1966, the total was $12,100,000 for this purpose from Federal, State and local public child welfare funds, with $3 million of the total coming from Federal funds.

In this period, the number of licensed day care facilities increased about 32 per cent, but it still provides for less than 400,000 youngsters compared to the needs of several million.

What happens to these children—most of them under 6 years—of the 4 million working mothers?

Irving W. Fellner, Regional Foster Care Consultant with Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, views the scene this way:

"About one million children under 14 years of age are without any supervision while their mothers are at work. It is not farfetched to assume that a significant percentage of these children will someday require rehabilitative services, whether by a probation officer, social worker, or psychiatrist. From the cost point of view alone, we should be convinced that there is a ripe area for the proverbial ounce of prevention."

I might also mention that the "ounce of prevention" in H.R. 10572 is only $300 million a year while the cost of juvenile delinquency is now running about $4 billion a year. If some supervision and leadership can eliminate a slight amount of destructive attitudes in youngsters, the effect of a lesser cost for juvenile rehabilitation would be felt immediately.

With the key emphasis in the Social Security amendments placed on job training for welfare recipients, the role of day care centers becomes even more important. I am told that the director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid believes that one-fourth of the 26,627 mothers in Chicago on AFDC could—and would—go off relief immediately if there were a place for their children

The Labor Department made a study of unemployment and underemployment in 10 areas where poverty is especially highly concentrated. They found that almost one of every five of the slum residents who were not in the labor force but who wanted a regular job gave inability to arrange for child care as the principal reason for not looking for work.

As is the case of most of the 900,000 mothers receiving this aid, these women feel that it would be better for them and better for their children if they worked. They do not want their children to grow up on welfare, deprived of the opportunity of seeing their parents as working, contributing members of the community and thereby themselves learning from their home environments about the world of work.

There is a second key way in which the creation of added day care facilities can break the cycle of dependency and cut down on the welfare rolls. Substantial numbers of persons would be needed to operate these new centers and many, if not most, of these new positions could be occupied by AFDC mothers themselves who had received training as subprofessional aides. There are existing manpower training programs which can provide the necessary training. This use of parents and neighborhood people has been a proven success in the Headstart program.

Finally, it was discovered recently that in one state alone 400 nurses would be working today if they could find day care services that they would trust for their children. Meanwhile, hospital patients suffer from the critical shortage of nurses.

Much has been said about the value of these centers to the development of the child but one of the most concise statements has been made by Dr. John Walton, Professor of Education at Johns Hopkins University, who made this comment on the Headstart program:

"Almost 1,500,000 children have been enrolled in 2400 communities—probably the largest peacetime mobilization in hitherto unorganized groups. The curriculum was designed to give them some intellectual training. What are the results? They look pretty good. Without any exaggerated claims at all, one summary says that there has been a minimum of 5 to 10 points in I.Q. tests and 20 to 25 points on reading readiness tests. Now, these are the minimums. The maximums must range much higher and even the median gain must range much higher."

H.R. 10572 is basically a bill which places responsibility upon the individual states to recognize the need for new and better day care centers, and to select those which are most in need of improvements and upgrading. The apportionment of funds among the states is to be based upon the per cent of working mothers in each state. I realize this formula does not focus on the need of working mothers who have children aged 3 to 5, however, my research preparatory to drafting the legislation indicates that the U.S. Department of Labor and the Census Bureau have only information on working mothers. These concerned agencies acknowledge a lack of specific data as the total number of working mothers with small children.

It must be pointed out that the legislation is not intended to limit Federal funds to serve only youngsters in the 3 to 5 year bracket or only children of working parents. The requirement that the majority of the youngsters in the centers should be in the 3 to 5 year age group is only for the purpose of qualifying the center and once it is given a grant, the benefits would accrue to all the children who are attending the center.

There is great discussion on the provision that states which wish to participate in the grant program under the bill must designate or establish an agency which is broadly representative of the public and private non-profit day care and other child education groups. My research on the need for this legislation again turned up the finding that there is an absence of uniformity on licensing, regulations, administration and supervision of child care activities in the states. In this absence, it seems wise to require that the states accept the responsibility for designating one agency to do this and to determine which centers are eligible for aid. There is a belief that the legislation automatically expects the states to place this responsibility in its educational agencies. However, I did not intend to limit it to the educators. I thought the bill would serve the additional function of bringing together the various kinds of groups that already exist and various kinds of agencies that are already authorized to function in this area and perhaps through this mechanism create a greater awareness of the total problem and develop a greater spirit of cooperation and coordination of the activities, recognizing that the Social Security Act has now brought in a further new element into the program.

There has been some discussion that our State Departments of Education are disinterested in pre-school education because of their many other responsibilities. Many people have expressed a feeling that they would not want to see the education departments given any preference in administering this program but that in each instance they believe, as I do, that the Governor should have the right to decide whether it shall be the Department of Education and to also have the alternative of designating some other department or indeed creating its own commission for this specific purpose.

There is also a provision in the bill that all of the local centers which wish to be considered for funds would apply to the State. No one could go over the head of the State to deal directly with Washington. It would have to be done on the State level. The State then would recommend approval. The State agency would approve the application locally and recommend final approval by the U.S. Commissioner of Education. The bill states clearly that the U.S. Commissioner of Education could not authorize grants under the program that have not been previously approved by the appropriate state commission, thereby again recognizing local control. The role of the Commissioner of Education is simply to make sure that the over-all purposes of the program have been satisfied.

The recommendation most often heard in relation to this bill is that it should authorize construction funds for new centers. I omitted construction as one of the eligible activities for Federal aid at this time because of a realistic appraisal of our national fiscal situation.

I can't agree more that what we need most of all are more centers, that we need to build new and better facilities, that we need to provide basic services, and to start from the ground up by providing for health and nutritional needs of these children as well as to provide the teacher and an education factor in these programs.

However, in examining the budgetary situation and the limitations under which we must present our legislation, it seems to me that to get something passed by Congress we had to take what seems possible at least as a first step. This bill is constructed around the concept of utilizing the centers that are now in existence or may come into existence and attempting to provide those supplemental services which are necessary in order to upgrade the kind of services that these centers are or will be providing.

However, I certainly don't intend to curtail the development of new centers by this provision. As long as there are no construction requirements to actually open the center it would seem to me that an application for Federal aid for a proposed center should be included within the context of this bill.

I have included in the bill ". . . the use of books and audiovisual material and equipment" as legitimate activities to be included in an application for Federal aid. I should not need to explain that I did not mean a wasteful helter-skelter purchase of equipment with this assistance, as some people fear may happen. I believe the State agency charged with the responsibility of passing on applications must be entrusted to use its judgment on equipment that is necessary and useful to teaching youngsters of this tender age.

The bill defines "supplementary educational services and education equipment "as services which provide educational and cultural enrichment of the day care center's program. The listing of special services such as the services of art and music teachers, psychologists, and other child development specialists is only for illustrative purposes and is not intended to be a limitation in any respect.

To the disappointment of some, H.R. 10572 does not provide specific aid for the training of teachers or teacher aides or other professional personnel. The Education Professions Development Act and its programs for teacher development, it seems to me, ought to provide needed professionals for this program without proliferating teacher training funds under this Act and thereby negate our recent efforts to consolidate these under one roof.

However, the programs which are funded under my bill could certainly encompass on-the-job training of the aide or semiprofessional assistant whose presence would have the purpose of increasing the individual attention given to each child.

H.R. 10572 obviously does not offer answers to all the deficiencies of day care needs in the country. It does, however, recognize the problems which exist and it offers the encouragement that the Federal government stands ready to extend a "helping hand" to those who will begin the momentous task of serving the millions of working mothers and their pre-school children. I am optimistic that this "start" will go on to a growing plan for more and better day care centers.

I thank the Chairman and members of this Subcommittee for your kind and courteous attention to my presentation and for the opportunity given me to present my statement in support of this piece of legislation.

BALANCING FARM PRODUCTION AND DEMAND—THE BUSINESS AND LABOR INTEREST

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 1, 1968

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, our experience has taught us some hard learned lessons about agriculture. Among the chief of these is that when the farmer strikes muddy financial waters, business and labor get spattered too. We cannot have a balanced and viable economy with agriculture mired in stagnation. In the past 7 years, we have been able to pull agriculture out of the mud.

The commodity programs have been the difference: The difference between high surplus and balanced production; the difference between depressed prices and record income; and, the difference between an agricultural economy which sputtered on a weak cylinder, and an economy which is running fresh and full with increased purchasing power for farmers, more jobs for labor and greater profits for businessmen.

Farm prosperity helps labor reap a harvest of jobs.

Three of every 10 jobs in private employment are related to agriculture. Six million people work to provide the supplies farmers use for production and family living. In fact, agriculture remains our Nation's biggest industry. It employs more people than public utilities, the steel industry, the automobile industry and transportation combined. About 8 to 10 million people have jobs storing, transporting, processing, and merchandising the products of agriculture.

Farmers are big spenders and good customers for business.

Farmers spend more than $42 billion a year, $30 billion for goods and services to produce crops and livestock; $12 billion a year for the same things that city people buy—food, clothing, drugs, furniture, appliances, and other products and services.

Back when the family farm was still self-sufficient, the farmer bought very few of the necessary production inputs; he grew them or built them himself. The farmer and his family provided most of the required labor.

Capital investment was neither as essential, nor as costly, as it is today. And the market for farm products consisted of many small units, both buyers and sellers, and the forces of supply and demand were able to operate in a relatively open fashion. But all this has changed. Today's farmer spends 80 percent of his total market receipts to buy production inputs, to hire labor, and to pay interest on increasingly essential capital.

Today American agriculture represents one of the largest single markets in the Nation for tires, trucks, and gasoline.

Farmers spend annually $3.5 billion for new farm tractors and other motor vehicles, machinery and equipment providing jobs for 120,000 employees.

Each year they buy products containing about 5 million tons of steel and 320 million pounds of rubber—enough to put tires on 6 million cars.

They use more petroleum than any other single industry and more electricity than all the people and all the industries in Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Baltimore, Houston and Washington, D.C., combined.

The U.S. worker feels less pinch in his paycheck from food costs than any working man in the world.

The United States exports the harvest from more than 71 million acres. Since 1960, agricultural exports for dollars have skyrocketed by 60 percent and $2 billion. The balance of agricultural trade comprises more than 50 percent of this Nation's total favorable trade balance. Without them, the problem of the outflow of dollars would take on a new dimension of seriousness. We have been able to boost agricultural exports mainly because the commodity programs in effect the past 7 years have made our products more competitive in foreign trade.

What would happen if farmers were denied farm programs?

The present commodity programs have brought production more nearly into balance with demand that it has been in many years. Without the commodity programs, recent studies show, production would soar and net income would fall about one-third. Gross income would be reduced by at least 14 percent, thus sharply limiting the farmer's ability to purchase needed machinery and supplies.

Thus, business profits would shrink. So would the employed labor force. Farmers would be forced to weather conditions over which, acting alone, they have no control.

The chaotic spiral of high production and lower prices would be set in motion. And the price of this plunge would be borne by us all.

Supply and demand can be balanced only if the farm program is available and attractive to all farmers who produce significant amounts for market. Large and small producers alike are called upon to make production adjustments in line with demand.

SOUTHERN PACIFIC CO. DISCONTINUANCE—OGDEN TO OAKLAND

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, on July 26, 1968, the Interstate Commerce Commission handed down its decision on the Southern Pacific Co. discontinuance of trains between San Francisco, Calif., and Ogden, Utah, and the Western Pacific Co. trains between San Francisco, Calif., and Salt Lake City, Utah.

I think my colleagues will find of particular interest, the fact in the finding entitled "Discussions and Conclusions." That material follows:

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In a proceeding under section 13a, we must determine whether continued operation is required by public convenience and necessity and also whether continued operation will unduly burden interstate commerce. The intent of Congress in enacting section 13a(1) was to enable carriers to discontinue interstate train services that no longer pay their way, and for which there is no longer sufficient public need to justify the financial loss involved in providing the service. See *Southern Ry. Co.* v. *North Carolina*, 376 U.S. 93. In determining whether discontinuance of a train may be permitted, neither financial loss nor any other single factor is conclusive or controlling. The burden upon the carrier and upon interstate commerce must be weighed against the public's need for the service. Such factors must also be considered as the effect of the proposed discontinuance upon the populations and communities served in the light of the alternate transportation services available, and the carrier's prospects for the future. If, as here, the evidence shows that particular transportation services result in financial loss to the carrier, the overall financial condition of the carrier is a factor in our determination of whether the burden imposed by continuation of the services would be undue. Compare *Louisville & N. R. Co. Discontinuance of Service*, 307 I.C.C. 173 (1959). A substantial need for the service might justify the continuation of the service even if it were performed at a substantial loss to the carrier, and this is particularly true when it involves the last passenger train of the carrier in the service area. In short, the statute requires a balancing of needs, the public's and the carrier's.

In addition to the five common points served (counting Salt Lake City-Ogden as a common point), Southern Pacific serves 18 intermediate points including the principal points of Berkeley, Truckee, and Richmond, Calif., and Reno, Nev.; and Western Pacific serves 10 intermediate points including the principal point of Stockton, Calif. Those intermediate points would be without any passenger train service to other stations within the service area. Each pair of trains is the last passenger train operated on its line. In addition, although the connecting carriers in each case provide service to Chicago, they offer transportation through different service areas and States. The City of San Francisco and the California Zephyr provide the last remaining direct trans-continental passenger train service in their respective service areas.

The two pairs of trains serve more than a quarter of a million revenue passengers, a daily average of 630 revenue passengers. That is a very substantial use of the trains by the public, with approximately equal use of both trains. More than 70 percent of those passengers travel long distances, and go to or from points beyond the lines of the two carriers. Thus, most of the traffic on these trains is of importance to the other carriers with whom WP and SP connect. All things considered, we conclude that both trains are required by the public convenience and necessity.

The California Zephyr.—Discontinuance of the California Zephyr would remove the last passenger trains from the Western Pacific route between Salt Lake City and San Francisco. There is alternate transportation available, but a discussion of alternate transportation here is less relevant because, as we noted in the prior case and reiterated earlier in this report, the California Zephyr is no ordinary transportation. A trip on the Zephyr is a unique experience enjoyed by over 100,000 persons annually. The trip provides breathtaking views of some of the finest scenery in America viewed from the comfort of luxury trains. Contrary to the suggestions of the carrier, patronage based upon such considerations is as much determinative of public convenience and necessity as patronage by persons seeking minimum transportation.

Concerning the California Zephyr's operating deficits, the Western Pacific argues with considerable force that it should be released from the burden of the losses it sustains in the operation of the train. It points to the report in the prior case. There we expressed a sympathetic concern over the projected annual deficit of $560,000 for the Zephyr, and the deterioration of its equipment, but expressed the view that the prospects for improvement were not hopeless. We ordered the trains continued for 1 year, saying that after a year the carrier could file again and that in the absence of some material change of circumstances we *might* have to permit discontinuance. We suggested four areas in which improvement might occur, and suggested some things the carrier itself might be able to do to reduce the deficit.

The Western Pacific argues that during the year which elapsed, every avenue has been explored and the results have been unsuccessful; that patronage declined and the Zephyr's deficit rose to over $1,200,000 in 1967; that the overage equipment became less reliable and 1 year closer to the day when it would take a major capital outlay to keep the equipment running, and that WP's own profits fell leaving the carrier even less able than before to continue operation of the California Zephyr.

The carrier's arguments are very compelling. However, our analysis of the problem shows that much of the carrier's economic burden is self-inflicted or at least would appear to be largely correctable by the carrier. We also find that the carrier's efforts to carry out our self-help suggestions from the prior case were at best half-hearted.

We will look first at the disappointing patronage and revenue figures which the carrier considers to be strong evidence of the futility of continuing with the Zephyr. After considerable reflection, we consider these figures to be the result of the carrier's lack of recent effort to maximize revenues.

Intensive promotion of the trains would be an indispensable part of any serious program to maximize revenues. However, in the case of the California Zephyr, the need for promotion is even greater because of a need to offset the adverse results of the carrier's filing and publicizing of discontinuance notices. These notices, especially when combined with a lack of counterbalancing advertising and other promotion, tend to discourage potential passengers by creating the impression that the trains either have been discontinued or soon will be. Even without the discontinuance notices, the carrier is failing to reach an increasingly affluent and leisure-oriented society with the message that the Zephyr still exists and has something many of them are seeking. The Western Pacific is letting them look elsewhere.

In any event, we think that when a carrier makes as little effort to attract passengers as WP has made in the past 2 years, it may not point to a recent patronage decline as evidence of a hopeless long-run outlook, especially when the Zephyr was able to hold its patronage at a consistent and almost unvarying high level until after WP began publishing discontinuance notices.

Although we suggested in the prior case in February 1967, that WP experiment with fares in an effort to maximize revenues, its only experimentation consisted of a flat 5-percent increase imposed 10 months later, in December 1967, in the off-season, 1 month preceding the posting of the latest discontinuance notices. Needless to say, that was too late to have any effect for this proceeding, and was slow enough to suggest a possible lack of carrier enthusiasm for this obvious area of self-help. Nevertheless, as will be seen from subsequent discussion, this fare increase stands out as possibly the only meaningful recent step taken by the carrier to stem the losses on the California Zephyr.

The WP has been as neglectful of available means to minimize expenses as it has been of ways to maximize revenues. Its maintenance costs are excessive due to its failure for years to replace overage equipment. Thus its maintenance costs have been allowed to rise to more than $500,000 per year and the cost of replacement equipment now exceeds $9 million. We understand the carrier's reluctance to make the investment in new equipment when it plans to desert the passenger field. But at the same time, we do not think that a carrier of WP's size and profitability is entitled to use self-inflicted excessive maintenance costs as a basis for claiming undue burden. According to the testimony of the president of WP, even a modest $1,275,000 rehabilitation program would reduce maintenance expenses considerably, approximately 30 to 50 percent for 3 to 5 years. The carrier could also save about twice as much for twice as long if it spent about twice as much and modernized or rebuilt the equipment. While we realize that the carrier is acting upon the assumption that the Zephyr will go out of business, we do not think that the additional amounts it is spending on maintenance costs as a result of this assumption, should be considered by us in weighing the financial burden of the trains. The carrier can remove this added expense without eliminating the Zephyr.

There is other evidence of lack of carrier willingness to try to reduce the losses. In the prior case we suggested that the carrier attempt negotiations with labor respecting more efficient utilization of personnel. This is a most vital area, but as we observed earlier in this report, the carrier made no serious effort to resolve the problem. Lack of serious effort was likewise obvious in the carrier's feckless contacts with government officials concerning government assistance.

From this record, it is our conclusion that with serious effort, the WP could eliminate much, if not all, of the losses on the Zephyr, but that the carrier has not tried to do this apparently because it feels that the better way to extricate itself from this deficit operation lies in obtaining approval from us for discontinuance of the Zephyr, not in reducing expenses and promoting patronage. That approach has deprived the carrier of the positive attitude which is needed if the California Zephyr is to be given a fair chance for survival.

The trains must be given this chance. We do not predict that the California Zephyr, properly promoted, equipped, and run, will become a big profit-maker for WP. We do find, however, that WP failed to show that, properly promoted, equipped, and run, the Zephyr would still be an *undue burden* to a carrier in WP's financial circumstances. In other words, before we will allow a carrier to do away with a train that has become a national institution, it must be able to show that a sincere effort to reduce losses has been unsuccessful; and that any steps that it could, but would not take to trim its losses, would still leave it with an undue burden. The Western Pacific has not done this. Accordingly, we will require continued operation for the 1-year period prescribed by section 13a.

The City of San Francisco.—Southern Pacific operated the City of San Francisco at a profit through 1966 and incurred its first out-of-pocket loss in 1967, a loss of approximately $285,000. Its restated 1967 loss and prospective 1968 loss were much larger primarily because of the loss of mail revenues. However, until the loss of mail occurred in September and October 1967, the City of San Francisco was operating at an out-of-pocket profit and the results of a year of operation without those mail revenues will not be complete for some time. In the absence of such experience, and in the light of the strong financial condition of the SP, we would not feel justified in allowing the carrier to eliminate the trains. See, *e.g., Union Pacific Railroad Company Discontinuance,* 333 I.C.C. 348, 369, and *Union Pacific Railroad Company Discontinuance,* 333 I.C.C. 413, 417. Moreover, even if these losses had already proven to be approximately as forecast by SP, the carrier would not be entitled to discontinuance.

Much of what we have said about the WP's failure to take positive steps (other than the filing of discontinuance notices) to eliminate passenger losses, is also true of SP, except that SP appears to have done far less to encourage patronage. Reservations are denied to passengers when the space is available. Advertising of the train has been eliminated. Travel agents are not used despite their value in attracting revenue. But the greatest inhibitor of passenger revenues on the City of San Francisco is the attitude of the Southern Pacific toward the passengers themselves.

Unlike the California Zephyr, whose service (despite hints in the testimony that it may have begun to slip somewhat) has not been significantly downgraded, service on the City of San Francisco is more likely to drive passengers away than to attract anyone.

A search of the record finds only one explanation for the deplorable conditions allowed, if not promoted, on these trains. Management admittedly does not want to retain passenger service. No other reasonable explanation found its way into the record.

By persistently discouraging existing pasengers and by not seeking any new ones, SP has unnecessarily depressed its passenger revenues. By so doing, the carrier, in our view, has forfeited the right to claim that the losses it helped to create are an undue burden upon it. In such a situation, even a burden as great as the one SP projects for 1968, would not be an undue one.

Accordingly, we will order Southern Pacific to continue operation of the City of San Francisco for a period of 1 year. While we doubt that the damage done to the image of the City of San Francisco can be repaired in 1 year's time, the statute limits us to such a period.

The Commission would, however, entertain a motion to reopen the cases for further consideration upon receipt of a joint petition by Southern Pacific and Western Pacific presenting a plan to operate the two trains as a combined train, or any other feasible arrangement that would maintain, at reduced cost, a daily service between the Salt Lake City-Ogden area and San Francisco.

The full cooperation of State and local governments will also be needed to improve these trains and to reduce the costs to the carriers. Governmental concern over the possible loss of these trains has been clearly stated. This concern must now be translated into concrete action. If, in the future, the carriers' bona fide efforts to cut costs reduce losses and promote service are *not* greeted by public assistance, the chances of preserving rail passenger service in future years will be much less.

The Colorado parties propose immediately to undertake with or without the assistance of other public bodies the studies and surveys required to ascertain the possibilities of adding revenues to the California Zephyr and reducing expenses. In particular, the Colorado Commission will undertake to secure assistance within and without the State of Colorado to relieve completely the advertising load of the entire train. Further, specific steps will be taken to discover what, if any, tax relief may be granted to the carriers.

We earnestly solicit the cooperation and assistance of the State public utilities commissions which were parties to this proceeding. We hope they will communicate to this Commission as soon as practicable the details of the efforts to assist these carriers.

PRESIDENT SHOULD RECONSIDER IMPACTED SCHOOL AID

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, it is most unfortunate that on July 31 the $91 million supplemental appropriation for assistance to impacted school districts, which Congress had approved in the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1968 under the authority of Public Law 874, was allowed to lapse. The President declared that the funds are being reserved for the present time.

The explanation given indicates the principal issue involved in the decision to reduce the funding of impacted areas. The Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 reduced the President's budget request by $6 billion. The President and the Bureau of the Budget have concurred that, in order to accomplish this reduction, reserving the $91 million proposed expenditure for impacted school districts is entirely necessary.

The sum would have fulfilled the funding obligation under Public Law 874 to 100 percent for 1968 as compared with the 80-percent level presently attained. The House and the Senate also added $110 million to the fiscal 1969 request for impacted school aid. The two proposed expenditures would increase the 1969 budget by approximately $200 million; and both are subject to the provisions of Public Law 90-364 which requires a reduction of $6 billion from the estimate of 1969 expenditures contained in the President's January budget request.

I respect the President's effort to follow the guidelines established by Congress in the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968. However, I wish to take issue with the manner in which the programs are being curtailed, namely, the matter of priorities.

It has always been my belief that the funding of education should be a steady and dependable source and not treated as a political or fiscal football. This is even more so when the funding concerns school systems which have been overburdened by the influx of children of Federal employees and those in federally related programs. In such instances, I strongly feel that the Federal Government has a duty which it should not shirk.

It should be noted that over 4,300 school districts in the Nation were receiving funds under the impacted school aid program which took effect in 1950. These districts have annually prepared their budgets and have taken on the responsibility of educating the children of Federal employees and persons in federally financed programs specifically with this aid in mind. Many of the school systems have prepared their budgets and complementary programs for 1968 with the understanding that full funding would continue. Several superintendents have stated that they already irretrievably committed the full entitlements under Public Law 874 this year and that a cutback in funds would be extremely harmful to the educational value of their programs and would place them in serious financial difficulty.

In my congressional district in eastern Connecticut alone there are more than 30 towns which have been receiving assistance under the impacted area program. If 100-percent funding is not received to complement their insufficient tax yield, the local school systems will be placed in the awkward position of curtailing their efforts. This situation becomes potentially dangerous when one considers that it will compromise the education of 17 million schoolchildren in approximately 4,300 school districts.

Mr. Speaker, as I understand the funding of fiscal policy, the fact that the $91 million supplemental appropriation is reserved means essentially that the funds have been vetoed. The President has stated that he might be favorably inclined to a request of $22 million for class A districts, which contain large numbers of parents who live and work on Federal installations and therefore do not contribute to local taxes. However, such a provision would not help the majority of towns and cities which are presently overburdened due to Federal programs and which are categorized class B.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I wish to conclude by urging the President to reconsider his action, because the curtailment of funds will have an adverse effect on the schooling of approximately 40 percent of the school-age youngsters in our Nation.

TWO FROM STATE DIE OF WOUNDS

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. John C. DeMarr, Jr., and Pfc. Michael A. Griggs, two fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their bravery and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

TWO FROM STATE DIE OF COMBAT WOUNDS

Two Maryland servicemen, one a marine and the other an Army infantryman, died Friday from wounds received in separate battles in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

Reported dead were:

Army Pfc. John C. DeMarr, Jr., son of Mrs. Blanche E. DeMarr, of La Plata, Md., and John C. DeMarr, of White Marsh, Md.

Marine Pfc. Michael A. Griggs, son of Mrs. Florence E. Fogle and stepson of Marion L. Fogle, of 12412 Shadow lane, Bowie.

Private DeMarr died at Camp Drake, Japan, of wounds received in a firefight near Long Binh, Vietnam, July 22.

Mrs. DeMarr received her son's Purple Heart award Friday and learned of his death the next day. She said the wounds had paralyzed his arms and legs, but as late as July 26 he dictated a letter home.

Private DeMarr was drafted into the Army about five months after he graduated from La Plata High School in 1967. When he was in school, his mother said, he had a job at a nearby lumber mill and earned his pocket money sawing logs.

The youth belonged to the local chapter of Future Farmers of America. He would have become 21 on November 30.

Besides his parents, DeMarr's survivors include two sisters, Mrs. Robert Hall, of La Plata and Julia Therese DeMarr, 17, of White Plains, Md., and a brother, David DeMarr, 21, also of White Plains.

Private Griggs was due to celebrate his twenty-first birthday tomorrow. He died of a gunshot wound received while his unit was in a defensive position at Quang Ngai, Vietnam, according to a telegram sent yesterday to the family.

A June, 1967, graduate of Bowie High School, Private Griggs enlisted in the Marines last July, and was assigned to Vietnam in December.

His step father said after hearing the news of his death that he was "one of those who tried to persuade him not to go."

Besides his parents, Private Griggs is survived by two step brothers, M. L. Fogle, Jr., and Richard Fogle.

THE YOUNGER GENERATION—FIVE CHALLENGES AHEAD

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, certainly if there is anyone qualified to challenge our youth, it is Mr. Winton M. Blount, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Red Blount's parents before him served as an inspiration to their children and community, and I can pay him no greater compliment than to say he has walked in their footsteps and fulfilled their dreams.

Winton M. Blount is a living example of the greatness that is America. An example that I commend to the younger generation to emulate.

On June 9, in Mobile, Ala., Mr. Blount delivered the commencement speech at the University of South Alabama and, at that time, presented the younger generation with five challenges. I am pleased to share with my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD this inspirational message:

THE YOUNGER GENERATION—FIVE CHALLENGES AHEAD

(By Winton M. Blount, president, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, at Commencement exercises, University of South Alabama, Mobile, Ala., June 9, 1968)

It is a great honor for me to be invited to speak to you graduates on this, one of the most memorable days of your lives.

I am under no illusion, however, that I might be able to impart some "words of wisdom" which will guide your steps through life. I suspect that most graduates are like those questioned in a survey by a college professor some 20 years after their graduation. About 40 persons were asked what they could remember about their commencement exercises and not one of them could remember the name of the speaker. One person, however, said she was sure it was some general. On further investigation, it was discovered that the speaker had been an official of the General Electric Company.

You are graduating in the most exciting time in the history of the world. This will provide you with more than your share of opportunities and problems before you see your own children graduating from college. You will be expected to take an increasing role in the affairs of our nation and you will have that opportunity. In every field—business, politics, social work—we find younger people moving more rapidly to important positions of leadership.

By 1970, you and your fellow citizens under 25 years of age will make up about one-half of our population, so your generation must assume more leadership at an earlier age than recent generations have assumed.

But over and above this, there is a particular responsibility on you college graduates. Despite the fact that more people are attending college than ever before, the per cent of college graduates in the population still numbers only about ten per cent. The burden of leadership will particularly rest on your shoulders during the coming years. What are the challenges your generation will face in the years ahead? Many of them are taking shape, already waiting in the wings for the time when they will be center-stage. Others are full-blown problems today which are not likely to be resolved for some years to come. But it might be helpful if we could catalog and define some of the great challenges your generation must confront.

I have listed five of these challenges and I would like to briefly discuss them with you today. They are in no particular order of priority.

The first great challenge is to keep your perspective.

America is a nation in conflict—conflict in ideas, conflict in ideals, and conflict in identifications. But as we look at the conflict in our cities, on our campuses, and all across the nation, we need to remember that this is a growing, prosperous nation struggling with the problems of success, and not a nation coming apart at the seams or on the brink of disaster.

We have the problem of how to bring gainful employment to 4 per cent of our working population. But remember, we have 96 per cent of our working population employed.

We have the problem of how to bring better housing and a better way of life to a relatively small part of our population. But remember at the same time, the vast majority of Americans who live rich and rewarding lives.

I do not mean to discount the tragedy and degradation of those who live in squalor, despair, and hopelessness, but I submit that our system has provided for the vast majority of our people a way of life unparalleled in the history of the world.

Problems such as air and water pollution, the blight of our cities, mass transportation needs, traffic and highway problems, crowded schools and colleges, are all problems which can be traced to our tremendous growth and success as a nation. So don't lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with the problems of success and not the problems of failure, and I assure you the situations are vastly different.

We have other serious problems such as eliminating poverty, slums, discrimination, under-education, and hard-core unemployment—not because they are new . . . they have always existed—but because we have achieved such affluence that for the first time in the history of the world, a nation is almost within range of eliminating poverty.

Certainly the problems we face today are serious. But other generations in other times have also faced serious problems.

Emerson observed slightly over one hundred years ago "these times of ours are serious and full of calamity, but all times are essentially alike." How appropriate that statement is in helping us keep our proper perspective.

What is unique about the situation you face today—and I list this as the second challenge—is that you must deal with a period of rapid change—change so fast as to be blinding in many instances.

Several generations ago, young men and women often followed in the footsteps of their parents as a matter of course, on the farm or in a small store or enterprise. Times changed slowly and young people starting out faced a world pretty much the same as that of their parents.

But the pace of post-war technological and economic development has been so great, and has triggered such growth and complexity that, in some cases, we have not been able to keep up with re-structuring society to meet modern realities.

Local and state government, for example, in their structure and approach to problems, still largely reflect horse and buggy methods.

On the national government level, just one example is the need for a vehicle for determining priorities and goals for the nation. Too often we have tried to do everything at once, spending like we had all the money in the world. We need a practical and even scientific method of determining our needs and aspirations, weighing them against our resources, and establishing a priority schedule for dealing with them. We have tended to set up programs and just stay with them regardless of the fact that the world and our priorities change so fast. We need the flexibility of changing with the times.

Business is also faced with adjusting to transition. We must solve the complex question of how to put more meaning, and opportunity for self-satisfaction and growth into some of our jobs, especially those on the assembly line. One manufacturer of electronic equipment, for example, has abandoned assembly lines in order to allow one person to assemble, say, an entire volt-meter from start to finish. It may take up to three weeks, after which the employee tests the product. If customer complaints are received later, they are referred back to the same man who assembled the component. The company reports a 50 per cent reduction in manhours devoted to building the instrument and, at a deeper level, that employees' sense of responsibility and commitment have become very high.

Big labor continues to flaunt the public interest with strikes and unreasonably high wage demands, their leaders still operating under the 1930's concept that they are championing the economic underdog. Most of the union members, meanwhile, are living in the suburbs, managing little league baseball teams and serving on PTA's.

In every phase of our society, we are challenged by the need to adapt to change. Traditions, attitudes, values, habits and ideas which were accepted by my generation are being tested and challenged by yours, and this is as it should be.

President John A. Hannah told his graduating seniors at Michigan State University last year that "accumulating evidence indicates that we may be entering or may even be well within, one of the periods of human history during which mankind's fortunes take a sharp turn for the better, or for worse."

Much depends on the way we deal with this transition. There are loud voices today advocating radical change. It will be up to the responsible, mature members of your generation and mine to insure that our progress in the coming years is sound, intelligent, and in accord with the strong principles which lie at the heart of this country's greatness.

And I say your generation and mine, because my generation is not going to give up right now and turn the world over to you. But many of us looking to the future can see very clearly the tremendously valuable input your generation has to contribute and we intend to take advantage of your contribution in order to make a better world for us all.

This brings us to a third challenge. In the midst of change and transition, you must preserve our fundamental freedoms, rights, and institutions—those things which do not change but remain fundamental to our way of life.

I see great danger to individual liberties from those who advocate—as John Kenneth Galbraith does in his book, "The New Industrial Society"—that government greatly expand its role and aggressively pursue the development of a better society. I have seen no evidence from other countries that a large, centralized government brought about anything but progressive stagnation.

Such proposals are not new. The Caesars of ancient Rome took on the dual task of feeding and amusing the people. Their monthly distributions assured the populace of its daily bread, and the shows and spectacles they provided in the various places—the stadiums and amphitheatre—occupied the leisure hours.

Rather than create the ideal society, this contributed to the moral distintegration of Rome.

Juvenal complained that his fellow citizens in ancient Rome had lost all interest in public affairs and "long eagerly for just two things—bread and circuses. . . ."

It would be dangerous and damaging in the long run if we listen to those false prophets who would have the government expand its role as provider of food, culture and entertainment.

I am particularly concerned about preserving the vitality of the nation's economic system.

Those of us who grew up in the thirties were faced with the challenge of reviving an economy that was so depressed there were serious doubts about its workability. The outstanding performance of the economy since that time is a tribute to many factors—the economic spurt caused by World War II, important technological breakthroughs, the role of education in providing manpower, with technical know-how, government policies, and others—but most of all it is a tribute to the men and women of the generation, motivated by a reaction to the poverty they had seen during the depression, to provide economic security for themselves and their families.

Their achievement has been to provide your generation with a firm economic foundation. Because of their efforts, you will have the time, leisure and money to pursue a fuller and more satisfying life.

Economic success is not an end in itself, but a society must first satisfy its basic physical and economic needs before it can enjoy a varied, civilized and educated existence. But just as the foundation of a building cannot be permitted to crack and weaken, neither can we take the economy for granted and permit the strong principles which support it to be eroded.

Despite the fact that our economy produces more goods and services than any other since the beginning of time, if you ask the average person what the secrets of its success are, you are not likely to get an accurate answer.

A recent survey of college students indicated that 60 per cent didn't think the profit motive was necessary. This sort of faulty thinking can break the very backbone of the economy. If we eliminated the profit motive we certainly would need an anti-poverty program, because there would be a vast increase in the number of poor people.

All men—rich and poor, black and white—can profit under the free enterprise system, each according to his ability and his motivation. The opportunity for a man to prove and improve himself by his own efforts has created the world's most successful anti-poverty program . . . the business system of this country.

Dean George P. Baker wrote recently in the Harvard Business School Bulletin that between 1959 and 1965—six short years—the number of people in the United States defined as poor dropped some 20 per cent.

He said:

"It has been primarily the nation's buoyant economy in recent years—the growth surge among the nation's businesses—that lifted more of these people across the poverty line to productivity, to hope and to ambition for themselves and their children by creating and expanding the enterprises that provide jobs."

The profit incentive and other principles of the free market system—individual freedom, competition, private property, and personal incentives—must be valued and preserved and protected from such threats as greatly expanded government endeavors, overregulation by the government, and guaranteed job and income programs.

There is a very vital relationship between the competitive economy and the individual's share in the well-being of his country, and certainly it is one of the great challenges for your generation to first understand and then to protect that system.

A fourth challenge to your generation is to find new approaches to public problem solving. We have already come to realize that government cannot do the job alone. Too often government's reflex reaction has been to devise expensive, loosely managed and often ineffective programs. We must look for other solutions.

Modernizing state and local governments along lines which would provide them with more tax resources and make them more responsive to public needs, would take some of the burden from the national government, and efforts are being made in this direction.

Business is responding to the need for new and better solutions, in one of the most significant developments of our times.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce Annual Meeting in April, for example, was devoted largely to action forums on such issues as modernizing government, education, pollution, housing, hard-core unemployment, crime, and total community development. The Chamber has, or is developing, practical programs in each of these fields to assist the many businessmen interested in helping.

The National Alliance for Businessmen, a joint industry-government effort launched last January to help the hard-core unemployed, is apparently making good progress toward its goal of 100,000 new jobs the first year for the hard-core unemployed.

An Associated Press survey recently in 38 major cities across the country showed that "many companies are working at training and hiring the unskilled and poorly educated persons of the urban slums."

There are many individual examples. A national oil company has undertaken a program to conserve natural areas; another is involved in highway safety; a steel company has come up with a greatly improved air pollution control system; building materials companies are working in Harlem, Philadelphia and Cleveland to renovate slums; a bank in New York is hiring Negro high school dropouts, and so on.

We are seeing only the early stages of this trend. Business will become more and more involved in social investments, as well as business investments.

But let's be frank and admit that there will be limits to the extent of these efforts. In order to survive, business must continue to show a profit and there are natural limits to the amount of nonprofit endeavors it can undertake.

Our challenge is to find ways to identify public needs with profit opportunities, and thereby harness the great genius of this incentive system and the vast resources of commerce and industry in bringing about effective solutions.

Government tax incentives for companies training the hard-core unemployed is one breakthrough. We must develop others.

Voluntary efforts must also be stepped up. We must get private citizens and organizations involved to a greater extent in our problem-solving efforts.

There is an increasing amount of dissatisfaction with some of the conditions people find in their communities. Every community in the United States can be a better community, and every community has unmet needs. At the same time, people are seeking more satisfying ways of community service. Increasing affluence and education have made them more aware of the need for good community environments, better schools, for cultural centers, museums, libraries and parks. And they are more ready than ever before to pitch in and work for these improvements. The fact that there is not enough positive action on the community level is not, I believe, so much a matter of apathy as lack of an effective channel through which to direct these efforts.

One of the finest programs I know of is the "Forward America" program announced recently by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. This program seeks to solve local problems through the united efforts of all groups willing to cooperate within the community—business, labor, civil rights, religious, educational, and all the rest.

The idea is to bring all these groups together to define the needs of the community, establish goals, and coordinate the efforts of the various groups to achieve these goals.

In the final analysis, our efforts to build a better America must be through a joint effort of all these groups—the national government, local and state governments, the business community, other organizations, and private citizens.

But the challenge remains to develop a cohesive, practical, and effective approach whereby all the resources of these groups can be mobilized and brought to bear on the great issues of our times.

Finally—and this may be your greatest challenge—you must deal with the serious spiritual problems that are beginning to emerge in our society.

The symptoms are everywhere: Dissension, distrust, violence, rising crime rates, irrational protest, and anarchism.

The most recent reminder of our spiritual deficiencies as a nation came only a few days ago, when Senator Kennedy was killed in California. What a tragedy for this man, with many years of public service left ahead of him, to be struck down so senselessly. On this national day of mourning, our deepest sympathies are with his wife and children, and the entire Kennedy family, which has given so much to the country, and suffered so much.

Other assassinations are fresh in our memories. Perhaps the impact of their shock will arouse us to renewed efforts to put down lawlessness, disorder and violence.

We have devisive and demagogic elements of leadership in our society—both on the left and on the right—who are doing irreparable harm to our nation. They arouse vast passions—both of support and opposition—and out of those passions arise an atmosphere of violence and anarchy. We must turn away from the voices of dissension, distrust and destruction.

We have seen in recent months a rising tide of irrational protest, in urban riots, in student revolts, in strikes by public employees, in threats from the Poor People's March, and from other areas.

Crime, delinquency and disregard for the law have increased to an extent that people in big cities often fear to take an evening stroll or walk to a movie.

Whether we like it or not, I believe our first step must be to use police power and authority whenever order is threatened by mob action of any kind.

This is absolutely necessary to the democratic process in a highly populated society. Human rights, in the final analysis, cannot exist in a chaotic and disorderly society. Frustration in the cities and even on the campus may be understandable, but its expression in irrational mob action cannot be tolerated by the larger society.

The most disturbing thing is that much of this disorder in the civil rights movement, campus revolts, and labor riots is condoned by intellectuals and opinion leaders as a method of progress. It is high time for our leaders to reassert order and reason as the best method of progress.

Second, your generation must discover some firm and meaningful values to guide it. Many young people are slipping anchor on most of the guiding principles of earlier generations, but have yet to find their own.

The Wall Street Journal recently noted the decline of belief in absolute values and truths, with these words:

> "The work ethic is being derided, the successful man reviled precisely for his success, the loafer applauded. In any event, in an atmosphere of relativism, moral standards . . . suffer, and we have the permissiveness which erupts violently in so many areas of contemporary life."

Much of the violence and disorder is a result of moral confusion.

Dissatisfaction is a characteristic American trait, but I think after all the testing you eventually discover that certain principles and values are changeless, such as self-discipline, concern for the larger society, recognition that nothing is achieved without work and effort, and that too much tolerance can lead to anarchy.

We must also get at the underlying causes of this frustration. Sociologists tell us that, in part, it is the result of the diminishing role for the individual in our highly developed society.

In the final analysis, the successful resolution of some of the nation's spiritual problems may rest in the challenge of finding better ways to "humanize" the industrial society.

In summary, I believe the great challenges of your generation will be to keep your perspective, to cope with a period of transition, to preserve our personal freedoms and the vitality of the economy, to find new approaches to public problem solving, and to deal with the nation's spiritual problems.

In cataloging these challenges, I have dealt only with domestic and national issues. Larger and even more compelling issues exist beyond our borders.

Perhaps the dominant world problems for your generation will be these: To establish an enduring peace, to develop an effective foreign aid policy, with emphasis on self-help, which will stimulate a high and steady rate of growth for the developing nations; and third, to deal with the food-population problem.

Before closing, I would like to touch briefly on a problem of great concern to me, and that is the fact that there is evidence that some young people are disregarding careers in business because they have the impression business is dull and conforming.

Don't be misled by such thinking. There is enormous diversity and unlimited horizons in modern business, and endless opportunities for creativity and self-fulfillment. Those of us who have experienced the challenge and excitement of problem solving, competition and the drive for excellence, and the rewards which business offers, cannot understand how someone could call it "dull and conforming." There is room for individuality, and a great need for it. We want "student rebels"—not the kind who occupy buildings and close down campuses—but the kind who will bring fresh and individual thinking into our organizations. And there is the challenge of helping business come to grips with some of the problems I have mentioned here today. We welcome you to join us and meet the challenge of your generation within the framework of modern business.

Let me conclude, after talking about all of these problems, by following my own advice and keeping my perspective.

This is a great nation which has achieved more than any other nation in satisfying the basic physical needs of its people—and now it is dealing with some of the inherent problems which came with this tremendous success.

And I firmly believe these are the most exciting times in which to be alive. There are more opportunities than ever before, and the future for the younger generation is just tremendous. You have great opportunities before you and you will have tremendous problems, but I believe you are going to be fully capable of facing up to them and solving them.

AN EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, insistent questions arise from time to time as to

whether various war-against-poverty programs do in fact reach the poor. Accordingly, I am happy to call to the attention of my colleagues a report on the program and activities of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Community Legal Services Corp. This report was prepared by Mr. Ray H. Williams, an attorney and the executive director of the corporation. The report indicates clearly and conclusively that at least in the Bedford-Stuyvesant Community, the Legal Services Corp. does reach the people and is performing an urgent service. The report follows:

NEED FOR FREE LAWYER SERVICE FOR THE POOR

The need for a legal services program for the poor of Bedford-Stuyvesant is evidenced infra.

SOME BACKGROUND

Here are some statistics that were presented on August 31, 1964 in the New York *Journal American* concerning the Bedford-Stuyvesant area (conditions have gotten worse).

"Unemployment: Twice that for all of Brooklyn.

"Narcotics: Eight times the city average.

"Juvenile Delinquency: In one health district south of Myrtle Ave., the juvenile delinquency rate almost tripled between 1953 and 1962—from 58.7 to 154.1 offenses per 1,000 youths. The city average today is 47.3.

"Overcrowding: Number of dwelling units overcrowded are more than double the city-wide figure.

"And, poverty: The average income of Bedford-Stuyvesant's 196,900* persons is a shade over $3,000 per year. This figure is less than the $4,000 the government sets as a minimum standard for "health and well-being". There is little well-being in Bedford-Stuyvesant today. But, if poverty is the father of crime, despair is its mother.

"For them it's a question of hopelessness. Here they are born into a country where they have been led to believe they can be anything they want to. They see people around them do just that. Every entertainment medium they watch shows them how much they miss. They have been lied to and after a while, they give up hope. That's when the trouble starts.

"The great migration to Bedford-Stuyvesant had its beginnings first in the depression days when Negroes sought an outlet from the ghetto that was Harlem. In 1950, Bedford-Stuyvesant was 52 percent Negro. But, by 1960, the section housed a population that was 83 percent Negro and Puerto Rican—an increase of more than 30 percent in 10 years. Most of them came seeking a better way to live. They came on buses from the south, Harlem, from Chicago. They carried their belongings on their backs and they found nothing better than what they sought to escape.

"With the rise in crime came all the companions to it. Venereal disease shot up among Bedford-Stuyvesant's youth to four times the city rate—805.6 cases out of 100,000 youths as compared to the city's meager 198.6. The area has the second highest rate among its children in the entire city. No, Bedford-Stuyvesant is not a very safe place in which to live.

"The anti-poverty bill holds some hope for these people. But, then, they have seen so many hopes dashed that if it doesn't work out, it's all the same—except amongst the young. The young are angry."

In our view the proper and timely assertion of legal rights is a prime factor in the diminution of frustrations and apathy that often expresses itself in ugly violence and civil disorder which, unfortunately, America is experiencing.

The oppression of the poor in Bedford-Stuyvesant is evidenced by the above statistics. Bedford-Stuyvesant residents pay more for food items than do residents of the Flatbush section of Brooklyn. Residents here pay more for electrical appliances in Bedford-Stuyvesant than do the residents in the Brooklyn Heights section of Brooklyn.

As was seen above from the material that was presented in the New York Journal American of some four years ago (conditions have gotten progressively worse), Bedford-Stuyvesant is a largely Negro ghetto suffering from discrimination in employment, housing, and education, paying out its meager income to stores owned by entrepreneurs who live elsewhere. For Bedford-Stuyvesant residents the law appears not so much a protector as a force protective of those who would take advantage of them.

AVAILABLE LEGAL SERVICES

Until the commencement of services by the Bedford-Stuyvesant Community Legal Services Corporation, there was no legal service for the people of Bedford-Stuyvesant in which the residents had confidence.

Our offices are providing legal assistance which is easily accessible to community residents. We have found that our services are beginning to replace suspicion with understanding appreciation of the legal process.

At present there are three offices: an east office, a west office, and a central office.

We are also providing 24-hour telephone service. We have responded to Police Precincts many times after midnight for the purpose of advising indigents of their rights. Our telephone number is being circularized by the distribution of 50,000 stickers.

* * * * *

Relation of case load to legal and clerical staffing projected for period October 1, 1968 to September 30, 1969

According to actuarial computations, Bedford-Stuyvesant Community Legal Services Corporation will handle a case load of 12,948 cases for the period 10/1/68–9/30/69. At present, BSCLSC legal staff consists of twelve lawyers and two law graduates (latter have taken July Bar Exam). When we consider some carry over from the first six months of operation (April, 1968–September 30, 1968) of 2,195 cases, there is an expected per-attorney case load of 1,081 cases including the law graduates for purposes here. If we consider that 22% (provided current rate remains the same) of these cases will be referred to private attorneys, each BSCLSC attorney will have to handle 843 cases. A survey of private practicing attorneys in Bedford-Stuyvesant indicated that on a per-attorney basis not more than 100 cases are handled per year.

A Bedford-Stuyvesant Community Legal Services Corporation attorney will have to handle 8 times the case load of a private attorney if BSCLSC staffing remains the same. In the Bedford-Stuyvesant Community Legal Services Corporation Budget submitted October 1, 1968 through September 30, 1969 request is made for 30 attorneys, 10 law graduates, and 8 law students with supporting investigating and clerical staff. If BSCLSC is granted increased staffing. BSCLSC attorneys would still handle more than 3 times the number of cases that private counsel handles a year.

In considering the need for increased staffing many factors must be concurrently evaluated; among them:

(a) That percentage increase of cases from April 8, 1968 through June 30, 1968 was 400.3719487% and that statistical computations infra are based upon 10% monthly increases, which level in the premises is very conservative;

(b) Of the 400,000 Bedford-Stuyvesant residents, one-half or 200,000 earn annual incomes of $3,000 or less; which means that the BSCLSC market for services is one-half the resident population;

(c) The BSCLSC is a lawyer having gained such status with permission of the Appellate Division and other operation of law, and as such it must handle its cases in a lawyer-like manner with very high professional standards;

(d) That poor people deserve just as high a type of professional legal help as the more affluent member of our society for if apathy and frustration are to decrease, the poor must have a qualified vehicle by which to assert their rights. Not to increase staffing as indicated herein is to relegate the poor to fast legal treatment. To give fast legal treatment, in our view, in these complex times is to give no help at all and makes a sham of the legal process; further, experience in the past has shown that fast treatment, little, or no treatment of the problems of the poor intensify feelings of oppression on the part of the indigent. Full and complete asserting of legal rights is the right of every American. We need more lawyers—please help.

---

*Present Bedford-Stuyvesant population is said to be in the area of 400,000, one-half of whom earn less than $3,000 per annum.

A PITTSBURGH ECONOMIST LOOKS AT INVESTMENT POLICIES OF U.S. STEEL PRODUCERS

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, an economist at the University of Pittsburgh, Prof. Reuben E. Slesinger, recently had an article on the capital investment policies of American steel producers published in the American Economic Review.

In view of the interest in the competitive positions of American steelmakers in the world and the criticism that has been leveled at them for their investment in allegedly obsolete equipment, I insert Professor Slesinger's article at this point in the RECORD:

STEEL IMPORTS AND VERTICAL OLIGOPOLY POWER: COMMENT

(By Reuben E. Slesinger)[1]

In the *American Economic Review* of September 1964 [1, pp. 626–55], Walter Adams and Joel Dirlam criticize the domestic steel industry on a number of counts—particularly regarding technology, production, pricing practices, vertical integration, and imports. This communication will be limited to an examination of the authors' contentions about steel industry technology. Although several other assertions of the authors justify re-examination, space limitations are such that this communication will not be able to examine these in the detail necessary.

The authors contend that U.S. steel producers have lagged behind foreign producers in investing in technologically improved facilities and, further, that they have invested in obsolete equipment and that improvements have been adopted only when the industry has been forced to do so by the increasing pressure of foreign competition [1, pp. 626, 646]. To support their charges, the authors cite the examples of the oxygen furnace and the continuous-casting process.

Specifically, the authors state that during the 1950's, the U.S. steel industry bought 40 million tons of the wrong kind of capacity, namely the open-hearth furnace. They state that "Much of the U.S. industry's current investment in plant and equipment is calculated not to add to capacity, but to correct the embarrassing investment errors of the last decade" [1, p. 627].

---

[1] The author is professor of economics at the University of Pittsburgh.

Increases in open-hearth capacity in the steel industry are shown in Table 1.[2]

Although there was a net increase in open-hearth capacity of nearly 40 million tons, only about 16¼ million tons were accounted for by the construction of *new* facilities during this period. Further, the steel companies built only 5.6 million tons of *new* open hearths—not 40 million tons—during the portion of this period following 1953, when information about the oxygen furnace first became generally available to the industry. The remainder of the increase in capacity represented the results of improved utilization of *existing* facilities—an approach which the steel companies found to be economically more desirable than construction of completely new facilities.

The authors surely do not mean to imply that a fully integrated steel mill has complete control over the fluidity of its capital use. On the contrary, most of the capital becomes sunken and fixed once it is brought into being. The best that can be done in connection with technological changes is to attempt to keep the existing physical plant from becoming uneconomical to operate by making steady improvements and modernizations as these become technologically and financially feasible. It is only in the construction of new facilities that a firm has the option of using existing technology or new methods, even if the latter were operationally suitable at the time.[3]

TABLE 1.—INCREASE IN OPEN-HEARTH STEELMAKING CAPACITY BETWEEN 1950 AND 1960

	Increases	Decreases	Net tonnage change in United States
Revision of ratings of existing furnaces [1]	31,569,060	2,561,600	29,007,460
New furnaces	16,250,760		16,250,760
Total	47,819,820	2,561,000	45,258,220
Less old furnaces abandoned		5,621,080	5,621,080
Net increase			39,637,140

[1] Primarily due to the use of oxygen in existing furnaces introduction of labor-saving equipment, and better refractories.

The authors assert that while the U.S. steel industry was emphasizing open hearths, the European and Japanese firms were instead installing oxygen furnaces at a "breakneck pace" [1, p. 627]. The record shows, however, that from 1953 to 1960 the U.S. producers increased their open-hearth capacity by only about 23 per cent in contrast with an increase of about 79 per cent for members of the European Coal and Steel Community and of approximately 169 per cent for Japan.

The authors criticize the U.S. industry for being slow to adopt the oxygen process in spite of its alleged *widespread* use in Europe more than ten years ago [1, p. 647]. The oxygen process was first used commercially in Austria in 1952 on two 35-ton furnaces with an annual capacity of about 400,000 tons. In Europe, another shop was started in 1953, still another in 1955, one more in 1956, two more in 1957, four more in 1958, and two more in 1959. The total capacity of all these operations approximated 4,000,000 net tons. An additional five shops were started up in 1960, bringing the total oxygen-furnace capacity in Europe by 1960 to about 5.3 million net tons. These data obviously cannot be interpreted to mean that oxygen-furnace-produced steel was *widespread* in Europe ten years ago. In fact, as late as 1963, only about 6 per cent of the steel produced in Europe was made by oxygen furnaces; this compares with about 7½ per cent in the United States by 1963. By this measurement, U.S. producers were technologically ahead of—not behind—European producers.

To understand the rate of introduction of the oxygen furnace in the United States, it is necessary to examine both economic and engineering factors. The early oxygen furnaces used in Europe had insufficient capacity to meet the requirements of the large, integrated steel mills of the United States, where many of the open hearths were producing heats (i.e., "batches") of 300 to 500 tons.

Although it would have been possible for large, integrated U.S. mills to have constructed a number of small oxygen furnaces, there are two apparent reasons why it was not economically desirable for U.S. producers to do this. First, large producers undoubtedly determined that their large open-hearth furnaces were more efficient in producing large tonnage than a large number of small-capacity oxygen furnaces would be. This, of course, would not have precluded the very small U.S. producers from constructing small oxygen furnaces, since these producers did not have the same need for volume; generally, however, these *very small steel producers do not have blast furnaces*, which are a prerequisite to an oxygen steelmaking operation. A second reason why U.S. producers deferred making investments in oxygen furnaces is undoubtedly that they felt they could develop higher-capacity oxygen furnaces in the not-too-distant future and that such furnaces would be much more efficient than small-capacity furnaces, which were the only type that could have been built during this earlier time period. To make the oxygen furnace feasible for widespread use in the United States, a great deal of research and development first had to be undertaken; this was to come at a future date.

At present, some 300-ton oxygen furnaces are already in operation in the United States and others are being built, but the average-size oxygen furnace now in operation in the United States is about 140 tons. Until the large oxygen furnaces were developed, a number of companies adapted their large, modern open-hearth furnaces with oxygen lances and have operated them as efficient production units. In light of these facts, it seems quite apparent that there would have been little or no advantage to the major U.S. companies from oxygen furnaces, rather than continued use and improvement of the existing open hearths, during the years before the large oxygen furnaces were perfected.

The process of the introduction of the oxygen furnace is neither hit-or-miss nor one of massive replacement. Companies tend to replace the oldest and highest-cost open hearths first, and only replace those where capital could not be utilized more efficiently elsewhere. Now that 150- and 200-ton furnaces have been engineered, one company after another is building this type of capacity.

So long as steel produced by conventional methods can compete with that produced by newer technology, it would not be a wise economic decision to scrap the existing facilities and to destroy vast investment in fixed capital. It can be expected that newer technology will become more general as old facilities wear out and are scrapped. This is why it is unlikely that there will be any future purchase of *new* open-hearth capacity, but there will continue to be modifications, adaptions, and modernizations of such facilities so long as they are cost-competitive. Any decision that involves the contemplated scrapping of open hearths and their replacement by oxygen furnaces is carefully weighed against the alternative uses of funds.

Another aspect of technology that the authors discuss involves the use of continuous casting, a process made economically practical as a result of the oxygen furnace. Continuous casting at the present time involves an uninterrupted process of steelmaking and steel-forming of in-process shapes for future conversion. The authors again claim that the U.S. industry adopted the continuous-casting method slowly and only with great reluctance. But, once again, it is necessary to point out that the structure of steelmaking operations in the United States is very different from that in Europe, and that the size of the economical producing unit in the United States is much larger. Even in the United States, the mills that found it economical to adopt continuous-casting techniques at first were the smaller plants.

Although the authors do indicate that continuous casting abroad "began to move into high gear about eight years ago," they do not add that most of the 40 machines installed from 1955 to 1962 had very small capacities. Only 10 of the 40 had annual capacities in excess of 100,000 tons, and the largest was rated at about only 350,000 tons. This contrasts with modern blooming and slabbing mills (which they replace) in the United States that have annual capacities in excess of 3,000,000 tons.

Although it would have been possible for large, integrated U.S. producers to construct small continuous-casting units at an earlier date, such an approach would undoubtedly have resulted in higher unit costs. For the small producer, however, who could not produce the volume of steel necessary to make the operation of large-volume blooming, slabbing, and billet mills feasible, small-capacity continuous-casting units were economical. Continuous casting was not installed by any large producers until a large-scale process was developed which would be more efficient than what the producer had at the moment, and until the return on such an investment was anticipated to be higher than any alternative use of funds.

In summary, with reference to technological advances, it is imperative to recognize that the introduction of new methods is not dictated solely by the availability of a new process. The very technological nature of the industry itself affects the wide use of newer methods, since early applications may be restricted to smaller producing units. It also is important to recognize that a basic factor affecting decisions about investments is consideration of alternative uses of money. There are many ways that a firm can spend funds for investment in plant and equipment. The key decision is to spend the monies where they will earn the best returns. With different rates of growth in demand in the United States, Europe, and Japan, the facility decisions necessarily must be different. With rapidly expanding demand, it is financially possible for a firm to install new capacity; without such growing demand, alteration of existing facilities frequently is a more economical move.

REFERENCE

1. WALTER ADAMS AND JOEL B. DIRLAM, "Steel Imports and Vertical Oligopoly Power," *Am. Econ. Rev.*, Sept. 1964, *54*, 626–55.

---

[2] Based on American Iron and Steel Institute data.

[3] Subsequent discussion will indicate why such a choice was not present for much of the period.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO SECTION 592 OF THE TARIFF ACT OF 1930

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill, H.R. 19114, to amend section 592 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C.A. 1592), to update and modernize an antiquated portion of the special and administrative provisions of that act.

Because of the importance of these proposed amendments to the international trade community throughout the country, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point the following items: First, a short outline of the purpose of H.R. 19114; second, a general background statement; third, a section-by-section analysis of the amendments proposed in the bill; and, fourth, the verbatim text of H.R. 19114:

PURPOSE OF H.R. 19114

The purpose of H.R. 19114 is to modernize and up-date the special and administrative provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930 relating to penalties now imposed under Sec. 592 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 USC 1592), to provide for more realistic statement of the penalty in terms of the claimed loss of revenue, and to bring the provisions for penalties for underpayment of customs duties into conformity with the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code for underpayment of taxes.

GENERAL BACKGROUND STATEMENT

Section 592 of the Tariff Act of 1930, provides for penalties on imported merchandise, whenever any false statement is contained in the documents submitted for customs clearance, whether such false statement was made by the importer, or by the shipper, seller, consignee, agent, or some other person, and whether or not the importer had any knowledge that any statement made in such documents was false.

Section 592 provides that imported merchandise is subject to forfeiture whenever any false statement is contained in any document filed for customs clearance, or whenever any false statement is made, written or verbal, or whenever any false or fraudulent practice occurs, whether made without reasonable cause to believe the truth of the statement (negligence), or whether the importer is guilty of any willful act or omission. The same penalties are incurred whether or not the United States is deprived of any lawful duties.

If the imported merchandise has gone into commerce and is not available for seizure, Sec. 592 requires that a penalty shall be stated in terms of the duty-paid landed value of the goods in the United States. Penalties usually are applied to all of the merchandise of a particular kind imported over a period of years, resulting in many penalty notices involving goods having a forfeiture value of over a million dollars.

The forfeiture value is completely disproportionate to the claimed underpayment of customs duties (i.e., the amount of customs duties claimed due, in addition to the duties deposited by the importer at the time of importation of each shipment.)

Forfeiture value is also a very severe penalty for the violations alleged, which are often of a very technical nature, or result from changes in circumstances in the country of exportation which were not known to the importer.

For example, changes in the status of a buying agent, who may purchase an interest in a factory and thereby become the seller of merchandise, may take place; his "commission", regarded as non-dutiable under Customs laws, may thereafter be regarded as "profit" and dutiable. If not reported to the importer with appropriate changes in documentation of entry documents, penalties may be imposed.

Changes in interpretation of the law for determining dutiable value of imported merchandise (Sec. 402 and 402a of the Tariff Act of 1930, 19 USC 1402 and 1402a) also give rise to situation under which technical violations of the customs laws and regulations occur, or are claimed to have occurred.

Relief from penalties imposed under Sec. 592 may be sought administratively, by petition for remission or mitigation under Sec. 618 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 USC 1618). Local Customs officials at ports of entry have no jurisdiction to determine such matters when the penalty stated exceeds $2,000. The disposition of such penalties is determined by the Commissioner of Customs, Bureau of Customs, Washington, D.C., with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury when the penalty stated (forfeiture value) exceeds $20,000.

Section 592 contains no provisions for administrative guidance with respect to the disposition of penalties imposed in terms of forfeiture value.

Disposition of such matters accordingly is subject to variance from one administration to another, with settlements bearing some relation to the loss of revenue alleged, depending upon the nature of the violation of the law or regulations and the mitigating circumstances which may be present.

In addition to payment of the loss of revenue, penalties equal to six and eight times the loss of revenue (600% to 800%) have been imposed.

This is disproportionate to penalties imposed in internal revenue tax situations, which provide for payment of 5% of the underpayment in case of negligence and 50% of the underpayment in case of fraud (26 USC § 6653).

Issuance of penalty notices in the terms required by Sec. 592 of forfeiture value of imported merchandise involving millions of dollars when the actual claim for loss of revenue may be only a few hundred dollars or a few thousand dollars is not only unrealistic, but damaging to business and creates a false impression as to a company's solvency.

The present law thus imposes serious problems on those engaged in international trade, carrying implications which may affect the reputation and financial stability of the business to an extent unrelated to and disproportionate with the nature of the violations alleged, without any provision in present law for judicial review.

In addition, the present provisions of Sec. 592 requiring the statement of penalties allegedly incurred in terms of forfeiture value of imported merchandise imposes an administrative burden on Customs officials, who frequently find it necessary to cushion the shock of impending penalty notices in sums in excess of the gross worth of an importer (which would put a business into bankruptcy), with the explanation that remission or mitigation based on the loss of revenue or a multiple thereof, may be sought by administrative application under Sec. 618 of the Tariff Act.

The amendments proposed in H.R. 19114 are accordingly intended to alleviate the problems encountered by the trade and by the Government, by modernizing a provision which has been on the statute books in substantially the same form since 1875 (see reviser's notes to 19 USCA 1592).

During the intervening years, particularly the last two decades, many other provisions of the Customs laws have been up-dated, by the Customs Simplification Acts of 1951, 1953, 1954, and 1956, and by the Tariff Classification Act of 1962, which modernized the classification schedules.

The proposed amendments are not intended to and would not permit avoidance or evasion of the payment of lawful duties nor would it relieve importers of any duties or responsibilities now imposed by law.

The same provisions and prohibitions now contained in the law have been retained, for the most part, with the amendments providing only for more realistic statement of the actual claim of the Government in terms of the loss of revenue instead of in terms of forfeiture value, which seems more severe than is warranted in most instances.

Cognizance should be taken of the fact that, in addition to the provisions of Sec. 592, proposed to be amended, there remains on the statute books as part of the criminal code, a substantially similar provision (18 USC 542) under which flagrant violations of the customs laws may be dealt with.

The proposed amendments are also intended to provide administrative guidelines not now contained in Sec. 592 for the disposition of assessments incurred thereunder.

The provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, also administered by Treasury Department, have been examined and the proposed amendments are patterned after the IRC provisions dealing with underpayment of taxes.

ANALYSIS OF THE AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY H.R. 19114

Section 592(a). The language providing for imposition of penalties equal to the forfeiture value has been eliminated where there is no loss of revenue, by deleting the langauge "whether or not the United States shall or may be deprived of the lawful duties, or any portion thereof, etc."

Since the entire section is being handled on the basis of loss of revenue, and since it it believed that, very rarely, if ever, are penalties under Sec. 592 imposed where there is no loss of revenue, this provision is obsolete and should be omitted.

The language providing for statement of the penalty in terms of the forfeiture value of the merchandise is eliminated, with language substituted to provide for assessment of additional duties based on the loss of revenue, as further described in subsections (b) and (c).

No other changes in lauguage have been made from Sec. 592 as now in effect.

Section 592(b) provides for an additional assessment of 5% of the underpayment of lawful duties where such underpayment is due to negligence or intentional disregard of the Customs laws and regulations without intent to defraud.

This provision is not intended to permit the assessment of additional duties of 5% in any instance in which increased duties become due on liquidation of an entry due to a change in rate or value, but only in instances heretofore regarded as warranting proceedings under Sec. 592, where there was gross negligence or an intentional disregard of the laws and regulations, without a willful intent to defraud.

Section 592(c) provides for an additional assessment of 50% of the underpayment of lawful duties where such underpayment is due to fraud.

Section 592(d) provides, in addition to the penalties provided for under subsection (b) or (c), for the collection of the underpayment of lawful customs duties where the customs transactions have been finalized without such collection; but this provision would not be invoked where the customs transactions have not been finalized, and where full collection of the lawful duties payable will be made in the normal processing of the customs entries.

Section 592(e) provides for remission or mitigation of any assessment or penalty imposed, upon review of the matter by the Secretary of the Treasury pursuant to a petition filed under Sec. 618 of the Tariff Act (19 U.S.C. 1618). This provision spells out in Sec. 592 as amended the procedure now followed administratively in the processing of penalties under Sec. 592, without procedural change.

In addition, Sec. 592(e) provides for judicial review by the United States Customs Court (the tribunal which has exclusive nation-wide jurisdiction over civil controversies involving the assessments of customs duties) leaving the implementation of the Court procedures before the United States Customs Court to be fixed by Court Rule.

Similar jurisdiction was formerly lodged in the United States Customs Court to hear and determine petitions for remission of additional duties imposed under Sec. 489 of the Tariff Act of 1930, 19 USCA 1489 (repealed by the Customs Simplification Act of 1953, Public Law 243—83rd Cong., Sec. 18(b), U.S. Code, Congressional & Administrative News, 1953, Vol. 1, p. 563 at p. 576).

While petitions for remission under former Sec. 489 involved only a determination of intent in entering merchandise at a value lower than the appraised value, the proposed amendment to Sec. 592 necessarily involves a broader question; i.e., judicial review of the correctness of the determination of the amount of the underpayment.

This question never arose under Sec. 489, which related solely to the importer's good faith in his declaration of entered value, because judicial review of the determination by the Customs officials of the dutiable value of the merchandise under Sec. 402 of the Tariff Act of 1930 was separately provided by Sec. 501 of the Tariff Act of 1930 through reappraisement proceedings.

Section 2 of the proposed law establishes the effective date of the proposed amendments, making the revised law applicable prospectively to all notices of penalty or additional assessment issued on and after the day following the date of enactment.

In addition, it provides for application thereafter of the administrative guidelines for administering the statute set out in subsections (b), (c) and (d), since no administrative guidelines are contained in the present statute.

This would avoid the administrative burden of carrying out two sets of procedures in dealing with matters theretofore initiated and not determined administratively as of the date of passage of this Act.

Section 2 of H.R. 19114 also makes available the procedures for judicial review with respect to all administrative decisions in which notification to the party charged is issued on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

H.R. 19114

A bill to amend section 592 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C.A. 1592), and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 592 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C.A. 1592) is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 592. Penalty Against Goods.

"(a) If any consignor, seller, owner, importer, consignee, agent, or other person enters or introduces, or attempts to enter or introduce into the commerce of the United States any imported merchandise by means of any fraudulent or false invoice, declaration, affidavit, letter, paper, or by means of any false statement, written or verbal, or by means of any false or fraudulent practice or appliance whatsoever, or makes any false statement in any declaration under the provisions of section 485 of this Act (relating to declaration on entry) without reasonable cause to believe the truth of such statement, or aids or procures the making of any such false statement as to any matter material thereto without reasonable cause to believe the truth of such statement, or is guilty of any willful act or omission by means whereof the United States is or may be deprived of the lawful duties or any portion thereof accruing upon the merchandise or any portion thereof, embraced or referred to in such invoice, declaration, affidavit, letter, paper, or statement, or affected by such act or omission, such merchandise shall be subjected to the assessment of additional duties as hereinafter provided in subsections (b), (c), and (d) of this section.

"(b) If any underpayment of lawful duties in connection with such importation is due to negligence or intentional disregard of the customs laws or regulations (but without intent to defraud), such merchandise shall be subjected to the assessment of additional duties equal to 5% of the underpayment of the lawful duties due and payable on said mechandise."

"(c) If any underpayment of lawful duties in connection with such importations is due to fraud, said merchandise shall be subjected to the assessment of additional duties equal to 50% of the underpayment of the lawful duties due on said merchandise.

"(d) If the assessment of lawful duties payable on said merchandise has been finalized by liquidation of the entries without collection of the underpayment, such merchandise shall be subjected to the assessment of additional duties under this section equal to the amount of the underpayment of the lawful duties due thereon and not theretofore paid, in addition to the assessments hereinabove provided in subsections (b) and (c) of this section.

"(e) Such additional duties provided for in this section may be remitted or mitigated in whole or in part by the Secretary of the Treasury pursuant to a petition filed under the provisions of section 618 of this Act (19 U.S.C.A. 1618), or, in any case, by the United States Customs Court, upon its determination, pursuant to a petition filed within 60 days after notification to the consignor, seller, owner, importer, consignee, agent, or other person, as the case may be, of the final determination of the Secretary of the Treasury, supported by satisfactory evidence, under such rules as the Customs Court may prescribe, of the amount of the underpayment of lawful duties, if any, including all findings and determinations entering into the same, and of the applicability of subsections (b), (c), and (d) of this section."

SEC. 2. Except as hereinafter provided, the amendments made by the first section of this Act shall become effective on the day following the date of enactment of this Act, and shall apply to all notices of penalty or additional assessments under section 592, or section 592 as amended by this Act, issued thereafter: *Provided,* That in the case of any notice of penalty previously issued in which a final administrative determination has not been made prior to the date of enactment of this Act, the provisions of subsections (b), (c), and (d) of section 592 as amended by the first section of this Act shall apply and be deemed controlling for the purposes of administrative review, remission, or mitigation: *And provided further,* That the provisions of subsection (e) of section 592 as amended by the first section of this Act, for judicial review of administrative decisions made hereunder, shall apply to and be effective with respect to all administrative decisions in which notification to the consignor, seller, owner, importer, consignee, agent, or other person, as the case may be, of the final determination of the Secretary of the Treasury, is issued on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

TOWARD PEACE IN VIETNAM

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, Americans are not and never will be content with the status quo; despite great economic and social strides made during the past three and one-half decades, we are constantly striving to improve our lives and the lives of people throughout the Nation. Our strength, our resources, and our abundance are freely offered to achieve our goals of equal justice, equal opportunity, and equal dignity for all.

But it seems to me that underpinning all of our hopes and efforts for widespread health, happiness, and prosperity for the people of our State, our Nation, and the world, is our one great goal—indeed, the one great indispensable necessity—that of a world at peace.

As long as Americans are fighting and dying, as long as hostile nations engage in war and killing and terror, as long as innocent children, women, and young men have their lives, their dreams, and their hopes snuffed out by bombs and bullets, we can never achieve real happiness nor fully enjoy our prosperity.

Today, when Americans talk of peace, we talk primarily of Vietnam and the tragic war that has been waged there, almost continuously, for a quarter of a century and in which the United States has been involved for 14 years and with increasing intensity for the past 6 years.

It would not be constructive to argue and reargue the how or the why or the wisdom of America's involvement in this war. It is well known that some of our greatest proponents of a strong Military Establishment urged President Eisenhower not to send advisers to Vietnam in 1954. Likewise, many opposed President Kennedy's decision to expand and to strengthen that advisory force. There has been great opposition also to President Johnson's decision to commit U.S. troops to the conflict and, later, to his decision to bomb the north.

But it seems to me that national integrity and the best interests of the United States reside in learning from past mistakes, not from repeating them. President John Kennedy was candid in his admission of error in the Bay of Pigs adventure. Later, however, his successful strategy regarding Cuba forced the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from our hemisphere and resulted in seriously weakening Russian influence. More recently, the late Senator Robert Kennedy openly and freely admitted to having played a role in developing a Vietnam policy that he later believed to be wrong. If, in the pursuit of fulfilling our commitments to South Vietnam, the present or previous administrations have made mistakes, then all of us should be strong enough and wise enough to admit them.

Thus little can be gained from condemning or glorifying past policy or actions regarding Vietnam; the interests of the Nation and of peace both demand that a careful examination be made of where we are today and where we hope to go in the perilous days ahead.

As background to certain proposals I will make, let me refer briefly to my 3-week visit to Vietnam and Southeast Asia in January of this year. Two years before making that trip, I presented to the Senate information about a vast network of kickbacks, collusion and corruption which was infesting our economic aid program to Vietnam and, indeed, the South Vietnamese Governernment itself. Congressional and other investigations later confirmed these allegations. While I was appalled at this needless waste of funds and at the knowledge that corruption was severely impairing military efforts, it must be admitted that until there was an opportunity to see it in person, I had no idea how central corruption was to the whole issue of the Vietnamese war.

What I learned first hand was that corruption was so complete and so deeply rooted among the military and civil authorities at all levels of government in South Vietnam, that a vast number of the South Vietnamese people look upon Hanoi, Saigon and the Vietcong as cut from the same cloth. With this attitude, developed through years of fear, frustration and a day-to-day struggle simply to survive, it is easy to understand why insurgents, no matter how cruel and no matter how misguided in their goals, can and will continue to find success in recruiting peasants to their cause. This is true whatever the military outcome in Vietnam may be or whatever the outcome of decisions made at a negotiating table.

It was this realization that prompted me to make several recommendations shortly after my return in January from Vietnam.

First, I recommended that we demand that the South Vietnamese Government stifle corruption by ending its system of buying and selling military and civil leadership positions, by cracking down on the black market which flourished openly, by halting the winked-at practice of siphoning off for personal profit, commodities from the United States intended for the people.

Second, I urged that the United States undertake immediately to shift the burden of the military effort in Vietnam. Since 1966, American troops have been primarily responsible for all major offensive and combat operations. I proposed this responsibility should be shifted to the shoulders of the South Vietnamese themselves and that, toward this end, we should provide the necessary training and equipment.

Third, I suggested that the United States should, as soon as possible after the expected Tet offensive, halt the bombing of North Vietnam as a major indication of our willingness to deescalate the war and in the hope of spurring a reciprocal deescalation by North Vietnam.

Fourth, I proposed that the President should establish a blue-ribbon negotiating team prepared to respond to any indication from Hanoi that it was willing to talk.

Having made these proposals in January of this year, I was greatly pleased and gratified with several ensuing developments. First, in February President Thieu of South Vietnam announced he was abolishing the system of buying and selling military and civil leadership positions and that he would take further steps against corruption. Later, Secretary of Defense Clifford disclosed that the United States was undertaking a policy of shifting much of the military burden of the war to the shoulders of the South Vietnamese and would institute expanded training programs and would supply quantities of modern equipment, including the M-16 rifle. Finally, on March 31, President Johnson announced a limited bombing pause and the establishment of a negotiating team headed by Ambassador Harriman.

These recommendations were made in January. Considerable progress has been made since, so that today there is at least some hope the conflict will end in the near future. But as yet the discussions between Washington and Hanoi being conducted in Paris are still in the first stage of achieving a major breakthrough in the war.

It seems appropriate, therefore, to make further recommendations which I believe under the present circumstances might help to bring about a swift and honorable conclusion to the war in Vietnam.

First. I propose that it be made crystal clear that, in their own defense, the South Vietnamese must do a great deal more, or the United States will be forced to do a great deal less.

Second. I propose that demands be made that the Government of South Vietname move more quickly and more broadly to root out the continuing corruption in its military establishment and in its civil government, that meaningful land reform and tax reform be undertaken promptly, and that more vigorous programs be started and goals established for the education, health and welfare of the people of South Vietnam.

Third. I propose that once the independence of South Vietnam is guaranteed at the bargaining table, free elections under international supervision be scheduled and carried out, and that all political parties willing to submit their programs to ballots instead of bullets be permitted to campaign fully and freely in those elections.

Fourth. I propose that the United States carefully and thoughtfully reappraise its general foreign policy since World War II with the conviction and intent that it cannot be, and no longer should attempt to be, policeman for the entire world.

For several reasons the burden of the military effort in Vietnam should be shifted to the Vietnamese. First, it is their war. We can and must continue to provide reasonable help, but no conflict such as this can produce a lasting victory if it is fought primarily by foreign powers. Second, it seems to me there is a psychological factor to contend with. From my observations in South Vietnam, those areas which were pacified by the United States and which were supposed to be held secure by the South Vietnamese invariably were soon overrun again by the Vietcong. But those areas taken by the South Vietnamese themselves rarely if ever appeared to fall back into enemy hands. Finally—and perhaps most important—our dominant role in the war has cast us in the eyes of the people as a new colonial power in Vietnam. We do not seek to control the territory or wealth of South Vietnam nor to secure any other material gain. But to the people, we have become simply the successors to the Japanese and the French. Whatever else the Vietcong may be, they are Vietnamese. We are not.

My proposal to insist that the Saigon government should root out corruption and start providing essential public services to its people is, if I may repeat, central to the entire Vietnam problem. No one likes military force in his midst, but most people can understand its necessity when there are those who would change government by violence and subversion rather than by peaceful political processes.

In Vietnam, as in Latin America and in parts of Europe, I have seen that hungry bodies are not interested in ideology but in food; I have seen that diseased bodies are not interested in politics but in being healed; I have seen that the hopeless and the ignorant are not interested in abstract theories but in hope and knowledge.

But I have seen also that they are sturdy and courageous people. Most of them would be willing to go hungry a little longer, to suffer their ailments, to wait for their schools, if only they knew that someone was at work to provide these things—if not for them, then for their children.

The bulk of the South Vietnamese do not want to be ruled by either the Vietcong or by the North Vietnamese. For one thing, regional allegiances are, in many cases, just as powerful as nationalism. And most Vietnamese, North as well as South, are acutely aware of the so-called land reform of Ho Chi Minh in 1954–55—from all reports a forced collectivization so brutal in its implementation that the peasants revolted and were not put down until Ho's army had slaughtered 100,000 people. And they know only too well the medieval terror of the Vietcong—the beheading, the disembowelments, the killing of women and children. No, they are not interested in rule by the north or rule by the Vietcong. But, to date, Saigon unfortunately has offered little better. When their own soldiers come, there may be shooting, looting and the accidental killing of innocent people. Brutal treatment of Vietcong suspects has been all too common, and collection of back taxes for absentee landlords who are living in luxury in Saigon has contributed to discontent. Then the soldiers go and too often the Vietcong return, only to start the cycle over again with stronger support than before.

No matter how or when this conflict is ended, the revolution in South Vietnam will not cease until there is a viable government in Saigon which will work for the people and not for the profiteers. It must be a government in which the people have confidence and to which they will want to give their allegiance.

Free elections in Vietnam are vital if this goal is to be achieved. While the last elections were a step forward, much apparently remains to be done. It is almost inconceivable, and certainly not the mark of a mature government, for the man who came in second in the presidential elections to be placed under a 5-year prison term on charges that at worst could be interpreted as impropriety in public statements. If a South Vietnamese Government is to be a reasonably stable one, it must be chosen from candidates representing all its political forces. It seems to me that when South Vietnam is guaranteed its freedom from foreign aggression, there are two ways in which the National Liberation Front could be dealt with: its members could be lined up against a wall and shot, or they could be integrated into a South Vietnamese society at peace with its neighbors and with itself. The only reasonable and acceptable alternative is the latter. I do not believe the world needs another bloodbath like the Stalin purges, the North Vietnamese repression, or the Indonesian atrocities.

In the final analysis, if the South Vietnamese Government is unable or unwilling to meet these demands, then it must be concluded that the present government is unworthy of our continued help. The patience of the American people is not endless. It has been worn thin in Vietnam. If the Government of South Vietnam is unwilling to commit itself to the people of that war-torn country, then the United States no longer has a legal or moral commitment to that Government. Distasteful as this may be, our only alternative would be to reassess our present course of action.

Finally, it is my hope that the United States will adopt a new attitude toward foreign policy in general. It seems to me we have been operating too long not with clear and established goals, but with slogans; not with a flexible framework in which to deal with the community of nations, but with inconsistency and even hyprocrisy; not from the strength of knowledge about those in the world who are real or potential enemies, but from the weakness and intransigence of ignorance.

Our foreign policy position should reflect the understanding that the most powerful weapon moving nations today is neither the force of arms nor the threat of intervention by the world's potential self-appointed policemen; to the contrary, it is the stronger force of people to chart their own destiny through national independence.

It is this force and not the force of American arms that rebuffed Chinese influence in central Africa and Indonesia. It is this force and not the force of American arms that is steadily weakening the Soviet bloc today, as exemplified in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and elsewhere.

Let us base our policy not on the premises of a quarter of a century ago when half of the world was laid waste and ours was the only unscathed major power; let us now base our policy on the world as it is—struggling for independence, admittedly dangerous, but holding the promise as never before to feed the world's hungry and heal the world's sick, needing us not so much for our ability to wage war but as a major partner in a community of mankind to achieve peace.

HOMEMAKING EDUCATION: WHERE WE ARE AND A LOOK TO THE FUTURE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. Elizabeth J. Simpson, acting chairman of the department of vocational-technical education at the University of Illinois in Urbana, and also a technical consultant to my Subcommittee on General Education while we were hammering out the vocational education bill, gave a speech which I believe should be of interest to all those interested in vocational education.

Dr. Simpson delivered her remarks at the State In-Service Education Conference for Homemaking Teachers in Dallas, Tex., on July 30, 1968.

I believe she puts into proper focus the responsibility of homemaking education and how it fits into our educational pattern today.

Dr. Simpson's speech follows:

Homemaking Education—Where We Are and a Look to the Future

(By Elizabeth Simpson, acting chairman, department of vocational-technical education, College of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana)

Where are we in home economics education? We are facing our greatest challenges—of that I am sure. We have glowing opportunities for service, for responding to the needs apparent in the social problems and ills of our time.

Home economics education today is no field for the meek. Courage and imagination are needed in developing programs to meet the challenges of the present and foreseeable future.

Courage and imagination are needed in interpreting programs and needs and in demanding the funds and facilities required to carry out our programs.

Challenges in curriculum development in home economics are at all levels: elementary, junior high school, high school, post-secondary, adult, and professional. Challenges exist with respect to all aspects of our program: prevocational, home and family living, occupational, preprofessional, and teacher education.

At the secondary level, there are three major purposes which home economics education serves: (1) education for homemaking and family life, (2) education for employment in occupations involving home economics knowledges and skills and (3) preprofessional education. These three purposes are related in terms of program content. There is a large body of knowledges and skills common to all three aspects, as well as certain knowledges and skills unique to each. Uniqueness is largely in terms of applications and depth rather than in the nature of the content. The fact of the large body of common content has important implications for curriculum development. One way of giving recognition to the commonalities is through basic courses in the junior high school and early high school years, with applications made through differentiated programs for homemaking and occupations in the later years.

The junior high school program in home economics will receive increased attention as the concept of pre-vocational education as a facet of vocational education gains acceptance. This concept was set forth in no uncertain terms in the National Advisory Council's report on vocational education. It is further recognized in the vocational education bill recently passed by the U.S. House of Representatives.

At the post-secondary level, technical education programs are developing rapidly. Home economics has exciting opportunities here but we need to respond with greater alacrity and a keener sense of commitmment.

In adult education, we find some of our chief challenges in the plight of the poor. Consumer education—nutrition—improvement of home environment—child care and guidance—management of resources. These are the areas of need. These are the areas where *we* can serve.

Keeping in mind program purposes in home economics education, it might be helpful to view directions of program offerings in terms of six major bases for curriculum decisions:

Conditions of society and related needs; needs of students; needs related to the local situation; content and organization of the subject field; developments in the education field, and philosophical bases.

Let us look first at some social conditions that suggest needs for home economics education.

No attempt will be made to delineate *all* of the social conditions with implications for programs in home economics, but suppose we look at some. In particular, the statistics concerning women in the labor force suggest challenges to curriculum-makers in home economics.

Women make up over 35 percent of the total labor force.

Approximately 40 percent of all women in the United States work outside the home.

This figure is upped to 50 percent if you omit the "young mother" group.

Working mothers represent 38 percent of all the women who work outside the home.

Half of America's women bear their last child at about age 30—hence with present life expectancy, they have over half of their adult lives free of childbearing and with the possibilities for gainful employment.

In 1965, eight percent of the children of working mothers were expected to take care of themselves while their mothers were at work.

The one-parent family is a sharp reality of the American way of life. In 1965, more than six million children, nearly one in ten, were living in one-parent homes. Since then the number has increased with startling rapidity. A large proportion of these children have working mothers trying desperately to provide for their care and needs.

Women tend to receive lower income and lower earnings than men.

Working wives tend to spend more for clothing, beauty care, and other grooming than do nonworking wives.

What are some of the implications of the foregoing statistics? Certainly, a need for education for the dual role of homemaker-wage earner. Programs for youth and adults are needed to increase employability and improve family living through preparation for the dual role. Such programs should meet the following criteria:

1. Emphasize human relationships in both family and employment situations; principles of management, including decision making, goals, values, standards, and nature and use of resources; budgeting and consumer education; physical well being through nutrition, adequate housing, sanitation, safety; personal qualities related to employability; and child care and guidance.

2. Give attention to the various roles in which individuals function and help students learn to meet the sometimes conflicting demands of these roles.

A social fact of our times is the great awareness of the needs of the disadvantaged. Emphasis on the areas of home economics mentioned, particularly emphasis on child development, care, and guidance, might do more to break the poverty cycle in many families than instruction of any other nature. We can no longer assume that appropriate ideas about parental responsibility for children will be learned as a matter of course in the home. Too many evidences in our society indicate abdication of this responsibility, or attempting to fulfill it by overindulgence.

The so-called sexual revolution has pressing implications for home economics education. Donald M. Michael, in *The Next Generation*, says: The availability of cheap, effective oral contraceptives certainly will accelerate changes in values about the relationships between couples quite aside from their marriage plans. Readily available contraceptives; high physical mobility and a larger urban geography to be easily mobile in; adult-mimicking social behavior in adolescents and preadolescents; a consumer-oriented economy with its explicit approval of self-indulgence; splintered value systems, accompanied for some by the persisting threat of war; the declining role of the family as the behavior-constraining and behavior-defining agency for youth; additional emotional insecurities suffered by underprivileged youth when jobs for them become more scarce; the alienation of some of the more privileged youth, and their turning to intense personal relationships as an answer—all of these factors will encourage extensive experimentation with . . . sex.

Several states have sex education commissions studying the need for improved sex education in the public schools. The Illinois Commission is typical in its insistence that sex education should be in the context of family life education. The challenges are obvious.

Aside from the curriculum challenges, there is the challenge of simply reaching more students. The kind of home economics we have been talking about is important for all. We must aim courageously for reaching 100 percent of the students. We must reach both boys and girls.

A high level of consumption is an aspect of the American way of life. The development of skills in selecting and buying goods and services for the family is a major challenge to home economics education. It is acknowledged by consumer educators that making things is not essential to learning how to buy them. Making things may be important in some occupationally oriented programs. It is a very minor part of education for the realities of homemaking as it is today.

What are some other social facts that suggest curricular changes in home economics? In 1966, 1,720,000 new households were established in the United States. A 2.3 percent increase is expected each year. The Census Bureau reports that 28.2 percent of families have yearly incomes of less than $5,000. Fourteen percent have yearly incomes of less than $3,000. Yet, it cost $9,191 in the fall of 1966 for a family of four to live on a moderate standard in the urban areas of the United States.

With the cost of living what it is, how can the large proportion of low-income families possibly manage? In this problem are inherent challenges to the curriculum-makers in home economics, for both homemaking and occupational aspects of the field. How can we better prepare young people and adults for earning and learning how to live well?

Rapidly expanding knowledge in all areas is a challenge to all of education. The methodology of the 40's, with its emphasis on the felt needs and interests of students, does not meet the criterion of efficiency in learning required by the times. Continuing education must be a way of life. For the homemakers, both hes and shes, continued education in home and family life is imperative for the fullest and best functioning in the homemaking role. For the worker, continued learning is also an imperative, particularly when you consider that the nature of many occupations and the requisite skills for these occupations has changed and is continuing to change.

The foregoing are only a few of the social and economic conditions that must be considered in developing the home economics curriculum. One might consider also:

The mobility of our population—the fact that 50 million Americans now change abodes every year.

The longer life span and the larger number of aging in our population.

Developments in the mass media of communication.

Lessened self-sufficiency of the family unit and concomitant dependency on outside agencies.

Variety in family patterns.

Sense of alienation on the part of many youth.

Racial tensions.

Affluence and poverty side by side in our society.

Developments in federal and state legislation for education, including vocational education and home economics.

The list could go on and on. These and other social and economic conditions offer challenge to the changing, growing field of home economics education.

Needs of students is a basis for curriculum decisions which has long been well understood by home economists. Generally, there is greater awareness of needs in this area than of needs in any of the other five categories of bases for curriculum decisions. I shall assume that we all understand what we mean by student needs.

A sense of alienation would appear to be more common among young people today than in the past. Social forces tend toward alienation. Probably I need not dwell on the evidences of alienation in our society. But, it seems to me that the prevalence of this feeling is a source of challenge to home economics in all of its aspects.

Time does not permit examining all the interesting facts, opinions, and questions regarding student needs, but I should like to quote from Congressman Roman Pucinski's keynote speech at the AVA Convention in December—for he made some statements which are of vital concern when we consider student needs. He said:

"Our concern for young people means concern for *all* young people. A program is bound to look good if its students are selected for their intelligence, high level of motivation, and potential for placement in high-status jobs. But, we cannot judge the success of an educational endeavor in the simple terms of where a student stands at the end of his training program. The only moral basis for evaluation is the value that the educational experience adds to the individual—where he stands after a training program in relation to where he stood at its beginning. This concept is an essential one for the educator who is interested in serving *all* youth.

"All youth are *not* being served. The rate of 'dropouts' for riot cities, according to figures applied to the U.S. Office of Education is:

"Detroit: Total high school enrollment of 72,719 for the 1966–67 school year dropped by 9,281 students for a loss rate of 12.8 percent. Boy students dropped out at a rate of 14.5 percent.

"Newark: Students left high school before graduation at rates of 7 to 9 percent between 1961 and 1967. Last year, Newark schools lost 1,355 students for a 7 percent 'dropout' rate.

"New York: Of a total junior and senior high school enrollment of nearly 480,000, the loss rate was slightly more than 7 percent."

In particular, the needs of dropout-prone youth, the alienated, and the disadvantaged offer challenge as we develop curriculum materials in home economics. In home economics we are concerned with the vitally important matters of everyday living, with interrelationships, with decision-making, with the values that motivate in all of the practical areas of life. Through our work with young people in these areas we have a remarkable opportunity for helping them improve the quality of living for themselves and for their families-to-be.

In planning programs in home economics, needs related to the local situation are factors to be considered. Ralph Tyler has said:

> We . . . need to look carefully at the particular situation . . . because there are not only differences within any school but also communities differ in respect to the backgrounds of children, what they have learned previously, what kinds of attitudes they have towards learning. The difference between the conditions of a school in the slum area of one of our large cities and the school in the wealthy suburban cmmunity is almost as great as any difference you could find between one country and another country.

In recent years, we have not given as much attention to the local situation as a basis for curriculum decisions as we did in the early 50's. But recent social events have brought about a resurgence of interest in the needs of the local community as we plan educational programs. If education is to be relevant to life, then we must know life as it is really lived by our students and we must know when it is lived.

Home economics as a field of study draws its content from most, or perhaps all, of the disciplines. Selections are made in light of the problems or areas associated with the management of the home, the conduct of family life, and performance in the home economics-related occupations. Structuring the content of the field, as has been done, for example, in the national curriculum development project in home economics, results in a resource of value in making decisions about the home economics curriculum for a given situation. The tool for planning which resulted from the national curriculum development project aids us as we move forward as a field.

The expanding knowledge about teaching and learning provides another basis for curriculum decisions, particularly with respect to planning of learning experiences and means of evaluation, the use of teaching aids, and the organization of subject matter.

A directional force that must be taken into account is the decided increase in cooperative activity among the various fields of vocational education. Impetus to such developments was provided by the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

Reorganization of programs federal, state, and local levels gives evidence of the increased concern for broad programs of vocational education that focus on needs of people rather than empire-building within a single-content area.

A trend toward a closer relationship between general education and vocational education is becoming increasingly evident. As Dean Rupert Evans, College of Education, University of Illinois said in a recent speech:

> Some people have tried to build a wall between vocational education and general education. Where such a wall exists, it must be torn down. I present three general propositions:
>
> a. Vocational education cannot prosper unless it has a strong general education preceding and accompanying it.
>
> b. For the majority of students, the practical arts . . . are the only means of lending intelligibility to more academic subjects.
>
> c. The vocational education content of general education courses is rarely presented to students.

Vocational education is absolutely dependent upon general education, and that for at least half of our students general education is dependent on vocational education. They must never be separated, for separation damages both.

The philosophical bases of the field must be taken into account as our programs develop.

One of the great needs of home economics education—and the total field of vocational education—is *research* in its philosophical foundations. We can be victims of our success with the practical if we fail to take sufficient cognizance of the theoretical.

Some of the problems needing consideration are: Ethical criteria for the justification of specific content; the validation of aims of various home economics programs; the role of work in contemporary living; the interrelationship of the family and other social institutions.

Thus far, we have considered six major bases for curriculum decisions in home economics education and some of the current related challenges. To review, these six are: social conditions, student needs, the local situations, the content of home economics as a field of study, developments in the total field of vocational education, and philosophical foundations.

Legislation, also, has an impact on our programs. Let us look at what is happening with respect to legislation for home economics at the national level. Slightly over a week ago, the House voted 389 to 0 and the Senate 89 to 0 in behalf of new concepts to meet new needs in vocational education. As Congressman Pucinski said in a recent speech, "If any doubt still lingers that this nation has finally decided to bring vocational education—with both feet—to the top of educational spectrum, let the doubters look at the fantastic vote on this measure in both Chambers of Congress."

What about the home economics sections of these bills? The House version of this Consumer and Homemaking Education section provides that: The regular non-vocational homemaking program is extended for 5 years; the Federal share shall not exceed 50 percent for the regular homemaking program; at least one-third of the Federal funds appropriated for this program shall be used in depressed areas or areas with high unemployment rates for consumer education and to help improve family life; the Federal share shall be 90 percent of the costs of this new emphasis program; the authorization is $15 million for FY70.

Purposes set forth in the House bill are for educational programs which encourage home economics to give greater consideration to social and cultural conditions and needs, especially in economically depressed areas and encourage preparation for professional leadership and are designed for preparing youth and adults for the dual role of homemaker and wage-earner, and ancillary services.

The Senate bill, Part F, Homemaking Education, reads as follows, in its section 161:

> There are hereby authorized to be appropriated $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, $35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and $50,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972. . . .

Purpose, as set forth in the Senate bill, is for educational programs designed to fit for homemaking, persons who have entered, or are preparing to enter, the work of the home, including consumer education programs, with special emphasis on programs for persons who are economically or socially deprived, and ancillary services.

Because there are differences between the House and Senate versions of the vocational education bill, the bill must go to a joint conference committee where agreement must be reached with respect to these differences. This will probably take place in early September.

As a vocational education consultant to the Chairman of the House General Subcommittee on Education, I have had the experience of sitting in on a mark-up session on the bill. I now know from first-hand experience what a poor job of interpreting our field we in home economics have done. I understand that Texas has good support for home economics in the Congress—so I may be talking to the wrong people. But, in general, we have not told our story well.

And, sad to say, in some places there has been no story that ought to be told.

What kind of home economics can ignore the social problems we have discussed here today—and their all too obvious implications for homes and families—hence, for home economics education? What kind of home economics lets the teacher's interests or lack of willingness to plan—or pupil's ephemeral interests—or old-fashioned facilities—dictate the curriculum?

What kind of home economics has little girls sewing dresses day after day and ends a school year with only two or three weeks left for a study of child care?

What kind of home economics purports to integrate a study of home management but can point to time schedules for laboratory meal preparation as the only evidence?

What kind of home economics rejects the need to prepare our young women for homemaking and occupations?

What kind of home economics will not recognize that homes fail because of problems in human relationship and management, failures in caring for and guiding what is most precious in the home, its children, and *not* because the homemaker can't make a garment, not even because she's a poor cook.

What kind of home economics do you teach? Is it relevant to life as it is *really* lived today? Does it face up to the challenges posed by our current social problems?

Only if we can answer yes to these last two questions do we deserve to continue as a field of study.

I thank you.

WEST SEATTLE PRIVATE HOSPITAL AIDS COMMUNITY HEALTH

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, most of us are unaware of the important part played by private business in some of our Nation's finest health care. For years many of our country's health-minded businessmen have been founding hospitals whose quality of service is prompted by the "satisfied customer" ideal of our business system. To acquaint us with the nature and importance of this service, I should like to call attention to one such establishment within my own State of Washington.

The West Seattle General Hospital, like some 800 other hospitals, representing about 10 percent of the Nation's total, is privately owned. This sets it apart from 90 percent of our hospitals that are owned either by city, State, or Federal Government or by a nonprofit organization.

The privately owned West Seattle General Hospital serves the community with the same responsibility as any other business organization; it can only succeed if it does its job well. It pays taxes and it makes a major effort to participate in community activities. But, since privately owned, or proprietary hospitals are in a distinct minority, they do not come to our attention as often or as forcefully as do the large institutional hospitals. Yet, most of them had their origin in a community need, and were built in urban or rural areas that did not have other facilities available.

West Seattle General, with its 75 beds, handled 7,586 patients last year in its round-the-clock, doctor-staffed, emergency room. It provided 24,136 days of patient care, averaging 80 percent of capacity, and its X-ray department pictured 8,924 patients.

Its staff shows a deep involvement in community and civic affairs. Bruce Burton, its president, works on the finance committee of the Blue Cross and is chairman of the Seattle Area Hospital Council Blood Bank Committee. Among his many other tasks is service on the executive committee of the Four County Regional Health Facilities Planning Group. He is a respected and well-known member of the health community in my State.

The hospital's housekeeper is the new district governor of the National Association of Executive Housekeepers, and the chief X-ray technician has been president of his State society. West Seattle's comptroller has just served as president of the State Hospitals Accountants Association.

The 800 proprietary hospitals play a vital role in our Nation's health. Most of them came into existence because of the specific need in specific communities. They have met that challenge and have grown to become an integral part of today's health panorama.

I am told that they have now banded together into their own organization and that over 300 now belong to the Federation of American Hospitals. The work they are doing deserves our commendation, and it is a pleasure to be able to report that they are doing this job as private citizens, building worthwhile commercial enterprises which make a growing contribution to today's life. West Seattle General has been fully accredited by the Joint Commission on Accreditation over a decade. In the near future a 100-bed convalescent center will be constructed adjacent to the hospital so that convalescent patients will have available to them the services of a fully staffed and equipped hospital.

Thus, in the years to come West Seattle General, along with the other privately owned hospitals, will become stronger and larger in order to better meet the demands of our expanding society.

WINNING VALUES

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, every Saturday and Sunday during the football season millions of sports enthusiasts unconsciously or not receive basic lessons in discipline, hard work, individual responsibility, and teamwork. Far from the gridiron are the modern permissive fallacies which have recently influenced some of our educational, religious, judicial, and governmental institutions. Direction, discipline, and control, which are passé, for instance, with the educational progressives, are indispensable in the operations of the many 11-man units which confront each other on any Saturday afternoon in the fall.

In the world of football the professionals, of course, best typify the virtues of discipline and individual responsibility, not to mention gruelling and prolonged hard work. And, of course, when speaking of the pros, one invariably gets around to Vince Lombardi, the Green Bay Packers coach of former years who is now the Packers general manager. His teams in recent years have dominated the pro ranks, which can be explained in part by his insistence on perfecting the rudiments of the game. Many opposing teams have attested to the efficiency of the Packer juggernaut and its almost automatic operation in crushing the opposition.

Some of our permissive jurists, educators, and governmental officials could well profit from Vince Lombardi's basic philosophy, which applies to the realities of everyday living as well as to pro football. On August 2 the former Packer coach addressed the annual meeting of the Football Writers Association of America and his hardheaded values were much in evidence. I include the following excerpt from the Chicago Tribune account of Mr. Lombardi's speech in the RECORD at this point:

FROM FREEDOM TO CHAOS

While lauding the concept of freedom, he said, "For so long have we ridiculed authority in the family, discipline in the school, order in the state, that the freedom we have sought has brought us close to chaos."

He continued: "We will never have a good society, much less a great one, until individual excellence is respected again. Freedom will succumb to communism unless the values underlying it are upheld. These values are duty, responsibility to authority, and the development of mental discipline. The answer today seems to be to take the easy way. If you don't like a rule, change it."

Lombardi said that, contrary to public opinion, he never ruled the Packers by fear. "You discipline in the National Football league or in your family with love, understanding, and rules and regulations. If a man breaks a rule he must be punished. It's as simple as that."

He deplored the trend of society to "have sympathy only for the criminal, the misfit—in short, the losers. Have sympathy for the losers, yes, but have praise for the doers, the winners."

NOT ENOUGH CHEERS

Lombardi came back to this theme later when he was asked how he reacted to the few defeats the Packers suffered under his regime. "Nobody likes to lose," he responded, "but I don't know of any man who disliked it as much as I did.

"I didn't see why we ever had to lose. Yes, you laugh, but I'm not joking. I'm serious. It's fine to have a little sympathy for the losers, but how about a cheer for the winners!"

One of history's all-time great winners got a big cheer from the assembled writers at the conclusion of his address.

WEAKENING OF PARKLAND PROTECTION PROVISION IN FEDERAL HIGHWAY LAWS

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the conference report on the highway authorization bill was described by my colleague, Senator COOPER, as "more anticonservationist" than any bill he had ever seen.

Because of the "anticonservationist" aspects of the measure, I joined with Senator COOPER and four other Members of this body in voting against it. It is reported that Interior Secretary Udall is considering a recommendation to the President that he veto the bill.

The final version of the bill orders the construction of the Three Sisters Bridge which will be a blight on the Potomac River and its scenic and historic shores. It further undermines the highway beautification program. It weakens existing law which now prohibits the taking of parks, wildlife refuges, and recreation areas for highways unless the Secretary of Transportation finds there is no feasible and prudent alternative to the use of such land for a road.

In changing the parkland protection law, the conferees retained existing protection of publicly owned parks, but stripped protection from those under private ownership. If the President signs the bill this will deprive the many wildlife sanctuaries and scenic and park areas owned by nonprofit organizations and by individuals of any statutory protection against the highway builders.

But surely the test should be the use of such land, not who owns it.

The bill before the President is wanting in several other respects. It places ultimate veto power over road alinement in the hands of the Transportation Secretary and it is safe to assume that the decisionmaking will be delegated, as is the case with the existing law, to the Federal Highway Administrator whose primary concern is with building roads at the lowest possible costs.

Further, if the Administrator or even the Secretary makes a determination that a park must be used for a road, there is nothing in the law requiring that it be replaced by land of comparable value, quantity and quality.

Existing law is at best only minimal protection for our precious and not unlimited parkland. The bill sent to the President would weaken even this slight protection.

In early July, I reintroduced the Parkland Protection Act, S. 3731. My bill prohibits the taking of any park or recreation land for any public works or other nonpark or recreation purpose unless it is actually replaced with other park or recreation land "comparable in value, quantity and quality." The bill applies to any such taking by the Federal Government directly, or through any Federal grant-in-aid program.

"Comparable in quantity" means replacing the taken land acre for acre, foot for foot and, if you will, inch for inch.

This would afford parkland and other open space real protection from those who regard any patch of green, a free-flowing river, a quiet pond or an untouched wilderness as "available" for depredations in the name of "progress."

The weakening of the existing parkland protection law in the highway authorization act makes the enactment of S. 3731 more urgent than ever.

AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am in very strong support of the bill, H.R. 13940, introduced by our distinguished friend, the outstanding chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, Mr. GARMATZ, which would provide a new maritime program for the United States.

I am a cosponsor of this bill and deeply appreciate the attention that Chairman GARMATZ' committee has given to this very important measure, because there are few things more vital to us at this time than to revitalize and reconstitute our American merchant marine, which, in recent years, has been permitted to deteriorate and to wane in power, influence, and adequacy.

It has always been my strong conviction that this country should have the most powerful, most modern, most versatile, useful, and best merchant marine in the world.

It is pathetic for us to see the decline in our vaunted maritime strength, especially at a time when we have lavishly donated so much of our wealth to other nations, some of whom used large amounts of it to build up shipbuilding and merchant marine industries of their own and those of other nations.

I want to compliment the chairman and members of this committee in conducting hearings on this bill and bringing it to the floor of the House, so that it can be debated and the House could work its will on it, and hope it will be helpful in very materially building up our merchant marine.

If we do not revitalize and modernize the Nation's declining merchant fleet, we will, by our own inertia and inaction, be responsible for forfeiting the position of this Nation as a world maritime power. We have already lost our leadership, and are currently about in sixth place among the maritime nations of the world.

In the interest of the national defense, as well as our economic and commercial interests, and our prestige as a great maritime nation, it is imperative that we should enact this bill, and there is no time to wait.

Under the bill, we would construct four or five ships annually over a 5-year period. This would entail an outlay of $3 billion in subsidy for ship construction in American shipyards.

In addition, the program calls for $25 million per year for research and development, modernization of the reserve fleet; and the development of a fleet of nuclear, merchant vessels.

To illustrate the virtual collapse of our American merchant marine, it should be noted that at the end of World War II it was the largest and most modern in the world.

Since that time it has rapidly slipped to sixth place among the nations.

It is also a victim of block obsolescence, in that about 80 percent of the Nation's ships are over 20 years old. For this reason the industry is forced to use inefficient vessels to compete against modernized foreign maritime powers who can operate at about half of what it costs our American industry.

The primary reason for this is the higher American standard of living, which results in higher cost of labor, in both ship construction and operation, but there is also the other factor that I have mentioned above—that in many instances foreign aid and other funds have provided large increments of the cost of shipbuilding facilities of other nations, and we have favored this shipping in many ways because of its relatively lower cost as compared with our own ships.

Let me commend the able, distinguished chairman and his committee. I hope that the House will pass this bill by an overwhelming vote.

NO PAX AMERICANA

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, in the current issue of Newsweek, Stewart Alsop has written a very perceptive, withal gloomy, article.

He points out in vivid language that the American people do not have the desire to be the gendarmes of the world, and hence that the Pax Americana may well be one of the shorter paxes in our world's history.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO PAX AMERICANA

(By Stewart Alsop)

During this strange and mystifying election year, the United States has discovered one very important thing about itself. This is that the United States is not designed by nature for the role of world leadership thrust upon it in the aftermath of the second world war.

The politicians put it a little differently. "This country is not the world's policeman," is Hubert Humphrey's favorite cliché. The other candidates echo the cliché in one form or another, always in the context of the war in Vietnam. For the polls and the primaries have made it clear that the American electorate has lost its stomach for the war in Vietnam. Accordingly, all the major Presidential candidates have promised, more or less explicity, to end the war.

That promise is the reason-for-being of Eugene McCarthy's candidacy, which has turned out to be a much more serious candidacy than anyone, including McCarthy, expected. Nelson Rockefeller has published a plan designed to produce, as it did, headlines reading: "Rocky's Plan To End War in Six Months." Richard Nixon has made his Delphic promise to "end the war in Vietnam and win the peace in the Pacific." Hubert Humphrey has been panting to keep up with the parade. ("I have been asked where I stand in the war in Vietnam. I want to end the war.")

WITHDRAWAL

The war provides the impetus and the focus, but this year's withdrawal symptoms are not confined to Vietnam. The protectionist wave on Capitol Hill, the meat-axing of foreign aid, the proposal by several respected senators to reduce the American commitment to NATO to a corporal's guard, are other symptoms. How far will the withdrawal go?

The answer almost certainly depends on the outcome in Vietnam. The Communist side there has unquestionably been badly hurt, and perhaps the next President—or even this one—will be able to negotiate an honorable, Korea-style compromise. But some form of not very honorable extrication seems far more probable.

The next President will be under cruel pressure to end the war quickly—somehow anyhow, but quickly. One of the candidates has said privately that, if he is elected, he will have to settle the war in six months, or a year at the outside—otherwise he will become so unpopular that, like Lyndon Johnson, he will cease to be an effective national leader.

SURRENDER?

Thus the next President will be buying a settlement in a seller's market, and he will therefore have to pay a high price for it. The price could very well be what former President Eisenhower recently called "a camouflaged surrender." Such a surrender is easy to define—any settlement that makes inevitable, or highly probable, eventual Communist control of South Vietnam.

The camouflage would wear thin quickly, and a sour end to the sour war in Vietnam would surely have sour consequences. It would surely accelerate the already marked wave of domestic reaction. But its chief effect would be on the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world. This does not mean that this country is likely to return to the near total isolationism of 40 years ago. It can't. It does mean that, if the war ends sourly, the United States seems almost certain to turn in upon itself, to abandon the role of world leader, to opt out as No. 1.

Since the birth of civilization around the Mediterranean littoral, the community of nations, like a flock of chickens, has always in the end produced its No. 1. When No. 1 has been reasonably secure—as during the Pax Romana or the Pax Britannica—the world has been reasonably peaceful. The times of continuous war have come when the pecking order was changing and uncertain.

DREAM

The United States has been No. 1 since the last world war ended, and at least there has been no new world war. Winston Churchill, among others, hoped that the United States would remain No. 1, with an assist from the British, and that a long Pax Anglo-Americana would ensue. The Anglo part of Churchill's dream died with the Suez debacle in 1956. After the United States sided with Russia against Britain in that crisis, Harold Macmillan sent his old friend Eisenhower a cryptic message: "Over to you." Its meaning was clear—after a couple of centuries of carrying the painful burden of great power, the British were opting out.

The Americana part of Churchill's dream seems sure to die too, and soon, for all the evidence of this election year indicates very clearly that the American voters, or most of them, now want to opt out too. Perhaps they are right.

A nation, like a man, is wise to follow the advice of Polonius—"To thine own self be true." This country obviously feels unhappy, unnatural, uncomfortable, in the role of No. 1. There is an inescapable color of imperialism in the exercise of global power, and the United States is anti-imperialist by long tradition. Moreover, the exercise of power involves pain—up to and including the pain of "American boys dying in the jungles of Asia."

RIGHTEOUSNESS

To endure the pain of power, a nation needs a conviction of its own righteousness. Our agonized effort to prevent the Communist minority from taking over by force in South Vietnam is surely at least as righteous as imperial Britain's wars against the "lesser breeds without the Law." And yet we have no Kipling to celebrate the war in Vietnam, and a sense of our righteousness is precisely what we wholly lack.

Whatever the name of the next President, the 1968 election thus marks the end of an era—the era that started so hopefully with the Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan, and which is ending so sadly with the unwon war in Vietnam. Policemen can be useful people to have about, in the world as in a city, but after that detested war ends, the world can look elsewhere for its policemen. There will be no Pax Americana.

Perhaps, in the end, there will be a Pax Sovietica. The Russians have rather quietly taken over already as the dominant power in the Middle East, and they are already displaying many of the trappings of imperial power, including a great navy. They also have a willingness to use their power, and a plentiful sense of their own righteousness. Or perhaps, with the pecking order changing and uncertain, there will be no pax at all.

BLIND YOUTHS "SEE" NEW NATURE TRAIL

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw to the attention of the Members of Congress the recent dedication of a trail for use by blind persons at the National Arboretum here in Washington, D.C. The dedication of the "Touch and See" Nature Trail was held on July 15 and was highlighted by remarks of Mrs. Orville L. Freeman, the charming wife of the Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I include at this point in the RECORD the remarks delivered by Mrs. Freeman at the dedication and a story which appeared on July 16 in the New York Times:

BLIND YOUTHS "SEE" NEW NATURE TRAIL

(By Nan Robertson)

WASHINGTON, July 15.—Anna Filippi took a long stroll through a woods and a meadow today, and when it was over she said:

"I liked it. It was a quiet place, and pretty well shaded. There were birds—it was peaceful. It was the type of walk you would take if you were not in a hurry. There were lots of things you could see."

Anna has been totally blind for all the 16 years of her life. Her two walking companions today, Michael Turner, 16, and John Wilkinson, 17, have also been blind from birth.

Because of this, they explored the new "touch and see" nature trail at the National Arboretum with a sensitivity and thoroughness that is rare for sighted people.

The trail is only the second in the nation designed particularly for the blind. The other is near Aspen, Colo.

The Washington trail was dedicated today by Mrs. Orville L. Freeman, wife of the Secretary of Agriculture. Mrs. Freeman reminded her listeners, many of them blind, that the environment had been kept in its natural state and that "everything is there to be felt, touched, seen and loved by willing hands and minds."

Anna, Michael and John were the living proof of the kind of persons Mrs. Freeman was talking about.

The three of them spent an hour on the trail, almost alone, before the ceremony began. For anyone watching, it was a lesson in how to experience and feel joy in nature.

They embraced the trunks of trees to feel their mightiness and great age. They gathered in branches, sniffed bunches of leaves, listened to the crackle of twigs under their feet, and ran their fingers delicately over the bark of fallen logs.

They perceived the density of the forest, and the openness of the meadow beyond. They were full of the wonder of their senses.

The "touch and see" trail winds through the woods to the meadow and a marsh. The three teen-agers followed it by sliding their hands along a continuous rope supported on posts.

At intervals, they stopped at waist-high markers in braille and print to read descriptions swiftly with their fingers. Then they would reach out for the nearby tree or shrub described on the marker to examine it with their hands and noses.

The messages on the markers were not only botanical but also cautionary ("The trail now winds downhill. Hold firmly to guide rope."); aesthetic ("The leaves [of the white poplar] are fuzzy white underneath and dark shiny green above. They are fun to feel, and you can hear them flutter in the wind."); and philosophical ("Gradually decay organisms will begin to live and multiply in this log. After many years they will turn the wood into organic dust, and thus return this tree to the earth from which it grew. This cycle—life, growth, death and renewal—is the pattern of forest life, as of all life.")

THIS IS UNBELIEVABLE

At one stop, John wound his arms around the thick trunk of a white oak he had learned was 80 years old and exclaimed, "This is unbelievable—oh, my!"

At another, Michael fingered a willow down by the edge of the marsh and joked, "The marker says this thing is related to the weeping willow but I don't hear anything—it must cry when it rains."

At the end of the 1,600-foot-long trail, the three read the friendly farewell message on the last of 24 Braille markers and then grinned and clapped. It said, "Please come back again for another visit. Best wishes to you from the staff of the National Arboretum."

All felt that a few markers failed to tell them exactly where to reach to find a specific shrub or tree. But John summed up their main reaction:

"There could be some technical changes—but all in all, it was successful. I think it's a marvelous thing."

The trail was developed with the guidance of the Columbia Lighthouse for the Blind in Washington.

Remarks by Mrs. Orville Freeman at Dedication of Touch and See Nature Trail, National Arboretum, Washington, D.C., July 15, 1968

The National Arboretum holds a very special place in my life. It has been a source of never-ending delight. And because this seems to be the common experience of everyone who visits here . . . and because beauty is most meaningful when it is shared, I have always wished that many others could visit here, too.

We are all gathered here this afternoon so as to extend the pleasures of the Arboretum especially to those who cannot see, and who could not otherwise experience the pleasure of "seeing" it in their own way. As Dr. Irving has pointed out, this lovely Nature Trail is meant to be used by everyone. We hope that all interested people do take advantage of it, even though it was planned to meet the very special needs of the blind.

So far as we know, this is the first time that any Botanic Garden has created a nature walk such as this one especially for the blind. There are "texture" walks and there are "fragrance" walks, each of which is lovely and useful. But the special quality of our own nature walk is the fact that it is just exactly that—a *nature walk*. The environment has been kept in its natural state. Everything—trees, flowers, shrubs, stumps, rocks, hills, march, grassy meadow—all have been very much as nature created them. Everything is there to be felt, touched, seen, and loved by willing hands and minds.

Many willing hands and minds have joined together in bringing this nature walk to life for everyone to enjoy.

The Columbia Lighthouse for The Blind has done heroic work in helping with the development of the touch and see Nature Trail. Miss Ann Chapman, who is coordinator of Children's Services for The Lighthouse has been the key cooperator, and a great help.

Children of the Ruth K. Webb School in the District of Columbia built a topographic model of the nature trail. The model was the inspiration of Mrs. Sylvia Shugrue, a science supervisor and an unusually fine teacher in the District of Columbia school system.

The people from the staff of the Arboretum worked many hours in creating the nature trail. There are many other willing people from the Agricultural Research Service (the agency which administers the Arboretum) who worked to make sure the nature trail would be ideal for the intended use.

In this remote corner of the Arboretum one may experience many things:—

The fallen leaves underfoot feel soft and spongy to the touch as one approaches the huge white oak tree. It's a beautiful tree with two shaggy brown trunks that feel good to the touch. This old fellow has seen the ebb and flow of life for some eighty years now.

The grassy meadow which you will come across is filled with the hot scent of the sun. You may hear the occasional rustle of a rabbit as he moves about nibbling on the grass or takes off like the wind with his white tail flashing in the light. Here, you can smell the damp smell of the nearby marsh, filled with lazy turtles sunning themselves and tiny insects skimming across the murky water in their mysterious journeys.

Then there is the soft, spongy stump—a dead oak—which houses a whole city of scurrying little insects, all trying to evade the birds that love to pick them off for a tasty snack.

While you walk to a tree that has fallen because it was old or diseased, you will hear the bob-whites calling to each other in their insistent way. The squirrels you can hear sometimes, too, as they rustle around chasing each other or looking for food.

You will enjoy the elegant holly trees with their shiny but very prickly leaves. The small dogwood tree with its colorful pink or white springtime flowers is one of the loveliest of all the trees to me as it grows lightly and gracefully in the wooded areas of the Arboretum.

This whole woodland walk is a small world in itself. I would hope that those who visit here—those who are blind and those who are not—are filled with the perpetual sense of wonder which such a place always evokes in me.

It is with the greatest of pleasures that I dedicate the National Arboretum's *Touch and See* Nature Trail, especially to all those who may now experience the pleasures of "seeing" an arboretum and thus grow in knowledge, understanding, and love of the trees, shrubs, and plants in our world.

Mr. Willie Mincey from the Youth Project of the D.C. Association of Workers for the Blind, will accompany me to the entrance of the Touch and See Nature Trail, and will accept it on behalf of all the blind people of the United States.

RECENT TRENDS IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF NEGROES

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, President Johnson recently made an outstanding talk before the National Bar Association in Washington, D.C.

His remarks are emphatic and challenging to those who preach gloom and doom and who see no progress, even with our most difficult tasks. Certainly we have failed in some ways, but the record speaks for itself and it is heavy on the asset side.

In the field of human rights, no period in history can match the gains that have been made to guarantee legal rights and solve other problems, both old and new, that have denied equal rights and opportunities to a significant part of our citizens.

I commend this brilliantly documented speech, filled with the statistics of the economic progress which the Negro families of America have made, as well as the personal honors in such professions as medicine, dentistry, education, and law. It is a record that should be known to all Americans. We are moving ahead with determination to help all our citizens, regardless of race or color, realize the great American promise of individual freedom and opportunity.

I ask unanimous consent that the President's remarks be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Remarks of the President to the National Bar Association, Washington, August 1, 1968

Mr. Thompson, Judge Jones, Mr. Bell, Mr. Jackson, Cliff Alexander, and my good friends of the National Bar Association:

I know better than anyone in this room how unworthy I am of all of the thoughtful and generous statements that you have made here on this plague.

But of this you can be sure: I appreciate hearing it more than anyone in this room, especially and particularly from this organization.

I have, from your membership and from your association, considered many suggestions. In a very short time I will finish 37 years of what I have tried to make faithful service to my fellowman. I have wanted it not only to be faithful, but I wanted it to be fruitful, and most of all I wanted it to be productive and effective.

I want to have it said that he was a 'can-do' man and he was a 'doer' instead of a 'talker.'

Yesterday, along with my Cabinet, I heard a very fascinating report of what is really happening in America today. Before I go into that, I want to say to Mr. Thompson and to this association; yes, we have made appropriate recognition to a number of men from the first black Mayor of Washington, D.C. to the first black City Council of the Nation's Capital, through the Supreme Court.

I am going to knock on wood. All of these appointments, including the first lady Ambassador and dozens that we should not enumerate, but what is important is this: I am proud tonight of every single one of them.

What is really important is that I can point to each of them with pride. Not a single one has let me down—not one time. When you bear in mind that they have all been playing on a fast court in a big league, that says something.

The report that I told you about that I heard in the Cabinet Room yesterday, that Mr. Alexander helped present, came from the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It had as its title "Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States."

The Government you know, is very famous for these catchy titles

But what we really heard was a remarkable story. Tonight I want to share it with the American people.

The record we heard does not say that everything is wonderful for black people, or that the black people never had it so good. The report does not attempt to gloss over the gap that still separates the white and the black people in this Nation. That gap does exist—and that gap is wide.

But what we heard in that Cabinet Room yesterday gives hope and gives very positive evidence that our society is on the move—that the gap is narrowing—that in the middle, in the midst of this crisis, a great many encouraging things are taking place.

Almost unnoticed, large numbers of American Negroes, for the first time in all American history, have now begun to enter the middle class.

Almost unheard of, as if it is a secret, large numbers of black citizens—and I say dramatically large numbers—are breaking the old chains of poverty and deprivation.

This remarkable story is told in numbers, in statistics that represent human beings.

Let's take Fact No. 1: The median income in our beloved America tonight is a little over $8,000. In 1962, the year before I became President, only 13 percent of the Negro families in America earned $8,000 a year. Just about one out of every 10 families earned $8,000. Last year, the percentage of Negroes at that income level of $8,000 had already more than doubled during our Administration. If you take them outside the South and don't count the South, you can throw in another 10 percent.

Let's take Fact No. 2: Now we have doubled the number of families that make more than $8,000 per year. Let's look at the numbers in education.

In 1960, only 36 percent of all young Negro men had finished high school. The typical young Negro did not even complete his junior year in high school. Tonight, he finishes high school and he goes on beyond. That is nearly double the 1960 rate. That rate is still going up. It is still climbing.

Fact No. 3: Let's look at jobs. In 1960, there were 329,000 Negro and other non-whites employed in the professional and technical jobs in this country. By last year, that number had almost doubled—to 592,000—teachers, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, and other highly trained workers.

And what is true for Negro professionals is also true at another level—among white-collar workers and skilled craftsmen, and semiskilled workers.

Last year for the first time in American history there were significantly more Negroes in these good jobs than there were in the menial, low-paying jobs—and that is something.

Fact No. 4: What about the figures on poverty? We created the Poverty Administration. We read a lot about it. We heard a lot about it. We talked a lot about it—but we didn't do anything about it.

In 1964 we passed the first poverty law in this country and set up the first Poverty Administration. Last year alone, one million Negroes and other non-whites lifted themselves up above that poverty line.

I say to you tonight that that is the largest exodus from poverty that has ever been recorded anywhere.

In the past two years, more Negroes and other non-whites rose above poverty than in all the previous six years combined.

Now you may be asking some questions: What is that President trying to prove, you may say. Is he unaware and oblivious to the grim conditions of life in black America?

Well, my friends, I am only too deeply aware of those conditions tonight. I cannot ignore those conditions tonight. It has been my constant purpose during the past five years to change those conditions. But tonight I think it is important, and most important to you, in the midst of deep concern about all of our difficulties, to put all the facts in perspective. I think it is important for the white American to see his Negro neighbor in some light other than by the glare of crisis.

The facts show that the typical Negro in America tonight—the typical Negro—is a hardworking citizen. He is eager and he is anxious to take his full place in American life. Wherever his responsibility is, on the battlefield, in the courtroom, or at the State House or on the street, he is deeply concerned about the education of his children; he is determined to have for them something better than he had for himself and he wants a safe and decent environment.

Now, the facts, I think, hold three lessons: First, this is a time for black Americans to be proud of their achievements and to be proud of their progress.

The facts tell a story of millions of mothers and fathers who are working hard to give their children more education than they themselves had.

The facts tell a story of hundreds of thousands of men who are working to qualify for better jobs by training at night after a hard day's work—and these millions are succeeding.

The facts show enormous achievement—against enormous odds.

We hear a great deal today about "black pride." Certainly this data gives ample cause for black pride—and for white pride, too, in what the Negroes are accomplishing.

But the second lesson is this: that our great social programs of the past five years are working. Make no mistake about it. That is why they are cussing them—they are working, and they are working well.

People's programs, programs for human beings, were not popular in Lincoln's time or in Roosevelt's time, or in Truman's time or in Kennedy's time—and they are under great criticism tonight.

I can't think of a more important message for America to hear tonight than this: It works.

What works? 6,000,000 Americans—6,000,000 black and white—up from poverty in the past two years. It works.

I hope, in this political year, that all those who have opposed these laws—and all the naysayers, the standpatters and the pooh-poohers—I hope they will study this report and I hope they will learn its lessons.

The third lesson is this: Because we know that our system works—because so much has already been accomplished—we must now finish what remains to be done.

We are doing something about that, too. We signed the most comprehensive housing bill ever made into law this morning at the doorstep of that beautiful new office building that houses Secretary Bob Weaver.

But tonight too many millions of black Americans still live in bad housing; still earn meager, substandard wages—or no wages; still suffer from bad education; still are handicapped by bad health—because they are black.

The gap between Negro and white income has narrowed. But still, it is shocking that Negro income is only three-fifths of white income. If you are black, you get just a little more than a half of what you would get if you were white.

Tonight, a Negro is three times as likely to be poor as his white neighbor.

Tonight in America a Negro is twice as likely to be unemployed as his white neighbor; he is three times as likely to live in a brokendown house and his little baby is three times as likely to die in infancy.

That is why all over America Negroes are seeking parity and seeking justice—quite properly; parity of income, parity of employment, parity of housing; parity of education; parity in the right to participate in their own communities—just parity in treatment.

The America that I see tonight is not a sick America. It is not a brokendown, sick society—but it is a troubled and it is a restless people who are yearning to better themselves and are trying desperately to solve their problems.

We are a nation of doers and not doubters. We will match our record with any people—any time in history. But let's write a record that we can match and we are proud to put up there for the world to see.

The question we all face, black and white, is this: Are we ready to get on with the job? Are we ready to show—black and white—that we can live together, that we can build together a land of spacious liberty and ample opportunity?

I gave you those facts in the beginning. Those facts say that we can. And I say, I believe we will.

I know that Americans, black and white, will prove they can be real soul brothers. With that knowledge behind us, let us move on from here.

When I was a little boy I went to the big town for the first time. I heard my father pleading for seven-months school and for building little red school houses. I heard him pleading for a way to get the farmers out of the mud. I heard him pleading for a rural route that would bring us our mail during the week.

I have seen those things come and go and improve. When I came here in 1931, in Mr. Hoover's administration, I came with the ambition and with the hope and with the dream that if I was honest and worked hard and tried with all I had I could do something that would get every boy and girl born into this land an opportunity to live a healthy life; that I could do something to get every boy and girl born to every parent a chance to take all the education that he or she could take, that if I would work hard I could do something about leading men to heal the scars that had shattered us through the years, where brother would love brother and where we could live at peace in the world without sending off the cream of our manhood to die in foreign lands.

Well, I am leaving. And I have not gotten all those things done. But we have begun.

Those of you who are not leaving, those of you who make up the membership of this great progressive organization, you carry with you a heavy weight of responsibility. Just as those that I have appointed to high office have never failed me one moment and never let me down and never brought me a word or a line of criticism, it is up to you to represent 20 million people in this country who do not have your opportunities but whose pride and joy you are and you mean something to them.

You cannot just speak for yourself or your family. You must speak for millions whose voices out there cannot be heard in this microphone or do not have any dinner jackets to come to the Washington Hilton in. There is a job there for you to do. Until every boy and girl who is born in this land has all the food that they need to sustain their body and all the clothes they need to cover their body and a roof to go over their head, and until they have the opportunity to get all the education that they are capable of taking you have your work cut out for you.

And until a child—from the time that it is conceived until the time it is one or two years old, until it has the proper medical treatment—we call it "Kiddie Care"—until we quit losing all of these babies who become misfits, who die, who have to be nursed all their lives and waste the lives of two or three people who are trying to take care of them just because we are too busy doing other things to look after the health of our greatest wealth and resource—our children—until these things come to pass: health, education, jobs, dignity, decency, equality and parity, you are going to have your work cut out for you.

And I will be there every step of the way.

I want to leave one thought with you. This is a thought I express every day and it is repititious to a lot of you who have heard it before. A little lady from the Temperance

Union called on Winston Churchill in the last days of World War II and he was going through a lot of trials, as we were in those days. This lady was criticizing the Prime Minister's drinking habits.

She said, "Mr. Prime Minister, we are told that if all the brandy you have consumed during this war were poured into this room it would come to here."

The Prime Minister looked very thoughtful and looked at the ceiling and at the floor. He said, "So little have we done, so much yet to do."

So, although so little have we done—so much yet to do.

FIELDBALL

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, there are two reasons why I am requesting unanimous consent for insertion in the RECORD of a letter from Mr. James J. Rafferty, director of the Greater Johnstown, Pa., Parochial Grade School Athletic Leagues:

First. To give as broad coverage as possible to the game of fieldball, which was invented by Mr. Rafferty.

Second. To give government offices and private organizations involved in encouraging youth to participate in sports an opportunity to undertake the promotion of this unique type of athletic competition.

While confessing that I have not yet been a spectator at a fieldball game, the possibilities would seem to be especially exciting if only because of the need to induce a greater number of our youngsters to take part in body-building activities. There is added appeal in that the game includes features of several kinds of sports competition while not requiring as much space as a football field or as well groomed a surface as a baseball diamond.

Contact sports are good for the mind as well as the body. I trust that fieldball will receive the publicity and the all-around support that it appears to merit.

Mr. Rafferty's letter follows:

GREATER JOHNSTOWN PAROCHIAL
GRADE SCHOOL ATHLETIC LEAGUES,
July 17, 1968.

Mr. JOHN P. SAYLOR,
Congressman, Pennsylvania 22d District,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SAYLOR: April 1, 1967 the Greater Johnstown Parochial Grade School Leagues Organization, an affiliate of the Greater Johnstown Catholic Athletic Association, inaugurated its first Spring program in history with a new game called "fieldball," created within and developed by our local groups.

A low cost, exciting game of genuine merit, fieldball is a fascinating blend of the best elements in basketball, ice hockey and soccer playing rules, played outdoors by teams of five players each.

The ball is round (regulation soccer ball), no more than 28 inches nor less than 27 inches in circumference. 14–16 ounces.

The field, 180 feet long and 140 feet wide, is divided into three playing areas: Two penalty areas—one at each end of the field—140 feet by 40 feet, and a general playing area, 140 feet by 100 feet.

Goals on the center of each goal line are 12 feet wide and 8 feet high.

Games are started with a drop ball in the 15-foot radius center circle, with the players lined up in the same manner as for the face-offs in ice hockey.

The ball is kicked, batted and butted around (soccer style) with any part of the body except the hands and arms.

All goal attempts must be made from outside a goal area, 50 feet by 20 feet, in front of each goal.

Field goals are two points. Penalty kicks (where only the penalty-kicker performs while others stand aside as in ice hockey), count one point.

After a goal is scored, play is resumed by a drop ball in the center circle.

Players—who should be proficient in basic soccer skills—are: Center, left forward, right forward, left defense and right defense.

In actual operation, fieldball looks a lot like soccer, but yet, it isn't soccer. Fieldball play action is more concentrated, more enthralling to players and spectators alike.

More than 200 boys have participated in each of the first two seasons, and present indications are that there will be an additional 100 boys in the 1969 season.

Because of the success we've enjoyed with this new game thus far, we're anxious to offer it to other schools. However, our funds for promotional purposes are non-existent.

With warmest personal regards and best wishes, I am

Cordially,

JAMES J. RAFFERTY,
Athletic Director, Fieldball Inventor.

LOG EXPORT SOLICITATION

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on July 30, I used during my discussion of the log export amendment to the foreign aid bill, a letter I had received from C. C. Caffall, president of Caffall Bros. Forest Products, Inc. It described an effort to obtain from U.S. mills half a million board feet of hemlock 4-by-4's for a Japanese exporter. That order was finally met by the Brand S Lumber Co. of Portland.

However, Mr. Caffall has itemized the results of his solicitation for quotations, and I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Extensions of Remarks Mr. Caffall's letter to me dated July 19, and the copy of his letter to the Mitsui Co., reporting on this solicitation.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAFFALL BROS. FOREST PRODUCTS, INC.,
Portland, Oreg., July 19, 1968.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate; Capitol Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Enclosed please find a copy of correspondence recently sent to our Japanese customer. The purpose of this letter was to explain our inability to respond to their lumber inquiries. We are fowarding this to you so you may be aware of current problems involved in the Japanese lumber program.

Very truly yours,

C. C. CAFFALL,
President.

CAFFALL BROS. FOREST PRODUCTS, INC.,
Portland, Oreg., July 18, 1968.

THE MITSUI CO., U.S.A.,
Portland Office,
Portland, Oreg.
Attn: Mr. Tomoda

DEAR SIR: We are listing the results of our request for quotations on a recent lumber inquiry from you. Specifications on this tender were as follows:

Hemlock 4x4—grade std & btr allow 20% utility lengths 10, 13, 20, 26':

Portland Lumber Mills: quotes 95.00 FOB mill

Frank Lumber Company: no quote, 2" only

Cascadia Lumber, Toledo; not interested

Pope & Talbot: not interested

Dwyer Lumber: FOB dock 91.00 on 100,000 scant cut 3⅞

Hampton Lumber Co.: 100.00 FOB Portland docks

Willamette Valley Lumber Co.: not interested in 4x4

Rex Clemmens Lumber Co.: cutting only Douglas Fir

Crown Zellerbach, Columbia City: Domestic market too strong

Potlatch Forest Products: no production available

Koch Lumber Company: not interested in quoting

Avison Lumber Company: not interested

Burkland Lumber Company: not interested but price would be 105.00 at mill

Vanport Products: 20' only 94.00 FOB dock

Seneca Lumber, Eugene: cutting only Douglas Fir.

Diamond Lumber, Tillamook: not interested

S. D. S. Lumber: approx. 96.50 FOB dock

This is the result of only one request for quotation. We have had this same result each time we have tried to get this Japanese lumber program started. The reason for this reaction is quite obvious. The domestic market today is at a relatively high level and most mill operators are not willing to sacrifice available current high profits to establish long term markets. The Canadian Mills are quoting this material on exactly the same specifications 5.00 to 8.00 under the best offers we have had. The market, therefore, is theirs at the present. The Japanese buyers still need logs and are willing to make a few price concessions on lumber in conjunction. However, they are not willing to compete with the short term fluctation in the domestic lumber market. They feel that theirs is a long term program and the time will come when the situation will be reversed.

We are actively suggesting to the mill contacts with whom we are working that it is extremely short sighted not to try to develop this valuable long range market even at the small sacrifice of part of current profits. This is particularly true when results will be the complete loss of the trade to our Canadian competitors. If the log restriction program is to have its desired effect, and promote the sale of wood products to Japan then certainly more cooperation on the part of the mills is necessary.

Yours very truly,

C. C. CAFFALL,
President.

SAVE HEADSTART

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Carter Davidson, editorial director of WBBM–TV in Chicago recently commented editorially on the proposal to remove Project Headstart from the responsibilities of the Office of Economic Opportunity and place it within the jurisdiction of the U.S. Office of Education.

The case for retaining Project Headstart as a part of the war on poverty is stated most convincingly and in proper perspective by WBBM–TV, and it is for this reason that I submit the text of Mr. Carter Davidson's editorial for the benefit of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

Save Head Start

Head Start is in danger of being cut—with a political knife.

Head Start is a War on Poverty program—and one of its most successful—which trains poor children of pre-school age to be ready to get an education when they are old enough to go to school. It also involves parents and such subjects as nutrition and the connection between living conditions at home and the ability to get an education at school.

A bill now in Congress would take Head Start away from the Office of Economic Opportunity, which wages the War on Poverty through community agencies, and would place it under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. That would mean that both money and policy for Head Start would flow down to the needy, and mostly black, communities through Boards of Education, rather than community action agencies.

This, we believe, would be a damaging blow to the most essential, and the most visibly successful, aspect of the Head Start program.

Head Start is not a purely educational function. Its main aim has been to teach little children to communicate with each other, to involve parents in the lives of their children outside the home, and to remove at least some of the psychological blight that rises like a vapor in the minds of little children raised in blighted, crumbling ghettoes.

Under the Federal poverty war operation, Head Start was designed to give to the nation's neediest children the same sort of ambition and motivation that comes naturally to children raised in a better social and economic climate.

The bill now pending would transfer control of Head Start to individual states, in which political job holders would decide which children and which communities would reap the benefits of the program.

We think Head Start should remain a part of the War on Poverty, because that's mainly what it is.

ANOTHER KITCHEN ACCIDENT

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, when a young child's insatiable curiosity and remarkable agility are combined with toxic household products in obsolete packages, the results can be tragic.

Recently, an 18-month-old Seattle, Wash., boy gulped a mouthful of dishwasher detergent. His esophagus and windpipe are burned nearly closed; his mouth and lips are a mass of painful blisters.

Fortunately, this story has a happy ending. Thanks to emergency treatment by doctors at Children's Orthopedic Hospital, Michael is alive. He is breathing through a tube in a hole in his throat and is fed through a tube in his abdomen. Too many similar stories of accidental childhood poisoning do not end so well.

No one disputes the need for poison control programs. But after-the-fact treatment of injuries inflicted by toxic household substances is not control. Not treatment of the damage, but prevention of the injury must be our goal. That this goal has not been attained is evident from the numbers of childhood poisonings which occur annually in the home. We continue to rely upon parental education and printed warnings on toxic household substances. But to the young child, the phrase "Keep out of the reach of children" is meaningless, and the word "inaccessible" is not in his vocabulary.

The technology which has produced the huge variety of household products to lighten the modern housewife's workload has also designed safe packages for those items which are potentially poisonous to the children in the house. It may be unrealistic to expect that containers be kept out of the child's reach, but the contents of those containers can most certainly be kept out of the child's mouth. Where child-resistant containers have been used, childhood poisonings have been reduced by as much as 86 percent. And yet, most potentially toxic products are still packaged in obsolete containers which seem almost to invite ingestion of the contents.

Mr. President, I have introduced S. 3547, the Safe Packaging Act, to require manufacturers and vendors of these potentially hazardous household products to take full advantage of our advanced packaging technology. The need for such legislation is manifested by the fate of children such as Michael. I am hopeful that the next Congress will act quickly to stem this tide of senseless and tragic childhood poisonings.

I ask unanimous consent that the article about Michael which appeared in the Seattle Times be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Boy, 18 Months, Lives—Detergent Almost Killed Him

(By Al Dieffenbach)

Michael Snodgrass, 18 months, is in Children's Orthopedic Hospital today, a wide-eyed, blond example of the damage that can be done by the caustic substances in some dishwasher detergents.

Michael's esophagus (food pipe) and windpipe are burned nearly closed. His mouth and lips are blistered. He breaths through a tube in a hole in his throat. He will be fed through a tube sticking out of his abdomen.

About every six weeks for the next two years, Michael will have a tube put down his scarred esophagus to stretch it back to serviceable size.

Michael's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Albert W. Snodgrass, of 12509 72nd Ave. S., Renton, joined the hospital in another effort to warn others of the danger.

"I had no idea that the dishwasher detergent was dangerous," Mrs. Snodgrass said. "All the other soaps and things are in a cupboard out of the reach of children."

Mrs. Snodgrass, the mother of six children, said Michael recently found the box of detergent and gulped a mouthful before anyone realized what he was doing.

She said she immediately washed his mouth and face with water, had one of her older children call the Poison Control Center and summoned a neighbor who is a registered nurse.

All of the actions were proper, a doctor said, except that the caustic in the dishwasher detergent usually does its painful work in 30 seconds.

After treatment by a doctor, Michael was sent home, but began running a fever and showed signs of lung congestion.

He was taken to Children's Orthopedic Hospital and was sent immediately to surgery, where a doctor said, "We nearly lost him."

Several brands of dishwasher detergent carry no warning about their danger. Others use small type. "All of them should be kept out of the reach of children, if not out of the house altogether," a doctor added.

DONALD O. HAMMERBERG, U.S. MILK ADMINISTRATOR IN CONNECTICUT

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the Hartford Courant has been publishing a series of articles about "men who are making significant contributions to Connecticut agriculture." One article of the series, printed on July 14, 1968, is devoted to Donald O. Hammerberg, who holds the position of Federal Milk Market Administrator.

Before accepting this position in 1960, Don Hammerberg served Connecticut agriculture as milk market administrator for almost 20 years and took part in the original efforts to stabilize the economic status of the dairy farmer during the critical periods of the 1930's and 1940's. Those periods mark only the beginning of a long and devoted history of dedicated public service. In the interim, he has earned the respect and friendship of dairy farmers throughout the State of Connecticut.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert into the RECORD the following article which details more completely the history and contribution of Don Hammerberg. His service has been exemplary for its devotion an integrity, and his friendship is one I have valued for many years:

U.S. Milk Administrator Aids State Agriculture

(By S. Archie Holdridge)

This is the 25th in a series of articles about men who are making significant contributions to Connecticut agriculture. Featured today is Donald O. Hammerberg, Federal Milk Market Administrator.

Dairy farming has always been an important phase of agriculture in this state.

In the early '30s, however, the milk market in Connecticut was in very bad shape. One dairyman in Litchfield County told me he was selling milk for three cents a quart. Much effort was made through the '30s to alleviate the situation.

Connecticut was among about 18 states to enact some form of milk legislation. Even this attempt did not work well. Much of the legislation was legally defective. A milk control board set up with three men in charge lasted two years.

In 1935 the legislature raised the milk marketing act and a single administrator was appointed, S. McLean Buckingham, who served for six years. This law also proved to be defective and many court cases were lost. There was much criticism of conditions.

TURNING POINT IN 1941

During this period of trial and error to bring about a stable market for dairy products in the state, a man raised on a dairy farm in Minnesota came to the University of Connecticut to work for his master's degree.

BACKGROUND

Donald O. Hammerberg had graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1928. He had received his master's degree in 1930, and then spent one year at the University of Wisconsin.

Hammerberg then returned to the University of Connecticut as an assistant professor of agricultural economics from 1931 to 1939. He did research work in farm management and in marketing dairy products.

He taught classes in economic theory, agricultural policy, marketing of agricultural products, farm management, and land economics. He also did extension work in the interest of dairy farmers during this tenure. In 1939 he became head of the department of agricultural economics and remained at this post until 1941.

In 1934 he took a one year leave of absence from his UConn post to go to Washington to serve in the Dairy Division Agricultural Adjustment Administration. It was during that year that Federal Market Order proposals were made. Hammerberg worked on the orders that were set up for the Chicago, Kansas City, New Orleans and Denver areas. He was closely involved through the 30s in the struggle of Connecticut dairy farmers to achieve a sound economic status.

In the fall of 1940 a non-partisan subcommittee was appointed by the agricultural committee of the legislature composed of two Democrats and two Republicans, two from each house to make a study of all proposals for a law which would be more effective.

Robert A. Hurley, who was then governor, submitted a bill patterned after the Federal Marketing Act of 1937. This seemed too elaborate. Another sub-committee was appointed and Hammerberg became the economic consultant to the committee. Harry Polikoff, an attorney, had been appointed as a legal consultant to this committee.

These two men prepared a draft of a new bill and after extensive discussions this was presented to the legislature as a non-partisan bill.

The legislature made only two changes. The first was to eliminate marketwide pooling and the second to modify the appealing procedure.

Hammerberg enjoyed his position at the university and wanted to keep it. But a well qualified man was needed to administer this new law. Several legislators approached him but in each case he refused. Then the Governor asked that four or five names of qualified people be suggested for the job. Four of these refused and the fifth could not be appointed for political reasons.

One Sunday morning Gov. Hurley sent two men out to Storrs to persuade Hammerberg to talk with the governor about the position. He agreed. The governor told him he felt that he had done a great deal to get the law enacted and it was very imperative to have a good man as the administrator.

Hammerberg agreed to take the job for three years and then to return to his teaching position and head of the department of agricultural economics. His appointment was approved by both houses of the legislature. Dairy farmers in the state know what has happened since that eventful year in 1941 when Donald O. Hammerberg became milk market administrator. As administrator he has made a significant contribution to Connecticut agriculture.

The war came on soon. Farmers were faced with many problems. There was a shortage of tires. On his order, milk deliveries were made every other day. Another regulation was to restrict deliveries only once in every 44 hours. This was done one year before the federal regulations went into effect.

The law called for tough regulation. A strong man was needed at the helm. For instance, 137 milk dealers violated the order. There were 35 cases in the superior court at one time, but only five or six actually came to trial.

The administrator won all but one of the cases that came to the Superior Court. This case was appealed and the decision of the Superior Court was sustained. One dealer appealed the decision to the Supreme Court of Errors but even though this case was lost, legislation incorporating the regulation under question was passed.

In 18 years the act has been amended only three times. One of these amendments was to allow money to be held out during May and June and paid back for milk delivered by producers in October and November.

About one half million dollars is collected every year from milk dealers in the functioning of this amendment. This act has never been challenged.

In the last 15 years there has never been a single court case under the act.

Hammerberg estimates that his office has collected $1.4 million in under payments from dealers and paid to producers.

FEDERAL ORDERS

When Hammerberg became administrator in 1941 only four to six per cent of the milk consumed in the state came from outside its borders.

By 1959 about 40 per cent was being imported. This situation couldn't be regulated effectively under the 1941 state act.

In 1955, thoughtful dairymen, representatives of the CMPA, the Modern Milk Marketing Assn., the Torrington Dairy and others began to see and discuss the need for some kind of federal regulation.

On April 1, 1959 such orders went into effect in Connecticut. Larger markets in the country had already been regulated. The Connecticut Order was No. 119. Since April 1941, Hammerberg has been the federal milk market administrator.

He has served Connecticut agriculture faithfully and effectively for many years in a nonpartisan way which may best be exemplified by the fact that he has received appointments from eight governors; four Republicans and four Democrats.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF LAND ARMIES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the excellent article by Dr. Alvin J. Cottrell, staff member, Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., entitled "The Changing Role of Land Armies in the 20th Century," was chosen by the Council of Librarians as one of the 10 best articles for June 1968.

Moreover, Dr. Cottrell has recently coauthored with Dr. T. W. Adams a book, "Cyprus Between East and West," Johns Hopkins Press, 1968.

It gives me great pleasure to insert in the RECORD Dr. Cottrell's outstanding article from the June 1968 issue of Current History, a monthly magazine of world affairs, as follows:

THE CHANGING ROLE OF LAND ARMIES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

(By Alvin J. Cottrell, staff member, Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University)

(NOTE.—How can the United States best maintain manpower for an effective defense system and for the other needs of American society? How have American armies been raised in the past? Is Selective Service necessary? A three-issue study of these questions will offer historical background and various current and controversial views. Our introductory article, evaluating the changing manpower needs for American defense, notes that until after World War II, "large land armies were still the principal instruments of decision . . ."; today "The most important change in [their] use is the decline . . . of their role as the principal instrument of ultimate decision.")

From the pre-Napoleonic era to the mid-twentieth century, generals and statesmen have been convinced that massive amounts of manpower were needed for warmaking and defense. The central role assigned to large ground armies from earliest times prevailed in a very general sense until the end of World War II. Every military leader sought to amass the largest possible force of military manpower, even if smaller armies would perhaps have served the purpose better.[1]

To say that the importance of large ground forces remained paramount in the minds of military strategists for a relatively long time is not to suggest that this role was unchanging or that strategies did not differ from age to age. But many of the changes, particularly in World Wars I and II, were greatly influenced by the development of new and better weapons, e.g., the machine gun and modern artillery during World War I, and the greatly increased importance of armored vehicles, aircraft and naval power during World War II.[2]

Yet these wars had one thing in common: large land armies were still the principal instruments of decision, and all weapons systems and other capabilities were geared to their support.

WORLD WAR II

To suggest something of the magnitude of the United States effort at peak strength during World War II, the United States had over 12,000,000 men under arms serving in all theaters, as compared with the 1968 levels of 3,500,000. It lost over 200,000 dead in battle. The Soviets had a similar number under arms, but lost an estimated seven million in battle. Present Soviet military strength is estimated at approximately 3,220,000.[3]

It might be well to recall some of the numbers involved in the great Normandy invasion of June 6, 1944. Some 5,000 vessels—the largest naval fleet in history—participated in the landings under an umbrella of aircraft which were estimated to have carried out more than 12,000 sorties on the day of the invasion. In retrospect, it might be said of the Normandy landings that they represented the ascendancy of means, i.e., of overwhelming manpower and firepower as well as superior logistics management, over sophisticated strategic doctrine. Raymond Aron has pointed out in *The Century of Total War* that World War I demonstrated the American proclivity for conserving manpower through the prodigal expenditure of technological resources.[4] But the face remains that huge manpower resources were required.

The use of the atomic bomb against Japan, as well as the belief that something approaching real peace was in sight, and domestic pressures to "bring the boys home," influenced United States strategic thinking regarding the role of land forces following World War II. United States forces were quickly withdrawn from Europe and the conventional American military establishment

---

Footnotes at end of article.

was rapidly dismantled. By 1948, the Army was scaled down from 3.5 million to about 525,000 men and 10 skeleton divisions.[5] Thus our atomic monopoly served to rationalize the United States decision to accede to irresistible domestic pressures for demobilization.

GROUND FORCES IN KOREA

The United States did not break sharply with the past until the Korean War of 1950. Until Korea, the established concept of all-out war waged by all the manpower and weapons that could be mustered still represented the epitome of sound military policy.

But in Korea, as General Matthew Ridgway note: ". . . . for the first time in our history we became acquainted with the concept of limited war." [6] He contrasts Korea with World War II:

"One mistake we avoided in Korea was an insistence on 'total victory' or 'unconditional surrender' or even a 'halt to aggression' before talking peace. . . . A limited war is not merely a small war that has not grown to full size. It is a war in which the objectives are specifically limited in the light of our national interest and current capabilities." [7]

United States military power was conceptually employed for the first time on a large scale in Korea to achieve a limited objective—to halt aggression and bring an end to the conflict without seeking the complete capitulation of the enemy. In fact, we settled for a truce along the line where the battle began. That the war—and particularly its limited nature—was not popular in the United States was dramatized on election day in 1952. The Korean War had become the major issue in the campaign and former General Dwight Eisenhower, hero of World War II, used his mandate at the polls to negotiate an end to the war. Thus the Korean War was a harbinger of the current opposition to massive intervention with ground forces abroad, particularly in Asia. It may be recalled that in March, 1954, Vice President Richard Nixon suggested that the United States intervene with air and naval power in Vietnam to help the French at Dien Bien Phu. This idea was apparently favored by Admiral Arthur Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. But the Nixon suggestion (made in a speech and obviously intended as a "trial balloon" to assess public support for such an action) was strongly opposed in many quarters. General Ridgway, then Army Chief of Staff, countered Nixon's suggestion with the comment that: "that same old delusive idea was advanced—that we could do things the cheap and easy way, by going into Indo-China with air and naval forces alone. To me this had an ominous ring. *For I felt sure that if we committed air and naval power to that area, we would have to follow them immediately with ground forces in support.*" [8]

General Ridgway opposed United States intervention at a time when the United States military establishment had reached the peak of its postwar mobilization, approximately 3,600,000, as a result of the Korean War. His opposition to the use of military power for intervention on the Asian mainland pertained primarily to ground forces. Opposition to military intervention in Asia may be the most significant development in estimating the future role of United States military power in general, and ground forces in particular, in such conflicts. Current opposition now involves all services and particularly the air force.

GROUND FORCE USE IN OTHER AREAS

The role which ground forces have played and are now playing in other areas since the end of World War II will of necessity vary from area to area. In Europe, for example, NATO and specifically United States ground forces have served largely as a "tripwire" which constitutes an earnest of our commitment to defend Europe. The "tripwire" for ground forces in NATO has been described by Enoch Powell, conservative defense spokesman in England, as "the frontier guard which automatically sets off nuclear war rather as a burglar trap rings an alarm bell. . . ."

The United States-NATO ground forces have never reached the minimum levels established in the various NATO force plans. During the greater period of NATO's existence, such plans have called for the equivalent of 30 ready divisions. But in fact, NATO has never had more than 25 divisions on the central European front. These NATO divisions confront a roughly equal number of Soviet divisions in East Germany and East Europe. (The Soviets have usually been credited with approximately 22 divisions in East Germany.) NATO's 30-division force goal was meant to insure that the Soviet divisions in East Germany would not be adequate by themselves for a decisive assault against Western Europe. But the NATO force has never been considered adequate to deal with any significantly reinforced Soviet forces, without resort to nuclear capabilities. Thus the United States has publicly announced that it has 7,000 nuclear warheads stored within the European NATO theater.

The acceptance by NATO of an inferior ground force conventional posture was not occasioned by any deficiency in the necessary resources or manpower of its members. Actually, manpower ratios favor the NATO countries, and United States and Soviet forces today are roughly equal. It must be remembered, however, that a greater supporting force is required to put an American soldier into combat. United States-NATO numerical deficiencies in ground strength have been due largely to a lack of will, particularly on the part of our NATO allies. This lack of will must be attributed to a variety of political, military and economic factors. The latter consideration is particularly relevant with regard to England, but budgetary reasons for a troop reduction were also cited by the West Germans in the summer of 1967.

An important change in NATO strategy affecting the role of ground forces occurred in 1954. Shortly after President Eisenhower took office the administration enunciated the so-called "New Look in American Defense Policy" which presaged a shift towards primary reliance on nuclear weapons to make up for the conventional deficiencies in NATO's force levels. The new doctrine, characterized by the phrase "a bigger bang for the buck," came under sharp attack by many in and out of government.[9] Many of the critics argued that a strategy relying so heavily on nuclear weapons would become increasingly less credible as the Soviets increased their own capability to inflict unacceptable damage on the continental United States. Such a strategy left no option between doing nothing and fighting an all-out nuclear war.

When President John F. Kennedy assumed office in 1961 he brought with him many critics of the new NATO doctrine and of the entire concept of "massive retaliation" enunciated by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in January, 1954. It was natural that the Kennedy Administration, anxious as it was for arms control reasons to reduce the dangers of a precipitate nuclear response, should try to reverse the policy of heavy reliance on nuclear weapons which characterized the "New Look" strategy. Using such terms as "flexible response" and "graduated deterrence" the Kennedy Administration sought to alter the Eisenhower policy. Not only did these efforts fail; they were also strongly opposed by our principal NATO allies.

Now, in fact, NATO strategy has come almost full circle. Now, in 1968—despite official statements to the contrary—there appears to be a return, in fact if not in theory, to a *de facto* "tripwire concept" with regard to the role of ground forces.

Even more significant than the French withdrawal from NATO, as far as United States defense strategy in Europe is concerned, has been the increasing insistence by leading political and military figures in the United States upon the reduction of our ground forces in Europe.

Since 1966, Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield of Montana and other prominent Senators have been urging the withdrawal of as many as four of the six divisions from the United States Seventh Army in Germany, the most modern and effective fighting force in NATO. Senator Mansfield has received support for his view from General Eisenhower, who has suggested that United States forces could be reduced to two divisions, (in other words, a corps) as an earnest of the United States commitment to defend Europe; former Army General James Gavin has publicly made similar proposals. There has also been much talk, based on the concept of the increased United States airlift capabilities, of rotating troops from the United States to Europe. Thus, we seem to be moving in the direction of a "mobile" rather than a "stationary" tripwire concept for our ground forces.

What we have seen in Europe—the area most vital to United States interests—has been the gradual acceptance by the United States of ground forces as a political-military symbol of our commitment to Europe's defense rather than as a key instrument for decision in Europe should the presence of such forces fail to deter. This, of course, differs greatly from earlier twentieth century concepts of the role of ground forces.

Perhaps this was inevitable as the result of vast changes in military technology. The advance in firepower resulting from the development of nuclear power for military purposes represents the greatest quantum leap in military firepower in history. The new central role of nuclear weapons has led to the increasing acceptance in the United States of a concept, already widely accepted in Europe, which rests more on preventing war than on fighting should deterrence fail.

SELECTIVE INTERVENTION

In other areas—e.g. the Middle East—we also appear to rely on a mobile tripwire rather than on numerical superiority. Perhaps in such areas, from a political and a military point of view, the only sensible strategy is one in which we carry out a preemptive intervention to stabilize the situation as quickly as possible, when our interests are clearly involved in a critical situation, then withdraw.

When our interests are involved, preemptive arrival, perhaps with relatively small forces, may often prove adequate to the challenge, since it thrusts upon the other superpower the onus of counterintervening and of creating a direct confrontation which might lead to nuclear war. Such a strategy of selective intervention might be carried out with the limited objective of damping the crisis and moving out as quickly as possible. The United States intervention in Lebanon in 1958 was a nearly perfect example of the way to implement such a strategic concept. There American forces at peak strength deployed in the Lebanon totaled only about 15,000—8,000 Army and 6,000 Marines.[10] Interventions by such small forces are not new in history. Indeed, the United States frequently intervened in Latin America (e.g., in Nicaragua and Cuba) with small forces. What is new is their current close linkage to the strategic nuclear forces of the United States with all the related risks of nuclear war that the enemy must ponder.

It now seems clear that protracted, large-scale interventions of the Korean type and, much more significantly, current military action in Vietnam do not conform to the developing United States domestic and international political environments. Inevitably, the unfavorable environment now developing with respect to such great military undertak-

---

Footnotes at end of article.

ings, involving as they do large ground forces, may make such undertakings a thing of the past. There is much opposition to the escalation of the war, even by congressional supporters of the Administration, if the role of additional ground troops is simply to implement the present "gradualist" strategy which some believe to be bankrupt. After a one-man inspection tour of Vietnam in January, 1968, Senator Joseph Clark (D., Penn.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee stated:

"We are stalemated in Vietnam as we were in Korea 15 years ago. We must take the action we took then; seize the initiative to reach a compromise solution—without military victory but also without defeat. *And never, never again should we commit a ground army on the mainland of Asia.*" [11]

Senator Mike Mansfield, arguing against further escalation of the war, has also stated that: "We are in the wrong place and fighting the wrong kind of war." [12]

As an alternative, retired General James Gavin has recommended the so-called enclave strategy—a strategy which calls for the defense of key strategic points like Camranh Bay, Danang and Saigon, without any effort on the part of the United States to hold the countryside—a strategy which would enable the United States to reduce its forces in Vietnam.[13]

Certainly the opposition to United States intervention in Vietnam, at home and abroad, raises the question of whether even limited wars of the magnitude of Vietnam are possible in a democratic society. The validity of the concept of limited war has yet to be proven. As of April 1, 1968, the United States had about 510,000 men in Vietnam, with more to come. Perhaps a more serious issue than the size of the force in Vietnam is the magnitude of the casualty list, which by March, 1968, had surpassed that of the Korean War.

It is conceivable that failure in Vietnam will so discredit the use of our military power that even lesser interventions of the Lebanese kind will be proscribed by domestic and international opinion; this may be the case even if the United States achieves a clear "victory" in Vietnam. In any event, as far as Vietnam and the rest of Asia is concerned, Professor Edwin Reischauer of Harvard, our ambassador to Japan under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, has observed:

"Vietnam has made it much more dubious than it was before that we would intervene strongly in a similar situation elsewhere in Asia and unthinkable that we would do it while the Vietnam war lasted . . . we are coming to the end of a policy." [14]

For a variety of political and economic reasons, the United States may well be forced more and more into a strategy of primary reliance on strategic offensive capabilities and naval power unless it is prepared, as seems unlikely, to employ nuclear weapons.

CHINESE MANPOWER

Certainly, fear of Chinese Communist manpower has been a key factor in the concern of many who fear further escalation of the war in Vietnam, especially the possibility of a United States ground invasion of North Vietnam. Total Chinese military strength has been reliably estimated at 2,700,000, with ground forces accounting for all but 200,000 of this total. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have more men under arms, but Chinese Communist ground forces are superior numerically to Soviet and American forces: The Soviets have an estimated 2,000,000 of their total military strength allocated to the Army; the United States has an Army total of 1,470,000. As is true of the Soviets versus the Americans, the size of Chinese forces is deceptive because the Chinese place even less emphasis on forces supporting the combat soldier. For the present, however, given the internal turmoil in China, it is doubtful that China's Communist leaders could employ their ground strength safely outside of China without risking loss of control throughout China.

Perhaps the most sweeping proposal for a change in United States strategy was proposed by Walter Lippmann, who called for an American withdrawal from the Asian mainland to Australia and New Zealand for the defense of the island chain around the periphery of Asia:

"The essential difference between what we have done in Vietnam and what we should have done is that we have gone ashore on the mainland—where the masses of Vietnam and of China can march against us. The right way, indeed the right thing to do now, is to take our stand on territory separated by blue water from the mainland and from the masses who live on it. . . . I believe that this analysis points to Australia and New Zealand as the proper forward base of American power in the South Pacific. . . . An American decision to pull back to Australia will not only end the war in Vietnam but will remove any near prospect of war with China. . . . The controlling fact about the Chinese and Vietnamese military forces is that they can march but cannot swim." [15]

There is no doubt that this concept will commend itself to many who oppose military intervention in general, and military intervention in Vietnam specifically. But it appears to ignore the question of what happens to Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and Korea.

ROLE OF LAND FORCES

While this article has been written from the United States point of view, it is clear that ground forces continue to play a major role in Soviet and Chinese strategic thinking. This is of necessity even truer of China than of Russia. Throughout the postwar period the land forces of both Communist powers have persistently bedeviled United States military planners because of American ground deficiencies. The United States and its allies have been forced to think of more sophisticated ways to compensate for the Communist superiority in conventional military manpower. While a discussion of what kind of force posture the United States should maintain is not the purpose of this article, certain conclusions are indicated if domestic opposition to United States military intervention continues. For it this opposition more than abstract military doctrine, no matter how brilliantly formulated, which will in large measure determine future strategy and the role of land forces. Much of the opposition to military intervention is mistakenly attributed to the war in Vietnam, but it seems likely that while the Vietnamese war may have triggered the now crucial debate over military policy, the real roots of the problem go much deeper. What is really involved, as far as some of the opposition is concerned, is an objection to military intervention per se.

Already there is talk of doing away with the draft, as has already been done in England. Analysts are now discussing the possibility of creating a professional military service made up of longer-term volunteers. Smaller land forces may be adequate if the trend towards greater and greater reliance on deterrence rather than on real defense capabilities continue and becomes accepted in the United States.

Thus far, nothing has been said concerning the special role of ground forces in meeting the type of guerrilla conflict so common in the post-World War II era. The paramount role of ground forces in the type of military operation is obvious. Clearly the professional army or the volunteer army will continue to be necessary in waging counterinsurgency, if not in Asia, at least in Latin America which is still perceived by many Amercans as an area vital to United States interests. Although the United States did not invade Cuba during the missile crisis of 1962, when President Kennedy successfully forced the Soviets to back down, it is possible that Latin America is the one region where a United States political consensus in favor of intervention might still be achieved. The principal obstacle to military intervention in that region would be the long-standing and deep-seated hostility to such action by the Latin Americans themselves, occasioned by previous interventions. The United States has yet to demonstrate the utility of counterinsurgency forces in a successful action. The British were successful in Malaya under different political and geographical circumstances, and the government of President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines was successful in putting down the Huk guerrilla insurgency. France, however, failed in Algeria, not militarily but politically, and the British were not wholly successful in Cyprus. Hence there is some question whether parliamentary democracies can successfully wage this type of conflict.

In summary, it is clear that ground forces serve a much more sophisticated variety of purposes today. Some characteristics of their utility in World Wars I and II still obtain even in Vietnam, and these characteristics were also present in some measure in Korea. But even in those cases where large-scale conventional military efforts have been mounted and employed, ground forces have been used in a variety of new roles, e.g., counterinsurgency, "graduated deterrence," "flexible response," and limited war. Perhaps one of the greatest changes in the role of ground forces, however, from the standpoint of the United States, is the greater meshing of these forces with political objectives.

Finally, while nuclear arms have never been employed in a bilateral conflict, it is clear that in an age of deterrence and limited conflicts the importance of ground forces is not their size but their inextricable tie with tactical and strategic nuclear weapons. The most important change in the role of ground forces is the decline since World War II of their role as the principal instrument of ultimate decision.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Paradoxically, Napoleon probably would have been better off had he taken an army considerably smaller than the 400,000 troops with which he invaded Russia in 1812. Logistics, complicated by adverse weather, did more to bring about his defeat than did the Russian forces.

[2] For a discussion of the differences as regards the role of land forces in World Wars I and II, see Cyril Falls, *The Great War* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1959), pp. 11–12.

[3] *The Military Balance*, 1967–1968 (London: The Institute for Strategic Studies, 1967), p. 5.

[4] Raymond Aron, *The Century of Total War* (Boston: Beacon, 1955).

[5] Theodore Ropp, *War in the Modern World* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1959), p. 378.

[6] *The Korean War* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1967), p. vi.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 245. The limitations placed on U.S. air power in allowing a sanctuary for enemy aircraft across the Yalu was one of the most fervently argued issues of the war. Still the land forces were the principal forces involved in Korea. For despite clear U.S. superiority in the air—no enemy aircraft reportedly penetrated to within 75 miles of the battlefront, at least in the daylight hours—we were still unable to prevent the enemy from being adequately reinforced and supplied. (See Alvin J. Cottrell, "The Role of NATO's Air Forces," *The Annals*, May 1955, p. 105.)

[8] *Soldier: The Memoirs of Matthew B. Ridgway* (New York; Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 276. (Italics added.)

[9] See for example Maxwell Taylor, *The Uncertain Trumpet* (New York: Harper, 1959).

[10] Robert McClintock, *The Meaning of Limited War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), p. 114.

[11] *The Washington Post*, March 10, 1968. Italics added.

[12] *The New York Times*, March 10, 1968.

[13] See *Crisis Now* (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 58.

[14] "A Broad Look at Our Asian Policy," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 10, 1963, p. 105.

[15] *The Washington Post*, October 22, 1967.

A TRIBUTE TO MR. MARIO T. NOTO

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed emotions that I today rise to salute a fine administrator and a fine friend, Mr. Mario T. Noto. Mr. Noto has served as the Associate Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in the Department of Justice since February 1962. Recently, Mr. Noto accepted the position of executive director of the Airport Security Council, an airline industry organization established earlier this year to combat and prevent crime at New York's major airports. Mr. Noto plans to leave his post at the Immigration and Naturalization Service in mid-August of this year.

Mr. Noto's career and dedication to government are indeed distinguished. In 1942, after 2 years in the private practice of law, Mario Noto entered the INS as a U.S. naturalization examiner. Shortly after taking this job, he was called to defend his country and he did so honorably in the U.S. Air Force from September 1942, to November 1945.

In 1945, upon discharge from active military service, Mario Noto returned to the INS. In 1948, he was transferred to Washington, D.C., for the purpose of organizing an investigations section in the central office. Subsequently, he became the Deputy Assistant Commissioner for Investigations and later he was made Assistant Commissioner, a post exercising responsibility and supervision over all investigations and administrative prosecutions of the agency.

On February 28, 1962, Mario Noto was appointed Associate Commissioner, a position supervising and overseeing the operations and activities of over 4,500 employees of the Service.

As well as his INS duties, Mr. Noto has served as the appointed consultant of the Secretary of State in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs since June 19, 1963. In this capacity, he is called upon to furnish advise to the Assistant Secretary for that Bureau on matters relating to exchanges and cultural presentations and student exchanges with other countries, with particular emphasis upon Italy.

Mario Noto has further distinguished himself in the publication of several legal articles and in lecturing in various colleges and at professional organizations and associations on administrative matters relating to Government activities.

Mario Noto assumes his position with the Airport Security Council this month, August. In announcing Mr. Noto's selection as executive director, Joseph L. Schmit, council president said:

> Mr. Noto's vast experience in the investigative, legal and administrative field will enhance the airline industry's effectiveness in crime prevention, as well as aiding in our close cooperation with law enforcement agencies.

Over the years, Mario Noto has been of great help to many people. He has offered invaluable aid to me and my staff members on numberous occasions. We will sorely miss him, not only as a fine administrator, but as a fine man. I know my colleagues will want to join with me in wishing Mario Noto well on his new appointment and in offering him our most sincere thanks for all his service to us and his country over the past years.

RESULTS OF CONSTITUENT POLL

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, in late May of this year, I sent to residents of my congressional district a poll on matters of current public interest. As in past years, the results of this constituent questionnaire were most gratifying, both in the number of responses and in the interest generated among voters. I find these surveys to be of great importance in taking the pulse of public opinion in my district and in keeping abreast of significant trends in thinking.

This year, for the first time in the many years I have been polling my constituents, I used a computerized punch card for my survey. This method succeeded in increasing the volume of responses, facilitating their tabulation, and making more accurate their results. In addition, use of the punch card enabled us to take cross-samplings of the returns, on the basis of sex, residency, and political affiliation. This approach has given us new and greater insight into the nature of public opinion in my congressional district.

Also for the first time this year, my poll of the First Congressional District was augmented by identical surveys taken in district two by Senator PAUL FANNIN, of Arizona, and in district three by Congressman SAM STEIGER. A detailed tabulation of the results in all three of Arizona's congressional districts provided an accurate profile of the public's thinking on important matters in the State. Interestingly, the results in the three districts were always within 1 or 2 percentage points, indicating the consistency of opinion on these issues throughout the State's various geographical regions.

Because of the importance of spending priorities in our domestic economy, I asked my constituents to assess present levels of spending in eight different policy areas. Generally, people in my district favored decreases in spending in all eight areas. Comparatively, they favored most drastically decreases in spending for foreign aid, farm subsidies, and the "war on poverty."

On the other hand, it was generally held that expenditures for social security, medicare, and defense be maintained at present levels. A higher percentage favored an increase in defense spending than for any other purpose.

On the question of conduct of the Vietnam conflict, opinion was fairly evenly divided among the alternatives of declaring open, unlimited war, increasing the strategic bombing, and sealing off supply routes and pressing for a truce.

Regarding the pressing problem of rioting and crime in the streets, the overwhelmingly favored alternative—75.1 percent—was stricter enforcement measures by the police and the courts. The other alternative offered, that of increasing spending in the slums, was favored by only 5.9 percent of the sampling.

On the question of firearms legislation, 66 percent desired no additional legislation at the time the question was asked. However, the most agreement on any of the seven questions asked came on the question of the administration's handling of the *Pueblo* incident. Of those responding to the questionnaire, nearly 85 percent were dissatisfied with the manner in which the administration handled the *Pueblo* affair.

Mr. Speaker, every year when I poll my constituents in this way, I am gratified by the returns and by the mail generated. Although we all recognize that in our representative republic system of government, the elected officials must be guided by many factors, including not only public opinion, but also individual conscience and knowledge based on greater accessability to information, a factor of fundamental importance is the feeling of the constituency. I want to thank all those who responded to my survey for expressing their interest in this way.

For all those who want a more detailed breakdown of responses to my poll, I am including the following percentage analysis:

[Resultsi n percent]

	Foreign aid	Social security	Space program	Medicare	War on poverty	Defense	Farm subsidies	Supersonic transport
1. In the following programs, do you think Government spending should be—								
Reduced	88.6	17.0	39.8	28.3	54.4	26.3	72.5	49.8
Maintained at present level	6.9	60.1	39.7	54.0	22.5	47.3	18.3	30.0
Increased	1.4	18.9	15.8	13.3	18.3	21.5	4.5	12.2
No response	3.1	4.1	4.7	4.4	4.9	4.9	4.7	8.0

2. Which of these alternative solutions comes closest to what you feel should be done in Vietnam?

Declare open, unlimited war on North Vietnam	23.8
Bomb dikes and remove present restrictions on other North Vietnamese targets whose destruction may lead to military victory	24.6
Seal off Haiphong and other North Vietnamese supply depots to force enemy to truce on our terms	25.0
Contain the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese and work for a truce	10.5
Withdraw our troops immediately and let the Vietnamese people manage their own affairs	11.6
No response	4.5

3. Do you favor any additional firearms legislation at this time?

Yes	28.9
No	66.0
No response	5.1

4. To ease the strain of continued deficit spending, would you favor—

The administration's proposed 10-percent surcharge on income taxes	8.1
Cutbacks in Government expenditures	77.3
No response	14.6

5. Do you believe rioting and crime in the streets can be controlled best by—

Stricter enforcement measures by police and the courts	75.1
Greater spending to improve conditions in city slums	5.9
Both of these	12.7
Neither of these	2.7
No response	3.6

6. Are you—

Satisfied	9.7
Dissatisfied with the way the administration handled the *Pueblo* incident	84.6
No response	5.7

7. How do you rate this administration's overall performance in office?

Excellent	1.4
Good	11.2
Fair	37.0
Poor	48.0
No response	2.4

RAPID TRANSIT

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. **REES**. Mr. Speaker, we all know how critical is the traffic congestion in our major cities; how urgent is the need for solutions to the mobility crisis. The automobile alone and unaided, proceeding on concrete expressways, cannot solve our national traffic dilemma.

It was this realization that prompted me and Assemblyman Tom Carrell—now State senator—as members of the 1964 California Legislature, to seek a solution for the people of southern California, in the form of rapid transit as a component of balanced transportation.

Together we authored the Rees-Carrell bill, which overhauled and reconstituted the Metropolitan Transit Authority as the Southern California Rapid Transit District, with new and broader powers.

In 4 short years, Mr. Speaker, rapid transit in our region has gone from a dream to a possibility, to a probability—and today it is on the brink of becoming a reality. August 1, the Governor of California signed into law the Lanterman bill, which will permit the people of Los Angeles County to vote in the forthcoming November election on a financing plan for construction of what could well be the finest transit system known to man.

It is not unusual for America to accomplish the impossible. When the need occurs, American ingenuity meets that need. We dam great rivers and create artificial lakes. We suspend giant bridges across our harbors. We probe the planets with measuring devices, and photograph the moon with a camera based in Pasadena.

In like manner, Mr. Speaker, when the need arises for mobility in our cities, when our people see themsleves caught in a web of vehicular congestion, they take constructive action. In this case, that action will take the form of an "X" on the November ballot, signifying "yes" on rapid transit.

With our population growing at an unprecedented rate, and with automobiles multiplying 3½ times faster than people, the need for new mobility is acute.

I have every confidence that the voters of Los Angeles County will unhesitatingly take the final step in a long sequence of enabling legislation designed to provide us with a speedy, modern system of mobility linking the county together on its own exclusive right-of-way—separated from all other traffic.

Mr. Speaker, I bring our experience to the attention of my colleagues today with the thought that the accumulated knowledge of the Southern California Rapid Transit District might serve as a model in developing similar systems of rapid transit in other great American cities.

PANAMA CANAL

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. **SAYLOR**. Mr. Speaker, on the 54th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal, today would seem an appropriate time to reiterate opposition to the proposed treaty that would relinquish U.S. control over the Canal Zone.

The issue should be a prime issue of discussion in the coming election campaign, and all candidates for national office should go on record with their views on the projected treaty. The vast majority of Americans not only recognize the validity of this Nation's ownership in perpetuity; they also know that our withdrawal would open the way for Communist expansion in the Western Hemisphere. With a Red beachhead already established in Cuba, getting out of Panama would constitute our Nation's greatest military blunder in all history.

I would remind my colleagues that the Canal Zone is our most costly territorial acquisition and that the United States has through the years demonstrated generosity beyond reason in increasing annual payments and making other concessions to Panama.

Eight hundred American workers perished in the construction of the canal before the *Ancon* steamed through on August 15, 1914. Once it is given away and the Communists take over—as surely they would—it will take many times that many American servicemen to get it back—or what is left of it.

Taking this subject to the people during the campaign will not only firm up U.S. intentions to retain possession of the canal, but will also discourage ruthless Panamanian politicians and other elements operating in the Caribbean from conspiring to wrest the Canal Zone from its rightful owner.

A NEW BOOST FOR OUR FARMERS

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. **PICKLE**. Mr. Speaker, I wish to give my strongest endorsement to H.R. 18209, the bill to extend and amplify the Farmers' Home Administration Act.

Ever since its establishment three decades ago the FHA has been one of the most valuable Federal agencies helping the farmer. The FHA has provided farmers with the financial wherewithal to expand their production, at times when these farmers were turned away by other sources of financing. The FHA has also provided emergency crop loans, thereby enabling many farmers financially to survive natural calamities and the resultant damage to crops. That the FHA has been an effective instrument in helping the farmers of America in solving their financial problems is shown by the fact that only 2 percent of the loans made by the administration have been unable to be repaid. This astounding rate of repayment is proof of the value of the FHA thus far for the American farmer.

The bill passed by the House will expand further the benefits the FHA will be able to offer to the agricultural sector of our country. Part of this commendable bill expands some of the present FHA services now available in limited amounts. Annual development authority is increased by 100 percent from $50 to $100 million annually. Concomitant with this increase are the removal of the $450 million annual ceiling on insured loans and the removal of the stipulation that 75 percent of loans to individuals be below $15,000. In addition, planning grants are increased from $5 to $15 million.

This bill also opens several new areas of service. Of benefit to all of rural America is the new authority of the FHA to make loans for the development of sewer and sanitary water systems in rural communities. This one expansion of services not only helps directly those people now living in such communities but also aids in attracting new people and new business into rural communities. Last, H.R. 18209 gives the FHA the authority to make loans to farmers desiring to develop recreational facilities for the public on their farms. The facilities need not relate to farming. This new provision allows many farmowners to devote their resources to building up recreational enterprises and tapping these new sources of income.

I am glad to see these needed improvements in the FHA law and hope that the Senate gives the measure quick and favorable consideration.

THE AIR TRAFFIC CRISIS

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, we are all acutely aware of the crisis facing the airlines, the airports and the air traveler today, a crisis that has almost reached disaster proportions.

While there are no quick and easy long-term solutions to the problems we now face, there are, nevertheless, immediate steps that can and should be taken today to alleviate some of the immediate difficulties. Yesterday, the House approved the conference report on the Department of Transportation appropriation for the current fiscal year, and exempted air traffic controllers from pending personnel cuts.

This commendable step, though, is far from being enough. There is much that can and should be done immediately by the airlines in the area of more equitable scheduling procedures. Last Sunday WCBS-TV, in New York City, approached this problem in a highly enlightened manner in the form of an on-the-air editorial. Because of the immediacy of this problem to all Members of the House, I am bringing the editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

THE AIR TRAFFIC CRISIS

For weeks now, airline passengers have been going around in circles at our busiest airports because of a monumental traffic jam in the skies. Delays at New York City's three airports have been running up to two hours or more in recent weeks. Los Angeles, Washington, and Chicago are experiencing the same problem. The Civil Aeronautics Board says the congestion has reached "crisis proportions" in these four cities.

There are many reasons for this: heavy vacation travel, bad scheduling, and a slowdown by air controllers, who have been going by the book on safety regulations in an effort to convince Congress to hire more controllers and to provide better equipment. This situation is largely the fault of the Federal Aviation Administration because four years ago it stopped recruiting air controllers despite an incredible increase in air traffic.

So one solution to the tieup at our airports is for the FAA to hire more controllers. But even though Congress is appropriating the funds to do so, it will take at least two to four years to train the new men. So the question is: What can we do in the meantime?

The immediate solution must come through better scheduling of flights by the airlines. There is simply too much peak-hour traffic because the airlines schedule most of their flights at the beginning and the end of the working day. Traffic tieups and delays are worst at these peak periods.

The airlines argue, of course, that they make up their schedules this way because people want to fly at these peak hours, which is true. But airlines can encourage passengers to fly at off hours by dropping ticket prices at off hours, and they can discourage travel at peak hours by raising prices at peak hours.

In our opinion, the airlines should adjust their flight schedules and prices to discourage peak-hour congestion. This would be a fair and reasonable approach. After all, those who insist on traveling at certain times of day should pay for the privilege. They place the greatest strain on our transportation facilities, so they should carry a bigger share of the financial burden.

FIRST SGT. HERMAN NAUMANN: A CASE EXAMPLE OF WHAT AMERICA IS ALL ABOUT

HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, the fighting in South Vietnam in which we are engaged has been called the most unpopular war in American history. Its cost has been borne firmly by the American people, but not without protest from far and wide. Its very existence and continuation provides a source of national discord in this most important presidential election year, when we should ideally be concentrating our attention on how best to move in an orderly fashion toward important national goals.

By any fair appraisal of history, it must be admitted that the experience of the Asiatic peoples with European overlords during the past 200 years has not been so pleasant that any of them should feel comradely toward any of the white-skinned peoples. This fact alone is responsible for much of the difficulty we experience today in trying to extricate ourselves from a distasteful involvement without committing 13 million South Vietnamese to a life sentence in the permanent prison of a police state.

But, we are making headway in Southeast Asia. Not just through force of arms, but because the people are learning that Americans represent an idea and a conviction that is unshakable—a belief in individual human beings as the possessors of rights and needs and hopes.

We have had more than our fill—a daily overration—of stories depicting bloodshed and cruelty, graft and corruption in South Vietnam. Today I request the right to place in the RECORD the story of one of my constituents, Sgt. Herman Naumann, whose work in that unhappy little land portrays what our own country is all about.

We are told that the fighting in South Vietnam will end when the people no longer support the enemy or believe his promises; when they are convinced that a free life under a government of their own choosing is attainable. This being the case, we all have cause to salute Sergeant Naumann, for his deeds could not be duplicated by a regiment of soldiers in full battle gear.

So I am offering to share with my colleagues in the House my own great pride in the generous spirit and invincible determination of Sergeant Naumann, a soldier but not a conqueror, who raises up each day another stone in a solid structure of understanding between our forces and the hard-hit people of a nation at war, as reported in the Charleston, W. Va., Daily Mail of August 9, 1968:

SUPER SCROUNGER: SOUTH CHARLESTON SOLDIER IS BIG FRIEND OF VIETNAMESE

(By Charlie Connor)

A grizzled Vietnam veteran from South Charleston who hasn't been home since 1962 has asked for a six-month extension of duty there.

"Mom, you will understand why I feel that I have to stay," First Sgt. Herman (Pappy) Naumann wrote. "There are so many flower power, hippie and no goods there in the states that every American must do everything he can to help."

"Pappy" Naumann's mother is Mrs. H. S. Naumann Sr. of 230 Bird Court, the widow of a man who was a butcher for years at a neighborhood grocery at the foot of Montrose Drive. He died in 1962.

"That was the last time Herman was home—for his father's funeral," Mrs. Naumann said. "In all, he's spent 17 of his 20 years of service in the Far East, much of that time in Vietnam."

Naumann, a South Charleston High School graduate, is in charge of the Civic Action Team of the 173rd Airborne Brigade. He formerly was with the Green Berets in the Mekong Delta area.

SHARP TRADER

As such, he has acquired a tremendous reputation as a friend of the Vietnamese people, a man well known for his "soft" heart, particularly where children are concerned. He's a sharp trader and scrounger in getting supplies for needy victims of the war.

"I've had supply sergeants hide when they saw me coming. They know that if they have what I'm looking for, I'm going to get it. It might take a few hours of scrounging or trading, but I'm going to get it. I'm famous for one thing at least. I'm the best scrounger any hell-raising airborne outfit ever had," he said. "Most people are willing to go out of their way to help Vietnamese people who are in need because of the war."

Naumann recently received a call from a Vietnamese district chief asking for enough lumber to rebuild a rural hamlet that had been shelled by enemy rockets.

"When I get a call like that, I tell them they'll get what they need even though I don't have the slightest idea where I'm going to get it for them. Somehow it always works out."

It took a few telephone calls, but "Pappy" located the lumber in an abandoned billeting area, more than 10,000 board feet. He had to dismantle the barracks to get the lumber.

"If they ever make me pay for the supplies I've distributed to the Vietnamese war victims, I'll have to make a career out of the Army to pay for it," he joked.

VIETNAMESE WIFE

Last month, Mrs. Naumann received a letter from her son, saying he might leave by Aug. 14. He intended to bring home his Vietnamese wife, Hsin Mei, to meet his mother for the first time.

"But honest, Mom, there is so much to do here that no one man can make a dent in it. . . . I have put in for a six months' extension but don't know if I have it or not," he said.

"If I know him," Mrs. Naumann said, "he has it. He's in love with those people there and can't see coming home while he can be doing something there to help them."

MRS. BRUCE BENSON OF MASSACHUSETTS HEADS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, in this election year when the news media are giving such wide coverage to national political candidates, it is significant that a newspaper with the highest journalistic standards should choose to devote almost a full page to the recent election of the national president of the League of Women Voters.

That newspaper is the Christian Science Monitor, of Boston, and again the news reporting credentials of this famed newspaper evidence the broad public interests of the famous Monitor.

Mrs. Bruce Benson, of Amherst, Mass., is the subject of this fine article and she is, indeed, an extraordinary woman.

With a degree from Smith College and a 2-year fellowship from the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study, where she studied the politics of the civil rights movement, Mrs. Benson's qualifications for leading this highly literate group of women are well recognized. She has been in the league since 1950, and in 1961 was elected president of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, numbering some 12,000 members.

Mrs. Benson has served on several gubernatorial study commissions in Massachusetts, ranging from State employee salaries to the effects of racial imbalance in the schools.

Eager to expedite the league's exhaustive studies of major issues, particularly the question of equality of opportunity. Mrs. Benson stresses the importance of using traditional procedures, and the democratic process in arriving at a final position on the issues.

A nonpartisan organization, the league takes its stands on issues rather than candidates, and the majority of its work is done in educating the electorate in the political process at all levels of government.

Its projects may vary from protecting the parks and playgrounds from developers in a particular community to supporting the work of the United Nations, where it has a regular observer.

An educated, well-informed electorate can well serve to enhance the quality of the American democratic process and I wish to congratulate the league for choosing a president and leader of the high caliber of Mrs. Benson, and in turn, I want to felicitate and heartily congratulate Mrs. Benson, herself, for attaining nationwide recognition of her able and brilliant work and for her election to this high post.

I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news article from the Christian Science Monitor about Mrs. Benson's election as national president of the League of Women Voters.

I am looking forward to continue my wholehearted cooperation with the league and want President Benson to keep me advised of her objectives and call upon me whenever I may be helpful. I wish for this able, distinguished leader of a great organization a very successful, rewarding, and pleasant administration and the achievement of the chosen goals of the league and its concerned, dedicated members.

The material follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 10, 1968]

SHE'S A VERY POLITICAL PERSON

(By Lucia Mouat)

CHICAGO.—Officially she's neither a Republican nor a Democrat. But her political influence is that much the stronger for it.

Mrs. Bruce Benson, the new 1968–70 president of the League of Women Voters (LWV) of the United States, concedes that the League's ban on party activity by group officers is sometimes very hard on her—"I'm a very political person."

But this refreshingly candid League leader, who frequently interrupts an interview with "I must stop being so frank," has only to look at her own record to assure herself there may be more action out of a party than in one. She first joined the local League in Amherst, Mass., where her husband is a professor of physics at Amherst College, in 1950. But it was not until 1957 when she was debating between the merits of going back for her Ph.D. in history or of joining a League committee on loyalty and security that the commitment grew deep. She opted for the committee work. One thing led to another—"I was having a terrifically interesting time"—and by 1961 she was elected president of the LWV of Massachusetts.

It was in that role that Lucy Benson led the state's more than 12,000 League members in a time-consuming, energetic fight to curb the powers of the Governor's Council. Most of the 13 original states which had such councils as buffers between the kind and his appointed governors had long ago eliminated them. Massachusetts, however, had not only kept its Council but given it additional powers. There the Council approved all gubernatorial appointments and contracts for roads, waterways, and the like. Admittedly, corruption in the Council, rife at the time of the League's petition drive for a referendum on the question, worked in LWV favor.

"We were on the side of the angels," comments Mrs. Benson. "But our reason for fighting was not the corruption. The Council was interfering with the role of the Governor and he could not be held accountable for his appointments since the Council had to approve them."

VAST CHANGE IN ATMOSPHERE

In the end, voters essentially stripped the Council of its statutory powers. It still approves the Governor's judicial appointments but Mrs. Benson, with understandable satisfaction, reports a "vast change in atmosphere" since the cutback action.

In her non-partisan political career, Mrs. Benson has also served on more than a half-dozen gubernatorial study commissions in Massachusetts, ranging in subject from state employee salaries to the effects of racial imbalance in the schools. One commission on which she served drafted a bill, now law, which gave the University of Massachusetts fiscal autonomy.

On the telephone stand in her hotel room here, where she was interviewed, stood a Charlie Brown card with the caption, "Lucy for First Lady." It had been given her by the outgoing national League president. Mrs. Benson is the first to admit that the three days a week in Washington that her new job entails will have its complications. She will be farther away from home for larger chunks of time than before. But, giving credit where it's due, she says her husband has not only refrained from discouraging her, but he has actively encouraged her to follow her League interests.

"There have been times when he hasn't been the least bit happy, but I've never detected any feeling on his part that I shouldn't do precisely what I want to do," she says. "He has had to put up with an awful lot." Indeed, Mrs. Benson says she wishes other League husbands would be as supportive of their wives' activities.

She says she thinks the effectiveness of League workers, which varies so from town to town and state to state, is closely related to diplomacy and assurance. "You have to be able to relate to others even though they may be opposed to your views," she explains. Many women in the League lack self-confidence. This is where husbands can do a lot. As a League member, you've got to be able to stand up to all the gaff you get."

Mrs. Benson, in her own down-to-earth brand of eloquence, stresses that she thinks the League's strength lies in its use of traditional procedures.

"If I'm occasionally impatient with the slowness of the League—it took us four years to come to some consensus on equality of opportunity—I'm heartened by the solidity of the position and the democracy in the process used to reach it.

CROSS SECTION OF WOMEN

"If it's a hot subject, you run the risk of having your consensus weakened by those who are more conservative," adds the League leader who describes herself as more liberal than most League positions, "but I think most of our positions are not badly watered down as a result. If the League were the Civil Liberties Union, our position on civil rights would probably be much stronger, but the League represents a nationwide cross section of women (some 150,000 of them) working at all levels of government in a wide variety of fields. And they're mainly interested in getting things done."

She says she was "enormously relieved" at the conclusion of the recent national League convention in Chicago to see the rift temporarily resolved between those who want the League to focus strictly on government structure and those who want a broader approach to governmental problems. The latter group came out on top.

In January the League will launch its first nationwide financial campaign in connection with its 50th anniversary. Mrs. Benson, who describes herself as "ever the optimist," says she is confident the League will reach its $11 million goal. It will be used to expand League work in citizen education, publications, and staff.

"Extraordinarily able League women spend a lot of time mimeographing and stuffing envelopes," says the LWV president. "You can get overwhelmed with that sort of thing."

Mrs. Benson is a graduate of Smith College and holder of a two-year fellowship in 1965–66 at the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study where she studied the politics of the civil rights movement. She has received a number of civic awards in Massachusetts since her involvement with the League.

She finds her organizational work fascinating and says it has crystallized her views in many fields. In fact, once in a while, when she and her husband get into too lively a discussion on national or international issues, one of the couple's two English spaniels will dash for Mr. Benson's lap as one way of toning the discussion down.

"From that point on, we have to speak in soft, dulcet tones," says Mrs. Benson.

INITIATIVE OF FLORIDIANS IN EFFORTS TO EXPAND EXPORTS

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I believe it is appropriate at this time to call attention to the constructive work being done by the citizens of my home State of Florida to increase American exports and thus improve the balance of payments.

Within the past month, a delegation of Floridians, representing industry, State, and local government, visited Washington for a series of meetings with officials of the Federal Government who are responsible for U.S. export programs.

The group included John Stiles, director, marketing division, Florida Department of Agriculture; Lucien Gilbert, director, trade and development, Tampa Port Authority; Dr. Robert Parajon, marketing division staff, Florida Department of Agriculture; Edmund David, president, Florida International Agricultural Trade Council; Thomas J. O'Connor, director, public relations, Tampa Port Authority; and Manuel Lopez, Florida cattleman.

Their meetings extended to several departments and independent agencies, as well as to congressional offices which are attempting to be of assistance in these matters.

It is my feeling that the willingness of these Floridians to make a personal visit will be rewarded by understanding and firsthand information which will be invaluable to Florida business and agriculture enterprises in developing foreign markets.

As we are all becoming increasingly aware, 93 percent of the world's people live outside the United States. Many among this rapidly growing population have not enjoyed the advantages that the efficiency of American agriculture and industry provide for our own people.

Mr. President, it should be recognized that Florida businessmen and government officials were among the first to act upon these circumstances, and the Washington visit which I have described is only the most recent example of their activities.

It was on the basis of Florida's continuing efforts that the Senate Small Business Committee under my chairmanship decided to hold one of its regional hearings on export expansion in Miami on March 15 and 18 of this year. The significance of this hearing is illustrated by some remarks made at about that time by a senior specialist of the Library of Congress on trade matters, Dr. Howard S. Piquet, before the Florida State Chamber of Commerce. Dr. Piquet said:

> The exports and imports that bring about international economic adjustment (and provide a solution to the balance-of-payments problem) should be thought of in terms of specific products, rather than statistical aggregates.[1]

Our committee met in Florida to concentrate upon just such specific possibilities for the goods, such as citrus and other fruits and vegetables, livestock, leisure-time equipment, oceanography, and space and aeronautics, and for the services, such as tourism and recreation which the natural advantages of the Southeastern region provide.

We were impressed by the things which Floridians have accomplished and the other things which they are attempting in the export field. We also found, at that time, that there are problems beyond the efforts of individual exporters, and even individual State and local government agencies, and which, accordingly, require the concerted action on the part of Federal agencies, particularly in the fields of promotion, transportation, and coordination measures. The hearings and report of the committee will make appropriate findings and recommendations in this regard.

However, it is gratifying to note that the hearings have already had some effect. On May 20, it was announced that the U.S. Department of Agriculture was appointing an official to serve as liaison with State departments of agriculture. On June 27, the Department of Commerce created an Office of Agribusiness and recently the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture announced the formation of an Agribusiness Industry Advisory Committee. These offices and bodies would be dealing with the complex of problems that are standing in the way of expanding exports of Florida business. I am informed that these units have already proven their value to States such as my own, by organizing and participating in the meetings of the Florida trade mission to Washington.

Mr. President, I consider these to be important steps in the right direction. They reflect the willingness and the determination of our Federal Government to do something about the potentials and problems of export expansion with which we are doubly concerned because of the trade deficits in March and May of this year.

I would like to commend the leadership of those who came to Washington as a part of the Florida mission, as well as those who supported this initiative within the State. I should also like to commend those in the Commerce, Agriculture, and other Departments who have been devoting their time and experience to these meetings.

It is only by such cooperative efforts by a wide spectrum of people from industry and government at every level that the United States can move forward to meet the challenges of competition in the world market.

---

[1] "Liberal Trade Policies Essential to a Solution of the Balance of Payments Problem," remarks of Dr. Howard S. Piquet before the Florida State Chamber of Commerce, Jacksonville, Fla., Apr. 4, 1968.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 206th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

AN INSPIRATION FROM THE PAST

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, these are troubled and demanding times. Americans are being asked to make sacrifices both at home and abroad and at times we may feel like too much is being asked of us or that we are the only generation of whom so much has been demanded.

The history of this country is a long record of sacrifice. My Indiana colleague, LEE H. HAMILTON, in a recent speech dramatically illustrated the hardship and sacrifice demanded of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence and gave birth to our new Nation.

This story should be an inspiration to us all.

Under unanimous consent I place the speech in the Extensions of Remarks at this point:

> "Americans are in general the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly dogs that you could conceive." Thus spoke General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, and the man who had rung out the doom of France in the New World.
>
> Statements like that, multiplied many score, together with acts of overbearance and intolerance led one of a group, Richard Henry Lee, to propose to his fellow delegates to the second Continental Congress on June 7, 1776 that, "These colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States."
>
> This motion was referred to a committee of Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Livingston and Sherman. And, the committee referred it to one man, but what a man! For lean, and lank, raw boned, red headed, Jefferson, was given the most momentous assignment in the history of young America: to draft a Declaration of Independence.
>
> In a second story sitting room at the corner of the 7th and Market Streets in Philadelphia, Jefferson sat down to write. Without referring to a book or a pamphlet, but listening attentively to every delegate, the 33-year-old Jefferson wrote in 18 days one of the grandest documents ever struck off by the mind of man, giving classic expression to the basis of free government.
>
> This document was not produced in an atmosphere of drama. The country was not aflame for independence. Nothing but an extraordinary political contest ever drew to the polls more than ⅓ of the voters.
>
> The historians say that not more than ⅓ of adult, white males ever put their stamp of approval upon the revolution by vote. The British Historian, Lickey, said, "The American revolution, like most others, was the work of an energetic minority."
>
> During the sultry days of July, as the questions of independence was discussed, no throngs pressed into the galleries, and no tumultuous mobs stormed the door.
>
> Usually not more than 20 or 30 members of the Congress were present for deliberations. The Congress was not even very highly respected. A rhyme of the day went this way: "When Jove resolved to send a curse and all the woes of life rehearse, not plague nor famine, but much worse, he cursed us with a Congress."
>
> Disputes, vacillations, delays marked the proceedings from session to session.
>
> The delegates to the Congres were a representative group.
>
> There were 56 delegates: 9 merchants, 5 physicians, 2 mechanics, 1 mason, 13 farmers, 24 lawyers, 1 clergyman, 2 surveyors.
>
> Among them there was no restless son of

an ancient family, like Julius Caesar, no zealot like Oliver Cromwell, no soldier like Napoleon Bonaparte, no demagogue like Danton.

The youngest was Rutledge, who was 27 The oldest was Franklin, who was 70. 42 were between the ages of 30 and 50, and the average was 43 years and 10 months.

2 were bachelors, 16 had been married twice, a few of the men were childless, but the others produced 325 children. So they were not only courageous but also prolific. 1 man had 18 children, another had 17 children, and one wonders how they had time to sign the Declaration of Independence, let alone debate it.

Incidentally, not a single one of the men wore a beard or mustache.

In religion, half were Episcopalian, 1 was a Roman Catholic, and the others were Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists. 52 of the 56 were Masons, and 10 of the men were sons of preachers.

These 56 were dedicated citizens.

But not to them was given the job of awakening the masses of people. That job fell to Thomas Paine. Thomas Paine, an uneducated Englishman, with a great gift of communication with the masses, kindled the spark of independence and made it burn brightly and brilliantly with his 47 page pamphlet entitled, "A Common Sense," published in January of 1776. He said, "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country. But he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered. Yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph . . . We have the power to begin the world over again. The cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind. Oh, ye that love mankind stand forth."

Thomas Paine was a failure in business, a failure in marriage and a failure in life. But the 500,000 copies of his pamphlet, "Common Sense," circulated in three months time and for which he did not receive a single penny, kindled the spark of Independence.

On July 1, the great debate began. John Dickinson of Pennsylvania spoke in anguished sincerity against independence. He said to declare for independence was like destroying your home in the winter before another shelter had been built.

He pointed out that the Declaration would not strengthen the country by one regiment or one cask of powder. It meant, he said, a war for which the colonies were unprepared—economically, politically, militarily.

A hundred arguments were brought forth against independence. All of them forceful and persuasive:

The people had not spoken clearly.

The time was not right.

The Congress had no power to declare independence.

The colonies were not united.

The British war machine would overwhelm them.

The property position, prestige and power of the delegates would be lost.

Logic and reason supported John Dickinson and the others who argued against independence. History as it unfolded did not.

By common consent of those favoring independence, John Adams made reply. This lawyer from Braintree, Mass., and the guiding light of the Revolution, hammered out the toughest case of his distinguished career. This is the lost speech, no record of it was kept. Adams said it was "an idle mispense of time."

But Jefferson said that Adams came out with a power of thought and expression that moved the delegates from their seats. And the Virginian said that they had seen nothing better in Williamsburg.

On July 1, the session adjourned on an indecisive note. Some felt the calamity of independence had been avoided. Others nursed the fading hope for independence.

After an 80 mile horseback ride in the dark of night in a downpour, Caesar Rodney from Delaware arrived and put Delaware on the side of independence.

On July 2 the Congress went on record for independence. From July 2 to July 4 the delegates edited Jefferson's draft. They shortened it by 25% and made some 80 changes. Most of them for the better. On July 4 at about 2:00 p.m. the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

The Declaration drew varied comments from the delegates. John Adams said, "There is not an idea in it but what had been hackneyed in Congress two years before. Sam Adams disagreed. He said, "A decree promulgated from heaven."

There is no question but that it gave dignity and appeal to the American cause.

The formal signing of the Declaration did not take place until August 2, 1776. There was undaunted resolution in every countenance.

As Stephen Hopkins signed he said, "My hand shakes but my heart does not." And you can see his uneven signature.

Charles Carroll said he would sign most willingly. And a voice from the delegation spoke up and said, "There are two Charles Carrolls. How will the King know which one to hang?" So Charles Carroll wrote, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, saying, "Now the King can make no mistake."

One man said, "We must hang together," and this brought forth Franklin's reply. "Yes, indeed, we must hang together or we will all hang separately."

John Hancock, whose name is synonymous with the word signature, said as he put his signature on the Declaration, "John Bull won't need his spectacles to read that name."

So with jest and solemnity oddly mixed, the Declaration was published. Mrs. John Adams said, "And all the people say Amen."

The final sentence of the Declaration reads, "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." These were prophetic words, for the 56 signers of the Declaration might well have been signing a death warrant.

Of the 56 signers, 5 were captured and suffered at the hands of the enemy; 12 had their homes looted and sacked, 4 were financially ruined. All suffered financial loss. Sometimes the loss of a fortune, sometimes the loss of income. Two lost sons in the war. One had two sons captured. Nine failed to survive the war.

Eighteen served in the Armed Forces before the end of the war at Yorktown in 1781. Two were wounded, but fortunately none were killed.

John Adams did not earn a penny from 1774 to the end of the war. He gave up sending his sons to the ends of court in London, and took the risk that his sons would turn out to be provincial and narrow. He reasoned this way, "I will not bear the reproaches of my children. I will tell them that I studied and labored to procure a free constitution, and if they do not prefer this ample fortune to ease and elegance, they are not my children and I care not what becomes of them."

He served on 90 committees and was chairman of 25 of them.

John Hancock was described by his fellow delegates as something of a peacock, because of his fondness for lace, silver, gold, dancing and cards. He was accustomed to four servants, but when the American command debated whether to bombard Boston, he wrote to Washington saying, "Burn Boston and make John Hancock a beggar if the republic requires it."

Thomas Nelson, Jr., directed the bombardment of his own mansion after the British had seized it. On his own security he raised $2 million because people would loan him the money but not the government. After the war he redeemed the loans. He lost his fortune, he was never reimbursed a penny by the government and he died a pauper's death in an unmarked grave.

Carter Braxton, owned 100 acres of farmland and he had them plastered with attachments and mortgages to raise money for the army. He died after the authorities confiscated all the property he had.

Francis Lewis had the best library in the colonies. He lost it. He saw his wife captured. She went months without a change of clothes and had no bed to sleep in. At the end of the war his health was broken and he died in two years, a bankrupt widower.

Richard Stockton was the first signer to be captured. He lost his wealth. He went without food and heat in the bitter cold. He was whipped nightly. He died an impoverished shell in 1781.

Not all of the delegates were wealthy, John Hart was the father of 13. He had his family scattered to the four winds never to reassemble. He was hunted by the British for a year and survived by living in caves. He returned to his farm, found it blackened, his wife dead and his own health ruined.

From the luxury of a thousand acres, Lewis Morris, and his family were made beggars. William Floyd and his family were exiled for seven years and had no income. Abraham Clark had two sons captured and imprisoned, but he rejected an offer to free them if he acknowledged allegiance to the King.

Robert Morris lost 150 ships that were uninsured. Arthur Middleton lost a fortune when the British mutilated and smashed his art treasures.

Thomas Hayward lost $50,000 and was placed in a British prison. He amused himself in prison by writing Yankee Doodle Lyrics to the tune of "God Save The King."

Thomas McKean moved his family five times in three months and finally settled for the duration of the war in a log cabin.

Benjamin Franklin entrusted his entire fortune to the Congress before sailing for France as a gesture of confidence.

The British always sought out the signers in their homes. All suffered red coat vandalism. They had their furniture smashed, whisky poured on the floor and their homes ramsacked.

One life insurance company has estimated that each of the signers signed away two years of their life expectancy.

Two of the men became President and three Vice Presidents. They are the most honored men in our history. But also the most unknown. A Ph. D. thought he could name nine of them. He could only name six. A bookstore owner thought she would be hard put to name any signer other than George Washington and Patrick Henry and was shocked to learn that neither had signed the Declaration.

Even though they are unknown, they are greatly honored. A complete set of their autographs cannot be bought today at any price.

From this page of history we can draw our own conclusions.

We can forget it, most people do.

We can use it as a cure for the kind of cynicism that dulls the contribution we make to our communities.

We can use it for the pleasure it affords us to know what kind of men preceded us.

We can use it for the comfort it gives us to know what some men have done to establish some few liberties in spite of all.

We can use it to give us a sense of destiny of our own country.

And if the weight of our community responsibilities become onerous and heavy, we can use it to convince ourselves that in comparison, at least, our burdens are trivial and insignificant and our yoke is light.

We can use it to re-inspire and re-invigorate ourselves again. For such a lesson as we have in the lives of these 56 signers of the

[13] See *Crisis Now* (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 58.

[14] "A Broad Look at Our Asian Policy," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 10, 1963, p. 105.

[15] *The Washington Post*, October 22, 1967.

A TRIBUTE TO MR. MARIO T. NOTO

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed emotions that I today rise to salute a fine administrator and a fine friend, Mr. Mario T. Noto. Mr. Noto has served as the Associate Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in the Department of Justice since February 1962. Recently, Mr. Noto accepted the position of executive director of the Airport Security Council, an airline industry organization established earlier this year to combat and prevent crime at New York's major airports. Mr. Noto plans to leave his post at the Immigration and Naturalization Service in mid-August of this year.

Mr. Noto's career and dedication to government are indeed distinguished. In 1942, after 2 years in the private practice of law, Mario Noto entered the INS as a U.S. naturalization examiner. Shortly after taking this job, he was called to defend his country and he did so honorably in the U.S. Air Force from September 1942, to November 1945.

In 1945, upon discharge from active military service, Mario Noto returned to the INS. In 1948, he was transferred to Washington, D.C., for the purpose of organizing an investigations section in the central office. Subsequently, he became the Deputy Assistant Commissioner for Investigations and later he was made Assistant Commissioner, a post exercising responsibility and supervision over all investigations and administrative prosecutions of the agency.

On February 28, 1962, Mario Noto was appointed Associate Commissioner, a position supervising and overseeing the operations and activities of over 4,500 employees of the Service.

As well as his INS duties, Mr. Noto has served as the appointed consultant of the Secretary of State in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs since June 19, 1963. In this capacity, he is called upon to furnish advise to the Assistant Secretary for that Bureau on matters relating to exchanges and cultural presentations and student exchanges with other countries, with particular emphasis upon Italy.

Mario Noto has further distinguished himself in the publication of several legal articles and in lecturing in various colleges and at professional organizations and associations on administrative matters relating to Government activities.

Mario Noto assumes his position with the Airport Security Council this month, August. In announcing Mr. Noto's selection as executive director, Joseph L. Schmit, council president said:

> Mr. Noto's vast experience in the investigative, legal and administrative field will enhance the airline industry's effectiveness in crime prevention, as well as aiding in our close cooperation with law enforcement agencies.

Over the years, Mario Noto has been of great help to many people. He has offered invaluable aid to me and my staff members on numberous occasions. We will sorely miss him, not only as a fine administrator, but as a fine man. I know my colleagues will want to join with me in wishing Mario Noto well on his new appointment and in offering him our most sincere thanks for all his service to us and his country over the past years.

RESULTS OF CONSTITUENT POLL

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, in late May of this year, I sent to residents of my congressional district a poll on matters of current public interest. As in past years, the results of this constituent questionnaire were most gratifying, both in the number of responses and in the interest generated among voters. I find these surveys to be of great importance in taking the pulse of public opinion in my district and in keeping abreast of significant trends in thinking.

This year, for the first time in the many years I have been polling my constituents, I used a computerized punch card for my survey. This method succeeded in increasing the volume of responses, facilitating their tabulation, and making more accurate their results. In addition, use of the punch card enabled us to take cross-samplings of the returns, on the basis of sex, residency, and political affiliation. This approach has given us new and greater insight into the nature of public opinion in my congressional district.

Also for the first time this year, my poll of the First Congressional District was augmented by identical surveys taken in district two by Senator PAUL FANNIN, of Arizona, and in district three by Congressman SAM STEIGER. A detailed tabulation of the results in all three of Arizona's congressional districts provided an accurate profile of the public's thinking on important matters in the State. Interestingly, the results in the three districts were always within 1 or 2 percentage points, indicating the consistency of opinion on these issues throughout the State's various geographical regions.

Because of the importance of spending priorities in our domestic economy, I asked my constituents to assess present levels of spending in eight different policy areas. Generally, people in my district favored decreases in spending in all eight areas. Comparatively, they favored most drastically decreases in spending for foreign aid, farm subsidies, and the "war on poverty."

On the other hand, it was generally held that expenditures for social security, medicare, and defense be maintained at present levels. A higher percentage favored an increase in defense spending than for any other purpose.

On the question of conduct of the Vietnam conflict, opinion was fairly evenly divided among the alternatives of declaring open, unlimited war, increasing the strategic bombing, and sealing off supply routes and pressing for a truce.

Regarding the pressing problem of rioting and crime in the streets, the overwhelmingly favored alternative—75.1 percent—was stricter enforcement measures by the police and the courts. The other alternative offered, that of increasing spending in the slums, was favored by only 5.9 percent of the sampling.

On the question of firearms legislation, 66 percent desired no additional legislation at the time the question was asked. However, the most agreement on any of the seven questions asked came on the question of the administration's handling of the *Pueblo* incident. Of those responding to the questionnaire, nearly 85 percent were dissatisfied with the manner in which the administration handled the *Pueblo* affair.

Mr. Speaker, every year when I poll my constituents in this way, I am gratified by the returns and by the mail generated. Although we all recognize that in our representative republic system of government, the elected officials must be guided by many factors, including not only public opinion, but also individual conscience and knowledge based on greater accessability to information, a factor of fundamental importance is the feeling of the constituency. I want to thank all those who responded to my survey for expressing their interest in this way.

For all those who want a more detailed breakdown of responses to my poll, I am including the following percentage analysis:

[Resultsi n percent]

	Foreign aid	Social security	Space program	Medicare	War on poverty	Defense	Farm subsidies	Supersonic transport
1. In the following programs, do you think Government spending should be—								
Reduced	88.6	17.0	39.8	28.3	54.4	26.3	72.5	49.8
Maintained at present level	6.9	60.1	39.7	54.0	22.5	47.3	18.3	30.0
Increased	1.4	18.9	15.8	13.3	18.3	21.5	4.5	12.2
No response	3.1	4.1	4.7	4.4	4.9	4.9	4.7	8.0

2. Which of these alternative solutions comes closest to what you feel should be done in Vietnam?

Declare open, unlimited war on North Vietnam	23.6
Bomb dikes and remove present restrictions on other North Vietnamese targets whose destruction may lead to military victory	24.6
Seal off Haiphong and other North Vietnamese supply depots to force enemy to truce on our terms	25.0
Contain the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese and work for a truce	10.5
Withdraw our troops immediately and let the Vietnamese people manage their own affairs	11.6
No response	4.5

3. Do you favor any additional firearms legislation at this time?

Yes	28.9
No	66.0
No response	5.1

4. To ease the strain of continued deficit spending, would you favor—

The administration's proposed 10-percent surcharge on income taxes	8.1
Cutbacks in Government expenditures	77.3
No response	14.6

5. Do you believe rioting and crime in the streets can be controlled best by—

Stricter enforcement measures by police and the courts	75.1
Greater spending to improve conditions in city slums	5.9
Both of these	12.7
Neither of these	2.7
No response	3.6

6. Are you—

Satisfied	9.7
Dissatisfied with the way the administration handled the *Pueblo* incident	84.6
No response	5.7

7. How do you rate this administration's overall performance in office?

Excellent	1.4
Good	11.2
Fair	37.0
Poor	48.0
No response	2.4

RAPID TRANSIT

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, we all know how critical is the traffic congestion in our major cities; how urgent is the need for solutions to the mobility crisis. The automobile alone and unaided, proceeding on concrete expressways, cannot solve our national traffic dilemma.

It was this realization that prompted me and Assemblyman Tom Carrell—now State senator—as members of the 1964 California Legislature, to seek a solution for the people of southern California, in the form of rapid transit as a component of balanced transportation.

Together we authored the Rees-Carrell bill, which overhauled and reconstituted the Metropolitan Transit Authority as the Southern California Rapid Transit District, with new and broader powers.

In 4 short years, Mr. Speaker, rapid transit in our region has gone from a dream to a possibility, to a probability—and today it is on the brink of becoming a reality.

August 1, the Governor of California signed into law the Lanterman bill, which will permit the people of Los Angeles County to vote in the forthcoming November election on a financing plan for construction of what could well be the finest transit system known to man.

It is not unusual for America to accomplish the impossible. When the need occurs, American ingenuity meets that need. We dam great rivers and create artificial lakes. We suspend giant bridges across our harbors. We probe the planets with measuring devices, and photograph the moon with a camera based in Pasadena.

In like manner, Mr. Speaker, when the need arises for mobility in our cities, when our people see themsleves caught in a web of vehicular congestion, they take constructive action. In this case, that action will take the form of an "X" on the November ballot, signifying "yes" on rapid transit.

With our population growing at an unprecedented rate, and with automobiles multiplying 3½ times faster than people, the need for new mobility is acute.

I have every confidence that the voters of Los Angeles County will unhesitatingly take the final step in a long sequence of enabling legislation designed to provide us with a speedy, modern system of mobility linking the county together on its own exclusive right-of-way—separated from all other traffic.

Mr. Speaker, I bring our experience to the attention of my colleagues today with the thought that the accumulated knowledge of the Southern California Rapid Transit District might serve as a model in developing similar systems of rapid transit in other great American cities.

PANAMA CANAL

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on the 54th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal, today would seem an appropriate time to reiterate opposition to the proposed treaty that would relinquish U.S. control over the Canal Zone.

The issue should be a prime issue of discussion in the coming election campaign, and all candidates for national office should go on record with their views on the projected treaty. The vast majority of Americans not only recognize the validity of this Nation's ownership in perpetuity; they also know that our withdrawal would open the way for Communist expansion in the Western Hemisphere. With a Red beachhead already established in Cuba, getting out of Panama would constitute our Nation's greatest military blunder in all history.

I would remind my colleagues that the Canal Zone is our most costly territorial acquisition and that the United States has through the years demonstrated generosity beyond reason in increasing annual payments and making other concessions to Panama.

Eight hundred American workers perished in the construction of the canal before the *Ancon* steamed through on August 15, 1914. Once it is given away and the Communists take over—as surely they would—it will take many times that many American servicemen to get it back—or what is left of it.

Taking this subject to the people during the campaign will not only firm up U.S. intentions to retain possession of the canal, but will also discourage ruthless Panamanian politicians and other elements operating in the Caribbean from conspiring to wrest the Canal Zone from its rightful owner.

A NEW BOOST FOR OUR FARMERS

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to give my strongest endorsement to H.R. 18209, the bill to extend and amplify the Farmers' Home Administration Act.

Ever since its establishment three decades ago the FHA has been one of the most valuable Federal agencies helping the farmer. The FHA has provided farmers with the financial wherewithal to expand their production, at times when these farmers were turned away by other sources of financing. The FHA has also provided emergency crop loans, thereby enabling many farmers financially to survive natural calamities and the resultant damage to crops. That the FHA has been an effective instrument in helping the farmers of America in solving their financial problems is shown by the fact that only 2 percent of the loans made by the administration have been unable to be repaid. This astounding rate of repayment is proof of the value of the FHA thus far for the American farmer.

The bill passed by the House will expand further the benefits the FHA will be able to offer to the agricultural sector of our country. Part of this commendable bill expands some of the present FHA services now available in limited amounts. Annual development authority is increased by 100 percent from $50 to $100 million annually. Concomitant with this increase are the removal of the $450 million annual ceiling on insured loans and the removal of the stipulation that 75 percent of loans to individuals be below $15,000. In addition, planning grants are increased from $5 to $15 million.

This bill also opens several new areas of service. Of benefit to all of rural America is the new authority of the FHA to make loans for the development of sewer and sanitary water systems in rural communities. This one expansion of services not only helps directly those people now living in such communities but also aids in attracting new people and new business into rural communities. Last, H.R. 18209 gives the FHA the authority to make loans to farmers desiring to develop recreational facilities for the public on their farms. The facilities need not relate to farming. This new provision allows many farmowners to devote their resources to building up recreational enterprises and tapping these new sources of income.

I am glad to see these needed improvements in the FHA law and hope that the Senate gives the measure quick and favorable consideration.

THE AIR TRAFFIC CRISIS

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, we are all acutely aware of the crisis facing the airlines, the airports and the air traveler today, a crisis that has almost reached disaster proportions.

While there are no quick and easy long-term solutions to the problems we now face, there are, nevertheless, immediate steps that can and should be taken today to alleviate some of the immediate difficulties. Yesterday, the House approved the conference report on the Department of Transportation appropriation for the current fiscal year, and exempted air traffic controllers from pending personnel cuts.

This commendable step, though, is far from being enough. There is much that can and should be done immediately by the airlines in the area of more equitable scheduling procedures. Last Sunday WCBS-TV, in New York City, approached this problem in a highly enlightened manner in the form of an on-the-air editorial. Because of the immediacy of this problem to all Members of the House, I am bringing the editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

THE AIR TRAFFIC CRISIS

For weeks now, airline passengers have been going around in circles at our busiest airports because of a monumental traffic jam in the skies. Delays at New York City's three airports have been running up to two hours or more in recent weeks. Los Angeles, Washington, and Chicago are experiencing the same problem. The Civil Aeronautics Board says the congestion has reached "crisis proportions" in these four cities.

There are many reasons for this: heavy vacation travel, bad scheduling, and a slowdown by air controllers, who have been going by the book on safety regulations in an effort to convince Congress to hire more controllers and to provide better equipment. This situation is largely the fault of the Federal Aviation Administration because four years ago it stopped recruiting air controllers despite an incredible increase in air traffic.

So one solution to the tieup at our airports is for the FAA to hire more controllers. But even though Congress is appropriating the funds to do so, it will take at least two to four years to train the new men. So the question is: What can we do in the meantime?

The immediate solution must come through better scheduling of flights by the airlines. There is simply too much peak-hour traffic because the airlines schedule most of their flights at the beginning and the end of the working day. Traffic tieups and delays are worst at these peak periods.

The airlines argue, of course, that they make up their schedules this way because people want to fly at these peak hours, which is true. But airlines can encourage passengers to fly at off hours by dropping ticket prices at off hours, and they can discourage travel at peak hours by raising prices at peak hours.

In our opinion, the airlines should adjust their flight schedules and prices to discourage peak-hour congestion. This would be a fair and reasonable approach. After all, those who insist on traveling at certain times of day should pay for the privilege. They place the greatest strain on our transportation facilities, so they should carry a bigger share of the financial burden.

FIRST SGT. HERMAN NAUMANN: A CASE EXAMPLE OF WHAT AMERICA IS ALL ABOUT

HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, the fighting in South Vietnam in which we are engaged has been called the most unpopular war in American history. Its cost has been borne firmly by the American people, but not without protest from far and wide. Its very existence and continuation provides a source of national discord in this most important presidential election year, when we should ideally be concentrating our attention on how best to move in an orderly fashion toward important national goals.

By any fair appraisal of history, it must be admitted that the experience of the Asiatic peoples with European overlords during the past 200 years has not been so pleasant that any of them should feel comradely toward any of the white-skinned peoples. This fact alone is responsible for much of the difficulty we experience today in trying to extricate ourselves from a distasteful involvement without committing 13 million South Vietnamese to a life sentence in the permanent prison of a police state.

But, we are making headway in Southeast Asia. Not just through force of arms, but because the people are learning that Americans represent an idea and a conviction that is unshakable—a belief in individual human beings as the possessors of rights and needs and hopes.

We have had more than our fill—a daily overration—of stories depicting bloodshed and cruelty, graft and corruption in South Vietnam. Today I request the right to place in the RECORD the story of one of my constituents, Sgt. Herman Naumann, whose work in that unhappy little land portrays what our own country is all about.

We are told that the fighting in South Vietnam will end when the people no longer support the enemy or believe his promises; when they are convinced that a free life under a government of their own choosing is attainable. This being the case, we all have cause to salute Sergeant Naumann, for his deeds could not be duplicated by a regiment of soldiers in full battle gear.

So I am offering to share with my colleagues in the House my own great pride in the generous spirit and invincible determination of Sergeant Naumann, a soldier but not a conqueror, who raises up each day another stone in a solid structure of understanding between our forces and the hard-hit people of a nation at war, as reported in the Charleston, W. Va., Daily Mail of August 9, 1968:

SUPER SCROUNGER: SOUTH CHARLESTON SOLDIER IS BIG FRIEND OF VIETNAMESE

(By Charlie Connor)

A grizzled Vietnam veteran from South Charleston who hasn't been home since 1962 has asked for a six-month extension of duty there.

"Mom, you will understand why I feel that I have to stay," First Sgt. Herman (Pappy) Naumann wrote. "There are so many flower power, hippie and no goods there in the states that every American must do everything he can to help."

"Pappy" Naumann's mother is Mrs. H. S. Naumann Sr. of 230 Bird Court, the widow of a man who was a butcher for years at a neighborhood grocery at the foot of Montrose Drive. He died in 1962.

"That was the last time Herman was home—for his father's funeral," Mrs. Naumann said. "In all, he's spent 17 of his 20 years of service in the Far East, much of that time in Vietnam."

Naumann, a South Charleston High School graduate, is in charge of the Civic Action Team of the 173rd Airborne Brigade. He formerly was with the Green Berets in the Mekong Delta area.

SHARP TRADER

As such, he has acquired a tremendous reputation as a friend of the Vietnamese people, a man well known for his "soft" heart, particularly where children are concerned. He's a sharp trader and scrounger in getting supplies for needy victims of the war.

"I've had supply sergeants hide when they saw me coming. They know that if they have what I'm looking for, I'm going to get it. It might take a few hours of scrounging or trading, but I'm going to get it. I'm famous for one thing at least. I'm the best scrounger any hell-raising airborne outfit ever had," he said. "Most people are willing to go out of their way to help Vietnamese people who are in need because of the war."

Naumann recently received a call from a Vietnamese district chief asking for enough lumber to rebuild a rural hamlet that had been shelled by enemy rockets.

"When I get a call like that, I tell them they'll get what they need even though I don't have the slightest idea where I'm going to get it for them. Somehow it always works out."

It took a few telephone calls, but "Pappy" located the lumber in an abandoned billeting area, more than 10,000 board feet. He had to dismantle the barracks to get the lumber.

"If they ever make me pay for the supplies I've distributed to the Vietnamese war victims, I'll have to make a career out of the Army to pay for it," he joked.

VIETNAMESE WIFE

Last month, Mrs. Naumann received a letter from her son, saying he might leave by Aug. 14. He intended to bring home his Vietnamese wife, Hsin Mei, to meet his mother for the first time.

"But honest, Mom, there is so much to do here that no one man can make a dent in it. . . . I have put in for a six months' extension but don't know if I have it or not," he said.

"If I know him," Mrs. Naumann said, "he has it. He's in love with those people there and can't see coming home while he can be doing something there to help them."

MRS. BRUCE BENSON OF MASSACHUSETTS HEADS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, in this election year when the news media are giving such wide coverage to national political candidates, it is significant that a newspaper with the highest journalistic standards should choose to devote almost a full page to the recent election of the national president of the League of Women Voters.

That newspaper is the Christian Science Monitor, of Boston, and again the news reporting credentials of this famed newspaper evidence the broad public interests of the famous Monitor.

Mrs. Bruce Benson, of Amherst, Mass., is the subject of this fine article and she is, indeed, an extraordinary woman.

With a degree from Smith College and a 2-year fellowship from the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study, where she studied the politics of the civil rights movement, Mrs. Benson's qualifications for leading this highly literate group of women are well recognized. She has been in the league since 1950, and in 1961 was elected president of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, numbering some 12,000 members.

Mrs. Benson has served on several gubernatorial study commissions in Massachusetts, ranging from State employee salaries to the effects of racial imbalance in the schools.

Eager to expedite the league's exhaustive studies of major issues, particularly the question of equality of opportunity. Mrs. Benson stresses the importance of using traditional procedures, and the democratic process in arriving at a final position on the issues.

A nonpartisan organization, the league takes its stands on issues rather than candidates, and the majority of its work is done in educating the electorate in the political process at all levels of government.

Its projects may vary from protecting the parks and playgrounds from developers in a particular community to supporting the work of the United Nations, where it has a regular observer.

An educated, well-informed electorate can well serve to enhance the quality of the American democratic process and I wish to congratulate the league for choosing a president and leader of the high caliber of Mrs. Benson, and in turn, I want to felicitate and heartily congratulate Mrs. Benson, herself, for attaining nationwide recognition of her able and brilliant work and for her election to this high post.

I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news article from the Christian Science Monitor about Mrs. Benson's election as national president of the League of Women Voters.

I am looking forward to continue my wholehearted cooperation with the league and want President Benson to keep me advised of her objectives and call upon me whenever I may be helpful. I wish for this able, distinguished leader of a great organization a very successful, rewarding, and pleasant administration and the achievement of the chosen goals of the league and its concerned, dedicated members.

The material follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 10, 1968]

SHE'S A VERY POLITICAL PERSON

(By Lucia Mouat)

CHICAGO.—Officially she's neither a Republican nor a Democrat. But her political influence is that much the stronger for it.

Mrs. Bruce Benson, the new 1968–70 president of the League of Women Voters (LWV) of the United States, concedes that the League's ban on party activity by group officers is sometimes very hard on her—"I'm a very political person."

But this refreshingly candid League leader, who frequently interrupts an interview with "I must stop being so frank," has only to look at her own record to assure herself there may be more action out of a party than in one. She first joined the local League in Amherst, Mass., where her husband is a professor of physics at Amherst College, in 1950. But it was not until 1957 when she was debating between the merits of going back for her Ph.D. in history or of joining a League committee on loyalty and security that the commitment grew deep. She opted for the committee work. One thing led to another—"I was having a terrifically interesting time"—and by 1961 she was elected president of the LWV of Massachusetts.

It was in that role that Lucy Benson led the state's more than 12,000 League members in a time-consuming, energetic fight to curb the powers of the Governor's Council. Most of the 13 original states which had such councils as buffers between the kind and his appointed governors had long ago eliminated them. Massachusetts, however, had not only kept its Council but given it additional powers. There the Council approved all gubernatorial appointments and contracts for roads, waterways, and the like. Admittedly, corruption in the Council, rife at the time of the League's petition drive for a referendum on the question, worked in LWV favor.

"We were on the side of the angels," comments Mrs. Benson. "But our reason for fighting was not the corruption. The Council was interfering with the role of the Governor and he could not be held accountable for his appointments since the Council had to approve them."

VAST CHANGE IN ATMOSPHERE

In the end, voters essentially stripped the Council of its statutory powers. It still approves the Governor's judicial appointments but Mrs. Benson, with understandable satisfaction, reports a "vast change in atmosphere" since the cutback action.

In her non-partisan political career, Mrs. Benson has also served on more than a half-dozen gubernatorial study commissions in Massachusetts, ranging in subject from state employee salaries to the effects of racial imbalance in the schools. One commission on which she served drafted a bill, now law, which gave the University of Massachusetts fiscal autonomy.

On the telephone stand in her hotel room here, where she was interviewed, stood a Charlie Brown card with the caption, "Lucy for First Lady." It had been given her by the outgoing national League president. Mrs. Benson is the first to admit that the three days a week in Washington that her new job entails will have its complications. She will be farther away from home for larger chunks of time than before. But, giving credit where it's due, she says her husband has not only refrained from discouraging her, but he has actively encouraged her to follow her League interests.

"There have been times when he hasn't been the least bit happy, but I've never detected any feeling on his part that I shouldn't do precisely what I want to do," she says. "He has had to put up with an awful lot." Indeed, Mrs. Benson says she wishes other League husbands would be as supportive of their wives' activities.

She says she thinks the effectiveness of League workers, which varies so from town to town and state to state, is closely related to diplomacy and assurance. "You have to be able to relate to others even though they may be opposed to your views," she explains. Many women in the League lack self-confidence. This is where husbands can do a lot. As a League member, you've got to be able to stand up to all the gaff you get."

Mrs. Benson, in her own down-to-earth brand of eloquence, stresses that she thinks the League's strength lies in its use of traditional procedures.

"If I'm occasionally impatient with the slowness of the League—it took us four years to come to some consensus on equality of opportunity—I'm heartened by the solidity of the position and the democracy in the process used to reach it.

CROSS SECTION OF WOMEN

"If it's a hot subject, you run the risk of having your consensus weakened by those who are more conservative," adds the League leader who describes herself as more liberal than most League positions, "but I think most of our positions are not badly watered down as a result. If the League were the Civil Liberties Union, our position on civil rights would probably be much stronger, but the League represents a nationwide cross section of women (some 150,000 of them) working at all levels of government in a wide variety of fields. And they're mainly interested in getting things done."

She says she was "enormously relieved" at the conclusion of the recent national League convention in Chicago to see the rift temporarily resolved between those who want the League to focus strictly on government structure and those who want a broader approach to governmental problems. The latter group came out on top.

In January the League will launch its first nationwide financial campaign in connection with its 50th anniversary. Mrs. Benson, who describes herself as "ever the optimist," says she is confident the League will reach its $11 million goal. It will be used to expand League work in citizen education, publications, and staff.

"Extraordinarily able League women spend a lot of time mimeographing and stuffing envelopes," says the LWV president. "You can get overwhelmed with that sort of thing."

Mrs. Benson is a graduate of Smith College and holder of a two-year fellowship in 1965–66 at the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study where she studied the politics of the civil rights movement. She has received a number of civic awards in Massachusetts since her involvement with the League.

She finds her organizational work fascinating and says it has crystallized her views in many fields. In fact, once in a while, when she and her husband get into too lively a discussion on national or international issues, one of the couple's two English spaniels will dash for Mr. Benson's lap as one way of toning the discussion down.

"From that point on, we have to speak in soft, dulcet tones," says Mrs. Benson.

INITIATIVE OF FLORIDIANS IN EFFORTS TO EXPAND EXPORTS

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I believe it is appropriate at this time to call attention to the constructive work being done by the citizens of my home State of Florida to increase American exports and thus improve the balance of payments.

Within the past month, a delegation of Floridians, representing industry, State, and local government, visited Washington for a series of meetings with officials of the Federal Government who are responsible for U.S. export programs.

The group included John Stiles, director, marketing division, Florida Department of Agriculture; Lucien Gilbert, director, trade and development, Tampa Port Authority; Dr. Robert Parajon, marketing division staff, Florida Department of Agriculture; Edmund David, president, Florida International Agricultural Trade Council; Thomas J. O'Connor, director, public relations, Tampa Port Authority; and Manuel Lopez, Florida cattleman.

Their meetings extended to several departments and independent agencies, as well as to congressional offices which are attempting to be of assistance in these matters.

It is my feeling that the willingness of these Floridians to make a personal visit will be rewarded by understanding and firsthand information which will be invaluable to Florida business and agriculture enterprises in developing foreign markets.

As we are all becoming increasingly aware, 93 percent of the world's people live outside the United States. Many among this rapidly growing population have not enjoyed the advantages that the efficiency of American agriculture and industry provide for our own people.

Mr. President, it should be recognized that Florida businessmen and government officials were among the first to act upon these circumstances, and the Washington visit which I have described is only the most recent example of their activities.

It was on the basis of Florida's continuing efforts that the Senate Small Business Committee under my chairmanship decided to hold one of its regional hearings on export expansion in Miami on March 15 and 18 of this year. The significance of this hearing is illustrated by some remarks made at about that time by a senior specialist of the Library of Congress on trade matters, Dr. Howard S. Piquet, before the Florida State Chamber of Commerce. Dr. Piquet said:

> The exports and imports that bring about international economic adjustment (and provide a solution to the balance-of-payments problem) should be thought of in terms of specific products, rather than statistical aggregates.[1]

Our committee met in Florida to concentrate upon just such specific possibilities for the goods, such as citrus and other fruits and vegetables, livestock, leisure-time equipment, oceanography, and space and aeronautics, and for the services, such as tourism and recreation which the natural advantages of the Southeastern region provide.

We were impressed by the things which Floridians have accomplished and the other things which they are attempting in the export field. We also found, at that time, that there are problems beyond the efforts of individual exporters, and even individual State and local government agencies, and which, accordingly, require the concerted action on the part of Federal agencies, particularly in the fields of promotion, transportation, and coordination measures. The hearings and report of the committee will make appropriate findings and recommendations in this regard.

However, it is gratifying to note that the hearings have already had some effect. On May 20, it was announced that the U.S. Department of Agriculture was appointing an official to serve as liaison with State departments of agriculture. On June 27, the Department of Commerce created an Office of Agribusiness and recently the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture announced the formation of an Agribusiness Industry Advisory Committee. These offices and bodies would be dealing with the complex of problems that are standing in the way of expanding exports of Florida business. I am informed that these units have already proven their value to States such as my own, by organizing and participating in the meetings of the Florida trade mission to Washington.

Mr. President, I consider these to be important steps in the right direction. They reflect the willingness and the determination of our Federal Government to do something about the potentials and problems of export expansion with which we are doubly concerned because of the trade deficits in March and May of this year.

I would like to commend the leadership of those who came to Washington as a part of the Florida mission, as well as those who supported this initiative within the State. I should also like to commend those in the Commerce, Agriculture, and other Departments who have been devoting their time and experience to these meetings.

It is only by such cooperative efforts by a wide spectrum of people from industry and government at every level that the United States can move forward to meet the challenges of competition in the world market.

---

[1] "Liberal Trade Policies Essential to a Solution of the Balance of Payments Problem," remarks of Dr. Howard S. Piquet before the Florida State Chamber of Commerce, Jacksonville, Fla., Apr. 4, 1968.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 206th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

AN INSPIRATION FROM THE PAST

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, these are troubled and demanding times. Americans are being asked to make sacrifices both at home and abroad and at times we may feel like too much is being asked of us or that we are the only generation of whom so much has been demanded.

The history of this country is a long record of sacrifice. My Indiana colleague, LEE H. HAMILTON, in a recent speech dramatically illustrated the hardship and sacrifice demanded of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence and gave birth to our new Nation.

This story should be an inspiration to us all.

Under unanimous consent I place the speech in the Extensions of Remarks at this point:

> "Americans are in general the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly dogs that you could conceive." Thus spoke General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, and the man who had rung out the doom of France in the New World.
>
> Statements like that, multiplied many score, together with acts of overbearance and intolerance led one of a group, Richard Henry Lee, to propose to his fellow delegates to the second Continental Congress on June 7, 1776 that, "These colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States."
>
> This motion was referred to a committee of Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Livingston and Sherman. And, the committee referred it to one man, but what a man! For lean, and lank, raw boned, red headed, Jefferson, was given the most momentous assignment in the history of young America: to draft a Declaration of Independence.
>
> In a second story sitting room at the corner of the 7th and Market Streets in Philadelphia, Jefferson sat down to write. Without referring to a book or a pamphlet, but listening attentively to every delegate, the 33-year-old Jefferson wrote in 18 days one of the grandest documents ever struck off by the mind of man, giving classic expression to the basis of free government.
>
> This document was not produced in an atmosphere of drama. The country was not aflame for independence. Nothing but an extraordinary political contest ever drew to the polls more than ⅓ of the voters.
>
> The historians say that not more than ⅓ of adult, white males ever put their stamp of approval upon the revolution by vote. The British Historian, Lickey, said, "The American revolution, like most others, was the work of an energetic minority."
>
> During the sultry days of July, as the questions of independence was discussed, no throngs pressed into the galleries, and no tumultuous mobs stormed the door.
>
> Usually not more than 20 or 30 members of the Congress were present for deliberations. The Congress was not even very highly respected. A rhyme of the day went this way: "When Jove resolved to send a curse and all the woes of life rehearse, not plague nor famine, but much worse, he cursed us with a Congress."
>
> Disputes, vacillations, delays marked the proceedings from session to session.
>
> The delegates to the Congres were a representative group.
>
> There were 56 delegates: 9 merchants, 5 physicians, 2 mechanics, 1 mason, 13 farmers, 24 lawyers, 1 clergyman, 2 surveyors.
>
> Among them there was no restless son of

an ancient family, like Julius Caesar, no zealot like Oliver Cromwell, no soldier like Napoleon Bonaparte, no demagogue like Danton.

The youngest was Rutledge, who was 27 The oldest was Franklin, who was 70. 42 were between the ages of 30 and 50, and the average was 43 years and 10 months.

2 were bachelors, 16 had been married twice, a few of the men were childless, but the others produced 325 children. So they were not only courageous but also prolific.

1 man had 18 children, another had 17 children, and one wonders how they had time to sign the Declaration of Independence, let alone debate it.

Incidentally, not a single one of the men wore a beard or mustache.

In religion, half were Episcopalian, 1 was a Roman Catholic, and the others were Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists. 52 of the 56 were Masons, and 10 of the men were sons of preachers.

These 56 were dedicated citizens.

But not to them was given the job of awakening the masses of people. That job fell to Thomas Paine. Thomas Paine, an uneducated Englishman, with a great gift of communication with the masses, kindled the spark of independence and made it burn brightly and brilliantly with his 47 page pamphlet entitled, "A Common Sense," published in January of 1776. He said, "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country. But he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered. Yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph . . . We have the power to begin the world over again. The cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind. Oh, ye that love mankind stand forth."

Thomas Paine was a failure in business, a failure in marriage and a failure in life. But the 500,000 copies of his pamphlet, "Common Sense," circulated in three months time and for which he did not receive a single penny, kindled the spark of Independence.

On July 1, the great debate began. John Dickinson of Pennsylvania spoke in anguished sincerity against independence. He said to declare for independence was like destroying your home in the winter before another shelter had been built.

He pointed out that the Declaration would not strengthen the country by one regiment or one cask of powder. It meant, he said, a war for which the colonies were unprepared—economically, politically, militarily.

A hundred arguments were brought forth against independence. All of them forceful and persuasive:

The people had not spoken clearly.

The time was not right.

The Congress had no power to declare independence.

The colonies were not united.

The British war machine would overwhelm them.

The property position, prestige and power of the delegates would be lost.

Logic and reason supported John Dickinson and the others who argued against independence. History as it unfolded did not.

By common consent of those favoring independence, John Adams made reply. This lawyer from Braintree, Mass., and the guiding light of the Revolution, hammered out the toughest case of his distinguished career. This is the lost speech, no record of it was kept. Adams said it was "an idle mispense of time."

But Jefferson said that Adams came out with a power of thought and expression that moved the delegates from their seats. And the Virginian said that they had seen nothing better in Williamsburg.

On July 1, the session adjourned on an indecisive note. Some felt the calamity of independence had been avoided. Others nursed the fading hope for independence.

After an 80 mile horseback ride in the dark of night in a downpour, Caesar Rodney from Delaware arrived and put Delaware on the side of independence.

On July 2 the Congress went on record for independence. From July 2 to July 4 the delegates edited Jefferson's draft. They shortened it by 25% and made some 80 changes. Most of them for the better. On July 4 at about 2:00 p.m. the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

The Declaration drew varied comments from the delegates. John Adams said, "There is not an idea in it but what had been hackneyed in Congress two years before. Sam Adams disagreed. He said, "A decree promulgated from heaven."

There is no question but that it gave dignity and appeal to the American cause.

The formal signing of the Declaration did not take place until August 2, 1776. There was undaunted resolution in every countenance.

As Stephen Hopkins signed he said, "My hand shakes but my heart does not." And you can see his uneven signature.

Charles Carroll said he would sign most willingly. And a voice from the delegation spoke up and said, "There are two Charles Carrolls. How will the King know which one to hang?" So Charles Carroll wrote, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, saying, "Now the King can make no mistake."

One man said, "We must hang together," and this brought forth Franklin's reply. "Yes, indeed, we must hang together or we will all hang separately."

John Hancock, whose name is synonymous with the word signature, said as he put his signature on the Declaration, "John Bull won't need his spectacles to read that name."

So with jest and solemnity oddly mixed, the Declaration was published. Mrs. John Adams said, "And all the people say Amen."

The final sentence of the Declaration reads, "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." These were prophetic words, for the 56 signers of the Declaration might well have been signing a death warrant.

Of the 56 signers, 5 were captured and suffered at the hands of the enemy; 12 had their homes looted and sacked, 4 were financially ruined. All suffered financial loss. Sometimes the loss of a fortune, sometimes the loss of income. Two lost sons in the war. One had two sons captured. Nine failed to survive the war.

Eighteen served in the Armed Forces before the end of the war at Yorktown in 1781. Two were wounded, but fortunately none were killed.

John Adams did not earn a penny from 1774 to the end of the war. He gave up sending his sons to the ends of court in London, and took the risk that his sons would turn out to be provincial and narrow. He reasoned this way, "I will not bear the reproaches of my children. I will tell them that I studied and labored to procure a free constitution, and if they do not prefer this ample fortune to ease and elegance, they are not my children and I care not what becomes of them."

He served on 90 committees and was chairman of 25 of them.

John Hancock was described by his fellow delegates as something of a peacock, because of his fondness for lace, silver, gold, dancing and cards. He was accustomed to four servants, but when the American command debated whether to bombard Boston, he wrote to Washington saying, "Burn Boston and make John Hancock a beggar if the republic requires it."

Thomas Nelson, Jr., directed the bombardment of his own mansion after the British had seized it. On his own security he raised $2 million because people would loan him the money but not the government. After the war he redeemed the loans. He lost his fortune, he was never reimbursed a penny by the government and he died a pauper's death in an unmarked grave.

Carter Braxton, owned 100 acres of farmland and he had them plastered with attachments and mortgages to raise money for the army. He died after the authorities confiscated all the property he had.

Francis Lewis had the best library in the colonies. He lost it. He saw his wife captured. She went months without a change of clothes and had no bed to sleep in. At the end of the war his health was broken and he died in two years, a bankrupt widower.

Richard Stockton was the first signer to be captured. He lost his wealth. He went without food and heat in the bitter cold. He was whipped nightly. He died an impoverished shell in 1781.

Not all of the delegates were wealthy, John Hart was the father of 13. He had his family scattered to the four winds never to reassemble. He was hunted by the British for a year and survived by living in caves. He returned to his farm, found it blackened, his wife dead and his own health ruined.

From the luxury of a thousand acres, Lewis Morris, and his family were made beggars. William Floyd and his family were exiled for seven years and had no income. Abraham Clark had two sons captured and imprisoned, but he rejected an offer to free them if he acknowledged allegiance to the King.

Robert Morris lost 150 ships that were uninsured. Arthur Middleton lost a fortune when the British mutilated and smashed his art treasures.

Thomas Hayward lost $50,000 and was placed in a British prison. He amused himself in prison by writing Yankee Doodle Lyrics to the tune of "God Save The King."

Thomas McKean moved his family five times in three months and finally settled for the duration of the war in a log cabin.

Benjamin Franklin entrusted his entire fortune to the Congress before sailing for France as a gesture of confidence.

The British always sought out the signers in their homes. All suffered red coat vandalism. They had their furniture smashed, whisky poured on the floor and their homes ramsacked.

One life insurance company has estimated that each of the signers signed away two years of their life expectancy.

Two of the men became President and three Vice Presidents. They are the most honored men in our history. But also the most unknown. A Ph. D. thought he could name nine of them. He could only name six. A bookstore owner thought she would be hard put to name any signer other than George Washington and Patrick Henry and was shocked to learn that neither had signed the Declaration.

Even though they are unknown, they are greatly honored. A complete set of their autographs cannot be bought today at any price.

From this page of history we can draw our own conclusions.

We can forget it, most people do.

We can use it as a cure for the kind of cynicism that dulls the contribution we make to our communities.

We can use it for the pleasure it affords us to know what kind of men preceded us.

We can use it for the comfort it gives us to know what some men have done to establish some few liberties in spite of all.

We can use it to give us a sense of destiny of our own country.

And if the weight of our community responsibilities become onerous and heavy, we can use it to convince ourselves that in comparison, at least, our burdens are trivial and insignificant and our yoke is light.

We can use it to re-inspire and re-invigorate ourselves again. For such a lesson as we have in the lives of these 56 signers of the

Declaration of Independence enables us to climb to the mountain top and breathe the fresh and free breezes of the mountain air.

DIAMOND JUBILEE OF BROOKFIELD, ILL.

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, a community in Illinois, a portion of which it is my honor to represent in this body, is this month celebrating its diamond jubilee.

Though the Fifth District of my State has included the southern section of Brookfield, Ill., only since redistricting effective in 1966, I take great pleasure in calling the attention of my colleagues to this All-American City.

The original inhabitants of Brookfield were the Pottawattamie Indians. The first white men to visit the area were the French explorers, Marquette, LaSalle, and Joliet.

In the 1880's, Samuel Eberly Gross, of Mount Carroll, Ill., one of Chicago's most famous land developers, plotted the territory lying on Salt Creek, between Riverside and LaGrange, creating the largest village in the United States and naming it Grossdale. The village was laid out on land acquired by Gross only a few years earlier from members of the Armour, Ogden, McCormick, and Rockefeller families of Chicago and New York.

Gross built a railroad depot and conveyed it to the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, conditional upon the perpetual use of the name Grossdale. Scores of people attending the Columbian Exposition in Chicago were attracted to the village by free railroad excursions financed by Gross, and individuals from 31 States purchased lots.

On September 29, 1893, a petition was filed for the incorporation of Grossdale as a village, and on November 7, 1893, the village was formed and organized by a vote 51 to 24. The local government was of the village form, with a president and board of trustees. The first regular election in Grossdale was held in April 1894.

Under the guidance of Gross, the original buildings were erected: three railroad stations and the first village hall which was at the corner of Prairie and Brookfield Avenues. Town meetings, church services, and school sessions were all conducted in the village hall.

The Gross Pavilion, as well as some homes, were built in 1883. The pavilion served as a real estate office, drygoods store, drugstore, and dancehall.

The village hall was burned by arsonists in 1905 to destroy election ballots. Gross Pavilion was also burned along with the store which housed the post office. In 1911, the Graham-Schultz Building was built to replace the Gross Pavilion.

After the turn of the century, the name Grossdale met with disfavor and a contest was held to find a new name for the village. The name Brookfield was suggested by Mrs. E. T. Behrens. On August 17, 1905, the name was changed to Brookfield, suggesting Salt Creek and the rolling plains it flows through.

The legend of the naming of Salt Creek dates to 1838 when John Reid, a teamster from Oneida, N.Y., was hired to haul lead from Galena to Chicago. On a return trip, Reid, his wagon loaded with salt, found the creek flooded at Lake and Addison Streets. When he tried to ford the creek he became stuck in the mud, and before the wagon could be freed the water dissolved the salt filling the creek with brine.

The early streets of Brookfield were, for the most part, undeveloped, and became rivers of mud when the weather was wet. Some, especially in the western half of the village, were said to be bottomless because of the quicksand beds. One exception was Grand Boulevard, which had a hard-surface pavement. Boardwalks were built in the center of the village. Ogden Avenue, formerly called South Plank Road, is the oldest street in town, and some of the streets, such as Blanchan, Deyo, and DuBois, were named after relatives of Gross.

The railroad stations at Congress Park, Brookfield, and Hollywood provided stops for the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad. Aside from the horse and buggy this was the first mode of transportation in the village. The Chicago & West Towns Electric Line introduced streetcars to the village in 1897. Today commuters ride on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, and two buslines—the Bluebird and Chicago & West Towns.

In spring 1894, Gross approached the Armour family in the hope that they would donate land for a public school in Grossdale. The land on the northwest corner of Lincoln and Maple Avenues was donated for the school site. Gross donated $500 toward the schoolbuilding and each lot owner in the village was asked to contribute $2. By September 1, 1894, the original Gross School was finished. Grossdale was originally a part of School District No. 10 and large portions of the tax revenue went for the upkeep of Poet's Corner School in LaGrange Park. In 1898, James Addison Tomlinson was responsible for creating the new School District No. 11 in Grossdale. The following year he was elected first president of the District No. 11 Board of Education.

Additions to Gross School were made in 1905, 1922, and 1923. In 1951 the original building and the 1905 annex were razed and replaced by modern classrooms in 1952. The 1922 addition was razed in 1958 and a new addition added. Gross School is now in School District No. 95. Riverside-Brookfield High School was completed in 1917. Today Brookfield is served by four elementary school districts Nos. 95, 96, 102, and 103, with five schools. Two high school districts serve the village—No. 204 with Lyons Township High School, and No. 208 with Riverside-Brookfield High School.

Shortly after the turn of the century, the citizens of Brookfield turned their attention to construction of a library. The Brookfield Free Public Library, which was opened in 1913, was made possible by a $10,000 grant for the building from Andrew Carnegie. The village provided the site. In 1958, a $40,000 addition was financed by Frank M. Pray, of Oak Park.

Brookfield had maintained the village trustee form of government from 1893 to 1945. In the latter part of 1944, conditions were in a serious state. Residents of the community became aware of a deterioration in municipal services. There appeared to be a growing lack of confidence in local government.

Early in 1945, a program was undertaken to acquaint the citizens of the village with the manager plan. The village adopted the council-manager form of government by local ordinance in 1947.

The Chicago Zoological Park, popularly known as the Brookfield Zoo, was conceived and created by citizens of the Chicago area with the cooperation of the forest preserve district of Cook County and the support of the general public. It was inspired by the generosity of Mrs. Edyth Rockefeller McCormick who made the first gift of land. The zoo was opened to the public on June 30, 1934.

The zoo owes a great deal of its success to the skillful management of the staff. The first director, Edward H. Bean, was a man of imagination and ability, whose expert advice and knowledge of animals were invaluable through the years. His son, Robert Bean, succeeded his father on the latter's death in September of 1945.

The latest addition to the zoo, the Children's Zoo, was opened in August 1953.

In the July 31, 1968, edition of the Enterprise, one of the fine newspapers serving Brookfield, there appeared an article treating the type of exemplary community mindedness which is more the rule than the exception in this village.

I include this article in the RECORD, as follows:

VILLAGE MADE ITS OWN PROGRESS

Brookfield has always been a village of do-it-yourself, cooperative residents.

Through the conscientious endeavors of citizen participation, the village today enjoys a recreation program, parks, a swimming pool and a new area hospital. These projects didn't just happen; they took interest and time and the people were willing to contribute both.

After the war, the village began to develop rapidly. The north side, until 1950 a veritable prairie, began to sprout with new homes. In 1949 and 1950, 222 new homes and $3,400,000 in construction added to the assessed valuation. Residents and village officials, though elated at the progress being made, were concerned about the new problems such development created.

As prairie disappeared and each area became more and more residential, thought was given to recreational facilities and park sites.

Where would the children play? What could they do? They were in a wide open suburban area with considerable space in which to wander, but children tire of just playing Cowboys and Indians. They sought places to play baseball and softball and these places were fast dwindling with the building boom.

A Youth Center disbanded and the American Legion, which sponsored all sports programs in the village, found they could no longer shoulder the $3,000 per year it cost in such sponsorship. The one park in the village was rented for $1 per year from the Chicago Fire Department on a 100-year lease, but this could be lost if absorbed as Forest Preserve.

A meeting of residents was held to discuss the problem of recreation and Mrs. Dave Markland and Mrs. Russell Farrell of the Hollywood Woman's Club were appointed to an area-by-area committee to set in motion plans for the building of a youth center.

On meeting with Village Manager Harold Eash and President Dan Kulie, the committee was urged to work for a full-time recreation program for all age groups and a recreation commission was appointed.

Funds were raised by solicitation, donations and scrap drives. A program with the value of $10,000 was conducted from 1948 to 1951. The program through its volun- of Recreation in its second year and 126 teers was accepted by the National Blue Book volunteers worked through the summer and again in the winter.

Serving on the first committee to decide what action to take were Howard Sproat, Jean and Louis Labas, Thelma Markland, Florence Farrell, and Tom Valiga. Mrs. Farrell was elected first vice-president; Mrs. Robert Jones, Secretary; and Mrs. R. Ulrich, president. Mrs. Farrell served as second president.

In 1951, voters authorized the tax-supported recreation program and annexation of two unincorporated areas was contem- dramatic example of the value of citizen participation and interest in government.

Ehlert Park was purchased for $23,000 in 1954 and upon suggestion of the Brookfield Enterprise was dedicated to the late Emil Ehlert, who died in the office of village trustee and who had worked tirelessly for the program. Kiwanis Park was purchased from the City of Chicago in 1956.

In 1955, the Kiwanis Club decided to do something concrete about its dream of a community swimming pool. Five members were selected to investigate the many possibilities open for such action and when authority and enough money was given, the club formed a separate corporation in the Swimming Pool Association.

Once again residents got behind the community and came up with enough vigor and methods of finances, to assure that the pool, once a dream, became a reality. It was dedicated June 14, 1958, with the late actress Linda Darnell on hand for the ceremony. The pool was constructed at a cost of $175,000.

Once the youth was taken care of, a group of interested citizens became concerned with the need for a second hospital in the area. MacNeal Memorial Hospital in Berwyn was bulging and Hinsdale Hospital and Sanitarium was limited in its capacity. John Staren, Brookfield philanthropist and Kiwanis Club member, spearheaded the local drive for a new LaGrange hospital.

Again, members of organizations took to the street and went door-to-door to take up pledges from private sources. Staren himself donated the first check for $100,000. As a result of the successful drive, the community today is served by the LaGrange Community Memorial Hospital, as well as MacNeal.

Citizen activity did not stop there. When Village President Phil Hollinger took office in 1961, he formed the "Parks Projects Committee." Clubs and organizations donated equipment for the two parks and the tot lots. Baseball men worked under the hot sun, led by the village president, building park benches to donate. Kiwanis members had earlier made and installed the Spaceland equipment in Kiwanis Park.

Three years ago, when District 95 sought to sell its property at 29th and Park, residents petitioned the village to purchase it for a north side park for children too small to go to Kiwanis or Ehlert.

A referendum was held and voters authorized its purchase, along with the purchase of an additional piece of land to add to Ehlert Park so that the park would be large enough to accommodate youngsters moving into that section now in the process of being developed.

The village had the north side park graded, leveled, sod installed, shrubbery planted, sidewalks set in and equipment was donated by the Moose, the Alumnae B.N.C. and the Rotary Club to make the once vacant land, where debris was dumped, an attractive part of the village.

EBENEZER AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF BALTIMORE

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is a fact that there is a growing desire in our country to learn more about Negro history and culture because approximately 18 million, or about 11 percent of our fellow American citizens are Negro.

Recently it was my pleasure to cosponsor H.R. 12962, a bill to provide for the establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture. In connection with my interest in this subject, I read a very illuminating article in the Baltimore Sun which appeared on August 2, 1968, regarding the Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal Church. That church is considered as one of the most remarkable landmarks in Baltimore and is the oldest standing Negro church in the city. Although the cornerstone in the present structure bears the date 1848, the congregation was formed around 1816. That church is indeed "Where the Spirit of Hope Prevails," and the excellent article about it merits reprinting in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article is as follows:

WHERE THE SPIRIT OF HOPE PREVAILS

(By Earl Arnett)

"Would America have been America without her Negro people?" (*W. E. B. Du Bois*).

The Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal Church is one of the remarkable landmarks in Baltimore, but relatively few people know of its existence.

Wilbur Hunter, director of the Peale Museum, calls it the "oldest standing Negro church" in the city. The Rev. S. A. Thompson, the present pastor, says that the church is at least 150 years old.

"Slaves worshipped here," he says. "It's one of the few churches that Negroes really built in Baltimore. Most of the Negro churches were bought from white folks."

IN BLACKSMITH'S SHOP

A cornerstone in the present building bears the date 1848, but Mr. Thompson says that the congregation dates to around 1816. "They met in some little blacksmith's shop," he says. When Mr. Thompson came to Baltimore in 1953, an old man in the congregation told him that the church was 137 years old. The present whereabouts of the church records is uncertain, so there is virtually no documentary history about the institution.

But one needs no documents to feel the spirit of the place. Modern form stone covers the original brick of the structure, which has gradually increased in size since it was built. As a building, however, its real distinction lies in the interior. Massive beams of Georgia pine stretch across the wooden ceiling. The pews and railings gleam with the evidence of much polish and care. One feels that here is a place both of refuge and hope.

In an age riven by the so-called "color-line," it is difficult for the majority of men in this country to understand the significance of such a church. For a long time only the walls of his church enclosed the liberty of the black man, and sometimes they were violated.

CLASSIC BOOK

W. E. B. Du Bois, a pioneer scholar and writer, wrote about the Negro church in 1903, in an essay entitled "Of the Faith of the Fathers." It is continued in his classic book, "The Souls of Black Folk."

"First, we must realize that no such institution as the Negro church could rear itself without definite historical foundations," he wrote. "These foundations we can find if we remember that the social history of the Negro did not start in America. He was brought from a definite social environment—the polygamous clan life under the headship of the chief and the potent influence of the priest.

"His religion was nature worship, with profound belief in invisible surrounding influences, good and bad, and his worship was through incantation and sacrifice. The first rude change in this life was the slave ship and the West Indian sugarfields. The plantation organization replaced the clan and tribe, and the white master replaced the chief with far greater and more despotic powers. Forced and long-continued toil became the rule of life, the old ties of blood relationship and kinship disappeared, and instead of the family, appeared a new polygamy and polyandry, which, in some cases, almost reached promiscuity.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

"It was a terrific social revolution, and yet some traces were retained of the former group life, and the chief remaining institution was the Priest or Medicine-man. He early appeared on the plantation, and found his function as the healer of the sick, the interpreter of the Unknown, the comforter of the sorrowing, the supernatural avenger of wrong, and the one who rudely but picturesquely expressed the longing, disappointment, and resentment of a stolen and oppressed people. Thus, as bard, physician, judge, and priest, within the narrow limits allowed by the slave system rose the Negro preacher, and under him the first Afro-American institution, the Negro church.

"This church was not at first by any means Christian nor definitely organized; rather it was an adaption and mingling of heathen rites among the members of each plantation, and roughly designated as Voodooism. Association with the masters, missionary effort and motives of expediency gave these rites an early veneer of Christianity, and after the lapse of many generations the Negro church became Christian.

DISCONNECTED UNITS

"Two characteristic things must be noticed in regard to this church. First, it became almost entirely Baptist and Methodist in faith; secondly, as a social institution it antedated by many decades the monogamic Negro home. From the very circumstances of its beginning, the church was confined to the plantation, and consisted primarily of a series of disconnected units; although, later on, some freedom of movement was allowed, still this geographical limitation was always important and was one cause of the spread of the decentralized and democratic Baptist faith among the slaves. At the same time, the visible rite of baptism appealed strongly to their mystic temperament. Today the Baptist

Church is still largest in membership among Negroes and has a million and a half communicants.

"Next in popularity came the churches organized in connection with the white neighboring churches, chiefly Baptist and Methodist, with a few Episcopalian and others. The Methodists still form the second greatest denomination, with nearly a million members. The faith of these two leading denominations was more suited to the slave church from the prominence they gave to religious feeling and fervor.

MAKING HEADWAY

"The Negro membership in other denominations has always been small and relatively unimportant, although the Episcopalians and Presbyterians are gaining among the more intelligent classes today, and the Catholic Church is making headway in certain sections. After Emancipation, and still earlier in the North, the Negro churches largely severed such affiliations as they had had with the white churches, either by choice or by compulsion. The Baptist churches became independent, but the Methodists were compelled early to unite for purposes of episcopal government. This gave rise to the great African Methodist Church, the greatest Negro organization in the world, to the Zion Church and the Colored Methodist, and to the black conferences and churches in this and other denominations."

The world has changed considerably in the 65 years since the preceding words were written. But they still serve as guidelines to understanding the Ebenezer church. Many powerful songs and prayers, filled with the soul strivings, sufferings and faiths of generations, have echoed from this beamed ceiling in South Baltimore.

INFORMED VERBALLY

However, the songs will probably be silent there in a few years. Mr. Thompson estimates that in four years the church will be destroyed to make way for a new expressway. He says he has received "nothing in black and white," but he has been informed verbally by the city "to be out by 1972."

The neighborhood around the church bears the mark of a place scheduled for demolition. The old, narrow row houses are deteriorating; there is no evidence of new or big money.

"There is no future for residents in this neighborhood." says Mr. Thompson. Industries and highways have already obliterated large sections of the former residential areas. Those who own their own homes do not want to spend money on repairs or renovation, since they know they will have to leave in a few years. According to Mr. Thompson, most of the residents who have already left the area received $3,000 to $4,500 for their houses, "just a good down payment on some of the homes they had to buy."

There is an old spring below the church. In the past the water had to be pumped out to keep the small basement from flooding. A few years ago it dried up. It is symbolic of the area.

SILENT CHORUS

The Ebenezer church sits quietly on Montgomery street. The thousands who have worshipped there form a silent chorus behind the poetic, deeply felt words of Mr. Du Bois who wrote:

"Actively we have woven ourselves with the very warp and woof of this nation—we fought their battles, shared their sorrow, mingled our blood with theirs, and generation after generation have pleaded with a headstrong, careless people to despise not Justice, Mercy and Truth, lest the nation be smitten with a curse. Our song, our toil, our cheer, and warning have been given to this nation in blood-brotherhood. Are not these gifts worth the giving? Is not this work and striving? Would America have been America without her Negro people?"

WINDS OF CHANGE PLAY IN AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in recent years the number of programs in African studies in American colleges and universities has increased greatly due to the financial support of the Federal Government, which is plowing in something like $3 million a year. H.R. 17404, which I hope will receive favorable action before the 90th Congress passes into history, would create a commission to consider the pros and cons of the establishment of an African Institute in cultural and technical interchange between the scholars of Africa and the scholars of the United States.

What is not generally understood in this country, and in a measure is overlooked by American scholars and the programs of African studies in our colleges and universities, is that existing universities in Africa are in the colonial mold and that there is a growing tide of sentiment for universities in Africa strictly in an African mold and geared to meet the needs, the aspirations, and the plans of the new African independent nations.

As black Americans are vigorously demanding, and getting, courses in Negro history in American schools, so are the Africans in the new independent nations of Africa demanding that their universities should be African originals instead of colonial copies.

Mr. Speaker, the following article from the July 26, 1968, issue of Time is recommended to the careful and thoughtful reading of all Americans who wish to understand how the winds of change are playing in the universities of Africa:

IVORY TOWERS IN AFRICA

Students in flowing black gowns stride about the shaded courtyards. White-thatched dons suck on their briars during tutorials on Greek philosophy. Oxford or Cambridge? In fact, the scene is black Africa, where not far from the manicured quadrangles natives still live in baked mud huts. Relics from the years of empire. Africa's 26 colonial-rooted universities (total enrollment: 45,000) have survived independence unprepared and incapable of dealing with the problems of the continent, where the illiteracy rate is 70% and still rising.

Cricket and Rugby. Europeans founded black African colleges on the premise that natives ought to be first Westernized, then educated. Despite the fact that political leaders fulminate against the West and neocolonialism, the universities' goal remains the same. In Uganda (pop. 6,845,000), where per capita income is $8 a year, students at Makerere University College attend Oxford-style "Old Boy" dances, eat in formal dining halls, and join in such rousing un-African activities as squash, cricket and rugby. Nowhere on the campus is there evidence of Africa's rich musical, artistic and folk heritage.

Curriculums are equally misdirected. Instead of offering nation-building courses in economics and agriculture, Makerere emphasizes such traditional Western disciplines as ethical philosophy and Greek. Although Uganda has a dozen tribal dialects, and the predominant tongue is Luganda, the only modern language taught at Makerere is English. "This place is a country club," says one disillusioned Makerere professor. "It is an anomaly in modern, independent Africa."

In a country with a crying need for technicians, Makerere is turning out more philosophers than engineers. Educators of all kinds are in short supply, but nearly half of the Makerere graduates who have been trained to be teachers refuse to enter the classroom, instead try to join the already ample civil service. In a country where only five in more than 1,000 youths attend college, quantity would seem to be as important as quality, but Makerere maintains a luxurious 8-to-1 student-faculty ratio. Uganda's President Milton Obote, a Makerere graduate, has accused the university of being "uninvolved with the needs of our society."

The situation is worse in French-speaking West Africa. In all nine countries (pop. 26 million), there are only two universities, Senegal's University of Dakar, and the Ivory Coast's University of Abidjan, together enrolling fewer than 3,000 students. Though Senegal's economy is almost completely grounded on farming, there is no school of agriculture at the brightly flowered, Dakar campus. In the Congo (Léopoldville), the University of Lovanium proudly displays one of Africa's few nuclear reactors. As a result, it has dozens of black students solving mysteries of nuclear physics, only a handful learning engineering and medicine. Lovanium's classics-oriented curriculum is based on that of its parent school, Louvain of Belgium; thus first-year students, plug away at medieval French, studying *Le Chanson de Roland*.

Special Problems. At least one African university is actively trying to escape from its colonial heritage: Tanzania's modernistic University College at Dar es Salaam, which along with Uganda's Makerere and Kenya's Nairobi forms the tripartite University of East Africa. Scrapping history courses that placed Britain at the hub of the universe. Dar now requires entering students to take a course titled "Introduction to African Development Problems." Courses in classical political thought have given way to management administration. Microbiology aims at some special problems of Africa—food spoilage and water pollution.

The situation at the universities is particularly odd, since Africa's political leaders keep denouncing neocolonialism and demanding Africanization. Inertia is a major barrier to improvements. Most administrators and teachers are products of colonial-era training, and share with many of their students a conviction that any Africanization is a step into the past. Among the few national leaders who pushed for reform was Ghana's ex-President Kwame Nkrumah, who established an Institute of African Studies at the university after severing all ties with the University of London. In French-speaking black Africa, where early missionaries had rigidly emphasized European thought, nationalist leaders have been unable to recruit enough Africa-minded teachers or enact reform for fear of endangering the flow of supporting funds from France, often specifically earmarked for Western-designed programs.

Nonetheless, Africans outside the system see change as inevitable. One proposal is that countries should temporarily forsake universities, instead concentrate on building trade or vocational schools. Such an approach, while damaging to national pride, might well be the only way of producing the expertise necessary to develop an agrarian society. "We must rethink the value of education," concedes one Tanzanian official. "We may eventually find that mass liberal education is detrimental to the goals of our country."

TIME FOR A CHANGE IN EAST-WEST TRADE POLICIES

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is safe to say that most American citizens cannot understand how this Nation can justify the policy of our trading with the Soviet Union while that country supplies Ho Chi Minh with the wherewithal to kill thousands of American servicemen in Vietnam. It is encouraging at least to consider that there will be a chance available in November to change this insane and dangerous policy. The Washington Star of August 5 carried a partial text of the 1968 Republican Party platform which reads in part:

> Nations hostile to this country will receive no assistance from the United States. We will not provide aid of any kind to countries which aid and abet the war efforts of North Vietnam.
>
> Only when Communist nations prove by actual deeds that they genuinely seek world peace and will live in harmony with the rest of the world, will we support expansion of East-West trade. We will strictly administer the Export Control Act, taking special care to deny export licenses for strategic goods.

Nor is this a politically partisan issue. During this Congress over 120 Members of the House of Representatives cosponsored legislation to establish a House committee to review our trade policies with Communist countries, with special reference to North Vietnam. Although the cosponsors were almost equally divided between Democrats and Republicans, this legislation unfortunately never got out of committee. If there is a change in the complexion of the House in January, this proposal might well be one of the first orders of business.

An excellent article on this issue appeared in the August issue of Religion and Society which demonstrates how insulting is our present policy to the principles, intelligence, and commonsense of the American people. Written by Allan C. Brownfeld, this treatment causes one to wonder just how far supposedly intelligent leaders can stray from reality in the field of foreign affairs.

Mr. Brownfeld is no newcomer to the field of journalism. The recipient of a Wall Street Journal Foundation Award, he has had articles published in the Commonweal, the North American Review, the Texas Quarterly, and Modern Age. As a former staff director of the House Republican task force on East-West trade, he has been exposed to the many ramifications of this complex issue. In addition, he has served as a staff member of the Senate Internal Security Committee, and is presently at work on a soon-to-be-published book.

I include the article, "The Continuing Paradox of East-West Trade in Time of War," by Allan C. Brownfeld, in the RECORD at this point:

THE CONTINUING PARADOX OF EAST-WEST TRADE IN TIME OF WAR

(By Allan C. Brownfeld) *

While Americans fight and die in Vietnam, there is mounting evidence that American businessmen are trading strategic goods to the very Communist countries which, in turn, are supplying the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong with the means of war.

There is additional evidence that this course of action is being stimulated and encouraged by Washington officials who believe that such a policy, which they refer to as "bridge building," will somehow improve East-West relations.

But if we are now supplying strategic goods to Communist countries, we are acting contrary to the position advocated by the Johnson Administration.

A Presidential Commission established to study the question of East-West trade stated clearly that "We rule out from these considerations any kind of strategic trade that could significantly enhance Soviet military capabilities and weaken our own position of comparative military strength." This report was sent to the President by the Special Committee on U.S. Trade Relations with Eastern European Countries and the Soviet Union on April 29, 1965.

In 1966, the Commerce Department relaxed export restrictions on nearly 400 "non-strategic" commodities for shipment to Russia and Eastern Europe. Among these were textile products, some metal manufactures and machinery, foodstuffs, chemical materials and products, and a variety of manufactured articles. These products can now be exported to Eastern Europe without prior specific approval of the Commerce Department. They move under what the department terms a general license.

Nothing in the Administration's stated policy would lead the observer to believe that strategic goods were flowing from the United States to the Communist world. But the facts are far different. Also different is the interpretation by most experts of what is, in fact, a "strategic" good.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a radio chat to the American people in May of 1940, said that "The American people will not relish the idea of any American citizen growing rich and fat in an emergency of blood and slaughter and human suffering."

This was more than a year before Pearl Harbor, and at that time no Americans were fighting either in the European or Asian wars. Today, in the face of Vietnam, our attitude is far different. And, as a result of the 1966 order opening up shipments to Russia, scrap iron and scrap metal are back on the "approved" list and junk peddlers are sending it over to Russia to help build the Russian war machine, just as was done with Japan in the late 1930's and in 1940.

Even a casual glance shows that much of what is being shipped to Communist countries has a direct relationship to their ability to make war.

For example, on March 10, 1966, and again on August 16, 1966, the Commerce Department approved shipments of diethylene glycol worth $482,250. This chemical is used in the manufacture of explosives and liquid rocket propellants. It can also be used as a plasticizer in solid rocket propellants of the type suitable for air to air missiles such as are used in Vietnam.

Other chemicals shipped in great quantity to the Soviets are used for the production of oxalic acid which is a purifying agent for glycerol. This is also an important ingredient in the manufacture of explosives.

Last year we shipped more than $2,387,000 worth of chemical wood pulp to the Soviet Union. Although this may sound harmless, it is important to remember that it can be used for nitrocellulose, an important ingredient for solid rocket fuels.

On May 9, 1967, our government approved a shipment of polyvinyl butyral valued at $268,975. This product is primarily used as an interlayer in bullet resistant glass.

According to a top missile expert, C. Stark Droper, "The key area for advance in control and guidance is still the region in which the basic limitations exist—that is, the high accuracy sensing of geometrical information." On February 1, 1967, the Commerce Department authorized the shipment of just such an instrument, a Worden Gravimeter. This license approval has been temporarily withdrawn for further consideration. But, if approved, the accuracy of Soviet missiles will be improved significantly.

The most recent example of our continued trade in strategic goods relates to the shipment of copper scrap to Yugoslavia at the very moment when the copper strike in our own country has rapidly diminished our necessary stockpiles.

The prolonged strike in the copper industry and the growing demand for copper for military uses reduced our supply of copper to a dangerously low level. While our national objective is a copper stockpile of 775,000 tons on hand, our present supply is estimated at 287,000 tons.

In fact, our supplies are so low that as a result of the International Longshoreman's Association boycotting of copper imports, one of the nation's largest defense contractors, Okonite Co., was forced to close two of its five plants.

Under what policy, is it proper to ask, is the Department of Commerce approving the sale of scrap copper to Communist countries at a time when our own defense industry is running short?

Prior to removing a number of items from its category of "strategic goods" the Department of Commerce issued a press release declaring that the items removed ". . . fall into the category of peaceful goods, which may be freely exported without risk to the United States national interests." It also asserted that it had ". . . consulted with other interested departments, including Defense, State, Agriculture, Interior and the Intelligence Community, in taking this step."

The evidence points to the fact that the Administration did not consult the intelligence community at all. The Director of Naval Intelligence states: "The Office of Naval Intelligence, definitely a member of the 'Intelligence community,' had no part in the consultation which preceded the revision of the Commodity Control List."

The Air Force stated that "No intelligence office of the U.S. Air Force participated in the revision of the Commodity Control Lists."

The Army stated that the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence "was not consulted regarding the commodities listed."

The Department of Defense said that the Defense Intelligence Agency "was not requested to supply intelligence on the four hundred commodities that are covered in the Current Export Control Bulletin Number 941."

---

* Allan C. Brownfeld received his A.B. from the College of William and Mary, his M.A. from the University of Maryland, and his LL.B from the Marshall-Wythe School of Law of the College of William and Mary. The recipient of a Wall Street Journal Foundation Award, his articles have appeared in *The Commonweal, The North American Review, The Texas Quarterly,* and *Modern Age.* Formerly a member of staff of the Senate Internal Security Committee, he is now enrolled in the Ph.D program in Government and Politics at the University of Maryland and is preparing a book. He has also served as staff director of the House Republican Task Force of East-West Trade.

Commenting upon this situation, Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb stated that "The failure to consult the military intelligence agencies is obviously a very serious matter. Before any item with military significance can be determined as non-strategic, certainly some intelligence office of the military establishment should be consulted to learn if the item is not superior to ones currently in use by or available to the Communists."

Reviewing the manner in which items have been declared "non-strategic," Rep. Delbert Latta testified before the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He asked: "What is a non-strategic good? If the Administration really intends to increase trade only in 'non-strategic' goods, we feel it essential that it tell us exactly how such a determination was made, and is to be made in the future. Under what definition is an item considered 'non-strategic?'"

Setting forth the State Department's view of East-West trade, Eugene M. Braderman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Commercial Affairs and Business Activities, said that "one of the most important premises is the fact that these countries differ very considerably among themselves, both in their internal systems and in their relations with one another. . . ." He noted ". . . in consequence, U.S. policy expresses itself in different ways toward different Communist countries."

Mr. Braderman conceded that "in some instances the behavior of a Communist country will warrant our denying trade with it completely . . . in other instances it best serves the U.S interest to encourage trade with a Communist country."

Since the Soviet Union represents a case of that kind of Communist country with which the Department seeks to increase trade, it is interesting to see what the Soviet Union's relationship is with a Communist country with which the Department of State does not wish to trade, namely North Vietnam.

There is no doubt that we will not trade with a government which is shooting Americans. This would be aiding the enemy. It would be immoral as well as impractical. But—do we advocate increased trade with a country which is in turn supplying the enemy with the means of war?

In an extensive study of Soviet aid to North Vietnam, Professor Albert Parry, chairman of Russian Studies at Colgate University, points out that ". . . it is estimated that during the ten years through 1964 Soviet aid to North Vietnam totaled some $350 million. It faltered somewhat in 1963 and 1964 when Khrushchev apparently was resigned to seeing the country in China's orbit. . . . But Khrushchev's successors have revived the Soviet interest in Ho Chi Minh. . . . Moscow's exports to North Vietnam rose from 47.6 million in 1964 to more than 74.8 million in 1965 alone."

In March, 1966, the Soviet Union replied to Chinese charges that Soviet help to Hanoi was insufficient and represented a lack of interest in the conflict. The Moscow leaders sent a confidential letter to Communist leaders stressing that in 1965 North Vietnam received from the Soviet Union arms—and military equipment worth half a billion rubles. The list included rocket installations and conventional anti-aircraft guns, MIGS and other planes, and tanks, coastal artillery, and small warships.

Since the fall of 1965, the number of conventional anti-aircraft guns in North Vietnam has risen from 1,500 to at least 5,000. One unofficial estimate puts the figure at 7,000. In the fall of 1965 there were only four North Vietnamese batteries firing SAMS. By early October, 1966, this number had risen to 25 or 30, each with six inch launchers.

On September 23, 1967, the Soviet Union concluded a series of agreements with North Vietnam, providing for continuing deliveries of military and economic aid to Hanoi in 1968. A joint communique issued at the conclusion of about a month of negotiations specified that the military material would include ground to air missiles, planes, and artillery.

What kinds of products are the Communists most interested in purchasing from the West? Are they products meant to enhance their consumer economy, or are they products meant to strengthen their war machine? Is this not, in reality, the real test of whether or not a product is "strategic"?

George Champion, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, discussed this question in an address at Middlebury College. He noted that ". . . the Communists seem more interested in buying Western know-how than Western goods. They want to import manufacturing units with special emphasis on chemical complexes, automobile plants, and the like. To me, this is a strange concept of trade."

In 1955, Nikita Khrushchev made it clear that the essence of Soviet trade was not the purchase of "non-strategic" goods. He said: "We value trade least for economic reasons and most for political reasons."

To those who argue that the Soviet Union is not engaged in war with us and that, therefore, we should trade with them in all areas, former Connecticut Governor and Ambassador to Spain John Davis Lodge has replied: "It may be contended that Russian military forces are not engaged in combat against us as was the German military machine. Yet that is hardly a reason why we should give them the added advantage of receiving aid in the form of trade from the United States while they are supplying eighty per cent of the arms to Hanoi."

Many members of the Congress have reacted sharply to a policy which asks Americans to die in the defense of freedom, on the one hand, and supplies the enemies of freedom with the means of war, on the other.

Senator Karl Mundt, commenting upon this situation, said that "It seems inconceivable that this nation accepts a policy of trade with adversaries who provide needed aid to prolong a war in which more than twelve thousand Americans already have lost their lives. But we continue to do so in face of the fact that trade has not reduced tensions, nor did it in the two world wars in which England, Germany, and France were each other's best customers, right up to when the shooting started."

Senator Mundt has introduced legislation to place an embargo on exports of American goods to Communist countries aiding North Vietnam's war effort. In many respects, it seems a more appropriate view or reality than the policy pursued by the Department of State.

Perhaps the most outspoken criticism of opponents of East-West Trade came from Ambassador Averell Harriman who, on the November 23, 1966, NBC–TV program "The Today Show," labeled the opponents of trade as "bigoted, pigheated people, who don't know what's going on in the world, and who have prevented us from helping our balance of payments."

Our trade with Communist countries may indeed have assisted our balance of payments. But at the same time we have given totalitarian governments their means of support and subsistence and have asked nothing in return. We have been unconcerned about the people. We have tried to make friends only with their rulers. In the end, the rulers know they have used us, and the people know we cannot be depended upon.

And what of the young Americans who die in Vietnam at the mercy of weapons which may have been paid for with American dollars! It is reminiscent of a dramatic scene in Arthur Miller's play, *All My Sons*. Lamenting the fact that he had provided inadequate military equipment in a war which had served to kill a number of men, a manufacturer seemed troubled over the fact that his own son now hated him, that to his son they were "All my sons."

In a sense, we have abandoned our sons on the altar of a policy that does not work. And what will be our rewards?

TWO STATE MARINES REPORTED DEAD IN VIETNAM DUTY

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Gunnery Sgt. Henry M. Bruce and Cpl. Franklin I. Burris, Jr., two fine young men from Maryland, died recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend their courage and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

TWO STATE MARINES REPORTED DEAD IN VIETNAM DUTY

Two Maryland service men, one a career marine born in Baltimore, have died in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

They are Gunnery Sgt. Henry M. Bruce, husband of Mr. Loretta B. Bruce, of 1215 Congress street, Beaufort, S.C. and Cpl. Franklin I. Burris, Jr., husband of Mrs. Donna F. Burris, of 3526 Silver Park drive, Suitland, Md.

Sergeant Bruce, who was 30, died recently after suffering heat stroke and a heart attack while on patrol in Quang Tri province.

When his family was informed of his death Saturday, they were not told on what day he died.

ENLISTED IN 1954

Born in Baltimore Sergeant Bruce attended Douglass High School.

After enlisting in the Marines in 1954, Sergeant Bruce took basic training at Parris Island, S.C.

He served at Camp LeJeune, N.C., and Quantico Marine Base, Quantico, Va., before returning to Parris Island, where he served as a drill instructor.

WAS IN QUANG TRI

After arriving in Vietnam July 17, Sergeant Bruce was stationed in Quang Tri province.

In addition to his wife, Sergeant Bruce is survived by two daughters, Laurie Bruce and Leslie Bruce, and a son, Leonard Bruce, all of whom live at home.

Also surviving are his mother, Mrs. India Bruce, of 3002 Chelsea terrace, Baltimore; three brothers, Army Pfc. William Bruce, stationed in Saigon, and Edward Bruce and Walter Bruce, both of Baltimore; two sisters, Miss Brenda Bruce and Mrs. Ella Talley, both of Baltimore, and his maternal grandfather, Rudolph Alexander, of Warrington, N.C.

Corporal Burris died Friday from gunshot wounds of the body received during an operation in Quangnam province. He was 21 years old.

BORN IN IOWA

Born in Mason City, Iowa, Corporal Burris lived in Largo, Fla. from the time he was 10 years old.

He was a graduate of Dixie Hollands High School in Largo.

He enlisted in the Marine Reserves in March, 1965, and began his active duty in June.

After basic training at Parris Island, S.C., Corporal Burris was assigned to a Marine barracks in Washington.

After his arrival in Vietnam at the end of February, he served at Da Nang and Phu Bai before being assigned to Quang Nam province.

His wife said yesterday: "As a marine he naturally would fight to the end. In Vietnam he was always in the field.

"But when I saw him in Hawaii at the end of June, he told me he was thoroughly disgusted with the way the war was being run," Mrs. Burris said adding that her husband thought that "we had no business being there in Vietnam in a war."

Mrs. Burris said that her husband never saw his daughter, Elissa Marie, who is only 3 months old.

Beside his wife and daughter, survivors include his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Franklin I. Burris; two brothers, John Burris and Edward Burris; a sister, Miss Connie Ann Burris, and his maternal grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Quenrud, all of Largo, Florida.

THE LATE JOHN T. KMETZ

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of John T. Kmetz, America has lost an outstanding citizen, labor a highly effective leader, and those close to him a true and valued friend. Most of all he was a devoted husband and father whose family has the sincere sympathy of a boundless circle of those who knew him personally or by reputation.

For many years an official of the United Mine Workers of America, Mr. Kmetz was appointed Assistant Secretary of Labor by President Truman in 1947. He was also president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and since 1965 was director of organization for the UMWA with offices in Washington.

Mr. Kmetz was a member of the union for 66 years, having joined at the age of 7 when he and his father went to work in a coal mine in Pennsylvania. He was born in Czechoslovakia, then a part of Austria-Hungary.

His career was meteoric and inspiring. He was appointed to the union's district board in 1923 and to the international executive board in 1936, representing district one in Pennsylvania's anthracite region. He assisted former UMWA president, John L. Lewis, in founding the Congress of Industrial Organizations and for 30 years traveled throughout the country to mediate labor disputes.

Many Members of Congress knew and admired Mr. Kmetz. Those who did not have the opportunity of meeting him nevertheless recognized him as a man of the highest character and integrity because of their acquaintance with his son, James F. Kmetz, whose duties as legislative representative of the UMWA have kept him in close contact with the House for a number of years.

We all mourn the loss of this great and good man whose career helped bring stature to the workingman and stability to management-labor relations, who served with distinction in high Federal office, and who was an exemplary father and husband.

FOR IRISH IMMIGRATION

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, approximately 40 members of this House have introduced legislation designed to remove unanticipated inequities resulting from the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. I am one of the Members who sponsored such legislation and our simple objective is to erase these inequities by establishing a floor under the immigration levels from every nation.

The bills we have sponsored provide for a floor to be established for every nation based upon its average level of immigration to the United States during the decade prior to the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.

The basic problem of the act of 1965 with respect to Irish immigration results from an apparent miscalculation of the State Department in its projections of future immigration. The State Department had estimated that 5,200 places would be available to immigrants from Ireland. The facts conclusively demonstrate that State Department projections were wide of the mark. In contrast to the 5,200 places projected by the State Department, Irish immigration dropped to only 1,800 in 1966 and in 1967 with estimates that Irish preference immigration next year will be only about 600.

The present immigration act establishes a system of preferences based on family relationships and skills. However, the family relationship preferences operate adversely to the historical pattern of Irish immigration. Thus, out of 1,904 visas issued in Ireland between December 1, 1965, and March 31, 1967, only 499 were of the family preference kind and 435 of these were for brothers and sisters of American citizens.

This results from the fact that the pattern of Irish immigration has been for a few brothers and sisters to emigrate at a time while others remained behind. Typically the Irish emigrant has been young and unmarried and consequently brought with him no spouse or children. As a result of this pattern, Ireland is unable to compete equally with other nationalities for family preferences.

The vast contributions of the Irish immigrant to our economy and to our culture are too well established to warrant elaboration here. From 1963 to 1967, approximately 70,000 people, average 17,400 annually, have emigrated from Ireland to other parts of the world. In 1965, 5,558 Irish immigrants came to the United States in the last year of open Irish immigration to the United States. In 1966, only 1,741 Irish immigrants landed here although 4,275 made application to do so.

Those of us in this House who are joined in equalizing the application of the law of 1965 propose simply that a floor be established equal to 75 percent of a country's average annual immigration during the 10-year period from 1955 to 1965, with a maximum floor limit of 10,000 for any country. In relation to Ireland, such a formula would establish the annual limit at 5,390.

The present immigration law is manifestly unfair to the Irish whose sons and daughters have contributed so much and so valiantly to the strength and wealth of our Nation. It will take but very little to substitute for the existing inequity a fair, just, and equitable immigration policy toward all nationalities. I urge that we take necessary action immediately to remove those inequities.

MINSHALL AGAIN BRINGS TRAVELING OFFICE TO DISTRICT

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, for the past 14 years it has been my privilege and honor to represent the citizens of the 23d Congressional District of Ohio in the U.S. House of Representatives.

As the Representative of this outstanding district, I make every effort not only to keep well informed on the opinions of the people through personal contact, but also attempt to be of the greatest possible service to those who have problems involving Federal departments and agencies. To help accomplish this, I maintain a year-round congressional office at 2951 New Federal Office Building in downtown Cleveland.

Throughout my seven terms in Congress I have made every effort to keep the people informed about the national scene. My newsletter, the Washington Report, periodically summarizes major legislative activities of the Congress and other issues confronting the Nation.

During my service in Washington, I have considered it of primary importance to be present at the Capitol whenever the Congress is in session in order to fulfill my heavy committee workload and to vote on legislation. Because of intensive daily schedules on Capitol Hill, and with Congress in almost continuous session, I have not been able to return to Cleveland as frequently as I would like.

My Appropriations Committee assignments are particularly time consuming. In addition to membership on the Department of Defense Appropriations Subcommittee and the Housing and Independent Offices (NASA) Appropriations Subcommittee, I am the ranking minority member on the Department of Transportation Appropriations Subcommittee. These three important assignments require many hours of work in locked-door sessions on Capitol Hill and on-the-spot committee investigations.

Because so much time must be spent in Washington, I initiated a practice 14 years ago of taking a traveling office to the various communities of the 23d District. This method of meeting with the public is tremendously popular and gives me an excellent opportunity to discuss and learn at first hand the opinions and individual needs of the people.

This year I plan to take the traveling office to the 23d District during the weeks of October 7 and October 14 to make myself available to meet personally with every resident who can conveniently arrange to visit me.

I wish to emphasize that these are not group meetings but office conferences for individuals which will enable each person to discuss his or her views and problems privately with me.

No appointments are necessary and I not only welcome but urge citizens to meet with me on the date and at the scheduled location most convenient to them.

Every resident of the 23d District is cordially invited to sit down and talk over issues of national concern, to discuss any problems they may have involving the Federal Government, or just to get better acquainted. The knowledge obtained from such meetings will enable me to better represent the people of the 23d District in Congress.

I am most grateful for the splendid cooperation of the many officials who are making meeting places available as an aid in rendering this public service.

Following is the traveling office schedule:

TRAVELING OFFICE SCHEDULE

[Time indicated is p.m.]

Fairview Park, Riveredge, Fairview Park City Hall, 20777 Lorain Road, Monday, Oct. 7, 2 to 4:30.

Rocky River, Rocky City Hall, 21012 Hilliard Blvd., Monday, Oct. 7, 6:30 to 9.

Berea, Middleburg Heights, Berea City Hall, 11 Tract Street, Tuesday, Oct. 8, 2 to 4.30.

North Olmsted, Olmsted Township, Olmsted Falls, Westview, North Olmsted City Hall, 5206 Dover Center Road, Tuesday, Oct. 8, 6:30 to 9.

Westlake, Westlake City Hall, Dover Center Road and Hilliard Blvd., Wednesday, Oct. 9, 2 to 4:30.

Bay Village, Bay Village City Hall, 350 Dover Center Road, Wednesday, Oct. 9, 6:30 to 9.

Parma Heights, Parma Heights City Hall, 6281 Pearl Road, Thursday, Oct. 10, 2 to 4:30.

Parma, Parma Memorial Hall, 6617 Ridge Road, Thursday, October 10, 6:30 to 9.

Lakewood, Lakewood City Hall, 12650 Detroit Avenue, Friday, Oct. 11, 2 to 4:30.

Ward 4, Cleveland; Ward 1, precincts R and T, Cleveland; Ward 33 precincts GG, HH, II, Cleveland, Newton D. Baker School, 3690 West 159th Street, Cleveland, Friday, Oct. 11, 7 to 9.

Independence, Seven Hills, Valley View, Independence City Hall, 6675 Brecksville Road, Wednesday, Oct. 16, 2 to 4:30.

Maple Heights, Maple Heights City Hall, 5353 Lee Road, Wednesday, Oct. 16, 6:30 to 9.

Bedford, Bedford Heights, Oakwood, Walton Hills, Bedford City Hall, 65 Columbus Street, Thursday, Oct. 17, 2 to 4:30.

Warrensville Heights, Warrensville Township, North Randall, Warrensville Heights City Hall, 4301 Warrensville Center Road, Thursday, Oct. 17, 6:30 to 9.

Solon, Glenwillow, Solon City Hall, 6315 SOM Center Road, Friday, Oct. 18, 2 to 4:30

Chagrin Falls, Chagrin Falls Township, Bentleyville, Chagrin Falls Village Hall, 21 West Washington Street, Friday, Oct. 18, 6:30 to 9.

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and to include extraneous material, I include my newsletter to my constituents of July 25, 1968, as follows:

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON BY CONGRESSMAN GEORGE HANSEN, OF IDAHO

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 25.—The United States Supreme Court has been the subject of great controversy since Earl Warren was appointed Chief Justice. Social-political decisions of the so-called "Warren Court" have been severely criticized for deviating from constitutional principles. Associate Justice Hugo L. Black said recently:

"The courts are given power to interpret the Constitution and laws, which means to explain and expound, not to alter, amend or remake. Judges take an oath to support the Constitution as it is, not as they think it should be. I cannot subscribe to the doctrine that, consistent with that oath, a judge can arrogate to himself a power to 'adapt the Constitution to new times.'

"But adherence to the Constitution as written does not mean we are controlled by the dead. It means we are controlled by the Constitution, truly a living document. For it contains within itself a lasting recognition that it should be changed to meet new demands, new conditions, new times. It provides the means to achieve these changes through the amendment process in Article V."

And the Constitution—the "truly living document"—has been changed 25 times by the amendment process. Indeed, to show how it can be changed "to meet new demands, new conditions, new times", one amendment, the 18th, was later repealed by the 21st.

Probably more than any other Justice, Warren has been guilty of violating Justice Black's precept: "Judges take an oath to support the Constitution as it is, not as they think it should be."

The Supreme Court is not answerable to the people as are the legislative and executive departments. The public, when displeased with the Supreme Court, may change Presidents, the appointing power, but a new President can do nothing until there is a vacancy.

It is quite possible that a President will be elected this fall who has an entirely different philosophy than that of President Johnson. Sensing this, the aging Earl Warren has submitted his resignation, contingent upon his successor being confirmed now by the Senate. His resignation is an obvious effort to thwart the will of the people and shows his complete contempt for them and for the constitutional system of government which our forefathers gave to us. He is attempting to perpetuate in the Supreme Court his own particular social and political philosophies—philosophies repugnant to a great many Americans.

Under the circumstances the Senate should not confirm President Johnson's appointment of Associate Justice Abe Fortas as Chief Justice, nor should it confirm the appointment of Judge Homer Thornberry to fill the vacant seat. Their qualifications aside, the Senate should not allow itself to be dictated to by the whims of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAKS URGE UNITED STATES TO PLACE CURRENT CZECHOSLOVAK SITUATION BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, this is the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. After centuries of foreign domination the people of this nation again knew liberty. In 1918 Woodrow Wilson's principle of self-determination was ascendant. This great ideal, so essential to real freedom, has since often been threatened by would-be aggressors. Today it is again imperiled in the land where the Czech and the Slovak have found common nationhood.

Many from these lands came here in the past to add their fiber to the fabric of America. They and their children have been honest, diligent, and patriotic Americans. We have been proud and fortunate to have this vital segment of the American family in our midst. Though these fine people have become totally imbued with the spirit of the United States, one of their most cherished characteristics is that they have remained mindful of that noble and ancient heritage beyond the sea. Americans of Czech and Slovak descent have maintained a justifiable pride in their culture and an understandable interest in the affairs of the land of their ancestors.

Soviet overtures threatening the security of the recently liberalized regime in Prague have caused concern around the world. These events, Mr. Speaker, have rekindled the pride and fired the interest of Czechoslovak Americans. In a protest, profound in its truth, eloquent in its fervor, and ironically fitting in this anniversary year, the Czechoslovak National Council of America has given voice to thoughts common to all lovers of freedom in this critical state of affairs.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I recommend this document for the careful consideration of my colleagues and ask its insertion in the RECORD:

AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAKS URGE UNITED STATES TO PLACE CURRENT CZECHOSLOVAK SITUATION BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Tens of thousands of Americans of Czechoslovak descent, while preparing for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, to be held on a national scale in Washington, D.C., on October 18 through 20, 1968, and in hundreds of communities throughout the country one week later, have followed with great concern and apprehension the most recent developments in Czechoslovakia.

Cheered at first by the liberalization and democratization measures adopted by the new leadership of the Communist party in Czechoslovakia, which gave rise to hopes that after twenty years of tyrannical over-rule by hard line Communists completely subservient to the dictates of Moscow, the peoples of Czechoslovakia might enjoy much greater freedoms in the future, Americans of Czechoslovak descent now are gravely concerned that the freedoms attained under this liberalization program will again be forcefully taken away from the Czechoslovak peoples through possible military intervention by the Soviet Union.

Americans of Czechoslovak descent support fully the statement by British Foreign Secretary Stewart that the Soviet Union keep its hands off the present Czechoslovak liberalizing government and that it should not interfere in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. His statement that it is "not for us or for anyone else except the people of Czechoslovakia (to determine its internal affairs)" echoes the demands voiced for many years that the peoples of Czechoslovakia and of other captive nations be granted the opportunity through the medium of free elections to determine their own national destiny.

The Czechoslovak National Council of America, acting on behalf of twenty-five organizations of people of Czechoslovak descent in the United States and throughout the free world who are jointly participating in the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, has sent Secretary of State Dean Rusk the following telegram:

We are at present witnessing undisguised preparations for an open military aggression by the USSR against Czechoslovakia. If this intervention is permitted to succeed without effective opposition from any quarter other than some Communist states and parties, the usefullness of the United Nations will be terminated, the basis of our foreign policy will have been proven erroneous and the creditability of our posture will be undermined in the eyes of the world.

We therefore urge that, beside other proper steps, the United States place the Czechoslovak situation before the security council in order to mobilize world opinion and to demonstrate our faith in the principles we proclaim.

Czechoslovak National Council of America, Dr. Mikulas Ferjencik, vice-president, James V. Krakora, secretary.

By this action, Americans of Czechoslovak descent, who contributed so greatly to the establishment of the free and independent Republic of Czechoslovakia, have proven again their devotion and dedication to the American principles of freedom and justice, and the inherent right of a people to self-determination of its own national destiny.

THE SKY IS FILLING UP

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times recently carried an excellent editorial dealing with the mounting problem of sky congestion at major airports.

I call this editorial to the attention of my colleagues as follows:

The Sky Is Filling Up

Congestion at major airports has become the rule rather than an exception in recent months. Delays of an hour or more in taking off and landing have not been uncommon.

There are several reasons for the delays. The air controllers, who are government employes with the responsibility of regulating aircraft departures and landings, say they are understaffed and overworked. They have called attention to their grievance by requiring aircraft to maintain maximum distances from each other no matter how good the weather, thus slowing down the landings and takeoffs.

The airlines have contributed to the delays by scheduling large numbers of flights in and out of major cities at hours most attractive to the business traveler. Other factors, such as weather, runway repairs (a special cause of congestion at O'Hare) and the use of airports by private planes all contribute to the congestion.

Those who are responsible for the delays should take action to remedy the situation. The Federal Aviation Administration should hire more air controllers. The airlines should readjust their schedules so planes can be moved with a maximum of safety and a minimum of inconvenience to the passengers. And those who use the airlines for business and pleasure should realize that some inconvenience is a small price to pay for maximum safety.

The margin of safety in air travel diminishes sharply when planes are stacked up over airports. Action to end the unnecessary congestion should be taken at once.

RESTRICTION ON TRAVEL BY U.S. CITIZENS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last winter started hearings on S. 2766, a bill placing restrictions on travel to certain countries. H.R. 14670 is in the House Judiciary Committee.

Prof. Hiram Hilty was unable to present testimony on behalf of the Friends Committee on National Legislation because the hearings were discontinued.

I believe, however, that the statement prepared by Professor Hilty deserves wide attention. Therefore, I include it with my remarks, as follows:

Testimony of Hiram H. Hilty in Behalf of the Friends Committee on National Legislation Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in Opposition to S. 2766, a Bill To Authorize the Secretary of State To Restrict the Travel of U.S. Citizens and Prescribing Penalties, March 27, 1968

My name is Hiram H. Hilty. I am Chairman of the Department of Foreign Languages and Professor of Spanish at Guilford College, in North Carolina. I am appearing today for the Friends Committee on National Legislation, an organization which has been bringing concerns of Friends (commonly called Quakers) before governmental agencies since 1943. The Committee does not speak officially for all Friends, but provides opportunity for members of the Society of Friends and others to give expression to their convictions concerning legislation of special humanitarian or religious interest.

I am here to testify very strongly against the Administration's bill, S. 2766. S. 2766 assumes that the travel arrangements of American citizens are no longer a matter of personal preference, but a tool of U.S. foreign policy. Yet freedom of movement, in our view, is a basic right of our Democratic society—as basic as freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of the press. It is not a privilege to be granted at the discretion of the U.S. Government. Furthermore, Quakers firmly believe that intervisitations across national and cultural lines can help build that understanding and tolerance which are an essential ingredient of peace. In keeping with this view, we believe Americans should be encouraged to travel abroad, and non-Americans, of whatever political persuasion, should be encouraged to come to the United States, so that we can learn from each other.

I should like to expand on the above points by speaking specifically to what I feel have been the adverse effects of current restrictions on travel to Cuba. My concern for this Island grows out of the fact that in addition to my professorial duties, I am a recorded minister in the Religious Society of Friends, and served my church in Cuba in religious and educational work from 1943 to 1948. I have revisited that Island seven times since returning to this country in 1948. Four of these visits have been made since the Revolutionary Government came to power in 1959. In 1963, at a time when travel to Cuba was already restricted, the Department of State issued special permission to me and three other Quakers to accompany a shipment of medical supplies and food to that country following the devastation of Hurricane Flora. Again in 1966 the Department issued permission for me to make a fraternal visit to Cuba for the Friends World Committee.

THE FAILURE AND THE ANTIHUMANITARIANISM OF U.S. CUBAN POLICY

According to a State Department release of December 1966, travel restrictions "may also have important effects in promoting U.S. national interest and achieving our foreign policy goals. For example, in accordance with the resolutions of the Organization of American States, and the judgment of that body that the Communist regime in Cuba is openly committed to subversion in the hemisphere, U.S. policy toward Cuba has been one of political, economic and social isolation. Our travel restrictions to this area have been an important element in this policy."

I should like to suggest that the U.S. isolation policy brought consequences quite different from those intended:

Sanctions have strengthened the Castro regime. Laying aside for the moment the unhappy dilemmas created by the Cold War, one must always remember the natural and traditional relations which Cuba has always maintained with this portion of the continent. Even before her independence from Spain, her commerce with the United States exceeded that with Spain herself. In the republican period, trade with this country grew enormously and steadily. The sudden cancellation of the Cuban sugar quota by the United States in 1960, and the suspension of all commercial relations, inevitably brought severe injury to the Cuban economy. That was the intention. Despite massive effort, the Soviet bloc has only been partially successful in relieving this condition. But note that the Revolutionary Government did not fall. On the contrary, a beleaguered government was able to improve its psychological position by blaming its troubles, even those stemming from its own defects, on the perfidious Americans. At the moment of the Bay of Pigs invasion, this was an important reason why the people did not join the invaders as the latter had hoped they would.

Sanctions have tightened ties with the Communist bloc instead of loosening them. The imposition of sanctions drove the Cuban government to utter and complete dependence on the Communist bloc countries. If the regime were to survive, it had no other choice. And despite daily predictions to the contrary, it did survive to this day, nine years after its inception. The extreme danger in which the Cuban government found itself after the Bay of Pigs invasion caused it to demand missiles for defense from the Soviet Union, leading to the very dangerous missile crisis of 1962. Again, the Revolutionary Government survived.

Sanctions have encouraged imposition of restrictions on civil liberties in Cuba. The sworn hostility of the American government has spawned a decade-long spy hunt in Cuba. This reached epidemic proportions following the Bay of Pigs. Spy hunts weigh heavily on any population, and this circumstance spurred the flood of emigration which was already underway. Refugees fleeing in fear of real or imagined danger confirmed the exile colony in its belief in the rigors of life under the Revolutionary Government.

Sanctions have brought physical suffering to the Cuban people. During all these dramatic events, the general population has continuously suffered privation for want of medicines, many accustomed foods, certain items of clothing, automobiles and other modes of transportation, and the many luxuries to which a considerable segment of the population had become accustomed. As the U.S. government intended, this led to anti-Castro grumbling, which in turn led to further repressive measures which the government found necessary in order to protect itself. But we should note again that the government did not fall, nor has it been in any real danger of doing so at any time. The effect has been rather to increase the burden on the people and swell the ranks of the exile community. When I suggested to a group of ardent partisans of the Cuban government in 1963 that they bore the responsibility of having driven thousands of exiles to our shores, they laughed in derision. "You created them," they said, "you take care of them." There is a certain sense in which they were right.

Sanctions have reduced the range of intellectual alternatives open to Cubans. There is a feeling of great isolation in Cuba after these years of severe quarantine. I recall a conversation with a young Cuban architect who was explaining to me with enthusiasm the plans that he was helping to prepare for a series of cultural centers to be spread about over the island. He was a young man, and he said wistfully that he had a great desire to visit the United States to see with his own eyes some of the exciting work being done by American architects and to exchange ideas with them. Ironically, he said, he had traveled in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, but the country nearest his own was a "distant" exotic place.

On another occasion, I had a lengthy conversation with a minor government official, who, despite his fervent devotion to the Revolution and its objectives, frequently remarked about the feeling of suffocation and loneliness he felt in a country severed from its geographic neighbours. And always as the flood of Cuban refugees testifies so eloquently, the country most missed and longed for is the United States.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In our view, enough time has elapsed to reconsider U.S. handling of the Cuban affair. The U.S. trades with many Communist countries—why not Cuba? U.S. policy has not shaken the Cuban government, but resumption of trade would vastly improve the lot of the average Cuban citizen. Instead of prohibiting U.S. citizens from traveling there, we propose that they be encouraged to do so. I can testify that they would be warmly welcomed by a people who are starved for contact with their American neighbors. U.S. policy has forced them to orient themselves toward travelers and technicians from Eastern Europe, an experience which has undoubtedly enriched them. Would we not prefer, however, to have them embrace their neighbors in this hemisphere? It is not only desirable, it is certainly inevitable. Geography cannot be repealed either by them or by us.

The Undersecretary has indicated concern that American citizens might face danger in areas such as Cuba, and that in trying to protect them the U.S. Government might become involved in international disputes. Cuban words of course are frequently more explosive than Cuban actions. Cuban newspapers and other media of mass communication have not allowed themselves to be outdone by their American counterparts in sowing seeds of mistrust and ill will between Americans and Cubans. Yet, after nine years of an unfriendly press, my own observation has been that the general Cuban population is as friendly toward the individual American as ever. In a way, there is even a heightened interest in the American because he has become such an unusual figure in that island which stands only ninety miles from American soil.

As for danger, it can only be said that a high degree of civil order exists in Cuba today. Canadians and Europeans visit and travel there under the normal guarantees of a civilized society. It would appear that Americans who are disposed to abide by the laws of the land would not be molested in Cuba, and indeed that has been my experience.

Thus, we hold, Mr. Chairman, that it would be regrettable if travel to Cuba or any other country were to be made a punishable offence. Americans should be allowed to go to all countries at their own risk. In our view, the possibility for building a more peaceful international community of nations would be increased, if present travel restrictions were rescinded rather than strengthened.

THAT NONEXISTENT $25 BILLION

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, as an advocate of sensible fiscal policies for the Federal Government an editorial in the Zanesville Times Recorder, Zanesvillé, Ohio, titled "That Nonexistent $25 Billion" seems to me to take an objective look ahead while reflecting on the fiscal year just past. I would like to insert that editorial in the RECORD at this point:

THAT NONEXISTENT $25 BILLION

Despite the fact that the peace negotiators in Paris are as far apart as they were when they first began meeting three months ago, there is still a lot of talk about what to do with all the money that is being spent in Vietnam, once the war is over.

There is no end of claimants for the 30 billion or so dollars a year that will supposedly be "released" when peace comes—a massive boost to urban renewal, massive aid to education, a guaranteed income to raise millions above the poverty line, more highways, etc.

Unfortunately, there is a flaw in the euphoria. It seems to be completely forgotten that this $30 billion really doesn't exist. It is manufactured money, printing press money. It is borrowed against the productivity and earnings of future generations of Americans and its only backing is their willingness and ability to pay the debt.

Or at least $25 billion of it was manufactured money in 1967–68, for that was the amount of the record "peacetime" federal deficit for that fiscal year.

We may, indeed, decide to undertake some or all of these great projects once the war in Vietnam is ended. But we should prepare ourselves not to be disillusioned when we are not handed a nice fat bundle of hard currency to finance them. It just isn't there.

The most optimistic thing that can be said about the post-Vietnam era is that, if we are lucky and no new foreign hotspot flares up, Americans may have more choice than they do now about how far into debt they want to go for the things they want to do.

NAVY WIVES CLUBS OF AMERICA SEEKS RECOGNITION

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the Congress to an organization which has proven to be an incalculable source of good will and fine deeds since its formation in the 1930's. I refer to the Navy Wives Clubs of America.

It can not be doubted that the frequent uprootings and termination of friendships are a constant source of inconvenience and even sadness in the life of a military family. The Navy wife traditionally faces the prospect of extended separation from her husband as his voyages carry him continually away from home. The result can often be loneliness and frustration in a strange environment.

The Navy Wives Clubs of America has provided for several decades the alternative of ready companionship, consideration, and understanding. In view of its long service of human understanding, I believe that the Navy Wives Clubs of America deserves national recognition and appreciation.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the RECORD for the purpose of further explanation, the letter of the president of the Thames Navy Wives Club of Groton, Conn., Mrs. Timothy Foster. I am hopeful that the significant contribution which this organization has made to the Nation and the Armed Forces will be duly recognized and rewarded. The letter follows:

THAMES NAVY WIVES CLUB NO. 130,
U.S. Submarine Base, Groton, Conn.

Hon. W. L. ST. ONGE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: A resolution to provide for the designation of a Navy Wives Clubs of America Day is enclosed for your consideration. It is the desire and hope of the members of this organization that you will support and present this proclamation to the President and Congress of the United States for their consideration and vote.

Your reputation and accomplishments are impressive and it would be an honor to have you represent us in presenting this proclamation. The history, purpose and accomplishments of this organization is necessary information to aid you in the promotion of this proclamation.

The life of a Sea Service wife is a life of loneliness, a life of frustration and constant changes. A Navy wife must continually adjust to new people, a new community and a new environment. Sometimes these communities are friendly and helpful, often they are not. Often she alone must supervise her home and children during the long months her husband is absent. Living in military housing is helpful where there are other wives adjusting to the same situations. Due to the unavailability of military housing the vast majority of service wives are forced to live in civilian communities; oft times at great distances from the base. This increases her problem in making a place for herself in the community. From this need was born Navy Wives Clubs of America.

Groups of service wives formed for companionship and mutual aid. In the early 1930's the idea to become a National organization began to develop. Some groups hoped for a congressional charter and worked towards the fulfillment of this dream. Before this was accomplished one of the clubs applied for and was granted a charter under the state of California. The others gave up their dream of a congressional charter and worked with this group urging other Navy Wives Clubs to join in with the newly chartered Navy Wives Clubs of America. The idea spread and more and more clubs joined NWCA. To date, NWCA has 106 clubs and over 1700 members located on bases all over the United States and overseas. Ten national officers are elected and nine national chairmen are appointed to handle the affairs and assist the local clubs of the national organization.

The main purpose of Navy Wives Clubs of America is to promote and encourage a friendly and sympathetic social relationship among the wives of the enlisted men of the United States Navy, Coast Guard and Marine Corps, and the active reserves of each of these branches of service; to assist, help and encourage the membership for the relief to its needy members, by mutual assistance to foster a spirit of fellowship and friendship among its members. Membership is transferred from club to club and this aids the wives in making the necessary changes and adjustments to the new community as their husbands are transferred from duty station to duty station. When a sister navy wife is in trouble the clubs are eager to lend a helping hand.

The services performed by these members, clubs and organizations are many. The largest National project is the Navy Wives Clubs of America Scholarship Foundation started in 1954. Starting and continuing with donations from the clubs, members and friends; the Foundation awards ten Scholarships each year to the dependents of enlisted men of the Navy, Coast Guard or Marine Corps. Many other National projects are promoted—as example: The collecting of commemorative stamps to aid the handicapped, Boys Scouts, prosthesis funds for dependents, fight against the distribution of indecent literature to minors through the mails, the promotion of patriotism and assistance to such service welfare organizations as the Navy Relief, Wifeline, Family Service Centers and the Red Cross. The goal of the national organization is to improve the status of the navy wife by helping her to be a useful member of the community, a more informed navy wife and in the final process, a happier and better wife and mother.

Each local club promotes their special projects in their own communities and stations, assisting the Base Commander and Chaplain. It is the hope and desire of the members of Navy Wives Clubs of America to reach all service wives, make them aware of the organization and the benefits of being a member. We are continually improving and increasing our projects to further aid the enlisted wife and her family and help to improve the status of these families in their communities.

In the future we plan to have active clubs in all areas. The Navy Department lends our organization full support and assistance as stated in BUPERS Instruction 5760.1. The Navy Department and the Navy Wives Clubs of America have reached the mutual conclusion that retention of the career serviceman depends largely on the contentedness of the service wife.

Recognition from the Navy Department has given Navy Wives Clubs of America significance and helped to make more people aware of our organization and its accomplishments. It is the feeling of the members that a Proclamation and national recognition by the United States President and the Congress would further improve the status of NWCA, help publicize the organization and its purposes, make more service wives aware of the organization, increase the awareness of the communities in the accomplishments of the members and aid in a better understanding and respect for service wives in general.

In these times of stress it is important to have as much recognition and support to those who are giving so much to their country. The families of our servicemen urgently need understanding and assistance. The career serviceman, at home or abroad, knows his family receives warmth, understanding, friendship and assistance from the Navy Wives Clubs of America.

Thank you for your attention. We will look forward to your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Timothy Foster,
President.

AIR AND WATER POLLUTION—A NATIONAL PROBLEM

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the pollution of our air and waters is of vital concern to all of us.

Air and water pollution is a byproduct of our increasingly efficient industrial production, the sophisticated utilization of our natural resources, our necessarily vast transportation network; in short, of all our industrial and technological capabilities which produce and maintain our affluent society.

Clean water and fresh air are not unlimited natural resources. Water is a precious commodity. Although it is replenished by nature, its overall supply remains fixed. Thus the manner in which man manages his water supply is crucial—to have water available in the right quantity, of the right quality, and at the right time. The preservation and improvement of water quality too is crucial: the prevention and control of pollutants being dumped into our rivers, lakes, ground and coastal waters.

The sources for water use—and water pollution—have greatly increased over the years. Our cities and factories are the major users and abusers. A 1966 survey has disclosed that 2,979 U.S. communities with a total population of 31.3 million were discharging their sewage raw or inadequately treated into our waterways. Every year, an additional 1,000 communities throughout the Nation outgrow their water treatment plants. Existing facilities often are poorly managed or obsolete. Municipal sewers carrying both sanitary and storm waters add to urban pollution. During rainstorms when treatment plants become overloaded, the untreated waters are discharged directly into the nearest stream.

Construction activities in our urban areas add to the water-pollution problems. Housing developments and road and dam construction erode the soil and dump tons of silt into the surrounding waterways.

According to a 1964 census, the latest year for which figures are available, 8,925 manufacturing plants each used more than 20 million gallons of water annually, yet only 30 percent of the water thus used received any treatment before being released. Not only chemicals and other substances used in the manufacturing process degrade the quality of this water but its temperature also is raised, affecting aquatic life in some instances.

Other sources of water pollution, perhaps not as widespread but no less serious, are oil spills from tankers, wastes from ships, farm-animal wastes, agricultural pesticides and fertilizer residues, and acid drainage from active and abandoned mines. And there are the more sophisticated and newer pollutants such as increasing heat pollution from industrial and power plants and radioactive wastes resulting from uranium mining and refining, from power reactors, from some industrial or medical operations, or in the form of fallout following atomic weapons tests.

Fresh air over much of this Nation is getting increasingly hard to come by; 133 million tons of aerial garbage is dumped into the atmosphere every year. Every day, motor vehicles alone discharge some 250,000 tons of carbon monoxide, 16,500–33,000 tons of hydrocarbons and 4,000 to 12,000 tons of nitrogen oxides into the air. Each year major industrial polluters emit into our atmosphere 2 million tons of carbon monoxide, 9 million tons of sulfur oxides, 2 million tons of nitrogen oxides, 4 million tons of hydrocarbons and 6 million tons of particulates—soot, flyash, dust. Because of our growing demands for electricity, heat and power plants which feed on coal and oil add additional millions of tons of air polluting substances annually to the air we must breathe. We use increasing amounts of throwaway packaging for our consumer products. Each one of us, every year, discards some 1,800 pounds of solid wastes, trash and garbage which must be disposed of. When incineration is the disposal method, solid wastes add to the contamination of our air to the tune of 1 million tons each of carbon monoxide, sulfur oxides, nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons and particulate matter.

Our determined and sustained efforts to better our material lives have resulted in equally sustained changes in our air and water—for the worse.

It became clear several years ago that State and local governments could not cope with this problem alone. The Federal Government became increasingly involved in control and abatement efforts although it recognized, and still does, that primary responsibility rests with the States and municipalities.

The constitutional functions of general welfare and regulation of commerce provided the first impetus for Federal involvement. For instance, Federal water pollution laws first were designed to prevent rivers and harbors from becoming clogged with debris which might hamper navigation. Later, the knowledge of the dangers of water-borne diseases triggered the drive for municipal waste treatment. Federal drinking water standards were established because passenger trains on interstate railways needed to refill their tanks with pure water.

Although the first experimental water control legislation was enacted in 1948, permanent legislation was not enacted until 1956 with the passage of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, Public Law 84–660. This law represents the first

Federal effort at participation in a great many different activities, such as assistance in program development, increased technical and research help, grants to support State programs and for construction of treatment works, and better enforcement measures for interstate water pollution.

The act was strengthened and extended in 1956 and in 1965 by passage of the Water Quality Act, Public Law 89-234, which established the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration to administer the entire Federal water pollution control program.

A major step forward was the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 which further enhanced the provisions of the preceding acts. It is another strong link in the chain of the Federal Government's objective to clean up pollution in entire river basins to supply water of adequate quality for all beneficial purposes. It includes such programs as the establishment of standards for interstate streams, construction of high-priority waste treatment plants, research, development and demonstration projects, and support for river basin organizations and their programs.

In the second session of the 90th Congress, several bills have been introduced to further improve the existing Federal programs. The new Water Quality Improvement Act, as proposed, relates to new financing of waste treatment construction on an installment basis and to the conduct of water pollution control research. It is hoped that, once adequate appropriations are provided, to correspond to the authorization already passed by the Congress, some long-term financing plan will be made available by the Federal Government. State and local authorities need to be assured of continuing help to meet their expanding needs.

Air pollution control by the Federal Government followed along much the same lines and with very similar objectives. Since air is no respecter of political boundaries, the Federal Government found itself increasingly involved in interstate air pollution disputes. The Clean Air Act of 1963 provided some authority for such Federal intervention although it concentrated primarily on strengthening Federal assistance for continued research, technical aid to public and private organizations, and technical training. It also authorized direct Federal assistance to local and regional State air pollution control agencies.

Additional amendments to the Clean Air Act in 1965 and 1966 further increased Federal authority to help State and local governments to tackle the problem. In addition to research, technical aid, and financial aid, Federal agencies were empowered to participate actively in solving problems with which State and local authorities could not cope alone. Primarily, the 1965 amendment authorizes the Federal Government to regulate emissions from motor vehicles. Noting the growing problem of air pollution from this source which freely moves across political boundaries, Congress recognized that States and individual localities could not possibly establish individual enforceable standards which would reduce the emissions of hydrocarbons and carbon dioxide substantially. Yet it was evident that significant action had to be taken. For example, in New York State more than 6 million automobiles are registered, plus some 600,000 trucks and 25,000 buses. To this must be added the commuter traffic which enters and leaves the State each day. By 1970 automobile registration may well reach 8 million. To further bolster individual control programs the 1966 law authorized Federal maintenance grants for State and local air pollution abatement efforts. Maintenance grants can now be awarded for up to 60 percent of the costs of operating a regional program or up to 50 percent of the costs of a single intrastate program.

In addition to assistance for control programs, the Federal Government also participates in the financing of surveys of control needs in various regions and of demonstration projects which test the feasibility of various methods to control air pollution.

Under the terms of these provisions, $1.64 million in survey grants was awarded by the Federal Government in 1965 and 1966. Grants were made to participating State and local governments as well as to nonprofit research organizations.

In 1966, the New York State Air Pollution Control Board which had allocated $13,538, for survey and demonstration projects received $27,077 in Federal funds totaling $40,665 for such activities.

Also in that year, New York City had an overall air pollution control budget of $1,201,913. The city received $188,000 additional in Federal grants totaling $1,389,913.

I want to emphasize that almost all Federal grants are for partial funding of control projects. They are meant to stimulate but not replace, local planning and initiative.

The Air Quality Act signed into law in November 1967 is the latest example of Federal legislation for air pollution control. It is designed to further enhance and implement the provisions of the Clean Air Act and its amendments by providing a continuation of the Federal responsibility to encourage regulatory control programs at State and local levels and participate actively in solving interstate air pollution problems.

An enhanced national research and development program is expected to provide accurate and extensive data about obvious pollutants that can be seen and smelled. It will also gather concise information about invisible atmospheric pollutants and particles of which we have insufficient knowledge at present. High effectiveness of control programs at a cost which our citizens can afford is the goal to be aimed at.

To this end, the act provides a systematic approach to control activities at all levels. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare must first define the Nation's atmospheric areas, which are based on differences in weather conditions, climate, and typography. This has already been done.

Next, he is responsible for designating smaller air quality regions; those areas of the country which share a common air pollution problems and therefore must act together to control it.

Air quality criteria for each pollutant must then be established on the basis of a factual scientific assessment of the damage done to public health and property. They express the relationship between exposure to a pollutant over a certain period of time and the resulting damage. When issuing these data, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare must also make available economically feasible control techniques from which the States and localities can choose a method which will be most effective and economical for their particular circumstances. I feel that the provision authorizing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop and distribute data on air pollution technology is especially important. It is coupled with an authorization for a comprehensive study of the economic costs of air pollution and a study of personnel needed to run effective control programs. If utilized fully at State and local levels they can greatly strengthen the technological means and the social and economic incentives that are so vital for an effective control program.

A 15-man National Air Quality Criteria Advisory Committee to the National Center for Air Pollution Control has now been selected, representing industry, all levels of government, and universities. It will evaluate the latest scientific information on the effects of atmospheric pollutants to enable the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to issue criteria. New York State is represented on this committee by Dr. Nyle C. Brady, of Cornell University.

After the criteria have been issued the States are responsible for establishing their own ambient air quality standards striking the best possible balance between criteria and abatement costs. The State standards actually will reflect the dgeree of air pollution which the people in a certain region have chosen to tolerate in terms of costs for pollution prevention and abatement. A standard determines the permissible amount of pollution concentration over a certain period of time, not to be exceeded except for a very few days each year.

Enforcement will be the most important part of the program. After standards have been set the States are expected to enforce them with State laws. The Federal Government is not expected to step in unless a State is found to be delinquent in its duties to remedy a pollution problem and enforce its own standards.

The Federal Government does take action in cases of interstate pollution. It will start by completely reviewing the appropriate air quality standards and the economic and technical means of implementing them. Hearings and conferences follow to bring about local control action. If none is forthcoming a Federal injunction can be obtained against the polluter.

An example of such procedures is the recently concluded second New York-New Jersey Air Conference. Its participants included representatives from the Federal Government, States of New York and New Jersey, city of New York, and the Interstate Sanitation Commission. Together, they adopted a seven-point program which if fully implemented, could cut air pollution by particulates in the New York metropolitan area by as much as 60 percent. Recommendations range from requirements governing combustion of solid fuels to disposal of solid wastes, industrial processes, and incinerators. The recommendations now await approval by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

To implement the provisions of the Air Quality Act of 1967 the largest amount of appropriations ever granted for air pollution abatement is embodied in the act—$428.3 million over a 3-year period. This amount includes $125 million for research in 1968 and 1969, and $303 million for operating expenses over the 3-year period. The figures again emphasize the awareness, by the Congress, that much more concise and detailed data are needed about the behavior of air pollutants and their effects on public health and welfare, as well as more specific knowledge of feasible technology, to produce an effective and affordable national control program which our citizens will be willing to adopt.

To do so, our citizens must be kept fully and consistently informed of the opportunities available under Federal legislation, of the progress we are making, and of the ways their tax dollars are being spent to pursue this needed national goal. An informed citizen is an active member of his community who will see to it that his State and local government will make full use of the resources provided under the Air Quality Act. Timely, sensible, and effective action is needed now. Inertia can only lead to greater danger to public health and property and to greater costs in the future.

PFC. PHILIP J. MARASCO, U.S. ARMY, KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that one of my constituents, Pfc. Philip J. Marasco, U.S. Army, of Tarrytown, N.Y., died in Vietnam last month.

I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the Record, the following article from the Daily News of Tarrytown, N.Y., July 30, 1968:

Private First Class Marasco Killed by Grenade in Vietnam—Boobytrap Is Fatal to Village GI

Relatives were notified last night of the death in Vietnam of Army Pfc. Philip J. Marasco, 21, of 5 Glenwold St., Tarrytown.

According to preliminary information received by a brother, Peter, of the home address, Pfc. Marasco was killed by a booby trap grenade.

Another brother, Carlton, lives at 69 Ganung Drive, Ossining, and Philip's twin, Anthony Paul, is serving with the Army in Germany. Also surviving are several aunts, uncles and cousins in the area.

Pfc. Marasco was born in Tarrytown Nov. 13, 1946, son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Marasco. He was graduated from Irvington High School and attended Westchester Business School. Prior to entering the service he had worked for McCall-Frandsen, Inc. auto dealership in North Tarrytown.

He entered the Army Sept. 11, 1967 and had served in Vietnam three or four months.

Pfc. Marasco is the third serviceman from the Tarrytowns to die in Vietnam. Marine Gunnery Sgt. Daniel T. Joyce of North Tarrytown was killed in action May 14, 1967. Army Pfc. William Thornton of Tarrytown was reported missing and presumed dead earlier that year.

THE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AWARD

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, more and more business firms are becoming involved in helping ghetto residents to help themselves and in helping communities to begin to solve their own problems. One of the most outstanding programs of this type, sponsored by Sylvania Entertainment Corp., has just come to my attention.

Under this program, Sylvania is sponsoring a competition among all entertainment products dealers who have begun programs in their communities aimed at assisting minority consumers in obtaining economic self-sufficiency.

The best project will be awarded $5,000 by Sylvania toward the continuance of the program and the dealer will receive a trophy signifying his contribution to his community.

I believe this type of encouragement to local business dealers to inform themselves, to become involved and to take some concrete action to assist minority groups in their communities is to be highly commended. And I think Sylvania should be applauded for originating this innovative approach in attempting to help the ghetto resident help himself.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert at this point in the Record the Sylvania announcement of the Community Involvement Award. The announcement follows:

Sylvania Entertainment Products Announces the Community Involvement Award, 1968–1969

Sylvania recognizes that the Consumer Entertainment Product Retailer is our industry interface with one of the greatest challenges in the United States today—the urban problem—characterized by minority group social upheavals.

This Award is established on an annual basis to recognize the personal involvement of Dealers who have generated noteworthy accomplishments in improving economic conditions of minority groups in their areas. The modest trophy goes to the individual. The financial award ($5,000) will be given, in the Dealer's name, to further support the business enterprise or activity established to accomplish this purpose. This Award is not intended to be a short-term subsidy.

It is a requirement that the activity be judged on the principle of American free enterprise business standards. The winning Dealer's objective must have been to develop a self-sustaining operation. American business is strong when it performs a needed service and, in the process, is rewarded with a profit as adequate return on an investment and compensation of effort.

Qualifications: Who can qualify? Any established Home Entertainment Products Retailer. (*It is not a requirement that the retailer be a Sylvania Dealer.*)

How can the Dealer qualify? The Dealer must have personally instigated a constructive, long-term approach to providing opportunities for minority group individuals to obtain economic self-sufficiency in any one of the following areas:

Establishing a successful allied business enterprise in hard core urban areas to serve minority group consumers, and actively operated under a training program with managers drawn from the minority group. Opportunity for these managers to obtain equity in the enterprise over a period of not more than 10 years, upon demonstrated performance, must be a pre-condition of the establishment of the program.

Establishing recruiting-training programs from minority groups for sales and/or service employment in the Home Entertainment Industry.

Establishing part-time work programs allied to the Home Entertainment Industry for 15–22 age group to permit minority group individuals to finish their High School education, and/or pursue higher education at collegiate or Trade School level.

Judging: Entries will be judged by a panel of judges made up of members of the Trade Press; representatives of Independent Retail Trade Associations; members of Sylvania's Dealer and Distributor Advisory Boards; and the Chairman, Ex-officio: Thomas H. Cashin, Senior Vice-President, Sylvania Entertainment Products Group.

The structuring of the Dealer's endeavor within the scope of this program, at arm's length from his present business, will be heavily considered in judging his entry. The judges will also weigh each entry based on the size of the Dealer's present business; thus entries from relatively small Dealers will have the same opportunity as large, multi-branch operations.

In the interest of impartiality, Sylvania's Panel of Judges will conduct on-site evaluations and personal interviews with minority group participants.

Award: The winning entry will be announced no later than June 30, 1969.

All Dealers who submit entries for the award will receive a Certificate of Honorable Mention "in recognition of his effort as a participant in the Sylvania Community Involvement Award—1968/1969".

Submission: Entries must be in writing and on Official Entry Form. Full details are required including photographs and individual statements from the minority group employees involved. Entries will be judged on substance, not on an elaborate presentation.

Entries must be postmarked prior to midnight, December 31, 1968, and become the property of Sylvania Electric Products, Inc.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ACTION HELPS STEM INFLATION

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, the war against the threat of inflation is probably a war that will never end. However, a significant battle has been won through President Johnson's successful efforts to persuade major steel producers not to put into effect an inflationary, across-the-board, 5-percent price hike.

When the price increases were first announced, I spoke out against this inflationary action and I urged the President to do everything in his power to eliminate this threat to wage-price stability. I was gratified that the President acted vigorously and that his efforts have now been rewarded with success.

This episode should serve to remind all of us that the value of the dollar both at home and abroad depends upon a reasonable measure of price stability.

Both labor and management have a responsibility to consider the public interest when they meet face to face across the bargaining table. We always hope that enlightened voluntary action by both parties will serve to maintain the dynamic strength of the American economy. No one—and I repeat—no one wants to see mandatory controls introduced into our free enterprise economy. And as long as inflationary dangers can be warded off through voluntary actions, our free economy will remain free.

MARYGROVE COLLEGE AIDS DETROIT'S INNER CITY

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that more and more Americans are aware of and concerned about the social and physical ills of urban life and that they are responding with individual concern and initiative. They are mobilizing individual energies and talents and the resources of private institutions, large and small, and are beginning to chip away at some of these massive problems.

An especially inspiring example of this individual concern and initiative is Marygrove College, a small, private women's liberal arts school in Detroit, Mich. Operating in the shadow of broad-based job-training and educational programs undertaken by Detroit's biggest industrial firms and universities, Marygrove has decided, nevertheless, to do what it can in its own way.

A few weeks ago, Marygrove launched the first in a series of innovative scholarship programs designed to make its unique facilities more available to the inner-city Negro girl.

Marygrove's goals in undertaking this project were at least threefold. First, as a college, Marygrove wanted to respond to the needs of the community and the Nation in the way it was best qualified. But its faculty and administration hoped that they would gain along with the students by living and working with persons of different racial, social, and economic backgrounds. And, the college wanted to take the initiative in attracting young Negro women of ability.

The program was conceived and launched with a realistic understanding of Marygrove's resources and responsibilities in the large metropolitan community. Sister Jane Mary, one of the architects of the program, explains it this way:

> Since Marygrove opened in Detroit in 1927, it has served young women of all races and creeds. However, the possibility of attending a private, liberal arts college like Marygrove does not enter into the thinking of inner-city Negro girls of ability.
>
> Colleges like ours are relatively expensive, they are thought to be denominational, and they are less cosmopolitan than the large, urban, co-educational institutions. We, therefore, sought out, with the cooperation of high school counselors in Detroit's public schools, qualified young women for a College Talent Program.

Under the first phase of the program which is now nearing completion, 12 high school graduates were invited to the campus for a 6-week intensive learning and living program with five upperclassmen and five faculty members. The prospective freshmen were thoroughly tested for placement and then tutored in English or mathematics, according to their individual needs. In their free time they were exposed to concerts and plays.

When the program is completed this month, those who are recommended for college by faculty counselors will be given full tuition and residence scholarships.

Another phase of the program will provide a $900 tuition scholarship, plus $300 in expense money to 20 needy students who will commute to and from college. In addition, each Detroit high school has been provided with one full tuition scholarship to Marygrove which it may award to an eligible and needy student. And, the college's placement office already has found jobs for 66 prospective freshmen, 21 of whom are included in the special scholarship programs.

The entire cost of the project is borne by the college, assisted by private subscription from friends. Admittedly not a large-scale undertaking, the program has a total of $24,000 pledged to it with $23,000 subscribed. But it is an example of what a relatively small, but mightily concerned institution and its faculty can do.

Were this concern projected through all of the small institutions in the country, it almost certainly would make a major impact on some of our most pressing problems. Sister Jane Mary says:

> If a small women's college can venture in this way, we might think of multiplying such programs a thousandfold and more across the country. Such a multiplied effect could make a perceptible contribution to the problems of inequality in education which underlie so many other inequities in our country.

A DISTINGUISHED CLERGYMAN CELEBRATES HIS 40TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the 11th of August marked the 40th anniversary of Dr. Lee Roberson's ministry and some 25 years service to the congregation of Highland Park Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tenn., one or the Nation's largest.

On such an occasion, it is difficult to highlight, in a few words, the good works and memorable accomplishments which have made Dr. Roberson's life a landmark.

Thousands of people have come to know and respect this man of God, through his work with the Highland Park Baptist Church, Camp Joy, the World Wide Faith Missions, Tennessee Temple Schools, the Union Gospel Mission, the "Gospel Dynamite" broadcasts and the many other activities which have filled his days.

In this time of questioning and doubt, we Chattanoogans are especially grateful to have a man like Dr. Roberson among us, and I am sure I speak for all of us in extending heartfelt congratulations to him on this, the anniversary of his ministry among us.

THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, at the root of the various crises in the Red empire is the ineradicable spirit of nationalism that inspires all of the captive nations striving for freedom and independence. Whether it be in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Armenia, or North Vietnam, the spirit is basic to all the demands for reform, relaxation of totalitarian oppression, and improved economic standards. The ultimate source of power which really sustains the Red empire—and this, regardless of the rifts, squabbles, and so-called nonmonolith of the Communist world—is the Soviet Union itself. What too many Americans fail to recognize is the fact that the U.S.S.R. is itself an imperial system, made up of numerous, exploited captive nations.

For a working and solid perspective on the U.S.S.R., the new book "The Vulnerable Russians" cannot be recommended too highly, as gathered from many favorable reviews. Authored by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, the book maintains in no uncertain terms that Soviet Russian imperiocolonialism is the prime enemy of the United States and the free world.

The work is now available at the Georgetown University bookstore, White Gravenor, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. A nationally and internationally renowned columnist, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, recently reviewed the book in his syndicated column. As shown below, the review highlights the Soviet Union as "really a Red Russian empire":

> Unless the Soviet Union closes the 600 schools of propaganda and subversion wherein it has trained about 150,000 subverters and fomenters of "little wars of liberation" outside its boundaries, the United States will one day have to meet its challenge on the field of political war.
>
> Considering Washington's present fixation on ever more agreements with Moscow, including a nuclear non-proliferation treaty which can spell the end of NATO, that day

may seem remote. But since it is all but inevitable, it is comforting to note that once we make up our mind to give as much as we receive, we shall find the Soviet Union the most vulnerable of all our adversaries.

For contrary to the prevailing American view, what we call the Soviet Union is really a Red Russian Empire with internal colonies whose combined population, 120 million, is greater than that of genuine Russia. This writer has long urged successive U.S. administrations never to discuss the colonialism of any country without making a full expose of Russian colonialism, the last full-fledged variety.

Now a real authority on the subject, Professor Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, Washington, has devoted a book to the subject. Called "The Vulnerable Russians," it sets forth in detail the astonishing weakness in the modern world of a multinational empire a majority of whose colonial peoples yearn for independence.

Our American leaders' failure to recognize this fact to this very day and to take advantage of it accounts for the relative failure of what political warfare we have waged. For the ruling Russians are acutely conscious of it.

Foreigners were amazed at the hearty welcome most Ukrainians gave to Hitler's invading army. But not Moscow, which quickly announced that each "federal republic" could, if it wished, have a foreign office and an army of its own, and then persuaded a gullible FDR to allow the Soviets not one but three votes in the United Nations Assembly!

Stalin knew that what the Bolsheviks had done, essentially, was give a Red economic varnish to tsarist imperialism. During the Russian revolution, nearly all the peoples mentioned as colonial by Dobriansky had immediately revolted.

Yet despite the Bolshevik guff about national independence, Lenin himself slowly reconquered them by fire and sword. For the dominant trait of Soviet communism is not its crazy economics but its devotion to sheer power and itch to conquer.

Dobriansky goes so far as to consider Communist "doctrine" so much eye-wash to camouflage imperialism. I do not accept this since I believe that the Bolshevik leaders I have known personally identified the spread of Soviet communism with Russian nationalism.

This incidentally explains their chagrin at the current unrest among the satellites. And it accounts for the panic fear of the Russian leaders each time a U.S. administration proclaims a captive Nations Week.

Dobriansky believes that by appropriate political warfare, the United States could dismember the empire and thereby reduce our enemy to manageable size. He even describes how to do it.

But read his book and if you agree, tell the President, your senators, your congressman and your candidates that this is the foreign policy you want—now!

STAFF SGT. CHESTER J. MOSHIER, JR., USMC, KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that one of my constituents, Staff Sgt. Chester J. Moshier, Jr., USMC, of Peekskill, N.Y., died in Vietnam last month.

I wish to commend the courage of Sergeant Moshier and to honor his memory by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the following article:

[From the Peekskill (N.Y.) Evening Star, July 26, 1968]

SERVED IN BATTLE ZONE 4 MONTHS

Staff Sgt. Chester J. Moshier, Jr., 32, a long-time member of the U.S. Marines, whose family resides at Dunbar Heights, was killed in action in Vietnam Wednesday.

The family was notified that Sgt. Moshier was killed in a rocket attack in the Quang Nam sector. The Peekskill Marine had been in the battle zone for four months, but had spent one year in Vietnam previously, returning home in May of 1966.

RE-ENLISTED IN 1961

Sgt. Moshier graduated in 1953 from Peekskill High School where he played basketball and baseball. He enlisted in the Marines shortly afterward.

The son of Chester J. and Minnie Jackson Moshier, Sgt. Moshier was born in Peekskill on January 16, 1936.

Surviving are his parents, his wife, the former Vera Storms and four children, Maureen, Chester, Jeffrey and Michele, and a brother, Calvin, and a sister, Mrs. Pearl Brown, all of Peekskill.

Funeral services have not yet been arranged, the family reported this morning.

NEWTON JAYCEES

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein remarks in part that I made early this year at the annual Distinguished Service Award of the Newton Jaycees and a news article from the Newton Graphic about Lewis B. Songer, the recipient of this year's award.

The program was very well conducted, very impressive, and very rewarding to me.

I was very much impressed by the spirit of dedication which was quite evident in the leadership and members of this organization and the outstanding young men selected for the award, and am especially thankful to my able young friend, Mr. Thomas B. Concannon, Jr., chairman of the distinguished award committee for his kind invitation to be in attendance upon this most auspicious occasion, and the courtesy and warm reception accorded me.

The award finalists were Joseph Anthony Arnold, John Edward Borelli, Robert Cohen, Anthony Francis Gentile, Edward J. Goldstein, Richard Sidney Hayden, Nicholas Robert Pasquarosa, Wigmore Alling Pierson, A. Frederick Rosene, and Lewis Burke Songer.

The remarks and article follow:

REMARKS, IN PART, OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN, ANNUAL DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD BANQUET, NEWTON JAYCEES, JANUARY 27, 1968

Mr. Toastmaster, distinguished guests and friends—I am gratified, very much pleased and honored to have this opportunity to meet with the members and friends of this very fine JayCee group of Newton, for which I have such high regard and admiration.

In the first instance I want to congratulate and compliment your leaders upon this very well arranged meeting and thank you for the privilege of being with you, and I also want to congratulate those who have been so greatly honored tonight by the precious, meaningful awards you have conferred upon them.

I think that we are invariably inspired by your JayCee Creed, with which I am personally very familiar, and which outlines in such a convincing fashion the lofty principles and ideals which have been in large measure, together with brilliant dedicated leadership, the motivating force behind this great organization.

Certainly, most Americans, and most people, agree with your Creed that faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life, that the brotherhood of man is a transcending consideration in the world, that economic justice and social justice can best be won by free men through free enterprise, that government should be of law, not of men, that the human personality is a priceless treasure, and that service to humanity is the best work of life.

There can be no question, my friends, that in these troublous days of concern, anguish, upset and unrest, one of the greatest of all needs of the nation and the world is for dedicated service, going even beyond the call of duty, and for far-sighted, informed, courageous leadership prepared and able to grapple resolutely and fearlessly with the very challenging problems of the hour.

It is in this sense that these impressive ceremonies, marking the presentation of the Distinguished Service Award of the Newton JayCees to your vigorous, dynamic young leaders of your outstanding group and of your great city, is particularly noteworthy, since it affirms the practical application in the daily life of your community of the inspiring principles of the JayCee Creed.

Very commendably your JayCee group, here as elsewhere is growing and spreading its influence for good for progress and for stability in many places throughout this country and the world. It is gratifying to note your ceaseless action in so many fields to improve community life and strengthen and support the national spirit and the world spirit.

In many ways, you have moved to bring untold benefits to our young people to broaden their opportunities for wholesome recreation, to sharpen their competitive spirit and to bring them in closer rapport with a host of activities that are bound to strengthen their purpose, elevate their goals and improve their opportunities and advantages in this great nation of ours.

You have stood out literally as a gleaming beacon light to inspire broader citizen participation in the affairs of government and business, and to reaffirm and strengthen faith in the basic tenets of the American heritage.

You have moved to awaken and arouse fresh, vigorous interest in the public business at every level, which must, most assuredly, these days be not only of deep concern, but must receive the active attention of every civic-minded American, and every one who is truly interested in solving the problems of this country under the free institutions and the principles of our great free enterprise system which, in the material sense, has been responsible, with the Lord's help, and the spiritual idealism, stamina, courage and industry of the American people, for making us the greatest, the richest, the most powerful nation in all history.

Your organization has never overlooked the fact that we owe the great blessings we have received in this and other generations to the cherished freedoms we have enjoyed under the Constitution, which have made it possible for everyone living in this country, to utilize his talents, to follow his aspirations and, by dint of his own ability, hard work and perseverance advance himself in every field of his choice in American life.

significant battle has been won through President Johnson's successful efforts to persuade major steel producers not to put into effect an inflationary, across-the-board, 5-percent price hike.

When the price increases were first announced, I spoke out against this inflationary action and I urged the President to do everything in his power to eliminate this threat to wage-price stability. I was gratified that the President acted vigorously and that his efforts have now been rewarded with success.

This episode should serve to remind all of us that the value of the dollar both at home and abroad depends upon a reasonable measure of price stability.

Both labor and management have a responsibility to consider the public interest when they meet face to face across the bargaining table. We always hope that enlightened voluntary action by both parties will serve to maintain the dynamic strength of the American economy. No one—and I repeat—no one wants to see mandatory controls introduced into our free enterprise economy. And as long as inflationary dangers can be warded off through voluntary actions, our free economy will remain free.

MARYGROVE COLLEGE AIDS DETROIT'S INNER CITY

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that more and more Americans are aware of and concerned about the social and physical ills of urban life and that they are responding with individual concern and initiative. They are mobilizing individual energies and talents and the resources of private institutions, large and small, and are beginning to chip away at some of these massive problems.

An especially inspiring example of this individual concern and initiative is Marygrove College, a small, private women's liberal arts school in Detroit, Mich. Operating in the shadow of broad-based job-training and educational programs undertaken by Detroit's biggest industrial firms and universities, Marygrove has decided, nevertheless, to do what it can in its own way.

A few weeks ago, Marygrove launched the first in a series of innovative scholarship programs designed to make its unique facilities more available to the inner-city Negro girl.

Marygrove's goals in undertaking this project were at least threefold. First, as a college, Marygrove wanted to respond to the needs of the community and the Nation in the way it was best qualified. But its faculty and administration hoped that they would gain along with the students by living and working with persons of different racial, social, and economic backgrounds. And, the college wanted to take the initiative in attracting young Negro women of ability.

The program was conceived and launched with a realistic understanding of Marygrove's resources and responsibilities in the large metropolitan community. Sister Jane Mary, one of the architects of the program, explains it this way:

> Since Marygrove opened in Detroit in 1927, it has served young women of all races and creeds. However, the possibility of attending a private, liberal arts college like Marygrove does not enter into the thinking of inner-city Negro girls of ability.
>
> Colleges like ours are relatively expensive, they are thought to be denominational, and they are less cosmopolitan than the large, urban, co-educational institutions. We, therefore, sought out, with the cooperation of high school counselors in Detroit's public schools, qualified young women for a College Talent Program.

Under the first phase of the program which is now nearing completion, 12 high school graduates were invited to the campus for a 6-week intensive learning and living program with five upperclassmen and five faculty members. The prospective freshmen were thoroughly tested for placement and then tutored in English or mathematics, according to their individual needs. In their free time they were exposed to concerts and plays.

When the program is completed this month, those who are recommended for college by faculty counselors will be given full tuition and residence scholarships.

Another phase of the program will provide a $900 tuition scholarship, plus $300 in expense money to 20 needy students who will commute to and from college. In addition, each Detroit high school has been provided with one full tuition scholarship to Marygrove which it may award to an eligible and needy student. And, the college's placement office already has found jobs for 66 prospective freshmen, 21 of whom are included in the special scholarship programs.

The entire cost of the project is borne by the college, assisted by private subscription from friends. Admittedly not a large-scale undertaking, the program has a total of $24,000 pledged to it with $23,000 subscribed. But it is an example of what a relatively small, but mightily concerned institution and its faculty can do.

Were this concern projected through all of the small institutions in the country, it almost certainly would make a major impact on some of our most pressing problems. Sister Jane Mary says:

> If a small women's college can venture in this way, we might think of multiplying such programs a thousandfold and more across the country. Such a multiplied effect could make a perceptible contribution to the problems of inequality in education which underlie so many other inequities in our country.

A DISTINGUISHED CLERGYMAN CELEBRATES HIS 40TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the 11th of August marked the 40th anniversary of Dr. Lee Roberson's ministry and some 25 years service to the congregation of Highland Park Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tenn., one or the Nation's largest.

On such an occasion, it is difficult to highlight, in a few words, the good works and memorable accomplishments which have made Dr. Roberson's life a landmark.

Thousands of people have come to know and respect this man of God, through his work with the Highland Park Baptist Church, Camp Joy, the World Wide Faith Missions, Tennessee Temple Schools, the Union Gospel Mission, the "Gospel Dynamite" broadcasts and the many other activities which have filled his days.

In this time of questioning and doubt, we Chattanoogans are especially grateful to have a man like Dr. Roberson among us, and I am sure I speak for all of us in extending heartfelt congratulations to him on this, the anniversary of his ministry among us.

THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, at the root of the various crises in the Red empire is the ineradicable spirit of nationalism that inspires all of the captive nations striving for freedom and independence. Whether it be in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Armenia, or North Vietnam, the spirit is basic to all the demands for reform, relaxation of totalitarian oppression, and improved economic standards. The ultimate source of power which really sustains the Red empire—and this, regardless of the rifts, squabbles, and so-called nonmonolith of the Communist world—is the Soviet Union itself. What too many Americans fail to recognize is the fact that the U.S.S.R. is itself an imperial system, made up of numerous, exploited captive nations.

For a working and solid perspective on the U.S.S.R., the new book "The Vulnerable Russians" cannot be recommended too highly, as gathered from many favorable reviews. Authored by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, the book maintains in no uncertain terms that Soviet Russian imperiocolonialism is the prime enemy of the United States and the free world.

The work is now available at the Georgetown University bookstore, White Gravenor, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. A nationally and internationally renowned columnist, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, recently reviewed the book in his syndicated column. As shown below, the review highlights the Soviet Union as "really a Red Russian empire":

> Unless the Soviet Union closes the 600 schools of propaganda and subversion wherein it has trained about 150,000 subverters and fomenters of "little wars of liberation" outside its boundaries, the United States will one day have to meet its challenge on the field of political war.
>
> Considering Washington's present fixation on ever more agreements with Moscow, including a nuclear non-proliferation treaty which can spell the end of NATO, that day

may seem remote. But since it is all but inevitable, it is comforting to note that once we make up our mind to give as much as we receive, we shall find the Soviet Union the most vulnerable of all our adversaries.

For contrary to the prevailing American view, what we call the Soviet Union is really a Red Russian Empire with internal colonies whose combined population, 120 million, is greater than that of genuine Russia. This writer has long urged successive U.S. administrations never to discuss the colonialism of any country without making a full expose of Russian colonialism, the last full-fledged variety.

Now a real authority on the subject, Professor Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, Washington, has devoted a book to the subject. Called "The Vulnerable Russians," it sets forth in detail the astonishing weakness in the modern world of a multinational empire a majority of whose colonial peoples yearn for independence.

Our American leaders' failure to recognize this fact to this very day and to take advantage of it accounts for the relative failure of what political warfare we have waged. For the ruling Russians are acutely conscious of it.

Foreigners were amazed at the hearty welcome most Ukrainians gave to Hitler's invading army. But not Moscow, which quickly announced that each "federal republic" could, if it wished, have a foreign office and an army of its own, and then persuaded a gullible FDR to allow the Soviets not one but three votes in the United Nations Assembly!

Stalin knew that what the Bolsheviks had done, essentially, was give a Red economic varnish to tsarist imperialism. During the Russian revolution, nearly all the peoples mentioned as colonial by Dobriansky had immediately revolted.

Yet despite the Bolshevik guff about national independence, Lenin himself slowly reconquered them by fire and sword. For the dominant trait of Soviet communism is not its crazy economics but its devotion to sheer power and itch to conquer.

Dobriansky goes so far as to consider Communist "doctrine" so much eye-wash to camouflage imperialism. I do not accept this since I believe that the Bolshevik leaders I have known personally identified the spread of Soviet communism with Russian nationalism.

This incidentally explains their chagrin at the current unrest among the satellites. And it accounts for the panic fear of the Russian leaders each time a U.S. administration proclaims a captive Nations Week.

Dobriansky believes that by appropriate political warfare, the United States could dismember the empire and thereby reduce our enemy to manageable size. He even describes how to do it.

But read his book and if you agree, tell the President, your senators, your congressman and your candidates that this is the foreign policy you want—now!

STAFF SGT. CHESTER J. MOSHIER, JR., USMC, KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that one of my constituents, Staff Sgt. Chester J. Moshier, Jr., USMC, of Peekskill, N.Y., died in Vietnam last month.

I wish to commend the courage of Sergeant Moshier and to honor his memory by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the following article:

[From the Peekskill (N.Y.) Evening Star, July 26, 1968]

SERVED IN BATTLE ZONE 4 MONTHS

Staff Sgt. Chester J. Moshier, Jr., 32, a longtime member of the U.S. Marines, whose family resides at Dunbar Heights, was killed in action in Vietnam Wednesday.

The family was notified that Sgt. Moshier was killed in a rocket attack in the Quang Nam sector. The Peekskill Marine had been in the battle zone for four months, but had spent one year in Vietnam previously, returning home in May of 1966.

RE-ENLISTED IN 1961

Sgt. Moshier graduated in 1953 from Peekskill High School where he played basketball and baseball. He enlisted in the Marines shortly afterward.

The son of Chester J. and Minnie Jackson Moshier, Sgt. Moshier was born in Peekskill on January 16, 1936.

Surviving are his parents, his wife, the former Vera Storms and four children, Maureen, Chester, Jeffrey and Michele, and a brother, Calvin, and a sister, Mrs. Pearl Brown, all of Peekskill.

Funeral services have not yet been arranged, the family reported this morning.

NEWTON JAYCEES

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein remarks in part that I made early this year at the annual Distinguished Service Award of the Newton Jaycees and a news article from the Newton Graphic about Lewis B. Songer, the recipient of this year's award.

The program was very well conducted, very impressive, and very rewarding to me.

I was very much impressed by the spirit of dedication which was quite evident in the leadership and members of this organization and the outstanding young men selected for the award, and am especially thankful to my able young friend, Mr. Thomas B. Concannon, Jr., chairman of the distinguished award committee for his kind invitation to be in attendance upon this most auspicious occasion, and the courtesy and warm reception accorded me.

The award finalists were Joseph Anthony Arnold, John Edward Borelli, Robert Cohen, Anthony Francis Gentile, Edward J. Goldstein, Richard Sidney Hayden, Nicholas Robert Pasquarosa, Wigmore Alling Pierson, A. Frederick Rosene, and Lewis Burke Songer.

The remarks and article follow:

REMARKS, IN PART, OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN, ANNUAL DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD BANQUET, NEWTON JAYCEES, JANUARY 27, 1968

Mr. Toastmaster, distinguished guests and friends—I am gratified, very much pleased and honored to have this opportunity to meet with the members and friends of this very fine JayCee group of Newton, for which I have such high regard and admiration.

In the first instance I want to congratulate and compliment your leaders upon this very well arranged meeting and thank you for the privilege of being with you, and I also want to congratulate those who have been so greatly honored tonight by the precious, meaningful awards you have conferred upon them.

I think that we are invariably inspired by your JayCee Creed, with which I am personally very familiar, and which outlines in such a convincing fashion the lofty principles and ideals which have been in large measure, together with brilliant dedicated leadership, the motivating force behind this great organization.

Certainly, most Americans, and most people, agree with your Creed that faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life, that the brotherhood of man is a transcending consideration in the world, that economic justice and social justice can best be won by free men through free enterprise, that government should be of law, not of men, that the human personality is a priceless treasure, and that service to humanity is the best work of life.

There can be no question, my friends, that in these troublous days of concern, anguish, upset and unrest, one of the greatest of all needs of the nation and the world is for dedicated service, going even beyond the call of duty, and for far-sighted, informed, courageous leadership prepared and able to grapple resolutely and fearlessly with the very challenging problems of the hour.

It is in this sense that these impressive ceremonies, marking the presentation of the Distinguished Service Award of the Newton JayCees to your vigorous, dynamic young leaders of your outstanding group and of your great city, is particularly noteworthy, since it affirms the practical application in the daily life of your community of the inspiring principles of the JayCee Creed.

Very commendably your JayCee group, here as elsewhere is growing and spreading its influence for good for progress and for stability in many places throughout this country and the world. It is gratifying to note your ceaseless action in so many fields to improve community life and strengthen and support the national spirit and the world spirit.

In many ways, you have moved to bring untold benefits to our young people to broaden their opportunities for wholesome recreation, to sharpen their competitive spirit and to bring them in closer rapport with a host of activities that are bound to strengthen their purpose, elevate their goals and improve their opportunities and advantages in this great nation of ours.

You have stood out literally as a gleaming beacon light to inspire broader citizen participation in the affairs of government and business, and to reaffirm and strengthen faith in the basic tenets of the American heritage.

You have moved to awaken and arouse fresh, vigorous interest in the public business at every level, which must, most assuredly, these days be not only of deep concern, but must receive the active attention of every civic-minded American, and every one who is truly interested in solving the problems of this country under the free institutions and the principles of our great free enterprise system which, in the material sense, has been responsible, with the Lord's help, and the spiritual idealism, stamina, courage and industry of the American people, for making us the greatest, the richest, the most powerful nation in all history.

Your organization has never overlooked the fact that we owe the great blessings we have received in this and other generations to the cherished freedoms we have enjoyed under the Constitution, which have made it possible for everyone living in this country, to utilize his talents, to follow his aspirations and, by dint of his own ability, hard work and perseverance advance himself in every field of his choice in American life.

We should note that this is possible in a free society, regulated by the will of the people, where spiritual values, moral precepts, cultural interests and equality under the law have brought our country and its people greater blessings than anyone possibly could have foreseen, when this form of government and this great economic system were first ordained.

In this generation, I think we must recognize that the progress we have made, the blessings we enjoy did not come from the thin air. They came from devotion and practical adherence to certain great basic principles, which underlie the structure of this Government. They came from a sense of responsibility, a spirit of sacrifice, the willingness of the individual to give of himself to the extent it was required, and the willingness to work together without stint or limit for the common good.

It is well that we should hear about our right we enjoy as Americans, and it is also well that we should hear about the responsibilities we must bear to keep our country on the right course in the world, to see to it that it is kept free and secure and safe from those who would destroy it, truly as a place where all people without regard to race, creed, condition in life can live togther as equals under the law.

Unhappily, at this time, we are engaged in a bloody war thousands of miles from our shores, and our leaders, and many of us who are directly concerned, are doing everything in our power to bring the contending parties to the conference table and establish a just peace in Vietnam and elsewhere. We seek also to arrange for universal disarmament, effective control of nuclear energy and weapons, a new lease of life for the undeveloped and the underprivileged, and a country and a world substituting the rule of law for the rule of the jungle.

Yet we must be gravely concerned by recent events in which an American ship, sailing in international waters, was seized and captured, and together with its crew of almost 100 men, brought to a foreign port.

Admittedly, the implications of this situation are extremely grave. These men and this ship must be returned to American custody. While our leaders must avoid rash action, it must be made clear to the nations directly concerned, and to the United Nations, that we will insist upon the release of these men and this ship.

At the same time, I think that it is a time for all of us, particularly those of us charged with responsibility to avoid intemperate speech or action. Nevertheless this situation is indeed a grave one, and it can only be construed and dealt with in that light.

As you know, we are also facing some extremely difficult, perplexing, fiscal and financial problems—budgetary deficit, taxes, the dollar gap and international monetary exchange.

To solve these, action will be required by law and by administrative regulations. Already, Congress has slashed some 9 or 10 billions of dollars in expenditures, and it is expected that further cuts will be made as part of our fight against run-away inflation and our efforts to insure sound, monetary values.

The country is growing, the economy is expanding and our needs and demands in the space-jet age are very great, and some way must be found to adapt them to a sound economy and efficient, economical management of the affairs of government.

Since I realize the deep interest of you and your members in these questions, and your special interest in the problems of small business, I want to assure you that I will continue to do everything in my power to find satisfactory answers and solutions in these vital fields and I want to assure you of my wholehearted cooperation and willingness to be helpful whenever it is possible to your group and your fine American community.

We are living in a time of turmoil and strife, but it must also be for us and the nation a time of resolution and determination.

Let it be clearly understood by those who assail and challenge us, and who are working so hard to undermine and destroy the foundations of this great citadel of freedom, that it is our unswerving purpose to defend our rich heritage.

Let no one ever doubt or miscalculate the devotion and the firm, unalterable commitment of the American people to uphold our country, and our free way of life, and the cause of human freedom and justice.

As we strive for just peace with all our hearts and energies, let us remain strong in every sense, militarily, economically, and spiritually, and let us firmly embrace the truths, principles and blessings for which this nation stands, so that no power on earth can ever deprive us of the precious birthright of freedom that we cherish so deeply.

Thank you very much.

[From the Newton (Mass.) Graphic]

SONGER WINS JAYCEE AWARD—CONGRESSMAN PHILBIN SPEAKER

Lewis B. Songer of 26 O'Neil Dr., Westboro, executive vice-president of the Newton Chamber of Commerce, was chosen Saturday as the Newton Jaycee Distinguished Citizen of 1967.

Philip J. Philbin of Clinton, Massachusetts Congressman from the 3rd district, was speaker at the event, discussing the gravity of the *Pueblo* incident.

"Leaders must avoid rash action," he said, "but must make clear we insist on the return of the ship and its men."

"We should remain strong militarily, economically and spiritually and embrace the truths, principles and blessings for which this nation stands, so no power can deprive us of the freedom we cherish so deeply," he said. He also discussed budgetary deficits, taxes, and the dollar gap in the internal monetary exchange program.

Mr. Songer, who was graduated cum laude from Holy Cross College, Worcester, where he later served as director of public relations, received his master's degree in economics at Boston College. After serving in the Army, he studied for a summer at Harvard.

In 1958 he became a junior planner with the Boston City Planning Department, which later merged with the Boston Redevelopment Authority. He co-authored the Brighton and West Roxbury district plans and was promoted to senior planner.

Since 1958 he has been editor or associate editor of "The Crossbow," the Boston Holy Cross alumni quarterly, and has served as a member of the board of directors and publicity chairman for the club.

He became executive vice-president of the Newton Chamber of Commerce in July 1966. He has initiated such new programs as the Newton Government and Business Forum, the Newton College Student-Business Liaison Committee and the Congressional Forum Laboratories.

He has organized business improvement committees in West Newton and Newton Corner, and has enlarged the role of the Chamber of Commerce in the public safety.

Through his office, he has participated in committees for Senior Citizens, Newton Community Chest, and Job for Youth Program.

He resides in Westboro with his wife, Mary Jane (McAuliffe), formerly of Belmont, and daughter, Julie.

LEGISLATIVE SUMMARY

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, at the end of each congressional session, I summarize my legislative activities and voting record for the purpose of keeping my constituents advised of my actions. This report will cover most of the legislation that I am certain will be of interest to my constituents of the First Congressional District of Montana.

REPORT ON THE 90TH CONGRESS

This report summarizes the major legislation enacted or pending before the 90th Congress. It includes a congressional boxscore, prepared by the staff of the Democratic study group, giving the status of legislation as of August 1, a brief summary of major bills enacted or awaiting further action, and a summary chart of the appropriation bills. I have also included a list of the bills which I have sponsored or cosponsored.

The material follows:

Bill	House	Senate	Status
Civil rights and civil liberties:			
Civil Rights Commission, (Public Law 90-198)	Passed July 11, 1967	Passed Nov. 1, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 14, 1967.
Federal Jury Reform Act of 1968 (Public Law 90-274)	Passed Feb. 26, 1968	Passed Dec. 8, 1967	Signed into law Mar. 27, 1968.
Civil Rights Act of 1968 (Public Law 90-284)	Passed Aug. 16, 1967	Passed Mar. 11, 1968	Signed into law Apr. 11, 1968.
Congressional matters:			
Standards of official conduct (H. Res. 1099)	Passed Apr. 3, 1968		In effect.
Standards for Congressional district (Public Law 90-196)	Passed Oct. 17, 1967	Passed Nov. 8, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 14, 1967.
Special Committee To Investigate and Report on Campaign Expenditures of Candidates for the House of Representatives (H. Res. 1239).	Reported from Rules Committee July 10, 1968.		
Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 (S. 355)	Pending in Rules Committee	Passed Mar. 7, 1967	
Election Reform Act (H.R. 11233)	Reported from House Administration Committee June 27, 1968.		
Conservation:			
Air Quality Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-148)	Passed Nov. 2, 1967	Passed July 18, 1967	Signed into law Nov. 21, 1967.
Nuclear desalting plant (Public Law 90-18)	Passed Apr. 20, 1967	Passed Feb. 6, 1967	Signed into law May 19, 1967.
National Trail System Act (H.R. 4865)	Passed July 15, 1968	Passed July 1, 1968	
Redwood Park bill (S. 2515)	do	Passed Nov. 1, 1967	In conference.
National Water Commission (S. 20)	Passed July 12, 1967	Passed Feb. 6, 1967	Do.

Bill	House	Senate	Status
Conservation—Continued			
Scenic rivers (H.R. 18260)	Failed of passage under suspension of the rules (Sept. 15, 1968).		
Colorado River Basin project (S. 1004)	Passed May 16, 1968	Passed Aug. 7, 1967	Conference report filed.
Consumer:			
Consumer Credit Protection Act (Public Law 90–321)	Passed Feb. 1, 1968	Passed July 11, 1967	Signed into law May 29, 1968.
Clinical Laboratories Improvement Act of 1967 (Public Law 90–174)	Passed Sept. 20, 1967	Passed Nov. 6, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 5, 1967.
Flammable Fabric Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90–189)	Passed Nov. 27, 1967	Passed July 27, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 14, 1967.
Fire Research and Safety Act (Public Law 90–259)	Passed Feb. 8, 1968	Passed Aug. 16, 1967	Signed into law Mar. 4, 1968.
National Commission on Product Safety (Public Law 90–146)	Passed Nov. 6, 1967	Passed June 6, 1967	Signed into law Nov. 20, 1967.
Wholesome Meat Act (Public Law 90–201)	Passed Oct. 31, 1967	Passed Nov. 28, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 15, 1967.
Automobile insurance study and investigation (Public Law 90–313)	Passed May 7, 1968	Passed Apr. 10, 1968	Signed into law May 22, 1968.
Interstate land sales full disclosure (Public Law 90–448)		Passed May 28, 1968	Signed into law Aug. 1, 1968.
Wholesome Poultry Products Act (H.R. 16363)	Passed July 1, 1968	Passed July 29, 1968	
Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968 (S. 1166)	Passed July 2, 1968	Passed Nov. 9, 1967	Awaiting President's signature.
Crime:			
Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act (Public Law 90–351)	Passed Aug. 8, 1967	Passed May 24, 1968	Signed into law June 18, 1968.
Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials (Public Law 90–100)	Passed Aug. 7, 1967	Passed May 11, 1967	Signed into law Oct. 3, 1967.
Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act (Public Law 90–445)	Passed Sept. 26, 1967	Passed July 8, 1968	Signed into law July 31, 1968.
State Firearms Control Assistance Act (H.R. 17735)	Passed July 24, 1968		
Joint Committee to Investigate Crime (H.J. Res. 1)	Passed July 12, 1968		
Drug abuse amendments (H.R. 14096)	do	Referred to committee	Awaiting Senate action.
Economic development: Appalachian Regional Development Act (Public Law 90–103)	Passed Aug. 14, 1967	Passed Aug .27, 1967	Signed into law Oct. 11, 1967.
Education training and antipoverty:			
Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 (Public Law 90–129)	Passed Sept. 21, 1967	Passed May 17, 1967	Signed into law Nov. 7, 1967.
Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90–247)	Passed May 25, 1967	Passed Dec. 11, 1967	Signed into law Jan. 2, 1968.
Teacher Corps extension (Public Law 90–35)	Passed June 27, 1967	Passed June 28, 1967	Signed into law June 29, 1967.
Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90–99)	Passed Aug. 21, 1967	Passed Sept. 20, 1967	Signed into law Oct. 3, 1967.
Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1968 (Public Law 90–391)	Passed May 6, 1968	Passed June 24, 1968	Signed into law June 25, 1968.
National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act Amendments of 1968 (Public Law 90–348).	Passed Feb. 27, 1968	Passed May 7, 1968	Signed into law June 18, 1968.
Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90-222)	Passed Nov. 15, 1967	Passed Oct. 5, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 23, 1967.
Higher Education Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15067)	Passed July 25, 1968	Passed July 15, 1968	In conference.
Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 18366)	Passed July 15, 1968	Passed July 17, 1968	Do.
Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15045)	Reported June 27. 1967	Reported July 20, 1967	
Guaranteed Employment Act of 1968 (H.R. 12280)	Hearings in progress	Hearings in progress	
Federal employees:			
Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 (Public Law 90–206)	Passed Oct. 11, 1967	Passed Nov. 29, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 16, 1967.
Federal employee protection against invasion of privacy (S. 1035)		Passed Sept. 13, 1967	
Removal of Federal or District of Columbia employees committing unlawful acts related to riots and civil disorders (H.R. 17267).	Reported May 23, 1968		
Foreign and defense policy:			
Peace Corps authorization (Public Law 90–175)	Passed Oct. 23, 1967	Passed May 15, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 5, 1967.
Arms Control and Disarmament Act (Public Law 90–314)	Passed Mar. 6, 1968	Passed Apr. 22, 1968	Signed into law May 23, 1968.
Emergency food assistance to India (Public Law 90–7)	Passed Mar. 9, 1967	Passed Mar. 20, 1967	Signed into law Apr. 1, 1967.
Inter-American Development Bank Act amendments (Public Law 90-88)	Passed July 26, 1967	Passed Aug. 24, 1967	Signed into law Sept. 22, 1967.
Export-Import Bank Act extension (Public Law 90-267)	Passed Feb. 7, 1968	Passed Aug. 11, 1967	Signed into law Mar. 13, 1968.
Export-Import Bank (Public Law 90–390)	Passed June 12, 1968	Passed June 18, 1968	Signed into law July 7, 1968.
Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (Public Law 90–40)	Passed May 25, 1967	Passed May 11, 1967	Signed into law June 30, 1967.
Uniform Services Pay Act of 1967 (Public Law 90–207)	Passed Oct. 26, 1967	Passed Nov. 29, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 8, 1967.
Military construction authorization, 1969 (Public Law 90–408)	Passed Apr. 25, 1968	Passed June 25, 1968	Signed into law July 21, 1968.
Foreign Assistance Act of 1968 (H.R. 15263)	Passed July 18, 1968	Passed July 31, 1968	
Military Procurement Act (S. 3293)	Passed July 11, 1968	Passed Apr. 19, 1968	In conference.
Foreign Military Sales Act (H.R. 15681)	Reported July 3, 1968		
Health and welfare:			
Social Security Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90–248)	Passed Aug. 17, 1967	Passed Nov. 22, 1967	Signed into law Jan. 2, 1968.
Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90–42)	Passed June 19, 1967	Passed June 28, 1967	Signed into law July 1, 1967.
Mental Health Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90–31)	Passed May 17, 1967	Passed June 8, 1967	Signed into law June 24, 1967.
Mental Retardation Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90–170)	Passed Sept. 20, 1967	Passed Nov. 6, 1967	Signed into law Dec. 4, 1967.
Partnership for Health Act Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90–174)	do	do	Signed into law Dec. 5, 1967.
National Eye Institute (H.R. 12843)	Passed Aug. 1, 1968		
Health Manpower Act of 1968 (H.R. 15757)	do	Passed June 24, 1968	
Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1968 (H.R. 17748)	Reported July 16, 1968		
Public Health Service Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15758)	Passed July 12, 1968	Passed June 24, 1968	In conference.
National School Lunch Act amendments (H.R. 17872)	Passed July 1, 1968	Passed July 17, 1968	Do.
National School Lunch Act (H.R. 17873)	do	do	Do.
Housing: Housing and Urban Development Act, 1968 (Public Law 90–448)	Passed July 10, 1968	Passed May 28, 1968	Signed into law Aug. 1, 1968.
Labor:			
Monday holidays (Public Law 90–363)	Passed May 9, 1968	Passed June 24, 1968	Signed into law June 28, 1968.
Situs picketing (H.R. 100)	Reported May 4, 1967		
Coverage of agricultural workers under the National Labor Relations Act (H.R. 16014)	Reported Apr. 3, 1968		
Public Works:			
Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968 (S. 3418)	Passed July 3, 1968	Passed July 1, 1968	Awaiting President's signature.
Rivers and Harbors Flood Control Act, 1968 (S. 3710)	Passed July 15, 1968	Passed July 2, 1968	Do.
Accessibility of Federal buildings to the physically handicapped (S. 222)	Passed June 7, 1968	Passed Aug. 25, 1967	Do.
Taxation:			
Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (Public Law 90–364)	Passed Feb. 23, 1968	Passed Apr. 2, 1968	Signed into law June 28, 1968.
Interest equalization tax (Public Law 90–219)	Passed Mar. 15, 1967	Passed July 25, 1967	Signed into law July 31, 1967.
Investment tax credit (Public Law 90–26)	Passed Mar. 16, 1967	Passed May 9, 1967	Signed into law June 13, 1967.
Interstate Taxation Act (H.R. 2158)	Passed May 22, 1968		
Foreign travel tax (H.R. 16241)	Passed Apr. 4, 1965		
Veterans:			
Veterans Pensions and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967	Passed Mar. 20, 1967	Passed Feb. 7, 1967	Signed into law Aug. 31, 1967.
Veterans Mortgage Insurance Act (Public Law 90-301)	Passed Mar. 26, 1968	Passed Apr. 19, 1968	Signed into law May 7, 1968.
Service-connected compensation increase for veterans (H.R. 16027)	Passed June 6, 1968	Passed July 31, 1968	

AGRICULTURE

Awaiting further action

Extension of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 (H.R. 17126): As passed by the House, this measure extends for one year, through 1970, the basic Administration farm policy. The act provides supports for corn, wheat, feed grain, milk, wool and mohair. In addition, it provides for voluntary crop reduction programs for wheat, cotton and rice. A crop adjustment program provides payments to farmers who divert their entire crop and take conservation steps. By floor amendment the House limited total payments to any one farmer to $20,000.

Extension of the Food Stamp Program (H.R. 18249): As passed by the House, this measure provides a four-year extension of the Food Stamp Program, through fiscal year 1972. It authorizes funds as needed to carry out the program and prohibits participation by strikers or students unless they were eligible for Food Stamps before striking or entering college. (Olsen co-sponsored.)

American Hunger Commission Act (H.R. 17144): As passed by the House, this measure would establish a Commission on Hunger to undertake a complete study of the unfilled needs of persons suffering from hunger, it would recommend measures (1) to secure greater use of federal food programs by state and local agencies and (2) to establish a coordinated program to insure the fulfillment of the basic hunger needs of every American. The Commission would be composed of eleven members appointed by the President and would have subpoena power. Its report would be due January 1, 1969.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 2121: Permits the inspection of grain under the United States Grain Standards Act shipped in interstate commerce upon the basis of submitted samples by or on behalf of the shipper.

H.R. 8787, Dairy Import Act: Prohibits importation of dairy products for consumption except pursuant to the provisions of this act. Prohibits the importation of dairy products in any calendar year in excess of total average annual quantity thereof which was admitted for consumption during the five calendar years, 1961–1965.

H.R. 9813: Regulates the importation of meat and meat products, so that no more than 585.5 million pounds shall be imported annually, with adjustment on the basis of domestic production.

H.R. 15695, the National Agricultural Bargaining Act: Authorizes a national program to provide for orderly marketing of agricultural commodities.

Title I, National Agricultural Bargaining Program: Creates an independent five member National Agricultural Board to provide assistance to farmer marketing committees and purchase committees; and authorizes the board to administer farm referendums and assist the committee in holding meetings, but prohibits the board to represent solely either farmers or buyers.

Title II, Marketing Orders: Amends the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act.

Title III, Agricultural Fair Practices: Protects associations and organizations of producers and their members or officers from being held responsible for acts where it is not clearly established that they authorized such acts.

H.R. 16584: Establishes producer owned and controlled emergency reserves of wheat, feed, grains, soybeans, rice, cotton, and flaxseed.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Enacted

Civil Rights Commission (P.L. 90–198): P.L. 90–198 extends the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission through January, 1973. The Commission, which conducts studies and prepares reports on civil rights problems, would have gone out of existence at the end of January, 1968.

Federal Jury Reform Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–274): The Federal Jury Reform Act requires that jury panels from which federal juries are drawn be selected at random from a "fair cross section of the community" in which they are empaneled. The Act also specifically prohibits discrimination in jury selection on account of race, color, religion, national origin or economic status.

Civil Rights Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–284): The Omnibus Civil Rights Act contains fair housing and civil rights protection guarantees, an Indian bill of rights and antiriot provisions.

The fair housing provisions, when fully effective in January, 1970, will prohibit discrimination in the sale or rental of about 80 percent of all housing. The provisions cover all multiple-unit dwellings of two, three and four units which are not owner occupied. They also cover most single family housing and most federally assisted housing. Exempted from coverage by the fair housing provisions are some 5.5 million owner-occupied multiple dwellings (often called "Mrs. Murphy" units) which have four or less units and 7.6 million owner-occupied single-family homes sold or rented without the services of a real estate agent.

The civil rights protection provisions of the Act provide federal protection for persons exercising such rights as voting, jury duty, school attendance, employment or use of public facilities and accommodations. The Indian bill of rights provisions guarantee Indians the full protection of the Constitution.

The anti-riot provisions establish federal penalties for crossing a state line or using the facilities of interstate commerce to incite a riot, and for teaching the use, application or making of a firearm or explosive with the intent that the firearm or explosive would be used in a riot. They also make it a federal crime to interfere with a law enforcement officer or fireman performing his official duties during a riot.

The major House vote on the legislation was taken on April 10, 1968, when the House voted to agree to the Senate version of the bill and send the legislation on to the President. The original House version of the bill contained only the rights protection guarantees, while the Senate version contained these guarantees plus the fair housing, Indian rights and anti-riot provisions.

Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–202): The Age Discrimination in Employment Act makes it unlawful for an employer of 25 or more persons, an employment agency or a labor union to (1) discriminate against an individual between the ages of 40 and 65 because of his age or (2) publish a notice or advertisement indicating any preference, limitation, specification or discrimination based on age. These prohibitions are not applicable, however, in cases where age is a bona fide qualification for employment.

CONGRESSIONAL MATTERS

Enacted

Standards of Official Conduct (H. Res. 1099): This resolution amends House rules to: 1) Establish a Code of Official Conduct; 2) Require disclosure of certain outside income and investments; and 3) Make the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct a standing committee.

The eight-point code of conduct—which applies to both members and employees—forbids accepting "gifts of substantial value" from parties with a direct interest in legislation; receiving compensation as a result of using their official position to exert improper influence; accepting an honorarium in excess of what is "usual and customary;" keeping anyone on the public payroll "who does not perform duties commensurate with the compensation he receives;" and converting campaign funds to personal use except as reimbursement "for legitimate and verifiable prior campaign expenditures." The code requires that campaign funds be kept separate from personal funds, and that all proceeds from events such as testimonials be treated as campaign contributions unless donors and participants are given "clear notice in advance . . . that the proceeds are intended for other purposes."

The financial disclosure provision—which covers Members and officers of the House, their employees and professional committee staff members—requires disclosure of major outside sources of income or investments. The basic information on income and investments would be open to public inspection. Details, however, would be filed with the Standards Committee on a confidential basis. (Olsen cosponsored.)

Standards for Congressional Districts (P. L. 90–196): This Act bans at large elections in all states having more than one Representative. Hawaii and New Mexico are exempted from this ban in 1968.

Awaiting further action

Special Committee to Investigate and Report on Campaign Expenditures of Candidate for the House of Representatives (H. Res. 1239): This legislation creates a 5-member Committee to be appointed by the Speaker to investigate the extent and nature of expenditures made by candidates for the House of Representatives in connection with their campaign. The Resolution authorizes the Committee to investigate all contributions and expenditures by individuals, groups, businesses, and labor unions on behalf of candidates. The measure is scheduled to come up on the House floor during the week of July 29.

Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 (S. 355): This Senate-passed bill provides for changes in committee procedures and certain operations of Congress and for a broader application of the lobby registration law.

Election Reform Act (H.R. 11233): This measure as reported overhauls the Federal Election laws pertaining to campaign fund raising and spending in Federal elections. The bill requires full disclosure of political contributions and expenditures by candidates and political committees. A five member bipartisan Federal Elections Commission is established. Honorariums in excess of $100 would be required to be reported to the Commission and all reports filed would be open for public inspection and copying.

CONSERVATION

Enacted

Air Quality Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–148): The Air Quality Act provides for: (1) the designation of air quality control regions by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; (2) the expansion of existing programs for the development of air quality criteria; and (3) the publication of the control techniques used to achieve various levels of air quality.

The legislation authorizes $428 million for federal air pollution efforts over the three year period, fiscal 1968–70. Of this amount, $140 million is a reauthorization of previously unappropriated funds.

Nuclear Desalting Plant (P.L. 90–18): This legislation provides for the construction of a nuclear power and desalting plant in Southern California, and authorizes $57.2 million as the Interior Department's share of the estimated cost of $444.3 million. The plant is to be built in cooperation with the Atomic Energy Commission, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, and three public utility corporations. Congress has already appropriated the AEC's $15 million share of the project. This plant will be the first large scale application of nuclear energy to the desalting process. It is expected to produce 150 million gallons of fresh water daily by 1977.

Awaiting further action

National Trail System Act (H.R. 4865): This act establishes a national trail system composed of National Recreation Trails near urban areas and National Scenic Trails in more remote areas. Both systems will be linked into the national system.

Redwood Park Bill (S. 2515): S. 2515, as passed by the House, establishes a Redwood National Park of approximately 28,400 acres in Northern California. The park would incorporate 24 miles of coast line and 4 miles of scenic corridor. The Senate-passed Redwood bill provides a park of 61,600 acres (Olsen cosponsored.)

National Water Commission (S. 20): The legislation creates a non-federal National Water Commission to review such U.S. water resource problems as future supply and pollution.

Scenic Rivers (H.R. 18260): H.R. 18260 establishes a national scenic rivers system composed of six rivers: the Rogue in Oregon, the Clearwater and the Middle Fork of the Salmon in Idaho, the Rio Grande in New Mexico, the Wolf in Wisconsin, and the St. Croix in Minnesota and Wisconsin. It provides that the rivers included in the system are to be preserved in their natural state and used for esthetic and recreational purposes. The legislation also lists twenty-eight river sections as potential additions to the system and forbids federal licensing of power or water resource projects on the parts of the rivers designated for a period of five years following passage of the act, and three additional years if a study of the river is being made. If the Secretary of the Interior determines that the river should not be included in the system, the limits will not apply. The measure has not passed either House.

Colorado River Basin Project (S. 1004): S. 1004 authorizes construction of the Central Arizona project and five other water projects in the Colorado River Basin. The Central Arizona project is aimed at increasing the supply of water to Arizona, both for irrigation purposes and for use of growing metropolitan areas. The project includes a complicated water supply system, but will not include dams in the Grand Canyon. The conference report is awaiting House and Senate approval.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 16547: Designates the Spanish Peaks Wilderness, Gallatin National Forest, in the State of Montana.

CONSUMER PROGRAMS

Enacted

Clinical Laboratories Improvement Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–174): This measure authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish minimum performance standards for all clinical laboratories engaged in interstate commerce and permits the Secretary to bring court action against any licensed laboratory that represents an imminent danger to public health.

Consumer Credit Protection Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–321): This measure requires lenders and retail creditors to provide full disclosure of the terms and conditions of finance charges in most credit transactions and offers to extend credit. The new law requires disclosure of interest rates on all revolving charge accounts on both a monthly and annual basis where the monthly charge is over $.50, imposes a federal limit on garnishment of wages and prohibits the discharge of a worker based on a single garnishment, provides a strict federal anti-loan sharking provision, and creates a bipartisan National Commission on Consumer Finance to study the cosumer finance industry and report its findings to the President and the Congress.

Flammable Fabrics Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–189): This measure extends the 1953 Act to cover all items of wearing apparel and fabrics used in household furnishings. It empowers the Secretary of Commerce to issue basic standards for the flammability of fabrics when he determines the standards are necessary to protect the public interest. The measure authorizes $1.5 million for fiscal 1968 and $2.3 million for each of the fiscal years 1969 and 1970.

Fire Research and Safety Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–259): This measure authorizes the National Bureau of Standards to conduct studies into the causes of fires and the methods of controlling them and directs the Bureau to establish programs to educate the public on fire hazards and fire safety techniques.

National Commission on Product Safety (1967, P.L. 90–146): This measure provides for a seven member Commission appointed by the President and directed to identify categories of household products which may represent an unreasonable hazard to consumers. The Commission is also directed to determine the effectiveness and extent of state and local product safety laws and to report to the President and the Congress as to its findings and recommendations. The measure authorizes $2 million over the two-year life of the Commission.

Wholesome Meat Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–201): The Wholesome Meat Act provides federal aid to states which upgrade their meat inspection procedures. It updates and strengthens federal inspection standards and requires states to meet standards "at least equal to" the federal standards within two years. If a state does not do so, the Secretary of Agriculture is empowered to assume all inspection and enforcement duties within its borders. The measure also grants the Department of Agriculture authority under court order to seize and detain the illegal sale of meat from diseased, dying, dead or disabled animals.

Automobile Insurance Study and Investigation (P.L. 90–313): This measure authorizes the Department of Transportation to conduct a comprehensive study of the auto insurance industry and, in particular, the existing compensation system for motor vehicles.

Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act (P.L. 90–488): This provision of the Housing and Development Act of 1968 is designed to prevent fraudulent interstate sales of subdivided but undeveloped land. Developers would be required to file with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development a statement of record as to the title to the property, its physical characteristics and its accessibility to roads and utilities. A property report including much of this information would have to be presented to any prospective buyer who does not visit the property. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development would be empowered to seek injunctive relief to prevent violations of the Act.

Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968 (S. 1166): The Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act directs the Secretary of Transportation to establish minimum safety standards for the transportation of gas by pipeline, for gas storage, and for pipeline facilities used in the transportation and treatment of gas. The bill requires persons engaged in the transpotration of pipeline to comply with the standards, to file a plan for inspection, make accident reports and access to records. The standards apply to existing pipeline only if the Secretary of Transportation finds that a "particular hazard" exists. The Secretary would enforce the Act with respect to interstate lines. All other enforcement would be undertaken by the state either by agreement or upon certification by the state that its standards are as stringent as the federal standard.

The legislation cleared Congress on July 31, and is awaiting the President's signature.

Awaiting further action

Wholesome Poultry Products Act (H.R. 16363): As passed by the House, H.R. 16363 would require states to implement within two years—and in certain cases three years—inspection programs which are at least equal to the federal poultry inspection program. The federal government would contribute up to 50% of the cost of running the state inspection programs. If a state did not adopt an effective inspection program within the time limit provided, federal inspectors would assume the inspection functions. In most respects, H.R. 16363 parallels the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967. Passed by the Senate and sent to conference on July 29.

CRIME

Enacted

Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act (P.L. 90–351): The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, the major anti-crime bill enacted in the 90th Congress, authorizes $100.1 million in fiscal 1969 and $300 million in fiscal 1970 for grants to aid state and local police in planning and carrying out law enforcement programs and to enable them to develop training and research programs. The Act also includes provisions (1) permitting wire tapping in a wide variety of state and federal crime cases, (2) attempting to overturn controversial Supreme Court decisions on the rights of defendants and (3) prohibiting the interstate shipment to individuals of pistols and revolvers and the over-the-counter purchase of handguns by individuals who do not live in the seller's state.

Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials (P.L. 90–100): The Obscenity Commission is to study existing laws relating to obscenity, recommend definitions of obscenity and pornography, determine the effect of such materials on the public, and recommend possible controls which would not infringe constitutional rights. The Commission is directed to report in 1970.

Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act (P.L. 90–445): The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act which has been reported by the conference committee, authorize federal grants to states to assist them in developing programs to prevent juvenile delinquency and to rehabilitate delinquents. The Act authorizes $25 million for grants in fiscal 1969, $50 million in fiscal 1970; and $75 million in fiscal 1972.

Civil Rights Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–284): See Section on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties for anti-riot provisions.

Awaiting further action

Joint Committee to Investigate Crime (H.J. Res. 1): As passed by the House, the resolution creates a joint House-Senate Committee to investigate crime. The Committee is to study the abuses and effects of crime, law enforcement operations, rehabilitation and juvenile delinquency programs and the administration of justice. (Olsen cosponsored.)

Drug Abuse Control Amendments (H.R. 14096): As passed by the House, this bill provides criminal penalties for the possession of illegally obtained stimulant, depressant or hallucinogenic drugs (categories including amphetamines or "pep pills," barbiturates and LSD). The penalties are graduated in such a fashion as to distinguish between "pushers" of drugs and mere users of drugs. Pushers are subject to penalties ranging from a $10,000 fine and up to 5 years in prison for first offenses to $20,000 fines and 15 year prison terms for subsequent offenses. Users are subject to $1,000 fines and one-year jail terms for first offenses and $10,000 fines and three-year jail terms for subsequent offenses. The Amendments also authorize judges to set aside convictions of first offenders, a provision designed to keep young people experimenting with drugs from having a criminal record.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 11836, Riot Prevention and Control Act: Authorizes and directs the Attorney General to carry out during fiscal 1968 and each fiscal year thereafter a program for making grants to assist local law enforcement agencies in the prevention and control of riots. Authorizes appropriations of $300,000,000 for fiscal 1968 and such sums as may be necessary for each fiscal year thereafter.

H.R. 12120, Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act:

Title I. Rehabilitative and Preventive Services: Authorizes grants to any public agency for treating youths in danger of becoming delinquent.

Title II, Training: Authorizes grants for training personnel employed in the treatment of youths who are delinquent or are in danger of becoming delinquent.

Title III, Research and Technical Assistance: Authorizes grants to public or private agencies for research into improved techniques towards the prevention of delinquency.

Title IV, General: Authorizes $25 million for fiscal year ending June 30, 1969 to carry out the provisions of this act.

H.R. 18897: For the Establishment of a National Crime Statistics Center. The Center will collect statistics from Federal, State and Local agencies and act as a central distribution agency in the criminal justice system.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Enacted

Appalachian Regional Development Act—Public Works and Economic Development Act Amendments (P.L. 90–103): P.L. 90–103 extends, through fiscal years 1968 and 1969, all of the programs originally authorized in the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and the nonhighway programs authorized in the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. It authorizes a two-year total of $75 million for the programs under the Public Works and Economic Development Act and $170 million for the Appalachian Development Act programs.

P.L. 90–103 also extends, through fiscal years 1968, 1969, 1970, and 1971, the highway construction programs authorized in the appalachian Development Act. It authorizes a two-year total of $715 million for these programs.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act is designed to provide special federal aid to economically depressed areas in Appalachia to help construct public facilities needed for economic growth and to restore natural resources which were damaged through neglect and growth. The Public Works and Economic Development Act provides for the creation of multi-state regional commissions to plan economic development in other depressed regions of the country.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 8473, Economic Opportunity Amendments: Authorizes the appropriation of 2.06 billion of dollars during fiscal year 1968 to carry out the provisions of the Economic Opportuntiy Act.

EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND ANTIPOVERTY

Enacted

Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 (P.L. 90-129): The Public Broadcasting Act authorizes federal grants to assist educational radio and television broadcasting and establishes a nonprofit, nongovernmental corporation to channel private financial assistance to educational radio and TV. The Act authorizes appropriations of $38 million to be used for grants in fiscal years 1968–70, and for establishment of the corporation.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–247): The 1967 Elementary and Secondary Act Amendments extend the 1965 Act for two additional years—through fiscal year 1970—and authorize a total of $9 billion for the operation of ESEA programs during that period.

The measure also creates several new ESEA programs and amends existing ESEA programs. The new programs include a bilingual education program for school districts having large numbers of non-English speaking students, additional grants for special education of handicapped children and studies of urban school dropouts and school bus safety. Amendments to existing ESEA programs include conversion of the innovative education grant program from a categorical grant program to a block grant program. Another prohibits the federal government from cutting off funds to a local school district because of civil rights violations unless there is a finding on the record that the district has violated the law.

Teacher Corps Extension (P.L. 90–35): This legislation extends the life of the Teachers Corps by authorizing $135 million for its operation during fiscal years 1968–1970. The legislation also authorizes $435 million during fiscal years 1969–1970 for graduate fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers, grants to colleges and universities to help them improve graduate education facilities, and four new teacher training programs.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–99) and Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1968 (P.L. 90–391): These two measures, taken together, extend all of the major programs included in the Vocational Rehabilitation Act through fiscal year 1972. They authorize appropriations totalling over $3.6 billion for the four-year period.

Both measures also make some substantive changes in vocational rehabilitation programs. The major change, included in the 1968 Amendments, is the addition of a new program of federal support for state vocational assistance programs for disadvantaged—as opposed to handicapped—persons.

National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act Amendments of 1968 (P.L. 90–348): This measure extends the life of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities until June 30, 1970, and authorizes the appropriation of $47.5 million to the operation of the Foundation in fiscal years 1969 and 1970.

Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–222): The 1967 Economic Opportunity Act Amendments extend the antipoverty program for two years by authorizing appropriations of $1.98 billion for fiscal 1968 poverty programs and $2.18 billion for fiscal 1969 poverty programs.

The Amendments also attach a number of amendments, stipulations and conditions to the Economic Opportunity Act. These include (1) a provision for the participation of local elected officials in the operation of community action agencies; (2) consolidation into a single comprehensive work and training program of such programs as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the "new careers" programs and Operation Mainstream; (3) establishment of a special impact program to alleviate chronic unemployment and rising community tensions in urban neighborhoods and to stem emigration to the cities from rural neighborhoods; (4) a provision stressing the importance of developing programs to deal with long-term unemployment among persons 55 years of age or older; (5) a day-care program to aid working mothers and (6) a ban on political activity by anti-poverty workers during working hours.

Awaiting further action

Higher Education Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15067; S. 3769): The 1968 Higher Education Act Amendments will extend, through fiscal year 1972, the programs originally authorized in the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Higher Education Act of 1965 and the National Vocational Student Loan Act of 1965. Both the House and Senate have passed the 1968 Amendments and a conference committee is attempting to iron out differences between the two versions.

The chief difference between the House and Senate bills lies in the sums authorized. Generally, the Senate bill authorizes slightly more for most programs than the House bill. The total authorization in both bills, however, runs well over $3 billion a year.

Both bills contain several new programs, including a public service education program, a Commission on University Education, and a program to encourage universities to share resources. Both also transfer the Upward Bound program from OEO to the Office of Education.

Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 18366; S. 3770): These Amendments will extend the programs included in the Vocational Education Act. Versions of the Amendments have passed the House and the Senate and a conference committee is to resolve the differences between the two versions.

The Senate-passed bill authorizes continuation of vocational education programs through fiscal year 1972 and authorizes a total appropriation of $2.7 billion. In addition, the Senate bill, in a provision totally unrelated to vocational education, transfers the Head Start program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education and converts it into a block grant program.

The House-passed bill authorizes continuation of vocational education programs indefinitely and authorizes total appropriations of $1.3 billion for fiscal years 1969 and 1970 and an annual appropriation of $565 million for each succeeding year.

Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15045; S. 2938): The 1968 Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments extend the expiration dates contained in the present Manpower Development and Training Act from 1969 to 1972.

The Amendments have been favorably reported from both the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and are awaiting floor action in both chambers.

Guaranteed Employment Act of 1968 (H.R. 12280; S. 3063): The Guaranteed Employment Act would establish a program to use federal funds to provide public service employment jobs for unemployed young people. The House version would attempt to create up to one million jobs in its first year of operation, at a cost of $4 billion. The Senate version would create 450,000 in its first year, at an estimated cost of $2 billion.

Subcommittees of the House Education and Labor and Senate Labor and Public Welfare have held hearings on these bills, but have not taken further action.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 13568, National Human Resources Center Act: Creates a national training center on the site of the former Glasgow Air Force Base, Glasgow, Montana.

H.R. 16939, General Education Assistance Act: Establishes a program of grants to State educational agencies for their use in elementary and secondary education.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Enacted

Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–206): This legislation, approved December 16, 1967, provides a 6% raise in the salaries of 725,000 postal employees and provides a 4.5% raise for 1.3 million classified workers, retroactive to October 1, 1967. The Act also provides for gradual increases in federal salaries to bring them to the level of pay in private employment. The legislation establishes a Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries whose function will be to review salaries of federal executives and report its findings annually to the President. (Olsen cosponsored.)

Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–364): See Tax section for material on federal employee reductions.

Awaiting further action

Federal Employee Protection Against Invasion of Privacy (S. 1035): This legislation, approved by the Senate on September 13, 1967, prohibits federal officers from requiring or requesting federal employees or applicants to disclose their race, religion, national origin, financial positon or to take psychological or polygraph tests concerning family relationships, religious beliefs, or sexual matters. Federal officials are further prevented from requiring attendance at meetings or participation in activities which are unrelated to the individual employees' work. The bill gives employees the right to counsel at hearings which could result in disciplinary action, and establishes a Board of Employees' Rights to consider complaints. The CIA, NSA, and FBI are exempted from the provisions of the bill regulating polygraph and psychological tests, and financial disclosure.

Removal of Federal or District of Columbia Employees Committing unlawful Acts related to Riots or Civil Disorders (H.R. 17267): This proposed legislation provides for the immediate dismissal from government service of any employee of the federal government or the District of Columbia government who is convicted of committing an unlawful act directly or indirectly related to a riot or civil disorder. It also provides that such persons be debarred from further government employment for a period of five years. It has not been considered by either House.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 2122, Federal Employees Labor-Management Act: Provides for the recognition of the right of Federal employees to assemble, discuss and present their grievances without fear of reprisal.

H.R. 3377: Provides annuities for an unremarried, surviving spouse of a Federal employee or Member of Congress at the rate of 55 percent of the annuity received by such annuitant at the time of death.

H.R. 4770: Extends to December 31, 1968, the period of existence of the Commission on Political Activity of Government Personnel.

H.R. 7347: Establishes a basic workweek of thirty-five hours for Government employees.

H.R. 16329, Political Activities Act: Defines the limits of permissible political activities for Federal employees and employees of States and local agencies whose activities are financed in whole or in part by Federal grants or loans.

H.R. 16524: Provides that the Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters of first, second, and third classes in the competitive civil service without term by (1) noncompetitive examination of career appointments in the Postal Service, or (2) by competitive examinations under the civil service. Repeals the residence requirements for postmasters.

FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

Enacted

Consular Treaty (Executive Document, Exec. Rept. 4): This treaty provides for the establishment and operation of consulates in the United States and the Soviet Union. It accords diplomatic immunity to consular officials and employees and provides that each country will promptly notify the other of the arrest or detention of a citizen of the other country. This is the first bilateral treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Peace Corps Authorization (P.L. 90–175): This measure authorizes appropriations of $115.7 million for the Peace Corps for fiscal 1968, a figure $3 million below the Administration request, but $5.7 million above the amount authorized in fiscal 1967.

Arms Control and Disarmament Act (P.L., 90–314): This measure extends the life of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for two years, through June 30, 1970, and authorizes $18.5 million for the agency's activities during the two-year period.

Emergency Food Assistance to India (P.L. 90–7): The Emergency Food Assistance Act provided an additional 3 million tons of food aid to India in 1967 at a cost of $190 million. It also recommended that the President provide an additional $25 million to be used to provide emergency food to be distributed by CARE and other voluntary American agencies.

Inter-American Development Bank Act Amendments (P.L. 90–88): This measure authorizes additional United States contributions of $900 million to the Inter-American Development Bank Fund for Special Operations over fiscal 1968–70 to implement hemispheric agreements made at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in April of 1967.

Export-Import Bank Act Extension (P.L. 90–267): This measure extends the life of the Export-Import Bank for five years until June 30, 1973. It increases the Bank's authority to issue export credit insurance, make loans, and extend loan insurance. The measure prohibits: (1) Bank transactions in connection with exports to nations in armed conflict with the United States, or countries trading with such nations; (2) Financing export purchases to "Communist" nations unless the President determines that such transactions are in the national interest; (3) Bank credits for military equipment sales to less developed countries unless the President determines that such sales are in the national interest.

Export-Import Bank (P.L. 90–390): This Act broadens the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank by permitting it to make high-risk loans to foreign borrowers who, under existing standards would be ineligible for credit.

Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–40): This measure extends the military draft 4 years through June 30, 1971. While it bars the use of a lottery selection system, it does not oppose the President's plan to reverse the order of induction from the age of 26 to the age of 19. It continues student deferment until graduate from college at the age of 24. It also changes the test for exemption based on conscientious objection to require that a claim for exemption be based on reasons of "religious training and belief" rather than belief in a "Supreme Being."

Uniform Services Pay Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–207): This measure increases monthly pay of servicemen effective October 1, 1967. The pay raise is computed at a rate of 4.5% for regular compensation which includes basic pay, quarters and subsistence allowance. The measure also provides automatic pay raises in the future corresponding to pay increases for civilian federal employees.

Military Construction Authorizations, 1969 (P.L. 90–408): This measure authorizes $1.8 billion for construction at U.S. military bases in the United States and abroad, and for construction and maintenance of military family housing. The Act includes $1.7 billion for new construction and $17.3 million in deficiency funds to cover higher costs of projects authorized in previous years. Authorization of $227.3 million to develop sites for the anti-ballistic missile system is included.

Awaiting further action

Foreign Assistance Act of 1968 (H.R. 15253): This measure, as passed by the House, authorizes foreign aid appropriations of $2 billion for fiscal 1969, a figure $950 million below the Administration's request and $700 million below 1968 authorizations. This figure is the lowest in the twenty-year history of the program. The authorization includes $1.6 billion for economic aid and $390 million for military aid. The latter does not include military aid for Southeast Asia. The Senate, in floor action, cut the authorization by an additional $20 million. The measure is now in conference.

Military Procurement Act (S. 3293): This measure, as passed by the House, authorizes $21.6 billion in appropriations during fiscal year 1969. The amount authorized by the House is $758 million below the Administration request and $285 million more than approved by the Senate. Both the House and Senate eliminated funds for the production of the F–111B aircraft and voted to retain funds for the Sentinel system. The measure, which contains the largest amount authorized in a single bill this year is in conference.

A similar measure authorizing appropriations of $21.2 billion for fiscal 1968 was enacted last year.

Foreign Military Sales Act (H.R. 15681): H.R. 15681 authorizes the President to sell defense articles and services to friendly foreign countries. It sets a limit of $296 million in fiscal 1969 on all credit sales and guarantees and requires a report be submitted to the Speaker of the House and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The sales must be consistent with the foreign policy of the United States and a recipient country must indicate its ability to pay.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 4135, Lead and Zinc Act: Provides lead and zinc import quotas aimed at protecting the domestic economy and assisting in the national defense by providing for an adequate supply of lead and zinc from domestic and foreign sources.

H.R. 15945: Directs the Secretary of Commerce to issue import limitations on metal ore or metals during a domestic labor dispute resulting in a strike or lockout of fifty percent of employees of a domestic industry engaged in extracting, smelting or fabrication of such metal.

H. Con. Res. 180: Provides that Congress reaffirms its support for United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking.

H. Con. Res. 622: Makes it the sense of the Congress that it shall be the policy of the United States to require the Republic of France to immediately begin payment of its World War I debt to the United States.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Enacted

Social Security Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–248): The Social Security Act Amendments provide a 13% across-the-board benefit increase for all beneficiaries of the old-age, survivors and disability insurance program. The increase, which was effective on February 1, 1968, raises the average monthly benefit paid to a retired worker and his wife to $165, from $145 per month before the increase. The minimum benefit for a worker retiring at age 65 is now $55 a month, as opposed to $44 previously.

The Amendments include several other provisions designed to update the Social Security system. Most important of these is an increase in the amount of permissible outside earnings for OASDI beneficiaries from $1500 to $1650 a year.

To cover the cost of the increased benefits, the Amendments include provisions to raise the wage base subject to the payroll tax from $6,600 to $7,800. The Amendments, however, do not change the tax rate.

The 1967 Amendments also include a controversial provision freezing the number of children receiving aid to dependent children assistance and requiring welfare mothers to work. (The 1968 Revenue and Expenditure Control Act contained language postponing the AFDC freeze from 1968 to 1969).

Older Americans Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–42): The measure extends the Older Americans Act for five years, through fiscal 1972, and authorizes appropriations of $17 million in fiscal 1968 and $26 million in fiscal 1969 to operate the research, demonstration and training programs included in the Act.

Mental Health Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–31): The 1967 Mental Health Act Amendments extend federal grant programs for the construction and staffing of community mental health centers through fiscal 1970, they authorize total appropriation during that period of $180 million for construction and $58 million for staffing.

Mental Retardation Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–170): The Mental Retardation Act Amendments extend—through fiscal 1970—two grant programs for the construction of mental retardation facilities, extend for an additional year—also through fiscal 1970—an existing program for training teachers of the handicapped, and initiate a new program for training teachers in physical education and recreation for the handicapped. The authorizations contained in the Amendments total $281 million for fiscal 1968–1970.

Partnership for Health Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–174): This measure authorizes $589 million in fiscal 1968–1970 for grants to states to assist them in developing comprehensive health planning and services. The measure includes $40 million intended, though not specifically earmarked, for rat control projects.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90–99) and Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1968 (P.L. 90–391): See Education Section.

Awaiting further action

National Eye Institute (H.R. 12843, S. 325): As passed by the House, this legislation establishes a National Eye Institute within the National Institutes of Health. The Institute will be responsible for the conduct and support of research for new treatment, cures and training relating to blinding eye diseases.

Health Manpower Act of 1968 (H.R. 15757, S. 3095): The Health Manpower Act of 1968 extends the five major health programs provided in the Public Health Service Act, the Health Research and Facilities Act, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, the Nurse Training Act and the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act. These programs provide training grants for medical and allied health personnel, construction and improvement grants for medical training and research facilities, and health student loan and scholarship programs.

The legislation has been passed by the House and Senate. The Senate version of the bill provides a three-year extension for the programs, through fiscal 1971, while the House version provides a two-year extension. The measure is in conference.

Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1968 (H.R. 17748, S. 2864): The Occupational Health and Safety Act authorizes the Secretary of Labor to establish safety standards for working conditions; provides support for safety research and training programs; establishes standard procedures for reporting industrial accidents and injuries; delineates state and federal responsibilities relating to occupational health and safety; and provides assistance to states to help them meet their responsibilities under the Act.

The legislation has been reported by the House Education and Labor Committee, but has not seen floor action. The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has completed hearings on the measure.

Public Health Service Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15758; S. —): Amendments to the Public Health Service Act which extend for two years, through fiscal 1970, several major health programs and which create one new health program has passed both the House and the Senate.

Both the House and the Senate versions of the Amendments extend the program of regional medical centers for heart disease, stroke, cancer and related diseases and the program of grants for health services for domestic agricultural migratory workers. Both versions create a new program providing for the construction and staffing of facilities for the rehabilitation of narcotics addicts and alcoholics.

The Senate version also contains language extending the Hill-Burton Act and the solid waste disposal program. This language is not included in the House bill. The measure is in conference.

National School Lunch Act Amendments (H.R. 17822): Both the House and Senate have passed National School Lunch Act amendments which are designed to make available nutritious meals to needy children not now being reached by federal programs providing free or reduced price meals. The House passed the amendments as a separate bill. The Senate included the amendments as a rider to the Vocational Education bill.

The amendments attempt to achieve their goal by changing section 32 of P.L. 74–320 to authorize funds ($100 million a year in the House bill, $50 million a year in the Senate bill) for fiscal years 1969, 1970 and 1971 to expand the school lunch, school breakfast and similar programs. The supplementary money is to be used to provide free or low cost meals to children who are unable to pay the full cost of meals now provided under these programs and to establish such programs where they are not currently operating.

The conferees on the Vocational Education bill are attempting to iron out the differences between the House and Senate versions of the amendments. (Olsen cosponsored.)

National School Lunch Act Amendment (H.R. 17873): This legislation, a companion measure to the bill described above, amends the National School Lunch Act to (1) require that a percentage of the non-federal share necessary for federal grants under the Act come from state tax revenues and (2) amplify the present language of the Act which requires meals to be served without cost or at reduced cost to all children unable to pay the full cost of the meal, by making clear that this is an absolute requirement. The first amendment is designed to prevent the practice, currently followed in some states, of raising the entire non-federal share from charges made to pupils for their meals and from local funds.

This legislation passed the House as a separate bill and the Senate as a rider to the Vocational Education Act Amendments. It is expected that the conferees on the Vocational Education Act will include it in the conference report on that bill.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 5086: Includes under the Social Security Act (Medicare Title), drugs requiring a doctor's prescription among the medical expenses with respect to which payment may be made under the voluntary program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged.

H.R. 8502, Social Security Amendments: Provides various increases in the amount of the monthly benefits payable under title II of the Social Security Act (old age and survivors insurance.)

H.R. 17748. Occupational Safety and Health Act: Authorizes the Secretary of Labor by rule to promulgate any occupational safety and health standards for working men and women which is a national consensus standard, permits any person aggrieved or adversely affected to obtain judicial review, and provides for Federal-State cooperation in this field.

HOUSING

Enacted

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–448): This measure authorizes $5.3 billion over a three-year period for new and ongoing programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The omnibus bill includes several new programs to provide housing for low and moderate income families. In addition, it extends and revises existing programs.

Among the significant new features of the bill are interest subsidy programs for homeownership and rental and cooperative housing, new approaches to urban renewal, grants for college housing, flood and riot reinsurance programs, National Housing Partnerships to encourage private investment in the building of low and moderate income housing, federal guarantees for new community financing, and the Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act.

The Omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1968 (P.L. 90–284): See Civil Rights section for discussion of the fair housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

LABOR

Enacted

Monday Holidays (P.L. 90–363): This legislation changes the observance of Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day and Veterans' Day so that each of these national holidays falls on a Monday. In addition, Columbus Day is declared a national holiday to be celebrated on the second Monday in October. The Act applies only to federal workers, but others are expected to follow the federal practice. The changes will become effective in 1971.

Awaiting further action

Situs Picketing (H.R. 100): This bill, as reported from the House Education and Labor Committee, amends the National Labor Relations Act to provide that the secondary boycott provision shall not prohibit picketing or strikes on construction sites in the course of lawful labor disputes. Such boycotts are now illegal. The measure does not permit strikes or picketing a construction site in breach of an existing collective bargaining agreement.

Coverage of Agricultural Workers under the National Labor Relations Act (H.R. 16014): This measure expands the definition of employee under the NLRA to include farm workers. The bill provides that agricultural employers and unions may make agreements which require as a condition of employment union membership after the seventh day of work. For most types of employment union shop agreements such as envisioned here cannot require union membership before the end of 30 days of employment. The measure also provides that priorities for opportunities for employment may be based on length of service with the employer, in the industry, or in the geographic region.

Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1968 (H.R. 17748, S. 2864): See Health and Welfare Section.

Age Discrimination Act of 1967 (P.L. 90–202): See Civil Rights section.

Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments of 1968 (H.R. 15045, S. 2938): See Education, Training and Anti-Poverty section.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 9206: Limits the number of consecutive hours a railroad employee may be on duty to twelve hours. Sets forth additional regulations which require certain off-duty hours between periods of service.

H.R. 16910: Authorize the payment of additional wages to employees of the Great Northern Railway to make up the difference in the wages they lost as a result of the construction of the Libby Dam in Montana and the resulting shortening of the railroad length on which their wages are based.

H.R. 17748, Occupational Safety and Health Act: See Health and Welfare Section.

PUBLIC WORKS

Enacted

The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968 (To be signed by the President): This measure, as approved by both the House and Senate, authorize appropriations for the Interstate highway system for four years, through fiscal 1973 and authorizes appropriations for other federal highway programs for two years, through fiscal 1971. The total authorization included in this bill is over $20 billion. Of this amount, $12.3 billion is new obligational authority. The remainder is also included in other authorization bills.

The legislation also provides several new highway programs including a three-year experimental program to provide fringe parking along federal highways, a program to improve the traffic flow on existing city streets and a mandatory program to make relocation assistance available to persons displaced from their homes and businesses by highway construction.

The measure also requires construction of the controversial Three Sisters Bridge and several freeways which are part of the Interstate system in the District of Columbia. In addition, it bars the Department of Labor from applying equal employment opportunity requirements to highway contractors unless the requirements are specifically set forth in advertised specifications for bids on highway contracts.

Appalachian Regional Development Act—Public Works and Economic Development Act Amendments (P.L. 90–103): See Economic Development section.

Design and Construction of Buildings Financed With Federal Funds To Be Accessible to the Physically Handicapped (To be signed by the President): This measure requires that all buildings financed by the federal government be constructed in such a manner as to be accessible to the physically handicapped. The Administrator of General Services or the Secretary of Defense may waive the standards specified in the bill in such cases as they may deem necessary.

Rivers and Harbors Flood Control Act of 1968 (Awaiting the President's Signature): This measure, as adopted by both Houses, authorizes $1.7 billion of the construction, repair, and preservation of public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, beach erosion, flood control, and other purposes.

Awaiting further action

Colorado River Basin Project (S. 1004): See Conservation section.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 2124: Authorizes the appropriations of necessary funds for the construction, reconstruction, and improvement of the Alaska Highway.

H.R. 12833: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Jefferson-Whitehall unit, Missouri River Basin project, Montana.

H.R. 13984: Provides that costs of persons entitled to just compensation except attorney's fees and appraisal fees shall be taxed against the United States in condemnation actions brought by it.

H.R. 14474: Increases the allowable vehicle weight and width limitations for travel in the Interstate System of highways.

H.R. 16811: Reduces to 75 percent (now 90 percent) the completion and maintenance requirement of the Federal aid primary system before the State may increase its mileage under the program.

H.R. 18846: Provides for the licensing of the export of softwood logs from Federal lands. The substantial increase in recent years in the rate of export to foreign nations of softwood logs derived from Federal timber is severely impairing the stability of many communities in the United States that are economically dependent upon the processing of such logs into various wood products.

H. Con. Res. 63: Makes it the sense of Congress that the Federal-aid highway program should continue without interruption.

TAXATION

Enacted

Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-364): The two most important provisions of the tax bill are a temporary tax increase in the form of a surcharge at an annual rate of 10% on personal and corporate taxes and a $6 billion expenditure reduction for fiscal year 1969. The surcharge is retroactive for corporations to Jan. 1, 1968, and for individuals to April 1, 1968. It will expire on July 1, 1969, for both.

Other major provisions of the bill are a $10 billion reduction in new obligation and loan authority requested by the President for fiscal 1969, and rescission of $8 billion in unobligated balances of outstanding obligational and loan authority which was approved before fiscal 1969.

The Act also sets a ceiling on the number of federal civilian employees equal to the number of full-time permanent employees on the rolls on June 30, 1966. This will require the elimination of 244,000 existing jobs which will be accomplished by filling only three of every four job openings resulting from retirement, resignation, or death. Exempt from this provision are persons appointed by the President with the advice of the Senate, employees serving without compensation, and some 70,000 summer employees between the ages of 16 and 22 who are economically or educationally disadvantaged.

The Bureau of the Budget is authorized to reallocate positions among government agencies and departments in the interest of efficient government. H.R. 15387, adopted by both House and Senate, would exempt the Post Office Department from the restrictions. Excise taxes on telephones and automobiles are to continue at existing rates with scaled reductions aimed at their eventual elimination by January 1, 1973.

Other provisions of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 provide for: acceleration of corporate tax payments by increasing the percentage of the estimated tax paid from 70% to 80%; an alteration of the tax exemption schedule for industrial development bonds; tax deductions for advertising in national political convention programs; tax exemptions for joint hospital facility services; public assistance amendments relating to the Medicaid, Social Security, and AFDC programs; and a requirement that the President submit a program for future tax reforms.

Interest Equalization Tax (P.L. 90-59): This measure extends for two additional years, until July 31, 1969, the Interest Equalization Tax (IET) aimed at relieving the chronic U.S. balance-of-payments deficit by making foreign borrowing from U.S. sources more expensive. It grants the President discretionary powers in varying the tax level within specified limits. The most significant of the many modifications made in the original law is a provision requiring American sellers of foreign securities to secure certificates validating their payment of the IET or the tax exempt status of the transaction.

Investment Tax Credit (P.L. 90-26): This measure restores the temporarily suspended 7% investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation allowances nine months ahead of the December 31, 1969 date provided for in the 1966 suspension. It amends the 1966 law to establish a higher tax credit ceiling and also allows for retroactive claims. A rider makes the 1966 Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act inoperative until guidelines are established for the appropriation and distribution of funds and for the $1 income tax checkoff system.

Awaiting further action

Interstate Taxation Act (H.R. 2158): This bill, as passed by the House, would limit the taxing power of the states over small (average annual income under $1 million) out-of-state firms doing business within their boundaries. It also provides for a uniform method of apportioning income and capital for firms doing business in more than one state.

Foreign Travel Tax (H.R. 16241): This measure would set a 5% tax on air travel to points outside the United States and reduce temporarily from $100 to $10 the value of purchases a United States citizen may bring back duty free from abroad. Other provisions of the bill set 10% duties on various large value purchases and alter the duty free allowances for goods from American possessions. As reported, the bill is a weakened version of the Administration proposal to reduce the balance-of-payments deficit by restricting travel through the taxing of daily expenditures above $7. The Administration proposal also applied to water travel outside the Western Hemisphere.

VETERANS' MEASURES

Enacted

Veterans' Pensions and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967 (P.L. 90-77): This bill provides veterans benefits to all servicemen in uniform since August 5, 1964, and increases veterans educational allowances and pension payments. It is expected that in the first year of operation the bill will cost $285.6 million. The measure includes a cost of living increase in pensions for veterans and their dependents. It also provides full wartime rates of compensation for veterans injured during the Vietnam era. Allowances under the Cold-War GI Bill are also increased.

Veterans Mortgage Increase (P.L. 90-301): This measure, which went into effect May 7, 1968, increases GI home loans from $7,500 to $12,500. The act also eliminates the $7,500 ceiling which had been in effect since 1950 by authorizing 60% coverage on loans as high as $20,833 and 50% on $25,000 mortgages. Also included are provisions whereby a veteran may pay more than the VA appraised value, although the loan cannot exceed the appraised value. A veteran may also be reimbursed by the VA for the cost required to make a home structurally sound, durable, and livable, this latter provision applying only to loans made after May 7, 1968.

Awaiting further action

Service-Connected Compensation Increase for Veterans (H.R. 16027): As passed by the House, this measure provides across the board increases in compensation for the 1.8 million veterans with service-connected disabilities. The monthly compensation for veterans with 100% disability is increased from $300 to $400, while the increase for veterans with less than a complete disability is 8% a month. The increases would become effective as of January 1, 1969.

Bills sponsored or cosponsored by Olsen

H.R. 4771: Expands the mailing privilege which allows Armed Services' members to send first-class letter mail, including post cards, at no cost, to include the sending of sound recorded communication.

H. Con. Res. 673: Makes it the sense of the Congress that each department and agency of the United States: (1) shall give preference to Vietnam Veterans; (2) shall give preference to such veterans for employment and; (3) shall follow such policy and take such action to secure from private industry for such veterans a priority in employment.

STATUS OF APPROPRIATION BILLS, 90TH CONG., 2D SESS.

[In millions of dollars]

	Requested	Passed House	Passed Senate	Final
Agriculture	6,923.0	5,523.0	5,540.0	5,531.0
Independent offices, HUD, NASA	16,570.0	13,670.0	15,505.0	
Interior	1,432.0	1,411.0	1,402.0	1,415.0
Labor-HEW	18,205.0	17,224.0		
Legislative	308.0	247.0	298.0	298.0
Public works	4,908.0	4,499.0	4,727.0	4,608.0
State, Justice, Commerce, judiciary	2,203.0	1,794.0	2,000.0	1,986.0
Transportation	1,637.0	1,353.0	1,523.0	1,429.0
Treasury, Post Office, executive offices	8,337.0	8,155.0	8,158.0	8,158.0
Candidate protection	.4	.4	.4	.4
Urgent 1968 supplemental	1,216.0	1,214.0	1,405.0	
2d supplemental	6,738.0	6,346.0	6,373.0	6,295.0
Urgent supplemental for Bureau of Employment Security	29.0	29.0	28.0	28.0
1968 supplemental (highways and claims)	51.0	51.0	51.0	51.0
Defense	77,074.0	72,239.0		
Military construction	2,031.0	1,765.0		

A CONGRESSMAN'S NEWSLETTERS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the texts of my recent newsletters to Ninth District residents:

JUNE NEWSLETTER

DEAR FRIEND: A panel of Federal judges recently changed the boundaries of the Ninth Congressional District to include Floyd County and exclude Orange and Shelby Counties.

Needless to say, I regret the loss of Orange and Shelby Counties. Their progress and their problems had become a part of my daily routine here in Washington.

I extend a warm greeting to the residents of Floyd County and I look forward to making many new friends.

"Old" Ninth District residents—or "new"—please remember that one of the most important jobs of a Congressman is to help individuals with problems or questions concerning the Federal government . . . social security, education, veterans' affairs, military service, agriculture, business, postal affairs and community projects.

I will continue to be of assistance in any way that I can. I urge you to write to me in Washington or contact one of my two Ninth District offices. Below, I am listing the office hours, the telephone numbers and the addresses.

I am here to serve you.

Sincerely,

LEE H. HAMILTON,
Member of Congress.

My two Indiana District Offices have helped hundreds of Ninth District residents with problems or questions concerning the Federal Government. These offices are my direct link with the Ninth District while I am in Washington. We will be happy to serve you.

JEFFERSONVILLE

Room 122, Federal Depot, 1012 E. Tenth St. Telephone (week days)—283-3511 (Evenings and Saturdays)—282-0461.

Office hours: Monday, 9 a.m.—5 p.m. Tuesday, 9 a.m—5 p.m. Wednesday, 9 a.m.—5 p.m. Thursday, 9 a.m.—5 p.m. Friday 9 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturday, 9 a.m.—12 p.m.

SEYMOUR

Box 10, 312 Chestnut St. Telephone (week days)—522-6220 (evenings and Saturdays)—522-7025.

Office hours: Monday, 9 a.m.—5 p.m. Tuesday, 9 a.m.—5 p.m. Wednesday, 9 a.m.—5 p.m. Thursday, 9 a.m.—5 p.m. Friday, 9 a.m.—5 p.m.

CONFERENCES—CONFERENCES—CONFERENCES

Progress in the Ninth Congressional District has come about because of the concern and the creative efforts of local officials. To assist them I have had frequent conferences with Ninth District individuals, with civic organizations and with community leaders.

As a result of local concern and action nearly $90 million in public improvement programs has been undertaken in the last three and one-half years. Included in those programs are:

Reservoirs—Three multi-purpose reservoirs are now in the planning or construction stages. When completed, these facilities will provide the District with new recreational resources and with a greatly-improved climate for business and industry.

Watersheds—Three wide-ranging watershed programs have been authorized for construction and another five have been authorized for planning. These water conservation and land use programs will cover hundreds of thousands of acres in Southeastern Indiana.

Rural water systems—Fourteen rural water lines, bringing a dependable water supply to hundreds of farm homes, have been constructed or authorized. Also, thirteen grants and loans for sewer systems have been awarded, plus another eight grants for studying water and sewage needs of eight counties.

Hospitals—Eight grants have been approved to modernize or expand Ninth District hospitals.

Airports—Four grants have been allocated to improve local airports, which are becoming more and more important in the smaller community's transportation potential.

These are but a few of the areas in which local leaders are working to improve and develop their communities. Progress has been steady and remarkable, but there are still many challenges in the Ninth District.

CALLS FOR ACTION BRING RESPONSE

In recent weeks, I have voiced concern on several national issues which have a bearing on the welfare of Ninth District residents.

Rural development

In March, I protested two actions by the Treasury Department which threaten economic growth in rural areas. I protested to Secretary Henry H. Fowler the continued refusal of the Treasury Department to guarantee Farmers Home Administration loans for water and sewage development in rural areas.

I also introduced legislation which would prohibit the Treasury Department from imposing taxes on interest accrued from state and local industrial development bonds.

The paperwork burden

Early in March, I called for a slowdown in the Federal government's "paperwork explosion." Within a matter of days, officials of the House Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee announced they would take up hearings on the paperwork burden being imposed by the Medicare program. The subcommittee chairman indicated to me that the hearing very possibly would be expanded to study other instances of paperwork required by Federal agencies.

Farm income

In February, I urged Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman to set the government price support on milk at the maximum under the law—90 percent of parity. Such a move, I felt, would aid in relieving the serious economic plight of the Nation's dairy farmers.

About a month later, Secretary Freeman announced the increase in milk price support to the 90 percent parity level.

Financial irregularities disclosed

An announcement out of my Washington office revealed financial irregularities in the Organization of American States.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee, of which I am a member, revealed some financial discrepencies in the OAS accounting methods of financial dealings.

These disclosures point out a need for an overhauling of accounting practices. Already, they are bringing about improvements in OAS financial procedures.

Attention campers

Once again my office has available a useful guide for those of you planning a summer camping trip.

The National Park System offers a directory of 571 campgrounds (28,115 camping sites) in 78 national parks. . . .

The directory may be obtained by writing me in care of the House of Representatives.

JULY NEWSLETTER

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIEND: Americans are proud of their country . . . of its history, its heroes, its accomplishments and its power and purpose. But all of us, I'm sure, will acknowledge some serious problems. Among them, none looms larger than the challenge of crime.

Crime marks the life of every American. Look carefully at the diagrams in this newsletter and you will see that a major crime is committed every ten seconds.

Crime costs this country the staggering sum of $27 billion each year. The fear of crime and violence is a constant companion for many Americans. It errodes the quality of life for each of us.

Despite the frequency and variety of crime, I firmly believe that a significant reduction in lawlessness is possible. I do not predict instant victory, however. Even in 600 B.C., Ezekiel wrote:

"The land is full of bloody crimes and the city is full of violence."

The challenge of crime requires us, as individuals, to prevent wrong-doing whenever possible, to improve our system of criminal justice, to strengthen our criminal laws and enforce them strictly. We must attract talented young people into law enforcement, and support the efforts of all peace officers. We must enlarge our own respect for law and order and involve ourselves in the problems of crime in our own communities.

This special report on crime outlines some recent developments in Congress, points out recent progress, proposes a national strategy against crime, and offers some practical ways in which you and I can combat crime effectively.

The challenge of crime must be a paramount concern of every American.

LEE H. HAMILTON.

HAMILTON SPONSORS ANTI-CRIME STRATEGY

I have, on many occasions, endorsed a national strategy against crime, supporting programs which do not violate the principle that law enforcement is primarily a local responsibility.

This strategy includes:

1. The support of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, which provided $7.1 million to support 188 projects (two in Indiana) providing training, equipment and research for local law enforcement agencies to meet modern-day crime problems.

2. The support of the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1968, which provides gun controls, aid to local law enforcement agencies, court reforms, and some wiretapping by Federal, state and local agencies.

3. The sponsoring of a bill to establish a national research center on crime, concentrating on studies of the incidence and areas of crime, the backgrounds of offenders, and new techniques for the prevention and detection of crime.

4. The support and careful study of the report issued by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. It has been hailed as one of the landmark studies on the scope of crime in this country and will be used for years to come in evaluating and seeking solutions to the problems of lawlessness.

5. The support of measures to strengthen Federal law enforcement agencies, including stronger criminal laws, additional anti-crime personnel, and organizational improvements.

6. The support of legislation to check illicit traffic in firearms.

7. The sponsorship and support of anti-riot legislation, enacted into law this year.

CONGRESSMAN SUPPORTS OMNIBUS CRIME BILL

I joined a majority of the Congress in supporting a strong, Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

The theory of the bill is that while the Federal government should not, and probably could not, engage in local law enforcement, it should and could provide financial and technical assistance to local law enforcement agencies.

The significant features of the bill are:

1. Grants to states for planning, training and research and for direct low enforcement assistance. The bill authorizes $100 million in fiscal 1969 and $300 million in fiscal 1970. Normally, Federal funds are allocated in direct grants to local governments, but this bill allocates block grants to states, to be distributed to communities under a statewide plan.

2. Criminal law would be changed to allow police to hold a suspect up to six hours before arraignment, to allow a voluntary confession as evidence, and to permit eyewitness testimony, even if the suspect did not have an attorney when he was identified.

3. Wiretapping would be permissible in a variety of specified crimes, and, in cases of national security and organized crime, an "emergency" wiretapping would be permitted for 48 hours before a warrant is obtained.

4. Gun controls are authorized which would prohibit the interstate shipment to individuals of handguns and prohibit the sale of handguns to out-of-state residents.

This is a first step by the Congress. There will be more. The responsibility for crime control remains with the individual and the community. As citizens we must cooperate with, and support, our police, obey all laws and make ourselves aware of the symptoms of lawlessness in our communities.

Protect yourself

Lock your home's doors and windows.

Lock your car doors when traveling alone.

Teach your children to refuse attentions from strangers.

Keep a list of your credit cards serial numbers.

Avoid leaving ignition keys or valuables in your car.

Above all, obey all laws yourself.

Protect yourself

Do not list your telephone number as "Miss" or "Mrs."

Do not give your address to unknown callers.

Do not allow mail or commercial deliveries to accumulate during your vacation.

Do not have your telephone temporarily disconnected while on vacation.

Do not keep house and car keys on the same key chain with your identification.

HAMILTON CRIME CONFERENCE ATTRACTS STATE LEADERS

Last year, I sponsored a conference on Crime in the Ninth Congressional District. The state's top law inforcement officials were there to discuss what was being done—and what should be done—to curb lawlessness in the District, in the State and in the Nation.

Here are some excerpts from the reports given at the meeting:

SUPERINTENDENT ROBERT O'NEAL, *Indiana State Police*—"We have reached the point where criminal depredations have put police and honest, law-abiding citizens with their backs to the wall. It is time to strike back."

ANTHONY S. KUHARICH, *Commissioner of the Indiana Department of Correction*—"As long as we have human beings, we shall have delinquents and criminals. Therefore, we must focus our attention on effective program of reformation and re-education to curb crime and delinquency and keep it at a minimum."

ROBERT BORKENSTEIN, *Director of the Department of Police Administration, Indiana University*—"There will be more modern training in the next three years in Indiana than there has been for the last 50 years."

CONGRESSMAN LEE H. HAMILTON, *Ninth District, Indiana*—"It is the citizen who finally determines whether law enforcement agencies are adequately staffed and equipped and competently trained. It is the citizen who maintains and enlarges respect for law and order. It is the citizen's dedication to public order which is the most powerful deterrent to crime.

"Every day, letters which come into my office reflect the concern of Ninth District residents about crime. In scores of small groups around the district, I am impressed with how frequently and how deeply the concern about crime is felt."

PROGRESS BEING MADE, HAMILTON REPORTS

We are making progress against crime. There are many areas in which concern is growing and achievements are being made. Among them:

1. Criminal Prosecutions. More criminal cases were filed in 1967 by the Department of Justice than during any year of the past decade, with conviction rates running about the same. Also, the FBI located a record 16,000 fugitives in 1967.

2. Organized Crime. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover reported recently, "The year 1967 marked one of the most effective, all-out drives against organized crime in the history of law enforcement."

Of the 183 known members of Cosa Nostra, the top men in organized crime, 55 were indicted or convicted in 1967.

3. Draft Prosecutions. An all-time high of prosecutions and convictions was recorded in 1967. Convictions numbered 952 last year, up 78 percent from 1966, and up 250 percent from 1965.

4. Drug Prosecutions. Prosecutions during drug abuse control legislation were up from 55 in 1966 to 260 in 1967.

Director Hoover said recently, "Recent years have witnessed a marked increase in citizen awareness of the crime problem. This growing interest, particularly that shown by persons who previously had taken the position that crime is solely the responsibility of the law enforcement profession, is most encouraging. It offers promise of materially aiding police efforts in controlling crime."

AUGUST NEWSLETTER

YOUR VOTE DOES COUNT

What is America's largest political party? The non-voter party.

In 1964 there were more who did not vote than who voted for the President.

In 1960 there were 180 million Americans. Sixty percent were eligible to vote, but only 38% voted. In this close election, then, only 19% of the qualified voters determined the election. This is *minority rule—with* the consent of the people.

To vote in Indiana, you must be registered—that is, you must be on record as having legal residence at a particular address on Election Day.

To be registered:

You must be 21 years of age on Election Day (November 5 this year).

Be sure to vote

Polls will open at 6 a.m. and close at 7 p.m. (local times). Most local newspapers carry listings of city and county voting places.

Indiana law requires that all persons be given sufficient time off from work to vote.

You must be a citizen of the United States.

If you registered prior to 1964, but have not voted since then, you must re-register. Registration lists are purged of non-voters periodically.

Be sure you are registered

The last day to be registered to vote in the November election this year is October 7.

To register, you should appear before the county clerk or the Board of Voter Registration in your county. Indiana also permits residents to be registered at their homes by certified deputy registrars.

For information on how to be registered . . . or to be sure you are registered . . . call your county clerk or the county chairman of the political party of your choice.

If you are in one of the following groups you may be registered by application to the county clerk or County Election Board:

Members of the military.

Residents who expect to be continuously absent because of employment.

Residents confined to their homes or in a hospital because of illness, injury or quarantine may register by mail, providing the registration is accompanied by a statement from a physician.

Absentee ballots for members of the military, those away from home on government business, and invalids may be obtained between 30 days before and the Saturday before election by submitting an application and mailing the ballot to the County Election Board.

Every vote counts

1. An Indiana Congressman was elected in 1960 by 99 votes.

2. John F. Kennedy won the Presidency in 1960 by 112,000 votes, less than one vote per precinct.

3. One of the most powerful members of Congress was defeated in 1966 by 695 votes.

4. A Governor of Minnesota was elected recently by 91 votes.

"AMERICA IS ONLY YOU AND ME"

DEAR FRIEND. Walt Whitman is called the poet of American democracy.

One reason he deserves this title is because he wrote in one of his greatest poems these lines:

"O, I see flashing that this America is only
 you and me.
Its crimes, lies, thefts, defections, are you
 and me.
Its Congress is you and me, the officers,
 capitols, armies, ships, are you and me.
Its endless gestations of new States are you
 and me.
The war (that war so bloody and grim, the
 war I will henceforth forget), was you and
 me.
Natural and artificial are you and me.
Freedom, language, poems, employments are
 you and me.
Past, present, future, are you and me."

America is only you and me. With that insight, the poet, in six words, penetrates to the heart of our Nation.

He sees the good and the bad and he presses upon us the truth that all these things are a part of the America you and I bring about.

This newsletter is a little different from anything I've tried before. In it, I want to say that since America is only you and me, it is time we got about the business of meeting the formidable challenges facing the nation today.

We all love our country and are proud to be Americans. At the same time we are all disturbed and distressed about some of the things that happen—assassination, crime, riots, poverty, even hunger.

Americans want to help set the nation on a steady course. The question I hear often is, "What can I do?"

Some say what we do by legislation is enough. It is not.

What is required is participation by the citizens in the life of their community. More involvement, not less, and more participation, not less, are the real solutions to many of our problems.

The man heading the community United Fund Drive does not have time for the kind of cynicism that dulls a person's contribution to his community. The adult scout leader doesn't complain about the "youth" of today. He is too busy keeping ahead of his scouts. These people are involved. They know that America is only you and me.

In this newsletter you will find a few suggestions about what you can do. The list is by no means complete, because creative and alert persons will continually find ways and means to make their communities stronger. Perhaps it will help remind you that Walt Whitman's words are really the key to the vitality and vibrancy of this nation.

America is only you and me.

Sincerely,

LEE H. HAMILTON,
Member of Congress.

WHAT CAN I DO?

Here are a few simple guidelines for those who want to become involved in the community.

1. Find a real need in your community. Be sure what you do is useful and responsive to a genuine need.

2. Don't try to do too much. Many things need to be done in any community. You cannot do them all.

3. Do something you like to do, and do well, i.e., don't work with children unless you like them.

4. Don't expect instant success. If there is a real need, chances are it is going to take a lot of doing to make real progress.

5. Be prepared for a few rebuffs. Not everyone will be as enthusiastic as you. It would be surprising if you do not encounter in-

difference, and in some instances even hostility.

6. Volunteer to work with somebody, and not for him. A "let me do it for you," approach will not succeed in the long run.

"CITIZEN POWER" OUR GREATEST RESOURCE

Time and time again as I travel about the Ninth District I am impressed with persons who show an understanding of the poet's phrase—America is only you and me—by their acts of innovation and imagination for their community.

The greatest resource of this nation is its creative and alert individuals.

They make contributions, small and large. Let me cite a few examples:

A woman, who saw a dangerous crossing near a school, called it to the attention of the city council.

A businessman noticed flammable and unsightly rubbish in the back of a row of stores and started a clean-up campaign.

A worker had a dump near his home and asked why it couldn't be filled and a playground was created.

A church worker found a family in distress and promoted a relief fund.

An industrialist, while enlarging his plant, screened an ugly scrap pile with trees.

These are the men and women who also serve without pay on boards and commissions, giving up the peace and quiet of their home for the tedium and the tensions of public service. They spearhead United Funds, Little Leagues, build churches and raise money to improve their hospitals.

These are the men and women who see their community—as it is—and as it should be, and work to close the gap.

I know a group of businessmen who, as individuals, make it their business to ask officeholders hard, basic questions about the communities they serve.

Does the community provide the public services it should?

Are the laws enforced adequately and impartially?

Are the local government budgets reasonable?

Does the community have adequate health care facilities, libraries and recreational services?

By their questions, these businessmen make an enormous contribution to solving the problems of their communities.

Another businessman—as an individual—became concerned about the race between population and food supply. An executive with a marine outboard motor company, he equipped the canoes of the fishermen of Ceylon with motors and enabled them to increase their catch by 580 percent!

As individuals, they saw a need for something to be done, and they did something about it.

America is you and me.

THEY PUT THEIR LIVES ON THE LINE

Long before Walt Whitman penned the lines, "America is you and me," 56 individuals—members of the Continental Congress—put into practice the meaning of that phrase.

They were the men who signed the historic Declaration of Independence, the document which gives us the right to decide for ourselves how we shall be governed, and by whom.

Prophetically, they put their names and their futures on the line, signing under the Declaration's final sentence which reads, "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

In the Revolutionary War which soon followed, the signers were singled out for special abuse. Five were captured by the British, 12 had their homes looted and sacked, four were ruined financially and literally reduced to begging, two lost sons in the war, and nine failed to survive the war.

Despite these hardships and the heartache, not one of them refuted his belief in liberty, not one lost faith that it would someday come, not one renounced the principles of that historic document.

They knew that a government of the people had to begin, and had to survive, on the basis of individual concern and action.

They knew that America was you and me.

THE CONSUMERS' CONGRESS

The 90th Congress has been labeled the "Consumers' Congress."

One of the major thrusts of this Congress has been legislation to help Americans get a fair, honest and safe exchange for hard-earned dollars.

Legislation for consumer protection in the following areas already has been passed:

Wholesome meat: Fifteen percent of all fresh meat and 25 percent of all processed meat products in this country do not pass state lines and have not been subject to Federal inspection. The Wholesome Meat Act of 1967 requires states to upgrade their inspection standards to close this loophole and to meet Federal requirements.

Truth in lending: This measure, in protecting the businessman as well as the consumer, requires full and accurate information on rates of interest charged on all loans.

Product safety: Congress has passed legislation creating a commission which will insure that safety standards for dangerous chemical, mechanical and electrical products and equipment be adequate and that warnings announcing the dangers in their use accompany these products.

Traffic and auto safety: Legislation upgrading tire quality and requiring new safety features in automobiles has been enacted. Also, Congress has allocated funds for research into safer highway travel, including improved highway design, construction and motoring aids.

Flammable fabrics: Attractive clothing is sometimes dangerous. The Flammable Fabrics Act prohibits the interstate sale of wearing apparel or material which is easily ignited.

Air and water pollution: Congress has set strict, new requirements for keeping our streams and lakes clean and our air free from pollutants.

Automobile insurance: Congress has enacted legislation to begin an investigation of automobile insurance policies and practices aimed at creating more equitable premiums, settlements and coverage.

The 90th Congress has under close consideration these measures:

Deceptive sales regulations: This measure, already passed by the Senate, would insure that warranties and guarantees say what they mean and mean what they say. The legislation also would let the consumer know how long he can expect the product to last if used properly.

Wholesome poultry and fish: Congress is acting to require states to upgrade inspection standards on these household staples.

Natural gas pipeline safety: Versions of this measure have passed both the House and the Senate and the final form of the bill is being worked out in a House-Senate conference committee. The bill would enforce safety standards for natural gas pipelines.

CPL. ANTHONY PINO, U.S. MARINE CORPS, KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that one of my constituents, Cpl. Anthony Pino, U.S. Marine Corps, of Elmsford, N.Y., died in Vietnam last month.

I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the Record, the following article from the Reporter Dispatch, of White Plains, N.Y.:

Corporal Pino Killed in Vietnam

Elmsford.—Marine Cpl. Anthony Pino, 20, of 158 Sears Ave. was killed in action in Vietnam July 28. Cpl. Pino was a 1966 graduate of Alexander Hamilton High School.

Active in football, baseball and basketball while he attended high school, Cpl. Pino enlisted in the Marine Corps in July, 1967. Before his enlistment, he worked at Fisher Body Corp. in Tarrytown and at Alexander's Department Store in White Plains.

He is survived by his mother, Mrs. Sylvia Pino of the home address; a sister, Mrs. Deborah Pino Posey, and his father, Ismael Pino, all of the home address.

BRIDGES TO THE EAST IN RUMANIA

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, like a fish, the United States has once more snapped at the glimmering lure of "bridges to the East," as evidenced by the White House announcement of July 8, 1968, outlining the scope of expanded and renewed cooperation with Rumania in science, technology, industry, and commerce.

I would be the first to agree that the concept of building bridges to the East offers the United States an excellent opportunity to aid those Eastern European Communist bloc nations whose rulers seek to enhance individual liberties and national aspirations within their borders. Where true liberalization is coupled with a yen for independence from Moscow, increased economic, cultural, and scientific ties with the West are most appropriate.

However, we must be hesitant to enter into an exchange agreement with a Communist-ruled nation that does not aspire to these goals. In a case such as this, rather than aiding the cause of liberty, our aid can help these rulers to exploit their own oppressed people.

At first glance these new cultural and scientific ties seemed to promise to America the possibility of aiding Rumania to break free of the economic stranglehold that Moscow had over her.

Certainly this sounds plausible, since Rumania was the first to balk when the Soviet Union tried to institute the common market of the satellite nations—Comecon—at the expense of the few member nations rich in raw materials, one of which was Rumania.

Determined not to be exploited for the benefit of the other bloc market nations who were slowly industrializing, Rumania titilated the Western world when she turned to the West to open up new economic ties.

However, an important distinction

must be made here. Unlike Czechoslovakia, which seeks true civil liberties and a form of national independence in her efforts to establish cultural and economic ties with the West, Rumania broke away from Moscow purely for economic purposes.

Although independent from Moscow in her attitude toward Western economic and cultural exchanges, Rumania retains the closest political ties with Moscow. Her leaders seek no internal political liberalization at all.

When Rumania turned to the West economically, the United States decided the time was ripe to accelerate building bridges to the renegade members of the Communist bloc.

In 1960 Rumania and the United States entered into their first 2-year scientific, cultural, and educational agreement. This was our first bridge to Communist Rumania. Since then the Rumanians have eagerly renewed these agreements every 2 years.

Now, let us examine the facts and see exactly who is profiting from these exchanges. Then let us examine the implications of this latest, and broader agreement of July 8, 1968.

What these exchange agreements have done is help Rumania build an industry and technology with American goods and know-how.

What cultural or scientific benefits is Rumania offering us under these agreements?

When you examine the latest United States-Rumanian agreement carefully, there is one very important section which I feel should be questioned.

The end of the July 8, 1968, White House communique briefly mentions a "possible collaboration in the field of atomic energy" with Rumania. The basis of this, of course, is the recent nuclear test ban treaty which has in it a clause concerning the commitment of the signing powers to help nonnuclear states derive benefits from peaceful uses of atomic energy.

What has not been reported by the White House or the press since then is that on July 9, 1968, Radio Free Europe monitored a statement by Barladeanu of Rumania which said:

> Rumania plans to build her first nuclear power plant by 1973 and she asked the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union for technical and financial aid.

If anyone wants to take the trouble to find out what life in Rumania is like, they need only read an excellent work recently published which gives a short historical survey of Transylvania and the treatment its Hungarian and other minorities have received under Rumanian rule to date. Entitled "Transylvania," by Mr. Eugene Osterhaven and published by the Reformed Review of the Western Theological Seminary, this 40-page work details the ethnic, geographic, and political development of Transylvania under Rumanian rule. It came into my hands through the kindness of my constituent, Louis Lote, of Rochester, N.Y., one of the leading spokesmen for the Transylvanian cause in America.

The Rumania that we are dealing with today on the lofty plain of a free exchange of ideas, scientific information and economic goods is the same country that is presently subjecting an ethnic Hungarian minority to less than third-class citizenship.

The hard-line Communist ruling elite in Rumania has not wavered in its policy of genocide, terror, and suppression of the minorities. Even the Rumanian people themselves enjoy no greater liberties, cultural or otherwise. Rumanianization, wiping out traces of national minorities, extermininating religious freedom, and educational opportunities still is the rule of thumb in Transylvania. The only change that the cultural and economic United States-Rumanian ties has brought about in Rumania is the fact that the Rumanian Government is now making an attempt to conceal what it is doing.

I question any decision by our Government which would enable a known hard-line Communist government, which has signed a nuclear accord agreement with France, to continue these inhumane policies with our tacit help and approval.

At a time when our ship of state is guiding us through the murky waters of war in Asia to eliminate oppressions of Communist rule and to encourage liberty where liberty is wanted, I marvel at the nonchalance that surrounds this broadened scientific agreement with the Rumanians which outlines possible nuclear scientific exchanges in the future.

In Rumania intellectual, cultural and scientific freedom is not the rule, and oppression of minorities is commonplace. I can only wonder if the right hand of Uncle Sam in the Pacific knows what the left hand in Rumania is doing. Our Government cannot casually enter into such an agreement, which serves only to further the power of this oppressive Communist regime.

COST OF HIGHER EDUCATION

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, careful planning and preparation for meeting the cost of higher education is vital, for the expense of educational services has been increasing yearly. For example, the average cost of attending college has doubled in the last 18 years.

In 1968, a freshman entering an Ohio private college will be faced with tuition, fee, room, and board costs averaging $2,385. Students entering State of Ohio universities can expect similar costs of about $1,395.

A useful idea of the range of expenses which face a family in providing a college education can be obtained from the following table which is reproduced from the August 2, 1968, edition of the Ohio Credit Union League publication, "High-Spots":

COSTS AT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES FOR THE 1968-69 ACADEMIC YEAR

PRIVATE COLLEGES IN OHIO

College	Tuition and fees	Room and board	Total
Antioch College	$2,270	$628	$2,898
Ashland College	1,654	900	2,554
Baldwin-Wallace College	1,793	935	2,728
Bluffton College	1,450	800	2,250
Capital University	1,650	910	2,560
Case Western Reserve University:			
Case	2,056	1,150	3,206
Western Reserve	1,890	1,000	2,890
Cleveland Institute of Art	1,146	1,000	2,146
Cleveland Institute of Music	1,614	1,000	2,614
Dayton, University of	1,550	800	2,350
Defiance College	1,500	850	2,350
Denison University	1,805	1,000	2,805
Findlay College	1,350	800	2,150
Heidelberg College	1,620	845	2,465
Hiram College	1,875	860	2,735
John Carroll University	1,200	1,000	2,200
Kenyon College	2,120	1,000	3,120
Lake Erie College			[1] 3,000
Malone College	1,160	700	1,860
Marietta College	1,600	925	2,525
Mary Manse College	900	790	1,690
Mount St. Joseph-On-The-Ohio	$1,000	$930	$1,930
Mount Union College	1,680	870	2,550
Muskingum College	1,700	900	2,600
Notre Dame College	900	950	1,850
Oberlin College	2,104	1,060	3,164
Ohio Northern University	1,465	900	2,365
Ohio Wesleyan University	1,800	1,000	2,800
Otterbein College			[1] 2,500
Our Lady of Cincinnati College	1,000	1,000	2,000
Rio Grande	1,150	830	1,980
St. John College	935	920	1,855
St. Mary of the Springs College [2]	1,000	900	1,900
Steubenville, College of	1,200	900	2,100
Tiffin University	850	750	1,600
Ursuline College	925	900	1,825
Walsh College	850	800	1,650
Western College for Women	1,875	1,125	3,000
Wilberforce University	930	750	1,680
Wilmington College	1,400	885	2,285
Wittenberg University	1,836	[3] 927	[3] 2,763
Wooster, College of	1,968	900	2,868
Xavier University	1,235	1,000	2,235

[1] This is a comprehensive fee which covers tuition, fees, room and board.

[2] Effective July 1, 1968, the name of this college is changed to Ohio Dominican College.

[3] Subject to increase prior to the 1968-69 academic year.

STATE UNIVERSITIES IN OHIO

College	Tuition and fees	Room and board	Total
Akron, University of	$540	$930	$1,470
Bowling Green State University	565	930	1,495
Central State University	363	801	1,164
Cincinnati, University of	[1] 420	1,020	[1] 1,440
	[2] 600	1,020	[2] 1,620
Cleveland State University	495	(3)	[3] 495
Kent State University	510	828	1,338
Miami University	520	850	1,370
Ohio State University	510	888	1,398
Ohio University	510	930	1,440
Toledo, the University of	546	975	1,521
Youngstown State University	450	850	1,300
Wright State University	525	(4)	[4] 525

[1] Applies only to Cincinnati residents, inasmuch as the University of Cincinnati is a municipally sponsored State-affiliated institution.

[2] Applies to residents of Ohio who live outside of Cincinnati.

[3] Cleveland State University has limited residence facilities for men only, the charge, without board, is $345 annually. This room charge is not included in the total cost.

[4] Wright State University has no room and board facilities, hence the total charge reflects only the charges for tuition and fees.

Note: The above charges are for students who are Ohio residents. Higher tuition and fees are charged out-of State students.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN OHIO

College	Tuition and fees	
	Resident	Nonresident [1]
Cuyahoga Community College	$320	$525
Lakeland Community College	372	620
Lorain County Community College	450	705
Sinclair Community College	337	562

[1] The tuition and fees listed under "Resident" are those charged students living in the same county as the one in which the college is located. Tuition and fees listed under "Nonresident" are those charged students residing in counties other than the one in which the college is located. Also, inasmuch as these colleges are for commuting students, they have no dormitories and therefore room and board charges are not included.

OUT-OF-STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

[The following out-of-State colleges and universities surveyed by the Community Relations Department of the East Ohio Gas Co. were the most popular choices of more than 120,000 high school students who took the National Merit Qualifying Test and were asked to list, in order of preference, their choice of out-of-State colleges and universities.]

College	Tuition and fees	Room and board	Total
Brown University	$2,150	$1,080	$3,230
California Institute of Technology	2,198	1,100	3,298
California, University of (L.A.)	1,222	998	2,220
Chicago, University of	2,100	1,270	3,370
Colorado, University of	[1] 1,220	900	[1] 2,120
Columbia University	2,100	1,100	3,200
Cornell University	2,200	1,074	3,274
Dartmouth College	2,200	1,085	3,285
Duke University	1,800	900	2,700
Georgia Institute of Technology	1,065	[1] 800	[1] 1,865
Harvard University	2,000	1,250	3,250
Illinois, University of	850	950	[1] 1,800
M.I.T	2,150	1,180	3,320
Middlebury College	2,000	1,000	3,000
Michigan, University of	1,300	1,000	2,300
Minnesota, University of	931	950	1,881
Mount Holyoke College	1,850	1,200	3,050
Northwestern University	2,025	940	2,965
Notre Dame, University of	1,800	900	2,700
Pennsylvania, University of	2,150	1,000	3,150
Princeton University	2,150	1,160	3,310
Purdue, University of	1,200	960	2,160
Radcliffe College	2,000	1,290	3,290
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	2,175	1,110	3,285
Rice University	1,542	1,112	2,654
Smith College			[2] 3,290
Stanford University	1,920	1,140	3,060
Swarthmore College	2,260	1,040	3,300
Vassar College	1,800	1,300	3,100
Wellesley College			[2] 3,100
Wisconsin, University of	1,150	940	2,090
Yale University	2,150	1,150	3,300

[1] Subject to increase prior to the 1968-69 academic year.

[2] This is a comprehensive fee which covers tuition, fees, room and board.

Note: Costs shown are those charged out-of-State residents, such as students from Ohio.

THERE ARE ALSO VARIABLE COSTS

In addition to fixed costs—tuition, fees, room and board—a student is also faced with miscellaneous expenses. These include: books and school supplies, toilet articles, cosmetics, recreation, entertainment, clothing, linens, laundry, incidentals, haircuts, snacks, dues (fraternity, sorority, club), contributions, typewriter, physical education equipment, slide rules, and other optional items.

To realistically calculate the total cost of college education, you must add these variable costs to the fixed costs.

In determining need for financial assistance, most colleges have schedules which allow a reasonable amount to cover these miscellaneous items. Generally the allowance is a minimum of $500 per year for resident students, and $700 per year for commuting students. The larger amount specified for commuting students is to cover the cost of meals.

BEYOND VIETNAM: A PROGRAM FOR GLOBAL COOPERATION AND A STRONGER UNITED NATIONS

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, all of us look forward to the day when our national resources and energies are not consumed by our involvement in the Vietnam morass, when we can once again turn our full attention to the unfinished business of finding solutions to the problems which beset our own country, and of pursuing our unfulfilled goal of establishing world peace through the rule of law. Not very many of us have given the kind of thought we should to what we will do after Vietnam. But my good friend, Richard Gardner, who is now a professor of law at Columbia University, and who has for so long been an articulate and effective spokesman for the cause of world peace, has given a great deal of thought to what we should do after Vietnam. In a recent address before the Societa' Italiana per la Organizzazione Internazionale, Mr. Gardner, who is the author of such works as "Blueprint for Peace," and "In Pursuit of World Order," once again outlined an intelligent and insightful program for developing global cooperation and strengthening international organizations. Mr. President, I commend to the attention of all my colleagues in the Senate Mr. Gardner's thought-provoking speech, "Beyond Vietnam: A Program for Global Cooperation and a Stronger United Nations" and ask that it be printed in the RECORD at this point:

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEYOND VIETNAM: A PROGRAM FOR GLOBAL COOPERATION AND A STRONGER UNITED NATIONS

In October 1962, while negotiations to end the Cuban missile crisis were still continuing, a small group was convened in the Department of State to consider new forms of cooperation with the Soviet Union after the crisis had been resolved.

Like other members of the State Department group, I sometimes had doubts about the practicality of our assignment. How could we think of cooperation in the midst of such a dangerous conflict?

Perhaps our task was just another example of wishful thinking—of the naive search for utopian solutions that is so often associated with Americans!

But President Kennedy, at whose personal initiative our group was meeting, was very clear about the relevance of our assignment. He wanted to use the military disengagement as a springboard for peaceful engagement. He reasoned that if the United States were ready with proposals that offered genuine benefits to both sides, there might be a greater incentive for the Soviet leadership to accept and respect a Cuban settlement. A climate might be created that could encourage the Soviet leaders, however gradually, to follow a course of cooperation rather than conflict.

The validity of this reasoning was confirmed by subsequent events. The Cuban missile crisis was followed by an unprecedented degree of Soviet-American cooperation in enterprise of global significance—the "hot line" for crisis communication, the outer space agreements, the nonproliferation treaty, not to mention the bilateral air transport and consular agreements. Obviously these agreements did not resolve all the issues between the two countries, and still less the tensions between the Communist and non-Communist worlds. But they have made our planet a somewhat safer and saner place in which to live.

Now, in this hopeful spring of 1968, negotiations are underway to resolve another dangerous military confrontation—the war in Vietnam. It is too early to say whether these negotiations will succeed. They may go on for a very long time. But surely, following the successful example of six years ago, we should use this occasion, not only in the United States but in all countries, to chart new programs of global cooperation.

Some of these programs may be practical from a political point of view only after a Vietnam peace settlement. Others may be possible once the level of fighting subsidies. Still others may be capable of implementation even without progress toward peace in Vietnam. Certainly we should not exclude any possibilities until we make the attempt. The very fact that we are offering proposals for peaceful cooperation beyond Vietnam may indirectly encourage the prospects for a Vietnam settlement.

Even if the Vietnam talks were to break down, we would still need to seek the maximum of cooperation in other areas.

There is a growing recognition, particularly in the younger generations, that all nations share common interests in peace and welfare—and that the promotion of these common interests should be our central preoccupation in the last one-third of the twentieth century.

There is, in particular, a growing appreciation of the converging interests of the United States and the Soviet Union, and of the nations of Western and Eastern Europe. The time is therefore ripe for supplementing the old policy of *containment* with a new policy of *engagement*—engagement in cooperative ventures that serve the enlightened self-interests of all.

The unfinished business of mankind in peace and welfare is too important—the new opportunities for advancing it is too attractive—to make everything depend on the state of negotiations with one small Asian Communist regime.

A comprehensive agenda for international cooperation covering all the world's trouble spots would be too much to include in a single statement. Let me focus instead on four opportunities for global cooperation through the United Nations, with some concluding suggestions on structural changes in the UN that could make it a more effective instrument for the achievement of its tasks.

1. PEACEKEEPING AND PEACEMAKING

The central task of the United Nations is peacekeeping and peacemaking. It is not an easy task to perform in today's world, in the face of longstanding national, ideological or racial tensions in Asia, the Middle East, Southern Africa and elsewhere.

Nevertheless, UN peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts have yielded practical results in the Arab-Israel conflict, in Cyprus, in the Congo, and in Kashmir. UN members, even the Communist countries, have recognized the desirability of containing local conflicts that might draw in the great powers and trigger a nuclear war. This offers hope for the future.

Yet there are ominous signs of a drift into "world civil war," a conflict fought *within* as well as *between* nations on ideological or racial lines. Some assert the right to assist revolutionary forces inside another country under the banner of "wars of national liberation." Others assert the right to assist established governments in fighting these revolutionary elements, particularly when they are receiving outside help, under the doctrine of individual or collective self-defense.

Two years ago, when I was serving with the U.S. delegation to the U.N. General Assembly, I found an occasion to express my concern about these trends to a member of the Soviet delegation.

"You claim," I told him, "that history will demonstrate the superiority of your system and that "rotten reactionary regimes' will fall into Communism like so many ripe apples. Although we disagree with your view of history, we certainly do not contest your right to hold it. And if you wish to place some baskets under the tree to catch the apples when they fall, we can't object to that either. But don't shake the tree—and don't try to pluck the apples off it!"

To which my Russian friend made what I thought was a very fair reply: "Very well", he said, "we won't do those things, but don't you Americans go around pasting the apples up either!"

Surely what the world needs is a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, scrupulously respected by all states—by small and middle as well as great powers. Of course, for such a policy to work it must be scrupulously observed on all sides.

The United States, for example should make it crystal clear that American military power is not to be used to prevent a people from freely choosing Communism; it is to be used, if at all, only where a people request it to withstand outside attempts to impose Communism on them by force.

If such a policy of mutual non-interference is to work, it will require a much stronger UN capability for peacekeeping and peacemaking. For in specific situations there will be factual disputes as to what the people want and whether there is intervention from outside. Vietnam is a classic example. There is no really satisfactory way to resolve such disputes except through an international agency which can patrol borders, supervise elections, and verify compliance with non-intervention norms.

In the years ahead we should seek to develop the UN's capacity to do these things—and use it as needed to carry out the non-intervention policy. Even if UN action should prove insufficient to stop intervention in a particular case, it would provide international opinion with an understanding of the issues involved, and lay the basis for collective action outside the UN to assist the people under attack. At least we might avoid another Vietnam tragedy in which the United States has acted virtually alone with such deep divisions among its own people and among its friends in the non-Communist world.

The United States cannot play the role of global policeman. The American people don't want it and the other people of the world won't accept it. But the alternative to American peacekeeping cannot be no peacekeeping. It should be UN peacekeeping or peacekeeping by regional agencies in which the people of each region take primary responsibility.

I agree with those critics who say the United States has been trying to do too much alone. But this is the result of the failure of the United States and other countries, including the countries of Western Europe, to work together sufficiently in the building of multilateral security arrangements.

What can we do, then, to strengthen the UN as an instrument for peacekeeping and peacemaking?

So far as peacekeeping is concerned, we could begin by putting the UN in a position to respond more effectively to peacekeeping emergencies. To this end, more members should earmark and train units of their armed forces for possible use in peacekeeping emergencies; the industrialized countries should provide technical and financial aid to less developed countries in the preparation of these units; and overseas bases of UN members should be made available to the UN as training and supply centers.

We should also try to liquidate the UN's financial problems arising out of past peacekeeping operations. After the Presidential elections in the United States the time will be ripe for a fresh approach to this question. Although the United States bears no responsibility for the UN's financial predicament, it should consider making a substantial contribution in return for substantial payments by the Soviet Union, France and other countries provided a satisfactory formula is also found for repaying the UN bonds.

We need a more satisfactory basis for financing future peacekeeping operations. Just passing the hat, as we have done for Cyprus, is not good enough. Binding assessments on every member are not practical either. The best compromise would seem to be a non-binding special formula for sharing peacekeeping costs. To provide adequate protection for the major contributors, a special peacekeeping finance committee in which they were adequately represented should determine when the special scale of contributions would apply.

Beyond these general measures, we should seek support for new UN peacekeeping operations where they are obviously needed to maintain or restore peace.

In the Middle East, it is hard to imagine Israel withdrawing its troops from The Sinai Peninsula, the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba, the Syrian heights and the West bank of the Jordan, as the Arab countries demand, without ironclad guarantees of its security. It certainly will not withdraw once again in favor of a UN force that can be ordered out at the whim of an Arab leader. But Israel might be willing to withdraw if its security were guaranteed by the great powers in the Security Council and if these key territories were demilitarized and patrolled by a UN force which could not be removed without unanimous agreement of the Big Five—including both the United States and the Soviet Union.

In Korea, it is surely time to reconsider the anarchronistic situation inherited from the Korean War, in which an American force flies a UN flag, but where the UN has no control over the course of events. The UN would be in a position to offer some real protection to South Korea, and would be in a more satisfactory political stance from the viewpoint of North Korea, if there were substituted for the present arrangement a UN peacekeeping force composed of neutral countries and interposed between the hostile armies in the demilitarized zone—and perhaps also deployed in small boats along the coasts to prevent illegal infiltration from one Korea into the other.

In Vietnam, any durable political settlement will have to be monitored by something more effective than the International Control Commission, a troika-style arrangement that is easily paralyzed and that lacks the resources to do its job. Those who genuinely seek peace in Southeast Asia should therefore support a major UN role, not only in Vietnam but in Laos and Cambodia, to verify the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of foreign forces, the inviolability of borders and the carrying out of free elections.

UN peacemaking is no less important than UN peacekeeping. The burden on the UN fire department will be intolerable if it cannot do a better job of fire prevention. The UN should be an instrument for the reconciliation of differences, not just a forum where these differences manifest themselves.

There is a need for procedures for peaceful settlement that can provide a cooling-off period for the fever of controversy to subside, that can mobilize opinion behind a reasonable settlement and that can enable international agencies to take responsibility for an outcome for which the parties themselves could not take full responsibility.

A new panel should be created of persons who could be drawn upon for fact-finding, mediation, and other kinds of assistance in dispute-settlement. Its members should be chosen at least in part by means other than nomination by national governments, with a view to each individual's personal qualifications.

It would be unrealistic for the time being to expect UN members to agree in advance to accept the judgments of third parties in all cases in which they were involved. But it is not unreasonable to ask UN members to agree in advance to accept the process of fact-finding or conciliation, reserving the right to challenge the facts found or settlements recommended by members of the panel. This would be a modest, but important, step forward toward a more civilized world peacemaking system.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL WAR ON POVERTY

All mankind has a vital stake in the successful development of the less developed countries. It is true that development by itself cannot guarantee political stability; but it is equally true that there can be no stability without development.

As President Kennedy once said: "If we cannot help the many who are poor, we cannot save the few who are rich."

It is time to face the disagreeable fact that the international war on poverty is now being lost. The efforts of rich and poor countries alike are grossly inadequate when measured against our common objective—the achievement of living standards in the less developed countries compatible with minimum human dignity. To turn the tide, we need new forms of international cooperation and an entirely new level of effort on the part of both developed and less developed countries.

The industrialized countries should put into effect, in stages over the next 20 years, a policy of one-way free trade in favor of the less developed countries. They should eliminate tariffs, internal taxes and quota restrictions on both manufactures and primary products exported by the poor countries—without asking for reciprocity from these countries in return. While this policy would be implemented gradually over a period of twenty years, a commitment to the objective should be taken *now*.

This bold policy in the field of trade should be matched by an equally bold policy in the field of aid. 1968 marks the twentieth anniversary of the Marshall Plan. It is an appropriate time for the country which initiated the Marshall Plan and the countries which were its principal beneficiaries to launch a new Marshall Plan for the benefit of the less developed countries.

The heads of the industrialized countries should meet at an early opportunity to chart a program of steady escalation of their foreign aid efforts. The objective should be the achievement by 1975 of an aid effort by the developed countries equivalent to one percent of their gross national products. This would mean a doubling of their foreign aid efforts, taking into account present rates of economic growth. The bulk of this increased aid should be channeled through multilateral agencies, particularly agencies of the U.N. such as the International Development Association, and the regional banks in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As Cold War tensions diminish, efforts should be made to involve the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in sharing the burden of economic aid. Development should be a cooperative, not a competitive enterprise. This objective may not be realizable immediately in all parts of the world. But we can move toward it on a case-by-case basis, in countries where the Soviet Union and the West recognize a measure of common interest.

As a first step, we should invite the Soviet Union to join the World Bank consortium for India. India's economic and political stability in the face of the Chinese threat is important to the Soviets and ourselves, and our assistance programs should be closely coordinated in recognition of this fact.

A high level panel of distinguished experts should be convened by the developed countries to recommend an aid strategy for the 1970s, and the heads of state and foreign ministers of the developed countries should meet to translate these proposals into policy. Moreover, a network of private citizens' organizations should be formed to build public support in developed and less developed countries on behalf of increased development efforts.

These bold actions by the developed countries should be batched by equally bold actions by the less developed countries. A very large part of the responsibility for the failure of the poor countries to make greater progress rests with those countries themselves. Many less developed countries have overvalued exchange rates or severe inflation or inefficient state industries which make it impossible to export successfully, whatever trade policies are followed by the industrialized countries. Many are unduly dependent on large imports of food because of their failure to deal with the twin problems of food production and population growth. Many seem unwilling to tax their own wealthy classes or implement meaningful programs of land reform. And many are diverting to armaments scarce resources that are urgently needed for development.

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the United Nations in this area is to develop a new pattern of international cooperation in which commitments to increased trade and aid by the rich are balanced by commitments to greater self-help by the poor. The implementation by the industrialized countries of their obligations under new multilateral trade and aid arrangements should be tied to the satisfactory pursuit by less developed countries of sound internal policies previously agreed upon with international agencies. What we need, in short, is multilateral surveillance over both the aid policies of the rich and the development policies of the poor.

3. DEFENSE OF THE HUMAN HERITAGE

Man's thoughtless rush toward industrialization and urbanization, coupled with unregulated population growth, threatens to undermine the basis of a decent life on this planet. We are in danger of creating an incredible disharmony in nature which could ultimately degrade and enslave us.

The uncontrolled exploitation of science and technology could spell disaster for mankind, not only in the service of military ambitions, but in the service of economic ends. To maintain the balance of nature, to exploit nature's abundance without destroying it, to preserve and extend the dignity of life, we need cooperative action by men and nations.

Urgent problems in the management of natural resources now demand immediate attention. The contamination of streams with industrial wastes; the pollution of air above major cities; the destruction of wildlife and natural areas; the need to increase the marine harvest to feed growing populations; the dangers to human and animal life from drugs and pesticides; the dramatic possibilities of desalting water by means of nuclear power—these are challenges that call for international as well as national action.

Some effective measures to husband resources can be taken by individual nations alone. But there are resources that do not belong entirely to any nation—the sea, international rivers, migratory animals—whose effective management requires international cooperation. And even the management of resources within the confines of a single nation may benefit from the sharing of national experience.

I have noted with interest the work in this country of an organization called "Italia Nostra". Is it not time for mankind to create its "Mondo Nostro"?

Surely it would be useful, for example for the countries of Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and North America to undertake a joint program of research, studies and reciprocal assistance on the common problems of industrialized and urban societies such as pollution and the conservation of natural areas.

But we should go still further, Let us establish a United Nations Program for the World Heritage. Eligible for inclusion in the Program would be those scenic, historic and natural resources—including wildlife now in danger of extinction—whose survival is a matter of concern to all mankind.

Obviously, each nation should be free to decide whether or not to nominate a property within its territory for inclusion in the Program. At the same time, the community of nations should be free to decide whether or not to include it. Countries whose resources were included in the Program would gain the advantage of international technical and financial aid in their development with consequent benefits to their economies as a whole. And the world community would be in a position to safeguard unique and irreplaceable resources in which all mankind has a common interest—resources such as Venice, Angkor Vat, the Grand Canyon, and some of the great wildlife reserves of Africa.

The alliance to preserve the human heritage should also include collective efforts to deal with the world population explosion. There is a growing realization that higher living standards in the less developed countries will never be achieved if population goes on doubling every 20 or 30 years. There is a growing recognition that unregulated fertility is a threat even to developed countries—such as the United States—since it condemns that portion of their population which is without modern methods of family planning to continued economic and cultural deprivation.

The time has come to deal with the population problem on a world scale through methods compatible with a free society. The technical means are now available. A World Population Program should be launched through the United Nations and its family of agencies to bring modern family planning methods to all those who wish to have them.

The World Population Program should be entirely voluntary. Countries wishing to contribute should provide assistance through the United Nations to countries wishing to receive it. The Program should respect the right of every individual to determine family size through means of his own choosing.

In the nuclear age, no race or nation achieves wealth or power through unregulated fertility. This message can best be transmitted through international agencies where responsibility for action is widely shared. The UN can help prevent family planning from becoming a cold war issue involving political ideologies, or a subject of disagreement between national or racial groups. The successful execution of a World Population Program could be the UN's greatest contribution to human welfare second only to the achievement of lasting peace.

A World Population Program, financed from a special fund of voluntary contributions, could expand the UN's existing work in providing demographic information and training demographic specialists. But the bulk of the funds should be used for operational activities in direct support of family planning programs:

1. Increased staff at UN headquarters and in the Regional Economic Commissions to help countries prepare projects in family planning that could be supported by the UN.

2. Training centers for personnel needed in family planning programs—doctors, health workers, administrators, communications specialists.

3. Pilot or demonstration projects to get national or regional programs underway. Interdisciplinary teams drawn from different UN agencies—doctors, administrators, demographers, economists, communications experts—could work in model areas with host government personnel. Aided by advice and training from the UN on the organization, administration, execution and evaluation on programs, the host countries could gradually learn to carry forward nationwide programs through their own efforts.

4. THE PROMOTION OF WORLD UNDERSTANDING

"Wars," in the words of UNESCO's constitution, "being in the minds of men," If we are to eliminate war, we must somehow change the attitudes of national groups toward one another and move people to cooperation instead of conflict.

The more the people in any nation know about the rest of the world, the less likely they will be to follow dictators down the path of narrow nationalism and war. The open national society is not only a good thing for its citizens; it is an essential ingredient of a peaceful international community.

Modern technology is breaking down state-imposed barriers. We can assist this process by working for the freest and fullest possible exchange of teachers and students, newspapers and books, motion pictures and cultural presentations.

We should also make full use of the dramatic new techniques of communication that modern science is making available. Foremost among these is the communications satellite, which offers us an unprecedented instrument to promote world understanding. Future historians may judge the communications satellite to be a more important scientific breakthrough than even the atomic bomb.

Indeed, the world is witnessing a fateful race between two types of scientific development. On the one hand, there are the terrible new weapons that can destroy mankind—intercontinental ballistic missiles, orbital bombs, and methods of bacteriological, chemical, and radiological warfare. On the other hand, there are developments like communications satellites that could unit all of mankind into one radio or TV listening audience. Through a strange coincidence of scientific development, the time in the 1970s when the Chinese will be able to deliver nuclear warheads around the world could also be the time when we could reach the Chinese people with radio and TV programs sent directly from communications satellites to home receivers.

We are already well into the age of the communication satellite. The satellites now stationed over the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (Intelsat) not only represent a massive addition to intercontinental telephone capacity, they make possible the simultaneous transmission of television programs.

But this is only the beginning. We are on the verge of a breakthrough to a new kind of communications satellite that will represent a change perhaps even more revolutionary in its political and economic implications than that represented by the communications satellites that now exist.

The existing satellites are *point-to-point satellites*, which relay communications from one ground station to another. The receiving station must send on the signal in the usual way through a conventional ground communications network.

But in a few short years we will have *broadcast satellites*, which will relay communications from one ground station to many ground stations simultaneously, thus bypassing the necessity of distribution through the conventional ground communications network. Within a year or two such satellites will be available to transmit FM radio or TV to specially equipped community or village receivers. Within 5 to 10 years such satellites could also be available to broadcast directly into home radios or TV sets over an area of a million square miles.

Because they bypass the need for expensive ground relay systems, broadcast satellites may be cheaper and more effective than alternative means of communication for reaching large areas, particularly in less developed countries like India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Brazil. They also raise the possibility of broadcasting to the citizens of a country without the consent, and perhaps even over the opposition, of its government.

It can of course be argued that space broadcasting is merely an extension of the broadcasting on shortwave now carried on by such agencies as the Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and Radio Moscow. It is, however, a significant extension. Unlike shortwave broadcasting, radio programs broadcast from space will be indistinguishable, so far as the quality of reception is concerned, from radio programs broadcast locally. And TV programs sent from space will have a substantially greater psychological impact than short wave radio broadcasts.

The time has surely come, therefore, to consider new forms of international cooperation in the use of TV and radio for world understanding. Such projects could not merely make better use of existing technology; they could develop habits of cooperation that will be useful when the new technology becomes available.

We should, to begin with, explore every possibility for the exchange of TV and radio broadcasts and the establishment of joint programs. The United States could offer the Soviet leaders the opportunity to talk to the American people at regular intervals on TV in return for the same privilege for American leaders in the Soviet Union. Distinguished commentators from both countries could participate in joint programs to discuss questions of mutual interest. Similar arrangements could be made for TV exchanges by political leaders and private citizens in Western and Eastern Europe, building on the cooperation already underway between Eurovision and Intervision.

We could also propose, beyond such national exchanges, the expanded use of TV and radio by the United Nations. As a beginning, for example, the General Assembly could adopt a resolution:

1. providing for an annual "State of the World" TV and radio address by the Secretary-General, which UN members would be asked to carry on their TV and radio networks;

2. urging UN members to devote at least one hour a week of prime TV time (or radio time where TV does not exist) to programs produced at UN headquarters.

The Radio and Visual Services Department of the UN office of Public Information has already demonstrated its capacity to produce such programs—some showing the executive activities of the UN at headquarters and in the field, others giving representative and balanced highlights of UN debates.

Many UN members provide no radio or TV reporting to their populations on UN activities. Many allow their people to hear only those parts of UN debates that represent their national point of view. One hour a week of UN-produced programs, including highlights of debates, could be a useful corrective.

I have no illusions that those UN members with tightly closed national societies would immediately implement such a resolution. But a resolution of this kind might well mobilize international and domestic opinion upon them to implement it after a number of years. At the very least, it would reveal very clearly which countries are really prepared to take practical steps toward international understanding and a more effective United Nations—and which are not prepared to do so.

5. REFORMING THE U.N.

The principal problems of the UN are not remediable by means of any structural reform. They are inherent in the international environment in which the UN operates. As one UN ambassador put it to me recently, "there is nothing basically wrong with the UN—except perhaps its members!"

The UN's effectiveness will be determined primarily by the extent to which the members are prepared to subordinate their short-term calculations of national advantage to their long-term interests in building a civilized system for peacekeeping and development. Among other things, this requires of all countries a more principled approach to problems that arise in the UN—a willingness to vote "on the merits" without regard to great power attitudes and bloc affiliations.

Granted, however, that the UN's problems are not mainly due to any structural deficiencies, it by no means follows that no structural reforms should be considered. Reforms are particularly needed to deal with the problems arising from the rapid increase in membership.

The UN now has 124 members, well over double the number it had when the organization began. At least 20 to 25 more members are expected by 1975, which will bring the total to nearly 150.

A significant number of the recently admitted members, and an even larger proportion of the prospective members, are "mini-states"—small countries who find it difficult to pay the minimum .04% share of the UN budget or field a delegation large enough to participate adequately in UN proceedings. Moreover, the increase in the number of small states means that a two-thirds vote can now be mustered in the General Assembly by countries representing less than 5% of the UN's budget and 10% of its members population.

This situation does not serve the interests of the United States or the Soviet Union. Nor does it serve the interests of the countries of Europe or the membership as a whole.

A number of "mini-states" are already in the UN, and it is politically impossible to expel them. It is equally impossible to apply to future applicants for membership minimum requirements with respect to population or economic capacity that could not be satisfied by those who are already members.

What we need is a solution that will be accepted by the "mini-states" voluntarily and that will satisfy the principal motives for which "mini-states" seek UN membership—recognition of their sovereignty and independence; an opportunity to make their voices heard on questions that concern them; and access to bilateral and multilateral aid.

The following proposal would seem to meet these requirements:

1. "Mini-states" should be offered observer status at the UN, with the privilege of circulating documents and addressing meetings, but without the privilege of voting and the burden of paying a share of UN expenses.

2. "Mini-states" should be invited to become parties to a convention affirming their independence and territorial integrity and their eligibility for bilateral as well as multilateral aid.

Hopefully some of the "mini-states" already in the UN as well as those who are expected to apply for membership could be persuaded to accept observer status and the convention in lieu of membership.

This solution to the problem of "mini-states" would ameliorate, but not resolve, the problem of the UN's decision-making procedures. Even without "mini-states" there will still be a large disparity between voting power in the General Assembly and real responsibility for implementing UN decisions. The Soviet Union or the United States, for example, will still have the same vote as a state with a population and gross national product less than 1/100 as large.

The problem, to be sure, should not be overstated. The principal powers of the UN are concentrated in a Security Council of 15 members where the great powers have the veto, and the Assembly can only make recommendations. It should also be remembered that while members are equal in the Assembly in terms of votes, they are by no means equal in terms of influence.

Nevertheless, it does seem to me that some changes in the decision-making procedures of the Assembly are now required. Although as a general rule Assembly decisions are merely recommendations, they do carry binding force in the field of budget and administration: the Assembly can levy legally binding assessments on members and can require action from the Secretary-General.

Moreover, even with respect to mere recommendations, the passage of resolutions on a one-nation one-vote basis is not entirely satisfactory. Assembly decisions adopted without the concurrence of a substantial number of large and middle powers violate considerations of equity and will not in practice be carried out. This can only debase the coinage of Assembly resolutions and damage the prestige of the organization.

One fairly modest reform in decision-making that might be adopted in the near future would be to strengthen the power of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ). The General Assembly's rules of procedure could be amended to specify that no budgetary proposal could be adopted that had not been approved *both* by the Assembly and the ACABQ. Since the ACABQ includes members representing some 80% of the UN budget this would give protection to the large as well as the small contributors. The financing of peacekeeping operations could be entrusted to the ACABQ or to a specially composed peacekeeping finance committee with a similar relation to the Assembly.

A further step, much more difficult to achieve, would be to have the General Assembly operate under a system of dual voting (double majorities) for certain kinds of important decisions. In other words, there would be a second majority requirement added to the existing two-thirds requirement to assure that decisions were taken with sufficient support from large and middle powers. For example, it could be agreed that certain kinds of resolutions would only be considered adopted when approved by two-thirds of the members including two-thirds of those members paying at least 1% of the budget.

As an interim measure, pending the implementation of such a sweeping reform, dual voting might be tried in the main committees of the Assembly. Even though the Plenary would be free to pass resolutions under the existing rules, it might develop a practice of self-restraint where proposals had not been adopted under the special dual voting procedure of the Committees.

It may be argued that no reform of Assembly procedures is possible since it requires the approval of the small countries who now have a voting majority. Certainly reform will not be easy. But it may not be impossible if the small countries can be convinced that a reform in decision-making would result in a more effective UN on matters of interest to them.

If United Nation's procedures cannot be adopted to take account of power realities, the large and middle powers will increasingly pursue their national interests outside the UN system. If, on the other hand, the necessary procedural adjustments can be made, the United Nations and its agencies will be able to assume increasing responsibilities for action in both peacekeeping and development. This is the fundamental reason why procedural reforms of the kind outlined above would serve the enlightened self-interest of all its members.

I have tried to outline some basic elements of a global program to defend the common interests of mankind in peace and welfare. This program would represent a new kind of alliance—not an alliance *against* any nation or group of nations but an alliance *for* all humanity.

For the United States, such an alliance would offer an alternative between two undesirable extremes—an assumption of disproportionate world responsibility and a renewed retreat into isolation. The war in Vietnam has emphasized for thoughtful Americans the necessity of developing stronger international institutions in which our country can share the burdens stemming from our position of preponderant power.

For the countries of Europe, such an alliance would offer a chance to participate more meaningfully in decision-making on global enterprises in which they have a long-term stake but insufficient ability to influence events when acting alone.

In this connection, I have been distressed to find widespread indifference and cynicism about the United Nations and projects of global cooperation among political leaders, educators and journalists in many European countries. Without strong support from Europe, we may not only fail to achieve the full potential of the UN; worse still, the organization may fall under the influence of those who would weaken it further or use it against man's common interests.

What is required of the peoples of the world and particularly of those who bear the awesome responsibilities of decision is a special effort of will and imagination. I believe the common people in all countries will turn increasingly in the years ahead to leaders who offer them programs for cooperation rather than conflict.

There are, after all, two attitudes we can take about the future. We can assume the attitude of spectators at a Greek tragedy and let the play drift inevitably toward its bloody conclusion. Or we can take those measures necessary to preserve the survival of our civilization.

President Kennedy put it clearly in his address at American University in 1963:

"Let us examine our attitude toward peace itself. Too many of us think it is impossible. Too many think it unreal. But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable, that mankind is doomed, that we are gripped by forces we cannot control.

"We will not accept that view. Our problems are manmade; therefore, they can be solved by men. And man can be as big as he wants."

A RIGHT AND WRONG WAY

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, recently I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Philadelphia Inquirer concerning Barry P. Wright, a Negro Seabee in Vietnam who formed an organization, Negro Veterans From Vietnam, to help disadvantaged people progress toward a better way of life. Numbering more than 5,000 members at the present time, NVFV seeks to provide training for the unskilled to prepare them for stable and meaningful jobs. Himself a heavy equipment operator before his return to the States, Barry Wright and fellow ex-servicemen will have as their first project the establishment of a free training center to teach men how to operate heavy equipment. The overall goal of this effort is to help build for the deprived man—black or white, veteran or nonveteran—a better life in a peaceful America, free from violence.

In stark contrast to the constructive undertaking of Barry Wright is the case of two Negro leaders in Cleveland who praised Fred "Ahmed" Evans, charged with the slaying of three Cleveland policemen recently. According to the Akron Beacon Journal of July 31, one leader, J. C. Chunn, director of the Project Headstart of the Council of Churches in Greater Cleveland, stated:

> I hope Brother Ahmed goes down in history as one of our great patriots. I think there are a couple of hundred more Ahmeds ready to express themselves in the great American tradition, with guns.

How different is this demagoguery from the cool, responsible approach of Barry Wright and his colleagues. Of interest to American taxpayers is how Headstart funds ever got into the hands of such as Director Chunn. Perhaps Cleveland has its own version to match the Blackstone Rangers scandal in Chicago. At any rate, an inquiry will be made to ascertain whether violence and hatred are being encouraged at the expense of American tax dollars.

I include the article, "Black Militant Evans Praised as Patriot, Pilgrim," from the July 31 issue of the Akron Beacon Journal, in the RECORD at this point:

BLACK MILITANT EVANS PRAISED AS PATRIOT, PILGRIM

CLEVELAND.—Black militant Fred "Ahmed" Evans, charged with the deaths of three Cleveland policemen, drew praise from two Negro leaders Tuesday night as a patriot and pilgrim.

"I hope Brother Ahmed goes down in history as one of our great patriots," said J. C. Chunn, director of Project Head Start of the Council of Churches in Greater Cleveland.

"I think there are a couple of hundred more Ahmeds ready to express themselves in the great American tradition, with guns," Chunn said at a meeting in an East Cleveland church.

Mrs. Doris Gilmer, field coordinator for the Head Start program, called Evans "a pilgrim in his own territory."

Evans, 37, is charged with first-degree murder in the sniper shooting of three police men during last week's disturbances in Cleveland. Seven Negro civilians were killed during the violence that followed the shootings.

Glen Hawkins, program director of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, told some 100 white persons at the meeting, "You drove him to it when you dragged us from our homeland in Africa."

"Blacks can't compete with white store owners," Mrs. Gilmer said. "We can't get credit, we can't get insurance because we're black."

THREE YEARS OF MEDICARE AND MEDICAID

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to report on the achievements, and the problems, of the two Federal programs designed to help people—older people particularly—meet the costs of health care. It is just over 2 years since the medicare program has been in operation and not much longer than that since the Federal-State medicaid program has been in operation here in New York. It is just about 3 years since President Johnson signed into law the 1965 Social Security Amendments which enacted these historic pieces of legislation.

First, I would like to review with you some of the more important aspects of the medicare program, since it is this program which affects our older citizens so directly. As you will recall, this legislation, fought for so long by President Kennedy and President Johnson, was finally enacted in July 1965, with most of its benefit provisions going into effect in July 1966.

We all recall, too, that the prophets of gloom and doom forecast that hospitals would be swamped with thousands upon thousands of older people clamoring to get in and get their benefits. Needless to say, these prophets proved poor prognosticators. They forgot, for one thing, that older people are probably the most responsible segment of society. It is the older people of this country who have built and run the factories and farms of what is now the most powerful nation on earth. And they did not build it by being wasteful.

Older people have participated in the program in a responsible way and I, for one, would not have expected them to do any less.

It is also clear that this program has become very important to the older people of our country. It has given them the same rights to get good medical care as those enjoyed by younger, more affluent members of our society.

Some idea of the extent to which the medicare program has helped older people can be gained from these impressive figures. During the first 2 years of medicare there were 10.6 million covered hospital admissions. During just the first year and a half of the program beneficiaries had over 92 million covered days of hospital care. These days of care would have cost the people involved almost $4½ billion if medicare had not been available.

During the first 2 years more than 4 million visits to hospital outpatient departments were covered, as were starts of 485,000 individual home health programs. In the year and one-half that extended care facilities have been covered there have been 640,000 covered admissions to such facilities. During the first 2 years about 45 million physicians' and other medical bills were paid in part. This is an impressive performance and one which shows dramatically the impact of medicare on our older citizens.

But the stories that lie behind these cold figures are even more dramatic. Millions of older people have been largely freed from the devastating effects which large medical bills can have. Many older people no longer have to postpone needed medical care because they cannot afford it. This is the real story of medicare and one which can be told over and over again in the experiences of millions of older people.

President Johnson, when taking note of the second anniversary of operations under the medicare program, reported one such story which could no doubt be duplicated in many parts of the country. He said:

> A man from Morrisonville, Illinois, who had endured six major operations, with medical bills soaring to almost $5,000, wrote to me recently, "I don't know what we would have done without Medicare—without it we would have lost everything."

Many of you know better than I that this experience is not unique, it is reflected in the experiences of new hope and renewed health that light up thousands of lives in every community of this land.

Any review of the medicare program can hardly ignore the force for improvement in the quality of medical care which has characterized the program. I think we can say with certainty today that medicare has helped raise the standards of service offered by many health facilities in this Nation. The standards for participation in the program have helped administrators of nonaccredited hospitals to convince their boards and their communities to improve services. The standards for extended care facilities have helped form a new kind of much-needed facility for serving those who need high level care following an episode of hospitalization. The standards for independent laboratories have set national minimum standards for this type health facility where not even State standards existed in many areas and where services were notably bad in many parts of the country. And the standards and benefits for home health agencies have stimulated the development of these effective methods of patient care for so many of our aged citizens.

We must not forget that the application of title VI of the Civil Rights Act to the providers of service under medicare has meant a significant change in the way Negro Americans and other minority groups receive hospital care. Negroes are able to enter hospitals that were previously reserved for white patients only. Negro physicians can in many more cases apply for hospital staff privileges with assurance that their applications will be seriously considered and on their merits. This is a truly significant step, but the sad truth is that discrimination continues to exist in many hospitals and in other institutions and agencies which deliver health care. We all need to take whatever steps we can to see that discrimination against sick and ill Negroes and members of other minority groups come to an end wherever it is practiced. I can assure you that I will do everything I can in the Congress to continue the progress we have made until discrimination based on shade of skin or national origin is banished from the treatment room.

As successful as the medicare program has been at meeting the health needs of older people, there are two significant problem areas which will be getting more and more congressional attention.

The first of these involve the significant gap in benefits covered under the program. I believe the medicare program cannot be regarded as complete until it covers many other services important to the health of older people and difficult for them to finance out of low pensions. Specifically, the medicare program should be broadened to cover out-of-hospital drugs, eyeglasses and eye examinations, hearing aids and examinations, and regular physical examinations designed to detect and treat disease in its early stages.

Probably the first order of priority is the coverage of drugs. This is an area where many older people desperately need help. Government studies show that the aged spend more than three times as much for prescription drugs as do people under age 65. Certainly this is an indication of how much older people can be hurt financially by the need for expensive drugs on a regular basis. I will urge the Congress to enact this important legislation as soon as possible.

You will also be interested to know that the Committee on Aging in the Senate is holding hearings this month on the relationship between hearing disabilities and advancing age. These hearings will develop data which will, I believe, strongly support covering hearing examinations and hearing aids under the program. And it would make good sense for the Congress to include a full range of physical examinations among the benefits of medicare. Certainly the program should support prevention of disease as well as the cure of disease once arisen. It is obviously sound both from the medical and economic standpoint to do so.

While it is important to increase the kinds of health services which are covered under the program it is important also to consider carefully the impact of the deductibles and coinsurance provisions. We in the Congress need to study very carefully whether these provisions of the program are hindering people from seeking the care they need. It may very well be that the $40 deductible on hospital care and the $50 deductible and 20 percent coinsurance provision for physicians' services mean that many people put off the care they need because they do not want to admit that they cannot pay for it themselves. Moreover, the $40 deductible for hospital care will no doubt be raised this year—probably to $44—by administrative action since the costs per day of hospital care have risen so rapidly.

And this brings us to the second severe problem which is affecting the medicare program—rapidly rising costs of health care. Actually, if health care costs had gone up no more than the prices of other goods and services we probably would have been able to finance all of the new benefits to which I referred a moment ago out of the difference. Congress last year had to approve a 25-percent increase in medicare payroll taxes to meet the heavy increases in hospital costs. And I want to point out that the increase was not made because older people were using hospitals more than had been estimated. Rather it was because of the rising costs in hospitals themselves. And, as all of you know, the premium under the part B, medical insurance, half of the program was increased by one-third, from $3 to $4 each month for each enrollee.

The problem of rising health costs concerns many people in the health field as well as those, who like yourselves, feel the direct impact. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has held a national conference on the problem and is now sponsoring a series of regional meetings around the country to develop ways of meeting the problem. The first conference was held in Kansas City, Mo., the first of this month. The Congress will be watching developments in this area very closely since the Federal Government is a large purchaser of health care.

I would also like to give you some figures on the operations of the medicaid program here in New York which should interest you. But first I want to say that I regret very much that the medicaid program was cut back. As you know, the Congress, unwisely I believe, cut back on the Federal provisions which govern the program. Then the State acted to cut back the New York program—much more than needed to be done in response to the Federal change. The number of people eligible under the program was cut back by hundreds of thousands of people. And this I know was a great personal tragedy for many who for the first time were to be assured that the best in medical care was to be available to them and their families. I intend to urge the Congress and the State to take the necessary steps to restore the program to what it should have been. Shortchanging the the health of people will, in my opinion, turn out to be worst kind of false economy. But despite these shortcomings the medicaid program is helping great numbers of people pay their medical bills. The program has grown from one which helped only 367,000 people in January 1967 to more than double that number last month.

Let me end this brief talk by giving some perspective on the general involvement of the Federal Government in providing and purchasing health care for older people.

The Federal Government's contribution is large and growing rapidly. The combination of the medicare and medicaid programs has meant that government has assumed more and more of the cost of providing medical care to the aged population. For example, in the 12-month period ending in June 1967—the first full year of medicare—expenditures for all of the health care for all the aged amounted to a little over $9 billion. Of this amount nearly half—47 percent—was financed by Federal funds, largely the medicare and medicaid programs but also including other Federal programs such as that for veterans. Another 12 percent was financed by State and local government and only about 41 percent was paid for by personal funds or private health insurance held by the aged. This growth in programs which spend Federal dollars is expected to continue. It is not unlikely that when the figures are in for the fiscal year ending at the end of June they will show that the Federal Government is paying for more than half of all the personal health care of our aged population.

To make sure that these funds buy quality care at the most economical price is not only the duty of the administrators of these various programs but is also the duty of Congress.

I pledge to work hard and diligently for these goals so important to the older people of the Nation and the country as a whole.

THE AMERICAN LEGION: 50 YEARS OF PREPAREDNESS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 50th anniversary of the American Legion, that greatest of veterans' organizations, made up of dedicated men sworn to uphold the American traditions of liberty, democracy, and love of country.

In sharp contrast to looters, draft protesters, and irresponsible dissenters, stand over 2½ million Legionnaires—men who have served their country in war and peace.

They are men who respect this country's institutions and system of government and have shown their willingness to die to protect what others before them laid down their lives to protect.

But more important than the actual combat performed by Legionnaires is their shared sense of purpose, sacrifice, comradeship, and unselfishness, so evident within the ranks of the Legion.

It is my belief that Legionnaires, by their example and teaching, pass on these fine qualities to their children. These Legion attributes will stand their possessors in good stead in years to come. Detractors who claim that patriotism is out of date will find, to their sorrow, how profoundly mistaken they have been to denigrate the values that are so precious to Legionnaires and their families.

Legionnaires know that peace through preparedness for war is the only hope we have against the threat of communism.

Legionnaires are constantly on guard, always reminding the American people that aggression is still a possibility and that our only guarantee of safety lies in armed strength.

But Legionnaires are not zealots rattling their sabers. They are not warmongers bent on violence and destruction.

They are, instead, thoughtful, dedicated, public-spirited civilian soldiers who know they must keep the torch of vigilance held high and burning brightly.

There are some people who might think that perhaps the Legion is a narrow, militaristic organization, but they are badly mistaken.

The Legion is a typical cross section of the Nation, with all elements of our veteran population represented. If it is conservative for the Legion to attempt to protect, perpetuate, and conserve the American way of life, our system of constitutional government, and the rights of the individual, then the Legion is conservative and probably always will be.

To the charge that the Legion has indulged in partisan politics, the answer can only be and is a categorical denial.

Not only has it clung firmly to a policy of strict neutrality in party politics and individual candidacies, but it has leaned far over backward to do so, as any citizen conversant with politics over the last half century will testify.

As to the Legion's legislative record, no man can deny that, starting with the National Defense Act of 1920, for whose passage it was largely responsible, the Legion has fought with complete dedication, and often singlehandedly for adequate military preparedness.

It went on record for universal military training at its national convention in 1920, and has worked for this measure ever since.

The Veterans' Administration, formerly known as the Veterans' Bureau, is the child of the American Legion, which forced its establishment, and which has ever since been its most vigilant watchdog.

The care of the disabled veteran has, from the very beginning, been the Legion's first consideration and its first duty.

Congress and the Nation have always been willing to see that the men and women who survive our wars are properly and generously treated; but it is no reflection on that attitude to state—what every fair-minded American will admit—that practically all the legislation now in effect for the disabled veteran has not only been written, but supported through to enactment by the efforts of the American Legion.

Let any of the communities where posts of the Legion have been in existence over the years be polled, and it will be found that the overwhelming majority of the citizens will say that the Legion has served their community well.

For example, every summer thousands of teen-aged young Americans play in the Legion's junior baseball program. There are thousands more entered in its annual national high school oratorical contest.

School prize medals are awarded to young pupils as a part of a continuing annual program. Boy Scout troops operate under direct Legion post sponsorship, and this summer, as in previous years, thousands of boys will attend Legion "boys' states" where they will study and actually apply the mechanics of the Government of this country.

I have mentioned just a few of the constructive activities directed and sponsored by the Legion and its amazingly active and industrious women's auxiliary throughout the Nation.

These accomplishments furnish evidence, if evidence is needed, that the men and women of the Legion did not terminate their service to their country when they took off the uniform, but were determined that nothing should be left undone which could help their country and their individual communities become better places in which to live and bring up their children.

The Legion has become a tremendous force in America. It has grown and continues to grow because its activities have become an integral part of life in the thousands of hometowns which make up America.

Sincere and persistent men and women make the Legion post the magnificent organization it is today. I claim that both the Legion and the Nation profit greatly from the active civic participation of the average ex-GI, who, as those of us who served with him can testify, is the best there is.

The Legion is now 50 years old. May it continue its course of productive patriotism for the next 50 years.

NEW VISTA PROGRAM

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the other day an interesting article about VISTA from the July 29 Baltimore News

American was brought to my attention, and I know my colleagues will want to be aware of it. The article concerns a new approach taken by this OEO program to better serve the poor of our Nation.

VISTA, under the leadership of its young and dynamic new director, Padraic M. Kennedy, is concentrating on combining the creative idealism of its volunteers with the skill of the professionals in its ranks. As an example of this approach, the article cites the new legal service program that will begin on August 27 when 300 lawyers will be sent into the field to work as VISTA volunteers. Retired teachers, former social workers, and people from many other professional backgrounds are numbered among the 12,000 VISTA volunteers who have served in this program.

I have a special interest in VISTA. My State of New York, with 408 volunteers, ranks second in the number of VISTA's serving in various projects across the Nation. We have 199 volunteers working in 22 projects in New York. These fine Americans are combating poverty by their hard work in settlement houses, community action programs, and housing development projects, as well as in Indian and migrant worker settlements.

I know that my colleagues will find this article about VISTA to be of interest, and indicative of the progressiveness which is characteristic of Office of Economic Opportunity programs.

At this point I include in the Record this newsworthy article about VISTA from the Baltimore News-American:

VISTA Replacing Young Idealists with Older Pros

(By Catherine Mackin)

Washington, July 29.—VISTA, the federal government's Poverty Corps, in a major shift now is primarily recruiting skilled professionals and ghetto residents to replace amateur idealists for work among the poor.

"Do-goodism in the ghetto is dead," explained Padraic M. Kennedy, the newly designated director of Volunteers in Service To America.

An example of what Kennedy calls "VISTA's new Direction" is a legal service program that will begin on Aug. 27 when 300 lawyers will be sent into the field to work as VISTA volunteers.

Further evidence of the shift is the number of youthful volunteers VISTA is recruiting. A year and a half ago 18 and 19-year-olds comprised 20 percent of the VISTA volunteers, compared to four percent at present.

Kennedy, 34, one of the youngest high-level government officials, said his agency still will take some unskilled people whose primary qualification is simply a desire to work among the poor. These people, he explained, are useful in mental health projects.

In addition to lawyers, the other types of skilled professionals VISTA hopes to attract include people qualified to run business enterprises, community planners, architects and those trained in the health services.

The second major category of future VISTA volunteers is the ghetto residents themselves. VISTA will take poor people out of urban areas, off Indian reservations and from white Appalachia, train them and then send them back to work among their fellow poor.

VISTA officials are both confident and determined that they will make a go of the "new direction" for their agency.

They are determined because of the agency's strongly held belief that the combination of indigenous poor and skilled professionals is a "vital necessity," and they will not settle for less. They are confident because they think they can attract the money and manpower to keep their agency active, growing and relevant.

Although the agency is restricted by law to 5,000 volunteers or one-third the number the Peace Corps can take, VISTA, which is frequently called the domestic Peace Corps, recently has been getting more applications than the Peace Corps.

VISTA also has been a relatively uncontroversial part of the overall war against poverty. This has kept down congressional financing. A related consideration is that VISTA, while it is a $30 million-a-year operation, it accounts for only 1.5 percent of the whole poverty program budget.

Polls recently run by the Gallup and Harris organizations suggest that VISTA's popularity will continue to expand.

It seems that those inclined to volunteer service feel their energies can be better used on the racial and poverty problems in this country than they can overseas.

This past June, for instance, applications from potential VISTA volunteers were 120 percent above the preceding June.

SMALL BUSINESS AND THE SBA PASS IMPORTANT MILESTONES

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, July 30 was the 15th anniversary of the Small Business Act of 1953, which established the Small Business Administration in its present form, and August 21 is the 10th anniversary of the act authorizing small business investment companies. Together with the legislation creating the Small War Plants Administration and the congressional Committees on Small Business in 1950, this legislation set up the framework of small business institutions in this country and formed what the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] has called milestones in the progress of free enterprise.[1]

Since coming to the Senate and joining the Committee on Commerce and Small Business, I have been proud to support these institutions because, in my opinion, they are vital to the preservation of our free and open economic system.

THE PIONEERS

Anniversaries are valuable because they remind us of these fundamentals, which tend to recede from sight as we respond to life's daily quota of crises. They also recall for us the extraordinary vision of the authors of this legislation, and their courage in exploring the new frontier of our economy.

Principal credit in this regard, I feel, belongs to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman], who has probably been the outstanding leader in this country in the field of small business, since he was appointed to the chairmanship of the Senate Select Committee in 1950. Also making major contributions have been the former Senator from Minnesota, Vice President Humphrey, the present distinguished committee chairman, Senator Smathers, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the former Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Saltonstall, and the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits]. It is interesting to note that Barry Goldwater and the late John F. Kennedy were also a part of this effort while they were in the Senate.

As great as the need for these laws was, they could not have been enacted without the guidance and assistance of the man who was majority leader of the Senate during this period, the Senator from Texas, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

President Johnson sponsored the Small Business Investment Act in the 85th Congress and his firm handling of the bill assured its passage during its second session. He has continued to encourage the venture capital industry, as indicated by the Presidential statement which I understand will be read to the SBIC 10th anniversary celebration on August 21 by Administrator Howard Samuels.

Still another of the Senate's contributions has been the able men who have been trained here, including John Horne, Senator Sparkman's former administrative assistant. Mr. Horne turned in an outstanding performance as Administrator of SBA in the years 1961–63. As a result he was appointed to the Home Loan Bank Board on August 8, 1963, and Chairman shortly thereafter. The Board has jurisdiction over 4,878 savings and loan institutions, and has a major influence on the 50,000 companies in the home construction field, the overwhelming majority of which are small businesses. It has, therefore, been gratifying to Mr. Horne's many friends that he has established himself as a widely respected leader in this field in his own right.

These are the men who recognized that the nature of our economy has been in transition, and who were willing to experiment boldly in order that the greatest number could benefit from these changes.

OUR CHANGING ECONOMY

Two hundred years ago, our country was composed of 13 small colonies and 2 million people. Today it has the greatest economic potential the world has ever known for satisfying the material needs and desires of our 200 million citizens and contributing to the well-being of millions more elsewhere. The mainspring of this progress has been our organization of government, business, and industry, in order to give maximum freedom and encouragement to individual initiative.

As our system evolved, however, we began to recognize the unique needs of small businesses and beginning businesses in our economy where many giant multinational corporations have over a billion dollars in sales each year. These needs became more pressing in the past two decades with the booms in population and technology, and the consequent increase in the scale required for business investments for plant, equipment, advertising, and almost everything. Between World War II and 1958, for instance, the GNP doubled. Since 1958, it has doubled again. All the other indicators have followed suit. Such developments called for new and imaginative measures that were equal to the needs.

---

[1] "The 15th Anniversary of the Small Business Administration—A Milestone for Free Enterprise," floor statement by Senator Morse, Congressional Record, July 30, 1968, pp. 24156, 24157.

In order to maintain some elbow room for enterprising men who owned smaller firms or wished to keep pace in starting such firms and seeing them prosper through their own labor, the Congress worked out the following mandate which it adopted and made a part of the law of the land in the 1953 act:

> It is the declared policy of the Congress that the Government should aid, counsel, assist, and protect, insofar as is possible, the interests of small business concerns in order to preserve free competitive enterprise . . . and strengthen the overall economy of the Nation.

THE SBA RECORD—BENEFITS TO ALASKA

The assistance that the Small Business Administration has given pursuant to this charter over the years has taken many forms. Perhaps most dramatic has been its role as a friend-in-need to businesses crippled by disaster. My home State of Alaska knows this well. The speed with which the agency, and the entire Federal Government, came to the aid of our State after the massive Good Friday earthquake and tidal wave of March 27, 1964, will long be remembered by a grateful business community and citizenry. Within hours of the event, emergency SBA personnel were in the air enroute to Alaska. In the short span of 6 months, the SBA had approved 455 home disaster loans amounting to $9,014,594 and 490 business disaster loans amounting to $41,555,985. In an agreement with the Federal National Mortgage Association and the Veterans' Administration, SBA provided not only loans to cover the costs of replacing homes, but the $1,000 needed to settle mortgage debts with FNMA and the VA. SBA approved 30-year amortization periods in many cases, although 20 years is the normal period, and also in many cases approved a moratorium on interest for 1 year and on payment of the principle for 5 years.

The lift which this prompt and efficient operation gave to the material and psychological resources of Alaska was literally incalculable.

In the more conventional ways as well, the Small Business Administration has played a positive role. Thanks in no small measure to this help, Alaska now has a healthy and expanding economy. By the end of fiscal year 1968, SBA had approved loan assistance for our northernmost, easternmost, and westernmost State of the Union as shown in the following table:

	Number	Amount
Business loans	46	$2,709,000
Employment opportunity loans	5	71,000
Displaced business loans	8	878,000
Development company loans	2	193,000
Disaster loans	3,527	59,633,000
Total	3,588	[2] 216,032,000

[2] Source: Small Business Administration, Aug. 1, 1968.

The development company loan program of the 1958 act, whereby SBA matched $4 to every $1 raised by a local community to attract industry, has been of particular interest to Alaska since we are basically an area of small communities. As noted by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], this program is an increasingly beneficial influence in trying to restore the urban-rural balance in industry and population.[3] This program began in Alaska in 1964 and has since approved 52 such loans amounting to $11,280,000. In the future, the program should become even more effective as this past Congress raised the amount of SBA's matching funds to $9 for every $1 raised by the communities.

BENEFITS TO THE NATION

Looking now at the Nation as a whole, we see that SBA has assisted small businessmen with their active and growing program of providing management information. The agency has distributed 41 million management publications and held 11,000 courses, conferences, and workshops which have brought information to more than 450,000 business men and women. It is estimated than since 1960, 565,200 business people have received individual management counseling, including the services of the SCORE program designed to bring together retired business executives with the wealth of wisdom and the businessman who needs it.

Under the small business investment company program, which has been in operation only 10 years, more than 500 such companies have made some 28,000 investments and loans to small businessmen unable to obtain financing from other more conventional investment and lending institutions. The uncounted profits and added taxes that the SBIC's have generated, and the nearly 12,000 jobs provided by these rapidly growing companies, have been a significant stimulus to our economy. The 1958 act and the SBIC companies have thus pioneered new forms of industry-Government cooperation, and this cooperation has paid handsome dividends.

Mr. President, I believe many are aware that small businesses produce 40 percent of our GNP and offer at least half of the job opportunities in America. Their value beyond that, however, is that the businessman with the small or growing firm is basic to our free economic and political institutions. Small businessmen epitomize the initiative, innovation, and willingness to work that we cherish and need to survive and progress. Small companies and individual inventors have developed more than half of the technical and business innovations in our country, despite the enormous sums of money spent by big business to finance advanced research facilities and organized teams.

As small businesses at the centers of small and medium size communities across the country prosper, they have aided and can aid further in the development of these areas by providing sources of income and beacons of opportunity to those who otherwise are destined to increase the congestion of our overcrowded cities. These are some of the important ways that small business supplements and complements commerce as a whole.

As these occasions recall for us, the small business and free enterprise system builds self-reliance and independence, qualities which the country badly needs at all times, and especially in this age of change and turmoil.

SMALL BUSINESS INSTITUTIONS DESERVE COMMENDATION

During the past 15 years, the Small Business Administration has contributed far out of proportion to its modest size in the national effort to "aid, counsel, assist, and protect small business." Our small business institutions in the Federal Government and in private industry have more than proven their worth to the citizens of my State and every State.

Mr. President, I salute the Small Business Administration and the SBIC industry as they pass these milestones of achievement. I feel that many Americans would wish to join in this commendation. I hope that I will be able to help in bringing about similar accomplishments in the years ahead.

---

[3] "The Small Business Administration's 15 Years of Help to American Business," floor statement by Senator BIBLE, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 2, 1968, p. 24974.

STRONGER EXPORT EXPANSION PROGRAM NEEDED

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on July 29, the Commerce Department announced that in June the United States had suffered another deficit in our balance of trade. This news was extremely disturbing to me and to all in Maryland, since the State's economy is so closely tied to trade through the Port of Baltimore and the worldwide exports of so many Maryland companies.

Coincidentally, on the same day that the Commerce Department announcement was made, the Journal of Commerce included a summary of a statement filed with the House Ways and Means Committee by Mr. Irving W. Allerhand, vice president of Consolidated International Trading Corp. In this statement, Mr. Allerhand called for vast improvement in the administration's export expansion programs. As one step, he suggested creation and staffing of the post of "export czar" to provide the "dynamic direction" which has so clearly been lacking in the past few years.

I believe that Mr. Allerhand's comments should receive wide attention and study, and I include in the RECORD the Journal of Commerce article and a summary of his statement, as follows:

[From the Journal of Commerce, July 29, 1968]

EXPORT CZAR SEEN NEEDED FOR U.S. TRADE

WASHINGTON, July 28.—An "export czar" is needed to promote and coordinate government export programs, claims Irving Allerhand, vice president of Consolidated International Trading Corp.

In a statement filed with the House Ways and Means Committee, he said the government's export program lacks "dynamic direction." If the U.S. hopes to expand its trade balance, the president must create a position of "export czar," he said.

This, Mr. Allerhand contended, would be "the greatest new step in the field of international trade since the onset of reciprocal trade legislation."

[Consolidated International Trading Corp. press release]

EXPORT CZAR NEEDED

In a statement submitted to the Ways and Means Committee, Irving W. Allerhand, Vice President, a New York executive long active in the import-export trade, decried the lack of a vigorous and well-coordinated export program. Mr. Allerhand, noting the great efficiency of American production methods and our prowess at salesmanship, said that there is every reason to expect ever increasing foreign sales. He said, however, that there has been no dynamic direction of our export program by the federal government. In his prepared statement, Mr. Allerhand added:

"In the early days of the Kennedy Administration there was created in the Commerce Department an office of Export Expansion. Unfortunately, the position was filled for only two years. If the United States hopes to preserve and expand its favorable trade balance, it is imperative that the President create a position of 'Export Czar.'

"This office should have all the powers and prestige of a cabinet officer, ambassador or special assistant to the President. The staff and office budget should be commensurate with the responsibilities. This job should go to an individual with experience in industry and finance and known and registered here and abroad."

One of the many advantages of a government export expansion program would be the publication and dissemination of meaningful statistics showing the states and their elected representatives, the value of export trade in the creation of jobs and income. A thorough study in this area would likely reverse the anomalous situation in which state business leaders are working many times at cross-purposes to their Congressional delegations. Mr. Allerhand added that it makes little sense for state officials to be traveling abroad and establishing offices in foreign countries for the expansion of exports when their senators and representatives are leading the fight for protectionist legislation.

Mr. Allerhand was asked to comment on recent testimony before a Senate committee to the effect that American firms are losing export business because of unnecessary delays in the Department of Commerce. Mr. Allerhand simply pointed out that this was just another example of the absolute necessity for an overall governmental export program. An export czar with all the power and prestige of the United States government behind him would be the greatest new step in the field of international trade since the onset of reciprocal trade legislation.

MRS. CONEY'S CLEAN-UP AMERICA CAMPAIGN

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, late this summer a nationwide campaign is scheduled to be launched which has as its goal a much-needed debris and rubbish removal program. I am pleased to note that the impetus behind this drive, which will be sponsored by the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge, Pa., arose largely from the previous success achieved in a similar local program headed by Mrs. Mattie Coney of Indianapolis.

The Clean Up America campaign will be developed along the lines of the Indianapolis Citizens Forum project which Mrs. Coney and her husband initiated in 1964. The earmark of this interesting experiment has been the emphasis on a block-by-block and neighborhood approach in which local pride in cleanliness and restoration is stressed.

At a meeting held recently at Freedoms Foundation headquarters for members of the press and other groups Mrs. Coney had the opportunity to explain in detail her formula for attacking the problem of municipal dirt and grime. Dr. Kenneth D. Wells, president of the foundation, hopes that the drive will develop and expand into a truly national crusade which will reach its countrywide cleanliness goal by the time of the Nation's 200th anniversary celebration in 1976.

An interesting article describing this new campaign and the significant roles played by Mrs. Coney and the Freedoms Foundation appeared in the July 11 issue of the North East Topics published in Indianapolis. In order that others may learn more about this important drive, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONWIDE CLEAN-UP SCHEDULED

(By Norma Orr)

The success story of Mrs. Mattie Coney and the Citizens Forum of Indianapolis will be told all over the country with the beginning of a nation-wide "Clean Up America" campaign patterned after the local program.

Mrs. Coney told the "Indianapolis Story" at a recent meeting of educational, civic, and press notables at the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

The proposed "Clean Up America" campaign will be patterned after the Citizens Forum project, launched in 1964 by the former teacher and her husband, Elmo.

The national drive is the brain child of Dr. Kenneth D. Wells, president of the Freedoms Foundation, who hopes that, with the cooperation of press, radio, and television media, a nation-wide clean-up drive may be launched late this summer.

As the program unfolds, he expects that it will continue steadily so that the entire nation may be cleared of filth, rubbish, and debris for its 200th birthday celebration in in 1976.

Both Mrs. Coney and Dr. Wells believe in the principle that dirt leads to despair and a defeatist attitude. "We hope to energize and arouse a new hope and optimism in all American people," Dr. Wells says.

In a letter to Dr. Wells, Oxie Reichler, editor emeritus of the Yonkers, New York, Herald Statesman, says, "This war on filth, I am confident, will help realize the American Dream. It may well prove to be the pilot project that will ease the ominous worldwide threat—that we will run out of places to throw our garbage and trash."

"If it eases at all the frustrations and grievances that create a reservoir for rioting, it will be especially effective," Reichler continued.

The success of Mrs. Coney's program, which emphasizes block-to-block responsibility for cleaniness and neighborhood pride, is readily evident in the restoration of many north side neighborhoods in Indianapolis.

Of one such neighborhood she said, "The pride and caring was there. These people simply had been too busy raising their children and getting through the daily routine of life to notice each other or their deteriorating neighborhood. All we did was to re-introduce them to each other and they took it from there."

Much in demand as a public speaker of razor-sharp wit and down-to-earth humor, Mrs. Coney is not just a talker. She is a "roll up your sleeves—get the job done" type person with no sympathy for the malingerer, the demonstrator, the protestor, or the whiner—of any race, creed, or color.

A meeting is scheduled for the end of July or the first of August to discuss specific assignments in the "Clean Up America" campaign. At this time, a coordinating committee will be named for keeping all units in the drive fully informed on progress and results.

The campaign will begin sometime near the 15th of August, and will extend through Thanksgiving. All action will be reported to the Freedoms Foundation for recording and distributing results.

"I have all the details here in my purse," said Mrs. Coney, rumaging through a suitcase-sized handbag. "I get lots of mail from the Freedoms Foundation."

Which is understandable. The Freedoms Foundation and Mattie Coney speak the same language.

GUN-CONTROL LAWS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on June 18, 1968, Mr. George Putnam, a news reporter for Channel 5, KTLA, gave what I feel a very thoughtful commentary on gun-control laws and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of his commentary:

GUN-CONTROL LAWS

It is this reporters' opinion that few thoughtful citizens are opposed to adequate, sensible and effective gun laws. But it is also this reporter's opinion that the vast majority of America's citizens are opposed to laws that would penalize decent citizens and make it easy for the sniper, the assassin, the murderer.

Therefore, in these emotion packed days following the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, law making bodies must not be swayed by the hysteria, panic, and the growing clamor among normally rational American citizens. We have laws concerning ownership and the traffic and carrying of guns in California. We have laws restricting the possession, and we have laws relating to carrying a gun in the commission of a crime.

But in all too many instances, these laws are not abided—are not enforced. Therefore, is there any reason to expect additional gun laws to be enforced with any greater degree of vigilance? Now these are questions that might be asked—why not, instead of engaging in this emotional binge, cry out, instead, for the enforcement of the laws—I mean all of them—that are already on the books.

As example—there was a law against Senator Kennedy's alleged assassin having a gun. California law prohibits possession of a gun by any alien. And reasonable persons certainly must be opposed to the mail order traffic in firearms.

I believe in a law that would prevent sale of guns through the mail, or any other means where they can be easily secured by juveniles, mentally deficit, or emotionally unbalanced. I believe that every purchase of a gun should be thoroughly investigated and that each gun purchased should carry with it a pink slip, if you please—a pink slip of ownership. Then, when the gun is sold or disposed or, a record would be kept to cover the transaction. And the registration slip would be presented in the purchase of ammunition for the gun.

You and I have a right to know—on a purchaser-seller basis—who is buying the gun, his background, his record, and the purpose for which that weapon is going to be used. It is admitted that the criminal will find ways to secure firearms. It is admitted that no gun control measure regardless of how stringent it might be—will completely avoid many unhappy circumstances. But every step should be taken to minimize the possibility that firearms—death dealing weapons—fall into the hands of the irresponsible, the mentally deficient, the habitual drunkards, the narcotics addicts, the criminals.

What we should be concerned with is armed lawlessness—not the curtailment of sports enthusiasts, or a person who wishes to protect his home, property, family, against the increasing numbers of the lawless among us. And until such time as we can achieve good, firm federal laws to curtail interstate shipments of firearms—it would be futile to enact state or local ordinances of a more highly restrictive nature. These points should be remembered.

Those who use firearms for illegal purposes are criminals, and there is nothing on the record to indicate that criminals are influenced to any degree by laws of the land. When organized crime requires guns, it goes out and gets them or it makes them. It gets the best, most modern, rapid fire weapons on or off the market. The hoodlum will never be controlled by any firearms registration.

The suggestion that the registration of personal weapons in the possession of law abiding, decent citizens, is going to change the crime picture is neither realistic nor is it far sighted. The law abiding will register, if compelled to—but the criminal will not.

It is this reporter's opinion that the government should increase the penalties for concealment—seize contraband weapons—and police interstate traffic in guns. This reporter would be delighted to join hands with those favoring tougher gun laws if those who are shouting the loudest for such laws will now also join us in tougher narcotics laws—a tougher approach to criminal activity on all fronts—swift and sure punishment as prescribed by law, including capital punishment in the State of California.

You can't have it both ways—you've got to take it either one way or the other. I think it is inconsistent for a judge to clear a man of parole violation charges—including possession of a gun—during a gun battle between Black Panthers and Oakland police on the grounds that the Black Panther leader was imprisoned because of his political activities—not because of a parole violation.

It is inconsistent for a judge to refer to the "hobnailed boots of the police" and, at the same time, cry out that the public is apathetic concerning law enforcement.

It is inconsistent to violently oppose capital punishment and at the same time—in a moment of anguish and hysteria—to attempt to tear a suspect from the hands of the police, to take the law in one's own hands and scream, "Kill him! Kill him now!"—meanwhile, trying to do exactly that.

So I think, instead of overall clamoring for just one phase of strengthened law enforcement, let us now determine that we will strengthen all of law enforcement—and that would include the enforcement of the gun laws that are now in effect.

Four-thirty and ten p.m. news reports, KTLA, Channel Five

MR. JUSTICE FORTAS AND ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S PHANTOM

HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, article II of the Constitution expressly provides that the President may appoint a Supreme Court Justice only "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Hence, it should be made clear at the outset that a Senator does not assume the right to make a decision he is without power to make when he undertakes to perform his duty to judge the advisability of accepting or rejecting a Presidential nomination for a Supreme Court Justice.

The gravity of the obligation which this constitutional provision imposes on a Senator is clearly revealed by the nature of the office a Supreme Court Justice occupies and the awesome power he exercises in it. Supreme Court Justices hold office for life, and are not responsible in any way to the people. After they ascend to the Bench, no authority external to themselves can control their official conduct or make them keep their oaths to support the Constitution.

Our Founding Fathers were confident that this awesome power they gave to Supreme Court Justices would not be used to destroy the document they had labored with so much wisdom to construct. Of course, there were fears voiced during the ratification contest over the omission of the Constitution to provide any real check upon unconstitutional behavior on the part of the Supreme Court. But Alexander Hamilton overcame these arguments and in the Federalist, he gave this emphatic assurance:

> The supposed danger of Judiciary encroachments . . . is, in reality, a phantom.

He declared, in essence, that this assertion was true because men selected to sit on the Supreme Court of the United States would "be chosen with a view to those qualifications which fit men for the stations of Judges," and that they would give "that inflexible and uniform adherence" to legal rules "which we perceive to be indispensable in the courts of justice."

Commenting further, Hamilton said:

> To avoid an arbitrary discretion in the courts, it is indispensable that they should be bound down by strict rules and precedents, which serve to define and point out their duty in every particular case that comes before them. . . .

The importance of Hamilton's proposition that judges should consider themselves bound by rules and precedents was summed up by Chief Justice Harlan Stone in the Butler case:

> While unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the government is subject to judicial restraint. the only check upon our exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint.

That is, although one may possess a brilliant intellect and be actuated by lofty motives, he is not qualified for the station of a judge in a government of laws unless he is able and willing to subject himself to the restraint inherent in the judicial process.

The end result of the presently popular political theory that judges are privileged to substitute their individual sense of justice for established rules of laws when they decide cases, was well stated by Justice Cardozo when he said that it "might result in benevolent despotism if the judges were benevolent men. It would put an end to the reign of law." To cover this result with the popular palliative "living Constitution" does not change it at all.

Thus, when a Senator undertakes to discharge his duty under article II to judge the qualifications of a nominee to the Supreme Court, his inquiry is not limited to the intelligence, character, and scholarship of the nominee, but extends to his judicial philosophy which includes his willingness to subject himself to that most precious of all judicial virtues—self-restraint. The important question confronting the Senate as it passes upon the Fortas nomination is whether Mr. Justice Fortas possesses the intelligence, judicial competence, and self-restraint to qualify him for elevation for life to the more prestigious office of Chief Justice—an office more powerful than that of the Presidency in its impact upon constitutional government.

Since Mr. Fortas has been a Supreme Court Justice for about 3 years, he has participated in numerous Supreme Court decisions and has revealed in a tangible manner his concept of the role of a Supreme Court Justice. I believe that a study of the decisions of the Court in which Mr. Fortas has joined indicates an easy willingness to depart from the words and history of the Constitution, and, if necessary to reach a desired result, to cast into the judicial garbage can sound precedents of past courts.

Space does not permit a full exploration of all the recent cases which illustrate the reluctance of the present Supreme Court majority, including Mr. Fortas, to abide by the words and history of the Constitution. However, because I believe there is no better way to ascertain a man's judicial philosophy than by studying the opinions in which he participated, I will mention a few.

While it may be debatable whether the results of these decisions are wise or foolish, the simple truth is they are not constitutionally permissible.

Until May of this year, both Federal and State courts had the power to issue injunctions to prevent individuals from trespassing upon the property of another man against his will. But in the Amalgamated Food Employees against Logan Valley Plaza case, the Court in the guise of interpreting the first amendment, amended it to give individuals the constitutional right to go on the private property of a businessman against his will and there urge his customers not to trade with him. Thus, for the first time in American history the Court converted an illegal trespass into a newly created constitutional right.

This year, the Court in the case of Jones against Mayer Co. held, without regard for the intent of Congress, that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 was really an open occupancy law even though the Court's novel conclusion is utterly incompatible with the interpretation placed upon the act throughout the intervening 102 years and even though very specific legislation dealing with open occupancy had just been approved by the 90th Congress, which, according to all cannons of statutory construction, should have taken precedence over the 1866 act.

Even though the Court has never held that a State has to enact an open housing law, in 1967 the Court, in the Reitman case, found something new in the 14th amendment which said that the people of California, voting by referendum, could not repeal their open occupancy law once enacted.

In a most amazing case, the Court held in Katzenbach against Morgan that the 14th amendment empowers Congress to abolish New York's English language voter requirement and substitute for it a newly created Federal voting qualification, even though the Court conceded that the English language requirement was reasonable and nondiscriminatory, and notwithstanding the admitted constitutional power of States to prescribe such requirements. This case broadens the power of Congress beyond that given by the Constitution and shows a complete disregard for the plain words of the Constitution.

In the case of United States against Robel, the Court held unconstitutional an act of Congress which prohibited Communists from working in the defense industry. Thus, the first amendment right of association of Communists was extended to be superior to the right of Congress to protect the national security of this country.

This year, the Court also held in the Keyishian against the Board of Regents case that a New York State statute which prohibited Communists from teaching in their public schools was unconstitutional. And so the right of Communists to associate with each other disables New York to pass a law providing that Communists cannot teach in the public schools in New York. In both cases the Court was amending the first amendment. To paraphrase Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' famous statement on this subject, the first amendment may mean an individual has a constitutional right to be a Communist, but it does not mean he has a constitutional right to a job in a defense plant or in the public schools.

During 1966, in Miranda against Arizona, the Court usurped the power of Congress to legislate and adopted a code of conduct for Federal police officers and usurped the power to amend the Constitution insofar as that decision was applied to the States. This code of conduct mysteriously became an accused's constitutional right after no one had found it in the Constitution for 176 years and every confession of a criminal, no matter how voluntarily made, was negated unless the code was followed.

After deciding that they had the right to legislate police manual rules and call them constitutional rights, the Court in the case of Johnson against New Jersey decided that the rules of police conduct enumerated in the Miranda case were not retroactive. How can constitutional rights not be retroactive? The Johnson case was no less than a voluntary confession by the Supreme Court that it was amending the Constitution in the Miranda case.

A prime example of the Court's usurpation of the legislative authority of Congress is National Labor Relations Board against Allis Chalmers Manufacturing Co. Section 7 of the Taft-Hartley Act provides in the plainest possible language that employees should have the right to refrain from engaging in concerted labor activities. Yet, the Court held that the union could have fines imposed and enforced by the Court against workers who refused to participate in a strike.

Mr. Justice Black eloquently illustrated the point I am trying to make when he said about this case:

> In my judgment, it ill behooves this Court to strike so diligently to defeat this unequivocally declared purpose of Congress merely because the Court believes that too much freedom of choice for workers will impair the effective power of unions.

At least 20 times during the last 178 years the Court held that the sixth amendment guarantee of the right of trial by jury did not extend to criminal contempt cases. In May of this year, the Court in Bloom against Illinois amended the sixth amendment and threw those 20 decisions in the judicial garbage can.

Also, this year the Court once again amended the sixth amendment in the Duncan against Louisiana case. There the Court overruled scores of their prior decisions which held that the right of counsel clause of the sixth amendment has no application whatever to State criminal trials.

In my deliberate judgment, the few cases I have cited which were joined in by Mr. Justice Fortas make it plain that in the performance of his work as an Associate Justice, Mr. Fortas has undertaken to carry into effect the words he spoke at American University on March 20, 1968. At that place and time he declared:

> But the words of the Constitution were not written with a meaning that persists for all time. Words are not static symbols. Words may be carved in impervious granite, but the words themselves are as impermanent as the hand that carved them. They reflect light and shadow, they are modified by rain and sun, they are subject to the changes that a restless life brings upon them. So the specific meaning of the words of the Constitution has not been fixed and unchanging They never will be fixed or unchanging. The Constitution is not static. But the changes in those words—changes in the meaning of those words—have not, as one might think, been arbitrary or haphazard.

After reading these words by Justice Fortas, I wondered why George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and the other good and wise men who framed the Constitution included provisions in that document requiring Supreme Court Justices to take oaths to support a Constitution whose words Justice Fortas says have no fixed meaning, and specifying that the Constitution can be amended, that is, changed in meaning only by the joint action of Congress and the States.

When all is said, one of America's greatest jurist, Chief Justice John Marshall, said all that can be soundly said on the subject in Marbury against Madison. His words should be contrasted with those of Mr. Justice Fortas. After declaring that the principles of the Constitution "are designed to be permanent," he added:

> From these, and many other selections which might be made, it is apparent that the framers of the Constitution contemplated that instrument as a rule for the government of courts, as well as the legislature. Why otherwise does it direct the judges to take an oath to support it? This oath certainly applies, in an especial manner, to their conduct in their official character. How immoral to impose it on them, if they were to be used as the instruments, and the knowing instruments, for violating what they swear to support! * * * Why does a judge swear to discharge his duties agreeable to the Constitution of the United States, if that Constitution forms no rule for his government? * * * If such be the real state of things, this is worse than solemn mockery.

I close with this observation: If its words have no fixed meaning, the Constitution is indeed a "solemn mockery," and furnishes "no rule for the government" of Supreme Court Justices. I maintain that a vote for confirmation of Justice Fortas as Chief Justice is a vote to commend the creation of this "solemn mockery" and to perpetuate Alexander Hamilton's phantom as the liveliest and most frightful ghost in our governmental structure. I want no part of it.

UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS RESOLUTIONS ON CURRENT ISSUES

HON DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, an excellent series of resolutions on current issues came to my desk the other day. The United World Federalists at their convention this year acted on many vital questions facing our Nation and the world. I am placing in the RECORD the text of these statements so that other Members of the Congress will be aware of the fine work produced by this organization:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE 22D GENERAL ASSEMBLY CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 2, 1968

OUR DUTY FIRST AS AMERICANS

United World Federalists focuses its program on the first practical step that can be taken *now* to make the United Nations capable of insuring world peace with justice under enforceable world law. The first practical step is the development of a new United States foreign policy dedicated to that purpose. We are convinced that until the United States Government has such a policy, it will not have a foreign policy which can succeed.

Military power politics among nation-states as a way of managing international affairs is obsolete. Any government policy which relies on that system is bankrupt. This is so because in the nuclear age neither the United States nor any other country dares to push national power to an ultimate military decision. Witness that the United States, which is the most powerful nation in the world today, is not powerful enough to make its purposes prevail.

The professed goals of United States foreign policy are to preserve world peace and to promote freedom and prosperity for all men. Far from succeeding in advancing these stated objectives, the United States finds itself in a deteriorating position. U.S. strength, once relied on by smaller nations for their security, is now leading to fear of U.S. armed forces; U.S. wealth, once welcomed for economic development, is being equated with economic domination; confidence in U.S. ideals is giving way to mistrust of U.S. motives. As it continues to fight this losing battle, the United States iself becomes increasingly the captive of its own military-industrial complex.

The aims of United States foreign policy are admirable, but the ends and the means are mutually exclusive.

We understand that neither the United States nor any other nation will abandon the exercise of national power so long as there is no alternative to the international power politics system. What we do *not* understand—what we deplore—is the complete failure of the United States to take leadership in developing an alternative system.

The United Nations *as presently constituted* is not such an alternative because it can function only as its Members permit it to function within the power politics framework.

The most powerful nation in the world owes a duty to its own people and to all mankind to advocate the transformation of the United Nations into a world authority for the control of national power. Our government has an obligation to its citizens to apprise them of what changes in the United Nations will be necessary to achieve that end. If it does not do so, its declaration of faith in world law and in international peacekeeping institutions will have little credibility at home or abroad.

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER REVISION

UN Charter revision is our primary objective. We are convinced that fundamental changes which are necessary in the Charter cannot be made unless member nations first investigate and study them in depth. This study must take place both in the U.S. and within the UN if we are to have meaningful public debate on Charter reform. It is an astounding commentary on the position of our own Government that out of all its millions of employees it does not have one single high official presently giving his full attention to these matters.

We, therefore, urge both the President and Congress to take immediate steps to initiate this necessary study.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

We support greater recourse to the Internal Court of Justice for the settlement of international disputes and urge repeal of the Connally reservation. However, we recognize that today many international disputes are more political than legal in nature. In order to resolve such issues by peaceful means, United World Federalists advocates the following measures:

1. The Secretary-General's office should further develop expert individual fact finders and competent mediators who will be available to the Secretary-General's office as consultants.

2. The good offices of these arbitrators and consultants, as directed by the Secretary-General, could be used in troubled areas with the consent of the governments involved to report to the Secretary-General on conditions and developments threatening world peace.

3. International disputes brought to the United Nations General Assembly should be referred initially to the Assembly's Sixth (Legal) Committee for evaluation and advice regarding any legal elements involved as an aid to more dispassionate discussion and disposition of the issues in Assembly political bodies.

UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING MACHINERY

We advocate the following closely related measures to improve UN peacekeeping capabilities:

1. that agreement be sought among UN members on a definition of UN peacekeeping operations and on rules to govern the deployment and withdrawal of UN forces, their proper and effective use, and their financing by an equitable assessment formula;

2. that UN peace forces be established on a more reliable basis by constituting an independent, individually recruited UN force, by national contingents designated in advance which receive special UN training, or by a combination of these two methods;

3. that agreements authorizing UN peacekeeping operations should include an undertaking by the parties involved in a conflict situation to submit the issues in dispute to progressively more decisive methods for peaceful settlement at agreed intervals during the peacekeeping operation so that such operations can be safely terminated within a reasonable period of time.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

We hold that ratification of a treaty against the proliferation of nuclear weapons by as many nations as possible is the most urgent arms control measure before the United Nations. There is general agreement among most UN members that such a nonproliferation treaty must be followed promptly by agreements to complete the nuclear test ban treaty, to cut off production of nuclear weapons, and to take other measures for nuclear and conventional arms reductions. It was long ago agreed and has been reemphasized recently in the United Nations that all such limited agreements are but first steps to the essential goal of general and complete disarmament.

We applaud United States efforts on behalf of the nonproliferation treaty and urge the United States Government to continue to press for ratification.

We urge the United States to pursue with equal vigor efforts to reach agreement on completion of the test ban treaty, on a cutoff of nuclear weapons production, on elimination of the international sale of conventional armaments, and on other measures for arms control and reduction.

At the same time, we call upon the President to concentrate new efforts on the essential goal of general and complete disarmament by directing the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to place primary emphasis on planning for the genuine world security system which is essential to this goal.

UNIVERSAL UNITED NATIONS MEMBERSHIP

We believe that the United States policy of isolating the Peoples Republic of China from the community of nations has greatly limited the United Nations' ability to deal with disputes. We seek representation for the Peoples Republic of China in the United Nations. We urge our government to move directly toward the establishment of diplomatic, cultural and trade relations with the Peking Government. We believe that the Peoples Republic of China should be represented in international negotiations, especially in those that concern arms control and disarmament.

We urge a UN approved solution for the future status of Taiwan that will properly represent and safeguard the rights of Taiwanese and Nationalist Chinese and permit Taiwan a seat in the UN if it so desires.

Countries which are at present divided, such as Vietnam, Korea, and Germany, await political solutions. In the interim, however, we believe they should be fully represented in the United Nations.

UWF reiterates its belief in the principles of universal membership as an essential attribute of a world federal government. We recognize, moreover, that a world federation with properly constituted authority makes possible the toleration of different political systems, while performing essential law-making and law-enforcing functions.

AREAS OF UNITED NATIONS JURISDICTION

We hold that the seabeds beyond national jurisdiction, outer space and Antarctica should be used for peaceful purposes and reserved for the benefit of all mankind.

UWF applauds the treaties pertaining to outer space and Antarctica which make them subject to international law and protects them against national appropriation.

We urge prompt treaty agreements to prevent national appropriations and military use of the seabeds beyond national jurisdiction.

In our view, the United Nations should be given jurisdiction over the seabeds, outer space, and Antarctica at the earliest possible time so that these areas may be devoted to the benefit of mankind, and so that the UN can guarantee their exclusively peaceful use and derive from them a dependable source of revenue.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NUREMBERG PRINCIPLES

We have consistently maintained that the application to individuals of world laws against war through properly constituted international criminal courts is essential to just and enforceable world peace.

At the end of World War II, a precedent was set for the prosecution by international tribunals of individuals guilty of war crimes and crimes against peace and humanity. In 1946, the United Nations unanimously endorsed the Nurenburg principles of international law which set that precedent. Thereafter, the United Nations International Law Commission codified those principles and drafted a Statute for an International Criminal Court to implement them.

Despite all this, the United Nations has left this vital issue in doubt by refusing to adopt either the Nuremburg principles or the Statute. As a result:

1. Vengeance rather than justice may seem to have animated the prosecution of Nazi war criminals—which still continues.

2. Individuals in the United States and elsewhere, deeply troubled by conscientious objection to wars in being, are deprived of a higher authority to which they may repair for lawful protest.

3. The promise of an effective deterrent to war inherent in the development of the Nuremburg principles has been callously ignored.

UWF, therefore, urges the United States Government to take leadership now in the United Nations to revive purposeful consideration of the draft code of Offenses Against the Peace and Security of Mankind and the draft Statute for an International Criminal Court, so that they may be perfected and receive favorable action at the earliest possible date.

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The essence of our goal is the development of laws and institutions on a worldwide scale to secure human dignity. The proclamation of 1968 as International Year for Human Rights reminds us all of the Common interest of mankind in progressing toward this end. The United Nations Conventions on Human Rights represent valuable steps.

Therefore, we urge in the strongest terms that the United States Senate assent to ratification of these conventions as soon as possible. They seek a commitment by all nations to enforce elementary human rights—rights whose safeguarding is a principal function of just government.

We support creation of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to review the practices of nations in the fulfillment of their obligations under these conventions.

Furthermore, UWF, believing as it does in the need for law to preserve human dignity throughout the world, stands solidly behind today's struggle in the United States to achieve equal rights and opportunities for every man and woman in every area of American life.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

We realize that gross disparities in economic and social status between nations should not be tolerated. We, therefore, advocate:

1. Much greater support for the economic, social, and technical assistance programs of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies;

2. Increased use by our Government of the United Nations action agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, and the UN Development Program to carry out the objectives of the U.S. in all fields of economic and social assistance to less developed countries;

3. Tailoring UN aid to the specific needs of recipient nations and linking it to social reforms when necessary;

4. Channeling of United States aid increasingly through appropriate multilateral organizations in order to free its economic aid completely from military, political and economic strings.

5. Improved conditions to encourage private investment in developing nations;

6. Further development of UN regulatory agencies which provide world law in action in such fields as telecommunications, postal services, air traffic, and meteorology;

7. Negotiation of more equitable world trade conditions through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT);

8. Support for UN efforts to develop international trade law;

9. Bilateral and multilateral assistance to nations requesting aid in the control of population;

10. Strengthening of the International Monetary Fund and other needed measures to further monetary reform;

11. Early U.S. action on the unfinished details of the Kennedy Round tariff adjustments;

12. Decisive rejection, as a deplorable backward step, of the growing tendency towards protectionist proposals in Congress.

VIETNAM

The Vietnam War is glaring evidence of the urgent need for world government and of the futility of national armed force as a means for resolving political conflict. Its continuance cannot have any result which would warrant its cost in human lives, misery, hate, and destruction. The longer this war goes on, the longer will national leaders be diverted from devoting their efforts to the more urgent task of devising institutions to resolve all such conflicts without violence but with justice. Worse, its continuance—especially if escalated—could trigger an irretrievable extension into worldwide nuclear warfare. U.S. involvement has already stirred its citizens' worst emotions, endangered its fiscal solvency, created a cancerous military-industrial system, and is rapidly destroying the faith of other peoples not only in the wisdom of the U.S. Government but in the moral fiber of the nation itself.

The Vietnam War is isolating the United States from the rest of the world, dissipating its potential for expanding freedom and justice for mankind.

Therefore, we urge our Government to de-escalate its military activity in Vietnam immediately, beginning by ceasing the bombing of North Vietnam, in order to speed the achievement of a cease-fire coinciding with peace talks in which a workable settlement with effective international supervision would be sought. Paying due regard to the physical security of those we have led to rely on our support, we urge our government to disentangle us from this war as rapidly as possible, so that the needed work of reconstruction can begin.

RHODESIA AND SOUTHWEST AFRICA

The United Nations has made its position clear regarding the present regime in Rhodesia and the South African administration of Southwest Africa.

UWF believes that these situations demonstrate the truth of our contention that the United Nations requires drastic strengthening. The United States will surely observe the mandatory sanctions voted unanimously by the UN Security Council. It is time that the United States revise its policy toward other nations, particularly South Africa and Portugal, which aid and abet the policies of Rhodesia.

Moreover, we condemn in the strongest terms the refusal of the Republic of South Africa to recognize that Southwest Africa is no longer under its jurisdiction. We call on the United States to support the United Nations machinery established for the administration of that territory. No confidence will remain in the United Nations if it is asked to accept a responsibility which it is not permitted to discharge.

DEFENSE BUDGET

We understand that neither the United States nor any other nation will abandon the exercise of national military and economic power so long as there is no alternative to the international system of power politics. Nevertheless, we insist that Congress must substantially reduce exorbitant programming and spending by the Department of Defense, which, at its present level of funding, encourages continuation of the obsolete and bankrupt foreign policy of military power politics. This exorbitant programming and spending reflects, both to the world and to our own citizens, a national posture which is in direct contradiction to our stated foreign policy objective of general and complete disarmament under enforceable world law, and denies vital resources to domestic programming to meet the needs of our own impoverished Americans.

As a specific example, the decision to build a limited anti-ballistic missile system was in error. Even a total system would be ineffective, since an enemy need only increase the number of his warheads to offset any advantage the system might give. The ABM will only intensify the arms race and give a false sense of security to our people. Such schemes as these illustrate the way that the military-industrial complex leads to an intolerable waste of our human and material resources.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

We believe the present Selective Service Law inequitable and therefore advocate its replacement by a more equitable statute. As an organization dedicated to the principle of enforceable world law, we deplore the decay in respect for all law that comes from an attempt to implement a law that is basically unsound. We see no equity in a measure that grants exemption to the pacifist, but not to men equally troubled in conscience who may fear that being drafted would force them to commit crimes against peace and mankind. We believe that many conscientious resistors of the American draft would be willing to serve in an individually recruited United Nations Peace Force, if this alternative were available.

UWF is convinced that the heart of the problem is an unsound American foreign policy. Once we adopt a policy based on the use of international institutions for the solution of international problems, rather than one based on the unilaterally determined use of military power, such questions of conscience will not arise.

U.S. GOVERNMENT'S MACHINERY FOR PEACE

We urge prompt action by the President of the United States and both Houses of Congress to establish by law:

1. A permanent Council for Peace with offices in the White House, reporting directly to the President and having equal status with the Council of Economic Advisers, the National Security Council, and the National Aeronautics and Space Council.

2. A standing Joint Committee on Peace in the Congress, having equal status with the Joint Economic Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which would hold hearings and make recommendations for Congressional action on measures to keep the peace.

A GREAT RISK

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the presidential election in November holds risks for this Nation which cannot be brushed aside. The prospect of having a President take office next January under the cloud of an expedient deal should be a matter of concern for all Americans.

The Anchorage Daily News has stated the situation in very clear terms.

I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point an editorial from the Anchorage Daily News of August 2, 1968.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WALLACE AND THE RIPE SEEDS OF CRISIS

If the popular vote for President in 1968 is as evenly divided as it was in 1960, George Wallace need gather only 34 Electoral College votes to prevent either major party candidate from being routinely confirmed as Chief Executive. Many competent political observers believe Wallace has an excellent chance of carrying five southern states with 47 electoral votes and a modertaely good chance of winning four border states with 44 electoral votes.

In this space yesterday we outlined the dimensions of the constitutional crisis a presidential deadlock could present to our nation. That crisis could extend far beyond the Electoral College impasse itself.

Wallace is hoping to bargain in the Electoral College with one or the other of the major party candidates. He hopes that one presidential contender will buy what Wallace terms his "Covenant of The People," a seven-point-program designed to perpetuate his brand of racism and give a rebirth to the cause of states' rights. Wallace hopes to make a single trade:

Guarantees by the man who will be President to accept Wallace's views as a cornerstone for the next Administration in return for the votes necessary to install that candidate in the White House.

But suppose neither of the major candidates will bargain and the Electoral College fails to give a majority to anyone? The United States House of Representatives then becomes the body responsible for naming a President. Each state has but one vote; 26 votes, a simple majority, are necessary to elect a Chief Executive. Here again are the seeds of crisis for our nation.

A close election for President most certainly would be reflected in the political affiliations of those elected to the House. In the present Congress, 29 state delegations have Democratic majorities, 18 are Republican, and three are evenly divided. The Democratic figure includes many states that could be expected to vote for Wallace. And so there is no certainty whatsoever that the House, even as it stands today, would be able to agree on a President. After the November election the House could be even more divided.

If the House cannot name a new President within a two week period after it convenes next January, the Senate will name a Vice President who will serve until the House comes to grips with its responsibility. The Vice President named by the Senate, conceivably, could serve an extended term in office.

And so we face the prospect of falling into a massive struggle for national power, where the legitimacy of authority in the most powerful nation on earth is by no means apparent—at a time when even a temporary absence of authority could be devastating to our country's interests.

This threat must be blunted and the conditions that spawned it must be stricken from our Constitution.

The election of a President of the United States should not be a complicated exercise. The winner should be the candidate who receives the most votes from the national electorate. If that simple proposition were accepted and written into the law of the land, all the fiberous underbrush that threatens the 1968 election would not exist.

Our system, unchanged since the founding of this Republic, gives the states—not the people—preeminent authority for selecting a President. The states decide how electors will be chosen. The states have a specific number of votes in the Electoral College. If the College is hamstrung, the state delegations in the House assume the responsibility, each state having a single vote.

The system is archaic, cumbersome, unnecessary—and dangerous. Whatever rationale evolved the states' role in the selection process, that concept is foreign to life in the mid-20th century.

With communications, transportation, education and the political maturity of the people that exist today, the people can be trusted to make the final, incontrovertible judgment. No obstacle must be placed in the way of that result. It is difficult to imagine that the American people today would accept the installation of a man as President who has not received the popular plurality. The clearly expressed will, the sane and sensible course, is to elect our President by popular ballot.

With these thoughts in mind we repeat our endorsement of yesterday for a plan that would bind the members of the next House to vote for the candidate who receives a plurality of the ballots cast throughout the nation. And we repeat our conviction that before the 1972 presidential election this nation must adopt a constitutional amendment that concedes the preeminence of the people, not the states, in the presidential selection process.

With all the other domestic and foreign policy problems we face today, we cannot afford even the slightest doubt that the man who sits in the White House has the authority to govern the nation.

MARYLAND MARINE KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Donald C. McAllister, Jr., a fine young marine from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

DONALD C. MCALLISTER, JR., ELKTON MARINE, DIES IN WAR

Marine Pfc. Donald C. McAllister, Jr., the son of Mr. and Mrs. Donald C. McAllister, Sr., of Elkton, Md., died last Friday of wounds received while fighting in South Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

WAS DUE PURPLE HEART

A family spokesman said Private McAllister, 18, was wounded by mortar fragments while defending a position in Quang Tri Province near the Demilitarized Zone.

It was not known when he received the wounds. He died in the 3d Medical Battalion Hospital in Quang Tri province.

On July 2, the family spokesman said, Private McAllister was wounded in the right wrist and right thigh by mortar fragments. He returned to duty July 7 and was scheduled to receive a Purple Heart.

He was a member of the 3d Battalion, 4th Marine Regiment, 3d Marine Division.

Private McAllister was born in Cumberland, Md., and moved with his parents to Elkton in 1952. He attended Elkton Senior High School and, until he enlisted in the marines last January, he worked for about three years as a machine operator in a Nottingham (Pa.) canning factory.

LEFT FOR VIETNAM IN JUNE

After enlisting on January 23, he received basic training at Parris Island, S.C. He then took training as a mortarman at Camp Geiger, N.C. He left for Vietnam on June 25.

Private McAllister was engaged to Miss Geraldine Pope, of Oxford, Pa. They had planned to be married next summer when Private McAllister was scheduled to end his Vietnam tour.

Besides his parents, Private McAllister is survived by four sisters, Deborah, 17, Dianne, 15, Linda, 13, and Connie, 10, all of Elkton; his paternal grandmother, Mrs. Ross M. Kirk, of Nottingham, and his maternal grandfather, William Everly, of Detroit.

ADVICE AND CONSENT: THE FORTAS-THORNBERRY ISSUE

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of remarks I recently made before the National Press Club in Washington and the transcript of a question-and-answer session be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADVICE AND CONSENT: THE FORTAS-THORNBERRY ISSUE

(Remarks by U.S. Senator ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, National Press Club, Washington, D.C., July 30, 1968)

President Cromley, distinguished guests, and members of the National Press Club.

Last night I had a crazy dream—I'm sure, some would call it a nightmare:

Barry Goldwater was President—and, he was serving out the last months of his Administration, after announcing that he would *not* be a candidate for reelection.

In my dream, Chief Justice Warren was a Republican. There was great concern in high places that the country might be swinging toward the Democrats—and that the people might elect Hubert Humphrey as the next President.

In order to make sure that Hubert would not have an opportunity to name the next Chief Justice, President Goldwater hit upon a very clever scheme—to *create* a "vacancy" on the Supreme Court—which would not really be a vacancy.

In my dream, Mr. Warren tendered his resignation—effective at the pleasure of the President. President Goldwater did *not* really accept it. He said: "I accept your *decision* to retire, effective *only if* the person I nominate is confirmed by the Senate."

Then President Goldwater proceeded to name his closest confident and his constant legal adviser, Dean Burch, to the Supreme Court.

It doesn't seem possible, of course, but in my dream, Mr. Warren seemed to be threatening the Senate and the people by saying he would stay on indefinitely if President Goldwater didn't get his way.

Well, of course, the Democrats were hopping mad. They raged and fumed, and deplored such a cynical maneuver to deprive the people of a rightful voice in determining the future of the Supreme Court.

In this crazy, mixed-up dream the Democratic leader of the Senate seemed to be Lyndon Johnson. He was pointing his finger at the Republicans and shouting "Shame"—"Cronyism at its worst," and he was saying there would be a filibuster if necessary to make sure the people had time to learn what was going on.

In my dream, Everett Dirksen seemed to be leading the Republicans.

And, in his inimitable fashion, he was pointing his finger—and saying: "Lyndon, I have never heard arguments so *frivolous, diaphanous and gossamer* . . ."

In my dream, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, of course, sided with the Republicans on this issue. After all, they wrote in their editorial: "The President *does* have power to appoint. 'Cronies' *have* been named before. And, besides, Dean Burch *does* have a law degree."

I woke up, so I can't tell you how *that* battle came out. But the nightmare lingers on—and that's why I'm here—grateful for the opportunity to appear in this justly-famous forum—and to discuss a great issue of historic importance and proportions.

There are some in the country who would brush the current controversy aside on the ground that it is just petty bickering and jockeying for partisan political advantage. Those who take such a view are shortsighted.

The issues involved in this struggle reach far beyond party lines to the very core of our system of government.

At the outset, let me re-emphasize that the junior Senator from Michigan has *not*—and does *not* now—challenge or question the Constitutional power of this President, or of any President, to make nominations to fill vacancies on the Supreme Court.

As some of the columnists and editorial writers have been saying, with a lot of ink, *any* President—even a President in the waning months of his final year in office—has the Constitutional power (perhaps even a responsibility, when there is *really* a vacancy) to make such nominations—and he continues to have that Constitutional power even through the last day of his Administration.

But, of course, that is *not* the point. Some have not understood, or will not recognize, that under our Constitution the power of this President—or of any President—to nominate, constitutes only *half* of the appointing process.

The *other half* of the appointing process lies within the jurisdiction of the Senate, which has not only the Constitutional power, but a solemn obligation, to determine whether to confirm such a nomination.

Some are suggesting that the Senate's role in this situation is merely to ascertain whether a Supreme Court nominee is "qualified," in the sense that he possesses some minimum measure of academic training or professional experience.

Any such limited view of the Senate's responsibility with respect to Supreme Court nominations is wrong, and does not square with the clear intent of those who conferred the "advice and consent" power upon the Senate.

In the Federalist papers, Alexander Hamilton wrote that the requirement of Senate approval in the appointing process would, in his words:

". . . be *an excellent check upon a spirit of favoritism of the President,* and would tend greatly to prevent the appointment of unfit characters from state prejudice, from family connection, from personal attachments, or from a view to popularity." (Federalist No. 76)

Admittedly, the Senate has moved a considerable distance away from Hamilton's ideal with respect to appointments in the Executive branch. But that is somewhat understandable. Cabinet members and other officers in the Executive branch serve at the pleasure of the President, and they are responsible to him.

The Senate has generally recognized that, unless the President is given wide latitude in selecting his Cabinet, he could not be held accountable for the Executive branch of government.

Throughout our history, only 8 nominations for Cabinet posts—8 out of 564—have failed to win Senate confirmation.

And the last such instance, of course, was the refusal in 1959 of a Senate majority, led by Senator Lyndon Johnson, to confirm the nomination of Lewis Strauss as Secretary of Commerce in President Eisenhower's Cabinet.

Although it has been unusual over the years for the Senate to reject non-judicial appointments, interestingly enough, it was not so unusual for Senator Lyndon Johnson.

In 1949, President Harry Truman nominated Leland Olds—not for a lifetime position on the Supreme Court—but for a third time on the Federal Power Commission. Since Olds had already served on the Commission for 10 years, and had been confirmed by the Senate *twice* before, it was difficult for anyone to argue that he lacked qualifications.

But that did not deter the then junior Senator from Texas. Although Olds was supported by Senator Hubert Humphrey, Johnson played a key role in getting the Senate to reject the Olds nomination.

Afterwards, there was general comment in the press that the *real* issue had nothing to do with qualifications, but everything to do with government policy concerning the regulation of natural gas.

The recent Evans-Novak book, *Lyndon Johnson: The Exercise of Power,* adds this interesting footnote to the story (and I quote):

"There seems little doubt that Ickes, nursing his old grudge against Olds, was egging on his protege (Senator Lyndon) Johnson. *Abe Fortas,* who had been Ickes' Under Secretary . . . although now in private law practice, was the behind-the-scenes counsel for Johnson, supplying him with material and arguments against Olds." (p. 35)

Although there have been a *few such* notable exceptions, generally speaking, the Senate has been sparing with the exercise of its "advice and consent" power in connection with appointments in the Executive branch—to non-judicial posts.

But the reasons for a limited or nominal Senate role with respect to Executive branch appointments do *not* apply when it comes to nominations for *lifetime* positions on the Supreme Court—the highest tribunal in the *independent,* third branch of government.

A distinguished former colleague, Senator Paul Douglas, put it this way:

"The 'advice and consent' of the Senate required by the Constitution for such appointments (to the Judiciary) was intended to be *real,* and *not* nominal. A large proportion of the members of the (Constitutional) Convention were fearful that if judges owed their appointments solely to the President the Judiciary, even with life tenure, would then become dependent upon the executive and the powers of the latter would become overweening. By requiring *joint* action of the legislature and the executive, it was believed that the Judiciary would be made more independent.

Throughout our history, there have been 125 nominations submitted for the Supreme Court. Of that number, 21, or one-sixth, have failed to win Senate approval.

Incidentally, the question of qualifications or fitness was an issue in only 4 of these 21 instances.

When debating nominations for the Supreme Court, the Senate has never hesitated to look beyond mere qualifications to consider a nominee's philosophy, his writings, his views on issues, or other matters.

There have been 16 nominations for the Supreme Court submitted by Presidents during the final year of their Administration.

History records that the Senate confirmed 7 of those (including Chief Justice Marshall). But the Senate refused to confirm the other *nine*—generally on the ground that the vacancy should be filled by the new President.

In almost every previous instance, when a President has had an opportunity during his last year in office to submit a Supreme Court nomination, the vacancy came about by reason of the *death* of a sitting justice.

Never before has there been such obvious maneuvering to *create* a "vacancy" for a *political* purpose.

Coming at a time when the people are in the process of choosing a new government, such maneuvering not only demeans the Court but it is an affront to the electorate.

It suggests a shocking lack of faith in our system.

And it may also register an astonishing vote of no confidence in Hubert Horatio—and his chances in November.

I don't know *who* will be elected President in November. But I do know that this Nation is seething with unrest and is calling for change. A new generation wants to be heard and demands a voice in charting the future of America.

Particularly at this point in our history, the Senate would be unwise to put its stamp of approval on a cynical effort to thwart the orderly processes of change.

What is the reason for such haste in denying the people a voice in shaping the course of the Supreme Court for years to come?

Of course, there *is no* urgent reason. Indeed, there is not even a vacancy on the Supreme Court.

Incidentally, in considering the role of Chief Justice Warren in all this, I ran across an interesting commentary in *The New Republic.* It reads like this:

"It is perhaps a small, symbolic point only, but the symbols of judicial independence are not trivial; they are an important source of judicial power and effectiveness.

"The point, moreover, goes beyond the symbolic, as Chief Justice Warren himself ingeniously emphasized at his press conference on July 5. He was still in office, said the Chief Justice, and would return to preside in the fall if the Senate fails to confirm Abe Fortas, of whom he thinks well.

"That may not have been intended as a form of pressure, but it looked like it. The pressure was in any event implicit in the manner of Chief Justice Warren's retirement . . . Retirements which are effective on a date that is certain and irrevocable, ensure that a replacement will be considered on his own merits, not as a choice between himself and his predecessor.

"The practice of retiring or resigning, as Chief Justice Warren did, effective upon the qualification of a successor, is unprecedented in the Supreme Court. It seems to have grown up among the lower federal judges. It has nothing to commend it."

Back at the beginning of this crusade, before Mr. Fortas and Mr. Thornberry were even named, I made it clear that I would vote against confirmation of any nominee by President Johnson to be Chief Justice—whether he named a Republican or Democrat; a liberal, conservative or a moderate.

I took the position, in view of the circumstances and political purposes surrounding the resignation, that it would be in the best interest of the Court and the Nation if he next Chief Justice were named by the new President after the people have an opportunity to vote in November.

To be quite candid, I suspect that I might have been a lonely figure standing there on principle if President Johnson had not been so accommodating by submitting the particular nominations that he did.

Now, I have several additional reasons to oppose the pending nominations.

One additional reason is that I am convinced Mr. Fortas and Mr. Thornberry were selected primarily because they are close personal friends of long-standing of President Johnson, and not because they are among the best qualified in the Nation to fill the particular positions.

The charge of "cronyism" is not new to Senate confirmation debates, but it is highly unusual for any President to subject himself to that charge with respect to a nomination for the Supreme Court of the United States. And never before in history has any President been so bold as to subject himself to the charge of "cronyism" with respect to two Supreme Court nominations at the same time.

Some say that if a "crony"—nominated because he is a "crony"—is "qualified," he should be approved. I reject this view because it diminishes public respect for the Supreme Court—at a time when there is a desperate need to rebuild and enhance confidence in the Court.

In the case of Mr. Thornberry, I am convinced, on the basis of the record and personal knowledge, that—while he is a good and a fine gentleman—he is just not (as Senator Norris Cotton put it) "Supreme Court material."

In the case of Mr. Fortas, while I am satisfied that he is a brilliant lawyer, I am not satisfied that he possesses an adequate sense of propriety and other qualities which are particularly appropriate and necessary to be Chief Justice of the United States.

When it comes to selecting the man in the United States best suited to be Chief Justice, I would prefer—and I believe most people would prefer—the type of lawyer who would not be asked to proposition newspaper publishers on behalf of a Baker or Jenkins; and who, if asked, would refuse.

Whatever our frailties as public servants, as lawyers, or as members of the press, I am sure most of us do not deserve the skepticism with which we are often regarded by the public. Nevertheless, we can never forget that our apparent motives, as well as our actual motives, play an important part in determining the degree of confidence which the public develops towards the institutions with which we are associated.

I am confident that the public does not approve of the admitted telephone call made by Mr. Justice Fortas to a business friend, criticizing a public statement that Vietnam war costs would run $5 billion higher than Administration estimates. Incidentally, the statement made at Hot Springs, and retracted after Mr. Fortas' phone call, turned out to be very accurate.

I am confident that the public does not condone the fact that Mr. Justice Fortas admittedly participated in the decision-making process of the Executive branch of government on such matters as the Vietnam war and the Detroit riots.

But more disturbing is the fact that Mr. Fortas stated to the Senate Judiciary Committee that he is proud of his extra-judicial activities, and that he "did not see anything wrong" with them.

Judges—particularly Justices of the Supreme Court—have no license to ignore the

separation of powers principle which is at the core of our system of government.

In 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called upon Chief Justice Stone for assistance in arriving at executive decisions in connection with wartime rubber problems. In response to the President's request Chief Justice Stone replied as follows:

"I have your letter of the 17th . . . Personal and patriotic considerations alike afford powerful incentives for my wish to comply with your request that I assist you in arriving at some solution of the pending rubber problem. But most anxious, not to say painful, reflection has led me to the conclusion that I cannot rightly yield to my desire to render for you a service which as a private citizen I should not only feel bound to do but one which I should undertake with zeal and enthusiasm. . . .

"A judge, and especially the Chief Justice, cannot engage in political debate or make public defense of his acts. When his action is judicial he may always rely upon the support of the defined record upon which his action is based and of the opinion in which he and his associates unite as stating the ground of decision. But when he participates in the action of the executive or legislative departments of government he is without those supports. He exposes himself to attack and indeed invites it, which because of his peculiar situation inevitably impairs his value as a judge and the appropriate influence of his office."

Today, with respect for law at a low ebb, with our ability to maintain order in our cities seriously in question for the first time in our history, and with sizable groups of Americans convinced that the basic institutions of our society are a sham and a fraud, the rewarding of an "old friend" with the Chief Justiceship is uniquely inappropriate.

If ever there was a time when a "Caesar's wife" appointment would be of great value to reinforce public confidence in the Supreme Court—this is such a time.

If there were ever a time when "cronyism" was a disservice to the Nation, this is the time.

Even before the current controversy erupted, public confidence in the Supreme Court had fallen to an all-time low in modern history. According to a Gallup survey in June, 60 per cent of the American people had an unfavorable opinion of the Supreme Court.

Undoubtedly, much of this disfavor can be attributed to widespread dissatisfaction with some of the more controversial rulings of the Court in various fields.

But the prestige of the Supreme Court does not hinge solely on the result it reaches in particular cases. I am convinced that there are other, perhaps more compelling, considerations which also influence the standing of the Court with the people.

For example, the same Gallup poll reported that 61% of the people favor a *change* in the method of selecting Supreme Court justices. This strongly suggests that the circumstances which surround an appointment of a justice profoundly affect the capacity of the Court to merit public confidence.

I deeply regret that President Johnson has seen fit in this campaign season to drag the Supreme Court into the political arena.

But in another sense, perhaps this debate can ultimately serve a higher and a nobler purpose. For it *can* serve to lift the Supreme Court, once again, *above* and *out* of politics.

If we prevail, there will be hope that future Presidents will select a Benjamin Cardozo for the Supreme Court, as Hoover did—not because of personal or political considerations—but because he was the most outstanding jurist available in the land.

In this battle, we are right. Because we are right, time is on our side.

And I'm confident that we are going to win.

Senator Griffin Responded to the Following Questions Asked by Members of the National Press Club

Question. Some people charge that those who oppose Mr. Fortas' confirmation are motivated by religious bias. Would you comment on this.

Senator Griffin. It was interesting to note that on the day these appointments were announced, my colleague in the Senate, Jack Javits, characterized the appointments as "old cronyism". It's true that Senator Javits has decided that he is going to vote to confirm, but he has been a great American whenever this particular issue has been suggested or raised in any way.

He says the charge of anti-Semitism should never be used as a crutch or a weapon. I'm sure that when Lewis Strauss was rejected in 1959, there was no indication then—and there is none now—that religious affiliation played any part in that decision. In my own case—as I have already indicated—I registered my objection before President Johnson even nominated the people now before the Senate.

Incidentally, before those nominations were announced but after my original statement, I had an opportunity to speak before the Michigan Press Association in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. I was asked the question: What would be your reaction if Arthur Goldberg were named to fill a vacancy? I said that he was the one exception I could think of. That I would have no objection to the naming of Arthur Goldberg to fill a vacancy because, in a sense, he has been on leave of absence serving the United States in the United Nations.

I was disappointed when President Johnson named Mr. Thornberry of Texas to fill the vacancy, for several reasons. Because Mr. Johnson, in doing so, was following a practice which I think in this day and age should be discredited. It's no secret that over a number of years there has been one Catholic seat on the Supreme Court, one Jewish seat, and one Texas seat. I don't know why—in this day and age— we haven't progressed to the point where we could have *two* Catholic Justices or *two* Jewish Justices . . . and why *must* we have one *Texas* Justice. (laughter)

There is a wonderful woman in my office who is of the Jewish faith. She handles all our mail, and she tells me we are receiving very few letters mentioning this issue and we have received none from Jewish Rabbis. I'm convinced that people in the Jewish community, by and large, recognize this for what it is—just a phony issue. (applause)

Question. Senator, were you not a lame duck appointee by your crony Governor Romney before he was re-elected? (laughter)

Senator Griffin. Of course, the differences are very great here. Not only did I not know Governor Romney very well—but I had to run for re-election a very few months after the appointment was made by Governor Romney. I don't think there is any comparison whatsoever between the situations.

Question. Sir, what is your definition of a "crony"?

Senator Griffin. Well, I don't know how far it stretches, but when a person has been a close confidant and constant legal advisor to a President—or to anybody—over the long period of time that Mr. Fortas has, I don't think there is much question that in the case of Mr. Fortas and Mr. Thornberry, if the term means anything, they fall within it.

Let me say that I don't criticize, and don't intend to leave any impression of criticism of, either Mr. Thornberry or Mr. Fortas because they are close friends of President Johnson. I don't criticize Mr. Fortas because he represented Mr. Johnson back in 1948 when Mr. Johnson ran for the Senate from Texas and won that contested landslide victory by 87 votes. That was after Mr. Fortas went to Justice Black and got an order setting aside an order of a federal district judge in Texas.

I don't criticize Mr. Fortas because he has performed legal services for Mr. Johnson throughout his public career while the President and his family successfully accumulated a rather large fortune. I think that probably attests to the fact that Mr. Fortas is a good lawyer. I don't criticize Mr. Fortas because he represented Bobby Baker.

But I do raise the question whether he should be rewarded with the position of Chief Justice of the United States *because* he performed such personal services for Mr. Johnson. I think that's one of the issues which the Senate has to carefully examine. (applause)

Question. Sir, would you call off your anti-Fortas campaign if the Republican nominee asked you to?

Senator Griffin. The answer is no. (applause)

Question. Would you comment on the report that your attempt to prevent Justice Fortas from becoming Chief Justice is an effort to launch your bid for the Republican Vice Presidential nomination? (laughter)

Senator Griffin. It must have been one of my staff members who wrote that question. (laughter) Well, I'm glad I've got a couple of Senate colleagues here with me today. (Senators Murphy and Curtis)

I'm sure they realize as I do, that when this effort was launched, there weren't nearly the prospects of success that there are today. We had no way of knowing where we would end up with our effort. Of course, it isn't over yet. But we are greatly encouraged by what we have been able to accomplish so far.

The simple answer of why I'm in this is that I believe this issue is important to the country and because it is important to the discharge of my responsibilities as a United States Senator.

Having been a lawyer and having helped to frame some of the legislation that the Supreme Court interprets, I have some appreciation of the importance of life-time appointments to the Supreme Court. Five people—*five people*—determine the judicial policies of our country. Too often, it seems, people can only sit around and complain about the Supreme Court. This is the time when they can do something about it. This is a time when the Senate should draw a line and stand up and insist upon the highest standard for the selection of people to the Supreme Court of the United States. (applause)

Question. Senator, does the fact that Fortas was confirmed for Associate Justice preclude your probing now his past association with or support of various organizations?

Senator Griffin. No, it doesn't, because as I indicated in my statement, the Senate really is not precluded from looking into any questions it wishes.

It has a co-equal responsibility in the appointing process. And it can base its decision on anything that the Senate considers in the public interest. I think the whole background and experience of Mr. Fortas is relevant to the question of whether or not he possesses those qualities and characteristics which are particularly appropriate and desirable in a Chief Justice of the United States.

The Chief Justice is at the pinnacle of the judicial pyramid, responsible for enforcement of the cannons of judicial ethics for all the others in the judiciary. So while I have been particularly interested in Mr. Fortas' activities since he went on the bench, I don't think the Senate is foreclosed in any way from looking at his entire record.

Question. Senator, would you support Mr. Fortas if Vice President Humphrey should be the next President and he should renominate Mr. Fortas as Chief Justice?

Senator Griffin. The answer is no.

Question. Senator, you are a member of the American Bar Association. In the July 1968, issue of the American Bar News, which is circulated to the entire membership, there was a page-one story captioned: "Committee Unanimously Approves New Supreme Court Appointees As Being Highly Qualified". Please explain why did you not, in all fairness, insert into the Congressional Record their approval of Fortas and Thornberry.

Senator Griffin. If it hasn't been put into the Record, I have no objection to putting it in. I'll see to it that it gets there. But it doesn't mean very much.

Never in history has the Committee on Judicial Qualifications of the American Bar Association found that *any* nominee for the Supreme Court by a President of the United States was unqualified. (laughter)

I'm particularly disappointed, frankly, in the American Bar Association; and I'll say so right here. I've heard over and over again—as a lawyer and as a law student—about the importance of getting politics out of the Judiciary and the importance of raising the standards of selection of people on the courts. How could there be a more obvious opportunity than this one for the Bar Association to show some backbone, to stand up on its hind legs and *help* in this situation.

If we *win*, the standards of selection for the judiciary will go up—but here they are—the ABA—I don't know why—going along, "rubberstamping" these appointments—when they should be on *our* side giving us some help. (applause)

Question. Senator, do you intend to press your case against the Supreme Court nomination with the Republican Platform Committee? There is a report that you will do this, thereby confronting Platform Chairman Dirksen. Do you expect the Platform to contain a plank embodying your views as outlined today?

Senator Griffin. I'm on the Platform Committee, and I'm planning to fly down to Miami tomorrow to participate in the deliberations of the Committee. I'll just say that I'm confident that the Platform will recognize the importance of public confidence in the Judiciary and the importance of insisting upon the highest standards in making appointments to the Judiciary and the Supreme Court. I don't anticipate that a big fight is going to be necessary.

I think that we are going to find that this is a time when Republicans are going to want some unity and harmony. It certainly is going to be my purpose to try to see that we come out of the Convention stronger than ever; because not only is the Platform of some importance, but what happens after Labor Day here in the Senate is *very* important.

Question. What do you think of Senator Thurmond's harangue of Justice Fortas in the Judiciary Committee?

Senator Griffin. Well, it is very difficult, and I don't think I should try to comment concerning another colleague in the Senate. I probably wouldn't have asked the questions in the same way he did, but he had his prerogatives; and I think it is for the people of South Carolina to judge.

Question. Do you have enough Senators to conduct an effective filibuster to prevent a vote on cloture? If so, how many are with you? Can you defeat a cloture motion? If you do, does that mean that the Fortas-Thornberry nominations will never be confirmed?

Senator Griffin. I think a conservative estimate is that we now have 40 or more Senators who are ready to oppose any attempt to limit debate on this historic subject, and our forces are growing stronger every day.

I can tell you that all the facts haven't been presented yet; and when the Senate is called back in September, there will be a great deal more said about whether these nominees should be confirmed. When this issue has been thoroughly aired and when the people have all the facts, I'm confident that public opinion will be even stronger than it is now.

The mail is pouring into Capitol Hill—in my case, running between 10- and 20-to-1 for our position. So I am very confident that we are right, we are on the right track and that these two nominees will *not* be confirmed by the Senate.

Question. Senator, if you succeed in defeating the Fortas confirmation, will it help your bid for a Senate Minority leadership position? What are your ambitions in that respect?

Senator Griffin. Well, I think we disposed of that question, generally, before. Everett Dirksen will be re-elected Senator from Illinois by an overwhelming margin; and Senator Everett Dirksen, without a doubt, will be the Minority Leader in January. Thank you. (laughter)

Question. Do you want to say that over again, Senator? (laughter)

Senator Griffin. I don't imagine (Senator) George Murphy liked that very much. (laughter) Well, I hope that Senator Dirksen becomes the Majority Leader. I think—being a little more realistic—that we will win a majority in the House of Representatives and we will have a Republican Speaker of the House. I am also confident that we are going to make very significant, substantial gains in the Senate. If we can win a majority, that will be great; but I am not predicting it.

Question. Do you think Mrs. Abe Fortas should have retired from law practice upon the appointment of her husband to the Supreme Court?

Senator Griffin. I don't know how to answer that. I think in the absence of any evidence of conflict of interest, it's not necessary to pass any kind of judgment on *Mrs.* Fortas. And unless such evidence came into the record, I don't think she should be a part of this consideration in any way. (applause)

Question. Senator, are you correlating your campaign against confirmation with Governor Wallace, the Liberty Lobby, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and other leaders who are making the same fight that you are making?

Senator Griffin. The answer is no. Of course, in many battles your friends are sometimes worse problems than your enemies. Many people have asked how in the world can you get in bed with some of these kooky groups. In a battle like this—when you're right—you take support from wherever you can get it. On *any* issue, almost any great issue, you look on one side and you see the Birchers, you look on the other side and you see the Communists. And I have to vote one way or the other.

Those who raise the kind of an argument who says or suggests guilt by association and ignores the merits of the case are really doing a disservice to themselves and to the country. The real question should be decided on the merits, not on the basis of who is on one side or the other.

I am very frank to say that while I welcome the support of many of my Southern Colleagues, I recognize we are on the same side for different reasons. This happens occasionally but we are just glad we have those votes.

Question. Do Senators have cronies for whom they seek appointments, including to the Supreme Court?

Senator Griffin. Yes, how would a Republican know, as Carl Curtis just said over there. (laughter, applause)

Question. This is a quickie, Senator. Would you have voted for Dean Burch? (laughter)

Senator Griffin. I think I would have to be consistent and oppose him, at least under the circumstances of my earlier remarks. But in this case, I think it is essential to look at all the circumstances.

Question. Senator, do you disapprove of Earl Warren having been Chairman of the Commission that investigated the Kennedy assassination?

Senator Griffin. This is an interesting point. Incidentally, one of the people who suggested the Warren Commission to President Johnson was Abe Fortas, according to the book that the columnists, Evans and Novak, have written.

Another important point in that book is that Mr. Chief Justice Warren *protested* his appointment and was hesitant about accepting that position because of the fact that it involved extra-judicial duties. Apparently he was persuaded to do it, but I think he recognized that there might be a breach of the doctrine of separation of powers. Actually, I think it would have been better if he had *not* performed that function.

Question. Clark Clifford was with Fortas when they asked the (Washington) Star to suppress the Jenkins story. Did you oppose Clifford's confirmation as Secretary of Defense?

Senator Griffin. No, I didn't. And I would not vote against confirmation of Abe Fortas to be Attorney General, if Mr. Johnson should want to send his name up and have him actually confirmed for the job he seems to be performing. (laughter)

This goes to the distinction, of course, that I tried to make very clear in my statement. There should be wide latitude for the President as far as appointments to his Cabinet are concerned. Guy Gillette, the former Senator from Iowa, once said that Harry Hopkins would be the last person that he would ever want in his Cabinet if he were President. But he said that if the President wanted Harry Hopkins, he was going to vote to confirm him because, after all, the President is responsible for the Executive Branch. These people only serve during the Administration of a President. That makes it an entirely different case.

If people—and some Senators—would recognize how much of a difference that is, we wouldn't have any trouble at all winning our case.

Question. Senator, would you forecast who will be the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees for both parties? (laughter)

Senator Griffin. Well, I'm going to Miami to place in nomination the name of the Governor of my State as the favorite son candidate from Michigan. In nominating him, of course, I'm going to give as strong a speech as I can with the hope that *he* will be the nominee.

I don't know who is going to come out on top. You've seen the polls and the surveys, and I have no crystal ball as to what the ultimate outcome will be.

FULL FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the Record at this point the following editorial from the Washington Post of June 10, 1968:

Candid Candidate

Rep. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. has set a good example to his colleagues by listing his income and assets in connection with his campaign for a seat in the Senate. He is right in saying that the disclosure of all information "that throw light upon the interest or disinterest of those who participate in making public decisions" is one way "to renew confidence in the institutions of government."

The Maryland Congressman's disclosures were sent to the chairman of the House Ethics Committee, but they go much further than the House's pallid code of ethics requires. We surmise that this voluntary gesture will notably enhance the standing of Mr. Mathias before the voters. He is not, of course, the first member of Congress to give his constituents a full view of his income and financial interests. But his candor helps to bolster a growing custom, and it may be worth more in terms of voter confidence than would the expenditure of his entire net worth on campaign propaganda.

HERBERT J. LINK RECEIVES THE JOHN CAMPANIUS HOLM AWARD FROM ESSA

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I know of no group of Americans more faithful and more devoted to a worthy cause in which they believe than the 12,000 voluntary weather observers who make daily observations and readings which they transmit to the U.S. Weather Bureau. The collection of this data is a vital service which through the years has proved invaluable to an understanding and analysis of climate factors and has enabled the Weather Bureau to compile accurate, meaningful meterological studies.

In 1959 the Weather Bureau established the John Campanius Holm Award to be conferred each year on volunteer weather observers who make outstanding contributions in this most important field. I am very pleased to note that the Environmental Science Services Administration has recently honored a fellow Hoosier, Mr. Herbert J. Link, of La Porte, Ind., by selecting him to receive this award. For more than 40 years Mr. Link, without compensation, has been faithfully, accurately, and regularly recording the features of the daily weather in his hometown area. He is truly deserving of this honor, and I am sure that those who know him well join me in extending their congratulations and best wishes.

As a further mark of my respect, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a brief press release from ESSA describing the Holm Award and commenting more in detail about the long service rendered to his Nation by Mr. Link, who is also clerk-treasurer of La Porte County, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE NEWS

WASHINGTON.—Herbert J. Link of La Porte, Indiana, has been recording the daily weather of his hometown as a volunteer observer for the Weather Bureau for over 40 years.

In recognition of this long and faithful service to his community and country, the Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA) of the Department of Commerce announced today that Link has been selected to receive the John Campanius Holm Award.

John Campanius Holm Awards, created in 1959 by ESSA's Weather Bureau, are made annually to honor volunteer observers for outstanding accomplishment in the field of meteorological observations. The award is named for a Lutheran minister who is the first person known to have taken systematic weather observations in the American colonies. In 1644 and 1645, the Reverend Campanius made records of the climate, without the use of instruments, near the present site of Wilmington, Delaware.

Link, the 77-year-old La Porte County Clerk-Treasurer, began his volunteer services for the Weather Bureau in 1927. According to ESSA, his reports have been remarkably complete and accurate down through the years.

The Weather Bureau has more than 12,000 volunteer observers throughout the United States who make and record daily weather observations. The information they gather is processed and published by the Environmental Data Service, another component of ESSA, and is invaluable in recording the nation's climate. Many of these observers, like Link, serve without pay.

PHILBIN WORKS FOR CONSERVATION

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the 90th Congress has certainly had a most busy agenda, but on the whole I believe that most Americans will agree that the outstanding record of the 89th Congress on conservation legislation has been equaled, if not surpassed, by the present Congress.

The protection of our natural resources has had my active support since I first came to Congress and I include in the RECORD an article outlining my contributions in this field:

PHILBIN WORKS FOR CONSERVATION

The long distinguished service of Congressman Philip J. Philbin in the House has been particularly dedicated to the cause of conservation.

He takes special pride in having been, in 1957, the first Member of Congress to sponsor the Cape Cod National Park proposal. He filed legislation in April 1957, not long after the national seashore survey of the National Park Service, to establish a National Park on Cape Cod to preserve this area of the nation's dwindling shoreline for the recreational use of the people.

As a direct result of the introduction of the Philbin Cape Cod bill, the National Park Service was able to draw up the detailed Cape Cod National Seashore proposal at the request of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

In the 89th Congress, he was the first Member of the House to introduce the revised Appalachian Trail bill, embodying changes advocated by the Bureau of Outdoors Recreation in the original proposal submitted by Senator Nelson.

In the current Congress, he filed a revision of the National Trails bill, calling for the designation of the Appalachian Trail as a pilot trail with the several other national trails to be placed in a study category, pending review of Federal policies to see how extensive government participation will be required to protect these areas.

Not long after the introduction of the Philbin AT bill, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported the National Trails bill to the House, embodying much of the language of his bill, and adopting his suggestion that the Appalachian Trail be the pilot trail and others placed in a study category.

Anticipating in 1960 the tax status problem of conservation groups in pressing for the adoption of conservation legislation, Philbin introduced legislation to protect the tax exempt status of these organizations. This tax problem is best exemplified by the tax controversy which developed last year between the Sierra Club and the Internal Revenue Service.

Philbin's interest in the matter was motivated in part by the 1960 decision of the U.S. Court of Claims, which ruled against the League of Women Voters in its petition to collect the amount of Federal estate taxes levied against a bequest from a former member on the basis of the League's legislative activities.

Philbin felt that the educational activities of the League and other nonprofit educational groups should not be penalized by unfair rulings of the Internal Revenue Service. Consequently, he introduced his original tax conservation bill and later, at the request of the Humane Society of the United States, he broadened the bill to permit tax-exempt organizations to engage in legislative activities directly revelant to the purposes qualifying them for tax exemption, without losing their tax status.

The new bill attracted wide support and had the interest of such conservation organizations as the Audubon Society, Trustees for Conservation, Massachusetts Forest and Park Association, Defenders of Wildlife, Wildlife Management Institute, Izaak Walton League of America, Citizens Committee on Natural Resources and others. Such diverse groups as the National Association for Retarded Children, National Travelers Aid Association and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds expressed their approval of the Philbin bill.

In April 1963, Philbin introduced his Soil and Water Resources Development bill calling for increased participation of the Soil Conservation Service in providing protection, development and use of land in urban areas and the proper utilization of water resources in those areas.

The legislation immediately attracted the interest of many Massachusetts towns which were establishing local conservation commissions under the new state law. These communities were just becoming aware of the soil surveys conducted by the Soil Conservation Service for the development of their land capabilities.

An amended version of the original Philbin bill became law in 1966 and an expanded soil survey program now permits the Department of Agriculture to provide expanded technical help on community projects dealing with soil, land use and water problems.

He sponsored in the present Congress legislation to establish the Redwoods National Park, also a bill to include Monomoy National Wildlife Refuge in the Wilderness System, and another to increase Federal funds for purchase of land for the Cape Cod National Seashore.

In December 1966, at a Massachusetts Department of Public Utilities hearing Philbin strongly protested against the proposed high tension power lines between Somerset and Ayer. The following year, he urged in the House increased Federal research and leadership that would lead toward a solution of the problem of overhead wires.

Philbin urged that the 72-mile transmission line not be approved "until such time as it has been revised and corrected to meet the many objections that have been raised against it."

Philbin predicted that underground transmission lines are bound to become commonplace. "Whether that procedure can be followed in the present instance or not, I do not definitely know. But I think it could be given study and consideration," he declared.

Philbin said the case by opponents of the line is "very strong." He said the line would mean "serious economic loss in terms of reduced property values" and "very real dangers as well" for the communities along the proposed route.

Philbin cited estimates by the Federal Power Commission that present transmission facilities will be more than tripled by 1980. "This means that we will have nearly one million miles of overhead lines in the United States," he said.

An area about twice the size of the National Parks system would be taken up by those lines, he claimed.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE NATIONAL GUN CRIME PREVENTION ACT

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, 18 other Senators have joined me in introducing S. 3634, the National Gun Crime Prevention Act which provides for firearms registration and licensing. In a few weeks the Senate will vote on that bill as an amendment to S. 3633, the mail order gun sales bill proposed by the President. To answer the questions most frequently asked about the National Gun Crime Prevention Act, I have prepared a brief document entitled "Questions and Answers on the National Gun Crime Prevention Act," which I ask be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the document was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE NATIONAL GUN CRIME PREVENTION ACT

INDEX OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. What is the National Gun Crime Prevention Act?
2. Why not just enforce existing state gun laws?
3. Congress just passed a gun law. Why do we need another?
4. Are registration and licensing proposals merely steps toward confiscation of all firearms?
5. Aren't registration and licensing bills actually just taxation measures?
6. Are registration and licensing constitutional?
7. What will the National Gun Crime Prevention Act cost the gun owner?
8. How does registration work?
9. Must every firearm be registered?
10. Would private firearms sales be registered too?
11. Doesn't registration impose a burden on the law-abiding?
12. But won't criminals refuse to register their guns?
13. Must an owner of several guns register each of them?
14. What about weapons which have no serial number?
15. What about antiques?
16. How does licensing work?
17. How about my son under 18 years old? Could he still hunt and shoot?
18. What's the difference between registration and licensing? Do we need both?
19. Must every gun be separately licensed?
20. Would there be any discretion to deny a license?
21. Won't criminals get guns anyway?
22. Why not just punish gun crimes more severely?
23. What about the argument that "guns don't commit crimes, people do"?
24. What about the argument that "No dictatorship has ever been imposed on a nation of free men who have not just been required to register their privately owned firearms?"
25. How do law enforcement officials feel about gun licensing and registration?

1. *What is the National Gun Crime Prevention Act?*

The National Gun Crime Prevention Act is a bill introduced by 19 Senators to help detect and deter gun crime. It provides for registration of all firearms and licensing of all firearms owners and ammunition users. It encourages state action by providing for state pre-emption of the federal law. Where a state enacts its own registration and licensing law, the federal law would not apply. Where a state fails to act to protect its own citizens, the bill would provide a minimum floor of federal protection in that state.

Registration of all firearms will give the police the means to quickly trace guns used in crime to their owner.

Licensing of gun users will weed out persons who, by reason of criminal record, drug addiction, alcoholism, mental incompetence, or age should not be entrusted with a gun in the first place.

2. *Why not just enforce existing state gun laws?*

Most states' gun laws are totally inadequate to protect their citizens. Many states have practically no gun laws at all, eight states have no law against felons buying firearms. In 35 states lunatics can legally own guns. Only 3 states require a license to own or possess a gun.

Most state gun laws are either obsolete or meaningless, such as a Texas law forbidding carrying guns in a saddlebag, except when you are traveling, Vermont's law forbidding schoolchildren to have guns in the classroom, or Arkansas' law forbidding using a machine gun for offensive purposes. Clearly, existing state firearms laws are totally inadequate to protect the public.

3. *Congress just passed a gun law. Why do we need another?*

The law Congress enacted as part of the Omnibus Crime Bill in June was a watered-down compromise which, while worthwhile, for practical purposes only requires that pistol purchases be made in the purchaser's home state. The new law does make it illegal to transport or possess a gun if you are under indictment, a fugitive, a felon, an adjudged mental incompetent, an illegally entered alien, have renounced U.S. citizenship, or have been dishonorably discharged from the armed forces, but provides no means to actually prevent such persons from making firearms purchases.

The provisions of the Omnibus Crime Bill do *not* provide any way to trace a gun lost, stolen, or used in crime. They provide no way for gun dealers to determine whether the man they are selling to is who he says he is, does not intend to use the gun in crime, is not a felon, addict, or mental patient or otherwise disqualified from gun ownership. These dangerous people can still get guns by simply lying.

To make the law passed in June enforceable, we need firearms registration and licensing. Firearms user licensing would prevent criminals, addicts, lunatics, and juveniles from purchasing firearms, and registration would help find them if they used a gun in crime.

4. *Are registration and licensing proposals merely steps toward confiscation of all firearms?*

Certainly not. Firearms ownership and use by law-abiding citizens is a healthful recreation and does not contribute to the gun crime problem. But we urgently need adequate records of gun ownership to help trace guns used in crime to their criminal users. Registration of all firearms is the only way to gather these records. And we urgently need to deny access to firearms by criminals, addicts and mental incompetents. A licensing system, in which all law-abiding citizens automatically are entitled to licenses and all criminals, addicts and mental incompetents are automatically denied licenses, and which punishes purchase, possession or use of a firearm without a license, will severely inhibit criminal access to guns.

Those who oppose reasonable firearms control because they fear "confiscation" should be much more concerned that the rapidly rising gun crime rate may well lead to public demand for confiscation if reasonable measures to stem the gun crime rate are not taken now. The threat of confiscation arises not from reasonable action to stem the gun crime rate, but rather from no action at all.

5. *Aren't registration and licensing bills actually just taxation measures?*

No. The National Gun Crime Prevention Act contains no fee at all for either licensing or registration. It would be paid for out of the general revenues. Direct controls against criminal access to guns and good records for tracing guns used in crime—not taxes—are the best way to control the gun crime rate.

6. *Are registration and licensing constitutional?*

Yes, without question. Here's what the Library of Congress says about the National Gun Crime Prevention Act and the Second Amendment's "right to bear arms": "From what we know of the history and construction of the Second Amendment, it would seem that the major current proposals for gun control are not subject to any serious Second Amendment challenges." (Library of Congress Study UC460B, 450/77 A-251: "The Second Amendment as a Limitation on Federal Firearms Legislation," July 8, 1968)

The U.S. Attorney General has stated: "A federal system requiring the registration and licensing of firearms is a necessary and proper means to two legitimate legislative goals, the regulation and protection of interstate commerce and the preservation of the peace of the United States . . . it is within the power of Congress to enact."

The bill also contains a special provision, Section 935(c), to conform to recent Supreme Court decisions (*Haynes* v. *U.S.*) dealing with the Bill of Rights provision on self-incrimination.

7. *What will the National Gun Crime Prevention Act cost the gun owner?*

The bill imposes no fees. The operation of the licensing and registration system proposed by the National Gun Crime Prevention Act would be paid for out of the general tax receipts of the country. As a law enforcement and public safety measure, the cost of the Act should be borne by all citizens. As originally introduced, the Act did provide a $1 fee for licensing and registration, but this provision has been deleted.

8. *How does registration work?*

A gun owner simply sends a law enforcement agency the makes, models, and serial numbers of his guns and his own name and address. It can be done completely by mail. Then, when a lost or stolen gun is found, its true owner can be discovered and his gun returned to him. If a gun is found at the scene of a crime, its last known owner can be quickly traced. When a suspicious character is arrested with a gun in his possession, its ownership can be quickly determined. If the gun has been stolen or is unregistered, the suspect can be booked for possession of stolen goods or possession of an unregistered weapon.

If a state enacts its own registration law, guns would be registered with whatever state agency the law designated. If the state failed to act, guns would be registered with the federal government.

9. *Must every firearm be registered?*

Yes, otherwise many guns lost, stolen, or used in crime could not be traced.

10. *Would private firearms sales be registered too?*

Yes. All firearms transfers, by dealers and private persons, would be registered so that up-to-date records of actual gun ownership could be maintained.

11. *Doesn't registration impose a burden on the law-abiding?*

Not a significant one. Everything can be done by mail on a form like this:

FIREARMS REGISTRATION FORM

Name: ----------------------------------
Address: --------------------------------
Firearm:
  Make: ---------------------------------
  Model: --------------------------------
  Serial #: ------------------------------

The registration would be free and permanent. No fees. No renewals.

12. *But won't criminals refuse to register their guns?*

Some criminals may refuse to register their guns and risk being jailed for having an unregistered gun. But any suspected criminal found with an unregistered weapan can be jailed on that charge alone, *even if no other crime can be proved*. So it will become very risky for a criminal to have an unregistered weapon.

13. *Must an owner of several guns register each of them?*

He must supply the make, model, and serial number of each, but could do so for all his guns on a single form.

14. *What about weapons which have no serial number?*

The bill provides that firearms dealers can imprint serial numbers on such weapons for identification purposes.

15. *What about antiques?*

No firearm manufactured prior to 1898 is covered by the bill.

16. *How does licensing work?*

Licensing is simply a way of denying fugitives, criminals, addicts, and mental defectives access to firearms and ammunition. Every purchaser, possessor, or user of firearms or ammunition would have to have a license, except for juveniles with their parents' consent and hunters or sportsmen who have borrowed a weapon for temporary use.

To get a license, you would simply submit a statement affirming that you are over 18, have never been convicted of a felony or committed to an institution by a court on the grounds of alcoholism, narcotics addiction, or mental incompetence, that you are not under indictment or a fugitive, and are not otherwise prohibited by law from obtaining a weapon. In addition, you would supply a physical description like that required for a driver's license and proof of identity (in the form of a draft card, driver's license, social security card, etc.).

If a state enacted a licensing law, the statement and identification would be supplied to whatever agency the state prescribed, but if the state does not act, then to any federal firearms dealer. The entire transaction could be conducted by mail.

Issuance of licenses would be automatic to all law-abiding citizens, without any discretion on the part of the issuing officer. Denial of a license would be automatic in the case of felons, fugitives, adjudged alcoholics addicts and mental incompetents, and those under 18.

17. *How about my son under 18 years old? Could he still hunt and shoot?*

Yes, definitely. Although he could not own a gun in his own name, the bill expressly provides that he will be able to hunt and shoot with his parents' consent.

18. *What's the difference between registration and licensing? Do we need both?*

Registration is a means of tracing guns used in crime. *Licensing* is a means of reducing the gun crime rate itself by denying access to guns by known criminals, addicts, and mental defectives. *Registration* is a means to *solve* gun crime once it has been committed. *Licensing* is a means to *prevent* gun crime from being committed in the first place.

19. *Must every gun be separately licensed?*

No. Firearms purchasers, owners and users are licensed, not the guns themselves. The purpose is to deny licenses to criminals, addicts and mental defectives.

20. *Would there be any discretion to deny a license?*

Not where the federal law applies. If the applicant is not under indictment, or a fugitive, a felon, an adjudged addict, alcoholic or mental incompetent, or under 18, the license must be issued. The state could establish a different system, if they wish, just as they can today.

21. *But won't criminals get guns anyway?*

If a licensing law were in effect a criminal, addict, or mental defective could not legally purchase, own or use a gun, because he would not be entitled to a license. Thus, lawful channels of purchase would be cut off to him. Today they are not.

Today, in most states, criminals, addicts and idiots have access to guns on the same basis as the law-abiding. Even if, after enactment of the National Gun Crime Prevention Act hard-core criminals may be able to get some guns, the small-time but frequently deadly crook who holds up liquor stores, bus drivers and filling stations or housebreaks will find it much harder and much riskier to possess a gun.

No one claims gun laws are airtight or foolproof. The question is whether we should do what we can to detect and prevent gun crime or continue to do nothing, as we do today.

22. *Why not just punish gun crimes more severely?*

Heavier penalties for gun crimes already exist, but haven't answered the gun crime problem. Armed robbery is a more serious offense than simple robbery; aggravated assault is more heavily punished than simple assault. Murder is the most heavily punished crime of all. Yet the commission rates of all these crimes are climbing intolerably. Armed robbery increased from 42,600 crimes a year in 1964 to 71,000 in 1967; aggravated assault by gun from 27,700 cases in 1964 to 55,000 in 1967; murder by gun from 5,000 in 1964 to 7,700 in 1967.

Gun crimes should be more heavily punished. But clearly, heavier penalties do not answer the gun crime epidemic. They do not help solve gun crimes, as registration would. They do not prevent criminal access to guns, as licensing would. They do not bring gun crime victims back to life, repair their wounds, or return their property. Only disarming the criminal can do that.

23. *What about the argument that "guns don't commit crimes, people do"?*

Of course, guns don't commit crimes, but *people using guns certainly do*. People using guns last year alone robbed 71,000 Americans, assaulted 55,000 Americans and murdered 7,700 Americans. People using guns murdered John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Robert Kennedy, along with more than 25,000 other Americans between 1963 and 1967.

24. *What about the argument that "No dictatorship has ever been imposed on a nation of free men who have not just been required to register their privately owned firearms*

That argument is baloney. It is unsupported by fact and refuted by history. For example, regarding the German occupations of Europe, the Library of Congress has concluded:

"We can make no positive correlation between gun laws and dictatorships, as the following examples will show.

"First, four countries were examined which are democracies now, but in recent history came under Nazi dictatorships (Germany, Italy, France, and Austria). One may reasonably assume that if gun registration laws constituted a primary factor in the rise of dictatorships, these countries would have since revised their laws to prevent future dictatorships. This has not been the case. The four countries today have substantially the same gun laws as those in force prior to the advent of dictatorship. In fact, in Italy, where gun laws were relaxed by Mussolini, they have recently been restrengthened approximately to their pre-Mussolini level.

Secondly, two democracies were examined which have not suffered dictatorships in their recent history (England and Switzerland). Switzerland has had gun registration laws since 1874, England since 1831.

* * * * *

"It would be inaccurate of course, to suggest that a dictatorship would be unconcerned about the possession of firearms by its populace. Nevertheless, these few examples would seem to indicate fairly conclusively that there is no significant relationship between gun laws and the rise of dictatorships, at least in these countries."

In his book, *The Right to Bear Arms*, author Carl Bakal thoroughly demolishes this hysterical argument most frequently made by National Rifle Association propagandists, that firearms laws threaten democracy. He writes:

"In resorting to such sophistry, the NRA is as casual with history as it is with statistics. It makes much of the alleged Nazi use of firearms registration lists to disarm and conquer Europe. However, if such a tactic were employed, it must be accounted one of the best-kept secrets of the war, for I could find no reference to it whatever in the histories of that era. I have spoken to correspondents with an intimate knowledge of German affairs, and they too disabused me of the notion that this was an element in the Nazi invasion tactics or, as is also said, in Hitler's rise to power. Said Sigrid Schultz, a journalist in Germany since 1919: 'Hitler used lists to take over Germany? Why, that's perfectly silly, absolutely ridiculous. He didn't need the guns of the people. He had virtually all the people. He had the Storm Troopers and he had the Army. His forces were literally armed to the teeth. If Hitler had any list of guns, he didn't need them.'

"Another veteran correspondent, Norbert Muhlen, with a half dozen books on Germany to his credit, told me of a German friend of his: 'He was a vehement anti-Nazi, but they never took away his gun. In fact, he even became a hunting inspector.'

"I also wrote to the American Embassy in each of the countries who so supposedly succumbed to the Nazis. From Denmark came this typical reply: "The Germans did not disarm Danish civilians and so facilitate the German invasion and occupation of Denmark.' From Finland: 'The Library of War Sciences has not heard of any such activity.'

* * * * *

"Even if any lists of firearms owners would be useful to an enemy of the United States. undoubtedly the single largest and most useful such master list would be that of the more than 1 million names and addresses conveniently maintained on Remington Rand tabulating cards in the membership division at NRA headquarters. (New York City's list of 17,000 registered handgun owners is minuscule compared to this.) Vastly larger collectively are the lists of about 19 million hunting licenses on file with the conservation (or fish and game) departments in the capital cities of our fifty states."

25. *How do law enforcement officials feel about gun licensing and registration?*

They want both. At the recent hearings on the National Gun Crime Prevention Act, New Jersey Attorney General Arthur Sills testified regarding the National Gun Crime Prevention Act:

"Again, I repeat my plea and the plea of all New Jerseyans. Congress must enact a law to register all firearms, create licensing safeguards to prohibit the distribution of firearms to undesirable persons, ban all mail-order sales of firearms, and prohibit the purchases of firearms by non-residents of a state. Few, if any, efforts are more important to the future safety and security of the American people."

California Attorney General Thomas C. Lynch testified:

"I wish to endorse national firearms registration and licensing procedures . . . Registration and licensing of firearms would be a tremendous tool for law enforcement—a major protection for the honest citizen."

Mr. Quinn Tamm, Executive Director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, testified:

"I support Federal legislation that will assist state and Federal enforcement agencies in preventing and solving gun crimes through Federal registration and licensing activities. The additional administrative workload that will be placed on local law enforcement agencies through the implementation of such legislation will be considerable, but it is my sincere belief that the cost will be inconsiderable compared to the lives that will be saved. Finally, enactment of legislation that will expedite a nationwide system of reporting firearms data will materially aid local law enforcement agencies in bringing to justice those who use such weapons in the commission of crimes."

Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago testified:

"I believe this to be one of the most important pieces of legislation to be considered by the United States Senate. It is long overdue. The need for such legislation has long been apparent."

Mayor John Lindsay of New York testified:

"Congress should pass legislation requiring the registration of firearms—with the specific recognition—as provided in Senate 3634 [The National Gun Crime Prevention Act] that the primary responsibility for registration rests with the individual states. Registration of ownership, serial number, and type of weapon can give enormous assistance to crime prevention and detection.

"The Congress should enact legislation providing that in the absence of state and local regulations limiting access to firearms, the federal government should assume responsibility for enforcing reasonable licensing regulations for the possession of firearms."

U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark testified:

"After all we have suffered, it would be terribly disillusioning if we failed to act to control guns. Interstate control, registration and licensing are all essential.

"The people want strict gun control. Their safety demands it. The Congress is fully empowered to act. The time is now."

MAINE GIRL PROPOSES CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, one of the great challenges our Nation faces today is the vitalization of its merchant marine. The past glory of the American merchant marine is now overshadowed by its recent decline.

Recently, a young Maine girl, Ann Conroy, of Portland, Maine, submitted a prize-winning essay to the Herald Harding Memorial Essay Contest on this vital topic. Miss Conroy's essay, which won her a holiday on the Great Lakes, combines an incisive analysis of the problem we face and six thoughtful suggestions for congressional action. The high quality of this essay is particularly encouraging because of Anne's future interest in politics and government.

I commend the ideas of this bright young girl to my colleagues:

AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE KEY TO DEFENSE AND TRADE

Ships provide the cheapest form of transportation. This reason, in itself, would seemingly demand that a country keep her Merchant Marine in top condition. Why then has the United States of America allowed her Merchant Marine to take a back seat to other nations of lesser international stature?

Although the American Merchant Marine is a private industry, it is subsidized by the United States government. The current budget of the American Merchant Marine is approximately three hundred and seventy-five million dollars. Two hundred million of this sum is used for operating subsidies. Eighty-five percent of this two hundred million is used to make up the difference in wages between the members of the American Merchant Marine and those of foreign companies.

The American Merchant Marine is an essential part of our nation's economy and security. Seventeen percent of the United States' key raw materials must be imported. Ninety-six percent of these are carried on foreign ships. This should be remedied quickly. The United States is becoming almost entirely dependent on ships sailing under foreign flags.

After World War II, the United States was a supreme maritime nation with a fleet of five thousand modern vessels. Ninety-five percent of these ships were less than three years old. Presently, the American Merchant Marine has a fleet of approximately one thousand and ninety-five ocean going vessels. Four-fifths of these ships are over twenty years old.

Twenty-five of our fifty states border on the coast or on the Great Lakes. At least fifty percent of Congress should have an interest in developing the Merchant Marine. Quite to the contrary, politics have contributed to the decline of the American Merchant Marine. Politicans eager to stay in the good graces of an uninformed public have been unwilling to grant the needed subsidies to our ship building industries. Americans, concerned only with keeping taxes as low as possible, have condoned these actions. If only our fellow countrymen would take a good hard look at the condition of our Merchant Marine, they would see how essential it is to our prosperity.

The money used to subsidize our merchant fleet stays in our country. Eighty-five percent of all subsidies granted to our Merchant Marine goes to labor.

As the standard of living in the United States has become higher so have the wages of our shipbuilders and seamen. It costs twice as much money and requires twice as much time to build a ship in an American shipyard as it would abroad.

American shipping rates have increased in proportion to the higher wages paid to the crewmen.

Ships, however, cannot be built abroad for the United States. The reason for this is sound enough. Our shipyards must be kept up in case of an emergency. There are eighteen major shipyards in the United States. Each one of these is capable of producing fifty ships per year; however, they are producing twelve ships per year. If the American Merchant Marine is not allowed to have ships made in foreign ports, then our American society should get busy and demand production of more ships domestically.

Expenditures for the design and trial of one or two supersonic transport airplanes has been estimated at four and two-tenths billion dollars. Three hundred to three hundred and fifty maritime ships could be built for this sum. A fleet of this dimension would again put the United States in an influential position on the seas and make us competitive with other foreign countries.

The American Merchant Marine is the only reliable means of transportation the United States has to carry its thirty-two billion dollar annual import-export business. In time of war, the United States would be in a very uncomfortable position if it had to depend on foreign ships. No great trading nation has existed without its own trading fleet.

The American Merchant Marine is a tremendous customer of United States business. Insurance companies alone enjoy seventy-two million dollars in insurance premiums from American shipping. The Merchant Marine is also a substantial taxpayer.

Sometimes considered the fourth arm of defense, the Merchant Marine has been called on to move troops and supplies to Vietnam. Airplanes are employed for the same purposes; however, ships carry more cargo and are less expensive in the long run. Ships can also deposit their troops and cargoes with greater ease than planes. It is not always possible to land a plane in or near the desired area.

Great Britain, Japan, France, West Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden and Russia are all producing more ships per year than the United States. At the present time, Russia has three hundred and fifty ships on order. The United States has forty-five ships on order.

Recently, in an attempt to reduce his budget, President Johnson cut more subsidies percentage-wise from the Merchant Marine than any other project.

What can be done to improve our Merchant Marine? We must have an alert informed American public. The salvation of the American Merchant Marine is entirely in the hands of Congress. Congress should reflect the thinking and wishes of the majority of the American people. Congress should bring about the rejuvenation of the American Merchant Marine through the following steps: 1) There should be a definite Merchant Marine Plan. 2) Congress must come through with the necessary subsidies to make the plan work. 3) United States shipyards must produce the forty to fifty ships per year which they are capable of producing. 4) All government goods should be shipped on American vessels. 5) Labor unions must move with the times. 6) New, larger, and more efficient ships must be built.

The United States is now attempting to convert to a container fleet which would save time and money. Another idea, which was knocked down in Congress, was to have ships which have small barges on them.

If America realizes how valuable our Merchant Marine is and how much more valuable it could be, I feel our Merchant Marine could become the powerful fleet it should be.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. "American Merchant Marine Conference Proceedings." The Propeller Club of the United States, 1965.

2. "Facts About Our American Merchant Marine." Washington, D.C.: Committee of American Steamship Lines, 1965.

3. Land, Emery S. "Shipbuilding and Related Industries." Speech Washington, D.C.: Convention of the Propeller Club of the United States, October 4, 1966.

4. "Ships." *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, Vol. 13. Chicago: F. E. Compton, 1957.

5. "Ships and Shipping." *The Compton Yearbook*. Chicago: F. E. Compton, 1966.

6. "Trade Unites the World." *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, Vol. 14. Chicago: F. E. Compton, 1957.

"A SOLDIER'S WORDS"

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, it is difficult to conceive of a greater tragedy that could befall parents than the loss of a son just as he is on the threshold of manhood, ready and eager to assume his role in life. But the grief must become almost unbearable when the young man is the only male heir in the family.

During the past tragic few years many American mothers and fathers have experienced personally that unforgettable anguish that only they can fully comprehend when informed about the death of their loved one in mortal conflict. The strength and courage which these grief-stricken parents so often have displayed under these circumstances is truly remarkable and is a great tribute to their fortitude and dignity; surely the knowledge that their son believed in the cause for which he was fighting has been of great comfort to many and has helped them to endure this supreme sacrifice.

One young Hoosier who 2 months ago gave his life in Vietnam for his country was Craig Seidel, the only son of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Seidel of Indianapolis. I was deeply moved recently by a letter written by Mrs. Seidel in which she made the following comment about her late son:

> Though only 20 years old, he was a true man in every respect. He fought and died bravely for a cause he deeply believed in—to keep men free and our country free from aggression. In these troubled times, to have a feeling of responsibility and a true sense of patriotism makes a man great and our son believed in and had faith in our country. He did not die in vain. This we believe.

Enclosed with her letter was a poem entitled "A Soldier's Words" which Craig and four of his buddies had composed last February while on duty in Vietnam. These young men, all members of Company B, 15th T.C. Battalion, 1st Cavalry Division, were concerned about the attitude and actions of others of their generation back home who were protesting against the draft and military service. As a tribute to Craig and his friends and in honor of his grieving but courageous parents, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this brief poem be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point in my remarks. I do this so that others may share, if only through the medium of words, some of the frustrations, the deep-seated emotions, yes, even the embitterment, which often must engulf our gallant young men who have been thrust into deadly combat in a strange and far-away land.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SOLDIER'S WORDS

Take a man and put him alone,
Put him 12,000 miles from home.
Drain his heart of all but blood,
Make him live in sweat and mud.
This is the life I have to live,
And why my soul to the devil I give.

You peace boys rant from your easy chairs,
But you don't know what it's like over here.
While you burn your draft cards,
And march at dawn,
You plant your signs in the White House lawn.
And all of you want to ban the bomb,
Because you say there is no real war in Vietnam.

You use your drugs and have your fun,
Then refuse to use a gun.
There is nothing else for us to do,
But give our lives to help save you.
I'll hate you till the day I die,
Because you made me hear my buddy cry.
I saw his arm, a bloody shred,
I heard the medic say he's dead.
It was a large price he had to pay,
Not to live for another day.
He bought your life by giving his,
But who gives a damn what a soldier gives.

FULL FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE OF REPRESENTATIVE AND MRS. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, to renew public confidence in Government, public officials should share with the public all information which casts light on the financial interest or disinterest of those charged with making national decisions.

Mrs. Mathias and I have submitted a full statement of financial disclosure to the chairman of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. I would like to include that statement in the RECORD at this point:

JUNE 4, 1968.

Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
Chairman, Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Mathias and I believe that one way to renew confidence in the institutions of government is to share with the public all information that may throw a light upon the interest or disinterest of those who participate in making public decisions. We are, therefore, reporting to you the nature of all of our property, either jointly or severally held by us, our family income and the sources thereof during my four terms in Congress, and the names of our creditors: Equity in Federal Retirement System, Life Insurance, Livestock and Farm Machinery.

Real Estate: House, R.F.D. 2, Frederick, Maryland; house, 3808 Leland Street, Chevy Chase, Maryland; half interest in forty-acre farm in Frederick County; half interest in 306 Redwood Avenue, Frederick; and, lease for 373-acre farm, expiring in 1973.

Stocks: Capitol Hill Associates, Citizens Bank of Maryland, Farmers & Mechanics National Bank, Foote Mineral Company, Frederick Medical Arts, G. D. Searle & Company, Glaxco Laboratories, Ltd., Investors Loan Corporation, Lone Star Cement, Massachusetts Investors Growth, Sperry Rand, The Detour Bank, The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Company, and Western Maryland Trust Company.

Debts due on mortgage, collateral and personal notes to Farmers & Merchanics National Bank, Frederick, Maryland, Frederick County National Bank, Frederick, Maryland, Bank of Charles Town, Charles Town, West Virginia, and Walker & Dunlop, Washington, D.C.

The information provided is complete and not limited to holdings with a value of over $5000.00 as contemplated by Rule 44 of the House of Representatives.

A legitimate concern expressed from time to time is that Members of Congress may continue in the active practice of the law or other business and collect very large fees which reflect either a dubious distraction from legislative business or an actual misuse of official influence. My annual receipts from legal sources have averaged $2005.50 during my seven years in Congress, or a total of $14,038.50 for the entire period. All other income over and above Congressional pay and allowances is detailed on the attached page.

Neither Mrs. Mathias nor I received any income from any trust, remainder or other hidden property. Our sons are not the beneficiaries of any trust. Our net worth, computed as of May 21, 1968, is $135,359.88.

Although Rule 44 requires only partial publication of disclosures, we know of nothing that prohibits full voluntary disclosure, and we are convinced that this is the better practice to which the Rule should ultimately conform. Consequently, we shall make a copy of this report available to the press.

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

Year	Investment income	Interest	Honorariums	Net rents	Teaching fellowship, Mrs. Mathias	Farm dispersal	Executor's commission
1967	$1,471.19	$49.31	$1,900	$840.75	$207		
1966	1,201.36	99.20	830		1,001		$3,600
1965	1,158.51		1,125	177.80			
1964	1,440.18	18.16	475	115.84			
1963	801.31		755	55.19			
1962	749.52	.95	135	161.42		$1,679.82	
1961	689.92	7.98	275	205.56			

HOW TO MAKE THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE CONSTITUTIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, a recent article, entitled "How To Make the Electoral College Constitutionally Representative," appeared in the American Bar Association Journal. The author, Howard S. Spering, raises some interesting points for consideration. Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW TO MAKE THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE CONSTITUTIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE

(By Howard S. Spering)

Gross distortions that exist in the present operation of the electoral college would be eliminated if "constitutionally representative" electors were required to be elected. No amendment of the United States Constitution would be necessary to accomplish this. The state-wide general ticket system of electing Presidential electors imposed by state election laws is the chief cause of the distortions. That system should be ruled unconstitutional and enjoined by the courts.

Prior to 1836 many Presidential electors were elected by popular vote from and by districts within a number of the states in many national elections.[1] Each district

---

Footnotes at end of article.

elected its own elector, whose party affiliation and vote might be different from those of electors in some other districts within the same state. District electors represented the choice of the people within their respective districts, who had an effective independent voice "as citizens of the United States". The people were not regimented, as they are today under the general ticket system, into voting solely in their capacity "as citizens of their state", having their votes counted on a state-wide basis only and having only one voice expressed uniformly by all of the electors from the state.

Under the Constitution it is population, or people, that determines the whole number of Presidential electors to be elected in each state. Article II, Section 1, provides:

". . . Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; . . ."

Thus, each state is entitled to the two (but only the two) electors who are the counterparts of the two United States Senators to which it is entitled as a state.[2] The number of additional electors from a state is the number of Representatives in Congress to which the people of the state are entitled. The national apportionment of Representatives among the states is based on the proportion of the total population of the nation in each state, calculated from the latest national census, with 435 now being the total number of Representatives. Each Representative is elected by the people of his Congressional district. The only exceptions to this system are the five states (Alaska, Delaware, Nevada, Vermont and Wyoming) whose population entitles them to only one Representative, and the two states (Hawaii and New Mexico) whose two Representatives are elected at large. It is, of course, possible to have a state-wide at-large election of Representatives if there has been a failure to provide for properly constituted districts.

Congressional districts are now required to be essentially equal, or as nearly equal as is practicable, under the rule in *Wesberry* v. *Sanders*, 376 U.S. 1 (1964).

When the proportion of the national population residing in one state increases or decreases substantially enough, that state correspondingly gains or loses one or more Representatives. As a result, California's number of Representatives in Congress grew from twenty-three in 1948 to thirty-eight in 1964. On the other hand, New York's Representatives in Congress diminished from forty-five in 1948 to forty-one in 1964. The number of Presidential electors to which a state is entitled fluctuates with these figures.

It is, therefore, clear that the right to elect one elector, who is the counterpart of a Representative in Congress, lies in the people of each Congressional district. No contention to the contrary can reasonably overcome the effect of all the words in context in the above quoted portion of Article II, Section 1, of the Constitution.[3]

The dual character of persons as "citizens of the United States" and as "citizens of a state" is clearly established in our Constitution. The great compromise established dual representation in a bicameral Congress, providing: (1) for equal representation of states as states, regardless of population or any other measure of size, in the Senate and (2) for representation of the people by Representatives in the House of Representatives elected directly by the people and apportioned among the several states according to population.

This difference in the character of the representation in the two houses of Congress is sharply drawn in the provisions of Article I relating to qualifications, which specify that a Representative shall be "an Inhabitant of the State *in* which he shall be chosen" and that a Senator shall be "an Inhabitant of that State *for* which he shall be chosen" (emphasis added).

This balanced and symmetrical structure of dual citizenship and dual representation in Congress applies consistently in the parallel structure of dual representation established for the electoral college. Thus, the election of two electors on a state-wide basis is an election *for* the state by persons acting in their capacity as "citizens of the state", and the election of additional electors by each Congressional district would provide separate elections *in* each state by persons acting in their capacity as "citizens of the United States".

Under the state-wide general ticket system, however, all Presidential electors, whether they are counterparts of Senators or of Representatives, are elected by the same state-wide count of votes by which the two electors who are counterparts of the state's two Senators are elected. Many objectionable results flow from this system:

1. All those who vote for the nominee, party or block of electors that receives less than the highest number of votes in the individual state are deprived of representation in the electoral college (a) even if their votes aggregate as much as 49 per cent of all votes cast in the state, and (b) even if their votes constitute a majority, or the highest number, of the votes cast in one or more of the Congressional districts in the state.

2. The weight of each voter's vote will inevitably either (a) be magnified or distorted, when on the winning side, from a plurality, however narrow the margin, to 100 per cent of the total electoral votes of the state, or (b) be completely ignored and destroyed, when on the losing side, and be invidiously misrepresented as if supporting the winning plurality.

3. Different weight is given to the votes of residents of one state from the weight given to the votes of residents of another state. For example, a citizen in New York votes for the election of forty-three electors, while a citizen in Virginia votes for the election of only twelve electors.

4. Many times as many citizens must vote for a particular nominee in large states as in single-Representative states before their voting can have any effect or weight whatsoever in the election of the President.

5. A substantial premium is placed on fraud in the larger states because the small margin that achieves a plurality carries 100 per cent of the large electoral vote of the state.

6. Small splinter parties also can affect the whole electoral vote of a state by controlling the small margin that achieves a plurality in the state. For example, in 1948 Henry A. Wallace drew 509,000 votes from President Truman, thereby throwing the forty-seven electoral votes from New York to Thomas E. Dewey, who had a plurality of only 61,000 votes out of the total of about 6,100,000 votes cast in the state.

7. The "one-man, one-vote" principle[4] of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment is breached in almost every conceivable way.

CONSTITUTIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE ELECTORS

When two electors equivalent to a state's two United States Senators are elected on a state-wide basis, the people are acting in their capacity as "citizens of the state". To this extent, the electoral college system cannot be made to conform to the "one-man, one-vote" principle. The 102 electors so elected, however, constitute only approximately 19 per cent of the total of 538 electoral votes.[5]

The other 436 electors, 81 percent of the total, if elected one in and by each Congressional district,[6] would be "constitutionally representative" of the people acting in their capacity as "citizens of the United States" in essentially equal districts. Each voter in the United States, without regard to the state of his residence, ordinarily would vote for three electors: one "Representative" elector elected in his Congressional district and two "Senator" electors elected on a state-wide basis. The inequalities of voting in the national elections that now exist between citizens of different states and the gross distortions and misrepresentations of the votes of citizens within the same state would be eliminated with respect to the election of 81 per cent of the electors.

The "one-man, one-vote" principle would be met fully with respect to these electors. The substantive right of the people as citizens of the United States to elect one elector in and by each Congressional district, based on their numbers, would also be satisfied.

The Twelfth Amendment clearly contemplates that the electors of a state may be divided as to the persons voted for as President and Vice President.[7] The district election of "Representative" electors would be fully compatible with this amendment. The general ticket system, on the other hand, precludes any possibility of division of the electoral votes of the state and, therefore, is contrary to the divisibility principle of the Twelfth Amendment.

ADVANTAGES OF REPRESENTATIVE ELECTORS

It is a mathematical fact that the greater the number of units in which elective pluralities are determined and are effective to elect an elector, the smaller will be the population of each unit, the greater will be the citizen's opportunity to have an effective voice in the national election, the smaller will be the number of voters in each unit who are adversely affected by being on the losing side, and the more limited in ultimate effect will be any local election fraud, any splinter party or group, any severe weather condition or other occurrence affecting voter turnout, or any local misinformation that misleads citizens. Thus, election of one elector in each of 436 Congressional districts is more desirable in all of these respects than the present system.

By the same token, one nationwide direct popular vote for the election of the President, without the use of electors, creates the greatest possible premium for election fraud in any area, the greatest potential effect of any splinter party or group, the greatest potential effect of any severe weather condition or other occurrence affecting voter turnout in any area and the most serious consequence of any local misinformation that misleads citizens.

The single nation-wide direct popular vote is somewhat like fungible goods. All the materials put into the large bin or tank from many areas lose their identity completely. There is no pattern of recognizable elements of the people articulated on the basis of local districts in which the voters have an awareness of their problems and interests with respect to national issues and have an effective voice through a district elector.

James Wilson of Pennsylvania, the highly respected lawyer-framer of the Constitution at the Federal Convention in 1787, did not propose the direct election of the President by the people without electors, as has been stated.[8] Wilson's first motion on the mode of appointing the President proposed an electoral college system for the naming of electors by districts. *Madison's Notes* reported on Saturday, June 2, 1787, the following:

Mr. Wilson made the following motion, to be substituted for the mode proposed by Mr. Randolph's resolution, "that the Executive Magistracy shall be elected in the following manner: That the States be divided into districts; & that the persons qualified to vote in each district for members of the first branch of the national Legislature elect members for their respective districts to be electors of the Executive magistracy, that the said Electors of the Executive magistracy meet at and they or any of them

---

Footnotes at end of article.

so met shall proceed to elect by ballot, but not out of their own body person in whom the Executive authority of the national Government shall be vested."

Mr. Wilson repeated his arguments in favor of an election without the intervention of the States. He supposed too that this mode would produce more confidence among the people in the first magistrate, than an election by the national Legislature.[9]

There is another important element inherent in the principle of representative government that the founding fathers uniformly adopted throughout the Constitution. With Congressional districts of essentially equal population, a Representative or a Presidential elector from that district represents all of the people residing in the district. His effective weight within the particular framework of government should be, and is, measured by the essentially equal number of persons residing in each such district.[10] He stands on a par with each other Representative or elector, as the case may be. His effective weight is not, and should not be, measured by the number of people who voted for him as against the number of people who voted for a Representative or elector from another district. Neither should his effective weight be; nor is it, measured by the total number of people who voted in his district (whether for or against him) as against the total number of people who voted in another district in the election of a Representative or elector.

DISTRICT SYSTEM PROVIDES FAIRNESS

In any district there are under-voting-age children, resident aliens not permitted to vote and many persons confined to institutions or homes because of illness or other disability. Under our representative system of government, those people are entitled to representation on a basis of equality with all other persons residing in districts of essentially equal population. Because of their large numbers across the nation and the failure or inability for other causes (such as weather, business or whatever) of other qualified persons to vote, only aobut 37 per cent of the nation's total population voted in the 1964 Presidential election, and only about 38 per cent voted in 1960.

Under the polling concept, it is generally accepted that if only 25 per cent of the population in any district vote in an election, the plurality established by their votes will reach the same elective result that would have been reached by the plurality of the voters if any other percentage of the population had voted.[11] This concept, of course, depends for portunity of all qualified and qualifiable persons in the district to vote and to have their votes properly counted. We take strong measures to secure and protect that complete freedom of opportunity for all citizens to vote by secret ballot and to have their votes properly counted.

Thus, given a fair and representative system of election, it is not so important or meaningful that a President shall have a majority or a plurality of all of the popular votes cast. If the President is elected by a majority (as required under the Twelfth Amendment) of the whole number of the electors, 81 per cent of whom shall have been elected by a plurality of the votes in their Congressional districts, each of essentially equal population, his election will more accurately reflect, and more assuredly represent, the choice of the majority of all of the "people", even if, by chance, it does not also reflect the choice of the majority or plurality of those who actually voted in the election.

It is important that the new President shall enter office with a broad base of support demonstrated in the election. The representation of states in the electoral college by the inclusion of 102 electors elected on a state-wide basis adds significant support for the elected President, since the states are important and effective political entities on the national scene. These electors, along with district-elected "Representative" electors, form the President's constituency to which he is responsible—the same as the basic constituency of the national government established by the Constitution.

The present state-wide general ticket system and the proposed direct popular vote on a nation-wide basis each create different effective constituencies for the President, and both are in conflict with the basic constituency grounded in dual citizenship and dual representation.

TO ACCOMPLISH CHANGE

To provide for election of "Representative" electors by each Congressional district does not require an amendment of the Constitution. Each state could amend its election laws to provide for "Representative" electors, and the new election laws would clearly be constitutional. The United States Supreme Court so ruled with respect to a Michigan statute in 1892.[12]

The practical obstacle has been that political leaders in some of the larger states have felt that they can carry more effective weight in the election of the President if all of the electoral votes of their states are cast for one person for President. In fact, it was this practice by dominant political forces in the larger states that forced other states, which had initially used the district system, eventually to adopt the state-wide general ticket system in order not to be placed at a disadvantage by a possible division of their strength.

Many attempts have been made to amend the Constitution to require election of Presidential electors by districts.[13] On occasion a majority of one house or the other of Congress has supported these proposed amendments, but not the two thirds of both houses at the same time that is required to submit an amendment to the states. A number of other amendments to the Constitution have been proposed over the years, including those for election of the President by direct nation-wide popular vote without intervening electors. But none of these appear to have made any significant progress in either house of Congress. It seems almost impossible to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote of both houses on this subject in view of the factional strength in Congress of some of the political leaders from some of the larger states.

What, then, can be done to improve the system of electing the President? Class actions by citizens of the United States could be brought against the states of their residence to attack as unconstitutional the state election laws that provide for the state-wide general ticket system and prevent the election of one "Representative" elector by each Congressional district. These legal actions, brought in the federal district courts, should have a good chance for favorable rulings in view of the significant decisions of the United States Supreme Court on election laws in recent years.[14]

Fundamental principles of the Constitution are breached and defied by the state-wide general ticket system for the election of electors. These state election laws cannot find authority or justification under the Constitution when exposed to critical analysis.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Maryland, for example, elected its electors by districts in all Presidential elections prior to 1836, except the first two, for a total of ten of the first twelve Presidential elections. See PAULLIN, THE ATLAS OF THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES 89 (1932). See also the extended historical discussion in *McPherson* v. *Blacker*, 146 U.S. 1 (1892).

[2] Each state is also entitled as a minimum to one additional elector, since each state is entitled to one Representative in Congress, even though the state's entire population may be less than the number otherwise represented by each Representative in Congress under the national apportionment system.

[3] It may be noted that the words "in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct" relate to procedure, and it is believed that the acts of the state legislatures under such procedural provisions should be limited to conform with, and not to defeat, the substantive rights inherently created by and actually operative in the full context of the provisions of Article II, Section 1.

[4] A fair statement of this principle is: Whenever and wherever voting by any of the people is provided for in state or federal elections, ctiizens of the United States are entitled to be fairly and equitably represented and effectively weighted, by district units fairly related to their numbers, in the outcome of such election. They are entitled to have their right to vote protected against being abridged, debased, diluted, cancelled, destroyed, discriminated against because of place of residence, or otherwise made ineffective or unrepresentative, by or under any laws or practices of any state, or by any acts of any officials of the state or of any other persons. See *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 554-568 (1964).

[5] The District of Columbia now has three electoral votes, two of which I have regarded as equivalent to two United States Senators, although the District does not have any Senators, and the other one I have regarded as equivalent to a Representative in Congress, although the District does not have a Representative. This explains my reference to 436 electors elected by districts, although there are only 435 Representatives. It also explains my reference to 102 electors as equivalent to Senators, although there are only one hundred Senators from the fifty states.

[6] Of course, among these 436 electors would be (1) five elected in at-large state-wide elections in the five states that are entitled to only one Representative, (2) four elected in at-large state-wide elections in the two states that are entitled to only two Representatives and that have not established districts for their election and (3) any electors who might be counterparts of Representatives elected at-large because proper Congressional districts were not established.

[7] The amendment provides that the Presidential electors "shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of *all* persons voted for as President, and of *all* persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for *each*, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, . . ." (emphasis added).

[8] Gossett, *Electing the President*, 53 A.B.A.J. 1103 (1961), cites James Wilson as authority for stating that "direct 'election by the people'" was the ideal of the framers of the Constitution for electing the President. The original source materials. *Madison's Notes*, are contained in *Documents, Formation of the Union*, published by the Government Printing Office in 1927. The two partial quotations of Wilson's remarks set forth on the first page of that article appear to be derived from Wilson's first comments on June 1, 1787, in opposition to Mr. Randolph's proposal that the executive magistracy "be chosen by the National Legislature." See pages 134 and 135 of *Documents*. Read in this context, his remarks did not advocate that the President be elected by "direct" election by the people without electors. Wilson's motion the next day, June 2, makes this clear, for it contained the first proposal of an electoral college to be made at the convention. See page 136 of *Documents*. When the subject was reached later, on August 24, Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania also opposed election of the President by the national legislature and moved that he "shall be chosen by Electors to be chosen by the People of the several States." This was seconded and supported with four "ayes" (Pennsylvania, Vir-

ginia, Delaware and New Jersey) and opposed by six "noes." See pages 611 and 612 of *Documents*.

[9] All quotations are from *Madison's Notes*, see footnote 8 *supra*.

[10] James Wilson is reported in *Madison's Notes* for Saturday, June 9, 1787, as follows:

"He [Mr. Wilson] entered elaborately into the defence of a proportional representation, stating for his first position that as all authority was derived from the people, equal numbers of people ought to have an equal number of representatives, and different numbers of people different numbers of representatives. . . . Representatives of different districts ought clearly to hold the same proportion to each other, as their respective Constituents hold to each other."

[11] Computer predictions of election results from very early returns are based on this polling principle.

[12] *McPherson* v. *Blacker*, 146 U.S. 1 (1892).

[13] See the review of these efforts in *McPherson* v. *Blacker*, *supra*. See also Ames, "Choice of President and Vice President", in *Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States During the First One Hundred Years of Its History, Hearings on Senate Joint Resolutions 3, 9, 10, 27, 30, 31 and 53 Before a Subcomm. of the Senate Comm. on the Judiciary*, 84th Cong., 1st Sess. 227-252 (1955).

[14] I am informed that class actions of this type are being encouraged by the American Good Government Society, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization located in Washington, D.C. I wish to acknowledge the substantial assistance on background and source material provided to me by J. Harvie Williams, executive secretary of the society.

"BUSINESSMAN RULING GREECE NOT SOLDIERS"—REPORTS BRITISH MAGAZINE CITY PRESS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in a recent edition, the Greek Star carried an article entitled "Businessmen Ruling Greece Not Soldiers"—Reports British magazine City Press. The article comments on the progress of the Greek economy which has been made under the present regime.

I am pleased to call attention to this article at a time when doubt exists in the United States as to the sincerity and effectiveness of the ruling government in Greece.

The article follows:

"BUSINESSMEN RULING GREECE NOT SOLDIERS"—REPORTS BRITISH MAGAZINE CITY PRESS

ATHENS.—In a recent article entitled "It is businessmen and not military men who are governing Greece," the British magazine "City Press" deals extensively with the progress accomplished by the Greek economy, an official announcement said yesterday.

The magazine's publisher and economist, John Hoferman, who has visited Greece, said in the article that the National Revolutionary Government had placed young men of about 40 years of age in important posts. "The purpose of those young men, who believe in the freedom of private business initiative, is to render Greece one of the richest countries in the world," the article said.

It added that since the National Government came to power, wages had been increased by 25 per cent and agrarian debts written off in Greece. Hoferman mentions that according to Coordination Undersecretary Julius Evlambios, Greeks have capital abroad amounting to some 30 billion dollars.

The article then refers to the various important investments effected by large foreign companies in Greece, to the Five-Year Economic Development Program to steps for the attraction of foreign capital to measures facilitating the establishment of foreign firms in Greece and to the transfer of head offices of Greek shipping companies to Greece.

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

HON. JAMES V. SMITH

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, enclosed is my "Report From Washington" for August 1968, which I would like to include in the Extensions of Remarks:

JAMES V. SMITH REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, AUGUST 1968

LETTERS FROM HOME

Some people who write my offices, either in Washington, Chickasha or Lawton, begin their letters with, "I don't know if you will have time to read this . . ." or "I don't know how much good it will do for me to write to you . . ." These comments indicate that many have lost faith in our national leadership, and believe that Big Government no longer pays attention to the individual. Unfortunately, in some instances this criticism may be true.

My staff, however, has been instructed to bring all letters to my attention. I believe that the only way I have of truly representing the will of the people back home is to be aware of their feelings on any issue.

We have received great volumes of mail on many subjects concerning the Federal Government's role, and I can assure you that each viewpoint is carefully taken into consideration. When any elected official forgets his part as a bridge between the Government and the people and begins to think more of his own self-esteem, then that official has lost sight of his constitutional role as the representative of the thousands who placed him in his position.

Responsiveness to the people's will is essential in maintaining the worth and dignity of this office. My staff is an excellent one, and they spend many hours researching the problems of government and briefing me on the impact of legislation.

The conviction that I must express on every vote before the House, however, is my own, and I try to express the conviction of those who sent me here to represent them. This means that your mail is most important and most welcome.

Whether we take the problem of a constituent before the Social Security Administration, Veterans Administration, one of the Armed Services branches, or any of the other numerous Government agencies, each problem is worked on to the fullest extent.

We have received and attempted to help with problems of thousands of people in Western and Central Oklahoma, not including the many requests for maps, agriculture bulletins, and other Government publications.

Someone has said a Congressman is the only person who stands between the bureaucracy and the people, and he can and should be the people's advocate before the tribunals of Government. This is one of the chief roles my office plays here in Washington. We are geared to service, and if I can be of any help, I urge you to contact my office. I welcome any and all advice and comments, and invite you to keep those letters coming.

THE SUPREME COURT

A great controversy has been raised over the recent appointments of Justice Abe Fortas as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Judge Homer Thornberry to fill Fortas' position as an Associate Justice.

In my opinion, the issue boils down to the fact that the Constitution is what a majority of five judges say it is—no less, no more. Unfortunately, recent decisions of the Court have found intent in laws that the framers did not dream of in Congress. The Court has become an oligarchy legislating social laws from which there is no judicial appeal.

If a filthy little peep show qualifies for protection under the lofty ideals of "Freedom of Speech and of the Press", as was interpreted recently by Justice Fortas and a majority of the Court, then something is fearfully wrong.

The Senators who are to confirm Fortas and Thornberry are also sworn to uphold the Constitution, and they have every right to severely interrogate these appointees on various moral issues. The present Administration seems to have forgotten there are to be three separate and equal branches of the government, one off-setting the other. Instead, these appointments imply that the Executive wishes to have a friendly voice in the Judiciary. This is not the intent of the Constitution or its framers.

I do not believe the Senate or the people would interpret the Constitution in the same manner Justice Fortas has, and I hope that he will not be confirmed.

EAST-WEST TRADE

There has been much discussion concerning the desirability of "improving" relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Communist countries through the loosening of trade barriers between our country and communist nations.

The best improvement that could result from any negotiations with the communist world would be our demand that they assist in bringing about the end of the war in Vietnam, by pressures brought to bear by them on their ally in Hanoi.

The concept that we can trade with an enemy who has sworn to bury us, who has broken almost every agreement made with us, and who is trying to subvert the world to their cause at our expense, just does not make good common sense.

My colleague from Iowa, Congressman H. R. Gross, introduced a resolution as an amendment to the Foreign Aid bill which would have prohibited American foreign aid from going to any country which is presently supplying North Vietnam with arms or aid. The resolution lost by four votes. I voted for this resolution because I think it is tragic to give American taxpayers money or assistance to any country which is supplying arms and bullets that kill American boys in Vietnam. From recent conversations with leaders in the American Legion and the VFW, I am sure they supported the Gross amendment, as I think most Americans would.

Some $170 billion has been spent on Foreign Aid since its inception 22 years ago. Even its most firm advocates believe it should be reevaluated and changed in its direction. To talk about "building bridges" to the communist world at this time in our Nation's history will not find favor with me.

INFLATION

Back in 1920, a telephone call from New York to San Francisco cost $20. At that time, you could mail 1,037 letters for $20. In 1968, the phone call costs $2.85, but $2.85 will pay the postage on only 47 letters. So, the Government is now investigating the telephone system.

In 1947, a loaf of bread cost 12.5 cents, and for the wheat in that bread the farmer got 2.9 cents. Today that loaf costs 22.2 cents, and the farmer's share is only 2.6 cents. The price of a bushel of wheat won't even buy a haircut in most towns.

If the present trend of the "new economics" theories continue, it is estimated that by the year 2000 a new car that now costs $4,000 will cost $9,000; food for four that is now $40 per week will be $112; a man's $2 haircut will cost $10, and a day in a semi-private hospital room now costing $75 will be $630.

Remember—If there is any way I can be of help to you here in Washington, please write me.

ARNOLD OLSEN, VETERANS' FRIEND

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this has been a very busy year for all of us, and particularly this has been true for those who concern themselves with legislation affecting veterans. As you know, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs has been very active this year, but other committees, particularly the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, have concerned themselves with matters affecting the welfare of those who are now serving in Vietnam, as well as other veterans.

In this connection, I would especially like to commend the gentleman from Montana [Mr. OLSEN] for the role he played in helping to guide House Concurrent Resolution 705 through the House and Senate. As you know, this resolution expressed the sense of Congress that agencies of the Federal Government and Government suppliers give priority to the hiring of veterans, and urged employers in private industry to provide this same type of priority in the hiring of veterans in private industry.

Mr. Speaker, I want to express my appreciation to Mr. OLSEN for his effective work as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and for his cooperation and support of legislation reported from the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. This has been an unusually productive Congress in the field of veterans' affairs with enactment of—

A service-connected compensation increase;

Two non-service-connected pension rate increases;

Liberalization of income limitations for non-service-connected pensions;

Increased payments to community nursing homes;

Increased benefits for nursing homes operated by the States and extension of matching funds for constuction of new nursing homes by the States;

Increased education and training allowances; and

Increased guaranteed and direct housing loans.

Legislation to make widows and wives of 100-percent service-connected veterans eligible for 3 years of educational assistance has passed both the House and Senate and I feel confident that it will become public law before the Congress adjourns.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank all Members of the House for their support of this legislation, and for their support in maintenance of the Veterans' Administration medical program through resistance to serious cuts in funds provided for that program.

A RACIST VICTORY AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, insistence by New York University upon the appointment of John F. Hatchett as director of the university's new Martin Luther King, Jr., Afro-American Student Center represents a dismal setback to the cause of academic freedom. It is an act of abnegation and surrender demeaning to a great university.

Mr. John F. Hatchett is the author of a vicious and vitriolic anti-Semitic diatribe, in which he charges the Jewish people of New York City with responsibility for lack of progress of Negro children in the city's schools. His record shows that he took a class of Negro children, in violation of board of education regulations, to a Malcolm X memorial meeting, where he subjected the class to exhortations to kill whitey and other racist polemics.

The appointment of New York University of so committed a racist to head the Martin Luther King, Jr., Afro-American Student Center is an affront to the memory and ideals of Dr. Martin Luther King. It is also an affront to the thousands of Negroes in our city who are impeccably qualified to direct the new center but are not afflicted with racist doctrine.

The fact that New York University was able to trot out Justice Arthur Goldberg and Federal District Judge Constance Baker Motley as a cover for Mr. Hatchett's appointment does little for New York University. Both Justice Goldberg and Judge Motley have labored long and valiantly in promoting the philosophy of brotherhood among men. Their putative approval of Mr. Hatchett's appointment is not one of the finer moments in the lives of either of these distinguished Americans.

Nor, indeed, is this one of the finer moments in the history of New York University. Its callous use of Justice Goldberg and Judge Motley reflects the complete insensitivity of the university to the problem it created. The appointment of Mr. Hatchett is not a matter of concern only to Jews and to Negroes. It is a matter of deep concern to everyone who understands the 6 million Jews sacrificed on the altar of racism; that millions of American Negroes are denied their constitutional rights because of racism; that other racial, religious, and ethnic groups have suffered the searing indignities of racism.

There is no easy way for New York University to escape from its own ineptitude. The only honorable alternative is for the university to dismiss Mr. Hatchett and appoint a new director who will serve the center in the spirit of Dr. Martin Luther King.

The lowest ranking instructor in the university's history department can enlighten the university administrators about failures of appeasement. There can be but little question that appeasement will fail once again.

REMARKS OF MR. BOW

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I have prepared and am distributing to my constituents my ninth biennial report on my service in Congress, as follows:

Article I of our Constitution creates the Congress as the citadel of our liberty. This Capitol Dome is the symbol of the right of every American to have a voice in his government. I am privileged to be that voice for 500,000 good Americans in Stark and Mahoning counties. This is my record and my report on my work in the 90th Congress.

Crime, war and money problems are the concerns of my neighbors in Ohio. They have a growing suspicion that they cannot trust what they read or hear or see if the source is their own government. Some call it a crisis in confidence, some call it credibility gap. By any name, it constitutes a threat to our way of life. The people have a right to know. They want us to "tell it like it is", and that is what I have done in regular reports, weekly newsletters, broadcasts and speeches during all my service here.

ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY

The Preamble to our Constitution states that "We, the People" require a government to establish justice and insure domestic tranquility. Ohio voters believe the government has failed to fulfill that obligation. Hundreds of letters protest lawlessness and court decisions that seem to favor the lawbreaker against the law-abiding. Ohio people demand action.

Congress has responded. New riot and disorder controls are in the 1968 civil rights law. We wrote a new law to release police and prosecutors from some of the Supreme Court's restrictions. We have controlled the sale of guns. The House bill provides stiff penalties for using a gun to commit a crime. The House refused to approve gun registration.

Now the responsibility rests clearly with the Executive, the Attorney General and the Courts. Congress can enact law. It cannot enforce law. I join my constituents in demanding that those responsible act firmly and quickly to establish justice and insure domestic tranquility.

SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY

Never forget that the people of this country have worked together to secure for themselves the blessings of liberty—spiritual, moral and material, to a greater degree than any other people in history. We regret that many fellow citizens do not share fully and we recognize they must be helped to help themselves win the advantages of common heritage.

The Federal Government has made tremendous, if sometimes misguided, efforts to correct this problem. We have passed six major civil rights laws in 10 years to guarantee equality of opportunity as much as any government can guarantee it. I voted for all six of those bills in the House, but against the last when it came back to us from the Senate, greatly amended, with the demand that it be made law on an hour's notice. We have spent up to $40 billion a year on housing, welfare, medical care, research, poverty programs, Appalachia, food stamps, education, rehabilitation and job training. Now we must round out the effort with massive voluntary work by individuals, churches, clubs, foundations and industry to provide incentive and encouragement, education and jobs for all. The problem of the cities and their frustrated thousands demand this effort.

The efforts of government to secure the blessings of liberty can be a two-edged sword. The time has come when increasing the size and cost of Federal Government can only shrink our personal liberty. We have reached, if not passed a reasonable limit on federal power and federal taxation. The new forgotten man is the worker whose income is so heavily taxed that he is virtually deprived of the fruit of his labor. Government spending that promotes inflation makes all of us and our local governments increasingly dependent.

I have worked hard to cut federal spending and encourage private effort. In the first session of this Congress we cut about $4 billion. In this session we have adopted an economy package that should save $20 billion. This is only a beginning. If we have a Republican majority in Congress next year and I am chairman of the Appropriations Committee I pledge much more will be done. And I pledge to work for the earliest possible repeal of the income surtax.

PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE

Congress has been able to exert little influence on the course of the war in Vietnam. Outspoken criticism by some of the most influential Senators has had no effect. I have not joined in that criticism because I believe division at home encourages the enemy. Lately I have felt that we should be careful to make no statement that might undermine the chance of success in peace talks, however slim that chance may appear.

The Vietnam policy has failed. Too little effort was made to equip the South Vietnamese to take over their war and phase out Americans. I have little hope that the Johnson-Humphrey administration, firmly attached to policies that have failed, can bring peace. I have great confidence a new administration can do so.

A new administration must also overcome the failings of the McNamara era. Our defense capability is sadly reduced. The phony "missile gap" of 1960 has become a terrifying inadequacy in 1968. For those who believed that Russian communism was moderating, the Czech crisis has provided the answer.

PRINCIPAL LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY

The Bow bill for encouraging home ownership among low and middle income people is part of the new housing law. It can work where public housing has failed. This session has also enacted consumer protection programs regarding credit, meat and poultry. Social security, veterans benefits, medicare, the food stamp and school lunch programs were improved. We extended and improved mental health, higher education, vocational education and rehabilitation programs. Natural resource legislation was advanced. Little was accomplished in streamlining federal aid, an issue that remains for next year.

In addition to the Home Ownership bill, I introduced a Human Investment bill to provide tax incentives for training the unemployed, a proposal later endorsed by Senator Robert Kennedy. Other Bow bills include a steel import bill, an anti-pollution bill for the Great Lakes, resolutions condemning trade with those who trade with North Vietnam, and a number of bills and resolutions to improve our financial position. I am cosponsor of a resolution to establish a new reorganization of government similar to the Hoover commissions.

My staff and I have worked on additional thousands of complaints and inquiries concerning veterans, social security, servicemen, immigrants, students and other problems. Many new projects and contracts for the 16th District were developed and are underway. Three questionnaires brought a good response.

If this report leaves unanswered any questions you may have or if any additional information is desired, please write.

The following is an abbreviated voting record showing highlights of the Congress through July 1, 1968. There have been nearly 700 roll calls since January 1, 1967. I have been present and recorded on over 91 percent of all yea and nay votes during my service in the Congress.

BOW VOTES ON MAJOR BILLS—90TH CONGRESS TO DATE

1ST SESSION

Rollcall No.	Bill No.	Subject	Date	Bow vote	Action
68	H. Res. 218	Establish a Committee on Ethics	Apr. 13, 1967	Yes	Passed.
95	H.R. 6431	Establish and expand mental health programs	May 17, 1967	Yes	Do.
148	H.R. 10867	Increase national debt limit to $358,000,000,000	June 21, 1967	No	Do.
163	H.R. 10805	Extend life of Civil Rights Commission	July 11, 1967	Yes	Do.
170	S.J. Res. 81	Compulsory arbitration of rail labor dispute	July 17, 1967	No	Do.
176	H.R. 421	Prohibit interstate travel to incite riots	July 19, 1967	Yes	Do.
201	H.R. 5037	Omnibus crime control and police assistance	Aug 8, 1967	Yes	Do.
220	H.R. 2516	Civil Rights Act of 1967	Aug. 16, 1967	Yes	Do.
222	H.R. 12080	Extend and improve Social Security Act	Aug. 17, 1967	Yes	Do.
237	H.R. 12048	Extend foreign aid program	Aug. 24, 1967	No	Do.
319	H.J. Res. 888	Bow amendment to cut $5,000,000,000 in spending	Sept. 27, 1967	Yes	Do.
375	S. 1872	To extend the foreign aid program	Nov. 8, 1967	No	Do.

2D SESSION

Rollcall No.	Bill No.	Subject	Date	Bow vote	Action
6	H.R. 14563	Increase railroad retirement benefits	Jan. 25, 1968	Yes	Passed.
13	H.R. 11601	Truth in lending bill	Feb. 5, 1968	Yes	Do.
31	H.R. 14743	Eliminate reserve requirements for Federal Reserve notes	Feb. 26, 1968	No	Do.
46	H.R. 15398	Expand national school lunch program	Mar. 5, 1968	Yes	Do.
117	H.R. 16819	Extend vocational rehabilitation program	May 6, 1968	Yes	Do.
130	H.R. 15851	Change national holidays to Mondays	May 9, 1968	No	Do.
148	H.R. 2158	Provide a system for taxation in interstate commerce	May 22, 1968	Yes	Do.
268	H.R. 15414	Revenue Expenditure and Control Act of 1968	June 20, 1968	Yes	Do.
278	H.R. 17735	Prohibit interstate sale of rifles and firearms	July 24, 1968	Yes	Do.

REPORT TO MR. WOLFF'S CONSTITUENCY

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, regularly I report to my constituency on our activities in the Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include in the RECORD my most recent report, as follows:

AUGUST 1968.

DEAR FRIEND: As you probably realize, Congress has recessed for the month of August and plans to reconvene immediately after Labor Day. Although we will probably continue in session until late in the fall, I welcome this recess and the opportunity it gives me to be here in the district. This makes it possible for me to attend many community activities I could not otherwise attend and gives me a chance to talk with many of you. I have said time and again that informal conversations with you—my constituents—are invaluable in enabling me to actively and responsibly represent your views in Congress.

On the basis of my conversations with you, I would like to report on my activities regarding certain of the issues of particular concern at this time and also advise you of my recent major activities in the House of Representatives.

LONG ISLAND RAIL ROAD

Although the recent crisis on the Long Island Rail Road has been solved there remains much to be done before the line will be properly serving commuters. Service on the line is, at best, erratic despite constant fare increases. This situation has, ironically, deteriorated since the Metropolitan Transportation Authority took over the LIRR management.

Because of the gravity of this problem I have communicated with William Ronan, MTA Chairman, to express my concern and to urge that positive action be taken immediately to improve certain standards on the line.

Even more important than this, however, is the failure of the railroad to adhere to minimum safety standards as set by the Federal Railroad Administration. I have been in touch with A. Scheffer Lang, Federal Railroad Administrator, about this situation and his preliminary report to me is disturbing.

Mr. Lang reported that the Long Island Rail Road has a very major safety problem, that the rolling stock is in bad shape and the line's safety record is far below the national standard.

There is no immediate danger to LIRR passengers, but there is cause for concern over the situation. I have been working with Mr. Lang to determine what immediate steps can be taken by the federal government to remedy this situation and, as I write this, I am awaiting further word from Mr. Lang. Because the MTA and Mr. Ronan have been derelict in their administration of the LIRR I shall pursue this matter and report further to you in my next newsletter.

JET NOISE

The deafening roar of jet engines is all too commonplace in the skies over Long Island and we must continue to do all that we can to bring relief from this menace.

With my active support Congress has passed the Aircraft Noise Abatement Act—the first major federal legislation specifically designed to attack the problem of jet noise. Immediately after passage of this important legislation I wrote to Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd and asked for prompt implementation of the new law. Secretary Boyd has assured me that the Department will move rapidly in this regard and will promulgate new regulations on noise control by October 1.

In another, separate attack on jet noise I asked the Federal Aviation Administration earlier this summer to adjust flight schedules and redesign landing, take-off and holding patterns to minimize the impact of jet noise on areas in close proximity to our major airports. This action, I suggested, could be taken in conjunction with efforts to solve the air traffic crisis in New York. Consistent with my recommendations the FAA and Civil Aeronautics Board are completely reviewing current air traffic practices and are taking steps to decrease the health menace of jet noise.

AIR TRAFFIC CONGESTION

My concern over the air traffic crisis that has visited itself on New York this summer stems from three consequences of the back-up of aircraft over New York: as more aircraft are held in our skies the problem of jet noise grows worse; the long delays, in the air and on the ground, are greatly inconveniencing air travellers; and the presence of too many aircraft in any given area increases the danger of an air disaster.

Because of the seriousness with which I view this situation, I held in my Washington office last month the First General Meeting between the air traffic controllers, the FAA, the CAB and other concerned organizations in the aviation field. From that meeting came the valuable suggestion that the New York Naval Air Station (Floyd Bennett Field) be open to general aviation. This could be done since Floyd Bennett is not being used to capacity and the diversion of general aviation from Kennedy and LaGuardia Airports would facilitate the movement of scheduled commercial aircraft.

To go a step further, the Reserve activities taking place at Floyd Bennett on weekends could be moved to Suffolk Air Base and completely free Floyd Bennett for general aviation. This would make available greatly needed "concrete" in the center of the New York metropolitan area and, by easing air traffic congestion, would help decrease jet noise, speed the movement of commercial air travelers and prevent undue risks to the safety of people in the air and on the ground. My proposal to open Floyd Bennett to general aviation has received the bi-partisan support of 17 New York Congressmen and we are currently waiting for word from the Navy Department prior to negotiations.

GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION

As I indicated to you in my June newsletter, I am actively supporting a meaningful gun control law to minimize the possibility of weapons being secured by those who would use them for illegal, violent purposes.

Unfortunately we were not successful in passing an effective gun control law when this matter first came before the House. The legislation was emasculated by the addition of a myriad of loopholes. However, the Senate has yet to act on this Bill and I am hopeful that after Senate action the House-Senate Conference will produce a more effective gun control law than the one originally passed by the House.

WOLFF SWITCHBLADE KNIFE BILL

It is an accepted fact among law enforcement officials that the passage of an effective gun control law will mean a sharp rise in the number of violent crimes committed with knives. The Wolff Switchblade Knife Bill, which has been co-sponsored by 115 Congressmen from both parties and all parts of the country, would effectively do away with switchblades and similar knives—those knives used only for violence. The very favorable response to my legislation is certainly gratifying and I shall pursue this matter to secure prompt hearings by the appropriate House Committee.

LOANSHARKS EXPLOIT GI'S

American servicemen have been easy prey for loansharks and unscrupulous credit companies over the years. However in recent years this problem has grown much worse and I am currently working on a Banking Committee investigation of credit frauds against GI's throughout the world. We are taking positive steps so American servicemen are not bilked by seemingly legitimate credit companies nor forced into the hands of loansharks. Our Committee work indicates that the solution lies in establishing credit unions on all military bases and we have had the full cooperation of military authorities in our investigation and in implementing our proposal. Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford has written to Committee Chairman Wright Patman endorsing our work on behalf of the servicemen.

HOUSING ACT

The historic 1968 Housing Act, of which I am proud to be a co-author, has been signed into law by the President. Besides expanding and revising existing housing programs, this law also provides new programs for low and moderate income housing.

This legislation will provide approximately six million new housing starts in the next ten years and will involve the private sector more intimately in the job of providing a decent home for every American. The Housing Act will make possible home ownership for people who previously could never have hoped to have their own home. This will be done through low income mortgage guarantees. The job of providing these new housing units promises to give a great boost to the building industry as well as providing employment for non-professionals.

Incorporated in the Housing Act was my legislation introduced last year to underwrite private insurance for businesses and homes in ghetto areas. Without such insurance guarantees major companies were not writing insurance and thereby adding to existing problems in our central cities and certain suburban areas.

While discussing housing legislation I would also call your attention to legislation, which I supported and which has been enacted into law, eliminating the old ceiling of $7,500 on GI home mortgages.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Ever since the June, 1967 war in the Middle East, communist nations have followed the direction of the Soviet Union and supplied sophisticated military hardware to Arab nations including Syria and the United Arab Republic. By doing so they have subverted efforts to suspend arms shipments to that troubled area of the world and created a dangerous imbalance in that area.

Israel, on the other hand, has had great difficulty securing needed arms, especially jet aircraft. Because Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East and because the present imbalance in armaments threatens to reignite hostilities, I offered an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Authorization providing for the sale to Israel, on a cash basis, of urgently needed jet aircraft. This amendment was accepted overwhelmingly and the Senate has adopted a similar amendment.

Unless the United States makes certain Israel has an adequate deterrent force, the door will be open for communist-inspired Arab aggression.

OYSTER BAY CONSERVATION PLAN

I believe you are familiar with my longstanding and active opposition to the proposed Oyster Bay-Rye bridge. Locating a bridge terminous in the Town of Oyster Bay would disrupt the entire North Shore and other recommendations would better answer Long Island's transportation problems.

This is why I devised the Oyster Bay Conservation Plan which provides for the transfer of title to certain lands in Oyster Bay to the federal government for conservation purposes. That plan is close to execution and I am hopeful it will be completed in the near future.

Recently, certain misinformed rumors have circulated alleging that the 1968 Federal Highway Act will negate my plan and open the door for the Oyster Bay bridge. I can assure you that there is absolutely no truth to these rumors. The Highway Act, as it finally passed the Congress—and as I took pains to insure it would—does not in any manner reduce the expected result of donating the tidelands to the federal government. That result is to effectively block construction of a bridge terminous in Oyster Bay. After working for more than three years on this plan I assure you that I will see it through to a successful conclusion.

SPINNEY HILL VIADUCT

An unwise and unacceptable proposal has been put forward to build a high viaduct between Great Neck and Manhasset to avoid the long dangerous curve on Northern Boulevard. While the road does need improvement a viaduct is not the answer.

Plans are underway to revitalize the Spinney Hill area and construction of a viaduct would ruin those plans. Therefore we must all work with local and state officials to forstall construction of a monstrous viaduct. For my part, I shall work, as long as I am in Congress, to prevent the use of federal funds for the viaduct.

NATIONAL PRIMARY

The explosive events of the past year and the spectacle of the national political conventions have pointed dramatically to the undemocratic process that the conventions perpetuate. The convention system is especially inappropriate when one considers that our modern transportation and communications systems make it possible for national candidates to effectively present their views to all Americans.

Therefore I am supporting proposals to establish a national primary for the selection of Presidential candidates. Several different proposals have been advanced on the procedures for conducting a national primary and I am currently studying these proposals so that I might introduce legislation leading to reform of our election system. A national primary is clearly the answer to further democratizing our election process and positive steps should be taken in order to institute a national primary in time for the 1972 Presidential race.

These are but some of the problems affecting our community. As always the war in Vietnam has a direct effect on the solutions to many of our domestic problems and I shall continue to work to bring peace in Vietnam so that we can direct proper attention on the problems here at home.

I would welcome your comments on the points discussed in my newsletter as well as any other thoughts you may have on matters of federal concern. These reports are my opportunity to communicate with you and I hope you will take the opportunity to establish a continuing dialogue between us.

Sincerely yours,

LESTER L. WOLFF,
Congressman.

MARYLAND MARINE VIETNAM CASUALTY

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. John A. Tesauro, a fine young man

from Maryland, was killed recently. I wish to commend his bravery and honor his memory by including the following article in the Record:

DUNDALK MARINE KILLED IN ACTION—PFC. TESAURO, IN VIETNAM 6 WEEKS, WAS 18

An 18-year-old Maryland marine, who had been in Vietnam for only about six weeks, has been killed in action, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

He was Pfc. John A. Tesauro, son of Mr. and Mrs. John R. Tesauro, of 747 Fulbrook road, Dundalk.

Private Tesauro died Sunday of head and body wounds from hostile rifle fire in Quangnam province.

DETROIT NATIVE

Born in Detroit, Private Tesauro had lived in the Dundalk area for eleven years.

After graduating from Dundalk High School in June, 1967, he enlisted in the Marine Corps in October.

Following training at Parris Island, S.C., and Camp Lejeune, N.C., Private Tesauro was assigned for about two months to the marine headquarters in Washington for guard duty before being sent to Vietnam.

At the time of his death Private Tesauro was assigned to the 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division.

In addition to his parents, survivors include three sisters, Mrs. Charles Lynch and Mrs. W. Douglas Collier, both of Dundalk, and Mrs. Marion Dembow, of Edgemere, and his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Ernestine Tork, of Watson, W. Va.

His parents said yesterday that his first letter home had been sent from Da Nang.

AGRICULTURE

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, it is my custom to send periodic reports of my activities to my constituents that I am privileged to represent in Congress. The following is the text of such a report on one of the key matters of concern to all North Dakotans:

AGRICULTURE

Extension of the *Farm Program* and the *Food Stamp Program* were two of the key matters acted on by the House of Representatives just prior to recessing for the national political conventions.

Despite the fact the Farm Bill was ready for Floor action earlier, big-city Representatives convinced the House Majority Leadership the Food Stamp Program should be acted on before considering legislation to extend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, which expires next year. This, of course, was an obvious move to trade votes with rural area Congressmen anxious to gain approval of the Farm Bill. (*Such "log-rolling" tactics, as they are called, are not common and most Congressmen are not impressed by them since we feel each program or piece of legislation should be judged (and voted) on its own merits.*)

When the present Food Stamp Program was enacted in 1964, I objected to the fact this welfare activity was to be charged against farmers and the Department of Agriculture, instead of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, where it rightfully belongs. I have continually supported funding the program, however, and at the present time nearly 2½ million people participate in it at a monthly cost of approximately $6.73 per person. Most of the cost of the stamps is paid by the recipients—and not Uncle Sam. *While this program has suffered some by "loose administration" in certain areas, I think it is apparent the Food Stamp Program is the best plan yet devised to help make it possible for all Americans, no matter how poor, to eat properly in a Nation which enjoys such an abundance of food production.* That's why I voted to increase it and continue it this last week.

Even with the Food Stamp Bill passed, it took a bi-partisan effort and some tough persuading to gain House approval of legislation to extend the present Farm Program. Stories about high costs of the program and the desire to cut government spending provided many big-city Members an easy excuse to vote against extension. *Thus, we had the strange situation where it took a lot of Republican votes to pass an Administration-backed Farm Program in a House with an overwhelming Democrat majority.* Despite the phoney statements of a few self-seeking individuals, without bi-partisan support there wouldn't have been a Farm Program extension—and this is true of most major legislation.

Most rural Representatives agree that the critical situation facing farmers today is not the fault of the legislation authorizing the Farm Program, but is caused by the seeming indifference of those running it at the policy and decision making level. The legislation provides the framework on which the USDA Secretary could build a program that is far more helpful to farmers. For instance, under present law, the Secretary *could* raise the price farmers get for barley and wheat by simply raising the loan price. I have again urged him to take these steps. In addition, the Food for Peace Program provides a tremendous opportunity to fight starvation around the world while bolstering America's agricultural economy. But despite continued prodding by many of us, the Administration continues to run the program in "second gear", using only about half the funds authorized by Congress. Our nation's abundance can and should be used to win badly needed friends for America overseas. (Certainly, food can be a much better ambassador of good will than bullets and bayonets.)

Meanwhile, North Dakota farmers face the prospect of not making their cost of production—even with a bumper crop!

Besides extending the Farm Program for 1 year, versus 4 years in the Senate-passed bill, the House also approved an amendment limiting to $20,000 the total annual payments a farmer can get in wheat marketing certificates, price support or diversion payments, etc. These and other differences in the two bills will be the subject of a House-Senate Conference in September, and I am hopeful the much needed extension can emerge from the conferences so our farmers will be able to plan ahead. *At the same time we can all hope that the program will be administered in a way that will give our farm families economic justice.*

BLACKBURN 90TH REPORT

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the text of my 90th report, May–July 1968, as sent to all constituents in the Fourth Congressional District of Georgia:

NINETIETH REPORT, MAY–JULY, 1968

DEAR FRIENDS: On June 27, I regretfully introduced a resolution calling for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to require that Justices of the Supreme Court be reviewed every six years by a joint session of the House and Senate—one-third of them every two years.

Such action will re-emphasize to the Justices the principle of "separation of powers" and the urgent necessity of returning to the basic purpose of the highest court—to interpret the laws passed by Congress as they relate to the Constitution.

There is sufficient reason for requiring review. The Supreme Court is legislating under the guise of interpreting the Constitution. It has assumed powers never intended for its use and has plunged this nation into bold and frightening sociological experiments. Under this Court, our country has been racked with rioting and looting in our city streets; urban guerrilla warfare is now a fact; police and law-enforcement officers are confused concerning arrest and trial procedures; obscene literature and suggestive "adult" movies are commonplace; communists may work in our defense plants; and crime, in its many forms, now threatens the peace and security of every American home.

Can there be anyone who feels deep down inside of himself that children, before taking milk and cookies in school, are violating the Constitution when they say:

Thank you for the World so sweet
Thank you for the food we eat;
Thank you for the birds that sing
Thank you, God, for everything!

I don't think so. The Supreme Court begins each session with the words, "God save the United States and this Honorable Court!" Surely, this protection should also be allowed the children of our country.

Support for the Federal Employees Freedom of Choice Act of 1968, introduced in the Senate by Senator Wallace F. Bennett (R. Utah) and I, has poured in from all points of the political spectrum.

This Act is designed to protect by law some 3,000,000 Federal employees' right to join or not to join a union. At present, this right is protected only by an Executive Order issued by President Kennedy in 1962.

This basic right was much too important to leave to the sole discretion of the President, and following rumors (later substantiated by none other than Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz), that the President was considering changing this order, I introduced a bill to provide statutory protection.

No one questions the contribution that unions have made to the progress of this nation. However, no one can refute the necessity of permitting Federal employees to exercise their judgment when union membership is offered to them. To change the existing language of the Executive Order would be to provide a silent restraint upon the exercise of this judgment.

ACTION IN SUPPORT OF BENNETT-BLACKBURN BILL

Congressman Ben B. Blackburn tells press conference at National Press Club of his bill to protect Federal employees against compulsory unionism. (Testified before Senate P. O. & Civil Service Committee; appeared with Sen. Paul R. Fannin (R. Ariz.) following Senate hearing at which Blackburn called for a public expression from President Johnson that the Kennedy Executive Order 10988 not be changed to remove the "right to refrain" guarantees.) He also asked that the "Freedom of Choice Act of 1968," protecting this right to join a union or not to join one, by law, be incorporated in legislation being considered by the Senate. Chances of some form of the Bennett-Blackburn bill becoming law are good; will assure some 3,000,000 employees of a "right to refrain" from joining a union.

FIRST COME, FIRST SERVED

New! *Your Social Security.* Details on retirement/survivors ins./medicare.

New! *Social Security For Clergymen.* Includes changes under '67 amendments.

New! *You Can Go To College.* Financing possibilities for college.

New! *Our Flag.* Colorful booklet about Stars & Stripes.

New! *Infant Care & Your Child From One to Six.* For new parents or parents-to-be.

(Please restrict request to one category)

CRIME—OUR NO. 1 DOMESTIC PROBLEM

All of us are profoundly concerned with the widespread disrespect for law and order in our country today. We have witnessed a growing disregard for the rights of others to their property; to their family security; and to the peaceful pursuit of their livelihoods.

Riots and civil disorder are commonplace; creeping cynicism toward corruption is growing; and the FBI's latest figures show the national crime rate up *88%* in the period from 1960–1967. During the same period, the population has grown only 8%.

It appears to most that our national leadership has condoned and encouraged this disregard for law and order. Certainly, some top officials, who have the responsibility to enforce our Federal laws, have weakly approached this responsibility and sought to blunt the efforts of those who speak out strongly for law enforcement at all levels of society.

I believe vigorous and impartial law enforcement is an absolute necessity if our great Republic is to survive. Without this action, this country will be reduced to anarchy.

ON TAXES, SPENDING, AND OUR FUTURE ECONOMY

Members of the 90th Congress have reacted positively to economy efforts to force fiscal responsibility upon an otherwise reluctant administration. With national elections only weeks away, we hear with increasing frequency on both sides of the political aisle that private enterprise must become involved in the solution of unemployment problems; that the country must economize; and that there must be solutions found to combat crime in the streets (up 88% since 1960). The need for involvement in such problems by the private sector is one which I have recognized and urged since becoming your Congressman.

For example, a $6 billion cut in federal spending; a $10 billion cut in new obligational authority; and an $8 billion return to the Treasury of funds appropriated but unspent was the price demanded by the Congress as the price for a tax increase. *The basic problem is still government spending, not undertaxation.* Most taxpayers went along with a tax increase as long as there was a significant cut in government spending. Fiscal responsibility ranks high in your government as a protection for your earnings, your savings, and your retirement checks. We are all aware of and very concerned about the financial plight of our country. On June 30, 1968, the year-end deficit was $25 billion, the largest in U.S. history, excluding three years during World War II. Also, the national debt soared to $352.8 billion—an albatross for future generations.

The surtax has helped slow down an overheated economy. But, under the surtax and spending legislation, government spending over the next 18 months should not increase more than $10 billion—one-third as much as over the past 18 months. Federal revenue (income) was running at a $168 billion rate last quarter, will be boosted by an estimated $11.6 billion by the surtax. The growth of the economy will normally increase revenues from $12 to $13 billion a year. *Thus, total revenues will be increasing twice as fast as spending next year.* The opportunity has been given to the Johnson-Humphrey administration to sharply reduce its wasteful spending programs and establish sound policies for safeguarding our economy. The time to take action is *now.* It remains to be seen if the Administration will carry out in good faith the mandate of Congress.

ON THE CONGRESSIONAL FIRING LINE

During the past three months, I participated in the following votes:

I supported: H.R. 15414—The Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 which required an $18 billion reduction in spending as the price for a tax increase.

S. 3497—The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 (containing many strengthening amendments). Due to the addition of several highly questionable and expensive programs by the Senate and House conferees, I was compelled to vote against the conference report.

S. 2515—The Redwoods National Park Act. I felt every American had a legacy in these 2,000 year old trees in California, and I voted in favor of this act in support of the California delegation who also favored its passage.

H.R. 5037—The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. This legislation will assist the states in establishing controls on the sale of hand-guns and use of wire-tapping equipment. An amendment by Congressman Richard A. Poff (R. Va.), head of the Republican Task Force on Crime, provided federal grants for local law enforcement officials.

H.R. 17134—The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1968. This bill contained language identical to a resolution I introduced concerning the President's usurpation of authority by freezing funds in the Highway Trust Fund. He has no legal right to do so, and my resolution made the intent of Congress very clear.

H.R. 14096—The L.S.D. bill. This measure makes it illegal to compound, transport, or sell L.S.D. and to possess L.S.D. without a doctor's prescription. This measure also contains very similar language, including penalties, as included in a bill I introduced.

I Opposed: H.R. 15263—The Foreign Assistance Act of 1968 which authorized the expenditure of $1.9 billion in foreign aid, a cut from $2.8 billion, originally requested by the Administration. However, foreign aid subsidies contribute to our balance of payments problem, and I feel the entire foreign aid area must be reviewed by the Congress.

H.R. 17735—The State Firearms Control Assistance Act. I felt this measure went much too far in controlling the sale and distribution of "long-guns", and the regulatory powers delegated by the measure to federal agencies were much too broad. The principal area in which legislation could advance the cause of the war on crime was included in the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

I introduced: H.R. 18525—Federal Government and Private Employers' Partnership Act of 1968. This bill provides training and employment opportunities for those individuals who lack skills needed to achieve employment at or above the federal minimum wage and by means of federal assistance to employers on a decreasing scale to encourage small businessmen to institute this program.

H.R. 18112—Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs. I cosponsored this bill with Congressman Roth (R. Del.). After eight months of extensive research, Roth and his staff, found many over-lapping federal programs with great amounts of waste and duplication. For the information of Congressmen and the general public, a complete catalog of all federal programs will be issued twice a year by the President. O.E.O. refused to open its files to Congressman Roth's study.

H.R. 18574—Commission for the Improvement of Government Management and Organization. This bill was co-sponsored with Congressman Roth (R. Del.). In order to streamline the government, a special "Hoover-type" commission will be established to investigate the Executive Branch and make recommendations to Congress on improvements that need to be made.

H.R. 18694—This measure will prohibit the assignment of a member of the armed forces to Vietnam and combat if a family has already lost one of its members there or as a direct result of injuries sustained there.

H.J. Resolution 1370—A Resolution that there be an amendment to the U.S. Constitution calling for a review of all Supreme Court Justices every six years by a joint session of the House and Senate; one-third of the Court being reviewed every two years.

FIRE PROTECTION IN CONEY ISLAND

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, for reasons which are obscure to everyone, Mayor John V. Lindsay has arbitrarily determined to close an urgently needed firehouse in Coney Island in the borough of Brooklyn.

Sad days have fallen on Coney Island. Once hailed as the playground of the world, it is now approaching a disaster area. It would indeed be tragic if Coney Island's beautiful shore front were permitted to deteriorate into a slum. It would in fact be doubly tragic: first in the destruction of so accessible a recreation area; secondly in the fact that, in such event, Coney Island would be a manmade slum, a Lindsay-made slum.

The reasons for closing the firehouse in Coney Island are obscure because there is no warrant for its closing. There has been no replacement of fire hazardous structures by fireproof buildings. The contrary is the fact. The hazards have in fact increased. During the first 6 months of 1968, Engine Company 244 in Coney Island responded to 1,200 fire alarms. This is an increase of 200 over the number of fire responses by the company in the comparable period of 1967.

The closing of Engine Company 244 will expose the residents and the business community in Coney Island to the risk of death by fire and to the risk of increased fire losses. Such consequences are inevitable particularly during summer months when street traffic congestion makes virutally impossible the rapid movement of fire trucks and vehicles.

Moreover, the brave and valiant firefighters of our city are obliged to work under particularly trying circumstances with attacks made upon them even when they are busily engaged in fighting fires. According to figures made public by Michael Maye, president of the United Firemen's Association, in April of this year there were 55 attacks on firemen, in May 75 attacks and in June 160 attacks.

What is ironic about Mayor Lindsay's action in closing the Coney Island Firehouse is the timing of the event. Immediately after the closing the mayor reluctantly agreed to add 500 men to the city's firefighting forces. This is in the face of a demand by the United Firemen's Association for an increase of 2,500 men. The difference between the mayor's acquiescence and the demand of the United Firemen's Association has since been submitted to arbitration by an impartial panel.

With an urgent need even admitted by the mayor for increased firefighting forces, the reduction of fire protection in Coney Island is about as rational as the claim by an asylum inmate that he is Napoleon.

Coney Island is an area of tension and an area of transition. It is a community which has suffered the tragic violence and eruption of racial estrangement. It is an area in urgent need of rehabilitation and in urgent need of higher levels of municipal services. The course followed by the Lindsay administration runs directly counter to what the community needs.

The closing of the firehouses is symptomatic of reduced services provided in the area, reduced street cleaning, inadequate police protection and other services which will utimately destroy the community. It is high time that Mayor Lindsay became aroused to the needs of the people in Coney Island.

LT. COL. SHERMAN E. FLANAGAN, JR.

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, countless Marylanders were deeply saddened, as I was, by the recent news of the death of Lt. Col. Sherman E. Flanagan, Jr., of Westminster, Md., on July 21 on a combat mission in Vietnam.

As we note Colonel Flanagan's death with sorrow, we also recall his life with pride. He was a man of extraordinary talent and dedication who served his country and community well in war and peace.

Sherman Flanagan, Jr., first saw active duty during the Korean conflict, when he entered the Air Force, became a fighter pilot and fought in the skies over Korea. When that mission ended he returned to his native Maryland to complete his education at the University of Maryland Law School. Transferring his Air Force commission to the 113th Tactical Fighter Squadron of the District of Columbia Air National Guard, he led those under his command in the squadron to a high state of proficiency and readiness.

During the Berlin crisis of 1961 he again shelved his law books for active duty.

When the Berlin situation eased, he returned to Westminster, where he distinguished himself in the courts of Maryland and attained many positions of civic and political responsibility.

When the 113th Tactical Fighter Squadron was called to active duty last January as a result of the *Pueblo* crisis, Colonel Flanagan again responded to his country's call and, at the age of 38, went on active duty for the third time. Later this spring he was assigned to Vietnam, where, on Sunday, July 21, his plane was destroyed during a strafing mission south of the demilitarized zone, and Colonel Flanagan was killed.

Mr. Speaker, we need not mourn or fear for our country as long as America continues to produce men like Sherman E. Flanagan, Jr., and recognizes the vital nature of their service and their strength. Colonel Flanagan has left us a fine example and a rich legacy.

Mrs. Mathias and I express our heartfelt sympathies to Colonel Flanagan's family and their many friends in this difficult time.

POLL AND PAMPHLET

HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, I am sending to residents of my congressional district a poll on matters of current public interest. It is also my intention to make available in the district a pamphlet identifying some of the services offered by the congressional office and enumerating some of the responsibilities of the Congressman.

I hope the texts of these items prove of interest to my colleagues.

The items follow:

POLL

I would like your views.

The remainder of the 90th Congress will bring action on important unfinished legislation.

The response to my last questionnaire was enlightening and helpful, and I would again welcome your assistance. Each day I am called upon to make decisions on critical matters facing the United States Congress. One of the important factors in making these decisions is what you—the people I represent—think. And yet, I have few ways of knowing your thinking on many of these important problems.

Can you spare two or three minutes to take part in the legislative decision-making process?

I hope you can. The laws your Congress makes can be improved if you will help me.

(Signed) JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT.

1. Should Congress remain silent on present administration policy in Viet Nam so long as the Paris talks continue? Yes—. No—.

2. Should the minimum voting age be reduced to 18 years, as requested by the President? Yes—. No—.

3. Do you favor giving tax credit for tuition paid for son or daughter in college? Yes—. No—.

4. Would you favor a Constitutional Amendment to allow Congress to override a Supreme Court decision by a two-thirds vote? Yes—. No—.

5. Do you think present laws and court rulings seriously hamper law enforcement officials? Yes—. No.

6. Should the Federal Government try to slow the population migration from rural to urban areas through programs of economic incentives and aids to private industry to help create jobs in rural areas? Yes—. No—.

7. What steps should be taken to stop riots? (Check one)

A. Put more money into improving slum living conditions. —

B. Provide government jobs, if necessary, for the unemployed. —

C. Give police and troops freer hand in early stages of disorder. —

D. Strengthen anti-riot laws. —

8. The Federal Government should guarantee (Check one):

A. A minimum annual income to every American family. —

B. Work which will produce a minimum annual income for every American family. —

C. No sort of annual income. —

9. Do you think the foreign aid program should be (Check one):

A. Continued as is. —

B. Reworked to meet the times. —

C. Discontinued. —

D. Expanded. —

Congressman John Paul Hammerschmidt requests your opinion.

[Pamphlet]

HOW "YOUR MAN IN WASHINGTON" WORKS FOR YOU

(By JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT)

Congress in Action. The primary function of Congress is to formulate the laws by which we are governed. As your "Man in Washington" I seek to bring to Congress the viewpoint of the people of the Third District of Arkansas, and an understanding of the special conditions and problems of our area. I also act for the country as a whole in the numerous matters which do not relate exclusively to the Congressional District.

The bulk of legislative work is done in the various committees. I hold membership on two committees. Public Works is involved in a variety of Federal construction matters, and exercises legislative control over programs and activities of the Corps of Engineers. This includes many large Corps impoundments planned or under construction in the Third Congressional District, including the lock-and-dam work which will bring about commercial navigation of the Arkansas River.

Veterans Affairs is the committee which develops legislation of vital interest to the 26,000,000 veterans, their widows, and orphans.

Cutting Red Tape. Dealing with the Federal government is often complicated. If you have business or a problem with a Federal agency or department, I can help. I can usually speed up action on your requests if they have met with unreasonable delay. Final answers will not always be favorable, but they will assure full and fair application of the law, and your interest will be held uppermost and will be completely protected.

Keeping In Touch. With my weekly newsletter carried in many district newspapers, and regular radio reports as well as occasional television releases, plus the questionnaire—and of course, through daily correspondence—I try to keep the residents of the Third District of Arkansas fully informed on happenings in the Congress and other branches of Federal Government.

In the District I have offices in Fort Smith (Post Office Building, open every Monday and Tuesday); Hot Springs (Post Office Building, open first and third Thursdays of each month); and Harrison (Federal Building, open when I am home in Harrison).

My staff assistant in the Congressional District schedules visits to each county during the year, and is available as my personal representative to discuss problems and receive opinions from the people. Visits are generally to county seat communities. They are publicized in advance by radio and newspaper notices. This service is intended to bring the office of Congressman closer to the folks at home.

If you're visiting Washington. I want to see you and be as helpful as I can to make your trip more enjoyable and memorable. We have visited with numerous groups of graduating High School Seniors, delegations of 4–H youths attending citizenship courses in the Nation's Capital City, delegates to various conventions, etc.

Family visits are frequent during vacation months, and throughout the year the Washington office is open and staffed, prepared to do everything possible to arrange tours of the White House, State Department, FBI, and other agencies and departments.

If you want information. I may not have the answer exactly at my fingertips, but I can always call on the resources of the Federal Government to assist in gathering information. The Library of Congress provides a huge repository of data and maintains a large staff of experts skilled in research. The Federal Government publishes thousands upon thousands of books and pamphlets, and I am always delighted to assist in obtaining such materials as may be helpful to you.

CONGRESSMAN JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT—*Your Legislative Spokesman.* The thousands of bills introduced each session of Congress have a great impact on your security, job, home, family, your future, and the future of this great Nation. So the legislative duty as your Congressman is of primary importance, I attempt to serve fully and fairly all the residents of the District and to consider the interests of those who are represented. I listen to the problems and desires of various individuals, organizations, and officials. I try to bring the Federal Government into a position to be helpful. On all legislative matters, views and opinions of District residents are most helpful along with suggestions as to effective legislation. I encourage the exchange of ideas and viewpoints.

How to reach me. Phone call? Telegram? Unless it's urgent, a letter is best. By writing you will provide me with a record of exactly what you want, and I can go to work on it. Write: Congressman John Paul Hammerschmidt, House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. Phone: Area Code 202/-225–430.

Whether your problem is large or small, It is always important, and I shall always try to help.

Third Congressional District, Arkansas. The Third District is comprised of 25 counties. Population approximately 500,000. It is an honor to serve you.

JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT.

JUSTICE FOR THE AGING

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Daily News recently carried an editorial which I believe is worthy of the most extensive circulation and thought.

The editorial is entitled "Justice for the Aging," and puts into proper perspective an injustice too frequently confronting the aged in our country today. The problem of our overcrowded courts in bringing personal injury suits up for decisions perhaps affects our senior citizens more adversely than younger litigants.

The Chicago Daily News editorial commenting on this problem follows:

JUSTICE FOR THE AGING

The long delays in bringing personal injury suits to trial in many parts of the country add up to a national disgrace. Apart from inflicting severe hardship on many disabled litigants and their dependents, such denials of speedy justice assume a special poignancy when elderly plaintiffs are involved. There is always the real possibility that they may die before their cases are adjudicated, for waiting·periods of six years or even more are not uncommon.

A recent ruling by a New York State Supreme Court judge could go far toward ending injustices of that type. Justice Joseph F. Hawkins held that elderly plaintiffs are entitled to have their cases moved ahead of those of younger litigants on the state's long trial calendar. The question came up on the plea of a 72-year-old man and his wife, 71, injured in an auto accident in 1961. In the normal course, the trial would not come until 1970.

Widespread application of the doctrine in courts throughout the country—including the Cook County Circuit Court—would lessen the likelihood of justice delayed being justice forever denied to elderly litigants.

THE DOWNPAYMENT ON THE PRICE OF PEACE IN VIETNAM: A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, as the Paris peace talks continue without noticeable progress, it might be well for the administration to reflect the basic concept of the full Vietnam picture and apply the principles which we originally endorsed to the realities of time and circumstances.

For years, the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front have been saying that they desire a settlement based upon the "principles" of the 1954 Geneva accords providing for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and, unity of Vietnam.

The United States has repeatedly affirmed its own endorsement of these "principles." Among those principles are the following practical proposals for peace: The withdrawal of all foreign forces and bases; the installation of an International Control Commission to supervise the cease-fire, the holding of elections under international observation.

The Prime Minister of the DRVN, Pham Van Dong, made clear in an interview, September 3, 1967, with David Schoenbrun, the distinguished journalist, that these basic principles are still valid. This has been confirmed by representatives of the Front and has been restated since, keeping in mind the substantial changes that have taken place since 1954: First, the creation of the National Liberation Front; second, the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which has functioned as an independent state for 14 years; third, the new creation, this year, of the National Alliance for Peace and Democracy; and, fourth, the creation of the Republic of South Vietnam.

The central issue in dispute is the legitimacy of these four entities which either did not exist at all or only in embryo in 1954. Hanoi refuses to recognize the legitimacy of the Saigon regime, dismissing it as a mere puppet of Washington, rejecting completely any proposal to negotiate with the Thieu-Ky government. Thieu recognizes Hanoi and has stated he would negotiate peace with Hanoi but only on the basis of the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from the south. Thieu refuses to recognize the Front or the new alliance and rejects completely any proposal to negotiate with them and has condemned their leaders to death. The question is this: can the United States reconcile the apparently irreconcilable, or failing that, can the United States negotiate a separate peace with Hanoi and the Front?

It seems clear that the very first step to be taken before any of these difficult issues can be reasonably discussed is a demonstration by the United States of its sincerity in the search for peace. And that first step is "the unconditional cessation of bombing and all other acts of war against the DRVN," to use the words that have become a weekly litany at the Paris talks. A cessation of hostilities against North Vietnam is the hard rock on which Hanoi stands. There can be no real progress in Paris, no useful substantive negotiations until the United States takes that first step. It is the downpayment of the price of peace.

Compared with the continuing costs of war, the mounting casualties, the rising budgets, the urgent needs of domestic crises, the diplomatic injuries to the good name of America, this downpayment for peace—given these considerations—is cheap. The air strikes have very little military effect upon the adversary's capacity to fight, as our own military authorities concede and as continuing combat in the south demonstrates. Air strikes cannot halt supplies of men and arms. They have not forced the North Vietnamese out of the war and cannot do so. The worst that could happen, if they were halted, is that North Vietnamese might increase their supplies of men and arms, and thus increase U.S. casualties. This is clearly a risk. But war itself is not only a risk, it is an overwhelming tragedy.

We take daily grave risks in war. Why not take one risk for peace?

If the level of battle and of casualties does not increase the risk will have paid off and true peace negotiations can begin at last. If the level of battle and casualties increases significantly then the United States still has the option of renewing the bombing, at an even greater scale.

Hanoi long ago dropped the demand that a cessation in bombing must be permanent. We should refrain from making any statements about a bombing "pause" or any references to a "deadline." It would be enough simply to stop the bombing, refuse any comment on whether it is a "pause" or not, and challenge the North Vietnamese in Paris to begin peace talks instead of the present dialog of the deaf.

Chief negotiator Xuan Thuy told David Schoenbrun in an interview in Paris 4 weeks ago that peace negotiations would definitely begin as soon as the bombing ended. He has emphasized repeatedly to chief U.S. delegate Averell Harriman. But the Americans keep asking for reciprocity.

Xuan Thuy told Schoenbrun that rocket attacks on Saigon have been stopped for a month, indicating that this was the kind of "signal" the Americans had asked for, but our representatives again played it down, calling it a mere "straw in the wind." Every time the other side reduces fighting we say they have been weakened, or are regrouping for new attacks. Not once have we seized the opportunity of recognizing a deescalation as genuine and ceasing the bombing. Now is the time to seize this opportunity, to take a risk for peace or assuredly the opportunity will be lost and the war will get hotter again. It is not reasonable to assume that we can continue our daily devastating air attacks, north and south, without the adversary going back on the offensive again. Stop bombing now. That is the first step to a peace that is the only sure way to avoid further casualties.

If we stop bombing, if talks really begin in substance in Paris, what position should we take at the talks? How do we reconcile the apparently irreconcilable positions of Hanoi and the Front, on the one hand, and Saigon on the other, since all refuse to sit down together?

The French faced the same kind of problem in 1954, when their own puppet regime of Emperor Bao Dai, called the state of Vietnam, at first refused, finally came to the conference, then refused to join in the accords. The French simply went ahead without them and negotiated first the cease-fire accords, then a political settlement in which other nations, including the United States participated and endorsed.

We are already talking to Hanoi without the presence of Saigon. We should state our readiness to talk with all interested parties, including the Front and the alliance, while challenging both Hanoi and Saigon to sit down together with us, and also with representatives of neighboring countries, such as Laos and Cambodia at a later stage. If Saigon refuses to talk, then it has the option of continuing to fight, but they cannot make us fight for them. They must negotiate or they must fight. That is their decision to make. If Saigon agrees to talk we must insist on their right to be present and challenge Hanoi and the Front on this issue. If they think Saigon is our puppet then what difference does it make to them if the puppet is present, since they are willing to talk to us, the so-called puppetmaster. What is important is that we have our own position and not allow ourselves to be manipulated by Saigon.

What should that position be? It is not so complex as the hawks pretend: a general cease-fire followed by withdrawal of U.S. troops, the arrival of international observers to assist in the preparation of general elections in South Vietnam, then the holding of the elections. There are, of course, many other issues that could come up at the talks or at parallel talks, such as relations among the states of Southeast Asia, economic arrangements, and so forth.

But it is best, in the first, critical stage, to concentrate on peace in Vietnam, and that means cease-fire, withdrawal of all foreign forces, elections in the south for it is in the south that the issue has been joined.

North Vietnam agreed to elections in 1954 as its leaders emerged from the underground, but it has been a completely independent functioning state for 14 years and obviously is not going to submit itself now to elections supervised or observed by foreigners. It controls its territory completely and has no foreign bases or foreign soldiers maintaining it.

South Vietnam is heavily occupied by foreigners and the Saigon regime does not control more than half of its territory. It is there that the issue of war or peace must be decided and above all by the South Vietnamese themselves. They can agree to elections or they can fight a civil war. We cannot go on fighting for them.

That must be our position in the Paris talks.

CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON TALKS TO NINTH DISTRICT RESIDENTS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, during the coming weeks I plan a series of radio broadcasts to Ninth District residents. In these broadcasts I will present my views, and the policies I support, on the issues before the Nation. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following text of the first program in this series of broadcasts:

CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON TALKS TO NINTH DISTRICT RESIDENTS

At home and abroad, the 1960's have presented us with new realities—new realities that pose new questions, create new burdens and prompt us to make hard choices.

I shall not avoid the new questions, ignore the burdens, dodge the hard choices, preach dark despair or spread false hope.

Common sense tells us to ignore the frantic voices among us who take great and complex problems—attribute to them a single cause—and propose to solves them with a single and simple remedy. Common sense is not on the side of those who claim that we must dismantle the past before we can respond to the present, or build for the future.

I believe there are better ways to keep Indiana and America on a steady and sure course. I do not believe 1968 is the time for business as usual; but the policies of 1968 should be policies based on the qualities Hoosiers are known for—common sense, prudent caution and warm compassion. We must not be afraid to admit the mistakes of the past; but we cannot afford to ignore the wisdom of the past.

To discuss the issues and policies of 1968, I shall, in the coming weeks speak to you frequently over this same district-wide radio network. I will use these 10-minute talks to present to you my views, and the policies I support, on the issues that trouble and divide this nation.

I will speak to you as frankly as I can. I will talk about what I am for, not what I'm against; what I propose for the future, not the mistakes I can find in the past; how the nation can become better, not a litany of how bad or good it is.

I will speak about the rising crescendo of crime and violence in this country—and recommend a strategy to contain it.

I will speak about the need for rural development, and rural renewal, to counterbalance our too-narrow focus on urban development.

I will state what must be done to bring more jobs, and better education, and modern health facilities to the people of the Ninth District.

I will discuss the inadequacies and weaknesses of our present welfare system, and suggest that we use our substantial economic growth to create jobs for the poor, instead of relying on handouts.

I will discuss the war in Vietnam, the plight of the farmer, and the hope of all Americans that this country can give opportunity and equality to the last, the least and the lost of America.

In these 10-minute talks, I will offer the conclusions of my best judgment, based on my experience in dealing with these national problems as your Congressman for the past four years.

I have no illusions that the policies I will suggest will in every case be the best, or the only, answers to the problems we face today. Our problems are simply too vast, and too complex for any one man to have all the answers. But you, the residents of the Ninth District of Indiana, have a right to know my position on these matters.

I will welcome your comments to me, and look forward to your discussions with me about the views I will express in these programs. And perhaps through this thoughtful exchange, we can advance this nation toward a reasonable, steady, and sure course of action to follow.

Many of these radio talks will have their roots in four simple principles.

First, I believe that private, local, and state institutions must be significantly strengthened if we are to effectively meet the burden of governing and managing this crowded and restless America. One of the realities of the 1960's is that solving our problems will require the participation and involvement of us all.

I believe it unrealistic, and unreasonable, to try to drastically reduce the power of the federal government. But we can and must build other centers of power. And we must begin to execute and direct public policy at the local level—because many of today's problems just cannot be solved without the special expertise of state and local leaders. The problems of Appalachia, the problems of Chicago, and the problems of the Ninth District are just too different to be solved by a single plan executed by a single man sitting in Washington. In a future broadcast, I will try to spell out how state and local governments can meet this challenge.

Second, I believe a United States Congressman must work closely with his constituents. Their opinions carry my high respect; their business gains my careful attention; their interests become my own.

I reject the idea that a Congressman should closet himself in Washington, D.C., and be available only to those who have money enough to go to him.

A Congressman must make himself available to his constituents and seek their opinions. He must represent and advocate their causes—your personal causes, such as social security and veterans benefits; your problems with agriculture, business and labor laws; your concerns about mail delivery and student loans.

I hope my record in serving the needs of the people of the Ninth District during the past four years demonstrates how deeply I believe in the principle that the first task of government is to respond to the truly human, personal needs of its people.

Our local communities are assuming more of the burden of solving their own problems. It is essential for their Congressman to have an understanding of these problems and a dedication to helping solve them.

In the past four years, my frequent trips to the District, my tours of the local post offices, my questionnaires, have helped me keep informed. And when the majority of the residents in a particular area sought help from federal funds to improve their local communities—by modernizing postal service, or water and recreation facilities, or hospitals, or opportunity programs for the disadvantages—I have worked for them. $100 million in projects and new construction in the Ninth District is the result of our joint efforts.

Third, I believe rural America has an important part to play in America's future.

Because of the crisis in America's cities, there is an ever increasing danger that the problems—and the contributions—of rural America will be ignored.

To improve rural America is to improve the conditions of urban America. The link between the problems in urban America—and the conditions in rural America—is clear. In future radio programs I will discuss more completely the contributions those of us in rural America can make to the crisis in our cities.

Finally, I believe the new questions, and the new realities, need less soaring rhetoric, less partisan statements, and more diligence in getting on with the real business at hand—solving our problems.

The time for mere criticism and simple boisterous attacks is over. The nation knows its problems. It asks only that its leaders get about the business of proposing sound methods to deal with them.

The radio talks I will deliver will contain my proposals to get on with serious business.

The new realities are challenging. The choices they present are hard—but we ignore these choices at our peril. So, during the coming months, I ask for your sober attention, and pledge my best abilities so that we can examine our problems objectively, discuss them with sound knowledge and good will, and then act—decisively.

TAX SAVINGS FOR EDUCATION

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in my work on the House Ways and Means Committee, I have found great public interest in tax regulations relating to educational expenses. I have compiled statements on the more common educational tax questions.

Many parents are vitally concerned about their children being able to go to college. The costs of higher education are skyrocketing and plans have to be made early if parents are going to insure that adequate funds will be available for their children's college education.

One technique to provide enough funds for a child's college education is for parents to establish an educational trust fund.

If parents give property, money, stocks, or bonds to a trust for their children, the income received by the trust is taxable to the child and not to the parents. The trust must be irrevocable for at least 10 years. Since the child usually has little or no other income, he pays less tax than the parents would pay if this income were added to the parents' regular income.

For example, assume that a married couple with $15,000 taxable income transfers $5,000 on which tax has been paid, to a 10-year trust for their 8-year-old child and the money is invested at 5 percent per year. At the end of each year, the trust distributes the earnings, about $250, to the child which can be put in the child's savings account. Since all of the income is paid to the child, the trust pays no tax. If this is the child's only income, he pays no tax. The parents pay no tax on this income either.

When the child is 18 years old, the trust is terminated and the investment can be returned to the parent. The total income, approximately $2,500—including net interest or dividends in the case of stock—can be used for the child's college expenses. The more money, securities or income-producing property transferred to the child's trust, the greater the amount of money available for his use at college at the termination of the trust.

In the State of Ohio, there is a Uniform Gifts to Minors Act. This act allows a parent to give a gift of money to the child. The parent becomes custodian for the child. Therefore, any income which is received from the gift is taxable to the child and not to the parent. Thus, the tax rate is usually much, much lower since the child's income is usually lower.

In setting up a gift under the Uniform Gifts to Minors Act, the parent simply declares that the gift belongs to the child. The parent can never make use of the money, stocks, or bonds.

TUITION CREDIT

As soon as budgetary conditions permit, I will urge adoption of the proposal before my committee to provide a tuition tax credit up to $600 for every taxpayer paying tuition for the education of a dependent. Higher education and vocational training leads to higher productivity and higher income. The loss to the Treasury is more than offset by higher income taxes paid by more thoroughly trained citizens.

However, I do not intend to substitute the tuition tax credit for other essential programs in education which are directed toward student excellence.

EDUCATORS AND TAXES

Tax deductions are allowed to educators, under certain circumstances, where further education improves teaching abilities. A lengthy reprint of the details of this section of the tax regulations is available upon request from my Washington office at 2463 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

EDUCATING THE RETARDED AND HANDICAPPED

Many parents of handicapped and retarded children have asked me about the tax deductibility of the educational and training expenses of these children.

The Internal Revenue statement on this issue is as follows:

> You may include as medical expenses the cost of sending a mentally or physically handicapped dependent to a special school if his condition is such that the resources of the institution for alleviating the handicapped are the principal reasons for attending the school. Thus, the cost of sending a blind child to school to learn braille and the cost of sending a deaf child to learn lip reading are medical expenses. The cost of meals and lodging, if supplied by the institution, and the cost of ordinary education furnished, incidental to the special services, are medical expenses.

Since public schools reject most retarded and handicapped children, the parents of such children are compelled to undergo heavy expenses in educating these children in special schools which involve transportation and costly training. These taxpayers have already paid once for the support of regular educational services. They should certainly be credited for such extraordinary expenses which they sustain in special training which can lead the retarded and the handicapped to useful and productive lives.

While the Internal Revenue Service ruling is helpful, it still leaves out many legitimate expenses. To meet this critical problem, I have introduced H.R. 16940 to provide a tuition credit up to $600 for expenses incurred in providing education and training for mentally retarded and handicapped children. The Ways and Means Committee will consider this proposal in the new Congress.

STARVING BIAFRANS

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the lack of decisive action by the administration in dealing with the critical situation in Biafra is dismaying. Three thousand people are starving to death each day, a figure which is expected to double in the next 2 weeks. In the month of July alone over 100,000 Biafrans, mostly small children lost their lives for lack of food.

Last month, I sent a letter to Secretary of State Rusk calling for immediate action on the part of the United States. In that letter I said:

> I am writing to urge that the United States take whatever measures are required to end the imminent threat of starvation facing millions of Biafrans.
>
> This could be accomplished through a food airlift either under American auspices, or through an appropriate private or international organization. Political difficulties should not be allowed to impede this important humanitarian mission.

There is no time to wait for matters to resolve themselves. Conscience demands action. Therefore, I call upon my colleagues in the House and all those who share my shock at the sight of 250,000 people starved to death and share my horror at the thought that another 6 million will starve in the next 6 months unless food is rushed to Biafra, to urge the President to do the following:

The United States should ask the United Nations for a mandatory airlift of food to Biafra, with international inspection to assure that no arms will be shipped by these planes.

Should the members of the United

Nations fail to adopt this plan immediately, the United States should announce that it is making food and airlift available to any recognized voluntary relief organization which will bring the food to Biafra.

Finally, if the above measures fail to achieve the objective, the United States, in conjunction with other concerned nations should begin immediate airlift similar to the Berlin airlift of 1948 in order to feed the starving in Biafra. An international team should inspect each plane to see that no arms will be smuggled.

I am not unmindful of the complexity of the problem. Issues such as nationalism, the right to self-determination, and even racial considerations make this a very delicate matter indeed. I am not suggesting that the United States take sides in this war. It is tragic that this or any war should be fought, but it is not the place of the United States to solve the problems of Africa for the Africans.

But the matter of the starvation of 6 million human beings is a matter of concern for all mankind. Food must be made available to the starving people of Biafra. This can be done in a way which does not alter the political or military situation. That is why I have suggested that an international inspection team be employed to make sure that the flights are limited to this humanitarian purpose. It is intolerable for the U.S. Government to remain passive as 6 million men, women, and children gradually starve to death.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CITIZEN AS A VOTER

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, as in years past, in lieu of my usual newsletter, I am sending to the citizens of the 23d Congressional District of Ohio the prize-winning composition selected in 1952 by the Committee on American Citizenship of the American Bar Association. In this troubled year of 1968, the words of this essay are particularly significant for all Americans, whatever their political affiliation—Democratic, Republican, or Independent:

> THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CITIZEN AS A VOTER
>
> The blood of free men stains my ballot sheet. Whatever others may do, I shall not carelessly make my mark. I vote not because I can, but because I must. Those who died for this, my voice in government, had a right to expect that I would prepare with every faculty to use it wisely, honestly, and courageously. They did not die that fools, blind partisans, or the reckless might make a game of free elections.
>
> Only my secret heart knows whether I justify the definition of "voter" as they wrote it in the reddening sand. If I love my country as they did, I question my qualifications again and again.
>
> I carefully study the issues and candidates to determine what is best, not for me or my minority but for my country.
>
> I will not be confused or deceived by propaganda, slogans or histrionics. I shield my eyes to the glitter of personalities, purge my mind of passion and prejudice, and search diligently for the hidden truth. I must be free of all influences save that of conscience and justice.
>
> I garden for dreams, but with a realistic spade. My test is not of trend or popularity, but of principle and liberty.
>
> I vote as if my ballot alone decided the contest. I may lose my preference, but I will not throw away my sacred vote. For within the booth I hold in my humble hand the living proxy of all my country's honored dead.
>
> —RALPH BUSHELL POTTS,
> *Vol. 35, American Judicature Society.*

Be sure to vote for the candidates and issues of your choice on Tuesday, November 5, 1968. "Vote and the choice is yours—Don't vote and the choice is theirs."

VIOLENCE CAUSED BY AGITATION AND DESIGN

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, good, law-abiding Americans everywhere are asking themselves whether or not the Government is going to permit a few radical militants to pull our Nation apart at the seams. It seems that we are treated to a weekly—almost daily—diet of vitriolic statements designed to foment trouble and the best indication of how far we have gone down the path to anarchy is the fact that political parties must run on a pledge of law and order. Who would have ever thought that the most basic element of a civilized self-government, respect for law and order, would ever become an issue? It is an issue, make no mistake about that. Thinking Americans, law-abiding Americans are sick and tired of political leaders who let rioters and looters run rampant, who shirk their duty in prosecuting anarchists who incite to violence. Their answer, however, must be in the form of effective political action, not retaliatory violence.

As the old saying goes, "if I hadn't have seen it with my own eyes, I would not have believed it." Just consider a few current items in the news.

Black militant Fred "Ahmed" Evans, charged with the deaths of three Cleveland policemen, drew the following praise from J. C. Chunn, director of Project Headstart of the Council of Churches in Greater Cleveland:

> I hope Brother Ahmed goes down in history as one of our great patriots . . . I think there are a couple of hundred more Ahmeds ready to express themselves in the great American tradition with guns.

The occasion: a meeting at an East Cleveland Church.

Dayton, Ohio was the scene of a racist attack by Henry Austin, Yellow Springs, a member of the Deacons for Defense. What did he have to say:

> The only way to change America is through the barrel of a gun.

And—

> Negroes will not hold meetings on courthouse steps any longer. We're meeting in the streets of Miami and the streets of Cleveland.

Violence erupts in Miami and Cleveland and the demand is made to remove the white policemen. As if enough concessions have not been made in the past, some mayors shamefully capitulate.

In our Nation's Capital, a policeman is killed and his partner wounded by two Negroes who are being arrested. The Negroes take the guns away from the policemen and shoot them. A civil rights group which was organized by men like Stokely Carmichael some months ago, the Black United Front, issues a statement which says:

> Be it resolved that the methods of self-defense by the family charged with the alleged slaying of the honky cop is justifiable homicide, in the same sense that police are allowed to kill black people and call it justifiable homicide.

Among those who are associated with the Black United Front in Washington, D.C., and speaking out in favor of this resolution are Rev. Walter Fauntroy, vice chairman of the District of Columbia City Council and a disciple of Rev. Martin Luther King, as well as the Democratic National Committeeman for the District of Columbia, Rev. Channing Phillips.

National and international religious leaders seriously discuss the rights of Christians to resort to violence and many conclude that it is proper.

Mr. Speaker, these are not just isolated events. They are typical of what is going on all over this country. These exhortations to violence and irrational justifications of violence are fanning the fires of criminal anarchy in our Nation.

As a Member of Congress who has followed these events closely over the past decade, the current wave of violence comes as no surprise. It is a logical consequence of the concerted campaign of charging "police brutality" which has been promoted by the Communist Party for more than two decades. It is the logical consequence of the lawlessness which has been allowed to flourish on American campuses. It is the logical consequence of criminal anarchism which has been practiced in many of our major cities for years. It is the logical consequence of the permissive society which has been inflicted upon us by the liberal do-gooders ranging from the crackpot economists to the radical Supreme Court activists. It is the logical consequence of the double standard by which we properly castigate those white agitators and demagogs who peddle racism but, by some strange subterfuge, find the news media, the Justice Department, the liberal community either silent or lionizing the black racist who lights the match in the big city tinder box.

Probably the most discouraging aspect of our investigations is to learn in city after city that radical militants have been hired for Government positions. One of the reasons I have always opposed the poverty program is that in city after city, poverty funds have been used to, in effect, bribe the militants by putting them on the payroll. Time and time again evidence clearly shows that they merely use this as a vantage point to continue their racist, agitating activities. The record is replete with examples of using community action projects for boycotts, divisiveness and agitation. In my own State, for example, one poverty program sponsored group put out the following flyer:

> SOUL BROTHERS AND SISTERS ARE YOU TIRED OF BEING PUSHED AROUND, HIT IN THE HEAD, TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF, PUT IN JAIL FOR NO REASON
>
> If so, then come to the West End Community Council Office Sunday July 9, 1967 at 6:00 p.m. 822 Linn Street Mall Behind the Provident Bank. Refreshments will be served.

The Blackstone Rangers in Chicago, LeRoi Jones in Harlem—the list is too long to start here. Poverty program funds have been used to finance their revolutionary work. Yet, the bureaucrats sit back and continue to make the same grants to the same people for the same purposes. It is little wonder they are in a poor position to move in and stop riots when they themselves have been part of an administration which has literally put these people in business.

RIOT COMMISSION REPORT A POLITICAL DOCUMENT

The Riot Commission report is an excellent example of this double standard. Its report endeavors to blame society and virtually whitewashed the agitators and rioters. It is an incredible document which omits more than it reports. For those of us who have worked intensively in investigating riots, the omissions are so pronounced that it would take a document the size of the Kerner report to outline what they chose to overlook.

Take the Newark, N.J., riots, for example. During the period from July 12 to July 17, 1967, there were 23 homicides and three related deaths. This included a detective and a fire captain killed in the line of duty. There were 1,465 arrests which included 91 arrests involving the use of deadly weapons or explosives and 507 cases of breaking and entering. Property damage was estimated at $15.9 million. The Riot Commission report fails miserably in going into the background of subversive influence which fanned the flames and played a central part in this ignominious event.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities delved deeply into this riot and found much evidence of subversive activities. Capt. Charles Kinney, for example, provided a voluminous background on activities prior to and after the riot by radical groups who were central figures in the devastating events of last year in Newark. Note this question from our committee report which, incidentally, my office will make available to the doubting Thomases or those who seek the truth.

> Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt at this point?
>
> Captain, these people that you have described, they were active in Newark prior to the eruption of the disorders on July 12?
>
> Mr. KINNEY. Yes, sir. I have been discussing their activities primarily prior to the riots.
>
> Mr. WATSON. And that is factual information that you are giving us? You know that for a fact yourself?
>
> Mr. KINNEY. I do, sir.
>
> Mr. WATSON. I wonder why none of that was brought out in the so-called report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. I have been watching this report, and I tried to read the Newark section of this prior to this hearing so that we might be a little knowledgeable about this thing, and I failed to see any of these names, except LeRoi Jones. Now, it appears—did anyone from this Commission talk with you about this agitation from these Communists and left-wing and fellow travelers?
>
> Mr. KINNEY. No, sir.
>
> Mr. WATSON. No one from this Commission talked with you about this previous activity?
>
> Mr. KINNEY. No, sir. I want to qualify it to the extent that I am certain they spoke with my superior, the police director of the city of Newark, Dominick A. Spina, who gave them very similar information.
>
> Mr. WATSON. As you have just given us?
>
> Mr. KINNEY. Probably not in as great detail as I have done here.
>
> Mr. WATSON. You advised your superior about the activities of these people, and as far as you know, he advised the Commission about the activities of these people?
>
> Mr. KINNEY. Yes, sir.
>
> Mr. WATSON. And yet not one thing about that is contained in this report here. In fact, you are well aware of the report that the police are responsible for what happened in Newark, according to this report.

Unfortunately, this same situation applies in virtually every civil disorder in our country. One might well ask "Why the gigantic cover-up?" Why did the Riot Commission try to put the blame on the law-abiding citizen rather than the demagog, the racist, the militant anarchist?

We found that one of the most dangerous and radical groups, the Students for a Democratic Society—SDS—was intimately involved as it was at the Columbia University insurrection and other disorders throughout the country. Incidentally, SDS has chapters on many major campuses and is one of the active new left groups. Tom Hayden headed SDS activity at that time and in his own words summed up the criminal conspiratorial battle plans we see developing in this guerrilla warfare the left is planning in American cities. He wrote "Rebellion in Newark" and this excerpt is from the chapter "From Riot to Revolution?"

> The role of organized violence is now being carefully considered. During a riot, for instance, a conscious guerrilla can participate in pulling police away from the path of people engaged in attacking stores. He can create disorder in new areas the police think are secure. He can carry the torch, if not all the people, to white neighborhood and downtown business districts. If necessary, he can successfully shoot to kill.
>
> The guerrilla can employ violence effectively during times of apparent "peace," too. He can attack, in the suburbs or slums, with paint or bullets, symbols of racial oppression. He can get away with it. If he can force the oppressive power to be passive and defensive at the point where it is administered—by the caseworker, landlord, storeowner, or policeman—he can build people's confidence in their ability to demand change. Persistent, accurately-aimed attacks which need not be on human life to be effective, might disrupt the administration of the ghetto to a crisis point where a new system would have to be considered.
>
> These tactics of disorder will be defined by the authorities as criminal anarchy. But it may be that disruption will create possibilities of meaningful change. This depends on whether the leaders of ghetto struggles can be more successful in building strong organization than they have been so far. Violence can contribute to shattering the status quo, but only politics and organization can transform it. * * *

I realize that many of these articles might offend the sensibilities of most Americans. Yet, it is imperative that we understand that there is agitation and revolution and the level on which it operates. This particular article is from the Guardian, a weekly Communist newspaper and appeared in its May 4, 1968, issue. Hundreds of articles of this same type are in my files. The tragedy is that so few realize what type of people and organizations we are dealing with. SDS operates on most major college campuses.

Close study of the Communist Party periodicals, newspapers, and policy statements clearly indicate their complicity in the violence which is sweeping our cities. On October 22, 1967, their official newspaper, the Worker, reported that during the past week an "extraordinary meeting of over 80 leading Communists" called by the party's Negro Affairs Commission had endorsed a statement supporting Negro violence. Their statement included the following:

> We as Marxists have always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. This right is affirmed in the Declaration of Independence. Therefore there can be no question of the right of black people in the U.S. to use violence to achieve change.

These words sound menacing to the uninitiated. Indeed, they are frightening. However, for those of us who have been working in this field for years, they are old hat. This type of exhortation to violence has been going on for years. My conviction is very simple: violence is the logical consequence of this type of activity and there has been so much of it during the past several years as to make it almost criminally irresponsible for our leaders to fail in acting to avert the conflagration which is gradually engulfing us. The Riot Commission report is full of doubletalk and omissions which make it an official whitewash. In this address I set out but a few of the facts which Americans should know in order to understand the tide that is moving.

MOST RIOTS DON'T "JUST HAPPEN"

If anything has been obvious from our investigations, it is the fact that, in most cases, riots and insurrection do not "just happen"—they are organized. At the very least, forces are active on the scene which spread hatred and fear, fire up the malcontents and wait for the match to light the fuse. Someone else may trigger the riot but they are there, ready and waiting. For example, in the Harlem riot, the police brutality theme was used to whip the mobs into a fever pitch. Posters proclaiming "Wanted for Murder: Gilligan the Cop" were distributed. A black revolutionary, William Epton made this statement at a Progressive Labor Movement rally—in these exact, mind you exact, words:

> We will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally. We're going

> to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of the judges and we'll have to go against the Army.

Then my liberal friends wonder why we have riots and guerrilla warfare in the cities. One of the simplest tools of logic is cause and effect. It is true that social conditions must share some of the responsibility for what is happening in our cities but the real causes are still the wanton criminal conduct of Communists, leftists, and militant anarchists who have no thought of corrective action through our political processes. Political officials, unfortunately, act as if these root causes of violence did not exist. There are signs everywhere for anyone who wants to look but few seem to care.

In Cleveland, as a further example, the grand jury officially determined that the Hough riot was a result of organized planned activity. It stated, in part:

> This Jury finds that the outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated, and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals at this business.
>
> They were aided and abetted, wittingly, or otherwise, by misguided people of all ages and colors, many of whom are avowed believers in violence and extremism, and some of whom also are either members of or officers in the Communist party.
>
> The majority of people in the Hough Area had no part in either the lawlessness or disorders.
>
> * * * * *
>
> This Jury, in consideration of the basic and wide public interest, and exercising the latitude granted it under the laws which empower the creation of such a body as ours, nonetheless make reference to individuals and organizations that in varying degrees were contributors to the Hough Area lawlessness and disorder.
>
> It further notes the presence of many of these same individuals and organizations in another instance of lawlessness and disorder, that on Superior Avenue, which bore many of the striking similarities to the Hough Area disorders.
>
> It notes the further significant fact that the Superior Avenue episode preceded the Hough Avenue disorders by less than a month.
>
> Some of the same people were observed in both places on several nights of the disorders.
>
> This Jury further believes, that, even though what already happened is both regrettable and tragic in every conceivable human aspect, there is a grave potentiality for repetition of these disorders, or others like them, occurring elsewhere in this community.

I believe the grand jury was absolutely right. Their findings squared with all of the information I have. Their findings were based on fact, not emotionalism or an inclination to cover up. Their prophetic plea, "there is a grave potentiality for repetition of these disorders, or others like them, occurring elsewhere in this community" rings with particular irony now. Mayor Stokes and others chose to ignore the ominous signs around them and instead called for more spending and more welfare. Their legacy of inaction was another planned Cleveland riot which took the lives of 10 after an armed assault on the police a few weeks ago.

Even after all of these incidents, there are more and more liberal clergymen and politicians who endeavor to cover up, to blame society—us—for this criminal conduct. It is time that the good American label this drivel for all that it is—propaganda and complicity. Those who extol or lionize the Carmichaels, the Rap Browns and the Martin Luther Kings when they preach violence or civil disobedience are the ones to blame—not the law-abiding American.

Certainly no one can think these provocateurs and militants are joking. Dick Gregory goes to Muskingum College, in my own district, and says:

> We are taking no more insults and will burn down neighborhoods, house-by-house, if we don't get fair open housing.

The press reports that he gets a standing ovation at the end of his address.

Even after being arrested and convicted for his criminal activity in the 1967 Newark, N.J., riots, Negro playwright LeRoi Jones became the "in" speaker for college groups who wanted to hear four-letter words, obscenities and filth from the platform. College after college gave him a forum.

In Eugene, Oreg., earlier this year he proclaimed that Negroes would take over nine cities—New York, Newark, Baltimore, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Boston, Washington, and Gary—"no matter what self-hypnosis the whites engage in." Despite his prison term pending, he proclaimed:

> We will govern Newark or no one will govern it. We are Americans who have no further need for America to exist in its present state.

POLICE BRUTALITY

There has been no more consistent, planned theme of the Communists and the far left than the "police brutality" theme. No matter what the circumstances, just yell "police brutality" long enough and many will believe it. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has fully documented this Communist project over the years but yet it has been amazingly successful. Recently Mayor Sam Yorty, of Los Angeles, testified before our committee and gave a good insight into this Communist ploy which, unfortunately, has been picked up by many well-meaning people in other fields. Note this testimony:

> Mr. McNamara. Your exhibit, Mayor, and various items that we have read in the Communist press over the years indicate that many charges of brutality have been made against the police in Los Angeles, as in the case of other cities.
>
> Will you tell the committee whether or not any police officers in Los Angeles, since you have been mayor, have been dismissed for brutality?
>
> Mayor Yorty. I don't know of any case where an officer has had to be dismissed for brutality.
>
> We, of course, investigate every charge that is made to us of police brutality, first within the department, and then I have instructed our civilian police commission that if people are not satisfied with the action of the department that they can ask the commission to hold a hearing.
>
> I think the best example of the big lie technique was the case where one of the newspapers in Los Angeles, not a Communist newspaper, but one that circulates only in the Negro area, had a picture of two little girls who looked like twins on the front page with an inflammatory story saying that they had been arrested in front of their classmates and dragged out, I think handcuffed, in front of their class. I made an investigation of this myself, and it wasn't at all true.
>
> I won't bore you with a lot of details that are not necessary to make the point, but the little girls had been, through some good police work identifying people, had been in a restaurant, were brought into the principal's office, and they were asked if they had been in the restaurant and they said "yes" and that their brother, and so forth, was there. So, the police went and got the brother, and he took the police to where he had thrown out a billfold, and mainly a passport, which was what was worrying the victims—they were Mexican citizens and they had lost their passports.
>
> The story was so different from that which appeared in the paper that I ordered—not ordered, but I told the police commission that I felt that they should hold a hearing on this matter so that the public could get the truth. Those who were involved in making these charges themselves requested that we not hold the hearing. This is rather typical.
>
> Mr. Ashbrook. I think you make the point in your report—isn't the key factor here that the people who are making these charges don't care about the truth? Time and time again they make these accusations and allegations and the facts might be totally contrary to what you are saying.
>
> Here you are in a position as a responsible public official having to investigate every charge and every allegation. Don't you come to the conclusion, as most of us do, that these people do not care about the truth? The truth is not in them, and it is an attempt to rile up the public, to play on the humanitarian instincts of good and right-thinking people, but when you get down to it they don't care about the truth.
>
> Mayor Yorty. I think yes; you are correct. There are many people who make these charges whose motives are to discredit the police department and to carry on the so-called Communist struggle campaign, creating every struggle that they can so that in a cumulative way they break down respect for the law enforcement officials and, of course, eventually they hope to break down the ability of our Government to operate.
>
> Mr. Ashbrook. You have a high standard as a public official, and they don't have the same standard. And you are fighting an uphill battle with your standards, trying to compete in the minds of the public and public opinion when they don't have the same standard and they don't mind using lies, smears, and everything else.
>
> It is a terrible battle in every one of our cities that you and other mayors have to wage, and we certainly commiserate with your problem. We recognize what it is.
>
> Mayor Yorty. You are right.
>
> Getting back to the specific case of the two little girls, for instance, I am sure that the facts of the case were never published, so that the public got only one side. Unfortunately, the nature of news is that it is usually negative. The bizarre makes more news than the everyday hard work of law enforcement.
>
> Mr. Ashbrook. Isn't it also the fact that when a charge is made you never fully convince everybody it is not true? There are always going to be some people who think there was some substance to it and if you add enough of these over a period of time the big lie technique, as you say, is successful.
>
> Mayor Yorty. It is successful. There is a tendency on the part of most people who do not understand subversive agitation or propaganda, to say, "Well, where there is smoke, there must be some fire."
>
> Mr. Ashbrook. Yes.
>
> Mayor Yorty. And the subversives keep up such a drumfire of these charges that there

> is no chance for the truth ever to catch up, and innocent people are misled.
>
> Mr. ASHBROOK. This is what this committee continually runs into. And the American people, to their credit, think from the high standards that you do and they cannot possibly contemplate that there are people who do not operate on the principles of truth, and so forth.
>
> Mayor YORTY. I think you have made a very important point, Congressman.

Charges of police brutality persist everywhere but most Americans are not deluded. They know which side the policeman is on and they recognize that he usually operates with a politically minded mayor or other superior who usually puts the cuffs on him rather than on the lawbreaker. J. Edgar Hoover reminds us:

> Diversionary tactics by lawbreakers are as old as crime itself. Those bent on civil disobedience, riotous rebellion, and racial strife make good use of the technique. Time after time, with wild, unfounded charges, they have, in the minds of some people, successfully made law enforcement and established authority the scapegoats while diverting the critical public eye from their unlawful conduct. We can expect these groups and individuals to continue these disruptive practices. During the coming months, if riots occur, unwarranted criticisms will again be directed against the FBI and other enforcement agencies by those who are eager to mislead the public and to negate effective police cooperation by misrepresenting the facts. The public should remember that persons who defy the law frequently find it expedient to disparage agencies charged with enforcing it.

As I pointed out on so many occasions, the late Reverend King had his own special way of agitating while appearing to be talking in intellectual terms. At a meeting of radical militants he first likened the Rap Browns and Carmichaels to the Patrick Henrys of our early American history—think of that—and then in his own antipolice jargon added:

> Maybe the bluecoats in the ghetto are our redcoats.

You do not have to be very smart to figure out what he was saying. The drive against the police goes on at all levels but, to their credit, they valiantly continue to do their duty over an obstacle course that would discourage the average timid soul.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND REVOLUTION

Regrettably, those who trump up charges of police brutality and urge the ghetto dweller to shoot "Whitey" are not the only ones who add to the civil disorders in our Nation. Men of prominence forward concepts of lawlessness which others pick up and carry to extreme proportions. After violence, it is always said that this is not the type of protest they advocated. Their position is weak. The recent conference sponsored by the World Council of Churches developed a report entitled "Christian Conviction and Motivation." Without defining what "injustice" was, their report indicated that where injustice is embedded and its supporters refuse to permit change "men's conscience may lead them in full and clearsighted responsibility to engage in violent revolution."

Think of that. This is what the LeRoi Joneses and Stokely Carmichaels are saying in less refined terms. Central to all of their arguments is the theory that the individual can decide. In a Republic such as ours, the people have the choice through their representative Government and can change wherever it is desired. What the militants and the World Council of Churches are saying, in effect, is that unless you change "our way" you are unjust and we will fight it out in our city streets.

I am always amused by the World Council of Churches and know their positions well enough to not take it seriously. Yet, they add to the increasing rationale given by liberals to those who foment social disorder. In keeping with the council's liberal theme, the New York Times reported that one of our American representatives said:

> If I were in Rhodesia today, I would support violent revolution.

They never say "If I were living in Russia or Czechoslovakia"—because they are colorblind on the issue of communism.

Reverend King's disservice, in my opinion, was his persistent contention that you could have lawlessness but like a genie in a bottle release it partially and keep it from getting out of hand. This is bunk. Once you start down the road of civil disobedience and lawlessness, it is virtually impossible to draw the line for each revolutionary draws his own line and before long you are shooting cops in the streets. Last year, I outlined many of his statements on this subject. One of them bears repeating. Reverend King encouraged agitators to go into crisis-packed areas and bring tensions to the surface. Time after time, riots and killings followed as logically as the night follows the day after these tensions were brought to the surface.

It is humorous to hear the James Farmers and others castigate those of us who talk in terms of "law and order." They are trying to create the myth that this is a "code word" for racism. If they were looking for code words, why did they fail to see them in this sophistry of the late Dr. King when he said:

> The purpose of our direct-action program is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. . . . Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open, where it can be seen and dealt with.

Now there are real code words. Or, as further example, take these words which were uttered at the height of serious racial tension last year:

> Negroes will be mentally healthier if they do not suppress rage but vent it constructively and its energy peacefully but forcefully to cripple the operations of an oppressive society.

Now you try to figure out how "rage" is somehow to be "vented" to "cripple" an "oppressive society" without having violence.

The phony liberal double standard should be quite clear. Louis Waldman, a leading labor lawyer in Chicago, hit the nail right on the head when he said:

> The philosophy and purpose of Dr. King's program . . . is to produce "crisis-packed" situations and "tension." Such a purpose is the very opposite of nonviolence, for the atmosphere-of-crisis policy leads to violence by provoking violence. *And the provocation of violence is violence.* To describe such provocation as "nonviolent" is to trifle with the plain meaning of words.
>
> The perpetual crisis technique has been used by the Communist movement throughout the world, both Communist governments and parties follow it. . . . It was used by Hitler in Germany, both on his road to power and after power came to him . . . It is disruptive of democratic society and institutions.
>
> Whether Dr. King knows it or not, or wills it or not, the policy of perpetual crisis, of provoking "tensions" as he calls it, and of civil disobedience, are disastrous to the Negro people themselves, to civil liberties and to constitutional government. Such a policy flies in the teeth of the very purpose of our Constitution, which is clearly stated in the Preamble to be, among other things, "to insure domestic tranquility."

THE RIOT COMMISSION REPORT

During the days when the Commission was being formed, the President charged it with answering these fundamental questions:

In his address to the American people on the evening of July 27, the President mentioned the "apostles of violence" spreading a "virus of hate."

> The apostles of violence, with their ugly drumbeat of hatred, must know that they are heading for disaster. And every man who really wants progress or justice or equality must stand against them and their miserable virus of hate.

More specifically, in two separate phrases the President charged the Commission with finding out who these persons or groups of persons were and how they were involved in the disorders which swept the Nation. The Executive order which established the Commission stated:

> The Commission shall investigate and make recommendations with respect to:
>
> (1) The origins of the recent major civil disorders including the basic causes and factors leading to such disorders and the influence, if any, of organizations or individuals dedicated to the incitement or encouragement of violence.

On this same day, and included in his remarks when issuing the Executive order, the President said:

> Beyond these basic questions there are others . . . to what extent, if any, there has been planning and organization in any of the riots?

Basically, what the President was asking was this: Who are these people, these "apostles of violence" and what effect have they had in either starting riots or exploiting riot situations?

The Commission's answer to these questions is chapter 3 of the report. This "monumental work" consists of less than 700 words and comprises nearly three-fourths of a single page, page 89. Except for scattered references elsewhere in the report which, if anything, serve to contradict the findings of chapter 3, this is the sum total of the Commission's treatment on "organized activity." This, I charge, was a direct effort to create a "white racist" and socio-economic thrust to the report rather than a balanced, factual report and conclusion.

While the Commission's report finds no evidence of "conspiracy" behind the riots, it notes—but then fails to collect and examine—many incidents of threats of violence, incitement, and the like.

> We cannot measure with any precision the influence of these organizations and individuals in the ghetto, but we think it clear that the intolerable and unconscionable encouragement of violence heightened tensions, created a mood of acceptance and an expectation of violence, and thus contributed to the eruption of the disorders last summer.

Although this is not penetrating, it is unequivocal, and it is also contradictory. The influence of organizations and individuals is intolerable and unconscionable, yet elsewhere in the report several of these same organizations and individuals are characterized rather differently.

"Purpose and dignity," the report states, are the rewards given to persons who are "willing to submit to the rigid discipline of the Black Muslim organizations." Yet, on the next page, the most famous Black Muslim, Malcolm X, is characterized as being the "spokesman" for the anger of the frustrated "civil rights activists."

The purpose is there, and it is that of dividing the Nation into two societies which the Commission so strenuously seeks to avoid. What the Commission fails to point out is that black power advocates and other extremists are the ones primarily responsible for both urging and actively working for this end.

The purpose is there, but one can only wonder how the Commission arrived at the word "dignity."

The "doctrine of black power—and violence" which is intolerable, the Commission states, in its most "extreme form" "became associated with SNCC and CORE."

So far, so good, but where is the rest? Where is the explication of the Carmichael-Brown racism and the incitement to riot? Where is the Commission's discussion of these extremists and their effect, other than merely saying that they can't measure them with precision?

Or, going one better, does the Commission condemn these organizations' and individuals' actions when they do find them? This is the area of "extreme opinions" mentioned by the President and comes under the heading, "Why Did It Happen?"

Even in the historical preface to the discussion of the 1967 riots, the Commission presents hints of the extremist at work. For example, during the 1963–64 period the report states that following the outbreak of rioting in New York City—and on the following day, to be precise:

> The Progressive Labor Movement (now Progressive Labor Party), a Marxist Leninist organization, printed and passed out inflammatory leaflets charging the police with brutality.

Later in these remarks I will develop additional information on the PLP, information which the Commission should have provided but did not.

In the 1965 accounts, the report mentions that the Deacons for Defense and Justice was formed by Negroes as a "self-defense group."

This reference to the Deacons for Defense and Justice is another excellent example of the unsatisfactory treatment given this organization by the Commission. Here is what the Commission could have and should have, but did not, tell the American people about this group, as told by Director Hoover in his Appropriations testimony in February 1967:

> Recently, leaders of the organization have attempted to form chapters outside Louisiana in the racially tense large northern urban areas such as Chicago, Ill. The organization has adopted an increasingly anti-white militant posture, preaching hatred and violence in an attempt to attract a national following among dissident Negroes. The doctrine of distrust of legitimate law enforcement and advocacy of an armed organization to interpose itself between Negro groups and civil government resembles too closely a vigilante operation—the self-determination of right and wrong as opposed to the due process of law and order.

This example is characteristic of the Commission's policy of keeping from the American people vital information which they urgently need to, as the President put it, "stand against them—the apostles of hate—and their miserable virus of hate."

In 1966, in the Hough areas of Cleveland, the report notes:

> It is probable that Negro extremists, although they neither instigated nor organized the disorder, exploited and enlarged it.

Here are several comments of the Commission collected from the 1967 period:

> In the spring of 1967 disorders broke out at three southern Negro universities at which SNCC, a militant anti-white organization, had been attempting to organize the students. [see Houston]

In April, the report details, violence broke out in Nashville following a speech by Stokely Carmichael and demonstrations by SNCC members. The Commission gives these facts, but neglects to state whether there was a connection between the violence and SNCC. It does interject that Senator STROM THURMOND spoke also during the same day. The inference is plain, the facts are not. It concludes that police raids disclosed a "half dozen bottles prepared as Molotov cocktails." Still there is no organization to the riots, there is no planning, there is only spontaneity—this is what supposedly created six Molotov cocktails.

Listed as the first city to receive detailed discussion was Tampa. Several white youths were arrested when they were discovered with a cache of Molotov cocktails and "A reported attempt by Black Muslims to incite further violence failed." Note that this is the same group which offers its members "purpose and dignity."

No. 2 is Cincinnati. Here the Commission notes:

> Rumors spread of Negro gangs raiding white neighborhoods, of shootings, and of organization of the riot. Nearly all of them were determined later to be unfounded.

The Commission does not bother to say which rumors were unfounded.

In the face of a total lack of elaboration, the reader of the report can only guess at the activities of SNCC leader H. Rap Brown, who arrived in Cincinnati and "attempted to capitalize on the discontent." The report states only that his "appearance had no galvanizing effect."

Atlanta, Ga., is the third city considered. Following a scuffle between a Negro security guard and a young Negro carrying a can of beer who was attempting to enter a grill, a crowd of people gathered. This youth and two others were arrested. All three were involved in an altercation with police, who had been called. Although 200 to 300 persons had gathered, they dispersed when asked to do so by the police. The next night a decision was made by citizens, who had gathered again, to organize committees and hold a protest meeting the next night. From the Commission's report, the reader can only gather that up to this point there was order, no violence, tension or disruption and that a controlled, meaningful protest was to be attempted. This, however, is what followed, according to the report:

> Stokely Carmichael, wearing a green Malcolm X sweatshirt, appeared, together with several companions. Approaching a police captain, Carmichael asked why there were so many police cars in the area. Informed that they were there to make sure there was no disturbance, Carmichael, clapping his hands, declared in a sing-song voice that there might have to be a riot if the police cars were not removed. When Carmichael refused to move on as requested, he was arrested.
>
> Soon released on bail, the next morning Carmichael declared that the black people were preparing to resist "armed aggression" by the police by whatever means necessary.

Following a paragraph recounting the superficial wounding of a young man who scuffled with police after being told to stop hitting an alarm with a broom handle—the man was shot after several bystanders intervened—the report then continues:

> Tension rose. Approximately 250 persons were present at that evening's meeting. When a number of Negro leaders urged the submission of a petition of grievances through legal channels, the response was lukewarm. When Carmichael took the podium, urging Negroes to "take to the streets and force the police department to work until they fall in their tracks," the response was tumultuous.

The press quoted him as saying:

> It is not a question of law and order. We are not concerned with peace. We are concerned with the liberation of the people. We have to build a revolution.

The crowd soon grew to 1,000 people. There were only nine policemen.

> From alleys and rooftops—

The report states—

> rocks and bottles *were thrown* at the nine police officers on the scene. Windows of police cars *were broken*. Firecrackers *exploded* in the darkness. Police *believe they may have been* fired on. [Emphasis added]

In a relatively short time order was restored and 10 persons were arrested. The city announced the next day that it was initiating a White Hat patrol similar to the one popularized in Tampa and Dayton.

Says the report:

> SNCC responded that volunteers for the patrol would be selling their "black brother

> out," and would be viewed as "Black Traitors," to be dealt with in the "manner we see fit."

The youth patrol was formed and functioned. A subsequent meeting was met by massive police strength. A major outbreak of violence was avoided during the summer.

The relative calm of Atlanta, however, was not due to the militants of SNCC. As the report states:

> When H. Rap Brown, who had returned to the city that afternoon, went to other Negro areas in an attempt to initiate a demonstration against the shooting of the Negroes on the porch, he met with no response. Within the next few days a petition was drawn up by State Senator Leroy Johnson and other moderate Negro leaders demanding that Stokely Carmichael get out of the community and allow the people to handle their own affairs. It was signed by more than 1,000 persons in the . . . area.

While the Commission found nothing of particular significance in the actions of Carmichael and Brown, the residents of the area did. One can only wonder what might have happened had these residents not indicated a major show of responsibility against the tactics and aims of the militants.

The next city covered is Newark, N.J. Neither the Commission nor the New Jersey panel found "conspiracy" in Newark's riots. But still the Commission included comments such as these:

> Colonel Hassan Jeru-Ahmed, a self-proclaimed loudmouth, succeeded in bringing ". . . Negro residents flocking to the Board of Education and Planning Board meetings" and then literally broke up the room.
>
> The militants [at a later date], led by the local CORE . . . chapter, disrupted and took over the Board of Education meeting.

A week and a half later tensions rose when "Newark and East Orange police attempted to disperse a group of Black Muslims." Several on both sides were injured.

The report mentions several incidents of the afternoon following the arrest of a cab driver, an arrest which the Commission points to as the incident which sparked the rioting. Again, running true to form, there is no elaboration. The report states:

> Reports and rumors . . . circulated through the Negro community. Tension continued to rise. Nowhere was the tension greater than at the Spirit House, the gathering place for Black Nationalists, Black Power advocates, and militants of every hue. Black Muslims, Orthodox Muslims, and members of the United Afro-American Association, a new and growing organization that follows, in general, the teachings of the late Malcolm X, came regularly to mingle and exchange views . . .
>
> On Thursday, inflammatory leaflets were circulated in the neighborhoods of the Fourth Precinct.

The massive explosion was underway within hours.

There was contact between extremist groups, and the tension was highest at the place where they congregated. There was enough organization to write, print, and distribute leaflets. There was a history of extremist tension and actions. There had been conflicts between the militant extremists and various governing bodies of the city. Yet, the Commission fails to explain away, as it were, the significance of these factors. They leave reasonable doubt concerning the influence of agitation in Newark.

In contrast to the Commission's finding that there was no conspiracy in riots which it studied, the McClellan-chaired Senate committee, which is also investigating the riot, appears to be heading toward a different conclusion. While the Presidential panel found no conspiracy in Plainfield, N.J., the McClellan investigations have indicated that conspiracy was behind the troubles in Nashville, Houston, and Plainfield, N.J., the disturbances they have studied so far.

The McClellan committee may also be at odds over the question of casual influences in Detroit. The committee heard Gov. George Romney state that he believes the widespread arson during the Detroit riot last summer followed "an organized pattern." Several committee members have hinted publicly that staff investigators found similar evidence of organization in Detroit.

Another State official who has found evidence of possible planned activity is Gov. Spiro Agnew of Maryland. A St. Louis Globe-Democrat editorial of July 31, 1967, states:

> Gov. Agnew of Maryland, in studying tactics of the rioters in Cambridge, says he has found that tactics used in Cambridge bore a remarkable similarity to those used in Newark—such as the interception of police messages and jamming of their radios, the use of fire bombs, and the formation of sniper squads to attack firemen when they arrived to fight fires that had been set.

To arrive at this "no-conspiracy" conclusion, the Commission had to ignore abundant evidence indicating that there was conspiratorial action. Even if there had not been "conspiracy" behind the riots, there were activities which fell within the limits of aggravation and exploitation of riot conditions. Had the Commission not limited its investigation to the "strawman" of conspiracy, a valuable treatment of the extremists could have been developed. In fact, the activities of these militant extremists could not have been avoided in an honest report. There is no excuse for glossing over these activities, just as there is no excuse for failing to comply with the President's instructions to investigate and report on "organizations or individuals dedicated to the incitement or encouragement of violence."

DEFINING "CONSPIRACY"

In his testimony before the Kerner Commission, Director Hoover was quoted in the press as saying that "outside agitators" had been a factor in city riots, although the FBI had no evidence at that time of a conspiracy for organizing them.

Although the Commission refers to the word "conspiracy" at various times, there is no attempt on their part to define and give precise meaning to the term. According to an article in the New York Daily News by Paul Healy and David Breasted datelined August 2, 1967, Director Hoover was referring, it appears, to a national or inter-city conspiracy. The News article stated:

> Hoover's testimony before the commission yesterday was described broadly by David Ginsburg, its executive director. Ginsburg said that Hoover, in reporting he found no evidence of a "conspiracy" behind the riots, was saying that there has been *no evidence of a relationship between one riot and another.* [Emphasis added.]

The question naturally arises: Were there any intracity conspiracies involved in the riots? The answer will not be found in the Commission's report for there is no definition of the term "conspiracy" nor is it explained as to whether the Commission was using the meaning attributed to Director Hoover by the press, namely "a relationship between one riot and another."

In criminal law, a conspiracy is a combination of two or more persons to do an act which is unlawful in itself or to do an act by the use of means that are unlawful. The case of the alleged killer of Rev. Martin Luther King is a good example. The Federal warrant for Eric Starvo Galt or James Earl Ray accused him of conspiring with an "alleged brother" in the death of the civil rights leader. In this conspiracy charge there are but two individuals involved.

If the above legal definition of "conspiracy" was intended by the Commission, then the case of the riots in Newark in 1967 would seem to incidate that two or more people acted unlawfully in a concerted effort. Chief Edward Wall, battalion chief of the Newark Fire Department, testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee on the antiriot bill of 1967 concerning the sniper activity to which some of Newark's firemen were subjected:

> We found in the city of Newark, in the recent riots—we are not looking for legislation on a retribution basis, we are trying to get someone who killed a single firefighter—we found 33 instances of sniper fire being directed at either companies operating at fires or at fire stations themselves.

Chief Wall went on to say:

> Now, from just a tactical viewpoint—I am a battalion chief—I was commanding one of the battalion units in the riot area. At certain times I had as many as three companies pinned in their quarters by sniper fire. And this to my way of thinking seems to indicate a planned pattern to negate the fire protection in the area.
>
> They hold down the fire companies, keep them in quarters, and then set fires . . . Three separate engine companies, where they could not get out of the fire station, because of sniper fire directed at the fronts of the fire stations. We had adequate police protection rolled in there, to form a protective ring around the firehouse, but still and all the gunfire in the area was unbelievable. It was very much like being on a battlefield.

I am fairly certain that no amount of semantical wizardry by the Riot Commission will ever convince Chief Wall that some degree of planned, coordinated activity was not involved in this sniping episode—the Commission's assertion of no conspiracy notwithstanding.

More evidence of planned and coordinated activity in Newark was provided by the July 28, 1967, issue of Life magazine. In an article entitled "In a Grim City, a Secret Meeting With the Snipers," by Russell Sackett, the author interviewed members of the sniper organization on the outskirts of the riot zone. Stated Sackett:

> Nobody identified the group by name, but they freely discussed fraternal contact with other black extremist organizations such as RAM (Revolutionary Action Movement), US (the Swahili-speaking group in Los Angeles), and the Deacons for Defense and Justice. The Newark snipers belong to a group formed by young civil rights workers in Mississippi in 1965.

Sackett continued:

> There were, he said, more than 50 members of this group now active in and around the city. More than half of them were from Newark. Others had moved in for the action from Ohio, California, Pennsylvania.

INCITING, EXPLOITING, AGGRAVATING, AND PROLONGING RIOTS

Although the Commission states in chapter 3 that it "studied the role of foreign and domestic organizations, and individuals dedicated to the incitement or encouragement of violence," its treatment here of riot tactics is tragically inadequate. When one considers that part of the very first function listed in the President's Executive order was to investigate and make recommendations with respect to "the influence, if any, of organizations or individuals dedicated to the incitement or encouragement of violence," the Commission's efforts leave very much to be desired. To be sure, the Commission was primarily concerned with the disorders in 1967, but even in this area two paltry paragraphs in chapter 3 disposed of this aspect. As noted elsewhere, some references were made to incitement and agitation; however, this very important element in riot tactics was apparently insignificant to the Commission.

At various times, Director Hoover has stressed the point of the involvement of radical elements in inciting, exploiting, aggravating, or prolonging disturbances once they got underway.

On October 19, 1965, Director Hoover summed up the part played by the Progressive Labor Party in the Harlem riots in his annual report for fiscal 1965:

> The Progressive Labor Movement (since named the Progressive Labor Party) . . . was involved in *prolonging* these demonstrations by deliberate incitement of the rioters. Representatives of this group distributed provocative literature and delivered inflammatory street corner harangues which increased the tension in the riot area to a marked degree.

In Hoover's appropriations testimony of February 16, 1967, he made the following remarks on the riots in Harlem, Watts, Cleveland, and Chicago:

> Communists and other subversives and extremists strive and labor ceaselssly to precipitate racial trouble and to take advantage of racial discord in this country. Such elements were active in exploiting and aggravating the riots, for example, in Harlem, Watts, Cleveland, and Chicago.

The testimony of the Director of the FBI, concerning extremist involvement was supported by the observations of Evelle J. Younger, district attorney for Los Angeles County, in his testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on October 25, 1967. Younger, who did graduate work in criminology at Northwestern University, and whose past experience includes tours of duty with the FBI, CIC, OSS, and the Office of Special Investigation of the Air Force had this to say:

> I think in every riot in every city in the country the local police department can identify and can provide you with the names of known Communists that appear on the scene as soon as a riot starts.

To illustrate some examples of "incitement or encouragement of violence" there follows a rundown of cases occurring from April 1 to July 21, 1967, in which outside agitators attempted to create disorder in various areas. This listing was prepared by the Government and General Research Division of the Library of Congress:

> *Nashville, April 8–10, 1967:* Evidence of incitement by outside agitators: disturbance came a few hours after Stokely Carmichael spoke to Vanderbilt University students. Carmichael left before the riot broke out. Two aides of Carmichael were among those arrested.
>
> *Jackson, Mississippi, May 12–13, 1967:* Evidence of incitement by outside agitators: Willie Ricks of SNCC told the crowd: "An eye for an eye, an arm for an arm, a head for a head, and a life for a life," and SNCC workers distributed leaflets that read in part: "We must do whatever is necessary to protect our black women, black babies, and black men right here in this country."
>
> *Prattville, Alabama, June 11, 1967:* Stokely Carmichael was arrested at Prattville, Alabama, for disturbing the peace. When arrested, he told police: "We came here to tear this town up and we're going to tear it up."
>
> *Cincinnati, Ohio, June 12–16, 1967:* Evidence of incitement by outside agitators: H. Rap Brown, chairman of SNCC, came to the city on the night of June 15, the third night of the rioting, and gave a speech in which he said that Cincinnati "will be in flames until the hunkie cops [National Guardsmen] get out." He also said on the same day to a crowd in Cincinnati, "SNCC has declared war."
>
> *Dayton, Ohio, June 14–15, 1967:* Disturbance resulted in arrest of at least 39, with at least seven buildings damaged or destroyed by fire. Evidence of incitement by outside agitators: On the night of June 14, H. Rap Brown, chairman of SNCC, urged a crowd to "take the pressure off Cincinnati." City Manager Graham Watt said Brown's speech was responsible in part for the ensuing violence. On this same day in Dayton, Brown said to a Negro group: "How can you be nonviolent in America, the most violent country in the world. You better shoot that man to death; that's what he's doing to you." After this speech, Brown's aide, Willie Ricks, told reporters that he and Brown had come to Dayton "to make white men get on their knees."
>
> *Atlanta, Georgia, June 18–21, 1967:* Evidence of incitement by outside agitators: Rioting followed a speech given by Stokely Carmichael at a rally held to protest shooting of a Negro by a Negro policeman. Carmichael and others from SNCC were active throughout the four days of the riot. 700 residents of the Dixie Hills area signed a petition, [the commission stated that more than 1,000 signed] disavowing violence and requesting outside agitators to leave. Carmichael said; "The only way these hunkies and hunky-lovers can understand is when they're met by resistance."
>
> *Newark, New Jersey, July 12–17, 1967:* Evidence of incitement of outside agitators: Stokely Carmichael, former chairman of SNCC, stated in an interview in London on July 25 with La Prensa, Cuban news agency: "In Newark we applied war tactics of the guerrillas for our defense in the cities . . ."

WHO ARE THE APOSTLES OF VIOLENCE?

Who are the apostles of violence mentioned by the President? With the exception of some passing references to a few individuals and organizations, you will never find out from reading the Commission's report. It would be difficult to overstate the seriousness of the neglect by the Commission to provide the American people with current and comprehensive information on these apostles of violence. Although the Commission notes that "investigations are continuing at all levels of government, including committees of Congress," few official agencies, and no committees of Congress, have had access to the wealth of information which the Commission claims it reviewed. The Commission states that it obtained documents numbering in the thousands from: The Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Department of the Treasury, the Internal Revenue Service, the Post Office Department, the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, and the Central Intelligence Agency.

To illustrate the unique informational position of the Commission, reports which it received from the FBI, for instance, are forbidden by Executive order to be divulged to committees of Congress. The tremendous volume of information collected for the FBI by its many agents in its many field offices are, therefore, not available to congressional committees which could then make the information—within certain limits of security—available to the American people. At the present time the chief source of current information on apostles of violence is, as FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has pointed out, the annual hearings of a House appropriations subcommittee before which Mr. Hoover testifies. Along with excerpts of this testimony which is printed up by the FBI, the chief means of dissemination of this information is through the limited copies printed for the use of the Congress.

Now, contrast the circulation already given the Commission's report. According to a TV program, entitled "The Riot Report," which was aired here in Washington recently by WTOP–TV, there were 740,000 copies of the riot report sold in the first 3 weeks after publication, and there are more than a million copies in circulation at present. The same program also mentioned several sources which are pushing the sale of the report. One church group was shown selling copies to all concerned. How many more copies will be purchased before the report's interest is spent there's no way of telling. One can well ask: Is the Riot Commission report being used as propaganda?

What an unmatchable vehicle for telling the American people about the apostles of violence, and how tragic that it was neglected. I believe it was no accident that these omissions were made.

Mention should be made at this point of efforts of committees of Congress to probe the riots. At least three such committees or subcommittees have been holding hearings on the riots in various cities and these hearings are, or will be made, available to the public. At the moment the four-part hearings on "Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders" by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations are available free of charge upon request as long as the supply lasts. Thereafter, they may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents at the Government Printing Office. Also, the Senate Judiciary Committee issued its hearings, entitled "Antiriot Bill—1967," which are available under the same conditions mentioned above.

On the House side, the House Committee on Un-American Activities is holding hearings, entitled "Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting and Burning," which are not yet available. Soon to be made public by the same committee is a report, "Guerrilla Warfare Advocates in the United States," which deals with some of the apostles of violence.

Although the various publications mentioned above will to a certain extent alert the American public on this issue, the staffs of the committees are extremely limited compared to the facilities of the FBI, and the dissemination of their reports in no way compares to the communication and publicity facilities which seek to popularize the Commission's report.

The information on extremist organizations and individuals who espouse violence to attain their goals is especially timely today. In view of the Commission's very inadequate handling of this aspect, and because many of these organizations and individuals are still in operation today, a review of some of these groups and persons and their operations is presented here. This is by no means a comprehensive treatment, but it serves to indicate the radical natures of some of the violence-prone organizations. The Commission with its unique sources of intelligence chose not to alert the American public to the existence of these dangers for reasons which they alone can supply.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

A thumbnail sketch of the Revolutionary Action Movement —RAM—was given by J. Edgar Hoover in his testimony on February 16, 1967, as previously noted:

> RAM, a Negro organization, is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and its replacement by a socialist system, oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. Its total membership is estimated at less than 50.
>
> RAM has organized units of membership in several of the larger cities and is attempting to recruit new members and expand its sphere of influence. Various leaders of the organization have participated in activities organized by the more militant civil rights leaders in order to expand its influence in racially tense areas.

RAM was organized in 1963 under the direction of a Negro militant, Max Stanford, in Philadelphia, Pa. Also connected with RAM is the much-publicized Robert Williams, who is now in Peking, China, and who is identified on RAM literature as "chairman in exile." Williams, another Negro militant, fled the country in 1961 to escape a kidnaping charge. The FBI "Wanted" poster on Williams reads in part:

> Williams allegedly has possessed a large quantity of firearms, including a .45 caliber pistol which he carries in his car. He has previously been diagnosed as schizophrenic and has advocated and threatened violence. Williams should be considered armed and extremely dangerous.

The Crusader is a publication which has been authored by Williams since 1959 and it contains highly flammatory directives encouraging the use of force and violence here in the United States Here is an excerpt from the September-October 1967 issue of the Crusader:

> Molotov cocktails are very effective weapons in urban guerrilla warfare, however, a jumbo size is even more effective. The jumbo size of the Black Power Bomb can be most effectively used against tanks and armored troop carriers where streets are narrow and buildings are 3 or 4 stories high.

Another statement by Williams from the same issue of the Crusader demonstrates the detail with which he has studied the fomenting of civil disorders:

> The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organization would be the fire teams. They would work in complete secrecy and would be totally divorced in the organizational sense from the main bodies of defense and other forces. They would enjoy complete autonomy. The group's only tangible loyalty to them would be in times of distress. The fire team's mission would be sabotage. Thousands of these groups would be organized throughout racist America.

Another extremist who has made the headlines in the recent past is Robert Collier of the Black Liberation Front, a front for RAM in the United States. It will be recalled that Collier was one of the plotters who planned to blow up the Statue of Liberty in New York and the Washington Monument here in the Nation's Capital. Collier has admitted that he received guerrilla training from Communist North Vietnam during his visit to Cuba.

A closer look at Collier and his activities appears in the section on the PLP and the Harlem riots, which I consider later in this address.

RAM organizations are operating in a number of large cities, and although its membership is small, it has been increasing. It is not hard to imagine how a few RAM extremists are required to create havoc as they had planned to do in Philadelphia, Pa., in July of 1967. According to Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter, RAM had planned to create a riot and then poison the coffee and sandwiches to be served to police. A quantity of potassium cyanide capable of killing several thousands was found in the possession of RAM members.

A month before the Philadelphia episode, two members of RAM were arrested and charged with conspiring to murder Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the National Urban League and others.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—SNCC—is a nonmembership organization which, at its inception, engaged in voter registration work in the South, but which has assumed an extremely militant policy in the last few years. As an indication of how far left SNCC has gone, its leadership "has proclaimed that they will accept Communists within their rank," according to Mr. Hoover's 1966 appropriations testimony. In the same testimony the FBI Director again referred to SNCC when commenting on an April 23, 1965, meeting of the Negro commission of the Communist Party, U.S.A.:

> Another key item stressed during the April 23, 1965 meeting was to have party contacts with the principal civil rights organizations working in the South, including the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as well as with other groups which supply medical and legal aid in the South.

Director Hoover commented further on the radical nature of SNCC and RAM in the "Annual Report of the FBI, Fiscal Year 1967":

> So-called civil rights organizations preaching hatred for the white race, demanding immunity from laws, and advocating violence constitute a serious threat to our country's internal security. These organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Revolutionary Action Movement hope to disrupt the tranquility of our Nation with violence to further the concept of "black power." Leaders of these groups constantly attempt to spread domestic discord among Negroes by making inflammatory speeches and issuing hate-filled literature.

Mr. Hoover testified in 1967 concerning the link between RAM and SNCC while Stokely Carmichael was still chairman of the latter group:

> In espousing his philosophy of "Black Power," Carmichael has been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a highly secret, all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-Communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals, and has afforded Stanford assistance and guidance in forming a Black Panther Party in New York City.

References to SNCC elsewhere in these remarks will further indicate the extreme nature of this organization. Here again, the Commission could have provided a service to the American people of all races by using its unique facilities to expose to public view the current activities of this dangerous group.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY AND HARLEM RIOTS

In his February 16, 1967, testimony, J. Edgar Hoover described another radical organization, the Progressive Labor Party. According to Mr. Hoover, the PLP was "created in 1962 by individuals who had been expelled by the Communist Party, U.S.A. The splinter group now known as the Progressive Labor Party is one of the more recently organized Communist splinter groups and is one of the most militant of the organizations whose activities we follow."

Concerning its membership, Hoover stated:

> Its membership consists of basically relatively youthful, dedicated revolutionists who do not hesitate to go forth into the streets to further its programs. It is an organization which aggressively and militarily strives to develop followers for its goal, a socialist United States based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

One former member of the PLP, Phillip Abbott Luce, throws some light on the extreme nature of this organization in his book, "Road to Revolution—Communist Guerrilla Warfare in the U.S.A."

In June 1964, Luce and four other members of the PLP discussed the possibility of going underground to start a guerrilla operation similar to that used in Cuba by the Communists to destroy the government. Stated Luce:

> The group to which I was assigned would attempt to bring out a newspaper and to print leaflets and inflammatory propaganda against the government and the police. Other groups had different responsibilities, but all of us were to be engaged in full time activity to bring about the ghetto uprisings. . . . Later, we were all briefed on individual responsibilities and each was armed with a pistol and told that it was up to us how we used our weapons.

Although the PLP underground operation was not put in to effect, members of this organization were active in the Harlem riots which took place a month later in New York. One of the vice presidents of the PLP, Bill Epton, was a prime mover in the establishment of the Harlem Defense Council, the vehicle for carrying on guerrilla warfare against the police. Two hours before the Harlem riots began, a speech by Epton was taped in which he was recorded as saying:

> We will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally.

During the Harlem riots, meetings were held at PLP headquarters in which demonstrations on how to make molotov cocktails were conducted. Also, during the riots posters reading "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan the Cop" were distributed to the rioters. Rampaging Negro youths were later seen with these leaflets being waved in the air.

On January 27, 1966, Epton was sentenced to 1 year in prison on three separate charges, with sentences to run concurrently.

In addition to the part played by PLP in the Harlem affair, the CPUSA participated in rallies during the riots calculated to further incite the rioters. Jesse Gray, who has been identified as a member of the CP, called for guerrilla warfare at one such rally. Gray made the usual charges of police brutality which the CP and the PLP had been repeating for weeks before the riots began. The Communist publication, the Worker, of November 15, 1964, conceded that the PLP "played a provocative role in the recent Harlem riots."

Whether all of the various participants involved in the Harlem riots coordinated their activities, or whether they played their parts independently, is of secondary importance. Suffice it to say that radical elements exploited and aggravated the uprising once it got under way. Whether there was evidence to prove a "conspiracy" or not does not lessen the damage caused by extremists, nor does it diminish the danger presented by these individuals and these organizations.

In treating the Harlem riots, the Commission had this to say:

> On July 16, in New York City, several young Negroes walking to summer school classes became involved in a dispute with a white building superintendent. When an off-duty police lieutenant intervened, a 15-year-old boy attacked him with a knife. The officer shot and killed the boy.
>
> On the following day, the Progressive Labor Movement, a Marxist-Leninist organization, printed and passed out inflammatory leaflets charging the police with brutality.
>
> On the second day after the shooting, a rally called by the Congress of Racial Equality to protest the Mississippi lynch murders developed into a march on a precinct police station. The crowd clashed with the police; one person was killed, and 12 police officers and 19 citizens injured.
>
> For several days thereafter the pattern was repeated: despite exhortations of Negro community leaders against violence, protest rallies became uncontrollable. Police battled mobs in Harlem and in the Bedford Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Firemen fought fires started with Molotov cocktails. When bricks and bottles were thrown, police responded with gunfire. Widespread looting followed and many persons were injured.

Again there is both confusion and omission in the Commission's account of the disorder. Either the Commission has attributed the rally to the wrong group, or they totally failed to mention that the Progressive Labor Movement held a rally—attended by 250 to 300 persons—only hours before the outbreak of violence. This was the rally where Epton incited the crowd. In addition to his statements on "smashing the state" in order to gain "freedom," Epton also suggested that some "cops" and judges might also have to be killed.

Epton's exact words were:

> We will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally. We're going to have kill a lot of these cops, a lot of the judges, and we'll have to go against the army.

New York City Police Detective Adolph Hart had infiltrated the Harlem PLM and was close to Epton and the group. In testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on November 22, 1967, he noted:

> I met with Epton at the Progressive Labor headquarters. It was there he spoke about combatting and beating the police in various events—like the picket line, ways of throwing marbles under the hoofs of the horses, sticking them with sharp instruments.

In addition, PLM leaders at one point planned to use six smoke bombs during an appearance of Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett, but later changed to eggs for fear of injuring students—no mention of injuring the Governor.

Hart also revealed how the PLM intended to establish, through "block captains," a system of instant mobilization, how they had printed leaflets explaining the manufacture of molotov cocktails, leaflets charging police brutality, the famous "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan the Cop" posters, another inflammatory leaflet linking the Ku Klux Klan with the New York police, and the methodology of rioting explained by Robert Williams in his racist-Communist publication.

During his testimony, I personally asked Detective Hart these questions:

> Mr. ASHBROOK . . .
>
> In your opinion—and I guess all we can have is your opinion—once the riots started, regardless of how they started, were some of the events of the guerrilla warfare type planned in advance by the Progressive Labor Party?
>
> Mr. HART. I would definitely say so.
>
> The mere fact of all the hit-and-run tactics—Molotov cocktails thrown at the police cars, which was done during the riots; sniper shooting from the rooftops; throwing of various missiles and running away down the side streets; etc.
>
> Mr. ASHBROOK. What they advocated, what they talked about in advance, of which you were a party, you testify from direct knowledge. You could not testify from direct knowledge about everybody on every rooftop.
>
> But, in your opinion, what happened was a logical followup of what they had advocated and trained themselves to do in advance. So when the spark was there and started, the guerrilla tactics which they had been talking about and instructing themselves in then, in fact, became a reality.
>
> There was a connection in your opinion between what they had taught and advocated and what happened in the riots?
>
> Mr. HART. Yes, sir, definitely.

Realizing the potential impact of this statement, several other members of the committee also tried to make sure there would be no mistake. Representative ALBERT WATSON asked:

> Mr. WATSON. . . . they teach the violent overthrow of the Government, instructions in karate and guerrilla warfare and Molotov cocktails, and such as that?
>
> Mr. HART. Yes, sir.
>
> Mr. WATSON. The principal thrust of their operation is to exploit any racial differences and also to exploit the antipolice feeling on the part of so many people?
>
> Mr. HART. Yes, sir.
>
> Mr. WATSON. Those two areas are the principal areas of operations?
>
> Mr. HART. Yes, sir.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Mr. WATSON. Nailing it down just one more time—the question asked by Mr. Ichord and Mr. Ashbrook—although we cannot say that one particular thing caused a riot, can we not reduce it to this answer—that at least this meeting sponsored by the Progressive Labor Movement on July 18 was the triggering device or the catalyst which resulted in the riots?
>
> Mr. HART. In my opinion, definitely so.

Another New York City detective also infiltrated the leftist camp. Raymond Wood entered the inner group of militants in CORE prior to the now famous attempt to blow up the Statue of Liberty.

Through contacts in CORE, Wood became acquainted with Robert Collier who told him, among other things, that he had met Che Guevara, that he had been a member of RAM, had attended a Cuban seminar at the North Vietnamese Embassy in Cuba and while there had taken instruction in the "art of handling explosives and guerrilla warfare" from a "North Vietcong major." Collier stated, according to Wood, that he hoped to form an extremely militant guerrilla army here in the United States.

Wood entered into the group which actually plotted to blast the famous statue and at the last minute foiled the attempt, but only after picking up the blasting material which had been smuggled in from Canada.

Wood stated that there was a connection between the Harlem PLM and the Black Liberation Front, Collier's extremist "army." Remembering Epton's statement during the rally, one wonders whether these "armies" are one and the same.

Returning to the Commission's statement of the Harlem riots, in addition to the problem of which group held the request as long as the supply lasts. Thereafter, they may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents at the Government Printing Office. Also, the Senate Judiciary Committee issued its hearings, entitled "Antiriot Bill—1967," which are available under the same conditions mentioned above.

On the House side, the House Committee on Un-American Activities is holding hearings, entitled "Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting and Burning," which are not yet available. Soon to be made public by the same committee is a report, "Guerrilla Warfare Advocates in the United States," which deals with some of the apostles of violence.

Although the various publications mentioned above will to a certain extent alert the American public on this issue, the staffs of the committees are extremely limited compared to the facilities of the FBI, and the dissemination of their reports in no way compares to the communication and publicity facilities which seek to popularize the Commission's report.

The information on extremist organizations and individuals who espouse violence to attain their goals is especially timely today. In view of the Commission's very inadequate handling of this aspect, and because many of these organizations and individuals are still in operation today, a review of some of these groups and persons and their operations is presented here. This is by no means a comprehensive treatment, but it serves to indicate the radical natures of some of the violence-prone organizations. The Commission with its unique sources of intelligence chose not to alert the American public to the existence of these dangers for reasons which they alone can supply.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

A thumbnail sketch of the Revolutionary Action Movement —RAM—was given by J. Edgar Hoover in his testimony on February 16, 1967, as previously noted:

> RAM, a Negro organization, is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and its replacement by a socialist system, oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. Its total membership is estimated at less than 50.
>
> RAM has organized units of membership in several of the larger cities and is attempting to recruit new members and expand its sphere of influence. Various leaders of the organization have participated in activities organized by the more militant civil rights leaders in order to expand its influence in racially tense areas.

RAM was organized in 1963 under the direction of a Negro militant, Max Stanford, in Philadelphia, Pa. Also connected with RAM is the much-publicized Robert Williams, who is now in Peking, China, and who is identified on RAM literature as "chairman in exile." Williams, another Negro militant, fled the country in 1961 to escape a kidnaping charge. The FBI "Wanted" poster on Williams reads in part:

> Williams allegedly has possessed a large quantity of firearms, including a .45 caliber pistol which he carries in his car. He has previously been diagnosed as schizophrenic and has advocated and threatened violence. Williams should be considered armed and extremely dangerous.

The Crusader is a publication which has been authored by Williams since 1959 and it contains highly flammatory directives encouraging the use of force and violence here in the United States Here is an excerpt from the September–October 1967 issue of the Crusader:

> Molotov cocktails are very effective weapons in urban guerrilla warfare, however, a jumbo size is even more effective. The jumbo size of the Black Power Bomb can be most effectively used against tanks and armored troop carriers where streets are narrow and buildings are 3 or 4 stories high.

Another statement by Williams from the same issue of the Crusader demonstrates the detail with which he has studied the fomenting of civil disorders:

> The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organization would be the fire teams. They would work in complete secrecy and would be totally divorced in the organizational sense from the main bodies of defense and other forces. They would enjoy complete autonomy. The group's only tangible loyalty to them would be in times of distress. The fire team's mission would be sabotage. Thousands of these groups would be organized throughout racist America.

Another extremist who has made the headlines in the recent past is Robert Collier of the Black Liberation Front, a front for RAM in the United States. It will be recalled that Collier was one of the plotters who planned to blow up the Statue of Liberty in New York and the Washington Monument here in the Nation's Capital. Collier has admitted that he received guerrilla training from Communist North Vietnam during his visit to Cuba.

A closer look at Collier and his activities appears in the section on the PLP and the Harlem riots, which I consider later in this address.

RAM organizations are operating in a number of large cities, and although its membership is small, it has been increasing. It is not hard to imagine how a few RAM extremists are required to create havoc as they had planned to do in Philadelphia, Pa., in July of 1967. According to Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter, RAM had planned to create a riot and then poison the coffee and sandwiches to be served to police. A quantity of potassium cyanide capable of killing several thousands was found in the possession of RAM members.

A month before the Philadelphia episode, two members of RAM were arrested and charged with conspiring to murder Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the National Urban League and others.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—SNCC—is a nonmembership organization which, at its inception, engaged in voter registration work in the South, but which has assumed an extremely militant policy in the last few years. As an indication of how far left SNCC has gone, its leadership "has proclaimed that they will accept Communists within their rank," according to Mr. Hoover's 1966 appropriations testimony. In the same testimony the FBI Director again referred to SNCC when commenting on an April 23, 1965, meeting of the Negro commission of the Communist Party, U.S.A.:

> Another key item stressed during the April 23, 1965 meeting was to have party contacts with the principal civil rights organizations working in the South, including the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as well as with other groups which supply medical and legal aid in the South.

Director Hoover commented further on the radical nature of SNCC and RAM in the "Annual Report of the FBI, Fiscal Year 1967":

> So-called civil rights organizations preaching hatred for the white race, demanding immunity from laws, and advocating violence constitute a serious threat to our country's internal security. These organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Revolutionary Action Movement hope to disrupt the tranquility of our Nation with violence to further the concept of "black power." Leaders of these groups constantly attempt to spread domestic discord among Negroes by making inflammatory speeches and issuing hate-filled literature.

Mr. Hoover testified in 1967 concerning the link between RAM and SNCC while Stokely Carmichael was still chairman of the latter group:

> In espousing his philosophy of "Black Power," Carmichael has been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a highly secret, all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-Communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals, and has afforded Stanford assistance and guidance in forming a Black Panther Party in New York City.

References to SNCC elsewhere in these remarks will further indicate the extreme nature of this organization. Here again, the Commission could have provided a service to the American people of all races by using its unique facilities to expose to public view the current activities of this dangerous group.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY AND HARLEM RIOTS

In his February 16, 1967, testimony, J. Edgar Hoover described another radical organization, the Progressive Labor Party. According to Mr. Hoover, the PLP was "created in 1962 by individuals who had been expelled by the Communist Party, U.S.A. The splinter group now known as the Progressive Labor Party is one of the more recently organized Communist splinter groups and is one of the most militant of the organizations whose activities we follow."

Concerning its membership, Hoover stated:

> Its membership consists of basically relatively youthful, dedicated revolutionists who do not hesitate to go forth into the streets to further its programs. It is an organization which aggressively and militarily strives to develop followers for its goal, a socialist United States based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

One former member of the PLP, Phillip Abbott Luce, throws some light on the extreme nature of this organization in his book, "Road to Revolution—Communist Guerrilla Warfare in the U.S.A."

In June 1964, Luce and four other members of the PLP discussed the possibility of going underground to start a guerrilla operation similar to that used in Cuba by the Communists to destroy the government. Stated Luce:

> The group to which I was assigned would attempt to bring out a newspaper and to print leaflets and inflammatory propaganda against the government and the police. Other groups had different responsibilities, but all of us were to be engaged in full time activity to bring about the ghetto uprisings. . . . Later, we were all briefed on individual responsibilities and each was armed with a pistol and told that it was up to us how we used our weapons.

Although the PLP underground operation was not put in to effect, members of this organization were active in the Harlem riots which took place a month later in New York. One of the vice presidents of the PLP, Bill Epton, was a prime mover in the establishment of the Harlem Defense Council, the vehicle for carrying on guerrilla warfare against the police. Two hours before the Harlem riots began, a speech by Epton was taped in which he was recorded as saying:

> We will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally.

During the Harlem riots, meetings were held at PLP headquarters in which demonstrations on how to make molotov cocktails were conducted. Also, during the riots posters reading "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan the Cop" were distributed to the rioters. Rampaging Negro youths were later seen with these leaflets being waved in the air.

On January 27, 1966, Epton was sentenced to 1 year in prison on three separate charges, with sentences to run concurrently.

In addition to the part played by PLP in the Harlem affair, the CPUSA participated in rallies during the riots calculated to further incite the rioters. Jesse Gray, who has been identified as a member of the CP, called for guerrilla warfare at one such rally. Gray made the usual charges of police brutality which the CP and the PLP had been repeating for weeks before the riots began. The Communist publication, the Worker, of November 15, 1964, conceded that the PLP "played a provocative role in the recent Harlem riots."

Whether all of the various participants involved in the Harlem riots coordinated their activities, or whether they played their parts independently, is of secondary importance. Suffice it to say that radical elements exploited and aggravated the uprising once it got under way. Whether there was evidence to prove a "conspiracy" or not does not lessen the damage caused by extremists, nor does it diminish the danger presented by these individuals and these organizations.

In treating the Harlem riots, the Commission had this to say:

> On July 16, in New York City, several young Negroes walking to summer school classes became involved in a dispute with a white building superintendent. When an off-duty police lieutenant intervened, a 15-year-old boy attacked him with a knife. The officer shot and killed the boy.
>
> On the following day, the Progressive Labor Movement, a Marxist-Leninist organization, printed and passed out inflammatory leaflets charging the police with brutality.
>
> On the second day after the shooting, a rally called by the Congress of Racial Equality to protest the Mississippi lynch murders developed into a march on a precinct police station. The crowd clashed with the police; one person was killed, and 12 police officers and 19 citizens injured.
>
> For several days thereafter the pattern was repeated: despite exhortations of Negro community leaders against violence, protest rallies became uncontrollable. Police battled mobs in Harlem and in the Bedford Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Firemen fought fires started with Molotov cocktails. When bricks and bottles were thrown, police responded with gunfire. Widespread looting followed and many persons were injured.

Again there is both confusion and omission in the Commission's account of the disorder. Either the Commission has attributed the rally to the wrong group, or they totally failed to mention that the Progressive Labor Movement held a rally—attended by 250 to 300 persons—only hours before the outbreak of violence. This was the rally where Epton incited the crowd. In addition to his statements on "smashing the state" in order to gain "freedom," Epton also suggested that some "cops" and judges might also have to be killed.

Epton's exact words were:

> We will not be fully free until we smash this state completely and totally. We're going to have kill a lot of these cops, a lot of the judges, and we'll have to go against the army.

New York City Police Detective Adolph Hart had infiltrated the Harlem PLM and was close to Epton and the group. In testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on November 22, 1967, he noted:

> I met with Epton at the Progressive Labor headquarters. It was there he spoke about combatting and beating the police in various events—like the picket line, ways of throwing marbles under the hoofs of the horses, sticking them with sharp instruments.

In addition, PLM leaders at one point planned to use six smoke bombs during an appearance of Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett, but later changed to eggs for fear of injuring students—no mention of injuring the Governor.

Hart also revealed how the PLM intended to establish, through "block captains," a system of instant mobilization, how they had printed leaflets explaining the manufacture of molotov cocktails, leaflets charging police brutality, the famous "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan the Cop" posters, another inflammatory leaflet linking the Ku Klux Klan with the New York police, and the methodology of rioting explained by Robert Williams in his racist-Communist publication.

During his testimony, I personally asked Detective Hart these questions:

> Mr. ASHBROOK . . .
>
> In your opinion—and I guess all we can have is your opinion—once the riots started, regardless of how they started, were some of the events of the guerrilla warfare type planned in advance by the Progressive Labor Party?
>
> Mr. HART. I would definitely say so.
>
> The mere fact of all the hit-and-run tactics—Molotov cocktails thrown at the police cars, which was done during the riots; sniper shooting from the rooftops; throwing of various missiles and running away down the side streets; etc.
>
> Mr. ASHBROOK. What they advocated, what they talked about in advance, of which you were a party, you testify from direct knowledge. You could not testify from direct knowledge about everybody on every rooftop.
>
> But, in your opinion, what happened was a logical followup of what they had advocated and trained themselves to do in advance. So when the spark was there and started, the guerrilla tactics which they had been talking about and instructing themselves in then, in fact, became a reality.
>
> There was a connection in your opinion between what they had taught and advocated and what happened in the riots?
>
> Mr. HART. Yes, sir, definitely.

Realizing the potential impact of this statement, several other members of the committee also tried to make sure there would be no mistake. Representative ALBERT WATSON asked:

> Mr. WATSON. . . . they teach the violent overthrow of the Government, instructions in karate and guerrilla warfare and Molotov cocktails, and such as that?
>
> Mr. HART. Yes, sir.
>
> Mr. WATSON. The principal thrust of their operation is to exploit any racial differences and also to exploit the antipolice feeling on the part of so many people?
>
> Mr. HART. Yes, sir.
>
> Mr. WATSON. Those two areas are the principal areas of operations?
>
> Mr. HART. Yes, sir.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Mr. WATSON. Nailing it down just one more time—the question asked by Mr. Ichord and Mr. Ashbrook—although we cannot say that one particular thing caused a riot, can we not reduce it to this answer—that at least this meeting sponsored by the Progressive Labor Movement on July 18 was the triggering device or the catalyst which resulted in the riots?
>
> Mr. HART. In my opinion, definitely so.

Another New York City detective also infiltrated the leftist camp. Raymond Wood entered the inner group of militants in CORE prior to the now famous attempt to blow up the Statue of Liberty.

Through contacts in CORE, Wood became acquainted with Robert Collier who told him, among other things, that he had met Che Guevara, that he had been a member of RAM, had attended a Cuban seminar at the North Vietnamese Embassy in Cuba and while there had taken instruction in the "art of handling explosives and guerrilla warfare" from a "North Vietcong major." Collier stated, according to Wood, that he hoped to form an extremely militant guerrilla army here in the United States.

Wood entered into the group which actually plotted to blast the famous statue and at the last minute foiled the attempt, but only after picking up the blasting material which had been smuggled in from Canada.

Wood stated that there was a connection between the Harlem PLM and the Black Liberation Front, Collier's extremist "army." Remembering Epton's statement during the rally, one wonders whether these "armies" are one and the same.

Returning to the Commission's statement of the Harlem riots, in addition to the problem of which group held the rally, there are the questions of why no mention was made of the PLM leaflets describing the construction of molotov cocktails "which started fires"—why there was no mention of the exhortations of militant leaders who were inciting and exploiting while responsible leaders were seeking calm—why there was no mention of PLM plans to take advantage of disorder through instantaneous support called up by "block captains."

Since the Commission chose to mention the Harlem riots of 1964, they should have done a credible job.

CLEVELAND'S HOUGH RIOTS

There is a clash of fact and opinion between what the Commission reported about the riots in Cleveland in 1968 and what the Cleveland grand jury believed and stated. Here is the comparison:

Riot Commission: "It is probable that Negro extremists, although they neither instigated nor organized the disorder, exploited and enlarged it."

Cleveland Grand Jury: "The outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals at this business."

Both statements cannot be correct. One of them must be wrong. Yet, the Commission fails to resolve the conflict. And although it concerns a disorder which occurred in 1966, the Commission did see fit to comment on the Hough riots. The Commission chose to ignore the Cleveland grand jury report.

I think it will help to include portions of the grand jury report in order to indicate the magnitude of the contradiction. One can readily see that there is reasonable doubt concerning the Commission's conclusions. At the worst, one must wonder whether this was a conscious effort to justify a preconceived conclusion. Here is an excerpt of the grand jury finding:

NO. 1

This jury finds that the outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals of this business.

They were aided and abetted, wittingly or otherwise, by misguided people of all ages and colors, many of whom are avowed believers in violence and extremism, and some of whom also are either members of or officers in the Communist Party.

The majority of people in the Hough area had no part in either the lawlessness or disorders.

It is no casual happenstance or coincidence that those throwing fire bombs or bricks or bottles or pillaging or generally engaged in disorder and lawlessness were in the main young people obviously assigned, trained and disciplined in the roles they were to play in the pattern of these dual outbreaks separated by less than one month.

Nor, by the same token, is it happenstance, or even just singular coincidence:

(1) That the over-all pattern for fire bombing and destruction to both the Superior and Hough areas was so highly selective;

(2) That the targets were plainly agreed upon;

(3) That certain places were identified to be hit, and that certain other places were similarly spared.

On both of these occasions, the Superior and Hough disorders, the presence of teenagers previously referred to, was observed by the police, by plainclothes officers and undercover agents who had been assigned for long periods to observe these youths.

. . . this jury herewith makes reference to some of the principal and recurring personalities in the chain of events which preceded both the Superior and Hough situations:

THE J. F. K. HOUSE

The J. F. K. House, meaning Jomo Freedom Kenyata House, is located at 8001 Superior Avenue. The leaders are:

Lewis G. Robinson, and Beth Robinson, his wife, living at 1242 East 89th Street;

Harllel Jones, 9716 Hough Avenue; Albert D. Ware-Bey, 11611 Castlewood Avenue; and Philip Morris, 7806 Radell Avenue.

Lewis Robinson has been affiliated with the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, the Medger Evers Rifle Club (which he helped to found), the JFK House, of which he is the ultimate head, the Deacons for Defense, and the Revolutionary Action Movement.

All of these clubs, to which Lewis Robinson belongs, are Black Nationalist clubs.

Testimony before this jury discredited Lewis Robinson as a leader concerned with generally altruistic interests in youth but rather points to him as inciting these youths to focus their hatreds and indoctrinating them with his own vigorous philosophy of violence.

He exerted a profound influence over the JFK youths and he still does.

Harllel Jones affiliated with JFK House, the Medgar Evans Rifle Club, the Revolutionary Action Movement; he is vice president of the Deacons for Defense in spite of his public disavowals, and had frequently either presided over or sponsored meetings for Black Nationalists, and espouses the ultimate revolutionary purpose for adjusting differences or obtaining desired ends.

Along with Lewis G. Robinson, Harllel Jones caused 2,000 pieces of literature to be printed and circulated, citing alleged instances of "police brutality," and on the eve of the Hough riots circulated the greatest number of these to youths of non-voting age under the plausible guise of urging the defeat of a levy at the polls.

Special movies of an undisclosed and voluntary interview shown to the jury presented Harllel Jones as an outright exponent of violence, a Black Power apostle with a bitter hatred of all whites, a co-founder of the Rifle Club.

Albert D. Ware-Bey, belonged to the same clubs as Harllel Jones. He declined to testify before the jury. Police agencies presented evidence that Ware-Bey, Robinson and Jones all purchased quantities of rifles, and all belonged to the Rifle Clubs here and in other cities.

Ware-Bey expressed no allegiance to this country, professed himself not to be bound by its laws and in the opinion of the jury, by both testimony and his own conduct, was not one who could have other than destructive influence upon youth either at the JFK House or elsewhere.

There was evidence placed before the jury that Rifle Clubs were formed, that ammunition was purchased and that a range was established and used, that speeches were made at JFK House advocating the need for rifle clubs, and that instructions were given in the use of Molotov cocktails, and how and when to throw them to obtain maximum effect.

Further, irrefutable evidence was shown to the effect that Robinson pledged reciprocal support to and with the Communist Party of Ohio.

In addition, Robinson attended many meetings at which imported Communist speakers talked and was arrested at one of these.

It was established before the jury that the leaders of the W.E.B. DuBois Club, and the Communist Youth Party with interchangeable officers and virtually identical concepts, arrived in Cleveland only a few days before the Hough area disorders.

They took up residence at 1844 East 81st Street, only a short distance from the central point of origin of the Hough area troubles.

These men, who came from Chicago, New York and Brooklyn, were Mike Bayer, otherwise known as Mike Davidow, Daniel Mack, Ronald Lucas, and Steve Shreeter.

These were seen constantly together. They made swift contact with the JFK House leadership, and with Phil Bart of Middlehurst Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and his wife, Connie, who, the evidence showed, are the leaders of the Communist Party throughout the Ohio Valley district, including Cleveland.

With specific regard to the W.E.B. DuBois Club, the evidence further shows that Mike Bayer, Daniel Mack, Ron Lucas and Steve Shreeter, previously living and residing a large part of their time outside of Cleveland are currently making plans to move their efforts from the Hough area over to the west side: that they are not employed, are now so far as the jury knows without any visible means of support but nevertheless are able to carry on their advocacy and to maintain themselves with clothing, food and shelter from some undetermined source. Finally evidence was presented that UJAMA is an organization dedicated to black power and has begun its effort to establish itself in the Cleveland area. Their philosophy is that black people should be governed by themselves in every respect and that anything pertaining to the rights of Negroes must be cleared through the central organization of UJAMA which has flourished in New York, and has spread into other places, and is embraced locally by Lewis Robinson and his lieutenants at JFK House. In attendance at one specific meeting at which plans for UJAMA in Cleveland were discussed were Robinson, Jones and Ware-Bey. Also in attendance at this meeting was Cornelius Freeman from Cleveland, Oserjiman Adefumi, also known as Serge King, and Gizengaga Latunji, representing New York UJAMA.

It is this jury's opinion that the investigative authorities have progressed sufficiently to justify the expectation they will ultimately, if either urged or permitted to follow beyond what they have thus far gathered, be able to put together all of the pieces to this pattern of lawlessness and disorder.

Because of his jury's strong judgment in this regard it earnestly urges its successors to pursue the Superior and Hough disorders with the utmost vigor and determination.

Nothing less than this should be permitted in the public interest.

HOUSTON, 1967

The statement by the Commission that there was no evidence found of planning or direction by any group or organization must be considered in light of what happened in the city of Houston during the last months of 1966 and the first half of 1967. As I will show, the Commission was highly negligent in its investigations of organization, its evaluation of the facts disclosed, or in its decision to farm out the study of Houston to a "nonprofit corporation." Either this, or there was an arbitrary decision not to print facts which, without solid refutation, indicate organization and planning by persons who were not only "outsiders" but who have a history of extremism and exploitation.

In fact, a close look at the activities of the extremist individuals and groups involved in the various events at Houston shows not only that there is more than a reasonable case of planning and direction, but that there is evidence that those attempting to exploit and aggravate the people of Houston were allied with persons or groups in other parts of the Nation.

As presented here, the evidence in the Houston case comes primarily from the hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Government Operations Committee. Testimony was taken during the first weeks of November 1967, some 3 to 4 months before the release of the Riot Commission's final report. Surely these hearings were available to Commission staff members and surely they were aware of the committee's investigation, yet there is no mention of these hearings in the Commission's final remarks.

The Commission report mentions that Houston had 10 "incidents" over a period of 5 months. The major incident occurred May 16–17 on the campus of Texas Southern University, a predominately Negro college within the city. During a "shoot-out" between police and students one student was superficially wounded. Five policemen were injured and one was killed.

Here is the statement, the full treatment, of the Texan Southern riots given in the Commission report:

> On May 16, two separate Negro protests were taking place in Houston. One group was picketing a garbage dump in a Negro residential neighborhood, where a Negro child had drowned. Another was demonstrating at a junior high school on the grounds that Negro students were disciplined more harshly than white.
>
> That evening college students who had participated in the protests returned to the campus of Texas Southern University. About 50 of them were grouped around a 21-year-old student, D.W., a Vietnam veteran, who was seeking to stimulate further protest action. A dispute broke out, and D.W reportedly slapped another student. When the student threatened D.W., he left, armed himself with a pistol, and returned. In response to the report of a disturbance, two unmarked police cars with four officers arrived. Two of the officers questioned D.W., discovered he was armed with a pistol, and arrested him.
>
> A short time later, when one of the police cars returned to the campus, it was met by rocks and bottles thrown by the students As police called for reinforcements, sporadic gunshots reportedly came from the men's dormitory. The police returned the fire.
>
> For several hours, gunfire punctuated unsuccessful attempts by community leaders to negotiate a truce between the students and the police.
>
> When several tar barrels were set afire in the street and shooting broke out again, police decided to enter the dormitory. A patrolman, struck by a ricocheting bullet, was killed. After clearing all 480 occupants from the building, police searched it and found one shotgun and two .22 caliber pistols. The origin of the shot that killed the officer was not determined.

Before treating the incidents, persons, and organizations involved, I would like to examine more closely this statement from the report, and its implications.

First. The dump where the Negro child drowned. It is important to the narration to know that this dump is one of several major refuse areas in the city of Houston, that it had existed for decades, and that for more than a year before the protests and the death of the child the city had been attempting to have a large incinerator built so the dump could be closed. Is it relevant that over the years, people had been buying the cheap property around the dump and moving in, and then demanding that the dump be closed? None of this is mentioned.

Second. Fifty students and four officers. While the report states that the officers responded to a report of a disturbance on the campus, Lt. M. L. Singleton, head of the Houston Police Department's Intelligence Bureau, has testified and submitted documents to the effect that four criminal intelligence officers took up special assignment in the vicinity of TSU at 7 p.m., May 16, 1967. At 8:15 p.m., 50 students were observed milling around in front of the Student Center Building. Rather than the implication made by the report that the officers—two Negroes and two whites—responded following the gun incident, officers of the Houston Police Department stated that the officers had been present for 3 hours and had directly observed the group of students for a minimum of 2 hours.

Third. Fifty students and "seeking to stimulate further protest action." The report fails to mention that in the police report, at 10:15, and after the officers had kept a watch on the group for some 2 hours, the crowd increased to 150. The report fails to mention that "five subjects approached the crowd stating: 'They killed a 6-year-old child out near the Scenic Wood School. What do you intend to do about it?'" They fail to state that 5 minutes after this false rumor was shouted to the crowd, police cars were hit by thrown objects and that 10 minutes later "subject approaches officers and shouts, 'You better get out of here, man, before you get killed.'" All of this occurred before the man with the pistol was arrested.

Fourth. D. W., the pistol, and Texas law. According to testimony of Lieutenant Singleton:

> One of the subjects in the group, Douglas Wayne Waller, left the group—and incidentally . . . Waller is a militant member of the SNCC group—left the group and came to where the four officers were across the street and ordered them to leave before they were killed. The officers ignored him and he reiterated the threat. When he refused to move on, he was placed under arrest and *upon being searched* was found to be carrying a pistol which was later discovered to be stolen property.

Additional development of the incident revealed that even had the pistol not been stolen property, the carrier was in violation of Texas law at "the point the officers discovered he was carrying a gun." Waller was arrested for failing to "move on" and later charged with carrying a pistol which led them to the charge of burglary, too, after the pistol was identified as stolen.

Fifth. As police called for reinforcements—the report neglects to mention or take into account, that according to police accounts the officers were subjected to a hail of thrown bricks, rocks, bottles, and the like for more than an hour before reinforcements arrived; that sporadic firing from the dorm began about 30 minutes before the additional men got to the scene and that one officer was wounded by a .22 caliber bullet in his hip some 20 minutes before reinforcements arrived.

The report leaves the very misleading impression that the arrival of reinforcements precipitated the gunshots from the dorm. It states:

> As police called for reinforcements, sporadic gunshots reportedly came from the men's dormitory.

Sixth. Tar barrels and the decision. In citing the attempts at negotiation, the report fails to take note of the fact that the police pulled back from the riot area in an attempt to relieve the tension and allow the negotiators to achieve a ceasefire. This is when the students took advantage of the pullback and set fire to the tar barrels. The time was 1:30 a.m., May 17. A half hour later the police decided to move in on the TSU campus.

Seventh. A patrolman, struck by a ricocheting bullet, was killed. It is curious that the report did not give the details of this man's murder, as it does on occasion when a rioter is killed. They do not indicate that this officer was just a rookie, that he had only been on the force for 34 days, that he was about to become a father, and that the slug hit him in the forehead and shattered as it passed into his brain, shattered so badly that it could not be traced or positively identified as to what caliber it was. They also failed to mention that the bullet most probably ricocheted from a point very near his head on a wall behind which he was taking cover. Although the report states that the origin of the shot is not known, police and press accounts leave little doubt that it came from the dormitory.

Eighth. One shotgun and two .22-caliber pistols. Lieutenant Singleton testified, but the Commission failed to account for this statement:

> We had very reliable information from an informer who stated that many of the people went out the back (of the dormitory) and over a large cyclone fence carrying several rifles prior to the policeman completely surrounding the area.

Other information also indicated that some of the firearms were taken to a nearby girls' dormitory, a building which was not thoroughly searched by police. Or that a gate in the cyclone fence was very probably rammed by car, that the chain was broken along with the lock, and that anyone who had wanted to leave the men's dorm could have done so and some undoubtedly did.

WHAT THE REPORT MISSED

Although the reports from the Houston police were certainly available to them, the Commission failed to account for the activities of militants in Houston during the 10-incident summer of 1967. The TSU riot was only one of a string of incidents that centered around and involved members of several militant leftist groups, including representatives from SNCC, W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs, Black Panther Party, Deacons for Defense, Students for a Democratic Society, and Spartacist League, to mention the more prominent ones.

Intelligence bureau head M. L. Singleton stated under oath that the TSU campus has been the "site of unrest since the first part of October 1966, when Frederick Douglas Kirkpatrick and Millard Leon Lowe joined forces" to organize a chapter of SNCC. Although they later indicated that there was no technical link and that they were a group called the Friends of SNCC, facts indicate differently.

Without the facts which the Commission failed to dig up and evaluate, one can only wonder about the purpose of Kirkpatrick and Lowe. Both were from other areas. Both have since apparently left Houston for more fertile grounds on which to incite riots. It is a tribute to the city of Houston and its residents that they saw these men for what they were and chose to disregard their calls for violence. Only a few responded although there were, as the report states, some 10 incidents that could have turned Houston into a Detroit or Newark.

Lowe, 26, had a police record from Milwaukee indicating that he had been sentenced to pay a $500 fine and serve 18 months in jail for participating in demonstrations. Kirkpatrick—also known as Reverend, although there is no known justification for the title—was an organizer of the Deacons for Defense in Louisiana in 1964. Ernest Thomas was also an organizer for the Deacons. Chairman of the Houston Friends of SNCC was Lee Otis Johnson. The police learned early about the intentions of the Friends of SNCC. A file of Johnson's contained documents showing the organization of the group and under a paragraph listing summer activities was "aggressive and decisive violence" and "aggression—defensive violence." This same document indicates a budget for 1 month totaling $2,980. This would project to a yearly budget of $35,760. It would be interesting if the Commission would attempt to trace the source of these funds, whatever the amount.

When Lowe and Kirkpatrick organized FOS, press accounts stated that they were area coordinators for the Atlanta-based SNCC. On being asked specifically about this by a police officer, the organizers responded:

> We are not actually connected with them over there. We have the same beliefs and the same goals and advocate the same thing, and so from this point on we are going to be known as the Friends of SNCC.

Although they are closely identified with SNCC and brought James Forman, a SNCC officer of national ranking, to Houston to speak, these militant, anti-American, black racists were also tied in with other extreme groups and persons.

Early in March 1967, the police investigated a meeting set up by Lowe and Kirkpatrick which was called to protest an incident which was alleged to have happened in a town some 60 miles from Houston. This meeting was attended by members of the Committee To End the War in Vietnam, Spartacist League, SDS, and by Franklin Alexander, Jr., national president of the W. E. B. Du Bois Club.

When questioned about Alexander and where he came from, Lieutenant Singleton stated:

> He came from California to Houston. Alexander made several speeches throughout our entire demonstrations. He did leave Houston just about the time of the May 16–17 riot at TSU and was later arrested in Chicago for participating in demonstrations.

Three days after this protest, Lowe, Kirkpatrick, and Eddie Jones, who claimed he was the local president of the Deacons for Defense, led more than 100 students on a 65-block march with the intent of presenting demands to State officials. They said if the demands were not met they would organize a caravan and travel to Austin on March 28, 1967, leaving at 7 in the morning.

On March 28, 1 hour after they were to leave for Austin, there were only five people present. The caravan protest had failed, but they were not about to give up. If the demands, and lack of action on them, did not incite the students, they would try another tack.

From the original charge of police brutality 60 miles away, the small group of militants switched to minor grievances of the students. They had set as their assembly point an area on the TSU campus, and now they started using a megaphone to address the students who were on their way to classes. Lieutenant Singleton stated:

> Mass demonstrations began after the usual speechmaking requesting the students to boycott classes. During the next few days major incidents marred the academic scene.

Led by Kirkpatrick, Lowe, Jones, and Lee Otis Johnson, the demonstrators threatened to blow up a building, chain doors, refuse admittance to students, and at one point Johnson knocked down a female teacher who was attempting to get through a blocked door. Massed students also physically blocked a road which bisects the campus.

On April 3, 1967, the dean of TSU, Dr. Jones, filed charges of disturbing the peace against Kirkpatrick, Alexander, and Johnson. Also on April 3, students damaged a cafeteria during a chair and table throwing—along with food—incident.

Two of the three men charged were arrested the next day. Johnson, who escaped, was arrested later while leading a march to protest the arrest of the other two. Students in the march continued to the courthouse, and remained there through the night and until the next morning, but there was no further incident. Two days later all three were released on peace bonds on the stipulation that they not return to campus in each other's presence.

Stokely Carmichael spoke at the University of Houston on April 13 and at TSU the next day. Testimony reveals that the Carmichael speeches were rather tame and were of an "intellectual" rather than inciting type. Carmichael did, however, meet with a group of militants. Specifically mentioned was Lee Otis Johnson.

The 3 weeks that followed were marred by numerous incidents on the street which divides the campus. Students would set up a lookout to indicate when a white motorist was driving down the street; other students would then throw "bricks, bottles, large chunks of concrete, and other missiles" at the motorists.

During this period there were 16 cases of felonious malicious mischief reported to police, and five persons injured. Of the serious injury cases one complainant suffered a fractured jaw and another sustained severe injuries which resulted in his being in a coma for several days.

Lieutenant Singleton stated that "for several days prior to the riot, intelligence indicated impending trouble—that plans were afoot to create a major incident at TSU." At the heart of the trouble were the militant extremists.

Houston Mayor Louie Welch set the scene in this statement:

> By the time Stokely Carmichael came to Houston to speak in April, 1967, it was already clear from the surveys that the greatest support for black power came from Texas Southern University students and young people in the Negro community from the age of 16 to 22. Before the gun battle occurred in May at TSU between police and students in the dormitories, we were well aware that a higher level of militance existed on the campus than in the Negro community at large.

The protest at the junior high school originated at the Thompson home in northeast Houston. From this home members of the SNCC group were to shuttle SNCC members and other protestors to the school. Statements of Samuel Price, deputy director of the OEO office, who was asked late in the evening of the 16th of May—and again the next morning—to mediate and negotiate as the go-between, show that the goal of the militants was not a desire for dissolution of grievances but for a continuation of the charged atmosphere.

While at the Thompson house, Price, on the decision of one Charles Nichols, was sent to attempt to gain approval of the demands presented to the superintendent of schools. This decision was countered by Johnson, although Price said it appeared to have been unanimous until the arrival of Johnson. Price's statement reveals that Johnson stated that Preacher—Charles Nichols—had no power to make decisions. He also stated that Preacher was merely a sergeant, he himself was a lieutenant, and Reverend Kirkpatrick was the leader. Price assured Johnson that he was merely "serving as a servant to the group to carry out any wishes of the group."

Kirkpatrick later confirmed this chain of command to Price, and eventually Price left, with two observers, to negotiate with the school officials.

To the disbelief of the group—some 35 to 40 persons—Price gained the agreement and stated that Preacher had signed it and left a note saying that demonstrations would halt "until it was proven that Superintendent Williams was not holding to his word."

While negotiations were going on, Lee Otis Johnson, the man who had attempted to stop Price, began visiting the bowling alleys, taverns, and all the places on Dowling Street and all the places where the strengths were and—he had stated that Houston would burn tonight.

There was little doubt in Price's mind of the connection between disciplinary actions at the junior high school and the militant extremists. He said:

> The dismissal of these young men by the school created unrest and enabled the

> Friends of SNCC to move in and *exploit* the situation.

Evidently they would have used every means of exploitation. Price mentions that while at the Thompson home, he "noticed that there was a carbine and other sidearms under and on the pillows of the couch and when Floyd Nichols, the girl, and I started to leave the house to meet with school officials, he started to pull out a carbine and I told him not to bring the gun. Later on when we got to the grounds of the school, while we were passing through police lines, I put my arms around him and I noticed that he was armed with two guns, one on each side."

Friends of SNCC were already at work inciting residents. Price reported that one Lawrence Thomas, a hard-core militant member of Friends of SNCC was spreading a rumor that a carload of white men had shot a 6-year-old Negro child. Actually, a white child shot another white playmate.

Price testified that while at the Thompson home on May 16, Reverend Kirkpatrick and others made at least 10 long-distance phone calls in approximately 2½ hours to Atlanta, Ga. He said:

> I don't know that all of these calls were made to Atlanta, Ga., but I was told they were, which I know to be the headquarters of the Friends of SNCC.

Price also noted that "Lee Otis Johnson, O. C. Brown, and others told me that they could get weapons and support from Atlanta any time they needed it."

A member of the committee staff later verified that at least one of the phone calls made from the Thompson home that morning was made to Atlanta, to the headquarters of SNCC, not the Friends of SNCC.

Also, the statement about getting weapons may not have been an idle brag. Price testified that on another occasion he was taken to an apartment complex and surreptitiously shown—"a room where I could see that an entire floor of a room, size 10 by 12, was literally covered with firearms of various kinds, shotguns, rifles, sidearms, to a depth of about 8 inches. I would estimate that there were over 100 guns in the room."

Whether the Commission chooses to indicate it or not, this tends to show some type of organization and, apparently, it was part of a buildup. Price saw the cache of guns probably in March. He also revealed that the collection did not represent a legitimate collection. When asked if he knew where they came from, he said that he did not but that they told him they were coming in from many different sections of the country.

Price stated:

> I was told many times by members who were sympathizers, either Friends of SNCC or other people, that they were coming from Atlanta, California, along with people.

The committee was interested in not only whether the guns were still there, but in knowing more about the outsiders who had come in. Price told them that many of the people had left the area. He pointed out that "many of the people, like Kirkpatrick and other leaders of this Friends of SNCC were outsiders. When you referred to militants, you are referring to maybe 16 to 35 people, and whenever there is an activity you do not find any of the local residents involved. Nine chances out of 10, 99 percent—"

Senator MUNDT asked:

> So when they left Houston, they took their guns with them?

Price replied:

> Yes, from all indications.

May 16 was either planned as the day the extremists would make their big push, or it started to develop that way and the militants decided to aggravate and exploit it as far as possible.

During the picketing that morning, Johnson was arrested at the junior high school. He was fined a dollar and cost for unlawful assembly and released. This same Johnson, plus the Du Bois Club's Alexander, and Kirkpatrick, were arrested also for the incidents at the school earlier in April. These were the same militants who, along with Lowe and Jones, threatened to blow up a building on the TSU campus. Jones, you will remember, said he was the local leader of the Deacons for Defense.

I have indicated only some of the background of the actual riot at the campus of TSU. Many of these militant extremists were involved in one way or another and as Lieutenant Singleton stated during the hearings:

> Kirkpatrick was observed on the university campus sending runners back and forth to the group around the Student Union Building and the dorm several times prior to the riot.

Already under a $1,000 peace bond, Kirkpatrick did not let that stop him.

Without further development of the details, one can only wonder whether the roomful of guns was one of Kirkpatrick's topics of conversation during the afternoon of May 16.

Although the rumor had been identified as false earlier in the day, Lieutenant Singleton stated that later that evening:

> At approximately 10:30 p.m. the five subjects who were later indicted for assault and murder arrived at that location and got out of an automobile. These subjects immediately went into the group and started inciting the group, stating that there had been a colored boy that had been shot by a white boy in a northeastern school district.

Of the five indicted for assault and murder, one of them was the "D.W." mentioned in the Commission report as a Vietnam veteran. The report failed to mention that he was also a militant extremist. The other was Charles "Preacher" Nichols, the man who had wanted to take the carbine to the meeting with the school superintendent—the carbine, in addition to the two handguns he was already carrying in defiance of State law.

Others who were indicted were Charles Freeman, the man who originated the rumor of the child being shot and also a militant member of FOS. Freeman also attempted to represent the student body during the height of the TSU riot. Two others indicted were Trazawell Franklin, a hard-core militant identified as such by OEO Deputy Director Price, and John Parker, FOS member who was a guard stationed at the door during a speech by Alexander, the DuBois Club president. Alexander stated that the guards were there to ward off violence. Another of these guards was Millard Lowe, the original coorganizer of the FOS and closely tied in with Kirkpatrick.

Police testimony revealed that in searching the dormitory rooms following the TSU riots, officers found—in addition to the guns—numerous knives and preparations for firebombs. These preparations consisted of the components for molotov cocktails—bottles, gasoline, and wicks.

Following the riot at TSU, the public learned that several of the militants were on the payroll of the Houston poverty program. Of these militants, several are familiar: Trazawell Franklin and Floyd Nichols, both indicted for assault and murder, and another man, Kelton Sams, a hard-core militant SNCC member. Sams had participated in demonstrations at the TSU campus on at least five occasions, March 3, 23, 29, and April 4 and 5. Public disapproval apparently forced them to be removed from the poverty payroll.

When demonstrations to protest their removal from the poverty payroll occurred, the police, in an apparently routine check, turned up a stolen license plate. The driver of the car, SNCC member Anderson Minor, Jr., was accompanied by two other SNCC members. In searching the car police found cards of the Harris County Community Action Association with printing on them asking such questions as: "Do you believe in black power?" and, "Would you take up arms to support the black power movement?" In addition to the cards, Lieutenant Singleton stated that:

> Also, in the trunk the officers found five Molotov cocktails made of rolled newspaper and material . . . they found the wicks. These are newspapers wrapped around rags in the form of wicks, about 12 or 14 inches long. The date of these newspapers used for the wicks for the cocktails was May 16, 1967, the date of the riots at TSU.

On July 26, Lee Otis Johnson, Lawrence Jackson, and Trazawell Franklin, along with several other militants, were attempting to incite a crowd. Using a megaphone, they gathered a crowd of people and threatened to "get rid of the Jap and the Jew." They also told observing police, "Get out of here, Honkey, before you get hurt." Although the crowd had been larger, when the extremists began moving along the street only a core group followed. Several of the militants mentioned above tried to get the patrons from businesses along the street to join the group and others tried to solicit donations. After gathering ammunition, members of the group started throwing items at passing cars and then plate glass windows. Finally, Carl Moore and Lee Otis Johnson told the group not to set a fire if they were in a position to be identified, and said, "Just let the public know the Molotov cocktails are for real."

Fortunately, there was only a small amount of looting and damage. Johnson was arrested while trying to hide in a telephone booth. The situation was controlled by the police and by the responsibility of the citizens in the area who refused to respond to the incitement.

ROOM FOR REASONABLE DOUBT AND FURTHER INVESTIGATION

These are but a few of the facts developed concerning the troubles in Houston during 1967. Let us look at them again within the frame of reference of the Commission's report.

The Commission found no evidence that all or any of the disorders were organized or directed. I ask: What about the Friends of SNCC, the DuBois Club representatives, the Deacons for Defense, the guns, the Molotov cocktails, the Kirkpatrick, Johnson, Jackson, Lowe, Thomas, and Jones group? The actions of these outsiders certainly leave the impression that they were trying to incite violence.

What about the arrests and previous convictions and organizing activities of several of these men? What about the room full of guns and the phone calls to SNCC headquarters in Atlanta? What about the dead police officer and the five others who were wounded? What about the increased tension which coincided with their arrival and the formation of FOS? What about the charges of inciting to riot? The rumor planting? And did anyone from the Commission think to ask Houston officials where these militant extremists are now? Are they now useful citizens leading normal, productive lives?

When asked where the SNCC group is now, Samuel Price replied:

> I would say the SNCC group in Houston is gone.

He stated that many of the militants left Houston. The people did not want them, and from all indications, when they left Houston they took their guns with them.

This was Houston. The extremists did not find favor with the people. As Price put it, "Houston is a very peculiar town."

There is no doubt in my mind that the peculiarity of Houston should have been investigated by the Commission. There is more than a reasonable doubt that persons and groups involved indicate a conscious effort to foment trouble and that on more than one occasion there was an attempt by members of one or more organizations to aggravate existing grievances and incite unrest.

By ignoring the example of Houston the Commission has undermined its purpose and in one more instance thrown doubt on its conclusions and its statements of fact.

POLICE BRUTALITY

> Get ready for the devil, Don't Be Caught Defenseless!!!!
>
> The boy shown brutally mutilated is James Rutledge, age 19, who was shot 39 times by the police, during the rebellion, He was shot in Jo-Rae's on Bergen Street, as he stood with his hands up!
>
> He was standing, hands up, expecting mercy from the Devil!!!
>
> When you are defenseless is when the devil likes to kill you off!!! Remember this photograph . . . don't let it happen to you or your children, don't be caught defenseless.

The above message was distributed in Newark, N.J., after the riots in that city in 1967, accompanied by a picture of a body in which a large breast wound had been torn open, allowing the inside of the body cavity to be seen. This is a vicious example of the use of police brutality by extremists who seek to foment civil disorder by using law-enforcement agencies as a target.

The truth behind this flyer was made public by Capt. Charles Kinney of the Newark police force in his testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in April 1968, concerning possible subversive influences in recent riots. Captain Kinney stated:

> What had happened in fact was that the body had been ripped open after the autopsy surgeon had sewed it back up. In the picture the autopsy stitches and pins can be seen. However, the body, itself, had been ripped open.

On April 24, 1968, the New York Times carried an article on the findings of the Essex County grand jury which investigated the Newark riot. The grand jury expressly singled out the case of James Rutledge, who was slain by police who reported that he was looting a liquor store. The shooting became an issue, the jury said, because many "erroneous and deliberately false accounts" of the incident were published in leaflets, newspapers, and a book entitled "Rebellion in Newark," by Tom Hayden.

Here is how Hayden, who stated in July, 1967, that "urban guerrillas are the only realistic alternative at this time to electoral politics or mass armed resistance," distorted the Rutledge case in his book, "Rebellion in Newark":

> James Rutledge, nineteen, was inside a boarded-up tavern on Sunday afternoon. Troopers and police broke in. James gave himself up, and was shot point-blank by a trooper. Photographs show that James was hit by about *thirty-nine* bullets in the chest alone. Evidence indicates not only sadistic killing of James Rutledge, but several incidents of related terror practiced against neighborhood boys. (Emphasis added.)

According to the Essex Grand Jury four or possibly five wounds—and not 39—were found as the result of the autopsy.

In addition, the grand jury found that the mutilation of the body had taken place in the course of the embalming and not by police bullets, as was implied in the flyer mentioned above.

Captain Kinney further elaborated on those responsible for this malicious distortion:

> Of course the mutilation was not by the police but by the people who took the picture. Detectives Julius Hechpel and William Millard of the Newark Police Department conducted an investigation and determined copies of this leaflet were distributed by Willie Williams, close associate of LeRoi Jones, who operates out of Jones' headquarters at 33 Sterling Street, Newark.

As to who actually took the picture, Captain Kinney testified that police information indicates that the photographer was a young man who is now outside the country and who is closely associated with LeRoi Jones.

OTHER EXAMPLES

Other cases of outright falsehoods concerning the conduct of the police were recounted by Detective Adolph W. Hart, a member of the New York City Police Department, in his testimony before HCUA in October, 1967 on the Harlem riots in 1964. Detective Hart stated that the Progressive Labor Party and the Harlem Defense Council distributed inflammatory leaflets prior to or during the riot. One leaflet, "Fight Back," accused the police department of murdering a number of Negro and Puerto Rican people, none of whom were carrying guns, and including one Ralph Brazier. Benny Brazier, Ralph's brother, made a speech stating that his brother was murdered by a policeman and he himself had been injured in the eye by a policeman. When Mr. Brazier testified in the William Epton case, he admitted that his eye was originally slashed by people he did not know on the street, and that his brother was shot in the course of an altercation with a gun-carrying friend.

The Progressive Labor Party also issued another leaflet, "Stop the Cops," which accuses the police department of declaring war on Harlem.

Still another Progressive Labor Party leaflet is "Stop the Killer Cops Now!" and depicts Ku Klux Klan uniforms behind a New York City police officer.

A Harlem Defense Council leaflet of July 15, 1964, describes the shooting of a 15-year-old Negro girl and accuses the police department of organizing a campaign of terror against the community. The caption says:

> There may not be many of us left at the rate the cops are murdering us.

Of course, the most famous poster dating around this time is the one which proclaims, "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan, the Cop," issued by the Harlem Defense Council and printed on the instruction of William Epton by the Tri-Line offset printing shop.

THE EXAMPLES OF LOS ANGELES

Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning subversive influences behind the riots on November 28, 1967. Dealing with subversive influences is not new to Mayor Yorty for in 1939, the California Legislature, of which he was a member, enacted his resolution creating a committee to investigate Un-American activities in California. This committee is still in operation today as the Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities of the California Legislature. Mayor Yorty was chairman of this newly founded committee at the time they conducted a 2-year investigation of the relief department of the State of California. According to Mayor Yorty, this particular Department was so infiltrated with Communists that they finally had to abolish it and turn the administration of relief over to the counties of the State.

As other knowledgeable authorities have done, Mayor Yorty emphasized the tactic of the Communist Party in setting up the policeman as the prime target:

> I would certainly say that one of the factors is the constant repetition of subversive propaganda, the agitation, and propaganda conducted by the Communist Party within the framework of their historic objective to break down the respect for government, certainly for law and order, and to personalize, as they always do, this objective mainly in the police officer.

When asked whether any police officers had been dismissed from the Los Angeles police force for brutality during his tenure as Mayor, Yorty replied:

> I don't know of any case where an officer has had to be dismissed for brutality.

Mayor Yorty was asked if police brutality charges were made during the Watts riot. In responding, he cited the case of the late Rev. Martin Luther King, who arrived in Los Angeles during the riot and said:

> An attempt was made, of course, to blame the police for the rioting. This led to my unpleasant confrontation with Dr. Martin Luther King. We had always welcomed him to our city on previous occasions and tried to work with him in the field of civil rights. But, during the aftermath of the rioting, he rushed out to Los Angeles and in a private meeting with some of his aides and our chief of police, Mr. Parker, he began to blame the police for the rioting.

The Los Angeles mayor stressed the ample civilian representation in the police department of Los Angeles:

> I pointed out to him that the police department of Los Angeles is run by a civilian commission; they are actually the head of the department. I also pointed out to him that three of the five members were from minority groups and, also, that one of the persons at the meeting with Dr. Martin Luther King was the father of a member of the police commission.
>
> But he persisted in arguing that the police were to blame for the rioting. Then he went out and got before the cameras and made the same charge. I felt it necessary to answer that charge and to tell him that it was very unfair for him to come out to Los Angeles and try to blame the police for the rioting.

RADICAL USE OF POLICE BRUTALITY

As I have previously stated, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been conducting hearings on "Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting, and Burning." In October 1967, the committee heard Adrian H. Jones, who is with the American University Center for Research in Social Systems. Jones, who received his M.A. in psychology from the University of Kansas City in 1963, is presently writing his doctoral dissertation on civil disturbances. He retired from the U.S. Army, Military Police Corps, as a lieutenant colonel after having served 20 years. He has coauthored a study entitled "Combating Subversively Manipulated Civil Disturbances," and is a guest lecturer at the International Police Academy, Public Safety Division, of the Agency for International Development where his subject is "Psychological Aspects of Civil Disturbances." In addition, Jones is also a guest lecturer for the International Association of Chiefs of Police on the subject, "Police Community Relations and Social Science Research."

In his testimony, Mr. Jones stated that in studying civil disturbances "the time sequence involved can be broken down into four phases—the precrowd phase, the crowd phase, the civil disturbance phase, and the post-civil-disturbance phase."

In referring to the tactics used in the first, or precrowd, phase by a subversive organization seeking to develop a riot situation, Jones stated:

> They launch vital preconditioning measures to influence the attitudes of these target groups. Subversives use fliers, posters, rumors, and all available means of communication to increase hostility and antagonism, to aggravate grievances, to stimulate frustrations, dissent, anxiety, anger, and to develop emotional stress.

The issues used by the subversives try to personalize the enemy, to direct the resentment of the people against a specific person, symbol, or object, Jones pointed out. He then stated:

> An example is police brutality.

As noted by Jones, the charge of "police brutality" is one of the issues which is used by those who seek to precondition or make vulnerable an area or locality for a possible riot. This is an aspect of planned activity which you will not find explored or treated in the Commission's report. Neither will you find any information on how the term "police brutality" has been used for years as a vehicle against law enforcement.

INADEQUATE TREATMENT OF "POLICE BRUTALITY" BY THE COMMISSION

In dealing with police conduct, it is indeed unfortunate that the Kerner Commission did not explore the use and the misuse of the phrase, "police brutality," at greater length. Under the heading of "Police Conduct" the Commission states:

> Negroes firmly believe that police brutality and harassment occur repeatedly in Negro neighborhoods. This belief is unquestionably one of the major reasons for intense Negro resentment against the police.

To begin with, the Commission concedes that "brutality" which is referred to in various surveys cited by the Commission "is not often precisely defined and covers conduct ranging from the use of insulting language to excessive and unjustified use of force."

Concerning the use of unjustified physical force by the police, the Commission also concedes that the extent of such force is difficult to determine. It does, however, cite one survey conducted by the Crime Commission Task Force of 5,339 police-citizen contacts in which about three-tenths of 1 percent involved excessive or unnecessary force. In this sampling, the Commission states:

> Although almost all of those subjected to such force were poor, more than half were white.

Statistics from other sources confirm the findings of the above-mentioned survey that the charge of police brutality is grossly misused and exaggerated. In their excellent book, "The Law Breakers," Margaret Moore and M. Stanton Evans cite figures by the FBI and other police sources, showing the almost infinitesimal number of cases in which such charges—after being investigated—were sustained:

> The figures reveal that, of the more than 1700 complaints of 'brutality' received by the FBI in 1964, a total of 47 were presented to grand juries for action under Federal law making it a violation for police to deprive someone of his constitutional rights. Of these, five cases resulted in conviction. The vast majority of complaints concern 'verbal brutality,' hard looks, 'tone of voice,' and so forth.

Sources in States and major cities authorized to probe charges of police brutality also support the fact that most of these charges cannot be sustained. According to the Lawbreakers, a spot check in 1965 found 289 such complaints had been received in Chicago, of which 281 were determined to be without substantial basis; in Los Angeles, 242 out of 314 complaints were not sustained; in New York, 194 out of 231 cases failed to vindicate the charges brought against the policemen.

One reason why the police brutality charge is exaggerated was supplied by Director Hoover in the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin of June 1966:

> We know there is a calculated and deliberate attempt by some groups to inflame hostility against law enforcement by charging 'police brutality' without cause. To a large degree they have succeeded. The term is bandied about in all media of communication without serious consideration as to its true meaning or its harmful effect on a profession which is charged with enforcing the basic rules of civilized living.

One of the above-cited groups which has been misusing the police brutality term for decades is, of course, the Communist Party of the United States. In the FBI report for the calendar year 1966, issued on January 5, 1967, the FBI chief referred to the Communist tactic which aims to create class struggle and through it to bring about a total disintegration of orderly process. According to Hoover, the extent to which the Communists have already succeeded in moving toward this objective was most graphically illustrated during 1966:

> It was shown through the widespread false cries of "police brutality" that echoed and re-echoed throughout our cities. This is a term which communist propagandists have been using since the days of Sacco-Vanzetti, but more recently it has gained considerable acceptance, primarily because communist agitators repeated it incessantly until it was picked up and used unthinkingly by many about the Nation who should know better.

Testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities confirms Mr. Hoover's statement that the misuse of the term "police brutality" has been for many years a Communist device. In 1954 a Negro witness before HCUA, Miss Ernestine Gatewood, was asked if the Communist Party continuously sought out issues which they could utilize among various groups on the community to increase party membership. Miss Gatewood replied in part:

> Well, very definitely. Well, practically all members of the Communist Party, if they are good communists, scan very closely newspapers, and we are constantly on the alert, either from reading the newspapers or by coming in contact with other people as to some act of brutality that had occurred . . . If the police force or any other body of that kind had been involved, it was always a good issue.

Testimony taken by HCUA in 1954 in Lansing, Mich., described how Communist Party members were to duck under the legs of police horses during a demonstration and disappear in the crowd. The purpose of this tactic was to make it appear that the horses were actually running down the demonstrators.

This would be played up as another case of police brutality.

Hearings before HCUA in 1953 on Communist activities in the San Francisco area produced the firsthand account of Charles Blodgett, a reporter for an official Communist newspaper, the Daily People's World, and his experience with the use of the term "police brutality" in skilled Communist hands. Blodgett was witness to the smear campaign against a newly appointed police chief by the Communist Party, who tried to label the chief with police brutality charges even though his administration was hardly underway.

In fact, one of the earliest mentions of police brutality comes from as far back as 1943. In the report of the California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, 1967, they recap a 1943 report—which is now out of print.

Especially interesting is a series of paragraphs regarding an avowed Communist, Dorothy (Ray) Healy. The last paragraph states:

> She identified a picture of herself taken on the fire escape of the Communist Party headquarters in Oakland on Franklin Street in which she held up two placards, one carrying the slogan "Join the Communist Party" and the other, "Stop Police Brutality."

The above-cited cases are not intended to imply that all uses or misuses of the phrase "police brutality" are Communist inspired. Such, of course, is not the case. In an excellent article which appeared in Readers' Digest in July 1966, Fred E. Inbau, a professor of law at Northwestern University, a member of the Chicago Crime Commission, and a recognized authority on criminal law procedures, described four major patterns into which the fake accusation of "police brutality" may be classified:

First. Offenders who fake charges against the police to evade the law.

Second. Professional protestors who set up the police as hate targets.

Third. People involved in disorderly conduct who find police easier to blame than themselves.

Fourth. Communists who exploit the "brutality" slogan to undermine law and order.

Under the first classification, Inbau cited the case of two St. Louis policemen who pulled over a carload of teenagers and arrested two boys for a liquor law violation. The boys and their girl friends worked out an elaborate story, then filed formal charges accusing the officers of vicious acts. Finally, realizing the seriousness of their hoax, the youngsters confessed that their story was completely false. Their admitted motive: To seek sympathy for themselves and to "get even" with the arresting officers.

More serious is the case of James Farmer, who, on the day after the Harlem 1964 riots broke out, appeared on WABC-TV's "Page One" show and told viewers in the tense city that police had conducted a "blood orgy." Inbau quotes Farmer as saying:

> I saw with my own eyes a woman who walked up to the police and asked for their assistance in getting a taxicab so that she might go home. This woman was shot in the groin, and she is now in Harlem hospital.

Later, Farmer's charge was carefully checked, and no police attack was ever proved. Also, according to Inbau's account, no conclusive evidence had been found that Farmer personally witnessed any such event.

One last example will illustrate to what extent some have gone in their disgustingly dishonest misuse of the "police brutality" term. The U.S. News & World Report of March 22, 1965, gave this account of an anti-Vietnam demonstration at Berkeley:

> In preparation for trouble, students formed a 'Police Brutality Committee.' It began grinding out propaganda before the first arrest, and students were primed to start chanting 'brutality' as soon as police arrived on the scene. Students were also instructed to go to the university hospital and report injuries . . .

The report continues:

> Students and sympathizers overlooked no chance to raise the 'brutality' cry . . . During the rioting, police said, a Berkeley radio commentator helped the 'brutality' theme along by slapping the wall with his hand near the microphone and describing the noise as 'blows' raining down on students.

Further elaboration on the misuse of the "police brutality" theme at this time would serve no useful purpose. Suffice it to say that this device has been used extensively by subversives, professional agitators, and lawbreakers for their own purposes. The Commission again failed to provide the American people with adequate information on this subject. The Commission neglected to illustrate how treacherous a weapon "police brutality" charges can be in the hands of those who seek to create dissension in the ranks of minority groups. The extent of the Commission's neglect in treating this issue can be gaged from the very serious reference made by Director Hoover in February 1967 concerning the Communist Party's 50-year effort to disrupt race relations in this country:

> The cumulative effect of almost 50 years of Communist Party activity in the United States cannot be minimized, for it has contributed to disrupting race relations in this country and has exerted an insidious influence on the life and times of our Nation.

Director Hoover continues with this mention of the "police brutality" device:

> As a prime example, for years it has been Communist policy to charge "police brutality" in a calculated campaign to discredit law enforcement and to accentuate racial issues. The riots and disorders of the past three years clearly highlight the success of this Communist smear campaign in popularizing the cry of "police brutality" to the point where it has been accepted by many individuals having no affiliation with or sympathy for the Communist movement.

At least one member of the Kerner Commission is on record regarding the charge of police brutality. The October 1966 issue of Reader's Digest carried an article, entitled "Talk About Police Brutality," by Bill Shiff in which Atlanta Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins—a member of the Commission—is quoted as stating that:

> The charge of police brutality is as old as law enforcement. A prisoner's best defense often is to accuse the arresting officer of brutality. If he can discredit the officer, then he stands a good chance of winning the case.

It is indeed unfortunate that the Commission's report neglected to advise and warn minority groups of the danger of their being deceived by the police brutality ploy by some of these designing people who pose as their friends. Also, it is indeed indicative, in my opinion, of the seriously inadequate workmanship which has characterized parts of the Commission's report. In this instance, the Commission could have served a real purpose for policeman and citizen alike by putting this issue in proper perspective. Certainly there are cases of policemen who prove unfit to exercise the tremendous individual responsibility which sets such a position apart from almost all other callings. Unsuitable persons should be removed with dispatch from positions in sensitive and volatile areas or released from service if the circumstances so indicate. Here again, the Commission sinned by omission—what should have been said was at least as important as some of the aspects of this issue it deemed necessary to cover.

Make no mistake about it—the overwhelming majority of Negro people in the riot areas are law abiding and thus want adequate police protection in their own midst. Bruce Biossat, a syndicated columnist on current affairs, referred to a Senate subcommittee's findings in 1966 in which the great call from the Negro ghettos in key big cities is for more police doing a policeman's job of protecting the citizenry against marauding lawbreakers. Stated Biossat:

> The citizens of the ghettos revealed dramatically their lives are dominated by fear of the criminals who prey upon them. They want release from that fear and they see the police as part of the answer. To the interviewers, specially trained Negroes from their own neighborhoods, they did not volunteer "police brutality" as one of their concerns.

THE NUMBERS GAME

One of the most dangerous aspects of our self-delusion is what I call the "numbers game." I have debated on many campuses across the United States and always get the same line from my liberal adversaries. "There are not many Communists—why worry about them?" or "There are very few militants and they are no great cause for concern." I believe that this is a fallacious reasoning.

If our investigations have shown anything it is the fantastic damage which can be wrought by a very few. A few terrorists with dynamite can bring havoc. Only a handful of militants were arrested enroute to the Statue of Liberty where they were going to blow it up. They had the plan, they had the intention, they had the dynamite. There were not 5,000 of them, not even 50 but only half a dozen. Fortunately, one of them was an undercover New York policeman, a witness before HCUA this year, or it would have been goodby to our treasured national landmark.

Only a small fraction of the students at Columbia were bent on revolution, yet the entire university grinded to a halt. Only a few were involved in Cleveland last month, yet 10 were killed. Only a handful of agitators in Harlem urged that policemen be killed, yet it was enough to spark a major riot.

The greatest misconception we can have is to think that because only a few would engage in these horrendous acts, we have some safety in numbers. Only a handful of the radical black group RAM were bent on placing cyanide in the Philadelphia water supply yet, had they not been arrested, they might have succeeded.

My point is very simple. To play the numbers game and say there are 200 million Americans and only about 15,000 Communists in our midst create no danger is dead wrong. To say that there are only a few advocating dynamiting and sniper activity is false security. What is happening now is the logical consequence of what a very small, repeat very small, minority has advocated and who can argue that it has not affected all of us. We can only expect more of the same guerrilla warfare in our cities if we do not wake up and demand that our public officials act firmly and fairly.

CONCLUSION

I have consistently advanced the argument that our greatest problem in the United States is our political leadership. Our political leaders are peculiarly inept at coping with riots and civil disturbances. In most cases, they are the very ones who have promised Great Societies, pie in the sky, welfarism and prosperity through dole rather than hard work. The misfits and protestors are lauded by these political types while the industrious American is accused and penalized. What is happening is not illogical at all. How can this administration move against rioters in Washington, D.C.? They are social reformers—some sincere, some motivated by a thirst for political power—and ill equipped to cope with those who are the direct targets of their voting appeals. Anyone who thinks this is an oversimplification is blind to the realities of American politics and the political left in our country.

The Vice President of the United States, HUBERT HUMPHREY, for example, stated:

> If I were forced to live under such conditions, I think you'd have more trouble than you have had already because I have got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions.

The electorate has been rewarding this type of politician with leadership in our country. How can anyone expect these political charlatans to cope with the very type of disorder they are cheering on? As my good friend, Leonard Read, president of the Foundation for Economic Education, has said:

> The mobsters are among the clients of these agitators for change.

As if this situation were not bad enough, it is even worse to observe leading theologians and religious leaders taking their cues regarding moral responsibilities from politicians such as Governor Kerner and his Riot Commission report. With piety they virtually underscore every Socialist demand for blank checks to reward the mobs. What we really need in our country is not the revolution which is preached by the Carmichaels and Rap Browns, but a genuine political revolution where the electorate tosses out of office all of these "crowd pleasers" who take your hard-earned money in confiscatory taxes to spread the wealth rather than build a constructive free enterprise society. That is the revolution which is needed—a genuine political reformation.

Our sad situation displays a growing tendency toward moral disintegration. At the heart of this, in my opinion, is political apathy on the part of our people, connivance and failure to act by our elected leaders, and a national plague of anti-Americanism and disregard for law and order. This threatens every one of us. The very foundations of our Government and way of life are in jeopardy.

We have the most favored Nation in all history. Surely, if revolution and violence are needed to bring about change on this, God's most favored spot on earth, then there is no hope anywhere in the world. The answer is very clear: there is no need for violent revolution to have reform where needed. The people still have their say. They may be mislead but they still have their birthright, the vote, and the freedom of speech and action which is more evident here than anywhere in the world certainly offers the vehicle to become informed. I prepared these remarks for this very reason because I believe there is more misinformation circulated regarding violence than in any other matter. Society is not sick. We still are basically a great people and a great nation. We still have choices to make and it is my hope that we choose correctly. Welfarism with Federal program piled upon Federal program is not the answer. Those who offer it will destroy, not build, our society.

The danger signals are all there. They have been observed by many of us although we are obviously a minority. Take the very sound thinking of J. Edgar Hoover. He observed recently:

> Causes of riots can be counted by the score. A study of the overall problem indicates, however, that the widespread violence in our country to some degree is a direct outgrowth of the civil disobedience movement. In recent years, some leaders of dubious stature have made a grandiose gesture of willfully violating laws they deem to be unjust. For the most part, these individuals, although admittedly guilty of breaking the law, have gone unpunished. Young thugs and misguided teenagers, seeing others defy authority and the courts with impunity, have been led to believe that any crime under a banner of complaints is justified. Consequently, they ignore the law and roam through their communities creating violence and terror. Certainly, those who espouse the theory of civil disobedence and authorities who free guilty violators must share a portion of the blame and responsibility for the turmoil in our streets. It should be abundantly clear that the doctrine of civil disobedience is a doctrine of self-destruction.

Why do not Americans listen? One of our most honored jurists, former Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Whittaker said:

> Can anyone reasonably believe that a disorderly society can survive? In all recorded history none ever has. . . . History also shows that, in each instance, the first evidence of the society's decay appeared in its toleration of disrespect for, and violation of, its law. There is no good reason to believe that similar toleration will serve us differently.

Maybe I am wrong, but I sincerely believe what is happening is, as I have said before, a logical consequence of our actions. Individuals or nations usually arrive at wherever they have been heading. If you go in the direction of anarchy and maintain a consistent course, you will sooner or later get there. If you spend more than you take in year after year you will sooner or later be in financial disaster. What type of self-delusion is it that makes us think we are immune from cause and effect, from reaping what we sow and becoming what we set out to be?

Quite frankly, we are living in a fool's paradise. For some reason, the average American has been lulled into believing that we can have militant people going throughout the country exhorting to violence, preparing for violence, but yet not have violence; that we can in times of crisis and expediency set aside our constitutional principles but still have our constitutional protections when we need them; that we can follow "no-win" policies against the Communists and somehow come out with a "draw"; that we can go three-fourths of the way to socialism or communism but not get there; and, finally, that we can spend more than we take in, year in and year out, but not have national bankruptcy.

It appears very elementary to conclude that if you tell a man constantly that his plight is the result of white racism that he will grow to hate the white man. If you promise pie in the sky in political campaigns, he will come to believe he has a right to it and his failure to get it will make him militant. It is commonsense to recognize that if leaders continually say that this or that must be done for a man or a group or violence will result, violence logically will result. Violence has resulted and it is time that Americans of good will begin to understand the whys and wherefores.

A SPEECH BY MR. ELI GOLDSTON

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to present to you and my colleagues a speech by Mr. Eli Goldston, president of the Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates in Boston, Mass. This address was given before the graduating class of the program for management development at the Harvard Graduate School for Business Administration.

Mr. Goldston's analysis of the devastating effects that poverty and prejudice have on the spirit of man gives a much needed insight into this problem which sears the fabric of our Nation. For the first time in history it is truly possible for all in our Nation to have a decent standard of living and to become productive and fulfilled members of society. However, the achievement of an America where none suffer the indignities of poverty will take an immeasurable amount of time and energy on the part of those who have the talent and the resources to bring an end to poverty.

Eli Goldston is indeed a man of vision and of high purpose and his generous efforts on behalf of the poor of Boston should serve to make us all more aware of our obligation to do all we can to close the dreadful chasm between America of the rich and America of the poor.

Mr. Goldston's speech follows:

THE BUSINESSMAN'S ROLE IN THE URBAN CRISIS

INTRODUCTION

The current participation of Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates in a massive program of housing rehabilitation in the Negro ghetto section of the franchised territory of its subsidiary, Boston Gas Company, has attracted nationwide attention. Articles have appeared in national publications such as *The New York Times* and *Business Week*, in utility, real estate and finance trade publications, and also in the New England and Negro press. A number of our executives involved in the program have been asked to describe it to service clubs, to annual meetings of mutual savings banks, associations, and of savings and loan associations, to meetings of financial analysts, real estate brokers, developers, and builders and to students at colleges and universities. In response to inquiries from federal, state and municipal governments, large and small corporations, authors and scholars, we have supplied a great deal of detailed information on the project which is called BURP, the Boston Urban Rehabilitation Program.

It seemed appropriate to inform our stockholders and others interested in the Company about these activities.

A general review of the motivation and the mechanics of our involvement is contained in the following address by Eli Goldston, President of Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates, at the graduation of the Program for Management Development at the Harvard Business School on May 16, 1968.

In the brief time since Mr. Goldston's address, the development of Negro real estate entrepreneurs in the Boston Gas Company territory has further expanded. Individual members of the original black development team described by Mr. Goldston have associated themselves in several other rehabilitation groups so that by midsummer it is expected that nearly $3,500,000 in FHA insured mortgages will have been granted for housing to be rehabilitated and owned by Negro entrepreneurs, all supplied with technical assistance by Eastern Associated Properties Corp. and with fuel by the Boston Gas Company.

(By Eli Goldston, president, Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates [1])

You have just completed sixteen weeks of intensive study of the American business system in your Program for Management Development. Your distinguished instructors have included my own former professor, Charles A. Bliss, and other outstanding members of the faculty of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. For me, therefore, to discuss the methods of business management with you would be repetitous and, perhaps, presumptuous. I would feel like the seventh husband of a much-married heiress who found he simply could never do anything which seemed new or exciting.

COMBINE PROFIT WITH SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

So I will address my comments to two other topics. First, the necessity for a businessman to understand and be sensitive to the needs of the world around him, and second, the likelihood that a businessman can combine profitability with social responsibility.

Now, most of you in this audience are entirely too young to remember the Depression. Most of you were born when America was beginning to come out of the Great Depression and you reached the age at which you understood something about the world around you during the relatively prosperous years preceding World War II.

I am not much older than many of you, but I was already old enough during 1930–1931 to realize that I was the only youngster of my age in my home town who was wearing tailor-made clothes. Of course, they were tailor-made for a deceased uncle, and they didn't fit very well. As a matter of fact, I still remember stuffing crumpled newspaper into the heels of my shoes to keep them on my feet.

Very few of you have ever been poor in this way or even have been in contact with groups of people this poor. The great danger is that your growing up in affluence will deprive you of both understanding of and sympathy for the less advantaged.

Unless you personally have been poor, it is practically impossible to distinguish between what I would call "the poor" and "the broke." My family, back in 1930 and 1931, were very poor, but it was a condition of our purse. We simply did not have money. Our poverty could be cured by the prescription which Professor Milton Friedman of Chicago has suggested, merely by the application of money. This sort of purely financial poverty is no longer a serious problem in our affluent society. It is the people who are "broke" who remain a problem, and, indeed, a threat, to our society. Being broke is not a matter only of the purse. It is primarily a matter of the spirit, and all the money Professor Friedman recommends can be poured over a person who is broke without really making any difference. What a broke person needs is education, vocational training, a job opportunity and some sympathetic restoration of his faith in society and in himself. You are several years younger than I, but you are already too old to function as effective business managers unless you can appreciate and grapple with such problems and possibilities which the urban crisis presents to our business society.

NEGRO HAS MIGRATED TO NORTHERN CITIES

The urban crisis, really, is just an abbreviated way of saying "the problems of the Negro population in our central cities." You grew up in an America where one out of twelve of your fellow citizens was black, and that black citizen, to a very large extent, lived in an agrarian section of the former Confederacy. He was a sharecropper in the Mississippi Delta. But in a vast migration the Negro has now moved from the Southern farm to the Northern city. Your children will grow up in an America where one out of eight citizens will be black and, typically, that black citizen will be a low-income or no-income resident of a miserable ghetto in the ancient core of a Northern city.

KERNER REPORT SHOULD BE REQUIRED READING

I was dismayed this morning to read the results of a poll taken at the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. When asked to indicate the most important cause of civil disorder and riots in the American cities, 63 per cent of the businessmen in attendance listed "agitation from outsiders." A child psychologist reported some months ago that when he showed a picture of a teddy bear to Negro youngsters in the ghetto, two-thirds of them—almost the same 63 per cent—identified the teddy bear as a rat. Is it possible that our colleagues in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce regard these rats as "outside agitators"? Certainly the business community will make no progress in solving the social problems of our day until we acquire better understanding of easily available and indisputable facts. The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders—the Kerner Commission Report—should be required reading for a modern business manager. No one has more to lose than the American business system if we permit America to become two societies—one black and one white, separate, unequal and hostile.

MUST MOVE NEGRO INTO SOCIETY MAINSTREAM

Each of you has heard the old bromide: "My grandfather was smart enough to build the factory, my father was smart enough to keep it going, and I was smart enough to inherit it. Why can't the Negro do the same? Why can't he lift himself by his own bootstraps?" Well, I suppose, one reason is that it is rather difficult to lift yourself by your own bootstraps if you don't have the boots. If we expect the Negro community to stay in the mainstream of our society, we must provide the Negro with adequate jobs, housing, education and, equally important, with some real positions of authority and control.

As I understand it, most of you came to the PMD course as fairly senior business specialists. You were heads of data processing or chiefs of production scheduling, or heads of purchasing. The PMD course has provided you a look across all of the fields of business activity and you will be returning to your companies not only with a broadened knowledge of different aspects of business, but, I am sure, with a different type of relationship to the outside world. Now, just what do I mean by this? Well, in our Company we have had occasion to select several of our bright young men between the ages of 30 and 40 for this and similar courses. When they return, though perhaps not immediately, we generally move them up to positions where they begin to have an impact on our Company policy. Before they take a course such as this, their participation in the selection of Company goals is very small: The Company decides to open a new plant or sell a new product or change the accounting system, and the young man has the opportunity to carry out that decision. When he returns from a PMD-type course, however, and moves out of a specialized job into the field of general management, he begins to participate in the selection of goals. For the first time in the 10 or 15 years that he has been in business, his concentration moves from operations within the firm to relationship between the firm and the wider society outside. He begins to have more influence on the selection of Company goals and more power to help business society to do good or to do evil in the country.

USE CREATIVITY IN PROJECT SPENDING

Now, I am not suggesting that we give or should give our PMD graduates the shareholders' money to scatter about in needy areas of the city and into projects that happen to catch their fancy. Anyone can give away someone else's money. The real trick is to use the type of creativity which Professor Bliss said he hoped had been inculated in you during your PMD course. *The real challenge is to do good for society while doing well for your business.* This takes a little time and thought and effort. In today's growing national economy, a company really has to be pretty badly managed not to be able to increase its earnings modestly at least each year. You have each inherited a good mind and a lot of energy and have had some good breaks in getting your education or your companies wouldn't have selected you for the PMD course. If you really want to, you and your companies can pretty much coast together on the growing Gross National Product of America. You can build plants in relatively remote suburban areas inaccessible from the Negro ghetto and manufacture hardware to be propelled into outer space; you can live in a prosperous white suburb; and thereby you can divorce yourself from most of the current problems of our society. But you also will be divorcing yourself from a chance to help your country in a time of grave crisis and, indeed, from a chance to participate in a rare business adventure. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., put the issue accurately when he said "Life is action and passion. I think it is required of a man that he should share the action and passion of his time at peril of being judged not to have lived."

---

[1] Mr. Goldston addressed the graduating class of the Program for Management Development at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration on May 16, 1968. A native of Akron, Ohio, he holds four degrees from Harvard, including its business and law schools. While practicing law in Cleveland, he became associated with Midland Enterprises Inc., and was president of Midland in 1961 when it was acquired by Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates of Boston. Since April 1962, he has been president of Eastern, a diversified industrial organization engaged in the coal, natural gas, coke, ocean shipping and river barge business.

CHALLENGE FOR MODERN BUSINESS MANAGER—COMBINE PROFIT, SOCIAL PURPOSE, AND FUN

Here you are with the most modern business tools that can be provided by a magnificent faculty at a great business school. I suggest to you that the greatest challenge which you face is to put these tools and your expertise to work, and see if you can somehow succeed in blending in your work what I regard as the three essential ingredients for a modern American business. Lacking these ingredients, the private business firm will not remain one of the basic forms of human organization at a time when America is evolving toward a more just social system.

First of all, there must be profit. This is the fuel that makes the engine run. This is the scoreboard for the great game of American business. But, as I have said, almost anybody can show a reasonable profit in today's growing economy. The challenge is to combine the second ingredient, real benefits to society, and to achieve these while making a profit. Can you manage your operations so skillfully that you can eliminate air and water pollution and still attain a good profit? Can you hire a reasonable number of hard core unemployed, make generous contributions to worthy causes, take on some ghetto children during the summer for work that isn't absolutely essential, and still show a reasonable and even growing profit? That is the kind of challenge that is worthy of your talents and your training. But we musn't forget the third essential ingredient: The joy of worthwhile achievement. As executives in large corporations with broadcasting responsibilities you will soon share the power to begin to make meaningful changes in America—to help her continue as a moral as well as a military leader in the world. This sort of involvement with real, exciting movements and people is challenging and difficult but fulfilling, and above all, fun. This is where the essential difference lies between only making a living and really living.

That is the real challenge for men of your talents and training. The challenge to combine profit, social purpose and fun, or as Robert Frost put it in "Two Tramps in Mudtime":

> "But yield who will to their separation.
> My object in living is to unite
> My avocation and my vocation
> As my two eyes make one in sight.
> Only where love and need are one,
> And the work is play for mortal stakes.
> Is the deed ever really done
> For Heaven and the future's stakes."

Let me give you just a small illustration from our own business experience. Our subsidiary, the Boston Gas Company, has a perpetual franchise to serve a large part of Greater Boston, including the Roxbury area, which is Boston's black ghetto. Until this year, it was a pretty poor area for a gas utility to serve. Many of the apartments were boarded up because some tenants had moved out and taken along the bathtub, toilet and lighting fixtures. Very few of the people used gas for anything but cooking, and each gas stove was on a separate meter. The bills were small, the handling expense was great, and the bad debt percentage was huge because people moved so frequently.

We discovered at the end of 1967 that the Federal Government, through the Federal Housing Administration of HUD, was considering an immense housing demonstration program for this area. But to make the demonstration possible a substantial amount of working capital was needed above and beyond the government mortgages. By acquiring limited partnerships in the major development firms that had been selected by the FHA, we were able to specify gas heating, gas water heating, and gas clothes drying as well as the original gas cooking. Furthermore, one meter would handle each complete apartment house, and the landlord would pay the bill. The government financing, large volume use, and method of landlord billing justified the Gas Company in offering the low public housing gas rate to the project. In a period of less than one year, 3000 dwelling units are going to be rehabilitated and one-seventh of the Negro population of Boston significantly better housed. At the same time, Boston Gas Company will have acquired the largest single additional gas load in its history, and the parent company will have gained the "tax shelter" advantages of real estate depreciation. Together these gains make economic dollars out of social sense—we're doing well by doing good.

Projected financial consequences of Boston BURP Program to Boston Gas Co. and Eastern Associated Properties Corp. 3,000 rehabilitated units, total cost $36 million—5-year summary

Cash out:	
Underground facilities, meters, etc.	$450,000
Partnership interest, 10% of total equity	$360,000
Total investment	$810,000
Cash return:	
Gas revenue at $450,000/year, 5 years	$2,250,000
Less cost of gas at $280,000/year, 5 years	$1,400,000
Gross margin at $170,000/year, 5 years	$850,000
Less income tax at 48%	$410,000
Net income from sale of gas, 5 years	$440,000
Tax-savings; 10% of partnership tax losses for 5 years	$830,000
Tax rate (percent)	48
Tax saving for 5 years	$400,000
Total cash return	$840,000

We think that many features of the Boston formula will be copied elsewhere. The Federal Government agencies assigned special expediters from Washington to the Boston offices. The city collaborated in planning relocation. Small scale contracting firms took on the rehabilitation. The large gas utility supplied working capital and some specialized financial and Federal income tax expertise. This public and private cooperation in the urban housing field will mean that Boston, by the end of the current year, will have the best housed Negro population of any major city.

Of course, there were a lot of problems. Because of the size and speed of the program, there was a minimum of communication with residents of the area. The relocation problem had been underestimated. A perfectly legitimate demand developed for the residents in the community to get "a piece of the action." They objected to the fact that the program was entirely in the hands of outside owners and developers. We set about to try to find solutions for these problems, and I believe we have made a good start.

Of all our activities in the past few months, perhaps the most significant and satisfying has been our help in putting together an all-black commercially-motivated rehabilitation team which has been awarded FHA guarantee mortgages for a $1 million project as part of the demonstration program. This is the first such award in FHA history. It is important to realize that men who are capable of undertaking such an enterprise can be found in any major city if you look for them; men who are interested in genuine business opportunities, and have the capacity to become part of the mainstream of American economic life.

The all-black Boston development team is headed by Thomas Sanders, the star basketball player, "Satch" Sanders, of the Boston Celtics. He is a graduate of New York University in the field of business administration. The group was organized as Thomas Sanders Assocates. Mr. Sanders, with an income from sports, can use the tax shelter offered by real estate investment and has a genuine personal desire to help out in the Roxbury area where he lives. Mr. Samuel L. McCoy and Mr. Jack E. Robinson are Roxbury real estate men who became part of Thomas Sanders Associates, and the participating construction firm was headed by Mr. Lester Clemente, a local builder. This group, for all our assistance, is very genuinely on its own. We have merely coached from the sidelines to help them through the intricacies of FHA legal requirements and applications and the complexities of double declining balance depreciation as it affords "tax shelter." We also encouraged them to engage an experienced FHA developer on a consulting basis. In taking on a million-dollar 83-unit rehabilitation project, these black businessmen are really getting "a piece of the action." This is the way to help the Negro ghetto get good housing and also to help the Negro community stay in the mainstream of American life—by offering an opportunity to Negro businessmen to do it themselves. There is continuing validity in the ancinet Chinese saying, "If you give a man a fish, he will feed himself once. If you teach him to fish, he will feed himself all his life."

["An editorial from the Bay State Banner, March 21, 1968]

"THE NEW PIONEERS

"A group of Roxbury businessmen have taken the initiative to associate together and rehabilitate housing units in the ghetto.

"For Thomas Sanders it is his first real estate venture. For Lester Clemmente, the contractor, it is the largest single project of his career. For Jack Robinson and Sam McCoy, real estate operators, it is by far their largest business deal.

"With the assistance of Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates, and with the cooperation of Boston's four largest banks, National Shawmut, State Street Bank & Trust, New England Merchants and First National, the entrepreneurs were able to obtain a $1 million FHA-insured mortgage. Though never associated in any project before, they were able to come together, form a limited partnership, and obtain approval of the mortgage and the loan money in the record time of 6 weeks.

"Much hard work lies ahead for these men. They are pioneers, crucial to the development of a productive community. The Banner salutes their efforts."

GOOD HOUSING CAN BE GOOD BUSINESS

Now we didn't start out on this Roxbury housing matter as a charitable venture. It was a business opportunity related to the fact that society is in the process of giving the Negro community a better economic break. This means that the Negro market is becoming an immensely more attractive market. It also means that you must, as an elementary matter of business knowledge, learn an awful lot about the problems and the potentials of doing business in this market.

If you are creative, as Professor Bliss hopes you will be, this is one market where you can combine profit, social purpose and the fun of significant involvement. Here is the real challenge for the modern business manager.

A security analyst suggested to me the other day that any firm which is not planning ahead for the business opportunities and problems which will be created by the shift of funds from Vietnam to the urban crisis is a bad citizen and is probably a bad investment.

When the war in Vietnam ends, our society, under the new economics, is going to pump an awful lot of money either into space or into the cities. The temptation is to pump it into space, where all the troublesome problems of relocating people and racial strife do not exist—or at least, they do not as yet exist. But where there are no people, there are no votes. So I think the more likely place for society to make this huge investment will be, somehow or other, in our core cities.

BUSINESS MUST GAIN KNOWLEDGE OF AND SENSITIVITY TO CENTRAL CITY PROBLEMS

We won't be capable of doing this unless American businesses start now to gain the knowledge of and sensitivity to the problems of the central city, recruiting and upgrading Negro employees to help with the job. The day is gone when white society can take from the Negro community and give very little back. There just can't be all white milkmen, all white mailmen, all white utility employees serving a militant black society. There just can't be all white landlords, all white builders, all white craftsmen, seeming to dominate the housing of the black community.

Here is the great challenge that you soon will be facing. You are returning to your firms, as I have said, and they will be expecting you not only to be better technicians but also to be better judges of the appropriateness of your firm's goals.

Calvin Coolidge used to say "The business of America is business." Well, for the type of creative business managers Professor Bliss has tried to develop you into over these past 16 weeks, the old Coolidge saying has got to be rephrased to say, "The business of business is America."

GENOCIDE IN BIAFRA

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, all mankind is shocked by the cruel, savage, and deliberate plan to exterminate the people of Biafra by a program of starvation. All the facts clearly disclose that the Moslem-dominated Nigerian Government is determined to pursue its plan of extermination. Civilians have been the prime target of this indiscriminate slaughter and women and children have been its principal and most numerous victims. Russia, with Egyptian support, is supplying the weapons of destruction to the Nigerian Government in order to establish a firm foothold in black Africa.

What is urgently needed to sustain life in Biafra is an immediate cease-fire and the establishment of orderly procedures to permit immediate delivery of food and medical supplies to the tortured people of Biafra. The United States could bolster its moral position in this critical situation by approving the proposed treaty against genocide.

I am appending a carefully researched and documented study entitled "Genocide in Nigeria," prepared by the Biafra Students Association in the Americas, Inc., which fully sets forth the shocking facts about the Nigerian campaign of genocide:

GENOCIDE IN NIGERIA

The attention of the world is riveted on Vietnam. Yet one of the bloodiest, most horrifying and least understood wars in the world today is taking place in Nigeria—Black Africa's largest country.

This dreadful carnage is the direct result of the policy of the Moslem-dominated Nigerian Federal Government to annihilate the people of the country's Eastern region, primarily the Ibo tribe, who are Christians.

The shocking waste in innocent lives began nearly two years ago when 30,000 men, women and children of Easten Nigerian origin (particularly Ibos) were slaughtered in Nigeria's Northern region. This was not the first such genocidal act by the Moslem tribes of the North—they massacred thousands of Ibos in 1945 and 1953.

In a move to protect itself from this most recent senseless slaughter, the people of the Eastern region broke away from the Nigerian Federation, proclaiming themselves as the New Republic of Biafra.

To date more than two million Easterners (mainly Ibos) have been driven out of the other parts of Nigeria, where they had been living and working for years, and have taken refuge in Biafra. And the war has claimed over 100,000 casualties since Biafra announced its secession in May 1967.

It is the aim of the Moslem-dominated Nigerian Government—supported by Russian and British arms—to decimate the entire nation of Biafra, whose people are Christian and democratic. Russian jets, piloted by Egyptians, have indiscriminately bombed civilian centers—markets, churches, schools and hospitals—almost daily.

Impartial journalists and other observers report the following shocking facts about this Nigerian campaign of genocide.

1. *The Moslem-dominated Nigerian Government is bent on exterminating the Biafrans.*

"Some 30,000 Ibos were savagely murdered by Moslems in Nigeria's Northern Regions two years ago. And since their war for independence began last July, the predominantly Christian Ibos have experienced at firsthand the tender mercy of the federal troops. In each village and town the federal troops have occupied, they have butchered nearly every Ibo unlucky enough to have fallen into their hands." (*Newsweek*, Feb. 12, 1968)

"Because a number of the targets struck have been mission-run schools, churches and hospitals the belief has also taken root that the Northern, Moslem-dominated federal army is waging a religious war—a jihad—to convert all Eastern Christians by the sword." (Lloyd Garrison, New York Times, correspondent, *N.Y. Times*, Feb. 3, 1968)

"During the past year the population of Nigeria's Eastern region (the majority of whom are Ibo) has been subjected to widespread savage terrorism by Northern Army soldiers. Formerly over a million Ibos and other Easterners resided in the North, where they provided essential commercial and technical services. They were driven from the area in a series of murderous rampages in which Northern army soldiers and police actively participated, and those residing in Nigeria's other regions were also sporadically terrorized and murdered." (Richard Henderson, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Yale University, *N.Y. Times*, July 14, 1967)

"The great danger is that when the crack comes, as come it must, the federal commanders will not be able to hold their men back from a genocidal rampage among the Ibo population which will dwarf the massacres of last autumn. There have already been disquieting stories from the front of headless bodies in civilian clothing, seen lying with their hands tied behind their backs in Ibo villages on the Nsukka sector." (*London Times*, Aug. 7, 1967)

"Then in September 1966, the Moslem Hausas got down to the serious business of exterminating Ibos: In less than 10 days they slaughtered upwards of 50,000 Ibo men, women and children who had been living and working in Northern cities as traders, technicians and civil servants. The Army units in the North, already purged of Ibos in July and August, instead of stopping the slaughter participated in it." (George T. Orick, *The New Leader*, Jan. 1, 1968)

2. *Civilians have been the prime target of the indiscriminate slaughter.*

"I have examined after bombing the nine destroyed hospitals which are Borromea Catholic Hospital at Onitsha, the General Hospital at Arochukwu, Methodist Hospital at Ituk-Mbang, the leper colony and Mary Slessor Hospitals at Itu, the Lutheran Mission Hospital at Eket, Obioma Chelsea Home for Handicapped Children and the Infectious Disease Hospital at Port Harcourt, and the Eja Joint Hospital at Itigidi.

"At Itu, two large red crosses against a white background can be seen on the broken roof. The hospital director, Dr. Phillip, had also put a large Red Cross flag on a pole soon after the war started . . .

"Nigerian planes have also destroyed the girls' secondary school at Owerri, Christ the King elementary school at Aba, the Anglican girls' secondary school at Enugu, Christ the King College and Dennis Memorial grammar school at Onitsha, Holy Ghost teachers' training college at Umuahia, Union girls' secondary school at Ibiaku, and Lutheran high school at Uyo." (*London Observer*, March 2, 1968)

"More than 100,000 persons, mostly Biafra civilians, are believed to have been killed in the eight-month war and the weeks preceding it—about twice the combined American and South Vietnamese death toll in the last eight years of Vietnam fighting." (*Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 9, 1968)

"At least 75 civilians have died in a bombing raid by a Nigerian Illyushin jet on this busy market town. I saw their pitiful remains, carried to the overflowing mortuary—children mutilated beyond recognition and young girls cut in half by shrapnel . . .

"This was the second consecutive day of raids in this area. The federal air attacks are increasing in intensity, but their targets are invariably civilian areas." (*London Times*, April 24, 1968)

"In Asaba, just across the Niger from the Biafran town of Onitsha, some 700 Ibos were shot after the men had been lined up against one side of the main street and the women and children on the other. Nigerian authorities later claimed that this had been the result of 'a mistake'. Early in April, Onitsha itself, once the largest market town in West Africa and known as the jewel of the Niger, fell to federal troops. The city, under siege for months, is now a scorched and nearly empty ruin; fewer than 800 of the former population of 160,000 remain, without water or electricity and dependent upon their conquerors for food. Two hours after the town of Igwada had been taken, a Roman Catholic missionary saw the streets littered with civilian corpses. The Nigerian bombers, although they sometimes attacked strategic targets like the oil refinery, cement factories and palm oil tanks, usually showed a distinct preference for launching anti-personnel bombs into marketplaces and crowded urban centers, returning later to strafe the survivors." (John Horgan, *Commonweal*, May 3, 1968)

"I Have seen things in Biafra this week which no man should have to see. Sights to scorch the mind and sicken the conscience. I have seen children roasted alive, young girls torn in two by shrapnel, pregnant women eviscerated, and old men blown to fragments. I have seen these things and I have seen their cause; high-flying Russian Ilyushin jets operated by Federal Nigeria, dropping their bombs on civilian centres throughout Biafra." (*London Times*, April 28, 1968)

3. ***Russia, with Egyptian support, is supplying the weapons of destruction to the Nigerian Government and is establishing a foothold in Black Africa. Britain is supplying arms to protect its economic interests.***

"The Soviet Union has sent patrol boats, MIG fighters and military transports. The MIG pilots are mostly Egyptians." (*N.Y. Times*, Feb. 2, 1968)

"They also have a complete monopoly of the air, with Ilyushin 28 jet bombers, piloted by Egyptians on secondment from the United Arab Republic Air Force, bombing civilian centres in Biafra indiscriminately from high altitude almost daily." (*London Times*, April 22, 1968)

"Now the Soviet Union has primed the country's internal struggle. By sending arms, including MIG jet fighters, for which no qualified Nigerian pilots exist, to aid Maj. Gen. Yakubu Gowon's federal government, the Soviets have broken the tacit ban on great-power arms competition in sub-Sahara Africa.

"Soviet interest already has been evidenced in countries that control the supply of oil to Western Europe—Iran, Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Iraq and others. Now Moscow has taken a stake in Nigeria which, before the war broke out, was supplying 10 per cent of Britain's oil and has great potential as an oil producer." (*Christian Science Monitor*, August 30, 1967)

"And it has meant a new foothold in black Africa for Russia, which has been supplying the Federal Nigerian government with MIG fighter airplanes and other arms." (*Business Week*, April 20, 1968)

"Whatever its explanation for the record, Moscow's ulterior motive for supplying Lagos with MIG's, torpedo boats and more than 200 'technicians' was apparent from the start. Once again, Moscow was trying to gain a foothold on a continent where past power plays had produced an almost unbroken chain of failures.

"Britain began by joining Washington in a promise not to sell arms to either side. But when Moscow intervened, threatening Britain's traditional vested interests in Nigeria, the British scrapped the arms embargo and marched in full step behind Lagos.

"Nasser took his cue from the Russians. Sentiment was also a factor: the principal leaders in Lagos were fellow Moslems, and the Ibos were not only Christian but had openly identified their cause with that of Israel's struggle to create a homeland." (*N.Y. Times*, March 31, 1968)

"They have set up Soviet-Nigerian 'friendship' societies in Lagos and the northern city of Kano. Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, has been given landing rights at Ikeja airport outside Lagos. A new Russian propaganda library has been established at Ibadan University; a Soviet magazine called New World is being circulated, and Novosti News Agency, the Soviet propaganda apparatus, has spread bureaus around the country. Moreover, the Nigerian government is considering letting Russia or other East Bloc countries build some factories in the country." (*Wall Street Journal*, March 22, 1968)

4. ***Biafrans have been the most advanced people of prewar Nigeria.***

"In little more than two generations, Iboland has produced skilled statesmen, doctors, writers, scholars and millionaire entrepreneurs at a pace and with a determination that can only be described as breath-taking. And they have achieved these advances not from any fallout from British paternalism, but by pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps." (*N.Y. Times*, June 11, 1967)

"Apart from their leading role in the civil service and government, the Ibos ran the railways, manned the telephone exchanges and in general kept the country's industries humming. And if permanent isolation of the Ibos turns out to be the price of the civil war now under way, the prospects for Nigeria will be as dim as the streets of Lagos are these days after dark." (*Newsweek*, Sept. 11, 1967)

"The Ibos are egalitarian in ethics, behavior, and organization. They modernized themselves; education is almost a fetish with them. They are essentially Christian in faith though secular in temperament, and they hold to the ideal of individual conscience and responsibility. They are upwardly mobile, eagerly becoming traders, civil servants, technicians, dispensers of modern ideas, leaders in social action and social amelioration. They transformed native structures into the idea of Nigeria as a modern polity." (Professor Stanley Diamond, *Africa Report*, February, 1968)

"The Ibos are Nigeria's best-educated and most energetic people." (Claire Sterling, *The Reporter*, August 10, 1967)

"Prior to the programs, educated Easterners manifested the strongest genuine nationalism of all Nigerian groups." (Professor Richard Henderson, *N.Y. Times*, July 14, 1967)

5. *The Moslem-North has periodically engaged in programs against the Biafrans.*

"Northern resentment of these alien 'intruders' first surfaced in the anti-Ibo Kano riots of 1953—a portent of more tragic events to come." (*N.Y. Times*, March 31, 1968)

"In the Northern capital of Kaduna, raging mobs of Moslems armed with iron bars and broken bottles surged through the streets shouting anti-Ibo slogans. They killed at least thirty of the Ibo aliens from the East. In Kano, a swarm of Northerners marched out of the mud walls of the old city and stormed toward the airport, seeking Ibo blood. At the site of the huge Kainji Dam on the Niger, six Ibo bodies were scattered in the dirt, and at least fifty more Ibos were badly injured. In such Northern towns as Jos and Samaru, Zaria and Maiduguri, communal violence raged with the intensity of last May's infamous Ibo hunt. By the week's end, confirmed deaths stood at 200". (*Time* Magazine, Oct. 7, 1966)

"The massacre began at the airport near the Fifth Battalion's home city of Kano. A Lagos bound jet had just arrived from London, and as the Kano passengers were escorted into the customs shed, a wild-eyed soldier stormed in, brandishing a rifle and demanding Ina Nyammari—Hausa for Where are the damned Ibos? There were Ibos among the customs officers, and they dropped their chalk and fled, only to be shot down in the main terminal by other soldiers. Screaming the blood curses of a Moslem holy war, the Hausa troops turned the airport into a shambles, bayoneting Ibo workers in the bar, gunning them down in the corridors, and hauling Ibo passengers off the plane to be lined up and shot." (*Time Magazine*, Oct. 14, 1966)

6. *The Nigerian Government has refused calls for a cease-fire to halt the carnage.*

"Officials here today said the Nigerian Government would not agree to discuss a cease-fire with the Biafrans before agreement was reached on the other conditions to end the civil war.

"An External Affairs Ministry official said a cease-fire would have to be the last item on the agenda." (*N.Y. Times*, April 24, 1968)

7. *The sovereignty of the people of Biafra should be recognized. Tanzania, Gabon and Ivory Coast have done so.*

"With nearly 14 million people—the majority are Ibos—Biafra is no ministate. It is bigger than Bulgaria, more populous than Sweden. Within Africa itself, it embraces more people than Algeria, Morocco, Ghana or the Congo.

"Left alone, free of blockade and civil war, Biafra could become a viable nation. It has untapped quantities of sulphur-free oil, now in high demand in the pollution-stricken cities of Europe and North America; Biafra also exports palm oil and timber, and has a growing number of fledging industries." (*N.Y. Times*, June 11, 1967)

". . . some analysts believe that recognition of Biafra by the United States and other African nations could help resolve the present conflict . . . for such recognition might conceivably out-maneuver the Russians, lead an end to the war and permit negotiation. . . ." (*Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 30, 1967)

"The basic case for Biafra's secession from Nigerian Federation is that people from the Eastern region can no longer feel safe in other parts of the Federation. They are not accepted as citizens of Nigeria by the other citizens of Nigeria. Not only is it impossible for Ibos and people of related tribes to live in an assurance of personal safety if they work outside Biafra, it would also be impossible for any representative of these people to move freely and without fear in any other part of the Federation of Nigeria. . . .

"Fears such as now exist among the Ibo peoples do not disappear because someone says they are unjustified, or says that the rest of Nigeria does not want to exterminate the Ibos. Such words have even less effect when the speakers have made no attempt to bring the perpetrators of crimes to justice and when troops under the control of the Federal Nigerian authorities continue to ill-treat, or allow others to ill-treat any Ibos who come within their power. The only way to remove the Easterners' fear is for the Nigerian authorities to accept its existence, to acknowledge the reason for it, and then to talk of terms of equality with those involved about the way forward." (*Statement by Government of the United Republic of Tanzania*, April 13, 1968)

"The strength of Biafran feeling makes reunion with Nigeria highly improbable. It can be militarily enforced, perhaps, but it will be nearly impossible to make it last." (*The Economist*, February 10, 1968)

"Zambia, the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville) and Burundi appear ready to recognize Biafra if the Federals continue fighting. The Gabonese President, Albert Bongo, summed up the feeling when he said in Paris: 'We cannot continue passively to watch the genocide now taking place in Nigeria . . . it is an illusion to believe that Nigeria can continue to exist in its present form.'" (*London Observer*, May 5, 1968)

"What is certain, however, is that a nation has been born and will in some form endure. There is a reality about the birth of Biafra, in blood and confusion, that there never was about all those ceremonial haulings-down of flags, in which the colonial authorities handed over symbols of power to selected orators and other dignitaries." (Conor Cruise O'Brien, *London Observer*, Oct. 8, 1967)

8. ***The war-torn Biafrans are in desperate need of food, medical supplies and other humanitarian aid.***

"The stream of refugees from areas overrun by federal troops has long since outstripped the capacity of villages to absorb them. There are more than 200,000 old men, women and children in 300 refugee camps throughout Biafra.

"The camps are desperately short of food and medical supplies, and although there is no starvation, children in the camps have been dying of malnutrition." (*N.Y. Times*, April 22, 1968)

"There is danger of smallpox, diarrhea, dysentary or polio epidemics, which would be disastrous because people would have to desert the camps. We worry about drugs especially with the bombing of hospitals, and we need tents, stretchers, clothing in printed cotton, protein food, antiseptics and vaccines." (*London Observer*, March 2, 1968)

U.S. MARINE CORPS RESERVE OF INDIANAPOLIS MARKS ITS 38TH YEAR OF EXISTENCE

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I note with pride that the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve has been active in Indianapolis, Ind., for 38 years, the first 6 of which were without benefit of official recognition or financial help. Through the years the dedicated young men who have belonged to this group have served in a variety of military capacities, operating as infantry, artillery, headquarters, and communications units at different times. Since February 1967 it has been the Communications Support Company, 12th Communications Battalion, of the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve.

Like other similar outfits in the Reserve, the Indianapolis unit is staffed largely by men who hold down full-time civilian jobs in a great variety of occupations but undergo evening and weekend training periods as well as special summer camp experience. After it was changed last year to a communications support company many of the members have had to undergo extensive retraining to prepare them for their new assignments. This process has been aided by the fact that one-third of the marines already had communications experience and were able to help teach the other members.

A very interesting article outlining the history of the Indianapolis Marine Corps Reserve unit, explaining its present role, and describing some of the young men included within its present personnel has been written by one of its active members, Sgt. John Martin. As a tribute to these fine young men, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in full at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOOSIER RESERVISTS

(By Sgt. John Martin)

Marines of Indianapolis had three uniforms in 1930—the one they put on, the one they wore, and the one they took off.

Drilling without benefit of Marine Corps funds during their first six years, the reservists trained without pay, bought their own uniforms, and put up money from their own pockets to help maintain the Navy armory in which they met.

The "teenage" Marine Corps Reserve consisted of two branches on its 14th birthday. The Fleet Marine Corps Reserve (FMCR) corresponded to the Class II or Organized Reserve of today while the Volunteer Marine Corps Reserve (VMCR) served as a backlog of strength to allow for vacancies in the FMCR. The volunteers, such as the ones at Indianapolis, however, could be assigned to the FMCR only at their request.

But just as Indiana battled for statehood prior to 1816, the Marines wanted to rise to the status of full-fledged reservists. Ever since John Philip Sousa's band and a Marine honor guard had stormed Indianapolis in 1923, Marine spirit had run high in the capital city.

Leading the campaign was a Shell Oil dealer named Bill Smith. He kept up the pressure on Headquarters, Marine Corps and the Great Lakes Naval Training Center until, in 1936, the Commandant directed Smith to ". . . . organize and command the 16th Battalion, USMCR."

The reservists of Indianapolis today can look back on a checkerboard history. In their 38 years of service they've been an infantry battalion, a couple different kinds of artillery batteries, a headquarters unit, and now, for the second time in their history, a communications outfit.

The state nickname, "Hoosier," may come from a blending of the pioneer greeting, "Who's h'yer?" And, anyone asking this at the Indianapolis Reserve Training Center would find answers from "jacks of all trades" among the old salts who have experienced the many redesignations. 1stSgt. Bill Moore and MSgt. Bill Moore will testify to this. Although their identical names often provoke a friendly rivalry (each man insisting the other is old enough to be his father) the two work well together. Currently, they instruct the younger reservists in the aspects of communication work.

A retraining program in communications was necessary after Indianapolis became the Communications Support Company 12th Communications Battalion, on February 1, 1967.

With communications work going on inside the Center, memories and traditions outside testify to the past. Out front, there is an old artillery piece, manned today only by neighborhood children. Next to the flagpole is a ship's bell and, around back, there is an indoor range.

The present job of the company allows only a recreational use for the pistol range and now one-half of the building is used as a repair shack for the Communications Platoon.

Two members of this group are Sgts. Timothy E. and David R. Doyle. Timothy is younger but David is the family "boot" since he came into the Corps six months after his brother. Upon completion of his six months active duty training, David extended for Ground Radio Repair School and Tim returned to active duty to join him. David took second place in scholastic honors and Tim graduated third.

The Doyle brothers were well placed in their MOS because electrical know-how is a part of their everyday lives. David is a computer service representative for RCA, and Tim works as an electrical aircraft maintenance engineer for the Allison Division of General Motors.

Like all brothers, the two may have their minor disagreements in their youth. "However," says Tim, "since we joined the Corps and went through school together, we know each other's capabilities better and work together real well."

Communications Platoon is one side of a triangle which includes Wire Platoon and Radio Platoon.

LCpl O. Smith Kenton, a motor transport man, says the platoons work well together. "As far as cooperation and work goes at Indianapolis," he said, "I don't think you can beat it."

The reservists proved their combined worth at summer training when they participated in Operation Golden Slipper at Camp Pendleton, Calif.

"What we didn't already know," said Capt. Daniel B. Corts, commanding officer, "we found out soon at summer camps." Capt. Corts, a research psychologist for the Department of the Army, recently took the helm of the Communications Support Co., following the transfer of the former commander, Capt. Calvin R. Dyer.

In his personal observations of the summer training, Capt Dyer said, "We set in wires, laid in radio/relay stations, and put up switchboards."

He told us that the reservists were working with the Fourth Marine Division Headquarters Nucleus, Communications Cadre, to see how well the regulars and reservists could coordinate in a large-scale exercise.

"I was pleased with summer camp," said Capt. Dyer. "Our people are intelligent and have a lot of potential. They were very responsive to a military situation and, for the limited amount of time we have on weekends, they do their job well. With time on active duty, they could do real well."

The limited weekend training time encompasses an unlimited amount of subjects for the three platoons. WO Patrick F. Lawley, Jr., runs Wire Platoon through classes on the fundamentals of construction frames, wire plans, maintenance of the equipment, reel units, telephones, and field wires. Lawley is well qualified for this slot. As a civilian, he works as an exchange repairman for Indiana Bell Telephone.

The past year has required a lot of retraining to meet the needs of a Communication Support Company. "The men took the Marine Corps Institute courses on message center operation," said GySgt. Albert E. Shockey, Communications Platoon leader, "and a lot of our men are being school-trained after boot camp."

SSgt Dale E. Leibrandt described one way retraining was being achieved. "The one-third of the Marines who already have communications experience are teaching the other two-thirds what they need to know. It's worked pretty well," he noted.

Capt. Robert E. Clemmons runs the Radio Platoon and plans lectures on communication publications, message format, nets and frequencies, and radio frequency spectrum. L.Cpl. Vernon S. Moeller took time from studying a book on frequency sequence to tell us, "My civilian experience has helped me in my Marine Corps job." The young Marine worked as a draftsman for Western Electric during this summer.

All platoons combine for a class when 1st Lt. James D. Richard, communications watch officer, takes the podium. Most of the time, he teaches elementary school students the correct spelling of the Three R's. But, on Reserve weekends, he has the opportunity to pass along a little Vietnam scoop to the troops.

Although the lieutenant draws material for his classes from Marine Corps training manuals, he backs it up with his own experiences from a tour of active duty in Vietnam. He spent a year there as an aerial observer.

Overseeing the activities of the Training Center is Maj. Wesley E. Rhine, the Inspector-Instructor. The major takes a keen interest in the Reserve training, often making personal observations during a drill weekend. 1st. Sgt. Theodore P. Gaizat supervises the work of the administrative section.

The reservists aren't the only Marines with whom the I–I deals. Nearby Ft. Benjamin Harrison, an Army post, hosts two schools which Marines attend: The Defense Information School and the Data Processing Department of the Army Adjutant General School. The records of these Marines are maintained by the I–I staff during the length of the courses.

HM1 Gary L. Bodeman is the I–I corpsman and cares for the incidental medicinal needs of the reservists. While "Thanks, Doc," is a phrase generally used by Marines in payment for a corpsman's work, a reservist might be bewildered as to what to say to one of Doc's colleagues, Lt Cmdr Fran Foltz. A Navy Reserve nurse, she attends the drills to gain points for her retirement and because she likes working with Marines.

"She's the best nurse I've ever worked with," Doc Bodeman said, "and she's an excellent person."

The Indiana Reserve Center is located next to an athletic field and playground in the midst of a residential district. Down the street is an amusement park.

Sports activity in the area ranges from excellent pheasant hunting to a night at the baseball stadium, watching the local team, to the annual Memorial Day Indianapolis 500-mile race. The I–I staff maintains a boat, motor, and car top carrier which can be checked out by any reservist. In addition, theres a woodworking shop and, for those who want to use the indoor range, .22 caliber rifles are available.

The town is strangely reminiscent of Washington, D.C., having a multitude of monuments and memorials that rival the Nation's Capital. There's the President Harrison Memorial Home, the James Whitcomb Riley home and scenic drive, Garfield Park, the Soldiers and Sailors Monument and the Indiana World War Memorial Plaza. For all-around entertainment and things to do, Indianapolis is nearly second to Disneyland.

Universities and colleges abound in the area. Such places as Marian College, Butler University, Indiana University, DePauw University, and the Indiana College of Business and Technology are available to the Marine who wants to get ahead.

Sgt. John P. Beeck, a member of Communications Platoon, agrees that Indianapolis is a great town for Marines, especially as far as the people who live there are concerned. "I'm a salesman," he said, "and I find that many of my customers are interested in Marine Corps training."

And it's a "red carpet" reception at Indianapolis, not only from the people but from the Reserve Center, itself. Pfc William G. Olson looked lost the day he returned from his six-months, active-duty training and reported to the Training Center. But, after 1st Sgt Gaizat ushered him into Maj. Rhine's office for a "welcome aboard" he was all smiles. "I received a real good reception here," he concluded.

While at Camp Pendleton, Pfc Olson completed a four-week Field Radio Operators Course. With this under his belt, he anticipated no trouble in adjusting to his new assignment at Indianapolis. And, of course, he's been issued his three uniforms—greens, tropicals, and utilities—which he wears with the same pride as his 1930 counterpart.

THE BATTLE OF MONTEREY HILLS

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. **BROWN** of California. Mr. Speaker, at times Congress passes laws with the best of intentions, but local problems which could not be foreseen here in Washington have a way of putting an entirely different light on the matter.

Such is the case in some cases where urban renewal and rehabilitation of an area are involved. Currently, efforts are being made in Los Angeles to redevelop the Monterey Hills area. The Hermon-Monterey Hills Association is a group of citizens opposed to the plan who are waging a strenuous campaign against the present plans.

I believe that the following two articles, written by Mrs. Elizabeth Richman on behalf of the association, will give all of us a most provocative view of the efforts to "fight city hall" made by one citizen's group in this type of effort. The articles follow:

THE BATTLE OF MONTEREY HILLS

(By Elizabeth Richman)

The big news in El Sereno and the Hermon District of Highland Park is the Monterey Hills Redevelopment Project, which was reactivated last October when Councilman Snyder introduced a resolution in the City Council asking for federal funds to study the long dormant project and set off a controversy which gets hotter every day. Councilman Snyder stated that 100 homes would be taken under the right of eminent domain and thus started the fight. He also estimated that 2000 new homes would be built and that the land developed would sell for $50 million or an average of $25,000 per lot.

The application was rejected by the federal HUD on the grounds that the project: did not provide low-cost housing; was not open land; did not provide relocation housing for displaced persons; and money was needed more urgently for other things.

This was not the end of the matter for in his proposed budget Mayor Yorty included $225,000 for study of the project. This is by no means the first study. In 1955 the City planning Commission had already mapped the Monterey Hills Project, dividing it into four sections: Section A, designated as a Pilot Project, the area north of Avenue 60 between Monterey Road and the South Pasadena border; Section B, from Avenue 60 to Huntington Drive between Monterey Road and Collis; Sections C and D, El Sereno north of Huntington Drive. The plan was for governmental provision of streets, sewers, water and power, followed by the sale of the land to private developers. Opposition arose and the plans were dropped, but like seeds buried in the frozen earth remained viable. Councilman Holland was content to leave well enough alone and the residents relaxed—until last October. The area under consideration was now defined as having approximately the same boundaries as Section B of the 1955 plan but the number of new structures estimated by Mr. Snyder was the same as the number planned in 1955 for the larger area.

Alarmed by the threat of losing 100 homes under eminent domain and by the prospect of higher taxes, local people got together and celebrated Lincoln's birthday by organizing the Hermon-Monterey Hills Association. Since then a running controversy has kept the project in the limelight. At a meeting called April 1st by Mr. Snyder to present a favorable picture of the proposal, the Bushnell Way School Auditorium was packed with what local papers referred to as "worried residents", adding that the project was "greeted with antagonism by the majority of those present."

By April 1st the number of houses to be "taken" according to Councilman Snyder's estimate had dropped to "about 50". He scoffed at the idea of a rise in taxes. On April 22nd Mr. J. H. Warmack, President Pro-Tem of the Hermon-Monterey Hills Association, addressed a letter to the councilman asking for details, including figures on which he based his statement that taxes would not be affected. Mr. Warmack reports that to date he has received no reply. "I don't expect I ever will," he says.

City Council hearings on the budget began on May 18th and Elizabeth Richman of HMHA was there to demand that the $225,000 for study of the Monterey Hills Project be deleted. After blasting Councilman Snyder for telling the HMHA committee that there was to be no budget hearing although it was clearly on the calendar, she outlined HMHA's objections to the project. "The taking of homes for the benefit of private developers is an injustice," she claimed. "And the project is not needed. There is no shortage of houses for sale in the area." She cited the neighboring Altos de Monterey Project in South Pasadena as an example of the effect on city revenues. "All taxes from that project area have been impounded to meet the Community Redevelopment Agency costs while the city has had to build a new school and provide added services for the residents. It would be the same in the Los Angeles section of Monterey Hills." She also stated that already overcrowded schools and traffic arteries would find their problems aggravated.

HMHA continued its activity. At an overflow meeting on May 24th at Bushnell Way School Auditorium, Assemblyman David Roberti stated his opposition to the project, emphasizing the human suffering caused by forced removal of people from their homes. Mr. James Passow, well known for his opposition to urban redevelopment projects, characterized the project as "legalized claim-jumping."

At this meeting HMHA launched a petition campaign. On June 17th., Mrs. Wathea Sims Jones appeared at the City Council and presented the petitions with 700 signatures in support of HMHA opposition to the project. She repeated the demand that the $225,000 be deleted from the budget.

However it stayed in. It will go to the Planning Committee of the City Council of which Mr. John Gibson is Chairman. This committee will consider whether or not to authorize the expenditure.

The Hermon-Monterey Hills Association is currently discussing their next step, but one alternative they never considered is any change in their opposition. "This has to be stopped," they say, "or no one will have any security in home ownership."

For some this is the second time around. One of these is Steve Anthony who joined the group in April and was elected President. "I lost my home when they wanted to build that Hollywood Museum," he says. "Now the land is a parking lot. But I let the people know what is going on."

There are people here from Bunker Hill and from the Eagle Rock Freeway and from Chavez Ravine. The vivacious young woman who serves as Executive Secretary remembers Chavez Ravine with horror. "My neighbor here in El Sereno had her home torn down over there," and her brown eyes fill with tears of anger. She pauses. "We lived there too. I saw the bulldozers crushing people's homes." She shudders. "I was just a kid then."

"I lost property in Watts," says a dignified lady. "I looked a long time before I found my home. And then I found a Christian who would sell to me." Her front yard is a magnificent garden of roses, worth fighting for.

A sense of having survived past horrors gives toughness to the group. The thorough ethnic integration of HMHA both in rank and file and in the leadership is another source of strength. There is a conviction that their struggle is part of something bigger which sends them out to seek allies. Recently Mrs. Betty Eckgren, coordinator of Citizens to Save Rose Hill-Arroyo Seco Park, announced her organization's support of HMHA; the Council for Planning and Conservation devoted a page of its June bulletin to the HMHA struggle; close ties are being forged between HMHA and other local groups. The Association is also varied in its political composition. CDC members sit down with

Republican conservatives. Tags and labels are forgotten.

Like many people who take to the hills, these homeowners are to some extent protected by the terrain. The engineering difficulties will add to the cost. Getting water and power streets and sewers into these ravines and peaks will be expensive. The project may be stopped by such financial considerations. If not, HMHA will intensify its struggle. Should the Monterey Hills Redevelopment Project be knocked out by sound business judgment . . . what then? Will HMHA continue its struggle against the taking of low cost homes which are in trouble by reason of being on prime land? Backs are up, morale is high. It will certainly bear watching.

THE BATTLE OF MONTEREY HILLS—PART II

(By Elizabeth Richman)

On July 22d Councilman Snyder, bypassing the Planning Committee, introduced a resolution in which the City Council went on record as favoring the project and requesting "the City Planning Commission to formulate a preliminary plan for the redevelopment of the proposed Los Angeles Monterey Hills Project Area in cooperation with the Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles." The Councilmen, to whom a councilmanic district is a sort of fief, all voted for it. Attached to the resolution and part of it was a legal description of revised boundaries. Councilman Snyder stressed that this was a decrease in area and that the number of houses to be "taken" would now be reduced to probably fifteen. The Hermon-Monterey Hills Association stated that this was fifteen too many and also pointed out that the resolution does not in fact set any boundaries. It just talks about them. The City Planning Commission and the CRA are authorized to set the boundaries. The people of the area have been offered a three-dollar bill, a counterfeit promise that has no legal standing. The office of the City Attorney has written HMHA confirming this.

The next question is where will the money for the project come from. Expenses for past studies and the $225,000 for current planning comes from city taxes. The big money, however, would be for development which includes water and electricity, roads, sewers, street lights, cutting off tops of mountains, land fill and other such desirable and undesirable things. The LA Times has referred to it as a $4 million project, but the smaller sister project in South Pasadena cost over $7 million, not counting the new school. In considering the cost such things as schools, main sewer lines into which the project lines would flow, necessary widening of main streets outside of the project and other expenses which occur on land outside the project but which are needed because of it should be considered. The voters will have to look sharp because they may be well hidden. We remain with the question—where is the money coming from?

HMHA contends that wherever it comes from, it is wasted because the local residents do not need the project. They claim that there are many houses vacant in the neighborhood, a claim no one has denied. The City Planning Commission says that information concerning existing vacancies would be obtained by CRA during the Survey and Planning phase some time in the future. Councilman Snyder has had some things to say about the need for the project. In one moment of unguarded candor he spoke of it as bringing in a better class of people. When challenged in an open meeting to explain this he smiled like a wolf and said he was referring to his questioner and others who live in the area as "a better class of people." He did not say where he got his people classifying license. That same evening—it was April First—he spoke of the need to bring in more executive and managerial talent for downtown Los Angeles. They would, he explained, welcome these homes which would sell for $40,000 to $50,000. The need for an improved system of upgrading current city employees might be indicated here. He also spoke of providing employment. Obviously a residential project brings in more people than it does jobs. It is of course true that building anything, or even tearing something down, provides jobs. But HMHA contends that spending government funds for needed improvements is a preferable source of jobs.

Ever since last January voters have been suggesting to leaders of HMHA that the appropriate response to the threat to the community is a campaign to recall Councilman Snyder. HMHA President Steve Anthony has this to say about a recall: "No recall campaign has yet begun. It's a big job to recall a Councilman. First you have to get the money and then you have to build an organization along precinct lines. An organization such as the Hermon-Monterey Hills Association which is largely based in one local neighborhood would need to have allies in order to be successful. The matter, however, is being studied."

The people who talk about a recall talk not only about what is being done but also about the way in which it is being done. For years the city has been buying up tax-delinquent land. There have been many instances of building permits denied without cause. The City Council resolution in October asking for federal funds angered the entire community by referring to the area as a slum. When Snyder later explained that he did not really believe this but had to put it into the application, it was pointed out that this was dishonest. Also the October resolution was rushed through with no public hearing. The Council was told that the local residents favored the project. When HMHA was organized to bring the matter to the public and to let the Council know that there was considerable opposition, Councilman Snyder attacked the group in the local papers, questioning their right to speak on the subject. He also circulated a letter in which he made derogatory personal statements about the HMHA officers. This he did at City expense.

On April 22nd HMHA addressed a letter to Councilman Snyder asking for detailed information. One question inquired about geological studies. This is particularly interesting in view of the land slides which have occurred on other hillsides. Other questions referred to taxes, boundaries of the area, sewer bonds and an accounting of where they have been spent, and the date of the public hearing to be held on the $225,000 item in the budget for Monterey Hills. To date August 11 no answer has been received, which is a little late considering that the hearing was held May 20th.

On the morning of May 20th a committee from HMHA went to Mr. Snyder and asked him to help them get the floor to speak on the budget. He assured them that there was to be no hearing on the budget that day. With a flourish he waved a copy of the daily calendar and said it was not listed. Sure enough it was not. Why should it be since the copy he was using was for May 15th? Even when shown his error he refused the group the courtesy of introducing them as his constituents, but really the committee did not mind that.

On June 17th HMHA presented petitions signed by 700 residents to the City Council, expressing opposition to the proposed project. Councilman Snyder was not the least bit interested.

These are examples of the way in which the Councilman has reacted to the citizens of the area. Now they place no credence in his assurances concerning the boundaries. They feel that they have no representative in the City Council.

At its last meeting the Hermon-Monterey Hills Association voted to affiliate with the Council for Planning and Conservation, a group perhaps best known for its work in the area of conservation. Among its affiliates are groups like Citizens to Save Hazard Park, Friends of the Santa Monica Mountain Parks and Federation of Hillside and Canyon Associations. HMHA considers the interest in total environment expressed by the Council a constructive approach. Preservation of open space within the city, problems of high population density such as traffic congestion and crowded schools and the danger of an increase in smog are within the scope of the Council's interest and are all involved in the HMHA's opposition to the proposed Monterey Hills Project.

HMHA is continuing its petition campaign, it is continuing to bring the story of Monterey Hills to citizens throughout Los Angeles, and it is busy in its own community developing alliances. More and more the group is relating the problem of Monterey Hills to the other problems of Los Angeles. It is very much a part of the dissatisfaction of today's citizens and is quite aware of this fact. The battle of Monterey Hills has just begun.

CONGRESSMAN ON WHEELS

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I acquired an "office on wheels" so that I might better serve my constituents. I should like to place in the RECORD at this time my current newsletter describing this "office on wheels":

CONGRESSMAN ON WHEELS

My new Office on Wheels will now circulate among shopping plazas, factories, and other population centers—in addition to regular post office visits. In Dundalk, my Office on Wheels met people seeking jobs, social security benefits, hospitalization for an injured veteran, a stolen organ, scholarships, compassionate reassignments, a runaway husband.

"Very handy" (Walter Hill). "Tremendous!" (Mrs. Anne Butler). "Really a help" (Mrs. Helen Hisker). Step into my Office on Wheels at these following locations:

September 7: Reisterstown Shopping Center, 10 a.m.; Owings Mills Post Office, 11 a.m.

September 14: Havre de Grace Post Office, 10 a.m.; Aberdeen Post Office, 11 a.m.

September 21: Chase Post Office, 10 a.m.; Essex Post Office, 11 a.m.

Other places and dates by special announcement.

BEAR AFRAID OF A MOUSE

The Russian invasion of tiny Czechoslovakia reveals the paranoid insecurity of the Soviet system. A paranoid is dangerous precisely because of his fright; the peril to the world could be greater now than during the Cuban missile crisis. We Americans would do well to act with great circumspection and to keep our guard up against *anything* that might happen.

OIL: LOW TAXES AND HIGH PRICES

Three questions: Why have oil and gas prices gone up so spectacularly? Why do oil companies get a special tax break? Why do we keep foreign oil out and thus use up U.S. oil reserves needed for future emergencies? At the request of your Congressman, three Federal agencies are investigating.

WALKED 209 MILES TO VOTE

Your Congressman's attendance has been one of the best in the entire House and Senate. My office is ½ mile roundtrip to the House Floor. Distance walked last year to answer roll calls: 209 miles.

JOB OFFICE FOR MIDDLE RIVER

Martin's during the past eighteen months, has laid off 2,600 workers. To find new jobs, your Congressman just got the Maryland Employment Service to open a special office in Middle River—at 1515 Martin Boulevard (UAW Local). Call 687-6719.

CONGRESSMAN PHILBIN REPORTS TO DISTRICT

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, following my usual practice at the end of each Congress, I am circulating in my district a summary of the great issues which came before the 90th Congress.

In addition, I am making available some background material on my service in Congress in the light of the many requests I have received from new constituents who are now in the Third District as a result of the congressional redistricting last year by the State legislature.

Under unanimous consent I place the text of this report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The material follows:

CONGRESSMAN PHILBIN REPORTS TO THE THIRD DISTRICT

I think that most Americans will agree that the 90th Congress has produced many meritorious legislative accomplishments in education, civil rights, housing, expanded Social Security programs, the war on poverty, urban development, conservation and in other fields.

This work has not been simply confined to the legislative process on the floor of the House where bills are debated and voted upon. The work of each Congressman is everywhere—in his office in Washington and in offices located in the District he represents, in the committee hearing room where legislation is shaped for presentation to the House, in the offices of Federal officials where conferences are held on matters affecting the District, and in the cities and towns making up the District he represents.

To give you some indication of the workload in the 90th Congress, we had more roll-call votes than any Congress since World War II, both in the House of Representatives, and in Congress as a whole.

It is appropriate, I feel, that I present a brief summary of the legislative achievements of the 90th Congress, and also outline some of my activities in behalf of the Third District over the years.

This year, we passed another major Civil Rights bill, containing fair housing provisions and additional protection guarantees, to insure that our Negro citizens, and other racial minorities are given their full rights in our democratic society. In time, I predict that this new law will be reviewed in the history books as one of the landmarks of Civil Rights legislation, and I was proud to support it.

In addition, I voted for the Federal Jury Reform Act which establishes procedures to guarantee that jury selection in Federal courts be drawn at random to eliminate discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin or economic status.

This 90th Congress has been particularly effective in providing consumer protection programs. I worked for the enactment of the Consumer Protection Act, which requires lenders and retail creditors to provide full disclosure of the terms and conditions of finance charges in most credit transactions and offers to extend credit.

The new law requires disclosure of interest rates on all revolving charge accounts on both a monthly and annual basis where the monthly charge is over 50 cents and includes a strict Federal anti-loan shark provision.

Other consumer bills I supported include the Flammable Fabrics Act Amendments, Fire Research and Safety Act, Wholesome Meat Act, Automobile Insurance Study and Investigation, Wholesome Poultry Products Act, and Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act.

The 90th Congress took some very important actions to continue, expand and improve Federal education and anti-poverty programs, which had my wholehearted support.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments extended the vital ESEA program for an additional two years and created several new valuable programs, including bilingual education assistance for school districts with large numbers of non-English speaking students and grants for special education of handicapped children.

The 1968 Higher Education Act Amendments extends through fiscal year 1972 programs originally voted by Congress in the National Defense Education Act, the Higher Education Facilities Act, and the National Vocational Student Loan Act.

The Vocational Education Act Amendments authorizes the continuation of needed vocational education programs and is designed to strengthen vocational programs throughout our 50 states.

The National School Lunch program was expanded to assist areas where poor economic conditions exist and where there are high concentrations of working mothers. The life of the Teacher Corps was extended and provision made for graduate fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers.

I have been one of the most loyal, devoted and original exponents of education in every respect in the House and have supported every forward-looking measure to put the financial power, planning and guidance resources of the Federal government behind the drive to bring education in this country into its own where adequate facilities, modern equipment and well-paid teachers could be brought together to lift up national education standards.

I have played an effective role in this massive effort and will continue to do so.

I voted for the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments to extend the anti-poverty program and the Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments to extend present programs to 1972. In addition, I worked for and supported other anti-poverty bills, including the new Housing Act with special home ownership provisions for low income groups, the funding of the Model Cities program, and rent supplement funds to help some of the poorest people in the country.

As part of its busy agenda, the 90th Congress continued its work to preserve our natural resources. My contributions in this field have been numerous, but among the measures I supported were the Federal Saline Water bill, the Land and Water Conservation funding, the Water Quality Improvement program, and the Endangered Species bill.

The 90th Congress made several improvements in the expansion of the Social Security program, increased benefits for railroad retirees, increased compensation rates for disabled veterans, and increased the income limitations used in determining the amount of disability pension for eligible veterans.

Pay increases were also voted for 725,000 postal workers, and gradual salary increases for Federal employees in the classified service.

The 90th Congress reflected the widespread concern over law and order. Federal jurisdiction was extended to riots and other civil disturbances in the Civil Rights bill, much needed assistance was given to police forces throughout the country to prevent crime and protect the public, curbs were placed on LSD and other dangerous drugs, Federal assistance was extended to the nation's courts and correctional systems in the Juvenile Delinquency Act, and the indiscriminate mailing of master automobile keys was curtailed.

Order in our streets and communities, safety and security in our homes and elsewhere must be positively assured, if we propose to survive as a free nation.

The tragic deaths of Dr. Martin Luther King and Senator Robert F. Kennedy brought needed action on the Federal regulation of the interstate shipment of handguns by passage of the Omnibus Crime Act, which I supported, and similar restrictions on long guns have been voted by the House.

The 90th Congress passed one of the most comprehensive housing bills since the beginning of the various Federal housing programs. Assistance to low and moderate income families for the purchase of homes is provided. Urban mass transportation assistance and extension are included, FHA mortgage programs are strengthened, urban planning assistance is extended to non-Metropolitan areas, and a national flood insurance program to provide insurance coverage to families in flood prone areas is established for the first time since the introduction of my flood insurance bill after the disastrous 1955 floods in New England.

It has been possible for me to touch only briefly on the highlights of the 90th Congress, but on the whole I think that most people will agree that the Congress has done much for the benefit of all Americans in providing and perfecting vital programs responsive to the demands and needs of the times.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN

Congressman Philip J. Philbin of Clinton, a career public servant, is serving his 13th term as U.S. Representative in Congress from the Third Massachusetts District.

When he first ran for Congress, he won a recount contest by the slim margin of little more than 700 votes. Once in Washington, where he gained wide recognition as one of the leading Members of the House, Philbin has been returned to office by smashing majorities, notwithstanding the singling out of the Third District twice in recent years for drastic redistricting boundary changes.

With the addition of the six new communities of Newton, Waltham, Watertown, Lincoln, Concord and Weston, the Third District is now one of the largest in the Commonwealth with over 500,000 people.

A zealous, life-long, untiring worker for the cause of world peace, Philbin has opposed the draft, except in times of war and emergency, and was one of the earliest advocates in Congress of international control of nuclear energy and weapons, based upon inspection provisions.

Philbin has been a consistent and vigorous supporter of Civil Rights legislation and has worked for urban programs to combat poverty, to provide housing, food, jobs and training and education opportunities for the disadvantaged and for our young people.

In addition, he is among the leaders in Congress working for disarmament and for world institutions organized on the "rule of law" to prevent war, outlaw nuclear weapons and fight disease, ignorance and poverty in the world and spur the development of backward nations.

Congressman Philbin was born in Clinton, educated in local schools, Clinton High School, Harvard College where he was a well-known football star, and Columbia University where he took his law degree. He recently received an honorary degree in Public Administration from Suffolk University. His wife, Lillian Sundberg Philbin, died in 1953. He has two daughters, Mrs. Albert Scansaroli and Miss Ann Philbin, and four grandchildren.

Prior to gaining elective office, he practiced law in Clinton and Boston and held several important advisory, and high-ranking, legal positions in the State and Federal governments.

Philbin keeps up closest contact with his constituents, and returns from Washington to Massachusetts practically every weekend to attend to individual problems of countless people who visit his office. It is estimated that he clocks every year about 40,000 miles of flight travel back and forth to Washington at his own expense in serving the needs of his District.

In this respect, he is regarded as the Congressman of the rank and file of the people. It is their problems—social, economic and personal—to which he devotes a large measure of his time and effective attention.

Philbin has been militantly in the forefront of every effort to assist and bolster Massachusetts industry, not only against unfair competition from abroad and at home, but also to relieve certain areas of unemployment, which has developed in some instances as a result of wage and other differentials with various parts of the country.

He is urging, as he has for some time past, a thorough overhauling of the Federal tax structure to promote equity for individual and all taxpayers.

Philbin is sponsoring legislation in the House to increase the personal exemption allowed a taxpayer, his spouse and each dependent from $600 to $1,200. He has pointed out to the House that the present $600 personal exemption was provided by the Revenue Act of 1948 and the time is now long past due to bring some tax relief to low and moderate income families through increased exemptions and administrative reform of tax laws.

Now vice chairman, Philbin has served on the House Committee on Armed Services since its creation by the Legislative Reorganization Act, which combined the House Military and Naval Affairs Committees.

Philbin is one of the leaders in the House in seeking to uphold civil rights and banishing discriminations based upon race, creed and class. He has fought and voted against the arbitrary power of government at every level to interfere with and deny due process of law to American citizens.

His expose of conditions in veterans hospitals and the entire veterans rehabilitation program earned him service citations from veterans organizations and resulted in a vastly improved veterans program. The national Veterans of Foreign Wars recently cited him for distinguished service in Congress with its Gold Medal award, the highest VFW decoration.

In 1961 Philbin was appointed by the late Speaker Sam Rayburn as a member of the important Canada-United States Interparliamentary Conference which met at Ottawa and Quebec to confer with the Prime Minister and other high Canadian leaders on military, trade and economic policies.

Designated to the Conference again in 1962 by Speaker McCormack, Philbin resigned as a delegate in order to remain in Washington to appear before the Congressional committee holding hearings on the funding of the watershed protection program, which includes the valuable Suasco project and many others.

Truck driver, newsboy, truck gardener and peddler, lumberjack, composer of music for college musicals, professional pianist, football coach with the great Percy Haughton, manager of political campaigns at national and state levels—these varied activities threw Philbin into close contact with a wide range of people. He knew what it was to shovel coal, milk cows, handle huge logs, lug wood and lumber, drive trucks and work around the clock. He has never forgotten these experiences and still works around the clock, frequently 14 or 15 hours a day.

Lawyer, businessman and U.S. Representative in Congress, Philbin has principally dedicated his life's work to the people and the nation.

World Peace With Freedom Greatest Issue

IS STRONG SUPPORTER OF EFFORTS FOR PEACE

Time and time again, Congressman Philip J. Philbin has taken the floor of the House in strong, fervent appeals for peace, universal disarmament and international control over nuclear weapons and substances.

During his years of service, he has joined in many vigorous efforts to promote world peace and has been commended by many groups for his work in and out of Congress in the cause of peace and world cooperation.

Philbin supports wholehearted international cooperation through the United Nations, and every other available way, to promote peace, human brotherhood, good will and justice for all mankind.

Over the past decade, these are some of Philbin's remarks on peace in and out of the House:

There is no way we could possibly intensify our efforts to secure the peace in Vietnam that would be too great. Unhappily, every move we make in this direction is checkmated and rejected.—Newton Rotary Club, March 11, 1968

I recognize that massive, collective and official efforts are being made to establish peace, and I have persistently joined these efforts to render every assistance in my power as a member of Congress toward the goals of total peace, not only in Vietnam, but elsewhere.—In the House, September 12, 1967

Certainly, no one can doubt that the powerful commitments of this nation to the cause of just, enduring, international peace. Peace with security and freedom is indeed the great issue of our time.—In the House, May 2, 1966

We must be prepared at all times to negotiate with all those who are willing to negotiate in an honest, truthful, reasonable manner to settle the perilous questions of peace or war.—In the House, May 5, 1965

The American people want maximum communion intellectually, commercially, socially, and cooperatively, especially in those areas having to deal with disarmament, control of nuclear energy, peace, and human betterment with other nations.—In the House, April 14, 1964

I think that all thoughtful persons who are informed concerning the distressing potential of modern weapons are agreed that this nation, and all nations must devote every possible effort to the prevention of war and the maintenance of peace.—In the House, September 10, 1963

With calm resolution and a sense of justice, and concern for all humanity, notwithstanding disappointments and obstacles, let us continue with unflinching courage to work for a free and peaceful world.—In the House, June 13, 1962

Philbin Ranks High on Armed Services

Previously a member of the old Military Affairs Committee and now vice chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, Congressman Philip J. Philbin is recognized as one of the ablest and hardest working members of the House, with a keen insight into national defense problems.

During his entire service, Philbin has coupled an insistent demand for a strong, affirmative, peace-structured foreign policy, free of appeasement, with continuing efforts to build an impregnable national defense to protect the nation, keep commitments to the free world, deter aggression and preserve the peace.

When the new Armed Services Committee first met in January, 1947, the hope of the world was a long and lasting peace. Instead, the intervening years have seen the problems of war—both hot and cold—multiply with the consequent increase in Philbin's heavy responsibilities on the committee.

In addition to regular legislative bills covering a wide range of defense needs, the committee must authorize appropriations for all military construction and all aircraft, missile and ship procurement. In 1968, the aircraft, missile and ship items called for an appropriation of more than $21.6 billion, while $1.8 billion covered the military construction needs of the services.

As Chairman of Subcommittee No. 1, Philbin handles a wide range of military legislation. It was under his persistent leadership that existing restrictions on promotion opportunities for women in the armed forces were removed in the 90th Congress. Philbin sparked this successful effort for dedicated women of the armed services.

As Chairman of the National Stockpile Subcommittee, Philbin has guided through Congress legislation in the past few years for disposal of several billion dollars worth of surplus stockpile materials, which have helped in such instances as copper, aluminum, nickel and many other critical metals alleviate severe shortages in industry. Philbin was hailed for this brilliant job.

The American taxpayer has also benefited from the Philbin leadership on stockpile legislation because the funds resulting from the sale of the surplus stockpile items went into the general treasury and helped greatly to keep down budgetary deficits.

In addition, over the years, Philbin has headed special investigating subcommittees dealing with such matters as post exchanges, ships' service stores and commissaries, military construction, acquisition and disposal of military real estate, military hospitals and military housing. He has been in the forefront of pay bills for officers and men and retirement programs for all groups and medical and hospital care for members of the armed services and their dependents.

At the outbreak of the Korean war, the work of the Philbin subcommittee on tanks was singled out for special mention by President Truman when he set in motion an expedited tank procurement program to speed deliveries of needed equipment to American troops in Korea.

With his high seniority and prestige in the Committee and the House, Philbin is playing an increasingly important role in enacting such vital legislation as medical and hospital care for all dependents of military personnel, survivorship benefits for widows of both Regular and Reserve personnel, liberalized retirement benefits, and recognition of the contributions of the women's branches of our armed services.

Philbin's knowledge of defense problems in the light of present world conditions and his high rank on the Armed Services Committee have been of great assistance to the Commonwealth in innumerable instances.

He led the fight against the transfer of the Air Force electronics research activities from Hanscom to Rome, New York some years ago with the result that the Electronics Systems Command at Bedford is now firmly established in Massachusetts. In turn, one of the deciding factors for the establishment of NASA's Electronics Research Center in Cambridge was its proximity to this allied Air Force research facility.

When the Pentagon closed several Naval shipyards on the East and West coasts a few years ago, he was successful with Speaker McCormack and the Massachusetts delegation in getting cancellation of the closing orders for the Boston Naval shipyard. This year the retention of the First Naval District at Boston was assured by provisions written into the Military Construction Act.

Fort Devens, the largest Army installation in New England, is located in Philbin's district. He has been a long time friend of Fort Devens in the Congress and has worked untiringly to insure its development as one of the nation's great military installations, just as he labored to promote maximum military and government procurement for the region.

PHILBIN ON KEY ISSUES BEFORE CONGRESS

(NOTE.—The position of Congressman Philip J. Philbin on all Congressional issues is a matter of public record, backed by Yea and Nay votes in the House and many public utterances, in and out of the House, setting forth his views on pending public questions. This is his stand on some current issues.)

VIETNAM

"I am committed to a total peace in Vietnam and ending the war as soon as possible on honorable, safe terms, withdrawal as soon as possible, and I wholeheartedly support the efforts now being made for a cease fire and a durable peace with justice for the people of Vietnam and freedom and security for those who mean to have these precious blessings.

"I do not believe that we can take precipitate action in granting concessions, such as an unconditional, immediate withdrawal, without definite understandings about the safety of our boys, the South Vietnamese population, and the some 800,000 refugees transported in 1954–55 from the north on American naval vessels under the terms of the Geneva accords. We must not invite another Dunkirk, or Hitler-type persecution and blood-shed, as we zealously strive for a total peace in Vietnam and elsewhere."

PEACE

"We love peace and are pledged to work for peace, and we will make every contribution in our power to bring peace, not only to our own country, but to all the nations of the world."

"In any arrangement for peace we make, designed to stop the fighting and establish peace, we must have definite understandings to safeguard our boys and prevent mass slaughter of the innocent and helpless and insure against further aggression."

THE DRAFT

"I have voted against universal, military conscription, and have opposed the draft, except in times of war and emergency. The most satisfactory method of procuring necessary military manpower should be a completely voluntary system. Under the system we observe today, we do not resort to the draft until we have failed to satisfy our military manpower requirements through voluntary sources.

"It is generally conceded by even the most ardent advocate of the voluntary force concept that a draft law is a necessary expedient in times of emergency, when all efforts to maintain a completely volunteer force have failed."

POVERTY AND URBAN NEEDS

"It is obvious that current unrest in our cities can be alleviated only by massive, concerted efforts on the part of all segments of society, the government and the private sector alike, to insure full civil rights and assistance in the areas of education, housing, employment and human welfare. I support all these aims wholeheartedly and vigorously as I have always done during my public career."

LAW AND ORDER

"Among other things, added to our international problems, we have the frightening problems at home of maintaining law and order in local communities and the several States, and this problem must receive top priority, and cannot be subordinated or neglected.

"Above all, we must be ready to meet any contingency and emergency that may arise, and we cannot afford to take chances or risks with the security, stability, law and order of this great free society of ours—the lives, the homes, the property of our people.

"Law and order must be assured at all times if the nation is to survive."

FISCAL STABILITY

"Obviously, something must be done to improve our extremely serious fiscal situation, eliminate the dollar and trade imbalance, curb dangerous inflation and reduce wasteful expenditures.

"It is very regrettable that we should require additional taxes at this time, but the situation is extremely critical and failure to secure substantial, additional income could well lead to very serious consequences for the economy and the nation."

CONGRESSMAN PHILBIN HEADS MASSACHUSETTS FLOOD CONTROL GROUP

As chairman of the Massachusetts Congressional Delegation Committee on Flood Control and Rehabilitation, Congressman Philip J. Philbin helped steer through Congress a huge $500 million flood prevention program for New England, which now includes some 60 flood control and hurricane barrier facilities.

These projects, the Army Engineers estimate, prevented $13 million in damages alone during the Spring floods this year.

After the 1962 redistricting which brought many communities in the Charles River Basin into the Third District, Philbin pressed for adoption of the Charles River Basin water resources development plan to curb pollution and speed flood control.

Thus far, he has been successful in obtaining $365,000 in Federal funds to advance the $660,000 special Army Engineer study of the Basin and has urged that careful attention be given to problems peculiar to the upper reaches of the Charles which, he states, has complex water resources needs resulting from the rapid urban expansion of the area where some towns have doubled their growth in the last ten years.

He has also sought careful review and study of such Basin problems as flood control to curb flash-type flooding, pollution, wildlife preservation, recreational needs, land use and other water resources priorities.

This year the Congress authorized a new $26.5 million dam on the Lower Charles River in Boston, of which the Federal share will be $18.6 million, to control the water level of the Basin upstream above Galen Street in Watertown. The project has been approved, as required, by state officials.

Following periodic floods, Philbin sought Army Engineer help to alleviate flooding and pollution in the North Nashua Basin. He managed to get approval in 1966 of the $19,616,000 North Nashua water resources development plan after several appeals to the House and Senate Public Works Committees and the Bureau of the Budget, which was holding up the project pending clarification of the cost-sharing features of the plan.

The development of water resources in the Basin is being expedited this year with the appropriation by Congress of $220,000 for the continued planning of Whitmanville reservoir and planning starts for two other priority projects in the Basin. These are the Baker Brook local protection project in Fitchburg and Lunenburg and the Nookagee dam and reservoir on Phillips Brook in Westminster.

In 1964, Philbin was successful in getting the cooperation of HEW's Division of Water Supply and Pollution Control in seeking solutions to pollution abatement of the Nashua River.

One of the first acts of the newly created Federal Water Pollution Control Administration in 1966, at Philbin's insistence, was the calling of a conference to act on specific recommendations dealing with Nashua pollution.

The conference was held in Boston, in the fall of 1966 with state and municipal officials participating, after Federal studies to determine treatment needs for the Basin and classification of the Nashua's water quality requirements to determine the Basin's entitlement for Federal aid.

The Suasco project to curb flooding along the Sudbury, Assabet and Concord Rivers has benefited from Philbin's leadership on Massachusetts flood control needs. Thus far, five flood retarding projects have been constructed and four authorized projects are now in the planning stage, including the Nashoba recreation project in Acton and Westford, which will be turned into a state park.

A recurrence of the 1955 flood in these areas, according to the Army Engineers, could cause losses estimated at over $80 million. Now that these projects have been constructed, over $56 million of these losses would be prevented, the Engineers estimate. In the recent Spring floods in Massachusetts, these areas reported little or no flood damage.

COOPERATIVE EFFORT REFURBISHES INDIANAPOLIS COMMUNITY CENTER

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, sometime ago I had the opportunity to point out that plans had been made to repaint the Fletcher Place Community Center in Indianapolis on a voluntary, cooperative basis as a feature of National Painting and Decorating Week. I am now pleased to report that this project was successfully carried out; over 100 members of Painters Local 47, using approximately 350 gallons of paint which had been donated by 16 different firms and equipment provided by 18 contractors in the Hoosier capital, waged a "war on ugliness" which in a short time transformed the appearance of the center, both inside and out.

While it has been estimated that the total cash value of the materials and labor invested without charge in this project would have amounted to more than $6,000, perhaps far more important than the monetary value or the actual physical improvement arising from this team effort was the spirit of cooperation it engendered and the feeling of real accomplishment gained by all those who participated in the venture. It was my privilege, along with Congressman ANDREW JACOBS and Mayor Richard Lugar, to be among those who climbed ladders and perched on scaffolding to complete this job. With the professional painters applying the real manpower, the goal was reached in about 4 hours.

Much praise is due to the willingness of the members of local 47 to devote their time and efforts to this project, to the contractors who provided equipment, and to the merchants and dealers who so generously contributed the necessary paint and other materials. Not only did the Fletcher Community Center emerge in sparkling condition; the entire city was provided with a remarkable example of what can be accomplished by the joint efforts of public spirited citizens united in a common cause.

As a tribute to all of those who took part in this memorable event, as well as those who performed similar work in other projects throughout the Nation during National Painting and Decorating Week, I ask unanimous consent that a brief descriptive article and an editorial which appeared in the Indianapolis Star be both printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAINT BRUSHES TO FLY AT COMMUNITY CENTER

After a couple of ceremonial slaps of paint by Mayor Richard G. Lugar and United States Senator Birch E. Bayh Jr. (D–Ind.) at 9 a.m. today, nearly 100 painters will start brushes flying at Fletcher Place Community Center, 410 South College Avenue.

The painters, all members of the Indianapolis Chapter of the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America, and of Painters Local 47, will be racing to beat members at Louisville, Ky., who will be carrying out a similar project.

Contests will be taking place in 147 cities across the nation as part of National Painting and Decorating Week.

By early afternoon, Fletcher Place Community Center will have a new look inside and outside, through use of 350 gallons of paint donated by the painting and decorating group and painters local. Eighteen painting contractors will donate equipment to be used.

While the painters are working, a "joy in the street" celebration will be taking place outside the center. The celebration, which will last until 8:30 p.m., will include music and dancing in the streets, according to the Rev. James E. Kohls, associate director of teen and community organizations at the center.

Mrs. Hannah Briner, director of adult work, has had the major responsibility for the event.

The Rev. L. Ray Sells is pastor of Fletcher Place United Methodist Church and Community Center.

GOOD PAINTING

Fletcher Place Community Center is now resplendent in fresh paint inside and out as the result of a heartwarming project of contributed labor and materials carried out on Saturday.

Nearly 100 members of the Indianapolis Chapter of the Painting and Decorating Contractors of America and of Painters Local 47 contributed the labor. The two groups donated some 350 gallons of paint. Equipment was provided by 18 painting contractors.

Certainly this collaborative project was reason enough for the "joy in the street" festival which took place outside while the work was going on, and on into the evening.

The Indianapolis community is noteworthy for the amount of personal time and energy its citizens put into both special projects and continuing efforts to make the place brighter and cleaner and better, and to help the sick, the needy and the lonely. The greater portion of this work by individuals receives scant public notice, because it is done quietly and often behind the scenes.

We congratulate Saturday's painters for a work worth doing, and which will lift the spirits of many others who work in the Fletcher Place Center and those who are served by it. We congratulate all of those, known and unknown, seen and unseen, who day by day give of themselves as well as of their substance for the community's wellbeing.

PRAISE FOR REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES VANIK'S FIGHT TO CURB WAR PROFITEERING

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my gratitude to my colleague, the Honorable CHARLES VANIK from Cleveland, for his support and leadership of the legislative efforts to strengthen the Renegotiation Board, an independent Federal agency which has been responsible for recovering over $2 billion in excess profits realized on defense and space contracts.

Mr. VANIK became aware of this little known agency after a series in the Cleveland Plain Dealer by investigative reporter Sanford Watzman, based on the speeches I had made about the neglect of the Renegotiation Board. These articles pointed to the Board's creation at the beginning of the Korean war, how the Board efficiently recouped millions in excessive wartime profits, how the Board continued to save tens of millions on defense spending during peacetime, but cold-war conditions, despite having its jurisdiction cut by Congress at the insistence of lobbyists for defense contractors, and how the Board, with only 178 employees, was still the first line of defense against profiteering in a military budget which had begun to exceed the Korean war level, when, however, the Board had full authority and over 700 employees. The articles also described the bill I authored to return the Board to its Korean war strength, and make it permanent.

Not only did Representative VANIK promptly cosponsor my bill, but, since he was a member of the Ways and Means Committee before which our bills were pending, he offered to lead the efforts within the committee to extend the Board's charter and strengthen it if possible. This was a difficult task, for Congress had never strengthened renegotiation, but on the contrary had periodically weakened it since the Korean war. Further, the Board was usually extended for 2-year periods, but efforts to kill the Board altogether—spokesmen for defense spokesmen said it was a nuisance—had been growing.

The Ways and Means Committee agreed, for the first time in recent years, to hold public hearings on the Renegotiation Act. Mr. VANIK was in attendance, well prepared and sharply questioning administrative and industry witnesses.

It was during the executive sessions when the committee was hammering out their bill that Mr. VANIK made his most valuable contributions. He did not gain all his points, but with the backing of committee members JAMES BURKE and MARTHA GRIFFITHS, and Chairman WILBUR MILLS, the committee reported out the strongest set of Renegotiation Act amendments ever. This bill extended the Board for an almost unprecedented term of 3 years, and reversed a 16-year trend by increasing the Board's purview—in reviewing contracts for "standard commercial articles and services."

Not satisfied that the interests of the American people were adequately protected, Mr. VANIK announced his intention to push on the House floor for further powers for the Board. When the committee-approved bill came on the House floor for consideration, Mr. VANIK and I were ready for another attempt to strengthen the Renegotiation Board.

Although several Republicans had served notice of their intentions to kill the Board outright, Representative VANIK boldly presented his amendment to strengthen renegotiation. I followed with two other strengthening amendments. Our amendments failed to pass, but our arguments in support of the Board rallied enough partisans for it that the kill-the-Board movement was forestalled. The committee bill passed, and was sent to the Senate where it is still pending.

Mr. Speaker, I consider Mr. VANIK's efforts invaluable in passing legislation which moves in the direction of better protecting the American people for unconscionable profits on Vietnam war contracts.

Under unanimous consent, I include several accounts of Mr. VANIK's work in behalf of the Renegotiation Board, as follows:

VANIK VOWS TO AID RENEGOTIATION BOARD

(By Sanford Watzman)

WASHINGTON.—Rep. Charles A. Vanik asserted yesterday he would lead a fight on the Ways and Means Committee to strengthen the Renegotiation Board—the government's sentry against war profiteering.

"This is an absolutely essential reform and it's long overdue," the Cleveland Democrat said. "Excess war profits are unpatriotic—a drain on the country's resources."

Vanik, D–21, announced he would cosponsor a bill introduced 10 months ago by Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D–Tex. The legislation was promptly referred to Ways and Means, but nothing has come of it. There have been no hearings.

Because he is not a member of the powerful select committee, Gonzalez has had no real leverage.

"I'll be happy to undertake a leadership responsibility for the bill inside the committee," Vanik told The Plain Dealer.

[From the Plain Dealer, Jan. 18, 1968]

VANIK EYES LOOPHOLE ON WAR PROFITS

WASHINGTON.—Rep. Charles A. Vanik, D-21, formally introduced legislation yesterday to close "a wide open door for war profiteering."

His bill would remove exemptions in the Renegotiation Act which in recent years have hamstrung the board that administers that law.

"The strengthened board will be no problem to the legitimate producer of defense material who runs his shop at a reasonable profit and who produces quality material for the government," Vanik told the House.

He said that the bite would be felt by those overcharging the government. He added that the Defense Department, as the government's biggest spender, must be the prime target for economizing.

Vanki's bill is identical to one introduced 10 months ago by Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D–Tex. There has been no action on it by the Ways and Means Committee.

Vanik is a member of the panel, Gonzalez is not.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Feb. 10, 1968]

MILLS JOINS FIGHT FOR PROFITS BOARD

(By Sanford Watzman)

WASHINGTON.—Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur D. Mills, D-Ark., put himself in the forefront yesterday of a congressional movement to strengthen the Renegotiation Board.

Mills' voice was the most powerful raised on behalf of the board since a number of lawmakers in both houses began siding with the agency, spurred on by Plain Dealer articles about war profiteering.

"I think the basic position of your newspaper is right," Mills said. "Our procurement policies for this war (in Vietnam) generally shouldn't be any different than they were for other wars."

In the Korean War, the board had wider authority to review defense contracts. Loopholes have been opened in the law since then.

Rep. Charles A. Vanik, D–21, arranged the interview in Mills' office and participated in it. Mills' Ways and Means Committee, on which Vanik serves, initiates legislation for the Renegotiation Board.

Vanik has introduced a bill to recapture all the powers the board had when it was established in 1951.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Extension of Remarks, May 21, 1968]

THE RENEGOTIATION BILL

(By Hon. Charles A. Vanik, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of the year, I introduced legislation to strengthen the powers of the Renegotiation Board, to give it more power to deal with war profiteering. As a result of my efforts and those of others with similar views, the bill which has been reported by the Ways and Means Committee strengthens the Renegotiation Board's powers to deal with excessive profits. This strengthening occurred in three areas.

First, the bill continues the life of the Board for longer than has been the case in prior extensions. In the past Congress usually has continued the life of the Board for 2 years or even less. I strongly supported making the Board a permanent agency because excessive profits on Government defense work are going to continue for a long time. This bill, although it does not make the Renegotiation Board permanent, does extend the life of the Board for longer than has been the rule in the past. I am happy that the Committee on Ways and Means agreed that the Renegotiation Board should be continued until the end of the fiscal year 1971.

Second, this bill cuts down the area of application of a major exemption from renegotiation. Since the Renegotiation Board was established in 1951, the powers of the Board have been successively weakened over the years. My legislation was designed to reverse this trend, to give the Board more power to deal with profiteering on defense business. One of the most important exemptions from the Renegotiation Act is the standard commercial articles exemption. Under this exemption billions of dollars of Government sales escape renegotiation each year. This bill reverses the trend of prior years and tightens up this provision. The bill amends the exemption in a number of ways to insure that only true commercial articles qualify for it. For instance, in determining whether an item is of a commercial nature, existing law allows sales to foreign government, to State governments, and to many Federal Government agencies to be counted as commercial sales. This bill corrects the erroneous idea that these types of sales are commercial sales.

Presently, an item can qualify for the standard commercial articles exemption even though only 35 percent of the sales of the item are made commercially. The bill tightens this provision by raising the required percentage of commercial sales to 50 percent.

This bill also requires that for the standard commercial articles exemption to be available, the price at which an item is sold to the Government must be the same or less than the commercial price of the item. This will prevent items on which the Government is being overcharged from escaping the renegotiation process by means of this exemption.

These amendments represent a substantial step toward returning to the Renegotiation Board the powers it needs to prevent Government contractors from reaping excessive profits on defense business at the expense of the American taxpayer.

The third area in which there has been at least a start in tightening involves the $1 million floor. Under the present law, a contractor who has less than $1 million of sales covered by the Renegotiation Act in a year is exempt from renegotiation. This exemption constitutes an avenue for profiteering particularly because of the Government policy in recent years of providing a preference to small contractors. My legislation would have substantially lowered the amount of this exemption so that the many small contractors now participating in defense business would not escape from renegotiation. In committee I fought to lower the amount of this exemption to at least $500,000, and I supported another effort to lower the exemption to $750,000. The majority of the members of the committee, however, did not accept either my, or the other, motion to lower the exemption.

Nevertheless, the committee did adopt a reporting requirement which will enable the Renegotiation Board to check up on contractors whose renegotiable sales are less than $1 million because of the exemption for standard commercial articles. These contractors, who do not have to file statements with the Renegotiation Board at present, will be required to report to the Board if their sales in the absence of the standard commercial articles exemption would exceed $1 million.

Although this bill does not strengthen the powers of the Renegotiation Board as much as I wanted, it is a step in the right direction. The legislation in past years has almost always weakened the ability of the Renegotiation Board to eliminate excessive profits. I introduced legislation to reverse this trend. I fought in committee to change this pattern—to add to the Renegotiation Board's powers, not to take away from them. This bill is the turning point. It does reverse the trend. It adds to the powers of the Renegotiation Board rather than weakening those powers.

When this legislation is before the House of Representatives, I expect to propose or support an amendment to lower the floor to include contractors whose sales to the Government exceed $500,000 per year.

COPTER CREWMAN DIES IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. Martin J. Begosh, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

COPTER CREWMAN DIES IN VIETNAM—SPECIALIST BEGOSH, 20, WAS DRAFTED IN MARCH 1967

The Defense Department announced yesterday that Spec. 4 Martin J. Begosh of Rockville, Md., a helicopter crew chief, was killed in action Sunday in Vietnam.

Specialist Begosh, the son of Andrew J. Begosh and Mrs. Marjorie Homnick Begosh, of 1203 Highwood road, Rockville, was the couple's second son to see service in the Southeast Asia war.

He would have turned 21 September 19.

DRAFTED IN MARCH 1967

The youth was drafted into the Army in March 1967, and received basic training at Fort Bragg, N.C. He was trained as a helicopter mechanic at Fort Eustis, Va. and attained the designation "crew chief" after a course at Hunter Army Base in Savannah, Ga.

Specialist Begosh was sent to Vietnam in April, less than a year after his brother Andrew J. Begosh, Jr., 21, finished out his service in Vietnam.

Specialist Begosh, as helicopter crew chief, played a key role in Army combat missions, wherever helicopters were used to cover for ground crews and Special Forces maneuvers.

Specialist Begosh was a graduate of Richard Montgomery High School in Rockville, and was working for the local post office as a clerk when he was drafted.

Specialist Begosh "loved flying," his mother said.

Besides his parents, he is survived by five brothers, Andrew J. Begosh, Jr., Philip Begosh, 16, Allan Begosh, 15, Frederick Begosh, 13, and Joseph Begosh, 11.

OUTSTANDING RECORD OF MIDSHIPMAN ROLEK AT ANNAPOLIS NAVAL ACADEMY

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in my 18 years in Congress, from which I soon am retiring, nothing has given me greater satisfaction and pride than the outstanding records made at the service Academies of the Nation by the young men from the Second Congressional District of Illinois to whom it has been my privilege and pleasure to give appointment.

As a lad of 16, returning from the siege of Santiago de Cuba in the Spanish-American War, it had been my ambition to be appointed to West Point and give my service to my country as a soldier. The collapse of that ambition was a hard blow. In a sense, I have felt that the young men whom I have appointed to the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Merchant Marine Academies have lived for me the life that might have been mine had the winds of chance borne me where my boyish heart directed.

I was happy to note in the interesting and inspiring publication of Local 65 of the Steelworkers Union a photograph of Leo Rolek, Jr., whose father and grandfather I number among my warm friends and whom it was my privilege to appoint to the Naval Academy at Annapolis. I am indeed proud of the fine record he has made. Following is the article that accompanies the photograph:

> Leo Rolek, Jr. son of a member U.S.W.A. Local 65, has taken charge of incoming plebes at the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Just 19 years old, Leo is the son of Leo Rolek, Sr. a veteran member of Local 65 and mill inspector in the U.S. Steel South Works Plant. Harry Lows, grandfather of the midshipman, was also an active Union member having helped organize Local 65. Midshipman Rolek ranks 30th scholastically in the sophomore class of 1,042 cadets. He is a straight "A" student and is on the dean's list and that of the Academy Superintendent. Grandfather Harry Lows retired after 36 years service in the alloy and open hearths of South Works. Harry became as active in the affairs of the South Chicago Retired Steelworkers Club as he was during his many years as a member of Local 65.

THE CRIME CRISIS

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I have been making particular effort to alert the people of the 13th Congressional District in Brooklyn to the urgent need for an increase in the police force of the city of New York, in order to assure to our people safety in their homes, on our streets, and in places of public assembly. The alarming increase in reported crime in the district during the month of June makes imperative aggressive action by Mayor Lindsay for improved police services not only in my congressional district but in every part of the city. These are the facts:

First. Crime statistics in the 13th Congressional District show an alarming increase in the extent of criminal activity in the community. During June, a total of 2,115 major crimes, in the seven categories used by the FBI crime index, were reported. This represents an increase of 155 major crimes reported in May 1968, even though June has 1 day less.

Second. The cumulative statistics for the first 6 months of 1968 show a total of 11,178 major crimes reported in the district, as follows:

January	1,775
February	1,630
March	1,797
April	1,901
May	1,960
June	2,115
Total	11,178

Third. The increase in the incidence of major crimes each month, with the exception of February, underlines the urgent need for an immediate increase in police manpower. Public disclosure by Police Commissioner Howard Leary that only 4,000 policemen are available for duty on any one shift demonstrates how pitifully thin our police line is stretched. As it is, the police department has been obliged to put into the streets untrained rookies, who have unceremoniously been pulled out of the police academy.

Fourth. The statistics clearly demonstrate that our people cannot afford the luxury of the usual administration redtape to recruit the 3,000 additional policemen promised by Mayor Lindsay. The mayor must cut the redtape to recruit candidates aggressively and expeditiously to fill the new quota and to replace those who resign or retire. In addition, the mayor should promptly increase the quota by 2,000 more men, for a total 5,000-man increase in the police quota.

Fifth. The crime index trend for the month of June and for the first 6 months of 1968 shows:

	June 1968	1st 6 months, 1968
Crimes against the person:		
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	1	12
Forcible rape	1	17
Robbery	64	392
Assault	101	421
Total, crimes against the person	167	842
Crimes against property:		
Burglary	621	3,905
Larceny, $50 and over	755	3,542
Motor vehicle thefts	572	2,889
Total, crimes against property	1,948	10,336

Sixth. Citywide statistics on arrests further demonstrate the need for a massive increase in the city's police forces. Major crimes during the first 6 months of 1968 show an increase of 26.3 percent over the comparable period in 1967, whereas arrests show an increase of only 10.2 percent. Even more significantly, arrests for felonies during the first half of this year show a decline of 5.2 percent as against the first half of 1967.

Seventh. The cumulative statistics for the first 5 months of 1968 show that the people of the 13th Congressional District were exposed to 60 major criminal incidents every 24 hours. However, during the month of June the incidence of criminal attack increased to 70 every 24 hours, or almost three such attacks every hour of the day.

Eighth. It should be observed that the statistics do not disclose the full picture of criminal activity in the congressional district. The statistics do not include crimes omitted from the FBI crime index. Nor do they include crimes not reported even though included within the FBI major crime categories.

Ninth. The police precinct and station house addresses in this district are: 60th precinct, 2951 West Eighth Street; 61st precinct, 1423 Avenue U; 66th precinct, 5822 16th Avenue; 67th precinct, 35 Snyder Avenue; 70th precinct, 154 Lawrence Street.

Tenth. Attached are two charts: one showing criminal statistics for the 13th Congressional District during the month of June and the other the 6-month cumulative total:

JUNE 1968 STATISTICS

Precinct	Murder, non-negligent man-slaughter	Forcible rape	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Larceny, $50 and over	Motor vehicle thefts	Total
60	0	0	18	51	152	134	92	447
61	0	0	12	19	163	269	197	660
66	1	0	8	15	111	76	83	294
67	0	0	10	11	76	120	80	297
70	0	1	16	5	119	156	120	417
Total	1	1	64	101	621	755	572	2,115

CUMULATIVE STATISTICS, JANUARY-JUNE 1968

Precinct	Murder, non-negligent man-slaughter	Forcible rape	Robbery	Assault	Burglary	Larceny, $50 and over	Motor vehicle thefts	Total
60	5	8	110	202	761	523	324	1,933
61	2	2	85	82	1,049	1,268	1,125	3,613
66	3	2	53	43	564	423	466	1,554
67	0	1	70	47	605	559	372	1,654
70	2	4	74	47	926	769	602	2,424
Total	12	17	392	421	3,905	3,542	2,889	11,178

THE FORGOTTEN MEN ON CALL

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been much talk about the 82 men who were seized along with the U.S.S. *Pueblo* by the North Koreans last January. Many Congressmen, including myself, have voiced repeated concern over this Nation allowing the vessel to be taken in international waters.

Another aspect of the *Pueblo* incident which I think demands the attention of the Congress and of the Nation, is that of the reservists who were activated as a result of the crisis. At this time I would like to share with my colleagues an editorial from the Zonesville, Ohio, Times-Recorder which raises some valid questions about these reservists.

The editorial, entitled "The 15,000 Forgotten Men," follows:

THE 15,000 FORGOTTEN MEN

More than 200 days have passed since the U.S.S. Pueblo was hijacked by North Korea. A great deal has been written about the plight of the 82 surviving crew members but very little has been said about the plight of the 15,000 reservists who were called to active duty as a result of the Pueblo crisis.

The 15,000 men were given 36 hours to report for active duty after the Pueblo was seized on the high seas and their fate has been almost as tragically wasteful as that of Capt. Lloyd Bucher and his crew. For more than six months they have done nothing but mark time.

Recently one of these 15,000 men, Sgt. Robert A. Levy, wrote an open letter to the President, the Congress and the Department of Defense, to explain what his outfit—the 13th Tactical Fighter Group—has been doing for the past six months at Andrews Air Force Base, just outside of Washington.

"Our daily routine (officers as well as enlisted men) consists of reading magazines and newspapers, listening to the radio, playing cards, organizing and participating in chess tournaments, visiting the base gymnasium, pitching horseshoes and taking coffee breaks. Never have I seen human resources so tragically misallocated. Never have I experienced conditions so calculated to destroy the human spirit."

Sergeant Levy, who holds a doctorate degree and was president of a computer application company, hastened to explain that he and his fellow reservists are not malcontents. They are willing, "indeed eager," to serve their country. But they fail to see how they are serving their country or helping to free the Pueblo crew by pitching horseshoes and taking coffee breaks.

The mobilization of these 15,000 men is costing the government $10 million per month. Hence more than $60 million has been spent to date for horseshoe pitching and coffee breaks.

SGT. M. A. HAVILAND WINS SILVER STAR

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. Michael A. Haviland, an outstanding young man from my district, has recently been awarded the Silver Star for gallantry in action in Vietnam. I would like to further honor him by including the following article in the RECORD:

SGT. M. A. HAVILAND WINS SILVER STAR IN VIETNAM

Sgt. Michael A. Haviland, son of Mrs. Josephine Haviland of 1626 Malvern St., Dundalk, has been awarded the Silver Star for gallantry in action in Vietnam.

A former student at Hampstead Hill Junior High School, Sgt. Haviland distinguished himself by valorous action on May 6 while serving as a mortarman during a combat mission in the A-Shau Valley.

When his unit came under enemy rocket, mortar and tank attack and sustained several casualties, Sgt. Haviland moved across the impact area in order to administer first aid to several wounded comrades and evacuate them to safety.

Haviland's actions were directly responsible for saving the lives of several injured soldiers and contributed to the successful completion of his unit's mission.

According to the citation, his action was in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflects great credit upon himself, his unit and the United States Army.

Sgt. Haviland, who has three sisters and one brother, entered the Army on May 10, 1966. He was promoted to sergeant on May 7 and is in charge of the security squad of the mortar platoon.

JOB CORPS CONTRIBUTIONS TO IMPROVED CONSERVATION PRACTICES IN THE HOOSIER NATIONAL FOREST

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, members of the Job Corps have been gaining a wealth of experience in a variety of fields which will be helpful to them in later occupations. While much publicity has been given to the different kinds of training open to them, one type of work activity about which there has been little general knowledge is that of wildlife conservation and restoration of fishing waters in various national parks and forests.

A significant contribution to improved fishing has been made by Job Corpsmen in the Hoosier National Forest in Indiana. Such tasks as checking stream erosion, seeding lake and river banks, installing fish-spawning shelters, constructing access roads and camping facilities, and other wildlife projects have been carried out with considerable success in this national preserve.

Recently there came to my attention an article which appeared in the February 1968 issue of Sportfishing that describes certain conservation practices and training in which the Job Corps has been engaged in Indiana and other States. Because this serves to illustrate the varied programs which have been successfully sponsored by the Job Corps, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOB CORPS MEANS BETTER FISHING

(By Bill Thomas)

Job Corps was developed to offer educational and employment opportunities to the youth of the nation, so I did a double take when Mark Boesch told me Job Corps was going to help me catch a better string of fish.

"Now, Mark," I said, "I realize Job Corps holds the public welfare at heart, but to say it will help me catch fish is a little far-fetched, don't you think?"

"They aren't going to send a crew along with rod and reel," he explained, "but if you want to fish a few of those lakes in the Hoosier National Forest with me, you'll see how the programs Job Corps has initiated down there are improving fishing."

That was in the early spring. Six weeks later Mark, who is education and press officer for the U.S. Forest Service's eastern region, met me at Hoosier Forest headquarters in Bedford, Ind. I was still skeptical of what Job Corps could do to improve fishing in the two years it had been working on this project. But two days later I was a confirmed believer that Job Corps not only has improved sport fishing in the Hoosier, but also in national forests in many parts of the nation.

Job Corps, in this respect, is akin to the old Civilian Conservation Corps of Franklin D. Roosevelt's day. At the Hoosier project Job Corpsmen are directing their efforts to bring about better fishing in a series of lakes under construction in the Forest. They are working to curb stream erosion, provide greater facilities for fishermen at existing fish locations, and are working on other wildlife conservation projects.

In the Hoosier, some of the impoundments are already two years old and are producing good strings of largemouth bass, crappie, channel catfish, and bluegill. Other lakes are under construction. They vary in size from 25 to 250 acres and most of them can be fished from shore.

The dams to impound the waters for these lakes are being built by contractors. Job Corps is doing the supplementary work such as building access roads to the lakes, campgrounds for fishermen near the impoundments, and retaining walls at points where erosion might set in. They also are seeding the banks, installing fish spawning shelters for all species, and are carrying out allied jobs.

"We could get the lakes built without the aid of Job Corps," explained Leon Kridebaugh, coordinator for Job Corps activities in the Hoosier and in the Wayne National Forest of southeastern Ohio. "But, we couldn't provide all the facilities for fishermen nor enhance the development of good fishing here were it not for Job Corps."

The fish spawning shelters are installed prior to the raising of the water in the lakes. Some of them are reject clay drainage tiles four feet long and five inches in diameter. These are placed at near-level positions around the edges of the lake where the water will be three to five feet deep. Fine gravel two to three inches deep is spread in these tiles. Other shelters are being provided by felled timber that will be kept in place.

The use of old wrecked automobiles is being considered in deeper parts of the lakes, although none have been used yet.

The Job Corpsmen on this particular project were from the Branchville Center near Tell City. They alternate their work periods with classroom study. By the time they graduate, explained James List, director of the center, they have not only helped the cause of conservation tremendously, but they have learned a trade.

EXCUSE TO GO FISHING

After two hours of explanation by List and Leon Kridebaugh about the merits of Job Corps, I was ready to administer the test, so we drove to Saddle Lake to try our hand at fishing. Hardly anyone in these parts turns down an opportunity to go fishing and we were joined by Gordon Luckenbaugh of Tell City and Ken Landes, the wildlife biologist of the Hoosier and Wayne National Forests.

"If there are fish about," I remarked, "they haven't a chance with a crew like this coming after 'em."

Boesch had brought along a small rubber inflatable kayak, the Rabion Samoa, but the rest of us fished from the bank with the exception of Landes, who wore waders. "You've got to become a part of the water before you can catch fish," he explained.

I chuckled somewhat sarcastically at him then, but I had to change my tune when later that day he caught the largest black bass we were to catch in the Hoosier this trip, a three-pounder. "A three-pound bass may not compare with the catches of some other lakes," Landes commented. "But when you consider this lake wasn't here three years ago, it's really not so bad."

If I had caught it, I would have considered it a good catch anywhere, for a three-pounder has plenty of fight in him and since I never eat fish myself, the fun of catching him is 98 percent of the sport. But Boesch was used to fishing Wisconsin and Minnesota lakes where, he said, a three-pounder was considered a minnow. But I noted he was mighty jubilant a few minutes later when he latched onto a 1¾-pounder and the activity swung the front end of that inflatable kayak around.

"You may have bigger bass in Wisconsin, but here they come slim and trim and ready for a fight," I chided.

Saddle Lake was one of the lakes on which the Job Corps was still working on trails and bank improvement. At a spot nearby a campground was being built with grills and picnic tables for use by sportsmen who would come to fish the lake.

GOOD FISHING EVERYWHERE

"You couldn't ask for a handier place to camp than this," said Kridebaugh. "It puts you virtually within a stone's throw of the water's edge. If you like to get up and fish early, as many fresh water fishermen do, you don't have to consider traveling time."

Landes explained that studies were being conducted to see if any of the lakes required fertilization for improvement of fishing. If the studies show up positive, the Job Corps will fertilize them. When all the fishing lakes are completed several years from now, there will be close to 100 in the Hoosier National Forest. Now, there are more than 25 ready for fishing.

During the next two days, Mark Boesch, Landes, Kridebaugh and I fished a good many of those lakes and, almost without exception, we found good fishing. Weather conditions were not good and if you're a believer that changing of the barometer has an affect on fishing conditions, then this week was not good for fishing. Despite this we caught fish, even in the rain.

Mark Boesch somehow got the idea we were fishing for tree bass. At least that's what we told him after he kept working too close to the shoreline in his kayak and hanging his lure in the overhanging branches of trees.

"One of these days," I joshed, "we're going to have to do a story on fishing for tree bass. And that'll probably revolutionize fresh water fishing."

I really don't know how many fish we caught, but there were plenty for everyone to eat and some which we threw back because our stringers were full. They were not giants, but they were plentiful and I suspect in another year or two these lakes will provide some of the best fishing in several mid-western states. It was enough to convince me that Job Corps has indeed contributed to better fishing in the Hoosier National Forest.

MANY NATIONAL FORESTS BEING IMPROVED

Across the nation, the story is much the same, at Wayne, in the Ouachita National Forest of Oklahoma, the Nez Perce of Idaho, the Ozark of Arkansas, the Sam Houston in Texas and the Chippewa in Minnesota.

At Nez Perce National Forest, Job Corpsmen last year assisted the Idaho Fish & Game Department in planting 1.5 million Chinook salmon eggs by preparing gravel beds for spawning under the supervision of R. E. Martin, state fisheries biologist.

The Corpsmen prepared 100-foot-long beds parallel to the Selway River where the water could be controlled against the invasion of predatory fish. After the eggs were planted in V-shaped trenches, Corpsmen carefully covered them with a layer of gravel. In the spring, Corpsmen returned to the beds and counted out the one-inch fingerlings.

In Ozark National Forest, Corpsmen constructed for fishermen a five-mile access trail to the Mulberry River and also built three miles of fishing trails along its banks. In Sam Houston National Forest New Waverly Center Job Corpsmen built and stocked with fish a number of wild-life waterholes.

Corpsmen from the Timber Lake Center of Mt. Hood National Forest in Oregon have constructed a fishway around Pegleg Falls on the Hot Springs Fork of the Callawash River to allow steelhead, chinook, and silver salmon to reach several miles of good spawning beds above the falls. The falls previously were an impassible barrier to fish. Thus they are helping to restore the Clackamas River drainage to the fish-producing potential it once enjoyed.

JOB CORPS DOES WHILE OTHERS TALK

In Jefferson National Forest of Virginia, Corpsmen have assisted in stocking rainbow trout in the streams of Devil Fork Creek, Big Stoney, Little Stoney and Cove Creek. Perhaps one of the most dramatic improvements (although it's on a small scale) done by Job Corps is in the Daniel Boone National Forest of Kentucky. Here Corpsmen from the Frenchburg Center practically rebuilt a stream.

In 1964, improvement of State Highway 11 between Slade and Zacharian, Ky., severely damaged the stream environment of the Middle Fork of the Red River, an excellent bass, trout, and musky stream. Increasing sedimentation and changing location of the stream channel choked off the fish habitat. If the stream were to be salvaged, restoration work had to be done, so the Job Corps was called in. Plans were made in cooperation with the State Highway Department to install structures and to plant vegetation.

In early 1966, the Corpsmen began work and by that fall they had completed 26 dam structures on the stream, creating small impoundments or trout ponds. Tough grasses were seeded along the banks to control erosion. In 1967, the stream was restocked with trout and studies show the bass population is increasing.

Job Corps, of course, has many facets, some of which have drawn heavy political and economic criticism since it was established in 1964. I would not begin to argue here the pros and cons of Job Corps, either politically or economically. But speaking of-FISH-ially, I'd say it'll be a long time before something better comes along when it comes to getting practical conservation work done where this work really needs doing.

THEIR GOAL: A PUBLIC THAT UNDERSTANDS POLICE

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. **BUSH**. Mr. Speaker, the relations of the police department with the community in which it operates is one of increasing importance in these troubled times. A recent article in the Houston Chronicle, by Bruce Hicks, points out what the Houston Police Department is doing in this area. By unanimous consent, I include the article in the RECORD at this point:

COMMUNITY RELATIONS OFFICERS AT WORK—THEIR GOAL: A PUBLIC THAT UNDERSTANDS POLICE

(By Bruce Hicks)

Police Capt. Harry D. Caldwell measures his successes in little things:

A youngster waving his hand at a passing police car.

A youth in a slum area recognizing a policeman and greeting him as a friend.

An arrest made with mutual respect shown by both parties.

"We deal with intangibles," said Capt. Caldwell, head of the community relations division of the Houston police department. The division this month is marking its first anniversary.

One achievement of the division is the Wide Horizons Police Observer Corps. More than 200 high school-age youngsters from slum areas have worked with officers for eight hours on two consecutive weekends. The goal is better mutual understanding.

Since this program began there have been no incidents of this age group openly disrupting police activities, Capt. Caldwell said.

Out of this, a summer placement program was formed. A number of Observer Corps enrollees became interested in police work, and the division found eight positions available.

Two teen-agers are now working as information aides in the department building, two as athletic aides in the gym, two in the statistical division, one in the supply office, and one as a receptionist at the academy.

In another phase of community relations, Sgt. Ken Garnett, probably the officer best known to young children, and Officer Haney P. Wilkerson work with elementary and preschool children through radio, television and personal appearances.

They familiarize these young children with police activities at an impressionable age and try to leave them with good feelings about the department.

Officer Susan Loucks, education liaison officer for the Houston Independent School District, teaches every day in a junior high school to acquaint the students with police work.

Officer Sam Roy is a contact officer. He explains police policy and practices to minority groups.

Members of the division have made 153 speeches to about 5000 people and have coordinated 454 other speaking engagements for officers.

The division was formed after a two-year survey by Police Chief Herman B. Short of community relations divisions in other cities. The division reports directly to the chief.

Expansion is being considered. More contact officers will be assigned to specific neighborhoods. More liaison officers will be named for high schools. Availability of more trained officers will determine the extent of expansion.

In the over-all plans for better community relations, Chief Short formed the Houston Cooperative Crime Prevention Program, headed by Inspector C. D. Taylor, in October of last year.

Group sessions are held once a week for three hours. At present there are three sessions a week; at the academy, at the YMCA, 3531 Wheeler, and at Worthing High School, 9215 Cullen.

The discussion is open and citizens tell what is bothering them about the police.

HIGHLAND PARK PROJECT: A MODEL FOR THE NATION

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, a recent edition of the Chattanooga News-Free Press included an encouraging article by Mr. J. B. Collins on the Highland Park neighborhood improvement program. The Highland Park project has been a spectacular success, and it has proven that the best solution to local problems lies in maximum personal involvement of the members of the community. Federal or State funds may be necessary, but Federal or statewide control are not.

The successful experience of the Highland Park project, as described in Mr.

Collins' article, can serve as a model for forward-looking communities throughout the country. For this reason, I include this article in the RECORD:

ST. ELMO RESIDENTS "SHOW UP" FEDERAL REHABILITATION PROGRAM

(By J. B. Collins)

The Highland Park Neighborhood Improvement Program is one of the first projects of its kind in the country and local officials wanted to make it a sort of national showcase.

They wanted to prove by this program that a neighborhood with proper federal assistance could change its image from a declining area to a progressive one.

But the project is running behind schedule, is costing more than originally estimated and is being "shown up" by a neighborhood in another section of town that is making progress on its own . . . without one cent of federal help.

The Highland Park project was started July 18, 1966, as a three-year program. The goal: Rehabilitate 1,986 individual pieces of private property and generally improve streets, sidewalks, lighting and drainage as the public phase of the program.

Property owners requesting it would be loaned the money by the federal government to make the necessary improvements or even given the money free if they qualified. The federal and city governments would pay for the public improvements on a two-thirds—one-third basis.

The federal government agreed to spend some $2.2 million in the neighborhood.

This includes lending 80 property owners a total of $197,952 at 3 per cent interest and giving another 211 a total of $277,348 in outright grants which do not have to be repaid.

But despite this, between 800 and 900 of the properties in the Highland Park project still have not been brought up to code standards.

Now, take a look at the St. Elmo neighborhood.

It was designated a target area for rehabilitation Jan. 15 of this year. In seven months, 54 per cent of its substandard dwellings have been rehabilitated and another 10 per cent are being repaired . . . without any federal help!

On one hand there is a neighborhood that has taken more than two years to complete repairs on just over half of its substandard houses (1,100 of 2,000) with federal aid, and on the other a neighborhood that has completed more than half of its rehabilitation work without a penny of federal help.

In fact, federal assistance was considered for the area but they overwhelmingly resisted it. They preferred to "do it ourselves."

Much of the credit for the success of the St. Elmo program is given to the St. Elmo Improvement League headed by Bernard Wassman. Mr. Wassman is in a good position to know all the ropes. He worked for some time as an inspector for the housing commission in the Highland Park program and is currently serving as a member of the Better Housing Commission, which is spearheading the rehabilitation work in St. Elmo.

An inspector for BHC summed up his feelings about the two projects as follows: "The difference is in the attitude of the people. You ask those people in St. Elmo to do something and most of them can't do it fast enough."

Billy C. Cooper, executive director of the Chattanooga Housing Authority, which is supervising the Highland Park project, concedes that the program is going more slowly than planned, but he said he is still optimistic about the project. He said efforts will be made in the next year to speed up the private rehabilitation phase and the three-year program may yet meet the schedule.

There is no doubt that the Highland Park program will be one the city will consider a showpiece. And it will be worth the $2.2 million cost.

But the St. Elmo community should also get some attention.

Those folks did it themselves!

THE PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE PROGRAM

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Julia Brown, administrator of both the Klamath and Lake County, Oreg., Public Welfare Commissions, recently received a travel grant from the National Association of the Partners of the Alliance for a round-trip ticket and per diem to spend 10 days in Costa Rica to conduct seminars for social workers.

This is the type of people-to-people program that we need, and the House has approved funds for the Partners of the Alliance to continue sending competent people such as Mrs. Brown to Latin American countries. I include excerpts from Mrs. Brown's report of her trip at this point in the RECORD:

Mr. JAMES ELLISON,
President, Oregon Partners of the Alliance, Inc., Milwaukee, Oreg.

DEAR MR. ELLISON: The following is the report of my visit to Costa Rica from May 20 through May 31, 1968, in a Partners program in the field of social services.

Sr. Fernando Jones and Sr. Francisco Rojas were responsible for the programming of my time in Costa Rica. The Costa Rican program was planned so that I visited heads of agencies and, in some instances, staff in all of the National Services to families and children after a briefing with Sr. Jones, Sr. Rojas, and Sr. Melton Clark on the economic condition and social mores of Costa Rica, and a courtesy call to Mr. Robert Hoffman of the A.I.D. staff at the Embassy.

Meetings were arranged with chiefs and supervisory staff of community development and casework services in the Department of Social Welfare; chiefs of social services in St. John's Hospital, the Psychiatric Hospital, and the Children's Hospital with tours of Psychiatric and Tuberculosis Hospital facilities; the Social Security Agency; the National Child Welfare Agency; the Juvenile Court; the National Agency for the Sober Alcoholic; and the Department of Nutrition in the Ministry of Health. At these meetings the Costa Rican program was explained to me and I explained the work of similar agencies in Oregon.

In addition to the agency visits, I was given an opportunity to see a day nursery and a cottage home for children supervised by the Department of Social Welfare; the School for Special Learning for blind, deaf and mentally retarded children; and several barrio community centers and nutrition centers. I also attended meetings of barrio committees, working out planning for the betterment of their barrios under Costa Rica's year-old law for community development. I attended a lecture at the University given by a Costa Rican historian on his recognized objective study of the Revolution of 1948. I met with staff of the School of Social Work at the University, and with the College and Association of Social Workers of Costa Rica. I also talked with the Peace Corps Director, Mr. Orr, and his staff working in San José.

Sr. Jones and Sr. Rojas had organized a short course for volunteers in the social service field two hours in the afternoon for 6 days. Sr. Jones and Sr. Rojas had invited two representatives from each group doing volunteer social service work in the Central Plateau area. There were approximately 25 groups represented, some of the volunteers coming from Cartago, Heridio, and Alejuela and the balance from the immediate area of San José. There was an average attendance of 45 people, both men and women. The meetings were carried by Sr. Jones principally, with contributions from time to time from Sr. Rojas and myself. The topics of discussion followed this general outline: (1) functions of volunteers in social welfare and community development in Costa Rica and Oregon; (2) characteristics of the volunteer worker; (3) methods of social work that can be used by the volunteer; (4) relationships of the volunteer with professional social workers and with the community in general; (5) what attitudes a volunteer needs to do the most effective work in the community. There was some interchange of ideas and program content between the members of the group.

My evaluation of the effect of the short course is positive. My role was that of catalyst, my presence in Costa Rica for an exchange of social service information being the stimulus needed for the unprecedented gathering of this group of people. The group decided that they would form a permanent group of volunteers and 10 people were appointed at the total group's request to formulate planning for the permanent group. Their present enthusiasm for the continuation of monthly or bi-monthly meetings should be stimulated by the proposed visit of someone from Oregon to whom they are looking for concrete assistance in the field of public relations and publicity.

In addition to the formation of a permanent group, letters were written to the University and the Department of Social Welfare, signed by those present, asking for in-service training courses and cooperation and some supervisory help from the Department of Social Welfare to assist the volunteers in more effective work. The indications were that responses to these formal requests would be positive.

The contribution to the field of social welfare by volunteer groups in Costa Rica is considerable. Trained professional staff are holding key positions at the University and in the governmental agencies. Costa Ricans see the need to extend services to the aged, disabled, the poor and to the children. If the planning for the permanent group which would give the volunteers the recognition in the community that is their due, provide a directory of services so that additional volunteers can be recruited to the special services in which they are interested, and provide a vehicle for the exchange of information and ideas and in-service training, they would seem to be making effective use of the human resources available. I heard it said many times that "Costa Rica is a poor country." This may be true economically, but it is rich in the resource of its people: the growing social consciousness of the middle class; the democratic political portrait and the truly democratic attitudes of the people; and the concern expressed by the middle and upper classes for the development of more opportunities for the disadvantaged.

My time in Costa Rica was planned to give me a comprehensive view of their activities in the social welfare field. The planning was well thought out and competently executed, adapted to the situation in Oregon that would benefit our social welfare programs. It was a rich experience for me; one I will never forget. The whole concept of the "Partners" program needs to be strengthened in Oregon, and I hope a plan can be worked out for an exchange in the field of social service that will have meaning for Costa Rica. In our talk with Dr. Diaz Armadon, Director of the Nutritional program for the Ministry of Health, he expressed a great interest in having a physician from the State Department of Public Health come to Costa Rica to tell the medical profession about Medicare, and study the nutritional program in Costa Rica for children of the poor. I hope such an exchange can be worked out.

Very truly yours,

MRS. JULIA BROWN.

THE HIGH COST OF GOVERNMENT

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, the most frequent complaint which I receive in my office expresses concern about the high cost of Government services and the extensive waste of Government funds.

This widespread concern among the people is a legitimate one—and one to which the Congress and the administration must give their close and immediate attention. The dollar is unstable. Inflation is robbing the pockets of our citizens. Our gold reserves are being depleted in international trade because of excessive Government expenditures overseas. Interest rates are higher today than they have been since the Civil War. Clearly, these startling conditions can no longer remain unnoticed and unconsidered in high councils of Government. We must take action to bring the economy back into equilibrium and halt inflationary Government fiscal policies.

It might be well, Mr. Speaker, to review for a moment the dangers of the inflation which our Nation is facing today.

What the average housewife paid $10.89 for in January 1965, she now has to pay $11.99 for.

Inflation has added over $100 billion to the cost of living of our people since 1960. Inflation has shrunk the value of checking accounts of our people by $10 billion in that same period. Inflation has robbed our people of $32 billion from their savings and has reduced the value of pension fund reserves by over $17 billion in the past 7 years. Inflation has eroded away $15 billion from the value of U.S. Government and other bonds and has eaten $13 billion from life insurance reserves.

In short, the cost of inflation has totaled over $188 billion since 1960—a cost of nearly $1,000 per every man, woman, and child.

This inflation has come at the expense of those in our society who can least afford to bear the cost—the old, the handicapped, the very poor. Indeed, all of the programs to help the poor which have been conceived and run by the Government in recent years have added far less to their welfare than our inflationary Government spending policies and rising costs have taken away.

It has been argued by some administration economists that "some" inflation is all right, so long as we can maintain relatively full employment and a constant growth in our gross national product. Yet in 1967, 60 percent of the growth in our GNP consisted of inflation. Surely, such false growth is of little help to the economy and contributes little to the welfare of our people. All inflation is harmful and it should be the goal of our fiscal policies to bring such inflation to a halt.

The administration has done little to stem this frightening loss of buying power and failure of confidence in the stability of the dollar. Its only response has been to ask the Congress for added revenues—which were reluctantly approved as a last ditch effort to stem the inflationary tide. But there has been an unwillingness to make major changes in Government fiscal policy which are required if this inflation is to be stopped altogether and if the stability of the dollar is to be assured.

The administration has been unwilling to cut back on excessive Government spending which has contributed so greatly to the rising costs faced by our people. There has been a complete unwillingness to set priorities—to single out those really important national programs which cannot be deferred until the budgetary situation is more favorable. It is clear to me, Mr. Speaker, that such a setting of priorities is required and I have consistently voted to cut back in areas of nonessentail spending. At the same time, it would be irresponsible to cut back on those important national programs in the field of education, job training, housing, water pollution control, and so forth. It is important, I feel, for all Members of Congress to set priorities and support only those programs which are important to our national life and the lives of our citizens. The meat-ax approach of across-the-board cuts is certainly less productive than an analysis and delineation of the truly important programs which are essential and which cannot be postponed.

Although not the only factor in the cause of inflation, excessive Government expenditures rank high on the list of basic problems which must be met and conquered if we are to bring the disastrous rise in prices to a halt.

Examples of Government waste are rife—every department is full of instances. Here are a few that might be of interest to Members of the House:

We spent $33,000 to study the Australian cricket and another $20,000 to study the social life of the blackbird.

The Post Office Department paid $54 million rent for a building and land worth less than $20 million. There are 287 post offices on which the Government is paying rent, and losing money.

The Agency for International Development paid over $500,000 to support a school in Beirut, Lebanon, only to discover that the school did not exist.

Sloppy procurement procedures led the same agency to spend more than $24,000 for plain sea water which was bottled and sold as a "wonder" medicine.

The first act of the new Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson was to have his already plush office renovated at the taxpayers' expense.

There were a total of 290 changes of plans while a Federal building was being built in Cleveland—at an added cost of $4 million to the taxpayer.

The Public Health Service financed a study of "Demography of Happiness in Puerto Rico." Its findings, at great expense to the taxpayer, showed that young people are happier than older people. People with money are happier than the poor and that people in good health are happier than those who are ill.

Ladybird Johnson journeyed to Stamford, Conn., to dedicate a new park under the beautification program. The park was a concrete walkway 60 feet by 85 feet. It cost the taxpayers a total of $490,000.

Nor is the Defense Department free of such waste.

The Defense Department paid $312.50 each for generator knobs which can be bought on the open market for only $1.62 each.

The factory catalog price on Army gear clamps was $1.80 each. The Defense Department paid $230 each.

The Defense Department paid $1.55 each for 8-cent washers.

It paid $25.55 each for 50-cent rods.

Government waste comes in more than just faulty procurement and project decisions. It comes, too, in massive paper work and extensive bureaucracy.

In the past 14 years, the number of farms in America have decreased by 36 percent. During that same period of time, the number of employees in the Department of Agriculture has increased by 62 percent.

It takes 47 different forms to hire a Federal employee and about the same number to get him off the payroll. The Government hires and fires about 600,000 people a year.

Mr. Speaker, these figures should come as no surprise to Members of Congress—and they are only a few of the hundreds of examples that can be pointed out. There must be hundreds of thousands more that have never been uncovered.

It is clear that we must toughen our administrative regulations on procurement of Government supplies. The General Accounting Office should receive increased authority to deal with procurement inconsistencies and to take action against those who have purposely cheated the Government. At the same time, greater safeguards must be built into the system to insure that all bidders are provided with an equal opportunity to present low prices to the Government for consideration—and contracts should be awarded to those companies which present the lowest prices and most efficient service.

Safeguards must also be taken to assure that all Government projects are evaluated according to the need for funds requested. Certainly action is possible to assure that Government funds not go to schools which do not exist and supplies which are purchased, only to rot with unuse in Government warehouses.

Changes such as these are administrative in nature. They can and must take place without any major changes in the structure of Government. An administration truly interested in saving the taxpayer's money can take prompt action to stop these small wastes of money in hundreds of different projects—although each instance may be small, the total amount runs into hundreds of millions of dollars each year—money that can and should be used for more useful and meaningful purposes.

However, the long run solution to the problem of excessive Government spending and waste is a full study of the functions that the Government is requested to perform, the organizations and programs that are established to perform them, the nature of coordination between the Federal Government and local and State governments, the ability of Congress to establish effective oversight, and the extent to which other forces in the community, such as private enterprise, can be called on to take part in the solution of problems.

At the present there is little or no coordination or Government-wide evaluation of programs. Duplication has become a serious problem. There are, for instance, 56 water conservation and control programs spread among seven different executive departments and agencies. There are over 470 education programs spread among 20 executive agencies and departments and numerous divisions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. There are 69 manpower training and vocational education programs spread among the Office of Education, the Social and Rehabilitation Service, and seven other departments and agencies. There are 74 economic and business development programs spread among 10 separate departments and agencies and there are 43 programs relating to child health and welfare spread among the Public Health Service, the Office of Education, the Social and Rehabilitation Service, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Defense, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Veterans' Administration.

Faced with such overlap and duplication, it is little wonder that funds which come to Washington in taxes get used up and wasted in administrative and bureaucratic expenses. It is little wonder that any individual or local government dealing with the Federal Government is frustrated and confused about the programs which might affect his specific difficulty. In fact, with over 1,900 separate programs dispersing aid in various forms to State and local governments and individuals it is something of a wonder that as many constructive things are accomplished as are.

Nor is the cost of this duplication and confusion limited to the waste of the taxpayers funds in Washington. On the local level, in order to take advantage of the outside funding offered, many governments have been required to hire full-time staffs to do nothing but keep track of Federal assistance programs and make application for them. As the National Association of Counties pointed out so correctly:

> Under the current system, federal aid tends to favor localities which have the know-how and professionalism to keep themselves abreast of federal programs, which is no easy trick. The very communities which most need federal assistance often do not have this know-how.

To meet this ever-growing problem of bureaucratic duplication and waste, I have introduced legislation to create a new bipartisan, expert "Hoover-type" Commission. Over 110 Members of Congress have joined in the introduction of this legislation to provide for an overall study of governmental functions and programs. This Commission would be charged with the responsibility of exposing Government wastes and duplication and recommending new structures within the Government to handle problem areas.

It would also study the impact and effect of Federal programs and activities upon the interrelationships of Federal, State, and local governments, especially from the standpoint of preserving and strengthening our decentralized system of government. Because bold, imaginative approaches must be developed in intergovernmental relations, this Commission would recommend means of simplifying Federal assistance through such concepts as broad block grants and revenue-sharing with State, county, and city governments. It would recommend how the resources of various levels of government can be better marshaled to meet the critical problems of the present and the future.

The Commission would explore the use of public and private corporations as a means of marshaling private resources in helping solve today's complex problems. It would study the use of tax incentives, reimbursements, and other similar proposals to encourage and involve the resourcefulness of private enterprise in public problems.

The Federal Government simply does not have the financial resources to undertake all the programs and ideas that are desirable. In order to utilize our resources effectively, we must be willing to set priorities and abide by them. We must realine our efforts and concentrate our attack on the most serious and pressing of the problems which face us. We must define these priorities on the basis of factual and rational evaluation—not emotion. This Commission should aid the Congress in establishing Government-wide criteria in examining the relative priority for Federal programs and activities in accordance with our most important national needs and goals.

Mr. Speaker, much more can be said regarding programs which are essential to stabilize the economy of the Nation. However, I strongly feel that regaining control of the Federal budget, returning it to a rational basis, is the most important step we can take in restoring confidence in our economy and halting the inflationary pressures which have driven prices so high. Only when the vast expanse of Government spending has returned to a sensible basis, only when Government waste and duplication have been halted, can our economy return to a period of full functioning. We must take action, and take it soon, to bring uncontrolled and unmanaged Federal excess spending to a halt. I strongly believe that we must take this action on a long-term basis and urge the adoption of the Executive Reorganization and Management Improvement Act to aid in that effort.

A HOME FOR STREETCARS AT LAST

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is often with a feeling of nostalgia that we remember the things of the past. Perhaps one of our most vivid recollections of our boyhood were the colorful trolleys or streetcars that provided a cheap and convenient means of transportation to various parts of a city and its suburbs. In those bygone days there were even trolleys connecting cities such as the old W.B. & A. between Washington, Baltimore, and Annapolis.

The streetcars were an important part of the life of our country until they were supplanted by buses and it now appears that they too will soon completely disappear just as steam locomotives gave way to the modern diesel engines.

Fortunately, there are museums to house and display, not only art objects, but also other things of interest in order that present and future citizens may view these items of a bygone era which are part of America's history of progress.

I am very pleased to report that the city of Baltimore has a very civic-minded group of persons interested in preserving some of the old streetcars so that our children may see for themselves just what these conveyances looked like.

The Evening Sun, of Baltimore, recently printed an account of the work of a group of enthusiasts in making their dream of a home for streetcars become a reality. Because this is a matter of some historical significance and of general interest, under unanimous consent I submit this article for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

A HOME FOR STREET CARS AT LAST

(By Alfred C. Haynes)

When Baltimore's last street car went into the barn on November 3, 1963, an era spanning more than a century came to an end.

Yet, along Falls road, between the North avenue and Twenty-eighth street overpasses, street cars will soon clang their way down what was once the right-of-way of the old Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad.

Bringing this dream to a reality are a group of enthusiasts organized as the Baltimore Streetcar Museum, Inc., and the rolling stock consists of ten old cars saved from the scrap heap by the Baltimore Transit Co.

The cars, representing virtually every type to run in Baltimore, have been moved into a brand-new carbarn under the shadow of the North avenue overpass and their restoration is being lovingly undertaken by dedicated volunteers.

The new home brings to an end years of wandering by the collection, considered the finest of any single city's traction equipment.

As buses gradually replaced street cars, the trolleys were moved from carbarn to carbarn and were finally presented to the Maryland Historical Society. When the Streetcar Museum was formed to assure their preservation, the new organization took over their ownership.

Five years of open storage on a former Pennsylvania branch line at Lake Roland took its toll in weathering, and worst of all wanton damage by vandals. Every window was smashed and the museum members breathed a collective sigh of relief when the cars were moved a few weeks ago to the permanent location.

The shiny new three-track carbarn and the nearly one mile of right-of-way were obtained with the close cooperation of the Baltimore Parks Department and will be operated by the museum under a long-term lease with the city.

With the cars under cover, museum members have been busy weekends and evening scraping, repairing and repainting car bodies, placing new canvas on leaky roofs, and commencing the renovation of the sometimes-complicated electrical equipment.

In the meantime, a crew of volunteers have been laying some of the yard trackage and will soon start toward Twenty-eight street. Plans call for a turn-around loop at each end of the line. Restoration of the cars, all in basically sound condition, will be completed as money and time permit.

First to be renewed will be old "convertible" car 264, sole survivor of a group built back in 1900 and used on the Fort McHenry line. It is expected to be ready in time for the formal dedication of the museum on August 30 and for display to members of the National Railroad Historical Society convening in Baltimore that weekend.

Among the cars slumbering in the carbarn, awaiting their turn for an awakening, is what may well be the oldest street car in America. A compact, four-wheeled vehicle seating only 16 persons, car 4732 started its career as a horsecar on Pennsylvania avenue about 1880 and, during the early 1890s, was remodeled as a cable car. A few years later, it was made into an electric car.

There are two of the old open summer cars and they have been given a high priority for overhauling.

Newest are "Peter Witt" 6119, a huge steel car built in 1930 by the J. G. Brill Co. of Philadelphia, and the still modern PCC 7407 which represents the last type to be operated over Baltimore's broadgauge tracks. Both proudly bear the dents and creases inflicted by encounters with automobiles which eventually drove them from the streets.

Street car enthusiasts are held by the same fascination which grips steam locomotive fans and collectors of old automobiles. Some of them have been motormen or conductors and others often are sons of former streetcar men and during their boyhood enjoyed rides on cars run by their dads.

But a good many of them, and this includes not a few women, simply cherish memories of a more leisurely, less hectic way of life when an open street-car ride to Riverview Park was something to be looked forward to and air conditioning was provided by the car itself.

Museum member's represent all age groups and many occupations, including teachers, engineers, salesmen, a power dispatcher, a newspaperman or two, factory workers, students—you name the rest. A surprising number of the approximately 100 members are young people whose personal memories go back scarcely farther than to the PCC cars but who can spout street railway history and statistics with real authority.

They are all united in a common love for electric traction. Their backgrounds, and interests and abilities are being utilized in the various phases of the museum's development and operation.

The other day, a small boy from the neighborhood looked into an open doorway of the carbarn, scratched his head as he viewed the strange-looking vehicles, and then asked: "What are they for?" One of the purposes of the Baltimore Streetcar Museum is to give him and other children the fun of riding a real honest-to-goodness trolley car.

When the last spike is driven, the last trolley wire is strung overhead and 600-volt DC current coaxes the old traction motors into new life, that dream will be realized.

CENTRO PRE-VOCACIONAL

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged recently to be invited to present diplomas to the graduates of a very unique school. There are many similar training centers, giving courses in adult basic education, and funded through either the Manpower Development and Training Act or the Adult Basic Education Act.

This class being graduated from the Centro Pre-Vocacional in Los Angeles, however, where persons who speak only Spanish are being taught to speak English before they are able to take advantage of on-the-job training programs under the Labor Department's MDTA-OJT project.

Much to my regret, funds for this type of training are becoming more and more scarce. The tendency is to use the money where results can be shown quickly. Language training such as this is a slower process. Training contracts may not allow time for the learning of a new language. Costs per trainee skyrocket as time passes and subsistence allowances continue.

It is very likely that we will have to explore specific funding to fulfill this specific need so that costs per trainee will not have to compete on paper with the costs involved in other types of training.

The feeling of hope among the graduates is obvious and infectious. I was greatly moved, as well, by the graduation address given by Edward Moreno, project coordinator at Centro Pre-Vocacional. I include the full text of this address at this point in the RECORD in hopes that this message will reach into the hearts of my colleagues as it did for all those who heard Mr. Moreno at the ceremony:

CENTRO PRE-VOCACIONAL GRADUATION ADDRESS

(By Edward Moreno, project coordinator)

In many schools, at graduation time, it is customary to send the student home with a message of great hope, encouragement, and the promise that from then on, the world will be the graduate's oyster. I cannot be that naive or overconfident. I can only tell you that we are sending you to fight a new battle, harder than all the battles you have fought before, to meet new challenges, and to look for newer opportunities, and that we hope that the Centro might have helped you to begin learning how to fight.

And, while I cannot promise you unending success and glory, even if you are the most dedicated and hard workers, I am demanding that you do not throw away this chance. For you are luckier than all the others still overloaded with the despair of life in the ghetto, and who haven't received similar opportunities. Do we expect miracles of you? Indeed! That's why I have often called you our crusaders, our gospel bearers, and the apple of the eye of the Centro and of the Mexican American Opportunity Foundation. For, through you, we intend to begin building a new world of hope and economic betterment for our people, neglected for many years, and saddled with many unmet needs.

The course has been short, and perhaps not as complete or perfect, as you and I would dream of it. But survival courses are necessarily short, and this is a course for survival. It is just a passkey, a token to enter the mainstream of American life. From hereon, survival is your baby. We have asked much from you, because to be successful in the war against poverty we must be prepared to make it our personal war. And we firmly believe, as you do, that it is our Latin tradition not to expect anyone to always come and do things for us. We have that famous saying: "Les dan la mano y se cogen el pie . . ." I hope the course has taught you to receive a hand, and grab the rest of the opportunity.

In this survival course, we have tried to help you learn as much as possible about the common enemy. His name is despair; he plays a dirty game called lack of opportunity for the unprepared, and the language used in the game is English. To help you beat poverty, we have tried to prepare you to enter "on-the-job-training," so that you can begin acquiring work experience and job preparation. We have also made you spend many long hours mastering that devilish language English, which you feared worse than damnation before, but which you have begun to master. I do not apologize for any of your bad moments. Survival courses are tough, for tough people, and you have shown yourselves to be tough. Now, before you leave, let's review our strategies.

First, the course was just the beginning. Becoming a good fighter from now on is your responsibility. Night Adult School, College, and all the training you can absorb will help you a lot, but your main weapon is still the personal search for advancement. I have told you frequently that in America, when one cannot move forward, or upward, one must try to move laterally, or out.

You have now the basic tools to learn more, that is essentially the weapons to steal thought. Don't be squeamish about brainpicking, nor think that all thought is original. Human knowledge is a vast reservoir that belongs to all of us, and to which all the peoples of the world have contributed. Where would science be if people, besides contributing their own ideas, wouldn't have helped themselves to the ideas of others. So, part of the strategy is: never allow one day to pass without having picked something from someone's brain, or read at least a page from a book, or developed a new thought or ideas, or helped someone.

After the most disastrous defeat in human history, Japan is now the second largest industrial country in the Western world; the second largest producer of cars. How did she recover? No Japanese worth his rice is ashamed of copying, revising, adapting, using, improving, reforming, studying, learning, and utilizing someone elses' ideas, or products. Japan is now the top country in the world in quality control. They aim at high class; they are masters at it. They are even helping industrialize Southeast Asia and Brazil.

But, if the example is too alien, or remote for you, take a look at the industrial development of Mexico. Some people dare say that Mexico has got so good, that they are even copying our own Thermofax copiers, and proudly calling them "Hecho en Mexico por Mexicanos". Their aim is to do everything better and more saleable. And they are also helping in the industrialization of the rest of Latin America. Does it ring the bell? This is the kind of stealing that I am advising, the other will land us in jail.

Pick the American brain; rob it blank of ideas. Americans claim to have the best know-how and the jobs. Let's find out how that know-how and those jobs are gotten by that other America. Let's pick every brain in the country, in school, at work, in the unions, add to that our own positive ideas, then go and do our job better than anyone else. Do you realize the tremendous combination that brain power and Mexican or Latin muscle can produce?

Second. If we are going to do an effective job of brain-picking, that is learning, and sensivity training, and brain storming, etc., of getting ideas, and translating them into action, and we live in here, we must learn the language of the land, English, real well. And this can be a very pleasant job. Someone has said that to learn a language one must begin by liking it, and by loving it. English has a self-rebuilding process, what is new today becomes archaic tomorrow, thus the loving process never ends, it is an eternal romance. But you must love with our Latin fury and fire, for when you love that way Seventh Heaven is a poor copy of happiness and bliss and adventure. If you really want to be in love, fall in love with a foreign language, and for us, English is my choice. But be careful, for the moment you master two languages you will want to go on, and on until you would master all the languages of the world. When you are master of two systems of symbols, you can actually look down on that poor unicultural fellow who can can-can only in one step. Do you want fun? How about being able to read D'Anunzio in Italian, De Maupassant in French, Truman Capote in English, De Queiroz in Portuguese and still understand Toshiro Mifune in Japanese . . . wouldn't that be fun? How about having a new, beautiful slave, a new form of expression, always at your disposal. . . .?

Third. Never allow yourself to be inferior, or to feel sorry for yourself. We don't have to act haughty, because we belong to two cultures, but there's no such thing as a "culturally disadvantaged Mexican" either. We are part of the total American culture; our people have greatly enriched this land, and this continent. But in America, to be equal, really equal, at least in theory, one has to accept the burdens of citizenship, which also means acquiring the franchise to select the people who are going to govern us.

In 1776, the people of this land went to war because they were taxed without being represented. Some of us are still taxed, overtaxed, and most recently, surtaxed, are not truly represented, and are remiss about correcting the situation, when correction is in our hands. To get true equality and its privileges we must accept the responsibility of American citizenship. We can't afford any longer to stay by the wayside, full of self-pity, but unwilling to become responsible and equal. We have no time to remain perennial guests. Remember our saying: "El muerto y el arrimado, a los tres dias hieden". We want equality for all of us, for as native, or naturalized citizens, we can fight for our rights. Any other status forces us to accept morsels or crumbs at the time when we need to be fighting for a full existence.

America must be you and me, in full participation, in full action, effort and involvement, and in concert with all the Anglos, and the Blacks, the Yellows, the Browns, and all combinations thereof; all equal, but also all equally responsible.

Fourth. We must hold strongly to our values and traditions. That God is our Creator, and that He is all powerful, and if we are Catholics that Mary is the refuge of us sinners. That God created man, and man created societies and philosophies. What I mean is, we must have a faith. Our cultural values are sacred, we just do not give them up. Father is still the breadwinner, Mother is still the center of the home and of our affection; both are equal and the finest examples for future generations, and people still get married to stay married, and virginity is not outmoded. Our men are still gentlemen, and all our women are ladies until proven otherwise. Work still is a dignified human enterprise, not always pleasant; people are still the true government, and nobody owes us a living. Personal effort and enterprise are essentially good, and Communism is an antiquated theory, and a gimmick to keep people poor, restricted and submissive. This is not too different from the general philosophies of the country, for despite TV, America is not all Cola Drinks, Convenience Foods, Sex and the Single Girl, or the Mattachine Society and the bearded gurus. Some of those are passing fads, boisterous barks, around an essentially good, dynamic, healthy and enterprising nation.

Fifth. We never give up. Just because we finished a survival course, or landed a job, we are not assured of instant survival, instant wealth, instant knowledge. Poverty is a very pervasive creepy thing. It creeps up on us when we least expect it if we are unprepared. Then you fight it for a while with all your might, but little by little it takes hold of your will, your sense of dignity, your amor propio, and pervasively it begins defeating you, if you let it. We must be on guard always against total dependence. At first you feel that dependence is allright, for haven't you paid taxes and unemployment insurance for so long? You are just getting some of it back. Then we rationalize and say: "Others are doing it, why not me?" And finally, it may become the way of life. But is it really *living?* Day by day our resistance is lowered through frustration and inactivity, and soon, one is the slave of the public welfare system. By then all faith, all determination are lost, we merely whine when we should be fighting.

Everyone of you has shown the determination to get out of poverty through personal effort. Don't let welfarism take hold of our communities. You are the best examples that it can be done when one decides to apply himself to the task of survival. You have shown that, really, work never killed anybody, as our parents told us. To that I can add, total dependence of the individual on the government is the secret of success of the totalitarian bureaucracies, but personal effort, such as yours, dedication, such as yours, determination such as yours, can open many doors formerly closed to all of us.

At the same time, we who have received but a little, have the sacred duty now to give much of ourselves. I hope you have learned to be the supreme egotists in reverse. We are not rich, not necessarily beautiful, not even wise or sophisticated, but we have a tremendous EGO, and since this is our greatest wealth, let's give as much as we can of ourselves. And this includes not only demanding something better for ourselves, how about opening a place for another one of us at the plant where we work, how about involving ourselves with the work of our organizations, and MAOF is my number one candidate, how about giving a hand when we are needed, how about extending ourselves beyond our immediate families?

Finally, if you feel you have taken, or received something from us, you are in good company, believe me, for, in addition to the immeasurable pleasure of seeing you improve, day by day, we have stolen from you many beautiful things, such as new ideas, a glance at the beautiful eyes of our lovely girls, your courtesy, your sense of persistence, dignity, helpfulness. We have received from you, your frankness, and candidness, and cooperation, and a fine example of personal ambition. Maybe you took a page from us, but we have stolen from you a whole volume. Both of us are considerably richer.

The task was very hard and would have been impossible without the patience, loyalty, cooperation, dedication, and excellent academic and personal contributions of my coworkers. Despite our frustrations, and occasional self-doubts we have two men in college, two more go to vocational training free, one new citizen, many more are already registered for night school, the entry level of many jobs is considerably higher, and our trainees handled successfully a multitude of complicated tests. You have shown that quality of education does not necessarily mean all the material things, and although you could perhaps command more prestige, recognition, and better salaries somewhere else you have chosen the satisfaction to work with our people, and that satisfaction has no price. We are very fortunate to have worked for a company which has given us all the professional latitude possible, and under a corporate director, under whom all of us grew up without chafing. To him and to his special assistant, un millon de gracias . . . and the same to young Tom Suitt, under whom the project began. We'll never forget him either.

One man, a dreamer, a visionary, a practical idealist receives the greatest satisfaction, I know, of seeing this project completed, for it has taken guts, all around slaps, a million no's to be converted into one yes, an emotional death per second, together with a serious physical illness to have this project become a reality. And for a while, he carried the load alone. His gospel has been: "I am no more afraid of no. I am used to it. I'll keep coming back, again, and again, and again, until they'll say yes." Because of him the dream became a reality and not a nightmare. He is the Director of the Foundation, Dionicio Morales.

To all Godspeed and lots of luck. In the battle against poverty, prejudice and discrimination, we need both. More so in the battle against ignorance. But like Paul in his epistle to Timothy, we can say: "I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course, and I have kept the faith." You are victors in a little skirmish, go now and become good fighters and have faith in yourselves . . . Happy survival.

INFANTRY SERGEANT FROM MARYLAND KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. Kenneth L. Krom, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ARMY SGT. K. L. KROM, 21, REPORTED KILLED IN VIETNAM

An infantry sergeant from Frederick county was killed in Vietnam in August, six days after his twenty-first birthday, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

DIED AT BASE CAMP

The dead squad leader was Sgt. Kenneth L. Krom, son of Mr. and Mrs. Guy R. Krom, Route 1, Walkersville.

Mrs. Krom said her son was drafted in June, 1966, trained at Fort Bragg, N.C., and Fort Benning, Ga., and sent to Vietnam last May.

She said the Army told her that he died at his base camp with a unit of the 25th Division after being wounded in a fire fight.

Sergeant Krom's brother, Ronald, serving with the Army at Fort Gordon, Ga., survives, in addition to the parents.

THE BROOKLYN SUBWAY CRISIS

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the refusal of a handful of officials in the Lindsay administration to approve plans submitted by the New York City Transit Authority for the construction of the Nostrand Avenue subway extension threatens the welfare of the residents and the business community in Brooklyn's southern tier.

In a report, entitled "Standards for Rapid Transit Expansion" made public jointly by Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff, commissioner of highways; Donald H. Elliott, chairman of the city planning commission; and Frederick O'R. Hayes, director of the bureau of the budget, these three officials set out a blue print designed to destroy the economy of the borough. Their report discards the experience and knowledge of transit authority engineers and breaks solemn pledges made repeatedly over the past 25 years to the people of this community that the Nostrand Avenue subway extension would be built.

Nothing in this report justifies the conclusion that the Nostrand Avenue subway extension requires further study. In fact the suggestion that this overstudied proposal requires further study can be only a euphemism for killing the plan.

Nothing in the report can inspire public confidence in the work of this trio of city executives. The only thing clear about the report is that the slickness of the design is calculated to conceal the paucity of its information. The report is, in fact, nothing but an exercise in futility by a trio of juveniles who seek to avoid the charge of delinquency by being hypercritical.

The simple facts are that the area intended to be served by the Nostrand Avenue subway extension has in the past decade seen a population increase in excess of 30 percent; use of public transit facilities in the area has increased by more than 10 percent. The area has been developed with single-family homes, with high-rise apartment houses, with shopping centers, and other commercial developments.

The assertion in the report that rapid transit facilities now serving the area have an excess morning peak-hour capacity for 26,000 additional passengers simply adds insult to the indignities suffered daily by the residents of this community in overcrowded, filthy subway cars.

The assertion in the report that by 1985 the excess morning peak-hour capacity of subways serving the area will increase to 36,000 additional passengers underscores the deliberate and calculated policy of the Lindsay administration to destroy Brooklyn's southern tier. This conclusion follows inevitably from the fact that the Lindsay administration has callously closed a firehouse in a high-risk area of Coney Island, by plans of the Lindsay administration to close the 70th police precinct stationhouse in the face of the rising tide of crime, by efforts of the Lindsay administration to close Coney Island Hospital which would deprive a community of 700,000 people of urgently needed health and hospital facilities.

This vicious report asserts that the estimated $65,000,000 cost for the project makes it prohibitive. This sudden attachment to economy is ironic, coming from an administration which in less than 3 years has firmly established itself as the most profligate in the city's history. Indeed, less than a month ago, this same administration approved a $65,000,000 appropriation for the construction of less than 1 mile of roadway for an interchange between the Bruckner and Cross-Bronx Expressways. So expensive is this bit of highway construction that Mayor Lindsay will presumably pave the roadway with gold instead of concrete.

During the past several months Mayor Lindsay has been busy warning officials at all levels of government to reorient their priorities under the threat that he would throw his hat into the 1972 presidential ring. Yet what is obvious is that Mayor Lindsay's own priorities are in urgent need of reshaping.

The Nostrand Avenue subway extension is the last possible project remaining for Brooklyn out of the $2½ billion transportation bond issue. If that project is abandoned, it will mean that the 2,700,000 people of our borough will have the burdens of financing the transportation bond issue but get none of its benefits. Mayor Lindsay had better take another look at his priorities and make sure that the Nostrand Avenue subway extension is moved ahead immediately, or face a revolt in Brooklyn which will make Shay's Rebellion seem like child's play.

THE SYLVANIA COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AWARD, 1968–69

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, more and more business firms are becoming involved in helping ghetto residents to help themselves and in helping communities to begin to solve their own problems. One of the most outstanding programs of this type, sponsored by Sylvania Electric Products, Inc., a subsidiary of General Telephone & Electronics, has just come to my attention.

Under this program, Sylvania is sponsoring a competition among all entertainment products dealers who have begun programs in their communities aimed at assisting minority consumers in obtaining economic self-sufficiency.

The best project will be awarded $5,000 by Sylvania toward the continuance of the program and the dealer will receive a trophy signifying his contribution to his community.

I believe this type of encouragement to local business dealers to inform themselves, to become involved, and to take some concrete action to assist minority groups in their communities is to be highly commended. And I think Sylvania should be applauded for originating this innovative approach in attempting to help the ghetto resident help himself.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert at this point in the Record the Sylvania announcement of the Community Involvement Award and a letter to businessmen from Sylvania. The letter and announcement follow:

The Sylvania Community Involvement Award, 1968–69

As concerned citizens and as business men, we have seen the pattern of minority group social upheaval spread to communities in every part of our nation.

The Urban problem is real. Government at every level is deeply concerned and various legislation has been passed to cope with the problem.

But there is a practical limit to what governmental legislative action, can and should do—.

We believe the retailer in our industry is in the front line of the Urban crisis. The retailer is on the street—face-to-face with the mounting tide of crime and civil disorder.

It is also our belief that private business should step-up to the minority group problem and share in the solution. It should not be left to government alone; the individual citizen and the individual business man must concern himself. The private business man is oriented to obtain results. He is in the best position to know the skills he must develop in his organization to operate efficiently and profitably.

"The Sylvania Community Involvement Award Program" is inaugurated with the conviction that our industry recognizes its vast need for trained people and the opportunity and challenge presented to use our human resources more effectively.

The award is open to ALL Home Entertainment Product Dealers—not just Sylvania Dealers.

Qualifications for participation, conditions of judging, award program and details of entry submission—are clearly stated in the enclosed program brochure which also incorporates the official Entry Form.

The challenge of the Urban problem is real.

The opportunity to fill our industry's "people" needs is real.

How well will we respond?

Sylvania Entertainment Products Announces the Community Involvement Award, 1968–69

Sylvania recognizes that the Consumer Entertainment Product Retailer is our industry interface with one of the greatest challenges in the United States today—the URBAN PROBLEM—characterized by minority group social upheavels.

This Award is established on an annual basis to recognize the personal involvement of Dealers who have generated noteworthy accomplishments in improving economic conditions of minority groups in their areas. The modest trophy goes to the individual. The financial award ($5,000) will be given, in the Dealer's name, to further support the business enterprise or activity established to accomplish this purpose. This Award is not intended to be a short-term subsidy.

It is a requirement that the activity be judged on the principle of American free enterprise business standards. The winning Dealer's objective must have been to develop a self-sustaining operation. American business is strong when it performs a needed service and, in the process, is rewarded with a profit as adequate return on an investment and compensation of effort.

QUALIFICATIONS

Who can qualify? Any established Home Entertainment Products Retailer. (*It is not a requirement that the retailer be a Sylvania Dealer*).

How can the Dealer qualify? The Dealer must have personally instigated a constructive, long-term approach to providing opportunities for minority group individuals to obtain economic self-sufficiency in any one of the following areas:

Establishing a successful allied business enterprise in hard core urban areas to serve minority group consumers, and actively operated under a training program with managers drawn from the minority group. Opportunity for these managers to obtain equity in the enterprise over a period of not more than 10 years, upon demonstrated performance, must be a pre-condition of the establishment of the program.

Establishing recruiting-training programs from minority groups for sales and/or service employment in the Home Entertainment Industry.

Establishing part-time work programs allied to the Home Entertainment Industry for 15–22 age group to permit minority group individuals to finish their High School education, and/or pursue higher education at collegiate or Trade School level.

JUDGING

Entries will be judged by a panel of judges made up of members of the Trade Press; representatives of Independent Retail Trade Associations; members of Sylvania's Dealer and Distributor Advisory Boards; and the Chairman, Ex-officio: Thomas H. Cashin, Senior Vice-President, Sylvania Entertainment Products Group.

The structuring of the Dealer's endeavor within the scope of this program, at arm's length from his present business, will be heavily considered in judging his entry. The judges will also weigh each entry based on the size of the Dealer's present business; thus entries from relatively small Dealers will have the same opportunity as large, multi-branch operations.

In the interests of impartiality, Sylvania's Panel of Judges will conduct on-site evaluations and personal interviews with minority group participants.

AWARDS

The winning entry will be announced no later than June 30, 1969.

All Dealers who submit entries for the award will receive a Certificate of Honorable Mention "in recognition of his effort as a participant in the Sylvania Community Involvement Award—1968/1969".

SUBMISSION

Entries must be in writing and on Official Entry Form. Full details are required including photographs and individual statements from the minority group employees involved. Entries will be judged on substance, not on an elaborate presentation.

Entries must be postmarked prior to midnight, December 31, 1968, and become the property of Sylvania Electric Products, Inc.

PEKING STRUGGLE SHARPENS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in 1966, Dr. Stephen Pan, director of the East Asian Research Institute in New York, appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee to testify on China and Vietnam.

Dr. Pan is most qualified to write and speak about these topics since he was born and raised in China. While a student in Canton he heard lectures by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, Michael Borodin, Chou En-lai, Ho Chi-Minh, and Mao Tse-tung. From 1945 to 1949 Dr. Pan was editor in chief of the Social Welfare Daily, an independent newspaper in Nanking.

Since coming to this country, he has lectured and taught at many universities, and written several books and a number of articles. Just recently, he has coauthored "Peking's Red Guard" and "Voice of Peking."

In order to acquaint my colleagues further with recent developments in China, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD at this point an article by Dr. Pan which appeared in the July 30 edition of the Christian Science Monitor:

PEKING STRUGGLE SHARPENS

(By Stephen Pan)

(NOTE.—Mainland China's cultural revolution and Red Guards were designed to restore Chairman Mao Tse-tung's waning political power. Now after two years of turmoil and internal strife the Communist Party Chairman feels he is in a position to convene the Ninth National Congress—the party elections—from which he hopes to emerge victorious. But the outcome is by no means certain.)

NEW YORK.—The ideological power struggle in mainland China could come to a head this Oct. 1—the deadline set for the long-overdue Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

The last congress was elected in 1956, and the ninth should have been convened in 1961. But present congress members have perpetuated their terms in office and flouted the party constitution by not calling a congress. The ideological power struggle between the Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi factions is the major cause.

But party Chairman Mao and his heir apparent, Defense Minister Lin Piao, have decided to hold the Ninth Party Congress this year, believing they now can control it—though this is anything but certain.

It was at the Eighth National Congress in 1956 that the rift between the Mao and Liu factions became apparent. In 1957, Mr. Mao was openly criticized in Central Committee sessions for his treatment of intellectuals and favoritism shown the proletariat and peasants. In November, 1958, the Central Committee dropped Mr. Mao as a candidate for chief of state. In August, 1959, Mr. Mao yielded this post to Liu Shao-chi, who was then elected "President" by the National People's Congress. Mr. Mao has remained chairman of the party.

But most of the about 180 full and deputy members of the Central Committee have been Pro-Liu. Thus, from 1956 to 1961, Chairman Mao lost his influence in the party. From 1962 to August, 1966, the party authority rested in the standing committee of the Politburo, which was dominated by Messrs. Liu and Teng Hsiao-ping. As party secretary and member of the Politburo, Mr. Teng sometimes issued orders in the name of the party without consulting Chairman Mao.

It was no wonder that on Oct. 25, 1966, Mr. Mao admitted that since 1962 he had "retreated to the second line," did not conduct party affairs, and that his instructions were unenforceable, even within Peking. He related that several times his opinions were disregarded by Peng Chen, then Mayor of Peking. Mr. Mao concluded that he had to leave Peking for Shanghai in order to prepare for the downfall of Peng Chen and for the proletarian cultural revolution in 1966.

LIN PIAO ARMY CURBS TRAFFIC

At the 11th Central Committee meeting in August, 1966, Chairman Mao's delegates arrived in Peking by chartered planes, but many anti-Mao members were unable to reach Peking because Lin Piao's army prevented planes and trains from entering the city during the last three weeks in July. However, several hundred "revolutionary teachers and students," classified as "observers," were present.

They were in a fighting mood, shouting, stamping, and making combative gestures during the sessions. In addition, the meeting place was surrounded by Marshal Lin's troops, creating a threatening atmosphere for opposition members.

Consequently, this Central Committee meeting adopted the 16 historic points initiating the proletarian cultural revolution, appointing Marshal Lin as Mr. Mao's successor, adopting Chairman Mao's "thought" as the guideline of the party. The Red Guards were inaugurated on Aug. 18, 1966, to supplement the cultural revolution and to liquidate the opposition. This was Mr. Mao's first major move to regain control of the party.

The cultural revolution nominally directs the crushing of landlords, rich peasants, "bad elements," and antirevolutionaries. Actually, thousands of veteran Communists, intellectuals, educators, and writers have been liquidated, purged, or forced to commit suicide. Party machinery has been crippled. By December, 1967, of the 180 Central Committee members and deputies, 3 passed on, and 102 were purged, disgraced, or denounced. Of the 16 vice-premiers, 11 have been purged or disgraced. Of the 10 marshals, only three remain unscathed.

Thousands of party cadres, political and military officers from various parts of mainland China, have been imprisoned and dismissed. More than half of the members of the newly established cultural revolutionary subcommittee have already been liquidated or purged.

POLITICS MUST BE IN COMMAND

Antiforeign activities, undisciplined chauvinism, outright vandalism, and bloody clashes have become daily occurrences. Realizing the inherent dangers of this situation, the Mao-Lin group adopted a more moderate and conciliatory strategy without changing basic policy in August, 1967. Thus the "three-way" or "triple alliance," embodying principles of cooperation between party cadres, the Army, and the revolutionary masses, was formed. To implement this policy, more "revolutionary committees" were created in various provinces and cities.

The Army, not the party, now controls mainland China. Chairman Mao himself preaches, "Politics must be in command." Marshal Lin, though Minister of Defense, is anxious to affirm his position as Mr. Mao's successor. Messrs. Mao and Lin thus decided to hold the Ninth Party Congress this year and control it.

The decision to call the party congress was revealed by Hsieh Fu-chih, chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and Minister of Security, on Oct. 26, 1967, in Peking. At first he said the congress might be convened in May or June, but not later than Oct. 1, 1968. Later on Dec. 2, 1967, the cultural revolutionary subcommittee of the party laid down the qualifications of the delegates to the party congress as follows:

1. The previous requirement of a six-year membership in the party has been rescinded.

2. Any party member who is loyal to Chairman Mao, his "thought," and his revolutionary line, may be elected a delegate to the Ninth National Congress.

3. Those barred from the Ninth National Congress include:

A. Those holding dual party membership.

B. Those who have been dismissed from the party but later restored.

C. Those who once worked for the Kuomintang or the National Government of China.

D. Those who have been condemned as party renegades—those following the capitalist or revisionist road.

If those regulations were strictly enforced, Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, and Chiang Ching would be among those barred from the congress. For Messrs. Mao, Lin, Chou, and Chiang Ching all have once worked for the Kuomintang and the National Government of China. Certainly this rule will be inapplicable to the Mao-Lin group and its followers. It will only be enforceable against its opposition.

The number of delegates at the party congress will probably be very large. At the eighth congress in 1956, there were about 1,000 delegates. Roughly speaking, a delegate was elected from each 8,300 members. In 1961, there were about 17 million party members. The present party membership is about 25 million. Based on the previous ratio for electing delegates, the Ninth Party Congress would have from 2,500 to 3,000 delegates.

INCREASE IN DELEGATES SIGHTED

But since representatives of the "Revolutionary Teachers and Students," workers, peasants, cadres, and the Army will be included, the number of delegates will probably be increased to 7,500 or 8,000. There also will likely be one to two thousand "observers," foreign guests, and diplomats invited to attend.

In calling the party congress, the Mao-Lin faction wants to solidify its power. By using force, compromising methods, and by appointing opponents to the "revolutionary committees," they have gradually lessened their opposition. Now they are trying to select the delegates to the party congress so that they can control the party machinery again. Furthermore, it is intended that Mr. Liu be legally dismissed as Chief of State by the National People's Congress, theoretically the highest representative body of the nation and its people though rigidly controlled by the party.

If Chairman Mao regains control of the party machinery, he could cause the dismissal of Mr. Liu and his own elevation again to chief of state. Thus Mr. Mao would once again legally be the head of both the state and the party.

It is possible that Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping and a few other dissident veterans might be allowed to sit in the congress as symbols for attack.

Although most of the delegates from the various regions, provinces, and cities will be chosen by the Mao-Lin faction, the Army delegates will be selected from the lower levels and approved by the higher military authorities, which means they must be approved by Defense Minister Lin.

It is still problematical though that the Mao-Lin group will be entirely successful and their delegates absolutely faithful. However, they have no practical alternative for regaining power in mainland China other than this path, because their adversaries are deeply rooted in the party and other fields.

There are some China watchers and experts who think that since mainland China is at the verge of civil war, it would be very difficult for the Central Committee Politburo to hold a party congress before the coming October. Yet it is logical and compelling that the Mao-Lin faction will convene such a congress prior to that time at any cost.

If Chairman Mao proves successful in his attempt to create a rubberstamp party congress which adopts his "thought" as the basis for the new constitution and bylaws of the party and reaffirms Lin Piao as Mr. Mao's successor, the party will continue the extreme policies of the cultural revolution and pursue a global program of "wars of liberation."

If the Mao-Lin group fails to control the party congress and the opposition remains strong, it would mean the defeat of Chairman Mao and the cultural revolution. It would also mean that the Soviet Union would have a better bargaining position in dealing with the United States, as most of the anti-Maoists prefer to follow the Moscow line.

If neither the supporters nor the adversaries of the Mao-Lin group would win a clear-cut victory at the party congress, it would mean the rising importance of the moderates. Premier Chou-En-lai would become the most dominant figure in mainland China. Yet it is doubtful Premier Chou's dominance would last long, because both factions feel he cannot be trusted. Peking recently admitted there had been a plot to overthrow Mr. Chou.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

While a young student in Canton, Stephen Pan heard lectures by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, Michael Borodin, Chou En-lai, Ho Chi-Minh, and Mao Tse-tung.

From 1945 to 1949 Dr. Pan was editor in chief of the Social Welfare Daily, an independent newspaper in Nanking. In 1966 he was invited by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States Congress to testify on Vietnam and China.

Dr. Pan has recently coauthored "Peking's Red Guards" and "Voice of Peking."

GROWING THREAT OF OUR MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues' attention the thought-provoking article, "Growing Threat of Our Military-Industrial Complex," which appeared in the May-June 1968 issue of the Harvard Business Review.

The article poses the question, "Could the United States become a garrison state in which most of its energies are devoted to arms?" It identifies and describes the salient features of the military, industrial, academic, and political interests in defense and space spending.

I agree with the conclusion of the author, Jack Raymond, that the potential dangers to our democratic processes posed by the military-industrial complex do not mean there is a military-industrial conspiracy.

I have often warned of the increase in war profiteering because of Vietnam expenditures, but I do not claim that more than a handful of defense suppliers conspire to bilk the Government. The hunger for more growth and larger profits which characterizes our economic system is not lessened in defense contractors because they are paid out of public funds, even as the American soldiers who use their materials die in overseas jungles. Their usual appetites for profits need never confront their consciences when a simple, "generally accepted" accounting ploy allows them to retain a windfall profit from an overfat defense contract negotiated during the surge and urgency of Vietnam procurement.

It is my position that Congress should not lead defense contractors into temptation by continuing its reluctance to impose the traditional safeguards on war-swollen defense expenditures. These safeguards would be a strengthened Renegotiation Board, a comprehensive congressional investigation of wartime mobilization, a matching of the revealed accounting abuses of defense contractors with standards of accounting practices, and even the imposition of an excess profits tax.

This article does not treat the issue of the proper level of defense profits, but I found the documentation of the close ties between our Military Establishment and the industries which they support to be very interesting. It is easy to see why the Department of Defense is ultrasensitive to claims of the defense industries that profits are too low, and is insensitive to claims of representatives of the public like myself that profits are rising unconscionably.

Under unanimous consent, the article follows:

GROWING THREAT OF OUR MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

(By Jack Raymond)

FOREWORD

The threat of our strong military-industrial complex comes not from any conspiracy among military and industrial leaders (the author does not believe one exists), but from the sheer power of the votes and vested interests which are influenced by the "complex." This power may be used in the national interest—but not necessarily. The danger is one which Americans must guard against continually.

Mr. Raymond was for many years a well-known correspondent for *The New York Times*, joining that newspaper in 1940, writing from Europe after World War II, and returning to the United States in 1956 to begin almost a decade of reporting defense affairs from Washington. The author of *Power at the Pentagon*, published by Harper & Row in 1964, and formerly Vice President of Clifton-Raymond Associates, he is now President of the Thomas J. Deegan Company, Inc., public relations consultants, in New York.

Several months before he was due to leave office, President Dwight D. Eisenhower asked Dr. Malcolm Moos, his special assistant and speech writer (now President of the University of Minnesota), to put together some material that could be used in a farewell address to the nation. Eisenhower, who has a sense of history that too often has been overlooked by his detractors (with the exception of one writer, who speculated that the old soldier thought of himself as George Washington and therefore also wanted to be remembered for his farewell speech), told his assistant that he wanted something more than a platitudinous onward-and-upward Presidential sermon.

Dr. Moos, as was his custom for many major speeches, gathered excerpts of Eisenhower memoranda and some jottings based on extemporaneous remarks the President had made to small groups at the White House, and he added a few ideas of his own for the President's consideration. In their second or third discussion of the planned valedictory, Eisenhower suggested, "Let's bring Milton in, and we can meet regularly to put this in shape." Thereupon the President's brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, joined in a series of lengthy late-evening sessions at the White House that resulted in the now-famous parting warning against the dangers of the "military-industrial complex."

Whether or not he thought of matching Washington, President Eisenhower's farewell address, on January 17, 1961, may well be quoted long after the First President's parting admonition against permanent alliances with foreign nations. For while foreign alliances have become an accepted form of America's projection of power in modern times, a society based on war and the threat of war is so alien to the American self-image that even today, in time of war, the ingredients of military preparedness evoke stereotyped suspicions of unseen provocateurs and profiteers.

Hardly a day goes by that the phrase "military-industrial complex" is not cited and that the Eisenhower warning is not drawn on to drive home some point in a current controversy:

The National Committee for an Effective Congress recently stated: "The single most disturbing factor the committee found in the Administration's current policy is the alleged growing influence of the military-industrial complex—a factor former President Eisenhower warned against—and the stake of that complex in the war economy."[1]

When the Administration decided in 1967 to construct a so-called "thin" antiballistic missile (ABM) defense network, Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon linked it to the war in Vietnam and rasped, "The American people desperately need to recognize, before it is too late, that we are being run in this country today by an industrial-military complex that makes its profits out of American blood, and jeopardizes all the future generations of American boys and girls."[2]

At the annual meeting of the American Economic Association, Walter Adams of Michigan State University said the military-industrial complex was a "Frankenstein threatening to control the contract state which brought it into being"; and Seymour Melman of Columbia University said the complex points to "a complete transformation of society [toward] the Soviet type of State capitalism."

When several thousand women, led by former Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin, marched on the Capitol early in 1968 in protest against the war in Vietnam, their formal petition called for Congress to "listen to what the American people are saying and refuse the insatiable demands of the military-industrial complex."

In view of the current rhetorical vogue, let us go back to the original warning and examine exactly what Eisenhower said and what led him to say it, so that we may consider the nature of the "complex" and its significance for us today.

ARMS INDUSTRY UNDER FIRE

In his farewell address, Eisenhower reminded the American people that the United States, which until World War II had not had an armaments industry, was no longer able to risk emergency improvisations of national defense. It had been "compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions" in support of a huge defense establishment costing more than the total net income of U.S. corporations. He pointed out:

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is now in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are involved; so is the very structure of our society.

"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

"We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted." The foregoing is the passage that is most often quoted, but Eisenhower went on to sound the warning of a subtler, and perhaps more fundamental, alteration in the American system:

"Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

"In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of the Federal government.

"Today the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of electronic computers.

"The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present—and is gravely to be regarded."

VENERABLE PREJUDICES

There, then, is the Eisenhower warning. Many found it surprising that a military man whose best friends were big businessmen should have uttered it. But it was consistent with his frequently expressed concern over the pressures that had assailed him in the White House. It was consistent also with the historical heritage of the country. For fear of, and aversion to, military influence are rooted deep in the American psyche. The English quartering of a standing army on colonial soil to fight the French and Indian Wars was one of the causes of the American revolution. The writers of the Declaration of Independence complained that King George had "affected to render the military independent of and superior to the Civil Power."

Moreover, there was cause enough in the American experience to question the motives behind defense buildups and arms purchases. Two American authors, H. C. Engelbrecht and F. C. Hanighen, contributed a lasting phrase with the title of their book, *Merchants of Death*.[3] The book reports on a Congressional investigation in 1929 which disclosed that an "observer" for U.S. shipbuilders had tried to wreck the 1927 Geneva Naval Reductions Conference. The case came to light when the "observer" sued the shipbuilders for fees he claimed were due him for his work. It brought a public protest from President Herbert Hoover.

A Senate investigation conducted by Gerald P. Nye in the 1930's concentrated on the great profits made by defense manufacturers in World War I; it did much to arouse American suspicions that the arms makers were responsible for wars. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, pledging his cooperation with the Nye investigation, attributed the "mad race in armaments . . . in no small measure to the uncontrolled activities of the manufacturers and merchants of engines of destruction." Even in World War II there were many who blamed the "creeping involvement" of the U.S. economy in the war for America's ultimate participation in it.

INSIDIOUS INFLUENCE

Eisenhower's concern over the "complex" was based to a considerable extent on military spending pressures on his budget. At the height of a particularly aggravating dispute over the respective merits of Army and Air Force antiaircraft weapons, he declared that "obviously political and financial considerations" rather than "strict military needs" were influencing the weapons debate. And on another occasion, when asked whether he would be willing to allocate more money for defense if the nation could, as his critics insisted, afford it, he replied heatedly, "I would not." Anyone "with any sense," he said, knew that if military spending were not restrained, the country would become a "garrison state."

Reflecting afterward on his experiences, Eisenhower confirmed his "uneasiness about the effect on the nation of tremendous peacetime military expenditures." He complained in his memoirs, "The military services, traditionally concerned with 100 percent security, are rarely satisfied with the amounts allocated to them, out of an even generous budget."[4] As for private industries, they were spurred by the desire for profits and created "powerful lobbies to argue for even larger munitions expenditures." Regarding political influence, he added, "Each community in which a manufacturing plant or a military installation is located profits from the money spent and jobs created in the area."[5]

The war in Vietnam has also raised understandable questions as to the country's vested economic interests. In the last two years alone the intensification of the war in Vietnam has created more than a million jobs in the United States. The sharp rise in employment amounted to 23% of the total increase of more than 4 million jobs in the economy during 1966 and 1967. Toward the end of 1967, defense work accounted for 5.2% of the nation's total civilian employment, up 3.9% in two years. The Vietnam buildup since 1965 increased jobs in virtually all industries, including more than 141,000 new jobs in the aerospace industry, 10,000 in the communications equipment industry, 74,000 in transportation, 30,000 in the clothing industry, 30,000 in iron and steel manufacturing, and 12,000 in the food industry.

It is evident, however, that in his farewell address Eisenhower was not warning of some nefarious conspiracy by military and industrial leaders (although he was more alert than most Americans to the political savvy of seemingly nonpolitical military men). He explained at his final news conference as President that he was not thinking so much of willful misuses of power as of "an almost insidious penetration of our own minds that the only thing the country is engaged in is weaponry and missiles and—I'll tell you we just can't afford that."

COMPLEX ANATOMY

To understand and assess the military-industrial complex, we must identify it and consider its magnitude, its composition, and the interaction of its component parts.

The military-industrial complex includes all those elements of American society—economic, political, and professional—that have a material or philosophic stake in a large defense establishment. It includes not only the Armed Services and the companies that produce for them, but politicians in and out of government, workers and union leaders, ordinary citizens and local officials, teachers in schools, and academicians—in short, all who for reasons of "pork or patriotism" support the Armed Forces' requirements.

It may be simplistic to bundle diverse elements of the military-industrial complex into a single "it," but "it" is very real, as former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara attested after seven years in his post. Characteristically, McNamara asserted he rarely lost to "it." He told an interviewer, "I'd say in this area we haven't lost more than 2% of the cases to the so-called military-industrial complex—and in those instances we failed to present our case prop-

---

Footnotes at end of speech.

erly." But what about the magnitude of the cases lost? Even a straight-across-the-board 2% of Pentagon expenditures in the nine budgets McNamara worked on in seven years, including estimates for fiscal year 1969, totals $10.3 billion—twice the estimated cost of the anti-China ABM defense system, which is considered by many to be the "complex's" latest prize.

OUR BENEFICENT BUDGET

The Pentagon's spending program supports not merely the tactics and strategy of the fighting fronts; it reaches into the lives of all of us on the domestic front. Allocations for military research spin off into jobs and products that can and do become important to the civilian economy. The decision to open a base or close one can affect grocery store owners and church fathers as well as night club operators and liquor dealers. The confluence of interests in the military budget thus results in unusual alliances as varying segments of society, motivated by monetary or social objectives, seek each other's support for shares of Pentagon expenditures.

The defense budget that President Johnson presented to Congress in 1968 totaled $79.8 billion, an increase of about $3 billion over the current year's budget (for the fiscal year ending June 1968). Although a new budgeting system appeared to reduce the proportion allocated for defense in the total federal budget of $186.1 billion, supplementals inevitably will add $10 billion or so and restore the defense proportion to at least half of the total. While much of the increase in the January budget was due to heightened military operations because of the war in Vietnam, and some $3 billion in savings was planned through consumption of inventories, the budget nonetheless called for $25.8 billion for the procurement of military equipment ranging from shoelaces to nuclear weapons.

The detailed budget is fascinating in the multiplicity and variety of "things" that are needed to equip and maintain the Armed Forces. It provides, for example, $6,000 for flowers for American battle monuments. Flower growers, too, can be part of the military-industrial complex.

Most of the total defense procurement is accounted for in several large programs. About half the increase in planned procurement is earmarked for three nuclear weapons systems—(1) the controversial ABM system that Senators Joseph Clark and Wayne Morse condemned as fuel for the military-industrial complex; (2) the Minuteman land-based ICBM network; and (3) the Poseidon submarine-launched ballistic missiles which are to replace the Polaris missiles. The new budget calls for $600 million in hardware purchases in addition to the $500 million to be spent in continued research and development on the ABM system, about $200 million in "super-hardening" the concrete silos in the Minuteman-ICBM network, an an undisclosed amount for the purchase of long leadtime items for the Poseidon missiles. Specific items help to make clear the industrial stakes involved:

The 1968 budget message disclosed plans to start construcing 25 ships of various kinds and sizes and to modify or convert 43 ships, bringing total expenditures on ships to $1.6 billion; procurement of 2,943 new aircraft, mostly helicopters, for an expenditure of $8.9 billion; production of 163 F–111A and F–111D swing-wing airplanes (the controversial TFX's) for a total of $1.1 billion; and outlays of another $350 million for 30 F–111B's for the Navy, despite indications that the Navy might decide not to use the plane. The F–111's are a product of the General Dynamics Corporation.

The 1968 budget also calls for $500 million worth of C–5A cargo transports built by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, $670 million worth of A5 attack aircraft built by Ling-Temco-Vought, $576 million worth of F–4 supersonic fighters built by the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, $169 million worth of A6 attack aircraft built by Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corporation, and $630 million for development work on the Air Force's manned orbiting laboratory (MOL)—a space laboratory the Pentagon hopes to launch in 1971.

Although the United States has meticulously sought to differentiate between its civilian space programs and the military space requirements, the budget of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is as noteworthy as the Pentagon's insofar as military-industrial links are concerned. Thus, while the budget request for the space agency was reduced considerably from the figures for previous years, it still totaled $4.3 billion.

NUMEROUS BENEFICIARIES

There are various ways of looking at Pentagon spending. To begin in quantitative terms, consider the spread of contracts:

Some 22,000 prime contractors and 100,000 subcontractors enjoy the defense business that is generated in different military programs.

A total of 76 industries, from aircraft to X-ray apparatus, are classed as defense-oriented.

Plane makers and shipbuilders derive more than half their income from defense contracts.

About 5,300 U.S. cities and towns boast at least one defense plant or company doing business with the Armed Forces.

The Armed Forces have swelled to more than 3,490,000, a jump of about 800,000 in two years. The number of persons employed directly or indirectly because of military spending has risen to 4,100,000 men and women—about 1,000,000 more than last year. The number of Americans in the uniformed services and in defense-generated employment of all kinds is said to account for nearly 10% of the entire U.S. labor force of 78,000,000.

Then there are the Pentagon's direct economic holdings. The Pentagon is landlord over some 27.6 million acres of land in the United States; this land is valued officially at $38.4 billion—and some of the values have been calculated in terms of prices of more than a century ago! The Military Services and Defense Agencies, after a calculated effort to rid themselves of costly installations, still maintain some 470 major bases, camps, and installations and about 5,000 lesser ones around the nation. The Department of Defense budget for nine arsenals in the current fiscal year totals $3.9 billion, up $2.6 billion from last year. These arsenals employ 57,000 workers and are operating at full capacity because of the war in Vietnam.

BIG CONTRACTORS

Another way of looking at the defense contracting business is to examine the military prime contract awards of $10,000 or more which the Pentagon regularly lists by state, region, and commodity categories. In fiscal year 1967, the most recent period for which figures have been made available, 100 companies accounted for 65.5% of the military prime contracts.

The top military contractor for that year was the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, which represented the merger of two companies that had been among the country's leaders. This company received over $2.1 billion in defense contracts, accounting for 5.4% of the total awarded. McDonnell-Douglas produces the F–4 Phantom series of fighters and reconnaissance aircraft. The General Dynamics Corporation, with over $1.8 billion in defense contracts, accounting for 4.7% of the total, was second on the list. General Dynamics, whose contracts include the F–111 (TFX) aircraft, as previously mentioned, also produces missiles and ships. Lockheed Aircraft Corporation was the third largest contractor in fiscal 1967, with $1.8 billion; General Electric Company was fourth, with more than $1.2 billion; and United Aircraft Corporation was fifth, with nearly $1.1 billion. The top ten included the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, in eighth place with $673 million in defense contracts.

Some states are well favored by the largest contractors and therefore possess stronger interests than others in the perpetuation of the system. California was at the top of the list, with over $6.6 billion, which comprised 17.9% of the total. The identity of the second state on the list led one reporter to write:

"President Johnson's home state of Texas, which only a few years ago ranked seventh among the states getting prime defense contracts, now has nosed out New York for No. 2 spot, Pentagon figures showed today."[6]

Although there are many changes from year to year in the list of prime contractors, the cluster at the top is a "hard core." Eight of the top ten prime contractors in fiscal 1967 were in the top ten in the period 1958–1960; seven, in the period 1951–1953; and six, in the period 1940–1944. Four companies—Douglas (now part of McDonnell-Douglas), Lockheed Aircraft, General Electric, and United Aircraft—have been in the top ten for the past 23 years.

MARIETTA ON THE MAKE

The benefactions of defense contracting appear more dramatic still when specific examples are considered. One good illustration is the city of Marietta, Georgia. Lockheed-Georgia Company, a division of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, is located in Marietta and is the largest single industrial organization in the Southeast. About 90% of Lockheed-Georgia's business stems from defense contracts, the most important of which now are for the development and building of the C–5A military transport (worth about $1.4 billion) and for production of the C–141 Starlifter (worth another $600 million or more).

Lockheed-Georgia pays about $200 million a year in wages to 26,000 workers drawn from about 55 of Georgia's 159 counties—about one third of the state. Marietta's mayor, Howard Atherton, has said the impact of Lockheed-Georgia on his city's economy is "almost immeasurable." Robert Cox, a Machinists Union leader in Marietta, said defense spending "would almost have to be considered a major ingredient in the continuing low rate of unemployment in the metropolitan Atlanta area." Lockheed buys everything from soft drinks to metal parts from Georgia suppliers. Last year, the company spent $113 million with about 1,720 suppliers, many of them small businesses.

Lockheed-Georgia offers so good an example of spreading prosperity in a defense-oriented economy that the Pentagon cited it proudly in its *Defense Industry Bulletin,* as follows:

"Major subcontractors and subsystems contracts on the Starlifter are shared by 33 companies over the United States. Whatever the total of the employees of the subcontractors and vendors who draw their paychecks from funds derived from the C–141, it can be multiplied by five to give a truer estimate of the number whose livelihood is affected by this defense program. This is because in the communities involved there are grocers, clothiers, furniture dealers, appliance dealers, etc., who feed, clothe, house and, generally, care for the needs of those who are working specifically on a defense contract.

"After receiving the prime contract on the airframe of the C–141 from the Air Force Systems Command's Aeronautical Systems Division, Lockheed's plant in Georgia sublet the wing to Avco Corporation in Nashville, Tenn., in competitive bidding. The wing includes a fuel pump. The Tennessee subcontractor in Avco obtained the fuel pump from Pesco in Bedford, Ohio. To build the fuel

---

Footnotes at end of speech.

pump, Pesco needed, among other things, a switch and a cannon plug. The Ohio firm bought the switch from the Micro Devices Company of Dayton, Ohio, and the cannon plug from a concern in Los Angeles, California.

"At this point, the defense dollar really begins to flow into communities over the United States. Micro of Ohio gathers components for the switch from the following areas: wire, from Westbury, N.Y.; glass, Shanton, Conn.; electrical material, Chicago and New York; disc, Cincinnati, Ohio; springs, Cincinnati; ceramics, Paramoit, Calif., and Sun Prairie, Wis.; epoxy, Canton, Mass.; and silver from New York City. The Los Angeles firm providing the cannon plug for Pesco's fuel pump follows a similar pattern in obtaining components from companies spread out over the nation. . . .

"A tracing of the path of the defense dollar through the subcontracting and vending program involving other parts of the Starlifter would find it in virtually every state going from prime contractor to major subcontractors into the third and fourth levels to vendors and suppliers ad infinitum. For example, Rohr Corporation of Chula Vista, Calif., largest C–141 subcontractor, sublets 49% of its contract on engine nacelles. Companies receiving this 49% from Rohr, in turn sublet 40% of their part to other firms. Rohr's subcontractors at the time the study was made totaled $85.9 million; since then additional millions are being negotiated for follow-on C–141's." [7]

ARMS FOR SALE

No review of U.S. defense business would be complete without inclusion of the government's own mercantile interest in it, for the United States engages in the sale of arms as a source of revenue for the Treasury. In fact, the United States is the world's principal arms supplier. This is not surprising, or novel. The United States was the arsenal of democracy in two world wars. And in the period immediately after World War II, it maintained its role as arms supplier in order to bolster Western Europe against threatened Communist aggression.

From 1949 to 1962 the U.S. Government alone (not counting private arms sales) sold $16.1 billion worth of military arms to other countries and gave away about $30.2 billion. Since 1962, when the current arms sales program began, Pentagon officials have been as aggressive as private arms merchants, with the result that the United States has sold over $11.1 billion worth of arms. In a speech in Los Angeles in the spring of 1966, the Pentagon official in charge of the sales program proudly estimated that it had yielded $1 billion in profits for American industry and 1.2 million man-years of employment for companies throughout the country.

So aggressive has been the Pentagon in selling abroad that for several years it managed to use the Export-Import Bank to provide easy credit for poorer, underdeveloped nations, much like the easy-credit terms that flourish between retailers and ghetto inhabitants.

Congress, angered by disclosures of so-called "Country X" accounts, ended the practice in 1967 and put ceilings on the grants and sales of arms to Latin America and Africa. However, the sale of arms abroad continues to be a big—very big—business.

PRESSURE ON THE PENTAGON

An easy way to dramatize the potential for what Eisenhower labeled as "unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought," is to personalize it. Shortly after Clark Clifford was designated Secretary of Defense, early in 1968, columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson pointed out that his law clients had ranged "from the far-flung duPont de Nemours to the Radio Corporation of America, from General Electric to El Paso Natural Gas and Phillips Petroleum." Although the insinuation may have been a nonsequitur, since many of Clifford's predecessors also had come from the ranks of big business, including defense business, the story had an ominous ring.

Equally ominous to some has been the practice of defense contractors who hire military men for big jobs. Shortly before Eisenhower's farewell speech, a House subcommittee disclosed that more than 1,400 retired officers of the rank of major or above, including 261 of general or flag rank, were employed by the leading 100 defense contractors. General Dynamics, headed by former Secretary of the Army Frank Pace, led with 187, including 27 retired generals and admirals.

There have been no recent similar estimates, but there is ample evidence that defense contractors continue to recruit avidly among retired high-ranking officers. To mention just a few instances:

General Curtis E. LeMay, retired Air Force Chief of Staff, is President and Board Chairman of the Networks Electronic Corporation, Chatsworth, California.

General Lauris Norstad, former Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, is President of Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation.

General Mark E. Bradley, former chief of the Air Force Logistics Command, is Assistant to the President of Garrett Corporation, in Los Angeles.

Vice Admiral William Raborn, developer of the Polaris submarine missiles and former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, is a Vice President of Aerojet-General Corporation, Azusa, California.

General Paul L. Freeman, the former Commanding General of the Continental Army Command, is a Vice President of the Mellonics Systems Development Division of Litton Industries.

Several years ago, as a reporter on a television panel show, I asked the then Secretary of the Air Force, Dudley C. Sharp, whether he thought high-ranking officers should be barred from taking top defense-industry jobs. His reply was:

"I would hate to see this happen. I think that the officers that take jobs in private industry contribute a great deal to the defense of this country because of the knowledge that they can offer industry."

When I followed up with a question about whether there might not be some danger, precisely because they had special knowledge, that they would provide their new bosses with an unfair advantage, Sharp replied that he did not believe the Pentagon was "subjected to that kind of pressure."

I often remember that statement in recalling the classic Congressional testimony of the late Admiral William M. Fechteler, who, after he retired as Chief of Naval Operations, took a job as consultant to the Atomic Products Division of General Electric. Admiral Fechteler explained to a House subcommittee that he had arranged some appointments for one of the vice presidents of his company:

"I took him to see Mr. Gates. (Thomas L. Gates, then Secretary of the Navy, later Secretary of Defense.) I took him in to see Admiral Burke. (Arleigh Burke, then Chief of Naval Operations.) He had not met Admiral Burke before. And then I made appointments for him with the Chief of the Bureau of Ships. But I did not accompany him there, because those are material bureaus which make contracts, and I *studiously* avoid even being in the room when anybody talks about contracts." [8]

AGGRESSIVE LOBBYISTS

The military-industrial complex includes certain pressure groups. The most obvious of these are the organizations of the Army, Navy, and Air Force supporters, led by men with strong emotional and careerist ties to the services and virtually financed by the defense contractors.

The Association of the U.S. Army, the Air Force Association, and the Navy League—each with chapters throughout the country—are composed of active, reserve, and retired members of the Armed Forces, and of defense contractors, community leaders, and other supporters. These organizations are financed by membership fees, payments for contractors' exhibits at annual conventions, subscriptions to dinner meetings and rallies, and advertisements in official publications. They are regarded as the civilian "arm" or "spokesmen" of their respective services, and their officers maintain close contact with the active civilian and military leaders of the services. They unabashedly campaign in behalf of policies advocated by the active Army, Navy, and Air Force leaders. Occasionally they even choose sides between the military and the civilians in government, usually in favor of expanded military forces and bigger and better weapons, and in opposition to policies that suggest reduced "preparedness."

In its annual meeting of 1967 the Association of the U.S. Army welcomed the decision to produce and deploy the ABM system which the Army had so long advocated (more on this presently); in its annual meeting the Air Force Association urged "contract definition" of an advanced manned strategic bomber, procurement and deployment of an improved manned interceptor, the F–12, and production of the SST supersonic transport; and in its annual meeting the Navy League called for additional ships—especially nuclear-powered carriers and submarines.

The Military Services, of course, carry on their own direct lobbying and public relations campaigns. They maintain legislative liaison staffs with officers stationed in the Capitol and concern themselves with legislation on the budget, broad military policies, pay, promotion, retirement, housing, medical care, and—not least—the military construction programs that provide most of the "pork barrel" projects. The Military Services thus keep members of Congress informed and solicit their interest in particular programs. In this way they have consistently created Congressional support for certain expanded arms programs, even when the White House has opposed them.

Of course, many members of Congress are active reservists, come from areas dependent on weapons manufacturing, or are dependent on other forms of military largess—a military base, for example. It is by now an old saw that if Georgia, the home state of the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, received another military installation, it would sink.

WOOING OF THE TFX

The TFX story is probably the most outstanding example of the pressures that can be identified in the military-industrial complex—pressures that are still reverberating, in this case, more than five years after the initial Pentagon announcement of the award of a potential $7 billion contract to the General Dynamics Corporation.

The TFX (Tactical Fighter, Experimental), later named the F–III, a jet fighter-bomber, was the biggest contracting plum since World War II. The competition for the contract developed between Boeing, with headquarters in Seattle, and General Dynamics, with corporate headquarters in New York. Boeing planned to place the work in its Wichita, Kansas plant; General Dynamics planned to develop and build the plane in its Convair division at Fort Worth, Texas.

Inevitably, the politics of geography drew public notice. The then Vice President, Lyndon B. Johnson, was from Texas; the first Secretary of the Navy in the Kennedy Administration, John B. Connally, was Governor of Texas and a close friend and associate of Johnson; and the then Secretary of the Navy, Fred Korth, was one of the most prominent citizens of Texas. A Congressional committee brought out the fact that the bank of which Korth had been president

---

Footnotes at end of speech.

held the General Dynamics checking account in Forth Worth.

Meanwhile, a number of members of Congress were also interested in the TFX award:

Several of them were in touch with Secretary of the Air Force Eugene Zuckert during the contract negotiations. One of them, Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma, said later he had visited Zuckert's office "to remind him of the vast government-owned plant in Tulsa, Oklahoma, which the Douglas AirCraft Company operates, and its large unused machinery and manpower capabilities."[9]

Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, a former Secretary of the Air Force, visited Zuckert to discuss the possibility of Missouri companies obtaining subcontracts from whichever manufacturer got the prime contract.

Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington inquired about the status of the competition. His fellow Washingtonian, Senator Henry M. Jackson, frequent butt of the jape that he is the "Senator from Boeing," openly said he had insisted on an investigation when Boeing did not win the contract.

Senators Frank Carlson and James B. Pearson, and Representative Garner E. Shriver, all of Kansas, where Boeing had an idle plant at Wichita, visited Zuckert as a group and told the Air Force Secretary that Boeing could do the job better than its competitor.

Representative Jim Wright of Fort Worth, Texas, made no bones about his interest and the reason for it:

"In the absence of a substantial contract of this type, the General Dynamics team at Fort Worth was faced with dismemberment. It meant the difference between employment or unemployment for thousands of my constituents. Let me be completely frank. I talked about this subject with everybody I could get to listen, both military and civilian officials. That does not in my judgment amount to undesirable political influence. The same sort of thing was being attempted by the other side."[10]

UNNECESSARY CONTRACTS?

In the case of the TFX there was at least general agreement on the desirability of such an airplane. However, some large weapons programs have been pushed hard by the military-industrial complex when there were contentions that they were not needed at all. The United States has spent almost $19 billion since World War II on missile systems that either were never finished or were out of service when finished because of obsolescence. And the story might have been worse. The B–70 is an example of a major weapons system that Air Force leaders—and security-minded supporters, including contractors—persistently advocated; it was rejected successively by the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations on the ground that it was (or soon would be) outmoded. Score that one *against* the power of the military-industrial complex.

Controversial ABM: Only the future will tell us how to score the $5 billion ABM system which is being designed to protect the United States against a possible ballistic missile attack by Communist China in the 1970's.

The Army has been pushing an antimissile defense for more than ten years and has patiently suffered the scorn of those who first said that it was impossible and now argue that it is too expensive.

As long ago as 1957, General Maxwell D. Taylor, when he was Chief of Staff of the Army, appealed for a $3 billion start on such a system, and he found means of getting his top-secret proposal into the press after he ran up against opposition in the Eisenhower Administration. In 1961, with Taylor back in favor at the White House under Kennedy, the Army renewed its campaign. *Army,* the magazine published by the Association of the U.S. Army, featured articles by generals praising the Nike-Zeus ABM system and advertisements by Western Electric and eight subcontractors for the project. The issue contained a map showing 37 states that were already sharing in the research and development work and were likely to get more if production were approved. Next the House and Senate rang with speeches calling for Nike-Zeus production to start immediately. And in 1963 Senator Strom Thurmond, a reserve general in the Army, forced the first secret session of the Senate since World War II in an effort to win an appropriation for a production start on an American antimissile defense. He lost. The Kennedy Administration successfully resisted that pressure.

But now, ten years after the start of the campaign, the Johnson Administration has relented in part. A full ABM defense network against a possible missile attack from the U.S.S.R. is still considered pointless to undertake—it would cost more than $30 billion under existing conditions—because the Soviets' ballistic missile force is so powerful that the ABM defense admittedly could not cope with it. But for a decade, at least, a so-called "thin" defense against China is said to be worthwhile. Why? Near the end of his term as Secretary of Defense, McNamara tied himself in knots explaining why, the heart of his justification being that a ten-year insurance policy against a relatively small Chinese Communist nuclear missile force was worth $5 billion. Arguments that this might start a new arms race were rejected.

Votes for ABM: Long before McNamara made his announcement, Frederic W. Collins, Washington correspondent for the Ridder newspapers, drew attention in an article in *The New Republic* to some of the ingredients that finally may have broken resistance to the ABM.[11] He noted the favorite ploy of the industrial side of the complex, this time an advertisement in *The New York Times* financial section by the investment firm of Arthur Wiesenberger & Co., which offered a special report on nine companies involved in the research and development of Nike-X (forerunner name of the ABM). The advertisement listed the 28 potential corporate beneficiaries of the Nike-X development program. Collins estimated that the 28 companies had about 300 plants in 42 states plus Puerto Rico and Washington, D.C., and offered a "conservative guess" that they provided jobs for 1,000,000 employees. The writer then noted that the plants were in the domain of 84 Senators and 172 Representatives.

AWARDS TO ACADEME

The list of the 100 largest prime contractors for the military in 1967 includes Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in sixty-second place with $94.9 million of contracts, and Johns Hopkins University, in seventy-third place with $71.1 million. The ranking of these universities among the leading defense contractors is hardly surprising. We have long been accustomed to the vital participation of the academic community in national defense, from the first nuclear chain reaction at the University of Chicago in World War II to the recent arrangements between many universities and the Central Intelligence Agency. And the Eisenhower farewell speech brought out, as no high government official before or since has done with equal candor, the "prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations and the power of money."

The Pentagon awards some $700 million a year in contracts to universities, colleges, and other nonprofit institutions. Without this kind of money, as noted in a report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, "the whole character of many universities' research programs (and in consequence their instructional programs) would change. Faculties in many instances would shrink. Many research efforts would have to be abandoned completely. Others would be sharply curtailed."[12] Thus, as Eisenhower warned, many universities have indeed become dependent on the government, not only for research activities, but also for faculties and instructional programs. Perhaps his own experience as President of Columbia University and his brother's as President of Johns Hopkins made Eisenhower specially conscious of his problem.

Recent incidents on campuses across the country have called attention to a general uneasiness, if not rebellion, against government research contracting on purely political grounds. At the University of Pennsylvania, two $1,000,000 research contracts for measuring the effectiveness of chemical-biological warfare were canceled after some professors threatened to wear gas masks at commencement. At Cornell University the faculty voted to cut ties with the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory because the laboratory had received a $1,500,000 contract to plan counter-insurgency projects in Thailand.

Even such a relatively independent and well-enduring institution as Harvard University has encountered serious government pressure on "how things are to be done in laboratories and who may or may not appear in them," Dr. Nathan M. Pusey, President of Harvard, once complained. He referred specifically to the arrangement with the Atomic Energy Commission for maintenance of the $12 million electron accelerator on the university grounds. The government paid the cost of construction; Harvard and M.I.T. shared a $5 million-a-year contract to operate it. It was intended for "free and unfettered academic research of an unclassified nature," but the government insisted on federal security regulations that seemed more appropriate to a military site than a university campus. Harvard resisted and won many concessions, but finally signed the contract.

CONCLUSION

Having identified, described, and examined certain aspects of the military-industrial complex, we must consider its implications for us. Could the United States become a garrison state in which most of its energies are devoted to arms? Could the pressures of war and the frustrations of international affairs pave the way to a military coup such as that depicited in the novel *Seven Days in May*? Are the appeals for peace and disarmament being selfishly balked by the vested interests of the military-industrial complex? These are ancient forebodings in U.S. history, and the fact that they linger reveals a national awareness of our vulnerability. For it cannot be denied that the military-industrial complex flourishes in war and during the threat of war.

CHECKS AND BALANCES

Yet this awareness of our vulnerability itself constitutes considerable protection for us. For example, we are often troubled by the intervention of the military in "civilian" affairs. But we can take encouragement from the very openness of that intervention. When General Earle G. Wheeler, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, boldly and publicly disagrees with the Secretary of Defense on policies for the war in Vietnam or on the desirability of constructing a full-scale anti-ballistic missile defense system, and when General Wallace M. Greene, the commandant of the Marine Corps, publicly demands a greater national devotion to the war in Vietnam than to the social revolution in the streets of America—these expressions by the military serve to identify them publicly with recognizable political attitudes. By joining the public debate in a manner that is authorized under our system, they also set themselves up as targets in that debate.

Moreover, as we have learned from experience, the military are not always unanimous in their professional view of the world and in their demands on the budget. Their rivalries for funds have sometimes exploded in fierce public lobbying and internecine

---

Footnotes at end of speech.

bureaucratic warfare. This, too, mitigates against concerted action by the military to influence public policy. In addition, far from challenging civilian control, the military leaders in recent years have complained of civilians dominating the military in their professional competence. The complaint does honor to the principle of our democratic system.

Insofar as the economic threat of the military-industrial complex is concerned, it appears to reflect largely the familiar dangers of huge concentrations of economic power. And there is recurring evidence of the government's capacity to cope with the industrial giants. During the Kennedy Administration we saw the Secretary of Defense lead the charge against a sudden increase in the price of steel. In the Johnson Administration, in November 1965, the Defense Secretary also led in thwarting aluminum and copper price increases by threats to use the national stockpiles.

Another safety factor is that not all states and communities share equally in the defense business despite the fervent Administration activities of the military-industrial complex, even within its own constituencies. The result is high-pitched competition involving defense contractors and their political, military, legislative, and other allies. A single defense appropriations bill usually occupies several dozen members of Congress and several committee staffs for the better part of six months, and not all of these Congressmen have the same concerns and motives.

The competing demands of special interest groups that focus on major decisions often cancel each other out. A Congressman, for example, might be an Army reservist with a strong tendency toward its doctrine of national strategy which calls for certain types of military preparedness and weaponry; but he would vote for an Air Force appropriation if it meant a factory for his home city; a Navy appropriation if he were rallied by his political leaders on Capitol Hill, and an across-the-board economy cut if he needed to trade a vote with Wilbur Mills, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

TAKING NOTHING FOR GRANTED

The problem that confronts us is whether we can continue to depend on these countervalling pressures; or whether at some point in our future—nearer than we like to imagine, perhaps—the disparate impulses that go into the military-industrial complex, ranging from a crass desire for profits to honest fear for the safety of the country, may coalesce in such a powerful advocacy of more and better weapons and in such potent opposition to arms control that the entire country will be drawn to support this position.

I am not suggesting that the threat of our industrial-military complex is based in any way on a military-industrial conspiracy. There is no more of a conspiracy here than in numerous other matters where legitimate lobbies influence public policy makers, or where conflicts of interest affect decisions of the legislative and executive arms of government. The free enterprise system is frequently compromised, and political judgments influence every aspect of our national security—but not because of conspiracies. Rather, I am urging that we keep in mind the Eisenhower admonition: "We should take nothing for granted. . . . Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Baltimore Sun*, December 26, 1967.

[2] *Congressional Record*, Senate S. 14425, October 9, 1967.

[3] New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1934.

[4] *The White House Years*, Vol. II: 1956–1961 *Wagin Peace* (New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), p. 615.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] UPI dispatch, January 9, 1968.

[7] February 1966, p. 19ff.

[8] Testimony, House Armed Services Subcommittee, March 9, 1956.

[9] *The New York Times*, August 8, 1963.

[10] Quoted in Julius Duscha, *Arms, Money and Politics* (New York, Ives Washburn, Inc., 1965), p. 103.

[11] "$30 Billion for Whom?" March 11, 1967, p. 13.

[12] "Partners in Search of Policies," *Educational Record*, July 1963.

AN EIGHT-POINT PROGRAM FOR PEACE BY THE COMMITTEE FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN VIETNAM

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the House a recent statement on Vietnam which appeared in the Sunday, July 26, 1968, edition of the New York Times.

A most distinguished group of Americans, headed by Dr. Clark Kerr have proposed an enlightened program for obtaining peace in Vietnam.

The other officers and cosigners of the declaration include: The Most Reverend John J. Dougherty, president, Seton Hall University; Mr. Philip M. Klutznick, chairman of the board, American Bank & Trust Co.; Dr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Joint Center for Urban Studies, Cambridge, Mass.; Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers; the Right Reverend Leland Stark, bishop, Episcopal diocese of Newark, and Mr. Earl P. Stevenson, Arthur D. Little Co., Cambridge, Mass.

This eight-point program is presented under the sponsorship of the National Committee for a Political Settlement in Vietnam.

I offer it now to the Members of Congress in the hope that they shall consider carefully its proposals. It is a program that I can and do support, for it so nearly parallels my own views.

Mr. Speaker, I heartily commend the proposals of the Committee for a Political Settlement in Vietnam.

First. An immediate standstill ceasefire by all sides, starting with an end of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

Second. International peacekeeping machinery.

Third. Free elections so that the Government of South Vietnam can be chosen democratically by the people and not imposed by Washington or Hanoi, with an agreement by all parties to accept the results of the election.

Fourth. Full freedom for all political groups in South Vietnam to organize, campaign, and present their candidates and programs.

Fifth. U.S. support for social and economic reconstruction, including an extensive land reform program.

Sixth. Assurance by the resulting government of protection of minorities against reprisals before the international peacekeeping corps departs.

Seventh. Arrangements for the withdrawal of all outside military forces from South Vietnam, including both United States and North Vietnamese.

Eighth. No unilateral withdrawal or military escalation by the United States.

JAKE PICKLE: THE VETERANS' VOICE

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the strength and dedication Jake Pickle, my Texas colleague from the 10th Congressional District, brings to bear in representing the veterans of his district almost earns him the title of ex officio member of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee.

During the years I have served as chairman of the House Veterans' Committee and shared experiences in Congress with Jake, I have been impressed with his record of strong support for our veterans, and with the alertness of his watchdogging of veterans matters.

Earlier this year, a problem developed which threatened severely the progress of the community nursing home program—a program which allows a veteran patient to be located close to his home and family during the important time of convalescence. Jake immediately and singly joined with me in sponsoring corrective legislation, and he appeared as an effective witness in the subsequent hearings. We are still working out the details of this matter, but the fact that the problem was perceived and acted upon so early puts us way ahead of the game.

Jake proved his mettle as a scrapper then, and he has done so before.

W. H. McGregor, the department adjutant of the American Legion, Department of Texas, noted an important program when he wrote to Jake:

> On behalf of the Legionnaires of Texas, and the men in our fighting forces at this time, I wish to thank you for your support of the improved veterans home loan bill which passed the House of Representatives last week. This was indeed a worthwhile bill and it is always encouraging to know that my own Representative supported the measure.

Jake argued for passage of that VA home loan bill on the House floor back on March 26, 1968, and as you recall, its passage increased the VA home loan from $7,500 to $12,500, and made adjustments in the interest ceiling to assure that every veteran would be able to find mortgage credit for the home he selects.

Some feel that the VA home loan program works to the greatest benefit of our young veterans—the ones just returning to civilian life and starting their families. And while this may be so, Jake has not forgotten the other veterans, and their families and dependents as well.

In August 1967, Jake supported tne Veterans Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967. This is one of the most sweeping revisions of the veterans' laws ever made. Among other things it included cost-of-living increases for pensions paid to veterans and their widows and dependent children, with the largest increases going to those with the lowest incomes; gave Vietnam veterans the same general level of care afforded to other wartime veterans, including full pension rates, a burial allowance, and drugs for a Vietnam veteran requiring aid and attendance; authorized an allowance to purchase a specially equipped auto by a veteran who has a service-connected loss of a hand or foot; permitted payment for more than one service-connected physical loss.

Again, in December 1967, Jake lined up for the veteran by supporting a bill I sponsored to increase income limitations which determine the amount of a veteran's disability pension. Pensioners, under this new law, will be able to receive greater amounts of outside income, such as from social security, without incurring a corresponding pension reduction.

The list of his contributions could go on and on. But I will just quickly mention two others, when in February of this year, Jake rose to speak for a bill to give our returning Vietnam veterans aid in getting a job—and I would note that this bill was signed into law 6 months later; and again in June of this year when Jake supported a bill to increase the compensation rates for our service-connected disabled veterans.

As a 3½-year Navy veteran in World War II, with combat service in nine separate sea engagements, Jake knows very clearly the responsibilities a grateful country owes her defending sons. It is an honor and a privilege for me to serve as chairman of such an important committee as the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, but it is a source of pleasure and a marked pride to have the assistance of such a capable colleague as Jake Pickle.

CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON SUPPORTS NATIONAL STRATEGY AGAINST CRIME

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the text of my weekly radio broadcast to Ninth District residents:

The first business of any government is the safety of its citizens. But in America we want more. We want for our citizens a sense of security, a mood of confidence, an absence of fear, and an ability to move about without apprehension of assault or attack.

Today we cannot claim to have achieved a nation free from crime. Crime marks the life of every American.

Today crime in America is increasing five times faster than our population. Law enforcement agencies struggle to meet the challenge. There are not enough policemen—they are not paid enough—they lack the necessary equipment and technical assistance. And in many communities local tax sources are inadequate to finance necessary police operations.

In our democracy, the principal responsibility for dealing with crime does not lie with the national government—but with the state and local communities.

As a nation we have always preached local law enforcement. And, as a nation, we have always practiced it. The city of New York has more law enforcement officers than the entire federal government. And none of us would have it any other way.

But today, I believe, the national government is obliged to lend a helping hand—to augment state and local police efforts, without seeking to usurp state and local police powers.

So, I support a national strategy against crime that is consistent with the principle that law enforcement is primarily a local responsibility.

I support a national anti-crime strategy that seeks justice as well as law and order. For order without justice and justice without order are equally destructive.

I support a national anti-crime strategy that is consistent with the gravity and complexity of the crime problem in America.

Crime seems to be associated with two powerful, contemporary, and almost inevitable social trends: the increasing urbanization of America and the increasing youthfulness of America. To cope with the mounting crime rate, the nation is demanding almost impossible results from underfinanced, understaffed, and outmoded police departments, court systems and correctional institutions. The result of all this is that the fear of crime and violence has become the constant companion of many Americans.

This problem—the problem of a mounting crime rate—is not a phenomenon of the past four years. On the contrary, the problem has been with us for two decades, and only in the past four years have we really begun to deal with it.

Current critics have pointed to an 88% increase in crime since 1960, but what they often fail to mention is that during the 1950's crime increased at a higher rate—98%—and no one during that time proposed any anti-crime legislation.

The first real attacks on crime were mounted by the last two Democratic Congresses. Now, for the first time, the federal government is furnishing national leadership in the fight against crime. We have passed the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, and instituted the bi-partisan President's Crime Commission which has conducted the nation's most comprehensive study on crime.

The Democratic record is a good beginning, but the crime problem is far too serious to be content with current legislation. So I offer these recommendations to enlarge and strengthen the nation's attack on crime:

1. Support of the basic principles of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act. That principle is that federal funds should be available to local law enforcement agencies to provide them with better training, better equipment, and better research facilities.

2. Support of the Omnibus Crime Control Act, which provides aid to local law enforcement agencies, court reforms, federal wire tapping regulations, and changes in Supreme Court decisions.

3. Support and passage of a bill which I have introduced which will establish a national research center on crime. This national research center would concentrate on studies of the incidence and areas of crime, the backgrounds of criminal offenders, and new techniques for the prevention and detection of crime.

4. Passage of new legislation to strengthen federal law enforcement agencies by providing them with additional federal anti-crime officials, and by reorganizing and consolidating federal law enforcement agencies.

5. The federal government should urge each state to establish a commission on police standards. The commission should write statewide programs to encourage better education and training for policemen, higher pay, and the use of modern technology in crime control equipment.

6. Since the highest incidence of crime is concentrated among the young, the best hope for reducing crime in America is to reduce juvenile delinquency. I, therefore, support legislation to assist the state and local juvenile agencies in developing new plans, programs, and special facilities to deal with youthful offenders, and, in particular, to modernize juvenile courts and to encourage them to give more emphasis to rehabilitating the young and making them able to play useful roles in society.

7. Continued support and active enforcement of the anti-riot legislation which I sponsored and which was enacted into law this year.

I believe these suggestions to fight crime are a substantial beginning.

But this strategy, or any other strategy, will not finally cure the cancer of crime in our society.

Crime is a social problem that is interwoven with every aspect of American life. As a nation, we cannot expect a lawful society unless we also have a just society.

We cannot expect police alone, or the courts alone, or tough laws alone to eliminate crime. So coupled with a national strategy against crime, and our desire to upgrade police departments and to modernize crime facilities in courtrooms, we must strive to correct the conditions which breed crime.

In short, we must seek to establish justice while we also seek domestic order.

If we are really to have a safe and secure nation, no violence in the streets, and citizens free from crime and the fear of crime, we must have a lawful and a just America.

IRWIN OPINION POLL RESULTS

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, you will recall that in the spring of this year I polled my constituents on a number of issues of importance facing our Nation. The poll appeared in the Congressional Record of February 29, 1968. I am pleased to say that a number of people receiving the Congressional Record all over the country took the time to write to me and comment on the poll and the questions it raised.

Now, I am able to present the results of my poll. For the benefit of my colleagues and others interested in the results, I am submitting for insertion in the Congressional Record a sample of the text and tabulations that will be mailed postal patron to every household in my congressional district.

Each resident of the Fourth Congressional District will have the opportunity to read the totals for the entire Fourth Congressional District juxtaposed to the tabulations for the municipality in which he resides. For instance, the sample report which follows will go to every household in Bridgeport. The recipients will have available to them the total tabulation for the district and the tabulations for Bridgeport.

Nine other reports containing the same questions and containing the same total tabulation for the Fourth Congressional District will differ only in the tabulation figures for the particular municipality to which they are being addressed. In addition to Bridgeport, reports are being mailed to Fairfield, Weston, Wilton,

Westport, Norwalk, New Canaan, Stamford, Darien, and Greenwich. The tabulations for each of these municipalities will be shown. There are a total of 10 municipalities in my congressional district.

Perhaps I should note that I have commenced my report with a short introduction reading the same for each of the 10 reports; the questions and results follow.

The following, Mr. Speaker, is the Irwin opinion poll results in my "Congressman DON IRWIN at Work," as sent to the people of Bridgeport:

I am pleased to be able to give you the final tabulations of the questionnaire I sent to you this spring. I am most grateful that so many individuals took the time to give me their preferences and in most instances, add comments. I am only sorry that I have not been able to respond personally to all the comments as I had hoped to do.

All the questionnaires were fed into the computer. Approximately 20,000 questionnaires were returned producing about 32,000 responses.

The following are the tabulations (both in numbers and percentages) for Bridgeport. So that you might compare Bridgeport's answers to the totals for the 4th Congressional District, the figures for the District are given next to the comparable figures for Bridgeport. For example, in the first question 39.2% of Bridgeport's respondents favored the legislation designed to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of housing compared to 41% for the entire 4th Congressional District and 56.1% in Bridgeport indicated opposition as compared to 44.5% in the whole District. In closing, I might note that sometimes the percentages do not add up to 100; this is because in any sampling there are a number of "rejects" (no answers, lack of clarity in answering, etc.).

I hope that you find these answers to be as interesting as I have.

DONALD J. IRWIN.

	Yes				No			
	4th Congressional District		Bridgeport		4th Congressional District		Bridgeport	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Do you want Congress to pass legislation to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of housing?	12,943	41.0	1,635	39.2	14,028	44.5	2,342	56.1
2. Do you favor celebrating national holidays (except Christmas and New Year's) on Mondays and Fridays?	19,130	60.7	2,670	64.0	8,546	27.1	1,393	33.4
3. In your opinion, should we observe daylight saving time on a year-round basis, so we could have an extra hour of daylight in the evening during the winter?	17,605	55.8	2,862	68.6	9,632	30.5	1,180	28.3
4. Would you like to see the voting age lowered to 18?	10,398	33.0	1,560	37.4	17,182	54.5	2,498	59.9
5. Do you think there should be a law to limit the total amount of money spent by or for a candidate running for public office?	22,164	70.3	3,256	78.1	5,332	16.9	800	19.2

	4th Congressional District		Bridgeport	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do you feel that the major financial responsibility in solving the problems of our cities should be met by—				
1. The Federal Government	8,023	25.4	1,219	29.2
2. The State government	6,969	22.1	1,144	27.4
3. Local government	9,769	31.0	1,332	31.9
4. Private enterprise	2,581	8.2	346	8.3
7. Do you feel the United States has an obligation to support Israel in the Middle East conflict—				
1. Through moral encouragement	4,974	15.8	690	16.5
2. Through diplomatic support	10,384	32.9	1,444	34.6
3. With military assistance	4,530	14.4	694	16.6
4. By direct U.S. involvement	939	3.0	190	4.6
5. No support	6,484	20.0	1,020	24.5
8. In Vietnam, do you think that the United States and her allies are—				
1. Losing ground	13,176	41.8	1,515	36.3
2. Standing still	10,317	32.7	1,799	43.1
3. Making progress	3,307	10.5	539	12.9
4. No opinion	1,077	3.4	242	5.8
9. What kind of policy do you think the United States should follow in Vietnam?				
1. Withdraw immediately	6,375	20.2	838	20.1
2. Hold only populated areas	1,815	5.8	152	3.6
3. Stop all the bombing of North Vietnam	3,582	11.4	346	8.3
4. Maintain present diplomatic and military effort	4,349	13.8	683	16.4
5. Bomb Hanoi and the port of Haiphong	5,537	17.6	963	23.1
6. Wage an all-out attack on North Vietnam and if necessary, Red China	4,843	15.4	973	23.3
0. Do you think that the program you have advocated above would—				
1. Lead to immediate peace in Vietnam	2,988	9.5	595	14.3
2. Lead to a negotiated settlement excluding the Communists	2,640	8.4	423	10.1
3. Lead to a negotiated settlement including the Communists	13,044	41.4	1,612	38.6
4. Lead to a general cease-fire	4,069	12.9	698	16.7
5. Lead to a Communist takeover	1,514	4.8	174	4.2
6. Other	1,921	6.1	364	8.7
11. Do you think the United Nations can be helpful in the Vietnam dilemma in—				
1. Moving for negotiations	5,975	18.9	622	14.9
2. Negotiating a peace	3,646	11.6	471	11.3
3. Providing a peacekeeping force to enforce a negotiated settlement	6,974	22.1	995	23.9
4. No help at all	10,685	33.9	1,926	46.1
12. Do you think that the peace demonstrations will—				
1. Lead to peace	1,108	3.5	169	4.2
2. Contribute to better communication in our society	4,579	14.5	474	11.4
3. Make no contribution, but are not harmful	3,306	10.5	440	10.5
4. Contribute to confusion and discontent in our society	8,554	27.1	1,410	33.8
5. Lend encouragement to the enemy	10,113	32.1	1,584	38.0
13. How do you feel about age discrimination in employment? Do you think this problem is—				
1. A serious one	13,710	43.5	2,355	56.5
2. Not very important	12,486	39.6	1,536	36.8
3. One that can be solved by private interests outside the Government	9,653	30.6	1,092	26.2
4. One that can be solved by Federal legislation	1,363	4.3	321	7.7
5. One that needs efforts by all Government levels and private enterprise	13,860	44.0	2,264	54.3

	More				Less				Same			
	4th Congressional District		Bridgeport		4th Congressional District		Bridgeport		4th Congressional District		Bridgeport	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
14. Should the Government spend more, less, or the same for the following programs:												
1. Vietnam	6,102	19.4	1,044	25.0	14,097	44.7	1,777	42.6	5,928	18.8	1,016	24.4
2. General defense	6,977	22.1	1,581	37.9	7,361	23.3	733	17.6	12,023	38.1	1,567	37.6
3. Foreign aid	2,207	7.0	173	4.1	20,209	64.1	3,251	77.9	4,396	13.9	504	12.1
4. Agriculture	4,998	15.9	1,131	27.1	11,345	36.0	1,054	25.3	9,628	30.5	1,620	38.8
5. Education	17,566	55.7	2,767	66.3	2,800	8.9	321	7.7	6,604	20.9	877	21.0
6. Health	14,527	46.1	2,555	61.3	3,604	11.4	322	7.7	8,713	27.6	1,066	25.6
7. Pollution	20,607	65.4	3,041	72.9	1,711	5.4	215	5.2	4,541	14.4	666	16.0
8. Transportation	12,570	39.9	1,365	32.7	4,648	14.7	834	20.0	8,955	28.4	1,575	37.8
9. Aid to cities	11,531	36.6	1,556	37.3	7,162	22.7	1,016	24.4	7,756	24.6	1,284	30.8
10. Job training	14,886	47.2	2,053	49.2	5,246	16.6	826	19.8	6,608	21.0	1,043	25.0

	4th Congressional District		Bridgeport	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
15. Beyond any cuts you may have advocated above, do you think Congress ought to—				
1. Legislate the proposed 10-percent surtax on personal and corporate incomes	6,236	19.8	670	16.1
2. Legislate a surtax above 10 percent	791	2.5	86	2.1
3. Legislate a surtax below 10 percent	2,042	6.5	258	6.2
4. Not legislate any surtax	10,306	32.7	1,641	39.3
5. Need to know more about it	7,989	25.3	1,413	33.9
16. Would you favor wage and price controls as—				
1. An alternative to the above mentioned steps	7,687	24.4	1,475	35.4
2. An additional step to the above mentioned steps	6,464	20.5	1,132	27.1
3. Rejects (by error, no alternative was given for no wage and price controls—many people who did not check alternatives 1 or 2 indicated their disfavor with such controls under any circumstance)	17,628	55.9	1,573	37.7
17. I consider myself—				
1. Republican	8,426	26.7	478	11.5
2. Leaning toward Republican	3,884	12.3	529	12.7
3. Independent	7,439	23.6	1,505	36.1
4. Leaning toward Democratic	2,309	7.3	427	10.2
5. Democratic	4,713	14.9	954	22.9
6. Other	807	2.6	131	3.1
18. Age:				
18 to 29	4,462	14.2	1,233	29.6
30 to 45	11,445	36.3	1,268	30.4
46 to 59	8,482	26.9	1,041	25.0
60 and over	3,338	10.6	515	12.3
19. Occupation:				
1. White collar	5,171	16.4	909	21.8
2. Blue collar	2,200	7.0	728	17.5
3. Student	453	1.4	113	2.7
4. Professional	5,783	18.3	786	18.8
5. Executive	4,509	14.3	248	5.9
6. Housewife	8,415	26.7	957	22.9
7. Other	1,255	4.0	314	7.5
20. How do you travel to work?				
1. Train	4,450	14.1	89	2.1
2. Car	14,063	44.6	2,636	63.2
3. Bus	451	1.4	228	5.5
4. Walk	782	2.5	171	4.1
5. Other	367	1.2	59	1.4
21. How do you keep up with the news?				
1. New York papers	19,444	61.7	1,902	45.6
2. Local papers	20,339	64.7	3,472	83.2
3. National periodicals	15,134	48.0	1,628	39.0
4. Local radio	13,006	41.2	2,511	60.2
5. New York radio	17,052	54.1	1,909	45.8
6. Hartford and New Haven TV	2,214	7.0	844	20.2
7. New York TV	21,830	69.2	3,333	79.9
22. Would you be willing to contribute financially to the production of (paper and printing) of congressional newsletters and questionnaires?				
1. Yes	5,952	18.9	718	17.2
2. No	8,212	26.0	1,457	34.9
3. Maybe	12,014	38.1	1,803	43.2
23. Men who answered	14,983	47.5	2,218	53.2
24. Women who answered	13,226	41.9	1,926	46.2

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the appointment of John T. Wilson, Deputy Director of the National Science Foundation, as vice president and dean of faculties of the University of Chicago is pleasing to the people of Chicago, especially those in the congressional district I have the honor to represent and included in which is the University of Chicago.

The appointment will be effective October 1, 1968, according to the joint announcement by George W. Beadle, president of the university, and Edward H. Levi, provost and president-designate of the university.

As vice president and dean of the faculties, Dr. Wilson will become the university's senior officer for the administration of academic affairs under the president.

It is unnecessary for me to say how very pleased I am at Dr. Wilson's appointment. The National Science Foundation was created the year I came to Congress in 1949 and I worked hard and long with the scientists on the faculty of the University of Chicago in the period when the matter was under legislative consideration. The Foundation always has been close to my heart. Since the enactment of the legislation creating the Foundation I have in every succeeding Congress supported increases in the appropriations for the Foundation. Dr. Wilson came to the Foundation in 1952 and he was a great force in its development.

Dr. Beadle said:

> We are proud to announce that Dr. Wilson will return to the University to work closely with Dr. Levi in guiding the academic program and plans of this great university. Dr. Wilson brings to Chicago a thorough understanding of science and scientists, administration and government. He also knows the University's faculty and environment because of his previous tenure here in both the administration and as a professor of psychology.

Dr. Wilson left the University of Chicago on July 1, 1963, to accept his present position as Deputy Director of the National Science Foundation in Washington, D.C. In this position he served as chief assistant to the Director during a period of major growth of the Foundation's activities.

Dr. Leland J. Haworth, Director of the National Science Foundation, issued the following statement about the appointment:

> We are indeed sorry to lose John Wilson, and we congratulate the University of Chicago upon his decision to return there. He has been a most able and effective Deputy, handling difficult tasks with a rare combination of wisdom and dispatch. We earlier recognized this in awarding him the Foundation's first Distinguished Service Award, on May 18, 1967, "for his outstanding contributions to the programs of the Foundation and for his personal leadership in its development as a major instrument for the advancement of science." We wish him the best of luck in his new position.

He had served since late 1961 as special assistant to the president—Dr. Beadle—of the University of Chicago and also as a professor of psychology. As professor of psychology, Dr. Wilson collaborated in research and taught at the graduate level.

For 6 years before coming to Chicago in 1961, Dr. Wilson had been Assistant Director for Biological and Medical Sciences of the National Science Foundation. The National Science Foundation is a governmental agency established in 1950 by an act of Congress to stimulate the progress of basic science and science education in the United States.

Dr. Wilson was born March 7, 1914, at Punxsutawney, Pa. He holds a bachelor of arts degree, with distinction, from George Washington University, Washington, class of June 1941, where he took a major in psychology and a minor in philosophy. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa there in February 1941.

Dr. Wilson took his master's degree at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, in July 1942. There, he majored in psychology and took a minor in education. He served as a teaching assistant in elementary psychology in 1941 and 1942. He was elected to Sigma Xi, national honor fraternity for scientists, in July 1942.

In June 1948, after service in the U.S. Navy, he received his doctoral degree from Stanford University. Again, his major was in psychology and his minors were education and business. He was a Rockefeller Foundation predoctoral fellow and a teaching assistant in experimental psychology.

Dr. Wilson joined the staff of the National Science Foundation in April 1952 to direct the Foundation's program in experimental psychology.

During World War II, he served as assistant for personnel and training to the head of the radar section, Readiness Division Headquarters, Commander in Chief, U.S. Fleet. The rapid development of complex radar equipment had produced an immediate need for specialized personnel to man these new instruments. He was responsible for developing a comprehensive radar personnel selection and training program. He was also responsible for the initiation of personnel and training research projects within the Department of the Navy and by the National Defense Research Committee.

Dr. Wilson also has served as assistant executive secretary of the American Psychological Association and a member of the faculty of George Washington University in the Department of Psychology. He later was head of the personnel and training research branch in the biological sciences group of the Office of Naval Research.

Dr. Wilson is the author of a number of articles on psychology and human learning, on personnel selection and training, and on research programing and administration.

IMMIGRATION AID FOR VICTIMS OF EARTHQUAKES IN SICILY

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 2, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, on January 12, 1968, the island of Sicily was severely stricken by an earthquake which left death, destruction, and ruin in its wake. Approximately 300 people were killed in the disaster. At least 60,000 persons were directly affected by this tragic event. Some 40,000 were made homeless, thousands have been deprived not only of their homes but of sources of livelihood.

Children were orphaned; factories have been destroyed leaving some 15,000 jobless. Eleven thousand homes were destroyed. Farmlands became wastelands because of the destruction of irrigation plants.

The United States responded promptly to help meet the immediate and urgent needs of the refugees in Sicily, in the honorable and traditional way in which America has always responded to catastrophe, to loss of life, to the need for easing the burdens of human suffering. Our Government promptly sent to Sicily by airlift Army medical teams, food and medical supplies, tents, field kitchens, and other necessary supplies and equipment to cope with emergency conditions.

Initially, when the earthquake first struck the people in Sicily were in need of everything. They had no shelter and it was cold, and the immediate problem was shelter and food. The emergency situation is now over with. Yet thousands of people remain in temporary shelters. In the towns of severe damage, there are no farms to which people can return. Stores owned by small shopkeepers have been destroyed. What is urgently needed now is resettlement, lest temporary shelters become permanent and before the hopes of these victims for a new life are turned to despair and hopelessness.

More than 50 Members of this House have sponsored bills to establish special quotas to permit Sicilian refugees to immigrate into the United States. Approval of any one of those bills would not represent a departure from American immigration policy. Ample precedent for such legislation is found in Public Law 85-892, which provided immigration visas for the victims of earthquake and volcanic eruptions which plagued the Azores in 1957 and in 1958.

In fact the United States has traditionally opened its doors to the victims of natural disaster. Concern over the tragic plight of the people in Sicily is shared by all Americans. Throughout our history, the sons and daughters of Italy have contributed to the wealth and to the culture of America. Indeed, many of the victims have relatives who are citizens of the United States, but are unable to come here because the Italian immigration quota is so heavily oversubscribed.

In light of the traditional humanitarian policies we have always followed in connection with immigration, I think it imperative that we act favorably on providing immigration aid to the victims of the Sicilian earthquake before the calendar brings to an end of the 90th Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Wednesday, September 4, 1968*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

The righteous shall be glad in the Lord and shall trust in Him.—Psalm 64: 10.

Eternal God, our Father, returning from a brief recess we assemble again in this shrine of our national life and bow our heads at the altar of prayer. Look with Thy favor upon us, upon our Speaker, the Members of this House of Representatives and their loved ones, and all who labor with them. Grant unto them to be healthy in body, hopeful in mind, and harmonious in spirit that they may think clearly, plan wisely, and work diligently. In deed and in truth may they be instruments of Thy will in this troubled time.

As we face the crucial days that lie ahead:

God be in our heads
And in our understanding;
God be in our eyes
And in our looking;
God be in our mouths
And in our speaking;
God be in our hearts,
And in our thinking;
God be at our end,
And at our departing.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, August 2, 1968, was read and approved.

SIGNING OF ENROLLED BILLS OF HOUSE AND SENATE

The **SPEAKER.** The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to the authority granted him by House Concurrent Resolution 806, 90th Congress, he did on August 3, 1968, sign the following enrolled bills of the House and enrolled bills of the Senate:

H.R. 1093. An act to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5233. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sophie Michalowska;

H.R. 10932. An act for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force (retired);

H.R. 12323. An act to amend chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the retired serviceman's family protection plan, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12843. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health;

H.R. 13781. An act to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966;

H.R. 14367. An act to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 16027. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16363. An act to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17522. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18188. An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18254. An act to amend further section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920;

H.R. 18706. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

S. 633. An act to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps;

S. 1504. An act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans for enterprises to supplement farm income and for farm conversion to recreation, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, establish a flexible loan interest rate, and for other purposes;

S. 2269. An act to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries;

S. 2468. An act for the relief of Dr. George S. Ioannides;

S. 2488. An act for the relief of Dr. Raul Agustin Pereira-Valdes; and

S. 3095. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes.

HON. JIM COLLINS

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication, which was read by the Clerk:

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., September 3, 1968.

The Honorable the SPEAKER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: A certificate of election in due form of law showing the election of JIM COLLINS as a Representative-elect to the 90th Congress from the Third Congressional District of Texas, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Honorable Joe Pool, is on file in this office.

Respectfully yours,
W. PAT JENNINGS,
Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER. The Representative-elect will present himself at the bar of the House for the purpose of having the oath of office administered to him.

Mr. COLLINS presented himself at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

TRIBUTE TO HON. JOHN M. VORYS

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. DEVINE].

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, this great body has witnessed a passing parade of many fine men and women over the years. Among the most dedicated, respected, and distinguished was my predecessor from the 12th District of Ohio, the Honorable John M. Vorys.

It is with heavy heart that I must formally notify my colleagues that John Vorys departed this life during the August recess. He passed away Sunday, August 25, 1968, in Columbus, Ohio, at the age of 72.

It was just 10 years ago when Congressman Vorys decided to retire from public service after having spent 20 consecutive hard-working years in the U.S. Congress. During his tenure, he became recognized as an expert in the field of foreign affairs, and was widely consulted by his colleagues as well as others from high Government positions, at home and abroad in this field.

John Vorys was never too busy to help Members on both sides of the aisle in matters of mutual concern, and indeed gained the respect and admiration of his colleagues.

To his wife Lois, and his family, I wish to express the heartfelt sympathy of the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and particularly those who are still here that had the honor of serving with this great and good man. John Vorys was editorialized in the newspapers of Ohio and I make these a part of my remarks:

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, Aug. 27, 1968]

Men with John M. Vorys' kind of wholehearted patriotism are becoming rare among us. His death at 72 Sunday sadly depleted the list of those who hold this country's welfare before all else.

John Vorys served his country in his private life and in public life. He was one of the pioneers of military aviation, leaving Yale as an undergraduate to fly in World War I.

His driving desire to serve his country enabled him to win election to the General Assembly of Ohio while completing his law education at Ohio State University.

His long subsequent service in Congress was highlighted by his vigilant concern for the best interest of his community and for the Nation.

He was among the first to call attention to the disastrous consequences that could come of our unlimited sale of scrap iron to Japan in the pre-Pearl Harbor days.

John Vorys was a good man in public life and a good man in private life. He lived his life to the fullest. Few men have as much to give as he did and few give as fully. He will be warmly remembered as an American patriot, a contributing citizen of Central Ohio and a friend of all.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEVINE. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply grateful to the gentleman from Ohio for yielding, because one of the finest gentlemen I have known in nearly 20 years of service in this body was John Vorys of the State of Ohio. He was warm and friendly to new Members. He approached each and every problem that came to the floor of the House from the point of view of what was in the best interest of the United States. He could, of course, reflect the views of those of us on our side of the aisle partisan legislative measures, but he was highly respected by every Member of this body including his many, many Democratic friends during all of the years he served.

When John Vorys left the House of Representatives we lost a great Member. I regretted that he made the decision to give up his seat because he was at the peak of his influence, which was all to the good. But, John Vorys was one who felt that his contribution had reached its height but for personal reasons he felt he should return to his own community of Columbus, Ohio, and, let a younger man take over and serve in his place.

I just cannot say enough about John Vorys and his wonderful record and superb service. I extend to his family my deepest personal condolences, and hope and trust that in this hour of bereavement that they will understand even the best have to pass on.

Mr. DEVINE. I thank the gentleman. I yield to the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I join with the gentleman from Ohio and the Ohio delegation in expressing my deep sorrow in the passing of our late friend and distinguished colleague, John Vorys. I agree with every observation made by the distinguished minority leader about our late beloved colleague.

John Vorys was one of the ablest men who ever served in this body. He was a man dedicated to the public service, one who carried out his duties in accordance with his judgment and his conscience and in a courageous manner. He was a bulwark of strength for years while he served in this body in the national interests of our country.

John Vorys deserves the high place in the legislative history of this country that he occupies.

I extend to Mrs. Vorys and her loved ones my deep sympathy in their bereavement.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEVINE. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join in the statements that have been made in extending to the family of John Vorys my own deepest sympathies. In my memory of John Vorys I see standing out a man who was strong, genteel, dedicated, devoted, able, and outstanding. His service here was of the highest quality. Here, Mr. Speaker, was a man. He was a great Congressman and a noble American.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEVINE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to join the distinguished gentleman from Ohio in this tribute to the memory of John Vorys. Although I did not have the privilege of serving in the House with Congressman Vorys, I knew him and have known his family for many years. I valued and cherished his friendship. I know that he was a dedicated and able Congressman who served the interests of his district with zeal, with devotion, and with a great deal of enthusiasm.

To his wonderful wife and to his children—Martin, Jenny Esther, and Mary—I extend my deepest sympathy, and my wife, Priscilla, joins me in that. I am sure all of his former colleagues in the House regretted his decision to retire after 20 years' service in Congress. We are now profoundly saddened as we pay this inadequate tribute to the memory of a great American.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, when I read of the passing of John Vorys my thoughts went back in saddened memory to the days of our association on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. For many years he was a powerful force on that committee. He was a close counselor to President Eisenhower on foreign policy and I doubt if there was anyone to whom the President listened with greater reliance. John Vorys loved his country, his God, and his fellow man. He held the respect and the affection of all his colleagues on the committee and in the House. His approach to foreign policy was strictly on a bipartisan basis, as was that of Dr. Walter Judd, another of the Republican members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs at that period who were stout champions of foreign aid even though in some matters of administration and policy there may have been points of disagreement. In every sense of the word John Vorys was a great American. He was a good and noble man, and his passing leaves a void. To his wife and family I extend my warmest sympathy.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago, after nearly two decades of outstanding service in the House of Representatives, John Martin Vorys voluntarily retired to resume the practice of law in Ohio and to spend some of his time teaching.

I have never more deeply regretted the departure from this House of an esteemed friend and colleague. John Vorys was one of the ablest men ever to serve in the Congress. He joined the Foreign Affairs Committee when he first came to the House of Representatives in 1939 and from that date on began to exercise a strong influence on foreign policy direction. John was a principal member of the Select Committee on Foreign Aid which paved the way for enactment of the original Marshall plan for the restoration of war-torn Europe. He was one of the most active members as well as a leading sponsor of the "watchdog" committee established to exercise legislative oversight over the aid program. Long before the executive branch came up with the idea, he had proposed the enactment of legislation to authorize military assistance to our allies and he was the leading exponent, then unpopular, of emphasizing loans instead of grants in the foreign aid programs.

John Vorys was responsible for many vital improvements in the conduct and operations of our career Foreign Service in the State Department and a simple listing of his many achievements in foreign policy legislation would fill many pages.

When I myself joined the Foreign Affairs Committee in 1946, I numbered myself among the many who liked and admired John M. Vorys. In the years that followed I came to cherish our mutual friendship. John was a man who inspired esteem and confidence in those with whom he worked. He was a good Republican, but he had as many stanch friends and admirers in the Democratic Party as in his own. In political matters he consistently fought fairly and without rancor, and always, the well-being of his country was foremost in his mind.

John was an indefatigable worker, familiar with the intricacies of parliamentary procedure, who always made it a point to be thoroughly familiar with all the details of legislation emanating from the committee. He was outspoken and never hesitated to expose weaknesses and errors in proposals when he realized their rejection would be necessary, but he never lost a friend in defeating unwise amendments.

The retirement of John Vorys left a vacuum on the Foreign Affairs Committee that could not really be filled because of the unique qualifications of personality and background which made him a truly great member. There are countless occasions when, as chairman, I wished I could still have had John with us during floor debate on important bills. Long before his retirement, however, John suffered from a lung ailment which he bore uncomplainingly.

He remained cheerful and as active as his health would permit until his sudden turn for the worse a few weeks ago. I was distressed and saddened to learn of his passing and extend my most heartfelt condolences to his dear wife and family. In the departure from life of so great an American, his family's loss is also the loss of all of us.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the life, character, and service of the late Honorable John M. Vorys.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON S. 827, NATIONWIDE SYSTEM OF TRAILS

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (S. 827) to establish a nationwide system of trails, and for other purposes, with a House amendment thereto, insist on the House amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. Aspinall, Taylor, Johnson of California, Saylor, and Skubitz.

CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT

Mr. ASPINALL submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (S. 1004) to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the central Arizona project, Arizona-New Mexico, and for other purposes.

REVIEW OF WATER RESOURCE PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS

Mr. ASPINALL submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (S. 20) to provide for a comprehensive review of national water resource problems and programs, and for other purposes.

TELEVISION NEWS BROADCASTS DID NOT PORTRAY PROVOCATIONS TO POLICE IN CHICAGO

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, never have so many millions of people been so badly misinformed by so few as they were by network television news last week during the Chicago Democratic Convention.

I have taken a 1-hour special order at the conclusion of all legislative business today in order to discuss this whole situation. I invite my colleagues to remain on the floor if they wish to find out what really happened and what television network news did not tell the American people.

It is tragic that the local reporters working for television stations have to be caught in this web, but there is no question in my mind that the American people and the world never got the full story of the provocations that occurred which led up to the incidents in Chicago. I do hope my colleagues will remain on the floor so we can discuss this at great length.

STATUS OF APPROPRIATION BILLS

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, with the reconvening of the Congress today for the purpose of undertaking to wind up its legislative business, I thought it useful to summarize the unfinished appropriations business.

PENDING APPROPRIATION BILLS

Five bills remain to be cleared:

First. The defense bill is reported and pending House floor action. The agreement is that we will not proceed with further consideration until a conference report on the defense authorization bill is cleared.

Second. The foreign assistance bill is yet to be reported. Hearings are completed, and we are ready to report promptly, but we are also awaiting clearance of a conference report on the related authorization bill.

I might say that action on those two bills would conclude House action on the regular fiscal 1969 appropriation bills. Only the customary closing supplemental would remain, and that can be expeditiously handled at the proper time.

Third. The Labor-HEW bill is reported in the Senate, and has been made the unfinished business on its calendar. So it should be in conference very shortly.

Fourth. The independent offices-HUD bill is in conference.

Fifth. The military construction bill is also in conference.

We plan to move as expeditiously as we can on the several conferences. With reasonable cooperation by all concerned, we should be able to dispose of the bills without undue delay.

COMPLETED APPROPRIATION BILLS

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend, and by way of summary, in the eight bills for fiscal 1969 which have been signed into law, Congress considered budget requests for new budget authority of $19.9 billion. We made reductions of $2.6 billion, which would count toward the $10 billion goal in the tax-expenditure reduction bill. That cut in new requests would translate into reductions from the 1969 budget estimates of expenditures in 1969 of about $1.1 billion. This would count toward the $6 billion expenditure reduction goal as provided in the tax expenditure reduction bill.

HOUSE ACTIONS ON 1969 APPROPRIATION BILLS

Taking House actions alone on new budget authority requests for fiscal 1969, the House has cut $11.6 billion on 12 bills, including the reported version of the defense bill—considerably above the $10 billion reduction goal.

The foreign assistance and the closing supplemental bills, when reported, will bring the total House reduction in new budget authority requests probably close to $13 billion—perhaps a bit less. That would be, roughly, $3 billion above the tax bill requirement of $10 billion in respect to new budget authority requests for fiscal 1969.

As to expenditures, rather than new budget authority, our best estimate at this time is that in the 12 bills, the House will have reduced budgeted expenditures for 1969 by about $3.7 billion. That figure should approach $4 billion when the other two bills, foreign assistance and the closing supplemental, are reported.

Mr. Speaker, a more detailed statement on the appropriations business of the year appears in the Record for the last day prior to the recess, August 2, at pages 25101 and following.

CONGRESS SHOULD ADJOURN PROMPTLY

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, Congress now is facing the possibility of weeks of time-consuming sessions which will have little or no purpose other than keeping Members in Washington, D.C., rather than allowing them to be at home where they would be reporting to their constituents during these critical days facing America.

The work actually facing the Congress is small and could be handled expeditiously, and, Mr. Speaker, I urge you and the leadership of this House to schedule our business so we can have an early adjournment of this "lameduck" session.

The chances of the Senate confirming President Johnson's choices for the Supreme Court appear small indeed. Furthermore, in January we will have a new President and a new Congress. This "rump" session would not be speaking for anyone but itself, and in this light, Mr. Speaker, Congress should lose no time in adjourning so that we may be where we belong at this time—at home with our people discussing vital issues of so much importance to them.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 307]

Adair
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Ashley
Ashmore
Baring
Barrett
Berry
Betts
Blatnik
Bolling
Bolton
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Ohio
Burleson
Cabell
Carey
Clawson, Del
Colmer
Conyers
Corman
Cowger
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
Delaney
Denney
Derwinski
Diggs
Dingell
Dow
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Evans, Colo.
Evins, Tenn.
Fulton, Tenn.
Gardner
Goodell
Gray
Green, Pa.
Gubser
Gurney
Halleck
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hébert
Heckler Mass.
Herlong
Holifield
Ichord
Jacobs
Johnson, Pa.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
King, Calif.
Kleppe
Kyl
Landrum
Long, La.
McClory
McDade
McMillan
Machen
Mailliard
Martin
May
Mayne
Mink
Moore
Moorhead
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Nix
Pirnie
Poage
Railsback
Rarick
Reifel
Resnick
Ronan
Roudebush
Ruppe
Scherle
Schweiker
Selden
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Smith, N.Y.
Snyder
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taft
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tunney
Walker
Watts
Wiggins
Willis
Wright
Yates

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall, 324 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 14314, TRUST FUNDS FOR EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS AND CHILD CARE CENTERS

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1251 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 1251

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 14314) to amend section 302(c) of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit employer contributions to trust funds to provide employees, their families, and dependents with scholarships for study at educational institutions or the establishment of child care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. Smith], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1251 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 14314 to permit employer contributions to trust funds to provide employees, their families, and dependents with scholarships for study at educational institutions and the establishment of child-care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees.

Many working parents believe a college education essential to insure meaningful lives for their children. But the costs of attending college are relentlessly increasing. Available figures indicate that each school year brings a rise in the average annual cost of attending college of roughly 5 percent. In 1967 the average annual cost to a resident student at a public university was $1,640, and will likely grow to $2,160 in 1977. To a resident student at a private institution of learning, the average annual cost was $2,570 in 1967, and will grow to $3,280 in 1977. The financial aid available through institutional, Federal, and State scholarship programs is growing, but the demand for such aid is growing more rapidly. Even with this aid, sending children to college usually imposes a harsh financial burden upon middle- and low-income families. Trust funds to provide scholarships to employees and their dependents, created and financed through the collective-bargaining mechanism, would help to ease this burden, and could make higher education financially possible for many young people.

Trust funds to provide child-care centers for children of employees, again created and financed through the collective bargaining process, would benefit the mothers who must work to help meet family obligations.

By permitting employer contributions to jointly administered trust funds established to finance scholarship programs or child-care centers, H.R. 14314 proposes to enlist the wealth and energy of the private sector of our economy in the solution of two urgent national problems. Providing our young men and women the opportunity to get advanced education and providing adequate child care centers are goals of high priority on our national agenda. H.R. 14314 will contribute to implementing these goals without the appropriation or use of Federal moneys.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1251 in order that H.R. 14314 may be considered.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may use.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1251 provides for a 1-hour open rule for debate and consideration of H.R. 14314, trust funds for educational scholarships and child-care centers.

The purpose of the bill is to amend the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 so as to permit employer contributions to jointly administered trust funds established to provide scholarships for employees and their dependents, and to provide child care centers for dependents of employees.

The act currently prohibits such employer contributions under a general prohibition to which several exemptions have been made for such items as medical and hospital care, retirement and death benefits, and life insurance.

The bill would add to the list of exemptions the two items of educational scholarships and child-care centers as items for which employer contributions could be made to trust funds. The bill also makes clear that this would be "voluntary" in the matter of bargaining requirements. If an employer chooses not to contribute and refuses to bargain with the union on the matter, such action will not be an "unfair labor practice."

The report points out the benefits to be derived from such trust funds:

First. More students receiving assistance to complete their educations; and

Second. Children of working mothers would be well cared for.

There are no departmental views contained in the report, although the report indicates both the Departments of Labor and Commerce did testify. There are no minority views.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of the rule.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 15045, AMENDING THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT OF 1962

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1271 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1271

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15045) to extend certain expiring provisions under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Education and Labor now printed in the bill, and such substitute for the purpose of amendment shall be considered under the five-minute rule as an original bill. At the conclusion of such consideration, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] and pending that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1271 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 15045 to extend certain expiring provisions under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended. The resolution further provides that it shall be in order to consider the committee substitute as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

Basically, H.R. 15045 extends the expiration dates contained in the present act—the pilot programs are extended until 1970 and the basic programs until 1972.

Section 3 of the bill provides a 2-percent set-aside of funds for the training of specialized personnel such as counselors, job development specialists, and program administrators, who are needed to make MDTA a more effective program.

Section 4 of the bill makes it possible for skill centers to be used in a more flexible and satisfactory manner to carry out institutional training and related aspects of the program.

Section 5 of the bill extends the MDTA program of American Samoa and the trust territories.

The Manpower Development and Training Act is the original program for training the unskilled and those who have become unemployed because of automation. Of all the domestic legislation enacted in the 1960's, this program has been one of the most successful. More than 500,000 Americans have successfully completed institutional and on-the-job training courses under MDTA.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1271 in order that H.R. 15045 may be considered.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN].

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] has ably stated, House Resolution 1271 makes in order for consideration H.R. 15045 under an open rule with 1 hour of general debate. The committee substitute is made in order by the rule.

The purpose of the bill is to extend through fiscal 1972 the basic training programs contained in the act. Current law provides for the basic programs to continue through fiscal 1969 but a number of pilot project programs expired with the end of fiscal 1968. No authorizations are contained in the bill.

Two major amendments to the act are contained in the bill. The first provides for a 2-percent setaside of appropriated funds for the purpose of providing training and related technical assistance toward the preparation of the specialized personnel needed in the basic training programs. These include counselors, job development specialists, and program administrators on the State, Federal, and local levels.

Section 4 of the bill attempts to increase the flexibility of the skilled training centers which have proven to be an excellent device in providing both basic education and skills training. With the increased value of the skill centers, some conflicts have developed between this program and the act's institutional training centers. To insure sufficient funds for the skill centers program and for other institutional training projects, the bill allocates 65 percent of the funds appropriated for such training programs to institutional training projects.

Additional views are filed in support of the bill. However, they do oppose section 4 which the allocation of 65 percent of the appropriated funds for use by institutional training programs. They believe this introduces a degree of inflexibility into the program which is undesirable. They intend to offer an amendment to remove this feature.

Eight members have filed minority views supporting the bill but believing that additional language should be amended into it to prevent either the impairment or possible elimination of presently on-going effective projects. Several new programs which the act will fund will be financed from existing authorizations totaling some $354 million for fiscal 1969. These members feel that the two new programs will take funds away from existing operations which have proven successful. They believe that separate, specific, and adequate funding—estimated at $99 million—should be made available to insure adequate financing of all these programs, which they uniformly support.

Individual views are filed in opposition to the bill. These views point to a number of abuses within the program which have occurred in Iowa. He supports the legislation in principle but feels obligated to oppose it because of the ineffective administration throughout the Nation.

Manpower development and training is a good program, offering opportunities for individuals to help themselves. This is one program that should be expanded.

I urge the adoption of the rule and the passage of the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time but I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TRUST FUNDS FOR EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS AND CHILD-CARE CENTERS

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 14314) to amend section 302(c) of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit employer contributions to trust funds to provide employees, their families, and dependents with scholarships for study at educational institutions or the establishment of child-care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Kentucky.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 14314, with Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS] will be recognized for 30 minutes and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS].

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the bill H.R. 14314 is an uncomplicated bill. It was reported unanimously by the full Committee on Education and Labor and, insofar as I know, there is no objection at this time to the passage of the bill.

H.R. 14314 amends section 302(c) of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit joint administration of trust funds to provide employees, their families and dependents, with scholarships for study at educational institutions, and then the second part of the bill—which is very brief, it is just a couple of paragraphs—to permit the joint administration of day care centers for preschool and school age dependents of employees. In other words, it removes the prohibition against the joint administration of trust funds for those two purposes.

Section 302 of the Labor-Management Relations Act prohibited payments by employers to representatives of their employees, for good reasons, when the Taft-Hartley Act was written in 1947, but certain exceptions have been written into the act over a period of years. Among these exceptions are payments to jointly administered trust funds established for medical or hospital care.

Presently unions and management can bargain over the establishment of scholarship funds or over the establishment of child-care centers, but the scholarship funds established or the child-care centers agreed to cannot be administered jointly. In other words, unless this bill becomes law, the employees cannot—or their representatives cannot participate in the administration of the trust funds.

The broad prohibitions in section 302 were enacted, of course, to prevent corrupt practices and to protect the interests of lawfully employed employees in employer-supported funds. That was the reason for the general prohibitions.

To permit the joint administration of employee contributions to the trust funds to provide employees and their families scholarships and day-care centers, is certainly a laudible purpose, and should be supported, and the representatives of the union should have the right to participate with management in the administration of joint trust funds set up for this purpose.

Mr. Chairman, I want to make it absolutely clear that there is nothing compulsory about this bill—negotiation on these subjects is purely voluntary. In other words, if management refuses to bargain on a day-care center or a scholarship program with some union in, say, the textile industry, there is no unfair labor practice involved—they do not have to bargain. It is purely permissive.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the Committee to approve the legislation without an amendment.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Do I understand that labor organizations would have an administrative function regardless of whether they put money into a fund?

Mr. PERKINS. That is not correct.

It permits a joint administration and the agreement would have to be reduced to writing and be administered by representatives of the union and management—a joint administration but not solely by the union.

Mr. GROSS. So if private industry put money into a trust fund for the support of a day care center, labor would have no voice in the administration of those funds, unless by agreement; is that correct?

Mr. PERKINS. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. The report is silent as to the views of the Department of Labor and there is no communication from the Department as to that in the report.

Mr. PERKINS. So far as I know, the Department of Labor approves of this legislation.

Mr. GROSS. Did the gentleman say the Department of Labor approves this legislation?

Mr. PERKINS. Yes. There is no objection from anyone.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON].

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I might point out to our distinguished friend, the gentleman from Iowa, that on page 14 of the hearings there is a statement by Charles Donahue, the solicitor of the Department of Labor, supporting the bill. It is a favorable statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON].

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the distinguished chairman of our committee for his very lucid and clear explanation of this straightforward bill.

Before going any further, I would like to thank and to commend the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL], the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, and the minority members, and the majority members of the subcommittee for their cooperation and for their very intelligent appraisal and support of this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, as the chairman of the subcommittee which held hearings on H.R. 14314, I rise to urge its approval.

This bill was introduced by 14 Members from both parties. It was supported at the hearings by representatives of the AFL–CIO, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL–CIO, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and the U.S. Department of Labor. The chamber of commerce opposed the bill, principally because as introduced, H.R. 14314 did not specify that the trust funds it authorizes would be permissive bargaining subjects. However, it was amended by the Committee on Education and Labor in this regard, and now provides that the funds would be permissive and not mandatory bargaining subjects. It was unanimously reported by the committee.

H.R. 14314 is a simple bill. It permits employer contributions to joint trust funds established to finance educational scholarships for children of employees, or to finance child care centers for the young children of employees. The need for this bill arises from judicial decisions holding that section 302(c)'s prohibition on payments by employers to employee representatives extends to employer contributions to jointly administered trust funds created for any purpose other than those specifically set forth in section 302(c). As the Members know, section 302 was enacted to prevent bribary and other corrupt practices. It was not intended to prohibit cooperation for mutually beneficial goals. Thus, employer contributions to joint funds are now permitted by section 302(c) to finance pension plans, medical care plans, and other worthy programs. H.R. 14314 would simply make clear that employer contributions to joint trust funds for educational scholarships and for child care centers are lawful.

H.R. 14314 is neither prolabor nor promanagement. It would permit voluntary labor-management cooperation in confronting two urgent national problems—providing the opportunity for higher education to our young people, and providing good child care centers for the young children of working mothers.

The many education bills we have considered this year are eloquent testimony to our recognition that America's future well-being depends upon how well we teach and train our young men and women.

Although education at all grade levels is important, there has been a dramatic change in our attitude toward higher education. A college education is no longer a luxury in our society. Many parents view a college education as essential to insure a meaningful life for their children; our economy, our science, our industry, and our Government depend upon college-trained men and women as never before. But the increasing costs of a college education make it difficult and often impossible for working parents to send their children to college. Each school year brings a rise in the costs of attending college of roughly 5 percent. Even with the student aid now available through Federal, State, and private sources, there are talented and industrious young people from working families who cannot get the help they need to go to college. The relentless rise in college costs will make it increasingly difficult for students from modest income families to finance a college education. This bill, H.R. 14314, would permit joint trust funds to provide scholarships to the dependents of employees, and could make a higher education financially possible for many young people.

The lack of adequate child care centers presents an equally compelling need. Many mothers must work to meet family obligations. But most of these mothers are today confronted by a shameful predicament. Available figures indicate that over 4.5 million preschool children have mothers who work, but that less than one-half million day care spaces are available, including those in private homes. Because of this shortage of day care facilities, many working mothers must make unsatisfactory arrangements to leave their small children with neighbors, in overcrowded day care homes, or alone while they are at work. In a January 7 New York Times Magazine article, "Someone To Mind the Baby," Maya Pines describes the problem this way:

> American women remain almost totally deprived of opportunities to make satisfactory arrangements for the care of their children while they are working.
>
> As a result, millions of youngsters are being damaged emotionally, intellectually, and sometimes physically during their most formative years.

These unsatisfactory arrangements may also adversely affect the quality of the mother's work. The opportunity to entrust their young children to good day care centers would undoubtedly be a major attraction to employment in those industries which depend heavily on women for their labor force.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 14314 could make an important beginning in meeting these two needs. It would permit labor and management to join together in solving problems which are directly related to their mutual and separate interests. The employer would invest in expanding the number of college-trained personnel he needs in his business, and would be able to attract the working mothers he may need.

The labor organization would help its members finance the education of their children, and would be able to offer working mothers the peace of mind which comes from knowing their children are well cared for while they work. H.R. 14314 would encourage the involvement of our private sector in meeting critical needs, and would benefit industry, labor, employees, their children, and the public.

Three final points should be mentioned. First, H.R. 14314 does not contemplate the use of one penny of Federal money. It rather frees the private sector of our economy, industry and labor, to cooperate through collective bargaining to finance scholarship programs or day care centers. Second, the safeguards of section 302(c)(5)(B) apply to the funds authorized by H.R. 14314. These include requiring a written agreement establishing the fund, annual audit of the fund, and others. Third, the bill specifically provides that no labor organization or employer shall be required to bargain about the establishment of these funds. It would not require either management or labor to agree to establish a fund, and would not require either party to contribute to a fund. Establishment of these funds would be absolutely voluntary.

Mr. Chairman, it is a rare bill which promises to benefit working families, employers, and the public in such a clear way. One of the best descriptions of the meaning of this bill was given by Mr. Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. In his statement before the subcommittee, he declared that this bill "symbolizes the growing maturity of industrial relations in the United States today." I completely agree with this statement.

We will take an important step forward in meeting major national and individual needs if we enact H.R. 14314. I hope we will take that step today.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding. Did the gentleman and his subcommittee pull together any figures on the amount of money that is being expended in other programs for day care centers and that type of function?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I will say to the gentleman from Iowa, no, we did not, because this bill does not envision that the Federal Government would be involved. This is totally voluntary on the part of the employer and the employees. It would be enormously difficult for us to ascertain what private facilities are already available. This bill is not related in the slightest to programs such as Headstart or any other Federal or local school district administered program.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to the distinguished chairman of our committee.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I want to take this opportunity to compliment the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON], the chief sponsor of this bill. He has stated that it is a straightforward bill, but a bill with a laudable purpose with far-reaching and constructive purposes.

The gentleman from New Jersey certainly is to be complimented for writing this bill in the subcommittee, steering it through the committees and bringing it to the floor of the House. I certainly feel that the entire membership of this body will go along with the recommendations of the subcommittee of which the gentleman from New Jersey is the chairman.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I thank my chairman very much.

In conclusion, I wish to thank our colleague, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DELLENBACK] and our colleague, the gentelman from New York, [Mr. REID], in addition to the gentleman from New York, [Mr. GOODELL], for their help and support and suggestions with this bill. This is an instance where it can truly be said that we have a needed and delightfully noncontroversial piece of legislation which is going to help innumerable working families, their children, and, of course, the older youngsters who look forward to attaining some degree of higher education.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to join with my colleagues in support of H.R. 14314, a bill which will amend the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit employer contributions to trust funds to provide scholarships for employees and their dependents and for the establishment of child care centers.

I consider this legislation one of the major steps forward in our efforts to broaden the educational possibilities available to the youth of our country. By including scholarships as an eligible area of assistance, the legislation opens the door to a vast field of private investment in the future of the country. The legislation is quite clear in stating that the establishment of scholarship funds shall not be a requirement of bargaining and the decision against participating in this program shall not be an unfair labor practice. However, the potential good which can result from this amendment cannot be overshadowed.

Notwithstanding the expanding Federal programs of student aid and the scholarships now available from State and private foundations, there is still a need for a further helping hand to the thousands of qualified high school students who cannot meet the financial requirement for a college or university education.

Figures which are available indicate that the annual cost to a resident student at a public university in 1967 was $1,640, and will likely grow to $2,160 in 1967. To a resident student at a private institution of learning, the average annual cost was $2,570 in 1967, and will grow to $3,280 in 1977.

Even with the existing sources of assistance, sending a boy or girl to college usually imposes a harsh financial burden upon middle- and low-income families. Trust funds to provide scholarships to employees and their dependents, created and financed through the collective bargaining mechanism, would help to ease this burden and could make higher education financially possible for many young people.

I am equally enthused about the authorization contained in this legislation to make contributions to establish day care centers for children of employees. I am the principal sponsor of legislation to provide Federal funds to public and private nonprofit day care centers to upgrade the educational programs, because I know of this great need. Even with the approval of my legislation, there is a need for private participation.

The demand for day care centers has long been recognized and their value has been proven by the highly successful Headstart programs. Unfortunately, the youngsters of parents who are employed generally cannot be admitted to the Headstart programs because the family income most often exceeds $3,000 a year. However, the need for day care centers to house and train preschool youngsters is clearly written in vast volumes of statistics.

The U.S. Department of Labor acknowledges that many trained women—that is, professionally trained nurses, for instance—could return to the Nation's labor force if some adequate center could be located to care for their children. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, recognizes that many women on welfare would happily return to work if care could be provided to their children. Of equal importance is the richer educational experience which these preschool children would receive in a professionally administered day care center. They would not be placed merely in custodial care as they often are when placed with a neighbor while the parents are at work.

This legislation would serve to expand the educational opportunities of the college-bound student as well as offer enrichment to our pre-school-age children at the time in their lives when such experiences are so critical to their mental and physical development.

For these reasons, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, we do not want to talk so much that we talk to death what is a good bill. I will say just a few things which in part repeat what the chairman of our committee has said and what the chairman of our subcommittee has said.

First, this bill was originally introduced as a bipartisan bill, and it can be seen from looking at the front page that it does have in its initial introduction strong bipartisan support. It came out of the subcommittee with strong bipartisan support. It came out of the full Committee on Education and Labor with strong bipartisan support.

Substantively, we are facing a situation in America where our educational needs are great. This bill would approach the matter of educational needs from two standpoints. It would, first of all, approach them from the standpoint of small children. It would help make day care centers available with their educational benefits and with their benefits to working mothers both included in this bill.

Second, it would attempt to reach those children of employees of corporations and businesses which would qualify and would help make college education available to young people for whom such education would not otherwise be available. At a time when everything possible must be done to benefit education in America, we feel this bill is a significant step in improving educational possibilities for small and older children alike.

Section 302 of the Taft-Hartley Act is basically a sound provision. It makes clear that payments by employers to representatives of their employees other than those specifically exempted in the act are not permissible, and then it goes on to create the exemptions which shall be considered permissible. When the act was initially enacted, there were a few such points. As the years have gone by, additional exemptions have been created. That is essentially what this bill does. It creates an additional exception to the basic provisions of section 302. These are the points which have been dwelt upon by the chairman of the committee and the chairman of the subcommittee and which I have touched on here. We think the bill represents a real benefit to education.

In closing, may I say two things about the bill. First, remember that the bill is voluntary. There is the specific provision included that no labor organization or employer shall be required to bargain on the establishment of any such trust fund and refusal to do so shall not constitute an unfair labor practice. It is voluntary on both sides.

Second, there are no Federal funds called for. At a time when we need to move forward to improve educational opportunities in America, it is highly desirable that we muster forces of private enterprise, forces of individuals, and forces of government, but I am particularly delighted that the type of aid which will be given under the provisions of this bill is not governmental aid. We are here talking about proper negotiation and bargaining between unions and employers with the funds ultimately provided for these desirable educational purposes being private enterprise moneys resulting from such bargaining.

This is a good bill which should pass the House today.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STEIGER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 14314.

Today we face an enormous task in meeting fully and effectively the educational and social needs of this country.

Recognizing this need in the field of higher education, Congress has enacted several laws, beginning with the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and including the Higher Education Act of 1965 to provide increased Federal support for institutions of post-secondary education, for student financial support and for adult education.

At the other end of the educational spectrum Congress has also taken steps to increase and improve day care facilities for our Nation's young with the combined goal of providing quality care for the children and increased employment opportunities for the working mother. Section 214 of the Internal Revenue Code provides for a deduction from gross income expenses paid for the care of children under 13 when the care is for the purpose of enabling the taxpayer to be gainfully employed. Headstart classes are probably the best known and largest effort to aid preschool children. In addition, the Social Security Amendments of 1967 authorize the establishment of day care training centers in association with work training programs for mothers receiving welfare. Congress has also approved amendments to the school lunch program to include day-care centers among those places eligible to qualify for surplus food and supplemental payments for hot lunches for youngsters, and a recent amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act provides for a program of parent-child centers.

Congress has repeatedly emphasized through legislation that quality care and educational opportunities for the children of our Nation are goals of highest priority. But while financial aid available through institutional Federal and State scholarship programs is growing, the demand for such aid is growing more rapidly and costs are continuing to rise, and while the number of day-care facilities has grown in recent years, the gap between need and available facilities has continued. A neighborhood by neighborhood survey by the Welfare Council in one large city found 7,000 children in need of day care in one low-income area. To meet the need, the Labor Department said there were four licensed day-care homes and one commercial day-care center with a combined capacity for 87 children.

Increasingly, we have become aware that problems of such magnitude require the participation and concern of all areas of society—government, business, labor, private organizations, and individuals.

H.R. 14314 would authorize employer contributions to jointly administered trust funds established to provide educational scholarships for employees and their dependents or for child-care centers for dependents of employees.

The establishment of such a fund would be a permissive and not a mandatory subject for collective bargaining. H.R. 14314 specifically sets forth that no labor organization or employer shall be required to bargain on the establishment of these trust funds and that refusal to do so shall not constitute an unfair labor practice.

Both labor and management have been interested in the areas of day care and higher education. The amount of corporate contributions for student aid is estimated at $50 million annually, not including funds made available for loans, incentives to employees to continue their education and $275 million given directly to schools to be used for whatever purposes they see fit. Labor unions have also established scholarship funds. The Chicago Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which has members in Racine, Wis., recently announced a special program for members' children which covers technical schools, as well as colleges and universities.

In addition, some companies have established day-care centers for their employees' dependents. While an Amalgamated Clothing Workers affiliate, for example, is sponsoring health day-care centers in Maryland.

By permitting employers and unions, who so desire, to get together to establish and jointly administer trust funds for these purposes, Congress will provide additional opportunities for the private sector to make effective contributions to our economy and society by providing greater employment opportunities for working women, enlarging the pool of qualified, trained personnel for society's needs, and especially by providing for quality care and educational opportunities for our Nation's young people.

I am proud to be a cosponsor of this legislation, and I urge its passage.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] such time as he may consume.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Oregon and the gentleman from Kentucky, the chairman of our committee, have explained this in great detail. I would like to add only that insofar as what this bill does, this has been done on a private basis in many, many instances by management. However, where it was done in the name of the company itself, it is now a negotiable item.

I think it will be of great assistance to many of the employees of our corporations where the employer would like to help but under existing law he has not been able to do so.

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Oregon on our side for the time and effort he has put in on this and for the thoroughness with which he has handled this legislation.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, we have no further requests for time.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. REID] such time as he may consume.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 14314, a bill to permit employer contributions to trust funds to provide employees, their families, and dependents with scholarships for study at educational institutions or for the establishment of child care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees.

As the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DELLENBACK] has so ably pointed out, and as the chairman of our committee, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS], the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES], and the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] have pointed out, this was, in fact, a bipartisan effort in the subcommittee and in the full committee.

It also enjoys the support of the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STEIGER].

To be very brief, I feel that support for child care centers is greatly needed. Perhaps no other Western nation has done as little in this area as the United States.

This is important, Mr. Chairman, both for the child's preschool education and also to permit a mother to work. If we are serious about restructuring our welfare program—and I believe we should be—it is going to be very important that a mother be able to work. This will not be possible unless there are child care centers.

Second, Mr. Chairman, it is very clear that the cost of a college education is rising very sharply. It is going from something on the order of $1,640 to $2,160 in a few years for a public university, and in the case of private universities from approximately $2,500 to $3,200 in the next relatively few years.

Therefore, this bill will provide funds for clear needs both for working mothers and for the children and for the students.

It provides, as the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DELLENBACK] and the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] have pointed out, this money from the free enterprise system. Therefore, I believe this is a useful and clear step forward in terms of funding.

I would only add that section 302 of the Labor Management Relations Act prohibits payments by employers to representatives of their employees. Section 302(c) makes certain specific exceptions to that broad prohibition, and this bill would add another, or seventh, exception to that section. The exception which is made for funds for education and child care centers is one I believe will enlist the wealth and the energy of the private sector of our economy in the solution of these urgent national problems.

The education of our children from the earliest age is a vital national investment, and voluntary cooperation between labor and management is important to its success.

Enactment of this bill will not require the establishment of such trust funds, nor will it require that this be a bargaining issue or that failure to bargain on it will be an unfair labor practice. In short, Mr. Chairman, this legislation will simply no longer make Federal law an obstacle to the establishment of these trust funds to meet vital needs of our Nation. It makes possible funding of these programs from the private sector.

I thank the distinguished gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DELLENBACK] for yielding.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Chairman, we have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further requests for time, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 302(c) of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, is amended by striking out "or (6)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(6)" and by adding immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: "; or (7) with respect to money or other thing of value paid by any employer to an individual or pooled trust fund established by such representative for the purpose of (A) scholarships for the benefit of employees, their families, and dependents for study at educational institutions, or (B) child care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees: *Provided,* That the requirements of clause (B) of the proviso to clause (5) of this subsection shall apply to such trust funds".

Mr. PERKINS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That section 302(c) of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, is amended by striking out "or (6)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(6)" and by adding immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: "; or (7) with respect to money or other thing of value paid by any employer to a pooled or individual trust fund established by such representative for the purpose of (A) scholarships for the benefit of employees, their families, and dependents for study at educational institutions, or (B) child care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees: *Provided,* That no labor organization or employer shall be required to bargain on the establishment of any such trust fund, and refusal to do so shall not constitute an unfair labor practice: *Provided further,* That the requirements of clause (B) of the proviso to clause (5) of this subsection shall apply to such trust funds".

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 14314) to amend section 302(c) of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit employer contributions to trust funds to provide employees, their families, and dependents with scholarships for study at educational institutions or the establishment of child-care centers for preschool and school-age dependents of employees, pursuant to House Resolution 1251, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AMENDING THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT OF 1962

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15045) to extend certain expiring provisions under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 15045, with Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Perkins] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ayres] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 15045 is a bill to extend the Manpower Development and Training Act. This is the primary purpose of the amendments. We have other amendments, but the primary purpose is to extend the pilot programs until 1970 and the basic programs under this bill until 1972. All the main titles of the bill have always carried an open-ended authorization. We are presently spending about $395 million a year. For fiscal year 1969 we have in the House-passed appropriation bill (H.R. 18037) by the Committee on Appropriations the figure of $400 million which has also been agreed to by the Senate Appropriations Committee. This authorization bill is very necessary.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 15045 extends provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. Its passage at this time is of critical importance to maintain program continuity and assure continued progress toward full employment.

The MDTA is the keystone of our current efforts to develop and utilize to the fullest extent possible the most valuable resource this Nation has—the ability and talents of each of its citizens. It was initially enacted in recognition of the fact that the productive potential of many individuals in this country was being tragically wasted, partly because we lacked a basic manpower policy and training programs for unemployed or underemployed workers to give them the skills they needed to obtain suitable jobs.

It is now well established that the MDTA is an effective instrument for achieving the purposes Congress originally intended:

Since passage of the act in 1962 more than 1.2 million training opportunities have been authorized. Of these, nearly 740,000 have been for institutional training, over 455,000 for on-the-job training, and 60,000 for part-time and other training.

As of June 1, 1968, over 725,000 persons had been enrolled in institutional training and 435,000 had completed their training. Approximately 285,000 persons had been enrolled in on-the-job training—OJT—and 155,000 had completed their training.

Seventy-six percent of those completing institutional training and 89 percent of those completing OJT were employed when last contacted. Of these placements, 78 percent of the trainees from institutional programs and 93 percent of the trainees from OJT were employed in training-related jobs.

Mr. Chairman, as I have indicated, the bill we are considering extends the authority to conduct these basic training programs to June 30, 1972, and makes minor amendments, which I have asked the able gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'Hara] to explain later in detail. Uncertainty about the continued flow of funds has already led to a phasing down of manpower programs since at the present time there is no formal assurance that all training under title II will not have to be completed by December 30, 1969.

H.R. 15045 also extends the expiration dates of three pilot programs—training for inmates of correctional institutions, the labor mobility program, and the placement assistance program. The last two have already suffered a termination of their program authorization. All three have provided valuable lessons, but more information is needed before it can be determined whether they should be expanded or made a permanent part of the national manpower effort.

To prevent a greater, and more serious break in the continuity of MDTA programs it is essential that we pass H.R. 15045 without delay and without additional amendments that might create unwarranted roadblocks in conference. The next Congress will undoubtedly want to consider in depth the total array of Federal manpower programs and develop from the current proliferation a cohesive national policy and comprehensive legislation. But our task this year is to insure that no backward steps are taken, and this can be done by immediate passage of H.R. 15045.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me at this point?

Mr. PERKINS. I am happy to yield to my distinguished friend from Iowa.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, unfortunately, during the recess we lost one of the distinguished Members of this body, Elmer Holland of Pennsylvania. I wish to take this time an opportunity on this first day back from the recess and during the consideration of this bill to give credit where in my opinion credit is not often given.

Mr. Chairman, Elmer Holland was the real father of the Manpower Development and Training Act.

I remember that in January of 1961 when I was appointed to serve on his subcommittee, the first subject Elmer Holland scheduled was work upon some kind of program in order to provide training to people to enable them to obtain jobs that were available.

Mr. Chairman, at that time I do not believe many people thought of this approach and of this act. He was the real father of this act. He pushed for its adoption and worked out the problems until he finally got it through both bodies of this Congress. It carries some amendments that some of us proposed, but basically it is his idea and a great deal of credit should be given to Elmer Holland for his creative thinking and his hard work in originating and pushing through this legislation to final adoption.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to agree with the statement of the distinguished gentleman from Iowa with reference to the efforts which were made toward securing passage of this legislation by Elmer Holland. In fact, the gentleman from Iowa beat me to the punch, for I intended to devote a portion of my remarks to the role Elmer Holland has played as chairman of the Manpower and Automation hearings in 1961 and 1962, as sponsor of the original act in 1962 and as chairman of the subcommittee which was continuing responsibility for legislative oversight. I recall distinctly the last legislative conference that the late great and distinguished former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Rayburn, attended in the fall of 1961.

Elmer Holland was present, and the Speaker asked several questions there. One question which was most important concerned the priority of floor action between the Manpower Development Training Act, and the Youth Conservation Corps bill. The then Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, Elmer Holland and I agreed that the Manpower Development Training Act should take precedence over the Youth Opportunities Act at this time.

Elmer Holland was diligent. He labored day and night, and his whole heart was in this program. He certainly commands the respect of this entire Congress and the Nation for his constructive work in the manpower field and in presenting this legislation before the Congress.

Upon the death of Congressman Elmer Holland, another great member of that subcommittee succeeded Congressman Holland as the chairman, Congressman John Brademas, of Indiana. I know that under the leadership of Congressman Brademas this legislation, the Manpower Development and Training Act, will continue to be expanded and directed to meet the needs of the unemployed.

Mr. Chairman, I know of no objection to these amendments. I understand we are going to complete only the general debate today.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky has consumed 9 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ayres].

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky, the chairman of our committee, has explained very adequately the purposes of the bill. I believe we all realize that if they are going to protect the pockets of the public in this country people are going to have to learn to earn, and this is a vehicle for that purpose, so that people can learn to earn.

Mr. Chairman, we have many people, in fact, they run into the hundreds of thousands in this country, who are physically and mentally able to perform the functions of a daily job, but who are not trained to do the jobs that are in short supply.

This program to date has worked very well. I know that if our late colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. HOLLAND, could be with us today he would feel very proud of his efforts in having spearheaded this program from its very beginning.

Mr. Chairman, for the information of the members of the Committee, we are just going to finish general debate today, and the bill will be read for amendment tomorrow. There will be several amendments offered which in my judgment will strengthen the bill, and I do want the Committee to know that there will be some amendments before the Committee tomorrow.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MDTA

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, few acts in recent years have achieved the support from professionals and laymen alike which the Manpower Development and Training Act has now attracted. Conceived by the Congress, and supported since its inception on a bipartisan basis, MDTA has provided educational and job opportunities for those whom the formal school system failed to reach. The flexibility of MDTA has allowed its administrators to harness the energies of the public and private sectors to solve complex manpower problems which neither could solve alone. Its ability to change as the needs of the country change has resulted in a transition from meeting the challenges of national skill shortages and automation to the current emphasis upon the employment of the disadvantaged. Its innovations, whose impact has been felt far beyond the confines of MDTA programs themselves, include the skill centers, cooperative school work programs, the New Careers emphasis, and more sophisticated approaches to on-the-job training.

By concentrating upon the needs of the individual, the program has demonstrated that the application of imagination, time and patience by employer, teacher, and trainee can both result in the employment of so-called unemployables and the upgrading of workers whose talents are underutilized and too frequently unrecognized. I sometimes am concerned that the full social significance of this achievement is lost as we apply the cost benefit, cost utility, and other measures necessary to assure that our programs are operating efficiently and effectively. The difference between moving from unemployment to employment or from an unskilled to a semiskilled or skilled occupation cannot be assessed simply by subtracting pretraining from posttraining earnings.

At the same time the hearings of the Education and Labor Committee have brought to light problems in program implementation which the majority report and amendments I shall propose today are intended to correct. The skill center, an institution designed expressly to meet the needs of the hard-core unemployed, must be encouraged to develop further the valuable educational approaches and services in which they have pioneered.

It also seems clear from the testimony that States and localities now regard the manpower problems of the disadvantaged in many cases as a matter of high priority—in coming years they must be given a greater voice both in the design and implementation of MDTA programs.

The increasing number of programs dealing with the disadvantaged, and the recognition of the substantial human resources required to place these people successfully, suggest that we must raise considerably the level of expertise in our manpower programs.

Only by fully utilizing the available resources within the public and private sectors and within the Labor Department, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies shall we even begin to meet the full scope of the unemployment problem in our urban and rural poverty areas.

TRAINING AND RELATED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AMENDMENT

Manpower programs designed to reach the unemployed and underemployed in urban and rural poverty areas have demonstrated that not only more money but also better trained manpower personnel are needed, if such efforts are to succeed. It is not enough for the manpower specialist to sympathize with the plight of the poor in general; he must know how to diagnose the particular needs of the individuals he is assisting and what specific steps can be taken to meet those needs. In recent months business groups, Government agencies, nonprofit groups, and academicians have expressed concern over the insufficient number of qualified counselors, job development specialists, and program administrators available.

Section 3 of the Education and Labor Committee amendments to MDTA adds a new section 309, which provides for the reservation of 2 percent of the sums appropriated in any year for the entire act to be used by the Secretary of Labor to provide, directly or through grants or other arrangements, training and related technical assistance for specialized or other personnel needed in the administration of programs under the act. The new section further allows assignments of personnel to public or private agencies, institutions, and employers for this purpose, for not longer than 2 years.

Acceleration of manpower programs in disadvantaged areas has increased the demand for employment experts both inside and outside the Labor Department. Secretary Wirtz has said on several occasions that he would rather have a few good administrative and program staff than more millions of dollars. In hearings before the Select Subcommittee on Labor, Secretary Wirtz was asked if he would have any objection to the setting aside of 2 percent of the funds appropriated under MDTA for the training of persons to administer programs authorized by the act. He replied that such an emphasis would be entirely appropriate and all to the good. Manpower Administrator Ruttenberg also indicated that he would have no objection to such an amendment.

Several manpower task forces and consultants have also expressed support for additional training of manpower personnel. The Employment Service task force report stressed that the growing demands upon the Employment Service for comprehensive manpower services call for a more complex set of skills than previously required and that the problem of improving the quality of personnel working in the manpower system has therefore now become more acute. The proposed amendment to MDTA to increase the amount and scope of training and related assistance would implement the task force's recommendations for more employee self-development through inservice and outservice training and for a well-defined training program including the State and local as well as regional and national levels.

Greenleigh Associates earlier this year published a report entitled "Opening the Doors: Job Training Programs," in which they included numerous recommendations for improved staff training. Emphasizing that existing procedures for manpower staff training are wholly inadequate, they recommended establishment of a comprehensive manpower personnel program which would make inservice training available to administrators at the local, county, State, regional, and Federal levels. Such training would be designed to increase staff capability for program implementation, stimulate interchange of information about manpower problems and program techniques, and, last but not least, promote coordination among programs, agencies, and levels of government. This inservice training would include establishment of a National Manpower Institute and expanded utilization of colleges and universities for training State, county, and municipal government officials, as well as regular face-to-face briefings for operating personnel on the findings of research and experimental and demonstration projects and their implications for policy, program, and operations.

After extensive hearings in 1963 and 1964 the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare concluded that any long-range solution to the critical shortage of employment counselors would require an increase in the supply of professionally trained personnel. They suggested that one way to cope with this problem would be Federal financial support for more professional training for present employment service personnel and for attracting potentially qualified entrants to the employment counseling field. This year I am pleased to see that the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is supporting the 2-percent set-aside amendment which we have initiated.

Manpower experts have pointed out several other benefits which might be derived from a more effective training program. Prof. Irwin Berg of Louisiana State University, writing in the Employment Service Review, has underscored the current lack of a precise role for the employment counselor and the subsequent need for counselors to acquire greater skill and a better understanding of their function in the Employment Service. Such additional training is particularly important in the light of the greater emphasis upon counseling in the new concentrated employment program. Melvin Finn, of the Bureau of Employment Security, has suggested that a program intended essentially for personnel in State agencies under the age of 35 who had demonstrated executive potential might act as an incentive for highly competent young people to remain in the Employment Service and would serve as a vehicle to prepare them for positions with greater responsibility. He found that the State agencies' response to the limited program of this kind which the Labor Department sponsored was far greater than anticipated.

The findings of a number of studies dealing with the manpower needs of Federal, State, and local government also are virtually unanimous in stressing that expanded government training programs are long overdue. In "Governmental Manpower for Tomorrow's Cities" the Municipal Manpower Commission reported that not only does demand continue to outstrip supply for many groups and, especially for those which require specific training for local governmental careers, but the gap is growing fast. Prof. David Stanley of the Brookings Institution suggested that New York City should issue an executive order establishing training and development of professional, technical, and managerial personnel as official city policy, found an institute of urban and metropolitan affairs, and actively encourage organizations to conduct training on the problems confronted by particular agencies. The Committee for Economic Development has found that in most segments of the Federal Government, surprisingly little attention has been given to developing managerial manpower.

Recent evolution in the goals of MDTA and growth in the manpower responsibilities of the Federal Government necessitates not only implementation of these proposed training improvements but also adoption of a more comprehensive view of what training and related technical assistance entails. I would hope that the Labor Department will regard this amendment as an opportunity to move in two broad fronts: First, improvement in the quality of existing counselors, job development specialists, and program administrators; and second, attraction of newcomers into the manpower field.

As manpower policy becomes broader in its application State and local governments and voluntary nonprofit and corporate agencies are experiencing a steadily increasing need for individuals with manpower expertise to man and staff their programs. In providing training the Committee on Education and Labor has emphasized in its report that it does not intend that training shall be limited to the personnel needs of the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the State agencies directly involved in administering this act. This amendment is intended to help train people for the entire spectrum of need.

The expanded training program will hopefully include both expansion of promising current training efforts and exploration of additional training possibilities. I would hope that the Labor Department could now expedite its current efforts to join with OEO in establishing regional manpower technical assistance and training centers and expand its program to assist JOBS contractors in training middle management and firstline supervisors in receiving, accepting, and retaining individuals from the hardcore unemployed. At the same time a number of other training possibilities might also be examined. Internship programs at the State and local level which involve the full gamut of manpower programs and closer liaison with the junior colleges might provide new recruiting and training possibilities. Special 1- or 2-year scholarship programs might be instituted which would allow indigenous leaders of CAPs or other neighborhood programs to receive academic training in manpower-related subjects.

At a more advanced level a national manpower institute could be created and the groundwork laid for a series of regional institutes. Rotation of personnel among Federal, State, local, and private agencies could be increased to the point where a cadre of personnel would be created with an areawide perspective on manpower problems. Special programs might be developed to upgrade the skills of these Employment Service personnel who have volunteered to work in urban and rural slum areas.

In coming years current manpower programs will expand to a size which will necessitate some type of decentralization. The quality of manpower personnel at the State and local level will then become a critical factor in the success or failure of the programs.

THE NEED FOR SKILL CENTERS

I hope that the skill centers will now be able to utilize more comprehensively their basic education and other resources in exploratory and prevocational simulated work experience to help the disadvantaged determine where their real interests and aptitudes lie and make preliminary preparations to pursue them. I can think of nothing more devastating to the disadvantaged trainee than for him to be hired, almost unseen, through a job program only to find that he has no aptitude for the job or that he lacks the basic education to operate in it, let alone compete for better jobs.

I am concerned by evidence presented to the Select Subcommittee on Labor which indicates how frequently subcontractors funded with OEO versatile funds delegated to the Department of Labor have established skill centers in the same communities as MDTA skill centers. In some cases such duplication of facilities may be necessary to reach different target populations within the ghetto, but it appears that in some cases identical training is being provided while vacant slots exist in MDTA skill centers. In Detroit, where I know that the MDTA skill center has done an outstanding job, the subcontractor for the Department of Labor is not only duplicating the physical plant, but is also asking to borrow the idle equipment from the MDTA skill center.

Such duplication of skill centers also entails considerable additional cost to the Government. At this moment there is about $20,000 worth of MDTA drafting equipment idle in the JFK Center in Philadelphia. The JFK Center was created with MDTA funds, and has placed 100 percent of its drafting students in employment at a cost per student instruction hour—including allowances—of $2.78; this also included the initial purchase of the new equipment. The private contractor program recently announced by the Department of Labor will cost the Government $6 per student instruction hour. With the MDTA equipment—now idle—already amortized, the skill center could have conducted the training for half the cost. Flexibility in manpower training programs must be maintained and CAP agencies should not be forced to work with intransigent, unsympathetic public institutions. At the same time the MDTA skill centers should not be bypassed without regard for their record of training.

This failure to develop the skill centers is particularly unfortunate, because the record of training is so good. The use of an open-ended curriculum approach to occupational preparation has proved an effective way of stimulating disadvantaged students who the public schools could not reach. New educational techniques combined with supportive services designed to help solve a whole gamut of human problems has enabled these trainees to gain the basic and vocational education without which they cannot become fully productive workers.

In view of the success of the skill centers, which are such a large part of the institutional MDT program, I am concerned about the extent to which institutional MDT activity has been curtailed both in fiscal year 1968 and fiscal year 1969. During fiscal year 1967 about 177,000 persons were enrolled in programs for which the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible, including 80,000 trainees in skill center operations. The most liberal estimate suggests that the total institutional training has dwindled to fewer than 60,000 individuals enrolled in all such problems. This serious reduction in the level of institutional training since 1966 is a result of the transfer of MDT resources to on-the-job training programs. I do not mean to suggest that all institutional training should be indiscriminately supported. It is sometimes said that 116 skill centers are in existence, but not all of them are providing the necessary combination of training and services to meet the needs of the disadvantaged. As the annual report of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Education and Training," points out, there are approximately 70 skill centers which meet MDT criteria. But the effective skill centers must be fully funded and their further development must be actively encouraged. To overcome the numerous and serious needs of the Nation's poor, a concerted effort must be made to increase the disadvantaged person's command of the fundamental process of communication—reading, writing, speaking, and listening—as well as alleviate his deficiencies in math. If the disadvantaged person is to become a vigorous and active participant in our society, and not merely a semiemployed, unskilled appendage to the worker force, we must bring to bear both the functions of the educational process, and employment opportunities and the paycheck. In our current healthy reaction against the "credentials trap," we must not fall into the equally dangerous assumption that all the urban and rural poor need is a job. Only the combination of training and employment will meet the scope of the problem. It is as unconscionable to place a man in a job for which he is not prepared as it is to train a man for a job which does not exist.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Broyhill].

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, the 90th Congress seems bent on making patsies of the American taxpayers.

This is evidenced by the fact that we are considering here today new money for a collection of some of the most obnoxious Federal programs ever dreamed up in the history of this Republic.

These programs are grouped under a bureaucratic cover known as the Manpower Development and Training Act which we are now asked not only to condone but support by providing additional free cash for additional years of city-style jungle training in countless back alleys and church basements across the Nation.

No one, so far as I can tell, can point to a significant number of successful programs yet conducted under this act. In fact I doubt if there is even one single program which can be considered a complete success.

One prime example of what I am talking about, Mr. Chairman, and have warned about on this House floor from its inception, is PRIDE, Inc. Despite the desperate need to provide jobs for deserving youngsters in their formative years, the Department of Labor has created in PRIDE leadership that has degenerated into a rat's nest of corruption, payroll padding, joy riding and even killing at taxpayers' expense, and PRIDE has become a training center for the protection racket.

You will recall, Mr. Chairman, I stood practically alone in protest of the ridiculous policy of turning control of a youth program to known felons and juvenile delinquents. The founders and promoters of this grand new Federal experiment of rewarding the crooks and ignoring the honest, spent most of their time and efforts castigating those of us who warned it would not work, and basking in the praise and platitudes, I am sorry to say, of some overeager members of the press who now often visit my office and admit that maybe their judgment was a bit faulty, to say the least.

Another example, which I shall discuss in more detail later, is the abortive effort of at least three programs lavishly funded under this act in the District of Columbia, to give domestic workers some fancy titles in the vain hope that they might report to work.

Tell it like it is—is dinned into our ears, Mr. Chairman, by those who insist that Congress and the paying public owes them a living.

All right then, let us tell it like it is today. Let us take a look at PRIDE, at Resurrection City, and at the OEO revelations in Chicago where we now know that with the consent of some church leaders a junior league Mafia has been operating with public funds.

Let us tell it like it is about PRIDE—about padded payrolls, about boys who never saw narcotics until their supervisors pushed it—about boys who raided a liquor store while their supervisor killed the owner.

Let us tell it like it is about the chief marshal of Resurrection City, jailed on armed robbery charges—about the would-be residents who killed three marines on their way into town.

Let us tell it like it is about the rapes and assaults in Resurrection City, crimes our enforcement agencies were not allowed to investigate because of some secret treaty between the Federal Government and the apparent sovereign state of SCLC, which I assume, Mr. Chairman, may soon apply for membership in the United Nations.

Let us tell it like it is about the rate of crime increase among our 15-year-olds—youngsters who are the chief targets of the sleazy characters we are being asked to make secure in their jobs under the tutelage of the Manpower Development and Training Act directors.

Let us tell it like it is—the complete story of the squalid shambles Government funds have created in the guise of antipoverty.

The Federal Government cries out about the dangers of cigarette smoking while agencies of this Government provide the funds for marihuana parties.

The Federal Government cries out and demands more gun legislation while agencies of the Government provide freedom of expression by firearms for gangland recruits.

And the Federal Government continues to cry and cringe about the rising rate of crime while agencies of the same Government invite every grifter, grafter, "con artist" and cutthroat to grab a piece of the action provided by unsuspecting taxpayers and intimidated Members of Congress.

What possible right, Mr. Chairman, do Great Society leaders have to protest and censor violence on television while protecting real life and death violence in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial?

What possible claim can the President of the United States have for efficiency and morale of our enforcement agencies when his Attorney General tells Congress he will use and enforce only those laws he finds convenient to enforce or agrees with in principle?

What possible right, Mr. Chairman, do spokesman for poverty and black power organizations have to filch the American taxpayer's pocketbook and at the same time demand that law enforcement halt at the color line—that public responsibility for law and order cease when black citizens are concerned.

It seems impossible to measure the cost of PRIDE's smalltime thug leadership of our city's young, when falsification of records, phony make-work and salary kickbacks are the claptrap order of the day.

However, the cost of today's crime is measurable, Mr. Chairman, and the future will reveal this cost in mounting crime statistics. Dollarwise, the tab today amounts to nearly $27 billion.

We can also measure the cost of today's crime, Mr. Chairman, by the frequent sound of taps over the graves of policemen and firemen who have made the supreme sacrifice in line of duty.

I said before and I say again, Mr. Chairman, that to vote funds for agencies and policymakers who lack basic moral and spiritual judgment, makes as much sense as giving the keys to the Treasury to every thug and footpad in the country.

It is this kind of misappropriation that gives life and substance to "hate America" propaganda, "Burn Baby Burn" cocktails and guns and bullets for use against our civilized law-abiding society.

The record proves that this is where the action is, this is where the cash flows free, thereby permitting terrorists to thrive and multiply their kind.

No other conclusion is valid. No proper action by this Congress is more vital than the action now to stop the obnoxious Government-funded proliferation of crime, death, and destruction.

There is little use in telling it like it is, Mr. Chairman, unless we are prepared and determined to do something about it.

Mr. Chairman, let us begin with Mr. Marion Shepilovk Barry, Jr., who succeeded in ousting Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield, the juvenile delinquent who originally sold the PRIDE, Inc., idea to the Department of Labor.

Mr. Barry has been a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee almost since its beginning. He became a full-time SNCC worker in 1964, and came to Washington in 1965 for the purpose of expanding Washington SNCC headquarters. He participated in virtually every protest demonstration in the District of Columbia for the next year, in support of home rule, in opposition to the Vietnam war, in commemoration of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, and so forth. He had just been charged with trying to kick open the door of a paddy wagon while resisting arrest when the United Planning Organization signed him on as a $50-a-day consultant to advise them on youth organizations last summer. Shortly thereafter, he and Mayfield organized PRIDE, Inc.

As I stood alone protesting the organization of PRIDE by hoodlums I did not know as I do today how corrupt the organization really was. Not until Rufus Mayfield was finally forced out of the organization, and his dissenting friends began to talk, was the general public made aware of what was really going on in PRIDE, Inc.

When Mayfield called a press conference to "tell all," 200 PRIDE workers, led by Marion Barry, arrived on the scene, roughed up cameramen and broke up the conference.

That was last winter, and since then former PRIDE employees and their parents have come to me again and again asking that the organization be stopped from destroying the character of hundreds of Washington's youth.

Parents protest that their boys are employed by PRIDE and not paid; others say their boys do not work for PRIDE but are paid and kickback money to the employees who put them on the payroll. School officials complain that many PRIDE employees have no work permits and others are below the age to qualify for them.

Boys tell of threats of bodily harm if they talk about PRIDE to others, and describe obscenities perpetrated by their leaders at outings some 50 miles from Washington where they are taken for "training," which includes exposure to gambling, narcotics and whiskey.

When the Washington riots occurred in April, as many as 52 PRIDE employees were involved, with Winston Staton, the new "chairman of the board" standing in one police precinct posting bond for them as they were brought in. When the riots ended, the harrassment of merchants began.

Posters were made showing pictures of Dr. Martin Luther King and distributed by PRIDE boys to merchants throughout the city. The fee for purchasing the posters ranged from $1 up to $25 or more, but the penalty for not purchasing them was made quite clear to the merchants—buy or you are next.

Later, after paying respect to Dr. King became old, new posters appeared, this time advertising that businesses would close in honor of Malcolm X's birthday. Many stores did close, their operators fearing to stay open in the face of open threats of violence.

In early May, a PRIDE supervisor took his crew along to the liquor store of Ben Brown, and shot Mr. Brown fatally when he protested as the boys began to pull the bottles down from the shelves.

Mr. Chairman, nothing I have said here today is not already known by the Department of Labor. They have turned their back on appeals from parents, officials, and the boys themselves. They have refunded PRIDE under this act in spite of instructions from the Senate Appropriations Committee to delay funding until a Comptroller General report is issued regarding payroll padding.

Mr. Chairman, the American taxpayers cannot be expected to approve the Department of Labor's deliberately ignoring the corruption in this program. They cannot expect us to approve its continuance here today.

Mr. Chairman, the second example I referred to earlier, that of lavishly funded programs here in the Washington area to train domestic employees, first came to my attention last year when I tried to assist two ladies in my congressional district in their efforts to find domestic workers for their business, Maid-a-Day.

I briefly described my efforts on March 27 of this year, and with permission I include at this point my remarks of that date:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mar. 27, 1968]

THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, two fine ladies in my congressional district, Mrs. Alice A. Halverson and Mrs. Yvonne Hess, of Annandale, Va., made a determined effort to contribute in their own way to the solution of the problem of the hard-core unemployables we hear so much about, only to find that, in their words:

"In all the agencies within the Government to which we appealed, there could be no help found."

They started a small business, called Maid-A-Day, Inc., to train unemployed women to become experts at light housekeeping, able to support themselves and their families, and to provide under contract light housekeeping service on a daily basis to large numbers of apartment occupants at moderate cost.

Two girls were trained to work as a team to provide customers with daily service which included cleaning kitchen and bathrooms each day, doing the dishes, hanging up clothes and picking up, making beds, and dusting, plus once a week linen change and twice weekly vacuuming.

Each employee worked an 8-hour day, and received a minimum salary of $55 a week, with a bonus of $5 when her crew was doing a maximum of $200 in business weekly.

Through their own maids they found others, and once they had made their services known to various apartment managers and began to obtain orders for volume service, they contacted the Small Business Development Center for assistance. Through the SBDC, they obtained a small business loan and virtual assurance from the SBDC and the National Committee on Household Employment, a Labor Department funded group, that the United Planning Organization, Washington's poverty agency would locate trainees for them.

From early 1967 until these ladies finally were forced to end their operations this January, in spite of many fruitless calls to the national committee, SBDC and UPO, only three prospective employees were ever sent to them. One never reported at all, one spoke no English and could not understand directions, and the third worked one day and left saying the "work was too hard."

Mr. Speaker, considering the large number of apartments in the Washington area where services of Maid-A-Day, Inc., would be welcomed, opportunities for employment with this organization would be unlimited. But where were the hard-core unemployed they so desperately needed? They could not be found.

Mr. Speaker, the United Planning Organization last year had a payroll in excess of $1 million specifically designated to pay salaries of employees in its work coordinating employment project. Yet they were able only to provide three prospective employees to Maid-A-Day from the entire Washington area. I ask in all sincerity, what were these several hundred UPO employees, with such fancy titles as "employment progress development supervisor," "employment progress developer," "scheduling coordinator," "job coach supervisor," and "personnel job developer," doing during that year? They drew salaries ranging up to $12,000 and were obviously supposed to be developing jobs for hard-core unemployed. I believe this Congress should demand an accounting of exactly what jobs, if any, they developed, and of how many hard-core unemployed they brought into the work force, and, more importantly, what they did with more than a million dollars of the taxpayers' money.

Mrs. Halverson and Mrs. Hess no longer operate Maid-A-Day, Mr. Speaker. They have suffered severe financial loss trying to work with the so-called poverty agencies, and are unable to repay a part of the small business loan made to them.

They tell me that they have learned a number of things from their experience, though. They have learned that anyone can learn to push a vacuum, but that no one seems to be trying to teach unemployables such things as just to notify his office when he cannot make it to work, how to make arrangements for child care, how to pay rent, how to stay out of debt, what a checking account is, why you must pay taxes.

They have also learned, to their dismay, that the National Committee on Household Employment is not interested in these problems, preferring to concentrate no establishing some fancy new name for domestic workers.

They learned that "thousands of dollars in grants from the Department of Labor" could be made available to them if they would branch out into something "new and different," but that what they were trying to do did not warrant help from anyone.

They learned, too, that in spite of the countless millions being spent on the so-called war on poverty, the only escape from poverty, through an opportunity to work, is neither promoted or encouraged by the agencies of Government with which they dealt.

Again I say, Mr. Speaker, I believe the United Planning Organization and its parent, the OEO; the National Committee on Household Employment and its parent, the Department of Labor, should explain to this Congress how they have spent millions of the taxpayers' dollars right here in Washington, D.C., on employing the unemployables and have been unable to produce as many as three prospective trainees for a program such as Maid-A-Day, Inc.

While Mrs. Halverson and Mrs. Hess were operating Maid-a-Day, two other women gained favor with the Committee on Household Employment with a new organization, called Willmart and were liberally funded to upgrade household employment by calling domestic workers by other names. The Urban League in Alexandria, Va., initiated a similar program, and yet another program was started at the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs by the Committee on Household Employment. All were funded under this act, and all, of course, were potential competitors of Mrs. Halverson and Mrs. Hess. They soon found that they were competing not for jobs, which were plentiful, but for the pathetically few people who were interested in training for jobs, no matter what their title. All have failed, Mr. Chairman.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, with permission I include a letter I received last month from Mrs. Halverson in which she describes the determined efforts on the part of the Government to effect collection from her and her former partner of a Small Business loan. She also included an article from the Washington Post of July 21, which I shall also insert, which tells of still another program being organized to do the job of training domestics who do not want to be trained.

Mr. Chairman, again, the American taxpayers do not deserve what the 90th Congress is doing to them.

The letter and article follow:

MAID-A-DAY, INC.,
Annandale, Va.,

Hon. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROYHILL: As you are well aware, Maid-A-Day was forced to cease business as of December 29, 1967. For the past seven months, we have endeavored to close the business permanently. We have only now received a letter from the Small Business Administration (copy enclosed) demanding payment in full of the note Maid-A-Day has with them.

Also enclosed is an article which appeared in the Parade Section of the Washington Post, Sunday, July 21, 1968. While we were forced out of business due to the lack of employees, apparently the government is able to come up with projects based on ideas pirated from Maid-A-Day. Not only people, but large sums of the taxpayers money, seem to be readily available to these projects, while the SBA is still hounding us for $5000.00, an amount which we have saved the government many times.

As we explained to you, and have explained to the SBA at numerous meetings each with a different SBA representative totally unfamiliar with Maid-A-Day, neither Mrs. Hess or myself has the money to pay off the loan. We did everything within our power to make the business successful, but were never able to secure help of any kind from any agency within the government. As you know, there seemed to be no person in the Washington area who was interested in a job.

We have contacted your office to ask for an appointment with you. We realize that at this time you are extremely busy and are writing to you so that you will be familiar with our problem. We hope that in the very near future you can give us a few minutes to advise us as to what we might do to get out of business once and for all. Should you desire to contact us, I may be reached at 256–7842 and Mrs. Hess at 280–5559.

Very truly yours,
Mrs. Alice Ann Halverson.

Solving a Household Problem: Maid To Order

(By John G. Rogers)

American housewives—are you sizzling in frustration because you can't find women able or willing to work as maids or house cleaners? If you are, rest assured. Uncle Sam, is doing something about it. He's spending $1.5 million in grants to seven agencies to discover ways to encourage women to work as domestics—and be proud of it.

Each of the federally financed agencies—they're predominantly in such big cities as New York, Washington, Boston and Chicago—has its own ideas on how to inject action into the domestic help market. But all have the same basic approach—upgrade the job by training women to be very superior maids worth more money and respect. In short, give the maids prestige.

And if these government-funded pilot projects prove successful, if they revitalize the domestic help situation to the advantage of both employer and employee, it's expected that private entrepreneurs will swiftly embrace the new formula on a coast-to-coast basis.

The problem: though there are an estimated 5 million domestic jobs available, women are not rushing to fill them. And, for a variety of reasons. Many regard the pay as inadequate, the work as demeaning, the employer as unreasonable. Also, some civil rights leaders have urged Negro women to pass up domestic work and take advantage of training programs for other less servant-like types of employment.

"What makes domestic work inferior?" asks Edward Blackoff, of New York, director of Household Management, Inc., first of the agencies to start rolling. And he answers: "Domestic work is inferior because of inferior treatment, inferior pay and inferior benefits. Change those three things and you make the jobs more attractive. We aim to change employer attitudes, and wages and benefits."

Blackoff, who used to import 1500 maids a year from Western Europe but had to stop when a shift in immigration priorities trimmed his supply, has a $317,000 grant to finance Household Management. His first move was to lease the entire sixth floor of a Manhattan office building and fit it with attractive lifesize mock-ups of kitchen, bedroom and living room just as they'd be in a modern apartment. He hired a staff of 12, including several home economics specialists and a counselor. He recruited his first class of 26 women through advertising or other contacts.

Then, school began. For six hours a day, five days a week, Blackoff's staff works at converting the women into high class maids for whose services New York housewives ultimately will be willing to pay as high as $120 a week.

"But don't call them maids," Blackoff requests. "Part of the new prestige is a new title—they're now 'household technicians'."

Blackoff's students—they range in age from 18 to 60 and most are Negroes—are divided into two sections of 13 each for intense instruction. Teachers Stefanie Lepanig and Marge Hoffman lecture and demonstrate steadily while the class makes notes—here's how to decorate a canape, to clean a shag rug, to take permanently pressed sheets from a drier.

OTHER ASPECTS

Mary Louise Bopp, director of training, reels off more curriculum: "We go to the supermarket and learn how to shop. The telephone people come in and give us a full drill on good telephone manners. The beauty people will be in for sophistication with cosmetics. We'll stress care of kids and the elderly. And all the time we'll emphasize poise and confidence."

Before the ten-week course is half over, the household technicians begin part-time work in homes, each wearing a chic, yellow uniform emblazoned with a daisy. Throughout the course, each student gets subsistence money up to $70 a week, depending on number of children at home, and other factors. Of the first class—in an experimental 15 months Blackoff will train four classes—11 women are married, six single, five widows, three separated and one divorced.

More than a third of the first class were on welfare or other public assistance when they came to Blackoff. But, on completion of the course, each graduate receives a beautiful diploma and goes full time on the payroll of Household Management, starting at $80 a week plus $18 in benefits such as hospitalization, paid holidays and vacations. Blackoff then will hire them out to customers at a markup that gives him about a 15 percent profit.

How confident is Blackoff that his pilot project will be successful, will really chart a new course for the future?

"I feel very hopeful," he replies, "and I think with good reason. Placing the graduates will be the least of the problems. I've already got a list of more than 100 customers anxious to hire my people. But after that it'll be up to both sides to produce. The housewife has to show a full measure of respect and fair treatment for the household technician. And the technician has to earn it with performance, pleasantness and perfect attendance."

In Washington where the Urban League is the sponsor and the grant is $400,000, the details vary. John Jacob, a league director, foresees an employee-owned company of technicians giving a more impersonal service than Blackoff's. This would consist of teams of cleaning experts equipped with the most modern devices and gadgets. They'd swarm into an apartment, quickly clean it from wall to wall, floor to ceiling, and move on. Their speed of operation would mean they could serve more clients and make more profits.

"Our first target areas," Jacob says, "will be Washington's affluent suburbs such as Arlington, Fairfax and Alexandria where you've got big apartment complexes occupied mostly by government employees. We estimate that any household with minimum income of $10,000 a year could afford maid service at least once a week. Job opportunities should be unlimited."

ANOTHER ANGLE

In Pittsburgh it's the Ethnic Foundation that's trying to upgrade the maid, using a $194,000 grant to train women who are mostly of Polish, Italian and German extraction. Paul Deac, the director, has an angle aimed at large corporations:

"In this day of hot competition for good executives, big companies are always looking for new fringe benefits they can use as bait. If a company had a contract with us, we could supply a great fringe benefit. We could send a maid over to an executive's home full time, periodically or to meet some emergency like illness or kids home alone.

"In the Pittsburgh area there are probably five domestic jobs available for every qualified woman. In addition to all the household skills, we're teaching manners, grooming, improved English, all the things needed to make a woman a valued employee."

Among the other federally financed help-the-maid programs, some stress training for older women and some are tailored for the Southern migrant in the North. Among sponsors are Chicago's YMCA, Women's Service Club of Boston, Philadelphia's Household Employment Association for Re-evaluation and Training, and Kansas State University.

But, wherever the city and whoever the sponsor, the federal initiative is laudable because it's ridiculous that 5 million jobs should go unfilled when we have women who want them and need them—if they're upgraded.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. AYRES. I realize the gentleman is very familiar with some of the programs that have gone on in this general area bordering his district. But I do not think it is quite fair to include all of the things that have gone wrong in some other programs under the blanket of the Manpower Development and Training Act. I must say, in all fairness, that we have hundreds of people who have been put to work from the semihard core in the ruber industry at Akron, Ohio, my hometown, because of the Manpower Development and Training Act. These people went to a school and were taught how to retread tires and work in the mills. They have learned respect for themselves after they had learned to earn. So I do not think it is fair, I will say to one of my best friends, to make a blanket condemnation of this program, for although many of the things to which you referred are absolutely correct, many of these things referred to in your statement have no connection with this program.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I do not think it is fair to the taxpayers of this country to permit their hard-earned money to be spent on the type of programs to which I have referred. I will agree with the gentleman that when you spend this much money on a program that is so vast and far reaching, somebody, somewhere along the line, will get some good out of it. Some of it is bound to trickle down and help someone to get a job and to become a productive citizen. But I say there is no part of the program, or any single program that everyone would agree has been a complete success. That does not mean that someone has not had some training as a result of the program.

Mr. AYRES. I believe the gentleman from Virginia perhaps heard the statement that tomorrow the bill will be open for amendment. At that time I would hope that if there are provisions within the bill that the gentleman feels should be banned from the bill, he will feel free to offer individual amendments to those programs that he feels are either wrong or that are not being administered properly. But I repeat that any complete and blanket condemnation of the program is not fair.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. It is rotten to the core, and requires the Congress to perform major surgery to save the patient. I imagine the most effective amendment that could be offered tomorrow would be a motion to strike the enacting clause.

Mr. AYRES. If the gentleman should offer that motion, I imagine there would be one vote for it.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. That would be a matter of opinion.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS].

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation.

But before I speak of it, I will follow the eloquent comments of the distinguished chairman of our committee, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS], and our colleague from Iowa [Mr. SMITH], in saying a few more words about the sponsor of this bill, our late and beloved colleague, the Honorable ELMER HOLLAND of Pennsylvania. It is tragic, and at the same time, fitting that this bill should come before the House on the same day on which the House is officially advised of the death of our friend from Pennsylvania. As has already been said, if ever a Member of this House were the "father of a program" Elmer Holland was the father of MDTA. And I say this without in the slightest detracting from the contributions made to the act from the very beginning by other Members present here, including Members from the other side of the aisle. In particular, Mr. Chairman, I salute our talented and hard-working colleague from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA], who has made most significant contributions to the enactment of this milestone legislation.

Mr. Chairman, ELMER HOLLAND was among the first of the Members of this House to recognize not only the perils of the automation revolution, but its promise as well, and to consider the means to combat its hazards. He knew of the dangers because his district, like mine, was among those hard hit some years ago by the changing patterns of industrial organizations and the changing methods of production.

I might say that when in late 1963 the Studebaker plant was shut down and went out of automobile production in my home city of South Bend, Ind., the manpower development and training programs made possible by the legislation we are here considering today, played a crucial role in the comeback of the entire South Bend community.

Mr. Chairman, when in 1961 President Kennedy took office and the Committee on Education and Labor entered upon a major reorganization of its own structure, ELMER HOLLAND was appointed as chairman of a Special Subcommittee on Unemployment and the Impact of Automation. He had already worked with some of his colleagues and with the incoming administration on the first draft of what was to become the Manpower Development and Training Act. Before the 87th Congress adjourned in 1962, MDTA was on the statute books, and the Secretaries of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare were engaged in what has become one of their most important tasks—the development of manpower resources and the training and retraining of people for new jobs to meet the needs of our ever-growing, ever-changing technology and industry.

Four times in the 6 years since ELMER HOLLAND and the members of his subcommittee, refusing to rest on their laurels, refusing to consider a good job well done as long as there was room for improvement, have amended MDTA—sometimes to make very minor, even technical changes, sometimes to give the act and the program new emphasis, new focal points, new directions. Early this year, with the act approaching the terminal dates of its existing legislative authority, ELMER HOLLAND introduced a bill to extend that authority. Once again, with his full support, his subcommittee took the simple extension and made further changes—for the most part minor changes.

It would have been good if ELMER HOLLAND could have lived to see the fruition of his efforts today. It would have been good, I am sure, because I am convinced that this House will tomorrow give the kind of rousing bipartisan stamp of approval to the work done by ELMER HOLLAND and his colleagues that has come to be a trademark of this legislation.

Born in the midst of partisan controversy, MDTA has satisfied its early critics and gratified its early sponsors and has become an almost universally accepted part of the Nation's basic policy in dealing with the growing problem of matching work that must be done with the people that are available to do it.

Mr. Chairman, I am here today in the new role of chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Labor, which ELMER HOLLAND so long and so ably led. I am deeply grateful that with me are other members of that subcommittee—members who have worked long hours and long years with ELMER HOLLAND in the development of this legislation. The subcommittee will present to this House today a bill on the details of which there are some differences of opinion—this is not a bill we are asking the House to rubber stamp. But I do think I speak for all my colleagues on the subcommittee—Democrats and Republicans—when I say that there is little difference among us as to the basic value of MDTA, as to the need for extending it beyond its present expiration dates, and as to the debt we all owe—that millions of Americans who have better jobs and more salable skills because of MDTA owe—to our late colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, ELMER J. HOLLAND.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further requests for time?

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA].

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say one word of a personal nature before we get into the detailed consideration of this legislation. H.R. 15045 was introduced in this House by our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. HOLLAND. The Manpower Development and Training Act, which it seeks to extend and amend, can claim, as all major programs can claim, many original authors. But certainly preeminent among them was the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The consideration of this bill today would have been, in a sense, the climax of ELMER HOLLAND's career. He had decided, last winter, not to run for reelection, and a month ago, he had tendered his resignation as chairman of the subcommittee which has responsibility for this legislation. In being here with us today, he would have been able to see his major legislative accomplishment—the act which was, of all the bills he had cosponsored and led the fight for, his Now is the time for all good men to come particular pride and joy—extended for another 3 years, amended in minor particulars, but reassured of a further period of growth and experimentation.

Death saw it differently. His voice will not be heard in support of this bill today, but his spirit and his determination that the age of automation would not be an age of massive economic dislocation—that progress need not be painful—that technology could be the servant, and not the master of men—will be very much alive as we turn to the consideration of H.R. 15045.

I will not ask that this bill be passed "as a memorial to ELMER HOLLAND." He would have been the first to respond to that kind of plea with a short, and probably not very elegant, word or two. No, Mr. Chairman, the passage of H.R. 15045 must rest on the merits of H.R. 15045. The fact that we are considering this bill, the fact that the House which he loved is turning on this, our first legislative day subsequent to his death—that alone is all the memorial that ELMER HOLLAND could have asked, or that we have the power to give him.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I yield to the chairman of our committee.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I feel I would be derelict in my responsibility as chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor if I failed to point out that the distinguished gentleman from Michigan is one of the top experts on manpower legislation in this country. I believe the whole Chamber feels the same way. No individual has given more time to the study of the manpower field in his efforts to strengthen and coordinate the manpower programs than the gentleman from Michigan. His contributions, to my way of thinking, have been monumental. He deserves the praise of this Chamber and this country for his great contribution in this area.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I thank the chairman of our committee for his very kind words.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 15045 is a bill to extend the life of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and to make further minor amendments to that act. I believe the House will be able to work its will on this legislation in a relatively short time, as we have been able to do in previous sessions when we have amended the act in other ways. This is one piece of legislation which has, almost since its inception, enjoyed the broadest conceivable kind of bipartisan support in this House, as, indeed, it has enjoyed in the Nation as a whole.

MDTA began, Mr. Chairman, as primarily a response to the problems posed to the economy by the technological revolution of our times. Automation, the development of new industrial processes, the abandonment of old techniques, brought with it the promise of increased productivity and a higher standard of living. But they also brought the threat of unemployment, of massive dislocation of workers from jobs at which they had spent a lifetime, from skills which would soon be no longer salable. I will not say that MDTA alone dispelled the threats which our technological revolution posed. I will not even say that that threat has been entirely avoided, or even that the major impact of the new technology has yet been felt. But it is safe to say that there are hundreds of thousands of American wage earners today who owe their jobs, their productivity, and their peace of mind to the retraining programs developed under this act.

In recent years the focus of the act has shifted moderately, to enable the institutions we have developed under MDTA to be brought to bear on the problem of hard-core unemployment. MDTA programs are by no means wholly unconcerned with the original intent of the act, nor, indeed, should they be in the foreseeable future, but, as is only proper, a major share of attention and a major share of MDTA resources are being utilized to develop new training opportunities and job opportunities for those who have historically found it the hardest to share in the high levels of employment which the economy as a whole has enjoyed in recent years.

H.R. 15045, as introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Holland], originally provided for a simple extension of the various expiring provisions of the act for various periods of time. A few programs such as a relocation assistance demonstration project, and a placement assistance demonstration project, authority for which expired on June 30 last, are extended for 2 years until June 30, 1970. An experimental and demonstration program involving skill training for inmates for correctional institutions, authority for which expires on June 30, 1969, was also extended until June 30, 1970.

The basic authority under the act which expires on June 30, 1969, was extended until June 30, 1972. To these provisions, no objection of which I am aware has been voiced in the hearings or in the correspondence members of the committee have received, and they remain in H.R. 15045 as section 1 of the reported bill. This section is the heart of the bill, really, and the urgency of the bill rests on them. If the States are to continue planning for their programs, if State employment security agencies are to continue forward planning to discover areas in which training is needed, this extension of the basic authority is essential.

In addition to extending the life of the MDTA program, the bill makes some minor amendments. Section 2 are purely technical amendments correcting an inadvertent typographical error that crept into the 1966 amendments in the rush of final passage at the end of the 89th Congress. These errors have caused no problems, but in the cause of legislative neatness, they should be amended.

Section 3 provides for a setaside of 2 percent of the funds appropriated in each fiscal year under this act to enable the Secretary of Labor to provide training and related technical assistance for specialized and other personnel needed to administer the act and programs under it and related to it.

As manpower policy becomes more complex, there is developing a very great need, not only at the Federal, but also at the State and local level, for trained personnel to administer the program and to carry out activities related to it. There is full agreement in the committee as to the necessity of this training. Indeed, the amendment itself was offered by the minority members, and accepted unanimously. The Labor Department advises me it has no objections whatever to this amendment.

Section 5, if I may be allowed to skip the order of sections momentarily, is a simple amendment to extend the areas as in which MDTA programs may be carried out to include American Samoa and the trust territories; and to allow programs in the trust territories to be wholly federally financed. This amendment, offered in the committee by the gentlewoman from Hawaii, is also noncontroversial.

Section 4 of the reported bill is the closest we have come this year to reporting a controversial amendment, and here the controversy rests not on the intent, but on the mechanism of the section. Here, too, I believe there is strong bipartisan support for a corrective amendment which will be offered when the bill is opened for amendment under the 5-minute rule.

Section 4 seeks to correct an administrative problem that has arisen under the act with respect to the skill centers—institutions that are among the most valuable contributions of MDTA to the spectrum of manpower tools. These centers, which at their best—if a Member from Michigan may be allowed pardonable pride—like the Patrick McNamara Skill Center in Detroit, combine the best environment, the best equipment, and the best instructors with other supportive services, and in their own fashion, provide many MDTA trainees with the kind of institutional point of reference which in many cases the ordinary schools and vocational institutions fail to offer. The skill centers have an excellent record in course completion, and placement, and are universally thought of as one of the real strengths of the institutional aspect of MDTA training.

Subsection 4(a) directs that in providing institutional training, the Secretary of Labor should make maximum use and give priority to the use of skill centers. With this provision, there are no objections on this side of the aisle. This direction to the Secretary is to "give priority" to the use of such centers. It does not provide any ban on the use of other techniques where necessary, and sets no percentage or other criteria as to allocation of funds. That priority should be given to skills centers is a proposition with which no member of this committee is prepared to take issue. But the question of degree, the question of using a given skill center in a given situation is a decision as to which the subsection still vests discretion in the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

It is certainly the intent of the committee that this discretion ought to be utilized in conformity with the clear intent of this section. Priority should be given to skill centers. But this principle need not paralyze the Secretaries in the use of other types of institutions and training situations.

Subsection 4(b) also seeks to meet the problems faced by skill centers, notably those problems which the centers run into because of the language in the original act requiring a "reasonable expectation of employment" before persons can be referred to training. The requirement has been met through employment opportunity surveys conducted by the State public employment services, and has sometimes resulted in the nonuse of skill center facilities and personnel while a survey was awaiting completion. According to testimony taken in the hearings, this administrative requirement has also resulted in the skill centers being asked to operate on the basis of individual budgets for each separate course—sometimes involving as many as 40 or more separate budgets annually. When, out of these 40 or more separate budgets, you are seeking to operate an institution with continuing costs, not always easily attributable to a given course, and to maintain a high-caliber staff on a year-round basis, things can get pretty sticky.

It is the committee's intention to make it crystal clear that skill centers can be funded on an annual basis. We will, I believe, revert to this point at a later stage in the discussion of the bill, but the committee's action, it should be understood, was directed primarily toward this objective.

Subsection 4(b) provides for the allocation to existing skill centers of funds and training "slots" sufficient to insure a level of skill center operation equal to that which existed on July 30, 1967, or June 30, 1968, whichever is greater; for a guarantee that no less than 65 percent of all title II funds will be allocated to institutional training; and for the meeting of certain criteria before existing skill centers can be closed down, or new ones created. As I have suggested earlier, we will discuss these sections of the legislation more thoroughly under the 5-minute rule.

Mr. Chairman, I have emphasized the bipartisan nature of this legislation, and on previous occasions, I have had the pleasant duty of pointing out to this House that MDTA and its amendments have been the product of continued bipartisan work on this important program. I have that duty again today. There may be disagreement on the contents of this bill before we complete its consideration, but as it was reported to the House, the bill expresses, in all of its provisions, a broad, constructive consensus which transcends party, region, and the differences between liberals and conservatives. The 1968 MDTA extension and amendments bill reflects an area of agreement which is particularly refreshing in a time of great controversy.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, at the present time we are in a situation where the rate of unemployment is relatively low and there is a clear and steady demand for more manpower. At the same time, there are concentrations of high unemployment in given areas. Those who are not employed under such circumstances present a serious problem to the Nation in its effort to increase the Nation's manpower supply and develop the human resources of the poor so that they may achieve—and the country may benefit from—their fullest possible economic and individual potential.

I have no doubt that we require new policies and approaches to locating and bringing the unemployed into the work force and increasing their potential as a valuable manpower resource. Studies have already shown us that skill and prevocational training and related services are sorely needed by the majority of those not now in the work force. Most of these people are not only poorly educated in terms of formal schooling but also lack any sort of special skill training either on or off the job. This is true in spite of the extensive and precedent-shattering efforts made by this administration to expand the quantity and improve the quality of such training and to make it more readily available to those who need it most.

Under these circumstances it is vital that we not take any more time than is absolutely necessary before we extend existing authority to continue the significant training programs which have their source in title II of the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The priorities of this program have been altered and modified over the past 6 years in order to achieve a sounder balance between attempting to meet the severe needs of the most desperately disadvantaged and providing the additional supportive or other services required by those who are more nearly job-ready. As the program has demonstrated its ability to respond quickly and flexibly to our increasing understanding of the nature of the problem of unemployment, and underemployment, it has won our respect and deserves our continued support. We can continue to consider further modification of the nature of the MDTA program after we take this important first step of preserving the essential continuity of its existence. It is in this spirit that your committee recommended enactment of H.R. 15045.

As an example of the success of this worthy program in my own State of Michigan and as a demonstration of its relevance to the more sophisticated needs of today's rapidly changing world of modern industry, let me just briefly cite the heartening experience of Ling-Temco-Vought's missile and space division in Michigan. The machine operator training program has provided 33 employees to the division, with only one graduate of the program failing to be placed with the company. These men were hard-core unemployed, people who often could not find work as common laborers, and who were apparently trapped in the vicious cycle with which we have all, by necessity, become increasingly familiar: that is, lack of skills coupled with lack of motivation combining to keep the kind of job wanted just beyond the reach of the individual; because he lacks skills he is not employed and he becomes discouraged, does not seek training, and ceases to look for work.

In this program, however, most of these problems were overcome by sympathetic and intelligent planning to meet the individual needs of people who had often surrendered hope to dispair. It would be misleading to say that each of these persons has become a skilled employee; some were unable to adjust to the requirements of the job, to accept detailed directions and to understand concepts of productivity and self-motivation. These few were reluctantly let go.

But the overwhelming impression, as you examine these and other training efforts under MDTA, is of productivity, performance, and progress. The program is working well and we must extend and support it, while perserving our right, indeed our duty, to improve it wherever and whenever a compelling case is made that such action is necessary.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 19045, to extend the expiring provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

In the span of a few years, the Manpower Development and Training Act has blazed creative new trails in the critically important area of training thousands of disheartened and desperate jobless persons for satisfying and productive employment. That in itself is enough to justify immediate passage of the bill before us.

Beyond past accomplishments, MDTA funds support new programs that promise much for the future. Prominent among these is job opportunities in the business sector—JOBS—which seek to hire, train, and retain the hard-core unemployed. It does so by combining on-the-job training with other services, such as remedial education, medical services, and individual counseling on personal problems and proper work habits. JOBS involves an unprecedented partnership between Government and business under which private companies bear the normal training costs and the Government pays for the extra supportive services which have proved to be a necessary ingredient in any program designed to bring the most severely disadvantaged in our society into the competitive world of work. There are already favorable indications that the partnership will be unusually productive. One hundred thousand people are expected to be on the job and in training by the end of this year, or 6 months ahead of schedule.

JOBS and other innovative programs for manpower development, in itself a relatively new area of public policy, require talented, trained, and dedicated people to carry them out. In this connection I am particularly pleased to see that the committee bill provides for a 2-percent setaside of funds appropriated each year under the act for the purpose of providing training and technical assistance for the personnel who are needed in the planning, administration, and execution of complex manpower programs.

I do not think that the importance of the provision can be underestimated. For example, many of the people running JOBS programs—from top management to the immediate supervisor of individual trainees—have had little or no experience in coping with the special problems of the hard-core unemployed. Technical assistance which will help them sensitively carry out their mission can very well make the marginal difference between the success or failure of a soundly conceived program.

Federal and State staff, as well as private citizens involved in manpower programs, will be able to benefit greatly from training funded by this provision. As manpower programs have expanded, it has become increasingly obvious that there is a crying need for an expanded pool of trained and expert people to implement them at all levels of government. Moreover, as innovative programs are launched and as new and better training techniques are discovered, it becomes more and more apparent that professional staff need in-service training to keep up-to-date with the latest developments. Traditionally, for example, staff members have specialized in one function such as counseling. Today's concept of an effective manpower program is one that is comprehensive in scope, uniting many formerly separate services. In order to administer such a program, staff members must have some measure of expertise in several different areas. The 2-percent setaside of funds for training and technical assistance will help insure that they have the opportunity to broaden their knowledge and capability to meet the challenges inherent in this critically important field.

H.R. 15045 provides for a continuing program of training for unemployed and underemployed workers, and also provides the wherewithal for developing and upgrading the staff to carry out this program.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Chairman, the great need for an effective national manpower policy has often been remarked upon in this Chamber—and this House has done much to build toward that goal; a goal, I must say, toward which we all aspire. Now, as has so frequently been the case in recent years, we are faced with opportunity to demonstrate, once again, whether we have achieved an adequate understanding of the elements of that policy.

We have before us today, H.R. 15045, to extend certain expiring provisions under the Manpower Development and Training Act. It is absolutely essential that this basic building block of our manpower program be preserved, so that it may continue to serve as an essential component of the national effort to utilize what your committee has referred to in the past as "the Nation's most valuable natural resource—the brains and muscles and ingenuity of its people."

I have had personal experience with one or another element of this excellent program and would like to take just 1 minute to refer briefly to a particularly well-managed project that has had considerable success in my own State of Maine.

I refer to the Culinary Arts Training Center in Lewiston, Maine, an MDTA center that opened in 1966. Cooks, chefs, bakers, and so forth, are shortage occupations in Maine and I understand that this is the case elsewhere as well. This center attempts to meet the need through the services of an excellent school, one of which Lewiston and the entire State is justifiably proud.

Of the 107 trainees who have been graduated, 95 have been placed in jobs related to their training, with most of these working as cooks. Recruitment for the program was statewide and so was placement; the program has served, therefore, as an economic resource for the entire State, with graduates working at inns, academies, hotels, nursing homes, and academic institutions throughout Maine. The diversity and quality of these placements illustrate why I have sound reason for believing that this MDTA center can continue to serve an important role in the future.

In addition, the need for continuity in planning and funding mature, well-developed projects of this nature is quite clear. In order to retain instructors, plan schedules, project demand, recruit, and assess enrollees, and coordinate the entire enterprise with other elements of the manpower effort in Maine, it is necessary that we be able now to rely on the availability of authority and funds for the operation of the program. The uncertainty that would attend any further delay in enactment of the measure now before us would be a scant and undeserved recompense for those who have labored so hard to make a success of the Culinary Arts Training Center and so many other worthy endeavors of a similar nature throughout the Nation.

In these circumstances I am confident that we can demonstrate our receptivity to the lessons of the recent past and our sensitivity to the needs of our fellow Americans by taking appropriate action right here and now—action which will show that we understand that the price of flexibility and responsiveness to the changing demands made upon the manpower program is not going to be paid by hasty and ill-advised dismantling of or tinkering with soundly constructed machinery.

I believe it is fair to say that the MDTA is one mechanism for social and economic progress which works now, has worked in the past, and will continue to perform up to expectations in the future.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, the House Republican policy committee supports the extension of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962—MDTA. Properly amended and administered, this act can play an important role in the fight against unemployment and underemployment.

The Republican Members of Congress long have been interested in establishing a sound program that would solve this Nation's manpower problems by utilizing the ingenuity and vast resources of private enterprise to upgrade and develop the skills of our labor force. The Republican effort in this area began in 1961 with a study by the House Republican policy committee. Leading authorities in the fields of education and on-the-job training were asked to participate and their comments and recommendations were included in the report, "Operation Employment." This study became the basis for the Republican-proposed Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, which was adopted in great part and enacted into law by the 87th Congress.

From its inception, the Manpower Development and Training Act has contained provisions that attempted to make clear the congressional intent that the States are to be partners in the Federal manpower program. Section 301 contains an allocation formula which provides a method of distributing funds to the States. Section 206 encourages and authorizes the Secretary of Labor to enter into agreements with the States and to utilize the services of the State agencies.

Unfortunately, this intent and these provisions have been downgraded and disregarded by the Johnson-Humphrey administration. As a result, the States have experienced delays in funding projects that have met the prescribed standards and have been accepted by employers. Completely in disregard of congressional intent, the Department of Labor has proposed that the promotion, development, and funding of on-the-job—OJT—projects be assumed by Federal personnel. The State agencies would retain only the lesser responsibilities of monitoring and servicing.

Furthermore, despite the proven value of on-the-job training, the Johnson-Humphrey administration is using MDTA funds to finance new programs under title I–B of the Economic Opportunity Act. The result has been the elimination of sound manpower projects in the on-the-job—OJT—training field.

In order to have an effective training program, States must be permitted to participate on an active partnership basis. Efforts to involve private enterprise must be increased. All funds appropriated for MDTA should be utilized for MDTA programs. Similarly, funds allocated to the States should be released to finance approved projects. Also, the Secretary of Labor should be required to enter into appropriate agreements with States and State agencies interested in becoming active working partners in the Federal manpower program.

Republican amendments rejected in committee that are designed to assure these results will be offered again during the floor consideration of this legislation. We urge their adoption.

The Manpower Development and Training Act can be the basis for a successful program in a field that has been marked by frustration and futility. Properly amended and administered, it can utilize the training resources of both private enterprise and institutions to provide meaningful training for jobs that are waiting to be filled.

Jobs and hope must be substituted for unfilled promises and despair. Under a Republican President, the Manpower Development and Training Act can become key legislation in the fight against unemployment and poverty.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 15045. The Manpower Development and Training Act has been one of the great success stories of the 1960's. We have spent a lot of money on MDTA since it was first enacted in 1962—over a billion dollars. But the investment has been a sound one.

As of March 1968, over 1.2 million training "slots" had been authorized—725,000 in institutional training, 435,000 in on-the-job training, and 60,000 in other types of MDTA activity.

Of those who have completed institutional training, 76 percent were employed when last contacted, and of the on-the-job trainees, 90 percent were still employed when last contacted. This is, I suggest, a very enviable record indeed. The hopelessness that sometimes overwhelms us all when we think of the tremendous problem of combating hard-core unemployment, if this Nation is to remain stable and if equality of opportunity is to be more than a pious slogan—this hopelessness, Mr. Chairman, finds a healthy antidote in the statistics about MDTA and its effectiveness as a weapon against hard-core unemployment, against technological unemployment, against skill shortages—against many of the economic problems which prevent us from finding a job for every willing worker, and a worker for every job that needs to be done.

I join with my chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky, and with my other colleagues and friends who have already taken this opportunity to pay tribute to the sponsor of this bill, and the father of MDTA—our late colleague, ELMER HOLLAND, of Pennsylvania. But I agree, too, with the idea that has been expressed here that we can pay no better tribute to ELMER HOLLAND than by turning to the work we have carried this far under his leadership, and further improving the

Manpower Development and Training Act.

I will support H.R. 15045 because I believe it is a wise and prudent investment in an area in which the returns can be enormous. I will support it, too, because I also believe that the damage that could result if we failed to make that investment, if we turn back after having come so far and done so much, would be incalculable, but certainly enormous.

MDTA serves the needs of the hardcore unemployed. But it does more than that. It serves the needs of industry, it serves the needs of small employers whose requirements for skilled workers are utterly beyond their own ability to meet, and, above all, it serves the broad public interest.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, in view of the outstanding success of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, I am extremely proud to add my support to H.R. 15045, a bill which will extend the authority of this program through 1972. Of all the legislation adopted since 1961, I believe the MDTA reaches closest to the goal of training unemployed and underemployed men and women to become more useful and productive members of our society.

I cannot speak too highly for the success of this effort. Men and women who have been employed and who have accepted responsibilities in the belief that their employment would continue, have been suddenly displaced by changes in technology and for new and different demands for goods. Under the MDTA they have had an opportunity to use their basic skills to learn new occupations and to be returned to the ranks of the employed. Similarly, persons who have for one reason or another entered the labor market without perfected skills have benefitted from the training offered by this program to learn a trade and thereby have gained an opportunity for employment.

In short, the MDTA has offered the best hope for employment and economic self-sufficiency. It is truly an effective program.

I am pleased that H.R. 15045 will extend its authorization for training to American Samoa and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. My visit to the trust territory last January substantiated the oft-told need for greater emphasis in job training to enable the people of these islands to compete for employment opportunities which are now offered to Americans who are brought in at considerable cost to the Federal budget. This job training will undoubtedly make available better jobs for Micronesians and help them to provide their families with something more than a subsistence income.

The authorization in H.R. 15045 to extend the training programs to public and private institutions should result in making training opportunities available to the physically handicapped as well as to men who are held in custodial institutions and who should be trained in preparation for their eventual return to society.

I join with the committee in urging greater and more flexible use of skill centers. It has been proven that the men who are trained in these skill centers are not only more quickly absorbed into the labor force, but adapt more readily to the training program itself than if placed in a strictly education-oriented institution.

I also support the provision in the bill which allows for a 2 percent set-aside of funds appropriated in each fiscal year under the act, for the purpose of providing training and related technical assistance toward the preparation of the specialized personnel who are needed to make MDTA a more effective program. Counselors, job development specialists, and program administrators are many of the persons who could be trained under this provision.

These changes to the basic law are needed improvements and therefore, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who desire to do so may be permitted to extend their remarks at this point in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, we have no further requests for time.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, we have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further requests for time, pursuant to the rule, the Clerk will now read the substitute committee amendment printed in the reported bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 is amended as follows:

(1) Section 104(a) of the Act (labor mobility demonstration projects) is amended by striking out "1968" in the first sentence of such section, and inserting in lieu thereof "1970";

(2) Section 105 of the Act (trainee placement assistance demonstration projects) is amended by striking out "1968" in the first sentence of such section, and inserting in lieu thereof "1970";

(3) Section 251 of the Act (Part D—Correctional Institutions) is amended by striking out "1969", and inserting in lieu thereof "1970";

(4) Section 304(d) of the Act is amended by striking out "1968" and "1969", and inserting respectively in lieu thereof "1969" and "1970";

(5) Sections 310(a) and 310(b) of the Act are amended by striking out "1969" wherever it appears, and inserting in lieu thereof "1972".

Sec. 2. (a) Section 202(f) of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 is amended by striking "(i)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(j)".

(b) The first sentence of section 231 of such Act is amended by striking "(i)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(j)".

Sec. 3. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 is amended by inserting after section 308 the following new section:

"TRAINING AND RELATED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

"Sec. 309. The Secretary of Labor shall provide, directly or through grants or other arrangements, training and related technical assistance for specialized or other personnel which are needed in connection with the programs established under this Act or which otherwise pertain to the purposes of this Act. Upon request the Secretary may make special assignments of personnel to public or private agencies, institutions, or employers to carry out the purposes of this section; but no such special assignments shall be for a period of more than two years. Two per centum of the sums appropriated in any fiscal year for this Act shall be reserved to carry out the purposes of this section during such fiscal year."

Sec. 4. (a) Section 231 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 is amended by redesignating the existing provisions as subsection (a) and by adding a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) In making arrangements for institutional training financed in whole or in part with funds appropriated to carry out title I, and title II, parts A, B, C, and D of this Act, including but not limited to basic education, employability and communications skills, prevocational training, vocational and technical programs, and supplementary or related instruction for on-the-job training whether conducted at the job site or elsewhere, priority shall be given to the use of skill centers established under the authority of this section."

(b) Section 301 of the Act is amended by redesignating the existing provisions as subsection (a) and by adding a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) In order to make maximum utilization of previous investments of Federal funds made under this Act and to avoid unnecessary waste and duplication, the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall under the authority of this section and through the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS), allocate sufficient funds and numbers of institutional trainees to insure a level of skill center operation in each State equal to that which existed on June 30, 1967, or June 30, 1968, whichever is the greater. In no event shall the overall allotments for instutional training be less than 65 per centum of the funds appropriated by the Congress to carry out title II of this Act. No new skill centers shall be established in an area already served by a skill center as defined by the Secretaries of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, nor shall an existing center be discontinued or curtailed as long as this Act is in force unless it has previously been established by the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare that, (1) an existing center is no longer able to either provide or arrange for needed training, (2) training of a similar nature previously provided has been ineffective, or (3) there is no longer a need for training based on labor market analysis or other pertinent data."

Sec. 5. (a) Section 203(a) of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 is amended by striking out "and the Virgin Islands" and inserting in lieu thereof ", the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands".

(b) The third sentence of section 231 of such Act is amended by inserting after "purposes of the Act" the following: ", and except that the State agency for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands may be paid up to 100 per centum of such costs".

(c) Section 308 of such Act is amended by striking out "and Guam" and inserting in lieu thereof "Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands".

Mr. PERKINS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the substitute committee amendment be dispensed with, and that it be printed in the Record and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 15045) to extend certain expiring provisions under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, had come to no resolution thereon.

REQUEST FOR CONFERENCE ON H.R. 17126, THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ACT OF 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 17126) to amend the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The **SPEAKER.** Objection is heard.

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS SHOULD DRAMATIZE THAT WHICH UNITES AMERICA

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, violence within a democracy is the poison of destruction.

Democracy is the child of reason. When passions fly uncurbed and tempers burn out the source material of reason, democracy is consumed in the flame.

This is the history of the world. It is the eternal tragedy in the story of the rise and fall of empires and of nations.

Now and in the weeks of the campaign ahead it is my hope and my prayer that the Members of this body, the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, will as much as is within their power and not to uncalled-for political disadvantage, concentrate on that which unites and avoid that which divides.

At the very beginning we have so much on which we can agree and in which we share a common pride. Our beloved majority leader, the able gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT], was the chairman of the Democratic Convention, and he performed as the master workman we in the House long have known him. If ever a chairman arose to every challenge in a convention where emotions reached both the ocean's bottom and the blue of the skies it was CARL ALBERT.

The beloved minority leader, the able gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD] was the chairman of the Republican Convention, and he too performed as the master workman we in the House always have known him. No one could have done a greater job in running with smoothness and fairness a great national convention.

The gentleman from Louisiana, the mighty HALE BOGGS, courteous always and eloquent, brought luster and glory to the Democratic Convention as chairman of the platform committee, and equal luster and glory was reflected on the Republican Convention by the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] as its parliamentarian. Others from this body contributed brilliantly to the Democratic Convention and the Republican Convention.

Mr. Speaker, these are the things that unite. I am as proud of the performance of the gentleman from Michigan as I am proud of the performance of the gentleman from Oklahoma, and I am as proud of the performance of the gentleman from California as I am of the brilliant performance of the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. Speaker, in the oncoming campaign, let us reach out to find and to dramatize those things which unite us as loyal Americans with whom love of country is an attribute akin to and as noble as love of home.

Mr. Speaker, as a humble Member of this body, its oldest in point of years, I feel happy and blessed in the reflected glory of my colleagues who did so much and so well the job of making democracy work at both conventions. After all, here in our United States of America, as well as in this, the greatest deliberative body in the world, there is so much to unite, so little to divide.

MAYOR DALEY KEPT HIS WORD

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, today I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article by James A. Clendinen, editor of the Tampa Tribune, which appeared in that paper on September 1, 1968. The Tampa Tribune is, of course, one of the finest newspapers of Florida and our Nation, and Mr. Clendinen has written what I consider to be a fair and impartial editorial as to the situation that prevailed in Chicago recently.

In this editorial entitled "The Mayor Kept His Word," Mr. Clendinen very justly calls attention to the fact that it is time somebody said a good word for Chicago and Mayor Daley. The disrupting events which occurred while the Democratic National Convention was being held—although nonetheless disturbing and regretful—were at the same time met with a resistance backed by a promise from the mayor of Chicago that violence would not prevail. I think this editorial is a fine commentary by a distinguished Florida editor, and I respectfully call it to the attention of my colleagues of the House. The editorial follows:

THE MAYOR KEPT HIS WORD

(By James A. Clendinen)

It's time somebody said a good word for Chicago and Mayor Daley.

Unquestionably, Chicago police in some instances were needlessly brutal in dealing with young demonstrators. This conduct cannot be condoned.

But to keep the picture in focus it is necessary to remember that 10,000 police were on duty during the five-day convention period and only a few were guilty of unnecessary roughness.

It is also necessary to remember that:

Leaders of the radical anti-war groups went to Chicago for the stated purpose of disrupting and, if possible, preventing the Democratic convention. Their followers included hot-eyed Marxists and anarchists for whom chaos is the goal.

For those who seek to destroy the American system, Chicago offered a tempting target.

If the convention could be physically interrupted by mass demonstrators supposedly representing popular opinion, if the city itself could be bloodied by riots, both the hated Johnson Administration and the American system could be discredited.

This was the grand objective.

It was only partly accomplished. The clashes with police—which were deliberately provoked—embarrassed Chicago and its strong-minded Mayor, opened new quarrels between Democrats and generated sharp criticism by the foreign press of "police state" tactics.

But critics ignore the fact that for five days police and National Guardsmen had to protect Presidential candidates, delegates and the convention itself against danger of attack from emotionally-charged mobs and individual plotters.

Dignitaries, delegates and the convention were protected. No one was shot; no one was killed; no hotels or stores were burned or looted.

Considering the possibilities for death and disaster in this situation, the police and Guardsmen did a commendable job.

The mob which daily assembled to demonstrate, and to challenge police lines, had its share of daisy-pickers but it also had professional revolutionaries and long-haired toughs looking for trouble. Some of these "peaceful" protesters hurled obscene insults at police and occasionally more bruising objects—rocks and bottles. Eighty policemen were reported injured in the several clashes.

The planned character of the harassment of the convention was shown in the stink-bombing of the principal hotels housing the delegates. This was no college-boy prank; it was sabotage of a vicious kind.

Beginning Wednesday morning, a foul odor permeated the huge Conrad Hilton, the convention headquarters, and the Palmer House, where delegates from Florida and 10 other states were quartered. The smell was enough to drive outside anyone with normal sensibilities. In the Hilton, the effect was as though someone had been sick in all 2,700 rooms.

Police on Friday announced the arrest of three young women from Newark, N.J., on charges of perpetrating this offense. Investigators said they found in their purses small vials of a chemical (vituric acid) which was used to create the odor; in a locker rented by one of the trio was a jug of the stuff—enough presumably to have made the convention hall itself unbearable.

One of the women—all in their mid-twenties—was identified as a close friend of Tom Hayden, a founder of the Communist-connected Students for a Democratic Society who was one of the organizers of the Chicago demonstrations. The SDS played a large part in the turmoil which virtually wrecked Columbia University last spring. Another of the accused stink-bombers admitted she had been arrested in the Columbia disorders and in disturbances in three other cities.

Said Hayden in a press conference several weeks before the convention opened: "We are planning tactics of prolonged direct action to put heat on the government and its political party". Fouling the air of the hotels was part of the action, as was the provocation of police and the repeated effort to penetrate police lines for a mass march on the convention hall.

Critics, especially among television commentators, sneered at "Fortress Chicago" and decried strict security measures around the hall.

The fact is that anyone with proper credentials had no more trouble getting into the convention at Chicago than into the Republican meeting place at Miami Beach.

There were more police guards, yes, but there was good reason to have them—just as there was good reason to enclose the sprawling grounds of the convention hall with that much-photographed fence. It was a practical means of limiting access to the hall and to the parking areas where busses unloaded delegates and newsmen.

Why Mayor Daley insisted on having the convention, with all its headaches, in Chicago he probably now wonders himself. He was abetted in this error by President Johnson and the Democratic National Committee—they should have moved the convention to Miami Beach.

But as a condition of keeping the convention in Chicago, Mayor Daley pledged to protect it against violence.

Give the man credit for keeping his word.

THE FUNDAMENTAL "RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY" WAS CHALLENGED AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, with all of the talk and criticism of the recent Democratic National Convention in Chicago, I would like to comment on several rather important fundamental concepts which have been generally ignored by the news media and which therefore might go unnoticed by the general public and the average citizen.

National nominating conventions have two essential purposes: First, to draft a party platform and, second, to nominate their party candidates for President and Vice President. For such important assemblages there must be rules of procedure and conduct. Without rules there could be no orderly meeting and no decisions could be reached.

There are two basic objectives of the rules of procedure and conduct of the House of Representatives and of the national conventions: First, to insure that the majority—even a slim majority—can work its will and, second, to insure a minority—even a small minority—the right to be heard.

Obviously the election of delegates and the presentation of views can and should be improved. But it should be clearly known that anyone who wanted to present any idea or proposition for the platform had an opportunity—the minority, as well as the majority—to be heard and, second, that the majority prevailed by open vote.

Certainly we must all believe in orderly parliamentary processes, in the establishment of fair rules and the compliance therewith, and in decision by majority vote after full discussion.

Simply because one person—or a group—may have what seems to him—or the group—to be a good idea does not mean that any others—or especially a majority—will, or should, accept it.

Simply because one candidate loses, or one policy is not adopted, is no justification for denouncing or destroying the representative, parliamentary system.

Attempts to delay or disrupt the meeting do not contribute to fair hearings or reasoned deliberations. The alternative to representative government could be mob rule, anarchy, then totalitarianism. The alternative to parliamentary procedure could be endless, decisionless, riotous debacles where only the physically strong or treacherous could prevail.

Candidates or delegates who are defeated and then try to destroy the system because they lost are immature and dangerous to society— somewhat akin to the student body which burns their stadium after losing a game or smashes the auditorium after losing the school debating championship.

I am also convinced that any cause supported by vulgarities and obscenities—so gross they could not be portrayed audibly or visibly by the TV or photographic media—can never accomplish anything constructive—but it can destroy. It is somewhat akin to guerrilla warfare—devastatingly destructive of both victim and perpetrator, and wholly without social value. Vulgarity destroys subtly but inexorably—first morality, then institutions; next government, then society—unless, of course, decent countermeasures and attitudes can prevail.

Hopefully, most American citizens will not deem every objective which they desire at the moment as justification for the common use of obscenities, vulgarities, mob rule, or anarchy. Any cause can be achieved better and more expeditiously within the free representative, parliamentary system of a civilized society.

Many reporters, commentators, delegates and demonstrators talked incessantly about "rights" of one kind or another, but the first foremost "constitutional right" involved at Chicago was the "right of assembly."

Every "right" has a correlative duty and a concomitant responsibility—if the responsibility is shirked, the right may be lost.

Our "right of assembly," for instance, implies and must include the right of others also to assemble without molestation. If two or more groups desire to assemble at the same time and place there must be rules for determining the priorities—and there are.

The National Democratic Party made arrangements many months ago, before all others, to assemble in Chicago. They had the prior "right of assembly."

The city of Chicago undertook to guarantee safe conduct and personal security to the Democratic assemblage—no small undertaking these days. Without security and safe passage, there is no true right of assembly.

Regrettably, others were bent on disrupting the Democratic assemblage—for a variety of reasons. Good citizens, those who cherish constitutional government and respect the rights of others, would have voluntarily refrained from any disruption of the Democratic Convention.

Those who tried to interfere and destroy the right of the Democrats to assemble, should have been deterred. To maintain security in face of guerrilla and provocative disruptions requires extraordinary force. It is miraculous that no policeman or delegate was killed in Chicago.

Some anarchists planned for months to disrupt the Chicago convention—and to taunt and trouble all who stood in their way. These people hardly deserve the rights and privileges of a free society, because they are bent on destroying it.

All citizens and officials who desire to maintain free representative government and an open parliamentary system, must not only work to preserve and improve the system, but we must also refuse to tolerate those who by their speech, actions, and conduct seek to destroy or disrupt the system.

RESOLUTION CONDEMNING MILITARY OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION, EAST GERMANY, POLAND, HUNGARY, AND BULGARIA

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, today, I have been joined by several of my colleagues in the House, in introducing a House concurrent resolution condemning the military occupation of Czechoslovakia by forces of the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria. This is an act of brutal aggression against the people of Czechoslovakia in a manner reminiscent of the tactics employed by Nazi Germany immediately prior to the outbreak of World War II.

This act of aggression by the Soviet Union and its satellites clearly was intended to repress a growing spirit of freedom in a nation which was just beginning to grope its way back to freedom after years as a captive nation, and years of subjugation to hard-line Communist tyranny.

There can be no question but that the military forces of the Soviet Union and its pawns among the Warsaw Pact nations, are stationed within the borders of this unhappy land without any legal basis and contrary to the wishes of the established government and the people of Czechoslovakia. They are there to impose compliance with the demands of the leaders of the Kremlin and to stifle even the limited freedom of the press and of political expression that were beginning to emerge.

The resolution we have submitted expresses the sense of the Congress that the President should take such steps as may be necesary to condemn the Soviet Union and its satellites for their military occupation of Czechoslovakia, and to impose economic and political sanctions against the Soviet Union and its satellites for their brutal, unlawful, and immoral suppression of Czechoslovakian freedom and sovereignty.

In addition we believe the United States should press for imposition of similar sanctions by the United Nations. Such sanctions have unwisely been imposed against the little country of Rhodesia which threatens none of its neighbors. Surely the crimes committed by the Soviet Union against one of its neighbors including the raw use of military occupation troops and tanks constitutes an infinitely greater crime and an infinitely greater threat to world peace. I hope that many more of my colleagues will join in this effort and I urge speedy action by the Congress in adopting this resolution.

IN DEFENSE OF THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT AND MAYOR DALEY

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been said about what happened in Chicago last week, and there has been considerable criticism about the steps taken by the administration in order to assure that a national convention could be held; that the rights of the delegates attending the convention would be secure and the citizens of that community were properly protected.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas laid down the legal and moral philosophy that must apply to demonstrations that erupt into violence when he said:

> A demonstrator may be motivated by the highest moral principles. He may in time be right in the eyes of history, or morality or philosophy, these are not controlling. It is the State's duty to arrest and punish those who violate the laws designed to protect private safety and public order.

That is exactly what the mayor of Chicago and the Chicago Police Department and all the other responsible officials of that city did—nothing less and nothing more.

Mayor Daley recognized his responsibilities as the chief executive of that city. He had ample notice, ample warning, and ample intelligence that there were those who were determined to make sure that the convention never occurred in Chicago, and that one of the highest institutions of our democracy—the nominating process for the Presidency—would never come off.

Mr. Speaker, as we go along this afternoon we will develop these points and we will prove that, thank God, we had a Mayor Daley, and thank God that we had a Chicago Police Department of dedicated men.

I submit to my colleagues on this floor that I doubt this convention could have been held if it had occurred in any other city than Chicago and I doubt very much if other communities could have risen to the challenge with the same fortitude and determination that Mayor Daley and the Chicago Police Department did. There were people in this country who were determined at all costs that this convention would not be held. They were determined that the nominating process must not come off, and they were determined that this country must be thrown into such complete chaos and turmoil that the hippies on Michigan Avenue are going to set the foreign policy of America, and the will of 200 million Americans is to be frustrated by their tactics.

So I say to my colleagues that this Nation owes Mayor Daley and the Chicago Police Department a tremendous debt of gratitude.

Mr. Speaker, I believe television networks did Chicago and its people a disastrous disservice last week during coverage of the National Democratic Convention and it is my hope that those responsible will take every step possible to redress this outrageous and unfair television coverage as quickly as possible.

The very distinguished Chicago television critic, Paul Malloy, writing in this morning's Chicago Sun-Times, puts into perspective what television did not tell and describes the injustice committed against Chicago by network television news.

Mr. Malloy said:

> The International Amphitheatre is back to normal, presumably, but it will be quite some time before the same can be said for Chicago's reputation as a convention city—thanks to television.
>
> The networks, as almost everyone knows by now, emphasized by comment and by camera the police clubbing and tear-gassing of the demonstrators. It is an ugly sight, of course, to see an officer strike down a young man. But I think it is an equally ugly sight to see a young man strike down an officer.
>
> What was not stressed during the showing of those heart-wrenching films were the repeated promises by outsiders to turn the city upside down by harassing the police, invade the hotels and the Amphitheatre and attempt to halt the convention.
>
> NO COMMENT ON INJURED POLICE
>
> I did not hear any commentator offer any thoughts on some of the outsiders' threats that "filth will be revered" and "there will be fornication in the streets." I did not hear the commentators deplore the fact that well over 100 Chicago policemen were hospitalized, some of them seriously.
>
> I heard no one credit the Chicago police for the fact that not one shot was fired and that there were no deaths.
>
> The cameras showed the police giving the rioters what-for, but what I did not see were pictures of Chicago policemen being hit by bricks and bottles and other objects. Perhaps I missed it but I did not see pictures of policemen being splashed with human excrement as was reported.
>
> I did not hear any commentator reflect on what it must feel like for a policeman to be struck in the teeth or on the skull by a rock or a golf ball implanted with nails.
>
> I did not hear any commentator show anger at the tauntings and the obscenities hurled at the policemen.
>
> Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey says he saw a policeman get "stabbed in the face with a broken beer bottle, cutting his eyes, his face, for no reason at all." But television apparently did not see this, or similar scenes of brutality.
>
> The Sun-Times on Sunday carried a picture of Patrolman Gregory Kyritz in his bed at Mercy Hospital. He is among those who got it in the face with a brick. I saw no such picture on television.
>
> True, most of the demonstrators were not anarchists and were sincere about wanting to see a halt to the war in Vietnam. But that should not have prevented television from showing those dunder-heads defiantly parading the enemy flag.
>
> I heard no commentator worry about the danger in which many policemen found themselves, or concern himself with the fact that these men have wives and children at home who don't relish the prospect of becoming widows and orphans, and that losing one's eyesight is no fun, even if it is lost in the defense of the city, its citizens and its visitors.
>
> I did not see the television networks send their correspondents to the various hospitals to interview the injured policemen. It seems to me there would have been some interesting stories there—and interesting pictures for the nation to see, and ponder on.
>
> HORRID IMPRESSION
>
> Television showed, live, pictures of a smiling Mayor Daley on the convention floor, followed by riot pictures that had been taped 45 minutes to an hour before. One may imagine the horrid impression this left with viewers who did not know of the prior taping.
>
> Mayor Daley has been severely criticized and investigations are being demanded of the conduct of the Chicago police. Fine. But I think it is high time that investigations be made of those outside, left-wing, anarchist group leaders who came here purposely to practice a mini-revolution in preparation for the larger revolution they have vowed to bring about.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with Mr. Malloy's conclusion in calling for an investigation of those outside leftwing anarchist group leaders who came to Chicago to practice riot and revolution.

I have called on Attorney General Ramsey Clark to take whatever action is necessary to seek Federal indictments against those leaders who crossed State lines to incite the rioting in Chicago and try them under the law that we passed here in Congress earlier this year which makes it a Federal crime to cross a State line to incite or participate in a riot.

This act clearly provides in title I, chapter 102, as follows:

> [Concerning Civil Rights Act of 1968, Public Law 90–284, signed into law Apr. 11, 1968]
>
> TITLE I, CHAPTER 102, DEALING WITH RIOTS
>
> 102–A–1 Whoever travels in inter-state or foreign commerce, or uses any facility of inter-state or foreign commerce including, but not limited to, the mail, telegraph, telephone, radio or television, with intent—
>
> (A) to incite a riot; or
>
> (B) to organize, promote, encourage, participate in, or carry on a riot; or
>
> (C) to commit any act of violence in furthering of a riot; or
>
> (D) to aid or abet any person in inciting, or participating in, or carrying on a riot, or committing any act of violence in furtherance of a riot;
>
> and who, either during the course of any such travel or use or thereafter, performs or attempts to perform, any other overt act for any purpose specified in Sub-paragraph (A), (B), (C), or (D) of this paragraph, shall be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

I say, Mr. Speaker, when the Justice Department concludes its investigation of those who were there to incite this riot, the Attorney General of the United States has no alternative but to prosecute these people under the Federal law.

Let me cite to you from this morning's Chicago Tribune an article by Robert Wiedrich.

He says:

TOWER TICKER

(By Robert Wiedrich)

Now it can be told: A secret tape recording made exactly a week ago yesterday by an undercover man gave authorities convincing evidence that the Yippie leaders intended to tear Chicago apart, no matter what the cost in lives and property. On that Tuesday morning, some of the anti-war leaders gathered in a southside building to discuss the previous night's confrontation with police in Lincoln park. The conversation went something like this: "These Chicago cops are soft. If that had been New York cops, they'd have busted our heads. It's gonna be easy to take these coppers and this town apart."

It was this information that prompted the show of force that night in Lincoln park and again on Wednesday in Grant park. It was this information that finally convinced even the most charitable that this was no peaceful group that would pelt Chicago with flowers, . .

Mr. Speaker, this was no group of idealists who came to Chicago to plead a cause and exercise their right of dissent.

Every one of us in this Chamber holds sacred the right of Americans to the right of dissent and the right of free speech. But I think it is high time that we identified these people for what they were—archconspirators using Chicago as the basis for an internal revolution.

Let me cite to you an excerpt from a column written by the distinguished columnist Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Chicago Daily News:

In fairness to President Johnson it should be noted that he had intelligence reports that young Communists and Yippies in Chicago planned to whip up the debate over Vietnam in order to influence the truce talks in Paris. This was the reason the State Department spokesman issued a warning to North Vietnamese delegates in Paris to stay out of American politics and get on with the talks.

One intelligence report received in Washington and passed on to the President stated that American Communists were quarreling over tactics; that Donald Hamerquist the party's co-ordinator, argued that street violence would adversely effect Sen. Eugene McCarthy's chances at Chicago.

But the new Left, according to the intelligence report, wanted to rampage in the streets and force a confrontation with the police. The repercussions around the world, they argued, would demonstrate the strength of peace forces and help North Vietnamese negotiations in Paris.

This was exactly what happened. The militants staged a peace rally that was never intended to be peaceful. They waved red flags, shouted obscenities and deliberately provoked clashes in front of TV cameras.

In an editorial the Chicago Sun-Times, in pointing out those who incited the riot, also called for an investigation and action at the Federal level. But, my colleagues, if there is any question of the intent of those who traveled hundreds of miles to come to Chicago, crossing State lines, about tearing that city apart, let us look at the August 19 edition of the very highly respected business weekly known, Barron's. In the August 19 edition of that publication, a week before the convention, Mr. William Good and Mr. Jeffrey St. John wrote: "Ballots or Bullets? Radical Leftists May Trigger Violence Next Week in Chicago."

This article, very detailed, pointed out the blueprint of what the hippies had in mind for Chicago.

I say, Mr. Speaker, where were the pundits, where were these self-styled national commentators who should have read the Barron's article before the convention. If anyone overreacted, it was they who overreacted to the incident at Balboa and Michigan. Certainly it occurs to me that men who came to cover a big convention like this should have a full picture of the perimeter and all the probabilities.

All of these national commentators were placed on notice as to what plans these agitators had. The Barron's article points out:

The rough blueprint for disruption at the Democratic Convention was spelled out at a June 29 press conference, in New York City, held by the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee. On hand to launch the Chicago-bound National Mobilization Committee (MOB) was its chairman—and leader of the bloody October 1967 March on the Pentagon—David Dellinger, who likes to call himself a non-Soviet Communist." Present, too, was Tom Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), who, between and since trips to Hanoi (with fellow traveling Yale Professor Staughton Lynd and U.S. Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker), has led a number of the SDS street scenes.

In light of this type of information, certainly the mayor of Chicago had every right in the world to take the step he did when they were sending up these signals stating what they planned to do. But the commentators never mentioned this. For these commentators in Chicago to show in 20 or 30 seconds segments only the most bizarre picture and not give the full facts, in my judgment, is an abuse of a responsibility.

Damon Runyon once said that an irresponsible reporter at a typewriter is more dangerous than a drunk doctor in an operating room. I submit to the Members that some of those reporting what happened in Chicago last week reached the very zenith of irresponsibility in American journalism, because on June 29, Mr. Dellinger and Mr. Tom Hayden, a founder of the Students for Democratic Society, and Jerry Rubin, and various others clearly stated what they planned to do and what their plans were during the Democratic Convention, and these very plans were carried out almost to the letter.

Mr. Rubin headed up the Yippies as well as the Students for Democratic Society, and he said time and again their plan was to tear up the convention and see that the convention never took off. These people arrogantly boasted there would be no convention in Chicago.

I say to the Members, as fair and honest people, what should the city of Chicago have done except exactly what it did? Had Mayor Daley failed to take adequate steps he would have been severely criticized when the rioting started.

It is significant that the leaders who came to Chicago and started the rampage in Lincoln Park, which then moved to Balboa and Michigan, and then on to the Hilton Hotel, which happened to be the headquarters of EUGENE MCCARTHY and Vice President HUMPHREY as well as several other delegations, were the same people we read about who led the march on the Pentagon last year, and who led the march on Columbia University, and who led the march on Grant Station in New York City and tied up traffic for more than 2 hours. They boasted in print that all of these activities were a prelude to Chicago. They were testing the methods and seeing what they could do.

I want to read one significant statement written by Mr. Jerry Rubin in the Village Voice.

This is what this young fellow wrote in the Village Voice, which is a hippie publication, and this is the young fellow who was in Chicago and arrested by the Chicago police and charged with participating in a riot:

The goal? A massive white revolutionary youth movement which working in parallel cooperation with the rebellions in the black communities could seriously disrupt this country and thus be an internal catalyst for a breakdown of the American ability and will to fight guerrillas overseas.

He wrote further:

Thus defeated abroad by peasant revolutionaries and disrupted from within by blacks and whites, the empire of the United States will find itself faced with rebellions from 15 different directions.

Here are the blueprints of what was going on and what was planned for Chicago. I am putting in the RECORD today the entire article which appeared in Barron's, so that those who have some lingering doubts may know what were the intentions of those who crossed the State lines and why it was necessary for Chicago to use every means possible to deal with this insurrection:

BALLOTS OR BULLETS?—RADICAL LEFTISTS MAY TRIGGER VIOLENCE NEXT WEEK IN CHICAGO

(By William Good and Jeffrey St. John)

This week, as all the world knows, Democrats and "democrats" of every stripe will begin making their way to Chicago. Residents of the Windy City may be forgiven if they regard the prospect with mixed emotions, for if nothing else things ought to be livelier during the party's National Convention than they were for Republicans at Miami Beach a fortnight ago. To be sure, the name of Spiro Agnew, if "not a household word" (as the G.O.P. Vice Presidential candidate was happy to admit), did turn out to be something of a sputtering bombshell when it first was dropped; several miles away in a Miami ghetto, meanwhile, blacks and whites were shooting it up over issues none too distinct but, apparently, not related to the presence of Mr. Agnew and his fellow visitors across the bay. In general, calm and sunshine prevailed at Miami Beach. By contrast, Chicago promises to be both windy and hot.

THE YIPPIES ARE COMING

Upwards of 100,000 militant radicals, ranging from student groups and so-called Yippies to out-and-out Black Power zealots, are expected to converge on the convention site. Security precautions approaching those of a police state have been implemented by Democratic chiefs at the city, state and federal level. Nevertheless, reports persist that a carefully organized civic disturbance of major (perhaps unprecedented) proportions will be touched off by a handful of self-styled American Marxists.

The city that almost burned down once before makes an ominous convention site for the party in power today. Such incendiary plans for revolutionary disruption, after all, are set against a backdrop of racial violence that Mayor Richard Daley's dedicated legions somehow have been unable to control; prominent among the city's troublemaking groups are the so-called Blackstone Rangers, of recent contempt-of-Congress notoriety. Adding fuel to the fire in the next few days is sure to be a delegate-seating challenge from the rump Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, headed by Charles Evers (and backed by Hubert Humphrey). There is every indication, then, that the white radicals now heading for Chicago hope their scheme of disruption will ignite widespread rioting, looting and sniping on a scale dwarfing that of recent incidents in Cleveland or Miami.

If all this comes as a rude shock, it shouldn't. The intentions and goals of domestic Marxist revolutionaries have been well documented (in Barron's, for example, by Alice Widener and other writers). The problem is that such warnings largely have been ignored by government and the communications media. The Democrats in convention assembled could find their chickens coming home to roost, since the target will be the very party which has held sway in Washington since U.S. riots began breaking out five years ago. On the unofficial agenda at Chicago, therefore, may be the first brutal attempt by American radicals to force political decisions through mob violence, or the threat of it—the beginning of a new phase in America's revolutionary war of the 'Sixties.

The rough blueprint for disruption at the Democratic Convention was spelled out at a June 29 press conference, in New York City, held by the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee. On hand to launch the Chicago-bound National Mobilization Committee (MOB) was its chairman—and leader of the bloody October 1967 March on the Pentagon—David Dellinger, who likes to call himself "a non-Soviet Communist." Present, too, was Tom Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), who, between and since trips to Hanoi (with fellow traveling Yale Professor Staughton Lynd and U.S. Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker), has led a number of the SDS street scenes.

MAKING MOB'S SCENE

MOB's battle plan is as simple as it is sinister: the aim is to bring convention machinery to a halt for "failing to serve the human needs of the people." Helping in this endeavor will be the hippie-derivative group called Yippies. Jerry Rubin, the head Yippie, doubles as leader of the Peking-leaning Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and was Dellinger's "co-project director" for last year's Pentagon affair.

PLP boasts a record of achievements and stated goals all its own. First, its vice chairman, William Epton, got himself convicted for inciting the 1964 Harlem riots. Second, PLP appears to be muscling into control of SDS by infiltration, pushing out many of the well-meaning but "misguided" (non-Marxist) members. Third, as its national student organizer, Jeff Gordon, bluntly told the radical newsweekly Guardian (July 6, 1968): "We in the PLP are inspired by revolutionaries all over the world who use (Marxism-Leninism) successfully to win Socialism. Yes, in this context we are very proud to be 'Peking-oriented.' Our orientation is for smashing state power of U.S. imperialism and replacing it with the working class."

THE FLOWER CHILDREN

But are the Yippies an extension of PLP? Not quite, as New York's underground publication "East Village Other" has reported. They "are the children of the middle class; children who refuse to 'grow up,' refuse to accept the world their parents created. The Yippies have had white-middle-class America, and they didn't like it." To many observers, the hippie sub-culture, popularized as benign by the mass media, sooner or later had to drop in on active radical politics.

Yippies got into the act last March 20, with a "Yip-in" at New York's bustling Grand Central Terminal. Boldly blocking passengers and trains, while battling police, 5,000 Yippies disrupted the station for two-and-a-half hours. Some observers have suggested that the "Yip-in" was a dry run for the Democratic Convention, since Jerry Rubin even then had been writing about his plan to disrupt the Chicago conclave. Recently, the Yippie office confided that it hopes to put 10,000 estwhile flower children into the Windy City. Rennie Davis, MOB coordinator and a Dellinger associate, said in a telephone interview that Rubin's group is "closely cooperating" with the MOB.

Silly-sounding as all this may seem, a closer look at what MOB and Yippies plan for the Democrats can dispel any humor in the situation. Indeed, it must be causing the stoical Mayor Daley to shudder. Tom Hayden spelled things out in his June 29 press conference, as quoted by Guardian: "We are planning tactics of prolonged direct action to put heat on the government and its political party." In New Left rhetoric, "direct action" can include street barricading, fire bombing, seizure of buildings and massive confrontations with the police. Last spring's siege of Columbia University, which Hayden helped to lead, hinted at what's to come for Chicago.

"We realize that it will be no picnic," Hayden says, "but responsibility for any violence that develops lies with the authorities, not the demonstrators." Hayden means, of course, that Chicago police must not stop his shock troops if they invade the convention hall, block traffic or make exits and entrances impossible. Such tactics, refined at Columbia, were tested first at the Pentagon. Here's how a national newsmagazine described the earlier scene: "An assault squad wielding clubs and ax handles probed the rope barriers in front of the Pentagon entrances, taunting and testing white-hatted federal marshals who stood in close line. After 90-odd minutes of steadily rising invective and roiling around in the north parking lot of the Pentagon, flying wedges of demonstrators surged toward the less heavily defended press entrances."

Ten of the "peace protestors" actually managed to penetrate the Pentagon. With their ranks greatly swelled in Chicago, how many more might gain access to the convention floor, even physically taking it over? More than a hundred anti-war groups mustered for the march on the Pentagon produced a mob force estimated at 55,000. For Chicago, that number easily could double or treble. On June 29, both Dellinger and Hayden stated that most of the organizations present at the Pentagon will return for the Convention. The latter-day Yippies, for their part, marshalled 5,000 at Grand Central. How many can they dredge up in a nationwide effort, presumably recruited from New York, San Francisco, Boston and other hippie haunts? All told, the mottley crowd converging on Chicago could number a quarter-million.

"East Village Other" has given a glimpse of what the Yippies, at least, have in mind. As a starter, brothers and sisters dressed in Viet Cong garb will go "electioneering," shaking hands in mimicry of bourgeois politicians. Others even will go to work, if only temporarily. "Yippies plan to paint their cars like taxicabs, pick up delegates and drop them off in Wisconsin," observes the underground publication. "We are infiltrating the hotels with bellboys and cooks. We are also infiltrating the press." Sound like innocent child's play for the flower children? "The Democrats," reports E.V.O., "will probably have to travel from hotel to convention hall by helicopter."

Last November 16, Jerry Rubin summed up the strategy for disruption, in The Village Voice, with this clarion call: "See you next August in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention. Bring pot, fake delegates' cards, smokebombs, costumes, blood to throw, and all kinds of interesting props. Also football helmets."

NO TEA PARTY?

It's clear that Chicago is in for something more serious than a panty raid. The possibility of arousing ghetto violence, moreover, is quite real. Here's Rubin, in The Village Voice: "The goal? A massive white revolutionary youth movement which, working in parallel cooperation with the rebellions in the black communities, could seriously disrupt this country, and thus be an internal catalyst for a breakdown of the American ability and will to fight guerrillas overseas. Thus defeated abroad by peasant revolutionaries, and disrupted from within by blacks and whites, the empire of the United States will find itself faced with rebellions from 15 different directions."

Further, according to Hayden, "in the future it is conceivable that students will threaten destruction of buildings as the last deterrent to police attacks." It follows that both Rubin and Hayden actually need the police, to oppose the radicals in a forceful confrontation. No longer pretending concern with simple issues (like Columbia's education reform or opposition to the draft), their interest is in the inciting of violence as a political weapon. Such tactics, not incidentally, also tend to gain new recruits to their ranks. After SDS' June convention, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover observed that a "sabotage-explosive workshop even discussed the finer points of firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns, as well as similar forms of so-called defense measures that could be used in defiance of police action."

The new development within the white radical camp not only points to violence, but also to the "glory of death" in "confrontations" on behalf of the "cause." If this seems a dubious assumption, here's what the New Left publication, Ramparts, had to say about the Pentagon riot: "Objectively speaking, perhaps the best thing that could have happened . . . would have been for somebody to have been killed. For American soldiers to have shot unarmed American civilians exercising their right of free speech would have been a blow from which the Administration could never recover."

CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

Dragged into this potentially Draconian nightmare may be Senator Eugene McCarthy's youthful horde of idealistic supporters—the celebrated "Children's Crusade." While many adult McCarthy boosters are aware of the MOB and Yippie threat, few of the well-meaning college students seem willing to believe they could become unwitting pawns (There's evidence that Senator McCarthy does; last week he asked them all to stay home and "demonstrate in your own cities." His self-appointed field leaders, Allard Lowenstein, indicated he wouldn't take orders of that sort.)

Great numbers of these young people almost certainly will go to Chicago. Clinton Deveaux, McCarthy's convention coordinator, has indicated that a Life magazine estimate of one million McCarthyites in Chicago was too low; until recently, he had hopes for 1½ or even two million. "Anybody that wants to go will go," shrugs another staffer. "If they have to beg or borrow their way. There will be more people than that city has every seen. These are kids who slept on desks and who actually went hungry during the New York primary."

Emotionally, the campaign is do-or-die for many of McCarthy's young people. However misplaced their response, it nonetheless makes for still another potentially explosive threat overhanging the Convention. Although McCarthy's kids may be non-violent in nature, the followers of Dellinger, Rubin & Co. plan to try enlisting the McCarthy supporters in their disruption, by means of "pre-convention" demonstrations in favor of the Minnesota Senator.

If McCarthy loses his bid for the nomination, what happens? His youthful followers likely would conclude that "the system is corrupt." Those radical pre-convention agitations then could evolve into a "protest march," which in turn could mushroom into full-blown riot. Some McCarthy activists already have threatened to "disrupt" if Vice President Humphrey is the nominee. Pete Hamill, in The Village Voice (June 20) warned: "It is as simple as this: It must be McCarthy, because it can't be Humphrey. If the Central Committee (the Democratic Convention delegates) gives us Humphrey anyway, we can drift into quietism, and tend our private garden, or we can disrupt, disrupt, disrupt."

I submit to my colleagues that here we have the two ingredients necessary for Federal prosecution. We have first of all the intent spread across the record. All we have to do is get the transcript of the June 29 press conference and get the writings of these men in the various publications, the articles appearing under their names, and we have the intent—the intent to come to Chicago and to incite and to participate not only in riots, but in revolution and anarchy. Then we have the arrest in Chicago of these people. So there is no question about their presence there. We have them arrested and booked in Chicago. So I say we have the two ingredients necessary to meet the test of the Federal law: We have the intent and the actual execution. I say that Attorney General Ramsey Clark can perform a great duty for the people of America by engaging in this prosecution forthwith, for there is no question in my mind that unless we stop this traffic of exporting riots across State lines, we are going to have this kind of dissension and rioting all over this country.

The Chicago Daily News in an excellent editorial, which I am going to place in the RECORD, also pointed out the fact that 100 policemen were injured—several seriously. This hardly supports the generalization that all we had in Chicago was a bunch of club-happy cops beating innocent and defenseless children.

The Daily News editorial follows:

THERE'S ANOTHER SIDE

Chicago emerges badly scarred from the convention that was viewed in advance with such high hopes. Around the world, stories, pictures and commentaries have focused on headcracking and tear gas in Chicago's streets to the virtual exclusion of everything else that was going on this week. Not since the days of Al Capone, when Chicago became a worldwide synonym for gangster, has the city been seen in such a bad light.

We have said before, and say again, that much of what went on here was inexcusable, that the police overreacted to provocation, and that the hard-line attitude of the city administration, beginning with Mayor Daley, bears a large burden of blame. The investigations launched by various governmental agencies should be thorough and spare no feelings in digging to the bottom of the disgraceful incidents that marred the week.

That being said, is there another side to the story? We believe there is. And it is important to the life of the city—as well as its reputation—that it be noted. We urge the investigators to consider well these facts:

Various radical groups had declared war on the Democratic convention—and the City of Chicago—long ago. Their plans were detailed and dirty. Security precautions had to be of an order to meet any contingency, including attempts at assassination. Yet in spite of all the ugly clashes, no shots were fired and no one was killed.

The hard-core dissidents (doubtless a minority among the protesters, but there just the same) did everything possible to provoke police attacks, preferably in full view of the TV cameras. Unfortunately the police, in thwarting their other aims, handed these revolutionaries a victory on this score.

More than 100 policemen were injured, several seriously. This hardly supports the generalization that all we had in Chicago was a bunch of club-happy cops beating innocent and defenseless kids.

The provocation took bizarre forms. Police were showered with human filth and sprayed with corrosive oven-cleaner. During such attacks, obscenities filled the air—a technique designed to insure that TV and radio could not broadcast that part of the story.

The list could go on. And while none of these things can wholly excuse those policemen who lost their heads or revealed a latent streak of sadism, they go far to explain what happened.

Obviously, the need is great for a reexamination of attitudes and values by the city administration and the police department. But many of the critics have overreacted in their way just as some policemen overreacted in theirs. In demanding more understanding on the part of Mayor Daley and others, they should try on their part to understand men who bore the burden of defending their city, its visitors, and themselves.

There is a great deal of talk about the arrest by Chicago police of some people on the 15th floor of the Hilton Hotel. My colleagues, I was there. I was there, and I stood in front of the Hilton Hotel at 4 o'clock that morning, and only by the grace of God I am here today, because 15 feet away from me one of those big water jugs, glass water pitchers that are used in the hotel, full of water came crashing down from the 15th floor and was smashed to smithereens. The water and the glass splinters hit me and some of the policemen standing beside me when we were talking about this.

So do not tell me this was some innocent little group on the 15th floor. These were people up there dropping all sorts of objects on the military, on the soldiers, on the press, on the police. Why, they reached the height of indignity when they filled beer cans with human waste and threw them out the window at our soldiers policing the Hilton Hotel along Michigan Avenue.

How much indignity are the American people to suffer before we take some positive steps against these agitators?

I want to put in the RECORD today also an article about how one of the Chicago policemen infiltrated the ranks of the hippies. He grew a beard and learned the jingo and the lingo of the American hippies. As a matter of fact, he learned his lesson so well he became a bodyguard for Jerry Rubin, and for 3 days they were very good friends.

This policeman, Officer Pierson, then told all of us of the conspiracy that was being "cooked up" in these hippy ranks.

I submit and I underscore and I emphasize, these were not innocent little idealists who do not like war; these were hardened, trained, dedicated anarchists determined to destroy the very workings of this great Republic. Why, the tactics and the techniques they used in Chicago approximated the Vietcong. Golf balls with nails in them were being hurled at the police. We have not even read of these atrocities in South Vietnam at the hands of the Vietcong. They all come from the same cloth.

I think it is time this country realized this was not some small, innocent movement. This was the beginning, if they get away with it, of a massive effort in this country to destroy the very fabric of this Republic.

So I want my colleagues to read the transcript of the remarks of Officer Pierson. I want you to read the article which appeared in the Chicago American, which follows:

HOW CHICAGO COP GOT YIPPIE PLANS

(By Jack Vandermyn)

"We are beyond communism, now. There are such things as anarchists, you know."

Jerry Rubin, self-styled revolutionary and "martyr" for the radical new left, was speaking at a hastily called news conference in Grant park.

Rubin, 26, founder of the Youth International party [Yippies], was only hours out of the Cook county jail where he had been confined under $25,000 bond since Wednesday on many charges, including solicitation to commit mob action, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct.

BLAMED FOR STARTING IT

Police blame Rubin, formerly of Berkeley, Cal., and now a New York resident, of fomenting the 4 days of disturbances which plagued the Democratic National convention here.

Rubin smiled tightly thru his scraggly mustache and stubble of a beard when he was asked if the disturbances served any useful purpose.

"I think we defeated Humphrey and started the American revolution. I think the election will disrupt itself. When you run two idiots, you eventually will have to turn to military force."

Rubin's eyes blazed and he tossed his head angrily, his shoulder-length hair in disarray, at the mention of Mayor Daley and the Chicago police.

INCOMMUNICADO, HE SAYS

"I'm accusing the police of kidnaping me. I was walking peacefully when they grabbed me. They held me incommunicado and said I was personally responsible for the street disturbances."

Surrounded by subordinates equally as shabby and in need of baths, the Yippie leader called for the mayor's resignation.

"The cops sent a spy, Patrolman Robert Pierson, to induce our people into action which would enable police to clobber them. He was sent into the park to frame me," the revolutionary claimed.

In a copyrighted story today, the Chicago Tribune told of Pierson's activities as an undercover agent who infiltrated the Yippies and kept police informed of their battle plans.

Pierson risked his life to gain Rubin's confidence. He was so successful that he became Rubin's bodyguard and confidante.

NOTICED BY RANGER

A member of the Blackstone Rangers street gang recognized Pierson, forcing him to flee from the wrath of the mob.

Police sources said that Pierson provided them with invaluable information about the plans for demonstrations and violence.

Among the most surprising statement from Pierson was that national television networks kept in close contact with demonstrators and told them where the TV cameras would be located so that the Yippies could get the most coverage of their chaos.

Pierson said the networks phoned the Chicago headquarters of Students for a Democratic Society and provided such information to pass on to the Yippies in the parks and on the street.

Pierson grew a beard, bought old clothes, and assumed the name of Robert [Big Man] Lavin. He said he saw many Yippies and motorcycle gang members using narcotics.

To display his "toughness," Pierson taunted police, was clubbed, and served as a personal muscleman to Rubin to gain the confidence of the shaggy provokers.

He pretended to take narcotics, drank with youth gangs, and even tossed rocks and bottles at police.

"My aim was bad, tho," said Pierson, who has been with the police department since 1959.

From information pieced together by Pierson, it appeared that the Yippies planned all along to make their stand in Grant park, rather than Lincoln park, where they started the trouble early in the week.

WOULD HAVE RIOTED

If the Yippies were pushed out of Lincoln park, Rubin had ordered them to spread into the streets and riot, according to Pierson.

At his news conference yesterday, Rubin said that he "personally planned no more demonstrations at this time in Chicago."

Rubin was asked what Yippies stand for.

"We're for a system of no private ownership of gigantic utilities, a system where America could not control the private resources of the world."

Does this substantiate Mayor Daley's charge that the Yippie movement is communist-inspired and supported?

"Daley knows that communism is involved in everything in the world," Rubin said.

I am also putting in the Record today a story of the bizarre weapons used by these protesters, in an article appearing in the Chicago Sun-Times, of equipment and techniques and methods that defy imagination.

I tell you, there is not an American in this country whose conscience is not boiling over at what was going on at the hands of these self-styled conspirators against this country.

I hope my friends and my colleagues will read this Sun-Times article which follows:

Bizarre Weapons Used by Protesters

Chicago Police Department confiscated more than 100 weapons, mostly homemade, from demonstrators last week, a police captain said Tuesday.

Comdr. Charles Pepp of the Prairie Av. District described some of the objects as "bizarre."

More than 60 per cent of them will be used as evidence in cases relating to the demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention, he said.

EVEN A BLOWGUN

Pepp made an inventory of some of the objects recovered, but emphasized that his remarks were based only on a sample.

Among the most unusual, he said, were a glass jar containing black widow spiders, a sword cane, and a blowgun with darts.

The spiders were seized after one of them was thrown through the window of an auto belonging to a railroad employe, according to police. Apparently the demonstrator thought the employe was a policeman.

Demonstrators near 720 S. Michigan had the sword cane. The police crime laboratory is analyzing a substance found on the points of darts recovered with the blowgun, Pepp said. No firearms were found on the demonstrators.

However, police found a bottle top with a wick attached, presumably from a bottle that contained gasoline.

The only explosive turned up so far were "some foreign shells" taken from one individual Pepp said adding:

STONES AND BOTTLES

"Mostly we got stones, rocks and glass bottles—used as missiles."

Some of the other objects "were weapons created out of things intended for another purpose," according to Pepp.

For example, police confiscated rubber balls and golf balls with 10-penny nails forced through them, a piece of metal with nails attached to it and a piece of wood with a razor blade attached. Pepp said. The last item was inscribed with the word "peace."

STINK BOMBS

More than a dozen knives, including a butter knife sharpened into a deadly weapon, and some straight razors also were found, he said.

Several items that could be used as stink bombs were obtained during arrests. They included some vials and a half-gallon container of butyric acid reported to have been used to create a terrible odor in hotel lobbies.

Taken from another demonstrator was an aerosol can "with contents that could act as a stink bomb," and a pair of scissors to puncture the can, according to police.

Other objects included a three-inch ball of lead that police said was hurled at a policeman in Lincoln Park, and a hunk of reinforced concrete used, police said, to break a policeman's jaw.

There also were half a rolling pin filled with lead, and staple nails taped together "that could be used as a weapon and is sometimes called a guerrilla mine," police said.

In the week of police activity, the department reported 643 persons were arrested, 567 men and 76 women.

A total of 152 policemen were injured, according to department reports.

Finally, it would be to no avail if we only made a few speeches over here deploring the actions in Chicago and then walked away. I tell you, this is not a partisan issue. This has nothing to do with Democrats or Republicans. These people are out to destroy all of us. They are out to destroy the very institutions that made America great.

This country grew because of the two-party system. And Hubert Humphrey has the same right to state his qualifications to the American voters as does Richard Nixon. But it is quite apparent that the techniques these people developed in Chicago during the Democratic Convention are now going to be used against Hubert Humphrey all over the country, unless the Attorney General moves forthwith and with determination to stop this kind of technique.

Here we have a story appearing in this morning's Chicago Tribune, "Chicago Police Uncover Plot To Stir Columbia U. Disorder."

In the course of our investigation and working with these people who are arch-conspirators, we found what their plans are after Chicago.

Make no mistake, my friends. Chicago is only the beginning, not the end. The question and the test of America is going to be, will we be able to deal forcefully and effectively with this greatest threat to our country?

The Chicago Tribune article follows:

Chicago Police Uncover Plot To Stir Columbia University Disorder

(By John O'Brien)

An alleged plot to incite new disorders at Columbia university in New York City was uncovered in Chicago yesterday by detectives of the police intelligence division.

Detectives said they uncovered the plot after arresting 16 persons, mostly youths, in a raid on an apartment in Old Town, at 1945 Lincoln av. The youths told the detectives, headed by Capt. Thomas Lyons, director of police intelligence, that they were hippies or members of the radical Youth International party.

Seized in the two-room apartment were a Viet Cong flag and marijuana, obscene photographs, and literature on the New Left political movement.

AGES FROM 14 TO 29

The 16 ranged in ages from 14 to 29 and included six teenage girls, three of them runaways. Police said only six gave Illinois addresses.

Information on the alleged plot, which included a sit-in at the start of fall classes, was sent to New York authorities by Capt. Lyons.

The youths told detectives they had participated in Chicago demonstrations last week and were preparing to leave for New York City.

TELL TRAVEL PLANS

The youths said they planned to travel by bus, car, and motorcycle to New York City. A week-end meeting on details of the disorders was scheduled by Jerry Rubin and other radicals who reportedly directed the violence in Chicago last week. Rubin, 25, of New York City, is chairman of the yippies.

Two of those arrested, Loretta Rodriguez, 18, of Detroit, and Martin Moore, 25, of Youngstown, O., were charged with possession of marijuana and will appear in Narcotics court today.

The others, with the exception of five juveniles, were charged with disorderly conduct. They are:

William Brown, 25, of Omaha; David Dempsey, 20, of Kilgore, Tex.; Daniel Napier, 19, of Riverdale, N.J.; Richard Taylor, 18, of Chicago; Billy Knight, 29, of Los Angeles; Herbert Dramm, 21, of Riverdale, N.J.; Elda Andrea, 19, of Aurora; Darlene Daszeic, 19, of Des Plaines; and Joseph Musial, 20, of Los Angeles. The juveniles are from Chicago, Aurora, Detroit, and Mosinee, Wis.

And then we have a statement by J. Edgar Hoover, who also points out, "Leftists Plan College Riots, Hoover Warns." I am going to put this in the Record, because here again, Mr. Speaker, we see that Chicago was the prelude to a nationwide effort to sow disorder and discord.

I invite you, my colleagues, to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue where in front of that National Archives Building are those two beautiful monuments. On one are inscribed the words "What is past is prologue," and on the other, "Study the past."

The article on Mr. Hoover's views follows:

Leftists Plan College Riots, Hoover Warns

Washington, August 31.—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warned today that radical new left students plan to launch a widespread attack on American campuses this fall similar to the recent uprising at Columbia university.

"A roving band of self-styled revolutionaries who are using college campuses as a base for their destructive activities . . .

political party". Fouling the air of the hotels was part of the action, as was the provocation of police and the repeated effort to penetrate police lines for a mass march on the convention hall.

Critics, especially among television commentators, sneered at "Fortress Chicago" and decried strict security measures around the hall.

The fact is that anyone with proper credentials had no more trouble getting into the convention at Chicago than into the Republican meeting place at Miami Beach.

There were more police guards, yes, but there was good reason to have them—just as there was good reason to enclose the sprawling grounds of the convention hall with that much-photographed fence. It was a practical means of limiting access to the hall and to the parking areas where busses unloaded delegates and newsmen.

Why Mayor Daley insisted on having the convention, with all its headaches, in Chicago he probably now wonders himself. He was abetted in this error by President Johnson and the Democratic National Committee—they should have moved the convention to Miami Beach.

But as a condition of keeping the convention in Chicago, Mayor Daley pledged to protect it against violence.

Give the man credit for keeping his word.

THE FUNDAMENTAL "RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY" WAS CHALLENGED AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, with all of the talk and criticism of the recent Democratic National Convention in Chicago, I would like to comment on several rather important fundamental concepts which have been generally ignored by the news media and which therefore might go unnoticed by the general public and the average citizen.

National nominating conventions have two essential purposes: First, to draft a party platform and, second, to nominate their party candidates for President and Vice President. For such important assemblages there must be rules of procedure and conduct. Without rules there could be no orderly meeting and no decisions could be reached.

There are two basic objectives of the rules of procedure and conduct of the House of Representatives and of the national conventions: First, to insure that the majority—even a slim majority—can work its will and, second, to insure a minority—even a small minority—the right to be heard.

Obviously the election of delegates and the presentation of views can and should be improved. But it should be clearly known that anyone who wanted to present any idea or proposition for the platform had an opportunity—the minority, as well as the majority—to be heard and, second, that the majority prevailed by open vote.

Certainly we must all believe in orderly parliamentary processes, in the establishment of fair rules and the compliance therewith, and in decision by majority vote after full discussion.

Simply because one person—or a group—may have what seems to him—or the group—to be a good idea does not mean that any others—or especially a majority—will, or should, accept it.

Simply because one candidate loses, or one policy is not adopted, is no justification for denouncing or destroying the representative, parliamentary system.

Attempts to delay or disrupt the meeting do not contribute to fair hearings or reasoned deliberations. The alternative to representative government could be mob rule, anarchy, then totalitarianism. The alternative to parliamentary procedure could be endless, decisionless, riotous debacles where only the physically strong or treacherous could prevail.

Candidates or delegates who are defeated and then try to destroy the system because they lost are immature and dangerous to society— somewhat akin to the student body which burns their stadium after losing a game or smashes the auditorium after losing the school debating championship.

I am also convinced that any cause supported by vulgarities and obscenities—so gross they could not be portrayed audibly or visibly by the TV or photographic media—can never accomplish anything constructive—but it can destroy. It is somewhat akin to guerrilla warfare—devastatingly destructive of both victim and perpetrator, and wholly without social value. Vulgarity destroys subtly but inexorably—first morality, then institutions; next government, then society—unless, of course, decent countermeasures and attitudes can prevail.

Hopefully, most American citizens will not deem every objective which they desire at the moment as justification for the common use of obscenities, vulgarities, mob rule, or anarchy. Any cause can be achieved better and more expeditiously within the free representative, parliamentary system of a civilized society.

Many reporters, commentators, delegates and demonstrators talked incessantly about "rights" of one kind or another, but the first foremost "constitutional right" involved at Chicago was the "right of assembly."

Every "right" has a correlative duty and a concomitant responsibility—if the responsibility is shirked, the right may be lost.

Our "right of assembly," for instance, implies and must include the right of others also to assemble without molestation. If two or more groups desire to assemble at the same time and place there must be rules for determining the priorities—and there are.

The National Democratic Party made arrangements many months ago, before all others, to assemble in Chicago. They had the prior "right of assembly."

The city of Chicago undertook to guarantee safe conduct and personal security to the Democratic assemblage—no small undertaking these days. Without security and safe passage, there is no true right of assembly.

Regrettably, others were bent on disrupting the Democratic assemblage—for a variety of reasons. Good citizens, those who cherish constitutional government and respect the rights of others, would have voluntarily refrained from any disruption of the Democratic Convention.

Those who tried to interfere and destroy the right of the Democrats to assemble, should have been deterred. To maintain security in face of guerrilla and provocative disruptions requires extraordinary force. It is miraculous that no policeman or delegate was killed in Chicago.

Some anarchists planned for months to disrupt the Chicago convention—and to taunt and trouble all who stood in their way. These people hardly deserve the rights and privileges of a free society, because they are bent on destroying it.

All citizens and officials who desire to maintain free representative government and an open parliamentary system, must not only work to preserve and improve the system, but we must also refuse to tolerate those who by their speech, actions, and conduct seek to destroy or disrupt the system.

RESOLUTION CONDEMNING MILITARY OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION, EAST GERMANY, POLAND, HUNGARY, AND BULGARIA

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, today, I have been joined by several of my colleagues in the House, in introducing a House concurrent resolution condemning the military occupation of Czechoslovakia by forces of the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria. This is an act of brutal aggression against the people of Czechoslovakia in a manner reminiscent of the tactics employed by Nazi Germany immediately prior to the outbreak of World War II.

This act of aggression by the Soviet Union and its satellites clearly was intended to repress a growing spirit of freedom in a nation which was just beginning to grope its way back to freedom after years as a captive nation, and years of subjugation to hard-line Communist tyranny.

There can be no question but that the military forces of the Soviet Union and its pawns among the Warsaw Pact nations, are stationed within the borders of this unhappy land without any legal basis and contrary to the wishes of the established government and the people of Czechoslovakia. They are there to impose compliance with the demands of the leaders of the Kremlin and to stifle even the limited freedom of the press and of political expression that were beginning to emerge.

The resolution we have submitted expresses the sense of the Congress that the President should take such steps as may be necesary to condemn the Soviet Union and its satellites for their military occupation of Czechoslovakia, and to impose economic and political sanctions against the Soviet Union and its satellites for their brutal, unlawful, and immoral suppression of Czechoslovakian freedom and sovereignty.

In addition we believe the United States should press for imposition of similar sanctions by the United Nations. Such sanctions have unwisely been imposed against the little country of Rhodesia which threatens none of its neighbors. Surely the crimes committed by the Soviet Union against one of its neighbors including the raw use of military occupation troops and tanks constitutes an infinitely greater crime and an infinitely greater threat to world peace. I hope that many more of my colleagues will join in this effort and I urge speedy action by the Congress in adopting this resolution.

IN DEFENSE OF THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT AND MAYOR DALEY

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been said about what happened in Chicago last week, and there has been considerable criticism about the steps taken by the administration in order to assure that a national convention could be held; that the rights of the delegates attending the convention would be secure and the citizens of that community were properly protected.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas laid down the legal and moral philosophy that must apply to demonstrations that erupt into violence when he said:

> A demonstrator may be motivated by the highest moral principles. He may in time be right in the eyes of history, or morality or philosophy, these are not controlling. It is the State's duty to arrest and punish those who violate the laws designed to protect private safety and public order.

That is exactly what the mayor of Chicago and the Chicago Police Department and all the other responsible officials of that city did—nothing less and nothing more.

Mayor Daley recognized his responsibilities as the chief executive of that city. He had ample notice, ample warning, and ample intelligence that there were those who were determined to make sure that the convention never occurred in Chicago, and that one of the highest institutions of our democracy—the nominating process for the Presidency—would never come off.

Mr. Speaker, as we go along this afternoon we will develop these points and we will prove that, thank God, we had a Mayor Daley, and thank God that we had a Chicago Police Department of dedicated men.

I submit to my colleagues on this floor that I doubt this convention could have been held if it had occurred in any other city than Chicago and I doubt very much if other communities could have risen to the challenge with the same foritude and determination that Mayor Daley and the Chicago Police Department did. There were people in this country who were determined at all costs that this convention would not be held. They were determined that the nominating process must not come off, and they were determined that this country must be thrown into such complete chaos and turmoil that the hippies on Michigan Avenue are going to set the foreign policy of America, and the will of 200 million Americans is to be frustrated by their tactics.

So I say to my colleagues that this Nation owes Mayor Daley and the Chicago Police Department a tremendous debt of gratitude.

Mr. Speaker, I believe television networks did Chicago and its people a disastrous disservice last week during coverage of the National Democratic Convention and it is my hope that those responsible will take every step possible to redress this outrageous and unfair television coverage as quickly as possible.

The very distinguished Chicago television critic, Paul Malloy, writing in this morning's Chicago Sun-Times, puts into perspective what television did not tell and describes the injustice committed against Chicago by network television news.

Mr. Malloy said:

> The International Amphitheatre is back to normal, presumably, but it will be quite some time before the same can be said for Chicago's reputation as a convention city—thanks to television.
>
> The networks, as almost everyone knows by now, emphasized by comment and by camera the police clubbing and tear-gassing of the demonstrators. It is an ugly sight, of course, to see an officer strike down a young man. But I think it is an equally ugly sight to see a young man strike down an officer.
>
> What was not stressed during the showing of those heart-wrenching films were the repeated promises by outsiders to turn the city upside down by harassing the police, invade the hotels and the Amphitheatre and attempt to halt the convention.
>
> ### NO COMMENT ON INJURED POLICE
>
> I did not hear any commentator offer any thoughts on some of the outsiders' threats that "filth will be revered" and "there will be fornication in the streets." I did not hear the commentators deplore the fact that well over 100 Chicago policemen were hospitalized, some of them seriously.
>
> I heard no one credit the Chicago police for the fact that not one shot was fired and that there were no deaths.
>
> The cameras showed the police giving the rioters what-for, but what I did not see were pictures of Chicago policemen being hit by bricks and bottles and other objects. Perhaps I missed it but I did not see pictures of policemen being splashed with human excrement as was reported.
>
> I did not hear any commentator reflect on what it must feel like for a policeman to be struck in the teeth or on the skull by a rock or a golf ball implanted with nails.
>
> I did not hear any commentator show anger at the tauntings and the obscenities hurled at the policemen.
>
> Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey says he saw a policeman get "stabbed in the face with a broken beer bottle, cutting his eyes, his face, for no reason at all." But television apparently did not see this, or similar scenes of brutality.
>
> The Sun-Times on Sunday carried a picture of Patrolman Gregory Kyritz in his bed at Mercy Hospital. He is among those who got it in the face with a brick. I saw no such picture on television.
>
> True, most of the demonstrators were not anarchists and were sincere about wanting to see a halt to the war in Vietnam. But that should not have prevented television from showing those dunder-heads defiantly parading the enemy flag.
>
> I heard no commentator worry about the danger in which many policemen found themselves, or concern himself with the fact that these men have wives and children at home who don't relish the prospect of becoming widows and orphans, and that losing one's eyesight is no fun, even if it is lost in the defense of the city, its citizens and its visitors.
>
> I did not see the television networks send their correspondents to the various hospitals to interview the injured policemen. It seems to me there would have been some interesting stories there—and interesting pictures for the nation to see, and ponder on.
>
> ### HORRID IMPRESSION
>
> Television showed, live, pictures of a smiling Mayor Daley on the convention floor, followed by riot pictures that had been taped 45 minutes to an hour before. One may imagine the horrid impression this left with viewers who did not know of the prior taping.
>
> Mayor Daley has been severely criticized and investigations are being demanded of the conduct of the Chicago police. Fine. But I think it is high time that investigations be made of those outside, left-wing, anarchist group leaders who came here purposely to practice a mini-revolution in preparation for the larger revolution they have vowed to bring about.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with Mr. Malloy's conclusion in calling for an investigation of those outside leftwing anarchist group leaders who came to Chicago to practice riot and revolution.

I have called on Attorney General Ramsey Clark to take whatever action is necessary to seek Federal indictments against those leaders who crossed State lines to incite the rioting in Chicago and try them under the law that we passed here in Congress earlier this year which makes it a Federal crime to cross a State line to incite or participate in a riot.

This act clearly provides in title I, chapter 102, as follows:

> [Concerning Civil Rights Act of 1968, Public Law 90–284, signed into law Apr. 11, 1968]
>
> ### TITLE I, CHAPTER 102, DEALING WITH RIOTS
>
> 102–A–1 Whoever travels in inter-state or foreign commerce, or uses any facility of inter-state or foreign commerce including, but not limited to, the mail, telegraph, telephone, radio or television, with intent—
>
> (A) to incite a riot; or
>
> (B) to organize, promote, encourage, participate in, or carry on a riot; or
>
> (C) to commit any act of violence in furthering of a riot; or
>
> (D) to aid or abet any person in inciting, or participating in, or carrying on a riot, or committing any act of violence in furtherance of a riot;
>
> and who, either during the course of any such travel or use or thereafter, performs or attempts to perform, any other overt act for any purpose specified in Sub-paragraph (A), (B), (C), or (D) of this paragraph, shall be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

I say, Mr. Speaker, when the Justice Department concludes its investigation of those who were there to incite this riot, the Attorney General of the United States has no alternative but to prosecute these people under the Federal law.

Let me cite to you from this morning's Chicago Tribune an article by Robert Wiedrich.

He says:

Tower Ticker

(By Robert Wiedrich)

Now it can be told: A secret tape recording made exactly a week ago yesterday by an undercover man gave authorities convincing evidence that the Yippie leaders intended to tear Chicago apart, no matter what the cost in lives and property. On that Tuesday morning, some of the anti-war leaders gathered in a southside building to discuss the previous night's confrontation with police in Lincoln park. The conversation went something like this: "These Chicago cops are soft. If that had been New York cops, they'd have busted our heads. It's gonna be easy to take these coppers and this town apart."

It was this information that prompted the show of force that night in Lincoln park and again on Wednesday in Grant park. It was this information that finally convinced even the most charitable that this was no peaceful group that would pelt Chicago with flowers."

Mr. Speaker, this was no group of idealists who came to Chicago to plead a cause and exercise their right of dissent.

Every one of us in this Chamber holds sacred the right of Americans to the right of dissent and the right of free speech. But I think it is high time that we identified these people for what they were—archconspirators using Chicago as the basis for an internal revolution.

Let me cite to you an excerpt from a column written by the distinguished columnist Drew Pearson, which appeared in the Chicago Daily News:

> In fairness to President Johnson it should be noted that he had intelligence reports that young Communists and Yippies in Chicago planned to whip up the debate over Vietnam in order to influence the truce talks in Paris. This was the reason the State Department spokesman issued a warning to North Vietnamese delegates in Paris to stay out of American politics and get on with the talks.
>
> One intelligence report received in Washington and passed on to the President stated that American Communists were quarreling over tactics; that Donald Hamerquist the party's co-ordinator, argued that street violence would adversely effect Sen. Eugene McCarthy's chances at Chicago.
>
> But the new Left, according to the intelligence report, wanted to rampage in the streets and force a confrontation with the police. The repercussions around the world, they argued, would demonstrate the strength of peace forces and help North Vietnamese negotiations in Paris.
>
> This was exactly what happened. The militants staged a peace rally that was never intended to be peaceful. They waved red flags, shouted obscenities and deliberately provoked clashes in front of TV cameras.

In an editorial the Chicago Sun-Times, in pointing out those who incited the riot, also called for an investigation and action at the Federal level. But, my colleagues, if there is any question of the intent of those who traveled hundreds of miles to come to Chicago, crossing State lines, about tearing that city apart, let us look at the August 19 edition of the very highly respected business weekly known, Barron's. In the August 19 edition of that publication, a week before the convention, Mr. William Good and Mr. Jeffrey St. John wrote: "Ballots or Bullets? Radical Leftists May Trigger Violence Next Week in Chicago."

This article, very detailed, pointed out the blueprint of what the hippies had in mind for Chicago.

I say, Mr. Speaker, where were the pundits, where were these self-styled national commentators who should have read the Barron's article before the convention. If anyone overreacted, it was they who overreacted to the incident at Balboa and Michigan. Certainly it occurs to me that men who came to cover a big convention like this should have a full picture of the perimeter and all the probabilities.

All of these national commentators were placed on notice as to what plans these agitators had. The Barron's article points out:

> The rough blueprint for disruption at the Democratic Convention was spelled out at a June 29 press conference, in New York City, held by the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee. On hand to launch the Chicago-bound National Mobilization Committee (MOB) was its chairman—and leader of the bloody October 1967 March on the Pentagon—David Dellinger, who likes to call himself a non-Soviet Communist." Present, too, was Tom Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), who, between and since trips to Hanoi (with fellow traveling Yale Professor Staughton Lynd and U.S. Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker), has led a number of the SDS street scenes.

In light of this type of information, certainly the mayor of Chicago had every right in the world to take the step he did when they were sending up these signals stating what they planned to do. But the commentators never mentioned this. For these commentators in Chicago to show in 20 or 30 seconds segments only the most bizarre picture and not give the full facts, in my judgment, is an abuse of a responsibility.

Damon Runyon once said that an irresponsible reporter at a typewriter is more dangerous than a drunk doctor in an operating room. I submit to the Members that some of those reporting what happened in Chicago last week reached the very zenith of irresponsibility in American journalism, because on June 29, Mr. Dellinger and Mr. Tom Hayden, a founder of the Students for Democratic Society, and Jerry Rubin, and various others clearly stated what they planned to do and what their plans were during the Democratic Convention, and these very plans were carried out almost to the letter.

Mr. Rubin headed up the Yippies as well as the Students for Democratic Society, and he said time and again their plan was to tear up the convention and see that the convention never took off. These people arrogantly boasted there would be no convention in Chicago.

I say to the Members, as fair and honest people, what should the city of Chicago have done except exactly what it did? Had Mayor Daley failed to take adequate steps he would have been severely criticized when the rioting started.

It is significant that the leaders who came to Chicago and started the rampage in Lincoln Park, which then moved to Balboa and Michigan, and then on to the Hilton Hotel, which happened to be the headquarters of EUGENE MCCARTHY and Vice President HUMPHREY as well as several other delegations, were the same people we read about who led the march on the Pentagon last year, and who led the march on Columbia University, and who led the march on Grant Station in New York City and tied up traffic for more than 2 hours. They boasted in print that all of these activities were a prelude to Chicago. They were testing the methods and seeing what they could do.

I want to read one significant statement written by Mr. Jerry Rubin in the Village Voice.

This is what this young fellow wrote in the Village Voice, which is a hippie publication, and this is the young fellow who was in Chicago and arrested by the Chicago police and charged with participating in a riot:

> The goal? A massive white revolutionary youth movement which working in parallel cooperation with the rebellions in the black communities could seriously disrupt this country and thus be an internal catalyst for a breakdown of the American ability and will to fight guerrillas overseas.

He wrote further:

> Thus defeated abroad by peasant revolutionaries and disrupted from within by blacks and whites, the empire of the United States will find itself faced with rebellions from 15 different directions.

Here are the blueprints of what was going on and what was planned for Chicago. I am putting in the RECORD today the entire article which appeared in Barron's, so that those who have some lingering doubts may know what were the intentions of those who crossed the State lines and why it was necessary for Chicago to use every means possible to deal with this insurrection:

Ballots or Bullets?—Radical Leftists May Trigger Violence Next Week in Chicago

(By William Good and Jeffrey St. John)

This week, as all the world knows, Democrats and "democrats" of every stripe will begin making their way to Chicago. Residents of the Windy City may be forgiven if they regard the prospect with mixed emotions, for if nothing else things ought to be livelier during the party's National Convention than they were for Republicans at Miami Beach a fortnight ago. To be sure, the name of Spiro Agnew, if "not a household word" (as the G.O.P. Vice Presidential candidate was happy to admit), did turn out to be something of a sputtering bombshell when it first was dropped; several miles away in a Miami ghetto, meanwhile, blacks and whites were shooting it up over issues none too distinct but, apparently, not related to the presence of Mr. Agnew and his fellow visitors across the bay. In general, calm and sunshine prevailed at Miami Beach. By contrast, Chicago promises to be both windy and hot.

THE YIPPIES ARE COMING

Upwards of 100,000 militant radicals, ranging from student groups and so-called Yippies to out-and-out Black Power zealots, are expected to converge on the convention site. Security precautions approaching those of a police state have been implemented by Democratic chiefs at the city, state and federal level. Nevertheless, reports persist that a carefully organized civic disturbance of major (perhaps unprecedented) proportions will be touched off by a handful of self-styled American Marxists.

The city that almost burned down once before makes an ominous convention site for the party in power today. Such incendiary plans for revolutionary disruption, after all, are set against a backdrop of racial violence that Mayor Richard Daley's dedicated legions somehow have been unable to control; prominent among the city's troublemaking groups are the so-called Blackstone Rangers, of recent contempt-of-Congress notoriety. Adding fuel to the fire in the next few days is sure to be a delegate-seating challenge from the rump Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, headed by Charles Evers (and backed by Hubert Humphrey). There is every indication, then, that the white radicals now heading for Chicago hope their scheme of disruption will ignite widespread rioting, looting and sniping on a scale dwarfing that of recent incidents in Cleveland or Miami.

If all this comes as a rude shock, it shouldn't. The intentions and goals of domestic Marxist revolutionaries have been well documented (in Barron's, for example, by Alice Widener and other writers). The problem is that such warnings largely have been ignored by government and the communications media. The Democrats in convention assembled could find their chickens coming home to roost, since the target will be the very party which has held sway in Washington since U.S. riots began breaking out five years ago. On the unofficial agenda at Chicago, therefore, may be the first brutal attempt by American radicals to force political decisions through mob violence, or the threat of it—the beginning of a new phase in America's revolutionary war of the 'Sixties.

The rough blueprint for disruption at the Democratic Convention was spelled out at a June 29 press conference, in New York City, held by the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee. On hand to launch the Chicago-bound National Mobilization Committee (MOB) was its chairman—and leader of the bloody October 1967 March on the Pentagon—David Dellinger, who likes to call himself "a non-Soviet Communist." Present, too, was Tom Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), who, between and since trips to Hanoi (with fellow traveling Yale Professor Staughton Lynd and U.S. Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker), has led a number of the SDS street scenes.

MAKING MOB'S SCENE

MOB's battle plan is as simple as it is sinister: the aim is to bring convention machinery to a halt for "failing to serve the human needs of the people." Helping in this endeavor will be the hippie-derivative group called Yippies. Jerry Rubin, the head Yippie, doubles as leader of the Peking-leaning Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and was Dellinger's "co-project director" for last year's Pentagon affair.

PLP boasts a record of achievements and stated goals all its own. First, its vice chairman, William Epton, got himself convicted for inciting the 1964 Harlem riots. Second, PLP appears to be muscling into control of SDS by infiltration, pushing out many of the well-meaning but "misguided" (non-Marxist) members. Third, as its national student organizer, Jeff Gordon, bluntly told the radical newsweekly Guardian (July 6, 1968); "We in the PLP are inspired by revolutionaries all over the world who use (Marxism-Leninism) successfully to win Socialism. Yes, in this context we are very proud to be 'Peking-oriented.' Our orientation is for smashing state power of U.S. imperialism and replacing it with the working class."

THE FLOWER CHILDREN

But are the Yippies an extension of PLP? Not quite, as New York's underground publication "East Village Other" has reported. They "are the children of the middle class; children who refuse to 'grow up,' refuse to accept the world their parents created. The Yippies have had white-middle-class America, and they didn't like it." To many observers, the hippie sub-culture, popularized as benign by the mass media, sooner or later had to drop in on active radical politics.

Yippies got into the act last March 20, with a "Yip-in" at New York's bustling Grand Central Terminal. Boldly blocking passengers and trains, while battling police, 5,000 Yippies disrupted the station for two-and-a-half hours. Some observers have suggested that the "Yip-in" was a dry run for the Democratic Convention, since Jerry Rubin even then had been writing about his plan to disrupt the Chicago conclave. Recently, the Yippie office confided that it hopes to put 10,000 estwhile flower children into the Windy City. Rennie Davis, MOB coordinator and a Dellinger associate, said in a telephone interview that Rubin's group is "closely cooperating" with the MOB.

Silly-sounding as all this may seem, a closer look at what MOB and Yippies plan for the Democrats can dispel any humor in the situation. Indeed, it must be causing the stoical Mayor Daley to shudder. Tom Hayden spelled things out in his June 29 press conference, as quoted by Guardian: "We are planning tactics of prolonged direct action to put heat on the government and its political party." In New Left rhetoric, "direct action" can include street barricading, fire bombing, seizure of buildings and massive confrontations with the police. Last spring's siege of Columbia University, which Hayden helped to lead, hinted at what's to come for Chicago.

"We realize that it will be no picnic," Hayden says, "but responsibility for any violence that develops lies with the authorities, not the demonstrators." Hayden means, of course, that Chicago police must not stop his shock troops if they invade the convention hall, block traffic or make exits and entrances impossible. Such tactics, refined at Columbia, were tested first at the Pentagon. Here's how a national newsmagazine described the earlier scene: "An assault squad wielding clubs and ax handles probed the rope barriers in front of the Pentagon entrances, taunting and testing white-hatted federal marshals who stood in close line. After 90-odd minutes of steadily rising invective and roiling around in the north parking lot of the Pentagon, flying wedges of demonstrators surged toward the less heavily defended press entrances."

Ten of the "peace protestors" actually managed to penetrate the Pentagon. With their ranks greatly swelled in Chicago, how many more might gain access to the convention floor, even physically taking it over? More than a hundred anti-war groups mustered for the march on the Pentagon produced a mob force estimated at 55,000. For Chicago, that number easily could double or treble. On June 29, both Dellinger and Hayden stated that most of the organizations present at the Pentagon will return for the Convention. The latter-day Yippies, for their part, marshalled 5,000 at Grand Central. How many can they dredge up in a nationwide effort, presumably recruited from New York, San Francisco, Boston and other hippie haunts? All told, the mottley crowd converging on Chicago could number a quarter-million.

"East Village Other" has given a glimpse of what the Yippies, at least, have in mind. As a starter, brothers and sisters dressed in Viet Cong garb will go "electioneering," shaking hands in mimicry of bourgeois politicians. Others even will go to work, if only temporarily. "Yippies plan to paint their cars like taxicabs, pick up delegates and drop them off in Wisconsin," observes the underground publication. "We are infiltrating the hotels with bellboys and cooks. We are also infiltrating the press." Sound like innocent child's play for the flower children? "The Democrats," reports E.V.O., "will probably have to travel from hotel to convention hall by helicopter."

Last November 16, Jerry Rubin summed up the strategy for disruption, in The Village Voice, with this clarion call: "See you next August in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention. Bring pot, fake delegates' cards, smokebombs, costumes, blood to throw, and all kinds of interesting props. Also football helmets."

NO TEA PARTY?

It's clear that Chicago is in for something more serious than a panty raid. The possibility of arousing ghetto violence, moreover, is quite real. Here's Rubin, in The Village Voice: "The goal? A massive white revolutionary youth movement which, working in parallel cooperation with the rebellions in the black communities, could seriously disrupt this country, and thus be an internal catalyst for a breakdown of the American ability and will to fight guerrillas overseas. Thus defeated abroad by peasant revolutionaries, and disrupted from within by blacks and whites, the empire of the United States will find itself faced with rebellions from 15 different directions."

Further, according to Hayden, "in the future it is conceivable that students will threaten destruction of buildings as the last deterrent to police attacks." It follows that both Rubin and Hayden actually need the police, to oppose the radicals in a forceful confrontation. No longer pretending concern with simple issues (like Columbia's education reform or opposition to the draft), their interest is in the inciting of violence as a political weapon. Such tactics, not incidentally, also tend to gain new recruits to their ranks. After SDS' June convention, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover observed that a "sabotage-explosive workshop even discussed the finer points of firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns, as well as similar forms of so-called defense measures that could be used in defiance of police action."

The new development within the white radical camp not only points to violence, but also to the "glory of death" in "confrontations" on behalf of the "cause." If this seems a dubious assumption, here's what the New Left publication, Ramparts, had to say about the Pentagon riot: "Objectively speaking, perhaps the best thing that could have happened . . . would have been for somebody to have been killed. For American soldiers to have shot unarmed American civilians exercising their right of free speech would have been a blow from which the Administration could never recover."

CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

Dragged into this potentially Draconian nightmare may be Senator Eugene McCarthy's youthful horde of idealistic supporters—the celebrated "Children's Crusade." While many adult McCarthy boosters are aware of the MOB and Yippie threat, few of the well-meaning college students seem willing to believe they could become unwitting pawns (There's evidence that Senator McCarthy does; last week he asked them all to stay home and "demonstrate in your own cities." His self-appointed field leaders, Allard Lowenstein, indicated he wouldn't take orders of that sort.)

Great numbers of these young people almost certainly will go to Chicago. Clinton Deveaux, McCarthy's convention coordinator, has indicated that a Life magazine estimate of one million McCarthyites in Chicago was too low; until recently, he had hopes for 1½ or even two million. "Anybody that wants to go will go," shrugs another staffer. "If they have to beg or borrow their way. There will be more people than that city has every seen. These are kids who slept on desks and who actually went hungry during the New York primary."

Emotionally, the campaign is do-or-die for many of McCarthy's young people. However misplaced their response, it nonetheless makes for still another potentially explosive threat overhanging the Convention. Although McCarthy's kids may be non-violent in nature, the followers of Dellinger, Rubin & Co. plan to try enlisting the McCarthy supporters in their disruption, by means of "pre-convention" demonstrations in favor of the Minnesota Senator.

If McCarthy loses his bid for the nomination, what happens? His youthful followers likely would conclude that "the system is corrupt." Those radical pre-convention agitations then could evolve into a "protest march," which in turn could mushroom into full-blown riot. Some McCarthy activists already have threatened to "disrupt" if Vice President Humphrey is the nominee. Pete Hamill, in The Village Voice (June 20) warned: "It is as simple as this: It must be McCarthy, because it can't be Humphrey. If the Central Committee (the Democratic Convention delegates) gives us Humphrey anyway, we can drift into quietism, and tend our private garden, or we can disrupt, disrupt, disrupt."

I submit to my colleagues that here we have the two ingredients necessary for Federal prosecution. We have first of all the intent spread across the record. All we have to do is get the transcript of the June 29 press conference and get the writings of these men in the various publications, the articles appearing under their names, and we have the intent—the intent to come to Chicago and to incite and to participate not only in riots, but in revolution and anarchy. Then we have the arrest in Chicago of these people. So there is no question about their presence there. We have them arrested and booked in Chicago. So I say we have the two ingredients necessary to meet the test of the Federal law: We have the intent and the actual execution. I say that Attorney General Ramsey Clark can perform a great duty for the people of America by engaging in this prosecution forthwith, for there is no question in my mind that unless we stop this traffic of exporting riots across State lines, we are going to have this kind of dissension and rioting all over this country.

The Chicago Daily News in an excellent editorial, which I am going to place in the Record, also pointed out the fact that 100 policemen were injured—several seriously. This hardly supports the generalization that all we had in Chicago was a bunch of club-happy cops beating innocent and defenseless children.

The Daily News editorial follows:

THERE'S ANOTHER SIDE

Chicago emerges badly scarred from the convention that was viewed in advance with such high hopes. Around the world, stories, pictures and commentaries have focused on headcracking and tear gas in Chicago's streets to the virtual exclusion of everything else that was going on this week. Not since the days of Al Capone, when Chicago became a worldwide synonym for gangster, has the city been seen in such a bad light.

We have said before, and say again, that much of what went on here was inexcusable, that the police overreacted to provocation, and that the hard-line attitude of the city administration, beginning with Mayor Daley, bears a large burden of blame. The investigations launched by various governmental agencies should be thorough and spare no feelings in digging to the bottom of the disgraceful incidents that marred the week.

That being said, is there another side to the story? We believe there is. And it is important to the life of the city—as well as its reputation—that it be noted. We urge the investigators to consider well these facts:

Various radical groups had declared war on the Democratic convention—and the City of Chicago—long ago. Their plans were detailed and dirty. Security precautions had to be of an order to meet any contingency, including attempts at assassination. Yet in spite of all the ugly clashes, no shots were fired and no one was killed.

The hard-core dissidents (doubtless a minority among the protesters, but there just the same) did everything possible to provoke police attacks, preferably in full view of the TV cameras. Unfortunately the police, in thwarting their other aims, handed these revolutionaries a victory on this score.

More than 100 policemen were injured, several seriously. This hardly supports the generalization that all we had in Chicago was a bunch of club-happy cops beating innocent and defenseless kids.

The provocation took bizarre forms. Police were showered with human filth and sprayed with corrosive oven-cleaner. During such attacks, obscenities filled the air—a technique designed to insure that TV and radio could not broadcast that part of the story.

The list could go on. And while none of these things can wholly excuse those policemen who lost their heads or revealed a latent streak of sadism, they go far to explain what happened.

Obviously, the need is great for a reexamination of attitudes and values by the city administration and the police department. But many of the critics have overreacted in their way just as some policemen overreacted in theirs. In demanding more understanding on the part of Mayor Daley and others, they should try on their part to understand men who bore the burden of defending their city, its visitors, and themselves.

There is a great deal of talk about the arrest by Chicago police of some people on the 15th floor of the Hilton Hotel. My colleagues, I was there. I was there, and I stood in front of the Hilton Hotel at 4 o'clock that morning, and only by the grace of God I am here today, because 15 feet away from me one of those big water jugs, glass water pitchers that are used in the hotel, full of water came crashing down from the 15th floor and was smashed to smithereens. The water and the glass splinters hit me and some of the policemen standing beside me when we were talking about this.

So do not tell me this was some innocent little group on the 15th floor. These were people up there dropping all sorts of objects on the military, on the soldiers, on the press, on the police. Why, they reached the height of indignity when they filled beer cans with human waste and threw them out the window at our soldiers policing the Hilton Hotel along Michigan Avenue.

How much indignity are the American people to suffer before we take some positive steps against these agitators?

I want to put in the Record today also an article about how one of the Chicago policemen infiltrated the ranks of the hippies. He grew a beard and learned the jingo and the lingo of the American hippies. As a matter of fact, he learned his lesson so well he became a bodyguard for Jerry Rubin, and for 3 days they were very good friends.

This policeman, Officer Pierson, then told all of us of the conspiracy that was being "cooked up" in these hippy ranks.

I submit and I underscore and I emphasize, these were not innocent little idealists who do not like war; these were hardened, trained, dedicated anarchists determined to destroy the very workings of this great Republic. Why, the tactics and the techniques they used in Chicago approximated the Vietcong. Golf balls with nails in them were being hurled at the police. We have not even read of these atrocities in South Vietnam at the hands of the Vietcong. They all come from the same cloth.

I think it is time this country realized this was not some small, innocent movement. This was the beginning, if they get away with it, of a massive effort in this country to destroy the very fabric of this Republic.

So I want my colleagues to read the transcript of the remarks of Officer Pierson. I want you to read the article which appeared in the Chicago American, which follows:

HOW CHICAGO COP GOT YIPPIE PLANS

(By Jack Vandermyn)

"We are beyond communism, now. There are such things as anarchists, you know."

Jerry Rubin, self-styled revolutionary and "martyr" for the radical new left, was speaking at a hastily called news conference in Grant park.

Rubin, 26, founder of the Youth International party [Yippies], was only hours out of the Cook county jail where he had been confined under $25,000 bond since Wednesday on many charges, including solicitation to commit mob action, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct.

BLAMED FOR STARTING IT

Police blame Rubin, formerly of Berkeley, Cal., and now a New York resident, of fomenting the 4 days of disturbances which plagued the Democratic National convention here.

Rubin smiled tightly thru his scraggly mustache and stubble of a beard when he was asked if the disturbances served any useful purpose.

"I think we defeated Humphrey and started the American revolution. I think the election will disrupt itself. When you run two idiots, you eventually will have to turn to military force."

Rubin's eyes blazed and he tossed his head angrily, his shoulder-length hair in disarray, at the mention of Mayor Daley and the Chicago police.

INCOMMUNICADO, HE SAYS

"I'm accusing the police of kidnaping me. I was walking peacefully when they grabbed me. They held me incommunicado and said I was personally responsible for the street disturbances."

Surrounded by subordinates equally as shabby and in need of baths, the Yippie leader called for the mayor's resignation.

"The cops sent a spy, Patrolman Robert Pierson, to induce our people into action which would enable police to clobber them. He was sent into the park to frame me," the revolutionary claimed.

In a copyrighted story today, the Chicago Tribune told of Pierson's activities as an undercover agent who infiltrated the Yippies and kept police informed of their battle plans.

Pierson risked his life to gain Rubin's confidence. He was so successful that he became Rubin's bodyguard and confidante.

NOTICED BY RANGER

A member of the Blackstone Rangers street gang recognized Pierson, forcing him to flee from the wrath of the mob.

Police sources said that Pierson provided them with invaluable information about the plans for demonstrations and violence.

Among the most surprising statement from Pierson was that national television networks kept in close contact with demonstrators and told them where the TV cameras would be located so that the Yippies could get the most coverage of their chaos.

Pierson said the networks phoned the Chicago headquarters of Students for a Democratic Society and provided such information to pass on to the Yippies in the parks and on the street.

Pierson grew a beard, bought old clothes, and assumed the name of Robert [Big Man] Lavin. He said he saw many Yippies and motorcycle gang members using narcotics.

To display his "toughness," Pierson taunted police, was clubbed, and served as a personal muscleman to Rubin to gain the confidence of the shaggy provokers.

He pretended to take narcotics, drank with youth gangs, and even tossed rocks and bottles at police.

"My aim was bad, tho," said Pierson, who has been with the police department since 1959.

From information pieced together by Pierson, it appeared that the Yippies planned all along to make their stand in Grant park, rather than Lincoln park, where they started the trouble early in the week.

WOULD HAVE RIOTED

If the Yippies were pushed out of Lincoln park, Rubin had ordered them to spread into the streets and riot, according to Pierson.

At his news conference yesterday, Rubin said that he "personally planned no more demonstrations at this time in Chicago."

Rubin was asked what Yippies stand for.

"We're for a system of no private ownership of gigantic utilities, a system where America could not control the private resources of the world."

Does this substantiate Mayor Daley's charge that the Yippie movement is communist-inspired and supported?

"Daley knows that communism is involved in everything in the world," Rubin said.

I am also putting in the RECORD today a story of the bizarre weapons used by these protesters, in an article appearing in the Chicago Sun-Times, of equipment and techniques and methods that defy imagination.

I tell you, there is not an American in this country whose conscience is not boiling over at what was going on at the hands of these self-styled conspirators against this country.

I hope my friends and my colleagues will read this Sun-Times article which follows:

BIZARRE WEAPONS USED BY PROTESTERS

Chicago Police Department confiscated more than 100 weapons, mostly homemade, from demonstrators last week, a police captain said Tuesday.

Comdr. Charles Pepp of the Prairie Av. District described some of the objects as "bizarre."

More than 60 per cent of them will be used as evidence in cases relating to the demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention, he said.

EVEN A BLOWGUN

Pepp made an inventory of some of the objects recovered, but emphasized that his remarks were based only on a sample.

Among the most unusual, he said, were a glass jar containing black widow spiders, a sword cane, and a blowgun with darts.

The spiders were seized after one of them was thrown through the window of an auto belonging to a railroad employe, according to police. Apparently the demonstrator thought the employe was a policeman.

Demonstrators near 720 S. Michigan had the sword cane. The police crime laboratory is analyzing a substance found on the points of darts recovered with the blowgun, Pepp said. No firearms were found on the demonstrators.

However, police found a bottle top with a wick attached, presumably from a bottle that contained gasoline.

The only explosive turned up so far were "some foreign shells" taken from one individual Pepp said adding:

STONES AND BOTTLES

"Mostly we got stones, rocks and glass bottles—used as missiles."

Some of the other objects "were weapons created out of things intended for another purpose," according to Pepp.

For example, police confiscated rubber balls and golf balls with 10-penny nails forced through them, a piece of metal with nails attached to it and a piece of wood with a razor blade attached, Pepp said. The last item was inscribed with the word "peace."

STINK BOMBS

More than a dozen knives, including a butter knife sharpened into a deadly weapon, and some straight razors also were found, he said.

Several items that could be used as stink bombs were obtained during arrests. They included some vials and a half-gallon container of butyric acid reported to have been used to create a terrible odor in hotel lobbies.

Taken from another demonstrator was an aerosol can "with contents that could act as a stink bomb," and a pair of scissors to puncture the can, according to police.

Other objects included a three-inch ball of lead that police said was hurled at a policeman in Lincoln Park, and a hunk of reinforced concrete used, police said, to break a policeman's jaw.

There also were half a rolling pin filled with lead, and staple nails taped together "that could be used as a weapon and is sometimes called a guerrilla mine," police said.

In the week of police activity, the department reported 643 persons were arrested, 567 men and 76 women.

A total of 152 policemen were injured, according to department reports.

Finally, it would be to no avail if we only made a few speeches over here deploring the actions in Chicago and then walked away. I tell you, this is not a partisan issue. This has nothing to do with Democrats or Republicans. These people are out to destroy all of us. They are out to destroy the very institutions that made America great.

This country grew because of the two-party system. And HUBERT HUMPHREY has the same right to state his qualifications to the American voters as does Richard Nixon. But it is quite apparent that the techniques these people developed in Chicago during the Democratic Convention are now going to be used against HUBERT HUMPHREY all over the country, unless the Attorney General moves forthwith and with determination to stop this kind of technique.

Here we have a story appearing in this morning's Chicago Tribune, "Chicago Police Uncover Plot To Stir Columbia U. Disorder."

In the course of our investigation and working with these people who are arch-conspirators, we found what their plans are after Chicago.

Make no mistake, my friends. Chicago is only the beginning, not the end. The question and the test of America is going to be, will we be able to deal forcefully and effectively with this greatest threat to our country?

The Chicago Tribune article follows:

CHICAGO POLICE UNCOVER PLOT TO STIR COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY DISORDER

(By John O'Brien)

An alleged plot to incite new disorders at Columbia university in New York City was uncovered in Chicago yesterday by detectives of the police intelligence division.

Detectives said they uncovered the plot after arresting 16 persons, mostly youths, in a raid on an apartment in Old Town, at 1945 Lincoln av. The youths told the detectives, headed by Capt. Thomas Lyons, director of police intelligence, that they were hippies or members of the radical Youth International party.

Seized in the two-room apartment were a Viet Cong flag and marijuana, obscene photographs, and literature on the New Left political movement.

AGES FROM 14 TO 29

The 16 ranged in ages from 14 to 29 and included six teenage girls, three of them runaways. Police said only six gave Illinois addresses.

Information on the alleged plot, which included a sit-in at the start of fall classes, was sent to New York authorities by Capt. Lyons.

The youths told detectives they had participated in Chicago demonstrations last week and were preparing to leave for New York City.

TELL TRAVEL PLANS

The youths said they planned to travel by bus, car, and motorcycle to New York City. A week-end meeting on details of the disorders was scheduled by Jerry Rubin and other radicals who reportedly directed the violence in Chicago last week. Rubin, 25, of New York City, is chairman of the yippies.

Two of those arrested, Loretta Rodriguez, 18, of Detroit, and Martin Moore, 25, of Youngstown, O., were charged with possession of marijuana and will appear in Narcotics court today.

The others, with the exception of five juveniles, were charged with disorderly conduct. They are:

William Brown, 25, of Omaha; David Dempsey, 20, of Kilgore, Tex.; Daniel Napier, 19, of Riverdale, N.J.; Richard Taylor, 18, of Chicago; Billy Knight, 29, of Los Angeles; Herbert Dramm, 21, of Riverdale, N.J.; Elda Andrea, 19, of Aurora; Darlene Daszeic, 19, of Des Plaines; and Joseph Musial, 20, of Los Angeles. The juveniles are from Chicago, Aurora, Detroit, and Mosinee, Wis.

And then we have a statement by J. Edgar Hoover, who also points out, "Leftists Plan College Riots, Hoover Warns." I am going to put this in the RECORD, because here again, Mr. Speaker, we see that Chicago was the prelude to a nationwide effort to sow disorder and discord.

I invite you, my colleagues, to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue where in front of that National Archives Building are those two beautiful monuments. On one are inscribed the words "What is past is prologue," and on the other, "Study the past."

The article on Mr. Hoover's views follows:

LEFTISTS PLAN COLLEGE RIOTS, HOOVER WARNS

WASHINGTON, August 31.—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warned today that radical new left students plan to launch a widespread attack on American campuses this fall similar to the recent uprising at Columbia university.

"A roving band of self-styled revolutionaries who are using college campuses as a base for their destructive activities . . .

openly avow that their aim is to overthrow the existing order," Hoover said.

Through these confrontations they expect to smash first our educational structure, then our economic system, and finally our government itself.

EXTREMISTS NOT FADDISTS

"It is vitally important to recognize that these militant extremists are not simply faddists or 'college kids' at play," he continued. "Their cries for revolution and their advocacy of guerrilla warfare evolve out of a pathological hatred for our way of life and a determination to destroy it."

The FBI chief's remarks were contained in the September issue of the FBI law enforcement bulletin.

"Encouraged by their 'success' at Columbia," Hoover continued, "the anarchists in the new left movement are boldly spreading the word that they intend to 'create two, three, many Columbias,' in the manner of one of their 'heroes,' Che Guevara, the Cuban revolutionary who cried, 'Create two, three, many Viet Nams.' "

SDS SINGLED OUT

The FBI director singled out the Students for a Democratic Society as the "main thrust" of the new left movement.

"Many of its members and some of its national leaders openly profess their faith in communist concepts and their determination to 'restructure' our society."

Hoover concluded: "It would be foolhardy for educators, public officials, and law enforcement officers to ignore or dismiss lightly the revolutionary terrorism invading college campuses. It is a serious threat to both the academic community and a lawful and orderly society."

If you want to catch a glimpse of things to come in the future, just take a look at the techniques that these people were testing in Chicago. Take a look at their boldness and their arrogance. That is why I appeal today first of all to the national news media, to the pundits, the journalists, the writers, to the anchor men and the TV networks, to put this story in its proper perspective. Let the American people know the truth of what happened in Chicago. Let them know who was responsible. Do not go indicting the police department of a city that tried to do a magnificent job against overwhelming odds. These agitators pick the place, the time, and they pick the methods, because that is the way they operate.

So I say to our news media, put the story in its proper perspective. Mayor Daley has asked for equal time on television. I hope that the networks will not hesitate or not quibble and give this great American an opportunity to tell the American people what happened there, so that we can unite this country and this Nation against a common enemy.

Mr. Speaker, I say to you that this cuts across all party lines. This is no partisan issue, because if they succeed in their effort, then we all fail as Americans. I hope that the Attorney General will move forcefully to try this law out. We debated this law in this Congress when we considered it. The legislative branch of the Government has spoken out. It passed on both sides of the aisle. This is not a partisan measure. We in this branch of the Government set down the rules on interstate travel to incite and participate in riots. The executive branch of the Government has the responsibility to carry out the will of this Congress. If there is some question about freedom of speech or if there is some question about constitutional guarantees involved, during the time that debate was had on this measure we tried to cover that and to anticipate these questions. When we finally voted on this amendment we all agreed that it came within the constitutional framework. However, if we are wrong, this is not a decision that the executive branch of the Government should make. This is not a decision that the Attorney General should make. I submit that the Attorney General has a responsibility to act now. The legislative branch of the Government has spoken. A crime has occurred in Chicago. The executive branch should now prosecute the perpetrators of this crime and let the courts decide whether or not the crossing of State lines in order to participate in the acts that I have outlined constitutes a Federal offense.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the gentleman from Illinois for an outstanding address to the House and to commend him for his demand upon the Attorney General that action be taken to secure prosecution of those conspirators who crossed State lines to wreck the Chicago convention and declared their conspiracy well in advance. I am proud to say that the Oklahoma delegation to the national convention, which occupied the 12th floor of the Conrad Hilton Hotel and witnessed at very close range many of the incidents that the gentleman from Illinois has just spoken about here on the floor, joined overwhelmingly on Thursday afternoon in passing a resolution calling for action to prosecute for this crossing of State lines in order to incite a riot and, in the same action taken by that delegation, commended the city of Chicago and its administration for their courageous efforts to maintain order and to make it possible for the orderly processes of Government to function.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I just add one other point: It is my opinion that the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] has put his finger almost exactly upon those responsible for the irresponsible reporting or incomplete reporting of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago when he identifies network media. The gentleman from Illinois has come very close to putting his finger precisely where the blame belongs.

However, I believe in all fairness it should be added that a great many newsmen and representatives of television stations who were at the park and who actually saw the conspiracy develop and the outrageous provocations occur, have reported accurately and factually.

Mr. Speaker, earlier today I placed in the RECORD a report by Jack Morris, who is news director of Oklahoma's television station, KTUL–TV, in Tulsa, who was there and who saw what took place not only at the park but around and in the Conrad Hilton Hotel. Mr. Morris is one who is proud of his profession and in my opinion accurately put his finger directly upon the national network media. Many spokesmen for the networks were not personally even present where the initial violence took place and have inaccurately and incorrectly reported the story with reference to what took place. They have also heaped much criticism upon the police of Chicago.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the fact that we had, as a matter of fact, from Oklahoma, many newsmen representing newspapers as well as radio stations and television stations who reported honestly and fairly upon what took place and who shared the conclusions that Mr. Morris pointed out in his report. Network media personnel such as Cronkite, and Huntley and Brinkley have done violence to the truth by their unfair coverage at Chicago and the public deserves better at the hands of this great industry.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am very grateful to the gentleman from Oklahoma for his contribution and for making the distinction between the local and network news and local TV operations. I have found in my experience that your local TV people take great pride and make a great effort to be fair and to try and give all sides of an issue. In other words, it is my opinion that one can rely and depend upon the activities of local people. But it is true that network news and other public information media have to try to develop a show and not necessarily present a true picture of what went on. In other words, they have to appeal to 40 or 50 million viewers and they have to have the bizarre, the pathos, and all the other things that go into attracting a TV audience. However, it is my opinion it is time that, perhaps, the network radio, television, and news media give consideration to putting experienced newspapermen, reporters, and journalists on this type of job who know how to handle a story instead of undertaking to present the most bizarre aspects of a situation to 40 or 50 million American people whose opinions are motivated with this type of approach, without having seen the full parameter of the situation.

I thank the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma for making that statement on behalf of the local media and for not blaming the local TV people who had nothing to do with it.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes; I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say to the gentleman I am glad that he took this hour and has brought this matter before the House for a thorough airing and discussion thereof.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe it is any accident, I do not believe it is any coincidence that these hard-core Communists—and a lot of them were—putting this show on in Chicago in order to take off the television channels just exactly what was going on in Prague, where the Communists moved in with more than 600,000 troops, and where they have taken over the government of that country by placing in roles of authority people of their own while firing the people who were undertaking to bring about a change in the climate in that country.

Mr. Speaker, these are Communists dedicated to a Communist revolution in this country. They said so.

Mr. Speaker, I do not understand what makes the media so squeamish that they would not show any picture of these people with an obscene four-letter word printed upon their forehead, as well as other obscenities, and would not let the American people know who they were and the type of people they were. Certainly they were filthy words, and certainly they were obscene. However, let the American people know just how obscene they were and then the people would come to a little bit of sympathy and understanding as to just what was trying to be prevented by Mayor Daley of Chicago.

Mr. Speaker, I think a little 14-year-old girl told me something which puts into focus the situation as well as it can be placed when she said they would not have been beat on the head if they had been home minding their own business.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his comments.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my appreciation to the gentleman from Chicago for bringing to the attention of the House today the actions of Mayor Daley and his very fine police force in suppressing the anarchy which was intended to destroy the city of Chicago and the National Democratic Convention as well.

It might well be, as the gentleman said earlier, that Chicago with its Mayor Daley was the only city with the facilities in the United States under the circumstances in which this convention could have been opened and concluded, because Mayor Daley had the determination to see that the earlier threats were not successful and the convention was held as it should have been held and was scheduled to be held in Chicago.

So, indeed, Mayor Daley and his very fine police force and the people of Chicago are to be commended. Mayor Daley, in my opinion, did what he had to do. He had no choice. He fulfilled his responsibility.

I also want to commend the gentleman for his concern, and if I express any disagreement with what he has said, it is with the statement he made that this was the beginning of the effort of these people to try to destroy this country by destroying that convention because these people have been at work for a long time before this. Some who stick their heads in the sand like an ostrich just have not wanted to see, and so it just might be possible that this water cooler that the gentleman has aptly described with words as having been dropped from the 15th floor of a hotel was intended to give some of the hippies a bath, rather than to hurt somebody.

The gentleman began his remarks by quoting Supreme Court Justice Fortas wherein he said that the controlling factors would not be a person's philosophy or moral approach to the law. He said further that violations of the law should be punished. I believe it is a sad commentary that Mr. Associate Justice Fortas does not subscribe to the philosophy that he enunciates, and does not practice it, because if he and the rest of the members of the Supreme Court had subscribed to this philosophy we would not have had the anarchy which was attempted in Chicago under these circumstances.

I believe the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON] has clarified and the gentleman in the well, as well, has helped to clarify that this does not of course involve the distortion of the news by everyone who reports the news. Actually, I would suppose that those who distort it are in the minority, but this is not anything new because this has been going on in this country for at least 15 years. The South has been prosecuted over and over and now finally a few people are waking up. Some of the national news media people have been distorting this news in much this same fashion for years, and the people are just now beginning to wake up because it is no longer confined to just the South.

So what I am saying is that, as the gentleman has said to us here, there was sufficient ample advance notice that these people had plans to destroy this convention and set Chicago afire. So the plea of the Vice President makes little sense, that we appoint a blue-ribbon commission to investigate what was proposed and what happened in Chicago. Anybody knows what these people had in mind, and anybody knows what the answer to a blue-ribbon commission would be. We know the facts now, because, as it has been simply said, these people should be prosecuted by the Attorney General, but when that day will come I do not know, because I do not believe the Attorney General will prosecute these people any more than he has previously prosecuted violators who have been advocating the overthrow of this country. So I do not expect any action out of this matter.

But let me close by again thanking the gentleman in the well for bringing this to the attention of the House of Representatives today. I wish to thank the gentleman in the well for his very fine line of thought concerning this matter, and I would merely add that I too am a Dick Daley man.

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am delighted to yield to my colleague from Illinois. I might point out to the Members that the Democratic National Convention was held in the home district of the gentleman.

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to commend my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI], for taking his time to place in proper perspective the events which happened recently in Chicago during the Democratic Convention held in that great city. Chicago is my hometown, one of the great cities of the world and I am proud of it. I am proud of our great mayor, an outstanding leader and wonderful executive, Richard J. Daley. The events which took place in Chicago during the Democratic Convention, particularly as they deal with the action of those who came to Chicago deliberately and with malice aforethought to disrupt the Democratic Convention and to create chaos and confusion during the deliberations of a great political party have been, in my opinion, unfairly and improperly reported by the press, radio, and television news media.

Mayor Richard Daley knew in advance the efforts which would be made by those who would destroy our form of democracy. He knew in advance from their many statements and from information he had received what they would attempt to do if given the opportunity to cause confusion and riot, and he acted properly and soberly as the mayor of any great city should to prevent this. He provided the necessary police and other protection for the law-abiding delegates, citizens, and visitors to Chicago. His actions, in my opinion, were needed and necessary. The Chicago police force used only the necessary force to protect the rights of all citizens. I commend the members of the police force of the city of Chicago. They were goaded and provoked beyond that which any normal man could possibly take but even then they showed commendable restraint until they themselves were physically attacked.

The news media in Chicago performed a disservice to the American public. They distorted the facts, they editorialized and told only half the story. I was there and I know. I do not make this a blanket indictment of the news media but I do say the news media have a duty and a responsibility to report fairly and properly on events which concern all the public. This was not so in Chicago.

I could go into detail of the things I saw with my own eyes. I could point out the efforts made to maim and injure policemen and the language used to try to force them to act. However, I will conclude simply by saying I hope in the future when public events are covered by the news media they will be covered in a responsible fashion with the full story told on both sides.

In that connection I trust Mayor Daley will have the opportunity to set the record straight on television and radio as he requested. Chicago and its great mayor need no defense. Their record is clear. A great city and a great mayor will continue to work together for the good of all—both the citizens of and those who visit Chicago, my hometown.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MAYNE. The gentleman from Illinois has referred to two essential ingredients which he has told this House are necessary in order for prosecutions to be obtained under the antiriot provisions of the civil rights bill which has been enacted by the Congress in this 90th session.

I believe this House enacted it as early as June or July of last year.

Mr. PUCINSKI. President Johnson signed the bill on April 11 of this year.

Mr. MAYNE. Yes; and as I recall there was a long delay in getting passage in the other body.

Now I would ask the gentleman from Illinois if there is not another third essential ingredient which is necessary for convictions under these antiriot provisions and that is having an Attorney General and a Department of Justice who are willing to institute prosecutions under these provisions. Am I not correct in that?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I believe we have such an Attorney General right now. I believe Attorney General Ramsey Clark is now in the process of making a very thorough investigation.

I have a statement here by the U.S. district attorney in Chicago, Mr. Foran, who points out quite a few of the activities of these people.

There is a full investigation going on right now, and I have every confidence in the world that if the facts are there—and certainly they are—the U.S. attorney is going to launch this prosecution.

Mr. MAYNE. Then the gentleman does not feel he is being unduly optimistic in at least expressing the hope that the present Attorney General will institute an action or be disposed to see that action is taken under the antiriot provisions?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I would certainly welcome any assistance we can get from the legislative branch of the Government and the Members of this Chamber in dropping the Attorney General a note or writing a letter or calling him up and voicing your own concern and your own demand that as long as the legislative branch of this Government has passed a law and it is now the law of the land that this law be used.

I am concerned with what happened in Chicago, of course. But I am more concerned—I am more concerned about what will happen in the future if we do not take a very definite stand as a result of what we learned in Chicago.

Mr. MAYNE. Am I not correct in my recollection that at the time we were considering these antiriot provisions in the summer of 1967, the Attorney General of the United States spoke against these provisions and he and the Department of Justice lobbied vigorously against the antiriot provisions of the bill; is that not correct?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I believe that a study of the record will show that the Attorney General raised some very serious constitutional questions as to at what point is there a conflict between the constitutional right of free speech and prosecution.

I think the Congress met that challenge and I think in answer to the Attorney General's testimony, the members of the Committee on the Judiciary and the legal staff and various other interested parties got together and I believe they did come up with language which provided in section B, as used in this chapter, the term "to incite a riot" or "to organize, promote, encourage, participate in, or carry on a riot" includes but is not limited to urging or instigating other persons to riot, but should not be deemed to mean the mere oral or written, first, advocacy of ideas, or second, expression of belief, not involving advocacy of any act or acts of violence, or assertion of the rightness of, or the right to commit any such act or acts.

In my judgment, having the various statements and the various intelligences that we have and the various supportive information we have, I am satisfied that the leaders of the riot in Chicago like Tom Hayden and David Dellinger and others—those people in my judgment had clearly spelled out their intent and they come within the meaning of the act. In other words, the act as written by this House did separate between the legitimate right of free speech and participation in acts which led to the kind of riot that we have witnessed in Chicago.

The legislative branch of the Government did come up with language which met the constitutional test and in my judgment this bill now does meet the test and can be effectively used.

Mr. MAYNE. If the gentleman will yield further, my recollection is that the Attorney General persisted in his opposition to the antirioting provisions of that bill, insisted that they were not necessary, and fought them bitterly to the end. It was the fine work of certain members of the Judiciary Committee and other Members of this body which persuaded the House to override his objection and enact this very necessary legislation.

I would just like to ask the gentleman further: How many prosecutions have the Attorney General of the United States and his Department of Justice instituted under the antiriot provisions of this bill up to the present time since the President of the United States signed the bill in April?

Mr. PUCINSKI. First, in answer to the gentleman's first question, this is why the Founding Fathers of this great Republic, in their profound wisdom, set up three branches of government. We respect the executive branch of the Government. But I would like to remind my colleague that we are a coequal branch of this Government. We here in the legislature worked our will on the floor of the House when we debated the need for legislation to deal with the crossing of State lines to incite riots. In our good judgment we here in this legislative branch of the Government wrote the bill. In my judgment, the bill is a good bill. The gentleman will remember that I was among those who spoke very strongly for it.

Mr. MAYNE. I recall that.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I participated in the debate and helped to get it through and did everything I could to help get it through. I think it is a good bill.

In answer to the gentleman's second question, I am not aware of any prosecutions since the 11th of April. That is why I have taken the floor here today. That is why I have written to the Attorney General last week, because in my humble judgment this incident in Chicago is on all four points. In my letter to the Attorney General I pointed out that in my judgment he will never have a better case, because we have the two basic ingredients. We have the intent and we have the action.

While I am mindful that these are difficult prosecutions, I am mindful that these are great constitutional questions involved, and I am mindful of the Attorney General's position on this subject, it occurs to me that at this point, at this juncture in our relations, the Attorney General has no alternative but to carry out the will of the coequal branch of the Government, the legislative branch of the Government, and proceed with seeking indictments and the prosecution of those who not only tore Chicago apart but are hellben on tearing up the rest of the country.

Mr. MAYNE. That, I would suggest to the gentleman, is the question: Do we have the third essential ingredient, an Attorney General who will take the necessary action under this bill? I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I suggest that in view of the Attorney General's open hostility to the antiriot provisions when they were before the Congress and the apparent reluctance of the Justice Department to enforce them since their enactment, the gentleman is perhaps being overoptimistic in his anticipation of appropriate action from the Department even at the present time.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I was in Chicago at 3 o'clock in the morning, looking out of my window in the Blackstone Hotel. I could overlook Grant Park. I saw the frenzied atmosphere that existed there.

My mind went back to the 1930's when Hitler, before he took over Germany, used the stormtroopers as a prelude to taking over the Government and breaking down law and order. It reminded me of the Hitler days—stormtroopers on the American scene, similar to Hitler's stormtroopers, engineered, exploited, directed, and guided by trained minds.

It seems to me as though law and order in America has become un-American in the minds of some people. It is amazing to me to observe the position that some of my liberal friends take when the real liberalism is to maintain law and order, because where law ceases, tyranny starts, whether in a country or in a community.

As far as I am concerned, Mayor Daley exercised the best judgment he could under the circumstances.

He contained them. There is no question that there were plans. This was a planned affair. It was planned weeks in advance. There is no question that they intended to go much further than they did go, and they would have gone much further had they not been contained in the manner that they were.

I have heard charges made that some of the television stations telephoned this fellow Rubin, letting him know where they would be located to take the filming and also the time and place they would be located there. I think investigation ought to be made into that, and I think the television system ought to investigate themselves to find out whether or not those charges are true.

The charges were made by an officer of the Chicago police who had penetrated and had become a bodyguard of Rubin. He quoted Rubin in an article, in a statement that appeared in the Chicago paper—am I correct?

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct, Mr. Speaker. Officer Pierson did testify to the fact that Mr. Rubin had been advised where the permanent cameras would be and had been told, at least his colleagues were, that whatever action was going to take place, it would have to take place where the cameras were.

It should be remembered that in front of the Hilton Hotel on Michigan Avenue, in front of the main entrance, there was a huge podium, a huge superstructure built outside the main entrance, and the cameras were there. The reason for that—and I am glad the Speaker brought that up—is because we had an unfortunate telephone strike—and still have—in Chicago, so the mobility of the television people was somewhat restrained. But certainly this is no fault of the mayor or of the other government people in Chicago, nor of the police.

However, the Speaker is correct. Officer Pierson did testify to that point.

I stress again the presence of the cameras where the action was, and the action, because of the position of the cameras, showed only the police, because the cameras were behind the policemen and they were shooting eastward, and they could not very well see the provocations, the really animal-like provocations of those policemen and the indignities committed upon the police which provoked the reactions.

Mr. McCORMACK. Might I add that what I observed reminded me of the Hitler troubles in the thirties. I was one of those in this body in the thirties, and I was one of those who sensed the arrogant mind of Hitler and what he stood for—nazism. We were condemned and villified, those of us who sensed that and had the courage to speak out our opinions and our views.

I also remember well that after Hitler used them and took them over, the first move he made was to destroy the press. The press ought to realize this. There were those who slanted the news—only a few—because the great majority of the press are honorable ladies and gentlemen. But there were some on the national level who slanted the news, who distorted the news and did not give the complete truth. They ought to realize that if on the American scene those people take over—which they never will be able to do—if they ever took over as they did on the German scene, the first move they would make would be to destroy the free press and to destroy the free television. Everything connected with freedom would be destroyed, and the next step would be freedom of religion, which we have seen going on for years in the various countries.

These people would have done the same thing in Miami. Why they did not do it, I do not know. There were scenes down there. But I was disappointed with some of my Republican friends—not many—who made some remarks I thought were distasteful. I thought they should have refrained. We did not make any remarks about the Miami convention when it took place and when there was looting and shooting and some killing. We realized what our Republican friends were up against. We did not blame the Republican Party in convention for what took place in Miami. I thought it was most unfortunate and distasteful when some of my Republican friends—a few only—and I was surprised where it came from—made some remarks.

I made the statement this morning, when I was asked by the press, that I thought it was distasteful. The Democratic Party is not to blame for what happened out there. We were no more to blame than the Republican Party for what happened in Miami. These forces that defy the law are going to do it. We cannot stand for defiance of the law, because as I said, where law ceases tyranny starts.

As Speaker of the House of Representatives, there are three propositions I stand for, and the Capitol Police have been instructed by me. First, I will not stand for defiance of the law on any matter that comes within my jurisdiction. Second, I expect the police to enforce the law. Third—and this is important—I will back them up.

All I can say is what I observed in Chicago. Mayor Daley and the police exercised their judgment. If that gang or that group had every gone on the rampage, on the march, they would have burned and they would have looted.

Let us take the other side of the coin. Let us pause for a moment. Suppose some candidate for President were killed out there. Suppose some delegate were killed out there. Suppose they had marched on to where the convention was taking place and had invaded. Suppose someone were killed there. I do not want to mention names. Suppose I were killed out there, and I am the third in line. Then Mayor Daley would have been condemned for not having given the proper protection. There is the other side of the coin.

If they had let this gang go—and they were organized—and had permitted them to march through the streets of Chicago, burning and looting and assaulting, if they had permitted them to get out to the amphitheater or the auditorium where the convention was taking place and to kill someone, then Mayor Daley and the police department would properly have been condemned for failure to take the necessary steps.

It has been said that Bob Kennedy might be alive today if necessary steps had been taken for his protection.

Certainly here we had an organized situation of those who were defying the law. Where there is defiance of the law it means a breakdown, and where there is a breakdown of the law tyranny starts.

I saw them. I would feel the same way if it happened in Miami. I applaud the police in Miami for doing their duty, and I applaud Mayor Daley and the police of Chicago for doing their duty.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the Speaker for his contribution.

To show how prophetic he is, in an article in Barron's appears this statement:

> Indeed, it must be causing the stoical Mayor Daley to shudder. Tom Hayden spelled things out in his June 29 press conference, as quoted by Guardian: "We are planning tactics of prolonged direct action to put heat on the government and its political party." In New Left rhetoric, "direct action" can include street barricading, fire bombing, seizure of buildings and massive confrontations with the police. Last spring's siege of Columbia University, which Hayden helped to lead, hinted at what's to come for Chicago.
>
> "We realize that it will be no picnic," Hayden says, "but responsibility for any violence that develops lies with the authorities, not the demonstrators." Hayden means, of course, that Chicago police must not stop his shock troops if they invade the convention hall, block traffic or make exits and entrances impossible. Such tactics, refined at Columbia, were tested first at the Pentagon.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is important to point out that only a handful of policemen in the city of Chicago have been accused of overreacting. The fact of the matter is that there were some 11,000 Chicago policemen on duty over all the city, at the convention hall and in the hotels; and there were 6,000 National Guardsmen, and approximately 1,000 Secret Service, FBI, police, and various others. So we are talking here about a number in the vicinity of 18,000 men.

It occurs to me that the real story is really the professional handling of a very tense situation by the overwhelming number of the Chicago policemen. What we saw on television was just a small segment of those policemen who conceivably might have overreacted, when one sees the kind of indignity that was showered upon them by trained people. Tom Hayden said in one of his speeches he wanted the Chicago police to react the way they did. I say it is a tribute to that police force, when we consider the 11,000 men who handled the matter in the most professional manner. Certainly, there were some who might have used the billy club more than they should have. But it is the height of irresponsibility to indict the entire Chicago police force for the acts of only a few. I repeat, no city has as professional a police force as Chicago when you consider that out of 11,000 policemen on duty, only a handful were accused of abusing their power in a melee that lasted only a relatively short time.

However, after this kind of provocation there is a limit to human patience and we cannot blame too harshly that small group of police who might have overreacted.

The SPEAKER, pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois.

There was no objection.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune this morning has an excellent article which I would like to call to the attention of the Members here because of what the Speaker of the House just said. We all owe a great debt of gratitude to the responsible civil rights leaders in the Chicago Negro community. They were the subject of intense activity by these people, these agitators, who wished to cut up the community. They were counting on help from the Negro community to start more riots. We owe a debt of gratitude to those who rejected the agitators as has been stated in this article by Mr. Donald Yabush. He says:

CITY'S NEGROES SPURNED RED CALL FOR RIOTS—AGITATORS ON SOUTH, WEST SIDES FAIL

(By Donald Yabush)

"Known Communists went into south and west side Negro neighborhoods last Wednesday in an attempt to incite residents of the communities to riot," United States Atty. Thomas A. Foran charged yesterday. Their efforts were unsuccessful.

Residents of the Negro communities were apparently unsympathetic with the attempted agitation. Leaders of the Blackstone Rangers street gang reportedly turned down an invitation by militant leaders that they join in the disturbances.

LINK TO EARLIER RIOTS

"A number of those who were seen in the neighborhoods," Foran said, "were the same people who led earlier protests and riot activities at Columbia University in New York, the Pentagon, and the University of California at Berkeley."

Foran said the riot leaders "were extremely well-trained and clever and, when arrested, listened carefully to instructions of their lawyers. A lot more than 100 leaders were involved in this activity the night the Democrats were nominating their Presidential candidate."

Judge William A. Robson extended the life of the August federal grand jury to complete its investigation into civil disorders during last week's Democratic national convention. Foran said the jury would be subjected to call.

He said the grand jury investigation so far had failed to substantiate alleged plots to assassinate Democratic Presidential candidates, several local politicians, and Federal Judge James B. Parsons.

DEFENDS POLICE ACTION

Foran defended the actions taken by the police in dealing with demonstrators in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel last Wednesday.

"If the police were not there, that mob would have torn the hotel apart," Foran said.

Foran reported that he has been meeting daily with Police Supt. James B. Conlisk Jr. and that police supervisors are seeking to learn the identity of policemen who attacked innocent bystanders and newsmen.

Video and tape recordings that were taken by newsmen covering the disturbances have been requested by Foran in an effort to determine who the police were. He said the tapes would be available to the FBI, which is expected to prepare a complete report for Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark.

BOMBING PLOT HINTED

Foran pointed out that the FBI report had uncovered a plan, by persons he called "Communists and anarchists," to bomb the International Amphitheater, the convention meeting site.

Regarding charges of police brutality toward newsmen covering the disturbances. Foran said that he knew of 14 to 17 instances where newsmen, mostly photographers, suffered injuries in confrontations with police.

"The charge that police were attempting to brutalize the press is silly," Foran said, "when you consider that only small numbers of newsmen suffered injuries when the national Democratic convention had counted a total of 6,300 press representatives covering the convention."

WEIGH ALL EVIDENCE

Assistant State's Atty. Patrick A. Tuite, chief of the criminal division, said that all evidence of criminal actions stemming from the disorders will be considered on its merit and indictments will be sought when necessary.

Tuite said that a special grand jury would not be convened to investigate the riots. He indicated that it was not the function of the grand jury to assess responsibility for the riots but merely to return indictments.

Conlisk said the police department "has nothing to hide," and offered to provide men to help in any government investigation of police records concerning the disturbances.

So, Mr. Speaker, I say that we can all be very grateful that the people who were the targets of those agitators who came to Chicago determined to tear the city up did not cooperate. They were counting on the Negro community of the South Side and the West Side to join them in their action. This is certainly a great step forward. Those of us in responsible positions should recognize and give credit to the responsible leaders of the civil rights movement who did not offer any help to these agitators. Thus they were able to minimize the conflict.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I would like to point out in addition to the prosecution that I hope the U.S. Attorney General will undertake forthwith there are two very important things that need to be done. It will serve no purpose for us to sit here haranguing at each other. The networks, the news media, and some of the national pundits and international writers have distorted the facts or, perhaps in charity I should say they merely did not tell all of the facts and embellished some of the others. The fact of the matter is what we need now is to effect some form of reconciliation. There is a credibility gap that we have heard so much about which falls on the shoulders of the TV network people. It occurs to me that the job ahead for them is to try to set their house in order as quickly as possible. Certainly this great news media can be a force for good here in this country. We had hoped during the last 10 or 15 years that television would become the great catalyst to bring our country together and to make it a place where free people can understand better the complex structure of our society. It is my hope today that the networks will allow Mayor Daley the time that he has asked for and will sit down and see how we can restore the confidence of the American people in this very powerful and meaningful media. I fear, for one thing, if the American people lose confidence in television, it can have a very adverse effect on our entire Nation. TV plays an important role through its mass advertising because it moves the goods from American factories that American workers produce to the homes of the American consumers. We certainly have a right to ask if the Americans lose confidence in television news how long will it be before they lose confidence in television advertising?

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. I will not comment upon the observation of the distinguished speaker who now occupies the well relating to my great State of Florida except to say that I was proud of the Republican Party's convention and that it was held there. Further, that we did our best to importune the members of the opposition party to hold their convention at that location also.

However, I would like to say this: It is my hope that the Chicago problem—and it obviously was a serious one—that problem will, perhaps, cause the present occupant of the office of the Attorney General to change his attitude toward the act that was passed by this House of Representatives overwhelmingly—the antiriot bill—and which is now law as a part of the anticrime bill. I hope it will cause him to change his attitude with respect to the implementation of that act.

And, of course, the gentleman in the well was one of the stanchest supporters of the antiriot bill and I, personally, appreciated his support.

Mr. Speaker, I have had occasion to write the Attorney General relating to certain other riots in this country, particularly those riots which have resulted from sanitation workers' strikes, and other riots which have occurred as the result of other actions.

Perhaps the gentleman would be interested in the Attorney General's reply to me on this matter. The first thing to which the Attorney General referred was the sweeping loophole that was written into the act by the other body but which was turned down overwhelmingly by this body that excluded appropriate and proper labor organization activities from the scope of this act. The Attorney General leaned heavy upon that particular language in his reply to my letter requesting an investigation of the garbage strikes which have resulted in shootings, killings, and maimings, but which he says are beyond the scope of the Antiriot Act. I feel that is most unfortunate, because I do not think any such actions which occur as a result of such strikes represent sufficient cause to make them legitimate. That was one of the replies I received.

Mr. Speaker, it was quite obvious that what he really had in mind was not the full enforcement of the Antiriot Act which was passed by this Congress.

In my judgment there is no basis for any equivocation in the enforcement of the antiriot law, in a clear-cut case where you have publicized, as the gentleman from Illinois referred to, advanced acknowledgment and notice that it was the intention on the part of particular individuals to organize a group of people with the intent and purpose of causing great disruption in the city of Chicago, at a specific time and place, and where they obviously had to use interstate facilities to accomplish that purpose.

So, there is no doubt that this activity comes within the scope and purpose and the clear intent of the Antiriot Act.

It would be my hope that this would get over to the present Attorney General and bring about a change of attitude on his part with reference to the enforcement of this act. Obviously, this is not politics. Every effort should be made to change his mind about the implementation of the provisions of the Antiriot Act before these people bring complete chaos and anarchy to this country.

I note that the gentleman in the well has written the Attorney General and has made known his views which I hope will have some impact. It seems to me that it is the responsibility of the Members of the Congress of the United States to have some voice as to whether or not it is applicable in these instances, and I am delighted that the gentleman does agree that it does have such applicability. I am requesting the Attorney General at this time to implement the provisions of the Antiriot Act, as the gentleman in the well has done, and I am delighted to join in his request. Also, I shall be more than happy to follow it up in writing. However, I would like to say further to the gentleman, if the gentleman is interested in a further observation, that the response of the Attorney General to my previous requests have disturbed me as well. The Attorney General said that at the same time he was unable to find any basis for implementing the antiriot provision, that it would be his intention to fully investigate whether or not there were any acts of violence directed toward certain people trying to enforce their civil rights as consistent with the other provision Civil Rights Act of this year.

So it seems to me quite obvious that the whole thrust of the Attorney General is to try to discourage the enforcement of the Antiriot Act.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I believe there is room for both proposals. I believe the proposal by Vice President HUMPHREY for a thorough study of all aspects of course is very timely. We had a situation with some 15, 20, or 30 newspapermen who were there properly and legitimately to do their job as newspaper reporters covering a story, who were involved in altercations, and some of them were injured. Certainly we want to try to evolve from this experience some formula, some better way of identifying legitimate, bona fide newspaper people. So the suggestion of the Vice President that we look into the whole aspect of the situation is good, but in my judgment both suggestions are very meritorious. I believe we ought to follow the proposal of the Vice President for an investigation of the whole situation, but at the same time I believe the Attorney General ought to look to his responsibilities in the courts, because that is where we are really going to be doing something.

Mr. CRAMER. He should have been doing this in some other violations, I might say.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts). The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois may be permitted to proceed for an additional 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have a special order coming up. I am willing to let this discussion continue, but not forever, and I would like to have some assurances that I may be permitted to proceed pretty soon on another subject.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I can assure the gentleman we will conclude shortly.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana?

There was no objection.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. First, permit me to yield to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. WATSON].

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I certainly want to join with the others in thanking the gentleman from Illinois for calling this matter to our attention, and in discussing the situation.

So far as I am concerned, Mr. Speaker, I share the concern of the gentleman from Illinois about those who would lament the so-called overreaction on the part of the police, but yet at the same time we ought not condone the provocation of those who brought it about in the first place. I have never known of an instance in the first place where you can react unless you first have an action of provocation.

I understand and appreciate the fact that perhaps the Democratic Party might feel some personal embarrassment as to what happened there, but certainly as to what happened there I would not attribute to the Democratic Party, but I would attribute it to the irresponsible people who went there with the specific design of causing unrest and violence.

I would further express this thought: that it does surprise me that people now are surprised about hearing the names of Rubin, Arthur Kanoy, and the rest of them. Two years ago, may I call the attention of the House to the fact that this very same Jerry Rubin was the one who was cited for disorderly conduct in matters of despicable conduct before a committee of this House, the Committee on Un-American Activities—2 years ago last month. I believe if you will read some of the hearings of our Committee on Un-American Activities you will find these same names coming up. The same individuals involved so far as riots and all disorderly acts in various cities throughout this country.

I certainly share the hope of the gentleman in the well that this Attorney General will act positively against these particular individuals. I believe he does have a good case, but frankly I am not as hopeful as the gentleman in the well.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for yielding, and I commend the gentleman from taking this time on this subject.

I want to say that I join with him in support of Mayor Daley and the police department of Chicago. But I want to say I do not believe we should impugn the motives of the Attorney General of the United States. I believe he is going to do the best he can. What we read in the newspapers and what we hear on television and what we discuss here on the floor of the House is not necessarily the kind of evidence that the Attorney General must have when he goes to court.

I believe everybody has got to believe that Mr. Clark is an honest man, and that he is going to do the very best he can under the circumstances. Maybe we did not send him the best law in the world to enforce in these circumstances, and I am sure we did not. I believe it could have been a lot more strict, and could have been a lot more definitive than it is. But let us, for goodness sake, say that the Attorney General is going to do the best he can, and he will enforce the law, but if he does not have a case, then he should not bring an indictment.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I might advise my colleague from Montana that we have an excellent U.S. district attorney in Chicago, Mr. Foran. There is no question in my mind that if the evidence is there Mr. Foran will find it, and there will be prosecutions, because we have the highest confidence in our U.S. Attorney General in Chicago, who is conducting the present investigation.

Mr. OLSEN. I appreciate the gentleman saying that, and I want to say that if we had a Republican Attorney General I would have the same faith that he would do his job, and that he is dedicated, and that he is governed by the Congress and by the laws of this country. I hope that the press will say that this body has confidence in the Attorney General and that we have confidence in the system, and if there are no prosecutions it will be because the facts just are not available to make a prosecution.

Mr. PUCINSKI. From my study of the facts, I am completely convinced that the Attorney General has no alternative but to proceed with a prosecution.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. I want to commend the distinguished gentleman from Illinois for placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and bringing to the attention of the American people facts concerning what took place in Chicago, Ill., on the occasion in question.

I want to say also that in my part of the country, in this hour of confusion and frustration, my people are looking to the Congress of the United States as their last vestige of hope for continued freedom in this country.

I do not know what the Attorney General of the United States will do. I know what his job is. But if he does not expedite this matter and do the job that he is supposed to do, then I would be one of those who would join with other Members of this Congress in asking for his resignation and for the appointment of someone who will do the job.

However, as the gentleman has pointed out, there are Federal district attorneys all over this country who have the power to act and I am sure that the one the gentleman mentioned will carry out his responsibilities. I would like to add also that if, on the basis of what has happened, we are not able to enforce the law and bring to justice those responsible for what transpired in Chicago, then this Congress and every State legislature in this country had better go to work and find a way to prevent this kind of anarchy. Otherwise, this total disregard for order and authority will destroy our Democratic Republic and we will all end up under a dictatorship of one kind or another.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend my colleague the gentleman from Illinois, Congressman ROMAN PUCINSKI, on his remarks pertaining to the recent police action during the Democratic Convention in Chicago.

As a resident of Chicago, I personally witnessed the actions of the demonstrators beginning on Sunday afternoon, August 25, and continuing through the week until Friday, August 30.

I learned through the press that it was the intention of the demonstrators to come to Chicago for the purpose of disrupting the Democratic Convention. I consider what they did do in Chicago was premeditated by their own pronouncements. Therefore, the city of Chicago was placed on notice and it was imperative on the part of the mayor of the city of Chicago to provide protection and security for the delegates and alternates and other members attending the convention, even to the calling of the National Guard.

I want to congratulate the mayor of the city of Chicago, the Honorable Richard J. Daley, and the Governor of the State of Illinois, the Honorable Samuel Shapiro, for the actions taken by them for the maintenance of law and order.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment my colleague from Illinois for having pointed out at this time the unfairness of the criticisms of the actions by the Chicago police during the Democratic Convention.

A viewer of television received the impression that girls in flowered frocks and boys strumming their guitars were being unmercifully attacked by sadistic police officers. From every channel streamed the news of "police state"—"Nazi regime."

Indeed, on ABC, one commentator was even sympathetic to the raising of the Vietcong flag by the so-called yippies in Grant Park. In short, the news media gave only the impression that the police were engaged in unprovoked attacks on the youngsters.

It has been known for some time that trouble was anticipated in Chicago during the Democratic Convention. It has been known that the persons who plotted this trouble would have brought their demonstrations to any city that might have been selected. The main leaders of the youth group were those who had staged the massive protest against the Pentagon in Washington some months ago. They were also those who had organized the Columbia University takeover. Among those groups present were Students for a Democratic Society, the Radical Organizing Committee, clergy and laymen concerned against Vietnam, the Youth International Party, the Returned Volunteers, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Black Panthers.

More specific identification of the ring leaders is as follows:

Rennie Davis, an official of the National Committee To End the War in Vietnam; Thomas Hayden, a founder of the radical Students for a Democratic Society; David Dellinger, a self-styled Communist; and Jerry Rubin, head of the Youth International Party.

Prior to the convention there were numerous assassination threats against all of the presidential candidates and to disregard them, in the light of what happened in Dallas in 1963 and in Los Angeles this June, would have been the height of irresponsibility.

Indeed, the seriousness of the threats, not only to the safety of the candidates, the delegates, and the general public was clear and obvious long before the gavel fell on August 26.

To confirm the conspiracy and the harm it meant to perpetrate, the movement was infiltrated by a Chicago policeman by the name of Robert Pierson. He was so successful that he became the personal bodyguard of Rubin and, in so doing, obtained the diary of the yippie movement and was able to keep the police informed as to what strategy was going to be employed.

Rubin was arrested after it was learned that he was urging the killing of one or two policemen.

The ranks of the demonstrators were held fast by sharp discipline and they moved about at the direction of their leaders and were at their best behavior when their leaders urged them to be.

These were innocent boys and girls out on a lark?

What were they doing? In addition to their offensive dress and demeanor they engaged in the worst kind of vilification possible against police and National Guardsmen. In addition to screaming obscenities, sometimes long into the night, not by one or two, but by 2,000, these creatures hurled containers of urine and excrement into the faces of the police.

They invaded the lobbies of the Blackstone and Hilton Hotels and rubbed limburger cheese or an oil derivative therefrom into the rugs. Some stripped tiles from the walls of men's restrooms and sharpened the edges before hurling them into the ranks of the police.

We saw the police react to prevent a riot from taking place. The television people were quick to capture the vigorous work of the police but there is nothing on any video tape that I saw that depicts any of the vile things I just mentioned. The reason for this as given by some of the newsmen present was that you could not pick up on TV the obscene chant of these yippies. In other words, the news media tuned out the dirty actions of the yippies to protect society. Do you not think that if there was a special knob the police could have used to turn off these repugnant activities that they would have used it?

The TV reporters were protecting the public from pictures and sounds. The Chicago police were protecting the public from realities. The realities were that more than 80 policemen were injured, several seriously. This hardly supports the generalization that all we had in Chicago was a bunch of club-happy cops beating innocent and defenseless kids.

The stated objective of several of the extremist groups was to inflame rioting throughout the city, particularly in the Negro districts. They did not succeed—largely because police and troops kept the mobs hemmed in within two or three areas.

It is significant that with all the caustic criticism of the honest attempt to protect the candidates, the delegates, the public and to prevent the breaking up of the Democratic Convention, there was not one life lost nor was any assassination attempt made.

I think the Vice President described it accurately when he said:

> I know what caused these demonstrations, and so does everybody else. They were planned, premeditated, and there are certain people in this country who feel all they have to do is riot and they'll get their way. The obscenities, the profanity, the filth that was uttered night after night in front of the hotels, it was an insult to every woman, every mother, every daughter, indeed every human being.
>
> Is it any wonder that the police had to take action? I regret the violence. I surely don't like to see anybody injured, but I think that the blame ought to be put where it belongs.

I was present at all the proceedings and observed the problems firsthand. I say thank God for Mayor Daley and the men of this caliber who are not afraid to shoulder their responsibilities in this time when the rule of law and order seems to have come into distaste with many elements of our society who should know better.

I compliment Superintendent Conlisk and all the law-enforcement officers working with him in preserving law and order under the most trying of conditions.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to extend their remarks in the RECORD on this subject, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On August 2, 1968:

H.R. 15387. An act to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary action against employees in the postal field service who assault other employees in such service in the performance of official duties, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16361. An act to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

On August 3, 1968:

H.R. 25. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the States, to conduct an inventory and study of the Nation's estuaries and their natural resources, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2281. An act for the relief of Dwayne C. Cox and William D. Martin;

H.R. 5815. An act for the relief of Lt. Comdr. William W. Gentry;

H.R. 6195. An act for the relief of Peter Balinas and Lee Balinas;

H.R. 6655. An act for the relief of Mary Jane Orloski;

H.R. 9606. An act to exempt from taxation certain property of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 10327. An act for the relief of Louis J. Falardeau, Irva G. Franger, Betty Klemcke, Wineta L. Welburn, and Emma L. McNeil, all individuals employed by the Department of the Army at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.;

H.R. 10923. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey the Argos National Fish Hatchery in Indiana to the Izaak Walton League;

H.R. 11381. An act for the relief of E. L. Townley, Otis T. Hawkins, and Leo T. Matous;

H.R. 14330. An act to provide a comprehensive program for the control of drunkenness and the prevention and treatment of alcoholism in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16729. An act to extend for 2 years certain programs providing assistance to students at institutions of higher education, to modify such programs, and to provide for planning evaluation, and adequate leadtime in such programs.

On August 8, 1968:

H.R. 1648. An act for the relief of Martina Zubiri Garcia;

H.R. 8391. An act for the relief of Adel Lessert Bellmard, Clement Lessert, Josephine Gonvil Pappan, Julie Gonvil Pappan, Pelagie Gonvil Francesour de Aubri, Victore Gonvil Pappan, Marie Gonvil, Lafleche Gonvil, Louis Laventure, Elizabeth Carbonau Vertifelle, Pierre Carbonau, Louis Joncas, Basil Joncas, James Joncas, Elizabeth Datcherute, Joseph Butler, William Rodger, Joseph Cote, four children of Cicili Compare and Joseph James, or the heirs of any who may be deceased;

H.R. 9098. An act to revise the boundaries of the Badlands National Monument in the State of South Dakota, to authorize exchanges of land mutually beneficial to the Oglala Sioux Tribe and the United States, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9391. An act to amend section 376(a) of title 28, United States Code;

H.R. 10213. An act to amend the Life Insurance Act of the District of Columbia, approved June 19, 1934 (48 Stat. 1125);

H.R. 10321. An act for the relief of Mrs. Claudette C. Donahue;

H.R. 11026. An act to amend the Act of September 15, 1960, for the purpose of developing and enhancing recreational opportunities and improving the fish and wildlife programs at reservations covered by said act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12119. An act for the relief of Joseph M. Hepworth;

H.R. 14167. An act for the relief of Lydia M. Parsley;

H.R. 15864. An act to provide for the operation of the William Langer Jewel Bearing Plant at Rolla, N. Dak., and for other purposes;

H.R. 19613. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 18188. An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

On August 9, 1968:

H.R. 3136. An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to make a study to determine the advantages and disadvantages of increased use of the metric system in the United States;

H.R. 15189. An act to authorize appropriations for certain maritime programs of the Department of Commerce; and

H.R. 17522. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

On August 10, 1968:

H.R. 18706. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

On August 11, 1968:

H.R. 10864. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forrest, Inc., and for other purposes;

H.R. 13781. An act to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966;

H.R. 14367. An act to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 16086. An act to amend the act of August 25, 1959 (73 Stat. 420), pertaining to the affairs of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma; and

H.R. 18254. An act to amend further section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920.

On August 12, 1968:

H.R. 17903. An act making appropriations for public works for water and power resources development, including certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, the Delaware River Basin Commission, Interstate Commission of the Potomac River Basin, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Water Resources Council, and the Atomic Energy Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

On August 13, 1968:

H.R. 10932. An act for the relief of Cilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force (retired); and

H.R. 12323. An act to amend chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the retired serviceman's family protection plan, and for other purposes.

On August 15, 1968:

H.R. 5233. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sophie Michalowska; and

H.R. 15794. An act to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection.

On August 16, 1968:

H.R. 12843. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health.

On August 17, 1968:

H.R. 1093. An act to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes.

On August 18, 1968:

H.R. 16363. An act to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes.

On August 19, 1968:

H.R. 16027. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes.

THE TRUCKING ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, before I proceed on the subject I have chosen to talk about, I want to make the observation that I am grateful I live in a country where we can have an opportunity for sober, second thoughts.

In the last few weeks, I, with my colleagues, have witnessed some important events transpiring on the national front when two great political parties were doing their best under very strained conditions and in a time of upheaval and in a spirit of revolution—trying to do their duty as citizens and as elected Representatives of the people.

I, too, am sorry for what has happened and what is happening in America. It is indeed unfortunate that not enough of our people in the fabric of our communities—not enough of our citizens are aware of the fact that there are remedies under the law that should be sought first to the extent of their capabilities before they launch out on maneuvers such as we have seen.

It is my belief that this is a time for calmness and sound and sober judgment after we have considered all the facts.

I believe that the suggestion of a special study of this total problem and maybe the area of climax which was in Chicago be studied by an independent agency and have them bring to us the facts.

It can be the basis of our judgment if legislation is needed, or action.

I believe I should make this observation, too. We in the Congress and in this country have been wrestling mightily with a solution to many of America's problems in a difficult time, in a time of change, in a time of growth, expansion, and technology. Too often we have sought to enact measures into law before we have had all the facts. I believe there are better answers to many of the problems that are presented in America and on the world front, and we should dedicate more of our time to finding out about the problem and all there is to know about the problem before we present the answers.

Earlier I said I am glad I live in a country where we can have sober second thoughts and where we can have the opportunity to debate as we can in this House. And I have taken advantage of this opportunity to talk about another problem that many of you know about that I talked about in the days before we adjourned for the great conventions.

As I pointed out to the House, it was my conviction that the truck bill, which proposes to raise the weight limits and the width limits, was not in the public interest and came before us before we had considered all the facts. So I, in my feeble and humble way, and maybe not too intelligently at times, but I have been trying my best to bring before the House the facts as I see them, calling upon the talents and the capabilities of researchers, men of stature and reputation, to determine what the increase in weight will do to the bridges that are not on the Interstate System, and what the increase in weight will do on the roads not in the Interstate System, and what the increase of width will do to increasing the hazards of driving on the highways.

Since we adjourned or recessed for the convention, I have been in my district most of the time in Iowa, and I find that my position has been agreed to by many Members of this House and who have joined in this fight now. I find also that many people have changed their minds. So what we have done is not for naught from the standpoint of having influence here in this House. Wisely, the bill has not yet been put on the calendar, and I hope it will not be until we have had an opportunity to take a better look at what is happening or what is likely to happen, or what I believe will happen if we pass this legislation without amendment, without further consideration.

I might say also that I have been joined in the public domain because there have been editorials in newspapers all over the United States—thousands of them—and today I have received only one copy of an editorial against the bill.

Mr. Speaker, as this session of Congress reconvenes today, I take the floor again for the purpose of acquainting all the Members of the House with the new hazards to motorists and the billions of dollars in additional costs that the truck bill would create. While Congress remains in session, I plan to continue to talk to you each day to remind you again and again of the dangers lurking in this ill-considered piece of legislation.

Mr. Speaker, during the last month the national sentiment has crystallized into a hard core of public resistance to this bill. People all across the land are voicing their opposition to these measures to allow heavier, wider, and longer trucks on our highways. The Nation's press has been adamant in its refusal to support this proposal. The elected officials of our State and local governments have expressed their well-founded fears about the implications that congressional passage of this bill would have for their jurisdictions. With a remarkable degree of unanimity, the American public has raised its voice in steadfast opposition to the hasty passage of this trucking bill.

NEWSPAPER OPPOSITION

The newspapers of America have always tried to keep a watchful eye out for poorly conceived legislation which would place the public interest in jeopardy. To date, almost 300 newspapers have felt the need to take a public stand on this bill. As of this date, I only know of one—out of nearly 300—newspaper to comment editorially in favor of this proposal to increase truck width, length, and weight. The Christian Science Monitor could only see fit to call the trucking proposal "A Nasty Bill" that was "slipping through Congress." The Monitor called it "an outrageous waste of your tax money and a danger to your lives." The Washington Daily News remarked that "all in all it's a very sorry picture." The News observed that so far the highway freight-train lobby has run over almost everything in its way: "commonsense, the judgment of experts in the Government, the interests of the taxpayers, [and] Members of Congress who oppose the big trucker's ever expanding demands." In an editorial aptly titled "Truckers Bearing Gifts," the New York Times characterized this measure as a piece of "special interest legislation" being pushed through Congress that "few people outside the trucking industry would" favor. The Times could only talk of "incalculable sums running into the hundreds of millions of dollars that will be needed to strengthen existing bridges to sustain such truckloads and to rebuild roads worn out prematurely." As the Des Moines Register put it:

> The bill being trucked through Congress this year would permit trucks which would demand still more expensive highway standards and eventually increase both highway hazards and highway taxes for the average motorist.

Noting the way that the bill was pushed through the Senate with only seven members voting, the hasty treatment it received in the House Public Works and Rules Committees, and the largesse which the trucking lobby has used to railroad this measure through Congress, the Register concluded by calling "congressional handling of this measure disgraceful."

Sentiment expressed in the Nation's press against this bill does not end with editorials. Letters to the editors of our Nation's newspapers showing a widespread grassroots disapproval of this bill abound. Syndicated columnists such as Marquis Childs have attacked this bill as "an obvious hazard to motorists" which will "clog the highways" and hit "the traveling public hard." Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson simply have labeled the bill a "monstrosity." And so the commentary in the press goes on and on.

STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

Technically speaking, the bill before the House is supposedly limited in application to the Interstate Highway System and thus seems to be largely out of the province of State and local officials. However, this simply is not so. While the bill is permissive in that it does not compel any State to adopt the congressional increases in truck weights, widths, and lengths, it practically forces them to rubberstamp what the lobbyists dredged out of Congress. As the Memphis Commercial Appeal put it:

> It's like telling one of the children in a family that he can have oatmeal or waffles for breakfast—but mother is cooking oatmeal and that's what everyone else is eating.

Thus State officials are increasingly concerned because any step Congress takes will quickly affect them. As Francis C. Turner, Director of the Bureau of Public Roads, told me in a recent letter:

> The large trucks move from one system to another in their travel from origin to destination, and any change in size and weight limitations on the Interstate System must be recognized as having an effect on other systems.

Major E. Olaff of the New Jersey State Police pointed up the inevitability of these changes affecting State road systems when he wrote me:

> We are waiting and watching for any size and weight increases granted to commercial vehicles through Federal legislation, realizing full well that in the name of uniformity the various States sooner or later will have to comply with Federal precedent.

And Claude R. McCamment, Director of Safety of the Kansas Highway Commission, underscored one of the main reasons that States will likely be forced to follow these new Federal standards. He noted that "once these matters are achieved on the interstate highways, then an effort is made to get the States to allow the same size equipment to be used on other highways and street systems within the State"—even though such systems are often wholly inadequate to accommodate these larger vehicles. Already the Legislatures of Maryland, New York, and Virginia have passed bills which would permit the operation of buses up to 102 inches wide on some of their highways provided the Federal limit is raised. And newspapers such as the St. Paul Dispatch daily note the "veritable fleet of truck lobbyists" have been descending in recent weeks on the Minnesota Legislature and Governors' conference. Therefore, we should listen carefully to these State and local officials because in the end they will be the ones who will bear the brunt of the effects of this bill. And how do these officials feel? The National Association of Counties, the League of Cities, and the National Conference of Mayors have already made known their stanch opposition to this bill. And in this month's National Association of County Engineers Newsletter, that organization made clear its vocal opposition. The text of their resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION

> Whereas: The Congress of the United States is considering the passage of S. 2658, which bill would amend section 127 of title 23 of the United States Codes to increase the weight and length limitations of vehicles using the Interstate System of Highways, and
>
> Whereas: Traffic using the Interstate System cannot confine its movement to such system, since it must both originate and terminate its trip on another system, and
>
> Whereas: The Counties of our Country are charged with the responsibility of the construction and the maintenance of the Secondary Road System, on which much of the traffic using the Interstate System originates and terminates, and
>
> Whereas: Research and expert testimony show that the Secondary Road System is not designed nor constructed for the increases proposed in S. 2658, which would drastically overstress the majority of the surfaces and structures of the system, inflicting greater damage to the Secondary Road System than to other systems having greater resources, and
>
> Whereas: We are now ten to twenty years behind in meeting the needs of highway construction, and lack the financing necessary to upgrade existing facilities, and
>
> Whereas: the liability placed upon highway officials for shortcomings in highway safety and performance is increasing, and
>
> Whereas: Accident records defy any increase in vehicle weight and dimensions,
>
> Now, therefore be it resolved by the National Association of County Engineers, meeting this 31st day of July, 1968, at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., to strongly oppose the passage of S. 2658 and to urge all Counties to immediately contact their respective Congressmen to this effect, in the interest of safety and the protection of the public investment in our highways.

To further sample the feelings of the State and local authorities, I have sent out a questionnaire on the truck bill to all the Governors, all the State safety officials, all our State highway patrol chiefs, and over 200 mayors. While only about 60 responses have been received this far, the trend is clearly against the bill and strongly in favor of more hearings to consider this matter further. Within the next few days I shall report to you in detail about the results of this survey. At this time, though, I do want to provide you with a few of the comments of these knowledgeable public officials. Claude R. McCamment, Director of Safety for the Kansas Highway Commission, commented:

> I certainly feel that there is a need for further hearings on the safety aspects on any bill in regards to additional gross weight, additional axle weight, and additional width and length, as there are many factors involved on many of the routes other than the Interstate highways.

And Capt. C. R. Kimber of the Planning and Research Section of the Ohio State Highway Patrol stated that—

> Certainly enforcement agencies and highway engineers should be called to testify on accident experiences, highway designs, existing highway and street conditions, and so forth, before final action is taken on the bill. An independent research study should be made prior to any final action.

City officials such as Don Blackburn, traffic engineer in Raleigh, N.C., agree. Mr. Blackburn told me that—

> I believe further hearings should be held on this proposed bill.

And Willard S. Pratt, director of public works in Newton, Mass., also observed:

> I favor further safety hearings.

Many of the State governments throughout this country also favor further hearings. Robert C. Bartlett, secretary of highways of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania said:

> Hearings should be held until every aspect of the proposed legislation, as it relates to highway safety and its ultimate effect on highway facilities, is explored and evaluated.

The distinguished Governor of Rhode Island, John H. Chafee, commented:

> I would recommend that the Congressional Committee conduct additional hearings in reference to this matter on a regional basis in order to give every section of the country an opportunity to explore the proposal in detail.

It is not just that these figures favor new hearings which is important. It is the fact that they feel such hearings are absolutely necessary and essential. Jess D. Gilkerson, city engineer of Long Beach, Calif., voiced the overwhelming sentiment of the Nation's cities when he answered the question whether he favored more hearings with one word—"absolutely." Thus I strongly urge the Members of this House to recommit this bill for further study in line with the wishes of the vast number of our State and local jurisdictions.

THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION POSITION

In light of the hasty way in which the bill has thus far been considered and the great amount of evidence against it, I think it especially important to note that the Department of Transportation has been far from enthusiastic in their support of this measure.

Federal Highway Commissioner Lowell K. Bridwell, the administration's leading proponent of the bill, now tells us only that "we do not oppose passage of the pending bill." Mr. Bridwell spoke of the need for further safety measures governing the ratio of weight to horsepower, braking performance, and adequacy of couplings on combination vehicles that Congress has declined to put into the legislation. He also observed that this bill "will doubtless speed the rate of deterioration of the Interstate System by allowing the operation of heavier vehicles" and that additional user charges should be assessed to the heavier trucks. Chairman WILBUR MILLS, of the House Ways and Means Committee, has told us that it will be difficult to hold hearings on these additional taxes this session. Let us then recommit the bill to the Public Works Committee for further study and next session, if it passes out of the committee again, send it to the Ways and Means Committee so that the heaving trucking interests will at least pay for the increased costs these new weight limits will generate.

Mr. Bridwell is not alone in his bridled approval of this bill. James E. Wilson, the Federal Highway Administration's Deputy Director for highway safety programs has said that he was "personally a little apprehensive" over the bill. He feared both the safety ramifications of lengthening the vehicles and the "effect on the pavement itself."

Finally, the Pittsburgh Press of July 15 has quoted Mr. Francis C. Turner, Director of the Bureau of Public Roads, as saying the new ton limits were "not as conservative as I'd like to see it." He was also reported to have said that the larger trucks would cause "serious" trouble on longer and older bridges and would be "slower and less manageable" in climbing grades. Turner expressed the opinion that the truckers really wanted this bill in order "to have the opportunity to work toward trains on the roads, trucks with triple and quadruple trailers."

In earlier speeches, I have noted the enthusiasm of the trucking industry for these long freight-train combinations and have expressed my profound disapproval of their use on the Nation's highway system at this time. Since State and local officials have been peculiarly vocal in their concern about triple trailer combinations, I urge additional caution. With the Department of Transportation less than vigorous—and indeed even apprehensive—in their support of this bill, with newspaper and public support almost unanimously against it, and with State and local jurisdictions squarely opposed to it, I think now is the time for further study and calm reflection. It is not the time for hasty and ill-considered action.

For this reason, I am today introducing a resolution calling on the Public Works Committee of the House to make a full and complete investigation to determine the maximum length of motor vehicles. I feel that now is the crucial time to set such a maximum length as a matter of national policy.

I should like to point out in this regard, Mr. Speaker, if it is good national policy to set a limit on weights of trucks and on widths of trucks, it is certainly good national policy to set a limit on the length of trucks. What that length should be I do not know. This is the reason why I call for hearings in the Public Works Committee and for gathering testimony and for making evaluations and making judgments based upon the total problem which prevails in this area.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent also that, after the completion of all business, on September 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, I be granted special orders for 1 hour, to continue my discussion of this important subject which is before the Congress and the Nation today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

MARIA N. GIANNARIS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my deep sorrow at the sudden death of little Maria Giannaris of Hagerstown, Md., who died at age 5 in Houston on Sunday night, August 25, just 8 days after she had received a new heart in a dramatic transplant. I would also like to say a few words in tribute to this brave little girl, her courageous family, and all those who played a part in this historic operation.

Maria Giannaris, a pretty and cheerful girl, suffered from an incurable heart disease which had robbed her of her vitality and threatened her life. Last spring she entered the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore for treatment, and remained there until early August, when the specialists at Hopkins concluded that a heart transplant, however risky, offered the only chance to prolong her life. At that point contact was made with Dr. Denton A. Cooley, the brilliant heart surgeon at St. Luke's Episcopal Hospital in Houston, who has performed most of the successful transplants undertaken in this country. When Dr. Cooley agreed to examine Maria, she was flown to Houston. Her condition had become extremely critical by the time the transplant could be made on August 17.

An operation of this type would have been inconceivable, at least to laymen, just a few years ago. It still seems almost miraculous that a transplanted heart can function, or that any patient, and particularly a child, can survive such drastic surgery at all. This amazing advance in medicine testifies to the exceptional talent and perseverance of Dr. Cooley and his associates, who have so blended science and skill to rescue human lives.

Every parent can understand the anguish which Maria's illness caused for her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Nick Giannaris, who had devoted their energies to helping her in every possible way. Every parent can admire the courage and understanding of the Indiana parents who, just after their 11-year-old son had been fatally stricken, consented to have his heart transplanted to Maria. This is a story of medical art, but above all else it is a story of human fortitude and compassion.

Heart disease, which kills or disables so many Americans every year, is especially tragic when it strikes a child. It is not surprising at all that the first encouraging reports after the transplant brought a surge of hope not only to

Maria's parents and friends, but to all of Hagerstown and to families throughout the country. Maria's calm, happy disposition and her apparent progress during the first week intensified the shock when her new heart suddenly failed on August 25 and could not be revived. The news of her death was heard in sadness by countless people who had never met her or her family.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Mathias and I extend our deepest sympathies to Mr. and Mrs. Nick Giannaris and their entire family in this difficult time. I include in the RECORD today an editorial of tribute to Maria, from the Hagerstown Morning Herald of August 27. I also include a feature article on Dr. Denton A. Cooley, from the Morning Herald of August 24, describing his work and the years of dedication which have produced such progress and given us such hope for even greater advances in medicine.

The articles follow:

[From the Hagerstown (Md.) Morning Herald, Aug. 27, 1968]

MARIA WILL LIVE ON

Maria Giannaris is dead. But her contribution to medical knowledge will live on.

The end came for the plucky 5-year-old Hagerstown girl with rather startling suddenness.

Recipient of a new heart little more than a week ago in a dramatic transplant operation in Houston, Maria had seemed to have an excellent chance of survival.

Only last Friday night a Morning Herald reporter had heard over the telephone Maria's cheerful voice announcing she was feeling "fine."

Her innocence and sunny disposition had won for her a special place in the hearts and prayers of Hagerstonians.

And her heart transplant proved to be a medical milestone in many respects.

It showed, for one thing, that donors and recipients of new hearts can come from far apart.

And it will provide much material for studies that surely will lead to more and more successful transplants.

So Maria is gone. But she will live on in the heart transplant recipients yet to come—and in the memories of the people of Hagerstown.

MARIA'S DOCTOR: "THE KING OF HEARTS"

(NOTE.—The name of Dr. Denton Cooley of Houston has become a familiar one to the Hagerstown area. It was Cooley who last Sunday performed a dramatic heart transplant operation on Maria Giannaris, 5, of Hagerstown. What sort of a man is Dr. Cooley? You'll find some of the answers in this special article, written for the Herald-Mail by the World Book Science Service.)

(By William J. Cromie)

HOUSTON.—May 2, 3:05 p.m.—After a quarrel with her husband, 15-year-old Kathleen Martin put a .22 rifle to her head and pulled the trigger.

3:45 p.m.—She arrived at Ben Taub Hospital in Houston in grave condition.

6:00 p.m.—At her family's request, Mrs. Martin was transferred to nearby St. Luke's Episcopal Hospital and the care of Dr. Denton A. Cooley. An electroencephalogram showed no evidence of life in her brain. She could not breathe without mechanical help and her blood pressure was failing rapidly.

6:05 p.m.—Cooley and his team started artificial ventilation of her lungs. They attempted to restore circulation and stimulate her heart with drugs.

10:00 p.m.—Dr. Cooley told his team, "She is going to die, no matter what we do."

11:00 p.m.—Surgeons transferred her to operating room No. 2. Everett Clare Thomas, 47, an accountant from Phoenix, Ariz., critically ill with rheumatic heart disease, was moved to operating room No. 1.

11:50 p.m.—Exploratory surgery on Thomas revealed his heart to be hopelessly damaged by calcification. Cooley decided his chances of surviving a planned operation to replace three valves were remote.

11:55 p.m.—Mrs. Martin's heart stopped beating.

May 3, 12:45 a.m.—While Cooley and Dr. Grady Hallman excised all but the upper back part of Thomas' heart, Dr. Robert Drew Bloodwell removed Mrs. Martin's heart.

12:55 a.m.—Dr. Bloodwell carried the heart into operating room No. 1 in a shallow basin filled with salt water.

1:01 a.m.—After some "minor tailoring" Dr. Cooley began to stitch the donor's heart to the stump left in Mr. Thomas' chest.

1:36 a.m.—The new heart was completely sewn in place.

1:37 a.m.—Surgical clamps were removed, allowing blood to flow into the heart. It began beating with a wild, irregular rhythm.

1:39 a.m.—A single electric shock corrected the fibrillation and the heart began to beat normally.

It has beat normally ever since.

On the morning of August 5, three months after the operation, Everett Thomas got into his car drove to his new job as a trust officer at the Medical Center National Bank. At noon he crossed the street to St. Luke's Hospital for a salt-free, sugar-free meal in the cafeteria. "I feel wonderful," he told a young man who inquired about his health. "Everything I could do before I got sick, I can do now and do better."

In the meantime, Denton Cooley had transplanted seven more human hearts. Five of the recipients were still alive. (Added later to the list: Maria Giannaris of Hagerstown). One of them—54-year-old Louis Fierro of Elmont, N.Y.—was out of the hospital and hunting a job in Houston.

Cooley and his team performed eight of the first 28 human heart transplants. Of the eight still surviving on August 5, six were Cooley patients.

This record raised the tall, handsome, 48-year-old Texan from the trenches of obscurity to a position as the world's foremost heart surgeon. In 11 days he transplanted three hearts and one liver. In between transplants, the amiable, soft-spoken doctor averaged eight to 10 open-heart operations a day. He has performed over 20,000 operations, 4,500 of them open-heart surgery and 1,000 on children less than one year old.

Around the Texas Medical Center, of which St. Luke's is a part, interns and nurses refer to Cooley as the "King of Hearts." Up until three months ago this was a title reserved for Dr. Michael DeBakey, a world-renowned surgeon and pioneer of the artificial heart, who does some eight to 12 open-heart operations a day at Methodist Hospital, next to St. Luke's. But recently when Cooley walked into operating room No. 1, he found a King of Hearts taped to the window. He looked at the card with a grin and said, "I don't know who is going to be the ace."

"Work quickly and don't waste time on unimportant frills." That's Cooley's credo. He performs heart transplants in about two hours, while other surgeons have taken up to eight hours. His assistants prime the life-sustaining heart-lung machine with sugar and water instead of whole blood. This eliminates waiting weeks or even months for enough of the right type blood, and it reduces incidences of blood pooling, hepatitis, and kidney and liver complications.

The Cooley team works so fast surgeons make no effort to keep the donor heart "alive" during transplantation by circulating blood through it. In the past heart specialists felt this would damage the organ. "We allow the heart to relax and become quiescent," Cooley says. "It starts right up when connected to the patient's circulation." Other surgeons frown on these techniques. Cooley's answer to their criticism: "It's hard to argue with success."

The King of Hearts also introduced a new miracle drug to heart transplantation. Ironically, Louis Washkansky, the world's first heart transplantee, died as a result of medication given to prevent his body from rejecting the new heart. The body sees a new organ as foreign tissue, and immediately natural defenses attack it the way they would a harmful disease-producing agent. Drugs used to reduce these defenses also leave the body unprotected against an invasion of viruses and bacteria. Thus defenseless, Washkansky and other transplantees have lost their battle for survival to overwhelming infection.

Dr. Thomas Starzl of the University of Colorado, Denver, pioneered the development of a serum to prevent rejection of a transplanted organ without crippling the defenses neded to fight infection. Called antilympocyte globulin (ALG), the serum was used by Starzl on kidney transplants, and 19 out of 20 of them have survived a year or more. Cooley saw the value of ALG, and Everett Thomas became the first heart transplant to receive it. Cooley feels that is one of the prime reasons for the high survival rates among his transplants.

The Texas surgeon stands 6 feet, 4 inches tall, has a receding hairline, blue eyes and the build of an athlete. One female reporter described him as "looking like a young prince." He radiates warmth and confidence and is tremendously popular, both at the medical center and outside. So many surgical nurses want to assist in his operations that they must be assigned on a rotating basis, and he is in constant demand as a speaker or guest at social functions.

Cooley usually arrives at work about 7:30 and goes straight to surgery. While he operates in one room, assistants prepare another patient in an adjacent room. All day long he goes back and forth, correcting a defect in a little girl's heart, implanting a spare part in an old man's heart, or replacing a diseased artery in a housewife or businessman.

Cooley brings his lunch in a paper sack. At noon he goes into a broom closet-size office overlooking operating room No. 1 to munch on a sandwich and pickles. "The most important thing is the pickle," he says. "They make civilization what it is."

He has a reputation of remaining cool and calm no matter how bad a situation gets. "Dr. Cooley always seems to have everything under control," remarks Mrs. Elaine Reavis, his personal secretary. In six years Mrs. Reavis has never seen him lose his cool. "He uses his temper and doesn't let it use him," she says.

Cooley's attractive wife, Louise, who is from Frederick, Md., says she has only seen him mad once. Two years ago, while waterskiing behind a boat driven by Indianapolis "500" winner A. J. Foyt, he got too close to shore, riding over the lines of some fishermen and spraying them with water. When the boat came back in the other direction one of the men took a shot at him with a hunting bow and arrow. "Denton was angry and I was scared," says Mrs. Cooley. "I shudder when I think what might have happened."

Cooley was born in Houston on Aug. 22, 1920. When he entered the University of Texas in Austin he intended to become a dentist like his socially prominent father. "I thought medicine would be too strenuous," he says.

The long, thin hands which are such an asset in surgery now were used to handle a basketball then, and Cooley's prowess on the court won him a place in the university's sports hall of fame. (His participation in campus free-for-alls and other "unauthorized activities", also assured him a place in the memory of most of his professors).

One weekend he went to San Antonio to see a friend who was an intern at the city-county hospital. Cooley visited him in the emergency area of the hospital one busy Saturday night after the arrival of a number of Mexicans who had been celebrating and violently disagreeing with each other. "I was permitted to handle the laceration and minor injury cases," he recalls, "and found I enjoyed the work very much. This experience, together with the good grades I received, made me decide I could meet the challenge of medicine."

On the recommendation of Dr. E. W. Bertner, one of his professors who later founded the Texas Medical Center, Cooley entered the medical school at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. While there, he formed the friendship which led him into heart surgery.

One day he cut a clinic given by surgery professor Dr. Alfred Blalock in favor of playing tennis. Taking a short cut across the courts after class, Prof. Blalock spotted his absent student. "Rather than punish me," Cooley recalls, "he complimented me for my judgment in taking advantage of the rare good weather. A tennis player himself, he invited me to his home for the weekend."

Blalock talked Cooley into staying on the house staff after he received his medical degree in 1944. That same year Cooley assisted him in the first blue baby operation. In these infants, a birth defect involving the cardiovascular system results in a lack of oxygen which causes the fingers and toes to turn blue. "Dr. Blalock developed a revolutionary method of correcting this defect," says Cooley, "and I had the good fortune of helping him do the first 100 blue baby operations."

While at Hopkins he met Louise Thomas, a nurse from Frederick, Md. (Cooley refers to it as "Sleepy Hollow"). "Her father was a surgeon, and I thought she would make an ideal doctor's wife," he says. They were married in 1949 and now have five daughters, ranging in age from 7 to 18.

In 1951, while Cooley was working in London with one of the world's top heart surgeons, another great heart man, D. Michael DeBakey, invited him to come to Houston. Twenty different hospitals and research institutions had pooled their resources to form a unique $140 million medical complex here. "Even if I had not been invited," he says, "I was determined to come back to this new Texas Medical Center."

The next five years saw the beginning of an exciting era in heart surgery. The heart-lung machine was invented, making open-heart surgery possible. At the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., Clarence Walton Lillehei was training two promising young surgeons, Christian Barnard and Norman Shumway. Shumway pioneered the techniques now used in heart transplantation and broke the barrier by announcing he was ready to perform the operation on humans.

In Texas, DeBakey and Cooley developed their own heart-lung machine, and pioneered a technique for replacing diseased arteries with natural grafts and, later, dacron tubing. Cooley performed extremely delicate surgery on infants and small children.

Cooley first thought about heart transplants as early as 1948 when he transplanted a lung from one dog to another at Hopkins. He was still considering it and closely watching the results of work with animals when Barnard transplanted the first human heart in December, 1967.

"In retrospect," Cooley says, "I must give Chris Barnard all the credit I can. He made the breakthrough. I don't know if I'd have operated if Barnard had not done it first."

When he heard about the operation in South Africa, Cooley went into action immediately. He dispatched a team to the University of Colorado to learn as much as possible about ALG. Conferences and discussions were held. Techniques were perfected on animals; dress rehearsals conducted with cadavers.

"I'm apprehensive before any transplant operation," Cooley admits, "but, of course, on the first one the burden was heaviest. I had personal reservations because of subjecting the patient to something I was not sure of myself. It was a gamble.

Apprehension grew as the operation proceeded. Each suture—each connection—increased the pressure. I feared that the heart might be violently rejected. I knew that failure would be catastrophic for the community and the medical center.

"The pressure was tremendous as the last stitch was made. We removed the clamps and blood surged through the old vessels and into the new heart. When the heart began to beat, we knew we had a success. It was the greatest moment in my life."

The real moral issue in transplantation, he feels, is not whether or not you do the operation, but "whether or not you have the right to deprive someone of the means to prolong his life."

Cooley points out that many churches have come out in favor of transplants. "The heart, and all other organs in the body, are the servants of the brain, he told a meeting of clergymen. "Once the brain is gone, the heart should be free to serve other brains. If there is a place where the soul resides, it is in the brain."

SPECIAL REPORT ON THE JOINT COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE UNITED STATES-CANADA AUTOMOTIVE PRODUCTS AGREEMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 379)

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Burke of Massachusetts) laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress a special report on the joint comprehensive review of the United States–Canada Automotive Products Agreement. This review was undertaken by the Governments of the United States and Canada in accordance with the terms of the Agreement. A report to the Congress on the review is required by the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965.

In reviewing the Agreement, both Governments concluded that:

—Considerable progress has been made toward achieving the benefits of a broader United States–Canada market for automotive products. Trade between the two countries in automotive products has greatly expanded, cost economies in production have been realized, and employment in the automotive industries in both countries has increased.

—Not enough experience has been accumulated under the Agreement to recommend changes. Areas of possible improvement were carefully considered and are under further study.

Each Government continues to be able at any time to request consultations on any problem arising under the Agreement.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

The White House, *September 4, 1968.*

BIRTHDAY OF CZECH REPUBLIC

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, on June 20, 1968, I introduced in this House a resolution (H.J. Res. 1360) which would authorize the President to designate October 26, 1968, as the date commemorating the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of Czechoslovak independence from Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

While Congress was in recess for the national nominating conventions, Soviet troops—aided by forces from East Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, and Hungary—invaded Czechoslovakia and now occupy that nation in order to stifle the recent trend toward "democratization."

I believe that now, more than ever, House Joint Resolution 1360 should be passed. I say this for several reasons:

First. Most of the Communist leaders responsible for the trend of "democratization" are still in power, and, though challenged by the might of the Warsaw Pact, still maintain the loyalty of the majority of the Czechoslovaks.

Second. Because of the delicate diplomatic situation, it is both impossible and undesirable for the United States and the member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to respond to the Soviet invasion with armed force. However, after publicly condemning this brazen and callous act we may further express our dissatisfaction with a public gesture by the American people by joining in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Czech independence.

Third. The historical connection between Czechoslovakia and the United States is rooted in a common declaration of democratic ideals. President Woodrow Wilson's principles of representative government were admired and incorporated by the drafters of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, and the Republic's first president. Thomas G. Masaryk, chose Independence Hall, Philadelphia, the shrine of our own freedom, to proclaim his new nation.

Fourth. Czech and Slovak national groups in the United States are now preparing for the celebration of the 50th anniversary, and I believe that their efforts would be greatly enhanced by the support of all Americans as a reminder of the faith and support which we have for the cause of freedom in Czechoslovakia.

I hope that my colleagues will consider House Joint Resolution 1360 and press for its passage.

LET US BE FAIR

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, several suggestions have been made by Members of Congress of this and the other body that an investigation be made of the disorders and clashes in Chicago during the recent Democratic Convention.

Many of these statements have been made with an exclusively antipolice bias and I believe that fairness requires that the matter be put into perspective and the problem of the law-enforcement agencies be stated and understood.

First of all, I suggest that the affair is primarily a local matter, since it concerns the preservation of the public peace by local authorities in an intrastate setting. It is obvious, therefore, that the Congress, which is concerned with national matters, would not have jurisdiction over the operation of a local police department unless other factors were present.

Even if jurisdiction were to be found, however, any unbiased observer would agree that it would be unfair to direct such investigation solely against the police on the underlying assumption that they were the generators of the disturbances. Surely Mayor Daley and the police force did not want the damaging and bloody clashes which occurred and the conduct and activities of those who precipitated the conflicts should be placed on the scales against any supposed deficiencies on the part of the police.

If any investigation were to be made, I would suggest that it include an examination of the following items: The presence and role of Tom Hayden, founder of the Students for a Democratic Society, who masterminded the Columbia University debacle last spring; of David Dellinger, who was the moving force behind the attack on the Pentagon in October; and of Jerry Rubin, the leader of the Youth International Party.

The statements of these and other leaders of the radical left which clearly indicate an intention to disrupt the national convention in the city of Chicago with the eventual purpose of destroying our whole social fabric should be inquired into. The secret dairy of the leader of the National Mobilization Committee with its revolutionary strategy clearly outlined should be examined, as well as the assassination plot directed against Vice President HUMPHREY.

In addition, the provocative, insulting, and intolerable conduct of many of the demonstrators with their howling of obscenities, with their reliance on and use of physical filth, their disregard for police and public regulations, and their courting of physical conflict should be fully evaluated.

Finally, alongside the injuries that may have been suffered by the demonstrators should be placed the 84 policemen who were wounded in various degrees in their efforts to maintain public order and protect the delegates to the convention. Some were wounded with primitive weapons such as broken bottles and their injuries will be permanently disabling.

Some suggest that the convention might have been held in a different location and that this would have avoided the difficulties and tragedies. At first I agreed with this analysis, but after the Chicago experience I have come to the conclusion that those leaders who sparked the trouble in Chicago would have been in Miami or Honolulu or any other place and their supporters and brawlers would have been with them in very substantial numbers and, therefore, that similar disturbances would have been created regardless of the site of the convention. Then I asked myself the basic philosophical question, and that is, should elements of the revolutionary left be able to tell the Democratic Party and the city of Chicago that the convention of a great national party cannot be held in that noted city? I suggest that the question answers itself.

As a final point it should be emphasized that there was no racial element involved in the demonstrations. They were to a disturbing degree classical and disruptive revolutionary tactics directed at disorganizing the effective functioning of the American political system.

I want to make it clear that I in no way condone the use of unnecessary force by enforcement authorities and I have no doubt that this was used in some cases, particularly against the communications operatives. Nor do I wish to restrain dissidents from expressing their points of view, however contradictory to mine they may be. At the same time the proposition that the Democratic Party and the city of Chicago should submit to the dictation of disruptive and subversive forces is untenable to me.

Innumerable commentators have testified as to what happened and I include some of their comments herewith.

Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson made the following statement:

> But the New Left, according to the intelligence report, wanted to rampage in the streets and force a confrontation with the police. The repercussions around the world, they argued, would demonstrate the strength of peace forces and help North Vietnamese negotiations in Paris.
>
> This was exactly what happened. The militants staged a peace rally which was never intended to be peaceful. They waved red flags, shouted obscenities, and deliberately provoked clashes in front of TV cameras.

Ralph McGill in his column wrote as follows:

> It can be argued that the police and guardsmen were over-zealous. But it is also true that they had been subjected to barrages of rocks, bottles and other missiles also. When law forces are charged by very active and muscular young men, it is difficult not to respond. At any rate, their orders were to prevent takeover of the hotel or the Amphitheater where the convention was being held.
>
> The main leaders of the youth group were those who had staged the massive protest against the Pentagon in Washington some months ago. They were also those who had organized the Columbia University takeover. They were those who occupied New York's Grand Central Station for two and a half hours last March . . .
>
> Among the groups here were the Students for a Democratic Society, the Radical Organizing Committee, Clergy and Laymen concerned against Vietnam, the Youth International Party . . .
>
> Their favorite word for police is "pigs". This was the favorite chant that went up during the day and night, "Pigs, Pigs, Pigs." Politicians and public officials also are "pigs."
>
> For two weeks before the convention they had made no attempt to conceal plans to disrupt, if they could, the convention procedures and the convention itself. Some of the Vietnam peace group members were in the Amphitheater itself, and at times, delayed proceedings by chanting, "Go home, go home" and "We want Gene . . . We want Gene."

Joseph Kraft made the following comment in his column of September 1:

> The violence that scarred the Democratic convention here is too serious a matter to be muddled by loose talk about a police state and Gestapo tactics . . .
>
> The police state analogy is misleading because what happened here does not fit at all into the classic pattern of official repression of the democratic process. That process was in fact going forward, no more imperfectly than usual, inside the convention. The demonstrators outside, by their vicious language and provocative acts, were trying to obstruct it.

If the matter is to be reviewed, all the facts should be placed upon the table. In this way, we can act soberly and responsibly without emotion or prejudice to avoid, if we can, a recurrence of these disorders, but meet them firmly, if we can not.

DO NOT SIT DOWN TOO SOON

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have been concerned about the apparent urgency on the part of the Executive to resume negotiations with the Russians at the leadership level. In view of the recent brutal takeover of Czechoslovakia by the U.S.S.R., it does seem to me that the sensibilities of the world, a healthy skepticism about the value of Russian promises and an unwillingness to treat the Soviets as normally functioning members of the international community should make us extremely cautious at this time about hurrying into any negotiations at the top level.

Accordingly, I have sent a letter to President Johnson in which I expressed my reservations about taking any such precipitate Executive action.

For the information of my colleagues, I am including this letter after these remarks:

September 4, 1968.

THE PRESIDENT
The White House
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am writing this letter to urge that no top level U.S.-Russian diplomatic meeting be held at the present time.

You have previously indicated a desire to meet with Premier Kosygin in order to further the cause of international peace and all would agree that this is a worthy objective. I applaud your desire, even at the close of your term, to seek to achieve progress in the area of world peace. At this time, however, I feel strongly that such a meeting would be inadvisable and I am communicating with you because there has been no indication that the proposed meeting has been removed from your agenda.

In other times this meeting would be proper and probably desirable but the Russian policy (whether a reversion or simply a continuation of basic philosophy) revealed by the Czech crisis has totally changed the international atmosphere and requires a revision of our thinking in U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations.

While I agree that the problem of peace does not disappear with the Czech crisis and that we must continue to work for this objective, I do believe that the character of our efforts and their timing must be altered in response to the changed world power situation.

At the moment few people are prepared to rely on any Russian agreement. These include Americans, Europeans, Asians, Communist Party members and particularly the people of Eastern Europe.

The Communist movement of the West has been shaken to its eye teeth by the action of the Soviet leadership and the hollowness of the Soviet's words comes through loud and clear in the Moscow agreement which states that the Soviets and the satellites will cooperate with the Czechs "on the basis of mutual respect, equality, territorial integrity, independence and solidarity." Also, in the last few days with the takeover of the communications media and the entry of the secret police in large numbers to man the Czech ministries and pick off the liberals, a particularly revolting phase of Russian conduct has begun.

A meeting between yourself and Premier Kosygin would enhance present Soviet leadership in the eyes of their people and possibly others, even though the Russians have committed a wanton criminal act and their putsch is still in progress. A meeting at this time would take place also in the light of Vietnam and its daily reminders, the lack of resolution of the Pueblo affair and the absence of achievement in the present negotiations on such matters. It would also occur in the face of the gradual escalation of the Russian war effort in supplying arms to North Vietnam which radically changed the character of the conflict of that police action and has been the largest single factor in preventing the United States from successfully ending that conflict. This is the same leadership that has been responsible for the tremendous Egyptian arms build up, both before and after the June war against Israel and which has moved into the Eastern Mediterranean and now seeks to enter the Persian Gulf.

I do want to make it clear that I would in no way suspend meetings at the Secretary of State level or the level of the Geneva disarmament talks or at any other appropriate lower level. I do suggest, however, that at this time excessive haste in seeking to resume negotiations would tend to solidify the Soviet position and would leave the United States open to the charge of showing a callous disregard for the criminal suppression of the liberties of the Czech people.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. MONAGAN,
Member of Congress.

RAMSEY CLARK—A SUPERIOR ATTORNEY GENERAL

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Ramsey Clark has proven to be one of the Nation's most effective Attorneys General.

His outstanding record rebuts criticism from some political sources.

This was pointed out in a recent column by Dana Bullen, a syndicated columnist and reporter for the Washington Evening Star.

I submit the entire column, from the August 23 Evening Star, for publication in the RECORD:

RAMSEY CLARK HITS BACK AT CRITICS

(By Dana Bullen)

Whether he likes it or not, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark is playing an increasingly important political role this election year.

As the country's top law enforcement official, the 40-year-old attorney general is the natural target for Republican charges that the Johnson-Humphrey team has dropped the ball on emotional "law and order" issues.

At the same time, his job makes Clark the logical member of the administration to rebut such criticism.

What has developed is a pattern that may be repeated many times before the votes are counted in November.

In Miami Beach, for example, GOP presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon won thunderous applause two weeks ago when he promised appointment of a new attorney general "to restore order and respect for law in this country."

A few days later, Clark sat down with reporters at a Justice Department luncheon. The occasion was billed as informal, but it was clear that the attorney general would respond to Nixon's statements if he were asked about them.

By the time the session was over, Clark had delivered what amounted to a Justice Department position paper on just about every issue Nixon had raised—plus a few the GOP candidate had overlooked.

Accusing Nixon of dodging specific crime issues, such as gun controls and aid for local police, Clark said he considered it more important for the public to know what Nixon was for, not who he was against.

"One of the great tragedies of our time is the way we have neglected law enforcement," said Clark.

"We have underpaid them. We have undertrained them. We have understaffed them. And now we wonder why we have been unable to prevent crime to a greater degree," he said.

The next day, at another gathering, Clark answered those who have backed police authority to shoot looters.

One of those who has said officers should be allowed to shoot, at least if a looter tries to run, is the GOP vice presidential candidate, Maryland Gov. Spiro T. Agnew.

"We have heard much loose talk of shooting looters. This talk has got to stop," Clark said.

"No civilized nation in history has sanctioned summarily shooting thieves caught in the commission of their crime," he said. "Will America be the first?"

In such statements, Clark appears less interested in answering specific GOP criticism than in setting the record straight. Of necessity, though, his statements on controversial law enforcement issues have political impact.

For many months, the attorney general has been taking stands that now assume a partisan significance. Gun controls, aid for local law enforcement, steps to curb juvenile delinquency, more money for corrections programs and similar things have been priority administration goals for a long time.

As the campaign heats up, they have become the issues of partisan politics as well.

Clark does not shy away from discussion of such issues. It may even be that he welcomes a new chance to express what, for him, have been continuing objectives.

Criticized as "soft" on crime, he also may welcome the chance to set out the specifics of the Justice Department's record. They rebut such criticisms.

The number of criminal prosecutions—and the number of convictions—is up. The number of fugitives apprehended by the FBI is at a record high. Organized crime efforts today make the number of cases brought during the last year of the Eisenhower administration seem puny.

At the same time, the Justice Department has quietly been building an impressive record of steps to press for civil rights, school desegregation, job opportunities and the like.

During fiscal 1968, for example, 23 suits were brought under equal employment sections of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Motions were filed to require 159 school districts to replace "freedom of choice" plans. The first suits involving northern schools and voting rights in the North also have been filed.

Over-all, then, the Justice Department can answer criticisms that might come from either conservative or liberal sources.

It is a comfortable position to be in in an election year.

The problem, however, is getting the message out. It is here that Clark finds that he must depart from his basic desire to keep the Justice Department completely out of politics.

When charges involving crime, riots and the Justice Department are made, he will answer them.

Some observers feel that a slight change in rhetoric would permit Clark to assume a tough, crime-fighter stance that would endear him to those who now criticize him.

Events may force him closer to such a stance.

So far, though, Clark has stuck to the same approach he has demonstrated in less partisan times. It is that effective law enforcement is possible without taking short-cuts.

In fact, he long has wondered—sometimes aloud—why some people think it is being soft on crime to stand for adequate resources for police, courts and corrections programs.

HOWARD CHESTER ADDRESSES OKLAHOMA LABOR DAY BANQUET

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, Howard Chester, chairman of the Stone, Glass, and Clay Coordinating Committee, gave a thoughtful and effective speech at the annual Labor Day celebration in Henryetta, Okla. Mr. Chester, one of the glass industry's best informed leaders, has devoted a large proportion of his time and considerable talent to the subject of the impact of imports on the stone, glass, and clay industries in the United States. His balanced and well reasoned presentation on this subject is one that should be read by all concerned Americans.

The speech follows:

Mr. Chairman, Eastern Oklahoma Labor Day Committee Members, Senator Monroney, Congressman Edmondson, trade union officers and members, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

You may ask, what is the Stone, Glass and Clay Coordinating Committee? Our Committee is comprised of seven International Unions who have joined together to work on problems affecting any one or all of the International Unions affiliated. We have a membership of 250,000 workers, with active locals in almost all of the fifty States. Our affiliated International Unions are as follows:

The American Flint Glass Workers Union of North America; the Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada; the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters; the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers; the United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America; the United Stone and Allied Products Workers of America; and my home union, the Window Glass Cutters League of America. The Chairman of our Committee is Mr. Lee W. Minton, President of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association and our Secretary-Treasurer was Mr. McCracken—I am sorry to say Bro. McCracken passed away August 25—Secretary-Treasurer of the United Glass and Ceramic Workers, the International Presidents are the Executive Board.

In Oklahoma the International Unions have at least one, and in some cases several local unions located in the following communities: Henryetta, Okmulgee, Ada, Sapulpa, Muskogee, Millcreek, Sand Springs, Oklahoma City, Altus, Snyder, Tulsa, Pryor, Duke, Stringtown, and Sallisaw.

So now that we are all acquainted on this historic day for Labor celebrating the highest dignity—the highest nobility—the dignity of Labor—I would like to speak with you about a subject we are constantly working on and a subject that concerns each and everyone of us here today—the Effect on Labor of U.S. Trade Policy.

All working Americans are affected by United States trade policy; our Nation requires maximum employment and healthy industries to maintain a healthy economy, and without a healthy economy our position as a world power and leader of the free world will quickly deteriorate, and just as quickly be replaced by another country less generous than the United States.

The American people have for many years been misled, with regard to our balance of trade figures, into believing the United States has been enjoying large surpluses in our trade account, when in fact we are not. If we valued our imports as most countries do, on a CIF basis, our import valuations would increase by ten to twenty percent.

For example, based on Department of Commerce figures exports for 1967 were estimated $31 billion and imports $26.7 billion. Adding 10 percent—a conservative figure—to imports for CIF valuation, this figure becomes $29.37 billion, and our balance of trade figure quoted at $4.3 billion drops to $1.63 billion, a sharp drop of $2.67 billion. Of course many countries use in excess of 10 percent to add the CIF valuation, and to report their imports.

Also, we overvalue our exports by including Government subsidies within our export figures. In order to find the true figures of our exports that move in commercial competition or for dollar sales we must know the breakdown of the subsidized products and shipping costs paid for by the U.S. Government.

Reporting imports on a CIF basis, withdrawing Government subsidies when reporting agricultural exports, would give a true picture of our balance of trade, several billion dollars less each year than the reported figures, and in many, many cases would have resulted in a deficit in our trade account.

Accurate and realistic trade statistics on our imports and exports would make possible more responsible and responsive decisions on our Nation's foreign trade policy. It is imperative for the Congress to have the accurate facts at their disposal so they can regulate foreign commerce and preserve this Nation's economic well-being.

U.S. foreign investment—and, as a substantial part of this category, U.S. private foreign investment—must be given full consideration as an inseparable part of our foreign trade policy.

American jobs are being exported to other countries by the astounding increase in U.S. private foreign investment. Increasing from a 1950 figure of $19 billion to a 1966 figure of $86 billion or a 454 percent increase, using American investment plus foreign labor to produce products for sale within the foreign market and for export to the United States, displacing American labor, and yet expecting American workers to purchase products that are putting them out of work and destroying job potential.

In 1965, U.S. foreign affiliates exported products back to the U.S. totaling $5 billion, in manufactured products, mining products, and petroleum and petroleum products. These exports flow from private direct foreign investment of $54.5 billion, as of the end of 1966, located primarily in Canada and Western Europe.

Many of these global corporations are showing their concern against any restriction to their access to the U.S. market. They recognize that free access to U.S. markets is in their corporation interest; they want to invest abroad, enjoy the markets and low-wage labor; and they also want to enjoy the U.S. market from abroad, in some cases in direct competition with their domestic operation or other domestic producers of the same products.

The time has come for a re-evaluation of this expanded investment program in terms of the U.S. economy, employment, outflow of capital, loss of revenue to the United States and effect of imports on U.S. industry and labor.

Our rising deficit in our balance of payments has brought this problem into focus and President Johnson wisely issued mandatory restrictions on private foreign investment as of January 1, 1968.

The adjustment assistance section of the Trade Expansion Act, providing for assistance to firms and workers injured by imports, has proven worthless, negated by the addition of the words "in major part." As a result there has not been a single case with an affirmative finding by the Tariff Commission since enactment of the law in 1962. A workable and effective adjustment assistance program was vitally important to Labor, in fact as AFL–CIO President Mr. George Meany testified, "It is indispensable to our support of the trade program as a whole." Of course there is no substitute for a job and a productive place in our society.

Immediate action to halt job losses due to our trade policies would be in our Nation's interest, and corrective measures should be taken, in conjunction with existing and proposed Government programs, to help our unemployed, and to put a stop to the dangerous erosion of U.S. employment due to the rising tide of foreign imports.

Those of you here today know what rising imports are doing to your jobs—with people laid off—working part time—for example in the flat glass industry, and two plants are located here in Eastern Oklahoma, at Henryetta and Okmulgee, imports of flat glass in one year displaces 7,000 workers—without imports 7,000 more people could be hired throughout the industry. Cement, Lime, Gypsum, and Stone products are suffering from imports and dumping of these products into the U.S. Tableware and cookware, bottles and other glass containers—all of these products which are being produced by members of Unions affiliated with the Stone, Glass and Clay Coordinating Committee are being seriously affected by rising imports. We need legislation to regulate imports; other countries impose quotas, border taxes, value taxes to protect their industries from imports—why shouldn't we?

We have brought these facts to the attention of Congressional Committees, the Departments of State, Labor, Commerce and the Special Office of Trade Negotitaions and we will continue to present these serious problems of erosion of industry and employment by uncontrolled foreign imports.

Most industries are willing to share in the growth of U.S. markets with the foreign producers, but they are not willing to have this growth completely absorbed by imports or to have present productive capacity and employment displaced by imports.

On behalf of the Stone, Glass and Clay Coordinating Committee, we are urging legislation to regulate foreign imports and investment policy to restore the economic well-being of domestic industry and American workers. We support the Fair International Trade Act, H.R. 18431 which provides for regulation of foreign imports, and we urge you to write to your Senators and Representatives in Congress asking for their support of the Fair International Trade Act, H.R. 18431, introduced by Representative Sydney Herlong, July 3, 1968.

In closing I want to thank Brother Collet and my good friend Brother Francis for inviting me to be with you today, and thank you for your kind attention and wonderful Western hospitality.

TULSA BROADCASTER GIVES A CALM APPRAISAL OF CHICAGO

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, one of America's outstanding television newscasters, Mr. Jack Morris of station KTUL–TV in Tulsa, returned from the Democratic National Convention last Friday and delivered to his listeners a calm, reasoned appraisal of the demonstrations and disruptions which occurred at the convention.

The account KTUL–TV's viewers received from Mr. Morris must have come as a strong contrast to the pictures they had watched on their television screens throughout the week—and this is a point Mr. Morris did not ignore:

> I wonder if we would have had all the violence of Wednesday night if the three television networks had concentrated all their TV equipment at the Amphi-Theater, ignored Grant Park, and covered only the business of the convention. But there would have been cries of restrictive reporting and not giving people all the news. But someday, reporting agencies are going to have to reach a decision as to where the proper emphasis should be placed.

Mr. Speaker, I believe Mr. Morris' comments might help all of us sort out our thoughts on the events of last week. I would like to have them placed in the RECORD:

COMMENTS BY JACK MORRIS, KTUL–TV NEWS DIRECTOR, ON HIS 10 P.M. NEWS BROADCAST FRIDAY AUGUST 30, 1968, FOLLOWING HIS RETURN FROM THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN CHICAGO

No one should really be shocked with the events in Chicago these past few days. It was a performance as called for by the script . . . well in advance of the Democratic National Convention. For weeks, leaders of the yippies, hippies, and flippies, had warned they would turn out in force to disrupt the convention . . . and for weeks authorities had been prepared to cope with it. The first day or two, authorities had naively believed Chicago had escaped violence and that demonstrations would be peaceful.

But they had apparently not read the script and violence erupted Wednesday night. Don't be too harsh on Chicago policemen. Its true—some of them may have overreacted. But for many long hours they had warned the yippies not to cross barricades—that Grant Park—across the street from the Hilton Hotel—the convention headquarters—was their principal domain . . . and they could do all the screaming and parading they wanted to do there. But that convention delegates and others would be allowed to go into their hotels without interference and to get to and from the convention hall without harrassment. But Wednesday night—many of these policemen were provoked into violence.

Some of the officers were spat upon—called pigs, kicked and beaten . . . with scores of them injured before it was all over. No one condones violence—and its too bad some innocent persons—including some newsmen were caught up in the violence and injured.

But there is some validity to the belief that it's evidently going to take a bit of head cracking to restore reason.

I spent a number of hours going through Grant Park . . . talking with some of the young people who are in the yippie movement. Some, I believe, are sincere in their protest. But most are being used as tools by assorted groups whose motives must be considered in question. Many of the same faces are seen at these demonstrations in various parts of the country and they are preaching the same doctrine of violence and division.

I saw a little Negro boy who couldn't have been more than ten years old, running down the hall of the Hilton Hotel with a placard. He was yelling something about the war in Viet Nam. I stopped him and asked if he knew what he was saying, and he replied, "No sir, I was told to yell it.

Shortly after that stink bombs were set off in the Hilton and it was difficult to breathe. All of these unhappy events I believe, are planned well in advance, so there really should be no surprise.

What is surprising is the reaction by many Americans, including the news media . . . which I believe in some instances may be unwittingly becoming a tool of this movement which is already threatening anarchy in the United States. For many weeks the major TV networks have been preparing for the convention coverage . . . and unfortunately part of that coverage included focusing on the expected demonstrations.

Elaborate equipment . . . live coverage remote vans, were moved into Grant Park . . . and the demonstrators did not disappoint the planners. This is not to say that dissent should be stifled. There's a proper place for it. But I wonder if we would have had all the violence of Wednesday night, if the three television networks had concentrated all their TV equipment at the Amphi-Theatre, ignored Grant Park, and covered only the business of the convention.

But there would have been cries of restrictive reporting and not giving people all the news. But some day, reporting agencies are going to have to reach a decision as to where the proper emphasis should be placed.

It's frightening when you hear talk—as I did . . . of plans to continue to disrupt the orderly Democratic processes in this country . . . to sow the seeds of division and violence.

It's reported that part of the plan is to announce well in advance there will be massive demonstrations, threats of assassinating top political figures . . . so that authorities will bring out law agencies in force . . . then to provoke them into violence . . . even turning the force unto innocent persons so that the assorted groups who are preaching anarchy, can show the United States in a bad light to all the world. This was the pattern in Chicago . . . and unless our leaders, the news media, and American citizens become concerned . . . we will have some encores before the November election.

OKLAHOMA NORTHEAST TELLS THE WORLD OF THE GREEN COUNTRY SUCCESS STORY

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this time to tell the House and the Nation about one of the outstanding regional development efforts of our time—and about Oklahoma's fabulous green country, which is made up in large part of the district I am privileged to represent in Congress.

The development of the green country is the goal of a pacesetting organizational effort conceived and directed by a group of imaginative, energetic and determined Oklahomans who have united to form and build Oklahoma Northeast, Inc., a 19-county organization of business, professional and civic leaders who are working around the clock to advance the growth and progress of northeastern Oklahoma.

Since its initial meeting in Bartlesville, Okla., on August 25, 1965, at the invitation of the Bartlesville Chamber of Commerce, Oklahoma Northeast has won hundreds of enthusiastic members in support of these ambitious objectives:

> To extend aid to, promote, sponsor, encourage and finance projects that will advance the economic growth of Northeast Oklahoma, through a program of industrial, tourism and agricultural development; to bring increased sales of all commodities and services sold and performed by residents of the area, by increasing its industries, tourism and manufacturing; and encouraging and assisting in the expansion of all types of businesses now located in the area in order to provide gainful employment for the citizens of northeastern Oklahoma.

The green country of Oklahoma includes the counties of Adair, Cherokee, Craig, Delaware, Haskell, LeFlore, Mayes, McIntosh, Muskogee, Nowata, Okmulgee, Osage, Ottawa, Pawnee, Rogers, Sequoyah, Tulsa, Wagoner, and Washington.

These counties are located in the Arkansas River Basin in an area as rich in water resources as any in the world. Major manmade reservoirs, dominated by giant Lake Eufaula, give the green country millions of acre-feet of water and thousands of miles of shoreline, with all the industrial and recreational opportunities which the presence of water brings.

These lakes are part of the overall Arkansas basin development program, which will open the green country to the sea in 1970 when the Arkansas and Verdigris Rivers will become navigable to Tulsa.

Oklahoma Northeast, Inc., is founded on an awareness of the resources the area has today, and the responsibility northeastern Oklahoma faces to be ready for full development when navigation comes.

For these reasons, the leadership of Oklahoma Northeast has included the cream of Oklahoma's business community since its inception.

Keith Smith, Jay banker and attorney, is chairman of the board; James C. Leake, Muskogee industrialist and television executive, is president; Richard H. Hughes, Tulsa businessman and civic leader, is first vice president; C. E. Cummings of Phillips Petroleum Co., Bartlesville, is executive vice president; and Bill Center, Bartlesville Chamber of Commerce executive, is secretary-treasurer.

Area vice presidents include Russell F. Hunt, of Tulsa; W. R. Stubbs, of Henryetta; F. E. Farrier, of Miami; M. A. Hagerstrand, of Tahlequah; and C. R. Musgrave, Jr., of Bartlesville.

W. W. Keeler, dynamic head of Phillips Petroleum Co., who also serves as principal chief of the Cherokee Tribe, has been a moving force behind Oklahoma Northeast throughout its 4-year growth, swinging ideas and manpower from both the Phillips company and the Cherokee Tribe behind the organization.

The 1968 progress report of Oklahoma Northeast lists seven major programs now underway to promote the economic growth of the area—

A $65,000 cooperative advertising campaign to sell tourism and recreational attractions to people of the surrounding area;

A research program conducted by Oklahoma State University, with Federal and State assistance, aimed at ridding the area of ticks;

An active interest in effective law enforcement, including a law enforcement conference last year and another scheduled this fall;

A survey to catalog medical needs of the 19-county area, followed by a drive to fill these needs:

An effort to open opportunities for supplemental income for rural people of the area by establishing markets for honey, swine, fruits and vegetables;

A program of active assistance to the State industrial development division, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and other agencies and organizations which promote job opportunity, in an effort to establish a sound industrial base in the 19 counties; and

A drive to set up adequate tourist information centers and roadside parks on the major highways of the region.

Much progress has already been made in these programs. The green country advertising program is underway, with attractive billboards, brochures and restaurant place mats in evidence, and an aggressive public relations campaign is being conducted.

The advertising campaign is being paid for by the members in each county on the basis of 10 cents per capita. In addition, Oklahoma Northeast was successful in convincing the Oklahoma Legislature that $65,000 of the State advertising budget should be made available on a matching basis to multicounty organizations.

Oklahoma Northeast, Inc., has conducted conferences on law enforcement and health needs. Both these conferences drew participation from leading public officials and private individuals, and large crowds of interested citizens.

The conference on law enforcement received wide attention from the press, and has been widely hailed as a productive step toward acquainting the people of northeastern Oklahoma with the problems and the accomplishments of the law officers and prosecutors of the counties. A second law enforcement conference is scheduled this fall.

Oklahoma Northeast's Health Forum staged last October with the cooperation of the Oklahoma Medical Association, Oklahoma Dental Association, Oklahoma Hospital Association, State Health Department, and the U.S. Public Health Service helped give the people of the region a clear, professional look at available medical services, and at both current and future needs. This Forum provided Oklahoma Northeast with a blueprint for medical development.

With the backing of Oklahoma Northeast, Oklahoma State University has completed an encouraging year of research in an effort to find a safe, effective method of eradicating the ticks in eastern Oklahoma. The Federal Economic Development Administration assisted the university in initiating the program.

Oklahoma Northeast has followed through the State legislature has appropriated funds to continue this program, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture is expected to provide assistance for 4 additional years of research, if it is needed.

I have been proud to have been associated with Oklahoma Northeast, Inc., since its organizational meeting in August 1965. It is a model of local initiative and regional cooperation. It is an excellent illustration of an understanding that neighbors profit from each other's good fortunes. It is proof of the dynamic force which can be generated when people and communities with the same interests pursue those interests through a coordinated and cooperative effort.

Oklahoma Northeast, an organization built on local initiative and enthusiasm, has done a wonderful job of pulling together the resources of the local, State, and Federal governments, and the business and professional communities toward a common goal.

This concept of regional cooperation is being encouraged in a number of Federal programs. We should all be encouraged by Oklahoma Northeast's success.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE NAZI INVASION OF POLAND ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1939

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it seems hardly possible that last Sunday marked the passage of 29 years since we huddled before our radios to receive the depressing word that Hitler and his war-hungry minions had violated the borders of Poland and were sweeping across the Polish countryside leaving death and destruction in their wake.

Few of us then realized that this dastardly move on the part of the demented ego maniac could result in such widespread havoc and would ultimately involve the United States in an all out struggle to stop the Nazi blitz.

The world has not been the same since that fateful September day in 1939. Democratic governments fell never to be completely restored. Free peoples numbering millions upon millions were to have there freedom snatched away and the shackles of servitude riveted upon them. Millions of innocent bystanders—men, women, and children—were to meet sudden and violent death. Millions of others would have preferred death to the torture and sadistic punishment they were forced to endure. An unbelieving world rejected reports of the horrors of the concentration camps and the mass murders of countless millions. An uncomprehending world failed to grasp the awful carnage and the widespread destruction of timeless jewels of nature and the priceless manmade gems of culture which were lost in the flames of total destruction of cities and countryside.

Many of our American citizens were caught in Hitler's mad march through their beloved Poland. Many of them who survived the bombing and Panzer onslaught fought bravely against the overpowering numbers and resources of the Nazi invaders. Some of them endured the inhuman treatment meted out to them in jails and prison camps. And at long last some of them were helped to escape and were given refuge in this country. Many of them are the sole survivors of their entire families and kinfolk.

To these loyal Americans observance of this anniversary of the invasion of Poland brings back days and nights of horror. Memory of the golden days of prewar Poland helps to soften the nightmares of the hell which followed. The awful memories which this date calls to mind might be softened somewhat more if their beloved homeland were today free of external political domination.

Every Polish-American has sorrow in his heart that the joy which came to him and his kinfolk and neighbors still in Poland when the Nazi bonds were severed was to prevail for so short a time. The substitution of Communist enslavement for the Nazi brand came all too swiftly and all too surely for Polish people to taste of freedom.

Mr. Speaker, it is not only appalling to realize that after 29 years since the Nazis gave the world a foretaste of the horrors and futility of war we are seemingly no closer to world peace than then. Grateful as we are to Almighty God that Hitler's Nazis and Mussolini's Fascists are now but a blot on the pages of history, our hearts are heavy in realizing forces equally sinister and fully as evil command our attention and dissipate our resources to keep them under control.

It is my hope that on this sad anniversary which we join with our fine Polish friends in commemorating we will assess anew the dangers which imperil our destined course. It is my heartfelt hope that we will maintain both a vigilant watch and adequate defenses to assure our future safety and the safety of those nations which must rely upon our help to remain free.

Let is recall clearly the awesome events of the past which last Sunday should call to mind; then let us rededicate ourselves to the task of finding peaceful solutions so suitable and so significant that these past horrors can never recur.

PERPETRATOR OF THE CREDIBILITY GAP

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Humphrey is apparently assuming his proper place in a growing tradition of Democrats seeking national office, the position of perpetrator of the credibility gap.

The Humphrey statements on the convention riots indicate that he is going to treat the American people to another game of "Where is the Real Hubert." His comments on Vietnam are sure to follow the same pattern and his lead comes directly from the President.

The Washington Post of September 1 and of September 3 detail the Vice President's two sides.

On September 1, the article is headlined: "Humphrey Defends Mayor Daley." It quotes the candidate as saying:

> I think we ought to quit pretending that Mayor Daley did something that was wrong. He didn't condone a thing that was wrong. He tried to protect lives.

On September 3, another article is headlined: "HHH Urges Citizen Study of Chicago." It states that the Vice President proposed that a group "take a look at the demonstrators, what kind of command there was of the police—and—the role of the media."

He was sure Mayor Daley "did not want the beating of people with those clubs" and, in an all-inclusive hedge, added that while the police may have "overacted" in "some instances" the demonstrators committed "acts of provocation almost beyond endurance."

We should be on guard. A Democratic candidate has been selected and consistently and credibility will therefore again be put to the supreme test.

JUSTICE FORTAS AND A MATTER OF NATIONAL CONCERN

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, with the return of Congress to its legislative duties, one of the most important orders of business will be the consideration of Justice Abe Fortas for the office of Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. While only the Senate is directly involved in the confirmation, issues have been raised which involve both Federal officials and the general public. The latest issue to be aired in the current Fortas hearings concerns recent Supreme Court decisions on obscenity. In one case, the Shackman case, three films involved were described by Federal District Judge Hauk of Los Angeles as hard-core pornography.

Concerning these films, the Chicago Tribune on August 1, 1968, reported:

> Five members of the committee (Senate Judiciary Committee) yesterday viewed some stag movies which Fortas, as a member of a Supreme Court majority, had helped overrule lower court findings that they were obscene.

The Tribune article went on to say:

> Even some of the strongest backers of Fortas found the movies filthy and disgusting, they reported. His friends now regard his court stands on obscenity more threatening to his chances of ever being confirmed than his role as a Presidential adviser, which has been regarded as his biggest obstacle.

The Philadelphia Inquirer of August 8, 1968, carried a UPI article entitled, "Court Ruling Aids 'Nudies'—Films Flourish on West Coast," dealing with one of the films, "O-7" which Justice Fortas and four other justices ruled was constitutionally protected. Describing the film, the article observed:

> Content is repetitious. There is no plot, no story, no characters. Just a single nude female exhibiting herself. The films differ only in appearance of the girl.

The article further stated:

> Before the Supreme Court ruling, such films shown in public places would have invited quick arrest of the owners and closing of the theater, restaurant or dive.

Now, according to the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, a case against those responsible is hard to build, and even when film is seized as obscene, the theater or bar is able to go on showing other nudie movies while the case makes its slow way through the courts. According to the spokesman for the sheriff's department of Los Angeles, there are "at least a thousand of those films floating around."

The organization which brought to the attention of Congress and the American people this aspect of Justice Fortas' record is Citizens for Decent Literature, Inc., of Cincinnati, Ohio, which was founded 10 years ago and which is composed of businessmen, family heads, and other citizens concerned about the nature of the obscenity problem and the enforcement of laws pertinent to this national issue. Responsible for the exhaustive study of Supreme Court rulings on obscenity made by the CDL were its founder, Attorney Charles H. Keating, James J. Clancy, attorney for the executive board of the CDL, and Attorney Ray T. Dreher, of St. Louis, Mo.

On July 22 of this year Attorneys Clancy and Keating appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee to oppose the confirmation of Justice Fortas as Chief Justice. According to Philip Warden in the Chicago Tribune of July 23, the CDL representatives minced no words:

> An organization whose members include nine members of Congress charged today that Justice Abe Fortas cast the deciding Supreme Court vote "which released the greatest deluge of hard core pornography ever witnessed by any nation."

Attorney Clancy told the Judiciary Committee that—

> The Supreme Court in May and June, 1967, reversed 23 of 26 State and Federal obscenity determinations. The Community standards of 13 States were upset. Eight findings of fact by juries were reversed.

He further charged that—

> Justice Fortas participated in every one of these decisions, and in each instance voted to reverse the findings of the juries and courts below.

In addition, the Tribune article quotes Clancy as stating:

> The same pattern was followed by Justice Fortas in handling of the 26 additional cases which were ruled upon by the court during the recent October, 1967 term, which ended in June of this year.

The U.S. Congress, in enacting Public Law 90–100, which established a Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, found that—

> The traffic in obscenity and pornography is a matter of national concern.

As this issue is a matter of national importance, I wish at this point to insert the testimony of Attorney James J. Clancy and the exhibit presented by the CDL before the Senate Judiciary Committee on July 22 of this year:

Statement of James J. Clancy, Attorney for the Executive Board of the National Organization Citizens for Decent Literature, Inc., Accompanied by Charles H. Keating, Attorney

Mr. Clancy. Mr. Chairman, honorable Senators, my name is James J. Clancy. I am an attorney. I appear before this committee at the direction of the executive board of the National Organization Citizens for Decent Literature, Inc.—short title, CDL—to oppose the confirmation of Associate Justice Abe Fortas as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. These remarks are also made on behalf of three of CDL's legal counsels: Attorney Charles H. Keating, Jr., of Cincinnati, Ohio, the founder of CDL, Attorney Ray T. Dreher of St. Louis, Mo., and myself, an attorney from Los Angeles, Calif.

Citizens for Decent Literature, Inc., an Ohio corporation, was founded over 10 years ago by a group of concerned businessmen and family heads, under the leadership of Attorney Charles H. Keating, Jr., of Cincinnati, Ohio. These individuals took a look at the condition of the materials appearing on the neighborhood newsstands and became alarmed at what they saw creeping onto the American scene. They formed a community organization with two objectives in mind:

(1) To alert the community to the nature of the obscenity problem, and

(2) To press for enforcement of the obscenity laws—laws which the history of our Government has proven essential to the development of good family living. This movement spread throughout the United States and before long, the individual local community organizations joined in this national organization with headquarters in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Just recently the Congress of the United States also became alarmed. In Public Law 90–100, signed into law this year, that body, in establishing a Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, declared in its findings of fact that the obscenity traffic was "a matter of national concern." The event which motivated Congress to act was a series of obscenity decisions handed down in May and June of 1967 in which the U.S. Supreme Court reversed 23 of the 26 state and Federal obscenity determinations. The community standards of 13 States were upset. Eight findings of fact by juries were reversed. Justice Fortas participated in every one of these decisions, and in each instance voted to reverse the findings of the juries and courts below. Those cases were decided during the October 1966 term. The same pattern was followed by Justice Fortas in his handling of the 26 additional cases which were ruled upon by the Court, during the recent October 1967 term, which ended in June of this year. A summary of these cases, including the subject matter involved and the legal citations thereto, is offered for filing with this statement as exhibit C.

The Chairman. Do you want it a part of the record, or filed as an exhibit?

Mr. Clancy. As a part of the record, sir—it is attached; yes, sir.

The Chairman. All right.

(The document referred to for inclusion in the record was marked "Exhibit 51" and appears in the appendix.)

Mr. Clancy. We find good reason in these decisions for responding to Justice Fortas' invitation for "open criticism" (see Evening Star, July 16, 1968, at p. 4–5).

In his testimony, Justice Fortas has agreed that "the public is entitled to know" his judicial philosophy, but has declined to comment on his opinions under the constitutional privilege, upon the grounds that his beliefs are "spread on the record" of three terms of the Court (Washington Post, Friday, July 19, 1968, at p. A6). While this may be so in other areas of the law, we are of the opinion that his statement would require an amendment, if the question were pressed as to its relevance insofar as obscenity cases are concerned. Twenty of the 23 cases reversed during the 1966 October term, including the *Shackman* case referred to hereinafter, were without an opinion to discuss the facts or conduct of the case and the reasoning involved. In the other three cases, only one brief majority opinion was filed and that opinion was not written by Justice Fortas. The cases decided by the Court during the recent 1967 October term were also without an opinion to discuss the facts or conduct of the case and the reasoning involved. In actuality, the materials and facts involved in these cases are very effectively "buried" in the records of the Court below.

While Justice Fortas voted with the majority to affirm the convictions of Ginzburg and Mishkin during the 1965 October term, his vote in those cases is completely contradicted by the position taken by him in the following two terms of the Court. His vote in *Ginzburg* can be understood when one considers the great weight that he accords to the right of privacy (see his dissenting vote in *Time* v. *Hill*). The evidence upon which Ginzburg's indictments were based was advertising materials which Ginzburg had addressed to a boys' school, and members of clerical and religious organizations. However, this facet of the case was not mentioned in the majority opinion in which he joined, nor was the majority opinion based upon that legal principle. His vote in the *Mishkin* case is completely irreconcilable with his voting in the 1966 and 1967 term cases, particularly *Friedman* v. *N.Y.* dealing with almost identical material, and *Lee Arts Theatre* v. *Virginia*, in which the Court took an extreme position regarding the seizure of obscene materials.

In this regard, there was a sizable search and seizure problem in the *Mishkin* case which Justice Fortas chose to disregard. The police had seized several hundred thousand copies without a search warrant. He glossed over it saying that the record was not perfected, and therefore the Court would not comment on it. In the *Lee Arts Theatre* v. *Virginia* case, a police officer had reviewed films, "Body of a Female," and another sex picture, had gone to a magistrate, named the films, alleged that in his opinion they were obscene, and asked for a search warrant. The search warrant was issued; the Court in the *Lee Arts Theatre* v. *Virginia* said this was not a proper basis for a seizure of obscene materials.

Citizens for Decent Literature, Inc. has recently completed a 35-millimeter slide film documentary of the October 1966 term decisions. A copy of the first draft of the script for this documentary has been submitted for filing with this committee as exhibit A to our letter of July 16 requesting permission to appear before this committee, and is at this time offered for filing with this statement as exhibit A. The documentary traces the history of the 26 cases from their origin in the trial court, up to the final decision of the U.S. Supreme Court and shows pictorially the materials involved. A short 30-minute slide adaptation of the same is available for your viewing. Portions of this slide presentation have already been seen by Senators McClellan, Long, and Fong, the members of the subcommittee appointed for this purpose.

The disturbing feature of the decisions handed down in May and June 1967 which prompted the formulation of this documentary was the radical departure of the present court from its historic position, which has always supported the people's position in the enforcement of the Nation's obscenity laws. The modern court has been responsible for a developing change in the past 10 years in the obscenity area which parallels closely the recent changes in the criminal law areas, so ably documented by Senator Ervin in his presentation to this committee. Never before, however, have the members of the court acted in a manner which so completely unmasks their own individual performance. This they did in the obscenity decisions handed down in May and June of 1967.

The common issue in all of these recent court storm centers is whether the judgments of the court are grounded upon constitutional principle or upon the personal judgments of the individual members. If Senator Ervin has not convinced you that the recent developments in criminal law procedures are based upon personal judgments, as he has urged, it is only because semantics plays a large part in masking the individual philosophy of the judges concerned. The average person is aware that the results reached appear to be clearly wrong, but is confused when he is told by judges in the majority opinion that the Court is following "constitutional principles." The same difficulty does not exist when one analyzes the Court's recent action in obscenity cases, for there is a common reference in obscenity matters—a norm which all of the legalisms known to our system of Government cannot confound or confuse. That reference is the contemporary community standards. No amount of legal semantics emanating from the most learned of counsel can mislead the average citizen's understanding of what is filth—what is beyond the contemporary community standards—what is destructive of public morals. The many findings in the lower courts in the cases herein considered (see exhibit C) bear this out. None of the materials involved have any relevancy whatsoever to "speech," or constitutionally protected values. In this connection, I would like to suggest to Senators Ervin and Thurmond that these obscenity cases are the common denominators which explain and lay open for inspection to the nonlawyer, just what is happening in the U.S. Supreme Court in other areas of the laws.

If one is to make use of this common reference in an analysis of the obscenity decisions it is necessary that the Court's opinions be considered in the light of the subject matter involved. Without an understanding of the material that the Court is passing on, the Court's judgments lose much of their significance. We have therefore in the documentary presented visually the actual materials involved in each of the cases discussed.

The type of materials brought before the High Court in the 1966 October term was uniform. There were 20 sex paperback books. Their titles were: "Sex Life of a Cop," "Lust School," "Lust Web," "Sin Servant," "Lust Pool," "Shame Agent," "Lust Job," "Sin Whisper," "Orgy House," "Sin Hooked," "Bayoo Sinner," "Lust Hungry," "Shame Shop," "Flesh Pots," "Sinners Seance," "Passion Priestess," "Penthouse Pagans," "Sin Warden," and "Flesh Avenger"; 12 bondage books; a series of photographs of nude females in provocative poses with focus on the pubic area and suggested invitations to sexual relations; eight motion picture films of the striptease type; 10 girlie magazines; one nudist magazine, and two homemade so-called "underground" films. Photographs of some of the actual exhibits are offered for filing with this statement as exhibit D.

An overall impression of Justice Fortas' philosophy can be gleaned from the fact that he voted to reverse the jury and State court obscenity determinations in each of the cases he acted upon, during the 1966 and 1967 terms. A more precise understanding of his philosophy in the obscenity area can be gained from a consideration of his vote in *Shackman* v. *California* decided in June of 1967. In that case, three striptease films entitled "O–7," "O–12," and "D–15" were ruled hard-core pornography by Federal District Judge Hauk, a Los Angeles jury, and the California appellate system. Those determinations were reversed in the U.S. Supreme Court by a 5–4 decision, with Fortas casting the deciding vote. This judgment is representative of his actions in the other cases.

A copy of the 14-minute striptease film entitled "O–7," which Justice Fortas voted not obscene, has been submitted for filing with this committee as exhibit B to our letter of July 16 and is at this time offered for filing with this statement as exhibit B. I personally viewed the motion film "O–7" at the time that it was an exhibit in the U.S. Supreme Court case, and can attest that the copy filed with this committee is an exact copy of the film considered by Justice Fortas and the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Shackman* case. I would like to emphasize that the one and only issue passed upon by the Court in that case was whether or not the films "O–7," "O–12," and "D–15" were constitutionally protected, and that the 5–4 *Shackman* decision held that they were, with Justice Fortas casting the deciding vote.

The nature of the material appearing in the motion picture film entitled "O–7" was described by Federal District Judge Hauk in 258 F. Supp. 983, wherein he ruled the three films to be hard-core pornography.

In this particular decision, he refused to call a three-judge constitutional court, and instead held that the material was not constitutionally protected, and that it definitely should stand trial.

Here are his quotes as rendered in the opinion:

"The film 'O–7' is virtually the same as Exhibit 1. The model wears a garter belt and sheer transparent panties through which the pubic hair and external parts of the genitalia are clearly visible . . . At one time the model pulls her panties down so that the pubic hair is exposed to view . . . the focus of the camera is emphasized on the pubic and rectal region, and the model continuously uses her tongue and mouth to simulate a desire for, or enjoyment of, acts of a sexual nature. The dominant theme of the material, taken as a whole, appeals to a prurient interest in sex of the viewer, and is patently offensive in its emphasis on the genital and rectal areas, clearly showing the pubic hair and external parts of the female genital area. The film is entirely without artistic or literary significance and is utterly without redeeming social importance."

The nature of the material appearing in the film "O–12" is described by Federal District Judge Hauk with equal clarity in the same opinion.

"The film, 'O–12' . . . was viewed by the court. The film consists of a female model clothed in a white blouse opened in front, a half-bra which exposes the upper half of the breasts including the nipples and a pair of white capri pants (which are soon discarded) under which the model wears a pair of sheer panties through which the pubic hair and region are clearly visible. The film consists of the model moving and undulating upon a bed, moving her hands, and lips and torso, all clearly indicative of engaging in sexual activity, including simulating intercourse and invitations to engage in intercourse. There is no music, sound, story-line or dancing other than exaggerated body movements. On at least three occasions, the female by lip articulation is observed to state, '——— you', '——— me'. The dominant theme of the film taken as a whole, obviously is designed to appeal to the prurient interest in the sex of the viewer and is patently offensive in that the focus of the camera returns again and again to the genital and rectal areas clearly showing the pubic hair and the outline of the external parts of the female genital area. The film is entirely without artistic or literary significance and is utterly without redeeming social importance."

Because of this decision, such films, and others going substantially beyond, are now appearing in neighborhood movies and, from reports that I have received from various parts of this Nation, in open-air theaters. The smut industry takes its direction from the High Court's decisions, advancing a giant step forward each time that the U.S. Supreme Court hands down a decision adverse to the people's interest. Senator Scott noted this same phenomenon in Report No. 1097 of the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1967. He said:

"To those who say that a Court decision cannot 'cause' crime, I would remind them of the excellent communications system of the underworld . . . One need not be a legal scholar to sense the tendency of the law, and where it is felt that a 'technicality' will prevent prosecution, the result is bolder action."

I have been following the developments in this area for 10 years and can say, without exaggeration, that the 1966 term reversals were the causative factor which brought about, subsequent to June 1967, a release of the greatest deluge of hard-core pornography ever witnessed by any nation—and this at a time when statistics indicate a pronounced breakdown in public morals and general movement toward sexual degeneracy throughout our Nation.

If as Justice Fortas indicates, the Constitution is a moving document which takes into account the social needs of our time, it would appear that the drastic change encountered in these decisions runs contrary to the experience we are presently witnessing. If social engineering is a factor in these decisions, then from our philosophical viewpoint it is being applied in the wrong direction.

We also respectfully call this committee's attention to the possible conflict of interest described in the CDL documentary on the 1966 term decisions. See exhibit A page 22, beginning at line 1. That part of the text reads.

A paperback entitled, "Sin Whisper" from the same mold as those ruled to be hard-core pornography by the Kansas Supreme Court was before the Georgia Supreme Court on December 18, 1966. That court described the material as:

"The book entitled 'Sin Whisper' is composed substantially of lengthy detailed, and vivid accounts of preparation for the acts of normal and abnormal sexual relations between and among its characters . . . The book . . . considered as a whole has as its predominant appeal the arousing of prurient interest in the average man of our national community . . . has no redeeming literary or social value or importance and goes substantially beyond the customary limits of candor in description and representation of its subject matter and . . . judged as a whole by Georgia statutory standards . . . is obscene . . . The book is filthy and disgusting. Further description is not necessary and we do not wish to sully the pages of the reported opinions of this court with it."

The publisher, Corinth Publications, Inc., a corporation wholly owned by William Hamling, once told investigating law enforcement officers that they should go back to chasing spies and that he could beat them anywhere in the United States; that he hired the best attorneys and that one of these was Abe Fortas in Washington, who could fix anything no matter who was in power. He further boasted that he had paid Fortas $11,000 to get his mailing permit for the girlie magazine "Rogue." Fortas' law firm had in 1957 filed an amicus brief on behalf of Greenleaf Publishing Co., publisher of "Rogue," urging the reversal of the Roth conviction. On December 14, 1966, Corinth Publications, Inc., filed its appeal in the U.S. Supreme Court. This time Hamling had a new attorney. His ex-attorney, Abe Fortas, had been appointed to the Bench and was to sit in judgment on his former client's claims.

Justice Fortas' appearance in *Roth* v. *United States* as counsel for amicus curiae, Greenleaf Publishing Co., urging reversal of Roth's conviction on an obscenity charge for sending this material through the mails, is documented in 1 L. ed. 2.

Moreover, lower appellate courts in taking their direction from these Supreme Court reversals have upset landmark trial court convictions against major producers. Recently a jury in Sioux City, Iowa, returned guilty verdicts on all counts of a 164 count indictment against Milton Luros of North Hollywood, for his manufacture and national distribution of nudist magazines and lesbian-type paperbacks. The Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, relying upon recent Supreme Court decisions reversed those convictions. The same result was obtained in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which reluctantly reversed after the paper book "Candy" had been found to be obscene in the trial court. The citations are *Luros* v. *United States*, 380 Fed. 2d 200, *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* v. *Brandon House, Parliament News et al.*, 233, Atlantic 2d 840.

The 4-hour conversation referred to, took place in Palm Springs, Calif., in February 1965, between FBI Agent Homer Young of the Los Angeles Section on Obscenity, and William Hamling—this time doing business as Corinth Publications, Inc., the publisher of "Sin Whisper."

Justice Fortas' vote in the "Sin Whisper" and the other like paperback book cases was contrary to that cast by his predecessor, Associate Justice Arthur Goldberg. When such materials came before that Justice his vote was cast for a denial of certiorari. (See, for example, his vote in *People* v. *Fried*, involving "College for Sinners" decided June 22, 1964.)

Citizens for Decent Literature, Inc., is deeply concerned by this recent turn in events. Justice Fortas will continue to sit upon the Court as an Associate Justice, and we entertain small hope that his personal convictions on this subject will change in the ensuing years. Nevertheless, we oppose his nomination as Chief Justice on the grounds that the authority that goes with the Office of Chief Justice will place the nominee in a position of prominence from which he can give greater propulsion to what is interpreted to be his personal determination in these matters. The 30-minute color slide documentary on the 1966 October term decisions and the 14-minute motion picture film "O–7", cleared by Justice Fortas in the *Shackman* case, irrefutably bear this out. We respectfully request that the individual Senators view and consider these materials before they cast their votes in this matter.

Justice Fortas' opinion demonstrates a wide tolerance as to the types of conduct which are acceptable to public morals, particularly is this so in the area of obscenity crime. Left unchecked, the personal judgments of today become the constitutional principles of tomorrow. In this connection, I would like to refer the following Senators on this committee to certain decisions discussed in this statement which have affected their State.

Senator Hugh Scott, *Pennsylvania* v. *Dell Publications, Inc.*, 233 Atlantic 2d 840, particularly the dissenting opinion of Associate Justice Musmano.

Senator Hart, *Aday* v. *United States*, 357 Fed. 2d 855.

Senator McClellan, *Gent* v. *Arkansas*, 393 Southwest 2d 219.

Gentlemen, we have already shown part of the documentary to Senator McClellan, Senator Hart, and Senator Fong, and we appreciate the opportunity to show both the documentary and the film to the full committee and to the press, recognizing that the film is not the type of subject matter which should be shown to the general public.

We would ask the committee for permission to do this, possibly in a different room.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all?

Mr. CLANCY. I have one additional comment, sir. There is an article written by William Buckley, appearing in the Post, Washington, D.C., February 18, 1968, and he makes reference to the *Shackman* case.

What did occur—some individual sent a mailing brochure to Mr. Buckley's son. Mr. Buckley wrote the Los Angeles City Police and said, "Why don't you take care of this individual for sending this type of material into my home—it appears to me you can do it under the Ginzburg decision."

Captain Nelson wrote to Mr. Buckley, and asked him if he ever was in Los Angeles, he would like to show him something in connection with the Supreme Court decisions. Mr. Buckley did visit Los Angeles, and Captain Nelson showed him the exhibits which were used in the *Shackman* case. This is what Mr. Buckley said in the concluding paragraph:

"But whether it does or whether it does not, I intend to schedule a private showing. I shall rent myself a 16-millimeter projector, having sent off for a copy of O–12. I shall then invite the head of the New York Civil Liberties Union, the editor of Commentary, and Dwight Macdonald, Max Lerner, and maybe three or four other worldly and permissive gentlemen, and will run through this 21-minute film. I shall not then ask them whether in their judgment the film should be available to children. I know what they are likely to answer—and would not go to such pains to contrive my having to hear them say it again. I shall merely ask them whether by the Supreme Court's own definitions the film is obscene. Confident they will agree with me that it is, I shall join my guests in sponsoring a committee for a new Supreme Court, and will dispatch Mr. Macdonald to Washington to picket the Justice chambers."

That is the end of the statement, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Ervin.

Senator ERVIN. No questions.

Senator HART. No questions.

Mr. CLANCY. I would like to file exhibit D for examination by the members of this committee, referred to in my statement, which is photographs—photos of the actual exhibits which were involved in these cases, and reversed. These are photographs taken of the actual exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be received.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, may I make a brief comment. My name is Charles Keating. I am an attorney from Cincinnati, Ohio. I simply want to say I endorse the statements of Mr. Clancy and join therein. I would like you to know in my consideration as an attorney, all of the facts which we have alleged are supremely well documented and painstakingly so. I had the opportunity when Senator Hart was a freshman Senator to present before a committee at that time some of the materials which we felt were offensive and obscene. I can say to Senator Hart that the material is as depraved as it was at the time. Your interest was keen, and very intelligent on the subject. The depravity and base nature of this material has gone so far beyond what we presented just those few years ago, that it is almost unbelievable. And I think that the decisions of the Supreme Court have to be examined in the light of this hurtling into the abyss of immorality.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thurmond.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Clancy, I wish to express appreciation for your appearing here. I was very pleased to learn that we have a Citizens for Decent Literature in this country that is trying to protect your young people from the obscene and indecent literature that has been distributed with the Supreme Court's approval.

Now, as I understand from your statement, these decisions have chiefly been handed down in 1966 and 1967, which go so far? Is that correct?

Mr. CLANCY. That is correct, sir.

Senator THURMOND. I believe you made the statement that the Supreme Court had reversed 23 of the 26 State and Federal obscenity determinations. You have that documented?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. You are asserting that is correct?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir. That is documented in exhibit C, which is appended thereto, and shows the action in each of the cases involved. For example, referring to exhibit C, the first case mentioned there is case No. 2. That was the case number in 1966 term, *Keney* v. *New York*, which was a jury decision. In that case, the jury found the subject matter which was three paperback books to be hard-core pornography under the definition as given by the New York Judiciary. That was affirmed by the appellate court. The New York Court of Appeals refused to grant a hearing and it went up to the U.S. Supreme Court in two terms previous. That is the reason for the 793 designation. It was carried over to the succeeding term, and became case No. 39. And then it was carried forward to the 1966 term and became case No. 2. And it was reversed in 18 Lawyers Edition Second 1302, on June 12, 1967.

In this regard, I would like to give you an example of the type of opinion that was rendered in that case.

This is titled 18 Lawyers Edition Second, 1302.

"*David E. Keney* v. *New York*, June 12, 1967, on petition for writ of certiorari to the County Court of Monroe County, New York. Per curiam. The petition for writ of certiorari as granted in the judgment of the county court of Monroe County New York is reversed. *Redrup* v. *New York* 386 U.S. Mr. Justice Harland adhere to the views expressed in the separate opinion in *Roth* v. *United States*, and on the basis of the reasoning set forth herein would affirm."

In each one of the 23 cases Justice Harlan voted to affirm. And the basis of his constitutional judgment was that there are two tests in this area. One, the Federal test. The Federal Government has no business in the area of public morals, and they may only proscribe hard-core pornography. But in the area of States' rights, each community, each State has the right to set its own standards. Historically, the guardian of the public morals is the State jurisdiction. His method of review in State cases would be if there is a logical reason to affirm the decision of the State supreme court, he must do so, because he does not have the power as a member of the Supreme Court to reverse their factual findings and what their community standards are. He said that this is necessary, because we have here a federation of States wherein we have a testing ground, and without this testing ground we have concentration of power in the Federal Government. We must have the testing ground to see what is the best way of getting at these problems. He mentioned in the *Roth* opinion, in his concurring opinion, he said "the State can reasonably conclude that the indiscriminate dissemination of material, the essential character of which is to debase sex, will, over a long period of time, have an eroding effect on moral standards." And I submit that we are living in an era in which everyone recognizes this. And notwithstanding the complete knowledge by every citizen that the moral standards are being eroded throughout the Nation, we have a set of decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court which completely throws caution to the winds, and is an open invitation to every pornographer to come into the area and distribute millions of copies—and I am not exaggerating—millions and millions of copies of what historically had been regarded even in France has hard-core pornography.

Justice Harlan has said that the constitutional view is that the States have an extraordinary right in this area of public morals. And, of course, it is my belief that our constitutional history bears this out.

I would like to comment on the *Shackman* decision.

For example, if you analyze the decision in relation to the subject matter, you see how ridiculous the Justice's viewpoints are.

For example, the film that I talked about, which is O-7. Four members voted it obscene—Justice Warren, Justice Brennan, Justice Harlan, and Justice Clark. But when it came to still photographs of the same type of activity, for example a woman thrusting her vagina forward, or showing an invitation to sexual intercourse in still, Justice Brennan said that was not obscene. For the first time in the obscene cases, Chief Justice Warren voted to reverse four jury convictions—this was the *Keney* case to which I referred, the *Austin* case, and two other jury verdicts.

Now, prior to this most recent decision, he had always said that in this area—we should give a great deal of deference to the courts and the judgment of the people below, that there is no such thing as a national community standard. But in these most recent decisions, he voted to reverse jury convictions in these four cases—completely upsetting his prior opinion in this area.

I submit there must have been some extraordinary advocacy in the U.S. courtroom to bring this about.

Senator THURMOND. Also in May and June 1967 decisions, I believe the community standards of 13 States were upset.

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir. These 26 cases involved 13 States.

Senator THURMOND. And in those same decisions, eight findings of fact by juries concerning obscene material were reversed?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. That is May and June 1967 decisions?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir. I might point out that in exhibit C, after each case we have noted whether it was decided by a court or jury. For example, *Keney* v. *New York*, on page 1 of exhibit C, so states that it was decided by a jury. *Redrup* v. *New York* was decided by a three-judge court. *Austin* v. *Kentucky* was decided by not one, but two juries.

Senator THURMOND. And in all of these decisions, according to your statement, Justice Fortas participated in them and in each instance he voted to reverse the findings of the juries and the courts below?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Your careful research reveals that?

Mr. CLANCY. Absolutely.

Senator THURMOND. Now, in the 1966 term, I believe you said the same pattern was followed by Justice Fortas in his handling of the 26 additional cases which were ruled upon by the Court?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir. Not all of those were obscenity determinations. I am referring here to 26 which I have listed which were obscenity cases. A good number of those were obscenity determinations, as for example on page 7 of exhibit C, *Conrad Chance* v. *California* was a jury verdict. That was reversed. *I & M Amusement Corp.* v. *Ohio*, that was a court decision, that was reversed. *Central Magazine Ltd.* v. *United States* was a court determination which barred the importation of certain homosexual nudist magazines. That was reversed. G. I. Distributors, they refused to listen to that. *Rabeck* was reversed. That was reversed on the judgment that the statute was bad.

Robert-Arthur Management Corp. v. *Tennessee* was a determination that the film "Mondo Freudo" was obscene. The opinion on that is in 414, Southwest 2d 638. That was reversed. *Teitel Film Corp.* v. *Cusack*—that was an injunction in which the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois said that "Rent a Girl" and "Body of a Female" were obscene. They reversed that, but on procedural grounds.

In *Percy Henry* v. *Louisiana*, that was a court determination that certain girlie magazines were obscene. And notwithstanding the court's decision in *Redrup, Austin* and *Gent*, the Supreme Court of Louisiana refused to reverse that decision. After it had been decided by the Louisiana Supreme Court, the appellant came back after the *Redrup, Austin* and *Gent* cases and pointed to them and said "You are required to reverse." And notwithstanding the Louisiana Supreme Court did affirm, the court pointed out that the magazines were not in the record, and that the appellant did not perfect his right. And from there on, the appellant went to the U.S. Supreme Court, and notwithstanding that the magazines were not in the record, the Court nevertheless reversed anyway.

Felton v. *City of Pensacola*, that was a court determination that nudist magazines were obscene. That was reversed. *Pennsylvania* v. *Dell*, they refused to hear a petition by the district attorney of Philadelphia County. *Lee Arts Theatres Virginia* was a jury determination that "Erotic Touch of Hot Skin," and "Rent a Girl" were obscene. This "Rent a Girl" is the same film passed upon by the Illinois Supreme Court—the Court reversed that on the grounds that not the obscenity issue, but on the grounds that the search procedures were improper, and what did occur, as I mentioned before was that a police officer went out and viewed the two films, went to a magistrate, filed an affidavit stating that he had seen the two films, and in his opinion they were obscene. He obtained a search warrant from the magistrate and went out and made the arrests. There was a conviction by a jury, affirmed in the Virginia Supreme Court. It went up to the U.S. Supreme Court on the search and seizure provision, and the U.S. Supreme Court most recently said that a police officer—now, this is the real significant point of that case—that a police officer could not seize material which is obscene even though he had witnessed the crime—in effect, that he could not even go to a magistrate and tell him he had seen and named that film specifically, and asked for a search warrant. He had to do more than that.

This particular decision, I would venture to say is going to throw absolute catastrophe into this area in the succeeding year or two.

Reed Enterprises v. *Clark* was a statutory construction of the Federal statute permitting prosecution in the area of distribution. *California* v. *Noroff*, was a petition by a Los Angeles city attorney to review a decision in California that a nudist magazine is not obscene.

So a good number of those cases were actually dealing with determinations of material which had been declared obscene by State and Federal and appellate court decisions. The ones I have just referred to are of the most recent 1967 term.

The CHAIRMAN. Could I ask a question.

Senator THURMOND. Yes, sir. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Mississippi.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it your experience or do you have any idea that material of this kind would cause a person of unbalanced mind, psychotic mind, to create acts of violence?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir. In our most recent amicus curiae brief, filed in the *Ginzburg* case, *Ginzburg* v. *New York*, we cited at least 50 cases in which such had occurred. For example, when I was assistant city attorney of Burbank, we had a case in which a girl was raped about four blocks from city hall in a culvert. At that time she reported to the police that the person who had raped her had a girlie magazine in his pocket, and had thrown it aside. So they went back to the scene. They found the girlie magazine. They questioned her further. She gave them a description. They located the defendant from the knife—she described the jacket. They went to trial on a kidnaping and rape charge, and they found out that at that time he had done it previously to another girl in the same area, from the same school. They were classmates. This was one case which interested me.

Well, there is no indication this is the thing that drove him to it. But there is this relationship.

Another case in New Jersey, a boy had witnessed a stag film. On the way back at an intersection, he got into a car, he commandeered the car, he took the girl and raped and killed her. You could not say what causal connection there is.

I do not say, however, that the real reason they proscribe this is the direct reaction to which you refer—it is a reason that Justice Harlan stated—that the indiscriminate dissemination of this material in the community, and the tolerance by the community of this material, gives the mistaken impression to the youth that this is acceptable. In fact, the U.S. Supreme Court in their most recent decision pointed out in a footnote to the *Ginzburg* case, where they made mention of the testimony of a psychiatrist. His testimony was as follows:

> He said there are two dangers. One is that it will cause criminal conduct. And he says we are not so concerned with this. But the second is that it will cause the youth to believe that because it is tolerated in the community, it is an acceptable standard. And this is what we are concerned with.

So actually what the psychiatrist was saying was that by permitting this material to be given freely in the community, they think it is all right, and they think accordingly. And this is what Justice Harlan said is the basis for State action.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the usual victims? Are they women and children?

Mr. CLANCY. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Aren't women and children the usual victims?

Mr. CLANCY. Oh, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thurmond.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you.

Now, Mr. Clancy, I believe in those cases, 20 out of the 23 cases that were reversed during the 1966 term, including the *Shackman* case, they were reversed without any opinion to discuss the facts and conduct of the case and the reasoning involved, isn't that true?

Mr. CLANCY. That is correct, sir. I read you a typical example of the law reports appearing in 18 Lawyers Edition Second, which is the volume which reports all of these cases. There is no indication of the conduct involved, no discussion of the lower court action, or any of the issues involved, except "appeal is granted, judgment reversed." And this is one of the points we make, Justice Fortas has said his views are spread upon the record of the Court. They are not in this area.

Now, nobody sitting at this table, all of these committee members I would venture—they are attorneys—they would know something about this area. But they have no indication of what the subject matter is. I have not seen the statement of the U.S. attorney concerning Fortas' opinion. I would venture to say that he makes no mention of these obscenity decisions, although I am sure that he is well aware of what did occur in May and June of 1967.

Senator THURMOND. Other than being ashamed of the decisions, and ashamed to write in detail their reasoning, as a lawyer, could you assign any other reason?

Mr. CLANCY. No, sir. Of course my analysis of what did actually occur in the U.S. Supreme Court during that term of the Court, would take a little longer to explain. I could do that, but it is not relevant, particularly relevant to these hearings on Justice Fortas. What did occur I think is strange. They took these three cases on one issue alone, and that was scienter. They were asked by the petitioners to consider the obscenity matter. In their preliminary ruling they denied certiorari on that issue. In effect they said this subject matter is not constitutionally protected. They had 7 months in which they were arguing among themselves, trying to decide the scienter issue. They could not do it. This is an extraordinary length of time for the U.S. Supreme Court to have any case under submission. They got to the end of the 1966 term. Not being able to get together on the scienter issue, along came a case known as *Ginzburg* v. *New York*, which was a case dealing with a minors' statute, which was flawless in presentation, also in the type of legislation which was used in the New York jurisdiction, and it is my opinion that they felt that the solution to get out from under the controversy in this area, was to grant jurisdiction to the *Ginzburg* v. *New York* case, and affirm the minors' statute, and then to get rid of these cases. And I do not believe they analyzed these cases fully before they voted on them. I cannot understand how Chief Justice Warren would have upset four jury verdicts if he was being consistent with his prior philosophy in this area. I cannot understand how Justice Brennan would vote to reverse in "D-15" and "O-7", a girlie striptease film, and yet would not affirm in a case dealing with still photos of the same material.

There is a peculiar situation which exists here.

It is generally felt amongst lawyers that Fortas, Brennan, and Warren are in agreement on the test to be employed. Yet when you examine and apply their test—to each one of these cases, you find none of them can agree.

For example, in the girlie striptease film, Justice Warren thought it was obscene. Justice Brennan thought it was obscene. But Justice Fortas thought it was not obscene. In the still pictures of nude females in provocative poses, Justice Warren thought it obscene, Justice Brennan thought it not, Justice Fortas thought it not obscene. In the paperback book cases, Justice Fortas thought it not obscene, Justice Brennan thought it not obscene, but Justice Warren wanted to set if for argument.

So that even applying a test that they believed in, that they were in agreement on, they could not, in their own personal differences, come into agreement.

Senator THURMOND. Well, do you not feel that a community has a right to protect its young people in that community by taking steps to prevent such obscene material from being available to them?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir. This is one of the reasons for the obscenity laws. We trace it in this documentary, which I hope to be able to show you—of how the community feels that the crime here is the conduct of the pornographer, the fellow who is distributing. It is not a crime for anyone to read this material. This is the one who is seduced. But it is a crime for the person to commercially distribute this to the disadvantage of the community and its interest, particularly its interest in the growth and development of its youth, which are going to be the foundation for our Nation of tomorrow. I think the best parallel that can be drawn is in the distinction that a prosecutor drew in 1688 when this crime came into being. He drew a distinction between private morality and public morality, which he related to fornication and the maintenance of a bawdy house. Fornication which is the sin of the individual, unlawful sexual intercourse, is not indictable at common law, because this is something between the individual and whoever he regards as a Supreme Being. But the maintenance of a bawdy house is because it rubs itself off on the community and affects community standards. So the maintenance of a bawdy house was indictable at common law. He says:

"I do not mean to say every sin or lie is indictable in common law. But when it so affects the community standards as to become a public concern, then it is indictable."

And of course the Court incorporated the arguments of the prosecutor, in that historic case, establishing the obscenity crime as an indictable offense, and said that the community does have this interest. And of course it includes the interest that you have stated, the interest in the youth, so that they will not be exposed when they are outside the influence of their family to an undue risk of harm.

Senator THURMOND. In view of the decisions that have been handed down by the Court in 1966 and 1967 sessions, is there any way a community can protect itself from the filth to which you have referred, and is there any way to prevent the contemporary community standards from being violated that are so destructive of public morals?

Mr. CLANCY. In my opinion, there is not. And I cannot impress upon you Senators enough how serious this problem is. I wish I could go into it more fully with you, to show you the extent to which these individuals have gone, and the magnitude of the operation.

For example, the film "O-7," which was shown to certain members of the subcommittee, something much less offensive than that was the standard for the Los Angeles prosecutors in Los Angeles County, and which they relied upon in trying to control this subject matter. Now, with the reversal of "O-7" and "D-15" and "O-12," they said—"Well, there is nothing we can do." This material is being disseminated in the mail at $10, anyone can buy it, anyone can buy a small projector for about $30 and have their own stag show. The prosecutor is saying "There is nothing I can do"—looking at these decisions. And of course the pornographers, as Senator Scott observed in the other criminal area—they read these decisions, they take their advice from their defense attorneys, and they have said that all stops have been pulled, and anything goes. As a consequence, for example, there is an organization in Los Angeles County now called Collectors Publications, Inc., which is flooding the market with hundreds and hundreds of titles which have always been regarded as the hardest of hard-core pornography, even under the counter in France—and this is going out through the mails, going out over the counter. And police, law enforcement officers are saying "There is nothing we can do about it."

Mr. KEATING. They just sued Mr. Clancy and me for $3 million, Collectors Publications.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you repeat that.

Mr. KEATING. Collectors Publications, the publisher he just referred to has just sued Mr. Clancy and myself for $3 million. They do not like the way we talk and act toward their product.

It interested me. I thought it might interest the Senators.

Senator THURMOND. Now, the films to which you referred, O-7, O-12, and D-15, it seems to me would appear obscene and filthy and obnoxious to any right-thinking person?

Mr. CLANCY. Well, Senator Thurmond, I think you are 100 percent correct. And this is why I say—these obscenity decisions are the common denominator of what is occuring in the U.S. Supreme Court—because the average citizen recognizes what you have just said. You have read what Judge Hauk said about them. You do not have to be convinced to look at the exhibit. But I sincerely hope you will take the time out to see what Senator McClellan, Senator Hart, and Senator Fong saw. And I hope I have the opportunities to show the entire committee, so that they recognize just exactly what is occurring.

Senator THURMOND. And in spite of the fact in the *Shackman* case these three films were ruled hard-core pornography by the Federal district judge, Judge Hauk, and a Los Angeles jury, and that their findings were affirmed by the California Appellate Court, still the Supreme Court of the United States reversed their action and Justice Fortas cast the deciding vote in a 5-to-4 decision?

Mr. CLANCY. That is correct. Each one of the girlie magazine film cases was a 5-to-4 decision, with the five members, Justice Fortas included, voting to reverse. I might point out in connection with the California decision that the instruction which was read to the jury as to the test to be employed was the strictest which has ever been given to any jury in regard to protection of free speech. They had to find the material taken as a whole constituted an appeal to prurience, which was an abnormal interest in nudity, sex, or excretion, which went substantially beyond customary limits of candor. They further had to find it was patently offensive and that it was utterly without redeeming social force—three separate tests. This is the most recent test enunciated by certain members of the Court—Fortas, Brennan, and Warren. And notwithstanding that the State of California employed the very test that those three Justices had enunciated, for example, in the *Fanny Hill* case, in the trial of the matter, nonetheless they reversed the jury finding on that issue.

Senator THURMOND. Now, as long as the publishing houses who produce this smut material can get decisions like were handed down by the Supreme Court, will not this encourage them to go even further and further, and produce even more obscene material if it is possible to do so?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir. They have already done that. Not only that. They have gone further in the area of exhibition, as I have mentioned. Previously, these films would be sold in certain locations. Now they are going into the liquor—into the bars. You will see signs in Los Angeles which say "Girlie Films." In a bar, they have a little projector, and will throw these films on the wall. This has replaced the topless situation. This is one use of the film. They now have—they are taking over movie theaters which have fallen because they could not show regular films, and they are showing eight of these in 2 hours—they charge about $2. They throw the 16-millimeter version on the full screen, and play "Clair de Lune" and the classics to those people who view it. And I have heard reports—this appears down in Florida, and up in northern California—where they have actually shown these in open air theaters. So that they have gone further, not only in the content. They have gone as far as they can go. But they also have gone further in the manner of distribution.

Senator THURMOND. It appears that you may have raised a conflict-of-interest question here in these obscene cases. I observe on page 6 of your statement you say that the publisher, Corinth Publications, Inc., a corporation wholly owned by William Hamling, once told investigating law enforcement officers that they should go back to chasing spies and that he could beat them anywhere in the United States, that he hired the best attorneys, and that one of these was Abe Fortas in Washington who could fix anything no matter who was in power.

Would you care to elaborate any further on that?

Mr. CLANCY. Well, the conversation was to the effect—he said "I have Fleishman in California, I have Percy Forman in Texas, I have Bieber in Chicago, and I have Abe Fortas in Washington, D.C. Now, the only thing we would like to point out in this regard is the reference to the 1956 representation of Fortas of Greenleaf Publishing Co., which at that time was owned by William Hamling. He did represent him, and the facts do jibe with what William Hamling said 10 years later in 1966. He said that at that time he had him for counsel.

Now, whether or not that is so, I do not know. But I do know that, *Corinth Publications* v. *Georgia*, involved William Hamling, who was operating in San Diego, Calif., Corinth Publications was wholly owned by William Hamling. And his books had been prosecuted in Georgia by the State literature commission, and found to be obscene by the court and the Georgia Supreme Court. It was on an injunction in which they filed their action against Corinth Publications, Inc., and the local distributor.

Now, this was the case which was in the U.S. Supreme Court and was passed upon by the U.S. Supreme Court. I might also point out that of the 20 sex paperback books, all but two were the same type. "Sin Whisper" is the only one that can be directly linked to William Hamling by virtue of his ownership of Corinth Publications. These books are what were known as the night stand books. Four years ago any vice officer, if he saw one of these in his town, would make an immediate arrest. These were considered the most obscene books available in the market. They started in Illinois. They were distributed by All-State News, Ray Kirk, from Chicago. In 1963, Ray Kirk was indicted for the distribution of these books. He escaped. They did not bring him to trial. They brought the secretary-treasurer, Secora, to trial. Kirk escaped from the Illinois jurisdiction. In *Illinois* v. *Secora*, dealing with three of these books, the jury found them to be obscene, and the Illinois Supreme Court affirmed. They did not take it further. The operation then went to New York, where they were set upon by the New York district attorneys, and became the subject of a series of cases there. One of them was *People* v. *Fried*, to which I referred. When it got up to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1964, the vote was to deny certiorari and let the conviction stand. Justice Goldberg was on the Court at that time. Thereafter, they went from New York down to San Diego, Calif., and became Corinth Publications, and began publishing what is known as the Corinth publications. And it was one of these books which was attacked by the Georgia jurisdiction and held to be obscene when ruled upon by the court.

Senator THURMOND. I just have a few questions here on this matter. I will propound these to you.

One of the activities of Greenleaf Publishing, I believe, was the publication of Rogue magazine.

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Now, do you have any information that Justice Fortas represented Rogue magazine, Greenleaf Publishing, or Mr. Hamling, in any other significant action, either before a court of law or in any administrative procedure?

Mr. CLANCY. Well, in the amicus brief in the *Roth* case, that brief is signed by Abe Fortas, his firm was of counsel. Therein is mentioned the fact that they represented Greenleaf Publishing Co. in the administrative hearing on an order to show cause why Rogue should not be given a second-class mailing permit. It also cites the district court case in which an injunction was sought against Summerfield to permit the passage of the Rogue magazine through the mail.

Hamling made an observation in the conversation that it was the Rogue permit which was issued broke the back of the resistance against girlie magazines passing through the mail. Playboy had a permit issued at the same time. But it was—this was the case which actually set the postal inspector back in this area.

Senator THURMOND. As I understand, you are saying that specifically Justice Fortas did represent Rogue magazine in the matter of obtaining second-class mailing permit privileges?

Mr. CLANCY. I have not seen the administrative hearing or the district court case. I have seen the appellate brief in which is mentioned the fact that that action, that representation did take place. And of course Mr. Hamling said as much in the statement to the law enforcement officer.

Senator THURMOND. In the *Roth* case, Justice Fortas' brief contended that judicial interpretation of the term "obscene" has supplied no workable standard for administration of the Federal statutes. He also argued that the Federal statutes were unconstitutional under both the first and fifth amendments, as vague and undefinable, invading the protected area of free speech.

Now, do you think that the arguments in this brief were reflected in the decisions of the Supreme Court considering the *Redrup* case?

Mr. CLANCY. Well, I would not—I have not examined in detail his arguments, and I do not say that he does not have—absolutely have the right to make these arguments that he did make in the *Roth* case. This is perfectly normal. But the question that I raise, and is raised by the Organization of Citizens for Decent Literature, is the propriety.

If I had represented the publisher in this area, and if I were carried on retainer—I do not know this is so—this is merely a question in my mind, whether his activities ceased between 1956 and 1966, because there is an indication from what Mr. Hamling said that possibly there was a retainer involved. If this did occur, I would be very circumspect in my review of obscenity cases. And, of course, one of the things in these cases, they were not even let out for argument. The normal occurrence—the usual occurrence in a situation like this, if a substantial question is raised in the original appeal or petition, the Court will grant the appeal and hear the issue, and then it will be let out for briefs on both sides. But this did not occur. The decisions in all of these cases, in all 23 cases, was summary without briefs by appellants, and responding briefs by the parties after jurisdiction had been noted. It was "petition for writ of certiorari granted, judgment reversed," whereas normally it would be petition for writ of certiorari granted, the issue is thus and so, and it is set for argument on such and such a date, at which time the appellants or the petitioners and the respondents file their respective brief bringing before the Court all of the arguments in the case.

Senator THURMOND. Now, the owner of Corinth Publications appears to be Mr. William L. Hamling, former publisher for Greenleaf Publishing, in Illinois, and publisher of Rogue magazine. Do you not feel that because of the role which Justice Fortas played in Mr. Hamling's earlier litigation, that the ethics demanded of a Supreme Court Justice that he should have disqualified himself from sitting in judgment upon Mr. Hamling's case in the matter of Corinth Publications?

Mr. CLANCY. Well, it would depend—I believe it would depend upon the extent of his activity in this area. I do not know what occurred between 1956 and 1966. Certainly if he was active or his firm were active in this area, he would from the nature of the publication recognize who the publisher was, or would have some indication, or would have reason to believe—because this area is headed by only a certain few individuals, and if you have any involvement in the obscenity area, any knowledge, you know the type of book, where it comes from, and who are the people behind it.

Now, I do not know, nobody knows, and this is a question which is raised, as to the extent of his involvement between 1956 and 1966. But Mr. Hamling seemed to indicate in 1965, in February, that he still had the counsel of someone in Washington, and that someone was Mr. Fortas. Now, whether or not he was boasting, that I do not know. Nor do we have any way of ascertaining whether or not there were retainers involved, because those are private matters between Mr. Hamling and his counsel.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Clancy, I want to thank you for coming here, for the contribution you have made to these hearings.

Mr. CLANCY. Thank you very much, sir. I would again make the offer to show both the documentary, and would like to show it to the full committee, and to the press, so that the people who are sitting—the press who should be interested in these peculiar results, would see just exactly what we are talking about. Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ERVIN. You have caused two or three questions to arise in my mind.

These decisions in obscenity matters are customarily based on the right of freedom of speech under the first amendment, are they not?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. And the Supreme Court recognizes, does it not, that there is no absolute right to free speech in respect to obscenity matters?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir. They made that ruling in 1957 in the *Roth* case.

Senator ERVIN. Now, the various States and various municipalities have adopted laws or ordinances in this subject, dealing specifically with various aspects of what they conceive to be obscenity?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir; every State in the Union and the Federal Government, based upon our heritage, which was brought over in the 1700's, the common law, obscene libel.

Senator ERVIN. And do you not agree with me that this is a field in which the most, the highest degree of respect should be accorded the local legislative bodies in this area?

Mr. CLANCY. Yes, sir. I agree with you, as I have agreed with every statement you have made in the other areas of the law.

Senator ERVIN. Thank you, sir.

Now, the result of the interpretation that the Supreme Court places on the first amendment in these cases is that the Supreme Court arrogates to itself the power to make standards or alleged standards by which the rights of 200 million Americans in this field are to be regulated, is that not true?

Mr. Clancy. That is the effect of these cases; yes, sir.

Senator Ervin. It illustrates in a very striking way the fact that the 200 million Americans are being ruled to a very large extent by the notions of the Supreme Court Justices rather than by the notions of people on the local level?

Mr. Clancy. Yes, sir. It affirms everything you said in the other area, which deals more in semantics than constitutional issues. But I might point out that none of the material—none of the subject matter in any of these cases has the slightest resemblance to any subject matter which would be believed to have constitutional protection. For that reason, I think they are unique.

Senator Ervin. And has not the Supreme Court in these cases normally acted by a sharply divided Court, often by five to four decisions?

Mr. Clancy. Yes, sir. Starting in 1957, it was a seven to two decision with Black and Douglas saying there is no such law. In the subsequent years between 1957 and 1967, there has been a shift in personnel in the Court, and it has been dominated by the Black and Douglas philosophy. So that it has become that situation over the years. It used to be seven to two. By the addition of personnel it now is up to the point where it is probably six to three against the people.

Senator Ervin. Doesn't that illustrate that when a new Justice ascends the Court, or an old Justice wavers in mind, that the Constitution of the United States is assigned a different meaning§

Mr. Clancy. Yes, sir. We make one point in our documentary, Senator, which I think has real relevance, and that is that Justices Black and Douglas at the time of the constitutional issue, they said there was no such thing as an obscenity law. They have been saying that for 10 years. And this is the real problem, because they have led with their dissent. And I make the argument, that leaning upon the argument of Justice Clark in the *Wade* case—he made mention of a principle in constitutional law—he said "In the *Miranda* decision I dissented originally, but that case having been decided, I am bound by that decision as other Justices are."

Justices Black and Douglas have not.

Senator Ervin. I might state that I was astounded by that statement of Justice Clark in the *Wade* case, as I recall, when he said that he thought the *Miranda* case was decided bad, that it was poor law, that it was not compatible with the Constitution—that is what he said in his concurring opinion in the *Miranda* case. And then when he got to the *Wade* case, he said he was bound by a decision which reached what he considered to be an unconstitutional decision. And how the Justice can reconcile that kind of position is something I am incapable of comprehending, because it would seem to me that his oath to support the Constitution, which he says he observed in the *Miranda* case, in his dissenting opinion, would have bound him to also continue to observe the Constitution in the *Wade* case.

But some Supreme Court Justices are like the Lord in one respect, they move in mysterious ways their wonders to perform.

Mr. Clancy. Senator Ervin, would you care to see the documentary? I notice you have a tremendous interest and tremendous knowledge of the Constitution. I have sat here and listened to you and you sound like a law professor. Would you care to see the documentary and the film?

Senator Ervin. I would like to if——

Mr. Clancy. Certainly it would add to your understanding of the cases in constitutional law.

Senator Ervin. The position of Black and Douglas in these cases is rather consistent with their position in other cases involving the right of freedom of speech. They essentially take the position that there is an absolute right of freedom of speech.

Mr. Clancy. Yes, sir.

Senator Ervin. And that therefore nobody should be permitted to sue for libel or slander, however, false the libel or slander should be——

Mr. Clancy. With one exception, sir. This is the interesting part of this case. I would like to go into it now. An explanation of what did occur in this term of the Court is as follows. They took the cases upon the scienter issue, whether or not the test was did he know the contents—*U.S.* v. *Rosen* said if you know the contents, and if it is held to be obscene, you can be held guilty. Or is it criminal liability, something beyond ordinary negligence. It was my personal opinion they were going to raise this test to the standard of criminal negligence.

They had enough votes in the nine members to establish that standard. But at the same time the case in *Time* v. *Hill* was before them. If you read that case, you will find that the issue was whether or not an action in New York could be brought for damages based upon the right of privacy assuming ordinary negligence. And they were split—one term of the Court they could not decide, so that they carried it over to the next term of Court. In order to have a constitutional principle, five persons have to agree, not only in the result, but in the reasoning. In *Time* v. *Hill*, they were split 3–2–2–2 and they would have had no constitutional judgment except for Black and Douglas, for the first time in history, crossing the line to agree, not only in the result, but in the reasoning. But they went on to say that "We do not believe this principle is going to stand, and it is going to fall," to arrive at a majority of five. If they had done the same thing in the obscenity case, and crossed over and created a different standard, they would have won the battle but lost their argument for absolute standards.

Senator Ervin. That is all the questions I have. Thank you very much for your statement.

The Chairman. Thank you, sir.

Exhibit 51

Citizens for Decent Literature Inc., Los Angeles, Calif.

I. CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

The document which you see before you is Public Law 90–100, passed by the Senate on September 12, by the House on September 21, and signed into law by President Johnson on October 3, 1967. In this action, Congress has created a Commission of 18 members, to be appointed by the President and to be known as the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. As a part of its findings, the Ninetieth Session of Congress declared that "the traffic in obscenity and pornography is a matter of national concern." Entrusted to this Commission by our Nation's representatives is the duty of ascertaining legislative, administrative, or other advisable and appropriate action which may be necessary to regulate effectively the flow of such material.

II. CHARLES KEATING

My name is Charles Keating. By profession I am an attorney. I have been an attorney for 19 years.

The bill which has just been explained to you represents the successful culmination of eight years of heroic effort, on the part of several concerned Senators and Congressmen, to initiate a congressional investigation into the smut racket, and the reasons for its phenomenal growth during the past decade. Finally in the year 1967, Congress has, by its action here, declared that this corruptive element has reached such proportions that it is a matter of national concern.

Eleven years ago, I and a group of business and professional friends, all heads of families, took a look at the condition of the newsstands in Cincinnati, Ohio, and came to the same conclusion. At that time, we formed a community unit, Citizens for Decent Literature, more commonly referred to as CDL. Since that time this community organization has been functioning in two areas: (1) in the area of education, to alert the community to the problem of obscenity, and (2) in the area of law enforcement, to ask for its control through enforcement of the community's anti-obscenity laws.

It wasn't long before other communities throughout the Nation followed our lead. In 1962, these community organizations, some 300 in number, joined forces with headquarters in Cincinnati to fight this problem, in a coordinated CDL attack at the national level.

For eleven years now we in CDL have followed this problem in the communities and through its tortuous path in the courtrooms. As the problem continued to grow unabated, our attorneys found it necessary to enter the courtroom as "amicus curiae"—friends of the court on behalf of the people's cause. It is this experience, both in the community and in the courtroom which has led us to form certain conclusions of our own.

We feel we know where the source of this Nation's difficulties is. We also believe we know what has to be done, if the flow of obscene materials is to be effectively regulated.

That this has become a major problem in this Nation, is attested to by the fact that a total of 38 cases, involving obscenity matters, appeared on the docket at the last session of the United States Supreme Court. The community standards of 13 states were drawn in issue in those cases: New York, California, Kentucky, Arkansas, Michigan, Georgia, Rhode Island, Virginia, Kansas, Ohio, Texas, Oklahoma and Florida. Of these 38 cases, 26 involved determinations whether certain materials were obscene and their dissemination a criminal offense under State and Federal laws. In every one of those 26 cases the State and Federal courts had held the subject matter to be obscene and on appeal the appellate courts had agreed. In eight of these cases the determinations were made by juries chosen from the communities involved.

While our findings on the source of this Nation's difficulty are based upon a 10-year study it is our opinion that we can prove our case by laying before this audience the facts and historical events surrounding these 26 obscenity cases, all of which were ruled upon by the United States Supreme Court during the 1966 October Term of the Court, which extended from October, 1966 to June, 1967. It is in the Nation's best interest that these unpublicized facts should at this time be taken out of the Court's files and laid before the eyes of this Nation for an evaluation. After you have examined the facts, we will ask you the question, "Where do you think the difficulty lies?" In that connection you will have certain observations of your own to make.

But first—a brief introduction on the background of this problem and the rationale and development of governmental efforts to control it is necessary if the recent Supreme Court decisions are to be viewed in their proper perspective.

III. OBSCENITY: ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

At the focal point of this issue is the obscenity crime, which in turn, has its roots in our Judeo-Christian culture, and the Common Law of our Anglo-Saxon heritage. How did this crime come into being and how is it related to the Judeo-Christian ethic? Well,—

The first obscene exhibition conviction came about in 1688 when an English community brought Sir Charles Sedley before the Common Law Courts, for exposing himself in the nude on the balcony of a tavern in Covent Garden, England, while urinating onto the courtyard below and delivering an obscene and blasphemous speech.

The English society in 1688, referred to in history as the "Gay Restoration Period of Charles the Second," was not unlike our present society today. Hedonism was rampant and the culture was becoming excessively sexual. Sir Charles Sedley himself was a rebel playwright, interested in bringing about this change in the social mores. Today, we have "rebels" in the same and other professions, who entertain the same idea. In place of the lewd exhibition on the balcony, we have the topless and bottomless performances in the bars throughout our communities.

Under the common law, the boundaries which described crimes were not set down in any written statutes or ordinances, but instead depended upon immemorial usage. Blackstone, the eminent jurist, in his famous commentary on the Common Law explains that the authority for Common Law doctrines rested entirely upon general reception and usage—that the only method of proving that this or that is a rule of the Common Law was by showing that it always had been the custom to observe it. In other words, the courts were the interpreters of the common conscience of the community. In 1688, the Common Law Courts in England responded to the community's needs and declared Sedley's conduct to be a Common Law crime.

Less than forty years later, the English novel came into being and immediately became pornographic. To meet that new social problem, the House of Lords in 1727, in a case involving the distribution of an obscene publication by a printer named Curl, drew an analogy to the law in Sedley's case and declared this type of conduct also to be a Common Law crime—the so-called "obscene libel."

In its opinion, the House of Lords, which is England's equivalent of our United States Supreme Court, reflected upon the "reason" for establishing the offense. A comparison was made with the maintenance of a bawdy house which everyone, at that time, recognized as an offense against the morals of the community. To permit a house of prostitution to exist in public would destroy public morality which, in turn, would destroy the "peace" of government, for government was nothing more than public order which, in turn, was dependent upon public morality. For the same reason, the dissemination of obscene materials was held to be a Common Law crime.

When the founding fathers settled in America shortly thereafter, they brought with them the Common Law of England, including the laws against lewd exhibitions and obscene publications. These principles were immediately absorbed into our laws through recognition by the early American courts, and were later codified in the laws of Congress and each of the States of our Union. Based upon Judeo-Christian norms, and designed for the protection of the family structure, which is at the root of the community's well-being, these laws have governed and have been the guiding beacons for this Nation for close to 200 years.

IV. OBSCENITY: THE MODERN SCENE

A modern attack on these Judeo-Christian principles was made in the United States Supreme Court in 1957, when two convicted retailers of obscenity, Samuel Roth and David Alberts, urged through their attorneys on appeal, that the principles expressed in the English Common Law cases of Sedley and Curl had been overruled by our founding fathers at the time the First Amendment to our Federal Constitution was adopted. Roth had been convicted of the federal offense of advertising and sending an obscene periodical, known as "American Aphrodite" through the mails. Alberts had been convicted on a state charge of possessing bizarre photographs of nude and scantily clad women, among which were many so-called bondage and flagellation photographs which he held for sale through the mails. By a 7-2 majority the 1957 Supreme Court rejected these arguments.

A closer look at these two cases is necessary because of several important principles which were involved and therein considered by the 1957 Court. They are important because they relate to the manner in which the Supreme Court handled the 26 cases being reviewed in 1966. First, how does one define obscenity and second, who is to make that determination? Is it a question of law, for the Court to decide, or is it a question of fact for the jury's determination?

In its opinion, the Court followed and adopted principles appearing in the prior case law, which had defined the test for obscenity as "Whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material, taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interest." Prurient interest was defined by the High Court as a "shameful or morbid interest in nudity, sex or excretion which goes substantially beyond customary limits of candor in description or representation."

The second question, "Who is to make the obscenity determination?" is of paramount importance because it frames a conflict which has an ancient origin in our government—the conflict between the powers of the judiciary and the powers of the community, as such. The most famous of such controversies occurred 50 years before this Nation's founding. In that instance, the American judiciary sought to reserve to themselves control of the determination of what in fact constituted a libel. The matter came to a head in the trial of John Peter Zenger for criminal libel in New York in 1735. There, trial judge Delancey instructed the jury that they need not resolve the "libel" issue since it was a "matter of law" for the judges to determine. Defense attorney Alexander Hamilton argued the contrary to the jury—that the matter was for *them* to decide. In freeing Zenger, the jury established the supremacy of the jury system on the American scene as a check and balance against an overbearing judiciary.

The right of the jury to determine questions of fact has, since this Nation's inception, held a favored position in the hearts of its people. Indeed, its deprivation was one of the causes for the American Revolution. That concept was to become one of the foundations of our Federal Constitution, appearing as a check and balance in Article 3, Section 2, which authorized Congress, acting for the people, to set the limits of the appellate jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court, and in the provisions relating to jury trials in the Sixth and Seventh Amendments of the Federal Constitution. The preeminence of this right was made perpetual in the Bill of Rights, as the Seventh Amendment, being recognized by the signatory states as one of the fundamental rights of self-government. The Seventh Amendment reads:

> "No fact tried by a jury, shall otherwise be reexamined *in any court of the United States*, than according to the rules of the Common Law." (Our emphasis.)

In the state trial of Alberts, a jury was waived by both parties, and the matter was tried to the judge. In the federal trial of Roth, however, the matter was tried to a jury which was instructed on the law governing obscenity by the trial judge. The jury instruction given by the judge is significant because (1) under our system of laws it represents the standard instruction which is given to any jury to govern its deliberations on questions of fact which are placed before them, and (2) it was approved by the United States Supreme Court in its decision in 1957. It read as follows:

> "In this case, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, you and you alone are the exclusive judges of what the common conscience of the community is * * * You judge the circulars, pictures and publications which have been put in evidence by present-day standards of the community. You may ask yourselves, does it offend the common conscience of the community by present-day standards."

The trial court's instruction said in effect that obscenity was a matter which developed upon the common conscience of the community, and this was a question of fact for the jury, i.e., the jury *not* the court was the arbiter of this issue.

In its historical context, the jury had always been regarded as synonymous with the conscience of the community. Maitland, in his History of English Law, says of the jury function:

> "The identification of the jury with the community has been a characteristic of juries from their earliest development in the Thirteenth Century as quasi-judicial finders of facts. The verdict of the jurors is not the verdict of twelve men; it is the verdict of the community * * * The royal justices seemed to feel that if they analyzed the verdict they would miss the very thing for which they are looking, the opinion of the country * * *"

Similarly, what is offensive to the community's conscience had always been regarded *in this country* as a question of fact for the jury. Judge Learned Hand, often called the father of modern obscenity law, pointed out in one landmark case that:

> "Whatever be the rule in England, in this country the jury must determine under instructions whether the book is obscene. The court's only power is to decide whether the book is so clearly innocent that the jury should not pass upon it at all."

The statement recognized the distinction brought about by the result in Zenger's case and our Federal Constitution.

In its opinion upholding the prior precedents, the majority in the United States Supreme Court in 1957 pointed to the trial judge's instructions to the jury, that the determination of obscenity was a matter for the jury, and held those instructions constitute a correct statement of the law.

V. THE 10 YEARS AFTER ROTH-ALBERTS

The smut industry, however, did not give up with the Roth-Alberts defeat in 1957. It increased its operations by geometric proportions and more than matched those efforts with its financial expenditures in the courtroom, during the next ten years. Their efforts in the courtroom did not fall upon deaf ears.

During this same period Justices Black and Douglas, the two dissenters in Roth-Alberts, continued their attack against the obscenity laws, refusing to follow or apply the law of the land laid down by the majority decision in 1957. Their unorthodoxy ran contrary to the prevailing rule in Constitutional Law, that, dissenting justices, having participated in a landmark constitutional consideration, are thereafter bound to abide by the majority opinion as are the rest of the jurists throughout the Nation. The founding fathers' distrust of an overreaching judiciary displayed remarkable insight.

In an interview in 1967, Justice Hugo Black was to remark that while he had never won the battle, he had about won the war. The accuracy of Black's statement is demonstrated by High Court's later action in a Florida case where, after jury trial and an unsuccessful appeal, the sale of "Tropic of Cancer" was initially enjoined in that state by the state judiciary. In 1964 the United States Supreme Court reversed the judgment of the Florida court in a 5–4 decision. The basis of

Justices Black's and Douglas' judgments, as members of the majority of five, was that there was no such thing as an obscenity law. Had their votes been disregarded as not in consonance with the law, the result would have been 4–3 to sustain the Florida judgment.

To add to this difficulty, the Court's membership after the Roth-Alberts decision was subjected to rapid change. With a change in membership came a change in philosophy. Liberal-turned-conservative Frankfurter was replaced by Goldberg, who, in turn, was replaced by the even more liberal Fortas, whose firm had several times represented the publisher whose books were to appear in 1966 before the Court—books like "Sin Whisper". Conservatives Whittaker and Burton were replaced by White and Stewart, neither of whom proved to be conservative in the area of public morals.

Justice Stewart ascended to the High Court in October 1958, from a seat on an intermediate federal appellate court, from which he had one year earlier ruled that, under our Federal Constitution, it was a question for the jury and not for the court whether or not photographs of nude females in provocative poses were obscene. Having attained the High Court, he changed his mind and adopted a more personal view in reviewing obscenity determinations on the ground that he knew obscenity when he saw it and "this is not that".

In the review of on Ohio movie case which had been before three Ohio courts and a total of 13 Ohio judges, Justice Brennan applied what he called a "national standards" test to hold the film "The Lovers" not obscene—a motion picture which depicted bed and bath scenes of sexual intercourse in the family home between the wife and a casual male house guest. A jury and the State of Ohio speaking through 12 of its Ohio justices, however, had held otherwise.

The Chief Justice in 1964 voted to reverse state obscenity determinations on procedural grounds and castigated the Attorney General of Kansas for employing judicial procedures specifically enacted by the State Legislature to cope with the problem. As a result, materials seized by the police and judged to be obscene in state courts were freed by the High Court on technical procedural grounds. While the Chief Justice in 1964 spoke out forcefully in favor of trying the conduct of the individual and committed himself to local standards, three years later he was to forget he had never advocated this view of the law.

In the cases following *Roth*, the Court and its individual members refused to analyze or consider the protests made on behalf of the communities regarding the people's right to a jury trial and the finality of a jury determination on questions of fact under the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution. In practice, the Court disregarded the application of that principle.

Each of the Justices was to demonstrate an inclination to follow his own personal view as to how the law should be applied. As new Justices mounted the Bench, those views grew wider apart.

As a consequence of this internal dissent, the High Court's opinions during the period, 1958 through 1965, read like masterpieces of confusion. If a ruling precedent is to be established, a majority of five justices are required to be in agreement on the principle involved. In almost all of these decisions, no such majority was to be found. In one such case, the Postmaster General was told by a much divided Court that he could not keep out of the mails material which was aimed at and appealed to the prurient interest of homosexuals—two Justices said the material was protected, three Justices said Congress had not authorized such administrative action.

Just when it appeared as though the Court was hopelessly deadlocked in its internal struggle, a group of decisions was handed down which gave hopes of a rational solution to the problem. On March 21, 1966, three and one-half months after briefing and oral arguments by the parties, a majority of six Justices managed to get together on principles to affirm the conviction of Edward Mishkin in New York for the printing and distribution of sado-masochistic material like "Bound in Rubber", "Swish Bottom", "Female Sultan", "Bondage Correspondent", etc. This was the same type of material distributed by Alberts and ruled upon by the Court in 1957 in *California* v. *Alberts.*

On the same data a majority of five managed to agree in principle that publisher Ginzburg was in violation of the Federal Postal Laws for his mailing of the periodical "Eros", a booked named "Housewives Handbook on Selective Promiscuity", and a newsletter named "Liaison". "Eros" was substantially the same type of publication as the periodical "American Aphrodite", mailed by and the subject of Roth's conviction in *U.S.* v. *Roth* in 1957.

In both of these cases, the majority appeared to be in complete agreement that the defendant's conduct was of primary importance and was determinative of whether the materials were obscene in the constitutional sense.

When the *Ginzburg* and *Mishkin* decisions became final on May 2, 1966, with the Court denying their petition for a rehearing, the stage was being set for the next term of Court. With the session drawing to a close, the Court ordered three retailers cases, which were before it, to be briefed and set for argument. The cases called for argument were *Redrup* v. *N.Y.*, *Austin* v. *Kentucky,* and *Gent* v. *Arkansas.*

VI. THE 1966 OCTOBER TERM

(*A*) *The Redrup, Austin & Gent materials and facts*

In the New York case, *Redrup,* newsstand seller on 42nd Street in New York City, was arrested for selling two paperback books "Lust Pool", and "Shame Agent" to a plainclothes officer. When the officer asked why he sold this "garbage", Redrup said, "There is worse stuff than that around * * *. I think these books here are worse," referring to girlie magazines that were on top of the counter. A three-judge trial court found him in violation of the New York obscenity statutes, which set the limits at hard-core pornography, and gave him a suspended sentence. A three-judge appellate court agreed and when Associate Justice Stanley H. Fuld of the New York Court of Appeals denied his application for an appeal to that court, Redrup brought his case to the United States Supreme Court.

In the Kentucky case, Austin, a wholesale distributor operating in several states and also the owner of a retail newsstand in Paducah, Kentucky, had been charged with violating Kentucky's obscenity statute in connection with the sale of the girlie magazines "Spree" and "High Heels" by his newsstand employee. Previous to the sale, several community organizations had complained to Austin about the sale of such girlie magazines in the community. His reaction was to move the rack behind the cashier's stand. At the trial, a jury in McCracken County Court found him in violation of the Kentucky statutes and upon his appeal, as was the custom in the Kentucky jurisdiction, he was given a complete new trial, this time in the higher McCracken Circuit Court. There, a second jury returned another "guilty" verdict. The Kentucky Court of Appeals, Kentucky's highest court, refused to reverse the conviction.

In the Gent case, the prosecuting attorney in Jefferson County, Arkansas, brought an action to halt the sale of eight girlie magazines: "Gent", "Swank", "Modern Man", "Bachelor", "Cavalcade", "Gentleman", "Ace", and "Sir". An advisory jury found all magazines to be obscene and the trial court concurred. On appeal, the Arkansas Supreme Court agreed, saying:

"In viewing the total contents of each of these publications, we think it can well be said that their dominant theme appeals only to the coarse and base in man's nature, and any literary merit is entirely coincidental. It is evident that the portrayal of sex in these magazines appeals to the prurient interest * * * Perhaps we lack sophistication, but to us, articles which, for example, indicate that our colleges are simply playgrounds for the indulgence of sexual pleasures, are completely obscene, and totally without any redeeming feature. Of course, we are not cognizant of the standards of Washington, New York, Chicago or San Francisco, nor is there any way for us to know the 'standard' of the Nation at large, but we think the evidence clearly establishes that the contents of the magazines in question are not compatible with the contemporary community standards in Pine Bluff, Arkansas."

In each of the three cases, the party appealing asked the Supreme Court in its petition to examine and rule upon a multitude of issues. Among these was the claim that the subject matter involved was not obscene.

The Court in all three cases denied the petition as to that ground, limiting its inquiries in the Redrup and Austin cases to the matter of "scienter", i.e., the issue of the defendant's "guilty knowledge", and in the Gent case to the validity of the injunctive statute. Thus, six members, a majority of the Court, ruled that insofar as these cases were concerned, the subject matter which they had examined was considered beyond the protection of the Federal Constitution and the cases were to be argued and decided on that basis. Justices Black, Douglas and Stewart dissented on the grounds that the obscenity of the subject matter should be briefed and argued for consideration by the Court.

The cases were set for oral argument on October 10th and 11th, the first cases to be heard at the beginning of the next term of Court.

The issue to be argued in Redrup and Austin was whether the Federal Constitution required a criminal intent which was something more than "knowledge of the contents" of what was being sold. The appellants were retailers who sold materials which were manufactured by other people, people like publisher Mishkin, whose jail sentence of three years had been approved by the High Court during the previous term. The United States Supreme Court had already ruled on this issue, but that was 70 years ago. At that time the 1896 Court had held that mere "knowledge of the contents" was sufficient, and that the public interest would not be served by permitting guilt or innocence to depend upon the subjective belief of the person who, with knowledge of the contents of what was before him, nevertheless distributed the same.

Pending the filing of briefs and oral argument in the three cases, the backlog of obscenity cases on the Court's calendar continued to grow. Three of the backlog cases had been filed with the Court two terms previous, eight had been filed during and carried over from the previous term of the Court. Fifteen more, involving obscenity determinations, were to be filed before the end of the Court's new term. With one exception, the defendants in these cases were retailers, like Redrup and Austin.

The type of materials brought before the High Court in these cases was uniform. There were 20 sex paperback books. Their titles were: "Sex Life of a Cop", "Lust School", "Lust Web", "Sin Servant", "Lust Pool", "Shame Agent", "Lust Job", "Sin Whisper", "Orgy House", "Sin Hooked", "Bayou Sinner", "Lust Hungry", "Shame Shop", "Flesh Pots", "Sinners Seance", "Passion Priestess", "Penthouse Pagans", "Shame Agent", "Sin Warden" and "Flesh Avenger"; 12 bondage books; a series of photographs of nude females in provocative poses with focus on the pubic area and suggested invitations to sexual relations; 8 motion picture films of the strip-tease type; 10 girlie magazines; one nudist magazine, and 2 home-made so-called "underground" films.

In 11 of these cases, the state courts (California, New York and Kansas) had used a hard-core pornography test in affirming the matter on appeal as being obscene.

(B) *The subject matter and facts in the 23 other rulings being appealed*

In *Keney* v. *New York,* two undercover policewomen purchased three paperback books: "Lust School", "Lust Web" and "Sin Servant" from Keney's store in Rochester, New York. Prior to the purchase Keney had told them some "hot" books and "spicy" books would be coming in, and, at the same time of the purchase, he referred to them as "hot" books and "spicy hot" books.

A Rochester jury convicted the defendant of violating the state obscenity law and on appeal, a three-judge court agreed, holding the books to be hard-core pornography under New York law. Chief Judge Desmond of New York's highest court denied Keney's petition to appeal. Having exhausted his right of appeal under state law, Keney brought his case to the United States Supreme Court.

In *Friedman* v. *N.Y.,* the owner of a store in the Times Square area in New York City sold 9 bondage books to a plainclothes police officer. Their titles were: "Bondage Boarding School," "English Spanking School," "Bound and Spanked," "Sweeter Gwen," "Traveling Saleslady Gets Spanked," "Bound to Please," "Heat Wave," "Bizarre Summer Rivalry" and "Escape Into Bondage Book No. 2," published by Satellite Publishing Co., 94 Montgomery Street, Jersey City, N.J. The arrest of Friedman by the New York police was based on the Mishkin conviction in New York—part of Mishkin's operations having been the reproduction of similar materials by another publisher—Nutrix Publishing Company at 35 Montgomery Street in Jersey City, N.J. The books were substantially the same as those involved in the *Alberts* case in 1957.

A three-judge trial court in the Criminal Court of the City of New York ruled that the books were hard-core pornography under New York law, and sentenced Friedman to 30 days in jail and fined him $500. A three-judge Appellate Court agreed and Associate Justice Stanley H. Fuld of New York's highest court denied Friedman's petition to appeal.

Three bondage books: "Promenade Bondage Volume 4," "Bondage Annual No. 1" and "Spanking Sisters," priced at $2.50 each, and packets of nude photos of females in provocative poses, priced at $1.50 per dozen were involved in the three New York cases: *Sheperd* v. *N.Y.*, *Lewis* v. *N.Y.*, and *Bloomberg* v. *N.Y.* In their sales pitch, the defendants touted their wares. When the purchasing officer asked Bloomberg, "Are these books good?", he replied, "Well, I have got some better if you can read French." The arrests on the bondage materials were also based on the Mishkin conviction in New York, Mishkin's reproductions being of similar bondage books. The arrests on the sale of nude photographs were predicated upon the conviction of one Harry Fried, who had previously been arrested for selling similar photos in New York and, whose conviction the United States Supreme Court had previously refused to reverse. In the *Fried* decision on June 22, 1964, only Justices Black, Douglas and Stewart had voted to reverse. Fried served a 60-day jail sentence.

A three-judge court in the Criminal Court in the City of New York held the subject matter to be hard-core pornography and proscribed by the New York State Obscenity Statute. Lewis and Bloomberg were sentenced to 60 days and fined $500, and Sheperd was sentenced to 30 days. On appeal, the three cases were consolidated. A three-judge Appellate Court affirmed the judgments and Associate Justice Stanley H. Fuld of the Court of Appeals denied their consolidated application for leave to appeal.

The sale of nude photos and a bondage book titled, "Promenade Bondage Vol. 4" was the cause for five other New York cases: *"Avansino* v. *N.Y., Sessa* v. *N.Y., Strombelline* v. *N.Y., Gaggi* v. *N.Y.* and *Costanza* v. *N.Y.* In the five cases, several hundred photos were entered into evidence, having been purchased by officers or seized at the time of the arrest. The defendants used the same sales pitches; such as, "Isn't that good enough"? "This is a little better—these are in color," and "These are the best in the whole Times Square area."

In separate trials, a 3-judge court in the Criminal Court of the City of New York held the photographs to be hard-core pornography, and the materials proscribed by the New York State Obscenity Statute. Avansino was sentenced to 60 days and fined $500, Costanza to three months and fined $500, Gaggi to 30 days and fined $500, and Sessa and Strombelline to 30 days and fined $500. On appeal a 3-judge Appellate Court consolidated the cases and affirmed the convictions and Associate Justice Stanley H. Fuld of the Court of Appeals denied the petitioner's application for leave to appeal.

The females in the nude photos in the eight New York cases were posed in such a manner that attention is directed to a display of the bare breasts. Legs are spread to focus on the crotch and emphasize the pubic area with an illusion of nakedness in that area being suggested by the display of hands, a cloth, or a thin semi-transparent lace garment. The buttocks of many are elevated and thrust toward the camera, as if in invitation to sexual intercourse or perversion (sodomy). Another perversion (lesbianism and group orgies) is suggested by group shots of naked females in physical contact or in positions suggesting intercourse.

The eight girlies strip-tease films, which were before the United States Supreme Court, were exhibits from four obscenity convictions: One in New York and three in California. In all four cases the material was ruled to be hard-core pornography.

In the New York case, a plainsclothes officer told the defendant Cobert that he would like to get some "bachelor type films to show at an art party he was throwing." Thereafter, Cobert brought the officer six 50-foot rolls of 8 mm. color film. The officer purchased one 50-foot roll for $5.20 and seized the others which had been offered for sale. The container for the film which the officer purchased showed a black and white picture of a woman depicted in the film emphasizing her nakedness in a sexually suggestive pose. Total filming time for each of the 50-foot rolls was almost three minutes. In two of the films the woman performed naked and although in much of the footage the pubic area was covered by the strategic placement of the hands and thighs, portions of that region were at times visible to the viewer. In the second film, the woman wore a brief covering over her pubic area.

A 3-judge court in the Criminal Court of the City of New York held three of the films: "June Palmer No. 2", "M Jordan" and "June Tracy" to be hard-core pornography and sentenced the defendant to a year in jail and a $500 fine. On appeal, a 3-judge Appellate Court upheld the judgment but reduced the sentence to 60 days in jail and a $500 fine. The Court of Appeals affirmed in a 4-3 decision with Justices Dye, Fuld and Bergan dissenting.

In California, Ratner, a pornographer with one conviction and several Los Angeles arrests, moved to Redwood City in northern California where he opened a small shop selling sex books, magazines and films. Shortly thereafter, the city police purchased a 200-foot roll of 8 mm. black and white strip-tease film entitled, "Honey Bee", and charged him with a violation of the State Obscenity Statute. The 14-minute film opens with a well-endowed but clothed female sitting on the edge of a couch. She slowly proceeds to strip her sweater, skirts, bra, panties, garter belt, stockings and shoes until she is nude, after which she proceeds through several movements on the couch during which the camera is focused mainly on her breasts, buttocks, and pubic area with the female taking care to mask the shaved pubic area with her hands and thighs.

A Redwood City jury found Ratner to be in violation of the California State Obscenity Statute and a 3-judge Appellate Court in San Mateo County affirmed with the comment that, "We can deal in semantics at great length, however, the best expression is that of Justice Stewart 'when we see it, we know it'. In 'Honey Bee' we have seen it and we know it to be obscene and to be hard-core pornography." Ratner's appeal went directly to the United States Supreme Court.

A second California girlie film case involved Wenzler, the owner of the Oaks Theater in Pasadena, California, a theater catering to girlie films. In an across the counter transaction in 1961, an employee named Imlay sold a 200-foot reel of 8 mm. film to a Pasadena City plainclothes policeman who had asked for some film to show at a stag party. The 15-minute film, which cost $15.60, opened with a well-endowed brunette seated at a bar in a private residence clothed in a one-piece hip length opaque chemise-type garment that resembled leopard skin, tied on the left side like a sarong. Under the garment was a one-piece ballet-type black panties and stockings. As the camera focused on numerous close-ups of the legs, inner thigh and crotch, the female moved about seductively and lifted her dress to show her black panties. She then moved on to a couch where she continued her provocative motions during which time she lowered her dress to show a black lace bra from which she briefly displayed her right breast. She then removed her dress and lifted her right breast out of her bra shaking it at the audience. During all of these movements the camera focused on her breasts, buttocks, crotch and pubic area. The female then moved into a bedroom, beckoning the audience to follow her. There she resumed the same provocative movements on a bed first baring both breasts and squeezing them together, then slowly and seductively stripping her bra, garters, panties, net stocking and shoes until she was nude. Throughout her bed movements she beckons to the audience to come join her, shaking her breasts several times at the viewers. The film ends with a focus of her kneeling on the bed, her feet straddled wide and private parts pressed against the bed, showing her to have a shaved pubic area.

The trial court found Wenzler to be in violation of the California State Obscenity Statute, sentenced him to a 30-day jail sentence and the conviction was upheld by a 3-judge Appellate Court in Los Angeles County. The matter was then appealed to the United States Supreme Court which, on June 21, 1964, refused to reverse the conviction. At that time only Justice Douglas voted to grant the hearing. Following this, Wenzler's attorney tried to upset the conviction by a different route. He moved into the Federal Court and asked for a habeas corpus writ, which was denied by the Federal District Court in Southern California and by the Court of Appeal for the Ninth Circuit, both of which held the film to be hard-core pornography. Five years after the date Wenzler was convicted, Wenzler's attorney petitioned the United States Supreme Court, bringing the case before the High Court for a second time.

In the third girlie film case from California, Shackman, the owner of a nudie film arcade on Main Street in downtown Los Angeles, exhibited three 16 mm. motion picture films, entitled "D–15", "O–7", and "O–12", in his peep show machines and sold 8 mm. versions of the same across the counter. Los Angeles Vice-Officers viewed the films in the machine, purchased three 200-foot rolls of the 8 mm. copies and arrested Shackman.

Prior to his trial in the State Criminal Court, Shackman's attorney brought an action in the Federal Court against the City Attorney in an unsuccessful attempt to stop the prosecution on the ground that the film was not obscene. After viewing the film, Federal District Judge Hauk denied the relief sought and made the following ruling on the three films:

"The film, O–12, * * * was viewed by the court. The film consists of a female model clothed in a white blouse opened in front, a half-bra which exposed the upper half of the breasts including the nipples and a pair of white capri pants (which are soon discarded) under which the model wears a pair of sheer panties through which the pubic hair and region are clearly visible. The film consists of the model moving and undulating upon a bed, moving her hands, and lips and torso, all clearly indicative of engaging in sexual activity, including simulated intercourse and invitations to engage in intercourse. There is no music, sound, story-line or dancing other than exaggerated body movements. On at least three occasions, the female by lip articulation is observed to say, '——— you', '——— me'. The dominant theme of the film taken as a whole, obviously is designed to appeal to the prurient interest in the sex of the viewer and is patently offensive in that the focus of the camera returns again and again to the genital and rectal areas clearly showing the pubic hair and the outline of the external parts of the female genital area. The film is entirely without artistic or literacy significance and is utterly without redeeming social importance."

"The film O–7 is virtually the same as exhibit 1. The model wears a garter belt and sheer transparent panties through which the pubic hair and external parts of the genitalia are clearly visible. For at least the last one-half of the film, the breasts are completely exposed. At one time the model pulls her panties down so that the pubic hair is exposed to view. Again, the focus of the camera is emphasized on the pubic and rectal region and the model continuously uses her tongue and mouth to simulate a desire for, or enjoyment of, acts of a sexual nature. The dominant theme of the material, taken as a whole, appeals to a prurient interest in sex of the viewer and is patently offensive in its emphasis on the genital and rectal areas, clearly showing the pubic hair and external parts of the female genital area. The film is entirely without artistic or literary significance and is utterly without redeeming social importance."

"The parties stipulated that the film D–15, . . . is substantially the same in character and quality as the films introduced as exhibits one and two. The court therefore finds that as to exhibit 3, the dominant theme of the film, taken as a whole, appeals to a prurient interest in sex of the viewer and is patently offensive and is utterly without redeeming social importance."

Thereafter, in the State Criminal trial, a Los Angeles jury found the defendants to be in violation of the State Obscenity Statute, and a 3-judge Appellate Court in Los Angeles County affirmed, holding the films to be hard-core pornography under the State Obscenity Statute.

The 11 books you see before you—"Sin Hooked," "Bayou Sinner", "Lust Hungry", "Shame Shop", "Flesh Pot", "Sinners Seance", "Passion Priestess", "Penthouse Pagans", "Shame Market", "Sin Warden", "Flesh Avenger", came to the Court from the Kansas jurisdiction, where the Kansas Supreme Court in a decision handed down on July 14, 1966, ruled them to be hard-core pornography. In its unanimous opinion the seven members of the Kansas Supreme Court said of this material:

"The books are indistinguishable from those found to be 'hard-core pornography' by this Court in *State* v. *Quantity of Books.*"

The Kansas court was referring to 31 books which it had held to be hard-core pornography in a case decided by it two years earlier. Those books were: "Born For Sin", "No Longer a Virgin", "Sin Girls", "Sin Hotel", "Miami Call Girl", "Lesbian Love", "Sex Jungle", "The Lustful Ones", "The Wife Swappers", "Sex Model", "The Lecher", "Lust Goddess", "Sin Camp", "$20 Lust", "Convention Girl", "The Isle of Sin", "Orgy Town", "Sex Spy", "Trailer Trollop", "Flesh Is My Undoing", "Sex Circus", "Malay Mistress", "The Sinning Season", "Sin Song", "Passion Slaves", "The Sinful Ones", "Lover", "Love Nest", "Passion Trap", "Sin Cruise", and "Seeds of Sin". In 1964 the United States Supreme Court had reversed the earlier judgment on procedural grounds but had said nothing of the Kansas Supreme Court's ruling that they were hard-core pornography.

The Kansas Supreme Court went on to say as to the 11 books which were presently before them:

"The 11 books here considered relate to the exclusion of anything else, the illicit sexual capers of the principal figures, running the gamut in drawn out episodic form, chapter by chapter, of feats of sexual prowess and perversion in one form or another. Each is nothing more than a series of vulgar caricatures, patently offensive, with no appeal of any kind except to the prurient. We have little difficulty in concluding this material, weighed separated from the foregoing, is utterly without redeeming social importance * * *. It is not that the books lack literary merit—which they do—they simply lack any redemptive features of social value or importance.

"Each of the 11 contain a frontispiece paragraph and one on the back cover blatantly pointing up the strong sex. No other appeal is made. The format is the same in all the books—paperback—obviously mass produced, exactly 190 pages in length, strong sex and perversion with repetitive regularity in each chapter, literally appealing to pruriency from cover to cover."

From this judgment, the distributor took an appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

A paperback entitled, "Sin Whisper" from the same mold as those ruled to be hard-core pornography by the Kansas Supreme Court was before the Georgia Supreme Court on December 18, 1966. That court described the material as:

"The book entitled 'Sin Whisper' is composed substantially of lengthy detailed, and vivid accounts of preparation for and acts of normal and abnormal sexual relations between and among its characters * * *. The book * * * considered as a whole has as its predominant appeal the arousing of prurient interest in the average man of our national community * * * has no redeeming literary or social value or importance and goes substantially beyond the customary limits of candor in description and representation of its subject matter and * * * judged as a whole by Georgia statutory standards * * * is obscene * * *. The book is filthy and disgusting. Further description is not necessary and we do not wish to sully the pages of the reported opinions of this court with it."

The publisher, Corinth Publications, Inc., a corporation wholly owned by William Hamling, once told investigating law enforcement officers that they should go back to chasing spies and that he could beat them anywhere in the United States; that he hired the best attorneys and that one of these was Abe Fortas in Washington, who could fix anything no matter who was in power. He further boasted that he had paid Fortas $11,000 to get his mailing permit for the girlie magazine "Rogue". Fortas' law firm had in 1957 filed an amicus brief on behalf of Greenleaf Publishing Co., publisher of "Rogue", urging the reversal of the Roth conviction. On December 14, 1966, Corinth Publications, Inc., filed its appeal in the United States Supreme Court This time Hamling had a new attorney. His ex-attorney Abe Fortas had been appointed to the bench and was to sit in judgment on his former client's claims.

"Lust Job", another paperback from the same publisher, had been found to be obscene by a 12-member jury in the Federal District Court of Rhode Island, and its distributor, Books, Inc., convicted of the federal offense of sending the same across state lines into Massachusetts. On appeal, the 3-judge Court of Appeals for the First Circuit agreed. Of the book the Circuit Court of Appeals said:

"The pages set forth, in the form of a novel, a tale exclusively devoted to the sexual adventure of its principal characters, Adulterers, seductions, and orgies are the only evidence of importance. The contacts described include not only sexual intercourse, but sodomy and other perversions * * *. There was adequate evidence in the text of the novel, without any reference to the covers, to warrant a factual determination that the dominant theme of the book taken as a whole appeals to a prurient interest in sex, that the book is patently offensive because it affronts contemporary community standards relating to the description of sexual matters, and that the material is utterly without redeeming social importance."

The appeal on the paperback "Orgy House" had come from the State of Ohio. There a 12-member jury in Cincinnati convicted Louis Mazes of commercially possessing an obscene book, "Orgy House", in violation of the Ohio State Obscenity Statute. A 3-judge Appellate Court agreed, as did the 7-member Ohio Supreme Court in a unanimous decision. The crime took place in November 1962. Four years later, in December 1966, Mazes filed his appeal with the United States Supreme Court.

The lone "publisher" case before the Court was Aday and Maxie v. United States, convicted by a federal jury in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1963 of sending an obscene paperback book entitled, "Sex Life of a Cop" across state lines. James Jackson Kilpatrick in his book, "The Smut Peddlers" describes Aday as an ex-convict who served 2½ years in San Quentin from April 1946 to December 1948, on a conviction for pimping and pandering. Published by Aday in 1960, "Sex Life of a Cop" was immediately held to be obscene in a trial court in Mahoning County, Ohio. There Common Pleas Trial Judge Maiden in a 3,000 word outline of the plot of the book:

"As to the story, it is difficult to purvey in a few words the sexual orgies had by the two principal characters * * *. Thirteen out of the 15 vividly display acts of illicit sexual relations with various women of the community including the mayor's wife, the wife of the chief of police, and the judge's wife * * *."

In agreeing with the trial judge the Mahoning County Court of Appeals said in 1962:

"It is the careful considered opinion of this court that this book, judged by the measuring stick of the Roth case, has a dominant theme of the material taken as a whole, applying contemporary community standards, which appeals to the prurient interest. We cannot see how any other conclusion can be drawn after reading the book * * *."

The Ohio Supreme Court denied a hearing, but the publisher elected not to take the case to the United States Supreme Court at that time.

In California where the book was published, the State Supreme Court had the same opinion of the book. In 1961, the court unanimously held that there was probable cause to believe it obscene, and again, in 1964, refused to overrule an indictment against Aday based upon his distribution of the same book. The California prosecutor suspended prosecution of that case, as did at least ten other jurisdictions in the United States, awaiting the outcome of the appeal on Aday and Maxie on the federal conviction. On appeal, Circuit Judge O'Sullivan of the Circuit Court of Appeals, speaking for the 3-judge court, said:

"Our task is lightened by our view that the challenged book is by any standard obscene. It was inevitable that in today's bold and flourishing business of pornography there would come along a writing so bad that no amount of sophisticated dialectics could absolve it from classification as 'hard core'. Such is the book we deal with.

"The 147 pages of the alleged novel are generously faithful to the promise of the blurb. Without palliating interruption, the story moves quickly from one sexual encounter to another. So numerous are these events that even the practiced skill of the author runs out of fresh imagery and dully repeats his supply of dreary adjectives. The chief actors are a police sergeant and his fellow occupant of the appropriately-named prowl car. These officers, except for some needed rest from their amours, devote most of their on-duty and off-duty hours to successful sex encounters with whatever females come within their view. Their conquests range from a virgin to a $100 prostitute. The wives of the chief of police and the mayor of the town, the new female police dispatcher, friendly waitresses, two nurses who promptly take off their clothes when the busy officers otherwise unheralded, climb through their open window, a drunken 'society' lady who is first rescued from a corner lamp post and then raped in the back seat of the prowl car, and a miscellany of other willing ladies make up the cast. Every female identified in the story is easy prey for the officers. With their husbands away, some married ladies gain the officers' sexual services by false night calls to the police dispatcher complaining of a prowler. Chivalrous response by the prowl car is rewarded by amorous reception. Even the wife of his fellow officer is not overlooked by Sergeant Thorne. The drama concludes with a smashing denouncement when the sergeant discovers, as an eyewitness, his owned beloved Alice has been enjoying his outranked prowl car pal's offerings * * *.

"We cannot believe that the First Amendment's great guarantees of freedom of expression can be elasticized to embrace 'Sex Life of a Cop'. We conclude this part of our opinion with imitation of the wise and time-saving succinctness employed by Mr. Justice Potter Stewart * * * may we then, exercising the common sense which we like to think is a mark of today's federal judges, say that we know hard-core pornography when we see it, and 'Sex Life of a Cop' is just that."

A group of nudist magazines, 107 in all, were before the Court having been seized by police on a search warrant in the arrest of Rosenbloom in Richmond, Va., for selling a nudist magazine "Solis" in violation of the state obscenity statute. The magazine which was purchased and which was the basis of the charge was printed entirely in German. Rosenbloom was convicted in the Richmond police court and on appeal, retried in the Hustings Court where the trial judge characterized the defendant's arguments that the magazines were designed to foster the emotional benefits to be obtained from nudism as "so much manure and so little grass". On appeal, the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia refused to upset the conviction, holding the trial judge's ruling to be "plainly right".

One other girlie magazine was before the Court as an exhibit in a New York case involving the Special New York Minor's Statute, Section 484(i) and a sale of the girlie magazine "Candid" to a 17-year-old minor. Tannenbaum, the retailer, was convicted in the trial court and the New York Court of Appeals upheld the conviction on the minor's statute which tested that material by its appeal to the minor rather than the average person.

The last two cases, Landau v. Fording, a California case, and New York v. Jacobs and Mekas, a New York case, involved two homemade 16 mm. so-called "underground" films, "Un Chant D'Amour" and "Flaming Creatures". Threatened with arrest if he showed the film "Un Chant D'Amour" on the Berkeley campus, Landau brought a declaratory judgment in the California Superior Court to have the 30-minute film declared to be protected material.

After full trial on the merits, Alameda Superior Court Judge Phillips held the film to be hard-core pornography. A 3-judge District Court of Appeal agreed, describing the film as follows in its opinion:

"Un Chant D'Amour" is a 16 mm. silent film of about 30 minutes' duration, made in the style of the short silent films of the 1920's and apparently and deliberately ambiguous * * *.

"The setting is an unnamed prison cell block in an unnamed place. The principal characters are a guard and four prisoners. At the outset, the guard is walking outside the prison walls. Each prisoner is alone in his cell, engaged in various acts of self love and masturbation. The prisoners are also shown communicating with each other by knocking on the walls and by the passage of a straw through a hole in the thick wall between the cells, and the blowing of smoke through a straw. Two of the prisoners are clearly involved in a homosexual relationship. The guard in the course of his duties looks into each of the individual cells through peep holes and observes the prisoners. Their acts of sexual perversion and particularly the conduct of one hairy-chested prisoner arouses the guard's voyeuristics and latent homosexual tendencies. The film reaches a climactic ending in a sadistic meeting of the hairy-chested prisoner by the algolacnic guard. In the last scene the guard is again walking outside the prison wall.

"In the last half of the film, the realistic scenes in the prison are interspersed with three series of brief recurring fantasy scenes that may or may not be the fantasy of some or only one of the characters. In the final series, two hands emerge from their individual barred cell windows and one hand attempts unsuccessfully to throw a garland of flowers to the other. Toward the end of the film, the garland is caught. In the second series of fantasy scenes (most likely those of one or both of the prisoners who are homosexually involved with each other), the prisoners are playing together in a romantic sunlit wood. During the third series (most likely those of the guard during the beating), two male heads are seen passionately kissing; two male torsos appear in various positions depicting fellatio, sodomy, and oral copulation. The fantasy scenes increase in intensity during the film. At several points, the fantasy and the reality appear to merge; for example, in one scene, a prisoner puts on his jacket; he is next seen wearing the jacket in the sentimental woods fantasy. The portrayals of sexual perversion occupy in excess of half of the footage of the film * * * as Mr. Justice Stewart noted in Jacobellis * * * hard-core pornography * * * is hard to define but he 'knew it when I see it.' We think we have seen it in 'Un Chant D'Amour'. It is nothing more than hard-core pornography and should be banned."

The California Supreme Court refused a petition for a hearing in that court by a 4–3 decision, with Justices Tobriner, Peters and Mosk dissenting.

In the New York case, Jacobs and Mekas were convicted by a 3-judge trial court in New York County for exhibiting the film "Flaming Creatures" in violation of the state obscenity statute. The home-made film, produced by Jack Smith, has gained a notorious reputation for its homosexual content. The 40-minute film presents five unrelated, badly filmed sequences, which are studded with sexual symbolisms. Amapola and other recordings are heard as background music. Included in the first sequence of 17 minutes is a mass rape scene involving two females and many males, which lasts for 7 minutes, showing the female pubic area, the male penis, males massaging the female vagina and breasts, cunnilingus, masturbation of the male organ, and other sexual symbolisms. The second sequence which lasts approximately three minutes shows lesbian activity between two women. The third sequence, about 7 minutes in duration shows homosexual acts between a man dressed as a female, who emerges from a casket, and other males, including masturbation of the visible male organ. The fourth and fifth scenes show homosexuals dancing together and other disconnected erotic activity, such as massaging the female breasts and group sexual activity. Jacobs and Mekas were found guilty by the trial court and sentenced to 60 days in the New York City workhouse, but execution of the sentence was suspended. The Appellate Court in New York refused to reverse the conviction.

VII. THE HIGH COURT'S RULINGS ON MAY 8, 1967, AND JUNE 12, 1967

Expectations were high on October 10, 1966, as attorneys for the people and CDL counsel, as amicus curiae, climbed the 42 marble steps of the United States Supreme Court building and headed for the bronze doors which offered admission to the towering edifice and oral arguments in the Redrup, Austin and Gent cases. Behind the people were 10 years of unremitted toil and outstanding success in the local communities and courtrooms—years in which the communities had, by their courtroom verdicts, indicated a high standard of public morals, and complete disapproval for the rising tide of obscenity which was flooding the Nation. Not only had the 26 obscenity verdicts which were awaiting decision cleared all legal hurdles in the state courts, but the 26 represented only a sampling of the total number of such community victories in recent years, most of which had never been appealed.

The subject matter which was before the Court was unquestionably smut—20 sex paperbacks, 8 girlie strip-tease films, hundreds of prurient photos of females in provocative poses, bondage materials, girlie and nudist magazines—all of it material which degraded the sex function. Out of the past, one could hear the voice of Justice John Marshall Harlan, speaking in his opinion in the *Roth* case:

"The state can reasonably draw the inference that over a long period of time the indiscriminate dissemination of materials, the essential character of which is to degrade sex, will have an eroding effect on moral standards * * *. Since the domain of sexual morality is preeminently a matter of state concern, this Court should be slow to interfere with state legislation calculated to protect that morality * * *."

In the more distant annals of history could be heard the arguments in the House of Lords in Curl's case, which first established the obscenity crime:

"As to morality, destroying that is destroying the peace of government, for government is no more than public order, which is morality * * * the court is the custos mores of the King's subjects * * *."

These nine men in black robes were the custodians of our public morality. As the English high court had checked the flight toward hedonism in 1688, so in the year 1966 it appeared as though history were to repeat itself. Only last term the Court had upheld Mishkin's jail sentence of three years and Ginzburg's term of five years and had refused to consider the obscenity ruling in the three cases which were being argued.

During arguments, Justices Black and Stewart attempted to expand the issues. Justice Stewart inquired whether the Kentucky case should not be reversed for failure of the trial court to instruct the jury properly on the issue of obscenity. In responding, Kentucky Attorney General John Browning advised the Court that, because of the Court's initial ruling against the defendants on that issue, the state had not taken time to brief and was not prepared to argue other issues, whereupon Justice Clark reminded the justices that, by virtue of the Court's prior ruling, it must be assumed that the subject matter was obscene. No member of the Court bothered to reply to Justice Clark's statement, nor was the obscenity issue inquired into thereafter.

At the close of the oral arguments, the parties submitted their cases on the issue of scienter, i.e., knowledge that the material was obscene, and withdrew to await the Court's action which was expected within a few months. Of the 13 cases argued in the past 10 years, six had been handed down two months after oral arguments, five had taken three months, and two had taken four months. The two months of waiting stretched into four, then five, then six, and finally on May 8th, seven months after argument, the Court handed down its decision in the three cases—a decision which reversed its initial ruling on the obscenity issue and completely ignored the only issue as to which it had asked for briefing and argument.

The arbitrary nature of the Court's action cannot be overemphasized. One year earlier six members of the Court had entertained no difficulty in finding the subject matter *not* to be constitutionally protected. Then, after finding themselves unable to agree on the only issue argued—and seven months is an extraordinary long period of time for the Court to debate any issue—the majority changed its mind, as if controlled by the flip of a coin. Without asking for argument on the obscenity issue from the people, the Court said:

"The Court originally limited review in these cases to certain particularized questions, upon the hypothesis that the material involved in each case was of a character described as 'obscene in the constitutional sense' * * * but we have concluded that the hypothesis upon which the Court originally proceeded was invalid, and accordingly that the cases can and should be decided upon a common and controlling fundamental constitutional basis * * *."

Justices Harlan and Clark took issue with the Court's attitude. In a strong dissent, those justices said:

"The Court disposes of the cases on the issue that was deliberately excluded from review, and refuses to pass on the questions that brought the cases here.

"In my opinion these dispositions do not reflect well on the processes of the Court, and I think the issues for which the cases were taken should be decided. Failing that, I prefer to cast my vote to dismiss the writs in Redrup and Austin as improvidently granted and, in the circumstances, to dismiss the appeal in Gent for lack of a substantial federal question."

In its short opinion of less than 600 words, the majority of seven disposed of the three cases. *Redrup* v. *Austin*, involving the paperback books, "Shame Agent" and "Lust Pool," which the New York judiciary had held to be hard-core pornography—*reversed. Austin* v. *Ky.*, involving the girlie magazines, "Spree" and "High Heels," which two Kentucky juries and the Kentucky judiciary had ruled obscene under the Kentucky statutes—*reversed. Gent* v. *Arkansas*, involving the girlie magazines, "Gent," "Swank," "Modern Man," "Bachelor," "Cavalcade," "Gentlemen," "Ace" and "Sir," which an Arkansas jury, the trial court, and the Arkansas Supreme Court had ruled unacceptable to Arkansas standards of public morality—*reversed.*

As the judgments were being sounded, the people's attorneys could not help looking in wonderment to the panel carved in marble on the west wall—"Justice" with winged figures of "Divine Inspiration," flanked by "Truth" and "Wisdom." On the right were "Powers of Evil," "Corruption," "Slander," "Deceit" and "Despotic Powers" and on the left were groups symbolizing "Powers of Good," "Defense of Virtue," "Charity," "Peace," "Harmony" and "Security."

As the opinion was read aloud those familiar with the Court transcripts and the subject matter in the three cases were overwhelmed by an atmosphere of irony as they examined the surroundings—the echoing marble hall, the elegant mahogany furnishings harmonizing with the red velour hangings and the sienna tints of the Italian marble columns—the tourists sitting in reverent silence or walking on tiptoe, whispering to each other, as though they were in a cathedral—the mystique which clothed the nine justices with an air of Solomonic wisdom.

As the seven justices put their individual stamp of approval of the commercial depictions of sex orgies and degradation in "Lust Pool" and "Shame Agent" and the voyeuristic portrayals in "High Heels" and "Spree," silencing the objecting voices of the jury verdicts and State court pronouncements, CDL attorneys could not help but question whether the Court itself was not operating under a double standard of conduct. Rule 40 of the Revised Rules of the Supreme Court of the United States governing conduct before the United States Supreme Court, established by the justices themselves, stood out like a sore thumb.

"Briefs must be free from * * * scandalous matter. (Those) not complying may be disregarded and stricken by the Court."

Those who sought for hidden meaning in the three cases were made aware of the futility of that search by the Court's further pronouncement in the 23 other cases five weeks later. *Keney* v. *N.Y.*, involving the paperback books, "Lust School", "Lust Web" and "Sin Servant", which the New York judiciary had called hard-core pornography—*reversed*; Freedman, involving 9 bondage books, which the New York judiciary had held to be hard-core pornography—*reversed; Sheperd* v. *N.Y.*, *Lewis* v. *N.Y.*, *Bloomberg* v. *N.Y.*, involving three bondage books and nude photos of females in provocative poses, which the New York judiciary had held to be hard-core pornography—*reversed; Avansino* v. *N.Y.*, *Sessa* v. *N.Y.*, *Strombelline* v. *N.Y.*, *Gaggi* v. *N.Y.*, and *Costanza* v. *N.Y.*, involving one bondage book and several hundred nude photos of females in provocative poses, which the New York judiciary had held to be hard-core pornography—*reversed; N.Y.* v. *Cobert*, involving three girlie strip-tease films, which the New York court had held to be hard-core pornography—*reversed; Ratner* v. *Calif.*, involving a girlie strip-tease film, entitled, "Honey Bee", which a California jury and the California appellate system had held to be hard-core pornography—*reversed; Shackman* v. *Calif.*, involving the girlie strip-tease films "D–15", "O–7" and "O–12", which a Los Angeles jury, a federal district judge, and the California appellate system had held to be hard-core pornography—*reversed; Quantity of Books* v. *Kansas*, involving 11 paperback books, which the Kansas Supreme Court had held to be hard-core pornography—*reversed; Corinth Publications* v. *Georgia*, involving the paperback book "Sin Whisper", which the Georgia Supreme Court had ruled to be obscene—*reversed; Books, Inc.* v. *U.S.*, involving the paperback book "Lust Job", which a federal jury and the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit had held to be obscene—*reversed; Aday and Maxie* v. *U.S.*, involving the paperback book "Sex Life of a Cop" which a Grand Rapids federal jury and the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit had held to be hard-core pornography—*reversed; Rosenbloom* v. *Va.*, involving a German nudist magazine, "Solis", which the Virginia judiciary held to be obscene—*reversed; Mazes* v. *Ohio*, involving the paperback book "Orgy Club", which a Cincinnati jury and the Ohio Judiciary had held to be obscene—*reversed.*

In *New York* v. *Jacobs*, the Court refused to render a judgment on the homemade 16 mm. film "Flaming Creatures", which depicted a 7-minute rape scene and other sexual deviate acts. In *Tannenbaum* v. *N.Y.*, the Court refused to pass upon a New York statute imposing absolute liability where girlie magazines were sold to minors. The Court termed both cases moot.

Only in *Landau* v. *Fording* did the Court uphold an obsecnity determination, and that by a 5–4 decision—in that case a 16 mm. film, "Un Chant D'Amour", no scenes of which approached the offensiveness of "Flaming Creatures". In *Wenzler* v. *Pitches*, the only other obscenity determination left untouched, the Court by a 6–3 decision, refused to nullify the 30-day jail sentence of Wenzler for selling the 8 mm. girlie strip-tease film "First Fling" at the Oaks Theater in Pasadena, Calif. "First Fling" did not approach "O–7" or "O–12" in degree of offensiveness.

Thus, in June 1967, the curtain rang down on the performance of the United States Supreme Court during the 1966 October term. By their action the community standards of 13 states were upset. Contrary to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, eight jury determinations relating to the determination of contemporary community standards were "re-examined" in the United States Supreme Court—and by that Court reversed.

There are certain facets concerning the Redrup-Austin-Gent opinion, the decision in these 26 cases, and the manner of arriving at them which deserve further comment:

First. The 600-word Redrup-Austin-Gent opinion was the only written opinion rendered by the Court. Its rationale was the only reasoning offered to govern the entire 26 decisions.

Second. Not only did the Court renege upon its original ruling which assumed that the materials involved in each case were obscene, but the opinion announcing the same was unsigned.

Third. In the Redrup-Austin-Gent opinion, no more than three justices could find agreement in their reasoning—the Redrup-Austin-Gent decision is what is known as a no-clear majority decision—one which governs the result but sets no precedence. Black and Douglas restated their position that a state could not suppress obscene writings; Stewart held to the view that only hard-core pornography could be proscribed; Brennan, Fortas and Warren adhered to their view that there were three independent tests which must "coalesce" and Justice White retained his view that the "social value" test was not an independent factor.

Fourth. The Court in its opinion did not discuss the nature of the materials or the circumstances surrounding their dissemination. In the written opinion in Redrup-Austin-Gent, nothing was said as the content of "Lust Pool" or "Shame Agent", or "Spree" or "High Heels", or the eight girlie magazines in the Arkansas case. The Court referred to them only as "paperback" books and "magazines". Nor did the Court report the evidentiary facts presented in the record in each case, or point to any item of redeeming social importance. The Court's only comment was:

"Whichever of these constitutional views is brought to bear upon the case before us, it is clear that the judgments cannot stand."

In the 23 other decisions rendered five weeks later, nothing whatsoever was said of the subject matter there involved, or the circumstances surrounding the dissemination of the materials. The Court merely cited the Redrup-Austin-Gent decision.

Fifth. Not only were the majority of seven not in agreement on the rationale of Redrup-Austin-Gent, but they were also in disagreement in the application of the divergent tests to specific materials, the voting in the individual cases ranged from 8–1 and 5–4 in one direction to 5–4 in the other direction.

Sixth. Even those who were in agreement as to the test to be applied upon review, did not arrive at the same result in their personal application of the test. Presumably Warren, Fortas and Brennan were in agreement that the three "separate" test must "coalesce". Yet in the girlie strip-tease film cases, Fortas thought the films not obscene, whereas Brennan and Warren thought otherwise; in the girlie photo cases Brennan and Fortas thought them not obscene, whereas Warren thought otherwise; in the paperback book cases Warren voted to set them for argument, whereas Fortas and Brennan voted for reversal, except that in the paperback "publisher" case involving, "Sex Life of a Cop" Warren and Brennan voted to remand for reconsideration as to the test involved, whereas Fortas voted for reversal on the ground that it was not obscene.

Seventh. The individual judgments of the separate justices were not consistent. Brennan, who thought the girlie strip-tease movies to be obscene, was of the opinion that still photos of the same type of action, that is, photos focusing on the vagina or backside, suggesting invitations to intercourse or sodomy—were not obscene. Chief Justice Warren, who thought the materials in Roth, Ginzburg and Mishkin were obscene, in looking at the same type of materials in Austin, Keney, Redrup, Gent, and Freedman, could not see the similarity nor did he come by the same result. Warren, who castigated the Attorney General of Kansas in 1964 for employing the injunctive device and exorted him to prosecute criminally, voted to reverse criminal convictions in Redup, Austin, Keney, and Freedman. In Jacobellis Chief Justice Warren said community standards meant "local" community standards and the communities throughout the United States were "diversified" and that the Supreme Court should respect the lower court's determination, yet he ignored jury verdicts in Austin, Keney, Gent and Aday. In the Mishkin case in 1966, six justices voted to affirm, yet in Freedman v. N.Y., dealing with almost identical subject matter (sadistic and masochistic magazines) five of those six justices voted to reverse.

Eighth. While the Court voted the underground film "Un Chant D'Amour" obscene 5–4, the same majority of five unable to get together on a lower grade film, "Flaming Creatures", which depicted a 7-minute rape scene, acts of oral intercourse, fondling of the female vagina and breasts, masturbation of the visible penis, and the like, some of which were suggested but never shown in the film, "Un Chant D'Amour". The Court held the issues in that case "moot", to avoid a decision.

VIII. CONCLUSION: MAKING USE OF THE "CHECKS AND BALANCES" IN OUR CONSTITUTION

Having placed before the view of this audience the underlying historical facts in this cross-section of obscenity cases, we ask the question, "Where do you think the difficulty lies in this Nation's growing obscenity problem?" At the outset we laid claim to an understanding of the source of the problem. The history of these 26 decisions is clear proof to us that the root of this Nation's problem is the United States Supreme Court.

While the documentation appearing in this film may startle the casual observer, it has less of the shock impact to those who have followed closely the High Court's actions in recent years, for a "silent" revolution is being waged in that arena, not only in the obscenity area, but in other areas of the law as well. Not all revolutions are fought with guns. Playing the role of revolutionaries are certain justices of the United States Supreme Court.

In a continuous line of decisions dating back more than 10 years, the modern court has steered a course which has been indelibly marked by an abandonment of fixed principles. In this brief span of years, laws dealing with the control of Communistic activities, laws involving the rights of criminals, such as search and seizure, the privilege against self-incrimination and a defendant's right to counsel, reapportionment, free speech and a multitude of other major issues have been re-examined by the Court. The result has been an uprooting of long and well-established principles with a replacement by doctrine which experience has taught us is dangerous, and which often does not comport with the tenor of our times. In all of these cases, the Court's direction has been away from self-government and toward a concentration of power in the federal judiciary.

In an unprecedented petition to the justices of the United States Supreme Court, the 10th Annual Conference of the State Chief Justices went on record 9 years ago as urging the Court to amend their ways and exercise judicial restraint. The revolutionary bent of the Court has been the subject of continuing criticism by the American Bar Association, the Governors Conference, the National Association of Attorneys General and others. Unfortunately the urging of these high state officers has gone unheeded.

What you have witnessed is not new—if the reality of the situation comes through more clearly, it is only because the layman needs no legal training to come by an intimate knowledge of the common reference—the contemporary community standards. Unlike the prayer decision, the cases involving the rights of criminals, the Communist control legislation case and the other issues which have been shrouded in semantics and surrounded by legal debate, the average citizen needs no legal interpretation to small filth when he sees it; and to assign culpability to a judiciary whose rulings give it free reign. The High Court's judgment and capacity in such matter is riveted to, and must rise or fall with the subject matter and conduct involved in these cases.

As we mentioned at the outset, this present conflict between certain members of the judiciary and the community has an ancient origin in our Government, the most famous controversy occurring 50 years before this Nation's founding. In that instance, the American judiciary sought to reserve to themselves control of the determination of what in fact constituted a libel. In freeing Zenger in 1735, the jury established the supremacy of the jury system on the American scene as a check and balance against an overbearing judiciary. That concept was to become one of the foundations of our Federal Constitution, appearing as a check and balance in Article 3, Section 2, which authorized Congress acting for the people, to set the limits of the appellate jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court, and as a part of the Bill of Rights guaranteeing the right of trial by jury and the supremacy of the jury's determination over those of the judiciary on questions of fact.

There is a solution to this Nation's obscenity problems but it takes dedication like that shown by Alexander Hamilton in the Zenger case to demand its achievement. It requires legislative action by Congress to enact into law the constitutional principles espoused by one of the present Supreme Court justices in this area.

"Since the domain of sexual morality is preeminently a matter of state concern, the Court should be slow to interfere with state legislation calculated to protect that morality."

The voice is that of Associate Justice John Marshall Harlan, speaking in the Roth-Alberts case. That justice went on to say:

"The state can reasonably draw the inference that over a long period of time the indiscriminate dissemination of material, the essential character of which is to degrade sex, will have an eroding effect on moral standards."

Accordingly, it is Justice Harlan's view, as stated in the Jacobellis case, that "as to the state, I would make the federal test one of rationality. It would not prohibit them from banning any material which, taken as a whole, has been reasonably found in state judicial proceedings to treat with sex in a fundamentally offensive manner, under rationally established criteria for judging such materials." It was Justice Harlan who voted to affirm the state determinations in the Keney, Freedman, Ratner, Cobert, Shepherd, Lewis, Bloomberg, Avansino, Cessa, Strombellene, Gaggi, Costanza, Corinth, Rosenbloom, Quantity of Books, Shackman, and Landau cases.

As noted by Justice Harlan in Alberts, the interest which the obscenity statutes protect are primarily matters of state concern, for each state is the primary guardian of the moral standards of its citizens. It is that justice's view that the great strength of our federal system is that we have, in the 50 states, 50 experimental social laboratories. If a mistake is encountered in the New York or California jurisdictions in setting the limit too low, as at hard-core pornography, that is something which can be more readily controlled by government in action, with all of its competing forces, within that state. The social experiments in other states go on undisturbed. Were this error to be made at the federal level, as in these 26 cases, the corrosion infects each state within the Union with disastrous results. The recovery there is not so easy to come by.

The Kentucky jurisdiction, the Arkansas jurisdiction, the New York jurisdiction, the California jurisdiction, each should have the power to control the moral destiny of its own community. No state government should be forced to accept girlie magazines like "Spree" and "High Heels", or books like "Lust Pool" and "Shame Agent", or strip-tease film like "D–15", "O–7", and "O–12", against the express wishes of its citizenry. To hold otherwise is to censor the voice of the community and impair its moral development, for by its jury verdict in an obscenity trial, the jury is actually "speaking out" in the constitutional sense.

Our forefathers in Article 3, Section 2, wisely provided the necessary check and balance against an arbitrary judiciary. That section reads:

"The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, *with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.*" (Our emphasis.)

Congress can, through legislation in implementation of Justice Harlan's view, withdraw appellate jurisdiction from the United States Supreme Court and give it back to the state supreme courts where it belongs. Had such legislation existed in May of 1967, the result in these cases would have been different, and the Nation would be well on its way to a solution of the obscenity problem—a solution mandated by the people in their verdicts in these 26 cases.

In conclusion, we emphasize that vice and pornography are not new to our scene. Such is but a recurrence in the cycle of history and the nature of man. For those of this audience who will say we have treated the United States Supreme Court with irreverence in this documentary, we would point to the moral problems this Nation faces and adopt the wise words and strong argument of Alexander Pope, a contemporary of Sedley and Curl, speaking in his Essay on Man, in

1705, of the same battle being waged in that century:

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien as to be hated, only needed to be seen, yet seen too oft, familiar with her face, we first endure, then pity, then embrace."

The evidence is all around us that this Nation in 1967 has embraced the monster vice. Those statistics are well known. Since 1957, the juvenile delinquency cases have almost doubled, to more than 1.1 million in 1965. Between 1960 and 1966, juvenile arrests for homicide went up 31.3%, rape 34%, robbery 55%, and aggravated assault 115%—many of the latter offenses involving brutal and wanton beatings of helpless persons. During this period of time, Americans aged 10 to 17 increased by less than 20%. The spiralling climb of illegitimate births is told in these figures: In 1950 about one out of 25 children born in the United States was illegitimate. By 1960 the figure was one out of 19, by 1965 it was one out of 15 American births. If trends continue at the recent rate, at some time in the 1970's one out of every 10 American babies will be born out of wedlock. Already in some major cities, far more than 10% of all new babies are illegitimate. It was in this setting that the United States Supreme Court wrote its decision in these cases.

It is not to be expected that the parents of the 12-year-old girl who was raped on the city streets by a 20-year-old boy with a girlie magazine in his hip pocket will show reverence for a Court which reversed the State ruling which sought to control the girlie magazine problem.

The parents of the 7 teen-agers, who sexually attacked a 12-year-old girl, will not be able to understand the logic of a Court whose actions have neutralized State efforts to control the runaway distribution of subject matter which instructs, in enticing terms, that perversion is acceptable—material which the youths themselves indicated was their book of instruction for the sexual crimes they committed.

The parents of a 19-year-old girl who was raped and murdered by a youth, who forcibly entered her car at an intersection in the afternoon, after spending a morning watching lewd motion picture films, will be unable to accept a Court's determination which holds such films to be constitutionally protected, against the contrary demands of the State governments.

It is not our purpose to draw in question in any way the good faith of the justices of the United States Supreme Court. It is just that, in the sick climate in which we are now suffering, it is no defense that the Court acted with good intentions. That a Court, in acting beyond the scope of its powers, may do so with good intentions is unimportant. On this matter, Daniel Webster had the following to say:

"Good intention will always be pleaded for every assumption of power * * *. It is hardly too strong to say that the Constitution was made to guard the people against the dangers of good intentions. There are men in all ages who mean to govern well, but they mean to govern. They promise to be good masters, but they mean to be masters."

CASE NO. (1966 TERM) AND DATE FILED, TITLE, AND CASE EXHIBITS

2(39)(793), Dec. 29, 1964, Keney v. N.Y. (jury): 3 paperback books (Nightstand and Midnight Reader) "Lust School" and "Lust Web" (MR–484), copyright 1963, Midnight Reader; "Sin Servant" (NB–1651), copyright 1963, Nightstand Books, Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1302 (June 12, 1967).

3(72)(1073), Redrup v. N.Y. (court): 2 paperback books "Lust Pool" and "Shame Agent," Ember Book (EB 943, copyright 1964 by Ember Books. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. ad bib (May 8, 1967).

7(137)(1161), May 13, 1965, Friedman v. N.Y. (court): 9 bondage books and magazines "Bondage Boarding School," "English Spanking School," "Bound and Spanked," "Sweeter Gwen," "Traveling Saleslady Gets Spanked," "Bound to Please," "Bizarre Summer Rivalry," "Heat Wave," and "Escape Into Bondage," book No. 2. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1303 (June 12, 1967).

10(285), June 24, 1965, Ratner v. Calif. (jury): Girlie film "Honey Bee." Reversed 18 L. Ed. 2d 1305 (June 12, 1967).

16(453), Aug. 13, 1965, Austin v. Ky. (jury): 2 girlie magazines "High Heels," vol. 2, No. 6 and "Spree," No. 38. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 515 (May 8, 1967).

2(544), Sept. 7, 1965, Cobert v. N.Y. (court): 3 girlie films "June Palmer," No. 2, "M. Jordan," and "June Tracy." Opinion below reported in 15 N.Y. 21020, 207 N.E. 2619. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1305 (June 12, 1967).

26(626), Sept. 28, 1965, Sheperd v. N.Y. (court): Bondage book "Promenade Bondage," vol. 4. Lewis v. N.Y. (court): Nude photos and 2 bondage books "Bondage Annual," No. 1, and "Spanking Sisters." Bloomberg v. N.Y. (court): 2 bondage books "Bondage Annual," No. 1, and "Spanking Sisters." All reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1306 (June 12, 1967).

50(874), Jan. 4, 1966, Gent v. Arkansas (jury): 8 girlie magazines "Cavalcade," "Gentlemen," "Ace," "Sir," "Gent," "Swank," "Modern Man," and "Bachelor." Opinion below reported in 239 Ark. 474, 393 5W2 219. Reversed 18 L. Ed. 2d 535 (May 8, 1967).

72(1008), Feb. 11, 1966, Avansino v. N.Y. (court): Nude photographs of females in provocative poses. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1308 (June 12, 1967). Sessa v. N.Y. (court): Case 1, nude color photos (female); case 2, nude photos (females). Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1308 (June 12, 1967). Stombelline v. N.Y. (court): Case 1, Bondage book "Promenade Bondage"; case 2, nude photos (female). Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1308 (June 12, 1967). Gaggi v. N.Y.: Nude photos (female). Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1308 (June 12, 1967). Costanza v. N.Y. (court): Same as above.

149 (1329), May 18, 1966, Aday v. U.S. (jury): Paperback book "Sex Life of a Cop," Saber Book (SA–11), copyright 1958, Fresno, Calif. Opinion below reported in —F2—. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1309 (June 12, 1967).

227 (1409), June 13, 1966, Corinth Publications, Inc. v. Wesberry (court): Paperback book "Evening Reader" (ER-768), "Sin Whisper," copyright 1964, Corinth Publications, San Diego, Calif. Opinion below reported in 221 Ga. 704 146 S.E. 2 764. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1310 (June 12, 1967).

323, July 8, 1966, Books, Inc. v. U.S. (jury): Paperback book "Lust Job." Opinion below reported in — F2 —. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1311 (June 12, 1967).

332, July 9, 1966, The Bookcase, Inc. v. Leary (court): Declaratory judgment re statute opinion below reported in— N.E. 2 —. Dismissed for lack of proper question, 17 L. Ed. 2d 111 (Oct. 10, 1966).

366, July 19, 1966, Rosenbloom v. Va. (court): Nudist magazines "Solis" plus others. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1312 (June 12, 1967).

616, Sept. 30, 1966, Wenzler v. Pitchess (court): Girlie film "First Fling." A habeas corpus action brought by the defendant after the U.S. Supreme Court refused to grant certiorari in Wenzler v. Calif., 12 L. Ed. 2d 1047 (June 22, 1964); rehearing denied in 13 L. Ed. 2d 77 (Oct. 12, 1964). Petition for certiorari again denied in 18 L. Ed. 2d 1351 (June 12, 1967).

660, Oct. 11, 1966, Jacobs v. N.Y. (court): Underground art film "Flaming Creatures." Held to be "moot," 18 L. Ed. 2d 1294 (June 12, 1967).

865, Dec. 14, 1966, A Quantity of Books v. Kansas (court): 11 Nightstand-type paperbacks (Idlehour, Ember Book, Evening Reader, Sundown Reader, Leisure Book) "Sin Hooked," "Bayou Sinners," "Lust Hungry," "Shame Shop," "Flesh Pot," "Sinners Seance," "Passion Priestess," "Penthouse Pagans," "Shame Market," "Sin Warden," and "Flesh Avenger." Opinion below reported in 197 Kans. 306, 416 P2 703. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 1314 (June 12, 1967).

896, Dec. 22, 1966, Mazes v. Ohio (jury): Paperback book "Orgy House," Merit Books, published by Camerarts Publishing Co., 2715 North Pulaski Rd., Chicago, Ill. Opinion below reported in 3 Ohio app. 2 90, 209 N.E. s2 496 and 7 Ohio St. 136 218 N.E. 2 725. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1315 (June 12, 1967).

971,[1] Interstate Circuit, Inc. v. Dallas: Involving constitutionality of Dallas movie classification ordinance. No disposition during October term, 1966. Opinion below reported in — F2 —, certiorari granted and judgment reversed, 20 L. Ed. 2 — (May 6, 1968).

978,[2] Dallas v. Interstate Circuit, Inc.: Involving constitutionality of Dallas movie classification ordinance. No disposition during October term, 1966. Opinion below reported in — F2 —, Certiorari granted and judgment reversed, 20 L. Ed. 2 — (May 6, 1968).

993, Tannenbaum v. N.Y. (court): Sale of girlie magazine "Candid" to 17-year-old minor in violation of sec. 484–1 (New York minor's statute) held to be "moot." Opinion below reported in 18 N.Y. 2, 268, 220 N.E. 2 783. Reversed by 18 L. Ed. 2d 1300 (June 12, 1967).

995, Jan. 23, 1967, Shackman v. Calif. (jury): 3 girlie films D–15, O–7, and O–12. No opinion below, but see 258 F. Supp. 983. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1316 (June 12, 1967).

1022,[3] Feb. 11, 1967, Ginsburg v. N.Y. (court): Sale of girlie magazines "Mr. Annual," fall 1965, and "Sir, Decals" to 16-year-old minor in violation of sec. 484–H (New York minor's statute).

1088, Feb. 23, 1967, Holding v. Blankinship: Involving action taken by Oklahoma Censor Board. Opinion below reported in 259 F. Supp. 694. Reversed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 585 (May 15, 1967).

1089, Feb. 23, 1967, Blankenship v. Holding: Involving action taken by Oklahoma Censor Board. Opinion below reported in 259 F. Supp. 694. Oklahoma statute held unconstitutional, 18 L. Ed. 2d 686 (May 15, 1967).

56, 1109,[4] Interstate Circuit, Inc. v. Dallas (court): Application of Dallas movie classification ordinance to film "Viva Maria." Opinion below reported in 402 S.W. 2 779.

64, 1155,[4] United Artists Corp. v. Dallas (court): Ditto.

1164, Mar. 18, 1967, Landau v. Fording (court): Declaratory judgment that underground art film, "Un Chant D'Amour" was obscene. Opinion below reported in 245 Calif. App. 2 —, 54 Cal. Rptr. 177. Judgment affirmed, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1317 (June 12, 1967).

1186, Mar. 24, 1967, Shackman v. Arneberg (court): Federal court action attacking prosecution of 3 girlie films D–15, O–7, and O–12. Opinion below reported in 258 F. Supp. 983. Appeal dismissed for lack of jurisdiction, 18 L. Ed. 2d 865 (May 29, 1967).

1189, Mar. 24, 1967, Luros v. Superior Court of Calif. (court): Attempt to halt criminal prosecution; petition for certiorari denied, 18 L. Ed. 2d 597 (May 8, 1967).

---

[1] Redesignated as case No. 42 on October term, 1967 calendar.

[2] Redesignated as case No. 44 on October term, 1967 calendar.

[3] Jurisdiction noted in 18 L. Ed. 2d 1344 (June 12, 1967). Redesignated as case No. 47 on October 1967 calendar. Oral arguments heard Jan. 16, 1968. Affirmed, 20 L. 2d —.

[4] Jurisdiction noted in 18 L. Ed. 2d 620 (May 15, 1967). Redesignated as case Nos. 56 and 64 on October term, 1967 calendar. Oral arguments heard Jan. 16, 1968. Reversed, 20 L. Ed. 2 —.

1187,[5] Apr. 17, 1967, Fort v. City of Miami (court): Miami sculptors outdoor display of figures depicting sex acts (cunnilingus, fellatio, etc). No disposition during October term, 1966.

1394,[6] May 15, 1967, Potomac News Co. v. U.S. (court): Nudist magazine "Hellenic Sun" No. 2. Opinion below reported in 373 F. 2 635. No disposition during October term, 1966.

306, miscellaneous, Conrad Chance v. Calif. (jury): Criminal prosecution. 12 photos of female nudes. Certiorari granted. Judgment reversed, 19 L. Ed. 2d 256 (Nov. 6, 1967). No opinion reported below.

259, June 19, 1967, Glen Conner v. City of Hammond (jury and court): Sale of girlie magazines "Escapade," December 1964, "Dude," November 1964, "Rogue," December 1964, "Gent," November 1964, "Cavalier," October 1964, "Knight," vol. 41, issue 9. Certiorari granted. Judgment reversed, 19 L. Ed. 2d 47 (Oct. 23, 1967). Judgment below unreported.

260, June 19, 1967, I. M. Amusement Corp. v. Ohio (court): Exhibition of 16-mm. girlie film "Artists Models." Judgment below, 266 N.E. 2d 567. Appeal granted. Judgment reversed 19 L. Ed. 2d 776 (Jan. 15, 1966).

323, July 3, 1967, Ramona Bennett and Moira C. Morse v. Calif. (jury): Topless bar case. Prosecution under "Sir Charles Sedley's statute" lewd exhibition. Certiorari denied, 19 L. Ed. 2d 478 (Dec. 4, 1967). Judgment below unreported.

368, July 14, 1967, Central Magazine Sales, Ltd. v. U.S. (court): Girlie magazine "Exclusive" and male nudist magazines "Revenue International," vol. 6, and "International Nudist Sun," vol. 16. Opinion below reported in 373 F. 2d 633. Certiorari granted. Judgment reversed, 19 L. Ed. 49 (Oct. 23, 1967).

430, July 28, 1967, G. I. Distributors, Inc. v. N.Y. (court): Criminal prosecution. "Grecian Guild Studio Quarterly." Opinion below reported in 228 N.E. 2d 787. Certiorari denied, 19 L. Ed. 2d 219 (Oct. 16, 1967).

594, Sept. 8, 1967, Arthur Levin v. Maryland (court): Criminal prosecution. 3 sets of nude male photos. Opinion below reported in 228 A. 2d 487. Certiorari denied, 19 L. Ed. 2d 840 (Jan. 15, 1968).

611, Sept. 13, 1967, Rabeck v. Beck N.Y. (court): Sale of girlie magazines "Snap," vol. 2 No. 8, and "Trojan," vol. 3, No. 4, to minor in violation of sec. 484–i (New York minor's statute). (See Tannenbaum v. N.Y. (supra) Cf. Ginsberg v. N.Y. (supra).) No opinion below. Appeal granted. Judgment reversed (May 27, 1968), B2 188.

679, Oct. 3, 1967, Robert-Arthur Management Corp. v. Tennessee ex rel Phil M. Canale, Dist. Atty General (court): Injunction. 35-mm. motion picture film "Mondo Freudo." Opinion below reported in 414 S.W. 2d 638. Appeal granted. Judgment reversed, 19 L. Ed. 2d 777 (Jan. 15, 1968).

729, Oct. 16, 1967, Samuel Ratner v. Calif. (Jury): Criminal prosecution. Count I Bondage book "Bondage Cabin." Count II, 8-mm. bondage film, "The Count." Count III advertising brochure. (Special advertising statute, Jan. 29, 1968). No opinion below. Certiorari denied, 19 L. Ed. 2d 983.

787, Nov. 6, 1967, Teitel Film Corp v. Cusack (court): Motion picture censor board refused to grant license, 35-mm. motion picture films, "Rent-A-Girl" and "Body of a Female." Appeal granted. Opinion below reported in 230 N.E. 2d 241. Judgment reversed on procedural grounds. No determination on obscenity issue, 19 L. Ed., 2d 966 (Jan. 29, 1968).

880, Dec. 4, 1967, Wm. C. Bray v. Calif. (Jury): Criminal prosecution. Sale of paperback book "Just for Kicks," Satan Press 111. No opinion below. Certiorari denied, 20 L. Ed. 2—(Mar. 18, 1968).

921, Dec. 16, 1967, Samuels v. Calif. (jury): Aggravated assault (sadism and masochism in films). Opinion below reported in 58 Calif. Rptr. 439. Certiorari denied, 20 L. Ed. 2—(Apr. 22, 1968).

932, Dec. 18, 1967, Percy Henry v. Louisiana (court): Criminal prosecution. Sale of girlie magazines "Gem," vol. 7, No. 3; "Carnival," vol. 12, No. 1; "Rogue," vol. 10, No. 1; "Sir," vol. 21, No. 6; "Ace," vol. 8, No. 4; "Caper," vol. 11, No. 2; "Jaguar," vol. 1, No. 2; "Gent," vol. 8, No. 9; "Wildcat," vol. 5, No. 6; "Sir Year Book," fall 1964; and "Nugget," vol. 9, No. 4. Opinion below reported in 198 So. 2d 889. Appeal dismissed but certiorari granted and judgment reversed. 20 L. Ed. 2—(June 19, 1968).

934, Dec. 21, 1967, Felton v. City of Pensacola (court): Criminal prosecution. Sale of nudist magazines. Opinion below reported in 200 So. 2d 842. Certiorari granted. Judgment reversed, 20 L. Ed. 3—(Mar. 11, 1968).

966, Dec. 28, 1967, Pennsylvania v. Dell Publications, Inc. (court): Petition for certiorari by district attorney of Philadelphia County, Pa., to review Pennsylvania Supreme Court determination holding "Candy" not obscene. Denied 20 L. Ed. —, certiorari (Mar. 4, 1968).

997, Jan. 8, 1968, Lee Art Theater, Inc. v. Virginia (jury): Criminal prosecution. 35-mm. motion picture films "Erotic Touch of Hot Skin" and "Rent-A-Girl." As to latter film, see Teitel Film Corp. v. Cusack, supra. No opinion below. Certiorari granted and judgment reversed on search and seizure grounds only, 20 L. Ed. 2—(June 19, 1968).

1092, Feb. 7, 1968, Reed Enterprises v. Clark (court); Constitutionality of Federal statute permitting prosecution in juris of distribution. Affirmed, 20 L. Ed. 2—(Mar. 25, 1968).

1124, Feb. 15, 1968, California v. Noroff (court): Petition for certiorari by Los Angeles City attorney to review California Supreme Court's decision holding male nudist magazine "International Nudist Sun," vol. 1, No. 5, protected. Conflicting opinions, 58—Calif. Rptr. 172 and 63 Calif. Rptr. 575. Compare Central Mag. Sales v. U.S. supra. Certiorari denied, 20 L. Ed. 2—(Apr. 8, 1968).

1235, Mar. 15, 1968, Sturman v. U.S. (court): Petition for certiorari to review Circuit Court of Appeals, 6th Circuit, decision against Sturman's appeal of grand jury subpenas. Certiorari denied, 20 L. Ed. 2—(May 6, 1968).

STATUS OF FARM BILL

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, as the Congress resumes its work, the fate of the farm bill, the proposed extension of the Agricultural Act of 1965, is very much in question.

The version enacted by the House specified a $20,000 limitation on the amount of payments any single recipient may get and authorized only a 1-year extension.

The Senate version provided for a 4-year extension, and during its consideration all proposals to establish a limitation on payments to single recipients were rejected.

During the days immediately before the August recess I blocked requests to go to conference on these bills. I did so for several reasons. Among them:

First. The Agricultural Act of 1965 is a failure and should not be extended. To illustrate, corn is now selling for only 60 percent of parity—lowest point since March 1962. Wheat, at $1.16 a bushel, is the lowest in 26 years. Parity ratio for Illinois farmers is 67, national parity ratio, even though higher than Illinois at 3, is the lowest since the depression thirties.

Surely Congress can do better than authorize an extension of the legislation under which the farm economy has fallen to its present low ebb.

Second. Under present circumstances, the limitation on payments fixed by the House—or any other limitation—has little chance to survive House-Senate conference. All members of the House Agriculture Committee likely to serve on the conference committee—except one—voted against the $20,000 payment limitation. Support for a limitation would, if anything, be even skimpier on the Senate side.

If the act is extended, I feel a payment limitation is highly desirable.

In all candor, therefore, the House should expect that the conference will drop all language expressing a limitation on payments.

Third. The August recess gave many Members an opportunity to hear from their farmers and other constituents concerning the proposed extension, and the question of payment limitation.

For my part, I can report that a tour of every major post office in my district disclosed strong support from farmers and others for a payment limitation. The only criticism of the $20,000 limitation, now in the House bill, I heard was to the effect that the amount was too high. Several farmers said they thought it should be not more than $5,000 or $10,000. I also received strong and numerous expressions of encouragement in my battle against extension of the Agricultural Act of 1965. Only one person, a farmer, said he felt the existing programs should be extended.

COTTON A SPECIAL PROBLEM?

During consideration of the farm bill by the House several Members expressed to me their objection to bringing the cotton program under the limitation on payments, stating that, in their opinion, cotton constituted a special problem and should be excluded. Their rationale was based on the fact that under the existing authority cotton farmers have no freedom to plant. They must abide by acreage allotments in order to grow cotton. This of course is true, and this makes cotton different in important respects from feed grains and wheat.

However, the payment limitation would not, in my view, constitute an unfair burden to cotton growers.

Cotton farmers are presently getting market prices much higher than contemplated when the present program was enacted. The price is about 27 cents a pound, whereas the program was based on an assumed market price of 21 cents. Efficient growers testified to the House Agriculture Committee in very recent years that they can make money at 21 cents.

---

[5] Redesignated as case No. 91 on October term, 1967 calendar. Certiorari denied, 19 L. Ed. 2d 498 (Dec. 4, 1967).

[6] Redesignated as case No. 164 on October term, 1967 calendar. Certiorari granted and judgment reversed, 19 L. Ed. 2d 46 (Oct. 23, 1967).

In addition to the possibility of above-average income from the market, each cotton grower would be entitled to payments up to $20,000. That sum is hardly a poverty-size chunk of money. The big operators, whose payments under present law would exceed $20,000, presumably are on a more efficient basis than the small ones and thus financially better able to accept the limitation on money from the U.S. Treasury.

Moreover, between now and the effective date of the proposed limitation, growers will have the opportunity to reject the whole program, acreage limits and all, by referendum.

Therefore, I feel that an exception should not be made of cotton. The cost of the cotton program has grown completely out of reason. Last year it exceeded the total market value of the crop. A substantial trimming is in order.

The $20,000 limitation now in the House bill would adversely affect only a few farmers in feed grains and wheat growing areas. Its main impact would be on cotton growers where astronomical payments are the order of the day.

Regionally it would hit Texas the hardest, because 28 percent of all payments now flowing under the program authorized in this bill go into the pockets of Texas farmers. From this, I can fully understand why several Texas Congressmen were vehement in opposition to the payments limitation.

APPLE HARVEST IN WAYNE COUNTY

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, it is appropriate that we take some time in the midst of our legislative schedule to mark this time of year when the fruits of the spring planting are reaped. Harvest time reminds us that even in this ever advancing space age man is dependent on the earth for sustenance.

Rural America with its orchards, fields, meadows, ranches, muck farms, and fruit and dairy farms feeds the Nation. It is in rural America that the pageantry so important to our heritage is being preserved.

Harvest time means so much to the people of smaller communities and our countryside. It is a sign of accomplishment. The harvest should also have great importance for urban Americans, who reap its benefits at mealtime every day.

In the northeast corner of my 36th Congressional District of New York the people of the bustling community of Wolcott are preparing for their annual apple harvest festival next week. Wolcott is a town of 3,500 persons in the heart of one of the United States' finest fruit producing areas.

Wolcott is part of the world famous fruit belt along Wayne County's northern tier.

The county's location on the southern shore of Lake Ontario enhances its climate by providing a growing season long enough to insure the maturing of the fruit and vegetable crops. It is particularly favorable to apples, cherries and peaches.

EXTENSIVE ORCHARD LANDS

The most extensively farmed fruit-growing lands are in the towns of Sodus, Ontario, Williamson, Huron, Wolcott, Rose, Butler, Marion, and Walworth.

In 5 years the apple harvest festival has become one of New York State's outstanding pageants. Over 100 young ladies throughout the State will compete for the title of Miss Apple Harvest Festival. Local officials say they expect more than 50,000 persons to turn out for a week of activities, including 25,000 persons at the grand parade on the final day.

I have participated in the parade in past years and again this year I have been honored by being selected as the parade's grand marshal.

It is a pleasure for me to share with you the efforts of those responsible for the apple harvest festival. Douglas A. Douglas is general chairman of the festival. He is assisted by the board of directors of the Wolcott Chamber of Commerce, which includes Walter Dobbin Charles Coman, Edwin McQueen, and Terrence Connelly.

Other festival officials include John DeWispelaere, Robert Delf, Robert Smith, Philip Kyle and William Reynolds.

AMONG AMERICA'S MOST PRODUCTIVE

Apples are a major part of the life of Wayne County. This county, the only full county in my 36th Congressional District, is the most concentrated fruit producing area in New York State and probably one of the most productive in the country. It produces 45 percent of all the apples in western New York and a quarter of all the apples produced in the State.

Five to six million bushels of apples are produced annually. I have been privileged to share with many of my colleagues here the delicious tree-ripened apples from Wayne County. I do not think I stand alone when I say they are the best in the world.

Wayne County also produces 65 percent of the cherries in New York State.

The Sodus Fruit Farm, the county's largest orchard, is famed for its fruit and its modern processing methods.

The many canners and processors in the area make New York State the largest producer of apple sauce, apple juice, and frozen apple slices in the Nation.

WORLD FAMOUS PROCESSORS

The products of Wayne County apple growers and processors are on shelves of supermarkets and grocery stores all over the country. I am sure all of you are familiar with many of the labels which originate along the shore of Lake Ontario.

They include Boekhout Farms, Cahoon Farms, Comstock-Greenwood Foods Division of the Borden Co., Curtice-Burns, Duffy-Mott, Fruit Belt Preserving Co., H. C. Hemingway, Hopkins of Sodus, Marion Canning Co., Seneca Foods, Sodus Fruit Farm, Sterling Cooperative, Waterman Fruit Products, and Wayne Packing Co.

The apple and cherry processors are ably represented by the New York State Canners and Freezers Association, which has its headquarters in Rochester.

Apple growers are well represented by Western New York Apple Growers Association.

LOCAL PEOPLE CREDITED

A lot of credit must also go to the elected town officials in the area, particularly the supervisors. Donald G. Colvin, of Savannah, is chairman of the board of supervisors.

Other orchard area supervisors include Jay Robinson of Wolcott, Marion I. Crane of Butler, Robert Virts of Rose, Russell Freer of Huron, George Arney, Jr., of Sodus, Ward J. Marcellus of Williamson, Ralph Bushart of Marion, Charles Hack of Walworth, and Bruce Thompson, of Ontario.

There are many other community and organization leaders who work hard to make Wayne County a good place to live and work. I know I cannot name them all here, but I would like to mention a few such as Ernest Hack, president of the Wayne County Farm Bureau; R. Gerald Bishop, Wayne County Pomona Grange master; New York State Assemblyman Joseph Finley, of Walworth; and Mark Buckman, manager of the Sodus Fruit Farm, and adviser to New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller on matters concerning agricultural labor.

Beside the growers and processors, the seasonal and full-time farmworkers who pick and process the fruit deserve special mention. It is their skill which moves the ready product from the fields, through the canneries and on its way to consumers.

Special praise should go to the news media throughout Wayne County for their efforts to keep the public well informed.

The weekly and daily newspapers and broadcasters have been diligent in giving the harvest festival and other events full local coverage. These include the Red Creek Herald, Lake Shore News in Wolcott, Sodus Record, Williamson Sun, Wayne County Mail in Ontario, Palmyra Courier-Journal, Newark Courier-Gazette, Lyons Republican, Wayne County Herald-Eagle in Clyde, Geneva Times, Wayne County News Service of the Gannett Newspapers and radio station WACK in Newark.

HARVEST FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

The people of Wayne County join me in extending an invitation to you to join us in this festival, and I would like to share with you the schedule of events for the festival week, which starts Tuesday, September 10.

The opening day program will feature a "beach party" bathing suit competition. There will also be an all-star revue, a highly popular program under the direction of Mrs. Pat Allen. Twenty local girls will compete for Miss Wolcott honors.

Sue Welch, 1967 apple harvest festival queen, and Tamara Fisher, 1967 apple harvest festival princess, will reign over all events.

Mr. Dobbin, chairman of the queen competition, will be master of ceremonies.

The 2-hour parade, which I will lead, starting at 2:30 p.m. Saturday, September 14, the final day, will include bands, drum and bugle corps, color guards, military drill teams, floats, and volunteer fire companies from all over New York.

Climaxing the festival will be the grand harvest ball at the Leavenworth School Gymnasium where 1968 queen and princess will be selected.

COMPANION APPLE FESTIVAL

A comparison event to the apple harvest festival is held each spring in Williamson to the west of Wolcott. This is the annual apple blossom festival, which is a highlight of spring in Wayne County, drawing tens of thousands of onlookers and participants.

Mr. Speaker, these two pageants are proud reminders of our rural heritage. I want to thank you for allowing me to share this portion of rural Americana with you and my colleagues.

I know each and every one of you will be welcome any time you would like to come to Wayne County. I also hope you will join with me in wishing the Wolcott Apple Harvest Festival great success this year and in the years to come.

The legend of Johnny Appleseed lives on in America. The quality and size of the Wayne County apple harvest, and the enthusiasm and feasting which will accompany it, would certainly make this orchard-planter from New England proud.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mrs. Hansen of Washington (at the request of Mr. Albert), for today, and the balance of the week, on account of official business.

Mr. Roudebush (at the request of Mr. Gerald R. Ford), for an indefinite period, on account of hospitalization and recovery from recently sustained injuries.

Mr. Pirnie (at the request of Mr. Gerald R. Ford), from September 4, 1968, through September 13, 1968, on account of official business.

Mr. Landrum (at the request of Mr. Albert), for September 4 through September 13, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. Pucinski, for 1 hour, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Duncan) to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Smith of Oklahoma, for 1 hour, on September 5.

Mr. Halpern, for 1 hour, on September 5.

Mr. Schwengel, for 1 hour on September 4, 5, and 6.

Mr. Mathias of Maryland, for 15 minutes, today.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Monagan.

Mr. Fuqua and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Michel in four instances and to include editorials.

Mr. Horton and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Devine to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin (at the request of Mr. Ayres) during general debate on the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

Mr. Broyhill of Virginia and to include extraneous matter during general debate on H.R. 15045.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Duncan) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Rhodes of Arizona in five instances.

Mr. Zwach.

Mr. Utt.

Mr. Mathias of Maryland in five instances.

Mr. Springer.

Mr. Smith of Oklahoma.

Mr. Scherle in two instances.

Mr. Kuykendall in three instances.

Mr. Mize in two instances.

Mr. Horton.

Mr. Rumsfeld in four instances.

Mr. Thompson of Georgia.

Mr. Anderson of Illinois.

Mr. Kupferman in five instances.

Mr. Lloyd.

Mr. Ashbrook in two instances.

Mr. Esch in two instances.

Mr. Vander Jagt.

Mr. Battin in two instances.

Mr. Wyman in three instances.

Mr. Quillen in four instances.

Mr. Minshall.

Mr. Miller of Ohio.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Morgan) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. McFall.

Mr. Corman in five instances.

Mr. Kyros in two instances.

Mr. Teague of Texas in eight instances.

Mr. Pucinski in 12 instances.

Mr. Vanik in three instances.

Mr. Long of Maryland.

Mr. Feighan in five instances.

Mr. Steed in two instances.

Mr. Hungate in three instances.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson.

Mr. Moorhead.

Mr. Eilberg in three instances.

Mr. Rooney of New York.

Mr. Fascell in two instances.

Mr. Tenzer in 10 instances.

Mr. Brown of California in two instances.

Mr. Selden in two instances.

Mr. Ullman in five instances.

Mr. O'Hara of Michigan.

Mr. Podell in three instances.

Mr. Bevill.

Mr. Nichols.

Mr. Pickle.

Mr. Edmondson in two instances.

Mr. Friedel.

Mr. Olsen in two instances.

Mr. Dorn in two instances.

Mr. Boland.

Mr. Dingle.

Mr. Roybal.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 3945. An act to authorize the documentation of the vessel *West Wind* as a vessel of the United States with coastwise privileges; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 1093. An act to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5233. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sophie Michalowska;

H.R. 10932. An act for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force (retired);

H.R. 12323. An act to amend chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the retired serviceman's family protection plan, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12843. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health;

H.R. 13781. An act to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966;

H.R. 14367. An act to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 16027. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16363. An act to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17522. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18188. An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18254. An act to amend further section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920; and

H.R. 18706. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 633. An act to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps;

S. 1504. An act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans for enterprises to supplement farm income and for farm conversion to recreation, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, establish a flexible loan interest rate, and for other purposes;

S. 2269. An act to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries;

S. 2468. An act for the relief of Dr. George S. Ioannides;

S. 2488. An act for the relief of Dr. Raul Agustin Pereira-Valdes; and

S. 3095. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on August 7, 1968, present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 1093. An act to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5233. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sophie Michalowska;

H.R. 10864. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forests, Inc., and for other purposes;

H.R. 10932. An act for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force (retired);

H.R. 12323. An act to amend chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the retired serviceman's family protection plan, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12843. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health;

H.R. 13781. An act to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966;

H.R. 14367. An act to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 15794. An act to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16027. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16086. An act to amend the act of August 25, 1959 (73 Stat. 420), pertaining to the affairs of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma;

H.R. 16363. An act to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17522. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18188. An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18254. An act to amend further section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920; and

H.R. 18706. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

THE LATE HONORABLE ELMER J. HOLLAND

(Mr. MORGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, at this time I wish to announce to the House the death of a distinguished Member of the House, our colleague from Pennsylvania, ELMER J. HOLLAND. At the appropriate time, as the dean of the delegation, I intend to ask for time for the House to honor him.

Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 1287

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable ELMER J. HOLLAND, a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The resolutions were agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 56 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, September 5, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2112. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report on the O'Neill unit, Missouri River Basin project, Nebraska, pursuant to the provisions of section 9(a) of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 (53 Stat. 1187) (H. Doc. No. 378); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

2113. A letter from the Architect of the Capitol, transmitting a report of expenditures during the period January 1 to June 30, 1968, pursuant to section 105(b) of Public Law 88–454; to the Committee on Appropriations.

2114. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting reports on the number of officers on duty with Headquarters, Department of the Army and detailed to the Army general staff on June 30, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 3031(c); to the Committee on Armed Services.

2115. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 10, United States Code, to permit naval flight officers to be eligible to command certain naval aviation activities and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2116. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), transmitting a notification of the location, nature, and estimated cost of a project proposed to be undertaken for the Army Reserve, pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2233a(1); to the Committee on Armed Services.

2117. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Army (R. & D.), transmitting the report on Department of the Army research and development contracts for $50,000 or more for the period January 1 to June 30, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of section 4, Public Law 557, 82d Congress; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2118. A letter from the Chairman, Board of Visitors, U.S. Naval Academy, transmitting a copy of the annual report of the Board of Visitors; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2119. A letter from the director, contract administration, for commander, Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Department of the Navy, transmitting the semiannual report for the period January 1 to June 30, 1968, of military construction contracts awarded on other than a competitive bid basis, pursuant to the provisions of section 804, Public Law 90–110; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2120. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting the 84th quarterly report for the second quarter 1968, pursuant to the provisions of the Export Control Act of 1949; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

2121. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a report on voluntary agreements and programs entered into under section 708 of the Defense Production Act of 1950, pursuant to section 708(e) of that act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

2122. A letter from the Assistant to the Commissioner, government of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 19(a) of the District of Columbia Public Assistance Act of 1962; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

2123. A letter from the Assistant to the Commissioner, government of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to repeal section 8 of the District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1969, relating to the installation of meters in taxicabs operated in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

2124. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting a report pursuant to the provisions of section 507(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2125. A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting a report of property donated to public health and educational institutions and civil defense organizations under sections 203(j) and 203(k) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, pursuant to the provisions of section 203(o) of that act; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2126. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the feasibility of consolidating military real property maintenance functions on Oahu, Hawaii, and in the Norfolk, Va., area, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2127. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of need for improved coordination of transmission line design and construction practices by the Bureau of Reclamation and Bonneville Power Administration, Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2128. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the review of discounts granted generating and transmission cooperatives, eastern division, Missouri River Basin project; Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2129. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the movement of American forces from France (Operation Freloc), Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2130. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the problem areas affecting usefulness of results of government-sponsored research in medicinal chemistry, National Institutes of Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2131. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need to strengthen procedures for determining continued eligibility of widows for Federal benefits, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Veterans' Administration, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Railroad Retirement Board, and Department of Labor; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2132. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need for improvement in planning for large mechanized mail-handling facilities by the Post Office Department; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2133. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on savings realized through the use of effective formal advertising in contracting for propane. General Services Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2134. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on savings available through discontinuing purchase of title insurance on sales of house acquired by the Federal Housing Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2135. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on savings available by improving administration of the small reclamation projects loan program, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2136. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of need for improvement in funding practices affecting spare parts procurements, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2137. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of need for improved compliance by Goddard Space Flight Center with established accounting procedures for control of equipment, National Aeronautics and Space Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

2138. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting a report on records proposed for disposal, pursuant to the provisions of 57 Stat. 380, 59 Stat. 434, and 63 Stat. 377; to the Committee on House Administration.

2139. A letter from the Under Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the third annual report on the minerals exploration assistance program, pursuant to section 2(5) of the act of November 8, 1965; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2140. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of an application for a loan under the Small Reclamation Projects Act, for the Cameron County Water Improvement District No. 2 of San Benito, Tex., pursuant to section 4(a) of the act; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2141. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of an application for a loan under the Small Reclamation Projects Act, for the Santa Maria Control and Improvement District, Cameron County No. 4 of Santa Maria, Tex., pursuant to section 4(a) of the act; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2142. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of an application for a loan under the Small Reclamation Projects Act, for the Haights Creek Irrigation Co., of Kaysville, Utah, pursuant to the provisions of section 4(a) of the act; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2143. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of an application for a loan under the Small Reclamation Projects Act, for the Valley Center Municipal Water District of Valley Center, Calif., pursuant to section 4(a) of the act; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2144. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a proposed concession contract under which facilities for the public will be authorized to continue on the south rim of the Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz., pursuant to the provisions of the act of July 31, 1953 (67 Stat. 271), as amended; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2145. A letter from the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435), providing for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2146. A letter from the Chairman, Indian Affairs Commission, transmitting the first annual report of the Commission as of July 1, 1968; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2147. A letter from the Chairman of the Indian Claims Commission, transmitting a report that proceedings have been concluded with respect to docket No. 279–A the *Blackfeet and Gros Ventre Tribes of Indians, Etc., Petitioners, the Assiniboine Tribes of Indians, residing upon the Fort Belknap and Fort Peck Reservations, Mont., and the Sioux Tribe of the Fort Peck Reservation, Mont., Intervenors,* v. *The United States of America,* pursuant to the provisions of 60 Stat. 1055, 25 U.S.C. 70t; to the Committee Interior and Insular Affairs.

2148. A letter from the Acting Director, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a proposed grant agreement with the University of Wyoming for scientific research, pursuant to section (d), Public Law 89–672; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2149. A letter from the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting a report concerning the activities of the Commission in implementing the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act, pursuant to section 8 of such act (15 U.S.C. sec. 1451); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

2150. A letter from the Executive Director of the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting a report on the backlog of pending applications and hearing cases in the Federal Communications Commission as of July 31, 1968, pursuant to section 5(e) of the Communications Act as amended July 16, 1962, by Public Law 554; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

2151. A letter from the Acting Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, transmitting a copy of the publication, "Typical Electric Bills, 1967"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

2152. A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a report relating to exemptions from the antitrust laws to assist in safeguarding the balance-of-payments positions of the United States, pursuant to section 3 of Public Law 89–175; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2153. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a report of claims of employees for damage to or loss of personal property settled during fiscal year 1968, pursuant to the provisions of the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claim Act of 1964, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2154. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting a report of claims paid for the fiscal year 1968 by the Department of the Air Force under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, as amended (31 U.S.C. 240–243); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2155. A letter from the General Manager, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a report of settlement of claims of employees paid under authority of the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, as amended, for the period July 1, 1967, through June 30, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of subsection (e) of the statute; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2156. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting reports concerning visa petitions approved according certain beneficiaries third and sixth preference classification, pursuant to the provisions of section 204(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2157. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of list and orders entered in cases in which the authority contained in section 212(d)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act was exercised pursuant to the provisions of section 212(d)(6) of the act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2158. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting reports concerning visa petitions approved according certain beneficiaries third and sixth preference classification (Aug. 15, 1968), pursuant to the provisions of section 204(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2159. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting reports concerning visa petitions approved and giving the beneficiaries third and sixth preference classification (Sept. 3, 1968), pursuant to the provisions of section 204(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2160. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders (Aug. 1, 1968), entered in the cases of certain aliens found admissible to the United States under the provisions of section 212(a)(28)(I)(ii) of the Immigration and Nationality Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2161. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders entered in cases in which the authority contained in section 212(d)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act was exercized in behalf of certain aliens, together with a list of the persons involved, pursuant to the provisions of section 212(d)(6) of the act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2162. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting a request for withdrawal of a certain case involving suspension of deportation under the provisions of section 244(a)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2163. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders (Sept. 3, 1968) entered in the cases of certain aliens who have been found admissible to the United States under the Immigration and Nationality Act, pursuant to section

212(a)(28)(I)(ii) of the act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2164. A letter from the Governor, Canal Zone government, transmitting a report of claims paid for the period of July 1, 1967, to June 30, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of 28 U.S.C. 2672, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2165. A letter from the President, Panama Canal Company, transmitting a report of claims paid for the period July 1, 1967, to June 30, 1968, pursuant to the provisions of section 3, Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2166. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Postmaster General to relieve postmasters and other employees for certain losses resulting from improper, or incorrect payments; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

2167. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting a report on the relationship between the consumption of alcohol and highway safety, pursuant to the provisions of section 204 of the Highway Safety Act of 1966, Public Law 89-564; to the Committee on Public Works.

2168. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting recommendations regarding the future Federal-aid highway program supplementary to the 1968 national highway needs report submitted January 31, 1968, pursuant to the provision of section 3, Public Law 89-139; to the Committee on Public Works.

2169. A letter from the Administrator, Veterans' Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to modify eligibility requirements governing the grant of assistance in acquiring specially adapted housing to include loss or loss of use of a lower extremity and other service-connected neurological or orthopedic disability which impairs locomotion to the extent that a wheelchair is regularly required; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, pursuant to the order of the House of August 2, 1968, the following bills were reported on August 5, 1968:

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "U.S. Aid Operations in Latin America Under the Alliance for Progress" (36th report by the committee) (Rept. No. 1849). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Criteria for Support Service Cost Comparisons" (37th report by the committee) (Rept. No. 1850). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Under clause 2 or rule XIII, pursuant to the order of the House of August 2, 1968, the following bill was reported on August 7, 1968:

Mr. DAWSON: Committee on Government Operations. Report entitled "Consumer Problem of the Poor: Supermarket Operations in Low-Income Areas and the Federal Response" (38th report by the committee) (Rept. No. 1851). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

[*Submitted September 4, 1968*]

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. JOHNSON of California: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. S. 224. An act to provide for the rehabilitation of the Eklutna project, Alaska, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1852). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. JOHNSON of California: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. S. 3058. An act to amend the Water Resources Planning Act to revise the authorization of appropriations for administering the provisions of the act, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1853). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. TAYLOR: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 15245. A bill to establish the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in the States of Utah and Wyoming, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1854). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. CAREY: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 16801. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the rehabilitation of Guam, and for other purposes," approved November 4, 1963; with amendment (Rept. No. 1855). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. TAYLOR: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 17787. A bill to authorize the appropriation of funds for Padre Island National Seashore in the State of Texas, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1856). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. TAYLOR. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 18333. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to study the feasibility and desirability of establishing an Upper Mississippi Valley National Recreation Area between Wood River, Ill., and Minneapolis, Minn., and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1857). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. TAYLOR: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.J. Res. 1384. Joint Resolution relating to the administration of the National Park System; with amendment (Rept. No. 1858). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BARING: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 10256. A bill to render the assertion of land claims by the United States based upon accretion or avulsion subject to legal and equitable defense to which private persons asserting such claims would be subject; with amendment (Rept. No. 1859). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. TAYLOR: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 14413. A bill to authorize the acquisition and disposal of certain lands at Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Ga., and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1860). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ASPINALL. Committee of conference. S. 1004. An act to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the central Arizona project, Arizona-New Mexico, and for other purposes. (Rept. No. 1861). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. ASPINALL. Committee of conference. S. 20. An act to provide for a comprehensive review of national water resource problems and programs, and for other purposes. (Rept. No. 1862). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. UDALL: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H.R. 17954. A bill to correct certain inequities and relieve certain liabilities arising out of overpayments of compensation to Government employees as a result of administrative error in the application of certain provisions of the Classification Act of 1949, the Federal Employees Salary Act of 1964, and other provisions of law, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1863). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. UDALL: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H.R. 19136. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide for the payment of overtime and standby pay to certain personnel employed in the Department of Transportation. (Rept. No. 1864). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. UDALL: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H.R. 7406. A bill to authorize the furnishing of subsistence and quarters or per diem allowance to employees of the Corps of Engineers engaged in floating plant operations; with amendment (Rept. No. 1865). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARING:

H.R. 19411. A bill to provide for improved employee-management relations in the Federal service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BURKE of Florida:

H.R. 19412. A bill to provide that the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida shall also be held at Fort Lauderdale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 19413. A bill authorizing a survey of the Kalihi Stream area, Oahu, Hawaii, in the interest of flood control and allied purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. MONAGAN:

H.R. 19414. A bill to extend the provisions of the Commercial Fisheries Research and Development Act of 1964; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. OLSEN:

H.R. 19415. A bill to provide for a delay, or a waiver, of the conditions of mailing articles at the special fourth-class rate or at the library rate, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H.R. 19416. A bill to prohibit loans by the Small Business Administration to businesses deriving 50 percent or more of their revenues from the sale of alcoholic beverages; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 19417. A bill to amend the Federal Reserve Act to broaden eligibility for use of the discount privilege; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. POAGE:

H.R. 19418. A bill to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act and the Farm Credit Act of 1933, as amended, to expedite retirement of Government capital from Federal intermediate credit banks, production credit associations and banks for cooperatives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TALCOTT:

H.R. 19419. A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. EILBERG:

H.R. 19420. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for a comprehensive review of the medical, technical, social, and legal problems and opportunities which the Nation faces as a result of medical progress toward making transplantation of organs, and the use of artificial organs a practical alternative in the treatment of disease; to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance to certain non-Federal institutions, agencies, and organizations for the establishment and operation of regional and community programs for patients with kidney disease and for the conduct of training related to such programs; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 19421. A bill to amend the Federal employees and retired Federal employees health benefits programs to insure that retired Federal employees do not have to pay twice for benefits which are provided both under such programs and under the health insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. GUDE (for himself, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. HORTON, Mr. ADAMS, and Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland):

H.R. 19422. A bill to authorize additional compensation for District of Columbia police and firemen for completion of law enforcement and police administration courses at institutions of higher education; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SISK:

H.R. 19423. A bill to amend section 19(a) of the District of Columbia Public Assistance Act of 1962; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 19424. A bill to eliminate racketeering in the sale and distribution of cigarettes and to assist State and local governments in the enforcement of cigarette taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 19425. A bill to establish the Rancho Guajome National Historic Site in the State of California; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. DERWINSKI:

H. Con. Res. 810. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the occupation of Czechoslovakia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mrs. BOLTON (for herself, Mr. ADAIR, Mr. GERALD R. FORD, and Mr. CORBETT):

H. Con. Res. 811. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the occupation of Czechoslovakia by military forces of the Soviet Union and its satellites; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HALL (for himself, Mr. GROSS, Mr. BROCK, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma, Mr. ASHBROOK, and Mr. KING of New York):

H. Con. Res. 812. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the occupation of Czechoslovakia by military forces of the Soviet Union and its satellites; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MESKILL:

H. Res. 1288. Resolution establishing a Special Committee on the Captive Nations; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H. Res. 1289. Resolution to authorize the Committee on Public Works to conduct an investigation and study to determine the maximum length of motor vehicles permitted to use the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

374. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arkansas, relative to the taxation of National banks by the States; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

375. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to the Soldiers and Sailors Civil Relief Act of 1940; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

376. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Guam, relative to the establishment of a Status Commission for the Unincorporated Territory of Guam; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 19426. A bill for the relief of Antonino Bellone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19427. A bill for the relief of Carmine Aletto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19428. A bill for the relief of Manuel Marquies DaSilva; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19429. A bill for the relief of Vincenzo D'Aquisto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19430. A bill for the relief of Roslyn Piper; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 19431. A bill for the relief of George Georgakopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ASHMORE:

H.R. 19432. A bill for the relief of Colie Lance Johnson, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARING:

H.R. 19433. A bill for the relief of certain individuals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 19434. A bill for the relief of Emilio Garcia-Sumayod; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. BOLTON:

H.R. 19435. A bill for the relief of Simon Greenberg, Eva Greenberg, and Harold Leslie Greenberg; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRADEMAS:

H.R. 19436. A bill for the relief of Iris Elisabeth Mensing; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 19437. A bill for the relief of Alireza Soltani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19438. A bill for the relief of Angela Maria Narici; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H.R. 19439. A bill for the relief of James L. Smith; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19440. A bill for the relief of Ettore Salerno; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19441. A bill for the relief of Antonio Alberto Gomes Barbosa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 19442. A bill for the relief of Ho Tsiu Yee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAREY:

H.R. 19443. A bill for the relief of Lucrezia Adragna and her children, Gioacchino Adragna and Luciano Adragna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 19444. A bill for the relief of Arita Genicounia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

H.R. 19445. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Hilda Peters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19446. A bill for the relief of Janice and Paget Whyte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 19447. A bill for the relief of Francesca Adriana Fatta (Milionzi); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 19448. A bill for the relief of Michael Thomas Murrihy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 19449. A bill for the relief of Tikva Cohen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19450. A bill for the relief of Vera Zilzer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19451. A bill for the relief of Boris Spaleta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19452. A bill for the relief of Wendy Tse; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 19453. A bill for the relief of Panayot Farmaka and Sultana Farmaka; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19454. A bill for the relief of Antonino Arena, his wife Anna Arena, and their daughter Anna Nicoletta Arena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19455. A bill for the relief of Giovanni Tavano and Natalina Tavano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19456. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Favella; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19457. A bill for the relief of Bettina Cortina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19458. A bill for the relief of Benedetta Larca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19459. A bill for the relief of Dr. Eduardo N. Saguil; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19460. A bill for the relief of Antonio Carbone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19461. A bill for the relief of Franco Rinaldi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19462. A bill for the relief of Carmelo Ricotta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GIAIMO:

H.R. 19463. A bill for the relief of Chung Sung Bak; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 19464. A bill for the relief of Mr. Richard Benjamin Dewgard and his wife, Mrs. Phillipa Leanora Dewgard; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GUBSER:

H.R. 19465. A bill for the relief of Miss Estelita Cabacungan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19466. A bill for the relief of Dionisio Sablo Radoc and Espirita Cuntapay Radoc; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19467. A bill relating to the income tax treatment of contributions to the Sierra Club; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HANNA:

H.R. 19468. A bill for the relief of Myung Ja Jun; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19469. A bill for the relief of Du-Nam Lee Chung; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYS:

H.R. 19470. A bill for the relief of Antonino Iacoucci; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 19471. A bill for the relief of Nikolaos M. Parkas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19472. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Salvatore Ilardi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19473 A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Oliveri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19474 A bill for the relief of Helena Wilk; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOSMER:

H.R. 19475. A bill for the relief of Ernesto G. Domenden; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19476. A bill for the relief of Angelo Domizio Mancini; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 19477. A bill for the relief of Mario Di Leo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

H.R. 19478. A bill for the relief of Felipe Plaza Otero; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19479. A bill for the relief of Juan Jose Urreaga Ariztia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19480. A bill for the relief of Jose Miguel Recondo Andueza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19481. A bill for the relief of Vincente Azpiroz Echarri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 19482. A bill for the relief of Victoriano Echarte Irazoqui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19483. A bill for the relief of Martin Baraibar Iturralde; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19484. A bill for the relief of Martin Uriz Valencia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19485. A bill for the relief of Manuel Iturregui Zabala; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19486. A bill for the relief of Florentino Goya Zozaya; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19487. A bill for the relief of Pedro Urionaguena Urionaguena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.R. 19488. A bill for the relief of Dr. Nicholas Gerber, his wife, Mirjam Caroline Stiel Gerber, and their daughter, Monica Ruth Gerber; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLURE:

H.R. 19489. A bill for the relief of Juan Aranda Zabala; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 19490. A bill to validate the conveyance of certain land in the State of California by the Southern Pacific Co.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MACHEN:

H.R. 19491. A bill for the relief of A. F. M. Sharful Alam; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19492. A bill for the relief of Tze Duen Chan, his wife Shen Fen Chan, and their minor daughter Karen Chan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19493. A bill for the relief of Patience Berko; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 19494. A bill for the relief of Keitaro Nomura, his wife, Iyoko Nomura, and their minor sons, Chiyotaka Nomura and Koji Nomura; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19495. A bill for the relief of Tamekichi Yasusato Asato; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MESKILL:

H.R. 19496. A bill for the relief of Ilona Hiermann; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINSHALL:

H.R. 19497. A bill for the relief of Dr. Eliseo Banguis and Dr. Lucia Banguis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 19498. A bill for the relief of Yocheved Gorash; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19499. A bill for the relief of Calogero Mallia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19500. A bill for the relief of Veronica Barnes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19501. A bill for the relief of Bartolome Catelo and Marietta Alonso De Castro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 19502. A bill for the relief of Manuel da Silva Bettencourt; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19503. A bill for the relief of Augusto Buonapane; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19504. A bill for the relief of Panayiotis and Georgia Zafiropoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19505. A bill for the relief of Jose Pinto Repas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PELLY:

H.R. 19506. A bill for the relief of Isidro L. Marcojos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19507. A bill for the relief of Angelina R. Reyes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19508. A bill for the relief of Zoltan A. Szocs; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19509 A bill for the relief of Sicinio V. Apigo, Sr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PODELL:

H.R. 19510. A bill for the relief of Paolo Vitale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19511. A bill for the relief of Rafael Savaryego; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19512. A bill for the relief of Mariano Scavuzzo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 19513. A bill for the relief of Mr. Isidoro Castronovo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19514. A bill for the relief of Mr. Bijoy Sankar Paul, and Mrs. Heidrun Paul (husband and wife); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19515. A bill for the relief of Mr. Guiseppe DeLuca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19516. A bill for the relief of Mr. Leonardo Ognibene, Mrs. Grazia Ognibene, Giuseppe Ognibene, and Domenico Ognibene; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. REID of Illinois:

H.R. 19517. A bill for the relief of Wilfred Goldthorpe, Joyce Goldthorpe, Lesley Deborah Goldthorpe, and Brian Andrew Goldthorpe; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REINECKE:

H.R. 19518. A bill for the relief of Maria Jesus Berecibar; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19519. A bill for the relief of Mitsuyasu Maeno (also known as Soichi Maeno) and his wife, Noriko Maeno; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RESNICK:

H.R. 19520. A bill for the relief of Abraham J. Braum; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19521. A bill for the relief of Kalavati Gupta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIEGLE:

H.R. 19522. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ismael D. Yanga, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROONEY of New York:

H.R. 19523. A bill for the relief of Pietro Salvo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19524. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Caterina Berlen DeSilvio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 19525. A bill for the relief of Malua Maiava Hunkin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19526. A bill for the relief of Dai Sik Park; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19527. A bill for the relief of Miss Vita Maria Narici; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 19528. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Fernande M. Allen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 19529. A bill for the relief of Vallan Pitts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19530. A bill for the relief of Jose Z. Gutierrez, Jr., M.D.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19531. A bill for the relief of Arita Zannides Genidounia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SISK:

H.R. 19532. A bill for the relief of Jesus Maria Oteiza Aroztegui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19533. A bill for the relief of Joaquin Michelena Burguete; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19534. A bill for the relief of Julio Aristoy Ochandorena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19535. A bill for the relief of Pascual Baraibar Iturralde; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19536. A bill for the relief of Francisco Javier Azqueta Goitia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19537. A bill for the relief of Lucio Cortea Goyeneche; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19538. A bill for the relief of Anastasio Apezteguia Saldias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19539. A bill for the relief of Juan Jose Aznarez Barba; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19540. A bill for the relief of Eustaquio Iparraguirre Zubieta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19541. A bill for the relief of Juan Aleman Larregui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19542. A bill for the relief of certain individuals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19543. A bill for the relief of Ignacio Lizasco Jauregui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19544. A bill for the relief of Santiago Iturregui Urrutia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19545. A bill for the relief of Jose Jorajuria Arrechea; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19546. A bill for the relief of Francisco Lasarte Muguiro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19547. A bill for the relief of Manuel Irigoyen Echeverria; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19548. A bill for the relief of Apolinar Gaston Barcos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19549. A bill for the relief of Aurelio Iribarren Iriate; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19550. A bill for the relief of Jairer Gamio Goni; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19551 A bill for the relief of Maximo Gonzalez Solana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19552. A bill for the relief of Pedro Maria Gamio Goni; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19553. A bill for the relief of Pedro Maria Salaverri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19554. A bill for the relief of Juan Aguirre; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19555. A bill for the relief of Francisco Paternain; to the Committee on the Judiciary

By Mr. STAFFORD:

H.R. 19556. A bill for the relief of Alois Josef Betschart; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas:

H.R. 19557. A bill to adjust the immigration status of George, Robert, Daniel, and Nicholas Panagopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 19558. A bill for the relief of Madona Cudjoe; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19559. A bill for the relief of Erica Sheffer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 19560. A bill for the relief of Arie Sheffer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia:

H.R. 19561. A bill for the relief of Tuncer Someren and Mrs. Ayten Ozdil Someren; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. UDALL:

H.R. 19562. A bill for the relief of Bert N. Adams and Emma Adams; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ULLMAN:

H.R. 19563. A bill for the relief of Prudencio Cenicacelaya Aboitiz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VANDER JAGT:

H.R. 19564. A bill for the relief of Keum Jo Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WIDNALL:

H.R. 19565. A bill for the relief of Lydia Bernardez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

391. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the board of commissioners, city of Ashland, Ky., relative to tax exemption on State and local government bonds; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

392. Also, petition of Karl Weiser, Wesel, Germany, relative to certain requests dealing with foreign affairs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

393. Also, petition of Mr. William Netschert, Daytona Beach, Fla., relative to the census; to the Committee on House Administration.

394. Also, petition of Mr. Henry Stoner, Portland, Oreg., relative to a Great Orations Day; to the Committee on House Administration.

395. Also, petition of the President of the Mariana Islands District Legislature, Saipan, Mariana Islands, relative to a report on land problems in the Mariana Islands and remarks given during the beginning of the Mariana Islands District Legislature; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

SENATE—*Wednesday, September 4, 1968*

The Senate met at 12 noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, God, the baffling problems in which our lives are set bring to our lips the cry, "Who is sufficient for these things?"

Reveal to us how vast are the issues and how great the enterprise committed now to our hands in the tangled affairs of our agitated world.

We turn to Thee, driven by our tension for the present, anxiety about the future, deep concern about ourselves, our Nation, and our world.

With Thy benediction may we face the toil of these days with honest dealing and clear thinking, with hatred of all deceit, and sham, and in the knowledge that all great and noble service in this world is based on gentleness and patience and self giving.

In the spirit of the Master we ask it. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, August 2, 1968, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of Friday, August 2, 1968, the Secretary of the Senate, on Saturday, August 3, 1968, received the following message from the House of Representatives during the temporary adjournment of the Senate:

That the Speaker of the House had appointed Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts, Mr. SMITH of Iowa, Mr. DAVIS of Georgia, Mr. DEVINE, of Ohio, and Mr. KYL, of Iowa, as members of the Special Committee To Investigate Campaign Expenditures.

The message announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3566) to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of "supplemental air transportation," and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills:

S. 633. An act to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps;

S. 1504. An act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans for enterprises to supplement farm income and for farm conversion to recreation, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, establish a flexible loan interest rate, and for other purposes;

S. 2269. An act to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries;

S. 2468. An act for the relief of Dr. George S. Ioannides;

S. 2488. An act for the relief of Dr. Raul Agustin Pereira-Valdes;

S. 3095. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1093. An act to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5233. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sophie Michalowska;

H.R. 10932. An act for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force (retired);

H.R. 12323. An act to amend chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the retired serviceman's family protection plan, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12843. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health;

H.R. 13781. An act to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966;

H.R. 14367. An act to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 16027. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16363. An act to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17522. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18188. An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18254. An act to amend further section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920; and

H.R. 18706. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that he presented to the President of the United States the following bills:

On August 7, 1968:

S. 1504. An act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans for enterprises to supplement farm income and for farm conversion to recreation, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, establish a flexible loan interest rate, and for other purposes;

S. 2269. An act to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries;

S. 2468. An act for the relief of Dr. George S. Ioannides;

S. 2488. An act for the relief of Dr. Raul Agustin Pereira-Valdes;

S. 3095. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professional personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes;

S. 3638. An act to provide indemnity payments to dairy farmers;

S. 3710. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes; and

S. 3865. An act to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes.

On August 12, 1968:

S. 450. An act to provide for the popular election of the Governor of the Virgin Islands, and for other purposes;

S. 633. An act to promote the Foreign Policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps; and

S. 3418. An act to authorize appropriations for the fiscal years 1970 and 1971 for the construction of certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of Friday, August 2, 1968, the President pro tempore, on Tuesday, August 6, 1968, signed the following enrolled bills, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 1504. An act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans for enterprises to supplement farm income and for farm conversion to recreation, remove the annual ceiling on insured loans, increased the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, establish a flexible loan interest rate, and for other purposes;

S. 2269. An act to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries;

S. 2468. An act for the relief of Dr. George S. Ioannides;

S. 2488. An act for the relief of Dr. Raul Agustin Pereira-Valdes;

S. 3095. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professions and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities, and for other purposes;

S. 3638. An act to provide indemnity payments to dairy farmers;

S. 3710. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes;

S. 3865. An act to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1093. An act to amend and clarify the reemployment provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5233. An act for the relief of Mrs. Sophie Michalowska;

H.R. 10864. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Saline County, Ark., to the Dierks Forests, Inc., and for other purposes;

H.R. 10932. An act for the relief of Gilmour C. MacDonald, colonel, U.S. Air Force (retired);

H.R. 12323. An act to amend chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the retired serviceman's family protection plan, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12843. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health;

H.R. 13781. An act to amend title II of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966;

H.R. 14367. An act to authorize the disposal of beryl ore from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 15794. An act to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16027. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16086. An act to amend the Act of August 25, 1959 (73 Stat. 420), pertaining to the affairs of the Choctaw Tribe of Oklahoma;

H.R. 16363. An act to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to State poultry products inspection programs, and for other purposes;

H.R. 17522. An act making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18188. An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes;

H.R. 18254. An act to amend further section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920; and

H.R. 18706. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

Under authority of the order of the Senate of Friday, August 2, 1968, the Vice President, on Monday, August 12, 1968, signed the following enrolled bills, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 450. An act to provide for the popular election of the Governor of the Virgin Islands, and for other purposes;

S. 633. An act to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps; and

S. 3418. An act to authorize appropriations for the fiscal years 1970 and 1971 for the construction of certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code, and for other purposes.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Secretary of the Senate, announcing that the President had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolution:

On August 3, 1968:

S.J. Res. 193. Joint resolution to designate the National Center for Biomedical Communications the Lister Hill National Center for Biomedical Communications;

S. 6. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the initial stage of the Oahe unit, James division, Missouri River Basin project, South Dakota, and for other purposes;

S. 1224. An act to establish a register of blind persons in the District of Columbia, to provide for the mandatory reporting of information concerning such persons, and for other purposes;

S. 1228. An act to authorize project grants and loans for construction and modernization of hospitals and other medical facilities in the District of Columbia;

S. 1532. An act to require that contracts for construction, alteration, or repair of any public building or public work of the District of Columbia be accompanied by a performance bond protecting the District of Columbia and by an additional bond for the protection of persons furnishing material and labor, and for other purposes;

S. 2445. An act to amend part I of the Federal Power Act to clarify the manner in which the licensing authority of the Commission and the right of the United States to take over a project or projects upon or after the expiration of any license shall be exercised; and

S. 2908. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Army to quitclaim certain real property in Muscogee County, Ga.

On August 8, 1968:

S. 2060. An act to amend section 503(f) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to extend for a period of 5 years the authorization to make appropriations for allocations and grants for the collection and publication of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States; and

S. 3679. An act to amend the act of June 19, 1968 (Public Law 351, 90th Congress).

On August 11, 1968:

S. 2468. An act for the relief of Dr. George S. Ioannides; and

S. 2488. An act for the relief of Dr. Raul Augustin Pereira-Valdes.

On August 12, 1968:

S. 222. An act to insure that certain buildings financed with Federal funds are so designed as to be accessible to the physically handicapped;

S. 1166. An act to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety standards for the transportation of natural and other gas by pipeline, and for other purposes; and

S. 2269. An act to amend the act of August 27, 1954, relative to the unlawful seizure of fishing vessels of the United States by foreign countries.

On August 13, 1968:

S. 3638. An act to provide indemnity payments to dairy farmers;

S. 3710. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes; and

S. 3865. An act to clarify the status of National Guard technicians, and for other purposes.

On August 15, 1968:

S 1504. An act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide for loans for enterprises to supplement farm incomes and for farm conversion to recreation, remove the annual ceiling of insured loans, increase the amount of unsold insured loans that may be made out of the fund, raise the aggregate annual limits on grants, establish a flexible loan interest rate, and for other purposes.

On August 16, 1968:

S. 3095. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend and improve the programs relating to the training of nursing and other health professionals and allied health professions personnel, the program relating to student aid for such personnel, and the program relating to health research facilities and for other purposes.

On August 20, 1968:

S. 633. An act to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service personnel system of the U.S. Information Agency through establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps.

On August 23, 1968:

S. 450. An act to provide for the popular election of the Governor of the Virgin Islands, and for other purposes; and

S. 3418. An act to authorize appropriations for the fiscal years 1970 and 1971 for the construction of certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code, and for other purposes.

SPECIAL REPORT ON JOINT COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE UNITED STATES-CANADA AUTOMOTIVE PRODUCTS AGREEMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 379)

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Finance:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress a special report on the joint comprehensive review of the United States-Canada Automotive Products Agreement. This review was undertaken by the Governments of the United States and Canada in accordance with the terms of the Agreement. A report to the Congress on the review is required by the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965.

In reviewing the Agreement, both Governments concluded that:

—Considerable progress has been made toward achieving the benefits of a broader United States-Canada market for automotive products. Trade between the two countries in automotive products has greatly expanded, cost economies in production have been realized, and employment in the automotive industries in both countries has increased.

—Not enough experience has been accumulated under the Agreement to recommend changes. Areas of possible improvement were carefully considered and are under further study.

Each Government continues to be able at any time to request consultations on any problem arising under the Agreement.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 4, 1968.*

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, and withdrawing the nomination of Joseph C. Brown to be postmaster at Bomoseen, Vt., which nominating messages were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE SENIOR SENATOR FROM VERMONT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the August 1968 issue of City East—a magazine for New Yorkers, it says—contains an article about our distinguished colleague the senior Senator from Vermont, the ranking Republican in this body. It refers, of course, to a man who is highly respected on both sides of the aisle as well as by the American people as a whole, regardless of their party politics.

The article gives a good résumé of this outstanding Senator's life, and I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Senator From Vermont," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATORIAL SPOTLIGHT: SENATOR FROM VERMONT

Vermont's Senior Senator George D. Aiken, ranking Republican and former Chairman of the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee, is a vigorous spokesman for rural America.

This Vermont Senator, who gets most of his work done before official Washington is awake as good farmers have always done, personifies the man of tradition who looks forward to the changes that will improve and preserve our world. This is illustrated in his leadership of the long fight for the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development; his introduction of the New England Forest Fire Compact in the Senate in 1949 which became a model for other states and in his roll as one of the authors of Public Law 480, which has come to be known as the Food For Peace Program.

This Vermonter, with his craggy face and his bright red ties, who returns to his native State at least once a month during congressional sessions, is the author of the definitive work on wildflowers, entitled Pioneering with Wildflowers. He secured the first patent on a variety of strawberries named "Green Mountain" after his beloved mountains in Vermont.

THE FARMERS' FRIEND

Since going to Washington, the Senator has found it impossible to get away from the dairy business although his efforts have been confined largely to getting information for the folks back home.

Another phase of his work lies in trying to speed up action relative to hearings and decisions relating to marketing orders.

Aiken said:

"By and large the same problems which confronted the milk producers in the past are with us today."

According to Senator Aiken these problems relate to production, to marketing, and to price.

There has been a decline in the use of dairy products.

Senator Aiken pointed out that one big setback occurred soon after World War II when the retail price of butter was permitted to reach its own level in the market without subsidy.

Vegetable oils came into the picture in a big way and have been steadily taking over what was once an extensive and on the whole a profitable market for the dairymen.

The Senator remarked:

"Manufacturers of butter substitutes enjoy an excellent profit and are therefore enabled to extensively advertise their products.

"Some of their advertising is quite misleading and borders on scare tactics.

"Some of the producers of oleo go on their merry way implying that if a person doesn't shift from butter to the use of substitutes, he is pretty likely to have a heart attack."

The consumption of whole milk is also on the decrease because of retail pricing.

Aiken commented:

"If decreasing consumption and increasing cost did not provide enough trouble for the dairyman, our Federal government has tacitly approved a major contribution to his load by permitting an exceptional increase in the importation of dairy products.

"Of course, some of our industrial concerns are very happy with this situation because it gives the foreign producing countries dollars to spend for more industrial products.

"But in the long run, any weakening of American agriculture is bound to affect adversely all segments of our domestic economy except perhaps those who profit directly from the decline in agricultural prosperity.

"No doubt, huge supplies of food are useful in playing power politics with foreign countries, and personally I would rather have reasonable surpluses than deficits of these food commodities.

"But when it comes to making the American farmer the goat in the game of international politics, I have to register a strenuous objection."

Aiken has suggested that we renew the program which was so helpful during World War II.

That program although called a farm subsidy was in effect a consumer subsidy in that it kept the price of milk to the consumer at a reasonable level and at the same time returned income enough to the dairyman so that he could live and produce at a respectable level.

The Senator commented:

"As I see it, it is no worse and no more socialistic to subsidize an extra quart of milk for an urban family with six kids than it is to grant subsidies amounting to billions to our so-called big business enterprises."

RENEWAL OF RURAL AMERICA

Instead of continuing the drain from rural America to the urban areas, the Senator feels that we should make the conveniences of the cities, provided for with public funds, also available to the smaller cities, the towns and rural communities.

Only in this way can we maintain a healthy national growth and prevent the undesirable features of congested human existence from getting worse.

The Aiken Rural Water Act of 1965, providing grants and an expanded loan program for rural water and sewage systems, has been called "landmark legislation" that will equal or surpass REA* in the generation of billions of dollars of new farm prosperity.

Aiken, a member of the prestigious Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, introduced a bill to insure a reasonable opportunity for all electrical utilities to participate in the benefits of nuclear power.

The Senator said:

"With the accelerated use of electricity in the United States we must have an enormously increased supply and that we must not let the desires of special interests block or delay the needs of the nation."

THE AIKEN GENERATIONS OF VERMONT

George David Aiken was born at Dummerston, Vermont on August 20, 1892, in a house that has been replaced by Interstate Highway 91. "Best monument a man could have" he says. "It cost $7 million."

There have been Aikens in southeast Vermont since 1780, when one of the Senator's forebears, Deacon Edward Aiken, settled on a farm in the hills in what is now the town of Windham.

Young Aiken attended common schools of Putney, Vermont and graduated from Brattleboro, Vermont High School in 1909. After completing high school, he borrowed $100 to plant a patch of raspberries. This grew to 500 acres and he added a nursery.

George Aiken became master of Putney Grange at the age of 18 and three years later he helped organize the Windham County Farm Bureau, the second to be founded in Vermont. He was President of the Bureau in 1935 and 1936. He was President of the Vermont Horticultural Society, 1917–1918.

Senator Aiken's wife, the former Beatrice M. Howard, whom he married in 1914 passed away in 1966. The Senator has four children. His only son, Howard, was killed in a plane crash in 1959.

Aiken married again June 30, 1967 to Miss Lola Pierotti who has been employed by the Senator as an aide for more than 30 years.

---

*Rural Electrification Administration.

Mrs. Aiken is thriving in her double role as wife and Administrative Assistant.

Instilled in the Aiken ancestry is a strong sense of duty to public service. Since Deacon Edward Aiken first settled in the town of Windham in pre-Revolutionary days, a member of the Aiken family, in every generation, has been active in politics.

Senator Aiken's father was a member of the State Legislature four terms. George D. Aiken began his public service career in 1931 as a State Legislator. In 1933 he was afforded the well-deserved honor of being elected Speaker of the Vermont House of Representatives. Next, he was elected Lt. Governor and then Governor of his state for two terms. (It is typical of the affection in which he is held by his many friends and associates that to this day he is not called "Senator" but is still referred to as "Governor".)

While Lieutenant Governor he was instrumental in securing the passage of the Vermont Rural Electrification.

He has always been an advocate of interstate cooperation and was the first Governor to sign the Interstate Parole and Probation Compact. Vermont was kept on a "pay-as-you-go" basis even during depression years.

Depicting the crux of his philosophy, Aiken said:

"Some say you wouldn't prune except at the right time of the year. I generally do it when the saw is sharp."

George Aiken was elected to the United States Senate on November 5, 1940, to fill the unexpired term ending January 3, 1945, of U.S. Senator Ernest W. Gibson due to death. Senator Aiken was re-elected in 1944, 1950, 1956 and again on November 6, 1962.

On his ability to harmonize the past and the present, Aiken commented:

"Some people throw up their hands when they see a trend bearing down on them. But I believe it is better to jump on the trend and try to guide it rather than being run over. That's why I vote as I do on a lot of things I never would have started in the first place."

In addition to his measures which would tend to place agricultural income on a basis commensurate with that enjoyed by other groups and at the same time assure the American farmer of freedom from rigid government acreage and price controls, Aiken has also taken a firm stand for civil liberties and against bills restricting the rights of any minority, and favors greater security for the aged.

INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

Senator Aiken is equally attentive to the problems of foreign affairs.

He is credited with giving up 13 years seniority on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee in 1954 and accepting an assignment on the Foreign Relations Committee at least partly to keep the vacancy from going to the late Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, who was then on his over zealous campaign against Communists in the State Department.

Since his appointment to the Foreign Relations Committee the Senator has travelled widely, served as a representative to the United Nations, headed study missions to Canada, and Latin America and participated in the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty in 1963. In 1965 he was a member of a group that made a fact-finding journey for the Committee to Vietnam and a number of other countries.

Under the rules, members of the majority party are appointed to head subcommittees. But Senator Aiken, a member of the minority, is Chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Canada with no objection from the Democrats.

On the problems confronting the world today, Senator Aiken says:

"We have for far too long now duped the American people with the invention of a monolithic enemy called "Communism" in order to justify our often quite inadvertent foreign policy initiatives."

The Senator has maintained that we made a huge military commitment in Vietnam simply because we did not have the wit, the imagination or the courage to devise a political strategy to suit a political problem.

According to the Vermont Senator, there can be no return to a healthy state of politics in our foreign policy until it is recognized that the militarization of that policy in situations like Vietnam can lead only to costly futility.

SENATOR KENNEDY ON VIETNAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a speech delivered by the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] on August 21, 1968, in Kimball Hall, on the campus of Holy Cross College, together with a representative editorial commenting on the speech.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPONG in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MANSFIELD. I believe that this was a remarkably effective speech, forcefully delivered by a man who has been under a great deal of strain. I listened to it with great interest. I believe he laid it on the line, and without reservation I commend to the Senate the full remarks of this distinguished Senator.

EXHIBIT 1

FULL TEXT OF SPEECH BY SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY

I come here today to Worcester to the heart of my home state, to the state that has supported the effort and shared the sorrows of my life. I thank you for your reception. I thank this state and its people for everything you have done—and everything you had meant—for all the Kennedy family.

Our thoughts today are with Gen. Eisenhower, who has served his country gallantly as the head of our armies and our country. We pray he will prevail in this, his ultimate struggle.

The entry of Russian troops into Czechoslovakia is a retrogression into an age we had all hoped was past.

These events are an affront to decency and especially to a brave people who have demonstrated that they seek to be independent of the Soviet Union.

For the last 10 weeks I have not been active in public life. I have concerned myself with my family. I have spent much of my time with the sea; clearing my mind and spirit; putting the past behind, opening a way to what lies ahead.

Some of you have suggested that for safety's sake, and for my family's sake, I retire from public life. To those who have so written me—my deep thanks for your kindness, and your concern. But there is no safety in hiding.

Not for me, not for any of us here today and not for our children who will inherit the world we make for them.

For all of us, the only path is to work, in what ever way we can, to end the violence and the hatred, and the division that threatens us all.

So today I resume my public responsibilities to the people of Massachusetts. Like my brothers before me I pick up a fallen standard. Sustained by the memory of our priceless years together, I shall try to carry forward that special commitment to justice, to excellence, to courage that distinguished their lives.

This is a time of intense political activity. But I have not come here to speak for partisan interests. I have come here to speak of things that concern every citizen of these United States.

I am concerned, first of all, with the divisions among us—divisions of age and of views and of where we live; of the color of our skins and the quality of our lives.

I am concerned particularly that so many of the young and the poor have felt impelled to defy our system, through demonstrations and disruption, because they see no other way to share in the decisions that govern their lives—in the ghetto, or in the university, or in foreign policy of the nation.

For a while this year there was hope that the voice of the individual could be heard through the time-tested process of American political democracy. Hundreds of thousands worked in primaries and party caucuses throughout the country in a new politics of citizen participation.

Surely this was the most hopeful development of a difficult year. It would be tragic now if all the dedicated efforts of those who worked in both parties for change should count for nothing in the final choice of policies presented to the electorate in November.

I am concerned, deeply concerned, about crime, about disrespect for law, and the violence and dark disorder that so afflict our lives. Yet I am also troubled by the fact that we seem to be surrendering to the wrong answers to these problems.

We have less understanding than fear; less cooperation than separatism. Guns and gas are being stockpiled against crime and riots, but the basic causes of crime and riots—bad schools and housing, no jobs and an inadequate passion for justice—these are being neglected.

Some say that only force will bring order. But arms alone will never bring quiet or security to our streets. All our people—not just those of us who are comfortable, but also and especially those who live in want and fear and pain—all our people must know that the forces of law and order are also the forces of justice; that there is a place for them in this society; that this is also their country.

While every government must protect the lives and property of its citizens, we will not promote law and order by attacking our courts. We will not meet the problem of crime by turning our backs on the Constitution.

And we cannot let the new leadership of this country be swept into office on a tide of fear. This is a nation of confidence and compassion and high purpose. That is the only way we can live.

All these are vital concerns. There is another. It is the war in Vietnam. This war is the tragedy of our generation.

Like most of you in the early years of our involvement I hoped that we could help the South Vietnamese to help themselves; that a modest program of American advisers, equipment and aid would enable the government of South Vietnam to build a nation and a government capable of attracting the support of its own people, and of achieving a political victory over the Viet Cong.

But these hopes are gone. They have foundered in a morass of miscalculation and self-deception. They have been stymied by the stubbornness of the foe. But above all they have been buried by the overwhelming incompetence and corruption of our South Vietnamese ally a government that has consistently proved it incapable or unwilling to meet the needs of its own people, a government that had demanded ever more money, ever more American lives to be poured into the swamp of their failure.

We, to our sorrow, have met almost every demand. Almost 200,000 Americans have been killed or wounded. Twenty-five thousand have died. Over $100 billion of our tax dollars have been spent. Here went the resources to have fulfilled the promise of American life in our generation. Here went the young men to have given leadership to our nation. Here went the energies and labors of a government of dedicated men. Here was progress to dream of, and to work for, and to hand down to our children. Here was an American ready to give leadership to an entire world. Old allies and new friends, former enemies and the present adversaries—all might have looked at our country with warmth and respect and the sure knowledge that this must be their model of the future. It was all here, and now it is gone.

It is gone, that is, unless we now resolve to make an end to this war, not five or ten years from now; not after the expenditure of another $100 billion dollars and the lives of another 25,000 of our finest sons; but as quickly as it is physically possible to reach the essential agreements, and extricate our men and our future from this bottomless pit.

Specifically, our government should undertake as soon as possible: First, to end unconditionally all bombing of North Vietnam; Second, to then negotiate with Hanoi the mutual withdrawal from South Vietnam of all foreign forces, both allied and North Vietnamese; third, to accompany this withdrawal with whatever help we can give to the South Vietnamese in the building of a viable political, economic and legal structure that will not promptly collapse upon our departure and fourth, to demonstrate to both Hanoi and Saigon the sincerity of our intentions by significantly decreasing this year the level of our military activity and military personnel in the South.

These steps would enable us to end our participation in this war with honor, having fulfilled our commitment to prevent a North Vietnamese military takeover of the South and having left the future of South Vietnam to the self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. Under this plan, neither Hanoi nor Washington would try in Paris to either require, or rule out, a coalition government; to either supervise or suppress election procedures; or to name, portfolio by portfolio, the occupants of individual ministerial posts.

None of us would urge a cessation in the bombing if that would cost American lives. But two facts are unmistakably clear:

1. While the bombing has made more difficult the movement of North Vietnamese men and materiel to the South, it has never reduced it. The Secretary of Defense confirmed this fact just last week.

2. An end to the killing in Vietnam can never be negotiated as long as the bombing of North Vietnam continues.

Halting the bombing would thus save many more American lives than it would ever endanger. It would make less likely a new assault by Hanoi on our troops. It would test their willingness to begin serious negotiations.

The Paris negotiations, as I have indicated, should be concerned primarily with the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Vietnam. The intrusion of large numbers of North Vietnamese combat units into South Vietnam was a principal justification in 1965 for dispatching large numbers of American combat units. The withdrawal of all such troops, by both sides, should thus be the goal of the negotiators at Paris once the bombing has stopped.

If we continue instead to insist that our withdrawal be conditioned upon the cessation of all violence in the South or be based upon the readiness of South Vietnamese troops to take over, or be tied to elaborate plans for international peace forces, I am very much afraid that we will remain there indefinitely.

My objective is much simpler: As Hanoi withdraws her troops, we withdraw ours.

I am not unmindful of the difficulties our withdrawal would create for the rulers of a Saigon regime. But it has yet to demonstrate either popular support or a desire to commit that nation fully to that struggle.

We can in the course of withdrawal take steps to assure the safety of those whom we encouraged to stand up against a Communist military takeover. We can help construct a cohesive society as a substitute for our military presence. But the only way I feel that we can provide to the Saigon government—to persuade it to broaden its base, increase its appeal, and negotiate an accommodation with the National Liberation Front—is to make clear our intention to withdraw from the South as Hanoi withdraws, and our complete unwillingness thereafter to bear the burden of their responsibilities and pick up the pieces of their failures.

The government in Saigon must not be given a veto over our course in Paris, our cessation of the bombing, mutual withdrawal of troops. They must be given clear notice that their chief prop will be taken away as soon as we can conclude such negotiations with Hanoi. In short, they, as we, will have to negotiate with their adversaries without a military victory. They, too, will have to make concessions. They, too, will have to work for peace.

Finally, by lowering immediately and significantly the level of our military activity and personnel in the South, we would make clear both the seriousness and good faith of our intentions—not only to Hanoi, thus hopefully spurring the willingness to work out a mutual withdrawal with us—but also to Saigon, thus hopefully spurring their desire to talk peace with the National Liberation Front.

It may be asked: Does this fulfill our commitment? Is this indeed an honorable way out? To both questions, I believe the answer is yes. Few nations have given to another what we have given to South Vietnam. With all we have done with all the efforts of our brave soldiers, with all this, surely it is clear that a government with any desire or ability to meet the needs of its people would have triumphed long ago.

We have done for them all that one nation can do for another; indeed, we have tried to do more. But the outcome of that struggle depends today, as it has always depended, on the will and conviction of the people of the South.

If we follow the steps I have outlined today, I believe we can put this war behind us—and reach out once again for the country we know we should be.

For if we are distracted by war, divided by race, deflected from our proper course, we remain a people of great and enduring promise; as Lincoln once said, "the last, best hope of mankind." That hope is in every one of us. If there was one great meaning to Robert Kennedy's campaign, one ideal that fired the conscience of this nation in 1968, it was that voting every four years was not enough to make a citizen—and not enough to satisfy a man.

Rather each of us must take a direct and personal part in solving the great problems of this country. Each of us must do his individual part to end the suffering, feed the hungry, heal the sick, and strengthen and renew the national spirit.

It is that profound, personal, moral commitment that we seek to reaffirm today. It is a commitment to passion and action, in the service of our fellow man and the nation we love; to the simplest and most evident of laws, the Golden Rule: reminding ourselves every day that but for the grace of God, it would be our children, staring out of television screens with the gaunt face of starvation, the permanent pain of injustice and eyes filled with the terror of war.

So let us resolve that all the sacrifices—from our earliest forebears, to the young men in the jungles of Vietnam, to the presidential candidate who also gave his life—let us take from the meaning of their lives a new courage, a new conviction, a new resolve that all this shall not have been in vain and that in our firm and unswerving determination we can yet serve the end that he so tenderly sought for all of us—"to tame the savageness of man, and make gentle the life of the world."

[From the Boston Globe, Aug. 22, 1968]

KENNEDY ON VIETNAM

It often has been said by members of the Kennedy family as well as others that the youngest brother is in many respects the most able of the three.

President Kennedy, the oldest, said it when he himself was at the peak of his career. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, the middle one, said the same thing and so did the old ambassador.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy may not have proved it with his Wednesday speech in Worcester and certainly no such purpose could have crossed his mind. But to the degree that one speech can help measure the man, Mr. Kennedy most certainly disclosed his capacity to pick up the standard which fell from his martyred brothers hands. He was both moving and profound.

There is no immediate way of assessing the effect his address may have on the Democratic party policy makers, which is the group to which he was mainly addressing himself, especially on the subject of the war in Vietnam, his chief concern. The stage was not set quite right.

The Russians polluted the atmosphere with their inexcusable Czechoslovakian venture, supplying convenient but illegitimate arguments to those who so unrealistically are urging a fight to the finish in Vietnam—presumably at whatever cost in American lives and treasure and the physical devastation of that country and the moral devastation of this one.

But all who heard him with an open mind must surely have been persuaded that there is no excuse for letting the war drag on—"this tragedy of our generation, this bottomless pit of failure," as he so eloquently put it.

One of his four points for ending the war—"by significantly decreasing this year the level of our military activity and personnel to demonstrate the sincerity of our intentions"—may repel some. It reopens the old, dead end argument as to which side moves first, although certainly one or the other must make the first move or both will wait until the end of time.

But logic surely is on his side when he argues for an unconditional end of the bombing of North Vietnam, the negotiated withdrawal of all foreign troops, and the fullest immediate aid to Saigon in the construction of a new government and society which the South Vietnamese will support. They demonstrably do not support the reigning one "of overwhelming incompetence and corruption, a government that has consistently proved itself incapable or unwilling to meet the needs of its own people, a government that has demanded ever more American money, ever more American lives to be poured into the swamp of its failure."

Sen. Kennedy ably refuted the contention of bombing advocates that American lives are at stake, an argument with which unconscionable hawks constantly appeal to men of good will:

"I would not urge a cessation in the bombing if that would cost American lives. But the facts are unmistakably clear. While the bombing has made more difficult the movement of North Vietnamese men and materiel to the South, it has never reduced it. The Secretary of Defense confirmed this just last week. An end to the killing in Vietnam can never be negotiated so long as the bombing of North Vietnam continues. Halting the bombing thus would save many more American lives than it would endanger."

In the 10 weeks since Robert Kennedy's assassination, Edward Kennedy said, he has spent much of his time by the sea—clearing his mind and his spirit, putting the past behind, opening the way to what lies ahead. But he has not yet found the strength to carry on in any new role which his sorely troubled party would confer on him:

"I will not run for office this year."

In a very large sense, this is a pity. On the Democratic national ticket, he could do much to end "the violence and the hatred and the division that threatens us all."

HARRIET MILLER VIEWS MONTANA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, at the end of this year one of Montana's ablest State administrators will be leaving her post as superintendent of public instruction. Harriet Miller has completed 12 years as our State school official and has done a remarkable job in light of the many complex changes which have developed.

Miss Miller is not only a school administrator. She also has a sound grasp of general conditions in the Treasure State. A recent edition of the Great Falls Tribune Montana Parade contains a very informative interview with Harriet Miller. Miss Miller summarizes in concise terms some of the problems which face a State like Montana and has several suggestions as to what we might do. Not only do I hope that the people of Montana took note of her recommendations, but I also think it is something that my colleagues in the Senate will find informative. The contents of the article would apply to many of our States with large land areas and generally small populations and rural economies.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article, published in the August 18 issue of the Great Falls Tribune be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

If We Want To Keep a Country Club State "We Must Be Prepared To Pay High Dues"

(By Jerry Madden)

Helena.—Harriet Miller is an angry "young" woman tired of talk about a better business climate and economic growth with nothing happening.

Miss Miller, who rose from research chemist to state superintendent of public instruction, an office she will vacate at the close of this year, does not believe in a chronological generation gap, but, rather, "a gap in willingness to face up to problems."

A devotee to designing education for the future, she says Montanans must look ahead, not think in the past, and consider what kind of future they are educating for and want for their children.

"The key to development is youth and youthful thinking," believes the Idaho native, who challenged Rep. Arnold Olsen for the Democratic nomination to the western congressional seat last June.

"Youth is a state of mind. You must be able to take a risk, rock the boat and practice all characteristics required for growth and development we associate with young people who don't 'have it made.' "

This woman, who rocked the boat by changing parties and going on to win reelection, sees the answer to Montana's economic problems in "sustained, aggressive, young thinking leadership to draw people together for action rather than fancy phrases for political development.

"Time is the critical thing for the state and we can't afford anymore waiting," Miss Miller continues. "It becomes more difficult to catch up and get ahead. What has happened since World War II except for a light increase in population in the state?

"Glasgow's base has come and gone," she says. "Go up any main street and you find empty buildings and shrinking cities with most activity federally connected."

She has faith that, if given the chance and encouragement, Montana communities would attempt to face and solve their problems.

"The Glasgow community has tried," she says. "The state should have provided more imagination to help find alternatives to the closing and turn the base into an asset. No one realizes what effect that loss will have on the state's economy. Lewistown is presently struggling for industrial development."

She calls for a regaining of creative leadership to promote the economic future of the state—a drawing together of "people who want action, those who are resourceful, creative and take pride in their state, so they can get working together."

According to Miss Miller, the leadership should ideally come from state government.

"In other states the government has provided the stimulus and has drawn together the type of people needed. It is a better situation if the state is selling the development, because those buying sense concern on the part of the government and consider this interest."

She does not believe Montana government is playing the necessary role toward economic development.

"If you are totally objective and look around," she says, "what has happened? We keep losing and don't see anything coming in the state. I think we have commissions chosen in the state simply to stall things. I think if someone is working on economic development, he should not be thwarted along the line by people who don't want any development.

"Companies look to 'state of mind' to encourage development," she says. "Those states who get development have aggressive leadership, not just talk. You've got to sell the state. Sometimes I think talk is a means of doing nothing. The problem is that we sometimes have pretty phrases for temporary political leadership rather than sustained leadership that involves people."

Given a lack of interest in development by the state government, she says Montana should turn to the "many people genuinely concerned about the state taking its place in the nation and getting community activiy going."

"Montana," she points out, "is really just a small community spread over a lot of geography.

"Rather than allow ourselves to get off on tangents such as the sales tax," she continues, "we need a movement to get activity in the communities. I don't see why, with the brains we have, we couldn't get moving. We have businessmen with contacts all over the U.S. Many Montanans outside the state are devoted to its welfare.

"We need an intelligent effort to get working together in order to educate some companies and some types of governmental activity on the potential in Montana which would benefit them and the state," says Miss Miller. "A lot of people, including the younger ones, want to do something but there must be leadership. People need forces of activity."

As to the encouragement of industry to come in the state, she says such activity "does not mean a smokestack in everyone's future. Companies are looking for places to provide research facilities.

"We have a great deal to offer but the sustained effort must be toward attracting types of industry that apply research and don't pollute the air," says Miss Miller. "The type of people engaged in these industries don't like the big cities. A more quiet, rural atmosphere where people can think is appealing. The possibilities of attracting them is enhanced by the improvement of air travel."

Miss Miller, associate dean of students at the University of Montana, Missoula, before attaining her present position, sees presence of industry as giving Montana's young people a challenge and a choice and reversing the "brain drain."

"Encouragement of economic development is the most pressing thing today," Miss Miller points out. "We must make a choice. It we want to keep a country club state, we must be prepared to pay high dues. The kind of economy we have dictates our services and educational activities. If we educate and send out of state, we get back nothing on our investment. Unless we are not interested in keeping our young people here, we must have development."

She terms this as the time Montana must begin to challenge things and think things through to make a decision whether it wants economic development and will take action or just sit and continue to fall behind.

"I don't favor change for change's sake nor the status quo either," she says. "Unless something is proving its worth, it should be looked at and changes made. We are at a critical point where we are going to have to act aggressively or continue to have a per capita income below average and fewer job opportunities.

"I am personally bothered by those who say there are no problems and everything is rosy," she concludes.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Report of Export-Import Bank of the United States

A letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of the United States, reporting, pursuant to law, the issuance and guarantees issued in June 1968 in connection with U.S. exports to Yugoslavia and February 1968 in connection with exports to Poland; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Report of Indian Claims Commission

A letter from the Chairman, Indian Claims Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, reporting on proceedings which have been concluded with respect to the following claims: Docket No. 279–A, the Blackfeet and Gros Ventre Tribes of Indiana, etc., the Assiniboine Tribes of Indians, residing upon the Fort Belknap and Fort Peck Reservations, Mont., and the Sioux Tribe of the Fort Peck Reservation, Mont. (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations.

Proposed Legislation To Permit Naval Flight Officers To Be Eligible To Command Certain Naval Aviation Activities

A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 10, United States Code, to permit naval flight officers to be eligible to command certain naval aviation activities and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report on Department of Army Research and Development Contracts

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Army (R. & D.), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Department of Army Research and Development contracts awarded during the period January 1, 1968, through June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report of Department of the Navy on Military Construction Contracts Awarded on Other Than Competitive Bid Basis

A letter from the Director, Contract Administration for Commander. Naval Facilities

Engineering Command Contracting Officer, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on military construction contracts awarded on other than a competitive bid basis to the lowest responsible bidder for the period January 1, 1968, to June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Proposed Facilities Project for Army Reserve

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations) transmitting, pursuant to law, the estimated cost of an additional facilities project proposed to be undertaken for the Army Reserve at Philadelphia (Folsom), Pa.; to the Committee on Armed Services.

Proposed Transfer of Submarine "Drum" to U.S.S. "Alabama" Battleship Commission

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Installations and Logistics), transmitting, pursuant to law, notification of the Department of the Navy's proposed transfer of the submarine *Drum* (AGSS-228) to the U.S.S. *Alabama* Battleship Commission; to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report of Number of Officers on Duty With Headquarters, Department of the Army

A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the number of officers on duty with Headquarters, Department of the Army and detailed to the Army general staff on June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report of Attorney General on Voluntary Agreements and Programs Pursuant to Defense Production Act

A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on voluntary agreements and programs pursuant to section 708(e) of the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended, as of August 9, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Export Control—Report of Secretary of Commerce

A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the 84th quarterly report covering the second quarter 1968 as required under the Export Control Act of 1949 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Proposed Modification of Eligibility Requirements for Specially Adapted Housing for Disabled Veterans

A letter from the Administrator, Veterans' Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to modify eligibility requirements governing the grant of assistance in acquiring specially adapted housing to include loss or loss of use of a lower extremity and other service-connected neurological or orthopedic disability which impairs locomotion to the extent that a wheel chair is regularly required (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Report on Fair Packaging and Labeling Act

A letter from the Chairman, Federal Trade Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report concerning the activities of the Commission in implementation of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

Proposed Amendment of District of Columbia Public Assistance Act

A letter from the Assistant to the Commissioner, government of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 19(a) of the District of Columbia Public Assistance Act of 1962 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Proposed Legislation To Repeal Section 8 of District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1969

A letter from the Assistant to the Commissioner, government of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to repeal section 8 of the District of Columbia Appropriation Act, 1969, relating to the installation of meters in taxicabs operated in the District of Columbia (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Report of Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report covering personal property donated to public health and educational institutions and civil defense organizations; and real property disposed of to public health and educational institutions for the period January 1 through June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

Reports of Comptroller General

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on savings available through discontinuing purchase of title insurance on sales of houses acquired by the Federal Housing Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, dated August 26, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on savings available by improving administration of the small reclamation projects loan program, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, dated August 27, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on need for improvement in funding practices affecting spare parts procurements, Department of Defense, dated August 27, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on need for improvements in planning for large mechanized mail-handling facilities by the Post Office Department, dated August 23, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on need to strengthen procedures for determining continued eligibility of widows for Federal benefits, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Veterans' Administration, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Railroad Retirement Board, Department of Labor, dated August 22, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on need for improved compliance by Goddard Space Flight Center with established accounting procedures for control of equipment, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, dated August 28, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on need for improved coordination of transmission-line design and construction practices by Bureau of Reclamation and Bonneville Power Administration, Department of the Interior, dated August 5, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on feasibility of consolidating military real property maintenance functions on Oahu, Hawaii, and in the Norfolk, Va., area, Department of Defense, dated August 5, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on discounts granted generating and transmission cooperatives, eastern division, Missouri River Basin project, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, dated August 6, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on movement of American forces from France (Operation FRELOC), Department of Defense, dated August 7, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on problem areas affecting usefulness of results of Government-sponsored research in medicinal chemistry, National Institutes of Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, dated August 12, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

Report of Secretary of the Senate

A letter from the Secretary of the Senate, transmitting, pursuant to law, a statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Senate, for the 6-month period ended June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Report of Architect of the Capitol

A letter from the Architect of the Capitol, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of all expenditures from moneys appropriated to him, during the period January 1, to June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Application for Loan by Santa Maria Water Control and Improvement District, Cameron County No. 4 of Santa Maria, Tex.

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, an application for a loan to assist in financing the rehabilitation of its existing irrigation water distribution and drainage system (with accompanying letters and document); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Application for Loan by the Haights Creek Irrigation Co. of Kaysville, Utah

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a copy of an application for a loan by the Haights Creek Irrigation Co. of Kaysville, Utah, to assist in financing the rehabilitation and improvement of its existing irrigation water distribution system (with accompanying letters and document); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Kinetic Study of the Hydrogenation of Shale Gas Oil

A letter from the Acting Director, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a copy of a proposed grant agreement with the University of Wyoming for a research project entitled "Kinetic Study of the Hydrogenation of Shale Gas Oil" (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Report on O'Neill Unit, Missouri River Basin Project, Nebraska

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the O'Neill Unit, Missouri River

Basin project, Nebraska (with accompanying letters and document); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Third Annual Report on the Minerals Exploration Assistance Program

A letter from the Under Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the third annual report on the minerals exploration assistance program, for the period ended June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Proposed Concession Contract, South Rim of Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz.

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a copy of a proposed concession contract for operation of general store and delicatessen facilities on the south rim of Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz., for the period January 1, 1968, through December 31, 1987 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Application for Loan by Cameron County Water Improvement District No. 2 of San Benito, Tex.

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a copy of an application by the Cameron County Water Improvement District No. 2 of San Benito, Tex., to assist in financing the rehabilitation of its existing irrigation water distribution system (with accompanying letters and documents); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Amendment of Act Relating to Establishment of the Frederick Douglass Home as Part of the Park System in the National Capital

A letter from the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435), providing for the establishment of the Frederick Douglass home as a part of the park system in the National Capital (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Report on Exemptions From the Antitrust Laws

A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on exemptions from the antitrust laws to assist in safeguarding the balance-of-payments position of the United States as of July 1, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Reports on Claims Paid Under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claim Act of 1964

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on claims paid under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964 for the fiscal year 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on claims paid under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, for the fiscal year 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A letter from the President, Panama Canal Company, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on claims paid under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, for the fiscal year 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Report of Atomic Energy Commission on Settlement of Claims of Employees

A letter from the General Manager, Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of settlements of claims of employees for damage to, or loss of, personal property incident to their service, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Report on Tort Claims Paid by Canal Zone Government

A letter from the Governor Canal Zone Government, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, transmitting pursuant to law, a report on tort claims paid by that government, for the period July 1, 1967, to June 30, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Third and Sixth Preference Classification for Certain Aliens

Three letters from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting pursuant to law, reports relating to third and sixth preference classifications for certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Admission Into the United States of Certain Defector Aliens

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders entered granting admission into the United States of certain defector aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Temporary Admission Into the United States of Certain Aliens

Two letters from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders entered granting temporary admission into the United States of certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee of the Judiciary.

Suspension of Deportation of Aliens—Withdrawal of Name

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, withdrawing the name of Yok Chow aka Chow Luck from a report relating to aliens whose deportation has been suspended transmitted to the Senate on November 1, 1967 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Weather Modification Responsibilities of National Science Foundation

A letter from the Chairman, Federal Council for Science and Technology, Washington, D.C., transmitting, for the information of the Senate, a copy of his letter to the Director, National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C., requesting that Foundation to continue, on a voluntary basis, the function of collecting information on weather modification activities (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Relief of Postmasters and Other Employees for Certain Losses

A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Postmaster General to relieve postmasters and other employees for certain losses resulting from improper, or incorrect payments (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Supplemental Report to the 1968 National Highway Needs Report

A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a supplemental report to the 1968 National Highway Needs Report, including recommendations regarding the future Federal highway program (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Public Works.

Report on Alcohol and Highway Safety

A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on alcohol and highway safety, dated August 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Public Works.

Disposition of Executive Papers

A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents on the files of several departments and agencies of the Government which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest and requesting action looking to their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore appointed Mr. MONRONEY and Mr. CARLSON members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Armed Services:

"Senate Joint Resolution 17

"Joint resolution relative to Soldiers and Sailors Civil Relief Act of 1940

"Whereas, A recent ruling by the United States Court of Appeals in New York held that nonresident military personnel in the State of Connecticut are not required to pay sales and use taxes under the provisions of the Soldiers and Sailors Civil Relief Act of 1940 as amended; and

"Whereas, The ruling jeopardizes the important sales tax programs in 44 other states which have laws similar to that of Connecticut; and

"Whereas, The sales and use tax represents almost a third of the total revenue of the State of California, and is an important source of income to 44 other states; and

"Whereas, In California, as the retailers must pay the tax to the state based on a proportion of their gross sales, the elimination of individual sales to servicemen would entail very difficult accounting and auditing procedures for the retailer and the state; and

"Whereas, While last year 360,000 military personnel reported paying sales tax to the State of California on their federal returns, the amount paid covered only a small part of the cost of the services they received; and

"Whereas, If it is felt that the serviceman cannot afford, under current salary schedules, to pay the sales tax to the state, the federal government could provide for a refund to each serviceman to be deducted from his federal tax liability; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly,* That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and Congress of the United States to enact amendments to the Soldiers and Sailors Civil Relief Act of 1940 as amended, relieving the several states of the onerous burden of exempting military personnel from the sales and use tax; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, to the Secretary of the Treasury, and to the Secretary of Defense."

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the Territory of American Samoa; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

"Senate Concurrent Resolution 39

"Concurrent resolution conveying to the 90th Congress of the United States and the Governor of the Territory of American Samoa, on behalf of the people of American Samoa, that the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Territory of American Samoa solicit the support and cooperation of each Member of Congress to vote against H.R. 13311 'The Pelly Bill'

"Whereas, American Samoa is a Territory of the United States obtained through the 'Instrument of Cession' in April, 1900 A.D. which was accepted, ratified, and confirmed; and

"Whereas, the Government of the United States upon ratification of the 'Instrument of Cession" assumed the obligation of promoting the welfare of the people of said islands, which welfare can be better promoted by the continued employment of the Citizens of American Samoa; and

"Whereas, American Samoa has two canneries that employ hundreds of Nationals who are Income Tax payers to the Government of the United States; and

"Whereas, Star Kist, Inc. and Van Camp Sea Food Co., canneries doing business in American Samoa depend entirely upon the Korean Fleet, the Chinese and Japanese Fleets, Orientals who have perfected deep sea fishing operation, for their supply of fish, without which they could no longer keep their doors open causing widespread unemployment, and resulting in conditions similar to those now existing in the Appalachian region where, Senator Robert Kennedy in a recent inspection tour stated, 'What these people need is jobs, not government help'; and

"Whereas, American Samoa, its citizens and families depend on the income from employment in these canneries, the only industries in American Samoa; and

"Whereas, American Samoa through its Income Tax and industry is on the road towards self-support:

"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate of the Tenth Legislature the House of Representatives concurring, that the Legislature of American Samoa go on record as Citizens of the Territory of American Samoa, a Territory of the United States that has voluntarily embraced the Income Tax laws of the United States, as soliciting the support and cooperation of each member of Congress in voting against H.R. 13311; and

"Be it further resolved that the Governor be, and he is hereby requested and authorized to distribute certified copies of this Concurrent Resolution to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress; the Secretary of the Interior; Chairman of Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of both Houses of the U.S. Congress; the Chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Director of Office of Territories, and Senator Robert Kennedy.

"[Signed by the President and members of the Senate and the Speaker and members of the House of American Samoa.]"

A resolution adopted by the National Guard Association of California, Sacramento, Calif., praying for the enactment of legislation to make sufficient funds available to support the functions and activities of the commemoration of the bicentennial of the American Revolutionary War; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A resolution adopted by the Legislative Council of the State of Arkansas, Little Rock, Ark., praying for the enactment of legislation to enable States to require national banks to pay State sales taxes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A resolution adopted by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Ashland, Ky., remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill 3170 and H.R. 15991; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A petition, signed by Rev. Herman Dreer, and sundry members of the Kings Way Baptist Church, Saint Louis, Mo., praying for the enactment of legislation to guarantee better train service in the Nation; to the Committee on Commerce.

A resolution adopted by the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, Bismarck, N. Dak., commending the Department of the Interior for its report entitled "The Middle Missouri—A Rediscovery"; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

A petition, signed by Alvin Thomas Reichert, and sundry other citizens of the State of North Carolina, praying for the enactment of legislation to either deport or imprison all known Communists in this country; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A resolution, adopted by the International Conference of Police Associations, St. Paul-Minneapolis, praying for immediate action to terminate accusations against Ralph Boryszewski for statements made by him while acting in his official capacity as president and spokesman of the Rochester, N.Y., Police Locust Club, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A petition, signed by Barbara E. Taylor, and sundry other citizens of the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation to make the birth date of Martin L. King a national holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A resolution adopted by the Board of Supervisors, County of Fresno, State of California, remonstrating against attempts to organize the farmworkers on California farms growing table grapes; to the Com-Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

A petition, signed by Earl Turner, and sundry other citizens of the State of Missouri, praying for the National Labor Relations Act to cover farm workers; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

A letter, in the nature of a petition, signed by Douglas T. Snarr, of Salt Lake City, Utah, requesting the privilege of a hearing before the Congress on matters relating to highway beautification; to the Committee on Public Works.

A resolution adopted by the Catholic Daughters of America of the State of Florida, Key West, Fla., commending the Congress for the passage of legislation creating the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography; ordered to lie on the table.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. ELLENDER:

S. 3986. A bill to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act and the Farm Credit Act of 1933, as amended, to expedite retirement of Government capital from Federal intermediate credit banks, production credit associations and banks for cooperatives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 3987. A bill to amend the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. CARLSON:

S. 3988. A bill for the relief of Dr. Elsaid Abel Ghani Ashour; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 3989. A bill for the relief of Bert N. Adams and Emma Adams; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

S. 3990. A bill for the relief of Dr. Pedro Gonzalez Portal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McGEE:

S. 3991. A bill for the relief of Ho Chi Leung; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. METCALF:

S. 3992. A bill for the relief of Kwok Ki Tsang, Ming Keh Lee, Chi Keung Wong, Cha Ma Chuen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HANSEN:

S. 3993. A bill for the relief of certain individuals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TOWER:

S. 3994. A bill for the relief of Peder Monsen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NELSON:

S. 3995. A bill for the relief of Ronald Chi-Chung Ling; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MANSFIELD (for Mr. Inouye):

S. 3996. A bill for the relief of Alfredo Moraldo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 3997. A bill for the relief of Ip Chung Wong, Cheung Tez Yan, Chak Chi Wai, Yam Hing Pan, Tung Fo Muk, Sze Sin Yau, Yung Wa Hap, Li Nai Ying, and Wong Cheung; and

S. 3998. A bill for the relief of George Fotis Thomopoulos, Eftihia Thomopoulos, Fotis Thomopoulos, and Asimina Thomopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NELSON:

S.J. Res. 200. Joint resolution to establish a temporary Commission on Nominations for President and Vice President; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the remarks of Mr. Nelson when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF A TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON NOMINATIONS FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution to establish a temporary Commission an the Nominations for President and Vice President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 200) to establish a temporary Commission on Nominations for President and Vice President, introduced by Mr. Nelson, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I am introducing a joint resolution today which would lead to the reform of the presidential nominating convention procedures or elimination of that aspect of convention responsibility.

It is clear that a majority of the American public, regardless of party, is fed up with our quadrennial party conventions. They feel that these conventions are not sufficiently responsive to the public will, and they are correct. The selection of presidential nominees is public business, not the private business of a relatively few influential politicians in each party. Since it is public business, we must assure a full measure of public participation and control.

It appears that public disapproval of the traditional presidential nominating conventions has been growing steadily in recent years. The public's disapproval with these traditional party rites seems to have begun or at least to have gathered momentum in the period since 1952, which coincides with the beginning of television coverage of the conventions.

The general public, watching on television, has been much less tolerant of our convention procedures than the convention delegates and party leaders who have been caught up in the process. Television viewers tend to associate the nominating conventions with the serious national and world problems that our Presidents and Congress must cope with—the problems which are portrayed daily and hourly on television screens.

Under the pitiless eye of television and in the face of a serious world crisis the nominating conventions have been exposed as antiquated and undemocratic. There is grave doubt as to whether they represent public opinion, and there is widespread lack of confidence in their ability to make the decisions so crucial to the future of America. Congress should begin immediately on the needed reforms so we can be certain that by 1972 we will have a nominating procedure which can command public respect and confidence.

I do not mean to reflect on either political party. Personally, I believe that public concern over the nominating conventions applies equally to both parties. In addition, I realize that the party conventions are the result of longstanding customs and procedures. Rather than castigate our parties for these procedures, I think we should join together and admit that the procedures followed in both parties are antiquated and undemocratic and that they should give way to meaningful reforms.

The most frequently mentioned substitute for the traditional nominating conventions is a nationwide presidential primary. The suggestion is that a primary election he held on the same date in every State in the Nation, with the voters being given a free choice of all of the presidential candidates for the nominations.

A national primary would be an ideal solution if it could be made to work effectively. However, it raises some tough, practical questions that need to be carefully explored.

If we institute a nationwide primary, uniform election procedures would have to be worked out in each State. Could voters select any candidate they choose or would they be given an official list of principal candidates from which to choose? Would voters be allowed to vote in either party primary? Would the nationwide primary lead to a proliferation of candidates, including a great number of favorite sons? What if no candidate received a majority in a primary? Would there then be a run-off primary followed by a general election? Or could a national primary in conjunction with a national convention effectively express the will of the Nation?

The latter possibility seems to offer the most attractive solution to the problem we face at the present time. However, I do not feel that we have the answers available to all of these problems at the present time.

Therefore, I believe that we need a high-level national commission, established by the action of Congress, to make a searching review of the whole presidential nominating process. This commission would make recommendations to the next session of Congress—I have suggested a deadline of August 1, 1969—for the comprehensive reform or elimination of the convention nominating procedure.

I might mention at this point that the distinguished majority leader, the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], also has a proposal of some longtime standing to reform the present presidential election procedure.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. NELSON. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from Wisconsin, and I would be highly honored if he would grant me the privilege of joining him in his joint resolution as a cosponsor.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] be added as a cosponsor of the joint resolution, which is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. I shall speak on the subject later, on my own time.

Mr. NELSON. It is crucial that this high-level commission be broadly representative of public opinion, including those elements of public opinion which do not appear to be effectively represented in our present nominating conventions. In the joint resolution, I have attempted to outline such a commission. This resolution, of course, will be subjected to committee scrutiny and will be thoroughly debated at public hearings. I welcome the suggestions of others on how to further improve the representative nature of this commission.

To provide representation of the sharply conflicting points of view expressed at the recent Republican and Democratic Conventions, I have proposed that commission representatives be selected by each of the top three candidates for President at the 1968 Republican and Democratic Conventions. This means that one commission member would be appointed by Richard Nixon, Governor Rockefeller, Governor Reagan, Vice President HUMPHREY, Senator MCCARTHY, and Senator MCGOVERN.

To provide broad national representation, I have proposed six commission members appointed by the President, no more than three of whom could be members of the same party. To guarantee representation of the youthful point of view, which seemed to be somewhat left out at both conventions, the resolution provides that at least two of the President's appointees must be under 30 years of age.

If the convention nominating procedure is to be reformed, Congress is going to have to lead the way. Consequently, I have proposed 12 congressional members of the commission, six from each party. It would be my suggestion that these representatives be selected at the respective party caucuses.

The States, of course, are responsible for the conduct of elections. Consequently, if any change as monumental as a nationwide primary is to be undertaken, we must have close cooperation from State and local government. Therefore, I have proposed that three members of the commission be selected by the Council of State Governments—one Governor, one legislator and one State administrative official—and that three members be selected jointly by the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

In my opinion, this commission should have the freest possible hand in conducting its study and making its recommendations. However, I think it is helpful to point out some of the shortcomings which we find in the present system.

One of the least defensible things about the present conventions is that there is no uniform, democratic system of electing delegates at the State level.

In Wisconsin, we have a carefully developed procedure, written into the law, which provides for a bona fide public expression of opinion on the leading presidential candidates. Delegates are then selected and required to vote for the winning candidate in the primary. I do not mean to suggest that the Wisconsin system should be adopted nationwide. It has certain shortcomings, as does any system. But, obviously, the Wisconsin system, and others like it, is infinitely superior to the procedures still followed in some other States. In some instances delegates are simply selected by a single party official, an unconscionable form of political bossism. In other instances delegates are selected by an unrepresentative party committee—in some cases a committee elected years ago without any regard to its function as a selector of presidential nominating delegates.

We can no longer tolerate a system in which delegates can be picked by a single man, responsible to no one, or by an unrepresentative party committee. Delegates ought to represent public opinion.

Another aspect of convention procedures which has drawn sharp criticism is the fact that convention procedures are not necessarily democratic. I sympathize with the problems involved in conducting a great deal of business at a public convention in the space of 4 or 5 days, in an atmosphere supercharged with political emotion and the pressures of public exposure. Obviously debate must be limited. Every point of view cannot be given the consideration which it might merit. Ultimately the majority must work its will.

These are the shortcomings of any convention. But instead of blindly accepting them out of a sense of tradition, perhaps we should stop and consider anew whether the convention system is an adequate format for making some of the most important decisions of our lifetime.

It is hard for the American voter looking at his television screen to accept the fact that Presidents must be chosen and the gravest questions of war and peace decided in the chaotic, carnival atmosphere which he sees on his television screen. It is time for Congress to face this problem squarely. Solutions can be found, but we must get to work on them. We ought to vow right here and now that by 1972 we will have a new system. Republicans and Democrats should unite on this issue to restore confidence in our American system of nominating presidential candidates.

RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 385—PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF HEARINGS ENTITLED "RIOTS, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL DISORDERS"

Mr. McCLELLAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 385); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. Res. 385

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations one thousand additional copies of Part 11 of the hearings before its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations during the ninetieth Congress, Second Session, entitled "Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders."

SENATE RESOLUTION 386—ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. HAYDEN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 386); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. Res. 386

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations hereby is authorized to expend from the contingent fund of the Senate, during the Ninetieth Congress, $30,000, in addition to the amounts, and for the same purposes, specified in section 134(a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act, approved August 2, 1946, S. Res. 137, agreed to July 17, 1967, and S. Res. 291, agreed to June 3, 1968.

NOTICE OF MOTION TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENTS TO DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969

AMENDMENT NO. 933

Mr. MUNDT (for himself, Mr. Young of North Dakota, Mr. Yarborough, Mr. Monroney, Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Bartlett) submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 18037) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely:

Page 15, after line 14, insert the following:

"For grants and payments under the Act of September 30, 1950, as amended (20 U.S.C., ch. 13), and under the Act of September 23, 1950, as amended (20 U.S.C., ch. 9), $90,965,000, fiscal year 1968: *Provided*, That these funds shall not be subject to the provisions of the Anti-Deficiency Statute, Revised Statutes 3679, 31 U.S.C. 665(c): *Provided further*, That the expenditure of this appropriation shall not be taken into consideration for the purposes of title II of the Revenue and Expenditures Control Act of 1968."

Mr. MUNDT (for himself and other Senators) also submitted an amendment (No. 933) intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to House bill 18037, making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

AMENDMENT NO. 938

Mr. RIBICOFF submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL of the standing rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 18037), making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, the following amendment:

On page 16, line 5, before the period insert a colon and the following: "*And provided further*, That (1) the additional amount of $90,965,000 appropriated, under the heading 'School Assistance in Federally Affected Areas' in the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1968, for payments to local educational agencies for the maintenance and operation of schools as authorized by title I of the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-First Congress), as amended, 20 U.S.C. ch. 13, shall remain available for obligation until October 31, 1968; and (2) the limitations, and requirements for effectuating such limitations, contained in sections 202 and 203 of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 with respect to total expenditures and lending authority and total new obligational and loan authority shall be inapplicable to obligational authority herein, heretofore, or hereafter enacted for the fiscal year 1969, or by the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1968, and to expenditures pursuant to any such obligational authority, for payments to local educational agencies for the maintenance and operation of schools as authorized by title I of the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-First Congress), as amended, 20 U.S.C., ch. 13."

Mr. RIBICOFF also submitted an amendment (No. 938) intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 18037, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 934

Mr. NELSON (for himself, Mr. Fulbright, Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Hart, Mr. Young of Ohio, Mr. Harris, Mr. Muskie, Mr. Mondale, Mr. Montoya, Mr. Hartke, Mr. Tydings, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Williams of New Jersey, Mr. Pell, Mr. McGovern, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Metcalf, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Scott, Mr. Javits, Mr. Case, Mr. Hatfield, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Clark, and Mr. Pastore) submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (H.R. 18037) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 935

FUNDS FOR NIH

Mr. HART. Mr. President, in connection with an amendment which I shall offer to the Labor-HEW appropriation bill, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Congressional Record at this point an article from the Detroit News of August 25, 1968, entitled "Budget Ills Place Medical Research in Quarantine."

My amendment, which is cosponsored by the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], would increase the appropriation for clinical research units, under NIH, from $35,677,000 to $43,600,000.

I submit the amendment for printing at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received, printed, and will lie on the table.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Budget Ills Place Medical Research in Quarantine

(By Eric Ludvigsen)

Washington.—President Johnson's 10 percent surtax and a pending Congressional slash in spending are threatening to hobble medical research in the nation, including work at three Michigan universities.

The National Institutes of Health (NIH)—the principal research arm of the U.S. Public Health Service—faces a budget cut of up to $38.5 million when House and Senate conferees get together in September.

That's only 3 percent of NIH's billion dollar-plus budget, but any cut is traumatic for an agency once so favored that it had to be cajoled by Congress to take money that hadn't been requested.

The squeeze showed up when the University of Michigan disclosed that it had lost federal money with which it had planned to finance an expensive heart transplant operation, the first in the state.

Furthermore there is a $72 million backlog of projects already approved but for which there are no funds. By next June, the value of new projects pending approval is expected to climb to $145 million.

Among the projects already approved but without funds are three in Michigan: Michigan State University's medical school ($1.9 million), the U. of M. medical school ($1.8 million) and Wayne State University's school of medicine ($255,000).

No funds are going out now, except for projects of the very highest priority, according to NIH spokesmen.

In theory, every federal agency suffers equally from the $6 billion cut in the 1968–69 budget exacted by Congress as the price for passing the surtax.

But some are "more equal than others."

Postmaster General Marvin W. Watson stayed the axe by the simple expedient of threatening to curtail service. When daily mail deliveries are at stake, Congressmen imagine they hear constituents screaming before the first angry telegram arrives.

But agencies like NIH, whose work is carried on mostly out of the spotlight, rarely can point to such graphic examples as the U. of M. case.

Most federal support of medical research at universities, hospitals and private institutions is funneled through one or another of NIH's six disease-designated divisions.

Funds now must be found to maintain

NIH's own facilities at its sprawling grounds in Bethesda, Md.

Costs rise much more sharply in the medical field than in machine shops or steel plants. This is particularly so at the 91 clinical research units operating with NIH financial aid, like the one at University Hospital in Ann Arbor.

The program was started in 1960 to translate breakthrough techniques often perfected on animals into practical procedure for human medical treatment.

The supporting equipment must often be designed and built from scratch, and the first patients require long periods of intensive care.

Without a final 1969 budget, and with prior allocations nearly exhausted, NIH is having to cut back the program.

Besides the one at the U. of M., 10 other clinics have reported operating deficits of more than $50,000, and have announced they are suspending operations or are on the point of doing so.

The others are at the University of Pennsylvania, Vanderbilt University, the University of Southern California, Northwestern University, the Universities of Texas and Puerto Rico, Children's and Peter Bent Brigham hospitals in Boston, Children's Memorial Hospital of Chicago and Children's Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Because of rising research costs, NIH has usually considered a 10 percent annual increase in its allocations as the minimum required just to maintain current programs.

This year NIH was down for only a 4 percent increase in Mr. Johnson's budget request. House cuts reduced the margin over 1968 to less than one percent.

The Senate restored some of the funds cut, but NIH officials expect the compromise worked out will be closer to the House version. That's because all but $5.9 million of the amount deleted by the House was part of the reduction imposed by the tax bill.

In his report to the Senate, Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, disputed the House contention that the cuts were "token."

He noted that the House version not only would reduce the appropriations ceiling for five NIH divisions from 1968 levels, but also would authorize less than was actually spent in 1968 for three of them (dental, heart and arthritis).

"This could have been a disastrous effect on the (research) grant programs of all the divisions," he warned.

AMENDMENT NO. 936

FUNDS FOR TITLE I OF ESEA

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I submit an amendment for printing and I wish to insert in the RECORD at this point two tables which relate to this amendment which I plan to offer at the proper time to the Labor-HEW appropriation bill. My amendment will seek to restore the full amount proposed in the President's budget in title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The President's budget proposed $1.2 billion for this great program but the House cut the estimate by $127 million. While the Senate Committee on Appropriations has restored $50 million of the cut, it has deleted House appropriation language which redistributes the funds by State. The first table indicates the House allowance, the Senate committee allowance and the difference in the two amounts, by State. The second table shows the amounts by State which would be provided by my amendment as compared to both the House allowance and the Senate committee bill. I ask unanimous consent to have the tables printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965, PUBLIC LAW 89-10 AS AMENDED, TITLE I, ASSISTANCE FOR EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN

COMPARISON OF HOUSE ALLOWANCE, SENATE ALLOWANCE, AND HART AMENDMENT, FISCAL YEAR 1969

	Local educational agencies [1]			Grand total [2]		
	House allowance	Senate allowance	Hart amendment	House allowance	Senate allowance	Hart amendment
Total	$984,828,019	$1,025,845,927	$1,101,977,990	$1,073,127,000	$1,123,127,000	$1,200,000,000
Alabama	33,731,791	30,462,526	37,091,128	34,858,041	31,663,198	38,358,086
Alaska	1,534,678	1,805,503	1,805,503	1,695,657	1,967,031	1,967,031
Arizona	7,159,360	8,422,776	8,422,776	8,840,123	10,207,375	10,207,375
Arkansas	20,678,189	20,375,839	22,735,989	21,711,387	21,489,726	23,873,477
California	71,160,935	71,558,472	78,217,962	79,880,034	81,189,512	87,915,596
Colorado	7,008,949	7,798,580	7,798,580	8,802,211	9,931,167	9,931,167
Connecticut	7,104,339	7,907,261	7,907,261	8,409,891	9,326,709	9,326,709
Delaware	1,956,649	1,884,356	2,086,679	2,557,227	2,543,649	2,745,972
Florida	22,478,275	26,445,029	26,445,029	29,256,065	33,655,001	33,655,001
Georgia	33,586,818	34,437,083	36,931,388	34,662,520	35,751,157	38,270,405
Hawaii	2,086,039	2,108,762	2,228,970	2,390,557	2,473,240	2,593,448
Idaho	2,223,464	2,475,984	2,475,984	2,993,039	3,287,143	3,287,143
Illinois	39,783,251	46,230,999	46,230,999	41,462,614	48,081,944	48,081,944
Indiana	12,670,942	14,580,136	14,580,136	14,211,175	16,205,310	16,205,310
Iowa	12,880,733	15,153,804	15,153,804	13,551,510	15,870,482	15,870,482
Kansas	8,167,400	9,608,706	9,608,706	9,139,239	10,697,738	10,697,738
Kentucky	29,621,751	27,150,913	32,573,303	30,161,888	27,848,918	33,325,532
Louisiana	28,755,506	28,669,931	31,617,116	30,078,710	30,223,933	33,200,590
Maine	3,153,359	3,403,277	3,403,277	3,498,885	3,783,851	3,783,851
Maryland	13,307,233	14,197,635	14,629,928	14,350,114	15,297,131	15,733,747
Massachusetts	14,980,320	14,067,878	16,467,058	16,637,167	15,817,132	18,240,304
Michigan	27,567,882	30,670,217	30,670,217	31,478,669	34,907,465	34,907,465
Minnesota	16,438,824	18,867,365	18,867,365	17,767,881	20,298,439	20,298,439
Mississippi	35,372,742	27,764,904	38,895,729	36,505,415	28,928,582	40,170,715
Missouri	19,971,000	23,086,158	23,086,158	21,371,418	24,745,714	24,745,714
Montana	2,564,634	2,993,356	2,993,356	3,380,531	3,872,274	3,872,274
Nebraska	5,224,948	5,294,692	5,680,836	5,737,312	5,835,329	6,221,473
Nevada	791,968	879,759	879,759	1,010,205	1,118,900	1,118,900
New Hamsphire	1,237,789	1,267,759	1,296,147	1,530,320	1,570,850	1,599,238
New Jersey	20,777,711	22,865,209	22,865,209	23,618,214	26,138,070	26,138,070
New Mexico	8,185,078	9,629,504	9,629,504	9,199,241	10,691,614	10,691,614
New York	105,591,823	111,091,007	116,092,469	112,021,925	118,583,617	123,635,094
North Carolina	46,600,103	45,081,410	51,236,473	49,097,371	47,832,866	54,049,479
North Dakota	3,741,672	3,891,214	4,049,673	4,152,370	4,490,566	4,649,025
Ohio	30,240,024	34,197,997	34,197,997	32,204,558	36,336,405	36,336,405
Oklahoma	15,700,800	16,819,413	17,262,017	16,687,471	17,974,099	18,421,129
Oregon	6,101,892	6,982,937	6,982,937	7,676,290	8,797,963	8,797,963
Pennsylvania	39,711,276	46,699,583	46,699,583	42,779,367	49,991,633	49,991,633
Rhode Island	3,145,058	3,481,096	3,481,096	3,493,623	3,854,748	3,854,748
South Carolina	28,763,790	22,576,446	31,627,242	29,906,672	23,830,675	32,971,979
South Dakota	5,207,413	5,330,191	5,661,553	5,515,959	5,659,021	5,990,383
Tennessee	30,789,953	29,251,987	33,856,058	31,758,740	30,422,682	35,072,793
Texas	55,778,245	65,260,201	65,260,201	68,316,462	78,608,574	78,608,574
Utah	2,447,688	2,724,300	2,724,300	3,055,302	3,360,652	3,360,652
Vermont	1,277,277	1,484,141	1,484,141	1,704,674	1,933,620	1,933,620
Virginia	25,654,888	23,658,931	28,207,996	26,937,136	25,013,075	29,607,631
Washington	8,556,328	9,840,169	9,840,169	10,832,100	12,353,289	12,353,289
West Virginia	15,678,984	14,658,391	17,240,831	16,074,110	15,131,731	17,739,813
Wisconsin	12,270,991	14,357,585	14,357,585	13,406,998	15,573,501	15,573,501
Wyoming	1,050,424	1,235,793	1,235,793	1,424,111	1,790,185	1,790,185
District of Columbia	4,587,762	5,397,367	5,397,367	5,274,015	6,110,505	6,110,505
Outlying areas and Department of Interior	29,769,071	29,761,395	31,806,653	30,060,486	30,059,009	32,116,789

[1] Allotments estimated on the basis of fiscal year 1968 population and 50 percent estimated State or National current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance, 1966-67, whichever is higher. The current expenditure per ADA for 1966-67 is estimated at 5 percent increase over the 1965-66 rate.

[2] Includes local educational agencies and the following:

	House allowance	Senate allowance	Hart amendment
State agency programs	$75,291,885	$83,954,954	$83,954,954
State administration	13,007,096	13,326,119	14,067,056

COMPARISON OF HOUSE ALLOWANCE AND SENATE ALLOWANCE, FISCAL YEAR 1969

	Local educational agencies			State agencies			Total difference including administration
	House allowance	Senate allowance	Difference	House allowance	Senate allowance	Difference	
Total	$984, 828, 019	$1, 025, 927	+$41, 017, 908	$75, 291, 885	$83, 954, 954	+$8, 663, 069	+$50, 000, 000
Alabama	33, 731, 791	30, 462, 526	−3, 269, 265	781, 121	887, 175	106, 054	−3, 194, 843
Alaska	1, 534, 678	1, 805, 503	270, 825	10, 979	11, 528	549	271, 374
Arizona	7, 159, 360	8, 422, 776	1, 263, 416	1, 530, 763	1, 634, 599	103, 836	1, 367, 252
Arkansas	20, 678, 189	20, 375, 839	−302, 350	818, 234	901, 117	82, 883	−221, 661
California	71, 160, 935	71, 558, 472	397, 537	7, 928, 208	8, 827, 183	898, 975	1, 309, 478
Colorado	7, 008, 949	7, 798, 580	789, 631	1, 643, 262	1, 982, 587	339, 325	1, 128, 956
Connecticut	7, 104, 339	7, 907, 261	802, 922	1, 155, 552	1, 269, 448	113, 896	916, 818
Delaware	1, 956, 649	1, 884, 356	−72, 293	450, 578	509, 293	58, 715	−13, 578
Florida	22, 478, 275	26, 445, 029	3, 966, 754	6, 488, 126	6, 976, 754	388, 628	4, 398, 936
Georgia	33, 586, 818	34, 437, 083	850, 265	732, 509	960, 102	227, 593	1, 088, 637
Hawaii	2, 086, 039	2, 108, 762	22, 723	154, 518	214, 478	59, 960	82, 683
Idaho	2, 223, 464	2, 475, 984	252, 520	619, 575	661, 159	41, 584	294, 104
Illinois	39, 783, 251	46, 230, 999	6, 447, 748	1, 268, 843	1, 374, 886	106, 043	6, 619, 330
Indiana	12, 670, 942	14, 580, 136	1, 909, 194	1, 390, 233	1, 464, 725	74, 492	1, 994, 135
Iowa	12, 880, 733	15, 153, 804	2, 273, 071	520, 777	559, 545	38, 768	2, 318, 972
Kansas	8, 167, 400	9, 608, 706	1, 441, 306	821, 839	939, 032	117, 193	1, 558, 499
Kentucky	29, 621, 751	27, 150, 913	−2, 470, 838	241, 504	422, 273	180, 769	−2, 312, 970
Louisiana	28, 755, 506	28, 669, 931	−85, 575	1, 025, 395	1, 254, 755	229, 360	145, 223
Maine	3, 153, 359	3, 403, 277	249, 918	195, 526	230, 574	35, 048	284, 966
Maryland	13, 307, 233	14, 197, 635	890, 402	892, 881	948, 039	55, 158	947, 017
Massachusetts	14, 980, 320	14, 067, 878	−912, 442	1, 492, 123	1, 592, 649	100, 526	−820, 035
Michigan	27, 567, 882	30, 670, 217	3, 102, 335	3, 599, 117	3, 891, 630	292, 513	3, 428, 796
Minnesota	16, 438, 824	18, 867, 365	2, 428, 541	1, 153, 137	1, 230, 099	76, 962	2, 530, 558
Mississippi	35, 372, 742	27, 764, 904	−7, 067, 838	771, 233	877, 256	106, 023	−7, 576, 833
Missouri	19, 971, 000	23, 086, 158	3, 115, 158	1, 188, 820	1, 414, 549	225, 729	3, 374, 296
Montana	2, 564, 634	2, 993, 356	428, 722	665, 897	728, 918	63, 021	491, 743
Nebraska	5, 224, 948	5, 294, 692	69, 744	362, 364	390, 637	28, 273	98, 017
Nevada	791, 968	879, 759	87, 791	68, 237	89, 141	20, 904	108, 695
New Hampshire	1, 237, 789	1, 267, 759	29, 970	142, 531	153, 091	10, 560	40, 530
New Jersey	20, 777, 711	22, 865, 209	2, 087, 498	2, 606, 659	3, 014, 068	407, 409	2, 519, 856
New Mexico	8, 185, 078	9, 629, 504	1, 444, 426	864, 163	912, 110	47, 947	1, 492, 373
New York	105, 591, 823	111, 091, 007	5, 499, 184	5, 320, 974	6, 318, 515	997, 541	6, 561, 692
North Carolina	46, 600, 103	45, 081, 410	−1, 518, 693	2, 011, 155	2, 277, 863	266, 708	−1, 264, 505
North Dakota	3, 741, 672	3, 891, 214	149, 542	260, 698	449, 352	188, 654	338, 196
Ohio	30, 240, 024	34, 197, 997	3, 957, 973	1, 645, 677	1, 778, 642	132, 965	4, 131, 847
Oklahoma	15, 700, 800	16, 819, 413	1, 118, 613	821, 449	976, 725	155, 276	1, 286, 628
Oregon	6, 101, 892	6, 982, 937	881, 045	1, 424, 398	1, 665, 026	240, 628	1, 121, 673
Pennsylvania	39, 711, 276	46, 699, 583	6, 988, 307	2, 644, 533	2, 797, 083	152, 550	7, 212, 266
Rhode Island	3, 145, 058	3, 481, 096	336, 038	198, 565	223, 652	25, 087	361, 125
South Carolina	28, 763, 790	22, 576, 446	−6, 187, 344	846, 776	1, 018, 282	171, 506	−6, 075, 997
South Dakota	5, 207, 413	5, 330, 191	122, 778	158, 546	178, 830	20, 284	143, 062
Tennessee	30, 789, 953	29, 251, 987	−1, 537, 966	654, 344	869, 480	215, 136	−1, 336, 058
Texas	55, 778, 245	65, 260, 201	9, 481, 956	11, 861, 816	12, 570, 070	708, 254	10, 292, 112
Utah	2, 447, 688	2, 724, 300	276, 612	457, 614	486, 352	28, 738	305, 350
Vermont	1, 277, 277	1, 484, 141	206, 864	277, 397	299, 479	22, 082	228, 946
Virginia	25, 654, 888	23, 658, 931	−1, 995, 957	1, 015, 544	1, 106, 490	90, 946	−1, 924, 061
Washington	8, 556, 328	9, 840, 169	1, 283, 841	2, 125, 772	2, 363, 120	237, 348	1, 521, 189
West Virginia	15, 678, 984	14, 658, 391	−1, 020, 593	235, 976	323, 340	87, 364	−942, 379
Wisconsin	12, 270, 991	14, 357, 585	2, 086, 594	986, 007	1, 061, 723	75, 716	2, 166, 503
Wyoming	1, 050, 424	1, 235, 793	185, 369	223, 687	404, 392	180, 705	366, 074
District of Columbia	4, 587, 762	5, 397, 367	809, 605	536, 253	563, 138	26, 885	836, 490
Outlying areas and Department of the Interior	29, 769, 071	29, 761, 395	−7, 676				−1, 477

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The amendment will be received, printed, and will lie on the table.

AMENDMENT NO. 937

Mr. **MURPHY** submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 18037, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. **SPARKMAN**. Mr. President, as acting chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nominations:

William G. Bowdler, of Florida, a Foreign Service officer of class 2, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to El Salvador.

Arthur W. Hummel, Jr., of Maryland, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of Burma.

Leo J. Sheridan, of Illinois, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Ireland.

Wayland P. Moody, of Texas, to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for a term expiring May 11, 1971, vice Dr. Luther H. Foster, term expired.

Arnold M. Picker, of New York, to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for a term expiring May 11, 1971, reappointment.

Thomas E. Robinson, of New Jersey, to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for a term expiring May 11, 1971, vice Dr. Rufus C. Harris, term expired.

In accordance with the committee rule, these pending nominations may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of their receipt in the Senate.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION—REQUEST BY MAYOR DALEY TO APPEAR ON TELEVISION

Mr. **LONG** of Louisiana. Mr. President, it has come to my attention that Mayor Daley, on behalf of a great city in this country, has requested the right to appear on television for 1 hour during prime time to respond to what we believe was unfair, biased, or distorted coverage of the convention in Chicago. In my judgment, the mayor's request was 100 percent well taken.

To me it was inconceivable that any major network would have presented so one-sided a view, could have overlooked so many facts, could have declined to present so many obvious facts, could have blamed one side without giving that side the opportunity to explain its side, tried to put words in people's mouths, and generally given such completely bad coverage of a convention, unless there was some design connected with it.

I find it difficult to believe that could have happened completely by accident.

Assuming that these networks were acting in good faith in what they did, they should be the first ones to look at what they did and to realize that the city of Chicago was placed in the worst possible light and that the city is entitled to respond and defend itself.

I am frank to say that the only reporting I read in the Chicago area or that I saw on television that was halfway correct—and I believe it was good reporting—was in the Chicago Tribune, which is the voice of republicanism in the entire Midwest.

That great newspaper certainly does not care to elect any Democrat as President of the United States; but its reporters are not left-wing oriented. They tend to be conservative and they express the views of those who believe in law enforcement.

Mr. Cronkite, Mr. Brinkley, and various other reporters had an entire week to present a distorted picture with the television cameras on them half the time when the speaker on the convention podium was trying to present a position that appealed to him.

It would seem to me that the least that could be done would be to afford Mayor Daley an hour to speak for his great city and himself. I think he is possibly one of our best mayors. I believe that the performance by the networks last week justifies that course on their behalf.

Mr. President, I have quite a bit of evidence to back up my statements. The coverage of the convention last week was about the worst coverage—for what reason I do not know; whether it was ineptness or a conspiracy—I have seen of any convention by any news media.

The Mayor is entitled to be heard without doing it by sitting and responding to loaded questions. We have had enough of that sort of thing for awhile.

I would like to document my statement that the Mayor is entitled to at least 1 hour to respond on these major networks in their efforts to picture Chicago in a vicious and venal way.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the close of the morning hour I be recognized for 20 minutes to document the statements I have made.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, as is well known to Senators, the distinguished Presiding Officer of this body, the Vice President of the United States, has been nominated by the Democratic Party as its candidate for President of the United States.

On August 29, 1968, in Chicago, in accepting the nomination, the Vice President made a remarkable speech. This statement is not only a great rallying cry for the Democratic Party, if I may be permitted that measure of partisanship, but more importantly, I believe, it expresses his profound understanding of the mammoth problems facing our Nation and a blueprint for action on those problems. It is a speech of realism and understanding, and a speech of hope. I recommend it to those who have not heard it or read it previously.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the acceptance speech of Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY at the Democratic National Convention may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the acceptance speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, ILL., AUGUST 29, 1968

My fellow citizens, my fellow Democrats: I proudly accept your nomination.

I accept your nomination knowing that the months and years ahead will severely test America's capacity to rise to challenge.

This is not the first time that our nation has faced a challenge to its life and purpose.

Each time, we have emerged with new greatness and new strength.

We must make a moment of crisis a moment of creation.

We stand at such a moment now—in the affairs of this nation—at the end of an era and at the beginning of a new day.

It is the special genius of the Democratic Party that it welcomes change, not as an enemy but as an ally . . . not as a force to be suppressed, but as an instrument of progress.

This week the Democratic Party has debated the great issues before America.

Had we not raised these issues, we would have ignored the reality of change.

Had we papered over differences with empty platitudes instead of frank debate, we would deserve the contempt of our fellow citizens and the condemnation of history.

We have heard hard and sometimes bitter debate.

This debate is for work of a free people . . . the work of an open convention . . . the work of a political party responsive to the needs of this nation.

Democracy affords debate, discussion, and dissent.

But it also requires decision.

And we have decided, here, not by edict but by vote . . . not by force but by ballot.

Majority rule has prevailed, but minority rights are preserved.

There is always the temptation to leave the scene of battle in anger and despair, but those who know the meaning of democracy accept the decision of today, never relinquishing their right to change it tomorrow.

In the space of a week, this convention has laid the foundations for a new Democratic Party structure in America. From precinct level to the floor of this convention, we have literally revolutionized our rules and procedures.

This revolution is in the proud tradition of our Party.

It is the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, who knew America had nothing to fear but fear itself . . . and of Harry Truman who let 'em have it . . . and how well you remember!

It is the tradition of Adlai Stevenson who talked sense to the American people . . . and how we miss this great and good man.

It is the tradition of John F. Kennedy who said to us: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country . . . ask what *together* we can do for the freedom of man."

And it is the tradition of Lyndon B. Johnson who rallied a grief-stricken nation and told us: "Let us continue."

And in the space of five years President Johnson has accomplished more of the unfinished business of America than any of his modern predecessors.

History will surely record the greatness of his contribution to the people of this land.

At this convention, too, we have recognized the end of an era and the beginning of a new day.

That new day belongs to the people—to every man, woman and child.

Within it lies nothing less than the promise seen a generation ago by Thomas Wolfe: "To every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself. And to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This . . . is the promise of America."

Across America—throughout the world—we hear freedom's rising chorus: "Let me live my own life. Let me live in peace. Let me be free!"

That cry is heard today in our slums and on our farms and in our cities.

It is heard from the old, as well as from the young.

It is heard in Eastern Europe and it is heard in Vietnam.

It will be answered in how we face the three realities that confront this nation.

The first reality is the necessity for peace in Vietnam and in the world.

The second reality is the necessity for peace in our cities and in our nation.

The third reality is for unity in our Party and in our nation.

Let me speak first about Vietnam.

I recognize the differences within our party on the issue of Vietnam. These differences are found within the ranks of all the Democratic Presidential candidates.

But I also recognize the much larger areas of agreement.

I expect this debate to continue in the months ahead.

But it need not divide us.

Let those who believe that our cause in Vietnam has been right—and those who believe it has been wrong—agree here and now: Neither vindication nor repudiation will bring peace or be worthy of our country.

The question is: What do we do now?

No one knows what the situation in Vietnam will be on January 20, 1969.

Every heart in America prays that, by then, we shall have reached a cease-fire in *all* Vietnam, and be in serious negotiation toward a durable peace.

Meanwhile, as citizen, candidate and Vice President, I shall do everything within my power to aid the negotiations in Paris.

If there is one lesson we should have learned, it is that the policies of tomorrow need not be limited by the policies of yesterday.

If I am President, I shall apply that lesson to the search for peace in Vietnam, as to all other areas of National policy.

Last week we witnessed once again in Czechoslovakia the desperate attempt of tyranny to crush out the forces of liberalism by force and brutal power . . . to hold back change. But in Eastern Europe, as elsewhere, the old era will surely end and a new day will dawn.

To speed this day we must go beyond containment to communication . . . beyond differences to dialogue . . . beyond fear to hope.

We must cross the remaining barriers of suspicion and despair.

We must halt the arms race before it halts humanity. The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid nuclear holocaust. Is this a vain hope? The record says no.

Within the last years we *have* made progress.

We *have* negotiated a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

We *have* laid the groundwork for a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

We have reached agreement on banning weapons in outer space.

And now we must take *new* initiatives.

With prudence and caution, but with perseverance, we must find ways and means to control and reduce offensive and defensive nuclear missile systems.

The world cannot indefinitely hope to avoid the nuclear war which one rash act . . . one error in judgment . . . one failure in communications could unleash upon humanity.

There is no more urgent task than ending this threat to the very survival of our planet.

I commit myself to this task.

Our second reality is the necessity for peace at home.

There *is* trouble in America.

But it comes not from a lack of faith but from a kindling of hope.

When the homeless find a home, they do not give up the search for a better home. When the hopeless find hope, they seek higher hopes.

In 1960—and again in 1964—you, the American people, gave us a mandate to awaken America to its unmet needs.

You asked us to get America moving again.

And we have.

We *have* awakened expectations.

We *have* inspired new hope in millions of men and women.

And they are impatient *now* to see their hopes and aspirations fulfilled.

We have raised a new standard of life in America—not just for the poor, but for every American wage-earner, farmer, schoolchild and housewife—a standard by which all future progress must be judged.

Our most urgent challenge is in urban America.

Some 70 per cent of our people live on 2 per cent of our land. 100 million more Americans will join our family in the next 25 years.

Where shall they live?

How shall they live?

What shall be their future?

Urban congestion has not only created a complex of new problems, it has multiplied and intensified the problems of race, of poverty, crime, hunger, despair.

All of these have grown to explosive proportion.

The simple solution of the frustrated and the frightened is to lash out against society. We know—and they must know—that this is no answer.

Violence breeds counter-violence.

Disorder destroys. Only order can build.

Riot makes for ruin. Reason makes for solution.

No man in the White House—or at any level of government—can shrug the immediate responsibility of guaranteeing to *every* American the right to personal security.

Every American has the right to a safe neighborhood. On this there can be no compromise.

I put it bluntly: Rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics and disregard for the law are the advance guard of anarchy—and they must be stopped.

But the answer does not lie in attacks on our courts, or our laws, or our Attorney General.

The answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local and federal authority.

We do not want a police state, but we do need a state of law and order.

Neither mob violence nor police brutality have any place in America.

I pledge to use every resource available to the President to end the fear in our cities.

Nor can there be any compromise with the right of every American who is willing to work to have a job . . . who is willing to be a good neighbor to live in a decent home . . . who is willing to learn to have a good education.

We must restore our present cities and—we must bring prosperity and opportunity to our rural areas.

But we must also move beyond the enclosures of our traditional cities to create *new* cities.

We must design an open America—opening new opportunities in open land.

We have invested heavily to explore outer space where many may live tomorrow. We must also invest to develop an inner space where may may live today.

The third reality is the necessity for unity in our country.

We must make a decision.

Are we to be one nation—or are we to be a nation divided? Divided between black and white . . . between rich and poor . . . between North and South . . . between young and old.

I take my stand.

We *are* and we must be *one* nation—united by liberty and justice for all.

Just as there can be no compromise on the right of personal security, there can be no compromise on the securing of human rights.

If America is to make a crucial judgment of leadership, let that selection be made without either candidate hedging.

Winning the Presidency is not worth the price of silence or evasion on the issue of human rights.

Winning the Presidency is not worth a compact with extremism.

I choose not simply to run for President.

I seek to lead a nation.

Either we achieve true justice in our land or we shall doom ourselves to a terrible exhaustion of body and spirit.

I base my entire candidacy on the belief—which comes from the depths of my soul—that the American people *will* respond to a call for one citizenship—open to all.

This is the message I shall take to the people. I ask you to stand with me.

To all of my fellow Democrats who have labored hard and openly this week at the difficult and sometimes frustrating work of democracy, I pledge myself to that task of leading the Democratic Party to victory in November.

May I say to those who have differed with their neighbor or those who have differed with a fellow Democrat, that all of your goals, that all of your high hopes, that all of your dreams, all of them will come to naught if we lose this election, and many of them can be realized with a victory that can come to us.

To my friends Gene McCarthy and George McGovern, who have given hope to a new generation of Americans that there *can* be greater meaning in their lives . . . that America *can* respond to men of moral concern . . . I ask you to help America in the difficult campaign ahead.

I appeal to young Americans to join us not simply as campaigners but as vocal, creative, even critical participants in the politics of our times. The new day is your day.

Martin Luther King, Jr. had a dream. Robert F. Kennedy had a vision.

If America will respond to that dream and vision, their deaths will mark the moment *not* when America *lost* its way, but when America *found* its conscience.

These men have given us inspiration and direction.

We shall not abandon their purposes. We shall honor their dreams by our own deeds.

I am keenly aware of the fears and frustrations of the world in which we live.

It is all too easy to play on these emotions.

But I do not intend to do so.

I appeal to reason.

I appeal not to fear but to hope . . . not to frustration but to faith.

The American Presidency is a great and powerful office. But it is not all-powerful.

It depends, most of all, upon the will and wisdom of the American people.

There is an essential strength in the American people.

Tonight I call you, the American people, not to be of one mind, but rather of one spirit.

I call you—the American people—not to a life of false security and ease, but to a new sense of purpose as a free people.

I call you to risk the hard path of greatness.

I say to America:

Put aside recrimination and dissension.

Turn away from violence and hatred.

Believe, in what America can do, and believe in what America can be.

With the help of that vast, unfrightened, dedicated, faithful majority of Americans, I say to this great convention tonight, and to this great nation of ours, I am ready to lead our country.

VIOLENCE IN MAYOR DALEY'S FIEFDOM

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, Chicago, under Mayor Daley, is a police state. The so-called security arrangements for the Democratic National Convention turned out to be a disaster and a disgrace. Armed National Guardsmen, thousands in number, reinforced Daley's police. Barbed wire was in evidence around the convention hall.

Thousands of youngsters came to Chicago filled with enthusiasm for Senator EUGENE McCARTHY and gathered in Grant Park and in downtown Chicago singing, laughing, shouting, and passing out McCARTHY literature. I saw hundreds of them, some sitting on the ground in the park, some standing, some over by the lake, some in the vicinity of the Sherman House and Conrad Hilton Hotels; always present there were overpowering numbers of helmeted combat-ready policemen and National Guardsmen. Hundreds of these youngsters wanted to demonstrate peacefully close to the convention hall, but were barred from all access to the vicinity of the convention by orders of Mayor Daley. Streets and sidewalks were blocked off by barricades and police. It is difficult to imagine that what was, and is, a beautiful city in the United States was not East Berlin or Prague or Athens where dictators rule.

In the brutal actions of the police during the nighttime while the Democratic Convention was defeating the peace plank and later nominating HUBERT HUMPHREY to be President of the United States, democracy was clubbed to death by Mayor Daley's police. The police brutality in Chicago was shameful, horrible, and revolting to all Americans who witnessed on their television screens what was taking place. The police response to whatever provocation may have occurred was excessive to the extreme, completely unjustifiable, and reminiscent of the tactics of the gestapo and the NKVD. Law and order must be maintained. No one questions that. However, millions of thoughtful Americans today question the tactics, force, and brutality used by the Chicago police in combating offenses which ordinarily would be considered misdemeanors and which in no way necessitated bloodshed and physical violence exerted by the Chicago policemen more often than otherwise on persons who committed no crimes or misdemeanors whatsoever.

Youngsters were being driven in one direction by police and National Guardsmen out of Grant Park and then into a group of policemen coming from the opposite side of the park. Some sought to escape and police followed them even into the lobby of the Conrad Hilton Hotel throwing tear gas and making sections of the hotel temporarily uninhabitable.

It is evident that this should be the last national convention of any political party. In 1972 candidates for President and Vice President should be nominated at party primaries. One wonders what communism can do to us that we did not already do to ourselves in Chicago last week. The Fascist tyranny of Mayor Daley is the handmaiden to Communist despotism.

Mr. President, one instance of Fascist-like police brutality involved Dr. Sidney Peck, a professor at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio. I have been acquainted with Professor Peck for many years and know that he is a gentleman and a man of high principles. Professor Peck was viciously beaten by Chicago policemen because he dared to exercise his constitutional right to demonstrate peacefully. The incident to which I refer was described vividly and in detail in an article by Thomas Fitzpatrick which recently appeared in the Plain Dealer of Cleveland.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Ohio has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 8 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I commend this article to my colleagues as one clear example of many similar incidents in Chicago last week and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TELLS OF "FASCIST" BEHAVIOR: DR. PECK BEATEN BY CHICAGO POLICE

(By Thomas Fitzpatrick)

CHICAGO.—Dr. Sidney Peck squinted as he looked into the cloudless sky yesterday afternoon, talking about the Conrad Hilton Hotel incident, which has suddenly achieved a prominence in that lexicon which also includes such place names as Birmingham, Selma and Memphis.

Dr. Peck is a sociology professor at Case Western Reserve University. He is not a formidable physical specimen. But on Tuesday night it took 12 Chicago policemen pummeling him with nightsticks to arrest him and toss him into a police wagon.

Yesterday afternoon Peck—now free on $2,000 bond after being charged with resisting arrest, aggravated assault and disorderly conduct—was back at the scene of the bloody events of the previous night. He was wondering what would happen to him next. He was a little frightened.

There were bumps all over his head. His left hand had been fractured and there were welts all over his back and chest where arresting policemen had jammed their billy clubs.

"How do you explain it?" Peck asked. "I'll tell you it was the most vicious thing I've ever seen. They acted in the grand fascist manner of the police state but that doesn't explain it, really.

"You had to be there to see it. Even then you'd still be frightened and incoherent about it."

Peck, an officer in the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, was in the forefront of a group of demonstrators when they were stopped at Balbo Drive and Michigan Avenue near the hotel.

He was carrying a bullhorn and was one of the group's directors. When the police set up lines to prevent the protesters from leaving the area, it was Peck who went forward to negotiate with the police.

"Look," Peck said he told the police captain heading the operation. "We have a lot of angry people here. If you keep us penned in like this, there is bound to be trouble. Why not let us go through? At least give us a chance to disperse.

"If you don't allow us a way out there is going to be violence and someone is going to get hurt. Let's not let this happen."

The police were not in a mood to negotiate Peck said. He could make no bargain with them. As it turned out, all the policemen were waiting for, apparently was darkness. Once the area was sufficiently shrouded, the police moved in, wave after wave of them, swinging their clubs at any human form they could reach.

"I saw them coming at me," Peck said, and it sounded odd because he said it with such an intellectual flair.

"We had this training program, you know, and we know how to protect ourselves when police come after us with clubs. I went down to the ground and assumed the fetal position. I put both my hands over my head to protect myself.

"What the police want to do is spread your body out so they can work you over. Well, I was able to ward off a good many of the blows with my hands on top of my head. That's how they broke my hand.

"But the thing that hurts worse, and this was excruciating, was when they finally spread me out. And another policeman charged at me then and rammed his nightstick between my legs.

"There was such an electric shock of pain that I thought I was going to die."

"Can I tell you what happens without sounding excessive?" Peck asked, not waiting for a reply to give his answer.

"It's the police. They're barbaric. They really enjoy what they are able to do to us under cover of darkness."

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, officials of the Department of Justice must direct an intensive FBI investigation and make an early and public report of their findings so that brutal policemen and their commanding officers will never again, in any city in our country, assault young men and women gathered together lawfully to peacefully demonstrate. Many of those unoffending youngsters were severely injured by being bludgeoned by the police and then thrown like cordwood into patrol wagons and taken to jail.

Police brutality in Chicago is of the same order that has been inflicted on minority groups—on the Negroes, the Puerto Ricans—and in the slum areas over the years. Of course, mayors and police chiefs have always denied that there is any such brutality. In fact, it is standard operating procedure to arrest Negroes for disorderly conduct and resisting arrest, making the claim that bruises and other injuries were inflicted when the defendant resisted arrest. Only when 25 newsmen in Chicago as reporters suffered from the brutality of policemen and when white Americans, some of them businessmen who happened to be on the spot, were pushed through windows did the realization come to people generally that there was brutality and overkill practiced on the part of Daley's policemen.

The basic question still remains: Why was Chicago so afraid? From what was Chicago protecting itself? Was Mayor Daley really frightened by demonstrations which were intended to be peaceful and which began that way? Was it conceivable that the Chicago Police Department was so afraid of its "unarmed" citizens that it had to club them into submission? The overkill tactics of many Chicago policemen were sickening, horrendous, and intolerable.

But could it be possible that those in Chicago were afraid of an idea? Afraid of legitimate political change? Were they afraid that the old "political boss" in the Richard Daley pattern would become a thing of the past?

Mr. President, Tom Pew, editor of the Troy Daily News, a highly respected independent newspaper in western Ohio, was present in Chicago, his purpose being to report the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention for his newspaper. He witnessed the abusive tactics and disorderly, unfair proceedings which caused him and millions of Americans who viewed the proceedings on their television screens to hope that 1968 will be the last year that political parties in our country hold national conventions. He along with millions of Americans and, Mr. President, I am one of those who holds to that view, hope that the Congress of the United States will submit to the people of the United States a constitutional amendment abolishing the electoral college and providing that in the year 1972 and from thence on candidates of their respective political parties for President and Vice President will be nominated at party primaries held in the 50 States and that the candidates so nominated will be elected by direct vote of the people. The candidates of the various parties receiving the largest number of votes whether or not it is a majority of the total vote will be declared by the Congress to be President and Vice President of the United States and to serve for a 6-year term and not be eligible for reelection. Let us hope that the Congress proceed forthwith on this important matter and that legislatures of three-fourths of our States act affirmatively to adopt this constitutional amendment in ample time before 1972.

In Chicago, Tom Pew witnessed, as did many Americans, what occurred outside the convention hall. He reported in his newspaper these factual statements which could be termed on-the-spot editorials.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these editorials published in the Troy Daily News, written by Tom Pew, editor, under the captions, "Is It Happening Here?" and "Chicago: City Without Rights to Life and Liberty," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IS IT HAPPENING HERE?

(By Tom Pew)

On the occasion of my return from Vietnam six months ago I wrote an editorial that I called: "The Peace of Troy."

It was about my rediscovery of the beauty and order of Troy and Miami County contrasted with the war torn jungles and villages of South East Asia.

But most of all it was about the profound feeling of well being I had in returning to America and especially this place in America.

Today, returning once again from a war—actually both Chicago and Vietnam are called police-actions—I have some of the same sensations about the beauty and order of this town and county.

But the feeling of security is gone. Chicago is not Saigon. Mayor Richard Daley is not Ho Chi Minh and his police are not the Viet Cong. They're all American.

Chicago is practically the city next door by today's travel technology and yet in that city the police-action resembled something I have witnessed before only in documentary war films of the Nazi rise to power in Germany.

Instead of Hitler black-shirts charging into the streets of Munich or Berlin clubbing and kicking everyone who got in their way, here were familiar blue-shirts charging into the streets of Chicago clubbing and kicking everyone who got in their way.

And the zeal; the brutal abandon with which the blue-shirts carried out their duty surpassed even the German enthusiasm with which those early Hitler followers went about their work of terror.

Doesn't the philosophy behind it all have a familiar ring from the history books? "In the name of law and order we must suppress this violence in the streets." From Richard Nixon to Hubert Humphrey to Richard Daley to George Wallace—all of our front-running leaders speak with the same voice.

And yet, in Chicago, the violence in the streets was police violence and what small amount of reciprocal violence there was from the people was incited by police brutality or else was carried out in self-defense.

And what was this police violence used for?

It was used to put down the right to assembly.

It was used to stop freedom of speech.

It was used—by brutal beatings of reporters and photographers—as an attempt to muzzle the press.

It was used to suppress a minority political movement.

It was used to implement fascism American style—of course in the name of law and order.

Chicago: City Without Rights to Life and Liberty

(Editor's Note.—This is another in a series of stories by Tom Pew, Troy Daily News editor who is in Chicago for the Democratic National Convention.)

Chicago.—Have you ever imagined what it is like to see a defenseless, silent, unarmed American boy beaten by the police until his face and head were unrecognizable?

Have you ever dreamed that a young well-dressed American girl would have to stand against a wall and scream with pulsating waves of terror as the police swarmed around her yelling and kicking?

Have you ever thought that a reporter operating a tape recorder could have all of his front teeth clubbed out by a policeman holding his night stick with both hands?

Have you ever thought that bayonets could be fixed in this country and pricked against the chests of people who had not lifted a finger to touch the body or property of another man?

Has the acrid poison of teargas and mace ever seared your eyes and made you stagger blindly until someone led you to a fountain so that you could see again and breathe again?

These things I saw, heard and experienced last night in Chicago and somehow the Democratic Convention didn't seem important any more.

Chicago, for many thousands of people, has become Prague. It is a city without freedom of assembly. It is a city without freedom of the press. It is a city without the rights to life and liberty.

It is a fascist city.

It is a city where jeeps patrol with barbed wire screens mounted on their front.

It is a city where groups are charged and individuals run over by police riding tricycle motorcycles.

It is a city where fingers are clubbed, groins are kicked, kidneys are jabbed, and where even old people are pushed and shoved without distinction from the sidewalk because the police here have been ordered to tolerate no open demonstrations—peaceful or otherwise.

It is a city where vicious, highly disciplined "pigs" rule the day and terrorize the night. It is a city which makes a sick farce out of the Democratic Convention that is being held here.

Yesterday and last night were a nightmare for this editor. I could not have believed I would ever witness the things I have witnessed here.

I could not have believed the threats unless they had been made to me.

I could not have accepted the reality of the use of gas unless I had been blinded.

I could not have imagined the broken and bloodied head of the young man unless he lay helpless at my feet.

I could not have dreamed the screams of the girl pressed against the wall with the terror that must have equalled the terror of the young nurses as Richard Speck led them from their room one by one in this city.

I am a witness and last night in Chicago I went to bed with terror in my heart I have never felt before.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in the Senate today, our colleagues have presented varying points of view in referring to the disruptive and sometimes destructive events in connection with the proceedings of the National Democratic Convention which met in Chicago last week.

I realize that this dialog will continue not only today but perhaps in the days and weeks to come.

I have a sense of individual understanding of the situation in that city as a member of the platform committee in meetings there for 3 days prior to the convention in its formal sessions, and as a delegate-at-large from West Virginia in attendance at the convention during the 4 days and nights of decision as to the platform and the nominees for President and Vice President.

It is not my purpose at this time to add to the discussion which has taken place in this body. I desire, however, to ask my colleagues to read very carefully an article that I shall ask unanimous consent to be inserted in the Record. The author, Miss Betty Beale, is a responsible staff writer of the Washington Evening Star. Her article, "The Other Side of the Picture," draws on the experiences in Chicago of two of our esteemed colleagues in this body, Senators Gale McGee and Daniel Inouye.

I believe that the material and the manner in which she presents her assessment of the happenings in Chicago, apart from the proceedings of the convention, deserve the careful consideration of Members of this body. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the references that I have made be supplemented by an inclusion of the story itself at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Sept. 1, 1968]

The Other Side of the Picture

(By Betty Beale)

This columnist has just returned from Chicago—unbloodied, unpelted and even unbruised, thanks to the Chicago police.

It is time one member of the media gave the other side of the picture because the public has the right to know.

Never has a law-enforcing group been more sorely tried. They received both bodily injury and unspeakably vile treatment from the hippies in Grant Park. Yet never at any time did I see policemen show more courtesy than the police of Chicago. Courtesy, of course, is only due people who show some courtesy themselves.

And despite the difficult circumstances in which they had to maintain order they managed to prevent fatal catastrophe.

We heard the word "over-reacted" used a lot by commenators last week, and by busy politicians who were assuming that what they had been told was correct.

But if there was ever an over-reaction to any fact of life during those seven days in Chicago, it was the over-reaction of the media to any effort whatsoever to stop the hippies from the flagrant civil disorders and their disgusting disturbances of the peace.

Every time a newsman was hurt, the screams of protest went around the world, but how much was said about the newsmen who taunted the police or tried to get action for the TV cameras? A member of the vice president's coterie heard two reporters having a great laugh in the Coffee Shop of the Conrad Hilton about how they agitated in Grant Park until the police started pushing them around.

Wyoming Sen. and Mrs. Gale McGee and their two grown children walked over to the park to see for themselves what was going on and they arrived when the changing of the National Guard troops was taking place.

Walking through a gang of hippies they saw two girls, one playing the flute. Then they saw a TV camera team lead the girls over to the exact place by the troops where they wanted them to stand. And when their camera started to roll, the girl cried, "Don't beat me! Don't beat me!" It takes no imagination to figure how this contrived scene would look on the screens in millions of American homes.

In the convention hall Mrs. McGee said a youth of about 15 sat in front of them and clapped hard at everything said that he liked and shouted four-letter words at everything he didn't like. Instead of just grabbing him and removing him, as the police would have done in most civilized places, the Chicago police asked him first to stop it. But he paid no attention to them so "they had to take him out," said Mrs. McGee.

The cameras probably caught the big policemen bodily forcing the mere youth to leave, giving the television viewer the idea he had done nothing to provoke such reaction.

And what, by the way, has happened to the news media that provocation is left out of, or played down in, story after story? Most announcements or headlines told what the police did to the hippies but left out or skimmed over what the hippies did to the public or police.

Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, World War hero and Democratic keynoter, said the hippies were throwing plastic bags of human excrement at the police and guards in Grant Park. They were also throwing rubber balls stuck with long nails aimed for the eyes.

How would these commentators who thought the police "over-reacted' have behaved if those things had happened to them?

For three straight minutes late Tuesday night, or rather early Wednesday morning, 3,000 hippies shouted in unison, directed by a leader, an obscene curse at the President of the United States. They were either cursing the police in the same way or calling them pigs. And I used to think that insulting an officer was against the law!

Why was an electronic amplifier allowed to remain in the park all day and night where obscenities were shouted until 4 a.m., I asked a police officer? There was a city ordinance against such use, he said, but if they arrested those using it they would only be fined and somebody might be killed in the process. If this wasn't underreacting, what is?

Mayor Daley was constantly referred to on the air in slurring accents as the boss of Chicago. He may be, and he is responsible, no doubt, for some bad as well as some good. But Chicago is only one city.

Two famous TV commentators were

bossing the presentation of slanted news that affected the minds of millions of Americans in hundreds of cities. As Liz Carpenter said at the women's luncheon Thursday, in all the talk of brutality there had not been "one word about the TV network brutality—the commentator clubbing" of the mayor.

When the mayor fails to do what the majority of the people in Chicago want they can at least vote him out. But no vote can stop the bossism of the airwaves where editorializing has been substituted again and again for straight reporting. One NBC commentator virtually campaigned for Teddy Kennedy throughout Tuesday evening.

In the past I have been proud to be a member of the Fourth Estate, but after this past week I feel a burning inward shame. In my mind freedom of the press has always been necessary to liberty. The Bible states it most beautifully: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

But how much truth, and how much biased opinion are the people, and especially the youth of America, getting?

A clean, well-combed, pretty young girl for Sen. McCarthy was one of five of us who shared a taxi to O'Hare Airport Friday and the conversation turned to what the hippies had done to convert the serious business of nominating a presidential candidate into a circus of vulgarity.

Unbelievably, she stood up for the right of the Grant Park crowd to curse the President in four-letter words. She had no respect for the highest office of our land.

When one of the men blamed Tom Hayden for leading the youth to such actions, she said Tom was all right; he was a friend of hers.

I am not familiar with Hayden's record but the fact that this young woman supported him and his undertaking indicated the truth had not reached her as it is not reaching millions of young people.

Maybe the media had better ask itself why.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I was not in Chicago, and therefore cannot predicate statements I now make on the basis of actual, visual experience. I did, however, watch the television presentation of what took place. I read the various newspaper accounts of what took place.

There is a serious dispute in existence as to whether or not the policemen of Chicago were justified in the course of action which they took. First of all, Mr. President, I want to say and unhesitatingly declare that I have become tired and sick, in reading in the newspapers constantly, after violent demonstrations have taken place, that the demonstrations and the violence were the consequence of police brutality.

In the Reader's Digest of this month there is an anecdote of a lady who dropped 30 cents into a vending machine to buy a newspaper. She waited for the release to occur so that she could pick up the newspaper. The contraption did not work, so she began pulling the lever. A policeman was standing close by. He saw what she was doing, and he came over and asked her what the trouble was. She said, "I put 30 cents in that machine and I can't get the newspaper." So the policeman slapped the machine, and out came the newspaper. She said, "What caused it to come out?" He said, "Police brutality." [Laughter.]

That is about the situation that exists throughout the country with regard to the conduct of policemen.

I just heard the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] describe the Betty Beale article. While I hesitate to describe her actual observations of what took place, in conjunction with what was said to her by Senator INOUYE and Senator McGEE, her description is, as I recall that the demonstrators put human excrement in plastic bags and threw those plastic bags at the policemen.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have 5 more minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. They put human urine into empty beer cans and threw them at the policemen. They took rubber balls and filled them with needles and sharp instruments standing out from the rubber balls and threw them at the policemen, not feeling any compunction or remorse about the probability of knocking out the sight of a policeman when the piercing metallic objects penetrated a policeman's eye.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LAUSCHE. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. They did more than that at Chicago. They would get spray cans of "Easy Off," which contain a lye solution to clean grease from ovens, for which ladies have to use heavy rubber gloves because it would eat off their skin, and spray that solution into the policemen's faces. If the lye got into a policeman's eye, it would blind him for life. If that occurred in Louisiana and a policeman cracked that person's skull for doing it, we would think that person had it coming to him.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Further, the Beale article describes one of the hippies as standing up to a policeman and saying, "You bastard, hit me, hit me, hit me." The policeman withdrew, and this man kept after him.

Mr. President, the whole story has not been told. I am not here to defend the policemen of the country, but they have suffered abuse far beyond what one can consider fairness and justice.

The Democratic Convention was held, and every statement that was made in advance justified the conclusion that the intention was that the will of the demonstrators was to be done or the convention was to be destroyed. On June 26, in New York, according to an article in Barron's, quoting statements made by the speakers, the plan was laid out, and that plan was to nullify the convention, destroy it, unless their purpose was achieved.

I listened to the "Today" program on Thursday of last week, I believe. The manager of the "Today" program had on it as his honorary and distinguished guests a Mr. Dellinger and a Mr. Hayden. I know of the background of Dellinger and Hayden. Both of them have been to either Hanoi or Moscow. There they learned the lessons of how to carry on guerrilla warfare, incite demonstrations, and defeat the rights of the innocent and the lawful, and to put into supremacy the ideas and the objectives of the unlawful.

When Dellinger and Hayden were being questioned by Mr. Downs on that program, I waited patiently to see if revelation would be made of who those two men were. One of them is about 40 years old; the other is a sort of blade-faced individual about 24 or 25 years old.

Those who viewed the program were never informed that those two men have been advocates of, and sympathizers with the Communist cause. Probably 20 million people listened to them as they described the abuses of the police. If they had been witnesses on the stand in the trial of a case, they would have been asked to reveal their backgrounds so the jury could determine what credibility to attach to their statements. But no question was asked, such as, "Mr. Dellinger, have you ever been in Hanoi? Mr. Hayden, have you ever been there? Why did you go there? Where do you get the money with which you are operating?" Not one question.

It may be that we ought to have a direct national primary election to nominate candidates. I would subscribe to that. But not on the basis that the police destroyed the convention. Not on the basis that what took place in Chicago was attributable to law-enforcement officials.

Much has been said about what happened in the delegations. I know what took place in Ohio in the selection of delegates. Representatives of one segment of the economy, in return for their promise of support financially and otherwise, demanded that they be given, as I understand it, 25 delegates. Well, they got the delegates, and they used them at the convention.

Mr. President, I am not one of those who condemn Mayor Daley. The candidate for the presidency on the Democratic ticket, before he was nominated, gave praise to the Chicago police for their conduct. I regretted to learn that a couple of days ago that same candidate began suggesting a blue-ribbon committee to make a study of the police conduct. I cannot reconcile those two positions on a basis of rationality or any other basis.

This morning on the "Today" program, a narration was made concerning a poll taken of citizens of the United States, in which the person polled was asked, "In your opinion, Mr. Citizen, is the moral fabric of our people better or worse today than it has been in the past?"

The shocking result was that 70 percent of those polled answered that they believe it is worse.

A similar poll was taken in 1960, and that poll showed that a majority of the answers were that the moral fabric was believed to be better in 1960 than it had been in the past.

What has happened between 1960 and 1968? What is the cause of the breakdown of the ethics and the moral fabric of our youth and our people in general? Has it happened because law enforcement has been too severe, and therefore people are becoming immoral? Is it the consequence of the protection of the criminal, or of the condonation of the philosophy of permissiveness in general?

I shall not try to answer the question. All I know is that excruciatingly painful days lie ahead for our country. On all sides, the evidences are that we are in a distressing position; and it will be worse if policies discrediting the police are pursued. If I were Ho Chi Minh, or if I were Brezhnev, I would advocate and spend money to break down the confidence of the people of the United States in the police of our Nation, for once that has been achieved, we might as well throw up our arms, say "We are done," and quit.

RESTRICTION OF LOG EXPORTS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the acting majority leader, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 15 minutes during the morning hour, in reply to an editorial in this morning's New York Times, which, in my judgment, does not give an accurate account in regard to the amendment to which the editorial refers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oregon? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. The Senator may proceed.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in this morning's New York Times, there is published an editorial entitled "Senator MORSE's Log Jam." I ask unanimous consent that that editorial be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR MORSE'S LOG JAM

Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon is giving an object lesson in how mischievous interferences with international trade can really be. He attached an amendment to the foreign aid bill severely restricting the export of raw logs cut from Federal forest lands. Now he threatens to block an agreement on foreign aid in the House-Senate conference unless the Morse amendment is retained. His object is to protect Oregon's less efficient saw mill operators. They would have to pay higher prices for logs if sales to Japan were not restricted. But it is already clear that this impediment to trade is working to the detriment of Mr. Morse's constituents.

The objection to the ban on log exports is that it discriminates against the Japanese—who are being told to buy finished United States lumber or nothing—and it perpetuates inefficiency by providing domestic saw mills with blanket protection against higher supply prices. At first the Federal prohibition—state governments have similar restrictions—applied only to logs from Government forests in the western sections of Washington and Oregon. Mr. Morse's amendment would extend the ban to Federal land in California, Idaho and Montana as well.

Japan might have to yield to this attempted squeeze, if the United States were the only lumber supplier, but it is not. The Japanese recently concluded a five-year trade agreement under which Soviet Russia is to provide them with an additional 1.6 billion board feet of lumber, the bulk of it in the form of logs. Canada also stands ready to meet Japan's needs. Common sense—to say nothing of the fate of the foreign-aid bill—demands that the Morse log jam be broken.

Mr. MORSE. Ordinarily, the New York Times editorial page is a source of valuable information, insights, and guidance to sound public policy. I regret that this morning, the editorial writers do not seem to have done their usual homework before they wrote as they did on the subject of the log export amendment to the foreign aid bill.

I make these points with respect to the editorial and the amendment:

First. It is not I who seek to restrict the export of logs from public lands. It is the act of 1926 which provides that public timber shall not be exported unless such export does not endanger the supply for local use. Two years ago, the Forest Service reported that the allowable cut for years into the future would be used entirely for domestic consumption. Allowing Japan to purchase 9 percent of the cut on the public western forests without increasing the cut has had the only result possible—it has pushed up stumpage prices to new highs.

Before 1926, an act of 1897 prohibited the exportation altogether. By amendment to subsequent appropriation bills, exportation was permitted year by year. In 1926, this annual procedure was made permanent. But even so, exports were to be permitted only upon the judgment of the Secretary of Agriculture that the supply of timber for local use would not be endangered thereby.

That any such judgment has been made is hardly even claimed by the administering department. It appeared in Federal regulations in 1948. But one will look in vain for any finding or judgment that Federal timber is now surplus to local domestic needs in anything like the quantity or species being exported.

The Subcommittee on Small Business conducted extensive hearings some weeks ago, and came out with a report, unanimously approved by full Committee on Small Business, adverse to the exportation of logs to Japan in the quantities that Japan seeks to buy them, because the logs are not, in fact, in surplus.

Mr. President, the Morse amendment to the foreign aid bill was cosponsored by the Senators from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD and Mr. METCALF], the Senators from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN and Mr. CHURCH], the Senators from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD] and myself, and the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS].

It simply legalizes what is being done contrary to the stricture of the 1926 act, and permits its continuation for 4 more years.

There was wide support for the amendment within the Foreign Relations Committee where it passed by a vote of 11 to 4. It went through the Senate without a voice being raised in opposition to it and is now in conference.

Mr. President, the Small Business Committee findings were, first, there are no surplus logs available, and to export in the quantities Japan seeks contravenes the statute of 1926.

Next, logs have not been exported from the national forest in Alaska since 1928 under the same statutes because if they were, Alaska would not be able to develop and maintain a sawmill operation under which Japan is now buying large quantities of lumber.

Our national forests are not negotiable in dealings with any foreign power. These national forests belong to all of the people of the country. We have spent hundreds of millions of dollars to administer the national forests to guarantee in perpetuity to each oncoming generation an adequate supply of wood products to meet our domestic needs.

That is why I have pointed out so many times that they are not only not negotiable, but that we also have no right to make them tree farms for Japan or for any other country on the face of the globe. Our State Department representatives who have dealt with Japan on the issue have pointed out the same thing.

Two years ago, the Forest Service estimated that the allowable cut on national forests would be entirely conserved for domestic needs. Now, it is selling 9 percent of the allowable cut from its most productive forests in Washington and Oregon for export. The only possible result of stretching the same allowable cut to include Japan would be to drive up the price of stumpage and of domestic lumber, and that is just what has happened.

EXPORTS DRIVING MILLS OUT OF BUSINESS, NOT HELPING THEM

Second. Less efficient sawmills are not protected from a high price in raw materials, as alleged by the New York Times editorial. They are not protected by my amendment or by the existing temporary order covering western Oregon and Washington.

In April of this year, the Secretary of Agriculture placed a 1 year's ceiling on the exportation of logs from western Oregon and Washington because of the findings we brought out in our committee.

The head of the Forest Service and the head of the Bureau of Land Management testified that there are no logs in surplus. The testimony was that there is no question about the fact that the purchase of logs by Japan raised the price of those logs so high that we are willing to pay exorbitant prices for them. We are shutting down mill after mill in our Western States because our mills cannot buy the logs at any such price and process them into lumber for domestic use at a profit.

I do not intend, as the Senator from Oregon, to see the jobs of my State exported to Japan. I do not intend to liquidate the lumber business and the mills of my State. The lumber industry in my State is dependent upon the milling of lumber in my State.

That is what is involved in this contest. It is the consumers who are protected by the Morse amendment, may I say to the New York Times, because when the sawmills cannot purchase the raw material for their mills, the price of lumber shoots up, and it has. Lumber prices have advanced far in excess of the normal price increase in recent months and are a major factor in the rising cost of home construction. The mill that has gone out of business is not protected in such a situation. Neither is the consumer, who pays more to build a home.

NO FOREIGN COUNTRY HAS A CLAIM ON PUBLIC LANDS OR RESOURCES

Nothing in my amendment discriminates against Japan. As I have noted, the laws governing the national forests have been on the books since 1897 and 1926. They far predate the recent export trade in logs. Japan has no more reason to expect total access to that timber than she has reason to expect total access to the timber in national parks or wilderness areas.

Next, may I point out that the negotiations that led to the 5-year agreement reached with the Soviet Union were begun 5 years ago. The editorial to which I have referred seeks to give the impression that the Soviet agreement is some kind of a backhand slap by Japan against the United States. The negotiations on that agreement started 5 years ago. They were the result of projections by Japan in 1962 and 1963 of her future need for wood and were not the result of any American action.

May I say that with respect to the treaty agreement between Japan and the Soviet Union, I am not raising any question or objection concerning it. I only wish Japan and the United States would also bargain over how much lumber and how many logs Japan may take each year for 5 years. Japan could undertake such a contractual relationship with the United States, too, to supply her wood needs, if she so desired. But I take the position that we have no right to deplete our forests in violation of the obligation that our Government owes to the people of our Nation to preserve our forests.

The editorial states that Canada also stands ready to meet Japan's needs. I would point out that Canada does not sell her logs to Japan. Canada, like Alaska, for years has refused to sell the logs to Japan for the very reasons that I am pointing out that we should not sell them to Japan or to any other country.

Canada has said: "We will sell you lumber." So Japan buys lumber from Canada and lumber from Alaska. She cannot get logs in those two areas. The only place in the Pacific basin she can still buy unlimited quantities of softwood logs is the Western United States proper. Until we aline our national forest policy with that of Alaska and Canada, we cannot expect to sell Japan lumber.

All I am saying is that we should put an annual ceiling of 350 million board-feet of lumber to be sold to Japan, out of all the western public lands. That is the 1966 figure, and in 1966 the stevedoring companies and the longshoremen were all perfectly satisfied with that trade. But then Japan opened up. If we do not stop this, Japan plans over the next 10 years to buy 7 to 10 billion board-feet of logs out of the people's forests of this country and ship it into Japan. The consumers of this country will suffer shocking losses. But if we keep the logs, we can cut lumber to sell Japan as well as serve the U.S. market.

The only discrimination involved is the one that permits the export of public timber from the lower 48 but not from Alaska. It is the same law in both places, administered by the same Forest Service and the same Department of Agriculture.

Next, regrettably, the editorial makes no mention of the adverse balance-of-payments situation that is growing out of this log trade.

The State Department argues balance of trade. They have not a forester in the State Department. I asked them to produce one.

The Bureau of the Budget, the Commerce Department, and the Treasury Department have no foresters. I asked them to produce one.

The experts are in the Forest Service and in the Bureau of Land Management. We do not hear them opposing the Morse amendment for they know how vital it is in order to carry out a sound managerial policy in connection with carrying out a trustee obligation that we owe the people in regard to our national forests.

Listen to what is happening. Lumber wholesalers supplying the Eastern and Midwestern United States have doubled and tripled their purchases of finished Canadian lumber products because American mills in the Pacific Northwest have been unable to expand their production to meet American housing needs. We cannot buy the logs and process them at a profit because of the Japanese financial invasion. We lose far more dollars buying finished lumber from Canada than we earn selling raw logs to Japan.

As I close, let me plead that we recognize what we are seeking to do and let me call the attention of the Democrats to the platform of the Democratic Party adopted in the public domain section.

That points out the need for the protection of the national forests. It calls for the enforcement of existing law in respect to the protection of our Federal forests.

It is very important that the Morse amendment be made a part of the foreign aid bill. That is the only way in which we can protect our forests and those forests must not be made a part of the foreign aid to Japan.

Those forests belong to the people of this country. That is why I intend to continue to press along with my cosponsors for the adoption of the Morse amendment to the foreign aid bill.

I hope, Mr. President, that the conferees will recognize that the best way to get the foreign aid bill through is to protect these forests by the adoption of the Morse amendment.

TAX LAWS SHOULD BE ENFORCED ON AN EQUAL BASIS

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, today I call attention to a situation wherein Mr. James T. Benn, of Miami, Fla., avoided paying a $1 million tax obligation, and at the same time that these tax obligations were a matter of record the Garfield Apartments, Washington, D.C., in which he had an interest, was approved for a $2,310,000 Government-guaranteed loan by the Federal Housing Administration.

Not only was a company with which this delinquent taxpayer was affiliated approved for this FHA loan in the amount of $2,313,100, but also the criminal prosecution which had been recommended was dropped by the Justice Department and instead civil proceedings initiated to establish judgments.

Subsequently, over $1 million in tax liens as listed below were entered; however, it appears, that in filing these tax liens the Treasury Department was again negligent. These tax liens were filed almost 2 months late, with the result that the Government lost its priority as contrasted to new creditors.

The Revenue Service brushes this delayed filing aside as of no importance on the basis that as a practical matter it made no difference since Mr. Benn has no assets anyway. But what about Mr. Benn's interest in the Garfield Apartments? Furthermore, how can any individual accumulate a tax liability of over $1 million without at the same time establishing some equity in assets which could be attached by the Government. That is a point which needs to be explained as well as why criminal proceedings were dropped.

At a time when all Americans are being required to bear an extra 10-percent tax burden it is important that our tax laws be enforced on an equal basis.

I ask unanimous consent that the Treasury Department's letters of August 8, 1967, and November 17, 1967, confirming the tax liability of Mr. Benn, and the two letters of the Federal Housing Administration dated August 25, 1967, and February 28, 1968, confirming their $2,310,000 loan to the Garfield Apartments, in which Mr. Benn had some interest, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., August 8, 1967.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: This is in response to your letter of June 21 1967, requesting a report on the internal revenue tax liabilities of Mr. James T. Benn of Miami, Florida, and Washington, D.C.

The requested information is set forth in the following tabulation:

Period	Assessed liability	Description	Unpaid assessed balance	Accrued interest through July 14, 1967
1951	$17,064.98	Tax	[1] $24,926.60	$13,181.42
Assessed	8,532.49	Fraud penalty		
Oct. 2, 1958	6,703.03	Interest		
1953	17,451.66	Tax	38,080.45	20,064.74
Assessed	8,725.83	Fraud penalty		
Oct. 2, 1958	4,362.92	Delinquency penalty		
	2,779.32	Failure to file estimated tax return		
	4,760.72	Interest		
1954	25,156.50	Tax	46,969.88	21,994.30
Assessed	12,578.25	Fraud penalty		
Oct. 2, 1958	4,007.75	Failure to file estimated tax return		
	5,227.38	Interest		
1955	189,879.66	Tax	313,034.00	150,152.30
Assessed	94,939.83	Fraud penalty		
Oct. 2, 1958	151.34	Underpayment of estimated tax		
	28,063.17	Interest		

[1] Payments totaling $7,373.90 were made on this liability.

The Tax Court decision of April 3, 1964, affirmed by the United States Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit, on October 6, 1966, held that deficiencies in income tax and penalties covering the foregoing periods were due from Mr. Benn in the following amounts:

1951:	
Tax	[1] 0
Fraud penalty	$1,276.75
1953:	
Tax	17,451.66
Fraud penalty	8,725.83
Delinquency penalty	4,362.92
Failure to file estimated tax return	1,737.08
1954:	
Tax	8,060.69
Fraud penalty	4,030.35
Failure to file estimated tax return	795.27
1955:	
Tax	68,209.06
Fraud penalty	34,104.53
Underpayment of estimated tax	151.34

[1] Tax due as determined by Tax Court and portion of penalty paid prior to Court's decision.

A petition to the United States Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari is presently pending in regard to these liabilities.

The following proposed deficiencies are being contested before the Tax Court and are set for trial this fall:

	Proposed deficiency
1956:	
Tax	$55,545.33
Fraud penalty	27,772.67
Underpayment of estimated tax	96.77
Total	83,414.77
1957:	
Tax	42,804.74
Fraud penalty	21,402.37
Total	64,207.11
1958:	
Tax	5,441.75
Fraud penalty	2,720.88
Total	8,162.63
1959:	
Tax	312,769.66
Fraud penalty	156,384.83
Total	469,154.49
1960:	
Tax	474,048.15
Fraud penalty	237,024.08
Total	711,072.23
1961:	
Tax	$446,866.50
Fraud penalty	223,433.25
Total	670,299.75

I want to correct the erroneous indication in my letter of May 24, 1967, that 1962 is included in the years Mr. Benn has pending before the Tax Court.

I hope this information will be helpful and that you will let me know should further information be needed.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

SHELDON S. COHEN,
Commissioner.

U.S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., November 17, 1967.
Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: This is in further reference to your letter of August 14 concerning the case of Mr. James T. Benn of Miami, Florida, and Washington, D.C. We have now completed our search of the Service's files and records necessary to respond to the additional questions asked in your letter.

You ask to be advised of the date a decision was made to drop criminal prosecution, who made the decision and what reason was given. Criminal prosecutions are authorized only when the available evidence is deemed sufficient to establish guilt beyond a reasonable doubt and there appears to be a reasonable probability of conviction. All of the evidence developed in the investigation by the Service with respect to alleged violations involving the income tax liability of James T. Benn for the years 1951, 1952, 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957 was reviewed by the Department of Justice. The final decision of that Department, reached on March 24, 1964, was that the evidence was such that successful prosecution would be almost impossible. Additionally, the evidence developed with respect to alleged violations as to the years 1959 and 1961 was reviewed by the office of Regional Counsel and the conclusion as to those years, reached on June 4, 1965, was that such evidence was insufficient to indicate guilt beyond a reasonable doubt and there did not appear to be a reasonable probability of conviction. Accordingly, the case as to 1959 and 1961 was not referred to the Department of Justice.

In reply to the second inquiry in your August 14 letter, a search of our files discloses no letters, calls, either directly or indirectly, from Congressional sources, the White House, or anyone connected with or representing either of the two national political committees.

Federal tax liens were filed on the assessed liabilities as follows:

Year	Amount	Liens filed
1951	$32,300.50	Oct. 7, 1958, in Dade and Palm Beach Counties, Fla., the District of Columbia and County of New York, N.Y. Oct. 16, 1958, in Broward County, Fla.
	24,979.43	Mar. 18, 1959, in Leon County, Fla. (Original amount reduced by payments between Oct. 17, 1958 and Mar. 18, 1959.)
1953	38,080.45	Oct. 7, 1958, in Dade and Palm Beach Counties, Fla., the District of Columbia and County of New York, N.Y. Oct. 16, 1958, in Broward County, Fla. Mar. 18, 1959, in Leon County, Fla.
1954	46,969.88	Oct. 7, 1958, in Dade and Palm Beach Counties, Fla., the District of Columbia and County of New York, N.Y. Oct. 16, 1958, in Broward County, Fla. Mar. 18, 1959, in Leon County, Fla.
1955	313,034.00	Oct. 7, 1958, in Dade and Palm Beach Counties, Fla., the District of Columbia and County of New York, N.Y. Oct. 16, 1958, in Broward County, Fla. Mar. 18, 1959, in Leon County, Fla.

Your interest in this matter is appreciated.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

SHELDON S. COHEN,
Commissioner.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., August 25, 1967.
Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: I am replying further to your letter of August 14, 1967, concerning Garfield Apartments, 5410 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

On July 9, 1959, this Administration finally endorsed for insurance a mortgage in the principal amount of $2,313,100 in favor of Frederick W. Berens, Inc. In the absence of information to the contrary from the mortgagee, we assume that payments due under the mortgage are fully current. Our annual inspection reports reflect that the property is unusually well maintained.

The property is owned by Garfield and Sankin, Inc. and in 1959 all the common stock, which has no par, was held by Joseph Garfield and Julius Sankin, two-thirds and one-third, respectively. The officers were Joseph A. Garfield, President, Julius Sankin, Secretary-Treasurer, and Arthur M. Chaite, Assistant Secretary, and those individuals constituted the board of directors. Subsequently, we were informed that the two-thirds stock ownership of Garfield was held by 5410 Connecticut Avenue Corporation and that Mr. James T. Benn had supplanted Mr. Garfield as president. Our latest information is that the ownership of the two-thirds stock interest is in litigation and involves the entitlement of Mr. Benn to continue to act as president of the corporation. We are not informed as to the decision in the litigation if, in fact, a decision has been rendered.

Our records fail to reflect Mr. Benn's involvement in any other FHA matter.

Sincerely yours,

P. N. BROWNSTEIN,
Assistant Secretary-Commissioner.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., February 28, 1968.
Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: I am replying further to your letter of February 19, 1968, concerning the Garfield Apartments, 5410 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C.

With respect to the sponsors, I have nothing to add to the information provided you in my letter of August 25, 1967.

The other information which you requested is:

General Contractor: Julius Sankin, Inc., 5437 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C.

Date of Mortgage: May 1, 1958.

Amount of Mortgage: $2,313,100.

Interest Rate: 4½%.

Amortization: 471 monthly payments beginning 8-1-59, initial payment $3855.17, each subsequent payment 100.1% of next preceding payment, maturity 10-1-98.

Present Principal Balance: $1,895,067.49 (assuming currency through 2-1-68 installment).

Our last inspection of the property was in October 1967, when we found the property in unusually good condition. We assume all mortgage payments are fully current, having no notice to the contrary from the present mortgagee, Excelsior Savings Bank, 221 West 57th Street, New York.

Sincerely yours,

P. N. BROWNSTEIN,
Assistant Secretary-Commissioner.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I also ask unanimous consent that a memorandum prepared by Mr. Thomas Vail, chief counsel of the Committee on Finance, confirming the late filing of these tax liens, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE, COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
February 26, 1968.

To: The Honorable John J. Williams.
From: Tom Vail, Chief Counsel, Senate Committee on Finance.
Re Mr. James T. Benn, Tax Liabilities (IRS).

As requested, I talked with the Internal Revenue Service regarding the present status of the James T. Benn tax matter. His tax liability for 1951 through 1955 (with the exception of 1952) has been litigated all the way to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court has denied certiorari in his case and his tax liability is now finally established. The following chart shows the amount of tax he owes as fixed by the Court plus the amount of penalties which have been assessed and addition to the tax. It also shows the interest involved computed through yesterday, February 26, 1968.

(The tax and penalty figures recited here are identical to the figures given to you on August 8, 1967 by the Internal Revenue Service. Only the amount of interest differs.)

(See attached chart).

I am also advised that pursuant to Section 6323 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, new tax liens were refiled against Mr. Bann on yesterday, February 26. Actually, these liens were filed almost two months after the transition period fixed by this provision of law with the result that the government may have lost its priority as contrasted to new creditors and those who acted in reliance on the expiration of the old liens. As a practical matter, I understand that this loss of priority has little meaning since Mr. Benn has no assets.

TOM VAIL.

Period:	
1951—Tax [1]	0
Fraud penalty	$1,276.75
Total	1,276.75
Interest (through Feb. 26, 1968, at rate of $0.21 per day)	720.19
1952	None
1953—Tax	17,451.66
Fraud penalty	8,725.83
Delinquency penalty	4,362.92
Failure to file estimated tax return	1,737.08
Total	32,277.49
Interest (through Feb. 26, 1968, at rate of $5.03 per day)	22,969.67
1954—Tax	8,060.69
Fraud penalty	4,030.35
Failure to file estimated tax return	795.27
Total	12,886.31
Interest (through Feb. 26, 1968, at rate of $2.11 per day)	8,944.18
1955—Tax	68,209.06
Fraud penalty	34,104.53
Underpayment of estimated tax	151.34
Total	102,464.93
Interest (through Feb. 26, 1968, at rate of $16.84 per day)	67,889.00
Total tax liability (1951–55 including penalty)	148,885.48
Total interest	100,523.04
Grand total	249,408.52

[1] Tax due as determined by Tax Court and portion of penalty paid prior to court's decision.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware subsequently, on September 12, 1968, said: Mr. President, on September 4, 1968, I discussed the manner in which Mr. James T. Benn had avoided paying over $1 million in income taxes, and I raised questions as to why a greater effort had not been made by the Treasury Department to collect these taxes.

At the same time, I pointed out the lenient manner in which criminal prosecutions had been dropped and called attention to Mr. Benn's financial interests in the Garfield Apartments in Washington, which the project was financed by an FHA-guaranteed loan.

My reference to Mr. Benn's connections with the Garfield Apartments was based upon a report furnished by the Federal Housing Administration, a copy of which letter was printed in the RECORD as a part of my statement.

Since that time, I have talked with Mr. Julius Sankin, of the Garfield Apartments, and he advises that Mr. Benn was not a partner in this company at the time the FHA loan was approved but that about a year later, Mr. Benn, as agent and sole stockholder of a newly formed corporation, 5410 Connecticut Avenue Corp., did enter into an agreement to buy the two-thirds interest in the Garfield Apartments that had previously been owned by Mr. Joseph Garfield.

It appears that Mr. Sankin contested this sale to Mr. Benn in the courts and ultimately won his case, which prevented Mr. Benn from obtaining an interest in these apartments.

This still leaves unanswered the question that since Mr. Benn apparently had enough money to negotiate this purchase why the Treasury Department was unable at least to attach these funds regardless of whether or not the actual purchase was completed.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter of September 9, 1968, as signed by Mr. Julius Sankin and outlining his experience with Mr. Benn be printed in the RECORD and that, in the printing of the permanent RECORD, both this statement and the correspondence referred to above be printed immediately following my remarks of September 4.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There being no objection, the letter and statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GARFIELD,
Washington, D.C., September 9, 1968.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: I feel compelled to comment on your speech to the Senate, September 4, 1968, regarding one James T. Benn and a Federal Housing Administration guaranteed loan on the Garfield Apartments, 5410 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

At the outset, I would heartily agree with your feelings that no government agency or other financial or fiduciary institution should approve a loan to, or have any business dealings with, an individual who has been described and who has been found to have committed acts set forth in the opinions of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia and the U.S. Tax Court.

The prime purpose of this letter, however, is to set the record straight with regard to the facts referred to in your remarks concerning the Garfield Apartments and its mortgage loan.

The Federal Housing Administration approved the loan on the Garfield Apartments more than ten years ago, specifically, on May 1, 1958. At that time the only parties in interest in Garfield and Sankin, Inc., the owning corporation, were Joseph Garfield and the undersigned, Julius Sankin. There was no change in the ownership of the stock of Garfield and Sankin, Inc. until late April 1959. At that time, I was advised by Mr. Garfield and Mr. Benn, the latter of whom I had never heard or met before, that Mr. Garfield had sold his two-thirds interest to Mr. Benn and that Mr. Benn, as agent and sole stock holder of a newly formed corporation, 5410 Connecticut Avenue Corporation, would replace Mr. Garfield and exercise control over Garfield and Sankin, Inc. In addition, I had a previously existing thirty-day right of first purchase from Mr. Garfield. In the interim, Mr. Benn replaced Mr. Garfield as the nominal president of Garfield and Sankin, Inc. and assumed Mr. Garfield's position with the understanding that there would be a status-quo situation during this thirty-day period.

An immediate investigation revealed the checkered background of Mr. Benn and the substantial federal tax liens existing against him. Finally, when Mr. Garfield admitted entering into a fraud with Mr. Benn, I had the firm grounds to seek legal determination as to my rights. These facts are, of course, reflected in the findings of Judge Jones in the attached opinion. It will be observed that I instituted legal action on May 29, 1959 in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia (Civil Action 1493–59, Sankin vs. 5410 Connecticut Avenue Corp., James T. Benn, Joseph Garfield and others) wherein I asked for injunctive relief, setting aside the transfer to Mr. Benn on the ground of fraud, and a declaration that the stock formerly owned by Mr. Garfield was in effect my property. It will be noted that this litigation was bitterly contested but judgment has been entered in said case with detailed findings by Julge William Jones to the effect that the transactions were in fact fraudulent and that Mr. Benn did not have and never did have any interest whatsoever in the stock of Garfield and Sankin, Inc. The Court further held that, as of May 26, 1959, I was the owner of all the stock of said corporation. I should add that Mr. Benn has appealed this decision.

I wish to reiterate that Mr. James T. Benn is not now and never has had any interest whatsoever in the Garfield Apartments, directly or indirectly. In my opinion, there is no basis for criticising the Federal Housing Administration in this regard.

I might further add that shortly after this litigation was initiated the Internal Revenue Service filed a lien against the stock of Garfield and Sankin, Inc. predicated upon their tax lien against James T. Benn. After the entry of the judgment, at my request, the Internal Revenue Service filed a certificate of non-attachment as to this stock by reason of the fact that there was a judicial determination that Mr. Benn at no time had any interest in the stock of Garfield and Sankin, Inc., against which the government could levy.

I would appreciate you correcting the record in accordance with these facts all supported by the opinion of the Court and the record in Civil Action 1493–59, United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

Sincerely yours,

JULIUS SANKIN.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PURCHASES OF STEEL

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, after the recent rise in steel prices the President of the United States issued instructions to all agencies that from that moment forward they should buy their steel products at the lowest possible price.

The Agency for International Development is one of the agencies that issued a press release as follows:

> The Agency for International Development has taken steps to conform to an order issued by the General Services Administration directing civilian departments of the U.S. Government to purchase steel and steel products "at the lowest possible price."

Mr. President, I directed a letter to Mr. Knott, the Administrator of GSA, and asked him why this had not been the practice heretofore because there is a law, of which I am the author, which requires the Government to buy all its staple products at the lowest possible price. At the same time I asked Mr. Knott to furnish me an itemized list of all the procurement for the past 12 months of steel or steel products which had been purchased at prices other than the lowest price prevailing on the date of purchase.

I received a reply from Mr. Knott under date of August 22, which, in effect, states that these press releases were merely a reaffirmation of their existing policy and that they had been buying at the lowest price and would continue to do so.

I ask unanimous consent that this correspondence be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. Senate,
August 13. 1968.

Mr. Lawson B. Knott, Jr.,
Administrator, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Knott: I have just received a copy of a press release from the Agency for International Development dated August 6, 1968, in which is stated:

"The Agency for International Development has taken steps to conform to an order issued by the General Services Administration directing civilian departments of the U.S. Government to purchase steel and steel products 'at the lowest possible price.' "

Naturally, as one Member of Congress who has consistently been insisting that all Government procurement be conducted on a competitive bid basis with the purchase being made from the lowest responsible bidder, I heartily approve of this order.

I am both puzzled and disturbed, however, and my questions are:

1. What has been the policy of this Administration heretofore?

2. Are we to understand that the Government has been buying its steel and steel products at prices higher than those which were available from competing sources?

3. If the Government has not been following the practice of buying at the cheapest prices available, then please furnish me with a complete report of all procurement of steel products by each agency of the Government during the past twelve months, enumerating in each case the name of the agency, the amount purchased, and the amount paid in excess of the lowest possible price available as of the date of the purchase.

I would appreciate an answer as soon as possible. It is important that before acting on the Defense Appropriation Bill we know just how much has been expended unnecessarily for the procurement of steel during the past twelve months.

Yours sincerely,
John J. Williams.

General Services Administration,
Washington, D.C., August 22, 1968.

Hon. John J. Williams,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Williams: This is in reply to your letter of August 13 relative to our policy on procurement of steel and steel products.

In keeping with applicable legislation and the Federal Procurement Regulations it is, and has been, our policy to provide for purchase of Government requirements on a competitive bid basis from the responsible bidder offering the lowest price.

The General Services Administration order mentioned in the press release referred to in your letter simply required, because of then prevailing wide variations in market prices, that extraordinary precautions be taken to assure that all civilian agency procurements of steel and steel products be made at the lowest possible price.

Sincerely,
Lawson B. Knott, Jr.,
Administrator.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, this is just another example of the Texas shell game, a pure political hypocrisy. These statements represent another grandstand effort to make people believe they are taking some action to cut expenditures.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the following articles printed at this point in the Record:

A column by James J. Kilpatrick, published in the Washington Sunday Star of September 1; a column by Mr. David Lawrence, published in the Washington Evening Star of September 2; an article by Betty Beale, published in the Washington Evening Star of August 31; an article by Betty Beale, published in the Washington Evening Star of September 1.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Sept. 1, 1968]

Thanks to the Mayor, Thanks to the Cops

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

All week long in Chicago, while the Democrats pounded upon one another, the television networks pounded on Mayor Richard Daley. They left an impression of Ivan the Terrible leading a troop of Cossacks, and they wept that the "old pols" were out of touch with the flower of American youth.

The other side of the story scarcely got told at all. Permit a dissenting word.

I spent most of four days at Chicago mingling with the hippies and yippies, at Grant Park, Lincoln Park, and the seedy old Coliseum where they held their "anti-birthday" party for Lyndon Johnson on Tuesday night. Let us abandon the addle-headed notion that these youths are innocent idealists, dedicated solely to protesting the war in Vietnam. In the usual sense of the word, they are not even "revolutionaries," for they have no particular leaders or programs they propose to place in power.

They are at bottom simply nihilists, dedicated to destruction for the sake of destruction. In their disregard for the rights of other Americans, they are as ugly and as evil as any gangster mob. They came to Chicago, it was said, to protest the war; they were described as "protesters" and "demonstrators." They were standing on their First Amendment rights.

Very well. This means freedom of speech; this means the right of the people peaceably to assemble. How did they manifest the right of free speech? Hour after insolent hour, they stood in the parks shouting obscenities at the police a few feet away. They had a chant going: "Pig, pig, fascist pig!" They cried "oink, oink," and "soo-ee!" The taunting never ceased: "Whyn't ya hit me, ya bastard? Go on, hit me!"

Grant Park is—or was—a pleasant little park on Michigan Avenue. They made it a shambles. They tumbled into blankets just off the walkways, making love not war; they urinated against the park's back wall. The hippie girls never seemed to mind. They scrawled their favorite four-letter words on benches, lamp posts, and barricades. Their one purpose was to provoke violence.

At last they succeeded. Considering the outrageous nature of the sustained provocation, the Chicago police displayed fantastic patience. And considering the number of demonstrators who were involved, the incidents of actual police brutality were astoundingly few. In the process, more than 50 police officers were injured, some of them critically. You got no hint of this from the networks.

In retrospect, it is clear that Daley's security precautions were fully justified. I was there, in the middle of it; and like a lot of others, got a nose full of tear gas and a couple of bruises the size of a saucer. If the police and troops had not done their job, these plug-ugly scavengers would have torn the Hilton Hotel to the ground. As it was, they set off stink bombs that made the lower lobbies smell like vomit. Free speech?

Where does the appalling notion arise that the demonstrators are right and the police are wrong? Why is it assumed that these intellectual Blackstone Rangers are superior to the maligned "old pols?" Mike Royko, the brilliant columnist for the Daily News, complained sadly that Daley "just doesn't understand those kids." Who does? And why should society surrender its institutions to them? What do Americans owe a gang of black-jacketed thugs whose cry is "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh?"

Granted, a great number of the youngsters caught up in this nihilist cult are utterly sincere in their view on Vietnam. Granted too, that Mayor Daley made an ass of himself in many ways. I am as burned up as any other working reporter at the assaults by police on newsmen. But these points of view have been ceaselessly expounded for the past ten days. Almost no one has said thanks to the mayor and thanks to the cops. I do.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Sept. 2, 1968]

The Disorders in Chicago Streets

(By David Lawrence)

No more dramatic example of why civil disorder is the prime issue before the American people today could have been given than in the defiance of authority witnessed on Wednesday and Thursday nights in Chicago where the Democratic National Convention was being held.

For more than two years now the argument has been advanced repeatedly that the preservation of law and order is the responsibility not of the federal government but of the states and cities. Rebutting this view in one respect, the point has been made by critics that the federal government is to blame for failing to uncover the conspiracies which have provoked riots in American cities.

In Chicago, a deliberate effort—carefully planned—was made last week to disrupt traffic in the streets and to prevent citizens, including visitors and delegates to the convention, from moving back and forth freely between the hotels and the amphitheater.

The American people were shown on television some fragmentary films of the disturbances and attention was focused on the use of clubs by the police, whereupon some delegates as well as many observers throughout the country began denouncing Mayor Richard Daley for allowing his police to use stern measures.

The other side of the picture was not shown—the way in which the police were defied. Acid was sprayed against them, and resistance was encountered when they tried to stop the "marches," for which no permit had been granted.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial on its front page on Friday, charged that the "demonstrations" were directed by professional agitators, some of them with a Communist taint and some of them organizers of radical groups in various universities which have been the victims of campus outbreaks. The editorial continued:

"These revolutionaries came to Chicago with the design of disrupting the Democratic Convention and of taking over the streets. The bearded, dirty, lawless rabble that followed them used every sort of provocation against police and National Guardsmen—vile taunts, lye solutions, bricks, and rubble. They blocked street intersections, disrupted traffic in Michigan Avenue, and tried to charge into hotels.

"The police and guardsmen used such force as was necessary to repel them and to prevent them from interfering with the proceedings of the convention and promoting general rioting. Although it was manifestly part of the design to involve black Chicagoans, if possible, we are glad that these citizens did not lend themselves to the radical purpose.

"For enforcing law and order, Mayor Daley and the police deserve congratulations rather than criticism. The mayor's statement yesterday said correctly that the revolutionaries had openly paraded their intentions for months, that they had carefully coordinated plans of action, and that they deliberately baited the police in the hope of producing a revolutionary ferment."

The federal government has the responsibility for the prosecution of any persons who engage in a conspiracy to incite violence by the use of street "demonstrations" when such plots are carried out by individuals who cross state lines. There has been a failure, however, to enforce the statutes, and the Department of Justice has been criticized for not taking the necessary action.

It is certain that the issue will be debated vigorously in the coming campaign. But, at the moment, more is heard about "police brutality" than about the conspirators who deliberately caused the riots by instigating breaks through the lines held by the police as well as the National Guard. Unquestionably, many of the police were incensed by the attacks made upon them by some of the demonstrators. There is no doubt also that several innocent individuals, including newsmen, were caught up in the melee.

It would be enlightening to hear what the Chicago police—of whom more than 50 were injured by the attacks on them—have to say individually before any committee that may be convened in Chicago to investigate the riots. The nation has not yet heard both sides of the story.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 31, 1968]

TV ROLE CRITICIZED

(By Betty Beale)

CHICAGO.—Mrs. Katherine Peden of Kentucky, a member of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders, who is seeking the Senate seat to be vacated by Thruston B. Morton, is strongly critical of the television media's connection with Wednesday evening's violence.

Asked what she thought of the charges of brutality against the police during the protests in Grant Park, Mrs. Peden first said: "Remember that I am in the radio business, and no one will fight for the freedom of the press more than I will.

"But under the conditions, I must say self-imposed restraint of the press should be the order of the day here in Chicago.

"I have been trampled as a member of this convention by some of the press on the floor. Whether seated on the aisle or in the center, our delegates have been pushed, shoved and physically hurt by the TV people," Mrs. Peden declared.

SENATOR CLEMENTS HIT

"I was hit on the back of the neck, and Sen. Earle Clements was seated on the aisle when a TV man pushed his way through to get to the California delegation and hit Sen. Clements. When he objected, the man turned around and made a very sharp remark at the senator. It infuriated our delegation.

"The TV networks expect us to put on a show for them," continued the forthright feminine candidate. "If there had been a self-imposed blackout of the hippies' and the yippies' activities, the troubles we have experienced this week would have been appreciably less."

"The Kerner Commission" she said, strongly recommended this same restraint on the part of TV. I think the Democratic National Committee is going to have to take a long hard look at how the 1972 convention will be conducted—will it be conducted as a nominating process or will it be staged for the benefit of TV cameras?"

Mrs. Peden declared: "I will fight for the freedom of the press as a public and private citizen, but as a private citizen and member of my party, I would like to come here and nominate the candidate of my party in a businesslike atmosphere. But we have been in a Roman holiday atmosphere.

"TV must use restraint or they can look for federal controls."

Asked what she thought of the police, Betty Furness, presidential assistant on consumers' affairs and a former television personality, took a quite different tack.

"I don't think you have to hit them on the head," she said. "You can pick them up without doing that."

Mrs. India Edwards, special assistant to the national Democratic chairman, replied to the question with a surprisingly kind word for a much-attacked man at this convention.

"Dick Daley is a wonderful man and Chicago is a great city. I love it," he said. "But it was too bad we had to hold the convention in an armed camp."

RAPS IRRESPONSIBILITY

Mrs. Mary Keyserling, director of the women's bureau of the Department of Labor, took still another view of the proceedings in the streets.

"I think the one thing that has not been talked about enough," she said, "is the irresponsibility of the young people in not respecting the democratic processes. I believe in our absolute right to say everything we think, but within the framework of the law.

"What has not been told is the degree of irresponsibility of too many of those young people. I think they invited the discipline of the law."

It is apparent that not everybody here is on the side of the hippies and yippies. Mrs. Marvin Watson, wife of the postmaster general, said their room was on the front of the hotel and she could hear the young demonstrators shout in Grant Park when she returned from convention hall around 10 p.m.

"I never heard such language in my entire life," she said.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Sept. 1, 1968]

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

(By Betty Beale)

This columnist has just returned from Chicago—unbloodied, unpelted and even unbruised, thanks to the Chicago police.

It is time one member of the media gave the other side of the picture because the public has the right to know.

Never has a law-enforcing group been more sorely tried. They received both bodily injury and unspeakably vile treatment from the hippies in Grant Park. Yet never at any time did I see policemen show more courtesy than the police of Chicago. Courtesy, of course, is only due people who show some courtesy themselves.

And despite the difficult circumstances in which they had to maintain order they managed to prevent fatal catastrophe.

We heard the word "over-reacted" used a lot by commentators last week, and by busy politicians who were assuming that what they had been told was correct.

But if there was ever an over-reaction to any fact of life during those seven days in Chicago, it was the over-reaction of the media to any effort whatsoever to stop the hippies from the flagrant civil disorders and their disgusting disturbances of the peace.

Every time a newsman was hurt, the screams of protest went around the world, but how much was said about the newsmen who taunted the police or tried to get action for the TV cameras? A member of the vice president's coterie heard two reporters having a great laugh in the Coffee Shop of the Conrad Hilton about how they agitated in Grant Park until the police started pushing them around.

Wyoming Sen. and Mrs. Gale McGee and their two grown children walked over to the park to see for themselves what was going on and they arrived when the changing of the National Guard troops was taking place.

Walking through a gang of hippies they saw two girls, one playing the flute. Then they saw a TV camera team lead the girls over to the exact place by the troops where they wanted them to stand. And when their camera started to roll, the girl cried, "Don't beat me! Don't beat me!" It takes no imagination to figure how this contrived scene would look on the screens in millions of American homes.

In the convention hall Mr. McGee said a youth of about 15 sat in front of them and clapped hard at everything said that he liked and shouted four-letter words at everything he didn't like. Instead of just grabbing him and removing him, as the police would have done in most civilized places, the Chicago police asked him first to stop it. But he paid no attention to them so "they had to take him out," said Mrs. McGee.

The cameras probably caught the big policemen bodily forcing the mere youth to leave, giving the television viewer the idea he had done nothing to provoke such reaction.

And what, by the way, has happened to the news media that provocation is left out of, or played down in, story after story? Most announcements or headlines told what the police did to the hippies but left out or skimmed over what the hippies did to the public or police.

Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, World War II hero and Democratic keynoter, said the hippies were throwing plastic bags of human excrement at the police and guards in Grant Park. They were also throwing rubber balls stuck with long nails aimed for the eyes.

How would those commentators who thought the police "over-reacted" have behaved if those things had happened to them?

For three straight minutes late Tuesday night, or rather early Wednesday morning, 3,000 hippies shouted in unison, directed by a leader, an obscene curse at the President of the United States. They were either cursing the police in the same way or calling them pigs. And I used to think that insulting an officer was against the law!

Why was an electronic amplifier allowed to remain in the park all day and night where obscenities were shouted until 4 a.m., I asked a police officer? There was a city ordinance against such use, he said, but if they arrested those using it they would only be fined and somebody might be killed in the process. If this wasn't underacting, what is?

Mayor Daley was constantly referred to on the air in slurring accents as the boss of Chicago. He may be, and he is responsible, no doubt, for some bad as well as some good. But Chicago is only one city.

Two famous TV commentators were bossing the presentation of slanted news that affected the minds of millions of Americans in hundreds of cities. As Liz Carpenter said at the women's luncheon Thursday, in all the talk of brutality there had not been "one word about the TV network brutality—the commentator clubbing" of the mayor.

When the mayor fails to do what the majority of the people in Chicago want they can at least vote him out. But no vote can stop the bossism of the airways where editorializing has been substituted again and again for straight reporting. One NBC commentator virtually campaigned for Teddy Kennedy throughout Tuesday evening.

In the past I have been proud to be a member of the Fourth Estate, but after this past week I feel a burning inward shame. In my mind freedom of the press has always been necessary to liberty. The Bible states it most beautifully: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

But how much truth, and how much biased opinion are the people, and especially the youth of America, getting?

A clean, well-combed, pretty young girl for Sen. McCarthy was one of five of us who shared a taxi to O'Hare Airport Friday and the conversation turned to what the hippies had done to convert the serious business of nominating a presidential candidate into a circus of vulgarity.

Unbelievably, she stood up for the right of the Grant Park crowd to curse the President in four-letter words. She had no respect for the highest office of our land.

When one of the men blamed Tom Hayden for leading the youth to such actions, she said Tom was all right; he was a friend of hers.

I am not familiar with Hayden's record but the fact that this young woman supported him and his undertaking indicated the truth had not reached her as it is not reaching millions of young people.

Maybe the media had better ask itself why.

FEDERAL GRANT FOR CHICAGO STREET GANGS

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, on Thursday, September 5, the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations will resume its hearings relating to a Federal grant of almost $1 million made by the Office of Economic Opportunity for the benefit of two Chicago street gangs. We will hear significant testimony and will examine documentary evidence which is expected to disclose extensive fraud and many instances of forgery in the administrative records and financial transactions of the OEO-funded manpower training program for the gangs.

The subcommittee also will hear testimony from officials of the OEO about allegations of inadequacies and improprieties in Federal control, administration, and supervision of the program.

In June and July of this year, the subcommittee held extensive hearings relating to the grant and to the activities of the two street gangs—the Blackstone Rangers and the Disciples. We heard startling testimony which indicated that a principal purpose of the grant was to end the armed warfare between the two gangs and to buy peace on the streets of Chicago, although the announced purpose of the program was to furnish education and job training to young gang members. We also received considerable evidence that the headquarters of the Blackstone Rangers, the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, part of which was rented with Federal funds as a program training center, was used to store the weapons and narcotics of the Blackstone Rangers and for other illicit purposes. Several witnesses testified that the pastor of the church knew about and condoned the illegal activities of the Blackstone Rangers. He and one of his assistants, in sworn testimony, denied the charges made against them by other witnesses.

Mr. President, the Chicago Tribune in its issue of August 25, 1968, published an article by Chester Manly entitled "Testimony Mars Pastor's Image," which summarizes much of the transcript of our hearings which related to the Blackstone Rangers and their "legal counselor," Pastor John Fry of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago. Most of the information reported in the article is taken from the testimony of witnesses in our hearings, and I believe that Members of Congress and the general public, who have been seriously concerned by the charges of violence and crime, including extortion, intimidation of witnesses, and murder, which were disclosed in our hearings, will find this Chicago Tribune article substantially factual and most informative. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCLELLAN. In my view, this article contributes to public understanding of some of the issues in the subcommittee's inquiry, notably in the matter of contradictory testimony by witnesses in the hearings. In his account, Mr. Manly poses directly for his readers the question of perjury in sworn testimony before the subcommittee.

As members of the subcommittee stated repeatedly during the hearings, some witnesses were lying. Mr. President, swiftly upon completion of our hearings, the subcommittee will furnish the complete transcript to the Department of Justice and will ask that it be carefully examined and an investigation made to determine whether perjury was committed. Further, the subcommittee will furnish to the Justice Department the evidence it has obtained of extensive forgery and fraud in the manpower training program and will ask that action be taken promptly to prosecute those guilty of perjury and of defrauding the U.S. Government.

Mr. President, I was gratified to hear on television this morning that the administrator of this program, in a letter to the distinguished Senator from Virginia, has declared that the program will not be renewed and that the pending application for funds to continue the program will be denied.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Chicago Tribune, Aug. 25, 1968]

TESTIMONY MARS PASTOR'S IMAGE

(By Chesly Manly)

When the Senate permanent investigations subcommittee resumes its hearings on Sept. 4 in Washington, the Rev. John R. Fry, pastor of Chicago's First Presbyterian church, will confront new witnesses and additional accusations that he has condoned, aided, and abetted criminal activity by the Blackstone Rangers gang, which is headquartered in his church at 6400 Kimbark av.

In the face of massive testimony against him already adduced by the Senate investigators, the militant minister still professes innocence. He insists that his accusers are liars and that he is the victim of a conspiracy on the part of Mayor Daley, the Chicago police department, and the whole "white racist" establishment to destroy him.

When he appeared before the subcommittee in June, Fry recommended continuation of a so-called education and manpower training program for members of the Blackstone Rangers and a rival street gang, the Devil's Disciples, which was administered by the gang members themselves under the terms of a $927,341 grant from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity to The Woodlawn Organization.

After hearing testimony that he had knowledge of guns, ammunition, explosives, narcotics, "pot" smoking, and sex parties in his church; that he transmitted a murder order from one gang leader to another; that he was involved in efforts to change the testimony of witnesses in a murder case or get them out of town; and that he suggested riots in the Loop, molotov cocktail attacks on police cars, and extortion of business men, Fry was asked whether he would recommend any of the Ranger gang leaders for supervisory positions in the federally-financed "education" program.

He said he would recommend Eugene Hairston and Jeff Fort immediately. Hairston, president of the Rangers, and Fort, vice president, both were arrested on murder charges while they were on the payroll of the Woodlawn project in 1967. Fort, employed as a center chief at $6,000 a year, was arrested Oct. 21, 1967, and the murder charge was dropped on March 25, 1968. Hairston, who was employed as an assistant project director at $6,500 a year, was arrested on Sept. 20, 1967, and has been convicted and sentenced to 5 to 15 years in prison for ordering 14 and 15-year-old boys to commit murder. Both Hairston and Fort had long criminal records before their employment on the Woodlawn project.

Fort's intelligence quotient [IQ] ranged from 48 to 58 in four separate official tests, and most of the other supervisors and instructors were functionally illiterate. Twenty-one of the top Blackstone Rangers held jobs as administrators, instructors, or "community workers," while Hairston and Fort were employed concurrently by Fry's church and were paid $100 a week from its "teen education" fund. According to Fry's testimony, about $25,000 from this fund was spent on lawyers' fees and more than 200 bonds for gangsters accused of murder, rape, armed robbery, narcotics dealing, and various other felonies.

Trainees in the Woodlawn project were paid $45 a week, plus $5 for each dependent and $8 for travel expenses—up to a maximum of $58—but they had to kick back $5 each biweekly payday to the gang leaders, and this was raised to $25 after Hairston went to jail. About 200 boys of compulsory school attendance age were forced by the Rangers to drop out of the Wadsworth school and enroll in the Woodlawn program.

"SPIRITUAL LEADER" OF RANGERS COSTUMED IN MINISTER'S ROBE

Paul Martin, self-proclaimed "spiritual leader" of the Rangers, who is called "Crazy Paul," wrapped himself in one of Fry's long black robes and essayed the role of an African wizard.

The Tribune sought to interview Fry with the aid of a tape recorder to assure absolute accuracy. He indicated acceptance of the offer and said he would call back to suggest a time and place for the interview. Several hours later, however, his lawyer, William

W. Brackett, telephoned to say there would be no interview. Altho Fry had been questioned exhaustively by the senators, this was before he had an opportunity to read and reflect upon the voluminous record of the hearings, and it was suggested by the Tribune reporter that he might wish to change some of his testimony. His lawyer, however, said the minister's position was unchanged.

Besides the possibility of changing previous testimony, many other questions would be relevant and doubtless will be asked if Fry faces the senators again. Fry has demanded a lie detector test for his principal accuser, George Rose, former No. 3 man in the Blackstone Rangers. Would the minister himself take a lie detector test? His lawyer has submitted to the subcommittee a psychiatric report on Mrs. Annabelle Martin, mother of eight Ranger gang members, who corroborated Rose's testimony. The minister's own emotional and mental health was impunged by Rose, whom he formerly trusted. Would he submit to a psychiatric examination or does he claim for himself privileges and immunities which he does not accord to Mrs. Martin?

Another question is whether Fry is afraid he would be killed if he repudiated the Rangers. Still another is whether he has any fear that he will be indicted for perjury, for the subcommittee has submitted the record of its hearings to the Justice department.

FRY DENIES THAT MILITANTS CARMICHAEL, BROWN VISITED

Fry has denied Rose's testimony that Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, black power militants and proponents of guerrilla warfare in the cities, had visited him in his church. Responsible law enforcement officers contend that Rose is right and that Fry has kept in touch with black power revolutionaries ever since he came to his church in 1965. They say the Rev. Albert B. Cleague Jr. of Detroit, Ron Karenga, a veteran of the Watts riots in Los Angeles, and black militants from Newark and other riot-scarred cities stayed at the Windermere hotel while attending a secret three or four-day strategy conference in Fry's church last fall.

Chicago police ascribe to Fry a large measure of responsibility for the threats of violence and tension which required Mayor Daley, Gov. Shapiro, and federal officials to mobilize massive security forces to preserve order during the Democratic national convention.

One of the minister's most incendiary contributions, which appeared in Christianity and Crisis on April 15, 1968, was titled "Mayor Daley and Chicago's Blacks" and subtitled "The Great Chicago Fire of 1968?" In this article Fry denounced Mayor Daley as an "arrogant and high-handed man who seems dedicated to breaking the black community," and said the Chicago police "have been acting in such a way as to make insurrection obligatory for honorable men."

"The black community," Fry wrote, "sees clearly that Daley's enormous national prestige is composed of his ability to deliver votes. . . . If black people can contribute to wrecking the convention, they see they can partially wreck Daley's national prestige. This is their only remaining avenue of communication. Perhaps then he will listen."

In the records of the subcommittee is a letter from Miss Mae Korb, of Burr Oak, Kans., who wrote to the Chicago superintendent of police on June 26 as follows:

"I am a student at Hastings college, Hastings, Nebr. Rev. John Fry was on our campus last spring, recruiting college students 'to burn Chicago down next summer.'

"He alleged police brutality in Chicago. Said the police chased an innocent Negro man into his home where he hid in a narrow closet with both hands up. The police opened the closet door and shot the Negro six times.

"Hastings college is a Presbyterian college. Rev. John Fry appeared here with Ernie Chambers from Omaha. Mr. Chambers is a Negro radical. They told white girl students, 'We will kill people like you and then there will be no Negro problem.' "

Rose's testimony against Fry is expected to be corroborated by another member of the Blackstone Rangers when the subcommittee resumes its hearings. This man, now in the county jail, has told federal investigators about an alleged plot by Jeff Fort and other Blackstone Ranger leaders to assassinate Vice President Humphrey and Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Responsible officers say he has passed three lie detector tests.

Negroes who have had long talks with Fry say his self-identification with them seems obsessive—that he apparently regards himself as a "white black man." In a sermon to his mixed congregation after his return from the Senate hearings, he used such street gang expressions as "black cat," "honkie preacher," and "Dig?" In other sermons and contributions to church journals he is zealous, intemperate, and inflexibly self-righteous in scourging both of church and state. He seems to regard himself as a black man's Savonarola with a mission in life to avenge the black people and atone for the sins of the whites against the blacks.

In a keynote address at a conference on evangelism preceding the 180th Presbyterian general assembly in Minneapolis, on May 15, Fry accused both white America and the church of condoning "monstrous crimes" against Negroes, such as "murders, beatings, rape, exploitation, savagery, and incalculable brutalities." During the Chicago riots last April, he said, "the church was not identified at all with the black poor and their momentary incendiarism but with white power and its regular, matter-of-course incendiarism, which it calls law and order."

The colored people of the nation, he said, are sitting in the judgment seat. He said he did not know "how many white Americans would be stripped of their positions, how many elegant housewives would be forced to clean their maids' toilets, how many tycoons would be sentenced to jail for 299 years, how many church buildings would be burned to the ground. . . ."

Many clergymen, lay churchmen, and others who are active in civic affairs and social work, both locally and nationally, have expressed confidence in Fry and the activities of his church. The Presbytery of Chicago, representing 144 United Presbyterian congregations in the Chicago area, adopted a resolution affirming its support of Fry's "creative and courageous approach to extremely difficult urban problems" and sent a telegram to the Senate subcommittee protesting that the minister's character had been "repeatedly and viciously maligned."

PRESBYTERY IS ASKED TO RUN ITS OWN PROBE OF CHARGES

Fry's church has requested the Chicago presbytery to conduct its own investigation and the Rev. Donald E. Zimmerman, executive of the presbytery, has indicated that this will be done. Zimmerman, however, had prejudged the case without waiting for all the evidence when Fry's church requested an inquiry to clear its name. The Chicago presbytery came to Fry's defense on the basis of a report by Zimmerman, who said it was "a matter of some shock to me as an American to observe the procedures which prevailed in the committee room."

The subcommittee, Zimmerman said, "is debating a rather fundamental issue in Presbyterianism, in all of Protestantism, in all of Christianity." He said it appeared that "the line of attack . . . is not so much John Fry but it is the church . . . the church's right to engage in programs of her own determination and choosing."

Presbyterian Life, official organ of the United Presbyterian church, reported concern on the part of church leaders in other cities that "United Presbyterians, out of dismay at hearing and seeing one of their number under attack," will be reluctant to support additional programs of the Woodlawn type.

The Senate investigation also caused dismay in the Office of Economic Opportunity, which rejected Fry's recommendation and refused to renew the Woodlawn program when it expired on July 1. OEO officials had expressed hope that the project would become a national example for the guidance of other cities in their treatment of gangs. As early as Oct. 26, 1967, however, Donald K. Hess, associate director of the OEO's community action program wrote a letter to the Rev. Arthur M. Brazier, president of The Woodlawn Organization, expressing alarm about "reported shootings, violence, and general crime in the greater Woodlawn area."

In January, 1968, James Houtsma, then a member of the police department's gang intelligence unit [now deputy warden of the Cook county jail], spent most of a day showing evidence of criminal activity on the part of the gang leaders in the Woodlawn program to Marvin Fulmer, an OEO investigator from Washington. When Houtsma asked what would be done, Fulmer replied that as long as he worked for the OEO he would do nothing to embarrass Sargent Shriver, the agency's director at that time.

In a letter to Presbyterian Life, Marshal L. Scott, dean of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, Chicago, conceded that Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R., S.D.) and Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R., Neb.), members of the subcommittee, were not "intentionally dishonest," but said "there can be no defense" of the behavior of Chairman John L. McClellan (D., Ark.). The transcript of the hearings indicates, however, that Senators Mundt and Curtis were no more sympathetic than Chairman McClellan in their interrogation of Fry. All three Senators resented the accusation that Fry had been maligned. Sen. Curtis, a Presbyterian himself, said to Zimmerman:

"I am as concerned about the Presbyterian church as you are. I want to know whether or not any of you have ever investigated Rev. Fry's association with Eugene Hairston. I want to know if you know what you are talking about. Have you ever investigated anybody? Have you investigated Rev. Fry's association with Jeff Fort? Have you investigated the other details of what Mrs. Martin said?"

Sen. Curtis remarked that Fry seemed to represent himself as a champion of black people and to impute racial prejudice to his accusers. Then he noted that Winston Moore, warden of the Cook County jail, Commander William Griffin of the 3rd police district, Lt. Edward Buckney, chief of the gang intelligence unit, George Rose, and Mrs. Martin all are Negroes and all were witnesses against Fry and the activities of the gang in his church.

IF FOUND GUILTY, FRY "SHOULD GO TO JAIL," SAYS SENATOR MUNDT

"Conceivably—and I underline conceivably—you could be correct, that the mayor of Chicago and a portion of his police force are spending a lot of money to do you in," Sen. Mundt said. "I would doubt that very much."

Sen. McClellan cited the criminal records of some of the gang leaders and asked Fry whether he would "employ people like this to teach the youth in the community."

"My answer," Fry said, "is that their criminal record would not deter our intention to provide maximum help."

Sen. Mundt then told Fry:

"To say that you want to help somebody who has a record as a habitual criminal by giving him a job, vocational training, or apprenticeship, is one thing. But to put him up as a moral guide to other children—if that is what you are doing, I would say Woodlawn has become a cesspool of criminality. . . ."

Later Sen. Mundt said:

"We haven't maligned anybody. I don't know whether Rev. Fry is guilty or innocent. Certainly if he is guilty of 10 per cent of the charges made against him, he should be defrocked and punished. If he is completely innocent, the people who have brought this evidence ought to be prosecuted for perjury and put in jail. . . . If it is found that he is guilty, he should not only be defrocked; he should go to jail."

Senators emphasized thruout the hearings that Rose's testimony was corroborated by other evidence. Robert L. Pierson, an investigator for the state's attorney's office, told the subcommittee:

"Information has been obtained by our office that improper activities have taken place in the church, namely that narcotics had been in the church, and also various weapons, including automatic weapons. This information was supplied to us by George Rose. . . . Since that time we have obtained the same information from a number of other sources. The people who have given us this information also hold high positions in the Rangers. They talked to us for various reasons, ranging from fear to just plain wanting to get out of the Ranger organization.

"The Blackstone Rangers are deeply involved in narcotics." . . . The information supplied by George Rose tying the Rangers into narcotics has been corroborated by various other sources who are highly reliable informants. "For their protection," their names cannot be disclosed.

When Pierson was asked whether Rose's testimony was corroborated by "several additional informants or quite a few," he replied: "Quite a few."

Rose broke with the Rangers and gave evidence to police and state's attorney's investigators last February, when there was a "hit order" out for his murder. He gave extensive information about the Rangers in a six-hour tape-recorded statement, which was found to be fully reliable as far as the investigators could determine. According to testimony by Rose, Mrs. Martin, and various informants, Hairston issued the hit order because he believed Rose had double-crossed him.

Rose said he went to the First Presbyterian church in response to a call and found Fry, Charles LaPaglia, and Anne Schwalbach in the minister's office. LaPaglia, who was accused by Rose and other witnesses of gunrunning and traffic in narcotics, is Fry's youth counselor and the woman is described as a counselor of girls. Rose said she was having sexual relations with Jeff Fort, Fry's protege, while her main lover, Hairston, was in jail.

"They told me that they had gone to see Eugene Hairston and he wanted me to take Straughter out," Rose testified. (Robert Lee Straughter was a runner for Lafayette Watts, a narcotics dealer who was paying protection money to the Rangers. Straughter was murdered in November, 1967, apparently because he had failed to turn over money to the Rangers.)

Rose continued:

"I told Rev. Fry, 'Look, I am not going to do it, because I told him [Hairston] in the first place not to get involved in narcotics, hard narcotics. . . . A couple of days later, Straughter came up dead. I think he was shot five or six times."

HAIRSTON POINTS OUT THREE MEN, ORDERS THEM KILLED

Leo McClure, another runner for Watts, was killed in a car with two other men who were wounded. One of the wounded men, Durocher [Duke] Berrian, was the intended victim. He was ordered killed by Hairston, apparently because he had failed to keep outside dope peddlers out of the territory reserved for Watts. Hairston pointed out a car with three men in it and told Marvin Martin, 15, Sanders Martin, 14, and Dennis Jackson, 14, to "hit" the men. Dennis Jackson did the shooting and the Martin boys testified for the state, convicting Hairston. The Rangers use juveniles to do their killing because boys under 17 don't go to the penitentiary. Under Illinois law, they are turned over to the youth commission and soon released.

Mrs. Martin testified that she asked Fry to call a lawyer named Howard Thomas for her sons, that Fry could not reach Thomas, and that he called two other lawyers. When Fry denied that Mrs. Martin had asked him to call Thomas, Mrs. Martin said:

"Rev. Fry, when you was doing this you was telling me, 'They got the Bull. I got to get the Bull out. They got the Bull'." [Bull is Hairston's nickname.]

Mrs. Martin said the lawyers Fry obtained for her told her she should get her boys out of town or they would be killed. "The lawyers were Rev. Fry's lawyers," she said. "They wanted to stick my kids and get Bull out. They wasn't interested in me. They was interested in Bull."

Mrs. Martin testified that Mae Rose Shelton and "a white guy named Felton" told her she would be "provided with money" if her boys would testify that "Crazy Paul" Martin did the shooting. She said they told her they were speaking for Fry. Mae Rose Shelton is one of the ruling elders of Fry's church.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, first I wish to commend the distinguished senior Senator from Arkansas for the effective and able work he has done in exposing the Blackstone Rangers and Devil's Disciples project, which had been approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Had it not been for the effective work of the distinguished senior Senator from Arkansas, I do believe that more tax money would have been put into projects similar to those projects in Chicago.

As a result of the revelations, and as a result of the information brought out by the McClellan committee, I communicated with Mr. Bertrand M. Harding, who has been nominated to succeed Sargent Shriver as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. I communicated with him because he is a resident of the State which I have the honor to represent. It is my desire to support Virginians when they have been nominated for high positions in Government.

Mr. Harding came to my office. I referred to the testimony from the hearings conducted by the distinguished senior Senator from Arkansas, and I said to Mr. Harding that I cannot recommend or support the nomination of any individual to head an important office of Government unless I have assurance that no such similar fuzzy-headed project as the two projects in Chicago will be approved by any new administrator.

Mr. Harding gave me his assurance. I was well impressed with him.

About a week or 10 days later I read in the public press that another high official in the Office of Economic Opportunity had issued a statement in which it was stated they planned to conduct or approve similar programs, not in Chicago because the climate is not ripe there apparently, but in other cities. Then, I wrote Mr. Harding a letter on August 6, asking him to confirm our conversation of an earlier date.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, by August 19, I had not heard from Mr. Harding. I wrote him another letter, and I stated that so far as I was concerned I would not support his confirmation until such time as I received a written communication from him giving assurance that no such similar projects would be approved anywhere in the United States, should he be confirmed to succeed Sargent Shriver as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

On August 21, I received a reply from him in which he stated, among other things:

> As to the substance, I am happy to reaffirm my personal statement to you that I have no intention of approving the type of project in Chicago, or elsewhere, next summer, or at any other time, which would produce the objectionable results of this particular grant. Any officials of OEO who may have stated to the contrary did so without authorization, and you have my assurances that this is not my view.

Mr. President, at this point, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of my letter to Mr. Harding and the text of his reply to me.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXTS OF THE WRITTEN EXCHANGE BETWEEN MR. HARDING AND SENATOR BYRD

MY DEAR MR. HARDING: On August 6, 1968, I wrote you regarding your conversation with me on July 25, 1968, in which you stated that no program similar to the Blackstone Rangers and Disciples projects in Chicago would be approved by you as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Congressional hearings found that nearly $1 million of tax funds had been used to subsidize gangs of hoodlums in Chicago, through the Office of Economic Opportunity.

It was my clear understanding from our July 25th discussion in my office that you would approve no such project if confirmed by the Senate as Director of the OEO. Later, published reports indicated similar projects might be attempted by OEO next summer and my August 6th letter asked clarification. An assistant replied by letter August 9th that the inquiry was under consideration and a reply would follow shortly. It has not arrived.

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has communicated with me several times, asking if I would recommend that the nomination of Mr. Harding be confirmed.

I do not intend to submit an affirmative recommendation until I receive written assurance that no similar projects will be permitted.

I realize, of course, that I have only one vote, but perhaps other members of the Senate would likewise hesitate to vote approval of an appointee who shows such a reckless disregard for use of tax funds.

Cordially,

HARRY F. BYRD, JR.,
U.S. Senator from Virginia.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
August 21, 1968.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: This is in reply to your letters of August 6 and August 19 relative to the Woodlawn project in Chicago.

First, let me apologize for the delay in replying to your initial inquiry but, as my Assistant wrote you on August 8, I was out of the city from August 2 through August 17. Hence, I did not see your letter until my return.

As to the substance, I am happy to reaffirm my personal statement to you that I have no intention of approving the type of project in Chicago, or elsewhere, next summer, or at any other time, which would produce the objectionable results of this particular grant. Any officials of OEO who may have stated to the contrary did so without authorization, and you have my assurances that this is not my view.

I would like to make it clear when OEO approved the Woodlawn project, it was not for the purpose of subsidizing "gangs of hoodlums in Chicago." We have not had an opportunity to present our rationale to the Senate Committee but I hope you will accept my statement that our intention was to conduct a responsible—yet highly experimental—program designed to re-direct the activities of these people toward the quite acceptable goals of job training and job placement. These goals are clearly in keeping with our Congressional mandate to develop innovative programs that will assist Americans in breaking out of poverty. However, the evidence now in hand demonstrates that the experiment was not successful in its major objectives. We deeply regret the outcome but, in all fairness, suggest that many noble experiments have failed without imputing guilt or duplicity to the experimenter.

I will be happy to meet with you at any time to discuss this matter further, but I hope that my position is clear and acceptable.

Sincerely yours,

BERTRAND M. HARDING,
Acting Director.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I close by again paying tribute to the distinguished Senator from Arkansas for the outstanding work he has done in bringing this matter to the attention of the American public.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I wish to thank the distinguished Senator and to say to him that I think he has rendered a service here in getting this commitment from Mr. Harding, although I feel reasonably confident from conversations with Mr. Harding that he has a little different attitude about this matter now and that such applications will be given better screening and more judicious attention in the future than this one received.

I wish to emphasize that in my judgment, and I think in the judgment of the committee, several crimes are involved in this particular program, in its administration and application. The complete transcript of the hearings will be sent to the Department of Justice for its attention. I am sure they will find some work needs to be done.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill (S. 827) to establish a nationwide system of trails, and for other purposes, disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. ASPINALL, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. JOHNSON of California, Mr. SAYLOR, and Mr. SKUBITZ were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

THE COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the college library resources program authorized under title II, part A of Public Law 89-329 is a program which has received widespread acclaim.

As the Senators are aware, this is a matching program. Basic grants are limited by the act to $5,000 to each eligible higher education institution and each branch of such institution. Recipients of grants are required to match the basic grant with an equal amount of non-Federal funds, and are required to expend from non-Federal funds an amount equal to not less than 33⅓ percent of the amount of the special purpose grant. There are no matching requirements for the supplemental grants. In addition, each institution must meet the maintenance-of-effect requirements for expenditures for library purposes and library materials.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a listing of the institutional grants for fiscal year 1968 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the listing was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF EDUCATION, ADULT, VOCATIONAL AND LIBRARY PROGRAMS,
Washington, D.C. June 14, 1968.

NOTIFICATION TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—PUBLIC LAW 89-329, HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965, TITLE II, PART A, SECTIONS 202, 203, AND 204

PROGRAM TITLE: COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM

The U.S. Office of Education has approved a total of 3,695 basic, supplemental and special purpose grants to 1,888 applicants, totaling $24,509,219 for the purchase of library materials.

Basic grants are limited by the Act to $5,000 to each eligible higher education institution and each branch of such institution. Recipients of grants are required to match the basic grant with an equal amount of non-Federal funds, and are required to expend from non-Federal funds an amount equal to not less than 33⅓ per centum of the amount of the special purpose grant. There are no matching requirements for the supplemental grants. In addition, each institution must meet the maintenance-of-effort requirements for expenditures for library purposes and library materials.

Attached is a list of awards to be made in each State which identifies (1) the Congressional District in which the institution is located; (2) the name and location of the institution; (3) the amount of each type of grant; and (4) the total amount awarded to each institution. Four special purpose (Type C) grants were awarded to agents of combinations of institutions of higher education which are identified at the end of the attached list.

It is anticipated that the award document will be forwarded to institutions and agents beginning June 18, 1968. Information pertaining to these grants may be obtained from Mr. Ray M. Fry, Director, Division of Library Services and Educational Facilities, Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Library Programs, (Government Code 13-36271).

Attachment.

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	ALABAMA				
2	Alabama Christian College, Montgomery	$5,000	$791		$5,791
5	Alabama College, Montevallo	5,000	4,306		9,306
3	Alexander City State Junior College, Alexander City.	5,000	1,926		6,926
8	Athens College, Athens	5,000	1,304		6,304
3	Auburn University, Auburn	5,000	22,035		27,035
6	Birmingham Southern College, Birmingham	5,000	2,318		7,318
6	Daniel Payne College, Birmingham	5,000	1,441		6,441
3	Enterprise State Junior College, Enterprise	5,000	2,534		7,534
8	Florence State College, Florence	5,000	8,673		13,673
2	George C. Wallace State Technical Junior College, Dothan.	5,000	2,161		7,161
2	Huntingdon College, Montgomery	5,000	1,549		6,549
4	Jacksonville State University, Jacksonville	5,000	15,861		20,861
2	Jefferson Davis State Junior College, Brewton	5,000	783		5,783
6	Jefferson State Junior College, Birmingham	5,000	6,990		11,990
8	John C. Calhoun State Technical Junior College, Decatur.	5,000	3,227		8,227
5	Livingston State College, Livingston	5,000	4,070		9,070
5	Miles College, Birmingham	5,000	3,593		8,593
1	Mobile State Junior College, Mobile	5,000	1,669		6,669
7/8	Northeast Alabama State Junior College, Rainsville.	5,000	2,217		7,217
7	Northwest Alabama State Junior College, Phil Campbell.	5,000			5,000
1	Patrick Henry State Junior College, Monroeville.	5,000	789		5,789
4	Sacred Heart College, Cullman	5,000	302		5,302
10	Saint Bernard College, St. Bernard	3,000	1,355		4,355
4	Selma University, Selma	2,354	542		2,896
	ALABAMA—Continued				
7	Snead State Junior College, Boaz	$5,000	$694		$5,694
4	Southern Union State Junior College, Wadley	5,000	771		5,771
1	Spring Hill College, Mobile	5,000	442		5,442
5	Stillman College, Tuscaloosa	4,529	933		5,462
4	Talladega College, Talladega	5,000	875		5,875
2	Troy State University, Troy	5,000	3,703		8,703
3	Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute	5,000	5,167		10,167
5	University of Alabama, University	5,000	51,168		56,168
8	Huntsville Branch	5,000			5,000
1	University of South Alabama, Mobile	5,000	3,772		8,772
6	Wenonah State Junior College, Birmingham	5,000	1,230		6,230
2	William Lowndes Yancey State Junior College, Bay Minette.	5,000	3,270		8,270
	ALASKA				
At large	Alaska Methodist University, Anchorage	$5,000	$431		$5,431
Do	Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka	5,000			5,000
Do	University of Alaska, College	5,000	2,376		7,376
Do	Anchorage Community College, Anchorage.	5,000			5,000
Do	Juneau-Douglas Community College, Juneau.	5,000			5,000
Do	Kenai Peninsula Community College, Kenai	3,548			3,548
Do	Ketchikan Community College, Ketchikan	2,350			2,350
Do	Matanuska-Susitna Community College, Palmer.	3,700			3,700
Do	Sitka Community College, Sitka	2,500			2,500

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

ARIZONA

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
1	American Institute for Foreign Trade, Phoenix	$3,000	$1,095		$4,095
1	Arizona State University, Tempe	5,000	68,332		73,332
2	Arizona Western College, Yuma	5,000	1,720		6,720
2	Cochise College, Douglas	5,000	814		5,814
3	Eastern Arizona College, Thatcher	5,000	2,213		7,213
3	Glendale Community College, Glendale	5,000	11,693		16,693
1	Mesa Community College, Mesa	5,000	7,716		12,716
4	Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff	5,000	10,365		15,365
1	Phoenix College, Phoenix	5,000	8,013		13,013
2	University of Arizona, Tucson	5,000	58,594		63,594

ARKANSAS

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
4	Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College, College Heights.	$5,000	$5,689		$10,689
2	Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock	300			300
2	Arkansas College, Batesville	5,000	480		5,480
3	Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville	5,000	8,567		13,567
1	Arkansas State University, State University	5,000	12,892		17,892
2	Beebe Branch, Beebe	2,086			2,086
3	College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	5,000	772		5,772
2	Harding College, Searcy	5,000	5,932		10,932
4	Henderson State College, Arkadelphia	5,000	10,789		15,789
2	Hendrix College, Conway	5,000			5,000
3	John Brown University, Siloam Springs	5,000	1,542		6,542
2	Little Rock University, Little Rock	5,000	8,850		13,850
4	Ouachita Baptist University, Arkadelphia	5,000	2,773		7,773
2	Philander Smith College, Little Rock	5,000			5,000
1	Phillips County Community College, Helena	5,000	620		5,620
1	Southern Baptist College, Walnut Ridge	5,000	954		5,954
4	Southern State College, Magnolia	5,000	5,447		10,447
2	State College of Arkansas, Conway	5,000	11,400		16,400
3	University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	5,000	39,433		44,433
3	Westark Junior College, Fort Smith	5,000	3,049		8,049

CALIFORNIA

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
13	Allan Hancock Junior College, Santa Maria	$5,000	$8,199		$13,199
33	American River College, Sacramento	5,000			5,000
2	Placerville Center, Placerville	170			170
27	Antelope Valley College, Lancaster	5,000	3,597		8,597
24	Azusa Pacific College, Azusa	5,000	673		5,673
18	Bakersfield College, Bakersfield	2,000	12,529		14,529
33	Barstow College, Barstow	5,000			5,000
2	Butte Junior College, Oroville	5,000	2,474		7,474
7	California College of Arts and Crafts, Oakland	5,000	1,502		6,502
30	California Institute of the Arts, Los Angeles	5,000			5,000
20	California Institute of Technology, Pasadena	5,000	4,665		9,665
13	California Lutheran College, Thousand Oaks	5,000	1,588		6,588
32	California State College at Dominguez Hills	5,000	1,073		6,073
25	California State College at Fullerton	5,000	18,147		23,147
9	California State College at Hayward	5,000	7,204		12,204
32	California State College at Long Beach	5,000	38,250		43,250
29	California State College at Los Angeles	5,000	27,098		22,098
33	California State College at San Bernardino	5,000	1,130		6,130
12	California State Polytechnic College, San Luis Obispo.	5,000	18,170		23,170
24	California State Polytechnic College, Kellogg-Voorhis, Pomona.	5,000	14,451		19,451
19	Cerritos College, Norwalk	5,000			5,000
9	Chabot College, Hayward	5,000	20,285		25,285
33	Chaffey Union Junior College, Alta Loma	4,000	4,884		8,884
35	Chapman College, Orange	5,000	3,672		8,672
2	Chico State College, Chico	5,000	23,565		28,565
25	Citrus Junior College, Azusa	5,000	10,952		15,952
6	City College of San Francisco, San Francisco	5,000	27,403		32,403
24	Claremont Graduate School, Claremont	5,000	565		5,565
12	Coalinga College, Coalinga	5,000	865		5,865
74	College of the Desert, Palm Desert	5,000	4,990		9,990
8	College of the Holy Names, Oakland	5,000			5,000
1	College of Marin, Kentfield	5,000			5,000
11	College of Notre Dame, Belmont	4,000			4,000
1	College of the Redwoods, Eureka	5,000	8,422		13,422
11	College of San Mateo, San Mateo	5,000	15,855		20,855
18	College of the Sequoias, Visalia	5,000	4,250		9,250
2	College of the Siskiyous, Weed	5,000			5,000
23	Compton Junior College, Compton	5,000	4,862		9,862
10	Contra Costa College, San Pablo	5,000	10,281		15,281
12	Cuesta College, San Luis Obispo	5,000	3,764		8,764
34	Cypress Junior College, St. Cypress	5,000	4,683		9,683
10	De Anza Junior College	5,000	8,110		13,110
2	Deep Springs College, Deep Springs	1,650			1,650
14	Diablo Valley College, Martinez	5,000	6,508		11,508
6	Dominican College of San Rafael, San Rafael	5,000	745		5,745
29	East Los Angeles College, Los Angeles	5,000			5,000
17	El Camino Junior College, El Camino	5,000			5,000
10	Foothill Junior College, Los Altos Hills	5,000	7,584		12,584
16	Fresno City College, Fresno	5,000	13,631		18,631
16	Fresno State College, Fresno	5,000	23,497		28,497
18	Bakersfield Center, Bakersfield	4,870			4,870
35	Fullerton Junior College, Fullerton	5,000	42,189		47,189
10	Gavilan College, Gilroy	5,000	2,361		7,361
20	Glendale College, Glendale	5,000	8,550		13,550
5	Golden Gate College, San Francisco	5,000			5,000
36	Grossmont College, El Cajon	5,000	9,236		14,236
12	Hartnell Junior College, Salinas	5,000			5,000
24	Harvey Mudd College, Claremont	5,000			5,000
1	Humboldt State College, Aracata	5,000	7,924		12,924
15	Humphreys College, Stockton	5,000	538		5,538
20	Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles	5,000	324		5,324

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
38	Imperial Valley College, Imperial	$5,000	$3,382		$8,382
14	John F. Kennedy University, Martinez	5,000			5,000
8	Laney College, Oakland	5,000	16,695		21,695
2	Lassen Junior College, Susanville	5,000	2,521		7,521
24	La Verne College, La Verne	5,000	271		5,271
33	Loma Linda University, Loma Linda	5,000	6,235		11,235
38	La Sierra Campus, Riverside	5,000			5,000
32	Long Beach City College, Long Beach	5,000	25,995		30,995
29	Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles	5,000			5,000
17	Los Angeles Harbor College, Wilmington	5,000	10,732		15,732
22	Los Angeles Pierce College, Woodland Hills	5,000	18,991		23,991
31	Los Angeles Southwest College, Los Angeles	5,000			5,000
21	Los Angeles Trade-Technical College, Los Angeles.	5,000			5,000
22	Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys	5,000	26,102		31,102
28	Loyola University of Los Angeles, Los Angeles	5,000			5,000
30	School of Law, Los Angeles	5,000			5,000
11	Menlo College, Menlo Park	5,000	684		5,684
16	Merced College, Merced	5,000			5,000
7	Merritt College, Oakland	5,000	12,685		17,685
8	Mills College, Oakland	5,000	982		5,982
35	Mira Costa College, Oceanside	5,000	1,993		6,993
15	Modesto Junior College, Modesto	5,000	10,156		15,156
12	Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies, Monterey.	5,000	471		5,471
12	Monterey Peninsula Junior College District, Monterey.	5,000	6,422		11,422
13	Moorpark College, Moorpark	5,000	2,730		7,730
28	Mount St. Mary's College, Los Angeles	5,000	1,523		6,523
25	Mount San Antonio College, Walnut	5,000			5,000
38	Mount San Jacinto College, Gilman Hot Springs	3,612			3,612
1	Napa College, Napa	5,000	4,618		9,618
31	Northrop Institute of Technology, Inglewood	5,000	5,932		10,932
24	Occidental College, Los Angeles	5,000			5,000
9	Ohlone College, Fremont	5,000	2,681		7,681
35	Orange Coast College, Costa Mesa	5,000	12,787		17,787
30	Otis Art Institute of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles.	5,000			5,000
16	Pacific College of Fresno, Fresno	5,000	536		5,536
38	Palo Verde College, Blythe	5,000	443		5,443
38	Palomar College, San Marcos	5,000	6,899		11,899
20	Pasadena City College, Pasadena	5,000			5,000
20	Pasadena College, Pasadena	5,000			5,000
31	Pepperdine College, Los Angeles	5,000	2,308		7,308
24	Pitzer College, Claremont	5,000	1,139		6,139
25	Pomona College, Claremont	5,000			5,000
18	Porterville College, Porterville	5,000			5,000
16	Reedley College, Reedley	5,000	2,478		7,478
19	Rio Hondo Junior College, Whittier	5,000	12,845		17,845
38	Riverside City College, Riverside	5,000			5,000
38	Riverside University, Riverside	5,000	1,826	$14,310	21,136
3	Sacramento City College, Sacramento	5,000			5,000
14	St. Mary's College of California, St. Mary's College.	5,000	1,159		6,159
33	San Bernardino Valley College, San Bernardino.	5,000	12,750		17,750
37	San Diego City College, San Diego	5,000	11,420		16,420
36	San Diego College for Women of the University of San Diego, San Diego	5,000	737		5,737
36	San Diego Mesa College, San Diego	5,000	13,582		18,582
36	San Diego State College, San Diego	5,000	21,137		26,137
38	Imperial Valley Campus at Calexico	3,500			3,500
22	San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge	5,000	20,265		25,265
6	San Francisco Art Institute, San Francisco	5,000	1,569		6,569
5	San Francisco College for Women, San Francisco	5,000	1,325		6,325
14	San Francisco Conservatory of Music, San Francisco	3,000	141		3,141
6	San Francisco State College, San Francisco	5,000	30,065		35,065
15	San Joaquin Delta Junior College, Stockton	5,000	12,978		17,978
10	San Jose City College, San Jose	5,000			5,000
9/10	San Jose State College, San Jose	5,000	37,483		42,483
34	Santa Ana College, Santa Ana	5,000	11,601		16,601
13	Santa Barbara City College, Santa Barbara	5,000	6,593		11,593
28	Santa Monica City College, Santa Monica	5,000	9,961		14,961
1	Santa Rosa Junior College, Santa Rosa	5,000	10,571		15,571
24	Scripps College, Claremont	5,000			5,000
2	Shasta College, Redding	2,500	5,547		7,957
2	Sierra College, Rocklin	5,000	4,085		9,085
4	Solano County Junior College, Vallejo	5,000			5,000
1	Sonoma State College, Rohnert	5,000	2,797		7,797
28	Southern California College, Costa Mesa	5,000	977		5,977
10	Stanford University, Stanford	5,000	19,350	100,000	124,350
13	Hopkins Marine Station, Pacific Grove	5,000			5,000
15	Stanislaus State College, Turlock	5,000	1,684		6,684
18	Taft College, Taft	5,000	1,231		6,231
2	Tahoe Paradise College, Tahoe Paradise	5,000	326		5,326
37	U.S. International University, San Diego		5,925		5,925
36	California Western University Campus, San Diego	5,000			5,000
36	City Center Campus, San Diego	4,449			4,449
36	Elliott Campus, San Diego	5,000			5,000
7	University of California, Berkeley	5,000		50,000	55,000
4	University of California, Davis	5,000	38,068		43,068
35	University of California, Irvine	5,000	6,005		11,005
28	University of California, Los Angeles	5,000	45,977		50,977
38	University of California, Riverside	5,000	10,447		15,447
35	University of California, San Diego	5,000	8,010	100,000	113,010
13	University of California, Santa Barbara	5,000	20,670		25,670
12	University of California, Santa Cruz	5,000	6,014		11,014
15	University of the Pacific, Stockton	5,000	8,007		13,007
36	University of San Diego, San Diego	5,000	1,218		6,218
5	University of San Francisco, San Francisco	5,000	5,705		10,705
10	University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara	5,000	7,138		12,138

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	CALIFORNIA—Continued				
21	University of Southern California, Los Angeles	$5,000	$24,122		$29,122
13	Ventura College, Ventura	5,000			5,000
33	Victor Valley College, Victorville	1,550	2,327		3,877
10	West Valley Junior College, Campbell	5,000	13,565		18,565
13	Westmont College, Santa Barbara	5,000	1,507		6,507
19	Whittier College, Whittier	5,000	2,580		7,580
4	Yuba Junior College, Marysville	5,000	3,615		8,615
	COLORADO				
4	Adams State College of Colorado, Alamosa	$5,000	$8,048		$13,048
2	Arapahoe Junior College, Littleton	5,000	1,735		6,735
4	Colorado Alpine College, Steamboat Springs	5,000	574		5,574
3	Colorado College, Colorado Springs	5,000			5,000
4	Colorado Mountain College, Glenwood Springs	5,000	789		5,789
4	East Campus, Leadville	5,000			5,000
2	Colorado School of Mines, Golden	5,000	4,723		9,723
4	Colorado State College, Greeley	5,000	22,895		27,895
4	Colorado State University, Fort Collins	5,000	46,884		51,884
4	Fort Lewis College, Durango	5,000	2,609	$100,000	107,609
3	Lamar Junior College, Lamar	5,000	739		5,739
1	Loretto Heights College, Denver	5,000	1,132		6,132
4	Mesa College, Grand Junction	5,000	6,404		11,404
1	Metropolitan State College, Denver	5,000	6,990		11,990
4	Northeastern Junior College, Sterling	5,000	3,170		8,170
3	Otero County Junior College, La Junta	5,000	815		5,815
4	Rangely College, Rangely	2,500	761		3,261
1	Regis College, Denver	5,000	812		5,812
3	Southern Colorado State College, Pueblo	5,000	14,945		19,945
1	Temple Buell College, Denver	5,000	1,930		6,930
3	Trinidad State Junior College, Trinidad	5,000	4,539		9,539
2	University of Colorado, Boulder	5,000	60,497		65,497
3	Colorado Springs Center, Colorado Springs.	5,000			5,000
2	Denver Center, Denver	5,000			5,000
1	University of Denver, Denver	5,000	22,858		27,858
4	Western State College of Colorado, Gunnison	5,000			5,000
	CONNECTICUT				
3	Albertus Magnus College, New Haven	$5,000	$890		$5,890
2	Annhurst College, Woodstock	5,000	830		5,830
6	Central Connecticut State College, New Britain.	5,000	18,681		23,681
2	Connecticut College for Women, New London	5,000			5,000
2	Eastern Connecticut State College, Willimantic.	5,000	2,701		7,701
4	Fairfield University of St. Robert Bellarmine, Inc., Fairfield.	5,000	1,730		6,730
1	Greater Hartford Community College, Hartford	5,000			5,000
1	Hartford College for Women, Hartford	5,000	163		5,163
4	Housatonic Community College, Stratford	5,000	1,553		6,553
1	Manchester Community College, Manchester	5,000	3,264		8,264
2	Middlesex Community College Center, Middletown.	5,000			5,000
2	Mitchell College, New London	5,000			5,000
3	New Haven College, Inc., West Haven	5,000	5,115		10,115
6	Northwestern Connecticut Community College, Winsted.	5,000	2,193		7,193
4	Norwalk Community College, Norwalk	5,000	4,815		9,815
4	Norwalk State Technical College, Norwalk	5,000			5,000
5	Post Junior College, Waterbury	5,000			5,000
3	Quinnipiac College, Hamden	5,000	5,676		10,676
1	Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Connecticut, Inc., East Windsor Hill.	5,000	389		5,389
4	Sacred Heart University, Bridgeport	5,000	5,039		10,039
1	St. Joseph College, West Hartford	4,000			4,000
5	Silvermine College of Art, New Canaan	1,576			1,576
3	Southern Connecticut State College, New Haven.	5,000	22,608		27,608
2	Thames Valley State Technical College, Norwich.	4,900	1,128		6,028
1	Trinity College, Hartford	5,000			5,000
4	University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport	5,000	15,526		20,526
2	University of Connecticut, Storrs	5,000	36,420	$100,000	141,420
1	Hartford Branch, Hartford	5,000			5,000
1	School of Insurance, Hartford	1,214			1,214
1	School of Law, Hartford	5,000			5,000
1	School of Social Work, Hartford	5,000			5,000
2	Southeastern Branch, Groton	5,000			5,000
4	Stamford Branch, Stamford	5,000			5,000
6	Torrington Branch, Torrington	5,000			5,000
5	Waterbury Branch, Waterbury	5,000			5,000
1	University of Hartford, West Hartford	5,000			5,000
5	Waterbury State Technical College, Waterbury	4,744			4,744
2	Wesleyan University, Middletown	5,000	2,797		7,797
5	Western Connecticut State College, Danbury	5,000			5,000
5	Yale University, New Haven	5,000			5,000
	DELAWARE				
At large	Brandywine Junior College, Wilmington	$5,000			$5,000
Do	Delaware State College, Dover	5,000	$1,195		6,195
Do	University of Delaware, Newark	5,000	14,913		19,913
Do	Wesley College, Dover	2,302	316		2,618
	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA				
	The American University	$5,000	$31,034	$55,091	$91,125
	The Catholic University of America	5,000	12,356	36,915	54,271
	District of Columbia Teachers College	5,000	4,125		9,125
	Dumbarton College of Holy Cross	2,016	637		2,653
	The George Washington University	5,000	24,385	50,036	79,421
	Georgetown University	5,000	15,471	37,958	58,429
	Immaculata College of Washington	2,000			2,000
	Mount Vernon Junior College	5,000	272		5,272
	Trinity College	5,000	1,425		6,425
	FLORIDA				
4	Barry College, Miami	$5,000	$1,526		$6,526
5	Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach	5,000	3,558		8,558
10	Biscayne College, Opa-Locka	5,000	795		5,795
12	Brevard Junior College, Cocoa	5,000	9,057		14,057
12	South Campus, Melbourne	5,000			5,000
4	Central Florida Junior College, Ocala	5,000	2,844		7,844
4	Daytona Beach Junior College, Daytona Beach	5,000			5,000
9	Edison Junior College, Fort Myers	5,000	1,691		6,691
4	Embry-Riddle Aeronautical Institute, Daytona Beach.	5,000	1,037		6,037
4	Flagler College, St. Augustine	5,000	263		5,263
2	Florida Agriculture and Mechanical University, Tallahassee.	5,000	4,806		9,806
11	Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne	5,000	4,434		9,434
12	Florida Keys Junior College, Key West	5,000	815		5,815
3	Florida Junior College at Jacksonville, Jacksonville.	5,000	8,644		13,644
4	Florida Memorial College, Inc., St. Augustine	5,000	1,356	$2,000	8,356
8	Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg	5,000	1,205[1]		6,205
7	Florida Southern College, Lakeland	5,000			5,000
2	Florida State University, Tallahassee	5,000	44,339		49,339
1	Gulf Coast Junior College, Panama City	5,000	3,358		8,358
9	Indian River Junior College, Fort Pierce	5,000	1,190		6,190
3	Jacksonville University, Jacksonville	5,000	3,689		8,689
3	Jones College, Jacksonville	5,000	3,444		8,444
5	Orlando Campus, Orlando	3,000			3,000
10	Junior College of Broward County, Fort Lauderdale.	5,000	9,019		14,019
2	Lake City Junior College and Forest Ranger School, Lake City.	5,000	1,418		6,418
4	Lake-Sumter Junior College, Leesburg	5,000			5,000
7	Manatee Junior College, Bradenton	5,000			5,000
6	Marymount College, Boca Raton	3,500	673		4,173
12	Miami-Dade Junior College, Miami	5,000			5,000
11	North Campus, Miami	5,000			5,000
7	New College, Inc., Sarasota	5,000	449		5,449
2	North Florida Junior College, Madison	5,000	2,256		7,256
10	Nova University of Advanced Technology, Fort Lauderdale.	5,000	47		5,047
1	Oklaoosa Walton Junior College, Valparaiso	5,000	2,040		7,040
6	Palm Beach Junior College, Lake Worth	5,000	2,972		7,972
1	Pensacola Junior College, Pensacola	5,000	3,977		8,977
11	Rollins College, Winter Park	5,000			5,000
2	St. Johns River Junior College, Palatka	5,000			5,000
4	St. Leo College, Inc., St. Leo	5,000	3,374		8,374
8	St. Petersburg Junior College, St. Petersburg	5,000	12,831		17,831
8	Clearwater Campus, Clearwater	5,000			5,000
7	Santa Fe Junior College, Gqinesville	5,000	4,046		9,046
4	Seminole Junior College, Sanford	5,000	4,185		9,185
9	South Florida Junior College, Avon Park	5,000	712		5,712
2	Tallahassee Junior College, Tallahassee	5,000	2,750		7,750
2	University of Florida, Gainesville	5,000	66,503	40,000	111,503
4	Daytona Beach Campus, Daytona Beach	5,000			5,000
5	Orlando Campus, Orlando	5,000			5,000
5	Port Canaveral Campus, Cape Canaveral	5,000			5,000
12	University of Miami, Coral Gables	5,000	26,405		31,405
6	University of South Florida, Tampa	5,000	16,747		21,747
6	University of Tampa, Tampa	5,000	3,740		8,740
1	University of West Florida, Pensacola	5,000	1,115		6,115
	GEORGIA				
2	Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College, Tifton.	$5,000	$2,028		$7,028
2	Albany Junior College, Albany	5,000	1,698		6,698
2	Albany State College, Albany	5,000	3,588		8,588
2	Andrew College, Cuthbert	5,000	916		5,916
1	Armstrong State College, Savannah	5,000	3,846		8,846
5	Atlanta School of Art, Inc., Atlanta	5,000			5,000
5	Atlanta University, Atlanta	5,000	2,664		7,664
10	Augusta College, Augusta	5,000	3,927		8,927
7	Berry College, Mount Berry	5,000	3,112		8,112
5	Clark College, Atlanta	5,000	2,716		7,716
3	Columbus College, Columbus	5,000	2,035		7,035
7	Covenant College (Dade County, Ga.) post office, Lookout Mountain, Tenn.	5,000			6,087
7	Dalton Junior College, Dalton	5,000			5,000
4	DeKalb College, Clarkston	5,000	8,784	$90,000	103,784
9	Emmanuel College, Franklin Springs	5,000	339		5 339
4	Emory University, Atlanta	5,000	12,082		17,082
10	Oxford College, Oxford	5,000			5,000
3	Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley	5,000	2,375		7,375
9	Gainesville Junior College, Oakwood	5,000	2,536		7,536
10	Georgia College at Milledgeville, Milledgeville	5,000	586		5,586
5	Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta	5,000	24,009		29,009
7	Southern Technical Institute, Marietta	5,000			5,000

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

GEORGIA—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
10	Georgia Military College, Milledgeville	$2,205	$480		$2,685
1	Georgia Southern College, Statesboro	5,000	15,033		20,033
3	Georgia Southwestern College, Americus	5,000	+6,551		11,551
5	Georgia State College, Atlanta	5,000	18,615		23,615
7	Kennesaw Junior College, Marietta	5,000	2,539		7,539
6	La Grange College, La Grange	5,000	1,196		6,196
6	The Corporation of Mercer University, Macon	5,000			5,000
8	Middle Georgia College, Cochran	5,000	2,900		7,900
5	Morehouse College, Atlanta	5,000	2,708		7,708
136	Morris Brown College, Atlanta	5,000	3,139		8,139
2	Norman College, Norman Park	5,000	739		5,739
9	North Georgia College, Dahlonega	5,000	1,589		6,587
4	Oglethorpe College, Atlanta	5,000	2,147		7,149
10	The Paine College, Augusta	5,000	1,756		6,756
9	Piedmont College, Demorest	5,000			5,000
9	Reinhardt College, Waleska	5,000	681		5,681
1	Savannah State College, Savannah	5,000	3,509		8,509
8	South Georgia College, Douglas	5,000	1,271		6,271
5	Spelman College, Atlanta	5,000	1,112		6,112
10	University of Georgia, Athens	5,000			5,000
8	Valdosta State College, Valdosta	5,000	6,002		11,002
6	Wesleyan College, Macon	5,000	286		5,286
6	West Georgia College, Carrollton	5,000	11,129		16,129

HAWAII

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
At large	Chaminade College of Honolulu, Honolulu	$5,000	$2,129		$7,129
Do	Hawaii Loa College, Honolulu	5,000	131		5,131
Do	Maunaolu College, Paia Maiu	5,000	305		5,305
Do	University of Hawaii, Honolulu	5,000			5,000
Do	Hilo Campus, Hilo	5,000			5,000
Do	Honolulu Community College, Honolulu	5,000	2,663		7,663
Do	Kapiolani Community College, Honolulu	5,000	3,730		8,730
Do	Kauai Community College, Lihue, Kauai	5,000	620		5,620
Do	Maui Community College, Kahului Maui	5,000	1,244		6,244

IDAHO

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
1	Boise College, Boise	$5,000	$16,242		$21,242
1	College of Idaho, Caldwell	5,000	1,923		6,923
2	College of Southern Idaho, Twin Falls	5,000	2,021		7,021
2	Idaho State University, Pocatello	5,000	2,057		7,057
1	Lewis-Clark Normal School, Lewiston	5,000	2,081		7,081
1	North Idaho Junior College, Coeur d'Alene	5,000			5,000
1	Northwest Nazarene College, Nampa	5,000	3,515		8,515
1	University of Idaho, Moscow	5,000	20,536		25,536

ILLINOIS

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
19	Augustana College, Rock Island	$5,000			$5,000
15	Aurora College, Aurora	5,000	$1,274		6,274
12	Barat College, Lake Forest	5,000	777		5,777
24	Belleville Junior College, Belleville	5,000	6,128		11,128
19	Black Hawk College, Moline	5,000	2,454		7,454
19	Black Hawk East College, Kewanee	5,000			5,000
23	Blackburn College, Carlinville	5,000	231		5,231
18	Bradley University, Peoria	5,000	12,042		17,042
19	Canton Community College, Canton	5,000	2,366		7,366
7	Central YMCA Community College, Chicago	5,000	6,230		11,230
7	Chicago City College, Chicago:				
11	Amundsen-Mayfair Campus	5,000	2,717		7,717
3	Bogan Campus	5,000			5,000
7	Crane Campus	5,000			5,000
3	Fenger Campus	5,000	958		5,958
7	Loop Campus	5,000			5,000
2	Southeast Campus	5,000	3,042		8,042
3	Wilson Campus	5,000	5,338		10,338
7	Wright Branch	5,000			5,000
7	Chicago Kent College of Law, Chicago	5,000	1,463		6,463
3	Chicago State College, Chicago	5,000	2,948		7,948
11	West Center	5,000			5,000
14	College of St. Francis, Joliet	5,000	1,020		6,020
9	Columbia College, Chicago	5,000	1,601		6,601
17	Danville Junior College, Danville	5,000	2,926		7,926
7	De Paul University, Chicago	5,000			5,000
22	Eastern Illinois University, Charleston	5,000	21,956		26,956
15	Elgin Community College, Elgin	5,000	3,190		8,190
14	Elmhurst College, Elmhurst	5,000	6,042		11,042
18	Eureka College, Eureka	5,000	1,362		6,362
14	George Williams College, Downers Grove	5,000	2,208		7,208
23	Greenville College, Greenville	5,000	1,367		6,367
16	Highland Community College, Freeport	5,000	1,794		6,794
18	Illinois Central College, East Peoria	5,000	4,405		9,405
20	Illinois College, Jacksonville	5,000	1,788		6,788
1	Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago	5,000	10,553		15,553
17	Illinois State University, Normal	5,000	22,017		27,017
15	Illinois Valley Community College, LaSalle	5,000	577		5,577
17	Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington	5,000	2,032		7,032
13	Immaculata College, Bartlett	2,527			2,527
14	Joliet Junior College, Joliet	5,000			5,000
15	Judson College, Elgin	5,000	775		5,775
23	Kaskaskia College, Centralia	5,000	2,696		7,696
13	Kendall College, Evanston	5,000	1,037		6,037
19	Knox College, Galesburg	5,000	596		5,596

ILLINOIS—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
12	Lake Forest College, Lake Forest	$5,000	$1,078		$6,078
22	Lake Land College, Matton	5,000	1,362		6,362
14	Lewis College, Lockport	5,000	3,190		8,190
22	Lincoln University, Lincoln	5,000	2,159		7,159
9	Loyola University, Chicago	5,000			5,000
9	Lewis Towers Library, Chicago	5,000			5,000
7	MacCormac College, Inc., Chicago	5,000	660		5,660
20	MacMurray College, Jacksonville	5,000	903		5,903
24	McKendree College, Lebanon	5,000	1,198		6,198
22	Millikin University, Decatur	5,000	1,692		6,692
19	Monmouth College, Monmouth	5,000	1,771		6,771
53	Monticello College, Godfrey	5,000	645		5,645
9	Mundelein College, Chicago	5,000	2,175		7,175
13	National College of Education, Evanston	5,000	1,585		6,585
14	North Central College, Naperville	5,000	1,121		6,121
11	North Park College and Theological Seminary, Chicago.	5,000	2,054		7,054
11	Northeastern Illinois State College, Chicago	5,000	7,729		12,729
15	Northern Illinois University, DeKalb	5,000	34,190		39,190
13	Northwestern University, Evanston	5,000	22,457	$100,000	127,457
9	Chicago Campus, Chicago	5,000			5,000
17	Olivet Nazarene College, Kankakee	5,000	5,257		10,257
23	Olney Central College, Olney	5,000	1,067		6,067
22	Parkland College, Champaign	5,000	2,403		7,403
4	Prairie State College, Chicago Heights	5,000	4,036		9,036
20	Quincy College, Quincy	5,000			5,000
21	Rend Lake College, Mount Vernon	5,000			5,000
20	Robert Morris College of Carthage	5,000			5,000
16	Rock Valley College, Rockford	5,000			5,000
7	Roosevelt University, Chicago	5,000	7,578		12,578
10	Rosary College, River Forest	5,000			5,000
14	St. Procopius College, Lisle	5,000	911		5,911
16	Sauk Valley College, Dixon	5,000			5,000
1	School of the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago	3,000			3,000
16	Shimer College, Mount Carroll	5,000	839		5,839
21	Southern Illinois University, Carbondale	5,000			5,000
24	Edwardsville Campus, Edwardsville	5,000			5,000
20	Springfield Junior College, Springfield	5,000			5,000
4	Thornton Junior College, Harvey	5,000	6,215		11,215
12	Trinity College, Deerfield	5,000	1,718		6,718
10	Triton College, Northlake	5,000			5,000
2	University of Chicago, Chicago	5,000	19,909		24,909
22	University of Illinois, Urbana	5,000	50,213		55,213
7	Chicago Circle Campus, Chicago	5,000	41,224		46,224
21	Wabash Valley College, Mount Carmel	5,000	2,217		7,217
15	Waubonsee Community College, Aurora	5,000			5,000
20	Western Illinois University, Macomb	5,000	21,449		26,449
13	William Rainey Harber College, Palatine	5,000	2,712		7,712

INDIANA

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
3	Ancilla Domini College, Donaldson	$5,000			$5,000
5	Anderson College, Anderson	5,000	$2,396		7,396
10	Ball State University, Muncie	5,000	26,869		31,869
3	Bethel College, Mishawaka	5,000	900		5,900
11	Butler University, Indianapolis	5,000	3,750		8,750
7	DePauw University, Greencastle	5,000			5,000
10	Earlham College, Richmond	5,000			5,000
4	Fort Wayne Art Institute, Inc., Fort Wayne	4,403	386		4,789
6	Franklin College of Indiana, Franklin	5,000	944		5,944
3	Goshen College, Goshen	5,000			5,000
3	Grace College, Winona Lake	5,000			5,000
6	Indiana Central University, Indianapolis	5,000	5,657		10,657
7	Indiana State University, Terre Haute	5,000	34,580		39,580
8	Evansville Campus, Evansville	5,000			5,000
7	Indiana University, Bloomington	5,000	74,538		79,538
4	Fort Wayne Campus, Fort Wayne	5,000			5,000
11	Indianapolis Downtown Campus, Indianapolis.	5,000			5,000
5	Kokomo Campus, Kokomo	5,000			5,000
1	Northwest Regional Campus, Gary	5,000			5,000
3	South Bend-Mishawaka Campus, South Bend.	5,000			5,000
8	Southeastern Campus, Jeffersonville	5,000			5,000
5	Manchester College, North Manchester	5,000	2,548		7,548
11	Marian College, Indianapolis	5,000	1,250		6,250
5	Marion College, Marion	5,000	1,136		6,136
2	Purdue University, Lafayette	5,000	95,224		100,224
1	Calumet Center Regional Campus, Hammond.	5,000			5,000
11	Indianapolis Regional Campus, Indianapolis.	5,000			5,000
2	North Central Campus, Westville	5,000			5,000
7	Rose Polytechnic Institute, Terre Haute	5,000	2,215		7,125
8	St. Benedict College, Ferdinand	5,000	810		5,810
4	St. Francis College, Fort Wayne	5,000	2,381		7,381
2	St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer	5,000	3,140		8,140
1	Calumet Campus, East Chicago	5,000			5,000
7	St. Mary-of-the-Woods College, St. Mary-of-the-Woods.	5,000			5,000
3	St. Mary's College, Notre Dame	5,000	1,727		6,727
5	Taylor University, Upland	5,000	2,229		7,229
4	Tri-State College of Angola, Angola	5,000	4,734		9,734
8	University of Evansville, Evansville	5,000	4,631		9,631
3	University of Notre Dame du Lac, Notre Dame	5,000	6,572		11,572
2	Valparaiso University, Valparaiso	5,000	10,331		15,331
8	Vincennes University, Vincennes	5,000	5,668		10,668

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	IOWA				
2	Area Ten Community College, Cedar Rapids	$5,000	$1,691		$6,691
5	Area XI Community College, Ankeny	5,000			5,000
6	Briar Cliff College, Sioux City	5,000	2,493		7,493
6	Buena Vista College, Storm Lake	5,000	1,142		6,142
4	Centerville Community College, Centerville	5,000	2,200		7,200
4	Central University of Iowa, Pella	5,000	2,965	$4,570	12,535
2	Clarke College, Dubuque	5,000			5,000
2	Cornell College, Mount Vernon	5,000	1,292		6,292
2	Divine Word College, Epworth Center	5,000	408		5,408
6	Dordt College, Sioux Center	5,000	1,801		6,801
5	Drake University, Des Moines	5,000	12,818		17,818
	Eastern Iowa Community College, Bettendorf		2,299		2,299
2	Clinton Campus, Clinton	5,000			5,000
1	Muscatine Campus, Muscatine	5,000			5,000
3	Ellsworth College, Iowa Falls	5,000	2,692		7,692
6	Emmetsburg Community College, Emmetsburg	5,000	543		5,543
6	Estherville Junir College, Estherville	5,000	1,390		6,390
4	Graceland College, Lamoni	5,000	2,502		7,502
5	Grand View College, Des Moines	5,000	2,454		7,454
4	Grinnell College, Grinnell	5,000	519		5,519
	Iowa Central Community College		871		871
3	Eagle Grove, Eagle Grove	5,000			5,000
5	Fort Dodge, Fort Dodge	5,000			5,000
3	Webster City, Webster City	5,000			5,000
5	Iowa State University of Science and Technology, Ames.	5,000	50,789		55,789
1	Iowa Wesleyan College, Mount Pleasant	5,000	2,009		7,009
7	Iowa Western Community College Council Bluffs.	1,533	1,880		3,413
7	Clarinda Campus, Clarinda	5,000			5,000
2	Loras College, Dubuque	5,000	2,124		7,124
2	Luther College, Decorah	5,000			5,000
	Marshalltown Community School District:				
4	Marshalltown Community College, Marshalltown.	5,000	2,327		7,327
1	Marycrest College, Davenport	5,000	1,602		6,602
6	Morningside College, Sioux City	5,000	2,620		7,620
2	Mount Mercy College, Cedar Rapids	5,000	1,426		6,426
3	North Iowa Area Community College, Mason City.	5,000	3,906		8,906
6	Northwestern College, Orange City	5,000	1,463	37,275	43,738
4	Ottumwa Heights College, Ottumwa	5,000	605		5,605
1	Palmer Junior College, Davenport	5,000	1,406		6,406
1	St. Ambrose College, Davenport	5,000	2,681		7,681
4	Simpson College, Indianola	5,000	805		5,805
6	Sioux Empire College, Hawarden	5,000	221		5,221
1	Southeastern Iowa Area Community College, Burlington.	5,000	2,408		7,408
1	Keokuk Community College, Keokuk	5,000			5,000
4	Southwestern Community College, Creston	5,000	771		5,771
1	State University of Iowa, Iowa City	5,000	59,766		64,766
2	University of Dubuque, Dubuque	5,000	1,661		6,661
3	University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls	5,000	16,551		21,551
2	Upper Iowa University Fayette	5,000	2,929		7,929
3	Waldorf College, Forest City	5,000	829		5,829
3	Wartburg College, Waverly	5,000			5,000
6	Westmar College, Le Mars	5,000	1,700		6,700
4	William Penn College, Oskaloosa	5,000	833		5,833
	KANSAS				
5	Allen County Community Junior College, Iola	$5,000	$1,511		$6,511
3	Baker University, Baldwin City	5,000	1,831		6,831
4	Bethany College, Lindsborg	5,000	899		5,899
4	Bethel College, North Newton	5,000	952		5,952
5	Butler County Community Junior College, El Dorado.	5,000	3,538		8,538
4	Central College, McPherson	5,000	375		5,375
1	Cloud County Community Junior College, Concordia.	5,000	471		5,471
5	Coffeyville Community Junior College, Coffeyville.	5,000	797		5,797
1	Colby Community Junior College, Colby	5,000	1,230		6,230
5	College of Emporia, Emporia	4,010	2,230		6,240
5	Cowley County Community Junior College, Arkansas City.	3,495			3,495
1	Dodge City Community Junior College, Dodge City.	5,000	1,993		6,993
3	Donnelly College, Kansas City	5,000	892		5,892
1	Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays	5,000	10,294		15,294
5	Fort Scott Community Junior College, Fort Scott.	4,500	1,837		6,337
4	Hesston College, Hesston	5,000			5,000
2	Highland Community Junior College, Highland	5,000			5,000
5	Independence Community Junior College, Independence.	5,000	1,728		6,728
3	Kansas City Kansas Community Junior College, Kansas City.	5,000	3,938		8,938
5	Kansas Sate College at Pittsburg, Pittsburg	5,000	9,853		14,853
5	Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, Emporia.	5,000	11,269		16,269
2	Kansas State University, Manhattan	5,000	25,366		30,366
1	Kansas Wesleyan University, Salina	5,000	1,381		6,381
5	Labette Community Junior College, Parsons	5,000			5,000
1	Marymount College, Salina	5,000	869		5,869
4	McPherson College, McPherson	5,000	1,656		6,656
1	Miltonvale Wesleyan College, Miltonvale	5,000			5,000
2	Mount St. Scholastica College, Atchison	5,000	1,174		6,174
	KANSAS—Continued				
5	Neosho County Community Junior College, Chanute.	$5,000	$605		$5,605
3	Ottawa University, Ottawa	5,000	3,162		8,162
4	Sacred Heart College, Wichita	5,000	1,164		6,164
2	St. Benedict's College, Atchison	5,000	1,492		6,492
2	St. Mary College, Xavier	5,000	472		5,472
1	St. Mary of the Plains College, Dodge City	5,000	2,202		7,202
1	Schilling Institute, Salina	5,000	533		5,533
5	Southwestern College, Winfield	5,000	1,146		6,146
4	Sterling College, Sterling	5,000	264		5,264
4	Tabor College, Hillsboro	5,000	813		5,813
3	University of Kansas, Lawrence	5,000	41,622	$100,000	146,622
2	Washburn University of Topeka, Topeka	5,000	6,742		11,742
4	Wichita State University, Wichita	5,000	18,726		23,726
	KENTUCKY				
7	Alice Lloyd College, Pippa Passes	$5,000	$744		$5,744
6	Asbury College, Wilmore	5,000			5,000
3	Bellarmine College, Louisville	5,000	4,230		9,230
6	Berea College, Berea	5,000			5,000
2	Brescia College, Owensboro	5,000	1,090		6,090
3	Catherine Spalding College, Louisville	5,000	902		5,902
6	Centre College of Kentucky, Danville	5,000			5,000
6	Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond	5,000	20,592		25,592
6	Kentucky State College, Frankfort	5,000	3,783		8,783
2	Kentucky Wesleyan College, Owensboro	5,000	3,052		8,052
7	Lees Junior College, Jackson	5,000	800		5,800
6	Midway Junior College, Midway	5,000	405		5,405
7	Morehead State University, Morehead	5,000	20,102		25,102
1	Murray State University, Murray	5,000	23,193		28,193
1	Paducah Junior College, Paducah	5,000	1,496		6,496
7	Pikeville College, Pikeville	5,000			5,000
6	Southeastern Christian College, Winchester	1,501	294		1,795
5	Sue Bennett College, London	3,000			3,000
6	Transylvania University, Lexington	5,000	762		5,762
5	Union College, Barbourville	5,000	1,486		6,486
6	The University of Kentucky Research Foundation on behalf of the University of Kentucky, Lexington.	5,000			5,000
7	Ashland Community College, Ashland	5,000			5,000
2	Elizabethtown Community College, Elizabethtown.	5,000			5,000
1	Henderson Community College, Henderson.	5,000			5,000
1	Hopkinsville Community College, Hopkinsville.	5,000			5,000
3	Jefferson Community College, Louisville	5,000			5,000
7	Prestonburg Community College, Prestonburg.	5,000			5,000
5	Somerest Community College, Somerest	5,000			5,000
3	University of Louisville, Louisville	5,000	21,979		26,979
4	Villa Madonna College, Covington	5,000	3,242		8,242
2	Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green	5,000	20,305		25,305
	LOUISIANA				
4	Centenary College of Louisiana, Shreveport	$5,000			$5,000
1	Dillard University, New Orleans	5,000	$1,768		6,768
3	Francis T. Nicholls State College, Thibodaux	5,000	6,988		11,988
7	Grambling College of Louisiana, Grambling	5,000	11,117		16,117
1	Isaac Delgado College, New Orleans	5,000	2,543		7,543
5	Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, Ruston	5,000	18,788		23,788
6	Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Baton Rouge.	5,000	43,765		48,765
1	Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in New Orleans.	5,000			5,000
4	Louisiana State University in Shreveport	5,000			5,000
2	Loyola University, New Orleans	5,000	7,076		12,076
7	McNeese State College, Lake Charles	5,000	8,844		13,844
5	Northeast Louisiana State College, Monroe	5,000	12,827		17,827
2	St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	5,000	1,000		6,000
6	Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammon	5,000	17,683		22,683
6	Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Baton Rouge.	5,000	20,880		25,880
2	New Orleans Campus, New Orleans	5,000			5,000
4	Shreveport-Bossier Campus, Shreveport	5,000			5,000
2	Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans	5,000	18,525	$50,000	73,525
3	University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette.	5,000	28,621		33,621
2	Xavier University of Louisiana, New Orleans	5,000	1,625		6,625
	MAINE				
2	Aroostook State College, Presque Lake	$5,000	$1,380		$6,380
2	Bates College, Lewiston	5,000	2,105		7,105
1	Bowdoin College, Brunswick	5,000	2,035		7,035
1	Colby College, Waterville	5,000			5,000
2	Farmington State College, Farmington	5,000	2,440		7,440
2	Fort Kent State College, Fort Kent	5,000	974		5,974
1	Gorham State College, Gorham	5,000	4,478		9,478
2	Husson College, Bangor	5,000	4,157		9,157
2	Marine Maritime Academy, Castine	5,000	1,963		6,963
1	Nasson College, Springvale	5,000	774		5,774

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	MAINE—Continued				
2	Ricker College, Houlton	$5,000	$1,917		$6,917
1	St. Francis College	5,000	1,150		6,150
1	St. Joseph's College, Standish	5,000	568		5,568
1	Thomas College, Waterville	5,000	622		5,622
2	University of Maine, Orono	5,000	30,710		35,710
1	Augusta Campus, Augusta	3,600			3,600
1	Portland, Campus, Portland	5,000			5,000
2	Washington State College, Machias	5,000	876		5,876
1	Westbrook Seminary and Junior College, Portland.	5,000	1,006		6,006
	MARYLAND				
6	Allegany Community College, Cumberland	$5,000	$762		$5,762
5	Anne Arundel Community College, Severna Park.	5,000	2,250		7,250
5	Bowie State College, Bowie	5,000	1,964		6,964
6	Catonsville Community College, Catonsville	5,000	1,342		6,342
5	Charles County Community College, La Plata	5,000	1,151		6,151
1	Chesapeake College, Wye Mills	5,000	690		5,690
4	College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Inc., Baltimore.	5,000	1,941		6,941
4	Eastern College, Baltimore	5,000	3,131		8,131
4	Essex Community College, Baltimore County	5,000			5,000
6	Frederick Community College, Frederick	5,000	802		5,802
6	Frostburg State College, Frostburg	5,000	4,342		9,342
2	Goucher College, Towson	5,000			5,000
6	Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown	5,000	1,002		6,002
2	Harford Junior College, Bel Air	5,000			5,000
6	Hood College of Frederick, Md., Frederick	5,000	1,643		6,643
4	The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore	5,000	7,433		12,433
	School of Advanced International Studies, Washington.	5,000			5,000
4	Associated Professors of Loyola College in the City of Baltimore, Baltimore.	5,000	2,788		7,788
4	The Maryland Institute College of Art, Baltimore.	5,000	2,586		7,586
8	Montgomery Junior College, Rockville	5,000			5,000
8	Takoma Park Campus, Takoma Park	5,000			5,000
4	Morgan State College, Baltimore	5,000	9,085		14,085
7	Mount St. Agnes College, Baltimore	3,000	745		3,745
6	Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg	5,000	2,221		7,221
5	Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore.	5,000	824		5,824
5	Prince George's Community College, Largo	5,000	6,156		11,156
1	St. John's College, Annapolis	5,000	403		5,403
At large	St. John's College, Santa Fe	5,000			5,000
6	St. Joseph College at Emmitsburg, Maryland, Inc., Emmitsburg.	5,000	1,426		6,426
1	St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City.	5,000	698		5,698
1	Salisbury State College, Salisbury	5,000			5,000
2	Towson State College, Baltimore	5,000	13,513		18,513
4	University of Baltimore, Baltimore	5,000	12,164		17,164
5	University of Maryland, College Park	5,000	82,398		87,398
3	Baltimore City Law Library Branch, Baltimore.	5,000			5,000
2	University of Maryland Baltimore County Campus, Baltimore.	5,000	2,413		7,413
1	Maryland State College, Princess Anne	5,000	1,481		6,481
2	Villa Julie College, Inc., Stevenson	3,000	449		3,449
1	Washington College, Chestertown	5,000	539		5,539
6	Western Maryland College, Westminster	5,000	1,903		6,903
5	Xaverian College, Silver Spring	5,000			5,000
	MASSACHUSETTS				
2	American International College, Springfield	$5,000	$3,743		$8,743
1	Amherst College, Amherst	5,000			5,000
3	Anna Maria College for Women, Paxton	3,000			3,000
10	Aquinas Junior College of Business, Newton	1,000			1,000
11	Aquinas School—Junior College of Business, Milton.	3,000	421		3,421
3	Assumption College, Worcester	5,000	825		5,825
10	Babson Institute, Babson Park	5,000	1,623		6,623
2	Bay Path Junior College, Longmeadow	5,000			5,000
4	Becker Junior College of Business Administration and Secretarial Science, Worcester.	1,922			1,922
9	Bentley College of Accounting and Finance, Boston.	5,000	5,781		10,781
1	Berkshire Community College, Pittsfield	5,000	980		5,980
9	Boston Architectural Center, Boston	5,000	1,585		6,585
2	Boston College, Newton	5,000	19,140		24,140
9	Boston Conservatory of Music, Boston	3,000			3,000
8	Boston University, Boston	5,000	26,332		31,332
6	Bradford Junior College, Bradford	5,000	754		5,754
4	Brandeis University, Waltham	5,000	8,192		13,192
10	Bristol Community College, Fall River	5,000	3,621		8,621
12	Cape Cod Community College, Hyannis	5,000	2,003		7,003
8	Cardinal Cushing College, Brookline	5,000	907		5,907
4	Clark University, Worcester	5,000	7,182		12,182
4	College of the Holy Cross, Worcester	5,000	5,056		10,056
2	College of Our Lady of the Elms, Chicopee	5,000	1,157		6,157
11	Curry College, Milton	5,000	1,903		6,903
4	Dean Academy and Junior College, Franklin	5,000	804		5,804
11	Eastern Nazarene College, Quincy	5,000	1,093		6,093
9	Emmanuel College, Boston	5,000	2,564		7,564
6	Endicott Junior College, Beverly	5,000			5,000
9	Fisher Junior College, Boston	5,000			5,000
9	Franklin Institute of Boston, Boston	1,000			1,000
9	Gordon College, Wenham	5,000	1,774		6,774
	MASSACHUSETTS—Continued				
9	Graham Junior College, Boston	$5,000	$3,239		$8,239
1	Greenfield Community College, Greenfield	5,000	1,106		6,106
8	Harvard College, Cambridge	5,000			5,000
2	Holyoke Community College, Holyoke	5,000	4,469		9,469
10	Lasell Junior College, Auburndale	5,000			5,000
3	Leicester Junior College, Leicester	5,000	339		5,339
8	Lesley College, Cambridge	5,000	565		5,565
5	Lowell Technological Institute of Massachusetts, Lowell.	5,000	15,347		20,347
3	Massachusetts Bay Community College, Watertown.	5,000	4,274		9,274
9	Massachusetts College of Art, Boston	5,000	1,525		6,525
8	Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge.	5,000			5,000
12	Massasoit Community College, North Abington.	5,000	2,103		7,103
6	Merrimack College, North Andover	5,000	3,984		8,984
2	Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley	5,000			5,000
10	Mount Ida Junior College, Newton Centre	5,000	246		5,246
3	Mount Wachusett Community College, Gardner.	5,000	1,866		6,866
9	New England Conservatory of Music, Boston	5,000	1,029		6,029
10	Newton College of the Sacred Heart, Newton	5,000	1,078		6,078
10	Newton Junior College, Newtonville	5,000	384		5,384
3	Nichols College of Business Administration, Dudley.	5,000	1,516		6,516
6	North Shore Community College, Beverly	5,000	2,538		7,538
9	Northeastern University, Boston	5,000	80,210		85,210
5	Burlington Campus, Burlington	5,000			5,000
6	Northern Essex Community College, Haverhill	5,000	3,179		8,179
10	Pine Manor Junior College, Chestnut Hill	5,000	1,057		6,057
4	Quinsigamond Community College, Worcester	5,000	2,310		7,310
8	Radcliffe College, Cambridge	5,000			5,000
3	Regis College, Weston	5,000			5,000
4	Framingham Campus, Framingham	4,334			4,334
9	Simmons College, Boston	5,000	2,437		7,437
1	Smith College, Northampton	5,000			5,000
12	Southeastern Massachusetts Technological Institute, North Dartmouth.		6,835		6,835
12	New Bedford Campus, New Bedford	5,000			5,000
2	Springfield College, Springfield	5,000			5,000
10	State College at Boston, Boston	5,000	9,702		14,702
12	State College at Bridgewater, Bridgewater	5,000	6,644		11,644
3	State College at Fitchburg, Fitchburg	5,000	5,744		10,744
4	State College at Framingham, Framingham	5,000			5,000
15	State College at Lowell, Lowell	5,000	4,797		9,797
1	State College at North Adams, North Adams	5,000	1,880		6,880
6	State College at Salem, Salem	5,000	9,554		14,554
1	State College at Westfield, Westfield	5,000	6,106		11,106
4	State College at Worcester, Worcester	220			220
3	Stevens Business College, Fitchburg	5,000	421		5,421
10	Stonehill College, Easton	5,000			5,000
8	Suffolk University, Boston	5,000	11,118		16,118
12	Swain School of Design, New Bedford	1,677			1,677
7	Tufts College, Medford	5,000	13,202		18,202
1	University of Massachusetts, Amherst	5,000	52,445		57,445
9	Boston Campus, Boston	5,000			5,000
9	Wentworth Institute, Boston	5,000	4,728		9,728
2	Western New England College, Springfield	5,000	6,589		11,589
10	Wheaton College, Norton	5,000	484		5,484
8	Wheelock College, Boston	5,000	703		5,703
1	Williams College, Williamstown	5,000			5,000
4	Worcester Junior College, Worcester	2,000	3,840		5,840
4	Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester	5,000	6,680		11,680
	MICHIGAN				
2	Adrian College, Adrian	$5,000	$3,258		$8,258
3	Albion College, Albion	5,000			5,000
10	Alma College, Alma	5,000	2,976		7,976
11	Alpena Community College, Alpena	5,000	1,617		6,617
4	Andrews University, Berrien Springs	5,000	1,431		6,431
2	Aquinas College, Grand Rapids	5,000	2,247		7,247
11	Bay de Noc Community College, Escanaba	5,000	995		5,995
5	Calvin College, Grand Rapids	5,000	5,680		10,680
10	Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant	5,000	20,947		25,947
5	Davenport College of Business, Grand Rapids	5,000	3,036		8,036
19	DeLima Junior College, Oxford	5,000	125		5,125
10	Delta College, University Center	5,000	2,607		7,607
13	Detroit College of Law, Detroit	5,000			5,000
13	Detroit Institute of Technology, Detroit	5,000	2,957		7,957
2	Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti	5,000	43,944		48,944
10	Ferris State College, Big Rapids	5,000	19,769		24,769
7	Flint Community Junior College, Flint	5,000	2,026		7,026
4	Glen Oaks Community College, Centerville	5,000	1,285		6,285
5	Grand Rapids Junior College, Grand Rapids	5,000	8,515		13,515
9	Grand Valley State College, Allendale	5,000	3,687		8,687
16	Henry Ford Community College, Dearborn	5,000	7,374		12,374
1	Highland Park College, Highland Park	5,000	6,564		11,564
9	Hope College, Holland	5,000	1,583		6,583
6	Jackson Community College, Jackson	5,000			5,000
3	Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo	5,000			5,000
3	Kellogg Community College, Battle Creek	5,000			5,000
4	Lake Michigan College, Benton Harbor	5,000	2,555		7,555
6	Lansing Community College, Lansing	5,000	10,072		15,072
18	Lawrence Institute of Technology, Southfield	5,000	12,384		17,384
11	Mackinac College, Mackinac Island	5,000	372		5,372
12	Macomb County Community College, South Campus, Warren.	2,000	20,806		22,806
19	Madonna College, Livonia	5,000	1,034		6,034
17	Marygrove College, Detroit	5,000	482		5,482
2	Monroe Campus, Monroe	5,000			5,000
17	Mercy College of Detroit, Detroit	5,000			5,000

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

MICHIGAN—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
1	Michigan Lutheran College, Detroit	$3,229	$1,687		$4,916
6	Michigan State University, East Lansing	5,000	97,015		102,015
11	Michigan Technological University, Houghton	5,000	20,560		25,560
11	Lake Superior State College, Sault Sainte Marie.	5,000			5,000
2	Monroe County Community College, Monroe	5,000	729		5,729
10	Montcalm Community College, Sidney	5,000	513		5,513
9	Muskegon County Community College, Muskegon.	5,000	6,701		11,701
3	Nazareth College, Kalamazoo	5,000			5,000
11	North Central Michigan College, Petoskey	5,000			5,000
11	Northern Michigan University, Marquette	5,000	14,347		19,347
9	Northwestern Michigan College, Traverse City	5,000			5,000
18	Oakland Community College, Bloomfield Hills		4,082		4,082
18	Auburn Hills Campus, Auburn Heights	5,000			5,000
19	Highland Lakes Campus, Union Lake	5,000			5,000
19	Orchard Ridge Campus, Farmington	5,000			5,000
18	Oakland University, Rochester	5,000	7,992		12,992
3	Olivet College, Olivet	5,000	1,964		6,964
6	Owosso College, Owosso	5,000	560		5,560
8	Saginaw Valley College, University Center	5,000	871		5,871
8	St. Clair County Community College, Port Huron.	2,365	4,143		6,508
19	Schoolcraft College, Livonia	5,000	6,136		11,136
2	Siena Heights College, Adrian	1,600			1,600
13	Society of Arts and Crafts, Detroit	5,000	1,030		6,030
4	Southwestern Michigan College, Dowagiac	5,000	1,242		6,242
6	Spring Arbor College, Spring Arbor	5,000	1,301		6,301
11	Suomi College, Hancock	5,000	1,156		6,156
1	University of Detroit, Detroit	5,000	15,243		20,243
2	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	5,000	109,861		114,861
16	Dearborn Campus, Dearborn	5,000			5,000
7	Flint College, Flint	5,000			5,000
13	Walsh Institute of Accountancy, Detroit	5,000			5,000
2	Washtenaw Community College, Ypsilanti	5,000	3,505		8,505
13	Wayne State University, Detroit	5,000			5,000
3	Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo	5,000	13,913		18,913

MINNESOTA

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
3	Anoka-Ramsey State Junior College, Coon Rapids.	$5,000	$4,929		$9,929
5	Augsburg College, Minneapolis	5,000	2,232		7,232
1	Austin State Junior College, Austin	5,000	2,909		7,909
7	Bemidji State College, Bemidji	5,000	14,199		19,199
2	Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato	3,000			3,000
4	Bethel College, St. Paul	5,000			5,000
6	Brainerd State Junior College, Brainerd	4,109	1,602		5,711
1	Carleton College, Northfield	5,000	603		5,603
6	College of St. Benedict, St. Joseph	5,000	718		5,718
4	College of St. Catherine, St. Paul	5,000			5,000
8	College of St. Scholastica, Duluth	5,000			5,000
1	College of St. Teresa, Winona	5,000			5,000
4	College of St. Thomas, St. Paul	5,000			5,000
7	Concordia College, Moorhead	5,000	7,118		12,118
4	Concordia College, St. Paul	5,000			5,000
7	Corbett College, Crookston	2,000			2,000
7	Fergus Falls State Junior College, Fergus Falls	5,000	848		5,848
2	Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter	5,000			5,000
4	Hamline University of Minnesota, St. Paul	5,000	2,699		7,699
8	Hibbing State Junior College, Hibbing	5,000			5,000
8	Itasca State Junior College, Grand Rapids	5,000	1,696		6,696
4	Lakewood State Junior College, White Bear Lake.	5,000	1,023		6,023
4	Macalester College, St. Paul	5,000			5,000
2	Mankato State College, Mankato	5,000	24,154		29,154
5	Metropolitan State Junior College, Minneapolis	5,000	3,141		8,141
5	Minneapolis School of Art, Minneapolis	5,000	506		5,506
7	Moorhead State College, Moorhead	5,000	14,255		19,255
3	North Hennepin State Junior College, Osseo	5,000	2,873		7,873
8	Rainey River State Junior College, International Falls.	5,000			5,000
1	Rochester State Junior College, Rochester	5,000	3,694		8,694
6	St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud	5,000	16,691		21,691
6	St. John's University, Collegeville	5,000			5,000
1	St. Mary's College, Winona	5,000	1,928		6,928
5	St. Mary's Junior College, Minneapolis	5,000	1,644		6,644
1	St. Olaf College, Northfield	5,000	3,326		8,326
6	Southwest Minnesota State College, Marshall	5,000	892		5,892
5	University of Minnesota, Minneapolis	5,000	174,741		179,741
8	Duluth Campus, Duluth	5,000			5,000
6	Morris Campus, Morris	5,000			5,000
7	University of Minnesota Technical Institute Branch, Crookston.	5,000			5,000
8	Vermilion State Junior College, Ely	5,000	673		5,673
4	William Mitchell College of Law, St. Paul	5,000			5,000
6	Willmar State Junior College, Willmar	5,000	1,332		6,332
1	Winona State College, Winona	5,000	9,958		14,958
2	Worthington State Junior College, Worthington	5,000	536		5,536

MISSISSIPPI

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
3	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, Lorman.	$5,000	$5,878		$10,878
3	Belhaven College, Jackson	5,000	1,150		6,150
2	Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain	5,000	1,067		6,067
2	Coahoma Junior College, Clarksdale	5,000			5,000
3	Copiah-Lincoln Junior College, Wesson	2,500	782		3,282
1	Delta State College, Cleveland	5,000	6,889		11,889
4	East Central Junior College, Decatur	5,000	2,144		7,144
4	East Mississippi Junior College, Scooba	5,000			5,000
3	Hinds Junior College, Raymond	5,000	4,995		9,995
4	Holmes Junior College, Goodman	$5,000	$1,555		$6,555
1	Itawamba Junior College, Fulton	5,000			5,000
3	Jackson State College, Jackson	5,000	6,320		11,320
5	Jones County Junior College, Ellisville	3,485	3,141		6,626
1	Mary Holmes College, West Point	5,000			5,000
4	Meridian Junior College, Meridian	5,000	2,009		7,009
3	Millsaps College, Jackson	5,000	1,200		6,200
2	Mississippi Delta Junior College, Moorhead	5,000	1,737		6,737
2	Mississippi Industrial College, Holly Springs	5,000			5,000
1	Mississippi State College for Women, Columbus.	5,000	6,677		11,677
3	Mississippi State University of Agriculture and Applied Sciences, State College.	5,000	28,703		33,703
1	Mississippi Valley State College, Itta Bena	5,000	6,033		11,033
3	Natchez Junior College, Natchez	4,000			4,000
2	Northeast Mississippi Junior College, Booneville.	5,000	2,955		7,955
2	Northwest Mississippi Junior College, Senatobia.	5,000	4,665		9,665
5	Pearl River Junior College, Poplarville	5,000	1,498		6,498
5	Perkinston College, Perkinston	5,000	4,243		9,243
5	Jackson County Junior College, Gautier	5,000			5,000
5	Jefferson Davis Junior College, Handsboro	5,000			5,000
6	Prentiss Normal and Industrial Institute, Prentiss.	5,000	750		5,750
1	Rust College, Holly Springs	5,000	701		5,701
3	Southwest Mississippi Junior College, Summit	3,550			3,550
4	T. J. Harris Junior College, Meridian	3,095	1,076		4,171
2	University of Mississippi, University	5,000	17,203		22,203
5	University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg.	5,000	13,074		18,074
5	William Carey College, Hattiesburg	5,000			5,000
1	Wood Junior College, Mathiston	5,000	375		5,375

MISSOURI

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
5	Avila College, Kansas City	$5,000	$804		$5,804
4	Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg	5,000	26,675		31,675
4	Jackson County Residence Center, Independence.	5,000			5,000
8	Christian College, Columbia	5,000			5,000
4	Cottey Junior College Corp., Nevada	5,000			5,000
7	Crowder College, Neosho	5,000	883		5,883
7	Drury College, Springfield	5,000	2,886		7,886
7	Evangel College, Springfield	5,000	1,376		6,376
1	Florissant Valley Community College, Ferguson.	5,000	3,110		8,110
2	Fontbonne College, Clayton	5,000	2,387		7,387
3	Forest Park Community College, St. Louis	5,000	3,510		8,510
3	Harris Teachers College, St. Louis	5,000	2,283		7,283
8	Jefferson County Junior College, Hillsboro	5,000	1,825		6,825
5	Kansas City Art Institute, Kansas City	5,000	1,972		6,972
8	Kemper Military School and College, Boonville.	4,500	678		5,178
8	Lincoln University, Jefferson City	5,000	5,760		10,760
9	Lindenwood Female College, St. Charles	5,000			5,000
2	Maryville College of the Sacred Heart, St. Louis.	5,000			5,000
2	Meramec Community College, Kirkwood	5,000	3,253		8,253
2	Mercy Junior College, St. Louis	2,500	122		2,622
5	Metropolitan Junior College, Kansas City	5,000	3,481		8,481
10	Mineral Area College, Flat River	5,000	2,678		7,678
7	Missouri Southern College, Joplin	5,000	6,450		11,450
8	Missouri Valley College, Marshall	5,000			5,000
6	Missouri Western Junior College, St. Joseph	5,000	1,686		6,686
9	Moberly Junior College, Moberly	5,000	453		5,453
9	Northeast Missouri State College, Kirksville	5,000	13,488		18,488
6	Northwest Missouri State College, Maryville	5,000	6,951		11,951
2	Notre Dame College, St. Louis	5,000	327		5,327
6	Park College, Parkville	5,000	728		5,728
5	Rockhurst University, Kansas City	5,000	2,559		7,559
3	St. Louis University, St. Louis	5,000	16,248		21,248
24	Parks College of Aeronautical Technology, St. Louis.	5,000			5,000
9	St. Mary's College of O'Fallon, O'Fallon	3,500			3,500
7	School of the Ozarks, Point Lookout	5,000	1,008		6,008
10	Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau.	5,000	21,434		26,434
7	Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield	5,000	13,142		18,142
10	West Plains Residence Center	5,000			5,000
8	Stephens College, Columbia	5,000	3,347		8,347
6	Tarkio College, Tarkio	5,000	1,573		6,573
10	Three Rivers Junior College, Poplar Bluff	5,000	1,201		6,201
9	Trenton Junior College, Trenton	5,000	986		5,986
8	University of Missouri, Columbia	5,000	41,895		46,895
5	Kansas City, Kansas City	5,000	17,211		22,211
8	Rolla Branch, Rolla	5,000	19,247		24,247
1	St. Louis Branch, St. Louis	5,000	16,270	$100,000	121,270
2	Washington University, St. Louis	5,000	16,435		21,435
2	Webster College, Webster Grove	5,000			5,000
9	Westminster College, Fulton	5,000			5,000
6	William Jewell College, Liberty	5,000			5,000
9	William Woods College, Fulton	5,000	1,713		6,713

MONTANA

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
2	College of Great Falls, Great Falls	$5,000	$2,123		$7,123
2	Dawson College, Glendive	5,000	1,057		6,057
2	Eastern Montana College, Billings	5,000	5,366		10,366
1	Flathead Valley Community College, Kalispell	5,000	615		5,615
2	Miles Community College, Miles City	3,425	1,027		4,452

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	MONTANA—Continued				
1	Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology, Butte.	$5,000	$762		$5,762
1	Montana State University, Bozeman	5,000	17,122		22,122
2	Northern Montana College, Havre	5,000	2,738		7,738
2	Rocky Mountain College, Billings	5,000	686		5,686
1	University of Montana, Missoula	5,000	16,060		21,060
1	Western Montana College, Dillon	5,000	1,998		6,998
	NEBRASKA				
3	Chadron State College, Chadron	$5,000	$3,643		$8,643
11	College of St. Mary, Omaha	5,000	1,555		6,555
2	Creighton University, Omaha	5,000	2,542		7,542
2	Dana College, Blair	5,000			5,000
1	Doane College, Crete	3,751	1,232		4,983
3	Hastings College, Hastings	5,000	2,106		7,106
3	Hiram Scott College, Scottsbluff	5,000	3,701		8,701
1	John F. Kennedy College, Wahoo	5,000	1,435		6,435
1	John J. Pershing College, Beatrice	5,000	1,391		6,391
3	Kearney State College, Kearney	5,000	15,875		20,875
1	Midland Lutheran College, Fremont	5,000	1,632		6,632
2	Municipal University of Omaha	5,000			5,000
1	Nebraska Wesleyan University, Lincoln	5,000	3,459		8,459
3	North Platte Junior College, North Platte	5,000	1,033		6,033
1	Peru State College, Peru	5,000	2,947		7,947
3	Scotts Bluff County College, Scottsbluff	5,000	1,367		6,367
1	University of Nebraska, Lincoln	5,000	47,495		52,495
1	East Campus, Lincoln	5,000			5,000
1	Wayne State College, Wayne	5,000	9,237		14,237
1	York College, York	5,000	495		5,495
	NEVADA				
At large	Nevada Southern University, Las Vegas	$5,000	$4,416		$9,416
Do	University of Nevada, Reno	5,000	9,727		14,727
	NEW HAMPSHIRE				
1	Belknap College, Center Harbor	$5,000	$1,144		$6,144
2	Canaan College, Canaan	2,298			2,298
2	Colby Junior College, New London	3,707			3,707
2	Dartmouth College, Hanover	5,000			5,000
2	Franconia College, Franconia	5,000	1,222		6,222
2	Franklin Pierce College, Rindge	5,000	2,085		7,085
1	Gunstock Junior College, Laconia	4,500	138		4,638
2	Keene State College, Keene	5,000			5,000
1	Mount St. Mary College, Hooksett	5,000		$877	5,877
2	Nathaniel Hawthorne College, Antrim	5,000	983		5,983
2	New England Aeronautical Institute, Nashua	3,000	429		3,429
2	New England College, Henniker	5,000	1,140	39,762	45,902
2	New Hampshire Technical Institute, Concord	5,000	1,279		6,279
2	Notre Dame College, Manchester	3,798	685	975	5,458
2	Plymouth State College, Plymouth	5,000	3,899	97,455	106,354
2	Rivier College, Nashua	5,000	1,788	11,694	18,482
1	St. Anselm's College, Manchester	5,000	1,162	29,237	35,399
1	University of New Hampshire, Durham	5,000	25,465	69,777	100,242
2	Merrimac Valley Branch, Manchester	5,000			5,000
	NEW JERSEY				
2	Atlantic Community College, Mays Landing	$5,000	$2,119		$7,119
11	Bloomfield College and Seminary, Bloomfield	5,000	2,813		7,813
12	Caldwell College for Women, Caldwell	5,000	2,007		7,007
1	Camden County College, Blackwood	5,000			5,000
4	Centenary College for Women, Hackettstown	5,000			5,000
5	College of St. Elizabeth, Convent Station	5,000	785		5,785
2	Cumberland County College, Vineland	5,000			5,000
5	Drew University, Madison	5,000			5,000
9	Englewood Cliffs College, Englewood Cliffs	3,869			3,869
9	Fairleigh Dickinson University, Rutherford	5,000			5,000
5	Florham-Madison Campus, Madison	5,000			5,000
9	Teaneck Campus, Teaneck	5,000			5,000
8	Wayne Campus, Wayne	5,000			5,000
9	Felician College, Lodi	5,000	707		5,707
3	Georgian Court College, Lakewood	5,000	795		5,795
1	Gloucester County College, Sewell	5,000			5,000
4	Mercer County Community College, Trenton	5,000	3,067		8,067
15	Middlesex County College, Edison	5,000	4,246		9,246
3	Monmouth College, West Long Branch	5,000	7,536		12,536
10	Montclair State College, Upper Montclair	5,000	13,922		18,922
5	Mount St. Mary College, North Plainfield	5,000			5,000
11	Newark College of Engineering, Newark	5,000	8,478		13,478
12	Newark State College, Union	5,000	15,326		20,326
3	Ocean County College, Toms River	5,000	3,920		8,920
8	Paterson State College, Wayne	5,000	11,301		16,301
4	Princeton University, Princeton	5,000	6,284		11,284
4	Rider College, Trenton	5,000	8,984		13,984
15	Rutgers—The State University, New Brunswick	5,000	37,263		42,263
1	College of South Jersey, Camden	5,000			5,000
10	Newark Colleges, Newark	5,000			5,000
14	University College, Jersey City	5,000			5,000
8	University College, Paterson	5,000			5,000
14	St. Peter's College Jersey City	5,000	10,707	$15,000	30,707
11	Seton Hall University South Orange	5,000	15,076		20,076
11	Law School, Newark	5,000			5,000
14	Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken	5,000	5,602		10,602

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Tota
	NEW JERSEY—Continued				
8	Tombrock College, West Paterson	$5,000	$247		$5,247
4	Trenton State College, Trenton	5,000	14,204		19,204
12	Union College, Cranford	5,000			5,000
11	Upsala College, East Orange	5,000	2,871		7,871
4	Westminster Choir College, Princeton	5,000	946		5,946
	NEW MEXICO				
At large	College of Santa Fe, Santa Fe	$5,000	$1,861		$6,861
Do	Eastern New Mexico University, Portales	5,000	6,917		11,917
Do	Clovis Community College, Clovis	1,500			1,500
Do	Roswell Campus, Roswell	5,000			5,000
Do	New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas	5,000			5,000
Do	New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, Socorro.	5,000	1,652		6,652
Do	New Mexico State University, Las Cruces	5,000	19,580		24,580
Do	Alamogordo Branch, Alamogordo	5,000			5,000
Do	Carlsbad Branch, Carlsbad	5,000			5,000
Do	San Juan Branch, Farmington	5,000			5,000
Do	University of Albuquerque, Albuquerque	5,000			5,000
Do	University of New Mexico, Albuquerque	5,000	37,953		42,953
Do	Western New Mexico University, Silver City	5,000			5,000
	NEW YORK				
9	Academy of Aeronautics, Flushing	$5,000			$5,000
29	Albany Law School, Albany	5,000			5,000
4	Adelphi University, Garden City	5,000	$12,122		17,122
1	Adelphi Suffolk College, Oakdale	5,000			5,000
30	Adirondack Community College, Glens Falls	5,000	2,423		7,423
38	Alfred University, Alfred	5,000	4,452		9,452
35	Auburn Community College, Auburn	5,000			5,000
19	Bank Street College of Education, New York	5,000	346		5,346
28	Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson	5,000	1,303		6,303
20	Barnard College, New York	5,000	4,955		9,955
28	Bennett College, Millbrook	5,000			5,000
1	Brentwood College, Brentwood Long Island	5,000	394		5,394
25	Briarcliff College, Briarcliff Manor	5,000	1,385	$25,000	31,385
15	Brooklyn Law School, Brooklyn	3,000	3,726		6,726
33	Broome Technical Community College, Binghamton.	5,000			5,000
41	Canisius College of Buffalo, Buffalo	5,000	8,907		13,907
32	Cazenovia College, Cazenovia	5,000	253		5,253
17	City University of New York, Borough of Manhattan:				
	Community College, New York	5,000	8,812		13,812
23	City University of New York, Bronx Community College, Bronx.	5,000	12,811		17,811
13	City University of New York, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn.	5,000	32,227		37,227
20	City University of New York, City College, New York.	5,000	56,536		61,536
17	Bernard M. Baruch School of Business and Public Administration, New York.	5,000			5,000
17	City University of New York, Graduate Division, New York.	5,000	797		5,797
17	City University of New York, Hunter College, New York.	5,000	30,498		35,498
23	Hunter College in the Bronx, Bronx	5,000			5,000
17	City University of New York, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York.	5,000	4,717		9,717
13	City University of New York, Kingsborough Community College, Brooklyn.	5,000	2,019		7,019
14	Mid-Brooklyn Campus, Brooklyn	5,000			5,000
15	City University of New York, New York City Community College, Brooklyn.	5,000	16,632		21,632
8	City University of New York, Queens College, Flushing.	5,000	44,079		49,079
6	City University of New York, Queensborough Comunity College, Bayside.	5,000	9,004		14,004
16	City University of New York, Richmond College, Staten Island.	5,000			5,000
16	City University of New York, Staten Island Community College, Staten Island.	5,000	9,934		14,934
8	City University of New York, York College, Flushing.	5,000	949		5,949
31	Clarkson College of Technology, Potsdam	5,000	7,897		12,897
32	Colgate University, Hamilton	5,000	4,202		9,202
26	College of New Rochelle, New Rochelle	5,000			5,000
29	College of St. Rose, Albany	5,000	840		5,840
20	Columbia University, New York	5,000	5,748		10,748
25	Concordia Collegiate Institute, Bronxville	5,000	556		5,556
17	Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, New York.	5,000	2,272		7,272
33	Cornell University, Ithaca	5,000	29,875		34,875
38	Corning Community College, Corning	5,000	5,505		10,505
28	Dutchess Community College, Poughkeepsie	5,000	3,624		8,624
25	Elizabeth Seton College, Yonkers	5,000			5,000
33	Elmira College, Park Place	5,000	2,767		7,767
39	Erie County Technical Institute, Buffalo	5,000	5,643		10,643
19	Fashion Institute of Technology, New York	5,000			5,000
17	Finch College, New York	5,000			5,000
24	Fordham University	5,000	23,186		28,186
19	Lincoln Center Campus, Lincoln Center	5,000			5,000
3	Friends World College, East Norwich	5,000	126		5,126
30	Fulton-Montgomery Community College, Johnstown.	5,000	2,387		7,387
37	Genesee Community College, Batavia	5,000	2,048		7,048
26	Good Counsel College, White Plains	5,000			5,000
32	Hamilton College, Clinton	5,000			5,000
27	Harriman College, Harriman	5,000	201		5,201

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	NEW YORK—Continued				
35	Hartwick College, Oneonta	$5,000	$3,426		$8,426
32	Herkimer County Community College, Ilion	5,000	550		5,550
35	Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva	5,000	1,924		6,924
4	Hofstra University, Hempstead	5,000	21,775		26,775
4	Comack Campus, Comack	2,000			2,000
38	Houghton College, Houghton	5,000	1,485		6,485
30	Hudson Valley Community College, Troy	5,000			5,000
39	Immaculata College, Hamburg	5,000	121		5,121
19	Insurance Society of New York, New York	5,000			5,000
26	Iona College, New Rochelle	5,000	5,624		10,624
33	Ithaca College, Ithaca	5,000	9,091		14,091
38	Jamestown Community College, Jamestown	5,000			5,000
31	Jefferson Community College, Watertown	5,000	1,507		6,507
35	Keuka College, Keuka Park	5,000	708		5,708
25	King's College, Briarcliff Manor	5,000	1,424		6,424
27	Ladycliff College, Highland Falls	3,000	233		3,233
34	Le Moyne College, Syracuse	5,000	1,974		6,974
3	Long Island University, Greenvale		21,296		21,296
15	Brooklyn Center, Brooklyn	5,000			5,000
3	Merriweather Campus, Greenvale	5,000			5,000
1	Southampton Campus, Southampton	5,000			5,000
23	Manhattan College, Bronx	5,000			5,000
18	Manhattan School of Music, New York	5,000	1,393		6,393
26	Manhattanville College, Purchase	5,000	1,229		6,229
17	Mannes College of Music, New York	5,000			5,000
34	Maria Regina College, Syracuse	5,000	576		5,576
28	Marist College, Poughkeepsie	5,000	1,300		6,300
25	Marymount College, Tarrytown	5,000	1,803		6,803
17	Marymount Manhattan College, New York	5,000	456		5,456
31	Mater Dei College, Ogdensburg	5,000	96		5,096
39	Medialle College, Buffalo	5,000	568		5,568
25	Mercy College, Dobbs Ferry	5,000	807		5,807
17	Mills College of Education, New York	5,000	887		5,887
32	Mohawk Valley Community College, Utica	5,000	1,743		6,743
4	Molloy Catholic College for Women, Rockville Centre.	5,000			5,000
36	Monroe Community College, Rochester	5,000	10,492		15,492
4	Nassau Community College, Garden City	5,000	15,451		20,451
36	Nazareth College of Rochester, Rochester	5,000	2,355		7,355
17	New School for Social Research, New York	5,000	4,791		9,791
19	New York Institute of Technology, New York	5,000	13,811		18,811
3	Old Westbury Center, Old Westbury	5,000			5,000
19	New York Law School, New York	5,000			5,000
17	New York University, New York	5,000	39,068		44,068
19	Graduate Business Center, New York	5,000			5,000
23	University Heights Center, Bronx	5,000			5,000
40	Niagara County Community College, Niagara Falls.	5,000	5,641		10,641
40	Niagara University, Niagara University	5,000	5,939		10,939
16	Notre Dame College of Staten Island, Staten Island.	5,000	887		5,887
35	Onondaga Community College, Syracuse	5,000	2,676		7,676
27	Orange County Community College, Middletown.	5,000	4,666		9,666
19	Pace College, New York	5,000	16,722		21,722
25	Westchester Campus, Pleasantville	5,000			5,000
17	Parsons School of Design, New York	5,000	895		5,895
31	Paul Smith's College of Arts and Sciences, Paul Smiths.	5,000			5,000
14	Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, Brooklyn	5,000	8,575		13,575
2	Long Island Graduate Center, Farmingdale.	5,000			5,000
14	Pratt Institute, Brooklyn	5,000	4,874		9,874
29, 30	Rensellaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy	5,000	13,160		18,160
37	Roberts Wesleyan College, North Chili	5,000	1,428		6,428
37	Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester	5,000	13,113		18,113
27	Rockland Community College, Suffern	5,000	3,880		8,880
39	Rosary Hill College, Buffalo	5,000	2,962		7,962
29	Russell Sage College, Troy	5,000			5,000
29	Junior College of Albany, Albany	5,000			5,000
29	St. Bernardine of Siena College, Londonville	5,000			5,000
30	St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure	5,000	5,932		10,932
42	St. Clare College, Williamsville	5,000			5,000
14	St. Francis College, Brooklyn	5,000	4,005		9,005
36	St. John Fisher College, Rochester	5,000	3,815		8,815
6	St. John's University, Jamaica	5,000	12,843		17,843
14	St. Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn	5,000	789		5,789
31	St. Lawrence University, Canton	5,000			5,000
27	St. Thomas Aquinas College, Sparkill	5,000	1,371		6,371
25	Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville	5,000	254		5,254
30	Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs	5,000			5,000
29	State University of New York at Albany	5,000	16,886		21,886
33	State University of New York at Binghamton	5,000	9,225		14,225
37	State University of New York at Buffalo	5,000	52,507		57,507
1	State University of New York at Stony Brook	5,000	20,501		25,501
38	State University of New York, Agricultural and Technical College at Alfred.	5,000	2,021		7,021
31	State University of New York, Agricultural and Technical College at Canton.	5,000	1,654		6,654
28	State University of New York, Agricultural and Technical College at Cobleskill.	5,000			5,000
27	State University of New York, Agricultural and Technical College at Delhi.	5,000	1,164		6,164
2	State University of New York, Agricultural and Technical College at Farmingdale.	5,000			5,000
32	State University of New York, Agricultural and Technical College at Morrisville.	5,000	4,033		9,033
37	State University of New York, College at Brockport.	5,000	8,684		13,684
39	State University of New York, College at Buffalo.	5,000			5,000
35	State University of New York, College at Cortland.	5,000	8,187		13,187
38	State University of New York, College at Fredonia.	5,000			5,000
37	State University of New York, College at Geneseo.	$5,000	$8,311		$13,311
28	State University of New York, College at New Paltz.	5,000	11,939		16,939
35	State University of New York, College at Oneonta.	5,000	5,397		10,397
31	State University of New York, College at Oswego	5,000	7,466		12,466
31	State University of New York, College at Potsdam.	5,000	5,921	$50,000	60,921
30	State University of New York, College of Arts and Sciences at Plattsburgh.	5,000	7,597		12,597
38	State University of New York, College of Ceramics at Alfred University, Alfred.	5,000	1,181		6,181
24	State University of New York, Maritime College, Albany.	5,000	941		5,941
1	Suffolk County Community College, Selden	5,000	6,492		11,492
34	Syracuse University, Syracuse	5,000	48,000		53,000
32	Utica College, Utica	5,000			5,000
20	Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.	5,000	13,029		18,029
41	Trocaire College, Buffalo	5,000	355		5,355
28	Ulster County Community College, Stone Ridge	5,000			5,000
29	Union College, Schenectady	5,000			5,000
36	University of Rochester, Rochester	5,000	18,567		23,567
36	Eastman School of Music, Rochester	5,000			5,000
28	Vassar College, Poughkeepsie	5,000	1,426		6,426
41	Villa Maria College at Buffalo	5,000	499		5,499
19	Voorhees Technical Institute, New York	5,000			5,000
16	Wagner College, Staten Island	5,000	5,238		10,238
3	Webb Institute of Naval Architecture, Glen Cove.	2,500			2,500
35	Wells College, Aurora	5,000	1,382		6,382
26	Westchester Community College, Valhalla	5,000	9,933		14,933
20	Yeshiva University, New York	5,000	10,354		15,354
17	Graduate Center, New York	5,000			5,000
17	Stern College, New York	5,000			5,000
	NORTH CAROLINA				
9	Appalachian State University, Boone	$5,000	$12,156		$17,156
11	Asheville-Biltmore College, Asheville	5,000	983		5,983
2	Atlantic Christian College, Wilson	5,000	2,399		7,399
9	Barbara Scotia College, Inc., Concord	5,000			5,000
10	Belmont Abbey College, Belmont	5,000	2,064		7,064
6	Bennett College, Greensboro	5,000			5,000
11	Brevard College, Brevard	5,000	565		5,565
11	Caldwell Technical Institute, Lenoir	2,000	655		2,655
9	Catawba College, Salisbury	5,000			5,000
10	Catawba Valley Technical Institute, Hickory	5,000	2,585		7,585
8	Central Piedmont Community College, Charlotte.	5,000	3,777		8,777
1	College of the Albemarle, Elizabeth City	5,000	1,190		6,190
8	Davidson College, Davidson	5,000			5,000
5	Davidson County Community College, Lexington.	5,000	1,635		6,635
5	Duke University, Durham	5,000	9,967		14,967
5	Durham Business College, Durham	5,000	1,087		6,087
5	Durham Technical Institute, Durham	5,000	1,376		6,376
1	East Carolina University, Greenville	5,000	19,530		24,530
1	Elizabeth City State College, Elizabeth City	5,000	1,635		6,635
6	Elon College, Elon College	5,000	2,417		7,417
7	Fayetteville State College, Fayetteville	5,000	2,484	$46,983	54,467
7	Fayetteville Technical Institute, Fayetteville	5,000			5,000
10	Gaston College, Gastonia	5,000			5,000
6	Greensboro College, Greensboro	5,000	1,439		6,439
6	Guilford College, Greensboro	5,000	1,798		6,798
6	Guilford Technical Institute, Jamestown	5,000			5,000
8	Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte	5,000			5,000
10	Lees-McRae College, Inc., Banner Elk	5,000	1,358		6,358
2	Lenoir County Community College, Kinston	5,000	2,381		7,381
10	Lenoir Rhyne College, Hickory	5,000	2,828		7,828
9	Livingston College, Salisbury	5,000	759		5,759
2	Louisburg College, Inc., Louisburg	5,000	900		5,900
7	Methodist College, Inc., Fayetteville	5,000	3,694		8,694
10	Mitchell College, Inc., Statesville	5,000			5,000
11	Montreat-Anderson College, Inc., Montreat	5,000	396		5,396
3	Mount Olive Junior College, Inc., Mount Olive	5,000	939		5,939
6	North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, Greensboro.	5,000	9,766		14,766
5	North Carolina College at Durham, Durham	5,000	8,113		13,113
5	North Carolina School of the Arts, Winston-Salem.	5,000	505		5,505
4	North Carolina State University at Raleigh, Raleigh.	5,000	28,505		33,505
4	North Carolina Wesleyan College, Inc., Rocky Mount.	5,000	570		5,570
3	Onslow Technical Institute, Jacksonville	5,000			5,000
4	Peace College of Raleigh, Inc., Raleigh	5,000			5,000
7	Pembroke State College, Pembroke	5,000	3,251		8,251
8	Pfeiffer College, Inc., Misenheimer	5,000	1,208		6,208
1	Pitt Technical Institute, Greenville	5,000	727		5,727
8	Queens College, Inc., Charlotte	5,000	1,842		6,842
8	Richmond Technical Institute, Hamlet	5,000	481		5,481
6	Rockingham Community College, Wentworth	5,000	2,566		7,566
10	Sacred Heart College, Belmont	5,000	931		5,931
7	St. Andrews Presbyterian College, Inc., Laurinburg.	5,000	2,007		7,007
4	St. Augustine's College, Raleigh	5,000	2,237		7,237
5	Salem College, Winston-Salem	5,000	1,255		6,255

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	NORTH CAROLINA—Continued				
3	Sampson Technical Institute, Clinton	$5,000			$5,000
8	Sandhills Community College, Southern Pines	5,000	$1,435		6,435
4	Shaw University, Raleigh	5,000	2,038		7,038
7	Southeastern Community College, Whiteville	5,000	953		5,953
5	Southern Pilgrim College, Kernersville	2,000			2,000
9	Surry Community College, Dobson	5,000			5,000
6	Technical Institute of Alamance, Burlington	5,000	1,401		6,401
4	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	5,000	26,239	$18,924	50,163
8	University of North Carolina, Charlotte	5,000	3,030		8,030
6	University of North Carolina, Greensboro	5,000	10,557		15,557
4	W. W. Holding Technical Institute, Raleigh	5,000			5,000
5	Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem	5,000	6,809		11,809
11	Warren Wilson College, Swannanoa	5,000	401		5,401
3	Wayne Community College, Goldsboro	5,000	5,202		10,202
11	Western Carolina University, Cullowhee	5,000	11,489		16,489
10	Western Piedmont Community College, Morganton	5,000	1,575		6,575
5	Wilkes Community College, Wilkesboro	5,000			5,000
7	Wilmington College, Wilmington	5,000	2,583		7,583
2	Wilson County Technical Institute, Wilson	5,000	1,314		6,314
5	Winston-Salem State College, Winston-Salem	5,000	2,219		7,219
	NORTH DAKOTA				
2	Assumption College, Richardton	$5,000	$88		$5,088
2	Bismarck Junior College, Bismarck	5,000	1,544		6,544
2	Dickinson State College, Dickinson	5,000	4,009		9,009
1	Jamestown College, Jamestown	5,000	241		5,241
1	Lake Region Junior College, Devils Lake	5,000	1,717		6,717
2	Mary College, Bismarck	5,000			5,000
1	Mayville State College, Mayville	5,000	702		5,702
2	Minot State College, Minot	5,000	4,110		9,110
2	North Dakota School of Forestry and State Junior College, Bottineau.	5,000			5,000
1	North Dakota State School of Science, Wahpeton.	5,000	5,146		10,146
1	North Dakota State University, Fargo	5,000	17,598		22,598
1	University of North Dakota, Grand Forks	5,000	13,686		18,686
1	Ellendale Branch, Ellendale	5,000			5,000
1	Williston Center, Williston	5,000			5,000
1	Valley City State College, Valley City	5,000	2,183		7,183
	OREGON				
2	Blue Mountain Community College, Pendleton	$5,000	$1,940		$6,940
1	Cascade College, Portland	5,000	528		5,528
2	Central Oregon Community College, Bend	5,000	1,164		6,164
1	Clackamas Community College, Oregon City	5,000	1,063		6,063
1	Clatsop Community College, Astoria	5,000	1,244		6,244
3	Columbia Christian College, Portland	5,000	324		5,324
3	Concordia College of Portland, Portland	4,862	415		5 277
2	Eastern Oregon College, La Grande	5,000	2,525		7,525
1	George Fox College, Newberg	5,000	326		5,326
4	Lane Community College, Eugene	5,000	8,758		13,758
1	Lewis and Clark College, Portland	5,000	3,751		8,751
1	Linfield College, McMinnville	5,000	2,997		7,997
1, 2	Linn-Benton Community College, Albany	5,000	131		5,131
1	Marylhurst College, Marylhurst	5,000			5,000
2	Mount Angel College, Mount Angel	5,000	293		5,293
3	Mount Hood Community College, Gresham	5,000			5,000
1	Multnomah College, Portland	5,000			5,000
1	Oregon College of Education, Monmouth	5,000	5,626		10,626
1	Oregon State University, Corvallis	5,000	34,638		39,638
1	Marine Science Center, Newport	1,500			1,500
2	Oregon Technical Institute, Klamath Falls	5,000	2,377		7,377
1	Pacific University, Forest Grove	5,000	2,333		7,333
1	Portland Community College, Portland	5,000	13,838		18,838
3	Portland State College, Portland	5,000	14,753		19,753
3	Reed Institute, Portland	5,000	932		5,932
4	Southern Oregon College, Ashland	5,000	9,219		14,219
4	Southwestern Oregon Community College, Coos Bay.	5,000	865		5,865
2	Treasure Valley Community College, Ontario	5,000	2,695		7,695
4	Umpqua Community College, Roseburg	5,000	1,249		6,249
4	University of Oregon, Eugene	5,000	36,751		41,751
3	University of Portland, Portland	5,000	4,791		9,791
2	Willamette University, Salem	5,000	1,307		6,307
	OHIO				
7	Antioch College, Yellow Springs	$5,000			$5,000
At large	Antioch-Putney Graduate School of Teacher Education, Putney, Vt.	2,586			2,586
17	Ashland College, Ashland	5,000			5,000
23	Baldwin Wallace College, Berea	5,000			5,000
4	Bluffton College, Bluffton	5,000	$1,877		6,877
5	Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green.	5,000	29,440		34,440
12	Capital University, Columbus	5,000	3,225		8,225
22	Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland	5,000	33,327		38,327
7	Central State University, Wilberforce	5,000	5,032		10,032
22	Cleveland Institute of Music, Cleveland	5,000	438		5,438
20	Cleveland State University, Cleveland	5,000	22,754	$100,000	127,754
2	College of Mount St. Joseph on the Ohio, Mount St. Joseph.	5,000			5,000
12	College of St. Mary of the Springs, Columbus	5,000	1,746		6,746
18	College of Steubenville, Steubenville	5,000			5,000
16	College of Wooster, Wooster	5,000			5,000
	OHIO—Continued				
12	Columbus College of Art and Design, Columbus.	$5,000	$1,300		$6,300
20	Cuyahoga Community College, Metropolitan Campus, Cleveland.	5,000	6,083		11,083
3	Dayton Art Institute, Dayton	2,500	468		2,968
5	Defiance College, Defiance	5,000	1,874		6,874
17	Denison University, Granville	5,000	1,657		6,657
20	Dyke College, Cleveland	5,000	2,739		7,739
8	Findlay College, Findlay	5,000	4,042		9,042
15	Franklin University, Columbus	5,000			5,000
8	Heidelberg College, Tiffin	5,000	1,514		6,514
11	Hiram College, Hiram	5,000	2,430		7,430
22	John Carroll University, Cleveland	5,000	4,712		9,712
11	Kent State University, Kent	5,000	65,305		70,305
11	Ashtabula Branch, Ashtabula	5,000			5,000
18	Columbiana Branch (East Liverpool)	5,000			5,000
18	Columbiana Branch (Salem)	5,000			5,000
16	Stark County Branch, Canton	5,000			5,000
19	Trumbull County Branch, Warren	5,000			5,000
18	Tuscarawas County Branch, New Philadelphia.	5,000			5,000
17	Kenyon College, Gambier	5,000	747		5,747
13	Lorain County Community College, Elyria	5,000	4,885		9,885
16	Malone College, Canton	5,000	2,094		7,094
10	Marietta College, Marietta	5,000	1,556		6,556
9	Mary Manse College, Toledo	5,000	1,257		6,257
24	Miami University, Oxford	5,000	36,647		41,647
16	Mount Union College, Alliance	5,000			5,000
17	Muskingum College, New Concord	5,000	1,857		6,857
22	Notre Dame College, Cleveland	5,000	736		5,736
13	Oberlin College, Oberlin	5,000	5,630		10,630
1	Ohio Mechanics Institute, Ohio College of Applied Science Division, Cincinnati.	5,000	1,286		6,286
8	Ohio Northern University, Ada	5,000	7,465		12,465
15	Ohio State University, Columbus	5,000	128,884		133,884
4	Lima Campus, Lima	5,000			5,000
4	Mansfield Campus, Mansfield	5,000			5,000
8	Marion Campus, Marion	5,000			5,000
17	Newark Campus, Newark	5,000			5,000
10	Ohio University, Athens	5,000	42,854		47,854
18	Belmont County Branch, St. Clairsville	5,000			5,000
6	Chillicothe Branch, Chillicothe	5,000			5,000
10	Lancaster Branch, Lancaster	5,000			5,000
6	Portsmouth Branch, Portsmouth	5,000			5,000
17	Zanesville Branch, Zanesville	5,000			5,000
8	Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware	5,000			5,000
12	Otterbein College, Westerville	5,000	3,183		8,183
1	Our Lady of Cincinnati College, Cincinnati	5,000	1,541	$10,000	16,541
10	Rio Grande College, Rio Grande	5,000	1,330	100,000	106,330
20	St. John College of Cleveland, Cleveland	5,000	1,534		6,534
1	Salmon P. Chase College, School of Law, Cincinnati.	5,000	386		5,386
3	Sinclair Community College, Dayton	5,000	2,979		7,979
8	Tiffin University, Tiffin	5,000			5,000
14	University of Akron, Akron	5,000	19,762		24,762
1	University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati	5,000	49,278		54,278
1	Raymond Walters Branch, Blue Ash	5,000			5,000
3	University of Dayton, Dayton	5,000	19,475		24,475
9	University of Toledo, Toledo	5,000	25,087		30,087
7	Urbana University, Urbana	5,000	1,368		6,368
22	Ursuline College for Women, Cleveland	5,000	628		5,628
24	Western College for Women, Oxford	5,000	477		5,477
7	Wilberforce University, Wilberforce	5,000	2,426		7,426
7	Wilmington College, Wilmington	5,000	384		5,384
7	Wittenberg University, Springfield	5,000	3,431		8,431
7	Wright State University, Dayton	5,000	8,791		13,791
1	Xavier University, Cincinnati	5,000	7,096		12,096
19	Youngstown State University, Youngstown	5,000			5,000
	OKLAHOMA				
4	Altus Junior College, Altus	$5,000	$1,030		$6,030
2	Bacone College, Bacone	5,000			5,000
5	Bethany Nazarene College, Bethany	5,000	2,995		7,995
6	Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton	5,000	3,542		8,542
2	Central Pilgrim College, Bartlesville	3,000			3,000
5	Central State College, Edmond	5,000	15,953		20,953
2	Connors State College, Warner	4,974	1,530		6,504
3	East Central State College, Ada	5,000	8,627		13,627
3	Eastern Oklahoma State College, Wilburton	5,000	1,998		6,998
5	El Reno College, El Reno	2,500	761		3,261
4	Langston University, Langston	5,000	1,224		6,22
3	Murray State College, Tishomingo	5,000	1,817		6,817
2	Northeastern Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Miami.	5,000	3,414		8,414
2	Northeastern State College, Tahlequah	5,000	13,886		18,886
1	Northern Oklahoma College, Tonkawa	5,000	418		5,418
1	Northwestern State College, Alva	5,000			5,000
5	Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City	5,000	1,712		6,712
5	Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City	5,000	6,265		11,265
6	Oklahoma College of Liberial Arts, Chickasha	5,000			5,000
2	Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore	5,000			5,000
4	Oklahoma State University, Stillwater	5,000	53,145		58,145
2	School of Technical Training, Okmulgee	5,000			5,000
5	Technical Institute, Oklahoma City	2,500			2,500
6	Panhandle State College of Agriculture and Applied Sciences, Goodwell.	5,000	2,618		7,618
1	Phillips University, Enid	5,000	1,681		6,681
3	Poteau Community College, Poteau	2,910	962		3,872
4	St. Gregory's College, Shawnee	5,000	743		5,743
3	Southeastern State College, Durant	5,000	5,139		10,139
5	Southwestern College, Oklahoma City	5,000	578		5,578
6	Southwestern State College, Weatherford	5,000	15,317		20,317

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	OKLAHOMA—Continued				
4	University of Oklahoma, Norman	$5,000	$32,731		$37,731
1	University of Tulsa, Tulsa	5,000	12,663		17,663
1	College of Law, Tulsa	5,000			5,000
	PENNSYLVANIA				
6	Albright College, Reading	$5,000	$1,047		$6,047
24	Allegheny College, Meadville	5,000			5,000
8	Allentown College of St. Francis de Sales, Center Valley.	5,000	629		5,629
24	Alliance College, Cambridge Springs	5,000	1,834		6,834
6	Alvernia College, Reading	5,000	451		5,451
13	Beaver College, Glenside	5,000	1,034		6,034
13	Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr	5,000			5,000
17	Bucknell University, Lewisburg	5,000	3,552		8,552
8	Bucks County Community College, Newtown	5,000	3,527		8,527
25	Butler County Community College, Butler	5,000			5,000
7	Cabrini College, Radnor	5,000	931		5,931
26	California State College, California	5,000	9,882		14,882
14	Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh	5,000	13,311		18,311
15	Cedar Crest College, Allentown	5,000	854		5,854
14	Chatham College, Pittsburgh	5,000	858		5,858
2	Chestnut Hill College of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Philadelphia.	5,000	954		5,954
9	Cheyney State College, Cheyney	5,000			5,000
22	Clarion State College, Clarion	5,000			5,000
23	Venango Campus, Oil City	5,000			5,000
11	College Misericordia, Dallas	5,000	2,219		7,219
14	Community College of Allegheny County—Allegheny Campus, Pittsburgh.	5,000	4,478		9,478
18	Community College of Allegheny County—Boyce Campus, Monroeville.	5,000	2,419		7,419
20	Community College of Allegheny County—South Campus, West Mifflin.	5,000	965		5,965
25	Community College of Beaver County, Freedom.	5,000	1,845		6,845
7	Community College of Delaware County, Folsom.	5,000	504		5,504
3	Community College of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.	5,000	8,042		13,042
8	Delaware Valley College of Sciences and Agriculture, Doylestown.	5,000	1,749		6,749
19	Dickinson College, Carlisle	5,000	1,349		6,349
5	Dropsie College, Philadelphia	5,000	344		5,344
14	Duquesne University, Pittsburgh	5,000	9,751		14,751
7	Eastern Baptist College, St. Davids	5,000	868		5,868
15	Eastern Pilgrim College, Allentown	5,000			5,000
24	Edinboro State College, Edinboro	5,000	11,365		16,365
16	Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown	5,000			5,000
7	Ellen Cushing Junior College, Bryn	5,000	256		5,256
16	Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster	5,000	1,661		6,661
24	Gannon College, Erie	5,000	3,478		8,478
25	Geneva College, Beaver Falls	5,000	5,376		10,376
19	Gettysburg College ,Gettysburg	5,000	1,633		6,633
13	Gwynedd-Mercy College, Gwynedd Valley	5,000	2,045		7,045
13	Harcum Junior College, Bryn Mawr	5,000	1,945		6,945
17	Harrisburg Area Community College, Harrisburg.	4,000	1,640		5,640
4	Holy Family College, Philadelphia	5,000	817		5,817
9	Immaculata College, Immaculata	5,000	3,527		8,527
22	Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana	5,000	13,113		18,113
22	Armstrong Community Center, Kittanning.	5,000			5,000
22	Punxsutawney Center, Punxsutawney	5,000			5,000
12	Juniata College, Huntingdon	5,000			5,000
10	Keystone Junior College, La Plume	5,000	937		5,937
11	King's College, Wilkes-Barre	5,000	3,137		8,137
6	Kutztown State College, Kutztown	5,000	8,763		13,763
15	Lafayette College, Easton	5,000	1,616		6,616
18	La Roche College, Allison Park	5,000	669		5,699
16	Lebanon Valley College, Annville	5,000			5,000
15	Lehigh County Community College, Allentown	5,000	1,507		6,507
15	Lehigh University, Bethlehem	5,000	11,357		16,357
9	Lincoln University, Lincoln University	5,000	1,278		6,278
23	Lock Haven State College, Lock Haven	5,000	2,632		7,632
11	Luzerne County Community College, Wilkes-Barre.	5,000	1,898		6,898
17	Lycoming College, Williamsport	5,000	1,926		6,926
13	Manor Junior College, Jenkintown	5,000	109		5,109
10	Mansfield State College, Mansfield	5,000	1,109		6,109
10	Marywood College, Scranton	5,000	3,032		8,032
24	Mercyhurst College, Erie	5,000	1,227		6,227
19	Messiah College, Grantham	5,000	1,128		6,128
16	Millersville State College, Millersville	5,000	7,348		12,348
13	Montgomery County Community College, Conshohocken.	5,000	2,344		7,344
2	Moore College of Art, Philadelphia	5,000	1,460		6,460
15	Moravian College, Bethlehem	5,000			5,000
22	Mount Aloysius Junior College, Cresson	4,161	611		4,772
14	Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh	5,000	488		5,488
15	Muhlenberg College, Allentown	5,000			5,000
At large	Northampton County Area Community College, Bethlehem.	5,000			5,000
13	Northeastern Christian Junior College, Villanova.	4,579	279		4,858
9	Our Lady of Angels College, Glen Riddle	5,000	250		5,250
23	Pennslyvania State University, University Park.	5,000	133,034		138,034
8	Allentown Center, Allentown	5,000			5,000
12	Altoona Campus, Altoona	5,000			5,000
25	Beaver Campus, Monaca	5,000			5,000
24	Behrend Campus, Erie	5,000			5,000
6	Berks Center, Wyoming	5,000			5,000
	PENNSYLVANIA—Continued				
17	Capitol Campus, Middletown	$5,000			$5,000
9	Delaware Campus, Chester	5,000			5,000
23	DuBois Campus, DuBois	5,000			5,000
26	Fayette Campus, Uniontown	5,000			5,000
11	Hazleton Campus, Hazleton	5,000			5,000
13	King of Prussia Graduate Center, King of Prussia.	5,000			5,000
20	McKeesport Campus, McKeesport	5,000			5,000
12	Mont Alto Campus, Mont Alto	5,000			5,000
21	New Kensington Campus, New Kensington.	5,000			5,000
13	Ogontz Campus, Abington	5,000			5,000
6	Schuylkill Campus, Schuylkill Haven	5,000			5,000
10	Scranton Center, Scranton	5,000			5,000
24	Shenango Valley Campus, Sharon	5,000			5,000
11	Wilkes-Barre Center, Wilkes-Barre	5,000			5,000
19	York Campus, York	5,000			5,000
3	Philadelphia College of Art, Philadelphia	5,000	$2,322		7,322
2	Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science, Philadelphia.	5,000	3,960		8,960
3	Philadelphia Musical Academy, Philadelphia	5,000	597		5,597
2	Pierce Junior College, Philadelphia	5,000	5,149		10,149
9	PMC College, Chester	5,000	4,392		9,392
14	Point Park College, Pittsburgh	5,000	6,890		11,890
14	Robert Morris Junior College, Pittsburgh	5,000	8,391		13,391
13	Rosemont College of the Holy Child Jesus, Rosemont.	5,000	911		5,911
22	St. Francis College, Loretto	5,000	3,615		8,615
1–5	St. Joseph's College in the City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.	5,000	9,882		14,882
21	St. Vincent College, Latrobe	5,000	452		5,452
39	Seton Hill College, Greensburg	5,000			5,000
19	Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg	5,000	7,643		12,643
25	Slippery Rock State College, Slippery Rock	5,000			5,000
3	Spring Garden Institute, Philadelphia	5,000			5,000
17	Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove	5,000	1,533		6,533
7	Swarthmore College, Swarthmore	5,000			5,000
4	Temple University, Philadelphia	5,000	61,646		66,646
13	Temple University, Ambler Campus, Ambler.	5,000			5,000
24	Thiel College, Greenville	5,000	2,257		7,257
1	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia	5,000	27,654		32,654
14	University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh	5,000	57,309		62,309
23	At Bradford, Bradford	5,000			5,000
21	At Greensburg, Greensburg	5,000			5,000
22	At Johnstown, Johnstown	5,000			5,000
24	At Titusville, Titusville	5,000			5,000
10	University of Scranton, Scranton	5,000	6,287		11,287
13	Ursinus College, Collegeville	5,000	2,762		7,762
7	Valley Forge Military Junior College, Wayne	5,000			5,000
24	Villa Maria College, Erie	5,000	1,134		6,134
7	Villanova University, Villanova	5,000	17,760		22,760
26	Washington and Jefferson College, Washington	5,000			5,000
26	Waynesburg College, Waynesburg	5,000	1,970		6,970
9	West Chester State College, West Chester	5,000	17,289		22,289
25	Westminster College, New Wilmington	5,000			5,000
11	Wilkes College, Wilkes-Barre	5,000	5,472		10,472
17	Williamsport Area Community College Williamsport.	5,000	5,678		10,678
12	Wilson College, Chambersburg	5,000			5,000
19	York Junior College, York	5,000	1,789		6,789
	RHODE ISLAND				
1	Barrington College, Barrington	$5,000	$1,155		$6,155
1	Brown University, Providence	5,000	6,441	$45,000	56,441
2	Mount St. Joseph College, Wakefield	1,675	197		1,872
1	Providence College, Providence	5,000	7,839		12,839
2	Rhode Island College, Providence	5,000	9,177		14,177
2	Rhode Island Junior College, Providence	5,000	4,504		9,504
1	Rhode Island School of Design, Providence	5,000			5,000
2	Roger Williams College, Providence	5,000	3,073		8,073
1	Salve Regina College, Newport	5,000			5,000
2	University of Rhode Island, Kingston	5,000	38,613	37,590	81,203
2	Extension Division, Providence	5,000			5,000
2	Graduate School of Oceanography, Saunderstown.	5,000			5,000
	SOUTH CAROLINA				
2	Allen University , Columbia	$5,000	$1,953		$6,953
3	Anderson College, Anderson	5,000			5,000
1	Baptist College at Charleston, Charleston	5,000	4,101		9,101
2	Benedict College, Columbia	5,000	2,491		7,491
1	Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester Technical Education Center, North Charleston.	5,000	2,975		7,975
3	Central Wesleyan College, Central	5,000	925		5,925
1	Citadel, Charleston	5,000			5,000
2	Claflin College, Orangeburg	5,000	2,030		7,030
3	Clemson University, Clemson	5,000	18,911		23,911
5	Clemson University at Sumter, Sumter	5,000			5,000
6	Coker College for Women, Hartsville	5,000	556		5,556
1	College of Charleston, Charleston	5,000	1,300	$9,000	15,300
2	Columbia College, Columbia	5,000	1,831	18,677	25,508
4	Converse College, Spartanburg	5,000	1,297		6,297
3	Erskine College, Due West	5,000	2,214		7,214
6	Florence-Darlington Technical Education Center, Florence.	5,000	2,083		7,083
5	Friendship Junior College, Rock Hill	2,500	811		3,311
4	Furman University, Greenville	5,000	3,952		8,952
4	Greenville Technical Education Center, Greenville.	5,000	3,382		8,382

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	SOUTH CAROLINA—Continued				
6	Horry-Marion-Georgetown Technical Education Center, Conway.	$5,000	$1,668		$6,668
3	Lander College, Greenwood	5,000			5,000
5	Limestone College, Gaffney	5,000	1,420		6,420
5	Morris College, Sumter	5,000	2,016		7,016
3	Newberry College, Newberry	5,000	1,853		6,853
4	North Greenville Junior College, Tigerville	5,000	413		5,413
2	Orangeburg-Calhoun Technical Education Center, Orangeburg.	5,000			5,000
1	Palmer College, Charleston	5,000	1,132		6,132
2	Palmer College-Columbia Division, Columbia.	5,000			5,000
3	Piedmont Technical Education Center, Greenwood.	5,000			5,000
4	Presbyterian College, Clinton	5,000	919		5,919
2	Richland Technical Education Center, Columbia.	5,000	2,997		7,997
2	South Carolina State College, Orangeburg	5,000	4,248		9,248
4	Spartanburg County Technical Education Center, Spartanburg.	5,000	1,619		6,619
4	Spartanburg Junior College, Spartanburg	5,000	2,070		7,070
6	Sumter Area Technical Education Center, Sumter.	5,000	1,977		6,977
3	Tri-County Technical Education Center, Pendleton.	5,000			5,000
2	University of South Carolina, Columbia	5,000	22,221		27,221
2	Aiken County Regional Campus, Aiken	5,000			5,000
1	Beaufort Regional Campus, Beaufort	5,000			5,000
6	Coastal Carolina Regional Campus, Conway.	5,000			5,000
6	Florence Regional Campus, Florence	5,000			5,000
5	Lancaster Regional Campus, Lancaster	5,000			5,000
1	Salkehatchie Regional Campus, Allendale	5,000			5,000
4	Spartanburg Regional Campus, Spartanburg.	5,000			5,000
5	Union Regional Campus, Union	5,000			5,000
2	Voorhees College, Denmark	5,000	1,664		6,664
5	Winthrop College, Rock Hill	5,000	6,791		11,791
4	Wofford College, Spartanburg	5,000	2,180		7,180
5	York County Technical Education Center, Rock Hill.	5,000			5,000
	SOUTH DAKOTA				
1	Augustana College, Sioux Falls	$5,000	$820		$5,820
2	Black Hills State College, Spearfish	5,000	5,702		10,702
2	Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell	2,500	1,288		3,788
1	General Beadle State College, Madison	5,000	1,912		6,912
1	Huron College, Huron	5,000	987		5,987
1	Mount Marty College, Yankton	5,000	778		5,778
1	Northern State College, Aberdeen	5,000			5,000
1	Presentation College, Aberdeen	5,000	426		5,426
1	Sioux Falls College, Sioux Falls	1,795	1,448		3,243
2	South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, Rapid City.	5,000	5,142		10,142
1	South Dakota State University, Brookings	5,000	20,497		25,497
1	Southern State College, Springfield	5,000	2,340		7,340
1	University of South Dakota, Vermillion	5,000	18,778		23,778
1	Yankton College, Yankton	5,000	1,627		6,627
	TENNESSEE				
6	Austin Peay State University, Clarksville	$5,000	$9,022		$14,022
7	Bethel College, McKenzie	5,000	1,977		6,977
3	Chattanooga City College, Chattanooga	5,000	358		5,358
3	Chattanooga State Technical Institute, Chattanooga.	5,000	1,846		6,846
9	Christian Brothers College, Memphis	5,000	2,847		7,847
3	Cleveland State Community College, Cleveland.	5,000	1,459		6,459
6	Columbia State Community College, Columbia	5,000	2,985		7,985
4	Cumberland College of Tennessee, Lebanon	5,000	615		5,615
5	David Lipscomb College, Nashville	5,000	3,593		8,593
1	East Tennessee State University, Johnson City	5,000	19,514		24,514
5	Fisk University, Nashville	5,000	2,594		7,594
7	Freed-Hardeman College, Henderson	5,000	1,223		6,223
5	George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville.	5,000	4,714	$90,000	99,714
3	Hiwassee College, Madisonville	5,000	272		5,272
7	Jackson State Community College, Jackson	5,000	1,322		6,322
1	King College, Bristol	5,000	410		5,410
2	Knoxville College, Knoxville	5,000	1,651		6,651
7	Lambuth College, Jackson	5,000	2,221		7,221
9	Lane College, Jackson	5,000	1,812		6,812
3	Lee College, Cleveland	5,000	2,810		7,810
9	LeMoyne College, Memphis	5,000	1,862		6,862
2	Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate	5,000	1,167		6,167
2	Maryville College, Maryville	5,000	1,085		6,085
9	Memphis State University, Memphis	5,000	39,000	100,000	144,000
6	Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro.	5,000	10,197		15,197
1	Milligan College, Milligan	5,000	1,495		6,495
1	Morristown College, Morristown	5,000	248		5,248
9	Siena College, Memphis	5,000	380		5,380
3	Southern Missionary College, Collegedale	5,000	1,975		6,975
9	Southwestern at Memphis, Memphis	5,000			5,000
9	State Technical Institute at Memphis, Memphis.	5,000			5,000
4	Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville.	5,000	4,669		9,669
3	Tennessee Wesleyan College, Athens	5,000	1,358		6,358
5	Trevecca Nazarene College, Nashville	5,000	1,577		6,577
	TENNESSEE—Continued				
1	Tusculum College, Greenville	$5,000	$1,055		$6,055
3	University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga	5,000	3,747		8,747
6	University of the South, Sewanee	5,000			5,000
2	University of Tennessee, Knoxville	5,000			5,000
8	University of Tennessee at Martin, Martin.	5,000			5,000
9	University of Tennessee Downtown Memphis Center, Memphis.	5,000			5,000
5	University of Tennessee, Nashville Center, Nashville.	5,000			5,000
4	University of Tennessee Space Institute, Tullahoma	5,000			5,000
5	Vanderbilt University, Nashville	5,000	19,481	$100,000	124,481
3	William Jennings Bryan College, Dayton	5,000	274		5,274
	TEXAS				
17	Abilene Christian College, Abilene	$5,000	$3,808		$8,808
9	Alvin Junior College, Alvin	5,000	1,858		6,858
18	Amarillo Junior College, Amarillo	5,000	1,574		6,574
21	Angelo State College, San Angelo	5,000	9,062		14,062
4	Austin College, Sherman	5,000			5,000
23	Bee County College, Beeville	5,000	1,452		6,452
5	Bishop College, Dallas	5,000	2,655		7,655
10	Blinn College, Brinham	5,000	2,454		7,454
11	Central Texas College, Killeen	5,000	2,377		7,377
5	Christian College of the Southwest, Dallas	5,000			5,000
17	Cisco Junior College, Cisco	2,500	1,511		4,011
9	College of the Mainland, Texas City	5,000	589		5,589
13	Cooke County Junior College, Gainesville	5,000	3,107		8,107
14	Del Mar College, Corpus Christi	5,000			5,000
5	El Centro College, Dallas	5,000	10,892		15,892
4	East Texas State University, Commerce	5,000	19,304		24,304
12	Fort Worth Christian College, Fort Worth	5,000	451		5,451
18	Frank Phillips College, Borger	5,000			5,000
9	Galveston Community College, Galveston	5,000	1,299		6,299
17	Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene	5,000	643		5,643
12	Henderson County Junior College, Athens	5,000	2,762		7,762
7	Houston Baptist College, Houston	5,000	2,069		7,069
17	Howard Payne College, Brownwood	5,000	2,460		7,460
10	Houston-Tillotson College, Austin	5,000			5,000
20	Incarnate Word College, San Antonio	5,000			5,000
1	Jarvis Christian College, Hawkins	5,000	817		5,817
4	Kilgore College, Kilgore	5,000	4,054		9,054
9	Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont	5,000	26,259		31,259
23	Laredo Municipal Junior College, Laredo	5,000			5,000
4	LeTourneau College, Longview	5,000	1,150	$20,244	26,394
8	Lee College, Baytown	5,000	1,999		6,999
1	Lon Morris College, Jacksonville	1,500			1,500
14	Lubbock Christian College, Lubbock	5,000			5,000
2	Mary Allen College, Crockett	407			407
11	Mary Hardin-Baylor College, Belton	5,000			5,000
11	McLennan Community College, Waco	5,000	3,884		8,884
17	McMurray College, Abilene	5,000	2,258		7,258
13	Midwestern University, Wichita Falls	5,000	10,666		15,666
6	Navarro Junior College, Corsicana	4,500	1,364		5,864
13	North Texas State University, Denton	5,000	39,751	97,080	141,831
21	Odessa Junior College, Odessa	5,000	3,717		8,717
20	Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio	5,000	1,893	4,538	11,431
15	Pan American College, Edinburg	5,000	8,788		13,788
1	Panola College, Carthage	5,000	1,152		6,152
1	Parish Junior College, Paris	5,000	1,067		6,067
11	Paul Quinn College, Waco	5,000	1,225		6,225
9	Prairie View A and M College, Prairie View	5,000	6,272		11,272
17	Ranger Junior College, Ranger	5,000	1,208		6,028
22	Rice University, Houston	5,000	6,095		11,095
10	St. Edwards University, Austin	5,000	2,007	2,000	9,007
21	St. Mary's University, San Antonio	5,000		11,345	16,345
20	St. Philips College, San Antonio	5,000	1,437		6,437
2	Sam Houston State College, Huntsville	5,000	20,334	65,000	90,334
20	San Antonio College, San Antonio	5,000	15,856	11,345	32,201
22	San Jacinto College, Pasadena	5,000	6,002		11,002
19	South Plains Junior College, Levelland	5,000			5,000
8	South Texas Junior College, Houston	5,000	6,126		11,126
5	Southern Methodist University, Dallas	5,000	7,689	29,080	41,769
21	Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde	5,000			5,000
10	Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos	5,000	18,646	75,630	99,276
4	Southwestern Christian College, Terrell	5,000			5,000
10	Southwestern University, Georgetown	5,000	1,090		6,090
2	Stephen F. Austin State College, Nacogdoches	5,000	23,833		28,833
16	Sul Ross State College, Alpine	5,000	1,564		6,564
11	Temple Junior College, Temple	5,000	2,846		7,846
17	Tarleton State College, Tarleton	5,000	5,794		10,794
6	Tarrant County Junior College, Fort Worth	5,000	8,028		13,028
1	Texarkana College, Texarkana	5,000	2,680		7,680
6	Texas A and M University, College Station	5,000	37,964		42,964
6	Texas Christian University, Fort Worth	5,000	6,380	29,080	40,910
4	Texas College, Tyler	5,000	852		5,852
15	Texas College of Arts and Industry, Kingsville	5,000	13,673		18,673
15	Citrus and Vegetable Training Center	4,428			4,428
14	Texas Lutheran College, Seguin	5,000		9,075	14,075
8	Texas Southern University, Houston	5,000	6,688		11,688
15	Texas Southmost College, Brownsville	5,000			5,000
12	Texas Wesleyan College, Fort Worth	5,000	3,079		8,079
13	Texas Woman's University, Denton	5,000	14,441	14,760	34,201
20	Trinity University, San Antonio	5,000	2,796	68,067	75,836
14	University of Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi	5,000			5,000
3	University of Dallas, Dallas	5,000	2,529		7,529
22	University of Houston, Houston	5,000	38,077		43,077
7	University of St. Thomas, Houston	5,000	2,677		7,677
12	University of Texas, Arlington	5,000	37,140	100,000	142,140
10	University of Texas, Austin	5,000			5,000
12	University of Texas, El Paso	5,000	12,876		17,876

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	TEXAS—Continued				
11	Weatherford College, Weatherford	$5,000	$1,038		$6,038
18	West Texas State University, Canyon	5,000			5,000
10	Wharton County Junior College, Wharton County.	1,600	3,333		4,933
1	Wiley College, Marshall	5,000			5,000
	UTAH				
1	College of Eastern Utah, Price	$5,000	$1,422		$6,422
1	College of Southern Utah, Cedar City	5,000	5,748		10,748
1	Dixie Junior College, St. George	5,000	2,050		7,050
1	Snow College, Ephraim	5,000	1,974		6,974
2	University of Utah, Salt Lake City	5,000	39,982		44,982
1	Utah State University, Logan	5,000	13,619		18,619
1	Weber State College, Ogden	5,000	25,388		30,388
2	Westminster College, Salt Lake City	5,000	1,998		6,998
	VERMONT				
At large	Bennington College, Bennington	$5,000			$5,000
Do	Castleton State College, Castleton	5,000	$3,228		8,228
Do	Champlain College, Burlington	5,000			5,000
Do	College of St. Joseph the Provider, Rutland	1,600	304		1,904
Do	Goddard College, Plainfield	5,000	1,562		6,562
Do	Green Mountain College, Poultney	5,000			5,000
Do	Johnson State College, Johnson	5,000	1,672		6,672
Do	Lyndon State College, Lyndonville	5,000	1,816		6,816
Do	Marlboro College, Marlboro	5,000	465		5,465
Do	Middlebury College, Middlebury	5,000			5,000
Do	Norwich University, Northfield	5,000	2,243		7,243
Do	St. Michael's College, Winooski	5,000	2,052		7,052
Do	Trinity College, Burlington	5,000			5,000
Do	University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, Burlington.	5,000	18,248	$62,633	85,881
Do	Vermont College, Montpelier	5,000			5,000
Do	Vermont Technical College, Randolph Center	5,000	1,144		6,144
Do	Windham College, Putney	5,000	2,248		7,248
	VIRGINIA				
5	Averett College, Danville	$5,000	$1,170		$6,1 7
7	Blue Ridge Community College, Weyers Cave	5,000	1,840		6,8 4
7	Bridgewater College, Bridgewater	5,000	1,535		6,5 3
6	Central Virginia Community College, Lynchburg.	5,000	699		5,6 9
1	College of William and Mary in Virginia, Williamsburg.	5,000	12,715		17,715
4	Richard Bland College, Petersburg	5,000			5,000
6	Dabney S. Lancaster Community College, Clifton Forge.	5,000	789		5,789
7	Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	5,000	2,481		7,481
9	Emory and Henry College, Emory	5,000	1,521		6,521
5	Ferrum Junior College, Ferrum	5,000	845		5,845
4	Hampden-Sydney College, Hampden-Sydney	5,000			5,000
1	Hampton Institute, Hampton	5,000	6,272		11,272
6	Hollins College, Hollins College	5,000	871		5,871
3	John Tyler Community College, Chester	5,000	2,926		7,926
4	Longwood College, Farmville	5,000	2,281		7,281
6	Lynchburg College, Lynchburg	5,000	4,763		9,763
7	Madison College, Harrisonburg	5,000			5,000
7	Mary Baldwin College, Staunton	5,000	874		5,874
8	Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Fredericksburg.	5,000			5,000
10	Marymount College of Virginia, Arlington	5,000			5,000
10	Northern Virginia Community College, Bailey's Crossroads.	5,000	7,934		12,934
2	Old Dominion College, Norfolk	5,000	21,998		26,998
8	Randolph-Macon College, Ashland	5,000			5,000
6	Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg	5,000	774		5,774
3	Richmond Professional Institute, Richmond	5,000	23,207		28,207
6	Roanoke College, Salem	5,000			5,000
5	St. Paul's College, Lawrenceville	5,000	1,309		6,309
7	Shenandoah College, Incorporated, Winchester	5,000	1,125		6,125
9	Sullins College Corporation, Bristol	2,500			2,500
6	Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar	5,000	1,274		6,274
3	University of Richmond, Richmond	5,000			5,000
7	University of Virginia, Charlottesville	5,000	27,169	$40,000	72,169
9	Clinch Valley College, Wise	5,000			5,000
1	Eastern Shore Branch, Wallops Island	5,000			5,000
8	George Mason College, Fairfax	5,000			5,000
5	Patrick Henry Branch, Martinsville	5,000			5,000
9	Virginia Intermont College, Bristol	5,000	1,225		6,225
7	Virginia Military Institute, Lexington	5,000			5,000
6	Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg	5,000	33,337		38,337
3	Virginia State College, Petersburg	5,000			5,000
3	Virginia Union University, Richmond	5,000	3,657		8,657
2	Virginia Wesleyan College, Norfolk	5,000	377		5,377
6	Virginia Western Community College, Roanoke	5,000	6,330		11,330
7	Washington and Lee University, Lexington	5,000	3,192		8,192
9	Wytherville Community College, Wytheville	5,000	1,080		6,080
	WASHINGTON				
7	Bellevue Community College, Bellevue	$5,000	$1,484		$6,484
4	Big Bend Community College, Moses Lake	5,000	2,143		7,143
4	Central Washington State College, Ellensburg	5,000	12,325		17.325
3	Centralia College, Centralia	5,000			5,000
3	Clark College, Vancouver	5,000			5,000
6	Clover Park Community College, Tacoma	5,000	2,077		7,077
4	Columbia Basin College, Pasco	5,000			5,000
5	Eastern Washington State College, Cheney	5,000	7,899		12,899
2	Edmonds Community College, Edmonds	5,000	1,275		6,275
2	Everett Junior College, Everett	5,000	10,354		15,354
5	Fort Wright College of the Holy Names, Spokane.	5,000			5,000
5	Gonzaga University, Spokane	5,000	5,028		10,028
7	Green River Community College	5,000	9,740		14,740
7	Highline College, Midway	5,000	8,729		13,729
7	Northwest College of the Assemblies of God, Kirkland.	5,000	1,788		6,788
6	Olympic College, Bremerton	5,000	5,433		10,433
6	Pacific Lutheran University, Parkland	5,000	4,045		9,045
2	Peninsula College, Port Angeles	5,000	2,362		7,362
3	St. Martin's College, Olympia	5,000	520		5,520
7	Seattle Community College, Seattle	5,000	29,611		34,611
1	Seattle Pacific College, Seattle	5,000	2,284		7,284
7	Seattle University, Seattle	5,000	5,624		10,624
7	Shoreline Community College, Seattle	5,000	6,024		11,024
2	Skagit Valley College, Mount Vernon	5,000	1,962		6,962
5	Spokane Community College, Spokane	5,000	4,993		9,993
6	Fort Wright Campus, Spokane	5,000			5,000
6	Tacoma Community College, Tacoma	5,000			5,000
7	University of Washington, Seattle	5,000	57,164		62,164
4	Walla Walla Community College, Walla Walla	5,000	1,268		6,268
4	Washington State University, Pullman	5,000			5,000
5	Wenatchee Valley College, Wenatchee	5,000	3,260		8,260
2	Western Washington State College, Bellingham	5,000	16,527		21,527
4	Whitman College, Walla Walla	5 000			5,000
5	Whitworth College, Spokane	5,000	1,713		6,713
	WEST VIRGINIA				
2	Alderson-Broaddus College, Philippi	$5,000	$2,579		$7,579
1	Bethany College, Bethany	5,000	1,891		6,891
5	Bluefield State College, Bluefield	5,000	3,981		8,981
5	Concord College, Athens	5,000	2,944		7,944
2	Davis and Elkins College, Elkins	5,000	1,362		6,362
1	Fairmont State College, Fairmont	5,000	7,024		12,024
1	Glenville State College, Glenville	5,000	3,941		8,941
4	Marshall University, Huntington	5,000			5,000
4	Logan Branch, Logan	3,297			3,297
5	Williamson Branch, Williamson	1,677			1,677
3	Morris Harvey College, Charleston	5,000	6,999		11,999
1	Salem College, Salem	5,000	4,898		9,898
2	Shepherd College, Shepherdstown	5,000	2,426		7,426
1	West Liberty State College, West Liberty	5,000	10,438		15,438
1	Hancock County Branch, Weirton	5,000			5,000
5	West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery.	5,000	6,778		11,778
3	West Virginia State College, Institute	5,000	4,253		9,253
2	West Virginia University, Morgantown	5,000	26,521		31,521
14	Kanawa Valley Graduate Center, Nitro	5,000			5,000
4	Parkersburg Center, Parkersburg	5,000			5,000
2	West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon	5,000	2,169		7,169
1	Wheeling College, Wheeling	5,000	1,761		6,761
	WISCONSIN				
4	Alverno College, Milwaukee	$5,000			$5,000
1	Beloit College, Beloit	5,000	$2,024		7,024
9	Cardinal Stritch College, Milwaukee	3,000	1,395		4,395
9	Carroll College, Waukesha	5,000	1,914		6,914
1	Carthage College, Kenosha	5,000	1,690		6,690
1	Dominican College, Racine	5,000			5,000
2	Edgewood College, Madison	5,000			5,000
6	Holy Family College, Manitowoc	2,500	762		3,262
1	Kenosha Technical Institute, Kenosha	5,000	2,611		7,611
6	Lakeland College, Sheboygan	5,000	1,777		6,777
8	Lawrence University of Wisconsin, Appleton	5,000	2,376		7,376
4	Layton School of Art, Milwaukee	5,000	923		5,923
2	Madison Area Technical College, Madison	5,000	4,333		9,333
6	Marian College of Fond Du Lac, Fond Du Lac	5,000			5,000
5	Marquette University, Milwaukee	5,000	24,432		29,432
1	Milton College, Milton	5,000	835		5,835
5	Milwaukee School of Engineering, Milwaukee	5,000	5,218		10,218
5	Milwaukee Technical College, Milwaukee	5,000			5,000
9	Mount Mary College, Milwaukee	5,000	1,157		6,157
9	Mount St. Paul College, Waukesha	5,000	518		5,518
10	Mount Senario College, Ladysmith	4,600	573		5,173
7	North Central Technical Institute, Wausau	5,000	3,039		8,039
10	Northland College, Ashland	5,000			5,000
10	Polk County Teachers College, Frederick	1,500			1,500
8	Ripon College, Ripon	5,000	2,156		7,156
8	St. Norbert College, West Depere	5,000	2,035		7,035
3	Sauk County Teachers College, Reedsburg	494			494
9	Stout State University, Menomonie	5,000	10,350		15,350
9	Barron County Campus, Rice Lake	5,000			5,000

COLLEGE LIBRARY RESOURCES PROGRAM—INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS APPROVED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

Congressional district	Name and location of institution	Basic	Supplemental	Special purpose	Total
	WISCONSIN—Continued				
2	University of Wisconsin Center System, Madison.		$7,290		$7,290
8	Fox Valley Center Campus, Menasha	$5,000			5,000
8	Green Bay Center Campus, Green Bay	5,000			5,000
1	Kenosha Center Campus, Kenosha	5,000			5,000
8	Manitowoc County Center Campus, Manitowoc.	5,000			5,000
7	Marathon County Center Campus, Wausua	5,000			5,000
8	Marinette County Center Campus, Marinette.	5,000			5,000
7	Marshfield-Wood County Center Campus, Marshfield.	5,000			5,000
1	Racine Center Campus, Racine	5,000			5,000
6	Sheboygan County Center, Sheboygan	5,000			5,000
2	University of Wisconsin—Madison	5,000	95,233		100,233
5	University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee	5,000	26,613		31,613
3	Viterbo College, La Crosse	4,000	817		4,817
5	Wisconsin Conservatory of Music, Milwaukee	5,000			5,000
10	Wisconsin State University—Eau Claire	5,000	18,074		23,074
3	Wisconsin State University—La Crosse	5,000	4,104		9,104
6	Wisconsin State University—Oshkosh	5,000	22,482		27,482
3	Wisconsin State University—Platteville	5,000	10,097		15,097
3	Richland Campus, Richland Center	5,000			5,000
3	Wisconsin State University—River Falls	5,000	7,545		12,545
7	Wisconsin State University—Stevens Point	5,000	12,202		17,202
10	Wisconsin State University—Superior	5,000	5,307		10,307
1	Wisconsin State University—Whitewater	5,000	17,541		22,541
	WYOMING				
At large	Casper College, Casper	$5,000	$5,028		$10,028
Do	Goshen County Community College, Torrington.	5,000	662		5,662
Do	Northwest Community College, Powell	5,000	386		5,386
Do	Sheridan College, Sheridan	5,000	738		5,738
Do	University of Wyoming, Laramie	5,000	14,286		19,286
Do	Western Wyoming Community College, Reliance.	5,000	467		5,467
	GUAM				
	College of Guam, Agana	$5,000	$2,031		$7,031
	PUERTO RICO				
	Catholic University of Puerto Rico, Ponce	$5,000	$17,967		$22,967
	Arecibo Campus, Arecibo	5,000			5,000
	Bayamon Campus, Bayamon	5,000			5,000
	Caquas Campus, Caquas	3,000			3,000
	Guayama Campus, Guayama	5,000			5,000
	Mayaguez Campus, Mayaguez	3,678			3,678
	College of the Sacred Heart, Santurce	5,000	1,100		6,100
	Inter American University of Puerto Rico, San German.	5,000	8,241		13,241
	Aguadilla Regional College, Aguadilla	5,000			5,000
	Arecibo Regional College, Arecibo	5,000			5,000
	Barranquitas Regional College, Barranquitas.	5,000			5,000
	Bayamon Regional College, Bayamon	5,000			5,000
	Ponce Regional College, Ponce	5,000			5,000
	San Juan Campus, Hato Rey	5,000			5,000
	Puerto Rico Junior College, Rio Piedras	5,000	9,292		14,292
	Caquas Gurabo Campus, Mano Manca State.	5,000			5,000
	University of Puerto Rico, San Juan		61,975		61,975
	Arecibo Regional College, Arecibo	5,000			5,000
	Cayey Regional College, Cayey	5,000			5,000
	Humacao Regional College, Humacao	5,000			5,000
	Mayaguez Campus, Mayaguez	5,000			5,000
	Rio Piedras Campus, Rio Piedras	5,000			5,000
	World Universities, Hato Rey	4,258	2,940		7,198
	VIRGIN ISLANDS				
	College of the Virgin Islands, St. Thomas	$5,000	$1,577		$6,577

COMBINATIONS OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Congressional district	Name of combination	Special purpose, type C
	Associated Colleges of the Midwest, 60 West Walton St., Chicago, Ill	$404,914
	On behalf of the following institutions:	
1	Beloit College, Wisconsin	42,000
1	Carleton College, Minnesota	35,000
2	Cornell College, Iowa	69,824
4	Grinnell College, Iowa	9,429
19	Knox College, Illinois	41,832
8	Lawrence University, Wisconsin	66,771
19	Monmouth College, Illinois	40,275
8	Ripon College, Wisconsin	13,509
1	St. Olaf College, Minnesota	86,274
	The Center for Research Libraries, 5721 Cottage Grove Ave., Chicago, Illinois	306,003
	On behalf of the following institutions:	
8	Harvard University, Massachusetts	29,673
1	Illinois Institute of Technology	4,164
5	Iowa State University of Science and Technology	8,796
9	Loyola University, Illinois	7,299
6	Michigan State University	16,893
4	Princeton University, New Jersey	16,158
3	St. Louis University, Missouri	7,656
21	Southern Illinois University	20,553
1	State University of Iowa	15,432
	On behalf of the following institutions:	
28	University of California at Los Angeles	$29,673
2	University of Chicago, Illinois	19,020
22	University of Illinois	28,020
6	University of Kentucky	12,543
5	University of Minnesota	20,499
8	University of Missouri	17,457
1	University of Nebraska	10,623
2	University of Wisconsin	27,705
13	Wayne State University, Michigan	13,839
	Greater New Orleans Microform Cooperative (Tulane University designated as agent), 6823 St. Charles Ave., New Orleans, La	50,000
	On behalf of the following institutions:	
1	Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College at New Orleans	19,324
2	Loyola University in New Orleans	11,352
2	Tulane University of Louisiana	19,324
	Hampshire Inter-Library Center, Inc., in care of University of Massachusetts Library, Amherst, Mass	50,000
	On behalf of the following institutions:	
1	Amherst College, Massachusetts	12,500
2	Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts	12,500
1	Smith College, Massachusetts	12,500
1	University of Massachusetts	12,500

EARL SANDE PASSES AWAY

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I regret to report that on August 20, Earl Sande, one of horseracing's best known jockeys, died at the age of 69, in Salem, Oreg., where he had been a resident for the past 4 years.

Mr. Sande was born in Groton, S. Dak., and started his career as a bronco buster and quarter horse racer in Idaho. He rode his first thoroughbred winner in 1918 at the age of 20, and eventually rode 967 winning horses. His mounts included three firsts and two seconds in the Kentucky Derby, and Man O'War in the 1920 Miller Stakes at Saratoga, N.Y.

His brilliant riding prompted famed writer Damon Runyon to write a poem in 1923 entitled "There Never Was a Guy So Handy, as Sande." He thus typified and contributed to one of the golden ages of racing.

Those who follow the sport in the Northwest and throughout the country will be saddened by his passing.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Golden Era Rider Sande Is Buried," published in the Washington Post on August 21, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 21, 1968]

GOLDEN ERA RIDER SANDE IS BURIED

SALEM, OREG., August 20.—Earl Sande, among thoroughbred racing's top jockeys during the Golden Era of sport, was buried here today after dying Sunday at the end of a lingering illness.

Ranked among sports superstars of the 1920s and early 1930s along with Babe Ruth, Bill Tilden and Jack Dempsey, Sande succumbed in a nursing home at Jacksonville in southern Oregon. He was 69 years old.

Mr. Sande, who started as a bronco buster and quarter-horse jockey in Idaho, rode three Kentucky Derby winners—Zev in 1923, Flying Ebony in 1925 and Gallant Fox in 1930.

Two among his other mounts placed second in the Louisville classic—Billy Kelly in 1919 and Osmond in 1927. And he rode Man O'War to victory in the 1920 Miller Stakes at Saratoga, N.Y.

Mr. Sande's brilliant riding prompted Damon Runyon, the famed columnist and novelist, to write a poem in 1923 titled, "There Was Never A Guy So Handy As Sande."

The jockey was referred to after that as "The Handy Guy Named Sande."

He was born in Groton, S.D., Nov. 13, 1898, rode his first winner, Prince S., in 1918 and eventually won 967 races and purses totaling over $2.9 million. In 1923, he won 39 stakes races.

"Man O'War was the greatest horse I ever rode," he said recently while reminiscing. "I only rode him that one time in the Miller Stakes, but we won by five or six lengths and he never extended himself.

"Gallant Fox, too, was a great horse, but entirely different from Man O'War. You couldn't let him get too far in front or he would try to loaf. But he was a mighty tough horse to beat once another looked him in the eye."

Mr. Sande, in ill health, came to Oregon about four years ago.

Mr. Sande retired as a jockey in 1930. He made several comebacks, though, the last in 1953 at 55 years of age when he rode in ten races and won one.

THE FINANCING OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President as the struggle to accomplish national goals through the efficient allocation of budget funds becomes more acute within the next several years, the fiscal crisis in higher education will be high on the list of important issues demanding congressional attention. Although the impact that higher education has on the national populace may be difficult to pinpoint, that it is a major factor contributing to both the enrichment of national life and the economic development of the Nation is undeniable. Today, however, rapidly rising costs are endangering the ability of our colleges and universities to continue to provide the benefits of higher education to as many Americans as it does now and to still maintain the quality of higher education.

At present the Nation allocates $15 billion, or 2 percent, of the gross national product for the support of higher education. College administrators together with economists warn that in the next 10 years the Nation must increase its support of higher education to nearly $30 billion or 3 percent of GNP if we are to maintain autonomous, diverse, and quality higher education. Because of the limited tax bases of State and local governments and the constrained budgets of private institutions, severe pressures will be placed on the Federal Government for financial aid.

The Higher Education Amendments of 1968—H.R. 15067—are a significant step in the increased participation by the Government in the financing of higher education. However, we must realize that these amendments are not a complete solution. The scope of the financial problem facing our institutions of higher education requires not only increased productive additions to existing programs but creative possibilities for new approaches.

The proper method for undertaking this necessary reallocation of resources and its resultant impact on the economy as a whole are questions that are imperfectly understood at this moment though they are becoming the crux of an increasing number of studies currently in progress. With the objective of increasing our understanding of the economic issues involved, I intend to propose to my colleagues on the Joint Economic Committee a committee study of the fiscal crisis in higher education and the possible approaches of the Federal Government in assisting this sector. With regard to the disturbing prospects for higher education. I ask unanimous consent that a news article published in a recent issue of the New York Times be printed in the Record. The article reports the main observations of a study by the U.S. Office of Education entitled "Projections of Educational Statistics to 1976–77."

In addition, I ask unanimous consent that a statement of the Carnegie Commission, entitled "Federal Aid to Higher Education: An Essential Investment in the Future" be included in the Record. The statement is based on earlier findings of the commission and besides pointing up the crisis in higher education, suggests some possible approaches Congress should consider in this area.

Mr. President, I cannot overemphasize the need for detailed studies followed by rational proposals for the improved funding of higher education. With expenditures per student from the fifties to the seventies expected to triple in certain sectors of higher education, colleges and universities and State and local governments may not be able to expand their efforts sufficiently to stem an unavoidable tide of deteriorating quality. The Nation must seek to provide individual Americans with the maximum opportunities for realization of their potential. We should realize that higher education is an important investment in the future.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, July 25, 1968]

Education Costs Expected To Soar—Rise of 50 Percent Within Decade Predicted by U.S. Office

Washington.—The nation's annual investment in its schools is expected to increase by nearly 50 per cent during the next decade, the United States Office of Education reports.

In its annual projection of school data, the office estimates that expenditures will be more than $70-billion by the school year ending June, 1977, compared with $48.5-billion in 1966–67.

"This projection is based on the assumption that enrollment will continue to increase in high schools and colleges and that the expenditures per student will continue to rise at all levels of education at approximately the same rate as in the past 10 years," Harold Howe 2d, United States Commissioner of Education, explained.

Sixty-two million Americans are expected to be in school in 1976–77, compared with fewer than 56 million last year, he said. The projected total includes 35.4 million grade school students, 16.7 million in high schools, 9.4 million degree-seeking college and university students and 700,000 undergraduates in vocational or general studies programs not creditable toward a degree.

INCREASES ANALYZED

Expenditures for elementary and secondary schools will increase from $31.9-billion in 1966–67 to $42.4-billion 10 years later, the education agency estimates. During the same period, college and university spending is expected to climb from $16.6-billion to $27.8-billion.

Mr. Howe said that the projections indicated a significant shift in the allocation of public school funds over the next decade.

"By 1976–77, about 64 cents of every public school dollar will go for instructional purposes—salaries of teachers, supervisors, other instructional staff and supporting personnel, as well as purchases of textbooks, library books, audio-visual materials and similar items," he said. At present about 55 cents is allotted for this purpose.

"The anticipated shift will result mainly from larger teaching staffs, greater use of subprofessionals such as teacher aides, increased costs of educational materials, and salary hikes," the commissioner asserted. The average annual salary of instructional staff is expected to be $9,000 in 1976–77, up almost 27 per cent from $7,100 last year.

In contrast, the Office of Education expects a decrease in the proportion of spending for capital outlay (land, buildings, and equipment) by 1976–77, from about 13 cents of every public school dollar to 10 cents. This will stem from a lower rate of enrollment increases in grade and high schools during the coming decade and a leveling off in demand for new school facilities.

However, expenditures for interest on public school debt are likely to rise from 3 cents of every dollar to 4 cents in 1976–77, the projections show. Interest payments often continue 20 years or more after construction, resulting in debt accumulating faster than it is being eliminated.

At the college and university level, spending to educate each student is expected to advance sharply as a result of rising enrollments and increasing costs for each student.

Of the total $27.8-billion expenditure, predicted for 1976–77, about $14.2-billion will go for student education—instruction, administration, libraries and other activities directly related to education—as opposed to enterprises such as organized research, housing and food services. The figure last year was $7.7-billion.

The spending on each student is expected to climb almost 19 per cent from $1,518 last year to $1,805 in 1976–77. At private institutions the projection is higher $1,782 and $2,450.

The report, "Projections of Educational Statistics to 1976–77" (OE–10030–67), is available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at $1 each.

Federal Aid to Higher Education: An Essential Investment in the Nation's Future

(A statement by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, July 1968)

In early 1967 the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching established a Commission on Higher Education to examine and recommend upon the many vital issues facing higher education in the United States as we approach the year 2000. The Commission has initiated a number of longer-range research projects and has held a series of meetings to consider topics of more immediate consequence. One that has quickly emerged as urgent is the financing of higher education. It is now clear that new and substantial levels of federal aid are essential if higher education is to continue to expand its vital services to the nation. The Commission is preparing a detailed proposal on federal aid which will be available prior to the next session of Congress. Meantime, because of the urgency of the subject and our wish to stimulate the widest possible consideration and discussion, the Commission is issuing this brief general statement on federal aid to higher education.

Ralph M. Besse, President, The Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.

Joseph P. Cosand, President, The Junior College District of St. Louis.

William Friday, President, University of North Carolina.

David D. Henry, President, University of Illinois.

Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., President, University of Notre Dame.

Carl Kaysen, Director, Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

Roy E. Larsen, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Time, Inc.

Katherine E. McBride, President, Bryn Mawr University.

James A. Perkins, President, Cornell University.

Clifton W. Phalen, Chairman of the Executive Committee, New York Telephone Company.

Nathan M. Pusey, President, Harvard University.

David Riesman, Professor of Social Sciences, Harvard University.

The Honorable William W. Scranton.

Norton Simon, Hunt Food and Industries, Inc.

Clark Kerr, Chairman.

The history of American higher education is one of steady, rapid and accelerating growth, in both magnitude and quality. Two great social forces underlie this remarkable growth:

The aspirations of individual citizens for maximum realization of their potential abilities, and

The widespread recognition that higher education is imperative to the economic, social, cultural, and scientific progress of the nation.

Today these two forces are propelling higher education through the period of its greatest growth in our national history.

Student enrollment has soared from 3 million in 1956 to 6 million in 1967. Estimates indicate it will reach 9 million in 1975.

Higher education has almost always received some federal assistance, but the chief financing burden has been borne by state and local governments and private donors. It is a striking testimonial to their faith in higher education that they have financed the enormous expansion to date, and that they are girding to do still more in the future. But it is unmistakably evident that a much greater federal investment is now essential if the growth of higher education is not to be curbed at the very time when the need is so crucial for our best intellectual efforts, skills, and ideas.

THE HISTORIC ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

From the beginnings of the Republic, education at various levels has played a vital role in the building of a strong democratic society—

Responding to the aspirations of the people for a constantly better life

Providing an informed electorate as the basis for our democratic institutions

Bringing new waves of citizens into the mainstream of American life

Expressing the religious concerns of the several faiths

Raising the skill attainments of the labor force to ever higher levels

Building the nation's cultural and scientific talent to levels of worldwide distinction.

At earlier stages in the nation's development, these functions were chiefly the responsibility of the primary and secondary institutions. Now, as education through high school has become almost universal, as knowledge has exploded, as the professional and intellectual demands of modern society have become ever more complex and exacting, the responsibility has shifted increasingly to America's colleges and universities.

THE BROADENING RESPONSIBILITIES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Today, the nation looks to our institutions of higher learning to meet many of our most important needs:

For more and more Americans, aspirations for a better life assume the necessity of a college education.

A century ago, 2% of young Americans entered college. Now, the figure is 50%, and still rising. In a Gallup poll 97% of all parents questioned said they wanted their children to enter college.

Equality of opportunity through education, including higher education, is beginning to appear as a realistic goal for the less privileged young members of our society.

"That there should one man die ignorant who had the capacity for knowledge, this I call a tragedy." Thomas Carlyle

The economy is increasingly dependent upon basic research and advancing technology, and upon the higher skills needed to make that technology effective, to assure national economic growth and well-being.

40% of the increase in the total national income is now attributable to advances in knowledge and the rising skill levels of the labor force.

More managers, teachers, and professionals of all sorts are required to serve our complex society. More health personnel are essential to staff the fastest growing segment of the national endeavor.

The cultural contributions of higher education take on new dimensions as growing affluence and leisure make possible a new concern with the quality of life in the United States.

Above all, the nation and the world depend crucially upon rigorous and creative ideas for the solution to profoundly complex issues.

"Knowledge is more than equivalent to force."—Samuel Johnson.

"Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered."—Daniel Webster.

PRIORITIES FOR FURTHER EXPANSION

New facilities must be provided for the estimated 2 million additional students by 1975 and for the continuing climb in enrollment beyond then. In particular, there is urgent need for more two year colleges, and for more urban institutions in areas now inadequately served.

In 1966–67, 72 new institutions of higher learning were established. There will need to be at least 2 new colleges per week for the next several years to meet predicted demands.

In addition, places must be created for those students with appropriate achievement and motivation whose lack of financial resources now bar a college education, and adequate support must be provided for these students.

Percentage of U.S. undergraduate students by family income quartiles, 1966–67

High quartile	48
Second quartile	28
Third quartile	17
Low quartile	7

If financial barriers were removed, it is estimated that an additional 1 million students would be enrolled in higher education by 1975.

The ablest Ph. D candidates and the institutions that serve them must be supported at the highest level of scholarship and scientific discovery; these students and institutions are invaluable national resources.

Medical schools must be created in population centers without such facilities, and substantial numbers of new doctors and related health personnel must be educated.

Facilities to train 60% more medical students and 60% more Ph. Ds will be needed by 1975 to meet the nation's requirements for doctors, researchers, and teachers.

Research support must be gradually but steadily expanded to serve greater numbers of graduate students and to help finance additional institutions and additional areas of investigation appropriate to national needs.

Smaller colleges must be assured assistance through support of cooperative facilities, such as research libraries and computers, to guarantee that their unique contributions may be continued and improved.

THE COSTS

Costs of higher education are rising rapidly. For many other activities of society, rising costs can be offset in part by rising productivity. Despite improvements in college management and experiments in programmed learning and other new techniques, no major ways are likely to be found to shorten or streamline the effort of turning out a rigorously-disciplined human mind. Beyond that, there is more to know today, and more sophisticated and costly research tools are required.

Total expenditures for higher education climbed from 4.1 billion in 1955 to 15.5 billion in 1965.

Higher education's share of the Gross National Product was 1% in 1955 and 2.2% in 1965. It will need to be at least 3% by 1975.

State, local, and private sources are now the chief supporters of higher education. But state and local governments cannot provide additional support of the magnitude needed with the speed required, because of their presently inadequate tax base resources. The federal government, with revenues available from the sharply graduated income tax, is the only source now realistically able to raise its revenues faster than the GNP and thus able to provide higher education with an added share of the GNP.

State, local, and private sources combined now pay about 78% of total higher education costs, and the federal government pays 22%. While the absolute amounts paid by all sectors will continue to rise substantially, federal support levels in dollar terms will need to double in the immediate future. The federal government's proportionate share may rise to approximately 33% by 1975.

PROGRAMS OF FEDERAL SUPPORT

The best immediate means of federal support for the further expansion of higher education is basically the strengthening and augmentation of programs already underway at the federal level:

Grants and loans to individual students, who, with the advice of parents and counselors, will then constitute the market for the selection of institutions and programs to meet their current needs.

Support to institutions to expand and strengthen areas of particular national concern.

Extension of support for research, for construction, and for special programs.

Two other widely discussed approaches are not considered as desirable as are extensions of existing programs. These are tax credits to parents of children in college, a measure which would favor middle-income families without aiding low-income families where the need is greatest; and general subsidies to the several states, which would increase the authority over higher education of state governments while failing to assure expansion of programs of primary national concern.

Whatever the particular form of federal assistance, it should be designed not to replace but to supplement the optimum support from the states and from private sources.

THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education in the United States has evolved in directions unique to the special needs of this country and of our free society. It is the conviction of this Commission that higher education will best continue to serve the nation as it:

Creates opportunities for all able young people.

Provides free choice of institutions to students.

Relies upon multiple sources of income.

Preserves this diversity of programs and control.

We believe that federal assistance of the type proposed in this statement will help the colleges and universities of the United States to preserve and enhance the special character that has made the best of them models for institutions of higher learning around the world.

THE ESSENTIAL ACTIONS

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education believes that the most urgent national priorities for higher education between now and 1975 are:

Provision for 1 million additional students who are now barred for financial reasons from our colleges and universities.

Training facilities for 60% more medical students to serve the nation's essential health needs.

Places for 60% more Ph.D. candidates to provide the teachers and researchers required to keep pace with the explosion of knowledge.

To enable our colleges and universities to meet these national priorities and to continue expanding other essential programs, the Commission urges that the present levels of federal aid to higher education be doubled in the immediate future—from $4 billion to $8 billion per year.

For additional copies of this statement or information about Commission activities, please address: The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1947 Center Street, Berkeley, California 94704. Telephone: Area Code (415) 849-4474.

FEDERAL OR STATE CONTROL?

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, on several occasions I have brought to the attention of the Members of the Congress a subject matter of real concern and obvious importance to my State of Wyoming. That is the authority of the States to control, regulate, and manage fish and wildlife within its territorial boundaries.

This is an issue which has been made significant by the serious threat posed by the Department of the Interior to the traditional powers of the States to regulate its resident species of fish and wildlife. I am privileged to be cosponsor of two bills, S. 2951 and S. 3212, which represent an effort to reaffirm the role of the States in managing resident fish and wildlife. These bills are still pending before the Senate Commerce Committee but I am hopeful that action will soon be taken on them.

The Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners has been very active in trying to resolve this problem through enactment of specified legislation. It has passed a number of resolutions which relate to issues that are of direct concern to the welfare of its member States.

I have recently received a set of resolutions adopted by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners dealing with the question of State jurisdiction over fish and wildlife.

Because of the widespread importance of these resolutions to the Western States, I ask unanimous consent that two of them, Nos. 1 and 16, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION 1—STATES' JURISDICTION OF FISH AND RESIDENT WILDLIFE SPECIES

Whereas, the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners has by previous resolution requested the Federal Government to adopt policies to prevent encroachment upon the States' historical jurisdiction of fish and resident wildlife species; and

Whereas, the Secretary of the Interior has recently established a policy that partially resolves this Association's request to protect the States' rights to manage fish and resident wildlife; and

Whereas, the Secretary of the Interior is to be commended for taking this step; and

Whereas, the Association feels strongly that legislation is necessary to resolve this State-Federal problem on a more permanent basis;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners strongly endorses and will assist in any way possible the passage of legislation dealing with the relations between the Federal Government and the States in the matter of fish and wildlife management to the extent that the authority of the individual states is fully protected.

Adopted by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, Reno, Nevada, July 11, 1968.

RESOLUTION 16—DEDICATION OF FEDERAL LANDS FOR WILDLIFE PURPOSES

Whereas, the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act provides authority for federal lands to be made available to the States for wildlife management and administration; and

Whereas, the Recreation Advisory Council has recognized the desirability of State management of lands within national recreation areas; and

Whereas, land now administered by State wildlife departments produce numerous benefits to public recreation;

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners recommends that lands within Federal water resource development projects and national recreation areas within Federal water resource development projects, which have primary value for wildlife management purposes, be made available to the individual states for administration as provided in the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act.

Adopted by the Western Association of State Game and Fish Commissioners, Reno, Nevada, July 11, 1968.

CLIFFORD DENIAL OF EXCESS PROFITS NOT CONVINCING

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, several weeks ago, Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford addressed a letter to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services [Mr. RUSSELL] on the subject of profits on defense contracts. This letter was later placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Because of the interest of the Joint Economic Committee, of which I am chairman, and because of my own interest, both as a Senator and as a taxpayer, I read Secretary Clifford's letter most carefully. Of course, we all know the enormous magnitude of military procurement. We are currently spending $45 billion annually on this program. If excessive profits are being made on defense contracts, there is every reason to take corrective action. The letter from Secretary Clifford addressed itself to the question of whether excessive profits are a problem at this time.

I regret to say that Secretary Clifford's analysis of the problem is disappointing. His conclusion that there is no basis in fact for concern over defense profits seems to me to be inconsistent with the evidence. I believe that there is a very good basis in fact for concern in this area. I stated this belief in my own letter to Secretary Clifford on July 18, in which I set forth in some detail the reasons for my concern. These reasons can be summarized as follows:

First, a GAO report into profits paid on defense contracts released in April 1967, showed a 26-percent increase.

Second, studies by the GAO and others show that the Department of Defense is paying higher profits on all types of contracts, not just on fixed price or incentive contracts, but for cost-type contracts as well.

Third, Adm. Hyman Rickover testified last April before the House Committee on Banking and Currency that profits on defense contracts have risen sharply.

Fourth, a recent study by Dr. Murray Weidenbaum at the University of Washington at St. Louis found "the gap between defense and nondefense profits has indeed widened over the past decade—in favor of defense business."

In my letter, I recommended that DOD should have an effective system for determining what costs and profits are on a contract-by-contract and a company-by-company basis, and contractors should be required to report costs and profits on each contract over $100,000. Further, that summaries of these reports should be made available to Congress and to the public on a periodic basis.

In reply to my letter to Secretary Clifford, I received a letter from Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense. Mr. Morris' letter, in my judgment, is not responsive. Moreover, it concedes that the Department of Defense really does not know whether or not excessive profits are a problem. Assistant Secretary Morris says:

> Available data do not yet fully reflect, of course, Vietnam procurements, due to the long interval between contract award and final accomplishment of work on many major programs.

We have been involved in the war in Vietnam for a long time. If we still do not know at this point whether there have been excessive profits in military procurement for this war, we are indeed uninformed. I question whether the Government can afford to be without such vital information.

An objective and comprehensive inquiry into the problem of military procurement costs and profits needs to be undertaken.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the texts of my letter to Secretary Clifford and the letter from Assistant Secretary Morris.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JULY 18, 1968.

Hon. CLARK M. CLIFFORD,
Secretary of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: This letter is in regard to your letter of June 13, 1968 to Senator Richard B. Russell, reprinted in the *Congressional Record* on June 18, 1968, on the subject of profits on defense contracts. You conclude that those who express alarm about profiteering on defense contracts are making assumptions as to the future without a factual basis.

I have carefully reviewed the data in your letter and other data concerning profits on defense contracts and have arrived at a conclusion the opposite of yours. I find there is very good basis in fact for concern in this area.

First, there appears to be no question that the profits being paid on defense contracts have increased substantially. Your own letter states that the actual increase is 22 percent. My calculation shows a 26 percent increase using figures from an April 1967 General Accounting Office report on the subject.

Your letter attributes these higher profits to increased use of fixed contracts over cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts—a shifting of risk from the Government to the contractor which warrants a higher rate of profit. However, the GAO reported, and your own Logistic Management Institute study of November 1967 appears to confirm, that the Department of Defense is paying higher profits on *all* types of contracts—not just on fixed price or incentive contracts, but for cost type contracts as well. It appears clear that at least a portion of the higher profits is due solely to the higher *rates* of profit presently being paid by DOD for the same type work, i.e., a higher profit for the same risk. The GAO, in its April 1967 report, estimated that about half the increase in profits was due solely to a higher rate of profit being paid by the DOD under its Weighted Guidelines method of profit analysis.

While your letter acknowledges that higher profits are being included in contract prices, you state that this reflects only increased profit "opportunities," but that the limited data available thus far on completed contracts show no improvement in realized profits.

In reviewing the Renegotiation Board reports and the LMI study which you cited, I find that both are based largely on unverified statements of defense contractors. The Renegotiation Board, in its reports, warns that the contractors' figures are based on cost allowances for renegotiation purposes and that "such allowances differ in significant respects from costs allowable for procurement purposes." Further, the Renegotiation Board cites a number of factors which it states "together with the great diversity of profit experiences among contracts—ranging from losses to excessive profits on individual contracts—*limit the validity* of generalizations about profitability of defense business" from its reports.

In his testimony before the House Banking and Currency Committee on April 11, 1968, Admiral Rickover states that the data submitted by contractors are often quite different than the actual data as determined by Government audit. He cited a comparison of the difference in profits reported by five contractors and the actual profits determined by Government audit, showing much higher actual profits in each instance.

Further, the Admiral stated that large additional profits can be hidden just by the way a company's overhead costs are charged, how components parts are priced, or how intercompany profits are handled. The Admiral testified that, in the absence of uniform standards of accounting, it is not possible to tell how much it costs to manufacture equipment or how much profit a company actually makes—without spending months reconstructing the supplier's books.

In hearings before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, Mr. J. S. Seidman, senior partner of a prominent New York accounting firm and past president of the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, confirmed Admiral Rickover's testimony. Mr. Seidman testified that two companies operating under the same set of facts may show widely different costs and profits because there are scores of items that can be accounted for in more than one way, including "areas that are mighty significant in determining cost under defense contracts . . . depreciation, research and development, inventories, pensions, self insurance, small tools, lease financing."

In this regard, I note that Dr. Murray Weidenbaum of the University of Washington at St. Louis conducted a detailed study comparing the profitability of defense and non-defense work and concluded that "the gap between Defense and non-Defense profits has indeed widened over the past decade—in favor of Defense business." Dr. Weidenbaum concluded that defense business may be more profitable from a return on investment standpoint than civilian work.

Finally, I note in the LMI study, itself, a table showing that the Department of Defense's own profit review system indicates that contractors generally do realize the profit included in contract prices. The table shows that on $26 billion in defense procurement, contractors realized essentially the same profit provided for in the contract price. However, I was surprised to learn that the Department of Defense profit review system apparently does not obtain information on profits under firm fixed price contracts. In FY 1967, firm fixed price contracts constitute 56 percent of total defense procurement. It seems to me that any system of profit review, to be effective, must obtain profit information on these contracts.

Your letter further implies that the Department of Defense, in large measure, relies on the Renegotiation Board to prevent excessive profits on defense work. However, I do not believe that after-the-fact renegotiation can be an effective substitute for careful contract negotiations based on full knowledge of the facts to insure reasonable prices to the Government.

The Renegotiation Act, as you know, is not as effective as it might be in insuring only reasonable profits. In its 1967 Annual Report, the Renegotiation Board pointed out that several billions of dollars of defense procurement are excluded annually from Renegotiation due to various exemptions in the Act. The so-called Standard Commercial Articles and Services alone excludes $1.3 billion in defense contracts from the renegotiation process.

Further, in renegotiation, profits are averaged over a firm's total renegotiable business so that, for large corporations, excessive profits on one contract can be averaged with lower profits on other work, where competition may be more keen. This averaging provides large firms with a significant competitive advantage over small firms. Also the Renegotiation Board uses Internal Revenue Service accounting rules. These rules are designed to measure *overall* income and expenses of a firm. They do not provide standards for how costs are allocated among individual contractors or groups of contractors, such as commercial and Government work. To the extent that firms are able to allocate their costs heavily to Government work (and they have much opportunity and incentive to do so), they can show lower profits in renegotiation.

In summary, I believe that when a Government agency spends about $45 billion a year for procurement, Congress and the public have a right to expect that the agency knows what it is paying for. The absence of facts in the Defense Department regarding actual costs and actual profits is evidence that this is not the case today. There are a number of indications, including the reports of the Renegotiation Board, that defense costs and profits are rising and may be too high.

In my opinion, the Defense Department should have an effective system for determining what costs and profits really are, on a contract-by-contract, on a company-by-company basis so that instances of profiteering can be recognized and dealt with, and so that excessive profit cannot be concealed in statistical averages. The Department of Defense should require its contractors to report costs and profits on each contract over $100,000. Costs and profits should, of course, be determined in accordance with a uniform standard of accounting so that the information will be meaningful. Summaries of these reports should be made available to the Congress and to the public on a periodic basis—at least annually.

Any company that is realizing only fair and reasonable profits on a defense contract should not object to reporting its costs and profit. I trust that the Department of Defense will take advantage of the current study being conducted by the General Accounting Office in cooperation with your office and other Government agencies in developing the uniform standards of accounting that would be necessary to make such a system effective. Further, I hope that the Department of Defense will approach this matter in an objective manner, and that it will not permit preconceived notions to govern its attitude.

I would appreciate hearing from you on this matter.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
Chairman.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., July 26, 1968.

Hon. WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
Chairman, Joint Economic Committee,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Secretary Clifford has asked that I reply to your letter of July 18, 1968, in which you comment on his letter of June 13 regarding profits earned by Defense contractors.

We appreciate hearing from you on this important subject and will study your views with great care.

As indicated in Secretary Clifford's letter, our principal desire is that members of Congress and the public be informed on the most current and comprehensive factual data available. Presently available facts do not demonstrate a trend toward excessive profits. Neither does the current experience of our contracting organizations.

Available data do not yet fully reflect, of course, Vietnam procurements, due to the long interval between contract award and final accomplishment of work on many major programs. As Secretary Clifford has pointed out, there is always the possibility that high volume, long production runs may result in changes in profit patterns. We are now updating our studies in order to observe more recent trends, but it will be some time before comprehensive data covering Vietnam procurements become available to the Renegotiation Board and ourselves.

In the meantime, we believe it is important to avoid general conclusions regarding the Vietnam period until there is an adequate basis for such conclusions. We fully agree with your view that this subject should be approached in an objective manner, and we will continue to devote our energies to this end.

As to your proposal that we periodically publish summary data on costs and profits, we have a profit review system covering negotiated contracts, under which we regularly gather information which is distributed within the Defense Department for study by our managers. This review system enables us to monitor the results being obtained under the weighted guidelines profit policy.

We are constantly striving to make useful improvements in techniques of managing the acquisition of Defense materiel. To this end, we appreciate and welcome the views of yourself and your Committee, other interested Committees and Members of Congress, and the General Accounting Office.

Sincerely,

THOMAS D. MORRIS,
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics).

SCHOOL ZONING PLANS

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, one of the leading newspapers in South Carolina recently began an editorial in the following manner:

> The school pot continues to bubble over around the State, which is what comes of having the stove in one place and the cook in another. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has been stirring all summer. To what purpose? Whose health, education, and welfare are being served?

That is the pertinent question. One school in my State opened without students or faculty. Every student boycotted the first day of classes but had they come, it would have served no purpose, for every teacher had resigned. Nor was this an isolated incident. In many other schools, classrooms were half empty and teachers quit rather than accept their assignments. As one of our leading school superintendents, Mr. Guy Varn, of Columbia, said in opposing teacher assignment:

> A teacher is ineffective if put in a job that isn't wanted.

Similarly, a child is not going to be happy separated from his friends, brothers, and sisters in a school many miles from his home and neighborhood school. And it is wrong that he be required by HEW to attend that school. HEW insistently maintains that they do not impose school plans or require busing or force school officials to accept a certain plan. However, that is merely a question of semantics, because, using Federal funds as a tool, school officials are blackmailed into accepting the Washington version of how to run a school district. Recently the chairman of the board of education in one of South Carolina's largest school districts testified before a U.S. district judge that he opposed the HEW imposed school zoning plan, but that $2 million in Federal aid was at stake.

Mr. President, in my view, this represents coercion and should not be allowed to continue. The school district in question here was Richland County School District No. 1 in Columbia, S.C., our State's capital. They had been threatened and browbeaten into accepting a plan that was not in the best interest of education. However, in this incident, the parents did not stand idly by and watch the schools paid for with their tax dollars destroyed. They took their problem not to the streets but to the courts, and they employed former U.S. Attorney N. Welch Morrissette to represent them. And the court upheld the parents. In his order enjoining the school board from instituting the HEW plan rather than the freedom of choice plan, Judge Robert Hemphill said:

> Here we find a school board in compliance for years, accomplishing accelerated progress in the effort toward desegregation, recipient of $2 million in HEW funds (as in compliance), with no registered complaints from parent, pupil, or interested organizations. Suddenly, at insistence of those who previously found them in compliance and approved the funds, they are "found" to be in a state of noncompliance. Letters are written repeatedly threatening a recognized progressive school district, having a *working, workable*, and a *satisfactory* freedom of choice plan, told it must force a new plan or take the consequences. In reality, the percentage of change of integregation was minute. But the *best educational* process was to be sacrificed. Certainly this is unusual, it is exceptional. It is also unjust and unreasonable.

I agree. It is unjust and it is unreasonable. And it is typical of the attitude of HEW in this matter. Second, I should like to emphasize, Judge Hemphill's statement:

> There are no Negro complainants and no testimony was presented that there are any aggrieved Negro children suffering under the present educational plan; none were joined as party defendant and to this court's knowledge no intervention was sought by any Negro parent or child.

Mr. President, whose health, education, and welfare are being served? This is an intolerable situation and it cannot be allowed to continue. We in Congress cannot allow the school systems of the Nation to be destroyed in pursuit of some illusory, nebulous goal that is only desirable to and recognizable by a social engineer lost in the concrete cavern of the Federal Government.

I ask unanimous consent that Judge Robert W. Hemphill's order be printed in its entirety in the Record.

There being no objection, the court order was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

In the District Court of the United States for the District of South Carolina, Columbia Division, Civil Action No. 68–761, Edmund S. Taylor, James H. Sikes, Ed Carter, and E. A. Hall, for Themselves Individually, and as Parents and Guardians of Children Attending the Public Schools in Richland County School District No. 1, and for All Other Persons Similarly Situated, *v.* Wilbur Cohen, as Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Harold Howe, II, as U.S. Commissioner of Education; Richland County School District No. 1; Caldwell Withers, Chairman; Arthur M. Williams, Jr., Mason A. Gibbs, Hewyard E. McDonald, Robert Lee Scarborough, Robert E. Wienefeld, and Shephard Dunn, Members; and Guy L. Varn, Superintendent of Schools, Richland County School District No. 1

(Before the United States District Court for the District of South Carolina, at Columbia, South Carolina. Robert W. Hemphill, District Judge. Heard August 29, 1968. Decided August 29, 1968.)

Interested parents initiated this action against named defendants alleging in effect that the zoning program implemented by defendant Richland County School District No. I is an inferior education plan. The theory of the complaint is that "Freedom of Choice" is a superior educational plan to zoning of schools, that defendant school Board knew that "Freedom of Choice" was superior, but that due to coercion of defendants Cohen and Howe, as Secretary and Commissioner of their respective agencies, defendant School Board was coerced under threat of loss of federal funds, administrative procedures and litigation to adopt a different and inferior plan to the detriment and irreparable harm of the children of plaintiffs as well as others similarly situated.

The prayer for relief seeks an injunction restraining defendants from imposing zoning plans or pairing plans for school year 1968–69, that the court declare rights of the parties so that defendant School Board may be allowed to receive funds without having to submit to illegal demands, that defendants Cohen and Howe be enjoined from taking illegal administrative action and discontinuing funds, and that the "Freedom of Choice Plan" be declared lawful and in full compliance with Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The court by its order of August 21, 1968, required defendants to show cause on August 29, 1968 why they should not be preliminarily enjoined from instituting or requiring the institution of a plan other than "Freedom of Choice" for the school year 1968–69.

Defendants countered initially by filing a motion to dismiss listing as grounds that the claim failed to state a claim upon which relief can be granted, the court lacks jurisdiction over the subject matter, complaint constitutes an unconsented suit against the sovereign, that the court lacks jurisdiction over persons of defendants, venue does not lie in this court, and insufficiency of service.

Arguments were held on August 26, 1968 and defendants' position evolved into one started, commitment of Federal assistance for sary to start non-compliance proceedings seeking the termination of assistance of your school system. If such proceedings are of proving that no suit could be maintained against defendants Howe and Cohen unless it could be shown that their acts were abuse of authority, or their authority was unconstitutional. The position of the plaintiff at this time was that "Freedom of Choice" was the best education system, that this was within the knowledge of the defendant School Board but due to the threat of loss of economic aid it was forced and coerced into adopting a plan which it knew was not in the best educational interest of the students of School District No. I. Underlying this position is the belief that an interpretation of *Green* v. *County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia*, 391 U.S. ——, 88 S.Ct. 1689 (1968) does not *per se* require geography zoning. If this interpretation of *Green*, supra, is proper, it would then be the plaintiff's position that defendants Cohen and Howe were requiring more than the mandate of the Constitution. This, it is argued by plaintiff, would result in an abuse of authority which would be an *ultra vires* act giving this court jurisdiction and plaintiff a cause of action.

The court determined that it had jurisdiction to allow plaintiff a hearing and framed the issues to be argued at the August 29, 1968 hearing as being twofold: (1) Is "Freedom of Choice" the best educational system for Richland County School District No. I? (2) Does the requirement of zoning and pairing of schools as a prerequisite for receipt of federal financial assistance constitute an *ultra vires* act when it results in causing the defendant Richland County School District No. I to adopt an educational plan which it believes is not in the best interest of the pupils of its school district?[1]

The Answer and Return of defendant Richland County School District No. 1 is to the effect that in negotiations with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare it took the position that it was in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and within the requirements of the United States Constitution. However, it is alleged, subsequent to the *Green*, supra, decision, a zoning plan was presented to them which they were required to accept to be in compliance and eligible for financial assistance. It is further alleged and answered that the plan was accepted with a great deal of reluctance and continue to believe that "Freedom of Choice" is the best for the school district.

Answer of defendants Howe and Cohen reaffirm a position of lack of jurisdiction of this court on the same grounds as its previous motion and affirmatively assert that all actions taken by it are within its statutory authority and it is guilty of no coercive acts.

Introduced into the evidence, and without objection, by defendant School Board was an affidavit of Chairman Caldwell Withers and the two counsel for the School Board. Attached are various letters between school officials and the personnel of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In those of the Department to Dr. Guy L. Varn, the following languages appear:

---

[1] Not controlling the question of jurisdiction but of consequence in any theory of American justice is the hope that every litigant will have his "day in court."

From the letter of September 28, 1967:

"If your school system fails to adopt and implement a plan adequate to accomplish the purposes of Title VI, it will be necessary to start non-compliance proceedings seeking the termination of assistance of your school system. If such proceedings are started, commitment of Federal assistance for new activities will be deferred and other Government agencies will be notified so they may take such action as they deem appropriate. Prior to entering a final order for the termination of Federal financial assistance, your school system would be given an opportunity for an administrative hearing before a Federal examiner on the question of its compliance."

From a letter of February 1, 1968:

"We must request that this plan be submitted within 30 days or we will have no alternative under the law but to initiate administrative proceedings, pursuant to Section 602 of the Act, for the termination of your school system's Federal financial assistance. Should a termination order be issued it would take effect 30 days after a report is made to congressional committees of the completion of the administrative proceedings, which could be either during the current or 1968–69 school year."

From a letter of April 15, 1968:

"Since your school district has not adopted a desegregation plan which will effectively eliminate its dual structure, it cannot be considered in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Accordingly, after reviewing the proposals contained in your letter, I have no alternative but to recommend that the Department initiate enforcement proceedings against your district seeking the termination of all Federal assistance administered by this Department."

From a letter of April 18, 1968:

"In addition, this letter is to notify your district that final approval of any application filed with this Department for Federal funds for new programs and activities is hereby ordered deferred. Your State educational agency is also being notified that commitments of Federal financial assistance for all new activities are likewise to be deferred. These deferrals will remain in effect for not more than 90 days pending the completion of the administrative hearing, if a hearing is requested, and the rendering of an initial decision, unless the time period is extended by mutual agreement."

The school board and the school administrators exhibited to this court good faith in their effort to accomplish a school system that has no curse of duality. Their progress and success is indicated by the figures realized under the "Freedom of Choice" program.

Number Negroes in four white schools:

1964–65	22
1965–66	270
1966–67	1, 136
1967–68	1, 927
1968–69 (proposed)	3, 135

Teachers are assigned on a voluntary basis. The school board feels that any system which is forced, as to pupils or faculty, effectively abolishes freedom PRO TANTO.

The educators called to the witness stand by plaintiffs were people of long service in their chosen profession of education. They spoke with authority and dedication of such things as "community attitude," "happy children" and generally exhibited a devotion toward the best interests of the entire community. This court finds in them no evidence of racial bias.

From the pleadings and evidence, it is of necessity that this court give consideration to the directive of the United States Supreme Court rendered in the *Green* v. *County School Board of New Kent County,* supra, as it applies to the facts presented in this matter. Factually speaking, the court is now faced with a situation quite distinguishable from that in *Green* for here the court is called on to determine whether or not defendants Cohen and Howe, by refusing federal financial educational funds, coerced defendants Richland County School District No. 1 into adopting a plan which extended beyond requirements of the United States Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Further distinctions arise from the geographic make-up of areas in question in that Richland County School District No. I is composed of a large metropolitan area where there is residential segregation and where zoning would not result in unitary, non-racial system [2] as it would in the Green case which involved a rural county.[3]

Also noticeable to the court is that in the present suit the plaintiffs are persons who seek to sustain the "Freedom of Choice" plan. They are joined by the local school board. There are no Negro complainants and no testimony was presented that there are any aggrieved Negro children suffering under the present educational plan; none were joined as party defendant and to this court's knowledge no intervention was sought by any Negro parent or child.

Throughout the course of this litigation, defendants Cohen and Howe have objected to the court's jurisdiction. In addition to the claim of immunity, they insist on an absence of the unusual, exceptional, that would warrant the court granting such a ruling as plaintiffs seek.

The sovereign United States, by its legislation, did not license Cohen and/or Howe, or their predecessors in authority, to threaten school boards, school administrators, with processes, loss of essential school funds, and general bureaucratic harassment. The actions of the agency's various minions in this case were *ultra vires,* an abuse of and in excess of the authority granted by Congress. *Larson v. Domestic and Foreign Commerce Corp.,* 337 U.S. 684, 686. As is propounded in *Leedum v. Kepie,* 358 U.S. 184, 3 L.Ed. 2nd 210, 79 S.Ct. 180 by the United States Supreme Court:

"This court cannot lightly infer that Congress does not intend judicial protection of rights it confers against agency action taken in excess of delegated powers."

The argument that this case is not exceptional fails. Here we find a school board in compliance for years, accomplishing accelerated progress in the effort toward desegregation, recipient of $2,000,000 in HEW funds (as in compliance), with no registered complaints from parent, pupil, or interested organizations. Suddenly, at insistence of those who previously found them in compliance and approved the funds, they are "found" to be in a state of noncompliance. Letters are written repeatedly threatening a recognized by progressive [4] school district, having a *working workable,* and a *satisfactory* [5] Freedom of Choice Plan, told it must force a new plan or take the consequences. In reality, the percentage of change of integration was minute. But the *best educational* process was to be sacrificed. Certainly this is unusual, it is exceptional. It is also unjust and unreasonable.

As to venue, the claim arose here, in Richland County School District No. 1 of the District of South Carolina. Venue is proper under 28 U.S.C. 1391(b):

"A civil action wherein jurisdiction is not founded solely on diversity of citizenship may be brought only in the judicial district where all defendants reside, or in which the claim arose, except as otherwise provided by law."

Defendants are enjoined from instituting or requiring the institution of a plan other than the "Freedom of Choice" plan originally planned and proposed by School District Number One for Richland County for the school year 1968–69.

Counsel will inform the court as to their desire for a further hearing on the merits.

The court continues its jurisdiction for such further procedures as are properly proposed.

And it is so ordered.

ROBERT W. HEMPHILL,
U.S. District Judge.

COLUMBIA, S.C., *August 29, 1968.*

FIREARMS CONTROL

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, public support for effective firearms control has been expressed in incredible numbers of letters to Congress this summer. This mail has been the spontaneous outpouring of concerned citizens, unlike the organized lobbying effort which characterizes the mail inspired by National Rifle Association legislative bulletins.

Public support for effective firearms control has likewise been reflected in an outpouring of editorials all across the country this summer supporting prompt and effective congressional action to control the gun traffic.

For example, the Atlanta Constitution stated in an editorial on June 7, 1963:

> If ever there were a time for passage of an effective gun control law, it is now.

Brief excerpts from other editorials received in my office include: The Marshall, Tex., News Messenger:

> It is difficult to understand any responsible opposition to a gun registration law. Reputable citizens have nothing to fear from registering their guns.

The Wall Street Journal:

> It is becoming increasingly clear that if the pistols and rifles are left readily available in urban America, then some unpleasant changes are going to be made in other American traditions.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a large number of newspaper editorials received in my office this summer from every section of the country asking Congress to put an end to the insane gun traffic that is paralyzing our Nation.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wilmington (Del.) Morning News, June 11, 1968]

OUR FEEBLE GUN CONTROL LAWS

For the first time in 30 years, the Congress has passed gun control legislation, but this weak measure is inadequate even for the limited task it was originally drafted to perform.

---

[2] This court, at this stage, does not make a finding that a unitary, non-racial system does or does not exist in Richland County School District No. I.

[3] At this stage of the proceedings, there is no evidence of the creation of artificial barriers by the School District, to defeat integration or to create or perpetuate a dual school system.

[4] Foremost in the Southeast by statistics of the Civil Rights Commission.

[5] To public and pupil.

Through approval of an amendment to the Administration's anti-crime bill, the Congress has banned the interstate mail-order sale of pistols and revolvers and has limited over-the-counter sales of handguns to residents of the dealer's state.

The amendment, watered-down in committee to eliminate similar bans on long guns, does only half the job because, in President Johnson's words, "It leaves the deadly commerce in lethal shotguns and rifles without effective control . . ."

If the Congress should heed the President's appeal and extend the measure to include long guns, those few states—excluding Delaware—with relatively strict gun registration laws would find it far easier to keep firearms out of the hands of felons, mental patients and others menacing the public. Such enforcement has been hampered because purchasing guns out of state or through the mail is so temptingly simple.

But in a state without firearms registration procedures, even the toughened version of the federal law would be almost meaningless. A maniac or a calculating murderer would be able to obtain a rifle or a revolver merely by walking into a store in his own state and purchasing it.

A persuasive case can be made, therefore, for a federal law ordering that all guns be registered with the local police. The haphazard and time-consuming manner in which all states eventually instituted tests for driver's licenses indicates that years would pass before state legislatures took action to keep their citizens from killing and maiming each other.

There is persuasive evidence to suggest that registration would lower the incidence of violent crime in the United States. According to Sen. Joseph D. Tydings, D-Md., firearms are used in only 10 per cent of all murders committed in England, where all guns must be registered, compared with 60 per cent in the U.S. The most recent totals cited by President Johnson show only 30 firearms murders in England in one year, and 6,500 in the U.S.

Guns also are involved in approximately 44,000 aggravated assaults and 50,000 robberies each year in the U.S. Simple logic dictates that the fewer guns in the hands of the unfit, the less likely that crimes of violence will occur.

No law will stop murder or other violence, and, as critics have argued, there is no certainty that gun registration will cause a dramatic reduction. But no legislation comes with a guarantee, and registration at least holds out reasonable hope.

With almost 20 lives a day lost from gun murders in this country, and with a reported three-quarters of all Americans—based on the polls—favoring stricter regulation of firearms, Congress has no excuse for further delay. Our flimsy gun laws must be strengthened.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, June 11, 1968]

ARE WE MATURE? ARE WE HUMANE?

The shock of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's murder will not by itself bring about good gun control legislation. That was shown last Thursday when the House passed the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act which contains pitifully weak gun control provisions.

As Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (D-Md.), put it on television Sunday, "Nothing is going to move the Congress, nothing is going to move the state legislatures across the country except a tremendous outpouring of demands from citizens of this country."

As Attorney General Ramsey Clark said, also on TV Sunday, "It is absolutely essential to the safety of our people that we come to grips with the need to regulate firearms."

That means letters, telephone calls and telegrams to your representatives in the state legislatures and Congress. Make them change their minds if they previously have voted with the gun lobby. It means a whole new anti-violence, anti-gun force to loosen the grip the gun lobby has had on Washington for generations.

It means also that groups—clubs, lodges, churches, civic and veterans' organizations, labor unions, chambers of commerce—should put on the pressure.

The American Legion National Executive Committee last May passed a resolution in favor of legislation prohibiting the sale of mail order firearms to unlicensed individuals and requiring local permits for all those who want to purchase firearms. That should stimulate state departments and local Legion posts to call for good gun controls.

The passage of adequate gun control legislation, of course, could not bring about an abrupt end to violence in the United States. But it certainly could help by making it more difficult for criminals, the mentally unsound and the underage to buy and own and misuse firearms. All firearms should be registered so they can be traced. Why shouldn't every gun-owning citizen be required to be licensed?

We have gone past the point where we can worry about the inconvenience good gun laws might cause sportsmen and owners and sellers of firearms. It is tragically inconvenient to society that, in this country in 1966, firearms accounted for 6400 murders, 10,000 suicides and 2600 accidental deaths. No one needs to be reminded again of the three most terrible killings of the past five years.

The passage of adequate gun law legislation might also have a secondary effect. It could demonstrate to the world and to ourselves that Americans are mature enough and sufficiently humane to be serious in their efforts to end the killing.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, June 7, 1968]

TIME FOR GUN CONTROL IS NOW

If ever there were a time for passage of an effective gun-control law, it is now.

Congress rushed passage of the so-called Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill yesterday, an action spurred by the tragedy in Los Angeles. But that bill mocks the tragedy because some of its amendments mock justice.

The bill does have a gun-control provision, but the controls are weak in that they merely forbid mail order sales of handguns.

What is needed is a separate gun-control bill which would require registration of all firearms. Would such a law have prevented the tragedy in Los Angeles and the assassination of President Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.? Maybe not. But a California gun registration law did lead to quick and positive identity of the suspect in the assassination of Senator Kennedy. If Tennessee had had a law requiring registration of all firearms, including rifles, police probably would have made a quicker positive identification of the suspect in the King assassination.

Would a law requiring registration of all firearms interfere with the citizen's so-called "right to bear arms?" Without getting into the argument about what that "constitutional right" means, we submit that such a law would not interfere.

We have yet to hear anyone suggest that laws requiring registration of motor vehicles infringe on the "right" to possess automobiles. So why not nationwide registration of firearms?

Any adult without a record of criminal violence or mental illness would still have the "right" to possess as many handguns, rifles and shotguns as he deired and could afford. He could have them, but he would be required to register them.

Such a law not only would aid the police in solving crimes in which firearms were used, it also would deter people with criminal records from having firearms in their possession. Possession of firearms by such people would invite arrest and imprisonment whether or not any crime other than possession of an unregistered weapon were involved.

So, rather than take away anyone's right, a gun registration law applying to all types of firearms would give us more protection. It certainly would add an effective weapon for police in their war against crime.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, June 13, 1968]

START OVER ON GUN CONTROLS

The House Judiciary Committee has beaten back another effort by President Johnson to put stronger controls on the mail order traffic of firearms in this country.

There is the smell of blackmail in the committee's action, just as there was when the House forced the President to accept a $6 billion spending cut as the price for a 10 per cent income tax surcharge. The President paid off on that one, but Congress still dallies unconscionably on the tax bill even as inflationary heat imperils our economy.

What Southern Democrats and Republicans on the Judiciary Committee appear to be asking as the price for the administration gun bill is that the President sign the so-called Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill recently passed by Congress. This bill has a provision that would prohibit mail order sales of handguns, but it also has some provisions which would strike down basic rights guaranteed persons accused of crimes and would provide virtually uncontrolled use of electronic eavesdropping devices by police.

The bill rejected by the committee would extend the ban on mail order sales to all firearms, including rifles and shotguns.

It would be better for the President to veto the Crime Control Bill and for Congress to start all over again on crime and gun controls soon. It is time for Congress to start listening to the people, rather than to the gun lobbyists and to those who would enforce the law by striking down fundamental rights on which our laws are based.

There is growing sentiment, reflected in recent opinion polls and among some members of Congress, that the only way to stop this nation from becoming an armed camp where murder and maiming by firearms is becoming almost commonplace, is to enact a federal firearms registration law. Such a law should not bar responsible citizens from owning firearms, but it should make possession of any kind of firearms by persons with violent criminal records and the known mentally ill illegal.

Banning mail-order sales of firearms while perhaps desirable, will not solve the problem, a problem that becomes increasingly dangerous. A gun registration law is what is urgently needed.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, June 6, 1968]

CONGRESS AND GUNS

Regardless of the kind of firearm used by Sen. Robert Kennedy's assassin or how it was procured, this latest act of violence is another reminder of the intolerable laxity which generally prevails in the United States in permitting guns to flow without effective check into the hands of people who may turn them against others.

In January 1967, a Gallup Poll showed Americans to be overwhelmingly in support of tighter restrictions on gun ownership. This applied not only to a ban on people being able to send away for guns through the mails, but also to support for requiring the registration of handguns, rifles and shotguns. The identity of the man who shot Sen. Kennedy was established through the weapon he used.

If anything like this sentiment prevails in the country today—and the criminal violence by the gun over the past 16 months certainly must have reinforced it—Congress and the states are lagging far behind the public's desire for sane and sensible regulations of guns.

There is before Congress today, embedded in an anticrime bill, a provision to ban the sale of handguns (but not rifles and shotguns) to individuals through the mails. It would be of some help to states and localities which have moved in the direction of effective gun legislation on their own. But many state legislatures, like Congress itself, have been deterred from effective action by the gun lobby and the outcries of sportsmen who mistakenly insist in confusing stronger regulation with denial of the law-abiding citizen's access to firearms for legitimate use.

The time has come for Congress and the states to move at once and more strongly on gun legislation.

The failure to do so has become a national disgrace. It borders on criminal negligence itself; it caters to the violent; it makes a mockery of expressions of concern for law and order as it does of expressions of sorrow and outrage when national leaders are struck down.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, June 18, 1968]

Who Is "Parroting Nonsense"?

Congress at last is hearing from the American public on gun controls, and it looks as if the chances are at least 50–50 that the comparatively weak control measures passed and proposed this year will be discarded in favor of a gun-registration bill.

The deluge of mail flooding congressmen's offices has changed the minds of many legislators who as recently as last month opposed all gun-control legislation. For example, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, who with other Western senators was not enthusiastic about curbs on mail order sales of guns, is now calling for gun registration.

The public endorsement of gun registration caught the National Rifle Association and other gun lobbyists off guard. NRA president Harold W. Glassen hastily called a press conference and accused the American people of "behaving like children, parroting nonsense, accepting unproved theory as fact, and reacting as the German people did in the 1930s as the Goebbels propaganda mill drilled lies into their subconsciousness and dictated their every move."

Mr. Glassen's was an intemperate attack, one he will probably regret. We can be certain of one thing: he is now hard at work organizing his own letters-to-Congress campaign. Whether it will be as effective as the ones he has organized in the past remains to be seen. It certainly will lack the spontaneity and sincerity of the one he claims is being launched by "Americans behaving like children."

It is becoming increasingly clear to many people alarmed by the armed violence, murders and assassinations that the NRA and other arms industry lobbyists have been "parroting nonsense" for too many years. Gun registration in no way would interfere with a "citizen's constitutional right to bear arms"—if indeed there were such an individual right—yet the NRA continues parroting such nonsense. We register our automobiles, yet no one has seriously suggested that this takes away anyone's right to own an automobile.

Another parrot of irrelevant nonsense, Gov. Lester Maddox, says he will veto any gun registration bill passed by the Georgia Legislature, which is another argument for a federal firearms registration law. Gov. Maddox's reaction to gun registration? "No one has shouted about the 300 policemen shot down in the past year!"

But, governor, those shootings are a part of what a growing number of American citizens are concerned about. These citizens are alarmed at the increasing violence in our society, violence that too often explodes from the mouths of guns. And, governor, every responsible police organization heard from thus far—from the FBI to the International Association of Chiefs· of Police—has endorsed registrations of firearms. These organizations certainly do not represent "children parroting nonsense."

[From the New York Daily News, June 20, 1968]

Let's Try These Controls

The Johnson administration's gun-control bill got an encouraging 9–0 Yes vote Tuesday from the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on juvenile delinquency.

This measure would outlaw mail-order sales of rifles, shotguns and handguns . . . confine over-the-counter gun sales to state residents . . . require careful dealer records of gun and ammunition sales . . . forbid handgun sales to persons under 21 and long gun sales to those under 18 . . . limit machine gun and heavy weapon sales to Treasury Department licensees . . . outlaw interstate shipment of ammunition.

This looks to us like happy-medium legislation—a sensible compromise between those who would disarm every U.S. citizen and those who want no limitations at all on sale or possession of even the deadliest weapons.

We hope Congress will pass the Johnson bill, or something much like it. It can be repealed if found unsatisfactory; and it just might make U.S. trigger-happiness problems less serious.

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, June 16, 1968]

Four Ways To Deescalate Violence

We have been touched by the stories of people all over the nation, fed up with the sort of violence dramatized by the slayings of Dr. Martin Luther King and Sen. Robert Kennedy, turning in the guns they own to the police.

There are a lot of thoroughly good and decent people in this country.

But if we really want to sweep away the poisonous emotional atmosphere that makes so many normally peaceful people violence-prone or violence-tolerant, there are a few things any citizen can do which probably are more practical than turning in guns. For those who are seeking things they personally can do, let's list some practical ways to deescalate violence in America:

1. Right now, it certainly will help to write congressmen, state legislators and city councilmen in support of more effective gun control and registration laws.

As amazed Europeans never tire of telling us, America is the only big, civilized nation in the world that allows its citizens to own guns as a "right". In all other nations, gun ownership is a privilege, closely regulated and restricted to responsible citizens. And the citizens of those nations seem to like it, or at least feel safer, that way.

This is the only suggestion we have that involves making or changing a law.

2. One of the big things any citizen can do is to help take the profit out of the commercialized violence that infests so much of television, the movies, plays and literature these days. How? It's easy.

If the television show is full of meaningless violence, as so many are, turn it off. Or don't tune it in in the first place.

If the movie or play is touted as violent, "shocking"—which usually means mindlessly sadistic—don't go.

If the reviews say the same thing about a new book, don't buy it.

Most of these shows and books are written to make money, not because the writers have anything to say. If they don't make money, they are dead. By shunning them, we can hasten their demise without lifting a finger.

3. More positively, we can support, as individuals, those people and institutions in society, who stand firmly for restoring the process of social change in this nation to peaceful, non-violent channels. We can and should support them vocally, in writing and, where appropriate, with money.

4. But above all, we need to be supporting vocally, in writing, with our ballots and without money—all those who are trying through peaceful means to make this a more just society.

Without this, anything else we do is probably futile.

We hear the cry on all sides now for "law and order." But that is not the true goal for America. That is not enough; it never was enough and it will never be enough.

The South used to maintain law and order. Our cities used to maintain law and order. But behind these facades of law and order injustices grew and justified resentment of them festered. Now we are paying the price for those injustices.

The price is not only strife and violence itself, it is the mental turmoil in people of good conscience who are reluctant to support law and order unconditionally until the injustices are remedied.

But if we truly support and achieve justice for all Americans—effective schools for all, honorable jobs for all, open housing for all, equal treatment in law for all, responsive government for all—law, order, a peaceful and happy society will follow in the train of justice.

This is something every citizen can help to attain, in some way, every day. This is a goal worthy of Americans.

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, June 13, 1968]

Keep Gun Control Pressure on Congress

All persons of good will who deplore violence can take heart from the fact that because of the pressure of public opinion opposition in Congress to effective gun control legislation is showing signs of cracking.

Letters from voters back home who have been jarred by the assassinations of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King are convincing some lawmakers that sentiment for controls is fully aroused at last.

As a result it now appears likely that the House Judiciary Committee will soon approve a bill to extend to rifles and shotguns the ban on mail-order sales which has already been voted for handguns.

Such legislation would be too small a step to satisfy most people at the grassroots however, so it is encouraging that Sen. Joseph D. Tydings, D–Md., has announced he will introduce a bill for the registration of all guns under a system which would make it illegal for juveniles, criminals and mentally disturbed persons to have them.

The bill seems needlessly complex in that it would give states one year in which to enact registration laws of their own, after which the federal registration plan would go into effect only in states which had not complied.

The national interest in gun control is so great that there seems little reason to bring the state governments into the picture at all. But Senator Tydings has put his finger on the important need of the moment, which is for registration of guns.

Significantly, opinion polls have shown a strong consensus for registration for many years but those who want controls have been out-lobbied by gun manufacturers and their allies.

Senator Tydings has been a careful student of criminal trends in this and other countries.

"Our gun laws are, in fact, about as flimsy as those of any nation in the world," he said recently.

"We tolerate a level of gun crime in this country which is unthinkable in any civilized nation in the Western world.

"In England, which has a gun registration law, firearms account for only 10 per cent of all murders. In our country where the murder rate is 13 times greater, guns account for 60 per cent of all murders and are used in 58 per cent of all robberies.

"Gun murders take nearly 20 lives a day in this country. Ninety-five of every 100 policemen murdered in this country are killed with guns, one-fourth of which are rifles or shotguns."

Veteran observers in Washington say it will be difficult to get a gun registration law enacted at this session. The gun lobby is loud and spends a great deal of money.

However, a continuous stream of letters and telegrams from folk back home who, like Senator Tydings, are convinced we have reached an intolerable level of gun crimes, could prove most effective.

If the demand is strong and persistent Congress will respond.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 10, 1968]

JUST NORMAL GUN CONTROL

There just is no weight of argument against the control of rifles and shotguns—as well as pistols and revolvers. So why, in the name of conscience, intelligence, prudence and safety, should Congress not get on immediately with the business of bringing the sale of rifles and shotguns under tight control.

Surely no further shootings, of individuals of high or low degree, should be necessary to overcome the resistance of those who would leave America a nation of unregulated guntoters.

In frontiersland the sheriff and the cowboys went well-armed. But the days of the frontier are past. And no proposed legislation—let us be very clear about this—will keep legitimate hunters and sportsmen and gun fanciers from purchasing and keeping firearms. But stricter controls just might keep a gun out of the hands of a deranged person, a hardened criminal, addict, or alcoholic. A gun should become a society-regulated instrument, not something to be kept handy until anger or dementia spills over and another murder statistic is chalked up.

The Bill of Rights provides for arms bearing only for the purpose of maintaining a militia.

Let's keep in mind the deplorable tabulations which the President has presented: Each year in the United States guns are involved in more than 6.500 murders. This compares with 30 in England, 99 in Canada next door, 68 in West Germany, 37 in Japan.

Congress has passed its controversial anticrime bill, but there remains a "brutal loophole." To close this, President Johnson urges Congress to make it unlawful to sell not only pistols but rifles and handguns by mail order (a mail-order rifle killed President Kennedy), to limit sales to those under 21, and to prohibit the sale of rifles and shotguns in one state to residents in another. (This to protect strict states against lenient states.)

Sure, other efforts are necessary, too. Less glamorizing of gunplay in films. Less emphasis on violence, sadism and brutality in art and society. San Francisco's Mayor has urged his city dwellers to turn in their handguns—no questions asked—as a commemorative gesture to Senator Kennedy.

But the time, the demand, the impetus for normal, sensible gun control legislation is here now. Let Congress act!

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 15, 1968]

REGISTER EVERY LAST FIREARM

Nothing short of the registration of every privately owned, commercially stocked and publicly assigned firearm in the United States can provide a gun control worthy of the name. To such a law must be attached drastic penalties for disobedience. If the Senate and the House of Representatives do not pass such legislation, they will be playing false with the safety of every man, woman and child in America and will be dishonoring the memory of those national leaders who, in recent years, have been brutally assassinated.

Notwithstanding reports that a wave of public sentiment is now increasing congressional willingness to pass strict legislation, we believe that only unremitting voter pressure can lead to any worthwhile remedial action. Congressional dislike of offending powerfully organized lobbies (in this case the National Rifle Association) is too well known to allow of any complacency on this score.

We do not believe that the present administration bill now before Congress is enough. Primarily, it forbids the mail order sale of rifles and shotguns. While this may be better than nothing, it is only barely so. What is absolutely required is a law requiring every last gun-owner and gun-buyer to register every old and new firearm. This would at least bring some measure of control over guns bought locally and not through the mail.

To this, as we mentioned above, must be attached severe penalties for the possession of any unregistered or incorrectly registered firearm. This law is necessary since it would place upon the gun-bearer or the gun-possessor the obligation of proving that he had come by the weapon lawfully. Failure to prove this would be prima facie evidence of guilt, subjecting one to the penalties which such a crime deserves.

For years, there has been an almost unanimous demand on the part of law enforcement officials, from the Federal Bureau of Investigation chief, J. Edgar Hoover, on down, that the gun traffic be brought under control. It is a national disgrace that only a series of assassinations has been able to move Congress to the point where it was willing to bother with firearm legislation.

The ridiculousness of the opposition to strict controls can be seen from the statements of Harold W. Glassen, the rifle association's president. He termed efforts to control guns childish and nonsensical, and then went on to say that Americans were being deceived on this issue in the same way that the Nazis deceived the German people.

If this is the level of the association's thinking, we cannot think of a better reason for disregarding its views.

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, June 15, 1968]

AN OUTRAGED PEOPLE CAN, AND MUST, ROUT THE GUN LOBBY

At last something may be done about the lethal traffic in firearms in this country. The public is aroused as never before, Congress is hearing from the people, for a change, not just from the gun lobby, and a significant shift in the mood can be detected on Capitol Hill.

The Post Office Department has decided not to wait on Congress. Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson has announced new regulations requiring that packages containing guns be clearly labeled "firearms"; that delivery of firearms be held up until the chief law-enforcement officer of the community to which the package is addressed is notified, and that sawed-off shotguns and short-barreled rifles be banned from the mails unless addressed to authorized law-enforcement or military personnel.

All of this the Post Office Department could have done long ago. It didn't, apparently, because there was not sufficient public pressure to control firearms. It is only a stopgap measure. It is still up to Congress to enact strict controls.

The very least Congress should do is outlaw the interstate snipment of handguns, rifles and shotguns to individuals. It also should require registration of all firearms. The gun lobby, right on cue, claims that these restrictions will violate the rights of hunters and sportsmen, but it should be obvious by now that the gun lobby and the people who parrot its propaganda are strangers to the truth.

THE NEW JERSEY EXAMPLE

Two years ago New Jersey enacted a strict law covering the purchase of rifles and shotguns as well as handguns. Since then, the sale of hunting licenses has actually increased. "The law is preventing the sale of guns to those who should not have them," says Senator Case of New Jersey, "and it is not deterring legitimate sportsmen."

But neither facts nor reason have any effect on the gun lobby. The National Rifle Association has dealt in falsehood and distortion for so long that its responses are as predictable, and automatic, as those of Pavlov's dog.

Senator Tydings of Maryland has called for a congressional investigation of the gun lobby. One is overdue. The Senator also announced that he is asking the Internal Revenue Service to explain why the NRA is classified as nonprofit and why it is not required to register as a lobby. It is past time for the federal government to take a hard look at the operations of the NRA.

The public concern, and outrage, now being manifested in the wake of the assassination of Senator Kennedy must not be dissipated. "Laxness of U.S. gun controls is a national disgrace," the *Los Angeles Times* declares. "The rest of the world can only wonder how a civilized society can tolerate so obvious a threat to its safety."

We cannot tolerate it and remain civilized.

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, June 18, 1968]

THE NRA LOBBYISTS TAKE AIM

The full lobbying power of the National Rifle Association is focused now on efforts to offset a spontaneous demand for new controls on the sale of weapons which developed after the slaying of Robert F. Kennedy. Even that experienced and powerful group, however, seems unequal to the task.

Public sentiment and the arguments from Congressmen are running strong in favor of effective new controls.

Senator Warren G. Magnuson who formerly accepted the NRA position now argues: "The inconvenience (of gun controls) will be so insignificant; the contribution to the law and order of our society, so great."

This, basically, is the line taken by the thousands of citizens who already have asked their congressmen to favor new legislation and the line which the NRA has now made the target of a massive letter-writing campaign. In the past, the NRA has been able to use these tactics to convince enough legislators that most Americans favor easy access to deadly weapons. This was true even when survey after survey showed increased support for effective controls.

The organized efforts—with support from 900,000 adult members—still could prevail if the NRA can generate more pressure than that developed by the unorganized majority in favor of strong legislation. Many individuals already have told their congressmen how they feel, and even more will have to do so if the effect of the NRA campaign is to be offset.

In supporting such controls, the American Civil Liberties Union points out that strong legislation is not only necessary but is consistent with the right-to-bear-arms provision of the Constitution (Second Amendment) which says: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a Free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." ACLU spokesmen said the right to keep and bear arms applied only to the preservation of a militia and not to the possession of guns by individuals.

Such a right, the ACLU feels, must be limited in support of the more important freedom of "free and fearless debate on which our free society rests."

Reason is on the side of the strict controls but reason will prevail only if the emotional campaign waged by the NRA can be matched by a continuation of the flow of letters from the majority.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Sun-Times, June 20, 1968]

GUN BLOODSHED GOES ON

The great public outcry for gun controls appears to have swayed a previously reluctant Senate. The administration's firearms legislation has made encouraging early progress. Even Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) has relaxed his stand against gun curbs.

Nonetheless, a first-inning score doesn't end a ballgame. If the nation is at last to see an end to free traffic in killer weapons, the public must continue to press for the strongest possible gun-control measures.

Only the most stringent restrictions can reduce the bloodshed that has become a national shame. An Associated Press survey showed that between midnight Sunday and Wednesday morning 49 persons died by gunfire in the United States. There were 29 homicides, 16 suicides and four accidental deaths. In the Chicago area alone on Tuesday, two persons were killed and six wounded in shooting tragedies.

The administration is seeking rifle and shotgun controls similar to handgun curbs that were written into the omnibus crime bill. Mail-order sales of long guns would be banned. Over-the-counter sales to out-of-state residents would be forbidden. No one under 18 could buy a rifle or shotgun. These are sound restrictions. Yet why not go even further and approve legislation for registering all guns and licensing all owners as proposed by Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (D-Md.)?

In any case, Congress must remain convinced that the public wants firearms legislation. The gun lobbies certainly will not relax their efforts. In Springfield Tuesday gun proponents sought to repeal the state's new owner-registration law, which goes into effect July 1. As usual, the arguments for killing the law ignored the lives it might save and hinged on specious allusions to communism and fascism.

We urge again that the American electorate counter such red-herring tactics and apply pressure on their lawmakers. Gun controls—sound and inclusive ones—are a national need.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, June 18, 1968]

TOWARD SANE GUN LAWS

The great awakening seems to be taken place. The heretofore silent majority of Americans who favor gun control is speaking up, stirred finally by the murder of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy to say "Enough!"

Deluged by mail from their constituents, Senators and Representatives long intimidated by the gun lobby are shifting position to support stronger control laws. Even the arms manufacturers have come forward with a disclaimer to the effect that they are not really opposed to strict regulation of gun sales.

The tide was long in turning. Just last month the Senate voted down an amendment to the anticrime bill that would have applied to rifles and shotguns the same weak restrictions reluctantly accepted for pistols and revolvers. But the chances now are favorable—unless the American public goes to sleep again—for some really meaningful legislation to curb the deadly traffic in guns.

Just how deadly that traffic is can easily be demonstrated by the record. Last year—apart from the Vietnam war—more than 20,000 Americans died by gunfire and 100,000 were wounded. Of the fatalities, 7,000 were labeled murder or homicide, 3,000 were accidental, and 10,000 were suicides.

Since 1900, nearly 800,000 Americans have been killed by privately owned guns—far more than 630,768 Americans killed in all the wars this nation has fought in its two centuries.

The easy access to guns in the United States has horrified visitors from abroad, who have wondered when we were going to outgrow the raw violence of the now-vanished frontier. Yet every effort to enact laws to restrict gun ownership or register firearms ran afoul of the potent gun lobby led by the National Rifle Assn.

Even after the assassination of Sen. Robert Kennedy, a spokesman for the NRA could angrily denounce the wave of gun-control demands. "We see Americans behaving like children," he said, "parroting nonsense, accepting unproved theory as fact and reacting as the Germans did in the 1930s as the Goebbels propaganda mill drilled lies into their subconsciousness."

We would hardly call 20,000 gun deaths a year unproved theory or nonsense. And it is the rankest kind of demagoguery for an outfit that has bragged it could produce half a million letters opposing gun control within 72 hours to invoke the Goebbels ghost against its opponents.

When George Gallup first polled the nation on gun control 34 years ago, 84 per cent favored strong legislation. The percentage has not changed appreciably. If this majority continues to make its voice heard, this nation may finally put a rein on the only consumer product whose sole purpose is to deal destruction and death.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Evening News, June 13, 1968]

COURTESY OF CONGRESS

Gov. Hughes has directed a strong but merited attack on Congress for its equivocation and delay in enacting an effective gun-control law. As the governor who pushed through the Legislature the strongest such law in the nation, Mr. Hughes is well qualified to speak on this subject.

Noting that the President's request for a ban on the mail order sales of rifles and shotguns is bottled up in committees of both houses, Gov. Hughes accused Congress of "encouraging lunatics, addicts and criminals" to purchase arms through the mails. He pointed out that New Jersey's two-year-old ban on sales of firearms had stopped the purchase of 890 guns. But there is nothing to prevent mail order sales to lunatics, addicts and criminals, he said, "by courtesy of the U.S. government."

Even as the governor spoke, the House Judiciary Committee by a tie vote blocked the mail order ban. A new vote is scheduled, however, amid signs that the gun lobby is beginning to lose ground. Even in the Senate, where gun-control prospects are bleakest, members are hearing from the folk back home.

Gov. Hughes' statement should help refute the specious argument heard in Washington that firearms control is a matter for the states. If New Jersey, with its new law, cannot control this deadly traffic to unfit purchasers, what state in the nation can?

[From the Newark (N.J.) Evening News, June 18, 1968]

TIME TO ACT

Public pressure following the assassinations of Sen. Robert Kennedy and Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., at last appears to be outweighting the obstructionist pressures of the National Rifle Association and assorted sportsmen's organizations.

Influential members of the Senate Judiciary Committee are changing their minds. There now is hope that the deadlock which has bottled up effective gun-control legislation will be broken this week.

True, veterans like Sens. Mansfield and Dirksen still believe gun regulation should rest with the states. This permissive attitude nevertheless has one serious flaw.

Residents of, say, New Jersey, with its strong gun-control law, still can mail-order a gun from states where weapons are sold as freely as fishing rods or snorkel tubes. Fifty uniform state laws could close the gaps in the mail traffic in firearms—but so could one sound federal law.

Such legislation is represented by the Tydings bill which the Senate Judiciary Committee promises to re-examine this week. While they are at it, the 18 members of the committee might also add the reasonable requirement that long guns—shotguns and rifles—bear serial numbers, as pistols must do.

It may be argued that no law can keep a madman or criminal from getting his hands on a gun. More to the point, however, is the fact that countries with strong gun curbs have fewer homicides. Here in our own country over the last three years, guns figured in 69 per cent of the homicides in free-wheeling Texas, while the figure has been 38 per cent in New Jersey since it adopted its restrictive gun law. In addition, New Jersey's law last year kept guns out of the hands of 890 unstable persons—those with records of narcotics addiction, alcoholism, mental illness or criminality.

Shock, compassion or any other emotion arising out of the slayings of the Kennedy brothers and Dr. King is buttressed by statistics. Also by just plain common sense. It's about time Congress saw it that way.

[From the Ithaca (N.Y.) Journal, June 19, 1968]

SUPPORT FOR GUN CONTROLS

Those Americans who seek new restraints on the nation's traffic in guns have gained some solid support in recent days.

Here are some of the developments:

The Ithaca Gun Co., has urged Congress to adopt legislation further strengthening existing federal firearms laws by banning all interstate mail-order shipments of shotguns and rifles to individuals.

Three other manufacturers of firearms have modified their opposition to the administration's control proposals.

Sen. Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., majority leader of the U.S. Senate, has endorsed a bill requiring the registration of all firearms and the possession of a permit for their use.

The U.S. Conference of Mayors has called for the banning of interstate and mail-order sales.

The National Association of Attorneys General has asked for "restrictive and realistic legislation."

A Senate Judiciary Committee subcommittee has approved a bill to ban the sale, by mail order, of shotguns and rifles.

If this country is ever to have realistic legislation controlling guns, it is essential that Congress know the feelings of those supporting such laws. It is not too late for individuals to write to their senator, Jacob K. Javits, and their congressmen in The Journal's circulation area, Howard W. Robison, Samuel S. Stratton, and Charles E. Goodell. Letters may be addressed to Sen. Javits at the Senate Office Building and to the representatives at the House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

For those who may still be unconvinced, here are two contrasting statements:

President Johnson, appealing to Congress "in the name of sanity, in the name of

safety, and in the name of an aroused nation, to give America the gun control law it needs."

Harold W. Glassen, president of the National Rifle Assn.: "We are witnessing the strange and masochistic spectacle of tens of thousands of normally proud and level-headed Americans begging the federal to take from them by force of law one of their basic civil rights, the right to keep and bear arms."

Mr. Glassen's statement does not bear scrutiny. There is no attempt to take away the right to keep and bear arms. The goal is the registration of firearms in an attempt to keep them out of the hands of the mentally unstable and the criminally bent.

The tens of thousands of Americans referred to by Mr. Glassen are far from making a spectacle of themselves. On the contrary, they are making a lot of sense.

[From the Ithaca (N.Y.) Journal, June 6, 1968]

Guns and the Nation's History of Violence

"The history of violence in the United States over the past 10 years is eloquent evidence that we need more, not less control of firearms, particularly military and quasi-military weapons."

These words were spoken by Frank C. Ramon, Seattle's police chief, right after the Supreme Court of the United States voided the National Firearms Act of 1934. The decision was handed down on Jan. 29.

The act applied to sawed-off shotguns, machine guns, mufflers, and silencers, but not to full-size shotguns, rifles, and pistols. One section required registration and payment of a tax by makers, dealers, and importers of guns covered by the law. Another section required Treasury Department approval of sale or transfer of these weapons.

The Supreme Court ruled that application of the statute exposed an individual to prosecution on another charge. The process thus violated, the court held, the Fifth Amendment's privilege against self-incrimination.

The weapon that fatally wounded Sen. Robert F. Kennedy early Wednesday morning was by no means a military or quasi-military weapon. It was a pistol of light caliber. But at short range even a light weapon can inflict mortal damage.

In February President Johnson asked for gun-control legislation. He said:

"Last year two million guns were sold in the United States. Many of them were sold to hardened criminals, snipers, mental defectives, rapists, habitual drunkards, and juveniles. There is no excuse for this."

In May, the U.S. Senate rejected a proposal to ban interstate, mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns. It is ironic that the chief sponsor of the measure is Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., brother of Robert and of the assassinated President John F. Kennedy.

The Senate did ban the same kind of sales of pistols and revolvers, except to licensed dealers; prohibit the sale of handguns to minors and out-of-state buyers, and raise standards and fees for the licensing of gun dealers.

In New York State, the Assembly rejected Gov. Rockefeller's request for a law licensing all rifles and shotguns in the state.

The powerful lobby opposed to gun controls bases its case on the Second Amendment of the Constitution: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement has asserted that the Supreme Court and lower courts have consistently interpreted this amendment to prevent federal interference with a state militia and not with regard to an individual's right to bear arms.

The commission has also said that licensing and registration of guns would merely constitute an inconvenience and would not penalize the law-abiding owner of a gun.

Americans have the right to keep and operate automobiles, but there is no great outcry over the licensing of operators and the registration of the vehicles.

In practically all of the legislation that has been proposed, there is no intent to deprive an individual of the right to own guns, except where there is clear evidence that he is a criminal or is insane or is otherwise not qualified to own and shoot a gun.

That sign on automobile bumpers, to the effect that if guns are outlawed, only outlaws will own guns, is misleading in the extreme. There is no campaign to outlaw guns, only to regulate their use.

It is also silly to assert that registration of guns will put an end to murders and wanton shootings. But such a statute could well be a deterrent that would reduce the nation's appalling crime rate and its proliferating tendency to violence.

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Times, June 18, 1968]

New Support for Control of Firearms

After President John F. Kennedy's assassination Congress passed a stronger civil-rights law than it had been willing to pass upon his urging while he lived.

An aftermath of Senator Robert F. Kennedy's assassination may be a federal law that applies stricter controls over firearms in private hands than had seemed possible before.

Six senators who have heretofore opposed a ban on mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns now support President Johnson's plea for such legislation.

Senator Joseph D. Tydings, D-Md., and nine other senators meanwhile are sponsoring an even tougher bill, and Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield has given it his support. This one would require federal registration and permits for all firearms, unless states pass their own registration laws. President Johnson over the weekend called on the 50 states to write jointly and enact uniformly a model gun-control law.

The omnibus crime bill, passed by Congress but still unsigned by the President, contains a ban on mail-order sale of handguns but makes no reference to rifles or shotguns. The stricter bill being sponsored by the administration would not only prohibit mail-order sale of rifles and shotguns, but would prohibit their sale to nonresidents of a state and to persons less than 18 years old, and would prohibit sale of handguns to persons less than 21 years old.

Meanwhile, opponents of gun-control laws have not been idle. The National Rifle Association (NRA) is urging its 900,000 members to deluge Congress with letters opposing stricter gun controls. It has employed this method in the past with great success. Now, however, spontaneous letters expressing a national sentiment for restriction on sales of guns have been reaching the White House and members of Congress. National opinion polls have indicated that most Americans—although they may not be as prone as members of NRA to write letters to Congress—do think there ought to be some restrictions on the sale of firearms.

A CASUAL COMMERCE

Most of them do not believe that restricting sales will make assassinations impossible, or make crime disappear from American cities. Neither do most of them believe—as some opponents of gun controls profess to believe—that a law restricting sales and requiring registration of owners is a first step toward confiscation of all privately owned firearms.

Most of them take the rational view that commerce in firearms is all too casual, and that steps need to be taken to record ownership of guns in the public interest.

Senator Warren Magnuson, D-Wash., chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, is one of those newly committed to prohibiting mail-order sale of rifles and shotguns. It was not only the assassination of Kennedy that changed his views, he has said, but "the violence and terror surging through the streets of every city and every state."

"This has become a matter of deep conscience," he said.

It has become more than a letter-writing contest between members of NRA and the unorganized opponents of indiscriminate firearms sales.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, June 6, 1968]

To Protect the Nation From Itself

This nation must do more than mourn the horrifying attempt upon the life of Sen. Robert Kennedy.

Anguish must lead to action if we are to curb the ugly violence that so infects American life. No society can long tolerate such a threat.

Congress has the obligation to begin by controlling the means of violence—through legislation far stronger than any pending or even proposed. No amount of political pressure, real or imagined, can now be allowed to prevent effective gun restrictions.

Without delay, Congress should require that every firearm in the United States be registered. No handgun, rifle or shotgun should be sold without a check of the purchaser and the weapon by local police. And all interstate gun sales ought to be prohibited.

The pallid restraints upon lethal weapons voted by a timid Senate are totally unacceptable in the wake of the gunning down of yet another national leader.

As amended and sent to the House, the pending restrictions would only limit interstate traffic in handguns. Rifles and shotguns were deleted in a vote that should shame the Senators who were influenced by the loud but empty arguments of the gun lobby.

Let there be an end to the terrible nonsense that restraint upon the possession of death weapons is not needed in a civilized and complex society. No other nation in the world is so foolish as to countenance gun control laws as weak as those in the United States.

There is nothing in the Constitution that gives a citizen the indiscriminate right to own a gun or that prohibits the government to impose restrictions. Who can seriously argue that nothing should be done to keep dangerous weapons out of the hands of criminals, psychotics and juveniles?

It may be argued that even with such laws the would-be assassin of Sen. Kennedy could still have armed himself. Perhaps. Perhaps not. Surely the gun he used could have been far more readily traced.

Surely Lee Harvey Oswald would not have been able to buy the mail-order rifle that killed President Kennedy had the proper laws been enacted. And many of the more than 6,000 persons murdered with guns last year, or the nearly 3,000 accidentally killed, would undoubtedly still be alive if Congress had protected the public.

"What in the name of conscience will it take to pass a truly effective gun control law," demanded the President of the United States.

The shooting of Sen. Kennedy is the final outrage. Congress must now act to protect the nation from itself while there is still time.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, June 12, 1968]

Firearms Curbs Must Be Uncurbed—Pretty Soon

(By Paul Coates)

It was about a month ago when the Senate refused to vote effective curbs on rifle sales.

By 53 to 29, they rejected an amendment introduced by Senator Edward M. (Ted) Kennedy that would have extended the ban on mail order handgun sales to include rifles and shotguns.

At the time, Ted Kennedy said failure to include rifles and shotguns in the mail order ban would be "a loophole for death and destruction."

Now we read that even in the wake of this new assassination, the Congress has passed what President Johnson called "a watered-down version of the gun control law I rcommended." And a bill that was labeled, by liberal congressmen, "a cruel hoax."

Among those voting against the Kennedy amendment were California's Sen. George Murphy and Congressman James Utt from Orange County who said of gun control legislation: "such a scapegoat will not solve our society's breakdown."

Perhaps you might have expected such a remarkable statement from Utt. Over the years, he has issued rather startling pronouncements.

In 1963 Utt said that he "regards Ralph Bunche (then the U.N. under secretary) "more inclined to the communist bloc than the U.S." He labeled the late Adlai Stevenson as "a dedicated socialist."

On May 30, 1968, Utt said in a speech that he would risk atomic warfare to gain the release of the Pueblo and her crew. He said also that the United States could win the war in Vietnam by bombing a single dam. "All we have to do is drop a bomb on the Red River dam and we'll kill a million of them."

So, I suppose it's no use in letting Utt know your feelings about gun control. But since Sen. Murphy has to be sensitive to all the people of California and not just the ultra conservative segment in Orange County, maybe we can do something to change his mind. At least we can barrage him with letters and telegrams.

Unfortunately, we can't do anything about another member of the Congress who voted against the Kennedy amendment—Sen. Mike Mansfield who comes from one of the "hunting" states and, apparently, voted the way he thought the people in Montana would wish him to vote.

Mansfield is a celebrated liberal in the Senate. But possibly, his liberal ideals were weighed against the looming vision of the polling booth. And the ideals lost.

The Senate, of which he is the majority leader, also made a puzzling rejection of an amendment by Sen. Edward W. Brooke that would outlaw the sale to private individuals of anti-tank guns, bazookas, mortars and other such military weapons.

Why? In God's name, why?

If this attitude of lunacy continues; if the Congress doesn't vote in strict gun control measures, the day might come when there will be such a public cry against this outrage, that there will be no guns in our country at all, except for essential purposes. And the National Rifle Assn. will be abolished.

I hope that day is fast approaching.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, June 12, 1968]

A Tie Vote

Although a tie vote in the House Judiciary Committee Tuesday has temporarily stymied efforts to enact strong gun-control legislation, this is not the end of the story.

Another attempt will be made to get the bill onto the House floor. Success may well be in the offing. The deadlock was a disappointment but the narrowness of the defeat was indicative of mounting realization on Capitol Hill, as across the Nation that gun regulations are necessary as a step in curbing the crime and violence that plague our society.

In view of the tragic events of the past week, the continuing reluctance of some Congressmen to take a realistic stand in favor of gun controls is hard to understand. President Johnson, who earlier this week had met with his newly-appointed commission to study violence in America, expressed shock at the House committee's negative vote. That is our feeling, too.

We should think that responsible gun owners would join the fight for sensible controls.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, June 6, 1968]

Gun Control Still Minimal

The shooting of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy should spur meaningful federal legislation over control of firearms.

It found the House with a federal firearms control measure on its hands, part of an omnibus crime control bill passed by the Senate, but one which also contains objectionable parts concerning wiretap privileges and an override of the Supreme Court.

The firearms clause, Title IV, however, is by contrast relatively minor.

Chiefly it would, in effect, prevent sale of weapons across the counter to out-of-state buyers, prevent sale of guns to minors, prevent mail order sale of handguns interstate.

It would not otherwise regulate, unless amended, the sale of hunting rifles and similar firearms.

The House appeared to have cleared the way for passage of this Senate-approved bill by taking steps yesterday designed to bypass any House-Senate conference committee.

Assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. sparked strong demands for federal control over firearms.

So did the racial riots which disclosed a large number of guns in the hands of zealots, white and Negro.

There is no steady pattern for assassination; President Kennedy and Dr. King were killed by rifles at long range. Sen. Kennedy was shot by a small handgun. But accessibility of guns, particularly through the mail order houses, long has been a burden on law enforcement. It has been possible for juveniles, criminals and even lunatics to order guns from another state when they could not purchase these weapons in person.

Congress, however, has been reluctant to pass a really stiff gun federal control and registration law due to pressure from gun lobbies, which insist arms-bearing is an American right, and from groups who regard regulation of personal firearms as part of a Communist plot.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., younger brother of the critically injured senator and a strong backer for gun legislation, doesn't believe the solution to crime will be found in gun control alone; the basic ethical and moral weakness in society must be overcome, too. But 71% of the American public, according to a Harris poll in April, favored stricter gun control as urban crime increases. Congress should heed this opinion.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Star, June 13, 1968]

A Poor Crime Control Bill

The anti-crime bill which Congress sent up to the President last week is a bad bill. Mr. Johnson would be justified in vetoing it.

Congress was overly-zealous with some parts of the bill, particularly those seeking to overturn several Supreme Court decisions relating to the rights of suspects and criminals, and giving federal and local officials almost unlimited authority to engage in wiretapping under court order.

It was far less zealous with the measure's gun control provision. The legislation would regulate the sale of hand guns in interstate commerce, but would do nothing about such sales of rifles and shotguns. The President and the public, shocked by the rising crime rate and by the assassination of Sen. Robert Kennedy, wants far more stringent regulation of gun sales.

President Johnson has asked for a new and tougher firearms control law, but that proposal is being held up in the House Judiciary Committee while its members wait to see what he will do with the anticrime bill. The President may permit it to become law without his signature, but he could indicate his displeasure more forcefully by vetoing the measure.

Congress could then pass it over his veto, but if its members are as concerned about law and order as they claim to be, they would turn to writing a better law, one that meets the needs of the people.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, June 16, 1968]

Lack of Gun Controls Disgrace, Danger to Nation

A British journalist has written of us: "However much I may love and admire America, its gun laws come near to ruling it out of civilized society."

They do. Our permissive tolerance of almost universal firearms ownership, and of promiscuous firearms traffic, is nothing short of scandalous. It has turned the public arena into a shooting gallery. It has helped put terror on the streets.

No system of government, no civilized society, can long endure when the cream of its leadership keeps getting shot by crackpots and fanatics; When some citizens regard the gun as a manly means of dissent; when a powerful and well heeled firearms lobby persists in distorting the facts about essential gun control legislation; when hordes of well meaning sportsmen swallow these distortions without bothering to inform themselves; when children of 12 can lug high powered rifles into the hunting field, as they can in Wisconsin and elsewhere; when the substantial majority of citizens who favor sane controls fail to stand up and be counted.

"We make it easy for men of all shades of sanity to acquire whatever weapons and ammunition they desire," Robert Kennedy declared in mourning the rifle assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, jr. Now Kennedy, like his president brother, like the revered civil rights leader, has been cut down by an assassin's bullets.

From 1900 to 1966 guns were involved in 280,000 murders, 370,000 suicides and 145,000 accidental deaths in the United States. Total: 795,000 victims of bullets since the turn of the century, or almost twice the battle dead in all of our wars since the Spanish-American war.

In 1962 there were 29 people murdered by gunfire in Great Britain, 20 in France, 9 in Belgium, 6 in Denmark, 5 in Sweden. United States total that same year: 4,954.

Nobody really knows how many firearms there are in the United States because controls are minimal. Estimates range from 50 million to 200 million. In Japan, by contrast, fewer than 100 citizens in a population of 100 million have licenses permitting them to possess handguns.

Guns, of course, are only a particularly deadly tool of disaster, not the cause of it. The National Rifle association, leader in the fight against meaningful gun control legislation, is quite correct when it declares: "Guns don't kill people—people kill people." Cars seldom cause traffic accidents; drivers do. Thus we put strict restraints on drivers. Why should owners of guns, designed for the specific purpose of destroying, be exempt?

In sanity, the nation needs new laws to keep track of guns, and to see that the wrong people don't get and use them. At minimum, the following steps are needed:

Impose a total ban on the interstate shipments of *all* firearms (not just pistols) to individuals, as repeatedly proposed in congress. All other regulation, federal, state or local, falters when anybody can obtain guns in secrecy across state lines, by mail order.

Register all firearms, by name of owner and by description and serial number of the weapon. This probably would be some deterrent to lawless use and a genuine help to police in tracing gun ownership.

Require every gun owner to obtain a license or certificate under eligibility standards clearly defined by law, so that police could not deny a certificate on the basis of whim or bias. Surely convicted felons, persons with a history of mental illness, children and chronic users of alcohol or drugs should be among those denied certificates. An appeals procedure should be setup for persons denied certificates.

Bar sale of ammunition to anybody who lacks a certificate.

Require the certificate applicant to display his competence to use firearms and his knowledge of basic gun safety rules.

These basic controls are needed either at the federal level, or at the state level under uniform federal standards, with a firm deadline for state compliance.

Meanwhile it is wise to encourage passage of meaningful controls at state and local levels, such as the gun registration ordinance proposed for Milwaukee.

These requirements would not "take away" the gun of a single qualified citizen; at most they would pose an inconvenience. They would not make the streets, the countryside or the political rally "safe" overnight, but they offer a start toward sanity. Motor vehicle laws haven't ended accidents, but what sane citizen could contemplate the potential slaughter on the public highway without them?

To the extent that such laws would make it more difficult for the unqualified to get guns they would deter the gunshot violence that shames our nation.

[From the New York Times, June 12, 1968]

Unjamming Gun Controls

What a rising tide of violence and a series of assassinations have failed to do—unjam legislative processes to permit enactment of an effective gun-control law—the people in their honest outrage must do themselves. It is up to them to convince an astonishingly stubborn Congress that the nation needs the additional protection such a law would accord.

Members of the House Judiciary Committee blocked positive action yesterday by a tie vote, after Senate leaders lamely rejected the idea of new controls on the ground that they would prove no "cure-all." Of course they wouldn't. But stiffer gun laws would reduce the risk of deadly weapons coming into the hands of those who should not have them.

Risks that can be reduced need to be reduced after so much killing and crime. If some members of Congress continue not to think so, it is time their constituents demand action.

[From the New York Times, June 6, 1968]

The Sound of Gunfire, Tolling

Political assassination in all its horror has again struck into the consciousness—and the conscience—of the American people. The enormity of this crime goes even beyond the depths of the poignant personal tragedy that has once again enveloped the Kennedy family: political assassination strikes at the very fabric of the state, of American democracy and of the most basic American institutions.

But now the thoughts and prayers of all Americans are focused not on the shattering implications of this latest example of man's unrestrained violence, but rather on a gallant young figure fighting for his life in a Los Angeles hospital. Senator Robert F. Kennedy and his anguished family have the grieved and shocked sympathy of their fellow-citizens throughout this country and their fellowmen in every corner of the civilized world.

And as Americans everywhere watch through the night in prayerful hope that Mr. Kennedy will pull through this terrible ordeal, they must resolve once again—so soon again—that this Government and this society will do everything, literally everything, it can do to thwart such terroristic acts that defy all decency and reason.

By grim coincidence, in the House of Representatives of the United States today there comes up for vote a Senate-approved measure that contains a thoroughly inadequate, half-hearted attempt to control the trade in guns.

"It amazes me that we continue to tolerate a system of laws which make it so outrageously easy for any criminal, insane person, drug addict or child to obtain lethal firearms which can be used to rain violence and death on innocent people."

These words were spoken in the Senate last month by Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, but the Senate ignored them. Title IV of the so-called crime control bill on which the House will vote today is, as it now stands, a minimal attempt at genuine firearms regulation. It merely prohibits the interstate mail-order sale of pistols and revolvers and bans over-the-counter sale if the buyer lives outside the dealer's state.

The obvious hole is, as we have repeatedly noted failure to regulate interstate shipment of rifles and shotguns. Senator Edward Kennedy introduced an amendment to control such mail-order sales. Defeated 53–29. Senator Dodd introduced an amendment making it illegal for anyone under eighteen to buy a rifle or shotgun on his own. Defeated, 54–29. Senator Javits introduced an amendment that included an affidavit procedure for mail-order rifle and shotgun sales. Defeated, 52–28. Senator Brooke introduced an amendment to outlaw other destructive devices, such as hand-grenades, bombs and machine guns. Defeated, 47–30.

Thus, the record is clear. Senators mainly from the Southern and Western states, in lockstep with the National Rifle Association and other lobbyists for private arms and ammunition, have refused time and again to take these steps to prevent weapons from falling into the hands of potential lawbreakers and assassins. This failure to act set a discouraging example for those state legislatures, city councils and officials who were seeking stronger local firearms control.

It can be debated long into the night whether there is deep malaise in a society that breaks out in fits of madness and violence. What is not debatable is that when it came time to "do something about it" by law, the United States Congress failed.

And people all over the country, who look for leadership and guidance from Washington, heard once again the sound of gunfire, tolling.

[From the New York Times, June 21, 1968]

High Noon for Guns

The big shooting scene is coming up in Congress. It is taking on the look of the familiar walkdown between the good guys and the gunslingers at high noon in the Old West.

The overwhelming mail demand for tighter gun control has left little question that a law will be passed by this Congress before it adjourns. The big question is: Will it be another half-way measure or a truly effective law?

The Administration's gun-control bill cleared the House Judiciary Committee yesterday, but is stalled in the Senate Judiciary Committee until next Thursday. It would ban direct mail-order sales of all firearms and ammunition and prohibit over-the-counter sales to minors and out-of-state residents. This is certainly a great improvement over the weak title in the omnibus crime-control bill that the President has just signed into law. It covers rifles and shotguns as well as the now-banned interstate sale of pistols and revolvers.

The Administration bill is fairly certain of passage. Senator Dirksen is now in favor of it. It has the tacit approval of Senator Hruska, who has said he will do nothing to delay it; in the past he and other opponents of strong legislation saw eye to eye with the sharpshooters at the National Rifle Association.

But next week a still more comprehensive gun-control bill, introduced by Senator Tydings, will also come to the floor. His National Gun Crime Prevention Act requires licensing *and* registration for the purchase and possession of any firearms. His co-sponsors include Majority Leader Mansfield and thirteen other Senators. Identical bills have been introduced in the House.

Senator McCarthy who has established his present strong position in the Presidential race by taking clear-cut stands on Vietnam and other key issues, is unfortunately showing no comparable decisiveness on gun control. He has said that "stronger state laws were necessary," but he doubted whether a Federal law that went beyond "certain limited registration" of guns "could be effective." To this equivocation he has added a warning that legislation should not be put through "under panic conditions." He is wrong here because gun-control laws have been fully debated—and a clear choice is now available that calls for every legislator, and especially every Presidential candidate, to stand up and he counted.

President Johnson has said, "Americans should not have to wait any longer for a strict gun-control law." We agree. The strictest—because it would inform the proper police officials about who owns private firearms—is Senator Tydings' bill. The time to pass it is now when the public demands a real law.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, June 19, 1967]

The Peoples' Lobby

A persistent aspect of the controversy over gun-control legislation has been the flood of mail emanating from members of such organizations as the National Rifle Association. The N.R.A. alone musters some 900,000 adherents and, as a result, Congress has come under an organized lobbying attempt to influence it on the gun-control question.

Since the assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, though, a new element has appeared on the gun-control legislation scene. This is the un-organized pressure on Congress to enact strict gun-control laws. It is a form of pressure that can only be described as lobbying by the people. Those in favor of gun control laws are not organized into such groups as the N.R.A. They are simply the millions of Americans who are horrified by the continuing carnage wrought upon this nation by lax firearms legislation.

Nationwide polls show, in fact, that four out of five Americans favor rigid gun control laws. So far the will of this vast majority has been thwarted by the organized anti-control lobbies in Washington. But, with the memory of recent tragedy and strong Presidential pressure—plus the "people's lobby"—it seems that at long last there is a possibility that Congress will act as it should on the gun-control question.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, June 16, 1968]

It's About Time

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

I

New York.—Today's double-barreled column is divided into two sections because two separate and still-developing stories shared equal billing in this week's top news.

Both, curiously enough, involved guns—enemy guns in Vietnam and all kinds of guns in America. Otherwise, the stories have no connection, so we'll take them up one at a time, beginning with those enemy guns.

Because of those guns—specifically the Russian-made 122-mm. rocket launchers which have been cruelly shelling Saigon civilians off and on since May 5—a broad, new escalation of the war has become a distinct possibility.

It is unthinkable that this nation will much longer continue to exercise the bombing restraints ordered by President Johnson last March 31 when our curtailment does nothing but permit the enemy to mount new atrocities.

As you may have read, I was so burned up over the enemy's inhuman shelling of Saigon's helpless people that I cabled a protest last weekend to Averell Harriman and Cyrus Vance, our Ambassadors at the Paris peace talks.

The cable, voicing what I believe to be the feeling of most Americans, said that the North Vietnamese representatives at the talks should be told to cut out the bombardment forthwith or we would feel free to renew our own bombing.

Maybe my cable had nothing to do with what happened at the talks last Wednesday, although it was front-paged in Paris and by many European papers. The point is that something did happen—and it was about time.

Mr. Harriman didn't exactly read the riot act to the enemy. Diplomats don't talk that way. But there was no doubt what he meant when he told Xuan Thuy & company:

"We are patient, but we must be firm when the lives of our troops and of our Allies are at stake.

"The terrorist action against the southern capital is killing civilians without any military objective, and we are gravely concerned.

"The President of the United States has taken measures of great moderation—and this is not the proper way to reply to the first step he has made."

That's putting it mildly, but the veiled threat that we may soon be forced to retaliate by bombing Hanoi could not be missed by the enemy.

In any event, 13 straight days of indiscriminate and bloody bombardment of Saigon came to an abrupt halt the next day. Whether it will stay halted, however, is another matter.

The same day the chain of daily bombardments ended, on Thursday, the enemy's Liberation Radio broadcast warnings that the shelling of the southern capital would be renewed on a larger scale beginning this weekend.

According to the broadcast, and according to Vietcong leaflets scattered about Saigon, the threatened new terror assault will consist of a nightly barrage of 100 rockets and will continue for 100 consecutive days.

I strongly doubt the Communists are capable of doing this, but even if they resume daily rocket attacks on any scale whatever on non-military targets—then the time for diplomatic language will be over.

If a new attack does begin this weekend, it will be because the enemy thinks he can establish a bargaining point. He is likely to come to next Wednesday's Paris meeting and say he'll stop the Saigon shelling if we stop all our now drastically limited bombing of the North.

If the Communists get away with this, they will have succeeded in achieving by blackmail what they want more than anything else—a full halt to the aerial punishment which has been wearing them down.

It must not succeed, and it won't succeed if I know that man in the White House. Our next move, if the terror attacks are resumed, will be to tell the enemy one last time to cut it out—or else.

If we do not, the Paris peace talks will be totally meaningless.

One final thought. If we do resume all-out bombing—and I mean really all-out this time—I hope the American people will give it the support it obviously deserves.

The following is from a letter I received from a U.S. military commander in Vietnam this week. Because it is so pertinent, a brief extract is given here:

"I think many of us on the fighting front are terribly disappointed with the lack of support on the home front. I never thought it possible that in time of need the American people wouldn't rally around their fighting forces.

"The tragic thing is that this support apparently was pulled out at a time when we were winning the war from a military point of view. If anything, we should have turned the pressure on, accelerated the fighting, and intensified our own terms for a settlement of the war.

"We have to face the realities of the day, and this means not to lose patience and give in to our frustrations."

Why not show this to the next faint-hearted, frustrated friend you run across.

II

This second section, dealing with the prevalence of guns in America and the need for more control over them, has got to be short and snappy. Seems like I'm always running out of space just as I am getting warmed up.

Right now, as the result of Robert Kennedy's assassination, there is a tremendous wave of public sentiment for strong federal firearms legislation. Even a balky Congress, which thus far has refused the President's demand for a ban on mail order sales of rifles and shotguns, reportedly is wavering.

If America is ever to have such legislation, certainly now is the time for the public to keep up the pressure—by letters to our lawmakers, by petitions, telegrams and even telephone calls if possible.

The NRA has blocked stringent legislation for many years and they know time is on their side.

But there is no question in my mind that the NRA is counting on the public to do what it did after the assassination of President Kennedy—clamor for gun controls for awhile and then lose its zeal as time passes.

It would seem many Americans have lost their power for sustained indignation.

There is absolutely no good reason in the world why any criminal, any mentally unstable person—even any child—can buy a rifle or shotgun merely by sending in a coupon and a money order.

And I'll go further than that, I have yet to hear a convincing reason why every legally owned gun of any description should not be registered and held under a license.

It is maintained that this is an infringement of personal liberty and to this I say nuts! You have to be licensed and registered to run a car. You have to register to get Social Security and Medicare. You even have to be registered to vote.

The licensing and registering of all guns would not prevent a single responsible citizen from owning and possessing one or more for any legitimate purpose.

It would not stamp out armed crime by any means, but it would surely help—as the experience of many other countries proves. Additionally, a lot of non-criminal but unstable people would be kept from the temptation to violence so frequently created by a gun in the house.

There's no point in expanding on all this. I have long believed—and millions of Americans believe—that this nation should have really strong legislation to control the traffic in firearms.

If you are one of those Americans, you can help the drive to get such legislation by sitting down today and writing to your Senators and Congressman.

Or have you already lost the power for sustained indignation?

[From the New York Post, June 10, 1968]

THE MERCHANTS OF DEATH

Despite overwhelming popular sentiment for effective gun-control legislation reported again by the Gallup poll and other surveys, Congressional leaders were predicting over the weekend that President Johnson's latest plea for such a measure will be ignored. Instead the odds remained strong that the President will be confronted on a "take-it-or-leave-it" basis with a spurious anti-crime statute containing blatantly unconstitutional provisions and token curbs on the traffic in arms.

As Sen. Joseph Tydings (D-Md.) pointed out on "Meet the Press" yesterday, only a swift, massive expression of public feelings—addressed directly to legislators who have been serving as front-men for the National Rifle Assn. Lobby and trigger-happy constituents—can change the tide.

But no such upsurge is likely unless President Johnson immediately carries the fight to the people by television in more spirited and persuasive terms than he ever has before.

The truth is that the NRA operatives and their agents have succeeded in creating mass confusion. Many Americans have been persuaded that the projected "anti-crime" bill offers real safe-guards; even some wiser legislators are fearful of speaking out lest they be hysterically identified as "soft on violence."

What the country must be told bluntly is that men engaged in the big business of domestic munitions are fighting to preserve their business-as-usual. It must also be told why the assault on the Supreme Court's defense of the rights of defendants in criminal cases has virtually no bearing on most proceedings since it would apply only to federal prosecutions.

The President has said many of these things in scattered declarations. But the moment has come for full-scale exposure of the double-hoax in a major address, accompanied by a challenge to all Presidential aspirants of both parties—Nixon, McCarthy, Rockefeller, and, of course, Vice President Humphrey, to associate themselves plainly and unequivocally with that stand.

Admittedly the hour is late. But it is also an hour when many Americans, still stunned by the assassination of Sen. Kennedy, will be responsive to such a message from the President. In promoting the fraud of the so-called "anti-crime" measure, the munitions magnates have once again perpetrated a crime against truth and rationality. A belated attempt to seek to amend that legislation is almost surely doomed to produce another flabby form of surrender. What is needed is a large-scale new offensive heralded by a major Presidential exercise in education, leadership and courage.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Sunday News, June 9, 1968]

MAIL-ORDER MURDER

Even after the assassinations of the Kennedy brothers and Martin Luther King Jr., Congress still seems to be insensitive to the need for effective gun-control legislation.

After procrastinating for years, Congress has finally adopted a bill, the House having accepted the Senate's halfway measure. But the bill is so futile it deserves presidential veto. Even while the House tallied its votes, Mr. Johnson condemned the weak legislation and implored Congress to "act in the name of sanity."

As the bill stands, it is plain that what the President called "the voices of the few" have prevailed over the nation's interest. No member of Congress is unaware of the influence of the National Rifle Association, the powerful lobby that has successfully opposed gun control legislation.

The measure sent to the White House covers only hand guns. Even if the President signs the bill, it still would be possible for anyone who is not a proven criminal, or an alcoholic or is mentally unbalanced to buy a pistol without difficulty.

There is nothing in the legislation to prohibit mail-order purchase of shotguns and rifles. All that is needed is a money-order for $19.95, plus $1.50 postage, for another Lee Harvey Oswald to get a carbine with telescopic sight.

The nation, as President Johnson, said in his statement to Capital Hill, "is crying out to the conscience of Congress." But Congress inexplicably has been unresponsive to the question why the sale of guns of all kinds should not be regulated. England, for example, requires at least that all firearms be registered.

[The United States is the only highly developed nation without gun registration or other control. We can hardly consider ourselves civilized until Congress provides it.]

[From the National Observer, June 10, 1968]

What Other Nations Have Found: Do Gun Control Laws Work

(By Lee Dirks)

Tough gun-control laws reduce crime rates and the number of homicides in a society: True or false?

The question has long been posed; the answer, at least in America, still is in hot dispute, largely because the evidence *seems* to be inconclusive or, in the minds of some, mostly irrelevant. There's no paucity of facts and figures, however, and the assassination of Senator Kennedy compels a fresh look at the conclusions they point to.

Throughout Sirhan Sirhan's native Jordan, for instance, persons purchasing or possessing firearms risk severe punishment unless they receive permission from the authorities. Even the Bedouins, the desert nomads who traditionally have carried weapons, must register them with a special desert police force.

Jordan's stringent firearms laws don't eliminate violence by gunfire, nor do they prevent some guns from circulating illegally. But they apparently do help keep crime rates down. In 1963, the year President Kennedy was assassinated, 2.25 of every 100,000 Jordanians were murdered, of whom a much smaller percentage died of bullet wounds. In the United States in the same year, 2.7 of every 100,000 Americans were murdered by firearms alone.

But Jordan is not an industrialized prosperous nation, those who deny the effectiveness of firearms legislation might argue, and besides, statistics from Jordan cannot really be trusted. . . .

Then take Japan, an industrialized, densely populated nation with urban problems not unlike those of the United States. Japan has perhaps the most stringent firearms laws of any nation in the Free World, and crimes of violence are relatively low.

JAPAN'S RIGID CONTROLS

With rare exceptions, only police officers can carry pistols in Japan. Of the more than 100,000,000 Japanese fewer than 100 have licenses permitting them to possess handguns; most of these are competitors in international shooting matches. Japan is a land of hunters, from the members of the imperial family who go duck hunting with nets to the sophisticated sportsmen who hunt game with the latest rifles, and some 500,000 rifles and shotguns are known to exist there. But anyone who is under 18, mentally deranged, without a fixed address, or potentially dangerous in the judgment of the authorities cannot get a gun permit. Even persons who pass these qualifications must take three hours of instruction and pass a written exam before they can receive a hunting license.

In 1966, firearms were present in only 99 crimes of all types—murders, rapes, assaults, robberies—in Japan. In the United States, which has twice as many people as Japan, firearms were used in more than 50 times that number of murders alone in 1966. The rate of murders in Japan runs about one-third that in the United States.

Whether because of stringent gun-control laws or other reasons, the rate of accidental deaths involving firearms is sharply lower in Japan and every other large country than in the United States. In contrast to Japan's 500,000 firearms, some 50,000,000 to 200,000,000 firearms are estimated to exist in the United States, according to Senate testimony last year; the estimates vary so widely because of the general absence of registration requirements. For every 10,000 Americans, 1.3 die every year in gun accidents; in Japan the rate is .09.

But Japan is an Oriental land with a long tradition of firearms controls, skeptics of legislation might say, and besides, Japan has a heritage of rule by a strong central government that at times has trampled on the right of individuals. . . .

WEAPONS LAWS IN BRITAIN

Then take Britain, defender of individual rights over the centuries and progenitor of the American system of law. Weapons laws in England date from the Statute of Northumberland of 1328, and the possession of firearms has been controlled by licensing since the Gun License Act of 1870.

No one under 14 is permitted to buy or possess any kind of gun in Great Britain. Almost all handgun permits issued authorize use only on pistol ranges. Genuine sportsmen can get licenses for the use of shotguns with little difficulty, however, and some 4,500 shooting clubs flourish in the British Isles.

In Britain, the homicide rate per 100,000 persons runs one-eighth the rate in the United States, the rate for robbery one-tenth the U.S. rate, and the rate for aggravated assault one-seventeenth. When 5,126 Americans were being murdered by firearms in 1963, 24 Britons were dying by the same means.

Not that Britons are more law-abiding than Americans; the larceny rate there runs three times the U.S. larceny rate. When a person uses a firearm in a homicide in Britain, however, he can be assured of headline treatment; the murder of three policemen in London not long ago received world-wide attention and incidentally resulted in a six-year prison sentence for illegal possession of firearms for the man who four months before the murder had sold the pistols to the murderers. Except for riot deaths and an occasional sensational murder, the more than 100 murders of policemen in the United States (more than 90 per cent by firearms) go largely unnoticed.

NO BRITISH FRONTIER TRADITION

But Britain has no frontier tradition, and besides, British law has no equivalent to the Second Amendment's right to bear arms. . . . (Question: Does the United States today have the "well-regulated militia . . . necessary to the security of a free State" upon which the Second Amendment predicates "the right of the people to keep and bear arms"?)

Then take Hawaii, covered by the Second Amendment yet a state that requires a permit to purchase a handgun and requiring that handgun sale be reported to the police. Hawaii's rate for murder and non-negligent manslaughter by every means in 1966, the latest year for which figures are available, was 2.9 per 100,000 persons. Alaska, which became a state at about the same time as Hawaii but has far less stringent firearms requirement, had a rate of 12.9, more than four times Hawaii's.

Urban conditions apparently have little effect on Hawaii's low standing among the states in homicides. Honolulu had fewer homicides (12) in 1966 than any of the four U.S. cities hovering closest to it in population. Miami recorded 53 homicides, Norfolk 20, Akron 17, and Omaha 13.

But Hawaii is not part of the continental United States, and besides, it's too small to be considered for an accurate sample of the effectiveness of firearms laws. . . .

Then take New York, the mainland state with the most stringent gun controls. New York's Sullivan Law requires citizens to obtain a license to possess handguns even in their homes or places of business.

New York's homicide rate ranks among the lowest in the nation despite the state's dense population; at 4.8 per 100,000 citizens, it's less than half the rate of Alaska. The New York City rate is similarly low—half that of Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland and one-third the rate of Houston. In Texas, as Frederick J. Ludwig, chief assistant district attorney of Queens, put it last year in testimony before the Senate: "To violate the weapons laws . . . the defendant must (1) carry concealed (2) away from his home (3) a pistol or revolver, (4) have been convicted of a felony (5) involving a crime of violence, and (6) the particular act of violence must have been committed, not with *any* weapon, *but a firearm*."

But New York City is not Houston, and besides.

[From Newsday, June 7, 1968]

The Roots of Violence

With the nation in deep mourning for Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, slain by an assassin's gun, the House of Representatives yesterday voted to tighten controls on the sale of guns. It was a well-intentioned effort—but not one which will atone for the loss of a young man who so thoughtfully articulated the needs of our divided society, who earnestly sought to close the gaps between black and white, rich and poor and young and old.

The gun control bill cannot serve, nor should it be considered as a memorial to Robert Kennedy. At best it is only a half-measure, shaped by the objections from the gun industry lobby and the sportsmen's groups. It is a bill which Robert Kennedy opposed as too weak. But even if it were totally effective, it still would deal only with the surface problems of violence, rather than with the problems that underlie the senator's death.

These problems are poverty, lack of opportunity and lack of hope. Together, they constitute the true roots of the restlessness and violence in our nation. So long as people despair, so long as discontent is so endemic in the American system, just so long will violence endure. President Johnson has taken a step toward focusing on this question of violence by appointing a commission of distinguished citizens to search for the psychological and physical origins that lead to assassinations and place the lives of our public officials in such great jeopardy.

Everything that can be done to establish why the fabric of American life is fraying and pulling apart will be helpful. The one concern must be that this commission does not come up with pat solutions, with answers that do not really answer, and with comments that soothe the American conscience while permitting us to stagger blindly down the road to anarchy.

The gun control bill as it stands is a good example. It forbids the mail-order sale of handguns but does not ban the mail-order sale of rifles or shotguns. Nor does it fulfill many of the recommendations cited by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. That commission recommended, but Congress has ignored efforts to (1) outlaw private possession of such military-type firearms as bazookas, machine guns, mortars and anti-tank guns, (2) prohibit such persons as habitual drunkards, drug addicts, mental incompetents, the mentally disturbed and ex-convicts from buying or possessing firearms, (3) and underscore the need for state registration of all firearms and state permits to possess or carry handguns. These requirements alone probably would not stop all killing, but certainly they would help discourage it. The Congress should heed the President's plea to close the "brutal loopholes" in our gun laws.

Even so, the only true memorial to Robert Kennedy will be a resolute decision by Congress to mount an all-out attack on the problems which help create a national climate of violence. If the Congress wishes to build a true and lasting tribute to Robert Kennedy, it can do so by rebuilding the slums of Bedford-Stuyvesant, by feeding the hungry in Appalachia and by finding jobs for the Mexican-Americans of East Los Angeles. For these were the ideals which Kennedy cherished and the goals for which Kennedy worked. Only in this way can America renew its faith in the dream that made this country great.

[From the Nashville Tennessean, June 13, 1968]

The Choice for Congress: Gun Lobby or the People

The coming fight in Congress over the issue of gun control should provide the people with a measurement of how extensively legislation is being determined by powerful lobbies.

The National Rifle Association, which is fighting effective gun control legislation, is one of the most powerful and best-financed lobbies in the business.

For 30 years or more, the NRA has been able to slap down all efforts to impose legislative restrictions on the free flow of guns and ammunition. The rifle lobby has succeeded in this effort despite the growing demands of police officials, congressmen, and others, for a reduction in the traffic of dangerous weapons in a crowded society.

In the developing controversy, however, the advocates of effective gun control are supported by a lop-sided public sentiment which has grown in its intensity since the assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. It will be interesting to see if the National Rifle Association can withstand the renewed tide of public opinion and still influence enough congressmen to defeat effective control measures.

The gun control provisions of the anti-crime bill which was sent to the President last week was a mockery of serious efforts to keep guns out of dangerous hands. The bill sailed through the House in the emotional aftermath of Mr. Kennedy's slaying apparently in the hope that it would be accepted by a grieving public as a real answer to the gun problem. But the bill passed because it contained little that would upset the National Rifle Association.

However, there is little chance that these half-hearted efforts to control the gun traffic will be allowed to stand. President Johnson has already sent Congress another urgent message calling for much more stringent controls, and a growing number of Senators and Congressmen are joining the chorus for effective legislation.

Sen. Joseph D. Tydings, D.-Md., delivered a blast at the NRA over the weekend as "the voice of munitions makers and gun sellers" operating under the guise of representing sportsmen. Senator Tydings said the NRA receives most of the millions of dollars which it uses to influence legislation from the arms and ammunition makers—not the sportsmen.

Congressmen also are beginning to ridicule the NRA's argument that a law requiring the registration of guns and controls on gun sales would abrogate the constitutional right to bear arms.

Thus, the issue that is developing is one between the gun lobby, which wants no effective controls, and the people, who are showing more convincingly every day that they do want strong controls.

The outcome of this direct confrontation between a majority of the people and the selfish wishes of a powerful and wealthy lobby could have far-reaching effects on the way the people regard the performance of their elected representatives in Congress.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, June 12, 1968]

The Gun Law Furore

The aftermath of the Robert F. Kennedy assassination has brought a renewed demand for tough gun control laws. A similar outcry was raised after the slaying of President John F. Kennedy and the killing of Rev. Martin Luther King.

The idea seems to be that if Congress whips through a drastic gun-curb act, murder and other criminal violence would be largely wiped from the scene. Certainly impressively cut back.

This is a heavily emotional appeal and doesn't bear the scrutiny of hard realism. That doesn't mean more stringent gun laws aren't needed and can be helpful. But any concept that a crackdown on gun traffic can possibly accomplish much toward slashing "criminal violence from the muzzle of a gun" just doesn't make hard sense.

According to President Lyndon Johnson 2 million guns were sold in the United States last year. Many, many more millions were already in the hands of citizens. There simply is no way to police these guns, or recall them.

But most significally, and tragically, any potential murderer or felon who wants a gun will get one, law or no law. Any assailant determined to assassinate anyone in cold blood will get a weapon suitable to his design. They will steal guns, get them by bribery, even make them.

No gun law can halt murderous felony. It is utterly foolish to believe it can. Even the President, leader of the newest drive to adopt a rigorous federal gun statute, admitted this last week.

Immediately following the assassin's attack on Senator Kennedy, Mr. Johnson pleaded with Congress to pass laws that would bring "the insane gun traffic" to halt. Then he added: "That will not, in itself, end the violence, but reason and experience tell us it will slow it down; that will spare many innocent lives."

There can be a modicum of truth in this thesis. Therefore, despite the strong objection of hunters and long-gun fanciers, we see no reason why rifles and shotguns should not be barred from mail order shipment and promiscuous interstate dealing. The recently passed anti-crime bill merely outlaws mail-order sale and counter-sale of handguns to minors and non-residents of a dealer's state.

Regardless of the antipathy of the National Rifle Association for almost any statute impeding traffic in rifles and shotguns, we submit Congress should seriously consider statutes leading to:

State examination of every person seeking to purchase a gun. Such tests should include knowledge and ability of how to handle a gun; police record, if any, in the case of each applicant; medical information to exclude crackpots, the mentally ill. Guns should not be sold direct to minors.

Registration. This the NRA opposes, but it could be helpful and justified. Missouri already has a registration act for handguns, which requires clearance by police and two letters of recommendations from responsible citizens. A serial number of the weapon is affixed to the license and kept on record by the seller.

Another plausible proposal would be a case-gun law, which would provide that any person carrying a gun must have it in a case and unloaded. Illinois and Iowa have such statute.

Another area that needs close examination is the policy of federal government that admits foreign guns into the American market.

The result is that machine guns, bazookas, even anti-tank guns have been found in private hands in this country. Federal surplus commodity sales permit hand grenade "shells" to be sold for scrap. These have turned up, loaded and fused by individuals.

If the Administration is so concerned over the hazard of gun traffic in the United States, it ought to look to its own skirts, stop foreign gun traffic and the sometimes careless disposal of surplus weapons.

None of the proposed gun bills can possibly halt criminal slaying or use of weapons in robbery and other felonies. It is extremely doubtful, such stiffened acts could even reduce murder and gun crimes—any more than traffic laws have halted or diminished automobile deaths.

[But reasonable precautions over sale of guns, all kinds of guns, could curtail crimes of passion, drunken gun brawls, accidental gun deaths and suicides. If so many guns aren't so handy, such mortal incidents should be less common. Responsible gun owners would hardly suffer under such laws.]

[From the Salt Lake City (Utah) Tribune, June 8, 1968]

Reduce Accessibility of All Firearms

No gun control law, not even one making it a capital crime to possess firearms, will completely rid this violence-prone nation of the pistols, rifles, shotguns and even machine guns and bazookas held by millions of its citizens for diverse reasons.

But a strong, fair and enforceable law which protects legitimate gun users while making it more difficult for crackpots, hatemongers and petty crooks to acquire lethal weapons would be a long needed improvement over the hodgepodge of weak and ineffective state and federal gun control laws now in force.

It is wishful thinking to believe that through mere legislation all criminals, sniping rioters, irresponsible juveniles or the mentally deranged can be denied access to a gun. A person who wants one badly enough will always be able to satisfy his wanton urge. But strict laws would go far in preventing deadly firearms from casually falling into the hands of people who are likely to misuse them out of ignorance or for more sinister reasons.

No one knows how many of the 6,000 murders committed with guns last year were carried out because a weapon happened to be handy when the killer's passion reached the flashpoint. Neither has it been determined how many of the 3,000 persons fatally shot by accident last year would be alive had the weapons been more difficult to obtain. In both cases it is reasonable to suppose death totals would have been much lower.

Guns control legislation included in the omnibus crime control bill is weak. But it is a start. If President Johnson goes through with his announced intention of submitting strengthening amendments to the bill early next week, Congress will have another opportunity to cure the sickly creature it created.

Because the gun lobby is a loud, highly organized one and can count on the sympathy of millions of gun-owning voters. Congress has consistently shied away from offending it although opinion polls show overriding public support for stronger firearms regulation.

The law contained in the crime bill is a good example of how a reasonably good control measure was diluted by timid lawmakers. As amended by the Senate and sent to the House—which railroaded it through in the wake of Senator Robert F. Kennedy's assassination—only interstate traffic in handguns and acquisition of larger military weapons would be limited. Rifles and shotguns would still move freely and could be ordered by mail by just about anyone capable of filling in the handy coupon and buying a money order.

We urge Congress to grant President Johnson's requests, not only because we hold them to be in the public interest but because we believe the majority of the public wants this added protection. There still is a place for guns in this increasingly recreation-minded society, but that place is not the dangerous hand of a mental or moral misfit.

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, June 14, 1968]

GUNS ARE NOT NEEDED IN CIVILIZED NATION

The fires of controversy which have been stirred once again by the brutal slaying of a national leader have illuminated the fact the United States continues to be clutched in the grip of a powerful gun lobby which refuses to bend to the rising public demand for meaningful firearms control.

This demand began long before the recent series of tragedies which have scarred the nation's soul. Congress last passed a firearms measure in the 1930s and even before the assassination of President John F. Kennedy the public was asking for better gun control laws.

After that shocking event, the public demand increased. Yet four and a half years later, the Congress has failed to respond to the public will. Law enforcement officials across the country shuddered in apprehension at the fantastic upsurge in gun buying—46 per cent in Detroit alone—which followed urban riots. The police, the Defense Department—these are the agencies which alone need weapons to enforce the law and to protect the citizenry.

The United States has become an armed camp, pitting brother against brother, citizen against citizen. Ten thousand guns reach private hands every day and apparently there is no effective legislation forthcoming from the legislative halls.

The House Judiciary Committee refused to approve a request for minor restrictions on the sale of rifles and shotguns. The California Assembly Committee on Criminal Procedure turned down a reasonable gun control bill by that "brave" voice vote whereby assemblymen are not recorded so their constituents could know where they stand.

Henry Fairlie, a British journalist, in 1966 commented: "However much I may love and admire America, its gun laws come near to ruling it out of civilized society."

Certainly, even meaningful gun control legislation would not stop criminals bent upon crime from stealing or otherwise obtaining weapons. But even if it were effective to a small degree, it would be worth the little inconveniences it might impose upon a few gun lovers. It would be a start toward making this a truly civilized nation.

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, June 16, 1968]

AMERICA WILL PROGRESS AS IT REJECTS ALL HATE AND VIOLENCE

The nation would have been more reassured if President Lyndon B. Johnson had demanded action to curb the already known causes of violence than calling for a new commission to find out what in American society leads to violence.

The President already has before him a recent and splendid report on disorders by a commission he himself named. He has yet to take any important notice of this commission's findings.

There have been untold reports by medical authorities of the effects of America's violence-loaded movies and television upon the young. Crime studies galore have linked crime and violence directly to poverty, the ghettos and the materialistic stress in American life.

Perhaps, a report on these many reports will save librarians from collecting already-conducted studies. The nation knows enough about the causes of violence to warrant some kind of direct action. For instance, Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco has taken direct action in calling for the voluntary turning in of guns.

It is callow to discount the degree of violence as the President did by pointing out 200 million Americans did not assassinate the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. Of course they did not. But the malady of violence is manifested by more than one incident.

Violence shouts aloud in the American crime rate, in the riots which have made funeral pyres of American cities, in the bloody movie, "Bonnie and Clyde," which won Oscar recommendation, in the corpse-strewn television screen, as well as in the assassinations of the late John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King and civil rights workers.

The peculiar and dangerous nature of American violence is the fact it has insinuated itself into acceptance as a form of national folklore and entertainment.

This acceptance easily can become a mode of action when stresses and strains of an acquisitive society play upon an unstable individual.

America cannot lay claims to maturity until the present emphasis upon violence is transferred into genuine admiration for the man of compassion, restraint and love.

One should not yield to the temptation to mitigate the urgency of the situation by dismissing it as a revolution in American values. The United States came to birth by revolution; it went through the bloodiest Civil War in history. In a sense it has had more than its quota of revolutions.

Yet Congress still refuses to pass an effective gun law although there are in the hands of the citizens of Sacramento County alone half as many guns as there are in the hands of 46 million Englishmen.

The American television and motion picture industries still refuse to reduce their diet of crime so long as it sells.

The most hopeful part of the whole American condition is the growing number of people who realize violence is too close to an American way of life.

Through legislation to reduce poverty and equalize opportunity through education, and if necessary through federalization, America must be made a more law-abiding state.

It is useless to talk about new frontiers as long as the primitive frontier of the gun remains or as long as the acquisition of material things is the nation's chief value.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Sunday Bulletin, June 16, 1968]

SPEAKING OUT ON GUN CONTROL

Majority Leader Mansfield, who last week was doubtful that the U.S. Senate would approve stronger gun control legislation, now says that "prospects are looking up and seem to be favorable" for such legislation.

The shifting under public pressure is evident. That sensitive sniffer of the political winds, Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, who voted against including long guns in the ban on mail-order sales to individuals, says of the new bill that "If it's necessary, I'll be delighted to support it."

But he makes it clear that he has yet to be convinced of the necessity, and that should be a warning to those who favor more control legislation.

Another shift is that of Gov. Shafer, whose previous ambiguity on strengthening Pennsylvania gun laws seems to be swiftly vanishing. It not only appears that he will move on the state level but he has urged inclusion of a strong gun control plank in the GOP platform for 1968.

The alarm of the National Rifle Association is another indication of the way the wind is blowing. Its president asserts that Americans are "reacting as the German people did in the nineteen-thirties as the Goebbels propaganda mill drilled lies into their subconscious and dictated their every move."

The kind of propaganda mill the gun lobby itself operates is manifest. It would make the effort at effective gun controls appear one to disarm law-abiding Americans. This has been so drilled into the subconscious of large numbers of hunters and sportsmen that their opposition has been the principal barrier to a better check on weapons at national, state and local levels.

If public interest slackens there will happen again what has happened before; better gun legislation will be stalled or weak action will be taken instead of strong action. The public will have to continue to speak out if it really wants the general permissiveness on guns ended.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, June 16, 1968]

NO TIME TO MISFIRE

The growing public demand upon Congress for serious gun control laws has led the gun lobby to respond with outraged emotionalism. Summoning up visions of the Minuteman and the Lone Ranger, the National Rifle Association warns against denying citizens a basic civil right, the right to "keep and bear arms."

If the NRA actually believes this, it ought to take the issue to the Supreme Court, and discard the kind of bravado that equates the building of the nation with the Long Rifle and Colt .44. The fact is, however, that the courts have never concluded that bearing arms is a basic civil right. So it is only an assumption that the Second Amendment forbids limitation on an individual's right to bear arms. That amendment says:

"A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

Legal scholars and the courts have found it impossible to separate this right to bear arms from the need for a militia. The identification of "citizen soldiers" with democracy is as old as Plato. But it does not follow that a democracy cannot regulate use or possession of arms; even Athenians could not walk the streets in armor.

Ancient English law recognized some individual claim to bear arms subject to legal restrictions. Against this background, America's Consitutional Convention argued the issue in terms of whether there should be a standing army or a militia, and the Second Amendment was the result.

The Supreme Court has construed the Second Amendment on only four occasions. Though its opinions differ somewhat, it never construed the Amendment to give citizens any absolute and untrammeled right to pack arms as they see fit.

In 1876 the high court threw out a Reconstruction indictment charging conspiracy to deprive Negroes of the right to bear arms. The court said the Second Amendment only restricted the power of the Federal Government, not the states, and bearing arms "is not a right guaranteed by the Constitution." In 1886 the court upheld an Illinois statute forbidding private groups to drill with arms, and in 1884 the Justices supported a Texas statute forbidding the carrying of dangerous weapons on the person.

These decisions all indorsed state authority to regulate weapons. In 1939 the Supreme Court upheld similar federal authority in the form of the National Firearms Act of 1934. At the same time it flatly interpreted the Second Amendment as an effort to support a militia rather than any individual right to guns. The Justices said they could see little relationship between the sawed-off shotgun involved in the case and any contribution "to the common defense."

That is how the law stands, and we doubt that the gun lobby could successfully challenge it. As a practical matter, of course, the necessity for a well-regulated militia is no longer what it was. The military competence of the United States today does not rest upon the private citizen's unregulated possession of a rifle or handgun. To the contrary, such possession, completely unregulated, has been proved thoroughly dangerous in our crowded urban society.

What is at stake in Congress is not denial of the privilege to bear arms. What is at issue is reasonable regulation in the interest of public safety. Congress has already decided to ban interstate mail order sale of handguns, with the NRA's reluctant acquiescence. But that is not enough. The President proposes extending the ban to long guns, and Senator Tydings of Maryland and others are sponsoring a bill to require registration of all firearms.

The public is right to demand more stringent laws. A nation that has turned its guns more on itself than on its external enemies in this century, and that stands alone without reasonable firearms regulations in the Western world, has got to come to grips with its tragic record. Misconceptions of our law and history must not lead to another legislative misfire.

[From the Wichita (Kans.) Sunday Eagle, June 16, 1968]

Registration May Be Best Way To Control Gun Use

U.S. big-city mayors, meeting in Chicago, have called for federal legislation outlawing possession of handguns by anyone but police.

Their resolution is the latest in a number of requests for stern gun control legislation being expressed throughout the nation.

The Gallup poll reported earlier this month that a special survey conducted on the day Sen. Robert F. Kennedy was shot, finds the public advocates registration of all firearms as the best way to curb violence.

This may turn out to be the most practical of the gun-control suggestions.

There are some statistics which indicate strong gun control helps some. New Jersey has a gun-purchase law which requires you to prove your reputation for good behavior in your neighborhood before you can buy a gun.

The law probably has kept some narcotics addicts, people with police records, and unbalanced people from buying guns. And in New York, where the Sullivan Law has operated for years, gunfire killings account for only about a fourth of the homicides.

Yet gun laws can play only a small part in stopping crime and violence. In spite of the New Jersey law, LeRoi Jones, the anti-white Negro poet had two loaded .32s on him when he was arrested in Newark.

Despite the Sullivan Act, an actress described as a psychotic man hater, shot Andy Warhol, pop artist and underground movie maker.

It is obvious that if you are willing to break the law to shoot someone, you don't worry about breaking it to get hold of a gun.

Despite the knowledge that deaths from gunshot are more numerous in the U.S. than in any other nation, and without regard to the fact that of all the civilized nations of the world, only U.S. citizens have the "right to bear arms," Americans refuse to give up their guns.

There still are some wide-open spaces in which to hunt, there is the matter of protection, and some own guns because they simply are firearm fanciers.

The only apparently practical steps remaining, then, are to enforce the new federal gun-control law which bans mail order sales of hand guns, limits store sales to adult residents of the state, and curbs traffic in imported firearms and military-type weapons.

So, it might be worthwhile to require local governments to register all guns. Provision could be made to revoke the license of anyone convicted of a crime.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 11, 1968]

Tell It to Congress

On *Meet the Press* Sunday, Senator Tydings pleaded for "a tremendous outpouring of demands from the citizens of this country" for effective gun control legislation. There can be no doubt whatever that this country now wants tough gun laws. The Gallup report of last Sunday disclosed that the public regards "registration of all firearms as the best way to curb violence in our society." The people, according to Dr. Gallup's researches, "favor a law requiring the registration of all guns, a law banning the sale of all guns through the mails, and strict restrictions on the use of guns by persons under 18 years of age."

Americans can have this kind of gun control if they let Congress know that they really want it. For years, the National Rifle Association, spokesman for sportsmen and the firearms industry, has managed to drench Congressmen in a downpour of letters opposing reasonable firearms regulation anytime anyone proposed it. Congress needs to be told that this special interest group does not speak for the Nation. The way to do it is for every American, concerned about the gun peril and angry about congressional failure to deal with it effectively to write to his Senators and his Congressman, if he is fortunate enough to enjoy representation in the National Legislature.

Washingtonians, lacking representation, can at least write to the chairman of the Judiciary Committees or to the Majority and Minority Leaders of both Houses. People who live in the District but are entitled to vote elsewhere can help the cause of gun control by urging their home-town newspapers and representatives and state legislatures to support it. We hope ardently that other newspapers throughout the country will urge their readers to write to Congress in the same important cause.

When you write to a member of Congress, you exercise a fundamental right of citizenship and are entitled to respectful attention. Most members of Congress will be glad to hear from you if you write to them in a frank and friendly way, with respect for their office and their personal integrity. We urge you to write in your own words, expressing your own thoughts—and to do it just as soon as you possibly can. For the benefit of those who may want some help in the composition of a letter, here's what we would write:

"Recent tragic events have convinced me that the country needs strong and strict gun control legislation. I urge you to suport action along the lines recommended by the National Crime Commission, including:

"1. A ban on mail order purchase of rifles and shotguns as well as pistols and revolvers.

"2. Registration of all firearms; and a ban on the sale of ammunition except to registered firearm owners.

"3. Licensing, comparable to the licensing of automobile ownership, of all gun owners for the purpose of preventing the possession of guns by convicted felons, habitual drunkards, drug addicts, mental incompetents and minors; and limitation of handgun ownership by police permit to military personnel, law enforcement officers and civilians whose peculiar occupation and circumstances require them, in the judgment of the police to possess a handgun for self-protection."

Let us all begin now to restore sanity to the land.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 21, 1968]

Counteroffensive

The National Rifle Association has now mounted a major counteroffensive against the effort to protect America from the dangers of unrestricted access to firearms. In apocalyptic tones, the president of the NRA, Harold W. Glassen, has warned all the faithful that "the right of sportsmen in the United States to obtain, own and use firearms for proper lawful purposes is in the greatest jeopardy in the history of our country."

Now, this really ought to be exposed for what it is—pure poppycock. Neither the Administration bill nor the Tydings bill pending before Congress jeopardizes in any way the right of sportsmen to obtain, own and use firearms. The Administration bill would merely put them to the minor inconvenience of purchasing guns from a licensed dealer in the state where they reside; and it would not affect in any way whatever the guns they now possess—or their use of those guns. The Tydings bill would merely require them to register any guns they purchase or possess in the same way that they register their automobiles; and it would require them to obtain a license for their weapons in the same way that they obtain a license to hunt or to fish. Licenses would be issued automatically for a nominal fee to every law-abiding, responsible adult who asked for one.

Mr. Glassen has now asked all the members of the NRA who may be taken in by this nonsense to write to Congress in opposition to the pending gun control bills. There is no doubt from past experience that he will be able to produce a heavy barrage of mail. There is but one effective answer to it. Citizens who are sick of carnage for the convenience of "sportsmen" must let Congress know that they want reasonable, effective control of guns—designed to keep them out of the hands of criminals, madmen and children. Every true sportsman ought to support that purpose.

For those who want to add their voices to this sensible chorus, the National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy at 100 Maryland ave. ne. is circulating a petition to Congress. The time to act is immediately.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, June 12, 1968]

Few Killings in Three Nations With Strict Gun Controls

(Note.—The following is a compilation by Los Angeles Times correspondents of gun controls in Britain, France and Japan.)

BRITAIN

Britain has a long history of firearms control—and an enviably small number of deaths by shooting. Only 45 murders involving guns were recorded in Britain and Wales last year as compared to more than 5,000 in the United States.

Even constables don't carry guns. Despite the killing of three unarmed policemen in August, 1966, in London, the Police Federation voted against being armed.

On the decision of local chief constables, guns are issued to combat criminals known to be dangerously armed, but police have agreed that such decisions are taken only in "most exceptional circumstances," says the Home Office.

Must show "good reason"

Weapon control for civilians are similarly strict. Restrictions are in three categories:

Guns which fire in bursts, submachine guns, for example, may be possessed only with certificate of approval from the Ministry of Defense. Even police must have such certificates for holding weapons of this kind.

Other weapons, including handguns and rifles but not shotguns, are covered by the Firearms Act of 1937, which consolidated bits and pieces of earlier law.

It is an offense to possess such weapons without a certificate issued by the chief constable of one's locality. An applicant must show "good reason" for possession. "Self-defense is most unlikely to be considered a good reason," says the Home Office.

Some 220,000 issued

Usually an applicant must show that he is a member of an established rifle club with known facilities, or a shopkeeper, or has an estate for hunting, or is a farmer who shoots rats and predatory beasts.

Penalty for unauthorized possession is maximum of three years in jail or 200 pounds ($480) fine or both.

In 1965 a total of 220,000 certificates (permits) were in use in all England and Wales, population about 50 million. There is no reason to believe that the number has increased since then; if anything, there are fewer permits now than before, according to the Home Office.

Shotguns were not controlled until the 1967 Criminal Justice Act clause came into force May this year. Although a certificate from the chief constable is needed, the constable must have reason for not giving a permit. The penalty for illegal possession is six months and 200 pounds or both.

Controls on shotguns followed a rise in indictable offenses involving firearms in England and Wales in recent years, increasing from 552 in 1961 to 2,337 in 1967.

Prior to the shotgun law coming into force, a three-month amnesty was held for returning guns that had no certificate. A total of 25,088 were turned in including 8,847 revolvers and automatics, 4,340 rifles and 9,488 shotguns, whose owners apparently didn't want to apply for permit. Most weapons were usable.

There have been three other amnesties since World War II—1946 when 76,000 were turned in, 1961 when 70,000 were turned in, and 1965 when 41,000 were returned.

FRANCE

The French style of controlling firearms is devastatingly simple and strict.

Though weapons laws are the reasons for the rather remarkable phenomenon in the last few weeks of continuous violence without one shot being fired (except grenade launchers by the police).

As far as is known, not a gun was found on any of the several thousand who were rounded up by the police during this period. The only homicide in Paris during the demonstrations and fighting was a death from stabbing.

Personal arms, such as pistols or revolvers (apart from hunting weapons), can be purchased in France only on a police permit.

Two kinds of permit are issued. One is for possession of personal weapons at home or office, if there is a special security problem and the police agree that this kind of added protection is reasonable or desirable.

Almost impossible

The other is a permit to carry a weapon—and this is almost impossible to obtain. Such permits are issued only on the final authority of the Minister of the Interior himself, and would apply only in very special cases of private citizens needing personal bodyguards.

Anybody found in possession of a weapon without one or the other of these permits is automatically arrested. He is subject to varying degrees of jail sentence depending on the circumstances and/or explanations.

For example, if a gun is found during a road-check of car papers, the motorist would be arrested immediately.

An individual cannot walk into a shop and buy a revolver without first obtaining a police permit. If he should then sell or transfer the weapon to somebody without a permit he would be in violation of the law. Serial numbers and full identity of the weapons are part of the police files.

Hunting weapons are easier to obtain, but they also are purchasable only with a hunting license, and can be transported only if such a license is in the possession of the person carrying the gun.

JAPAN

Possession of pistols, carbines and other small guns is absolutely prohibited in Japan for anybody except police and military personnel. Possession of such a small arm carries a maximum penalty of five years imprisonment or 200,000 yen ($555).

National police headquarters claim there are never more than 50 pistols in circulation illegally in Japan because of the vigilant watch kept on this score. Biggest source seems to be U.S. servicemen from Vietnam trying to finance their rest and recreation in Japan.

Rifles and shotguns for hunting or target practice must be licensed with the following requirements placed on the license holder: Minimum age of 20 years; mental health certified by a doctor; reasonable grounds for possession; if ever imprisoned, at least three years must have elapsed since finishing prison term.

Antique swords

About 800,000 shotguns are licensed in Japan and only 30,000 rifles. Shotgun licenses are issued by chiefs of police stations; rifle licenses by chief of police of a prefecture, a jurisdiction corresponding to a U.S. county.

Shotguns and rifles are licensed only for use in hunting and target shooting areas. Someone who used his weapon tc shoot tin cans on the beach or in some other area not authorized for shooting would be subject to a two-year sentence or a 50,000-yen ($139) fine.

Nobody in Japan is allowed to possess a knife or sword longer than 15 centimeters (7 inches) unless it is an antique certified by the Cultural Properties Protection Commission. Switch blades longer than six centimeters (3 inches) with a switch angle larger than 45 degrees are also banned.

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 6, 1968]

DOMESTIC DISARMAMENT: STRICT RESTRICTIONS ON PRIVATE GUNS MAY PROVE INEVITABLE

(By Henry Gemmill)

WASHINGTON.—It seems reasonable to suppose that at some point the U.S. will decide to undergo domestic disarmament.

The shooting of Presidential candidate Robert Kennedy will in itself not bring that to pass, any more than did the assassination of his brother or the slaying of Martin Luther King. Perhaps the most that can be expected is that the shock of this event will put fresh steam into Congressional action on legislation that could mildly restrict fresh additions to the huge armament stocks scattered amongst the populace. The day when most of the guns will actually be grabbed out of their hands is uncertain and distant—yet its arrival may prove inevitable.

During recent years a highly competent "gun lobby" has been given most of the credit or blame for fighting off myriad Congressional moves intended to curb the domestic traffic in firearms. Certainly such groups as the National Rifle Association have used the most modern techniques—mass letterwriting campaigns and the like—in mobilizing opposition pressure. Nevertheless, the essence of the gun-bearers' strength has not resided in these techniques.

It has, on the contrary, represented the vestigial sentiment of a vanishing America—the thinly populated frontier society. It seems predictable that in an urbanized and crowded America the gun lobby will in the end, for good or ill, find itself overwhelmed—much as the equally competent doctors' lobby eventually was in its fight against medicare. Like civil rights legislation, domestic disarmament is likely to be voted in successive and increasing doses.

ALREADY EVIDENT TIDE

The direction of the political tide is already evident, even if its ultimate dimensions remain to be proved. The pollsters discovered more than a year ago that heavy majorities of the public favored tighter restrictions on gun ownership. The firearms legislation that came alive on Capitol Hill this spring was, though modest, the first approved by a Congressional committee in three decades.

One could be less confident about a continued pressure for domestic disarmament if it resulted solely from the slaughter of national leaders. Such high tragedy does genuinely move and significantly crystallize opinion—but may well be less basic than the fact that great numbers of ordinary people are becoming concerned about their own safety.

A sample of this sour taste of fear is available right here in this capital city; Washington lacked bus service during recent nights because drivers have been terrorized by gunslinging bandits who've shown they are willing to shoot to kill. The cities are growing, and the statistics on violent crime growing even faster. And alongside this constant danger there stands the growing threat of sporadic urban riot with its sniper gunmen.

Of course there remains an ambivalence among Americans, largely because the nation is not yet totally city-oriented. It is mainly the Eastern Senators, like Dodd of Connecticut, who have pushed longest and hardest for gun control. A Senator from the open acres of the West is still likely to feel as his ancestors did; Idaho's Senator Church turned up last summer with a petition against control from 44,000 constituents.

Indeed, the frontier tradition is not yet dead even in the metropolises. The United Auto Workers strongly backs gun control legislation—and its leaders, in doing so, no doubt accurately reflect the Detroit workers' revulsion against riot and crime. Still, the union's officials say they get plenty of hot protests from the rank and file. Reason: Many a member thinks of himself not as the assembly-line unit which he is for most of the year but as the male huntsman in quest of prey—which he becomes briefly, once a year when he shoulders a gun and heads for the Michigan wilds.

Without suggesting that such inner urgings will easily be quelled, it does seem likely they will by degrees be subordinated to what appear to be the urban necessities. It becomes increasingly difficult to maintain national policy in the traditions of a vanished era, and that applies even to the Constitutional question often raised by opponents of gun control.

"The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," says the Second Amendment to the Constitution. Plain enough, perhaps, except that it is part of a sentence stating the need for "a well regulated militia"—and one can conjecture that the present Supreme Court, always willing to interpret the antique document as it deems fit for contemporary needs, might concur with any law taking guns away from folk who are not militiamen. If not, this is a Constitution that can be amended once again.

Apart from romantic notions and legalisms rooted in the American past, no doubt there are many rational arguments than can be offered against domestic disarmament. Once upon a time there was a Constitutional amendment that tried to take alcohol away from the populace; it proved so unenforceable it was revoked. Getting all the guns would unquestionably pose fantastic problems of enforcement, and at best take years to accomplish with reasonable success. The dangerous people—the insane, the conspirators and the criminals—are hardly the citizens who would quickly comply.

And even if the day came when none but the police had guns, violence would not have been utterly eliminated. The word "assassin" predates firearms; it belonged first to a murderous sect of Moslems and was spread by Crusaders equipped only with various sharp and blunt instruments. Such weaponry will remain available to the mugger on the dark street, to the madman who thinks he must "save" the country from its leadership.

MORE PERSUASIVE LOGIC?

But the pounding events of local and national news—and one can be sure they will continue to provide fresh terrors—are likely to make the logic of gun control far more persuasive. When the man who runs the dry cleaning estbalishment is shot down for his petty cash, the other shopkeepers down the street would like to try getting rid of those guns.

There are really no statistics to demonstrate scientifically that more psychotics exist per 100,000 of population than in 1868. But there can be no doubt that any single psycho can now threaten far more humans than he could a century ago. People are packed in around him, and he—like everyone else—has become enormously mobile.

It is becoming increasingly clear that if the pistols and rifles are left readily available in urban America, then some unpleasant changes are going to be made in other American traditions.

Any prominent politician and any leader of a controversial movement will have to stick to the TV studio, or hide behind a protection squad when he moves in public view. Before he withdrew from this year's Presidential contest, it was clear that Lyndon Johnson—whose instinct is to plunge into crowds—could not conduct a normal campaign at all unless he flagrantly violated the admonishments of the Secret Service men who must be concerned with the President's safety. Before he was slain, Dr. King fully knew he faced death. Before he was shot, Robert Kennedy's risks were reported repeatedly by the press corps traveling with him.

The habits of the ordinary citizens are in jeopardy as well. In this capital today hotel rooms are empty as tourists fear to travel. There are fewer customers in the downtown stores as suburban housewives fear to shop.

So the alternative to domestic disarmament are not likely to look appealing. The ugliest of all is this: The householder, shopkeeper or bus driver who fears guns on the loose will go get a gun for himself. If one is wrong in supposing the U.S. will choose domestic disarmament, one may be right about the possibility of a domestic arms race.

[From the Scottsdale (Ariz.) Progress, June 17, 1968]

A Gun Law Will Help

In response to public pressure, Congress slowly edged toward adoption of a gun law this year. But the proposal was a weak compromise which would not have made proponents or opponents happy.

Then came the murder of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. A hue and cry arose across the nation, and Congress now seems ready to take strong action.

In Arizona, on the other hand, Gov. Jack Williams has come out vehemently against a state gun law. His position appears to be that existing laws, if enforced properly, would do the job.

We don't think a gun law, no matter how strong, will prevent crime. Public figures and ordinary citizens will continue to be shot. A law does not eliminate psychopaths. Nor does it reduce tensions and aggressions.

Many things are needed to reduce violence in this country. Cities must be made more livable. The media must stop presenting violence as an acceptable way of life. And potentially violent people must be treated and if possible cured. These are but a few areas in which we must react to the problem.

On the other hand, a gun law if properly drawn could help. We require licenses and blood tests for marriage. We require licenses to drive a car. Why would a gun license be any more of an invasion of our rights?

Sen. Joseph Tydings, (D-Md.), has introduced a strong gun law bill. On the surface it appears to be the best yet.

The Tydings measure would outlaw possession of guns by persons under 21, aliens, anyone convicted of a felony or misdemeanor involving violence, or anyone ever committed as an alcoholic or drug addict. Can any law abiding citizen object to this?

In addition, the Tydings bill would require registration of all firearms by either states or the federal government where states have taken no action. It may be a slight inconvenience and expense, but the citizen with a clean record could still get a gun for hunting or target shooting.

While the measure won't solve all problems, it will make it harder for those who are dangerous to society to obtain weapons. And it will aid in police work. Considering the number of people killed annually by guns in this country, gun legislation should be passed.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, June 18, 1968]

Countering the Gun Lobby

The White House and Congress have been flooded with letters and telegrams demanding stricter gun controls. Half a dozen senators, previously opposed to such legislation, are said to have changed their tune.

But now the great gun lobby, led by the National Rifle Assn., is creaking and rumbling into action like a rusty old tank. N.R.A. Pres. Harold W. Glassen brought up the phony "right to bear arms" ploy as a starter, although even an amateurish student of the Constitution can see that the Second Amendment grants the individual citizen no such right.

Last week Glassen claimed the association does not try to solicit action against gun control legislation. But a two-page letter from him to the N.R.A.'s 900,000 members advises them that "the situation demands immediate action by every law-abiding firearms owner in the United States," and warns that the goal of "some proponents" of gun legislation is "complete abolition of civilian ownership of firearms."

Of course this is twaddle, but the N.R.A. (which the Internal Revenue Service classifies as a "social welfare organization") has been amazingly influential with such twaddle for many years. Through letters like Glassen's and its publication, American Rifleman, it has perpetrated the myth that there is something patriotic and even holy about gun ownership and that sinister forces are trying to take it all away.

But nobody is trying to take it all away. The true sportsman should welcome laws which will help keep firearms out of the hands of those who should not have them and keep track of the weapons themselves. Why should a felon have a rifle? Why should a child have a pistol? What does it matter if private weapons are recorded in public records?

Robert Kennedy's old friend, Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (D-Md.), has proposed a sensible bill which would require the registration of all firearms and the licensing of their owners. It goes farther than other gun bills, some of which are little more than empty gestures.

New England legislators should support the Tydings bill. New England voters should ask them to do so.

[From the Cambridge (Md.) Banner, June 20, 1968]

Gun Crime Prevention Act

Maryland Senator Joseph D. Tydings last week introduced in the Senate a National Gun Crime Prevention Act of 1968. The legislation is cosponsored by Senator Daniel B. Brewster who in the days following the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy received "an avalanche of mail and phone calls" which turned out to be 99 percent in favor of strict gun controls.

Salient points of the Tydings bill are these:

—Registration of every firearm in the country would be required.

—Licenses would be needed to buy or possess any firearm and ammunition.

—Among those to whom guns and ammunitions would be denied are: Convicted felons, aliens, alcoholics, narcotics, mental incompetents and juveniles.

Senator Tydings calls his bill "very moderate (because) It does not deprive any law abiding citizen of the right to own and use a gun—whether for home protection, hunting, target shooting, collection, or any other legitimate purpose—It does not regulate guns even as stringently as we regulate automobiles or drugs."

The Senator expects immediate reaction from the National Rifle Association, the Minutemen and other extremist groups. Since the first piece of firearms legislation was introduced, Senator Tydings says these organizations have distorted the facts "without the slightest apparent twinge of conscience."

Strong gun controls will not stop crimes or prevent murders but they should reduce the number of crimes committed with firearms. The Maryland Senator says the proponents of a strong gun control law "believe that a society which regulates automobiles, of which death is only a by-product, should regulate guns, of which death is a primary purpose."

In a summary of firearms problems in the country, Senator Tydings notes that homicide by guns rose from 5,090 in 1964 to 6,552 in 1966. There were 1,747 long-gun murders in 1966. Gun homicide rates in states with strong firearms control laws are about half of those in states with weak control laws. In the past seven years firearms have been the weapon in 96 percent of murders of police officers. Nearly 60,000 armed robberies were committed in 1966.

In a year which saw 5,126 gun homicides in the United States, Canada had 99; England and Wales, 24; France, 584; West Germany, 68; Japan, 37; Scotland, 3; Sweden, 8. Germany issues weapons permits only to registered hunters and members of shooting clubs. Japan prohibits the private ownership of guns. Canada requires registration of all handguns. Britain requires a certificate from local police before a long gun can be purchased.

With the public clamor for some kind of firearms control at a peak, Senator Tydings thinks it is ironic that Governor Spiro Agnew has named to a state commission on firearms control, former state Adjutant General Milton A. Reckord who is "the principal spokesman of the National Rifle Association in Maryland, and a man who, on the subject of gun control, has shown time and again that his mind is closed. . . ." The Senator thinks the Reckord appointment "is most unfortunate. I think the citizens of Maryland deserve to be represented on this commission, not the NRA—not the gun lobby."

We couldn't agree more.

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, June 21, 1968]

Gun Curbs Gain—Registration Next

President Johnson now has secured the first phase of his campaign for effective gun controls—prohibitions against interstate mail-order sales of handguns. There is a good chance the President will get, also, a bar against mail order purchase of long guns: rifles and shotguns.

Assuming Congress does give the President the long gun provision the nation will have taken an important step toward curbing the promiscuous purchase of firearms. The mail restrictions will keep a juvenile from ordering a dangerous firearms from a mail-order house. Additionally, the prospective legislative package will prohibit the purchase of a firearm in a state other than the purchaser's state of residence.

This latter point will help federal officials keep track of weapons flow. Additionally, retailers are subject to severe penalties if they accept improper identification of prospective purchasers.

But there is one more step that needs to be taken: registration. Only when authorities have full knowledge of who has guns and where the guns are can there be anything approaching complete control of these weapons.

While the President and his advisers have not yet studied provisions of the licensing bill proposed by Sen. Joseph Tydings, D-Md., we believe that Tydings is on the right track. He would provide for registration of weapons, with a system of permits applying to states which do not enact their own registration laws. This approach seems to be the best possible next step; it should be taken now.

[From the Cocoa (Fla.) Today, June 28, 1968]

Register the Guns

Congress could pass the strongest gun law in the nation's history some time during this session.

Congressional leaders such as Sen. Mike Mansfield and Sen. Everett Dirksen predict that "the law will have real teeth" in it.

The danger is, of course, that a genuinely repressive law may result. Only a few times since World War II has an issue become as torrid as the present controversy over a gun law. Congressional mail is running high; letters to the editors of the nation's newspapers are streaming in. (For Brevardians' views on guns, see opposite page.)

Latest contribution to the blazing question is the disclosure by the City of Chicago that 35,598 guns have been registered by persons living or working in that city. This number of handguns would equip 20 full strength Army divisions—and the United States has only 16 active divisions in its entire Army at the present time.

The Chicago law itself is interesting, for it may serve as a model for a forthcoming federal plan.

It requires the registration of all portable guns, including rifles, pistols and shotguns. The licensing cost is small, the procedure simple. The law refuses registration permits to persons convicted of narcotic offenses or persons now using narcotics, anyone under the age of 18, chronic alcoholics, anyone released from prison within the past five years and the mentally retarded.

Gun laws have gone down to defeat, in Congress for many years. In the forefront of the opposition, and shouting from the ramparts, has been the National Rifle Association.

In apocalyptic tones a couple of weeks ago, NRA's president, Harold W. Glassen, warned all the faithful that "the right of sportsmen in the United States to obtain, own and use firearms for proper lawful purposes is in the greatest jeopardy in the history of our country."

Glassen has fired a big, loud blank.

This is so much poppycock.

None of the bills before Congress jeopardizes the right of sportsmen to obtain, own and use firearms. The Administration bill would merely put them to the inconvenience of purchasing guns from a licensed dealer in the state where they reside; and it would not affect in any way whatever the guns they now possess—or their use of their guns. Another bill, presented by Sen. Joseph Tydings, would merely require them to register any guns they possess in the same way they register their automobiles; and it would require them to obtain a license for their weapon in the same way they obtain a license to hunt or fish. Licenses would be issued automatically for a nominal fee to every law-abiding, responsible adult who asked for one.

We want to make it crystal clear that we don't propose denying any responsible citizen the ownership of guns; the right to keep arms is guaranteed by the constitution, as the opponents of the gun law are quick to point out. But there is an urgent necessity to curb mail-order sales and to register gun owners.

Criminals would, of course, still be able to acquire guns in some way, as the gun-curb foes also argue. But with the Supreme Court's ruling that "stop and frisk" procedures are permissible for policemen, those caught with illegal guns could be jailed. While a law won't necessarily stop a determined murderer, it will make things a lot tougher for all criminals.

If gun registration prevents one death, it will have been worth while.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Review, June 28, 1968]

Keep Up the Pressure on Guns

It is possible that legislation which would place strong, common-sense restrictions on firearms could go down the drain again. In the days since the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy the fate of gun legislation has been mercurial. There have been loud cries for tighter control on the sale of all guns, particularly mail order sales, and demands for the registration of all guns and the licensing of all gun owners. But there have been loud cries and demands in opposition as well, and the stubborn opponents of gun control legislation may be successful once more.

Immediately after the shooting, Congress passed the Crime Control Bill, and then seemed to sit back hoping that the woefully weak and inadequate restrictions in that bill would be enough to calm and satisfy everyone. President Johnson has sent to Congress requests for new and tougher laws; Senators Tydings and Dodd have also proposed strong bills; several Congressmen, mostly in the Senate, have voiced support of gun controls. Yet reports from Washington indicate that the House is cool to legislation on registration or licensing. So it is still doubtful what, if anything, Congress will do.

Here in St. Louis booing and sometimes unruly opponents of the proposed city ordinance on gun control packed a public hearing. They helped to send the bill back into committee until the Board of Aldermen meets again late in the summer.

Citizens must keep up their pressure on their government representatives at all levels. Letters and telegrams can and do influence the actions of legislators. We have waited long enough for stronger gun control laws. Do we have to live through another tragedy before action is taken?

[From the State College and Bellefonte (Pa.) Centre Times, June 29, 1968]

Technically Correct

Recently individuals have written to The Times and have denied that the National Rifle Association (NRA) is a "lobby" in Washington. These individuals are technically correct, however, this is only true in the strict sense of the word. The NRA carries on all the activities of an official "lobby" to a significant degree of success. Similar to other national associations (AMA, NAM), the NRA exerts pressure on Congressmen by encouraging letter writing and direct pressure through its office in Washington. These individuals are incorrect when they state that the NRA is only a group of 960,000 sportsmen trying to protect their interests. The controlling board of the NRA consists of representatives of firearm manufacturers and the sportsmen have little or no control over the policy of the organization.

It is indeed time to recognize that we are no longer a pioneer nation and the number of unregistered guns has become an intolerable threat. Contrary to the "lies" perpetrated by the NRA, the effect of the Tydings-Dodd legislation is not to take away the firearms of a single sportsman, only to register them for the protection of all. It is significant that several large gun manufacturers including Savage and Remington are supporting this legislation to the chagrin of the other "controllers" of the NRA. I have written our Congressmen citing recent studies such as the Zimmering Study in Chicago demonstrating that effective firearm control will indeed lower the dath rate in attempted homicides. I urge others to write immediately before the NRA gathers increasing strength and "lobbies" to "death" the bill along with countless victims.

[From the Plain Dealer, July 8, 1968]

Gun Sale Control

We are happy that big stores here are restricting or stopping sales of firearms and violence toys.

That won't take anything away from the need for a strong gun control law, however.

Self-imposed gun sale controls by department stores will reduce the available number of weapons. Once out in the community, firearms flow from hand to hand by sale and theft, and can come all the more readily into the possession of dangerous or irresponsible persons.

Firearms are a small fraction of a big department stores' long list of sales items. So the big stores are freer to get into the spirit of a public that has become fed up with loose gun trading.

Small shops, especially those which must depend largely on firearms sales, and merchants less concerned with their image in the minds of the whole public will not follow the big stores' lead.

Nonetheless we compliment those retailers who are cutting down or cutting off their part of the arms traffic. They are foregoing profits. They are setting high standards for other merchants in a sector where the highest standards are what the public wants.

[From the Marshall (Tex.) News Messenger, July 8, 1968]

Basis of Fact

Not even the most avid proponent of gun control legislation is preparing to claim that crimes of violence involving firearms will decrease if the purchase of guns is made more difficult. At the very least, though, they are entitled to a debate on the merits of the bill pending before Congress, not what opponents mistakenly fear is in the bill.

No one would be denied arbitrarily the right to buy a gun if the congressional bill becomes law. No one would have his pistol, rifle or shotgun taken away from him. American citizens would not be disarmed. The right to hunt game or practice marksmanship would not be curtailed. Any citizen of good character would be able to buy a gun under this legislation—at the most a waiting period of a week or two would be required while authorities are given a chance to investigate the application for purchase.

Congress has had under consideration a bill which would do only these things: Prohibit interstate mail-order sales of firearms and ammunition and ban over-the-counter sale of firearms to nonresidents of a state. This merely extended to rifles and shotguns the restrictions imposed earlier by Congress on mail-order sales of pistols and revolvers.

Now President Johnson has asked Congress to add a registration provision to the bill. The outcry has been horrendous. Men are crying out that registration is but a step toward eventual confiscation of all guns, thereby disarming the American public. But there is no substantiation for this claim. The bill is aimed solely at making it easier to trace the ownership of guns that have been used by criminals.

It is difficult to understand any responsible opposition to a gun-registration law. Reputable citizens have nothing to fear from registering their guns. What is more, if their guns are stolen, recovery can be simplified when positive identification is possible through registration.

A gun control and registration law can hardly hurt the American people. It will neither take their guns from them nor prevent them from buying others. Its main thrust is to make it more difficult for criminals and imbeciles to buy and keep guns. It is not a cure-all for crimes of violence. It is merely a step in the direction of trying to prevent the irresponsible possession and use of firearms.

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, July 8, 1968]

CONGRESS SHOULD EXPEDITE GUN CONTROL

It is getting late in the session and President Johnson has lost vital support for the job, but Congress still has not done all it should in the matter of gun registration and control.

One bill barring mail order sales of handguns has been passed. It also tightens up across-the-counter sales and contains curbs on importation of foreign arms.

But there are two more things needed:

Enactment of a bill to extend the mail order provisions to long guns—rifles and shotguns.

Enactment of some sort of registration bill, offered by Sen. Joseph Tydings, D-Md., appears to have the best chance of passage. This bill would require registration of firearms. States would be given the option of passing registration legislation; if they didn't federal registration would become mandatory.

In the background there is a registration bill prepared at the request of President Johnson. It is tougher still: fingerprints and photographs would be required, along with police certification and a doctor's certification of mental competency.

We think the Tydings bill would be worth a trial; at the least it would allow law enforcement officers to keep tab on weapons. If it does not work well enough then the Johnson approach may ultimately be required.

It is still doubtful whether sportsmen will support any kind of registration bill. We think they should; registration will protect their right to bear arms by making it more difficult for criminals to buy and possess arms.

And there is the larger picture of national welfare to consider. As a Harvard University psychologist, Thomas F. Pettigrew, asked in Sunday's Denver Post Perspective:

"Are the unrestrained rights of these legitimate businessmen (makers and sellers of firearms) and gun users to be valued over the urgent and obvious requirements of an urban nation with a crisis of firearms violence?"

It is a good question and one that gun owners should consider carefully.

If the nation lives in an atmosphere of violence—at a time when urbanization requires less violence—should not all of us do what we can to lessen that spirit? For gun owners this might reasonably lead to a decision to register arms on behalf of a more peaceful society.

We have heard the argument that "guns do not kill—people do." To be sure, but there is no question about the relationship between large numbers of guns and large numbers of crimes of violence involving guns, Tighter gun control is one way of attacking the problem.

There is one thing President Johnson should—and can—do immediately. The law passed last month on handguns contained a provision permitting the Treasury Department to cut off importation of weapons it does not classify as fit for sporting uses. Since there are reports that importers are trying to flood the country with up to 3 million foreign weapons before the law takes effect Dec. 1, the President should close the gap now.

An executive order would seem entirely justified. There is no good reason for permitting the flood of cheap foreign guns to continue. Obviously Congress intended to stop this flood; the President should authorize the Treasury Department to do it now.

[From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot, July 6, 1968]

PARK SHOOTOUT—IT POINTS UP NEED FOR CONTROLS

The gun lobby had the strategy figured out pretty well. Stall. Let things cool off. Give opposition time to develop. Let the public's demands for gun-control legislation be matched by an outpouring of demands from owners for the freedom from the botheration of having to register their guns the way they register their automobiles, their dogs, their marriages and so on.

The strategy seemed to be working. No guarantees here, but good possibilities. The Senate Judiciary Committee put off consideration of the Johnson Administration's gun-control bill until after the Fourth. In the House, the Rules Committee blocked action on the bill that the House Judiciary Committee had approved.

And then some lunatic comes along and spoils everything.

We don't know whether Angelo Angelof, as he had been identified at this writing, was thinking about the processes of legislation before he walked into Central Park in New York City the other day. Probably he wasn't. We don't know why he decided that July 3 was a nice day to kill a young woman. But that is what he did, and, having finished her off, he put bullets in an 80-year-old gentleman and two police officers before police bullets brought him down.

Somehow, we cannot get aroused over the loss of liberty that would have to be endured by people like Angelof or Sirhan Sirhan, the fellow who put a bullet in the brain of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, or Lee Harvey Oswald, who dispatched Senator Kennedy's older brother, if they were inconvenienced in acquiring their lethal weapons.

The public relations director of the National Rifle Association, John R. Hess, says his organization was "horrified at the senseless shooting in Central Park," but it was obviously not so horrified as to change its mind. Mr. Hess wishes to point out that "New York has the most stringent gun controls in the United States . . . We hope this horrible crime will not add more fuel to already distorted appeals for additional firearms controls."

The gunmen's passion for their lethal weapons is not matched by logic of approach. It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Hess that he is proving exactly the opposite of what he thinks he is proving.

In the first place, New York does have a tough law, and the result is that in New York only 31.8 per cent of all murders are committed by guns, while in Mississippi, where the law is frightfully weak, 70.9 per cent of all murders are committed by guns.

So a tough state law can have some beneficial effect. But in the second place, even one like New York's Sullivan Law, or one like Pennsylvania is trying to get passed, cannot substitute for the stronger national measures which, as President Johnson declares, are needed "to protect the American people against insane and reckless murder by gunfire."

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, June 30, 1968]

CONGRESS STALLS ON GUN CONTROLS

"The fervor of the people who want a gun-control bill fades, but the other side—they've hardly started, and their fervor never fades."

These words, spoken two weeks ago by an assistant to Sen. Wayne Morse, seemed to be applicable to developments last week. The tide of congressional mail on the gun-control issue seemed to be shifting to the side of those who oppose controls. And the fight for tougher controls took a setback when Sen. Quentin Burdick of North Dakota successfully won a delay until July 10 in further consideration of gun legislation by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

According to the Washington Post, long a proponent of gun controls, "The aim of the gun lobby is quite clear: It hopes to frustrate firearms control by the tactics of delay." The gun lobby, the Post says, expects "that if it can only hold off congressional action for the rest of this session, the public excitement on the subject will subside until another national leader is shot down."

Sen. Joseph Tydings, also an advocate of stiffer controls, called Burdick's victory a "real defeat" for controls. Tydings said the delay "substantially weakens chance for passing responsible gun legislation this congressional session."

We hope Tydings is wrong. But the answer will lie mainly with the public, which must continue to make clear to Congress that a strong majority favors gun controls, and with those senators and representatives courageous enough to resist the emotional pressures generated by a minority, but vocal segment of their constituencies. Gallup Polls for years have consistently shown a strong majority of Americans favoring gun controls.

President Johnson last week urged Congress to act immediately to legislate controls over mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns as a necessary step to follow up its earlier action in establishing controls over mail-order sales of pistols. Then the President went on to urge registration of all guns and licensing of all users, measures which seem quite reasonable in light of the seriousness of the problem.

The nation, as President Johnson so well said, is long overdue in responding to the danger of guns in criminal and incompetent hands. We believe that such a response means more than action by the federal government, but also action by state and local governments and private business. In this context, this newspaper has stopped accepting advertisements for handguns and will accept rifle and shotgun advertisements only from licensed dealers.

President Johnson detailed "a shocking increase in crimes where deadly weapons are the instruments of violence." In 1967, he said, there were 7,700 murders with guns, compared with 6,500 in 1966; in 1967, there were 55,000 aggravated assaults with guns, compared with 43,000 the year before; in 1967, there were over 71,000 robberies with guns, while in 1966 there were 60,000.

Registration and licensing, said the President, would not impair the legitimate ownership and use of guns in this country. "These would prevent firearms from being sold to or possessed by criminals, dope addicts, alcoholics, the mentally ill and any others whose possession of guns would be harmful to the public health, safety and welfare."

The President continued: "The American people have been too long without them. The cost of inaction through the decades affronts our conscience. Homes and city streets across the nation which might have rung with gunfire will be spared the tragedy of this senseless slaughter. We will never be able to measure this violence that does not erupt. But our history tells us America will be a safer country if we move now—once and forever—to complete the protection so long denied our people."

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, has written: "Easy accessibility of firearms is a significant factor in murders committed in the United States today."

Isn't it time that Congress do something to help protect the American people—hunters, sportsmen, and nonshooters alike—from those people who shouldn't have guns?

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, July 8, 1968]

We Should Pass Gun Control Bills

(By Robert G. Spivack)

Washington.—The argument has been made by Sen. Eugene McCarthy and other thoughtful men that it is unwise to enact any legislation under "panic" conditions or in response to great emotional pressure.

This is a view that is widely shared. Where legislative procedures are concerned it is sound policy. It is for that reason, despite urging from many quarters, that I have deferred expressing my own views in the current debate over gun control legislation.

This nation has been in a state of emotional turmoil for much too long. Some of the emotion has been artificially stimulated, some has welled up from deepest anxiety. It has been of two kinds.

After the big city riots all of us have heard, even from the mildest people we know, the comment that, "one more riot and I'm going out to get me a gun, for self-protection."

At the same time, after the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, we have all heard people say, "What's happening to this country? Any nut can get a gun and kill anybody he does not like. Isn't there any way to protect men like Kennedy and King, or prevent such tragedies?"

Very often the same people expressed both sentiments. Neither is difficult to understand.

But there comes a point at which each of us must make a decision where a national policy is involved. It was altogether proper that the Congress, as well as the rest of us, listen attentively as the National Rifle Assn. and its opposition groups, such as the Emergency Committee for Gun Control, headed by Col. John H. Glenn Jr., present their arguments.

We have heard them all now and we have also heard from the President. There has been ample time for each side to present its case.

As I review the evidence and examine the facts, it seems to me that the National Rifle Assn. has lost the argument. This is not a conclusion based on any sense of panic. Nor do I buy the arguments that America is a "sick society," or that Americans are more violent than the Red Chinese, the North Vietnamese Communists or other "peace-loving" people.

Nor do I believe that every sportsman is a cold-blooded killer, any more than every surgeon is, at heart, a butcher.

What it boils down to is simply a matter of common sense. Where guns are easily accessible people are going to get them, as they have. There are approximately 100,000,000 in this country today, owned by individual citizens.

In those parts of the country where guns are most easily obtained the murder rate is 200 to 300 percent higher than it is in cities or states where regulations are more stringent.

The argument has been made that it is the man, not the weapon, that does the killing. We know there are far more murders commited on impulse than are premeditated. But common sense tells us that a killer, whether he is in a blind rage or a hardened criminal, is less likely to commit murder if his own life is endangered, as it is when a knife, or other instrument is used. Then the killer comes closer, physically, to his victim. That increases the risk to himself:

What does the present situation require? The minimum in the present circumstances, it seems to me, would be these three points: (1) registration of all guns owned or possessed by anyone other than law enforcement officers, or members of properly constituted military forces, (2) licensing of all persons who own or use guns, (3) a ban on mail-order gun sales.

Postmaster General Marvin Watson has already ordered that guns being shipped through the mails be properly identified, an important first step towards bringing the traffic in guns under control.

But if disarmament among nations is imperative it is equally important within the nation. The objective is the same, to cut down violence from whatever source it springs.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, July 9, 1968]

Back to Work

Congress came back to work yesterday, refreshed from its Fourth of July respite. But there are still four weeks remaining if the legislators hope to get through in time to attend the national conventions.

And these could be fateful weeks, for Congress still has to face up to a decision on two major pieces of legislation . . . the controversial gun control measure and the housing bill.

The bill that aroused a wide segment of the nation concerns federal control of the sale and possession of firearms. Congress has been swinging like an uncontrolled pendulum on this measure: it was stirred from its moribund state of several years standing by the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King and Sen. Robert Kennedy.

These two slayings, as did the murder of President John Kennedy, evoked a swelling tide of national sentiment for federal regulations to prohibit the mail-order sales of weapons. Despite the unrelenting pressure of the powerful gun lobby, the National Rifle Association, the legislative branch at long last was prepared to pass a diluted version of the bill proposed by the Johnson Administration.

With key leaders like Sen. Everett Dirksen finally swinging over to the affirmative side, there was hope that the measure could be strengthened to include registration and licensing of firearms, similar to the pioneering statute passed by New Jersey.

But the Senate Judiciary Committee reserved decision on the Tydings bill that would include all the provisions sought by the Administration. This was regarded as a victory for the pro-gun forces, since it put off congressional consideration until the final weeks before adjournment.

And now we are down to the wire, the moment of decision on this vital piece of legislation that has such a broad impact on the atmosphere of violence that has enveloped the nation, a pervasive mood that has frightening implications.

In the housing area, the Senate has passed a wide-ranging measure that authorizes $5 billion to provide 1,200,000 new or rehabilitated homes for lower income families over the next three years. The bill would enlist the support of private industry in building low-income housing, with back-up federal subsidies to help minimal income families meet mortgage payments. The House has its own housing measure, with variations that would require a joint conference to resolve the differences.

These are two major pieces of legislation that would add considerable luster to a congressional session that badly needs it. The incumbents on Capitol Hill believe that the 90th Congress has compiled a respectable legislative record, but this self-appraisal will have little substance unless there is forthright responsiveness with the enactment of a strong gun control measure and comprehensive housing bill.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, July 10, 1968]

Gun Laws: The Public Loses

(Issue.—Should a few key lawmakers deny the House the right to vote on urgently-needed gun control legislation?)

The American people are close to defeat in their fight for strong gun control laws this year in Congress.

And all it took was the strong opposition of a mere four members of the House Rules Committee who didn't want to inconvenience sportsmen.

As a result, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) was forced to drop his sponsorship of the Administration's gun registration bill in order to win Rules Committee approval of much milder legislation banning interstate mail-order traffic in firearms.

The Times deplores this exercise of legislative power by a few men to thwart House action on effective protection.

We are dismayed that two California congressmen, Reps. H. Allen Smith (R-Glendale) and B. F. Sisk (D-Fresno), were among the Rules Committee members who expressed such concern over the "inconvenience" that gun controls might cause.

There is still considerable backing in the Senate for federal registration of all guns and licensing of all gun owners. But hopes of House concurrence virtually disappeared when Celler gave in to the Rules Committee.

Given the circumstances and the unusual power of the committee, Celler apparently had to decide whether he wanted a weak control bill or no bill at all.

Although the public lost, the gun lobby won perhaps its greatest victory in spiking proposals for registration and licensing. The demand for tough controls was never stronger than in the weeks that followed the gunning down of Sen. Kennedy.

The need for such restrictions has become increasingly obvious every year with the tragic rise in the number of gun-caused murders and assaults and robberies involving firearms.

The arguments that registration and licensing would be costly and inconvenient have no merit. Fees would cover the administrative costs as they now do for registration of automobiles and licensing of drivers. Inconvenience is hardly a consideration when 7,700 Americans were murdered with guns last year alone.

As Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark told the Senate Judiciary Committee Monday, "Clearly and beyond question, effective gun controls would greatly reduce crime in this country."

It was President Johnson who asked Congress after the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, "What in the name of conscience will it take to pass a truly effective gun control law?"

The question is still unanswered on Capitol Hill.

[From the Akron (Ohio) Beacon Journal, July 11, 1968]

"Half a Loaf" Can Kill Thousands

The merits of gun control seem to have been overshadowed in Washington by the contest to see which side can put the most letters on the desks of Representatives and Senators.

Immediately after the assassination of Senator Kennedy, there was a great, spontaneous flow of letters from citizens who called for stricter regulation of guns.

Then the National Rifle Association went into action and the opponents poured letters and telegrams by the thousands into Washington.

Our lawmakers must be aware, of course, that public opinion polls for years have shown large majorities for stricter regulation of guns. They know, too, that the opposition is better organized.

After tabulating the mail, reading the polls and listening to all the pros and cons, the lawmakers ought to proceed to act in the best interests of the public welfare. In this case, that would mean much more stringent regulation of guns, including registration of gun owners.

Senator Joseph D. Tydings of Maryland, sponsor of the pending registration law, summed it up in these words:

"The law . . . I have proposed would not prevent the purchase of firearms by any law-abiding citizens—including hunters, sportsmen, collectors, homeowners, shopkeepers and their families. Nor would it disarm or significantly inconvenience them.

"It would inconvenience criminals, drug addicts, alcoholics, mental incompetents, aliens and juveniles."

Nevertheless, Congress seems inclined to move only toward stricter control of the mail order sale of rifles. Congressman Emanuel Celler, who is in a key position as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, says he won't go for registration at this time but will give clearance for consideration of a bill regulating rifle sales. Earlier the sale of hand guns was brought under partial control.

A New York Times dispatch says: "Supporters of gun controls began to say privately that half a loaf this late in the session would be better than none."

Maybe so, but that "half a loaf" means that before Congress gets around to the subject again in 1969 or 1970, hundreds of innocent persons are going to be shot, accidentally or on purpose, by the "criminals, drug addicts, alcoholics, mental incompetents, aliens and juveniles" who will find it too easy to get a gun.

[From the Shelby (N.C.) Star, July 12, 1968]

TYDINGS BILL NEEDS ACTION

Bypassing the Senate Judiciary Committee on gun control legislation, and especially on the Tydings bill that would impose licensing and registration of all privately-owned guns, will be a difficult task, but it is a task that should be accomplished.

The Judiciary Committee has emasculated the bill introduced for the administration by Sen. Joseph Tydings, exempting shotguns and rifles as if they were puppets on the strings of the National Rifle Association whose forte is long guns.

The Emergency Committee for Gun Control, headed by former astronaut John Glenn, Tydings and other senators deserve support for their move to have the Senate consider the strictest bill possible by ignoring the Judiciary Committee action and taking their fight to the Senate floor.

Essentially, what the Tydings bill does is set up a system of federal licensing and registration for all guns, but, importantly, it allows time for states to pass their own gun control laws before the federal law takes effect. If the states pass laws that measure up to the federal law, then the states can be exempted from the federal law. Such a provision should remove the fears of those who think the federal government would have a list of all gun owners so that guns could be taken up.

These are Tydings' words when he introduced the bill, S3634, on June 12; "Registration is a bare minimum of assistance for police officers. In addition, my bill will also require a license for the transfer or possession or purchase of any firearm or any ammunition used in a firearm. It will disqualify from gun ownership, felons, aliens, those convicted of misdemeanors involving violence, drug addicts, alcoholics, the mentally incompetent and juveniles. The Gun Crime Prevention Act will not disarm law-abiding citizens who own guns. It will not significantly inconvenience law-abiding hunters, sportsmen, collectors or other gun fanciers, any more than the obtaining of a license for an automobile owner inconveniences the automobile driver."

That, in a nutshell, is the bill that has the country and the Congress in a dither, that has the NRA proposing that it write model state gun control laws to its own liking, that has petitions being circulated and that has mail both ways flowing into Congress.

The Tydings bill allows for state controls, but it warns the states they must face up to the reality of gun problems, rather than merely blaming the federal government for intrusion into the public health and safety realm of state control. If the bill becomes law and states do not pass realistic controls, then they will have only themselves to criticize.

But the problem at hand is getting to the floor of the Senate and to the floor of the House the Tydings bill. The watered-down version, which exempts rifles and shotguns that account for 30 per cent of the 6,000 or more homicides in the United States last year, is not even reported out of the Judiciary Committee. That committee includes Senators Sam Ervin and Strom Thurmond.

In the House, a gun control law that cracks down on interstate sale of long guns, to be added to the Omnibus Crime Bill prohibition against such Interstate pistol sales, is scheduled for floor debate. But opponents there, and wishy-washy leadership, have again postponed the debate until next week—another in a series of delays.

The Harris survey, which shows that 85 per cent of Americans want more stringent gun control laws, also shows that 45 per cent of those are not sure the new laws would do any good. Coupled with those who just don't want any additional controls on themselves of any kind, the lethargy of the general public on gun controls is mounting.

No one can say that the Tydings bill, should it become law, would stop a murder from taking place, but no one can say that it would not make it more difficult for a person to get his hand on a gun. Additionally, the bill would be a deterent in that a person who knew he would be held responsible for a gun he purchased would be more likely to keep up with it, not use it indiscriminately and not sell it to someone who doesn't qualify for a gun permit.

Emotionalism has no place in the gun control consideration, and those critics who have said legislation should not come in a panic should be mollified by now on the time element. It has been more than a month since a national political leader was murdered.

In that month, there has been a reversal of the trend in mail so that congressmen are now getting a flood of anticontrol mail in contrast to the mail just after Robert F. Kennedy's death June 6. Opposition comes from the NRA, but it alone cannot be blamed for all the outpouring of opposition. Some persons sincerely believe that strict gun controls take away an inalienable right, and that is their right to believe that. We happen to disagree.

Taken as a whole and understood in all its points, the Tydings bill should be passed, even if that means bypassing the omnipotent Judiciary Committee.

[From the Mount Kisco (N.Y.) Patent Trader, July 13, 1968]

LEGISLATIVE CORNER: SENATOR TYDINGS ON WEAPONS

(By James Transue)

By now you'd think nothing new could be said about guns and gun control. Time and Newsweek have done their definitive stories, the National Rifle Association has had Congress deluged with mail, and you can't get through a cocktail party anywhere without hearing about it.

Yet, like anyone else, I feel compelled to have my say on this issue, and maybe this is one of those issues on which people ought to express themselves more because so far the minority viewpoint has prevailed.

No reasonable or responsible advocate of strong gun laws says tight control would end misuse of guns, an assertion which is too often put in their mouths by opponents of gun laws. But it is equally nonsensical to hold that simply because you cannot end gun crime with gun control laws you therefore should not have gun control laws.

A reading of the Second Amendment will make it clear that there is no Constitutional guarantee of the individual's right to own guns. It is asserted, with appropriate quotations from Plato, Rousseau, Machiavelli, Blackstone and Adam Smith, that a nation cannot keep its freedom without a well-armed militia to guard against the tyrannical misuse of standing armies. I doubt this is true in modern times, and it would be an odd reading indeed of American history to conclude that the National Guard has played a significant role in the preservation of our freedom. Even if that were true, it surely would not be true that unorganized or loosely organized citizens armed with shotguns and pistols are any bulwark of freedom against a modern army of tanks, planes, napalm and atomic weaponry.

Moreover, there is a natural tendency when many citizens own guns, for other citizens to arm themselves against them, just in case. This spiraling effect has been seen in the years since the assassination of John F. Kennedy in the dramatic escalation of the number of manufactured or imported firearms. It is hard for us to adjust from our open plained heritage to modern crowded civilization without us all toting weapons to use against each other instead of fists or epithets.

Absolute prohibition of weapon ownership should extend only to those unfit to own weapons, and no responsible person in public life is seeking, despite the NRA contention, to extend prohibition any further than that. But I am convinced that fewer persons would feel the desire to own guns if there were fewer guns around to threaten them. The spiraling effect can be reversed if the will to do so is there.

Sen. Joseph Tydings, the Maryland Democrat who is a Congressional leader in the gun control struggle, recently compiled one of the best capsule statistical descriptions I've yet seen on the relationship of guns in our society to murder. These figures speak eloquently for themselves.

In 1966, there were 6,552 recorded gun murders in this nation, 60 per cent of the total homicides. The percentage was 57 in 1965 and 55 in 1964.

Rifle and shotgun murders have been about 30 per cent of the annual total, and in 1966, there were 1,747 long gun murders.

Despite the ease with which guns can be obtained by mail order or carried over state lines, the percentage of gun murders in states with strong gun control laws has been consistently much lower than in states with weak laws.

The proportion of gun murders to all murders in strong-law states in the four year period 1962–65: Pennsylvania, 43.2 per cent; New Jersey, 38.6 per cent; New York, 31.8 per cent; Massachusetts, 35.3 per cent; and Rhode Island, 24 per cent.

For the same four year period, this was the proportion of gun murders to all murders in weak-law states: Florida, 66 per cent; Arizona, 66.4 per cent; Nevada, 66.9 per cent; Texas, 68.7 per cent; Mississippi, 70.9 per cent; Louisiana, 62 per cent.

From 1960 through 1966, firearms were the weapons of death in 322, or 96 per cent of the 335 murders of police officers. In 1966, 57 policemen were killed in the line of duty, 55 of them by firearms.

In the northeastern states, which have high population concentrations and generally comparatively strong gun laws, 53 policemen were gunned down; in the more sparsely populated Southern states, with little gun legislation, 151 policemen were killed by gunfire.

The effects of gun control in other nations can be seen in these figures: the U.S. rate of gun murders per 100,000 population in 1963 was five times the Australian rate, 10 times the Belgian rate, five times the Canadian rate, 20 times the Danish rate, 54 times the British rate, 23 times the West German rate, 67 times the Japanese rate, and 90 times the rate in the Netherlands.

The NRA contends that guns don't kill people, that people kill people. This is the truth, but not the whole truth. The statement implies that if there were no guns, murders would continue at roughly the same rate. This argument is demolished by the record, yet it persists.

The plain and whole truth is that guns are the easiest way for people to kill people, with the least hazard to and personal involvement by the killer, and that there are many instances where murder is committed by gun when, if there had been no gun there would have been no murder for lack of opportunity, lack of nerve or lack of a means of escape from close quarters. Our laws could hardly be more conducive to the killing of Presidents, policemen, paupers and plain people than if they had been designed expressly for that purpose.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, July 16, 1968]

Facts on Gun Control

Opponents of gun control legislation continue to repeat by rote the assertion that licensing and registration of firearms would not lessen violence. To our knowledge, they have presented no evidence supporting this view.

The opposite conclusion—that gun controls would limit violence—does have ample supporting documentation. Senator Joseph Tydings (Dem., Md.), the sponsor of a stiff firearms control bill, cites some of this evidence in the Congressional Record.

He compares the percentage of murders committed with guns and the homicide rates of states with relatively strong gun laws and those with weak laws or none. The study covers the four years, 1962–66.

The gun murder rate in the United States is five times the rate of Australia, 10 times the rate of Belgium, five times the rate of Canada, 20 times the rate of Denmark, 54 times the rate of Great Britain, 23 times the rate of the German Federal Republic, 67 times the rate of Japan and 90 times the rate of the Netherlands. All of these nations have firearms control laws.

Those who say there is no evidence that gun control legislation would lessen violence are unwilling to look at the evidence. Their minds are made up. They don't want to be confused by the facts.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, July 19, 1968]

Essentials of Gun Control

As a gun control legislation comes to a test in the House, its opponents are encouraged by a change in the tide of congressional mail. The great wave of public demand for effective controls set off by the assassination of Senator Kennedy has subsided, and congressmen are now under much stronger pressure in the other direction from the gun lobby and opponents of firearms regulation.

The ebb and flow of congressional mail cannot, of course, truly measure the merits of any piece of legislation. The merits of effective national gun control will have to be faced by the country, if not in this congressional session then in the next.

A great deal of feeling has been whipped up on both sides, and emotion alone is admittedly a poor basis for sound legislation. But there are cold, clear, rational grounds for adopting strong firearms regulation, and they must prevail in the end. The grounds are that in an increasingly crowded urban society which already shows alarming symptoms of violence we simply cannot afford to permit unlimited traffic in and unregulated ownership of lethal weapons which are so often the instruments of that violence.

Sensible people have no illusions that gun controls will miraculously put an end to crime, or instantly eradicate the impulse to violence which makes this nation's murder rate a scandal among civilized countries. It will not in itself end political assassination or halt the shooting sprees by madmen that have become a staple item in the news.

On the other hand it is perfect nonsense to suggest, as the gun lobby does, that nationwide regulation of firearms will not have any effect on violence by firearms. As Senator Tydings and the Department of Justice have pointed out, the few states which have effective gun control laws now also boast a markedly lower homicide rate than states with notoriously weak laws. Senator Tydings notes that Britain with strong gun laws has an annual homicide rate of 0.05 per 100,000 of population, while the United States with weak laws or none has a rate of 2.7 per 100,000, fifty times as high. The case for an effective nationwide system of controls, carried out by the states but with Federal cooperation and Federal standards, is overwhelming.

The House appears ready to accept a ban on mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns, but in our view that is not enough. Registration of all guns, and licensing of gun owners, are essential to an effective system of controls. As in the Tydings legislation, which has been watered down and delayed in the Senate, this could be accomplished by a Federal law setting up the machinery but permitting the states to administer it if they wished.

Registration and licensing would not prevent ownership of guns by sportsmen and others with a legitimate need for them. It would simply require, in exchange for the privilege of owning lethal weapons, acceptance of reasonable regulations aimed at controlling the traffic in guns and keeping them out of the hands of felons, drug addicts, mental incompetents, and juveniles.

Obviously, registration and licensing would not immediately halt all illegal use of guns. But controlled Traffic in weapons is surely better than uncontrolled traffic, and in time vigorous enforcement of the law could weed out those who have no business owning or possessing guns. One can hope also that in time regulation of the traffic would induce most Americans to lay their weapons aside and rely, as a civilized people should, upon their government for protection. In a society as violent as ours many steps must be taken to realize a more orderly and peaceful national life, and it is clear that not all of the necessary changes can be accomplished immediately. But an effective law to control and reduce the accessibility of lethal weapons is one step that can be taken, and it should not be longer delayed.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 30, 1968]

The Gunfighters

It is now evident that neither the House of Representatives nor the Senate is going to adopt legislation requiring the registration of guns or the licensing of gun owners—at least prior to the impending recess. Thus, for the time being, the fight for effective gun control has been lost—save for a partial and cynically weakened ban on mail order gun peddling.

We think this outcome is tragic and foolish—a rejection of reason and a defiance of democracy. The cost of leaving the gun traffic unregulated is 20,000 human lives a year. The people of America have petitioned Congress to abate this slaughter by a flood of letters without parallel in legislative history. Repeated polls of public opinion have demonstrated an overwhelming popular desire for effective firearms control. Yet Congress heeds only a selfish and reckless gun peddlers' lobby. In this, as in other recent actions, there is manifest in Congress a spirit of blind bigotry and destructiveness.

The fight for effective gun control is going to continue, nevertheless. And it is going to be won. You can lay it down as an unassailable axiom that the American people are not going to go on sustaining casualties at the rate of 200,000 a year to suit the convenience of a handful of hunters, gun collectors and pseudo-frontiersmen who find a synthetic brand of bravery in the possession of a pistol. This country is simply not going to continue letting itself be terrorized by criminals, punks, hoodlums, hospitals, maniacs, drunkards and assorted misanthropes armed indiscriminately with lethal weapons.

The shooting of Americans can be dramatically diminished by restricting gun ownership of persons certified, or licensed, as law-abiding and responsible and by requiring that every firearm be registered. Licensing is the obvious and necessary device for screening gun owners and gun buyers. It is a significant coincidence that the same day's news pages that reported the rejection of gun registration and licensing by the House of Representatives and the Senate Judiciary Committee also reported discovery of the bullet-torn bodies of a Detroit magazine publisher, his wife and four children at a summer home on Lake Michigan and the fatal shooting of 10 persons in Cleveland after a police-sniper gun battle. Licensing can help to keep guns out of such dangerous hands.

For the past six weeks, this newspaper has sought, in daily editorials, to focus public attention on the gun problem and to present arguments in favor of gun control legislation. Because public attention will now certainly shift from legislative action to political activities at the great national party conventions, we shall, for the present, discontinue this daily editorial pleading for common sense about guns. But we shall certainly return to the subject. And the country will certainly return to its demands that Congress act to protect the public safety. We hail all those who shared in the fight for gun control and we exhort them to renewed determination when Congress reconvenes. The senseless slaughter of Americans by gunfire must be curbed.

[From the Chicago Daily News, July 27, 1968]

Whee: Guns for Everybody

After gravely listening to the most massive popular outcry of recent times, the House of Representatives turned its back and passed a bill preserving the right of any thug or crackpot to buy the gun of his choice.

Along the way it managed to do some proselyting for its favorite lobby, the National Rifle Assn., by enabling any who want to evade the few paltry restrictions imposed on gun traffic to do so by paying the NRA's $5 membership fee.

But it isn't necessary to join the NRA to duck the restrictions. Under the House bill anyone with $10 can buy a license as a "collector," and lay away an arsenal of second-hand rifles, pistols, or submachine-guns.

And even these dodges are needless for anyone who merely wants to buy a gun to shoot somebody. He can still walk into a store in any state authorizing gun sales and buy one over the counter, unless he has the bad fortune not to live in that state or one contiguous to it. In that case he may have to wait until he goes home.

The House, in its guns-for-everybody mood, even rejected a mild amendment by Illinois' Robert McClory that would have provided a federal spur to states to enact owner-licensing laws like the one in Illinois. One hundred and seventy-nine sterling representatives voted that down as too restrictive.

So a bill was passed that the gun people can "live with." Rep. Charles S. Joelson of New Jersey suggested that "tens of thousands of Americans can also die with it," but perhaps that's what it will take to persuade Congress that there will be no safety on the streets until it screws up the courage to say no to the NRA.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, July 27, 1968]

INVESTIGATE THE NRA

Lobbying by the National Rifle association (NRA) and its loyal followers has helped riddle the house passed gun control bill with crippling amendments. This prompted Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the house judiciary committee and manager of the original bill, to threaten a full scale house investigation of the association and its doings.

Consider the NRA:

Here is an organization that has never registered as a lobby, yet spent a reported $131,000 last year for activities related to legislation, including mailings to members, plus about $146,000 for public relations.

Here is a group that says its mission is basically educational, not legislative, yet boasts that an NRA appeal on a particular piece of national legislation can generate a cloudburst of half a million letters to legislators.

Here is an outright lobby that has consistently fought meaningful firearms control legislation at every level, sometimes with outright distortions of fact. A thorough congressional inspection of its activities, past and present, is grievously overdue.

[From the Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune, July 26, 1968]

GUN CONTROL OPPONENTS WIN AGAIN

Barring a minor miracle—or perhaps another major tragedy involving firearms—Congress is not going to pass an adequate gun control law this session. Once more, it appears, lawmakers have given in to highly vocal and well organized opponents of meaningful legislation.

A bill to curb interstate mail order sales of long guns and some ammunition has cleared the House and a similar bill has been reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee. But both House and Senate balked at President Johnson's request for federal registration of all guns and state licensing of gun owners.

Not satisfied with defeat of Mr. Johnson's proposals, pro-gun forces riddled the bill with almost 100 proposed amendments, many of which provided loopholes that would dilute the already weak bill's effectiveness.

In view of the loud and emotional opposition from what we believe to be a minority of the population, the country is probably fortunate to get as much as it has in the way of increased firearms controls.

We are convinced that someday the United States, like England, Japan, France and a number of other civilized nations, will get a gun law that will keep firearms out of the hands of people who have no reasonable need of them. It is a sad commentary on the social conscience of Congress that it probably will require a few more assassinations of famous people or another series of pitched battles between police and snipers to bring about a climate in which individual lawmakers can find the nerve to vote what most of them certainly must feel right now.

Representative Charles A. Vanik (D-Ohio) hinted at this during House debate on the gun bill. "Like everyone else" he said, "I call for law and order. But I am just sick and tired of hearing some of my colleagues deplore violence and call for law and order when I have seen them go through nonrecord votes time and again and vote for amendments which would strike down adequate gun control laws."

It's the old story of deploring a bad condition but not having the fortitude to really do anything about it.

[From Newsday, July 26, 1968]

THE GUN CONTROL BILL

The House of Representatives, after a long legislative struggle, has passed a gun control bill that is a far cry from the strong measure needed in America today. But, on balance, the bill represents, at least, one more step toward sanity in the domestic arms race.

The House action shows how effective an aroused public opinion can be in influencing the Congress. A year ago, this admittedly weak bill would not have passed. For years, any measure involving federal curbs on firearms has been the target of vigorous and successful opposition from sportsmen and members of the National Rifle Association.

This year, it was only the public outcry that arose after the assassinations of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Sen. Robert Kennedy that pressed the Congress into action. The new House bill includes a ban on the interstate mail-order sale of rifles and shotguns. A similar bill has been approved in the Senate Judiciary Committee. When the Senate returns from its recess for the national political conventions, it should lose no time in approving the bill.

To their credit, Long Island's five congressmen voted for the House bill. They also voted against the amendment that exempts long-gun ammunition from the mail-order ban and in favor of amendments to strengthen the bill.

Two important gun control regulations were not included in the House bill. These called for federal registration of all firearms and federal rules making state licensing of gun owners mandatory. Effective gun control will not become a reality in the U.S. until the Congress passes a bill containing these provisions.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-Brooklyn), floor leader for the House bill, has not given up the fight. He plans to hold hearings in his House Judiciary Committee on these two provisions in September. The public pressure for effective gun control should not be relaxed until these measures are written into federal law. Even this modest bill would not have been possible had the Congress not been flooded in recent weeks with more than 1,000,000 pieces of mail demanding stricter gun laws.

While the prohibition of mail-order sales of long-guns is the strongest part of the bill passed by the House, there are other worthwhile portions that will help curb the abuse of firearms. The bill requires mandatory prison terms for those convicted of committing federal felonies while using a gun. It prohibits the sale of guns to fugitives, felons, persons under indictment, narcotics users and mental defectives, and it requires the licensing of dealers in firearms and ammunition.

This House action is encouraging. Joint action by the Senate will be one more step toward stricter controls over guns. Tougher legislation should be forthcoming. We hope no new instances of murder or assassination will be needed to prod Congress into action.

[From the Ithaca (N.Y.) Journal, July 26, 1968]

A CASE FOR GUN CONTROLS

If someone really wants to do you in, he will, whether or not he can lay his hands on a gun.

This statement, frequently expressed these days because of the debate over gun control laws, is plausible enough. If someone really wants to do you in, he'll find a way.

A look at actual homicide statistics, however, indicates that a substantial percentage of homicides result from attacks that were not made with the single-minded intent to kill.

Franklin E. Zimring, assistant professor of law at the University of Chicago, studied more than 1,400 homicides and 22,000 assaults recorded during 1965, 1966, and 1967 by the Chicago Police Department. His findings show that:

No less than 78 percent of all killings, as classified by the police, resulted from quarrels based on domestic problems, liquor, sex, etc.

The gun and the knife were interchangeable weapons for persons who resorted to violence to settle personal arguments.

Some 70 per cent of all gun homicides resulted from a single wound, although a "single-minded intent to kill" should prompt the attacker to insure his result by multiple wounding.

Knife attacks resulted in more multiple woundings than gun attacks, yet there were five times as many killings by gun as by knife.

Prof. Zimring thus concludes that the elimination of guns would reduce the number of homicides.

Perhaps we can never solve the problem of interpersonal violence. But perhaps we can make it a little less deadly?

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, July 26, 1968]

CONGRESS DEAF TO GUN CONTROL CLAMOR

At times Congress reminds us of the old man who seemed to be conveniently deaf to all unpleasant conversations but never failed to hear an invitation to have a drink, even if uttered in a whisper at a distance of 30 feet.

Assassinations, growing rates of other armed crimes and a rising din of gunfire in racially troubled areas have built up an unprecedented demand throughout the country for effective curbs on firearms and ammunition.

Indicative of that demand was a Harris Poll of a month ago which showed 81 per cent of the American people favor a law which would require the registration of all guns.

This being an election year in which congressmen are supposed to have their ears to the ground, one might expect that popular sentiment as strong as that might find its way into appropriate legislation.

Instead, both the House and the Senate have now shown they probably won't pass anything but a watered-down weapons control bill at this session. Yet, the House, while unmoved by public opinion, was quick to hear and respond to the desire of the National Rifle Association, the chief lobbyist against gun registration, for the continued use of free government guns and ammunition for its target practice clubs.

Numerically the NRA is but a whisper as compared with the millions of citizens who desire adequate gun regulations yet its influence is so great on Capitol Hill that Rep. Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, believes it should be investigated as an "insidious" force.

We believe he may have something there.

About all the country is likely to get in the form of firearms control this year is a ban on the mail-order sale of guns and a ban on mail-order sale of ammunition for handguns. It would be a delusion to hope that such a mild enactment would really accomplish much.

Gun ownership in this country is increasing at a frightening rate. Last year more than 4½ million guns were sold, an increase of 132 percent over the number sold as recently as 1963.

Every day in this country more than 50 persons die of gunshots. In 1967 there were 7,700 gun homicides, 11,000 gunshot suicides and 2,800 accidental gunshot deaths.

In addition to those who were killed, 100,000 persons were injured with guns.

Victims of armed robberies and aggravated assaults with firearms totaled 126,000 last year.

Since 1900, 800,000 Americans have lost their lives through homicides, suicides and accidents and that is more lives than have been expended in all the wars in our history.

The statistics will grow even more appalling under the proposals Congress now appears to favor. As a minimum a gun registration law should be enacted. Until it is, firearms control must be considered a major item in the nation's unfinished business.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 26, 1968]

A WEAK GUN BILL

The firearms control bill approved by the House represents only the slightest advance toward a civilized concept of the proper uses and regulations for guns.

A month and a half ago, after the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy Congress was nearly swamped by spontaneous appeals for serious gun controls. Since then the well-organized National Rifle Association has counterattacked so successfully that it seem to have recaptured the House.

Thus the House added rifles and shotguns to the handguns whose mail order sales were prohibited a month ago. This is progress of a sort, in view of the historic vacuum of any kind of general gun regulations. But it is not a serious effort to restrict the widespread availability of weapons, or to discourage their misuse by making guns traceable through registration and licensing of their owners.

In fact, the House voted overwhelmingly against any such thing. It went further. It happily swallowed a proposal by an NRA member to exclude from its bill the National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice, a civilian-military group allied with the NRA. Representative Celler of New York observed that this would exempt the NRA from the mail-order ban, and he correctly termed the amendment "dreadful."

The House acted just after an eruption of violence in Cleveland that left 10 dead, illustrating again how easy it is for individuals to collect semi-automatic weapons and to build private armories, without even identification. Registration and licensing are required to permit such identification, and we think the Senate should adopt these measures, as President Johnson has urged.

It makes no sense to contend, as the NRA does, that registration would not reduce the firearms toll. Americans are dying from gunfire at the rate of one every half-hour, the Justice Department says. No other Western nation comes close to that tragic record, and it is hardly coincidental that no other Western nation is so lacking in gun controls.

Evidently the House bought the myth that guns are nearly sacred to Americans. Even those who prize weapons so much ought to be willing to register their ownership. But the record of gunfire in this country has become more and more profane. How much more will it take to persuade Congress to do something meaningful about it?

[From the Nashville Tennesseean, July 26, 1968]

A FALTERING STEP ON GUNS

Congress has finally begun to move toward enactment of a bill to curb somewhat a national traffic in firearms that continues to produce tragedy and shock almost daily.

While the bill were being debated in the House of Representatives, and opposed by some of those crying loudest for law and order, black militants in Cleveland were able to open fire on police with military rifles, carbines and a machinegun.

In Tennessee, federal authorities have been able to turn up only three of 100 "Spitfire" .45 caliber rifles sold here by mail. The weapons can be turned into submachine guns with a little tinkering. The public can only hope the other 97 are controlled by sane minds.

The gun control bill passed by the House may end some of this traffic, but enough loopholes have been punched in the legislation to make it questionable.

By overwhelming votes, the House rejected President Johnson's proposals for registration of guns or the licensing of gun owners. The key provision left prohibits mail order sales of rifles, shotguns and handgun ammunition. An earlier bill outlawed mail sales of handguns.

One of the exemptions provides, apparently, that anyone who styles himself a collector of relics and curios can continue to order guns through the mail. In addition, anyone can continue to order shotgun and rifle ammunition by mail.

A Senate committee has cleared a similar bill, which is now headed for a vote on the floor. The Senate seems somewhat more in favor of stronger controls and may be able to kill some of the House amendments. But the National Rifle Association again has its followers in full cry, and the bill may end up simply prohibiting some people from ordering guns through the post office. Or it could end up in a cubbyhole.

There is clearly room for state action in the field. But the nation's governors, meeting in Cincinnati, left little hope of that as they passed a noncommittal resolution on the subject. And one problem in a good many states, including Tennessee, is that existing laws are not enforced.

While congressional action may be a faltering step forward, the reality remains that the deranged and the criminal still have wide avenues open to the gun market.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, July 25, 1968]

FIREARMS AND VIOLENT CRIME

Considerable off-target criticism is being fired at the firearms control law now pending in Congress. Critics assert that of 3,243,370 serious crimes committed in the United States in 1966, only 3.4 per cent involved firearms. However, most of these crimes were burglaries, larcenies and auto thefts. Firearms were used in 59.3 per cent of the 10,920 homicides, 18.8 per cent of the 231,800 aggravated assaults and 38.9 per cent of the 153,420 robberies.

Criticism also is peppered at a comparison made by Senator Joseph Tydings (Dem., Md.) between states with strong and weak gun control laws. The states with strong laws had lower homicide rates committed by guns and lower overall murder rates. The critics say other states could be chosen to blur this conclusion.

We believe a comparison of state gun laws and state crime rates supports the Tydings conclusion. The FBI statistical summary for 1966 shows the South had 8.9 homicides per 100,000 population, compared with a U.S. figure of 5.6, a rate for the Northeast of 3.6, North Central, 4.4; and West, 4.3. The Southern States generally have weak gun laws which are casually enforced.

There are states, such as Iowa, with relatively weak firearms laws which still have low homicide rates. Iowa's rate, for instance, is 1.6 per 100,000— one of the lowest in the nation. But this merely shows that gun laws aren't the sole determiner of a state's homicide rate.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, interpreting these data, said: "The easy accessibility of firearms and the lethal nature of the gun are clearly apparent in these murder figures." He explained one of the reasons for this: "When assaults by type of weapon are examined, a gun proves seven times more deadly than all other weapons combined."

No one argues that firm gun controls will eliminate all gun crimes. Other factors are involved—poverty, population density, the level of law enforcement and public attitudes.

What we do argue is that *one* important factor in the level of gun violence is the laws which affect the ease with which criminals and unstable persons can obtain guns.

In addition, gun registration and control give law enforcement officers a valuable additional weapon against crime. Former New York Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy has pointed "to the simple fact that we are able to make arrests for the illegal possession of pistols and revolvers before the possessor has had the opportunity to commit a crime of violence. . . . We have been able to prevent many crimes of violence by such arrests."

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, July 13, 1968]

GUN SPEAKS ANEW FOR ITS CONTROL

Vicious wholesale killers with guns continue to make monkeys out of the National Rifle Association and its agitated lobby against sane gun-control laws.

The latest incident occurred in the Bronx borough of New York City where a man with a completely automated gun senselessly killed three persons and wounded a fourth.

This wanton slaying took place just a week after another maniacal gunman in New York City's Central Park killed a young woman and injured three men. It was that burst of gunfire which led President Lyndon B. Johnson to renew his plea to Congress to pass a bill requiring the registration of all guns and the licensing of all gun owners.

As the President said many deaths ago: "What in the name of conscience will it take to obtain proper gun controls?"

The NRA may say now that no law could have averted this latest tragedy in New York. That has been its answer to almost every gun murder.

But why in heaven's name does the NRA object to allowing the nation to find out if proper gun-control laws will not have some value in checking crime? This gun-flooded country repeatedly finds its citizenry killed by mad killers and the NRA constantly assumes the absurd position that making it more difficult for criminals and the sick to obtain guns would have no effect in checking this slaughter.

Over and over again the NRA and its dupes have parrotted the contention gun control will lead to the confiscation of all guns. This is one of the NRA's most inane arguments.

Has regulation of business led to confiscation of business? Palpably not. The capitalist system has been given a new security by regulation. Nor has licensing of dogs led to their confiscation. Nor has licensing of marriage led to the establishment of a huge concubinage.

It is way past time to reject the arguments of the NRA and bring gun-control laws abreast of the twentieth century.

[From the New York Times, July 19, 1968]

DROP THOSE GUNS

Congress would make a major contribution to the health and sanity of the American people in this tense, troubled season by enacting a *comprehensive* gun control law. The threat of violence hangs like a heavy pall over the nation. The next outbreak could come anywhere and at any time from a political terrorist, a suddenly angered crowd on a street corner, or the quiet man next door gone berserk.

The threat is real and terrifying because in the United States the ruthless, the angry, and the mentally sick find it so easy to get their hands on guns. No other advanced industrial society in the rest of the world permits such easy access to deadly weapons. Americans suffer the consequences of their laxness. As former Justice Arthur Goldberg pointed out yesterday in announcing the formation of the New York State Emergency Committee for Gun Control, an American is killed or wounded by gunfire an average of every two minutes of every day.

Congress can cut down this carnage. The House of Representatives is scheduled to vote today on a bill to ban the interstate mail order sales of rifles and shotguns, a companion measure to the ban enacted earlier on the interstate sale of pistols and revolvers. This measure is all right so far as it goes, but it does not go nearly far enough.

It is imperative that Congress approve the bipartisan amendments sponsored by Representatives McClory of Illinois and Bingham of New York to require the registration of every gun and the licensing of every gun owner with the police. The prattle about "hardships" for sportsmen is silly. Gun registration would be no more of a hardship than it is walking to the post office to buy stamps or applying to the State Department for a passport.

Let no Congressman think that he will have done his duty by voting for a mail order ban on rifles and shotguns. This issue is not going to go away until registration and licensing are requred by law.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, July 16, 1968]

Facts on Gun Control

Opponents of gun control legislation continue to repeat by vote the assertion that licensing and registration of firearms would not lessen violence. To our knowledge, they have presented no evidence supporting this view.

The opposite conclusion—that gun controls would limit violence—does have ample supporting documentation. Senator Joseph Tydings (Dem., Md.,), the sponsor, of a stiff firearms control bill, cites some of this evidence in the Congressional Record.

He compares the percentage of murders committed with guns and the homicide rates of states with relatively strong gun laws and those with weak laws or none. The study covers the four years, 1962–66.

STRONG LAWS

	Percent of murders with guns	Homicide rate per 100,000
Pennsylvania	43.2	3.2
New Jersey	38.6	3.5
New York	31.8	4.8
Massachusetts	35.3	2.4
Rhode Island	24.0	1.4
WEAK LAWS		
Florida	66.0	(1)
Arizona	66.4	6.1
Nevada	66.9	10.6
Texas	68.7	9.1
Mississippi	70.9	9.7
Louisiana	62.0	9.9

[1] Not available.

Since 1960, firearms have been the weapons used in 322 (96 per cent) of 335 murders of police officers. Some 53 officers were killed in the northeastern states, 60 in western states, 71 in north central states and 151 in southern states. The northeast has the most stringent gun control laws. The weakest laws are in southern states.

During the three years, 1964–1966, assaults with a gun increased 36 per cent. Guns were used in 11.7 per cent of the aggravated assaults committed in northeastern states, 18.5 per cent in western states, 19.2 per cent in north central states, and 23.5 per cent in southern states.

The evidence is even more overwhelming when the U.S. experience is compared with that of other industrialized countries.

Britain has rigid gun controls, including the requiring of a certificate from local police before a long gun can be purchased. In a recent three-year period in England and Wales, 400,000 criminals were arrested and only 150 were carrying guns. Guns are used in only 10 per cent of the homicides in England; 60 per cent in the U.S. The annual gun homicide rate in the U.S. is 2.7 per 100,000; in England it is 0.05.

The gun murder rate in the United States is five times the rate of Australia, 10 times the rate of Belgium, five times the rate of Canada, 20 times the rate of Denmark, 54 times the rate of Great Britain, 23 times the rate of the German Federal Republic, 67 times the rate of Japan and 90 times the rate of the Netherlands. All these nations have firearms control laws.

Those who say there is no evidence that gun control legislation would lessen violence are unwilling to look at the evidence. Their minds are made up. They don't want to be confused by the facts.

Izaak Walton League

The Izaak Walton League, an organization of sportsmen with more than 10,000 Iowa members, the largest membership of any state, in its annual convention in Denver last week, passed a resolution repeating its stubborn opposition to "any effort to require the general registration of firearms."

The League said it would support efforts to prevent gun possession by felons and mentally incompetent persons, and it advocated state laws establishing penalties for use of firearms in commission of a crime. But registration, most police authorities agree, is essential to such purposes.

Wildlife protective organizations receive a share of federal excise taxes on guns and ammunition and state hunting license fees for their conservation work. This may influence the League in its anti-gun-control posture, but it should not. Even the noble cause of conservation, in support of which we take a backseat to nobody, does not justify promoting the unlimited sale of guns and ammunition. Besides, earmarked taxes and license fees are not the only or the best way to finance conservation.

The main argument of the League, however, has been to parrot the mischievous claim of the National Rifle Association which misinterprets the constitutional "right to bear arms."

We have often expressed our admiration for the conservation activities of the Izaak Walton League. But we find its blind resistance to gun control contrary to the public interest. It is also contrary to the special interest of sportsmen, who have the most to gain from the responsible regulation of firearms and the most to lose from public anger at groups which resist the overwhelming public demand for firearms control.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Sunday Bulletin, July 28, 1968]

Shot Full of Holes

When Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, threw in the towel early this month on gun registration in order to preserve the ban on mail order guns, the assumption was that at least this provision would come through strong.

It is a doleful commentary on Congress that this expectation now seems unlikely to be realized. And the nation's governors, meeting in Cincinnati, contributed little in the way of support by passing a resolution calling only for "appropriate legislation within each state."

The primary responsibility, however, rests with Congress and the House and the Senate Judiciary Committee have now approved bills dealing with mail order rifles, shotguns and ammunition but with major weaknesses in them.

Both bills, for instance, have been amended to allow anyone registering as a collector, through purchase of a $10 license, to buy and sell guns by mail across state lines. The Senate committee bill grants the same privilege at the same price for "dealers" to buy guns by the lot.

Both bills also make an exception in their bans on interstate sales of ammunition for shotgun and rifle ammunition. And the House bill even adds a loophole for .22 caliber rimfire pistol bullets—the kind that killed Sen. Robert Kennedy.

It is little wonder that the gun lobby feels it "can live" with the bills. But it makes all the more telling the comment of Rep. Vanik of Ohio who said:

"I am sick and tired of hearing some of my colleagues deplore violence and call for law and order when I have seen them go through teller (nonrecord) votes time and again and vote for amendments which would strike down adequate gun control laws."

The mail-order sale of handguns—pistols and revolvers—was restricted in an omnibus crimes act enacted earlier by Congress and signed by President Johnson. Thus, there has been congressional action to halt the open and easy flow of weapons.

But surveys show that the American people wanted more than such restrictions. New Jersey's Senator Case reported that he alone received 80,000 communications, most of them demanding far stiffer controls.

Final action on the legislation has been put off by the Senate until September. It may be that the Senate will be more responsive to the pleas of the general public. But, as Attorney General Clark said, those against stronger gun controls have been the more vocal.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, July 25, 1968]

A Hoodlum's Gun

Eighteen-year-old James O. Severe went to work this summer at a Baltimore County service station in order to earn money for his tuition at Loyola College next September.

Now young Severe is dead. He died at Johns Hopkins Hospital, never regaining consciousness after receiving a holdup man's bullet in the head.

So a promising youngster has been cut down by a hoodlum's gun once again—a tragic, wasteful loss of life.

We wonder how many such killings we must endure before our political leaders at the state and national level are impelled to take simple, elementary precautions against this type of gunplay and institute stringent controls on the sale and possession of firearms.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, July 25, 1968]

As Shots Rang Out in Cleveland

The new outbreak of racial disorder in Cleveland, which began with a group of Negroes armed with carbines and automatic weapons opening fire on a police cruiser, conveys on its face a sinister impression of planned violence.

This is heightened by the statement of Mayor Carl B. Stokes that "a definable group" is involved and by statements police attributed to a black nationalist leader arrested.

If planned, this outbreak would further stress the irreconcilable nature, the destructive and anarchistic bent of extremist elements, as hostile to Negroes in positions of political authority as to whites. It was not a white mayor, but the first Negro to be elected mayor of a major U.S. city, who reluctantly was forced to agree that the early presence of National Guardsmen, later withdrawn, was required in the violence-torn area.

And it was as a responsible official that Mayor Stokes addressed the citizens of Cleveland, sought their cooperation "to bring this terrible night to an end," and declared firmly that he did not intend to permit "this kind of lawlessness and violence to go unchecked in this community."

Responsible and determined official action at all levels of government in America is needed to cope with the violence that blights our society, whoever is involved in it, and especially when it is made more deadly by the use of firearms in fanatic, criminal, and irresponsible hands.

But as gunfire rang out on Cleveland's streets, the U.S. House of Representatives, responsive to the gun lobby, was shooting down efforts at tough control legislation.

[From the Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune, July 22, 1968]

HOUSE GUN "CONTROL" IS NO SOLUTION

Congress is still toying with effective gun control legislation. The House, in its latest floor action on the subject, sliced registration away from a pending bill, then threw out a crumb in the form of mandatory jail terms for federal crimes committed with firearms. This indifference to nationwide support of more gun control should not be allowed to prevail.

While public opinion polls and prominent spokesmen for long established humanitarian causes unanimously favor strong laws to curb promiscuous gun-handling, congressional reaction has been argumentative and half-hearted.

Until the latest control efforts, aroused by the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Congress this year did no more than ban mail order sales of guns, far less than requested by the Johnson Administration.

But while the murder of another public leader focused new attention on widespread misuse of firearms in the United States and prompted reintroduction of control proposals, results so far have been inadequate.

Federal gun registration would have standardized countrywide procedures for obtaining and keeping dangerous weapons. It would have replaced the varying and often nonexistent state laws and increased law officers' ability to keep guns away from people who should not own them. It would not eliminate crimes committed with guns, but it would be a big stride in the right direction.

By defeating registration, the House has again turned a deaf ear on the message of rising violence. Making federal felonies committed while armed punishable by a mandatory prison sentence is not an advance. It is a hollow grandstand play. Federal felonies are relatively few and the number perpetrated with guns annually is only a few thousand. State felonies involving guns total about one million cases a year.

The basic issue is keeping firearms away from unstable, immature, unreliable or untrained persons. A better screening device is necessary. The House has unwisely ruled against federal registration as part of the screening procedure. And it did so by such a margin as to discourage Senate action to restore registration.

Still before the House are provisions for banning rifle, shotgun and ammunition sales by mail order. These restrictions have even more public support than registration, and only an attitude bordering on arrogant defiance would lead congressmen to vote no once again.

If senseless gunshot killings and property destruction caused daily by deranged and irresponsible people is to be curtailed, elected leaders must respond with the kind of protective legislation that is obviously needed.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 22, 1968]

GUN REGISTRATION

Registration of firearms is the indispensable device for imposing responsibility on the possessors of these lethal weapons. Since the House of Representatives on Friday rejected this device, there is now no more than a faint hope the Senate will adopt it before the close of the 90th Congress and make its wisdom prevail when the gun control bill goes to conference. Yet the case for registration is a compelling one and, as the Gallup poll has demonstrated in repeated samplings of the American public, four out of five citizens see it as a protection of their safety, not as a limitation of their liberty.

Registration would impose a hardship only on persons with a record of criminal conviction, of mental illness, of drug addiction or of alcoholism. It would mean that such persons would find it very difficult—in a violation of law subject to severe penalty—to purchase or possess firearms. Is that bad? It would mean that no one could lawfully sell or give a firearm to such persons. Does that seem unreasonable?

A system of compulsory Federal registration of all firearms would mean, as Attorney General Clark told a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee not long ago, that "authorities in every part of the country would be able to trace the ownership of a registered gun in a matter of second." Thus, it would serve as an effective means of tracing criminals who used guns for the commission of their crimes. Moreover, no one could legally purchase ammunition for a gun that was not registered. This would interfere very seriously with the use of guns for criminal purposes. But it would not interfere in any way with the use of guns for hunting or target shooting by responsible, law-abiding citizens who registered them in the same simple, straightforward way they register their automobiles or their dogs.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, who comes from the wide open spaces of Montana where hunting is an almost universal pastime, felt impelled some time ago in his own reflective, conscientious, way to express support for a national firearms registration law. A tragic incident led Sen. Mansfield to this decision, unpopular no doubt with many of his constituents—the fatal shooting here in the District of Columbia of a young Marine from Montana. Sen. Mansfield's preference for the Tydings bill over the Administration bill is a principled one. The Tydings bill would impose Federal registration only after the states themselves were afforded an opportunity to require firearms registration. For our own part, we have a preference for the direct Federal control as more likely to prove effective. But by one route or the other, control over firearms must be achieved—for the public safety and in conformity with the popular will.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, July 24, 1968]

THE GUN RECORD

These figures have been released by the justice department:

An estimated 50 to 100 million firearms are in private hands in the United States. Last year 4.5 million were bought for private use, an increase of 132% over 1963. More than 1.2 million guns are being imported each year, or 46% more than in 1963.

Four United States presidents have been assassinated by gunfire. So have two mayors, two United States senators and a congressman. So, since 1963, have eight major civil rights leaders, including the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

From 1900 to 1966, bullets have killed 767,000 people—269,000 murdered, 360,000 as suicides, 138,000 in firearms accidents. Last year, 7,700 people were victims of homicide by firearms and 55,000 more were the subjects of assault by guns.

From 1960 to 1967, a total of 411 law enforcement officers were slain in performing their duties, 96% of them by guns. Nationally, 60% of all murders are by firearms. Nearly 30% of all homicides by firearms are committed with rifles and shotguns, normally considered "sporting" weapons.

The United States homicide rate with guns, per 100,000 population, is seven times that of Australia, Canada and Italy. It is 35 times that of Denmark, England and West Germany.

How much more bloodletting will it take to demonstrate the singular ability of the gun to kill and maim? How much more of this mindless national obeissance to firearms will we tolerate before enacting meaningful controls on guns, and on those who use them?

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, July 27, 1968]

WHAT WILL IT TAKE?

Last May in a letter to the Senate majority leader President Johnson asked: "What in the name of conscience will it take to pass a truly effective gun control law?"

That's still a valid question in view of the watered-down version of Mr. Johnson's gun-registration proposal the House has just passed. Ironically, the action came while police and National Guardsmen still were patrolling the riot torn streets of Cleveland after armed snipers attacked police and set off a battle which left 10 dead and 18 wounded. The rifle and carbine fire against police at times grew so intense many thought automatic weapons were being used. Two of the slain attackers were found to be well supplied with cartridge belts.

"What in the name of conscience will it take?"

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, July 26, 1968]

MORE GUN CONTROL FIASCOS

The actions of the House of Representatives and the Senate Judiciary Committee on alleged gun-control legislation at least indicates that mail-order sale of rifles and shotguns will be curtailed somewhat. And that's all they indicate.

The House bill has been riddled with so many exceptions and dodges—such as $10 fee for "collectors" who can then buy all the guns they want anywhere—that it is all but meaningless. The Senate Committee's measure, stripped of all pretense at licensing and registration, still must go over another committee hurdle before Senate action, now expected after Labor Day.

Possibly the legislators in Washington hope their volume of angry mail will have subsided by then. It is reported that more than a million letters have been received, most of them demanding stiffer legislation. On the other side, however, is the fearsome lobby of the National Rifle Association and its allies, including some Congressmen, and it plainly has prevailed.

This in spite of another summer that has already shown signs of getting "long and hot" by its first manifestations in Cleveland which left 10 persons dead by gunfire. This in spite of the long and dishonorable list of assassinations of public figures. This in spite of all common sense and decency in a country where rough-tough frontier antics have long since gone down in disrepute except for this vestigal "hang-up" on anonymous gun ownership."

It is hard to say what will finally move the great brains in the Capitol to take the elementary action that will help insure that "law and order" they all espouse so loudly. Sooner or later licensing and registration must come, perhaps when the realization dawns that we are the last modern, industrialized nation on earth not to insist upon it.

But, in the meanwhile, to pamper the NRA and its cohorts, the feeblest of gestures toward gun controls are in the works and we can expect more thousands of Americans to die—by intent or accident—as a result. It is too high a price.

[From the New York Times, July 25, 1968]

GUNS OUT OF CONTROL

What will it take to arouse Congress to pass a real gun-control law? A few hours after the crack of rifle and automatic weapons fire had resounded over Cleveland and police had fallen dead from sniper bullets, the House and the Senate Judiciary Committee in Washington were doing all they could to weaken the gun bills. If the purpose of legislation is to insure "law-and-order," how can legislators fail to back up the strongest possible controls that would help to end these deaths in the streets?

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported out what can only be branded a phony bill. Although there is a ban on mail-order sales of long guns and a limitation on over-the-counter sales to out-of-state residents, the crippling amendments to the bill in effect say, "We really didn't mean it."

Example 1: Any person who says he intends to go into business as a "dealer" can pay the Treasury Department $10 for a license and exempt himself from the supposed law, then purchase lots of guns.

Example 2: Any person who says he is a "collector" can pay a $10 license fee as such—and buy himself some old Thompson submachine guns, then put them in working order.

Example 3: Worst of all, although interstate mail-order sales of ammunition is forbidden, an exception is allowed for rifle and shotgun ammuntion—which takes the bill two steps backward because only handgun ammunition is controlled.

The Senate Judiciary bill in this form now goes briefly to the Commerce Committee, where it is possible, some of the damaging amendments can be modified.

Meanwhile, the House yesterday approved its version of the same bill, with its own weakening provisions—enough of them to make National Rifle Association advocates say they "can live with it." To which one Congressman rightly added, "Tens of thousands of Americans can die with it."

[From the Plain Dealer, July 22, 1968]

IRRESPONSIBLE GUN CONTROL ACTION

The House of Representatives has acted irresponsibly and has been unresponsive to the public by overwhelming defeating legislation to require federal registration of all firearms.

Surely congressmen eventually will come to their senses in this matter, but we wonder how many more tragic incidents must occur before they see what a majority of citizens long have seen—that the need for more gun control is very real.

Last Friday's House vote of 172–68 against the registration proposal was an unexpectedly severe blow to advocates of strong gun control. It was a tremendous victory for the National Rifle Association which exerts an influence disproportionate to the number of its members.

Still to be voted in the House, probably today, is the question of requiring federal licensing of all gun owners. That proposal, like the registration proposal, is in the form of an amendment to the pending bill to ban interstate mail order sale of long guns as well as hand guns.

In view of what happened Friday to gun registration, very little if any chance is seen for the licensing amendment.

What remains is only a hope for passage by the House of the mail order sale restriction. That is the least the House can do.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, July 27, 1968]

A VICTORY OF SORTS

The U.S. House of Representatives has passed and sent to the Senate a bill which will tighten up federal control of firearms. For this—in view of the 17,000 Americans killed each year by firearm accidents, murders and suicides—we can be thankful.

If approved by the Senate, the bill will make some major improvement in firearms legislation. It will expand the federal prohibition on the mail-order sale of handguns to include rifles and shotguns. It will prohibit some over-the-counter sales of firearms. It will prohibit the mail-order sale of most handgun ammunition. It will prohibit the sale of long guns and ammunition to persons under 18, and of handguns and ammunition to persons under 21. The sale of firearms also will be banned to fugitives, felons, persons indicted for crimes, mental defectives, and narcotics users. All this is good.

What is bad about the bill are the huge loopholes which have been placed in it by opponents of gun regulations. For example, the over-the-counter ban on firearms sales will not include persons from contiguous states. Nor will the ammunition-sale ban include .22 caliber pistol shells nor any rifle or shotgun ammunition. Thus, the legislation falls woefully short of the need for something really effective.

Nor will the over-the-counter ban affect those who sign affidavits that their firearm was lost, stolen or inoperative. That's a loophole big enough to drive a tank through.

And most amazing of all, the bill will not apply to the National Board of Promotion of Rifle Practice, a civilian-military group closely allied with the National Rifle Assn. The NRA, of course, is the chief opponent to the whole campaign to bring firearms under closer regulations.

The way this bill was watered down from the original plan of tight control and registration of all firearms is a tribute to NRA's political potency.

Public opinion polls consistently show that two thirds of the American people favor tighter regulation of firearms. A Gallup Poll last year showed that 85 percent of all adults favor registration of all handguns.

The National Rifle Assn. has some one million members out of the nation's total population of more than 200 million. Yet once the NRA's letter-writing campaign gets going, it seems to paralyze Congress.

NRA's Secretary Frank C. Daniel once remarked that an NRA appeal could generate a half-million letters. We believe it.

Immediately after Sen. Robert Kennedy's assassination, alarmed Americans sent a flood of spontaneous letters to Congress demanding stricter gun laws. But the trend began to change after a June 15 letter from the National Rifle Assn. went out urging members to write their senators and representatives in opposition to gun legislation. As an aide to Sen. Mike Mansfield reported, first there was a deluge one way, then there was a deluge the other way. Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana, who said his mail was running 10 to 1 against the gun bills, noted that much of the mail used the same style, and in some cases identical wording. Thus, the NRA once again effectively has thwarted measures which most Americans want to see enacted into law.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, July 23, 1968]

BAN ARMS TO FANATICS

If Congress, preparing to re-examine the gun control question, needs a fresh object lesson in the need for such controls, it should consider the case of Pennsylvania State Rep. Herbert Fineman.

Fineman has been the leader of a group of Pennsylvania legislators trying to win passage of a gun licensing and registration bill supported by Gov. Raymond P. Shafer. There seems to have been no real danger of the bill's getting adopted over the violent protests of the Pennsylvania gun lobby. Nevertheless, Fineman has received threats on his life, both by mail and by telephone.

To make it harder for crackpots to get hold of the weapons to fulfill such threats is one of the principal aims of legislation still before Congress. With hopes for registration of weapons virtually dead for this session, attention this week is focused on measures to expand the mail-order ban already on handguns to include rifles, shotguns and ammunition.

Such legislation would impose no severe hardship on any legitimate sportsmen; it would merely put a brake on the now unimpeded mail traffic in long guns. Every recent test of popular sentiment indicates that at least three-quarters of the nation's voters favor such controls. We believe that such sentiment is durable enough to make itself felt at the November polls.

FUN AND GAMES

You may have missed a little story buried inside the paper the other day about an heiress, 23 years old, who was killed at her family's Adirondack Mountain retreat when a revolver which had just been placed on the table by a close friend went off accidentally, putting a bullet into her back. And did you happen to see the little item about the Newport News man who testified some days ago that he accidentally killed his roommate in a "play session" with a .38 caliber revolver he thought was unloaded? He said they had played with the toy many times without any unfortunate consequences.

Well, so it goes. Some people are just unlucky. Pistols are great fun, of course, and everybody loves to play with them. But would it really be unbearable for the more fortunate among the sportsmen—that is, those who have been fortunate so far—to forgo this pleasure for the sake of their more foolish fellow citizens? Couldn't they have almost as good a time pointing cap pistols or water pistols at each other and saying "Bang, you're dead?"

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, July 25, 1968]

"SPORTSMEN" ON THE ROOFTOPS?

With its head buried under a mountain of gun lobby mail, the U.S. House of Representatives continues to weaken an already too weak gun control bill.

One wonders what it will take to get Congress to lift its head and look around, say to Cleveland where a hail of sniper and police fire Tuesday night left 10 dead, three of them policemen, and scores wounded. Or to Cincinnati where a man with a concealed revolver followed Gov. Lester Maddox most of the day, a man described by his grandmother as "a sick boy since he was three years old" who had been in a mental hospital.

There are hundreds of other places congressmen could look—at a modest northwest Atlanta home that same day, for example, where an obviously mentally distraught young mother fired shot after shot at her husband and police before tear gas and a brave policeman finally subdued her. Or they could examine hospital records in cities throughout the country which, without exception, show an alarming increase in gun deaths and maimings.

They could also examine irrefutable evidence that Americans are arming themselves as never before in history, and that racists, both black and white, are caching arms and ammunition in abundance.

But most of our congressmen are not looking. They are listening to Gov. Lester Maddox, who for all anyone knows came within an instant of death Tuesday afternoon, describe reasonable gun controls as un-American and Communist inspired. They listen to Rep. Jamie Whitten, D-Miss., protest that "We'll be disarming the law-abiding citizens and allowing the criminal to go free," and to the National Rifle Association which trumpets: "We will be creating a bureaucratic gun czar to harass hunters and sportsmen."

But those snipers on Cleveland rooftops were not sportsmen, nor was that disturbed Atlanta housewife. Neither was the armed young man, "sick since he was three years old," who followed Gov. Maddox Tuesday and came as close to him as this paper you're holding in your hands is to you.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 3, 1968]

PARTING SHOT

Congress will not act until after Labor Day on a law to control firearms, but between now and then the guns of August will continue to blaze away. The murder rates with rifles and pistols take no summer holiday in this country.

During the past five years, there has been growing awareness by the American public of the indiscriminate sale of murderous weapons to unknown persons; the existence of a rifle and sportsmen's lobby blocking effective controls; the relationship of violence to the availability of firearms—and the need for a strong law.

This is progress, but the public's education and desires have still not yet fully penetrated the Congress. The Senate Judiciary Committee reported out a weak law shot full of loopholes. For example, it banned mail-order sales of long guns but allowed ammunition for the existing weapons to be shipped and sold anywhere. The House, voting for a similarly flawed bill, turned down every effort to include what Attorney General Clark and state and city law-enforcement officers seek: registration and licensing.

The conventions provide an opportunity to keep the issue before the country. Quinn Tamm, executive director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, called for strong gun controls before the Republican platform committee. Senator Joseph D. Tydings of Maryland has requested time to do likewise before the Democratic platform committee. A platform plank by both parties would give a little more underpinning to gun-control advocates in Congress.

When Congress gets back to work in September, the firearms law must be put high on its priority list. Senator Tydings plans to introduce amendments on the floor for registration and licensing. Unlike the House in a teller vote, the Senators will have to stand up and be counted.

This parting shot on the subject of gun controls is not the last round. A strong and effective law will continue to be demanded by an aroused public—until Congress listens and acts.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Aug. 3, 1968]

Licking the Boots of NRA

The U.S. House not only weakened proposed gun control legislation but granted a valuable bonus to the National Rifle Association, that well-fortified organization which has long blocked effective gun legislation.

The amendment benefitting the NRA was offered by Representative Robert L. F. Sikes (Dem., Fla.), himself a past director of the NRA. The Sikes amendment permits the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice to continue to furnish arms and ammunition to marksmanship clubs associated with the NRA and to sell surplus arms at cost to NRA members.

The National Board, created by the federal government in 1903, is now an arm of the Defense Department. Congress appropriated $428,000 to the National Board in fiscal 1968.

The National Board has been described as "the NRA's little empire within the Army." The description is accurate. A 1966 study found that all 11 civilian members of the National Board were NRA directors. The military members also were friendly to the NRA.

The purpose of this Army-NRA program has been to improve civilian marksmanship so that young men called into military service already know how to use firearms and also, theoretically, so that the nation will have a reservoir of trained, civilian riflemen to meet any invasion or internal uprising.

The National Board provides free ammunition and free rifles for use by NRA clubs. Last year some 400 Detroit policemen were required to pay $5 NRA membership fees before they could purchase surplus carbines for use in riot control. The NRA also sanctions rifle matches leading up to the annual National Rifles Matches held at Camp Perry, Ohio.

This program has been under growing attack in recent years, both as an undesirable public subsidy to a private industry and as a costly activity of limited military value.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (Dem., Mass.) tried last year to cut sharply the National Board's appropriation. He said a 1965 Army study showed only 3 per cent of 13,000 Army trainees sampled had received NRA rifle instruction. "Only a fraction" of the subsidized rifle club members are young enough to be drafted, Kennedy said.

The program also was criticized last year by Rep. Charles A. Vanik (Dem., Ohio). He said the civilian marksmanship program, including the national matches, cost the government: $4.5 million for the support of 3,000 U.S. servicemen as "domestics, cooks and household help" during the matches; $250,000 for troop travel; $500,000 for supplies at Camp Perry; $1,967,000 for "give-away ammunition"; $3 million for "give-away guns and rifles"; and $428,000 for the National Board. This totals more than $10 million.

The Army has had growing doubts about the program. Last November it cancelled the government subsidy for the 1968 National Rifle Matches and this year's matches, which begin Sunday at Camp Perry, will be financed privately. After receiving an unfavorable study by a consultant, the Arthur D. Little, Inc., the Pentagon announced early this year it would give ammunition and arms only to junior clubs.

The Sikes amendment seeks to continue the civilian marksmanship subsidy, despite the belief by top Defense Department and Army officials that it serves no military purpose. During last week's debate a letter was read to House members from acting Army Secretary David E. McGiffert. The top Army spokesman opposed Sikes amendment saying it would "discriminate in favor of NRA members" while having "nothing to do with the Army's marksmanship program."

The impact of the NRA is impressive, if not its aim. At a time of great public concern about the easy availability of firearms, it not only led the successful opposition to the licensing of gun owners and registration of guns, but also gained House approval of a costly and unnecessary self-serving subsidy.

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, Aug. 19, 1968]

Cities Show Way in Gun Registration

The need for gun registration laws to assist police in the suppression and solution of crimes is so great that cities across the country are beginning to enact such requirements of their own since Congress, under lobby pressure, has shown a disinclination to move.

Miami Beach, Fla., Chicago, New York City and San Francisco are among major cities which are now registering guns under new ordinances adopted since the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

The Miami Beach ordinance in particular has been attracting nationwide attention as being probably the toughest and, hopefully, the most effective measure to be approved any place.

Authored by 60-year-old Councilman Paul Seiderman, who served as a deputy prosecutor in Brooklyn during the days of Murder, Inc., the Miami Beach law carries a mandatory 30-to-90 day jail sentence for anyone possessing an unregistered firearm.

Before drawing the ordinance Seiderman studied registration requirements elsewhere and convinced himself that law-abiding citizens have nothing to fear from registration. Requests for copies of it have been received from many other cities.

Seiderman was impressed by the fact that registration requirements in Los Angeles made it possible for police to establish within a few hours that the weapon used on Senator Kennedy had been received by Sirhan Sirhan.

Under the new Chicago ordinance, 368,000 guns were registered within a few weeks. In San Francisco police expect that a new ordinance requiring the registration of guns before Oct. 1 will enable them to trace the ownership of any 400,000 guns if the need should arise.

New York City's new registration law applies only to rifles and shotguns since earlier legislation already covered the registration of handguns.

Only 75,000 rifles and shotguns were registered by the deadline set in the ordinance but police expect as many as 300,000 may be registered eventually.

Some of the new ordinances require fingerprints or photographs, or both, of gun owners on their registration cards. Toledo, Ohio, requires purchasers of guns to have photo identification cards.

Public opinion polls have shown wide support for the registration of guns and the new ordinances have been passed in response to that sentiment, brought about by a realization that without registration the control of lethal weapons is sure to be ineffective.

Of course, efforts to achieve registration by city ordinances will be haphazard at best. Too many people live outside of cities and too many cities will not pass ordinances.

A federal registration law applicable to everyone, regardless of where he lives, must be the ultimate solution. Until such a law is passed officers will be handicapped in dealing with crimes of armed violence.

[From the Chicago (Ill) Sun-Times, Aug. 21, 1968]

And the Gun Traffic Mounts

With the nation's legislators engrossed in political rhetoric, it may appear fruitless to cry out again for tough gun controls.

Yet, since much of the rhetoric concerns law and order, it should be pointed out that firearms—those machines of potential lawlessness and disorder—are being purchased by private citizens at an alarming rate.

The Stanford Research Institute, in a five-month study financed in part by two major gun manufacturers, found that more than twice as many guns were sold in 1967 as were sold five years earlier. At a conservative estimate, the study said, there now are about 115,000,000 firearms in private hands in the United States.

Perhaps more important than the figures, however, is the finding that the citizens are arming themselves "in anticipation of future riots."

The enormous potential for needless bloodshed is frightening, particularly since, in the absence of strong national gun controls, there is little that can be done to weed out incompetent and even deranged gun purchasers.

Law enforcement agencies are charged with protecting the public and maintaining order. It is apparent from comments by police quoted above that the responsibility is taken seriously. Formation of armed citizen camps will just make their job more difficult. Congress should recognize that and pass strict gun controls.

RUSSIAN INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA CONDEMNED BY PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the President's Commission for Human Rights Year sent a telegram to Secretary General U Thant protesting the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviets and other nations of the Eastern bloc.

The public members of the Commission have added their voices to those already condemning this latest outrageous violation of international law by the Soviets. Again, just when it seemed possible for constructive discussions to begin on a diverse number of subjects of vital interest to the world community, the Soviets and their satellites destroy these prospects.

The world looks forward with hope to U.S. ratification of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, talks on the limiting of defensive and perhaps offensive missiles, and possible partial nuclear disarmament in the not too distant future. Now, while I trust these are not dead issues, certainly this recent aberration of leadership in Russia makes their realization just that more difficult.

As the President's Commission stated in their wire:

> World opinion will not tolerate this crime against the Law of Nations and against the Rights of Man. The hearts of men everywhere feel the tragic sadness of this third suppression of liberty in Czechoslovakia within 30 years.

Again, I invite the attention of the Senate to the words "what might have been." What might have been had there existed an international mechanism that could be brought into play in just such an episode of tyranny—a mechanism that would provide an immediate forum in which the Czechoslovakians could have pleaded their case? Again, I call attention to the fact that the United States has abdicated its leadership in the field of human rights. It is that abdication that has permitted "guarantees for the rights of all men" to become a pious phrase signifying nothing yet mocking everything this country stands for.

The Senate has failed to ratify the genocide convention, and now we are trying to speak to the Nigerians and the Biafrans with credibility and practical impact. The Senate has failed to ratify the covenant on civil and political rights and the optional protocol thereto, and we are now condemning the Soviets for violation of the rights this convention is designed to protect.

We have a responsibility to ratify these various conventions. We have a responsibility to ourselves, to other nations that need our leadership in this field and to the preservation and dissemination of freedom throughout the world.

Mr. President, I join the President's Commission in their appeal to U Thant for U.N. action in this crisis for freedom. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the telegram be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 23, 1968.

Hon. U THANT,
United Nations,
New York, N.Y.:

The undersigned, public members of the U.S. President's Commission for Human Rights Year protest strenuously the invasion and the flagrant violation of human rights committed against the people of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and East Germany.

We urge you, Mr. Secretary-General, to use your world wide prestige and known devotion to peace and human rights to secure the withdrawal from Czechoslovakia of the invading armed forces and the reinstatement of the legitimate government.

This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and has been designated by the United Nations as International Human Rights Year, Article 21, Section 3 of the Declaration provides that: "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government . . ." In addition to any other actions this matter should be promptly presented to a specially convened session of the United Nations Commission for Human Rights.

World opinion will not tolerate this crime against the Law of Nations and against the Rights of Man. The hearts of men everywhere feel the tragic sadness of this third suppression of liberty in Czechoslovakia within 30 years.

Bruno V. Bitker, Tom C. Clark, Elinor L. Gordon, Anna Roosevelt Halsted, Dr. J. Willis Hurst, Ralph E. McGill, George Meany, Robert B. Meynor, Maurice Tempelsman.

Reply to 208 E. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.

HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR: CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY

Mr. **HARTKE**. Mr. President, the United Nations General Assembly has unanimously designated 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights, in observance of the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Similarly, President Johnson has proclaimed 1968 as Human Rights Year in the United States, calling upon all of us to "deepen our commitment to the defense of human rights and to strengthen our efforts for their full and effective realization both among our own people and among all peoples of the United Nations."

I know that every one of us in the U.S. Senate is already deeply committed to human rights; our oath of office pledges us to uphold our own Constitution and our own Bill of Rights. Accordingly, we should all view Human Rights Year as both a challenge and an opportunity—a challenge to realize human rights here at home and an opportunity to universalize those rights by ratification of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

Mr. President, Dr. Leonard P. Aries, vice president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and a member of the President's Commission for Observance of Human Rights Year, has written an informative statement which details the scope of this present challenge. I ask unanimous consent that his article, entitled "Human Rights Year: Challenge and Opportunity," which appeared in the May issue of Adult Leadership, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR: CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY

(By Leonard P. Aries)

(NOTE.—Dr. Aries is Vice-President, National Conference of Christians and Jews; President, Council of National Organizations for Adult Education; Member, National Committee on Human Rights of the National Citizens Commission on International Cooperation; Member, Special Committee on Non-governmental Organizations of the President's Commission for Observance of Human Rights Year; author, International Human Rights and their Implementation, 19 George Washington Law Review 6.)

This is a year of crisis. This can be a year of tragedy or an important year for Human Rights. It is not only the International Year for Human Rights but it is also the year of the Report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders—and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The senseless murder of the Nobel Peace Prize Winner and the destructive aftermath traumatically re-emphasize the need to look deeper within our society and ourselves to bring the practice of human rights into conformity with principle. All of us, and especially adult educators and adult educational organizations, have a challenging opportunity to play an important role in this process.

Human rights are fundamental to man's humanity, concerned primarily with the granting of equal opportunity to every human being in every endeavor of life: giving to others the same rights and respect we want for ourselves, treating people as persons with dignity, without discrimination. Our problems result from the violation of this principle.

Our responsibility as a leading nation of the world is great; we set an important example. We need to be credible, therefore, when we state that democracy is a more mature form of government in our modern world and that the essence of democracy is the recognition of the great worth of the individual as a human being. Much of the world today tests democracy by the protection of the rights of the individual, as a human being. This is yet another reason to re-examine our actions during this Human Rights Year.

The United Nations General Assembly has unanimously designated 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights, in observance of the 20th Anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The U.N. made it clear that this was meant to be not merely a year for celebration but also an opportunity for implementation. President Johnson has proclaimed 1968 as Human Rights Year in the United States. In his proclamation, the President called "upon all Americans and all government agencies—federal, state and local—to use this occasion to deepen our commitment to the defense of human rights and to strengthen our efforts for their full and effective realization both among our own people and among all peoples of the United Nations".

HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR, 1968

Many countries have set up their own Human Rights Committees. On January 30, 1968, the President by Executive Order established a Presidential Commission for the Observance of Human Rights Year. He appointed as Chairman of the Commission, Ambassador at Large W. Averell Harriman and as Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Halsted, daughter of the late President and Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt and a distinguished community leader in her own right. The Commission is composed of other distinguished citizens and heads of executive agencies.[1]

The Commission is authorized to "seek to create a better understanding of the principles of human rights as expressed in the Universal Declaration, the United States Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and Laws of the United States, and the Constitution and laws of the several states in the United States", and to "enlist the cooperation of educational institutions, foundations, mass media, civic, labor, and other organizations" and "conduct such other activities as it may deem appropriate to provide for the effective participation of the United States". The Commission is to coordinate its activities with those of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. Special committees have been created by the Com-

---

Footnotes at end of article.

mission including a Special Committee for Non-Governmental Organizations.

The United Nations has asked the nations of the world to examine their domestic laws and *practices* against the standard set by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, secure ratification of nine U.N. Conventions pertaining to human rights and extend human rights education throughout each country.

This is indeed, a time for stock-taking and soul-searching. We must accelerate the process which has already begun. Because of the disorders of last summer and concern for the future, the President appointed a National Commission on Civil Disorders. Chairman of the Commission was Otto Kerner, Governor of Illinois; Vice Chairman John V. Lindsay, Mayor of New York City. The Commission was composed of knowledgeable and dedicated persons.[2] The excellent report of this Commission is now available in a 600-page paperback volume. Its principal thrust is: unless we complete here the unfinished business of democracy by providing equal opportunity and the implementation of human rights for all, our direction in this country will be toward the apartheid state, with all its attendant tragedy.

APARTHEID: U.S. DANGER

Because of the world concern for the drift toward apartheidness, and pursuant to the mandate of the United Nations to confer concerning human rights, approximately 75 persons, representing many different disciplines and ideologies from some 30 countries were invited to participate in a non-governmental Assembly on Human Rights in Montreal, Canada in March of 1968. This was an intensive, working conference which culminated in an excellent document called "The Montreal Statement of the Assembly for Human Rights". In addition to other uses, this document will serve as a recommendation for a governmental Conference on Human Rights to be held in Teheran, Iran, later this year.

The Montreal Assembly expressed profound concern about the condition of human rights in this year of international crisis and explored ways in which mankind's shared aspirations to human dignity can become a reality. It stated that few tasks facing the world today are of more vital importance than the promotion and protection of human rights, that the problems of peace are intimately connected with problems of human rights, and that a permanent peace cannot be achieved without creating conditions that assure men everywhere the highest stake in building a world in which their lives and their human dignity are safeguarded, and in which freedom from fear is secured. The Montreal Assembly recognized that the Charter of the United Nations is the constitutional document of the world community and creates binding obligations for members of the United Nations with respect to human rights.

It is of interest to note that the inclusion of human rights provisions in the Charter of the United Nations was a revolutionary break with the past and has been credited by many to have been a result of the persistent efforts of non-governmental organizations in San Francisco in 1945. It is well to recall, too, that in the preamble to the Charter there is a reaffirmation of the "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small", and their determination "to promote social progress and better standards of life and larger freedom". In article 1 of the Charter, the main purpose of the UN for the achievement of international cooperation includes, "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion". In article 55, the United Nations has the duty to promote "universal respect for, and observance, of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion". Other articles in the Charter support these provisions.

NEED FOR DETAILED STUDY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Twenty years ago, on December 10, 1948, the General Assembly approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with no dissent.[3] Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights Rights then and one of the major architects of the Universal Declaration. Because the observance this year is based on the Universal Declaration, it may be useful to discuss it in more detail. It is not a treaty, yet, it constitutes an authorative interpretation of the Charter of the highest order, and has, over the years, become a part of customary international law. Since it is based in large measure on our own Constitution and Bill of Rights it should not be surprising to note provisions for the protection of similar rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights contains a preamble and thirty articles. The preamble states that the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world is the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family; that the disregard and contempt of human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind; and that the highest aspiration of the common people is a world in which human beings have freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want. It is essential, continues the Preamble, if man is not to be compelled to rebel against tyranny and oppression, that human rights be protected by rule of law. The Preamble concludes by the General Assembly's proclaiming the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, urging all, by national and international measures, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance.

The very first article states the simple truth that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, are endowed with reason and conscience, and should act towards each other in brotherhood.

Everyone, therefore, continues Article 2, is entitled to all the rights and freedoms in the Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, or the status of the country or territory to which a person belongs.

The Declaration continues: everyone has the right to life, liberty and personal security; [4] slavery is prohibited [5]; no one shall be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment [6]; everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law [7]; all men are equal before the law and entitled to equal protection of the law and equal protection against any discrimination in violation of the Declaration [8]; everyone has the right to an effective remedy in his national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted by law [9]; no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile [10].

The rights of the accused are protected: full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal [11]; the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty and no punishment for an ex post facto law [12].

The right of privacy; no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks on his honor and reputation.[13]

Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within each state, to leave any country and to return to his country [14]; to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution except for non-political crimes or acts contrary to the UN [15]; to have a nationality and the right to change it [16].

Family and property rights are safeguarded: freedom to marry without regard to race, nationality, or religion; to found a family, to marry only with the consent of the intending spouse [17], to own property and not to be arbitrarily deprived of it [18].

The Declaration asserts for everyone the rights of freedom of religion [19], opinion and expression [20], assembly and association [21]; the right to take part in one's government, with a guarantee of periodic elections with universal equal suffrage by free voting procedures [22]; the right to social security [23]; the right to work, to equal pay for equal work, to free choice of employment, to protection against unemployment, to join a trade union [21]; the right to rest and leisure [25]; the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being; the same social protection to all children whether born in or out of wedlock [26]; the right to an education free in the elementary stages—its purpose; to develop human personality and to promote understanding and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups for the maintenance of peace [27]; the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, and to have protection as the author of scientific, literary or artistic production [28].

If, as the Declaration states, everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration can be fully realized [29], then, everyone has duties to the community, so that in the exercise of his rights and freedoms everyone is subject to those legal limitations for the purpose of securing recognition and respect for the rights, and freedoms of others and of meeting the requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare of a democratic society [30].

The Declaration cautions that nothing in it may be interpreted as implying for anyone the right to do any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights or freedoms set forth in the Declaration [31].

The nine UN Conventions and other Conventions and Covenants of the United Nations and its specialized agencies further clarify the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We concern ourselves here primarily with the nine Conventions for this Human Rights Year, although other documents are important and merit attention.[32] There is good reason for the United States to ratify these nine conventions, especially in view of the new situation in our country in the human rights field. As the report of the Committee on Human Rights of the National Citizens Commission on International Cooperation states: "In the area of human rights the American people face today many interrelated domestic and international issues. We have removed finally most of the domestic obstacles which have in the past prevented our active participation in international efforts to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". Because of relatively recent judicial decisions, legislative enactments and executive interpretation in the areas of civil rights in the United States, involving desegregation of schools to non-discrimination in employment, the historic distinction in our country between civil and political rights (freedom of speech, press, etc.) and social and economic rights (equal opportunity in education, employment, etc.) is fast disappearing. This is further underscored by one of the basic findings of the Montreal Assembly: "Non-discrimination is a basic principle and rule of contemporary international law."

It is against this background that we must take a look at the present position of the United States relative to the nine UN Conventions.

Footnotes at end of article.

U.S. RECORD IN U.N. FAULTY

The U.S. record of ratification of these nine Conventions is not very good. *Only one of these nine has been ratified* (November 2, 1967)*—and that for the abolition of slavery.* The Convention on Genocide, prohibiting mass murder, was submitted to the Senate 19 years ago. Four others, pertaining to the elimination of discrimination in employment, in education, in equal remuneration for women and for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination have been yet even been submitted to the Senate. Our record is particularly disturbing when compared to the ratification of these conventions by other countries. Therefore we need to look more carefully at this record:

(1) *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.* This Convention was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948, with strong United States support. President Truman submitted it to the Senate in 1949. A report was prepared by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations but no final action has been taken by the full Committee. 71 countries have ratified.

(2) *Convention concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize.* President Truman submitted this Convention to the Senate in 1949, but no action has been taken with respect thereto by the Senate. 74 countries have ratified.

(3) *Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery.* Ratified November 2, 1967, by unanimous Senate. 70 countries have ratified.

(4) *Convention on the Political Rights of Women.* This Convention was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1952. President Kennedy submitted this Convention to the Senate in 1963, and hearings were held concerning it by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1967. 55 countries have ratified.

(5) *Convention Concerning the Abolition of Forced Labor.* This Convention was adopted in 1957, as a result of an American initiative and in response to an invitation by the United Nations. President Kennedy submitted this Convention to the Senate in 1963, and hearings were held concerning it by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1967. 78 countries have ratified.

(6) *Convention Concerning Discrimination in respect of Employment and Occupation.* This Convention was adopted in 1958. It has not yet been submitted to the United States Senate. 59 countries have ratified.

(7) *Convention Concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value.* This Convention was adopted in 1951. It has not yet been submitted to the United States Senate. 54 countries have ratified.

(8) *Convention Against Discrimination in Education.* This Convention was adopted in 1960. It has not yet been submitted to the United States Senate. 36 countries have ratified.

(9) *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.* This Convention was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1965. The United States signed it in 1966. It has not yet been submitted to the United States Senate. 17 countries have ratified.

While it is most important that rules and regulations be enacted for man's conduct—and adult educators have a role in their enactment—the end result may be negative without the educational background to make those rules understandable and acceptable. In assessing further, therefore, the role and opportunity for adult educators and adult education organizations to implement human rights, we can recall with profit the following statement by the UN Human Rights Commission: "Attention needs to be concentrated . . . on means of changing some old ways of thinking on these subjects, and of rooting out the deep-seated prejudices in regard to race, color, sex, religion. . . . In short, it is necessary to embark on a complementary program of education, including both adult and child education, designed to produce new thinking on the part of many people in regard to human rights." It is also well to bear in mind the concern of the members of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders that their comprehensive report and recommendations not be shelved. At the conclusion of its report, the Commission referred to the testimony of Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a distinguished scholar: "I read that report . . . of the 1919 riot in Chicago and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot. I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission—it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland—with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same *inaction.*"

ADULT EDUCATORS MUST PLAY ROLE

Adult educators will develop many situations and programs to bring action to the implementation of human rights. The following are a few suggestions:

1. *The UN Human Rights Conventions.* We, in the United States, have a responsibility to ratify the Human Rights Conventions adopted and recommended by the United Nations. These are like treaties requiring the advice and consent of the United States Senate. There is a need to explore these in conferences and discussion groups—and then to write to our Senators urging their ratification. Over 60 religious, educational and community organizations have cooperated with the U.S. Commission for UNESCO to produce an excellent booklet, especially for this year, entitled "You in Human Rights", which contains many important comments and suggestions.[33]

In submitting to the Senate, in 1963, the Conventions abolishing slavery and forced labor, and establishing equal political rights for women, President Kennedy said:

"The fact that our Constitution already assures us of these rights does not entitle us to stand aloof from documents which project our own heritage on an international scale. The United States canot afford to renounce responsibility for support of the very fundamentals which distinguish our concept of government from all forms of tyranny". This also, obviously, applies to the Convention against Genocide submitted to the Senate in 1949, as well as to the UN Conventions against racial discrimination, discrimination in employment and education and providing for equal pay for women, which have not yet been sent to the Senate. President Johnson, in his Proclamation for International Human Rights Year stated: "American ratification of these Conventions is long overdue. The principles they embody are part of our own national heritage."

In testifying last year on the UN Conventions on slavery, forced labor and equal political rights for women, US Ambassador to the UN Arthur Goldberg and former Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court advocated their adoption and ratification by the following: ". . . These treaties are important for the foreign policy of the United States. I say that because it is my very profound conviction that whatever the view of experts may be . . . on the limitations and exercise of American power, we stand for something in this world. It is an interesting thing that when our Declaration of Independence was written, we proclaimed certain inalienable rights, and the drafters of that great document proclaimed them not just for Americans but for all men . . . President Lincoln said there was something in the Declaration giving liberty . . . 'not alone to the people of this country, but the hope for the world for all future time' . . . Being an exponent of the ideals of liberty and equality in the international arena is not an insubstantial factor in world affairs. These are great ideas and our national conscience should not permit us to be indifferent to them or apologetic about taking all appropriate means in promulgating these ideas. I would regard the signature on ratification of Conventions which draw their inspiration from our Constitution to be an important exercise of the foreign policy of the United States. And I can say to you that our dedication to these ideas is one of the great armories that a representative of the United States in the world community carries with him".[34]

In view of the findings of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders and the more recent disorders in our urban centers following Dr. King's death, we need to do all we can to overcome the image of a country not practicing what it preaches—an image which is now before the nations of the world. One first and important step we can take is to reaffirm our national policy on human rights and equal opportunity by ratifying in this International Human Rights Year the Conventions on Human Rights.

2. *The Report of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.* This report is an excellent resource tool for self-examination that is mandated not only if we are to escape a catastrophic future but also if we are to maximize the benefits of the technological age to expand man's vision and contribution. The report lends itself to a series of conferences, discussions or workshops over a period of time even beyond the present year. The opportunity is provided to reassess one's role and practice in the community in view of the Commission's findings. Some of this activity is already in progress. Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta, Ga., for example, has assigned relevant chapters of the report to particular department heads for implementation. Mayor Walter Washington of Washington, D.C., has sent copies to his department heads and requested suggestions for implementation. Educational community organizations like the National Conference of Christians and Jews have already had extended meetings of its national staff and regional staffs to explore the implications of the report for their work across the country and in their respective communities. The Council of National Organizations for Adult Education has adopted as its theme for this year "Training Leadership for Social Change", and has already convened a group of representatives of 40 organizations on March 15 of this year to explore that topic.

3. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and U.S. Documents.* Too many persons are unfamiliar with the close relationship between the basic international human rights documents we have been discussing and our own basic constitutional documents guaranteeing human rights. Many of our states have also built into their constitutions human rights in the forms of bills of rights and other legislation which parallel our Federal guarantees. Such a study in conferences or as a part of a regular curriculum would be a useful occupation to dispel ignorance and fear.[35]

NEED FOR AE DEVISED COURSES

4. *Training in Human Relations.* The Montreal Assembly stressed that the achievement and recognition of human rights rests in the final analysis on the people themselves and on their awareness and willingness to support human rights objectives. A similar observation is made by the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Their report stressed that it is the will of the people that is necessary to overcome attitudes of racism. Underscored, therefore, is

---

Footnotes at end of article.

the need for workshops, seminars, sensitivity training, formal courses, conferences on better understanding of our multi-cultural world. Adult education should expand its role and rethink its potential to bring about attitude change. Special courses or training should be devised for groups not ordinarily using human rights or human relations as a base for their training curricula, i.e. professional associations, mass media, government, labor, management, clergy. In each particular situation, the effort should be to search out the barriers that prevent implementation of good human rights principles and then to seek solutions on how they may be achieved.

We need to be aware of unintentional, as well as intentional, discrimination. We know that attitudes can influence behavior; indeed, a biased executive or supervisor can block the non-discrimination policy of a government agency or business or labor union or educational institution. This means, therefore, that all of the educational approaches used in the past are still required and need to be re-emphasized, including the history of minorities and interfaith and intercultural development in this country; the exploding of mythologies of race and racism; the examination of the psychology of prejudice; the examination of the fear of the unknown; examining the dangers of over-generalizations, stereotyping, labeling, rumor; the exploration of the concept of the cultural pluralistic society in which we live which makes it normal to be different.

In addition, there has grown up in this country, in many cases, for legitimate historical reasons, practices which may now prove discriminatory. For example, in the employment field, questions are now being raised about the value of traditional tests, application forms, job descriptions, apprenticeship, vocational schools. Added as barriers are lack of adequate housing, inadequate transportation, arrest records. With the growth of suburbs, many cities find solutions for discrimination in employment, and assessing community needs, not possible without the cooperation and coordination of the suburbs. It is necessary, therefore, that problems and solutions be looked at in the metropolitan, rather than just in the city, perspective. All of these concerns need the dedication and know-how of adult educators.

5. *New Areas of Concern*. The Montreal Statement could be used as the basis for continuing discussions on new areas of concerns in human rights, i.e. civil disobedience, rebellion and revolution; rights fo groups; human rights in armed conflicts; right to family planning; rights of the child; technology and human rights involving electronic and other forms of intrusion on the right of privacy, implications of computer-based technocracy for democratic government, protection of traditional cultures against the homogenizing influence of a technological civilization, new developments in medicine and biology and their impact on human rights; right of individual petition; the Ombudsman; the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.[36]

6. *Research*. There is a need for extended research on human rights. Foundations should consider making grants for programs of research and study as well as fellowships. Curricula and text books should be reviewed to eradicate bias, intentional and unintentional. Courses of study should be developed which promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. The United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) submitted to the Montreal Assembly an excellent paper entitled, "Suggestions for Research on Human Rights" which contains many helpful suggestions.[37]

7. *Positive Action*. There is a need to report and encourage positive action as a stimulus to similar activity by others. Biracial and multicultural committees which meet regularly are examples. We need to use as models persons who have shown the courage of their convictions such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Branch Rickey in his support of Jackie Robinson, as the first Negro baseball player, the Scandinavian people who cooperated in the successful effort to bring 8,000 Jews out of Denmark to escape the concentration camps ordered by Hitler.

9. *Poverty and Human Rights*. Without the wherewithal to buy the meal or to rent the home, many human rights are academic. There is a close relationship between poverty and human rights. We need to recognize the circular chain: In order to get income one needs a job; in order to get a job one needs a good education; in order to get a good education one must go to a "good" school; in order to go to a "good" school, one must come from a "good" neighborhood; in order to live in that kind of neighborhood one needs income; and in order to have income one needs a job—and the circle is complete. At every point in the circle, there is work for adult educators to do.

We need to bridge the gap between the haves and the have-nots, the literate and the illiterate, the advantaged and the disadvantaged, the dominant and non-dominant groups. Adult educators and adult educational organizations have the unique capacity from past experience to develop the kind of empathy which will make for valid communication and understanding. We need to indicate by our own involvement and *example* that we are not only preaching but practicing equal opportunity.

Four days before he died, Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke in the Washington Cathedral in Washington, D.C. In explaining the reason for his projected Poor People's March on Washington the next month, he said: "We are coming to call attention to the gulf between promise and fulfillment." It was to be a reminder. Five years earlier speaking at the Lincoln Memorial in the 1963 March on Washington, he had said: "I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. . . . I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their Character". Ten years ago, Eleanor Roosevelt said it this way: "Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home—so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person: The neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. . . ."

FOOTNOTES

[1] The Commission includes also A. Philip Randolph, labor leader; Tom Clark, former Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court; George Meany, President AFL–CIO; Elinor L. Gordon, President of the Citizens Committee for Children; Robert Meyner, former governor of New Jersey; Dr. J. Willis Hurst, Atlanta, Ga.; Bruno Bitker, Chairman of the Human Rights Panel at the White House Conference on International Cooperation in 1965; and also the Secretary of State; the Attorney General; the Secretary of Labor; the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; the Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. James F. Green is Executive Director. The Commission's address is: c/o Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

[2] Additional members of the Commission were: Fred R. Harris, U.S. Senator (Okla.); Edward W. Brooke, U.S. Senator (Mass.); James C. Corman, U.S. Representative (Cal.); William M. McCulloch, U.S. Representative (Ohio); I. W. Abel, President, United Steelworkers of America (AFL–CIO); Charles B. Thornton, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Litton Industries, Inc.; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Katherine Graham Peden, former Commissioner of Commerce, State of Kentucky; Herbert Jenkins, Chief of Police, Atlanta, Ga.

[3] Eight countries abstained: U.S.S.R., the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Saudi Arabia, and the Union of South Africa.

[4] Article 3.

[5] Article 4.

[6] Article 5.

[7] Article 6.

[8] Article 7.

[9] Article 8.

[10] Article 9.

[11] Article 10.

[12] Article 11.

[13] Article 12.

[14] Article 13.

[15] Article 14.

[16] Article 15.

[17] Article 16.

[18] Article 17.

[19] Article 18.

[20] Article 19.

[21] Article 20.

[22] Article 21.

[23] Article 22.

[24] Article 23.

[25] Article 24.

[26] Article 25.

[27] Article 26.

[28] Article 27.

[29] Article 28.

[30] Article 29.

[31] Article 30.

[32] See Montreal Statement of the Assembly for Human Rights, March 22–27, 1968.

[33] "You in Human Rights" can be ordered from Publications Service, United Nations Association, 345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

[34] Hearings, February 23, 1967, before the Sub-Committee on Human Rights of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

[35] For materials and further information, write the U.S. Commission for UNESCO, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

[36] Copies of the Montreal Statement may be obtained by writing The Assembly for Human Rights, 866 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

[37] The address of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research is 801 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In accordance with the previous order, the Chair recognizes the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] for 20 minutes.

EVENTS AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN CHICAGO

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, the news media, particularly the television medium, failed to show what was actually happening in Chicago while the Democratic convention was going on. This very much concerns me, because the people of this country are entitled to know all the truth. That is why permission was granted to the major networks to cover the Democratic National Convention. The people are entitled to know all the truth, not just some of it.

Prior to the time of the convention, it was well known to the Chicago police, to Mayor Daley, and to others that major efforts would be made to disrupt and even to destroy the Democratic National Convention, if it could be done.

When I went to Chicago, there was a group called the Committee Against Student Terrorism, which reprinted an article, published in Barron's magazine, a conservative financial publication, which spelled out the plan of disruption and for overwhelming the Democratic Convention in Chicago, which was in the making several months prior to the convention.

The article is entitled "Ballots or Bullets" and explains the plan to disrupt the convention of the Democratic Party, mainly by Communist-oriented persons who planned to converge on Chicago from all over America. This is more or less an outline of the battle plan, and I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BALLOTS OR BULLETS?—RADICAL LEFTISTS MAY TRIGGER VIOLENCE NEXT WEEK IN CHICAGO

(By William Good and Jeffrey St. John)

This week, as all the world knows, Democrats and "democrats" of every stripe will begin making their way to Chicago. Residents of the Windy City may be forgiven if they regard the prospect with mixed emotions, for if nothing else things ought to be livelier during the party's National Convention than they were for Republicans at Miami Beach a fortnight ago. To be sure, the name of Spiro Agnew, if "not a household word" (as the G.O.P. Vice Presidential candidate was happy to admit), did turn out to be something of a sputtering bombshell when it first was dropped; several miles away in a Miami ghetto, meanwhile, blacks and whites were shooting it up over issues none too distinct but, apparently, not related to the presence of Mr. Agnew and his fellow visitors across the bay. In general, calm and sunshine prevailed at Miami Beach. By contrast, Chicago promises to be both windy and hot.

THE YIPPIES ARE COMING

Upwards of 100,000 militant radicals, ranging from student groups and so-called Yippies to out-and-out Black Power zealots, are expected to converge on the convention site. Security precautions approaching those of a police state have been implemented by Democratic chiefs at the city, state and federal level. Nevertheless, reports persist that a carefully organized civic disturbance of major (perhaps unprecedented) proportions will be touched off by a handful of self-styled American Marxists.

The city that almost burned down once before makes an ominous convention site for the party in power today. Such incendiary plans for revolutionary disruption, after all, are set against a backdrop of racial violence that Mayor Richard Daley's dedicated legions somehow have been unable to control; prominent among the city's troublemaking groups are the so-called Blackstone Rangers, of recent contempt-of-Congress notoriety. Adding fuel to the fire in the next few days is sure to be a delegate-seating challenge from the rump Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, headed by Charles Evers (and backed by Hubert Humphrey). There is every indication, then, that the white radicals now heading for Chicago hope their scheme of disruption will ignite widespread rioting, looting and sniping on a scale dwarfing that of recent incidents in Cleveland or Miami.

If all this comes as a rude shock, it shouldn't. The intentions and goals of domestic Marxist revolutionaries have been well documented (in Barron's, for example, by Alice Widener and other writers). The problem is that such warnings largely have been ignored by government and the communications media. The Democrats in convention assembled could find their chickens coming home to roost, since the target will be the very party which has held sway in Washington since U.S. riots began breaking out five years ago. On the unofficial agenda at Chicago, therefore, may be the first brutal attempt by American radicals to force political decisions through mob violence, or the threat of it—the beginning of a new phase in America's revolutionary war of the 'Sixties.

The rough blueprint for disruption at the Democratic Convention was spelled out at a June 29 press conference, in New York City, held by the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee. On hand to launch the Chicago-bound National Mobilization Committee (MOB) was its chairman—and leader of the bloody October 1967 March on the Pentagon—David Dellinger, who likes to call himself "a non-Soviet Communist." Present, too, was Tom Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), who, between and since trips to Hanoi (with fellow traveling Yale Professor Staughton Lynd and U.S. Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker), has led a number of the SDS street scenes.

MAKING MOB'S SCENE

MOB's battle plan is as simple as it is sinister: the aim is to bring convention machinery to a halt for "failing to serve the human needs of the people." Helping in this endeavor will be the hippie-derivative group called Yippies. Jerry Rubin, the head Yippie, doubles as leader of the Peking-leaning Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and was Dellinger's "co-project director" for last year's Pentagon affair.

PLP boasts a record of achievements and stated goals all its own. First, its vice chairman, William Epton, got himself convicted for inciting the 1964 Harlem riots. Second, PLP appears to be muscling into control of SDS by infiltration, pushing out many of the well-meaning but "misguided" (non-Marxist) members. Third, as its national student organizer, Jeff Gordon, bluntly told the radical newsweekly Guardian (July 6, 1968): "We in the PLP are inspired by revolutionaries all over the world who use (Marxism-Leninism) successfully to win Socialism. Yes, in this context we are very proud to be 'Peking-oriented.' Our orientation is for smashing state power of U.S. imperialism and replacing it with the working class."

THE FLOWER CHILDREN

But are the Yippies an extension of PLP? Not quite, as New York's underground publication "East Village Other" has reported. They "are the children of the middle class; children who refuse to 'grow up,' refuse to accept the world their parents created. The Yippies have had white-middle-class America, and they didn't like it." To many observers, the hippie sub-culture, popularized as benign by the mass media, sooner or later had to drop in on active radical politics.

Yippies got into the act last March 20, with a "Yip-in" at New York's bustling Grand Central Terminal. Boldly blocking passengers and trains, while battling police, 5,000 Yippies disrupted the station for two-and-a-half hours. Some observers have suggested that the "Yip-in" was a dry run for the Democratic Convention, since Jerry Rubin even then had been writing about his plan to disrupt the Chicago conclave. Recently, the Yippie office confided that it hopes to put 10,000 erstwhile flower children into the Windy City. Rennie Davis, MOB coordinator and a Dellinger associate, said in a telephone interview that Rubin's group is "closely cooperating" with the MOB.

Silly-sounding as all this may seem, a closer look at what MOB and Yippies plan for the Democrats can dispel any humor in the situation. Indeed, it must be causing the stoical Mayor Daley to shudder. Tom Hayden spelled things out in his June 29 press conference, as quoted by Guardian: "We are planning tactics of prolonged direct action to put heat on the government and its political party." In New Left rhetoric, "direct action" can include street barricading, fire bombing, seizure of buildings and massive confrontations with the police. Last spring's siege of Columbia University, which Hayden helped to lead, hinted at what's to come for Chicago.

"We realize that it will be no picnic, Hayden says, "but responsibility for any violence that develops lies with the authorities, not the demonstrators." Hayden means, of course, that Chicago police must not stop his shock troops if they invade the convention hall, block traffic or make exits and entrances impossible. Such tactics, refined at Columbia, were tested first at the Pentagon. Here's how a national newsmagazine described the earlier scene: "An assault squad wielding clubs and ax handles probed the rope barriers in front of the Pentagon entrances, taunting and testing white-hatted federal marshals who stood in close line. After 90-odd minutes of steadily rising invective and rolling around in the north parking lot of the Pentagon, flying wedges of demonstrators surged toward the less heavily defended press entrances."

Ten of the "peace protestors" actually managed to penetrate the Pentagon. With their ranks greatly swelled in Chicago, how many more might gain access to the convention floor, even physically taking it over? More than a hundred anti-war groups mustered for the march on the Pentagon produced a mob force estimated at 55,000. For Chicago, that number easily could double or treble. On June 29, both Dellinger and Hayden stated that most of the organizations present at the Pentagon will return for the Convention. The latter-day Yippies, for their part, marshalled 5,000 at Grand Central. How many can they dredge up in a nationwide effort, presumably recruited from New York, San Francisco, Boston and other hippie haunts? All told, the motley crowd converging on Chicago could number a quarter-million.

"East Village Other" has given a glimpse of what the Yippies, at least, have in mind. As a starter, brothers and sisters dressed in Viet Cong garb will go "electioneering," shaking hands in mimicry of bourgeois politicans. Others even will go to work, if only temporarily. "Yippies plan to paint their cars like taxicabs, pick up delegates and drop them off in Wisconsin," observes the underground publication. "We are infiltrating the hotels with bellboys and cooks. We are also infiltrating the press." Sound like innocent child's play for the flower children? "The Democrats," reports E.V.O., "will probably have to travel from hotel to convention hall by helicopter."

Last November 16, Jerry Rubin summed up the strategy for disruption, in The Village Voice, with this clarion call: "See you next August in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention. Bring pot, fake delegates' cards, smokebombs, costumes, blood to throw, and all kinds of interesting props. Also football helmets."

NO TEA PARTY?

It's clear that Chicago is in for something more serious than a panty raid. The possibility of arousing ghetto violence, moreover, is quite real. Here's Rubin, in The Village Voice: "The goal? A massive white revolutionary youth movement which, working in parallel cooperation with the rebellions in the black communities, could seriously disrupt this country, and thus be an internal catalyst for a breakdown of the American ability and will to fight guerrillas overseas. Thus defeated abroad by peasant revolutionaries, and disrupted from within by blacks and whites, the empire of the United States will find itself faced with rebellions from 15 different directions."

Further, according to Hayden, "in the future it is conceivable that students will threaten destruction of buildings as the last deterrent to police attacks." It follows that both Rubin and Hayden actually need the police, to oppose the radicals in a forceful confrontation. No longer pretending concern with simple issues (like Columbia's education reform or opposition to the draft), their interest is in the inciting of violence as a political weapon. Such tactics, not incidentally, also tend to gain new recruits to their ranks.

After SDS' June convention, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover observed that a "sabotage-explosive workshop even discussed the finer points of firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns, as well as similar forms of so-called defense measures that could be used in defiance of police action."

The new development within the white radical camp not only points to violence, but also to the "glory of death" in "confrontations" on behalf of the "cause." If this seems a dubious assumption, here's what the New Left publication, Ramparts, had to say about the Pentagon riot: "Objectively speaking, perhaps the best thing that could have happened . . . would have been for somebody to have been killed. For American soldiers to have shot unarmed American civilians exercising their right of free speech would have been a blow from which the Administration could never recover."

CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

Dragged into this potentially Draconian nightmare may be Senator Eugene McCarthy's youthful horde of idealistic supporters—the celebrated "Children's Crusade." While many adult McCarthy boosters are aware of the MOB and Yippie threat, few of the well-meaning college students seem willing to believe they could become unwitting pawns. (There's evidence that Senator McCarthy does; last week he asked them all to stay home and "demonstrate in your own cities." His self-appointed field leader, Allard Lowenstein, indicated he wouldn't take orders of that sort.)

Great numbers of these young people almost certainly will go to Chicago. Clinton Deveaux, McCarthy's convention coordinator, has indicated that a Life magazine estimate of one million McCarthyites in Chicago was too low; until recently, he had hopes for 1½ or even two million. "Anybody that wants to go will go," shrugs another staffer. "If they have to beg or borrow their way. There will be more people than that city has ever seen. These are kids who slept on desks and who actually went hungry during the New York primary."

Emotionally, the campaign is do-or-die for many of McCarthy's young people. However misplaced their response, it nonetheless makes for still another potentially explosive threat overhanging the Convention. Although McCarthy's kids may be non-violent in nature, the followers of Dellinger, Rubin & Co. plan to try enlisting the McCarthy supporters in their disruption, by means of "pre-convention" demonstrations in favor of the Minnesota Senator.

If McCarthy loses his bid for the nomination, what happens? His youthful followers likely would conclude that "the system is corrupt." Those radical pre-convention agitations then could evolve into a "protest march," which in turn could mushroom into full-blown riot. Some McCarthy activists already have threatened to "disrupt" if Vice President Humphrey is the nominee. Pete Hamill, in The Village Voice (June 20) warned: "It is as simple as this: It must be McCarthy, because it can't be Humphrey. If the Central Committee (the Democratic Convention delegates) gives us Humphrey anyway, we can drift into quietism, and tend our private garden, or we can disrupt, disrupt, disrupt."

Ironically, then, the radical revolutionaries win if Humphrey does. He is heir apparent to the Johnson Administration policies. No matter how much he has tried to pull away in recent months, Mr. Humphrey is the "evil symbol of the establishment" the radicals need to keep them in business.

On the other hand, if McCarthy somehow were to win, the radicals would be in real trouble. First, as the May 20 issue of the SDS publication "New Left Notes" lamented, student support for the radicals was drained away by the active campaigns of both Senator McCarthy and the late Senator Robert Kennedy. This drain could be permanent, eliminating an important segment of radical support, if the "system" actually works to produce a McCarthy nomination. That would prove the radicals wrong and the liberals right—precipitating a grave crisis in radical ranks.

PRECEDENT DE GAULLE

Proof of the validity of such a contention has been supplied by New Left Professor Staughton Lynd. Using as a point of reference de Gaulle's use of the political process to defuse what French radicals started last May, Lynd wrote in the July 13 Guardian: "American radicals will be pondering the lessons of the French experience for a long time to come. One thing seems clear: the use of the electoral process to defuse, co-opt, and emasculate confrontation politics has been classically demonstrated."

In reality, the radicals, hoping for violent confrontation at Chicago, desperately want a Humphrey victory—to block McCarthy, who seems to represent a more dangerous threat to their future than anyone else on the American political scene today. They need anger, frustration and hostility from McCarthy's supporters. Thus, an imperative for MOB and Yippie leaders is to precipitate disruptive "Demonstrations for McCarthy," hoping any accompanying violence will frighten the delegates at Chicago's stockyards into a stampede to Humphrey.

How Mayor Daley, his Chicago police, the Illinois troopers and the national Democratic Party officials will react to such a series of events remains to be seen. McCarthy's willingness to take second place on the ticket with Humphrey might offer a way around the worst of the impending trouble. But there's no question that Chicago provides an ideal combination of incendiary factors, and the Democratic Convention offers the spark to touch it off.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, it is fairly clear that these people planned, if they could, to recruit every terrorist they could find, every Communist, every misled person, every weirdo, screwball, nut, crank, or revolutionary in America, as well as any other person they could delude into coming along with them. The persons doing this included those who organized the siege at Columbia University, the assault on the Pentagon, and who caused most of the major riots in this country in recent years.

Mr. President, let me mention just one quotation from the article. Hayden is the man referred to by the Senator from Ohio as a Peking-oriented Communist who visited Ho Chi Minh to help get his plans in order in Hanoi.

"We realize that it will be no picnic," Hayden says, "but responsibility for any violence that develops lies with the authorities, not the demonstrators." Hayden means, of course, that Chicago police must not stop his shock troops if they invade the convention hall, block traffic or make exits and entrances impossible. Such tactics, refined at Columbia, were tested first at the Pentagon. Here's how a national newsmagazine described the earlier scene: "An assault squad wielding clubs and ax handles probed the rope barriers in front of the Pentagon entrances, taunting and testing white-hatted federal marshals who stood in close line. After 90-odd minutes of steadily rising invective and roiling around in the north parking lot of the Pentagon, flying wedges of demonstrators surged toward the less heavily defended press entrances."

Ten of the "peace protestors" actually managed to penetrate the Pentagon.

Mr. President, I think the real plan of this group was to recruit a mob so big that delegates would have to use helicopters to get from downtown hotels out to the amphitheater where the convention was being held. It was planned also to stir up the black community in Chicago to engage in all-out rioting, burning, and looting, so that nothing could go on in Chicago while the convention was supposed to be held there.

The Chicago police knew about this. Every newsman had it available to him as well, with the information sometimes being passed out to the delegates. Here was a plan to disrupt the convention of a national political party which I believe to be one of our fine American institutions. Here was a plan to create all the violence they could and, if they could, completely to disrupt the convention so that it could not be held at all.

Quoting again from the plan they had working:

> "Yippies plan to paint their cars like taxicabs, pick up delegates and drop them off in Wisconsin," observes the underground publication. "We are infiltrating the hotels with bellboys and cooks. We are also infiltrating the press."

Just to give one simple example of what they did at the hotels: I was a delegate at the Pick-Congress Hotel where stinkbombs were exploded and their fumes spread into the lobby. Some were also dropped down the elevator shafts so that every time the elevators went up and down, in spite of the best efforts of the hotel people to try to remove the offending odors, the horrible smells would persist through the lobby and in the corridors. Persons would smell horrible for a half hour afterward just by being on the elevator or from passing through a hotel corridor.

The television commentators did not go into that. They were in those hotels, and I cannot figure out how they did not know the smells were there. They did the same thing in the lobby of the Hotel Conrad Hilton.

The voters were told they were not going to be permitted to hold any demonstrations inside the convention hall or inside the convention grounds. We heard so much about "police state activities" because Mayor Daley had arranged to have a cyclone fence built around the convention hall to help maintain law and order.

Mr. President, I know of nothing that has been said about a similar cyclone fence around the hall in Miami, where the Republican Convention was held. Of course, the cyclone fence at Miami was about 8 feet high. Whether it had a couple of strands of barbed wire at the top, I do not know, but its whole purpose was to keep people on the outside from entering without authorization.

I passed through the chain-link fence at Chicago a dozen times or more, and no one stopped me. I drove through repeatedly in an automobile. It was put there to prevent the crowd from running into Convention Hall, and it served to channel those who were entitled to do so, to enter at the entrance, and thus afford the police a better chance to block the entrance if an unauthorized mob sought to push in and overwhelm the delegates and other authorized persons while the convention was in session.

Would it have been better to defend the hall with a fence or defend it with troops which had to be used in some other parts of Chicago? It became necessary to use troops elsewhere in order to maintain law and order. I did not hear one account explaining that people in Grant Park were not engaged in lawful activities.

It is my understanding that the American flag was taken off the pole in the park in front of the Pick-Congress Hotel, and the red flag of anarchy was run up in its place. If the police had not fought their way in and taken the red flag down and put the American flag up, I, if I had been a taxpayer of Chicago, would have refused to pay my taxes. I think Americans are entitled to have the American flag fly from the highest point in town, rather than to allow the red flag of anarchy to fly in its place. So the police put Old Glory back. That was their duty, and they should have been commended for it.

All sorts of lawless assaults were made on policemen. They were called every curse word that one could call them. They were spat upon. They were called all kinds of uncivil names. Human refuse was thrown on them. The jagged edges of beer bottles were thrown in their faces.

I have been told that the mob sprayed a chemical, a lye solution known as Easy-Off, used by women to clean out the insides of ovens. This lye solution is contained in a spray can that can be bought in any grocery store. But those people were not using it to clean ovens; they sprayed the lye solution in the faces of policemen. If a policeman got any of it in his eyes, he could have been blinded forever.

Some of the mob ripped tiles off the walls of men's and women's restrooms. They sharpened the tiles until they were as sharp as a razor. Then they would throw them into the faces of policemen.

All of this simply went unreported, as if the policemen were not provoked. Some 80 of those Chicago policemen were injured. Many of them had to be hospitalized as a result of actions by this unruly mob. So far as I could tell, they never reacted unless they were provoked.

Mr. President, other things were going on at that convention that should be noted. Some people came to Chicago with the feeling that, if they could not nominate their man for President, they wanted the Democrats to lose. Quite a few of them either were or had been associated with the John Kennedy administration and were no longer with the Johnson administration. Some of them were looking forward to the day when another Kennedy could be in the White House, and they thought it would occur sooner in the event the Democrats were defeated this round rather than if the Democrats' nominee were elected this round. So some of those delegates came with the purpose of making the Democrats lose rather than win. How else one could account for the conduct of these delegates is absolutely impossible. For example, certain people in the New York delegation were given credentials and given cards so they could enter the convention hall. All they would have to do would be to wear their delegate's badge and wear the card, which was put into a machine that would register a red or green light, depending on whether that person had a proper pass or not. Having been so informed, they said they were going to take the delegates' badges off and enter without delegates' badges. Well, they had to be stopped.

At times, when important people were speaking, the television cameras were taken away from the speaker and were focused all the time on some troublemaker who was deliberately trying to create a false impression. The convention floor was overloaded the way it was. The only way a delegate could let anyone get to the floor was to give him his convention delegate's pass. All that person would have to do was show the delegate's badge, which would be put in the machine, and he would go in.

Obviously, when there were not enough seats in the galleries, many of them would be standing. Someone would go inside with a delegate's badge. Then that one person would take three or four other badges or credentials and give them to other people so they could come inside and see the proceedings. There was not anything necessarily wrong about that, but the mayor of Chicago had been alerted that there were three plots to assassinate three candidates. The Vice President personally reported that he had received six threats on his life in Chicago alone.

We know what happened when security measures did not properly protect Robert Kennedy in Los Angeles and he was killed. So there was some effort to maintain at least a minimum of security inside that hall. I assume the policemen were willing to take a chance if someone came in with a delegate's pass or badge. They knew that at least the delegate wanted that person to enter the hall and that it was not an assassin coming in. So they required people to have their passes or badges.

To try to keep the aisles clear and to try to limit the number of people inside the hall so it would be possible to carry on the convention and have people move about, everyone was required to have his credentials at all times. I was asked, not once, but 50 times, I suppose, "Where are your credentials?"

Although there was a small string of an elastic nature with which one could hang the credentials around his neck so it could be seen immediately, I found it inconvenient, and half the time I had it in my pocket.

If one did not have his badge, if he had given his badge or identification card to someone else, he had no business being inside the hall, and he was requested to leave. So, when a troublemaker proceeded to give his badge to someone else—I suppose for some reason—the police were required to eject that person when he did not have his credentials. When that person declined to leave the hall, all kinds of uproars were raised by people, shouting, "He is a delegate, he is a delegate, he is a delegate." He may have been a delegate, but he did not have his pass, so he fitted the biblical description of the man who went to attend a wedding without wearing a wedding garment; he was not properly outfitted to be there. The result was that it was the duty of the ushers—and they could not do it by themselves—to require anyone who did not have a badge to leave the hall. Was that fact made known by Huntley-Brinkley or Walter Cronkite or anyone else? Not once to my knowledge did they mention it.

I personally loaned my credentials to other delegates so their wives could get inside conventional hall for a while. Other prominent people permitted others to enter using their credentials to my certain knowledge. All they needed was a card that could be placed in a machine and a little badge so one could be on the floor. None of that was reported by the press, for reasons I cannot understand.

Furthermore, I watched the galleries while all the demonstrations and pandemonium were going on. The same persons who raised their voices when someone would vote for, let us say, Senator McGOVERN, would scream just as loudly when some would vote for some other candidate. He would scream equally loudly when someone voted for anyone except Vice President HUMPHREY. So one could see that those people were there to do everything they could to hurt Vice President HUMPHREY's chances of being nominated, and to help everyone other than Vice President HUMPHREY. There was obviously a combined plan to hurt HUMPHREY, beat HUMPHREY, and beat the Democratic Party if HUMPHREY was the nominee, and hurt the Democratic Party on the assumption that HUMPHREY would be the nominee. Never was it pointed out that these were the same people, who were doing exactly the same thing, acting in concert and collusion, or acting in parallel fashion, to try to achieve their purpose.

Then there were the silly questions asked which never should have been asked. The commentators and reporters were trying to put words in the mouths of people. For example, the New Hampshire delegate was asked, "Is that scratch where the police hit you?" He said, "No, they did not hit me, but when they pulled me away from the entrance, there was a scuffle and I got a scratch." They were putting all kinds of words in people's mouths. They would not observe that what went on was being done by the same people. All those who were shouting for McCarthy were the same ones who were shouting for McGovern and were shouting for Phillips and were shouting for Kennedy. They were shouting for four or five different candidates. Why did not the commentators observe that and point it out?

Furthermore, it is clear that some of these people came to the convention to try to destroy it because they were not happy over the fact that Vice President Humphrey was likely to be the nominee, and they aided some people to get inside the convention hall so they could make as much noise and racket as they could.

When Daley's people, people who love Daley, as most people in Chicago do, proceeded to scream, "We love Daley," the same commentators would say, "Look, Daley has packed the galleries," never pointing out that the other people had packed the galleries for days, using every tactic they could to try to embarrass the convention. None of the commentators pointed that out. It is amazing that so many things were obvious and that the commentators never pointed them out, but that they could point out things that, at most, could be no more than half-truths.

Mr. President, the Governor of Louisiana is a very popular Governor. He has a reputation for law and order. The only people who have been hit by police clubs in Louisiana, as far as I know, have been some of the Ku Klux Klan who tried to violate the rights of some Negro marchers. The Negro marchers did not make any trouble, because he explained to them that they were going to get the same treatment they observed the Ku Klux Klan getting as soon as they started violating the law.

He was reelected by more than 82 percent of the votes. The people of the State changed the constitution so that the Governor of Louisiana could run again, and when he made the race, and was renominated by a vote of more than 80 percent, the Republicans were so impressed that no Republican ran against him for Governor of Louisiana from the Republican Party.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I took about the same attitude on law enforcement, and I am happy to say that I received 87 percent of the votes of the Democratic Party and, bless the Republicans, they were sufficiently impressed that they persuaded their man to withdraw.

I find that the people of my State very much approve of law and order, be they Republicans or be they Democrats. So, when the Governor of Louisiana observed what went on in Chicago, just as I did, he made a statement before the Louisiana delegation that if that same bunch of trash wanted to try in Louisiana what they did in Chicago, what Daley gave them was just a taste, just a small taste, of what they would get in Louisiana. That statement received a standing ovation from the Louisiana delegation. That delegation included people of all races, labor leaders, business people, people from all walks of life, the ministry and everybody else, but they completely approved of strong law enforcement, and of a mayor who has the courage to protect the citizens from the lawless element, the irresponsible element, and those who are not very good Americans.

That bunch of demonstrators over there in Grant Park were carrying and waving a Vietcong flag about half the size of a bedspread, and they would shout, "Ho Chi Minh, Ho Chi Minh, Ho Chi Minh," screaming, "Hurray for Ho Chi Minh," and shouting for victory for the Vietcong Communists who are fighting against the American boys who went there to uphold the position of this Nation. Very little was said about that. I never saw that Vietcong flag on television though they did at one time show some of that rabble mass screaming, "Ho Chi Minh, Ho Chi Minh."

Mr. President, those demonstrators came to Chicago for the purpose of creating trouble and disorder. Sixty percent of them were from outside the State of Illinois, and probably 85 percent from outside the city of Chicago. They came wearing football helmets to prevent effective retaliation by the police, and were carrying their football helmets all over the place.

Much has been said about alleged mistreatment of the press by the Chicago police. Mr. President, it is difficult for a policeman being hit, being stoned, and being spit upon to know who is a press man and who is not. We have a picture which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times of a so-called cameraman, a newspaper photographer, allegedly being improperly treated or manhandled by the police.

Mr. President, the picture fails to show the man's camera, but it does show his pack on his back, which makes him look very much like these other law violators, potburners, hippies, yippies, Communists, or whatever else they might have been. You really would not know one from the other. When the police sought to move the crowd back, and there were some who failed to move, they had to grab hold of this man and push him, along with the rest. One could not readily tell him from the others.

I was impressed with a picture appearing in that same newspaper, the Chicago Sun-Times, with a picture story on how one cop used his nightstick. The story undertakes to say, "Here is the evidence; look at this picture; it shows that this policeman hit this Negro in the mouth with his billy club, and then these two men attacked him."

Mr. President, all one needs to do is look closely at the picture itself, and it is clear that when the police were trying to make this mob move back, this Negro refused to move back, and attacked the policeman instead. As evidence of that, there is his hand, holding the policeman's club by its handle. That is not the policeman holding his club by the handle; that is the law violator, with his hand on the policeman's club. The policeman's hand is turned upside down, and there is the policeman, with his fist in the criminal's face. It would appear that the policeman did not hit the man with his nightstick; he has his fist in his face. You can see it in the picture itself. Take a look at it.

So here is a man who assaults the police, attempting to take the policeman's billy club away from him and beat him with his own club.

Why should the policeman not hit him?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I ask for another 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Then here on the same page is the picture of this so-called photographer; and the account itself says that he was without credentials. I noticed this, too: that many of this bunch of Communists, yippies, hippies, traitors, draft dodgers, and draft card burners were carrying cameras, so as to make it very difficult for the police to tell, when they tried to move this bunch of trash back, whether they were confronted with a newspaper or freelance photographer or a dedicated Communist, or what they were confronted with.

Mr. President, I think the police used admirable restraint. They suffered injuries, I suspect beyond those they inflicted on this Communist-inspired group of troublemakers which descended to attack them. Those criminals got off very lightly indeed for what they did. There are those who would like to have us believe that they were a bunch of children. I looked at the arrest reports. I did not notice that anybody was arrested who was not old enough to take a gun and fight for his country in Vietnam. This is not to say that they would fight for our country; but they were old enough to do it. Plenty of them were in their forties, who were in there leading this Communist mob, waving a Vietnam flag, shouting for Ho Chi Minh, and spitting upon and cursing the police.

Those police took a lot of brutality from that mob, but they did their duty. I have noticed, since this matter occurred, that the people of this country, without even hearing Chicago's side, without hearing Mayor Daley's side, but after just hearing the one-sided presentation of those who would have us believe that these were innocent children, have approved of the Chicago police restraining that mob; and I have been told since that time, by people who knew about it, that George Wallace has addressed crowds ranging from 15,000 to 70,000, and that every time the third party candidate has said, "If you want to have law and order, you are going to have to support your law enforcement officers against the criminals," and that he was for Daley, every person in the audience has stood up, with a tremendous round of applause, approving what Mayor Daley did.

Furthermore, I have talked with a great number of people in Chicago who have complete confidence in their mayor and the record he has made. He is not only a great mayor because of his law enforcement record; he is also a great mayor because he does not bend down to anybody he thinks is wrong.

Let me illustrate that with one point. The cab drivers thought this would be a good time to pull a cab strike, because they thought they would have the mayor on his knees, begging them to call off that taxicab strike while the Democratic Convention was going on. The people who owned the taxicabs felt that Mayor Daley would have to yield to this pressure. They thought he would therefore be also compelled to give in to their demand for an increase in rates, which the people of Chicago would have to pay, not only during the Democratic Convention, but for all time to come. So both sides were prepared to shake down Mayor Daley, of Chicago, because of the convention he had sought and won for his city.

Mayor Daley did not yield to either side. The bus drivers threatened to strike, and he got out a Taft-Hartley order to restrain them temporarily from striking. He persuaded the automobile manufacturers to let him have 300 automobiles and he persuaded the firemen who were off duty and volunteers from among the young Democrats and others to move the delegates back and forth to the convention hall, so they could do their duty and conduct the business they were sent there to do.

A less courageous mayor would have yielded to that kind of pressure; but here is a man who will not yield to pressure, or to anybody he thinks is wrong.

What did he get for his courage? They tried to portray him on television as the last of the oldtime city bosses.

Mr. President, in my judgment that man deserves the applause of the entire Nation. He stood up against the misrepresentation of television and the misrepresentation of the left-leaning press and the misrepresentation of a great number of people who should know better. He withstood the pressures of the press, labor, management, rioters, Communists, and every other pressure that could be put on a man. He acted with honor. By the time our Louisiana delegation left Chicago, we were joking that we had nominated the wrong man and should have nominated Richard Daley for President of the United States.

In further support of what I have said here today, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "Demonstrator's Seized Diary Details Plan To Disrupt City," written by Ronald Koziol, and published in the Chicago Tribune.

I make that request because the article published in the Chicago Tribune proves that the rioters did just what they were undertaking to do. They did not muster the numbers they had hoped to muster, but they did undertake to do exactly what Barron's article said they intended.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Demonstrator's Seized Diary Details Plan To Disrupt City

(By Ronald Koziol)

The inside story of disruptive plans by Communists and left-wing agitators to disrupt the city during the Democratic national convention was obtained last night by The Tribune.

Most of the plans were kept in a secret work diary in the possession of a leader of the National Mobilization committee, a radical leftist coalition of anti-war and anti-establishment groups.

The diary outlined the Conrad Hilton hotel as the number one target of demonstrators. The area around the hotel, home for many candidates and delegates during the convention, was the scene Wednesday night of massive disorders.

STUDY JURY ACTION

It was also learned that hundreds of secret reports, compiled by police and federal undercover agents during the last eight months, are being studied by the state's attorney's office with an eye toward grand jury action and conspiracy charges. Leaders of the N.M.C., the Students for a Democratic Society, and the Yippies would be the prime targets of the grand jury investigation.

One page in the diary contained a detailed hand-drawn map of the area outside the Hilton. It listed nearby streets where rioters could run from police and dead-end alleys to avoid.

SHADES OF MILITANCY

Notations on another page, dated Aug. 18, 1968, served as reminders to the militant leader. They included the following:

"Assign hotel areas to scout. Hash out priority target scheme. Fight for good targets.

"Try to divide groups into shades of militancy, active or passive. Get in touch with Yippie leaders about hotel maps."

On another page, it was noted: "We really should attend McCarthy rallies and recruit pro-McCarthys for our marches. This lends us the respectability of a pro-establishment group."

The infiltration was apparently accomplished by Aug. 22. At a meeting of S. D. S. members in a rented flat at 6335 Winthrop av., investigators heard a report which said, "Infiltration of McCarthy supporters is now complete."

MEET IN APARTMENT

At the same meeting, investigators said, a plea was made for money "so that pictures could be taken and used against the police." Plans were to print the pictures in underground newspapers.

The address and telephone number of a west side couple who are under investigation by federal authorities for Communist activities also appear in the diary.

Authorities said that on Aug. 23 several persons, including Lee Weiner, a New York Yippie leader, and Terry Gross of New York's N. M. C. attended a meeting in the apartment.

Discussion at the meeting reportedly centered on causing a disturbance across from the Hilton hotel. Plans were made to have a sit-in in Grant park, across from the hotel, and remain there until the demonstrators were forced to leave.

Then, the agitators would break up into small groups and raid the Loop. In the words of one at the meeting, "We'll break hotel and store windows, damage police cars, and raise Cain."

Other groups, who were less militant, were told to "come to the Loop and do what you want."

Plans to disrupt the convention began at a secret meeting held in Chicago in February. Chairmen of the meeting, investigators said, were Rennie Davis, an N.M.C. leader, and Carlos Russel, militant Black Power leader from New York City.

Also present were Earl Durham and Donald Hammerquist, who have been identified by federal authorities as members of the Communist party.

Investigators said Hammerquist told the group: "What we must do is make concrete demands on the convention which it cannot respond to. Our confrontation must be political in the sense of winning people away from the Democratic party."

At the same meeting, Jack Spiegel, executive officer of the Chicago Peace council, said: "We can't call thousands of people to Chicago and then disassociate ourselves from violence. Disruption and violence will occur. It's going to happen and we'll have to deal with that fact."

Durham also addressed the gathering. According to undercover agents, he said: "The question of black participation in the convention is based on how it strengthens the black base and organizing in the black community.

"This is why we stress the theme of racism and imperialism."

EVALUATION FOR POLICE

Several months were spent in investigating the radical groups which planned to come to Chicago, then a confidential report was given to top police officials on Aug. 21.

The report concluded: "The majority of individuals engaged or who may be engaged in acts of violence during the convention are professional agitators who are thoroly trained in the use of violence and will not hesitate to put their training into actual practice.

"These individuals are without question the greatest threat to the security of the convention."

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent, in tribute to the city of Chicago, to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled, "Chicago: A Great City," also published in the Chicago Tribune. The city of Chicago has been much maligned unjustly by the news media.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Chicago: A Great City

We are addressing these remarks to delegates and visitors who have been in Chicago during the week of the Democratic national convention. We have some title to speak for and about Chicago, for we have been a part of its life for 121 years.

We know it to be a beautiful city, as our visitors can attest from the evidence of their own eyes. We are proud of its lakefront setting and its lovely parks. Lincoln and Grant parks have been put to better purpose than their use as staging grounds for militants during the last week, but soon they will be uncluttered again.

We think that Chicago has some of the finest and most comfortable hotels in the country, that its restaurants are superior, and that its people are good, responsible, and decent Americans.

Chicago's universities, museums, and cultural life will merit comparison with the best of these things anywhere. Its business community and working population are enterprising and energetic, despite some troublesome strikes which have made difficulties for Chicagoans and visitors alike.

Into this orderly city was introduced an element of youthful revolutionaries dedicated to what Staughton Lynd, the New Left professor, has called "the politics of confrontation." There may have been some harmless students among them, devoted to the causes of Sen. McCarthy or Sen. McGovern, or merely linked by common opposition to the war in Viet Nam. But it was the professional agitators, attached to one form or another of the Marxian superstition and desirous of overthrowing the political and social order, who took charge, called the signals, and whipped up an emotional challenge to civil order.

The voices on the loudspeakers in the parks were those of Tom Hayden, a founder of the radical Students for a Democratic

Society, who reduced Columbia university to a shambles last spring; of David Dellinger, self-styled nonsoviet Communist, who organized the march on the Pentagon last October, and of Jerry Rubin, head of the Youth International party. These revolutionaries came to Chicago with the design of disrupting the Democratic convention and of taking over the streets.

The bearded, dirty, lawless rabble that followed them used every sort of provocation against police and national guardsmen—vile taunts, lye solutions, bricks, and rubble. They blocked street intersections, disrupted traffic in Michigan avenue, and tried to charge into hotels.

The police and guardsmen used such force as was necessary to repel them and to prevent them from interfering with the proceedings of the convention and promoting general rioting. Altho it was manifestly part of the design to involve black Chicagoans, if possible, we are glad that these citizens did not lend themselves to the radical purpose.

For enforcing law and order, Mayor Daley and the police deserve congratulations rather than criticism. The mayor's statement yesterday said correctly that the revolutionaries had openly paraded their intentions for months, that they had carefully coordinated plans of action, and that they deliberately baited the police in the hope of producing a revolutionary ferment. Because the police would not yield the streets or surrender the city to them, Mr. Daley said, there has been much unjustified criticism, particularly from disgruntled elements which could not prevail on the convention floor.

Chicago did not invite these street fighters to come here in the hope of disgracing the city. The movements they represent did not originate here, but in Berkeley and New York. A sick cause mustered sick people. The police have disclosed that 136 of the 309 persons arrested did not live in Chicago or any suburb. If some of the protesters were hurt, so were 83 Chicago policemen. The attacks were by no means one-sided.

The rabble has begun to clear out, for its purpose has been defeated. Dellinger has announced that 10 to 15 busloads of his followers have gone home to New York and California—there, he disclosed, to mobilize against their draft boards and try to perpetuate the tumult visited on Chicago.

Chicago cannot be rid of imported revolution too soon. Shortly calm will return to the city and the orderly life we have known will be resumed. That would be an optimum time for our visitors to see Chicago in its normal character. We should love to see them come back again and to appreciate our city and its people as they really are.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, unlike some Senators who have spoken with reference to the Chicago convention—and this does not apply to the Senator from Louisiana whom I saw there pleasantly attending to his official duties—I want to say that I was at the Chicago convention.

Our Florida delegation consisted of 63 principals and 63 alternates. We were told by the Democratic National Convention that we were the only delegation there consisting of an equal number of men and women. The Florida law requires the election of a statewide slate which must be equally divided between men and women. It requires in each district the election of a man and a woman to be delegates from that district. We were glad to have an even division.

Mr. President, I was proud of the fact that our Florida delegates attended to their business as representatives of the Democrats of Florida and that they remained in their seats for the most part. They were never parties to any of the disruption and confusion that took place on the convention floor.

The delegates from Florida voted their convictions and did not fall out with each other when their convictions happened to be not entirely unanimous on any subject. So far as I was concerned, I was very proud of the Florida delegation. I was happy to serve as chairman of that delegation.

Mr. President, I was not present at Grant Park or at Lincoln Park when the troubles took place, or at the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

The things I shall say will largely have to do with the security measures taken to protect the delegates and alternates at the convention and those who had business with the convention, such as the news people, to make sure that the convention itself was protected.

Everything that was humanly possible was done to make sure that the dire threats and promises and plans of the folks headed by Messrs. Dellinger, Hayden, and Rubin should not prevail and that the convention should not be made into a shambles as they had so carefully planned.

I think that the RECORD might well include some of the details. The delegates were transported to the convention in buses. I do not know how many buses there were, but certainly there were well over 100. These buses were supplied with careful drivers and they traveled in a convoy. They traveled on the thruways and were escorted on each side, every fourth or fifth vehicle, by patrol cars manned in each case by two patrolmen.

There was no difficulty whatever in going from our several hotels to the convention headquarters. Not only were we conveyed and convoyed in the way I have stated, but also as we passed through the underpasses above the thruways, we saw that in each case there were at those locations anywhere from two to a half dozen police officers who were making sure that no untoward attempt at violence could take place from a vantage point above the convoy.

At the convention headquarters, the security provisions were not only adequate, but I also thought that they were very complete and that the security arrangements were very carefully carried out.

I saw no interference of any kind on the floor of the convention on the part of people who came from the outside and who had come there in spite of security precautions.

I did see some untoward confusion caused by delegations from a handful of States. And I regret that such delegations from a very few States contributed to the creation of uproar and confusion on the floor of the convention.

These delegates were limited in number, and they made a much greater noise than their number would have indicated they could make. However, in general the delegations from the other States conducted themselves as did the delegation from Florida and addressed themselves to the business of the convention. We disagreed frequently, as everyone knows, but without personal vindictiveness.

I did not see a single struggle take place on the floor. I did not see anything that looked like personal strife take place on the floor. To the contrary, I think that the convention, while it did suffer from the confusion which I have mentioned, was able to carry out its business.

Mr. President, I believe that the convention was very greatly indebted to the Mayor of Chicago, Mr. Daley, and to the Governor of Illinois, Mr. Shapiro, for having received, in the first place, through their intelligence, complete readings on what was to be attempted by large numbers of ultra-liberal and radical people who were there seeking to disrupt the convention. In my judgment, these people would have made a shambles of the convention but for the intelligence that had been gained and the plans that had been formed and the carrying out of those plans.

Speaking only as a delegate from Florida and one who, as Governor of his State, has had occasion to know something about the question of keeping law and order, I believe the Mayor, Mr. Daley, and the Governor, Mr. Shapiro, did an outstanding job in assuring that the convention could function and carry out its assigned task.

I also want the RECORD to show that, at a caucus attended by all members of the Florida delegation shortly before we adjourned, our delegation passed a resolution and forwarded it to the Governor of Illinois and to the Mayor of Chicago, praising them in the strongest possible terms for the protection they had given to the delegates and to the convention. I want the RECORD to show the Florida delegation felt that way about the matter.

Mr. President, I shall not add to the many things that have been said this morning. I already have said I did not attend the events that took place at Grant Park, at Lincoln Park, and at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, or in that vicinity. My business in going to Chicago was to attend the convention and the caucuses of our delegation and other caucuses to which we were invited in connection with making preparations and plans for the convention.

I have read many of the things which have been written about that convention. I am very happy that the distinguished Senator from West Virginia placed in the RECORD this morning the column by Miss Betty Beale of the Washington Star. I believe we all know Miss Beale. We know her to be a very lovely lady and a real lady. So far as I am concerned, when she writes a column or an article as expressive of what happened as was her article, I believe it. I am glad she wrote it, and I am glad it is in the RECORD.

I also read a column by Mr. James J. Kilpatrick, who, as I recall, used to be the editor of the newspaper in Richmond. I see the distinguished Presiding Officer, the senior Senator from Virginia, nodding his head, so I am right about that. I understand that Mr. Kilpatrick's column already has been placed in the RECORD.

Another news article appeared on the first page of the Sunday issue of the Washington Post of September 1, a newspaper which is not known for its conservatism, written by one of their staff correspondents, a Mr. Von Hoffman, whom I do not know, entitled "On Every Side There Was Rage." I believe that article must be largely factual and accurate. So far as I am concerned, I was impressed by its accuracy and by the willingness of that newspaper, which, as I already have said, is far from a conservative newspaper, to state what one of its observers saw in Chicago and reported for its columns.

I ask unanimous consent that that article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON EVERY SIDE THERE WAS RAGE

(By Nicholas Von Hoffman)

CHICAGO, August 31.—It was a grand party, the likes of which the town hasn't had since Bath House John and Hinky Dink were the aldermen of the old First Ward and the only way you could campaign down there was with a loudspeaker strapped on top of an armored car. It was a great, head-bashing frolic that big Bill Thompson, Chicago's brawling Mayor of the Harding era, would have enjoyed, the skull-splitting politics of Richard Daley's youth.

By the end of the week here, however, there were few people who were willing to put the four days of rioting policemen and battling young people in any sort of perspective. On every side there was unspeakable rage.

Daley was bellowing about hippies, newsmen, assassins and Communists. The cops were wiping the blood off their night sticks and looking around for anybody else who wanted a crack on the noggin. The calmest of the liberals were telling the joke about the Jewish delegate who said to a co-religionist, "Whatever you do, if they tell you to take a shower, don't!"

The accusations of communism and fascism make what happened on the streets of Chicago exceedingly difficult to understand. It makes it appear to be a unique grudge fight between Mayor Daley and the McCarthyites, the news media, the hippies and the free-ficating, radical left.

In fact, what some people are now calling "the Chicago police riot" isn't unique. Many cities have had them. The most bloody have been the Century Plaza fray in Los Angeles last spring, the Oakland battles of the fall, and the melees in Grand Central Station, Washington Park and Whitehall Street in New York City.

Historically, the police have always been used for political and social control but in the past they have done their work with almost unanimous support from the middle and upper classes. Now this is not so. Among the thousands who stood across the street from the Conrad Hilton Hotel in the world's first political be-in were some of the richest people in America.

CHILDREN OF RICH

The children of the rich and the suburban well-to-do make up most of the amorphous cultural entity that is called the New Left.

The character of the demonstrators thus goes a long way in explaining the furor over what the police have done. They are not blacks or factory workers fighting in obscure parts of the city, but the sons and daughters of influential people battling downtown.

Furthermore, they do battle, usually in a non-violent fashion, but sometimes not, if they have the cops on anything like equal terms. These are rough kids from the suburbs, brought up on plenty of orange juice and in superb physical shape. Anybody who thinks they're a bunch of cowardly draft dodgers will change their minds after they've had an encounter with them like the bleeding Chicago cop who took a tremendous left hook on the jaw and was heard mumbling, "If they could get those bastards in the Army, they'd end the war in six weeks."

Despite the number of beatings and clubbings, the police action has been relatively moderate though more conspicuous than when the fighting goes on in the ghettos. No one was killed, which is not to say it won't happen in the future as new clashes between youth and police occur.

Several attempts were made to burn buildings during the spring Columbia revolts and there were unconfirmed but believable reports that some of the crazies under police seige in Lincoln Park last week were armed. Increasingly, American youth is coming to hate policemen for a variety of reasons that are as much cultural as they are political.

Kids like to hang on street corners and on the sidewalks of suburban shopping centers; the police are suspicious of any gathering of people, but particularly of the young. Kids often dress and wear their hair in ways that lower middle class policemen consider immoral. All week long the Chicago police emergency radio referred to the demonstrators as hippies: "A group of 500 hippies are marching north on State Street . . . A band of 75 to 100 hippies are moving south on the 300 block of Dearborn Street, etc., etc."

Kids hate policemen for taking their pot away and arresting them, just as they hate them for enforcing curfews.

The police are often called on to enforce youth's disenfranchisement from ordinary political processes. When Mayor Daley would not give them a parade permit or tickets to the convention, it was the men in the baby blue helmets who had to back up these decisions on kids angered out of their heads at having tried to work "within the system" but who felt they had been cheated out of their primary victories.

The Mayor and his Police Department see it differently. They are lower middleclass Irish with a strong streak of puritanism who find the language and sexual behavior of upper-class kids from the better universities unforgivable. In times past, the Chicago police have protected Negro demonstrators singing "We Shall Overcome" from white mobs although they didn't like to do it. But the taunts and chants of the kids were simply too much.

At one point several thousand of them in front of the Hilton began chanting. "f . . . you, LBJ, f . . . you, LBJ." Time and time again you could run up against young people singing out even worse obscenities.

Harpers and Atlantic Monthly now regularly print some of the more vivid four-letter words of the English language; they have come into increasing use in ordinary conversation among the youth of the upper classes. (This is part of their love affair with the language and culture of the black ghetto), but for the Irish and Polish, such behavior is more immoral, more indecent, more infuriating than the Vietcong flags that were waved in the faces of the police. And Daley is the chief ethnarch of Chicago, a prototype of the lower middleclass.

Not that these groups don't use such language. Daley shouted something up to Abe Ribicoff while the Connecticut Senator was blasting him from the convention podium. But a man of Daley's stripe does not use obscenity on a microphone. Here is a man who has a daughter a nun, goes to church regularly and probably has lace antimacassars on the living room furniture.

He was fighting cultural class warfare, responding to public obscenity. Some of his opponents knew he would, and bet they could bait him into overkill by flashing those words in front of him and his police. So Abby Hoffman, one of the chief yippies and top socio-political needlers, walked around with an obscenity painted on his forehead. He was arrested and said, probably accurately, that he was beaten at the stationhouse.

It is the cultural content of what the kids were doing that explains the exact character of much of the police behavior. "They're killing the best kids in America!" Mary McGrory, the much loved columnist of The Washington Star, wept when she saw the bloody heads of the McCarthy kids whom the police had sapped in their hotel rooms. They were not killing them, they were punishing them. You could look at much of what happened as mass spanking, administered unhappily by men whose rage was savage and almost sadistic.

So far municipal officials who've tried to keep the police somewhat in check have not fared very well. Mayor Lindsay in New York is regarded as hippy by his own Police Department who are in open revolt. Here in Chicago, the Police Commissioner was rebuked for leniency by the Mayor during the April riots. As a consequence, the man was so badly undercut he was in no position to restrain his subordinates during convention week.

The police are hardly well suited by background to deal with the shaggy, mind-blowing political agitators who have come to the fore in the late '60s.

They are an ingrown order of men who tend to stick together on duty and off; their occupation makes them slightly paranoid for they habitually see man at his worst; since much of their work is putting people in cages they make other people nervous, even people who know some individuals richly deserve to be put in cages. In the depression police work offered security, a relatively good wage and often a means of social advancement. Now this is no longer so except for blacks and other impoverished minority groups.

Most whites will not be a policeman for any amount of money with the result that police departments may have to recruit men who should be in some other line of work. (It is interesting to note that there were very few complaints of brutality made against black policemen.)

People are leaving town guessing how young people are going to react to what happened. They are saying there will be disillusionment, that they will ultimately swing to Humphrey or Humphrey to them, that the fourth Party is now in business, that the radicals are reaping up bushels of new, horribly angry recruits for a wholesale autumn campus onslaught. All or none or some of the guesses may be correct, but what is unarguable is that there will be more shooting across the generation gap.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, we could say many things about this convention. It did not please everybody. It did not please the Senator from Florida. But I rather glory in the fact that there were officials who had stamina enough and foresight enough to make sure that the convention was allowed to function and that it did function and did carry out its will. So far as the Senator from Florida is concerned, he is glad that the world can see that, in spite of the presence of some elements in this country which not only are dissident, but also, far beyond that, are confused in their own thinking, are unfair in their treatment of others and rather vicious in their attitude toward law and order and toward the allowance of others to have their own ideas and to vote as they see fit and to voice such opinions as they see fit, we must have a vast majority of sound thinking people.

I am not talking only about the people in my own party, the Democratic Party; I am also talking about the people in the other party, the Republican

Party, who I must say exercised superior discretion to ours in their choice of a place for their convention.

We have just finished entertaining them in Miami Beach. I am told by them that the rippling of the waves on the sandy shores, the rustling of the leaves of the palm trees, the singing of the mockingbirds, and all the other things that speak of peace and tranquility in that peaceful setting, contributed to their having a rather peaceful convention, which some called colorless, but which I thought reflected at least the fact that they were undisturbed by the dissident elements which made so much trouble at Chicago, and which would have destroyed our convention if they had been allowed to do so.

I hope that our own convention planners in the future may be a little more discreet, may show a little better judgment, in staying away from places where such trouble can occur. This is said without reflection upon Chicago, because we certainly were treated handsomely there and with great generosity, and I have already said what we thought of the security, planning, and operation which took place there.

Mr. President, before yielding the floor, I wish to express again my pride in the fact that so many State delegations, including that from my own State of Florida, took no part in all the confusion and disruption, but attended to their business, which was important national business, and carried it out in such a way that at least will offer a platform and candidates and a cohesive approach to the citizens of our Nation to pass upon in the November election. That is exactly what should have transpired at such a convention and what should now be ahead of us as we look forward to November.

I yield the floor, and I thank those Senators who have spoken from divergent viewpoints as to what happened at Chicago.

I want to go on record completely to the effect that I think the convention was allowed to function, and that those attending the convention, unless they chose to leave it and go to Grant Park and Lincoln Park, had complete security and complete opportunity to do what they felt they should in the representation of the people that sent them there; and we owe a great debt of gratitude to Mayor Daley and to Governor Shapiro in this regard.

I have not heard the Governor mentioned. I want to make it clear that the National Guard could not have been called out except by the cooperation of the Governor of the great State of Illinois with the Mayor of the great city of Chicago. So they are both entitled to credit. I give them that credit. I am proud of their performance.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, it had not been my intention to make any comment in regard to the discussion that has been held today concerning the convention.

I would not want to leave the RECORD in its present form because I am afraid, knowing newspapermen as I know them, and representatives of other media, that we are likely to hear, as a result of the discussion here today, critical stories about the Vice President.

I rise to defend the Vice President in regard to the posture he has taken concerning the violence that occurred in Chicago. But before making any comment about the position of the Vice President, I wish to say to my good friend from Florida that I completely agree with him that the convention would better have been held in Miami, Fla., or in some city in the United States other than Chicago.

I joined with a good many Members here in the Senate and in the House of Representatives to try to persuade the planners of the convention to change the site of the convention from Chicago to Miami, or to Atlantic City, or to Houston, or to San Francisco, because we had fair and due warning long in advance of the calling of the convention in Chicago that trouble was brewing, and it was not related to Democrats as Democrats, and it was not related to Democratic nominees, be they the Vice President or Senator MCCARTHY, or Senator MCGOVERN, or any other person whose name was being discussed in connection with the possible nomination. But we had due notice that trouble was brewing.

A very responsible Democrat in New York City called me from New York City about 10 days before the beginning of the convention, asking if I thought it was possible that anything could be done to transfer the convention out of Chicago. He said, "I know there are several thousand demonstrators who are going to leave New York City for Chicago for the purpose of demonstration." I asked, "Who are they going to demonstrate against; what potential nominee? He said, "It has nothing to do with nominees. They are going to demonstrate in opposition to what they consider to be very serious trends in this country to which they are opposed."

I think a mistake was made in selecting Chicago. In saying that I mean no reflection on the city or its people. For some weeks before the convention was held, friend after friend of mine in Chicago, prominent Democrats, got in touch with me, as I know they did with others, urging that we use influence to seek to get the convention held elsewhere than Chicago. They said, "There is not the slightest chance to hold the convention in Chicago without difficulty."

I think in Miami there was a physical condition. The location of the convention site is such that it augured well for the maintenance of law and order. That is also true in Atlantic City. It would have been easier to maintain law and order in the other cities I mentioned.

Be that as it may, this is past history now. I only wish to say that I have heard nothing from the Vice President that in my judgment I cannot 100 percent endorse in regard to comments he made concerning the trouble that occurred in Chicago. Certainly it is quite appropriate for him to call for an investigation of allegations. The Vice President simply pointed out that law and order must be maintained, which I have pointed out for years on the floor of the Senate. I yield to no one in my insistence that law and order must be maintained because, Mr. President, we cannot have government by law without maintaining it.

We know that in times of great and high national emotions, and we are living in such times, we are going to have extremists on both sides, or great national movements which are going to have to be maintained and checked.

However, I want to say I have not heard anything from the Vice President of the United States that I cannot support when he suggests the allegations should be investigated. The mayor of Chicago, the City Council of Chicago, the police of Chicago, and the National Guard of Illinois are entitled to such an investigation. I think that is where the mayor of Chicago should do his talking. I do not think any good will be done by carrying on a great, public, forensic exhibition over television or elsewhere. I think the forum for the mayor of Chicago is to appear before the appropriate tribunals which carry out our system of government by law to present the facts and findings as he believes them to be in regard to the enforcement of law in Chicago. Those on the other side should have the opportunity and should be requested to come before such tribunals or investigating bodies to present their case. That is the only interpretation I can make of anything the Vice President of the United States has said.

I am afraid, not intentionally I trust, and I believe not intentionally, that the interpretation will be made from some comments on the floor of the Senate today that the Vice President is aiding and abetting violators of the law. Mr. President, a greater disservice could not be performed nor a representation made that is a more misrepresentation. The Vice President staunchly believes in maintaining law and order everywhere in the country, including on the streets of America.

Let us face it. A very serious situation developed in Chicago. There was violence, and that raises the question as to whether or not in enforcing the law there was action taken by some of the police—and note my language, "some of the police"—that was in excess of their police power. My eyes tell me that is what happened. I observed what happened in Grant Park and Lincoln Park. I observed what some policemen did.

As one who taught courses in the law of arrest and the law of criminal procedure for many years, I wish to say that the law of arrest does not give any law-enforcement officer the right to do more than arrest. That means to bring the arrested person under custody and once they have him under custody and restraint they have no right beyond that point to engage in what amounts to assault. My eyes saw assault after assault.

There is no justification for a policeman, when putting an arrested person in a patrol wagon, to beat him over the head with his club. I saw that. I went to hospital beds, the makeshift hospital beds in the Conrad Hilton Hotel. I saw the beat-ups. Any policeman who engages in that kind of beat-up is exceeding his police authority.

Mr. President, the whole police department cannot be condemned because some members lost their heads. It does call for an investigation, and that is where, in my judgment, the mayor of Chicago should do his talking, and it is where the police chief should do his talking, and it is where members of the city council should present their case, and where those who have contrary views should present their views.

We are not going to help at all the cause of maintaining government by law in this country if we, without first finding out the facts, take positions in regard to what happened in Chicago by seeking to do a "snow job" on it. Mr. President, you cannot do a "snow job" on what happened in Chicago. There were serious wrongs committed on both sides.

I do not think there is the slightest doubt that there were professional agitators in that mob taking advantage, in my judgment, of a good many well-meaning—and I happen to think to a large extent misguided—demonstrators. But I am not going to stand on the floor of the Senate and take the position that any American citizen who wishes to exercise his or her rights under the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States is to be condemned.

There is nothing wrong with a demonstration that stays within peaceful limits. This one did not, in many of its aspects, but many demonstrators did. I am not going to participate in a condemnation of demonstrators in America so long as they stay within the limits of peaceful demonstrations. That is part of the democratic process.

There are those in this country who would stamp out all dissent. The attempt to stamp out all dissent in this Republic will mean the end of our freedoms if they are allowed to get by with it.

Impolitic as it may be, I shall always stand up in support of lawful dissent, but note my language. I have spoken out on campus after campus in the past 4 years in opposition to illegal dissent, but we need to watch out, in this critical time in the history of our Republic, when it comes to police state tactics, too. I am as much opposed to police state tactics as I am to the shocking tactics of Communists, Fascists, or others that want to substitute mob action for government by law.

It is easy to say that a lawful exhibition of dissent within the meaning of the first amendment is illegal mob action. It is easy, too, to turn a peaceful demonstration into mob action. Those who violated their police prerogatives in Chicago—and I saw a good many of them do it—must assume some responsibility for the mob action which developed out of some of the demonstrations in Chicago.

Mr. President, I plead with the Senate and with the people of my country to ask, as the Vice President has asked, for a thorough investigation of what took place in Chicago, and then abide by the judicial findings that will flow therefrom.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I appreciate the remarks of my distinguished friend from Oregon. I find that I unintentionally omitted one small detail in my earlier remarks. I stated, and correctly so, that no violence of any kind touched or came within sight of me, or, so far as I know, any other member of the Florida delegation. We did get one little sniff of the difficulties. Two young women disguised as ladies came into the Palmer House Hotel where we were staying. Our delegation, with perhaps a dozen other State delegations, or maybe more, were most pleasantly housed there, and were most hospitably treated. We saw and suffered no violence of any kind.

But these two young women exploded two bombs—which I must describe with a word I do not like to use, but it is the only one that can adequately describe it—two stink bombs in the Palmer House Hotel. We had olfactory evidence of their visit for a good many hours after that.

Now, Mr. President, if there is any propriety in dissent of that kind, I do not know what it is.

But, that was the only discomfort and the only evidence of the demonstrations which touched us in any way.

I thought it was more to be despised than to be talked about, or given any headlines.

By and large, we were most hospitably treated not only at the hotel but also by State, city, and other officials during our entire stay in Chicago.

I thought that the security arrangements afforded the convention and the delegates and those who, like the delegates, had business there, was as near perfect as it could be. I say that without any comment at all upon the things we did not see at the two parks and in the environment around the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

I have already placed in the RECORD one clipping which I believe to be a factual narrative of what occurred. The Senator from West Virginia has also placed in the RECORD the Betty Beale article, which I also believe to be a correct narrative of what Miss Beale saw there and the article written by Mr. James J. Kilpatrick.

Mr. President, it is enough for all of us to be deeply disturbed about and, yet, the public officials saw to it that the convention could function as such. It is that fact I rise to comment upon, and to commend them in strong terms.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I welcome an investigation, particularly by the FBI or the Department of Justice, of what happened in Chicago with regard to the mob actions. I am confident of this: The investigation will show that every document to which I have made reference and believe to be correct as to the disturbances was correct and was the work of professional troublemakers coming to Chicago, the same people involved in the siege of Columbia University, some of the same people that led the assault on the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and some of the Peking-Hanoi-Ho Chi Minh-oriented Communists who were similar leaders of the group in Chicago that came to make trouble, came to break up the convention, to disrupt it, and to violate the law.

Just to give one illustration, they had no right to block Michigan Avenue, which they repeatedly did. If they could have done so, they would have forced the delegates to use helicopters to get back and forth from their hotels to the convention hall, or they would have been prevented from attending the convention as delegates.

The Chicago police protected the delegates, and I welcome any investigation of the police activities.

Unfortunately, the city of Chicago was convicted by the television media without its side ever being seen or heard.

Nothing was said about the 80 policemen who were hospitalized. When someone goes out and inflicts grave injury upon a policeman, he should be prepared to expect something even worse in return. I do not know how it is in some States, but I do know that in Louisiana if one punches a policeman, he can expect something serious happening to him.

In Louisiana the other day, a well-regarded businessman, on his way home after engaging in too much partying, was stopped by a policeman for weaving his car on the highway. The business man punched the policeman, stepped on the gas, and drove away.

The man was still protesting the next day in court when the judge slapped a $1,000 fine on him. All his friends told him that he got off very lightly indeed. Most of those arrested in Chicago last week put up a bond of only $25 which they will probably forfeit. I say that is a very light punishment indeed, when one is trying to spray a policeman with a chemical solution containing lye that could put out a man's eyes, or throwing human manure in his face.

When someone talks about police brutality he should also talk about what has been done to so many policemen who were fighting 5,000 rioters, which included some of the most dedicated Communist conspirators in America today.

When we talk about a policeman engaging several demonstrators after one had attacked him, and the policeman is receiving many heavy blows, it is expecting a little too much to expect that none of his blows will go astray on some of the other members of a screaming, insulting, spitting mob.

The theory that a policeman should use only the precise amount of force necessary, or that he should not strike back, when persons are beating on him, that, too, I think, is asking a little bit too much of a human being.

There are 50,000 vacancies in the police forces of the cities of America today, partly due to failure adequately to uphold and support our policemen, and to clothe them with the dignity and respect that they deserve. They are the men and women who would protect the lives and property of all of us.

I know that in Louisiana, the State which I have the high honor in part to represent, our people believe in thanking the patrolman or the policeman who has protected their property and their lives, as well as the lives of their children, wives and husbands, and others. In Louisiana, we just do not find much to quarrel with on that score.

Those who come in by the thousands intent on breaking the law, insisting on breaking the law, and injuring policemen by the score, when some of them suffer some injury not of a serious nature, they get off very lightly indeed.

I also welcome an investigation of the matter to see just what the provocation and reaction were. In my judgment, the provocation justified more reaction than the law violators got.

DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 18037) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, the bill, H.R. 18037, making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, as reported to the Senate by the Committee on Appropriations totals $18,488,800,000, an increase over the House allowance of $1,255,929,000, an increase of $1,560,688,000 over the appropriations for 1968, but a decrease from the budget estimates of $812,725,000.

While the committee recommendation is over the appropriations for 1968 by $1,560,688,000, this is more than accounted for by the inclusion in this bill for the first time of the Office of Economic Opportunity, heretofore carried in supplemental bills and for which the committee has approved $1,873,000,000, as did the House, which is $307 million under the budget estimate, but an increase over the 1968 appropriation of $95,000,000. In the past, this item has been carried in the supplemental bill, and not in the HEW bill.

It should also be pointed out that the Senate committee considered budget estimates $1,096,264,000, which were not considered by the House due to the lack of program authorization for 1969 at the time the House marked up the bill.

For the Department of Labor the committee recommends a total of $692,176,000, a decrease of $17,850,000 from the House allowance, a decrease of $37,521,000 from the budget estimates, but an increase of $25,989,000 over the 1968 appropriations.

For the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare the committee recommends a total of $15,856,974,000, an increase of $1,271,101,000 over the House allowance, but a decrease of $468,175,000 from the 1969 budget estimates, and an increase of $1,571,810,000 over the 1968 appropriations.

For elementary and secondary educational activities, the committee approved a total of $1,487,953,000, an increase of $157,200,000 over the House allowance, but a decrease of $73,750,000 from the budget estimates, and a decrease of $189,954,000 from the 1968 appropriations. This increase over the House allowance was comprised of $50 million additional for title I, $10 million for title II, the library program, $82,200,000 for title III, of NDEA, for equipment and minor remodeling of which $79.2 million is for grants to States, the same amount as was appropriated for fiscal years 1967 and 1968; $10 million for the dropout prevention programs; $10 million for bilingual education; $17 million for grants to States for guidance, counseling, and testing.

In the budget as proposed by the administration, funds for the acquisition of laboratory and other special equipment under section 601(b) of title VI of the Higher Education Act, and for the acquisition of closed-circuit television equipment under section 601(c) of title VI, were placed together in one item, "Undergraduate Instructional Equipment." This was apparently done because the administration had proposed, in the Higher Education Amendments of 1968, that these two categories be lumped together.

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee does not feel that these two categories should be joined, and in S. 3769, the Higher Education Amendments bill which passed the Senate on July 26, 1968, the separation of the two categories is maintained. The House version of the Higher Education Amendments does join the two together.

In view of this situation and for the purpose of creating legislative history on this point, I want to state that if the substantive legislation as finally passed by the Congress provides for separate categories under title VI for closed-circuit TV and the audio-visual and other types of instructional equipment, it is our intention that the funds available for this title shall be broken down as follows: for laboratory and other instructional equipment and minor remodeling under section 601(b), $13 million and for closed-circuit TV equipment under section 601(c), $1,500,000.

For the "education professions development activities" the committee has approved a total of $196,900,000, an increase of $70 million over the House allowance, a decrease of $19,013,000 from the budget request, and a net increase of $33,050,000 over the 1968 appropriation. The committee considered an estimate for $86,600,000 not considered by the House inasmuch as it lacked 1969 authorization at the time the House acted, and allowed $70 million for the purpose.

There was no authorization for the money. The $70 million was allowed by the committee for that purpose.

For the Teachers Corps the committee approved $17,300,000, an increase of $2,300,000 over the House allowance, and the same figure as was available for obligation in 1968.

For "Higher educational facilities," which was not considered by the House due to the lack of authorization, the committee allowed $696,307,000, a decrease of $11,820,000 from the budget estimate. The committee recommendation includes $192 million for direct student loans under the NDEA; $139,000,000 for the college work-study program; $11,950,000 for grants to the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts; $85,557,000 for construction of higher education facilities; $49,100,000 for educational opportunity grants; $35,000,000 for strengthening developing institutions; as well as sundry other programs.

For libraries and community services the committee recommends $143,644,000, an increase of $48,750,000 over the House allowance, for programs not considered by the House inasmuch as the 1969 authorization had not been enacted at the time the House marked up the bill. The funds added by the committee were for the following purposes: $25 million for college library resources, $6 million for acquisition and cataloging by the Library of Congress, $8,250,000 for librarian training, and $9.5 million for university community service programs.

For research and training, Office of Education, the committee recommends $87,967,000, an increase of $1,550,000 over the House allowance, but a decrease of $54,333,000 from the budget estimate. The committee disallowed $1 million allowed by the House of a $10 million request for the support of an urban school demonstration project in the District of Columbia, with the costs to be wholly borne by the Federal Government.

The House made no allowance for "Foreign language training and area studies" in view of the fact that the 1969 authorization had not been enacted when they acted. The committee recommends $15,700,000, the amount of the 1968 appropriation, but a reduction of $3,500,000 from the budget estimate.

For salaries and expenses, Office of Education, the committee recommends $40 million, a reduction of $2 million from the House allowance, and a reduction of $6,100,000 from the budget estimate, but an increase of $2,333,000 over the 1968 appropriation.

The committee added $3 million for rat control, to provide a total of $16,500,000 for the purpose, a reduction of $3,500,000 from the budget request.

For "Chronic diseases" the committee added $3 million for the coronary care program, for a pilot arthritis center and satellite facility program, for additional work in the respiratory disease control program, and for the heart disease control program.

For "Air pollution" the committee added $7,300,000 for air pollution control, making a total of $31,762,000 for the purpose.

For "Urban and industrial health" the committee allowed $43,375,000, an increase of $500,000 for the Arctic Health Research Laboratory.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments be agreed to en bloc, and that the bill as thus amended be considered for the purpose of amendment as original text, provided that no point of order against any amendment shall be deemed to have been waived by the adoption of this agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendments agreed to en bloc are as follows:

On page 2, line 7, after "1970", insert a colon and "*Provided*, That no part of the appropriation for expenses under such Act shall be available to pay any trainee in a service industry to which the provisions of section 6(b) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. 201–219), are applicable at a rate in excess of the minimum wage prescribed by such section: *Provided further*, That no part of the appropriation in this Act shall be available to pay any trainee in a service industry to which the provisions of section 6(b) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, are applicable at a rate in excess of the following, whichever is highest:

"(1) the minimum wage prescribed by such section;

"(2) the minimum wage requirement applicable to the trainee pursuant to the provisions of any other section of the Act or any other Federal, State, or local law; or

"(3) the minimum entrance rate for inexperienced workers in the same occupation in the establishment."

On page 7, line 17, after "(42 U.S.C. 1101 (e)(1)", strike out "$43,000,000" and insert "$25,000,000".

On page 10, line 5, after the word "rendered", strike out "$25,711,000" and insert "$25,911,000".

On page 10, after line 15, strike out:

"SPECIAL FOREIGN CURRENCY PROGRAM

"For payments in foreign currencies which the Treasury Department determines to be excess to the normal requirements of the United States, for necessary expenses of the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, as authorized by law, $50,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That this appropriation shall be available, in addition to other appropriations to such agency for payments in the foregoing currencies."

On page 13, after line 4, strike out:

"For grants and payments under titles II, III, and V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended, $257,626,000, of which $50,000,000 shall be for school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials under title II of said Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; $177,876,000 shall be for supplementary educational centers and services under title III of said Act; and $29,750,000 shall be for strengthening State departments of education under title V of said Act."

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

"For grants and payments under titles II, III, V, VII, and VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended, $265,626,000 of which $60,000,000 shall be for school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials under title II of said Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; $155,876,000 shall be for supplementary educational centers and services under title III of said Act; $29,750,000 shall be for strengthening State departments of education under title V of said Act; $10,000,000 shall be for improving the education of bilingual children under title VII of said Act; and $10,000,000 shall be for preventing school dropouts under title VIII of said Act.

"For grants to States and loans to nonprofit private schools for equipment and minor remodeling under title III of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, as amended, and for grants to States for administrative services under said title III, $82,200,000; and for grants to States for testing, guidance, and counseling under title V of said Act, $17,000,000: *Provided*, That allotments under sections 302(a) and 305 for equipment and minor remodeling shall be made on the basis of $79,200,000 for grants to States and on the basis of $2,038,636 for loans to nonprofit private schools, and allotments under section 302(b) for administrative services shall be made on the basis of $2,000,000: *Provided further*, That this paragraph shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, 90th Congress, or similar legislation."

On page 14, line 17, after the word "amended", strike out "$1,073,127,000" and insert "$1,123,127,000"; and, in line 18, after "1969", strike out the comma and "of which not to exceed $68,607,000 shall be available for the purchase of equipment: *Provided*, That the aggregate amounts otherwise available for grants therefor within States shall not be less than 85 per centum of the amounts allocated from the fiscal year 1968 appropriation to local educational agencies in such States for grants: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be allocated to a State agency under paragraphs (5), (6), or (7) of section 103(a) of said Act in excess of the amount allocated to such State agency for fiscal year 1968".

On page 16, line 9, after "(Public Law 90–35)", strike out "$111,900,000" and insert "and title IV of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, as amended (20 U.S.C. 461–465), $181,900,000: *Provided*, That sums contained herein for title IV of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

On page 16, line 20, after the word "amended", strike out "$15,000,000" and insert "$17,300,000".

On page 17, after line 2, insert:

"HIGHER EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

"For grants, loans, contracts, payments, and advances under titles III and IV (except payments under parts C and D) and part A of title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended, under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, as amended, under title II of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, as amended (20 U.S.C. 421–429), under section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935, as amended (7 U.S.C. 329), and for grants under part C of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended, $696,307,000, of which $30,000,000 shall be for the purposes of title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965, $144,600,000 shall be for programs under part A of title IV of that Act, of which $140,600,000 shall be for educational opportunity grants and shall remain available through June 30, 1970, $76,400,000 to remain available until expended shall be for loan insurance programs under part B of title IV of that Act, including not to exceed $1,500,000 for computer services in connection with payments of interest and fees, $14,500,000 shall be for the purposes of part A of title VI of the Act of which amounts reallotted shall remain available through June 30, 1970, $139,900,000 shall be for grants for college work-study programs under part C of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 of which amounts reallotted shall remain available through June 30, 1970, $34,000,000 shall be for grants for construction of public community colleges and technical institutes and $33,000,000 shall be for grants for construction of other academic facilities under title I of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 which amounts shall remain available through June 30, 1970, $8,000,000, to remain available until expended shall be for grants for construction of graduate academic facilities under title II of that Act, $192,000,000 shall be for Federal capital contributions to student loan funds established in accordance with agreements pursuant to section 204 and loans for non-Federal capital contributions to student loan funds under title II of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, of which not to exceed $2,000,000 shall be for such loans for non-Federal contributions, and $11,950,000 shall be for the purposes of section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935: *Provided*, That allotments to States for college work-study programs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, shall include, in addition to funds appropriated herein, funds appropriated for this purpose for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, but not allotted to States for that fiscal year: *Provided further*, That sums contained herein for title III and IV (except parts C and D) and part A of title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965, title II of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, and part C of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation."

On page 20, at the beginning of line 21, insert "titles I and II (except section 224(a)(1)) of the Higher Education Act of 1965,"; at the beginning of line 23, strike out $94,894,000" and insert "$143,644,000"; on page 21, line 7, after the word "Act", insert a comma and "$9,500,000 shall be for community service and continuing education programs under title I of the Higher Education Act, as amended, $6,000,000 shall be for transfer to the Librarian of Congress for the acquisition and cataloging of library materials under part C of title II of such Act,"; and, in line 14, after "1966", insert a colon and "*Provided*, That sums contained herein for titles I and II (except section 224(a)(1)) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation."

On page 22, line 11, after "(20 U.S.C. 35c(c))", insert "section 224(a)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965;"; in line 12, after the amendment just above stated, strike out "$86,417,000" and insert "$87,967,000"; and, in line 18, after "1963", insert a comma and "and of which $500,000 shall be available for grants and contracts for training and research in cooperative education under title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended: *Provided*, That sums contained herein for section 224(a)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 shall be available only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

At the top of page 23, insert:

"FOREIGN LANGUAGE TRAINING AND AREA PROGRAMS

"For grants, contracts and payments for language and area programs authorized by title VI of the National Defense Education Act and to carry out the provisions of section 102(b)(6) of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, $15,700,000: *Provided*, That sums contained herein for title VI of the National Defense Education Act shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation."

On page 24, line 3, after "District of Columbia", strike out "$42,000,000" and insert "$40,000,000".

On page 25, line 24, after the word "Act", strike out "$165,604,000" and insert "$168,604,000".

On page 26, at the beginning of line 7, strike out "and for training grants under section 422 of the Act, $182,100,000" and insert "$172,176,000".

On page 27, after line 4, insert:

"DENTAL HEALTH ACTIVITIES

"To carry out, to the extent not otherwise provided, sections 301 and 311 of the Act, and for training grants under section 422 of the Act, $11,173,000."

On page 28, line 23, after the word "diseases", strike out "$27,942,000" and insert "$30,942,000".

On page 29, at the beginning of line 24, strike out "$86,733,000" and insert "$94,033,000"; and, in the same line, after the word "which", strike out "not to exceed $31,300,000" and insert "$24,000,000".

On page 30, line 12, strike out "$42,875,000" and insert "$43,375,000".

On page 30, line 25, after the word "Services", strike out "$42,731,000" and insert "$50,831,000, of which $8,100,000 shall be available for special grants for health of migratory workers only as may be authorized by the enactment into law of H.R. 15758, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

On page 33, line 6, after the word "Act", strike out "$182,592,000" and insert "$191,592,000".

On page 33, line 10, strike out "$164,120,000" and insert "$172,120,000".

On page 33, line 15, strike out "$29,553,000" and insert "$30,414,000".

On page 33, line 20, after the word "diseases", strike out "$95,119,000" and insert "$147,287,000".

On page 33, line 24, after the word "blindness", strike out "$126,674,000" and insert "$132,674,000".

On page 34, line 5, after the word "diseases", strike out "$95,119,000" and insert "$99,119,000".

On page 34, line 13, after the word "anesthesiologists", strike out "$161,250,000" and insert "$166,250,000".

On page 34, line 18, after the word "development", strike out "$70,859,000" and insert "$76,359,000".

On page 34, after line 18, insert:

"REGIONAL MEDICAL PROGRAMS

"To carry out title IX of the Act, $68,922,000, of which $62,900,000 shall remain available until June 30, 1970, for grants pursuant to such title only as may be authorized by the enactment into law of H.R. 15758, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation."

On page 35, line 4, after the word "activities", strike out "$17,541,000" and insert "$18,099,000".

On page 35, line 11, after the word "research", strike out "$82,719,000" and insert "$86,900,000".

On page 37, line 2, after "(Public Law 89–793)", strike out "$263,139,000" and insert "$277,639,000".

On page 37, line 5, after the word "amended", strike out "$79,300,000" and insert "$87,300,000"; and, in line 12, after the word "year", insert "*Provided further,* That $8,000,000 shall be available for the construction and staffing of facilities for the prevention and treatment of narcotic addiction only as may be authorized by the enactment into law of H.R. 15758, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation:".

On page 38, line 17, after "(79 Stat. 1059)", strike out "$17,149,000" and insert "$19,172,000".

On page 38, after line 18, insert:

"BUILDING AND FACILITIES

"For construction, major repair, improvement, extension, and equipment of Public Health Service facilities or other Government facilities allocated for use of the Public Health Service, not otherwise provided, including plans and specifications and acquisition of sites, $5,310,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided,* That the Secretary may accept a conveyance by donation deed of the site for an environmental health facility at Morgantown, West Virginia, notwithstanding a right of reverter in the donor if the property ceases to be used as an environmental health facility."

On page 40, line 5, after the word "including", strike out "$100,000,000 for"; and, in line 7, strike out "$135,000,000" and insert "$100,000,000".

On page 41, after line 15, strike out:

"For grants under section 2 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, as amended, $345,900,000: *Provided,* That the Secretary shall, within the limits of the allotments and additional allotments for grants under section 2 of such Act, allocate (or from time to time reallocate) among the States, in accordance with regulations, amounts not exceeding in the aggregate $10,000,000, which may be used only for paying the Federal share of expenditures for the establishment of workshops or rehabilitation facilities where the State funds used for such expenditures are derived from private contributions conditioned on use for a specified workshop or facility, and no part of the allotment or additional allotment to any State for grants under section 2 of said Act other than the allocation or reallocation to such State under this proviso may be so used."

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

"For grants under sections 2, 3, 4(a), 2(A), 12, 13, and 18 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, as amended, $375,490,000, of which $345,900,000 is for grants for vocational rehabilitation services under section 2; $3,200,000 is for grants under section 3; $11,000,000 (to remain available through June 30, 1971) shall be for planning, preparing for, and initiating special programs to expand vocational rehabilitation services under section 4(a) (2)(A); and $1,890,000 (to remain available through June 30, 1970) is for grants with respect to workshops and rehabilitation facilities under section 12: *Provided,* That the Secretary shall, within the limits of the allotments and additional allotments for grants under section 2 of such Act, allocate (or from time to time reallocate) among the States, in accordance with regulations, amounts not exceeding in the aggregate $10,000,000 which may be used only for paying the Federal share of expenditures for the establishment of workshops or rehabilitation facilities where the State funds used for such expenditures are derived from private contributions conditioned on use for a specified workshop or facility, and no part of the allotment or additional allotment to any State for grants under section 2 of said Act other than the allocation or reallocation to such State under this proviso may be so used: *Provided further,* That the allotment to any State under section 3(a)(1) of such Act shall be not less than $25,000."

On page 44, line 1, after the word "Act", strike out "$6,000,000" and insert "$3,500,000".

On page 45, line 9, after the word "retarded", strike out the colon and "*Provided further,* That none of the funds appropriated herein may be used to start activities for which no funds were appropriated for fiscal year 1968 as shown in the formal justification material reproduced on pages 1100 and 1101 of Part 3, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare hearings".

On page 45, after line 22, insert:

"REHABILITATION RESEARCH AND TRAINING

"For grants and other expenses (except administrative expenses) for research, training, traineeships, and other special projects, pursuant to sections 4, 7, and 17, of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, as amended, and not to exceed $100,000 for carrying out functions authorized by the International Health Research Act of 1960 (74 Stat. 364), $65,000,000."

On page 54, after line 8, insert:

"PAYMENT TO THE CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

"For payment to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, authorized to be established by section 396 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, for expenses of the Corporation, $6,000,000, to remain available until expended."

On page 57, line 14, after "(45 U.S.C. 160)", strike out "$2,242,000" and insert "$2,492,000".

On page 58, line 23, after the word "maintained", strike out "$7,662,000" and insert "$8,090,000".

On page 61, after line 6, insert:

"NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PRODUCT SAFETY

"SALARIES AND EXPENSES

"For necessary expenses of the National Commission on Product Safety, authorized by the Act of November 20, 1967 (Public Law 90–146), $2,000,000 to remain available until June 30, 1970."

On page 63, after line 3, strike out:

"Sec. 409. No part of the funds contained in this Act may be used to force busing of students, abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent."

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

"Sec. 409. No part of the funds contained in this Act may be used to force busing of students, abolishment of any school, or to force any student attending any elementary or secondary school to attend a particular school against the choice of his or her parents or parent in order to overcome racial imbalance."

On page 63, after line 14, strike out:

"Sec. 410. No part of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to force busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the attendance of students of a particular school as a condition precedent to obtaining Federal funds otherwise available to any State, school district, or school."

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

"Sec. 410. No part of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to force busing of students, the abolishment of any school or the attendance of students at a particular school in order to overcome racial imbalance as a condition precedent to obtaining Federal funds otherwise available to any State, school district, or school: *Provided,* That the Secretary shall assign as many persons to the investigation and compliance activities of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 related to elementary and secondary education in the other States as are assigned to the seventeen Southern and border States to assure that this law is administered and enforced on a national basis, and the Secretary is directed to enforce compliance with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by like methods and with equal emphasis in all States of the Union and to report to the Congress by March 1, 1969, on the actions he has taken and the results achieved in establishing this compliance program on a national basis: *Provided further,* That notwithstanding any other provision of laws, funds or commodities for school lunch programs or medical services may not be recommended for withholding by any official employed under appropriations contained herein in order to overcome racial imbalance: *Provided further,* That notwithstanding any other provision of law, moneys received from national forests to be expended for the benefit of the public schools are public roads of the county or counties in which the national forest is situated, may not be recommended for withholding by any official employed under appropriations contained herein."

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I offer amendments, which I ask unanimous consent be considered en bloc, and which are necessary due to the fact that, since the committee reported the bill, the House and Senate have not in conference agreed on certain legislation. Therefore, the authorization has not been made, but the money will be in the bill in conference if the authorization is passed.

I offer these amendments.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Does the Senator from Alabama desire that the amendments be read?

Mr. **HILL.** If there is no objection, I do not wish to have them read.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, the amendments will be considered en bloc, and will be printed in the RECORD without being read.

The amendments are as follows:

1. On page 14, line 12, strike out ": *Provided further,* That this paragraph shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, 90th Congress, or similar legislation".

2. On page 16, line 11, strike out ": *Provided,* That sums contained herein for title IV of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

3. On page 18, line 23, strike out ": *Provided further,* That sums contained herein for titles III and IV (except parts C and D) and Part A of title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965, title II of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, and part C of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

4. On page 21, line 14, strike out ": *Provided,* That sums contained herein for titles I and II (except section 224(a)(1)) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

5. On page 22, line 21, strike out ": *Provided,* That sums contained herein for section 224 (a)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 shall be available only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

6. On page 23, line 6, strike out ": *Provided,* That sums contained herein for title VI of the National Defense Education Act shall be effective only upon enactment into law of H.R. 15067, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

7. On page 31, line 2, strike out "only as may be authorized by the enactment into law of H.R. 15758, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

8. On page 34, line 22, strike out "only as may be authorized by the enactment into law of H.R. 15758, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

9. On page 37, line 15, strike out "only as may be authorized by the enactment into law of H.R. 15758, Ninetieth Congress, or similar legislation".

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the amendments en bloc.

The amendments were agreed to en bloc.

AMENDMENT NO. 918

Mr. **HILL.** Mr. President, I offer an amendment, which follows the precedent the Senate and the Congress have followed with respect to other departments of the Government.

I ask that the amendment be stated.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendment will be stated.

The amendment (No. 918) was read by the legislative clerk, as follows:

SEC. 207. The limitations in section 201 of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 on the number of civilian employees in the executive branch shall not apply to the Social Security Administration and direct medical care activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and employees in such Administration and such activities shall not be counted in applying such limitations to the rest of the executive branch.

Mr. **HILL.** Mr. President, I have here a statement prepared by the distinguished Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], who regrettably has not been very well, in support of the amendment I have just offered proposed the exemption of specific services in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from the employment restrictions of the Revenue Expenditure and Control Act of 1968.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement of the Senator from Alaska be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEALTH CARE CANNOT WAIT

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the amendment offered today proposes the exemption of specific services in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from the employment restrictions of the Revenue Expenditure and Control Act of 1968. These restrictions are difficult for all agencies to live with. There have already been numerous appeals for protection. There will be many more. Perhaps the most awesome burden falls to the Bureau of the Budget which must juggle the countless requests for exemption and adjust the priorities of government operations.

This scramble for pardons makes it essential that Congress take firm and immediate action to protect those government services which should not be subject to administrative priority formulas. Life and death, health and sickness, care of the aged, cannot be left to the realm of bookkeeping. Not in this nation. Not in this day. Need we remind ourselves on occasions such as this that good health is not a privilege, but a basic right? It is the right of all to benefit from the means and miracles of modern medical science. A right which cannot be limited, curtailed, or cut back.

Let us look for a moment at the ways in which the personnel restrictions in Section 201 of P.L. 90–364 will be met by major departments.

The Defense Department will *retrench* less critical activities; Agriculture will assign *lower priorities* to less important functions. The Interior Department will *delay* a number of projects. Commerce expects a *general slowdown.* Treasury threatens *less efficient* tax collections; Justice a *decrease* in the number of claims processed. The Labor Department will absorb the loss by *redistributing the workload,* and the Smithsonian Institution will *shorten its work-week.*

And now, let us attempt to apply these very same methods to public health hospitals and clinics, to the Indian health program, to all the direct patient care services provided through professional staffs of the U.S. Public Health Service. Let us consider the consequences of a *shortened work-week* in hospitals; of a *decreased* patient load; of *less efficient* medical care; of *delay* in the treatment of heart failure; of a *general slowdown* in deliveries, operations, emergency cases, epidemics. How shall we *redistribute the work load* of a Public Health Service nurse or medical aid who travels the Yukon River visiting 30 or more villages once every four months? What *less critical* activities of the surgeon can we *retrench*? Which are the illnesses to which we shall assign *lower priorities*?

To pose these questions is to know that we should not, we cannot, make these restrictions. I urge you therefore, to accept the amendment before you today—the amendment exempting patient care and special health activities of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from the debilitating personnel limitations of the Revenue Expenditure and Control Act of 1968.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. **HOLLAND.** Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. **HILL.** I yield.

Mr. **HOLLAND.** First, I express my great appreciation to the Senator from Alabama, who not only has served so long and ably as chairman of this subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, but has handled these bills so effectively, successfully, and meritoriously on this floor as well as in conference. I am sure that I join with every other Senator present in expressing my very great regret that this bill may not continue to be handled in the future as it has been in the past, in the able way in which the distinguished Senator has handled it.

Mr. **HILL.** I express to the Senator from Florida my deep appreciation and my heartfelt gratitude for his most generous words. I deeply appreciate them.

Mr. **HOLLAND.** I thank the Senator, but they were not generous words. They were simply factual words.

Mr. **HILL.** Even though they may have been factual, certainly they were spoken from the generosity of the heart of the Senator from Florida.

Mr. **HOLLAND.** I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from Alabama to the last subsection of the first section in the first title of the bill, the title applicable to the Department of Labor. That section refers to the Manpower Administration, and particularly to manpower development and training activities.

The distinguished Senator will remember that at the request of the southeastern organization of hotel and restaurant people, I called the attention of the committee to a disturbing fact, namely, that the law as it had been interpreted, and I believe as it was heretofore drawn, required that $1.60, which for general purposes was the minimum wage, be the rate paid to trainees for service jobs. They were concerned about trainees for service jobs in hotels and restaurants.

The fact is, of course, as the distinguished Senator well knows, that the employees in those industries did not come under the Wage and Hour Act until the last amendment to that act, which became law on February 1, 1967, and they were brought under that act by steps, under which the first minimum wage was sizably less than the $1.60; and it was stepped up from that point to reach the $1.60 level on February 1, 1971.

The effect of the matter, as applied to the trainees in that industry, was such as to propose to pay trainees more than the minimum wage applicable to well-trained persons who were serving already in those service industries.

The Senator will recall that the committee placed in the bill, upon motion of the Senator from Florida, a large part of the section of the bill to which I have referred. I ask the Senator's permission to read that part of the committee report which, I think, correctly describes what we were trying to do, and that the Senator then make such comment as he thinks is proper upon the matter.

The committee report on this subject, on page 2 of the report, reads as follows:

> The committee feels that job opportunities in industries newly covered by the Federal wage and hour law should not be excluded from the MDTA programs, and that where such programs are approved, trainees' wages should not exceed the legal minimum wage being paid experienced employees in such industries.

Does the Senator from Alabama agree that that sentence accurately states, as I believe it does, the intention of the committee with reference to permitting trainees to be trained for service in those industries—hotels, restaurants, and any other duly qualified industries; I am sure there are others—without their being paid, during their training period, a larger wage than the minimum wage applicable at the time, by Federal law or by State law, to trained individuals in those particular industries?

Mr. HILL. I agree 100 percent with the statement made by the Senator from Florida. He is absolutely right in what he says about this language in the report, which was put in there on the motion, as the Senator recalls, of the Senator from Florida. The statement of the Senator is absolutely correct as to the application, the purport, and the intent of that language.

Mr. HOLLAND. If the Senator will yield further, this language in the report, and also in the bill—the report language simply describes what is in the bill—is intended to permit trainees in the hotel and restaurant business, and any other service industries which were first brought under the Wage and Hour Act of February 1, 1967, to be employed at wage rates less than the uniform wage rates applicable to industries previously covered under the act; that they shall be permitted to be trained, but under the conditions now stated, that they may never be paid, during their period of training, more than the minimum wage then applicable to that particular industry.

Mr. HILL. The Senator is correct, and I agree completely with his interpretation as expressed. He is exactly right in what he has said as to the intent and purpose of this language in the report, and the intent and purpose of the committee in putting this language into the report.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator.

As I recall it, the action of the committee, both the subcommittee and the full committee, was unanimous on this matter.

Mr. HILL. It was uanimous. The Senator from Florida made the motion, which was agreed to unanimously.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. What is the question, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment (No. 918), offered by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL].

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, apparently there is some question about the pending amendment. Accordingly, I think action on the pending amendment should be postponed. I withdraw the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I assume that the withdrawal is only for the purpose of reinstating the amendment for a record vote at some later time, and that the withdrawal is necessitated because of some absent Senators. I understand that several amendments will call for record votes.

It is my hope, and I am sure that the majority leader concurs, that we can let those amendments be discussed and then go over until an appropriate hour on Friday when they can all be called up and then have a rollcall vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The Senator will have a right to reoffer the amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask the Senator from Alabama not to listen to me for the next couple of minutes, because I know him to be a very modest man.

I want to speak for a couple of minutes to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that this is symbolically a very historic hour in the Senate; for we are observing once again the Senator from Alabama handling the appropriation bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare as he has done so nobly and ably for many years.

I join the Senator from Florida in his comments. We cannot begin to pay our debt of gratitude to the Senator from Alabama for his leadership as chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations that handles the appropriations each year for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare.

Millions of Americans are greatly indebted to the distinguished Senator from Alabama for his big heart, his great understanding, his statesmanship, and his record of service in Congress for the past 46 years, some 30 years of which have been in the Senate.

The Senator from Alabama has been our leader in trying to bring to all the American people, the great improvements in Government programs and facilities that will help in connection with their health and education problems and, in the case of labor, in connection with safeguarding one of the great freedoms of Government, the right to free collective bargaining.

Mr. President, would that some way, somehow, we could put in the RECORD what I know are the feelings of gratitude of those millions of Americans, some of whom have passed away—but who were greatly aided when a great deal of medical mercy was brought to them in their periods of ill health—and the millions of living Americans that know Senator HILL of Alabama as one of the greatest humanitarians of this Republic's history.

I just wanted to take these few moments to comment upon the symbolism of the moment, for we are witnessing—and we will be better people because we are witnessing it—the leadership of the Senator from Alabama as, for the last time, he guides through the Senate the appropriations bill dealing with these departments that are so close to the welfare of so many millions of Americans.

I want the Senator from Alabama to know that I shall never be able to repay him for the inspiration that he has brought into my service in the Senate, for the teaching he has given me as I have sat at his feet, learning from him on the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

I know that I speak for all members of our committee in expressing these words of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I express my heartfelt thanks to the Senator from Oregon for his generous words.

The Senator from Oregon and I have sat on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare for a number of years now. I have been in a position to observe the Senator from Oregon day by day as he has worked so effectively and so skillfully. The Senator has acted with great devotion in behalf of the many bills and programs that have been handled by that committee. The Senator has been outstanding as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Education. He has been outstanding in so much of the work that he has done on the committee.

Knowing the fine work and the dedication of the Senator as I do, and knowing of his achievements, I am deeply grateful to him for his remarks.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, that is typical of the Senator from Alabama.

I say in brief reply that if I have done anything on the committee that has been helpful, it has been because of the leadership of the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 32, between lines 21 and 22, insert the following new paragraph:
>
> "To carry out the provisions of the District of Columbia Medical Facilities Construction Act of 1968 (Public Law 90-457), $61,199,000, of which $30,536,000 shall be available for grants pursuant to section 2 of such Act, and of which $30,663,000 shall

be available for loans pursuant to section 3 of such Act."

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask the attention of the Senator from Alabama, the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] as I briefly explain the amendment.

Mr. President, the passage of the District of Columbia Medical Facilities Construction Act of 1968 on July 24, 1968, and its August 3, 1968, approval by President Johnson, attests to the primary urgency for providing a corrective funding mechanism for assisting District of Columbia hospitals to meet demonstrated community needs. The law provides for grant and loan funds necessary to support construction projects. The projects contemplated have been in the planning stage for several years and in many cases actual architectural drawings have been completed and are ready to proceed now.

In offering my amendment to the pending legislation today, may I call attention to several critical factors including the continuing rise in construction costs and secondly, the administrative requirement of having funding approval prior to awarding contracts. Construction costs, I am informed, are rising at the rate of from 7 to 9 percent per year. Delays in appropriating these funds will mean the reduction of facilities below demonstrated needs and cause a revision of the consultant's programing, thus correspondingly reduce the ability of the hospitals to meet present day patient care needs. With regard to the administrative requirement to have funds in hand, I am informed that this is a standing rule of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare necessary to assure the completion of projects utilizing Federal funds.

A current analysis of the status of the projects shows that of the act's $40,052,000 of grant funds, some $30,536,000 is being requested to initiate projects during the current fiscal year.

Also, of the $40,575,000 loan funds authorized under Public Law 90–457, some $30,663,000 is being requested. Therefore, of the 10 participating institutions, three have already initiated some phases of their construction program, six will commence construction during the fiscal year, and one will be completing the necessary architectural phase during this fiscal year. The investment by the community hospitals is sizable as it applies to the planning aspects of enlarging their facilities to meet the urgent need in the District of Columbia, and they must be supported by immediate appropriations.

My amendment to H.R. 18037 is, in my opinion, the appropriate vehicle for funding Public Law 90–457. The need for these funds is urgent. I am advised that the proposed legislation, and in particular its urgency as applied to community needs, has been fully supported by Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Wilbur Cohen and his departmental representatives. Because of the urgent need to fund the hospital construction programs in the District of Columbia, I urge that the Senate adopt my amendment.

The question fairly can be asked, "How does the senior Senator from Oregon happen to be involved in this amendment?" I always tell the Senate everything I know about any matter in which I become involved in the Senate. I am a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, and have been for years, and it is my responsibility to be of assistance on that committee in connection with our medical and hospital programs in the District of Columbia.

The Senator from Alabama, the Senator from Delaware, and the Senator from West Virginia, and other Senators will recall that some years ago it happened to be my responsibility to handle on the floor of the Senate the program for getting funds for the creation of Sibley Hospital, a hospital which was direly needed, and the Senate approved of that program. I have taken an active part over the years in regard to the so-called Hospital Center in the District of Columbia.

So it is understandable that these hospital people and medical people should come to me and call my attention to the facts I have set forth in the statement I have just made. I obtained the facts from them, but I do not present on the floor of the Senate material that I have not checked. I have checked the facts, and there is no question about the fact that what I have presented is accurate. There is great need in the District of Columbia for these hospital facilities, and I hope the chairman of the committee will find it possible to take my amendment to conference, and it can then be thrashed out in conference, for I believe it is a very deserving amendment.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I have discussed the pending amendment with the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], who is the chairman of the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee that handles all the appropriations for the District of Columbia. The Senator from West Virginia feels as I do, that there is no reason why we should not take this amendment to conference and thrash it out there.

Therefore, speaking for myself, I know of no reason why the amendment should not be agreed to, be taken to conference, and there be thrashed out, in accord with the views of the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] and the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Oregon.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Alabama and the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. President, I send to the desk the second and last amendment I seek to offer to the pending appropriation bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 24, line 3, strike out "$40,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$46,100,000".

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, again I should like the attention of the Senator from Alabama and the Senator from Delaware. I understand that the Senator from Delaware is the leader of the minority on this subcommittee.

I offer this amendment in my capacity as chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, and I would have the Senate hear me through, because we need to make the record on it.

I offer this amendment to increase the appropriation for salaries and expenses for the Office of Education because I am deeply concerned about the effectiveness of that Office in carrying out its responsibilities for the administration of education programs. Effective administration is directly dependent upon proper review, monitoring, and evaluation of applications, projects, and State plans.

Over the last 3 years, Congress has increased the responsibilities of the Office of Education by almost fourfold. The number of programs has been increased from 37 to more than 100. Not only have we increased the amount of money available for grants to States and local school districts and the number of programs, but also, we have given the Office of Education more detailed administrative responsibilities.

The Subcommittee on Education has, during this session, conducted a study of the conduct of the Office of Education with respect to the administration of education programs. Both the higher education amendments and the vocational education amendments passed by the Senate in July contain language which reflect the concern of the Education Subcommittee about the administration of education programs.

In general, we have required the Office of Education to spend more time with, and to take more detailed consideration of, the approval of applications for funds. The responsibilities we have required the Office to take up over the course of the last 3 years also require that the Office of Education hire topnotch personnel who can do the job. Our education legislation also requires the Office of Education to make extensive use of evaluations, advisory committees, and independent expert reviewers in order to provide Congress with the information necessary to legislate wisely. We have found that too often we have been forced to legislate without adequate information about the state of education in this country and the effect of our education programs at the local level.

I should like to point out two programs on which the Senate has recently acted which serve as examples of the work we have given to the Office of Education in order to provide us with adequate information. Those two programs are title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Vocational Education Act. In both acts we require extensive program evaluations by both the Office of Education and the independent advisory councils and reports to Congress on those evaluations. The evaluation and reporting procedures written into those two acts were purposely designed to bridge the information gap which hinders effective legislating.

These two programs are only examples of our efforts to insure that education programs are properly administered and carry out the intent of Congress. They are two examples of a total of 27 statutory advisory committees or councils which Congress has directed the Office of Education to use in the administration of education programs. Each of these advisory councils submits annual reports to Congress.

The subcommittee of which I am chairman has studied these annual reports, and much of the information we have needed in order to report good education legislation to the Senate has come from these annual reports.

If we do not provide the funds necessary to carry out the evaluation, review, and advisory committee functions of our education legislation, we will destroy the effectiveness of the very legislative oversight features which were carefully drawn up in Congress.

Furthermore, if the amount appropriated is that which is recommended by the Appropriations Committee, the Office of Education may well be forced to abolish more personnel positions than those which are being abolished as the result of the budget cut legislation enacted earlier this year.

The question of the administration of education programs has been the subject of a great deal of consideration at the highest levels of the executive branch. It was decided that improved administration could be had only by hiring additional personnel at the Office of Education. The actions of Congress last year with respect to the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967 played a significant role in that decision. It was for this reason that, in a year of severe budget cutting, the Bureau of the Budget recommended an increase of 373 positions in the Office of Education and requested $51.5 million for salaries, expenses, and program support activities.

The House report on the appropriations bill indicates that, with an appropriation of $42 million, personnel positions would be held at the fiscal 1968 level. The additional cut by the Senate would appear to require a reduction in force of about 100 persons, since the amount allowed by the Committee for costs of positions and the pay increase is $1,375,000 less than that allowed by the House.

The effect of abolishing 100 personnel positions is greater than it appears to be; for under civil service laws, when there is a reduction in force in an agency, those persons with least seniority must be the ones fired. A reduction in 100 positions will result in two major problems affecting the administration of education programs.

First, because of civil service regulations the positions abolished will result in a major shift of personnel within the Office of Education. Those with greater seniority in the abolished positions will take the positions held by persons with less seniority. It is estimated that four times as many positions will be affected by the reduction in force as will be actually reduced. If there is a reduction of force of 100 positions, we may expect 100 positions to be affected, out of the 2,270 positions remaining after the revenue control act.

The second problem would have a damaging effect on education programs. Many of the new people brought into the Office of Education with high qualifications will be lost, since they do not have seniority. In the past 3 years the Office of Education has conducted a major recruiting campaign in order to bring into the Office highly qualified persons from the education community and from private industry. Many persons who accepted positions with the Office of Education did so at a sacrifice of salary. They came to the Office of Education because they wanted to take part in the responsibility Congress vested with the Office of Education. If there is a reduction in force these new people will be lost to the Office of Education and their talents will be lost to American education.

Many of them have been working at the Office of Education less than 2 years and have so little seniority that it is unlikely that they would survive a reduction of force.

I understand that one of the reasons for the cut was a concern on the part of the committee about the regionalization of elementary and secondary education programs. I share that concern, as do a number of education organizations, such as the National Education Association, and as do most of the members of my subcommittee. I can assure the Senate that regionalization has come to a halt and that the Commissioner intends to bring most of those functions vested in the regional offices back to the central office within a very short time. I understand this is already in process.

Mr. President, I wish to speak for my subcommittee and to say to the chairman of the full committee that we have been conducting a surveillance program ever since the majority leader called for surveillance of the expenditure of funds on the part of every chairman of a committee or subcommittee in the Senate. We have maintained a very close surveillance of the Office of Education.

I have had meetings from time to time with Senators who had complaints. I have called up officers of the Office of Education, and sometimes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare himself, as we carried out this program.

We went into this matter of regionalization. I became convinced that the opposition to it and the criticisms of it that I received from colleagues in the Senate and educators across the land had great merit. I gave the report I am now giving on the floor of the Senate about the plan to bring those programs back into the central office itself.

I state here for the purpose of legislative history that my amendment is not intended to make funds available for regionalization of administration of education programs.

One further point I would like to make with respect to the need for funding the salaries and expenses item to the budget request level is that last year the Congress made a real innovation in public administration when the revision of title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was enacted.

In that program the Congress has established a requirements that the States set up advisory councils to assist them in the administration of the program's supplementary centers and services.

The State advisory councils are so important to the administration of that program that if they are not funded the programs will effectively come to a halt. This innovation in public administration is the product of the U.S. Senate. It was not suggested by the administration and was not suggested by the House of Representatives. I take a great deal of pride in the advisory council feature of title III. I think if the State advisory councils are properly funded and function as they are intended, we will have the most successful Federal program now on the statute books.

In the case of title III, the Congress has established a new administrative procedure which has a great deal of promise. But if the Congress does not also appropriate the funds to carry out this administrative procedure we will have defeated the very purpose of our actions last year.

As chairman of the Education Subcommittee, I feel a very special responsibility to the Senate to guarantee proper administration of education programs. That guarantee cannot be fulfilled if adequate information is not made available in order to oversee the administration of those programs.

It is for this reason I feel compelled to offer this amendment to increase the salaries and expenses account of the Office of Education. My amendment would increase the committee recommendation by $6.1 million, raising the item from $40 million to $46.1 million. The administration requested a total of $51.5 million for salaries and expenses and program support activities, $5.4 million of which was for program support. The House reduced that request to $42 million deleting the total amount requested for program support activities. My amendment does not include funds for those activities, since both committees denied the request. It is the figure recommended for salaries and expenses only.

When we stay within the recommendation of the Bureau of the Budget, that is saying something; but when the Bureau of the Budget recommends an increase in this item because it knows of the personnel problem and it knows how important it is that we have necessary supervision for these programs I talked about, I think we should give careful consideration to the amendment and at least take it to conference so it can be thoroughly discussed there. Then, the conferees, as we often do, could call in officials of the executive branch to double check upon the purposes of the amendment.

The action of the Committee on Appropriations in further reducing the appropriation to $40 million will seriously impair the ability of the Office of Education to carry out the responsibilities we have given it.

I might reiterate that the budget request, in the case of the salaries and expenses account of the Office of Education, was very carefully considered at the Bureau of the Budget and it was recognized there that the Office of Education needed greater resources than were available for fiscal year 1968. The Office of Education itself recognizes that it is not doing as good a job as it should in the administration of education programs. In acknowledging its weakness, the Office has repeatedly stated that they do not have the personnel or resources to carry out the activities we have demanded of them.

I cannot in good conscience tell the Office of Education on one hand to do a better job of administration and, at the same time, on the other hand, stand by and refuse them the funds necessary to do that job.

I offer this amendment as a part of my responsibilities to the Congress and to the Office of Education. If we in the Congress really intend to aid American education as we have prescribed by law and the manner we have directed the Office of Education, it is then essential that we restore to the salaries and expenses appropriation of the Office of Education the amount necessary to permit them to accomplish what we have demanded.

I speak of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], who had hoped I would get to this matter earlier, for he was going to reinforce my hand in this discussion. He is the minority member of the subcommittee, on whom I rely heavily as we work out these bipartisan programs.

Therefore, I would hope that Senators would support me in this amendment to increase the salaries and expenses appropriation from $40 to $46.1 million, at least for conference discussion.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I do not like to disagree with my good friend from Oregon—and I may not disagree with him when we get the full picture before us—but I want to say that we have a supplemental bill for 1969 coming up. I talked only this morning with the distinguished Representative from Texas, Mr. MAHON, who had been in touch with the Bureau of the Budget and who told me that the details in connection with the request for that bill are even now being formulated in the Bureau of the Budget.

He was not able to tell me how soon that might come up, but he expects it in the near future.

It seems to me that the suggestion of the Senator from Oregon would be much more apt to gain the friendly attention of the conference committee if it were supported by the taking of evidence which will be taken before the full Appropriations Committee on any request for an item in the supplemental budget bill for 1969.

I would suggest to him that I think he would be on firmer ground when he endeavors to get it in that bill. If it should not come up in the form of the supplemental request, he has the privilege and would have the invitation—and I invite him now—to appear before our committee to express his views, so that we may go into the subject matter. If the views do not prevail there, he will still have the opportunity on the floor—the same opportunity he has here—to ask for this item to be included.

My feeling is that the item of an increase in salary by $6.1 million, which I understand his item to be, will stand much greater chance of recognition and passage, in the event it be a just and defensible item, as I shall assume it may be, so that the Senator from Oregon certainly should consider it, if it comes up in the regular way, rather than to be put in here simply by acceptance on the floor, or by a vote on the floor without a hearing, or a description of the extra duties involved, or any justification in the present form for such a substantial increase in salary. We are all in a difficult situation this year, as we pass on appropriation bills, because of the dire fiscal emergency and because of legislation which we have heretofore passed.

My suggestion to him would be the friendly suggestion that this would be by far the preferred method and approach to this matter. I hope that the Senator from Oregon will at least consider the suggestion.

Mr. MORSE. I appreciate very much the comments of the Senator from Florida. I know how friendly he is in all the suggestions that he makes to me. They are all friendly suggestions. He seeks to be helpful. The situation in which I find myself, however, is this, and I shall not repeat at any great length what I have already said in my statement: We are dealing here with the very bill in which my amendment is most appropriate because it was part of the request of the Bureau of the Budget, speaking for the administration, when it sent up its request for funds.

Therefore, I believe it is most appropriately before us at the present time. It is part and parcel of the program covered by this appropriation bill.

Second, my difficulty with the suggestion of the Senator from Georgia is this: the personnel dislocation that is going to flow from our not taking the matter up at this time. After all, we are dealing with human values, human interests, and the lives of human beings who are presently on the Federal payroll but who know that if this bill goes through in its present form, they will be cut out.

If we were one of them, we know what we would do—we would look elsewhere to protect, after all, our own economic welfare.

The question before the Senate at this moment is whether I am right or wrong when I point out that the present personnel who would be covered by this appropriation is adequate in amount to carry out the legislative program which the Senate and House have already passed. I think that the answer is clearly no.

That is my case. My case is whether, here and now, we want to undermine or undercut our own program for which we have provided the administrative surveillance, and provided for the reports and for the checks upon the Office of Education. We cannot do it, I say, without money. We cannot do it without personnel, and that takes money.

All I am doing is resting my case upon the findings that the Bureau of the Budget made when it asked for the personnel. What we would really do by my amendment would be to save money. If the personnel were available to do the work we require of them by law, not only would a large sum of money be saved in the long run, but the Federal aspect of our education program would be greatly improved.

I would be less than honest if I did not tell the Senate that I am very critical of some of the policies of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the administration of education funds. Already some Senators—not members of my committee, but others—have brought those problems to us. We have already brought about a good many changes in the administrative policies of the Department. We have to watch out that the intent of Congress is not set aside by some administrative order or regulation. That is one of the things on which we have been riding herd. I do not like to run the danger of having legislation that Congress passes boomerang on us—and it will boomerang on us if it is not efficiently administered.

So all I ask is that the amendment be taken to conference. That will not stop us at a later time, if it becomes necessary—and I hope it will not—from taking it up in a supplemental appropriation bill and adopting it for a second time. But this is our first opportunity to meet this issue. That is why I am pleading that the amendment be taken to conference. Then let the House—the House did not have the proposal in the manner I am submitting it—and the Senate conferees consider it at that level and decide what can be done about it. The House may be able to make some adjustments that will at least save most of what I am pleading for.

I hope the Senator from Florida will not in any way feel that I am unfair or unreasonable or given to any standpat position when I ask for action on the amendment now, because I think we can consider a supplemental appropriation later, depending upon what may happen in conference. But I do not see how we can get away from the facts I have submitted as to what the result of the Senate and the House cut will do toward carrying out the education programs which have been authorized and which the Office of Education has been directed to carry out.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I certainly do not think that the Senator from Oregon is ever unfair or unreasonable. I know he is acting as his own conscience dictates. However, I think that sometimes he may be a bit impractical, and I am afraid that this is one of those times.

I call his attention to the fact that the House figure for this item is $42 million. Having been already this year on some seven or eight conferences with the House on appropriation bills, I think I know how adamant a position the House Conferees display in conference.

I suggest to my distinguished friend that if he changed his amount to $42 million, the matter would not be in conference, because it would be the same in both places; but if he puts in the amount of $46,100,000, I am inclined to think he is inviting disaster, because I think that is what he will have in the conference.

I must say to my distinguished friend, who sits in other conferences—I do not believe he sits on these appropriation conferences, as his friend the Senator from Florida does—he does not have the same chance to know what attitude we may expect. I think the practical course, in order to effect some increase in an item which the Senator from Oregon evidently thinks is a very important item, would be to decrease his request to $42 million.

With that, I will say nothing further. I am not unfriendly; I am simply trying to give counsel which I think will be more effective when we get to conference.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator from Florida knows the Senator from Oregon has done some horse trading in Florida with some of his constituents, but I have never met a horse trader who is as tough as the Senator from Florida.

Mr. President, I have no choice. At least, if we can get it to $42 million, we can save something and help the program somewhat.

If the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill] will agree, I will modify my amendment to put in the figure of $42 million.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has a right to modify his amendment.

The amendment is so modified.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 928

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 928.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read the amendment (No. 928) as follows:

> On page 16, line 5, before the period insert a colon and the following: "*And provided further*, That the $90,965,000 provided for 'School Assistance in Federally Affected Areas' in the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1968, shall be available for expenditure until September 30, 1968."

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, in lines 5 and 6 of the amendment just reported, the amendment be modified and amended to read "until October 30, 1968."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the amendment is so modified.

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, this is an amendment to the pending legislation. This amendment would again make available the $91 million provided by the Congress in the second supplemental appropriations bill for fiscal 1968, for aid to school districts with large numbers of children with parents who live and/or work on Federal property.

Most of the Senators already are quite familiar with the history of this appropriation. Sometime last January, the Office of Education indicated that $91 million in additional funds was needed if the impacted areas program was to be fully funded in fiscal 1968 for the 1967–68 school year. School officials were naturally quite interested in obtaining the full entitlement. Almost 100-percent entitlement had been provided in every year since the impacted areas program was initiated in 1951, and many districts, anticipating these funds as always, had budgeted or even spent the expected entitlement. Congress provided the additional funds, and we thought all was well.

The language in the appropriations bill which provided the funds, however, specified that the funds would be available only until July 31, 1968, and as that date neared, many school officials began to fear that the funds would not be released. And, on July 31, the President announced at a news conference that, indeed, the funds would not be made available—that this was one area where he had decided to apply the provisions of the Revenue Expenditure and Control Act of 1968.

I cannot agree with this action—principally for two reasons. First, the timing of the withholding was extremely unfortunate. Under the President's action, funds for a school year which has already ended are going to be denied. After operating on a budget which in many cases had anticipated these funds, some 4,300 school districts are being told that they will not receive expected funds. Such an action seems quite ironical in light of the request for advance funding of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which was made by the administration so school administrators could plan ahead. I think such planning is most important to any well-operated school district, and I believe that if the impacted areas program—or any similar program with a continuing history—is to be cut, it should be cut before the year's operations begin.

Second, the Federal Government has "overpaid" some school districts, and has now said that the overpayment must be deducted from any entitlement the school districts receive in fiscal 1969. Thus, not only the fiscal 1968 school budgets are being disrupted, but also the fiscal 1969 ones. I do not feel that the school districts which have been "overpaid" should suffer from the mistakes of the Federal Government. And, I might point out that the mistake is no small one. In one district alone in my State of Virginia, the overpayment is about $800,000.

In general, it has been argued that many of the districts which benefit from the impacted areas program are the wealthier school districts in the Nation and that they do not need the funds. I fail, however, to see how penalizing school districts because they are good can encourage educational improvement, and I think we should not forget that some of the excellence which these districts enjoy certainly results from the effective use of impact funds. I also think it is significant that the districts which are eligible for these funds generally do not receive substantial aid from other educational programs and, therefore, depend heavily on the impacted areas aid.

Finally, I must repeat what I have said a number of times: "We must have priorities in our spending. We must distinguish among our programs, determine where we are headed, and make provision for meeting our foremost goals. In any plans for our Nation's future, education must occupy a high position and educational aid must hold a high priority. Education for our children is a direct investment in our Nation's future. It is of utmost importance to our progress and prosperity in the years to come."

For these reasons, I am proposing this amendment to the Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare appropriations bill. I am pleased to note that the following Senators have joined in cosponsoring the amendment: Senators Fulbright, Bible, Brewster, Brooke, Metcalf, Church, Case, Bennett, Inouye, Dodd, Hatfield, Hart, Hollings, Pearson, Ribicoff, Tydings, Thurmond, Talmadge, Ervin, Yarborough, Carlson, Murphy, and Byrd of Virginia.

I feel that it is most important that these funds be provided at this time, and I urge the Senate to move to make them available.

Mr. President, today, in accordance with Senate procedures, both Senators Ribicoff and Mundt filed notice of intent to offer amendments dealing with impacted area funds, including the supplemental appropriation for fiscal year 1968.

Their amendments relate directly to the appropriation contained in amendment No. 928. Senator Ribicoff's amendment deals specifically with the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968. In addition to the 1968 act, Senator Mundt's amendment also deals with the antideficiency statutes.

In view of the notices filed today, and because I believe the Senate should have the full benefit of a thorough discussion on all approaches to this very important matter, it is not my intention to ask for action on amendment No. 928 today. I shall withhold the amendment from further action until such time as the other two amendments have been presented to the Senate and the Senate has had the benefit of hearing all these approaches to the problem.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I fully support the effort to make available to our federally impacted school districts the money that was withheld from them.

Furthermore, in accordance with rule XL of the Standing rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 18037), making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, the following amendment:

> On page 16, line 5, before the period insert a colon and the following: "*And provided further*, That (1) the additional amount of $90,965,000 appropriated, under the heading 'School Assistance in Federally Affected Areas' in the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1968, for payments to local educational agencies for the maintenance and operation of schools as authorized by title I of the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-First Congress), as amended, 20 U.S.C. ch. 13, shall remain available for obligation until October 31, 1968; and (2) the limitations, and requirements for effectuating such limitations, contained in sections 202 and 203 of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 with respect to total expenditures and lending authority and total new obligational and loan authority shall be inapplicable to obligational authority herein, heretofore, or hereafter enacted

for the fiscal year 1969, or by the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1968, and to expenditures pursuant to any such obligational authority, for payments to local educational agencies for the maintenance and operation of schools as authorized by title I of the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-First Congress), as amended, 20 U.S.C., ch. 13."

This amendment will extend to October 31, 1968, the availability of the appropriation of $91 million made by the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act for payments to federally impacted school districts.

It will also exempt from the expenditure and obligational authority limitations of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 the $91 million provided by the second supplemental of 1968 and for any funds provided for impacted areas for fiscal year 1969. This will prevent any reductions made by the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 from being applied to expenditures and obligational authority for carrying out title I of Public Law 874. It will, moreover, exclude the Public Law 874 amounts from the aggregate expenditure and the appropriation ceilings so that the preservation of Public Law 874 funds are not at the expense of other programs.

Congress voted this money once because we felt an obligation to fully fund those schools which had a high concentration of Federal dependents including the children of military personnel.

The schools counted on this money to pay teachers, to buy textbooks, and to purchase other materials. But now it appears the impacted schools program has become part of the $6 billion budget cut.

We can not let this happen. Education of our young is an investment for the future. Education is one of our great priorities. Saving money here is a false economy. In the long run it will be the most expensive kind of economy.

Connecticut's share of the $90.9 million supplemental appropriation that was withheld from the federally impacted school districts across the Nation is $646,000. Thirty-nine Connecticut communities are affected. All have a high concentration of federally employed parents. This is not only a question of budgeting and financing it is a question of children and their education.

The Public Law 874 program is a most important source of Federal aid to public education. It is not hard to appreciate the difficulties faced by school districts which drew up their budgets in the spring of the year for the coming school year expecting to receive the full entitlements provided them by the Congress and then learn well into the new school year that they would receive only 80 percent of what they had anticipated. Efficient school programs simply can not be run that way. Educational programs can not be dropped nor teachers let go in midyear without great cost of taxpayers' dollars, as well as the cost of educational opportunities of our children.

Education is an investment in our future. It is one of our great priorities. Budget cuts in this area make no sense at all.

But we must do more than make available to these school districts the money that Congress already has voted. We must also make sure this situation does not occur next year.

That is why my amendment exempts the federally impacted school program from future budget cuts required by the 1968 tax bill, in addition to extending the deadline for allocating current funds to the school districts.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. What is the pleasure of the Senate?

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RADIATION HAZARDS

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement prepared by the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Bartlett] entitled, "Experience Abroad in Regulating Medical and Dental Use of Ionizing Radiations."

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Experience Abroad in Regulating Medical and Dental Use of Ionizing Radiations

Mr. Bartlett. Mr. President, H.R. 10790, the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968, which has been reported by the Senate Commerce Committee and is being considered by the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, will give to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare sorely needed authority to set performance standards for electronic products that emit X-rays and similar radiations.

One fact that stands out in the record of hearings before the Senate Commerce Committee in 1967 and again this year, and also in the hearings held in the other body, is that most of today's man-made exposure to X-radiation comes from medical and dental X-ray machines. Many competent witnesses testified that the means are now at hand to reduce this exposure while still providing the physicians and dentists with the diagnostic information that they need. Throughout the hearings this committee has recognized the great value of medical diagnostic radiology. We recognize also that the needs of patients and advances in medical knowledge may well call for an increase in various forms of medical radiology, and we realize that much individual suffering would follow any unnecessary curtailment of these uses of X-rays. But because of the fact that medical uses of X-rays seem likely to further increase, it becomes all the more necessary to assure that exposure of patients in each case is kept to a minimum. One vital means to that end is the setting of performance standards for the design and manufacture of medical and dental X-ray equipment.

A logical question at this point is to ask what experience there may be with government regulation of exposure to X-rays in medicine and dentistry. There exists a body of relevant experience in the Ministry of Health in England. I would draw attention to this experience.

In 1957, in keeping with the Radioactive Substances Act, a Standing Advisory Committee prepared a code of practice for the protection of persons exposed to ionizing radiations. Part of this code dealt with use of X-rays for diagnosis and therapy. While the code was intended primarily to protect machine operators, it did lay down rules of protection which included technical requirements for the X-ray equipment and its installation.

The Ministry of Health updated this code in 1964 to include consideration of patients, and to show this new emphasis, retitled it the Code of Practice for the Protection of Persons against Ionizing Radiations arising from Medical and Dental use. This revised code applies to the use of X-rays arising from all forms of medical and dental practice. It is based upon recommendations of the Ministry's Medical Research Council and recommendations of the International Commission on Radiological Protection.

Once again, this code lays down technical standards for X-ray equipment used in diagnosis and therapy. For example, it touches upon the issue of fitting the size of an X-ray beam to the size of the X-ray film being used. This question came up before the committee during our hearings when the National Center for Radiological Health testified about its efforts to perfect an automatic collimator for this purpose. There is at present no government requirement that medical X-ray machines have such equipment. Four years ago the British code specified:

"All X-ray apparatus must be equipped with adjustable beam-limiting devices or cones to keep the useful beam within the limits of the X-ray film selected for each examination. . . . The film selected should be as small as possible consistent with a good result."

The committee heard much testimony about fitting dental X-ray machines with cones to limit exposure to patients. Four years ago this British health code specified:

"Localising cones must be employed with all dental equipment. Such cones must provide the maximum practicable focus-skin distance and the minimum practical field size."

Unlike the situation in the United States where regulation of ionizing radiations is split up among different federal and state agencies, this British health code in one place deals with medical and dental exposure from all sources of radiation, whether X-ray machine, natural or artificial radioactive materials.

Of special interest to the committee is the provisions of the Ministry's code of practice that sets out protection for the patient, which in this country is left exclusively to the professional judgment of the radiologist and physician. The British code opens with the frank acknowledgement that there is reason to avoid unnecessary radiation:

"Patients exposed to radiation for diagnostic or therapeutic purposes may be subject to some personal hazard, and the direct or indirect irradiation of their gonads (testes and ovaries) may constitute a hazard to future generations. Consequently it is important to carry out only those radiological examinations and treatments that are strictly necessary and in doing so, to avoid all unnecessary irradiation."

Concerning techniques of diagnostic radiography, the code specifies that in every case the dose given should be the minimum necessary for the purpose. Considerable reductions can be achieved, it states, by strict limitation of field size and by adequate shielding of the gonads. The code calls for use of the fastest films and screens consistent with satisfactory diagnostic results and for use of automatic timers.

Mr. President, my point in bringing this code of practice to the attention of the Senate is to show that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will not venture into unknown territory as he uses the authority assigned to him in H.R. 10790, the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968. There is experience that can be looked at and analyzed. There is evidence that regulation of X-ray machines and other sources of ionizing radiation for medical and dental use can be accomplished without freezing the technology of the industries that supply them. The company that designs and makes X-ray equipment with attention to safety will not be burdened, but rather will be relieved of possible unfair competition by those who are tempted to take short cuts in design or to skimp in manufacture. And the performance standards to be set by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will assure the public, who are in no position to know for themselves, that new X-ray equipment sold in interstate commerce is designed and made to minimize possible radiation exposure to radiation workers, patients and the public alike.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding rule VIII, I may be permitted to proceed out of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

CLOSE UP ON THE CZECH CRISIS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the arrival of Russian tanks and men in Prague in late August thrust the United States into the center of another major international crisis, with effects not yet fully discernible. The political and moral issues as related to our national aspirations and international commitments, are certain to be discussed here in Congress.

I have collected a number of newspaper articles and editorials which appeared during the eventful last 2 weeks of August in leading newspapers in the British Isles, where I happened to be during the invasion period. These provide close-up views of the Czech crisis. Of added value, I believe they offer an opportunity to weigh the thinking of our own Western allies on the Czechoslovakian crisis.

It will be noted that the Irish Independent, Dublin, Ireland, in its August 22 editorial, "Jackboots From the East" graphically stated the issue:

> The world heard of Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia with shudders of horror that have not lessened since the first Soviet paratrooper flew into a country not his own, in defence of a creed he barely believes in.

The Sunday Times, London, England, took the long view of "The Problems That Tanks Can't Solve," in an August 24 full-page analysis of Czechoslovakia, its intellectual aspirations, economic reform, and Slovak nationalism. Pointing out that the Russian military victory over the Czechs was easy, it opened its dissection of the situation by stating:

> The two peoples of this beleaguered country, the Czechs and the Slovaks, are caught up with the Russians and the Germans in a contest of nationalities and economic forces that scarcely seems resolvable. At least, every time there is an attempt at resolution, in 1938, 1948 or 1968, the product is bloodshed and violence.

And Americans who have persistently advocated disarmament as the only sure road to world peace might wish to consider the words of the London, England, Daily Express, Opinion published on Saturday, August 24. Under the title, "The Best Answer to Bullies," it stated:

> The Czech leaders journey to Moscow to plead their cause. As one humiliation after another is heaped on them, for the British people there is a grim object lesson. It is one that must not be ignored. For this is the kind of treatment a nation can expect if it cannot defend itself.

The Sunday Telegram, London, England, on August 25, projected a portrait of British governmental helplessness in the face of the Czech crisis which could well be a description of the situation here in our own U.S. Congress. The editorial, "This Picture and That," stated as its premise:

> Parliament meets tomorrow to protest, in Britain's name, against an international crime it could not prevent and can do nothing to reverse.

Particularly important, and certain to be a factor in future United States-West German relations, is the development of a feeling that the U.S. Government, because of its own commitment in Vietnam, directed that warnings of the impending invasion of Czechoslovakia be "played down." In an article carried by The Sunday Times, London, England, on August 25, entitled "Early Warning on the Invasion Was Ignored," Antony Terry reported from Bonn, West Germany:

> Angry intelligence officials here allege that a general "play it down" order from the U.S. Government, because of Vietnam, resulted in vital early warnings of the impending Czech invasion being ignored by the West, and that an early leak of Soviet intentions on Czechoslovakia, they argue, might have mobilised world opinion and made the Russians draw back at the last moment.

The reporter further stated:

> There are also increasing demands for an independent European nuclear force and for a strengthening of West Germany's ground defense and early warning system.

I recommend these, and a selected group of related British newspaper articles and editorials on the Czechoslovakian situation, to the Members of this body for consideration. I ask unanimous consent that these newspaper editorials and articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Irish Independent, Aug. 22, 1968]

JACKBOOTS FROM THE EAST

The world heard of Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia with shudders of horror that have not lessened since the first Soviet paratrooper flew into a country not his own, in defense of a creed he barely believes in. From the biggest to the smallest free nation in the world comes news of protest and condemnation couched in—quite often—angry words. The Soviet Union risked earning the hate of the world (and she knew this) by stamping on a small nation; the risk was fatal and she has added another reason to existing ones why we must regard her rulers with contempt and loathing.

If these may seem futile words and of little help to the Czechoslovaks, let it be remembered that they are applied to a country which has claimed to have unlocked the secrets that will dissipate the threat of "imperial aggression" and bring peace to the working people of the world. They are a reminder that for the 50 years of its existence. Moscow has preached drivel and forged new chains wherever she has gone. By now, even the most dyed-in-the-wool admirer must recognise that the last imperial power on earth has acted like those Mongol hordes of old who raided Moscow when tribute was late or little.

The Czechs have done their bit for truth and decency. The 10,000 people who, according to one report, massed yesterday between Russian tanks and the broadcasting station in Prague had their priorities right, and showed their understanding of the Communist mind; they were defending, not an administrative building, but freedom of speech itself; they knew that their station would no longer be trustworthy once it was lost to the Soviets—who cannot handle or cope with the truth. Soviet Communism and deceit are partners to death.

Of course the Czech leaders were right when they said their armed forces had not been told to resist. Heroics would say something else, but the Czechs have weighed all in the balance and remembered, no doubt, a Hungary left to bleed. They must also be keeping in mind the effect on the world of the second invasion on Czechoslovakia in 50 years. It is here we can do something for the peaceless people of that country—something, indeed, which has already been started by the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Aiken.

Every Irishman will agree wholeheartedly with him that the Security Council should call on the aggressors to withdraw at once from the territory they seized in violation, as the Czechs put it in their last few statements, of the principles of international law. Ireland has made a name for itself at the United Nations and its efforts bore fruit when the agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear arms was signed. That this initiative was noticed and admired in distant parts is clear from a recent report by our Political Correspondent who is with the Taoiseach in the Far East. If, then, we have accumulated any capital in international circles it should be spent now in aid of the Czechs; we have nothing else to give them but our sympathy, and that is not enough.

At this stage it would be an exercise in frustration to probe the motives behind the Russian invasion. The stated reasons are not good enough; the Czech National Assembly (the Dail, in a form) has repudiated the Russian announcement that aid was asked for. In the long run we are left with the certain fact that the Russians are afraid of liberalisation spreading throughout Eastern Europe and into their own territories. But in the past such reckless adventures have been the results of divided counsels, and therefore frightened ones, at the top. A similar situation could be in the making in the Soviet Union now.

At the moment there are reports coming in from Czechoslovakia of anti-Russian demonstrations, and of some shooting. The world will watch the Russians and their spineless allies (who would have thought that Hungary and Poland, both raped in the past by the Russians, would have found common ground?) to see that murders such as Nagy's and Pal Malater's in Hungary will not be perpetrated on the Dubceks and Svobodas of Czechoslovakia. There are no limits to the senseless destruction of a bear on the rampage.

[From the London Sunday Times, Aug. 25, 1968]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: INTELLECTUAL OPERATIONS, ECONOMIC REFORM, AND SLOVAK NATIONALISM—THE PROBLEMS THAT TANKS CAN'T SOLVE

(Military victory was easy. But for the Russians, or any new Government, complex economic, political and social issues remain. Dr. Z. A. B. Zeman, whose authoritative history of the crisis is to be published soon by Penguin, defines the problems.)

The two peoples of this beleaguered country, the Czechs and the Slovaks, are caught up with the Russians and the Germans in a contest of nationalities and economic forces that scarcely seems resolvable. At least, every time there is an attempt at resolution, in 1938, 1948 or 1968, the product is bloodshed and violence.

The Soviet tanks that ground into Prague (one of the squares, incidentally, is called in commemoration of the second world war, the Square of the Soviet Tank Crews) solve nothing. The Russians can force the people to submit. Men can be found in Prague to whom the Moscow brand of "socialism" is acceptable. But the growths and tensions which caused the rise and fall of Alexander Dubcek will continue in some form. They spring, after all, from things as ineluctable as the European history since 1917–19, and as irresistible as the appetite of a modern economy for computers and plastic mouldings; the Russian memories of twenty million war dead, and the demands of Czech intellectuals to write the truth as they see it, from arguments about the accents of the politicians in Prague to arguments about the price of Russian oil on the world market.

The way these tensions developed tells us much about the limited set of options that the Russians now face in dealing with them.

The birth of Czechoslovakia occurred at a moment when both Germany and Russia had simultaneously retreated into defeat and confusion, leaving a power-vacuum in Central Europe: that is to say, the birth occurred at the Versailles Peace Conference after the first world war. It might be argued that but for this vacuum the conference would not have been able to assemble a new country out of the Bohemian, Moravian and Slovak fragments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which had been destroyed in the war.

Certainly the resurgence of these great powers has been too much for the Czechoslovak Republic in each case: first Germany in 1938, and now Russia in 1968.

Awkwardly for great powers, however, this cobbled-up republic remains the home of two stubbornly durable nationalisms. The Czechs, the people of Bohemia and Moravia in the West, came under the Austrian or German-speaking part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; and in the nineteenth century they were supposed to forget their peculiar language and traditions, and turn into Germans. Far from doing so, they actually rebuilt their culture.

INDEPENDENCE

Similarly the Slovaks in the east, who came under the Hungarian side of the empire, were expected to turn into Hungarians. Some did, but a fierce independence remained.

It is often said that the tough, slightly primitive Slovak peasants have little in common with the sophisticated townsfolk of industrialised Bohemia and Moravia: indeed, their languages differ, and the tough Slovaks feel a kind of magnified version of the Scots' distaste for the over-privileged English.

The tension between them, after all, was one of the major reasons for the loosening-up of Party discipline in the last two years. But still, if the twentieth century has taught these two small peoples anything, it is that if they do not look after each other, no one else will.

The trickiest problem the Russians now face is probably that of dealing with the Czechoslovak economy. Very largely, this is still the economy of the Czech part of the country: building on its pre-war development, this is easily the most advanced economy in the Communist bloc except for East Germany. But a prime underlying cause of the Czechoslovak ferment of the past two years has been the realisation that under the regime of the old-style party this economy can develop no further. (The force of this realisation, together with the thrust of Slovak nationalism and the revolt of the Czech intellectuals made a combination which the old-guard Novotny regime could not hold off.)

Probably more important than any of the explosive political novels and essays which have appeared in the last two years has been a rather technical work called "Civilisation at the Crossroads." This is the work of Radovan Richta, of the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences and a commission of economists, sociologists, physicists and other scholars set up to examine the impact of the scientific and technological revolutions on society. Its effect, among other things, was to demolish Khrushchev's famous optimism about the ease with which the capitalist economics would be "over-taken."

The argument of *Civilisation at the Crossroads* was that Czechoslovakia was about to enter a scientific-technological industrial revolution of the kind that is well under way in most developed Western countries—but that it could be impeded or altogether deflected by low-quality industrial management in Czechoslovakia. It is said that the "administrative-directive" system of management, with its bias in favour of old-fashioned heavy industries, could not cope with the new challange. (In Czechoslovakia the quality of management has not been raised by the tradition that jobs in the administrations of nationalised industries have frequently been rewards for Party hacks.)

Richta and his colleagues calculated that automation in machine industries in Czechoslovakia was three to six times less developed than in the U. S. The production of computer equipment—the highest form of automation—was where the worst discrepancies occurred. They calculated that production of "cybernetic systems" was 50 times lower than the U. S., and 10–15 times lower than England, France or Sweden. Czech industries produced three to four times less plastic materials than America or West Germany, and the textile industry was far behind in use of artificial fibres.

The gap between the capitalist and socialist "systems" seemed to be lengthening: at this rate, overtaking the capitalist system would take "about twenty or thirty years, or more."

Claiming that the potentialities for orthodox heavy industry had been exhausted in 1959 in Czechoslovakia, "Civilisation at the Crossroads" demanded rapid expansion into science-based industries, arguing that the whole system of jerky economic advancement had been replaced by continuous and universal change—and that the permanent revolution would take place in science, not politics.

PRICE OF OIL

The infuriating thing for the Czechs was the knowledge that unlike Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria or the Soviet Union itself, they had the concentration of industrial capital and educational resources to break through into a new prosperity—but were not doing so. One economist calculated that the average industrial wage in Czechoslovakia was 1,448 crowns, compared to 2,250 in France, 3,560 in West Germany, 4,170 in Britain and 10,400 in America.

Also, the more the Czech economists looked at the details of their economic arrangements with the Soviet Union, the less they liked them. Pushed towards Eastern trade both by political direction and by the problems of competing in the West with an unreconstructed economy, they found themselves being turned into a workshop for processing Russian raw materials at little benefit to themselves. To find, then, that the Russians preferred to shop for advanced equipment, in the West—on grounds of quality—made it even worse.

Pressed by the desires of their own people for some economic relief, Russian negotiators have driven tough bargains with their Communist partners. The Czechs resent, for instance, their oil agreement in Russia: under which, by their figures, they pay eighteen roubles a ton till 1974, which is exactly *twice* the highest amount the Russians charge the Italians and the Japanese.

Antonin Novotny, the Stalinist functionary who clung to power until Dubcek removed him early this year, apparently believed that he could allow economic reform to begin without any risk that it would spread into the political sphere. Particularly for someone accustomed to the compartmentalisation of a Stalinist State, it was an understandable mistake. But Novotny's mishandling of the Slovak nationality issue was altogether more inept.

His crucial blunder occurred at what was supposed to be a celebration just one year ago this month. The Slovaks were celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of their high school, and of the Matica, an organisation which looks after Slovaks abroad. The existence and energy of the Matica is a testimonial to the powerful national feelings of the Slovaks: as a people, they still feel that they are entitled to a separate government within the Czechoslovak state, and that they will never get a fair deal from Bohemian Prague without it.

Novotny's speech at Turcansky Sv. Martin said flatly that the nationality problem had been solved, and that the Slovaks were best off inside the centralised national framework. The speech was totally unsuitable for a Slovak national celebration. There was worse to come.

After his speech, Novotny talked to Vasil Bilak, then one of the secretaries of the Slovakian Communist Party. Bilak said that the Matica building was too small; Novotny suggested that its papers should be transferred to Prague, and that anyway the Foreign Institute should look after both Czechs and Slovaks living abroad.

It was a bureaucrat's answer, devoid of political sensitivity, and it infuriated Bilak (no wild man, as his willingness, last week, to co-operate with Moscow shows). He asked Novotny, rather loudly, how dare he make such an offensive suggestion. The President and his wife called up their car, and left the celebration early.

The set-up of Communism in Czechoslovakia gives an indication of the lop-sidedness of the nationality arrangements. There is a national (Czechoslovak) Communist Party, and there is a specialised Slovak Communist Party. But there is no specialised Communist Party for Bohemia and Moravia: presumably because dominant Czechs like Novotny saw themselves as incarnating the national spirit of the two peoples simultaneously. But, of course, the Slovaks did not agree: possibly the ineptitude with which Novotny handled them was exacerbated by his economic and cultural troubles in Bohemia; anyway, in the latter half of 1968 organised demands began to come from the Slovak party branches for the removal of Novotny.

Novotny, last autumn, trundled out the standard counter to Slovakian contrariness: the charge of "bourgeois nationalism," which had been used in show trials in the 1950s. It did not work, any more than the cumbersome device of trying to shroud the nationality of leading Party figures, and the attempt to develop in official mouths a kind of "mid-Moravian" accent which would approximate to both languages at once.

It was a question of time before an opponent to Novotny arose in the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak party. The right man was sure of support by the Slovaks as well as the discontented economic reformers.

THE SICK WORDS

Economics and nationalism are mighty social forces, but the role of cultural development cannot be ignored: especially among the Czechs, the revival of whose nationalism in the nineteenth century was very much an intellectual revival, centered around creative writers and historians. Two novels which appeared last year, suddenly smashing the tradition of safe, mechanical politically inert literature, indicate what is happening.

The authors are Milan Kundera, who wrote The Joke, and Ludvik Vaculik, who wrote The Axe. Both are Moravians in their forties, former working journalists and members of the Communist Party. In The Joke, a young student is ruthlessly persecuted in early Stalinist Czechoslovakia for making a political joke ("Optimism is the opium of the people. Long live Trotsky!"). The injured man sets out, many years later, to revenge himself by humiliating the wife of the man he held responsible for his persecution. He finds revenge useless: the woman, who married as part of "party discipline," has separated from her husband, and even beating her is pointless, because she is a mascchist.

The Axe is narrated by a successful Prague journalist who knows "the hard work of writing something that will be published and yet leave part of my honour untouched." The story is stocked with characters who have rejected Czech society, like the countryman who says "this era favours the stupider half of man. Let it do so, but without me."

The journalist writes an article about a young girl's suicide of uncertain morals: a doctor giving evidence to an investigating committee perjures himself when describing the condition of the body because "she was much more a virgin than those bastards were the elected representatives of the people."

When Vaculik's journalist gets into trouble for writing about the case, he declines to be defended on the grounds of his impeccable working-class origins, saying he will have no more of the act of "self-terrorisation" that the party expects of its members "That's all the Czech invention is: we terrorise ourselves so democratically that there's no one left to assassinate."

DRAB OPTIMISM

The effect of this sardonic realism among the drab optimism of most Prague publishing was staggering. This kind of writing has appeared more and more frequently in the past two years: fully politically committed, and healing the relationship between word and object. ("Killing of words," wrote Miroslay Holub in May, 1968, "precedes the killing of people." Democracy, Holub thought, was "a very sick word in Czechoslovakia.")

The Fourth Writers' Congress was the arena the Novotny regime chose for its ideological counterblast. Jiri Hendrich, one of Novotny's most loyal henchmen, made opening and closing speeches declaring the need for hewing to the party line—but they were ignored because of the stream of libertarian speeches in between. (Not that they were specifically pro-Western in the main. A. J. Liehm, while criticising the political pressures on writers in Czechoslovakia, pointed out that writers in the West were subject to commercial pressures which could also be crippling.)

"Assuming," said Ludvik Vaculik, "that none of us was born for the sake of being governed easily, I suggest the Union of Writers takes the initiative, possibly together with the Union of Journalists and ask the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences for an expert revision of the constitution, and demand if necessary its revision." He said: "We have accomplished social revolution—and the problem of power continues. Though we have taken the bull by the horns, and we are holding him, somebody goes on kicking our backsides all the time."

The impact of these writings, and these words, on the Czech consciousness was hardly something from which there could be a going back—either for the readers or the writers. For Ludvik Vaculik, it developed to authorship of the Two Thousand Words manifesto, published and signed by a large group of intellectuals just before the talks with the Russians: and last week to election to the clandestine Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to replace men seized by the Russians.

The three forces that acted against Novotny, and for the break-up of the old bureaucracy, could coalesce behind Dubcek: a Slovak, with a flexible attitude to economic reform, an unimpeachable record of resistance to Germany—he was wounded, and his brother killed, in the Slovak resistance—and "clean hands"—he had the reputation of having stood aside from the persecution of writers under Novotny.

Although their degree of overtness will depend on the degree of Soviet control in the future, these interlinked forces will continue to exist: particularly the question of the economy. The Russians may feel that they can tolerate a run-down Czech economy, but it may well be that if someone in the Communist bloc does not solve the problem of modernisation, their own economic goals will become harder to attain. So far, the Russians have made no visible attempt to understand the situation in Czechoslovakia. The situation there over the past year was complex and needed careful reporting and interpretation. It has been withheld from the Russian people, and possibly from their government as well.

Why did the Russians invade, seventeen days after the Bratislava meetings? It may be pointless to speculate on whose voice was decisive in the Kremlin, but there can be little doubt of the immediate reason for the timing.

The Slovak party congress was to open tomorrow, and the Czechoslovak congress on September 9. Judging by the way votes had gone in the regions, the "conservatives" remaining in the central committee and the other top party posts had little chance of survival. Last week was the last chance of intervention.

The optimism of the Dubcek faction in Czechoslovakia about Russian intentions springs in good part from the way they interpreted Brezhnev's attitude when he visited Prague in December, 1967. He seemed understanding, and gave little sign of willingness to exert himself on Novotny's behalf.

But at the grass-roots level the Czechoslovak and Russian Communists have two different kinds of political and national experience. More often than not the Russian party faced conditions of exile, underground work and persecution. When it came to power in 1917 it had vast, almost unthinkable problems to solve. It always placed discipline above all other virtues.

The Czechoslovak Party operated from 1922 until 1938 as a legal, parliamentary party, and during the war years it faced problems also faced by other anti-Nazi groups. It might be said that the Czechoslovak party, having tried the Russian model for 20 years and got itself into a difficult position largely of its own making, decided to try its older tradition.

But the Russians are suspicious of Czechoslovakia's western traditions, and tend to overestimate their political significance. In May, one of their newspapers called Thomas Masaryk, a sinister plotter involved in the attempt to assassinate Lenin. It infuriated the Czechs, who had just "rediscovered" Masaryk.

The historical validity of the charge, presumably based on the presence of a few of Masaryk's Czech troops in action against the Bolsheviks immediately after the Revolution, is not particularly relevant. The point is that the Russians see the great Czech hero as a man involved in one of the most troubled episodes of their troubled history.

And from the Russian viewpoint, the problem of whether they, or the Germans, dominate Central Europe has yet to be solved. Behind their propaganda about "revanchism" and "imperialism" lies comprehensible foreign policy: twice in this century the Russians have had to face an onslaught from the centre of Europe. Only they know how many people they lost in the last war—twenty million or more.

SOVIET DEFENSES

Obviously, they are bitterly resentful of the idea of having to alter their arrangements in Eastern and Central Europe just because—as they see it—a few economists and politicians in Prague have caught sight of the bright lights of Western Europe.

Apparently, they were somehow fooled into thinking that the arrival of Soviet tanks would bring the truly loyal population flocking to support the Russian cause. Even their somewhat inflexible political intelligence must by now be disabused of that idea.

Czechoslovakia has often been called "a bridge between the East and the West." It was not a description which appealed to Jan Masaryk, the gay, tragic son of the founder of the Czechoslovak Republic—the man who was found lying dead under his bathroom window one month after the Communists seized total power in 1948.

"I don't want Czechoslovakia to be a bridge for anything," he used to say. "What happens to a bridge. In wartime, the first thing that happens is you get blown up. In peacetime, the bullocks walk across and drop dung all over you." At the moment the Russians are finding the bridge difficult to "blow." But the danger will not go away while Europe remains divided.

[From the London, England, Daily Express, Aug. 24, 1968]

THE BEST ANSWER TO BULLIES

The Czech leaders journey to Moscow to plead their cause. As one humiliation after another is heaped on them for the British people there is a grim object lesson. It is one that must not be ignored. For this is the kind of treatment a nation can expect if it cannot defend itself.

Is Britain herself as strong as she can be in an age in which the certainty of retaliation is the only safeguard against aggression?

She has, it is true, nuclear forces under her control.

Unhappily Britain's nuclear force is not strong enough to be, beyond dispute, a credible deterrent.

When Parliament meets on Monday, then, the Government must announce that—as a beginning—another nuclear missile submarine will be built without delay. And that the existing four Polaris-type submarines will be converted to carry the vastly more advanced Poseidon missile battery.

The four nuclear submarines we have at present do not provide a sufficient margin of safety because we can count on only one being on patrol at any one time. A fifth warship would effectively double the fleet at sea. And double the power of the deterrent.

The original aim of five submarines should be reached with all speed. For then, at any moment, at least 60 targets would face immediate retribution.

Arguments of economy are of secondary importance. In fact, Britain today is spending a smaller proportion of her national income on defence than in the Edwardian era.

A Polaris-type submarine costs some £50 million. That is about one third of one per cent of what the Government spends annually. And look what it buys:—

Security against aggression. Real independence for our people.

America has carried, virtually alone, the burden of defending the West.

It is unacceptable that we should place on our friends the obligation of risking their own destruction to secure our safety.

We must be ready to defend ourselves.

As soon as practicable the nuclear fleet should be built up to eight Polaris submarines to provide us with the effective sinews of self-defence.

This is the best answer we can give, with the dreadful image of Prague before us, to the bullies who are tempted by weakness.

[From the London Sunday Telegraph, Aug. 25, 1968]

THIS PICTURE AND THAT

Parliament meets tomorrow to protest, in Britain's name, against an international crime it could not prevent and can do nothing to reverse. It is right, nevertheless, that the ideal of freedom and the principle of national sovereignty should thus be solemnly upheld by all parties in the highest council of the nation.

But there is another item on the order paper, the Nigerian civil war. Czechoslovakia may no longer be "a faraway country of which we know little," yet it is behind the Iron Curtain. Nigeria, on the contrary, is still open to-Western influence. Moreover, it owes its frontiers, its federal structure and, indeed, its very existence to the British Parliament itself. Is it not the plain duty of our elected representatives to offset their unavoidable impotence on one plane with a full acceptance of their responsibilities on another, where their deliberations can still have some effect?

The final Federal assault on the Ibos trapped in the rump of Biafra may not yet have begun. Nevertheless, the advance from Port Harcourt can only be a prelude to it. In political terms, General Gowon has failed more miserably than the tyrants of the Kremlin. They have begun to recruit their political puppets after a two-day exercise, whereas he has found none after 13 months of bloody fighting.

We may avert our eyes from the slaughter that will accompany the final stages of the Biafran tragedy. We shall not, however, be able to ignore the aftermath. No experienced British administrator ever supposed that Nigeria could exist against the will of its leading tribe; and no serious student of Africa ever supposed that the West Coast could escape anarchy if Nigeria disintegrated. Yet these are the probable results of the war that has been sustained by a British decision to continue to supply arms to "a sister Government of the Commonwealth."

The immediate challenge is still the saving of civilian lives, now threatened by renewed fighting as well as by starvation. By this time it must be clear to the most gullible that this objective never rated very high with the combatants of either side, even if Colonel Ojukwu has at last agreed in principle to accept relief by surface routes. When fighting Biafra becomes occupied Biafra the essential horror will remain.

Colonel Adekunle, leader of today's assault, declares he wants to see "no Red Cross, no World Council of Churches, no Pope, no missionary and no U.N. delegation," adding for good measure: "We shall shoot at everything, even things that don't move."

He can talk like that because the British Government has, in practice, washed its hands of the whole affair, in order, presumably, to preserve on paper the Commonwealth myth. It would be better to turn that myth into a reality by intervening to restore a minimum of order and humanity to a continent relapsing into savagery.

The Russians are using their strength to prevent a country in their sphere of influence from climbing upwards towards civilised freedom. We deplore this in vain if we are not ready to save a country in our own sphere from plummeting downwards into barbarous repression.

[From the London, England, Sunday Times, Aug. 25, 1968]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA REPORTS FROM BONN—EARLY WARNING ON THE INVASION WAS IGNORED

(By Antony Terry)

Angry intelligence officials here allege that a general "play it down" order from the U.S. Government, because of Vietnam, resulted in vital early warnings of the impending Czech invasion being ignored by the West.

They are demanding from West Germany's Chancellor Kiesinger that in future their warnings and predictions of developments in Eastern Europe should not be deliberately put on ice because of global Washington policy moves. An early "leak" of Soviet intentions on Czechoslovakia, they argue, might have mobilised world opinion and made the Russians draw back at the last moment.

The West German intelligence Service, under its new dynamic young chief, General Gerhard Wessel, was among the first to present concrete evidence to the Bonn Government and NATO countries that the Warsaw Pact "manoeuvres" were an elaborate cover for the full-scale invasion plan. Their detailed advanced information, obtained partly through the German network of agents in Warsaw Pact countries, dovetailed with reports from U.S. Intelligence, obtained from "spy in the sky" satellites.

FORCES EARMARKED

General Wessel reported three months ago that non-Czech Warsaw Pact troops were being trained and earmarked for the invasion. The figure given at the time was 10,000 to 12,000 troops from various Soviet bloc countries, which were named as planning a first-stage crossing of the Czech border.

By the end of May, most of the Bonn Government leaders, including the heads of the Defence, Interior and Foreign Ministries, as well as Chancellor Kiesinger himself, had been warned of the plan. Only the Foreign Ministry, under Socialist chief Willy Brandt, expressed doubts that the Russians would "risk going that far."

On May 24, the only attempt to "leak" the news was made by the West German Government's official spokesman, Herr Diehl apparently without the knowledge of Chancellor Kiesinger, at a Press Conference in Bonn. This statement was later officially denied in Bonn and Herr Diehl was reprimanded. It is said here that this denial, which described his statement as "irresponsible and panic-creating talk," was made at U.S. request.

So, although the news was out, it made no impact.

However, information received by early August ended all doubts that the Russians would invade with massive forces—the only question was when. The information passed on to the U.S. and other NATO allies was that the Russians would delay moving in until immediately before the Czech Communist Party Assembly, scheduled for September 9. The delay had been due to disagreement between the "hawks" and the "doves" inside the Kremlin.

But things began coming to a head on August 18, through the Czech ambassador in Moscow, Vladimir Koucky, an old-time "hard liner" of the anti-Dubcek minority inside the Czech Communist Party's Central Committee.

Koucky, who was to be recalled to Prague because of his views—and who was in touch with Oldrich Svetska, editor of the party newspaper Rude Pravo and since named as one of the alleged Prague "quislings"—warned General Yebichev, senior political commissar of the Red Army, that Mr. Dubcek's move to summon an emergency meeting of the Central Committee on the following Tuesday was a final sign that the Czech Communist Party leaders had "sold out to Right-wing elements" and were set on an anti-Soviet course.

MILITARY MEET

In fact, the Czech party meeting was designed to legalize the reforms introduced by the Dubcek Government and establish a new liberal charter for the Czech Communist leadership and its members.

But the information garnered by West German Intelligence shows that Koucky's move in Moscow was followed at once by urgent consultations among Soviet Military leaders. Gen. Yebichev and the Soviet Defence Minister, Marshall Ivan Grechko, met the supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, Gen. Yakubovsky, and all three went to see Mr. Brezhnev.

The result was an order to speed up the "prophylactic" invasion. According to the Bonn Intelligence reports—which, again, were immediately forwarded to Nato—the arguments by Koucky which finally convinced the Kremlin leaders were that Mr. Dubcek secretly planned to sidetrack the undertakings he had given at the Cierna and Bratislava meetings, that the Czech Party leaders had made secret and dangerous contacts with the West through "illegal and anti-Soviet channels," and that they were planning to accept economic aid from Western countries on a scale that would create problems for Comecon, the Soviet bloc equivalent to the Common Market.

It was Koucky's role that gave the Russians the tenuous but valuable excuse to talk of "influential Czech Party circles," having asked them to intervene to save Czechoslovakia.

As for the current situation, the latest information from the West German Intelligence Service is that only about half the 23 Warsaw Pact divisions assembled for the invasion have actually entered the country. The remainder are still bivouacked, in readiness, along the Czech borders.

Most of these troops are Russians, but there are also two East German divisions, three Polish divisions and rather less than one division from Bulgaria, which was flown in as recently as last Saturday.

Bonn Intelligence officials claim that their advance news of the Soviet build-up and probably invasion spearheads, was confirmed by sensitive electronic listening devices along the West German border with Czechoslovakian devices with a range sufficient to scan the area up to the Soviet frontier and some way beyond.

Yet the only time the Russians took action against this electronic probing was on the actual night of the invasion, when a massive jamming operation blacked out the devices.

TELEPHONE THREAT

Frustration at the invasion warnings going unheeded led General Wessel, at one stage, to threaten to telephone Chancellor Kiesinger direct, to stress the seriousness of the reports. A further outcome now is that West German military and political circles are to mount a campaign inside NATO for tighter control of military planning intelligence by the European countries and for better coordination to prevent their intelligence information being blanketed by any similar American "hold down" order in the future.

There are also increasing demands for an independent European nuclear force and for a strengthening of West Germany's ground defences and early warning system.

[From the London Sunday Times, Aug. 25, 1968]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA NICHOLAS TOMALIN REPORTS THE DEEP SCHISMS OPENING IN WORLD COMMUNISM—THE COMMUNISTS' GREAT CRISIS OF FAITH

Pravda was aghast. As the discordant criticisms of hitherto obedient foreign comrades poured into Moscow the official voice of Soviet Communism plaintively declared:

"It is difficult to understand the incoherent position adopted by the leaders of some Communist Parties who are showing a lack of confidence in the actions of healthy forces in Czechoslovakia and sister countries. Perhaps they have been disorientated by Imperialist propaganda, and have not understood the nature of the situation."

If Pravda found such "incoherence" difficult to understand, its meaning was all too clear outside Russia. Perhaps, historically, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia will be remembered even more for its effect on world Communism than on the country itself. The concept of Communism as a mammoth international ideology, overwhelming patriotic loyalties, may have been finally killed off.

There was a second radical consequence. Since Wednesday morning a romantic idealist searching for a new belief might look to anarchy, to pure Marxist-Leninism, to Trotsky, to Che Guevara or even to Pekin. He could no longer look to Moscow for a Communist Truth which, like Catholic Truth, has been so dramatically eroded by doubt. From now on, Marxists can only be protestants.

"Yes, you can talk of a crisis of faith," one stalwart British Communist observed. "Our bloody Russian Vatican has done precisely the same as Rome. First they seemed to offer some kind of liberalisation. Then, as we began to take them seriously, they kicked us in the teeth.

"But there's one important difference between the Communist Party and the Catholic Church. When the Pope condemned the Pill he knew that his followers would bash away at sex regardless. In our crisis the followers will bash away at the party."

INGENIOUS

There is endless variety in the way each individual national party is striving to establish independence without agnosticism. Analysis of their shifting positions is a demanding exercise in Marxist theology.

Perhaps the most ingenious formulation of all came from Stalinist Albania whose party, taking the Chinese line, was obliged to condemn both the Dubcek liberalisers *and* the Moscow revisionists.

Before the invasion, the Albanian official party paper *Zeri i Popullit* managed a blanket condemnation of everyone involved: "The cliques that have come to power, or will come, are pawns in the hands of the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists. An international Mafia is acting with a free hand in Czechoslovakia." (Such picturesque abuse was only rivalled in imagination by the Lebanese Communist Party, which blamed "an elite of Jewish intellectuals," and the Beirut newspaper which lyricised about Russian "freedom tanks.")

Since the invasion, the Albanians have become the only Communist Party actually to urge the heroic citizens of Czechoslovakia to use armed resistance against the Red Army Mafia. But they do not praise Dubeck.

China, whose only previous comment on the situation had been the reprinting of Albania's strictures, on Friday issued a violent denunciation of Russian intervention as a Fascist move, reminiscent of Hitler. But again, of course, there was no support for Dubeck.

North Vietnam did not follow this line. Military and economic support from Russia and East Germany is so important to her that promptly on Thursday Radio Hanoi declared that it was with "the noble aim of responding to an appeal from reliable elements in the Czechoslovak Party to defend the socialist regime" that the Warsaw Pact armies had marched in. Logic did not force Hanoi also to approve of the noble aim of the American forces to support reliable elements in Saigon.

Cuba, unlike Hanoi, had the ideological sophistication to remain officially silent for several days, while their leaders wrestled with the rival demands of their principles and Russian economic aid. By Friday Cuba had responded to the purse strings.

It would be only natural for many in the Cuban leadership secretly to gloat over the troubles. Czechs, and particularly Slovaks have always resented the economic aid that Socialist solidarity obliged them to send their allies. Cubans have in their turn always resented what they saw as the selfishness of richer European Socialist States—Che Guevara openly attacked the Russians and other about this in 1965.

In the Capitalist west, precious few parties rallied to the Russians. Some Latin American countries, such as Chile, fell into line. The tiny rump of the American Communist Party, presumably still living in Stalinist isolation, issued a statement "regretting" the intervention but conceding it was "necessary." So, for no explicable reason, did brave little Luxembourg.

Otherwise, the only Westerners to succour Russia were the illegal and exiled parties such as Spain, Greece and West Germany. These, dependent on Soviet support, could hardly do otherwise.

DENUNCIATION

The two most important reactions were those of the Italian and French Communist Parties. Each, in their characteristic fashion, were against the Russians. But the real messages were passed in the nuances of denunciation.

Of these the most complex, and interesting to students of Communist dogma and rhetoric, was that of the Italians. As the largest, and most practised in Jesuitical logic of all European parties this was hardly surprising. But they only just outdid the French. In an intricate ideological gavotte the Italians started soft and moved hard, while the French started hard and moved soft.

The Italians had two special circumstances to cope with. First, their Secretary-General Luigi Longo was away on "holiday" in Moscow. Second, secret news of the impending invasion reached several important party officials in Italy by eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, fully three hours before the actual attack was launched and six hours before Soviet ambassadors began to inform the rest of the world.

Italian Communists firmly deny that Signor Longo, conveniently near the source of information, passed any message. It therefore may be that experienced party men made inspired deductions from the Moscow meeting of the Central Committee.

Another complicating factor was that the senior party man at the drafting of the Italian statement was Pietro Ingrao, leader of the extreme Leftwing of the party.

This, perhaps, is the reason why the key phrase in the Italian denunciation of the Russian invasion expressed mere "grave disagreement," which Communist theologians regard as significantly less tough than the "surprise and reprobation" of the French.

On the way home Longo stopped off at Paris for talks with the French Communists. Everyone thought this must result either in Longo—hot with Moscow explanations—rallying the French to Russia's side, or a concerted hostile action by both parties. In fact his visit achieved neither. The French discovered him, to their surprise, to be more militantly anti-Russian than they. He found them having second thoughts.

Waldeck Rochet, leader of the French Communists, argued that an early meeting of all European Communist parties could only lead to a total break with the Russians. It would be far better to keep "lines of brotherly friendship" open in the hope of influencing Russian policy.

Longo was disappointed, and did not try to hide it. He concluded a statement made after the meeting by saying: "For the moment no common or collective initiative is planned." When he got to Rome, he endorsed his Italian colleagues' statement with such enthusiasm that textual theologians judge that he hardened the Italian attitude.

Meanwhile, back in Paris, the French were moving faster in the opposite direction. After a four-hour meeting the Central Committee of the party issued its re-think on the matter. "Reprobation" of the Russian action moved down the scale to "disapproval." There was now a long preamble which accused "forces hostile to socialism" of being active against Czechoslovakia.

The French slide was understandable. The whole business hit their party harder than any other in Europe. It could not have come at a worse time, just when—after their poor showing in the last French election—they were trying to sell a new image, that of a dynamic party of the left which had revitalised its policies in the light of the Revolution of the Imagination which the students forced upon it in May.

Like the Italians, the French party had spoken well of the developments in Czechoslovakia. More than that, they let it be known that M. Rochet, on a visit to Moscow, in July, had warned the Russians that any intervention would have grave dangers to international Communism.

Such a flexible and progressive line was excellent propaganda. What no one knew, of course, was that M. Rochet had received definite assurances from Moscow that there would be no interference with Dubcek and therefore the party's stand was somewhat less spectacular than it seemed.

As the French Maoists, already in the streets of Paris, declared on their huge banners: "Revisionism, imperialism: same interests, same methods."

MORAL PROBITY

The British Communists were at the same time formulating their home-bred denunciation. Not for them Continental "reprobations" or "grave disagreements." King Street, with spendid British moral probity, "deplored" it all.

British reaction could fairly be said to have begun at the moment Assistant Secretary Reuben Falber heard the news over his radio at breakfast.

"We could have got a statement out before lunch," says Falber. "Except that it was damn difficult to get it cleared by essential committee members. As it was the French and the Italians beat us to it, basically because their leadership is more centrally organised and more easily available."

When the statement eventually appeared in the early evening it had still not been seen by John Gollan, the Party Secretary, who was up a Scottish mountain, and Jack Woddis, head of the international section, who was holidaying abroad. Nevertheless, drafting was an almost routine matter for the eleven out of 14 committee members who were contacted: the British party already had a clear policy line on the Czech liberalisation.

Gollan arrived back from his mountain on Thursday, and that evening was on television emphasing the fragmentation more forcibly than a British Communist leader has ever done before. "There is no such thing as an organised international Communist movement," he told his interviewer Alistair Burnet. "Each party is independent and sovereign and the differences between them are natural."

The party doesn't fear mass resignations, as in 1956 over Hungary. The "deploring" statement ensured that. And such is the rigor mortis of hard-line supporters that both they and the leadership will probably move slowly back to their tacit loyalty to Moscow. The serious political damage, party workers admit, will be from "seepage," a passive decline in the already dwindling support.

More dramatic is the reaction of the official party's youth branch, the Young Communist League. Twelve of them were outside the Soviet Exhibition on Wednesday, belabouring every Russian in sight. "I found myself shouting 'Nazi Swine' at every one I saw," said one. "I think all of us were sick to the very pit of our stomachs."

To seek less official opinion on the situation from British CP members is more difficult. Generally, middle rank members are pointedly avoiding comment. But the more militant of the younger members, both of the YCL and the party proper plan a call for an even larger meeting than the 42-member executive council which met yesterday. They want to summon an Emergency National Conference of the entire party to seek a really strong protest against the Russian action.

A BETRAYAL

One man, at least, was not afraid to speak out. Will Paynter, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, for instance.

"The whole business," he said, "can only be seen as a disgusting betrayal of all the principles of the international Communist movement. Its result will be an enormous destruction of faith in an ideal."

Paynter, and two other members of the Miners' executive committee had agreed to visit East German miners on September 16. Last Thursday he wrote to the East Germans to say it was cancelled.

But if any scholar wanted final evidence of the curiously British flavour of unofficial reactions, he need only turn to the Scottish Highlands, last bastion of progressive eccentricity, where Scots poet Hugh McDiarmid, the only Briton to *join* the Communist Party at the time of Hungary, declared his unswerving support for the fraternal Russian tanks.

"For weeks the British Press has tried to drive a wedge between the Czechs and the Warsaw Pact powers," he declares. "As a result there was real danger of a counter-revolutionary movement there. The Russians have felt that, just as they realized firm action was needed to stop Fascist infiltration in Hungary. I'm for them whole-heartedly.

"No, I'm not going to resign from our party because the leadership has taken a hostile line to the Russians. Such differences of opinion are always permissible amongst Communists. We are the most democratic of organizations."

Mr. Dubcek and his countrymen would have been most reassured to hear it.

HOW THE NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTIES REACTED TO RUSSIA

	Hungary, 1956	Czechoslovakia, 1968
Minority Communist Parties in capitalist countries:		
Britain	Pro	Anti.
France	Pro	Do.
Italy	Pro	Do.
Austria	Pro	Do.
Holland	Pro	Do.
United States	Pro	Pro.
Belgium	Pro	Anti.
Luxembourg	Pro	Pro.
Illegal Communist Parties in exile:		
Spain	Pro	(1)
Greece	Pro	Pro.
West Germany	Pro	Pro.
Ruling Communist Parties:		
Rumania	Pro	Anti.
Yugoslavia	Pro	Do.
Albania	Pro	Do.
Bulgaria	Pro	Pro.
Hungary	Pro	Do.
East Germany	Pro	Do.
Poland	Pro	Do.
China	Pro	Anti.
Korea	Pro	Pro.
North Vietnam	Pro	Do.
Mongolia	Pro	Do.
Cuba	(2)	Do.

[1] Not available.

[2] Not in power.

[From the Cork (Ireland) Examiner, Aug. 22, 1968]

AN ABOMINABLE INVASION

The myth of co-existence, that facile doctrine which saw nothing incompatible in a civilised accommodation between Communism and democracy, was finally exploded yesterday when Soviet Russia headed the power grab of Czechoslovakia. The midnight marauders who seized hold of an erstwhile ally because its people opted for a measure of democratic freedom have acted in the very best Stalinist tradition. In advance of action they lied, they dissembled, and they threatened and when these failed to achieve the desired end they cast aside every vestige of civilised behaviour and applied the weapon of brute force. This is the Communism of 1945, 1948, and 1956, and its re-emergence now is proof positive that the successors of Stalin and Khrushchev are of the same tyrannical mentality which counts freedom as a crime and sovereignty as a bourgeois concept to be despised.

Five countries took part in this abominable invasion, five countries which profess to be civilised and to have proper regard for all the accepted standards of international behaviour. Time and again they have subscribed to and offered testimony to the inviolable rights of independent states. They have been the first to profess righteous indignation at real or fancied infringements of these rights by other states. By skilful propaganda they persuaded the world that the darker side of Communism had disappeared for ever and that they were amongst the foremost of the peacemakers. There are five such countries but only one, Soviet Russia, that matters. This crime was conceived in and directed from Moscow with the automatic endorsement of the other jackal states which make up the Warsaw alliance. Its commission exposes the chief instigator for what it really is, a wolf which has discarded its sheep's clothing to bring a new dark age to Europe.

In the larger sense the fate of Czechoslovakia has already been decided. The attempt to break free from bondage has been frustrated and it stands helpless before invaders who having taken the irrevocable step of flouting every canon of civilised behaviour, will not hesitate to behave still more brutally in order to consolidate what they have gained. The Czechs did not resist and who is to say that in their isolated circumstances they were unwise? But there is the aftermath which must be a period of terrible trial for a defenceless people. At the very least their constitutionally elected leaders will be overthrown, the new-found freedoms will disappear, and the country will be handed over to puppets who will do the will of Moscow. This is the least that will happen and it will be sufficient to throw Czechoslovakia into the kind of prison it knew, first in 1939 at the hands of the Germans and again in 1948 at the hands of the Russians. But what if the people resist, what if the people decide to fight for their lives instead of submitting once again to that familiar captivity.

This is the tragedy which the free world is now being forced to witness without being able actively to intervene on behalf of a people threatened with political extermination and the very worst evils of a police state. It will be said that Czechoslovakia is a Communist state and that this is a Communist quarrel in which outsiders cannot interfere. Up to a point this is true but it fails to take into account one great fact of life in that country. That fact is that out of a population of 16 millions only 1.4 million are members of the Communist Party. The peaceful revolution of the past seven months was not made by the elite of party members, although some of these were in the forefront of the new liberal thinking, but by the great mass of the people who gave unmistakable proof that their desire was for democratic freedom. And, as far as they are concerned, this has not been a Communist quarrel but the struggle to break free from Communism. Now that they have entered their hour of greatest trial the world simply cannot stand idly by while they are punished by their oppressors.

Possibly not for the reasons given the nations of the West are now on the alert. As they see it the crisis has only begun and no one can foretell how it is likely to develop. They must, therefore, be ready to move and one eventuality which could compel active intervention would be a popular uprising in Czechoslovakia. Twelve years after the event the consciences of freedom loving nations are troubled by the failure to come to the rescue of the Hungarian people. A second such failure would constitute an indictment of such magnitude that Russia and her allies would acquire a concept of power which would point an arrow at the heart of world order. It may be that democracy will not be put to the test, that Czech freedom will be snuffed out without resistance, but should it be otherwise a gallant people must not be allowed to be crushed when timely aid would avert that tragedy. It is not enough that Russia and her confederates in this crime should be condemned by world opinion; they must be made to see that crime of this order will not be tolerated.

[From the London, England, Sunday Telegraph, Aug. 25, 1968]

SOVIET FEAR IN UKRAINE

(By Gordon Brook-Shepherd)

Fear of a spreading disaffection inside the Soviet Union itself—above all of separatist agitation in the Ukraine, which actually borders on Czechoslovakia—is thought in the West to have been the final spur which pushed the Soviet leaders over the brink.

Though contingency plans to invade Czechoslovakia were first made at least three months ago, the Kremlin's final decision to march seems to have been a hurried one, taken last Sunday or even last Monday, only 24 hours before the blow was struck.

It is thought that warnings uttered by Mr. Petr Shelest, who is First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party as well as a favourite member of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Presidium, led to the "doves" among his colleagues being finally silenced.

Mr. Shelest is believed to have been echoing in Moscow the urgent pleas sent by Herr Ulbricht, the East German leader: "Stop Dubcek or I cannot guarantee the outcome at home."

Trouble in East Germany would be bad enough for the Kremlin but trouble in the Ukraine could prove catastrophic. With its population of nearly 46 million, it is by far the largest of the 15 Soviet Republics.

It is also the seat of one of the deepest-rooted nationalist movements inside the Soviet Union, with strong anti-Russian traditions and a language and culture of its own.

These separatist tendencies have been steadily increasing of late and Shelest himself has been leading the battle to suppress them. Exactly as in Czechoslovakia, the agitation has been headed by writers and intellectuals.

The most recent test case was the latest novel by Oles Honchar, head of the Ukrainian Writers Union, which was published earlier this year in the Ukrainian language. Called "Sobor", its hero is eventually killed in the struggle for a Ukrainian cathedral (the symbol of Ukrainian culture) which is being pulled down by the state.

Its message—a protest drawn from the historical past against an inhuman present—was too dangerous to be ignored. Shelest ordered his Communist youth groups to burn copies of it in the streets of Kiev, and plans to get it translated into Russian were blocked.

Finally, as recently as May 31, eight of the nine secretaries of the Ukrainian Writers' Union (including Honchar) were summoned to Shelest in Kiev and given a warning. He had already appointed one of his Committee Secretaries Fedor Ovcharenko, to carry out a "cultural purge" in the Ukraine.

Thousands of Ukrainian emigrées live in the West, including a large colony in England. They called on the British Government at a meeting in London yesterday to stand up against Communist tyranny.

[From the Sunday Telegram, London, England, Aug. 25, 1968]

WHAT DID YOU DO, DADDY?

We are in no two minds about the Red Army shooting its way into Prague, but what must we think about the Red Army dancing and singing next month in the Albert Hall? This is an important question for a generation accustomed to regard post-Stalinist Russia and its "Communist camp" as an entity subject to outside influences and capable of a gradual liberalisation. Cultural and personal contacts, we had come to think, could do no harm and might do good.

The rape of Czechoslovakia, and even more the emergence of a groundswell of resistance against it, should cause us to think again. The Soviet empire is no longer a monolith to be reluctantly accepted; it has become a defensive tyranny, flagrantly holding down subject peoples—in no way less repulsive than that of Hitler's Third Reich—whose whole future is in doubt. In these new circumstances civilised and non-political contacts can only confirm the tyranny; they cannot modify or undermine it.

Let us not assume too easily that an evil equilibrium will eventually be restored behind the Iron Curtain. The Czechs may never abandon their passive resistance, nor may the rest of the subject nations maintain their passivity.

This is a fundamentally different situation from what has been developing in recent years. The seeds of imperial disintegration are beginning to sprout. British businessmen seeking Russian trade, ballet or music lovers seeking Russian culture, or even simple tourists seeking Russian holidays, cannot carry on as if nothing is happening. For the time being, at any rate, Anglo-Soviet cultural exchanges are as out of place, as obscene, as they would have been between neutral States and Nazi Germany at the climax of the liberation of Europe in 1945.

Admittedly, the members of the U.S.S.R. State Symphony Orchestra are not personally responsible for the fate of Mr. Dubcek. But it is the very normality of these contacts, against a background of revolutionary abnormality, that now constitutes a scandalous offence. They give the impression to our Russian guests that we are a friendly, decent people, which we are. But at this juncture we have the right and duty to be an angry people as well.

"What did you do, Daddy, when the Red Army rolled into Prague?" At least let not the answer be "I bought a ticket to watch the Red Army singers and dancers performing in the Albert Hall."

PIERCING RUSSIA'S NAKED SKIN

Why don't we care? was the title of an article I wrote on this page five weeks ago, when the big bear and the little Bohemian lion were having their first fraternal tussle. Though the issues at stake and the dangers ahead, both for Britain and the whole of the free world, seemed crystal clear even then, the protestors of Britain were not protesting, the open-air orators were not orating, and the Labour Government—as always when anything happens to threaten its courtship of the Kremlin—studiously looked the other way.

Now that the inevitable has happened in Prague (though admittedly in an incredible way) we have rediscovered our voices and our consciences. The professional protestors, ranging from Tariq Ali to Pat Arrowsmith, have hoisted the Czechoslovak pennant above their Vietnam banners. The Labour party has remembered the things it was supposed to be fighting for 30 years ago, and at Hyde Park today the wheel turns full circle with Mr. Crossman—a leader of the anti-Hitler agitation in the Czech crisis of 1938—speaking up at last against Hitler's spiritual and functional successors in Eastern Europe.

More important than all this, the ordinary people of Britain are themselves aroused, and angry letters demanding protest action of some sort are pouring into newspaper offices. What failed to stir the nation as a dark prospect has profoundly an even darker reality. The question is no longer why we don't care but what can be achieved now that we do?

How can Britain and the West most suitably show their resentment at Russia's action; and what good, apart from belatedly purging our political souls, would any retaliation do?

Already one can detect the sounds of flannel beginning to flap again along Whitehall. The same advisers who told the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Stewart, not to provoke the Russians and all would be well are now presumably warning him about the dangers of "empty gestures" and "counter-productive" measures.

Action never was the business of bureaucrats. But it is, or used to be, the business of politicians. It is time the present Government took sufficient time off from its nervous absorption with the economic crisis to realise that, or it will betray what is left of its mandate from the electorate.

The challenge of this latest crisis will be with us for long weeks and long months to come. But the very nature of that crisis means there is an opportunity—however slight—for Western pressure to influence the actual outcome. Prague 1968 is not Budapest 1956. There is no Czech Kadar for the Kremlin to install swiftly in power. The Russians, militarily supreme in Prague, are still politically floundering. Moreover, there is no Suez tragedy that will enable them to get away so lightly with another Budapest bloodbath. (Vietnam, unlike Suez, is an accepted part of the political landscape, not a sudden eruption actually coinciding with an East European crisis.)

The Russians themselves are only too aware of these differences, and underneath all the 6 in. armour of their tanks is a naked skin which is acutely sensitive to world opinion. The truth is that like the Americans (and quite unlike the Chinese, French or ourselves) the Russians yearn to be liked and accepted.

For 50 years we have lived under the backlash of their monumental inferiority complex, and it is still operating today. They are not aristocratic imperialists nor proletarian imperialists but petty bourgeois ones. The first concern of these frightened men (after that for their own jobs) is for respectability.

It was this that prompted them to deliver polite and disarming notes last week in all major Western capitals, giving advance warning of their invasion of Czechoslovakia—like a burglar handing in his visiting-card. It was this that caused them to undertake a similar advance lobbying operation last Tuesday among all the Afro-Asian delegations at the United Nations. (Indeed, according to one report, it was the Mauritian delegate there, after being approached by the Russians, who first warned our own Lord Caradon of the impending attack.)

In their heart of hearts the Russian leaders (or at any rate some of them) know that their present action is disreputable. What they want is the spoils without the odium. It is this result we must deny them. And, in this particular situation, by pinning the odium more firmly on them, we could even weaken their hold on the spoils.

One obvious step in this direction has already been taken by Britain: a refusal, declared in advance, to recognise any collection of straw men the Russians may declare to be the "legal" Government of Czechoslovakia.

There are other less obvious steps. The British Ambassador in Moscow, now back in London for "consultations," could be kept here for a while as a mark of displeasure, though it is pitching it too high at the moment to talk of severing diplomatic relations altogether. Britain, in common with her Western partners, could also boycott for the time being any meetings involving the Russian delegations at all international organisations such as the I.L.O. All semi-official contacts with Russia—the to-ings and fro-ings of mayors, parliamentarians and the like—could also be suspended. Even if normal commercial trade with Russia were continued, an immediate review could be announced of the Western strategic goods embargo policy, which has been getting steadily more liberal in interpretation during recent years.

Finally, if the West really wanted to try its own hand at moral blackmail for a change, it could threaten to review also its entire disarmament strategy at Geneva, thus facing the Kremlin with at least the possibility that it may have to resume the ruinous arms race if it cannot behave as the civilised power it purports to be.

These are, all of them, governmental actions which fall short of a total severance of either diplomatic or economic relations. (Cultural, professional and sports boycotts are more complicated matters which are perhaps best left to the individual and private bodies concerned to determine.) Such measures could never, by themselves, shift the Russian troops out of Prague. But, by pricking a sensitive Russian skin, by encouraging such doves as exist in the Kremlin to go on cooing and by applauding the mass of the pro-Dubcek patriots in their firm stand, they could have some indirect effect on the political battle in Prague itself.

The outcome of this battle, as President Svoboda's enigmatic journey to Moscow shows, is still completely open, even in this initial stage. And whatever compromise is agreed or imposed to reconcile Czech defiance with Soviet embarrassment, the political struggle in Prague will then only enter another and equally indecisive stage, still so finely balanced that the slightest weight on the right side of the scales could be important. In a situation of this unprecedented fragility, gestures become deeds, and even hot air has substance.

Above all, let us not be distracted from embarking on such a calculated tactical switch in policy by lamentations, either from bureaucrats or politicians, that it would "destroy the *détente*. That much-abused word is acquiring an altogether unwholesome and unnatural sanctity of its own. It is not a banner which, once laid aside, can never be picked up again. It is a diplomatic yo-yo. which the Russians have been pulling up and down entirely as it suits them for years. Let the West now yank it sharply up on a short string for a few months. We might help ourselves, as well as the Czechs, in the process.

[From the London, England, Daily Telegraph, Aug. 23, 1968]

TRAGEDY AND COMEDY

Russia's hopes of a quick, clean and relatively "comradely" take-over in Czechoslovakia, so that the whole affair might soon be forgotten and relations with the outside world return to normal, have gone awry. Politically and administratively the operation was as bungled as militarily it was efficient—although with such superiority this hardly merits a campaign medal. Never, in the whole history of Russian coups, has it taken so many troops so long to produce so few stooges of such low calibre. For many hours

Czechoslovakia's real leaders were able to denounce the aggression, while the ingenious and courageous Czech radio and television men were able to get the full grim story out to the world. Even Czechoslovakia's man at the United Nations had not been suborned or de-credentialised in time to prevent him from appearing as a star witness for the prosecution.

One reason for most of this must have been the Kremlin's persistent and gross over-estimation of the strength of its supporters in Czechoslovakia, combined with a cynical view of satellite Communist politicians. They thought that, with such irresistible force at their command, and with such patronage within their gift, a presentable array of Stalinists and quislings could be mustered before you could say K.G.B. In addition, by giving the Czech Assembly and Praesidium some apparent freedom of action to appoint a new régime, the Russians would have gained at least some sort of case to present to outside Communist parties and world public opinion. Evidently there are doves in the Kremlin who are much more concerned about public relations than their predecessors were, or than the ascendant hawks are now.

All in vain. The velvet gloves had to be replaced, if not yet by steel gauntlets, yet by serviceable leather mitts. Mr. Dubcek and his colleagues were bundled off to prison in more familiar style. The National Assembly delegation invited to the Russian Embassy duly disappeared from ken—like Hungarian, Polish and other political guests on previous occasions. The number of Czech civilians killed by Russian troops is growing. Some deaths were the result of desperate acts of heroism. Many were inflicted for mere passive resistance or even demonstrations of the type without which no weekend in most Western capitals is complete, but which in this sterner context were acts of great courage.

The future is obscure and dangerous. The restraint evidently enjoined upon Russian troops is wearing thin. Strikes are spreading—giving the lie to the Russians' claim that they came at the call of the workers. The Czech Army Command has put out a strict order not to co-operate with the Russians. The pathetic team of Judases which the Russians, after 36 embarrassing hours, at last got together is hardly more than a laughing stock. In all these circumstances, it should not have been necessary for Mr. Stewart to say that Britain will not recognise a puppet régime. Yet with memories so short, and thinking so wishful, it is good that he said it so forthrightly. The British Ambassador should be withdrawn for a start.

Another of Mr. Stewart's forceful platitudes should reverberate like a clarion. "No country within reach can feel entirely safe." The independent-minded Mr. Ceausescu had already got the message and has called out Rumania's Home Guard. If it indeed be true that NATO took no special precautions, then it took a chance in assuming that the Warsaw Pact array had no relevance to a possible grab at Berlin. We have clear notice now that the Red Army and the "hawks" call the tune in Moscow now. Mr. Stewart, dangerously late in the day, recognises the need for military preparedness. In addition, the West must not, by glossing over this unpardonable aggression, enable the Kremlin hard-liners to confound the moderates by saying—like Hitler before them: "You'll see: we always got away with it in the past, and the democracies soon came round."

[From the Edinburgh and Glasgow, Scotland, Scottish Daily Mail, Aug. 23, 1968]

WHO ARE THE PUPPETS?

It is not only dirty work. It is botched work. The rape of Czechoslovakia bears all the marks of panic and division in the Kremlin.

Russia had not even strung together her puppets before invading. The quislings have had to be herded into the limelight in the wake of the Soviet tanks.

At the UN Mr. George Ball, the U.S. Ambassador, challenged the Russian envoy, Jacob Malik, to name 'the party and Government leaders' who had asked the Russians for help. Malik could not reply, because Moscow had no answer.

Who are these pitiful quislings—Kolder, Indra, Bilak? A handful of party hacks, leftovers from the Novotny era, uneducated replacements who know little and care less.

DEPOSED

What do they count for against the entire Czech Government, the loyalty of the Czech Communist Party Congress yesterday, and the cheers for Dubcek in the streets?

The desperate search for Czech puppets betrays deep panic. The Russians' real puppet was Novotny. And if force was to be used, they might have duped a few gullible oafs by coming to his aid before he was deposed.

By allowing Dubcek six months to build support, the Russians have ensured a lasting Czech resistance. By withdrawing the Red Army and then sending it in again, they have added the brutality of invasion to the misery of occupation.

Why did they let the Russian Symphony Orchestra play music at the London Proms by the beloved Czech composer Dvorak? Why did they name their occupation Radio Vltava, after the river which runs through Prague and which provided the title for part of Smetana's famous hymn to Czech patriotism?

DEFAMED

It all shows a hamfisted insensitivity which must signal a long and bitter tug-of-war between the hawks and the doves in Moscow.

The hawks have won for the moment. If they are not to have their way in the future, they must be taught a firm but careful lesson.

That does not mean stepping up the arms race or shouting superfluous insults.

But why should we go on trading with the Russians when we buy twice as much as we sell? Why should they be allowed to show their wares at trade fairs in Britain when elsewhere they are showing only their brutality?

It seems there is sadly little hope of a lasting East-West detent under the present Russian leadership. Should we not use what leverage we have to influence a change in those leaders?

[From the London, England, International Herald Tribune, Aug. 24–25, 1968]

COMMUNISTS AND PRAGUE

Grimness settled over Prague Thursday as the Soviet conquerors sought to consolidate their grip on Czechoslovakia and began filling the prisons with patriotic intellectuals and other liberals opposed to Moscow's tyranny. The resistance of the great majority of Czechs and Slovaks continued unbroken, spiritually sustained both by the great wave of national indignation and by the leadership provided by the courageous operators of clandestine radio stations.

It became clear, too, Thursday that the conservative figures in the Czechoslovak Communist party leadership had played the role of Quislings in welcoming the invaders, but the political weakness of these turncoats was attested by the inability of the Soviet occupiers to name a new Prague "government" that might command even reluctant popular assent.

As fears grew for the safety of Alexander Dubcek and his imprisoned colleagues, the moral bankruptcy of Moscow's policy was reflected in such acts as the Kremlin decision to resume jamming of Voice of America and other foreign broadcasts whose unhindered reception had been permitted since well before Khrushchev's ouster. Until their tanks and troop carriers rumbled into Prague, the Soviet rulers felt their case to their own people was strong enough to meet the competition provided by Western broadcasts; now they implicitly acknowledge it is too weak to withstand contradiction over the air waves.

Western criticism, of course, can always be dismissed as "imperialist propaganda," as Ambassador Malik has been proving at tiresome length at the United Nations. But the irrefutable judgment, even by Moscow's standards, is the denunciation of the Soviet assault by Communist states and Communist parties. The largest public demonstrations protesting against the seizure of Czechoslovakia, for example, have been the gatherings of tens of thousands of protesters in Bucharest and Belgrade and in Prague itself. President Ceausescu of Romania has called the Soviet invasion "a grave danger to peace in Europe, to the fate of socialism in the world." Yugoslavia's Communist leaders have labeled that same violation of international law "a significant, historical point of rupture" among Socialist countries. Throughout Western Europe, Communist parties and leaders have condemned the Soviet action.

The reality, in short, is that no act of the Soviet government—not even the subjugation of Hungary—has ever been condemned with such near-unanimity on both sides of the Iron Curtain as this week's unprovoked, brutal violation of small, defenseless Czechoslovakia. The Soviet leaders who made the ill-starred decision to take this move have only themselves to blame if much of the world today compares this week's crimes against Czechoslovakia with earlier misdeeds of Hitler and Stalin.

Already the Soviet Union has paid a heavy price in prestige and world respect for this blunder. But there is still time to cut those losses by evacuating Czechoslovakia promptly and permitting the people and the duly elected leaders of that country to decide their own fate.—The New York Times.

[From the London, England, Sunday Times, Aug. 25, 1968]

THE REALPOLITIK OF PRAGUE

(By Frank Giles)

Comparisons between what happened in Czechoslovakia last week and what happened in 1948 are only superficially valid. The Prague coup of twenty years ago, which set the alarm bells ringing all over the free world and led directly to the creation of NATO, was unquestionably a Communist, Soviet-backed conspiracy; but at least they were Czechoslovak Communists who carried it out. The true comparison this time is with March, 1939, when the hapless Prime Minister Hácha was summoned to Berchtesgaden and told, in effect, that henceforth his country was to be a German protectorate.

That is what the Russians are trying to do to Czechoslovakia. They do not appear to be succeeding. The measure of their failure is dramatically reflected in last night's reports of a new summit meeting in Moscow. But whatever happens, the events of last week present a tragic and disgusting spectacle, which has rightly drawn down upon them the opprobrium of much of the world, non-Communist and Communist alike. Obviously, the men in the Kremlin weighed up the advantages and disadvantages of their decision. That they decided as they did, knowing that they would split the Communist world in half and dim all hopes for an East-West détente, anyway for a long time to come, is a highly significant comment upon conditions within the Soviet Union itself and in its rigidly faithful satellites. The almost overwhelming drawbacks to what has been done were evidently considered preferable to letting Czechoslovak "deviationism" take hold and spread to Ulbricht's Germany, Gomulka's Poland and, above all, to Brezhnev's Russia. Whole volumes of Kremlinology and its allied sciences could not possibly convey a more telling message than this.

What the effect of the rape of Czechoslovakia will be upon international relations in general is a good deal less clear. Indignation and revulsion at what has happened lead naturally on to the thought that we are back once more in the worst days of the cold war, with the Soviet menace in Europe again at its height and communication between East and West reduced to a frosty minimum. But this is not in fact necessarily true. I am in no way seeking to justify or excuse Soviet conduct in Czechoslovakia when I say that despite its enormity it has not moved the post-war balance of power by one centimetre.

The Russians, in a crude and intolerable way, are trying to trample on men and ideas and human rights. But they are trampling in their own backyard in a manner comparable in kind, though not of course in degree, with the American armed intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. The motive then was to forestall Communism, just as it is the Soviet motive in Czechoslovakia today to preserve it.

In a perfect world, the protagonists of national independence, whether they be British or Jugoslav or American, would rush to the aid of the beleaguered Czechs in their hour of trial. Nothing in fact is less likely. It is not even sure whether the Czechoslovaks would welcome such succour. They seem on present showing admirably able to stand up for themselves. Nor will the United Nations be able to do anything, except express varying degrees of indignation. This may be useful, but not nearly as effective, in the context, as the indignation within the Soviet backyard itself.

The plain facts, however disagreeable, are that the division of Europe and large parts of the world into two blocs, a division that in essence dates back to Yalta, is still the ruling system, which the events of Czechoslovakia, far from upsetting have tended to confirm.

This, however, is the language of *realpolitik,* which may influence statesmen but cannot control the movements of men's hearts and minds. Even if it could be shown that the Russians are content, as they have been in the past, to stay in their own backyard, a huge wave of mistrust of their motives and intentions is likely—and with reasons—to sweep the Western world. The victim, at least in the short term, will be the détente which successive Western leaders, from Winston Churchill to Lyndon Johnson, have sought as the highest prize for statesmanship.

Who can now seriously contemplate that lofty vision of General de Gaulle's of a Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals"? What man will be listened to who argues that the Soviet threat in Europe is still minimal and that Western troop reductions can therefore be safely envisaged? How can the encouraging growth of cultural and scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union hope to be sustained?

Some of these reactions will be exaggerated but they will be nonetheless real. What the Russians have done is to make the life of a dove, whether in Washington, London, Paris or Bonn, increasingly difficult. Conversely, the hawks, secure in the thought that they have been proved right in their suspicion of every Russian move, will be on the wing.

In the Middle East, Soviet support for the Arab cause and the Russian build-up in the Mediterranean will appear even more disturbing than previously; an Arab-Israeli settlement, never much more than a pious hope, becomes even more illusory. In Asia, even if there is no obvious connection between the events in Czechoslovakia and the quest for peace in Vietnam, that quest must become, where American public opinion is concerned, more difficult. In Europe, the reasonable expectation that the two Germanys might learn, if not to accept each other, at least to live and trade together, now needs the unthinking optimism of a Coué.

If in the Western world the hawks have been given a golden opportunity to preen their feathers, the Soviet decision to intervene in Czechoslovakia must also have had the same effect in the Kremlin. Last week, the Soviet hawks carried the day. This week, depending upon what emerges from the Moscow Summit meeting, they might well be seen in humiliating retreat, driven back by Czechoslovak fortitude. This would scarcely sweeten their tempers. Whatever happens, the prospects for expanding co-existence between East and West will have been darkened.

The gloom of this forecast may yet be belied by events. If it is not, then "no war, no peace"—Trotsky's formula—seems to be about the maximum degree of consolation which can be got out of the present situation. Yet the prevailing twilight, in which the heroic tragedy of the Czech people flickers bravely, must not be allowed to obscure totally the prospects for East-West détente. Two facts stand out: nothing that has happened has upset the balance of power; secondly, the spirit of independence and freedom of which the Czechoslovak episode is an outstanding example can only flourish in the long run in an atmosphere of détente.

At the present emotional moment it is easy and natural—as no doubt tomorrow's debate in the House of Commons will show—to demand a breaking-off of trade and contacts with the Soviet Union and its slaves. But apart from affording a moral thrill, the practical effect of such a step would be minimal, where it is not actually negative. Senator Eugene McCarthy's dismissal of the Czechoslovak drama as not a "major world crisis"—"an invasion of France would be a serious matter"—may be a little too cool for the present state of feeling, although there is hard realism in what he said. I prefer Mr. George Brown's thoughtful and constructive approach in a speech at the Socialist International last week, when he urged that, in spite of events, the search for détente must go on.

Looking at the gruesome television pictures of what has been happening in Prague and Bratislava in the last few days, it is all too easy to think that the ghost of Stalin walks again. In fact, this cannot be. The defection of Western Communist parties, the rising tide of national independence in Eastern Europe, and the resistance of the Czechoslovaks, are events which speak for themselves and cannot be unsaid. Whether or not the Communist leaders gather in Moscow, the right course for the outside powers is to remain cool and patient, and mindful that the men in the Kremlin may last week have made a truly historic mistake.

[From the London, England, Sunday Times, Aug. 25, 1968]

EPIC BLUNDER?

Is Czechoslovakia the Russians' Bay of Pigs? If Mr. Dubcek does return, it will certainly look like it. What we have seen this week is an epic miscalculation. The Kremlin's military plan went smoothly enough. But the political plan is in ruins. The Czechs have not submitted; puppets have not been easily found; the party has not deserted its imprisoned leaders; the resistance has not been silenced. Not a single voice, in fact, has been heard to support the invasion. Every one of the half-million troops now said to be in occupation would clearly be needed if the Russians were to achieve their original objective of extinguishing Dubcekism. It is now fairly clear that that objective may have to be modified.

This is a quite astonishing situation. Only six months ago Czechoslovakia was an apparently fixed part of the Soviet empire. It has been under Moscow's heel for twenty years. Many of its people have had only the most fragmentary experience of freedom. The only habit they had the chance to acquire was that of bored obedience. Their lives were joyless and bound by very small hopes. Now, almost universally, they have shaken off the worst shackles of the past. For such people, at all their social and intellectual levels, to achieve this in so short a time is beyond the common range of imagination. It is evidence enough that the existence of the Dubcek regime, brief as it was, will prove to be a more durable political phenomenon with wider consequences, than the act of its attempted destruction.

Whatever the outcome of President Svoboda's talks in Moscow, this needs to be asserted. No language is too rich to be applied to the barbarity which Soviet fear and Soviet trickery have now visited upon Europe. No one can contemplate the familiar apparatus of the Soviet secret police without anger and sympathy on the Czechs' behalf. But this should not go so far as to credit the Russians with a triumph. In the short term the job was bungled. At best it will be seen to have landed its perpetrators with an unmanageable problem. Just how unmanageable was revealed by last night's reports of a Communist summit meeting in Moscow. The Communist family's affairs are badly awry, and a family council has apparently become urgent.

It follows from this that Western protest remains exceedingly relevant. People as well as Governments can give the Czechs priceless encouragement. They are still capable of receiving it, and the Russians are still capable of being embarrassed by it. But it must, of course, be based on the right premise. To welcome Prague as a friend of the West is to play exactly the game of the Russians. If Mr. Dubcek's Czechoslovakia is to be lamented, it must be as a steadfastly Communist State. That is the whole point of his achievement. It is also the essence of the case against the Kremlin. The Czech experiment, with its relevance for Western as well as Eastern societies, is a way of extending and modernizing the Communist system. Moreover it strengthened the possibility of European co-existence.

But much more than protest has been recommended to Western Governments and their citizens. Various courses are being canvassed. One is an immediate increase in armies and armaments in Europe. Another is an expansion of the British nuclear arsenal. Yet another is an embargo on all economic and cultural contacts with Moscow. Another is the election of Mr. Richard Nixon as the next American President.

All these are based more or less on the assumption that the Cold War has reopened with all its rigour, and that confrontation has replaced co-existence. But those are assumptions which it is a little early to start acting on. It is not the brutal outrage of this Soviet action which should be decisive in Western counsels so much as any evidence that the Kremlin intends to alter the strategic balance between East and West. This is discussed in an adjoining column. In that relationship all that has so far changed is the climate. Until more becomes clear, it would be unnatural to receive even the matchless Bolshoi ballet with the customary feelings of friendship. But it would be unreasonable to instantly reverse policies which recognise that, in the nuclear age, there is no alternative to co-existence. For if the history of the Dubcek regime suggests one truth above others, it is that the monolith of Eastern Europe is more likely to be fragmented by inner breakdown than by a reversion to implacable hostility in the West.

[From the London, England, Sunday Telegram, Aug. 25, 1968]

AN EMPIRE BREAKING UP

(By Tibor Szamuely)

"Communism has now revealed its true face." This phrase has often been repeated in the past few days, but it is very wide of the mark.

The Russian rape of Czechoslovakia has revealed nothing whatever about the nature or the methods of the Communist system—nothing that had not been known for a great many years. Or, rather, that had not been known to those who wished to be informed of the facts and to understand the nature of the Communist phenomenon.

For the truth is that the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, with all its brutality, treachery, cynicism, and complete disregard for public opinion, fits perfectly into the long line of acts of vicious imperialist aggression carried out by the Soviet Government over the past half-century: the invasion of Georgia in 1922, the partition of Poland and the attack upon Finland in 1939: the annexation of the Baltic States in 1940, the forcible Communisation of Eastern Europe in 1944–48, the intervention in Hungary in 1956.

Nor is this a tradition which began with the "Socialist" revolution of 1917: like Russian imperialism itself, it goes back much further in time; to the invasion of Hungary in 1849 and the bloody suppresion of the Polish revolutions of 1830 and 1863, and even further.

In those days Russia was known as the "Gendarme of Europe"—an object of fear and abhorrence for every progressive and democratic person in the world. Today her Government calls itself "Communist"; it has murdered millions, both within and without its borders—but solely because 50 years ago it nationalised the means of production, it has been regarded as a beacon of enlightenment by our present-day perverters of the progressive ideal.

Yet the Gendarme of Europe is what Soviet Russia has remained throughout her history. Her oppression, her barbarism, her cruelty have never been modified or changed.

Of late, however, a new factor has appeared, which is influencing Soviet policy to an ever tighter degree; not liberalisation or "bridgebuilding"—these are strictly for gullible foreigners—but the obvious moral, political and economic bankruptcy of the Communist system. No more talk of competing with the West, of proving the superiority of Communism by peaceful means: brute force and suppression are the order of the day. Faced with disaffection, resistance and rebellion, the Soviet leaders have proved to be weak and frightened men. And weakness and fright make bad counsellors.

Herein lies the explanation for the most mishandled act of aggression in Soviet history. Panic-stricken by the agonising choice between letting Czechoslovakia go democratic and crushing an "allied" Communist Government by force, the men in the Kremlin did what came naturally: they sent the tanks in. It seems to be 1956 all over again. But is it?

The parallel with the Hungarian tragedy springs instantly to mind. Certainly the ruthless and deceitful methods employed by the Russians are identical in both cases, down to the smallest detail. One often reads that every criminal band has its own particular methods, which rarely vary and thus help the police to recognise them and track them down. The Kremlin gangsters, too, have their own hallmark, and it is indelibly stamped upon the Czechoslovak operation.

But apart from the self-same mark of the beast, the Soviets' 1968 crime is different from that of 1956 in almost every aspect: in its preliminaries, its circumstances, its execution, and, most probably, its outcome. These differences, which have already resulted in an unprecedented political fiasco for the U.S.S.R., give reason to believe that the effects of Prague will be far more profound and lasting—very possibly even catastrophic in the long run for the Soviet empire and its rulers.

To begin with, never before have the Russians exhibited the present total inability to offer some coherent explanation of their action that might impress anyone above the mental level of an imbecile child. In Hungary's case—although, of course, there can be no question of *justification* for the Russian action—the Soviets were able, by skilfully blending selected facts, falsehoods and half-truths, to present a case that was at least acceptable to many of their subjects, to the international Communist movement, and even to certain sections of Western Leftist opinion.

In Hungary, on the face of it, there had been an armed uprising against the legal Government; the rebels had overthrown Communist rule and installed a multi-party coalition; some Communists (mainly secret policemen) had been lynched; the party, the Government and the armed forces had disintegrated, and law and order could be presented as having completely broken down.

Other factors, too, were adroitly manipulated by Soviet propaganda: Hungary had had a Right-wing, "Facist" regime between the wars and had been an ally of Hitler's—this made the version of a "Fascist takeover" sound somewhat less implausible to Leftist ears; Hungary had been legally occupied by the Soviet forces for the preceding 12 years; the coincidence of Suez distracted much of world attention from Eastern Europe; injudicious actions like the overheated tone of some Radio Free Europe broadcasts offered additional excuses to grateful Soviet propagandists.

It is easy to scoff at such a tortuous apologia; to the ordinary normal Western mind an unprovoked attack by a Great Power against a small nation is an act of aggression which nothing can explain away. But this is to discount the vital importance for a doctrinaire ideological movement of a systematic, factual and theoretical explanation of its actions for the edification and spiritual uplift of its followers.

This time the machine that had run so smoothly for 50 years has broken down. No Communist, whether Russian or Czech or any other, no fellow-traveller, however deeply brainwashed, can accept the pathetic mouthings of *Agitprop* about violations of "democratic centralism" or insults to good Czechoslovak comrades as justification for invasion, rapine and murder. The Kremlin gangsters stand naked in their infamy before the contemptuous and hate-filled gazes of their subjects and their hangers-on.

The Russian oligarchs acted in blind panic—and landed themselves in disaster. From the beginning everything has gone wrong (the transportation of the troops and their weapons over a few dozen miles without any resistance can hardly be chalked up as a success). The methods are those of 1956—the results are totally different.

In 1956 the invasion began with the announcement that Janos Kadar had formed a new Government which had called on the U.S.S.R. for help in the restoration of order. In 1968 the names of the mysterious "Czechoslovak leaders" who had invited the Russians have still not been unveiled, days after the invasion. Unlike Hungary, where the whole party apparatus, most of the Central Committee, the Government and the National Assembly welcomed the Russians as their saviours from the people's wrath, in Czechoslovakia no one supports the invaders—not even the People's Militia, upon which the Russians had pinned so many hopes.

Obviously, the Russians are looking for a Czechoslovak Kadar: a loyal servant untainted by association with the Stalinist past. They will find it hard to locate one—and, even if they do, their problems will hardly be solved. In Hungary at the time of the intervention no Communist party existed; it had been dissolved, and Kadar was able to create his own party from scratch, with no rival political organisation in the way.

But in Czechoslovakia the party exists and functions. It possesses properly elected bodies, and has just held a legally constituted congress. The party is loyal to Dubcek. Unlike Imre Nagy, who had no time to establish himself, Dubcek is the acknowledged and immensely popular leader of his nation—and Dubcek has been abducted by the professional Kremlin kidnappers.

The local party bodies, the Government officers, the armed forces, the diplomatic service, the U.N. delegation: all remain steadfast in their loyalty. How unlike Hungary—and what a shock to the Russians.

Intervention has blown up in the Russians' faces. Whereas in 1956 the international Communist movement faithfully closed ranks behind the Soviets, today every single Communist party—with the significant exception of North Vietnam—has bitterly condemned their action. And Rumania has split the Warsaw Pact itself wide open.

What can the Russians hope for at this calamitous juncture? Clearly their forces are sufficient to hold Czechoslovakia down indefinitely. Equally clearly, sooner or later some Quislings will emerge. But without the active collaboration of the Communist party and the central and local state administration, those will be unable to function. At the moment the chances of such collaboration appear remote, to say the least. Nor will the Czechs—traditional, age-old friends of the Russian people—ever be able to forget August 21, 1968.

So, barring a miracle—such as the Russians' recognising their moral defeat and withdrawing, as the British and French did after Suez—Czechoslovakia seems destined to remain under direct, if slightly camouflaged Russian military government. This would mean an unparalleled and probably irreparable disaster for the Communist system and the Soviet empire.

The Communist regimes in Poland and Hungary—particularly the latter—are too fragile and unpopular to be able to withstand for long the shock of the Czechoslovak imbroglio and the shame of participation in this vile and perfidious act. Colonial subjects who hate their master are not good at policing other colonies on his behalf. The bankruptcy of Communism in Eastern Europe is now irredeemable.

It is within Russia herself that the full weight of this week's catastrophe will be felt most acutely. I know from personal experience how deep was the sense of outrage among progressive Russians in 1956. In recent months, as we have learned from documents like the memoranda of the famous nuclear physicist, Academician Sakharov, democratisation in Czechoslovakia offered a flicker of hope to millions of thinking men and women in Russia. Today that flicker has been snuffed out by their own despised ruling clique in an act of cynical brutality unworthy even of Hitler, without a shred of justification.

The outside world has no idea of the extent and the depth of disillusionment among the citizens of Russia. For many of them Czechoslovakia will be the final straw. After 50 years of existence Communism has no argument left to uphold its legitimacy; only guns and tanks. Czechoslovakia has shown that this is not enough: 1956 undermined the Communist world system—1968 has dealt it a blow from which it can never recover. Communist colonial rule over half of Europe is beginning to break up.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. YOUNG of Ohio in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE CASE OF MRS. SYLVESTER SMITH

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "The Case of Mrs. Sylvester Smith," written by Walter Goodman, and published in the New York Times magazine of August 25, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A VICTORY FOR 400,000 CHILDREN: THE CASE OF MRS. SYLVESTER SMITH

(By Walter Goodman)

SELMA, ALA.—In October, 1966, Mrs. Sylvester Smith, once-widowed, once-deserted, 34 years old and black, was notified by the Department of Pensions and Security of Dallas County, Ala., that it was cutting off payments to her family under the Aid to Dependent Children program. This meant a loss of about $29 a month, more than a quarter of the Smith household income. It also signaled the beginning of a momentous test, resolved by the United States Supreme Court several weeks ago, of a state's power to deprive children of aid to which they are entitled by a Federal welfare program.

At a time when bureaucracy's entire approach to the poor was coming under radical scrutiny, the Court delivered a blow to state authorities, Northern as well as Southern, who have been withholding Federal dollars from residents because of race, sexual activity or other matters irrelevant to their need. The Smith decision, beneficently affecting more than 21,000 children in Alabama and perhaps as many as 400,000 throughout the country, was the first handed down by the high court in a dispute over public welfare; it will assuredly not be the last. Like Linda Brown, the schoolgirl from Topeka who won the 1954 school-integration decision, and Clarence Earl Gideon, the Florida convict whose right to an attorney was upheld in 1963, Mrs. Sylvester Smith has set in motion a dramatic change in American society.

In first giving aid to Mrs. Smith and then taking it away, Alabama was acting as an agent of the Federal Government, which set up the A.D.C. program under the Social Security Act. Last year, Washington contributed more than half of the $2.3-billion paid to some 4.2 million children around the country. In rich states such as New York the Federal share drops; in poor states such as Alabama it rises. Family payments vary according to need and number of children; in Alabama they average around $15 a child each month—about half the established level of "need."

Designed to help children who have been deprived of a parent by death, incapacity or simply by "continued absence from the home," A.D.C. has for years been under attack from those who see it as an inducement to immoral behavior, especially among Negroes. "By taxing the good people to pay for these programs," said the esteemed Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas in 1959, "we are putting a premium on illegitimacy never before known in the world." Mrs. Smith's children met all the original requirements for aid, but they did not qualify under one regulation that Alabama, along with most other states of the Old Confederacy and a number in the North,* had added. The Smith children were ruled ineligible because their mother was thought to be maintaining a continuing sexual relationship with a "substitute father"—who, presumably, was expected to help support the children.

Mrs. Smith first applied for A.D.C. in March, 1956, a few months after her husband was killed "in a fight over a woman." She was 23 years old and was left with three children—Ida Elizabeth, 3; Ernestine, 2, and Willie Lewis, 6 months. Aid was granted. In January 1957, she had her fourth child, Willie James, the son of one Lois Fuller. Willie James was added to the A.D.C. lists in June, 1963, after Fuller left town, presumably for New York. The Smith family received about $67 a month until March, 1966, when Ida Elizabeth, 13 years old and unmarried, bore a daughter of her own and was scratched from the budget.

That summer Mrs. Smith moved with her daughters and baby granddaughter from the country town of Tyler up to Selma, where she had found a job as a cook and waitress in a Negro cafe—3:30 A.M. to noon for $16 a week, later raised to $20. (The A.D.C. payments dropped in recognition of this bounty, as they had when she did some picking and hoeing in the cotton fields near Tyler.) Her two sons stayed in the country with their grandparents, joining the family in Selma on weekends. Today all six Smiths are together again in half of a weather-beaten cabin at the end of a dirt road in one of the Negro quarters of Selma. There is a neat sitting room in which three people can watch TV with only a little crowding; a bedroom almost completely filled by two beds! a rudimentary kitchen, and a tiny space which Mrs. Smith hopes some day to turn into a bathroom. For the present the family is served by a backyard privy.

Rent is $20 a month. The monthly gas bill comes to around $15 in the winter. Among the other regular expenses are $5 a month for sickness and accident insurance, $2 for fire insurance and 60 cents for a burial society. Mrs. Smith has no savings, and after her court case began she found it hard to get credit. "It's that suit you brought against the welfare people," a salesman told her.

One result of the move to Selma in 1966 was that the Smiths were assigned to a new caseworker, a matronly young woman named Mrs. Jacquelyn Stancil whose record bears out the impression she gives of going about her duties in an orderly way. After reviewing the Smith dossier and noting mention therein of one William E. Williams, Mrs. Stancil questioned a third party and was told that Mrs. Smith was receiving weekend visits from Williams, who still lived in Tyler, 15 miles south of Selma. "When I asked who told," recalls Mrs. Smith, "she said, 'It was a little bird.' I'd like to meet that little bird."

Mrs. Smith's caseworker during her years in the country had evidently been content to overlook the visits of Willie Williams; Mrs. Stancil was more fastidious. In September, 1966, Mrs. Stancil notified Mrs. Smith that her aid would be stopped if Williams kept coming around—that, after all, was the rule. Where Mrs. Stancil speaks with practiced reserve, Mrs. Smith tends to let herself go. Where Mrs. Stancil's professional manner approaches stolidness, Mrs. Smith is restless; some plump part of her seems always to be on the move. She grins a lot, a big grin that shows off her bad teeth. Mrs. Stancil keeps her smiles under control. The two women did not take to one another.

Not one to suffer rebuffs gladly (a few weeks earlier she had addressed to President Johnson a letter complaining about her daughter's being dropped from the aid rolls because she had a baby), Mrs. Smith got into what Mrs. Stancil describes as "a very excited state" when her own aid was stopped. She pointed out that Williams was married, his wife worked, they had nine children to take care of and, whatever his impulses, he had never been in a position to help her with more than $4 or $5 a month. "Ain't much he can do," she told Mrs. Stancil. "You can't make a man take care of his own kids, much less take care of other people's kids."

Her old caseworker and the county's A.D.C. supervisor were called in, and for two hours the three women attempted to mollify their client. Though she is able to laugh at the commotion now—"It was a big mess"—and is quick to concede that her caseworkers have as a rule been "nice" to her, Mrs. Smith remains unmollified about Mrs. Stancil: "She didn't have no right to cut my kids off. Sitting down there in that air-conditioned place and saying my kids can't get aid. She never came round to my house and found anybody there. I told her: 'As long as I'm not having no more kids for you to support, why should you bother me? You shouldn't be so hard on me.'" When Mrs. Stancil suggested that she end the "relationship," Mrs. Smith flatly refused; she was still young and "if I end with him, I'm gonna make a relationship with somebody." She told Mrs. Stancil: "If God had intended for me to be a nun I'd be a nun."

Efforts by Southern states to cleanse their welfare rolls of unwholesome children—a project that owes something to the "worthy poor" philosophy of another era—did not begin with the Smith family. For some years, the main tool in this work was a "suitable home" requirement, under which evidence of a parent's "casual relationships either in or outside the home" would weigh against a recipient child. Any child so vicious as to have a mother who gave birth to an illegitimate sibling would be dropped from the welfare rolls until his mother proved to the satisfaction of her county welfare department that she was going straight.

Cleansing expeditions of this sort, carried out exclusively against people who had nothing of their own, were hampered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which pointed out that "suitable home" rules violated both common sense and humanity. Former H.E.W. Secretary Arthur Flemming set forth the Department's position in a 1961 policy ruling against a Louisiana statute: "Whenever there is a question of the suitability of the home for the child's upbringing, steps should be taken to correct the situation, or, in the alternative, to arrange for other appropriate care of the child. It is completely inconsistent, however, to declare a home unsuitable for a child to receive assistance and at the same time permit him to remain in the same environment."

Moreover, it is not at all certain that a man around the house makes the place unsuitable. In a study carried out at about the time Alabama's substitute-father regulation was being developed, the state's welfare workers found that, far from being an invidious influence, the man often developed a warm relationship with the children; he gave them a sense of security and eased the stress on the mother. (Mrs. Smith reports that Williams ceased his weekend visits after her case gained some celebrity: "He sure put me down after I filed that suit.")

The suspicion among Federal officials responsible for overseeing the A.D.C. program was that some states were less interested in saving minors from corrupting surroundings than in simply riding welfare rolls of Negroes. A.D.C. is the only one of Alabama's major assistance program that has more Negroes in it than whites. A few years ago a study showed that 31,057 of the legitimate children receiving aid were black and 21,623 were white; in the illegitimate category, there were 16 black children for every white one. To an Alabama welfare official intent upon lopping off a lot of black bodies in a hurry, A.D.C. was the most promising field and irregular family arrangements afforded the most inviting route.

---

* Some form of the substitute-father rule was instituted in Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North and South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont and Virginia.

Soon after taking office as commissioner of Alabama's Department of Pensions and Security in January, 1963, Ruben K. King set to work on the A.D.C. problem. "I wanted to get down to the real meat of the coconut," says the commissioner, a short and remarkably round gentleman who received his post from former Gov. George Wallace in appreciation of his having attended law school with the Governor's brother; he is altogether innocent of training in social work. The coconut was cracked in June, 1964, when Alabama put its substitute-father regulation into effect. Under the rule, an able-bodied male was considered a substitute father of all the children in a given household if he lived in the home with the children's mother "for the purpose of cohabitation"; if he didn't live in the house "regularly" but visited "frequently for the purpose of cohabiting" with the mother, or if he met the mother elsewhere for that purpose. The existence of a child under the age of 6 months was *prima facie* evidence of the existence of a substitute father, and hence cause for stopping aid.

In reply to the suggestion that this was Alabama's way of discouraging immoral behavior, Commissioner King said, "We are not in the business to judge people morally"—but he also said that any mother whose aid was stopped could always choose "to give up her pleasure or to act like a woman ought to act like and continue to receive aid."

It was evident that, to those who had put together this provision, "cohabit" was a synonym for "fornicate"; what "regularly" and "frequently" were synonyms for remains anybody's guess. Whereas the genial commissioner felt that it was all right for a woman to go out once or twice a month—"People are human"—one of his female county directors thought that a sexual encounter every six months would be a bar to aid, assuming that it was with the same man. (All of Dallas County's caseworkers are white ladies of a certain age. Describing those who are attracted to the job, one Alabama official observed: "They wouldn't be likely to know what constitutes frequency in sexual matters.") However one cares to interpret the rule, in Alabama a man could be judged a substitute father without ever laying eyes on his substitute children. In speeches around the state, Commissioner King set forth the principle: "If a man wants to play, then let him pay."

The regulation worked. Between 1964 and 1966 some 15,000 children were removed from the relief rolls of Alabama, and applications for aid on behalf of 6,400 children were rejected. What color children? In 30 months in seven representative counties, 498 cases were closed; 97 per cent of the children were black. Commissioner King expresses regret that the provision seems to have been applied with particular stringency in areas with the heaviest concentrations of Negroes. Of the 184 A.D.C. cases closed in Dallas County, where Mrs. Smith lives, 182 affected Negro families. "We're not against the Negro people," a county caseworker affirms. "We take care of them."

Alabama authorities contend that Mrs. Smith's case was not typical. In most of the families covered by the substitute-father rule, they say, the man involved was in fact the father of the recipient children and was keeping up a connection with the family. Nevertheless, had Mrs. Smith wished to become eligible again after being barred from aid, her course was to inform the state that she had broken with the phantom father and to have this news corroborated by at least two "acceptable references in a position to know." Singled out as persons in a position to know were "law-enforcement officials, ministers, neighbors, grocers." With Mrs. Smith's permission, an investigator would have gone to her favorite policeman or grocer to inquire whether she was still enjoying sexual relations with Williams and if so, where and how often. Mrs. Smith did not grant her caseworker such permission—"I told her it was none of her business."

Despite a fair amount of confusion, the caseworkers seemed to agree that if a woman with a 5-month-old child said she had not seen the father since the hour of conception and there was no evidence to the contrary, she would still have to offer corroborative evidence. One caseworker explains that since the women "don't exactly know what cohabitation means," she would ask them, "Do you have sexual intercourse?" or "Do you have sex relations with . . .?" One may assume that like language was addressed to the grocer. A lawyer who has looked into the practices of the area's welfare workers maintains that in some circumstances "the kids were asked whether their mother was sleeping around."

At no time during her run-in with the Department of Pensions and Security did Mrs. Smith show any of the hangdog apathy once associated with welfare recipients. She skips rather than walks and fairly bounces with energy, her enthusiasm leaping from her granddaughter to the indoor bathroom she is hoping to install to the used car she would like to buy. Her temper is by no means chronically militant, and laughter at her own predicament has a way of breaking through her indignation—but indignant she surely was at the idea that the welfare people could punish her family, which she had kept together for years by main determination and hard work, because they didn't like her private doings.

In the fall of 1966, she took her story to some civil-rights workers who had won a reputation around Selma for talking tough to welfare-department functionaries. From Selma the details were relayed to New York, to the Center on Social Welfare Policy, which had recently been set up at Columbia University and was soliciting cases in behalf of welfare clients. The Center's co-director was a 32-year-old trial lawyer named Martin Garbus. The son of Bronx candy-store owners, Garbus got his law degree by attending N.Y.U. at night, began a promising career in personal-injury and criminal practice and then found himself drawn to civil-liberties practice by his sympathy, not unmixed with skepticism, for such offenders against The System as Lenny Bruce, Timothy Leary, California migrant workers and prisoners facing execution—all of whom he has represented.

An associate at the Columbia Center went to Selma to talk with Mrs. Smith and check the facts. This was but one of many cases the Center's attorneys were looking into at the time, and they decided to go ahead with it. "The facts were perfect," Garbus says. "If Alabama had any sense, they would have restored Mrs. Smith's aid and tried to wash out the action. The so-called substitute father was not in fact the father of any of the children; he was not living in their home or performing any of a father's duties; he was under no obligation to contribute to their support, and in fact he was not contributing."

Although the attorneys suspected that racial discrimination existed in the welfare policies of numerous states, it was easiest to demonstrate in Alabama. They were also attracted to the Smith case by the fact that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had never approved the Alabama regulation. (Not that it had effectively disapproved it. Part of H.E.W.'s ineffectiveness stemmed from its unwieldy power. It could cut off aid altogether if a state program was unacceptable, but barring such massive retaliation, destructive of everybody's interests, its powers were pretty much limited to polite reprimands and requests to the states for a policy in keeping with Federal intent. Even after the Smith case was under way and the court urged it to come forward, H.E.W. played a curiously coy part. The reasons, one may fairly surmise, have to do with politics. In the best of times H.E.W. is not a favored child of the Congress, and these are not the best of times for domestic welfare—or for upsetting Southern legislators. No one took exception to Commissioner King's contention that H.E.W. suffers from a want of "guts.")

Attorney Garbus, a limber, open-faced young man who would still have no trouble passing as a student—even to the longish hair—left the Columbia center for a new post as director-counsel of the Roger-Baldwin Foundation, an arm of the American Civil Liberties Union organized last year to aid the "disinherited." When he moved, he took the Smith case with him, and on Nov. 23, 1966, he filed an action in Mrs. Smith's behalf in Federal District Court in Montgomery. The inducements to go into Federal court rather than attempt to get redress for a Negro in the state courts of the South require no special elucidation. It was a prime victory for the plaintiff when, over the objections of state attorneys, Judge Frank W. Johnson, a Southern jurist with a reputation for liberality in civil-rights matters, granted Garbus's plea that his suit be heard by a three-judge Federal court which could rule on the constitutional issues.

At this point we may bid good-by to Mrs. Smith, for her case is in truth no longer hers. It has become a "class action," brought in behalf of "all other persons similarly situated," the tens of thousands of mothers and hundreds of thousands of children who were being deprived of aid by the substitute-father rules of 19 states and the District of Columbia. Mrs. Smith had provided the legal wedge. With the doors of the courtroom now open, she was transformed into Mrs. Sylvester Smith, et al., plaintiffs.

The case moved through the three-judge court in Montgomery with remarkable speed, largely because of the cooperation Garbus received from Alabama officials. "They could've made things difficult for us by holding back documents and information," he says in wonder, "but they didn't. In their place, I would've been much tougher." There was no actual trial; depositions were taken from concerned parties and submitted to the judges. In November, 1967, just a year after the original complaint, United States Circuit Judge John C. Godbold and District Judges Virgil Pittman and Frank Johnson delivered their decision. They called the substitute-father rule "arbitrary and discriminatory" and declared that it violated the equal-protection clause of the 14th Amendment by permitting Alabama to "pick and choose the mothers and children it will aid through the use of some classifications which are not rationally related to the purpose of the applicable statutes."

Mrs. Smith *et al.* had won their case, but the conquering attorneys were not wholly at ease. "I was afraid," says the realistic Garbus, "that instead of appealing the decision the state would simply lay down some other definition or a combination of definitions of what constitutes a substitute father. For example, they could've said that if a man sits down and eats with the children, that makes him a substitute father, or if he takes the kids to church or to the doctor. Other states have rules of that sort; the only thing special about Alabama's was that it was the worst of them. We wanted Alabama to appeal because we wanted a decision from the Supreme Court that would scrap *all* substitute-father provisions."

The state did appeal. "Having Alabama as your opponent is half the battle," remarks

Garbus. The Supreme Court had not previously entered the tangled area of public welfare, but there was a sense among observers of the Court's mood that it was ready to do so—indeed, eager for the opportunity. The times demanded, the case invited and it was natural for a court identified with civil rights to move from school and voting cases to welfare.

The boyish-looking Garbus had never argued a case before the high court, but he has a quick mind and a tongue to keep up with it, and he suffers from no diffidence in a courtroom. He took pains to prepare himself for each justice's probable approach to welfare programs. Justice Fortas, for example, wanted to get into the political realities that prevented H.E.W. from ruling out unacceptable state programs, and Garbus explained that the department's sole and unusably drastic power was to withhold funds altogether. Justice Harlan, reflecting the attitudes of Justices White and Stewart, questioned the right of the Federal Government to set up standards for a state program. He was surprised to learn that 83 per cent of Alabama's A.D.C. funds are contributed by Washington.

The case was argued not long after the assassination of Martin Luther King, and as the lawyers and judges discussed what a Southern state had done to thousands of its poorest families, a level of emotion was reached not customary in the Supreme Court building. In his replies to the friendly questions of Justice Brennan, Garbus emphasized that the class being discriminated against was composed of "helpless children" who were being deprived of what Secretary Flemming had called a statutory "right to life." When Assistant Attorney General Mary L. Stapp of Alabama argued that in cutting off aid to mothers having illicit relationships, her state was providing more money for qualifying families, Brennan commented: "You give more milk to some children by giving none to others." And after a series of evasive responses by Mrs. Stapp regarding the circumstances under which a family could be deprived of aid, Chief Justice Warren ended the hearing by saying, "Never mind! Never mind!" and slamming a book down on his desk.

With the exception of Justice Douglas, who sought to rule against Alabama on constitutional grounds and registered this desire in a concurring brief, the justices seemed to be searching for a decision that would be phrased in the narrowest terms yet have the widest application. The way to achieve this happy combination, suggested Garbus, was for the Court to hold that states may treat as "parents" for purposes of A.D.C. eligibility only persons with a legal obligation to support the children—that is, their real fathers or their mothers' husbands. And that is the line the Court took. To the justices, handing down their decision as the poor people were gathering in Resurrection City, it seemed "inconceivable" that Alabama was free to discourage immorality by disqualifying needy children from aid. The Social Security Act stated that aid was to be granted to all eligible children, and so, they ruled, it must be. Chief Justice Warren, in the name of a unanimous Court, wrote: "We hold today only that Congress has made at least this one determination: that destitute children who are legally fatherless cannot be flatly denied federally funded assistance on the transparent fiction that they have a substitute father." Says Garbus: "I like to think that Warren purposely saved the Smith case for his final opinion."

Soon after the Court's decision, H.E.W. directed the states to notify affected persons that they were eligible for aid. Commissioner King says he is prepared to comply—not that he has much choice, since he is directly under the eye of the courts. But well above the Mason-Dixon line, Michigan's director of social services has pledged to stand fast in refusing aid to children whose mothers are having extramarital relations. "What the Supreme Court has told us, in substance," announced a Republican state representative, "is that we must subsidize not only illegitimacy but adultery." This may be bluster, but A.C.L.U. lawyers do not intend to see their victory go for nothing. Rather than start separate proceedings in the courts of each recalcitrant state, however, Garbus is contemplating bringing one all-encompassing suit against the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—an "absolutely unprecedented" move, says an H.E.W. attorney—to compel that sluggard to act against resisters.

The great issue at the center of the Smith case and the cases that will follow is whether individuals are diminished in the eyes of the law because they are poor and need help. Garbus sees his victory as the beginning of a full-scale attack on a whole array of state welfare practices. "The era of school and voting litigation," he says, "is giving way to the era of poverty litigation." In its next session, the Supreme Court is scheduled to hear a challenge to the one-year residency requirement for welfare applicants in a number of states, and other challenges are in the making; they could in time affect eight million people. "With the Smith case," says Garbus, "the courts have established that the Federal Government has the final say as to the purpose of Federal welfare programs. This is the beginning of a new welfare bill of rights." Perhaps so. But in light of the way the old bill of rights has been applied to black citizens over the years, Garbus can look forward to many more hours in court.

Between October, 1966—when she learned that her money was being cut off—and June, 1968—when the Supreme Court delivered its decision—Mrs. Smith never met her attorney champion, Martin Garbus. But a few weeks ago, on the muddy road outside the Smith home, where the town of Selma gives way to open fields, they finally did meet. There was joy on both sides, and the conversation was lively. She told him about the people she knew who had been put back on welfare because of her case; he promised to send her pictures of her family that had appeared in the newspapers. But their happiness was tempered by the news that a few weeks earlier Mrs. Smith, through no fault of her own, had been laid off from a factory job which paid $1.60 an hour. Another job will probably come along for Mrs. Smith; her newest caseworker, impressed by her intelligence and energy, has no doubt of that. But for now the victorious plaintiff was waiting for her latest A.D.C. application to be acted on, and in the meantime she was having difficulty getting together $3 to buy food stamps.

For a moment as Mrs. Smith and Garbus sat talking in the lawyer's rented car (a religious lesson was going on in the sitting room and the kitchen was full of children), her high spirits failed, her resilience waned. Her 36th birthday was coming up and she said: "I wish I was 63. Then I'd be sitting around getting my help."

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, if no other Senators desire to make statements at this time, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 1 minute p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, September 5, 1968, at 12 noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 4, 1968:

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Paul L. Sitton, of Georgia, to be Urban Mass Transportation Administrator. (New position.)

U.S. ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Arnold M. Picker, of New York, to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for a term expiring May 11, 1971. (Reappointment.)

Wayland P. Moody, of Texas, to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for a term expiring May 11, 1971, vice Dr. Luther H. Foster, term expired.

Thomas E. Robinson, of New Jersey, to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs for a term expiring May 11, 1971, vice Dr. Rufus C. Harris, term expired.

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

William G. Bowdler, of Florida, a Foreign Service officer of class 2, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to El Salvador.

Leo J. Sheridan, of Illinois, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Ireland.

Arthur W. Hummel, Jr., of Maryland, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of Burma.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

Subject to qualifications provided by law, the following for appointment as a member of the Mississippi River Commission:

Don A. Jones, rear admiral, USESSA.

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3305:

To be colonels

Evans, Edward J., O37374.
McElwee, Daniel W., O37732.

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3299:

To be lieutenant colonel

McDaniels, John E., OF110807.

To be captains

Ackerman, Duane V., O95414.
Ackein, James M., III, O95761.
Adam, John A., OF106477.
Adams, Bobby R., O96301.
Adams, Charles L., O95417.
Adams, Charles W., O97075.
Adams, Elmer E., O95418.
Adams, Keith E., O95762.
Adams, William E., O96559.
Affourti, Rene J., O92870.
Aikman, Peter R., O94358.
Allinger, Lawrence, O95763.
Akagi, Hart M., O95419.
Alberghini, Joseph, OF102395.
Albertella, Raymond, O92858.
Alcala, Raoul H., O95764.
Alix, Richard R., O92283.
Allard, John A., OF110163.
Allen, Gordon W., O94803.
Allen, James E., OF102396.
Alley, Norman L., O94665.
Allison, William C., O92873.
Allred, James R., O94359.
Amick, Robert L., O92874.
Amon, Lawrence R., O95766.
Anderson, Carl R., O93348.
Anderson, Charles E., O90146.
Anderson, Eugene L., O92287.
Anderson, Jerome F., O95422.
Anderson, Raymond L., OF103014.
Andres, Dudley M., OF109058.
Andress, James G., O95768.
Andrews, Roger C., O95770.
Archambault, Emile, OF103480.

Archer, John R., OF100686.
Armstrong, Chalmers, O95771.
Armstrong, David A., O95772.
Armstrong, Robert C., OF105606.
Arnette, Ben S., Jr., OF109504.
Arnold, John H., OF106484.
Arnold, Preston T., O92884.
Arnold, Steven L., O95773.
Arrington, Robert, O96306.
Aschbacher, Arthur, OF106485.
Ashley, Adrian A., OF113138.
Askins, William M., O96562.
Ator, Richard D., O96563.
Aucoin, James S., O92298.
Austin, James L., OF105607.
Axelson, Gordon S., OF103614.
Axsom, Donald E., O93113.
Ayers, Thomas, III, O95427.
Babb, Donald N., O95774.
Bachelor, Larry D., O95775.
Bacon, William E., OF110588.
Badami, James A., OF103617.
Baggett, Fred K., O92940.
Baiden, Arthur H., O96308.
Bailey, Fred E., O94362.
Bailey Joseph N., Jr., O95359.
Baim, David H., O94667.
Baker, Mark A., OF114018.
Baker, Ronald L., Jr., OF101012.
Baker, Rudolph, OF109064.
Baker, Tracy, II, O92304.
Baltes, Paul A., Jr., O95777.
Banks, Gary G., O96310.
Barber, Don W., O92895.
Barclay, Douglas H., O99291.
Barham, Thomas B., O95432.
Barnes, Michael V., OF109510.
Barney, Patrick L., OF110590.
Barry, Richard A., O95778.
Bartelme, Michael J., O95779.
Bartholomew, Alanso, O95501.
Bartlett, Harvey S., O96312.
Bass, Louis R., O94668.
Bass, Walter E., OF106492.
Bates, Phillip H., O96822.
Batt, Howard C., O95780.
Baughman, Harold D., O95781.
Baumgartner, Gary W., OF102135.
Baxter, Gene E., O95783.
Bayer, Lawrence W., OF110176.
Beach, Dwight W., OF109066.
Beadle, Norman L., O95119.
Beauchamp, Ramar K., O95434.
Becker, Robert A., O93312.
Bedford, Ben C., Jr., O98570.
Beedle, Charles E., OF100237.
Beeman, Richard C., O99575.
Behan, James B., OF102765.
Behrens, Robert W., OF108110.
Beim, Alexander, O96567.
Belenski, Alexander, O94804.
Bell, Edward F., Jr., O96944.
Bell, Richard F., OF105615.
Bellais, William F., OF110593.
Beltson, Richard D., OF109067.
Benchoff, Dennis L., O95784.
Bender, Charles D., O92928.
Benka, Daniel L., OF109068.
Bennett, John L., O94669.
Bennis, John M., OF114029.
Benson, Frederick W., OF108114.
Berg, James M., O96319.
Bergeron, Richard J., O94670.
Bergman, Todd L., O95786.
Berner, Ronald E., O94805.
Berris, George A., OF109070.
Berry, Peter T., OF102407.
Berry, Ralph W., O95436.
Berry, Roy C., O95437
Berry, Terry G., O94511.
Bevis, Coleman O., Jr., O94512.
Bianco, Frederick A., OF102408.
Bickert, Dale J., O92934.
Biddison, Alan M., O95788.
Biggs, Danny J., O92935.
Bila, Donald V., O96568.
Bilafer, Martin F., O95789.
Bilund, James A., O93119.
Bird, William J., O95790.
Bissell, Norman M., O94364.
Bitler, William D., O92945.
Black, James B., OF105327.
Black, James S., OF105624.
Black, Richard A., OF108116.
Blair, Larry A., O93121.
Blanke, Richard C., O94365.
Bliven, David M., OF110184.
Blumhardt, Glen A., O95791.
Blundell, James D., O95792.
Blynn, David M., O95793.
Bobbitt, Joseph R., O95444.
Bodden, John D., OF110186.
Bodziony, Ronald, O92337.
Bogden, Joseph, O97874.
Bohls, Robert J., O95445.
Bonavolonta, Julius, O92947.
Bond, Cecil W., Jr., OF105262.
Bond, Richard R., O88324.
Bondshu, Arthur F., O95795.
Bone, David M., O94366.
Bonner, Harold S., O92954.
Boose, Donald W., Jr., O92959.
Boozer, Wilburn L., O95796.
Borneman, Edward L., O99795.
Borrello, Ronald A., O95797.
Bosserman, David C., O99486.
Bothwell, Frederick, O95798.
Bouton, Peter H., O97282.
Bowers, George W., O92971.
Bowker, Lewis W., Jr., OF102417.
Bowling, Ernest R., O92345.
Bowman, Patrick A., O95448.
Bowman, William R., O92973.
Boyd, Harry R., Jr., O95799.
Boyersmith, Joseph, O92347.
Bradham, John R., OF106064.
Bradley, Larry E., OF108119.
Brady, Brian W., OF100066.
Brainerd, Ardell T., OF102144.
Branscome, Dexter A., OF110610.
Brantner, Carter H., OF108121.
Brauer, Paul F., OF101099.
Breese, William E., OF114035.
Brewer, Charles R., O92983.
Briggs, David S., O92988.
Brigham, Frederick, O93130.
Bristol, Donald F., O92993.
Britton, Joseph D., O99616.
Brizee, Harold R., O93131.
Broderick, Edward S., OF105633.
Brogi, Robert P., O95802.
Brooks, Lawrence D., OF106065.
Brooks, Milton D., O95116.
Broom, Thad A., Jr., O95803.
Broshous, Charles R., O95804.
Brown, Arthur S., O95805.
Brown, Billy C., O99799.
Brown, Charles E., O95806.
Brown, David R., OF106522.
Brown, Gary L., O95807.
Brown, James H., OF102824.
Brown, John B., Jr., O95453.
Brown, Keith I., O92996.
Brown, Morris E., Jr., O95809.
Brown, Richard L., O99061.
Brown, Robert W., O95454.
Brown, Roger A., O95810.
Brown, Thomas M., O96331.
Brown, William R., O96333.
Browning, Philip Y., O95812.
Brownlee, Romie L., O95455.
Bruce, Gene D., O93007.
Bruington, Ray D., O95457.
Brumfield, Wetzel D., O93009.
Bryan, Leland W., OF106526.
Bryde, Walter J., Jr., O95813.
Buck, Thomas E., O95814.
Buczek, Henry F., OF108128.
Bugay, James A., O95460.
Bulger, Dennis B., O93012.
Bulley, Brian R., O94513.
Bungay, David J., O93014.
Bunton, Terry R., O93016.
Burdick, Mario A., OF106068.
Burke, Edward J., OF102426.
Burke, Larry K., O95461.
Burke, Millard, OF104383.
Burke, Paul W., O95815.
Burlingame, John C., O95462.
Burns, Donald A., O95816.
Burns, Gary M., O93024.
Burns, James E., OF102826.
Burns, Jerald C., O94514.
Burns, Philip J., O95817.
Burns, William C., Jr., O95818.
Burr, Ralph R., Jr., O95819.
Burroughs, Dale A., OF102152.
Burntner, James R., O95464.
Burton, Thomas D., OF105342.
Bush, Charles R., O94675.
Bushong, James T., OF100697.
Butler, Rudolph E., O99299.
Buttolph, Dan D., O95820.
Butts, Samuel J., O96336.
Butzer, Charles B., O95821.
Byers, John W., O95822.
Byrd, William A., O95823.
Byrne, Peter C., OF103285.
Byrne, William F., O93055.
Cabe, Lewis R., OF110195.
Cabrinha, Joseph W., OF114044.
Cacioppe, Richard C., O95824.
Calhoun, William R., O95825.
Call, William A., Jr., O93107.
Callahan, James E., O95502.
Cameron, Vaughn W., OF110197.
Campbell, David B., O93122.
Campbell, John H., O95826.
Campbell, Winton G., O96337.
Canary, Patrick L., O95827.
Canatsey, John D., O96338.
Canavan, Thomas J., O98099.
Canelos, William A., O93135.
Cappadona, Louis A., O94515.
Caram, Meredith H., O94215.
Carey, William R., OF106536.
Caristo, Frederic G., O95469.
Carlson, Richard I., O95828.
Carnes, George P., O95829.
Carpenter, Harold D., OF106539.
Carr, Sammie T., O95830.
Carrington, John R., OF106075.
Carroll, Dennis J., OF104387.
Carroll, Robert C., O95831.
Carroll, Robert H., O94175.
Carter, James E., Jr., O95472.
Carter, James R., OF103806.
Case, David W., OF103807.
Case, James W., OF114045.
Casey, Thomas J., Jr., O99802.
Cassady, John R., II, O96340.
Cassidy, Edwin C., Jr., O95473.
Castleman, Robert J., OF102155.
Causer, Wilburn R., OF102829.
Cauthen, William A., O95835.
Celata, Donald V., OF105349.
Chadbourne, Glenn A., O95836.
Champion, John E., OF110205.
Chandler, Charles R., O95838.
Charbonneau, Ronald, O93150.
Chegar, Richard D., O95839.
Chesney, Ralph M., OF108135.
Chewning, Ward M., Jr., OF105350.
Childers, Jerry W., OF106077.
Childress, John R., OF102432.
Chipman, John E., OF105647.
Chisholm, Ronald J., O95840.
Chladek, Gary F., OF102433.
Chladek, Richard M., O95841.
Chrissinger, John E., O94519.
Chrobak, Walter J., O95843.
Chronis, Nicholas N., O94375.
Chura, Howard J., OF106078.
Clark, Daniel D., O95844.
Clark, Luke E., OF105356.
Clark, Winston B., Jr., O95845.
Clements, Lawrence, OF103660.
Cleveland, Charles, OF113578.
Click, Ira M., O99050.
Clifton, James D., OF105648.
Clune, James M., O94676.
Cobb, Tyrus R., Jr., O95846.
Coffman, Charles O., OF102160.
Cohen, James M., OF106551.
Colan, Albert R., Jr., O93154.
Cole, Roy W., III, O95847.
Coleman, Bennie L., O93157.
Coles, Louis E., OF109840.
Collins, Michael D., O95478.
Collins, Scott S., Jr., OF102161.
Colson, Charles E., OF103533.
Comello, Jerome J., O95848.
Comer, Frederick E., O95849.
Cone, Billy J., OF108138.
Cone, Edward E., Jr., O93162.
Conn, Joseph E., O95479.

Conners, David C., O93166.
Conrad, Paul F., OF106082.
Cook, Ronal B., O91335.
Cooper, Walter A., O95851.
Copenhaver, Warren OF101268.
Corbett, John E., Jr., OF100391.
Corcoran, Edward A., O94678.
Corcoran, George M., OF109887.
Corder, Joseph W., Jr., O97294.
Costain, Phillip A., O95852.
Costello, Daniel S., OF102439.
Cothran, James M., OF106085.
Coty, Adrian P., OF102440.
Couch, John L., O96630.
Coughlin, James P., O93378.
Counts, Ronald W., O99806.
Cours, John D., OF100596.
Coutant, Norman J., O94679.
Cowles, James H., O95853.
Coy, Dale E., O93185.
Coyne, Robert C., O95854.
Craig, Lawrence P., O95486.
Craig, Richard P., OF100157.
Cramer, Larry V., OF110640.
Crane, James P., O95487.
Crane, Lawrence R., O95856.
Crawford, William R., OF114387.
Creech, William R., OF109107.
Crismon, Frederick, OF101806.
Crockett, Darwin T., OF109889.
Crockett, James R., O96352.
Crockett, William R., O94680.
Cronhimer, John F., O92412.
Crook, Louis M., Jr., OF113161.
Cropsey, Karl S., O96353.
Cross, William M., O95857.
Crotty, Timothy J., O94681.
Crow, Rufus C., Jr., O95858.
Crow, Stuart J., O99632.
Crowder, Charlie C., O95489.
Crowe, Charles E., O96354.
Crowell, Arthur N., O95859.
Culp, Robert S., Jr., O95860.
Cummings, John W., O93194.
Cundiff, Brian H., O94378.
Cunningham, Harold, O94184.
Curren, Grindley C., O95863.
Currie, Aubrey G., OF106088.
Currie, John H., OF109111.
Currin, James M., O95864.
Curtis, Anthony M., O93207.
Cuttino, Peter F., Jr., OF110644.
Czerw, Theodore J., OF108145.
Dacas, Kenneth J., O94522.
Dacunto, Lawrence J., O95491.
Damewood, John H., O93155.
Dansby, Robert F., Jr., O96356.
Darcy, Richard E., O94808.
Dargle, John W., O95865.
Darling, Dean H., OF106563.
Darrell, Charles C., O95867.
Daugherty, William, O95868.
Davis, Alec C., O95493.
Davis, David L., O96758.
Davis, Hugh L., O96358.
Davis, John F., OF114066.
Davis, Joseph S., O95495.
Davis, Myron D., OF100885.
Davis, Richard E., O96360.
Davis, Terrel E., O94523.
Davis, Thomas R., O95869.
Davison, Daniel P., O94683.
Daws, Robert N., Jr., OF106092.
De Amico, Anthony R., O95870.
De Bastiani, Richard, O98058.
De Bauche, Gary A., O95496.
De Groot, Michael H., O95262.
De Marco, Francis H., O93240.
De Rossett, William, O96376.
De Sapri, Donald A., O95872.
De Vore, John E., O95873.
De Vries, Robert K., O95874.
Dean, Edwin B., OF108148.
Degenhardt, Jacob R., O95877.
Dekeyrel, Burdette, O92868.
Demchsak, John G., OF109893.
Dempster, Robert J., O96361.
Deryck, John L., O95643.
Devlin, Owen F., O92433.
Devlin, Terrence E., OF109545.
Dewey, Victor C., O95880.
Dickinson, Gary L., OF109896.
Dickinson, Robert C., O95881.
Dieal, William J., O95882.
Dill, Earnest W., O96363.
Dillard, James H., O94951.
Dilley, John H., Jr., O95883.
Dinger, Timothy S., OF100258.
Dingwall, Bennett T., O96577.
Dixon, Richard A., O94684.
Dodd, James W., O95885.
Dodson, Billie R., O93251.
Dolson, Kenneth R., O95886.
Domask, Jerome H., OF113168.
Dominy, Charles E., O95887.
Donahue, Philip P., OF110655.
Dondlinger, Jerome, O99819.
Donoghue, Glen M., OF102314.
Dooley, James C., O95506.
Dorr, Charles D., OF113169.
Dorsey, James D., OF109899.
Dorsey, James J., O96755.
Doten, Frederick S., O95888.
Douglas, Robert E., O95889.
Downing, Wayne A., O95890.
Driskill, Joe G., OF105378.
Duncan, George R., O95891.
Dunham, Richard A., OF105379.
Dunmyer, James W., O95892.
Dunn, David R., O93275.
Dunning, Martin V., OF100401.
Dunnington, Joseph, O93277.
Dupuy, Trevor N., Jr., O95893.
Dupwe, Robert I., OF109118.
Dutcher, James A., Jr., OF102857.
Dworsak, William F., O95894.
Dye, Preston C., O99829.
Earhart, Larry L., OF106102.
Earp, Curtis D., Jr., OF102858.
Easterbrook, John E., O95896.
Eaton, Roberto C., O92455.
Eaton, William K., Jr., OF103491.
Ebbesen, Samuel E., O93278.
Eckman, Philip L., O94384.
Eddy, Thomas F., O99831.
Eden, William G., O93164.
Edwards, Fred C., O94189.
Edwards, George W., OF106105.
Edwards, Thomas B., O96370.
Eggleston, Daniel, O99058.
Eian, John N., O91718.
Elliott, David R., O99834.
Elliott, James R., OF113611.
Elliott, John A., III, O94687.
Ellis, James R., O95898.
Ellis, Robert L., O95899.
Elmore, Robert E., Jr., OF106586.
Emanuel, Peter J., O94191.
Emge, William P., O96372.
Emmert, Richard W., O93396.
Eppley, Vernon L., O94526.
Erickson, James M., OF104358.
Erickson, William C., O89932.
Errickson, Andrew, OF106588.
Ervin, James R., OF106589.
Erway, Douglas K., O93301.
Espling, David D., OF105665.
Evans, John G., O95900.
Even, Donald G., O93311.
Everly, Julian R., OF102866.
Fairbrother, Elwood, OF110671.
Faley, Thomas E., Jr., O95902.
Falk, Warren L., OF102177.
Fang, Donald R., OF109908.
Fargo, James C., O95515.
Farmen, William N., O95516.
Farris, James I., O93320.
Faxon, Robert M., O93325.
Feldman, David A., O95904.
Felter, Joseph H., Jr., O93333.
Ferguson, John P., Jr., O95905.
Ferrie, Bertram W., OF113620.
Ficalora, Paul B., O93338.
Fichtl, Theodore C., OF102871.
Ficke, Robert G., OF109912.
Fielding, John F., OF110675.
Fincher, Hubert T., OF102872.
Finlayson, John D., O95906.
Finn, Bertram P., O95907.
Finnerty, John J., OF110676.
Finstrom, Carl G., Jr., O95319.
Fintel, Arthur T., O95908.
Fiore, Francis A. N., O95909.
Firestone, Terry J., O93340.
Fischer, John A., O96581.
Fischer, William F., O95353.
Fish, Robert W., OF102100.
Fishburne, Elliott, O95910.
Fisher, Charles L., O95911.
Fisher, David M., Jr., OF108168.
Fisher, William R., O95520.
Fix, Jerrold E., OF113623.
Fladd, Frederich H., O94386.
Flanagan, Richard W., OF113182.
Flanagan, William J., OF105670.
Flannigan, Robert A., OF104419.
Fleming, Rogers S., O99644.
Flint, Dennis D., O95912.
Florence, John J., O95913.
Flores, Jose M., O94193.
Folcher, Albert G., OF106109.
Foley, Paul P., OF102462.
Foltz, John F., OF106598.
Forcier, David N., O93347.
Ford, Randall L., OF101233.
Forgach, Peter A., OF104157.
Forys, Conrad W., OF114081.
Foscue, Stanley M., OF108170.
Foss, Ardeen R., O95914.
Foss, Kenneth A., Jr., O95524.
Foster, Charles B., OF106110.
Foster, Francis H., OF106111.
Foulds, David G., O94388.
Fowler, Calvin M., OF102529.
Fox, Edwin F., Jr., O94389.
Fox, Ralph M., O95915.
Franck, John L., O95916.
Franke, Roger W., O95917.
Franks, Clifton R., O95918.
Fraser, Harry L., O95919.
Frater, Arthur W., OF100269.
Fredrick, Gilbert H., OF102876.
Freeman, Malcolm A., O99844.
French, Luther L., OF102877.
Frickey, Norman G., O96968.
Frierson, Donald M., OF101040.
Fujimoto, Maurice M., OF103827.
Fulcher, Stan Lee T., OF102878.
Furgeson, Charles T., O94528.
Gaglioti, John W., O96377.
Gaillitis, Vilnis, O95527.
Galanti, Philip J., O95922.
Galfy, Joseph J., Jr., OF105398.
Gall, John S., O95528.
Garde, Daniel F., O93366.
Gardner, Alan D., O96380.
Gardner, Gary M., OF106609.
Garner, Gerald G., O95529.
Garner, John L., OF110687.
Garofalo, Ferdinand, OF102468.
Garrett, Mickey, O95530.
Garrett, Robert P., O95923.
Garvey, Richard E., O95925.
Garvin, David B., O95926.
Gaudelli, John J., OF110690.
Gauer, Ralph C., OF109132.
Gaun, George A., O99319.
Gauthier, John A., O93388.
Gavan, William H., O95927.
Gayer, Barry F., O96382.
Geimer, William S., O96383.
Geisler, Burl C., OF100713.
George, Graham W., Jr., OF103830.
Georges, Thomas N., OF106117.
Gerard, Jacques B., O93400.
Gerety, Richard P., O95533.
Gerhard, Carl S., O94689.
Gerst, Jackson C., Jr., O96385.
Gersten, Irving, OF105677.
Gezelman, Allen D., O95929.
Giboney, John N., O98231.
Gilbreath, John C., OF106616.
Gilewicz, Andrew E., OF109134.
Gillan, Murrell M., OF110257.
Gillen, James, OF113634.
Gillham, John N., Jr., OF103832.
Gilligan, Richard M., O97121.
Gilmore, Gary B., O93420.
Girard, Robert D., OF110693.
Girardi, Alfred F., O95931.
Girardot, David C., OF102472.
Gisi, Lyle D., OF103116.
Gleason, James M., O95932.
Gleisner, James W., OF108178.
Glenn, John T., OF102710.
Glenn, Thomas J., O96388.

Glosson, Clyde W., O95207.
Glover, William L., OF109928.
Godshall, Michael L., O95933.
Godwin, John T., O95934.
Goetz, Arthur D., O93429.
Goldfarb, Richard M., OF110259.
Goldman, Paul J., O94391.
Goode, Robert H., Jr., O95936.
Goolsby, James R., OF108180.
Gorden, Fred A., O95937.
Gordon, Don E., O96389.
Gorman, Thomas, O97772.
Goulet, Donald J., OF101815.
Graham, James D., OF106624.
Grahn, Norman D., O95938.
Gramzow, Richard H., O95939.
Grant, Scott W., OF102474.
Gray, William T., OF106121.
Greason, Earl S., III, O93444.
Greaves, John D., III, OF110263.
Grecco, John F., O97557.
Green, Charles A., OF109139.
Green, Roger W., Jr., O95941.
Greene, Fred W., III, O96391.
Greene, Robert F., O99652.
Gregory, Gary A., OF106631.
Grieshop, David S., OF106632.
Griffin, Thomas J., OF103836.
Griffith, Albert A., O99653.
Grimshaw, John M., O95944.
Gross, Joseph E., O95945.
Grossman, Robert F., OF108187.
Gudat, Frank F., O95544.
Guenzburger, Albert, OF102889.
Guiberson, Ronald M., O94690.
Guinn, Jack L., O93468.
Gunderman, George L., O95947.
Gutzman, Philip C., O95546.
Habblett, John S., O95948.
Hagenhoff, Stanley, OF100377.
Hagerty, Neil M., 0F102483.
Hahn, Wade E., O93472.
Haigler, Thomas E., O96392.
Halbritter, Frederi, O94811.
Hale, William R., O93479.
Hall, Dennis C., O95548.
Hall, James M., Jr., OF103631.
Hall, Thomas F., Jr., O93489.
Hall, William A., O96393.
Hamblen, John B., OF110266.
Hameister, Herbert, O95950.
Hamilton, Edward A., O95951.
Hamilton, James H., OF113196.
Hamilton, Robert E., O93497.
Hamilton, Thomas C., O93423.
Hamilton, Thomas R., OF109563.
Hammel, Robert M., OF113197.
Hammett, Jack C., Jr., O93186.
Hammond, William R., OF108190.
Hampton, Don H., OF104441.
Hand, David E., O95391.
Hand, Eugene T., OF106639.
Handy, George W., O95952.
Hanke, James S., OF109564.
Hannan, William T., O92384.
Hansen, Kraig U., O95953.
Hansen, Michael H., OF108191.
Hanson, Frederick A., O94812.
Harada, Franklin Y., OF105689.
Harbach, David V., O94392.
Hard, Donald W., O95954.
Hardman, Willard, OF114099.
Hardy, David J., Jr., O94529.
Harper, Jack R., O94394.
Harper, Robert E., O95956.
Harrell, John W., OF113654.
Harrington, James S., O95957.
Harris, Harold E., O95958.
Harris, James E., Jr., OF113655.
Harris, Peter R., OF109152.
Harrison, David A., O99860.
Harrison, Sammie E., OF110713.
Harrison, Willard E., O95959.
Hartman, Benjamin C., O96395.
Harvey, James R., OF106374.
Hatch, George S., O94035.
Haulsee, Richard W., O92529.
Haveman, Kenneth J., O92530.
Havercroft, Roger V., O95961.
Havlu, Don R., O99328.
Hawkins, Karl D., Jr., O92531.
Hawley, Gary D., O91734.
Hay, Ronald J., O94813.
Hayes, Robert L. II, OF100882.
Haynes, Frank, O96398.
Heath, Robert A., OF106647.
Heaton, Charles E., O92534.
Heer, Bernard C., Jr., O94050.
Heinrich, Darrell C., OF109158.
Heinschel, Robert F., O94062.
Heiser, Joel M., O96399.
Heldman, James R., O95963.
Heldstab, John C., O96400.
Helmuth, Richard E., O95964.
Hemmer, William J., OF102390.
Henchell, Frederick, OF114107.
Henderlong, James F., 100932.
Henderson, Leonard, O95965.
Henderson, William, O99864.
Hendren, Ed W., O95967.
Hendricks, David G., OF104447.
Hendrix, Paul V., O94077.
Henn, Karl M., O95968.
Henry, Noah W., III, O94093.
Hensel, Mark C., Jr., O96403.
Henson, William R., OF102909.
Henthorn, Richard E., O94814.
Hepler, James M., OF106134.
Herholz, Paul R., Jr., O96682.
Hern, Jay R., OF109567.
Herre, Thomas A., O95969.
Hertel, Guy S., O94106.
Hertel, Herbert C.,O95970.
Hervey, Albert E., Jr., OF103845.
Hervey, Robert F., O94532.
Hesse, Thomas M., O95557.
Hetrick, James L., O95558.
Heyman, David L., O96404.
Hickey, John J., Jr., O95971.
Hicklin, William L., OF110723.
Hicks, Bobby R., OF106012.
Hicks, Robert A., OF100282.
Hidalgo, Richard L., O96405.
Higgins, Paul R., O96869.
Highet, James M., Jr., OF105700.
Highfill, Gary W., O94129.
Higinbotham, Lewis, O95972.
Hilger, Charles N., O95559.
Hill, Edward J., OF105701.
Hill, Howard D., OF102347.
Hill, Thomas R., Jr., O96407.
Hillyard, Frederick, O95973.
Hilton, Roger T., O95974.
Hinds, Paul T., O94137.
Hines, Charles A., O94153.
Hintz, Norman C., O95560.
Hirai, Kenneth H., O95561.
Hitch, James K., O94163.
Hitchcock, Dickey, O94396.
Hitzfelder, Jerome, O92548.
Hobart, Charles W., O92549.
Hobson, Alan D., OF108201.
Hocking, John W., OF109570.
Hocking, John W., O94201.
Hodder, Clinton A., O94176.
Hogan, Dean M., OF106655.
Holaday, Richard K., O92554.
Holcomb, Cecil B., O96409.
Holcomb, Cornelius, O95975.
Holder, Arthur T., O94397.
Holder, Charles J., OF100429.
Holderness, Stephen, O95976.
Holeman, Robert E., O95977.
Holland, James R., O94178.
Holland, Kenneth J., OF108203.
Hollis, Glenn D., O97873.
Holloway, Aubrey J., OF102498.
Holt, Norman H., Jr., OF110279.
Hood, Brian C., O93202.
Horoschak, Peter P., O95979.
Horowicz, Richard E., OF100286.
Horton, Chapin, O95565.
Horton, Charles R., O92557.
Horton, James M., O94815.
Hosman, Patrick M., OF106144.
Houghton, Gareth C., OF109951.
Householder, John M., O92560.
Howard, John L., OF110280.
Howard, John W., O94181.
Howard, Malcolm J., O95980.
Howard, Ronald M., OF110734.
Howes, Ralph C., Jr., O99331.
Hubbard, Harvey H., OF105199.
Hueman, Thomas P., O95981.
Hufschmid, Robert G., O95982.
Hughes, William M., O95983.
Hull, Vernon R., OF102502.
Humphries, James F., OF110283.
Hunsicker, Gerald E., OF110284.
Hunt, James P., OF103541.
Hunt, Robin R., OF114429.
Hurst, Curtis C., O95566.
Hurst, Nicholas R., O95985.
Huser, Herbert C., O94185.
Hutek, Charles E., OF113683.
Hyde, Clinton O., Jr., O95986.
Hyde, John M., II, OF102505.
Ilgenfritz, Jerry P., OF110738.
Ingram, William L., O96412.
Ioanidis, Gabriel J., O94399.
Ippolito, Richard, O98071.
Irby, Dewitt T., Jr., O95654.
Irwin, Richard W., O95987.
Ishoy, Kenneth V., O95988.
Ivy, Charles H., O95989.
Izzard, William A., O95690.
Jackson, Jerry E., O99884.
Jaedicke, Cecil D., OF113690.
James, Richard A., O95990.
Jankowski, Walter J., O96592.
Jarrell, Norman D., O92575.
Jeffery, Alvin E., OF105712.
Jellett, James M., O96593.
Jemison, Paul C., O96415.
Jenkins, Oscar L., OF108210.
Jennette, Alexander, OF113691.
Jess, Larry L., OF110288.
Johannesen, Nils P., O92581.
Johnson, Alex J., OF110289.
Johnson, Alvin B., Jr., O94535.
Johnson, Cal D., O95991.
Johnson, Charlton G., O89369.
Johnson, Darryl W., OF109958.
Johnson, Edward J., OF106150.
Johnson, Jeremy R., OF113696.
Johnson, Joe S., Jr., O95992.
Johnson, Lewis A., O93210.
Johnson, Marshall B., O95993.
Johnson, Paul H., OF108214.
Johnson, Robert P., O94221.
Johnson, Thomas G., O91813.
Johnson, William L., O96417.
Johnson, William N., OF113214.
Johnston, Robert C., O97469.
Joiner, Robert E., O95579.
Jolley, Bobby L., O97586.
Jones, David M., O95995.
Jones, Donald G., OF106671.
Jones, Donald H., O94908.
Jones, John W., Jr., O95996.
Jones, Leslie H., OF103856.
Jones, Paul M., O95997.
Jones, Thomas J., O94816.
Jones, William L., O94400.
Joplin, Paul L., OF109962.
Jordan, Carl M., O95582.
Jordan, Robert W., O95998.
Jorgensen, James P., O95677.
Jorgensen, John F., O94227.
Joseph, Taft M., Jr., OF109183.
Kalanges, James G., OF104473.
Kalinowski, Donald, OF103859.
Kallam, Luther P., Jr., OF109579.
Kallay, Michael T., OF100492.
Kallina, Gerald F., O94695.
Kambrod, Matthew R., O95999.
Kamm, Ervin F., Jr., O96000.
Kaplan, Thomas J., O96421.
Kara, Miles L., O99251.
Karlseng, Robert C., O94601.
Karrer, Donald, O96001.
Karrer, Robert J., Jr., O99888.
Kays, James L., O96002.
Kearney, William M., OF113707.
Keenan, Robert E., OF106676.
Kehoe, John C., III, O94250.
Keiser, Maurice R., O94536.
Keller, Richard F., OF106153.
Kelley, Edward M., O91899.
Kelly, Gerald L., O99669.
Kelly, John J., O96003.
Kelly, Patrick O., O96004.
Kendall, John F., O96005.
Kendall, John L., O94248.
Kent, Richard S., O96006.

Kenyon, Jarrett L., OF113219.
Kenyon, Richard H., OF103862.
Keravuori, Aito J., OF102207.
Kerr, James T., Jr., OF109191.
Kerr, Joseph P., OF105450.
Keup, Robert A., O94264.
Keyes, August L., O96008.
Kieffer, Joseph S., O96009.
Kienlen, Ronald A., OF103863.
Kiger, David C., OF108221.
Kile, Daniel A., OF113220.
Kilgore, David M., O96424.
Killgrove, Albert G., O91904.
Kilmartin, Thomas J., O96010.
Kimsey, James V., O96011.
Kinard, William H., O96012.
Kind, Peter A., O93217.
King, Burnell, OF106685.
King, John H., O96013.
King, Peter G., O96014.
Kingman, Dan C., Jr., O95583.
Kirby, John J., III, O96015.
Kirchner, Warren F., O95584.
Kirkegaard, Paul J., O96016.
Kirschenbauer, Geor, O96017.
Kish, Joseph P., O99264.
Kistner, Thomas L., OF110306.
Kitchings, Phillip, O96425.
Kizer, Carl S., O94273.
Klausner, John T., Jr., OF108226.
Kling, Thomas R., O96018.
Knapp, Thomas A., OF110967.
Knauer, William M., O94698.
Knight, James R., O94699.
Knudson, Wayne C., OF109973.
Kobaly, George, Jr., O96426.
Kobylarz, James M., O98176.
Kochenour, John A., OF102210.
Kohler, Johann R. W., O96020.
Konopka, Thomas J., O95591.
Koon, Richard C., OF106691.
Kosco, William G., O96021.
Koszewski, Stephen, OF109195.
Krapf, Thomas K., O93222.
Krause, James E., O96022.
Krause, Robert G., O96023.
Krebs, Joseph G., O99897.
Kriesel, Melvin E., O96024.
Kunhart, Thomas J., O96428.
Kuppich, Joseph W., OF102947.
Kuster, Bernard A., O95595.
Kutac, William D., OF110762.
Kyle, George W., OF106162.
LaBay, Paul H. M., O97845.
LaCaze, Gene H., OF110310.
LaFrance, Joseph W., O96429.
LaRoque, Fred R., Jr., O96026.
LaRue, Lowell G., O91996.
LaSorsa, John M., O92634.
Labovich, Walter, O99898.
Lackey, John G., III, OF113228.
Ladd, William F., OF102212.
Lair, Don L., O96027.
Lake, Richard E., OF105728.
Lakey, William E., OF110312.
Landrum, Benson F., O94363.
Landry, John R., O96028.
Lane, Harry G., O94100.
Lane, Joseph H., O96029.
Lane, Ronald L., O96030.
Lang, Walter P., O94368.
Langhorne, Thomas O., O92630.
Langley, Larry L., O97774.
Lanier, Jimmy N., OF102522.
Lankford, Carson W., OF103866.
Lape, Jerry V., O96031.
Larens, James M., O94403.
Laritz, Richard E., OF110315.
Larkins, John G., O95598.
Larsen, Arnold L., Jr., O96032.
Larson, Kermit E., Jr., O94369.
Laska, James N., OF106166.
Laski, Paul E., OF101837.
Lauder, Ralph H., OF102523.
Laughinghouse, Warr, OF106695.
Lavoie, Wilfred G., O94390.
Lawler, Francis C., OF110769.
Lawler, James C., O92636.
Lawson, Anthony B., O96033.
Lax, Robert E., OF103269.
Layton, Horace G., OF 105732.

Leach, Frank J., OF103867.
Leadbetter, Richard, OF109980.
Leaphart, Daniel A., OF101295.
Learish, Dean L., O96034.
Ledbetter, James F., OF109204.
Lee, Edward Jr., OF106168.
Lee, Gary R., OF105734.
Lee, Roger C., O96035.
Leek, Jerry C., OF106169.
Lefew, Charles F., O99904.
Leffler, Samuel A., O95600.
Lehrman, Larry D., OF106698.
Leister, Ancil D., Jr., O94702.
Lemon, David L., O94458.
Lemp, James F., O94211.
Leonard, William E., O93268.
Leonhardt, Thomas C., O94540.
Lewis, Bernard I., OF114145.
Lewis, Paul, Jr., O93229.
Leyda, Craig H., OF103869.
Liepis, William J., O94547.
Likins, Ralph E., OF109209.
Lilley, Robert J., Jr., O96037.
Lillvik, Carl V., OF102116.
Limbaugh, George R., OF105951.
Lindsey, David H., OF102531.
Lindsey, James L., O96038.
Lipinski, Robert H., OF110324.
Lippert, Phillip S., O95603.
Livermore, Eugene M., OF110781.
Livingston, David R., OF102625.
Loban, Gary G., O93233.
Lockett, Benny L., OF110325.
Loftus, James S., Jr., O96351.
Logan, David W., O96040.
Logan, James A., OF101020.
Long, William H., O99682.
Lopez-Alonso, Juan, O94212.
Loudenslager, Max J., O90214.
Loupe, Sylvain M., O96041.
Louser, Gary G., O94704.
Loveless, Kenneth D., OF108234.
Lovett, David E., O95605.
Lovgren, Arthur A., O96042.
Lowrance, Jerry M., O96598.
Loy, Brian A., O92659.
Luallin, John S., OF100202.
Lucas, Wayne L., OF105742.
Luchsinger, Arthur, O95607.
Lukitsch, Joseph M., OF113744.
Lundy, James I., O94628.
Lunsford, Mirt S., Jr., O99683.
Lurker, Ralph L., O96043.
Luster, Stephen, OF105210.
Lybrand, Charles W., O95608.
Lyle, James M., O94641.
Lyon, Charles H., III, O98467.
Lyons, Lawrence E., OF110327.
Lyssy, Fred E., OF105746.
Mabry, David L., O95611.
MacDonald, James H., OF106715.
MacDonald, John M., O94663.
MacMurdy, William, O96884.
MacStravic, James, O96775.
Mack, Donald J., O94405.
Mack, Oscar C., OF106717.
Mackenzie, Thomas, O98484.
Mackintosh, Eric I., OF100311.
Macnamara, Gervase, O94671.
Maharrey, James B., OF109213.
Maddox, Edgar D., O94614.
Madish, Daniel T., O94672.
Maharrey, James B., OF109213.
Mahoney, McKenna S., OF110330.
Maier, Nelson H., Jr., O94686.
Maksimowski, Richard, O92672.
Malcor, Dennis P., O96437.
Malley, James H. M., O96048.
Malouf, Carl E., OF108237.
Mancuso, Frank N., O94697.
Manley, John R., O94705.
Manly, Charles L., O92673.
Mann, Thomas L., O95613.
Mannix, Joseph R., O99684.
Manupella, Richard, OF104476.
Manzi, Joseph F., Jr., O94717.
Marangola, Joseph C., O94725.
Marr, Francis C., OF102542.
Marsh, Caryl G., OF108241.
Marshall, Elbert M., OF109993.
Martin, Bernard M., O96049.

Martin, James H., OF108242.
Martin, James R., O96050.
Mason, Ralph A., OF100313.
Mason, Tommy R., O94789.
Massey, George M., O96502.
Masters, Lawrence G., OF113239
Mathern, Vernon J., O96439.
Mathes, William L., OF110336.
Matteson, Stephen C., O99914.
Matthews, Daryl B., O96440.
Matthews, Franklin OF110801.
Matthews, Ronald M., OF103875.
Matz, Stanford O94407.
Matz, William M., Jr., OF102228.
Mauk, George R., OF108244.
Maune, David F., OF105752.
Maurer, George H., O94809.
Maurie, Weldon P., OF103738.
Maybury, Robert D., OF109221.
Mayer, John H., OF100314.
Mayo, Richard E., O96051.
Mayoras, Donald E., O94810.
McAleer, Michael E., OF110158.
McAlister, Billy J., O94820.
McAndrew, James M., O94818.
McAndrews, Thomas O95617.
McAuliffe, Joseph CF104486.
McBride, Dennis P., O92678.
McCain, William T., OF102123.
McCarden, Carl M. A., O92680.
McCarthy, Jefferson, O96052.
McCassey, Everett, O96599.
McClerklin, Horace OF109500.
McClure, Phillip E., O93463.
McCollum, Lawrence O95618.
McCormack, John C., O92682.
McCormick, Allen L., O94408.
McCormick, Michael O95620.
McCotter, Orson L., O96443.
McCoy, James L., OF104487.
McCoy, Ronald L., O96444.
McCrorey, James K. O96054.
McDevitt, Jomes J., O96891.
McDonald, Edward M., O97231.
McDonald, James R., OF114161.
McDonald, Robert L., O96055.
McDonald, Ted A., OF108245.
McDowall, Raymond, O96058.
McEnany, Brian R., O96060.
McFarland, Jon W., O94537.
McFarland, Lewis G., O94825.
McFerron, Darrel A., O94829.
McGarry, Andrew T., OF102551.
McGarry, Thomas W., O96061.
McGough, Robert E., O94409.
McGourty, Francis, OF102738.
McGregor, William, O95622.
McGurk, Floyd F., O94218.
McGurk, Robert S., O96062.
McKay, James F., Jr., O96063.
McKee, Arthur J., O92695.
McKeithan, Clifford, O96064.
McKinley, Brian V., O96065.
McLaughlin, David, O96066.
McLaughlin, Michael, OF102552.
McLaughlin, Robert, OF109227.
McLaughlin, William, O96449.
McLemore, Oran F., OF102975.
McNiff, John J., O92700.
McPherson, Benjamin, O93467.
McQuillen, James F., O96069.
McRae, Wilton D., O96070.
McManners, John J., O95625.
Meade, William C., O96071.
Medaris, David M., OF100317.
Medley, Thomas J., O97947.
Meehan, John F. III, O96072.
Meeth, Harry III, O96073.
Mehigan, Denis M., OF102981.
Meilahn, William M., O95627.
Melendez, Hector N., O94222.
Menezes, Ernest R., OF110002.
Mengel, Larry L., O96074.
Mennie, Thomas L., O96075.
Menning, Walter R., O96076.
Menoher, Paul E., Jr., OF102229.
Mercado, Alejandro, O94224.
Merriam, Charles S., O96077.
Merrill, Robert D., OF106728.
Merritt, Oscar V., Jr., OF109231.
Merten, Patrick W., OF105484.

Meshinski, Edward, O94959.
Metress, Patrick A., OF102982.
Metts, Lewis B., Jr., OF100658.
Meurrens, Bernard E., O102555.
Meyer, Ronald J., O94976.
Meyers, Jerry F., OF102230.
Meyers, Marvin J., OF103467.
Michael, Marcus E., OF105763.
Middaugh, Thomas R., O96079.
Mikkelson, David W., O95629.
Miles, Donald F., O95630.
Miles, Richard A., O93470.
Miller, Allen Z., O96080.
Miller, Frank C., Jr., O96081.
Miller, George R., Jr., O94706.
Miller, Ivan W., OF102559.
Miller, Kenneth A., OF102560.
Miller, Robert A., O96601.
Miller, Roger D., Sr., OF102561.
Miller, Stinson J., OF110365.
Miller, Ward A., OF103147.
Miller, William L., O96082.
Millett, Michael R., OF105765.
Mills, William C., Jr., OF105488.
Minson, David C., O96083.
Mitchell, Corless W., OF110817.
Mitchell, Dana W., O92719.
Mitchell, David G., O92720.
Mitchell, James N., O93475.
Mitchell, Robert C., O92721.
Modine, Kent A., O94413.
Moeller, Alan H., OF110372.
Molino, Michael A., O92726.
Montgomery, James R., O92920.
Montgomery, William, O96451.
Mooney, James E., Jr., OF102566.
Mooney, Lowell T., Jr., O96452.
Moore, David W., O96084.
Moore, Howard W., Jr., O96453.
Moore, Michael, O96085.
Moore, Robert A., O96454.
Moore, Robert G., O94707.
Moore, Thomas J., O96086.
Moorhead, Michael M., O99696.
Mooring, Laurence G., O96087.
Morai, Edward C., OF105490.
Morales, Angel L., OF109605.
Moran, Frank A., OF104500.
Morgan, Douglas W., O96088.
Morgan, Paul B., O95061.
Morgan, William J., OF105769.
Morin, Carl R., Jr., O96089.
Morlock, Glenn W., OF105771.
Morrell, Robert H., OF108250.
Morris, Bruce A., OF105491.
Morris, Delton R., OF110008.
Morris, James W., OF113775.
Morrison, William O., OF109247.
Morrissey, Patrick, OF110378.
Mortensen, Ernest J., O95067.
Moser, Carl H., III, OF110824.
Mosley, Artis B., Jr., OF104261.
Moss, Robert D., O99932.
Mossburg, James E., OF113780.
Mott, William H., IV, O95087.
Mottl, Richard J., OF100320.
Mottola, Louis F., O95099.
Mount, Jimmy D., O96090.
Mouw, James W., OF110010.
Mueller, Thomas O., O96541.
Mullen, Edward F., Jr., O95118.
Muller, Michael G., O97336.
Mullis, Harry E., OF102988,
Mumford, John B., O96091.
Mundt, David L., O96092.
Munsch, Robert C., O96093.
Murai, Roger N., O94822.
Murphy, James A., OF110970.
Murphy, Paul T., O96094.
Murphy, Vincent E., O96095.
Murray, Charles A., O96096.
Murray, Thomas E., II, O96097.
Myatt, John E., OF102992.
Myer, Allan A., O99934.
Myers, James R., OF113782.
Myers, William R., O96457.
Myrick, Reed J., OF114177.
Nagle, Bruce D., O92749.
Nahlen, Charles L., O96098.
Najarian, Melvin K., OF104505.
Najjar, Alphonse L., O95126.
Nall, William N., OF114178.
Napier, Joseph S., O92071.
Narimatsu, Galen M., OF110832.
Nason, Charles P., Jr., OF105775.
Nau, John F., Jr., O96099.
Neal, Clarke L., O99698.
Neale, James F., III, O95127.
Nealon, Edgar L., OF108257.
Neck, David A., OF109251.
Needs, Larry R., O96100.
Neidlinger, Darryl, O96458.
Neilson, Robert S., O96459.
Neily, Reagh E., Jr., OF103885.
Nelson, Edward E., OF102993.
Nelson, George W., Jr., OF106752.
Nelson, Peter G., O96605.
Neumann, David C., O96102.
Neuwien, Reginald A., OF103834.
Newman, Harold M., O96460.
Newman, Neil E., O94977.
Newman, Ralph E., O95128.
Newman, William F., O95129.
Newton, Anthony H., OF114180.
Nicholas, Howard N., OF110835.
Nicholls, Deloy H., O94710.
Nickisch, Craig W., O92756.
Nicolai, Larry D., OF102995.
Nieuwboer, Harry W., O96103.
Nilsen, Andrew C., OF110836.
Noake, David A., O96104.
Nolen, William R., O96462.
Noles, William O., O96463.
Norman, Phil R., O95647.
Norris, David M., O93481.
Northridge, John O., OF113255.
Northrop, Edward D., O95133.
Norwood, Marvin P., O96105.
Novinger, John F., OF103666.
Novotny, John L., O96106.
Nugent, John H., OF109613.
Nunnelee, Joseph D., O96107.
Nunziato, Carl A., O92763.
Nutt, Merwyn L., OF113256.
Nydegger, Neil K., O96108.
Oberholzer, John A., O95135.
O'Brien, James J., OF108261.
O'Brien, Michael T., O96109.
O'Donnell, Paul L., OF103325.
O'Hagan, Patrick J., O95137.
Oldfield, Peter J., O96111.
Olson, Raymond S., OF100324.
Olson, Robert R., O92775.
O'Neal, John W., O96110.
O'Neill, Malcolm R., O95138.
O'Neill, Richard T., OF102306.
Ord, Robert L. III, O96112.
O'Rourke, Thomas C., O95140.
Ostenberg, Thomas F., O96113.
Osterhoudt, Michael, OF110844.
Oswald, Robert W., O95142.
Oualline, Charles E., O95143.
Overby, Glen A., OF108264.
Overcash, Johnny B., O95296.
Owens, Ronald C., O92779.
Pack, Buck H., OF110846.
Pakula, Kenneth R., O96114.
Palmer, Charles S., OF102584.
Pardi, Livio F., O96115.
Paris, William F., OF106202.
Parish, James R., OF110847.
Parker, Charles M., OF103000.
Parker, Frederick E., O94542.
Parker, Wayne B., O96116.
Parowski, Paul R., O95148.
Parrish, Donald R., OF105787.
Parrish, Jerry O., OF110849.
Parrish, Joseph P., OF105502.
Partain, Rufus J., OF106765.
Partyka, Gerald S., O95149.
Pate, Robert A., OF102585.
Patete, Frank M., O95122.
Patla, Norbert I., O92789.
Patriquin, Redmond, OF109620.
Patten, Rodney L., OF103002.
Patterson, Freddie, O94419.
Patterson, William, OF102586.
Paul, Leroy W., O96607.
Pauley, Earl A., OF106766.
Paulison, Robert P., O95150.
Paxton, Gary L., O96120.
Payne, Gilbert M., Jr., O99946.
Pearson, Samuel D., OF110021.
Pearson, Thomas D., O96121.
Peay, James H. B., III, O95152.
Peck, Howard F., OF109261.
Pedersen, Ralph D., OF114188.
Pedone, Peter J., O96343.
Poetz, Robert G., OF114189.
Pellegrino, Joseph, O96470.
Pendergraft, Joe E., O96122.
Pendergrass, Larry, O99376.
Pendleton, Raymond, O96123.
Perdew, Eldon L., O96124.
Perez, Enrique, O94231.
Perles, Philip J., OF110852.
Perrin, William H., OF100330.
Perrine, Charles H., O95154.
Perry, Stephen M., O99948.
Petersen, Elwin A., O92796.
Peterson, James C., O96125.
Petrolino, Joseph A., O96126.
Petronis, Charles J., OF110401.
Petty, James D., Jr., OF103891.
Phelps, Wilford A., O93487.
Phillips, Billy J., O94826.
Phillips, David J., O96129.
Phillips, Richard K., O96473.
Phillips, Robert L., O96130.
Pierce, Robert V., OF100994.
Piersol, Lawrence L., O96475.
Pigaty, Leo J., OF106207.
Pike, James L., O93271.
Pilton, Gavin W., O95658.
Pincince, George S., OF101003.
Pinkney, Roy G., OF105795.
Pippin, James D., O96477.
Pitcher, Rudolph A., OF110404.
Plunkett, Walter M., OF104515.
Plymale, Charles F., OF103071.
Poch, Todd R., OF114191.
Pocock, Fred R., O93490.
Poggenburg, William, O95659.
Poinier, David N., OF102247.
Polk, Robert H., OF108276.
Ponder, Ralph C., OF110406.
Pons, Philip E., Jr., O96131.
Poole, George E., Jr., O96478.
Porter, John D., Jr., O96132.
Porter, Joseph G., Jr., O96133.
Porter, Richard W., OF101857.
Portmann, Joslyn V., O95163.
Posey, Larry O., OF102596.
Power, Joseph W., III, O96479.
Powers, James H., OF105800.
Powers, William S., O96491.
Poynter, William D., OF102600.
Prall, Josef D., O95660.
Pratt, James I. III, OF101187.
Prezioso, Anthony A., O95167.
Price, Carl N., OF100333.
Price, Donald A., O96135.
Price, Hugh A., O94236.
Prickett, Thomas R., O99713.
Primmer, Ronald R., O94712.
Prince, Howard T., II, O96136.
Prow, William F., OF105510.
Pryor, Ralph W., O96137.
Pugh, Merlyn L., OF110864.
Purvis, Marida R., OF102601.
Putnins, Andzs, O94713.
Quattromani, Anthon, OF114197.
Queen, Charles E., O95169.
Quick, James B., O94978.
Quickmire, Carl R., OF108279.
Quigley, Ralph P., O96481.
Quirk, Gerald L., O96640.
Radlinski, David L., OF105506.
Raines, Austin M., O95171.
Raines, John A., OF106783.
Ranc, Richard C., O97426.
Randt, Richard C., O99962.
Rarden, Michael A., OF106784.
Ray, Charles R., OF110867.
Ray, David E., O99364.
Ray, Webster D., OF102605.
Reavill, Jackson C., O96140.
Redmond, James L., O96141.
Redmond, Lawrence A., O95175.
Redmond, Robert A., O96142.
Redner, Robert A., O96142.
Redner, Daniel B., O96611.
Redner, Paul C., O99964.
Reeves, Stacy E., III, O96143.
Regan, John S., O96144.

Reich, Russell O., Jr., O96145.
Reid, Robert L., O96146.
Reimer, Dennis J., O96147.
Reitz, Robert A., OF102255.
Remener, Lawrence J., O96148.
Remenicky, James P., O95182.
Remington, Will M., O96149.
Remling, Arthur A., O95183.
Renner, John A., O95667.
Repischak, Lercy T., OF102256.
Residori, Lawrence, OF 109276.
Reynolds, Robert H., OF110412.
Rice, Richard B., O96151.
Richardson, Dennis, O95669.
Richardson, Johnny, O97423.
Richardson, Joseph, O98418.
Richardson, Lawrenc, O96152.
Richardson, Thomas, O96641.
Ricks, Robert E., Jr., O96153.
Riegel, Curtis E., O96488.
Rigby, Carlos K., OF105973.
Rigby, Joe W., O96154.
Riggs, David D., O96155.
Riley, James E., O97855.
Rinella, Donald E., OF113270.
Ringgenberg, Archie, OF102259.
Ringham, Lee O., O95671.
Rintz, Robert E., O96156.
Riordan, Richard G., O95672.
Rippee, Eldon T., O95190.
Rishel, Waide N., Jr., O96157.
Robb, Allan D., O96158.
Robbins, Christopher, O96159.
Roberts, Thomas C., O97201.
Roberts, William M., O94238.
Robertson, Robert S., O97965.
Robertson, William, O92839.
Robison, Thomas W., O97966.
Roderick, Gary L., OF113818.
Rogan, James P., O96492.
Roleke, Richard B., OF102261.
Roper, Emil M., OF114207.
Rose, Jerry D., O96161.
Rose, Lewis J., OF113823.
Rosenberg, Michael, O96162.
Ross, William L., Jr., O96163.
Rosser, Terry N., OF105532.
Rowe, Dorsey E., O96164.
Rowell, John O., Jr., O96614.
Royal, Donald D., OF113828.
Roze, Uldis R., O96165.
Rozelle, H. Joseph, OF106799.
Rubery, Daniel J., O95198.
Rucker, Jack L., O96166.
Ruggerio, Dominic W., OF106221.
Rumph, Robert R., O96167.
Runey, Dennis I., O94830.
Rupp, Melvin C., OF103900.
Rushatz, Alfred S., O96168.
Rusk, James E., O94979.
Russell, Eugene N., OF105815.
Russell, John B., Jr., OF110420.
Russell, Stanley W., O96496.
Rutz, Stephen F., OF102620.
Ryan, William E., O94980.
Saari, Donald R., OF110049.
Sabre, Randolph E., OF105817.
Sagedy, Robert A., OF106222.
Sagerty, Kenneth T., O96498.
Salvitti, Joseph M., O95202.
Sampson, Jon L., O96499.
Samuels, Seymour II, O95203.
Sanabria, Agripino, O94241.
Sanko, William J., O95678.
Sarda, Ram M., OF110053.
Sarran, George C., O96170.
Saulnier, Philip J., O95204.
Saunders, Francis V., OF103901.
Saville, Duane E., O95679.
Sawczyn, William, O95680.
Sawyer, Frederick, O95681.
Sayers, Ronny J., O96171.
Sazama, Francis J., O96172.
Scamahorn, William, O96617.
Scarsella, Alan N., O96173.
Schaffler, Albert B., O97969.
Scharpf, Francis R., O96174.
Scharrett, William, O99985.
Schein, George II, O96176.
Scherr, William A., O96177.
Schmidbauer, James, O95682.
Schmidt, John C., Jr., OF106812.
Schmidt, John L., Jr., O96179.
Schmidt, Marlin E., O96180.
Schmiedekamp, Ronal, OF106813.
Schmitz, James W., O95683.
Schneeweis, Harold, OF102266.
Schneider, Robert H., OF105537.
Schott, Paul D., O96182.
Schroder, John K., O95209.
Schultz, Dale M., OF103266.
Schumacher, William, OF110893.
Scott, Donald L., OF113834.
Scott, Hal G., O96501.
Scott, Michael A., OF110425.
Scott, Robert L., OF106224.
Scroggins, Ambrose, OF105823.
Scruggs, James T., O99987.
Seery, Joseph P., O97353.
Seibert, Gunter P., OF113836.
Seitz, Quentin L., OF113837.
Selby, John R., O96184.
Sellers, Thomas H., OF106818.
Sewell, Gerald L., O99100.
Sexton, Donald E., O99729.
Sharp, Fred A., O99395.
Sharp, Raymond D., Jr., OF102628.
Sharp, Warren H., O94720.
Shaw, Charles L., O96185.
Shaw, Edward W., O99731.
Shaw, Stanley L., O95213.
Sheaffer, Frederick, O96186.
Sheehy, Stephen P., OF102629.
Sheets, Jon R., OF110899.
Sheetz, Michael L., OF108296.
Shepard, James L., O94721.
Shepard, John D., O96620.
Shepherd, William M., O99991.
Sherard, Stewart, Jr., O96187.
Sherburn, John H., OF109641.
Sheridan, John T., O95215.
Sheridan, Richard L., OF110580.
Sheridan, Richard M., O94722.
Sherwood, George R., OF102631.
Shindler, Melvin, OF105586.
Shires, Charles D., OF106228.
Shiroma, Warren H., OF110900.
Shoemaker, George, OF114211.
Sholly, David J., O96188.
Shope, Walter R., O96189.
Short, Alonzo E., Jr., O95689.
Short, Robert W., O93504.
Showalter, James V., OF103733.
Shuey, Robert D., O96190.
Shum, Ronald M., O94832.
Sifrit, Roger W., OF106821.
Sikorski, Robert J., O96193.
Silvey, Bedford J., O95218.
Simcox, Thomas A., O96194.
Simerly, Julian C., O94723.
Simoneaux, Joseph A., O96195.
Simpson, Donald A., O96503.
Simpson, Jerry J., O99994.
Simpson, William N., O95220.
Sims, Thomas L., O95221.
Sindy, Ronald L., O97355.
Skarupa, Ronald A., O96196.
Sklar, Richard R. II, O96197.
Skown, Bernard, O96198.
Slaggie, Thomas J., OF100982.
Slater, Duane L., O96199.
Slife, Richard D., O99734.
Sloan, John N., O96200.
Slye, William T., Jr., OF104355.
Small, Michael C., O92894.
Smarsh, James D., OF103039.
Smart, Eric E., O99999.
Smith, Charles F., OF103040.
Smith, Dale F., O96201.
Smith, David B., O95223.
Smith, Donald J., O92899.
Smith, Doyle E., OF114214.
Smith, James A., O96505.
Smith, James C.. II, OF103908.
Smith, John M., OF103399.
Smith, Randolph L., O96506.
Smith, Robert H., O92902.
Smith, Robert P., OF100005.
Smith, Samuel W., O95225.
Smith, Ted H., O93510.
Smith, Tommy J., O94549.
Smith, Wardell C., OF110432.
Smith, William D., OF102272.
Smith, William F., O96203.
Smith, William R., Jr., O92906.
Smittle, Nelson D., O95695.
Smock, James E., O94425.
Sneed, Thomas A., O95226.
Snider, Don M., O96204.
Snover, Raife E., O96205.
Snow, Wayne A., O96206.
Sobieski, Henry F., O95228.
Sobke, John F., O95229.
Sodol, Petro R., OF106824.
Solymosy, Edmond S., O94982.
Sones, Richard A., O99125.
Spangler, David R., O96207.
Spaulding, William, OF100006.
Speaker, Theodore A., OF102636.
Spencer, James J., O96208.
Spencer, Samuel W., O95699.
Spencer, Thomas A., O96648.
Spencer, Wilbur P., OF103042.
Spetz, Steven N., O95700.
Spicuzza, William L., O97057.
Spisak, John J., O92913.
Spradling, Eldon H., O96211.
Sprague, Harold E., O96212.
Sproul, Robert H., O95230.
Sprouse, Derek G., O96213.
Stafne, James A., O95702.
Stancer, William H., O96508.
Stancil, Brian M., O96625.
Stanley, Gerald I., O96509.
Stanley, Warner D., O96215.
Staples, Thomas F., O97262.
Starbird, Edward A., O96216.
Statum, Herman C., O96510.
Steele, Samuel L., O96217.
Steinhauer, William, OF110910.
Steinle, Peter E., O95232.
Stephenson, Dan T., O96219.
Stephenson, Richard, O96220.
Stevens, Robert M., OF109310.
Stevenson, Julian L., OF106832.
Stewart, Alan F., OF104550.
Stewart, Donald E., O96221.
Stewart, Phillip R., O96222.
Stewart, Thomas H., OF110913.
Stieglitz, Gilbert, O95707.
Stinson, Robert J., OF105834.
Stizza, John B., O95708.
Stone, Bert, OF109311.
Stone, Tim F., O95710.
Stong, Todd D., O96223.
Storat, Richard E., O96224.
Story, Jonathan, III, O95234.
Street, Donald R., O96225.
Stroup, Theodore G., O96227.
Stryker, John F., O99401.
Stucker, Ronald E., OF102641.
Stumpff, Steven O., OF100012.
Stynes, Robert E., OF102278.
Sughrue, Lawrence T., O96704.
Sullivan, Dennis B., O95712.
Sullivan, James L., OF106239.
Sullivan, Milton L., O95713.
Summers, Clark H., Jr., O96514.
Svoboda, Joseph A., OF100357.
Swedish, Benjamin, OF113856.
Sweet, George B., III, O96229.
Swendson, Joe A., O95715.
Swift, William D., OF108318.
Swing, Walter M., OF102642.
Sworts, Ned, O95716.
Szwarckop, Joseph D., O96232.
Szydlo, Robert B., O95239.
Szymczak, Robert W., O96233.
Tambling, David F., O95240.
Tanski, Chester J., O95241.
Tarbet, Robert M., Jr., O96234.
Tate, Raymond A., O95242.
Tate, Van B., O92948.
Taylor, Carl S., O95720.
Taylor, John C., Jr., OF100015.
Taylor, John L., O96235.
Taylor, Leonard C., O96236.
Taylor, Walter D., Jr., O96237.
Teel, Kenneth L., O93522.
Telenko, George J., O96239.
Templeton, Geoffrey, O95244.
Tessmer, Lee W., OF109321.
Thees, John D., Jr., O95245.
Thomas, Billie N., O96240.
Thomas, Billy M., O96517.

Thomas, Everett R., O94835.
Thomas, John K., O95722.
Thomas, Robert B., O96241.
Thompson, Edward, Jr., OF106849.
Thompson, Louis M., O97840.
Thompson, Owen R., OF110446.
Thompson, Robert W., OF106246.
Thompson, Stanley E., O96242.
Thorson, Glen J., O94144.
Thrasher, Carl D., OF103053.
Thrasher, Robert H., O96522.
Thurmond, George H., O93322.
Tichenor, Carroll J., OF104559.
Tierney, James L., O97988.
Tifverman, Lawrence, OF102648.
Tilson, Charles E., OF106851.
Tilt, William M., O95725.
Tilton, William M., O94555.
Tindale, Alan C., O96243.
Tinnemeyer, Charles, O96244.
Tippin, Scott M., O94556.
Tippins, Gerald M., OF100018.
Tipton, James D., O98016.
Tison, Weyman B., Jr., O99403.
Tobin, Jacob G., O96527.
Todd, William A., III, OF102650.
Tomblinson, William, OF103914.
Tomlinson, Gene B., O96245.
Toomepuu, Tonu, O92958.
Torres, Peter B., O95728.
Trammell, Johnny C., OF110932.
Trbovich, Tyrone M., OF110449.
Treadwell, David O., O96247.
Tremaine, Myron D., O96248.
Trombley, Thomas H., OF114227.
Trupp, LeRoy R., OF106854.
Tumelson, Ronald A., O96249.
Tumlin, Ronald W., O96250.
Tumpane, James R., O96251.
Turberg, Joseph R., O92961.
Turcotte, Gerald V., O95253.
Turley, James M., OF108324.
Turner, Duane B., OF113867.
Turner, Harvey E., O95254.
Turner, John A., O94727.
Turner, John M., Jr., OF103756.
Tyo, Walter L., O93324.
Tysver, Gerald A., O96252.
Ulmer, Jerry W., O95256.
Ulveling, Max G., O96530.
Urna, Henry D., O96254.
Vachon, Raymond F., OF105568.
Vannes, Clayton L., O95260.
Varela, Louis Jr., O95731.
Varnado, Charles B., OF109333.
Varner, Thomas A., O95113.
Vaughan, Bernard W., O99752.
Vaughan, Walter A., OF103760.
Vaughters, Kenneth, OF103061.
Veal, Monte R., OF106860.
Vejar, Ray J., OF103761.
Velez, Agustin E., O94257.
Venberg, Walter W., O92966.
Ventantonio, James, OF104567.
Villarreal, Hector, OF105857.
Vivas, Ernest E., O96531.
Vogel, William M., O95264.
Volta, Donald H., O99114.
Von Hoene, John P. A., O95732.
Voss, Donald J., O96255.
Voss, James G., O95265.
Vozka, David, O95266.
Vranish, John M., O96256.
Wager, Joseph S., OF102660.
Waggoner, Ivan L., O96257.
Wagner, Balfe R., OF103196.
Wagner, David W., O95734.
Wagner, John H. II, O96258.
Wagner, Ronald E., OF103063.
Wagner, William J., O95267.
Wake, William E. III, OF106865.
Walden, John W., OF102683.
Walker, Charles R., OF100030
Walker, John B., O96260.
Walker, William J., OF110457.
Walker, William L., O95735.
Wallace, Kenneth M., O96262.
Wallace, Roy V., Jr., O96263.
Walters, David L., O94837.
Walters, Floyd J., Jr., O96535.
Walton, Elmer D., Jr., O95271.
Ward, Robert E. III, O96655.
Ward, Theron W., OF110091.
Ward, William F., OF106873.
Ward, Windsor E., O96264.
Warner, Stephen D., O96265.
Warnock, William H., OF106876.
Warren, Howard L., O95738.
Warren, Wayne S., OF106875.
Wasaff, Samuel K., Jr., O96266.
Washington, Thomas, O96536.
Wasserburger, John, O93539.
Waters, Lawrence E., O96267.
Waterston, Robert J., O92979.
Watkins, Leo F., Jr., O95740.
Watson, Neal C., OF100036.
Watson, Samuel J., OF105580.
Watt, Murray B., O94561.
Watters, Richard H., O95403.
Watters, Robert A., O94730.
Waynick, William C., O96537.
Wearden, Glen E., OF103770.
Weatherford, Willia, OF104576.
Webb, Arthur M., O96268.
Webb, Ernest L., O96269.
Webb, Quentin R., O96538.
Webb, Richard G., O92981.
Weber, James J., O95742.
Weber, Neal J., O95743.
Webster, Lynn C., OF102291.
Weigand, Gerald L., O95278.
Weigand, Robert W., O95279.
Weinfurter, Robert, O96270.
Weiss, James W., O96271.
Weiss, Olgierd J., Jr., OF104043.
Weiss, Stephen R., OF105583.
Welch, William A., O94839.
Weld, Seth L., III, O92982.
Wells, Virgil R., OF102292.
Werner, Walter J., O95283.
Wertz, Paul F., O96273.
Wertz, Robert B., OF103772.
West, Steven G., O96274.
Westendick, William, OF100168.
Westfall, Francis D., O96275.
Weyand, John W., Jr., OF103773.
Whatley, William A., OF104578.
Wheeler, Jack C., OF105867.
Whigham, John A., OF113883.
Whitaker, Bobby V., OF103919.
Whitaker, Chester, O95286.
White, Isaiah, OF110470.
Whitehead, William, O96277.
Whitehouse, Gregory, OF102669.
Whitley, James R., Jr., OF101866.
Whitmore, Stanley E., O96278.
Whittington, Willia, O96546.
Wiard, Willard L., OF110954.
Wieting, Gary L., O94731.
Wiggins, Harry R., OF102672.
Wilbur, Paul A., O95289.
Wilcox, John G., O96279.
Wilhelm, Alfred D., O96280.
Wilkerson, Benjamin, O96281.
Wilkerson, Roger C., O96548.
Wilkins, Harold H., OF103776.
Williams, Donald W., OF109344.
Williams, James D., O99417.
Williams, James E., O95747.
William, Michael J., O96549.
Williams, Phillip W., OF102677.
Williams, Roger T., OF104580.
Williams, Wade J., OF105875.
Williams, Warren B., O96550.
Williamson, Clyde T., OF103778.
Williamson, Donald, O96282.
Williamson, George, OF102297.
Williamson, John G., OF103923.
Williamson, Robert, O94432.
Williford, Charles, OF113311.
Willis, Deral E., O95292.
Willis, Wayne D., O96283.
Willms, Walter R., O96901.
Wilson, Fred N., Jr., OF106888.
Wilson, Lee B., O95749.
Wilson, Lester R., O96551.
Wilson, Ronald D., OF109669.
Wimsatt, Philip D., OF103079.
Windom, David L., O96284.
Winkler, John C., O96285.
Winslow, William R., OF102679.
Winter, Norman E., O95124.
Winterbottom, Rodne, OF105878.
Winton, George C., OF108334.
Withers, Geoffrey D., O96286.
Witzel, Ronald W., O96287.
Woeber, Donald H., O96288.
Wolf, Robert L., O95299.
Wolfe, Ralph R., OF106124.
Wolfe, Robert M., OF109346.
Wong, Robert Y., O96289.
Wood, James F., OF110478.
Wood, Smythe J., OF103783.
Woodbury, Paul W., OF100047.
Word, Alan A., O94733.
Word, Larry E., O95303.
Worrell, Benton, OF102300.
Worthington, Henry, O96290.
Worthington, James, O96291.
Wosepka, James L., OF106892.
Wren, Richard C., O96555.
Wright, Allen W., O99761.
Wright, James A., O95754.
Wright, Raymond P., O94840.
Wuerpel, Charles L., O96292.
Wulf, Bruce L., OF100049.
Wylie, Richard W., O96293.
Yardas, Douglas A., O95306.
Yauch, John A., OF109351.
Yazinski, Edward C., OF103788.
Yeaney, Jerry D., O94842.
Yeargan, Randall L., O94983.
Yearout, Robert D., O96662.
York, Val D., OF109352.
Yost, Harold S., OF103083.
Young, Danny A., O94269.
Zabik, Robert D., O96294.
Zaremba, Walter C., OF103085.
Zelez, Gordon N., O95308.
Zenker, Ernest G., O96295.
Zetterberg, Robert, OF101148.
Zielenski, Peter T., OF108339.
Zimmerman, Guy G., OF106261.
Zipperer, Frank E., O93346.
Zmuida, Paul T., O96297.
Zoller, Norman E., O95243.
Zwicker, Gary L., O95311.

To be captains, Chaplain

Carroll, Emmitt T., OF110626.
Danielson, Wendell, OF113164.
Graves, Joseph A., OF110697.
Hansen, Henry N., OF110710.
Harano, Roger D. M., OF110711.
Howells, Carlton R., OF113208.
Kleinworth, Robert, OF110756.
Moyer, Paul N., OF110826.
Roat, Stanley G., OF110877.
Stingley, Michael D., OF110914.
Stock, Joseph E., OF113290.
Sutherland, Jack E., OF110920.

To be captains, Women's Army Corps

Ferdinand, Tamma C., L631.
Hampton, Marian F., L659.
Murphy, Joanne, L653.
Ralph, Rose A. C., L626.
Scribner, Elizabeth, L622.
Seibert, Nancy L., L619.
Stallings, Betty J., L640.
Tate, Alice M., L627.
Ailor, John E., Jr., OF113134.
Barrett, Kay C., OF113142.
Brunner, David G., OF113153.
Dean, Richard J., OF106093.
De Domenico, Paul G., OF110650.
Duet, William J., OF114074.
Hays, Granvil L., OF114105.
Jastrzembski, Steve, OF110742.
Kotwal, Keki R., OF113726.
Ligon, Charles R., Jr., OF110778.
Lorton, Lewis, OF110786.
Santa, Edward A., OF113283.
Schow, Sterling R., OF110892.
Truax, Kurt H., OF113300.
Alden, Errol R., OF114012.
Baker, John Q., OF114017.
Brannon, Julian W., OF114366.
Clark, Thomas H., OF114050.
Coleman, Wayne L., OF114053.
De Villez, Richard, OF114399.
Fleming, Arthur W., OF110677.
Godwin, Charles W., OF113191.
Harriss, William E., OF110714.
Haynes, James L., OF114104.
Hubbard, Robert B., OF114117.
Johnson, Dariel L., OF114125.

Kennedy, Charles W., OF109580.
Lewis, Robert E., OF114146.
Lull, Robert J., OF113232.
Maher, Paul J., OF114151.
Marciniak, Robert A., OF109217.
Marcus, Robert D., OF114154.
Massa, Emilio, OF110799.
Materson, Richard S., OF110800.
McClane, John R., OF110805.
McLeod, David G., OF110811.
Meyerson, Lawrence, OF110815.
Nau, Richard C., OF113254.
Osteraas, Grayson R., OF110843.
Rogers, Philip W., OF114206.
Schiele, Howard P., OF110058.
Seaman, Richard W., OF113835.
Stutz, Freidrich H., OF114219.
Tarry, Kirby B., OF113858.
Tse, Francis H., OF113866.
Wilson, Freddie E., OF105877.

To be captains, Medical Service Corps

Alba, Ricardo, OF109052.
Amos, William H., Jr., O96305.
Anderson, Carl J., OF103176.
Angiolelli, Ralph F., O95477.
Baker, John W., II, O92890.
Bambery, Thomas W., OF108104.
Barbour, Michael C., O92898.
Berlin, Jack E., O94440.
Betasso, Joseph J., OF106659.
Biggs, Barry L., O95439.
Black, Robert G., OF102818.
Bolte, Gordon L., OF102820.
Bowman, Robert W., Jr., O96326.
Breen, Richard N., OF102146.
Breunle, Phillip C., OF110613.
Brothers, Chauncy P., OF114037.
Brown, Herman D., Jr., O95196.
Burch, Vernon R., O96952.
Candelaria, John J., O95467.
Carestia, Ralph R., O94806.
Carter, Jimmie B., O94516.
Casey, Thomas D., O97291.
Childers, Leon W., Jr., OF104395.
Chin, Gordon O., O94518.
Colbert, Bill N., OF102833.
Cole, Evan H., O94677.
Collins, Robert P., OF109885.
Collyer, William M., O95162.
Conway, Brian J., O93168.
Conway, Edward M., OF110632.
Courtenay, David G., OF103419.
Daubel, Karl J., OF110224.
Ebner, Donald G., OF102859.
Edwards, Joseph D., O99311.
Foster, George H., OF109918.
Fox, Charles E., Jr., OF104420.
George, Thomas A., O94688.
Gerukos, John G., O93402.
Gilliam, Frank H., Jr., O96586.
Goldberg, Bertram, O95935.
Gordon, Thomas J., O93442.
Grady, Milton, O96390.
Graham, Richard W., OF105682.
Gray, John W., O95328.
Greene, Thomas, O94196.
Grider, Robert J., O95329.
Gustat, Matthew P., O95521.
Hantman, Richard K., OF110267.
Hayman, Robert H., O93427.
Hays, Walter R., O97128.
Heaton, Billy A., O94304.
Heimendinger, Richa, OF102906.
Helin, Donald D., O92949.
Hill, Arthur E., O99149.
Howland, Elvin B., O94183.
Huff, Fred V., O99878.
Hunt, Dan W., O96987.
Hyde, Gary P., OF102924.
Intermill, Ronald W., OF102926.
Johnson, Donald A., O95575.
Johnson, Michael L., O95342.
Johnson, Walter F., O96765.
Keel, Robert H., OF104462.
Kinion, Ronald O., OF114133.
Kishimoto, Richard, OF102311.
Klemperer, Walter M., O96594.
Kovach, Frank, O94294.
Kullbom, Merrill C., O94348.
Lacey, Donald A., OF110311.
Landon, Donald D., O93225.
Lillard, Joseph K., OF102359.
Lobingier, John H., O99907.
Lynch, Jeffrey G., O96436.
Lyons, Gerard A., O97547.
Maruca, Robert T., OF100385.
Mayer, Henry A., Jr., O97158.
Mazur, John F., O95616.
McGarry, Joseph J., OF106709.
McGarry, Leo J., O92691.
McGowan, John J., O94845.
McKinnery, William, O94618.
McNeill, Douglas W., O97161.
McPherson, Darrell, OF106184.
McQuillan, David B., OF104490.
Montgomery, Gordon, O98244.
Mueller, Hans J. W., O97015.
Munley, Thomas C., Jr., OF102990.
Nesbitt, Earl W., O94708.
Nolan, Kenneth J., OF114181.
O'Barr, Billy J., O95075.
O'Brien, Joseph D., OF110017.
Oliver, Gerald C., O96464.
Palmer, William W., OF109616.
Pedersen, Carl E., Jr., O96469.
Pugh, Paul M., O93276.
Radcliffe, John H., O95170.
Ramirez, Oscar, Jr., O95172.
Roby, William W., Jr., O95674.
Rogers, Bobby E., O96493.
Rose, Robert D., O96494.
Rose, Walter E., O95675.
Rosenbleeth, Milton, O96332.
Roussin, Robert D., OF110380.
Rowlette, Lemuel A., O95197.
Sack, Gerald E., OF103022.
Savage, Linnaeus, B., O96414.
Schiefer, Bernard C., OF100347.
Schlaeppi, Lloyd A., OF109289.
Schorzman, Mark H., O99390.
Shaw, George J., Jr., O95686.
Silverstein, Herman, O97206.
Sisk, Michael G., O99396.
Snyder, Charles W., O95227.
Soberg, David A., O97039.
Sorbera, Salvatore, OF108309.
Spencer, William R., O99501.
Stutz, Douglas R., OF109650.
Tedrow, Thomas N., O95721.
Thompson, Dale L., Jr., O95723.
Thompson, Eugene G., OF110444.
Thompson, Jerry L., O95246.
Thornton, Joseph A., O96521.
Timberlake, John S., O97364.
Tolman, Joseph B., O96524.
Troy, Milton W., II, O96528.
Truscott, James J., O95252.
Vermillion, James G., O99408.
Wade, Douglas E., OF114233.
Wahl, George H., O94836.
Warner, David J., OF102663.
Weigand, Denis M., O95277.
White, David L., OF110469.
White, Miles H., OF110471.
Whitehouse, Roy L., OF103075.
Williams, Charles, OF109668.
Williams, Charles M., O95746.
Wright, Robert E., OF101870.

To be captains, Army Medical Specialist Corps

Haley, Donald L., MM10215.
Laubscher, Sonya R., M10208.
Van Dervort, Judith, M10203.
Webb, Annie J., M10200.

To be captains, Veterinary Corps

Jennings, Paul B., Jr., OF110287.
Matney, Harvey R., OF103874.

To be captains, Army Nurse Corps

Anderson, Parma M., N3199.
Beam, Ida M., N3103.
Borg, Naldean J., N3193.
Brice, Betty, N3104.
Casper, David F., MN3399.
Cusick, Judith M., N3156.
Gately, Margaret E., N3247.
Halliburton, Sarah, N3382.
Hunn, James M., MN3417.
Kerry, Hazel, N3325.
Kuhn, Patricia A., N3329.
Loehrer, Edward O., MN3491.
Metcalfe, Martha E., N3136.
Michel, George H., MN3523.
Petrello, Judith M., N3205.
Rossi, Marguarite J., N3227.
Scott, Ruby R., N3473.
Shinskie, Edward F., MN3475.
Soper, Linda A., N3196.
Walls, Marian J., N3376.
Wooding, Gayle M., N3342.

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3299:

To be majors

Accousti, Kenneth W., OF114009.
Ackerman, Albert A., O75132.
Adams, Robert L., O70579.
Adams, Robert N., O99286.
Addison, Richard L., O73541.
Albritton, Herbert, OF114011.
Alexander, Lyle K., O81366.
Allan, Walter F., O85474.
Allen, Wayne C., O81572.
Alley, Wayne E., O89174.
Alliason, John R., O89587.
Almy, Donald C., O77249.
Altland, Robert W. O71059.
Anderson, Jack W., Jr., OF102399.
Anderson, John A., O77251.
Anderson, Richard L., O77253.
Anderson, Richard V., O71754.
Andrews, Donald A., O71970.
Andrews, Donald G., O77254.
Andrews, William G., O78206.
Andy, Charles W., O82134.
Ansted, Genda W., O71311.
Arciero, Robert G., O77255.
Ardizzione, Leo A., O78207.
Arnold, Thomas W., O81576.
Arnzen, Chester L., O72671.
Arthur, Billy A., O71971.
Ashby, Peter B., O71061.
Augur, George M., O87997.
Aune, Douglas W., OF100283.
Austin, Clinton W., O71639.
Austin, Freddie C., O82136.
Austin, Kenneth B., O77256.
Ayers, Theodore F., O68875.
Babers, Donald M., O75137.
Badger, Robert W., O70597.
Badovinac, Nick J., O78211.
Baker, Frank H., O71440.
Baker, Jack E., O77263.
Baker, William L., OF102804.
Baldwin, Noland Y., O75141.
Barber, Richard L., O72437.
Barker, James E., O71975.
Barker, Llyle J., Jr., O85850.
Barnhart, Richard J., O99607.
Barnhill, David B., O72572.
Barnwell, Kenneth V., O90521.
Barrere, Richard P., O88562.
Barrett, Francis X., O78220.
Barry, James G., Jr., O79176.
Bartholomew, Roger, O91750.
Bartos, Robert E., O71140.
Basil, Benjamin J., O91157.
Bass, Robert L., O95164.
Bassham, Archie F., OF102807.
Bate, Milford C., O72439.
Bauer, Philip O., O81579.
Bausler, Donald R., O77267.
Baxter, George M., O84947.
Bazilwich, Paul, Jr., O71978.
Bean, Richard J., O71979.
Bean, Robert H., O81580.
Bear, David A., O91159.
Bearden, Winston H., O84948.
Beasley, Lewis E., O80208.
Becker, Donald L., O83102.
Bedsaul, Clare D., O81582.
Beil, Glenn N., O71141.
Bell, Dale M., O91552.
Bell, James F., O71142.
Bell, Joel H., O84949.
Bender, William J., O97883.
Bennett, Joseph D., O71760.
Benoit, William R., O88570.
Benson, Joseph E., O71315.
Berg, Roland E., O77268.
Bergen, James P., O71981.

Bergquist, Robert L., O85291.
Bernard, Paul H., O71643.
Bernhardt, William, O89180.
Berry, Bobbie G., OF102816.
Bettinger, Francis, O85481.
Bickston, Walter J., O71316.
Bill, Gary R., O82142.
Bills, Arthur D., O96735.
Bingham, Robert E., OF103350.
Bishop, John G., O87678.
Bishop, Ted E., O71982.
Bittl, Frederick E., O72366.
Bjorn, Edward D., O77270.
Black, Ira W., Jr., O71983.
Blackburn, Paul L., O72442.
Blackmore, James R., O85899.
Blahuta, Norman G., O71984.
Blake, Richard J., O77271.
Blandeburgo, Gasper, O87680.
Blasingame, Josiah, O71646.
Bliss, Charles F., O71986.
Bliss, Donald E., OF113147.
Boden, William C., O71068.
Boehnke, Roger H., O91764.
Bolduc, Donald A., O99434.
Boling, Douglas L., O77273.
Bond, James A., O99556.
Bonnstetter, William E., O94567.
Booras, Danny, O71150.
Booras, Peter D., O71987.
Borris, Roger J., O78233.
Bossert, Paul W., O71318.
Bottorff, Gerald L., OF106062.
Bouey, John D., Jr., OF102416.
Bourgeois, Edward J., O85295.
Bournes, William V., O99690.
Bowman, Ronald N., O71647.
Boyd, Bobby K., O71448.
Boyd, Sidney H., O71151.
Boyd, William P., O71989.
Boyer, Gene T., O79193.
Boynton, Marshall E., O71319.
Bozymski, Valentine, O77276.
Bracewell, Roland A., O77277.
Bradberry, William, O77278.
Bradford, Wilson E., O78237.
Bradley, William C., O71069.
Bragalone, Raymond, O89418.
Bramblet, William B., O71451.
Bramlett, James T., O77281.
Brandenstein, Howard O89322.
Branscum, Billy R., O87687
Breedlove, Smedley O71764.
Breithaupt, Marvin O75153.
Brewer, Charles F., OF113557.
Brill, Herbert W., OF102418.
Brokenshire, James O71990.
Brooks, Buford O94915.
Brooks, Leo A , O75154.
Brooks, Thomas J., O71991.
Brown, Dallas C. Jr.,O71156.
Brown, Donald R., O84901.
Brown, Edward M., O81593.
Brown, George A , O81594.
Brown, Hugh R. Jr., O78174.
Brown, James E., O87695.
Brown, Joe A., O78244.
Brown, John M., O71992.
Brown, Leonard L , O95208.
Brown, Lewellyn A., O91772.
Brown, Raymond V., O75157.
Brown, Robert B., O71993.
Browning, Robert A., O77286.
Brunback, Robert M., O91773.
Brumit, Charles D., O78245.
Brummit, Philip A., O71070.
Bruno, Vito J., O81596.
Bryan, Clyde M., Jr., O82150.
Bryan, Thomas F., O77288.
Buchalter, Richard, OF102999.
Buchanan, Gerald H., O71071.
Buchwald, Donald M., O71996.
Bundren, Alva B., Jr., O71997.
Bunyard, Jerry M., O77290.
Burbach, Frederick, O73300.
Burchell, Troy D., O81391.
Burkard, Danny J., O77292.
Burkhart, George A., O71998.
Burnham, Charles A., O88020.
Burns, Charles W., O88347.
Burns, Joseph C., O82152.
Burns, Paul P., O79559.
Burns, William F., O71074.
Burrus, William S., O71999.
Burton, James, O71159
Bush, Charles E., O77296.
Bussey, Charles D., O72448.
Button, Ronald E., Jr., O70646.
Cameron, Duane G., O77300.
Camp, Robert E., O72002.
Campbell, Donald R., O71323.
Campbell, Jack P., O72003.
Campbell, Walter E.,·O72004.
Campbell, William W., O71769.
Cantrell, Jack R., O71160.
Cantwell, Franklin, O84477.
Capps, Walton H., OF102827.
Cardillo, Richard G., O72005.
Cardwell, Kenneth E., O77305.
Carlisle, John C., OF102235.
Carlson, Donald, O79216.
Carlson, Raymond R., O85973.
Carlson, Verner R., OF103273.
Caron, John E., O82154.
Carpenter, Carl L., OF100247.
Carpenter, Robert D., O72006.
Carr, Robert F., O71652.
Carrillo, Armando E., O68944.
Caswell, Philip P., O77311.
Cate, Hugh C., Jr., O71326.
Cathcart, James E., O77312.
Caudill, James M., O71162.
Cauthen, Lewis J., Jr., O75163.
Cecil, William I., O71164.
Chambers, Andrew P., O71458.
Chambers, John A., O71327.
Chance, Billy J., O72009.
Chandler, Edwin W., O71328.
Chandler, John R., O89041.
Chapin, Gordon R., O77313.
Chapman, Charles W., O78258.
Chapman, John B., OF106543.
Chapman, Robert B., O72010.
Charneco, Antonio R., OF104412.
Chikalla, Gerald G., O72012.
Child, Paul W., Jr., O89190.
Childers, Marvin E., O97097.
Childs, Wendell A., O91792.
Chin, Moy O., OF103810.
Ching, Edmund K., O71653.
Chitwood, Thomas E., O71166.
Christensen, John E., O71461.
Churchill, Morris L., OF102832.
Cini, Alfred A., O72013.
Cipriano, Alexander, O77319.
Clark, Gordon F., O99804.
Clark, Robert H., O71655.
Click, Edwin F., O7322.
Closs, William R., O77324.
Cochran, John R., O89960.
Coggins, James E., O71330.
Cole, Donald J., O77328.
Coleman, Alton H., O72015.
Collins, Harold E., O71464.
Collins, Harry D., O89046.
Collins, Lonnie L., O83624.
Collins, Marion H., O81604.
Collins, Patrick W., O81605.
Colson, Keith Q., O77330.
Cook, Duncan S., O95612.
Cook, John J., Jr., O72455.
Cooper, James A., O72016.
Corbin, Delmar L., OF105361.
Corley, William L., O91569.
Cornell, Robert K., O77336.
Corning, Terence C., O71076.
Cose, Le Roy E., O71660.
Costanzo, Irving E., O99469.
Costello, Donald F., OF106555.
Costino, Michel, O77338.
Cottrell, Walter A., O87496.
Couvillion, Herbert, O78266.
Coverdale, Craig G., O82509.
Cowan, Robert E., O78267.
Coyle, Lionel R., O72017.
Cozad, Jack G., O79238.
Crabtree, Sidney J., O71774.
Crancer, John W., O72018.
Craven, Thomas T., O72020.
Crawford, William R., O77342.
Crawley, Paul K., O77343.
Creel, Tilford C., O71473.
Cressman, James L., OF103334.
Crook, George R., O78270.
Crosby, John S., O71662.
Crosby, Richard D., O77345.
Cross, Ray S., O78271.
Croswhite, James L., O71334.
Crow, Marvin S., O85148.
Crowell, Howard G. J., O71168.
Crum, Luther G., Jr., O81614.
Cuba, Paul J., Jr., O71911.
Cummings, William T., O72022.
Dahl, Winston A., O72457.
Dale, Ronald E., OF110222.
Daley, Edmund K., Jr., O81406.
Daniel, John S., Jr., O71335.
Daniels, Geoffrey M., O83103.
Daniels, Jiles P., OF108146.
Danis, Stephen J., OF106561.
Dankers, William H., O72460.
Darrah, James T., Jr., O72024.
Darrah, Robert F., O84972.
Dart, Frederick R., O71169.
Davis, Bobby J., O71476.
Davis, Dwight A., O77352.
Davis, Roger K., O71337.
Davis, Thomas H., O89876.
Davis, Vernon K., O71478.
Dax, Raymond E., O72025.
De Fatta, Vincent, O72696.
De Francesco, Joseph, OF102171.
De Long, Clarence A., O72026.
De Maris, Edgar E., O72027.
De Mio, Dante C., OF102449.
De Witt, William W., O77353.
Dean, Bobby J., O71338.
Dean, Frank M. S., O70084.
Dearborn, William H., O75170.
Deardorff, Robert E., O72028.
Dekle, Thomas A., O72462.
Delaney, Robert F., O81409.
Delisle, Frederick, O93195.
Denman, Jerry L., O72029.
Dennis, Robert V., OF110651.
Deringer, Clifton H., O88253.
Detyens, Joseph W., O72698.
Dickinson, John R., O78280.
Dickinson, William, O77358.
Dienst, Daniel W., O72031.
Dill, Bobby M., O77359.
Dillon, James W., O71080.
Dimsdle, Arthur, O73317.
Dinwiddie, Richard, O72032.
Dirmeyer, Robert P., O77361.
Dixon, Allen C. Jr., O77363.
Dixon, Herbert M., OF105440.
Dixon, Philip W., O78175.
Dockler, Gordon S., O71171.
Doctor, Henry Jr., OF105658.
Domenicucci, Louis, O71172.
Donohue, John E., O81625.
Dorschler, Richard, O82165.
Doust, Arol R., O81415.
Dowdy, Harry K. Jr., OF106573.
Doyle, John P. Jr., O72037.
Draper, Leo, O88661.
Dreher, Henry E., O77368.
Drewyor, Richard A., O84479.
Drexler, Charles H., O75179.
Driscoll, Jerome W., O85527.
Drummond, James E., O72038.
Drury, Peter F., Jr., O77370.
Dubovick, Richard R., O72703.
Dugan, Daniel C., O72040.
Dukes, William C., O77371.
Dulin, Ralph W., O71484.
Dunaway, Roy S., O72042.
Duncan, Jack L., O81418.
Dunkelberger, William, O11342.
Dunn, Earl C., Jr., O71784.
Dunn, Robert F., O71081.
Durbin, James J., O71785.
Durkee, Richard Y., O78177.
Eddie, Robert G., OF108163.
Eddins, Watha J., Jr., O72043.
Eddleman, Kenneth T., O89469.
Edmonson, Frank A., O72588.
Edwards, Alfred Y., O71898.
Edwards, Marc H., O91222.
Edwards, William H., O72044.
Egeland, Edgar, O89472.
Elder, Perry B., Jr., O84777.
Elliott, Bernard V., O87508.
Ellis, Alvin C., O71175.
Ellison, Henry L., O71176.

Elton, Robert G., O90582.
Enslow, Philip H., Jr., O72045.
Erickson, Paul G., O70701.
Erickson, Roland S., O77379.
Evangelho, Arlindo, OF104418.
Evans, Bobby G., O71489.
Everett, William M., O72386.
Fair, Cecil G., Jr., O72864.
Falbo, John J., O77380.
Fallon, Thomas F., O77381.
Farmer, Douglas H., OF103386.
Farmer, Garry H., O87738.
Farr, Robert A., O71179.
Farrell, James J., Jr., O97904.
Farrington, John S., O72047.
Faugust, Robert E., O85321.
Faulkinberry, Charles, OF102178.
Fene, William R., O85322.
Feore, Patrick L., O71082.
Fernander, Bobbie B., O77385.
Fickett, William A., O77387.
Finger, Herbert C., O72051.
Finkbiner, Glenn G., O78299.
Fiora, Edward F., Jr., O78300.
Fischer, Daniel J., O71083.
Fiscus, James E., O72053.
Fisher, Harry C., Jr., O78301.
Fitzpatrick, William, O71085.
Fleeger, James E., O72054.
Fleming, Hewell D., O99841.
Fleming, Norwood W., O72055.
Fletcher, David F., O82171.
Fluker, Thomas D., OF104211.
Focht, Charles W., O71493.
Follett, Arthur G., O72056.
Folta, Russell J., O77391.
Font, George M., O73329.
Forbes, Barney H., O77022.
Foster, Donald G., O71920.
Fralen, Clifford J., O72058.
Franklin, Joseph P., O72059.
Frear, Harold D., O72061.
Freeman, William C., O81429.
Freeze, Richard S., O87746.
Freshley, Robert L., O78308.
Froelich, James W., O86165.
Fry, Dudley L., Jr., O71187.
Fuellhart, Joseph M., O77396.
Fujii, Eugene I., O85325.
Fuller, Bernard E., O73448.
Fuller, Richard G., O92312.
Fulp, Charles A., O71669.
Furlong, George P., O81432.
Fust, John W., Jr., O71189.
Gabrielli, Robert J., O77398.
Gage, Walter G., O83104.
Gallagher, Robert J., O88692.
Gallagher, William, OF103190.
Gallup, Elisha L., O72065.
Gannon, James V., O91835.
Garcia, Eliseo J., O72370.
Garcia, Santiago A., O71088.
Garneau, Lucien R., O78315.
Garvais, Donald F., O77400.
Gassie, Herbert H., OF104006.
Gatti, Michael A., O78317.
Gavin, David C., O81435.
Gay, Forest T., III, O72067.
Geesey, Edwin P., O99849.
Gelster, Duane A., O75190.
George, James R., Jr., O82326.
George, Thomas F., OF106614.
Gerkey, George E., O71497.
Gersitz, Charles R., O72068.
Gilbreth, Lee E., O70725.
Gillard, Robert W., O71191.
Gillespie, Vernon W., O81439.
Gilpatrick, David D., O72070.
Ginger, Walter D., O82175.
Ginish, Michael, Jr., O88073.
Ginter, Kenneth E., O72071.
Gminder, Russell, O77406.
Goetzinger, James E., O84482.
Goldstein, Jack, O72072.
Gontarski, Joseph W., O77408.
Gooch, Charles D., O72714.
Good, James A., O77031.
Goodall, Billy R., O90118.
Goodrich, Charles R., O72596.
Goodsite, Thomas M., O84483.
Gordon, James C., Jr., O71671.
Gorey, Paul J., O77409.
Gorman, Irving T., O78321.
Gosney, Robert R., O77410.
Graham, James R., O83626.
Graham, Todd P., O72074.
Gramly, Pyne A., Jr., O81645.
Grandone, Frank F., OF102886.
Granger, John D., O75197.
Gransback, Donald H., O72076.
Grant, James R., O97123.
Grant, John C., O77415.
Graves, James R., O71195.
Gray, Richard H., O72077.
Greeley, Ira E., O84484.
Green, Donald J., O77417.
Green, Gilbert R., O87764.
Greenberg, William, O71503.
Griffith, Gerald S., O81647.
Griggs, John C., O72080.
Grimes, Donald B., O81447.
Grubbs, Edward F., Jr., O72081.
Gruene, Ernest K., O71351.
Grummt, Otto C., O71201.
Grundvig, Daniel A., O88082.
Guettler, Gerald C., O71352.
Gunderson, Raymond, O72082.
Gunter, Arlie L., O71353.
Guthrie, Edward R., O72083.
Haar, Franklin R., O72478.
Haas, William E., O72084.
Hadly, William M., O72085.
Haendle, Karl V., O77421.
Haeussler, Rodolfo, O68351.
Hagedorn, Zach, Jr., O72087.
Hale, Marvin L., Jr., O78178.
Hall, Burnis L., OF105302.
Hall, David R., O71354.
Hall, John F., O95665.
Hall, Lawrence H., O78331.
Hally, John E., Jr., O77423.
Haltiwanger, Marion, O72723.
Hamberlin, Lawrence, O88086.
Hamel, Albert W., O89497.
Hamilton, John M., Jr., O72088.
Hamlett, Ellis H., O71091.
Hammond, John A., OF105417.
Hanchey, Jennings B., O78335.
Hancock, Don F., O81649.
Haney, Kenneth W., II, O78336.
Hansen, James M., OF101810.
Hansen, Ronald M., OF105161.
Hargrove, Richard L., O72089.
Harmon, Leonard J., O71506.
Harrington, Robert, O71355.
Harris, Herbert D., O96461.
Harris, James T., Jr., O73155.
Harris, Walter B., Jr., OF103370.
Harris, William I., O72480.
Harron, Dennis J., O94861.
Harrover, James D., OF110715.
Hart, Edward P., O70753.
Hartrick, William L., O77433.
Harvey, Alton H., O88723.
Hawk, Robert T., O87780.
Hawkins, Douglas K., O92062.
Haydon, James F., O78346.
Hayes, Moody E., O72092.
Hayes, Norman C., OF113661.
Hayward, Arnold E., O71204.
Hayward, Donald P., O78347.
Haywood, Willie M., O75207.
Hegdahl, James O., OF100280.
Heinsoo, Heino, O77437.
Heintz, John P., O82185.
Heiss, John L., III, O77438.
Helm, Gunther A., O72727.
Henne, Carl, Jr., O72600.
Henry, Robert B., O72094.
Hergenroeder, Leo A., O72095.
Herndon, George W., O71510.
Herren, Thomas W., O72096.
Hess, Carl H., O77441.
Hesson, James M., O90068.
Heuschkel, Donald G., O77443.
Highfill, James K., O77444.
Hilbert, Donald C., O72097.
Hilbert, Donald E., O77445.
Hill, Elbert B., O71361.
Hill, Frank J., O71925.
Hill, Houston C., O81454.
Hill, Robert A., Jr., O95134.
Hilton, Maynard E., O77446.
Himes, Todd I., OF110727.
Himmel, Daniel L., O72732.
Hines, Thomas G., O71516.
Hingst, John M., O73345.
Hinkin, Paul E., O77447.
Hissong, Fred, Jr., O71518.
Hoagland, David O., OF108200.
Hobbs, Harry V., O77449.
Hock, Robert C., O77450.
Hodges, Stanley W., O85184.
Hoeferkamp, Harold, O72099.
Hoey, Stanislaus J., O81456.
Hoffman, Robert L., O81659.
Hogan, Wayne C., OF102916.
Hoge, Philip R., O78351.
Holbrook, Willard A., O72100.
Holden, Robert T., OF105429.
Holland, Evan F., O71520.
Holland, John J., O77455.
Holland, Leland J., OF102497.
Holland, Raymond, O94308.
Holleran, Raymond F., OF100452.
Hollowell, William, O99873.
Holmes, Alan K., O71366.
Holt, Daniel R., O78180.
Holt, Xavia M., O71367.
Holtam, David N., O70768.
Honor, Edward, O71368.
Hornish, William E., O77458.
Horst, Thomas G., O72101.
Hostler, Howard K., O71807.
Hough, Henry A., O77460.
Houser, John W., OF109952.
Houts, Francis C., O78356.
Hoyer, Max J., O84490.
Hrncir, Oran T., O75211.
Huff, Don B., O77465.
Hufnagel, David A., O72102.
Huggins, Charles B., O85004.
Huggins, Edward B., O81663.
Hughes, Douglas A., O72493.
Hughes, Frank A., Jr., O84491.
Huhn, John N., O78358.
Hunter, Kelvin H., Jr., O71523.
Hull, Frederick B., O79337.
Hurd, Chetwin M., O77469.
Hurdle, Karl V., O78361.
Ihara, Les S., OF105710.
Ikeda, Kenneth K., O72104.
Imholz, Robert E., O77472.
Isbell, Don, O72105.
Jackson, James C., O88754.
Jackson, Tracy H., O77478.
Jacob, John S., OF104022.
James, Ralph M., O94593.
Janet, Stanley A., O81667.
Jarrett, Richard S. O77480.
Jellison, Cecil D., O72108.
Jennings, Robert H., O71373.
Jernigan, Sam, OF105714.
Jeter, John R., Jr., O72109.
Jimenez, Adam, O72495.
Jobert, A. Philip R., O72910.
Johnsen, Richard B., O92431.
Johnson, Charles R., O72110.
Johnson, Charles R., OF110745.
Johnson, Dean D., O98097.
Johnson, Jack O., O77484.
Johnson, Robert P., O72113.
Johnson, Stanley C., OF102509.
Johnson, Stanley M., O72114.
Johnson, William D., O92676.
Jolemore, Kenneth A., O95497.
Jones, Burton D., O77489.
Jones, Cecil P., O81464.
Jones, Clifford Jr., O72115.
Jones, David W., O88762.
Jones, Ed E., Jr., O88113.
Jones, Samuel H., Jr., O81675.
Jones, Thomas S., O75220.
Jones, Warren A., O72116.
Jordan, Horace E., O77492.
Joseph, Robert E., Jr., O72117.
Justiss, Robert E., O77493.
Kaczor, Gerald E., OF105447.
Kafonek, Richard H., O72742.
Kale, Henry F., Jr., OF109963.
Kallestad, Richard, O78375.
Kanamine, Theodore, O77494.
Kanzler, Norbert A., O78377.
Kastner, Joseph H., O71685.

Katenbrink, Irving, O72118.
Kause, Kaye D., O81467.
Kavanaugh, Richard, O70788.
Keenan, George E., O78378.
Keller, Donald F., O71374.
Keller, William K., O99071.
Kelley, Paul B., O71531.
Kellogg, Kenneth E., O91896.
Kelly, Alan C., O81677.
Kelly, Edward J., O78182.
Kelly, Edward J., III, O77499.
Kelly, Richard P., Jr., O78383.
Kelly, William H., O77501.
Kemp, Carroll P., Jr., OF103861.
Kemp, Donald T., O91605.
Kennedy, Bruce, O77503.
Kennedy, Donald R., O71213.
Kennedy, George I., O72375.
Keolanui, Lawrence, O72744.
Kershner, Clark L., O75007.
Keyes, William G., O77506.
Kilgallen, John E., O78385.
King, John W., O85017.
King, Whitfield, O88276.
Kirk, K. Leslie, O78358.
Kleis, C. Frederick, O71688.
Klingman, Harold E., OF102086.
Klora, David J., O87824.
Knauss, David S., O90218.
Knight, Emmett F., O81469.
Knowles, Wallace O., OF104458.
Knox, Owen H., O96692.
Koehler, Joseph R., OF100604.
Komarow, Ronald M., O75383.
Koun, John N., O70803.
Kowalczyk, Chester, O71690.
Kraak, Charles F., O77514.
Kramer, Leslie J., OF106160.
Krebs, James M., O77515.
Kunkel, Edwin R., O97932.
La Cour, Hugh, Jr., O84495.
La Frenz, Robert L., O72120.
Labourdette, Albert, O71540.
Lacy, David W., O99543.
Lamb, David O., O71379.
Lander, Robert B., O77080.
Lapinskes, George S., O78183.
Larkin, Phillip C., O82197.
Lasker, Paul E., O77522.
Lassiter, Edward A., O89244.
Lathrop, Lloyd W., O81682.
Laudati, Roger C., O81683.
Laverty, Wayne B., O71381.
Lawson, Lawrence L., O81684.
Lazenby, Ray D., O99230.
Ledwidge, Augustine, O94608.
Lee, William R., OF102955.
Lehman, Frederick D., O93051.
Lehman, Ralph, Jr., OF103556.
Lehnert, Edwin D., O78398.
Leighton, James P., O89353.
Lemon, Gilman J. K., O72618.
Lenzi, Anthony F., O97397.
Leonard, Richard J., O78399.
Leslie, George W., O81478.
Levensky, Emil E., O70818.
Levinson, Stanley R., O85024.
Lewi, Kenneth E., O78400.
Lewis, Gerald, O72124.
Lewis, James P., OF110322.
Lewis, Thomas M., O81480.
Liesman, John S., O85025.
Light, Clarence O., O78403.
Lillis, Francis X., O97937.
Lipscomb, Lawrence, OF113739.
Livesay, Theodore J., O72125.
Lizardo, Alex R., O74922.
Lloyd, Joseph W., O77533.
Lloyd, Luther R., O77534.
LoRe, Jesse D., O71935.
Locke, Jimmie M., O88130.
Lockhart, William H., OF102534.
Lockwood, Bill G., OF100375.
Logan, James M., O92466.
Lokie, Andrew P., O72341.
Long, Arthur W., O88794.
Longanacre, Louis E., O71547.
Lopes, John F., Jr., O71220.
Lopez, Ramon R., O77537.
Lorigan, Robert E., O77538.
Lowery, George B., O71828.
Lozier, William E., O72129.
Lucido, Jack A., O82201.
Ludolph, Anthony A., O81690.
Ludwig, Daniel D., O72131.
Lumpkins, William J., OF108235.
Lund, Robert E., Jr., O77542.
Lundy, James E., OF103178.
Luster, Albert B., OF100309.
Luthultz, Gene H., O74016.
Lybert, Elmer J., O71551.
Lynch, Homer M., O69170.
Lynn, Charles T., Jr., O78410.
Lynn, Robert G., O91449.
Lyons, Gerald E., O91915.
MacDonald, Alexander, O72133.
MacDonnell, Thomas, O77547.
MacManus, Frederick, O77549.
Mack, Henry W., OF105472.
MackIntosh, Robert, O75243.
Madden, Joseph P., O99911.
Main, Robert G., O77552.
Malcolm, Archie G., O98268.
Malone, Daniel K., O72134.
Malone, Howeard E., Jr., O75015.
Malooley, Rudolph S., O72135.
Mansfield, Tommy M., OF102968.
March, Miles B., O71936.
Marchioli, Alexander, O78185.
Marden, Jack M., O87553.
Mariani, John, O82203.
Marion, Charles B., O85618.
Marko, George F., O91919.
Marks, Malcolm L., Jr., O85031.
Marshall, Charles M., O81696.
Marshall, Raymond E., O71554.
Marshall, Thomas W., O77557.
Martin, Dale S., O99688.
Martin, David C., O73568.
Martin, Francis B., O95356.
Martin, George L., O86458.
Martling, John E., O72136.
Mason, Phillip, O97942.
Mason, Sidney E., O72137.
Massey, Clyde, Jr., O72138.
Matheney, Harold D., O81483.
Matson, James M., O85034.
Matteson, John R., O72139.
Mattson, Bertil E., O85036.
Matson, Melvin R., O97943.
Mauerhan, Karl E., O71387.
Maurer, David F., O72141.
Maus, William C., O72142.
Maxwell, John C., OF109596.
May, William S., O72143.
Mayer, David E., O79375.
Mays, Robert E., O73372.
McAfee, Darwin L., OF100315.
McCarthy, John W., O88285.
McClain, Richard A., O71223.
McClary, Jack D., O85433.
McConnell, Richard, O90446.
McCool, James M., O74017.
McCoole, Delos A., O71224.
McCulla, William L., O72149.
McDaniel, Cecil D., O77562.
McDonald, Malcolm, OF106707.
McDonald, Thomas F., O72512.
McDowell, Billy J., O71226.
McDowell, Rowland, O87850.
McElrath, William, O72513.
McFather, Bennie S., O72343.
McGee, Bernard A., O71557.
McGee, Carl D., Jr., O71389.
McGee, Ronald R., O72622.
McGregor, Harold W., O88820.
McGrevey, Thomas P., O72150.
McHugh, Thomas E., O77570.
McIlroy, Wilmer L., O72152.
McJunkin, Paul B., OF105244.
McKay, William P., O95069.
McKee, Jack M., OF109226.
McKee, Kenneth J., OF88824.
McKee, Richard W., O71704.
McKellips, John L., O77573.
McKenna, Thomas P., O86499.
McKenney, Hubert F., O71390.
McKinney, Boyce C., O91928.
McKinney, Leon E., O72154.
McLay, Orville K., O75019.
McMillan, Mervyl C., O99925.
McMillen, Earl J., O78427.
McMillon, Don, OF110001.
McNair, Carl H., Jr., O72155.
McNair, Jeptha I., O77574.
McNamee, Martin L., O72156.
McNeil, Darrell O., O83959.
McNerney, David A., O72157.
McNider, Henry B., O90281.
McTigue, Donald H., O77121.
Meaders, Barney R., O71560.
Meeker, Don E., O72519.
Meeker Jo O., O72625.
Meekison, Malcolm V., O72158.
Meetze, Henry W., O72159.
Melbye, John, OF102704.
Mellish, James R., O71229.
Mendelson, Joseph R., O87563.
Mendes, Benjamin J., O95280.
Metndoza, Joseph A., O71230.
Meyer, Gerald J., O78434.
Michalski, John L., O97233.
Mikula, Joseph G., O81488.
Milani, John A., O71100.
Miller, James R., O72162.
Miller, James R. C., O72163.
Miller, John W., O72164.
Miller, Ronald W., O78436.
Millimet, Stanley, O82209.
Minich, Cecil M., O72165.
Mino, Paul L., O81492.
Misajon, Herman G., O77582.
Mitchell, Frederick, O71564.
Mitchell, Gene A., OF113772.
Mitchell, James L., O72525.
Moir, Raymond C., O77584.
Momeier, John L., O75255.
Monaghan, Michael F., O84501.
Monroe, Eddie D., OF105489.
Montague, Thomas W., OF100318.
Moody, Herbert E., O71565.
Moore, David R., O77587.
Moore, George D., Jr., O78440.
Moore, James M., O71401.
Moore, Robert J., O88845.
Moore, Virgil E., Jr., O78444.
Moore, William B., O82289.
Moran, William J., O85221.
Morgan, Abbott R., O78186.
Morgan, Jerry T., O71566.
Morris, Eddie L., O71235.
Morris, Patrick W., O82352.
Morrow, Robert D., O71569.
Morse, James W., O81704.
Mort, Bruce M., O84502.
Morton, Bryan D., O72526.
Moscovic, Paul S., O90320.
Moses, Dan, O72166.
Mounts, James A., O90514.
Mueller, Frederick O71847.
Muhlherr, Joseph J., O71236.
Mullan, Thomas L., Jr., O72167.
Mullen, Gordon R., O71572.
Mullins, William R., O97171.
Mulvey, Francis P., OF102657.
Mundt, James A., O95365.
Munier, Paul L., O78448.
Munroe, Gary W., Sr., O72169.
Murphy, Charles K., O72346.
Myers, Maynard D., O78451.
Nack, Thomas P., O72378.
Nakamura, Leslie K., O92103.
Napier, James W., III, O72172.
Napoli, Joseph F., OF106749.
Narvaez, Thomas, O95367.
Neal, Barney K., Jr., OF113784.
Neal, Charles A., O88857.
Neal, James W., O77595.
Neroni, Frederick J., O71579.
Neroutsos, George H., O75257.
Newton, Robert W., O72174.
Nichols, Sterling R., O72175.
Nidever, Richard L., O71238.
Nodland, Stanley K., O72769.
Nolan, John D., O71239.
Nork, William G., O89267.
Norris, William S., O98297.
Norwalk, Frank E., O82215.
Nourse, Robert H., O72179.
Nowak, Donald E., O70884.
Nowak, Peter R., O99365.
Nuckolls, Donald R., O90554.
Nunziata, Salvatore, O71104.
Oakley, Howard H., O77605.

Obermire, John P., O83632.
Oblock, Louis W., O71944.
O'Brien, Francis E., O72180.
O'Connell, Marvin G., O78457.
O'Connor, James J., O89268.
Oden, Foster L., OF102550.
Okazaki, Kenneth T., O71241.
Cleary, Arthur J., O77608.
O'Leary, Francis D., O77609.
Oleksy, Willian G., O71105.
Oliver, Hebren W., O91963.
Olvey, Lee D., O72181.
Ordway, Godwin, III, O72182.
Osborn, Phillip C., O77613.
Oshesky, Gerald K., O84504.
Ottinger, Joseph B., O72533.
Overholt, Hugh R., O94778.
Owel, William R., O75262.
Owens, Frank E., O77614.
Owings, William M., O71852.
Pacelli, Vincent A., O77615.
Pacha, Leonard E., O71106.
Page, George W., O72184.
Palumbo, Joseph E., O70897.
Pankowski, Alfred J., O92499.
Parchinski, Edward, O81506.
Parham, Paul B., O77618.
Parison, Louis J., OF104137.
Parker, Alton B., Jr., O72185.
Parker, Don L., O71107.
Parks, Paul F., O72186.
Parks, William T., O72187.
Parrish, Glenwood N., O72771.
Parson, Robert A., OF101030.
Parsons, Russell L., O72188.
Passafiume, John F., O72189.
Pate, Robert I., O71409.
Patnode, Clarence A., O71109.
Pattakos, Arion N., O72635.
Patterson, Theodore, O72190.
Patton, Joe W., O85066.
Pauley, Francis L., O69264.
Pawlik, Stephen R., OF108270.
Pede, August R., O72348.
Pemberton, David L., O72193.
Pergerson, Benard S., OF105793.
Perkins, Rex V. N., O72194.
Perrotto, Anthony J., O85233.
Perry, John W., Jr., O71247.
Perry, Ronald C., O82221.
Perschetz, Gerald, O77622.
Pershing, Jay W., O77623.
Peters, William G., O72195.
Petersen, Darwin A., O85068.
Petersen, Gerald L., O97344.
Pettet, Joseph D., O72196.
Pettit, Lewis W., O71855.
Pfaller, Eberhard W., O81508.
Philbrook, Wilbur W., O77625.
Philippsen, Werner, O91484.
Phillips, Calvin F., O82223.
Phillips, Clyde W., O75267.
Pierce, Fred W., Jr., O81717.
Pierce, James R., O71587.
Piland, William U., O95278.
Pitts, George E., O99954.
Pitts, Russell N., O99710.
Poor, Thomas D., O70914.
Poorman, Donald C., O72200.
Pospisil, Vladimir, O91485.
Poston, Robert E., O99956.
Powel, Ben F., Jr., O81720.
Poydasheff, Robert, O71856.
Pratt, Willis G., O77627.
Prawl, Sherlund D., O78187.
Pressley, Ancil R., O99958.
Principe, Martin A., O88883.
Privette, Jake H., OF104571.
Prothero, Ronald P., O77630.
Pruniski, Stephen A., O81722.
Purchase, Collins J., O84505.
Purdy, Harry E., Jr., O72380.
Putnam, Carl M., Jr., O97248.
Putorek, William P., O78472.
Putz, Robert A., O84506.
Pye, William T., O97347.
Quinlan, James A., O95379.
Quinn, Hugh, III, O7203.
Rackley, Jerry D., O71250.
Radtke, William P., O88184.
Ragsdale, Billy B., OF103893.
Ramsey, Bobby A., OF110865.
Randall, Eugene J., O82226.
Randall, Richard D., OF106211.
Randolph, James W., O77637.
Rasmussen, Donald R., O71411.
Ray, Howard, O71252.
Rayfield, William L., OF100554.
Raymond, Allen D., O72205.
Reddell, Gerald W., O77639.
Redmond, Robert S., O71412.
Reed, Edwin, Jr. O68683.
Regan, John P., O77641.
Register, Benjamin, O77642.
Reid, Donald E., O72206.
Reid, Robert C., O72641.
Reniker, Gene B., O71254.
Rex, Ronald C., OF105805.
Rhodes, Cephus S., O77178.
Rhodes, Roy F., O89949.
Rhyan, Earnest W., Jr., O85077.
Rice, Harley E., O77648.
Richey, Eugene C., O75276.
Rider, Archie, A., O77650.
Rider, James D., O77651.
Rimbach, Douglas O., O80227.
Risteter, Vincent A., O81726.
Riviere, George L., O88899.
Rixon, Malcolm D., O91991.
Roberts, Benjamin D., O72207.
Roberts, Norman L., O79446.
Robertson, Frank J., O72208.
Robinson, George R., O71258.
Robinson, Thomas J., O78480.
Robinson, Willard, O72209.
Roche, Gregory F., Jr., OF105811.
Rodeman, Dean A., O87598.
Rodenhiser, Carl L., O88903.
Rodgers, William E., O78481.
Rodriguez, Simon Y., O92774.
Rogers, Amos J., O99976.
Rogers, Jack L., OF105813.
Rohlfing, Robert E., O99979.
Rohrbach, Roger B., O82228.
Roop, John R. C., O77656.
Rose, Charles E., O71415.
Rose, Harold P., O99204.
Ross, Vaughn C., O71261.
Roth, Bernard J., O77660.
Rountree, Herbert A., OF103899.
Roverse, Eugene O., OF106219.
Rowan, George R., O71262.
Rudd, William C., OF113278.
Rumney, Russell E., O97255.
Rungee, James L., O87904.
Russell, Benjamin B., O77664.
Russell, Dean F., OF104529.
Ryan, James H., O72213.
Ryan, Joseph D., OF103979.
Ryan, Walter J., O722214.
Rydel, Albert S., Jr., O78487.
Sager, Robert A., O71266.
Samarkos, Anthony C., OF106805.
Sammon, Bernard J., O99984.
Sanders, Ralph D., Jr., O73077.
Sands, Clifton A., O88911.
Sands, Robert S., O92000.
Santos, Edwin, OF106808.
Saunders, Joe W., O84510.
Savoldi, William R., O75284.
Schepps, Madison C., O72217.
Schick, John L., O72218.
Schick, Robert L., O77671.
Schlotter, Frank J., O72219.
Schmidt, Robert C. H., O72220.
Schnabel, Robert H., O81734.
Schneider, Finis E., O77674.
Schneider, Robert L., O75289.
Schott, Richard S., O82294.
Schouman, Hazen C., O81518.
Schow, Horace, II, O72221.
Schuh, Charles A., O72222.
Schwartz, James L., O89951.
Schwarz, Henry E., O71268.
Scott, Charles H., O71270.
Scott, Edward M., O94786.
Scott, Edward M., O91685.
Scott, Frank H., O78493.
Scott, Richard L., O71596.
Scott, William T., O71271.
Screen, Donald D., O71119.
Scribner, Edwin G., O77679.
Seale, Thomas A., O95131.
Search, Charles T., O95525.
Seaton, Peter P., O78189.
Seguin, Raymond J., O81738.
Selig, William L., O78190.
Senay, David C., O71867.
Senn, Thomas J., O92008.
Serra, Robert R., O90534.
Setzer, Howard L., Jr., O85376.
Seward, John M., O77682.
Shaffer, Robert L., O72224.
Shalikashvili, Othar, O73583.
Shalz, Roger M., O85254.
Shamblee, Curtis G., O71273.
Shanahan, Norman K., O78497.
Shannon, Robert, O82295.
Sharp, Benjamin F., O71274.
Shaul, Rollin E., O84513.
Shaylor, Thomas C., O90480.
Shelby, Jerry L., O71419.
Shepard, William C., O78500.
Shikata, Edward K., O97354.
Shilko, Edwin M., O74842.
Shimunek, Richard D., O72226.
Shiraishi, James T., O71275.
Shreeve, Caleb A., Jr., O71598.
Shreves, Charles L., OF101119.
Shugart, Henry G., O84068.
Sietman, William F., O72227.
Simmons, Frank J., O87916.
Simpson, Billy S., O85257.
Sims, Billy G., O89607.
Siner, Albert P., O88494.
Sink, Herbert T., OF106231.
Sirianni, John F., O92556.
Skaff, Joseph J., O72228.
Skladal, George W., O71278.
Sliva, Norman E., O77691.
Sloan, John F., O72229.
Slocum, Frederick V., O79478.
Smart, William E., OF100001.
Smiley, Philip, OF113286.
Smith, Alfred L., Jr., O77693.
Smith, Glenn N., O81740.
Smith, James L., Jr., O73196.
Smith, John J., O71874.
Smith, Laurence D., O90500.
Smith, Lloyd D., O92012.
Smith, Loren K., OF100003.
Smith, Nelson H., O71726.
Smith, Norman M., O72231.
Smith, Osbin E., OF100004.
Smith, Richard R., O77695.
Smith, Robert J., O71122.
Smith, Robert W., O81529.
Smith, Thomas A., O81743.
Smith, Wayne R., O72232.
Smith, William A., O87622.
Solinsky, Harold, O86790.
Sontag, Paul D., O88950.
Soupene, James C., Jr., O72358.
Soyster, Frank L., O87919.
Spain, Harold D., O81531.
Spann, Robert G., O87625.
Sparks, Norman W., O72235.
Spaulding, Alfred J., O72286.
Spegele, John A., O81532.
Spellman, John G., O72237.
Spencer, Bryan S., O92563.
Spruill, Joseph L., O71285.
Stallarc, James E., O71123.
Standeven, Ernest J., O78514.
Stanley, Robert F., O72239.
Stapleton, Homer L., O95397.
Steakley, John W., O72241.
Steckly, Kenneth D., O89386.
Steel, Patrick A., OF105216.
Steine, Joel R., O91694.
Steinman, Charles A., O72242.
Sternat, Robert F., OF102275.
Stevens, Charles H., O72245.
Stevenson, Bruce E., OF100355.
Stevenson, Joseph M., O88960.
Stevenson, Michael, O72246.
Stevenson, Thomas A., O74855.
Stewart, Israel W., O81536.
Stewart, Joe F., O78517.
Stewart, William A., O77708.
Stockett, Lawrence, O72247.
Stommel, Raymond R., O87937.
Stone, George J., O75300.
Stone, Howard F , O72248.
Stone, Kenneth M., OF103466.
Stone, Leon H., Jr., O77711.

Storment, Calvin A., OF113854.
Stovall, Don O., O86821.
Strang, Charles W., O71729.
Strati, Robert A., O72249.
Street, Clover B., Jr., O72359.
Streett, William B., O72250.
Strickland, James R., O72251.
Strom, Roy M., O77713.
Stuart, Theodore M., O90478.
Subotky, Gerson J., O71126.
Sullivan, Andrew J., O89147.
Sullivan, Robert D., O87632.
Sullivan, Roy F., O77717.
Sutherland, James C., OF103746.
Swanson, Robert L., O75302.
Swartwout, Donald C., O77719.
Sweet, William E., O87633.
Sydeham, Stanley R., O72255.
Talbot, Bailey M., O71964.
Tambling, Robert F., O99110.
Tandy, Donald F., O72794.
Tawoda, Robert J., O71730.
Taylor, James O., O77723.
Taylor, Richard F., O74031.
Taylor, William J., O78522.
Teague, Martin W., O78192.
Templeton, James L., O78193.
Terrio, William A., O72259.
Terzopoulos, Nicholas, O77727.
~~Thayer,~~ Henry J., O77728.
Thomas, Billy J., Jr., O81750.
Thomas, David L., O75305.
Thomas, Max E., O89300.
Thomas, Richard W., O88973.
Thompson, Donald K., O78194.
Thompson, Duayne B., O82246.
Thompson, Harold N., O85092.
Thompson, John U., O77732.
Thorp, Lee L., O71611.
Tigh, Leland F., Jr., O77736.
Tito, William J., Jr., O97527.
Todd, Rouse J., O90149.
Tomberg, Ralph T., O78526.
Toner, Francis J., O77737.
Top, John J., O88980.
Torbett, William C., O77738.
Torrence, James E., O72262.
Totri, Eugene S., O95401.
Towle, Thomas J., O77739.
Town, James I., O72263.
Tracy, Charles J., O93529.
Trail, Carl F., O92137.
Trail, Sebert L., O97989.
Travis, Robert L., OF103058.
Treadway, Thomas J., O72360.
Tremblay, Kenneth R., OF103059.
Trent, Warren T., Jr., O77740.
Trevethan, Alexander, O78196.
Trobaugh, Edward L., O72266.
Troknya, Robert J., O95474.
Trosper, Robert L., O78197.
Trowbridge, Clarence, O78528.
Troyan, Frank D., O72267.
Turner, Gary L., O72798.
Tuten, Jeff M., O71885.
Tyner, Gwyn L., OF109330.
Ueltschi, Donald R., O77746.
Ulcak, Benedict J., O72555.
Ulvenes, Thomas H., OF105596.
Underwood, Frank E., O78531.
Underwood, Joe D., O84518.
Underwood, John R., O72556.
Valentine, William, O81547.
Valverde, Robert A., O92141.
Valz, Darwin K., O77748.
Valz, Donald J., O77749.
Van Camp, James P., O71736.
Van Houten, William, O77750.
Van Pool, Jack L., O77751.
Vanden, Bosch Jon C., O72269.
Vassy, Thomas M., O99406.
Vaughan, Charles U., O82302.
Vaught, Ralph R., O71292.
Vavra, George R., O89306.
Ventrella, Rocco F., O87651.
Vincent, Joseph F., O72271.
Vinton, James N., O97267.
Voetsch, John A., III, O81549.
Volpe, Joseph J., OF102658.
Von Gortler, Frederick, O77754.
Vornsand, Glenn E., OF102659.
Vosbein, Henry M., Jr., O77755.
Vought, Donald B., O71293.
Vulgas, Edmund, O72274.
Wagner, Rudy J., O97992.
Waible, Leo C., Jr., O88990.
Waite, Hugh G., O71295.
Walker, Alvin E., O95640.
Walker, Billy M., O80231.
Walker, Travis L., O90581.
Wall, Harold R., O81756.
Wall, Kary D., O81757.
Wallace, Joel B., O72661.
Wallace, John R., O73420.
Walter, Francis J., O71129.
Walter, Paul B., O88993.
Walther, Harry J., O71888.
Walton, Frank G., O72275.
Ward, Floyd J., Jr., O71740.
Ward, Gayle Gene, O71425.
Ward, Stanley D., O77763.
Warner, Leo V., Jr., O72276.
Warr, Thomas J., O92603.
Warren, Carl W., O71622.
Warren, Wilford N., O90556.
Waterstrat, Rodney, O72277.
Watson, Henry G., O72431.
Watts, James H., Jr., OF103917.
Watts, James R., O81553.
Watzling, John K., O77768.
Weatherall, Marcus, O91413.
Weathers, Edgar W., O97370.
Weaver, Calvin G., O99641.
Weaver, John L., O71893.
Weckerling, John H., O71426.
Weiher, Ronald G., O78540.
Weiskirch, Thomas N., O72362.
Welborn, Carl W., O87661.
Welling, Gerald R., O84519.
Wells, Macon W., O72279.
Welter, William L., O72280.
West, Thomas C., O72282.
Westphal, Ralph E., O85099.
Wharrie, Robert E., O72405.
Wheaton, Robert L., O72283.
Wheeler, David E., O72284.
White, Chad B., O71623.
White, Fredrick B., O77774.
White, Gordon F., OF102294.
White, James S., O95404.
White, Leroy, OF102667.
White, Marion F., O71300.
Whitmire, Jerry C., O95406.
Whittaker, Howard C., O72285.
Wiegand, Robert D., O72286.
Wiggers, Ralph G., O77776.
Wiggs, Jimmy D., O72665.
Wilcox, William H., O72288.
Wilkes, Donald D., OF105871.
Wilkie, James B., III, O71302.
Wilkins, Eugene E., O69425.
Willemse, Cornelius, O71303.
Willey, Burr M., O87969.
Williams, Clinton L., O91725.
Williams, Franklin, O69427.
Williams, Herbert, OF103290.
Williams, James D., O84070.
Williams, Jimmie, OF102675.
Williams, Lewis E., O92148.
Williams, Norman H., O71304.
Williams, Robert C., O78550.
Williams, Sylvanus, O77779.
Williamson, Rayburn, O77780.
Williamson, Robert, O81764.
Willis, William, Jr., O71306.
Wilmes, John J., O71427.
Wilson, Charles E., O97998.
Wilson, Richard A., O81765.
Wilson, William E., O78554.
Wing, John R., O72290.
Wingfield, Damon D., O85285.
Winney, Walter E., Jr., O84520.
Winston, Neil C., O77784.
Winter, William J., O72667.
Wintz, Edward K., O77786.
Wise, Lynn J., O81561.
Witek, James E., O71308.
Witter, Robert A., O77788.
Wix, William M., O72291.
Woerner, Frederick, O72292.
Wood, Graham W., O72293.
Wood, Hector, O81562.
Woodall, James R., Jr., O88531.
Woodmansee, Donald, O75129.
Woolaver, Philip A., O73432.
Wright, William J., O81564.
Wuerz, Donald E., O97056.
Wyatt, David L., O81770.
Wynn, James W., O94971.
Yenter, Kenneth E., OF100052.
Yore, Joseph A., O77796.
York, Harry M., O72294.
Young, Raymond H., O71132.
Youngblood, Robert, OF102302.
Yuengel, William W., O85395.
Zaborowski, Edward, O72296.
Zeigler, Charles S., O78562.
Zenk, Daniel R., O72564.
Zimmerman, Fred R., O81771.
Zotcavage, John A., OF103925.
Zugschwert, John F., O94972.
Zurbriggen, Donald O77801.

CHAPLAIN

To be majors

Adickes, Donald K., O90080.
Ambrose, George, Jr., O88552.
Bell, Arthur F., OF100680.
Cox, Billy H., O88248.
Forrest, Alfred T., O88683.
Garrell, Hubert, O89488.
Johnson, Charles M., O88760.
Knowlton, Robert L., O88770.
Kovacic, Francis, O88773.
Lapp, Ernest D., O89085.
Magalee, John E., O89100.
Maguire, Francis N., O86446.
Moskowitz, Seymour, O97952.
Nelson, Harold E., O88458.
Polhemus, David W., O88878.
Rogers, Michael J., O94954.
Rothwell, Vincent L., O95092.
Stover, Earl F., O88961.
Trobaugh, William P., O89157.
Wood, Arthur V., O95410.
Yarbrowgh, Jimmie W., O89168.

WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS

To be majors

Archambault, Claire, L547.
De Laune, Kathleen, L551.
Dotts, Eloise M., L469.
Etheridge, Wanda J., L541.
Haynes, Christine, L571.
Keil, Barbara J., L550.
Maybin, Patricia J., L578.
Quinby, Therese A., L587.
Raidmets, Margaret, L548.
Shippee, Audrey B., L518.
Steelman, Lois M., L522.

MEDICAL CORPS

To be majors

Ansbacher, Rudi, O95517.
Arneson, Leslie A., O89409.
Bannister, Gary L., O93224.
Barnhart, Roger A., O95125.
Benson, James R., O91754.
Bezreh, Anthony A., O89724.
Blizard, Eugene B., O95315.
Bogumil, George P., O91163.
Bray, Jerome L., O89420.
Brott, Walter H., O89760.
Bump, Robert G., O95022.
Burr, Bill D., OF105705.
Campbell, John B., O91176.
Chesky, Frank H., O99554.
Cirksena, William J., O91189.
Clark, John C., O96750.
Corby, Donald G., O97894.
Cressman, Marvin R., O91198.
Culp, Neil W., O97896.
Darr, Joseph L., O90474.
De Jong, David C., O96753.
Diaz-Ball, Fernando, OF101809.
Dillon, Donald E., O91212.
Dinapoli, Raphael J., O95372.
Edgett, Joseph W., Jr., O95392.
Egan, James F., O91219.
Eller, Jimmie L., O95416.
Feagin, John A., O72048.
Finder, Richard J., O89330.
Fishback, Malcolm E., O91232.
Garcia, Luis F., O95569.

Garner, Ronald S., O97119.
Goodman, Noel C., O97703.
Granger, James A., O95327.
Greely, Robert L., OF110699.
Griffith, Donne G., O89494.
Gunderson, Carl H., OF102195.
Gunderson, Finn O., O99855.
Haas, John M., O91260.
Harrison, Hollister, O97040.
Helmly, Robert B., O95697.
Helsel, George R., O95335.
Heydorn, William H., O91269.
Hinds, Ronald B., O91871.
Holloman, Kenneth R., O91274.
Holtzapple, Kenneth, O97622.
Howland, Justin, O92069.
Isom, Lawrence E., O91281.
Jensen, Owen C., O95470.
Kalivoda, Andrew J., O92076.
Kern, William A., O97144.
Kerr, Lawrence M., O98102.
Kinsey, Norman F., O97146.
Kopp, Albert A., OF102517.
Korsak, Richard J., O89529.
Kramer, Joseph F., O91622.
Lane, Robert K., OF102951.
Larsen, Lowell D., O91906.
Ledford, Frank F., Jr., O91311.
Lenio, Paul T., O72123.
Lennox, Kenneth W., O91441.
Levy, Michael, O93302.
Lewis, George N., III, O89354.
Libcke, John H., O90199.
Littell, Delvin E., O96694.
Lloyd, Joseph D., O97004.
Lowe, Reginald S., Jr., O93246.
Mac Donald, Bruce S., O72132.
Mahoney, William D., O96696.
Marsh, Frank G., O95737.
Matson, Raymond E., O89550.
Mays, Edward E., O91921.
Mayson, Preston B., O72144.
Mazze Richard I., O91326.
Mc Carty, Richard J., O91454.
Mc Donald, Herbert, O95290.
McNaney, Joseph W., O95465.
Miller, Dudley C., O92985.
Motes, Joseph L., Jr., OF100201.
Nacheff, Nathaniel, O91953.
Nelson, Darl D., O97819.
Noble, Jay A., OF102997.
O'Brien, John F., O91479.
Olson, Elbert R., O95698.
Park, Richard, O91349.
Paulsrud, David G., O97018.
Pettera, Robert L., OF110402.
Price, Laurance W., O97186.
Proctor, Robert F., O94877.
Rave, Norman L., O95276.
Raymond, James R., O91360.
Reed, William P., OF105804.
Rowland, Wade R., O97967.
Rudman, Harold L., O90442.
Russell, Willis M., OF100342.
Sakakini, Joseph, Jr., O99983.
Schamber, Dean T., O89377.
Shira, James E., O89378.
Shroyer, Joseph M., O96639.
Stagnone, James J., O91392.
Stoebner, John M., O89617.
Stojic, Borislav, OF106835.
Stoneback, Raymond, O93292.
Swartz, Harold M., O95192.
Thomas, John P., OF100016.
Tompkins, Norman T., O95400.
Townsend, Horace D., O96809.
Trock, Samuel, O94796.
Varela, Gilberto E., OF106858.
Vines, Donald H., O90574.
Wachtel, Herbert L., O91409.
Wahl, William H., O92034.
Welk, Richard W., O99757.
Winkler, William P., O93230.
Withers, John N., O89398.
Wood, Laurence W., Jr., O92806.
Wright, Robert H., Jr., O99536.
Yadon, Lowell G., O95002.
Yhap, Edgar O., OF103789.
Zbylski, Joseph R., O89652.
Zwilling, William F., O96937.

DENTAL CORPS

To be majors

Adrian, James C., O97228.
Allwein, John B., O89671.
Andrews, D. M., O95522.
Beckelheimer, Robert, O95155.
Betts, Alan F., O95346.
Call, Thomas, O94061.
Campbell, Robert A., O95224.
Caulfield, John J., O99623.
Cherry, Norman L., OF102831.
Collins, George R., O99805.
Deegan, Alan E., O95441.
Di Pietro, Girard J., O95010.
Dunley, Robert E., O99310.
Fiedler, Leon D., O91229.
Frantz, Wayne R., O91829.
Greene, James H., OF100566.
Hann, John R., O90112.
Hourigan, Matthias, O96589.
Jones, Richard A., O99217.
Kau, Leon Y., O94053.
Lyon, Thayer C., Jr., OF102964.
Madden, Robert J., OF102225.
McCuskey, Samuel R., O99352.
McNeill, Thomas J., OF102980.
Miller, Thomas E., O91332.
Morton, Charles B., O96782.
Neaverth, Elmer J., O97953.
Nelson, Donald R., O99936.
Paquette, Omer E., OF102583.
Potter, Daniel M., O97183.
Rice, Jack D., O95320.
Salem, John E., OF100343.
San Filippo Francis, O92001.
Schoultz, Edward R., OF103029.
Shell, Doran D., O95100.
Shelton, David W., O97613.
Simmons, Donald E., O96719.
Stegman, Donald D., O89616.
Swain, Marshall M., O88964.
Thomas, Philip C., Jr., O92821.
Villacara, Alfred A., OF104569.
Whitsett, Bernard D., OF110472.
Zablotny, Florian H., O93502.

VETERINARY CORPS

To be majors

Anderson, Donald D., O97277.
Anthony, Theodore G., O91743.
Dunton, Robert K., OF102856.
Eddy, Gerald A., O91373.
Florine, Thomas E., O89483.
Orthey, George F., Jr., O88465.
Schlinke, Orville C., O94870.
Wyckoff, George H., O95027.

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

To be majors

Albertson, John N., O71134.
Allen, Harold E., O82307.
Austin, Lloyd K., O69852.
Bullard, John W., O75337.
Carollo, Donald J., O94575.
Chapin, George E., Jr., O76821.
Collins, William S., O9838.
Conselman, Charles, O71466.
Durr, Walter L., O78165.
Guthrey, William L., O78327.
Hahn, Jerry D., O76825.
Hatfield, John L., O85808.
Hill, Clifford L., O71206.
Hill, Harris R., O84185.
Hubert, Alexander A., O74950.
Hudgins, Charles T., O86285.
Huff, James C., Jr., O84781.
Irons, Ernest M., Jr., O80345.
Jentsch, David P., O84333.
Johnston, Laurence, O80346.
Krawczyk, Joseph R., OF110308.
Loy, Vance A., O99076.
Maillet, Edward L., O84335.
Marsh, Raymond M., O91635.
McWilliam, Robert, O94619.
Midkiff, John L., Jr., O84794.
Miller, Henry T., O71398.
Miller, Vandy L., O71231.
Ortega, Frank A., O81877.
Pennington, Neil E., OF100836.
Placitelli, John D., O76815.
Pla, Luis L., O72539.
Rose, Gerald S., O80336.
Silvernale, Douglas, O75428.
Smith, Creed D., O76832.
Sommers, George A., O78171.
Stocks, Harold W., O80337.
Stoltz, Richard B., O76833.
Thompson, Helmer W., O92023.
Troisi, Angelo J., OF113299.
Tweito, Robert B., O88510.
Vigneault, Marcel L., OF102655.
White, Charles E., O77773.
Willis, David B., O95408.
Woods, Clyde T., O80339.

ARMY NURSE CORPS

To be majors

Allison, Dorothy S., N2929.
Allison, Lyndall R., N3118.
Atchison, Juanita M., N2776.
Barcus, Billie J., N2944.
Berg, Ellen M., N2777.
Bosch, Lila J., N2892.
Felton, Geraldene, N3151.
Fess, Dorothy E., N2971.
Garbett, Jean A., N3194.
Gately, Miriam A., N3052.
Grace, Mary C., N2949.
Greene, Patricia A., N3018.
Hennek, Angeline, N3175.
Jezouit, Helen R., N2912.
Johnson, Lois V., N3140.
Johnson, Martha E., N3099.
Kingsley, Marthanne, N3139.
Kizer, Eleanor M., N3252.
Lillard, Callista J., N2950.
Locke, Ruth A., N3132.
Moynahan, Hannah S., N3153.
Munchbach, Rose M., N3336.
Pippin, Alton J., N2935.
Rancourt, Dorothea, N3072.
Rigdon, Alma L., N3155.
Robertson, Joyce A., N3025.
Rodgers, Elizabeth, N2806.
Russell, Mary V., N3186.
Sagath, Esther E., N3076.
Simon, Dorothy A., N2996.
Smith, Nancy E., N3086.
Snieszko, Mary A., N3002.
Souza, Mavis G., N3264.
Sowa, Helen B., N2920.
Supplee, Jeanne L., N2966.
Zuwerink, Betty J., N2837.

ARMY MEDICAL SPECIALIST CORPS

To be majors

Guerrero-Guerrero, Maria E., J96.
Hall, Wilma F., M10166.
Hamilton, Elizabeth, M10180.
Hansen, Nancy P., M10196.
Latimer, Estill V., M10176.
Thompson, Beatrice, M10175.
Vollmer, Dorothy A., M10165.

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3284 and 3298:

To be first lieutenants

Abbott, Michael, OF104582.
Abraham, Thomas S., OF104583.
Adam, Le Roy A., OF104584.
Adams, Curt H., Jr., OF104585.
Adams, Ronald E., OF105311.
Ahrens, Roger W., OF105113.
Airy, James F., OF104586.
Albright, Lorin C., OF104587.
Alexander, Errol D., OF104588.
Alford, William L., OF103933.
Alger, John I., OF104589.
Allen, Ralph L., OF109845.
Allen, Troy N., OF109054.
Allman, Douglas D., OF109847.
Almes, Edward W., OF103173.
Ammerman, Frederick, OF104590.
Ammon, Stephen L., OF104591.
Anderson, Gary L., OF104935.
Anderson, John T., OF104592.
Anderson, Joseph B., OF104593.
Anderson, Martin S., OF108100.
Anderson, Robert M., OF104594.
Anderson, Stephen M., OF109056.
Anderson, Stephen M., OF109056.

Andersen, Martin W., OF104595.
Appler, Donald E., OF104596.
Applin, Frank M., OF104597.
Arentz, Richard T., OF105318.
Arkangel, Carmelito, OF104598.
Arnall, Frank M., III, OF104599.
Aron, Charles M., OF104600.
Asplund, Ralph E. OF104602.
Atchley, Oscar L., OF104603.
Atteberry, Leighton, OF104604.
August, Robert L., OF110169.
Axley, Robert J., OF104605.
Bacher, John A., OF109062.
Bachman, William B., OF104606.
Bailey, Kenneth D., OF103184.
Bailey, Ronald B., OF104607.
Baldinger, Robert W., OF104608.
Bangert, David C., OF104609.
Banta, Donald J., OF103086.
Baratte, James J., OF103945.
Barber, Paul F., OF104610.
Bardot, Kenneth H., OF103947.
Barie, John P., OF103188.
Barker, Ballard M., OF104611.
Barkley, Joseph R., OF104612.
Barnhart, Robert N., OF108105.
Barringer, David F., OF109856.
Barron, Thomas C., OF104613.
Barry, Bartholomew, OF104614.
Barwis, John W., OF104615.
Basham, David L., OF100441.
Basham, Owen D., OF103950.
Beavers, James A., OF102686.
Becker, Peter K., OF104616.
Behne, James R., OF103195.
Beinlich, William A., OF104617.
Belanger, Fred M., OF104618.
Bell, George T., OF104619.
Bennett, Lawrence G., OF104620.
Benton, David L., III, OF104621.
Berdan, Robert F., OF104622.
Bergmann, Paul L., OF104624.
Bernier, Barre S., OF104625.
Berry, James L., OF104626.
Berry, Robert H., OF103200.
Best, David S., OF109071.
Bezek, Robert J., OF103201.
Bielenberg, Douglas, OF105122.
Birchfield, Walter, OF103960.
Birdseye, William S., OF104627.
Bishop, Glade M., OF104628.
Bishop, Ronald E., OF103961.
Bissey, Trevor E., OF110572.
Black, Elbert C., III, OF103202.
Blacker, Blair K., OF105124.
Blakeley, Jimmie L., OF103963.
Blalock, John H., OF109074.
Blau, Jack L., OF104629.
Bliss, Stephen M., OF104630.
Bodde, David L., OF104631.
Boerckel, Richard A., OF104632.
Bohannon, John R., OF104633.
Bohannon, Melvin L., OF103965.
Bonnett, Mitchell E., OF104634.
Boohar, Charles W., OF104635.
Booher, Samuel W., OF109078.
Borkowski, Thomas F., OF104636.
Bourne, Charles A., OF103209.
Bowman, Kenneth M., OF103970.
Boyter, Norman C., Jr., OF104638.
Braccia, Joseph C., OF103211.
Bradley, Robert S., OF104639.
Bradley, William C., OF104640.
Braithwaite, Raymond, OF103212.
Brame, Ronald M., OF105333.
Brantley, William O., OF103973.
Brennan, Timothy E., OF103974.
Brewer, Dennis W., OF104641.
Briggs, Lloyd C., OF104642.
Briscoe, Charles H., OF103216.
Brock, George R., OF104643.
Brooke, Ronald M., OF103218.
Browder, William R., OF104644.
Brown, David R., OF104646.
Brown, Lloyd K., OF104647.
Brown, Neil E., OF104648.
Brown, Robert D., III, OF104649.
Browne, John T., Jr., OF103978.
Bruning, Richard C., OF105338.
Bryan, James E., OF104650.
Bryant, Michael W., OF103223.
Bryant, Richard L., OF104651.
Bucha, Paul W., OF104652.
Bull, George P., OF105339.
Bunn, Richard D., OF104653.
Bunton, David D., OF103224.
Buntz, Burke O., OF104654.
Burgardt, Charles H., OF104655.
Burpee, David H., OF105129.
Bush, Charlie L., OF105130.
Butler, James E., OF103233.
Byrne, Patrick C., OF103236.
Byrne, William E., OF104656.
Caggiano, Anthony F., OF103237.
Cahill, Bernard J., OF103984.
Calvert, Russell W., OF103986.
Campbell, Charles O., OF103239.
Campbell, David H., OF103988.
Campbell, Douglas B., OF105343.
Campbell, Russell A., OF104658.
Cantrell, James R., OF103989.
Capps, Freddie L., Jr., OF103240.
Carey, Wilford K., OF103991.
Carll, Thomas H., OF104659.
Carlson, Roy S., Jr., OF103993.
Carlson, Terry A., OF104660.
Carpenter, Bernard, OF103241.
Carpenter, Thomas B., OF109092.
Cashman, Richard M., OF103244.
Cato, Robert B., OF104661.
Chaboudy, Carl H., OF103997.
Chaffer, John R., OF104662.
Chandler, Nicholas, OF109533.
Chapman, Richard W., OF104663.
Chapman, Thaddius, OF103245.
Charles, Frederick, OF104664.
Chase, Emery J., Jr., OF104665.
Cherry, Kenneth L., OF104666.
Chesarek, William D., OF103999.
Childs, Richard E., OF103247.
Chitestr, Lester L., OF110209.
Christman, Daniel W., OF104667.
Chudoba, Dennis L., OF104668.
Churchwell, Curtis, OF104669.
Cindric, Thomas A., OF104670.
Clark, Alexander J., OF104671.
Clark, Richard W., OF105918.
Clark, William B., OF104002.
Clarke, Bruce B. G., OF104673.
Clement, Stephen D., OF104675.
Clewley, Lawrence L., OF104676.
Clover, Robert L., OF104677.
Cobb, Alvin B., OF104007.
Coburn, John G., OF109097.
Cohen, Gary, OF104009.
Coleman, Byers W., OF104011.
Coleman, Patrick F., OF104012.
Coleman, Richard E., OF104678.
Coll, Dennis R., OF104679.
Collins, Patrick W., OF103252.
Compton, Otha H., OF109101.
Concannon, John F., OF104681.
Conley, James S., Jr., OF104682.
Connolly, Robert B., OF109103.
Connolly, William J., OF104683.
Connor, John E., III, OF104684.
Connor, Michael J., OF104685.
Conrey, Robert W., OF110213.
Conway, George L., OF105145.
Cook, Charles M., OF104686.
Cook, Donald E., OF105364.
Cooley, John W., OF104687.
Cooper, Philip R., OF104688.
Coppolino, Ronald, OF103255.
Corbett, Charles H., OF104017.
Cothren, Sanford D., OF109104.
Coughlin, James M., OF104689.
Cowan, James D., Jr., OF105148.
Croak, Thomas L., OF104690.
Crofts, Christopher, OF104024.
Csoka, Louis S., OF104691.
Cullen, John N. III, OF104692.
Curl, Gilbert W., Jr., OF104693.
Curtis, William A., OF105369.
Czarniecki, John J., OF103265.
Dalehite, William, OF104032.
Danielski, Arlan J., OF105151.
Darrah, Stephen C., OF104694.
David, Richard H., OF103271.
Davis, Garrett M., OF104695.
Davis, John S., OF104696.
De Francisco, Joseph, OF104698.
De Laar, Robert A., OF104699.
De Lorme, Leon T., Jr., OF106291
De Moulpied, David, OF104700.
De Vitto, John C., OF104701.
Deakin, Craig E., OF103272.
Deems, John M., OF104703.
Dempsey, Harry J., OF105152.
Dent, Charles A., OF103275.
Dermody, Henry M., Jr., OF104704.
Dernar, Jerry, OF104705.
Devine, Michael R., OF105153.
Dick, James R., OF105154.
Divers, Walter A., Jr., OF104707.
Doerfel, John S., OF109115.
Dolan, Thomas J., OF105155.
Donaghy, Daniel J., OF104708.
Donahue, Richard J., OF104709.
Donovan, Patrick J., OF104710.
Dorney, Christopher, OF104711.
Dornier, Russell L., OF104712.
Dorso, Joseph V., OF103282.
Doughty, Robert A., OF104713.
Dowden, Russell H., OF104044.
Drass, Paul R., OF104714.
Drinkwater, David M., OF104715.
Dunlap, Robert T., OF105158.
Durbin, James P., OF105380.
Dyer, James L., OF104716.
Dynes, Charles G., OF105945.
Dysart, James E., OF100521.
Echols, Eugene W., Jr., OF103289.
Echols, James E., III, OF104717.
Eckart, Charles R., OF104718.
Eichelberger, Jerald, OF104719.
Eichorn, Frederic N., OF104720.
Eilers, Donald E., OF104053.
Elders, Telford E., OF105382.
Ellenbogen, Steven, OF104721.
Ellis, Alfred W., OF105160.
Ely, Donald D., OF104055.
Elzey, John T., OF103105.
Endicott, Richard L., OF104722.
Erbes, Donald C., OF104723.
Erkman, Edward R., OF104057.
Ervin, Charles P., Jr., OF104058.
Evans, Edward R.,OF104724.
Falke, William P., OF103297.
Farmelo, Gene R., OF104725.
Farmer, Berkwood M., OF109122.
Farmer, Marvin R., OF104063.
Featherston, Michael, OF104064.
Featherstone, Charles, OF105162.
Feret, John M. E., OF103301.
Ferguson, James E., OF104726.
Fergusson, Thomas G., OF104727.
Fischer, Stephen J., OF104728.
Fish, Grosvenor W., OF104729.
Fitt, Charles B., OF103305.
Fitzpatrick, James, OF105389.
Flesch, Joseph E., OF103307.
Fligg, Claude M., Jr., OF104730.
Floto, Ronald J., OF104731.
Foehl, Edward A., OF104732.
Foley, Mark, OF109126.
Foster, Garry D., OF105167.
Frank, Robert T., OF104733.
Frazar, Joe, OF104734.
Fredricks, Grant L., OF104735.
Frey, Robert M., OF104736.
Fricke, Dennis L., OF104077.
Fricke, Harlan II, OF104737.
Frydrychowski, Roger, OF104738.
Frye, John M., OF104078.
Fuks, Joseph A., OF109556.
Funk, John E., OF104739.
Gabel, David A., OF104740.
Gagne, Herbert F., Jr., OF103316.
Gailey, John B., OF104742.
Gallagher, William, OF103318.
Gamboa, Anthony H., OF104743.
Ganshert, Stephen C., OF104744.
Garms, Royal R., OF104745.
Gates, Robert E., Jr., OF104746.
Gehringer, George S., OF104747.
Gelsthorpe, Joseph, OF104085.
Genega, Stanley G., OF104748.
Genetti, Thomas R., OF104749.
Gentemann, Philip M., OF104086.
Gentine, Carl W., OF104750.
Gerlach, Stephen R., OF105172.

Gibbons, Richard F., OF103320.
Gibson, Douglas L., OF104751.
Gilch, Ronald G., OF105405.
Gilchrist, Malcolm, OF104752.
Gill, Americus M., Jr., OF104753.
Gill, Clair F., OF104754.
Glass, Maurice J., Jr., OF103322.
Gnau, David P., OF104756.
Godfrey, Richard P., OF109929.
Golden, James R., OF104757.
Gonzalez, Aristides, OF105174.
Gorday, James C., OF109931.
Gore, Willie L., OF104090.
Graham, Joe D., OF103329.
Graham, Robert J., OF109138.
Grandstaff, Terry B., OF104758.
Grates, Frederick R., OF104759.
Green, Lewis E., OF104760.
Green, Priscilla A., M010209.
Greene, James P., OF104761.
Gresham, Jerry D., OF104094.
Griffin, George L., OF104095.
Griffin, Roger A., OF104762.
Griffin, William R., OF104763.
Grimball, John B., II, OF104097.
Guenther, Randolph, OF104764.
Guy, Robert A., OF104765.
Habersberger, Albert, OF103538.
Hagie, Leslie E., OF104766.
Haines, Harry C., III, OF104767.
Hall, Richard M., OF104768.
Hallenbeck, Ralph A., OF104769.
Halvorson, Colin O., OF104770.
Hammett, Owen M., Jr., OF104101.
Hammond, Joseph P., OF103343.
Hampton, John W., OF109937.
Handley, John M., OF104102.
Hanket, Mark J., OF104103.
Hansen, John R., OF103345.
Hardin, James C., OF104771.
Hargarten, James P., OF104104.
Harkins, Gerald R., OF104105.
Harman, Steven C., Jr., OF104772.
Harmeyer, George H., OF103347.
Harmon, James D., Jr., OF104773.
Harold, Robert S., OF103348.
Harrington, John B., OF104775.
Harris, Richard J., OF104106.
Harry, Robert E., OF103349.
Hart, Kenneth M., OF105419.
Harter, Robert L., OF104776.
Harvey, James R., Jr., OF104777.
Harvey, Jeffrey L., OF109154.
Hastings, Hugh W., OF103352.
Hawes, Thomas J., OF103353.
Hawker, Dennis E., OF104778.
Hawkins, Raymond J., OF104779.
Hays, John H., OF104780.
Hearn, Charles R., OF104110.
Heaston, William P., OF103355.
Hecker, William F., OF104781.
Heindrichs, Charles, OF104782.
Helberg, James A., OF104783.
Henneberry, Thomas, OF104785.
Hennessee, James F., OF104787.
Hennig, Guenter, OF104788.
Hennig, Richard A., OF104789.
Herring, Charles D., OF105187.
Hester, Arthur C., OF104790.
Hewitt, Lansing T., OF104791.
Hewitt, Leland H., OF104792.
Hibbard, Ronald D., OF104115.
Hieronymus, Edward, OF103253.
Hiett, Ronald S., OF103359.
Higgins, Robert W., OF104793.
Higley, John W., Jr., OF104794.
Hill, Robert J., III, OF104795.
Hindsley, Joseph D., OF104796.
Hoffman, Peter D., OF104121.
Holbrook, William A., OF103363.
Hollenbeck, Douglas OF103366.
Hollister, Dennis J., OF103367.
Holmes, James W., OF104797.
Holper, Richard D., OF104124.
Hopkins, James D., OF104798.
Horler, Thomas H., OF104125.
Horst, Richard G., OF104799.
Howard, Peter M., OF104800.
Howell, John M., OF104801.
Hudson, Claude K., OF104802.
Hudson, Michael E., OF104803.
Huff, William S., II, OF104127.
Hufstetler, James F., OF110281.
Hughes, Lyttle P., OF104804.
Hulin, Bruce D., OF104805.
Hume, James S., OF104806.
Hurley, David E., OF104807.
Hurley, William J., OF103375.
Huse, James G., Jr., OF103377.
Huston, Michael J., OF104808.
Hyland, Thomas W. OF103378.
Isakson, Larry H., OF104810.
Isham, Arthur D., OF105195.
Izquierdo, Osvaldo, OF103126.
Jackson, James R., OF109957.
Jackson, Larry L., OF104133.
Jackson, William H., OF103381.
Jacubec, George P., OF103382.
Jandreau, James L., OF103383.
Jarrard, Robert T., OF104136.
Jeffcoat, Marvin A., OF104811.
Jempson, James R., OF103461.
Jenkins, Harold A., OF104812.
Johnson, Ernest L., OF103391.
Johnson, John T., Jr., OF104813.
Johnson, Martin L., OF104814.
Johnson, Michael P., OF109180.
Johnson, Robert B., OF104815.
Johnson, Sidney K., OF106669.
Johnston, Sydney K., OF106669.
Johnston, William E., OF104139.
Jones, David T., OF104816.
Jones, Donald E., OF103398.
Jones, Donald C., OF105445.
Jordan, Achille E., OF104145.
Joyner, Harry N., III, OF104817.
Juchau, William C., OF104818.
Jungerman, Edward E., OF105446.
Kahara, Calvin G., OF104820.
Kantrowich, Paul J., OF104821.
Kasprowicz, Melvin, OF110296.
Kaunitz, Peter D., OF104147.
Keats, Robert G., OF104822.
Keith, John F., OF104823.
Keller, Dale F., Jr., OF105202.
Keller, Juan D., OF104148.
Kelley, Henry L., OF104824.
Kelley, Hugh A., Jr., OF104825.
Kelly, James M., OF104826.
Kelly, Jerome E., OF104827.
Kelsey, Ronald G., OF103414.
Kempf, Stephen J., OF104828.
Kennedy, Leo R., Jr., OF104829.
Kenny, Patrick D. J., OF104830.
Kerr, Robert D., OF104151.
Kessel, Philip W., OF109969.
Kimberling, Cecil P., OF106336.
Kimzey, Jimmy C., OF105204.
Kincaid, Kenneth T., OF104153.
King, George W., OF110303.
King, Jon E., OF104831.
Kish, George W., OF109972.
Kleinmaier, Lee E., OF104833.
Kline, Douglas C., OF104834.
Klinger, Harold H., OF104835.
Klink, Edwin E., OF104836.
Knapp, Richard J., Jr., OF104159.
Kniker, Nathan H., OF104837.
Knirk, Ernest P., OF103425.
Knoche, Ernest J., OF104838.
Knowles John D., OF104839.
Knudson, Richard A., OF104840.
Kobes, Eugene H., OF103426.
Koleszar, Frank W., OF104841.
Kolzing, Ronald K., OF104842.
Konermann, Leo L., Jr., OF104843.
Koropey, Oleh B., OF104844.
Kovach, Thomas J., OF104845.
Kovacsy, Arpad, OF104846.
Krizan, Adolph C., OF104163.
Kukea, Joseph K., Jr., OF104847.
Kulbacki, Walter S., OF104848.
Kulvich, Robert G., OF109976.
Kurtz, Donald G., OF104849.
Kuykendall, Joseph, OF107196.
Kuzman, Richard J., OF104850.
Lamison, Kenneth R., OF104166.
Lane, James E., OF104852.
Lane, Michael H., OF103437.
Lanning, Forest D., OF103438.
Lanoue, John D., OF105461.
Lapolla, Michael P., OF104853.
Larson, Gordon A., OF104854.
Larson, Kermit D., OF104655.
Laughlin, Fredric L., OF104856.
Laux, James H., OF103441.
Layer, Ronald F., OF104858.
Lazarus, Paul D., OF105463.
Leake, Sanford E., Jr., OF103446.
Ledzinski, Jerome M., OF104859.
Leech, Peter E., OF105219.
Legare, Francis Y., OF109206.
Legg, John D., OF105220.
Lehman, William J., OF104861.
Leibowitz, Michael, OF104862.
Lemley, Kendall M., OF104863.
Leonard, William B., OF104170.
Leskovjan, Larry L., OF104864.
Letterie, Carl A., OF104865.
Letterman, Gordon G., OF104866.
Leverett, Hubbert L., OF104867.
Levine, Barry W., OF104868.
Lewis, Dennis B., OF104869.
Linderman, Dean, OF103451.
Lindman, Alan A., OF100874.
Linley, John C., Jr., OF103452.
Linn, Peter C., OF104870.
Lippay, Andrew P., OF103454.
Lipsit, Gerald E., OF104871.
Locurcio, Ralph V., OF104872.
Loftin, Dean R., OF104873.
Longhouser, John E., OF104875.
Lounsbury, Peter B., OF104876.
Love, Earl R., OF103460.
Lowe, Henry J., OF104877.
Ludwig, Raymond J., OF104878.
Lyons, John K., OF104879.
Lyons, William E., OF104880.
Mace, Robert W., OF104882.
Madden, Jerry A., OF104883.
Maimone, Emanuel P., OF104884.
Malaney, Dempsey L., OF103470.
Malpass, John R., Jr., OF104885.
Maness, Lewis E., Jr., OF104886.
Manghi, Gene K., OF104887.
Mark, Arthur B., Jr., OF104888.
Marsh, Wayne W., OF104889.
Marshall, Bruce R., OF104890.
Matkovcik, Thomas J., OF104891.
Matteson, Michael J., OF104892.
McArthur, Kenneth, OF104893.
McAteer, David M., OF105229.
McBride, Donald K., OF105230.
McCarthy, Verlin L., OF103484.
McChristian, Joseph, OF104894.
McClintock, George, OF109223.
McCloskey, Charles, OF104895.
McColl, Winston F., OF103485.
McConnell, Camden, OF104896.
McCoy, Ray E., OF104187.
McCreary, William, OF104897.
McCullough, John H., OF104898.
McDonald, Paul T., OF104899.
McEliece, James H., OF104900.
McFarlin, Tommie A., OF105233.
McGurk, John R., OF104901.
McKelvy, Michael L., OF104193.
McKemey, William J., OF104902.
McLoughlin, Kevin, OF103494.
McMillan, John E., OF104904.
McMillan, Jerry R., OF104903.
McMinn, Robert K., OF108247.
Meier, Frank L., OF104905.
Melgard, Stephan C., OF103498.
Menninger, George E., OF104906.
Merges, George J., OF104907.
Merriam, Nicholas H., OF104908.
Merrill, Aubrey R., OF103499.
Metzner, Ladd H., OF104909.
Michells, Henry G., OF104910.
Mikols, Walter V., OF105485.
Miller, Allan W., OF104201.
Miller, Thomas L., OF104202.
Mills, Victor P., OF104205.
Milton, David A., OF109238.
Mims, James E., OF104911.
Mirando, James A., OF104912.
Mitchell, William B., OF104913.
Miyashiro, James T., OF104914.
Moberly, Kenton D., OF103509.
Mogan, Bernard J., Jr., OF104915.
Mohlere, Richard D., OF104916.
Molepske, Robert J., OF104917.
Momcilovich, Michael, OF104918.
Monahan, Carole, L000649.
Moore, David W., OF104206.

Moore, Gary L., OF105767.
Moore, Harley L., III, OF104919.
Moore, John, OF108249.
Moore, Peter C., OF109242.
Moorefield, Kenneth, OF104920.
Moran, Mark F., OF105241.
Morrissey, Stephen, OF104921.
Moseley, Charles H., OF104922.
Motal, Beverly W., OF104923.
Motes, Preston M., Jr., OF104924.
Mullen, Orlin L., OF104925.
Mullens, Lynwood S., OF104209.
Munson, Merton E., Jr., OF104926.
Murray, David J., OF100979.
Mushovic, Thomas J., OF104927.
Neal, Larry T., OF104929.
Needels, Christopher, OF104930.
Neidermeier, Bart W., OF103532.
Nelson, Walter E., Jr., OF104931.
Nenninger, Glennon, OF104932.
Newman, Carlton R., OF104215.
Newman, Robert L., OF103528.
Newman, Robert F., Jr., OF103527.
Newton, John C., OF105247.
Nicholls, Roger C., OF103530.
Nichols, Charles S., OF104933.
Niemczuk, John N., Jr., OF110384.
Nies, Gary L., OF110385.
Nightingale, Keith, OF104216.
Nix, Gary L., OF105250.
Nowland, Donald E., OF104934.
Nunnally, Robert A., OF109256.
Nye, James D., OF110015.
Oberst, Walter M., OF104217.
O'Brien, Francis W., OF104935.
O'Connor, Joseph P., OF104936.
O'Donnell, Charles, OF104937.
O'Hara, Timothy S., OF104939.
O'Leary, Gerald D., OF104940.
O'Leary, Joseph J., Jr., OF105500.
Olivo, James A., OF104943.
Olmstead, Kim H., OF104944.
Olmsted, Philip R., OF104945.
Olson, John V., OF104946.
Olson, Stephen A., OF104947.
O'Neill, Eugene D., OF104941.
Ono, Tadahiko, OF104948.
Orlando, Louis E., OF104219.
Ossorio, Peter M., OF103205.
Paek, Stephen J., Jr., OF104949.
Paley, James M., OF104950.
Panaia, Larry R., OF104222.
Parcells, Donald G., OF104951.
Parker, Eugene J., Jr., OF104952.
Parrish, Donald J., OF104953.
Paske, Raymond J., OF104954.
Pater, Gerald L., OF104223.
Peary, Timothy H., OF103549.
Pecce, Jan L., OF103550.
Peters, Charles L., OF105257.
Peters, David A., OF106376.
Peterson, Carl A., Jr., OF104956.
Pfeifer, Charles F., OF104957.
Phelps, Dean A., OF103553.
Phelps, Gleen S., OF104228.
Phillpotts, Donald, OF104958.
Philo, Steven E., OF104959.
Pickler, John M., OF104960.
Pickup, Bedford M., OF104961.
Pigue, Larry M., OF109264.
Piper, John D., OF103555.
Pollard, Raymond G., OF104962.
Polli, George J., OF102364.
Popely, Paul E., OF103558.
Powell, Robert L., OF104232.
Powers, Thomas P., Jr., OF104963.
Principe, Nicholas, OF104964.
Probst, Francis J., OF104965.
Pryor, Kenneth W., OF104234.
Putnam, Thomas W., OF104233.
Pylant, Julian E., Jr., OF104966.
Radcliffe, Robert F., OF104967.
Radin, David A., OF103565.
Rau, Paul Douglas, OF104968.
Ray, Larry H., OF103570.
Ray, Larry H., OF103570.
Ray, Lloyd C., Jr., OF104969.
Ray, Thomas D., OF104241.
Raybeck, Bruce A., OF104970.
Raymond, Daniel A., OF103572.
Rea, Billy C., OF110034.
Readling, Charles W., OF109274.
Readmond, Ronald W., OF104243.
Recchuite, Martin C., OF105518.
Redington, Bryce C., OF110410.
Reed, Howard H., OF104971.
Reeder, Charles W., OF104244.
Reis, John J., OF104247.
Reisner, William E., OF104972.
Reiss, William A., OF104248.
Reller, Frank X. III, OF104973.
Renschen, Paul S., OF104974.
Resick, Martin J., OF104975.
Rice, Glenn M., OF104251.
Richardson, Douglas, OF104976.
Richey, Rodny M., OF104252.
Richmond, John L., Jr., OF104253.
Ricketson, Bertram, OF104254.
Ricketts, Ormonde B., OF103582.
Riddell, John M., OF103583.
Rieth, Mark G., OF104255.
Riley, Francis G.,OF104977.
Rley, Richard E., OF103584.
Riley, Ronald J., OF104978.
Ringer, Gordon J., Jr., OF103585.
Risi, Anthony P., Jr., OF103586.
Ritch, John B., OF104979.
Ritch, William N., Jr., OF104980.
Roark, Thomas E., OF103588.
Roberts, Alfred H., OF109278.
Roberts, William H., OF104258.
Robertson, Alan R., OF103589.
Robinson, James F., OF104260.
Robison, Arthur C., OF109633.
Rodbart, Richard P., OF104262.
Roebuck, Zigmund J., OF104981.
Rood, Omar E., Jr., OF104982.
Rood, Robert D., OF104983.
Rose, Leo P., OF104984.
Roseberg, John B., OF104985.
Rosenheim, Harry T., OF103593.
Ross, Jerry A., OF104265.
Rossoni, Ralph A., OF105263.
Roth, Arthur Jr., OF104986.
Rountree, Rance H., OF104987.
Rowe, Donald S., OF104988.
Ruggles, George W., OF104989.
Ruth, Robert C., OF103597.
Ryan, Terrance C., OF104990.
Sager, Wayne K., OF103600.
Saley, Richard W., OF104272.
Salomone, John L., OF104991.
Sammarco, Valentino, OF104992.
Sammons, Richard G., OF110050.
Sanchez, Jose L., OF104993.
Sanders, Raymond A., OF104994.
Sands, Thomas L., OF104274.
Satorie Thomas R., OF104995.
Savatiel, Karl R., OF104996.
Sawyer, David R., OF109287.
Saxon, Walter L., OF104997.
Scarborough, Edmund, OF105268.
Schallenberger, Morris P., OF103606.
Schaltenbrand, Raymond, OF104998.
Schauss, Charles T., OF103607.
Scheiner, James I., OF104999.
Schmidt, Ernest R., OF109637.
Schneider, David P., OF104278.
Scholl, Wayne J., OF105000.
Schreiner, David M., OF105539.
Schultz, Paul F., Jr., OF105001.
Schwartz, Marshall, OF105002.
Scobie, Jon A., OF105003.
Scott, James L., Jr., OF10312.
Scott, Robert H., OF103613.
Scruggs, Hugh F., OF105004.
Scully, Robert E., OF105005.
Seaburn, James T., OF105006.
Seaworth, George H., OF105007.
Selkis, Robert F., OF105008.
Senkus, Neal J., OF105543.
Severance, R. S., OF104283.
Sexton, Heyward E., OF110063.
Sexton, Timothy J., OF103615.
Seymour, John B., OF105009.
Shapiro, Frederick, OF105010.
Sharkness, Edward J., OF105011.
Shaver, Michael P., OF105012.
Shaw, Hubert S., Jr., OF103616.
Shaw, Ralph T., OF105013.
Sheehan, Richard F., OF109640.
Shelton, Henry H., OF110065.
Sheridan, Marx E., OF105014.
Sherman, Frank W., OF103618.
Sherrell, William W., OF105015.
Shinseki, Eric K., OF105016.
Shtogren, Thomas A., OF103620.
Shuford, John H., OF105017.
Sikorski, Douglas J., OF105018.
Simmons, Timothy J., OF105019.
Simonds, Donald T., OF103622.
Simpkins, Dale L., OF108301.
Simpson, Edward, Jr., OF105020.
Singelyn, Paul J., OF105021.
Sinnreich, Richard, OF105022.
Skidmore, Francis R., OF105023.
Slaughter, Frank L., OF103624.
Slicker, Frederick, OF104288.
Slutzky, Kenneth B., OF105024.
Smith, Bruce E., OF109298.
Smith, Frederick J., OF105025.
Smith, Herbert J., OF105026.
Smith, James L., OF105027.
Smith, Larry J., OF104291.
Smith, Ray T., OF109300.
Smith, Robert E., Jr., OF104292.
Smoak, John R., Jr., OF105028.
Smoluk, John J., III, OF103627.
Snoddy, James E., OF104294.
Sparaco, Donald L., OF103632.
Speilman, Daniel E., OF105029.
Sperry, Steven M., OF105030.
Spire, Christopher, OF105031.
Spoerry, Stephen J., OF105032.
Sprague, John F., OF104300.
Stanko, Michael R., OF105033.
Stapleton, Jerry L., OF104302.
Starbuck, Todd R., OF103640.
Starnes, William F., OF104303.
Steinwald, Daniel F., OF105034.
Stephenson, James P., OF105035.
Sterba, Robert H., OF105036.
Sterbenz, Henry W., OF105037.
Stevenson, Dennis E., OF105555.
Stevison, Jay F., OF105038.
Stewart, James V., OF105039.
Stewart, Jerry D., OF103155.
Stewart, Lance R., OF105040.
Stichweh, Carl R., OF105041.
Stilwell, Richard G., OF108314.
Stolfi, John R., OF105557.
Stowell, Robert D., OF105042.
Strack, Michel M., OF104309.
Strassner, Laurence, OF105043.
Strich, Richard A., OF104310.
Strovas, Louis, Jr., OF103646.
Stubbs, Richard C., OF109314.
Stull, Michael D., OF103647.
Sullivan, Richard A., OF105044.
Sullivan, Thomas H., OF103649.
Susik, Robert D., OF105560.
Sutherland, Jack L., OF103652.
Suydam, Martin J., Jr., OF103653.
Swensson, John K., OF105045.
Talbot, James W., OF105046.
Talley, James R., OF104315.
Tate, Roy W., OF104317.
Taylor, Philip M., OF105284.
Taylor, Wesley B., Jr., OF105047.
Teeters, Michael B., OF105048.
Tepe, William R., OF104319.
Terry, John K., OF105049.
Thames, John W., Jr., OF105050.
Thomas, Charles A., OF106026.
Thomas, David F., OF103663.
Thomasson, John T., OF105051.
Thompson, John C., OF105052.
Thompson, Jon K., OF105053.
Thompson, Michael H., OF105054.
Thompson, Robert W., OF104322.
Thompson, Robert D., OF105055.
Throckmorton, Terril M., OF105056.
Thurman, Seaborn M., OF105288.
Tillman, James L., OF105057.
Timbrook, Robert D., OF105058.
Timmerman, Frederic, OF105059.
Tomaswick, James R., OF105060.
Toomey, Kevin P., OF105061.
Tragakis, Chris S., OF102949.
Tragemann, Richard, OF105062.
Trainor, Timothy J., OF104325.
Tredennick, William, OF105063.
Triick, William A., OF105064.
Trimble, William L., OF109657.
Tripler, David J., OF110081.
Troutman, Howard T., OF103670.

Tuohig, Paul J., OF103671.
Turnbow, Woody W., OF103672.
Turner, Jack C., OF105065.
Tyner, Saint E. P., II, OF105066.
Tyson, William E., OF110083.
Van Dyk, Thomas W., OF105067.
Van Steenburg, Robert, OF109660.
Vance, John D., OF113319.
Vande, Van Martin L., OF102780.
Vann, David B., OF105068.
Vann, John M. R., OF105069.
Vaughn, Jay E., OF105070.
Vernon, Albert E., OF105297.
Viani, Michael L., OF105071.
Viering, Victor V., OF104332.
Vincent, John R., OF105298.
Volheim, Martin D., OF104336.
Wagener, Bert B., Jr., OF104337.
Walden, Daniel J., OF105575.
Walden, Robert J., OF104339.
Walker, Glenn D., Jr., OF105299.
Walker, James L., OF104340.
Walker, Richard B., OF109664.
Walsh, Mark R., OF105072.
Walter, Ronald L., OF105073.
Watson, James M., OF105074.
Wattendorf, John M., OF105075.
Weatherall, Joe A., OF105076.
Weatherspoon, Samuel, OF104346.
Wells, Ronald M., OF105077.
Wells, Walter J., Jr., OF105078.
West, Lowry A., OF105079.
Westpheling, Ernest, OF105080.
Wetherill, Roderick, OF105081.
Wheeler, Louis L., OF105082.
Whitaker, Tom S., OF103699.
White, Randolph C., OF103696.
White, Robert C., OF105083.
White, Thomas R., OF105084.
Whitehouse, Benjamin, OF105085.
Whitesell, Thomas C., OF103697.
Whitten, Jesse M., OF105086.
Whittle, William A., OF104351.
Wiese, Frederick W., OF110096.
Wiest, Lawrence P., OF105087.
Wiley, Earl T., III, OF105088.
Williams, Ronald N., OF105090.
Williams, Richard C., OF105089.
Wilson, James C., OF105305.
Winstead, Edward D., OF105091.
Wise, Franklin F., OF104356.
Wolf, Roger W., OF105092.
Wolff, Robert D., OF105093.
Wolfson, Joel, OF109347.
Wollen, Allan R., OF105094.
Wood, James H., OF105095.
Wood, Marcus G., OF103708.
Woodard, James A., Jr., OF105096.
Woodruff, Ray G., OF105097.
Wright, Donald L., OF103709.
Wright, Gerald W., OF104360.
Wyner, James D., OF104361.
Yeager, Brian, OF104362.
Yoshitani, Kenneth, OF105099.
Zais, Barrie E., OF105100.
Zapata, Juan A., OF102035.
Zeigler, George H., OF104364.
Ziegler, Bernard L., OF105101.
Zonnie, Robert J., Jr., OF105102.
Zurlo, Joseph A., OF105103.

The following-named person for reappointment in the active list of the Regular Army of the United States, from the temporary disability retired list, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1211:

To be lieutenant colonel

La Flamme, Ernest H., O20781.

The following-named persons for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States, in the grades specified, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3283 through 3294 and 3311:

To be major

Glynn, John P., O999879.

To be captains

Anderson, Paul D., O5700868.
Bowman, John A.
Boyce, William A., O5525133.
Dresner, Martin L., O5240635.
Dunford, Joseph L., O5215876.
Eazer, Willard E., MJ2293320.
Graziano, Joan M., M2982.
Gryczko, Gerald A., O5208044.
Heiny, Bernard A., O5708458.
Hutnan, George P., O5002039.
Jirka, Anton J., O5325931.
Johnson, David E., O5510084.
Jordan, Franz W., O5540152.
Kenney, Laurence P., Jr., O4065833.
Mason, Richard S., O5511668.
McManamay, Charles T., O2307490.
Mullen, Robert H., O5405725.
Nakamura, Minoru, O5515007.
O'Brien, John F., O5304052.
Poshard, Robert J., O5315261.
Roop, William J., O5515145.
Sellers, Mitchel W., O5311673.
Shuey, Martin W., O5010175.
Spence, Crumpton R., O5711983.
Ward, William F., O5006858.
Weber, Norman M., O5265424.
Wood, Leroy A., O5701924.

To be first lieutenants

Adams, Joseph F., III, O2315824.
Adams, Luther M., Jr., O5418855.
Bisgard, Jay C., O5519452.
Boyer, Jay A., O5715927.
Brasher, Edward L., O5416390.
Brown, Henry T., O2303648.
Chalus, Dennis M., O2332501.
Christensen, Richard, O2325434.
Curtis, Richard F., O5319868.
Duarte, Henry D. E., Jr., O5226729.
Fleming, Paul A., O5517396.
Frazier, Thomas M., O5329890.
Garland, Franklin P., O5213457.
Gilbert, Bobby L., MJ2309107.
Gingerelli, Frank
Guthrie, John C., O5710988.
Hall, Roger V., O2332442.
Harris, Freddy L., O5418324.
Holberton, Roger E., O2320967.
Jellison, Robert J., O5315110.
Kearbey, Dale E., O2325484.
Kelly, Robert W., O2315339.
Kime, Lynn R., O5825073.
Kline, David T., O5319875.
Knauft, Richard D., O2325838.
Le Bel, Leo A., MN5422107.
Lieben, Michael J., O5251120.
Martin, William H., O5530815.
Matlick, Robert R., O2304496.
Meyer, James R., O5520302.
Mohr, Harry W., III, O5326944.
Muzzy, John K., O5418448.
O'Brien, Charles J., O5017667.
Ollenyk, James D., Jr., O5325147.
Orsini, Donald A., O5315538.
Ostrom, David C., O5226937.
Parsons, Donald A., O5530006.
Patterson, James F., O2311820.
Peacock, David R., O5418825.
Pedersen, Paul R., O5541451.
Penney, Larry L., O2325978.
Porter, Charles W., O5418423.
Pratt, William C., Jr., O5310660.
Reynolds, Homer E., O4074320.
Rickert, John E., O5333212.
Seifert, Richard F., O5312477.
Shaw, Charles G., O5418997.
Shindle, Richard D., O5241505.
Steines, William J., O2326769.
Stewart, Thomas L., O5312349.
Stone, Wayne F., O5315159.
Sullivan, Luke F., O2324002.
Swenney, Garnett J., Jr., O2325597.
Taylor, Robert B., O5875188.
Torres, Manuel, O2304655.
Turner, Kirk E., O5321504.
Ulrich, Charles H., O5311229.
Valente, Vincent P., O5232474.
Wakelin, John R., O5019953.
Webster, Patrick D., O5536314.
Weeks, Henry T., O5221839.
Weeks, Hershel E., O2316320.
Williams, Curtis S., O5420808.
Wilson, William R., O5315180.

To be second lieutenants

Adams, Tommy D., O5424725.
Cantor, Barry J., O5243495.
Coston, James R., O5428718.
Defibaugh, Dixie L., N5260230.
Duffel, Dale L., MN5422236.
Eaton, Chester B., Jr., O5024114.
Flowers, James H., O5418441.
Jones, George E., O5328694.
Jones, James N., O5421167.
Jones, John A., O5428002.
Miller, Allan R., O2325829.
Newell, John L., III., O5233784.
O Connor, Joseph E., O5333967.
Orvold, Theodore S., O5332542.
Reinecke, Kris C., O5425603.
Renneisen, Robert M., O5262427.
Sporleder, Emil J., O5336974.
Stone, Riley M., Jr., O5241172.
Whiteacre, Kenneth A., O5023106.
Williams, D. Stephen, O5338941.
Woodruff, Robert F., O5331549.
Yamamoto, Steven K., MM2330361.

The following-named distinguished military students for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States, in the grade of second lieutenant, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 2106, 3283, 3284, 3286, 3287, 3288, and 3290:

Anders, Howard G. II
Bateman, William V.
Bohner, John J. III
Bolle John D.
Brown, Henry E., Jr.
Bullock, William F.
Calhoun, Dayton III
Cantu, Reynaldo S., Jr.
Capps, Timothy T.
Chambers, William W.
Cleckler, Thomas E.
Coover, David M.
Deacon, Carrell V.
Echols, Robert M.
Fagan, James D., Jr.
Fisher, J. B., Jr.
Ford, Grover H.
Ginnetti, Ronald M.
Goldberg, Lewis J.
Greek, Philip A.
Grevert, Donald C.
Gunn, Thomas A.
Hays, Thomas E.
Hehr, Bruce R.
Hier, James A.
Hinz, James W.
Hitchcock, Barry W.
Humphries, John M.
Johnson, Michael L.
Kagler, Allen T.
Kennedy, Harvey M.
Killian, Michael J.
Landers, William B.
Lappin, William D.
Ledford, Kenneth, Jr.
Leese, David P.
Lucas, Lawrence L.
Luczynski, Thomas
Mackler, Leonard
Martin, John A.
Maxwell, Jon A.
McClanahan, Dennis E.
McCoy, James L.
Moore, Gregory L.
Morgan, Grady L.
Mustick, Karl D.
Nix, James A.
Palumbo, Lewis A.
Patton, Robert S.
Pfitzer, Karl F. II
Pool, Jack W.
Pope, Glynn F.
Polas, Edward G.
Reece, Ralph G.
Richmond, Charles D.
Rickles, Hugh D.
Rockhold, Neal W.
Rudulph, John B., Jr.
Sanders, Everette C.
Sleeth, Tim E.
Sohrakoff, John B.
Spotz, Jeffrey L.
Starmann, Richard G.
Stephan, Hans M.
Stewart, Charles P.
Templeman, Terry A.
Thomas, David L.
Tong, Myron L.
Valentine, McDonald
Voss, James E.
Wellman, Jay S.
White, Thomas D. II
Williams, Charles R.
Wimberly, Donald C.

The following-named scholarship students for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States in the grade of second lieutenant, under provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 2107, 3283, 3284, 3286, 3287, 3288 and 3290:

Culhane, Kevin V.
Naaktgeboren, Martin J.

In the Marine Corps

The following-named (commissioned warrant officers/warrant officers) for temporary appointment to the grade of first lieutenant in the Marine Corps, for limited duty, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Brown, Arthur J.
Carter, Jackie M.
Dugan, Donald L.
Heath, John F.
Redfield, Robert L.

The following-named (commissioned warrant officers/warrant officers) for temporary appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, for limited duty, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Akahoshi, Walter A.
Basar, Martin J.
Buzan, Donald L.
Cason, James H.
Cordle, George I.
Deitz, Victor D.
Dorn, David B.
Dunn, William R.
Faubion, Francis P.
Fitzgerald, Robert R.
Foster, Thomas W.
Friel, Joseph D.
Fuqua, Steve M.
Garmon, Ezra T.
Grimes, Charles H.
Gurney, Henry E.
Hall, Jack M.
Henderson, John M.
Heuring, Richard S.
Hisle, Dorland Q.
Hixson, Hodge H.
Hornback, John H.
Hubar, Boris V.
Huffman, George
Isenberg, Harry M.
Jackson, Stephen R.
Johnsen, Raymond A.
Juliano, Arthur V.
Justice, Jimmy L.
Karst, Robert A.
Kelso, Clarence W.
Keszenheimer, Edward P.
Levern, Victor J.
Lewis, Ralph E.
Miller, Norman
Montague, James M.
Moore, Russell E.
Musgrove, Richard P.
Nielsen, Raymond A.
O'Connell, George A.
Osbon, Richard H.
Osmus, Karl F.
Page, Richard R.
Pfautz, Loren D.
Pratte, Joseph W.
Pugliese, Harry C.
Rainhold, Paul A.
Russin, Stephen
Rusterholtz, Gilbert A.
Saunders, John R.
Schalch, Rex T.
Smith, Thomas D.
Steele, William W.
Stewart, James G.
Strote, Vincent E.
Sullivan, William R.
Thomas, Donald W.
Thompson, James L.
Voight, Melvin
Wayment, Wesley S.
Weigert, James H.
White, James R.
Whitehead, Virgil W.
Wright, Donald I.

The following-named (staff noncommissioned officers) for temporary appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, for limited duty, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Ardoin, Daniel B.
Boudreaux, Dennis L.
Bowen, Kenneth W.
Caret, Richard M.
Davis, Bruce I.
Dylewsky, Daniel
Eles, James J.
Ervin, Chauncey H.
Falasco, Leo A.
Hammond, Leon
Hicks, William R.
Martin, Orbia B.
Primrose, Richard T.
Prince, Robert J.
Prosser, Bernard J.
Rodriguez, Robert
Satterthwait, Joseph E.
Strong, Donald B.

The following-named (staff noncommissioned officers) for temporary appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Archambault, Jean A.
Bell, Ronald E., III
Beswick, Robert H.
Bruce, Wendell J., Jr.
Bush, Donald N.
Campbell, Everett J., Jr.
Chavarria, Manuel T.
Condrey, Jimmy W.
Cooper, Edwin M.
Cotten, Marion L.
Cross, Joseph L., Jr.
Dall, David D.
Dunn, Joseph G.
Dyer, William D.
Gardiner, James W.
Haynes, Robert L.
Hoogerwerff, John C.
Jonely, Richard C.
King, Richard J.
Lalonde, Robert R.
Le Duc, Larry J.
Lippold, Roger H.
Lopez, Homero R.
Lyle, John C., Jr.
Maire, William S.
Matticks, John L.
McNeill, Linwood H.
Mitchell, Kenneth L.
Morris, John V.
Navarro, Salvador I.
Nolan, Keith M.
Pereira, Jonn D.
Poulain, Jean L.
Prince, Phillip E.
Rayburn, James S.
Rea, Maxelle J., Jr.
Rose, Duane L.
Sharpsteen, Lila J.
Smith, Billy W.
Soape, Carrol P.
Townsend, David B.
Webb, Charles D.
Werner, Herbert J.
Whitley, John, Jr.
Youngblood, Billy C.

The following-named (Navy enlisted scientific education program) for permanent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Black, Carl V., Jr.
Dunn, William L.
MacFarlane, David B.
Ramsey, Terry E.
Robertson, James B., Jr.
Sargent, Robert J.
Tosi, Joseph R., Jr.

The following-named (Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps) for permanent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law:

Baldwin, John M.
Jacobs, Roger A.

Postmasters

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

ALABAMA

James D. Ethridge, Adger, Ala., in place of B. P. Jones, retired.

ARKANSAS

Margaret D. Hodgson, Wheeler, Ark., in place of A. W. Hodgson, retired.

CALIFORNIA

L. Clark Billups, Waterford, Calif., in place of H. S. Fager, retired.

CONNECTICUT

Edward J. Hale, Wapping, Conn., in place of R. C. Burrill, resigned.

ILLINOIS

Robert E. Carter, Antioch, Ill., in place of R. I. Kufalk, retired.

Dorothy E. Factly, Burlington, Ill., in place of B. A. Knief, deceased.

Thomas G. Schutte, Sigel, Ill., in place of C. J. Steel, retired.

Leland C. Carroll, Silvis, Ill., in place of M. R. Hanneman, retired.

Jerry Volny, Jr., Winnetka, Ill., in place of F. E. Watts, retired.

MASSACHUSETTS

Jason T. Burbank, Millbury, Mass., in place of A. H. Despard, retired.

MISSISSIPPI

Charles P. Morganti, Friars Point, Miss., in place of M. M. McGraw, retired.

MISSOURI

Richard J. Hlavacek, Eldon, Mo., in place of S. W. Krauss, deceased.

NEW YORK

J. Eugene Quinn, Salamanca, N.Y., in place of M. A. Dowd, retired.

OHIO

Margaret C. Howland, Haverhill, Ohio, in place of L. L. Seeley, retired.

Margaret A. Clemens, Latty, Ohio, in place of R. B. Leslie, retired.

Lois F. Wehner, Rocky Ridge, Ohio, in place of A. T. Fillmore, retired.

OKLAHOMA

Everett C. Mosena, Morrison, Okla., in place of P. A. Notley, retired.

OREGON

Cecil R. Claflin, Phoenix, Oreg., in place of M. M. Furry, retired.

PENNSYLVANIA

Gino Piroli, Aliquippa, Pa., in place of E. S. Cummings, retired.

Claire V. Conville, Cumbola, Pa., in place of Catherine Matlock, retired.

ALABAMA

James A. Tait, Camden, Ala., in place of W. L. Albritton, retired.

Maxyne W. Fort, Grand Bay, Ala., in place of M. E. Williams, deceased.

ARKANSAS

Fred S. Henry, Nashville, Ark., in place of J. R. McClure, deceased.

CALIFORNIA

Angelina M. Elevi, Angels Camp, Calif., in place of F. D. Wilder, retired.

John R. Nimmo, Montebello, Calif., in place of Emmett Williams, resigned.

Stanley D. Hamblin, Victor, Calif., in place of G. R. Eikenberry, resigned.

GEORGIA

Frances B. Lamb, Moreland, Ga., in place of L. W. Murphy, deceased.

ILLINOIS

Altha E. Huth, DeSoto, Ill., in place of S. A. Morrison, retired.

Robert K. Granger, Morris, Ill., in place of H. T. Verfurth, retired.

Charles A. Martin, Stillman Valley, Ill., in place of M. E. Holquist, retired.

IOWA

Frances L. Fitzpatrick, Castalia, Iowa, in place of E. F. Floody, retired.

Maurice R. Engman, Dayton, Iowa, in place of B. J. Okey, retired.

Orville G. Marsh, Villisca, Iowa, in place of C. E. Moore, retired.

KANSAS

Everett R. Engle, Jr., Tribune, Kans., in place of J. J. Lawson, transferred.

KENTUCKY

Charles A. Felts, Elkton, Ky., in place of F. C. McElwain, retired.

Virginia L. Redd, Gracey, Ky., in place of L. M. Wilson, retired.

MAINE

Bernard J. Pagurko, Topsham, Maine, in place of L. P. Spinney, retired.

MASSACHUSETTS

Wilfred J. Sullivan, Holbrook, Mass., in place of B. E. Hobart, retired.

Robert G. Pratt, Huntington, Mass., in place of M. H. Lindsey, retired.

MICHIGAN

Kenneth G. Fox, Cassopolis, Mich., in place of E. L. Byrnes, retired.

Wyman D. Campbell, Milan, Mich., in place of J. L. Collins, deceased.

A. O. Richardson, Rockford, Mich., in place of C. E. Dennis, retired.

MINNESOTA

Joseph E. Nolden, Rice, Minn., in place of H. A. Legatt, transferred.

MISSISSIPPI

Cayce B. Livingston, Tupelo, Miss., in place of D. D. Patterson, retired.

MISSOURI

Howard C. Wagner, Canton, Mo., in place of W. R. Burk, resigned.

Lucille H. McCord, Holland, Mo., in place of Nathaniel Nunnery, retired.

NEBRASKA

Lambert J. Jonas, Schuyler, Nebr., in place of J. E. Severyn, retired.

Charles F. Hoarty, Sutton, Nebr., in place of Gerhardt Wiard, deceased.

NEW YORK

Mary G. Stietzle, Port Jefferson Station, N.Y., in place of William Henningsen, retired.

Lionel R. Estes, Walton, N.Y., in place of F. T. More, retired.

NORTH CAROLINA

William F. Auten, Huntersville, N.C., in place of B. E. Henderson, retired.

PENNSYLVANIA

William H. Rock, Jr., Dresher, Pa., in place of Jennie Eagono, retired.

Michael Heffren, Jr., Uniontown, Pa., in place of C. L. Sturgis, retired.

TEXAS

Thomas J. Burnett, Levelland, Tex., in place of H. H. Mann, retired.

Demetrio Duarte, Orange Grove, Tex., in place of H. W. Havemann, retired.

VERMONT

Loren T. Bacon, East Thetford, Vt., in place of D. S. Bacon, deceased.

VIRGINIA

Bertie Hagy, Forest, Va., in place of B. B. Woodhead, retired.

Jessie P. Richards, Montvale, Va., in place of J. D. Luck, removed.

WASHINGTON

Ronald N. McHolland, Mercer Island, Wash., in place of S. M. Howe, transferred.

WISCONSIN

Gordon J. Regenauer, Spooner, Wis., in place of P. J. Murphy, retired.

ALASKA

Mildred M. Hinshaw, Glennallen, Alaska, in place of M. M. Millard, resigned.

CALIFORNIA

Robert E. Lee, Grass Valley, Calif., in place of E. W. Skeahan, deceased.

Eugene C. Freese, Hayfork, Calif., in place of F. C. Albiez, retired.

ILLINOIS

Shirley M. Wolf, Benson, Ill., in place of Henrietta Hinds, retired.

Evelyn A. Weiland, Rutland, Ill., in place of Rita O'Neil, retired.

Cyril L. Millward, Skokie, Ill., in place of W. P. Hohs, retired.

IOWA

Clarence J. Murray, Albia, Iowa, in place of J. M. Hersman, retired.

MASSACHUSETTS

George L. Beckerman, Hull, Mass., in place of J. H. McCue, retired.

MICHIGAN

Alice M. Gugar, Buckley, Mich., in place of C. E. Courtade, deceased.

Eileen H. Stoudt, Muir, Mich., in place of L. L. Swanson, retired.

William C. Stottlemyer, Wayne, Mich., in place of D. E. Howell, deceased.

MISSISSIPPI

Opal C. Richardson, Falkner, Miss., in place of M. B. Rogers, retired.

MISSOURI

Vincent E. Coleman, Festus, Mo., in place of C. M. Cook, retired.

Ruby L. Allen, Point Lookout, Mo., in place of L. S. Reid, retired.

NEW YORK

William J. Murray, Stanley, N.Y., in place of C. E. Conroy, retired.

OHIO

Harlow A. Stapf, Willard, Ohio, in place of O. J. Landefeld, retired.

TENNESSEE

Harold E. Reeves, Shady Valley, Tenn., in place of C. N. Blevins, transferred.

TEXAS

Marcus S. O'Dell, Eastland, Texas, in place of M. J. Johnson, retired.

VIRGINIA

Elmer C. Rouse, Marion, Va., in place of J. R. Campbell, retired.

ALASKA

Bernard C. Iversen, Wrangell, Alaska, in place of M. L. Sharnbroich, resigned.

ARKANSAS

Shelby J. Upton, Guion, Ark., in place of N. Q. Arnold, retired.

Olen J. Jones, Scotland, Ark., in place of L. E. Griggs, retired.

COLORADO

Mary J. Derby, Kit Carson, Colo., in place of W. H. Rhoades, Jr., retired.

FLORIDA

Ivy L. Slone, Mascotte, Fla., in place of J. T. Watkins, deceased.

ILLINOIS

George W. Cooper, Bridgeport, Ill., in place of G. L. Wall, retired.

Stanley N. Kibler, Gays, Ill., in place of I. E. Hortenstine, retired.

MAINE

Keith H. Anderson, Orono, Maine, in place of B. A. MacKenzie, retired.

MINNESOTA

Harlyn W. Sartain, South International Falls, Minn., in place of R. S. Lynch, retired.

MISSOURI

Woodrow W. Chism, Clark, Mo., in place of M. C. Shores, retired.

NEVADA

Patsy R. Donalson, Orovada, Nev., in place of B. S. Christensen, retired.

OHIO

Richard C. Mayer, Aurora, Ohio, in place of R. H. Cassel, resigned.

PENNSYLVANIA

Joyce A. Fenyus, Oaks, Pa., in place of R. H. McFarland, retired.

TENNESSEE

R. James Burleson, Roan Mountain, Tenn., in place of W. F. Church, transferred.

TEXAS

Doyle K. Smith, Wiergate, Texas, in place of I. D. Martin, retired.

UTAH

Arlen L. Madsen, Salina, Utah, in place of T. J. Morley, deceased.

WASHINGTON

James J. Symbol, Seattle, Wash., in place of G. J. Morry, deceased.

CALIFORNIA

Kenneth O. Strom, Pacifica, Calif., in place of W. H. Wolf, resigned.

Joan E. Moon, Stratford, Calif., in place of E. L. King, deceased.

CONNECTICUT

Carolyn Messenger, West Granby, Conn., in place of D. L. Glidden, retired.

IDAHO

J. Morgan Lake, Jr., Rigby, Idaho, in place of M. M. Casper, retired.

ILLINOIS

Richard P. Breitweiser, Sterling, Ill., in place of R. E. Shawger, deceased.

INDIANA

James R. Shoemaker, Zionsville, Ind., in place of H. T. Conrad, retired.

KANSAS

Larry E. Jones, Douglass, Kans., in place of G. L. Dunagan, retired.

Leslie E. Dexter, Netawaka, Kans., in place of L. E. Cope, deceased.

MAINE

Robert S. Lash, Jr., Friendship, Maine, in place of D. L. Simonds, removed.

MARYLAND

Edward L. Wheeler, Parkton, Md., in place of R. V. Hoshall, retired.

MINNESOTA

Warren G. Gunderson, Clearbrook, Minn., in place of D. C. Peterson, transferred.

MISSISSIPPI

Lee O. Miller, Blue Springs, Miss., in place of M. C. Miller, retired.

Thomas I. Carroll, Smithville, Miss., in place of O. E. Medley, Jr., transferred.

MONTANA

James H. Blevins, Chinook, Mont., in place of G. C. Dowen, retired.

NEBRASKA

Roland R. Norman, Ord, Nebr., in place of F. L. Stoddard, retired.

NEW YORK

Carolyn V. Kaido, Lee Center, N.Y., in place of G. A. Hartson, retired.

Ruth M. Williams, Shrub Oak, N.Y., in place of S. M. Odell, retired.

NORTH CAROLINA

Henry L. Owens, Snow Hill, N.C., in place of A. L. Herring, retired.

OKLAHOMA

Jerry D. Jamison, Coweta, Okla., in place of C. G. Howe, retired.

OREGON

Lanny L. Fredricks, Sublimity, Oreg., in place of C. D. Neal, retired.

TEXAS

Abram L. Goble, Mission, Tex., in place of C. F. Sorell, deceased.

WASHINGTON

Rexford R. Burton, Washougal, Wash., in place of Leroy McClain, retired.

WISCONSIN

Agnes M. Slama, Eastman, Wis., in place of H. A. Feye, retired.

GEORGIA

Charlie D. Baldwin, Ashburn, Ga., in place of C. H. Melton, retired.

ILLINOIS

John F. Koulentes, Des Plaines, Ill., in place of W. R. Wesley, retired.

Roy V. Winget, Golden, Ill., in place of C. W. Beckett, retired.

William E. Hergenrother, Pleasant Plains, Ill., in place of P. E. Reichert, retired.

INDIANA

Robert K. Riggins, Advance, Ind., in place of D. M. Chesterton, retired.

Kenneth L. Higgins, Bluffton, Ind., in place of J. R. Zoll, transferred.

Larry C. Wilburn, Gary, Ind., in place of James Neugebauer, retired.

Charles D. Plummer, Sandborn, Ind., in place of R. L. Hildebrand, retired.

KANSAS

Kenneth B. Becker, Winfield, Kans., in place of D. M. Howell, deceased.

KENTUCKY

Durward A. Hamilton, Gilbertsville, Ky., in place of O. E. Culp, retired.

James C. Dowden, Jr., Pleasureville, Ky., in place of Elva Peyton, retired.

MARYLAND

Albert C. Migeot, Jr., Brandywine, Md., in place of M. T. Holt, retired.

MINNESOTA

Lyle J. Schreiber, Faribault, Minn., in place of W. M. Brucher, deceased.

NEW YORK

Frank L. Cocca, Helmuth, N.Y., in place of E. A. Mortiz, retired.

NORTH CAROLINA

Fred G. Torrence, Cornelius, N.C., in place of K. R. Howard, deceased.

OHIO

Rebecca A. Zaugg, East Rochester, Ohio., in place of V. M. Zaugg, retired.

Donald J. Weber, Ney, Ohio, in place of V. E. Mason, resigned.

VIRGINIA

Hugh E. Clougherty, Jr., Broadway, Va., in place of C. F. Whitmer, retired.

WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate, September 4, 1968:

POSTMASTER

I withdraw the nomination sent to the Senate on July 15, 1968, of Joseph C. Brown to be postmaster at Bomoseen, in the State of Vermont.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A NEW FOCUS ON OPPORTUNITY—THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INTER-AGENCY COMMITTEE ON MEXICAN AMERICAN AFFAIRS

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, on July 30, 1968, the first annual report of the Federal Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs was submitted to the President.

This report represents a significant milestone in calling the attention of the country to the challenges, problems, opportunities, and achievements of the millions of American citizens in the Spanish-speaking community.

Because of the importance of the Committee's report, "A New Focus on Opportunity," I would like to include it in the Congressional Record at this point, to be preceded by the statement issued by the President on receiving the report:

Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs

(Statement by the President on the Committee's first annual report, August 10, 1968)

The first annual report of the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs, the organization we created last summer to focus the attention of the Government on the problems of the millions of Spanish-speaking American citizens, is encouraging.

The report is frank—it indicates that many of these citizens still live in poverty; that their housing, their educational opportunities, their employment opportunities, are still well below anything like an acceptable level.

The report indicates that there has been remarkable progress in the last 12 months, in the terms of jobs, of educational opportunities for children and adults, of housing; it shows real progress in equal employment by the Federal Government; and it shows that the Federal Government is now working with the community in giving real attention to the unique problems of our Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and other Spanish-surnamed citizens.

We have now recognized, as a matter of Federal law, that bilingual education is a good approach to educating children growing up in a two-language culture. In the past 2 years we channeled $10 million to fund programs for bilingual and bicultural children.

We are now making much better use of our Spanish-speaking citizens in our relations with Latin American nations. Last fall, when Dr. Hector Garcia was addressing the United Nations in Spanish, another first, we had four Spanish-surnamed Ambassadors in this field.

We have moved—through the poverty program, minimum wage laws for farm workers, tighter regulation of farm labor housing, and by virtually terminating the *bracero* program—to make life more livable for the Nation's farmworkers, most of whom are Mexican-Americans.

Spanish-surnamed Federal employees increased 41 percent since 1965—up 9,000 jobs, many in positions where they can use their languages to help others who speak Spanish. The Post Office Department has added Mexican-Americans to its staff at about 60 times the rate it averaged in the last 120 years. Mexican-American Federal employees earning over $10,000 a year have virtually doubled in 2 years in the Southwest. Spanish-surnamed employees in top level Federal jobs have increased 185 percent since 1963.

The Civil Service Commission has requested all agencies to place Spanish-speaking citizens in jobs where their ability can help those citizens with limited English.

Seven Southwest cities with large Spanish-speaking populations have been added to the model cities program which will use Federal funds to improve urban living, including housing and schools.

There are many other examples of our progress, which have been reported to me by the Inter-Agency Committee, and its Chairman, Vincente T. Ximenes.

There is much work to be done, but we have started to move, we plan to continue to move toward full-fledged equality for all Spanish-surnamed citizens.

Annual Report, the Mexican American—a New Focus on Opportunity, Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs, 1967–68

Lyndon B. Johnson, El Paso, Tex., October 28, 1967. We are moving forward. Nobody knows better than you know how far we have to go. . . . A lesser people might have despaired. A lesser people might have given up a long time ago. But your people didn't give up. They believed.

They believed that they were full-fledged citizens of the greatest nation on earth, even if others didn't always treat them as such.

Inter-Agency Committee on
Mexican American Affairs,
Washington, D.C., July 30, 1968.

Dear Mr. President: I have the honor to present herewith a report on the activities of the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs for the year ending June 30, 1968.

Respectfully,
Vicente T. Ximenes,
Chairman.

Approved:
Orville L. Freeman,
Secretary of Agriculture.
Cyrus R. Smith,
Secretary of Commerce.
W. Willard Wirtz,
Secretary of Labor.
Wilbur J. Cohen,
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.
Robert W. Weaver,
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.
Bertrand M. Harding,
Acting Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

WHO ARE THE MEXICAN AMERICANS?

There are approximately 10 million Spanish-surnamed citizens in our country, of which six and a half million reside in the Southwest. In 1960, Mexican Americans represented over 12 percent of the total population in the five Southwestern States; this group is the largest minority in each of these States.

The Mexican American may be a descendant of the Spanish explorers Cortez, Cabeza de Baca or Coronado. Or he may have recently immigrated from Mexico and may very well be a descendant of the great Aztec civilization. Or he may be a mestizo from the union of Indian and Spanish.

There are others in the United States who have the same features, background, language and surnames. For example, there are Puerto Ricans, Spanish Americans (from Spain), Central Americans (from Costa Rica, Panama, etc.), and South Americans. Therfore, among the Spanish-speaking Americans—the second largest minority group in our country—we find a great diversity in origin yet a great commonality in traditions and language. They have also shared the same problems and experiences as citizens of the United States and in this report the term "Mexican American" is used as a general designation.

As the Anglo American moved out into the frontier lands of our Nation, the Mexican American gave way as did the American Indian. He lost lands which he had held for centuries; he lost his footing in his own community. He became the governed in his village. His language, which had been the tongue of commerce, became a mark of the "foreigner." Suddenly this was no longer his land or home.

The Mexican Americans were pushed into menial jobs as the years passed; their children rarely reaped the benefits of education. There appeared in towns, villages and cities certain poor sections, or barrios—the ghettos of Mexican Americans. Caught in a vicious circle, the Mexican Americans set the patterns of poverty which their children, to the present, encounter.

Some moved to other sections of the country, to the Northwest, to parts of the East. Their lot has not been much better. The Puerto Ricans, for example, landed on the east coast to find that American citizenship on paper meant nothing to employers or landlords.

Mexican American migrant farm workers make up more than half of the migrant stream in the United States. For example, they account for about 64 percent of the migrants who come into the State of Michigan. They also are as far away from the Southwest as New Jersey.

The White House,
Washington, June 9, 1967.

Memorandum for: Hon. W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor; Hon. John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Hon. Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; Hon. Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Hon. R. Sargent Shriver, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity; Hon. Vicente Ximenes, Commissioner, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Over the past three years, many members of my Administration have had discussions with Mexican American leaders and others interested in their problems. They have discussed the value of our programs to Mexican Americans in their search for equal opportunity and first-class American citizenship.

The time has come to focus our efforts more intensely on the Mexican Americans of our nation.

I am therefore asking the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to serve on an inter-agency committee on Mexican American affairs. I am asking Commissioner Vicente Ximenes of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to chair this committee.

The purpose of this committee is to assure that Federal programs are reaching the Mexican Americans and providing the assistance they need and seek out new programs that may be necessary to handle problems that are unique to the Mexican American community.

I am also asking this committee to meet with Mexican Americans, to review their problems and to hear from them what their needs are, and how the Federal Government can best work with state and local governments, with private industry and with the

Mexican Americans themselves in solving those problems.

I would like to be kept informed, at periodic intervals, of the progress being made.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

(The Secretary of Commerce was added to the Committee by Presidential letter of January 15, 1968.)

A FOCAL POINT IS CREATED

On June 9, 1967, the President established a Cabinet committee designated as the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs "to assure that Federal programs are reaching the Mexican Americans and providing the assistance that they need, and (to) seek out new programs that may be necessary to handle problems that are unique to the Mexican American community."

The President appointed to the Committee the Secretaries of Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; and Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Vicente T. Ximenes, a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, was appointed chairman of the Committee.

The President created the Committee to help meet the pressing needs of more than 10,000,000 Spanish surnamed Americans—the Mexican Americans of the Southwest, the Puerto Ricans on the mainland, the Cubans, and others. Often forgotten, although the second largest in the nation, this minority has serious problems.

These problems, at this point in the economic and social development of our people, are unique in dimension, geography, and cultural derivation. Further these are factors which militate for their continuation unless vigorous action is taken. Among these is the continuing contact with the original cultural sources in other countries which other minorities no longer have.

The Mexican Americans in the Southwest, for example, have ties of language with nearby Mexico and this serves to envigorate cultural traditions. Americans of Polish descent, for example, are now long removed from the well springs of their ancestral heritage.

And though the problems, if anything, are more complex than those of other minorities, the community's resources are more scarce. Mexican Americans have no colleges or other educational institutions they can call their own, no substantial private institutions, virtually no funding for their organizations, and, until June 9, 1967, no unit anywhere in the Federal government that was specifically concerned with their problems.

In general terms, the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs serves as the central liaison point between the Spanish-surnamed communities of the United States and the Federal government.

Generally, the Committee:

Lends technical assistance to Federal agencies which have either grant-in-aid or direct programs of significance to the community so that these programs will match the real needs of the community;

Lends technical assistance to community organizations seeking program assistance from the Federal government;

As occasion demands, matches the needs of the community with both private and public resources outside the community;

Provides research and statistical assistance to Federal agencies, serving as a clearing house for the agencies and the community on what is happening in this field;

Alerts Federal agencies to the largely untapped personnel resources of the community and supplies placement assistance;

Assists Federal agencies in the communications field so that the government can, in a meaningful way, let the community know what services are available.

There has been a need for these services for a long, long time. For a variety of reasons the community's very real needs had been neglected by the Government. During, October 1967, however, through the medium of Hearings ordered by President Johnson, the community's needs and proposed solutions to the community's problems were highlighted to the leaders of the Government in a history-making manner.

As a result of these hearings in El Paso, the community is seeking more Federal action, and is expecting more action—and the Committee is providing the kind of help which it is uniquely qualified to provide to other agencies, Federal, State, local and private.

How it does this and with what results is set forth as follows:

THE COMMITTEE STAFF

Supporting the Committee, a staff, of small size but extensive familiarity with the problems of the Spanish speaking/or the Federal departments and agencies, carries out these functions:

Program and Project Assistance: This involves the two-part activity of guiding Mexican American groups to the program resources of the Federal Government and helping agencies identify and respond to the needs of the Mexican American community.

Too often Federal programs which fit perfectly the needs of other segments of society, fail to match the needs of this community. Without assistance Mexican Americans too often lack the familiarity with government structure and procedure to take advantage of Federal programs that already exist.

Research: The staff maintains an overview of public and private research of use to the Mexican American community. Essentially, this consists of evaluating and synthesizing the relevant research of others and the stimulation of such research.

There is literally no such institution as a Mexican American college or university and with the end of the Ford Foundation's Mexican American research project at the University of California at Los Angeles, there is no research clearing house of any kind for the community other than that of the Committee.

Job Placement: Given the low level of Mexican American participation in Federal employment and the rising interest in recruiting talented members of the community, the staff works to help fill this gap. The Committee has been matching potential professional-level employees with suitable Federal positions and those in private industry whose increasing interest has also been stimulated by the Committee.

Public Information: From time to time information is prepared for the press, radio, television, and magazines to alert the Mexican American community of Federal activities.

THE EL PASO HEARINGS

The first assignment of the Committee, mentioned in the President's memorandum establishing the Committee, was "to meet with the Mexican Americans, to review their problems and to hear from them what their needs are, and how the Federal Government can best work with State and local governments, with private industry and with the Mexican Americans themselves in solving these problems."

Consultation with leaders

Consultation with Mexican American leaders and "grass roots" representatives was immediate and intensive. Emphasis was on positive action, on solutions, not mere statements of problems. As the President told Chairman Ximenes during the discussions of the plans, "the time for soothing generalities is over; we must now move to the solution of the problems."

The President personally picked the date and the place of what was designated the Cabinet Committee Hearings on Mexican American Affairs: El Paso, Texas, October 26th through October 28th.

The location was to make the meeting easy of access for the Mexican Americans and to be free of interruptions in the time of two score and more of Federal officials attending. Above all, it was to assure that the Government officials would meet face to face with the Spanish-surnamed people and would listen to solutions.

Selecting participants

Obviously, not all Mexican Americans could attend. Great care was taken in issuing invitations to give geographical balance, a full range of views and experience, and representation of all occupations from migrants to professionals.

Suggestions were solicited from individuals, national organizations, government officials—both appointed and elected—at national and local levels, educational institutions, private business, and many others.

Nearly 25,000 nominations were received by the application of several dozen standards. This large number was sifted in an attempt to find 1,500 participants able "to talk about what can be done through specific programs to achieve the rightful ambition of Mexican Americans to play their full role in our society."

Selecting subjects

Subjects were chosen with like care. Six concurrent panels of Federal officials were set up to run continuously morning and afternoons for two days. The 1,500 participants were assigned to sessions according to their experience and interest. In each case a Mexican American was appointed monitor to chair the panels and assure full hearing of all viewpoints.

Panels were on Agriculture; Labor; HEW; Housing and Urban Development; Poverty; Economic and Social Development.

In addition, 50 round tables were held concurrently on the evening separating the first two day-time sessions. These were exclusively for the participants to discuss presentation of their views to the officials on the panels.

Community cooperation

Public rooms in six hotels, classrooms and the auditorium of the University of Texas at El Paso, and facilities of the U.S. Army from Fort Bliss and Fort Sam Houston were used. The staff of the Committee was augmented by Army personnel, officials and staff of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, and other community groups and private citizens—Mexican Americans and others—whose cooperation was unfailingly generous and helpful.

Federal participants

The Hearings were opened by Vice President Humphrey. For the first time in American history, this number of Cabinet members and several score high Federal officials gathered in one place in the country outside of Washington to meet with one group of citizens for two days of give-and-take.

The meetings were concluded by a speech of President Johnson. He brought with him the President of Mexico who also addressed the final session. A traditional Fiesta arranged by citizens of El Paso concluded the historic gathering and marked what has since been called "a watershed in Mexican American affairs, a milestone in democratic government, and the greatest step forward to date in centuries of Mexican American history."

PROBLEMS DEFINED, DIRECTIONS CHARTED

The specific problems the Mexican American community has faced were minutely examined at El Paso, some for the first time. From this came affirmation of goals long held and some new directions.

Typical of the problems:

In the five Southwestern states, Mexican Americans, 14 years of age and older, have only 8.1 years of schooling, compared with 12.0 years for the average Anglo-American of the same age.

Mexican American children have a school

drop-out rate that is over twice the national average.

Mexican Americans in barrios had an unemployment rate of 8 to 13 percent in 1966 as compared to a national average of 4 percent for that year.

Subemployment rates for Spanish-surnamed residents of the slums were 42 to 47 percent.

Employment of Mexican Americans by the Federal Government was in need of attention. The Civil Service Commission report indicated, for example, that the Selective Service Board had no Spanish-surnamed employees above the Grade of GS–8, and in the Department of Justice, only 62 top-level positions out of a total of 11,695 were held by Mexican Americans.

The 1959 family income under $3,000 of *urban* Spanish-surnamed families was 28.5 percent in Arizona; 17.5 percent in California; 28.6 percent in Colorado; 33.1 percent in New Mexico; and 47.3 percent in Texas.

The 1959 family income under $3,000 of *rural* Spanish surnamed families was 50.4 percent in Colorado; 53.8 percent in New Mexico; and 69.2 percent in Texas.

In Arizona 32.4 percent of the dilapidated homes belong to Mexican Americans and in Colorado 24.3 percent of such housing belongs to the Spanish-surnamed citizen.

Out of discussions by the 1,500 Mexican Americans, Federal officials and other participants of these and a myriad of other problems came more than 1,000 specific recommendations and agreement on the fundamental new directions:

The cultural differences and background of the Mexican American community must be acknowledged and understood;

Bilingual education in all phases of instruction should be developed;

Federal agencies must develop and practice an "outreach" philosophy in bringing services to the Mexican American community;

Federal employment opportunities must be opened further to the Mexican American community;

The community must be involved in all aspects of program planning whether it is in school activities or model cities programs;

Problem solving must be undertaken through the cooperation of Government, private industry, and Mexican American civic and service organizations.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE RESPONSE FROM FEDERAL AGENCIES

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

To: See below.
From: The Secretary.
Subject: Departmental work plan for Mexican-Americans.
Date: January 16, 1968.

Several months ago, I asked the Department to develop a special focus for the problems of Mexican-Americans directing our programs more pointedly to this neglected portion of our population. I designated Joseph Colmen to assist me in this effort, and to organize for our work with the President's Interagency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs.

I appreciate your preliminary work in inventorying what we have been and are doing that helps Mexican-Americans. Some forward thinking was included in reports which you assembled for the Interagency Committee. The Committee's hearings in El Paso identified additional needs.

Now we must demonstrate by action our good intentions. I would like your assistance, therefore, in preparing a specific work plan. The format attached has been provided for your response. It treats separately the recommendations growing out of the El Paso hearings, to which we owe a response; and the plans you create based on your knowledge of your programs.

Although long range plans are necessary, I want to stress the importance of doing everything you can now within our current funding authority to meet the needs of Mexican-Americans. This includes assigning this responsibility to people within your agency who can and will get results and giving them your full support.

Addresses: Harold Howe II, Commissioner of Education; Robert M. Ball, Commissioner of Social Security; Mary E. Switzer, Administrator, Social & Rehabilitation Service; William H. Stewart, M.D., Surgeon General, Public Health Service.

(cc: Paul Miller, Philip Lee, Lisle Carter, James Kelly, Donald Simpson, Ralph Huitt, William Gorham, Edmund Baxter, F. Peter Libassi.)

PROGRAMS AND PROJECT ASSISTANCE

Refined by the discussions at the El Paso hearings, the Committee's work of initiating and expediting programs took on new vigor and speed. Set forth below are programs and projects which reflect the new impetus arising from Committee activity during the period of this report.

Manpower and training

Concentrated Employment Programs have been established in comprehensive effort against hard-core unemployment. A total of $30,415,166 has been allocated for the programs in San Antonio, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Albuquerque, Denver, Waco, and Oakland which account for over 40 percent of the entire Mexican American population.

More than 18,000 Mexican Americans have been trained or are receiving training through institutional Manpower Development and Training programs. This number included 2,500 specially developed training slots designed to serve the unique needs of the Mexican Americans in various California cities.

In addition to the regular U. S. Department of Labor-funded on-the-job training programs in which Mexican Americans also participate, $3.3 million has been allocated for 3,900 on-the-job training slots for Mexican American trainees. Projects are being administered by Mexican American social service organizations in Richmond, Santa Rosa, Fresno, Los Angeles, San Diego, Salinas, Pico Rivera, Santa Clara, California; Denver, Colorado; and Maricopa County, Arizona. For the trainees who speak Spanish, the projects include prevocational English classes.

Operation SER (Service—Employment—Redevelopment) created in 1966, is now mounting Mexican American manpower programs in thirteen Southwestern cities in which more than 3,000 unemployed persons, mainly Mexican Americans, will receive job preparation and placement services. Operation SER is directed by Jobs for Progress, Inc., a non-profit organization sponsored by major Mexican American organizations; The League of United Latin American Citizens and the American GI Forum of the U.S. Operation SER has received approximately $7 million in Manpower Development and Training Act funds.

Mexican American youths in the Neighborhood Youth Corps increased to 38 percent in the Southwest during the 1967 summer work program as contrasted with 25 percent earlier.

Federal Government recruitment and employment

The Post Office Department in the last two years has added Mexican Americans to its staff at about 60 times the rate that it averaged in the last 120 years.

Civil Service Commission survey of Federal employment indicates that, during the period of June, 1965 to November, 1967, there was an increase of 41 percent in Spanish surnamed Federal employees in the Southwest. Over 9,000 such appointments were made from June, 1966 to November, 1967, with hundreds more being added to the Federal rolls in most recent months.

The number of Mexican Americans in positions paying over $11,000 per annum has virtually doubled in this period in the five-state area.

This trend towards increased representation of Spanish-surnamed Americans in the upper levels is dramatically reflected by the 1967 increase of 185.2 percent in Spanish-surnamed GS–15 appointees since the 1963 level.

Much of this progress is the direct result of regular meetings and constant communication of the Inter-Agency Committee staff with ranking agency personnel directors and special departmental task forces created to make recruitment and hiring practices more responsive to the Mexican American community.

Activities have included the launching of recruiting drives by member agencies of the committee at schools and colleges with substantial Spanish surname enrollment. For example, during early 1968, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare conducted recruitment drives through eleven cities in the Southwest. Since February, the Department has hired 134 Mexican Americans up to and including GS–15 level (paying more than $18,000 a year).

New job element rating techniques and examining procedures are being designed to eliminate unnecessary experience or educational requirements for entry level positions. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has pioneered in new testing procedures which will permit the Government to evaluate the job potential of workers whose abilities might not be reflected by written examinations.

The Inter-Agency Committee is furnishing both technical assistance and information on talented members of the Mexican American community to interested Government agencies through a Committee staff-operated pool.

The Inter-Agency Committee has compiled and published a listing of over 1,400 Spanish-surnamed students who graduated from college during the current year. The first such compilation has been distributed to Federal agencies, private employers and other interested groups. Reports received by the Committee indicate a great interest among these employers. For example, one large national corporation has already hired 22 recent graduates and one school system has mailed applications to over 175 education majors who appeared in the booklet.

The Civil Service Commission is studying a new Federal merit promotion policy to assure fairer consideration of Mexican American employees for advancement and to assure that employees are more fully informed about promotion opportunities; the Civil Service Commission has also committed itself to substantially more emphasis on training for lower level employees to assist their advancement.

The Civil Service Commission, Federal personnel officers, union officials and leaders of minority group organizations are reviewing proposed changes in the procedures for filing, investigating and resolving complaints of discrimination within Federal agencies.

Civil Service inter-Agency Boards of Examiners in the Southwest regions are working with Mexican American organizations to locate candidates and to identify employment problems. Use is being made of the Spanish language media to advertise job openings and examination announcements.

Agencies are being encouraged to recruit and hire bilingual and bicultural employees where there is a demonstrated need for employees with these qualifications. In the four Civil Service Regions with substantial Mexican American population, the Commission is now especially employing Spanish-speaking persons for public information and testing positions.

Federal-private cooperation in employment

The Inter-Agency Committee, in conjunction with Plans for Progress (a unit in the Executive Office of the President, staffed by executives loaned by industry to intensify private sector cooperation) and the Community Relations Service, sponsored the Southwest Employers Conference on Mexican American and Indian Employment Problems. More than 200 representatives of private industry convened on July 10, 1968 for a three-day conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Another is being considered for California.

Efforts to enlist the interest of industry in hiring Mexican Americans include specific assistance to companies in devising equal employment opportunity programs as well as almost daily contact with business executives regarding the employment of Mexican Americans.

Education

In January, 1968 the President signed the Bilingual Education Bill amending the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The bilingual and bicultural education provisions authorize research, experimentation, demonstration and operating activities. These include the development of curricula, methods, materials, media and administrative procedures relating to bilingual instruction.

Primarily through ESEA funds, HEW has sponsored research and demonstration programs for pre-school and elementary students of multi-lingual and multi-cultural backgrounds in San Antonio, El Paso, Travis County, Texas; Northern New Mexico and Las Cruces, New Mexico. Included are the Southwestern Educational Development Laboratory in Austin, the Good Samaritan Pre-School Bilingual Program in San Antonio and Project Follow-Through in Corpus Christi.

Related Activities involve the utilization, in Denver, Colorado, and in eleven Texas counties, of televised programs to teach English and to strengthen self-image among Mexican American students through an understanding of their total cultural heritage. Under the Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program, the University of Arizona is training teachers of bilingual-bicultural students.

Through the talent Search Program of HEW, $854,125 has been made available for nine projects in the Southwest to identify talented high school students and encourage them to complete high school with a view toward pursuing a higher education.

National Defense Education Act loans, Economic Opportunity Grants, Guaranteed Loans and the Work/Study Program are being utilized increasingly by colleges in the Southwest to help needy Mexican American students. For example, Our Lady of the Lake College in San Antonio has made use of all such aids in its Project Teacher Excellence and the West Texas University combines financial aid to students with an effort to educate non-profit organizations in the uses of Work-Study participants.

A Mexican American Affairs Unit of the Office of Education was established at the urging of the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs. The Unit has conducted a field survey among the Mexican American communities in the Southwestern States, now being analyzed.

Migrant training and education

In Florida, Texas, and California, a Migrant Compensatory Education Project has been established to provide basic and remedial education, occupational training, vocational rehabilitation, health and food services and economic support to 1,000 migrant youths and their families.

In Illinois, the Office of Economic Opportunity has established a program of adult basic education service for Mexican American migrants settling out of the migrant stream.

In Arizona, a series of television tapes are being utilized to teach the adult Mexican American migrant of low literate level how to speak basic, simple English.

In Texas, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, has set up special bilingual instruction for migrant children. The Rio Grande Valley Education Service Center will serve over 70,000 Spanish-speaking and migrant children in four Texas counties.

In Mesilla Valley of Dona Ana County, New Mexico, educational radio is being utilized to increase the communication skills of over 500 children from migrant agricultural families and other disadvantaged children.

In Northern New Mexico, the Home Education Livelihood Program is providing adult basic, general and vocational education as well as assisting in the establishment of farm cooperatives and small village industry.

Eight High School Equivalency Programs have received funding for their second year from the Migrant Division of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Seventy-five percent of the youths are migrants and over seventy-five percent are Mexican American. Programs are in Claremont, California; Pueblo, Colorado; Lincoln, Nebraska; Eugene, Oregon; Pilman, Washington; El Paso, Texas; Madison, Wisconsin; and Roswell, New Mexico.

The Migrant Division of the Office of Economic Opportunity has funded twelve information and referral centers for migrants and seasonally employed farmworkers in areas with large numbers of Mexican Americans. Mexican American migrants are in eight of the twelve areas covered by the information centers.

Migrant labor

The influx of bracero labor, citizens of nearby countries who compete with U.S. citizens for jobs, was reduced during the past year to only 0.4 percent of its 1959 level in terms of man months of employment, or to 1/250 of its former number.

The Department of Labor has established higher housing standards for farmworkers who are hired through the Employment Service Offices.

The Inter-Agency Committee, in support of community efforts, continues to urge the enactment of legislation extending the right of collective bargaining to farm laborers.

The 1968 Sugar Beet wage rate determination provides a 5.9 percent to 7.7 percent increase in piece rates and a 10 cent increase in the hourly rate. Stricter protective provisions for minors and more stringent regulations governing labor contractors were also approved by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Agriculture and rural development

Seven counties in Texas, each containing a Mexican American population of 10 percent or more, are on a Commodity Distribution Program target list of the Department of Agriculture's efforts aimed at the nation's 1000 poorest counties—counties which had not previously obtained coverage.

The Forest Service has reallocated $1,000,000 for additional use in revegetation of grazing lands in Northern New Mexico and in Colorado, benefiting the many Mexican Americans in the area who conduct small farming operations.

The Forest Service is dividing its contracts into smaller units so that small village groups can bid, thus creating jobs and stimulating the depressed economy in areas of Northern New Mexico.

The Forest Service has provided funding for the Trinchera Ranch Exchange to provide job and economic development in Costilla County, Colorado, where over 70 percent of the population is Spanish surnamed.

Statistical data

The Bureau of the Census will include in the 1970 Census a notation on the language spoken in the home if it is other than English and other questions to acquire data needed to define and attack problems of the Spanish-speaking.

HEW has changed its surveys so that Mexican American school enrollments will be counted more usefully.

The Civil Service Commission report on minority group Federal employees has been expanded to include more vital information on Mexican American employment in the Federal government.

Housing

The Santa Clara County Housing Authority in conjunction with the California Better Housing for Mexican Americans Committee has received a planning grant for public housing units for 450 families and 250 elderly people.

The East Los Angeles Improvement Council has received $1,850,000 for the construction of moderate income rent supplement housing units.

Funds have been granted for the construction of 300 units of low rent and rent supplement housing for elderly people, 50 percent of whom are Mexican American.

The Home Improvement Project in Albuquerque received an additional $73,000 in March, 1968 to continue its program of rehabilitation of homes and employment for the unskilled unemployed.

Model cities

The Model Cities Program now includes several cities which contain a high percentage of Spanish surnamed population: Fresno, California; San Antonio, Eagle Pass, Waco, Texas; Denver, Trinidad, Colorado; Albuquerque, New Mexico; and Saginaw, Michigan, and New York.

NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES

The first HUD assisted neighborhood facility, opened in February 1967, was the LEAP Community Center in Phoenix, Arizona, with a grant of $185,226 and serving nearly 3,000 Mexican American families. Since, many projects have been completed to serve the needs of Mexican American families, including centers in El Paso, Carrizo Springs, Texas; Pagaso Springs, Colorado; Flagstaff, Arizona; Delano, Calexico, California. Grants for these projects totalled $900,700.

EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

". . . A Father of five children in Los Angeles, California was unemployed for a period of nine months due to his lack of education and skills. A number of times, he and his family lived in their automobile while he searched for a job. In February, 1968, he heard of the Mexican American Opportunity Foundation and was enrolled in their on-the-job training program. He now is earning $2.75 an hour working for a company where he was placed."

". . . A disadavntaged five-year old in San Antonio, Texas, was thought to be retarded. The Good Samaritan Center enrolled him in their pre-school bilingual program, partially funded by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The child has become a bright, outgoing boy with average or above average ratings on all tests."

". . . A young girl in San Antonio, Texas, motherless and responsible for younger brothers and sisters, had a poor high school academic record. But her potential was recognized by Project Teacher Excellence at our Lady of the Lake College and she was placed in the Work/Study Program. She has now completed her freshman year with no grade lower than a 'c', fulfilling her formerly impossible dream of becoming a teacher of the disadvantaged."

". . . The grandmother of 69 children in Harvey, Illinois, came to this country from Mexico in 1913 but was never able to acquire the education necessary for citizenship. She recently completed an Americanization class sponsored through the El Centro de Opor-

tunidad of Chicago Heights and the Adult Education Program of Bloom High School. She has been able to fulfill her desires of becoming a citizen, reading the Bible, and setting an example for her family. One of her daughters is now a student in the program."

". . . A sixteen-year old in East Los Angeles, California, who must help support his fatherless family, was offered, through the Community Service Center in East Los Angeles, a job fourteen miles away in Englewood. He lacked transportation, but, through a special "Job Bus Service", operated by the Center, the youth was able to take the summer job. He will continue his education in the fall."

". . . A subsistence farmer and father of six children in Northern New Mexico lost most of his crops in 1967. Refusing defeat, he obtained a Farmers Home Administration loan to start anew. Not only is he now farming profitably, but he is also helping to organize a farmers' cooperative through the Home Education Livelihood Program which is aiding many Mexican Americans in the area."

Committee aid on programs and projects—tabular summary [1]

ACTION TAKEN	
Program contacts:	
Federal	1,410
State and local	128
Private	697
Mexican American organizations	1,758
Policy changes recommended	49
Community projects:	
Acted upon	257
Guidance provided	133
Individual hardship cases aided	35
Projects initiated by committee	37
General information and assistance	1,094
Meeting arrangements:	
Interagency	307
Private sector	60
PLACEMENT ACTIVITIES	
Total applicants	438
Total referrals	1,092
Total placements	119
Employment contacts with private companies	66
AREAS OF ACTION	
Individual actions:	
Education	320
Health, welfare, poverty	168
Rural matters, migrants	165
Housing	118
Justice and immigration	115
Military	53
Manpower	208
Economic development	48
Research	63
Miscellaneous	34

[1] The figures in this table reflect requests and situations which required one or more written communications which are in the Inter-Agency Committee's files for this year. They do *not* include requests and situations subject only to telephone and personal contacts. These latter outnumber those in the table many times but involved situations which could be disposed of without time-consuming correspondence or documentation or which already existed in the Inter-Agency files or in other agencies, government or private.

SPANISH SURNAME EMPLOYMENT: FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

	1965	1967	Percent increase
Worldwide	59,853	68,945	15
Southwest	38,715	54,558	41
Arizona	1,704	2,251	32
California	9,372	15,297	63
Colorado	3,246	4,397	35
New Mexico	5,261	6,741	28
Texas	19,132	25,872	35

Identifiable Federally-funded projects established to serve the specialized needs of Mexican Americans (not including other projects by which Mexican Americans, and others as well, are served), 160.

SOME FEDERAL GOVERNMENT POSITIONS TO WHICH MEXICAN AMERICANS HAVE RECENTLY BEEN APPOINTED

Chairman, Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs.

Ambassador to Paraguay.

Ambassador to El Salvador.

Representative to the United Nations General Assembly, with rank of Ambassador.

Chairman, United States Section, United States-Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friendship.

Member, National Transportation Safety Board, Department of Transportation.

Commissioner, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Member, United States-Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friendship.

Member, National Advisory Commission on Income Maintenance Programs.

Executive Assistant to the Federal Co-Chairman, Four Corners Regional Commission, Economic Development Administration.

Special Assistant to Commissioner Member, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Community Relations Specialist, U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Women's Advisory Committee for the War on Poverty (2), Office of Economic Opportunity.

Regional Director, Bureau of Work Training Programs, Department of Labor.

Deputy Regional Director, Bureau of Work Training Programs, Department of Labor.

Consultant (to assist in internal review of the impact of its programs in Mexican American community), Department of Labor.

Director, Southwest Area, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Executive Director, Peru, Peace Corps.

Staff Member, President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

Member, National Advisory Committee for the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Consultant, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Coordinator for the West and Southwest Equal Employment Opportunity Program, Post Office Department.

Director, Mexican American Education Unit, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Consultant, Advisory Committee on Books for Poor Children, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Member, Board of Appeals and Review, Post Office Department.

Special Assistant, Office of Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Director, Office for Spanish Surnamed Americans, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Legislative Counsel to Governor of American Samoa, Department of the Interior.

Director, National Capital Region of National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

Assistant General Counsel, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Project Manager for Equal Employment Opportunities, Civil Service Commission.

Member, National Advisory Committee on Welfare, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Member, Title III Advisory Committee, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Member, Advisory Committee on Graduate Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Educational Research and Training Specialist, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Attorney, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice.

Member, Education Professions and Development Act Advisory Committee, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Consultant, Mexican American Education Project, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Personnel Staffing Specialist, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Personnel Staffing Specialist, Department of Labor.

Members, Advisory Committee on Guidance and Counseling, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Member, Advisory Committee on Vocational Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Information Officer, Social Security Administration.

Consultant, National Institutes of Health.

District Director, Bureau of Work Training Programs, Department of Labor.

Program Analyst, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Compliance Officer, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Assistant Executive Director, Research, Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs.

Chief, Program Division, Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs.

Special Assistant to the Executive Director, Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs.

Program Specialist (2), Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs.

Administrative Assistant to the Chairman, Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs.

The primary objective of the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs has been to find whether Federal programs are reaching Mexican Americans and to seek new measures, where such are necessary, to handle the community's unique problems. The programs mentioned in this report result from this kind of special attention to the Mexican American's needs.

However, the most vital—and somewhat intangible—function of the Inter-Agency Committee has been that of education. The Inter-Agency Committee found a great lack of knowledge and understanding within the agencies in regard to the Spanish-surnamed American. It also found a great willingness among the Government and private sector officials to learn and to communicate with the Spanish-speaking people of our nation. Therein lies progress.

On the other hand, the Committee has also found it necessary to acquaint the Mexican American community in the resources which exist for them in Government and the private sector. The ultimate success of this liaison role will be to bring the three—Government, private sector and people—together and establish a permanent trust among them.

VICENTE T. XIMENES,
Chairman.

RICHARD W. HOMAN, OF SUGAR GROVE, W. VA., ELECTED TO SERVE AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS—HOMAN OUTSTANDING SELECTION—DEDICATED, ENERGETIC, AND CAPABLE YOUNG LEADER

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, for the first time in its long and distinguished history of service to the Nation and their families, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States have chosen a West Virginian as their commander in chief.

Richard W. Homan, of Sugar Grove, W. Va., was elected to that office in Detroit, on August 23, 1968, at the 69th national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

I am happy that a fellow mountaineer has been selected to serve in this responsible capacity in one of our great national organizations and I am genuinely gratified that this honor has come to such a hard working but essentially gentle man who is possessed of the fine qualities that we so urgently need in places of leadership.

Often we speculate on the qualities we seek in our leaders. It is a real tribute to the membership of the VFW that they looked at Rich Homan, considered the measure of the man and saw in him the qualities they sought. They found respect for tradition but insistence on progress. They found in him honesty, candor, and ambition. The membership also discovered in Rich Homan an abiding humility and an abounding pride—pride in our institutions, in the organization he leads, and in his State and Nation.

Rich Homan is a young man, with energy necessary to his task, but with enough years behind him to provide the insight that experience can bring. I have known Rich since he was a small boy. His father, Dr. V. R. Homan, was my good friend and counsellor during earlier political years.

I am proud that Rich Homan, life member of VFW Post 9666 in Sugar Grove, has merited the opportunity to lead his great organization. The 1.4 million members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars can look forward to a year of added achievement and broad service.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a short biography of Richard Homan and to include his acceptance speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars national convention on August 23. His speech outlines his program, but more than that, it outlines the man—a man equal to the demanding times in which we live.

There being no objection, the biography and speech were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RICHARD W. HOMAN

Richard W. Homan, Sugar Grove, West Virginia, was elected Senior Vice Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States at its 68th Annual National Convention August 25, 1967 in New Orleans, Louisiana. At the organiation's 67th Annual National Convention held in August 1966 in New York City, Homan was elected Junior Vice Commander-in-Chief.

Shortly after assuming office, the Senior Vice Commander-in-Chief spent several weeks studying firsthand the conditions in the Far East, including in his itinerary Vietnam, Korea, Taiwan, where he visited the island fortress of Quemoy, Hong Kong, Okinawa and Japan.

Born January 14, 1923, he is the son of Leafy M. Homan and the late Dr. V. R. Homan. Attending Sugar Grove Elementary School, he was graduated from Franklin High School in Franklin, West Virginia, as Salutatorian of the graduating class of 1941. After service in World War II he was graduated from Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Virginia with a BA degree, majoring in mathematics.

Inducted into the U.S. Army in 1944, Homan received basic training in Co. A, 220th Infantry Training Battalion. He went overseas in February 1945, assigned to the 610th Tank Destroyer Battalion. He served in the Rhineland and Central Germany campaigns and was promoted to sergeant. Following World War II he was assigned to the International Military Tribunal, at Nurnberg, during the trials of top Nazi leaders, as noncom officer in charge of billeting and messing military personnel.

Homan returned home in mid-1946 and opened a flour and feed processing plant, which was operated by personnel during the four years he spent at Bridgewater College. He also assists in management of a family-owned Hereford cattle ranch in Rockingham County, Virginia and Pendleton County, West Virginia.

Homan is a life member of V.F.W. Post 9666 in Sugar Grove, which he served through all chairs to Post Commander. He served two terms as District Commander and served as a chairman of every major committee in the Department of West Virginia as well as being elected Department Commander. He has served on the National Council of Administration, National Awards and Citations Committee, National Budget and Finance Committee, National Legislative Committee and during the year preceding his election as Junior Vice Commander-in-Chief he was Chairman of the National Loyalty Day committee.

Among his various civic offices, the Senior Vice Commander-in-Chief has served 14 years on the Pendleton County School Board and 12 years on the Pendleton County Extension Service Committee; was a member of the Area Advisory Committee to the West Virginia Center for Appalachian Studies and Development of West Virginia University; was elected Vice President of the Pendleton County Bank in 1964; served on the Pendleton County Board of Health; and is serving a 6-year term on the Veterans Council of West Virginia Department of Veterans Affairs by appointment of the Governor of West Virginia.

Homan is a member of Francis Asbury Memorial Methodist Church in Sugar Grove, having served as Sunday School teacher and as Superintendent. He is a charter member of the Sugar Grove Lions Club and is a 32nd Degree Mason. He is married to the former Jean Ann Simmons of Franklin, West Virginia. He has five brothers.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH BY RICHARD W. HOMAN, SUGAR GROVE, W. VA., AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, AUGUST 23, 1968

My comrades of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, you have entrusted me with a great responsibility—one which I most earnestly sought, and which I shall strive with all of my being to discharge with credit to this great organization and to the nation we all serve.

The high office of Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is a position which I assume with both humility and pride—one which I respect, but do not fear. I respect it because of its long-standing significance to the veterans of America. I respect it for what our great organization has come to mean to the nation as a whole. I respect it for what it means to you and me.

I do not fear it because the very nature of the Veterans of Foreign Wars makes fear an unbecoming trait. I do not fear it because I know from experience that each of you stands with me and behind me in every battle we shall wage.

I am acutely aware, however, that you have accorded me the greatest honor of my life. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

I wish also to take this opportunity to publicly express my gratitude to my comrades of the Southern Conference and the Department of West Virginia, who have worked unselfishly for my advancement in this great cause throughout the years; and to all of the members of my Post who initally placed their trust in me.

In accepting the highest office in the greatest Service Organization this country has ever known, I am aware, of course, of its long-range programs and its historic and effective continuity of planning—of its continuing successful operation and growth, due largely to our professional staff in Kansas City and Washington. I am gratefully aware of the dedicated service and the contribution to its steady climb in prestige and progress which is made year after year by our devoted volunteers on every level of our fifty-two Departments.

Nor am I naive enough to think that I can improve, to any great extent, the product of their vision and their labor. Neither am I egotistic enough to contemplate substantial change.

I am, however, ambitious for our continued success. I am aware, also that I, as your Commander-in-Chief, am both privileged and expected to bring something fresh and inspirational into our campaign of continuing service to this nation, and to those who have fought this nation's wars.

I shall devote every ounce of my energy to this dedicated cause. I shall give every waking moment to this honored task. Together we shall continue to pursue the great patriotic course the Veterans of Foreign Wars has travelled during the past seventy years.

Never has there been a greater need for our service. Never have so many of this nation's friends turned from her in her hour of trial. As we served her in the days of our youth when she was threatened only from without, so must we serve her now as she is threatened also from within.

Today the United States of America is threatened by unprecedented forces of evil—and the greatest of these is the outright disloyalty of a substantial number of her own people. She faces the most destructive campaign of misrepresentation and degenerating treachery within that has ever been conceived by an alien power. Fifty years of premeditation and malignant practice in deceit, psychological warfare, conspiracy, and international seduction directed toward the conquest of the free world, have at last been focused upon us by the Communist aggressors.

In order to accomplish the great task which lies before us we must make responsibility to the nation our watchword and our battle cry.

"Freedom," used as a synonym for "individual liberty," has long been considered the most important element of our form of government. But "Freedom" is now being used as a synonym for "criminal license" and "anarchy". Freedom has been made the alter ego of lawlessness, and rebellion has been substituted for dissent.

Thus it has become increasingly apparent that responsibility is the true and indispensible cornerstone of our form of government and the American way of life—responsibility for one's personal conduct under the mandates and restraints of our government of laws. This is the essential ingredient without which American Democracy cannot long endure.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars and its Auxiliary are made up of responsible men and women—of responsible patriotic American citizens. Without exception, our members have demonstrated the highest degree of responsibility upon the Field of Honor—regardless of their color, race or creed. In our historic service to the veterans of this great nation, we have asked no man for his pedigree. We shall renew our eternal commitment to this end. But we shall at all times support the Rule of Law. Our great patriotic and public service organization, under its congressional charter, is steadfastly committed to this element of American Democracy—to individual and collective responsibility under law—a personal responsibility freely accepted, and fearlessly and unselfishly discharged.

We shall seek out new and greater areas of responsibility for ourselves and for the Veterans of Foreign Wars during the coming year.

We are subjected ot an almost endless stream of anti-American propaganda which seeks to promote the theory that particular individuals and special groups should be permitted to decide for themesives which laws they will obey, and which laws they will openly defy. There are those on every level of society who would have us believe that laws suppressing crime have gone completely out of style. There are college professors and members of the clergy who openly assert that law should be completely secondary to the peculiar aberrations of the dissenting mind. Law enforcement officers have been made the public enemies of our time.

On every hand, men and women who profess to wear the mantle of civilization clamor for "morality" as the opponent of law and order.

I take this opportunity to challenge all the world to make a moral case for crimes of violence—to justify on any ground the crimes of rape, arson, theft, rioting and the accompanying destruction of property; assault and battery, and murder. I challenge any man to make a moral case for any of the primitive lawlessness which is being perpetrated upon innocent citizens throughout this land. If this be moral under any guise, then Satan has indeed assumed command.

To men who have a just grievance in any form, I say, our courts await their call. Able counsel will be furnished to them free of charge. Compassionate judges eagerly await the opportunity to redress their wrongs. This is an uncontroverted fact no man of modern times would dare refute. There can be no justification for any man taking the law into his own hands.

We of the Veterans of Foreign Wars will never surrender to these forces which are abroad in the land today. We will throw our individual and collective weight behind our law enforcement agencies and men, without reservation, until law and order is restored in every city, suburb, and hamlet of this land.

The war in Vietnam continues as a category of great and unsolved problems in our national life—and in the personal lives of all Americans.

We who have longed for peace in the tense, dark night of alien battlefield can understand and sympathize with those who feel the pangs of fear and grief today. But our nation is again at war—and "Duty, honor, country!" must be the watchword of all loyal citizens and respected men. When the nation goes to war all men must stand a little taller; all women must smile away their tears. Young men must lay aside their personal dreams and forget their private fears—or go down the long and bitter road to the very end of life, despised, dishonored, and held in contempt by their fellow men.

Regardless of the wisdom of war as a solution to the problems of men and nations, or its lack, as long as there are American men and boys upon the field of battle, fighting and dying for the flag we too have served, we of the Veterans of Foreign Wars will stand firm in our commitment to them and to the cause for which they fight. We abhor the craven clamor which would deny them the right to achieve victory. We renew our oft repeated demand for a complete victory over the Communist aggressors in Vietnam. We urge our government to turn its back completely upon the campaign for camouflaged surrender. We commend the President of the United States for the realistic and courageous stand he has taken in the face of vicious and completely un-American criticism. We urge him, as Commander-in-Chief of all our military units, to take whatever steps are necessary to conclude the war in Vietnam with an allied victory, and in a manner consistent with the honor of this great nation under God. We urge him to initiate new planning in order that our brave fighting men may fight to win.

We renew our recommendation of an effective blockade of North Vietnam. We urge again the establishment of a United States fleet in the Indian Ocean.

We demand prompt, fearless, and vigorous legal action against those who seek to impede and divert the war effort here at home. If our existing statutes do not adequately cover this modern brand of treason we urge the Congress to enact legislation which does. Any U.S. Citizen who knowingly and intentionally gives aid and comfort to the enemy in time of actual war should suffer the penalties of law. With American troops fighting and dying to protect the Free World from Communist aggression, there can be no excuse for the tolerant attitude we display, toward traitors, draft-dodgers, dissenters, and demonstrators here at home.

For more than two decades, Mr. Wilbur J. Cohen has languished in the various annexes to the luxurious offices of the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He now occupies the position of Secretary itself.

But this is not enough. He has recently recommended that he be made the "Health Czar" of the nation, with authority to establish policies applicable to all federal health programs, including the VA Hospital system.

We of the V.F.W. will oppose any such consolidation. We believe that the Veterans Administration should be maintained as a single agency for administering all benefits for veterans and their dependents, and more particularly, that the VA Hospital system should be maintained as a separate system for the sole purpose of providing treatment for eligible veterans. We will leave no stone unturned to defeat Mr. Cohen's recommendation.

We have a continuing obligation to provide service to all veterans, their dependents and survivors. We are particularly aware of our growing obligation to assist the young men returning from service in Vietnam. The staff of our National Rehabilitation Service, and our Department Service Officers throughout the country, have assisted the Veterans Administration in assuring that these young patriots are promptly and personally contacted and assisted in resolving all questions and claims concerning benefits in which they may be interested. I trust that each of you will be as prompt and diligent in your cordial and persuasive invitations to them to join our ranks as members of the V.F.W.

I know that each of you is tired. I know too that I can count on you, as you can count on me, and all of our comrades at home, to put our shoulders to the wheel throughout this year of Responsibility to the Nation.

We have a great record of past achievement and service to live up to—a great challenge of continuing progress to surpass. But make no mistake about it, comrades, I shall call upon each of you, every day, to surpass it. And difficult as it may be, with the help of God, and the untiring efforts of our dedicated comrades throughout the fifty-two Departments, we will do exactly that.

I am looking forward to my visits with you throughout my term of office. Go home in safety now—and come out fighting. Thank you once again for the great honor you have entrusted to my care.

LOCAL CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT STRENGTHENS DEMOCRACY

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, a recent report on how the people of Switzerland guard against big central government and its happy results as related by Henry J. Taylor should be of interest to our own people at this time in history.

Under permission to extend my remarks in the Record I am happy to include Mr. Taylor's report, as follows:

Switzerland Can Teach Us Much, in Many Fields

(By Henry J. Taylor)

On August 1, suddenly and beautifully, a great symphony of bells breaks out, echoing and re-echoing through Switzerland's mountains and valleys, and bonfires are lit on the tall peaks, flickering like fireflies. The Swiss are celebrating their independence day.

They could teach us in the United States much about good government.

The odds against prosperity there, as well as independence, always have been large. About 23 percent of the nation is rock, ice or icefield. Switzerland's sole natural resources are scenery and water power. Yet next to Britain and Belgium (both maritime nations) Switzerland is the world's most industrialized nation.

She faces world competition without any coal, oil, bauxite, gold, tin, iron, lead or even enough timber for her wood, most of which she brings from Finland and Scandinavia. She lacks soil space to feed her people. Nevertheless, the Swiss import their requirements and convert them so successfully for themselves and the world markets that the per capital wealth not only exceeds ours but is the highest among the three billion people on earth.

A powerful assembly of independent-minded people is inextricably knotted with these soaring masses in the center of Europe.

Switzerland broke the battle-axe of Austria and shattered the fearsome sword of Charles the Bold. Switzerland maintains today the largest ready army in all Western Europe—600,000 fully trained men, backed by 400 jets.

On Geneva's restoration monument you can see an excerpt from an ordinance of 1536 proclaiming free compulsory education for all children. Most European countries did not have compulsory education for children until after World War I. And today her amazing contribution to the arts and sciences includes 14 Nobel Prize winners.

The people are sovereign—Really sovereign. Accordingly, the Swiss government's performance for the people is probably the best in the world. For the Swiss are determined to keep the government as close at hand, and as controlled as possible. Thus, the 25 cantons (states) are intensely concerned with cantonal responsibilities and intensely antagonistic to any big brother encroachment by the federal authority at the capital in Berne.

As a result, there are few federal taxes, except for defense and national highways. Most revenue and other laws must originate in the cantons. Then a sufficient number of cantons must ask Berne for federal enactment by the equivalent of our House and Senate before a law can become national. Finally, the proposed legislation must clear the hurdle of direct, popular vote (Sundays) in a nationwide referendum.

The parliament annually elects a seven-member federal council (Bundesrat) from among abundant political parties. A different federal councilor is chosen president of Switzerland each year. And if he were ever caught campaigning for this honor and power he would be drummed out of Swiss public life overnight.

There is an inspiring harmony of good judgment, charity, true liberty, valor and individual self-reliance to be seen there. A nation cannot be stronger than its beliefs. Its beliefs cannot be manufactured to suit a moment, a government, a policy, a political party or a person. Independence day pays its own honor to Switzerland and the Swiss.

THE SLURS AGAINST SENATOR THURMOND

HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the distinguished columnist, Holmes Alexander, recently wrote a most thoughtful and revealing column about the distinguished senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND]. I feel certain Senators will be interested in this candid article, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SLURS AGAINST SENATOR STROM THURMOND

(By Holmes Alexander)

Something's wrong with the blood of honest men if it doesn't boil at the roasting in the press of South Carolina's Sen. Strom Thurmond.

There's the leading editorial in the New York *Times* which calls it a "repulsive spectacle" when this "flagrant racist" was seen to accompany Richard Nixon to the Miami Beach rostrum. There's columnist Tom Wicker caterwauling about the "shocking sight of . . . the burning eyed racist" in "the party of Abraham Lincoln," and the mawkish apostrophe to "any Republican if he gains Strom Thurmond and loses his political soul."

Clean newsprint shouldn't be soiled by further examples of hysterical diatribes. The excuse for it, that Thurmond "bossed" the Southern states' support of Nixon and the nomination of Maryland Gov. Spiro Agnew, is despicable. The name-calling and the racist incitation are a disgrace to the truth and decency which journalism aspires to. I don't know when as good a man as Thurmond has been so scurvily treated and the reading public served up such fraudulent malice.

Cross my heart, I think it must be known by every national news-coverer that Strom Thurmond is among the most exemplary men in political life. It is common knowledge that he possesses in abundance, every characteristic that is admirable in a public man. He is deficient, to be sure, in the ancilliary virtues, such as humor and bonhommie. His puritanic abstinence from tobacco, liquor and philandering has combined with his industriousness and serious-mindedness to make him a man apart from the convivial frolics where many masculine friendships are formed. But this is his loss, not the public's.

Thurmond's dedication to fundamentalism in government has not led him into expediency and experimentalism, and has alienated him from social revolutionaries. But I take him at his word that never in his life has Thurmond spoken an unkind word to a Negro or the Negro race.

Those who demean him for his opinions' sake are talking about a citizen-soldier with 17 decorations earned in combat with the 82nd Airborne Division at a time when he was past normal military age. They are deriding the conscience of a Southern governor whose administration, as far back as 1947, abolished the poll tax as a condition of voting. They are ridiculing a faith in democracy so deep that in 1954 he went on a write-in ballot with the awkward name of J. Strom Thurmond and, having won the Senate seat, resigned in 1956 and ran again so that the people could speak on a regulation ballot.

He changed his party but not his principles in 1964. In 1966 he became the first Republican senator ever elected in South Carolina—carrying 45 of the 46 counties, an impossibility if the Negro electorate, completely enfranchised in his state, had opposed him.

Those who vilify Thurmond with racist taunts haven't heard about James Stephens, Negro of Walterboro, S.C., who dropped out of Howard University for lack of funds, and was advanced funds by the senator to complete his education and become an Army dentist. They never heard of Leroy Washington, Negro, of Anderson, S.C., who stands a good chance this year to win Thurmond's appointment to the Naval Academy.

Thurmond's detractors don't know about the $100,000 Thurmond Foundation at Aiken which gives educational grants on the basis of "most worthy, most needy." The "repulsive spectacle" of Thurmond at Miami Beach was one of honesty so pure that he dissolved a $200,000 law firm when he came to the Senate. It exposed a convention "boss" so lenient that he did not demur when Nixon passed over the four men on the Southern preferred list—Senators Tower, Baker and Griffin and Congressman Rogers Morton—and finally chose between two on the acceptable list—Governors Volpe and Agnew.

There are very few absolutes in life, and fewer in politics, but Thurmond comes as close as humanly possible to being a man of unassailable character and unsurpassable virtue.

It would be easier to forgive the assailants of his good name if they knew not what they did. But this man's life of 65 years is an open book. Evil to those who evil speak of one so nearly above reproach.

FINDING OUT ABOUT AGNEW

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, Paul Harvey, the noted commentator, has done what many of his fellow newsmen should do at the start of this political campaign—they should find out about the candidates who will be the subjects of their columns and their broadcasts.

What Paul Harvey has found out about Spiro Agnew makes just as good reading as the GOP vice-presidential candidate makes good sense. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the Paul Harvey Column, "Finding Out About Agnew," in the RECORD, as follows:

FINDING OUT ABOUT AGNEW

(By Paul Harvey)

When Spiro Agnew was tagged a candidate for Vice President, like you, I said, "Who's he?"

Then some familiar nit-pickers went to work on him and I got interested.

Left-leaning newsmakers and news reporters sought to depict him as a racist. Alert that our media sometimes maligns and indicts without evidence, I sought to backtrack on that allegation.

I cannot find one act or utterance by this Maryland governor which is at variance with what you and I and the overwhelming majority of Americans of all colors have stood for—and stood against.

In essence, Gov. Agnew is for civil rights for everybody; against civil disobedience by anybody.

He has said:

"Lawbreaking cannot be condoned or our nation's very foundations crumble." Surely you agree with that.

"There have been racism and deprivation for centuries. What led to the recent explosive crescendo is that lawbreaking has become a socially acceptable and occasionally stylish form of dissent." Amen.

"Civil disobedience is at best a dangerous policy since it opens the path for each man to be judge and jury of which laws to keep and which laws to break."

"Rap Brown insists that 'violence is as American as cherry pie.' Remarks like this have created in the ghetto resident the belief that rioting is a right; it is not!"

"Mounting civil disobedience is the beginning of riots, and riots are the beginning of revolutions." History nods yes, yes!

Constructively, Gov. Agnew says, "I very clearly repudiate white racism and I call on Negroes to repudiate black racism."

For the ghetto dweller he recommends "Negro ownership and management of commercial enterprises—'black capitalism'—for resolving economic problems." He says government should insure only the "opportunity."

He has sponsored legislation at state level and endorsed federal legislation to promote that equality of opportunity.

Gov. Agnew's views and recommendations sound from here entirely forthright, fair and constructive.

Naturally, extremists advocating the "disobedience-to-riots-to-revolution" formula will object to his exposure of their objectives.

So far Gov. Agnew has stood by his words and deeds, expressed unqualified "pride in my record."

If he continues to stand firm, he will win back many of the critics. Certainly he will cement the respect of the law-abiding Negro majority which is as terrified as anybody of the recent tendency toward anarchy.

Most of us appreciate and applaud any opinion, even though it may be at variance with our own, if it is sincerely propounded and unwaveringly defended. That's not easy. Agnew stands between the "haters" on both sides.

Gen. Dwight Eisenhower once defended his own similar position saying, "It takes much more courage to walk alone down the middle of the road, being stoned from both sides, than to walk down either side in the comparative shelter of your extremist friends."

NEW MYTHS AND OLD REALITIES

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the armed invasion of Czechoslovakia by Russian troops has outraged the sensibilities of decent people all over the world and even Communist leaders in other countries of the world have denounced the Soviet Union for its naked aggression.

We can only hope that this most recent act of Russian treachery will open the eyes and minds of some of those misguided people among us who have been insisting for years that the Russians were mellowing; that the cold war was over; that we must depend upon the Russians to help extricate us from Vietnam, and so forth.

An editorial from the Peoria Journal Star of August 23, 1968, addresses itself to these questions and I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

NEW MYTHS AND OLD REALITIES

The Fulbright School of Forensic Philosophers is already trying to paper over the Russian rape of Czechoslovakia as a mere imitation of the same thing the U.S. did in the Dominican Republic and is doing in Vietnam.

This is quite a strain, but they have lots of practice at straining facts.

Even the Russians themselves know very well how completely different their action has been to U.S. "interventions," and have advertised that they know it.

They did this by the crude attempt to fake three conditions that simply did not exist in Czechoslovakia. They tried to fake it that they had been "invited" by anonymous "Czech leaders"—a piece of fakery foiled by the agility and courage of the actual Czech leaders in boldly broadcasting (while they could) the truth.

They tried to fake it that there was a kind of "counter-revolutionary" civil war in Czechoslovakia and a chaotic condition which required pacification.

And they tried to fake it that Czechoslovakia was being turned upside down by "foreign intervention" in that struggle.

Eyewitness accounts, and the broadcasts of bona fide Czech leadership, and the statements of Czech diplomats at the U.N. have caught them in all three of these bold-faced lies.

Yet, the lies are important.

They demonstrate that the Russians were trying the fake conditions simililar to those that did exist in Vietnam and in Santo Domingo—and regarded their actions as justified if those conditions could be successfully claimed.

Implicit is the admission by the Russians, that without those conditions their action was inexcusable.

They recognize it, but the embarrassed American politicians whose whole intricate rationale about "Be nice to the Reds" lies exposed are breaking their backs to ignore it—and to excuse the inexcusable by just skipping over the matter of those all-important conditions.

The facts are rather clear.

The Dominican Republican was a scene of chaos, street fighting, roaming armed mobs, a direct threat of a total breakdown of services vital to life in an urban center, and of Castro intervention. The existing authorities openly and clearly called for help—and we sent it.

Once there, our forces acted with great restraint, were welcomed by a large part of the local population, and remained only long enough for arrangements to be made for a free election by which a legitimate new regime truly representing the wishes of the majority of the Dominicans could be established. This was done.

In Vietnam, we came at the request of the existing regime into a condition of vicious guerrilla war and mass civilian massacres, together with decisive evidence of massive intrusion into that situation by the Red regime of North Vietnam.

In neither case, did the nearby Communist regimes of Castro and of Ho Chi Minh, at the time, even bother to hide their intention and expectation of bringing about a Communist regime in the neighboring state by force.

In contrast, Czechoslovakia was a spectacularly peaceful country, happy and content, joyously celebrating its own popular steps to loosen its own Red tyranny voluntarily.

There was no chaos. No guerrilla war. No street mobs. No violence. No foreign intervention nor foreign threats to dictate by force the nature of a Czech regime.

And the Red tanks rolled in from all sides after fake "agreements" to keep hands off and to approve the liberalization, in a flat-out rape of a happy and peaceful country . . . over the protests of its leaders and its existing regime.

The Fulbright school denies these realities, and persists in a pretense that not even the Russians, themselves, dare attempt—in order to "account" for the Russians acting in a manner far different from what the Fulbright followers had forecast.

Why such crude and obvious fakery? Such sophistical argument? Such a desperate effort to go farther than the Russians themselves in trying to whitewash the incident?

Because it makes a complete shambles of the doctrine of the High Lama of the Sect and of its "Bible"—"Old Myths and New Realities." (Fulbright's book.)

In physical reality as heavy and real as Russian tanks it has exposed the arguments of that sect as a bunch of new myths which served to hide and deny the old realities that are still with us.

The inventors of these new myths must either confess total error, or hastily concoct some more new myths to dodge facing facts.

Few people on the U.S. scene, including the late Joseph McCarthy, have been as arrogant, as vicious, as abusive and as sarcastic in their attacks on those who disagreed with them as the "New Myth" cult.

And now they haven't the integrity or manhood to admit they were wrong.

It figures.—C. L. Dancey

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, each session I report to the Ninth District of Missouri on major activities in Congress.

I call to the attention of my colleagues my current newsletter which covers legislative accomplishments and a rundown on the efforts of the 90th Congress to control crime and make our streets and cities safe for our citizens.

The report follows:

IN CONGRESS WITH BILL HUNGATE—A REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF MISSOURI'S NINTH DISTRICT

Dear Friends: The conventions are over and your 90th Congress has returned to complete action on pending legislation. When the second session convened in January, few held high expectations for its accomplishments.

The President has been confronted with much opposition on many of his administration programs. Increasingly, as we reached the appropriations bills in the closing weeks, a conservative tide seemed to take over.

MAJOR LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

This Congress has been less negative than anyone would have predicted. Its two biggest legislative accomplishments were the tax increase and the crime control bills. To get a tax increase, the White House—and liberals in Congress—had to pay the price of a $6 billion decrease in spending. In the crime bill, Congress was not content with just providing federal assistance to local law enforcement agencies. Instead, over opposition from the White House, it included provisions overturning Supreme Court decisions and authorizing wiretapping.

The broadening of the crime bill beyond administration hopes or desires points up a significant fact. Congress is asserting its legislative initiative and independence, stressing its prerogatives.

Your 90th Congress considered an assortment of legislation dealing with a wide variety of subjects—truth-in-lending and truth-in-packaging; better housing; scenic rivers and trails; a proposal for a Constitutional amendment to lower the voting age (which I sponsored); a ban on mail order sale of guns to narcotic addicts, mental defectives and criminals; control of stream and air pollution; water resource development, with continued funding for Cannon Dam, Meramec Park Reservior, Union Dam and Long Branch Reservior, to name but a few. Also funded were flood protection projects along the Mississippi, Missouri, Chariton and Gasconade Rivers. I testified in support of these water projects and believe their construction will do much for Missouri's economy.

THE OTHER WAR—THE FIGHT AGAINST CRIME

Along with Vietnam, our Nation's great problems are our fast-growing crime rate and the epidemic of civil disorders which wrack our cities. Law and order must prevail; we cannot tolerate those who would destroy lives and property.

I have devoted a considerable amount of my professional career to the war on crime. As Prosecuting Attorney of Lincoln County (1951–1956), and later as a special assistant to the Attorney General (1958–1964), I observed the problems of our overworked and underpaid law enforcement officials, the strength and weaknesses of our judiciary, our prisons, and the probation and parole system. I have been angered by the smirk of a callous criminal evading punishment because of a technicality. I have been moved by the look on the face of a teenage boy facing a possible penitentiary sentence.

I am concerned with the problems of crime, its prevention and punishment and the need to see that when the individual offender is released to society, he is a useful and law-abiding citizen.

Improving and strengthening our criminal laws is one of the principal tasks of the House Judiciary Committee, of which I am a Member. Hundreds of bills have been referred to us for study and I have been a firm supporter of meaningful anti-crime legislation. By a vote of 368 to 17, we passed the Omnibus Crime Bill, which I supported in the Judiciary Committee and on the House Floor. Major provisions of the Omnibus Crime Bill are:

Safe streets.—This bill authorizes one hundred million dollars in federal funds the first year and three hundred million dollars the second to help aid local agencies enforce the law. I am pleased that Congress voted funds for support of local police—a measure favored by more than two-thirds of you who responded to my recent questionnaire.

Court decisions.—This new law gives federal trial judges authority to determine whether a confession in a criminal case is voluntary and thus valid. This section would override recent Supreme Court decisions which ignore confessions simply because of delays in arraignment or failure to advise of the right to counsel. The Supreme Court refuses to consider these confessions even though they are found to be voluntary, trustworthy and accurate.

Wiretapping.—This bill permits wiretapping by federal, state and local law officers under court order in national security cases and in investigating certain serious crimes.

In emergency situations, officers are authorized to eavesdrop for 48 hours before obtaining court permission.

FINDING NEW WAYS TO FIGHT CRIME

As much as we have done, there is much more which we must do to combat crime in the streets. I recently sponsored a resolution to create a joint congressional committee to study the crime problem and recommend new measures of crime prevention. This resolution was approved by the House 319 to 12.

KEEPING POLICE MANPOWER ON DUTY

Due to the increased level of crime, it is even more vital that police departments be kept at full strength. In my opinion, service in a local police department has greater priority than military service. Accordingly, I have introduced legislation to defer police officers from the draft. This bill has been endorsed by the National League of Cities.

ENABLING THE POLICEMAN TO DO HIS JOB

As amazing as it may seem to those of us who respect the law, there are those who will impede police officials in the lawful exercise of their responsibilities. To cope with this situation, Congress has passed legislation which makes it a federal crime to obstruct criminal investigations. I back this law 100 percent!

It seems only fitting when our local police are killed while rendering assistance to federal officers, the federal government provide some form of compensation to the deceased officer's family for this tragic loss. As a cosponsor, I was glad that Congress acted to provide benefits for such local law enforcement officers and their families when the officer is injured or killed while apprehending a person for violating a federal law.

Providing sufficient funds for police work is important—but money won't do it all. While the national government must do all it can to deal with crime and disorder, no amount of legislation in Washington or elsewhere can ever take the place of the "cop on the beat" or the sheriff who enjoys the full support of his community.

Pictured in my newsletter: Missourians who have shown great interest in the Lewis and Clark Trail which runs through eight counties in our Congressional District. Pictured at a recent meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission are left to right: Bob Killan (Nebr.) formerly of Knox City; Joseph Jaeger, Jr., Director of Missouri State Parks; Dayton Canaday (S. Dak.), former Chairman of the St. Charles County Historical Society; myself; and Reis Tuttle (Iowa), formerly of Lancaster.

Shown on a recent visit is the Walt McQuie family of Montgomery City. Each year thousands visit our Nation's Capitol. It is particularly rewarding to see the keen interest children take in the workings of our government.

One of the many groups to visit my office and tour the Nation's Capitol was Girl Scout Troop No. 968 of Florissant. This is a most rewarding experience for groups of all ages.

Pictured in the newsletter: Mr. James McClanahan, Manager, Callaway County Electric Cooperative, and I discuss sonic boom and airport funding problems with Mr. Robert Carnahan of the Federal Aviation Administration. Pictured from left to right are Mr. McClanahan, myself, Mr. Carnahan and Air Force Colonel Raymond E. Clarkson.

PARITY, JULY 1968

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, the monthly USDA report on prices received by farmers in relation to farm costs reveal the dreary news that the farm parity level remained frozen at near depression levels of 73 percent.

Higher farm prices were reported for hogs, chickens, and eggs, but offsetting these were decreases in corn, cotton, wheat, oats, soybeans, barley, flax, and grain sorghum.

Higher costs in interest, taxes, and wages resulted in another new record high.

In comparing the July factors of prices paid by farmers, and prices received with the average of 1957–59, or 10 years ago, we find farmers get 8 percent more for their produce, but are paying 21 percent higher farm costs. In fact, we find farm costs have gone up three times as fast as farm prices during this period of 10 years.

The following table shows the parity ratio of the major farm commodities for July 1968, with a comparison column for July 1967:

[In percent]

Commodity	July 1968, 73 percent	July 1967, 74 percent	Change
Cotton	45	48	−3
Wheat	45	52	−7
Corn	63	74	−11
Butterfat	76	77	−1
Milk	87	85	+2
Wool	46	47	−1
Barley	69	80	−11
Flaxseed	72	74	−2
Oats	68	76	−8
Sorghum grain	66	81	−15
Soybeans	74	80	−6
Beef cattle	81	81	
Chickens	71	64	+7
Eggs	71	65	+6
Hogs	84	88	−4
Lambs	86	84	+2
Turkeys	62	64	−2

PARITY, JULY 1968, 73 PERCENT

[In percent]

Commodity	July	June 1968	Change
Cotton	45	47	−2
Wheat	45	47	−2
Corn	63	65	−2
Butterfat	76	76	
Milk	87	89	−2
Wool	46	47	−1
Barley	69	73	−4
Flax	72	74	−2
Oats	68	78	−10
Sorghum	66	68	−2
Soybeans	74	75	−1
Beef cattle	81	80	+1
Chickens	71	69	+2
Eggs	71	70	+1
Hogs	84	78	+6
Lamb	86	88	−2
Turkeys	62	62	
Average	73	73	

SUMMARY OF A FORTHCOMING BOOK BY ARTHUR KROCK

HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, Arthur Krock, who recently retired as Washington correspondent for the New York Times, whose column was printed throughout America, and who spent nearly 60 years as a journalist on the Washington scene, is the author of a forthcoming book entitled, "Memoirs: 60 Years on the Firing Line."

The September 7 issue of the Saturday Evening Post contains a report from that book, including a summing up.

This summary, written by a man of Mr. Krock's reputation, is a significant commentary worthy of the thoughtful consideration of all Americans. Mr. Krock's summary as printed in the Saturday Evening Post is as follows:

> If the usual standards of success and failure are applied as a test, then Lyndon Johnson's Presidency has fallen far short of acceptability. The affluence he cites is built on rising inflation and the phemeral goods and services of a war economy. There sumption of even a minimum peacetime footing will not for years free the nation from the crushing burden of a long and wasteful major war and foreign occupation. The billions expended in a secondary peninsula of Southeast Asia, when we dare not press to a military victory, are forever lost in the furnaces of battle. A war whose magnitude two Presidents made inevitable will stand in history as a perfect example of the disasters wreaked upon a nation by all-powerful chiefs of state who leaped before they looked.
>
> Historians will differ on whether the political philosophy and the economic and military direction of any nation have changed more fundamentally than those of the United States in a comparable period of time—1933–1967. But as an eye-witness of governmental and other public action throughout these years, I formed the opinion that the United States merits the dubious distinction of having discarded its past and its meaning in one of the briefest spans of modern history.
>
> Among these changes are a federal union almost replaced by a mass federal democracy controlled by an alliance of politicians and special-interest groups; fiscal solvency and confidence in a stable dollar driven from the national and foreign marketplace by continuous deficit spending, easy credit and growing unfavorable balance of payments in the international ledger of the United States; the free-enterprise system shackled by organized labor and a government-managed economy; the Republic transmuted into a welfare state subsidized from Washington; a self-reliant people widely seduced by federal handouts; spoiled generations—young and old—led to expect the government to provide for all their wants free of any of the requirements of responsible citizenship; a Supreme Court assuming overlordship of the government and all the people to fit the political philosophy of the current majority; and a Congress reflecting the people's apathy toward this assumption and foregoing the use of its Constitutional powers to curb the Court's seizures of jurisdiction in areas for which it has no warrant in the Constitution or the statutes. Yet despite the apparent general acceptance in this country of a judicial autocracy, composed of citizens whose offices were obtained without benefit of suffrage, and whose qualifications the popular branch of Congress—the House of Representatives—is barred from appraising, it is also the federal judiciary that is constantly defied by the population groups that make a career of violating the law. Most ironically, the commands of federal lower-court judges in the name of the law terminate as mere scraps of paper.
>
> The changes in the area of international policy have been quite as radical. When the surrender of Nazi Germany, soon to be followed by the collapse of the Japanese forces, established the United States as the political leader and the military and economic arsenal of the free world, a tragic miscalculation of the postwar prospect by Franklin D. Roosevelt led directly to the barren harvest of the American military victory. His miscalculation was that, in the rehabilitation of the torn world, the U.S.S.R. would be a dependable partner of the United States, the nation that had saved it from the Nazis

The immediate consequence was the Cold War. Among the other consequences is a United States hated or disrespected by the beneficiaries of its money and power, and without allies—except for a few client nations—who can be depended on to supply the military manpower and equipment to a missionary United States engaged in trying to ram its concept of democracy down the throats of peoples who do not care for it.

France, twice in this century saved by the United States from becoming a pledged neutral or a German fief, finds no virtue in the assertion of any American interest. Some governments of Latin America, into whose development this country has poured billions of dollars, and to which it has lent its best technical brains, have continued to divert a large share of these billions into the pockets of the ruling classes.

A militant Communist state, courting Moscow or Peking according to which is more suitable to its immediate purpose, grows more and more firmly established within 90 miles of the continental United States.

In the United Nations the African and Asian governments, which owe their existence and independence to Washington's policy of putting "anti-colonialism" above the rights of friendly governments and clear interests of national security, regularly join the U.S.S.R. in making mischief throughout the world. Typical of this debris of American postwar foreign policy was the action of Jordan and Lebanon, both owing their survival to the United States, in supporting President Nasser of Egypt in the 1967 crisis over his blockade of shipping to Israel via the international waterway leading from the Red Sea.

By the disastrous choice of Vietnam as the battleground on which the national-security interest of the U.S. required that the supreme challenge to the advance of militant world Communism be made, the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations also imposed the severest of strains on our only strong Pacific ally, Japan. To survive economically, Japan must trade with Communist China. To remain safe from aggression from China, Japan must rely on heavy military protection from the United States. Nothing could have more greatly complicated these two needs of Japan, and her American alliance, than an American-mounted war against Asians in Vietnam.

These are among my personal assessments of the consequences of the revolutionary political and social new American revolution. And from these consequences I have contracted a visceral fear. It is that the tenure of the United States as the first power in the world may be one of the briefest in history.

CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR COMMERCIAL FISHERIES

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to extend the Commercial Fisheries Research and Development Act of 1964 which, in the absence of legislation, will expire at the end of this fiscal year. The act is designed to aid the States in stimulating research and development projects related to the commercial fisheries industry, and to assist in reestablishing those fisheries which have been destroyed or drastically affected by natural or undetermined causes.

Commercial fishing is one of the oldest industries in the United States and, particularly in New England, it is still of great economic importance. However, the economic health of the fishing industry in this country has deteriorated sharply in recent years. The use of pesticides, the damming and dredging of rivers, the destruction of wetlands, and the increasing pollution of our waterways, has produced profound ecological changes that have been detrimental to many forms of marine life. Much important technical information in this area is still unknown, and it is essential that research on all aspects of commercial marine life be encouraged, if we are to use and manage our limited marine resources in the most effective manner.

Connecticut has received about $61,000 in research funds in the 3 years during which the Commercial Fisheries Research and Development Act has been funded. This money has been used primarily for research related to the very important lobster and herring industries. An additional $200,000 was made available to the State for disaster relief in connection with serious problems in the Connecticut oyster industry. Altogether, about $14 million has been allotted to the States and territories under this program.

Nearly all important maritime nations provide financial support for their fisheries industries, and I hope that early and favorable attention will be given to this legislation to continue the American assistance program established by the 1964 act.

THE FARM BILL

REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, the recent vote in the House to place a $20,000 payment limitation on the farm bill could, if it becomes law, prove to be the most ironic example of "cutting off one's nose to spite one's face" in history.

This action can be explained only by the fact that too many people living in metropolitan areas have been misled, misinformed, and prejudiced about the issue to permit the matter to be treated on its merits.

On the surface, a limitation of payments gives the appearance of being a popular "blow for economy" when it comes just prior to an election. But the very areas which applaud this action can and will be the first victims of its long-range dangers if it is allowed to become law. The reason: Farm programs are the best insurance the city dweller has to protect him from the not unreal threat of food and fiber shortage and even famine in the not too distant future. Today's surpluses are a deadly blind to the fact that our growing population soon can demand more food and fiber than a sick and economically unsound agriculture industry can provide. Less than 10 percent of our people now produce all the food and fiber for the rest of us. Any price we pay to keep agriculture healthy will, in the days ahead, be cheap insurance to protect us from the alternative.

We must find some method of making all Americans know and understand this fact. We must not forget that all through history, when famine strikes, those who live in the cities die first. We must make Americans understand that we can find ourselves face to face with famine if we fail to understand what agriculture must have, and to provide these needs.

A recent editorial in the Daily Oklahoman, one of the Nation's large metropolitan newspapers, makes a crystal clear point of this. It is refreshing to know that some news media in the metropolitan area are beginning to become concerned with this problem. For the sake of us all, I hope a great deal more of this sort of viewpoint can be drummed into the minds of our people. The editorial follows:

ORATORY AND FACTS

Give Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman credit for his explanation of why the federal land bank program will not work if large tracts are excluded. There have been some ill-considered suggestions that a low ceiling be placed on payments for non-production.

There is demagogic opposition to the idea of bigness with some groups and politically minded persons. Yet the purpose of the program is to reduce the 12 percent of over production in farm commodities, and large tracts are the major producers.

Freeman told a Lutheran women's group at Chicago that of our excess production, only 5 percent can be used at home or for gifts abroad, while the other 7 percent of surplus must be eliminated at this point in population and time by taking 45 million acres out of production.

It is rather odd that bigness of any kind in the American system now is challenged oratorically, for varied reasons, when the whole concept of American opportunity is for any individual to enlarge his own business through legal and honest means. This apmore land, employing more people in a servplies whether it involves the acquisition of ice organization, or adding retail stores to a small chain.

We can't have it both ways. We can't penalize efficiency in the farm production that makes food cheaper in the United States than in any other country in relation to the man hours of work needed to acquire it. Large operations can provide that efficiency of management and production. Only the larger farms can afford to let land lie idle until such times as more production is needed. The smaller operator cannot afford non-production.

THE INCOMPATIBLES: THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ITS PLATFORM

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, judging by their platform, the Republicans have declared open season on fatuous promises, distorted claims, and empty rhetoric. Indeed, a party platform—to have any validity—should be rooted in past performance and reasonable future expectations. But this is not the case with the Republican platform which, purporting to solve our Nation's social problems, completely ignore its party's lackluster record in this vital area.

Recently the Democratic study group undertook a comprehensive survey comparing the Republican platform with the Republican congressional voting record of the last 4 years. The results proved overwhelmingly that, high-minded platform statements aside, the Republicans' performance in social welfare legislation is totally negligible.

Let us examine this disparity more closely. The Republican platform pledges itself to easing the urban crisis—especially in the areas of employment, education, and housing. Yet, on the average, 90 percent of Republican Congressmen and 72 percent of Republican Senators voted against programs designed to correct urban abuses: 96 percent of House Republicans voted against the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965; 95 percent voted to cut $22 million for rent supplements in fiscal year 1967; 87 percent voted against legislation to provide rat control in infested urban areas.

Additionally, the Republican Party, ostensibly dedicated to easing poverty, racism, hatred, and violence, has apparently been unwilling to back up these beliefs with votes. Ninety percent of House Republicans voted against the 1965 bill authorizing funds for the Economic Opportunity Act; 68 percent voted to slash the 1968 authorizations for the poverty programs from $2.06 billion to $1.6 billion; and 58 percent voted against adding a strong fair housing provision to the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

The GOP platform evinces a concern for the millions of Americans who suffer from hunger and malnutrition. Yet 81 percent of House Republicans voted to limit funds for the food stamp program and 96 percent of Senate Republicans voted against establishing a summer lunch program for day camps.

In the field of education, the Republicans emphasize the need to upgrade teaching methods and promote teacher training and preschool education for disadvantaged children. These are necessary goals, but based on thin—or should I say "hot"—air rather than past performance. Ninety-eight percent of House Republicans voted to cut $135.9 million in aid for educationally disadvantaged children; 95 percent voted against legislation to establish the Teacher Corps; 74 percent voted to delay extension of basic elementary and secondary education programs.

The Republican Party has, however, reserved much of its demagoguery for the explosive issue of "law and order." Yet, when the House voted on legislation to create a Federal agency to deal with the growing traffic in narcotics and dangerous drugs, 95 percent of House Republicans voted "nay." When the gun control bill was being debated only last month, 62 percent of House Republicans voted to weaken the bill by exempting shotgun, rifle, and .22 caliber rimfire ammunition from restrictions on interstate sale of ammunition.

The Republicans declare themselves as friends of labor by proffering their support for a minimum wage and increased employment. If this is so, why did 70 percent of House Republicans vote against establishing a minimum wage for agricultural workers? Why did 87 percent of House Republicans vote to delay for 1 year the effective date of the minimum wage increase from $1.40 to $1.60 per hour? Obviously, this is a tenuous "friendship."

And, in promising to strengthen the social security system to allow for cost-of-living adjustments, the Republican platform also declared itself a friend of the elderly. Yet, 91 percent of House Republicans voted to substitute a voluntary health insurance program instead of medicare, and 57 percent of Senate Republicans voted against medicare.

Stating its devotion to the principles of international cooperation, the Republican platform pledges the party to work toward this end. The contradictions: 69 percent of House Republicans voted to cut Peace Corps authorizations; 96 percent to cut authorizations for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; 96 percent to cut authorizations for loan funds under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966; and, just last month, 62 percent voted against passage of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1968, providing our basic overseas economic aid.

These are only a few examples. I should also mention that 74 percent of Republican Congressmen voted against measures to meet our Nation's transportation crisis and 86 percent voted against legislation to support scientific research. The lesson is clear: The Republican platform is a pipedream which bears no resemblance whatsoever to the party's voting record.

It should be interesting, and not a little amusing, to watch the Republican nominees this fall hail their platform and regale the voters with its visions. How ironical to realize that, once elected, most of these candidates will oppose the very same programs which were so extolled only a few months ago.

David Merrick, Broadway impressario, may have had tongue in cheek when he announced that he had given the Republican presidential nominee the title song from his forthcoming musical, "Promises, Promises," to use in the campaign. But the "joke" is an apt one.

AMBASSADOR JOHN GORDON MEIN: A TRIBUTE

HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I am certain that all Americans were shocked and grieved to learn of the assassination of Ambassador John Gordon Mein in Guatemala City last Wednesday afternoon.

After hosting a luncheon at the Embassy, Ambassador Mein got into his chauffeur-driven car and headed back to his office in a downtown building. On the way, a Buick automobile forced the Ambassador's car to the curb. Almost simultaneously a small truck darted up behind the Embassy car and blocked it in.

Several young men in green fatigue uniforms scrambled out of the Buick and surrounded the Ambassador's car. They were carrying at least one automatic weapon, a submachinegun. They forced the Ambassador from the car. He broke away and ran, and the Buick's driver shouted, "Shoot him, shoot him." The submachinegunner fired a fast burst, striking the Ambassador in the back. He died quickly, on the pavement.

In the last several years, terror from the Castro-inspired left and counter terror from the inflexible Guatemalan right have reached tragic proportions. Estimates of politically inspired murders run from 1,000 to 4,000 in that country of 4.6 million people.

Castro-line guerrillas, beaten in the rural areas and now virtually leaderless, moved into Guatemala City early this year to try to keep their movement alive through terrorist activities. With them came almost nightly bombings, kidnapings, and killings. Last January, you will recall, two U.S. military attachés were murdered.

In this atmosphere, Ambassador Mein served with the full knowledge that he was a target of leftist guerrillas. His life had been threatened repeatedly. It is the mark of the man's personal courage and devotion to duty that he spurned a bodyguard, believing that U.S. policy was best served by refusing to give the terrorists an opportunity to boast that they had intimidated the United States.

Undoubtedly, Ambassador Mein had thought about the possibility of being kidnaped since this was a favorite tactic of the Guatemalan radicals. The Ambassador must have considered what he would do in the event that he was victimized.

When the attackers struck, Ambassador Mein consciously chose to attempt to escape them rather than submit to capture and thus provide the terrorists with an opportunity to humiliate the United States and Guatemalan Governments.

With the death of John Gordon Mein, the United States has lost a gentle, kindly, and deeply religious man who was dedicated to public service. Ambassador Mein was born in Cadiz, Ky., on September 10, 1913, the son of a Baptist minister. Part of his childhood was lived in Brazil where he acquired an understanding of and sympathy for the Latin American people. He became a career foreign service officer after graduating from Georgetown College in Kentucky, a Baptist-affiliated institution, and after receiving a law degree from George Washington University.

His first overseas post was Rio de Janeiro, where he was assigned from 1942 to 1944. He also served in Rome, Oslo, Manila, and Jakarta, as well as in important positions at the Department of State. He was rated "excellent" and "outstanding" by a number of his instructors at the National War College which he attended in 1953. In 1959 he was presented the Merit Service Award.

Ambassador Mein was a man of deep religious convictions and great moral courage who set high standards for himself and lived up to them. He won the respect, confidence, and enormous admiration of his colleagues who felt that they could rely unwaveringly on his integrity and judgment. He was also a forthright man, who spoke his mind about what he believed. He testified several times before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs and we found him to be frank and candid.

Ambassador Mein was also a warm and friendly individual who liked people of all stations of life and felt at ease with them. He was a stanch believer in human rights and justice, and sympathized with some of the things the Guatemalan guerrillas purport to want. But he abhorred violence, and disagreed with their methods.

As the minister said at the burial service on Saturday:

> It's ironic that this gentle man, John Gordon Mein, should have died so violently. He was a man who loved his God and his country. He also loved the country where he died. . . .

Ambassador Mein left a lovely wife and three children, the oldest of whom is attending his father's college in Kentucky. There is nothing we can say to ease the pain and loss of their devoted husband and father. I would like them to know, however, that we recognize that he sacrificed his life in furthering U.S. interests, and that the Nation is grateful.

Meanwhile, I am hopeful that the cowardly murderers will be found and brought to justice.

OUR STAND ON SIT-INS

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, last winter the country witnessed the outrages at Columbia and Northwestern Universities, and during that period I raised the question here on the floor of the House as to whether or not other college administrators around the Nation were prepared to resist this type of anarchy on their own campuses.

Since then, of course, many schools have made it clear that these troublemakers will not be permitted to disrupt and disturb the normal routine and procedures of campus life. One of the most candid and straightforward statements of policy along this line was outlined by the president of St. Louis University, the Reverend Paul C. Reinert, S.J., in the summer issue of the St. Louis University magazine, and I include his statement in the RECORD at this point:

OUR STAND ON SIT-INS

(By Rev. Paul C. Reinert, S.J.)

The President of Saint Louis University discusses the University's policy toward demonstrations and sit-ins.

Complacency and procrastination are cousins of disaster in any age, but especially in ours, when change is so swift and often irrevocable in its consequences. For this reason, it would be foolhardy to ignore the incidents of student violence that have racked various campuses around the nation and abroad. To ignore these senseless actions elsewhere because we have not experienced them here would be rank complacency, and to stutter in our resolve to avoid such threats would be procrastination of an order that would actually invite the worst. Thus, officials of Saint Louis University have drawn up and made public a statement of policy and procedure regarding demonstrations and sit-ins.

POLICY

Each student or a student group has the right to express disagreement on a particular subject or to submit proposals for consideration, provided this right is exercised in an orderly fashion.

However, the kind of conduct which restrains either the freedom of expression or the freedom of movement of others who may not agree or which is disruptive of University operations in any way is simply unacceptable in an intelligent community and a democratic society.

Proper and reasonable channels of communication do exist within the University. Reasonable men and women will continue to use such channels as they have in the past.

PROCEDURES

1. Any individual or any group participating in such a disruptive demonstration or sit-in will be given five minutes to disperse.

2. If the response to the above statement of policy and the first procedure is negative, then the following steps will be taken:

A. The police of the City of St. Louis will be called in.

Any University person, participating in such a disruptive demonstration or sit-in, will be charged, arrested, and prosecuted at minimum for disturbing the peace.

Any person from outside the University who is participating in such a disruptive demonstration or sit-in will be charged, arrested and prosecuted at minimum for trespassing on private property.

B. Any University student who participates in such a disruptive demonstration or sit-in is automatically suspended from the University. Each suspended student will appear before the University Committee on Student Discipline for final decision in his case.

The above policy and procedure, approved in November of 1967, applies without exception to all schools of the University.

While this official statement is indeed stern, I feel certain that the overwhelming majority of our students will find it more of a comfort than a threat. Our students, by their conduct in the past, have shown that they do not wish to be linked with the irresponsible lawlessness in question. Rather than a threat, then, this statement is an attempt to reassure our students that their rights will not be disregarded, that sane conduct will not be supplanted with disorder, that a misguided minority will not be allowed to foist its opinions upon the rest of the institution.

It bears repeating that we are extremely pleased with the general attitude of our students, and we're not going to let the irrational actions of a small minority in other institutions affect our attitude toward our students. I would guess that more than half of our students belong to the thousands and thousands of students who are unhappy about the Vietnam war, unhappy about the racial attitudes of many Americans, unhappy about the reluctance to allow students to participate in those aspects of university life which vitally concern them. These are legitimate concerns. The trouble is that the students who have these concerns, anywhere from 50 to 70 per cent of the student body, are being identified with the pitifully small percentage—two per cent at most—who are seeking a resolution through lawless, destructful means.

This tragic case of mistaken identity, I fear, could do irreparable harm to higher education. If the American people come to believe that this small minority—as the press would have us believe—is representative of today's students, then all of Academe will experience a backlash from an outraged public. Our American colleges and universities could emerge from this trial by fire as centers for political strife and intrigue, the problem that for years has held back and handicapped the colleges and universities in Latin America and in many parts of the Far East.

Here at Saint Louis University, I have urged our talented young people to remain concerned to establish reasoned positions in this crisis, and to be prepared to demonstrate leadership motivated by Christian justice and charity. This is the positive aspect of our policy and procedure concerning demonstrations and sit-ins, and I have been gratified by student response.

THE HONORABLE MR. POLITICIAN

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, a young constituent of mine, Mr. John McKinley Bowman, of Santa Ana, Calif., gives all of us as politicians a challenge to live up to the high-principled image we seek to project to the voters of our districts. He says "we are seeking the answers" to crime in our streets, and proceeds to relate it to the actions of politicians, including judges, which beget good or evil. His article follows:

THE HONORABLE MR. POLITICIAN

(John McKinley Bowman)

Let's get to the point. We are seeking the answers.

The people in Military service, the taxpayer, the worker who activates our industry, the man in the street, the business man, the scholar, the child in the classroom, all are seeking the answers. The answers to what? Answers to questions that are most vital to all of us, vital to the one who is wrong because he needs to be made right, vital to the one who is right for he stands for America's moral might.

Why are our politicians losing the respect of the people, and why aren't they doing something about it? Where do the people stand with the status quo of the politicians? Why do drugs, raping, looting, killing, burning and rioting in our streets and schools persist as something for us to live with? Is the criminal more important to our society than those who become his victims? Why must our society be imposed on by a convicted murderer's second crime? What is happening to the United States of America?

There is nothing wrong with the politics of our Great America that the politicians themselves canont make right. The people of this country have placed their welfare in the hands of their representatives in government. These representatives of the people have presented themselves as of the highest moral character with the desire to devote their time and effort to keeping this country the greatest nation and the highest type of government known to man; "A government of the people, by the people, and for the people," and have declared their oaths for this purpose. They were chosen from among our most prominent citizenry to uphold and protect our offices with honesty and integrity of highest esteem. However, let it be understood, as we understand it. The politician who breaches his oath of office is a traitor to his country in every sense of the word and this includes all political offices and each branch of government wherein there is any control of the people.

The politician, by injecting and promoting more honesty into the politics of his office, could benefit the people he represents as well as his political status. He was not elected to sit on a pedestal and pat himself on the back because he won an election or was appointed to a responsible position. He was not hired to coalesce with his colleagues because of personal friendship. He was not hired to go against the principles of right activity for the purpose of splitting our government into different factions so that one or the other could dictate the terms under which our people should live. He was not hired to exploit his office to his personal advantage and glorification in a career to the detriment of his fulfilling his obligations and duties to his constituents. He was not elected for his personal aggrandizement, nor for the purpose of giving him a salary and pension for the rest of his life. He was elected for the sole purpose of promoting, prosecuting and executing the will of the people to the ultimate of his ability and with all the power at his command. Our public servant knows this truth about himself and his office because he swore to fulfill this purpose when he gave his oath to that office. The honorable politician is not an advocate of dishonesty and disrespect and does not allow himself to slip into this category even to the appearance of wrong activity. He holds himself up to the dominant qualities of honesty and integrity, and this gives him a power and distinction above and beyond that which claims to be right, but which is not. Words and promises have no meaning when righteous action is deferred. The true politician's prestige belongs not only to himself, but to the people who elected him. Only when he has fulfilled his obligation to his office, is he worthy of his hire and entitled to the honor of that office.

As one of a questioning people governed by our judicial jurisprudence, may I express my concept of justice which would enhance the future of all of our people. Let's promote a higher concept of legal thinking vs moral thinking. It is time to override so-called legal thinking with moral and righteous thinking. Thinking that would not twist the true meaning and purpose of our laws to suit individual or collective atrocities. Individual liberty and justice is equity in action and the innocent must be protected always, but a false concept of individual liberty should not override the collective rights of the people. Protecting a criminal's personal liberty does not give him the right to reinstate or pursue his criminal tendencies against innocent people. Personal liberty and justice does not take from one and give to another. What is right and equitable for all the people of this country should come first and always.

We must have laws that can be intelligently enforced. Laws that will retard the criminal's selfish misuse of liberty and protect the people from this malicious activity. The criminal's thinking needs to be healed and this cannot be accomplished while our laws offer him immunity from prosecution and from the corrective discipline necessary to bring this about. The responsibility for these laws lies squarely upon the shoulders of our lawmakers and no amount of false manipulation can change this responsibility. Either our lawmaker is right or he is wrong, there is no between and he cannot shirk his duty or delegate it to another.

With due respect and honor to those who are in the right, we ask, in the cause of righteousness, "Are our justices' and judges' interpretation of our Constitution and the decisions rendered therefrom made with a conscience to protect all of the people as a whole, which is the purpose of the courts, or are some of them protecting traitors and criminals who are a menace to the society for whose protection the courts were created?" Surely the judges who make decisions contrary to the general welfare and security of the people must realize that they themselves, their families and progeny are a part of the society that needs and deserves their protection. Must we believe that they are wilfully being traitors to their own families as well as to the rest of us whom they have sworn to protect? If any of our judges lack the moral courage to do that which is right, honest and honorable, they are traitors to themselves and our whole community and should remove themselves from the responsibility that the office places on them; the rendering of true justice. This control is far reaching and amounts to the political and economic future of our country, affecting the lives of everyone, the people who constitute this country, without whom we would have no country.

It is the solemn duty of every honest and honorable judge to do all in his power to see that the malpracticing justice or judge be removed from his power over the people. Because of the judicial authority vested in him the malicious and malpracticing judge can be the worst of criminals. Why should he be allowed to hide behind the cloak of his office, and why do our lawmakers permit such atrocities against our country? Are they, the lawmakers, not big enough for the job? I think they are.

It was not so many years ago that some of us as children in school were taught patriotism, love for our country and our flag, and that every person regardless of creed or color, was entitled to and would receive protection under that flag. We, as individuals, received no special privileges, such as are being asked today, we were just proud to be Americans.

As Free Americans under our flag, let us never hold the concept that our people are subject to and have to submit to the wrong atrocity of any public servant, but rather they, the honorable politicians, having been placed in power by the people, are in all ways subject to, and may if necessary be removed by the people. Our politicians are written in the history of our country, and they write their own records according to the quality and honesty of the service they render. We the people live in hope that each one will so honor his position that he may go hand in hand with the honor and respect that our people bestow on that Great American Politician, The Honorable Mr. Lincoln, who from his great heart of humanity dedicated to freedom and justice for all mankind in all time said,

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right." Applying his words to those who gave their lives through all of our wars, and to those who face a living death with maimed and mutilated bodies having given so much for that which they believed to be just, and to those who suffer the loss of their loved ones through these wars, referring to those dead, Mr. Lincoln said,

"That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The greatness of America rests on the quality of the thinking of the people, thinking that holds its balance under stress of moral upheaval and which cannot be swayed by the pressure of circumstances, and where mass hysteria has no part. Thinking that has the quiet of rightness. Thinking from the one Great Source that becomes Justice and Equity.

PROF. H. J. ETTLINGER

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, too rarely we have the proud experience of associating with one of those individuals who seems to have excelled in every possible endeavor.

Prof. H. J. Ettlinger, of the University of Texas, at Austin, is exactly this type of person. As a young man, he started a profound academic career, which includes a doctoral degree in mathematics from Harvard, a Phi Beta Kappa key, and 55 years of teaching experience at the University of Texas.

Recently, several news articles appeared in Texas papers on the successes of Professor Ettlinger, and at this point in the RECORD, I reprint them in full:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, July 28, 1968]

STUDENTS GETTING BETTER, NOT WORSE, UT'S DR. ETTLINGER SAYS

(By Richard M. Morehead)

AUSTIN.—Take it from Dr. H. J. Ettlinger, American students are getting better, not worse.

Dr. Ettlinger ought to know. He is rounding out 55 years of teaching mathematics at the University of Texas. Nine thousand students have received his instruction, ranging from 315 high school youngsters in summer programs to 25 university graduates receiving doctoral degrees.

High school mathematics students today are excellent, Dr. Ettlinger said.

"They are the most serious, hardest working students I have ever seen," Dr. Ettlinger said. "All I've had to do is give them the problems. I've had 15, 16, 17-year-olds who can do work that some of my graduate students couldn't do in the past."

The 6-foot-3-inch professor's career has been an unusual combination of brains and muscle. At Washington University in St. Louis, Ettlinger played football, basketball, handball and baseball. He coached at the University of Texas for two years, freshman football and varsity linemen. He officiated at more than 1,500 high school and college football games.

Knute Rockne, later famous at Notre Dame, was the star on the first football team that Ettlinger knew. This was at Northwest Division High in Chicago, where Ettlinger was a 110-pound scrub lineman on a squad where Rockne starred at fullback.

Later Ettlinger became an outstanding athlete at Washington University.

"I'm the only person ever elected to Phi Beta Kappa on his athletic record, so far as I know," Ettlinger laughed.

After Ettlinger left St. Louis and was studying at Harvard for master's and doctoral degrees in mathematics, Phi Beta Kappa honorary scholastic fraternity organized a chapter at Washington University. Forty alumni were chosen for Phi Beta Kappa membership in the new chapter.

Among these was H. J. Ettlinger, who said his academic record was good but not outstanding. He believes the Phi Beta Kappa selection was influenced by the fact that he also carried a heavy non-academic load—

varsity participation in three sports, carrying seven courses regularly to graduate in three years, sports editor of a weekly newspaper and serving as secretary to a faculty member.

"There weren't any athletic scholarships," he noted.

Now 79 years old and recovering from illness, Dr. Ettlinger recalls with equal fondness the achievements of his students in mathematics and athletics.

"Some good athletes have been good mathematicians," he added.

Next Thanksgiving Day, Dr. Ettlinger expects to be in Memorial Stadium sitting with 10 surviving members of the 1918 Texas Longhorns football team. Originally a 13-man squad, the team was undefeated, according to Dr. Ettlinger, its line coach and surviving members of the coaching staff.

[From the Austin (Tex.) American-Statesman, July 24, 1968]

ETTLINGER LAUDED BY BANK BOARD

Dr. H. J. Ettlinger was honored Wednesday at the July board of directors meeting of First Federal Savings and Loan Association as ~~the~~ sole surviving organizer and director of ~~the~~ savings association.

He is a vice president and director of First Federal and has been active as a director of the association since 1934.

A formal resolution was presented to Ettlinger by Board Chairman Sen. Charles Herring.

Ettlinger is a former professor of mathematics at the University of Texas and served as freshman football coach from 1913 to 1921.

John T. Mahone, president of First Federal, said of Ettlinger, "He has the unique capacity of sharing his time and skill with men in many varied fields of endeavor.

"His interest in young people is well known and it is difficult to find words to express the assistance that his vision and foresight have brought to the board of directors of First Federal Savings," he said.

SALUTE TO THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, much has been said both here in the Congress and in the newspapers and on television about the situations that occurred in Chicago during the Democratic Convention. As one who watched it on television from the calm and serenity of my congressional district, I would like to pass along some impressions I received, and I believe that these will generally be the impressions of the people of my district.

The television commentators, those all-knowing, all-seeing sages who report their findings from glassed-in boxes inside the convention hall, were horrified at some of the events which took place on the Chicago streets. Acting as judge and jury, they immediately indicted and incriminated Mayor Richard Daley and the entire Chicago police force. At almost any minute I expected to see the commentators put on black robes and to see Mayor Daley marched into their booths by a squad of floor reporters wearing their creepy-peepies. After a speedy trial and a pause for a commercial, the mayor would have been thrown from the booth into the middle of the most hostile delegation on the floor.

This, according to the edicts of the television commentators, would have been a just reward for the Chicago mayor. But not everyone took the taped scenes from downtown Chicago at face value as did the commentators. It was easy to see the policemen running into the crowds of demonstrators and dragging individuals back to the paddy wagons. But the television did not show the rocks and bottles being thrown at the police. It did not show the demonstrators spitting in the policemen's faces. It did not record the abusive and vulgar language being used by the demonstrators. Somehow, television has the quality of showing what it wants to show. This is especially unfortunate in a situation such as the one which occurred in Chicago. The true picture was not shown, and the emotional outbursts of the commentators only added to the erroneous conclusions reached by millions of Americans.

It is my firm belief that the police in Chicago handled the situation as well as it could have possibly been handled. What would have happened if those 10,000 demonstrators had been allowed to roam freely through the downtown streets of Chicago? How much property would have been destroyed? How many lives lost? As it was, only a few minor injuries were sustained by either the demonstrators or the police.

Given the same ingredients as those in Chicago, it is difficult to say just what would have happened in any other city. But I would be willing to bet that if this convention had been held in any other city, property damage and injuries to both police and demonstrators would have far exceeded that which occurred in Chicago. I salute Mayor Richard Daley and the men of the Chicago Police Department for a job well done under the most trying circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, I include in my remarks the text of a telegram which I received following the convention. This telegram reflects the feelings of many people in Alabama and throughout the Nation.

The telegram follows:

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.,
August 30, 1968.

BILL NICHOLS,
Anniston, Ala.:

National press and other media are condoning violation of law and order by criticizing police in Chicago. How would these bright boys of the press handle the situation? It's time Congress took a good look at itself and help the police instead of letting minority groups take over. The spectacle of the Democratic convention is a disgrace to our country. Mayor Daley is to be commended in endeavoring to protect the delegates to the convention by having enough law and order already on hand rather than waiting for the dissenters and hippies who contribute nothing to our country to burn and steal before being stopped. We're getting tired of lawlessness and lack of pride in our country. I'm ashamed of what other countries think of the spectacle of the Democratic and Republican Conventions. You fellows in Congress better start thinking about America and not how to be reelected.

ED MOLLISON
(and 106 employees).

SLEEPING BEAR DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the long-proposed Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in my State is in danger of becoming another of America's lost conservation opportunities.

This danger is real and immediate. It clearly indicates that we must immediately move to establish the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, as provided for by my bill H.R. 6616, before those very characteristics which make this area nationally significant and valuable have been lost.

Because I know the seriousness of this danger and the severity of our loss if we do not act, I am gratified that the National Parks and Recreation Subcommittee, on which I serve, conducted a hearing on the matter on July 29. Witnesses appearing at that time, and information subsequently submitted for the hearing record, documented the opportunity we have to preserve the fascinating landscape of Sleeping Bear. It also pointed out the real danger that we may lose this opportunity if we delay further.

I would like to briefly report to the House the results of the July 29 hearing. I have already entered in the RECORD the testimony which I submitted—August 2 at page 25146. Senator PHILIP HART, who has long championed this proposal, accompanied me at that time. The subcommittee heard from our colleague, Representative GUY VANDER JAGT, and from National Park Service Director George Hartzog.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall was also before the subcommittee that day. In stating his support of my bill, he remarked:

> I have always thought that this was an excellent proposal. I still think so. It qualifies in the National Park System in this very vital region of the United States where we have too few spacious outdoor areas. I think on all counts it qualifies. I would hope that the House will in due course take action on this proposal.

In his testimony, Director George Hartzog traced the long history of this proposal:

> The Sleeping Bear region was first identified as having possible national significance in 1957 and 1958 when the Department of the Interior studied the Great Lakes shoreline. Later, more careful studies of the Sleeping Bear region revealed it to be a remarkably diverse area possessing such outstanding and varied scienic, scientific and recreational values that it clearly merits preservation as a national lakeshore.
>
> As it now exists, it has the quality of being both remote and accessible; remote in the sense that most of its natural features are still untrammeled and wild, and accessible in that it lies within one day's drive of some 20 million people.
>
> The combination of shoreline, high dunes, inland lakes and green forests make this area outstanding in terms of scenic beauty. For sightseers, campers, hikers, hardy swimmers, fishermen, nature lovers and boating enthu-

siasts, the shore area will provide a great recreation opportunity.

The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments has repeatedly recommended the project. The Michigan Conservation Commission has indicated its approval, as has the Governor of Michigan.

H.R. 6616 is the culmination of years of discussion, compromises and adjustments among the diverse interests involved. It represents an equitable balance of local and national needs.

Director Hartzog summed up by characterizing the value of this area as offering a legacy of the unspoiled Great Lakes scene to the people of our entire country.

Mr. Speaker, the crux of the issue which this proposal has raised in the past has been concern for adequate protection for local property rights. As I have previously described here—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 19, at page 22425—every reasonable objection has now been met. In fact, I may report to the House that my bill provides stronger and more secure protection for private interests than any similar legislation yet enacted.

A further feature to assure this protection is the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore Advisory Commission which would be created by section 4 of my bill—H.R. 6616. This commission will include four individuals from the local counties, four appointees of the Governor of Michigan, and two members appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.

I would point out, Mr. Speaker, that in discussions of this matter, in hearings and so forth, we have focused a good deal of attention on protection of private property owners and local communities. This is as it should be, for the Congress must take care to avoid unnecessary adverse consequences to some of our citizens from the good programs we establish. I have worked hard on this problem in relation to Sleeping Bear. Every effort has been made to compromise and adjust this bill to meet reasonable objections.

But what I and those who favor this bill would also emphasize is the superlative, nationally significant character of the Sleeping Bear area itself. This is a superb landscape, a mixture of light development, seminatural conditions and virtual wilderness. It is an outstanding part of our heritage and needs preservation as such.

The intent of this legislation is not to take all private properties and to somehow make this area revert to a totally natural condition. Rather, the bill calls for the stabilization and preservation of this landscape in its present lightly developed form.

What we are interested in at this point is assuring that the public interest in this landscape, and the opportunity for the public to use it for appropriate healthful recreation pursuits be given the same careful attention we have already given to the protection of private rights.

It is for the future that we seek this area—but also for the present. The Midwest is already heavily populated and rapidly growing. That growth has two consequences: It means that more and more of the natural, open green places are being displaced and destroyed by development. And it means that there are more and more people seeking natural, open green places for refreshment and recreation.

This is the challenge confronting us. We can help to meet it by taking action to establish the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore.

Senator HART, in his remarks to the subcommittee, expressed his hope that we may resolve this matter this year. He expressed his hope that we will do so in a fashion that will earn us passing grades from those who will be alive 50 or 75 years from now. Having given long attention and effort to securing private rights in this area, we ought now to act with equal concern on behalf of the public and on behalf of the future.

Mr. Speaker, I have been in touch with a number of Michigan citizens who are actively interested in this proposal. During the very week of the recent hearing these people made a careful survey in order to give the subcommittee and me a firsthand report on present conditions and trends.

These reports underscore the urgency of acting now if we are to realize the goal of securing this great resource in its present condition for public benefit. They tell of the growing threats of real estate development, subdivision, and ill-planned commercial enterprises which are beginning to seriously encroach on the national lakeshore opportunity. And they tell of price escalation which is beginning now as a result of speculative activity. We must act now, or this area, when we do finally authorize it, will cost many times over its present value. To delay now would be penny wise and pound foolish.

But let us remember that we seek to save a semideveloped, seminatural landscape. That landscape is being lost to development and subdivision. Simply authorizing this national lakeshore will make a major impact toward ending this threat, even if appropriations must be limited for a time. For authorization will bring into play the zoning and land-use planning features found in section 9 of the bill. These mechanisms can help materially to overcome the pressures threatening Sleeping Bear.

I do want to emphasize that these are trends—the area is not yet destroyed. But these trends evidence the accelerating pressures which very definitely will destroy the public values of this area if we do not act promptly. Even the delay into the 91st Congress could sharply reduce the quality of the area.

And I think it is vital that we all realize that it is the very best and most important parts of this landscape which are being subdivided and developed first. Those very features which give this landscape its meaning and character—the Lake Michigan shoreline, the dune ridges, the shores of the beautiful inland lakes, and the irreplacable natural areas—these are the areas which are being hit the hardest and earliest by development.

I believe that the body of testimony presented at the hearing makes perfectly clear the choice before us. We may continue to delay. If we do, the public will lose an irreplacable natural area, an important scenic resource, and an outstanding fund of recreational opportunities. On the other hand, we can act promptly and with the sense of public purpose and urgency which the situation demands. If we act in this fashion—in the good tradition of the Congress in promoting the public welfare—we may indeed earn the gratitude of future generations.

I urge my colleagues on the National Parks and Recreation Subcommittee to give this matter their attention. I reemphasize that my bill, H.R. 6616, is in every way identical to the bill this committee favorably reported in the 89th Congress. I hope that my colleagues will arrange to meet, this week if at all possible, to mark up this bill and send it to the House floor so that we may vote to approve the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore as another mark of our stewardship for our land and the public interest.

SENATOR FRANK CARLSON, OF KANSAS, RETIRES AS THE FAVORITE SON OF MOST EVERYONE

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, when this session of Congress ends, Senator FRANK CARLSON of Kansas will retire after 40 years of public service. He is the only Kansan to serve in the State legislature, the Governor's chair and in both Houses of the U.S. Congress, and he has never lost an election for any of these offices.

The tributes to this statesman have been many since he announced his retirement last December. One of the most recent is an article by Bob Beasley in the August 15 edition of Farmland, the publication of Farmland Industries, Inc.

This article deserves a place in the FRANK CARLSON story, and the stature of the man will be magnified as each succeeding chapter unfolds. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this article by Bob Beasley, "FRANK CARLSON—He's Retiring as Favorite Son of Most Everyone," in the RECORD:

FRANK CARLSON—HE'S RETIRING AS FAVORITE SON OF MOST EVERYONE

(By Bob Beasley)

Frank Carlson is living evidence that a man can build a life and great success on lasting, ethical values.

Tributes seemed to echo his footsteps this summer both in Washington and Kansas.

"When you mention Frank Carlson you automatically think of the term statesman," a speaker at the National Postal Forum commented.

"We can ill afford to lose him now. There are always too few like him around anywhere, much less in the Senate," a Kansan remarked in Topeka.

The senior United States senator from Kansas announced last December that he would not seek re-election this fall. That makes this year the end of a remarkable career of public service and active politics. It's a career unparalleled in his own state's history.

He was born 75 years ago to a couple who had emigrated from Sweden. He grew up on a farm in Cloud County, Kansas.

Until he was 35, Frank Carlson's life was not much different than that of most other Kansas farm boys. He went to a business college in Concordia and took an agricultural course at Kansas State University. He served in World War I and came back to Cloud County to farm and raise livestock.

In 1928, he was asked to run for the Kansas legislature. He ran and won. He has been winning elections ever since. In fact, he has never lost an election, and he's been running for offices ever since 1928.

He served a couple of terms in the state legislature.

He served six terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. He served on the important Ways and Means committee, the tax-writing body.

He served two terms as governor of Kansas. Improvements in mental health, education, and highway programs were among his administration's accomplishments.

He is now ending three terms in the U.S. Senate. He's the second-ranking Republican on the Finance committee and a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Frank Carlson is the only Kansan to serve in the state legislature, the governor's mansion, and both wings of Congress.

That's a bare outline of four decades of service too filled with action and achievements and recognition for a comprehensive report.

Kansas politicians, in both parties, generally agree that Carlson would win again if he were seeking re-election this fall. So why is he retiring?

It's not because his health isn't good. It is.

Carlson explained some of the reasons behind the retirement decision during the Topeka press conference last December when he announced he wouldn't run again. Characteristically, the first reason he mentioned was that other men "from a younger, well-equipped generation" are ready to serve.

"No man is indispensable . . . ," the senator remarked. "It is with pride and a sense of dedicated responsibility that a man accepts the mantle of public service when it is offered. It should be with wisdom and understanding that he realizes when it is time to step aside and let others assume this honor."

He spoke, too, of how difficult it is for a man in public office "to give personal and family obligations the attention they deserve." These sacrifices, he observed, "willingly made during the dawn and day of public service, become more and more difficult as one's career goes on."

The senator elaborated recently from behind his desk on the third floor of the New Senate Office Building.

"My oldest grandchild has grown up to be a young lady—she's 16—and I haven't really got acquainted with her yet," he lamented. He intends to devote himself to getting to know all three of his grandchildren.

They were all to be in Miami this month to see Senator Carlson receive another honor—nomination as a favorite-son to become the Republican candidate for President of the United States. The senator looked forward to the nomination and subsequent demonstration.

"We'll have lots of fun," he forecast. "We have some giant sunflowers and a few other things ready."

After he leaves the Senate, Carlson will devote himself to farming as well as grandchildren. He still operates farms in Cloud County. And agriculture has always interested him on a one-farm and national level.

One of his chief regrets is that farmers "still don't receive their fair share" of the fruits of the U.S. economy.

When he came to Washington and the House of Representatives in '35, the nation was battling a depression and passing a great deal of farm legislation. Sen. Carlson regrets that things haven't improved more for farmers since then.

He doesn't seem to think the prospects are very good for improvement through continued legislation. Farm groups' inability to present a solid front and the U.S. change from a producer to consumer society makes legislative support for farmers less likely.

Legislation has made some contributions to agriculture, however, and Carlson is proud of his share in passing some of it.

His proudest congressional achievement, he is quick to point out, was that "I participated in creation of the Soil Conservation Service. That's something that means a lot—more than people generally recognize—to current and future generations."

Conservation is an abiding interest of his. He has concentrated on legislative details of control of water run-off, both through watershed control and reservoir construction. He pushed through authorization and then appropriations for the first of Kansas' major reservoirs, Kanapolis.

He is gratified now by the growth and development of water use and availability programs in Kansas. It is typical of the man that he expresses no discouragement because citizens of the plains, once burdened by a dearth of water now take water—even water sports—for granted.

Frank Carlson isn't given to knocking anybody, especially constituents. They've expressed their appreciation of him through 40 years of elections; he has appreciated their "understanding."

"You can't satisfy everyone with every vote", he notes, "but they've always been tolerant. I think when they didn't agree with me they just said to themselves, 'Well he's wrong but he's doing his best.' "

The senator acknowledges that as the time of his departure nears, he grows increasingly aware that he will miss Washington. He hopes to get back often.

One Washington feature he will miss will be the weekly Senate prayer breakfasts. They started back in 1942, when a group of Senators worried about the early, bleak days of World War II began getting together for spiritual sustenance. The breakfasts have continued ever since, and Carlson has become one of their stalwarts since he got to the Senate.

That emphasis on religion has helped the senator from Kansas earn the tributes he is collecting this summer. They have helped him too, maintain a balanced view of the tumultuous years and decisions he's experienced. For example, he doesn't share the alarm with which a good many people view current problems.

"I'm an optimist," he explains. "I don't see how a Christian can be anything else. You can be concerned. But you are optimistic and determined to do all you can to improve things."

Frank Carlson has done a great deal.

MEMPHIS POLICEMAN REACHES YOUTH

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to call attention to the accomplishments of one Memphis citizen in helping to make our city and our Nation a better place for all the people.

Detective E. E. Redditt is assistant director of the community relations bureau of the Memphis Police Department developed to create responsibility and respect for law among young people in the 14- to 20-year-old group. Detective Redditt did not just report on the problem, he went to work on it by creating miniparks on vacant lots, by giving assistance when assistance was needed, and by getting the young people to take pride in where they live.

It is a privilege to share with my colleagues an account of Detective Redditt's accomplishments as reported by the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

COMMUNITY AND GENERATION GAP BRIDGED BY POLICE RELATIONS UNIT

(By Charles Radin)

The Police Department's community relations bureau may be the best answer yet to problems caused by fragmentation and alienation of various segments of Memphis' population.

The bureau, which was founded on May 28, 1967, has instituted a six-point program to create responsibility and respect for law among young people in the 14- to 20-year-old age range.

Police officers connected with the bureau feel that if the program succeeds in reaching the youths, involvement and reidentification of their parents with the whole community will follow.

The bureau's program, called the Police Youth Program, has organized active youth groups in nine areas of the city. It has also formed two youth civic clubs which are not based on area residence.

The nine area clubs center around the city housing projects.

The PYP is based on six committees determined by the program's goals. Each youth group chooses a chairman for education, employment, job opportunity, vocational information, religion, and recreation and entertainment.

These and all other club officers are selected by club members. Adult advisers merely give opinions, and the members are free to do whatever they want as long as it is of a constructive nature.

Det. E. E. Redditt, assistant director of the community relations bureau, cited one example on how the program can react on cynical teenagers.

In one of the first groups formed, a great deal of laughter accompanied selection of the religious chairman.

When Detective Redditt inquired as to the cause of the laughter, the youth told him "I've never been to church in my life."

Some time later, the boy began missing group meetings.

Asked why he was absent so frequently, the youth quite seriously replied, "I'm studying to be a priest."

The bureau has started a reward program for outstanding participants in the program. Youths selected by their own clubs as having made a particularly meaningful contribution to the program are sent to Memphis State football games, local wrestling matches and other entertainment free of charge.

The basic aim of the whole program is to encourage youth to take on responsibility.

Detective Redditt takes pride in citing an example of how the theory worked for one girl whom he had seen in Juvenile Court a number of times. Since being elected president of one of the youth groups, she has done outstanding work in school and has made no more court appearances.

The clubs have run into a little trouble now and then with their public projects. One group adviser was criticized when her club was found cleaning up the Orange Mound area and disposing of the garbage during this spring's sanitation strike despite warnings by strike leaders to let garbage pile up.

The Orange Mound cleaning project was one of many neighborhood improvement projects the clubs have undertaken.

"Our intention is for them to take pride in where they live," said Detective Redditt.

The PYP has also taken an interest in the minipark project. Officers in the program obtained a flag and 52 pairs of shoes for needy children playing in one of the parks.

Many regular duty police officers have participated in the PYP as a result of Community Relations Bureau requests. This summer, 30 policemen have supervised, coached and instructed underprivileged youth in baseball. All the officers did so on their own time after regular working hours.

Frank C. Holloman, director of the Memphis fire and police departments, expressed enthusiasm for the community relations program.

Under his authority, the police department's entire uniformed division recently underwent six weeks of in-service training in community and human relations. And Mr. Holloman has announced that Memphis intends to get further involved in community relations training through the Omnibus Crime Bill recently passed by Congress.

The community relations bureau has also tried to inform the more than 600 youth in its program on basic safety and legal procedures. An example is the film series sponsored jointly by the bureau and local railroads to teach safety around railroad tracks to teenagers living near the major track areas.

Basic knowledge of law is considered a top objective of the program. Bureau officials feel that if the teenagers and their parents are fully informed about the law and legal matters, respect for law and order will be encouraged.

While the bureau's program is not limited to youths Detective Redditt says that he and the other officers involved feel that that is the best starting point.

"Not only is there a gap between the police and the community," Detective Redditt said, "but there are serious communications gaps within the community itself."

"We feel that if the teens will get involved, they will get their parents involved, and this will be a major step in closing the communications gap within the community.

"Once we have an interested, involved community, it will be much easier to close the gap between community and police."

The officers from the bureau frequently address PTAs, church groups and other adult civic organizations.

According to Detective Redditt, many of these groups don't understand the basic duties and workings of the police department.

He says that a large part of the community relations bureau's adult programs are aimed at "erasing the bad image of the police."

"That image is an image out of the past, and it will fade when we get people to start thinking in terms of the present."

"Plans for the present call for the police officer to look after the people in his area. By doing this, he helps the community and himself.

"People who know and trust this policemen help to stop crime."

The bureau now has 5 regular officers but could use 25 men, officials say.

CRIME IN THE STREETS

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, as crime continues to rise in this country, our people are becoming more and more concerned about the future of America.

I recently received a letter from one of my constituents, Mr. Vernon E. Shaw, of Jasper, Ala., which, I believe, expresses the deep concern of many of our people toward this ever-growing problem. He also forwarded me an article by Erle Stanley Gardner which offers some straight talk about law and order.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and call to the attention of my colleagues, the article by Mr. Gardner:

ERLE STANLEY GARDNER TALKS ABOUT CRIME IN THE STREETS

A woman, related to a close friend of mine, and living in the residential district of a metropolitan city where she had spent most of her life, occasionally rode home with a young man whose family lived a block down the street.

Since she had known this young man all of her adult life he was almost like a younger member of the family. She had watched him grow to manhood.

One day as he stopped his car at her house for her to get out, he asked if he might use the bathroom. She readily granted the request, opened the door of her house, told him where the bathroom was, and then went into the kitchen.

Suddenly she was startled to hear a slight noise behind her.

She whirled in time to see the young man literally transformed into a bestial assailant, groping for her throat.

She struggled desperately. Her clothes were torn off and she was being overpowered. She remembers her apron strings being tied around her throat. Then as unconsciousness was dimming her senses she became faintly aware that someone attracted by her screams had entered the house.

The assailant heard this person come in the front door. He released his throttling grip, dashed out of the back door and disappeared.

The police, of course, were notified.

The parents of the young man were shocked, but they didn't know where the boy was. He had completely disappeared.

It was something over three years later that the police got a tip that the man they were seeking was in a neighboring state. They investigated and, sure enough, found they had the man they were looking for. The story of what happened after that is somewhat confused because so many different agencies entered into it—the arresting police in the other state, the various other police, the prosecuting attorney and the courts.

CONFESSION—BUT NO CONVICTION

Some of these people with whom I talked feel that the so-called Miranda decision entered into it. In the Miranda decision, it will be remembered, police in Phoenix, Arizona, investigating a rape case, picked up, for routine questioning, a young man named Miranda who, to their surprise, said immediately, "You have the right man. I did it."

What happened?

The United States Supreme Court held that because Miranda had confessed before the police had informed Miranda of his constitutional rights to remain silent, to have counsel, etc., his conviction must be reversed.

This is a distinct reversal of our earlier legal thinking. The time was when a confession was tantamount to conviction, unless it was obtained with a rubber hose or by such flagrant violence (which the defendant could *prove* in court) that the judge would hold the confession had been made under duress.

Some of the people with whom I talked feel that the District Attorney refused to prosecute on the ground that the statute of limitations had made conviction impossible.

Be that as it may, the District Attorney threw up his hands, the young man came back to resume his life, daily passing the house of the victim who lived only about a block away from the place where the young man's parents had their home.

THE VICTIM BECOMES A FUGITIVE

The victim told me that "the authorities" warned her that this man was dangerous and suggested that she change her name and move away. When I investigated this phase of the case I found that the person who so advised the victim was probably an expert psychologist who may have been called in by the court.

In any event, in the mind of the victim, the authorities had advised her to change her name, give up her home where she had lived virtually all of her adult life, give up all of her friends and move away, while the culprit blithely walks the streets.

This is the Alice in Wonderland aspect of the new justice. The culprit walks the streets. The victim is advised to become the fugitive.

The rights of the individual are being protected, *provided the individual has committed a crime.*

The rights of society in general are being tossed into the garbage heap—simply because, in the past, *some* police had resorted to psychological and physical pressure in order to extract a confession from a suspect. The higher courts were not unaware of what was going on and so, eventually, started a trend of decisions which has now reached a climax, promulgating rules of law holding that a suspect must not only be advised of his right to remain silent, but must be told that he is entitled to have a lawyer present at all stages of interrogation and, if he doesn't have money, society will pay the lawyer.

No wonder crime is on the increase! Every year the FBI releases statistics showing that there has been a significant increase in crimes of violence.

As a result, our legislators are now resorting to approaches intended to "disarm the criminal." This is all very fine if it works, but since society hasn't yet perfected the art of telling who the criminal is until after he has committed a crime, the lawmaking authorities plan to tackle the problem from the other end. They now talk about fingerprinting everyone who owns a gun, making an annual license mandatory and other restrictions on gun owners.

In the opinion of many people who have studied the subject, this is not only putting the cart before the horse, but is clubbing hell out of the cart in order to make the horse go faster.

We have all sorts of laws *now* which are aimed at preventing criminals from carrying weapons.

In order to buy a handgun in California, where I live, a man must first make an application with the gun dealer. That application is forwarded to the various law enforcement authorities, which have five days to investigate the individual before the gun can be delivered to him.

This is a very fine law. The only trouble with it is that when one starts to chase down what actual investigation is made by the police he is told, in effect, that they simply don't have the manpower to conduct any investigations worthy of the name.

There is a law in California, very hastily passed, which provides that it is a crime for an individual to carry a weapon capable of concealment through any municipality in the state.

Another law says an alien cannot own a firearm.

Yet the person under arrest for the murder of Senator Kennedy was not only an alien but was carrying a loaded gun through a metropolitan district.

WANTED: MORE POLICE—NOT MORE LAWS

Since the police apparently are unable to enforce the laws they have, separating the criminals from guns, the idea is to fingerprint the owners of all guns, issue licenses and see if this will work.

It must be admitted that many deaths are due to firearms in the home, just as a great many more deaths are due to the operation of automobiles on the highway. Yet crimes of passion can be committed with almost any weapon, and poison is the weapon usually used in crimes of deliberation.

If fewer householders had guns, there might well be fewer accidental deaths by firearms, but what would happen if the householder were left defenseless when the police were overworked?

I investigated a case where a householder answered the doorbell and found a smiling young man on the threshold. He had, he explained, had car trouble. Could he please use the telephone to send for a tow car?

The husband invited the man into the room where there was an intimate little family circle—the man, his attractive wife and their daughter, just blossoming into womanhood.

The door closed. The smile promptly left the vistor's face. He produced a gun.

What followed was a nightmare. He forced the husband to stay in the room and watch, while he ordered the women to completely disrobe.

At his leisure he raped both the mother and the daughter, threatening their lives the while.

The emotional impact was such that when the police were finally called in and had arrested a suspect, the overwrought victims made an erroneous identification—which was the reason I investigated the case.

It was established beyond all doubt that the man under arrest was not the man who had perpetrated the crime. On the other hand, the man who did perpetrate the callous crime was never apprehended and is still at large, rubbing elbows with society, perhaps still ringing doorbells.

EVERY LAW HAS ITS OWN PRICE

I personally investigated another doorbell case. Here the husband opened the front door in response to a ringing bell. Three men were on the threshold. At gun point they entered the house, tied up the husband, went upstairs to the bedroom where the attractive wife was dressing in front of a mirror.

When this woman heard the bedroom door open she naturally assumed it was her husband, and went on with her dressing. By the time she turned, the men were within reaching distance.

The men remained for some 45 minutes. Here again, the emotional impact was so great that a mistaken identification was made. An innocent man was convicted and sent to the penitentiary. Only after months of confinement was the man's innocence established.

In this case, happily, the right men were discovered, convicted and sent to prison.

At the moment, there is a vast undercurrent of public unrest, due to the highly dramatic assassinations of men in public life. The public wants to do something, to tinker with the law if necessary.

It is to be remembered, however, that every law is "bought" by society—the individual has to give up some of his liberties in order to obtain a group good. But scientific, efficient lawmaking should see to it that laws are "purchased" wisely. The individual should be called on to give up the fewest number of liberties in order to obtain the greatest public good. No lawmaker should blunder, as many have, into a situation where the individual is called on to give up a maximum amount of liberties in order to obtain a law which just won't work.

The public can become emotional and hysterical and cry, "Do something!" But the lawmakers must keep their heads. What they must do—and do soon—is increase the efficiency of the police and the numbers of the police, and improve the public attitude toward the police. Otherwise the citizen is going to be pretty much on his own.

TECHNOLOGY VERSUS LIBERTY

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, Philip B. Yeager, the distinguished counsel for the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, offers a thought-provoking discussion of the erosion of personal liberty which results from the increasingly concentrated populations made possible by science and technology.

In his article, published in the August issue of the American Bar Association Journal, Mr. Yeager points out that while human beings can adjust to almost any social situation we had best consider just what the future will require of us.

I call to your attention an excerpt from his article, "Technology Versus Liberty":

> The daily trip from my home in suburban Virginia to the Capitol in Washington where I work requires only eighteen minutes—eighteen, that is, unless I wish to travel between 7:30 and 9 a.m. or between 4 and 6 p.m. Then it takes from fifty to sixty minutes.
>
> But it is a beautiful ride—along the river parkway, across the Constitution Avenue Bridge, around the Lincoln Memorial, past the Tidal Basin cherry trees.
>
> One day recently I noticed that much of the riverbank foliage was dying or gone near Rosslyn—some choked by old quarry wastes before Rosslyn was "improved" by a forest of high-rise apartments and office buildings, some eliminated by the subsequent black top parking areas.
>
> Crossing the bridge I had to run up the car windows, though the morning was warm. Fumes and chemicals in the air from this nonindustrial city made one's eyes smart and irritated the throat. Jets literally poured into National Airport, trailing long plumes of black exhaust, heavy and hot. Later, I rolled down the windows. The Tidal Basin smelled like dead fish.
>
> On the radio came several interesting items.
>
> A water shortage in Maryland's Prince Georges County was growing severe.
>
> At the request of the local power companies, the Federal Government was knocking off the air conditioning in a number of its buildings. The electric load was too great and voltage had been dropping.
>
> Red China had exploded another H-bomb, while our Armed Forces were defoliating more forests in Vietnam.
>
> Well, these things happen in the modern world. One might be comforted by the thought that all "progress" exacts its price.
>
> Most people today seem at least vaguely aware of the erosion of their natural environment, if not the severity of its rate. Troublesome as this erosion is. I somehow find the erosion of our social environment equally so—particularly the matter of our vanishing liberties.
>
> For instance:
>
> My car is a technological triumph—powerful, dependable, fast. But I cannot use more than about seventy-five to ninety of its 250 horses even on the superhighways. Rightly so, of course. But the point is: I no longer have either the right or the freedom to travel as I might wish—nor, on many occasions, where or when.
>
> My neighbor wanted to add a wing to his home. He was stopped. Zoning codes, you know, and the board turned down his petition.
>
> Conversely, one of the few remaining nearby truck gardens, a ten-acre farm with wonderfully rich soil, is the target of eminent domain proceedings. More schools going up. Untillable land not far away was bypassed because it would cost more to prepare. The lifelong farmer is dispossessed, and the last privilege of shopping for country-fresh produce disappears from the scene.
>
> The son of a friend cannot shoot tin cans in the back yard with his BB gun. He tried, and the city authorities confiscated his gun. Moreover, with national sentiment running as it has been, the likelihood of ordinary citizens being permitted to have firearms—even licensed ones—very much longer may be dwindling.
>
> To someone raised in James Whitcomb Riley country there is real delight in a bonfire on a crisp fall night. The last time I made one the police arrived in ten minutes. No dice. Another technological convenience, the garden hose, turned my October exhilaration into damp ashes.
>
> And then there is that nine-digit number which we now have attached to us as indelibly as a tattoo almost from the moment of birth. Our social security number is not just an aid to the payment of retirement benefits. It identifies us on each form, blank, application, file, tax return or other document regarding virtually any matter with which we are associated. Somehow it is symbolic of the diminished freedoms and loss of privacy that modern civilization seems bent upon fostering throughout the globe.
>
> A Thoreau today is hard put to find a Walden. (I remember Sir Francis Chichester's comment when a Coast Guard vessel and a press plane found him struggling around Cape Horn: "My God, you'd think the Horn is one place a man could count on privacy.") The free spirit is pressed to find a frontier where he can shed the past, forget, start over. Those who may want to change their identities and try something new cannot. The number is always with them—and the people and machines who keep track of the numbers never seem to sleep. Even the entrepreneur who wants to close up shop and go into another business sometimes discovers he is too fenced in by economic pressures or unemployment liabilities to do so—except through bankruptcy, which is rarely attractive.
>
> These may not be the best examples. Perhaps they are trivia. Yet all history suggests that small losses of liberty, unchecked, become big losses. And men of wisdom agree that those who ignore history are doomed to repeat it.
>
> * * * * *
>
> One shudders a little at proposals for state-controlled "data banks" where every conceivable fact and bit of information about the individual citizen is stored in a central computer for use by duly constituted authorities. The idea, technically, is feasible and efficient. But how about the "duly constituted authorities"? Where do they come from? What are their motives? What guarantees their wise handling of so dangerous a tool?
>
> And is it really desirable to export our particular brand of technology indiscriminately? Do we want to Americanize the whole world—make Zanzibar the same as Indianapolis and Paramaribo just like Galveston? Why must native cultures be "developed" until they are like ours? In many cases, may not technology subtract more than it adds?

What is more deadly to the human spirit than a lack of variety?

We are currently engaged in important studies of oceans, the atmosphere and weather—and, indeed, we need to know a great deal more about them. The farmer whose crop is destroyed by drought, the ship that founders in the hurricane, the family wiped out in the tornado—each is tragic. But before we conclude that it is desirable for man really to control the weather, what are the consequences? Who can resolve the divergent interests of millions? Philip Handler, chairman of the National Science Board, is more profound: "I hope we never find the power to abolish the mysterious appeal of the thunderstorm."

Should not the concept of liberty encompass the right to a natural environment for those who want it?

Hitler and Tojo demonstrated that human beings *can*, if forced or led properly, adjust to almost any social or political environment. This is why, I believe, we need to face the technological-liberty problem *now* before we come to accept too much loss of liberty via the path of technological convenience.

Chronologically we are a young country, and our civilization has not had personal freedom for very long. But it has been won at too high a cost and is too critical to what we conceive as the purpose of mankind for us to permit its being swept away like the world of the sorcerer's apprentice.

NEWS MEDIA UNFAIR TO CHICAGO POLICE

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, during the recent Democratic Convention in Chicago the television coverage and some newspaper reporting gave the distinct impression that the Chicago police force was about on par with or worse than Hitler's SS storm troopers as they sought to prevent demonstrators from storming the Conrad Hilton Hotel as well as causing other disturbances and difficulties for delegates to the convention.

Now that the hysteria of the convention has died down a bit, we are beginning to hear the other side of the story and it does begin to appear that the news media, in many instances, were something less than objective in reporting these incidents to the American people.

In that connection, it was interesting to note the similarities in reports on the convention from two completely different sources; the first from Miss Betty Beale, respected society writer for the Washington Star, and the second from my friend, Mr. Bill O'Connell, political columnist for my hometown newspaper, the Peoria Journal Star. I include both articles in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Sept. 1, 1968]

EXCLUSIVELY YOURS: THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

(By Betty Beale)

This columnist has just returned from Chicago—unbloodied, unpelted and even unbruised, thanks to the Chicago police.

It is time one member of the media gave the other side of the picture because the public has the right to know.

Never has a law-enforcing group been more sorely tried. They received both bodily injury and unspeakably vile treatment from the hippies in Grant Park. Yet never at any time did I see policemen show more courtesy than the police of Chicago. Courtesy, of course, is only due people who show some courtesy themselves.

And despite the difficult circumstances in which they had to maintain order they managed to prevent fatal catastrophe.

We heard the word "over-reacted" used a lot by commentators last week, and by busy politicians who were assuming that what they had been told was correct.

But if there was ever an over-reaction to any fact of life during those seven days in Chicago, it was the over-reaction of the media to any effort whatsoever to stop the hippies from the flagrant civil disorders and their disgusting disturbances of the peace.

Every time a newsman was hurt, the screams of protest went around the world, but how much was said about the newsmen who taunted the police or tried to get action for the TV cameras? A member of the vice president's coterie heard two reporters having a great laugh in the Coffee Shop of the Conrad Hilton about how they agitated in Grant Park until the police started pushing them around.

Wyoming Sen. and Mrs. Gale McGee and their two grown children walked over to the park to see for themselves what was going on and they arrived when the changing of the National Guard troops was taking place.

Walking through a gang of hippies they saw two girls, one playing the flute. Then they saw a TV camera team lead the girls over to the exact place by the troops where they wanted them to stand. And when their camera started to roll, the girl cried, "Don't beat me! Don't beat me!" It takes no imagination to figure how this contrived scene would look on the screens in millions of American homes.

In the convention hall Mrs. McGee said a youth of about 15 sat in front of them and clapped hard at everything said that he liked and shouted four-letter words at everything he didn't like. Instead of just grabbing him and removing him, as the police would have done in most civilized places, the Chicago police asked him first to stop it. But he paid no attention to them so "they had to take him out," said Mrs. McGee.

The cameras probably caught the big policemen bodily forcing the mere youth to leave, giving the television viewer the idea he had done nothing to provoke such reaction.

And what, by the way, has happened to the news media that provocation is left out of, or played down in, story after story? Most announcements or headlines told what the police did to the hippies but left out or skimmed over what the hippies did to the public or police.

Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, World War hero and Democratic keynoter, said the hippies were throwing plastic bags of human excrement at the police and guards in Grant Park. They were also throwing rubber balls stuck with long nails aimed for the eyes.

How would those commentators who thought the police "over-reacted" have behaved if those things had happened to them?

For three straight minutes late Tuesday night, or rather early Wednesday morning, 3,000 hippies shouted in unison, directed by a leader, an obscene curse at the President of the United States. They were either cursing the police in the same way or calling them pigs. And I used to think that insulting an officer was against the law!

Why was an electronic amplifier allowed to remain in the park all day and night where obscenities were shouted until 4 a.m., I asked a police officer? There was a city ordnance against such use, he said, but if they arrested those using it they would only be fined and somebody might be killed in the process. If this wasn't underacting, what is?

Mayor Daley was constantly referred to on the air in slurring accents as the boss of Chicago. He may be, and he is responsible, no doubt, for some bad as well as some good. But Chicago is only one city.

Two famous TV commentators were bossing the presentation of slanted news that affected the minds of millions of Americans in hundreds of cities. As Liz Carpenter said at the women's luncheon Thursday, in all the talk of brutality there had not been "one word about the TV network brutality—the commentator clubbing" of the mayor.

When the mayor fails to do what the majority of the people in Chicago want they can at least vote him out. But no vote can stop the bossism of the airwaves where editorializing has been substituted again and again for straight reporting. One NBC commentator virtually campaigned for Teddy Kennedy throughout Tuesday evening.

In the past I have been proud to be a member of the Fourth Estate, but after this past week I feel a burning inward shame. In my mind freedom of the press has always been necessary to liberty. The Bible states it most beautifully: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

But how much truth, and how much biased opinion are the people, and especially the youth of America, getting?

A clean, well-combed, pretty young girl for Sen. McCarthy was one of five of us who shared a taxi to O'Hare Airport Friday and the conversation turned to what the hippies had done to convert the serious business of nominating a presidential candidate into a circus of vulgarity.

Unbelievably, she stood up for the right of the Grant Park crowd to curse the President in four-letter words. She had no respect for the highest office of our land.

When one of the men blamed Tom Hayden for leading the youth to such actions, she said Tom was all right; he was a friend of hers.

I am not familiar with Hayden's record but the fact that this young woman supported him and his undertaking indicated the truth had not reached her as it is not reaching millions of young people.

Maybe the media had better ask itself why.

[From the Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star, Aug. 31, 1968]

SOME NEWS MEDIA UNFAIR TO CHICAGO POLICE, MAYOR, SAYS COLUMNIST AT SCENE

(By Bill O'Connell)

CHICAGO.—One of the licenses granted to a political writer in a column, so-labeled, as opposed to a straight news report is the license to comment on public events, based upon the columnist's observation and experience.

Now that the Democratic National Convention is history, this columnist offers a few observations and opinions:

The Chicago Police Dept. and Mayor Richard J. Daley have taken a week's pounding from the television networks, and some newsmen, somewhat out of perspective.

Lawyers frequently refer, privately at least, to the "parade of the horribles," an expression meaning only the worst examples of what happened or could have happened to their client are presented to the jury.

The networks, and some newspapers, have been guilty, in this writer's opinion, of the same type of presentation of their case of what happened this last week in Chicago.

For instance, how much time or space was devoted to the hurling of human feces in paper bags from hotel rooms down onto police—or the hurling of sharpened files?

How much time or space was given to the news that more than 80 Chicago policemen were also injured in the unfortunate, perhaps tragic, confrontations with the hippies and their political allies?

How much time or space was given to the news that a policeman in the convention hall was bitten by a delegate?

How much space or time was devoted to reports of newsmen on the convention floor deliberately provoking police by refusing to show their credentials?

How much attention was given in the news media to the repeated offers—always rejected when the TV cameras appeared—by Chicago Corp. Counsel Ray Simon and National Guard General Richard Dunn of locations for legal, peaceful assembly and speeches?

Does a delegate who shoves a credit card into the electronic device located in the convention hall to verify proper credentials feel he's without some fault when the result is an altercation?

Did the network commentators who reported the convention galleries were packed with "Daley payrollers" also report the press section was also packed with chanting—and certainly non-working press—youngsters sporting McCarthy buttons?

Nobody is always right. There were instances of unnecessary force and other instances of real provocation.

This reporter found Chicago's police extremely courteous, patient and helpful to convention visitors, especially newsmen who offered them the same courtesy and good manners.

What happened in Chicago this week, almost certainly, would have happened in any other city where the convention assembled.

Ironically, it was the Wisconsin delegation that asked for a two-week recess in the convention proceedings and a change in location because of the "brutality in the streets."

Having covered part of the Wisconsin primary campaign last spring and having been present when Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman was prevented from speaking by "free speech" advocates who continuously interrupted him by shouting obscenities, this writer hopes the Badger State delegates didn't have in mind a switch to Madison for the convention.

Mayor Daley, after being interrupted by a youthful delegation after the Illinois delegation's final caucus, urged these young folks to take an active role in politics and to support the candidate of their choice.

He also urged them to be tolerant of others, as well.

It would be a lot easier to listen to the voice of youth if those who were so vocal were at least conformist enough to bathe, shave and even listen once in a while.

It may be old-fashioned, but there appears to be some virtue left in the idea that students can learn by listening and ought to get for the ever-increasing costs of higher education something besides an expanded four-letter word vocabulary.

A lot of folks came away from this convention convinced that Dr. Spock's theory of permissiveness and full self-expression will never replace the woodshed.

The same thing might apply, too, to some of the "new politics" adults.

THE "PUEBLO"—HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 226th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARK SYNAGOGUE, CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, OHIO

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on September 22, 1968, the Park Synagogue of Cleveland Heights, Ohio, begins its 100th year of spiritual and community work serving the entire Greater Cleveland area. The Park Synagogue is the largest Jewish congregation in the world of the conservative denomination serving over 2,400 families. Under the devoted spiritual leadership of Rabbi Armond Cohen and the synagogue's president, Max Ratner, this strong and effective congregation has reached throughout the Greater Cleveland community to develop understanding and brotherhood for men and women of all faiths. The synagogue has distinguished itself by developing a program to bring to Cleveland great world leaders like Eleanor Roosevelt, Justice Douglas, Justice Fortas, Senator J. William Fulbright, and many others who have spoken before vast audiences on topics of the greatest importance.

Through the distinguished religious leadership of the synagogue, the largest Jewish religious school in the Nation has been training thousands of Greater Cleveland Jewish children in the tenets of their great religion. The Park Synagogue has also maintained extensive nursery school, day camp, high school, and collegiate departments.

The greatest tribute to the Park Synagogue has been the untold numbers of outstanding citizens who have graduated from its religious school and been members of its congregation who have contributed to the cultural, spiritual, political, and economic life of our community and the Nation.

My family and I extend to Rabbi and Mrs. Cohen, to Max Ratner, to the associate rabbis, Pearl Mutter and Howard Hirsch, to the synagogue's executive director, Leo Chak, to the director of education, Rabbi George Pollak, and to all of the friends of the Park Synagogue our heartiest congratulations and best wishes for your next 100 years. May these years be as successful and outstanding as have been the last 100 years of service to your religion, the community, and the Nation.

At this point, I wish to insert copies of some of the messages of congratulation from distinguished Americans to the congregation of the Park Synagogue on this important occasion. The messages are as follows:

July 18, 1968.

Mr. Max Ratner,
President, The Park Synagogue,
Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Ratner: It is with the deepest of pleasure that I greet you, and through you the Park Synagogue Congregation, on the occasion of the Synagogue's Centennial. Your congregation has long been a byword amongst Jewish communities, famed for its achievements in Jewish education and culture as it is for the leaders it has sent forth to serve the Jewish community at large. Jews in Israel and all over the world draw strength from the vigor of the American Jewish community and its devotion to the causes of Judaism and Jewry, and we take pride in the Jewish achievements of so renowned a congregation as your own.

I take particular pleasure in addressing these words of congratulation to one who, with his distinguished family, so finely symbolizes the achievements, heritage and leadership for which the Park Synagogue is renowned amongst Jewry.

With warm personal regards,
Sincerely yours,
Maj. Gen. Y. Rabin,
Ambassador.

July 25, 1968.

Mr. Max Ratner,
President of the Park Synagogue,
Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Ratner: May I seize upon the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Park Synagogue to offer my congratulations to the Congregation.

The spiritual strength of the Park Synagogue has spread far beyond the congregants it serves. Its religious school, its nursery school, its day camp, its high school and collegiate departments bring testimony of how deeply rooted the Synagogue is in its relationship to God and to man.

With every good wish, I am,
Sincerely yours,
Emanuel Celler,
Chairman.

Mr. Max Ratner,
President, the Park Synagogue,
Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Ratner: My good friend, Charlie Vanik, has told me that the Park Synagogue will celebrate the 100th anniversary of its founding on September 22, 1968. I want to extend my congratulations to you, Rabbi Armond Cohen, and the members of the congregation on this occasion.

I know that the Park Synagogue has made a major contribution to Jewish life in the community and to the entire Cleveland area. In 100 years, the Synagogue has grown to become the largest Conservative congregation in the country. It has a distinguished history and membership.

At this time of approaching celebration and rededication to the principles of Jewish religious life, I commend all your past accomplishments and wish you every success in the future.

Sincerely,
Abraham Ribicoff.

The Secretary of Health,
Education, and Welfare,
Washington, D.C., July 25, 1968.

Mr. Max Ratner,
President, Park Synagogue,
Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Ratner: It is with pleasure that I extend to you, to Rabbi Armond E. Cohen and to the more than 2,400 families of the Park Synagogue of Cleveland my warm congratulations on the 100th anniversary of the founding of the synagogue.

The Park Synagogue comprises one of the largest Jewish congregations of the Conservative denomination in the world. It has been praised as a landmark in ecclesiastic architecture. Its schools and educational departments are known widely for their excellence. But I would like to take this opportunity to commend the congregation and its leaders for fidelity to their religious heritage and for their many contributions—spiritual and secular—to their community.

Behind you is a century of service and leadership. Ahead, I am sure, is a future equally dedicated to the advancement of our society. In this I extend to you my best wishes.

Sincerely,
Wilbur J. Cohen,
Secretary.

THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF SBA

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, small businesses with inadequate working capital face almost certain failure. A small businessman may have excellent products or services—but if he cannot expand to meet the demands of a growing clientele, his customers will go elsewhere.

Since most small businessmen find it difficult to obtain capital, they can seldom afford expansion and their businesses either stand still or slowly die.

The Small Business Administration—a Federal agency created for the sole purpose of helping the small businessman—offers financial assistance and a host of services dedicated to allowing small business an equal chance in the marketplace.

SBA celebrated its 15th anniversary July 30. In the period from 1953 through 1967, the Agency has made about 85,000 business loans totaling some $3.9 billion. Much of this money has paid for expansion.

The success of Kenneth Leverett, owner of a shoe repair shop in Aiken, S.C., is a good example of what SBA can do for a small businessman.

Mr. Leverett went to the Small Business Administration on two different occasions.

When he applied for his first SBA loan, his shop was located on a side street in 1,200 square feet of rented space in a one-story brick building. SBA approved his request for a working capital loan in October 1965.

In May 1967, with business growing, Leverett applied for a second loan to expand and pay off the remainder of the first SBA loan.

At the end of May, the loan was approved. Leverett bought the building that housed his shop—a wise decision, as his installments would not greatly exceed what he formerly paid in rent. His next steps were to tear down an old structure on the back of his lot to make room for customer parking, and to add a new line of orthopedic shoes to his stock.

Facilities were further improved when Leverett added a drive-in window and night depository where people could leave their shoes for repair after hours.

In less than 3 years, Leverett's annual sales have more than doubled; profits have jumped about one and a half times and his employees have increased from three to five.

The success of Leverett Shoe Service came about through the owner's imagination, drive, and courage—and SBA help.

SBA has done a commendable job over the years, offering financial assistance, management aid and counseling, aid to small businesses in getting a fair share of Government contracts.

Since 1953, more than 11,000 management assistance courses, conferences and workshops have been given by SBA for small businessmen.

SBA has done an outstanding job in setting aside Federal procurement contract awards for small business bidding. Since 1953, more than $19 billion in Government contracts has been set aside for small businessmen—$10.7 billion of it in the past 5 years.

In his state of the Union message, President Johnson reminded Americans that we are in "our eighth year of uninterrupted prosperity. The economic outlook for this year is one of steady growth—if we are vigilant."

And SBA is geared to help the small businessman continue to contribute to our economic growth, for the small business sector of our economy is a vital and necessary part of our everyday lives.

WHEN THE HEIGHT IS WON, THEN THERE IS EASE

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, in its July 1968, edition of Federal Bar News, the Federal Bar Association took poignant note of the death of one of its illustrious members, the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

In order that those of my colleagues who have not seen this tribute may have that opportunity, I will have it reprinted here:

"WHEN THE HEIGHT IS WON, THEN THERE IS EASE"—AESCHYLUS

ROBERT KENNEDY, 1925–68

In a lawful society, death is not thought of as "always somewhere out there in the crowd." And yet it was. Nothing could have brought this matter more poignantly to the Nation's attention than the assassination of *Senator Robert Francis Kennedy*. At the time he was seeking the support of his peers for the Nation's highest elective office. He was doing this with all of his passion and energy.

Senator Kennedy was elected an honorary member of the Federal Bar while serving as the Attorney General of the United States. Earlier, he had served as an attorney with the Department. He also served as an attorney for the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, the Hoover Commission and the Senate Labor-Management Subcommittee. When he was elected to the United States Senate from the State of New York, he became a member of the Capitol Hill Chapter.

For a young man, Senator Kennedy had experienced power, success and fame. Yet none of these were ends in and of themselves. As Attorney General, he was always ready and anxious to take the time to explain the workings of the Justice Department to groups of schoolchildren. For Senator Kennedy love was a verb. Life was action. Men were not made for safe havens. He knew that the problems facing America today and tomorrow could not be solved by worn out clichés. He knew that these problems had to be verbalized with candor and compassion. And now he is gone.

Senator Kennedy often ended his speeches with: "Some men see things as they are and say why? I dream things that never were and say why not?" Isn't this his legacy to us? For the future truly will belong to those of us who can blend vision, reason and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals of America.

To his wife Ethel Skakel, their children and his family, the Federal Bar Association extends its sincere sympathy.

THREE MIAMI BANKING INSTITUTIONS START PROJECT TO FINANCE LOW-INCOME HOUSING

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, during the past few years the private business sector has become increasingly involved in the quest to provide a fuller life for all Americans. Probably no area of concern needs the active participation of the business community more than that of making decent and moderately priced housing available to all. Indicative of attempts to reach this goal is a commendable joint project recently announced by First National Bank of Miami, First Federal Savings & Loan Association, Miami, and Miami Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association. The purpose of their joint venture, entitled "Housing Enablement Loan Pool"—HELP—is succinctly stated in an article appearing in the August 13, 1968, issue of the American Banker. The article is as follows:

FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF MIAMI, FIRST FEDERAL SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION, MIAMI, AND MIAMI BEACH FEDERAL SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION CREATE $10 MILLION FUND TO FINANCE LOW-RENT HOUSING IN DADE COUNTY

MIAMI.—First National Bank of Miami—Florida's largest bank—and two savings and loans associations have established a $10 million credit fund to finance construction loans for low-rent housing in Dade County, the scene of civil disorders last week.

Announcement came jointly from the $542.2 million-deposit bank, 94th largest in the nation at midyear; First Federal Savings & Loan Association, Miami, the largest S&L in the state at yearend, 1967 with $431.5 million savings share capital, and Miami Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association, with $229.8 million savings share capital at yearend.

The institutions also expressed the hope that other country financial institutions will paricipate in the fund, called the "Housing Enablement Loan Pool," or "HELP."

Eugene F. Terkowski, vice president of First National's mortgage loan department, said Monday that the announcement was not made in response to last week's disorders in Miami and that the program had been developed by the three institutions for several months.

"Our top management has been concerned about the lack of sufficient housing" for some time, he said, and had discussed the participation idea as one step to solving the problem. Local authorities estimated that 1,550 low-rent housing units must be built in Dade County during each of the next 10 years to meet housing needs.

The $10 million revolving fund will be used to make construction loans to qualified foundations and non-profit groups, such as church organizations, for low-rent housing developments insured by the Federal Housing Administration.

Most of the loans are expected to be made under provisions of section 221(d)(3) of the Federal Housing Act, and can be made on a nine-month to two-year basis at a 6¾% rate, according to Mr. Terkoski.

Such construction loans can be used for housing developments ranging from one- to four-family units, the latter representing loans "upwards of $2 million," he noted.

Each of the institutions are participating in the fund pool in proportion to its size, and First National is the lead institution. The bank also will administer the program, process applications, submit them for approval to a committee representing participating institutions, and service approved loans.

The program would focus on interim or construction funds, and permanent mortgage financing will be obtained from other sources, such as the life insurance industry and the Federal National Mortgage Association.

"HELP" is expected to be promoted largely by personal contact by the institutions' officers and employees with community organizations. Mr. Terkowski related that one mortgage broker already plans to submit "two or three projects" for consideration.

There is little question that this project and others like it can do much to make universal the true promise of America, and for this reason I applaud the initiators of HELP.

CRIME IN THE STREETS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the renowned author of the Perry Mason series wrote a thought-provoking article entitled "Crime in the Streets" which appeared in the August 18 edition of This Week, a supplement to the Sunday Star. I heartily commend its reading to each and every Member of this body:

Erle Stanley Gardner Talks About Crime in the Streets

(By the famous lawyer and author of the "Perry Mason" mysteries)

A woman, related to a close friend of mine, and living in the residential district of a metropolitan city where she had spent most of her life, occasionally rode home with a young man whose family lived a block down the street.

Since she had known this young man all of her adult life he was almost like a younger member of the family. She had watched him grow to manhood.

One day as he stopped his car at her house for her to get out, he asked if he might use the bathroom. She readily granted the request, opened the door of her house, told him where the bathroom was, and then went into the kitchen.

Suddenly she was startled to hear a slight noise behind her.

She whirled in time to see the young man literally transformed into a bestial assailant, groping for her throat.

She struggled desperately. Her clothes were torn off and she was being overpowered. She remembered her apron strings being tied around her throat. Then as unconsciousness was dimming her senses she became faintly aware that someone attracted by her screams had entered the house.

The assailant heard this person come in the front door. He released his throttling grip, dashed out of the back door and disappeared.

The police, of course, were notified.

The parents of the young man were shocked, but they didn't know where the boy was. He had completely disappeared.

It was something over three years later that the police got a tip that the man they were seeking was in a neighboring state. They investigated and, sure enough, found they had the man they were looking for. The story of what happened after that is somewhat confused because so many different agencies entered into it—the arresting police in the other state, the various other police, the prosecuting attorney and the courts.

CONFESSION—BUT NO CONVICTION

Some of these people with whom I talked feel that the so-called Miranda decision entered into it. In the Miranda decision, it will be remembered, police in Phoenix, Arizona, investigating a. rape case, picked up, for routine questioning, a young man named Miranda who, to their surprise, said immediately, "You have the right man. I did it."

What happened?

The United States Supreme Court held that because Miranda had confessed before the police had informed Miranda of his constitutional rights to remain silent, to have counsel, etc., his conviction must be reversed.

This is a distinct reversal of our earlier legal thinking. The time was when a confession was tantamount to conviction, unless it was obtained with a rubber hose or by such flagrant violence (which the defendant could *prove* in court) that the judge would hold the confession had been made under duress.

Some of the people with whom I talked feel that the District Atorney refused to prosecute on the ground that the statute of limitations had made conviction impossible.

Be that as it may, the District Attorney threw up his hands, the young man came back to resume his life, daily passing the house of the victim who lived only about a block away from the place where the young man's parents had their home.

THE VICTIM BECOMES A FUGITIVE

The victim told me that "the authorities" warned her that this man was dangerous and suggested that she change her name and move away. When I investigated this phase of the case I found that the person who so advised the victim was probably an expert psychologist who may have been called in by the court.

In any event, in the mind of the victim, the authorities had advised her to change her name, give up her home where she had lived virtually all of her adult life, give up all of her friends and move away, while the culprit blithely walks the streets.

This is the Alice in Wonderland aspect of the new justice. The culprit walks the streets. The victim is advised to become the fugitive.

The rights of the individual are being protected, *provided the individual has committed a crime.*

The rights of society in general are being tossed into the garbage heap—simply because, in the past, *some* police had resorted to psychological and physical pressure in order to extract a confession from a suspect. The higher courts were not unaware of what was going on and so, eventually, started a trend of decisions which has now reached a climax, promulgating rules of law holding that a suspect must not only be advised of his right to remain silent, but must be told that he is entitled to have a lawyer present at all stages of interrogation and, if he doesn't have money, society will pay the lawyer.

No wonder crime is on the increase! Every year the FBI releases statistics showing that there has been a significant increase in crimes of violence.

As a result, our legislators are now resorting to approaches intended to "disarm the criminal." This is all very fine if it works, but since society hasn't yet perfected the art of telling who the criminal is until after he has committed a crime, the lawmaking authorities plan to tackle the problem from the other end. They now talk about fingerprinting everyone who owns a gun, making an annual license mandatory and other restrictions on gun owners.

In the opinion of many people who have studied the subject, this is not only putting the cart before the horse, but is clubbing hell out of the cart in order to make the horse go faster.

We have all sorts of laws *now* which are aimed at preventing criminals from carrying weapons.

In order to buy a handgun in California, where I live a man must first make an application with the gun dealer. That application is forwarded to the various law enforcement authorities, which have five days to investigate the individual before the gun can be delivered to him.

This is a very fine law. The only trouble with it is that when one starts to chase down what actual investigation is made by the police he is told, in effect, that they simply don't have the manpower to conduct any investigations worthy of the name.

There is a law in California, very hastily passed, which provides that it is a crime for an individual to carry a weapon capable of concealment through any municipality in the state.

Another law says an alien cannot own a firearm.

Yet the person under arrest for the murder of Senator Kennedy was not only an alien but was carrying a loaded gun through a metropolitan district.

WANTED: MORE POLICE—NOT MORE LAWS

Since the police apparently are unable to enforce the laws they have, separating the criminals from guns, the idea is to fingerprint the owners of all guns, issue licenses and see if this will work.

It must be admitted that many deaths are due to firearms in the home, just as a great many more deaths are due to the operation of automobiles on the highway. Yet crimes of passion can be committed with almost any weapon, and poison is the weapon usually used in crimes of deliberation.

If fewer householders had guns there might will be fewer accidental deaths by firearms, but what would happen if the householder were left defenseless when the police were overworked?

I investigated a case where a householder answered the doorbell and found a smiling young man on the threshold. He had, he explained, had car trouble. Could he please use the telephone to send for a tow car?

The husband invited the man into the room where there was an intimate little family circle—the man, his attractive wife and their daughter, just blossoming into womanhood.

The door closed. The smile promptly left the visitor's face. He produced a gun.

What followed was a nightmare. He forced the husband to stay in the room and watch, while he ordered the women to completely disrobe.

At his leisure he raped both the mother and the daughter, threatening their lives the while.

The emotional impact was such that when the police were finally called in and had arrested a suspect, the overwrought victims made an erroneous identification—which was the reason I investigated the case.

It was established beyond all doubt that the man under arrest was not the man who had perpetrated the crime. On the other hand, the man who did perpetrate that callous crime was never apprehended and is still at large, rubbing elbows with society, perhaps still ringing doorbells.

EVERY LAW HAS ITS OWN PRICE

I personally investigated another doorbell case. Here the husband opened the front door in response to a ringing bell. Three men were on the threshold. At gun point they entered the house, tied up the husband, went upstairs to the bedroom where the attractive wife was dressing in front of a mirror.

When this woman heard the bedroom door

open she naturally assumed it was her husband, and went on with her dressing. By the time she turned, the men were within reaching distance.

The men remained for some 45 minutes. Here again, the emotional impact was so great that a mistaken identification was made. An innocent man was convicted and sent to the penitentiary. Only after months of confinement was the man's innocence established.

In this case, happily, the right men were discovered, convicted and sent to prison.

At the moment, there is a vast undercurrent of public unrest, due to the highly dramatic assassinations of men in public life. The public wants to do something, to tinker with the law if necessary.

It is to be remembered, however, that every law is "bought" by society—the individual has to give up some of his liberties in order to obtain a group good. But scientific, efficient lawmaking should see to it that laws are "purchased" wisely. The individual should be called on to give up the fewest number of liberties in order to obtain the greatest public good. No lawmaker should blunder, as many have, into a situation where the individual is called on to give up a maximum amount of liberties in order to obtain a law which just won't work.

The public can become emotional and hysterical and cry, "Do something!" But the lawmakers must keep their heads. What they must do—and do soon—is increase the efficiency of the police and the numbers of the police, and improve the public attitude towards the police. Otherwise the citizen is going to be pretty much on his own.

RABBI HAROLD P. SMITH SOUNDS A WARNING

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, few if any religious leaders are better known among my colleagues in the House than Rabbi Harold P. Smith, of Chicago, who on two occasions has been our acting Chaplain, opening with prayer our daily session. Several times he has appeared as witness and counselor before committees of the House and Senate. In Washington as in Chicago he is held in the highest esteem.

I am extending my remarks to include a letter by Rabbi Smith in the "Voice of the People" in the Chicago Tribune of August 29, 1968, as follows:

RUSSIA'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

CHICAGO, August 25.—For the last 20 years Russia has been practicing and perfecting the techniques of "shameless sham"—lying, twisting, distorting—in its never-ceasing attacks on little Israel in the United Nations. Russia has never forgiven this little democracy its temerity in defending the lives of its citizens against attack by foreign powers similar to the ones now unleashed on Czechoslovakia.

In the many yesterdays of these 20 years the world has listened with lamentable indifference as Russia excoriated Israel with the same unabashed distortion of fact as to who is the aggressor and who the aggrieved, as to who is for justice and freedom and who for shameless attack, who is for freedom and who for subjugation.

If and when a new war in the middle east breaks out, as well it might, it will be primarily because Russia re-armed to the hilt its Arab allies, while the United States, with one true democratic ally in the middle east, continues in its unfathomable refusal to sell that ally, Israel, the Phantom jets which alone, in the hands of Israel, could discourage and prevent the next middle east war.

RABBI HAROLD P. SMITH.

FAIR NEWS COVERAGE IS NECESSARY TO WELL-INFORMED CITIZENS

HON. JAMES F. BATTIN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I include the following in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Sept. 1, 1968]

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

(By Betty Beale)

This columnist has just returned from Chicago—unbloodied, unpelted and even unbruised, thanks to the Chicago police.

It is time one member of the media gave the other side of the picture because the public has the right to know.

Never has a law-enforcing group been more sorely tried. They received both bodily injury and unspeakably vile treatment from the hippies in Grant Park. Yet never at any time did I see policemen show more courtesy than the police of Chicago. Courtesy, of course, is only due people who show some courtesy themselves.

And despite the difficult circumstances to which they had to maintain order they managed to prevent fatal catastrophe.

We heard the word "over-reacted" used a lot by commentators last week, and by busy politicians who were assuming that what they had been told was correct.

But if there was ever an over-reaction to any fact of life during those seven days in Chicago, it was the over-reaction of the media to any effort whatsoever to stop the hippies from the flagrant civil disorders and their disgusting disturbances of the peace.

Every time a newsman was hurt, the screams of protest went around the world, but how much was said about the newsmen who taunted the police or tried to get action for the TV cameras? A member of the vice president's coterie heard two reporters having a great laugh in the Coffee Shop of the Conrad Hilton about how they agitated in Grant Park until the police started pushing them around.

Wyoming Sen. and Mrs. Gale McGee and their two grown children walked over to the park to see for themselves what was going on and they arrived when the changing of the National Guard troops was taking place.

Walking through a gang of hippies they saw two girls, one playing the flute. Then they saw a TV camera team lead the girls over to the exact place by the troops where they wanted them to stand. And when their camera started to roll, the girl cried, "Don't beat me! Don't beat me!" It takes no imagination to figure how this contrived scene would look on the screens in millions of American homes.

In the convention hall Mrs. McGee said a youth of about 15 sat in front of them and clapped hard at everything said that he liked and shouted four-letter words at everything he didn't like. Instead of just grabbing him and removing him, as the police would have done in most civilized places, the Chicago police asked him first to stop it. But he paid no attention to them so "they had to take him out," said Mrs. McGee.

The cameras probably caught the big policemen bodily forcing the mere youth to leave, giving the television viewer the idea he had done nothing to provoke such reaction.

And what, by the way, has happened to the news media that provocation is left out of, or played down in, story after story? Most announcements or headlines told what the police did to the hippies but left out or skimmed over what the hippies did to the public or police.

Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, World War hero and Democratic keynoter, said the hippies were throwing plastic bags of human excrement at the police and guards in Grant Park. They were also throwing rubber balls stuck with long nails aimed for the eyes.

How would those commentators who thought the police "over-reacted" have behaved if those things had happened to them?

For three straight minutes late Tuesday night, or rather early Wednesday morning, 3,000 hippies shouted in unison, directed by a leader, an obscene curse at the President of the United States. They were either cursing the police in the same way or calling them pigs. And I used to think that insulting an officer was against the law!

Why was an electronic amplifier allowed to remain in the park all day and night where obscenities were shouted until 4 a.m., I asked a police officer? There was a city ordnance against such use, he said, but if they arrested those using it they would only be fined and somebody might be killed in the process. If this wasn't underacting, what is?

Mayor Daley was constantly referred to on the air in slurring accents as the boss of Chicago. He may be, and he is responsible, no doubt, for some bad as well as some good. But Chicago is only one city.

Two famous TV commentators were bossing the presentation of slanted news that affected the minds of millions of Americans in hundreds of cities. As Liz Carpenter said at the women's luncheon Thursday, in all the talk of brutality there had not been "one word about the TV network brutality—the commentator clubbing" of the mayor.

When the mayor fails to do what the majority of the people in Chicago want they can at least vote him out. But no vote can stop the bossism of the airwaves where editorializing has been substituted again and again for straight reporting. One NBC commentator virtually campaigned for Teddy Kennedy throughout Tuesday evening.

In the past I have been proud to be a member of the Fourth Estate, but after this past week I feel a burning inward shame. In my mind freedom of the press has always been necessary to liberty. The Bible states it most beautifully: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

But how much truth, and how much biased opinion are the people, and especially the youth of America, getting?

A clean, well-combed, pretty young girl for Sen. McCarthy was one of five of us who shared a taxi to O'Hare Airport Friday and the conversation turned to what the hippies had done to convert the serious business of nominating a presidential candidate into a circus of vulgarity.

Unbelievably, she stood up for the right of the Grant Park crowd to curse the President in four-letter words. She had no respect for the highest office of our land.

When one of the men blamed Tom Hayden for leading the youth to such actions, she said Tom was all right; he was a friend of hers.

I am not familiar with Hayden's record but the fact that this young woman supported him and his undertaking indicated the truth had not reached her as it is not reaching millions of young people.

Maybe the media had better ask itself why.

JOHN R. GEHLBACH: MAN OF THE MONTH

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, now and then in every community some man grows tall as a result of service to his community, his State, or his country. John R. Gehlbach, an attorney and resident of Lincoln, Ill., is one of those men. He is not limited in service to his community just in the practice of law, but he has made a varied contribution throughout all of his adult life.

Mr. Speaker, I herewith append an article by Ken Goodrich, editorial writer for the Lincoln Daily Courier, with reference to the great work that has been done by John R. Gehlbach for his community:

JOHN R. GEHLBACH DOES JUSTICE TO COMMUNITY

(By Ken Goodrich)

John R. Gehlbach has a zest for life—as well as love of family and home.

Yet he has found time, interest and inclination—and still does—to participate and be a leader in community activities.

For his activities and leadership, he is being cited as the July Courier Man of the Month. He spent his early years at Beason, new resides at Elkhart and is a practicing attorney in Lincoln.

The lawyer was born Oct. 9, 1920, at Beason—the son of the late Frank P. Gehlbach and Hester Keys-Gehlbach—and bears the name of a pioneer family in Logan County. He has a brother, Virgil of Beason; and a sister, Mrs. Virginia Gleichman of Arlington Heights, Ill., who are twins. Another brother is Raymond of Beason.

MARRIED ON VALENTINE DAY

The former Mildred Poole of Lincoln became Mrs. John R. Gehlbach Feb. 14, 1956, in a Valentine Day ceremony at Davenport, Iowa. Their children are—Greta, 9; and John Richard (Rickey) 8, pupils in the grade school at Elkhart where their father serves on the board of education.

The counselor first went to school at Beason grade, then was graduated by Beason high school in 1938, As a guard he won a basketball letter as well as editing the school paper. It was in 4-H and Future Farmers of America, however, that his activities were largely centered because of his interest in agriculture.

Attorney Gehlbach served as president of the Illinois F.F.A. and also edited the state organization newspaper. As a member of the Beason F.F.A. teams, he exhibited swine, cattle and sheep—serving as well on the judging teams. This interest in agriculture persists today—the Man of the Month owns farmland in Logan County.

ON STAFF OF DAILY ILLINI

After high school, Gehlbach studied for two years at the University of Illinois where he served on the staff of the Daily Illini—university newspaper. From the U. of I., he transferred to Carleton College in Northfield, Minn., receiving his bachelor of arts degree as a member of the class of 1942.

During World War II, the attorney put in 4½ years of Navy service in the Seabees, the construction branch. He was on duty in the Pacific Theatre—in Australia and New Guinea for the most part—for the building of air bases. While in Navy blue, the M.O.M. studied for 8 months at the Harvard University School of Business, then was engaged in contract termination and surplus disposal. Discharged in 1946, he had attained the rank of lieutenant commander.

A civilian again, Gehlbach enrolled at Northwestern University, one of the more prominent of the major law schools. A member of the class of 1949, he was an editor of the Northwestern Law Review and received a bachelor of laws degree (LL.B) in 1949. After being admitted to the bar by the State of Illinois, Gehlbach became assistant to the general counsel for Swift & Company in Chicago—serving in that capacity for a year.

IN PRACTICE SINCE 1951

Coming to Lincoln in 1951, he has been busy in the practice of law since—his office being at 419 Pulaski st. The office building is relatively new among local business structures. For 8 years he was assistant attorney general (for the state) in Logan County.

The Man of the Month is presently serving a third term as president of Lincoln College board of trustees. With others on the board, his goal is to make it "the best of all 2-year colleges." The legal professionalist sees a great need in these times for a school like L. C. where the student receives individual assistance and attention. Gehlbach much enjoys association with prominent people who serve on the board from far and wide. In all, he has served 15 years as a trustee.

He is a past president of the Kiwanis club of Lincoln and a member of Lincoln Lodge 914, B.P.O. Elks. A member of the Episcopal church, the lawyer is also affiliated with the American Legion posts in Lincoln and Elkhart, as well as the Veterans of Foreign Wars here.

SERVED ON HOSPITAL BOARD

Other affiliations include Logan County and Illinois Bar associations as well as the American Judicature Society. The Man of the Month also belongs to the Sangamo club in Springfield and for two of the three years he was on the board of A.L.M. hospital here was its vice president. Having a hand in the finance campaign to erect the house of mercy, he is still a member of the investment committee.

The Red Cross is another organization in which he has worked, being chairman for one of the Logan County chapter's financial campaigns.

An enthusiastic Republican, Gehlbach is presently treasurer of the Logan County central committee. He has managed the campaigns of several candidates in Logan County and puts in time for his party because he believes strongly that citizens should work for and promote those candidates who will be good office holders. "Politics is one of my main interests," he told this interviewer.

DRAW MOST FROM LAW

It is timely here to observe that the law is one of the commonest roads to public office. Congress, the state legislatures, and the administrative branches of government draw more people from the law than from any other profession. Most judges have been lawyers, and there are some public offices, such as prosecutor, or district attorney, which must be held by lawyers. About two of every three presidents of the United States were lawyers prior to being elected President.

Interest in reading, antiques, golf and high on the list—work—are given by Gehlbach as his hobbies. There is also travel—the attorney recalls with delight a three-months pleasure trip to Europe before he came to Lincoln to begin his career in law.

Both the lawyer and his wife are active in Springfield in humanitarian work in the area of cystic fibrosis. It is a disease of the pancreas primarily in children. The Gehlbachs, with others, are doing their bit to both prevent the disease and to assist those who have it.

ANTIQUES IN HIS OFFICE

In his present office between 4 and 5 years, Gehlbach has it furnished with truly antique furniture. He pointed out two desks in particular, these being of different-than-ordinary—one having been made at Philadelphia more than 125 years ago. In the area of antiques, Gehlbach's only regret is that his time does not enable him to give it as much attention as he would like. He moved the desks into his Pulaski st. office from his former office above the drug store at 427 Pulaski st. One of them came from the office of the late Charles Gehlbach, an uncle of John's and also an attorney.

Gehlbach is optimistic for the future of the City of Lincoln, believing it will continue to grow and develop. His work often takes him to the Logan County courthouse and the beautification of the lawn he views as a pace setter for downtown improvements.

LAWYERS ADVISE, PROTECT

Contracts, wills, other legal business matters—these are the duties of a lawyer for his clients. He represents them in court in cases where it is necessary and strives diligently to live up to the ethics of his profession. It is a profession requiring years of study so that the attorney may be in position to advise and to protect those of the public who engage his services.

The lawyer's duty is to see that justice is done. In the "case" of Atty. John R. Gehlbach, it is clearly evident that he has done full justice to serving his community often and astutely.

SERGEANT RASH DIES IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, S. Sgt. William G. Rash, a marine from Baltimore, was recently killed in action in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SERGEANT RASH DIES IN VIETNAM—CITY MARINE, 25, WAS NEAR END OF YEAR'S DUTY

A 25-year-old Marine sergeant from Baltimore, who was nearing the end of his tour of duty in Vietnam, has been killed in action, the Defense Department has announced.

He was S. Sgt. William G. Rash, husband of Mrs. Carol Ann Rash, of Parris Island, S.C.

A platoon leader attached to a reconnaissance battalion of the 1st Marine Division, Sergeant Rash was killed August 21 by an enemy grenade explosion while on patrol in Quangnam province.

FORTY-FOUR DAYS TO GO

Sent to Vietnam last year, Sergeant Rash, who intended to make the Marine Corps his career, would have completed his Vietnam tour of duty only 44 days after he was killed.

Sergeant Rash served at Da Nang before being assigned to Quangnam. He was wounded in action last November.

His mother, Mrs. Lillian B. Green, of the 1000 block South Baylis street, said yesterday that in his letters her son "never said what was happening over there and never talked about what he was going through."

Born in Baltimore, Sergeant Rash attended Patterson Park High School before enlisting in the Marines in February, 1960.

After training at Parris Island and Camp Lejeune, N.C., he served twice in the Mediterranean area during his first tour of duty.

Reenlisting in the Marines in 1964, Sergeant Rash attended drill instructors' school at Parris Island and served there before being sent to Vietnam last year.

In addition to his wife and his mother, Sergeant Rash is survived by his infant daughter, Kimberly Ann, whom he never saw. Other survivors include his stepfather, George Green; a half brother, George Green, Jr.; a half sister, Miss Nancy Green, and his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Anna Lorek, of Baltimore.

MICHIGAN'S NINTH DISTRICT GETS MID-YEAR REPORT

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, this week thousands of people in Michigan's Ninth Congressional District are receiving copies of my mid-year report on the progress made by the House.

The report, which is made to better inform the people I represent in Congress, is part of my responsibility as an elected public official.

I include the following mid-year report in the RECORD:

REPORT REFLECTS BUSY YEAR IN WASHINGTON

Congress has responded to the growing needs of the Nation in a responsible manner. Much more work and many landmark decisions are ahead.

Although many problems have been met this session, some of the major ones remain unsolved. For example, the Vietnam War, civil unrest and the state of the Nation's finances require the attention of this Congress.

In the face of pressure Congress refused to be stampeded into passing panic legislation after the most tragic violence in our country's history erupted across the land.

Yet, there is a strong need for national government to take the lead in discovering and curing the causes of civil disobedience that tortures cities and disrupts peaceful existence.

Not enough has been done by Congress to: derail inflation, put the brakes on federal spending, and return more responsibility to the states.

Despite the accomplishments of the 90th Congress there are unsolved problems of air and water pollution, mass transit, traffic control of commercial aviation, an expensive, troubled national postal system, housing, crime and an exploding federal bureaucracy.

This Congress has earned more respect as a public servant. I believe that by and large members of the House are responding to the wishes of their constituents who sent them to Washington as representatives in national government.

As your Congressman I serve you with enthusiasm, and hopefully with courage and imagination in speaking for you in the House, keeping you informed and handling your problems involving the national government in Washington.

Sincerely,

GUY VANDER JAGT,
Member of Congress.

HIGHLIGHTS OF VIEWS ON ISSUES AT YOUR SERVICE

The 9th District maintains two local offices to assist you. James Gibson holds office hours at courthouses throughout the district on a regular schedule. He can be reached at 4078 Highgate in Muskegon, telephone 798–3741.

In Ottawa County Dr. Bruce Raymond is available mornings at 31 West 8th Street in Holland. His telephone number is 396–3849.

In Washington my staff and I will be pleased to answer your requests. Address your letters to: Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, 1133 Longworth Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. Telephone: 202—225–3511.

If you are planning a trip to Washington please let us know when you will arrive. We'll be glad to help you enjoy your visit.

MY LEGISLATIVE RECORD ON MAJOR ISSUES

Among leaders of successful move to establish House Code of Ethics. Vote on bill to adopt standards of conduct, yes.

Bill to reduce spending on space program to acceptable level of priority, yes.

Bill to provide stricter law enforcement and to research causes of crime, yes.

Bill to remove controls on major farm products, introduced.

Bill to restrict loan sharks, yes.

Administration's plan for travel tax on Americans visiting overseas, opposed.

Resolution to re-examine Administration's conduct of U.S. military effort in Vietnam, yes.

Attempt to abolish freedom-of-information committee in House, opposed.

Bill calling for swift action against water and air pollution, yes.

Better school lunch program, pesticide research, national fire prevention, supported.

Bill to help taxpayers go to court against national government without suffering financial loss after winning lawsuit, introduced.

Each week this year I have made public statements on major issues. Although copies of my views are distributed among news media, the general circulation is comparatively limited. To better inform the people I represent in Congress highlights of my statements are included in this special mid-year report.

Travel tax—"Any attempt to isolate the people of America from people elsewhere in the world would be a flagrant display of contempt for personal freedom and a poor solution for a problem that can be solved in a more constructive way."

Poverty—"The poverty program should bring hope and opportunity to the poor, place the children of poverty-stricken parents at the very top of the priority list, involve the poor in the solution of their own problems, operate with a minimum of administrative expense, help people to help themselves through education and training."

Spending—"Positive national spending priorities are needed now to make our country stronger. Spending should be put off for public works, non-military research, highway beautification, a supersonic plane and other low priority programs."

Air safety—"Congress should move decisively to improve, expand, upgrade or do whatever is necessary to make the sky safer for all segments of aviation and the traveling public."

Civil strife—(Quoting the late Dr. Martin Luther King: "We must learn to live together as brothers or we will perish together as fools,") "and now, when nothing seems right and everything seems dangerously tentative, there's only one thing America can do, America can earn the right to be proud."

Farming—In introducing a bill to remove strangling controls on some agricultural products, "We should give farming back to the farmers."

Truth—"The so-called 'gap' between truth and fiction in some operations of the national government is becoming wider and deeper."

Elections—"America's ancient, tottering system of electing Presidents under the behind-the-times electoral college method threatens chaos."

Crime fighter—"The American people who have been served so well by the FBI owe a debt to J. Edgar Hoover. It can be paid by rallying to his side at a time when he is the target of a political barrage."

Coho—"The glittering success of Michigan's Coho Salmon fishing program is an excellent example of a sensible, proper priority in the investment of public money."

CONGRESS RETURNS TO WASHINGTON

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the text of my most recent report to my constituents at this point in the RECORD:

CONGRESS RETURNS TO WASHINGTON

There is a good deal of work yet to be done in Washington as Congress swings into the final stretch run for 1968, following the month's recess for the national political conventions.

The next month (or more) before final adjournment will be filled with action on conference reports—many currently pending and others that will develop. A conference report is the final agreement decided upon by a special committee made up of both Senators and Representatives who work to reach compromises where the Senate and House have passed differing versions of the same bill. Both sides are then asked to approve this agreement in order to ready the bill for Presidential signing.

I have mentioned both the Redwood National Park and the Vocational Education conferences elsewhere in this Newsletter. Other conference committee action that is pending involves appropriations for military construction and for the Department of Housing & Urban Development and independent agencies. Also in conference are the Agricultural Act (farm program), Food Stamp authorization, foreign aid, Higher Education amendments, military procurement, the Lower Colorado River Basin program (conferees have reached agreement on this), and several other smaller bills. All will have to be resolved before adjournment.

Appropriations, gun control pending

Needing action yet in both House and Senate, with a probable conference following that, are the Defense Department and foreign aid appropriations. Also, the Senate has not yet acted on the Department of Labor—Health, Education & Welfare appropriations.

Other legislation pending action, as well—principally in the Senate—is the gun control bill recently passed by the House, hazardous radiation such as from color TV, the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, and the nomination of Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas to become Chief Justice.

By the time this work has been cleared up, the 1968 Session of the 90th Congress will not have to be ashamed of the *quantity* of work it will have performed, although the *quality* of some of what was done may leave something to be desired and certain much needed legislation remains untouched.

Accomplishments of 1968

On the positive side, Congress has some accomplishments this year that we can be very proud of. Perhaps the one that leads all the rest is the Truth-in-Lending law. This will require that the full cost of interest and other charges will have to be shown clearly and simply in respect to any loan, mortgage, time payment plan, or revolving credit account.

Another important new law aimed at protection of the consumer directs the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a comprehensive study of all aspects of existing

JOHN R. GEHLBACH: MAN OF THE MONTH

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, now and then in every community some man grows tall as a result of service to his community, his State, or his country. John R. Gehlbach, an attorney and resident of Lincoln, Ill., is one of those men. He is not limited in service to his community just in the practice of law, but he has made a varied contribution throughout all of his adult life.

Mr. Speaker, I herewith append an article by Ken Goodrich, editorial writer for the Lincoln Daily Courier, with reference to the great work that has been done by John R. Gehlbach for his community:

JOHN R. GEHLBACH DOES JUSTICE TO COMMUNITY

(By Ken Goodrich)

John R. Gehlbach has a zest for life—as well as love of family and home.

Yet he has found time, interest and inclination—and still does—to participate and be a leader in community activities.

For his activities and leadership, he is being cited as the July Courier Man of the Month. He spent his early years at Beason, new resides at Elkhart and is a practicing attorney in Lincoln.

The lawyer was born Oct. 9, 1920, at Beason—the son of the late Frank P. Gehlbach and Hester Keys-Gehlbach—and bears the name of a pioneer family in Logan County. He has a brother, Virgil of Beason; and a sister, Mrs. Virginia Gleichman of Arlington Heights, Ill., who are twins. Another brother is Raymond of Beason.

MARRIED ON VALENTINE DAY

The former Mildred Poole of Lincoln became Mrs. John R. Gehlbach Feb. 14, 1956, in a Valentine Day ceremony at Davenport, Iowa. Their children are—Greta, 9; and John Richard (Rickey) 8, pupils in the grade school at Elkhart where their father serves on the board of education.

The counselor first went to school at Beason grade, then was graduated by Beason high school in 1938, As a guard he won a basketball letter as well as editing the school paper. It was in 4-H and Future Farmers of America, however, that his activities were largely centered because of his interest in agriculture.

Attorney Gehlbach served as president of the Illinois F.F.A. and also edited the state organization newspaper. As a member of the Beason F.F.A. teams, he exhibited swine, cattle and sheep—serving as well on the judging teams. This interest in agriculture persists today—the Man of the Month owns farmland in Logan County.

ON STAFF OF DAILY ILLINI

After high school, Gehlbach studied for two years at the University of Illinois where he served on the staff of the Daily Illini—university newspaper. From the U. of I., he transferred to Carleton College in Northfield, Minn., receiving his bachelor of arts degree as a member of the class of 1942.

During World War II, the attorney put in 4½ years of Navy service in the Seabees, the construction branch. He was on duty in the Pacific Theatre—in Australia and New Guinea for the most part—for the building of air bases. While in Navy blue, the M.O.M. studied for 8 months at the Harvard University School of Business, then was engaged in contract termination and surplus disposal. Discharged in 1946, he had attained the rank of lieutenant commander.

A civilian again, Gehlbach enrolled at Northwestern University, one of the more prominent of the major law schools. A member of the class of 1949, he was an editor of the Northwestern Law Review and received a bachelor of laws degree (LL.B) in 1949. After being admitted to the bar by the State of Illinois, Gehlbach became assistant to the general counsel for Swift & Company in Chicago—serving in that capacity for a year.

IN PRACTICE SINCE 1951

Coming to Lincoln in 1951, he has been busy in the practice of law since—his office being at 419 Pulaski st. The office building is relatively new among local business structures. For 8 years he was assistant attorney general (for the state) in Logan County.

The Man of the Month is presently serving a third term as president of Lincoln College board of trustees. With others on the board, his goal is to make it "the best of all 2-year colleges." The legal professionalist sees a great need in these times for a school like L. C. where the student receives individual assistance and attention. Gehlbach much enjoys association with prominent people who serve on the board from far and wide. In all, he has served 15 years as a trustee.

He is a past president of the Kiwanis club of Lincoln and a member of Lincoln Lodge 914, B.P.O. Elks. A member of the Episcopal church, the lawyer is also affiliated with the American Legion posts in Lincoln and Elkhart, as well as the Veterans of Foreign Wars here.

SERVED ON HOSPITAL BOARD

Other affiliations include Logan County and Illinois Bar associations as well as the American Judicature Society. The Man of the Month also belongs to the Sangamo club in Springfield and for two of the three years he was on the board of A.L.M. hospital here was its vice president. Having a hand in the finance campaign to erect the house of mercy, he is still a member of the investment committee.

The Red Cross is another organization in which he has worked, being chairman for one of the Logan County chapter's financial campaigns.

An enthusiastic Republican, Gehlbach is presently treasurer of the Logan County central committee. He has managed the campaigns of several candidates in Logan County and puts in time for his party because he believes strongly that citizens should work for and promote those candidates who will be good office holders. "Politics is one of my main interests," he told this interviewer.

DRAW MOST FROM LAW

It is timely here to observe that the law is one of the commonest roads to public office. Congress, the state legislatures, and the administrative branches of government draw more people from the law than from any other profession. Most judges have been lawyers, and there are some public offices, such as prosecutor, or district attorney, which must be held by lawyers. About two of every three presidents of the United States were lawyers prior to being elected President.

Interest in reading, antiques, golf and high on the list—work—are given by Gehlbach as his hobbies. There is also travel—the attorney recalls with delight a three-months pleasure trip to Europe before he came to Lincoln to begin his career in law.

Both the lawyer and his wife are active in Springfield in humanitarian work in the area of cystic fibrosis. It is a disease of the pancreas primarily in children. The Gehlbachs, with others, are doing their bit to both prevent the disease and to assist those who have it.

ANTIQUES IN HIS OFFICE

In his present office between 4 and 5 years, Gehlbach has it furnished with truly antique furniture. He pointed out two desks in particular, these being of different-than-ordinary—one having been made at Philadelphia more than 125 years ago. In the area of antiques, Gehlbach's only regret is that his time does not enable him to give it as much attention as he would like. He moved the desks into his Pulaski st. office from his former office above the drug store at 427 Pulaski st. One of them came from the office of the late Charles Gehlbach, an uncle of John's and also an attorney.

Gehlbach is optimistic for the future of the City of Lincoln, believing it will continue to grow and develop. His work often takes him to the Logan County courthouse and the beautification of the lawn he views as a pace setter for downtown improvements.

LAWYERS ADVISE, PROTECT

Contracts, wills, other legal business matters—these are the duties of a lawyer for his clients. He represents them in court in cases where it is necessary and strives diligently to live up to the ethics of his profession. It is a profession requiring years of study so that the attorney may be in position to advise and to protect those of the public who engage his services.

The lawyer's duty is to see that justice is done. In the "case" of Atty. John R. Gehlbach, it is clearly evident that he has done full justice to serving his community often and astutely.

SERGEANT RASH DIES IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, S. Sgt. William G. Rash, a marine from Baltimore, was recently killed in action in Vietnam. I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by including the following article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SERGEANT RASH DIES IN VIETNAM—CITY MARINE, 25, WAS NEAR END OF YEAR'S DUTY

A 25-year-old Marine sergeant from Baltimore, who was nearing the end of his tour of duty in Vietnam, has been killed in action, the Defense Department has announced.

He was S. Sgt. William G. Rash, husband of Mrs. Carol Ann Rash, of Parris Island, S.C.

A platoon leader attached to a reconnaissance battalion of the 1st Marine Division, Sergeant Rash was killed August 21 by an enemy grenade explosion while on patrol in Quangnam province.

FORTY-FOUR DAYS TO GO

Sent to Vietnam last year, Sergeant Rash, who intended to make the Marine Corps his career, would have completed his Vietnam tour of duty only 44 days after he was killed.

Sergeant Rash served at Da Nang before being assigned to Quangnam. He was wounded in action last November.

His mother, Mrs. Lillian B. Green, of the 1000 block South Baylis street, said yesterday that in his letters her son "never said what was happening over there and never talked about what he was going through."

Born in Baltimore, Sergeant Rash attended Patterson Park High School before enlisting in the Marines in February, 1960.

After training at Parris Island and Camp Lejeune, N.C., he served twice in the Mediterranean area during his first tour of duty.

Reenlisting in the Marines in 1964, Ser-

geant Rash attended drill instructors' school at Parris Island and served there before being sent to Vietnam last year.

In addition to his wife and his mother, Sergeant Rash is survived by his infant daughter, Kimberly Ann, whom he never saw.

Other survivors include his stepfather, George Green; a half brother, George Green, Jr.; a half sister, Miss Nancy Green, and his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Anna Lorek, of Baltimore.

MICHIGAN'S NINTH DISTRICT GETS MID-YEAR REPORT

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, this week thousands of people in Michigan's Ninth Congressional District are receiving copies of my mid-year report on the progress made by the House.

The report, which is made to better inform the people I represent in Congress, is part of my responsibility as an elected public official.

I include the following mid-year report in the RECORD:

REPORT REFLECTS BUSY YEAR IN WASHINGTON

Congress has responded to the growing needs of the Nation in a responsible manner. Much more work and many landmark decisions are ahead.

Although many problems have been met this session, some of the major ones remain unsolved. For example, the Vietnam War, civil unrest and the state of the Nation's finances require the attention of this Congress.

In the face of pressure Congress refused to be stampeded into passing panic legislation after the most tragic violence in our country's history erupted across the land.

Yet, there is a strong need for national government to take the lead in discovering and curing the causes of civil disobedience that tortures cities and disrupts peaceful existence.

Not enough has been done by Congress to: derail inflation, put the brakes on federal spending, and return more responsibility to the states.

Despite the accomplishments of the 90th Congress there are unsolved problems of air and water pollution, mass transit, traffic control of commercial aviation, an expensive, troubled national postal system, housing, crime and an exploding federal bureaucracy.

This Congress has earned more respect as a public servant. I believe that by and large members of the House are responding to the wishes of their constituents who sent them to Washington as representatives in national government.

As your Congressman I serve you with enthusiasm, and hopefully with courage and imagination in speaking for you in the House, keeping you informed and handling your problems involving the national government in Washington.

Sincerely,

GUY VANDER JAGT,
Member of Congress.

HIGHLIGHTS OF VIEWS ON ISSUES

AT YOUR SERVICE

The 9th District maintains two local offices to assist you. James Gibson holds office hours at courthouses throughout the district on a regular schedule. He can be reached at 4078 Highgate in Muskegon, telephone 798-3741.

In Ottawa County Dr. Bruce Raymond is available mornings at 31 West 8th Street in Holland. His telephone number is 396-3849.

In Washington my staff and I will be pleased to answer your requests. Address your letters to: Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, 1133 Longworth Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. Telephone: 202—225-3511.

If you are planning a trip to Washington please let us know when you will arrive. We'll be glad to help you enjoy your visit.

MY LEGISLATIVE RECORD ON MAJOR ISSUES

Among leaders of successful move to establish House Code of Ethics. Vote on bill to adopt standards of conduct, yes.

Bill to reduce spending on space program to acceptable level of priority, yes.

Bill to provide stricter law enforcement and to research causes of crime, yes.

Bill to remove controls on major farm products, introduced.

Bill to restrict loan sharks, yes.

Administration's plan for travel tax on Americans visiting overseas, opposed.

Resolution to re-examine Administration's conduct of U.S. military effort in Vietnam, yes.

Attempt to abolish freedom-of-information committee in House, opposed.

Bill calling for swift action against water and air pollution, yes.

Better school lunch program, pesticide research, national fire prevention, supported.

Bill to help taxpayers go to court against national government without suffering financial loss after winning lawsuit, introduced.

Each week this year I have made public statements on major issues. Although copies of my views are distributed among news media, the general circulation is comparatively limited. To better inform the people I represent in Congress highlights of my statements are included in this special mid-year report.

Travel tax—"Any attempt to isolate the people of America from people elsewhere in the world would be a flagrant display of contempt for personal freedom and a poor solution for a problem that can be solved in a more constructive way."

Poverty—"The poverty program should bring hope and opportunity to the poor, place the children of poverty-stricken parents at the very top of the priority list, involve the poor in the solution of their own problems, operate with a minimum of administrative expense, help people to help themselves through education and training."

Spending—"Positive national spending priorities are needed now to make our country stronger. Spending should be put off for public works, non-military research, highway beautification, a supersonic plane and other low priority programs."

Air safety—"Congress should move decisively to improve, expand, upgrade or do whatever is necessary to make the sky safer for all segments of aviation and the traveling public."

Civil strife—(Quoting the late Dr. Martin Luther King: "We must learn to live together as brothers or we will perish together as fools,") "and now, when nothing seems right and everything seems dangerously tentative, there's only one thing America can do, America can earn the right to be proud."

Farming—In introducing a bill to remove strangling controls on some agricultural products, "We should give farming back to the farmers."

Truth—"The so-called 'gap' between truth and fiction in some operations of the national government is becoming wider and deeper."

Elections—"America's ancient, tottering system of electing Presidents under the behind-the-times electoral college method threatens chaos."

Crime fighter—"The American people who have been served so well by the FBI owe a debt to J. Edgar Hoover. It can be paid by rallying to his side at a time when he is the target of a political barrage."

Coho—"The glittering success of Michigan's Coho Salmon fishing program is an excellent example of a sensible, proper priority in the investment of public money."

CONGRESS RETURNS TO WASHINGTON

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the text of my most recent report to my constituents at this point in the RECORD:

CONGRESS RETURNS TO WASHINGTON

There is a good deal of work yet to be done in Washington as Congress swings into the final stretch run for 1968, following the month's recess for the national political conventions.

The next month (or more) before final adjournment will be filled with action on conference reports—many currently pending and others that will develop. A conference report is the final agreement decided upon by a special committee made up of both Senators and Representatives who work to reach compromises where the Senate and House have passed differing versions of the same bill. Both sides are then asked to approve this agreement in order to ready the bill for Presidential signing.

I have mentioned both the Redwood National Park and the Vocational Education conferences elsewhere in this Newsletter. Other conference committee action that is pending involves appropriations for military construction and for the Department of Housing & Urban Development and independent agencies. Also in conference are the Agricultural Act (farm program), Food Stamp authorization, foreign aid, Higher Education amendments, military procurement, the Lower Colorado River Basin program (conferees have reached agreement on this), and several other smaller bills. All will have to be resolved before adjournment.

Appropriations, gun control pending

Needing action yet in both House and Senate, with a probable conference following that, are the Defense Department and foreign aid appropriations. Also, the Senate has not yet acted on the Department of Labor—Health, Education & Welfare appropriations.

Other legislation pending action, as well—principally in the Senate—is the gun control bill recently passed by the House, hazardous radiation such as from color TV, the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, and the nomination of Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas to become Chief Justice.

By the time this work has been cleared up, the 1968 Session of the 90th Congress will not have to be ashamed of the *quantity* of work it will have performed, although the *quality* of some of what was done may leave something to be desired and certain much needed legislation remains untouched.

Accomplishments of 1968

On the positive side, Congress has some accomplishments this year that we can be very proud of. Perhaps the one that leads all the rest is the Truth-in-Lending law. This will require that the full cost of interest and other charges will have to be shown clearly and simply in respect to any loan, mortgage, time payment plan, or revolving credit account.

Another important new law aimed at protection of the consumer directs the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a comprehensive study of all aspects of existing automobile insurance procedures, including complaints related to cancellations, bankruptcies, prices, discriminatory sales practices, etc.

Shop with confidence

Another consumer protection law passed this year is the Wholesome Poultry Products Act, which provides for poultry inspection comparable to the meat inspection law passed last year. The grocery shopper can feel much safer in purchasing both meat and poultry as a result of the Federal inspection systems that will be set up under these new programs.

Police force aid valuable

The Omnibus Crime Control Act is another landmark piece of legislation, providing aid to state and local law enforcement agencies to make improvements in their ability to prevent and control crime and riots.

The Crime Control law also included the prohibition of mail order sales of handguns, and will be supplemented by the pending completion of the bill to control the sale of rifles and shotguns. Minors are also prevented from obtaining guns under these bills.

The Lower Colorado River Basin plan and the Redwood National Park legislation which I mentioned above are both, of course, of vital interest to Californians. Basically, we must be assured in Southern California that future development of the river will not deprive us of at least the 4.4 million acre feet guarantee which we have been holding out for.

There are these and many other accomplishments by Congress this year and I am proud to be able to say that I had a part in them, even though I feel strongly that we should have done a great deal more in the way of solving some of the problems of unrest and decay in our inner cities. One plan that I will work very hard for next year is the Full Employment Opportunity Act, which I have joined in sponsoring and which is designed to create a million jobs—one of the most immediate and direct methods we can use to help eliminate poverty.

CONGRESS ACTS ON "HISPANIC HERITAGE" AND VETS BENEFITS

I was quite proud to have further Congressional action taken on two bills which I was the sole or principal sponsor of following my discussion of both of these proposals in the last issue of this Newsletter.

The House of Representatives passed H.J. Res. 1299, which is designed to give recognition to the role and influence of Spanish surnamed persons in United States history. The resolution is now pending in the Senate, has been wholeheartedly supported and now cosponsored by Senator Joseph Montoya (N. Mex.), and there is every possibility of getting early Senate action when Congress returns to work on September 4th.

The plan would be to authorize the President to proclaim the week which includes Mexican Independence Days (Sept. 15–16) as National Hispanic Heritage Week, so the quickest possible action in the Senate is necessary.

The second proposal which moved through the legislative process was my bill to authorize vocational rehabilitation training on a part-time basis for veterans with service-connected disabilities. It has now been signed into law by the President. I previously announced that the House had passed it.

Previously, veterans had to participate in this program on a full-time basis or not at all. It is not fair to force a veteran to either give up a job he already has in order to train for a better job—or, on the other hand, to give up his entitlement to this training.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

The results to my 1968 questionnaire concerning the views of the residents of the 29th Congressional District have been tabulated and printed up. I have sent a copy of these results to each of the persons who replied to the questionnaire.

If anyone who did not receive a copy of the results is interested in seeing them, please write to me at the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., and I will see that they are mailed immediately.

MUCH OF CALIFORNIA'S REDWOODS IN DANGER

One of the disappointments here in Congress recently was the totally inadequate version of the Redwood National Park proposal that the House of Representatives passed. The Senate had already passed a bill for a larger park, and a conference committee will meet in September to try and come back with a park plan that will satisfy a majority of both Senate and House.

In the end, I voted against the House bill in order to display my dissatisfaction with the proposal we were asked to approve.

I have now urged the conferees to come back to the House with the 64,000 acre plan that the Senate passed, and I feel sure that the House would accept it. After all, because of the way the matter was brought to the Floor, there was no opportunity for amendments of any kind. It was "take it or leave it." At this point, the Senate version is the only Redwood National Park plan left that would make any sense at all for Congress to approve.

It is obvious that the lumber companies won the battle on the House side, with a great deal of irretrievable, majestic redwood acreage slated for the woodman's saw if we cannot prevail upon the Senators and Representatives who make up the conference committe to recommend something very close to the Senate-passed version.

CMAA AWARDS GIVEN

Photo caption: Film star Ricardo Montalban, District Attorney Evelle Younger, Congressman Edward R. Roybal, and I were all given plaques in appreciation of our work in our respective fields by the Council of Mexican-American Affairs recently. I am shown above with Montalban, and CMAA President Charles Samario (center).

HEADSTART MOVE UNWISE

A surprise move in the Senate to transfer the administration of the Head Start program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is most undesirable in my opinion.

An amendment proposed by California Senator George Murphy to make this transfer was added to the Vocational Education bill which the House of Representatives had previously passed. Since that time, Secretary of HEW Wilbur Cohen and Office of Education Commissioner Harold Howe II have both expressed their opposition to such a switch. Also, Chairman Carl Perkins, House Committee on Education and Labor, is strongly opposed to the move.

The Vocational Education bill will be taken up by a conference committee in September, and I have indicated to Chairman Perkins that I would like to have him add my strong objections to his in this regard. I am reasonably hopeful that this poorly conceived amendment will be removed from the bill at that time.

To make the Head Start program simply another routine school program, which is what would happen, with all of the innovative features and involvement by parents removed, would be a serious blow to what has become to be generally recognized as one of the most successful of the various antipoverty programs.

NAVY NUCLEAR ENGINE DISPLAY AT COUNTY FAIR

The Nuclear Power Van, which is a walk-through exhibit portraying the U.S. Navy's use of nuclear power, is scheduled to be located at the Los Angeles County Fair Grounds from September 13–29.

The Van contains an animated schematic model of a nuclear engine, models of nuclear propelled submarines including a cutaway model of a polaris submarine, and surface ship models including the *U.S.S. Enterprise*, the world's first nuclear powered aircraft carrier.

TV VIOLENCE STUDY BILL INTRODUCED

A proposal which I introduced recently calls for a comprehensive study and investigation of the effects on viewers of the display of violence in television programs.

We cannot be sure that the increase in violence in the United States is directly connected even in part with the increase in violence in our television programs until we review every aspect of this possibility.

The resolution I introduced would direct the FCC to consider whether there is a "connection between the display of violence in television programs and the attitudes of television viewers toward violence," to develop policies regarding such displays of violence on television, and to make recommendations to Congress concerning these policies.

Extensive hearings were held in the Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee in the early 1960's and the conclusion was that extensive violence existed in television programming and that this violence had a significant impact on the behavior of those who watched it.

HONORARY DEBATER

Photo caption: I was pleasantly surprised recently to be made an honorary member of the Mark Keppel High School chapter of the National Forensic League. The picture shows Miss Jana Waring, president of the chapter, presenting me with a certificate of membership. Many people do not realize it, but Congressmen are a great source of supply for materials for high school and college debate teams.

SAN GABRIEL POST OFFICE

Photo caption: I turned the first shovelful of earth at the groundbreaking ceremony for the new 25,000 square foot wing of the San Gabriel Post Office. Pictured, from left to right, are San Gabriel Postmaster Charles Elgar, Congressman Glen Lipscomb's assistant William H. Byers, myself, and San Gabriel Mayor Michael Falabrino.

FEDERAL COMPENSATION FOR POLICE, FIREMEN

I have also introduced a bill recently that would assure all policemen and firemen who might be killed or totally disabled in their daily line of duty of compensation benefits for themselves or their survivors.

The bill is an extension of a law that Congress passed earlier this year that would provide similar death or disability benefits for just police officers who are injured or killed while enforcing *Federal* laws only.

The criminal who shoots a policeman or sets a fire that injures a fireman in Los Angeles might have just arrived from Chicago, or the intended victim whom the policeman is protecting might be a visitor from New York.

Therefore, to restrict the application of these benefits to cases in which the violation just happens to concern a Federal law does not recognize the fact that we are a very mobile civilization now.

If the bill becomes law, a widow would receive 45% of the amount of her deceased husband's wages until such time as she remarried. If there are dependent children, the widow would receive 40% and each child would get 15%, up to a maximum of 75% of the former salary.

In cases of total disability, two-thirds of the previous monthly salary would be paid to the injured fireman or policeman, with benefits being raised to 75% where there were dependents.

When a public safety officer risks life and limb, his risk is for the nation—whether a Federal law is involved or not.

YOU MUST BE REGISTERED TO VOTE NOVEMBER 5

You must register if you—

1. have never registered to vote in California before.
2. have moved since you last registered to vote.
3. did not vote in the 1966 Election.
4. have changed your name since last registering.

You can register at most post offices in Los Angeles County.

Last day to register September 12.

GOVERNOR CURTIS' CONTRIBUTION TO THE PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE PROGRAM

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, early last month, during the recess of the Congress, Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis, of Maine, held a press conference to announce a unique contribution by the State of Maine to the Partners of the Alliance program. Governor Curtis announced that the Maine Maritime Academy training ship, the *State of Maine,* will leave in January for a 3-month training cruise in the Caribbean and has scheduled a visit at Maine's partner State of Rio Grande do Norte in northeast Brazil.

As a means of creating better understanding among the peoples of the two partner States, the ship will carry a display of Maine products, and as a contribution to self-help local projects in the State of Rio Grande do Norte, the crew will unload a cargo of hospital and educational supplies destined for small clinics and schools in rural areas of that Brazilian State.

Mr. Speaker, though the visit of the training ship is a first for any of the 37 States participating in the Partners of the Alliance program with 15 Latin American countries, it is but another in a series of activities carried out between the citizens of the State of Maine and the State of Rio Grande do Norte. Technicians from Maine have visited Brazil to assist private groups in a wide range of activities involving business, education, agriculture, and medicine. In return, specialists from Rio Grande do Norte have been in Maine to enrich the teaching of Portuguese and the arts. The program activities between these two partners are steadily increasing in tempo and the spirit of their cooperation is becoming an example which many other partner States are emulating. The basic concept of the Partners of the Alliance program demands reciprocity between the partners. The cooperation and mutual interest being displayed by the State of Maine and the State of Rio Grande de Norte are, indeed, strengthening the entire partners program in the hemisphere.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the statement of Governor Curtis, together with an editorial from the Lewiston Daily Sun for August 8, to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STATEMENT BY GOV. KENNETH M. CURTIS

With me today are men who have done so much to make our Maine partners of the Alliance Program probably the most successful of its kind in the Nation.

They are here because we want to announce that in January the castine training ship "State of Maine" will put into port in Brazil to discharge a cargo of hospital and educational supplies for the state of *Rio Grande do Norte* . . . Maine's sister State in the Alliance.

The ship, more than 350 Maine Maritime Academy Cadets, plus a crew of 35 officers, leave on January 3 for a three months' cruise of the Caribbean and the east coast of South America.

This will be a regular training cruise, with the stopover at Rio Grande do Norte very similar to the other ports of call on the cruise.

But, Admiral Rodgers assures me he has plans to set up some people-to-people programs during the stopover there.

I am quite proud of the way this Maine Partners of the Alliance Program has been operating since it was formed about a year ago.

Last year when I visited that State for the first time with the original team of Maine partners I was impressed with some of the dire needs of Rio Grande do Norte, and some of resources that state had.

Since then we have sent several groups of persons there, and a few weeks ago a team of highway people from the state came here to work with our State Highway Department.

We have entertained leaders of that State's cultural fields and government.

And we have plans to do even more.

[From the Lewiston Daily Sun, Aug. 8, 1968]

MAINE'S SPECIAL AMBASSADORS

Maine is living up to its motto, Dirigo, in its work for the Partners of the Alliance Program. There have been many contacts during the past year with our "sister state" of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil. And come winter, Maine will be sending special ambassadors to the South American state, a whole shipload of them!

Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis disclosed at a news conference this week that the Maine Maritime Academy training ship, the State of Maine, will make a stopover of several days at Rio Grande do Norte while on its three months' training cruise to the Caribbean. There will be 350 cadets and 35 officers aboard and they will take part in sports and other programs with the residents of our sister state.

The special Maine ambassadors will bring a cargo of hospital and educational supplies to Rio Grande do Norte, as well as a display of Maine products for viewing on board while the State of Maine lies at anchor in the harbor.

Combining a visit to our sister state with the annual training cruise was novel and imaginative. We agree with Gov. Curtis that it will make the cruise doubly productive for the state. It certainly will add a lot of interest for the young cadets.

The Partners of the Alliance Program is designed to promote people-to-people interchanges. Gov. Curtis and a team of Maine partners visited the Brazilian state last year as the first step in the active sister-state project. There have been other visitations in both directions and more are planned. Our special ambassadors will give the program a big boost.

There long has been need for better understanding between the United States and the countries of Latin America. For years, they have been suspicious of the Colossus of the North, despite the many attempts to help them on our part. People-to-people programs can help eliminate the suspicions. Hopefully, other states will follow Maine's good example.

THE LATE HONORABLE ELMER J. HOLLAND

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, a very great and good man has passed away this summer, a man who was truly a man of the people whom he represented. I believe that is how ELMER J. HOLLAND will be remembered, as one who gave of himself heart and soul all his life following the Gospel's command to "love thy neighbor." He will be remembered not only for what he did, but for what he was—a kind man, beloved by all who knew him for his warmth and loyalty, and for his sensitivity to the needs and feelings of others. He was a courageous man, too, one who, as he once said of himself, "loved a good fight."

He dedicated himself completely to the public welfare; he sacrificed much for his country. A decorated veteran of two world wars, he was a true patriot who fought not only to defend our country but also to make it a better place in which to live. After a career as both a business executive and as a union representative, he served eight terms in the Pennsylvania Assembly, four in the house and four in the senate.

Representative HOLLAND first came to Congress in 1942, when he was elected to fill an unexpired term. In 1956 he again won a special election to fill a vacant seat in the House, and he was reelected to every succeeding Congress. As the years passed, the creative genius of this great humanitarian inspired much compassionate legislation that became the law of our land. ELMER HOLLAND was one of the early advocates of medicare. As ranking member of the House Education and Labor Committee, he championed the raising of minimum wages, liberalization of Federal employee compensation provisions, lowering of the minimum age for social security benefits, raising the standards of mine safety, and establishing the 35-hour workweek. He was ready always to speak for the weak and helpless, the most humble workers, the disabled or the aged.

It was Congressman HOLLAND who was first drawn to the plight of the thousands of workers whose jobs have been replaced in the inevitable process of automation. It was his plea that was first heard for a program of training and rehabilitation to give men marketable skills to replace those no longer needed. Out of his sympathy and determination came the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. Conceived, written, and sponsored by Congressman HOLLAND, this landmark legislation will stand as a triumphant monument to a man who never failed to heed the cries for help of his fellow men.

His death is a great loss to Congress and to the country; he will be sorely missed. His life was an inspiring portrayal of the noblest and most patriotic ideals of civic and humanitarian responsibility. May the memory of ELMER HOLLAND, man and citizen, be held in reverence for generations of Americans to come.

PROTEST RALLY AGAINST COMMUNIST INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, August 23, I was privileged to join a protest rally held at Bohemian National Hall in Cleveland by the American Committee for the Liberation of Czechoslovakia.

It was a moving occasion in which all of us pledged our united efforts to the cause of a self-determination for that courageous little nation.

I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the magnificent speech given by Martin Hrabik, the distinguished president of the committee, and of the resolution adopted by the assembly at the rally:

SPEECH OF MARTIN HRABIK, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR LIBERATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUGUST 23, 1968

[Translated from Czech]

Honorable guests, brothers and sisters, we are gathered here today at the very time when the Czechoslovakians are attempting to stop Soviet tanks with nothing else but their bare hands and their own bodies. On the television screen of the entire world, we see the united and spontaneous resistance of the Czechoslovak people against the invaders. The ink has barely dried and the friendship treaties of Cierna and Bratislava which guaranteed the Czechoslovaks the right to conduct their internal affairs as they saw fit, and already the forces of the signatories representing a population of about three hundred million have attacked and occupied the small Czechoslovak Republic.

The Soviet Union without regard to its international obligation and to the most fundamental laws of human decency is destroying the only Socialist government in the world which has the absolute support and confidence of its citizens. By this action the Soviet Union has shattered the solidarity of the international Communist movement. This solidarity has been a 50-year old aim of Soviet diplomacy. The cynical declarations of the representative of the U.S.S.R. to the United Nations, Ambassador Malik, have only confirmed the hypocrisy and wickedness of Moscow. This unhumane act has forever destroyed the traditional sympathy the Czech and Slovak people have had for their Russian brethren. This invasion has also buried any hope that the Czechoslovak Communists may have had about the feasibility of humanizing and democratizing Socialism. It has also unveiled the true intentions of the Kremlin's foreign policies. Today the example of Czechoslovakia clearly demonstrates to the leaders of the free world the value of Soviet International agreements and commitments. If anyone today were to put trust in the peaceful and democratic aims of the Soviet Union, he must capitulate before the overwhelming logic of the Czechoslovak experience.

I am proud of the citizens of my native land. They have resisted and are resisting boldly. I am moved to tears by the courage of the Czechoslovak youth. I fear for their lives and safety.

In the name of humanity we call today to the entire world:

Help the Czechoslovak people!

Help a people whose democratic traditions date several centuries!

Help humanity!

Help democracy!

RESOLUTION

(Adopted by the assembly at the protest rally against the Communist invasion of Czechoslovakia—American Committee for the Liberation of Czechoslovakia)

We, the citizens of Greater Cleveland, here gathered, do condemn, solemnly and publicly, before the conscience of the entire world, the brutal, ruthless and unprovoked aggression of the Soviet Union and its allies against the Republic of Czechoslovakia;

We deplore this invasion as a flagrant violation of all the canons of decency and mutual self-respect which govern the relationship between men and nations;

We hold this action as an outrage against the principles of sovereignty and self-determination espoused in the United Nations Charter of which the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria are signatories;

We fear for the life and safety of the Czechoslovak political leaders and all those active and committed to the reform movement;

We fear for the life and safety of the common people who have supported the liberation drive;

We fear for the spark of liberty and democracy which have been ignited in Czechoslovakia;

However, most of all remembering the tragic fate of the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, we fear for the existence and survival of the Czechoslovak Republic as a national entity.

Therefore,

We call upon the United Nations;

We call upon each and every freedom loving nation in the Americas, in Africa, in Europe and Asia;

We call upon the President and the Congress of the United States of America;

We call upon each and every American City;

We call upon men of peace and good will not to let a small nation of 14 million, which desires nothing more than to conduct its own affairs in business, honor and freedom to be annihilated by the overwhelming force of its enemies.

We implore all to spare no effort to effect the immediate withdrawal of the Warsaw Pact troops from the Czechoslovak Republic.

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN NATIONALS IN CLEVELAND AREA

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in the last several days, I have been contacted by over 40 Czechoslovakian nationals, currently visiting the greater Cleveland area on visitor's visas, concerning their status and political asylum in the United States.

In view of the number of people desiring assistance in obtaining political asylum, I have sent the following telegram to the President of the United States:

In view of the cruel and disheartening occupation of Czechoslovakia by military forces of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, I urge that asylum and refuge be extended to all Czechoslovak nationals currently visiting the United States.

The young Czechoslovak nationals are those most interested in seeking political asylum since they are unwilling to accept the new restrictions imposed by the Soviet Union with the new regime. Many of the older, married couples were reluctant to ask for asylum since they have children who remain in Czechoslovakia. I have directed three specific cases concerning political asylum to the attention of the Secretary of State.

It is my hope that the President can make an early determination on the question of granting political asylum so that these young people may know how to plan their future.

REGISTER AND VOTE

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I have again urged the residents of my district to register and vote. We all know that this is the one sure way we have of maintaining democracy in the United States. For those of my colleagues who might be interested, I place the card sent to my constituents at this point in the RECORD:

DEAR FRIEND: Again we approach another important election. Throughout the world today, and even in our own United States, individuals are fighting for the precious right to vote. As an American citizen you have a right and a duty to vote. Congress has expressed its intent that every citizen should vote. If you are not registered, do so now! The deadline to register for voting in the November 5th general election is September 12th!!!

Sincerely,

GEORGE E. BROWN, Jr.,
Member of Congress.

You must be registered by September 12th in order to vote on November 5th.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE TO VOTE?

You are eligible to vote if, on election day, you are: A citizen of the U.S., 21 years of age, registered to vote, and have been a resident of California for one year, Los Angeles County for 90 days, and your precinct for 54 days.

WHO SHOULD REGISTER?

Persons who:

1. Have not registered in California before;
2. Have moved, changed your name legally, or wish to change your political party affiliation;
3. Failed to vote in the November, 1966, General Elections.

You can register at many post offices, city halls, many food markets, Registrar of Voters office, or call one of the numbers below for information concerning deputy registrars in your neighborhood.

Registrar of Voters, 808 N. Spring St., Los Angeles, Phone: 628-9211, Ext. 63231.

288-4804 (Monterey Park)
263-9622 (East Los Angeles)
443-4332 (El Monte)
256-2211 (Highland Park)
482-4500 (Los Angeles)

663-1195 (Griffith Park Blvd.)
263-9308 (East Los Angeles)
262-9036 (East Los Angeles)
573-1554 (San Gabriel)
622-1527 (Sunset Blvd.)

BLESSINGS OF AMERICA FAR OUTWEIGH DISADVANTAGES

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, in these days of instant communication and the constant search for sensational happenings to report on television, radio, and in other news media, a rather distorted picture of America has emerged.

It is heartening, therefore, when a publication of nationwide circulation adds up some of the good things about our country and publishes results that show the blessings preponderantly overshadow the comparatively few drawbacks.

The editors of U.S. News & World Report in the issue of September 2 have performed an excellent service in presenting the article, "The Good Things About the United States Today."

It is important that we recognize and give full credit to accomplishments of the American people during recent years to make this a better land and a better world, in my estimation. I therefore commend the article to those who may not have had an opportunity to read it. The article follows:

[From the U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 2, 1968]

THE GOOD THINGS ABOUT THE UNITED STATES TODAY

At home and abroad, America now is being pictured as an ailing giant.

Racial strife, student anarchy, a rising wave of crime, dissent over the war in Vietnam—these and other troubles are leading many in the world to conclude that the United States is on the road to decline and downfall.

Yet a close look at the facts of life in the America of today turns up quite different conclusions. The nation's strengths are found to be great and varied.

Below the surface turmoil, a peaceful revolution is transforming not only the economy but the social structure. Never, in the past, has a society offered so much prosperity to so many of its people.

Far from being a "sick" society, Americans in the majority are showing themselves to be strong and morally responsible.

They are spending billions to erase poverty in the nation—and more billions to help other nations.

It is the nuclear defense system maintained by the United States that is providing security for much of the world. American troops drove Communist invaders out of South Korea, kept the peace in Lebanon and staved off a Communist takeover in South Vietnam.

SUCCOR TO WORLD

U.S. aid, flowing generously overseas since 1945, rescued Western Europe from the brink of anarchy after World War II and averted famine in India. Now it is generating social revolutions in many of the world's small nations.

Recently Australia's Prime Minister John Gorton said:

"I wonder if anybody has thought what the situation of comparatively small nations would be if there were not in existence a United States—with a heritage of democracy and a willingness to see that small nations who otherwise might not be able to protect themselves are given some shield. Imagine what the situation in the world would be if there were not a great and giant country prepared to make those sacrifices."

Today, despite its supposed "weakness," the United States towers over the globe as no other power in history ever has been able to do.

American capital investment in Europe comes to about 16 billion dollars. Predictions are heard that U.S. industry on that continent soon will become the world's third-largest economic power—after America itself and Soviet Russia.

Not only in terms of political power, but in culture, the "American way of life" is turning up everywhere.

Even in Communist countries, young people are playing "rock" music. The light luncheon favored by American businessmen is making heavy inroads on the Parisian cuisine.

Not long ago President Lyndon B. Johnson took issue with those who say that the U.S. is "sick." He said: "America, I believe, is essentially healthy [and] is getting healthier."

STORY OF PROGRESS

A wide range of arguments can be marshaled to support the view that the U.S., if not living in the "best of times," is far from moving toward the "worst of times."

In the U.S. itself, steady progress is being made on a broad front toward a solution of major problems. This is being done in the energetic and experimental way of Americans.

As just one example—

Quietly, behind the scenes of racial strife that draw world scorn, Negroes—by the hundreds of thousands every year—are moving out of poverty into the ranks of the middle class. In the past two years, President Johnson said, more Negroes and other nonwhites have risen above poverty than in all the previous six years combined.

Since 1960, the number of Negro families earning more than $7,000 a year has more than doubled. Median income of the Negro family has gone up from $3,233 in 1960 to $4,900.

Reason for this is that a larger number of Negroes are getting jobs—and better jobs, too.

Between 1963 and 1967, the number of Negroes hired for professional, technical and managerial jobs rose 35 per cent. Total Negro employment rose 20 per cent.

Educationally, the Negro-white gap in school years completed has narrowed from an average of two years in 1960 to six months at present. And statistics show that a U.S. Negro is more likely to go on to college than is any citizen of any Western European country except France.

The racial upheaval, taking place peacefully behind outward turmoil, is only part of the nation's transformation in recent years.

RISE FROM POVERTY

Altogether, more than 14 million Americans have left poverty behind them during the past seven years.

Latest estimates indicate that the proportion of families earning $7,000 or more annually, in terms of 1966 dollars, had risen from 22 per cent in 1950 to about 55 per cent in 1966. And last year, for the first time, median family income reached $8,000 a year.

Meanwhile, the proportion of families earning under $5,000 a year, in terms of 1966 dollars, had dropped from 58 per cent in 1950 to about 28 per cent.

Socially and politically, the result is that the middle class is becoming the dominant fact of life in today's America, to an extent that most foreigners can only dream about.

Five million more American families own stock than in 1963, while 23 million more have savings accounts.

Home ownership has gone up from 33 million families to 37 million since 1960. Multicar ownership has gone up from 9.5 million to 14.7 million, and 94 per cent of all American families have at least one television set—often two—in the house.

What passes for poverty in America is seen by many foreigners as an acceptable standard of living.

One visitor from Europe told of meeting a woman in the Louisiana "back country." She was sitting on the porch of her wooden shack, and wore an old shirt, faded blue jeans and sneakers. She described herself as "poor."

Yet, this visitor noted, an automobile was parked in the yard, and the kitchen was equipped with the latest electrical devices. The visitor remarked later:

"The distinction between poverty and well-being in the United States is far less clear than in Europe. Telling a millionaire from a person of middle income by the clothing he wears or the food he eats is almost impossible here."

PRODUCTION MIRACLE

What has enabled the American middle class to mushroom so rapidly—reducing the ranks of the very poor and very rich—is an economic revolution that is unmatched in history.

In the past seven years the total output of goods and services—the gross national product—in terms of 1968 dollars has gone up by 254 billion dollars. That gain, itself, is larger than the total output of the nation in 1937, or the total output of any other nation in the world today except the Soviet Union.

Statistics tell the story of U.S. strength in economic terms as follows:

America, with 7 per cent of the world's land area and 6 per cent of its population, accounts for one third of the world's production of goods and services.

Its farmlands produce 13 per cent of the world's wheat, 46 per cent of its corn and 21 per cent of its meat—enough to feed 200 million Americans and much of the world besides.

Its factories produce a flow of goods almost equal in size to the combined output of the Soviet Union and Western Europe.

In electrical production, the U.S. figure of 1.3 trillion kilowatt-hours in 1967 came to one third of the world's output, and exceeded the combined capacity of the Soviet Union, Western Europe and Japan put together.

U.S. automobile factories produced 7.4 million passenger cars in 1967, or 41 per cent of the world output. Of the 149 million cars in use throughout the world, about 78 million—or 53 percent—are found on American streets or highways.

Per capita disposable income in America, as of 1967, came to $2,744, or 45 per cent more than per capita income in Canada and the United Kingdom, and 70 per cent more than in France.

A RUGGED DOLLAR

For years, many of the world's economists have been unable to believe that prosperity of this sort could last. Dire warnings have been heard about the dangers of inflation, as well as the drain of U.S. dollars abroad which puts pressure on gold reserves.

Yet, between 1957 and 1967, currency of the United States declined in purchasing power by only 16 per cent—as against 21 per cent for the West German mark, 24 per cent for the Swiss franc and 32 per cent for the Swedish krona, supposedly among the world's stronger currencies.

Result: Year by year, the dollar remains the only currency in which world trade can be carried on with confidence. And despite the large outflow of gold in recent years, the U.S. still holds one quarter of the world's reserves.

Beginning to dawn on leading thinkers abroad is the discovery that America's economic power, far from declining, is pushing ahead to even more dominance in the world.

A French intellectual, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, says this in his just-published book, "The American Challenge":

"During the past 10 years, roughly from the end of the cold war and the launching of the first sputnik, American power has made an unprecedented leap forward. It has undergone a violent and productive internal revolution. Technological innovation has now become the basic objective of economic policy. In America today the government official, the industrial manager, the economics professor, the engineer, and the scientist have joined forces to develop coordinated techniques for integrating factors of production."

The author concludes:

"America today still resembles Europe—with a fifteen-year head start. She belongs to the same industrial society. But in 1980 America will have entered another world, and if we fail to catch up, the Americans will have a monopoly on know-how, science and power."

PASSION FOR EDUCATION

Back of this economic revolution is found an educational system unparalleled in the world.

Today Americans are the best-educated people the world has ever known. More Americans—50 per cent—have finished secondary school than any other people. No other nation comes even close to matching the 6.5 million students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities. That figure rperesents 3.3 per cent of the nation's population, compared with 1 per cent in France, the nearest competitor in Western Europe.

Altogether, the American passion for learning enlists about 60 million people at the present time, ranging almost from cradle to grave.

Youngsters of three and four are enrolled in "Head Start" and other nurseries. Business firms are sending young executives back to the campus for postgraduate courses—and senior executives go to seminars such as that at Aspen, Colo., to thresh out the nation's larger problems not only in terms of economy, but in history and philosophy.

"Education in America is a never-ending process," declared a European professor after spending several months lecturing in this country.

EUROPE SURPASSED

In that process, American institutions of higher learning have displaced those of Europe as the mecca of students the world over.

Today it is a physics degree from "Caltech" or a diploma from Harvard's graduate school of business that is the prize sought by many of Europe's top students. Even lesser-known colleges in the U.S. draw hundreds of foreign students each year. Institutions that once provided little more than the traditional disciplines now are offering such specialties as biophysics, telecommunications and Asian economic studies as part of their regular curriculums.

Not only foreign students but their professors are crossing the Atlantic in a steady flow called the "brain drain." A British physicist explained:

"It's not just the pay. It's the fact that you Americans really support the pursuit of knowledge.

"You have not only the means, but the will to get things done."

From this academic surge is emerging new strengths in the field of culture and the arts, dispelling the notion of Americans as being interested only in the material things of life.

Between 1952 and 1962, book sales across the nation doubled in dollar volume, and may have doubled again since then. A "paperback explosion" has brought popularity in America and overseas to such widely different poets and novelists as Joseph Heller, Allen Ginsberg and John Updike. University presses, alone, have multiplied sales five times since 1948.

Such artists as the late Jackson Pollock, and representatives of the new school of Western painters, are being widely imitated in Western Europe.

Musically, American composers are getting wide attention, not only in jazz and "rock" but in serious music.

Cities such as Cleveland and Boston have orchestras that are world famous, and across the nation are hundreds of amateur and youth symphonies performing music simply because they like to.

WIDE MAP FOR CULTURE

It is this decentralization of culture that impresses many foreigners visiting the country for the first time.

They find topflight opera being produced in Santa Fe, N.M., and the Shakespeare Festival in Ashland, Oreg., draws critics from Europe as well as New York. The town of Cherokee, Ia., offers its 8,000 people not only a museum of fine arts but classes in painting and sculpture.

People of the U.S. are shown in a recent Gallup Poll in 12 countries to be more dubious about the basic health of their nation than are the people of the 11 other countries about the health of their nations.

Yet there is considerable evidence that the large majority of Americans continue to frown on drug-taking, sexual promiscuity and cheating. The nude frolics of "Hair," a recent Broadway musical hit, appear unlikely to match in longevity the traditional Yiddish humor of "Fiddler on the Roof," a smash success for four years. And Americans, more and more, seem inclined to spend their money on such hardy pursuits as skiing, camping and sailing—not on "fun" clubs and night life.

Nor is there visible evidence that religion no longer plays an important role in shaping the nation's goals and ideals.

Last year Gallup Polls found that 45 per cent of all Americans attended church during a typical week, and 70 per cent thought religion "very important." Furthermore, despite the publicity that has been given in recent years to "God is dead" theology, 97 per cent of adult Americans indicated a belief in the existence of God.

On campuses, even agnostic students are reading and arguing about the new "theology of hope" and the "secular theology" of Dr. Harvey Cox, a professor at Harvard.

STEADY, UNDRAMATIC LIVES

Equally, available evidence tends to discount another widely heralded "weakness" of America—that its people are ridden by frustrations, sexual and otherwise, and are despairing of their lot in life. A New York advertising firm, surveying housewives in the U.S. came up with these discoveries:

The average housewife had been married to the same man for 22 years, is not strong on clubs, thinks she is happier than her mother was, drinks not at all or very little, and is wrapped up in her home and family.

Foreign students staying with American families are invariably amazed by the warmth and "naturalness" of the hospitality accorded them.

Equally, visitors from abroad note the American talent for combining efforts to solve common problems. Such instances as these draw comment:

On eastern Long Island, near Riverhead, former migrant workers are building their own homes in a "self-help" program—pooling their skills to help each other as frontiersmen used to do.

In Tucson, Ariz., interested citizens launched a campaign to raise funds that would pay the $17,500 needed by a Mexican-American woman for a kidney transplant and follow-up treatment.

A spirit of philanthropy, even with growth of Social Security, continues to be a major strength of America.

The so-called American conscience last year prompted private spending of more than 14 billion dollars on worthy causes. More than three fourths of this huge sum came from private individuals. The rest was donated by business firms and foundations.

Each year, more than 50 million Americans donate time to charity. They collect money door to door, bake pies for church bazaars and volunteer services at playgrounds in the slums.

MONEY IGNORED

Youth, too, is caught up in the American habit of helping neighbors. Said a Florida educator:

"A tremendous number of today's youngsters simply aren't interested in making a lot of money. Their first aim is to be of service, their second is to live a 'satisfying' life."

Tens of thousands of college youngsters this summer are working in the slums of the big cities as volunteer social workers and tutors. Eighteen graduate students in architecture from Yale University are building a camp for underprivileged children of New York City. Schoolchildren in New Jersey are collecting money, clothing and schoolbooks for children of migrant workers.

Over the years, observers from Alexis de Tocqueville onward have noted the incessant drive of Americans for self-improvement. Dr. Daniel Bell, chairman of Columbia University's department of sociology, wrote:

"The great thrust of the American character—the urge, the compulsion to strike out on one's own, to cut away from the father and even to surpass him—has been one of the richest of the sources of dynamism in American life."

Today it is commonplace to read of instances such as a 63-year-old accountant's plodding toward a college degree, one three-hour course at a time, or of a retired businessman taking up a new interest-flying an airplane.

Similarly, a French philoshopher noted: "To make life simpler in an increasingly complicated world is an American art."

That art is making it possible, as one instance, for Americans to dial a number on the telephone and hear a prayer, a short sermon, the latest baseball scores, a lecture on alcoholism, or arguments against committing suicide.

They can go to drive-in churches, drive-in banks and drive-in movies. A drive-in marriage service is being offered on the Texas-Oklahoma border. In the burgeoning age of technology, one highly respected U.S. composer and mathematician, Milton Babbitt, is writing "electronic music" in serial repetition—with the help of a computer as well as tape recorder.

Americans voice criticisms of the new world they are pioneering. Complaints are being heard about ZIP codes, electronic eavesdropping, traffic jams, water pollution and the sonic boom.

Growing, too, is fear that "bigness" threatens the traditional belief in the compensations of individual enterprise and persistence.

COURAGE REWARDED

For many, however, America is still the land of the free and the home of the brave.

One success story is that of a Negro trucker and World War II veteran, Joe Jones, of Atlanta, who fought for years to get a Government permit to haul goods across the nation. Repeatedly his application was blocked by the big truckers. Mr. Jones, nevertheless, kept up his fight—and last year won a federal-court order that his application be granted. His comment: "I'm a little man, and I think when a little man sticks in there and fights, a lot of people will come to his aid."

As another example, a Spanish-speaking New Yorker, Adrian Cancil, was convicted three years ago of possessing a loaded pistol during a barroom disturbance, despite his protestations of innocence. Last year, he obtained a used tape recorder, strapped it under his shirt and began looking for the man he suspected of actually owning the pistol.

After a long search, he found his quarry in a pool hall, and managed to put on tape the man's unwitting confession to ownership of the pistol. A few weeks ago, Mr. Cancil was able to win complete exoneration.

The Legal Aid Society described the outcome as "a wonderful example of American justice."

As some historians see it, Americans over the years have made a habit of finding out what is wrong with the nation in order to discover ways of improving it.

That habit is throwing the spotlight on the weaknesses of America today. Yet it is also one reason why the United States today is not the "sick giant" so often portrayed by critics—but a strong and powerful nation, one that continues to be the envy of the world at large.

CHAIRMAN MENDEL RIVERS COMMENDED

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, no South Carolinian in the modern history of our State is held in higher esteem than our beloved and respected colleague, MENDEL RIVERS.

Recently the cosponsors of the observance of National Maritime Day at the Port of Charleston adopted a splendid resolution which I commend to the attention of the Congress and to the people of our country:

A RESOLUTION

Whereas, Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, representative from the First Congressional District, and Chairman, Committee of Armed Services, United States House of Representatives, has served his constituency faithfully and effectively; and

Whereas, Congressman Rivers has long been a strong advocate for the development of commerce at the Ports of South Carolina and a vigorous supporter of a larger U.S. Merchant Marine; and

Whereas, his contributions to the economy of his District and South Carolina through the attraction of commerce and industry, his concern and interest in each and every constituent have endeared him to his people; and

Whereas, he has unceasingly devoted his energies to the preservation of America and its heritage of freedom through his position as Chairman, Committee on Armed Services; and

Whereas, his character, his dedication to duty, his enthusiasm, and his courage, are inspirational—not only to his constituents—but to those throughout the world who love freedom; now

Therefore, be it resolved, that the cosponsors of the observance of National Maritime Day at the Port of Charleston commend Honorable L. Mendel Rivers most highly for his exemplary record of public service in the Congress on behalf of his District, his State, and his Country.

Attested to this 21st Day of May, 1968: Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Charleston; Charleston Branch Pilots Association; Maritime Association, Port of Charleston; South Carolina State Ports Authority; Charleston Trident Chamber of Commerce; Delta Nu Alpha Transportation Fraternity; National Defense Transportation Association.

MY SOLDIER, MY SON

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, once again, Mr. David Gimbel, the poet laureate of the 13th Congressional District, wrote a poem so beautiful and timely that I thought my colleagues would like to share my pleasure in reading it.

"My Soldier, My Son" by David Gimbel follows:

MY SOLDIER, MY SON

Little boy, now a man, how quickly the years have flown,
For now I look upon you, oh my how you have grown!
What only seems like yesterday we brought home our infant boy,
His daddy was so proud of him, our hearts were filled with joy.

I remember he was only four. He came in dirty and wet,
Precious moments in a mother's life that she cannot forget.
'Twas when I dunked him in the tub he screamed, but I would scrub,
And when I took him out, oh that ring around the tub!

But he really was a boy, on his seat always a patch,
And also on his knees, that I could never seem to match.
At last the evening came, I looked forward to a bit of rest
From a mother's little tornado, my lovable, little pest.

The Tide of Life does not stand still and my son was swept along,
He was growing up so very fast, handsome, tall and strong.
I would tiptoe in his room and sitting by the light,
The books just spread before him, his face with study bright.

All mothers live in fear, perhaps mine was justified,
For in the mail those greetings came, and so silently I cried.
But my son just stroked my hair as he pressed me to his heart,
And said, "My darling mother, we all must do our part".
In this precious land her burdens we all must share
And remain forever strong, so that the enemy would never dare.
In years gone by we fought and bled in times of agony and strife,
Yet the price was not too great, to protect our way of life.

Now he is in uniform and will soon be on his way.
Oh lord, dear God, protect my son every moment of the day,
So that he comes safely home and that fighting will all cease,
As those war clouds disappear in a world with glowing peace.

A FARMER'S VIEW—WATER NEEDS CALL FOR ACTION

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, increased water resource development is one of the major needs of the West, and it is a vital factor in the growth of Oregon. This is particularly true in the lands along the Columbia River. The full and wise development of our tremendous resources in that area will require a cooperative local, State, and Federal effort, and I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an example of real local initiative.

Mr. Raymond Bevans resides in Umapine, Oreg., and serves as legislative chairman for the East Umatilla County Water Resources Board. He has written a fine article concerning water resource development in Oregon and under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I place this article in the RECORD at this point:

A FARMER'S VIEW—WATER NEEDS CALL FOR ACTION

(By Raymond Bevans)

UMAPINE.—Citizens in the Milton-Freewater, Umapine, Pendleton, Pilot Rock, Echo, Hermiston, Stanfield and Umatilla areas had better start working together on a serious water storage program or some sort of program for pumping water from the Columbia River to our areas, or we will find them slowly drying up.

Our water table is gradually going down, as shown from the deep well pumping records—mostly because of deep well pumping. Walla Walla recently abandoned a $70,000 well-drilling project. Milton-Freewater's deep well table is going down.

I can speak from experience. I had two of the first deep wells in our area. I pumped 412 gallons from one well and a little over 600 gallons per minute from the other at 60 feet.

WELLS DROPPED

I recall how the purchaser of an 800-acre tract in the area punched about six wells. From then on my water table went down. As you go down your power bill for pumping goes up tremendously. The present owners of the tract are pumping at approximately 150 feet. My two wells were about 292 feet deep.

In Utah they have controls on new wells that lower others in farming areas. Our state engineer has very little control or doesn't enforce the law if there is one.

In other western states water officials are exercising new and drastic control continually. I learned on a 1964 trip to Southern California that farmers pay as high as $80 per acre for water.

I have seen enough water go down the Walla Walla River, Mill Creek and the Umatilla River in two weeks to furnish enough water to take up the slack for late summer irrigation. To an irrigation farmer this is heart-rending. If some of our streams were in the Yakima area, they would be dammed so quick it would make your head swim.

It is everyone's water—cities, industry, farmers and recreationists. Our legislators can't do anything about putting dams in without the people's wholehearted help. (The Baker, Ore., area got a valuable dam after the people finally quit their squabbling and worked together.)

SITE WAITING

A dam site called Joe West on the Walla Walla is core-drilled and waiting. Our government has spent a lot of money on this; I hope not for nothing.

I have often heard concern expressed by the older water rights holders, but I am statisfied this concern is completely unfounded. Bureau of Reclamation officials have explained repeatedly that they cannot take away any water rights; in fact, storage would insure water for the future

In Washington's Walla Walla and Columbia counties, they have a Touchet River dam planned; all they need is an appropriation from Congress. It has taken hard, coordinated effort by many area citizens. If we in Umatilla and Morrow counties don't work together we will be so far down the line it will be at least 20 years before our priority comes.

TRIED RECHARGING

Our Milton-Freewater Jaycees did a lot of research on recharging our underground supply by getting some ditch companies to put water into old gravel pits. Some of the springs on the Washington side that hadn't flowed for 10 years started flowing in the Mud Creek area. It also worked well in the Umapine area. The companies stopped on account of complaints of water in one or two basements and one well owner complained of gas forming. I doubt that the underground water caused this. One farmer told me he would fill his basement if they would keep up the procedure, as it was helping the underground supply.

West of Umapine we have a large spring that formerly irrigated about 600 acres. Now this spring is furnished cnly enough water for about 197 acres and most of this is by careful rotation and sprinkling. My land is under this spring.

The citizens and municipal officials must stop fooling themselves and come to the realization that our ground water supply is not bottomless. The feasibility of a pumping plant from the Columbia River in the area of Wallula must not be discounted, and serious effort must be exerted to see that feasibility studies are carried out. Unless we start tapping this gigantic resource, we have no right to complain when the Southwest tries to get our water.

DDT MOVES WITH RUNOFF WATERS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the growing use of pesticides and herbicides poses a greater threat to fish and wildlife resources. This threat is graphically pointed up in an article carried in the August 2, 1968, issue of the Outdoor News Bulletin, the publication of the Wildlife Management Institute. So that my colleagues may read this article, I include the text of the article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

DDT MOVES WITH RUNOFF WATERS

Only three days after the Wisconsin village of Maple Bluff sprayed DDT to control Dutch elm disease, the state Department of Natural Resources detected a heavy concentration of the poison in Lake Mendota, the Wildlife Management Institute reports.

Runoff samples taken after a rain from a storm sewer and a ditch that empty into the lake revealed DDT concentrations ranging up 225 parts per billion, which is many times the strength capable of killing aquatic insect larvae and fish. A sample taken at the same time near a village where DDT was not used showed only a .4 part per billion concentration of the poison.

Although DDT concentrations in runoff may be diluted after mixing with lake waters, they still present a hazard to many forms of life. This is because the minute amounts of the chemical that are ingested by larvae and small fish are retained in body tissues and build-up to levels far greater than those found in the water. These small organisms are eaten by larger animals, with the poison eventually passing to ospreys, eagles, and fish where they again are concentrated in body tissues. As has been shown with the coho salmon in Lake Michigan, the higher concentrations of the poison reduce reproduction and cause death.

Faced with this new evidence about DDT, the Wisconsin Natural Resources Department is eyeing statutory revisions over the use of insecticides in Dutch elm disease control.

JOHN ENGLISH—NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, one of the important elections at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last week was the selection of John F. English as the new national committeeman from the State of New York.

I have known Jack English for a little more than 8 years and I am very pleased that he has won this well-deserved honor. The Nassau Democratic county chairman is a bright, energetic young man who has proved his ability to lead a minority party to victory in suburban Nassau County. I am confident that he will apply his talents to the immediate task of reuniting the Democratic Party in the State of New York and helping to elect Vice President HUMPHREY and the Democratic ticket in November.

The Long Island Press, in its September 3 editorial, points to the record and the potential of Jack English and I place the editorial in the RECORD at this point for the information of all of my colleagues in the House:

JOHN ENGLISH MOVES UP

The election of Nassau Chairman John F. English as National Committeeman from New York is the first step by feuding State Democrats toward a post-convention reconciliation.

After the death of Robert Kennedy, his friend and first choice for the presidential nomination, Mr. English backed Sen. Eugene McCarthy. But he won the National Committee post with the help of many Humphrey supporters, demonstrating the affection and respect in which John English is held by all factions of the party.

Only 42, Mr. English has had a remarkable career in Nassau. He won a national reputation by transforming the first big suburban county, historically a Republican bastion, into a marginal battleground, electing and relecting a Democratic county executive, two Democratic congressmen, four state legislators and numerous judges.

He had earlier announced he would relinquish the county leadership next year, and the assassination of Senator Kennedy almost drove him to withdraw from public life. We are delighted that John English will stay in politics. By the leadership, intelligence, integrity and talent of such men, the public as well as the parties profit.

Mr. Speaker, now that the Democratic National Convention has selected our party's nominee for President and Vice President—now that the necessary and important debates on the major issues of the day have been conducted—now that the two major parties have started the 1968 presidential campaign—it will be the responsibility of men like Jack English to unite the Democratic Party so that we may give to the American people the progressive and capable leadership which our Nation demands for the next 4 years.

From his past record and the unlimited potential which he possesses, I can think of few men better equipped to handle this delicate and major task in the State of New York than John F. English.

The preconvention campaign was emotional and hard fought, but now, as before the convention, I urge all Democrats to join me in supporting the choice of the convention.

I have voiced my support for Vice President HUMPHREY ever since the dramatic March 31 statement of the President but I have repeatedly stated that I would support the choice of the convention with all my energy. Jack English may have been supporting another candidate before last week, but now we and all Democrats stand as one and I look to Jack English for the leadership needed at this moment to unite us in purpose and in our goals for the Nation—peace abroad and social justice at home.

Good luck, Jack English.

LOMOND SCHOOL RATED ONE OF NATION'S TOP 10 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I would like to call the attention of the Congress to the achievement of one of the schools in the Greater Cleveland area, the Lomond Elementary School of Shaker Heights, Ohio.

The September issue of Ladies' Home Journal includes an article by Nancy Faber entitled, "Ten Top Elementary Schools" as selected by a panel of seven of the Nation's top educators. This panel, which includes three superintendents of schools and two deans of university schools of education, chose the 10 most outstanding schools from a total of 73,400 public grade schools. Those which were selected are truly to be congratulated.

Lomond Elementary is one of those 10.

The Lomond Elementary School of Shaker Heights, Ohio, has an enrollment of 635 children who are guided and instructed by an outstanding faculty of 36. The school, which was built in 1929, has been modernized with the addition of a $110,000 education center equipped with child-operated movie projectors, slide machines, and tape recorders.

The school system spends an average of $850 per year per child in Lomond Elementary. This figure is proof that the citizens of Shaker Heights realize that there is no sounder investment than quality education. It is proof of their commitment to the America of the future.

The Journal article also calls attention to the hard work of the school's faculty and PTA which has made Lomond a model of successful human relations within a school and community.

Principal William C. Riley, who is beginning his sixth year at Lomond, is to be highly commended for his leadership. The spirit of the faculty, the children, and the parents of the Lomond School are an example to the whole Nation of what cooperation and community involvement can achieve.

The entire Cleveland community is proud of their accomplishment.

THE OPTOMETRIC CENTER OF NEW YORK ACQUIRES A NEW HOME

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Optometric Center of New York, as a community resource facility, combines the best features of a teaching-clinic and research center primarily devoted to the problems of seeing and human visual disabilities. Its academic and scientific interests are broad and relate to the advancement of the knowledge in the field, and, thereby, to the social and professional advancements for the care of patients in the community. Socially, scientifically and professionally, the Optometric Center of New York is devoted to the noblest principles of human betterment. The Optometric Center is a nonprofit and tax exempt institution, founded on April 16, 1956, and is chartered by the board of regents of the University of the State of New York.

April 16, 1968, constituted the 12th anniversary of the founding of the Optometric Center of New York. These years have been productive ones for the community which the center so vitally serves and for the advancement of the visual sciences in optometry. The institution has developed a unique role of social and scientific concern and its place continues to grow in importance.

The Optometric Center of New York has occupied its present building at 351 West 48th Street since 1961. The significant growth and development of the institution during the past 12 years has attracted the interest and attention of the community and has commanded the respect and admiration among scientists and research investigators. The president of the Optometric Center's board of trustees, Mr. Bennett Rose, has announced that the institution has entered into contract for the purchase of a new and enlarged home. The new building, to be occupied toward the end of the year following extensive renovations and alterations, will provide about 25,000 square feet of space, almost five times the size of the present building on West 48th Street. A much needed expansion of clinical facilities, laboratories for visual science research, and classrooms and seminar rooms for postgraduate education will be made possible in this seven storied, elevatored building at 122 East 25th Street in my district.

The number of patient-visits in the aggregate under the present circumstances is about 30,000 per annum. While general and specialty care have continued to be of a higher order quality with standards of professional performance second to none in the greater metropolitan area, the necessity to maintain it has been an abiding concern of everyone associated with the Optometric Center of New York. Indeed, "blue chip" professional care at the center indelibly has caused a rise in standards for all eye care in the city and this is a noble function. Plans for the accommodation of 42,000 to 45,000 patient-visits by 1972 are being made.

The conscience of a scientific institution is the quality and extent of its research. Nowhere are the opportunities for the betterment of human development richer than in the field of vision and perception. Entirely new concepts are being offered to replace theories which have existed for centuries. The years ahead give great promise that visual problems may, indeed, be prevented and controlled rather than merely "corrected." As a matter of fact, the entire area of perceptual and motor coordination development of the child has been demonstrated to have a visual component which appears to be a key element in that development. In addition to present areas of research concern in the fields of myopia, tonometery, and esotropia for which Government funds from the National Institutes of Health, U.S. Public Health Service, have been received or are committed, research endeavors are in preparation in infrared optometer methods and studies, optical classification of keratoconus, accommodation studies in amblyopia, validity studies in caeconometry, oculographic analysis of visual acuity in the subnormal vision patient, oculographic analysis of ocular motility, analysis of TV surround illumination, study of the accommodative function under cycloplegia, visual field alterations in the blind spot of mariotte during accommodation, normalization and standardization of development visual and perceptual tests, development of an optical tonometer, computer ray tracings of the human eye, study of radiation properties of ophthalmic lenses, study of the qualitative adequacy of ophthalmic lenses, national social study of the optometric profession, a study of vertical sociological mobility in optometry, development of a laboratory of ultrasound for ocular research, development of a laboratory of pupillographic research, development of a laboratory of electroretinographic research, study of clinical methods for testing color vision by use of the land theory, development of a color vision clinical laboratory, and experimental research in the visual sciences under the conditions of a hyperbaric oxygen chamber.

The Optometric Center of New York has planned a brilliant future in visual science research.

Over the years the institution busily has been engaged in continuing education for the ophthalmic practitioners for the purpose of raising standards of eyecare and reducing the time lag between the acquisition of knowledge in the research laboratory and clinic vis-a-vis the practitioner. This education has manifested itself in symposia, conferences, seminars, courses, and colloquial. Practitioners from 36 States and 14 foreign countries have availed themselves of this work. Courses attended by more than 800 optometrists and 42 major symposia with more than 12,000 present have comprised the major portions of the teaching program. Additionally, eight summer residency programs in orthoptics and visual training have given intensive clinical and didactic work in this important subject area to newly graduated professionals. From time to time, optometrists from foreign countries have been in residence at the Optometric Center for periods of up to 6 months.

From July 13, 1964 extending through July 17, 1966, the Optometric Center of New York, with grants from the U.S. Office of Manpower Development and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, undertook a 2-year residency program approved by the board of regents, for the education and training of exiled Cuban optometrists. This major teaching effort, consuming six trimesters, was especially conceived for the graduates of the University of Havana.

The institution believes that, in addition to its courses, symposia, and summer residency programs, a major effort be expended to establish a foreign residency program to attract interested professionals in a comprehensive, clinically oriented program. Quite aside from the international good will and understanding, the center would fulfill the worthy goal of seeking to elevate the standards of professional care rendered in foreign countries.

The institution's library presents an extensive collection of texts and journals in optometry, ophthalmology, perceptual psychlology and optical science. The collection numbers about 8,000 texts and 24,000 journals. The card catalogue file has been kept up-to-date with the aid of the Reference Card Section of the Library of Congress.

At the present time, the full-time executive director is the chief officer of the institution responsible for administration, planning, programing, personnel and professional activities. His responsibilities relate to the operation of the institution in all of its aspects. He is responsible to the board of trustees. He is assisted by two optometrists who serve as assistant directors and whose administrative and professional work each is part time.

Additions to the professional staff carefully are made from time to time as the need arises. The staff is a superb unit of professional skills and knowledge which can be compared favorably to any other unit about the country. As a clinical team, it is probably second to none in the visual sciences. The staff numbers 70, more than half of whom possess skills in a specialized area.

The nature of the qualifications for appointment to the professional staff bespeaks its excellence.

QUALIFICATIONS AND STANDARDS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF OF THE OPTOMETRIC CENTER OF NEW YORK

First. All persons desiring to be considered for appointment to the Optometric Center of New York shall submit a written application together with such supporting data as may be required.

Second. An applicant shall be of good moral and intellectual character and reputation who is a graduate of a school or college of optometry accredited by the Council on Optometric Education of the American Optometric Association; or an applicant shall be of good moral and intellectual character and reputation who is a graduate of a program discipline or profession duly accredited or recognized by the appropriate educational accrediting body.

Third. An applicant shall have accomplished graduation in the top third of his class.

Fourth. In the case of an optometrist in practice, he shall be required to meet all eligibility requirements of the American Academy of Optometry; or in the case of a nonoptometrist, he shall be required to meet all eligibility requirements of the academy of the respective field of learning.

Fifth. In the case of an optometrist who has been in practice 5 or more years: (a) two published scientific papers or papers which have been accepted for publication, (b) attendance at programs of postgraduate education of at least 50 hours per year.

Sixth. In the case of an optometrist who has been in practice 3 years or more, but less than 5 years: (a) one published scientific paper or a paper which has been accepted for publication, (b) attendance at programs of postgraduate education of at least 50 hours per year.

Seventh. In the case of a nonoptometrist, appropriate similar requirements for publication of scientific papers and for continuing postgraduate education shall apply.

Eighth. Such other qualifications as may be imposed consistent with the work and needs of the institution.

Ninth. No person may be appointed to the professional staff who occupies a position on the board of trustees and directors of the Optometric Center of New York for reasons of conflict of interest.

The body of original authority and responsibility of the Optometric Center of New York is its board of trustees. Its chief deputy is the executive director of the institution. The viability of the center is a measure of the effectiveness of the board of trustees. The present officers of the board of trustees are: President, Mr. Bennett Rose; vice president, Mr. Lloyd P. Griscom; treasurer, Mr. Michael I. Schaffer; secretary and executive director, Dr. Alden N. Haffner.

The orderly growth and development of the Optometric Center of New York to advance the knowledge of the visual science and to provide community care, research, and education comprise a destiny of worth and nobility. The brilliance of its reputation in community and scientific circles bespeaks the institution's vitality, intellectually and socially. The Optometric Center of New York serves mankind. Its larger role in its new home in my district during these next years represents a great challenge to all who are associated with the institution—and it also represents a fine opportunity for unique public service.

SOIL-WATER CONSERVATION VITAL FOR OUR FUTURE

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Hollis R. Williams, Deputy Administrator for Watersheds, Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, made an excellent presentation at the annual meeting of the Florida Association of Soil and Water Conservation District Supervisors in Gainesville, Fla., on August 22, 1968.

This is an excellent presentation about this work which means so much to the future of our Nation. Our soil and water are irreplaceable natural resources and far too much has been destroyed by man without regard for those who will come behind.

Particular credit is due for those men who serve as district supervisors of this program. I take great pride in the fact that my father has this distinction and is an enthusiastic booster of the program. I commend the remarks of Mr. Williams for your reading as an outstanding speech on the organization and responsibilities of soil and water conservation districts, as follows:

SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICTS ORGANIZATION AND RESPONSIBILITIES

I am honored to be here with you today in the beautiful State of Florida. I thank your president, Mr. O. R. Minton, for inviting me to speak at your 23rd Annual Meeting.

Florida is fortunate in having competent leadership in its soil and water conservation districts. I commend you as supervisors of soil and water conservation districts, and, as a state association, upon your achievements since your association was organized in 1946. Hamp Burns recently gave me some figures regarding a few of the soil and water conservation practices that have been installed to date. For example:

Drainage—mains and laterals—over 366,000,000 ft.; irrigation systems, 6,990; tile drains, over 5,000,000 ft.; farm ponds, 5,339; tree planting, over 1.5 million acres; pasture planting, 2.5 million acres; and water control structures, 36,363.

You have a right to be proud of these accomplishments.

Your small watershed program in Florida is most commendable. Currently you have 16 projects authorized for operations and four of these have been completed. Nine are presently under construction and a new start on another watershed is expected this year. Florida has submitted a total of 74 applications for assistance under the provisions of Public Law 566. These applications cover over 5 million acres.

Some 3.6 million dollars have been spent on construction to date. The local share of this has been about $600,000.

The protection, improvement, and development of our soil and water resources is the rock upon which the future will be built. For three decades soil and water conservation districts have been the key unit of government through which citizens could participate in planning and installing the soil and water conservation measures needed to protect and improve the land.

This procedure has been highly successful. Some 60 conservation districts have been organized in Florida. Their accomplishments are many. The main reason is the leadership of the districts, of men like you and your counterparts across the Nation.

I am devoted to soil conservation districts and the men who run them, and have been all of my professional life. Several years ago I expressed my deep respect and admiration for you and for the work in which you are engaged in these words:

There is no more essential unit of our free government than the soil conservation districts, surely no set of public servants so unselfish and so dedicated.

"Supervisor" has become an honored title.

No scandal has been attached to it. No selfish purpose has corrupted it. Money can't buy it.

It knows no party. It knows no favorite.

It is honorable and dignified and exemplifies, more than any title I know, the good qualities of public service.

The supervisor is a man of the soil, but he is distinguished by his vision and his willingness to assume leadership.

He is a good citizen and a considerate neighbor.

His face is bronzed by the wind and the sun and his hands are rough from a life of toil, but in his heart is a love and concern for his fellow man.

To him, conservation is a profession as well as a duty.

Neither the doctor nor the lawyer, the teacher nor the minister surpasses him in the unselfishness of his devotion to the well-being of his community, and of the human race.

And he has taken to heart the words of the Psalmist who told us that the earth is the Lord's and he has stood guard for the Lord.

Yes, the conservation district supervisor is somebody very special. We who are well-fed and well-clothed and who see opportunity spread out before us for ourselves and our children are forever indebted to him. That is my tribute to the soil and water conservation district and its supervisors.

As leaders of the soil and water conservation movement in Florida you have performed, and are continuing to perform, a lasting service in guiding the farm landowners and operators of your districts toward operations consistent with the principles of conservation land use.

Within the last 20 years, the concept of resource conservation has broadened tremendously. It has come to mean protecting land against all forms of soil deterioration, rebuilding eroded and depleted soils, building up soil fertility, stabilizing critical runoff and sediment-producing areas, improving grasslands, woodlands, and wildlife lands, conserving water for industrial and municipal as well as other uses, proper agricultural irrigation and drainage, and reducing floodwater sediment damage for benefits to the public as a whole.

Soil and water conservation today includes planning and treating complete watersheds as resource units. This means coordinating the management of crop, range, pasture and forest lands and the treatment of watercourses in the upper watersheds to minimize the damage of floods and sediment and to improve the quality and regularity of water supplies.

As soil and water conservationists, we all have a vital role to play in these changing times. We must assume larger challenges and take advantage of opportunities to prepare our districts for a larger and broader role in the days ahead.

Your Association over the years has been especially alert to the need for change in your organization to meet changing conditions. For example, your original District Act of June 10, 1937 followed closely the provisions of the Standard Act recommended by President Franklin Roosevelt.

In June 1939 you amended your Act to change the name of the State Committee to the State Soil Conservation Board, as well as the membership of the board. This amendment provided that all five supervisors would be elected instead of three elected and two appointed.

In June 1947 an amendment to your Act authorized the purchase of equipment for carrying out the purposes of the Soil Conservation Districts law.

Again, in June 1949, an amendment was enacted which provided for changing district boundaries by addition or removal of territory from districts. The June 1953 amendment abolished the existing State Soil Conservation Board and created a new State Soil Conservation Board. It further provided that members of the Board must be farmers and be appointed by the Governor.

The Act was further amended in June 1965 to change the name of districts to Soil and Water Conservation Districts and to expand the scope of the law to provide for the prevention of floodwater and sediment damages and for furthering the conservation, development, utilization and disposal of water. The amendment also authorized districts to borrow money and pledge for security the income and personal property of the district.

Then in June 1967 you changed the name of the State Soil Conservation Board to State Soil and Water Conservation Board.

I am especially pleased to note that legislation has been drafted to further amend your district law to permit the creation of watershed improvement districts within soil and water conservation districts.

Soil and Water conservation districts and the Soil Conservation Service must look ahead, not backward. As Oliver Wendell Holmes said, *"It is not so important where we stand—as it is the direction in which we are going"*.

We must look at our programs and our techniques to see that they are up-to-date, that they meet today's needs. We must be alert to new ideas. We must continually bring new blood into our organizations and be stimulated by their thinking. We must see the whole picture and not just what appeals to us most or what interests us most.

We have become an urban nation. Seventy percent of our people now live in only one percent of the space available in the Nation. If the present trend continues, by the year 2,000 four out of five Americans will live in metropolitan areas. Thus the will and the facilities to cope adequately with our resource problems at the local, State and National level is largely in the hands of the urban people.

Our urban people must be made aware that our strength as a people and as a Nation, our future greatness in the world society—all this and more—are wrapped up in our land and water resources.

If our urban people, who will have a large voice in shaping the future, are to attain the understanding that is essential to decisive action, it will only come about through leadership of soil and water conservation districts. You are local experts in resource development and management. You must inform and enlist the aid of non-farmers, indeed urge them to join us in good resource conservation work.

For various reasons, more and more urban people are becoming aware of their stake in land and water resource conservation and use. They are, and will be increasingly turning to you—the district leaders—for help and information.

I believe you can strengthen districts and broaden their scope and purpose by inviting the leadership of nonagricultural conservation interests to participate with you in your activities at the local district level and at your State association level.

This job is so big that there is room for all.

I urge you to strive for quality programs—programs that fully reflect all the present and longtime resource needs of the community.

By all the resource needs *I mean all:* not just the agricultural land needs; not just the watershed protection and flood prevention needs; not just the farm and ranch needs and problems. I mean all—truly all—of the community needs. I mean municipal and industrial water supply now and for the future. I mean parks and playgrounds and recreation areas. I mean swimming and boating and fishing and other water-based tourism. I mean new local industries that improve the economic welfare of the community. I mean those things that directly concern all citizens in all walks of life.

Each district must become a great deal more than an erosion control or a water conservation district, operated mainly by farmers and for farmers. It must broaden its scope to include activities that interest and benefit every member of the community, rural and urban alike.

For 30 years soil conservation districts have given magnificent leadership in achieving their objectives on farmlands. That is still a basic part of the job. But the need today is for much more—so very much more.

At this moment in time every district has an unparalled opportunity to become the resource development leader of every community in the land with wider powers to make decisions and to act. But this will not "just happen." It will take work—hard work. And the place to begin is with a quality updated work program.

Soil and Water conservation districts hold the key to the future of our land and water resources. Our best hopes rest upon your leadership and vision, your ability to make and carry out long-range multiple-use programs for land and water, and your initiative and persuasiveness in enlisting the support and active participation of our urban people.

Leaders of soil and water conservation districts are faced with some vital decisions if they are to expand their programs and continue to lead in the field of resource conservation and development.

The Special Committee on District Outlook of the National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts has concluded that if districts are to grow and make their most effective contribution to our society in the future, they must expand their programs to embrace new phases of conservation and resource development, and districts should become equipped organizationally for this expanded role.

If our assessment of soil and water conservation district opportunities is correct, and we believe it is, what should be districts' responsibilities if they are to meet tomorrow's needs? Some of these are:

District officials should move at once to strengthen this ability to conduct broad conservation and resources development programs. This will involve action to increase urban, business, and civic representatives on the governing boards of districts.

District officials must strengthen their responsibilities in carrying out watershed and river basin programs, resource conservation and development projects, participate in public lands management and conservation and other programs that benefit all segments of the community. They must work to extend the principle of local initiative and responsibility in all of these programs.

Districts in many States need more explicit authority in State laws which clearly outline their role in comprehensive land and water resource development programs. In many cases, districts do not have governmental powers commensurate with their responsibilities. This need has been well illustrated by our P.L. 566 experience where amendments to district enabling laws were necessary in order for them to sponsor and carry out watershed projects.

Districts need greater financial support, especially in the area of administrative and staff expenses. The lack of power to raise money has often weakened the ability of districts to effectively carry on sound conservation and development programs. We cannot continue to expect districts to function effectively without reimbursement for the services of district officials, without staff and other support services to plan, administer, coordinate and execute programs of major significance. Districts are not alone in this problem of funds. Many of the same problems affect the Federal and State agencies which assist them.

Some changes will need to be made in district organization and responsibilities. These will not be easy and will not be the same in every district. But the officials of each district will need to carefully assess their current district program and prepare to carry out the added responsibilities required to accomplish the complex tasks that lie ahead.

Specifically, I would like to raise these points for your consideration:

1. Should districts have a member from their local county unit of government on their board of supervisors?

2. Should districts have a member from the city government on their board of supervisors?

These steps, it would seem to me, would help to make the districts' organization stronger and possibly more responsive to the desires and needs of the public at large.

In closing I leave this thought with you. The time has come, in districts, for growth and new development. The time has come for us to be new pioneers on a new frontier. The new frontier for us today is our own soil and water conservation district. The challenge is to improve life where we are—to understand our soil, water, and related resources; to use them wisely for our many needs; and to make a better life for all of us—and for our grandchildren—on the sound base of wise use of these resources. I salute you as part of the future of our country. Let us continue working to bring that future into the present as quickly as possible.

YOUTH FORUM

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege last spring to host some 100 students and teachers from 25 area high schools at the first annual congressional youth forum held on the campus of Eastern Michigan University. I was very pleased at the response to this first effort and very encouraged and impressed by the intelligent and rational discussions these young people generated about our national problems.

Vietnam, the Selective Service, and the crises in our cities were the subjects of workshop sessions conducted by professional discussion leaders and addressed by expert source persons in each area. During the discussion periods the students examined and debated existing national policy in these areas and possible alternatives to be utilized in the future. Although no definite positions were taken or encouraged, the forum offered students an opportunity to become involved in our great national debates and gave me an opportunity to learn firsthand the views of our young people.

On Vietnam, the students explored three alternatives—stepped-up military effort to achieve a military victory, immediate withdrawal, and gradual withdrawal. Most students agreed that this was the most publicized war in history and that more people know more about it than any other war involving this country. The sentiment was expressed by some, however, that we are being told only what the Government wants us to hear. The need for better education for the South Vietnamese people and better communication between them and the people of the United States was stressed. Also mentioned was the desirability of channeling our efforts toward helping the South Vietnamese to help themselves.

The young people in the draft workshop heard the history of conscription in this country dating back to the Civil War and an explanation of how the present system works. Then they critiqued the Selective Service and brought forth various alternative policies of their own design. Among the alternatives discussed were the development of an all-voluntary military, utilization of a lottery system, substitution of social service such as in VISTA or the Peace Corps for military service, self-determination by young men to serve their time prior to age 35, and the development of an all-mechanized army. Most of the students agreed on the need for better public dissemination of information about the draft and the benefits of a military career and for computerization of and uniformity in the functioning of local draft boards. Considerable interest was expressed in the idea of classifying young men according to ability and interest rather than physical condition or mentality and drafting individuals according to the need for specific tasks.

The students in the urban problems workshop were confronted with the overwhelming number of problems facing our cities. They concentrated their attention on the ghetto dweller, the causes of his problems, and possible solutions. They generally agreed that his problems resulted from longstanding social conditions which have brought on inhibitions to change and progress, plus the existence of a political system which tends to exclude the poor from representation and decisionmaking. Most agreed that an attack on our urban problems must be a cooperative venture involving the total community as opposed to Government involvement alone. To accomplish this, it was expressed, would require a basic change of attitude toward others by most people. The objective of the effort would be to pull the ghetto dweller into the mainstream of American society.

The interest and participation of our Nation's young people in the national and political life of our country is essential. I found these students to be terribly concerned about the great issues facing our Nation and their willingness to explore many alternatives and new initiatives was most encouraging. The 5 hours we spent looking at this Nation's pressing concerns were extremely worthwhile both for the students and for me in representing them in Congress and I intend to make the youth forum an annual event.

THE MANPOWER PROGRAM NEEDS A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, today, the House considers H.R. 15045, an extension of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

I do not speak as an opponent of the goals and aims of MDTA. In fact, my bill H.R. 4668, the Human Investment Act, introduced early in 1967, provides employers incentives to broaden and expand such programs as on-the-job training under the Manpower Development and Training Act. I do, however, object to the administration of the program, and the lack of control and monitoring of expenditures.

The basis of my concern is the apparent feeling that a program as extensive as MDTA should be extended without a fairly substantial review of what its failures are, with a view toward further improvement.

As trustees of the taxpayers' money, it is our responsibility to review thoroughly the performance of any such program. Since the initiation of the Manpower Development and Training Act in 1962, just 6 short years ago, nearly $2 billion has been expended under the program. For fiscal 1969, we have added another $400 million to this figure.

The attitude toward the critical review of the program appears to be represented by Labor Secretary Wirtz, in his testimony before the committee.

In his description of the program, the Secretary does state "More changes will surely be desirable." However, he was obviously not asking for any. This reflects one of two points of view: either the program is perfect or we are not looking at it closely enough.

The manpower program in my State, operated under the direction of the Iowa Manpower Development Council, has experienced recent adverse publicity which places the entire program in Iowa in jeopardy.

An official audit by Iowa's State auditor, Lloyd Smith, has revealed that the State public safety department received $4,518 under the MDTA for an on-the-job training program which was substantially a "paper" program. Many of the supposed trainees did not receive instruction. Others were listed as "hard-to-place unemployed," who could not possibly be considered in such a category.

In fact, included in the category "hard-to-place unemployed" was a man who joined the department of public safety after a 27-year career with the Mason City, Iowa, fire department.

When informed of this classification after the auditor's report was made public, this employee stated with much justification:

> It's an insult. Ridiculous . . . I can't remember being unemployed since I was a kid in school.

Also included in the program were a 19-year veteran of the public safety department and several supervisory employees. These so-called trainees were not informed that they were being trained under the program, a clear violation of Federal regulations.

Officials of the manpower program relied upon the employer to certify that training had been given, the extent of such training, and the propriety of all expenses.

Until the release of the audit of the public safety department, the manpower council itself had been handling the screening and eligibility of certification. The Iowa State Employment Service had agreed to this procedure even though it is a violation of Federal regulations.

An audit of the public safety program in Iowa by the U.S. Department of Labor recently released confirms these irregularities and reveals others.

This audit, conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor, but initiated only after release of the Iowa State auditor's report revealed an even more extensive misuse of Federal funds.

Also revealed in the audit were payments of $15,205 to Iowa Penal Institutions for purposes of training guards to understand the behavior of inmates. This was clearly outside of the bounds of the contract under which the Iowa OJT program was being carried out.

The Labor Department report, based upon a sample audit revealed that of the $260,000 in funds received, nearly $20,000 had been improperly expended. The Department's examination which covered 243 trainees disclosed 35 trainees whose eligibility is "controversial." I believe this record raises serious questions about the administration of the manpower program nationally.

The question that must be asked is: "Who is responsible for insuring that the regulations regarding screening and eligibility are complied with?" The same question can be raised with respect to the surveillance of regulations requiring the subcontractors in these programs to maintain and preserve records on trainee attendance and progress, and those requiring the subcontractor or furnish each trainee with a training outline and schedule "at the commencement of training."

Following the release of the audit of the Public Safety Department OJT program, I called upon the State auditor and the State manpower director, John Ropes, to conduct as complete an investigation as was possible, and to take steps necessary to avoid a repetition of this situation.

Obviously, however, we should not depend on the State auditor to see that the OJT program is properly administered. And some effort should be made to see that Federal regulations under the MDTA are observed.

I want to reemphasize that this problem has very broad dimensions. In my State alone during the period of July 1, 1966, through October of 1967, 261 private firms and 28 government agencies on the State and local level had on-the-job training contracts with the manpower council.

With this in mind, I also requested that the chairman of the House, Education and Labor Committee, investigate the situation as well. The committee has the responsibility, the staff, and the funds to see that this job is done.

My efforts to obtain assurances that Iowa's experience under MDTA was not being repeated throughout the country have met with nothing but closed doors. A sample of the corncern is seen in the fact that the Education and Labor Committee's Select Labor Subcommittee held hearings during portions of only 2 days. The magnitude of this program, in terms of dollars and the job it is intended to accomplish, demand more than this.

My colleagues, I am convinced, on the basis of considerable evidence which has come to my attention, that the professed purposes and objectives of the MDTA are not being fulfilled. This failure is the direct consequence of the gross maladministration of the act by those executive departments and agencies of the Government which have the responsibility for carrying out the intent of Congress as expressed in the statute.

For many months, I have been increasingly appalled by the shocking ineptitude, carelessness, waste, and inefficiency which characterize the operations of many of the programs established under the Manpower Development and Training Act, programs which are financed almost entirely from Federal funds. In other words, they are paid for with huge sums of money taken out of the pockets of the hard-working and long-suffering American taxpayer. Despite these enormous expenditures of public funds, the degeneration in the activities and administration of our national manpower programs has sunk to a level of waste, inefficiency, and self-seeking opportunism which is matched only by the similar conditions which have long prevailed in the implementation of the so-called war on poverty by the Office of Economic Opportunity, its retainers and satellites.

My colleagues, in recent times we have seen the disastrous results of the ever widening gap between governmental promise and achievement. If we are to properly govern, then we must take care to promise only what we can deliver. One thing is certain, there is absolutely no excuse for a careless disregard for the manner in which American taxpayers money is spent. Those who pay the bills for these programs are entitled to value received, and those who are to be assisted should receive the type of training that will enable them to be productive members of our society. We cannot afford to settle for less.

The manpower program has a promising potential. Is it fulfilling that potential?

The evidence accumulated to date shows clearly that the program is not fulfilling its intended purpose. Now is the time for us to take appropriate steps to see that performance at least equals promise.

THE SPIRIT OF VATICAN COUNCIL II IN ACTION AT MANRESA-ON-SEVERN

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the spirit of Vatican Council II has come to my State of Maryland and all of us are highly pleased. It has come to the placid shores of the beautiful Severn River near the famous Chesapeake Bay. It has come to the well-known and highly esteemed Manresa Retreat House where for many years only men had the benefit of its spiritual renewal.

Now the Reverend Eugene J. Linehan, S.J., director of Manresa evisions this place to serve a much larger segment of the population than before. He would welcome the men and their wives and children. Methodist, Episcopal and Lutheran groups have been among the Manresa's visitors. Dr. Louis Kaplan, president of the Baltimore Hebrew College spoke at Manresa about the Jewish High Holy Days and the men gave him a standing ovation. For this and for the desire to implement the great spirit of the Vatican Council II, Father Linehan has our admiration and merits hearty appreciation.

The Sun of Baltimore, on September 2, 1968 published a very interesting article about Manresa-on-Severn. Believing this to be of such general interest, I ask unanimous consent that it be reprinted in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is as follows:

MANRESA-ON-SEVERN—RETREAT HOUSE ENVISIONED AS FAMILY HOTEL

(By Gabrielle Wise)

The whole family may soon be included in retreats being planned for Manresa-on-Severn, once a Catholic-men-only preserve. It is expected that boating, volleyball and tennis at the waterfront site will eventually give the 70-room structure an air of a family hotel.

The Rev. Eugene J. Linehan, S.J., director of Manresa, not only is helping to close the generation gap, but also envisions the retreat house as an ecumenical conference center.

"Whatever the community need is, we want to answer it," Father Linehan said. "We're moving out of the Catholic ghetto and into the mainstream now.

"This is in the spirit of Vatican Council II's Church in the Modern World decree, which says 'Nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts.' In other words, the Christian man is one who is open to all things human."

CHILDREN'S REACTIONS

When men and their wives and children come to Manresa, the director said, it is particularly interesting to see the reactions of the children. Novices from Notre Dame of Ilchester often help with the younger members of the family in a Bible school or play school arrangement while adult activities are under way.

One of Father Linehan's concerns, "as an educator, if you will," is teaching people how to understand the mass—which is a sign language.

"The mass has always been a drama—an acting out. The Passover is, too . . . 'This do in remembrance of Me.'

"When what is happening is acted out," he said further, "the child asks why. Today, thank God, young people are questioning."

He referred to the recently renovated chapel at the retreat when he said, "A young person walks into that chapel and is automatically turned on. But we adults are so tradition bound."

One of the great generation gaps, Father Linehan noted, is in the area of films, "so when we show a movie like 'Parable' (the film shown in the Protestant pavilion at the New York Worlds' Fair) we want to see whether or not a child will go for it.

"Adults don't seem to be able to grasp symbols. A young person can read signs. Folk music like Simon and Garfunkel's 'Mrs. Robinson' from 'The Graduate' doesn't seem to click with adults."

The church is going through a demythologizing period right now, Father Linehan said, and this is where discussion at a community center like Manresa can help out. "For example, there's a terrible need to help people to understand the recent Papal *Humanae Vitae* encyclical. It's causing our people a great deal of pain—they're left without an understanding of this."

The concern for communication shows up in the Sister Corita print in the Manresa director's office. It reads, "To have great poets you need great audiences."

Father Linehan talked enthusiastically about "Rosemary's Baby" and said he disagreed with the N.C.O.M.P. (National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures) stand on the film. "In a sense this is the kind of thing I would like to show people. I would like to bring people down here to show them that God speaks to us in the whole world."

PICTURE'S THEME

The picture's theme, he said, "is one of the core doctrines of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius." Taking a paperback edition from a shelf in his office, he turned to what he called "one of the classic meditations of Ignatius Loyola on Christ and the Devil"—the Standard of Christ and the Standard of the Devil.

"Along comes Roman Polanski and does it in a film and a lot of people think it's terrible. They say 'What can you expect from a Communist from Poland?' It's inconceivable that a man like Roman Polanski could be judged like this.

"It's the classical Faust theme, mocking the Incarnation," he continued. "Anything that removes us from the human is heresy . . . one thing the devil cannot stand is to be human. God has this terrific advantage over the devil in that He became flesh.

IN MODERN TERMS

"Polanski does it but it's in modern terms . . . a well-done presentation of the devil today . . . it shows that evil does succeed.

"What is lacking in so many secular reviews is the theological implications of the film," Father Linehan commented. "This is the place where we can be of service.

"There was a time when people came to Manresa and became so spiritual they forgot the world-and the flesh—then the devil had them in his power.

"It's a struggle to be human, and we learn from Him because He is so perfectly human. The fact that she (Rosemary) has accepted motherhood is a sure sign she's defeated the devil.

ENDS WITH VICTORY

" 'Rosemary's Baby' ends with victory because through her mothering of the child she will defeat the devil. True motherhood will always defeat the devil.

"The devil knows he's been defeated by Christ so he's mocking Christ."

Concerning nudity objections to the film, the priest mentioned one scene and said, "That's not erotic; it's gruesome—real witch doctor stuff."

Father Linehan pointed to a poster in his office which proclaimed "The opposite of human is not the animal—it's the demonic."

LAYMEN'S CONFERENCE

Again he said, "Nothing human is outside our scope," and mentioned this was the theme when he talked on "New Approaches to Retreat" at the National Laymen's Retreat Conference in Washington in July. The response was termed encouraging, with the delegates agreeing that the retreats answered a real need.

Other exchanges were occasioned when men from the Malvern (Pa.) retreat house came to the Severn River site to study the methods at Manresa. "We learned organizationally from them—Malvern is owned and run completely by laymen—and they learned from us in the world of ideas," Father Linehan said.

Methodist, Episcopal and Lutheran groups have also been among the Manresa visitors. "We can't be categorized, can't be restricted to traditional forms," the director emphasized. "I'd very much like to have Jewish groups here, too."

DR. KAPLAN'S VISIT

"Dr. Louis Kaplan, president of the Baltimore Hebrew College, came here to talk about the High Holy Days, and the men gave him a standing ovation," the Manresa priest recalled. He took from the shelf a book Dr. Kaplan had given him. It was "The Elder and Younger Brother," by A. Roy Eckhardt, and was inscribed "To Gene—My Younger Brother."

Father Linehan turned to a page that showed a Madonna painting, remarking, "It's so totally Jewish—the Jewish mother—branded with the Star of David," and said he would like to have that on his office wall.

Father Linehan told also of the Manresa meeting of presidents of five Jesuit colleges and their attorneys. He estimated that between 30 and 40 men gathered around the altar for the concelebrated mass in the chapel of the retreat house. After the mass, according to Father Linehan, one attorney said, "Well, it takes me back 2,000 years to the Upper Room."

Visits by those who are recovering from treatment in mental hospitals are also anticipated by the director, who added, "We hope to have clergymen who have recovered, too, as a living sign of hope."

ANCHOR HOUSE

Hopes that Manresa can be involved in the work of Anchor House, a halfway house sponsored by the Anchor Club of the Archdiocese of Washington, were also expressed in connection with use of Manresa as a "center of reconciliation."

Father Linehan noted that Manresa had been actively supporting causes in the Fourth Ward, or ghetto area, of Annapolis, and that the retreat house served as a food depot during the racial disturbances in Baltimore. With St. Anne's Episcopal Church in Annapolis Manresa co-sponsored the production of Shaw's "St. Joan" with proceeds going to work in the Fourth Ward. Actors for the production were housed at Manresa.

During the days of the Resurrection City encampment Manresa was once again a depot for food and medication.

FOR DECISION

As Father Linehan spoke of Manresa's involvement with the community and the world, he underscored the words of the sign, "For Decision in the Modern World," at the retreat house entrance.

"Not to decide is to decide," he insisted. "The word of God demands a decision pro or con. Every retreat should challenge us to some kind of decision.

"Our choice as priests is to be honest or dishonest. . . . We're not breaking with the past, we're invigorating it. At a center like this why can't we help people to live more fully?"

THE HONORABLE LYNDON B. JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, REAFFIRMS HIS POSITION ON VIETNAM TO THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS IN CONVENTION

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to be in attendance at the annual banquet of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in convention in Detroit, Mich., last night when the President of the United States, the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, gave the main address. The President spoke out so forcefully on the war in Vietnam and once again made clear to the Nation the policy he has been following that I feel it should be a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Under leave to extend my remarks I include the text of the President's speech:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS ANNUAL CONVENTION, DETROIT, MICH., AUGUST 19, 1968

Commander Scerra, General Westmoreland, Reverend Varner, Congressman and Mrs. Teague, Governor Docking, Mayor Cavanaugh, our beloved friend Bill Driver, ladies and gentlemen:

Tonight, as we meet here to honor American veterans, I want to first of all thank you for your kindness to me and to my family. As we assemble here tonight, one of the great veterans of our time is waging one of the greatest struggles of his life.

The hearts and the hopes of all of us in this room—and of all our people across the entire United States—go out at this moment to our beloved President, Dwight David Eisenhower.

President Eisenhower's life is witness to a firm conviction. He believed democracy can only survive by accepting freedom as a responsibility. He believed that the first responsibility of a democratic people is to unite in defense of freedom whenever and wherever it is threatened.

He fought for freedom on the battlefield. When he led his nation at home, he sought through all the years to bind us together with a single over-riding purpose—the preservation of freedom.

I am very proud to say tonight that I spent some of the most rewarding days of my public life working closely with President Eisenhower to draw the line against division and against disunity.

As Majority Leader of the Senate—and as a member of another political party—I worked with him because I shared his faith that responsible Americans must always place the nation's cause above any partisan or petty personal interest.

Tonight, as the prayers of this nation go out for President Eisenhower, let us honor him with the strength of our resolve. Let us show that we are one people—commented to the cause for which he has dedicated his entire life.

Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to ask each of you now to stand and to join me in a moment of silent prayer for this great beloved American.

More than a century ago, President Abraham Lincoln looked beyond a terrible war to the day when peace would come. High among the country's obligations, he saw this imperative: "To care for him who shall have borne the battle."

Through other wars, and through troubled days, President Lincoln's words have endured as the rock of our commitment.

To no group does America owe more than it owes to the men who have borne arms in defense of America and in defense of their fellow man—some of whom could not always be there with you—and in defense of freedom.

From Valley Forge to the jungles of Vietnam, you knew and they knew what they were fighting for—and that knowledge became a well-spring of dedication and courage.

Nothing can ever quite adequately express the gratitude that all of us should owe to our veterans. But one thing is certain: Those who have been injured and disabled in the line of duty have a right to all the help that their government can give them to live useful and productive lives.

So, tonight, I am signing here into law a measure in your presence, and I think it is a historic moment. This measure will provide service disabled veterans with the help that they are entitled to and with the help that they need.

Compensation for 115,000 totally disabled veterans will be increased by $100 a month. Very soon, monthly rates will now range from $400 to $700.

Almost two million veterans whose disabilities are less than total will receive an eight percent increase.

This bill provides much more, though, than just financial stability for a disabled veteran. It offers him new hope—a new help—in his fight to resume a normal life.

This bill reaffirms our gratitude to those who have sacrificed so much for freedom. It represents our pledge that they will never be forsaken and they will never be forgotten.

I want to express my personal thanks to Administrator Driver, the Veterans Administrator than whom there has never been a better one. To that very able Chairman Congressman Olin Teague, who made this measure possible and also to that man who spoke to you today and who honors us always when he is in our presence, that great and gallant and unequalled courageous leader, General Westmoreland.

I came here tonight because I wanted to say a few words about Vietnam.

We are in the midst, as you may have judged, of a national political campaign. I think it is altogether proper that there should be a great deal of discussion and speculation about a war in which more than 500,000 of our young men are at this moment, tonight, deeply engaged.

These things are quite clear:

Those half million American men are not out in Southeast Asia as Republicans or Democrats or American Party or fourth party members. They are out there as American sons fighting to protect the vital interests of America, as those interests have been determined by more than one President and by more than one Congress.

Until January 20, 1969, until another President takes the oath with those closing words, "So help me God," I bear the responsibility of the Presidency, and of the executive policy of this nation towards Vietnam—a policy that has been fashioned over many years on a bipartisan basis, by several Presidents and by several American Congresses.

The interests of the nation and the interests of peace are not advanced by ambiguity at any time about that policy.

Therefore, I am not going to speak in ambiguous terms and I am going to lay out a few fundamentals for you and for the rest of the nation here tonight.

First, our objective in Southeast Asia is peace, and the essentials of what we mean by peace for a long time have been quite clear. I am going to repeat them briefly:

Reinstall the demilitarized zone at the 17th Parallel, as the Geneva Accords of 1954 require, and let the matter of Vietnamese unity be decided by the people of North Vietnam and the people of South Vietnam in the future;

Remove all foreign forces from Laos and reinstall and make fully effective the Geneva Accords of 1962 on Laos;

Withdraw U.S. forces from South Vietnam under the circumstances described in the Manila Communique;

Encourage the people of South Vietnam to exercise their rights of self-determination. It is for them to decide in peace without any coercion of any kind—from anyone—their own political future on one-man one-vote basis—in a free election—in the spirit of reconciliation reaffirmed by President Thieu at Honolulu. He said there that all can vote in Vietnam and all can run for office, if they will foresake violence and live by the Constitution. We of the United States agree.

That is what I mean by an honorable peace. I doubt that any American President will take a substantially different view when he bears the burdens of office and he has available to him all the information that flows to the Commander-in-Chief and he is responsible to our people for all of the consequences of all of the alternatives that are open to him.

Second, the United States took a major initiative toward peace on March 31. We not only made an offer, but we immediately acted. We took a first dramatic step to deescalate the conflict. I immediately ordered our aircraft and our naval vessels to make no attacks on North Vietnam north of the 20th Parallel. This excluded from bombing almost 90 percent of the North Vietnamese population and almost 80 percent of the North Vietnamese territory.

I then, that night, in that televised speech to the nation had this to say: "I cannot in good conscience stop all bombing so long as to do so would immediately and directly endanger the lives of our men and our allies. Whether a complete bombing halt becomes possible in the future will be determined by events."

Thus far Hanoi's response has been:

To reject every single suggestion made by ourselves or others to de-escalate the conflict;

To proceed since March 31 with the highest level of infiltration that we have observed during the war in Vietnam; the highest level of southward movement of military supplies; and the highest level of preparation for a major wave of attacks of 1968.

I do not know whether or when such a new attack will take place, it may have already begun. But I can assure you that we are doing everything imaginable and in our power to avoid it.

But I do know that Hanoi has rejected our every offer for prompt de-escalation and movements toward peace in favor of their massive military preparations for intensified battle.

So the next move must be theirs. In human affairs there is no more basic lesson than it takes two to make a bargain and to make a peace. We have made a reasonable offer and we have taken a major first step. That offer has not been accepted. This Administration does not intend to move further until it has good reason to believe that the other side intends seriously to join us in de-escalating the war and moving seriously toward peace. We are willing to take chances for peace but we cannot make foolhardy gestures for which our fighting men will pay the price by giving their lives.

So tonight I hope you will ask yourselves: Where would the position of this nation and its allies be if, having taken a major step toward de-escalation and peace already, we responded now to their hostility with still another major unilateral step? If you were in Hanoi, would you then de-escalate and negotiate? Or would you not demand another unilateral step, until finally the whole foundation of freedom for the nations of Southeast Asia was beyond repair?

This President—this Administration—will not move down that slippery slope.

This is a time tonight when Americans have to face certain hard questions and they have to keep certain facts clearly before them.

First, are we Americans prepared to say to Hanoi that we are ready to have their men by the thousands and their supplies by the tons pour down through the DMZ against our American sons and our allies without obstruction, whether or not Hanoi takes action to de-escalate the conflict? Well, that is what would be involved in an immediate halt to all bombing in North Vietnam.

Second, are we Americans ready to let the Communist forces assemble without any interference around Saigon, Danang, Hue and other cities and then and there deliver their attacks at times and places of their own choice, when it suits their own advantage? That is what would be involved if we should give up our search-and-destroy operations.

Third, let us all remember that it is a long-established policy of the government of the United States and the government of Vietnam that the political future of that country should be decided by free elections based on the principle of one-man one-vote. It is the Communists who have refused to even discuss these elections. It is they who seek a solution by bullet rather than by ballot.

Fourth, let us all remember that with the encouragement of the American people, these gallant South Vietnamese have created their own Constitution, have created their own government.

They have voted freely;

Often at the risk of their own lives;

In elections as closely observed as any elections in modern time;

In which 60 percent of all the electorate participated.

In that government and closely associated with it in the Vietnam Senate, candidates received more than 56 percent of the popular vote in the South Vietnamese election.

The people of South Vietnam and their government have demonstrated—in action—a willingness and an ability to let the people speak—peacefully—by democratic means. It is not they, but it is the other side, who now tonight must be persuaded that the election process is the road to peace in Vietnam.

I can tell you that I believe peace is going to come—that is, if we are steady and it is going to come, if I have anything to do with it, on honorable terms. I cannot tell you precisely when it will come, but I believe that it will come because:

I believe military victory is beyond the enemy's grasp;

Because the South Vietnamese are gathering military and political strength and confidence day by day;

And finally because I believe in America. However great our anxiety for peace; however great our concern for the war in Vietnam; however great our passionate desire that the killing shall stop, I do not believe that the American people are going to walk away from this struggle unless they can walk away with it on honorable terms.

When we sent our negotiating team off to Paris I told them two things:

First, put aside all considerations of domestic politics;

Second, work for a genuine peace—the peace which is a vital interest of the United States, now and which will be 10 years from now.

I did not take myself out of personal partisan Presidential politics on March 31st in order to permit our pursuit of peace to be slightly colored in the slightest degree by domestic political considerations. I want peace in Vietnam. I want it perhaps more than any single living American individual. But the pursuit of peace in this Administration is going to be governed by America's abiding interests as we see them.

I do have faith, a faith that strengthened me on March 31st—that when the political campaign is all over—and the man takes up the responsibility of the Presidency—whoever he may be—he will take a similar view.

Right now we are doing all that diplomacy can do to end the war through the talks in Paris. And we shall continue.

We shall try again and again, every conceivable thing that human ingenuity can produce. I shall do everything I possibly can between now and January, every waking moment, to bring an honorable peace to Southeast Asia. I do hope that it can be possible. But if not, I have faith that the next President—faced with consequences to his own people and the consequences of the peace of the world—I have faith that he, too, will stand up and insist on an honorable peace.

So these are my views on Vietnam. This is my faith.

But let me add another word about why we came to commit ourselves as a nation in Vietnam and to the security of Southeast Asia.

Almost two-thirds of the men, women and children on this planet, living in this world, now live in Asia. In the year 2000, that proportion is going to be even higher than two-thirds of the world. It is as certain as the sun rises that in the world of modern technology and communications, that the prosperity and the security of your United States will, with the passage of time, be more bound up with the fate of Asia—and not less.

This nation—not this Administration, but this nation—has three times in the past 30 years reacted when one power or another sought by aggression to enlarge its power in Asia: In 1941; December 7; in 1950 and then in the present conflict. Our responsibility was recognized in 1954 when the SEATO Treaty was adopted by the United States Senate by a vote of 82 to 1. That Treaty was accepted by the United States Senate for one simple reason—because in their hearts and their minds, the members of the Senate knew that this nation could not and would not ever stand idly by and see all the countries of Southeast Asia taken over by the aggressor's heel. They hoped—and they stated in the speeches on that Treaty that they hoped that that Treaty and the warning that it represented would deter aggression.

But the men in Hanoi believed that they commanded a method of aggression that would succeed in the face of our commitment. They have been supported by others who felt that Hanoi's success would drive the United States out of Asia and leave it open for a take-over.

There is no serious and responsible leader in Asia who does not already know that the struggle now taking place in Vietnam tonight is the hinge on which the fate of Asia will swing—one way or the other—for many years, far into the future. When we insist on an honorable peace in Vietnam, we are insisting on a solution to the struggle which has the promise of permitting the independent nations of Asia to go forward in confidence: to build in freedom, a life consistent with their own traditions and their own ambitions. We are talking tonight not about 17 million people of South Vietnam, but we are talking about nations which contain hundreds of millions of people.

There are some among us who appear to be searching for a formula which would get us out of Vietnam and Asia, on any terms, leaving the people of South Vietnam and Laos and Thailand—and all the others—to an uncertain fate.

Laos, South Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia—pretty soon we could be back to the Philippines—and even back to Honolulu.

I profoundly believe that this course would be disastrous to the interests of the United States. I believe it would be disastrous to the world—now and in the years to come.

On the other hand, I am equally confident that if we have the will to see this through in Vietnam to an honorable peace, the way will be open for better times:

For a period of relative tranquility in which the forces of moderation, of national independence, of freedom and regional cooperation will assert themselves in Asia as they are tonight asserting themselves in other parts of the world:

Permitting the United States not to return to isolation but to work as a partner with a vital region of the world which will more and more assume responsibility for its own destiny.

That is the ultimate stake in Vietnam—for Americans, for Asians and for the world.

That is why three different Presidents have taken and have held the position they have taken.

That is why the American people, in my judgment, are going to hold steady and see it through and not cut and run.

I want the killing in Vietnam to stop—but we cannot stop the killing if North Vietnam insists on sending another 150,000 new aggressors into the South to kill Americans and allies since January the first of this year.

Remember, it takes two to stop the killing. We are ready now, tonight, to stop the bombing when the other side is prepared not just to see our bombing stop and weapons taken from our men, but the other side is willing to stop their aggression as well.

We are ready to stop the war now by stopping the fighting when they are ready to stop the war by stopping the aggression.

We have stopped the bombing already now eight different times. The last time, out of respect to Buddha's birthday. Then, on their own religious birthday—their answer to our stopping the bombing was the Tet offensive when tens of thousands of casualties were suffered by our people. We stopped the bombing again before that, for 37 long days. And what did they stop? Their answer was not to stop aggression, but General Westmoreland will tell you, they greatly stepped up their aggression while we were stopping the bombing.

So, my friends, let's not be hoodwinked. Let us not be mislead. Instead our people and their people must understand one thing: We are not going to stop the bombing just to give them a chance to step up their bloodbath. We are not going to stop bombing their trucks or bombing their ammunition or bombing their supply lines while they bomb our cities and while they bomb our headquarters and while they mine South Vietnamese territory and they require our American fighting men to bear the brunt of the increased fire power that the Communists would rain on our men if we did not stop every truck and every bit of the ammunition we could.

On March 31 we stopped 90 percent of the bombing. Have they stopped 90 percent of their infiltration or 80 percent or even 50 percent? No. They didn't stop anything. They increased their infiltration 100 percent. That was their answer to our stopping the bombing.

We are ready tonight and we are ready tomorrow, either on the battlefield or the conference table in Paris, to put into effect any fair and reasonable ceasefire on both sides—but not just one side.

We are not going to trade the safety of American fighting men whose voices are not here to be heard in this election campaign for any Trojan Horse. They are going to have a voice in this campaign before it is over.

So tonight, I appeal to all well-intentioned citizens who are demanding that Americans stop the bombing to tell me what are they demanding of Hanoi. I ask each well-intentioned good American to search his conscience when he goes home tonight and ask himself, why, oh why do we hear nothing of any demands on Hanoi.

You can look at that Marine Sergeant and say, "Please sacrifice and give up the best implement you have to stop those trucks and those hand grenades and those divisions that are coming toward you. I ask you to give up the best weapon you have."

He would look at me with those innocent, boyish eyes and say: "Why, Mr. President, but what are they going to give up?"

And I say: This has not been mentioned.

I am not going to answer him that way.

It is one thing when you are seeking responsibility and it is another thing when you have it.

One day—and I pray every night that it will be soon—the men who bear the brunt of battle are going to come back home. When they do come they are going to ask an accounting of us for the support that we have given them or that we denied them in the hour of greatest need when we sent them away to protect us and to defend us.

I hope and I pray that we are not going to be found wanting in that judgment.

So long as I am the American Commander-in-Chief we are not going to be found wanting.

In our great democracy—from the American Revolution to the war in Vietnam—struggles on the battlefield have been accompanied by contention and dissension and a great deal of debate here at home.

But always this great nation has produced men like yourselves, men who were ready to do their duty; in your case, ready to go abroad, ready to fight for their nation, ready to give their lives to preserve freedom.

You men who grace this banquet hall tonight did your job—in your time—and you did it in faraway places, in great fear—because no man ever got shot at who wasn't frightened—I know. You brought home your Nation's flag in honor—and you brought it home unstained. And they are going to do the same in Vietnam.

In time—and I pray that time will be short—these over 500,000 young men are going to come back and join us. In time the debates and the personalities will pass. They—and the American people—will look back on what we have done and I think they will look back with the same pride that we feel in our other efforts in the cause of freedom when we have defended it with our blood.

We all shall know that those who do not come back, your brothers in arms, will not have died in vain.

Every day I read reports of the courage of Americans in battle in Vietnam. Every day I read reports of our civil efforts to help the South Vietnamese build a nation—expand education—plant new rice seeds—strengthen their Constitutional government. Every day I read about our men teaching them to read and write and helping to cure the sores and heal the bodies of these unfortunate deprived people.

Behind these military and civilian efforts are, I am here to certify tonight, as fine a generation of young Americans as America in all her history ever produced.

So I hope that you have faith and I hope you keep the faith. I hope you give us the support that we are going to need so dearly in the trying months ahead.

So tonight I come here to thank you for your honor and for the kindness to my family and to tell you that I am of good heart. Let no one ever tell you that love of country, dedication to freedom, determination for an honorable peace is dead in this land.

SISTER ANNE CUMMINS

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, in the past it has been my privilege to inform my colleagues of the remarkable humanitarian work being performed on a worldwide basis by an order of nuns headquartered within my district.

While highly interesting stories could be written about each of these 700 women who devote their lives to the care of the sick in remote areas of the world, a press release issued by the Philadelphia Bar Association concerning one of these sisters has received such noteworthy attention in the press media in my area, I would like the opportunity of sharing this heart-warming tale with my colleagues.

The press release follows:

Among the over 700 Medical Mission Sisters, stationed around the world, is a charming, warm and friendly person known as

Sister Anne Cummins. Formerly known as lawyer Hannah Mary Cummins, she has served as assistant attorney general with Pennsylvania's Secretary of Labor and Industry; as chairman of the Committee for Legal Rights of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, and as assistant city solicitor for the City of Philadelphia. In January of this year, she left the legal profession and became a Medical Mission Sister at 8400 Pine Rd., in Fox Chase, Philadelphia.

Why did this apparently successful woman lawyer resign her practice with the Philadelphia law firm of Brickley, Cummins, Torpey and Bernstein to take on a completely different life's work?

"I want to be where I feel God wants me to be now; where I can do the most good for people . . . I want to serve man, and God, through service to man. Really, to answer that question is like trying to explain "Grace" in one sentence. It can't be done," Sister Anne said in a recent interview.

When asked why she went through all the expense and time to become a lawyer if her chief concern is service to God and man, she replied, "My training as a lawyer will not be wasted. I expect to put all my legal training to work in my present position. Our Society is working in two great areas in which I would like to help . . . community development and labor relations."

Born and raised in Northeast Philadelphia, Sister Anne reminisces that her first school, Presentation Grade School in Cheltenham, Pa., had only four classrooms when she attended. (She feels that this bit of information somehow dates her.)

Later, she attended St. Joachim's Grade School and Philadelphia's Little Flower Catholic High School, where she played on the girls' basketball team. She facetiously contends that she is still the best shot around . . . "Can't run though."

Early in her life she worked for the Philadelphia law firm of Obermayer, Rebmann, Maxwell and Hippel, which inspired her to enter the legal profession. She continued to work for the firm when she began evening studies at St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia. (Only the night school at St. Joe's is co-ed.) Later, and while still in school, she took employment with the law firm of Frazier and Frazier, also in Philadelphia, and worked there through college and law school. She was graduated from St. Joseph's in 1956.

After graduation she began her law studies, again at night, at Temple University Law School in Philadelphia. She was graduated from law school in 1960, and was admitted to the Bar in the same year.

From 1961 to 1965, she was an assistant attorney general with the Pennsylvania Secretary of Labor and Industry. She was appointed by Anne X. Alpern, who was then Attorney General of Pennsylvania (the first woman in the United States to hold such a post), and who is presently a judge on the Court of Common Pleas for the Fifth Judicial District, in Allegheny County, Pa.

Sister Anne was assistant city solicitor of Philadelphia from 1965 until December, 1967. She worked with the City Law Department's Community Development Division and did special litigation work which involved her in many important cases. In 1964, Pennsylvania's Governor William W. Scranton appointed her chairman of the Committee for Legal Rights of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.

Sister Anne has also had the distinction of being listed in Who's Who in American Women. She was the first president of the Alumnae Chapter of the Alumni Association of St. Joseph's College; a member of both the Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Bar Associations; a member of the National Association of Women Lawyers, and a member of the nation-wide organization known as Cross Keys.

Sister Anne enjoys her Medical Mission work; she says she finds it "challenging." When she is not attending classes in linguistics, Sacred Scriptures, moral theology, Chuch history, Mission history and anthropology, she works on the employment problems of lay personnel, of whom she is in charge. Lay personnel are used in the Mission office and in the kitchen. In addition, two men are required to service the Mission's grounds.

Housekeeping tasks, however, are also performed by the Sisters. Sister Anne—who says she has no talent in this area—is presently assigned to cooking duties. Although she says, "Really, I can't boil an egg," there is evidence that she is doing quite well at the task. She has also come to appreciate the problems of the commercial laundry worker, through her experience in the Mission laundry.

Sister Anne is a sociable, fun-loving person who makes a hobby of people. She loves music, reading and sports (an avid basketball fan, her uncle, Bill Ferguson, was the basketball coach for St. Joseph's College for 25 years, resigning in 1953). She is a Philadelphia Phillies fan, a football fan (she used to travel to South Bend, Ind., occasionally to see the University of Notre Dame play), a golf player and a lover of the legitimate theater.

She says she never liked the movies or television. She has an antipathy for liver, fish and alarm clocks (she presently arises at 5:10 each morning). She loves foods of other lands. Her favorite American food is roquefort dressing with large lumps of cheese. In an American restaurant she would most likely order steak, medium, with roquefort-dressed (of course) salad.

Sister Anne has not yet been assigned abroad because, as she says, "The Mission Society will not put anybody to work who is not fully prepared to do her job." She is, however, looking forward eagerly to going overseas. "It's not for the travel, it's being where God wants you to be; where you can do the most good for people. I want to serve man, and God, through service to man." She loves India, and is presently studying Hindi.

Her father, who died in 1963, was Daniel J. Cummins. He operated a trolley car for the Philadelphia Transportation Company. Sister Anne remembers him as a "great guy." Sister Anne refers to her mother, the former Nora Morrissey, as "the woman behind and beyond me." Her mother still resides in Philadelphia. Her brother Daniel, who died in 1962, was the special assistant in charge of Eastwick for the Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia, where he served from 1950 until his death. Sister Anne, with four sisters and one brother, is an aunt to 28 nieces and nephews.

The Medical Mission Sisters is an Order of Catholic nuns composed of over 700 Sisters situated throughout the world. They have established 34 Holy Family Hospitals in 15 countries on four continents—North and South America, Africa and Asia. Many of these hospitals are as substantial and modern as any found in the United States. In addition, they have established numerous clinics, leprosaria, maternity and child welfare centers and training centers for local people, ranging from nursing, midwifery, technology, internship and residency programs. Included in the Order are doctors, nurses, pharmacists, technicians, dentists, administrators, housekeepers, secretaries, accountants, writers, artists, and—with Sister Anne Cummins—at least one lawyer.

The Order was founded in 1925, in Washington, D.C., by Mother Anna Dengel, a native of Austria and a medical doctor. Mother Dengel, who is headquartered in Rome, has received two awards from the Austrian government for service to mankind, one of which is the "Ehrenring." About 50 of the Mission Sisters are medical doctors; some, specialists.

A current important project is the addition of a new wing to the Indian Holy Family Hospital at New Delhi. Both Sister Anne and U.S. Congressman Joshua Eilberg (D., Phila.) have devoted a great deal of effort toward bringing this "dream" to fruition. Construction of the new wing is already under way.

Sister Anne supported and did what she could to help Congressman Eilberg in his campaign to win a seat in Congress. "It was a personal effort and not really an organized type of support," she said.

The Fox Chase House of the Medical Mission Sisters is situated on 100 acres of gently rolling hills of green, with tall pine trees, narrow winding roads and 12 attractive structures in which the Sisters live and work. The House, which is the American headquarters for the Mission, is a base for fund-raising, publicity and training for new Sisters. Many of the Sisters there study in various schools throughout Philadelphia. The House was founded in 1939, and is home for about 100 Medical Mission Sisters.

In addition to the hospital services they offer, the Society works to help people through the use of preventive medicine. The Sisters are working with foreign governments to help the local people in any possible way.

"When I came to the Mission in January, the odds downtown on my sticking it out were very short," Sister Anne quipped.

When asked what the odds are now, she quickly replied, "A hundred to one . . . no . . . as high as you can get them."

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

HON. JAMES V. SMITH

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, attached here is my "Report From Washington" for September 1968 which I include in the Extensions of Remarks:

JAMES V. SMITH, REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 1968

This is a report on recent activities that will be of interest to you. As your representative in Congress, I welcome your comments and suggestions on any issue with which the Congress is concerned.

WATER PROGRESS

One of the greatest needs for Western Oklahoma is an adequate supply of water. Without water and the development of water resources, it will be difficult to attract job-producing industry or maintain an active agricultural environment.

The House of Representatives has approved the Mountain Park Dam project near Snyder, and the measure is now pending before the Senate. I introduced H.R. 9411 which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate and maintain this $21 million project. As well, it has been agreed that interim irrigation might be the result of this project in Kiowa county near the Bretch Diversion Dam site. As a farmer, I know the effect that a small bit of water can have on wheat at the proper time.

The Foss Reservoir west of Clinton has been a disappointment in the unsuitable water it has produced, but one ray of hope has emerged. By legislation, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to repay $218,364 to the Foss Master Conservancy District, which is monies paid the Government for the Foss Reservoir by the member cities of Cordell, Bessie, Clinton and Hobart. The refund has now been paid and placed in interest-bearing Treasury Bonds by the Conservancy District.

Further, the legislation also authorized the Secretary to forego additional payments and cancel interest accrual on the total obligation until satisfactory water is delivered to the communities. In the meantime, the Department of Interior has appropriated funds necessary to conduct studies in regard to making the water usable. I introduced the bill to amend the repayment contract, and to construct a 3-million gallon per day demineralization plant near the dam site for treating the water.

CLINTON-SHERMAN

Uppermost in the minds of the citizens of the towns surrounding the important Clinton-Sherman Air Force Base, is the economic impact the base closure will have on their communities when the base is phased out of the defense inventory in 1970.

On two separate occasions my office has been assured by the Defense Secretary that the plans remain the same—a phase-out by July 1, 1970. Approximately 126 other installations in the Nation also are affected by similar orders.

No area of the state has turned such energies and enthusiasm toward solving this problem as have the various communities involved. The Midwestern Industrial Development Foundation was created to attract industry into the area to create jobs in the anticipated vacuum. The people who have involved themselves in this hard work deserve the commendation and gratitude of everyone in the area.

In October, 1967, I assisted in sponsoring a meeting with local officials and representatives of various Government agencies, including the Department of Defense; Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Federal Aviation Administration, and the Economic Development Administration, to discuss ways they could be of assistance.

During the exploratory discussion it was decided a comprehensive study should be made of the facility, and a Federal grant of $30,000 was obtained from EDA to conduct the study.

In September, 1967, I introduced a bill to create the Southwest Regional Services Corporation which would coordinate a variety of Government training programs. The corporation would provide a central location for such projects as pilot and aircraft mechanics training; a residential vocational-technical institution; a senior citizen and rehabilitation training center; air safety research center, and an industrial complex in which private industry would be encouraged to locate not only to provide employment for persons in the region but also to supply needed goods and services.

Now, various Government agencies are taking another look at this outstanding facility. Recently I announced that FAA is studying the base for possible use in aircraft safety training, and I hope the suggestions made in my legislation contributed to their interest.

As a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I will continue to explore the possibilities of further use of this base as the defense posture changes.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

I noted where some of the banks were hard put to cash some of the checks brought in by their Cheyenne-Arapaho customers when the $15 million judgment money was distributed to the Tribal members. While I regret the inconvenience to the banks, still I am glad these people finally were reimbursed for the land ceded to the United States at giveaway prices in 1891. On June 7, 1967, I introduced legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to distribute these funds.

I also have introduced legislation which authorizes payment of $6 million in judgment funds to the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. Hearings have been scheduled for September 4 and 5.

Oklahoma's Indians have a proud and distinguished heritage and I welcome opportunities to serve them here in the Congress.

EAST-WEST TRADE

There has been much discussion concerning the desirability of "improving" relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European communist countries through the loosening of trade barriers between our country and the communist nations.

The best improvements that could result from negotiations with the communist world would be our demand that they assist in bringing about the end of the war in Vietnam by pressures placed by them on their ally in Hanoi.

Recent events in Czechoslovakia should prove the real intent of the communists insofar as their dealings with freedom-loving nations are concerned. The concept that we can trade with an enemy who has sworn to bury us, who has broken almost every agreement made with us and who is trying to subvert the world to their cause at our expense, does not make good sense.

My colleague from Iowa, Congressman H. R. Gross, introduced a resolution as an amendment to the Foreign Aid bill which would have prohibited American foreign aid from going to any country presently supplying North Vietnam with arms or aid. The resolution lost by four votes. I voted for this resolution because I think that it is tragic to give American taxpayers' money or assistance to any country which is supplying arms or bullets that kill American boys in Vietnam. To talk about "building bridges" to the communist world at this time in our Nation's history will not find favor with me.

Remember, as your representative in Washington, I want to help you in any way that I can be of service. I welcome your letters. Let me have your opinions and your suggestions.

Sincerely,

JAMES V. SMITH,
Member of Congress.

CIGARETTE SMUGGLING

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced in the House of Representatives a bill, H.R. 19424, to assist State and local governments in the enforcement of cigarette taxes.

During the 89th and 90th Congresses I have introduced other legislation in this field—H.R. 2153, 90th Congress—calling for Federal registration of all interstate shipments of more than 25 cartons of cigarettes. No action has been taken on that legislation and so today at the request of the New York State Cigarette Tax Enforcement Conference Committee to which I was appointed by Governor Rockefeller, I have sponsored a new bill which provides that it shall be a Federal misdemeanor to ship in interstate commerce contraband cigarettes.

Contraband cigarettes are defined in the bill as shipments of more than 20,000—100 cartons—untaxed cigarettes to any unauthorized person. The legislation provides a penalty of $1,000 or imprisonment for 1 year or both.

The problem of cigarette bootlegging has reached alarming proportions and the law enforcement officials both Federal and State with whom I have discussed the need for legislation are convinced that organized crime has entered and perhaps has already taken over the field.

I am placing in the RECORD at this point the text of the press release issued by the New York State Department of Taxation describing the conclusions of the conference committee and the preparation of this legislation:

ALBANY, July 30, 1968.—A draft of Federal legislation aimed at the heart of the cigarette smuggling racket has been prepared by Governor Rockefeller's Cigarette Tax Enforcement Conference Committee, it was announced today by New York State Tax Commissioner Joseph H. Murphy, chairman of the committee.

The committee is made up of leading representatives of the tobacco industry and of state, city and federal tax and law enforcement officials, who are joining forces to stamp out cigarette racketeering along the eastern seaboard and elsewhere in the nation.

The draft legislation prepared by the committee has two purposes:

(1) To eliminate racketeering in the sale and distribution of cigarettes, and

(2) To facilitate more effective enforcement of state and local cigarette tax laws and thus to help to strengthen state and local tax systems.

Bi-partisan sponsorship of the bill in both houses of the Congress will be sought, Commissioner Murphy said.

The essence of the draft legislation would be to define as "contraband", the interstate transportation of more than 20,000 untaxed cigarettes being made to anyone who is not a cigarette manufacturer, a licensed distributor, an officer or agent of the U.S. Government, or a common or contract carrier.

As drafted by the committee, the bill would make violation of its provisions a Federal misdemeanor carrying a fine of $1,000 or imprisonment for one year, or both.

In recent years, the cigarette smuggling racket has proved a rich source of income to racketeers and smugglers and has cost legitimate tobacco dealers and state and local governments millions of dollars in lost revenue. Commissioner Murphy estimates that New York City and New York State are losing about $40 million a year in tax revenue because of illicit traffic in cigarettes.

With the growing need for additional revenue, more and more states have increased taxes on cigarettes. Consequently, Commissioner Murphy said, the traffic in illicit cigarettes moving from one state to another presents a revenue and enforcement problem to most states along the eastern seaboard.

Lawbreakers have found it advantageous, for example, to buy cigarettes in North Carolina, which has no tax and no controls on the sale of cigarettes, and in states with low rates of tax, and smuggle them into states imposing higher taxes where they are sold without payment of tax.

Since there is nothing illegal in the purchase of cigarettes in North Carolina, the draft legislation seeks to hit at the problem of illicit sales through policing interstate transportation of untaxed cigarettes for sale in states where such taxes are imposed.

Members of Governor Rockefeller's Cigarette Tax Enforcement Conference Committee are: Joseph H. Murphy, chairman; Floravante G. Perrotta, New York City Finance Administrator; Charles Conlon, Executive

Secretary, National Tobacco Tax Association; Edgar Cullman, President, General Cigar Company; William Colman, Executive Director, Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D.C.; William Kingsley, New Jersey Tax Commissioner; John Sheehy, Assistant Counsel to Governor Rockefeller; Edward Rook, N.Y. State Tax Department, Executive Secretary of the committee; and New York State Congressmen Herbert Tenzer and Daniel Button.

I first became interested in this subject in February 1966 when I was informed that high school students were being enlisted to sell untaxed cigarettes to friends and neighbors at reduced prices. Young people were being made a part of the widespread cigarette smuggling racket.

It was at that time that I made inquiries into applicable Federal statutes and found to my amazement that there were none.

The legislation which I sponsored in 1966 and the additional legislation which I have sponsored today would assist the States and local governments to collect tax revenues from the sale of cigarettes and would protect small businessmen from the loss of profits which results from cigarette bootlegging.

It should be made perfectly clear that this bill will not harm the cigarette industry or the tobacco-growing States, it will merely help assure that profits from the sale of cigarettes go into legitimate channels of trade and close the trade to criminal elements.

On April 15, 1966, soon after introduction of my first cigarette smuggling control bill—H.R. 14153, March 30, 1966—a conference of the taxing authorities of 13 States, including the District of Columbia and New York City, held in Baltimore unanimously endorsed my bill. Subsequently in his annual appearance before the New York State congressional delegation in 1967 Governor Rockefeller of New York asked Members of the House on both sides of the aisle to work for passage of H.R. 2153 which I introduced in the 90th Congress. Significantly this was the only bill the Governor cited by number during his address.

This legislation is of utmost importance in the fight against organized crime and the continuing incidents of bootlegging reported in the daily press. These incidents are known to the FBI and warrant immediate congressional attention.

Mr. Speaker, when we read reports of camouflaged lumber trucks carrying thousands of cartons of untaxed cigarettes, or shipments purporting to be textiles but actually concealing untaxed cigarettes, we know that this is the work of professionals. We know from these facts that cigarette smuggling has become "big business" and that the States and local governments need Federal assistance in tracing these illegal interstate shipments and assistance in prosecuting the persons who plan and carry out these illegal transactions.

Often we have read about arrests made as trucks cross State lines with untaxed cigarettes—the violators are punished—but the States lack of jurisdiction to prosecute the persons who planned the shipment and arranged the transaction in another State.

Establishing Federal jurisdiction, in and of itself, would place the crime syndicates on notice that cigarette bootlegging is no longer merely a local crime but that the FBI and the Department of Justice will be authorized to investigate and prosecute violations.

I urge my colleagues in the House to join me calling for congressional action on this most urgent matter and to join me in sponsoring this legislation. For the convenience of my cólleagues, I insert at this point the text of this bill:

H.R. 19424

A bill to eliminate racketeering in the sale and distribution of cigarettes and to assist State and local governments in the enforcement of cigarette taxes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of this Act—

(1) the term "cigarette" means

(a) any roll of tobacco wrapped in paper or in any substance not containing tobacco, and

(b) any roll of tobacco wrapped in any substance containing tobacco which, because of its appearance, the type of tobacco used in the filler, or its packaging and labeling, is likely to be offered to, or purchased by, consumers as a cigarette described in paragraph (a).

(2) the term "contraband cigarettes" means a quantity in excess of 20,000 cigarettes, bearing no evidence of the payment of applicable State cigarette taxes, in the possession of any person other than (a) the manufacturer of the cigarettes or his agent; (b) a common or contract carrier; (c) a person licensed or otherwise authorized by the tax department of the State where the cigarettes are found, to deal in cigarettes and to account for and pay applicable cigarette taxes imposed by such State; or (d) an officer, employee or other agent of the United States, or its departments and wholly owned instrumentalities.

(3) the term "common or contract carrier" means a carrier holding a certificate of convenience or necessity or equivalent operating authority from a regulatory agency of the United States or of any State or the District of Columbia.

(4) the term "tax department" means that department or agency of a State which is charged with the administration of the law imposing a tax on the sale or use of cigarettes.

(5) the term "State" includes a political subdivision thereof and the District of Columbia.

SEC. 2. The transportation of contraband cigarettes in interstate commerce is prohibited.

SEC. 3. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to affect the concurrent jurisdiction of a State to enact and enforce State cigarette tax laws, to provide for the confiscation of cigarettes and other property seized in violation of such laws and to provide penalties for the violation of such laws.

SEC. 4. Whoever violates any provision of this Act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be fined not more than $1,000 and imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

SEC. 5. The United States district courts shall have jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of this Act.

SEC. 6. This Act shall take effect on the date of its enactment.

YOUR CONGRESSMAN JIM BATTIN REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

HON. JAMES F. BATTIN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1968

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN JIM BATTIN REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

DEAR FRIEND: Because it has been my practice not to devote this letter to partisan politics, I will not use this method to comment on the Democrat Convention in Chicago; but other events in Chicago during the convention seem to deserve analysis. The violence in Chicago last week—by the major television networks' accounting—was viewed by upwards of 50 million Americans. The nation was appalled by the sights which were conveyed to many in vivid color. Cameras were centered on squads of policemen who seemingly attacked the masses of demonstrators without provocation. Chicago authorities were charged with over-reacting to the "peaceful" protests of the yippies, hippies and various unwashed persons. There was a movement in the convention hall to suspend business and move the convention to more peaceful surroundings. *But the persistence of the demonstrators made it certain that wherever the Democrats went, the hippies were sure to follow.* The tenacity of the demonstrators in seeking out the police made it equally sure that trouble was sure to occur no matter where the convention was held. The television on-the-spot reports and later newspaper accounts lacked a certain perspective—that of the Chicago policeman. *The over-reaction was on the part of the news media.*

A regular columnist of the *Washington Star*, Betty Beale, gave another side of the picture in an article last Sunday that made the actions of the police and National Guard more understandable, Miss Beale was in Chicago during the week of turmoil and, as she wrote, returned "unbloodied, unpelted and even unbruised thanks to the Chicago police." She was grateful for the protection the Chicago police force provided and decided "it is time one member of the media gave the other side of the picture because the public has the right to know." This female journalist, who has a reputation in Washington of candidly expressing opinions that aren't necessarily popular with other journalists, gave the only account that I have seen which gave the police credit for human feelings and a difficult job well done. Her opinions came from personal observations and interviews with key Democrat leaders of the convention. These are a few excerpts from her column:

"Everytime a newsman was hurt, the screams of protest went around the world, but how much was said about the newsmen who taunted the police or tried to get action for the TV cameras? A member of the Vice-President's coterie heard reporters having a great laugh in the coffee shop of the Conrad Hilton about how they agitated in Grant Park until the police started pushing them around."

"Wyo. Sen. and Mrs. Dale McGee and their two grown children walked over to the park to see for themselves what was going on and they arrived when the changing of the National Guard was taking place."

"Walking through a gang of hippies they saw two girls, one playing the flute. Then they saw a TV camera team lead the girls over to the exact place by the troops where they wanted them to stand. And when their cameras started to roll, the girl cried, 'Don't beat me!' It takes no imagination to figure how this contrived scene would look on the screens in millions of American homes."

"Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, World War hero and Democratic keynoter, said the hippies were throwing plastic bags of human excrement at the police and Guards in Grant Park. They were also throwing rubber balls stuck with long nails aimed for the eyes."

"How would those commentators who thought the police 'over-reacted' have behaved if those things had happened to them?"

Miss Beale's account seems more plausible than that of other columnists who said the police were simply brutal, sadistic and mindless assailants of children. Those demonstrators that television showed being hauled to paddy wagons or subdued with police nightsticks were not children and they were anything but innocent bystanders. The militants among the dissenters in Chicago were there looking for a confrontation with the police. Many of them wore riot helmets and distributed printed instructions with advice on coping with tear gas and Mace. They had an organized first aid corps standing by before the trouble ever began. Cadres of trained agitators were situated in the crowd to rush police lines out of camera range and then to move off when the police responded. The hippies came armed with caustics to throw in the faces of policemen and with the intention of disrupting the Democrats' Convention. They almost succeeded and would have invaded the hall except for the actions of the Chicago police.

With the violent riots that have been sweeping the cities of America, police are the front line defense against anarchy. When a policeman is called for riot duty, he knows that he will spend long hours without rest under the possibility of injury and even death. Force must be applied to prevent the rabble from gaining control of whole cities. Having experienced a massive riot in Washington earlier this year, I was glad that the police stood between the rioters and my home. Riots seem to flourish best under the eye of a television camera. *As Betty Beale said, "Maybe the media had better ask itself why."*

Sincerely,

JIM BATTIN.